

CHAPTER II

*Latino English in New Destinations: Processes of Regionalization in Emerging Contact Varieties**

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II.1 Introduction

While local and regional variation has been a prominent object of study for European American varieties, regional distinctions within ethnolects have received less attention due to early initiatives aimed at documenting the systematicity of ethnolects (Wolfram 2007) or establishing ethnolects as distinct from learner varieties (Wald 1984). However, accommodation to local varieties, independent innovation, and distinct demographic and social contexts inevitably produce regional variation within any variety. Latino English is no exception. Although substrate and fossilized language learning variants characterize many varieties of Latino English, distinct regional differences will emerge due to the vast cultural and social variation found among US Latino communities. Documentation of regional differences remains an underexplored facet of Latino English research, even though description of Latino Englishes is incomplete without such research.

Due to shifting economies and legislation, sites for new Latino communities, often referred to as *new destinations* (Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005), emerged in the US landscape during the late twentieth century. New destination communities allow linguists to observe new dialect formation as it happens, complementing studies that examine the outcomes of language contact over multiple generations in more established communities (for example, Hall-Lew 2010; Sharma 2011). Studies of new destination communities are intimately connected to research on regionality as they can document the extent to which children acquiring English in these communities align with local varieties. Additionally, such studies can identify common features that may gain an indexical connection to community and/or ethnicity. In a real sense, these studies provide the information necessary to formalize how regionalization occurs within

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ethnolects at the earliest stages of contact as well as identify factors that may prevent the adoption of regional features. Research on new destination communities is thus an important addition to the canon of language contact in general and Latino English studies in particular from both a theoretical and a descriptive perspective.

This analysis contributes to the study of regional variation within ethnolects by documenting phonetic and phonological variation for two new destination communities in North Carolina. These communities present different linguistic ecologies, offering two test cases for how demographic factors and the local linguistic ecology influence Latino English acquired by the children who either immigrated to or were born into these new communities. I turn to a landmark variable, Coronal Stop Deletion (CSD), to examine the relative influence of the surrounding linguistic ecology on these emerging varieties. Due to its long and well-documented history in a myriad of regional and ethnolectal varieties, this variable is an ideal “diagnostic” for the analysis of alignment between varieties (Wolfram, Childs, and Torbert 2000; see also Chapter 8 of this volume). I also examine phonetic variation in the vowel system as vowel variation has been a central focus for researchers examining regional dialects in US English (Thomas 2001; Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006; Chapter 4 of this volume).

Even though both communities under analysis are located in the same dialect region, results demonstrate the importance of local linguistic ecologies for emergent varieties as patterns of CSD and back-vowel fronting show evidence of influence from the Predominant Regional Variety (PRV). This study thus illustrates the importance of local influences in creating local and regional diversity within the variety we label as “Latino English.” While a shared linguistic heritage unites these communities, creating similar sets of variants that have the potential to gain indexical meaning associated with Latino identity, local communities provide an additional set of linguistic resources for identity construction, as well as a system that may influence less salient components of the emerging variety.¹

11.2 Regionalization of Latino Englishes

Traditional Latino communities in the USA have been primarily urban, concentrated in gateway cities linked to specific national origins, or concentrated in former Mexican territory in the Southwest and West. Thus, for example, before 1990, demographers could easily describe Miami as the

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seat of Cuban settlement in the USA, while the majority of Latinos in New York were of Puerto Rican heritage (Vásquez, Seales, and Marquardt 2008), with both communities rooted in twentieth-century migration. In contrast, Latino populations in the Southwest and West have been standing continuously since the incorporation of these territories into the USA and, as such, are characterized as primarily of Mexican heritage. The majority of research on Latino English reflects these earlier settlement patterns, with studies focusing on Puerto Rican English in the urban Northeast and Chicano English in Texas and California.² This research, discussed in earlier chapters, suggests that common substrate and fossilized variants unite these varieties, even as each community is characterized by the influences of the local linguistic ecology as well as distinct heritage varieties. Consequently, vernacular African American English (AAE) features are found in Puerto Rican English in the Northeast as speakers adopt these features through contact with local African American communities (Wolfram 1974; Goldstein 1987), or in an attempt to gain local prestige (Poplack 1978; Wolford and Evanini 2006). Similarly, Californian varieties of Latino English show variable participation in local PRV sound changes such as back vowel fronting (Fought 2003), at the same time as certain fossilized features such as tensed pre-nasal /i/ gain indexical meanings associated with ethnic identity (Mendoza-Denton 2008). Chicano English in the Southwest, on the other hand, stands out as distinct from local Southern Anglo varieties, perhaps because these communities existed under institutionalized segregation (see Chapter 2 of this volume). While the presence of Latino English features potentially unites these varieties, local accommodation (or lack of it) creates regional variation, marking each of these groups as distinct. These studies suggest that local and regional variation within Latino English emerges at least partially as a result of contact within the local linguistic ecology, even though factors such as segregation or racial tension may mitigate the potential influence of some varieties.

While these previous studies document regional variation within Latino English, several questions remain. To what extent do endogenous varieties influence emerging varieties during initial stages of contact? Are certain linguistic variables more likely to show convergence than others? Are localization patterns observed in traditional communities also present in new destination communities, providing evidence for generalizable processes of localization? Unlike other varieties established through historical waves of migration, linguists can track initial points of contact in new destination communities to document processes of new dialect formation

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as they occur. Further, because these new communities exist in a range of locations, linguists can examine how the local linguistic ecology influences the emergence of local varieties of Latino English. In this way, studies of new destination communities provide context for studies of traditional Latino communities by granting insight into how first-generation English speakers navigate their new linguistic environment.

11.3 What is a New Destination Community?

Between the 1990 and 2000 censuses, demographers and sociologists noted a dramatic change in Latino settlement patterns. Numerous small communities and a few urban hubs that previously had a small or non-existent Latino presence began to experience rapid growth. Latino immigration within these communities was sparked by a series of economic and legal changes that worked in tandem to attract predominantly international migration to these new communities (Fernandez-Kelly and Massey 2007). The communities formed under these social, political, and economic changes have been labeled “new destination communities” by demographers and social scientists (Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005) despite the fact that the tendency for immigrant communities to be pushed or pulled by changes in legislation, policy, or economic shift is far from new.

National immigration legislation, restructuring of agricultural manufacturing, and anti-immigration policies in the Southwest and Western USA have all played a role in establishing new destinations for Latino immigration. A wave of legislation in the 1980s and 1990s set the conditions to alter fundamentally the way Mexican immigrants moved across and within US borders. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) granted legal status to 3 million undocumented Latinos while ushering in an era of border militarization designed to discourage immigration from Mexico to the USA (Fernandez-Kelly and Massey 2007). Scholars agree that as the border became more treacherous, many families and workers who had long migrated annually for seasonal labor chose to settle in the USA.

As the border became less permeable, many Latino families found little incentive to remain in the Southwest USA, often choosing to move to locations where more permanent employment might be found. This pattern was reinforced by waves of state-level anti-immigration legislation in the Southwest and West, including California’s Proposition 187, which made undocumented immigrants ineligible for public benefits. As states

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such as California and Arizona “deflected” newcomers through the passage of laws aimed at discouraging immigration, these same groups began to follow migration patterns found within the general US population. For example, migration to the Southeast became much more prominent as growing economies in the South created demand for construction and service labor (Kasarda and Johnson 2006). As a result, new destination communities have grown most rapidly in the Midwest and South, with North Carolina and Nebraska exceeding 300 percent growth (Vásquez et al. 2008).

New destination communities are united by the shared socioeconomic factors that created them, and, as such, these communities have characteristics that set them apart from earlier established Latino communities, even though a shared heritage language (and increased racialization) unites these groups as “Latino.” In contrast with more established communities, new destination communities tend to be more suburban and rural. However, segregation levels within these new communities tend to be more extreme than within traditional communities, despite the suburban characteristics of many of these destinations (Lichter et al. 2010). These communities differ from traditional destinations not only in location, but also in demographic characteristics. Latinos in new destination communities are primarily international immigrants, tend to be younger and undocumented, and come predominantly from Mexico (Vásquez et al. 2008). As a result, new destination communities have large percentages of individuals who are acquiring English as an additional language, including many young children, and are doing so under more segregated conditions.

New settlement patterns provide insight into old linguistic questions about accommodation and the establishment of an ethnolect as well as supra-regional and regional features within an ethnolect. Simultaneously, linguists have the opportunity to investigate what happens when legal and economic pressures massively restructure the face of the nation. Over the past fifteen years, research on these emerging Latino communities has begun to document the linguistic impact of these demographic changes (though these studies do not use the term “new destination community” to refer to their field sites). This line of research has proved fruitful, describing patterns of new dialect formation (Wolfram, Carter, and Moriello 2004), language acquisition processes (Carter 2005a; Callahan 2013), appropriation of vernacular AAE (Carter 2007), and community differences in the use of vernacular AAE features among new destination youth (Dunstan 2010). The current study adds to this line of research by investigating the impact of local linguistic ecology on phonetic and phonological variation

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in new destination Latino English. Additionally, I specifically refer to the communities studied here as new destination communities to draw attention to the unique sociodemographic and economic characteristics of these communities, as is common in allied fields. It is no hyperbole to suggest that the demographic shifts that have occurred for Latino migration over the past 40 years rival the “Great Migration” of African Americans to cities outside the South that so radically shaped African American culture and the face of US cities during the twentieth century. Consequently, the importance of this change, linguistically and socially, cannot be understated.

11.4 Field Sites and Motivation for Their Selection

Durham and Hickory, North Carolina, the communities chosen for analysis, experienced rapid demographic change in the social context of a post-IRCA United States, with the rise of Latino settlement in each community occurring between 1990 and 2010 as a result of the economic and social forces described above. For this reason, both communities are characterized as new destinations and are included within the literature on the topic (Card and Lewis 2007; Lichter et al. 2010). During this time period Durham’s Latino population grew from 1 percent, or approximately 2,000 individuals, in 1990 to 13 percent, or approximately 39,332 individuals, in 2014. Catawba County, where Hickory is located, experienced similar growth, from 921 individuals, or 1 percent, in 1990, to 13,761 individuals, or 9 percent of the population, in 2014 (Mapping the Nation’s Latino Population 2017). Latinos in these communities work primarily in a combination of service industry, construction, and manufacturing jobs. Segregation indices for these communities are also both high, with the Hispanic-White Dissimilarity Index at 67.1 for Hickory and 72.7 for Durham compared to an average of 53.8 for longer-established Latino communities (Lichter, et al. 2010).³

Nevertheless, these field sites also differ in a number of key ways. Durham is located in the central Piedmont region of North Carolina, while Hickory lies in the foothills region one hundred fifty miles to the west. Durham is a major metropolitan area with a population of 267,587 in 2010, compared to 40,010 for Hickory (US Census of Population, 2010). Most importantly for this study, Durham has a much larger African American population, comprising 41 percent of the city, whereas only 9 percent of the population in Hickory identifies as African American. The demographics for school-aged children indicate a larger presence of

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African American students compared to general town demographics for both communities. The African American student population was over 57 percent of the student body in Durham at the time of the study, compared to 30 percent for Hickory Public Schools⁴ Given these differences, AAE is likely to have a much larger presence in Durham than in Hickory simply because of the majority status of African Americans in the Durham schools.⁵

The demographic differences between the two towns allow for a unique comparison. Because the social conditions under which the communities were founded are similar, attracting similar migrant populations, linguistic differences between the two communities should reflect the impact of PRVs on the initial stages of dialect formation. These differences can provide insight into the social and linguistic circumstances that allow regional variation to emerge within ethnolects.

The primary sample for the study comes from two projects within the North Carolina Language and Life Project (NCLLP) collected between 2006 and 2008: the Hickory Project in its initial phase (Kohn 2008) and the Durham Public Schools Project (Callahan 2013; see also Dunstan 2010 and Carter 2013). Comparison data were drawn from studies collected at a slightly later date, between 2008 and 2014: the Frank Porter Graham Project (FPG; Van Hofwegen and Wolfram 2010 and Kohn 2014), ⁶ the Raleigh Project (Dodsworth and Kohn 2012), and subsequent phases of the Hickory Project (Chung 2014; Intihar 2014). Data collection from each study followed typical NCLLP protocol, utilizing identical recording equipment and similar questionnaires. All interviews were digitally recorded on a Marantz Professional Solid State digital recorder model PMD-660 with a Sony electret condenser lavalier microphone model ECM – 44B at a sampling rate of 44,100 Hz using 16 bit quantization.

From these studies, a total of 43 speakers were selected for analysis, including 9 Latinos from each community, as well as a comparison of 9 African Americans from Durham, NC, 7 African Americans from Catawba County, NC, 7 European Americans from Hickory, NC, and 2 European Americans from Raleigh, NC.⁷ All participants included in the study began public school in the USA by at least age 6. Latino and African American speakers ranged in age from 9 to 26 at the time of each interview, while European American speakers ranged in age from 11 to 44.

Interviews covered a range of similar questions designed to promote informal conversation. Topics related to school experiences, family life, music, pop culture, movies, and social networks were covered in the majority of interviews. Many participants completed social network

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maps, as described in Kohn (2008), or completed questionnaires related to friendship groups, as described in Dunstan (2010). For the Latino participants, all interviews were conducted in public school or after-school settings. Interviews with African American participants were conducted primarily in a home setting, while interviews with European Americans were conducted in either a home or a public setting. All interviews are archived in SLAAP (Kendall 2007).

11.5 Coronal Stop Deletion (CSD)

This analysis focuses on two cornerstone variables to assess the extent to which the language of school-aged Latino children in Durham and Hickory aligns with local majority varieties. CSD is perhaps one of the best studied variables in English sociolinguistics, particularly in communities where language contact is a component of the linguistic ecology (Wolfram 1974, 1980, 1984; Hartford 1975; Wald 1984; Galindo 1987; Bayley 1991, 1994a; Khan 1991; Patrick 1991; Bayley 1996; Santa Ana 1996; Wolfram, Childs, and Torbert 2000; Torbert 2001; Schreier 2005; Callahan 2013). The extensive breadth and depth of research on this variable situate CSD as “test-case variable” that can easily be compared across communities to assess accommodation between groups (Santa Ana 1996), interlanguage patterns (Tarone 1980; Bayley 1991; Callahan 2013), the influence of historical legacies on dialects (Wolfram et al. 2000), and typical directions for generation and language change (Guy 1980; Wolfram 1980; Schreier 2005). The fact that another chapter within this volume is devoted solely to CSD attests to the prominence of this variable within the literature.

Most studies of CSD focus on phonological and morphological constraints in addition to social constraints because numerous studies have identified that coronal stops are less likely to be deleted before vowels than before consonants or when the consonant is part of a past tense morpheme (ex: *passed* as opposed to *past*). As described in Chapter 8, varieties of English differ both in terms of how frequently word final coronal stops are deleted and in their relative linguistic constraint rankings. Specifically, while pre-consonantal and pre-vocalic environments frequently demonstrate similar patterns across dialects, with the former promoting deletion and the latter conditioning preservation, the influence of pre-pausal environments varies extensively across dialects. Differences between European American and African American varieties in the USA are particularly salient. Pre-pausal environments have been found to favor deletion in

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varieties of AAE in New York City (Labov et al. 1968), Washington, DC (Fasold 1972), and Detroit, Michigan (Wolfram 1969), leading Wolfram (1974: 50) to conclude that high rates of deletion before a pause are “... an established part of Black English phonology on a nationwide level.” This pattern has since been replicated in other studies of AAE around the USA (Guy 1980; Ash and Myhill 1986; Wolfram et al., 2000; Wolfram and Thomas 2002). In contrast, European American varieties tend to preserve coronal stops before a pause (Schreier 2005). Specifically, Schreier’s (2005) extensive review of CSD across global varieties shows that varieties that are less influenced by substrate or contact effects, including Pakeha English in New Zealand and European American varieties in the United States, tend to preserve clusters before a pause, while varieties with more extensive substrate effects favor deletion in this environment.

Pre-pause CSD rates for Latino English appear less uniform, in contrast to those found for African American and Anglo varieties. Researchers have found different patterns even within the same city, perhaps reflecting localized community differences or differences in methods. For example, two studies of Latino English in Los Angeles (Wald 1984 and Santa Ana 1991) found opposing patterns: Wald (1984) reported frequent deletion before a pause, while Santa Ana (1991) found that this environment disfavored deletion. Studies of Latino English in communities with historically large African American populations in other US locations have agreed with Wald (1984) in finding deletion to be common before a pause (Wolfram 1974; Hartford 1975). A complication in the overall configuration is that, although deletion rates before vowels and pauses among Latino varieties are frequently similar to those of African American varieties, several varieties of Latino English show intermediate rates of deletion before a pause, exhibiting a pattern distinct from those of both AAE and EAE (Bayley 1994a; Chapter 8 in this volume). While substrate varieties are known to favor deletion before a pause, community-specific patterns of reduction for Latino English varieties may indicate that local linguistic ecologies mitigate potential substrate effects, leading to regional distinctions for CSD in Latino English.

To examine whether PRV norms for CSD influence patterns of reduction in Latino English, 34 Latino and African American speakers, along with 9 representative European American speakers, were analyzed for CSD following the protocol described in Wolfram et al. (2000). The analysis is thus restricted to word final clusters with homorganic voicing.⁸ Each cluster was coded as full or reduced through instrumentally guided coding – i.e., using impressionistic assessment aided by visual analysis of

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Table 11.1 *Total tokens of coronal stop deletion over potential tokens by city and ethnicity*

	African Americans	European Americans	Latinos	Reduced/ total
Hickory	7	7	9	23
Reduced/ total clusters	153/381	69/220	196/376	418/977
Durham	9	2	9	19
Reduced/ total clusters	52/116	32/187	115/213	199/516
	205/497	101/407	311/589	617/1,493

spectrograms. The following phonetic environment was collapsed into three categories to focus on the treatment of pre-pausal tokens in relation to pre-vocalic and pre-consonantal tokens, the crucial test case in this analysis. I also coded for morphological status. Following these procedures, 1,493 tokens in total were coded (see Table 11.1).

Figure 11.1 displays the proportion of full to reduced coronal stops by environment for African Americans, Latinos, and European Americans divided by field site. Similarly to results from past studies, rates of deletion for the 16 African American participants are much higher than deletion rates for the nine representative European American participants, particularly for tokens that appear before a pause. Concomitantly, as with previous studies, pre-pausal environments favor deletion for African Americans in both communities, whereas European Americans tend to disfavor deletion before a pause in both communities. However, while constraint rankings are consistent within ethnicity across field sites for European Americans and African Americans, a large community effect appears for Latinos. Although Latinos from Hickory disfavor deletion before a pause, Latinos from Durham are more likely to reduce clusters before a pause than in any other environment.

To evaluate these differences, I constructed a logistic regression model for CSD among the 18 Latino participants in the study. Speaker and word were included as random variables in all models considered. Independent variables considered in model construction included community, following phonetic environment, morphological status, as well as potential interactions between these variables. Because the variable “word” necessarily includes information on preceding phonological environment, and because the preceding environment is not the primary variable of interest, this variable was not included as a fixed effect in model selection. More complete models were compared to less complete models through

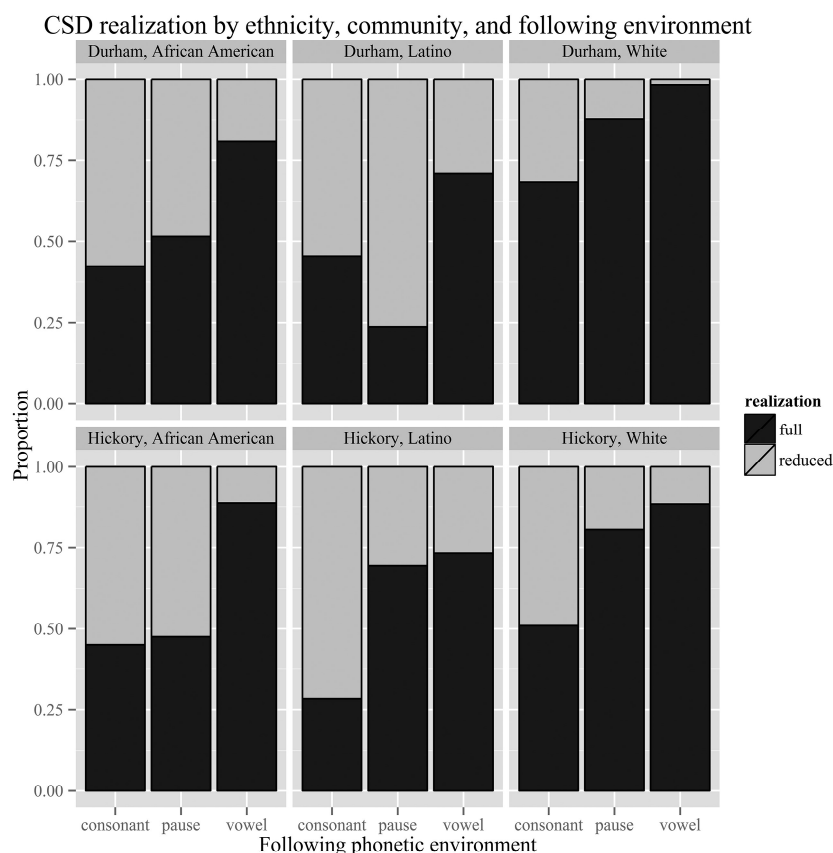


Figure 11.1 CSD realization by community and ethnicity.

a likelihood ratio test using the ANOVA function in R (Baayen, Davidson, and Bates 2008). AIC and BIC scores were used to select models with the best fit.

Following these methods, the model with the best goodness of fit included the following phonological environment, the respective community, and an interaction between the following phonological environment and the community. Morphological status did not improve the goodness of fit of the model. While morphological status has frequently been included in CSD analyses in the past, more recent analyses suggest that morphological constraints are an epiphenomenon of phonological constraints in that verbs are more likely to occur in pre-vocalic positions than

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nouns (Hazen 2011; Callahan 2013). This pattern perhaps explains why morphological status failed to improve the goodness of fit of the model.

Within the best model there was a significant main effect for following phonological environment, with a following vowel disfavoring deletion (-1.58 , $p = 0.001$). Further, there is a significant interaction between community and following pause (-2.95 , $p < 0.001$), but not for community and following vowel (-0.83 , $p = 0.15$). These results confirm that deletion rates before a pause significantly differ across field sites for Latinos in this study.

The findings reveal community-specific constraints for Durham and Hickory Latino English, likely due to the influence of the surrounding linguistic ecology. The demographic differences and related linguistic differences between the two communities provide different potential inputs for the youth analyzed in this study. These outcomes parallel patterns observed by Fox and Sharma (2017) in which linguistic differences across two communities in London reflected demographic differences and resulting differences in social networks. Within this study, participants in both communities reported social networks that were predominantly Latino in naming and drawing tasks. For example, Sandra, a high school student from Hickory states, "I talk to black people and I talk to white people sometimes . . . but my friends – friend – friends are [Latino]." Yet students who attend rural schools in the Hickory area reported more and stronger network ties with local Anglo students than those who attended Durham Public Schools. Emma, a speaker who attended a rural Hickory elementary school, provides a case in point. When asked to draw her social network, she included the name of an Anglo female as her best friend. When asked to complete the same task, no Durham participant included an Anglo student as a best friend. In contrast, as reported in Dunstan (2010), a number of speakers from Durham reported social contact with African American students. While some students in Hickory indicated that they had casual contact with African American students, others, such as Damean (see Section 11.6), recounted hostilities with African American students.

Because Latino students in Durham are exposed to higher rates of AAE in their schools and social networks in proportion to their exposure to European American English, they are also exposed to higher rates of CSD before a pause. This available input would serve to reinforce general tendencies for contact-influenced varieties to reduce coronal stops in this environment (Schreier 2005). Latinos in Hickory, on the other hand, have greater exposure to preserved coronal stops before a pause due to the larger presence of Anglo varieties of English in their community and within their

social networks. In this environment, the tendency for contact-influenced varieties of English to reduce coronal stops before a pause may be overridden by the influence of input from the PRV.

These distinct linguistic ecologies likely influence patterns of reduction for the first generation of English speakers in each community, with each group showing the influence of the community-specific PRV. However, this finding should not be interpreted as an exact replication of constraints from PRVs. As illustrated in Chapter 8, subtle constraint rankings likely differ between and within both communities. Such differences are evident in the overall higher rates of deletion for Latinos compared to European Americans in each community. Instead, these results provide evidence that the linguistic ecology has the potential to influence constraint rankings for reduction processes, creating community-specific patterns of deletion even during initial stages of contact.

11.6 Realization of Representative Vowels in Each Community

Given the demographics of each community under analysis, one would expect PRV vowel configurations within Hickory and Durham to differ. Indeed, the PRV in Hickory shows evidence of the European American Southern Vowel Shift (SVS), whereas the African American Vowel System (AAVS) is the PRV system in Durham. While there are some similarities between the SVS and the AAVS, likely as a result of extended contact between these varieties, vowel configurations typical of these two varieties differ in a number of ways (Thomas 2007; Kohn 2014), providing additional opportunities to study alignment with the local linguistic ecology. Pictured in Figure 11.2 is a representative vowel plot of mean Hz values for an African American speaker from Durham. This vowel configuration is characterized by the raised, but monophthongal, front lax vowels and BIDE glide weakening characteristic of the AAVS (Thomas 2007; Kohn 2014). Figure 11.3 portrays mean Hz values of a representative European American speaker from Hickory. While the speaker in Figure 11.3 also shows evidence of BIDE glide weakening, her front lax vowels show less raising. Back vowel fronting appears much more advanced for the speaker from Hickory than for the speaker from Durham, with the nucleus of BOAT positioned in front of BUT in Figure 11.3.⁹

Figure 11.4 displays mean Hz values of a Latino speaker from Durham. As with Figure 11.2, there is evidence of BIDE glide weakening, a relatively backed nucleus for the BOAT class, and some raising of front lax vowels, particularly BAT. The Latina speaker represented in Figure 11.5, on the other

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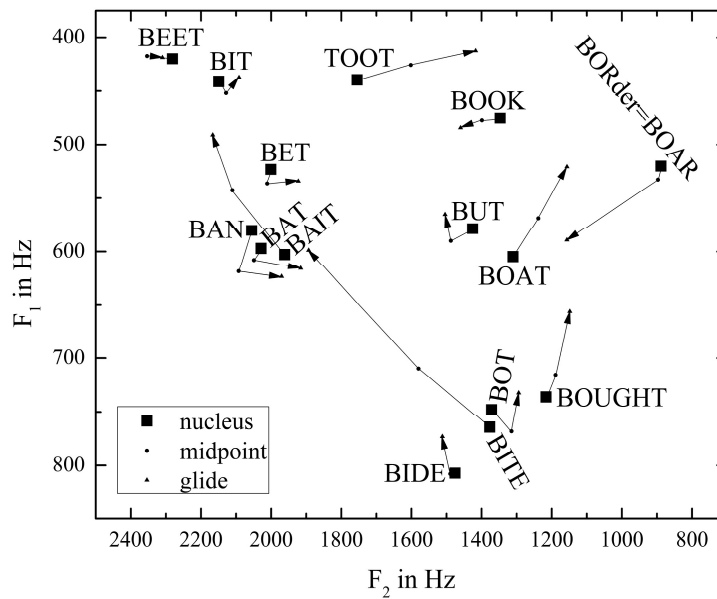


Figure 11.2 Mean values of the vowels of an African American female from Durham, born 1991.

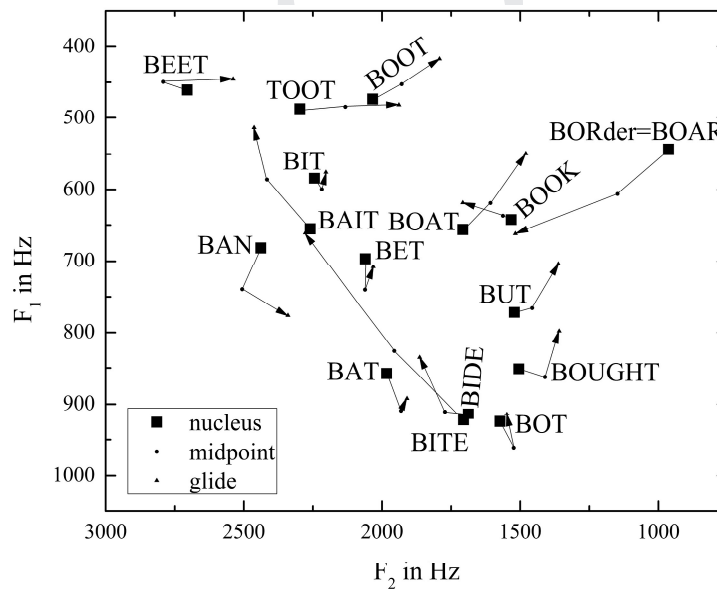


Figure 11.3 Mean values of the vowels of a European American female from Hickory, born 1985.

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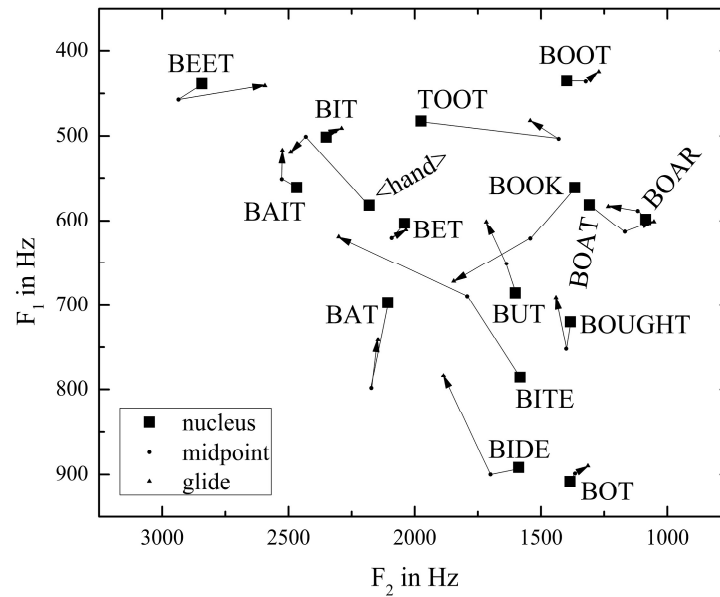


Figure 11.4 Mean values of the vowels of a Latino male from Durham, born 1996.

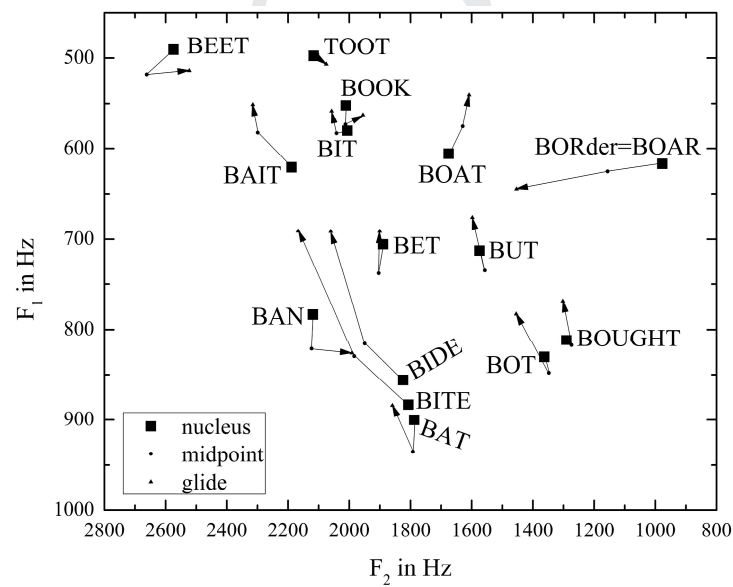


Figure 11.5 Mean values of the vowels of a Latina female from Hickory, born 1991.

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hand, shows no evidence of BIDE glide weakening or raising of front lax vowels. Instead, back vowel fronting characteristic of the SVS is evident. These initial examples suggest that vowel systems within the Latino communities examined here may reflect varying degrees of localization from interacting with local PRV systems.

The quantitative analysis here focuses on two vowel classes, BOAT and BIDE. The BOAT class, similarly to CSD before a pause, patterns distinctly in the AAVS and the SVS, as illustrated in Figures 11.2 and 11.3. AAE varieties frequently are characterized by relatively backed realizations of the BOAT class (Thomas and Bailey 2015), a proclivity that has been noted in the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill area (Kohn 2014). In contrast, the SVS typically includes vigorous back vowel fronting (Thomas 2001). As reviewed in Chapter 4, many varieties of Latino English have been characterized as retaining backed BOAT forms, possibly due to substrate influence from Spanish. However, participation in regional patterns of back vowel fronting has been observed in some Latino communities (Thomas 2001; Chapters 4 and 5). Glide weakening of the BIDE class is a Southern shibboleth that characterizes both the SVS and AAVS but occurs less frequently in Southern varieties of Latino English (see Wolfram, Carter, and Moriello 2004; Chapter 4 of this volume). Latino English speakers who have extensive contact with African American communities also may show variable participation in BIDE glide weakening (Wolfram 1974) or may adopt this variant even without extensive African American contacts due to local prestige (Poplack 1978; Wolford and Evanini 2006). This analysis thus offers an opportunity to explore accommodation to the local PRV for a variable that patterns distinctly within the two communities (BOAT) and a variable that unites both regions (BIDE), but is resisted in varieties of Latino English when the contact variety is the European American SVS (see, for example, Chapter 4).

For this second analysis, full vowel spaces were analyzed for all 34 Latino and African American speakers in the study. The first three formants, duration, and fundamental frequency for each vowel were semi-automatically extracted at five intervals (0 percent, 25 percent, 50 percent, 75 percent and 100 percent) across the duration of the vowel using a Praat script. Settings for extraction, including poles and maximum Hertz, were hand-selected for each token following best practice for child data analysis (Kohn and Farrington 2017). Comparison vowel data for European Americans from Hickory were collected and measured by Intihar (2014) at three measurement points (35 milliseconds from the onset and offset, as well as the center) across the duration of the vowel. Vowels were then

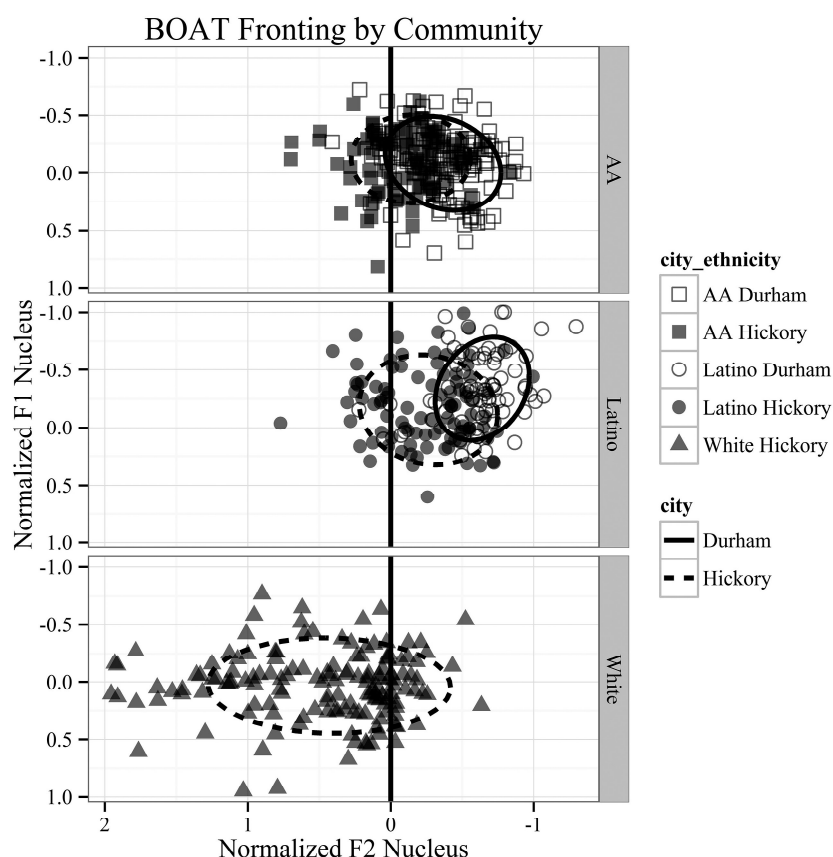


Figure 11.6 Individual BOAT token nuclei by ethnicity and community. The vertical line represents the center of the normalized vowel space. Ellipses represent 95% confidence levels as estimated through `stat_ellipses` in R.

normalized using a modified Lobanov z-score technique (Lobanov 1971). Following this method, F_1 and F_2 values were extracted for 7,076 vowels. All data from African American and Latino participants come from sociolinguistic interview data, while read speech supplements some data for the European American participants. European American comparison data for Durham were not available for this analysis.

Figure 11.6 displays normalized F_1 and F_2 nucleus values for individual tokens divided by ethnicity and community for African American, Latino, and European American participants in the study. The intersection of 0,0 represents the center of the normalized vowel space so that F_2 values over 0

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are front of center for the speakers under consideration. The vertical line indicates the center of the F_2 plane in the vowel space. Ellipses represent 95 percent confidence levels grouped by ethnicity and city as modeled by `stat_ellipse` in `ggplot2` (Wickham and Chang 2013). Widespread production of fronted vowel tokens is evident for European Americans from the Hickory sample as they produce the majority of BOAT tokens that are front of center in the vowel space.

The confidence interval for Latinos from Durham remains back of center, indicating a relatively backed pronunciation. The confidence interval for African Americans from Durham appears slightly more forward in the vowel space, just barely crossing the center of the vowel space on the horizontal plane. Notably, both Latino and African American participants from Hickory have normalized F_2 nuclei that are more fronted than those of their Durham counterparts, with their ellipses crossing the center of the horizontal plane of the vowel space. However, these groups do not exhibit the extensive fronting found among the European American participants in Hickory.

To explore the influence of region and ethnicity on the distribution of BOAT, I constructed mixed effects linear regression models for normalized F_2 values measured 25 percent from the beginning of the vowel for the 34 African American and Latino participants in the study.¹⁰ Only vowels in stressed syllables surrounded by obstruents and/or pauses were included in the model. Following this criterion, 405 tokens of BOAT, or a little over 10 tokens per speaker, were included in the model. I constructed models through a likelihood ratio test using the ANOVA function in R (Baayen, et al. 2008), considering the phonetic variables of preceding and following place of articulation (coronal, labial, dorsal, glottal, or pause), preceding and following manner of articulation (stop, fricative, affricate, none), voicing, and duration. The social variables considered for analysis were ethnicity and community. I also tested to see whether an interaction between community and ethnicity improved the model. Simpler models were compared to more complex models and the model with the lowest AIC/BIC scores was selected as the best model. Using these criteria, the best model included preceding and following place of articulation and preceding voicing among phonetic factors, as well as ethnicity and city among social factors. An interaction between city and ethnicity did not improve the goodness of fit of the model.

Regression results confirm initial observations in Figure 11.6. African American and Latino participants from Hickory are more likely to have

fronted varieties of BOAT than those from Durham (0.24, $t = 3.92$, $p = 0.0004$). Ethnicity has a smaller effect than city, with Latinos having backer BOAT productions than African Americans (−0.19, $t = -3.09$, $p = 0.004$). This distinct pattern suggests that BOAT fronting is localized, with Hickory participants perhaps showing some influence from the extensive fronting found in the PRV, even if African American and Latino participants do not display the same extreme back vowel fronting found within the Anglo community. However, the picture for Durham appears more complex. While Durham participants produced more backed tokens, the higher realization among Latinos may indicate that backing reflects Spanish substrate influences rather than accommodation to African American norms. Patterns of BOAT backing among Latinos and African Americans in Durham may serve to reinforce each other, or this pattern may be the result of superficial alignment between the two varieties. Taken together, these patterns indicate that the local linguistic ecology may influence local varieties of Latino English, but patterns of influence are locally defined and community-specific.

In contrast to back vowel fronting, BIDE glide weakening is found in both the SVS and the AAVS. However, accommodation to BIDE glide weakening has rarely been identified in studies of Southern Latino English, possibly due to the enregisterment of this feature with Southern stereotypes (see Chapter 4; Sawyer 1964; Tillery, Bailey, and Wikle 2004; Wolfram, Carter, and Moriello 2004).¹¹ In total, 327 tokens of BIDE in stressed positions surrounded by obstruents or pauses were collected for the 34 Latino and African American participants included in the study. An additional 149 tokens measured by Intihar (2014) from the 7 European American participants are included for visual comparison. All data from African American and Latino participants come from socio-linguistic interview data, while read speech supplements some data for the European American participants.

To analyze glide weakening, the Euclidean distance between the onset and the offset, otherwise known as vector length, or VL (Fox and Jacewicz 2009), was calculated for each BIDE token using the following formula:

$$VL = \sqrt{(F1_{onset} - F1_{offset})^2 + (F2_{onset} - F2_{offset})^2}$$

To minimize the effect of surrounding consonants, onsets were taken 25 percent after the start of the vowel, while offsets were taken 75 percent before the start of the vowel.¹² Models were then built using all the factors considered in the statistical analysis of the BOAT class, with the exception of

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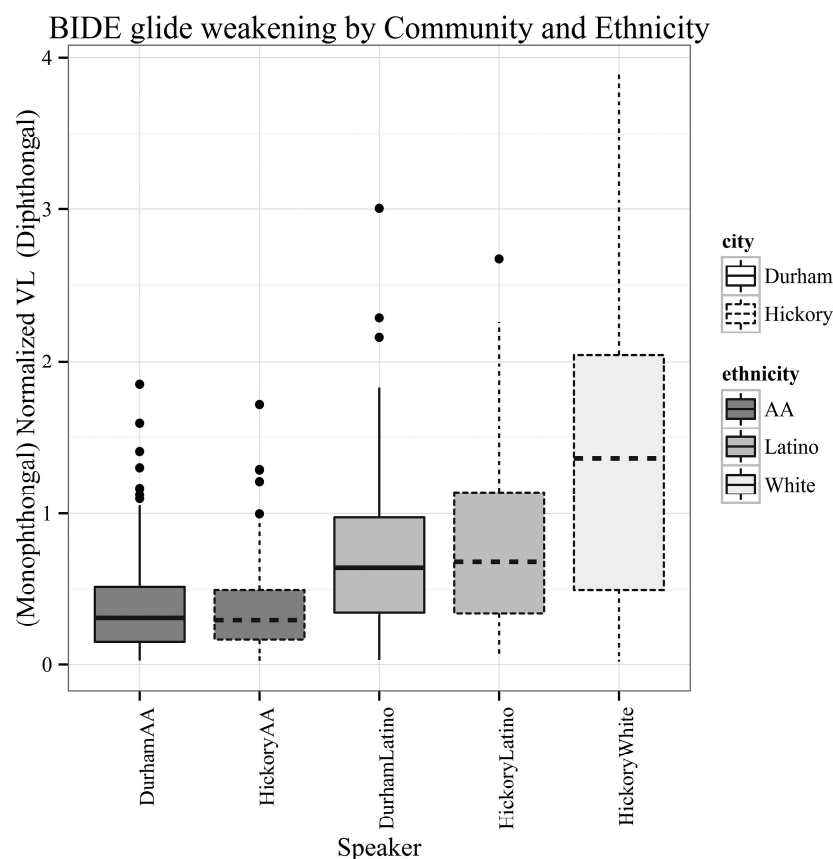


Figure 11.7 Boxplots for participant VL length by community and ethnicity. Lower VL values indicate more monophthongal productions of the BIDE class. The extensive variation and longer glides apparent among European Americans may reflect the more formal read speech included in their vowel analysis.

following voicing. Since BIDE glides are less prone to weakening in pre-voiceless conditions in AAVS and the SVS more generally, tokens with a following voiceless consonant were not considered in this analysis.

Figure 11.7 presents boxplots for Durham and Hickory African Americans to the left, Durham and Hickory Latinos in the middle, and Hickory European Americans on the right. While city emerged as a significant factor for the BOAT class, no such pattern is observed in the BIDE class. Neither city nor an interaction between city and ethnicity

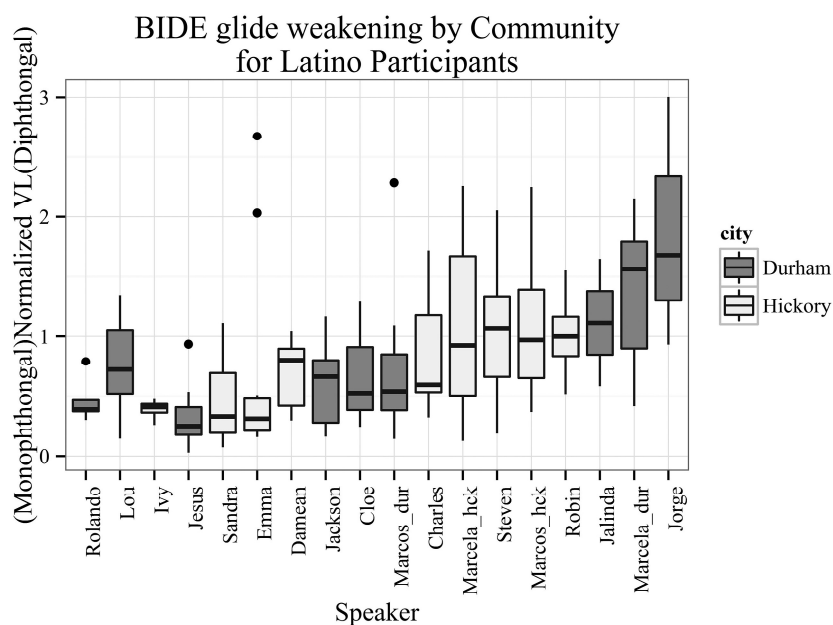


Figure 11.8 Boxplots for Latino speaker VL values. Grayscale corresponds to city. Lower VL values indicate more monophthongal productions of the BIDE class.

improved the goodness of fit of the model. Given that this variant can be found in both the AAVS and the SVS and is thus present in the PRV for each community, this result is to be expected. Instead, ethnicity emerges as significant in the model (0.45, $t = 5.51$, $p < 0.001$), with African American participants producing shorter glides than Latino participants.

While median values for Latinos in both communities are significantly higher than those of African Americans, these values mask extensive intra-ethnic variation. Figure 11.8 displays boxplots of VL values for each Latino participant. Notably, five speakers have median VL values below 0.5, falling within the range of the values produced by African Americans included in this study. Other speakers, including Emma from Hickory and Marcos from Durham, have generally low VL values with a few outliers. Glide weakening is present in both Latino communities, even though extensive inter- and intra-speaker variation is also present.

The content of participant interviews, as well as ethnographic information presented in previous research (Dunstan 2010; Kohn 2008), sheds light onto some of the variation observed in Figure 11.8. For example,

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Emma's notable incorporation of European American SVS traits including BOAT fronting and BIDE glide weakening likely reflects her attendance at a rural elementary school that was predominantly Anglo and her close friendship ties with local Anglos discussed in Section 11.4. Similarly, Damean's weak glides in the BIDE class co-occur with a fronted BOAT class. Damean expressed affiliation with many aspects of Southern European American culture during his interview, including a desire to work in law enforcement and an interest in drag racing, a pattern reminiscent of those found in Wolfram, Carter, and Moriello (2004) in which boys who oriented toward local culture showed more frequent instances of BIDE glide weakening. In these cases, BIDE glide weakening may emerge due to the influence of the European American SVS through friendship networks, in the case of Emma, and the production of stance in the case of Damean.

These case studies contrast strongly with Jesus's heavy use of glide weakened BIDE in conjunction with vernacular AAE features, including invariant habitual *be*. As noted in Dunstan (2010), Jesus reports low contact with African Americans in Durham, indicating that he did not likely acquire his use of BIDE monophthongization through friendship ties and affiliation with African American culture. Instead, Dunstan (2010) suggests that Jesus's use of vernacular AAE features may relate to covert prestige, similarly to observations from Poplack (1978), as Jesus claimed affiliation in a local gang and as features of vernacular AAE used by those outside the African American community frequently index a style of tough masculinity popular within gang culture (Bucholtz 2011).

Sandra, the high schooler from Hickory discussed in Section 11.4, also uses features of vernacular AAE, including invariant *be*, and may follow a pattern similar to that of Jesus. While she reports that the majority of her friends are Latino, she also distances herself from the category of "prep": "I don't talk to the preps . . . I don't like them." Given that preppiness is a style associated with whiteness both in her interview and in previous sociolinguistic research (Bucholtz 2011), Sandra's use of BIDE monophthongization may reflect a stylized resistance to the (white) establishment. Thus, while participants in both communities variably produce BIDE tokens with weak glides, the source and/or indexicality of this variable is unlikely to be uniform across the speakers, even within the same speech community (Eckert 2008a). These findings are similar to phonetic patterns observed in traditional Latino communities (Poplack 1978; Fought 1999) and for morphosyntactic variation in new destination communities (Dunstan 2010; Carter 2013) in which individuals variably incorporate features from the surrounding community for style work.

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For both vowel variables, there is extensive variation within each community. However, significant community effects emerge for Latino participants only for BOAT fronting, a variable that shows distinct patterns in each PRV. While speaker variation within communities offers a fruitful site to explore style and the impact of social networks, among other considerations, these broader community patterns illustrate the role that local linguistic ecologies can play in creating locally situated varieties of Latino English. Resistance to back vowel fronting has been found in many Latino communities (Chapter 4; Poplack 1978; Godinez and Maddieson 1985; Thomas 1993, 2001; McGee 2010), possibly due to substrate influences, yet local linguistic ecologies potentially reinforce or provide alternatives to such features. Thus, participation in sound changes associated with European Americans, as identified in Fought (1999), is predicted only in communities in which such variants have a substantial presence. Additional constraints, such as segregation and the enregisterment of the variables in question, are likely to limit the extent to which such variables exist in an individual's repertoire. Nevertheless, this present study confirms observations in other contact situations that demonstrate the importance of macro-level social structures in predicting how and when new dialects take up variants from the local vernacular (Horvath 1985; Fox and Sharma 2017). These patterns are not unique to new destination communities, but they are generalizable to traditional Latino communities, as well as to contact communities around the globe.

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New destination communities are changing the face of towns across the USA. Hence, these communities deserve the attention of linguists not only for what they may reveal about initial patterns of language contact but also for the ways in which these new communities create opportunities for new regional and/or localized varieties of Latino English. The current analysis builds on new destination community studies such as Wolfram, Carter and Moriello (2004), Carter (2007), Dunstan (2010), and Callahan (2013) as well as on more traditional analyses of Latino English in California (Metcalf 1972b; Godinez and Maddieson 1985; Fought 2003; Mendoza-Denton 2008), Texas (this volume; Sawyer 1964; Galindo 1987), and the Northeast (Wolfram 1974; Poplack 1978) by comparing the production of phonetic and phonological variables found within two communities with differing linguistic ecologies. This comparison offers the opportunity to

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observe how the linguistic ecology influences processes of localization for phonological and phonetic variation. Even though the field sites under consideration emerged under similar social and economic conditions, and even though these field sites are in the same broad dialect region, significant differences emerged for both reduction processes and vowel variation. These differences aligned with differences in the PRV of the two communities, illustrating early processes of localization and demonstrating how the local linguistic ecology can lead to regional variation within Latino English.

The current analysis also illustrates that patterns of localization observed in heritage communities are also present at initial stages of contact, as early as the first generation of children to attend school (see also Horvath 1985). Evidence for the influence of covert prestige, for example, was found in both communities, mirroring findings by Poplack (1978) and Wolford and Evanini (2006). Distinctions across field sites provide evidence for the influence of local sound systems similar to findings in traditional communities such as in California (Fought 1999), even if this participation is not uniform across variables and if constraints may not match those found in the PRV. These results parallel findings from research on South Asian communities in London in which intra-ethnic differences emerge across boroughs that have distinct demographic and linguistic composition, supporting the “considerable explanatory power” of macro-sociolinguistic generalizations (Fox and Sharma 2017: 120).

The distinctiveness of the local linguistic ecologies found among new destination communities sets these communities apart. Locations for new destination communities are spread throughout the United States. Hence, these recently established communities can be found in contact with many varieties of English, as well as other languages, and in a host of distinct demographic scenarios. Further, similar dispersed contact communities that have emerged through rapid demographic shifts can be found throughout the globe and involve a broad range of languages (see Chapter 1 for a review). While individual style and social networks are important to consider in these scenarios, broader demographic characteristics of schools and communities will influence and constrain networks and stylistic repertoires, leading to internal community norms and cross-community differences. As Latino English comes to be found in more locations, the range of Latino Englishes will continue to expand due to the influence of local linguistic ecologies, producing a rich range of regional variation.

Notes

- * The author would like to thank those who participated in data collection that contributed to this project, including Erin Callahan, Stephany Dunstan, Danica Cullinan, and Phillip Carter. Additional data collection and analysis completed in Hickory, NC, by Kendra Intihar greatly improved the scope of this current analysis. I would also like to thank Erik Thomas and Charlie Farrington for feedback on early drafts. Any remaining faults or errors are solely the responsibility of the author.
- 1. While Spanish as a heritage language is often associated with Latino varieties, it should be noted that this generalization glosses over the full range of linguistic diversity present in Latino communities, both due to the range and variation found within Spanish, as well as the presence of other languages within Latino communities.
- 2. Although Miami is the traditional capital of Cuban ex-patriots and Cuban heritage in the USA, there has been surprisingly little research on Latino English in that community, although see Carter and Lynch (2015) for an overview.
- 3. The Dissimilarity Index, as presented by the US Census, is a measure of how much of the population would need to move to have even representation of each group in each neighborhood. The numbers referenced here are based on block-level analyses, indicating that 72.7 and 67.1 percent of Durham and Hickory's Latino communities, respectively, would have to move to have even representation of Latinos and European Americans on a block-by-block basis in each community.
- 4. School demographic information are available in the "Statistical Profile" from the Public Schools of North Carolina website (www.ncpublicschools.org/fbs/resources/data/).
- 5. These numbers may underestimate the amount of contact Latinos and African Americans have in each community as some scholars hypothesize that a sizable endogenous minority presence in new destinations may lead to further Latino-Anglo segregation as Latinos become incorporated into an already segregated housing market (Lichter et al. 2010), thus suggesting that Latinos would be more likely to find housing in traditionally African American neighborhoods.
- 6. The Frank Porter Graham Project corpus is a unique longitudinal database. The time point analyzed for this current study was the last collected in 2012, when participants were approximately 21 years old. This time point was selected because the interview protocol was similar to those used in the Hickory Public Schools and DPS, for which typical sociolinguistic questions about peer networks and day-to-day life were the focus of the interview.
- 7. Speakers from Raleigh, a city located 20 miles southeast of Durham, are used as a comparison for Durham participants. Both cities are part of the larger Research Triangle metro area.
- 8. Tokens of *and* and *just* were excluded, following Wolfram et al. (2000), because their high frequency apparently has led to lexical effects.

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9. In contrast to many urban hubs in the South (Fridland 1999; Dodsworth and Kohn 2012), the SVS remains present in Hickory, NC, with evidence that some younger individuals reverse the nuclei of BET and BAIT, although this pattern is not evident for the speaker in Figure 11.3 (Intihar 2014).
10. European Americans were excluded from statistical analysis due to the different methods used to collect and measure vowel data.
11. However, see McDowell and McRae (1972) and Thompson (1975) for evidence of partial accommodation to glide weakening in Austin, Texas.
12. Measurements for European Americans were taken 35 ms from the start and end of the vowel. Additionally, vowel data (but not CSD data) include some read speech for the 7 European Americans from Hickory. For these reasons, data from these speakers are excluded from the statistical analysis.