A WAY TO SUSTAINED SALIENCE:
CULTURAL IDENTITY, SOCIAL NETWORKS, AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDE IN
LORAIN PUERTO RICAN ENGLISH

A RESEARCH PAPER
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE
MASTER OF ARTS

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MUNCIE, INDIANA
MAY 2015
1 Introduction, Objectives, and Hypotheses

Puerto Rican English (PRE) is a variety of American English that emerges due to contact between American English and Puerto Rican Spanish. PRE has been investigated somewhat substantially on the island by Walsh (2004), Fayer et al (1998), Nickels (2005), and Perez-Casas (2008), among others. PRE in the American Northeast has been a subject of sociolinguistic interest for over forty years, with some of the major descriptions coming from Wolfram (1971, 1973), Fishman (1971), Poplack (1978), and Zentella (1997). However, there has been significantly less attention placed on PRE outside of the American Northeast. One of the primary objectives of the current work is to contribute to the process of expanding research on PRE to additional contexts by focusing on the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, OH, a midsized Midwestern city.

Sociolinguistic research has given significant attention to the salience of demographic information as predictors of the realization of dialect markers. However, as Hazen (2002) notes, less attention is often given to cultural identity. Cultural identity has been a subject of inquiry within variationist research since Labov’s (1963, 1972) early work in Martha’s Vineyard. However, as Hazen (2002) argues, it is often given less attention than more overt demographic categorizers. Milroy (1987) claims that Labov’s concept of a local cultural identity is, in many ways, similar to what she terms ‘dense’ and ‘multiplex’ social networks. Thus, another major objective of this work is to explore the Puerto Rican community in Lorain in terms of social networks.

The research design described in this paper was motivated by these two primary objectives. The principal investigator developed several research questions and hypotheses intended to address these gaps in the existing literature. The current research treats gender,
attitude towards Spanish, and cultural identity in regards to the local Puerto Rican community as independent variables and treats the realization of morpheme initial /ð/ as [d] and the insertion of Spanish lexical items as dependent variables in order to investigate the impact these factors have on the rate of realization of the markers of PRE. This paper also identifies and supports four major generalizations about the Puerto Rican community in Lorain which seem to hold major explanatory power regarding linguistic performance in the community.

Data was collected via sociolinguistic interviews conducted with members of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, OH (n=8) between the ages of 35 and 60. All interviews were conducted by the primary investigator. The interview consisted of four parts. The first part collected basic demographic information and family history. The second part of the interview included a series of statements about Spanish. Participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with each statement and were asked to explain why they assigned the statement the score which they assigned it. The third section of the interview asked participants a series of questions about their social groups. The final part of the interview consisted of a request for a personal narrative. The first part of the interview was designed to collect the overt demographic information that was needed for the first three independent variables. The second portion was designed to stratify participants in regard to the attitude towards Spanish variable. The third portion, which was adapted from Milroy (1987), was used to operationalize cultural identity in terms of the density and multiplexity of the participant’s social network. Finally, the final section of the interview was intended to collect a fluid, uninterrupted, naturalistic speech sample. These interviews were recorded and then coded by the principal investigator for eth modification, Spanish lexical item insertion, and for linguistic generalizations regarding the community.
The remainder of this paper discusses the current project in detail. First, the objectives and hypotheses are considered in significant detail. This is followed by a review of existing literature in terms of cultural identity, social networks, and PRE as well as a discussion of Lorain, OH, which is the contact context for the current research. Section five of this paper details the methodology and participant pool, elaborated particularly in terms of the specific independent and dependent variables under consideration. Section six identifies the major generalizations about the community and shows how these generalizations are motivated by the data collected in this project. Section seven presents a detailed discussion of how the results of this project relate to existing literature and how they serve to describe linguistic performance in the contact context. Finally, the final section of this paper details the limitations of this work, identifies directions for future work, and presents some concluding remarks.

1.2 Objectives and Hypotheses

It will be useful here to discuss, in significant detail, the specific goals of this project, as well as the research questions and the hypotheses regarding the results of the project. Existing research on PRE has focused primarily on the American Northeast. For example, Wolfram (1971, 1973) provided a detailed description of PRE in the Harlem area of New York City and Fishman (1971) discussed the features of PRE in New Jersey. However, with the exception of some work in Chicago, such as Ghosh Johnson (2005) and Torres (2010), there has been limited exploration of PRE in the American Midwest. Thus, one of the goals of this research is to start the process of exploring the realizations of PRE outside of the Northeast and in smaller communities.
This project describes the linguistic ideology resulting from language contact in Lorain, OH. The current research also explores the impact of cultural identity and attitude on the realization of the markers of PRE. These two goals motivate the following research questions:

1. How does a local cultural identity impact the realization of the markers of PRE?
2. How does a participant’s attitude towards the Spanish language impact the realization of the markers of PRE?
3. What is the linguistic nature of the community that has emerged from the contact between American English and Puerto Rican Spanish in Lorain, OH?
4. What is the current status of Spanish within the community?

With respect to the first two research questions the principal investigator hypothesizes the following:

1. A local cultural identity, evidenced by membership within a dense and multiplex social network, will lead to a greater rate of realization of the markers of PRE.
2. A positive Spanish language attitude will also be lead to greater rates of realization of the markers of PRE in the selected population.

The third and fourth research questions are, in a sense, more complex. Previous research in Puerto Rican communities, including Poplack (1978) and Zentella (1997) have indicated that code-switching is a major source of identity and solidarity within the Puerto Rican community. Other researchers, however, including Ghosh Johnson (2005) have noted that Puerto Rican communities are transitioning rapidly to English, at least in part because of speakers do not consider Spanish to be a major component of identity. In addition, as noted above, there have been limited efforts to describe language use in Puerto Rican communities in the United States outside of the American Northeast. Thus, in addition to the evaluation of the first two
hypotheses, this project will use a qualitative approach to describe the role of identity and attitude on language use and the status of Spanish in the community.

As noted above, this paper has two primary goals. The first is to begin the process of extending the work on PRE from large cities in the American Northeast to smaller communities in the American Midwest. The second goal is to contribute to the exploration of the ways in which sociolinguistic variation is impacted by factors such as cultural identity and language attitudes. These goals, motivated by three gaps in the existing literature, inform these research questions, which in turn motivate the author’s hypothesis that a local cultural identity and a positive Spanish language attitude will lead to increased rates of realization on the markers of PRE. In addition, these goals motivate a search for generalizations regarding the linguistic nature of the Lorain, OH contact context.

2 Literature Review

In order to situate the current research within its proper theoretical context, it is necessary to review existing literature in the following three areas: cultural identity, social network theory, and PRE. Each of these areas crucially informs this work. This project draws on work on cultural identity to establish a framework for explaining the variation anticipated within the sample. Social network theory provides background which informs the current operationalization of the concept of cultural identity. Previous work on PRE in various contexts contextualizes this project and informs the selection of the specific markers which are treated as dependent variables in the current study.

2.2 Cultural Identity Literature

It is important to review some of the existing literature on the connection between cultural identity and sociolinguistic variation in order to better understand what this variable is
and how it impacts patterns of linguistic performance in Lorain. Identity is a crucial concept in linguistics and sociological literature. However, in different contexts this concept has been contextualized and operationalized in a variety of ways. Crucially, a distinction has been made between ‘essentialist’ and ‘constructivist’ theories of identity. Lanza and Svendsen (2007) note that “essentialist approaches view identity in terms of given categories of who individuals or groups are, whereas constructivist approaches recognize the fluidity of identities as they are performed and constructed in social interaction” (277). The current project, while appealing to some traditional categories of identity such as ‘age’ and ‘gender,’ also attempts to appeal to the concept of dynamic individual identity in relation to communities of practice via an investigation of what is labelled here as cultural identity, which has its roots Labov’s (1972) concept of local identity and Milroy’s (1987) articulation of social network theory.

Cultural identity, then, plays a crucial role in the current work. Cultural identity, as discussed here, refers to what Hazen (2002) identifies as the way “speakers conceive of themselves in relation to their local and larger regional communities.” This concept has been considered a crucial component of variationist research since Labov’s (1963) early work in Martha’s Vineyard. However, it has often been given less attention in the literature when compared to other demographic variables such as gender, socio-economic status, and age.

Labov (1972) discussed cultural identity as a key predictor of language variation in the Martha’s Vineyard speakers and other communities. He writes “…communities often develop more concrete categories by which individuals are placed…local identity is an extremely important category of membership” (298). He argues that certain sociolinguistic markers can become indicators of ‘local identity’ (238) and that this feature is critical to understanding patterns of variation in a given community.
Chambers (1993) states that the categories under investigation in most variationist literature are drawn from a standard list, which includes class, age, gender, ethnicity, and region (143). While these categories are undeniably important to understanding linguistic variation, Hazen (2002) argues that ‘cultural identity,’ as conceptualized by Labov (1963, 1972) and others “should become part of the regular litany of nonlinguistic factors assessed in the study of language variation” (241). A representative sample of research in which cultural identity is addressed and noted as an important factor in linguistic performance include Eckert (1988, 1999), Milroy (1987), Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1995), Alsagoff (2010), Goodfellow (2000), Ito and Preston (1998), Mantila (2004), Bustamante-Lopez (2008), and Lee (2002). The current project contributes to this body of literature by focusing on cultural identity as a factor in the rate of realization of the markers of Puerto Rican English in the Puerto Rican community in Lorain and as a crucial contributor to the overall linguistic ideology of the Puerto Rican community in the Lorain, OH contact context.

2.3 Social Network Literature

Social network research is critical to the conceptualization of cultural identity in the current project. While social network research is a broad, inter-disciplinary field, the term is understood here within the tradition established in Bott (1971) and further elaborated in Milroy (1987). In this framework, social networks are understood in terms of the density and multiplexity of an individual’s social connections within a given community. This conceptualization has been seen to be critical to understanding the patterns of linguistic performance in various contexts, including Milroy and Milroy’s (1977) work in Belfast, Zentella’s (1997) work on the Puerto Rican community in New York City, Dubois and Horvath’s (1998) work on the Cajun community, and Eckert’s (1999) work in Detroit.
Bott (1971) is a foundational text in understanding the role of social networks in the behavior of individuals within a community. The text, which is an extensive revision of her earlier publication, explores the role of social networks, as conceived by Barnes (1954), in the distribution of household chores amongst men and women in London. She found that dense, multiplex social networks was strongly correlated with distribution of labor amongst spouses. Bott argues for a causal relationship between these variables. According to her, a dense, multiplex social network serves to impose traditional norms of behavior on its members.

Milroy (1987), based on her work in Belfast and other factors, applies this concept to linguistic performance, noting that “a relatively dense and multiplex social network structure has the capacity to impose specifically linguistic norms upon its members” (136). Thus, Milroy (1987) makes a connection which is crucial to the current work. A dense, multiplex social network “probably…underlies Labov’s notion of the importance of ‘the category of local identity’ in explaining linguistic variation in Martha’s Vineyard” (137). Local cultural identity, as described in the current work, can be seen as an abstraction of a dense, multiplex social network. Cubitt (1973) notes that density in key sectors is more important than overall density. Specifically, Milroy (1987) notes that “in practice, most comment focuses on ties of kinship, neighborhood, work and friendship,” (137) and uses this observation to motivate the development of an instrument for quantifying the density and multiplexity of an individual’s social network based on these key components of identity. The method she develops involves assigning one point for each affirmative answer to one of the following five questions:

1. Membership of a high-density, territorially based cluster
2. Having substantial ties of kinship in the neighborhood (More than one household, in addition to his own nuclear family)
3. Working at the same place as at least two others from the same area
4. The same place of work as at least two others of the same sex from the area
5. Voluntary association with workmates in leisure hours

(141-142)

This instrument has been adapted to the Lorain Puerto Rican context and will be used to quantity local cultural identity in the current study.

2.4 PRE Literature

The existing literature on PRE can be divided into two categories: PRE on the island and PRE on the American Mainland. While the focus of the current research is clearly the varieties of PRE spoken on the American Mainland, it is useful here to provide an overview of literature in both categories. Island Puerto Rican English (IPRE) has emerged as a variety of English spoken in Puerto Rico, where, as Nickels (2005) has noted, Spanish continues be strongly related to identity and thus is the primary language in spite of the fact that Spanish and English have both been official languages since 1902. Thus, as observed by Perez-Casas (2008), “not only has Spanish remained the dominant language on the island, but the majority of Puerto Ricans are far from bilingual” (9). In light of these observations, it seems appropriate to describe IPRE as a minority language variety resulting from roughly 100 years of language contact between American English and Puerto Rican Spanish. This, as we shall see, is somewhat different from the context motivating the development of Puerto Rican English on the American mainland.

Significant work has been done in terms of identifying the linguistic features of IPRE by Walsh (1994) and Fayer et al. (1998). Fayer et al. (1998) provide a useful description of both the morphosyntax and the lexical features of IPRE, noting, for example, that IPRE features variable constituent order which reflects Puerto Rican Spanish syntax and auxiliary omission. Walsh
(1994) provides a description of the phonological features of IPRE. Table one includes a list of the consonant features Walsh identified, including the realization of [ð] as [d], [θ] as [t], and the devoicing of [z].

**Table 1**

**Phonological Features of PRE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Realization</th>
<th>PRE Realization</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ð]</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>/ðo/ → /do/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[θ]</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>/θawzənd/ → /tawzənd/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dʒ]</td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>/dʒenərəl/ → /jenərəl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>/zɪpər/ → /sipər/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʃ]</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td>/tʃɪər/ → /ʃɪər/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td>[tʃ]</td>
<td>/ʃɑpɪŋ/ → /tʃɑpɪŋ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although, as noted above, the social context of IPRE differs significantly from the social context involved in the development of PRE on the American mainland, many of the features described in Walsh (1994) and Fayer et al. (1998) are also salient in PRE as spoken on the mainland.

Mainland Puerto Rican English (MPRE) refers to the variety of English which has developed on the American mainland as a result of contact between Puerto Rican Spanish and varieties of American English. As indicated above, MPRE has developed in a significantly different social context when compared with IPRE. While IPRE is a variety of the minority language within its social context, MPRE is a variety of the majority language. In addition, MPRE has been significantly influenced by other varieties of American English within its contact contexts. Torres (2010) writes, “when asked why Puerto Ricans don’t speak much Spanish at school, one student responded, ‘Because Puerto Ricans, we think we’re black. We talk ghetto, we don’t all talk Spanish’” (51). Wolfram (1971, 1973), Zentella (1997), Rivera (2003), and Flores-Gonzalez, Rodriguez, and Rodriguez-Muñiz (2006) are among the linguists who have
discussed the impact of African American English on MPRE. Thus, it is useful to note that MPRE is a product of an extremely different social context when compared to IPRE.

Wolfram (1971, 1973) represents one of the earliest systematic works concerned with the features of MPRE. His research was conducted on second generation high school aged males in New York City’s Harlem neighborhood. While his research featured an extremely specific subset of the community, he noted “it is expected that much of the description will have wider application, e.g. to a number of northeastern urban areas, than simply to the specific situation we are describing here” (1973, 1). Wolfram’s research identified many phonological and morphosyntactic features, including the tendency to realize [\theta] as [t], similar to what has been described for IPRE (see table one), although Wolfram noted that this occurs primarily in morpheme initial environments, with [\theta] exhibiting different realization patterns in morpheme final positions. Other features discussed by Wolfram include the realization of morpheme final [t] and [d] as [0] and multiple negation. Additional works on MPRE also tend to focus on the American Northeast. These include Fishman (1971), Urzua and Gomez (2008), Zentella (1997), Poplack (1978), and Torres (1997). The tendency, noted in, amongst others, Walsh (1994) for IPRE and Wolfram (1971, 1973) for MPRE for speakers of PRE to replace dental fricatives (both voiced and voiceless) with plosives motivates the first dependent variable being investigated in the current research.

As implied in the above quote from Torres (2010), several authors have noted that Puerto Ricans seem to be transitioning more quickly to English from Spanish when compared to other Hispanic immigrant communities. The authors who have suggested this tendency include Alba (2004) and Ghosh Johnson (2005). It has been suggested, based on surveys by Zentella (1990) and Torres (1997), that Puerto Rican’s “do not deem the ability to speak Spanish to be an
indispensable component of Puerto Rican identity” (Torres, 2010, 51). Because of this, it is suggested, Puerto Ricans are shifting more rapidly to English. If this accelerated shift is occurring, it is important to note that, as it is implied in the student quote cited by Torres, the shift is not necessarily to Standard American English, but is often to a variety of MPRE, with significant influences from Puerto Rican Spanish, African American English, and other linguistic codes present in the contact context.

This is not necessarily consistent with the attitudes typically found in Hispanic communities in the United States. Fuller (2013) discusses at some length the importance of Spanish to identity in Latino communities. She notes that “in some cases, being able to speak Spanish is presented as a sign of authenticity” (42). She argues that in many communities, descendants of emigrants from Spanish speaking countries who are unable to speak Spanish feel “self-conscious” (42). The current research intends to begin the process of investigating these attitudes within the Lorain Puerto Rican community.

This discussion is extremely relevant to the current work, since, as noted above, the author’s previous work in the community has indicated that Spanish maintains a significant amount of covert prestige within the community. Perhaps partially due to this covert prestige, Puerto Ricans in Lorain, even those not fluent in Spanish, demonstrate a strong tendency to embed Spanish lexical items (particularly with specific semantic domains, such as family) into English frames. Thus, even if there is an accelerated shift away from Spanish at play in Lorain, the shift is to a variety of PRE, with various phonological, morphological, and lexical elements being imported from Puerto Rican Spanish and other American English dialects. This observation serves to motivate the decision to treat LPRE as a contact dialect.
There are several major takeaway points that emerge from the body of literature considered in this section. First, the existing literature has motivated a certain image of PRE as spoken on the US mainland. This dialect, according to current research, has emerged from contact between various linguistic codes, including, but not limited to, Puerto Rican Spanish, Standard American English, Mexican American English, and African American English. One consistently identified feature of PRE is the tendency to modify the voiced interdental fricative \[\delta\] as the voiced plosive \[d\]. In addition, the ability to speak Spanish, according to some writers, such as Fuller (2013) is a sign of authenticity. This can lead to a tendency to insert Spanish lexical items in discourse. However, other writers, including Ghosh Johnson (2005) and Torres (1997) have argued that the ability to speak Spanish is not necessarily a major component of the Puerto Rican identity.

A second major takeaway from this discussion is that identity is a complex, multifaceted issue which is a critical factor in linguistic performance. Particularly important within the context of the current work is Labov’s (1972) concept of a local cultural identity as an important predictor of dialect markers. This concept here is operationalized via appeal to Milroy’s (1987) recognition of the connection between cultural identity and social networks and her methodology for measuring density and multiplexity of social networks.

The current work, then, attempts to build on the existing literature by applying concepts from social network theory and identity research to the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, OH. The current work also appeals to and attempts to further the current understanding of PRE and Puerto Rican communities in the United States by appealing to previously identified lexical and phonetic features. In addition, the current work seeks to investigate the attitudes towards Spanish within the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, OH, in light of the above discussion regarding the
importance of Spanish to the Puerto Rican identity. As discussed in section three, Lorain, OH represents an extremely useful context for language contact research generally and PRE research in particular, and thus is a valid, powerful context for investigating these issues.

3 Contact Context

Lorain, OH, and specifically the Puerto Rican community located in the city, serves as the language contact context in which the current work is situated. Lorain is a diverse community and is thus a useful context for language contact research. The results of language contact in Lorain are sufficiently salient to be noticed and remarked upon by community members. For example, in (1), a participant in the current research describes how people notice features of a unique ‘Lorain’ dialect.

(1) “People from Lorain speak different. People from L-- told B-- H-- (a mutual acquaintance who grew up in Lorain and later moved to another part of Ohio) ‘you have an accent.’ And I think it is because Lorain is so, so diverse, so many different cultures.”

(0081)

Not only in Lorain a useful context for general language contact research, but the various characteristics of the city and the Puerto Rican community in the city make it a particularly useful language contact context in which to conduct the current research into PRE. It is important to understand these characteristics in order to understand the city’s value as a research site as well as to inform the upcoming discussion of the significance of the current research. This section of the proposal focuses on the various attributes of Lorain which make is valuable as a research setting.

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1 Here and throughout this paper quotes from participants are set apart with quotation marks and cited using the participant ID number
Lorain, OH is a city located on the shores of Lake Erie in northern Ohio, approximately 30 miles west of Cleveland. According to the 2010 census, Lorain had a population of 64,097, of which 25.2 percent identified as Hispanic or Latino. As noted in Rivera (2005), the Puerto Rican community in Lorain dates back to 1947 when National Tube Company, a division of US Steel, began the process of recruiting Puerto Rican men to work in the mill (151). National Tube brought 206 Puerto Rican men to Lorain between October 1947 and February 1948 (Rivera, 153). Rivera claims that 73 percent of Lorain’s Hispanic population and 15 percent of Lorain’s total population are Puerto Rican (152).

Lorain’s Puerto Rican community, dubbed ‘La Colonia’ by early immigrants, has received outside attention from linguists and sociologists. For example, Rivera (2005) cites Fitzpatrick’s claim that “the Puerto Rican community in Lorain stands out as the most extraordinary in the country. It’s universally known as the most stable Puerto Rican community on the mainland” (152). Despite the potentially hyperbolic language, this does provide an example of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain receiving outside attention.

Lipski (2008) mentions the community in Lorain multiple times in his discussion of the Puerto Rican communities in the United States, including a reference to Decker’s (1952) early attempt to describe the variety of Spanish spoken by Puerto Ricans in the city. In addition to this early work, the Puerto Rican community in Lorain has been the subject of linguistic research in recent years. Ramos Pellicia (2005, 2012) investigated the use of Spanish in the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, with particular attention to phonological variation. She noted that for some features, Lorain Puerto Rican Spanish (LPRS) maintains the distinctions exhibited by Spanish speakers on the island. However, for other variables LPRS speakers reveal considerable influence from American English and Mexican Spanish. While this data is related to LPRS and
not LPRE, it does appear to be consistent with the observation, noted above that the language of Puerto Ricans on the American mainland is subject to influences from American English, as well as other linguistic codes represented in the contact context.

Multiple writers, including Kanazawa and Loveday’s (1988) discussion of the Japanese community in Brazil, have claimed a three-generational process of language attrition, in which the first community is monolingual in the L1, the second generation is bilingual, and the third generation is monolingual in the L2. While this is likely an oversimplification, it can be consistent with Myers-Scotton’s (1998) matrix language turnover hypothesis, which while not necessarily requiring that the process be tri-generational, does posit that language shift can involve a process of transition from monolingual L1 speakers to bilingual speakers to monolingual L2 speakers. My previous work has found some evidence for this type of shift within the Lorain context. However, my work has also found evidence that Spanish remains salient in the community. For example, there is a significant amount of bilingual and/or Spanish signage in the community, including a small store and a Puerto Rican community center on the south-side of Lorain, which is the traditionally Puerto Rican area of town, as well as signage from the local Starbucks.

A personal interview with a bilingual local librarian who works at the South Lorain branch of the public library revealed that there are many library patrons of various ages who speak primarily Spanish. She stated that, in some cases, these patrons have recently arrived from Puerto Rico (personal interview, 2014). This indicates, at least anecdotally, that even if the three generation pattern holds in Lorain (and it is not entirely clear that it does), Spanish will remain salient in the community as long as Lorain is seen as a desirable location for new immigration.
There is some statistical evidence for this trend. According to 2000 census numbers, while Lorain’s overall population decreased, the Hispanic population actually increased.

Based on the above description, then, Lorain, OH fits the target characteristics for the current research context. Lorain is a mid-sized city in the American Midwest and is home to a well-established, stable Puerto Rican community. The community has significant cultural and economic resources within the larger Lorain community, and its influence and size appears to be increasing. English is the majority language in the city, but Spanish has retained covert prestige and remained a viable linguistic code in the community, creating a dynamic, vibrant language contact zone. There have been efforts by sociologists and linguists to describe some of the features of the community. However, the variety of PRE spoken in the community has remained largely undescribed. Thus, the Puerto Rican community of Lorain, OH is an exceptionally well-qualified context for this project.

4 Significance of Research

As has been described, this project has two major goals, which are motivated by three gaps in the existing literature:

- Limited exploration of PRE beyond the American Northeast
- Limited exploration of Puerto Rican communities in the American Midwest
- Limited focus on identity as a predictor of linguistic variation

Each of these areas will be discussed in additional detail in this section.

As discussed above, a significant body of literature on the features of PRE exists. However, it has been primarily confined to the American Northeast. Very little work exists on the Puerto Rican communities and the varieties of PRE spoken in other parts of the country. The
first area of significance for the current work is to begin the process of addressing this gap by providing initial descriptive work on the variety of PRE spoken in a mid-sized Midwestern city.

The second gap this work intends to address follows from the first. Very little research describes the features of Puerto Rican communities outside of the American Northeast. These features include not just linguistic features, but also attitudes towards Spanish and issues of identity. Thus, this paper will seek to provide generalizations about the Puerto Rican community in Lorain and will seek to explain how these generalizations impact linguistic performance. By describing the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, OH, this paper will seek to build on the foundational work conducted in the American Northeast by expanding this work to the American Midwest.

Hazen (2002) notes that while cultural identity has been mentioned as a predictor of sociolinguistic variation since Labov’s (1963, 1972) work in Martha’s Vineyard, much current research focuses on other demographic variables. Indeed, much of the existing literature focuses on the effects of factors such as age, sex, ethnicity, and social class (Chambers, 1993). Further details on the existing literature in this area can be found in 2.2. Social network theory has been shown to have powerful explanatory salience as a way to operationalize and describe local vs expanded cultural identity. Several researchers have applied this approach to various communities both in the United States and abroad, including, perhaps most relevantly to the current work, Zentella (1997), which described the Puerto Rican community in New York City. Thus, this project addresses the third gap mentioned above by looking to contribute to the growing, critical body of literature which investigates the impact of a local cultural identity on sociolinguistic variation.
5 Participants and Methodology

This section further elucidates the population sample explored in the current project as well as details the methodology employed for data collection. In addition, this section discusses the stratification of the sample population, including the rationale for various stratifications. This section also includes a description of the data collection instrument and a discussion of the data collection procedure.

5.2 Sample Population and Independent Variables

This project deals with the linguistic features of PRE, specifically as spoken in Lorain, OH. This directly motivates the sample population, which included both male and female Puerto Ricans born, raised, and currently living in Lorain, OH (n=8). The initial potential participant pool was compiled based on the principal investigator’s personal acquaintances within the community. As the principal investigator attended high school in the community, this provided a significant pool of initial potential participants. This pool was then expanded by encouraging potential participants to provide the principal investigator’s contact information to other potential participants. From the resulting pool, actual participants were selected based primarily on scheduling compatibility. The final group of eight participants included male (n=5) and female (n=3) participants ranging in age from 38 to 59 and included second (n=7), and third (n=1) generation members of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, OH.

A natural stratification of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain follows from the history of the community, as discussed in detail in section three. The first Puerto Ricans arrived in Lorain in the late 1940s and the early 1950s. These were mostly people in their early twenties who are now in their early-to-mid 80s. People arriving around that time as young children and the first generation born in Lorain would now be between 60 and 80 years of age. The second
generation of Puerto Ricans in Lorain would be mostly between the ages of 35 and 60. People below the age of 35 would likely be members of the third generation. This project focused on the second generation of Puerto Ricans in Lorain, although some information was collected about the first and third generations indirectly, as participants regularly referenced their children and parents. Restricting the analysis to the second generation allowed for a focus on people born in Lorain who were able to speak to long-term trends within the community.

Within the sample population, the following independent variables were considered:

- Gender
- Attitude towards Spanish
- Cultural Identity

Gender was operationalized as a binary variable. The other two variables are more complex, and thus merit individual consideration.

### 5.2.2 Attitude towards Spanish

The two remaining independent variables, attitude towards Spanish and cultural identity, require further operationalization. Attitude toward Spanish is defined on a continuum, coded as follows: one (very unimportant), two (unimportant), three (neutral), four (important), or five (very important). This variable intended to measure the extent to which participants believe Puerto Ricans should learn Spanish and was measured by analyzing participant responses to four statements. Participants were read a statement related to the value or importance of Spanish in the community and were asked to rate the statement in terms of how much they agree or disagree with it on a scale of one-to-five. Participants were asked follow-up questions to clarify their position. Example (2) lists the statements used in this section.

---

2 One participant, who fit the age parameters of the project, was third generation.
(2)

- Puerto Rican parents should speak to their children in Spanish
- It is important to speak Spanish in Lorain today
- Puerto Rican parents should speak to their children in Spanish
- The ability to speak Spanish is an important part of being Puerto Rican

In many cases participants did not immediately provide an answer along the one-to-five continuum, but instead provided an anecdote to describe their opinion. In these cases the interviewer asked follow-up questions in order to further clarify the participant’s position and selected a score based on the response. Participants’ scores on these items are averaged, resulting in each participant being assigned an attitude score along a one-to-five continuum. This score is labelled AttScore throughout this paper.

### 5.2.3 Cultural Identity

As discussed and motivated in section 2.2 and 2.3, cultural identity is based here on the distinction between local and expanded identity mentioned in Labov’s (1963, 1972) study of Martha’s Vineyard, and also applied in Hazen’s (2002) work in North Carolina. Milroy (1987) notes that this abstraction may be best understood as an appeal to social network structure. Milroy further notes that social network density and multiplexity often depends primarily on “ties of kinship, neighborhood, work, and friendship” (137). She then establishes a method for assigning a “network score” to a given participant (141-42), which is adapted here in items five-to-nine of section two of the data collection instrument. In Milroy’s analysis, one point is awarded if the participant fulfills the condition, resulting in each participant being assigned a score along a one-to-five continuum which represents the density and multiplexity of the participants’ social network in relation to the local Puerto Rican community. This instrument has
been adapted to be appropriate to the context of the current research. Example (3) lists the items included in this section.

(3)

- Do you regularly interact with a set group of local, primarily Puerto Rican friends?
- Do any other members of your immediate family live in Lorain?
- Do you work with any other Puerto Ricans from Lorain?
- Are your Puerto Rican co-workers male or female?
- Do you associate with any of these co-workers outside of the work environment?

Following Milroy (1987), participants were awarded a point for each affirmative response, resulting in a total score along a one-to-five continuum. The total score for each participant was taken to represent the density and multiplexity of the participant’s social network, which was considered indicative of the participant’s local or expanded cultural identity. This score is labelled CIScore throughout this paper. As noted above, the full list of questions from this section are included as items five-through-nine of section two of Appendix A.

**5.3 Methodology and Dependent Variables**

Data for the current project was collected via a series of sociolinguistic interviews conducted by the principal investigator in Lorain, OH during March 2015. Interviews typically included the principal investigator and one or two participants. The interviews were either conducted in the participant’s home or in a public place, such as a coffee shop. In each case, the principal investigator used the data collection instrument that is included as Appendix A here to guide the conversation and to accomplish initial coding of participant responses to the items related to attitude towards Spanish and cultural identity. The initial coding resulted in each participant being assigned a score in terms of each of the independent variables. In addition, each
interview was recorded for later coding, transcription, and analysis in terms of both the independent and the dependent variables.

5.3.2 Dependent Variables

As noted above, the current research treats the following two markers of PRE as dependent variables:

- The realization of the voiced dental fricative [ð] as the voiced alveolar plosive [d]
- The insertion of Spanish lexical items into English matrix frames

The selection of these variables is motivated primarily by two factors: they are often mentioned in the descriptive literature as particularly salient markers of PRE (see Wolfram, 1971 and 1973 for the first and Polack, 1978 and Zentella, 1997 for the second) and they have been noted as frequent features of the speech of members of the Lorain Puerto Rican community by the principal investigator.

The recorded interviews were reviewed and coded for the occurrence of these variables. For ease of analysis, the realization of [ð] as [d] was measured as a percentage of shifted realizations within the first fifteen occurrences of morpheme initial eth in each participant’s speech sample. This resulted in an [ð] modification score which represents the percentage of total occurrences which are modified and realized as the plosive [d]. This score is labeled here as Eth modification percentage (EMP). Spanish lexeme insertion was measured in terms of the total number of Spanish lexical items inserted within the described speech sample. This number is labelled here as SLI.

Thus far, this paper has motivated a set of research questions and hypotheses, has described existing literature as well as the contact context, detailed the significance of the current project, and described the sample population as well as the methodology used to collect the data
under consideration here. Section six of the current paper will present the results of this investigation. The results include both the quantitative results of the above described investigation as well as the qualitative results of the interviews. These results will motivate, in section seven, a discussion of the variety of PRE that has emerged in the language contact zone in Lorain, OH. This will include some descriptive remarks about the particular variety on PRE spoken in the community and will also include an exploration of the community in terms identity and attitudes and an evaluation of the impact of these variables on the rates of realizations of the markers of PRE.

6 Results

This section presents the results of the research project described and motivated in the previous sections of the current work. This section will present, first, the quantitative analysis of the various factors which influence the rate of the realization of the markers of PRE in the Puerto Rican community in Lorain. This section will then turn to the qualitative results of the interviews in an attempt to provide a fairly detailed descriptive overview of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, OH in terms of attitude towards Spanish and cultural identity. Both of these sets of results will form the basis for the discussion and conclusion presented in sections seven and eight of the current work.

6.2 Quantitative Results

The quantitative data collected for this project yields some interesting insights about the community. In particular, this data provides evidence for the nature of the social networks in place in the Puerto Rican community in Lorain. In addition, this data helps quantify the attitude towards Spanish in the community. This section will consider first the descriptive data regarding individual participants and how this data informs a conception of the community. In addition,
this section will provide data demonstrating the connection between the various independent variables, eth modification, and Spanish lexeme insertion.

### 6.2.2 Descriptive Data

The final descriptive data for the eight participants can be viewed in Table two.

**Table 2**

**Independent Variables by Participant**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>AttScore</th>
<th>CIScore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>002</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>006</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>007</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>008</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>53.75</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>3.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>6.94</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two observations that can be made immediately based on the data presented in Table two. First, Spanish maintains considerable prestige within the community. The average AttScore, which represents the participant’s average level of agreement with statements about Spanish on a one-to-five scale, is 4.28, with a standard deviation of 0.39. In addition, the participants in the current research appear to be engaged in dense, multiplex social networks. The mean CIScore, which is indicative of the density and multiplexity of social networks, is 3.88 out of a potential 5.00, with a 1.25 standard deviation. The mean CIScore is heavily impacted by a single outlier, participant 005. If this outlier is removed from the data, the mean CIScore becomes 4.29, with a standard deviation of 0.49. These two observations help to motivate the generalizations which emerge from qualitative analysis of the interview data collected for this project and which are described in more detail in section 6.3.
6.2.3 Eth Modification

Eth modification, in which the voiced interdental fricative [ð] is realized as [d] in morpheme initial position, was one of the dependent variables investigated in the current project. It is useful to explore the ways in which the independent variables seem to impact this realization. While the sample population for the current project is not large enough to make strong predictions about the relationship between this dependent variable and the independent variables, some general trends emerged. As noted above, the first 15 occurrences of morpheme initial eth were considered for this analysis. Table three includes raw numbers of eth modification by participant. Table four includes data describing eth modification in terms of gender. On average, male participants modified 36% of morpheme initial eth with a standard deviation of 10.11, while women modified 22.22% with a standard deviation of 3.85.

Table 3
Eth Modification by Participant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>[d] Realizations</th>
<th>EMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>46.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>002</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>006</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>007</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>008</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>30.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>10.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4
Eth Modification Percentage by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>22.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>10.11</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition, it is useful to consider eth modification in terms of AttScore and CIScore. Figure one displays eth modification by AttScore and Figure two considers eth modification in terms of CIScore.

**Figure 1.** Average Eth modification percentage by AttScore

This figure demonstrates a general upwards trend for EMP, or eth modification percentage, as AttScore increases. This seems to indicate that an increasingly positive attitude towards Spanish may lead to an increased tendency towards the realization of this marker of PRE.

**Figure 2.** Average Eth modification percentage by CIScore.
This figure illustrates the relationship, for the participants investigated in this project, of eth modification and CIScore. No participants in the current project received a CIScore of two or three. However, based on participants receiving a score of one, four, or five, again, a general upwards trend is visible. This would seem to indicate that, for these participants, there is a tendency towards increased eth modification with increasingly dense and multiplex social networks.

6.2.4 Spanish Lexical Items

The insertion of Spanish lexical items is another widely attested linguistic feature of Puerto Rican communities. Thus, it is informative to consider this variable in the Lorain Puerto Rican context. Within this context, as demonstrated in tables five and six, male participants in this study demonstrated this behavior more frequently than women.

Table 5

Spanish Lexical Insertion (SLI) by Participant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>SLI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>002</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>006</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>007</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>008</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>1.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6

Spanish Lexical Insertion by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Overall, this behavior was exhibited by five of the eight total participants. Two males and one female failed to insert any Spanish lexical items during their interview.

In terms of AttScore and CIScore, it is difficult to make major assertions due to limited sample size. However, figure three and figure four provide a visual representation of the trends present in the current data set.

Figure three. Average Spanish lexical item insertion by AttScore

Figure four. Average Spanish lexical item insertion by CIScore
Figure three illustrates a minor trend towards increased Spanish lexical item insertion across these participants in accordance with an increased positive attitude towards Spanish. Figure four shows the same in accordance with an increasingly dense and multiplex social network.

As has been noted, the limited sample size makes it difficult to make strong claims about the Puerto Rican community in Lorain based on these results. However, the trend noted, at least for these participants, is towards an increased realization of the markers of PRE with increasingly positive attitudes towards Spanish, increasingly dense and multiplex social networks, and for men over women.\(^3\) Perhaps a more viable application of this data, however, is discussed in 6.3, where the data is combined with a detailed examination of statements from the study participants in order to develop a picture of the current linguistic nature of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, OH.

**6.3 Qualitative Results**

This investigation provides data to motivate a description of the role of cultural identity and attitude towards Spanish in the composition of the current Puerto Rican community in the context described in this work. Several generalizations about the community recurred throughout the interviews and can be supported with data described here. These include the following:

- The community is largely consistent with previous descriptions of what constitutes a dense and multiplex social network
- Spanish continues to be a salient linguistic presence in the community
- Puerto Ricans in Lorain continue to see Spanish as an important component of identity

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\(^3\) Full data, including the item-by-item results are included with this paper as Appendix B. In addition, table seven includes the item-by-item scores for cultural identity items and table eight includes the item-by-item breakdown for Spanish language attitude items.
Spanish is accorded a significant amount of covert prestige within the community. Each of these generalizations merits further consideration in light of the current data.

### 6.3.2 Social Networks

Members of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain tend to be a part of relatively dense and multiplex social networks. Cultural identity, in the context of this research, is operationalized as a measure of the density and multiplexity of each participant’s social network. Table seven displays each participants score for each of the five questions used to measure this variable, as described in section 5.2.3.

#### Table 7

**Cultural Identity Items**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Item 5</th>
<th>Item 6</th>
<th>Item 7</th>
<th>Item 8</th>
<th>Item 9</th>
<th>CIScore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>002</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>006</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>007</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>008</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>3.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table demonstrates that the average cultural identity score for the eight participants included here was 3.88. The item most often answered negatively was item nine, which asked “Do you associate with any of these co-workers outside of the work environment?” It appears, then, that within the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, there is a tendency to maintain separate work and social circles. While on the surface this may appear to indicate a lack of density and multiplexity of social networks, at least in regard to this particular category, it is also important to note that
this lack of multiplexity in terms of connecting work and social relationships may be a function of the community.

A potential reason why work networks may not have a particularly salient importance in describing linguistic behavior in the Puerto Rican community in Lorain is the fact that, recently, members of the community have moved into jobs that require them to leave the area. For example, in (4), a member of the community notes that he doesn’t work with other members of the community because of the type of work he does.

(4) “I’m in sales, so I go from one part of Cleveland to another part of Huron, there’s Puerto Ricans in the offices that I walk, but I don’t interact with them daily.”

This type of work, then, lends itself to the creation of separate work and social circles. Milroy (1987) notes the potential impact of this type of movement when she writes “geographic mobility has the potential to destroy the structure of long-established networks (143). However, within the Lorain Puerto Rican context, it appears that the overall network structures remain intact in spite of increased geographic mobility within the context of work networks specifically. Thus, it seems reasonable to argue that, while members of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain do not necessarily connect work and social life in the ways, for example, Milroy and Milroy (1977) observed in Belfast, this community still evidences a dense and multiplex social network.

The following two quotes, in (5) and (6), from a 54 year-old second generation male and 38 year-old third generation male, provides further evidence that not only do Puerto Ricans in Lorain maintain dense and multiplex social networks, but that this feature of the community is, to some extent, above the level of consciousness.
(5) “We…cling together. We always cling together. I think it’s because South Lorain was always so peaceful. We didn’t have problems.”

(008)

(6) “Quite honestly, that’s pretty much all I hang out with, to be honest with you. I don’t have, I’ll put it to you like this: I don’t have a lot of friends. I know a lot of people, but the people that I hang out with are people like my brother, my brother-in-law, who’s Puerto Rican, my uncle --, who’s Puerto Rican, and then I’ll give you another example. I was doing uh, work, I was doing work in a predominantly all-white neighborhood, nice houses, I’m talkin, we’re talkin in Lorain, or we’re talkin Avon, half million dollar houses. I was wiring a house and the home owner’s walkin through, and he’s Puerto Rican, he’s from New Jersey, he works for IBM, workin here, Puerto Rican, M-- S--. Well, this was probably eight to ten years ago, and we’re friends to this day and we hang out. I associate, I tend to associate with – if I find out you’re Puerto Rican, it’s like, you know ahh, you know, it’s like we’ve been friends our whole life. I’m just trying to give you, like, what it is.”

(001)

6.3.3 Spanish Saliency

Previous work by the principal investigator within this contact context, as detailed in section three, has indicated that despite some tendency towards a three-generation shift in primary code choice, Spanish maintains significant salience within this community. An interview with a local librarian, for example, noted library patrons often are monolingual Spanish speakers. She hypothesized that a continued influx of immigrants from Puerto Rico contributed to the ongoing saliency of Spanish within the community (personal interview, 2014). Census data
provided potential support for this perspective, noting that in 2000, the overall population of Lorain decreased, while the population self-identifying as Latino or Hispanic increased.

The current research provides further support for the ongoing salience of Spanish within the community. Table eight includes an item-by-item analysis of each participant’s responses to the Spanish language attitude section of the data collection instrument. These scores indicate the extent to which members of the community continue to consider Spanish as salient and important in the community.

Table 8

Spanish Language Attitude Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Item 1</th>
<th>Item 2</th>
<th>Item 3</th>
<th>Item 4</th>
<th>AttScore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>5.00</td>
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<td>003</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.25</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>4.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>007</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>008</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>4.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This also relates to the discussion in 6.3.5, which notes, consistent with the data included in table eight, that Spanish retains considerable covert prestige in the community.

In addition, various comments from participants affirmed this view. Consider (7), a quote from a 38 year old third generation male, in response to a question about how important the ability to speak Spanish is in current day Lorain.

(7) “I would say yes because the population here is mainly made up of Spanish people so yeah, I would say it’s very important.”

(001)
The participant defended this position by describing a situation in which a police officer in Lorain would be unable to perform the duties of his/her job without knowledge of Spanish. In this participant’s perception Lorain “is mainly made up of Spanish people.” Thus, according to this participant, the lack of the ability to speak Spanish can be a significant deterrent to a person’s ability to successfully interact with the community on a daily basis in certain parts of Lorain.

Another participant, a 54 year-old second generation female, affirms the importance of speaking Spanish in Lorain in (8).

(8) “We live in a very uh Spanish speaking area so it comes in handy at work a lot…”

Another example is (9), from a 58 year old second generation male

(9) “In South Lorain you had to speak Spanish because there were a lot of Spanish speaking old adults that didn’t want to learn English. It was very important that you speak the language.”

He indicates that Spanish remains important because it is the only way to communicate with certain members of the community. Although this participant uses the past tense, another quote from a 38 year-old third generation male indicates that this dynamic persists and creates difficulties for members of the Puerto Rican community who are not fluent Spanish speakers in terms of communicating with family members. Consider (10)

(10) “I don’t know Spanish. You know, my mom and dad, they’re fluent, um, but uh, there was always a language barrier, like when I go to my grandparents’ house, I couldn’t, even to this day when I visit my grandmother, um, there’s always like a awkward moment, awkward time. You
know, I love her and she loves me, but we really can’t carry on conversations because she never learned English and I never learned Spanish.”

(001)

Thus, this participant notes that Spanish continues to be salient within the community due to the presence of community members who do not speak English.

Amongst the participants interviewed for this project, there was an almost universal affirmation of the continued salience of Spanish within the community. Even those participants who did not rate the importance of speaking Spanish highly, often still affirmed the salience of the language within the community. For example a participant was asked if she agreed with the following statement:

It is important to speak Spanish in Lorain today.

She claimed that she did not, but her reasoning, presented in (11) is important.

(11) “I don’t think so because there’s so many Spanish speaking people that you can always find someone who can speak it and communicate, so it’s not like, a high priority cause there’s so many. That’s how I’m looking at it.”

(004)

Thus, while the participant did not necessarily claim that it is important to speak Spanish, she still affirmed the continued salience of Spanish in the community.

6.3.4 Spanish and Identity

The Puerto Rican community in Lorain, based on the data collected within the scope of this project, continue to see Spanish as an important component of their collective identity. Spanish, according to members of the community, is representative of their cultural heritage and serves to connect Puerto Ricans on the mainland with their families on the island. In (12) a 59
A WAY TO SUSTAINED SALIENCE

year-old second generation female discusses her granddaughter’s inability to connect with and communicate with family in Puerto Rico.

(12) “It’s (the Spanish language) part of our culture, it’s part of our heritage. If we ever want to go back to the island…look at A-- (A-- is the participant’s granddaughter) ya know, we never followed it with them and uh, she was totally lost with her family…We took her to visit and she was totally lost.”

(003) This quote shows that for this participant, the ability to speak Spanish is inherently connected to the participant’s identity as a Puerto Rican and serves to link Puerto Rican’s in Lorain with their families in Puerto Rico. Her granddaughter, due to her inability to speak Spanish, was ‘totally lost,’ unable to communicate with and connect to her Puerto Rican family. The importance of Spanish to the Puerto Rican identity within the Lorain community may function as one source of the covert prestige attached to the language that is discussed in the next section.

Another participant, a 54 year-old second generation female, in (13) affirms this connection between Spanish and the Puerto Rican identity as a means to maintain connections with family in Puerto Rico.

(13)”…communicating with other family from Puerto Rico…it’s beneficial, cause their English is poor…”

(004) Essentially, what emerges from these quotes is the idea that Spanish is a way to maintain the Puerto Rican identity because it is part of the Puerto Rican heritage, and, perhaps more importantly, because it is a way to link the Puerto Rican community on the US mainland with the Puerto Rican community on the island.
In (14), a 58 year-old second generation female discusses the importance of Spanish to the Puerto Rican identity.

(14) “It identifies who you are, your background, your roots.”

Another participant in the same interview immediately elaborated, as seen in (15)

(15) “I think it’s kinda a, a shame that you have a Hispanic name and you don’t know how to speak Spanish, not even a little bit…for me, it’s probably because, being a teacher and being in a school district that bases their ethnic culture on last name, I don’t think that’s fair, because I know of three people right now that are still employed that have a Hispanic name but they don’t know a single word in Spanish, but yet they got the job because of their last name, only because of their last name, and that was stated terribly well. ‘He’s Hispanic’ – no he’s not, he has a Hispanic last name, but he doesn’t know how to speak Spanish. That’s what I mean by I just think it’s a shame if you don’t know it.”

It is extremely clear, from this quote, that for this participant, the ability to speak Spanish is very much a crucial component of the Puerto Rican identity, to the extent that the participant claims that a person with a Hispanic name who cannot speak Spanish is not truly Hispanic.

In (16), a 51 year-old second generation male clarifies what appears to be a common perspective within the Puerto Rican community in Lorain regarding the connection between Spanish and being Puerto Rican

(16) “It (Spanish) identifies you, when you say you’re Puerto Rican…not that you have to fit the stereotype, I just think it helps identify you.”
This sentiment was consistent throughout the interviews conducted for this project. This is evidenced quantitatively as well as qualitatively. Item four on the data collection instrument, included here as Appendix A, states:

The ability to speak Spanish is an important part of being Puerto Rican

On average, participants rated their level of agreement as 4.75 on scale with a maximum possible score of five. Thus, both quantitatively and qualitatively, members of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain affirmed that Spanish is a core component of the Puerto Rican identity.

6.3.5 Covert Prestige

The principal investigator’s previous work in this community has indicated that Spanish retains significant covert prestige within the community. Consider (17), taken from a personal interview conducted in the community in 2014. ‘P’ here indicates the participant, while ‘I” references the interviewer.

(17) P: Cuando estaba en Ponce estaba levantado, pero aqui vino a los estados unidos a dormir.

When he was in Ponce he was awake but here he came to the United States to sleep.

I: A dormir siempre. Always, seven o’clock at night.

To sleep always. Always, seven o’clock at night.

P: A las siete se acostó a dormir? Habla español, ok? Tu no eres jíbaro, tu sabes español.

At seven he lays down to sleep? Speak Spanish, ok? You are not a hillbilly you know Spanish.
In this exchange the interviewer and the participant are discussing the sleeping habits of a mutual acquaintance. For current purposes, the most illuminating aspect of this exchange is that the participant instructs the interviewer to speak Spanish because he can, because he is not a ‘jibaro.’ The term ‘jibaro’ is a Puerto Rican term used to refer to a person from a rural environment who lacks education and is considered unintelligent. This indicates the prestige Spanish retains in the community.

The current work provided further evidence for this observation. In particular, the covert prestige of Spanish was often manifested in a sense of regret amongst Puerto Ricans who do not self-identify as bilingual. In (18) a second generation female notes that her adult children regret not being fluent Spanish speakers.

(18) “J-- and I still speak Spanish to them. We always spoke Spanish to our children. They would not speak it back. Now that they’re older, they wish they would have. And they can speak it, but they - we never made them, and now they say mom, especially like J—being out in the business, you know, business field. Mom, I wish you would have made us…you can’t make em.”

(003)

In (19) a third generation male explains that he regrets not being able to speak Spanish.

(19) “Ya know, like, uh, let me give you an example…it’s one of my regrets, to be honest with you, you know, I don’t know it. I’m 38, why haven’t I learned it? You know, learned to speak the language…um, that’s on me…but it is one of my regrets not knowing it.”

(001)

He continues the thought by explaining that if he goes to a Latin restaurant and the waiter assumes he is able to speak Spanish, he is embarrassed to have to admit that he is not able to speak Spanish.
Other bilingual participants also discussed the fact that they regret not teaching their children to speak Spanish. Consider (20), a quote from a 58 year-old second generation female (20) “Do I feel bad now that the kids don’t know Spanish? Yes I do. And they feel bad. Like J—could have gotten a job in F-- if he would’ve spoke Spanish, cause they saw the last name S—“Ohh you speak Spanish?” He could’ve worked at an airport, but no…I regret not teaching them Spanish…”

(006)

In addition, bilingual members of the community at times further affirm the prestige of Spanish in the community by noting that they wish they spoke Spanish better. Consider example (21), from a 54 year-old second generation bilingual female.

(21) “Well I’m glad that I do know it…I should know it better, though. <laughter>”

(004)

Thus, based on these examples, it seems clear that within the Lorain Puerto Rican community there appears to be a positive covert prestige attached to the ability to speak Spanish fluently, and a negative prestige or even stigma associated with the inability to speak Spanish.

The following quote, in (22), from a 58 year-old male bilingual, is reflective of the general attitude towards the value of learning and speaking Spanish among the Puerto Rican community in Lorain

(22) “I honestly do believe that when you are bilingual, or you have the opportunity to be bilingual, that you should take advantage of that. Being that the parents are fluent in the language, I think teaching their children that language is, uh, is important because it maintains their language, maintains their culture, maintains their tradition.”

(007)
Spanish, then, to this participant, carries covert prestige as a minority language as a way to maintain traditional culture in the face of a dominant language and culture. This is consistent with the overall observation that, for the participants interviewed here, Spanish continues to retain covert prestige as a source of pride for the community.

Based on the data collected for the current project, the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, OH exhibits the following characteristics:

- Members of the community tend to be involved in dense and multiplex social networks
- Spanish continues to be extremely salient within the community
- Spanish is considered an important component of the Puerto Rican identity
- Spanish is granted considerable covert prestige within the community

These findings were born out by both the quantitative and qualitative analysis detailed in this section. Section seven of the current work will provide a more detailed discussion of these findings, will look more closely at how they interact with each other to both describe the community and influence the dependent variables under consideration, and will attempt to contextualize the Puerto Rican community in Lorain within existing research on PRE and Puerto Rican communities.

7 Discussion

The previous section described in some detail the results of the current research, both in terms of quantifiable connections between demographic information, cultural identity, attitude, and the dependent variables, and in terms of generalizations about the community that can be ethnographically supported by the interview data collected for this project. This section builds on the foundation established in section six in three ways: first, this section contextualizes the Puerto Rican community in Lorain in relation to previous research on Puerto Rican communities
in the United States and on PRE in particular; second, this section explores the ways in which these various generalizations interact with each other to describe the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, and finally this section discusses the hypothesized connection between cultural identity, attitude, and linguistic performance.

### 7.2 Contextualizing Generalizations

Section 6.3 of the current work established and defended four generalizations about the Puerto Rican community in Lorain. These generalizations are:

- The community is largely consistent with previous descriptions of what constitutes a dense and multiplex social network
- Spanish continues to be a salient linguistic presence in the community
- Puerto Ricans in Lorain continue to see Spanish as an important component of identity
- Spanish is accorded a significant amount of covert prestige within the community

Section 6.3 demonstrates that these four generalizations could be supported by the data collected in this project. The current section seeks to ground these observations by contextualizing them within existing research on PRE and Puerto Rican communities in the United States.

A significant question that emerges from existing research, as discussed briefly in section 2.4, is the extent to which Spanish remains salient in Puerto Rican communities. Many researchers have generally affirmed the importance of Spanish to the community identity. For example, Poplack (1988) claimed that “code-switching between English and Spanish was such an integral part of the community linguistic repertoire that it could almost be said to function as a mode of interaction similar to monolingual language use,” while Zentella (1997) indicated that “it is precisely the ability to co-author and co-interpret conversations against a multi-cultural and
multi-dialectal backdrop that enables NYPRs (New York Puerto Ricans) to identify each other.” By noting that code-switching is a crucial component of the Puerto Rican identity, the above quotes affirm the importance of Spanish to the Puerto Rican identity. However, Torres (2010) has claimed that Puerto Ricans do not necessarily deem the ability to speak Spanish as a crucial component of their identity. This has led some researchers, such as Alba (2004) and Ghosh Johnson (2005), to claim that Puerto Rican communities are transitioning to monolingual English speaking environments more quickly than other Spanish speaking minority groups.

The Puerto Rican community in Lorain yields some insight into this issue. My previous work noted that code-switching, for some members of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, still serves to conduct significant identity work (Lewis, 2014). The current data, as discussed above, indicates that Spanish continues to be salient in the community, continues to be considered an important component of Puerto Rican identity, and is afforded significant covert prestige in the community. The attitude demonstrated in the data collected for this project is in many ways consistent with Fuller’s (2013) assertion that non-Spanish-speakers of Hispanic descent feel “self-conscious” (42) about this fact. There is, however, also some evidence towards a transition to monolingual English speakers in the community. Third generation community members often admitted that they are unable to speak Spanish fluently. However, it is possible that the ongoing immigration to the area noted above, as well as the continuing covert prestige enjoyed by Spanish, will lead to a continued salience of the language in the community. The increasing economic benefits of bilingualism, as noted by several participants, increases the likelihood that Spanish will remain salient in the area. If not, the Lorain Puerto Rican community may continue to transition to an increasingly monolingual English speaking status. If this happens, however, the factors discussed throughout the current work would seem to predict that
the community will transition not to Standard American English but to a version of PRE that is unique to the community.

It is useful to contextualize the Puerto Rican community in Lorain in terms of existing work related to social network analysis. As noted in section 2.3, social network analysis, based on the pioneering work of Bott (1971), Milroy and Milroy (1977), and Milroy (1987), has been shown to have considerable explanatory power in explaining linguistic performance. Specifically, dense and multiplex social networks have been shown, in a variety of contexts, to enforce conservative linguistic norms (Milroy, 1987, 136). Zentella (1997) applied the principles of social network research to the Puerto Rican community in New York City. The current work, using the concept of a dense and multiplex social network as indicative of a localized cultural identity, explores the role of social networks in the Puerto Rican community in Lorain.

In particular, this work notes that social networks demonstrate considerable explanatory power in the Lorain Puerto Rican community in two major ways. First, individual members of the community who have a high cultural identity score, which is indicative of dense and multiplex social networks, often demonstrate a strong tendency towards the realization of the markers of PRE that are under consideration here. Second, the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, considered holistically, seems to represent a dense and multiplex social network, which may serve to explain the continued salience and prestige of Spanish and PRE within the community.

Milroy (1987) notes that urban areas often tend “to uniplexity and sparseness” (137). This would seem to predict that in Lorain, an urban area, there would be a lack of dense and multiplex social networks. However, Milroy (1987) identifies that exceptions to this tendency often occur in “old established working class areas” (137). This seems to describe the Lorain Puerto Rican
community. As noted in section three, the community was established approximately sixty years ago, and exhibits an ongoing influence of the first generation. Thus, the Puerto Rican community in Lorain appears to be what Milroy (1987) describes as an “urban village” (137), with a dense and multiplex network established within the bounds of a larger urban area.

Participant 001, a 38 year-old third generation male who is not a fluent Spanish speaker, is emblematic of the first claim. His cultural identity score is five, the maximum possible score. This indicates that he is part of a dense and multiplex social network. He affirmed this throughout the interview, noting that he is a business owner who prefers to hire Puerto Rican friends and family and spends most of his time with this same group of friends and family. This participant also exhibited the highest rate of eth modification among all participants, at 46.67 percent. The second claim is also supported by the current data set. The average cultural identity score, as discussed in section 6.3.2, was 3.88, which shows that on average the Puerto Rican community in Lorain represents a dense, multiplex social network. The dense and multiplex set of relationships that is evident in the community may hold significant explanatory power in regards to the fact that this community seems to maintain Spanish use as a salient feature of the community, seems to afford Spanish considerable prestige, treats Spanish as a marker of identity, and refuses to transition to a standard monolingual English speaking status.

7.3 Describing the Community

While section 6.3 shows how these four generalizations are supported by the data collected and section 7.2 showed how these generalizations relate to previous research on PRE and Puerto Rican communities, the current section demonstrates that these generalizations interact to hold useful descriptive and explanatory power in reference to the Puerto Rican community in Lorain. This section, then, provides answers to research questions three and four
identified in 1.2. These four generalizations function in an interconnected fashion to describe the
linguistic performance in the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, which addresses the current
status of Spanish in the community (research question four) and the current linguistic nature of
the community resulting from the contact between American English and Puerto Rican Spanish
(research question three).

As noted in 6.3.2, the community, when viewed holistically, is representative of a dense
and multiplex social network. Previous research has noted that this type of social network has the
potential to serve as a powerful presence for enforcing linguistic norms. As noted by Lanza and
Svendsen (2007), dense “networks tend to exert normative pressure” and “can contribute to
explaining why speakers maintain or change their language behavior” (276). If dense and
multiplex social networks exert normative pressure, it would seem reasonable to predict that,
based on the fact that the Puerto Rican community in Lorain is emblematic of a dense and
multiplex social network, Spanish would continue to retain a salient presence in the community.

As discussed in detail in 6.3.3, this prediction appears to be accurate based on the data
collected for this project. There does appear to be, based on the interviews conducted, some
tendency towards a three generation shift in dominant language, much like the matrix language
turnover hypothesis proposed in Myers-Scotton (1998) and observed by various researchers in
various context. That is, as noted throughout section six, many third generation members of the
community no longer speak Spanish. However, despite this fact, participants nearly uniformly
affirmed that Spanish is still a salient force in the community, with several participants
commenting on the fact that Lorain remains a heavily Spanish speaking area and even noting the
importance of Spanish in various jobs in the city.
As discussed in section 7.3, there has been some disagreement in the literature regarding the extent to which Puerto Rican communities consider the ability to speak Spanish to be emblematic of the Puerto Rican identity. Section 6.3.4 noted that, within the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, Spanish remains very saliently linked to the Puerto Rican identity. If this is true, it would seem very likely that Spanish would remain a language of significant prestige in the community. This, as noted in section 6.3.5, appears to accurately describe the current status of Spanish in the contact context of Lorain, OH. Spanish continues to be afforded covert prestige within the community, as evidenced by the fact that participants express pride in the ability to speak the language, express a desire to speak the language more fluently, and attach a negative stigma to the inability to speak Spanish, to the extent that one participant claimed that people who have Hispanic names but do not speak Spanish are not fully Hispanic.

Thus, the four generalizations identified in the current work hold valuable descriptive power in relation to the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, OH, when seen as interconnected factors relevant to the current status of the contact context. The community continues to be dense and multiplex, and Spanish continues to be a powerful source of identity, meaning that, in spite of the pressures of American English as the dominant language, Spanish continues to be a salient and prestigious influence on the community. This in turn helps explain the high rates of rapid, fluent code-switching when speaking to other members of the Puerto Rican community that was observed in previous work by the principal investigator, the continued tendency to insert Spanish lexical items in discourse even with people who are not members of the Puerto Rican community, and the resistance to transition to Standard American English.
7.4 Cultural Identity, Attitude, and Linguistic Performance

Section 1.2 identified four research questions which motivated a series of hypotheses. Research questions three and four, regarding the status of Spanish and the nature of the community, have been addressed in sections 7.2 and 7.3, which identified some generalizations about the community and explored the status of Spanish within the community. This section looks specifically at the hypotheses motivated by the first two research questions. That is, this section explores the connection between cultural identity, attitude, and the realization of the two original dependent variables: eth modification and Spanish lexical item insertion.

As has been noted throughout, the sample size of the current research is not sufficient for major predictions related to correlations or relationships. However, as described in 6.2.3 and 6.2.4, the quantitative data collected for this project seems to suggest a relationship between cultural identity, attitude, and the realization of the markers of PRE for the Puerto Rican community in Lorain. This is consistent with the first two hypotheses expressed in 1.2 and can be seen as tentative evidence that cultural identity and Spanish language attitude function as expected within the Puerto Rican community in Lorain.

However, it is possible to make, based on the statements from participants detailed in 6.3, some predictions that can serve as foundations for future work. The Puerto Rican community in Lorain can be seen as evidence for the statement made by various researchers regarding the normative influence of dense and multiplex social networks, as the community seems to be emblematic of this type of network. It would then be predicted that if social network ties in the community are weakened over time, language attitudes and performance would exhibit signs of this evolution. Future research in the community could observe whether these networks weaken over time, and whether language attitudes and performance in the community are altered in
accordance. Another prediction motivated by the current research is that the Puerto Rican community in Lorain will continue to resist transition to standard American English due to the connection of Spanish with the Puerto Rican identity and the languages covert prestige within the community. Future research involving the third and fourth generations of the community could yield insights into this prediction.

8 Conclusion, Limitations, and Future Research

Section seven demonstrated how the results of the current research can be contextualized within existing research and contribute and advance the study of PRE, Puerto Rican communities in the United States, identity, and social networks. This section concludes the current work by discussing its limitations and summarizing its contributions. In addition, this section describes how each limitation of the current work provides an avenue for future investigation. The current work concludes with a discussion of how this project hopes to contribute to the existing literature and contribute to the ongoing process of describing and exploring the results of language contact contexts.

8.2 Limitations and Future Research

As with any research project, the current work has certain limitations. Each of these limitations, however, can serve to motivate a direction for future work. The primary limitations of the current work were limited sample size, limited contributions from first and third generation community members, and a limited focus on descriptive linguistic features. Each of these merit individual consideration, in order to understand why they occurred and how they represent an opportunity for ongoing work.

The first limitation mentioned here is a limited sample size. The current project consisted of only eight participants, which was sufficient to yield interesting and useful data, but not
necessarily large enough to be fully generalizable or to allow for more advanced statistical analysis of the predictive power of the individual independent variables in reference to the dependent variables. A sizeable potential participant pool was compiled in the planning stages for this project. This indicates that the potential to conduct large scale research in this community is strong. Future research could involve repeating the current work with a larger participant pool in order to conduct more in depth statistical analysis regarding the most salient predictors of the rates of realization of the markers of PRE in the Lorain community.

Another limitation of the current work was a limited amount of participation from first generation members of the community. As noted above, the pool of potential first generation participants has become limited in recent years due to death and declining health. In addition, many members of the first generation are not comfortable participating in English language interviews. Many participants in this research indicated that living first generation members of their family might be willing to be interviewed, but that they would have difficulty in participating in an English language interview. Thus, if research involving the first generation of Puerto Ricans in Lorain is going to take place, it needs to occur, and will likely need to involve the option of at least partial Spanish interviews. While this research would likely yield invaluable insights into the experiences of first generation immigrants to the United States, it was outside of the scope of the current project, which was primarily concerned with the way English is being spoken in the community. However, work with the first generation of Puerto Rican immigrants to Lorain certainly represents an immediate and valuable opportunity for further research.

Another limitation was the lack of participation from third generation members of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain. While the current work focused specifically on members of the community between the ages of 35-60, there is evidence that further research involving the
third generation would be insightful. As has been noted in this paper, the third generation, according to some researchers, is often when a major shift towards monolingualism in the dominant language. There is some evidence, based on second generation comments discussed above (see section 6.3, that this trend holds in Lorain. This could lead to decreased salience and prestige for Spanish in future years, which would likely increase the rate of transition to standard American English. However, it is also possible that continued new immigration, the dense and multiplex social networks in the community, and the continued association of Spanish with the Puerto Rican identity could contribute to the maintenance of the status quo described in this article. Thus, further research including the third, and eventually, fourth, generations of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain would yield insights into the future of the community.

The fourth and final limitation to be considered here is a lack of focus on linguistic description. As noted throughout this paper, there is a significant body of existing literature that endeavors to describe the lexical, syntactic, morphological, and phonological features of PRE. However, the majority of this work has taken place in the American Northeast. Although Wolfram (1971) indicated that he expected the features he described in PRE in Harlem to have wider application to other Puerto Rican communities, particularly in urban areas in the region, it cannot simply be assumed that the features identified in the American Northeast are applicable to other Puerto Rican communities. The current work hofe to use two linguistic features, Spanish lexical insertion and eth modification, to help explore the impact of ideological generalizations on linguistic performance. These two linguistic features were chosen because they have been repeatedly affirmed in the existing literature as salient in the various Puerto Rican communities under consideration and because they principal investigator recognized them as salient in the Lorain Puerto Rican context based on his time spent in the area. However, the current research
was primarily focused on aspects of identity, social networks, and general linguistic ideology in the community, and not specifically on describing the linguistic features of PRE in Lorain. This would be, however, a valuable avenue for future work. A full description of PRE as spoken in Lorain would serve to expand the work conducted in the American Northeast to a different context, update sociolinguists understanding of PRE in general, and would likely provide insights into how differing contact contexts yield differing dialectal varieties. This appears to be an extremely viable avenue for future research.

8.3 Conclusion

This project originated from the recognition of three gaps in the existing literature:

- Limited exploration of PRE outside of the American Northeast
- Limited exploration of Puerto Rican communities outside of the American Northeast
- Limited exploration of the way cultural identity impacts linguistic performance

These three gaps then motivated the development of a project which sought to describe the linguistic ideology in the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, OH and to explore the way attitudes and identity, particularly in terms of social network structure, impacted the nature of the community and the realization of specific markers of PRE in the community.

By conducting a series of sociolinguistic interviews with members of the community, the principal researcher was able to gain insight into the community. In particular, four generalizations about language attitude and community structures emerged. These four generalizations, which were supported by the current data both from quantitative and qualitative perspectives, interact to not only describe the linguistic ideology and structure of the community, but also to motivate observations about linguistic performance. In particular, the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, OH is a dense and multiplex social network, in which Spanish is seen as
an important component of the Puerto Rican identity, leading to a continued salience of Spanish in the community as a minority language with substantial covert prestige.

Through this investigation of the Puerto Rican community in Lorain, OH, the current work has sought to continue and expand on research into PRE and Puerto Rican communities, in addition to further exploring the role cultural identity, social networks, and attitude play in sociolinguistic variation. The current work does not necessarily claim to have ‘filled’ the observed gaps in the existing literature, but rather seeks to contribute to the ongoing process of describing and understanding language contact and to serve as a foundation for continued study of PRE and Puerto Rican communities in the United States.
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Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.


Appendix A

Part I

Section 1

1. How old are you?

2. What is your gender?

3. Who was the first member of your family to come to Lorain? State your answer in terms of their relationship to you, that is, ‘mother,’ ‘grandfather,’ etc…

Section 2

For each item in this section, tell me how much you agree with the statement, in terms of agree, neutral, or disagree.

1. Puerto Rican parents should teach their children to speak Spanish.

   1   2   3   4   5

   Notes:

   __________________________________________________________________________

   __________________________________________________________________________

   __________________________________________________________________________

   __________________________________________________________________________

2. It is important to speak Spanish in Lorain today.
3. Puerto Rican parents should speak to their children in Spanish.

4. The ability to speak Spanish is an important part of being Puerto Rican.
5. Do you regularly interact with a set group of local, primarily Puerto Rican friends? Tell me about this group, and talk to me about the types of things you do together.
   
a. Award a point if the answer is yes.

   0  1

   Notes:

6. Do any other members of your immediate family (not including your children or parents) live in Lorain? If so, how many? What is their relation to you?
   
a. Award a point if at least one other household lives in the city.

   0  1

   Notes:
7. What type of work do you do? Do you work with any other Puerto Ricans from the city?
   If so, how many?
   a. Award a point if the participant works with at least two Puerto Ricans from Lorain.

   0  1

   Notes:

   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________

8. Are your Puerto Rican co-workers male or female?
   a. Award a point if the participant works with at least two Puerto Ricans of the same gender.

   0  1

   Notes:

   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
9. Do you associate with any of these co-workers outside of the work environment? What types of things do you do with them.
   
a. Award a point if the participant claims regular association with co-workers.

0 1

Notes:

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Part II

In this section I want you to tell me a story. Think about either the most frightening or most humorous thing that has happened to you. Tell me about what happened.

Notes:

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
Appendix B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Item 1</th>
<th>Item 2</th>
<th>Item 3</th>
<th>Item 4</th>
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