3-20-2015

Vowels in the 305: A First Pass at Miami Latino English

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DOI: 10.25148/etd.FI15032189

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FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Miami, Florida

VOWELS IN THE 305: A FIRST PASS AT MIAMI LATINO ENGLISH

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

LINGUISTICS

by

Lydda López

2015

To: Dean Michael R.Heithaus
College of Arts and Sciences

This thesis, written by Lydda López, and entitled Vowels in the 305: A First Pass at Miami Latino English, having been approved in respect to style and intellectual content, is referred to you for judgment.

We have read this thesis and recommend that it be approved.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

VOWELS IN THE 305: A FIRST PASS MIAMI LATINO ENGLISH

by

Lydda López

Florida International University, 2015

Miami, Florida

Professor Phillip M. Carter, Major Professor

In this paper, I present preliminary findings of the first-large scale, systematic study of English Latino vowels in Miami. Sociolinguistic interviews were conducted with 25 Miami-born participants: 10 Anglo Whites and 15 Latinos with varying degrees of Spanish fluency. Here I focus on the vowel quality (/i, ɪ, ai, æ, ɔ, u /) in the speech of the 2nd and 3rd generations to examine the nature of influence of Spanish on English in Miami over the past 60 years. I conduct an in-depth analysis of the vowel productions of two female speakers, Maria & Blaze, to show the range of vowel productions in Miami Latino English. The vocalic analysis is comprised of a minimum of 15 non-repeating tokens of each vowel. These vowels were extracted from interview data and analyzed for F1, F2, and F3 values using PRAAT. Two allophones of /æ/ were considered: pre-nasal and pre-non-nasal, since Latinos in other regions have shown to resist pre-nasal /æ/ raising (Thomas 2001).

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1. INTRODUCTION

On the day of the Castro takeover of Cuba in 1959, the Cuban population in Miami-Dade was approximately 4%, while Anglo-Whites comprised 81%, and African Americans constituted 15% of the total Miami-Dade population. By the 1970 Census, Hispanics comprised 24% of the population, by 1990 this pre-natal had risen to 57%, and by 2010 the Hispanic population in Miami Dade had reached an unprecedented 65% with the Anglo-population shrinking to just under 15%. Within the lifetime of one generation, more than 750,000 Cubans and Cuban-Americans had transformed Miami-Dade into a decidedly majority Latino city. Labov, Ash, and Boberg's (2006) Atlas of North American English (ANAE) classify South Florida as part of the Southeastern Super Region. Labov et al.(2006) classification is uncontroversial when considering the speech of Anglo Whites in the 1990s, but is highly problematic when we consider the speech of the established Miami Latino that has emerged on account of Miami's demographic shift from a predominantly Anglo-white population to a majority Latino population in just under 50 years. The present thesis attempts to fill a gap not only in the dialectological description of English varieties in the U.S., but also in our ongoing account of the development of English in U.S. Latino communities.

Miami's position as a hub for political immigrants from all over Latin America has created a linguistically diverse community comprised of speakers mainly from Cuba but also from Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Colombia, Nicaragua (Pew Hispanic 2011), and a variety of other Spanish speaking countries. The consequent linguistic diversity transformed Miami into the most dialectally diverse Spanish speaking city in the US

(Carter & Lynch 2015) and presents a unique opportunity to study the linguistic configuration of Spanish and English in the US. The rapid Latinization of Miami, the diversity of its Latino population in terms of ethnicity, national-origin, and socioeconomic status, present an interesting opportunity to study population ecological effects on new dialect formation and contribute evidence from the most dialectally diverse metropolitan US city to the literature documenting emergent English dialects and Latino Englishes.

Hispanics make up 65.6% of the total population in Miami (2013 Census) and of the total Hispanic population, 54.5% is Cuban (Pew Research Center 2011). Miami's unique socio demographic history, and the rapid displacement of the majority monolingual English speaking Anglo population specifically by a Cuban Latino Spanish speaking population, presents an interesting opportunity to study the figuration of Spanish and English in the Miami Cuban American community. The specific socio demographic history of the Cuban Latino majority population, the prestige status of early Cuban immigrants, and the successful establishment of Cuban run and owned economic networks, create a unique linguistic landscape in which to investigate the population ecological effects on new dialect formation. The language contact situation that has resulted from the extensive contact between Spanish and English over just a short period of time presents an interesting opportunity to study an emergent U.S. Latino dialect in progress.

The present study attempts to contribute to the sociolinguistics literature on U.S Latino English by providing evidence from a Latino community where the predominant

Latino national origin group is Cuban American, and definitively Caribbean. The majority of the sociolinguistics work focusing on the speech of US Latinos has focused on the speech of Mexican-national-origin Latinos (Fought 2003)(Mendoza-Denton 1997)(Santa Ana 1991)(Poplack 1978)(Wolfram, Carter & Moriello 2004). In contrast, The Mexican-origin community in Miami is only 3% and will contribute to the growing body of literature on Latino U.S communities by providing evidence from a majority Cuban American Latino community in the U.S South. This paper fills a gap in the dialectological description of Latino U.S. English and attempts to position the vocalic productions of Cuban Americans in Miami within the broader framework of features that define Latino English as an autonomous dialect in the U.S. Miami's unique socio demographic history, the rapid Latinization of the city, the prestigious social and economic position held by Spanish in Miami-Dade, all present an interesting opportunity to study new Latino dialect formation in progress, and contribute to the growing body of literature concerning Spanish English bilingualism in the U.S.

The present project attempts to answer questions relating to the structural influence of Spanish on US Latino English and the durability of substrate influence over periods of time in situations of extended language contact. The unique Miami community offers an ideal opportunity to focus on the Cuban American community and investigate how linguistic features which have been documented in US Latino Englishes (Fought 2003) are present or absent in the Miami community. Additionally, the present project will provide evidence from a majority Caribbean US Latino community to the linguistics literature on US Latino Englishes which have traditionally focused in communities where

the majority Latino community is Mexican. The following chapter will address how the unique Miami socio demographic history, the rapid Latinization of Miami since the 1960s, and the local figuration of Spanish and English in the Miami context, create an interesting language contact situation that warrants further attention in both the sociolinguistics literature and the literature on U.S Latino Englishes.

1.1 Overview of this thesis

The following section will provide a brief outline of the project's main points in order. Chapter 2 covers a variety of topics which set the scene, both culturally and linguistically, for the unique environment in which the speakers of this study engage with Spanish, English, and their community. Chapter 2 is composed of six main sections: Section 2.1 discusses Miami's demographic history and the different waves of Cuban immigration. Section 2.2 discusses the establishment of Cuban social, economic, political, and media networks and the establishment of successful bilingual programs. Section 2.3 provides a brief review of different studies conducted on perceptions of Spanish in Miami. Section 2.4 discusses the language contact history of Spanish and the specific language contact situation experienced in Miami. Section 2.5 talks about the role of bilingualism in Miami and attempts to situate Cuban American speakers within the bilingualism literature by discussing the defining characteristics of heritage speakers. This section discusses the immigrant experience and trends in dialect patterning as well as documented influence of Spanish on varieties of English (Bayley 1994, (Fought 2003, Mendoza-Denton 1997, Santa Ana 1992, Thomas 2001). Finally, Section 2 will provide a brief summary of dialect features that distinguish the speech of Latinos in the US.

Chapter 3 discusses this project's methodology: participant description, and general sociolinguistics methodology, which includes both sociolinguistic interviews and language background questionnaires. This section further covers appropriate methodology for the acoustic analysis of the vowels measured for this project.

Chapter 4 covers this project's results: First, I will discuss the averaged results for all Latino males and females and compare them to the averaged results for all the Anglo White males and females considered in this project. I will then specifically address the vowel /æ/ in two phonetic contexts, mainly /æ/ pre-nasal and non-pre-nasal. Section 4.3 focuses on the vocalic productions of two Cuban American women: Maria & Blaze in order to illustrate the great variability found amongst the Miami Latino population studied thus far. Section 4.4 provides full vowel plots for each individual speaker and provides a brief summary of their language background questionnaire information. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses all the relevant findings and provides a brief summary of the project's contribution to the sociolinguistics literature on US Latino English. The Appendix will provide the official language background questionnaires, the official list of questions asked during the sociolinguistics interview, and the individual token items for each speaker who participated in the study.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 A brief history of Miami demographics

The rapid demographic transformation that has arisen in Miami over the past half century has created a unique language contact situation ripe for the study of U.S Latino dialects in formation. Miami's total demographic transformation from a majority Anglo White city to a majority Latino city is truly remarkable when considering this metamorphosis occurred in just under 50 years (Carter, Sims, Lopez 2014). The accelerated Latinization of Miami coupled with the diverse Latino populations that immigrated to this city make Miami an interesting site in which to study U.S Latino English in its incipient stages. The large number of national origin groups make Miami most dialectally diverse Spanish speaking city in the world and an interesting site in which to study dialect formation. In addition, the decidedly Caribbean influence in Miami provides a unique perspective to the sociolinguistic literature which has largely concentrated on influence from Spain or Mexico.

The range of Latino communities that immigrates to Miami speaking languages such as Haitian Creole, French, Portuguese, Russian and a variety of Spanish dialects from all over Latin America have transformed Miami into the most dialectally diverse Spanish-speaking city in the world (Carter & Lynch 2015). The fact that many of these varied national origin groups arrived to the U.S seeking political refuge, and were of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, plays an important role in the current figuration of Spanish and English in Miami. The circumstances leading these political exiles to seek refuge in Miami, their backgrounds and historicity, coupled with the limited time span

under which immigration to Miami flourished, make the figuration of Spanish and English in Miami very different than what we find in other major metropolitan U.S cities with large Latino populations, as has been noted in the literature several times (Carter & Lynch 2015, Otheguy, Garcia and Roca 2000). The following section will provide a brief history of the waves of immigration from Latin America to Miami, FL to illustrate the aforementioned points.

First Wave of Cuban Immigration

Prior to the Cuban Revolution (1953-1959) only 5,000 to 6,000 Cubans resided in Miami, when we consider that the Hispanic population in Miami now comprises 70% of the total population, this transformation is quite remarkable (2010 U.S. Census). The most influential event in this drastic demographic transformation was the Castro takeover of Cuba in July, 1953. Political unrest in Cuba upon the ousting of the dictatorial Batista government and the establishment of a Communist regime forced the first wave of Cubans to seek political refuge in the U.S. Castro's new communist government nationalized businesses and large land holdings, and those who weren't in agreement with the new government were deemed Batista supporters and enemies to the Cuban Revolution. Cubans fearing the establishment of a communist regime, especially those who were wealthy and part of the upper classes, fled Cuba to try and preserve some of their social and political standing that was soon to dissipate under a Cuban communist regime. This period of political unrest led to the first wave of Cuban immigration in 1959-1962.

During the first wave of Cuban immigration (1959-1962) around 119,922 Cubans fleeing Castro's Communist regime sought refuge in Miami (immigrationinamerica.org). This first wave of immigration was mainly composed of the upper socioeconomic classes, business people, entrepreneurs, professionals; in sum, the Cuban elite. This group of immigrants is distinct from other groups of Latin American immigrants to the U.S primarily because of their high socioeconomic standing. Many of these immigrants were already familiar with Miami prior to their exile from Cuba, and had visited Miami for recreational purposes which greatly helped their accommodation in a foreign land that was not so foreign to them (Boswell 1996). During the 1940s and 1950s daily flights were made between Cuba and Miami in which approximately 40,000 to 50,000 Cubans would come to the U.S. for travel and shopping purposes (Lynch 2009). Resnick (1988) suggests that this first wave of Cuban immigrants easily adapted in Miami because they were ideologically and racially compatible, referencing their anti-communism beliefs and light skin color. The first wave of political refugees who fled political unrest in Cuba believed their migration to be temporary, and always expected to return back to their beloved Cuba upon the downfall of the communist regime. These refugees greatly supported the U.S. trade embargo with Cuba and eagerly hoped for Castro's demise so that they could return once again to la "Cuba del ayer."

The first wave of Cuban immigration (1959-1962) was largely composed of Cuban elite entrepreneurs and professionals; many of these professionals were already acquainted with the city and had previously traveled to Miami for business and shopping purposes. The fact that these Cubans had been previously acquainted with Miami greatly facilitated the establishment of a Cuban owned and run economic sphere. Different to

other Latino waves of immigration to the U.S., the first large wave of Cuban immigration was composed of an economically stable educated elite who were already familiar with their new temporary “residence” and were accustomed to being part of the middle and upper socioeconomic strata. Adding to their more advantageous economic standing when compared to other waves of Latino immigration to the U.S., this wave of Cuban immigration was granted exceptional political status as a result of the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 categorizing Cubans as political exiles by the U.S. government, and were enthusiastically welcomed to the U.S. as refugees escaping communism (Lynch 2000). This group of Cuban émigrés was able to organize networks of employment, social welfare, legal services and establish a media network largely conducted in Spanish, which greatly facilitated the accommodation and integration of the following groups of Cuban immigrants into Miami. The first wave of Cuban immigration was instrumental in establishing a Cuban-run economic foundation in Miami, and established the first small businesses owned and run by Cuban immigrants. Crucially, these Cuban elite were able to establish a Spanish speaking run and owned economic network with a large media communication system that was also primarily conducted in Spanish (Boswell 1996). The success of this first wave of Cuban political refugees in establishing a solid economic foundation was crucial in the establishment of further waves of Cuban immigrants into Miami.

The Second Wave of Immigration

The second wave of Cuban immigration (1965-1974) is known the Freedom Flights and was part of an orderly departure program administered by the U.S. and Cuban governments (Pew Hispanic Center 2010). The second wave of immigration was

composed of mostly young, often poor, and uneducated Cubans and provided a large group of skilled laborers and service workers to the already established Cuban economic network in Miami. While this group was not able to establish Cuban owned businesses, it allowed for the continuation of a Cuban-run and led economic system in Miami. This group was largely accommodated by the established Cuban economic and social network that the first wave of Cuban immigrants had successfully set in motion. Most importantly, this group of Cubans allowed for the continued use of Spanish in this newly established Cuban economy in Miami because most of these immigrants were less educated than their predecessors and could not speak English and hence propagated the use of only Spanish in the established Cuban social and political networks.

The Third Wave of Immigration

The third wave of immigration (1980s) was composed of around 125,000 Cubans seeking political asylum in Miami and are often referred to as the “Marielitos” because they departed from the Mariel harbor in Cuba. The third wave of immigration was particularly controversial and was met with greater political and social resistance than the previous two waves of immigrants for several reasons. This group of Cuban immigrants was especially stigmatized because they were believed to belong to the lower social classes, were not as highly educated as the two previous Cuban immigrant waves, and were largely thought to be criminals and mental health patients back in Cuba. In reality, of the total 125,000 Marielitos, about 26,000 of them had criminal records, and only 2-4% were considered hard criminals (Dominguez 1996). Furthermore, this group was not really poorer or less educated than the Freedom Flight immigrants and was actually of the

same socioeconomic status and professional level as this previous group of Cuban immigrants. However, news of the criminal immigrant Cubans spread fast, and a criminal stereotype element quickly became associated with Cubans and specifically with the Marielitos Cubans (Lynch 2009). This stereotyping of Cuban immigrants, along with other political and ideological reasons, contributed to the social need of Miami born Cuban Americans to differentiate their speech from that of both pre and post Marielitos immigrants (Lynch 2009).

The criminal stereotype created a division in the Cuban community in Miami, and pre-Marielitos Cubans went to great lengths to disassociate and distance themselves from Marielito Cubans. Up until the third wave of immigration, the acceptance of Cuban refugees to the U.S was seen as favorable by the public and was even encouraged until it was discovered that prisoners and mentally ill patients were being transported out of Cuba and into the U.S as a means to rid Cuba of all its “undesirables.” This political move tainted the image of Cuban exiles establishing themselves in Miami in one fell swoop. These particular circumstances created great tension during the presidency of Jimmy Carter and eventually led the closing of the Mariel Harbor and a slowing down of Cuban immigration. This third wave of Cuban immigration resulted in a 20% increase in the Cuban working population of Miami (Dominguez 1996).

The Fourth Wave of Immigration

The fourth wave of immigration began after the collapse of communism in 1989 and consisted largely of *Balseros*, (“rafters based on the Spanish word ‘balsa,’ for raft), Cuban immigrants who crossed the Florida Straits in small boats, rafts, and many

other different types of floating devices (Dominguez 2006). Dominguez (2006) establishes three different Balsero forms of travel existed: 1) “water taxi mode” in which someone who was wealthy and had connections paid a large sum of money to hire a boat that transported you close offshore the Florida Keys. 2) “betting mode” in which someone with connections, or access to boats, would plan a scheduled trip that although it required a great deal of foresight, preparation, training, and material collection, was nonetheless extremely perilous. 3) “do or die mode” was the longest and the most dangerous form of travel, and involved the use of makeshift rafts that were unstable and would often break down leaving their passengers stranded and forlorn. Alfaraz (2000) reports that during 1995 and 1997, 77,990 Cubans were legally admitted into the U.S. Lynch (2000) reports that during 2000-2006 there were around 130,000 arriving and settling in Miami. The 1990 US Census reported that Miami had the highest percent of foreign-born persons than any other large metropolitan city in the U.S, a statement that still holds true in 2014 (Carter & Lynch 2015).

These four waves of Cuban immigration precipitated dramatic changes to Miami’s demographic configuration, and swiftly transformed a majority Anglo White city into an unmistakably majority Latino city. Alfaraz (2000) notes Miami’s position as the principal ethnic enclave for Cubans, making Miami the 2nd largest Cuban populated city after Havana. Miami’s Latino identity is solidified through common references to the city as the “Capital of Latin America” or “Havana USA” (Lynch 2000). The following table will illustrate the rapid demographic change Miami, FL underwent in just under 50 years by compiling data from 2 sources: 1) a demographic study from the Metropolitan Center at FIU for the project “The status of the Black community in Miami-Dade

County” which covers demographic information from the 1950s up until 2007. 2) U.S Census data for 2010 and 2013 was used to fill in the remaining gap years.

Table 1: Miami Demographic Information from 1950-2013 of Hispanic/Latinos and Anglo Whites.

Year	Hispanic Latin o popul ation	Total Mia mi popu latio n	Percentag e Latino popul ation	Percentage Anglo White populat ion
2010	N/A	N/A	70%	N/A
2005	1,466,821	2,402,113	62%	20%
2000	1,291,737	2,253,362	57%	22%
1995	1,134,300	2,057,000	55%	25%
1990	953,407	1,937,094	49%	32%
1985	768,000	1,775,000	43%	37%
1980	580,340	1,625,781	36%	48%
1975	467,000	1,462,000	32%	53%
1970	296,820	1,267,435	23%	62%

Table 1 illustrates the dramatic demographic shift Miami underwent in just half a century. If we review the table, we see that Miami did not become majority Latino (over

50%) until around 1995 while Anglo Whites reached under 50% population by 1980. The table also illustrates that the most dramatic wave (largest Hispanic population increase) of Hispanic/Latino population increase to have taken place in Miami was between 1975-1980 (9% increase) decreased ever so slightly in 1985 (7% increase) and maintains a steady increase of Latino/Hispanic population until 1995 (6% increase) when we see a sharp decrease in rate of population growth (only a 2% increase). This number quickly accelerated by 2005 (4% increase from previous year) and dramatically accelerated during the last five years of the 2010 census (9% increase). These numbers help illustrate two important points: 1) the short period under which Miami experienced a complete demographic shift and 2) that Cuban immigration to the U.S. is still very much under way and does not seem to be exhibiting signs of slowing down.

2.2 The establishment of Cuban networks in Miami

The Establishment of a Cuban Economic Network

The distinct characteristics of Miami's waves of Cuban immigration were fundamental in the establishment of a Cuban owned and run economic network and the subsequent success of Cubans and Cuban Americans in Miami (Stepick & Grenier 2003). The success of Cubans and Cuban Americans in Miami is primarily due to both the solid economic network the first wave of elite Cuban immigrants were able to establish in Miami, and the political status that was granted to these Cuban refugees upon arrival to the U.S. The relationship between the U.S government and the Cuban government as political enemies has allowed Cubans in the U.S to enjoy political protection not granted to other Latino immigrant communities. The US government's recognition of Miami

Cubans as exiles of a dictatorial Communist regime awarded these exiles exceptional political status by way of the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 (Lynch 2009). The socioeconomic status of the first wave of Cuban immigrants to the US as members of the elite and professional classes in their homeland helped this Latino community transfer and secure an economic foundation in Miami. The establishment of a Cuban owned and run economic network has resulted in a Latino community that is not confined to the lower socioeconomic classes like in other large metropolitan majority Latino U.S. cities, but instead exhibits a wide representation amongst all socioeconomic levels, and presents a high percentage in the most affluent Miami neighborhood, Key Biscayne.

Miami's rapid Latinization resulted in increased attention and importance towards Latin American business and commerce, and consequently to the Spanish language itself. This increased attention to Latin American is evident when we consider that 43% of US trade with the Caribbean, 28% of US trade with South America, 50% of US trade with Central America is housed in Miami (Boswell 1996). The establishment of major international corporations wanting to establish a presence in Latin America or the Caribbean in Miami have created the city's position as an important gateway to Latin American commerce and trade and continuously reaffirms the preeminent place of Spanish in business and commerce in Miami (Boswell 1996). Miami is home to the largest number of American-owned businesses in Latin America and the largest number of Latin American owned businesses in the US (Boswell 1996). The establishment of a stable Cuban run economic network and the consequent importance places on the Spanish language was in part maintained by the development of a Spanish language run media networks, TV, and radio stations.

The Establishment of a Spanish Media Network

As a result of the political and economic situation that led to the immigration of Cubans to the US, Spanish enjoys a more prestigious local status than it does elsewhere in the US; Spanish in Miami-Dade is more widespread than in any other US Latino community, and is considered and valued as an important economic resource (Otheguy, Garcia, and Roca 2000); 96% of businesses surveyed in Miami-Dade indicated the need for a bilingual workforce in 2000. The Spanish media boom in Miami exemplifies the privileged status Spanish enjoys in the local community; The Miami Herald, a prestigious local Miami newspaper since 1910, pioneered a Spanish English supplement in 1976, which was expanded and became a stand-alone newspaper in 1998 and currently circulates more than 50,000 daily weekday newspapers and over 70,000 during weekends. El Miami Herald also holds the 2002 Ortega y Gasset Journalism award for best Spanish newspaper in the world. Latin American TV conglomerates Univision and Telemundo have a huge presence in Miami and host many Spanish-language events each year such as los Premios lo Nuestro by Univision honoring the best of Latin Music both in the US and Latin America. The presence of major Latin American corporations in Miami helps to reaffirm the city's connections with Latin America and the Spanish language itself (Alfaraz 2000).

The Establishment of Bilingual Spanish English Programs

Through the establishment of Cuban run and owned social, economic, media networks, Spanish is accorded an important place in everyday life in both the public and the private spheres. This prestige status is markedly different from other Latino

community's linguistic environments where Spanish is traditionally confined to the domestic sphere and is more stigmatized in the economic and media networks. In Miami, the use of Spanish is integrated into everyday life and employed as an important social and economic resource (Lynch 2009). The unique political and economic position held by Cubans in the Miami community greatly influenced the development and successful implementation of bilingual programs in schools. The economic position of Cuban Americans in Miami as members of the upper social classes gave this Latino group power and influence in decision making processes regarding their children's education. The political circumstance under which Cubans were living in Miami, as temporary refugees from the Castro regime, made both Spanish and English important languages in their everyday lives: English needed to be acquired for the successful development and integration of a Cuban economy during their momentary stay in the US, and Spanish was maintained as the language unifying all Cuban refugees provisionally residing in the US. Because these Cubans residing in Miami believed their situation to be temporary and expected to return to Cuba after Castro was overthrown, it became crucial that the children of Cuban refugees acquire Spanish. The unique political and economic position of Cubans in Miami allowed the conditions positing Spanish as threat ideology to be minimized, and in this way allowed the integration of successful bilingual programs in Florida. Bilingual programs were such a success in Miami that Florida became the model for bilingual education for the rest of the US, and effectively influenced the passing of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968, which instituted bilingual education at the federal level.

Establishment of a Cuban Political Network

The advantageous economic standing Cubans were able to establish in Miami, coupled with their prestigious political status as refugees, paved the way for the successful establishment of a Cuban-run political network: American politician Xavier Suarez was the first Cuban-born mayor in Miami in 1985-1993 and was succeeded by one American mayor, Stephen Clark (1993-1996), who was followed by 4 Cuban-born mayors, who were then followed by 1 Cuban American mayor, Manny Diaz (2001-2009), and finally, the current Cuban-born mayor (2009-present). Hispanics in Miami-Dade have solidified their a demanding presence as the core electoral constituency. As a result, seven Cuban Americans currently serve in the US Congress and a total of 14 Cuban Americans serve in state government.

The Spanish language in Miami has led a tumultuous relationship with politics. While it seems that Spanish enjoys high prestige in Miami's social, economic, and political spheres, a political movement attempting to establish an official policy instating bilingualism and biculturalism in Miami during the 70's was surprisingly unsuccessful. In 1973, the Miami-Dade County Board of Commissioners instantiated bilingualism and biculturalism in Miami, allowing for the distribution of government services information in both Spanish and English (Lynch 2005). In 1988, an anti-bilingualism referendum was instantiated, which resulted in the overturn of the bilingual and bicultural policy, and consequently established English as the only official language in the state of Florida. This political move is surprising when we consider that 48% of the Miami-Dade population at this time was Hispanic. The constant struggle Latinos in the US face in term of the role

Spanish and English place in their daily lives is evident in the back and forth political moves determining the role of each language in the community.

2.3 Perceptions of Spanish in Miami

The configuration of Spanish and English in Miami seems to be quite complex, and while Spanish exhibits a more positive configuration than in other majority Latino cities in the U.S., we can still see negative perceptions towards Spanish as exhibited through the city's politics. Lynch (2005) conducted a study in 2 US settings, mainly Miami, Florida and Minneapolis, Minnesota which explored attitudes towards Spanish with respect to language education, policy and use. This important study found that situations of intense language contact such as that found in Miami promote a heightened pro-English stance of monolingualism. However, this same population expresses the importance of Spanish in their society and Spanish's positive value in both the economic and social marketplaces. Furthermore, these Miamians recognize the benefits of bilingualism and acknowledge that in Miami, bilingual speakers have equal opportunities in economic networks in Miami. These speakers also recognize the fact that Spanish in Miami is not associated as being a part of the lower socioeconomic classes or is limited to the less prestigious professions as it is in other majority Latino metropolitan U.S. cities such as Los Angeles, New York, and Houston (Lynch 2005).

Lambert and Taylor's (1996) seminal study of Miami Cuban families discovered that while working class mothers promote the idea that learning English will lead to success, middle class mothers encourage the use of both English and Spanish. This study also found that outside social pressures which encourage and value the use of Spanish

override parental orientations and inclination toward the maintenance of Spanish by promoting and nurturing Spanish language skill. These studies confirm the complicated nature of the linguistic configuration of Spanish and English in Miami and highlight the fact that although Spanish holds a privileged position in Miami when compared to other metropolitan U.S. cities with large Latino populations, English is still considered the dominant language.

One of the most recent studies conducted on dialect perception in Spanish-speaking Miami (Carter & Callesano 2014) conducted a match-guise study that combines dialectology research and social psychology methods to investigate perceptions of 3 Spanish-language varieties spoken in Miami: Peninsular Spanish, Highland Columbian, and Post- Castro Cuban (Alfaraz 2002). Their findings show that the Peninsular Spanish background information significantly raises perception of competence traits while lowering perceptions of the warmth traits. Cuban background information increases perception of warmth traits when applied to non-Cuban voices, while at the same time decreasing perception of the competence traits. This study proved that Miami Latinos and non-Latinos are able to perceive Cuban Spanish as such, and are aware of the negative stereotypes associated with it. More importantly, Pre-nasal (2014) show that these perceptions potentially entail real-world, material consequences because Spanish speakers were shown to assign a Cuban background label significantly less annual income, especially when the non-Latinos are assigning the pre-nasal. Their findings also show that those assigned to the Cuban background label were perceived to more likely work in blue collar positions. These findings support the notion that the configuration of Spanish in Miami is quite contradictory and complex at best.

In sum, the unique political and socio economic changes in Cuba that led to the immigration of thousands of Cubans into the US created an interesting site for sociolinguistic inquiry. The resulting demographic changes that occurred in Miami during the past 50 years which transformed the city to a majority Latino city, coupled with the unique characteristics of the Cuban immigration that helped establish Spanish as a valuable asset in the social and economic spheres, presents an interesting site for the study of the extraordinary linguistic contact situation which ensued.

2.4 Language contact in Miami

Miami's socio demographic history, the rapid Latinization of the city, the city's position as a political hub for Latin American refugees, and the consequent rapid Latinization of the city, gave birth to the most diverse Latino population in terms of ethnicity, national-origin, and socioeconomic status. This great diversity has created a language contact situation that brings together an array of Spanish varieties, mainly Cuban, Venezuelan, Colombian, Nicaraguan, etc., and makes for the vibrant but complex figuration of Spanish in Miami. In the upcoming sections I will discuss the following: 1)The events leading to the contact of English and Spanish in the US from both Caribbean and Latin American countries. 2)The unique Miami language contact situation that arose as a consequence of the rapid and diverse Latinization of the city. 3)How the specific Miami language contact situation can contribute to the literature documenting the language variety of Latinos in the US.

2.4.1 Latin American & Caribbean influences on US Latino English

Morales (2003) notes two major historic events influencing the history of Spanish in U.S. soil and the two major Latino groups involved: Mexican and Caribbean. 1) The Mexican American war concluded in 1848 with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe which cemented the acquisition of Texas, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico -all formerly part of Mexico- by the U.S. The redefinition of the political boundary separating the U.S and Mexico permanently and irrevocably altered the U.S's internal composition in ways we are still experiencing today and in one fell swoop absorbed Spanish as a crucial component to this new U.S. configuration. 2) The Spanish American War concluded in 1898 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris which ceded Puerto Rico and the Philippines to the US as well as temporary control of Cuba. While this treaty was not crucial in the immigration of Latinos to the U.S. it established U.S. ties with Cuba and the Philippines that would prove influential during future waves of Latino immigration from those countries. These two historical events led to the establishment of a Latino presence in the U.S. composed of a multiplicity of nationalities from Latin America and the Caribbean.

The history associated with immigration from Latin America is quite different from that of the Caribbean. While immigration from Latin America has traditionally involved immigrants from the lower classes who tend to be uneducated, immigrants from Cuba tend to be educated and part of the middle and upper classes (Fuller 2013). Furthermore, U.S. immigrant policies have been drastically different for Cubans than for other Latin American groups. The US has treated Cuban immigrants as political refugees

and has granted them legal status upon arrival to the US. On the other hand, other Latin American populations are constantly deported and have very limited opportunities to seek legal residency in the US. In addition, the nature of the two historic events influencing the history of Spanish in the US has led to very different language contact situations in terms of the degree of the different Spanish dialects that come into contact with one another.

2.4.2 The Miami language contact situation

The unique Miami contact situation, the rapid latinization of the city, and the great diversity of Latino populations that reside in Miami characterize Miami's linguistic landscape. Miami has been reported as having the largest concentration of foreign-born persons (59.5%) of all metropolitan US cities with more than 200,000 residents (Alfaraz 2002, Carter & Lynch 2015, County and City Data Book, 1994). Miami's position as a political hub for Latin American refugees has attracted Latino immigrants escaping political and economic unrest from many different countries. Castro's takeover of Cuba, Colombia's economic crisis of the 1990s, Venezuela's crisis in the era of Chavismo, Nicaraguan political unrest in the 1980s, and the current economic crisis in Spain all led to US immigration *en masse* (Carter & Lynch 2015). Cuban-Americans nonetheless constitute the largest national-origin group (54%) in Miami, and are also the US's most concentrated Latino population by far (2010 American Community Survey by the Pew Hispanic Center).

Other growing Latino populations in Miami are Colombian (6.8%), Nicaraguan (6.7%), Peruvian, Venezuelan, Chilean, Puerto Rican, Dominican, Ecuadoran, Argentinian and Honduran (Carter & Callesano 2014). Miami's position as a political

hub from a variety of Latin American and Caribbean countries has transformed the Miami linguistic landscape into the most dialectally diverse Spanish-speaking city in the world as well as the most diverse metropolitan US city in terms of ethnicity, national origin, and socioeconomic status (Carter & Lynch 2015). To further stress the Spanish dialectal diversity found in Miami, I will here pause and turn to a discussion of Latino demographics in the US.

The 7 major US metropolitan cities with the largest Latino populations in descending order are: Los Angeles, New York, Houston, Riverside-San Bernardino, Chicago, Dallas, and Miami. All of these major metropolitan cities exhibit markedly different patterns of Latino immigration by national-origin group and are representative of the different language contact situations currently underway in the US regarding Spanish and English. The Spanish dialect contact situation in these cities show marked patterns and very clear concentrations of specific national-origin Latino immigrants.

- 1) Los Angeles has a total Latino population of 5,804,000 with the 3 largest national-origin Latino groups being: Mexican (78%) Salvadoran (7.6%) Guatemalan (4.9%).
- 2) New York has a total Latino population of 4,317,000 with the 3 largest national-origin groups being: Puerto Rican (28.4%), Dominican (20.8%), and Mexican (12.2%).
- 3) Houston has a total Latino population of 2,105,000 with the 3 largest national-origin Latino groups being: Mexican (77.5%), Salvadoran (7.2%), Honduran (2.9%).
- 4) Riverside-San Bernardino has a total Latino population of 2,062,000 with the 3 largest national-origin Latino groups being: Mexican (87.9%), Salvadoran (2.7%), Guatemalan (1.6%).
- 5) Chicago has a total Latino population of 1,971,000 with the 3 largest national-origin Latino groups being: Mexican (79.2%), Puerto Rican (9.6%), Guatemalan (2.1%).

6) Dallas-Forth Worth has a total Latino population of 1,809,000 with the 3 largest national-origin Latino groups being: Mexican (85.4%), Salvadoran (4.3%), and Puerto Rican (1.9%). 7) Miami-Hialeah has a total Latino population of 1,627,000 with the 3 largest national-origin Latino groups being: Cuban (54.5%), Colombian (6.8%), and Nicaraguan (6.7%)(Pew Research Center 2011). These percentages help illustrate the unbalanced distribution of national-origin Latinos in the US. While Mexicans are definitively the majority population in five out of seven top Hispanic Metropolitan areas in the US, Cubans are only the majority Latino population in Miami. This uneven distribution is evident in the linguistics literature on the English and Spanish of US Latino communities , which will be discussed in section.

Miami is the center for at least three types of contact situations: 1) the most obvious type of contact experienced in Miami is between Spanish and English 2) a less apparent contact situation occurs between the different Latin American and Caribbean varieties of Spanish, mainly, Cuban, Columbian Spanish, Venezuelan, Peruvian, etc. and 3) the least apparent contact situation involves contact of the Cuban variety of Spanish with itself during two time periods: before the Revolution in 1959 and post Revolution (late 60's 70's, 80's & 90's) (Alfaraz 2002). This complex language contact situation creates a unique figuration for Spanish and consequently Latinos that is unparalleled in any other major metropolitan US city and present the opportunity to study an emergent variety of the English spoken by Latinos in the US.

Several studies conducted in Miami have focused on the Spanish of the Latino immigrant population (Alfaraz 2002, 2014, Boswell 1994;1996, López-Morales 2003, Lynch 2009, Lynch & Carter 2015, Roca 1991). Alfaraz (2002; 2014) specifically

focuses on studying dialect perceptions of Miami Cubans toward their own variety at two different points in time- before and after the 1959 Revolution. The results from this study showed that Miami Cubans evaluated the time before the revolution as the most correct and most pleasant variety, with the exception of Peninsular Spanish, which still holds the most prestigious position amongst all the varieties of Spanish. This is to say that 2nd and 3rd generation Miami Cubans utilize specific linguistic features to distinguish themselves from other Cubans in the Miami linguistic community. This is particularly interesting to the project at hand because it brings up questions regarding the use of English linguistic features by 2nd and 3rd generation Miami Cubans to distinguish themselves from other Cubans in Miami, and even more broadly, from other Latinos and Anglo Whites in Miami.

Lynch (2009) provides further evidence of Miami Latinos utilizing linguistic features to distinguish between different generations of Cuban immigrants. This work found that the Miami born grandchildren of the first wave of immigrants from Cuba utilize linguistic features, specifically /s/ weakening, to differentiate their speech from that of the later immigrant groups. Lynch (2009) conclusively discards the possibility that the use of this linguistic feature is due to either language transfer from English or formal Spanish education, or to incomplete acquisition of a sociophonetic variant. Lynch (2009) convincingly argues that the patterning of the sociolinguistic variant is due to political and ideological conflicts amongst Miami Cubans. The main conflict being that the grandchildren of early exile immigrants are fervently opposed to the Castro regime and tightly involved in exile politics in Miami, while other later Cuban immigrants became detached from these politics over their extended stay in the US. In this way, the language

contact situation in Miami is complex and multifaceted providing a rich linguistic landscape ripe for the sociolinguistic study of new Latino dialect formation in progress.

Alfaraz's (20014) follow-up study on her 2002 work of dialect perceptions in Miami further unpackaged the complicated makings of the Miami linguistic landscape by providing evidence that it is unlikely that the Cuban Spanish variety will accommodate to the fast-growing groups of speakers of other Spanish varieties in the region. She further stresses that a possible outcome is that the Cuban Spanish variety utilizes features to further diverge from other Spanish varieties in the region. This evidence again points to the possibility that if Miami Cubans are utilizing their speech to accentuate differences between themselves and different generations of Cubans and different national-origin Latinos, we may encounter similar patterns in their use of English.

Most of the linguistics literature in Miami has focused on the Spanish of the Latino immigrant population (Boswell 1994;1996, López-Morales 2003, Lynch 2009, Lynch & Carter 2015, Roca 1991) while the English of the growing Miami Latino population has remained relatively understudied. This project attempts to fill a gap in the linguistics literature conducted in Miami and provide a first pass at investigating the English of the Miami Cuban American Latino population. The work of Carter & Mullen (2014) reports evidence from a cross-generational analysis of Spanish-to-English calques in emerging Miami English, but barring that work, the sociolinguistic literature has largely focused on the Spanish of this immigrant group.

This project also contributes to the sociolinguistics literature on the English of US Latino communities by providing evidence from a majority Caribbean community to the linguistics literature. While much sociolinguistic research has been conducted on Latino

U.S. populations and their language, much of this research has focused on Chicano varieties of English, that is, the English spoken by US Latinos of predominantly Mexican (Alfaraz 2002; Fought 2003; Mendoza-Denton 2008; Silva-Corvalan, 1994; Wolfram, Carter, Moriello 2004) and Puerto Rican descent (Otheguy and Zentella 1997)(Potowski 2008), but little work has been conducted on the English spoken by Latino communities of Cuban descent (Lynch 2009, 2013; Otheyguy, Garcia, Roca 2000). Mexicans comprise the largest national-origin Latino group in the U.S. making up 65% of the total U.S. Latino population (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, Cuddington 2003) and comprise over 77% of the Latino population in five out of seven of the mostly highly populated metropolitan cities in the US. Miami-Dade only has a reported 3% Mexican national-origin Latino population which is minimal when compared to Los Angeles' 78% Mexican national origin population, 77.5% in Houston, 87.9% in Riverside-San Bernardino, 79.2% in Chicago, and 85.4% in Dallas (Pew Reserch Center 2011). Miami is undoubtedly predominantly Caribbean with 54% Cuban, 6% Puerto Rican, 4% Dominican, etc., Latino population (Carter & Lynch 2015). This work attempts to fill a gap in the sociolinguistic description of Caribbean influences on U.S. Latino English and contribute evidence from a majority Cuban American community to the ongoing account of Latino Englishes in the US. In addition, Miami provides us with the opportunity to observe new Latino dialect formation in progress in one of the most dialectally diverse cities in the world (Carter & Lynch 2015).

The Miami linguistic landscape offers a unique opportunity to study an emergent variety of Latino English that is influenced by Caribbean speakers in one of the most dialectally diverse metropolitan cities in the US. To summarize, Miami's linguistic

landscape is characterized by 1)the rapid latinization of the city 2)the unprecedented dialectal diversity 3)its majority Caribbean Latino population 4) the historicity of Cuban Americans in the US 5) the prestigious figuration of Spanish amongst the Miami community, all of which make Miami the perfect site for the study of new Latino dialect formation in progress.

2.5 The role of bilingualism in Miami

The previous two sections discuss factors which contribute to Miami's unique social, economic, ideological, and linguistic configuration of both Spanish and English, mainly: Section 2.1: Miami's unique socio demographic history and the rapid Latinization of the city. Section 2.2: The establishment of a Latino-run economic and social network, and the consequent figuration of Spanish as an economically and socially valued language. Sections 2.3 & 2.4: Miami's complex language contact situation, the various national-origin Latino groups that come into contact, and the predominant influence of the Cuban community. This study focuses on the English variety of Cuban heritage Latinos who for the most part were born and raised in the Miami linguistic community, and experience Miami's complex linguistic figuration of Spanish and English on a daily basis. In this following section, I will attempt to provide a brief background on bilingualism in Latino communities in the US upon which I will base my description of the Latino speech variety found in Miami.

2.5.1 Heritage speakers

The literature on Heritage Speakers (HS) in the US has focused on Spanish and has traditionally centered around issues related to fluency and language maintenance

(Veltman 2000)(Valdes 1997)(Fairclough 2005)(Garcia & Otheguy 2005). This work is interested in contributing to the literature on the English of Heritage Speakers and will here only utilize the term to refer to general descriptions of these groups. Seven main features prevalent in the linguistic literature have been utilized to distinguish heritage speakers: 1)Heritage speakers learn the minority language at home (Valdes 2001) 2)Heritage speakers are traditionally raised in a family where a minority language is spoken (Valdes 1997) 3)Heritage speakers are 2nd and 3rd generation bilinguals (Montrul 2004) 4)Heritage speakers are bilingual to some degree of bilingual capability in the minority language, and may exhibit oral proficiency in the range of barely receptive to completely fluent (Valdes 1997). 5)Heritage language speakers share a historical, personal, and affective connection to the heritage language (Fairclough 2005). 6)Heritage speakers tend to grow up in communities where the majority language is utilized for high register exchanges and the minority language is restricted primarily to use at home (Valdes 2001). 7)The final and primary characteristic distinguishing heritage language speakers is their highly diverse social, economic, and linguistic backgrounds which result in language traits that are highly variable and dynamic (Fairclough 2005) (Lynch and Potowski 2008) (Valdes 2001). In sum, heritage speakers are characterized as 2nd and 3rd generation bilinguals who grew up speaking a minority language at home, and have developed an emotional connection to that heritage language. These speakers are also characterized by exhibiting a range of receptive and productive abilities in both the minority and dominant languages. This great variability is the a result of their unique social and linguistic exposure and interaction with both the family and society languages.

The range of bilingualism exhibited in communities of language contact with Spanish and English tend to exhibit vast ranges of bilingualism from those who are barely receptive in the minority language, to those who are completely fluent in the majority language (Valdes 1997). Fought (2003) discusses the prevalent role of asymmetrical bilingualism prevalent in the Mexican American community she studied in Los Angeles. This type of bilingualism is characteristic of bilingual homes where one language is restricted to one parent, and often results in passive bilingualism and means the heritage speaker only responds in English when spoken to in Spanish (Fought 2003). This type of bilingualism is common in heritage language communities and studies have overwhelmingly shown that the heritage language is typically lost after the 2nd and 3rd generations, and consequently, the 4th generation is usually monolingual.

2.5.2 Immigrant experiences & dialect patterns

This section will highlight the importance of analyzing the linguistic structures of immigrant communities in terms of the different experiences these communities bring to the linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu 1991) and how these experiences contribute to emergent dialect patterns. I urge the reader to keep in mind the specific language contact situation discussed above which highlights the complexity of the Miami social environment, and try to situate Miami Latino speakers within different language contact situations, immigrant experiences and consequent dialect patterns. This section will discuss how different immigrant communities experience different dialect patterns and how these dialect patterns are affected by specific language contact situations, social background, etc.

Trudgill (2003) explores the influence of social environment and social structure on emergent linguistic structures. His work examines 2 kinds of linguistic change that may occur after specific language contact situations, mainly, ‘simplification’ and ‘complexification.’ He argues that linguistic simplification occurs in social environments of certain types, while linguistic complexification occurs in communities with many different social backgrounds. This distinction is confirmed by data linking the occurrence of simplification to inflectional morphology (Kusters 2003) and morphological simplification (Bokamba 1993) in multilingual language contact situations. In contrast, the linguistic-typological literature takes the position that language contact promotes complexity in each of the languages (Nichols 1992), a position that is evidenced by data from Amazonian (Aikhenvald 2002), Tariana (Aikhenvald 2008), etc. Trudgill (2003) promotes a sociolinguistically-informed approach which suggests that ‘simplification’ and complexification’ are due to different contact situations: the former is present in short-term contact situations involving language learning by adults, and the latter is present in long-term co-territorial contact situations involving languages learning by children. Proficient bilingualism is often exhibited in the latter. Neither of the previously described language contact situations fully capture the Miami linguistic landscape.

The language contact situation in Miami is unique in so far as it describes a Latino community that is relatively young, and has been in the making for just under 50 years. This language contact situation involves both adult learners of English, as well as the 2nd and 3rd generation of immigrant speakers who are native speakers of both Spanish and English. In addition, the language contact situation involves ample use of both Spanish and English in the Miami community, and both languages enjoy privileged positions in

the economic and social realms. Nonetheless, English enjoys higher prestige in the community as the official language in government, academics, etc. The complicated nature of the Miami linguistic landscape provides an interesting site for sociolinguistic study on the population ecological effects on emergent dialect patterns that can contribute importance evidence to the study of different contact situations, and their effects on developing dialect patterns.

Cross-generational community studies conducted in sociolinguistics have shown that influences from the immigrant language often persist even after the immigrant language is lost (Howell 1993; Winford 2005; Trudgill 2010). The English of the immigrant generation is marked by the so-called substrate and transfer effects from the L1 which distinguishes their speech as ‘nonnative’ at the grammatical and phonological levels. In contrast, the children of these immigrants, those in the 2nd and 3rd generations have been shown to “follow the patterns of their peers” (Labov 1991; Chambers 2003) rather than following patterns exhibited by their parents, and therefore do not acquire this distinctive “non-native dialect” from the parental input (Labov 2008). Literature on the variety of immigrant languages in the US such as German, French, Spanish, etc., shows that these languages have left durable structural traces on the local varieties of English with which they once had extensive contact (Kurath & McDavid 1961; Dubois and Horvath 2003; Purnell, Salmons, & Tepeli 2005). Furthermore, Sankoff (2002) comments that while immigrant language influences fade over time, exceptions to this rule tend to be in communities where the immigrant group and their descendants have become the majority population (645-646). I expect this to be the case in the Miami Cuban American population. Although Spanish and English bilingualism is widespread in Miami, English

is definitively the language of preference among Miami-born Cuban Americans. However, I expect that influenced from the immigrant language affecting their vocalic productions is still evident in the speech variety of the 2nd and 3rd generation Cuban Americans. I believe the Cuban American community could be an exception to this rule because Cuban Americans are the majority ethnic community in Miami and have established social and economic networks. In the following section I will provide a brief summary of the different substrate influences Spanish has been demonstrated to effect on English.

2.5.3 Influence from Spanish on English

Sociolinguists have observed contact-induced influence from Spanish on English varieties in a number of regional settings, including California (Metcalf 1972; Godinez & Maddieson 1985; Mendoza-Denton 1997; Fought 2003), Texas and the Southwest (McDowell & McRae 1972; Thompson 1975; Hamilton 1977; Galindo 1988; Santa Ana 1992; Bayley 1994; Thomas 2001), the Mid-Atlantic South (Wolfram, Carter, & Moriello 2004) and New York City (Zentella 1997). This project attempts to contribute phonological evidence of contact-induced influence from Spanish on the English variety of 2nd and 3rd generation Cuban Americans in the US.

One of the most hotly debated issues in Spanish-English contact linguistics has been the influence of English on varieties of Spanish in the US, and whether this influence has been ‘direct’ vs ‘indirect.’ Linguists have utilized data on grammatical processes undergoing change in US Latino populations to argue that the influence of English on varieties of Spanish is indirect (Silva-Corvalan 1986, 1994), while others have

argued that the influence of English on varieties of Spanish is direct (Otheguy, Garcia, Roca 2003). This debate has mostly centered around the effects of English on varieties of Spanish spoken in the US, and data contributing to this debate has focused on English's influence on Spanish grammatical structures (Alfaraz 2000; Terrell 1979). In contrast, this work focuses on the effect of Spanish on varieties of English in U.S Latino communities by providing data on phonetic processes undergoing change in US Latino populations.

This work attempts to contribute to the literature by discussing the nature of influence of Spanish on varieties of English as direct /indirect in the unique Miami sociolinguistic space. Most linguists now agree that while the variety of English spoken by US Latinos shows some Spanish influence, it is firmly established as a variety of English (Otto Santa Ana 1993). To this end, the current project will attempt to position the vowel production of Miami speakers of both Latino and Non-Latino backgrounds within the broader framework of features that establish Latino English as an autonomous dialect in the US (Fought 2003; Mendoza-Denton 2008; Otheguy and Zentella 2007; Wolfram, Carter, Moriello 2004; Lynch 2009, 2013). This project will contribute phonological evidence to the debate concerning the influence of Spanish phonetics on the production of vowels in the English of US Latino speakers with an emphasis on Miami.

2.6 Review: US varieties of Latino English

This section will present a review of the literature conducted on vowel variation in Latino Englishes spoken in US Latino communities in Texas, California, and North Carolina and the core linguistic features associated with Latino English/ Chicano English

in the US. Several phonetic, syntactic, semantic and prosodic features have been identified as distinguishing Chicano English in US communities. This project is primarily concerned with the vocalic production of Miami Latino speakers, therefore, this section will only focus on providing a brief phonetic overview of Latino vocalic productions in the US. Latino vocalic productions, specifically speakers of Chicano English, are distinguished by four broadly defined, but widespread traits, mainly: 1)less frequent vowel reduction, 2)frequent lack of glides, 3)tense realization of /I/, and 3)strong tendency to front back vowels (Fought 2003). Less widespread traits also found in Chicano English are: 1) the low back vowel is fronted and more similar to the [a] found in Spanish, 2) the high back vowel in book is produced as a more centralized and rounded version of this vowel-- following the tendency to front back vowels, 3)vowels preceding the consonant [r] often have a different quality than those exhibited by Anglo Whites in the same communities-- this effect is commonly exhibited by [E] which tends to be more centralized in speakers of Chicano English (Fought 2003).

Vowel Reduction

Vowel reduction is widespread in the speech of Anglo Whites, but seems to be less frequent in the speech of Chicanos. Previous studies (Santa Ana 1991) (Fought 2003) have found that speakers of Chicano English tend to exhibit vowel reduction in unstressed syllables less often than Anglo Whites in the same phonetic environments. This lack of centralization was noted in the work of Santa Ana (1991) specifically in regards to the high vowels /u/ and /i/. His work further noted that this tendency was even more marked for the high front vowel /i/ than for the back vowel /u/. This lack of centralization causes the pronunciation of the first vowel in words such as together and to

to be produced either with /u/ or a more centralized variant /ʊ/, rather than the typical pronunciation by Anglo Whites of the same vowel as /schwa/. However, the work of Otto Santa Ana (1993) in California asserts that no native speaker of Chicano English was found to have fewer phonemic distinctions than the matrix contact dialect.

Glides & Diphthongs

The frequent lack of glides on what are commonly described as monophthongs in the speech of Chicano speakers has been noted by many previous studies (Fought 1999;2003)(Santa Ana 1991;1993). Studies have observed that Anglo Whites produce the high front vowels as [ij] and [iw], while Chicano English speakers tend to produce unglided versions of these vowels, mainly, [i] and [u]. The diphthongs [ej] and [ow] were also proven to be variable in this regard, but were found to exhibit the glide more frequently than they exhibited the respective high vowels. Fought (1999) found that these two diphthongs--[ej] and [ow]-- tend to not exhibit lower nuclei and may even be produced monophthongally, or consistently show upgliding diphthongal forms (Thomas 2001). In regards to back vowels, the specific Texas community studied by Thomas (2000) demonstrated that Mexican Americans in this area tended to merge /a/ and /ɔ/ where the resulting vowel is more fronted than that of Anglos who also merged the two back vowels.

The work of Wolfram, Carter, and Moriello (2004) investigates the production of the /ai/ diphthong among adolescents in two emerging Hispanic communities in North Carolina. The /ai/ diphthong is of particular interest in the North Carolina context because while /ai/ is present in both Spanish and English, it is crucially unglided in the Southern regional variant of the benchmark local dialect norm. The analysis of /ai/ shows that there

is no accommodation to the local norm by Hispanic speakers in the process of learning English, however there is a gradient incremental adjustment of /ai/ in speakers who adopt local cultural values of the dominant Anglo society. This work demonstrated that the distribution of linguistic features is highly dependent on both social and linguistic factors and also contributed evidence to the fact that local minority communities exhibit some accommodation, or can be said to be influenced by, Anglo White speech patterns.

Tensing of /I/

Impressionistic accounts of Mexican American English report that speakers of Latino varieties of English do not distinguish between /i/ and /I/, between /I/ and /ε/, or between /u/ and /ʊ/, (Castro-Gringras 1972), however these accounts best describe the speech of those who learned English as a second language, and not the speech of those who learned English at a young age (Thomas 2001). In fact, the Texas Latino community studied by Thomas (2000) showed higher variants of /I/ and /E/ production than that of other California Anglos. A recent study conducted by Kelly Millard (2015) at FIU investigated the pin/pen merger in South Florida, specifically in Miami, and found that both Latinos and Non-Latinos make the phonetic distinction between these two front vowels.

The work of Mendoza-Denton (2008) on Latina girl gangs in Los Angeles, California, analyzes the production of the high front lax vowel /I/ and found great inter-speaker variability within the LA Latino community in the production of this vowel. This study compares the production of this vowel in 2008 to a 1950's a large scale study (Leanne Hinton 2000) of the area encompassing both San Francisco and Los Angeles

which reported that the production of high front lax vowel /ɪ/ in this area was in line with the Standard American production. Mendoza-Denton's (2008) later work on Latina girl gangs in this same area reported the production of /ɪ/ by Latino speakers in the range from the high front tense vowel /i/ to the low mid vowel /æ/. Variation within the community was explicated by speaker's position within a social group--gang member vs non-gang member-- where gang members favored raising, and non-members rarely exhibited raising of /ɪ/. The distribution of the phonetic raising of /ɪ/ in this Chicano community in Los Angeles illustrates the fact that linguistic variation is governed by a combination of both linguistic and social factors.

The work of Fought (2003) found that tense [iŋ] or [in] is a variant which occurs in both the Anglo and the Latino dialect in Los Angeles, and is possibly a result from contact with Chicano English. Through careful observations of her students in California, Fought (2003) reports that the use of this variant has become more widespread across both Latinos and Anglo speakers. However, Fought notes the difficulty of assessing how much the presence of this variant is due to contact with Chicano English, and how much this variant was used in the community before extensive contact. Nonetheless, this study provides evidence of durable substrate influence Spanish has enacted on the English of Anglo White speakers of the same community.

/æ/ raising & backing

The vocalic production of /æ/ is conditioned by its phonetic environment; in the speech of Anglo Whites, /æ/ is raised pre-nasally and remains un-raised in non-prenasal position. Previous studies in Latino Englishes have found that prenasal /æ/ is not raised in most varieties of Anglo vernacular (Fought 1999; 2002; 2003). Fought (2003) treats /æ/

backing and raising as two distinct phonetic variables because she found that although all speakers tend to exhibit at least some occasional raising, not all speakers exhibit backing. Fought examined the production of /æ/ in two phonetic environments: pre-nasal and non-pre-nasal. Fought (2003) found that Chicano LA speakers tended to raise /æ/ prenasally, following the common Anglo pattern, and also found that they exhibited some backing in this phonetic context. Backing of /æ/ in this community seemed to be conditioned by gang membership and sex: non-gang members and women tended to back more frequently than gang members and men. On the other hand, the results for /æ/ raising exhibit the opposite pattern: men and gang members tend to raise more than women and non-gang members. In this community, the raising of /æ/ has been interpreted as indexing a toughness identity, and was productively used in the Latino community. Interestingly, social class does not seem to play a role in /æ/ backing and raising. The striking pattern of gender use among these variables is remarkable, and provides insights into the complicated nature of identity construction through language use in young US Latinos.

The above mentioned summaries of vowel systems present an overview of some of the different Latino English varieties spoken in the US, and exemplify how the distribution of phonetic variables is governed by a combination of linguistic and social factors. With these summaries of Latino English vowel systems we move onto discussing the present study which will provide an overview of the vowel system of Latino and non-Latino speakers in Miami, Florida.

2.6.1 Looking forward

The previous section discusses vocalic variation in Latino Englishes spoken in various US Latino communities and provides a brief overview of the core linguistic features associated with Latino/ Chicano English in the US. The main features discussed were: 1) glide/diphthong weakening 2) /I/ tensing 3) ash raising and backing. This project will concern itself mainly with discussing ash raising and backing in the Miami Cuban American Latino community. I will here also present the results for the vocalic productions of (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, ay/) and discuss tensing of /I/, and overall backing of the back vowels. I will also present an analysis of the diphthong /ay/ to provide commentary on vocalic reduction in the speech of Latinos in Miami. In sum, I will provide a preliminary overview of some of the core features associated with Latino Englishes in the US.

3. METHODOLOGY

This project was launched as part of a program of research at Florida International University (Carter & Callesano 2014, Carter, Sims, & Lopez 2014) in collaboration with Dr. Andrew Lynch at University of Miami. This program investigates the development of a variety of English spoken among Miami born Latinos and attempts to situate the local variety within the broader corpus documenting the speech varieties of Latinos in the US (Santa Ana 1991, Mendoza-Denton 1997, Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert 2007, Wolfram, Carter & Moriello 2004, Zentella 1997) as well as contribute to the slowly growing body of literature documenting Miami's sociolinguistic landscape (Alfaraz 2002, 2014, Lynch 2009, Otheguy, Garcia, Roca 2000).

3.1 Participant description

Many of the speakers in this study repeat the same story that describes the moment they realized that to people outside of Miami, and sometimes even just outside the borders of Miami-Dade, their English sounded distinctive, and was often described as *foreign* or *Latino*. Speakers are often astounded to discover that others perceive an *accent* in their speech, while others proudly boast they speak with a "Miami accent." The speech of Miami Latinos has been popularized in the media by a series of TV shows, movies, etc. filmed here in Miami (eg. Dexter, Miami Vice, CSI: Miami, Cocaine Cowboys, just to name a few), and was featured in a series of Youtube videos titled *Sh*t Miami Girls Say.. and Guys* which highlights the heightened use of Spanish in otherwise English dominated speech and the use of Miami specific calques discussed in the work of Mullen & Carter (2014). Many of these depictions of Miami Latino English popularize the speech of Cuban immigrants and second language learners of English residing in Miami.

In this project, I am interested in documenting Latino English in Miami, the focus of this project is the speech of US born Miami Latinos who mostly leave, breathe, and conduct their lives largely in English.

The Latino group we focus on in this project is Miami-born, (excepting the children of immigrants arriving before the age of six and does not consider the speech of the 60% foreign-born Miami Latino population but instead focuses on the 40% who were born in the US. The speakers considered here are mostly US born Latinos who were raised in South Florida and are the children and grandchildren (2nd and 3rd generations) of Cuban immigrant exiles. Some of the speakers considered for this project were not born in the US but moved to the US at such an early age that they have little or no memory of Cuba. These Miami Latinos are definitively and without a doubt native speakers of English, and while some of these speakers grew up in bilingual homes and may be bilingual to some degree, English is inarguably their native language.

For the most part, speakers in this sample have some degree of understanding in Spanish ranging from skills demonstrating a somewhat receptive understanding of Spanish to those who show complete Spanish fluency. The range of bilingualism found in Miami is due to a variety of sociocultural factors, mainly: formal education in Spanish, value placed on using Spanish in the home, proximity to the immigrant generation (Carter, Sims & Lopez 2014), socioeconomic factors, social network membership, continued contact with Cuba, etc. It is the case that for all of the speakers in this sample, English is their dominant language, and all our speakers strongly express a preference for English in their everyday lives. Furthermore, many of our speakers report insecurities when speaking Spanish, and tend to express that they are self-conscious of their Spanish

and tend to avoid it when possible, especially when talking to friends. However, many of these Miami Latinos also express that they often language-mix between Spanish and English frequently when talking to family members and less frequently when talking to friends, etc.

Although Spanish enjoys a certain amount of prestige in Miami there is still a strong tendency for English-speaking (Zurer Pearson & McGee 1993) that is also experienced in other Latino groups around the US. This fact is not surprising when we consider that trends in US immigration patterns suggest that it is typical for the 2nd generation to be bilingual, and for bilingualism to be lost by the 3rd and 4th generations (Pearson & McGee 1993). It has been noted that the increased cultural assimilation of the 3rd generation may precipitate the displacement of the minority language (Roca & Lipski 2003). Nonetheless, three main conditions unique to the Miami community contribute to the strength of Spanish in the city and may make Miami the exception to an otherwise relatively steadfast rule (Pearson & McGee 1993): 1)Immigration of Latin Americans to Miami remains steady and shows no signs of stopping 2)Miami Cubans were able to secure and establish a Cuban run and owned economic network according these Latinos with financial, political and social power. 3)Spanish use in the home remains strong and many of our speakers report having spoken mostly Spanish until enrolling in school around the age of 5. In their Miami study, Pearson & McGee (1993) note that 40% of their speaker sample had reported learning English after the age of 5, and 20% after the age of 4, which are common ages for children to enroll in formal education. Many of our speakers also report diglossic home situations where Spanish is spoken to one parent while English is spoken to the other. Whatever the status of Spanish may be for these

speakers in their home life, their academic life has been decidedly conducted in English, and they all report being more comfortable in English when reading, writing, performing simple math, and doing a variety of other tasks; these same attitudes have been reported by a number of studies conducted in Miami (Lopez 1982)(Pearson & McGee 2003).

The members of this study range in age from 18-26 years old, and are mostly members of the Florida International Community and live in the surrounding areas: Hialeah, Kendall, Homestead, Doral, etc. FIU is located in Miami and has a 61% Latino population, and while the university has a vibrant Latin American and Caribbean Center, a Cuban Research Center, and a variety of other Latino oriented study programs, the use of Spanish is quite limited and restricted within the University setting and campus. Classes taught in only-Spanish, aside from regular Spanish language classes and a few classes for heritage speakers, are few and hard to come by.

The Miami Latino participants considered for this study are the children and grandchildren of Cuban immigrants who were raised in Miami, Kendall, Hialeah, etc. The Anglo White participants considered for this study do not identify as Latinos and were also born and raised typically in Miami and the City of Miami Beach.

3.2 General methods in sociolinguistics

3.2.1 Field Methods

In order to provide a glimpse into Latino English in the Miami community, this project, in collaboration with a project investigating prosodic rhythm in Miami Latino English conducted by Dr.Carter and Nandi Sims at FIU (2014), divided data collection into two main components:

1.43 recorded sociolinguistic interviews were conducted between Nandi Sims and myself, totaling to around 1750 minutes of speech given us a snippet into the speech of Latinos in Miami.

2. language background questionnaires were distributed to all of the participants that asked for demographic and language information which will help us situate their speech within the broader range of Latino Englishes recorded in the US.

These two approaches were selected as a means of providing a first-pass at the first large-scale, systematic study of Latino English in Miami using both instrumental and ethnographic techniques. I acknowledge that the Latino speaker sample restricted to the Florida International University community is less than ideal, we would prefer to be working with a larger sample size that is more representative of the overall greater Miami Latino community. However, the FIU provided for a convenient first sample population considering the time restrictions established for the project at hand.

3.2.1.1 Sociolinguistic interviews

In all, recording were conducted with 43 Miami-born participants: 10 Anglo Whites and 33 Latinos of various national origin groups, but mainly Cuban and Venezuelan, with varying degrees of Spanish fluency. All of the 33 Miami born Latinos were recruited within the FIU community and were offered extra credit in a variety of English courses for their participation. Several professors within the FIU community offered extra credit for students willing to participate in Linguistics research projects; more than 50 interviews were conducted during a time-span of 12 months beginning in December of 2013 and ending in December of 2014. Of those 50 plus interviews, 33

Miami Latinos were selected as qualifying for our study. Because this project was part of an extra credit option for students, we made the participation opportunity available to every student in the class, and then we discounted those that did not qualify for participation in the study mostly because they had not grown up in Miami. It should be noted, that as a result of FIU's great diversity in the student body population, only 2 Anglo White participants were recruited from the English FIU courses which offered extra credit. All other Anglo White participants were recruited through the friend-of-a-friend technique (Milroy 1980) and mostly lived in Miami-Dade, Miami Beach, Kendall, and Pinecrest.

Sociolinguistic interviews were conducted in the Labovian tradition (1972) as a specific interview methodology for the collection of robust amounts of data which are analyzed statistically, and provide a quantitative methodology to sociolinguistic study. The sociolinguistic interview has been traditionally considered as providing random representative samples of communities balanced numerically by age-group, social classes, ethnicities, and other social categories proven to be relevant (Mendoza-Denton 2008). I acknowledge that our speech sample is small and limited in its representation of overall Miami to make large-generalizable claims about the community at large. However, I believe these sociolinguistic interviews provide us with a snapshot of the great variability found simply in the small college-aged FIU community, which attracts students from many different places in greater Miami, and provided a convenient first sample. Furthermore, because we are only focusing on the speech of the 2nd and 3rd generation Miami-born Latinos, our speaker sample is already restricted by age-group, and

we expect to find little variability as related to age difference amongst the 18 to 26 year old speakers.

The research design consists of limited recording sessions using an Olympus DS-40 tape recorder. Twenty-five sociolinguistic interviews with 10 Anglo White speakers and 20 Latino speakers collected during Spring 2014 were analyzed for this project. The sociolinguistic interview lasted anywhere between 40 to 60 minutes and consisted of a one-time, face-to-face conversation between myself or Nandi Sims, both Linguistics M.A. students at the time, and the interviewee. As Labovian tradition suggests, the sociolinguistic interview, here attached as Appendix 1(X) began with a series of demographic questions about the interviewee's demographic background- where they grew up in Miami, what their neighborhood was like, childhood friends, early experiences at school, etc- and moved towards more specific questions about their education history in Miami, and the role Spanish had played in their education, and what language use was like at home. The interviews always concluded with a series of Miami-specific questions beginning with, "if you had to describe Miami to someone who has never been to Miami, and is thinking of moving here, what would you say?" The interviewer would then ask a series of questions about what the interviewee liked and disliked about Miami; they were asked to describe the people who live in Miami, and what they thought language was like in Miami, and specifically, what they thought of Spanish use in Miami.

Prior to beginning the sociolinguistic interviews, all of the participants were given a consent form (here attached as Appendix 2) that asked participants for their permission to record and use the information discussed during the sociolinguistic interviews. This

consent form briefly described the project at hand, and in order to maintain the participant's speech as natural as possible they were not informed that I would be specifically looking at their language use. The participants were initially told the project was aimed at analyzing social interactions in Miami and that they would be asked to answer questions relating to growing up in Miami.

3.2.1.2 Language Background Questionnaire

The language background questionnaire (here attached as Appendix 3) was modeled similarly to that of Pearson & McGee (2003) who conducted a study on language choice among bilingual students in three Miami junior high schools. Our language questionnaire was constructed to elicit comparable results to that of Pearson & McGee (2003) and provide us with quantifiable data on the participant's specific language use and practices that could be easily compared to data collected in 1988 and 2003.

The language background questionnaire is mostly composed of four sections: 1) ten questions about general demographic information questions (age, sex, languages spoken, etc) 2) a series of questions asking participants to rate their reading, writing, speaking, and listening proficiency in foreign languages. 3) a series of questions asking the percentage of usage of each language throughout the day at work and in social interactions, percentage of newspaper reading, TV watching, etc. and general preferred for conducting certain interactions and daily activities in specific languages 4) a series of questions asking if they participated in language mixing practices and if so, with whom, and a block of questions regarding general sentiments towards which language they felt

they “did better in” under a series of conditions (e.g. Reading, Writing, Speaking, Understanding).

The last question in the language background questionnaire asked a speaker if there was anything else they considered to be interesting or important about their language background or language use that they would like to share with the researchers. This specific questions elicited a variety of responses from participants including great metalinguistic commentary regarding the proper and improper use of Spanish and the value placed on Spanish and English in their homes. The answers to this specific question will not be taken into consideration for this project, but will be discussed in the upcoming project by Carter, Sims and Lopez (2015) which analyzes discursive tropes about Spanish in the speech of Miami bilinguals. The two components to our fieldwork offer some insight into the language practices and background of Miami born Latinos and provide a glimpse into the participants individual experiences growing up in the metropolitan city of Miami.

3.4 Vowel Measurements

All thirty five interviews were recorded digitally using an Olympus handheld recorder and vowels were recorded manually using PRAAT. For the purposes of this project I focused on five vowels: (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, ay/). 20-25 tokens were extracted for each of the five vowels and only two instances of any individual token were considered to account for any emblemization or possible lexicalization of individual token items. Tokens occurring before liquids /r/ and /l/, and nasals, were excluded since these environments have coarticulatory effects on production that may skew the measurements

for this analysis. Duration measurements were taken for all vowels, and F1, F2, and F3 measurements were extracted from the midpoint for all monophthongs. For diphthongs, duration measurements were taken for all tokens and F1, F2 and F3 measurements were taken at three temporal locations: the midpoint, 30ms from the onset and 30 ms in from the offset as described by Thomas (2011). Relevant tokens were isolated on corresponding tiers in the PRAAT script and were extracted to individual textgrid files. Tokens are grouped by vowel type and means of each measurement are found at the end of each group. Individual tokens measured for each participant, duration information, and the individual F1, F2 and F3 measurement values are attached in the Appendix. Vowel plots for each participant are individually provided in the Results section.

4. RESULTS

This section will present the vowel data collected from the sociolinguistic interviews in 4 sections to present a full overview of the speech sample we have collected. *Section 4.1* will present the results for the productions of all vowels: / i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, ay / for the female Latino and Non-Latino speakers and also for the male Latino and Non-Latino speakers. *Section 4.2* presents a look specifically at /æ/ in two phonetic contexts: /æ/ pre-nasal, and /æ/ non-pre-nasal, and compares both the speech of the female Latinas to that of the Non-Latinas and the speech of the male Latinos to that of the Non-Latinos. *Section 4.3* presents the full vowel plots for two female speakers: Maria & Blaze, that will present a snapshot of the great variability found within the speaker sample. *Section 4.4* presents the full vowel plots for all female Latina speakers and separates them accordingly to those who split /æ/ pre-nasally and those that do not. *Section 4.5* presents the individual full vowel plots for each speakers, for all vowels: / i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, ay / and individually summarizes the results for each speaker's language background questionnaire. For all vowel plots, the mean F1 and F2 formant vowels for each vowel were plotted on linear vowel plots: F2 is plotted on the horizontal axis and F1 on the vertical axis.

4.1 Full vowel plots for / i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u / all female and male Miami Latinos & Anglo Whites

Pre-nasal 1 shows the results for the production of the vowels / i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u / for the female Latina and non-Latina Miami speakers. Latina vowels are marked with the IPA vowel symbol and an (L), the Anglo White vowels are marked with the IPA symbol. As the data in the following graph indicates, Miami female Latina show distinct production

for all vowels / i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u / when compared to Miami non-Latinas. Latinas' high front vowels /i/ and /ɪ/ are produced more backed and slightly higher than that of the non-Latina group, and we see the same pattern with the back vowel /u/ and /ɔ/. The following graph shows two data points for ash: ash pre-nasal (ash N) and ash non-pre nasal (ash); Latina females exhibit a more backed production of /æ/ in both phonetic environments and a lower production of /æ/ pre-nasal.

Figure 1: Vowels /i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u/ for all Miami female speakers.

Pre-nasal 3 shows the results for the production of the vowels / i, æ, ɔ/ for the male Latino and non-Latino Miami speakers. The data for the Miami males therefore mirrors the data we have seen for the Miami female speakers; Miami male Latinos show distinct production of all vowels / i, æ, ɔ / when compared to Miami non-Latinos. Male Latinos' high front vowel /i/ is produced more backed and slightly higher than that of the non-

Latino group; Male Latinos produce the low back vowel /ɔ/ more backed than that of the non-Latinos. Table 3 shows two data points for ash: ash pre-nasal (ash N) and ash non-pre nasal (ash); Latino males exhibit a more backed production of /æ/ in both phonetic environments and a lower production of /æ/ pre-nasal.

Figure 2: Vowels /i, æ, ɔ/ for all Miami male speakers.

The juxtaposition of Graphs 1 and 2 show that the production of /æ/ in both phonetic environments, pre-nasal and non-pre-nasal, which show the greatest difference among Latino and non-Latino vowels in both the male and female groups considered. Not enough tokens of /u/ were found in the data to present any reportGraph data.

4.2 /æ/ in two phonetic contexts

The following graphs present normalized data using the Bark difference metrics modeled after Syrdal and Gopal (1986) as described in Thomas (2011). Figure 4 shows the results for the productions of both pre-nasal and non pre-nasal /æ/ in the male

participants, and Figure 5 shows the productions of both pre-nasal and non pre-nasal /æ/ in the female participants. Figures 4 and 5 indicate a significant difference in vowel quality between the two groups with Latino college students producing both allophones of ash significantly lower and more backed than that of Anglo whites. The mean pre-nasal allophone for Latinos is less than 50 Hertz in front of the non-Latino production of the non pre-nasal allophone on the F2 dimension.

Figure 3: /æ/ in circles and /æ/ in boxes.

Figure 4: /æ/ in circles and /æ/ in boxes.

The graphs show that both Latinos and non-Latinos, both male and female, exhibit the allophonic split based on phonetic environment at the level of the group. While other Latino groups in the US have demonstrated to merge both pre-nasal and non-pre-nasal ash, the Miami Latino group considered maintains the allophonic split based on phonetic environment. The Miami group considered shows a great deal of inter-speaker variation; in the next section I will present full vowel plots for two Latina Miami speakers to illustrate the type of inter-speaker variation we expect to find when further analyzes are conducted.

4.3 Maria & Blaze

Figure 7 juxtaposes full vowel plots for Maria and Blaze, both Miami Latinas whose first language is Spanish, and whose second language is English but was acquired before the age of 5. Maria was born in Cuba and moved with her parents to Miami at the age of four. Maria is a 22 year old FIU student majoring in English who was born and raised in the City of Hialeah, the heart of the Cuban American immigrant community in

Miami. Maria reports speaking with her mother only in English, and her father only in Spanish. She estimates that during the course of a regular day, she speaks in English about 95% of the time, and Spanish about 5%. All of her primary, secondary, and post-secondary education in Miami has been in English and only in English. Blaze is a 25 year old FIU student majoring in English who was born and raised in the suburban Miami-Dade County of Westchester, where the Latino population comprises 85% of the total population. Blaze reports speaking with one of her parents in English and the other in Spanish. All of her primary, secondary, and post-secondary education in Miami has been in English and only in English.

The vowel plot for Maria shows a different story than that presented by the averages of Latinos and non-Latinos in Miami in the above data. Here we see that Maria does not present the allophonic split for /ae/ in both phonetic contexts, and instead merges both pre-nasal and non pre-nasal /ae/. In this way, Maria's production of /ae/ is more similar to that of other Latino groups around the US. The vowel plot for Blaze follows the pattern illustrated by the averages of Latinos in Miami in the above presented data. Here we see that Blaze presents the allophonic split for /ae/ in both phonetic contexts; we also find several differences in the production of the front and back vowels, mainly that Blaze fronts /i/ more than Maria, and produces the front vowels /i/ and /ɪ/ higher than Maria. Blaze shows a slightly more backed production of /ɔ/ and also shows the allophonic split for /ae/ based on phonetic context. I expect to find more of this intra-speaker variation when conducting a larger-scale study that will allow us access to the greater Miami community outside FIU.

Figure 5: Maria & Blaze vowels (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u /)

The comparison between Maria & Blaze illustrates the great intra-speaker variation found in the Miami Latino community.

4.4 Individual speaker vowel plots & language background questionnaire

4.4.1 Individual Speaker Vowel Plots & Language Background Questionnaires: Female Latinas

Maria: Miami Latina

Figure 6: Maria: (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/)

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Maria is a 22-year-old female FIU student who was born in Cuba and moved to the US when she was only a baby. Maria classifies her first language as Spanish and began learning English around the age of 4 mainly through classroom instruction and interacting with people. She classifies her reading, speaking and understanding proficiency in both Spanish and English as “very good,” but classifies her writing proficiency in English as good and her writing proficiency in Spanish as “functional.” She speaks to her mother in both Spanish and English but speaks to her father only in Spanish. All of her education has been conducted strictly in English and she reports that in terms of percentages she uses English 95% of the time throughout her day. She

watches TV and listens to the radio 100% of the time in English and works or conducts study related activities in English 95% of the time. She reports that she dreams, does simple arithmetic and expresses anger or affection only in English. Maria reports mixing Spanish and English only rarely with her family but never with her friends and co-workers. Maria expresses being more comfortable in all of the following activities, both at home and at work, in English: reading, writing, speaking, and understanding.

Sasha Fierce: Miami Latina

Figure 7: Sasha Fierce: (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, aɪ/)

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Sasha Fierce is an 18-year-old female FIU undergraduate student who was born and raised in the US. Her first language is Spanish and her second language is English. Interestingly, she reports having first been exposed to Spanish at the age of 7. She reports having first learned her second language at home and mainly through interacting with other people. She rates her Spanish reading and listening ability as “good” and rates her writing and speaking fluency as “functional.” She speaks to both of her parents in

English and both of her parents are fluent in Spanish and English. All of Sasha Fierce's formal education was conducted in English. In terms of hours per day, Sasha Fierce estimates that she speaks 5 hours in English and 1 hour in Spanish, and reads newspapers, magazines, and other general reading material for 3 hours a day in English. She usually conducts simple arithmetic and dreams in English but expresses her anger or affection in Spanish. Sasha Fierce reports mixing words or sentences from Spanish and English frequently with her family and somewhat frequently with friends. At work, Sasha Fierce feels better performing the following activities in English: reading, writing, speaking and understanding. She also feels more comfortable reading and writing in English at home, but does better speaking and understanding Spanish at home.

DQ: Miami Latina

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

DQ is a 21-year-old female FIU undergraduate student from the speech-pathology program at FIU. DQ was born and raised in Miami and both of her parents moved to the US from Cuba. DQ spoke Spanish up until the age of 4 when she began learning English at school. Her grandparents who only spoke Spanish lived with her family when she was a young child. DQ's language background information is limited due language background questionnaire attrition.

Figure 8: DQ: (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, aɪ/)

Subj 1: Miami Latina

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Subj 1 is a 25 year old female student from FIU who was born and raised in Miami and learned both Spanish and English simultaneously. Subj 1 classifies herself as a balanced bilingual, and reports having native like fluency in reading, writing, speaking and listening in Spanish. She reports that she does not have an accent in Spanish and that she speaks to both of her parents in Spanish and English. Both of her parents are fluent speakers of both Spanish and English. Subj 1 reports participating in language mixing practices very frequently with her family members and frequently with her bilingual friends. She also reports feeling that she does better in a variety of activities: reading, writing, speaking, and understanding in English.

Figure 9: Subj 1: (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, aɪ/)

Bridetobe: Miami Latina

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Bridetobe is a 27-year old female who was born and raised in Miami to parents who immigrated from Cuba at a very young age. She grew up in a bilingual home but mostly spoke to her parents in English. Her household is very much English-dominant. Much of her language background is unavailable due to language questionnaire attrition. Much of her metalinguistic commentary centered around the fact that she does not have an accent when speaking English, and she comments her family makes fun for sounding so “Americanized.” Bridetobe comments that she “lost” her accent in Spanish when she attended an English-only high school in Miami.

Figure 10: bridetobe (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Jane: Miami Latina

Figure 11: Jane (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Jane is a 24 year old female FIU English student who was born and raised in the US. Jane classified English as her first language and Spanish as her second language. She

learned English and Spanish simultaneously mainly through interacting with people. Jane rates her Spanish reading, writing, speaking and listening proficiency as “fair.” She was not exposed to formal education (reading and writing) in Spanish until the age of 4. Jane rates her accent when speaking in Spanish as “light to moderate.” She speaks to both her mother and father in English even though both of her parents speak English and Spanish fluently and speak to each other in both Spanish and English. Jane received Spanish instruction in both elementary school and college, otherwise her instruction was largely conducted in English. On a daily basis, she speaks English 80% of the time and Spanish 20% of the time. She reports watching TV and listening to the radio 4 hours a day in English and 2 hours a day in Spanish. Jane reports reading newspapers, magazines, and other general reading material 5 hours a day in English and 1 hour a day in Spanish. Jane reports utilizing English and Spanish for 7 hours and 3 hours, respectively, throughout the work day. She notes that she does simple arithmetic in English and dreams mostly in English but sometimes in Spanish. She expresses anger and affection in both Spanish and English equally. Jane reports participating in language mixing practices in Spanish and English with her family members, friends and co-workers. Jane expresses that she feels more comfortable reading, writing, speaking, and understanding English both at home and at work.

Alex is a 19-year-old female undergraduate FIU student who was born and raised in Miami and has never lived in a foreign country. Alex reports that her first language

was Spanish and her second language was English. She began learning English around the age of 3 both at home and at school. She reports having native like fluency in English for a variety of tasks such as: reading, writing, speaking and listening ability. For Spanish, she reports that she has “very good” fluency in speaking, reading and writing, and she has native-like fluency for listening ability in Spanish. Alex has a slight foreign accent in Spanish. She speaks to both her parents in Spanish and English even though they are both fluent speakers of Spanish and English. Alex formal education has been heavily conducted in Spanish; her primary school was conducted in both English and Spanish but both her high school and college have been Spanish-speaking. In terms of percentages, Alex estimates speaking in Spanish for 40% of her day and in English for 60% of her day. In terms of hours per day, Alex estimates that she watches TV or listens to the radio for 4 hours in English every day. She estimates that throughout the course of one day she reads newspapers and magazines for 5 hours in English and for 1 hour in Spanish. Her 7 hour work day is conducted in English. Alex expresses that she usually reads, does simple arithmetic, and expresses anger or affection in English. Alex reports participating in language mixing practices involving Spanish and English very frequently with both her family and friends. Alex feels more comfortable reading, writing, and speaking both at home and at work in English but feels more comfortable speaking and understanding Spanish at home, and English at work.

Figure 12: Alex (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Subj 4: Miami Latina

Figure 13: Subj 4 (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Subj-4 is a 20-year-old female FIU undergraduate student who was born and raised in Miami and both of her parents moved to the US from Cuba. Subj 4 spoke Spanish up until the age of 4 when she began learning English at school. Subj 4's language background information is limited due language background questionnaire attrition.

SS: Miami Latina

Figure 14: SS (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

SS is a 19-year-old female FIU undergraduate student who was born and raised in Miami. Both of her parents moved to the US from Cuba and she grew up speaking mostly Spanish to her Mother and English to her father. SS's language background information is somewhat limited due to Language Background Questionnaire attrition.

Pink: Miami Latina

Figure 15: Pink (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Pink is a 21-year-old female FIU undergraduate student who was born and raised in Miami. Her parent came to the US as young adults and have lived here their entire lives. Pink's language background information is limited due to language background questionnaire attrition.

Emily: Miami Latina

Figure 16: Emily (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Emily is a 21-year-old female FIU undergraduate student who was born in Cuba but has lived in the US before the age of 5. Emily classified her first language as Spanish and her second language as English. Emily equally rates her ability in both Spanish and English for the following aspects: reading, writing, speaking fluency, and listening ability. She rated her accent in both Spanish and English as “poor.” Both of Emily’s parents speak Spanish and English; her home is bilingual. All of her formal education was conducted in English and she estimates, in terms of percentages, that she speaks English about 60% of the time and Spanish 40% of the time. In terms of hours per day, she watches TV or listens to the radio in English for an hour every day and reads, newspapers, magazines, etc in English for 4 hours every day. She estimates that she watches TV and listens to the radio in Spanish for 30 minutes every a day and reads the news, magazines, and other reading materials in Spanish for an hour every day. Emily

usually dreams, does simple arithmetics and expresses anger or affection in English. Emily participates in language mixing practices between Spanish and English only sometimes with her family and rarely with her friends. Emily feels that she usually does better at work when she reads, writes, speaks and understands in English, but feels better that she does better in English when reading and writing at home, and feels equally as comfortable in English or Spanish when speaking or understanding at home.

Blaze: Miami Latina

Figure 17: Blaze (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Blaze is a 25 year old female who was born and raised in the US. Blaze classifies Spanish as her first language and also classifies Spanish as her second language. Here the situation is a bit complex, Blaze acknowledges that Spanish was her first language at home even though she reports speaking English with her siblings, but also classifies

Spanish as her second language because she is English dominant in terms of reading and writing skills. However, Blaze classifies her listening ability in both English and Spanish as native-like, and rates her foreign language accent to be moderate in Spanish. Blaze speaks to both her mother and father in Spanish. Both her parents speak Spanish, but not English, fluently. All of her education was conducted in English barring a couple of Spanish classes that she took in high school. On a daily basis, Blaze reports speaking both English and Spanish for an equal amount of time every day. She reports feeling equally as comfortable conducting simple arithmetic in both Spanish or English. Blaze dreams mostly in English but expresses anger or affection in both Spanish and English. Blaze reports participating in language mixing practices of Spanish and English mostly with her friends and rarely with her family and co-workers. Blaze states that she feels more comfortable reading and writing both at home and at work in English, but feels equally comfortable speaking in Spanish or English. She reports feeling more comfortable understanding Spanish at home but equally as comfortable understanding English and Spanish at work.

Victoria: Miami Latina

Figure 18: Victoria (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Victoria is a 28-year-old female FIU undergraduate student who was born and raised in the US but lived in Puerto Rico between the age of 6 and 8. Her first language is Spanish and she did not start speaking her second language, English, until she began attending school. Interestingly, Victoria reports being exposed to both Spanish and English at the age of 3. Victoria rates her speaking and listening abilities in both Spanish and English as native-like, and rates her reading proficiency in both languages as “very good.” Victoria rates her writing proficiency in English as “good” while she rates her English proficiency as “very good.” She rates her Spanish accent as “poor” and her English accent as “functional.” She reports speaking to her mother in Spanish even though she is fluent in both Spanish and English. All of her formal education has been exclusively conducted in English except for her primary school education which was a mixture of both Spanish and English. Victoria reports participating in language mixing practices between Spanish

and English frequently with her family members, friends, and co-workers. Victoria reports feeling more comfortable reading in English, but feeling more comfortable speaking in Spanish, and feels equally as comfortable writing and understanding both Spanish and English.

Sophia: Miami Latina

Figure 19: Sophia (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Sophia is a 21 year old female who was born in Cuba and moved to the US at the age of 3. She classified Spanish as her first language and English as her second language. Sophia did not begin learning English until the age of 5 when she began school in the US. Sophia reports feeling more comfortable reading, writing, speaking, and listening in English, and rates her English proficiency for all the aforementioned measures as native like. She rates her reading and writing Spanish skills as “fair,” but reports native like

speaking and listening Spanish abilities. Sophia does not rate herself as having an accent in either Spanish or English. Sophia usually speaks to her mother in Spanish and speaks to her father in both Spanish and English. Both of her parents are fluent speakers of Spanish and English. The majority of Sophia's formal education was conducted in English, barring a couple of Spanish classes that she took in High School. On a daily basis, she speaks English 80% of the time and Spanish 20% of the time. Sophia watches TV and reads newspapers only in English but speaks Spanish for 1 out of the 6 hours that she works per day. Sophia reports feeling more comfortable doing simple arithmetic in English, and reports that she dreams and expresses anger or affection in both Spanish and English. Sophia offers us a little metalinguistic commentary about Spanish use in her home and expresses that certain members of her family pride themselves in speaking Spanish far more properly than others, but also comments that she herself loves learning more dialects and studying the differences among them.

4.4.2 Male Latinos

Alexander Supertramp: Miami Latino

Figure 20: Alexander Supertramp (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Alexander Supertramp (hereforth: AS) is a 21-year-old male student who was born and raised in South Florida. AS classified English as his first language and Spanish as his second language. AS began learning Spanish at home around the age of 4 and speaks to his mother in Spanish and to his father in English. His mother speaks Spanish and his father speaks both English and Spanish; they both communicate with each other in Spanish. AS rates his Spanish reading and writing proficiency as “poor,” and rates his speaking fluency as “functional,” and rates his listening ability as “very good.” All of AS’s formal academic education has been conducted in English. On a daily basis, AS speaks English 95% of the time and only 5% in Spanish throughout his day. AS watches TV and listens to the radio mostly in English and reads newspapers, magazines, and other general reading material only in English. AS reports doing simple arithmetic, dreaming, expressing anger or affection in English. Alexander Supertramp reports participating in language mixing practices rather frequently with his family members. In all measures,

reading, writing, speaking and understanding, both at home and at work, AS is more comfortable in English.

Jason: Miami Latino

Figure 21: Jason (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Jason is a male FIU student with Hispanic heritage. His language background questionnaire was unavailable.

Nicholas: Miami Latino

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Nicholas is a 20-year-old male who was born in Chile but moved to the US around the age of 4 where he has lived all of his life. He classifies Spanish as his first language and English as his second language. Nicholas rates himself as being very good in English reading proficiency, writing proficiency, speaking fluency, and native-like listening ability. Nicholas rates his Spanish as “fair” in reading proficiency, writing proficiency, “good” speaking fluency, and “very good” listening ability. He rates his Spanish accent as a 6 from a 1-7 scale and rates his accent in English as a 3. Nicholas speaks to his mother in Spanish and to his father in English. His primary school and high school were

both conducted in English but his secondary school and university were strictly conducted in English. Nicholas uses English 80% of the time throughout his day and watches TV or listens to the radio for about an hour every day. He estimates that throughout the course of one day, he often reads newspapers, magazines, and other general reading materials for one hour in English and only 2 minutes in Spanish. In terms of hours per day, Nicholas speaks English all day at work. He usually multiplies, adds, does simple arithmetic, and expresses anger or affection in English. In all of the following activities, Max feels that he does better in English when he is at home and at work: reading, writing, speaking, and understanding.

Figure 22: Nicholas (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Michael: Miami Latino

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Michael is an 18-year-old male FIU undergraduate student who was born and raised in the US. Michael began learning English as his second language at the age of six through formal language instruction and interaction with people. His first language is Spanish. Michael reports his Spanish proficiency in reading, writing, speaking, and listening as

“very good” and reports his English proficiency in the same categories as native-like. Michael reports feeling that he usually does better in a variety of tasks- reading, writing, speaking, understanding- both at home and at work, when they are conducted in English. Michael speaks to his mother in English and to his father in Spanish. Both of his parents are fluent speakers of both Spanish and English and speak both languages in the home. Michael’s formal academic instruction was conducted in English barring Spanish classes during high school. In terms of percentages, Michael estimates she speaks Spanish 15% of the time and English 85% of the time. In the course of a typical day, Michael watches TV or listens to music for ½ an hour in Spanish and for 3 hours in English. In terms of hours per day, Michael reads newspapers, magazines, and other general reading materials in English and conducts his seven hours at work in English as well. Michael reports that he usually conducts simple arithmetic, dreams, and expresses his anger or affection in English. Michael does not participate in language mixing practices.

Figure 23: Michael (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Mike: Miami Latino

Figure 24: Mike (/i, ɪ, æ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Mike is a 21-year-old male FIU undergraduate student who was born and raised in the US and has never lived outside of the US. He classifies his first language as Spanish and his second language as English. Mike began learning English at the age of 4 when he first

started going to school and mostly practiced with other classmates. Despite the fact that Spanish is his first language, Mike rates his reading proficiency and speaking fluency as “fair,” and his writing proficiency as “poor,” but he rates his listening ability as “very good.” All of Mike’s education has been conducted exclusively in English. He does not report an accent in either of his two languages. Mike speaks English to both his mother and his father at home. His mother is fluent in both Spanish and English and his father is fluent in Spanish. His parents speak to each other in an equally balanced quantity of both Spanish and English. On a daily basis, Mike estimates that he watches TV or listens to the Radio in English for about 95% of the time. In terms of hours per day, he watches TV and listens to the radio for an hour in English every day, and reads newspapers, magazines, and other general reading materials for 2 hours in English and for about ½ an hour in Spanish. In terms of hours per day, he spends about 4 hours a day speaking English for work and study related activities. He dreams, does simple arithmetic, and expresses anger or affection in English. Mike does not report participating in language mixing practices. Mike reports feeling more comfortable conducting the following variety of tasks in English both at home and at work: reading, writing, speaking, and understanding.

Max Powers: Miami Latino

Figure 25: Max Powers (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

Max Powers is a 22-year-old FIU male undergraduate who was born and raised in the US. Max Powers classifies her first language as English and her second language as Spanish or Spanglish. She is most proficient in English when reading, writing, speaking, and listening and is “poorly” proficient in all of these categories when speaking Spanish. He classifies his accent in Spanish as “good.” His mother speaks fluent Spanish and English and his father speaks fluent Spanish. All of Max Power’s education has been conducted in both Spanish and English except for his college education, which was conducted in English. Max Powers estimates that during the course of one day he watches TV, listens to the radio, reads newspapers and magazines, etc, only in English. He usually dreams and does simple arithmetic in Spanish but expresses his anger or affection in Spanish. Max Powers reports mixing words and sentences from Spanish and English with his family members quite frequently but only sometimes with his friends. Max reports feeling he does better in all of the following activities in English: reading

writing speaking, and understanding, both at home and at work. At the end of his language background questionnaire, Max Powers comments that he doesn't consider his Spanish to be the best despite the fact that it is the only language his father (and other members of his own family) speak.

4.4.3 Female Anglo Whites

EN: Miami Anglo Whites

Figure 26: EN (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

EN is a 25-year-old Miami born and raises female Anglo-White. She grew up in an English-speaking home and all of her education was conducted in English. Her work is conducted in English 100% of the time.

EN: Miami Anglo Whites

Figure 27: White Girl (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, u, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Language Background Questionnaire Information:

White Girl is a 20-year-old undergraduate student from FIU who was born and raised in Miami. She was born and raised in the USA and has never lived outside of the US. White Girl has a very interesting language background history because although she is not a heritage speaker of Spanish, she reports that Spanish is her first language. Both of her parents are missionaries and are fluent speakers of Spanish who would mostly speak to her in Spanish when she was growing up. However, she reports speaking to both of her parents in English at home. Both of her parents speak to each other in English at home. All of White Girl's formal education has been conducted in English. White Girl usually does simple arithmetic in English but reports that she dreams and expresses anger or affection in either English or Spanglish. She participates in language mixing practices with mostly her friends, but sometimes with her family, and less often with her coworkers. Japanese is also spoken in her home.

4.4.4 Male Anglo Whites

Burrito, Tall Man, Permit, DD, & Jeff will here be collapsed into one description

regarding their language background questionnaire. All of these speakers are Anglo

Whites who were born and raised in Miami, Miami Beach and Pinecrest. They did not

attend bilingual programs and all grew up in English-only speaking homes.

Burrito: Miami Anglo Whites

Figure 28: Burrito (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Permit: Miami Anglo Whites

Figure 30: Permit (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Notes

This speaker was taken out of the study as a result of his extreme creaky voice.

Tall Man: Miami Anglo Whites

Figure 31: Tall Man (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

Jeff: Miami Anglo Whites

Figure 33: Jeff (/i, ɪ, æ, ɔ, aɪ/) full vowel plot

4.4.4 Summary of Language Background Questionnaires

The language background questionnaires present an interesting story of the complicated Miami linguistic landscape. However, there seem to be broad traits that resurface in almost all of the language background questionnaires of my Latino participants. In the following section, I will describe some of the general traits associated with their language background education and their Spanish and English distribution and use in the household, at work, and at home. All of the speakers considered for this project were either born in South Florida, or they moved to South Florida before the age of 3. One of the most prevalent traits exhibited in the data

All of the speakers reported having conducted all of their schooling in English, few report having attended ESL classes, and even fewer participants reported having formal bilingual education in school. Most participants had never had any formal instruction in Spanish until taking a class in College or the later years of High school. Most of the

speakers in this study reported using English for more than 90% of the time throughout their day, and almost all of our speakers reported using Spanish for less than 10% of the time throughout the day. Interestingly, while almost all speakers reported conducting simple arithmetic in English, I found a strong pattern of participants reporting that they express anger and affection in both Spanish and English. The great majority of the participants also reported feeling more comfortable both at home and at work when they spoke in English in all of the following tasks: reading, writing, speaking, and understanding. Some speakers made the distinction that at home, they feel more comfortable understanding and speaking in Spanish, but none of the speakers reported feeling more comfortable writing or reading in Spanish —either at work or at home— and none of the speakers reported feeling more comfortable in any of these tasks in Spanish when at work. These trends here point to the strong English preference among the US born Latinos in Miami, while at the same time pointing to the great prevalence of Spanish language activities in the Latino home.

One of the most prevalent traits that I see repeated in the data over and over again, is in the description of Spanish language ability: most Latino participants classify themselves as having a fluent passive understanding of Spanish. However, I found a great deal of variation in the classification of their speaking abilities, here I found that although participants displayed a wide range of speaking ability— from native-like fluency to limited speaking capabilities, most of the participants expressed having very limited ability in Spanish writing skills. This is not unsurprising since we know that the 2nd language, or heritage language, is typically lost among the 2nd and 3rd generations, which would explain the high amount of speakers reporting limited speaking and writing

Spanish abilities. On the other hand, what we might find surprising is the great prevalence of at least some Spanish speaking abilities among the 2nd and 3rd generations in Miami. Although I do see a strong pattern for heritage language loss among the participants studied thus far, I also see that regardless of how speakers classified their Spanish language ability, most of the participants had at least some passive knowledge of Spanish, and could both understand and produce Spanish related activities, and was to some degree “functional” Spanish.

Another trait that was repeated over and over in the data, is that it is very typical for Spanish and English languages to be split among the mother and father of the household; in this situation, either the mother or the father speaks one language to the children, and the other parent will speak the remaining language to the children. That is, for example, the father will only speak English to the children and the mother will only speak Spanish to the children. An important factor to mention is the great amount of participants reporting having their grandparents living at home with them, and to mention that these grandparents more often than not, only spoke to the children in Spanish. Many of the participants also report having strong familial bases here in Miami, and report that in these extended family situations the children usually speak Spanish to the adults but speak English among the younger generations. No speaker reported speaking to their siblings in Spanish, they unanimously reported speaking English to their siblings, and only occasionally speaking Spanish to their siblings if a parent was present, to tell a joke in Spanish, etc.

The strong preference for English preference comes up over and over again in the language background questionnaires, and while most of the participants report having

learned Spanish prior to English—before attending formal school— not a single participant reports conducting their life, or even more than 20% of their life, in Spanish. Although participants report learning to speak Spanish before they spoke English, we also have to consider the fact that Miami is in the United States, and inevitably, these speakers encountered English in their daily lives, whether it be on TV, the grocery store, etc., these speakers were surrounded by both languages. Furthermore, even though the participants studied for this project exhibited a strong preference for English, many of the participants expressed their love of the Spanish language, and the fact that they would want their children to grow up speaking both languages. Most of the speakers considered here also expressed that for them, Spanish use was largely restricted to use in the home, and out and about in Miami when shopping at stores and talking to older members of the community. A definite and marked pattern in the data was the fact that while speakers reported speaking Spanish to the older members in their families, they rarely reported speaking Spanish to their siblings or friends. Again, the data here seems to indicate a strong preference for English among US born Latinos living in Miami, FL.

5.DISCUSSION

This project contributes to the growing body of literature on the English of US Latinos by providing evidence on the production of vowels by Miami speakers of Cuban heritage. In this first pass attempt to position the vowel productions of Miami speakers of both Latino and Non-Latino background within the broader framework of features that establish Latino English as an autonomous dialect in the US, I have found that although Miami Cuban Latinos seem to reflect some of the features that establish Latino English as

an autonomous dialect in the US, we find a great deal of intra-speaker variation. It is difficult at this point in data collection to make large generalizable claims because of the limited number of participants considered for this study, and because of the limited range of Miami Cuban Latinos this study was able to access, mainly FIU students from undergraduate English classes. However, at this point in the development of this project we can assert that 1) some speakers in the data set exhibit the allophonic split for ash when considering the pre-nasal and non-pre-nasal context, while others do not 2) /u/ and /ɔ/ remain as back vowels and 3) female Latina speakers seem to back the production of /i/ while male speakers exhibit a raising of /i/. 4) Latino speakers also maintain the phonemic distinction between /I/ and /i/. I also note there are differences among the male and female Latino groups that demand further attention that have not yet been considered for analysis.

5.2 Considerations for future study

Forthcoming analysis will consider social factors which may influence the production of certain linguistic features in some speakers and not in others. Social factors that will be considered include, age, sex, socioeconomic factors, age of arrival to Miami, parent's age of arrival to Miami, degree of Spanish proficiency, degree of Spanish use on a daily basis, Miami neighborhood (Westchester, Hialeah, etc.). I would also like to conduct an additional analysis of the two vowels /o/ and /e/ and situate them within the US Latino English literature. Considering the findings of Konopka & Pierrehumbert (2010), I propose conducting a comparison of vowel duration among the different heritage speakers and the monolingual English speakers.

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Appendix

This section will provide: 1)official consent forms 2)language background questionnaires 3)questions asked during the sociolinguistics interview.

Official Consent Forms

ADULT CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY

Prosodic Rhythm in Miami Latino English

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

You are being asked to be in a research study. The purpose of this study is to learn more about the rhythm of the dialects of English spoken in Miami.

NUMBER OF STUDY PARTICIPANTS

If you decide to be in this study, you will be one of 70 people in this research study.

DURATION OF THE STUDY

Your participation will require approximately 45 minutes of your time including the consent process, screening interview, and study interview.

PROCEDURES

If you agree to be in the study, we will ask you to do the following things:

1. An audio-recorded interview about your language background.
2. An audio-recorded interview about your social interactions.

RISKS AND/OR DISCOMFORTS

The following risks may be associated with your participation in this study. There is a minimal risk of psychological discomfort because the interview questions ask about your history. You can skip any question to which you are not comfortable responding.

BENEFITS

The following benefits may be associated with your participation in this study. While there are no direct benefits to the participant, there are many benefits to society and to the linguistic community. There has been very little research done on the effects of the Spanish and English languages in contact in Miami so this will widen the knowledge of how languages change. As per benefits to society, a more in depth knowledge of the Miami Dialect and speech styles associated with Latino communities will help to expel the myths surrounding language in the US.

ALTERNATIVES

There are no known alternatives available to you other than not taking part in this study. However, any significant new findings developed during the course of the research which may relate to your willingness to continue participation will be provided to you.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The records of this study will be kept private and will be protected to the fullest extent provided by law. In any sort of report we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research records will be stored securely and only the researcher team will have access to the records. However, your records may be reviewed for audit purposes by authorized University or other agents who will be bound by the same provisions of confidentiality.

COMPENSATION & COSTS

You will not receive any payment for your participation. You will not be responsible for any costs to participate in this study.

RIGHT TO DECLINE OR WITHDRAW

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to participate in the study or withdraw your consent at any time during the study. Your withdrawal or lack of participation will not affect any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. The investigator reserves the right to remove you without your consent at such time that they feel it is in the best interest.

RESEARCHER CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions about the purpose, procedures, or any other issues relating to this research study you may contact Dr. Phillip M. Carter, Nandi Sims, and Lydda Lopez in DM 470, 757-784-3691, nsims003@fiu.edu.

IRB CONTACT INFORMATION

If you would like to talk with someone about your rights of being a subject in this research study or about ethical issues with this research study, you may contact the FIU Office of Research Integrity by phone at 305-348-2494 or by email at ori@fiu.edu.

PARTICIPANT AGREEMENT

I have read the information in this consent form and agree to participate in this study. I have had a chance to ask any questions I have about this study, and they have been answered for me. I understand that I am entitled to a copy of this form after it has been read and signed.

Signature of Participant

Date

Printed Name of Participant

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Date

Language Background Questionnaire

Language Background Questionnaire

Contact Information:

Name: _____

Email: _____

Telephone: _____

Today's Date: _____

Questions:

1. Age:

2. Sex:

3. Education (highest degree obtained or school level attended):

4. Country of origin:

5. Country of residence:

6. If questions 4 and 5 are the same, how long have you lived in a foreign country where your second language is spoken? If they are different, how long have you been in the country of your current residence?

7. What is your first language?

8. Do you speak a second language? If so, what is your second language?

(If you do not speak a second language, you do not need to proceed and have finished the form)

9. At what age did you start to learn your second language . . .

- At home?
- In school?
- After arriving in the second language speaking country?

10. How did you learn your second language up to this point? (check all that apply)

- Mainly through formal classroom instruction _____
- Mainly through interacting with people _____
- A mixture of both _____
- Other (please specify) _____

11. List all foreign language you know in order of most proficient to least proficient. Rate your ability in the following aspects using the scale (write down numbers in the table):

Language	Reading proficiency	Writing proficiency	Speaking fluency	Listening ability

1-very poor 2-poor 3-fair 4-functional 5-good 6-very good 7-native-like

12. Provide the age at which you were first exposed to each foreign language in terms of speaking, reading, and writing and the number of years you have spent on learning each language:

Language	Age exposed to speaking	Age exposed to reading	Age exposed to writing	Number of years learning

13. Do you have a foreign accent in the languages you speak? If so, please rate the strength of your accent on a scale from 1 to 7 (see above):

Language	Accent (circle one)	Strength of accent

14. What language do you usually speak to your mother at home? (If not applicable for any reason, write N/A)

15. What language do you usually speak to your father at home? (If not applicable for any reason, write N/A)

16. What languages can your parents speak fluently? (If not applicable for any reason, write N/A)

- Mother: _____

- Father: _____

17. What language or languages do your parents usually speak to each other at home? (If not applicable for any reason, write N/A)

18. Write down the name of the language in which you received instruction in school, for each schooling level:

- Primary/Elementary School _____
- Secondary/Middle School _____
- High School _____
- College/University _____

19. Estimate, in terms of percentages, how often you use your native language and other languages per day (in all daily activities combined. Total should equal 100%):

- Native language _____%
- Second language _____%
- Other languages _____% (Specify _____)

20. Estimate, in terms of hours per day, how often you watch TV or listen to radio in your native language and other languages per day.

- Native language:
- Second language:
- Other languages (specify):

21. Estimate, in terms of hours per day, how often you read newspapers, magazines, and other general reading materials in your native language and other languages per day.

- Native language:

- Second language:
- Other languages (specify):

22. Estimate, in terms of hours per day, how often you use your native language and other languages per day for work or study related activities (e.g. going to classes, writing papers, talking to colleagues, classmates, or peers).

- Native language:
- Second language:
- Other language:

23. In which languages do you usually:

- Add, multiply, and do simple arithmetic?
- Dream?
- Express anger or affection?

24. When you are speaking, do you ever mix words or sentences from the two or more languages you know? (If no, skip to question 26)

25. List the languages that you mix and rate the frequency of mixing in normal conversation with the following people, on a scale from 1 (mixing is very rare) to 5 (mixing is very frequent). Write down the number in the box.

Relationship	Languages mixed	Frequency of mixing
Spouse/family members		
Friends		

Co-workers		
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26. In which language (among your best two languages) do you feel you usually do better? Write the name of the language under each condition.

Activity	At Home	At work
Reading		
Writing		
Speaking		
Understanding		

27. If you have lived or travelled in other countries for more than three months, please indicate the name(s) of the country or countries, your length of stay, and the language(s) you learned or tried to learn. 28. If you have taken a standardized test of proficiency for languages other than your native language (e.g. TOEFL or Test of English as a Foreign Language), please indicate the scores you received for each.

Language	Scores	Name of the Test

29. If there is anything else that you feel is interesting or important about your language background or language use, please comment below:

Sociolinguistic Interview Questions

Sociolinguistic Interview Questions:

- Which neighborhood are you from?
- What was it like growing up in a neighborhood like this?
- What was your childhood like?
- Tell me about one of your favorite childhood memories.
- Who was your best childhood friend?
- What high school did you go to?
- How did you like this school?
- Who was your favorite high school teacher?
- Tell me a story that describes this teacher.
- What is your occupation?
- Describe your job as if speaking to someone who does not know anything about your field

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- 1. Academic related: major, classes taken, favorite class, what will you do when graduate, what's your day like on campus, why this major, etc.
- 2. family / home life / personal history: family history in Miami, country of origin or parents' country of origin, experience in public school in miami before college (if they are immigrants themselves, ask them to tell you about that experience) / language history
- 3. Language - what language or languages did you learn first? what language do you use most now, with whom? when do you use Spanish? how do you feel if someone you don't know addresses you first in Spanish, such as a clerk in a department store? Before college, did you speak Spanish at school? If not why not? Do you wish there were more Spanish on campus?
- 4. Miami: try these -
 - a) How would you describe life in Miami for someone who has never been here?
 - b) What are the people like who live in Miami? Describe them.
 - c) What are the best things about living in Miami?
 - d) What are the most annoying things about living in Miami?
 - e) What do you think people outside of Miami think about the people and culture here?
 - f) finally, as your last question, what is language like in Miami? How do people speak English, Spanish? other languages? When do people mix languages?

Reading passage:

It ^{was} one of those terribly hot days in Baltimore. We always had those for about a month between July and August. They were the days that were so hot that they made you regret ever wishing it would be summer. That day in particular was hotter than I could remember it being. The weatherman on the radio said it would get up to 104°!

Needless to say, it was too hot to do anything outside. But it was also scorching in our apartment. This was 1962, and I would not live in a place with an air conditioner for another ten years. So my brother and I decided to leave the apartment to find someplace indoors. I suggested the drug store, because I wanted to get a soda or malt. But he reminded me that the drug store would not let you sit there all day, especially once the afternoon rush started. My brother instead suggested we could see a movie. It was a brilliant plan.

Movie theaters were one of the few places you could sit all day and—most important—sit in air conditioning. In those days, you could buy one ticket and sit through both movies of a double feature. Then, the theater would show the same two movies again after that. If you wanted to, you could sit through them twice. Most people did not do that, but the manager at our theater, Mr. Bellow, did not mind if you did.

That particular day, my brother and I sat through both movies twice, trying to escape the heat. We bought three bags of popcorn and three sodas each. Then, we sat and watched *The Music Man* followed by *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*. We'd already seen the second movie once before. It had been at the theater since January, because Mr.

Bellow loved anything with John Wayne in it. Watching it again was better than going outside, and at least *The Music Man* was new to us.

We left the theater around 8, just before the evening shows began. Mr. Bellow was expecting a big crowd for the premier of *Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm*, so he insisted that we leave. But we returned the next day and saw the same two movies again, twice more. And we did it the next day too. Finally, on the fourth day, the heat wave broke.

Still, to this day I can sing half the songs in *The Music Man* and quote half of John Wayne and Jimmy Stewart's dialogue from *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*! Those memories are some of the few I have of the heat wave of 1962, and they're not really my memories. They're really memories of the screen, not memories of my life.

Cab
Candy
Hand
Tight
Tide
Boot
Boat
But
Beet
Bit