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**PERCEPTIONS OF DOMINICAN SPANISH AND DOMINICAN
SELF-PERCEPTION IN THE PUERTO RICAN DIASPORA**

A Dissertation in

Spanish

by

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Abstract

The aim of the present project is to investigate the possible consequences of social prejudice on the perception of and attitudes towards minority language varieties and their speakers. A further goal is to examine the possible emergence of linguistic insecurity among émigrés as compared to those remaining in their native country. An ideal setting for this investigation can be found in Puerto Rico. Over the last decades an increased influx of immigrants from the Dominican Republic has led to the existence of a growing minority of Dominicans and consequently to increased contact between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans on this Caribbean island.

The contact between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans is targeted for study as much for its linguistic import as for its social context. Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish are considered varieties of Caribbean Spanish that differ only by a few phonological and syntactic patterns and a small number of lexical items. Although both varieties are heavily stigmatized within the Spanish-speaking world, previous work in Puerto Rico has found a wide-spread discrimination of Dominican Spanish and its speakers. At the same time, Dominican immigrants often are phenotypically dark, possess limited formal education, and as immigrants are also socially and economically disadvantaged relative to their Puerto Rican San Juan cohabitants. These facts beg the question of whether and to what extent Puerto Ricans' attitudes towards Dominican Spanish truly are based on linguistic differences. Social and racial prejudices cannot always be expressed freely. The possibility exists that they could reemerge as negative evaluations of Dominican Spanish.

The aim of the present research includes the following: (1) to uncover linguistic variables that are used in the identification of a speaker's origin (Puerto Rican vs. Dominican); (2) to examine whether Puerto Ricans' attitudes and perceptions of Dominican immigrants living in Puerto Rico are reflected in the evaluation of Dominican Spanish; (3) to determine the effects of these attitudes on the perceptions of Dominicans towards their own dialect. A sociolinguistic questionnaire and survey were administered to tap into the perceptions of linguistic differences among members of both groups and to uncover the possible emergence of linguistic insecurity among Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico, and a verbal guise experiment examined the importance of perceived

nationality and social class of a speaker in Puerto Ricans' evaluations of Dominican Spanish.

The results of the present study reveal that Puerto Ricans frequently cite dialectal differences as their main means of identifying Dominicans. However, the results of the verbal guise experiment imply that although linguistic differences are decisive in the identification of national origin, ratings on social, educational, and personal attributes are influenced by prejudicial notions of socioeconomic and educational background. Similarly, ratings on perception of 'correctness' and 'pleasantness' of Dominican Spanish as compared to Puerto Rican Spanish indicate social profiling. Accordingly, this research provides insights into the consequences of social prejudice on the perception of and attitudes towards minority language variants and their speakers.

The study also develops a deeper understanding of the social sources of the emergence of linguistic insecurity among minority immigrant groups as compared to those remaining in their native country. The results of the survey comparing Dominican linguistic insecurity reveal that linguistic insecurity among Dominicans in Puerto Rico decreases compared to that of the group examined in the Dominican Republic. Two possible reasons for the decrease of Dominican linguistic insecurity are put forth. It is probable that the Dominican speakers' recognition of a high degree of similarity between both varieties leads to perceptions of equality between these two dialects, a situation that is also unlikely to trigger linguistic insecurity. There is supporting evidence in the data for the argument that the recognition of linguistic similarity leads to a sense of solidarity among some Dominicans. This is likely to be compounded by the low prestige given to Caribbean varieties cross-dialectally in comparison to more prestigious varieties in South America and Spain. Awareness of the stigmatization of both varieties on the part of the speakers is not thought to rouse linguistic insecurity among Dominicans. In sum, the present results reveal that contact between these two equally disparaged varieties does not incur the same degree of linguistic insecurity among Dominicans that can be observed in cases of contact where a minority variety is in contact with a cross-dialectally more prestigious variety. Moreover, the evidence suggests that in spite of the prejudicial environment in Puerto Rico, Dominicans embrace their cultural beliefs and national

identity. Within the present data, Dominican émigrés in Puerto Rico hold fast to their identity. The outcome of the survey indicates that the native accent remains a highly salient component of Dominican identity. These results fall in line with previous work on Dominican immigrant communities in the U.S. In sum, Dominican linguistic insecurity does not appear to increase and simultaneously the link between identity and language is maintained in spite of contact with an environment of social and linguistic prejudice.

Table of Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>xii</i>
<i>List of Images</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xiv</i>
CHAPTER 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Overview	1
1.2 Linguistic Differentiation of Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish	2
1.2.1 Phonetics and Phonology	3
1.2.2 Morpho-syntax	5
1.2.3 Lexicon	6
1.2.4 Summary	6
1.3 Social Variables affecting Dominican integration in Puerto Rico	7
1.3.1 Non-linguistic sources for negative attitudes	7
1.3.2 Perceptions of race and phenotype	8
1.3.3 Dominican Linguistic Insecurity	9
1.4 The Present Study	10
1.4.1 Research Questions	11
1.4.2 Materials	12
1.4.2.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire	12
1.4.2.2 Survey on linguistic insecurity and identity	13
1.4.2.3 Verbal guise experiment	14
1.4.3 Participants	16
1.4.4 Data Analysis	16
1.5 Hypotheses	16
1.6 Organization of the dissertation	21
CHAPTER 2 Dominicans in the Puerto Rican diaspora	22
2.1 Introduction	22
2.2 Early migratory patterns between Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic	22
2.2.1 Dominican Exodus to Puerto Rico	23
2.2.2 Undocumented migration	25
2.2.3 Motives for Dominican emigration	26
2.3 A profile of Dominican émigrés to Puerto Rico	28

2.3.1 Socioeconomic status of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico _____	31
2.3.2 Level of education and employment patterns of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico _____	32
2.3.3 Residential distribution of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico _____	33
2.4 Variables affecting Dominican integration into Puerto Rican society _____	35
2.5 Summary _____	36
CHAPTER 3 Previous Studies on Language Attitudes and Perceptions _____	37
3.1 Introduction _____	37
3.2 Linguistic Stratification and Language Attitudes _____	38
3.3 Consequences of Linguistic Stratification _____	44
3.3.1 Linguistic Insecurity and Accommodation _____	45
3.3.2 Covert Prestige and the Expression of Identity _____	47
3.3.3 Language Shift and Loss _____	51
3.4 Perceptual Dialectology _____	55
3.5 Attitudes towards Dominican Spanish and Dominican Self-Perception _____	59
3.5.1 Dominican Self-Perception and Linguistic Identity _____	59
3.5.2 Dominicans and Dominican Spanish in the U.S. and Puerto Rico _____	61
3.6 Conclusions _____	66
CHAPTER 4 Methodology _____	68
4.1 Introduction _____	68
4.2 The Verbal Guise Task _____	69
4.2.1 Audio materials for the verbal guise task _____	69
4.2.1.1 Materials _____	69
4.2.1.2 Speech guises _____	70
4.2.1.3 Procedure _____	72
4.2.2 Speaker accentedness measure _____	72
4.2.2.1 Materials _____	72
4.2.2.2 Listener ('Judges') _____	73
4.2.2.3 Procedure _____	74
4.2.2.4 Analysis _____	74
4.2.3 The Verbal Guise Task _____	76
4.2.3.1 Materials _____	76
4.2.3.2 Procedure _____	83
4.2.4 Participants _____	83
4.2.5 Analysis _____	84

4.3 Sociolinguistic Questionnaires and Linguistic Insecurity and Identity Surveys _____	85
4.3.1 Participants _____	85
4.3.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire _____	88
4.3.2.1 Materials _____	88
4.3.3 Linguistic Insecurity Surveys _____	91
4.3.3.1 Materials _____	91
4.3.4 Procedure _____	96
4.3.5 Data Coding and Analysis _____	97
4.4 Summary _____	98
<i>CHAPTER 5 Dialectal Identification and Attitudes – Evidence from Inter-personal Interviews</i> _____	99
5.1 Introduction _____	99
5.2 Materials _____	100
5.3 Presentation of Results _____	103
5.4 Discussion and Contextualization _____	119
<i>CHAPTER 6 Results of the Verbal Guise Experiment</i> _____	126
6.1 Introduction _____	126
6.2 Ratings on Nationality, Social, and Educational Background of the Verbal Guise Speakers _____	126
6.2.1 Nationality Attributed to Guise Speakers _____	127
6.2.2 Social Class Attributed to the Guise Speakers _____	130
6.2.3 Ratings on Level of Education of Guise Speakers _____	134
6.3 Perceptions of Pleasantness and Correctness of Guises _____	138
6.4 Ascription of Personal Characteristics to Guise Speakers _____	141
6.4.1 Overall Results _____	141
6.4.2 Inferential Analyses _____	147
6.5 Discussion of Results _____	150
6.5.1 Identification of Dominican Spanish and perception of social attributes _____	151
6.5.1.1 Accent Identification _____	151
6.5.1.2 Ratings on social class and educational attainment of the guises _____	153
6.5.2 Ratings on the ‘Pleasantness of Speech’ and ‘Correctness of Accent’ _____	155
6.5.3 Ratings of social and personal characteristics _____	156
6.5.4 Gender Differences _____	158
6.6 Summary _____	159

CHAPTER 7 <i>Dominican Linguistic Insecurity and Identity</i>	161
7.1 Introduction	161
7.2 Survey Items	162
7.3 Dominicans' Perceptions of Dialectal and Phenotypical Differences	166
7.4 Linguistic Insecurity and Identity	177
7.5 Language and Identity among Dominican Immigrants	192
7.6 Discussion and Contextualization	200
CHAPTER 8 <i>Contextualization of Results and Future Research</i>	208
8.1 Introduction	208
8.2 Contextualization of Results	208
8.3 Restrictions of the Study and Future Research	213
8.4 Conclusions	215
References	217
Appendix A (<i>Accent Ratedness Measure</i>)	231
Appendix B (<i>Verbal Guise Task Questionnaire</i>)	232
Appendix C (<i>Sociolinguistic Questionnaire</i>)	234
Appendix D (<i>Survey on Linguistic Insecurity and Identity</i>)	236

List of Tables

Table 1.1 Realization of /s/ and /n/ _____	3
Table 1.2 Realization of coda /r/ _____	4
Table 2.1 Dominicans admitted as immigrants to Puerto Rico, 1966-2005 _____	24
Table 2.2 Undocumented Dominicans intercepted at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard, 1985-2004 _____	25
Table 2.3 Age and gender of Dominican population living in Puerto Rico _____	29
Table 2.4 Region of origin of Dominican population in Santurce (in percentages) _____	31
Table 2.5 Educational attainment of Dominicans living in Puerto Rico _____	32
Table 2.6 Occupation of Dominicans in Puerto Rico _____	33
Table 2.7 Residential distribution of Dominican-born inhabitants in San Juan, 2000 _____	34
Table 4.1 Tasks and participants _____	68
Table 4.2 Dominican guises submitted to accentedness ratings _____	73
Table 4.3 Listener ‘judges’ in Global Accentedness ratings of Dominican guises _____	74
Table 4.4 Overview- Verbal Guise Recordings _____	77
Table 4.5 Participants in Verbal Guise Tasks _____	83
Table 4.6 Sample of data coding for Guise #1 _____	84
Table 4.7 Participants in Sociolinguistic Questionnaire and Survey on Linguistic Insecurity and Identity _____	86
Table 4.8 Sample of data coding _____	97
Table 5.1 Overall results of the closed-ended items (n=53) _____	103
Table 5.2 Gender results of closed-ended items _____	104
Table 6.1 Puerto Rican listeners’ identification of nationality of guise speakers _____	128
Table 6.2 Puerto Rican listeners’ ratings on social class of guise speakers _____	131
Table 6.3 Puerto Rican women’s ratings on social class of guise speakers _____	132
Table 6.4 Puerto Rican men’s ratings on social class of guise speakers _____	133
Table 6.5 Puerto Rican listeners’ ratings on level of education of guise speakers _____	135
Table 6.6 Puerto Rican women’s ratings on level of education of guise speakers _____	136
Table 6.7 Puerto Rican men’s ratings on level of education of guise speakers _____	137
Table 6.8 Puerto Ricans’ perception of Pleasantness of Speech and Correctness of Accent _____	138
Table 6.9 Puerto Rican women’s perception of Pleasantness of Speech and Correctness of Accent _____	139
Table 6.10 Puerto Rican men’s perception of Pleasantness of Speech and Correctness of Accent _____	140
Table 6.11 Ratings on personal characteristics (Overall) _____	142
Table 6.12 Ratings on personal characteristics by female ‘judges’ _____	144
Table 6.13 Ratings on personal characteristics by male ‘judges’ _____	146
Table 6.14 Overview of traits with significant differences between guises _____	150
Table 7.1 Survey of Linguistic Insecurity and Identity _____	163
Table 7.2 Survey of Dominican immigrants’ linguistic behavior and social experiences _____	164
Table 7.3 Dominicans’ perceptions of dialectal and phenotypical differences _____	167

Table 7.4 Women - Results of dialectal/pheotypical differences _____	173
Table 7.5 Men - Results of dialectal/pheotypical differences _____	175
Table 7.6 Overall Results of Linguistic Insecurity and Identity Survey _____	178
Table 7.7 Insecurity items per regional groups (Dominicans in DR) _____	184
Table 7.8 Insecurity items per regional groups (Dominican immigrants) _____	185
Table 7.9 Women – Linguistic Insecurity and Identity Survey _____	190
Table 7.10 Men – Linguistic Insecurity and Identity Survey _____	191
Table 7.11 Survey of Dominican immigrants’ Linguistic Insecurity and Self-perception (n=47) _____	194
Table 7.12 Dominican attitudes towards maintenance of DS (n=15) _____	194
Table 7.13 Female Dominican immigrants’ Linguistic Insecurity and Self-perception (n=24) _____	197
Table 7.14 Female Dominican attitudes towards maintenance (n=10) _____	197
Table 7.15 Male Dominican immigrants’ Linguistic Insecurity and Self-perception (n=23) _____	198
Table 7.16 Male Dominican attitudes towards maintenance (n=5) _____	198

List of Figures

Figure 4.1 Results of accentedness ratings of Dominican guises	75
Figure 5.1 Comments on dialectal prejudice	114
Figure 5.2 Racial/ethnic prejudicial comments	114
Figure 6.1 Results of accentedness ratings of Dominican guises	129
Figure 7.1 Comments on dialectal prejudice	180
Figure 7.2 Racial/ethnic prejudicial comments	180

List of Images

Image 4.1 Map of the Dominican Republic	87
Image 4.2 Map of Puerto Rico	87
Image 4.3 Visual Aid for <i>Likert</i> scale	97

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview

- *Oyeme, viejo, aquello era trabajo va y trabajo viene día y noche...*
- *Oh, pero en Santo Domingo ni trabajo había...*
- *Pica caña y caña pica de sol a sol, tú...*
- *Qué vaina, hombre. En mi país traen a los dichosos madamos pa' que la piquen y a nosotros que nos coma un caballo...*¹

Encancaranublado, A.L.Vega (1982:16)

Language attitudes, in particular those expressed towards immigrant languages or non-standard language varieties, often reflect attitudes towards their speakers. The above excerpt from Ana Lydia Vega's short story depicts two characters, a Cuban and a Dominican, who, along with a third, a Haitian, are passengers aboard a raft heading towards a 'better life' in Miami. The nationality of the Dominican is reflected in the use of the expressions "oh,..." and "Qué vaina, hombre". In addition, he clearly articulates Dominicans' intolerance towards Haitian immigrants, in the term 'madamos'. Ironically, at the end of the short story, all three characters face racial prejudice and denigration by the white Americans who allow them on their vessel. A Puerto Rican, who also suffers racial discrimination on board, brings the men to the hull of the boat and explains to them that life in the U.S. is hard: "Estos gringos no le dan na gratis ni a su mai."²

This story, albeit fictional, addresses some of the social issues that are investigated in the present study of language attitudes: a) the "typical" dialectal features attributed to Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish, b) the socioeconomic differences between immigrants and native inhabitants, and c) the perceived racial differences between the inhabitants of the Spanish-speaking Caribbean islands of Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic.

¹ - Look, old man, this was like work comes and goes, day and night.
- Oh, but in Santo Domingo there wasn't even work.
- Cutting sugar cane, sugar cane cutting all day, ...
- Nonsense, man. In my country they bring in the so-called *madamos* to cut it and to hell with us [Dominicans].

² These Gringos won't give anything for free to anyone, not even to their mother.

Migration and settlement patterns within the Caribbean offer a rich background for the study of language attitudes. Particularly well-suited for a study on language attitudes and perceptions of minority language varieties is Puerto Rico, which has witnessed an increased influx of economic immigrants from the Dominican Republic over the past decades. The emergence of Dominican enclaves in the barrios of San Juan has led to increased contact between these two groups on this Caribbean island. The Dominican émigrés often have little education and are phenotypically darker relative to their Puerto Rican neighbors. Many Dominican men find employment as manual laborers and women in service or sales occupations (Duany 2005). The differences in socio-economic, educational, and racial background are likely to perpetuate social and racial prejudices among Puerto Ricans towards the Dominican minority.

Previous work has established that Dominicans living in the Dominican Republic often possess little confidence in their native variety, stating that their dialect is less ‘correct’ than those spoken in Spain or other Latin American countries (Garcia et al. 1988, Toribio 2000b, Bailey 2000). Puerto Ricans’ expressions of negative attitudes towards Dominican Spanish have the potential to affect Dominicans’ linguistic security. Therefore, one of the possible outcomes of negative attitudes towards Dominican Spanish is an increase in linguistic insecurity among Dominican émigrés as compared to those remaining in their native country.

The remainder of the chapter will afford a brief overview of the main factors affecting Dominican immigrants’ integration in Puerto Rico: Section 1.2 will present the linguistic differences between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish and Section 1.3 will offer a short discussion of the socioeconomic and racial variables involved in Dominican integration.

1.2 Linguistic Differentiation of Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish

One of the central concerns of this dissertation is language prejudice, in this case, the adverse pre-disposition of Puerto Ricans towards Dominican Spanish. The ensuing section focuses on the linguistic differences between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish. As exemplified in the epigraph taken from Vega’s short story, Dominicans and Puerto Ricans claim to be able to differentiate between their native Spanish variety and

that of the other group. This ability to recognize and correctly identify a neighboring variety is key to the present study, as it will be shown to condition the judgments of the speaker's personal and social attributes. Therefore, Puerto Ricans may believe that they attune to linguistic differences, especially with respect to pronunciation, in identifying a speaker as Dominican, however it is possible that identification could be influenced through a form of socioeconomic profiling.

1.2.1 Phonetics and Phonology

One of the most salient features of Caribbean Spanish is the weakening of the coda that has affected several segments in this position. The weakening of coda /s/, although characteristic for both Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish, has developed differently in each variety. Puerto Rican Spanish evidences a pervasive aspiration of word and syllable final /s/. In Dominican Spanish, the weakening of /s/ in coda position is more advanced. Although /s/ aspiration can still be heard, the complete loss of syllable-final /s/ has increased in frequency (López Morales 1992).

Lenition has also affected /n/ in coda position. Puerto Rican Spanish includes velarization of /n/ syllable-finally. Although Dominican Spanish also contains velarization of /n/, this variety additionally exhibits complete loss of the nasal and subsequent nasalization of the preceding vowel (Henríquez Ureña 1940).³

Table 1.1 Realization of /s/ and /n/

	Puerto Rican Spanish	Dominican Spanish	Standard Spanish
/s/	Aspiration [ehte]	aspiration [ehte] loss [e_ø_te]	[este] 'this'
/n/	velarization [paŋ]	velarization [paŋ] loss [pã]	[pan] 'bread'

The realization of /r/ in coda position is one of the main sources of variation between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish. Lateralization (i.e., the realization of coda /r/ as [l] as in *pa[l]te* instead of *parte* 'side') is very common across all parts of Puerto Rico and can be found among speakers from various socioeconomic groups; but it is regionally

³ Bullock & Toribio (2009) report full loss of the nasal feature, notably on verbal conjugations.

restricted in the Dominican Republic, where it occurs principally in the capital, Santo Domingo. Other realizations of /r/ in coda position include vocalization, which occurs in the northern part of the Dominican Republic (e.g., *pa[i]te* instead of *pa[r]te* ‘side’), and rhoticization (e.g., *ca[r]do* instead of *ca[l]do* ‘broth’) a characteristic of the speech found in the southern part of the republic (Henríquez Ureña 1940).

Table 1.2 The Realization of coda /r/ and /l/

	Puerto Rican Spanish	Dominican Spanish	Standard Spanish
lateralization	[palte]	[palte]	[parte] ‘side’
vocalization		[pajte]	
rhoticization		[mar]	[mal] ‘bad’

An innovative trait of Puerto Rican Spanish is the uvular articulation of multiple trill /R/ in syllable-initial position (López Morales 1992, Navarro Tomás 1948). Although the uvular /r/ can be found across Puerto Rico, its use is especially common among the lower social classes, inhabitants of rural areas and among men (Lipski 1994:334). In addition, this pronunciation can be found even in the most formal discourses (Navarro Tomás 1948:93).

Turning to intonational differences, Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish by and large reflect intonational patterns typical for Caribbean Spanish, which includes absolute interrogative contours with a High tone in the nuclear pitch accent followed by a Low boundary (Sosa 1999). But work on Caribbean Spanish intonation has isolated three Dominican Spanish declarative expressions with characteristic intonational patterns: the expressions *oh, oh* ‘oh, oh’, *oh sí* ‘oh, yes’, and sentences containing Dominican double negation (López Morales 1992, Jiménez Sabater 1975). The expression *oh, oh* denotes either amazement (or disapproval or both at the same time). The tone of the first syllable is very high and then lowers abruptly on the second ‘oh’. The expression *oh, sí* is used mostly by rural Dominicans instead of a simple *sí* as an affirmative response to a question. It is produced by elevating the tone on the first syllable and then falling to a lengthened

second syllable with a final rise. The tonal pattern for sentences containing double negation, as in *Nosotros no vamos no* ('We are not going. '), involves a tonal rise throughout the body until the final tonic syllable of *vamos*, followed by a rapid fall to the second 'no' (López Morales 1992:130).⁴

1.2.2 Morpho-syntax

Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish also differ in a few morpho-syntactic features. Dominican Spanish has characteristic innovations that cannot be found in Puerto Rican Spanish. Two very salient features of the vernacular Spanish spoken in the Dominican Republic are the use of double negation, noted above, and illustrated in (3a), and focus *ser* clefts as in (3b) (Henríquez Ureña 1940, Jiménez Sabater 1975, Toribio 2002, Camacho 2001).

- (3) a. Yo **no** lo creo **no**
'I don't believe it.'
- b. Nosotras andábamos **era** para el río.
'It was the river we went to.'

An increased use of overt personal subject pronouns is a characteristic of all Caribbean Spanish varieties. However, Dominican speech also exhibits the use of overt pronouns for inanimate nouns (Lipski 1994:241, Jiménez Sabater 1975, Alba 2000: 22/23). It has been proposed that the extension of overt subject pronouns to inanimate nouns (4a) is correlated with the uniquely Dominican pronoun *ello* that is used with weather and existential predicates and extraposed sentences (4b, 4c, 4d) (Henríquez Ureña 1940: 226-228, Jiménez Sabater 1975, Lipski 1994).

- (4) a. Cómprela que **ella** (la piña) está buena.
'Buy it, it's good.'
- b. **Ello** va a llover.
'It's going to rain.'

⁴ Although over the past 15 years research on Caribbean intonation has increased, this area of research remains quite undeveloped (Willis 2003)

- c. **Ello** hay pan.
‘There is bread.’
- d. **Ello** hay que parar con eso.
‘That must be stopped.’

In contrast to Dominican Spanish, the dialect spoken in Puerto Rico shows comparatively few deviations from other varieties spoken in the Caribbean such as Cuban Spanish. Frequently mentioned, however, is the appearance of calques from English, such as those illustrated in (5) (Lloréns 1971, Lipski 1994:335).

- (5) a. ¿Cómo te gustó la playa?
‘How did you like the beach?’ (cf., ¿Te gustó la playa?/¿Cómo lo pasaste?)
- b. El problema está siendo considerado.
‘The problem is being considered.’ (cf., Se está considerando el problema.)
- c. Él sabe cómo hablar inglés.
‘He knows how to speak English.’ (cf., Él sabe hablar inglés.)

1.2.3 Lexicon

Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish largely overlap in vocabulary. Minor differences are found in lexical areas such as topography, flora and fauna, body parts, clothing, and food items (López Morales 1992). Examples include:

(6)	<i>Puerto Rico</i>	<i>Dominican Republic</i>
‘goat’	cabra	chivo
‘orange’	china	naranja
‘passion fruit’	parcha	chinola

Additionally, Puerto Rican Spanish, due to its long-standing contact with English, is known for its use of anglicisms. They occur in many areas of the lexicon, but particularly in terms denoting clothing (e.g., *blazer*, *short*), food (e.g., *bistec*, *grill*), home (e.g., *refrigerador*, *closet*), and social life (e.g., *ping pong*, *folder*) (López Morales 1992:275).

1.2.4 Summary

In summary, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans may point to any of the above linguistic differences as revealing of a speaker’s national origin. However, there may be other

factors, such as the socioeconomic differences and perceived differences in phenotype between Puerto Ricans and Dominicans that could additionally contribute to the identification of a speaker's origin. If social and phenotypical differences play a role in the surfacing of negative attitudes towards Dominican Spanish, they also have the potential to trigger emergence or enhancement of linguistic insecurity among the speakers of the minority dialect.

1.3 Social Variables affecting Dominican integration in Puerto Rico

Research on language attitudes has been consistent in the finding that personal characteristics of a speaker (e.g., socioeconomic status, education, perceived racial and ethnic background) are ascribed primarily based on that speaker's adherence to or deviance from a socially respected standard variety. Such findings can be found cross-linguistically (d'Anglejan & Tucker 1983, Alfaraz 2002, Demirci & Kleiner 2002). The socioeconomic and racial differences between Puerto Ricans and Dominican immigrants could be crucial in the development of negative attitudes towards Dominican Spanish.

1.3.1 Non-linguistic sources for negative attitudes

Particularly important factors in the study of language attitudes and perceptions are the differences in socioeconomic status between speaker groups. Researchers such as Demirci & Kleiner (2002) have found a correlation between economic development and evaluation of regional speech in Turkey: varieties from more impoverished regions received lower ratings than those from more prosperous areas. Similar patterns can be found for Latin America. In her study of Miami Cubans' perceptions of varieties of Spanish, Alfaraz (2002) found a significant correlation between ratings of 'correctness' of particular variants and the gross domestic product of the countries in which they are spoken. These results strongly support the contention that perceptions of dialectal variants are vulnerable to socially imposed hierarchies of prestige and power.

In Puerto Rico, Dominican immigrants find themselves at the bottom the social structure. This fact undoubtedly contributes to the image that many Puerto Ricans have of Dominican immigrants living on their island. This negative image is manifested in intense stigmatization, prejudice, and discrimination against Dominicans (Mejía Pardo 1993). Moreover, it is reflected in Puerto Rican folklore and popular radio and television

programs which often depict Dominicans as lazy, uneducated, dirty, undesirable, and dishonest (Duany 2005, de la Rosa Abreu 2002). Evidence from anthropological studies even suggests that these negative attitudes have been extended to Puerto Ricans' perceptions of Dominican Spanish as "incomprehensible" (Duany 1998). If this is so, then negative attitudes towards Dominican Spanish would indeed reflect social prejudice towards the speakers rather than toward the dialectal variety itself.

1.3.2 Perceptions of race and phenotype

In addition to their low socioeconomic status, Dominicans in Puerto Rico are also exposed to negative public perceptions based on racial classifications. Although the vast majority of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans are of mixed racial background (comprising indigenous, European, and African ancestry), Puerto Ricans have been found to regard themselves as 'whiter' than Dominicans, whom they regard as 'black' (Duany 2005).⁵ Thus, within the context of immigration to Puerto Rico, Dominicans are forced to reevaluate these notions of racial identity.⁶

Racialization of minority groups is a common pattern in denoting in-group/out-group boundaries and in shaping attitudes towards speakers and their speech varieties, particularly in the Caribbean. In the above-referenced study, Alfaraz (2002) found statistically significant correlations between race and ratings of 'correctness' and 'pleasantness' of speech forms. Speech varieties from countries that were predominantly white received the most positive ratings, followed by those from regions that were mostly 'mestizo' (White or South/Central American Indian). In third place were speech forms from countries that were largely 'indio' (South/Central American Indian). Dialects spoken in predominantly black regions (in particular, the Dominican Republic) were regarded as the least correct forms of Spanish. Indeed, racial prejudice was made explicit,

⁵ Ironically, Haitians living in the Dominican Republic are also subject to this process whereby they are categorized as "black", African, and uneducated voodoo-practitioners, whereas the official discourse classifies Dominicans as "white" or "indio", Hispanic, and Catholic (Duany 1998:152). As a consequence many Haitians living in the Dominican Republic suffer intense stigmatization and prejudice.

⁶ These facts suggest that perceptions of race are not a static construct but change to accommodate changing social situations, such as increased contact with other groups. Consequently, I adopt Carmen Fought's definition of ethnicity as "something that is highlighted more clearly where ingroup/outgroup boundaries are part of the context (...) by situating the discussion of language and ethnicity within a particular community's ideologies about such boundaries." (Fought 2006:13).

as Miami Cubans' negative attitudes towards the Spanish spoken in Cuba today correlated with a perceived racial difference between the participants and their compatriots still living on the island. The participants felt that the Spanish spoken now on the island was less 'correct' and therefore less prestigious due to an increased influence of Afro-Cuban features. One speaker termed this usage of Spanish as *anegrado* ('black-like') (Alfaraz 2002: 6/7).⁷

1.3.3 Dominican Linguistic Insecurity

In view of the socio-economic differences and the perceived racial disparities between Dominican immigrants and the native population in Puerto Rico, dialectal boundaries may be made salient. That is, Dominicans in the Puerto Rican diaspora may be well aware that their speech forms (further) separate and isolate them from their Puerto Rican neighbors. In such a situation, linguistic insecurity is likely to ensue. Such an eventuality would be unsurprising, since the Dominican vernacular is consistently stigmatized and undervalued. As reported in Toribio (2000a), Dominicans in the Dominican Republic describe their own speech as incorrect and assess the variety spoken in Spain as more refined. Even on the U.S. mainland, Dominican Spanish is held in low esteem relative to other varieties. Zentella (1990a,b) and García et al. (1988) report that Dominicans living alongside other Spanish-speaking immigrant groups quickly become aware of the stigma attached to their dialect. In Puerto Rico, Dominicans' linguistic insecurity could manifest itself through efforts to 'sound' more Puerto Rican, adopting pronunciation and lexical features that are considered characteristic of Puerto Rican Spanish.

One fact that appears to be at odds with the above observations is the high degree of language loyalty that Dominicans demonstrate in the diaspora. In the U.S. mainland, Dominicans have been shown to be highly language-retentive, maintaining dialectal peculiarities even while in contact with more conservative and more prestigious Spanish dialects (Duany 1998, 2005, Toribio 2000b, Bailey 2000, Otheguy et al. 2007). The

⁷ Similar results were also found cross-linguistically. In their perception study conducted in Turkey, Demirci & Kleiner (2002) found that ethnic composition was a crucial factor in their results: speech varieties from regions with a predominantly European population received more positive ratings.

continued use of Dominican vernacular in immigrant contexts speaks to the value ascribed to language as an identity marker (Tabouret-Keller 1997). It reflects speakers' strong loyalty to the Dominican homeland and their need to identify as distinct from other Spanish-speakers. Such tendencies are reinforced by improved socio-economic conditions. For example, Dominicans in Reading, Pennsylvania, who have witnessed significant socioeconomic advancement over the past decade, register highly positive attitudes towards their Spanish speech (Jensen et al. 2006). The moderate economic gains that Dominican immigrants have made in Puerto Rico could likewise strengthen loyalty to their Dominican vernacular. Additionally, previous work on language transmission and maintenance in immigrant communities has shown that women often play an important role in these processes (e.g., Winter & Pauwels 2005). Based on these results, the current study will also examine possible difference in linguistic insecurity and identity between Dominican men and women in both the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico.

1.4 The Present Study

The present dissertation project examines the influence of social differences on perceptions of Dominican Spanish in Puerto Rico. This will provide insights into the consequences of social prejudice on the perception of and attitudes towards minority language varieties and their speakers. Although members of a majority group might cite dialectal differences as their main means of identifying a member of a minority ethnic group, the results of the present study may establish that linguistic differences are not crucial in this process. Rather, identification may be realized through a form of socioeconomic profiling. Additionally, the study will contribute to a deeper understanding of the social factors implicated in linguistic insecurity, among Dominicans living outside of their home country in particular, and among members of minority groups in general.

The aims of the proposed dissertation study include the following: (i) to uncover the linguistic variables that are identified by Puerto Ricans as revealing a speaker's Dominican origin; (ii) to investigate Puerto Ricans' attitudes towards and perceptions of Dominicans living in Puerto Rico, as reflected in the experimental evaluation of speech samples; (iii) to examine the effects of these attitudes on Dominicans perceptions of and attachment to their own dialect.

1.4.1 Research Questions

The present study will focus on the following questions:

Question 1: Do Puerto Ricans *believe* they can identify Dominican Spanish as distinct from Puerto Rican Spanish?

If so,

- i. What linguistic variables do Puerto Ricans report using in making this identification?
- ii. Do Puerto Rican participants ascribe any form of prestige to Dominican Spanish in comparison to other varieties and their own?
- iii. Do Puerto Ricans identify a role, if any, of social factors and phenotype in the identification process?
- iv. Do gender groups differ in their evaluations?

Question 2: Are Puerto Ricans *able* to identify Dominican Spanish (as distinct from Puerto Rican Spanish)?

If so,

- i. How do Puerto Ricans perceive the speech samples (audio guises) exhibiting Dominican Spanish, on scales of correctness and pleasantness?
- ii. What are the personal and social characteristics that Puerto Ricans report to attend to in identifying Dominican Spanish?
- iii. Do any of these ratings correlate with gender?

Question 3: What is the effect of Puerto Ricans' attitudes towards Dominican Spanish on Dominicans' self-perception?

- i. Is there evidence of linguistic insecurity?
- ii. Do Puerto Ricans' attitudes towards Dominicans and Dominican Spanish affect the individuals' identity as Dominicans?
- iii. Do alterations in insecurity and identity correlate with gender?

1.4.2 Materials

The research questions are pursued with methods drawn from sociolinguistics and the social psychology of language, including naturalistic interviews, surveys of attitudes and insecurity, and verbal guise tasks. Each type of task is briefly described here and in greater detail in Chapter 4.

1.4.2.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

Interviews were conducted with Dominicans in the Dominican Republic and both Puerto Rican and Dominican residents of the community in San Juan. The interviews were guided by a sociolinguistic questionnaire that elicited (a) personal information about language history, educational background, employment, social networks, and length of residence in Puerto Rico (for Dominican participants), and (b) perceived linguistic differences between Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish and attitudes towards both the dialect and speakers of the variant not spoken by the interviewee. Sample items appear in (7).

(7) Sociolinguistic questionnaire (sample questions)

- a. *¿Cuáles son palabras típicas del español dominicano/puertorriqueño?*
‘What are some typical Dominican/Puerto Rican Spanish words?’
- b. *¿Qué más diferencia el habla de los puertorriqueños del suyo?*
‘What else differentiates Puerto Rican speech from you own?’
- c. *¿Sabe Ud. si hay diferentes acentos entre las diferentes regiones en la Dominicana/Puerto Rico? ¿Cuáles son y de qué región?*
‘Do you know if there are different accents in different regions of the Dominican Republic/Puerto Rico? What are these differences and for which region are they typical?’

In addition to these open-ended items, several scalar items were included in the questionnaire to assess speakers’ intuitions and beliefs about languages. These items required the participants to indicate their agreement or disagreement with a given statement, on a seven-point semantic differential scale.

(8) Samples of scalar items

- a. *Creo que puedo identificar fácilmente si una persona es por ejemplo puertorriqueña por su acento.*
'I can identify easily whether a person is Dominican/Puerto Rican based on their accent.'
- b. *Se puede saber si una persona es dominicana según las palabras que usa.*
'It is possible to know whether a person is Dominican /Puerto Rican based on the words they use.'

The interviews were audio-taped, facilitating coding of the sociolinguistic questionnaire and allowing for the analysis of speech forms.

1.4.2.2 Survey on linguistic insecurity and identity

In addition to the sociolinguistic questionnaire, orally administered surveys were used to target linguistic insecurity and the role of language in marking identity among speakers of Dominican Spanish in San Juan and in the sending communities in the Dominican Republic. The purpose of the survey was to uncover the potential effects of Puerto Ricans' negative attitudes on San Juan Dominicans' linguistic insecurity. The survey comprised items referencing varieties of Spanish (including regional Dominican varieties, regional Puerto Rican varieties, Cuban Spanish, etc.) and items referencing the importance of language in the marking of identity. Both open-ended (e.g., 9a and 10a) and scalar items (e.g., 9b and 10b) were included:

(9) Sample survey items on linguistic insecurity

- a. *Creo que el español dominicano es mejor que el español puertorriqueño.*
'I think that Dominican Spanish is better than Puerto Rican Spanish.'
- b. *¿Cuáles dialectos cree Ud. que son más correctos?*
'Which dialects do you think are more correct?'

(10) Sample survey items on identity

- a. *Hablar con mi acento nativo es muy importante para mí. Refleja de donde vengo y quien soy.*

‘Speaking with my native accent is very important to me. It reflects where I’m from and who I am.’

- b. *¿Cuáles son los aspectos de la cultura dominicana que son muy importantes para Ud.?*

‘What aspects of Dominican culture are very important to you?’

The survey given to Dominican participants living in Puerto Rico also included several items on how Puerto Ricans’ attitudes could affect Dominicans’ self-perception and identity. Examples follow:

(11) Sample items on Dominican self-perception

- a. *La gente no se da cuenta de que soy dominicano/dominicana hasta que me oye hablar.*

‘People don’t realize that I am Dominican until they hear me speak.’

- b. *Desde que he vivido aquí en Puerto Rico, la gente me dice que tengo un acento puertorriqueño.*

‘Since I’ve lived here in Puerto Rico, people tell me that I’ve gotten a Puerto Rican accent.’

- c. (If “yes”) *Me molesta tener un acento puertorriqueño.*

‘It bothers me to have a Puerto Rican accent.’

- d. (If “no”) *Me molesta **no** tener un acento puertorriqueño.*

‘It bothers me **not** to have a Puerto Rican accent.’

These items were only presented to Dominicans living in San Juan (not to Dominicans in the Dominican Republic). They were included to examine whether linguistic pressure exerted by the Puerto Rican majority would prompt a shift towards adopting Puerto Rican Spanish.

1.4.2.3 Verbal guise experiment

The experimental part of the study consisted of a verbal-guise task that aimed at indirectly assessing perceptions and attitudes towards Dominican Spanish and the role of social status in this process. The verbal guise technique was chosen over the closely related but also frequently criticized ‘matched-guise technique’ (Lambert et al. 1960) that over the past four decades has widely been used to investigate language attitudes. As

summarized by Garret et al. (2003), critics have pointed out the lack of authenticity and artificiality of this technique that requires that one speaker record the same speech sample in different dialectal guises. Contrary to the matched-guise task, the verbal guise technique presents judges with ‘natural’ speech samples in which native speakers of diverse variants are recorded presenting the same ‘content’.

The purpose of the verbal-guise task was to investigate Puerto Rican perceptions of and attitudes towards dialectal differences between Dominican Spanish and their native variety. In a previous pilot survey (Suárez 2007), Puerto Ricans claimed to be able to identify Dominicans solely based on speech; this task tests this assertion. The guises comprised recordings of speakers of varieties of Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish narrating similar passages.

The recordings (‘guises’) of the responses were presented to Puerto Rican listener ‘judges’ along with a questionnaire that required them to rate the segments they heard on their perception of the speaker’s social attributes and personal characteristics. This measurement allows for the evaluation of the judges’ ability to distinguish between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish. It also indirectly assesses their attitudes towards other varieties of Spanish. Attitudes towards the verbal guises were measured by seven-point semantic differential scales. The differential factors used in the present study included adjectives in the domain of ‘status’, e.g. educated/uneducated (Zahn & Hopper 1985) and the dimension of ‘solidarity’, e.g., sociable/not sociable (Carranza & Ryan 1975, Hiraga 2005).

Although commonly used, semantic differential scales are not without their critics, especially from the field of folk dialectology. Preston (1999) has pointed out that without establishing whether the judges all had the same perception of an individual speech area (e.g., Spanish spoken in the Dominican Republic), possible differences in perception could influence the attitude ratings given. Preston also notes that in verbal guise studies, the participating judges are never required to identify the accents presented to assure that in their responses they judged the ‘intended’ accents. Neglecting to ask this question makes language attitudes results rather difficult to interpret because respondents could very well diverge in their identification of the accents in question.

In an effort to address the concerns regarding the effectiveness of attitude measurement, the present study elicits the judges' perceptions of the Dominican Spanish guises as well as their judgment of the geographic origin of the speaker. The rating also includes the perception measurement dimensions of 'correctness' and 'pleasantness'. Lastly, the questionnaire also asked the participants to indicate the socioeconomic background of the guise speakers, on measures of education and social class. These results could indicate a hierarchical ordering based on perceived socioeconomic and racial differences, consonant with those of Alfaraz (2002).

The results of the verbal guise task encourage a better understanding of the role of dialectal differences in the process related to identification of a speaker's national origin. If native speakers are able to rely solely on linguistic cues to identify the nationality of an interlocutor, the results of the verbal guise task should reveal evidence in favor of this claim.

1.4.3 Participants

The project included 153 participants across three groups: Puerto Ricans and Dominicans living in Puerto Rico and Dominicans living in the Dominican Republic. All participants were selected by stratified random sampling. This allowed me to stratify for gender, length of stay in Puerto Rico (Dominicans), and region of origin (Dominicans). The Dominican participants were recruited in the Dominican Republic and in metropolitan San Juan. Puerto Rican participants were recruited in San Juan.

1.4.4 Data Analysis

The data analysis included the ratings collected from the verbal guise tasks and the scalar items on linguistic insecurity and identity collected from both Dominicans living in the Dominican Republic and Dominicans living in San Juan. The data was analyzed statistically through repeated-measures ANOVAs for the verbal guise results and Independent Sample T-Tests to measure differences in ratings due to immigration.

1.5 Hypotheses

Given the results of a previous study (Suárez 2007), in which Puerto Rican participants hinted at their confidence in identifying Dominican Spanish as distinct from their native variety, the first hypothesis is put forth:

Hypothesis 1: Puerto Ricans *believe* that they can identify Dominican Spanish as distinct from Puerto Rican Spanish.

As described in Section 1.2 linguistic differences between both varieties include lexical, phonetic/phonological, as well as a few morpho-syntactic differences. Previous work has also evidenced the saliency of phonetic and phonological differences between dialects in speaker identification (e.g. Fridland et al. 2005, Fridland & Bartlett 2006, McKenzie 2008). This evidence supports the assumption that both lexical as well as phonetic/phonological differences will offer cues for speaker identification. The high saliency of the lexical and phonetic/phonological differences is expected to draw attention away from the less salient morpho-syntactic differences between the two varieties. These assumptions are reflected in the second hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2: Puerto Ricans claim to use lexical items and phonological differences for speaker identification.

Given the low cross-dialectal prestige attributed to Dominican Spanish (e.g., García et al. 1988, Otheguy 2007), even from speakers of other varieties of Caribbean Spanish (Alfaraz 2002), as well as the low educational status of many Dominican immigrants to Puerto Rico, it is reasonable to assume that Puerto Ricans' evaluation of Dominican Spanish will also reflect low esteem for this variety.

Hypothesis 3: Puerto Ricans ascribe low prestige to Dominican Spanish in comparison to their own variety and other varieties.

Previous research emanating from language attitude studies as well as evidence from perceptual dialectology (e.g., Niedzielski 1999, Preston 1999) corroborate that language attitudes are often influenced by stereotypes of minority languages/varieties and their speakers. The results from these studies reveal that the varieties/languages spoken by socioeconomically disadvantaged and less educated minorities are described as less correct and are attributed less prestige. These findings are the basis for the fourth hypothesis:

Hypothesis 4: Puerto Ricans are influenced in their ratings on Dominican Spanish by the perceived socioeconomic differences between the immigrant group and the Puerto Rican majority.

The current study not only investigates the possible effect of societal stereotypes on the evaluation of certain speech forms, but also examines if gender differences in evaluations can be found. Previous work (e.g., Labov 1990) has reported that women are more attune to socially more accepted language forms than men. Recent research on gender differences (e.g., Lipinoga 2008) found that some womens' evaluation of foreigners and their speech was more benevolent than those of men. Clearly, differences in gender evaluation possibly exist. However, for the present context, these differences are not theorized to be statistically significant, since both gender groups are equally exposed to both social stereotpyes and evaluation of speech forms. It is therefore hypothesized that both men and women will evidence possible prejudice to the same extent.

Hypothesis 5: Since both Puerto Rican men and women are equally exposed to Dominican Spanish and stereotypes towards Dominican immigrants, it is hypothesized that gender groups will not reveal significant differences in their ratings on dialectal identification, linguistic prestige, and ratings on socioeconomic differences.

In view of research on accent recognition (e.g., Preston 1999, van Bezoojen 2002) and given the characteristic differences between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish, it is reasonable to assume that Puerto Rican listeners will be able to differentiate Dominican Spanish from their own native variety. However, linguistic accommodation is expected to increase among Dominican immigrants who have lived in Puerto Rico for several years. These assumptions are expressed in Hypotheses 6 and 7:

Hypothesis 6: Puerto Rican listeners will be able to identify Dominican Spanish verbal guises as distinct from their own variety.

Hypothesis 7: Misidentification of nationality occurs with speakers who have lived in Puerto Rico for a number of years and whose speech has accommodated to Puerto Rican Spanish.

Given the socioeconomic differences between Puerto Ricans and Dominican immigrants in San Juan, it is predicted that social prejudices will influence Puerto Ricans' perceptions of Dominican Spanish (e.g., Mejía Pardo 1993, Duany 2005). Additionally, due to its stigmatization, Dominican Spanish will likely be given low ratings on 'pleasantness' and 'correctness'. Hypothesis 8 addresses the low prestige attributed to Dominicans and extends it to the present context:

Hypothesis 8: Puerto Ricans' perceptions of Dominican Spanish will be reflected by their low ratings of Dominican Spanish on measures of 'correctness' and 'pleasantness'.

The extent of the influence of socioeconomic prejudice on the ratings of the social and personal attributes of speakers of Dominican Spanish is also expressed in Hypothesis 9:

Hypothesis 9: Puerto Ricans will reflect their prejudice towards Dominicans in their ratings of the socioeconomic and educational status of the Dominican guises.

In a parallel to Hypothesis 5, it is conjectured in the tenth hypothesis that both gender groups are equally exposed to both social stereotypes and evaluation of speech form. Therefore, both men and women will evidence possible prejudicial notions to the same extent.

Hypothesis 10: Both Puerto Rican men and women are hypothesized to rate the guise speakers similarly in terms of social and educational status as well as on personal characteristics.

The eleventh and twelfth hypotheses address the effects of negative attitudes towards Dominican Spanish in Puerto Rico. The present study compares the ratings on linguistic insecurity and identity given by Dominicans in the Dominican Republic and Dominican

émigrés in Puerto Rico. Dominicans in the Dominican Republic have been found to be linguistically insecure and consider other varieties of Spanish as more ‘correct’. However, Dominican immigrant groups in the U.S. have been found to be linguistically secure (García et al. 1988). Based on the results from other Dominican immigrant communities, it is expected that linguistic insecurity will decrease among Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico vis-à-vis their compatriots in the Dominican Republic. Moreover, Puerto Rican Spanish is also stigmatized cross-dialectally (e.g. Alfaraz 2002). Given these considerations, it is hypothesized that Dominicans in the diaspora ascribe covert prestige to their speech as a marker of group identity.

Hypothesis 11: Dominican linguistic insecurity is hypothesized to decrease in Puerto Rico.

Hypothesis 12: Dominicans’ self-identity in Puerto Rico will remain robust.

Another issue of interest is the possible difference between gender groups in the development of linguistic insecurity and the importance of Dominican identity. Previous work investigating the role of gender in language maintenance and creation of identity among immigrant groups has pointed to the crucial role of women in the construction and transmission of ethnolinguistic identities and language maintenance (e.g. Winter & Paulsen 2005, Iqbal 2005). Women have likewise been found to be vital in processes of linguistic change (e.g., Labov 1990, Mukherjee 2003, Sadiqi 2008, Tagliamonte & D’Arcy 2009). A very important factor for the present study is that women represent about half of the immigration population of Dominicans in Puerto Rico (e.g. Duany 2005). Moreover, both gender groups are equally active in the workforce and partake in social experiences. Based on these facts, the following hypothesis is put forth:

Hypothesis 13: Due to the similarity in motivation to immigrate and equal exposure to the Puerto Rican work and social environment, Dominican men and women will respond similarly in questions referring to linguistic insecurity and identity.

As mentioned above, three measures of data collection will be used to collect data from Puerto Rican and Dominican participants. The organization of the presentation of the

results as well as the inclusion of previous literature will be outlined in the ensuing section.

1.6 Organization of the dissertation

The rest of the dissertation is structured as follows. Chapter 2 presents the socio-historical background of Dominican migration to Puerto Rico and a description of the socioeconomic status of Dominicans in Puerto Rico today. Chapter 3 reviews the most pertinent findings in the literature addressing attitudes towards minority variants, the important relationship between identity and language/dialect maintenance, and key issues with respect to dialectal perception. Chapter 4 details the methodology of the study, including the verbal guise experiments performed with Puerto Rican participants and the survey on linguistic insecurity and identity completed with Dominicans living in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico. This chapter will also offer an overview of the participants of the study, the guise recordings used in the verbal guise experiments, and data collection procedures. Chapter 5 offers the results and a discussion of the sociolinguistic questionnaire conducted with the Puerto Rican participants. This will allow insights into Puerto Ricans' strategies for speaker identification and tap into speakers' perception of dialectal differences. Chapter 6 will present the results of the verbal guise experiment. Chapter 7 presents and discusses the results of the survey on linguistic insecurity and identity. Chapter 8 offers a summary of the main findings, as well as ideas for future research. This chapter also describes the contributions of this study to ongoing research on language attitudes and dialectal contact.

CHAPTER 2

Dominicans in the Puerto Rican diaspora

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a panoramic portrait of Dominicans in the Puerto Rican diaspora. In particular, it surveys the historical events that have motivated Dominican migration (legal and illegal) to Puerto Rico and the factors that promote or inhibit their integration into Puerto Rican society. Section 2.2 presents a historical background on migratory patterns between the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, fleshed out with immigration data. Section 2.3 gives a detailed profile of the Dominican community in Puerto Rico, including information on gender, age, occupation, region of origin, and settlement patterns of the migrants. Section 2.4 offers a discussion on the socioeconomic, linguistic, and racial issues affecting Dominicans' integration into Puerto Rican society.

2.2 Early migratory patterns between Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic

Migration between the islands of Hispaniola and Puerto Rico has existed since pre-Colombian times and was maintained throughout the colonial period, during which the slow but constant flow of people included bureaucrats, soldiers, clerics, artisans and slaves (Pérez Memén 1989). During the 19th century, the motivation for migration was largely related to political upheavals such as Spain's relinquishment of the island to France (1795), the Haitian Revolution (1804), and the subsequent Haitian occupation of Santo Domingo (1822-1844). During these years, then, migration was largely one-way, from Hispaniola to Puerto Rico (Rosario Natal 1995).

However, the turn of the century saw the beginning of a largely economically-motivated migration between Hispaniola and Puerto Rico. During this period, many Puerto Ricans migrated to the Dominican Republic to seek employment. This was provoked by the development of the Dominican sugar industry in the eastern provinces of the island. In 1920, the Dominican census revealed that 6,069 Puerto Ricans lived in the Dominican Republic (Secretaría de lo Interior y Policía 1923:129). This trend however, diminished with the onset of the 1930s. Between 1930 and 1960 there was little migration between Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic; Puerto Ricans migrated instead in large numbers to the U.S. mainland, especially New York City. The 1960s witnessed radical changes in the political landscape of the Dominican Republic, accompanied by

the beginning of a Dominican exodus to both the neighboring island of Puerto Rico and the mainland U.S. that would continue well into the ensuing decades (Rinker 2004).

2.2.1 Dominican Exodus to Puerto Rico

Throughout the latter decades of the 20th century, in particular from 1961 onwards, Dominican immigration to Puerto Rico grew considerably (see Table 2.1). Between 1966 and 2002 a total of 118,999 immigrants from the Dominican Republic were allowed entry to Puerto Rico (Rinker 2004:18; Duany 2005: 246). This number represents about 11% of the Dominican immigrants to the U.S. in the years between 1961 and 2005, which totals 1,118,265 (American Community Survey 2005).

This steep increase in Dominican immigration to both the U.S. mainland and Puerto Rico coincided with the end of the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo (1930-1961). One of Trujillo's goals was to increase and stabilize the Dominican labor force. To this end the government limited emigration and simultaneously offered financial incentives to large families and European immigrants (Rinker 2004:28). After several years of political turmoil that included a brief period of American occupation (1965), a new government headed by Joaquín Balaguer introduced political and economical reforms. However, the economic situation remained unstable in the young democracy and many Dominicans pertaining to the low and middle classes decided to seek better opportunities abroad (Rinker 2004: 29/30).

Table 2.1 Dominicans admitted as immigrants to Puerto Rico, 1966-2005⁸

1966 ----- 3,898	1977 ----- 1,276	1988 ----- 3,618	1999 ----- 2,141
1967 ----- 2,358	1978 ----- 2,498	1989 ----- 3,535	2000 ----- 1,520
1968 ----- 1,751	1979 ----- 1,875	1990 ----- 5,804	2001 ----- 1,854
1969 ----- 2,042	1980 ----- n.a.	1991 ----- 9,014	2002 ----- 2,250
1970 ----- 2,229	1981 ----- n.a.	1992 ----- 5,088	
1971 ----- 2,589	1982 ----- 2,189	1993 ----- 6,462	
1972 ----- 2,335	1983 ----- 2,186	1994 ----- 9,390	
1973 ----- 2,400	1984 ----- 2,580	1995 ----- 6,247	
1974 ----- 2,735	1985 ----- 2,756	1996 ----- 7,354	
1975 ----- 1,980	1986 ----- 2,944	1997 ----- 4,162	
1976 ----- 2,093	1987 ----- 3,199	1998 ----- 2,647	
			TOTAL = 118,999

From: US Department of Justice 1967-2003; Duany 2005:250

Dominican immigration to the U.S. mainland and Puerto Rico continued throughout the latter decades of the century and into the new millennium. Whereas the 1980s saw a constant influx of Dominicans to Puerto Rico (2,000-3,000 migrants per year), this trend increased quite drastically during the 1990s. But towards the end of that decade and into the new century, immigration numbers decreased to pre-1990s levels.

Today, Dominicans are by far the largest immigrant minority in Puerto Rico. Recent census data (American Community Survey 2005) indicates that a total of 66,116 Dominicans live in Puerto Rico. Since the total number of Dominicans admitted to Puerto Rico since 1966 is in excess of 100,000 (Table 2.1) one must conclude that not all Dominican immigrants have since remained in Puerto Rico. Some may have returned to the Dominican Republic or migrated to a third destination such as the U.S. mainland. However, travelling to the U.S. mainland without government authorization has become increasingly difficult and migrants are more likely to remain in Puerto Rico (Duany 2005:249/250).

⁸ The Immigration and Naturalization Service did not collect immigration data from the Dominican Republic to Puerto Rico prior to 1966. Data for the years 2003 and onward are not available to date.

2.2.2 Undocumented migration

Since the second half of the 20th century, Puerto Rico has become a haven for a large number of illegal immigrants. The first recorded illegal trip from the Dominican Republic to Puerto Rico took place in 1972, when a small group of Dominicans attempted to cross the Mona Passage in a so-called *yola* (i.e. a small, maritime vessel) (Duany 2005: 249). Since the 1980s the U.S. Coast Guard has intercepted more than 24,400 undocumented Dominicans at sea (U.S. Coast Guard 2004) (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Undocumented Dominicans intercepted at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard, 1985-2004

1985 -----	113	1994 -----	232	2003 -----	1,748
1986 -----	189	1995 -----	3,388	2004 -----	3,216
1987-----	40	1996 -----	6,273		
1988 -----	254	1997 -----	1,200		
1989 -----	664	1998 -----	1,097		
1990 -----	1,426	1999 -----	583		
1991 -----	1,007	2000 -----	499		
1992 -----	588	2001 -----	659		
1993 -----	873	2002 -----	177	TOTAL =	24,226

From: U.S. Coast Guard 2004; Duany 2005:250

U.S. Immigration officials estimate that in the year 1996 about 34,000 undocumented immigrants were living in Puerto Rico (Migration News 1997; US Department of Justice 1998). Furthermore, reports from the Immigration and Naturalization Service in San Juan indicate that an average of 3,500 undocumented immigrants was extradited every year during the 1990s.⁹ One estimate, based on census and immigration data taken in 1996 suggests that about 28% of all Dominicans in Puerto Rico arrived illegally (Enchautegui 2000). However, since most non-governmental studies on undocumented migrants have focused on small and statistically unrepresentative samples, it remains difficult to offer an

⁹ About 90% of the illegal immigrants deported are of Dominican origin (Duany, Hernández Angueira, and Rey 1995). Nevertheless, other Latin American countries are also well represented, such as Colombia, Ecuador, Haiti, and Cuba.

exact number on the unauthorized Dominicans immigrants for the entire territory of Puerto Rico.

A number of researchers have composed profiles of undocumented Dominican migrants in Puerto Rico (del Castillo 1989; Duany et al. 1995; Duany 2005). Most of these immigrants are young men and women of predominantly urban background with little more than elementary education and with work experience limited to unskilled jobs in the Dominican Republic. For the most part, these immigrants settle in the metropolitan area near the capital, San Juan, where they can rely on networks of family and friends to help them acclimate to their new surroundings. Crucially, the urban environment offers a wide variety of low-income employment opportunities, such as in construction, trade, or domestic service (Duany 2005:250).

An anthropological study conducted by Duany and colleagues in 1990 revealed that the proportion of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico fluctuates by time and place of settlement. For instance, about a third of the Dominican interviewees living in the Barrio Gandul in Santurce (metropolitan area of San Juan) reported to have entered the U.S. territory without authorization (Duany et al. 1995). In Barrio Capetillo in Río Piedras, also within the San Juan metropolitan area, nearly 59% of those interviewed admitted to not having entered the country legally. A study published the same year indicates that many of these illegal residents had regularized their legal status by marrying U.S. citizens (Peralta 1995).

2.2.3 Motives for Dominican emigration

The primary impetus for Dominican migration abroad is found in the political and economic instability in the home country. Additional factors that motivate migration to Puerto Rico in particular include geographical proximity and cultural similarity with the Dominican Republic.

While political and economic instability have played a role in the migratory patterns of the last 40 years, one can distinguish between different periods in which the primary incentive for immigration was either political or economic. Early Dominican migration during the 1960s was largely politically motivated. After the death of Trujillo in 1961, the first groups of immigrants consisted primarily of people linked with the Trujillo

dictatorship. This included conservative political leaders, government employees, as well as members of the ruling class (Duany 2005:247). Since then, political problems have continued to influence the Dominican exodus, however to a lesser degree. It is interesting to note that peaks in Dominican immigration (Table 2.1 above) correlate with years of presidential elections. Duany (2005: 247) points to the fact that the years of Joaquín Balaguer's reelections in 1966, 1970, 1974, 1986, and 1990 coincided with an increase in immigration.¹⁰

In spite of the process of democratization that has taken place over the last three decades in the Dominican Republic, the country continues to suffer from high rates of poverty, corruption, and crime. During the years of 2000/2001 the then-president Rafael Hipólito Mejía used the nation's army to fight rising crime in some of the major Dominican cities (Rinker 2004:29). Furthermore, high rates of unemployment (15.6% in Sept. 2007) (CIA The World Factbook: Dominican Republic 2008), rising cost of living, a chaotic public transportation system, and grave problems in the provisions of basic public services, such as running water, electricity, housing, health, and education, provide important incentives to those willing to migrate abroad (Thompson 1990, Duany 2005).

Another constant concern for Dominicans at home is the instability of the *peso* vis-à-vis the U.S. dollar (the currency used in Puerto Rico). Whereas the exchange rate was 14.00 *pesos* for one U.S. Dollar (USD) in 1993 and 16.00 *pesos* per USD in 2000, it jumped to 54.00 *pesos* per USD in 2003. In 2008 it fell again to 35.00 *pesos* per USD (CIA World Factbook on Dominican Republic, 2008). Such economic instability has pushed Dominicans to leave their home country in hopes of improving their economic standing and that of their family members in the Dominican Republic. With its demand for cheap and unskilled labor, especially in service, construction, and agricultural industries, Puerto Rico has become a prime target for Dominicans seeking to improve their livelihoods (Duany 2005:249). Three-fifths of the Dominican immigrants interviewed by Thompson (1990) in the area of Santurce in metropolitan San Juan reported that searching for "a better life", i.e. better jobs and higher salaries, constituted their main incentive for migrating to Puerto Rico.

¹⁰ Balaguer in his early career was a protégé of Trujillo and during his third term as President in the 1990s was accused of fraud (Duany 2005:247).

The geographic proximity of Puerto Rico to the Dominican Republic may explain why many Dominicans seeking socio-economic advancement chose Puerto Rico over other possible migration destinations. Puerto Rico can be reached by plane, ferry, or *yola*. This geographic proximity makes it easy for Dominicans living in Puerto Rico to maintain their ties to the Dominican Republic through visits. Duany (2005) reports that many Dominicans intend to return home after several years abroad. This fact points to loyalty to the native homeland and could motivate language maintenance and retention of regional traits.

Lastly, an important variable to be considered in understanding the appeal of Puerto Rico over other migrations destinations is the familiar language and cultural context into which Dominican immigrants are received. For many Dominicans, emigration to the neighboring island is not accompanied by the same worries and doubts about foreign language acquisition and cultural isolation that affect those who immigrate to other destinations (Duany 1998, 2005).

2.3 A profile of Dominican émigrés to Puerto Rico

Data culled from the U.S. Census Bureau indicate that the majority of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico are of working-age. As shown in Table 2.3, persons aged 18-64 constituted 81.4% of the Dominican immigrant population in Puerto Rico.

Table 2.3 Age and Gender of Dominican population living in Puerto Rico

Total	69,854
Male	44.0%
Female	56.0%
% Population per Age Group	
Under 5	1.7%
5-17	7.6%
18-34	30.6%
35-44	21.1%
45-54	18.4%
55-64	11.3%
65- over	9.3%
Population under 18	6,483
Male	48.4%
Female	51.6%
Population 18-34	21,363
Male	45.6%
Female	54.4%
Population 35-64	35,469
Male	43.4%
Female	56.6%
Population 64 and over	6,539
Male	37.5%
Female	62.5%

From: U.S. Census Bureau 2006, Selected Population Profile in Puerto Rico

Notable is the high percentage of women among Dominican immigrants. This fact can be attributed to the increasing demand for cheap labor in Puerto Rico, in particular in the areas of domestic service, home care, restaurants, and cafeterias. Most of these immigrant women are relatively young, between twenty and forty years of age, with an average of 8 years of schooling (Duany 2005:258). In fact, a study carried out in the 1990s found that women are often the first members of their households to migrate, offering a safe haven and advice for those who follow. Once settled in their new home, they send for their children, left behind to be cared for by grandparents or other relatives

(Duany 2005:258/259). For many of these women, the experience of immigration represents a break with the traditional role of women in their native society. In the sample taken by Duany in 1990, about 56% of the women interviewed were heads of household, and only about half of all Dominican households were nuclear families (Duany 1990). Based on these results, the migration experience represents a real rupture within traditional notions of family, and frequently results in divorce or separation. Furthermore, the role of 'breadwinner' that many Dominican women fulfill through migration is likely to increase their sense of independence. As a result it might prove to be difficult to return to the Dominican Republic and lose the autonomy gained during their time in Puerto Rico (Pessar 1995).

Another crucial variable in the composition of the Dominican community in San Juan and greater Puerto Rico is the regional origin of the migrants (see Table 2.4). Data on the regions of origin of Dominicans living in Puerto Rico reveals a bifurcation between the Southeast (including the capital Santo Domingo, as well as the cities of La Romana and San Pedro de Macorís) and the northern Dominican region of the Cibao (Duany 1998). Although the majority of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico come from urban centers, many also have rural origins. Critical within this context is the fact that the regions of origin correspond to different dialectal areas within the Dominican Republic (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 Region of origin of Dominican Population in Santurce (in percentages)

Place	Birthplace	Previous Residence
<i>Main Cities</i>		
Santo Domingo	33.5	45.5
Santiago	4.2	1.8
La Romana	4.2	5.5
S.P. de Macoris	3.2	0.0
<i>Other Areas</i>		
Cibao	31.9	31.8
Southeast	14.5	10.0
Southwest	1.3	1.8
Other	7.1	3.6
Total	99.5	100.0

Adapted from Duany 2005

2.3.1 Socioeconomic status of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico

Census data collected in Puerto Rico indicates that Dominican immigration to Puerto Rico occurred in two main waves. The first wave arrived in the 1960s and was largely middle-class, including a large proportion of high-status workers such as managers and professionals. In fact, during the 1960s and 1970s, demographic studies referred to the Dominican diaspora in Puerto Rico as a “privileged” minority group with high levels of educational attainment (Vázquez Calzada & Morales del Valle 1979:31-33; Pessar 1995). In contrast, the second wave of Dominican migration was characterized by a predominance of illegal migrants from the lower and middle sectors of Dominican society (Castro and Boswell 2002, Hernández 2002, Levitt 2001). Similarly to many Dominicans in the mainland U.S. who remain confined to the lower echelons of society, recent waves of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico have not experienced trends of upward social mobility. The level of education of Dominican immigrants might be a determining factor in this trend (Duany 1998, 2005).

2.3.2 Level of education and employment patterns of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico

As presented in Table 2.5, 44.1% of Dominicans working in Puerto Rico had not attained a high school diploma or its equivalent (US Census Bureau 2006) and only 22.1% had completed high school and only 16.5% had attended college.

Table 2.5: Educational Attainment of Dominicans living in Puerto Rico

Population aged 25 and over	55,876
Less than high school diploma	44.6%
High school graduate (or equivalent)	22.1%
Some college or associate's degree	16.5%
Bachelor's degree	12.4%
Graduate of professional degree	4.4%
Education by Gender (in %)	
High School graduate or higher	55.4%
Male	52.6%
Female	57.5%
Bachelor's Degree or higher	16.8%
Male	15.5%
Female	17.8%

From: U.S. Census Bureau 2006, Selected Population Profile in Puerto Rico

Given their low levels of education, it is not surprising that most Dominican immigrants find employment in domestic service, retail trade, and construction (Duany 1990, 2005, Hernández 2002, 2005 American Community Survey) and very few have secured professional and/or managerial employment:

Employed population above the age of 16	39,946
Management, professional, and related occupations	15.5%
Service occupations	37.5%
Sales and office occupations	17.8%
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	0.3%
Construction, extraction, maintenance, and repair occupations	18.4%
Production, transportation, and material movement occupations	10.5%

From: U.S. Census Bureau 2006, Selected Population Profile in Puerto Rico

While very little is known about Dominican entrepreneurial tendencies in Puerto Rico, there is evidence of positive activity. This is reflected in a growing number of self-employed Dominicans (16.8% vs. 9.5% for Puerto Ricans), whose businesses include beauty parlors, grocery stores, bakeries, and ethnic services such as restaurants, cafeterias, etc. (Duany 2005: 262). As such, Dominicans have begun to contribute increasingly to creating jobs, accumulating capital, employing other Dominicans as well as Puerto Ricans, and expanding markets in Puerto Rico.

2.3.3 Residential distribution of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico

Census data referencing residential patterns of Dominican immigrants indicates that the vast majority have settled in San Juan (78.7% of all Dominicans living in Puerto Rico). Other Dominican communities can be found in Carolina (11.4%) and Bayamón (7.2%) as well as in smaller towns all over the island such as Caguas (2.2%), Ponce (1.1%), and Mayagüez (1.1%) (Duany 2005). Within San Juan, Dominican settlements concentrate in the urban centers of Santurce, Río Piedras, and Hato Rey (Table 2.7). In Santurce, Dominicans reside mainly in low-income neighborhoods such as Calle Loíza, María Moczó, and Barrio Obrero. In Río Piedras and Hato Rey, they are found in public

housing areas such as López Sicardó, Quintana, and San José. The residential area with the highest concentration of Dominicans is located in Barrio Capetillo, near the town of Río Piedras, where Dominicans account for 45% of all residents. Many Dominicans are attracted to Santurce and Río Piedras by the low housing costs, central location, accessibility to public transportation, and job availability (Duany 2005:252). For new immigrants, the high concentration of Dominican compatriots in these areas conveys familiarity and a social network.

Table 2.7: Residential distribution of Dominican-born inhabitants in San Juan, 2000

Area of San Juan	Neighborhood	Number	% of Dominican Residents
Santurce	Barrio Obrero	3,144	27.6
	María Moczó	846	39.4
	Calle Loíza	742	34.3
	Herrera	624	32.7
	Gandul	598	27.9
	Seboruco	545	26.7
	Las Palmas	544	19.4
	Las Casas	531	7.8
	Figueroa	511	25.7
Río Piedras	López Sicardó	1,196	8.7
	Capetillo	995	44.7
	Buen Consejo	595	21.6
Hato Rey	Quintana	1,044	12.0
	San José	933	4.8

From: U.S. Department of Commerce 2003

Overall, the growing number of Dominicans living in Puerto Rico largely settle in the metropolitan area of San Juan. It is in this geographic area that the immigrants seek employment and housing and cohabitate with Puerto Rican neighbors. However, in spite of linguistic and cultural similarities between both groups, the increased contact between Puerto Ricans and Dominicans has given rise to prejudicial notions among the majority group, which have made Dominican integration into Puerto Rican society difficult. Chapter 1 has already pointed out that some of the variables that affect Dominican

integration can be found in the socioeconomic differences between the immigrants and the Puerto Rican majority. Other factors include differences in cultural and educational backgrounds. The main points of these arguments will be reiterated in the ensuing section.

2.4 Variables affecting Dominican integration into Puerto Rican society

As mentioned in Chapter 1, research in social psychology has established that listeners associate particular speech varieties with social and personal characteristics of its speakers (e.g., d'Anglejan & Tucker 1983, Christian 1997, Cross et al. 2001). This association has also been shown to influence language attitudes. Non-standard varieties associated with less advantaged speaker groups often become negative social markers, reflecting existing social stereotypes towards the minority group (e.g., Luhman 1990, Demirci & Kleiner 2002). More recent work has found that even small phonological differences from the more prestigious standard, such as the U.S. Southern vowel shifts (Fridland et al. 2005), can become synonymous with the speech of a particular variety and become associated with a set of social stereotypes. Therefore, language attitudes are influenced by the perception of linguistic differences as well as social information on the speakers of a particular variety.

One of the main assumptions of this work is that the linguistic differences between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish, outlined in Section 1.2, have become synonymous with the socioeconomic status of Dominicans in Puerto Rico, whereby Dominican Spanish has become the marker of a 'poorer' and less educated speaker vis-à-vis a Puerto Rican Spanish speaker. Recall that Dominicans in Puerto Rico are considered a minority group that finds itself at the bottom of the social echelons of Puerto Rican society. Research emanating from the area of anthropology conducted by Duany (2005) suggests that this negative social image reflects itself in the intense stigmatization, prejudice, and discrimination of Dominicans in Puerto Rico. It is therefore hypothesized that the negative social image could be reflected in evaluations of Dominican Spanish.

The work by Alfaraz (2002) and Demirci & Kleiner (2002) has underlined the important correlation between the economic growth and evaluation of regional speech, whereby the speech of inhabitants of economically more advanced regions is rated more favorably than that of rural and less developed regions. Moreover, data on perceptual

dialectology (Alfaraz 2002) additionally reveals that varieties of Spanish spoken in predominantly ‘black’ regions (in particular, the Dominican Republic) are regarded as the least ‘correct’ forms of Spanish. This outcome highlights a correlation between ‘blackness’, ‘poverty’, and less standardized speech forms. Work by Duany (1998, 2005) indicates that Puerto Ricans’ prejudicial notions towards Dominicans include the assumption that Dominicans are ‘darker’ and less educated than Puerto Ricans. Accordingly, one of the key motivations for this thesis is to expose a reflection of these social prejudices in Puerto Rican judgments of Dominican Spanish speakers. Furthermore, this study investigates how these negative attitudes towards Dominican Spanish affect Dominican linguistic insecurity.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has offered a brief historical overview of migration from the Dominican Republic to Puerto Rico. Addressed were the political forces and economic impetus that have motivated said migration. The chapter also profiled present-day Dominican immigrants residing in Puerto Rico, including detailed data on their educational background, employment trends, and residential distribution. Finally, the chapter considered the social factors that are implicated in Dominicans’ integration into Puerto Rican society, including perceptions of race and attitudes towards particular language varieties.

The next chapter will review the literature on language attitudes and perceptions, which have been studied extensively from sociolinguistic, ethnolinguistic, variationist, and sociopsychological perspectives. In addition, the chapter will present findings from previous studies that have focused on the language attributes of immigrants in diverse settings. The insights of these studies will afford a better understanding of the social, economic, and racial factors that influence language attitudes.

CHAPTER 3

Previous Studies on Language Attitudes and Perceptions

3.1 Introduction

Previous work converges on the finding that language attitudes are based on socially established beliefs by which languages and/or dialects are attributed different levels of prestige. Within every society there exist speech forms that are considered highly prestigious and those that are accorded less prestige. Generally, the attribution of prestige to a specific variety or language stands in relation to the socio-economic position of its speakers. Therefore, the variety/language spoken by a socio-economic, regional, or ethnic minority is generally accorded low prestige. The social stratification of language has the power to affect every-day communication. While listening to an interlocutor speak, a listener makes inferences on the beliefs, capabilities, and social attributes of this speaker. These listener judgments have been shown to be based on the listener's perceptions of the language variety the speaker uses.

Frequently, a consequence of socially imposed linguistic hierarchies can be the emergence of linguistic insecurity on the part of the minority language/dialect speaker. This in turn can motivate a speaker to adapt or accommodate to the more prestigious form in an effort to shed the stigma associated with the less prestigious language variety. Such processes of accommodation among some minority communities have been linked to linguistic insecurity and the possible loss of the heritage language. However, the emergence of linguistic insecurity does not preclude a sense of in-group prestige accorded to the native variety/language. The attribution of covert prestige has been linked to language maintenance and the delineation of in-group and out-group boundaries.

To date language attitudes have been investigated by means of two different methodological approaches: the 'direct method', which includes person-to-person interviews and written-response questionnaires, and the 'indirect approach', in which participants believe that the purpose of the study is to examine something other than attitudes. The 'indirect approach' has become synonymous with the 'Matched Guise Technique' first developed by Lambert et al. (1960) in which the same speaker is recorded imitating different dialects. These recordings are presented to a group of

'listener judges' who are asked to rate the personal characteristics ('honest', 'friendly', 'intelligent' etc.) of the 'speaker'. More recently 'verbal guise' studies using natural speech samples have emerged as an alternative to the Matched Guise Technique (e.g. d'Anglejan & Tucker 1983, Bradac & Wisegarver 1984, Bettoni & Gibbons 1988, Luhman 1990, Blas Arroyo 1999, El-Dash & Busnardo 2001, Hiraga 2005).

The study of perceptual dialectology has surfaced from a realization that linguistic attitudes are closely related to listeners' perceptions of other speaker groups. Evidence from this area of research confirmed that prejudicial notions towards regionally, socially, and ethnically different speaker groups frequently were also reflected in perceived linguistic differences between both groups of speakers (e.g., Preston 1999, van Bezooijen 1999, Niedzielski 1999, Fridland et al 2005).

This chapter will discuss the most salient findings that have emerged from the study of language attitudes. Section 3.2 will discuss the effects of linguistic stratification. Section 3.3 will offer a discussion of the linguistic consequences of stratification. Insights from the study of dialectal perceptions are presented in Section 3.4. Section 3.5 focuses on attitudes towards Dominican Spanish and Dominican self-perception.

3.2 Linguistic Stratification and Language Attitudes

The earliest measurement of language attitudes was a groundbreaking study conducted by Lambert et al. (1960). Lambert and colleagues examined listeners' evaluative reactions to English and French in Montreal. This study was also the first one to apply the Matched Guise Technique. The researchers asked four balanced bilinguals to read a French prose passage and an English translation of it and tape recorded these passages. French and English Canadian bilingual speakers served as participants. They were asked to listen to the English and French passages and then to rate each speaker on six-point-scales rating characteristics such as 'intelligence', 'likeability', and 'sociability'. The ratings given by the listeners were subsequently compared statistically. Both English and French speaking listeners rated the English versions more favorably on several traits such as 'intelligence' and 'kindness' than the French versions. This result clearly indicates that for these speakers French was attributed less prestige than English.

A similar pattern can also be found in studies that investigate attitudes towards different dialects. Strongman and Woolsey (1969) used the matched-guise technique to compare northern and southern English listeners' evaluations of the London in the south of England and Yorkshire accents from the north of England. Overall, the London accent was found to produce relatively high ratings of speaker self-confidence. The Yorkshire accent was rated high in 'honesty', 'reliability', and 'generosity'. As an example of accent loyalty, the Yorkshire judges also gave high ratings to the Yorkshire guises on the characteristics of 'good-naturedness', 'kind-heartedness', and 'industriousness', as well as a low rating on 'irritability'.

Cheney (1970) compared the evaluations of Scottish and English listener judges of guises representing Scottish and English accents. The ratings of both groups of listeners give relatively high ratings to the English accent for characteristics representing prestige, status, and intelligence. On the other hand, the Scottish accent was rated higher on 'friendliness' and 'likeability'. Similar findings were also encountered by later studies (e.g. Carranza & Ryan 1975, Bourhis & Giles 1976, Brennan & Brennan 1981, Ros & García 1984, Luhman 1990). All these studies converge in that prestigious varieties are often given high ratings on characteristics that describe a high social status (e.g. 'rich', 'intelligent', 'successful') and less prestigious varieties are often rated high in the solidarity dimension (e.g. 'friendly', 'kind', 'generous'), in particular by speakers of these varieties. This separation pervades language attitude research.

While the results of attitude studies in Great Britain revealed that the use of a regional accent versus a standardized accent incurred negative evaluations of this speech style, the same effects were not encountered to the same degree in the U.S. (e.g., Giles & Powesland 1975). Studies investigating language attitudes in the U.S. found that linguistically marked ethnic differences (as opposed to regional differences) were often linked with non-standardness and therefore received lower ratings (Williams et al. 1972). Standard speech was found to be linked to the dominant Anglo-American culture (Buck 1968). A methodological change was a move away from artificial prose recordings used as experimental stimuli. These were frequently replaced by more realistic messages. These so-called 'verbal guises' (Gallois & Callan 1981) have been used in research investigating the differential status between speech variants.

In Britain for instance, Howard Giles and others have been able to establish the overriding dominance in prestige of the Received Pronunciation over regional and foreign accents (Giles 1970) and lower class variants (Bourhis et al. 1975). The existence of a hierarchy of standard and non-standard accents is wide spread. Comparable results were also established for the U.S. Here higher prestige was attributed to the American Standard as compared to minority variants such as those of African Americans (Tucker & Lambert 1969) and lower class 'white' English (Labov 1966). In an interesting twist Hiraga (2005) presented judges from different regions of Britain with verbal guises with British accents and with accents spoken in New York City, the American South (Alabama), and American Standard (Network American).¹¹ The results revealed that both American and British accents were rated according to a hierarchy in which the highest rated were the standard accents, second were the rural accents, and last the urban dialects.

Language attitudes, therefore, have been shown to be influenced by socially based stereotypes, whereby nonstandard language varieties are usually associated with low social status groups. In these contexts, attitudes towards the minority groups are often reflected in the negative evaluation of their native varieties (e.g. Garret et al. 2003). In particular, varieties spoken by geographically isolated and/or socioeconomically disadvantaged speakers are often attributed low prestige. An example of a particularly disparaged variety of American English is Appalachian English. Luhman (1990) investigated attitudes towards this dialect as compared to Standard American English held by speakers of both varieties. The author used the matched guise technique to present listener judges with recordings of Standard American English and Kentucky English accented guises. The results reveal that in ratings along the semantic dimensions of 'status' and 'solidarity', the speakers of American English were rated high on the 'status' dimension, in contrast to the Kentucky (Appalachian) guises who did not receive high ratings in this dimension. With respect to the 'solidarity' dimension, as expected, ratings for the Standard American accented speakers were lower than those of the Kentucky speaker.

¹¹ This idea was based on a previous study (Giles 1970) that had also investigated British attitudes towards British and American accents.

Evidence suggesting a stigma attached to speakers of nonstandard dialects, therefore, is well-documented. It has also been found that negative attitudes towards a language or a particular variety can accelerate processes of language shift in, for instance immigrant communities (e.g., Bettoni & Gibbons 1988, Clyne 1992, Winter & Pauwels 2005; Rubino 2006). Particularly salient is the example of Italian immigrant groups in Australia (Bettoni & Gibbons 1988, Rubino 2006). The immigrant populations in Australia mainly originated in rural areas of Italy and brought their native varieties to the new home country. Language maintenance proved difficult as these regional varieties compete with Standard Italian education in schools. Moreover, second generation speakers in contact with relatives still living in Italy increasingly prefer to learn and to speak standard Italian and do not feel an impetus to maintain the regional variety. Maintenance of the regional varieties in Australian Italian communities is therefore at risk.

Another area of research investigates attitudes towards varieties spoken by ethnic minorities. A seminal study was conducted by Tucker & Lambert (1969) which examined responses of three groups of college students who listened to recorded speakers of different dialects and rated the speakers on several personal characteristics (e.g. upbringing, intelligence, friendliness, education, disposition, speech, faith, honesty etc.). The guises included recordings of speakers of American Standard English (Network English), Educated Negro Southern English, Educated White Southern English, Howard University English, New York Alums, and the Mississippi Peer group. The outcome of the study revealed that all respondents are most favorably disposed toward the American Standard and the Northern White accent. Black participants place Educated Southern Negro second, while the southern white students placed Educated White Southern second. Both groups found the Mississippi Peer accent the least appealing.

Similarly, a study by Riney (1990) aimed to discern attitudes towards different dialects in Northern Iowa: African American English Vernacular (AAVE), Standard English (2 guises), and a mixture of standard and AAVE. The results corroborate the overall appeal of the standard variety versus nonstandard speech. 71% of the respondents rated the Standard English guises as 'more intelligent' than average, and only 18% rated

that the AAVE guise high on intelligence. The results of this study confirm the high prestige of Standard American English. Moreover they suggest that listeners are able to correlate a speaker's dialect with perceptions of personal characteristics.

Such preconceived notions of nonnative varieties have the potential to affect everyday social contexts. In particular the issue of teacher attitudes has been addressed in the literature. Christian (1997) suggests that "people who hear a vernacular dialect make erroneous assumptions about the speaker's intelligence, motivation, and even morality". If these beliefs are uttered in the classroom, they could be absorbed by the students along with the experience of a mandated curriculum. This has the potential to drive a wedge between students' home and school cultures. Additionally, differences in achievements may be rooted in students' perceptions of their own abilities (Cross et al. 2001). Already earlier studies (e.g., Cazden 1988) pointed to the effects of self-fulfilling prophecies created by teachers' expectations based on students' dialects. If teachers refer to the home language as 'no language' or as 'street talk' or 'broken language' students will perform more poorly in school (Cross et al. 2001:212, also Garret et al. 2003). Moreover, there has been little evidence that constant correction by the teacher produces significant learning of Standard English. On the contrary, several studies (e.g., Berdan 1980, Piestrup 1973) have demonstrated that correction increases self-consciousness and may actually accentuate variant dialect features.

Thought-provoking results on the important role of attitudes in speaker evaluation emerged from studies investigating non-native accents (e.g., immigrant accents). Brennan et al. (1975) demonstrate that linguistically non-sophisticated listeners are able to reliably distinguish among several degrees of Spanish-accented English. In a similar vein, a later study conducted by Ryan et al. (1977) found that degrees of Spanish accent affect listeners' evaluations. More heavily Spanish accented English received more negative ratings than less heavily accented English.

Bradac and Wisegarver (1984) compared the effects of standard American accented speech versus Mexican-American accents. The results overall indicated higher ratings for the American accented speech than Mexican-American accents. Additionally, this study

encoded educational differences (high vs. low education) on both accent types by presenting guises with high or low lexical diversity. The authors define lexical diversity as an indicator of quality of speaking, demonstrating a wide range of appropriately used vocabulary (Bradac & Wisegarver 1984:241). The results indicate that there is an effect for lexical diversity (e.g., the effect of higher education) as both the American and the Mexican-American guises with a high degree of lexical diversity were rated higher than the guises representing low lexical diversity. Moreover, Bradac and Wisegarver (1984) uncovered that speakers exhibiting a Mexican-American accent were considered more suitable for low-status jobs.

More evidence of listener prejudices towards foreign accented speech was also established by de la Zerda and Hopper (1979). These authors found that potential employers were more likely to assign speakers exhibiting a Mexican-American accent to low-status positions than to positions of higher status. Conversely, speakers of American accented English seeking employment were placed in positions with higher status.

These prejudices towards foreign accents were echoed in the results in a study investigating Canadian university students' attitudes. Kalin et al. (1980) found that speakers exhibiting foreign accented speech were perceived to be well suited for low-status positions. Contrary to this, speakers with a Canadian English accent were viewed as better suited for high-status positions. Similar results were also established in Giles et al. (1981) for Welsh versus Received Pronunciation accents. The results of these studies indicate that stereotypes about the social groups speakers are members of (or, are *believed* to be members of) have an influence on how their language varieties are perceived (also Beebe 1981, Thakerar & Giles 1981). Kalin (1982) suggests that these results fit a *matching hypothesis*, according to which speakers will be matched-up with a social status into which the listeners place them. The listeners' judgment is based on speech and language cues indicating the (non-) occurrence of status of a particular speaker.

More evidence corroborating the finding that accented speech is attributed less prestige than non-accented speech emerges from a more recent study by Chiba et al. (1995). These authors investigated the attitudes of Japanese university students towards

different varieties of English. The results indicate that Japanese university students were positive towards speakers of English from countries in which English was spoken as a native language by the majority, such as the U.S. or the UK. On the other hand, the students' attitudes differed when judging English speakers from countries where English is learned as a foreign language (such as Japan).

The evidence presented by Chiba et al. (1995) suggests that even learners of a second language are very susceptible to language attitudes and hierarchies of prestige in their second language. In particular the predominance of American English and British English socioeconomically, politically, and also in pop culture heavily predisposes positive attitudes on the part of the students towards the varieties. A study conducted by Starks and Paltridge (1996) revealed that Japanese students preferred American English and, to a lesser extent, British English over New Zealand English. Moreover, McKenzie (2004) uncovered that Japanese students studying English in Scotland were more positive towards Scottish Standard Speech than the Glasgow vernacular. Similar results emerged from a study by Zhang and Hu (2008) on second language learners' attitudes towards English which revealed a similar preference towards American English and British English and lower ratings for Australian English. These results point to an influence of linguistic stratification and prestige even on language learners.

The results of the above studies clearly indicate that language attitudes determine how a listener perceives the dialect/language of another speaker and/or his own. As mentioned in the introduction, the experience of negative attitudes is often associated with the emergence of linguistic insecurity and patterns of accommodation to the more prestigious variety/language on the part of the speakers of the stigmatized variety. However, the native variety can also be used for in-group and out-group boundary delineation. The ensuing section will discuss the possible consequences of linguistic stratification in more detail.

3.3 Consequences of Linguistic Stratification

Crucial insights into the possible consequences of linguistic stratification are offered by work focusing on the important role of social factors that influence the use of speech varieties. These studies posit that the outcome of linguistic stratification for speakers of

less prestigious varieties can include the emergence of linguistic insecurity and patterns of linguistic accommodation to more prestigious varieties. However, prominent in-group and out-group boundaries may also be based on salient linguistic differences between groups. In these cases, the native or heritage variety/language is highly valued as a marker of identity. The following sections will explore some of the studies that have shed light on these issues.

3.3.1 Linguistic Insecurity and Accommodation

In his seminal work, William Labov (1966) investigated phonological variation in New York City. Labov's study explored the expression of /r/ among different socio-economic groups in NYC. While most accents of American English exhibit rhotic /r/, New York and also Boston have distinct non-rhotic /r/. These urban expressions of /r/ became less prestigious in post-Depression U.S. and the rhotic Midwest accent emerged as the standard. In order to investigate the social factors of /r/ pronunciation, the study focused on the expression of rhotic /r/ among New Yorker sales people in three department stores that catered to distinct social groups: Sack's (upper class), Macy's (middle class), and S. Klein (working class). Labov visited all three department stores asking shop workers where to find particular departments which he knew could be found on the fourth floor. He asked each person to repeat the answer, pretending not to hear their answer the first time, which gave him one faster and one slower pronunciation of the words 'fourth floor'.

The results revealed that the use of rhotic /r/ among employees correlated with the social class of the customers that frequented the department store. The higher class store had a proportionate number of expressions of /r/, whereas the middle class and lower class stores revealed a higher occurrence of non-rhotic pronunciation. Also, among most clerks in the sample, the second and slower articulation was more likely to contain the rhotic. A further result was the social stratification of /r/ expression among store employees: members of management were more likely to use the rhotic than sales clerks, and sales clerks were more likely to pronounce the rhotic than shelf stackers.

Labov also found that non-rhotic speakers were very aware of the prestigious rhotic pronunciation. In an attempt to sound like the members of the higher class, members of

the upward-aspiring middle and lower class would exceedingly use the rhotic, which they considered to be characteristic of a high class accent. Also, when asked to evaluate their native speech variety, the members of the middle and lower classes were found to hold negative views towards their own speech (Labov 1966). These results suggest the existence of linguistic insecurity among these speakers (Labov 1972).

The merit of Labov's work is a better understanding of socially attributed prestige to a particular variety and, in relation to this, the emergence of linguistic insecurity among speakers of less prestigious varieties. The results of the New York study confirm the existence of a prestige form such as the rhotic articulation, which speakers attempt to adopt in an effort to appear more educated and of a higher social standing.

Since Labov's groundbreaking study, investigations into similar processes of accommodation towards the more prestigious variety by speakers of less prestigious speech forms have increased. They include work on speech varieties within the U.S. (Wolfram & Shilling-Estes 1994, Bailey 2000, Fought 2003), France (Paltridge & Giles 1984, Côté & Clément 1994), Germany (Davies & Langer 2005), and Great Britain (Trudgill 1974), Malaysia (Rajadurai 2007) and Australia (Hatoss 2006). The results of these studies point to the fact that patterns of speech accommodation are a fairly common means for speakers to gain social approval. Street and Giles (1982) summarized this behavior in his definition of *accommodation theory*.

“(…) people are motivated to adjust their speech style, or accommodate, as a means of expressing values, attitudes, and intentions towards others. It is proposed that the extent to which individuals shift their speech styles toward or away from the speech styles of their interlocutors is a mechanism by which social approval or disapproval is communicated.” (Street & Giles 1982:105)

However, social stratification does not always incur the emergence of linguistic insecurity. The native or heritage language/dialect of a minority group oftentimes is valued highly as an identity and in-group marker. The ensuing section will present some

evidence that has been put forth on the existence of in-group prestige of a native variety and the expression of identity.

3.3.2 Covert Prestige and the Expression of Identity

As shown in the Labov (1966) study, some social pressures might force speakers of minority varieties to accommodate to more prestigious forms when communicating with speakers outside their community. However, this does not imply that minority varieties are not attributed in-group prestige (i.e. *covert prestige*). Covert prestige has been established for a number of minority language varieties. Examples include African American Vernacular English (AAVE) (Lippi-Green 1997, Rickford & Rickford 2000), Chicano English (Fought 2003), a variety of English spoken in Tennessee (Fridland, Bartlett & Kreuz 2005), and regional accents spoken in France, such as the one spoken in the Provence and Brittany (Paltridge & Giles 1984).

Moreover, even communities that, due to contact with more prestigious varieties, have accommodated to the majority speech variety continue to make use of salient linguistic features (mostly phonological) that indicate group identity. Labov (1963) investigated a variety spoken by the inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard, an island off the coast of Massachusetts. This study drew attention to the systematic use of phonological *in-group markers* (i.e. phonological or other linguistic elements that have become synonymous with the speech of a particular group). He found a pattern of centralization of [a] towards [ə] in the diphthongs [ay] and [au] as in 'right' and 'house', in the speech of the island inhabitants. The study proved convincingly that the locals who use these sounds appear to do so unconsciously, in order to separate themselves from those who frequently visited the island or lived in the local holiday resorts. The phonological process had gained covert prestige within the small community. Labov's results suggest that if there is a strong connection between language and identity, covert prestige and language loyalty will increase.

Similar results emerged from a study by Wolfram and Shilling-Estes (1994) that examined a variety of spoken English on Ocrakoake Island, North Carolina. The islands in North Carolina's Outer Banks are well-known for their unusual pronunciation of the /ay/ diphthong, where the nucleus is raised, backed, and slightly rounded to [ɔy]. This socially

salient production is sensitive to both linguistic and external social restrictions. Due to the extended contact with the English spoken on the mainland (i.e. Southern American English), two other variants were found to alternate with the Ocracoke [ɔy]. These are [a:] ([ta:d] ‘tide’) and standard American English [ay] ([tayd] ‘tide’).

Wolfram and Shilling-Estes found that in spite of tendencies of phonological change towards the diphthong [ay] as in [hay tayd] ‘high tide’, there are several phonological environments (specifically before nasals) that would traditionally force the emergence of [ɔy] in the Ocracoke variant (Wolfram & Shilling-Estes 1994:77). However, this process is being resisted in the environment in which the traditional [ɔy] is the most entrenched: before voiced obstruents ([hɔy tɔyd] ‘hoi toide’). Not only is there virtually no replacement of [ɔy] with [ay] but when comparing the behavior of different generations of speakers, the data reveal that this ‘resistance’ tendency increases the younger the speaker is. The authors conclude that the [ɔy] has become a dialectal marker and that the middle aged and younger speakers resist shifting to the diphthong [ay] in the traditional phonological environment to denote their identity as inhabitants of Ocracoke (Wolfram and Shilling-Estes 1994:78).

The behavior of the inhabitants of Ocracoke is not an isolated example of a temporary revitalization of an identity marker. A similar process can also be found for instance in the linguistic behavior of young Cajuns in Louisiana (Dubois & Horvath 2003c, Walton 2004). For Cajuns, the use of French as an ethnic identity marker has been lost, and while there has been evidence of a ‘Cajun Renaissance’ (e.g. classes of Cajun French at universities), English is by and large the language of communication. However, some particular phonological features (and also some grammatical elements) characteristic of Cajun Vernacular English have been maintained until now. The older generations have been shown to use e.g. stopping of interdental fricatives [dis] and [dæt] ‘dis’ and ‘dat’ as well as nasalization to a lesser degree than the younger speakers, who in turn appear to use it as an identity marker (Dubois & Horvath 1998, 1999, 2003c, Walton 2004).

The results of these studies bear evidence that the relationship between language and identity can be so strong that one single feature suffices to identify a person’s membership in a particular group or exclude him/her from that group. The use, or non-

use, of these linguistic features has been described as *acts of identity* by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (e.g., Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Additionally, the development of linguistic *agency* (i.e. purposeful use of specific linguistic features to indicate identity in the context of different linguistic or social situations) can be observed widely and is not limited to situations of dialectal contact. It also occurs frequently within bilingual or multilingual contexts. Therefore, linguistic agency is subject to a complex interaction between majority attitudes towards a minority variant and simultaneously the minority speakers' self-evaluation of their native variety.

These results confirm that linguistic variation is not only socially stratified but that stratification can also affect attitudes towards speech varieties spoken by ethnic minorities. Important contributions to this discussion have been made by research investigating attitudes towards AAVE from both in-group and out-group perspectives. The majority of negative attitudes towards AAVE are commonly stated by non-members of this group. It is by and large members of the white majority that feel most comfortable voicing criticism (Lippi-Green 1997:179). The more general statements voiced about the variety range from 'lazy' to 'bad' or a 'broken' version of the standard. It has also been described as a form that 'holds you back' or 'sounds terrible' (Fought 2006:53). Some speakers have been found to internalize the 'outside' criticism and as a consequence experience linguistic insecurity.

Particularly difficult is the situation of middle class African Americans, as described by Rahman (2008). The author examines the attitudes of a group of middle-class African Americans toward varieties that are available to them and that they use to negotiate their 'identity' in a host of social situations. These include social and professional environments. The results indicate that the participants value AAVE as their heritage language, but regard Standard African American English as the one variety that can meet the demands of all environments.

Previous linguistic research confirms that many African Americans are competent speakers of more than one variety of English (Taylor 1971, Hoover 1978, Baugh 1983; Smitherman 1986, 2000, 2006, Rickford and Rickford 2000). However, in the process of their movements from the professional environment, which has one set of linguistic

norms, into an ethnic or community environment with a different set of norms, African Americans have been shown to experience what some have referred to as a ‘linguistic push-pull’ (Smitherman 1986, 2000, 2006, Lippi-Green 1997, Rickford and Rickford 2000, Rahman 2004). This push-pull effect reflects an ambivalence that results from “(...) a perceived need to adhere to the conflicting norms associated with speakers’ diverse societal roles” (Rahman 2008:142). For many African Americans language serves as a symbol of ethnic identity, which also has the potential to serve as focus of discrimination in the larger society.

As stated above, many African Americans believe that the use of Standard African American English as a variety can be useful for socioeconomic advancement. However, the use thereof can evoke suspicion within the African American community. Smitherman (2006:129) states that for many years African Americans believed that in order to reach socioeconomic advancement, they would have to leave ‘Black talk’ behind. Yet, for many speakers Black identity and culture is bound up with language. Therefore, it has been argued that African Americans may be unwilling to abandon the use of features of African American English (AAE) because they perceive the rejection as contributing to the loss of their identity (Taylor 1971, Hoover 1978, Baugh 1983, Smitherman 1986, 2000, 2006, Lippi-Green 1997, Rickford and Rickford 2000, Rahman 2004, Fought 2006, Rahman 2008). Speakers who do not utilize AAE features can be found to be ‘talking white’ and are then marginalized by sectors of the African American community (Smitherman 1986, 2000, Lippi-Green 1997).

The conflict between ethnic/minority identity and its linguistic representation is not uncommon. Other examples can be found among Latinos in the U.S. (García et al. 1988, Zentella 1997, Toribio 2000, Fought 2003), young Arabic speakers in France (Dabène & Billiez 1987), and Galicians in Spain (Loureiro Rodríguez 2008). All of these studies find that although the minority variety carries covert prestige in the in-group, the ability to ‘switch’ to the nationally accepted norm is crucial for socioeconomic success. For these speakers minority/ethnic identity can therefore only truly be expressed with other members of their in-group.

3.3.3 Language Shift and Loss

However, in some situations the normative pressure outweighs any covert prestige that a minority variety may be ascribed by its speakers. The most frequent outcome of this normative pressure is dialectal/language shift and ultimately the loss of the native variety/language. The classic pattern that emerges from previous research is that an immigrant community which was once monolingual/monodialectal in the ancestral language becomes transitionally bilingual/bidialectal as a stage on the way to the extinction of the original language/dialect. The existence of bilingualism or bidialectalism does not necessarily imply the initiation of language loss but has been found to be a factor in the process of attrition (Fishman 1966, Romaine 1995).

The reasons for shift and loss are various and complex and occur in situations of extreme pressure to accept the majority norm. Socio-cultural factors that influence the process are a) the size of the minority group in relation to the majority group and other immigrant groups, b) migration to urban areas to seek employment, c) rate of 'mixed' marriages (one partner not a native speaker of the minority variant), d) cultural importance of the minority variety (e.g. extensive literature), and e) ties to the homeland for immigrant communities (Romaine 1995, Clyne 1992). However, the existence of any of these variables in a community does not determine the outcome, which requires that each language/dialect contact situation be evaluated individually. This is exemplified in the work by Hamp (1980) who reports on the maintenance of Albanian by immigrant enclaves in Italy but the loss of Albanian in Greece. The author explains that in Italy a 'localist attitude' (each region valuing its own local dialect) facilitates the maintenance of immigrant languages in this country. Conversely, in Greece a more exclusionist policy for minority speech variants (national as well as immigrant varieties) makes maintenance very difficult.

The situation of Albanians in Greece is not unusual, as many immigrant communities face social pressures to speak the majority language, which precipitates the process of native language attrition. For these heritage speakers (i.e. speakers with variable proficiency in their heritage language, whose dominant language is that of the majority) the creation of identity is a more complex process. A fairly recently published study on a community of Mexican-Americans, living in Culver City, CA (Fought 2003) has been

able to bring some of the related issues to light. For many speakers in this community, the native English variety is known as Chicano English¹². Although, many speakers interviewed for this study viewed Spanish as an important part of their everyday lives as the language of the home, proficiency in Spanish was very limited. Identifying with the ethnicity of being a *Chicano/Chicana* (Fought 2003:201) was independent of being a speaker of the heritage language. Low proficiency in Spanish was not a trigger for this opinion, as the proficiency of those that expressed it ranged from fairly fluent Spanish to monolingual English. This separation of language proficiency and ethnic identity is not limited to the participants in the study by Fought. It can also be found in the opinions of some of the participants in a study on Puerto Ricans in New York by Zentella (1997) and some of the younger participants in a study on immigrants from North Africa to France: “*Arabic is my language but I don’t speak it.*” (Dabène & Billiez 1987:76).

Noteworthy in this context is the role of gender in processes of linguistic change and shift. In particular the role of gender in language change (e.g., Labov 1990, 2001) and processes of language transmission, especially among immigrant populations (e.g., Clyne 1982, 1991, Fishman 1991, Pauwels 2004) has long been recognized. Work emanating from sociolinguistic research has been consistent in the finding that language change reveals gender-asymmetric patterns, by which women are found to lead linguistic change (Labov 1990). Labov’s (1990) survey on sound change found that in the few instances in which men were at the forefront, the changes were limited (i.e. restricted to individual sounds) and did not involve the system as a whole as in a chain shift. However, other studies cautioned that a generalization of women’s leading role in change is a simplification of this process and that men cannot be said to simply follow the women’s lead. Subsequent studies such as those of Wolf and Jiménez (1979), Chambers and Hardwick (1985), and Labov (2001) found that once a particular change becomes associated with women, men resist the incoming form, resulting in a period in which men are often found to be a full generation behind women in the use of the particular linguistic change. This gender-asymmetry is maintained until the change nears completion. At this

¹² Chicano English is “*a variety of English that is obviously influenced by Spanish and that has low prestige in most circles, but that nevertheless is independent of Spanish and is the first, and often only, language of many hundreds of thousands of residents of California.*” (Metcalf 1974:53)

point then, the differences between men and women are gradually reduced (Labov 2001, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009).

This asymmetry can also be found, although in a more subtle fashion, in processes of language transmission. A recurrent finding from dialectal research is that children acquire the vernacular of their primary caretaker, which in most cases is a female (e.g., Kerswill 1996b, Kerswill & Williams 2000, Labov 2001, Winter & Pauwels 2005). Consequently, the vernacular that children acquire is that of the female caretakers. Women, therefore, are not only leaders in change but also a main source of transmission of this change to the younger generation (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009).

Women are also crucial in the situation of immigrant communities, where they function as transmitters of the heritage language and therefore perform an important part in language maintenance. Winter & Pauwels (2005) investigated the role of gender in the construction and transmission of identities and language maintenance among two immigrant communities in Australia. The authors examined language use patterns, proficiency in the heritage language, and views on language maintenance of 38 second-generation German and Greek participants. The survey found that these second-generation women used German primarily with family and friends (80.0% and 90% respectively) in contrast to the men in the sample (44.4% and 33% respectively). A similar pattern could also be found among the Greek participants, where all the women in the sample (100%) reported speaking Greek with their family (versus 87.5% of the men) and 63.3% spoke Greek with their friends (75% for men). In personal interviews, the participants described gendered differences in language transmission, by which in particular, men (i.e. fathers) were singled out as the most influential element in linguistic shift in their home. Gendered differences were also found in individual approaches to existing patterns of attrition among speakers. Whereas men were found to shift to the more dominant language (English), women were found to seek opportunities to speak their heritage language in an effort to promote and enhance their linguistic performances. It was mainly the mothers who were described by the participants as the main source of transmission of ethnolinguistic identities. Both German and Greek participants highlighted the role of women as 'bearers of cultural heritage' and therefore as crucial

figures of language transmission and maintenance for the second generation (Winter & Pauwels 2005:165).

However, women's role in the process of transmission can be put at risk by other, more dominating, sociolinguistic factors. Rubino (2006) examines the usage of Standard and dialectal Italian by a young second-generation woman. The young woman is found to speak English with the most frequency, Sicilian at home with the family and Standard Italian exclusively with people from other parts of Italy. Although highly fluent in Sicilian, the participant reports that this is only the variety spoken with her parents or older family members in Sicily. Conversations with younger Italian speakers in Sydney or her cousins in Sicily are conducted in Italian. With respect to the transmission of Sicilian to the third generation, the evidence points to a loss of Sicilian for this generation. Although, in particular the women in the family attempt to transmit Sicilian to the youngest generation, intermarriages with non-Sicilian/Italian speaking partners, a disintegration of the Italian-speaking community, and a lack of normative input outside of education institutions points to the rapid loss of the heritage language. Similar results also emerge from a study by Bettoni and Gibbons (1988) on the maintenance of Italian among immigrant communities in Australia. Their results point to the strong influence of dialectal stratification on maintenance of less prestigious varieties. Very few Italians in Australia speak Standard Italian. The communities are linguistically broken up into numerous dialects and regional or popular varieties. The attitudes towards these varieties are mostly negative (Clyne 1982) and maintenance is difficult.

In sum, the findings in the literature on language attitudes converge in that minority languages and dialects are exposed to negative attitudes expressed by speakers of more prestigious variants. More often than not socio-economically, regionally, and ethnically distinct groups are marginalized and both speakers and their language or dialectal variety are attributed negative characteristics. Generally expressed judgments that insinuate that a particular minority group does not speak 'properly' or 'correctly' can be detrimental to the minority group's standing in the larger society. At the same time, they can pose a real risk to the maintenance of the in-group variety. This is particularly the case where accommodation to the majority language/standard dialect is a necessity for social mobility.

Research emanating from perceptual dialectology corroborates the important influence of social prejudice and linguistic stratification on the marginalization of minority varieties. This area of research has surfaced out of ‘folk-linguistics’ which, broadly defined, refers to the perceptions of linguistic variation by naïve (i.e., non-linguist) speakers. The following section will introduce the most important findings from studies on language and dialect perception as they relate to the present work. Some of the results offer insights into speakers’ perceptions of linguistic variation and consequently shed light onto the emergence of socially influenced negative attitudes towards minority speech variants.

3.4 Perceptual Dialectology

Research on perceptual dialectology investigates some of the inferences made by non-linguist speakers about language and the attitudes that emerge from these beliefs. Results of studies on perceptual dialectology support the existence of socially imposed hierarchies of language variants in the minds of speakers. One of the main findings emanating from the area of language attitudes is the existence of linguistic insecurity among speakers of less prestigious varieties (e.g., Paltridge & Giles 1984, Gardener-Chloros 1991, Hiraga 2005). However, the evidence also points to the fact that linguistic insecurity among a group of speakers does not necessarily remain stable over the course of time. Moreover, ratings on ‘pleasantness’ vs. ‘correctness’ allow the raters to differentiate between notions of socially accepted standards of correct speech and their own personal belief of the pleasantness of a variety. Evans (2002) examined perceptions of Canadian French and found that the participants rated their (Canadian) variety of French high in ‘pleasantness’ and aligned themselves with France in this category. Even more, they rated their variety of French higher on the ‘correctness’ scale than participants in previous studies such as that of Lambert et al. (1960).¹³ These results also point to the fact that people’s attitudes towards their own group and speech variety can be subject to change over time (Tabouret-Keller 1997:316).

¹³ Ratings on ‘correctness’ and ‘pleasantness’ are a common measure in perceptions studies, reflecting positive and negative esthetic notions on a particular dialect and therefore allowing inferences on perceived prestige of that variant. Similar to the MGT, the at times very emotive responses towards a speech variant can be channeled into responses that can be analyzed quantitatively (van Bezooijen 2002).

Similar results were found in other linguistic contexts. Van Bezooijen (2002) studied the aesthetic evaluation of various Dutch accents and dialects. The study asked participants to rate four Dutch accents and dialects on whether they believed them to be either ‘ugly’ or ‘beautiful’. The results showed high ratings for the standard variety from all participating judges who came from regions all across the Netherlands. The author posited that this result could either be sound driven or norm driven. In other words, the judges may have rated the standard higher because they found the sounds in the speech segment beautiful or the standard profits from a culturally imposed positive evaluation of it. Other studies revealing high ratings for standardized forms include studies on Canadian French (Evans 2002), Welsh English speakers (Garret et al. 2003), and Swiss French (l’Eplattenier-Saugy 2002).

The consistency of these ratings patterns carry over to situations of misidentification of the accents by the listener judges. Milroy and McClenaghan (1977) found a stability in ratings of Scottish, Southern Irish, Ulster, and Received Pronunciation varieties even when the judges in that study had incorrectly identified the accents. Based on these findings, the researchers concluded that perhaps “(...) identification takes place below the level of conscious awareness. (...). In other words, accents with which people are familiar may directly [emphasis in original] evoke stereotypical responses without the listener first consciously assigning the speaker to a particular reference group.” (Milroy & McClenaghan 1977: 8/9).

Similar results were also found in Fraser (1973) who investigated the perceptions of the guise speakers and their racial background. When the speaker was African-American, and the participants *believed* the speaker to be African American, they tended in general to rate the speaker lower in all categories. Conversely, when the speaker was African-American but the participants believed the speaker to be white, the overall ratings were never lower than the average. The perceived race of the speaker, and to a lesser extent the accent, determined the attitude of the participant toward the speaker.

In both Fraser (1973) and Milroy and McClenaghan (1977) the perceived race/ethnicity of the speaker, coupled with the accent, determined the attitude of the participant toward the speaker and his or her speech. This kind of ‘mapping’ of a

particular accent with a particular group of speakers (either regionally, socially, or ethnically different from the judges) evidences a very direct link between the linguistic features of a language variety and a particular minority group. Irvine (1996) termed this relationship *Iconicity*, which describes the intimate relationship between linguistic features and the social images with which they are connected. The occurrence of these linguistic features in a task such as the Matched Guise Technique can directly trigger the recognition of these attributes immediately (Preston 1999:360).

The social consequences of accent matching (Kalin 1981) can be quite severe as was exemplified in the discussion on attitudes towards nonstandard dialects (e.g., Giles 1970, Luhman 1990). Studies from the area of perceptual dialectology support these previous findings. A study by Purnell et al. (1999) investigated the effects of the identification of nonstandard dialects by conducting a series of phone interviews in which housing was requested from the same landlord by speakers using standard and nonstandard accents. The results indicate that landlords discriminate against prospective tenants on the basis of the sound of their voice and the accent used during the telephone conversation. Since the experiment excluded visual cues, identification occurred through attention to phonetic/phonological markers of the dialects. The authors were able to successfully demonstrate that housing discrimination for members of ethnic minorities can solely be induced by speech characteristics without visual cues.

A study by Janson (1986) showed that dialect background information about a speaker influenced the perception of his/her speech. Based on these results, Niedzielski (1999) investigated the perception of a set of resynthesized vowels uttered by the *same* speaker and asked 41 Detroit-area residents to choose which tokens they felt best matched the vowels they heard in the speech of a fellow Detroiter. In order to test the effect of social knowledge, half of the participants were told that the speaker was from Detroit, whereas the other half was told that the speaker was from Canada. The listener judges that were presented with the 'Canadian' guise chose a higher number of raised-diphthong tokens as representing their perception of Canadian speech. The listener judges given the 'Detroit' label chose quite differently, including more 'standard American' vowels as present in the language of a Detroit English speaker. Since the labeling of the

speaker's 'nationality' was the only difference between the tasks assigned to both groups, these results evidence clearly that listeners use social information in speech perception.

Similar results were also found in studies by Fridland et al. (2005) and Fridland & Bartlett (2006) that investigated the perceptual saliency of phonological variants in the differentiation of different dialectal varieties. Previous research suggests that Southern U.S. dialects are often viewed as very salient and less prestigious than other dialects of American English (cf. Preston 1999). However, their distinctiveness and perseverance indicate that there exists a remarkable power of social and historical solidarity among their speakers in the face of pressures to conform to the more prestigious standard. Some studies suggest that dialects in this area might become even more distinct (cf. Labov 1991, Fridland 2000, 2001). Fridland et al. (2005) investigated the perception of some vowel changes by presenting recordings made by native speakers from Memphis, Tennessee. The results show that listeners in Memphis, Tennessee presented with the recordings found vowel shifts associated with local varieties as more salient than other vowel shifts that they had in common with other U.S. dialects.

In a follow-up study, Fridland and Bartlett (2006) presented their listener judges with monosyllabic words containing both standard American vowels and vowels particular to the Southern shift (/ey/, /ɛ/, /uw/, and /ow/). The listener judges were asked to rate the recordings on level of education and pleasantness on a three-point semantic scales. The results of the study reveal that listeners were able to distinguish certain vowels shifts as characteristics of Southern American speech and these were rated lower on education and pleasantness than the non-Southern vowel shifts.

An example from a Spanish-speaking country can be found in the previously mentioned study by Alfaraz (2002) on Miami Cubans' perceptions of Spanish. The low ratings of Cuban Spanish as spoken on the island now were found to be correlated to the perception of the present-day racial make-up of the island. The predominantly white Miami Cubans described Spanish as spoken in Cuba currently as *anegrado* (liter.) 'blackened' and *chabacano* 'sloppy' due to the high percentage of Cubans of African descent that remain living on the island (Alfaraz 2002:7). According to the participants, 'black-like' features of speech occurred in all levels of the language (i.e., including

phonology, syntax, expression, and lexicon) and was believed to be the result of a revival of pride in Afro-Cuban heritage.

The results emerging from studies on language attitudes and perceptual dialectology confirm the existence of socially imposed hierarchies. According to these hierarchies, languages and language varieties are bestowed different degrees of prestige along a socially conditioned continuum. Speech forms accorded a high level of prestige are rated highly along the dimension of ‘correctness’ and ‘pleasantness’. Such hierarchies can also be maintained across national borders. Moreover, accent recognition has been found to occur ‘below the level of consciousness’. It follows that speakers of accents attributed low prestige are automatically identified as members of the socioeconomic, regional, or ethnic group with which the accent is associated. Simultaneously, they are assigned any existing prejudicial notions with which the accent is associated.

These findings are crucial for the present study, as they support the hypothesis that speakers of minority variants (e.g. speakers of Dominican Spanish in Puerto Rico) will automatically be assumed to represent social characteristics that popular notions attribute to this group (i.e. ‘uneducated’, ‘poor’, etc.). The ensuing discussion presents a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards Dominican Spanish as well as Dominican self-perception.

3.5 Attitudes towards Dominican Spanish and Dominican Self-Perception

Negative attitudes towards minority varieties have an important impact on the self-perception of the members of the minority group. Linguistic insecurity, a possible outcome of social stratification of minority varieties, is an important element of language change. On the other hand, the maintenance of minority variants can serve as identity markers. The ensuing section will present work focusing specifically on attitudes towards Dominican Spanish and affords the reader a better understanding of the linguistic situation in Puerto Rico.

3.5.1 Dominican Self-Perception and Linguistic Identity

Dominican Spanish is attributed little prestige by speakers of other varieties (García et al. 1988, Toribio 2000a,b, Alfaraz 2002, Bailey 2000). These negative attitudes

towards Dominican Spanish have given rise to linguistic insecurity among Dominican speakers vis-à-vis their native dialect. The undervaluation of Dominican Spanish can be found all over the island and among speakers of all social classes. However, especially the middle and upper social classes of the population have been shown to undervalue this variety. For these speakers the ‘purest’ form of Spanish is realized in Peninsular Spanish and in variants of Latin American Spanish that make use of more standardized Spanish. Particularly disparaged are those variants that are spoken by the less educated and rural Dominicans, such as the variety spoken in the bordering region to Haiti (‘*fronterizos*’) suffer the strongest discrimination. *Fronterizo* communities are said to speak a Spanish that is heavily influenced by Haitian Creole.

Insights into these attitudes are offered by a study by Bullock & Toribio (2008) that examines Dominicans’ attitudes towards speakers from the Haitian-Dominican border. Spanish recordings made by speakers from the Cibao and Haitians living in the border area were presented to students at the Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo. The listener judges were asked to evaluate the guises along linguistic, socioeconomic, educational, and racial dimensions as well as indicate the perceived nationality of each speaker. The judges were not always able to identify the native Haitians based on speech alone. The analysis revealed the anticipated continuum in which Dominican speakers judged as having low levels of education, employment status, and social class were also thought to be of significantly darker skin color than the other speakers. The guise that received the highest rating on education, socioeconomic status, was considered ‘white’.

The results of this particular study indicate that a) Dominicans are able to distinguish the *fronterizo* speech from that of other speakers of Dominican Spanish, b) speakers thought to be *campesinos* (i.e. from rural areas) produce a form of Dominican Spanish that is attributed low prestige, and c) although results indicate that rural Dominicans were *thought* to be phenotypically darker (recall that this area is geographically close to Haiti), judges could not accurately guess the skin color of the speaker. It is clear, from these results, that negative linguistic attitudes are reinforced by racial prejudice towards Haitians and Haitian immigrants to the Dominican Republic. Moreover, they underline the correlation between particular variants of Spanish and perceptions of negritude of its speakers. They also call attention to the connection between less prestigious speech and

‘blackness’, a correlation that has been shown to exist all over the Caribbean and Central and Latin America (Alfaraz 2002). Ironically, by this same model, Dominican immigrants to the U.S. and Puerto Rico are identified as the group who speaks the ‘worst’ Spanish and are thus perceived to be phenotypically darker than other Spanish-speaking groups (Garcia et al. 1988, Bailey 2000).

It is important to state however, that the existence of linguistic stratification and of a group-based social hierarchy based on skin color (i.e. pigmentocracy) in the Dominican Republic has not been revealed to influence the relationship between racial identity and Dominican patriotism. Sidianus et al. (2001) found that members of different racial categories did not evidence different levels of patriotic attachment, which could be corroborated for minority groups living in Israel and the U.S. This of course could be a crucial component in the maintenance of Dominican identity abroad. This and other issues related to Dominican immigration and integration into the social and linguistic networks in their ‘new’ home countries will be discussed in the ensuing section.

3.5.2 Dominicans and Dominican Spanish in the U.S. and Puerto Rico

Generally speaking, studies on Dominican immigrant communities agree that these speakers are frequently confronted with prejudicial notions that are based on the immigrant group’s low socioeconomic and educational standing vis-à-vis the norm in the host community. A further issue that Dominicans are confronted with on the mainland U.S. and in Puerto Rico is racial prejudice.

Previous studies have found evidence of linguistic, social, and racial discrimination towards Dominican immigrants in the U.S. This result emerges from the study by García et al. (1988), which investigated Spanish language use and attitudes in two Latino neighborhoods in New York: Washington Heights and Elmhurst/Corona. The Spanish speakers that lived in these areas came from distinct national backgrounds and included speakers from the Caribbean (Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic), Central America, and South America. Although the non-Dominican immigrant groups living in Elmhurst/Corona tended to be more middle class and higher educated, this was not necessarily true of the Dominicans living in both areas.

The data culled from the study also corroborates linguistic stratification within the community. In particular, Caribbean varieties of Spanish were attributed very little prestige within the communities, although Cuban Spanish enjoyed higher levels of prestige than Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish. The authors related this to the level of education and professional experience that many Cuban immigrants possessed. The linguistic and racial stigmatization of Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish and their speakers was found to correlate with higher rates of usage of English in the home. The use of English includes a range of linguistic behaviors such as the use of borrowings as well as code-switching for the more proficient bilinguals (Garcia et al. 1988:497).

As previously discussed, racial discrimination often is tied to linguistic and socio-economic stratification. Data on racial discrimination was particularly evident for the Dominican group, which was found to be the group most-likely to be the target of racism in Washington Heights (Garcia et al. 1988:501). Strikingly, those Dominicans who lived in the more middle-class area of Elmhurst/Corona reported that they preferred their neighborhood to Washington Heights as there they were less likely to be associated with poor, undocumented, and uneducated Dominicans.

These findings establish that in addition to negative perceptions of their native dialect, Dominicans also face racial prejudice. Dominicans living in the U.S. are very often categorized as ‘African Americans’ or as ‘black’.¹⁴ Racial categorization and ethnic identity in the Dominican Republic does not follow the binary model that is in place in the U.S. (Del Castillo & Murphy 1987, Davis 1994). In fact most of the population on the island does not consider itself black, although about 90% of the population is of African descent (Haggerty 1991, Fennema & Loewenthal 1987). Their definition of ‘dominicanness’ runs counter to the U.S. system where perceived presence or absence of African ancestry is correlated with ethnic and racial identity.

Whereas adult Dominicans arriving in the U.S. are often shielded from these different systems of social categorization due to linguistic isolation and strong social networks

¹⁴ The ‘one-drop rule’ holds that that a person with any trace of sub-Saharan ancestry (however small or invisible) cannot be considered ‘white’. This fact can only be changed if this person has an alternative non-white ancestry they can claim, such as Native American, Asian, Arab, Australian aboriginal. Otherwise they must be considered ‘black’ (Davis 1991). This rule not only applies to Dominicans but would be applied to most Hispanics living in the U.S.

(Milroy 1987), the younger generation is confronted with this reality outside the home or the network, e.g., in school. This second generation often thinks of themselves as 'Spanish', 'Dominican', or 'Hispanic'. These ethnolinguistic terms, however, are frequently at odds with the phenotype-based racial terms with which their peers frequently describe them, i.e. as *black*. Negotiating Dominican American identity for these young people involves bridging the gap between these two social systems (the Dominican and the U.S. American) and sometimes from one social situation to the other. Crucially, using Dominican Spanish is a primary strategy with which these speakers denote their heritage and identity, in spite of the low prestige that Dominican Spanish is attributed by other Spanish speakers (Bailey 2000).

As a point of comparison, Puerto Rican Spanish, which is also accorded little prestige, is not maintained to the same degree when in contact with English as Dominican Spanish (Attinasi 1983). Attinasi collected attitudinal data from 90 working-class participants who largely lived in Puerto Rican neighborhoods in East Harlem and 40 teachers employed in bilingual programs in East Harlem, New York City. Based on the results, it becomes apparent that attitudes towards the maintenance of Spanish among the native Puerto Rican Spanish speakers differed considerably from Dominican attitudes uncovered in the studies discussed above. The neighborhood residents did not reveal any tendencies towards assimilation on the one hand, nor idealistic linguistic purism on the other. The main attitude that was found was an 'interpenetrating bilingualism' which is characterized by a lack of a rigorous ideology defending Spanish and the Puerto Rican culture against bilingualism with English. This was not seen as a negative characteristic, but considered the results of a pragmatic reaction to a bilingual social situation. Most speakers in this situation expressed positive attitudes towards the linguistic change that was affecting their community but simultaneously a refusal to give up a distinctly Puerto Rican identity (Attinasi 1983).

Contrary to this development, Dominican Spanish in the diaspora becomes an emblem of nationality and national pride (Toribio 2000a,b). In his study of a young Dominican male living in Providence, Rhode Island, Bailey (2000) observed two major strategies of self-definition: the use of multiple language codes to denote an immigrant identity (Dominican Spanish, American English, AAVE), and different varieties of native

English, and patterns of code-alternation as well as cultural knowledge to adapt to different social situations. The latter strategy allowed the participant to alternately foreground the Dominican, American, and African American facets of his ethnolinguistic identity depending on the situation and the identity of his interlocutor(s). This capability to negotiate ethnicity and race differently from one situation to the other is remarkable given the rigid and mutually exclusive separation of racial categories as they exist in American society (Bailey 2001, 2004).

The linguistic, socioeconomic, and racial challenges faced by Dominicans in the U.S. are quite similar to those that are faced by Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico. Although this Spanish-speaking island is easier for Dominican migrants to reach due to its geographic proximity, the issues that arise through migration are no less challenging. Both Puerto Rican Spanish and Dominican Spanish are attributed very little prestige (Alfaraz 2002). An awareness of this fact should promote solidarity between speaker groups and not foster negative stereotypes of the immigrant minority. However, previous work has revealed that in Puerto Rico, speakers of Dominican Spanish frequently are portrayed as uneducated, poor, dark-skinned immigrants. This is evidenced in the fact that in popular television shows in Puerto Rico, the silly and uneducated characters often speak with Dominican accents (Duany 2005). But newspaper readers can also often find corroboration of their prejudices through the publication of reports in which Dominicans are reported to have committed infractions against the laws. This of course is not particular to Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico, but feeds into Puerto Ricans' prejudice against this immigrant group (Mejía Pardo 1993:125).

Work originating from anthropology, in particular Duany (1998, 2005), has revealed that Puerto Ricans' attitudes towards Dominicans are spiked with prejudicial notions in which being Dominican is equated with being a poor immigrant with few educational or socioeconomic advantages. In his work on Dominican migration to Puerto Rico, this author found that due to their low socioeconomic status, their lower level of education, and their perceived physical differences from Puerto Ricans, Dominicans find it difficult to ameliorate their position in Puerto Rican society. For many it has proven quite

problematic to overcome the socio-economic hurdles that they are confronted with on a daily basis.

The scarcity of research in Puerto Rico on this particular issue also speaks to the marginalization of minority issues in Puerto Rican society. Insights into Puerto Ricans' perceptions and attitudes of Dominicans can be found in the work of Diana Mejía Pardo (1993). She analyzed the accounts of personal experiences of seventeen Puerto Rican participants, residing in Santurce, one of the areas of San Juan most densely populated by Dominicans. In face to face interviews the participants related their experiences with and attitudes towards Dominicans living in Puerto Rico. In the stories and experiences that the participants related, Dominicans mostly appeared in negative contexts or were the ones to behave contrary to the Puerto Rican norm. In only two of the six narratives the Dominican main actor contributed to a positive outcome of the event. In most cases the Dominicans were always involved in negative events. This included aggression, robbery, drug use, abuse of social benefits, and also comments of cultural differences (Mejía Pardo 1993:121).

A more detailed analysis revealed that these negative attitudes seemed tied to the degree of exposure that Puerto Rican participants had to Dominicans. The majority of accounts containing negative experiences with Dominicans emerged from speakers who had a higher percentage of Dominican neighbors. The negative attitudes addressed cultural differences and different national backgrounds. There were no expressions of negative comments on Dominican physical appearance or personal characteristics. The author posits that since these cannot be openly expressed it is likely that these notions might be categorized under 'cultural differences'.

Evidence for differences in racial perception between Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic has emerged from various sources. Gravlee (2005) investigated racial categories in Puerto Rico and found that these differ from those of the Caribbean neighbors. Dominicans have been reported to consider themselves either 'white' or 'indio' in the Dominican Republic (Bailey 2000). These differences in racial classification are in part linked to historical patterns of African immigration. Whereas Puerto Rico had less African migration, the Dominican Republic historically became the home of a larger

number of African slaves (Henríquez Ureña 1940, Lipski 1994). However, contrary to this fact, the Dominican Republic has held an unofficial policy against ‘negritude’ and simultaneously has enforced a policy of affirmation of the island’s Spanish roots (Baud 1997). As a result, most Dominicans consider African heritage as negative and shameful and support any enforcement of white supremacy. Although, such opinions frequently are not admitted publicly, they are upheld privately (Baud 1997, Toribio 2000a). In the diaspora, Dominican denigration of their own negritude therefore is predestined to clash with that of the Puerto Ricans. Although the racial classification system in Puerto Rico is not binary as it is in the U.S., Dominican immigrants do find themselves confronted with a common correlation between poverty and darker phenotype (Bailey 2000, Duany 1998, 2005).

Duany and Mejía Pardo have contributed immensely to our understanding of Dominican and Puerto Rican relations. However, no study has investigated the possible effects of underlying racism and racial profiling on Puerto Ricans’ attitudes towards and perceptions of Dominican Spanish. Consequently, there is need for a study that focuses on Puerto Rican attitudes towards Dominicans and Dominican Spanish. The purpose of the current endeavor is to contribute to this discussion by tapping into Puerto Rican attitudes and addressing in particular the difference between attitudes towards Dominican Spanish and attitudes towards its speakers. A related issue is the effect of negative attitudes on Dominicans’ self-perception and linguistic insecurity. Studies by García et al. (1988), Toribio (2000a,b), Bailey (2000), and Bullock and Toribio (2008) have established that although Dominican insecurity in the Dominican Republic is high, Dominican immigrants have retained the most salient -and least prestigious- elements of Dominican Spanish in the diaspora. Therefore, the negotiation of identity for these speakers appears to act as a counterweight to pressure to conform to the majority language/dialectal variety to which they are exposed.

3.6 Conclusions

Attitude studies on language variation have shown that most language varieties are stratified based on a socially determined hierarchy in which some speech variants are bestowed a high degree of prestige and others are attributed low prestige. The latter group by and large includes regional varieties, varieties and languages spoken by

socioeconomically less fortunate groups, ethnic minorities, and immigrants. In most cases, the constant pressure to accommodate one's speech to that of the nationally accepted standard forces speakers of minority varieties to conform to the speech of the majority. In many cases this need to accommodate will ultimately incur a shift and loss of the native speech variant/language among speakers of minority varieties.

The focus of the present study is to examine Puerto Ricans' attitudes towards Dominicans. Previous work has revealed that Puerto Ricans' attitudes are in large part negative. This fact has been related to the socioeconomic standing of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico. Up to now, this area of research has been neglected except for a few studies, such as those of Duany (1998, 2005) and Mejía Pardo (1993), that have contributed immensely to our understanding of the status of Dominican immigrant communities in Puerto Rico and Dominican and Puerto Rican relations. However, no study has investigated the possible effects of underlying social and racial profiling on Puerto Rican attitudes and perceptions of Dominican Spanish.

An important related question is the effect of Puerto Ricans' attitudes on Dominican self-perception and linguistic insecurity. Up to now, evidence has abounded that indicates that in spite of existing linguistic insecurity, Dominicans living in the diaspora highly value their native variety as an identity marker. However, these results emerged from studies focusing on Dominicans living on the U.S. mainland. The present study will investigate a situation of dialectal contact in which Dominican Spanish is juxtaposed to another Caribbean variety that is also attributed little prestige. Given these sociolinguistic circumstances, a further evaluation of linguistic (in)security in this context is of high importance.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The aims of the dissertation study include the following: (i) to investigate Puerto Ricans' attitudes towards and perceptions of Dominicans living in Puerto Rico, as reflected in the experimental evaluation of speech samples; (ii) to examine the effects of these attitudes on Dominicans' perceptions of and attachment to their own dialect. In an effort to examine the possible effects of social variables on linguistic attitudes and perceptions, the research draws on both naturalistic and elicited data for qualitative and quantitative analysis.

In carrying out the research, various methods were used that included a verbal guise task, a sociolinguistic questionnaire, and a survey of linguistic insecurity and identity. These methods were administered to three participant groups: Dominicans living in the Dominican Republic, Dominicans living in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Puerto Ricans in San Juan, as depicted in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Tasks and participants

	Puerto Ricans in San Juan	Dominicans	
		In San Juan	In the Dominican Republic
Sociolinguistic questionnaire, linguistic insecurity and identity survey	52 participants	49 participants	47 participants
Verbal Guise (audio)	22 participants ¹⁵	NA	NA

The ensuing sections provide detailed information on the materials, the participants, the procedure, and the coding used in the study. Section 4.2 describes the Verbal Guise Tasks, designed to tap into Puerto Ricans' attitudes towards Dominicans and Dominican Spanish. Section 4.3 offers the details of the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire and the Linguistic Insecurity

¹⁵ As depicted in Table 4.1, 22 of 52 participants took part in the verbal guise task. The remaining 30 Puerto Rican participants took part in another experiment, not reported here.

and Identity Survey, including a detailed explanation of how the questions were selected, presented, and how the responses were subsequently analyzed.

4.2 The Verbal Guise Task

The first part of the study consists of a verbal guise task that aims at indirectly assessing perceptions and attitudes towards Dominican Spanish and the role of social status and level of education on this evaluation. The overall rationale for this experiment is to explore the effects of perceived social status and level of education on the linguistic judgments made by Puerto Rican listener judges. The verbal guise technique was chosen over the closely related but also frequently criticized matched-guise technique (Lambert et al. 1960), which was said to lack authenticity by requiring that one speaker record the same speech sample in different dialectal guises. Instead the verbal guise technique offers the judges natural speech samples by native speakers of diverse languages and language varieties.

As will be described in the following sections, in the verbal guise task the Puerto Rican listener judges were asked to rate four recordings: three Dominican Spanish speakers and one Puerto Rican Spanish speaker. The Dominican recordings selected for the verbal guise tasks formed part of a larger set of guises that were subjected to an accent ratedness measure (Flege 1988, Flege et al. 2002) described in Section 4.2.2. The purpose of this measure was to ensure that the Dominican recordings chosen for the verbal guise task indeed represented a typical Dominican accent. The three Dominican guises chosen for the verbal guise task included only speakers born in Santo Domingo (one speaker still resided in the Dominican capital and two speakers have lived in San Juan for several years). The ensuing sections will describe in more detail the materials, the participants, and the process of data collection.

4.2.1 Audio materials for the verbal guise task

For the verbal guise task audio stimuli were made. This was done in the Dominican Republic and in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Details of this data collection will be described in the following sections.

4.2.1.1 Materials

The passage for the verbal guise recordings needed to be culturally relevant to both speaker and listener and, at the same time, unlikely to contain lexical items that pertain more to one dialect than another. For this reason participants were asked to discuss an issue that was common

to both islands: preparations for a hurricane. Specifically, the following scenario was presented to each speaker:

- 1) *Les han avisado que va a venir un huracán. ¿Cómo se prepara? ¿Qué hay que hacer?*

‘You’ve been told that a hurricane is approaching. How do you prepare for this event and what is it that you need to do?’

Each participant was asked to answer this question briefly. The following excerpt offers a sample response from ‘Juan’:

- 2) *Oh, hay que poner todos los objetos, bajarlos al suelo, y...recoger todo lo que hay regado, para cuando la brisa venga no encuentre ...sí.*

‘You have to take all the things, put them on the floor, and....pick all that has been swept up, so that when the wind comes it does not find...yes.’

4.2.1.2 Speech guises

One of the main purposes of the verbal guise experiment was to determine whether the Puerto Rican participants were able to identify Dominican Spanish and differentiate it from Puerto Rican Spanish. Moreover, the aim was to investigate whether Puerto Rican judges were able to identify Dominican Spanish that lacked highly salient clues such as the vocalization of liquids or rhoticization. These characteristics occur in the varieties spoken in the north and the south of the Dominican Republic (Section 1.2.1). Moreover, as indicated by previous work (e.g. Mejía Pardo 1993, Duany 2005) and by the results of the questionnaire presented in Chapter 5, many Puerto Ricans will report on recognizing Dominicans by their use of the glide /i/ in words such as *come[i]* instead of *come[r]* ‘to eat’. The rationale for the decision to exclude this regional variety from the verbal guise tasks was to minimize the highly salient features of Dominican Spanish in the guises and to examine how far dialectal differences such as more advanced consonant weakening in coda position and intonational features would aid in speaker identification. To this end, Dominican speakers from the Cibao (vocalization) and the southern parts of the Dominican Republic (rhoticization) were not included in the guises. For the guise collection natives from the region around the capital Santo Domingo were chosen, an area which is known for its lateralization, a phenomenon widely-spread in Puerto Rico. Speakers from the highly stigmatized variety spoken in the Cibao were also excluded, in an effort to

investigate how far Puerto Rican prejudices towards speakers of Dominican Spanish extend to speakers of linguistically less salient and socially less stigmatized varieties than that of the *Cibaeños*.

Also a recording with a native speaker of Puerto Rican Spanish (born and currently residing in San Juan) was also included to provide a control speaker in the study. The inclusion of this speaker also allowed for a comparison of perceptions of speech, socioeconomic, and personal characteristics between Dominican Spanish speakers and a Puerto Rican Spanish speaker.

Seven samples of guises of Dominican Spanish were recorded in the Dominican Republic and three in Puerto Rico. All speakers were of the same socioeconomic background, i.e. members of the working class and all speakers were originally from regions that have contributed to immigration to Puerto Rico.

All verbal guise speakers were men, as men are more likely to adapt to new forms of speech than women. Previous sociolinguistic research has found that women tend to be more linguistically conservative in contact situations and not as likely to give in quickly to outside pressures to change their speech (e.g. Bettoni & Gibbons 1988). Men, on the other hand, have been found to be less linguistically conservative and more open to accepting other language variants that they encounter in contexts outside the family or immigrant group network (e.g., Ruben 2006). Due to these circumstances, men have been shown to adapt linguistically more quickly than women (e.g., Milroy & Milroy 1978, 1998). Based on these findings, men were chosen for the present study as this group is hypothesized to adapt their speech more quickly to that of the majority language.

As can be seen in Table 4.2, for this study two Dominicans living in Puerto Rico were chosen for the verbal guise recordings. One man had lived in San Juan for less than three years, whereas the other had lived in San Juan for about five years. If long-term contact with Puerto Ricans causes a higher degree of assimilation to the Puerto Rican accent among men, then the Dominican living in Puerto Rico for about five years might be misidentified as a Puerto Rican more frequently than a more recently arrived compatriot.

4.2.1.3 Procedure

The nine guise speakers were instructed to discuss hurricane preparations as completely as possible. The answers were recorded via a Shure head-worn unidirectional dynamic microphone onto a Marantz PMD 620 as 32-bit wave files. All guise recordings were stored on an IBM ThinkPad.

4.2.2 Speaker accentedness measure

The principal intention of the verbal guise experiment was to tap into the attitudes and perceptions of the judges with respect to different linguistic variants. Therefore, it was crucial to present Puerto Rican listener judges with the most typical forms of regional accents, in particular Dominican accents. To this end, the verbal-guise recordings were subjected to an accentedness measure (e.g., Flege 1988, Flege et al. 2002). This measure required that a set of native Dominican Spanish speakers rate the guises on how representative they were of the Spanish spoken in the Dominican capital. Moreover, this measure was used to isolate the most salient Dominican accent from the recordings made in Santo Domingo, which subsequently was used in the verbal guise task. The details of this procedure are described in the following segments.

4.2.2.1 Materials

The listener judges in the accent ratedness measure were presented with a sheet of paper containing seven-point Likert scales and the values *acento muy fuerte* “very strong accent” (=7) and *ningún acento regional* “no regional accent” (=1) (Appendix A). These materials were adapted from previous research on accent ratedness measures (Flege 1988, Flege et al. 2002). *Likert* scales are bipolar scales that are commonly used in a wide variety of questionnaires. The 7-point scales were chosen over 5-point or 9-point scales or even numbered scales such as the 10-point scales, for two reasons. First, a 7-point scale allows for a clear middle point (“4”) to indicate neutrality and between the middle and the end points there are just two choices (“2 and 3” and “5 and 6”). This allows the participants to capture variations in opinions without presenting too many (or too few) choices. Too many choices can lead to vacillation whereas too few can mean that certain variations in attitudes are lost (e.g., Likert 1932, Babbie 2005). Secondly, the present results with the use of the 7-point scale are comparable to the majority of recent studies measuring language attitudes.

The scales were preceded by the instruction to indicate the strength of the regional accent in each recording.

3) *Hablante no. X*

ningún accento regional

accento muy fuerte

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘Speaker no. X. . . no regional accent vs. very strong accent’

Of the nine recordings made, seven were chosen for their overall sound quality and quality of the contents (i.e. detailed answer to the question given). Included in this group of seven recordings were five recordings of speakers living in Santo Domingo and also the two recordings of Dominicans living in San Juan (#6 and #7 in Table 4.2).

The length of the recordings varied between 8-45 seconds. The shortest recordings were completed by the Dominican living in the Dominican Republic (#1) and the Dominican who had lived in San Juan for three years (#6). The inequality in length of the shorter recording was then compensated by repeating the recording twice during the interview sessions.

Table 4.2: Dominican guises submitted to accentedness ratings					
<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Place of Residence</i>	<i>Employment</i>	<i>Rec. Time (seconds)</i>
#1	M	58	Santo Domingo	driver	13
#2	M	47	Santo Domingo	manual labor	30
#3	M	36	Santo Domingo	manual labor	29
#4	M	31	Santo Domingo	security guard	45
#5	M	26	Santo Domingo	manual labor	15
#6	M	34	San Juan	cook	8
#7	M	40	San Juan	hair dresser	30

4.2.2.2 Listener (‘Judges’)

The participant judges for the accentedness ratings were selected randomly via snowball sampling in Santurce, an area of San Juan. All seven participants in this task were born and

raised in the Dominican Republic and lived in San Juan. Five of the participants were females and one was a male. Their ages ranged between 22 and 67 and their time living in San Juan ranged from 1.6 months to 27 years.

Table 4.3: Listener ‘Judges’ in Global Accentedness Ratings of Dominican guises

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age/Place of Birth</i>	<i>Years in San Juan</i>	<i>Employment</i>
#1	F	63/Barahona	27	N/A
#2	F	43/Azua	27	N/A
#3	F	26/village, Cibao	1.6 months	waitress
#4	M	38/Puerto Plata	11	Waiter
#5	F	67/Dajabón	2	hotelier
#6	F	22/Sto. Domingo	3	store clerk

4.2.2.3 Procedure

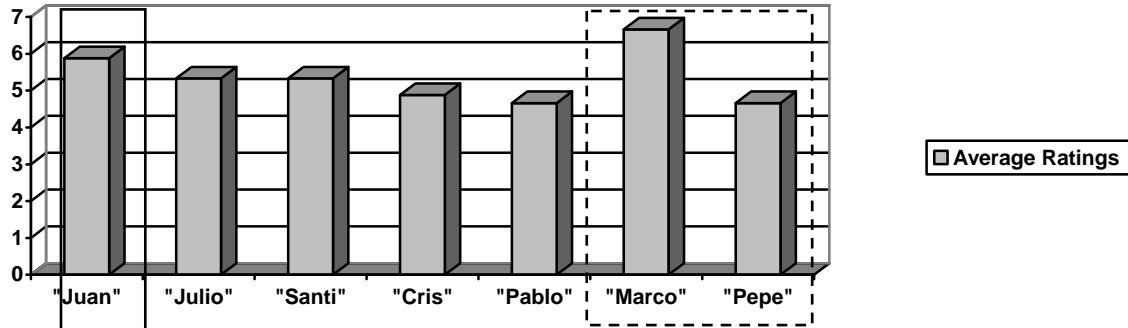
Listener judges were instructed to rate the recordings by indicating on a seven-point scale the strength of regional accent of each recording (see Materials in Section 4.2.2.1). The participants listened to each recording via a set of Sony noise-cancelling head-phones. The recordings were played from Windows Media Player via an IBM ThinkPad.

4.2.2.4 Analysis

The results of the seven-point scale were entered in *Excel* and overall average ratings for each speaker were calculated and compared (Figure 4.1). The chart represents the ratings for each speaker on a seven-point scale. Recall that a ‘very strong accent’ was rated with a ‘7’ and ‘no regional accent’ was rated with ‘1’. Also, recordings #1-#5 (“Juan”, “Julio”, “Santi”, “Cris”, and “Pablo”) were completed Dominicans living in Santo Domingo. Recording #6 (“Pepe”) was completed with the Dominican residing in San Juan for 3 years and recording #7 is the Dominican who has lived in San Juan for 5 years (“Marco”).

Figure 4.1: Results of Accentedness Ratings of Dominican Guises

____ Speaker from DR with highest ratings ---- Dominican Speakers living in Puerto Rico



Among the Dominican speakers living in the Dominican Republic, the speaker with the highest ratings (#1) was chosen for the verbal guise task. Recall, speakers #6 (“Pepe”) and #7 (“Marco”) were Dominicans living in San Juan (3 and 5 years respectively). The ratings in Figure 4.1 indicate that in spite of the time spent in Puerto Rico, these Dominican Spanish speakers still exhibit highly salient features of Dominican Spanish that are noticeable for native speakers of this variety.

The purpose of the accentedness measure was to isolate the most salient Dominican accent from the recordings made in Santo Domingo. For this reason, only Dominican guises were presented to the judges and the Puerto Rican guises that were collected from San Juan were excluded from this task.

In an effort to ensure that a ‘typical’ Puerto Rican accent would be included in the verbal guise task, three guises recordings were presented to two native Puerto Rican Spanish speakers. Each participant listened to the three guises and gave ratings. Both speakers indicated that one guise, collected in Santurce, San Juan, sounded ‘too Dominican’. Given the high percentage of Dominicans living in this area of San Juan (Table 2.7), accommodation on the part of Puerto Ricans is not surprising. Another guise was rejected by both participant judges since the speaker appeared to hesitate. The third guise (“Carlos”) was indicated by both judges as typical of Puerto

Rican Spanish. This guise recording was subsequently chosen as the Puerto Rican guise for the verbal guise task.

4.2.3 The Verbal Guise Task

The purpose of the verbal guise task is to investigate Puerto Ricans' perceptions of and attitudes towards dialectal differences between Dominican Spanish and their native variant. In a previous pilot survey (Suárez 2007), Puerto Ricans claimed to be able to identify Dominicans solely based on speech; this task tests this assertion.

The recordings (guises) were presented to randomly chosen judges along with a questionnaire that required them to rate the segments they heard on their perception of the speaker's social attributes and personal characteristics. The purpose of this task was to evaluate the judges' ability to distinguish between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish and to investigate Puerto Rican attitudes towards Dominican Spanish and its speakers.

4.2.3.1 Materials

In the verbal guise task, the participant judges were presented with audio recordings of four speakers: Juan was a native to Santo Domingo and had not lived outside the country at any time. He currently lives and works in Santo Domingo. Pepe and Marco were Dominicans that had lived in Puerto Rico for three and five years respectively. Carlos was a native Puerto Rican Spanish speaker (Table 4.4). The recordings consisted of brief answers to a generic question, described in Section 4.2.1.1. The length of the recordings varied between 8 -50 seconds. In order to compensate for the difference in length of recordings, the shorter recordings (Juan and Pepe) could be repeated twice, depending on the need of the listener.

Table 4.4: Overview - Verbal Guise Recordings

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Place of Residence</i>	<i>Level of Education (completed)</i>	<i>Rec. Time (seconds)</i>	<i># words</i>
#1	58	Santo Domingo	Santo Domingo	8 th grade	13	26
#2	34	Santo Domingo	San Juan	7 th grade	8	22
#3	40	Santo Domingo	San Juan	10 th grade	30	66
#4	57	San Juan	San Juan	high school degree	50	85

Items #4 - #7 offer the transcriptions from the verbal guise recordings presented to the Puerto Rican listener judges.

4) Dominican in Dominican Republic, Juan:

Oh, hay que poner todos los objetos, bajarlos al suelo, y...recoger todo lo que hay regado, para cuando la brisa venga no encuentre ...sí.

‘You have to take all the things, put them on the floor, and....pick all that has been swept up, so that when the wind comes it does not find...yes.’

5) Dominican in Puerto Rico (3), Pepe:

Pues, tengamos que ir a la tienda, pa’ comprar y prepararnos con comida, hacer lo de todo y eso, tú me entiendes?

‘Well, we would have to go to the store, to buy and prepare ourselves with food, do all of this and all, you understand?’

6) Dominican in Puerto Rico (5), Marco:

Bueno, lo primero que hay que hacer es , eh...comprar baterías, comprar agua, comprar comidas enlatadas, eh...comprar velas o velones, si estufe de gas, tratar de comprar combustibles suficientes, tratar de consumir todas las comidas congeladas que se tenga

en ese momento, todo lo que sea de refrigeración. En caso de los ventanales, tratar de protegerlos y quedarse en la casa tranquilo a esperar que pase.

‘Well, the first thing to would be, eh...buy batteries, buy water, buy canned foods, eh...buy candles or ? , if [you have] a gas oven, try to buy enough fuel, try to consume all the frozen foods that you have that moment, everything that is in the fridge. In the case of large windows, you need to try to protect them and remain in the house quietly and hope that it passes.’

7) Puerto Rican, Carlos

Bueno, pues.. nosotros siempre estamos pendientes de las noticias para esa época de los huracanes, y estamos pendientes porque siempre nos pueden informar de que viene el huracán y nunca llega. Y ...que no nos preparamos, pero lo primero que hacemos, pues...es asegurar nuestra casa, eh..asegurar, este..eh...lo principal que a nosotros nos pase nada. Y de allí, pues....esperar que llegue. Muchas veces no llega pero...Otra cosa qué hacemos es vamos al supermercado y compramos como quien dice...para tener, pues si acaso llegara el huracán tener bastante comida.

‘Ok, well...we always are waiting for the news during this period of hurricanes, and waiting because they can always inform us that a hurricane comes and it never arrives. And ...that we never prepare ourselves, but the first this we due, well...es make sure that our house, eh...make sure, that...eh...the main thing is that nothing happens to us. And from there on...well, that it arrives. Many times it does not arrive but...Another thing we do is go to the supermarket and buy as you say...to have, well in case the hurricane comes we have enough food.’

The purpose of the task was to offer the Puerto Rican judges samples of natural speech. For this reason the longer guises were not cut to a length similar to that of the shorter guises. This difference in length of the guises presents a possible limitation by which the listener could perceive speakers with longer recordings more favorably (e.g, as eloquent and more highly educated). This is a possibility that would need to be considered in the interpretation of the results.

The guises were accompanied by a questionnaire that was designed to tap into the listener judges' perceptions and attitudes towards the accent recorded in each guise. The questionnaire consisted of two parts. The first part contained 10 adjectives that could be used to describe personal characteristics of the speaker, e.g. friendly, caring, rich, etc. (Appendix B). The adjectives represented the different semantic dimensions of 'status' and 'solidarity'. These have been shown to be ranked differently by listeners. The typical pattern reported in literature is that more standard varieties are rated high in 'status' dimensions whereas low prestige varieties are ranked low in the 'status' dimensions but high in 'solidarity' dimension (Zahn & Hopper 1985, Carranza & Ryan 1975, Hiraga 2005). Five of the adjectives used in this study pertained to the 'status' dimension (rich, educated, intelligent, successful, and refined) and five adjectives represented the 'solidarity' dimension (sociable, friendly, caring, honest, and comforting). In the questionnaire, adjectives from each semantic dimension were presented in alternation. Each adjective was accompanied by a seven-point *Likert* scale. The participants were asked to rate the speaker of each guise along the given dimensions. The adjectives were adapted from d'Anglejan & Tucker (1983) and Hiraga (2005).

8) *El hablante es*

no sociable

sociable

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

The speaker is ... not sociable vs. sociable'

9) *El hablante es*

no educado

*educado*¹⁶

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'The speaker is ... not educated vs. educated'

¹⁶ Due to the ambiguity of the word *educado* in Spanish meaning both 'educated' and 'well mannered', the participants were instructed that only the former meaning (i.e. 'educated') was meant in this case. However, in an effort to exclude all possible data that could have been misunderstood by the participants, the results for this item were not taken into consideration in the interpretation of the results (see Chapter 6).

10) *El hablante es*

no amable

amable

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘The speaker is ... not friendly vs. friendly’

11) *El hablante es*

no inteligente

inteligente

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘The speaker is ... not intelligent vs. intelligent’

12) *El hablante es*

no reconfortante

reconfortante

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘The speaker is ... not comforting vs. comforting’

13) *El hablante es*

no rico

rico

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘The speaker is ... not rich vs. rich’

14) *El hablante es*

no sincero

sincero

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘The speaker is ... not sincere vs. sincere’

15) *El hablante es*

no exitoso

exitoso

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘The speaker is ... not successful vs. successful’

16) *El hablante es*

no honesto

honesto

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘The speaker is ... not honest vs. honest’

17) *El hablante es*

no refinado

refinado

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘The speaker is ... not refined vs. refined’

The second part of the questionnaire allows for insights into the listener judges’ perceptions of the socioeconomic background of the guise speakers (14-16). These items were included in response to the critique voiced by Preston (1999). Preston questioned whether judges in Matched Guise Task/verbal guise tasks all had the same perception of the speech areas under investigation. In order to assure that all participants in a matched/verbal guise task judged the accents of the speech area under investigation, the present study included items forcing the judges to indicate the country and region of origin the speaker is from. Possible answers were provided (14) and included Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Mexico, and the option to offer another nationality apart from those mentioned. Also included were items asking what level of education each guise speaker has attained as well as an estimation as to which socioeconomic background the speaker could be from. The items on social and educational background were adapted from a similar study conducted by Bullock & Toribio (2008).

18) *¿De dónde cree que viene el hablante?*

Puerto Rico ___ *República Dominicana* ___ *Cuba* ___ *México* ___

otra? _____

a. *de campo?* ___ *de ciudad?* ___

b. *de qué región?* _____

‘Where do you think the speaker is from?’

Puerto Rico___ Dominican Republic___ Cuba___ Mexico___

other _____

a. country side? _____ city?_____

b. from which region?_____’

19) *El nivel de educación de este hombre podría ser....*

_____ *primario* _____ *secundario* _____ *universitario*

‘The level of education of this man could be...

_____ primary school _____ high school _____ university’

20) *La clase social de este hombre podría ser...*

_____ *baja* _____ *media baja* _____ *media* _____ *media alta* _____ *alta*

‘The social class this man belongs to could be...

_____ low _____ lower middle _____ middle _____ higher middle _____ high’

A further aim of the verbal guise task was to tap into listeners’ perceptions of the dialect presented to them. The inclusion of measurements of ‘correctness’ and ‘pleasantness’ (17-18), taken from Preston (1999), allow me to differentiate between listeners’ perception of (grammatically) ‘correct’ speech and their estimation of the overall appeal of the varieties evaluated. The inclusion of this measure also allows for comparison with the results from Alfaraz (2002) on Miami Cubans’ perceptions of Spanish, and Caribbean Spanish in particular.

21) *Por favor indique cómo considera el habla del hablante.*

no está bien

está bien

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘Please, indicate if you consider this person’s speech to be ... not good vs. good’

22) *Por favor indique si el acento del hablante le parece agradable.*

no agradable

agradable

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘Please indicate if you things this person’s accent is ...not pleasing vs. pleasing’

4.2.3.2 Procedure

Participant judges were handed Sony noise-reducing head-phones and the presentation of the recordings began with Juan. After listening to each recording, the participant judges were asked to complete the questionnaire. The identical procedure was performed for the following three recordings. The order of presentation of recordings was reversed (last guise presented first, etc.) for half the participants. The longer recordings (Marco and Carlos) could only be heard once to afford the listener a comparable length of audio input for each guise, whereas the guises Juan and Pepe could be repeated once.

4.2.4 Participants

Participants for the verbal guise task were selected by stratified random sampling. This allowed me to stratify for gender, level of education, and age. A total of 22 participants took part in the verbal guise study (10 women, 12 men) Table 4.5 details the participants in this task and their age ranges, and level of education.

	Verbal Guise (audio only)	
Total #	n = 22	
Gender (and percentages)	Women = 10 (45.5%)	Men= 12 (54.5%)
Age ranges	26 – 73	24 – 70
+univ. degree (and percentages)	5 (50%)	7 (58%)

Coding of the data from the verbal guise task was completed in an *Excel* file. In this file each participant was assigned a row. Columns were created for the personal information for each

participant and then for each of the items in the questionnaire. Crucially data for each speaker was recorded separately, such that one *Excel* sheet contained the data for only one guise. To exemplify, consider Table 4.6 with sample data and ratings given to guise #1 (Dominican in Dominican Republic):

Table 4.6: Sample of data coding for *Guise #1*

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Place of birth</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Employment</i>	<i>“sociable”</i>	<i>“educado”</i>
F	46	Santurce	High School	Clerk	6	5
M	37	Aybonito	M.A.	Editor	3	5

The organization of the data in the *Excel* file facilitated the subsequent descriptive and comparative analysis of the data along the dimension of task, speaker, participant gender and level of education.

4.2.5 Analysis

Initially, the data analysis consisted of calculating averages for each item (e.g. personal traits such as “friendly”) per speaker in each of the verbal guise tasks. This method allowed primary insights into those items whose average rating differed substantially between tasks. Subsequently, repeated-measures ANOVAs were performed in SPSS. This analysis was chosen because we have one independent within-subjects variable with four levels (4 guises) and one dependent variable (the item examined, e.g., the personal characteristic “intelligent”). The possible effect of gender differences on the ratings (e.g., ‘men’ vs. ‘women’ and ‘Dominican women in DR’ vs. ‘Dominican women in PR’) was included in the analysis as a between-subjects factor. Due to the small number of participants in this task, a reliable comparison for age groups was not suitable. Also, due to very low response rates on the regional background of the guise speakers, the data for this item (#14) was excluded from the remainder of the study.

4.3 Sociolinguistic Questionnaires and Linguistic Insecurity and Identity Surveys

Individual interviews were employed to gather information on personal histories and on perceptions of the dialectal differences and linguistic variables associated with these. A few open-ended items were included in the questionnaires in order to allow participants to express their opinions more freely. The majority of items were closed-ended items. These were included to facilitate later quantification of the results and statistical analysis. Previous work has called attention to the risk of relying on the data extracted during individual interview sessions, as it is possibly subject to biases such as the social desirability bias (Cook & Sellitz 1964) and the acquiescence bias (Ostrom et al 1994). Both forms of social bias are said to lead the participant to offer responses that are socially more acceptable in an effort to appear more well-adjusted and unprejudiced. However, given the socioeconomic situation of the Dominican participants in the study and the low level of education of some of the speakers, alternative strategies of data collection such as posting questionnaires online or sending them out through mail, were not a viable possibility.

4.3.1 Participants

All participants taking part in the study completed the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire as well as the Survey on Linguistic Insecurity and Language Identity.

Table 4.7: Participants in Sociolinguistic Questionnaire and Survey on Linguistic Insecurity and Identity

	Dominicans		Puerto Ricans
	In DR	in PR	
Total #	n=49	n=47	n=52
Gender in percentage per group (and number of participants) ¹⁷	Women = 57% (28) Men = 43% (21)	Women = 51% (24) Men = 49% (23)	Women = 44% (23) Men =56% (29)
Age ranges	Women: 20 – 66 Men: 18 – 82	Women = 18 - 83 Men = 24 - 67	Women = 19 - 73 Men = 19 – 75
+univ. degree in percentage per group (and number of participants)	Women = 43% (12) Men = 23% (5)	Women = 12.5% (3) Men = 17 % (4)	Women = 56% (13) Men =62% (18)

Table 4.8 presents the participants in the study by gender, age group, and level of education. The Dominicans living in the Dominican Republic were mainly recruited in the metropolitan area of the capital Santo Domingo (n=39) and others in the northern region of the Cibao. The regions of origin of the participants can be found all over the Dominican Republic and included the following: 28 participants born in the metropolitan area of Santo Domingo, 5 participants were born in the southeastern Dominican Republic (Higüey, El Seibo, San Pedro de Macorís), 2 participants were from the central province of San Juan (e.g., Elías Piñas), 3 from the central western province of La Vega. The remaining participants were from the rural area in the northeast of the country, the Cibao (n=11). These areas of origin of the Dominican participants were chosen in an effort to poll participants from the geographical areas that have mainly contributed to Dominican immigration to Puerto Rico.

The sample of Dominicans living in Puerto Rico was recruited in the metropolitan area of San Juan, specifically Río Piedras, Santurce, and Guaynabo. The areas of origin of these

¹⁷ All percentages are rounded to the next highest percentage.

participants included several parts of the Dominican Republic. From the metropolitan area of Santo Domingo there were 16 participants, from the Southeastern Dominican Republic there were 15 participants, 12 were from the Cibao, three from the central and central-western portion of the Republic, and one had been born in Río Piedras, Puerto Rico (Image 4.2).



Image 4.1: Map of the Dominican Republic (taken from davehogendam.com)

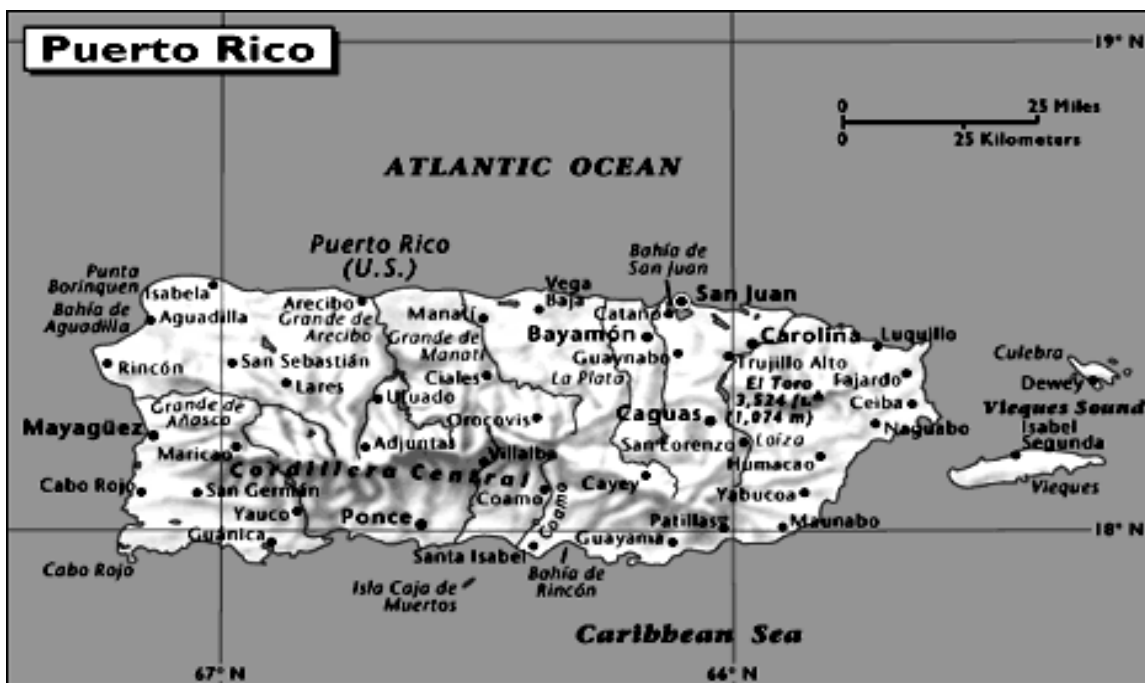


Image 4.2: Map of Puerto Rico (taken from <http://www.nagchaumpa.com>)

The group of Puerto Rican participants was recruited from areas of metropolitan San Juan, such as Río Piedras and Santurce. About half of the participants (n=24) were born and raised in San Juan and the metropolitan area. Other participants had moved as adults to the metropolitan area due to job opportunities. Among these were 10 participants from areas in the north of the island (e.g., Bayamón, Vega Baja, Manatí), 7 from central areas of the island (Aybonito, Cayey, San Lorenzo), 3 from the South (e.g., Ponce, Jauco), and 3 originally from the eastern provinces of the island (e.g., Cabo Rojo, Mayagüez). Also, 5 participants were born in the mainland U.S. and then subsequently raised in Puerto Rico (e.g., San Juan, Aybonito, Vega Baja).

All participants completed the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire. However, the content of the Linguistic Insecurity and Identity portion of the survey was adapted to each group. Since linguistic insecurity of Puerto Rican Spanish speakers was not the purpose of the study, the questionnaire for this group only contained two items. These required the speakers to rate their own variety in comparison to Dominican Spanish and all Spanish varieties. The group of Dominicans living in Puerto Rico completed additional items on the questionnaire specifically addressing issues affecting immigrant life such as dialectal use and social experiences with Puerto Ricans in San Juan.

4.3.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

The sociolinguistic interviews were conducted with all participants, both Puerto Rican and Dominican residents of diverse suburban communities in metropolitan San Juan and the Dominican Republic. The interviews were guided by a sociolinguistic questionnaire that elicited (a) personal information about language history, educational background, employment, social networks, and length of residence in Puerto Rico (for Dominican participants), and (b) perceived linguistic differences between Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish and attitudes towards both the dialect and speakers of the variant not spoken by the interviewee (Appendix C).

4.3.2.1 Materials

The sociolinguistic questionnaire consisted of twenty-three items, including six items that solicited information about the participant such as place of birth, education, and employment. Eleven items were open-ended questions, on dialectal and racial differences:

23) *¿Cuáles son palabras típicas del español dominicano/puertorriqueño?*

‘What are some typical Dominican/Puerto Rican Spanish words?’

24) *¿Qué más diferencia el habla de los puertorriqueños del suyo?*

‘What else differentiates Puerto Rican speech from you own?’

25) *¿Sabe Ud. si hay diferentes acentos entre las diferentes regiones en la Dominicana?
¿Cuáles son y de qué región?*

‘Do you know if there are different accents in different regions of the Dominican Republic/Puerto Rico? What are these differences and for which region are they typical?’

26) *¿Ha escuchado usted hacer comentarios inapropiados o insultantes sobre una persona que habla español con acento dominicano?*

‘Have you heard other people make inappropriate or insulting comments about a person speaking with a Dominican accent?’

27) *¿Con qué frecuencia lo ha escuchado?*

– *muy a menudo* *-a veces* *- casi nunca* *-nunca*

‘How often have you heard these comments?’

- ‘very often’ - ‘sometimes’ - ‘hardly ever’ - ‘never’

28) *¿Me podría dar un ejemplo de qué dijeron en concreto?*

‘Could you give me an example of what was said?’

29) (*¿Está de acuerdo?*) ‘Do you agree?’

30) *¿Por qué?/¿Por qué no?* ‘Why?/ Why not?’

31) *¿Ha escuchado usted hacer comentarios inapropiados o insultantes sobre la raza o la procedencia étnica de alguien? ¿De un dominicano/una dominicana en específico?*

‘Have you head anyone make inappropriate or insulting comments about the race or the ethnic background of another person? Specifically of a Dominican?’

32) *¿Con qué frecuencia?*

– *muy a menudo* *-a veces* *- casi nunca* *-nunca*

‘How often?’

- ‘very often’ - ‘sometimes’ - ‘hardly ever’ - ‘never’

33) *¿Podría darme algún ejemplo de algo que usted ha escuchado?*

‘Could you give me an example of what you have heard?’

These open-ended questions allowed the participants to explain in more detail and in their own words their intuitions in reference to the issue discussed (e.g. noticeable features of a particular

dialectal variant as in (19) and (21). This data will prove useful in establishing for instance which linguistic features are perceived by native speakers of different language variants as particularly salient. Also, several open-ended questions required that the participant state his/her attitudes with respect to profiling of an ethnic and linguistic minority (e.g. (22)). These questions were chosen to gain insight into individual experiences with racial and linguistic profiling. Due to the open-ended form of the questions, participants were able to voice their own ideas, perceptions, and experiences with respect to these issues.

The remaining six items sought to quantify speakers' sociolinguistic intuitions and beliefs. In an effort to quantify these opinions, the participants were required to indicate their agreement or disagreement with a given statement, on a seven-point scale¹⁸ ranging from 1= *no, de ninguna manera* 'absolutely no' to 7= *totalmente de acuerdo* 'absolutely agree'.

34) *Su dialecto del español es diferente de él de los puertorriqueños, cubanos, etc.*

<i>No, de ninguna manera</i>							<i>Totalmente de acuerdo</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

'Your dialect of Spanish is different of that of Puerto Ricans/Dominicans.'

35) *Creo que puedo identificar fácilmente si una persona es por ejemplo puertorriqueña por su acento.*

<i>No, de ninguna manera</i>							<i>Totalmente de acuerdo</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

'I can identify easily whether a person is Dominican/Puerto Rican based on their accent.'

36) *Se puede saber si una persona es dominicana/puertorriqueña según las palabras que usa.*

<i>No, de ninguna manera</i>							<i>Totalmente de acuerdo</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

'It is possible to know whether a person is Dominican /Puerto Rican based on the words they use.'

¹⁸ Up until the 1990s it was more common to use 5-point scales. In the late 1980s and early 1990s however, several studies argued that seven-point scales were particularly useful for measuring intensity of attitudes by pointing out that an attitude at either end of the scale reflects a higher degree of attitude intensity than if one selects the middle-point of the scale (cf. Henerson et al. 1987; Oppenheimer 1992). Based on these previous findings, the present study adopted the seven-point scale.

37) *Puedo identificar de qué región viene una persona dominicana/puertorriqueña.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘I can distinguish from what region a Dominican/Puerto Rican comes from.’

38) (Referring to occurrences of racial or socioeconomic profiling)

¿Está Ud. de acuerdo con estos comentarios?

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘Do you agree with these comments?’

39) *Hay gente que dice que hay una diferencia de tez/raza entre dominicanos/puertorriqueños.*

¿Está de acuerdo?

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘There are people who say that there is a difference in phenotype/race between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. Do you agree?’

4.3.3 Linguistic Insecurity Surveys

In addition to the twenty-three-item sociolinguistic questionnaire, orally administered surveys were used to target linguistic insecurity and the role of language in marking identity among speakers of Dominican Spanish in San Juan and in the sending communities in the Dominican Republic. The purpose of the survey is to compare levels of linguistic (in)security among both groups and potentially uncover the effects of Puerto Ricans’ negative attitudes on San Juan Dominicans’ linguistic insecurity. The results will aid in understanding the extent of the effects of social prejudice on the linguistic insecurity experienced by the Dominican minority in San Juan.

4.3.3.1 Materials

The survey comprised four items referencing varieties of Spanish (including regional Dominican varieties, regional Puerto Rican varieties, and other varieties of Spanish) and items referencing the importance of language in the marking of identity (Appendix D). In order to facilitate the analysis, the participants were asked to rate their agreement with each statement on seven-point scales.

Linguistic insecurity items (Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in DR/PR)

40) *Creo que el español dominicano es mejor que el español puertorriqueño.*

No, de ninguna manera *Totalmente de acuerdo*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘I believe that Dominican Spanish is better than Puerto Rican Spanish.’

41) *Creo que el español dominicano es mejor que otros dialectos del español.*

No, de ninguna manera *Totalmente de acuerdo*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘I believe that Dominican Spanish is better than other dialects of Spanish.’

42) *Creo que el español puertorriqueño es mejor que el español dominicano.*

No, de ninguna manera *Totalmente de acuerdo*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘I believe that Puerto Rican Spanish is better than Dominican Spanish.’

43) *¿Cree que otros dialectos del español son mejores que el español dominicano/puertorriqueño?*

No, de ninguna manera *Totalmente de acuerdo*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘I believe that other dialects of Spanish are better than Dominican/ Puerto Rican Spanish.’

Items on Dominican linguistic (in)security and identity in PR

44) *Hablar con mi acento nativo es muy importante para mí. Refleja de donde vengo y quien soy.*

No, de ninguna manera *Totalmente de acuerdo*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘Speaking with my native accent is very important to me. It reflects where I am from and who I am.’

45) *La cultura dominicana es muy importante para mí y mi identidad.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘Dominican culture is important to me and my identity.’

46) *¿Cuáles son los aspectos de la cultura dominicana que son muy importantes para Ud.?*

‘What aspects of Dominican culture are very important to you?’

47) *¿Cuáles aspectos de la cultura dominicana no le gustan tanto?*

‘Which aspects of Dominican culture do you not like so much?’

48) *Me siento muy orgulloso/a de ser dominicano/dominicana.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘I am very proud to be Dominican.’

49) *En mi opinión no es correcto que otros hablantes del español discriminen contra nuestro acento dominicano.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘In my opinion it is not right that other Spanish speakers discriminate against our Dominican accent.’

50) *Creo que el español que se habla aquí en la Dominicana no es muy correcto.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘I believe that the Spanish that is spoken in the Dominican Republic is not the most correct version of the language.’

51) *¿Por que sí/no?*

(Do you agree?) ‘Why yes/why not?’

52) *Creo que el español que se habla en otras partes del país/el mundo es mejor/más correcto que el español dominicano.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘I believe that the Spanish spoken in other parts of the country/the world is better/more correct Spanish than Dominican Spanish.’

53) *Si la respuesta fue “sí”....¿Cuáles dialectos cree Ud. son más correctos?*

‘If your answer was “yes... Which dialects do you believe are more correct?’

54) *A veces los dominicanos que viven en Puerto Rico/fuera del país no hablan con un acento “puro” dominicano. Para mí eso significa que no son dominicanos de verdad.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘Sometimes Dominicans that live in Puerto Rico/outside of the country (the Dominican Republic) don’t speak with a pure Dominican accent anymore. For me this means that they are no longer real Dominicans.’

Additional Survey items for Dominicans living in Puerto Rico:

55) *La gente no se da cuenta de que soy dominicano/dominicana hasta que me oye hablar.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘People don’t realize that I am Dominican until they hear me speak.’

56) *Desde que he vivido aquí en Puerto Rico, la gente me dice que tengo un acento puertorriqueño.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘Since I’ve lived here in Puerto Rico, people tell me that I’ve gotten a Puerto Rican accent.’

57) (If “yes”) *Me molesta tener un acento puertorriqueño.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘It bothers me to have a Puerto Rican accent.’

58) (If “no”) *Me molesta **no** tener un acento puertorriqueño.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘It bothers me **not** to have a Puerto Rican accent.’

59) *Cuando los puertorriqueños se confunden y piensan que soy de aquí los corrijo y digo que soy dominicano/dominicana.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘Whenever people mistake me for a Puerto Rican I correct them and tell them that I am Dominican.’

60) *A veces no los corrijo.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘Sometimes I don’t correct them.’

61) *Me siento más a gusto hablar con mi acento dominicano en casa o con mis amigos/familiares que con los puertorriqueños.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘I feel more comfortable speaking with my Dominican accent at home or with my friends than with Puerto Ricans.’

62) *Hablo como hablo, da igual con quien estoy hablando. Nunca cambio mi acento.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘I speak the way I speak; it does not matter with whom I am talking. I never change my accent.’

63) *Me duele que la gente aquí se burle de nosotros los dominicanos y nuestro acento.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘It hurts me that people here make fun of us Dominicans and our accent.’

64) (Only if participant has children) *¿Sus hijos hablan con acento puertorriqueño?*

(“Sí”) *Me molesta que mis hijos no hablen con acento dominicano.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

‘Do you children speak with a Puerto Rican accent?’

(“Yes”) It bothers me that my children don’t speak with a Dominican accent.’

65) (“No”) *Me hace feliz, porque el acento dominicano es parte de su herencia dominicana.*

No, de ninguna manera

Totalmente de acuerdo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

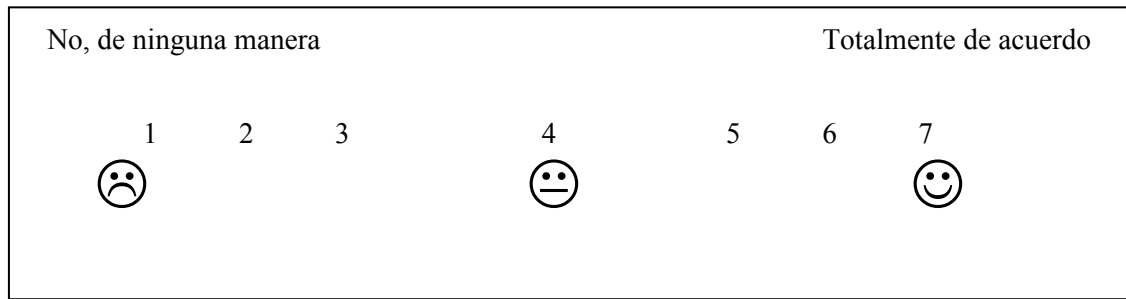
‘(“No”) It makes me happy because the Dominican accent is part of their heritage.’

The items chosen for this part of the task aimed at specific issues that include the relationship between language and identity. This was targeted from two angles: a) the in-group perception of Dominican Spanish and its role in the negotiation of Dominican identity abroad, and b) the out-group perceptions of Dominican Spanish as the language variant spoken by an immigrant population.

4.3.4 Procedure

Prior to completing the questionnaires and surveys, each participant was presented with a large print-out of the seven-point *Likert* scale and instructed to indicate to what degree he/she agreed or disagreed with a given statement. As can be seen in Picture 4.1, the numbers on the scale were supported by visual aids. This was added as an aid to the participants, many of whom are not familiar with using scales and in many cases also have not had many years of education.

Image 4.3: Visual aid for *Likert* scale



Preceding each interview, the participant was asked for permission to record the session on an audio recorder. Although the author always marked the answers on the scale and made notes on the open-ended questions, it was desirable to make recordings in case some of the comments were left undocumented. Whereas the vast majority of Dominicans in the Dominican Republic agreed to the recording, many Dominicans living in San Juan preferred not to be recorded. As mentioned in the previous chapters, many Dominicans living in Puerto Rico are undocumented migrants. As a consequence, fear of discovery of their illegal status was the reason for many potential participants not to consent to the audio recording. If given consent, the interviews were recorded on a Marantz PMD 620 as 32-bit wave files.

4.3.5 Data Coding and Analysis

The responses to the seven-point *Likert* scales in the questionnaires and surveys were coded in *Excel*. Each column represents a question or personal information (e.g. gender, age, place of birth, highest level of education completed, number of years in San Juan) on the questionnaire/survey and each row represented one participant. The answers to the seven-point scales were entered in individual cells (Table 4.9)

Table 4.8: Sample of data coding

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Place of birth</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Employment</i>	<i>Item 1</i>	<i>Item 2</i>
F	46	Santo Domingo	High School	nurse	6	5
M	37	Santo Domingo	9 th Grade	construction	3	5

Data analysis comprised the completion of one-way ANOVAs in SPSS, which compared averages for each item across groups (e.g., Dominicans in the Dominican Republic vs. Dominicans in Puerto Rico) and also across and between gender groups (e.g., ‘men’ vs. ‘women’ and ‘Dominican women in DR’ vs. ‘Dominican women in PR’).

4.4 Summary

The methods described in this chapter are designed to gain insight into dialectal perceptions and attitudes on the part of Puerto Ricans vis-à-vis Dominican Spanish, the variant spoken by a large part of the immigrant population on this island. Another concern within this context is the outcome of the immigration experience on the relationship between language, linguistic security and identity for those Dominicans who have emigrated to Puerto Rico.

The investigation includes two studies, each one focusing on one of the concerns mentioned. The sociolinguistic questionnaire and the survey on linguistic insecurity and identity specifically address possible changes in linguistic insecurity and changes in Dominican self-perception and identity motivated by immigration and the minority status of the group in Puerto Rico. The verbal guise experiment aims at tapping into Puerto Ricans’ strategies to differentiate speakers based on linguistic and extra-linguistic criteria. It should provide evidence for Puerto Ricans’ ability to recognize Dominican speakers based on audio cues only.

The ensuing sections will discuss the results of each of these studies in turn. Chapter 5 will present and discuss the results of the Puerto Rican perceptions of dialectal differences and identification strategies culled from the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire. Chapter 6 presents and contextualizes the results from the verbal guise task. Chapter 7 will discuss the results of the survey on Dominican linguistic insecurity and identity. A comparison of the data from the Dominican Republic and that collected among Dominicans in Puerto Rico will allow insights into the effects of immigration on Dominican linguistic insecurity and identity.

CHAPTER 5

Dialectal Identification and Attitudes – Evidence from Inter-personal Interviews

5.1 Introduction

One of the foci of this thesis is to investigate Puerto Ricans' attitudes towards Dominican Spanish. As outlined in Chapter 1, this issue was approached by direct inquiry, via a sociolinguistic questionnaire and indirectly by means of the verbal guise task. The results of the sociolinguistic questionnaire will be reported in this chapter, whereas the outcome of the verbal guise task is offered in Chapter 6.

As mentioned previously, in Chapter 4, the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire was presented in the form of individual interviews, in an effort to gather information on personal histories and on perceptions of the dialectal differences and linguistic variables associated with these. The purpose of the present chapter is to discuss the following: (a) to what extent Puerto Ricans believe that they can distinguish Dominican Spanish as different from their own variety, (b) what linguistic variables Puerto Ricans report to using in the identification process, (c) whether the Puerto Rican participants ascribe any form of prestige to Dominican Spanish in comparison to other varieties and their own, and (d) their knowledge of the existence of social and racial prejudice towards Dominican Spanish and its speakers. Based on the existing linguistic differences between both dialects described in Chapter 1, it is hypothesized that native speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish will perceive Dominican Spanish as different from their own. The participants' responses will allow insights into Puerto Ricans' strategies of speaker identification. Previous studies have pointed to the importance of phonetic and phonological differences and speakers' knowledge thereof and their correlation with wide-spread social and racial stereotypes of speakers (e.g. Purnell et al. 1999). Consequently, it is expected that, apart from existing lexical differences, differences in phonological patterns between dialects will also be noticed by speakers and correlated with stereotypical notions of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico.

The chapter is outlined as follows: Section 5.2 will describe the materials from the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire more in detail. Section 5.3 will offer a presentation of the

results of the qualitative and the quantitative parts of the survey. Section 5.4 concludes the chapter with a discussion and a contextualization of the results.

5.2 Materials

The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire included both closed-ended and open-ended items. The closed-ended items are rated along 7-point scales (“1” indicating no agreement with the statement, “7” indicating strong agreement). A few open-ended items were included in the questionnaire in order to allow participants to express their opinions more freely.

In more detail, items (1) to (3) addressed the speaker’s confidence in recognizing Dominican Spanish as different from Puerto Rican Spanish and perceptions of difference between both varieties. Item (4) references possible knowledge on the part of the Puerto Rican participant in differentiating regional differences among Dominican Spanish speaker. These items are repeated presently again:

- 1) *Su dialecto del español es diferente de él de los dominicanos.*
‘Your dialect of Spanish is different of that of Dominicans.’
- 2) *Creo que puedo identificar fácilmente si una persona es por ejemplo dominicana por su acento.*
‘I can identify easily whether a person is Dominican based on their accent.’
- 3) *Se puede saber si una persona es dominicana según las palabras que usa.*
‘It is possible to know whether a person is Dominican based on the words they use.’
- 4) *Puedo identificar de qué región viene una persona dominicana.*
‘I can distinguish from what region a Dominican comes from.’

Three open-ended items (5-7) allowed the participants to elaborate on specific linguistic cues (e.g. lexical items or phonological differences to Puerto Rican Spanish) that aided in the identification process. These items are represented here again:

- 5) *¿Cuáles son palabras típicas del español dominicano?*
‘What are some typical Dominican/Puerto Rican Spanish words?’

6) *¿Qué más diferencia el habla de los dominicanos del suyo?*

‘What else differentiates Dominican speech from your own?’

7) *¿Sabe Ud. si hay diferentes acentos entre las diferentes regiones en la Dominicana? ¿Cuáles son y de qué región?*

‘Do you know if there are different accents in different regions of the Dominican Republic/Puerto Rico? What are these differences and for which region are they typical?’

Items #8 and #9 tapped into Puerto Ricans’ notions of prestige attributed to their own variety in comparison to Dominican Spanish and other varieties of Spanish. Since the socioeconomic standing of minority groups has often been found to influence notions of prestige attributed to their language varieties (e.g. Labov 1966, Labov 1972, Niedzielski 1999), these items were included to investigate Puerto Ricans’ notions of prestige in relation to the variety spoken by Dominican immigrants. This measure also draws on Puerto Ricans’ linguistic insecurity when compared to other varieties of Spanish:

8) *Creo que el español puertorriqueño es mejor que el español dominicano.*

‘I believe that Puerto Rican Spanish is better than Dominican Spanish.’

9) *¿Cree que otros dialectos del español son mejores que el español puertorriqueño?*

‘I believe that other dialects of Spanish are better than Puerto Rican Spanish.’

As mentioned previously, the social and educational differences between Dominican immigrants and the Puerto Rican majority contribute to the discrimination of the Dominican immigrant group (e.g., Mejía Pardo 1993, Duany 1998, 2005). Items #10-#18 were included to tap into the participants’ knowledge of social and racial prejudicial notions in Puerto Rican society. These items include both open-ended and closed-ended items.

10) *¿Ha escuchado usted hacer comentarios inapropiados o insultantes sobre una persona que habla español con acento dominicano?*

‘Have you heard other people make inappropriate or insulting comments about a person speaking with a Dominican accent?’

11) *¿Con qué frecuencia lo ha escuchado?*

– *muy a menudo* - *a veces* - *casi nunca* - *nunca*

‘How often have you heard these comments?’

- ‘very often’ - ‘sometimes’ - ‘hardly ever’ - ‘never’

12) *¿Me podría dar un ejemplo de qué dijeron en concreto?*

‘Could you give me an example of what was said?’

13) *(¿Está de acuerdo?)* ‘Do you agree?’

14) *¿Por qué?/¿Por qué no?* ‘Why?/ Why not?’

15) *¿Ha escuchado usted hacer comentarios inapropiados o insultantes sobre la raza o la procedencia étnica de alguien? ¿De un dominicano/una dominicana en específico?*

‘Have you heard anyone make inappropriate or insulting comments about the race or the ethnic background of another person? Specifically of a Dominican?’

16) *¿Con qué frecuencia?*

– *muy a menudo* - *a veces* - *casi nunca* - *nunca*

‘How often?’

- ‘very often’ - ‘sometimes’ - ‘hardly ever’ - ‘never’

17) *¿Podría darme algún ejemplo de algo que usted ha escuchado?*

‘Could you give me an example of what you have heard?’

18) *Hay gente que dice que hay una diferencia de tez/raza entre dominicanos/puertorriqueños.*

‘There are people who say that there is a difference in phenotype/race between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. Do you agree?’

The presentation and discussion of results will report on all these items, describing overall trends as well as possible differences between gender groups.

5.3 Presentation of Results

Table 5.1 offers an overview of the mean ratings given for each closed-ended item. Recall that “1” indicated disagreement with the statement and “7” agreement with the statement.

	Mean	SD
Item #1 ('dialectal difference to DS')	6.17	1.20
Item #2 ('DS easy to identify')	6.64	.98
Item #3 ('Identification of DS by lexical items')	6.38	1.42
Item #7 ('Identification of Dominican regional accents')	1.94	1.80
Item #8 ('PRS better than DS')	3.91	2.70
Item #9 ('PRS better than other varieties')	2.85	2.52
Item #11 ('Agreement with negative comments about DS')	1.60	1.55
Item #16 ('Difference in skin color between Dom and PR')	2.55	2.50

The items #1-3 address perceived dialectal differences between Puerto Rican Spanish and Dominican Spanish and the identification of Dominican Spanish for these participants. All three items are rated very positively with means above 6.0, indicating a high level of agreement with these statements. The participants therefore believe that Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish are very different and that it is easy to identify speakers of Dominican Spanish through their accent and through the use of particular lexical items.

Table 5.2: Gender Results of closed-ended items

	Men n= 30		Women n= 22	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Item #1 ('dialectal difference to DS')	6.13	1.11	6.22	1.31
Item #2 ('DS easy to identify')	6.53	1.07	6.78	.850
Item #3 ('Identification of DS by lexical items')	6.00	1.78	6.87	.344
Item #7 ('Identification of Dominican regional accents')	2.27	2.03	1.52	1.34
Item #8 ('PRS better than DS')	2.63	2.51	3.91	2.83
Item #9 ('PRS better than other varieties')	2.73	2.53	3.00	2.56
Item #11 ('Agreement with negative comments about DS')	1.52	1.45	1.71	1.71
Item #18 ('Difference in skin color between Dom and PR')	2.50	2.35	2.61	2.17

Similar patterns are found among the gender groups for these three items. Means from both men and women groups exhibit agreement with the statements (means above 6.0). Independent Sample T-Tests were conducted to uncover possible statistically significant differences between means. The t-test for items #1 and #2 did not reveal significant differences: item #1 $t(51, 53) = -2.47, p = .806$, item #2 $t(51, 53) = -.943, p = .350$. Therefore, both gender groups agree with the statement that Dominican Spanish and Puerto Rican Spanish are different and that speakers of Dominican Spanish can easily be identified by their accent.

A particular role in the identification process is given to lexical items, which are identified as highly salient in the overall group and also among gender groups. Striking is that the difference in means between men and women is statistically significant: $t(51, 53) = -2.30, p < .05$. Women indicated significantly more agreement with the statement that they could identify a speaker as Dominican based on lexical items.

Therefore it is not surprising that during the interviews female participants especially commented on the dialectal differences as an identification cue. The answers given to items (5-7) allow interesting insights into native speaker strategies in identifying dialectal differences. Item (5) offered the participants the chance to reference salient lexical items that are specific for Dominican Spanish. Many participants quoted as particularly salient

the use of the expression *qué vaina* ‘what nonsense’. The ensuing statements clearly reveal that lexical differences are highly salient dialectal markers:

- (1) *Lo que siempre usan, los dominicanos, es la expresión ‘qué vaina’. Cuando una persona dice ‘qué vaina’ o ‘mira la vaina’ tú sabes, este....que es un dominicano.* ‘What they always use, the Dominicans, is the expression ‘the thing’. Whenever a person says ‘the thing’ or ‘look at that thing’ you know, ah...that he is Dominican.’ (female, 22, student, Río Piedras)
- (2) *¿Una palabra típica del dominicano? Pues eso sería ‘qué vaina’, eso dicen siempre. Qué más... ‘esa vaina’...bueno así lo dicen .’* A typical Dominican word? Well, that would be ‘that thing’, they say that all the time. What else... ‘this thing’ ...well, that’s how they say it.’ (female, 21, student, Bayamón)

The majority of interviewees point to the abundance and importance of lexical differences in speaker identification.

- (3) (...) *hay ciertas palabras y ciertas expresiones idiomáticas que tienen ellos para definir frutas y situaciones y comida y demás. Pero en general, es español, es como ir a España. El castellano de España y el castellano de Costa Rica y el español de Honduras, cada uno tiene sus regionalismos.* ‘There are certain words and certain idiomatic expressions that they have to define fruits and situations and food and more. But, overall, it is Spanish, it’s like going to Spain. The Spanish of Spain and the Spanish of Costa Rica and the Spanish of Honduras, each one has its regionalisms.’ (male, 58, businessman, San Juan)
- (4) *Ah, pues, los dominicanos tienen sus palabras, ya tú sabes...tienen palabras diferentes de uno, como nosotros, los borícuas, decimos ‘bolsa’...entonces ellos dicen ‘funda’ pero significa lo mismo... .’* ‘Ah, well, the Dominicans have their words, you know...they have different words from us, like, us, we say ‘bag’ and they say ‘funda’ but it means the same thing...’ (female, 21, student, Mao)

- (5) *Bueno, lo que dicen los dominicanos es “Oh, pero bueno”, y lo dicen así... “Oh, pero bueno”. Siempre dicen ‘oh’ ...como, es una forma suya de expresarse. ‘Well, what Dominican say is “oh, well”, and they say it like that... “Oh, well”. They always say ‘oh’, it’s like ... their way to express themselves.’ (female, 28, cook, Adjuntos)*
- (6) *Si, hay muchas palabras diferentes...a veces palabras de aquí son palabras malas allá...y al revés. Por ejemplo la palabra ‘bicho’ aquí en Puerto Rico es muy mal, pero allá en la Dominicana se usa mucho...‘Yes, there are many different words...sometimes words used here are bad words over there...and the other way around. For instance the word ‘bicho’ here in Puerto Rico is a bad word but over there in the Dominican it is used a lot.’ (female, 66, housewife, Santurce)*
- (7) *Sí, los dominicanos tienen palabras propias como...por ejemplo...a ver...por ejemplo...dicen ‘carajito’ que no lo usamos nosotros pero se dice allá. ‘Yes, Dominicans have their own words like...for example...let’s see...for example they say ‘carajito’ which we do not use but it is said over there.’ (male, 21, student, San Lorenzo)*
- (8) *Bueno, una cosa que he notado que dicen es ‘asaroso’ o algo así ...eso....bueno significa algo como una persona que molesta. Y ya tú sabes...que ellos tienen sus palabras de allá. ‘Well, one thing I’ve noticed is that they say ‘asarozo’ or something like that.....that...well means something like a person that bothers you. And yeah, you know...they have their words from back home.’(male, 25, cook, Bayamón)*
- (9) *Los dominicanos, ah sí, pues tienen su palabras ...de su idioma...pués como ‘mangú’ es una palabra suya. Es una comida dominicana. Hay más, pero ahora no me... ‘The Dominicans, ah yes, well they have their words...from their*

language, well. Like ‘mangú’ is one of their words. It’s the name of a Dominican dish. There are more, but right now, I can’t...’ (male, 55, dry cleaner, Santurce)

One participant in particular discussed the importance of lexical differences as *shibboleths* in speaker identification. In particular he describes how at one time he confronted a Dominican who had claimed to be Puerto Rican by using a typical Puerto Rican word that is not known in the Dominican Republic, *eñangotarse* ‘to squat’.

(10) *Sí, te iba decir esto: como aquí este...Puerto Rico puede ser como Naciones Unidas. Aquí viene gente de, del Cibao, viene de...no sé otro. O sea, cuando tú vienes a hablar con ellos, ves la diferencia, pero que tú notas, tú lo notas. Por ejemplo, te...una vez inmigración cayó aquí, escuche eso... Entonces inmigración... siendo de la Dominicana, dice “yo soy boricua”, y yo les digo ‘eñangótate’. “¿Qué es eñangotarte?” “Eh, ¿qué pasa? ¿Qué es eso?” “Eñangótate, bájate.” El tipo no sabía lo que pasaba..... o sea, eñangótate, es esto. ‘Yes, I was going to tell you this: since here...Puerto Rico can be like the United Nations. Here people come from the, the Cibao, they come from...I don’t know other places. So, when you go and talk to them, you see the difference, what you notice, you notice. For example...after immigration came here, listen to this....So, Dominican immigrants came and said ‘I am Puerto Rican’ and I tell them ‘squat’. Well what does ‘squat’ mean? ‘Wait, what’s going on?’ ‘What is that?’ ‘Squat means to sit down.’ The guy had no idea what was going on... So, you see, ‘squat’ is just that.’ (male, 40, shop owner, Santurce)*

Apart from referring to lexical differences, item (20) allowed the participants to mention any other linguistic cues that they were aware of using in speaker identification. Most participants referred to a difference in *acento* ‘accent’ and gave examples of phonological differences such as the more advanced loss of syllable and word-final /s/ and the weakening of coda consonants in Dominican Spanish. Others hinted at possible intonational differences between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish. Several speakers express perceived differences in ‘rhythm’.

- (11) *Pues, es que se comen las palabras, los Dominicanos...también hablan más rápido, este...y excluyen letras. Sí, acortan las palabras, diría yo.* ‘Well, they eat their words, the Dominicans...they also speak faster, eh...and exclude letters. Yeah, they shorten words, I would say.’ (male, 24, office worker, Arecibo)
- (12) *Es que tienen otra pronunciación...sabes que lo que hacen es...como suprimir las consonantes a final de palabras. O sea, yo noto que nosotros lo hacemos también pero me parece que los Dominicanos lo hacen más que uno.* ‘It’s just that they have a different pronunciation...you know what they do is...like suppress the consonants at the end of words. So, I notice that we do this as well but it seems to me that Dominicans do it more than us.’(male, 19, student, San Juan)
- (13) *Es que tienen un acento más fuerte allá. Nosotros en Puerto Rico tenemos un acento más suave.* ‘I think they have a stronger accent over there. We in Puerto Rico have a softer accent.’ (male, 30, bartender, born in NYC)
- (14) *Me parece, que ellos tienen un tono de voz diferente, es como...no sé decírtelo, pero...es que...un ritmo, un acento diferente.* ‘It seems to me that they have a different tone in their voice, it’s like...I don’t know how to tell you, but...it’s like...a rhythm, a different accent.’ (male, 28, student, San Juan)
- (15) *Tienen como un acento diferente, ¿sabes? Tienen su propio ritmo hablando.* ‘They’ve got like a different accent, you know? They have their own rhythm when they speak.’ (female, 58, editor, San Juan)
- (16) *He notado que pronuncian la ‘r’ diferente, dicen como... ‘perro’ así diferente que acá. También me parece que tienen otro ritmo cuando hablan...* ‘I’ve noticed that they pronounce the ‘r’ different, they say like ... “perro” so different from [how we say it] here. It also seems to me that they have another rhythm when they speak....’ (female, 27, museum guide, Ponce)

(17) (...) *Que tienen un acento menos cantaito que uno. Sí, tienen un acento bien diferente.* ‘They have, like, a less musical accent than us. Yeah, they’ve got quite a different accent.’ (male, 52, corner store owner, Santurce)

(18) *Hay unas pequeñas variaciones, sí, no es que sea diferente, pues he oído, esto...y o no lo puedo precisar, son cosas que uno capta al oído porque ya está acostumbrado a oír su idioma en un...una entonación y la entonación de ellos parece ser un poco distinta. (...) Bueno, mire. Para dar un ejemplo, nosotros decimos que los americanos, que los mexicanos cant...hablan cantando y nosotros...y ellos dicen que no, que nosotros hablamos cantando. Así que es una cuestión de oído. Y en cuanto a los dominicanos se refiere, pues ellos tienen una forma de pronunciar ciertos vocábulos que de momento yo no..... Pero así que uno los distingue por la entonación, por un cierto tipo de soneo que ellos tienen con ciertas palabras o cierta forma de enfatizar sus oraciones, que es distinta a lo que estamos acostumbrados a oír normalmente aquí. Por ejemplo...wow.* ‘There are some small variations, yes, it’s not that it’s different, when you hear it, and....I cannot tell you precisely, those are things that you grasp when you hear it because you are used to hearing your own language in a ...an intonation and their intonation seems to be a bit different. (...) Ok, look. To give you an example, we say that the Americans, that the Mexicans, sing....speak in a singing way and that we....and they say that they don’t, that we are the ones that speak melodically. So, it’s a question of hearing it. With respect to the Dominicans, you talk about, well they have a way of pronouncing certain words and I don’t....But this way one can distinguish them by intonation, through a certain kind of sound that they have in some words or some way in which they emphasize their sentences, which is different from what we are used to hearing. For example....wow.’ (male, 40, worker, Fajardo)

In Section 1.2 it was mentioned that intonational differences between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish exist. Previous accounts (e.g., Quilis 1993, Sosa 1999, Willis 2003) have pointed out that the Dominican expressions *oh, oh* ‘oh, oh’, *oh sí* ‘oh, yes’, and

sentences containing Dominican double negation represent unique intonational patterns. Given the unique character of these expressions and their intonational pattern, it is likely that these serve as cues for Puerto Rican Spanish speakers in the identification process.

Item #7 tapped into Puerto Ricans' knowledge of regional differences in Dominican Spanish. The mean of below 2.0 indicates disagreement with the statement "I can distinguish from what region a Dominican comes from." This result is echoed in the means for gender groups, whereby both men and women indicate disagreement with a mean below 2.3. An Independent Samples t-test revealed that this difference was not significant ($t(51, 53) = 1.52, p = .135$). Consequently, comparatively few respondents could give specific answer to item (7) referencing the speakers' knowledge of regional differences in Dominican Spanish.

(19) *Sí, sé que en la región del Cibao se habla bien diferente. Conozco a gente ... que son de allá que dicen 'comei' en vez de 'comer' ... hablan bien diferente.*

'Yes, I know that in the region of the Cibao they speak quite differently. I know people who are from there who say 'comei' instead of 'comer' ... they speak quite differently.' (male, 55, shop owner, San Juan)

However, such statements are rare and as is revealed in the ratings given on item #4 few participants claimed that they could identify regional background of Dominican Spanish speakers. This fairly wide-spread belief in the inability to differentiate the regional differences that exist in the Dominican Republic is not surprising given the regional origin of Dominicans in San Juan. Recall that about one third of Dominicans in Puerto Rico were born in the Cibao, about an equal percentage in the capital Santo Domingo, and the remaining immigrants are originally from the southeast or southwest of the country. For those Puerto Rican participants who are not confronted with Dominican Spanish on a daily basis, or have personal relationships with Dominicans, a more fine-tuned differentiation of Dominican Spanish accents is perhaps difficult to achieve.

On the contrary, those Puerto Ricans who currently live or have lived in close contact with Dominicans in areas such as Santurce could be more aware of regional differences.

However, of those participants currently residing in areas such as Santurce or Río Piedras, only two expressed more detailed knowledge of Dominican regional differences:

(20) *O sea, por ejemplo la ... “aceite” ellos oyen “acerte”. O sea son diferencias...o sea, no explico cual son diferencias sobre eso? Pero son boricuas y son dominicanos, pero no sé, el conjunto es distinto. ‘So, for example the... ‘oil’ [aceite] they say ‘acerte’. So, there are differences, so I don’t really explain what differences are beyond that? But they are Puerto Ricans and those are Dominicans, and because of that I don’t know, the entire [language] is different.’* (male, 40, shop owner, Santurce)

Some speakers indicated that they could differentiate between the variety spoken in the capital Santo Domingo and the more rural regions:

(21) *‘Bueno, sé diferenciar el habla de la capital y lo de los pueblos.’ ‘I know to differentiate the accent from the capital from that of the country side.’* (female, 62, social worker, Santurce)

Very few participants offered explanations that delineated cues for identification beyond linguistic differences. Several commented on the social differences between Dominican immigrants and Puerto Ricans that are reflected in differences in clothing or general behavioral patterns.

(22) *Fíjate, yo soy tan...tan... o sea yo conozco la gente...hasta caminar se conoce el dominicano. Está así! Sí mira...porque nosotros andamos solos, ellos andan en grupos, otros andan como..... Y además que no son muy inteligentes. Perdóname, díos mío. ‘Imagine, I am so...so...like I know people...Dominicans can be recognized down to their way of walking. That’s how it is! Look...because we walk alone, and they walk in groups, others walk like...And also they are not very intelligent. Forgive me, my God!’* (male, 40, shop owner, Santurce)

At a later instance during the interview the same speaker made the following statement:

(23) *Pero la diferencia entre el dominicano y el boricua es muy distinta, ¿Por qué? Por la forma de expresarse, la forma de actuar, de conducirse. (...) El dominicano, gracias de ---somos familia, somos en una isla en la cual estamos...compartiendo. Pero a veces se abusan también de los usos de tú dignidad, de tú persona, te faltan el respeto, se...hablando mal, y el otro...nosotros no somos así. Somos civilizados, somos gente más capacitada mentalmente, físicamente, monetariamente. Y lo que queremos simplemente es una unión entre todos nosotros que nos comprendamos como seres humanos que somos.* 'But the difference between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans is distinct. Why? Because of the way in which we communicate, behave, and comport ourselves. (...) Dominicans are thanks to...we are family, we are on an island on which we are....sharing. But sometimes they misuse your human dignity, they don't respect you, they...speak badly, and the other....we are the way we are. We are civilized, we are more mentally, physically, and financially able. And what we simply want is a union between all of us so that we all see each other as human beings that we all are.' (male, 40, shop owner, Santurce)

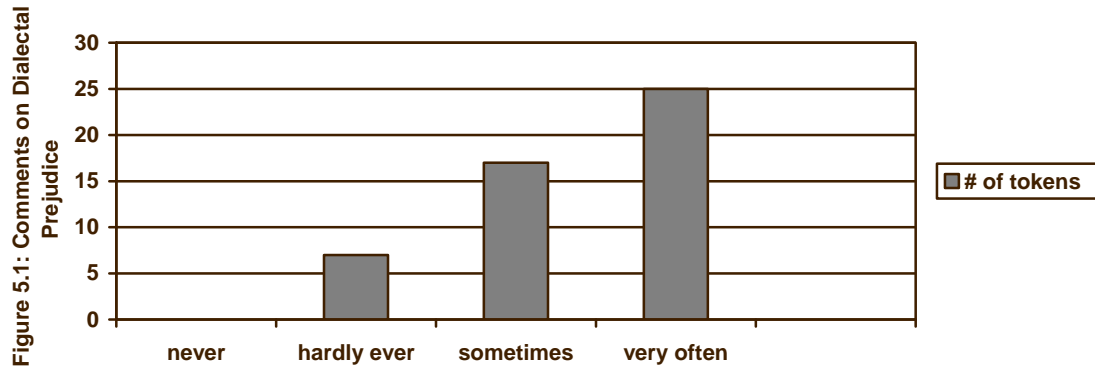
The last statement highlights that some Puerto Ricans feel that Dominican immigrants show different social behaviors and lack of respect towards the majority group. Simultaneously this extract evidences a need to establish Puerto Rican superiority at the 'mental, physical, and financial' level over the less educated and poorer Dominicans, who based on this statement, are also 'physically' disadvantaged in relation to the Puerto Rican majority. This is a crucial insight and perhaps not surprisingly the only such negative statement made explicitly by the group of Puerto Ricans interviewed.

Given the expression of social superiority articulated by the above speaker, it is interesting to examine the results to items #8 ('I believe that Puerto Rican Spanish is better than Dominican Spanish.') and #9 ('I believe that other dialects of Spanish are better than Puerto Rican Spanish.'). The mean rating given for item #8 was 2.91 and for

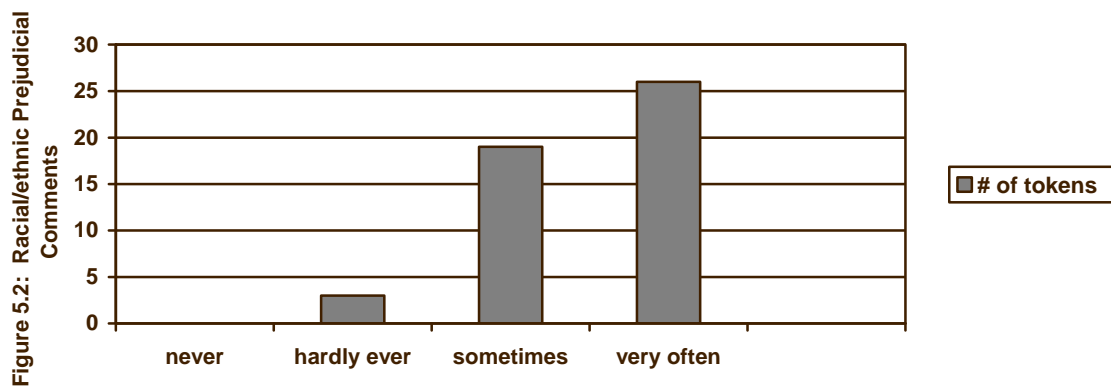
item #9 the mean was 2.51. Both means indicate disagreement with the statement that Puerto Rican Spanish is better than Dominican Spanish or that other varieties of Spanish should be attributed a higher level of prestige than their native dialect. Accordingly, the Puerto Rican participants do not attribute a higher level of prestige to their native variety vis-à-vis Dominican Spanish. Moreover, they do not consider other varieties of Spanish to be more prestigious than their own variety. In particular the last response reveals a high degree of linguistic security which stands in contrast to their compatriots living in New York who have been revealed as having a high degree of linguistic insecurity (e.g., Zentella 1997).

The ratings for the individual gender groups do not differ from the overall results. Both men and women disagreed with the statements that Puerto Rican Spanish is better than Dominican Spanish or other varieties of Spanish. For item #8 the mean for the women group is 3.91 and for the men the mean is 2.62. An Independent Samples T-Test revealed no significant differences between these means: $t(51, 53) = -1.73, p = .094$. The mean for item #9 for the women group is 3.00 and for the men 2.73. Again, this difference is not statistically significant: $t(51, 53) = -3.78, p = .707$.

Statements such as the ones made by the participants in examples (22-23) also imply that in the minds of Puerto Ricans the relationship between lower socioeconomic status and educational achievement can be synonymous with Dominicans and the use Dominican Spanish. Items #10 – #17 address the expression of linguistic and socio-racial prejudice towards Dominican Spanish and Dominican immigrants. In response to item #10 ('Have you heard people make inappropriate or insulting comments about people who speak Dominican Spanish?') and #11 asking them to indicate the frequency with which they hear such comments, reveals that 49 out of 54 participants (or 90.7%) had heard such negative or disparaging comments about Dominican Spanish and its speakers. Figure 5.1 represents the frequency with which the 49 participants indicated having heard those comments.



Results for Item #15 (‘Have you heard people make inappropriate or insulting comments about race or ethnic prejudice towards Dominicans in particular?’) indicate that 50 out of 54 participants (i.e. 92%) had heard such comments. Figure 5.2 represents the frequency with which the participants indicated having heard those comments.



Figures 5.1 and 5.2 clearly indicate that most of the Puerto Rican participants have frequently heard inappropriate and/or insulting comments about Dominican Spanish and the racial/ethnic background of speakers of this variety. These results support reports of wide-spread prejudice towards Dominicans and Dominican Spanish in Puerto Rico (e.g., Duany 1998, 2005, Mejía Pardo 1993).

Item #12 asked the participants to report on some of the things that they have heard people say about Dominicans and Dominican Spanish. The statements given evidence the existence of prejudice towards Dominicans that is largely based on their immigrant status and resulting social and educational differences between the immigrant group and the Puerto Rican majority. Other participants indicate that cultural differences and

misunderstandings also add to the social friction. Few statements evidence prejudice solely directed at Dominican Spanish. Some sample statements are extracted below:

(24) *Pues, muchos de ellos no...pues parece que no han ido a escuela...quizás algunos años...entonces....¿sabes?...¿cómo van a hablar bien?* ‘Well, many of them don’t...well it seems that they have not gone to school, well perhaps a few years ... so...you know? ...How are they going to speak well? (male, 38, store clerk, Santurce)

(25) *Bueno, dicen que los dominicanos no saben expresarse..que no saben hablar...* ‘Well, they say that Dominicans cannot express themselves well...that they don’t know how to speak.’ (male, 26, costumer service, San Juan)

(26) *Bueno, pues, lo que dicen son los estéreotipos de dominicanos acá...dicen que el dominicano es un personaje bruto... que le carece educación.* ‘Well, what they say are Dominican stereotypes that exist here. They say that the Dominican is dumb...that he is uneducated.’ (female, 37, university professor, Río Piedras)

(27) *Mira, no me importa decirte lo que pienso...yo creo que... los dominicanos son mal educados y unos brutos...siempre ponen la música en alto, ¿sabes?...O sea, les falta educación.* ‘Look, I don’t mind telling you what I think...I think that...Dominicans are badly mannered and dumb, they always play the music loud, you know? .. Well that they have no manners.’ (female, 27, sales clerk, San Juan)

(28) *Sí, se dicen varias cosas, hay muchos chistes...chistes en que los dominicanos son los brutos. Mucha gente dice que invaden Río Piedras...porque viven muchos acá.* ‘Yes, they say a lot of things, there are many jokes...jokes in which Dominicans are the idiots. Many people say that they invade Río Piedras ... because a lot of them live there.’ (male, 24, student, Hato Rey)

One participant in particular offered interesting insights into the emergence of some of the most common complaints expressed by Puerto Ricans. He is a native of Santurce, a

barrio of San Juan highly populated by Dominicans. His close contact to both groups allows him to draw conclusions that highlight his ability to analyze both the Dominican motives and the Puerto Rican reactions.

(29) *Aquí hay prejuicios contra los dominicanos. Que hay prejuicios contra los dominicanos, pero hay prejuicios contra todas las minorías del mundo cuando van a un país donde son minoría. Esto... algunas de las cosas son post-juicios también, que no son prejuicios porque ven cómo la gente se comporten y lo otro por ejemplo ellos tienen la tendencia de poner la música bien alta. A las ocho de la mañana un domingo, a las siete de la mañana ellos la ponen bien alta. Eh, tienen esa tendencia. Eh, y eso le molesta al puertorriqueño. Porque al puertorriqueño le gusta la música alta. Si Ud viene aquí los viernes (...) se dan cuenta- Y allí cierta música que, Ud. sabe 'rock' es una cosa que uno no tiene que poner alto. Y ellos tienen su música que también tienen alta. El problema es cuando tú la pones así... a diario, ¿tú entiendes? Pero hay prejuicios contra ellos porque puesto.... quieren mantener su forma de vivir allá aquí y yo creo que cuando, 'when in Rome do as the Romans do', y ellos que tratan de asimilarse. Se asimilan. Hay muchos buenos dominicanos... con muchos buenos dominicanos aquí. ¿Entiendes? Pero si tienen ...esto... cosa que no... en el trabajo por ejemplo, aquí la gente dice que los dominicanos son chapuceros y por eso es porque yo... Ud. le habla de cemento, ellos saben de cemento Es por conseguir un trabajo, ¿tú entiendes? Entonces después hacen el trabajo dicen que no lo hacen tan bien. Entonces... pues... la gente dice que son chapuceros. Pero muchos de ellos trabajan muy bien. ¿Entiendes? Él que sabe, sabe. El problema es como tiene ...que trabajar se hace ... cualquier trabajo. Y sí, yo sé, ¿entiendes? Pero es una cuestión de sobrevivencia, yo entiendo eso. 'Here people are prejudiced towards Dominicans. There is prejudice towards Dominicans but there is prejudice towards all minorities in the world whenever they go to a country in which they are the minority. Umh... some of those things are also post-judgments, they do not think this initially but when they see how people behave, and also they [Dominicans] tend to play their music loudly. At 8 am on a Sunday morning, at 7*

am they play the music loud. Well, they tend to do that. And that bothers the Puerto Ricans. But you know Puerto Ricans like their music loud. If you come by here on a Friday night you'll notice. And there are some kinds of music that, you know 'rock' is not something that you do not need to turn up louder. The problem is that when you turn it up that high...daily...you see my point? But there is prejudice towards them because, they want to maintain their lifestyle from back home, and when 'in Rome do as the Romans do' and they try to assimilate, they assimilate. There are many good Dominicans ... there are many good Dominicans here. You know? But when they...umh...one thing that you don't...at work for example. Here people say that Dominicans are sloppy and that is because I...you speak to them about cement, they know all about cement...it's to find a job, you know? Well, after doing the job they say that they [Dominicans] did not do it well. You see? He who knows, knows. The problem is that they... need work and for that you do...any kind of work. Yeah, I know, you see? But it's a question of survival, I can understand that.' (male, 49, construction worker, Santurce)

Item #13 asked the participants to rate their level of agreement with the insulting statements that they have overheard on a 7-point scale. As represented in Table 5.1 the mean of 1.60 indicates disagreement with these prejudicial statements. The mean of 1.71 for the 'women' group and 1.52 for the 'men' group indicate that both gender groups equally disagree with these statements. An Independent Samples T-Test confirmed that the difference between means for the gender groups was not statistically significant ($t(51, 53) = -.420, p = .676$). When asked to explain their answer (item #14), most participants expressed that many of these statements were generalizations, others indicated that they did not agree with the latent racism towards Dominicans on the island:

(30) *No, no estoy de acuerdo, porque...que...no todos son brutos...no todos son brutos por ser dominicanos...quizás algunos los son, pero conozco a muchos dominicanos ...y que...son muy buenos, trabajadores.* 'No, I don't agree, because, ... that... they are not all ignorant because they are Dominican...maybe

some are, but I know many Dominicans... and that...they are good, hard-working.' (male, 20, student, San Juan)

(31) *No, no quiero decir esto,...sabes que hay gente racista...pero yo, yo siempre digo que no somos quien juzgarlos....* 'No, I don't want to say that...you know there are racists..but I, I always say who are we to judge them.' (female, 19, student, San Juan)

(32) *Sí lo dicen, pero no me gusta esta forma de hablar de los dominicanos...es despectiva...hay gente que trata de denigrarles...pero no es correcto.* 'Yes, they say that, but I don't like this way of speaking about Dominicans...it is disparaging... there are people who try to degrade them...but that is not correct.' (male, 43, dry cleaner, Santurce)

The statements reported in examples (30-32) point to the existence of latent racism towards Dominicans in Puerto Rico. Although Duany (2005) presents evidence of the existence of racism towards Dominican immigrants, Mejía Pardo (1993) states that in her research there were no expressions of negative comments on Dominican physical appearance or personal characteristics. Mejía Pardo relates this to the fact that such comments cannot be openly expressed it is likely that these notions might be categorized under 'cultural differences'. It is quite possible that the lack of racist comments in the present corpus is also due to the inability of the participants to voice such comments in an interview situation. However, comments such as the ones above evidence their existence.

Touching upon the issue of perceived racial differences between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans are the ratings given for item #18 ('There are people who say that there is a difference in phenotype/race between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. Do you agree?'). The mean for the overall group for this item is 2.55, indicating disagreement with the statement. This is also echoed in the ratings given by 'men' (mean 2.50) and 'women' (mean 2.61), a difference that was not found to be significantly different by an independent samples t-test ($t(51, 53) = -.175, p = .862$). As stated above, the disagreement with the statement could be due to an inability to express such notions openly.

Additionally, the item was presented in a direct interview situation making it more likely that the answers are influenced by social biases, such as the ‘social desirability’ bias (Cook & Sellitz 1964) or the ‘acquiescence’ bias (Ostrom et al 1994). As stated in Chapter 3, both forms of social bias are said to lead the participant to offer responses that are socially more acceptable in an effort to appear more well-adjusted and unprejudiced. Therefore, the mean ratings for this item need to be interpreted with caution.

The outcome of the questionnaire has confirmed the existence of Puerto Rican prejudice towards Dominicans on the island. The results also show that although participants have knowledge of linguistic differences between their native variety and that of the minority group, the focus of the prejudicial notions relies more on social, cultural, and educational differences than linguistic ones. A more detailed discussion ensues in Section 5.4.

5.4 Discussion and Contextualization

The purpose of the present chapter was to gain insights into Puerto Ricans’ strategies of identifying Dominican Spanish and their attitudes towards Dominicans and Dominican Spanish as expressed in inter-personal interviews. The research question addressing these issues is reiterated here:

Question 1: Do Puerto Ricans *believe* they can identify Dominican Spanish as distinct from Puerto Rican Spanish?

If so,

- i. what linguistic variables do Puerto Ricans report using in making this identification?
- ii. do Puerto Rican participants ascribe any form of prestige to Dominican Spanish in comparison to other varieties and their own?
- iii. do Puerto Ricans identify a role, if any, of social factors and phenotype in the identification process?
- iv. Do gender groups differ in their evaluations?

The evidence culled from the sociolinguistic interviews confirms that Puerto Ricans are quite confident in their ability to identify Dominican Spanish as distinct from their native variety. Mean ratings for these items indicate a high level of agreement for items #1 and #2. This outcome confirms Hypothesis 1:

Hypothesis 1: Puerto Ricans *believe* that they can identify Dominican Spanish as distinct from Puerto Rican Spanish.

As reported above, the mean ratings for items #1 ('Your dialect of Spanish is different to that of Dominicans.') and #2 ('I can identify easily whether a person is Dominican based on their accent.') reveal a high level of agreement with both statements, indicating that not only are both varieties perceived as different from each other but also that each 'accent' is distinct and identifiable. These ratings for item #1 are not surprising given the extent of lexical and phonetic/phonological differences that exist between both varieties. Also not surprising is the level of confidence to correctly identify Dominican Spanish. Many Puerto Ricans living in San Juan are in regular contact with Dominican Spanish and therefore feel highly confident to recognize this variety with a high degree of accuracy.

Insights into identification strategies were offered in the ratings for item #3 ('It is possible to know whether a person is Dominican based on the words they use.') and in the answers to the open-ended questions eliciting perceived differences in lexical items and general accent markers (#5 and #6). The results reveal that lexical items are one of the primary indicators of dialectal differences. The lexical items quoted evidence the wide array of lexical differences (e.g., food items, expressions, etc.) that exist between both dialects.

Even more interesting were the responses to item #6 ('What else differentiates Dominican speech from your own?'). The answers offered to this open-ended item ranged from more general statements regarding a different *acento* to more detailed assessments of dialectal differences that included the loss of syllable final consonants, which has been shown to be more advanced in Dominican Spanish, a differential articulation of /r/, the occurrence of glides in the speech of some Dominican Spanish speakers, and perceived difference in 'rhythm' or intonation.

The results of the questionnaire also suggests that dialect identification is a complex process in which speakers, based on their personal experiences, learn to attribute certain dialectal markers with particular varieties (e.g., d'Anglejan & Tucker 1973, Preston 1989, Bullock & Toribio 2008). This outcome also confirms the second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: Puerto Ricans claim to use lexical items and phonological differences for speaker identification.

The important role of phonetic and phonological differences between dialects in the recognition process has been highlighted by previous work. For instance a study conducted by Coupland et al. (1999) explored Welsh teenagers' recognition of regional accents of Welsh English. The results from this study highlighted the saliency of phonological cues in the recognition process. A study by van Bezoojen and Gooskens (1999) moreover points to the differential effects of pronunciation and intonational differences in dialectal recognition and attitudes towards the English and Dutch varieties examined. The results indicate that pronunciation was the main strategy for identification and that the prosodic features examined were found to play less of a role in identification. The authors however, do link prosody to listener perceptions and attitudes, suggesting that prosody could be the most powerful trigger of personality attributions.

Based on these findings it is clear that speaker identification does not solely rely on lexical differences but can occur simply based on phonetic and phonological cues. Clearly, the Puerto Rican participants feel confident in their ability to recognize Dominican Spanish. Whether the Puerto Rican participants were able to recognize Dominican Spanish based on non-lexical cues alone will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Puerto Ricans' evaluation of Dominican Spanish is not only hypothesized to be based on linguistic differences but also thought to be influenced by socioeconomic factors. As described in Chapter 2, Dominican immigrants are on average less educated and also socioeconomically disadvantaged in comparison with the Puerto Rican majority. As discussed in Chapter 3, varieties spoken by socioeconomically less advantaged groups are attributed lower prestige (e.g. Rickford & Rickford 2000, Fridland et al. 2005). On the basis of these previous results, the third hypothesis was put forth:

Hypothesis 3: Puerto Ricans ascribe low prestige to Dominican Spanish in comparison to their own variety and other varieties.

However, the mean rating on item #8 ('I believe that Puerto Rican Spanish is better than Dominican Spanish.') indicates disagreement with this statement. Puerto Ricans did not indicate that they felt that their native variety was better than Dominican Spanish. This belief was also expressed explicitly by several participants. This result is striking given the low prestige of Dominicans in Puerto Rican society and the differences between dialects pointed out by the participants. Clearly, as speakers of Caribbean Spanish, Puerto Ricans' ratings evidence a certain degree of solidarity toward varieties closely related to their own. Another measure of solidarity is included in the verbal guise task discussed in the ensuing Chapter 6 where this question will be reconsidered below.

A less likely motivation of the level of disagreement with item #8 is linguistic insecurity. Puerto Rican Spanish is highly stigmatized cross-dialectally compared to other varieties of Spanish, with the notable exception of Dominican Spanish (e.g. Castellanos 1980, Alfaraz 2002). However, the ratings for item #9 ('I believe that other dialects of Spanish are better than Puerto Rican Spanish.') indicate disagreement, underlining the participants' linguistic security as compared to other (i.e. non-Caribbean) varieties of Spanish. In contrast to Puerto Rican immigrants in the U.S. who have been found to exhibit linguistic insecurity (e.g. Zentella 1990, 1997) Puerto Ricans living on the island do not appear to evidence insecurity when comparing their native variety with other, more prestigious, varieties. Instead, what can be extracted from these ratings is that the perceived dialectal differences towards Dominican Spanish are not classified as pertaining to a less prestigious variety, but rather classified as dialectal differences without connotations of linguistic prestige. Consequently, Hypothesis 3 is not confirmed, as the present data cannot support the claim that Puerto Ricans ascribe low prestige to Dominican Spanish.

This outcome however, stands in certain contrast to the statements reflecting participants' knowledge of wide-spread discrimination towards Dominicans and their dialect. The responses to items #10-17 bear evidence that socioeconomic, educational, and cultural differences give rise to prejudicial notions towards Dominicans. Although,

the large majority of the respondents do not claim to express such opinions themselves, they all testify to having ‘heard’ inappropriate and offensive comments made about Dominicans, Dominican Spanish, and Dominican ethnicity. It is quite likely that social biases discussed earlier inhibited the participants to admit to their own prejudices. What is striking, however, is the fact that all participants have heard other Puerto Ricans make denigrating remarks about Dominicans and Dominican Spanish. This in fact supports previous anthropological work suggesting a high degree of social prejudice towards the Dominican community in Puerto Rico (Duany 1998, 2005). However, the ratings given in the present study disconfirm the fourth hypothesis which addresses this issue.

Hypothesis 4: Puerto Ricans are influenced in their ratings on Dominican Spanish by the perceived socioeconomic differences between the immigrant group and the Puerto Rican majority.

Puerto Ricans were not found to attribute low prestige to Dominican Spanish in spite of their acknowledgement of the intense social stigma associated with the speakers of this variety. Moreover, the accounts offered by the participants in this study also corroborate the findings by Mejía Pardo (1993) who investigated Puerto Ricans’ accounts of personal experiences with Dominican immigrants. All participants in her study lived in the *barrio* Santurce, one of the areas of San Juan most densely populated by Dominicans, and had experienced close contact with the Dominican community. The participants in this study were asked to relate stories about Dominicans. In these stories Dominicans mostly appeared in negative contexts or were the ones to behave contrary to the Puerto Rican norm. The negative events included aggression, robbery, drug use, abuse of social benefits, and also comments of cultural differences (Mejía Pardo 1993:121). Much like in Mejía Pardo’s thesis, the comments cited during the sociolinguistic interviews mostly centered around Dominicans in negative behavior: being ‘lazy’, less educated ‘brutes’, not accommodating to Puerto Rican lifestyles (i.e. playing loud music), and taking Puerto Rican jobs.

Perhaps not surprisingly, given similar social experiences among men and women, a comparison of results by gender groups did not reveal different trends in judgments. This outcome of a comparison between men and women corroborated the fifth hypothesis:

Hypothesis 5: Since both Puerto Rican men and women are equally exposed to Dominican Spanish and stereotypes towards Dominican immigrants, it is hypothesized that gender groups will not reveal significant differences in their ratings on dialectal identification, linguistic prestige, and ratings on socioeconomic differences.

The inferential statistics did not reveal any significant differences between gender groups in any but one instance. For item #3 referencing the importance of lexical differences in the identification process, the t-test indicated a statistically significant difference between men and women. Therefore, the women in the sample indicated significantly more agreement with the statement that they could identify a speaker as Dominican based on lexical items. This result points to possible gender differences in identification strategies, however the current data alone does not allow a more thorough analysis. This topic will have to be investigated with greater detail in future research.

In a further similarity to Mejía Pardo's work, the present corpus does not reveal any expressions of negative comments on Dominican physical appearance. Moreover, the results for item #18 indicate that Puerto Ricans do not believe that there is a difference in phenotype between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. It is likely that, much like in previous work collecting data in face-to-face encounters, these notions cannot be openly expressed and therefore are likely to be categorized under 'cultural differences' or simply not mentioned at all. Evidence from previous research underlines the effect of social or racial prejudice on speech evaluation in anonymous settings. A study conducted by Purnell et al. (1999) examined the use of a nonstandard dialect and its repercussions. The authors found that phonetic cues often offer enough information to the listener to allow them to correctly identify a speaker as pertaining to a minority group. One of the potential repercussions of this recognition is social or racial discrimination. If identified solely based on his/her speech, a speaker can be classified positively or negatively. Such listener classification can have serious repercussions in situations such as finding housing. The results by Purnell et al. demonstrated that landlords, for example, discriminate against prospective tenants on the basis of the sound of their voice during telephone conversations.

Conversely, the identification of certain highly prestigious cues can also lead to favorable attitudes towards the speaker (e.g., Carvalho 2006). Since Puerto Rican speakers in the data were shown to be linguistically secure it is reasonable to assume therefore that speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish would not only be identified but also attributed positive characteristics. This topic will be discussed in more detail in relation to the results presented in Chapter 6. The results of the verbal guise task indicate a correlation between perceived nationality (Dominican vs. Puerto Rican) and ratings on social, educational, and personal attributes of the speaker.

CHAPTER 6

Results of the Verbal Guise Experiment

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the verbal guise experiment presented to Puerto Rican listener judges. The purpose of this task was to examine Puerto Ricans' perceptions of and attitudes towards Dominican Spanish. The survey included items tapping into Puerto Ricans' perceptions of the national, socioeconomic, and educational background of the guise speakers, items asking participants to rate the pleasantness of speech and correctness of accent, and items asking the participants to rate the perceived personal characteristics of the guise speakers.

A statistical analysis was completed to uncover possible significant differences between guises and gender groups. To this end, the mean responses given for each item and each verbal guise were calculated and compared. Moreover, a comparison was also made to uncover differences between gender groups ('men' vs. 'women'). The statistical procedure used for the analysis was a repeated-measures ANOVA, since there is one independent within-subjects variable with four levels (4 guises) and one dependent variable (the item examined, e.g., the personal characteristic "intelligent"). The possible effect of gender differences on the ratings (e.g., 'men' vs. 'women' and 'Dominican women in DR' vs. 'Dominican women in PR') was included in the analysis as a between-subjects factor. A presentation of the descriptive results and the results for each ANOVA ensues below.

The chapter is outlined as follows: Section 6.2 presents results of the Puerto Ricans' ratings on the nationality of the guise speakers, the social classes these speakers would pertain to, and the level of education attributed to them. Section 6.3 focuses on the ratings of pleasantness of speech and perception of accent. Section 6.4 offers the result for the adjective ratings. A detailed discussion of the results follows in section 6.5.

6.2 Ratings on Nationality, Social, and Educational Background of the Verbal Guise Speakers

Recall that in Chapter 1 it was hypothesized that Puerto Rican listener judges would be able to distinguish Dominican Spanish from their own Spanish variety. In addition,

Puerto Ricans' evaluation of Dominican Spanish was hypothesized to reflect social prejudices that characterize Dominicans as *not* highly educated, rich, or professionally successful (e.g., Mejía Pardo 1993, Duany 2005). Conversely, this perception might change if a guise speaker were identified as Puerto Rican and therefore afforded higher ratings on these traits.

6.2.1 Nationality Attributed to Guise Speakers

Table 6.1 presents the mean ratings of the Puerto Rican listener judges for each of the four guise speakers for the verbal guise task. Recall that the listeners were given five options as possible nationalities: Dominican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Mexican, or 'other'. The results for this task, which presented twenty-two Puerto Rican listener judges only with audio recordings, indicate that the judges correctly identified the nationality of two of the Dominican speakers, as well as that of the native Puerto Rican. The guises of the Dominican still living in the Dominican Republic (Juan) and that of the Dominican living in Puerto Rico for three years (Pepe) were overwhelmingly identified as Dominicans. Equally correct ratings are given to the Puerto Rican (Carlos). However, the Dominican who had lived in Puerto Rico for five years (Marco) was perceived as being Puerto Rican.

Very few listeners believed any of the speakers to have origins in other places such as Cuba, Mexico, or any other Latin American country. Juan was perceived by three listeners as being from another country, but no countries were named. The second Dominican guise speaker, Pepe, was identified as 'Cuban' by two listeners, and the third Dominican guise speaker, Marco, was believed by one listener to be from Cuba and by another as from Venezuela. The Puerto Rican guise speaker was overwhelmingly identified as from that island; only one listener believed him to be from elsewhere, Ecuador.

Table 6.1 : Puerto Rican listeners' identification of nationality of guise speakers		Verbal Guise Task n=22	
		%¹⁹	SD
Guise 1: Dominican in DR (Juan)			
Dominican		68.2	.30
Puerto Rican		4.5	.48
Cuban		9.1	.30
Mexican		0	.00
Other		10.0	.30
Guise 2: Dominican in PR (3) (Pepe)			
Dominican		81.1	.30
Puerto Rican		0	.00
Cuban		13.6	.30
Mexican		0	.00
Other		0	.00
Guise 3: Dominican in PR (5) (Marco)			
Dominican		4.5	.36
Puerto Rican		81.8	.22
Cuban		4.5	.22
Mexican		0	.00
Other		4.5	.22
Guise 4: Puerto Rican (Carlos)			
Dominican		0	.00
Puerto Rican		90.9	.22
Cuban		0	.00
Mexican		0	.00
Other		4.5	.22

A repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted with a 5 (Nationality) x 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design to uncover any significant interactions between these variables. The results indicate that within the variable 'Nationality' there is variation in the ratings that affect the outcome of the comparisons with the other variables in the within-group comparisons. The results showed a significant main effect for Nationality ($F(4, 76)=63.635, p < .01$) and a significant interaction of Nationality x Guise ($F(12,228)=37.368, p < .01$).

However, there was no main effect for Guise ($F(3,57)=.905, p > .05$) or Gender ($F(1,19)=.905, p > .05$). There was also no interaction of Guise x Gender ($F(3,57)=.905,$

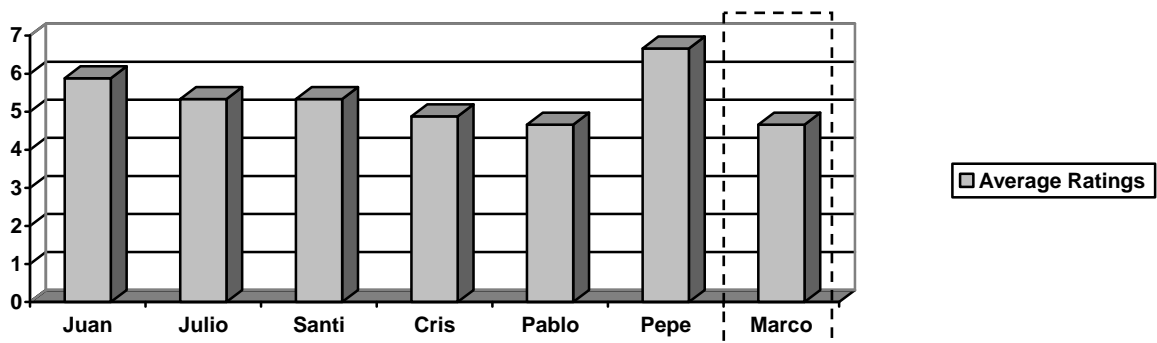
¹⁹ These percentages do not always add up to 100%. The descriptive results were calculated via SPSS and the missing percentages are likely due to 'missing' data.

$p > .05$), Nationality x Gender ($F(4, 76) = 1.501, p > .05$), Guise x Nationality x Gender ($F(12, 228) = 1.223, p > .05$).

In sum, the Puerto Rican listener judges were able to attribute the correct national origin for three of the guise speakers: Juan, Pepe, and Carlos. The guise that occasioned the largest percentage of errors was Marco. It is possible that length of stay in Puerto Rico incurred some dialectal accommodation toward the local Puerto Rican variety. Interestingly, among Dominican raters (Figure 4.1) this speaker was clearly identified as a Dominican national. The chart is represented here as Figure 6.1:

Figure 6.1: Results of Accentedness Ratings of Dominican Guises

---- Ratings for Marco



Recall that in this task, the Dominican listeners were instructed to rate the strength of Dominican accent in the recordings made with other Dominican Spanish speakers. The results of the accentedness ratings indicate that native speakers of Dominican Spanish identify Marco's accent as Dominican (mean 4.66). Marco receives ratings equal to those given to Pablo and is close to the mean given to Cris (mean 4.88), Dominicans who have never left the Dominican Republic. Interestingly, the Puerto Rican participants in the study identify the recording by this speaker as that of a fellow Puerto Rican compatriot. The fact that the same guise should be rated as highly 'Dominican' by the Dominican natives and 'Puerto Rican' by Puerto Rican Spanish speakers is a striking result. Recall that the Puerto Rican participants were able to correctly identify the nationality of the

other three guises; an inability to correctly differentiate between both varieties can be excluded as a factor. Based on these results it is likely that Dominicans and Puerto Ricans do not attune to the same linguistic features in these judgments. Unfortunately, the present data do not allow a more detailed examination of this issue. The discussion topic for the verbal guise recordings was chosen only to exclude lexical differences between Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the cues used in the identification by both groups are based on phonetic/phonological differences between these dialects or upon some other factor (e.g., lexical density.) Unfortunately, apart from this hypothesis, the current data does not allow for more detailed hypotheses.

6.2.2 Social Class Attributed to the Guise Speakers

In this section the ratings of the guise speakers by reference to social class will be presented. The questionnaire in the verbal guise tasks asked the participants to indicate which social group they thought each guise speaker belonged to. This was included in an effort to tap into listeners' perceptions of certain varieties as associated with different social groups. The results are depicted in Table 6.2. Moreover, the results for the gender groups are also reported; these ratings are offered in Table 6.3 (women) and Table 6.4 (men).

The highest percentage of responses places Juan, Pepe, and the Puerto Rican Carlos in the 'middle' class, although they also received ratings for 'low' and 'low middle' class. Marco was overwhelmingly placed in the 'higher middle' class category.

Table 6.2 : Puerto Rican listeners' ratings on social class of guise speakers		Verbal Guise Task	
		n=22	
		%	SD
Guise 1: Dominican in DR (Juan)			
	Low	18.2	.04
	Low middle	22.7	.44
	Middle	50.0	.51
	Higher middle	4.5	.22
	High	0	.00
Guise 2: Dominican in PR (3) (Pepe)			
	Low	18.2	.36
	Low middle	27.3	.46
	Middle	50.0	.51
	Higher middle	0	.00
	High	0	.00
Guise 3: Dominican in PR (5) (Marco)			
	Low	0	.00
	Low middle	4.5	.22
	Middle	36.4	.50
	Higher middle	50	.51
	High	4.5	.22
Guise 4: Puerto Rican (Carlos)			
	Low	0	.00
	Low middle	27.3	.44
	Middle	50	.51
	Higher middle	13.6	.36
	High	4.5	.22

Very similar patterns emerge from the ratings given by the two gender groups in the participant pool. The ratings given by the ‘women’ group pattern similarly to the overall results for this task, with the majority of ratings for Marco in the ‘middle’ and ‘higher middle’ class realm, and Juan and Pepe spread out among ‘low’, ‘low middle’, and ‘middle’ classes. The Puerto Rican guise is overwhelmingly identified as being from the ‘middle’ class. Other participants placed this guise speaker in the ‘low middle’ class (20%) and in the ‘high’ class (10%).

Table 6.3 : Puerto Rican Women's Ratings on Social Class of Guise Speakers	Verbal Guise Task	
	n=10	
	%	SD
Guise 1: Dominican in DR (Juan)		
Low	30	.50
Low middle	20	.44
Middle	50	.53
Higher middle	0	.00
High	0	.00
Guise 2: Dominican in PR (3) (Pepe)		
Low	30	.44
Low middle	30	.50
Middle	40	.38
Higher middle	0	.00
High	0	.00
Guise 3: Dominican in PR (5) (Marco)		
Low	0	.00
Low middle	10	.33
Middle	50	.53
Higher middle	40	.50
High	0	.00
Guise 4: Puerto Rican (Carlos)		
Low	0	.00
Low middle	20	.33
Middle	70	.44
Higher middle	0	.00
High	10	.33

As illustrated in Table 6.4, the men give Pepe and Marco the highest social rankings overall and the highest ratings for ‘middle’ class and ‘higher middle’ class respectively (over 60%). The Dominican guise Juan was also perceived as being from the ‘middle’ class in this task (over 50%). Fewer participants placed him in the ‘low middle’ class or the ‘low’ class. Carlos received ratings placing him in the ‘low middle’, the ‘middle’, and the ‘higher middle’ class options.

Table 6.4 : Puerto Rican men's ratings on social class of guise speakers		Verbal Guise Task	
		n=12	
		%	SD
Guise 1: Dominican in DR (Juan)			
	Low	9.1	.29
	Low middle	27.3	.45
	Middle	54.4	.52
	Higher middle	9.1	.29
	High	0	.00
Guise 2: Dominican in PR (3) (Pepe)			
	Low	9.1	.29
	Low middle	27.3	.45
	Middle	63.6	.51
	Higher middle	0	.00
	High	0	.00
Guise 3: Dominican in PR (5) (Marco)			
	Low	0	.00
	Low middle	0	.00
	Middle	27.3	.45
	Higher middle	63.3	.51
	High	9.1	.29
Guise 4: Puerto Rican (Carlos)			
	Low	0	.00
	Low middle	36.4	.49
	Middle	36.4	.49
	Higher middle	27.3	.45
	High	0	.00

A repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted with a 5 (Social Class) x 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design. The results demonstrated a significant main effect for Social Class ($F(4, 76)=15.823, p < .01$) and a significant interaction of Social Class x Guise ($F(12,228)=1.348, p < .01$). These effects are due to the fact that ratings on social class varied between speakers.

However, there was no main effect for Guise ($F(3,57)=.740, p > .05$) or Gender ($F(1,19)= .376, p > .05$). There also was no interaction of Social Class x Gender ($F(3,57)=.740, p > .05$), Guise x Social Class ($F(12,228)= 2.510, p > .05$), and Guise x Social Class x Gender ($F(12,228)=1.348, p > .05$).

Given the shifts in responses to verbal guises observed between tasks and gender groups, none of these factors revealed significantly different results in the inferential

analysis. The results of the post-hoc tests indicate that ratings given for Juan, Pepe, and Carlos, the Puerto Rican, by and large cluster in the ‘lower middle’/ ‘middle’ class categories whereas Marco is more likely to be placed in the ‘middle’ or ‘higher’ middle classes. Hence, Dominican Spanish speakers (or those believed to belong to this group) are not associated with higher socioeconomic classes (i.e. higher than ‘middle’ class) by Puerto Rican listeners.

6.2.3 Ratings on Level of Education of Guise Speakers

The Puerto Rican participant judges were asked to ascribe a level of education to each guise speaker. The choices given were ‘primary school’, ‘high school’, and ‘university’. Recall that Juan, the Dominican in DR guise, had reached 8th grade, Pepe had completed 7th grade, Marco had reached and completed 10th grade, and only the Puerto Rican, Carlos, had completed his high school education.

The overall results are illustrated in Figure 6.5. Juan was thought to have a high school level education by the highest percentage of Puerto Ricans (40.9%), closely followed by the ‘primary’ option (36.4%). Very few thought he had any university level education (18.2%). The Dominican guise, Pepe, was overwhelmingly thought to have received a high school education (81.2%) and few thought he had not gone past the primary level (13.6%). Marco was by and large thought to have had a university level education (77.3%) whereas only 13.6% of the Puerto Rican responses indicated high school level. Carlos was largely thought to have had high school education (77.3%) and only few of the respondents thought he had a university education (18.2%)

Table 6.5 : Puerto Rican listeners' ratings on level of education of guise speakers	Verbal Guise Task	
	n=22	
	%	SD
Guise 1: Dominican in DR (Juan)		
Primary	36.4	.49
High School	40.9	.50
University	18.2	.36
Guise 2: Dominican in PR (3) (Pepe)		
Primary	13.6	.35
High School	81.8	.40
University	0	.25
Guise 3: Dominican in PR (5) (Marco)		
Primary	0	.00
High School	13.6	.35
University	77.3	.36
Guise 4: Puerto Rican (Carlos)		
Primary	0	.00
High School	77.3	.46
University	18.2	.43

The responses by gender groups are depicted in Table 6.6 (women) and Table 6.7 (men). The results for the ‘women’ group reveal that Marco was overwhelmingly believed to have received a university education. By contrast, the Dominican guise Juan was thought to have had only primary school education by the majority of participants.

Table 6.6: Puerto Rican women's ratings on level of education of guise speakers		Verbal Guise Task	
		n=10	
		%	SD
Guise 1: Dominican in DR (Juan)			
Primary	60	.52	
High School	20	.42	
University	20	.42	
Guise 2: Dominican in PR (3) (Pepe)			
Primary	20	.42	
High School	80	.42	
University	0	.00	
Guise 3: Dominican in PR (5) (Marco)			
Primary	0	.00	
High School	20	.42	
University	80	.42	
Guise 4: Puerto Rican (Carlos)			
Primary	0	.00	
High School	90	.42	
University	10	.42	

We now turn to the results by the men group represented in Table 6.7. The majority of the men placed Marco in the ‘university’ option. The remaining responses positioned this guise speaker in the ‘high school’ category. By contrast, Pepe was placed at the ‘high school’ level by more than 80% of the male respondents, with the remainder placing him in the ‘primary’ category.

The Dominican guise, Juan, also receives high ratings for the ‘high school’ option with close to 20% each for the ‘primary’ and the ‘university’ categories. A similar pattern can be observed with the Puerto Rican guise. The majority of men believe this guise speaker attended high school. Over 20% believe he had a university education and about 10% think he attended only primary school.

Table 6.7 : Puerto Rican men's ratings on level of education of guise speakers		Verbal Guise Task	
		n=12	
		%	SD
Guise 1: Dominican in DR (Juan)			
	Primary	18.2	.39
	High School	63.6	.51
	University	18.2	.29
Guise 2: Dominican in PR (3) (Pepe)			
	Primary	9.1	.29
	High School	90.9	.39
	University	0	.00
Guise 3: Dominican in PR (5) (Marco)			
	Primary		.00
	High School	0	.29
	University	10	.39
		90	
Guise 4: Puerto Rican (Carlos)			
	Primary	0	.00
	High School	72.7	.49
	University	27.3	.45

A repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted with a 3 (Level of Education) x 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design. The results showed a significant main effect for Level of Education ($F(2, 40)=20.110, p < .01$) and a significant interaction of Level of Education x Guise ($F(6, 120)=13.813, p < .01$).

However, there was no main effect for Guise ($F(3, 60)=.826, p > .05$), Gender ($F(1, 20)=.420, p > .05$). Moreover, there was no interaction between Guise x Gender ($F(3,60)=8.26, p > .05$), Level of Education x Gender ($F(2,40)=1.354, p > .05$), Level of Education x Guise ($F(6,120)=1.359, p > .05$), nor Level of Education x Guise x Gender ($F(6,120)=1.359, p > .05$).

It was reported in Chapter 4 that none of the Dominican guise speakers had completed high school and that only the Puerto Rican guise speaker had completed a high school education (see Table 4.3). Bonferroni post-hoc test revealed that participants were significantly more accurate in the identification of the educational level of Juan than that of Pepe; the ratings were more accurate for Juan than for Marco; more accurate with Pepe than Marco; and more accurate with Carlos than Marco (all $p < .05$).

In sum, the overall results and the results by gender converge in that Marco was overwhelmingly perceived more positively, whereas the other three guises were viewed less favorably. Possible reasons for these ratings could be the fact that Marco offered the longest and most detailed answer in the recording. It is possible that listeners associate a more detailed answer with higher education. Moreover, there were no significant differences between gender groups, indicating that men and women did not have strikingly different perceptions of the guises.

6.3 Perceptions of Pleasantness and Correctness of Guises

Based on work in dialect perception, notably the work of Dennis Preston (e.g., Preston 1999), listener ratings of speech/accent were included in this study. As detailed in Chapter 4, the Puerto Rican listeners were presented with a questionnaire asking them to rate each speaker on correctness of accent and pleasantness of speech, using 7-point *Likert* scales. Given the structure of such a 7-point *Likert* scale, ratings from 1-3 are commonly considered ‘negative’ (‘1’ the most negative) and ratings from 5-7 are considered ‘positive’ (‘7’ the most positive). The results are depicted in Table 5.8.

Table 6.8 : Puerto Ricans’ perception of Pleasantness of Speech and Correctness of Accent		Verbal Guise Task	
		n=22	
		Mean	SD
Guise 1: Dominican in DR (Juan)			
Pleasantness		3.91	1.34
Correctness		5.09	1.54
Guise 2: Dominican in PR (3) (Pepe)			
Pleasantness		4.27	1.35
Correctness		4.64	1.59
Guise 3: Dominican in PR (5) (Marco)			
Pleasantness		6.36	1.50
Correctness		6.18	1.56
Guise 4: Puerto Rican (Carlos)			
Pleasantness		4.77	1.45
Correctness		5.55	1.18

The highest ratings for ‘pleasantness of speech’ and ‘correctness of accent’ were given to Marco. The overall responses to this guise were considerably higher than those

of the other two Dominican guises and the Puerto Rican guise. The ratings for ‘pleasantness of speech’ for Carlos (mean 4.77) were always slightly higher than those of Juan (mean 3.90) and of Pepe (mean 4.27).

The ratings on accent ‘correctness’ reveal similarities to the ratings on ‘pleasantness’. Whereas Marco received the highest ratings, Pepe received the lowest mean (mean 4.63). Interestingly, the mean rating between Juan (mean 5.09) and Carlos (mean 5.54) only differ minimally from each other. There was also only minimal change in mean ratings for each guise between tasks.

The ratings by the female participants are positive across tasks for Marco and Carlos. A noticeable difference can be seen in the means for Juan between perception of pleasantness and correctness across both tasks. Clearly, the pleasantness of this speaker’s accent is rated more positively than the correctness of his speech.

Table 6.9 : Puerto Ricans women’s perception of pleasantness of speech and correctness of accent	Verbal Guise Task	
	n=10	
	Mean	SD
Guise 1: Dominican in DR (Juan)		
Pleasantness	3.69	1.42
Correctness	5.40	1.17
Guise 2: Dominican in PR (3) (Pepe)		
Pleasantness	4.00	.94
Correctness	4.80	1.14
Guise 3: Dominican in PR (5) (Marco)		
Pleasantness	6.70	.48
Correctness	6.50	.85
Guise 4: Puerto Rican (Carlos)		
Pleasantness	4.90	1.45
Correctness	5.80	1.14

The ratings by Puerto Rican men by and large fall in line with those of Puerto Rican women. Among the Dominican guises, Marco is given the highest ratings in pleasantness and correctness. The Puerto Rican guise is also rated favorably in correctness (i.e. above

mean 5.0) and neutrally for pleasantness. The ratings for Juan and Pepe trail noticeably behind with mean ratings ranging between 4.0-5.0.

Table 6.10 : Puerto Rican men's perception of pleasantness of speech and correctness of accent		Verbal Guise Task	
		n=12	
		Mean	SD
Guise 1: Dominican in DR (Juan)			
Pleasantness		4.16	1.27
Correctness		4.83	1.80
Guise 2: Dominican in PR (3) (Pepe)			
Pleasantness		4.5	1.62
Correctness		4.5	1.93
Guise 3: Dominican in PR (5) (Marco)			
Pleasantness		6.08	1.97
Correctness		5.91	1.98
Guise 4: Puerto Rican (Carlos)			
Pleasantness		4.6	1.50
Correctness		5.3	1.23

A repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted with a 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design for 'correctness of accent'. The results showed a significant main effect for Guise ($F(3, 60)=9.165, p < .01$). However, there was no main effect for Gender ($F(1,20) = .869, p > .05$) nor for the interaction Guise x Gender ($F(3,60) = .088, p > .05$). Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that the difference between Juan and Marco, Pepe and Marco, Pepe and Carlos, Marco and Carlos were significant ($p < .01$).

A repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted with a 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design for 'pleasantness of speech'. The results showed a significant main effect for Guise ($F(3, 60)=18.854, p < .01$). However, there was no main effect for Gender ($F(1,20)=.017, p > .05$) nor for the interaction Guise x Gender ($F(3,60)=1.276, p > .05$). Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that the difference between Juan and Marco, Pepe and Marco, Marco and Carlos were significant ($p < .01$).

The results clearly indicate that among all four guises presented to the Puerto Rican judges, Marco received the highest ratings in each task for 'pleasantness of speech' and

‘correctness of accent’. In contrast, Juan and Pepe receive the lowest ratings for each item. Intermediate position was given to the Puerto Rican guise Carlos.

The following section will present the results for the ratings on personal characteristics. If the above noted trends hold, Marco should inspire more positive responses on these traits in comparison to the other two Dominican guises.

6.4 Ascription of Personal Characteristics to Guise Speakers

As detailed in Chapter 4, during the verbal guise experiments the Puerto Rican listeners were presented with a questionnaire asking them to rate each speaker along the social and personal dimension given using 7-point semantic differential *Likert* scales. The negative adjectives (e.g., ‘not intelligent’) were placed near the lowest rating ‘1’ and the most positive rating (e.g. ‘intelligent’) were placed near the maximum score ‘7’. Given the structure of such a 7-point *Likert* scale, ratings from 1-3 are commonly considered ‘negative’ and ratings from 5-7 are considered ‘positive’. The number ‘4’ is considered a neutral rating, as it is placed between the positive and negative dimensions.

This section is outlined as follows: Section 6.4.1 will present the descriptive results including a comparison of gender groups. Section 6.4.2 will provide the reader with the results of the inferential analysis.

6.4.1 Overall Results

The overall mean ratings for the four guise speakers are presented in Table 6.11. The trends that emerge indicate that Juan was by and large rated positively on the dimension of solidarity, represented by the adjective ‘sociable’, ‘friendly’, ‘caring’, ‘sincere’, and ‘honest’. All means for these traits are at 4.5 and above. The only exception can be found in the rating of the adjective ‘friendly’, where the speaker was rated slightly negatively overall (mean 3.86). The ratings on the dimension of status for this guise were not uniform. The trait ‘intelligent’ received the highest ratings (mean 4.18). The means for the remaining characteristics (‘educated’, ‘rich’, ‘successful’, ‘refined’) were below 4.0. However, due to the ambiguity of the item *educado* which can mean educated with respect to schooling but also means ‘well-mannered’, the results for this item need to be considered with caution. Although during the study each participant was asked to

consider the aspect of ‘school education’ only, it cannot be assumed that this item was not misunderstood by a number of participants.

Table 6.11 : Ratings (Overall)	Verbal Guise Task	
	n=22	
	Mean	SD
Guise 1: Dominican in DR (Juan)		
sociable	5.27	1.64
educated	3.86	1.75
friendly	5.18	2.20
intelligent	4.18	1.89
caring	4.50	2.20
rich	2.73	1.64
sincere	5.23	2.09
successful	3.86	1.88
honest	5.55	1.34
refined	2.95	1.73
Guise 2: Dominican in PR (3) (Pepe)		
sociable	4.36	1.73
educated	3.91	1.41
friendly	4.36	1.97
intelligent	4.09	1.38
caring	4.05	1.73
rich	3.05	1.36
sincere	4.82	1.79
successful	3.86	1.49
honest	4.77	1.80
refined	3.59	1.54
Guise 3: Dominican in PR (5) (Marco)		
sociable	6.05	1.05
educated	6.36	.79
friendly	5.95	1.21
intelligent	6.14	.89
caring	5.55	1.18
rich	4.41	1.59
sincere	6.05	1.00
successful	5.50	1.37
honest	5.78	1.34
refined	5.86	1.58
Guise 4: Puerto Rican (Carlos)		
sociable	5.95	1.13
educated	5.05	1.17
friendly	5.64	1.22
intelligent	5.05	1.00
caring	5.36	1.29
rich	3.95	1.33
sincere	5.91	1.34
successful	5.05	1.33
honest	5.72	1.86
refined	4.18	1.71

The second guise, Pepe, was rated highest for 'honest' (mean 4.77). The remaining four characteristics in the 'solidarity' dimension have means above '4' and therefore cannot be classified as 'neutral'. Largely negative ratings are given to the traits in the 'status' this dimension, with means ranging from 3.05-4.09.

The third guise, Marco, received high ratings in both 'solidarity' and 'status' dimensions. The only trait that does not reach 5.0 is 'rich' for which the mean rating is 4.41. Particularly striking are the differences in means between this guise and the previously mentioned Dominican guises. Interestingly, the ratings given to "Marco" are considerably higher in both the solidarity dimension and the status dimension than those of the other two Dominican Spanish guises. As was stated above, this guise speaker was also overwhelmingly identified as Puerto Rican. Carlos, the Puerto Rican guise, was given fairly positive ratings (means 5.0 and above) for all the solidarity items and two of the status items. Exceptions are the ratings for 'intelligent' (mean 3.95), 'rich' (mean 3.95) and, 'refined' (4.18).

In sum, particularly striking are the differences in the ratings between Marco and Juan and Pepe in the traits within the status dimension. Marco received substantially higher ratings for 'educated' (mean 6.36), 'intelligent' (mean 6.14), and 'successful' (mean 5.50), versus the means for these traits for Juan ('educated' mean 3.86, 'intelligent' mean 4.18, and 'successful' mean 3.86) and Pepe ('educated' mean 3.91, 'intelligent' mean 4.09, and 'successful' mean 3.86).

Turning to the results by gender groups, Table 6.12 presents an overview of the ratings across both tasks for women raters and Table 6.13 presents an overview of the ratings across both tasks for men raters. Similarly to the overall ratings, the women rated Juan fairly positively. In particular the traits included in the solidarity dimension are above 5.0. The traits within the status dimension for this guise are rated between 4.70 and below.

Table 6. 12: Ratings by female ‘judges’		Verbal Guise Task	
		n=10	
		Mean	SD
Guise 1: Dominican in DR (Juan)			
sociable	5.40	1.71	
educated	4.70	1.64	
friendly	5.20	2.25	
intelligent	4.50	1.51	
caring	5.00	1.89	
rich	2.90	2.03	
sincere	5.60	1.78	
successful	4.00	1.76	
honest	5.70	1.34	
refined	2.20	1.14	
Guise 2: Dominican in PR (3) (Pepe)			
sociable	4.60	1.54	
educated	3.80	1.23	
friendly	5.10	1.20	
intelligent	3.80	.79	
caring	4.30	1.25	
rich	2.90	1.10	
sincere	5.20	1.55	
successful	3.50	.97	
honest	5.10	1.66	
refined	3.40	.84	
Guise 3: Dominican in PR (5) (Marco)			
sociable	6.00	1.54	
educated	6.40	.84	
friendly	6.10	.99	
intelligent	6.20	.98	
caring	5.60	.97	
rich	4.30	1.34	
sincere	6.00	1.05	
successful	5.60	.97	
honest	5.30	1.77	
refined	5.90	1.20	
Guise 4: Puerto Rican (Carlos)			
sociable	5.92	1.16	
educated	5.10	.88	
friendly	6.10	1.10	
intelligent	5.20	1.03	
caring	6.00	.08	
rich	4.20	1.32	
sincere	6.20	1.03	
successful	5.20	1.03	
honest	6.20	1.23	
refined	4.80	1.34	

The ratings given by women to Pepe in the ‘solidarity’ dimension are positive, ranging from 4.30 (‘caring’) to 5.20 (‘sincere’) but barely above neutral. The traits within the status dimension range from 2.90 to 3.80 and therefore are quite negative in the 7-point scale.

The ratings from the women group for the guise Marco were very positive. Apart from one exception, all traits were rated 5.0 and above. Solely the trait ‘rich’ was rated lower at 4.50. The Puerto Rican guise was rated positively with only the traits ‘rich’ (mean 4.20) and ‘refined’ (mean 4.80) receiving a mean below 5.0.

Similar patterns can be found in the ratings by men. Of the three Dominican guises, Marco is rated highest in all traits. The only trait given a mean less than 5.0 for this speaker is ‘rich’ with a mean of 4.50. Otherwise, this speaker is perceived very favorably.

Much like the ratings presented above for women, the Dominican guise Juan is rated fairly favorably in most of the traits in the solidarity dimension (means from 4.08 to 5.42). Much like in the overall ratings and the ratings by the women only group, Pepe is rated least favourably among the Dominican guises. The lowest mean rating is given to ‘rich’ with a mean of 3.17 (men) and 2.90 (women). None of the other means reached 5.0.

The Puerto Rican speaker, Carlos, similar to Juan, is rated fairly positively. Most mean scores fall between 4.83 and 5.92. The two lowest rated traits are rich (mean 3.75) and ‘refined’ (mean 3.67). All of the lowest ranked traits pertain to the status dimension.

Table 6.13: Ratings by male 'judges'		Verbal Guise Task	
		n=12	
		Mean	SD
Guise 1: Dominican in DR (Juan)			
sociable	5.17	1.64	
educated	3.17	1.59	
friendly	5.17	2.25	
intelligent	3.92	2.19	
caring	4.08	2.43	
rich	2.58	1.31	
sincere	4.92	2.35	
successful	3.75	2.05	
honest	5.42	1.38	
refined	3.58	1.93	
Guise 2: Dominican in PR (3) (Pepe)			
sociable	4.17	2.04	
educated	4.00	1.60	
friendly	3.75	2.30	
intelligent	4.33	1.72	
caring	3.83	2.08	
rich	3.17	1.59	
sincere	4.50	1.98	
successful	4.17	1.80	
honest	4.50	1.93	
refined	3.75	1.96	
Guise 3: Dominican in PR (5) (Marco)			
sociable	6.08	.90	
educated	6.33	.78	
friendly	5.83	1.40	
intelligent	6.08	1.00	
caring	5.50	1.38	
rich	4.50	1.83	
sincere	6.08	.99	
successful	5.41	1.68	
honest	6.17	.72	
refined	5.83	1.89	
Guise 4: Puerto Rican (Carlos)			
sociable	5.92	1.16	
educated	5.00	1.41	
friendly	5.25	1.22	
intelligent	4.92	1.00	
caring	4.83	1.40	
rich	3.75	1.36	
sincere	5.67	1.56	
successful	4.92	1.56	
honest	5.33	2.23	
refined	3.67	1.82	

6.4.2 Inferential Analyses

To determine any task effects repeated-measures ANOVAs were conducted with a 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design. For the trait 'sociable' the results showed a significant main effect for Guise ($F(3,60)=7.776, p < .01$). However, there was no effect for Gender ($F(1, 20)=.177, p > .05$) nor the interaction Guise x Gender ($F(3, 60)=.159, p > .05$). Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that Pepe was considered least sociable and significantly less sociable to Marco and Carlos (all $p < .05$). Juan was rated less sociable than Carlos, and Marco was rated most sociable (all $p > .05$).

For the trait 'educated' the results of the ANOVA with the 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design indicated a significant main effect for Guise ($F(3,60)=20.790, p < .01$). However, there was no effect for Gender ($F(1,20)=1.233, p > .05$), nor for the interaction Guise x Gender ($F(3,60)=2.349, p > .05$). Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that Juan and Pepe were considered less educated than Marco and Carlos (all $p < .01$). Marco was rated significantly more educated than Carlos ($p < .01$).

For the trait 'friendly' the results of the ANOVA with the 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design indicated a significant main effect for Guise ($F(3,60)=5.000, p < .01$). However, there was no main effect for Gender ($F(1, 20) = 1.534, p > .05$), nor for the interaction Guise x Gender ($F(3,60)=.967, p > .05$). Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that Pepe was considered least friendly compared to Marco and Carlos (all $p < .01$). Juan was rated less friendly than the Marco ($p < .01$).

For the trait 'intelligent' the results of the ANOVA with the 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design indicated a significant main effect for Guise ($F(3,60)=15.478, p > .05$). However there was no significant main effect for Gender ($F(1,20)=.077, p > .05$). Also no main effect was found for the interaction Guise x Gender ($F(3,60)=.945, p > .05$). Based on the means given, Juan was rated least 'intelligent', followed by Carlos and Pepe. Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed significant differences in ratings between Marco vs. Juan, Pepe, and the Puerto Rican Carlos (all $p < .01$). Also the difference between Pepe and Carlos was significant ($p < .05$).

For the trait 'caring' the results of the ANOVA with the 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design indicated a significant main effect for Guise ($F(3,60)= 7.098, p < .01$).

However, no significant main effects were found for Gender ($F(1,20)=1.560, p >.05$) nor for the interaction Guise x Gender ($F(3,60)=1.350, p >.05$). Bonferroni post-hoc test revealed that Pepe was rated significantly lower than Marco and Carlos (all $p <.01$).

For the trait 'rich' the results of the ANOVA with the 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design indicated a significant main effect for Guise ($F(3,60)=8.091, p <.01$). However, no significant main effects were found for Gender ($F(1,20)=.029, p >.05$). Also no significant main effects were found for the interaction Guise and Gender ($F(3,60)=.434, p >.05$). Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that Juan and Pepe received the lowest mean ratings on 'rich' and the difference between these guises and Marco and Carlos were significant (all $p <.05$). Also significantly different were the means between Marco and Carlos ($p <.01$).

For the trait 'sincere' the results of the ANOVA with the 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design indicated a significant main effect for Guise ($F(3,60)=4.647, p <.01$). However, no significant main effects were found for Gender $F(1,20)=.758, p >.05$). Also no main effects were found for the interaction Guise x Gender ($F(3,60)=.494, p >.05$). Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that significant differences in ratings occurred between Pepe vs. Marco and Carlos (all $p <.05$).

For the trait 'successful' the results of the ANOVA with the 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design indicated a significant main effect for Guise ($F(3,60)=8.543, p <.01$). However, no significant main effects were found for Gender $F(1,20)=.001, p >.05$). Also no main effects were found for the interaction Guise and Gender ($F(3,60)=.617, p >.05$). Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that significant differences in ratings occurred between Marco vs. Juan and Pepe (all $p <.01$). This speaker also received the highest mean ratings for 'successful'. Also the difference in mean ratings between Pepe and Carlos were significantly different ($p <.05$). There was also a significant difference in ratings between Juan and Carlos ($p <.05$).

For the trait 'honest' the results of the ANOVA with the 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design indicated a significant main effect for Guise ($F(3,60)=2.647, p <.01$). However, no significant main effects were found for Gender $F(1,20)=.205, p >.05$). Also no main effects were found for the interactions Guise x Gender ($F(3,60)=1.884, p >.05$).

Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that significant differences in ratings occurred only between Pepe and Carlos (all $p < .05$). Second lowest mean ratings were given to Juan, the second highest ratings were given to Carlos, and the highest ratings were given to Marco. None of these difference were significant (all $p > .05$).

For the trait ‘refined’ the results of the ANOVA with the 4 (Guise) x 2 (Gender) factorial design indicated a significant main effect for Guise ($F(3,60)=16.207$, $p < .01$) and a close to significant effect for the interaction Guise x Gender ($F(3,60)=2.708$, $p = .053$). However, no significant main effects were found for Gender ($F(1,20)= .101$, $p > .05$). Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that significant differences in ratings occurred between Marco and the other three guises (all $p < .01$). Significant differences were also found between Juan and Pepe ($p < .01$).

Interesting results emerge from the between guises comparison. The results of the Bonferroni post-hoc tests (Table 6.14) point out which adjective ratings revealed significant differences between guises. The most striking result is the difference between Marco and the other two Dominican guises. Significant differences on all ten adjectives can be found between Marco and Pepe. Length of stay and resulting linguistic leveling towards Puerto Rican Spanish cannot be the only contributing factor in this result. Clearly, there are elements in the Marco’s speech that are highly salient for the Puerto Rican listeners and are related to positive ratings across the ‘solidarity’ and the ‘status’ dimensions.

Equally notable within this context are the significant differences between the Puerto Rican Carlos and the Dominican guises. The Puerto Rican speaker is regarded more favorably than Juan and Pepe based on the significant differences in ratings on adjectives such as ‘sociable’, ‘educated’, ‘friendly’, and ‘caring’. Table 6.14 represents the items found to be significant different between speakers. Note that comparisons are represented between two speakers. Traits found to be significant between speakers are listed in the appropriate box. Items found to be significantly different ($p < .05$) are presented without an asterisk, items with highly significant differences ($p < .01$) are denoted with an asterisk.

Table 6.14: Overview of traits with significant differences between guises, $p < .05$ / $p < .01$ *

	Juan	Pepe	Marco
Juan			educated* intelligent* rich successful* refined*
Pepe			sociable* educated* friendly* intelligent* caring* rich sincere successful* honest refined*
Carlos	educated rich successful refined	sociable* educated* friendly intelligent caring* rich sincere* successful*	educated* intelligent* refined*

The following discussion will summarize briefly the main results of the verbal guise tasks. The discussion will relate the results of the study with the research questions and the hypotheses put forth in Chapter 1.

6.5 Discussion of Results

In this section a detailed discussion of the results will ensue. The order of the discussion will follow the research questions first stated in Chapter 1 and repeated here:

Question 1: Are Puerto Ricans *able* to identify Dominican Spanish (as distinct from Puerto Rican Spanish)?

If so,

- i. How do Puerto Ricans perceive the speech samples (audio guises) exhibiting Dominican Spanish, on scales of correctness and pleasantness?

- ii. What are the personal and social characteristics that Puerto Ricans report to attend to in identifying Dominican Spanish?
- iii. What gender and social attributes of the listener are implicated?

6.5.1 Identification of Dominican Spanish and perception of social attributes

This section will offer a discussion of the results of the accent (nationality) identification task and the ratings on social class and level of education for the guises.

6.5.1.1 Accent Identification

Recall that the accent identification task was included in the present study for two reasons: a) to verify that Puerto Rican Spanish speakers are able to distinguish Dominican Spanish based on audio cues alone and b) to address one of the main critiques emanating from dialectal perception studies. In particular, Preston (1999) questioned whether participant judges in matched guise studies all had the same perception of the individual speech areas which they were asked to judge, and wondered how possible differences in perception would influence the attitude ratings given. These concerns are crucial in the present context, given the dialectal similarity between Dominican Spanish and Puerto Rican Spanish. Another issue to consider is the fact that many Dominicans, upon living in Puerto Rico for many years, will exhibit evidence of dialectal leveling. Although both dialects pertain to the group of Caribbean dialects, there are several very salient differences (in particular at the phonological and lexical level), presented in Chapter 1, that could aid Puerto Ricans in distinguishing Dominican Spanish from their native variant. With these considerations in mind, the following hypothesis was put forth:

Hypothesis 6: Puerto Rican listeners will be able to identify Dominican Spanish verbal guises as distinct from their own variety.

The results reported in this chapter confirm this hypothesis. The Puerto Rican listener judges were able to correctly recognize the nationality of Juan and Pepe based on audio recordings alone. Therefore, in accent recognition linguistic cues prove to be highly salient.

However, as stated in Hypothesis 7, it appears that length of residence in Puerto Rico could affect these ratings.

Hypothesis 7: Misidentification of nationality occurs with speakers who have lived in Puerto Rico for a number of years and whose speech has accommodated to Puerto Rican Spanish.

The data reveal that the Dominican guise speaker who had lived in Puerto Rico for five years (Marco) was overwhelmingly identified as ‘Puerto Rican’. Recall that the Dominican raters who were asked to rate the strength of the Dominican accent in the accentedness measure clearly rated his speech as a typical Dominican accent. In fact, ratings for this guise speaker were comparable to those of Dominicans living in the Dominican Republic. This is an important finding, since it raises the question as to what features in his speech qualified him as ‘Puerto Rican’ for the listener judges and as ‘Dominican’ for the Dominican raters. As mentioned in Section 6.2.1, the contents of the verbal guise recordings were chosen carefully to exclude lexical items that immediately identify guise speakers as Dominican or Puerto Rican. The cues used by both Dominican and Puerto Rican raters therefore must emanate from some other discourse cue. Previous research has shown that dialectal identification can take place even with very little information. The work by Labov (e.g., 1966) and Trudgill (1974) suggests that particular features are correlated with individual dialectal variants and used for identification. Studies such as those by Labov and Ash (1997), Wolfram et al. (1999), Niedzielski (1999), and Fridland et al. (2005, 2006) show that classification can take place via very small cues such as individual vowels. Also, the importance of prosodic differences has been evaluated in a few studies (e.g. Anderson-Hsieh et al. 1992, Bezoojen & Gooskens 1999). Apart from lexical differences, there remains a variety of phonetic/phonological differences between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish that could be used for identification such as vowel lengthening, a feature specific to Dominican Spanish, or differences in intonational patterns. The existence of these strategies was already hinted at in Chapter 5, where participants mentioned that apart from lexical items they could identify a Dominican by ‘accent’ or ‘intonation’. The speakers’ non-specific awareness of linguistic cues beyond lexical differences testifies to the existence of such dialectal cues. It appears that speakers use them subconsciously and when asked to specify can only

offer unspecific comments. Unfortunately, current data cannot offer insights into this issue, but it is undoubtedly important for future research to isolate the specific features that Dominicans and Puerto Ricans attune to in identifying each other's national origin.

Apart from phonetic/phonological differences, an influencing factor in Marco's ratings could be that this speaker offered the most detailed narrative response to the question posed (compared to the other two Dominican guises) and thereby possibly conveyed to the listener a more thought-out and elaborate way of speaking commonly associated with higher education. This assessment would run counter to the stereotype of Dominicans as lacking formal education (Duany 1998, 2005). This question too will have to be explored in future research. However, the results offered in the ratings on social class and level of education offer important insights into the associations made by the Puerto Rican judges between particular speech traits and 'Domincanness'.

6.5.1.2 Ratings on social class and educational attainment of the guises

Turning first to review the ratings on social class, it becomes strikingly clear that the separation that was pointed out above between those guises that were identified as 'Dominican' (i.e. Juan and Pepe) and those identified as 'Puerto Rican' (i.e. Marco and Carlos) influences the ratings. Juan and the Pepe were placed mainly in the 'middle class' category, whereas those guises identified as 'Puerto Rican' were largely placed in the 'middle' to 'higher middle' categories.

A likely cause for this difference in responses across tasks could be the correlation Dominican accent cues and the stereotypes of 'poor immigrants' that are addressed by the ninth hypothesis:

Hypothesis 9: Puerto Ricans will reflect their prejudice towards Dominicans in their ratings of the socioeconomic and educational status of the Dominican guises.

In a parallel to previous work (Mejía Pardo 1993, Duany 1998, 2005), the results from the present study also suggest the possible existence of socioeconomic profiling by which Dominican Spanish speakers are attributed a lower socioeconomic status than Puerto Rican Spanish speakers. Similar tendencies also surface in the ratings on educational attainment of the guise speakers. Juan received ratings for all three

educational categories. Pepe was overwhelmingly placed in the ‘high school’ category but he also received some ratings for ‘primary school’. These low ratings could be in response to his incorrect use of the subjunctive form *tengamos* ‘we have to’ in the recording, which could be interpreted by a listener as an error due to little formal education. By comparison, Marco and the Puerto Rican Carlos were believed to have gone to university by over 77% of the respondents. Keeping in mind that the first two guises were perceived as ‘Dominicans’ and the latter two as ‘Puerto Ricans’, these results are quite striking. They reveal a clear separation between perceived ‘Dominican immigrants’ who commonly do not have a university education and ‘Puerto Ricans’ who are likely to have access to university-level education. Much like the results emerging from the social class ratings, the ratings on the educational attainment clearly indicate that for the Puerto Rican participant judges the Dominican Spanish guise speakers are not thought to have had advanced education.

A correlation between a dialectal variety and stereotypical notions of its speakers are fairly common, as shown in several studies on language attitudes (e.g. Lambert et al. 1960, Cheney 1970, Carranza & Ryan 1975, Bourhis & Giles 1976, Luhman 1990, Hiraga 2005). All these studies converge in that more prestigious varieties are often given high ratings on characteristics that describe a high social status (e.g. ‘rich’, ‘intelligent’, ‘successful’). On the other hand, less prestigious varieties (e.g., of linguistic and/or ethnic minorities) are rated low on characteristics pertaining to social status and level of education. This correlation between perceptions of dialectal prestige and socioeconomic and educational status are clearly delineated in the present results. The Puerto Rican participants clearly believe that speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish are more educated and pertain to a higher socioeconomic group than speakers of Dominican Spanish who, as immigrants, are less likely to attain the same standards. Moreover, the existence of social stereotypes is also attested by the responses offered by the sociolinguistic questionnaire, in which participants remarked on the high degree of pejorative comments made about Dominicans (Figures 5.1 and 5.2 in Chapter 5).

Since Puerto Rican listener judges perceive speakers whom they believe to be Dominican as less educated than those whom they believe to be Puerto Rican in the study, this belief should also be reflected in the Puerto Ricans’ perceptions of ‘pleasantness’ and

‘correctness’ of guises they identify as Puerto Rican. The results of these items will be discussed next.

6.5.2 Ratings on the ‘Pleasantness of Speech’ and ‘Correctness of Accent’

This section will discuss the results on the ratings on ‘pleasantness’ and ‘correctness’ in the verbal guise tasks by the Puerto Rican listeners. Previous work in perceptual dialectology studies (e.g., Preston 1999, Alfaraz 2002) reveals that notions about regional, social, and racial differences are frequently reflected in perceived linguistic differences. Therefore the ratings on ‘correctness’ and ‘pleasantness’ were included to tap into Puerto Ricans’ judgments of Dominican Spanish vs. their own. These considerations are reflected in the eighth hypothesis:

Hypothesis 8: Puerto Ricans’ perceptions of Dominican Spanish will be reflected by their low ratings of Dominican Spanish on measures of ‘correctness’ and ‘pleasantness’.

As mentioned above, Marco received the highest ratings for ‘pleasantness’ and ‘correctness’ overall and for both gender groups. The lowest ratings were given to Juan and Pepe, leaving the Puerto Rican guise speaker at an intermediate position but rated still significantly more positively than Juan and Pepe. Evidently, the Puerto Rican judges perceived the accents spoken by the Puerto Rican and Marco as more correct and more pleasant than those of the other two guises.

It is important to point out that this result stands in contrast to the responses given by the participants in the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire. Recall that the ratings for item #8 (‘I believe that Puerto Rican Spanish is better than Dominican Spanish.’) indicated Puerto Rican disagreement with this item. It is possible that the participants were subject to a social bias during the interview, attempting to appear tolerant of Dominican Spanish in comparison to their native variety. The outcome of the verbal guise ratings clearly indicates a Puerto Rican preference for Puerto Rican Spanish with respect to correctness and pleasantness.

These results of the verbal guise again reveal differential ratings based on the perceived nationality of the guises, in which the guises identified as ‘Dominican’ nationals are rated less favorably than those identified as ‘Puerto Rican’. More

importantly, these results are not unique to the present context but echo those of a number of studies investigating perceptions of minority varieties relative to more prestigious variants (Preston 1999, Demirci & Kleiner 2002, van Bezoojen 2002).

Pertinent for the present discussion is the fact that the two dialects of Spanish in question are stigmatized and accorded very little prestige. For example, Cubans' ratings of Spanish dialects give Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish the lowest ranking possible (Alfaraz 2002). Interestingly, the Cuban participants in the Alfaraz study rated their own variety as significantly more 'correct' and 'pleasant' than the other two Caribbean Spanish dialects. Alfaraz concludes that "although Cubans are aware of and accept the stigmatization of other varieties of Spanish, they do not recognize that their own variety belongs to that group." (Alfaraz 2002:5). A similar conclusion can be drawn for the Puerto Rican listener judges' ratings of their own variety vs. Dominican Spanish. Clearly, these listeners perceive speakers of their own variety as significantly more 'correct' and 'pleasant' when compared to speakers of Dominican Spanish. This result is also similar to the findings by Preston (1993) for Southern Indiana respondents, in which he states that speakers of a stigmatized variety manage to exempt themselves from this status by downgrading another speech group and aligning themselves with more prestigious variants.

The rationale for downgrading Dominican Spanish relative to their own Spanish could be found in Puerto Ricans' recognition of the low socioeconomic status of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico. As such, the ratings given for Dominican Spanish reflect a socially conditioned value judgment of Dominicans and their position in the socioeconomic hierarchy in Puerto Rico. More detailed insights into the perceptions of social and also educational characteristics of the guise speakers surface from the characteristics ascribed in the semantic differential scales. The results emerging from this part of the verbal guise task are presented in the following section.

6.5.3 Ratings of social and personal characteristics

Recall that based on previous verbal guise experiments (d'Anglejan & Tucker 1973, Hiraga 2005) the present study included ten adjectives that represented two semantic dimensions: 'solidarity' and 'status'. These have been found to reflect the important

dimensions of social interaction that affect language use. Brown (1965) characterizes the dimension of ‘solidarity’ as being attributed to a person who is similar to the perceiver and is marked by frequent interaction and familiarity with the speaker and the listener. Since Dominican Spanish and Puerto Rican Spanish are very similar and are frequently in contact, this dimension was chosen to reflect the commonalities perceived by the listener. The adjectives chosen for the ‘status’ dimension were adopted from work carried out by Hiraga (2002) and Bullock & Toribio (2008).

Although the inferential analysis did not reveal significant effects between gender groups, the Bonferroni post-hoc tests exposed interesting results with respect to between-speaker ratings. Marco, and to a lesser extent Carlos, reveal significantly different ratings along the ‘status’ dimension as compared to the other two guises. A more general pattern emerges for Pepe who is rated significantly lower in items from both dimensions when compared to Marco and Carlos.

These results confirm the ninth hypothesis on the reflection of social prejudice towards Dominicans. In fact, those guises identified as ‘Dominican’ are not rated as highly educated, rich, or professionally successful. These results correlate with the socioeconomic status of Dominicans in Puerto Rico (Duany 1998, 2005). The results of the analysis also confirm that the perception of the guise speaker changes if that speaker is identified as Puerto Rican. These guises are afforded higher ratings on most traits, but especially those pertaining to status.

With respect to the ‘solidarity’ dimension, all guises were rated fairly high, and with the exception of Marco, there were few significant differences between guises. This falls in line with the definition given by Brown (1965), which emphasized that ratings of ‘solidarity’ generally are attributed to a person who is similar to the perceiver and is marked by frequent interaction and familiarity with the speaker and the listener. In San Juan, Dominicans and Puerto Ricans frequently interact and, in spite of socioeconomic differences, Puerto Ricans’ prejudicial notions rarely include personal characteristics of Dominicans (Mejía Pardo 1993).

In the ratings on social and personal characteristics of guise speakers, the results reveal a separation between perceptions of ‘solidarity’ and ‘status’. This falls in line with

previous work on language attitudes in which lower ratings on ‘status’ items are given to varieties accorded low prestige. The results are also in accordance with the results of the study overall.

6.5.4 Gender Differences

Finally, we address the issue raised in the tenth hypothesis, which addressed possible differences in ratings between gender groups:

Hypothesis 10: Both Puerto Rican men and women are hypothesized to rate the guise speakers similarly in terms of social and educational status as well as on personal characteristics.

In contrast to this hypothesis, mean ratings culled from the gender groups indicate interesting differences in the perceptions of men and women. It was reported that women rated the guises (i.e. also the two perceived as Dominican) higher in the ‘solidarity’ dimension than the Puerto Rican men. Also, ratings on social class and educational attainment differed in some instances. For instance Juan was rated by 60% of women to have completed only ‘primary school’ in contrast to about 18% of men, who overwhelmingly placed this guise in the ‘high school’ category. As mentioned above, one factor for the ratings on education given for this guise could be the ungrammatical use of *tengamos* ‘we have to’ which could denote this speaker as less educated. Also in the ratings on social class, the guise Juan provoked the most striking differences in ratings between gender groups. Whereas 30% of women place this speaker in the ‘low’ category, only 9% of the men believe he pertains to this social class. Differences can also be found in the ratings for Pepe in this category. Again 30% of women believe he is ‘low middle’ class, only 9.1% of men place him in this category.

Although none of these differences were found to be statistically different, they could be due to overall differences in perception between gender groups. However, they could also hint at differences in social experiences between Puerto Rican women and men with respect to Dominican immigrants. Such differences in ratings between gender groups are an interesting finding and could be due to a wide variety of social experiences in the work place, on the street, or any other social situation that men and women could experience differently. Clearly, such questions should be addressed by future research.

6.6 Summary

As confirmed in the verbal guise tasks, Puerto Rican listeners are sometimes able to discern Dominican Spanish solely by linguistic cues. It was also found that for these listeners, Dominican Spanish is associated with attributes commonly ascribed to the stereotypical Dominican immigrant in Puerto Rico. Along these lines, the guises identified as Dominicans by the Puerto Rican listeners in this study were associated with lower middle class status and a primary or high school education. Likewise, the Dominican guises were rated lower than Puerto Rican guises on measures of ‘pleasantness’ and ‘correctness’ characteristics. In assessments of the personal characteristics of the guise speakers, the guises identified as ‘Dominican’ were given fairly positive ratings on the attributes pertaining to the ‘solidarity’ dimension. However, in ratings on items referencing the ‘status’ dimension, there emerged a dichotomy in which the guises identified as Dominican were given statistically significantly lower ratings than those guises representing Puerto Rican Spanish speakers.

The results also confirm that stereotypical notions and negative attitudes towards Dominicans are triggered by structural differences (i.e. Dominican Spanish). In other words, speakers of Dominican Spanish are identified as pertaining to the lower sectors of the Puerto Rican society. Therefore, it could be posited that the linguistic identification of a speaker as ‘Dominican’ already entails within the listener the preconceived notion of a less educated, poor immigrant. This identification is likely to also be influenced by the contents of the speakers’ recordings (narrative detail and word choice), which is exemplified in the ratings for Marco. Within this context it would be interesting for future research to investigate attitudes by Puerto Ricans who do not live in areas of Puerto Rico with high Dominican immigrant populations. Recall that in the study by Mejía Pardo (1993) individuals with a high degree of contact with Dominicans exhibited the highest rates of prejudicial notions in their stories. Based on these results it would be possible to hypothesize that a study including Puerto Ricans from other areas of Puerto Rico should not exhibit the same strength of prejudicial notions towards Dominicans as the inhabitants of Puerto Rico sampled here.

Since the existence of preconceived notions among Puerto Ricans towards Dominicans has been exemplified in the previous chapters, the discussion will now turn

to the possible effects thereof on the Dominican immigrant group. More specifically, the ensuing chapter will address the question to what extent Puerto Ricans' negative attitudes towards Dominicans affect Dominican immigrants' linguistic insecurity and identity.

CHAPTER 7

Dominican Linguistic Insecurity and Identity

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the results of the Survey on Linguistic Insecurity and Identity that was administered to Dominicans in the Dominican Republic and in Puerto Rico. The purpose of this questionnaire was two-fold, (a) to gain insight into possible changes in Dominicans' expression of identity and linguistic (in)security that could result from the experience of migration to Puerto Rico, and (b) to tap into Dominican identity and linguistic behavior in different social situations among Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico. Data from two participant groups was collected. In order to tap into possible changes in Dominican identity and linguistic insecurity through immigration, the mean ratings given by Dominicans interviewed in the Dominican Republic were compared with the responses offered by a group of Dominican immigrants to Puerto Rico. The group of immigrants also completed a second part of the survey, focusing on linguistic behavior and self-perception in Puerto Rico.

For the analysis, participants' responses to the items rated along 7-point *Likert* scales were tallied and the mean responses for each item and each group of speakers (Dominicans in the Dominican Republic vs. Dominicans in Puerto Rico) were calculated and compared to examine the possible changes in responses between both groups. In addition, gender was analyzed as a variable, allowing for examination of the effect of migration on men vs. women with respect to their identity and insecurity.

The statistical procedure used to compare the means for the two independent groups were Independent Samples T-Tests. These were performed for each survey item. Additionally, data from the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire is included in the discussion and offers the reader a more complex picture of Dominican immigrants' social experience in Puerto Rico. The items included tap into the participants' experience in Puerto Rico, especially instances of discrimination towards the immigrant group and/or their language; narrated reactions are included.

A presentation of the descriptive results and the results for each t-test ensues below. Section 7.2 will present the items of which the survey was comprised. The results of the

first part of the survey will be presented in two separate sections. Section 7.3 will report the results on the items referencing dialectal and physical differences. Section 7.4 will present the results referencing linguistic (in)security and identity. Section 7.5 will offer the results from the second part of the survey given only to Dominican immigrants, discussing Dominican immigrants' linguistic behavior and related social experiences. Whenever possible, additional information is culled from the recordings of the interviews in which the participants frequently commented on a variety of issues, which are also included in the sections. A discussion and contextualization of the results will ensue in Section 7.6.

7.2 Survey Items

The items reported on in this chapter were drawn from the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire and the Survey on Linguistic Insecurity and Identity. A total of 33 items were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively for this discussion; 25 items were included in the survey and eight items on experiences with discrimination were culled from the sociolinguistic questionnaire. The survey consisted of two parts. Part one of the survey was completed by Dominicans living in the Dominican Republic and Dominicans living in Puerto Rico. The purpose of this part of the survey was to offer insights into changes incurred due to the immigration experience. The items contained in this part referenced Dominicans' perceptions of dialectal differences between Dominican Spanish and Puerto Rican Spanish and of racial differences between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans, and sought to uncover evidence of Dominicans' linguistic insecurity. Part two addressed linguistic self-perception and social experience on Dominicans living in Puerto Rico.

The quantificational analysis reported in sections 7.3 and 7.4 reports the results from the scalar items (n=10) from part one of the survey, i.e. focusing on possible changes in linguistic insecurity and identity due to the immigration experience. The selected items were statements that forced participants' indication of (non) agreement on 7-point *Likert* scales. The ten items are divided into three major themes: items on dialectal and racial differences, items on language insecurity, and items on Dominican identity, as shown in Table 7.1. Additionally, the responses for the open-ended questions from both the survey and the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire were included in the discussion.

Table 7.1: Survey of linguistic insecurity and identity

Items on dialectal and racial differences	1. <i>Creo que el español dominicano es mejor que el español puertorriqueño.</i> 'I believe that Dominican Spanish is better than Puerto Rican Spanish.' 2. <i>Creo que el español dominicano es mejor que el español de otros países.</i> 'I believe that Dominican Spanish is better than other dialects of Spanish.' 3. <i>Hay gente que dice que hay una diferencia de tez/raza entre dominicanos/puertorriqueños.</i> ²⁰ 'There is a difference in skin color between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans.'
Items on Language Insecurity	4. <i>Hablar con mi acento nativo es muy importante para mí. Refleja de donde vengo y quien soy.</i> 'Speaking with my native accent is very important to me. It reflects who I am and where I come from.' 5. <i>En mi opinión no es correcto que otros hablantes del español discriminen contra nuestro acento dominicano</i> 'I don't think it is fair that other Spanish speakers discriminate against our Dominican accent.' 6. <i>Creo que el español que se habla aquí en la Dominicana no es muy correcto.</i> 'I believe that the Spanish spoken in the Dominican Republic is not very correct.' 7. <i>Creo que el español que se habla en otras partes del país/el mundo es /más correcto que el español dominicano.</i> 'I believe that Spanish spoken in other countries is more correct than Dominican Spanish.'
Items on Dominican Identity	8. <i>La cultura dominicana es muy importante para mí y mi identidad.</i> 'The Dominican culture is very important to me and my identity as Dominican.' 9. <i>Me siento muy orgulloso/a de ser dominicano/dominicana.</i> 'I am very proud to be Dominican.' 10. <i>A veces los dominicanos que viven en Puerto Rico/fuera del país no hablan con un acento "puro" dominicano. Para mí eso significa que no son dominicanos de verdad.</i> 'Sometimes when Dominicans live outside of the Dominican Republic (e.g. in Puerto Rico) don't speak with a 'pure' Dominican accent anymore. This indicates to me that they are not Dominicans anymore.'

The quantificational analysis presented in Section 7.5 focuses on the items referencing Dominican immigrants' linguistic behavior and related social experiences in Puerto Rico. Items #11-19 address different social situations that involve the expression of linguistic (in)security on the part of the participants. Item #20-22 addressed participants' attitudes towards the maintenance of Dominican Spanish by their children. Table 7.2 offers an overview of the items surveying Dominican immigrants' Linguistic Insecurity and Self-perception in the second part of the survey.

²⁰ Item #3, originally in the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire, is included here to examine whether perceived racial differences would change with immigration.

Table 7.2: Survey of Dominican immigrants' linguistic behavior and social experiences

-
11. *La gente no se da cuenta de que soy dominicano/dominicana hasta que me oye hablar.*
‘People don’t realize that I am Dominican until they hear me speak.’
12. *Desde que he vivido aquí en Puerto Rico, la gente me dice que tengo un acento puertorriqueño.*
‘Since I’ve lived here in Puerto Rico, people tell me that I’ve gotten a Puerto Rican accent.’
13. (If “yes”) *Me molesta tener un acento puertorriqueño.*
‘It bothers me to have a Puerto Rican accent.’
14. (If “no”) *Me molesta **no** tener un acento puertorriqueño.*
‘It bothers me **not** to have a Puerto Rican accent.’
15. *Cuando los puertorriqueños se confunden y piensan que soy de aquí los corrijo y digo que soy dominicano/dominicana.*
‘Whenever people mistake me for a Puerto Rican I correct them and tell them that I am Dominican.’
16. *A veces no los corrijo.*
‘Sometimes I don’t correct them.’
17. *Me siento más a gusto hablar con mi acento dominicano en casa o con mis amigos/familiares que con los puertorriqueños.*
‘I feel more comfortable speaking with my Dominican accent at home or with my friends than with Puerto Ricans.’
18. *Hablo como hablo, da igual con quien estoy hablando. Nunca cambio mi acento.*
‘I speak the way I speak; it does not matter with whom I am talking. I never change my accent.’
19. *Me duele que la gente aquí se burle de nosotros los dominicanos y nuestro acento.*
‘It hurts me that people here make fun of us Dominicans and our accent.’
20. (Only if participant has children) *¿Sus hijos hablan con acento puertorriqueño?*
‘Do you children speak with a Puerto Rican accent?’
21. (“Sí”) *Me molesta que mis hijos no hablen con acento dominicano.*
‘ (“Yes”) It bothers me that my children don’t speak with a Dominican accent.’
22. (“No”) *Me hace feliz, porque el acento dominicano es parte de su herencia dominicana.*
‘ (“No”) It makes me happy because the Dominican accent is part of their heritage.’
-

The items culled from the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire that focused on Dominican experiences with discrimination (1-6) and the open-ended items from the survey (7-10) are the following:

- 1) *¿Ha escuchado usted hacer comentarios inapropiados o insultantes sobre una persona que habla español con acento dominicano?*

‘Have you heard other people make inappropriate or insulting comments about a person speaking with a Dominican accent?’

- 2) *¿Con qué frecuencia lo ha escuchado?*

– *muy a menudo* - *a veces* - *casi nunca* - *nunca*

‘How often have you heard these comments?’

- ‘very often’ - ‘sometimes’ - ‘hardly ever’ - ‘never’

- 3) *¿Me podría dar un ejemplo de qué dijeron en concreto?*
 ‘Could you give me an example of what was said?’
- 4) *¿Ha escuchado usted hacer comentarios inapropiados o insultantes sobre la raza o la procedencia étnica de alguien? ¿De un dominicano/una dominicana en específico?*
 ‘Have you head anyone make inappropriate or insulting comments about the race or the ethnic background of another person? Specifically of a Dominican?’
- 5) *¿Con qué frecuencia?*
 – *muy a menudo* - *a veces* - *casi nunca* - *nunca*
 ‘How often?’
 - ‘very often’ - ‘sometimes’ - ‘hardly ever’ - ‘never’
- 6) *¿Podría darme algún ejemplo de algo que usted ha escuchado?*
 ‘Could you give me an example of what you have heard?’
- 7) *¿Cuáles son los aspectos de la cultura dominicana que son muy importantes para Ud.*
 ?‘What aspects of Dominican culture are very important to you?’
- 8) *¿Cuáles aspectos de la cultura dominicana no le gustan tanto?*
 ‘Which aspects of Dominican culture do you not like so much?’
- 9) (Referring to the (dis)agreement on whether Dominican Spanish is more correct than other varieties of Spanish) *¿Por que sí/no?*
 (Do you agree?) ‘Why yes/why not?’
- 10) *Si la respuesta fue “sí”....¿Cuáles dialectos cree Ud. son más correctos?*
 ‘If your answer was “yes... Which dialects do you believe are more correct?’

The following section will present the results for the items that address the perception of dialectal and phenotypical differences. The results primarily focus on the effect of immigration in ratings for the overall group of Dominicans. However, attention will also be given to possible differences between gender groups.

7.3 Dominicans' Perceptions of Dialectal and Phenotypical Differences

Crucial to the question of the existence and increase/decrease of Dominican linguistic insecurity among immigrant populations is the speakers' perception of linguistic differences and the issue of linguistic insecurity. Recall that in the literature Dominican Spanish has been shown to be highly stigmatized cross-dialectally (e.g. Castellanos 1980). Also, Dominicans living in the Dominican Republic have been shown to be linguistically insecure (e.g. Toribio 2000a). However, in studies investigating the linguistic behavior of Dominican immigrant communities in the U.S. it was also found that Dominican Spanish was perceived as an emblem of national identity in spite of intense stigmatization (e.g., García et al. 1988, Bailey 2000). As shown in the responses by U.S. Cubans in the study by Alfaraz (1999), even by speakers of a Caribbean Spanish variety, Dominican Spanish was attributed little prestige compared to other varieties of Spanish. Therefore, the issue of dialectal prestige or, more colloquially, 'better' speech, plays an important role in the present context. As shown in Chapter 5, the Puerto Rican participants in the study did not agree with the statement that Puerto Rican Spanish is 'better' than Dominican Spanish. Most speakers expressed the belief that both varieties were different but equal as dialects of Spanish. With respect to the motivations of dialectal maintenance and linguistic insecurity it is highly valuable to tap into Dominicans' evaluations of Dominican Spanish vis-à-vis Puerto Rican Spanish or other varieties of Spanish. These were targeted in responses to item #1 ("I believe Dominican Spanish is better than Puerto Rican Spanish.") and item #2 ("I believe that Dominican Spanish is better than other dialects of Spanish").

Given the reports of the racialization of immigrant groups as 'black' in particular Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico (e.g. Duany 1998, 2005), it is of equal importance to examine Dominicans' perceptions of racial differences between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. Recall that Puerto Ricans' ratings, reported in Chapter 5, indicated that for these speakers there was no difference in skin color between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. This stands in contrast to the above referenced prejudices that have been reported to exist in Puerto Rico. Dominicans' perceptions of existing racial differences are targeted by item #3 ("There is a difference in skin color between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans").

An overview of participants' responses on these three items and the overall means given by Dominicans in the Dominican Republic and those in Puerto Rico are represented in Table 7.3. The results for these items per gender groups are presented in Table 7.4 (women) and Table 7.5 (men). As mentioned initially, additional information is culled from the recordings of the interviews in which the participants frequently commented on a variety of issues, which are also included in the present discussion.

Table 7.3: Dominicans' perceptions of dialectal and phenotypical differences

	Dominicans in DR n= 49		Dominicans in PR n=47	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Item #1 (DS better than PRS)	5.24	2.04	4.36	1.97
Item #2 (DS better than other dialects)	5.37	1.98	4.15	2.05
Item #3 (Diff. in skin color)	5.16	2.00	3.77	2.46

The ratings for the items #1 ('I believe Dominican Spanish is better than Puerto Rican Spanish.') and #2 ('I believe that Dominican Spanish is better than other dialects of Spanish') reveal a mean of above 5 (i.e. in the positive realm) for Dominicans in the Dominican Republic. This indicates that this group is in agreement with the statement that Dominican Spanish is better than Puerto Rican Spanish. However, this result is not echoed by the immigrant group. The mean for this group indicates neutrality. A comparison of means between groups was conducted to uncover statistically significant differences. For the item #1 an Independent Samples T-Test had the following results: $t(94, 96) = 2.16, p < .05$. The t-test for item #2 showed a highly significant difference between both groups: $t(94, 96) = 2.96, p < .01$.

Based on the results for item #1, immigration does have a statistically significant effect by which Dominican immigrants are less likely to believe that their variety is better than Puerto Rican Spanish. Rather, it is possible that through contact with Puerto Rican Spanish, Dominicans have become aware of the fact that both varieties share many similarities. This interpretation is supported by the statements made during the interviews in response to item #1 ('I believe that Dominican Spanish is better than Puerto Rican Spanish'). The equality of both varieties is a sentiment frequently expressed during the

interviews, much like in the following extract offered by one of the Dominican participants in San Juan:

(1) *No, no puede haber diferencia porque somos todos iguales, somos humanos...hablamos el mismo lenguaje y todo...y somos muy cercanos...la República Dominicana y Puerto Rico son unos pueblos más cercanos que hay.* ‘No, there can’t be any difference because we are all equal, we are human beings....we speak the same language and everything...and we are close...the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico are countries that are as close as you can get.’ (male, 55, brick layer, Cibao)

Most Dominicans interviewed in the corpus agreed with the statement in item #1, expressing belief in the equal status of both varieties, in spite of the differences. However, one outspoken participant maintained that Dominican Spanish must be better than Puerto Rican Spanish, since Puerto Rican Spanish is affected by contact with English:

(2) *Se sucede que ... que yo sé que en la República Dominicana, tiene que, tiene todavía un lenguaje autóctono, en el sentido, en que...de que...no ha recibido tanto estranjerismo dentro de ello. Por ejemplo basándonos en Puerto Rico...Puerto Rico ha tenido demasiada influencia extranjera y por eso acá ha adquirido mucho estranjerismo dentro de su idioma...la dominicana se mantiene todavía autóctona y original.* ‘What’s happening isthat I know that in the Dominican Republic they have to, they still have an independent language in the sense that ...that...it has not received the same amount of foreign words. For example in Puerto Rico, Puerto Rico has experienced too much foreign influence and because of that has accepted many foreign words into its language...the Dominican [language] maintains itself independent and original. (male, 43, manager/student, Santo Domingo)

Although this opinion was not expressed frequently, several other participants also commented similarly on the influence of English and the resulting loss of ‘originality’ of Puerto Rican Spanish.

Moreover, the statistically significant results for item #2 (‘I believe that Dominican Spanish is better than other dialects of Spanish’) indicate that Dominican immigrants also do not believe that their variety of Spanish is better than other dialects of Spanish. It is possible that the experience of immigration and the resulting contact with other varieties has caused the speakers to reconsider the standing of their native dialect in comparison to other dialects. Among those few participants who believed in the notion that other varieties of Spanish were ‘better’ than their native dialect, the dialects mentioned included varieties spoken along the Caribbean coast, such as Venezuela and Cuba. The latter country in particular was noted for its ‘good’ Spanish as were other Central and South American varieties. Frequently the definition of ‘good’ Spanish was related to access to higher education and the idea of a more standardized, more accurate pronunciation:

(3) *Entonces, sí, el español de España es más fino...* ‘Well then yes, the Spanish spoken in Spain is nicer.’ (female, 40, cleaning lady, Santo Domingo)

(4) *Pues, yo creo que en parte que sí. Por lo menos los españoles hablan muy correcto.* ‘Well, I believe in part that is so. At least the Spanish speak more correctly.’ (male, 55, maintenance, Seibo)

(5) *Hay muchísimo, los venezolanos...todo Centro América habla más perfecto, habla con la ‘s’ donde va. Nosotros ...lo más que estudiemos quitamos la ‘s’ porque no importa. Pero por allá en todos estos países de Centro América ponen la ‘s’ donde va. Y hablan más perfecto que nosotros.* ‘There are many, the Venezuelans...all of Central America speaks more perfectly, they place the ‘s’ where it belongs. As for us...as much as we study we [still] leave off the ‘s’ because it is not important. But over there in those Central American countries

they place the ‘s’ where it belongs. And they speak more perfectly than we do.’
(male, 53, electrician, La Romana)

(6) *He ido a Nueva York y te puedo decir que el, del idioma del español que yo he oído con que más perfecto lo hablan son los Hondureños.* ‘I’ve been to New York and I can tell you that the, those that speak the Spanish language most perfectly are the Hondurans.’ (male, 40, hair dresser, Santo Domingo)

(7) *En Cuba. Los cubanos son más intelectuales.* ‘In Cuba. Those Cubans are more intellectual.’ (male, 34, cook, Santo Domingo)

Few Dominican immigrants expressed themselves as clearly in favor of the value and prestige of Dominican Spanish in comparison with other varieties as the following participant:

(8) *No, no lo creo que sea mejor que ...del dominicano, ¿Por qué? Porque el español que se habla en Dominicana....fíjate que en Dominicana es la primada de América...es la primera que se descubre...tenemos todo lo primero...por esa situación la lengua castellana madre nace es Quisqueya, esa es la situación y por ende, en Dominicana se habla el mejor castellano que en todos los países...Por ser la primera, y la primera universidad, la primera catedral. Tenemos todo los primeros. Y fue donde Cristóbal Colón y el idioma español hizo sus raíces...Yo creo que ninguna de las demás islas Latinoamericanas hablan mejor español que el dominicano.* ‘No, I don’t think that it is better...than Dominican Spanish. Why? Well, because the Spanish spoken in the Dominican Republic ...imagine that the Dominican is the first of everything in the Americas...it was the first to be discovered...we have all the firsts...because of this the Spanish language is born in Quisqueya, that is the situation and because of that in the Dominican Republic the best Spanish is spoken compared to all other countries...due to it being the first, the first university, the first cathedral. We have all the firsts...And it was where Christopher Columbus and the Spanish language took root...I don’t believe

that any of the other Latin-American countries speaks better Spanish than a Dominican.’ (male, 43, manager/student, Santo Domingo)

The third item in the questionnaire addressed possible differences in racial perception between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. Dominicans in DR had a mean rating slightly above 5.0, indicating an agreement with a racial difference. Dominicans in PR had a mean rating of below 4.0, i.e. they tended to disagree with the existence of racial differences between both groups. The difference between both ratings is significant: $t(94, 96) = 3.06, p < .01$. The implication of this result is that the experience of living in Puerto Rico appears to decrease perceptions of racial differences from the point of view of the Dominican immigrants. This is an interesting result, since in Chapter 5 Puerto Ricans were also found to disagree with this statement.

A One-Way ANOVA was conducted to compare the means between all three participant groups: Puerto Ricans, Dominicans in DR, and Dominicans in PR. The result of the ANOVA revealed highly significant differences between means for all three groups: $F(2,149)=15.255, p < .01$. Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed significant differences between the Puerto Rican participants and the Dominicans in DR ($p < .01$). Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in PR were not shown to be significantly different ($p = .719$). These results confirm that for Dominicans the experience of immigration and daily contact with Puerto Ricans significantly changes their perception of racial differences with Puerto Ricans. By contrast, Dominicans in the Dominican Republic maintain their perception of racial differences between both nationalities, which is also reflected in some of the statements that respondents offered while discussing encounters with racism (item #6 of the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire):

(9) *La raza negra siempre la han hecho hablado por su color, sabe.... eso se oye...siempre se ha oído* ‘The black race has always been talked about because of its color, you know... that you hear....you’ve always heard that...’ (male, 47, worker, Santo Domingo)

(10) *Sí, pues, lo he escuchado, pero no se escucha tanto aquí, lo he escuchado más en otros países.* ‘Well, yes, I have heard it, but you don’t hear it much around here, what I’ve heard was more in other countries.’ (female, 30, secretary, Santo Domingo)

The statements given by Dominicans living in Puerto Rico indicate that most speakers that express opinions on this subject believe that both groups are *not* phenotypically different:

(11) *Este, todos somos caribeños, los todos tenemos la misma mezcla...estoy absolutamente...que todos tienen la misma...procedencia...* ‘Well, we all are Caribbeans, we all have the same mixture...I am absolutely....that all have the same...origin.’ (male, 40, hair dresser, Santo Domingo)

Therefore, increased contact between both groups appears to foster a sense of sameness for many speakers in the sample. This sense of equality includes differences of prestige of both varieties compared to each other and to other varieties of Spanish as well as the sense of racial differences.

Turning to the results from the gender groups, the mean ratings for the women group are presented in Table 7.4 and for the men in Table 7.5. The means culled from the women group for item #1 (‘Dominican Spanish better than Puerto Rican Spanish’) are similar to the overall results: positive ratings within the ‘Dominicans in DR’ group and a decrease in the ‘Dominicans in PR’ group. The mean of the latter is above 4.0, i.e. within the ‘neutral’ range. According to a T-Test for Independent Samples this difference is not significant: $t(49, 52) = 1.06, p=.295$. Therefore, post-immigration female participants do not believe that Puerto Rican Spanish is better than their own variety.

Table 7.4: Women-Results of dialectal/phenotypical differences

	Dominicans in DR n= 28		Dominicans in PR n=24	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Item #1 (DS better than PRS)	5.04	2.14	4.42	2.04
Item #2 (DS better than other dialects)	5.44	2.03	3.88	2.11
Item #3 (Diff. in skin color)	5.85	1.51	2.96	2.29

However, there is a difference in ratings between both women groups for item #2 ('Dominican Spanish better than other dialects of Spanish'). The means for the 'Dominican in DR' group are quite positive (above 5.0), however the post-immigration group only reaches a mean of 3.88. This strong decrease in mean ratings is highly significant: $t(49, 52) = 2.70, p < .01$. In contrast to the more 'classic' immigration pattern, in which men went abroad and the women stayed behind in the native country to tend to the family (e.g. Bettoni & Gibbons 1988), the role of Dominican women in this particular immigration experience is quite different. Recall that slightly more than half of Dominican immigrants are women, who have emigrated, like Dominican men, to improve their living conditions and those of their family members in the Dominican Republic. It is possible that due to the immigration experience and their work environment, Dominican women, much like the men, are more in contact with other varieties of Spanish (immigrants from Cuba, Mexico, and South America) and might therefore be forced to reanalyze their perceptions of 'other' varieties of Spanish in relation to their own. This tolerance towards other varieties is reflected in some of the statements given by immigrant women:

(12) *No, porque eso es como que...de acuerdo, de acuerdo de la persona. Yo siempre considero que todos somos iguales, y respeto mucho la opinión de cada persona, por amor de Dios. (...) Además, eso depende, porque uno habla según te han enseñado desde chiquito y no tiene la culpa de ofender a otros. O sea, yo considero que somos todos iguales.* 'No, because it is ...it fits in, it fits in with the person. I always say that we are all equal and I respect the opinions of every person, for the love of God. (...) Also, it depends, because we all speak the way

we were taught since we were little and it should not be a cause for offence to others. Or, well, I believe that we are all equal.’ (female, 52, Puerto Plata, security guard)

(13) *Bueno, yo te lo explicaría esto. Es cada persona, cada personalidad con su nacionalidad. Porque... un ejemplo es ... la misma palabra que te dije horita. Yo me siento muy bien hablando dominicano porque esa es mi nacionalidad. Pero hay también muchos puertorriqueños que hablan perfectamente igual que nosotros, los dominicanos. O sea, yo no veo tanta diferencia en una palabra y otra.* ‘Ok, I’ll explain this to you. It’s that each person, each nationality has its personality. Because...an example would be...the same word I just gave you. I feel very comfortable speaking Dominican because this is my nationality. But there are also many Puerto Ricans who speak just like us, the Dominicans. I really don’t see many differences between individual words.’ (female, 43, cook, Santo Domingo)

Also highly significant is the difference in mean ratings for the item #3, tapping into perceived racial differences between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. Whereas, Dominican women living in the Dominican Republic agree with this statement, the immigrant group disagrees with this statement: $t(49, 52) = 5.38, p < .01$. In a similar pattern to the overall results, post-immigration women perceive differences in skin color to Puerto Ricans less.

(14) *Bueno mayormente hay más gente aquí clarita pero hay morenos también...hay de todo.* ‘Well, by and large there are more light-skinned people here but there are black people as well. You can find anything here.’ (female, 25, student, Santo Domingo, 5 years in SJ)

(15) *No hay nada de diferente. En Boricua hay blancos, y más... como en la Dominicana.* ‘There are no differences. Among Puerto Ricans there are whites

and more....just like in the Dominican.’ (female, 37, market seller, Santo Domingo)

The results for the men group do not reveal strong differences between the pre-immigration and post-immigration ratings. The only item revealing a significant difference in ratings is item #1 (‘Dominican Spanish better than Puerto Rican Spanish). Whereas the ‘Dominicans in DR’ group agrees with this statement, the immigrant group indicates neutrality: $t(43, 44) = 2.08, p <.05$. The difference in means between both groups in items #2 were not found to be significant: ‘Dominican Spanish better than other dialects of Spanish’, $t(43, 44) = 1.42, p = .162$. Similar to the women group, the mean ratings given by men decrease slightly into a ‘neutral’ zone, however this decrease is not significant. A comparison of means for item #3 (‘Difference in skin color’) also did not yield significant results: $t(43, 44) = -.422, p = .675$. Therefore, in contrast to women who did not agree that there was a difference in skin color between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans post-immigration, men maintain their relative neutrality in their responses to this item.

Table 7.5: Men -Results of dialectal/phenotypical differences

	Dominicans in DR n= 21		Dominicans in PR n=23	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Item #1 (DS better than PRS)	5.50	1.92	4.30	1.94
Item #2 (DS better than other dialects)	5.27	1.96	4.43	1.97
Item #3 (Diff. in skin color)	4.32	2.23	4.61	2.34

A comparison between gender groups among the group of Dominicans in the Dominican Republic revealed that for item #3 there was a highly significant difference between men and women mean ratings: $t(49,47)=-2.857, p <.01$. For items #1 ($t(49,47)=.788, p = .434$) and #2 ($t(49,47)=-.300, p=.766$) no significant differences were found between men and women.

A comparison of gender groups among the Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico also revealed a significant difference between gender groups for item #3: $t(45,47)=2.417, p$

<.05. For item #1 ($t(45,47)=-.193$, $p =.848$) and item #2 ($t(45,47)=-.933$, $p=.356$) no significant differences were found between men and women.

Clearly, the issue of racial differences between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans is perceived differently between men and women, both in the Dominican Republic and among immigrants in Puerto Rico as well as Puerto Ricans. Also, Puerto Rican men and women disagreed with the belief of phenotypical differences between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans (Table 5.2). Dominican men in both locations express neutrality towards this issue. This could be a possible indicator that Dominican men, although aware of racial issues, attribute less importance to this than Dominican women and the Puerto Rican participants. Dominican women on the other hand, experience the strongest change in perception due to immigration. These results could be due to different experiences in social settings between gender groups. Increased contact with Puerto Ricans significantly changed women's ratings on this issue. As mentioned before this is most likely due to the social circumstances of women immigrants, who, much like their male counterparts, are exposed to Puerto Ricans in their working environment.

In sum, the results of the inferential analysis confirm that immigration does indeed affect Dominican immigrants' perceptions of their native dialect relative to other dialectal variants. Through exposure to Puerto Rican Spanish, the data suggests that Dominicans have become more aware of the similarities to Puerto Rican Spanish and therefore do not consider it much different from their native dialect. The means given for items #1 and #2 could also be the result of exposure to a dialectal variant very close to their own. Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish are both stigmatized Spanish variants. Therefore, it might be difficult for Dominicans to consider either one of the dialects as 'better Spanish' than the other. Immigration has also had a significant effect on Dominicans' perception of racial differences between themselves and Puerto Ricans. It is possible that Dominicans in the Dominican Republic perceive Puerto Ricans as 'whiter' due to the country's political status within the U.S. until they emigrate. Clearly, upon living in Puerto Rico, this perception is not maintained, especially not by the female participants in the study. The effect of immigration on the linguistic insecurity and identity of Dominicans in Puerto Rico will be discussed in the following section.

7.4 Linguistic Insecurity and Identity

Another set of items included in the survey referenced linguistic insecurity: items #4 ('Speaking with my native accent is very important to me; it reflects who I am and where I come from'), #5 ('I don't think it is fair that other Spanish speakers discriminate against our Dominican accent.'), #6 ('I believe that the Spanish spoken in the Dominican Republic is not very correct'), and #7 ('I believe that Spanish spoken in other countries is more correct than Dominican Spanish'). Items #8-10 tap into possible changes in the relationship between language and identity due to immigration: # 8 ('The Dominican culture is very important to me and my identity as Dominican.'), #9 ('I am very proud to be Dominican.'), and item #10 ('Sometimes when Dominicans live outside of the Dominican Republic (e.g. in Puerto Rico) they don't speak with a 'pure' Dominican accent anymore; this indicates to me that they are not Dominicans anymore.'). As mentioned in previous research (e.g., Bailey 2000, Toribio 2000b), Dominicans in the Dominican Republic and also Dominican immigrants in the U.S. demonstrate linguistic insecurity vis-à-vis more prestigious dialects such as the varieties spoken in Spain. On the other hand, Dominican immigrant communities have likewise been found to place high value on the maintenance of the native variety.

An overview of items on linguistic insecurity and identity and the overall means given by each immigration group are represented in Table 7.6. The results for these items per gender groups are presented in Table 7.7 (women) and Table 7.8 (men).

Table 7.6: Overall results of Linguistic Insecurity and Identity Survey

	Dominicans in DR n= 49		Dominicans in PR n=47	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Item #4 (Importance of native accent)	6.57	.82	6.79	.95
Item #5 (Discrimination against DS)	5.45	2.34	6.32	1.82
Item #6 (Correctness of DS)	4.47	2.42	4.55	2.05
Item #7 (Other dialects more correct)	4.67	2.18	4.53	2.18
Item #8 (National Pride and Identity)	6.88	.33	6.96	.92
Item #9 (Pride to be Dominican)	6.94	.32	6.87	.54
Item #10 (Loss of Dominican identity with loss of accent)	3.35	2.46	1.72	1.31

With respect to the items on Linguistic Insecurity and Identity, only two items showed significant differences in means in the overall results. The means for the remaining five items were not significantly different. More in detail, the means for both groups for item #5 (‘Discrimination against Dominican accent’) were significantly different $t(94, 96) = -2.04, p < .05$. Prior to immigration, Dominicans agreed quite strongly, that it is not acceptable to discriminate against speakers of Dominican Spanish (mean 5.45). The immigrant group increased in their agreement (mean 6.32). This result can be attributed to the high degree of discrimination that speakers of this variety face in Puerto Rico. Evidence of discrimination can be found in the accounts that the participants give of every-day encounters with Puerto Ricans:

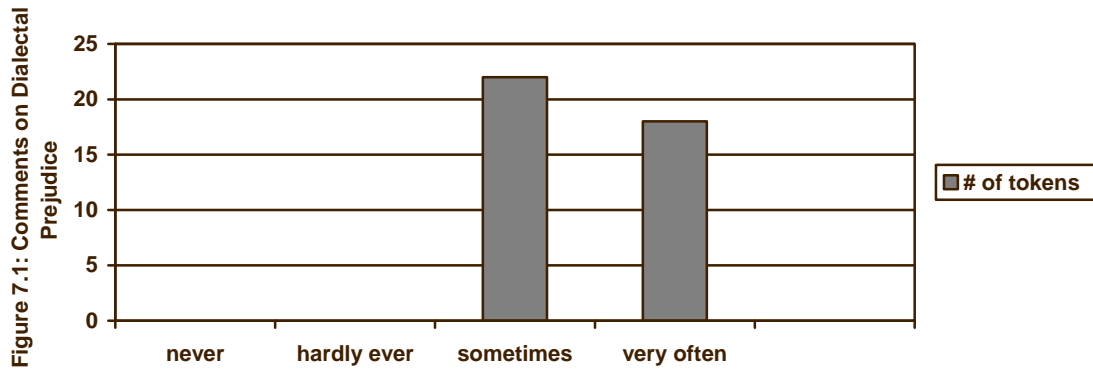
- (16) *Bueno, por ejemplo aquí, si tú vas a una fila en un sitio para buscar un documento en una oficina que pertenece a este país y se dan cuenta por el acento que somos dominicanos nos maltratan inmediatamente...* ‘Well, over here for example, if you’re standing in a line in a place where you receive official document, in an office that belongs to this country and they realize through our accent that we are Dominicans, they will mistreat us immediately.’ (male, 53, electrician, La Romana)

Other participants give examples of comments and ridicule that Puerto Ricans utter when hearing Dominicans speak which often are expressed in the form of stereotypical imitations of Dominican Spanish:

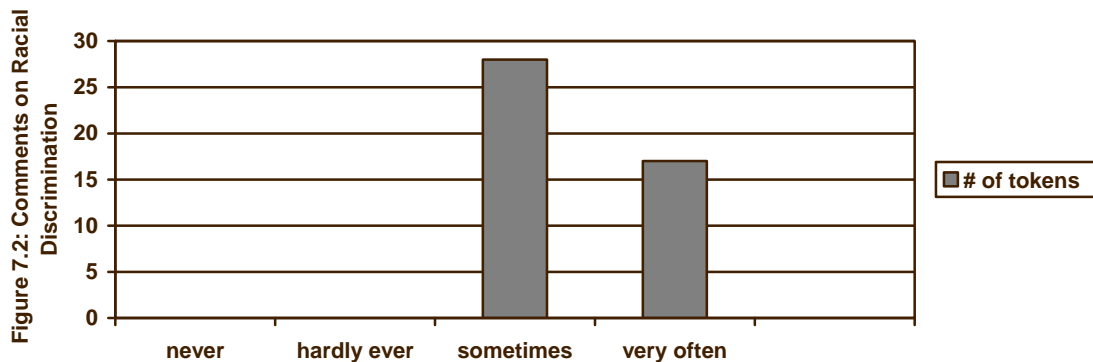
- (17) *Sí, lo he escuchado...la inmitación por ejemplo.... 'poique'.* 'Yes, what I've heard...is imitation, for example 'poique'.' (male, 43, manager/student, Santo Domingo)
- (18) *¿Qué dicen? Pues nos inmitan así con "oh, oh, mira..." " que vaina", "oh, pero que te pasa", "oh que es la vaina".* 'What do they say? Well, they imitate us with 'oh,oh, look', 'that thing', 'oh, but what's going on', 'oh man that thing.' (male, 50, cook, San Cristóbal)
- (19) *Sí, nos inmitan dicen "pero ¡qué es la vaina!" sabes...cosas así. Chistes.* 'Yes, they imitate us, say 'but that stinks'...you know...stuff like that. Jokes.' (female, 26, cook/waitress, Santo Domingo)
- (20) *Porque es una manera como de...tratar con racismo a, a los dominicanos y una forma de desprecio al, a la manera en cual que la hablamos. Que lo hacen porque quizás porque se creen superiores en todo el uso casi de la[h] palabra[h] y que son mejores hablantes del español que nosotros simplemente porque el accento es diferente y porque tenemos diferentes, eh, modismos de hablar.* 'Because it is a way to ... deal with racism towards, towards Dominicans and an expression of disparagement to, towards the way in which we speak. They do it maybe because they believe they are superior in the use of almost all words, and that they are better speakers of Spanish, that we simply, because the accent is different and because we have, eh, other ways of expressing ourselves.' (male, 40, hair dresser, Santo Domingo)

More insights into discrimination experiences can be found in the responses to the items addressing linguistic and social/racial discrimination in the Sociolinguistic

Questionnaire (items #1-#6). From 47 participating Dominican immigrants only 7 (14.7 %) had not heard inappropriate or insulting comments on a person with a Dominican accent (item #1). The 40 participants (85.3%) who reported having heard disparaging comments rated the frequency with which they heard these comments. The results are represented below.



Moreover, 45 out of 47 participants (94.8 %) also reported having heard disparaging comments about the social/racial discrimination (item# 4). The responses on frequency were as follows:



The examples given for instances of racial discrimination very often were intermingled with instances of more social and cultural prejudice:

(21) *O sea, mayormente por ejemplo el dominicano, digo no todos, pero la mayoría que si están en su casa tienen la música alta... “Sí, tiene que ser dominicano*

porque tiene la música alta". 'Well, mostly for example because the Dominicans, and I don't mean all, but the majority of them, when they are at home, turn the music really loud. "Yes, they have to be Dominicans because they are playing loud music." (female, 49, hairdresser, Santo Domingo)

(22) *Sí, por ejemplo el puertorriqueño se asegura blanco, se cree blanco. Nosotros, por el color no... Es una diferencia discriminatoria. Aquí la gente se cree más blanca...en realidad, en realidad no somos blancos ni uno de los latinos.* 'Yes, the Puerto Rican thinks of himself as white. Us, with color, we don't...It's a difference that they discriminate. Here people believe they are whiter...in reality, in reality, none of us Latinos is white.' (male, 53, electrician, La Romana)

(23) *Se escucha a menudo...en cierta área en que hay más gente...tú sabe...Mira...allí en el correo...pusieron con letras grandes..."Muerte a los dominicanos" ..hay que maltratar todo los limpiadores. Hay otro que decía "No queremos saber de los dominicanos"* 'You can hear that frequently ...in certain areas where there are more people...you know...Look over there on the mailbox ...in capitol letters..."Death to the Dominicans"...you've got to treat the cleaning personnel badly... There was another one that said "We don't want to know anything about Dominicans"'. (male,50, cook, San Cristóbal)

(24) *Te digo que muchos boricuas son racistas. No quieren saber de nosotros los dominicanos. Oye, hay un letrero...tú no has visto que hay....grafiti en la pared. Dicen que no quieren saber de nosotros dominicanos...de esto...de lo otro...* 'I would say that many Puerto Ricans are racists. They do not want to know anything about Dominicans. Listen, there is a sign ...you did not see that there was...graffiti on the wall. They said they did not want to know anything about Dominicans...this, that...and the other.' (female, 26, cook/waitress, Santo Domingo)

(25) *Lo que dice “Ese jodío negro” ... “Ese negro está cabrón” ... “Tenía que ser negro”* ‘What they say “This goddamn black guy”...”This black guy is an idiot”...”Of course it’s got to be a black guy”.’ (male, 40, hair dresser, Santo Domingo)

(26) *A mí misma me han tratado muy mal por ser dominicana. Me han tratado como si yo fuera nada.* ‘They have treated me very badly because I am Dominican. They have treated me as if were nothing.’ (female, 52, security guard, Altamira)

(27) *Yo, yo...como yo cojo la guagua, me monto a la guagua y yo oigo los comentarios de los otros, pero yo no les hago caso.* ‘When I take the bus, I get on the bus and I hear comments from the others but I don’t pay any attention.’ (male, 76, maintenance, Puerto Plata)

Even among participants interviewed in the Dominican Republic existed knowledge of discrimination of Dominicans, in particular in Puerto Rico:

(28) *Lo que he escuchado es que nosotros somos...eh...una plaga...que quitamos trabajo a los ... a su gente, que ¿por qué estamos en este país?, sí.* ‘What I have heard is that we are a...ah...plague... that we take jobs away...from their people, and why are we in that country.’ (female, 41, Santo Domingo, secretary)

The existence of discrimination against immigrants and in particular towards Dominicans is also confirmed through the ratings given by the Puerto Rican participant group, presented in Chapter 5. All the more surprising are the high ratings by Dominican immigrants given to the items from the survey referenced above (#1 and #2) and the high value of Dominican Spanish, identity, and culture expressed by the ratings given to items #4, #8, and #9 and the expression thereof by the participants themselves.

The means for items #4, #8, and #9 addressing the issues of identity are rated high, with means above 6.0 for the group of Dominicans in DR and also for the immigrant group. This suggests that the immigration experience has not caused fundamental

changes in these beliefs. The inferential statistics run on these items did not reveal any statistically significant differences. The results of the t-tests are as follows: item #4 ('Native accent reflects identity') $t(94, 96) = -1.19, p = .238$, item #8 ('Dominican culture and identity') $t(94, 96) = -1.25, p = .212$, and item #9 ('Dominican pride') $t(94, 96) = .735, p = .465$. A similar pattern can be found for the items #6 and #7 addressing linguistic insecurity. The means of neither participant group revealed strong shifts, but stayed around 4.5. The results of the t-tests confirm this observation: item #6 ('Correctness of Dominican Spanish') $t(94, 96) = -.183, p = .855$, item #7 $t(94, 96) = .318, p = .751$. The neutral responses among participants in both groups evidence that the idea of one dialect being more correct than another is not an issue that is of high import.

Although some Dominican participants do discuss the importance of speaking correctly, they also acknowledge that that is related to access to higher education. Since many participants did not have access to higher education, they state that speaking the way they speak is 'good for every-day communication', although they acknowledge that Spanish spoken in other countries should be considered more correct:

(29) *Eso depende también de lo que haya estudiado. Porque, yo no hablo muy bien porque no lo he estudiado suficiente en la universidad, pero otros dominicanos que han ido a la universidad lo producen mejor que yo.* 'That depends also on whether you have studied. Because, I don't speak very well because I've not had much university education but other Dominicans that have gone to university produce it better than I do.' (female, 52, security guard, Puerto Plata)

(30) *Sí, se nota bastante la educación ...este...el dominicano (...) yo diría que...porque eso es parte de la educación porque siempre van a haber personas que no se saben expresar de una manera más....pero el español que se habla en Dominicana, de una persona que tiene....que sabe... que es educada es un español de altura...fuera de serie.* 'Yes, you can tell education...umh....the Dominican...(..) I would say that...because this is part of education, because there will always be people who do not know how to express themselves in a way more....but the Spanish spoken in the Dominican, by a person with...who knows

...who is educated is high-level Spanish...extraordinary.’ (male, 50, cook, San Cristóbal)

(31) *Creo que en España se habla un español más correcto... Es más correcto...eso es así.* ‘I believe that in Spain they speak more correctly...it is more correct....that’s how it is.’ (male, 55, La Vega, bricklayer)

Previous research has pointed out that varieties spoken in rural areas are often heavily stigmatized and therefore speakers are more susceptible to linguistic insecurity. For instance, with respect to the Dominican Republic, it is the variety spoken in the rural north of the country that is particularly disparaged (e.g. Bullock & Toribio 2009). The northern region of the Cibao is stigmatized for the use of prominent dialectal features such as the vocalization of glides as in [paite] for [parte] ‘part’. In an effort to compare the ratings on the items referencing linguistic insecurity for participants from several regions in the Dominican Republic, I created a variable ‘region of origin’ and grouped the participants in 4 large areas of origin: Cibao (n=10), metropolitan area of Santo Domingo (n=29), Southeastern Dominican Republic (n=5), and Central Western Dominican Republic (n=5). Table 7.7 displays the means for items #6 and #7 for each of these regional groups from the participants living in the Dominican Republic.

Table 7.7: Insecurity items per regional groups (Dominicans in DR)

	Item #6		Item #7	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Cibao	4.20	2.66	4.90	2.29
metro Santo Domingo	4.52	2.34	4.97	1.95
southeast	4.80	2.39	4.00	2.83
central-western	4.40	2.41	3.20	2.59

As can be observed, the mean ratings for item #6 are all ‘neutral’. Also, all group means for item #7 are ‘neutral’ with the single exception of the group from the central-western portion of the Dominican Republic, which disagrees that Dominican Spanish is more correct than other varieties of Spanish. Importantly, the mean ratings from the group

native to the Cibao do not differ from those of the other regions. These results indicate that *Cibaeños* do not exhibit different levels of linguistic insecurity than participants from other areas of the Dominican Republic, including the capital Santo Domingo.

Turning to the results from the Dominican participants polled in Puerto Rico, Table 7.8 displays the means for items #6 and #7 for each of these regional groups.

Table 7.8 Insecurity items per regional group (Dominican immigrants)

	Item #6		Item #7	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Cibao	4.50	2.20	3.92	2.11
metro Santo Domingo	4.19	2.10	5.25	2.24
southeast	5.33	1.72	4.47	2.07
central-western	4.00	2.65	4.00	3.00

A comparison of means between the participants in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico was conducted, to uncover possible differences due to the immigration experience. Due to the small number of participants from the southeast and the central-western portion of the Dominican Republic, the results should only be regarded as tendency. A larger study would be able to allow for more robust results.

Independent Samples T-Tests did not reveal any significant differences between the participants in the Dominican Republic and those in Puerto Rico. No significant difference were found for the group from the ‘Cibao’, item #6 ($t(20,22) = -.285, p = .775$) or #7 ($t(20,22) = 1.04, p = .311$). Also, no significant difference were found for the group from the capital Santo Domingo: #6 ($t(43, 45) = .483, p = .632$) and #7 ($t(43, 45) = -.427, p = .673$). For the group ‘southeast’ and Independent Samples T-Test also did not reveal any significant differences: #6 ($t(18, 20) = -.613, p = .746$) and #7 ($t(18, 20) = -.340, p = .746$). Finally, no significant differences were found for the group from the central-western Dominican Republic: #6 ($t(6, 8) = .676, p = .529$) and #7 ($t(6, 8) = -.384, p = .721$). The similarity in ratings between the individual groups is quite striking, especially for the group from the Cibao. Considering the extent of prejudice expressed towards the variety spoken in this area, there is no evidence of linguistic insecurity among *Cibaeños* either in the Dominican Republic or in Puerto Rico. These results speak

to the robustness of the relationship between Dominicans and their native variety when confronted with out-group stigmatization.

In an effort to compare the ratings given for items #6 and #7 for all three participant groups (Puerto Ricans, Dominicans in the Dominican Republic, and Dominicans in Puerto Rico) two one-way ANOVAs were conducted. Recall that mean ratings from the Puerto Rican group for this item was 3.19, i.e. they did not agree that Puerto Rican Spanish was more correct than Dominican Spanish. A one-way ANOVA was conducted to investigate whether the differences in means between Puerto Ricans, Dominicans in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico for item #6 were significantly different. The ANOVA was found to be statistically significant $F(2, 149) = 4.50, p < .05$. Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that the difference in means between Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in the Dominican Republic and Dominicans in Puerto Rico was significant ($p < .05$). This means that the Puerto Ricans differ significantly in their comparison of correctness between Puerto Rican Spanish and Dominican Spanish.

A one-way ANOVA was also conducted to compare the means between all three participant groups for item #7. Recall that the mean for the Puerto Rican group was 2.85, disagreeing with the statement that Puerto Rican Spanish was more correct than other varieties of Spanish. This analysis also revealed a statistically significant result: $F(2, 149) = 8.77, p < .01$. Bonferroni post-hoc tests indicated that the Puerto Rican mean was significantly different to both Dominican participant groups ($p < .05$). The results from items #6 and #7 suggest that the Puerto Rican participants were significantly less likely to believe that their variety is more correct than Dominican Spanish or other varieties of Spanish. This could possibly suggest a certain level of linguistic insecurity.

As the results from the items referring to linguistic insecurity denote, Dominicans in Puerto Rico as well as in the Dominican Republic do not reveal prominent evidence of linguistic insecurity. However, striking is the continued importance of Dominican Spanish, Dominican culture, and Dominican identity among Dominican immigrants. This is also reflected in some of the statements made by individual participants. When asked to report some of the aspects of Dominican culture that they found to be particularly

important to maintain (item #7), many Dominicans underlined the importance of their ‘Dominican ways’ in Puerto Rico.

(32) *Pues te voy a decir una cosa...todo lo que es cultura dominicana sale de allá que nos identifica a nosotros como dominicanos, para mí es importante. No puede poner un balance entra la una o la otra cosa. Todo lo que me identifica como raza dominicana es importante para mí. (...) Para mí es lo más importante en la vida. Lo más importante es....lo más importante para mí es de donde yo vengo, mi raza.* ‘Well, I’m going to tell you something...everything that is Dominican culture and comes from there that identifies us as Dominicans is important to me. You cannot balance one out with the other. Everything that identifies me as Dominican is important to me. (...)For me it is the most important thing in life. The most important thing is where I am from, my heritage.’ (male, 47, construction, San Pedro de Macorís)

(33) *Sí, eso es importante. No dejo de olvidarme de mis raíces.* ‘Yes, it is important. I will never forget where I come from.’ (male, 33, student, Higüey)

(34) *Pues yo mantengo, esto...trato de mantener, mi idiosincracia, mi identidad de dominicana. Sí, la música típica dominicana, merengue, y la comida, que es similar pero....* ‘Well I maintain ... umh....try to maintain my idiosyncrasy, my Dominican identity. Yes, typical Dominican music, Merengue, and the food, which is similar to here but...’ (female, 63, seamstress, Barahona)

Critique however, was rarely expressed and most simply indicated that they liked everything in the Dominican Republic. Very few speakers could give any answer to item #8 on what about Dominican culture they did not like. Those that did mention negative aspects focused on socio-political problems in the Dominican Republic such as corruption and delinquency. The vast majority of the speakers did not articulate any form of criticism, much like this speaker:

(35) *No, hay nada que no me guste...de verdad mi raza es muy linda.* ‘No, there is nothing that I don’t like...the truth is that my people are wonderful.’ (male, 33, barber, Cotui)

The use and maintenance of the native Dominican dialect are important to all immigrant speakers. However, as already mentioned in the presentation of the results for item #21, there is evidence that the loss of the accent is seen as a natural development among immigrants. Mean ratings for item #10 (‘Loss of Dominican identity through loss of accent’) support this observation.

Dominicans in the Dominican Republic did not feel that the loss of the accent as a result of immigration reflected any loss of Dominican identity. This tendency is maintained and increases among the immigrant population. Most participants expressed understanding of this process and regarded it as part of the immigration experience. Among those who commented on this issue more elaboratively was the following participant:

(36) *No, son dominicanos. Eso no significa eso porque conozco también a muchos puertorriqueños que se han ido a vivir en República Dominicana y cuando vienen de allá para acá vienen con el acento dominicano. Y eso no significa que pierden la identidad como puertorriqueños. Igual que conozco puertorriqueños que se han ido vivir a Texas o a California y cuando regresan, regresan hablando como mexicano (...) es que los acentos se pegan. Mayormente yo entiendo que cuando uno se va a vivir en un país que no es el suyo uno tiene que adaptarse al sistema. Tiene que aprenderse los modismos de este país, tiene que aprenderse el dialecto de este país porque es uno quien llega a este país y es uno que tiene que abrirse paso..no que le abrán el paso a uno...* ‘No, they are Dominicans. That does not mean that because I also know many Puerto Ricans who went to live in the Dominican Republic and when they come from there to here, they come with a Dominican accent. And that does not mean that they’ve lost their Puerto Rican identity. Likewise I know Puerto Ricans who have gone to live in Texas or in California and when they come back, they come back speaking like Mexicans

(...) it's just that accents can stick. Based on what I understand, often when one goes to live in another country than one's own, one needs to adapt to the system. They have to learn the ways of expressing one's self on that country, they have to learn the dialect of that country because it is up to the one who arrives in this country to make himself a path...not for others to open their paths for him.' (male, 40, hair dresser Santo Domingo)

(37) *No, eso significa que eso ... que estar aquí tenemos que llamar las cosas por su nombre, y nos acostumbramos a llamarlas así. Cuando llegamos allá lo llamamos así...se acaba el tiempo y llamamos las cosas como las llamamos allá...mientras tanto...estamos con eso...la diferencia que decimos que...* 'No, that means that being here we need to call things by their name and we get used to calling them like that. When we come here we call them like this...times goes on and we call the things the way they are called here, meanwhile...we are left with the difference that we talked about.' (male, 53, electrician, La Romana)

The belief that the loss of accent does not incur a loss of Dominican identity is in fact significantly stronger among Dominican immigrant when compared to the Dominicans living in the Dominican Republic. A comparison of means revealed a highly significant difference in means for this item with $t(94, 96) = 4.05, p < .01$. Clearly, Dominican Spanish is held in high esteem among the immigrant population. Loss of the accent through processes of assimilation in the new country does not incur a loss of Dominican identity neither in the eyes of fellow immigrants, nor among those who remain in the Dominican Republic.

Turning to the results from the women group, the t-tests for the items referencing linguistic insecurity and identity also yield striking results in this group. Among the female participants in the Dominican Republic items #4 to #5 were rated positively (above 5.0). They agreed with the statement that a Dominican accent reflected Dominican identity and that discriminating against it was not fair. The mean of item #6 ('Correctness of Dominican Accent') for this group is above 4.0 but below 5.0 (i.e. neutral response). Item #7 ('Discrimination against Dominican Spanish') revealed a slight increase in

positive ratings. Independent Sample T-Tests compared the mean ratings for each item in both conditions ('Dominicans in DR' and 'Dominicans in PR'). However, t-tests revealed that none of these differences in mean ratings differed significantly: item #4 ('Native accent reflects identity') $t(49, 52) = -.148, p = .135$, item #5 $t(49,52) = -1.28, p = .207$, item #6 ('Correctness of Dominican Spanish') $t(49, 52) = .197, p = .845$, and item #7 $t(49, 52) = .276, p = .785$, item #8 ('Dominican culture and identity') $t(49, 52) = -.268, p = .790$, and item #9 ('Dominican pride') $t(49, 52) = .113, p = .910$.

The mean for item #10 decreases sharply (i.e. strong disagreement with the statement). This group did not agree with the fact that accommodating to another accent makes a speaker less Dominican. This difference in means was revealed to be highly significant with $t(49, 52) = 3.15, p < .01$.

Table 7.9: Women - Linguistic Insecurity and Identity Survey

	Dominicans in DR n= 28		Dominicans in PR n=24	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Item #4 (Importance of native accent)	6.67	.734	6.92	.408
Item #5 (Discrimination against DS)	5.44	2.33	6.21	1.93
Item #6 (Correctness of DS)	5.07	2.17	4.96	2.03
Item #7 (Other dialects more correct)	4.74	2.05	4.58	2.02
Item #8 (Dominican Culture and Identity)	6.89	.320	6.92	.408
Item #9 (Proud to be Dominican)	6.89	.424	6.88	.448
Item #10 (Loss of Dominican identity with loss of accent)	3.78	2.44	1.96	1.52

Table 7.10: Men - Linguistic Insecurity and Identity Survey

	Dominicans in DR n= 21		Dominicans in PR n=23	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Item #4 (Importance of native accent)	6.45	2.12	6.65	1.30
Item #5 (Discrimination against DS)	5.45	2.41	6.43	1.73
Item #6 (Correctness of DS)	3.73	2.55	4.13	2.03
Item #7 (Other dialects more correct)	4.59	2.38	4.48	2.37
Item #8 (Dominican Culture and Identity)	6.86	.351	7.00	.000
Item #9 (Proud to be Dominican)	7.00	.000	6.87	6.26
Item #10 (Loss of Dominican identity with loss of accent)	2.82	2.44	1.48	1.04

Similar to the results for the women group, the men in both the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico reveal high mean ratings for item #4-#5, indicating that the native accent remains a highly salient feature of Dominican identity and that discrimination against it is not considered fair. Similarly, items #8 and #9 referencing the importance of the Dominican culture and national pride received high ratings in both groups. The means for items #6 and #7 (comparison of correctness between Dominican Spanish and Puerto Rican/other Spanish dialects) are between 3.7 and 4.6, therefore in the ‘neutral’ zone, revealing that for these items the participants did not agree or disagree with the statement.

Independent Sample T-Tests completed for these items for the men group did not reveal significant differences in mean ratings: item #4 (‘Native accent reflects identity’) $t(43, 44) = -.592, p = .557$, item #5 $t(43, 44) = -1.58, p = .122$, item #6 (‘Correctness of Dominican Spanish’) $t(43, 44) = -.588, p = .559$, and item #7 $t(43, 44) = .159, p = .875$, item #8 (‘Dominican culture and identity’) $t(43, 44) = -.186, p = .069$, and item #9 (‘Dominican pride’) $t(43, 44) = .978, p = .334$.

Item #10 reveals means in both participant groups of below 4.0, indicating that Dominicans who accommodate to another accent remain Dominican in the eyes of these participants. The difference in means for item #10 was revealed to be significant with $t(43, 44) = 2.41, p < .05$.

A comparison of means between gender groups for the Dominicans in the Dominican Republic was close to significant for #6 ($t(47, 49) = -2.001, p = .051$). However all other t-

tests did not reveal significant differences between means: #4 ($t(47,49)=-.903, p=.371$), #5 ($t(47,49)=.015, p=.988$), #7 ($t(47,49)=-.903, p=.371$), #8 ($t(47,49)=-.263, p=.794$), #9 ($t(47,49)=1.228, p=.226$), and #10 ($t(47,49)=-1.396, p=.178$).

A comparison of means between gender groups for the Dominican in Puerto Rico did not reveal any significant differences between gender groups: #4 ($t(45,47)=-.949, p=.348$), #5 ($t(45,47)=.423, p=.674$), #6 ($t(45,47)=-1.397, p=.169$), #7 ($t(45,47)=-.164, p=.871$), #8 ($t(45,47)=-.978, p=.333$), #9 ($t(45,47)=-.034, p=.973$), #10 ($t(45,47)=-1.260, p=.214$).

Clearly, the experience of immigration to Puerto Rico has an effect on Dominican linguistic security by strengthening it, as Dominican identity appears by and large unaffected by Puerto Rican discrimination among both men and women groups. Dominican Spanish, culture, and identity remain robust. There are very few differences between gender groups among Dominicans in the Dominican Republic. Recall that only the comparison of means between gender groups for item #6 ('Correctness of Dominican Spanish') was found to be significantly different. None of the comparisons of means for the immigrant group were significantly different. Immigrant men and women appear to develop similarly in the immigration context. This similarity is most likely due to the fact that the immigrant population is almost evenly split between men and women (about 50% each group, see Chapter 2). Dominican women are members of the Puerto Rican workforce as much as Dominican men and therefore exposed to the same experiences as their male counterparts.

Although both gender groups are exposed to similar social experiences in Puerto Rico (e.g. discrimination) they might not react similarly when confronted with social situations that force them to express their identity in every-day life. The ensuing section will discuss this aspect of immigrant life and linguistic insecurity.

7.5 Language and Identity among Dominican Immigrants

The second part of the survey addressed issues pertaining exclusively to the immigration experience. The eleven items that were presented to the participants were rated along 7-point *Likert* scales and are presented as items (51)-(61) in Chapter 4 and also as items (11)-(22) in Table 6.2.

The topics referenced in this part of the survey are designed to access aspects of linguistic insecurity by presenting the participants with certain social situations. Items #11 ('People don't realize that I am Dominican until they hear me speak. '), #12 ('Since I've lived here in Puerto Rico, people tell me that I've gotten a Puerto Rican accent. '), #13 ('It bothers me to have a Puerto Rican accent. '), and #14 ('It bothers me **not** to have a Puerto Rican accent. ') focus on the maintenance of Dominican Spanish and the participants feelings towards the possible extent of dialectal leveling towards Puerto Rican Spanish. Items #15 ('Whenever people mistake me for a Puerto Rican I correct them and tell them that I am Dominican. ') and #16 ('Sometimes I don't correct them. ') focus on the degree of assertion of Dominican identity when faced with Puerto Rican misidentification as Puerto Ricans. Items #17 ('I feel more comfortable speaking with my Dominican accent at home or with my friends than with Puerto Ricans. ') and #18 ('I speak the way I speak; it does not matter with whom I am talking. I never change my accent. ') tap into the participants' level of comfort of speaking Dominican Spanish in different social situations. Item #19 ('It hurts me that people here make fun of us Dominicans and our accent. ') addresses the participants' feeling towards Puerto Ricans' negative attitudes towards Dominican Spanish, a topic that was already touched upon in item #10 of the first part of the survey. Finally, the answer to the question 'Do you children speak with a Puerto Rican accent?' in item #20 ("Yes") It bothers me that my children don't speak with a Dominican accent. '), and #21 ("No") It makes me happy because the Dominican accent is part of their heritage. ') address the participants' attitudes towards the maintenance of Dominican Spanish in their children's generation. Table 7.11 depicts the overall mean ratings given to the items #11-19 and Table 7.12 offers the mean ratings for items #20-21 from the overall group.

Table 7.11: Survey of Dominican immigrants' Linguistic Insecurity and Self-perception (n=47)

	Mean	SD
Item #11 (Identification through accent)	5.57	1.93
Item #12 (I have a PR accent)	3.28	2.53
Item #13 (Bothers me to have a PR accent)	1.85	1.76
Item #14 (Bothers me <i>not</i> to have PR accent)	1.31	.924
Item #15 (Correction of misidentification)	5.68	2.24
Item #16 (No correction of misidentification)	2.84	2.35
Item #17 (More comfortable speaking DS at home)	3.96	2.48
Item #18 (I speak the way I speak, I never change my accent)	6.74	.642
Item #19 (Discrimination of DS hurts)	5.81	1.97

Table 7.12: Dominican attitudes towards maintenance of DS (n=15)

	Mean	SD
Item #20 (It bothers me that my children don't speak DS)	1.47	.640
Item #21 (My children speak DS and that makes me happy)	6.93	.267

In accord with the previously noted importance of Dominican identity among immigrants in Puerto Rico, the means for items #11, #18, and #21 reveal the high ratings of Dominican Spanish as an identity marker for these immigrants. All three items are rated with a high degree of agreement. The mean for item #11 ('Identification through accent') indicates that most Dominicans, including those that have lived in Puerto Rico a number of years, still maintain highly salient dialectal markers that allow Puerto Rican interlocutors to identify their nationality in conversation. This is an interesting finding, given the likelihood of dialectal leveling after a longer period of contact with Puerto Rican Spanish speakers and cements the role of Dominican Spanish as an identity marker.

The importance of Dominican Spanish for the individual speaker's identity is reflected in the high degree of agreement for item #18 ('I speak the way I speak; I never

change my accent’). Clearly, irrespective of the length of time spent outside the Dominican Republic, most speakers report to try to maintain as much of their Dominican accent as possible. Although, as reported in earlier sections, Dominicans e.g., ‘adopt’ Puerto Rican lexical items to ease every-day communication with the majority group, these speakers otherwise try to maintain their native dialect.

(38) *Eso pasa... tú pasas dos años viviendo en Puerto Rico y la gente te lo dice...pero, pero...eso es saliendo de aquí...todavía aquí dentro de Puerto Rico, vivo 20 años aquí y hablando aquí en Puerto Rico hablando con puertorriqueños se nota inmediatamente la diferencia.* ‘That happens...you live here in Puerto Rico for two years and people tell you so...but that just happens outside [of Puerto Rico]...still I have lived here in Puerto Rico for twenty years, speaking in Puerto Rico with Puerto Ricans, and you can still tell the difference immediately.’ (male, 53, electrician, La Romana)

(39) *No cambio mi acento con quien sea...con quien sea.... yo mi acento no me gusta perder.* ‘I don’t change my accent for anyone...anyone...I don’t want to lose my accent.’ (male, 34, construction, Santo Domingo)

However, the results of the verbal guise task for the verbal guise Marco reported in Chapter 5 reveal that accommodation can have a fundamental effect on Puerto Rican accent recognition, yet most of these speakers can still maintain highly salient clues that denote them as Dominicans for native speakers of their native variety.

The mean for items #21 (‘It bothers me that my children don’t speak DS’) and #22 (‘My children speak DS and that makes me happy’) indicate that Dominican immigrants are very pleased if their children maintain a Dominican Spanish accent. At the same time those participants, whose children had grown up in Puerto Rico, also acknowledged that it did not bother them that their children spoke Puerto Rican Spanish, adding that this was the language that they grew up with in school and spoke with their friends.

For the large majority of participants, Dominican Spanish is of high value and closely related to Dominican identity. However, accommodation to Puerto Rican Spanish is

regarded as a part of the integration experience. Evidence thereof can be found in the mean ratings given to items #13, #14, and #15 which indicate that although most speakers accept that their Spanish will accommodate to Puerto Rican Spanish with time (#13), they try to maintain their accent as much as possible and continue speaking in their native variety in most social contexts (#17, #18). These results confirm a high degree of linguistic security among Dominican Spanish speakers and also offer more evidence that the use of Dominican Spanish is regarded as an identity marker. Simultaneously, the adaptation to Puerto Rican Spanish is also seen as a normal process and resulting misidentification of a Dominican as Puerto Rican is not seen as a loss of Dominican identity:

(40) *Bueno hay momentos en que uno lo deja pasar dependiente de la persona que te está confundiendo, porque la persona tiene ...que tienen actitud diferente...y yo le digo... 'no mira que soy dominicano' y no me siento mal de no ser borícuca..y puedo ofender...entonces depende la mente de la persona con la que estás hablando...al oír un par de palabras no sabe por donde venir....y eso pasa...no corrijo...* 'Well, there are moments in which you let it go depending on the person who is confusing you, because that person has ... has a different attitude...and I tell them...no look, I am Dominican and I don't feel bad not to be Puerto Rican ... and it can offend some people...so, it depends on who you are talking to and that person's state of mind ...just by hearing a couple of words they cannot know where you're from...that happens...I don't correct that...' (male, 53, electrician, La Romana)

Given the high value attributed to Dominican Spanish it is not surprising that speakers would agree with item #19 ('Discrimination of DS hurts'). Similar to the mean rating given to item #5 in the first part of the survey, item #19 addresses specifically the fact that Dominican Spanish has been ridiculed in popular Puerto Rican culture. This has not only been reported in previous literature (e.g. Mejía Pardo 1993) but was also highlighted in extracts offered from interviews with Dominican and Puerto Rican participants earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 5.

We now turn to the mean ratings given by the individual gender groups. The results for the women are depicted in Tables 7.13 and 7.14 and those of the men in Tables 7.15 and 7.16.

Table 7.13: Female Dominican immigrants' Linguistic Insecurity and Self-perception (n=24)

	Mean	SD
Item #11 (Identification through accent)	5.58	1.95
Item #12 (I have a PR accent)	3.33	2.60
Item #13 (Bothers me to have a PR accent)	1.41	1.06
Item #14 (Bothers me <i>not</i> to have PR accent)	1.60	1.27
Item #15 (Correction of misidentification)	5.38	2.34
Item #16 (No correction of misidentification)	2.12	2.07
Item #17 (More comfortable speaking DS at home)	4.54	2.32
Item #18 (I speak the way I speak, I never change my accent)	6.92	.408
Item #19 (Discrimination of DS hurts)	6.21	1.615

Table 7.14: Female Dominican attitudes towards maintenance of DS (n=10)

	Mean	SD
Item #20 (It bothers me that my children don't speak DS)	1.50	.707
Item #21 (My children speak DS and that makes me happy)	6.90	.316

Table 7.15: Male Dominican immigrants' Linguistic Insecurity and Self-perception (n=23)

	Mean	SD
Item #11 (Identification through accent)	5.57	1.95
Item #12 (I have a PR accent)	3.22	2.52
Item #13 (Bothers me to have a PR accent)	2.29	2.20
Item #14 (Bothers me <i>not</i> to have PR accent)	1.05	.213
Item #15 (Correction of misidentification)	6.00	2.13
Item #16 (No correction of misidentification)	3.67	2.42
Item #17 (More comfortable speaking DS at home)	3.35	2.53
Item #18 (I speak the way I speak, I never change my accent)	6.57	.788
Item #19 (Discrimination of DS hurts)	5.39	2.25

Table 7.16: Male Dominican attitudes towards maintenance of DS (n=5)

	Mean	SD
Item #20 (It bothers me that my children don't speak DS)	1.40	.548
Item #21 (My children speak DS and that makes me happy)	7.00	.000

As can be observed in the tables, the general pattern described above for the overall data set holds also when looking at the means for gender groups separately. Men and women immigrants likewise identified as Dominicans and maintained the importance of Dominican identity through the use of their language in Puerto Rico as indicated by the means for items #11, #18, and #21. In both gender groups these items reveal high ratings, suggesting that Dominican Spanish is maintained as an identity marker, as the following participant expresses:

- (41) *Sí, pero hay muchos que sí se les nota un poco. Como yo sé, yo, porque yo mi ritmo dominicano no lo pierdo en ningún lado, porque soy dominicana y soy bastante orgullosa por mi país.* ‘Yes, but there are many where you can tell. Like

I know with me... because that Dominican rhythm of mine, I don't lose it anywhere, because I am Dominican and pretty proud of my country.' (female, 43, cook, Santo Domingo)

Independent Samples T-Tests were performed to uncover statistically significant differences between gender groups in mean ratings for these items. Only the differences in means for item #16 ('Sometimes I don't correct them.') was found to be significantly different: $(t(45, 47) = 2.28, p < .05)$. The means for this item indicate that women are more likely to correct the interlocutor if they are perceived to be Puerto Rican than men. Women in the sample are therefore more likely to assert their Dominican identity when it is called into question. This is a crucial finding and cements the women's role in the maintenance of Dominican identity among the immigrant population. Previous research on language maintenance has highlighted the role of women in this process, as mediators between generations of immigrant and construction of a heritage identity (e.g. Winter & Paulsen 2005) as well as their role in language maintenance and transmission to the younger generation (e.g. Iqbal 2005). One male participant expresses the important role of women during the interview. When asked what aspect of Dominican culture he found important to maintain he answered the following:

(42) *Uno de los aspectos es las mujeres. Si tú te olvidas de la mujeres de tu pueblo, de tu país, tú vas a dejar a quererlo. Si tú te enamoras de otra...Es la mujer que lleva el corazón del hombre. Si tú te mantienes en contacto con las mujeres, tu identidad nunca va a cambiar ...* 'One of the aspects is the women. If you forget the women of your town, of your country, you are going to stop loving it. If you fall in love with another one...It is the woman that carries the heart of the man. If you stay in contact with the women, your identity will never change.' (male, 44, student, Higuey)

The difference in means for item #14 ('It bothers me **not** to have a Puerto Rican accent.') was found to be close to statistically significant: $(t(45, 47) = -2.01, p = .051)$. The means for both groups, however, indicate strong disagreement with the statement. The women disagreed less strongly (mean 1.60) than the men (mean 1.05). Both means

however, indicate that the speakers are secure in their identity and comfortable when in contact with Puerto Ricans (e.g. #18).

The Independent Sample T-Tests performed on the other items in the survey were not found to reveal significant differences: #11 ($t(45, 47) = -.032, p = .975$), #12 ($t(45, 47) = -.155, p = .877$), #13 ($t(45, 47) = 1.49, p = .150$), #15 ($t(45, 47) = .957, p = .344$), #17 ($t(45, 47) = -.169, p = .100$), #18 ($t(45, 47) = -1.91, p = .065$), #19 ($t(45, 47) = -1.44, p = .158$), #20 ($t(13, 15) = -2.76, p = .017$), #21 ($t(12, 14) = .617, p = .549$).

To summarize, the results of the second part of the questionnaire reveal that the maintenance of a Dominican identity is crucial to the participants of the present study. An important marker of Dominican identity is the use of Dominican Spanish which is not solely used at home or within the Dominican immigrant community but more broadly in contact with Puerto Ricans. At the same time, most speakers are aware that length of contact with Puerto Rican Spanish will incur dialectal leveling and therefore a certain degree of attrition of some features of Dominican Spanish. However, when misidentified as Puerto Rican by native speakers of that dialect, speakers are highly likely to correct this impression and assert their Dominican identity. Although Dominican Spanish is perceived as an emblem of Dominican nationality, it is not the sole form of expression of a Dominican identity. Those immigrants whose Spanish has adapted more to the Puerto Rican norm maintain their identity by holding on to other features of Dominican culture such as food, music, and contact with family in the Dominican Republic and contact with other immigrants in Puerto Rico.

7.6 Discussion and Contextualization

This section will relate the results presented above to the pertinent research question stated in Chapter 1, and reiterated below for convenience, and will furthermore contextualize the results within the body of extant research on linguistic insecurity and identity among Dominican immigrants.

Question 3: What is the effect of Puerto Ricans' attitudes towards Dominican Spanish on Dominicans' self-perception?

i. Is there evidence of linguistic insecurity?

- ii. Do Puerto Rican attitudes towards Dominicans and Dominican Spanish affect the individuals' identity as Dominicans?
- iii. Do alterations in insecurity and identity correlate with gender?

Before interpreting the results of the survey that tap into the effects of immigration, it is necessary to evaluate more closely the answers given by the participants in the Dominican Republic. Previous research has found that Dominicans evidence marked linguistic insecurity in comparison with speakers of other dialects of Spanish (Toribio 2000b). This sentiment is also reflected to a certain degree in the interviews carried out in the Dominican Republic for this study. The items assessing the perceived 'correctness' of Dominican Spanish vs. Puerto Rican Spanish and other dialects of Spanish elicit responses that indicate 'neutrality'. In the overall results, items #6 ('I believe that the Spanish spoken in the Dominican Republic is not very correct.') and #7 ('I believe that Spanish spoken in other countries is more correct than Dominican Spanish.') received mean ratings of 4.47 and 4.67 respectively. The qualitative data culled from the interview recordings reveal that some speakers consider Dominican Spanish as 'correct'. However, they relate the concept of correctness to that of education, stating that those speakers who have had access to higher education are more likely to speak more correctly. Others state that in countries such as Central and South America and Spain where more people have access to better education, one would find more correct Spanish.

Strikingly, the statements referring to speakers' attitudes towards their own dialect as reflected in items #1 ('I believe that Dominican Spanish is better than Puerto Rican Spanish.') and #2 ('I believe that Dominican Spanish is better than other dialects of Spanish.') are rated favorably. The overall means for these items were 5.24 and 5.37, respectively, indicating agreement with both statements. This result indicates that the participants in the study reveal linguistic security rather than insecurity.

The differences in ratings given to the notions of language/dialect 'correctness' (items #6 and #7) and items addressing speaker attitudes towards their own variety (items #1 and #2) point out that the Dominicans sampled differentiate between their knowledge of cross-dialectal perceptions of 'correctness' (i.e., the concept of idealized language) and the ranking of their native variety as 'better' than Puerto Rican Spanish. This indicates

that in spite of their acknowledgement of the low status attributed to Dominican Spanish cross-dialectally, these speakers value their native variety highly, demonstrating a close correlation between language and identity. The experience of immigration to Puerto Rico and subsequent contact with the variety spoken on that island and also contact with other Spanish speaking immigrant groups have triggered a more positive view of the native Dominican dialect among these speakers.

Moreover, the important relationship between language, identity, and nationality is reflected in the responses given for the items #4 (Speaking with my native accent is very important to me. It reflects who I am and where I come from.), #5('I don't think it is fair that other Spanish speakers discriminate against our Dominican accent. '), #8 (The Dominican culture is very important to me and my identity as Dominican. '), and #9 ('I am very proud to be Dominican. '). The means given for these items were positive (i.e. above 5.0) in the overall group and across gender groups. In accordance with previous research, the relationship between Dominicans, Dominican Spanish, and Dominican identity is highly salient for these speakers and remains salient post-migration. This result is in line with previous work investigating Dominican communities in the U.S. (Toribio 2000a,b, Bailey 2000, Duany 2005).

We now turn to the comparison of the responses provided by participants in the Dominican Republic and Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico. Before discussing the results in detail it is important to recall the hypotheses on the outcome of the study put forth in Chapter 1:

Hypothesis 11: Dominican linguistic insecurity is hypothesized to decrease in Puerto Rico.

Hypothesis 12: Dominicans' self-identity in Puerto Rico will remain robust.

The data emerging from this study reveals that linguistic insecurity does not increase but rather decreases significantly among émigrés in Puerto Rico, supporting Hypothesis 11. This result is surprising considering the social and linguistic prejudice that has been reported to exist in Puerto Rican society (Duany 2005) and that has also been evidenced in statements made by Dominicans in the present study. A possible reason for the development of linguistic security among Dominicans in Puerto Rico could be the role of

Dominican Spanish as an identity marker within the immigrant community and the relative linguistic similarity between both dialectal variants. More detailed evidence emerges from the second part of the survey completed only with Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico. Those participants who recently arrived, and therefore are easily identified as Dominicans by Puerto Rican interlocutors, do not indicate any hesitation at speaking with their native accent outside of the home or the Dominican community. Although most agree that part of the immigration process is to adapt one's self to the norms of the new home country, which includes the adoption of particular lexical items that ease communication, most take pride in the Dominican *acento*. Moreover, participants report explicitly asserting their Dominican nationality especially in situations in which they have been misidentified as Puerto Ricans. In spite of their devotion to Dominican language and culture, the extracts also underline the speakers' acute awareness of the differences that exist at the lexical and to a certain extent also the phonological level between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish. At the same time, the extracted statements confirm the evaluation of similarity and equality of both varieties in the eyes of the participants.

Additionally, Dominican émigrés, register agreement with items referencing language and culture, suggesting that linguistic identity for these speakers correlates strongly with national identity, in support of Hypothesis 6. These findings fall in line with previous research on linguistic insecurity and identity among Dominicans living in the mainland U.S. that also expose a high correlation between language and identity (Toribio 2000b, Bailey 2000). A social factor that undoubtedly aids in the maintenance of Dominican language and culture is the sense of community among the Dominican émigrés. The Dominican community in San Juan is very active and Duany (2005) reports a large number of social and political groups exclusively geared towards Dominicans and Dominican interests. Therefore, the maintenance of 'Dominicanness' is not left to the individual immigrant. He or she can rely on the support of fellow compatriots for help in many situations of every-day life, religion, and politics.

Previous studies investigating the role of gender in language maintenance and creation of identity among immigrant groups have pointed to the important role of women in this context. Women have been found to be crucial in the construction and

transmission of ethnolinguistic identities and language maintenance (e.g. Winter & Paulsen 2005, Iqbal 2005) but have also been found to play crucial roles in language change (e.g., Labov 1990, Mukherjee 2003, Sadiqi 2008, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009). A very important fact in the present context is the fact that women participate in this immigration as much as men. Slightly more than half of the émigrés are women, who seek work in Puerto Rico (e.g. Duany 2005). Both gender groups leave their native country with the same motivation: to make money to send to the families back home. Therefore, men and women are exposed to similar experiences in Puerto Rico, in the work place and outside work. This observation led to the formulation of the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 13: Due to the similarity in motivation to immigrate and equal exposure to the Puerto Rican work and social environment, Dominican men and women will respond similarly in questions referring to linguistic insecurity and identity.

The results presented in this chapter allow insights into the effects of immigration of Dominican women and men to Puerto Rico. Overall, neither women nor men were shown to differ substantially from the overall results. A more detailed evaluation indicates that immigrant women and men value national identity, national pride, Dominican culture, and the native Dominican accent equally highly. This is a significant finding, since previous sociolinguistic studies have pointed out that men tend to be more open to linguistic and social adaptation to the immigrant country than women (e.g., Milroy & Milroy 1998). In contrast to the group of male immigrants, immigrant women appear more sensitive to racial differences between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans and other forms of discrimination. This could be due to the social situation of Dominican women in Puerto Rico. It is possible that this sensitivity arises from social contacts between female immigrants and Puerto Ricans in and outside the work place.

As mentioned above, slightly more than 50% of all Dominican immigrants are women, who, like their male counterparts, are active in the work force. Also, much like the Dominican men, many Dominican women have been shown to be the first in their families to emigrate while their children are cared for by other family members in the Dominican Republic. Based on these socioeconomic facts, it is not surprising that there is

a high degree of similarity between the responses between gender groups. However, certain tendencies among the women group, such as the statistically significant difference to men on the items addressing the assertion of Dominican identity in situations of misidentification, point to the fact that Dominican women still maintain the ‘traditional’ leading role in the maintenance of the heritage identity within the immigrant community.

We now turn to the issue of Dominican identity in the Puerto Rican diaspora already touched upon above. Based on previous studies examining Dominican identity among immigrant communities in the U.S. (e.g. Bailey 2000, Toribio 2000a), Hypothesis 12 conjectured that a similar pattern of adherence to identity would also emerge among Dominicans in Puerto Rico. The present results indicate that the importance of the native accent and its reflection of Dominican nationality and identity are salient in all groups (Dominicans in DR and Dominicans in PR). Only the data on Dominican men in both the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico indicate more ‘neutral’ attitudes towards this relationship. In spite of the ridicule of Dominican Spanish expressed in the Puerto Rican media and popular opinion (e.g., Duany 2005), Dominicans overall place a high degree of importance on the relationship between Dominican Spanish and Dominican identity. This suggests that in diasporic communities Dominican Spanish becomes the emblem of national pride and identity.

Similarly, the items referencing the importance of Dominican culture, identity, and national pride indicate that these traits remain highly valued among Dominicans living in Puerto Rico. Crucially, Dominican nationality and self-definition is shown to be resilient throughout the immigration experience. Definitions of “Dominicanness” include but do not hinge on the use of the Dominican variety of Spanish. Linguistic accommodation to Puerto Rican Spanish is not considered to affect an individual’s national identity; rather it is interpreted merely as a consequence of immigration and not a rejection of Dominican identity. This is also confirmed in the ratings given by participants with children. Whereas those whose children grew up speaking Dominican Spanish reported being very happy that their children grew up speaking their native variety, other speakers whose children grew up in Puerto Rico did not indicate any negative attitudes towards this development. Therefore, although immigrants value Dominican Spanish as part of their

heritage, for these speakers Dominican identity is not determined by the use or non-use of the native language variety.

Lastly we turn to the issue of the perception of phenotypical differences reflected in item #3. Interesting results emanate from the responses of Dominicans to this survey item. The ratings indicate that perception of racial differences decreased substantially after immigration. Thus, immigration to Puerto Rico changed Dominican perceptions of racial composition on this island. Exposure to a larger group of Puerto Rican Spanish speakers allowed Dominicans to observe that also on this island there is substantial evidence of African, European, and Native heritage. This recognition is reflected in the results of the survey, whereby Dominican immigrants do not believe that a person's nationality can be determined by skin color alone.

The results from the present study deviate from previous findings in which Dominicans delineated in-group boundaries along racial lines. Such in-group delineation is exemplified in the racial differentiation between 'white' Dominicans and 'black' Haitians in the Dominican Republic (Bullock & Toribio 2008) and the perception of African Americans as 'black' vis-à-vis the 'white' Dominican immigrants to the U.S. (Bailey 2000). This ingroup demarcation has also been observed for Puerto Ricans. As reported in the 2005 American Survey Puerto Ricans consider themselves 'whiter' than Dominicans. It appears that there is the tendency for the socio-economically stronger majority to perceive itself as 'whiter' than the 'black' immigrant group. However, based on the ratings given by the Dominican immigrants, the minority delineation of ingroup boundaries appears not to be drawn along racial lines.

Since it may not be socially acceptable on the part of the Puerto Rican majority to express racial prejudice openly, it has been hypothesized in this thesis that prejudicial notions will instead be expressed through linguistic discrimination. There is in fact qualitative evidence of linguistic and social discrimination of Dominican Spanish as seen in some of the statements made by Dominicans included in the chapter. Also, the strong rejection of discrimination of Dominican Spanish (item #5) by the Dominican immigrant group, indirectly substantiates the participants' experience with discrimination towards them. Likewise, the data also suggests that this form of discrimination does not appear to

have a substantial effect on Dominicans' self-perception vis-à-vis the Puerto Rican majority.

In sum, although Dominicans are faced with racial, socioeconomic, and linguistic prejudice in Puerto Rico, the linguistic insecurity that exists in the Dominican Republic does not increase significantly. Also, the Dominicans sampled here value Dominican culture and identity highly, results that are parallel to previous studies on Dominicans in the diaspora. The ensuing chapter will summarize the main findings that have emerged from this thesis and will also explore several avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 8

Contextualization of Results and Future Research

8.1 Introduction

The research conducted for this dissertation project provides insights into the consequences of social and racial prejudice on the perception of and attitudes towards minority language varieties and their speakers. Furthermore, it provides evidence of the stability of linguistic insecurity among émigrés as compared to those remaining in their native country. In this concluding chapter, Section 8.2 will present a contextualization of results and point out the contributions to other areas of research, and Section 8.3 will offer a discussion of the limitations of the study and ideas for future research.

8.2 Contextualization of Results

Language attitudes have up to now mainly been explored in the area of the social psychology of language. The bulk of the work has investigated the importance of socially accorded high or low prestige on speakers' attitudes towards dialectal or language variants (e.g. Tucker & Lambert 1967, Giles 1970, Bourhis et al. 1975, Hiraga 2005). The present study is couched within this line of inquiry by investigating the particular role of attitudes and prestige on the relationship between two dialects. Moreover this study examines the relationship between linguistic prejudice towards a minority variety and its effects on linguistic insecurity and identity on the minority group.

First, the results of the present study establish that linguistically non-sophisticated listeners were often able to distinguish two closely related dialectal varieties. The possibility of dialectal accommodation by the Dominican immigrant Marco to Puerto Rican Spanish was one factor that was hypothesized to impede the reliability of the judgments. What is more, the results of the study reveal that, although dialectal differences are the main means of identifying members of a minority ethnic group, this identification and evaluation are likely influenced by deeply seated social prejudices. These results are in accordance with findings from studies on language attitudes. Previous work such as that of Giles (1970) and d'Anglejan & Tucker (1983) established the correlation between socio-economic status of the minority group and the ratings given to the speakers of these less prestigious speech forms.

Given the verbal guise results, parallels can be drawn to studies investigating attitudes towards foreign or non-native accents (Ryan, et al. 1977, Bradac & Wisegarver 1984, Kalin et al. 1980, Giles et al. 1981, Chiba et al. 1995, Starks & Paltridge 1996, McKenzie 2004). Recall that in all of these studies the native speech was rated highly whereas foreign accented speech received more negative ratings. The results of the present study indicate that stereotypes about the social or ethnic groups of which speakers are members of (or, are *believed* to be members of) influence how their language varieties are rated. As such these results also support the *matching hypothesis* posited by Kalin (1982). This hypothesis states that speakers will be associated with a certain social status based on the status-related speech and language cues that appear in their speech.

The outcome of the verbal guise study therefore emphasizes the strong social bias that affects speakers of Dominican Spanish in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rican attitudes towards Dominicans and Dominican Spanish are strongly influenced by social prejudice and emerge readily upon exposure to the variety. This fact is underlined by the responses from the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire. Whereas most Puerto Ricans find the linguistic differences between both dialects as highly salient, many comments cited in Chapter 5 point to the fact that linguistic differences are often intermingled with sociocultural differences. The sociocultural differences that are correlated with Dominicans include playing loud music or ‘walking in groups’ as some participants pointed out. Therefore, identification, although possible through linguistic means alone, appears to be more frequently a form of cultural profiling. Along the same lines, linguistic and cultural accommodation on the part of Dominican immigrants that become apparent after a number of years can provoke incorrect identifications (i.e. as ‘Puerto Rican’) from the part of the Puerto Ricans. Evaluations of Dominican Spanish, therefore, need to be seen in the context of a form of social evaluation as well. Bradac (1990:37) explained this behavior by saying that “persons have attitudes toward language which are especially salient and influential in initial interactions. Various linguistic features trigger in their message recipients' beliefs and evaluations regarding message senders, and these beliefs and evaluations are most likely to affect recipients' behaviors toward senders in contexts of low familiarity.”

The emergence of these “beliefs and evaluations”, however, hinges on the correct identification of the speech form. As reported for the present study, only those speakers identified as ‘Dominican’ received low ratings. The outcome of the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire allows us to make inferences with respect to the strategies applied in identification. The results reveal that most Puerto Ricans are highly aware of lexical differences. However, many also pointed out that there was a difference in *acento* which included differences in ‘rhythm’ or intonation. The verbal guise recordings excluded lexical differences, forcing the listener to rely solely on non-lexical cues such as phonetics/phonology. The purpose was to examine if Puerto Ricans would be able to identify Dominican Spanish without lexical cues. The outcome of the verbal guise experiment revealed that this was possible some of the time. However, a more important insight was gained through the misidentification of Marco as Puerto Rican. It was hypothesized that this misidentification was due to linguistic accommodation, i.e. the outcome of prolonged contact with Puerto Rican Spanish. Though, recall that the word length of the recording of Marco was more than twice than that of the other two Dominican guises (Table 4.3) and that the answer given was more complex than that of the other Dominican guise speakers. In parallel to the results from Bradac & Wisegarver (1984), it is possible that the guise exhibiting a higher level of lexical density (suggesting a higher level of education) played an important factor in the outcome of the ratings. Marco received very favorable ratings in the items referencing socio-economic status and also was rated positively on the personal attributes. This effect of ‘length’ could also be argued to have affected the ratings of the Puerto Rican guise, who, much like Marco, received favorable ratings in the status dimension. However, this speaker was not rated as highly as Marco and in many ratings was perceived similarly to the other two Dominican guises. This fact could suggest that length alone was not the sole aspect that triggered highly positive ratings of Marco compared to Juan and Pepe. One factor that most likely conversely affected Pepe’s ratings is his incorrect use of the subjunctive *tengamos* ‘we have to’ in the recording, which could have added to the listener judges’ perception of low education and low social status.

One factor that makes the results for Marco even more remarkable is the fact that in the results of the accentedness ratings completed by Dominicans, Marco was identified as

having a relatively salient Dominican accent and received ratings equal to another guise speaker, who had never left the Dominican Republic. This is a noteworthy result, since Marco not only had lived in San Juan for five years at the time of the interview, but as a hair dresser he was in daily contact with Puerto Ricans. The participant himself commented on the frequency with which many Puerto Ricans identified him as a compatriot. The differences in identification of Marco's accent suggest that in the process of identification, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans possibly attend to different linguistic features. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, the current data does not allow for a more detailed analysis. Based on the evidence from the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire and the Verbal Guise Task, it is reasonable to assume possible cues could include differences in vowel length between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish as well as differences in intonation patterns.

Puerto Ricans' ratings on the personal attributes of those guises identified as 'Dominican' reveal a separation along semantic dimensions. Much like the outcome of the studies by Ryan & Carranza (1975), Chiba et al. (1995), and McKenzie (2004), the 'Dominican' guises were rated lower on items pertaining to the status dimension than those pertaining to the solidarity dimension. This indicates that in spite of socio-economic differences, the Puerto Rican listeners identify with these speakers and rate them more positively on the solidarity items. These results are also found in the evaluation of the Puerto Rican guise. Although their ratings suggest that this speaker does not exhibit highly prestigious speech, ratings of 'solidarity' with their compatriot are high. As discussed in section 8.3, future research will collect data on Dominicans' ratings of the guises. This will allow a comparison in ratings on 'status' and 'solidarity' for the Dominican guises by native speakers of this variety.

The ratings on 'correctness' and 'pleasantness' of the speech of the guises identified as having been produced by a Dominican (i.e. Juan and Pepe) correlate with previous findings reported by, for instance, Milroy and McClenaghan (1977), Fraser (1973), and Purnell (1999). In all studies, the ratings given by the participants suggest a 'mapping' of a particular accent/dialect with a particular group of speakers who pertain to socially, regionally different groups or different ethnic groups. Crucially, misidentified accents also follow this mapping, i.e. if the speaker was identified as a member of the less

prestigious dialectal group, he was accorded low ratings. Much like the Cuban participants in Alfaraz (2002), the Puerto Ricans rated their own variety higher than that of the neighboring island. This is particularly striking in the ratings on ‘correctness’ considering that both Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish are equally disparaged and accorded low prestige cross-dialectally.

Turning to the survey of Dominican linguistic insecurity and identity among émigrés, previous studies have found that speakers of Dominican Spanish in the Dominican Republic exhibit linguistic insecurity. Rural varieties and those spoken by the lower and lower middle classes of the Dominican society are especially disparaged. Among all speech variants, the variety spoken by speakers from the capital Santo Domingo and those spoken by the middle and upper classes carry the highest prestige (Toribio 2000b, Bailey 2000).

The present study investigated possible changes in linguistic insecurity between participants who lived in the Dominican Republic and Dominican émigrés in Puerto Rico. These findings do not indicate any convincing evidence of linguistic insecurity among Dominicans in San Juan and only weak evidence thereof among Dominicans in the Dominican Republic. Whereas the Dominicans in the Dominican Republic maintained ‘neutrality’ in items referencing which variety of Spanish was better, immigrant ratings comparing attitudes towards Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish evidence that the participants did not perceive Puerto Rican Spanish as ‘better’ than their native variety. This outcome suggests that in spite of its low cross-dialectal prestige, Dominicans value their variety highly. This result falls in line with work by Bailey (2000) and Toribio (2000a) in which Dominicans in the U.S. are also found to value Dominican Spanish as a marker of identity.

Moreover, the results of the present study disclose that perceived phenotypical and dialectal differences are reduced through contact between two dialectal groups. It is likely that this result also needs to be seen as the product of this specific contact situation as both islands bear evidence of African, European, and Native heritage. Importantly, this result deviates from previous studies on Dominican immigrant groups in the U.S. and among Dominicans in the Dominican Republic in which group boundaries were drawn along racial lines. Analogous patterns of this behavior were found among Dominicans in

the U.S. who defined themselves as ‘white’ vis-à-vis African Americans (Bailey 2000). Similar behavior was also exemplified by the racial differentiation between ‘white’ Dominicans and ‘black’ Haitians in the Dominican Republic, examined by Bullock and Toribio (2008). A comparable pattern of in-group delineation was also found for Puerto Ricans in comparison with Dominicans (Duany 1998, 2005). The overall pattern that emerges from these studies is a tendency for the socio-economically stronger majority to perceive itself as ‘whiter’ than the ‘black’ immigrant group. Crucially, the ratings offered by the Dominican immigrants in the present sample hint at a different pattern of in-group delineation among minority groups that does not necessarily follow racial lines.

Also in a parallel to earlier work (e.g. Toribio 2000a) Dominican adherence to their culture and identity remains robust among immigration communities. In spite of the negative attitudes expressed towards Dominicans and Dominican Spanish in popular media and folklore (e.g. Mejía Pardo 1993, Duany 2005), Dominicans in the present study were found to embrace their Dominican nationality and Dominican Spanish as markers of their identity.

The present study has contributed to our understanding of language attitudes towards minority speech variants. The results also allow insights into the existence of linguistic insecurity and the definition of Dominican identity among immigrant communities. What is more, the findings of the study point to directions for future research that should address some of the unresolved issues that have emerged. The following sections will discuss the details of these issues more in detail.

8.3 Restrictions of the Study and Future Research

The verbal guise experiments used here were largely inspired by studies combining insights from dialectal perception studies with ‘classic’ matched guise methodologies (Fridland et al. 2005). The verbal guise task that was designed for this purpose included an accent identification task for nationality, ratings on the social and educational background of the guise speakers, ratings on personal attributes of the speakers, as well as perceptions of Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish on measures of ‘pleasantness’ and ‘correctness’. However, several restrictions of this research should be addressed in future methodology.

The results of the verbal guise tasks as well as its limitations suggest several avenues for future research. First, in the present study the guises were only presented to Puerto Rican judges. In future work it would be pertinent to also gather Dominican perceptions of the guises, in particular the Dominican guises, and compare this outcome to those reported here. These measures would allow for a comparison of linguistic attitudes towards Dominican Spanish as expressed by non-native and native speakers of this variety. Another limitation of the present study is the use of only four guises. Future research should offer listeners a larger variety of guises from Dominicans living in Puerto Rico. This would allow for a more detailed analysis of the effect of length of residence in Puerto Rico and resulting linguistic assimilation on the attitude ratings. Similarly, it would be instructive to include a guise of a Puerto Rican speaker with extensive contact with Dominican Spanish, such as an inhabitant of Santurce. It is possible that negative attitudes towards Dominican Spanish can also extend to native Puerto Ricans who have accommodated to Dominican Spanish through contact.

Since length of recording and lexical diversity have been isolated as possible factors influencing the judges ratings, future research should control for these variables. One possible avenue to pursue would be to have all speakers record a narration of the same story had been previously taught to them by the investigator (e.g. Bullock & Toribio 2009).

One outcome of the verbal guise experiment was the lack of differences observed across gender groups. None of the items analyzed showed statistically significant differences between. Perhaps a study that included a larger number of listener judges would be able to offer more insights into possible attitudinal differences between gender groups. Also, future data analysis should investigate possible differences in ratings among the Puerto Rican respondents with different levels of education. It is possible that differences in attitudes emerge as a function of education, social status, etc.

Turning to the data on Dominican linguistic insecurity, the outcome of this study reveals that existing linguistic insecurity does not increase among émigrés in Puerto Rico. These results are surprising in view of the social and linguistic prejudice against Dominicans that exists within Puerto Rican society (Duany 2005) and is attested by the

participants in this study. One possible reason for the stability of levels of linguistic insecurity among Dominicans in Puerto Rico could be the contact with an equally stigmatized variety of Spanish (e.g. Castellanos 1980). Within this context it would be of interest for future studies to directly compare the level of linguistic insecurity between Dominicans in Puerto Rico and Dominicans living in Spanish-speaking countries outside the Caribbean.

A further result of this dissertation was that perceptions of racial differences between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans that could be found among Dominicans in the Dominican Republic decreased substantially after immigration. Based on the data presented, Dominican immigrants' perception of racial differences between themselves and the Puerto Rican majority decreases substantially for the immigration group. This effect was shown to be particularly salient among immigrant women. Given the sensitivity of Dominican women towards racial differences between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans (as compared to the men in this study), future research might also investigate the social context of Dominican women in Puerto Rico and compare it to that of men. It is possible that this sensitivity towards racial differences found in the data arises from social contacts between immigrants and Puerto Ricans in and outside the work place.

The importance of the native accent and its reflection of Dominican nationality and identity remains salient in all groups pre-and post-immigration. Dominican identity comprises, but does not hinge on, the use of Dominican Spanish. Linguistic accommodation to Puerto Rican Spanish is not considered to adversely affect an individual's national identity, but rather is solely interpreted as a consequence of immigration and not a rejection of Dominican identity. Based on this finding, future research might investigate the use and maintenance of Dominican Spanish among immigrants who have lived in Puerto Rico for a longer period of time.

8.4 Conclusions

Although there remains much work to be done to fully appreciate the sources of negative attitudes towards minority groups and the effects of these on the self-perceptions of members of immigrant groups, the present investigation has offered valuable insights into these issues, by reference to the linguistic situation of Dominican immigrants in

Puerto Rico. The results confirm that Puerto Rican listeners do not simply recognize Dominican Spanish as a dialectal variety spoken on a neighboring island, but conjure with it associations that are based on differences between themselves and the stereotyped Dominican immigrant minority. In spite of this, the Dominican participants in this study manifest no significant increases in linguistic insecurity relative to Dominicans who have not emigrated. Furthermore, the Dominican data indicates that the participants place a high degree of importance on the relationship between Dominican Spanish and Dominican identity. This outcome corroborates that for Dominicans in diasporic settings, their native Spanish variety remains an emblem of national pride and identity.

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Online Resources:

Map of Dominican Republic taken from: davehogendam.com

Map of Puerto Rico taken from: <http://www.nagchaumpa.com>

2005 American Community Survey: <http://factfinder.census.gov/>

Appendix A
(Accent Ratedness Measure)

Va a escuchar a varios hablantes, cada uno por separado. Después de escuchar cada grabación se le pide que marque en la escala abajo lo intenso que le parece el acento regional representado. Por favor use no. 3-7 para indicar acentos menos fuertes.

a) Hablante no. 1

Acento muy fuerte									ningún acento regional
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

b) Hablante no. 2

Acento muy fuerte									ningún acento regional
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

c) Hablante no. 3

Acento muy fuerte									ningún acento regional
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

d) Hablante no. 4

Acento muy fuerte									ningún acento regional
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

e) Hablante no. 5

Acento muy fuerte									ningún acento regional
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

Appendix B
(Verbal Guise Task Questionnaire)

A continuación le voy a presentar varias grabaciones cortas. Después de escuchar atentamente a *cada* grabación, por favor conteste las preguntas. No empiece con la siguiente grabación hasta que haya contestado a todas las preguntas de la grabación anterior.

- 1) ¿De dónde cree que viene el hablante? (por ejemplo Puerto Rico, Cuba, República Dominicana)

- 2) El hablante es sociable no sociable
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 3) El hablante es no educado educado
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 4) El hablante es amable no amable
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 5) El hablante es no inteligente inteligente
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 6) El hablante es reconfortante no reconfortante
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 7) El hablante es no rico rico
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 8) El hablante es sincero no sincero
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 9) El hablante es no exitoso exitoso
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10) El hablante es

honesto

no honesto

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11) El hablante es

no refinado

refinado

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12) Por favor indique cómo considera el habla de esta persona

no está bien

está bien

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13) Por favor indique si el acento del hablante le parece agradable.

agradable

no agradable

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Appendix C
(Sociolinguistic Questionnaire)

Sexo: Nivel más alto de educación que ha completado:

Año de nacimiento:

Tiene empleo:

Lugar de nacimiento:

(En Puerto Rico)
Si nació fuera, indique el número de años que lleva en San Juan

(Dominicanos y Puertorriqueños)

1. Su dialecto del español es diferente de el de los dominicanos/puertorriqueños.
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. ¿Cree que puede identificar fácilmente si una persona es dominicana/puertorriqueña por su acento?
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. ¿Se puede saber si una persona es dominicana/puertorriqueña según las palabras que usa?
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. ¿Cuáles son palabras típicas del español dominicano/puertorriqueño?

5. ¿Qué más diferencia el habla de los dominicanos/puertorriqueños del suyo?

6. ¿Sabe Ud. si hay diferentes acentos entre las diferentes regiones en la Dominicana/Puerto Rico? ¿Cuáles son y de qué región?

7. ¿Diría Ud. que podría identificar de qué región viene una persona dominicana/puertorriqueña?
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Creo que el español dominicano es mejor que el español puertorriqueño/otros dialectos del español.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------------|
| No, de ninguna manera | | | | | | Totalmente de acuerdo |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 7 |
- (Dominicanos en R.D. y Puerto Rico, puertorriqueños 9.-18.)
9. ¿Cree que el español puertorriqueño/otros dialectos del español es/son mejor que el español dominicano?
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------------|
| No, de ninguna manera | | | | | | Totalmente de acuerdo |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 7 |
10. ¿Ha escuchado usted hacer comentarios inapropiados o insultantes sobre una persona que habla español con acento dominicano?
11. ¿Con qué frecuencia lo ha escuchado?
- Muy a menudo
A veces
Casi nunca
Nunca
12. ¿Me podría dar un ejemplo de qué dijeron en concreto?
-
13. ¿Está Ud. de acuerdo con estos comentarios?
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------------|
| No, de ninguna manera | | | | | | Totalmente de acuerdo |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 7 |
14. ¿Por qué?/¿Por qué no?
-
15. ¿Ha escuchado usted hacer comentarios inapropiados o insultantes sobre la raza o la procedencia étnica de alguien? ¿De un dominicano/una dominicana en específico?
16. ¿Con qué frecuencia?
- Muy a menudo
A veces
Casi nunca (Continúa con preguntas 17.-18.)
Nunca
17. ¿Podría darme algún ejemplo de algo que usted ha escuchado?
18. Hay gente que dice que hay una diferencia de tez/raza entre dominicanos/puertorriqueños.
- ¿Está de acuerdo?
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------------|
| No, de ninguna manera | | | | | | Totalmente de acuerdo |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 7 |

Appendix D

(Survey on Linguistic Insecurity and Identity)

1. Hablar con mi acento nativo es muy importante para mí. Refleja de donde vengo y quien soy.

No, de ninguna manera							Totalmente de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

2. La cultura dominicana es muy importante para mí y mi identidad.

No, de ninguna manera							Totalmente de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

3. ¿Cuáles son los aspectos de la cultura dominicana que son muy importantes para Ud.?

4. ¿Cuáles aspecto de la cultura dominicana no le gustan tanto?

5. Me siento muy orgulloso/a de ser dominicano/dominicana.

De acuerdo							absolutamente no
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

6. En mi opinión no es correcto que otros hablantes del español discriminen contra nuestro acento dominicano.

No, de ninguna manera							Totalmente de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

7. Creo que el español que se habla aquí en la Dominicana no es muy correcto.

No, de ninguna manera							Totalmente de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

8. ¿Por que sí/no?

9. Creo que el español que se habla en otras partes del país/el mundo es mejor/más correcto que el español dominicano.

No, de ninguna manera							Totalmente de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

10. Si la respuesta a (27) fue "sí"¿Cuáles dialectos cree Ud. son más correctos?

11. A veces los dominicanos que viven en Puerto Rico/fuera del país no hablan con un acento "puro" dominicano. Para mí eso significa que no son dominicanos de verdad.

No, de ninguna manera							Totalmente de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

(Sólo Dominicanos en Puerto Rico)

12. La gente no se da cuenta de que soy dominicano/dominicana hasta que me oye hablar.
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
13. Desde que he vivido aquí en Puerto Rico, la gente me dice que tengo un acento puertorriqueño.
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
14. Me molesta tener un acento puertorriqueño.
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
15. Me molesta no tener un acento puertorriqueño.
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
16. Cuando los puertorriqueños se confunden y piensan que soy de aquí los corrijo y digo que soy dominicano/dominicana.
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
17. A veces no los corrijo.
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
18. Me siento más a gusto hablar con mi acento dominicano en casa o con mis amigos/familiares que con los puertorriqueños.
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
19. Hablo como hablo, da igual con quien estoy hablando. Nunca cambio mi acento.
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
20. Me duele que la gente aquí se burle de nosotros los dominicanos y nuestro acento.
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
21. (Sólo si tienen hijos) ¿Sus hijos hablan con acento puertorriqueño?
("Sí") Me molesta que mis hijos no hablen con acento dominicano.
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- ("No") Me hace feliz, porque el acento dominicano es parte de su herencia dominicana.
No, de ninguna manera Totalmente de acuerdo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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REFEREED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- New Ways of Analyzing Variation** (NWAV 37) Houston, Texas, November 2008.
Suárez Büdenbender, E.M., "Puerto Rican attitudes towards Dominican Spanish"
- Hispanic Linguistic Symposium** (HLS 2008) Laval University, Québec, October 2008.
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- Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages** (LSRL 37) University of Illinois, Ill., April 2008. Barnes, H., Brown, J., and Suárez Büdenbender, E.M., "Latin *ne* as a complementizer"(poster presentation).
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