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'ES QUE HABLAN CANTADITOS' – SELF-REPORTED IDENTIFICATION STRATEGIES BY PUERTO RICAN AND DOMINICAN SPANISH SPEAKERS

Eva-María Suárez Büdenbender

Abstract

Small phonetic/phonological cues have been found to be highly salient markers in speaker identification, especially among members of different socioeconomic and ethnic groups (e.g., Fridland and Bartlett 2006; McKenzie 2008; Niedzielski 1999; Preston 1999). The present study adds to this discussion by examining identification cues reportedly used by speakers of Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish. In particular, realizations of syllable final /r/ and /l/ are reported as highly salient in speaker identification. Whereas lexical differences are also mentioned as crucial, there is little evidence for the saliency of morphological cues (e.g., Dominican double negation or the use of the expletive *ello* 'it' (López Morales 1992)). Although not specifically elicited in the questionnaire, a number of participants referenced differences in social behaviors and work ethics as useful in the identification process. This suggests that for Puerto Ricans Dominican Spanish have become synonymous for speakers of lower educational and socioeconomic attainment.

Keywords: sociolinguistics, dialectal contact, Dominican Spanish, Puerto Rican Spanish

Resumen

Encuestas recientes han subrayado la importancia de elementos fonéticos/fonológicos como marcadores salientes en procesos de identificación de hablantes, en particular entre miembros de grupos socioeconómicos diferentes (p.ej., Fridland y Bartlett 2006; McKenzie 2008; Niedzielski 1999; Preston 1999). El presente estudio contribuye a esta discusión por su examinación de marcadores de identificación mencionados por hablantes de español dominicano y la variedad puertorriqueña. Las realizaciones de la /r/ y la /l/ a final de sílaba se han reportado como muy salientes en procesos de identificación. Aunque las diferencias léxicas también se consideran muy notables, hay poca evidencia para la importancia de elementos morfológicos en estos procesos de identificación (p.ej., la doble negación y el uso del expletivo *ello* del español dominicano (López Morales 1992)).

Aunque el cuestionario se enfocaba sólo en diferencias lingüísticas, las respuestas de varios participantes vincularon íntimamente en este proceso las suposiciones del interlocutor sobre las experiencias educativas y el trasfondo social/étnico del hablante. Esto indica que el habla dominicano se percibe como la lengua de personas con poco acceso a educación formal y de un nivel socioeconómico bajo.

Palabras clave: sociolingüística, contacto dialectal, español dominicano, español puertorriqueño

RESUMÉ

Des études ont démontré que de petits éléments phonétiques/phonologiques sont en fait des marqueurs très saillants permettant d'identifier des locuteurs, en particulier parmi les membres de différents groupes socio-économiques et ethniques (voir Fridland et Bartlett 2006; McKenzie 2008; Niedzielski 1999; Preston 1999). La présente étude porte sur les stratégies d›identification des locuteurs de l'espagnol dominicain et portoricain et vient confirmer les études antérieures. En particulier, les réalisations de / r / et de / l / en finale de syllabe sont très saillantes dans l›identification du locuteur. Bien que les différences lexicales soient également considérées importantes, il existe peu de preuves sur le rôle des indices morphologiques, par exemple la double négation ou l›utilisation du pronom *ello* en espagnol dominicain (López Morales 1992). Par ailleurs, ces résultats soulignent que l'identification du locuteur ne se fonde pas uniquement sur des indices linguistiques, mais semble être intimement liée aux suppositions que formule l'auditeur concernant le niveau d'éducation ou encore l'origine ethnique ou sociale du locuteur.

Mots-clés : sociolinguistique, contact dialectal, espagnol portoricain, espagnol dominicain

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Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish, along with other varieties spoken in the Caribbean, such as those spoken in Cuba and the coastal regions of Colombia and Venezuela, have been termed "innovative" by researchers (e.g., Lipski 1994; Toribio 2000b). What makes these varieties unique are a number of linguistic features that all of these varieties share, such as the aspiration, denoted by the symbol [h], or loss of syllable-final /s/, denoted by the symbol [*ø]*, as in the example *la[h] casa[ø],* 'the houses.' Moreover there is velarization, i.e. the articulation of [n] as of followed by [g] (e.g., 'coming') of /n/ (*e[ŋ] casa,* 'in (the) house'), and the use of overt pronouns (*Tú me avisa*

cuando tú esté lista. 'Let me know when you are ready.') (Lipski 1994).

In spite of these similarities, there exists a series of linguistic features that serve to distinguish each variety from the others. Characteristics of Dominican Spanish include the almost complete erosion of /s/ in coda position (*la[ø] muchacha[ø],* 'the girls'), the use of *ello* 'it' as an overt expletive (*Ello hay gente*. 'There are people.'), and double negation (*No lo sé no.* 'I don't know'). Dominican Spanish also exhibits regional differences. Lateralization of /r/ (i.e., the realization of coda /r/ as [l] where the medial consonant resembles more an 'l' than and 'r' as in pa[l]te instead of *parte,* 'side') and rhoticization of /l/ (i.e., the realization of coda /l/ as [ɾ] as in ca[ɾ]ma instead of *calma* 'calm' where the medial consonant resembles more an 'r' than an 'l') can be found in the central and southern parts of the island. Another phenomenon found in the northern region of the Cibao is vocalization, a process whereby a consonant at the end of a syllable appears as a vowel, can also be found in this variety. Here the consonants /l/ and /r/ turn to [i] in coda position (i.e., trabaja[i] instead of *trabajar,* 'to work') (e.g., Henríquez Ureña 1940; Jiménez Sabater 1975; Toribio 2002). A very salient trait of Puerto Rican Spanish is the uvular fricative articulation of the /r/ in syllable-initial position (López Morales 1992; Navarro Tomás 1948). While the uvular /r/ (similar to the /r/ sound in French) can be found across Puerto Rico, its use is especially common among the lower social classes, inhabitants of rural areas, and among men (Lipski 1994:334); however, it can also be found even in the most formal discourses (Navarro Tomás 1948:93). Furthermore, Puerto Rican Spanish stands out for the lateralization of /r/ in coda position (i.e. the realization of /r/ as /l/ at the end of syllables as in apa[r]car, *to park,* will be pronounced apa[l]car), which is very common across all parts of the island and may be found among speakers from various socioeconomic groups (López Morales 1992; Navarro Tomás 1948).

Work on Caribbean Spanish intonation has isolated three Dominican Spanish declarative expressions with characteristic intonational patterns: the expressions *oh, oh* 'oh, oh,' *oh sí* 'oh, yes,' and sentences containing Dominican double negation (López Morales 1992, Jiménez Sabater 1975). The expression *oh, oh* denotes either amazement (or disapproval or both at the same time). The tone of the first syllable is very high and then lowers abruptly on the second 'oh.' The expression *oh, sí* is used mostly by rural Dominicans instead of a simple *sí* as an affirmative response to a question. It is produced by elevating the tone on the first syllable and then falling to a lengthened second syllable with a final rise.

Differences between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish can also be encountered at the lexical level. For instance, 'passion fruit' is termed *parcha* in Puerto Rico and *chinola* in the Dominican Republic. 'Goat' is called *cabra* in Puerto Rico and *chivo* in the Dominican Republic (e.g.,

López Morales 1992; Navarro Tomás 1948). In sum, there are a number of linguistic differences that could be salient enough to the listener to identify a speaker as Dominican or Puerto Rican. The perceived differences will come to bear in the present investigation, which examines Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish speakers' self-reported strategies in identifying a speaker's national origin. The location chosen for this study was San Juan, Puerto Rico. The capital of the Puerto Rican nation boasts a large number of Dominican immigrants (e.g., Duany 2005) and speakers of both varieties interact with each other on a regular basis, and, therefore, have at least a rudimentary understanding (whether conscious or subconscious) of the linguistic differences between both varieties. Moreover, the socioeconomic and educational differences between the Puerto Rican majority and the Dominican immigrants (specified below) could render the small number of linguistic differences even more salient. There exists evidence for this idea from linguistic research. Early on, Lambert *et al*. (1960) showed that the recognition of small phonetic/phonological cues leads to assumptions made by the listener about the speaker's social, educational, and racial background. More specifically, the ascription of particular personal characteristics of a speaker (e.g., socioeconomic status, education, perceived racial or ethnic background) depend primarily on the speaker's adherence to socially respected norms (e.g., d'Anglejan and Tucker 1983; Lippi-Green 1997; Luhman 1990). This applies particularly for speakers of non-standard varieties (e.g., Bettoni and Gibbons 1988; Blas Arroyo 1999; Fridland 2008; Hiraga 2005; Kerswill and Williams 2002; Williams, Garrett, and Coupland 1999) and to speakers with foreign accented speech (e.g., Bradac and Wisegarver 1984).

Research emanating from the area of perceptual dialectology points to the importance of social psychology in these identification processes (e.g., Long and Preston 2002; Niedzielski and Preston 2003; Preston 1996, 1999). Languages, and their speakers, are embedded in social contexts and a connection between a particular group (e.g., regional, ethnic, racial) and a particular set of linguistic features cannot be overlooked (e.g., Demirci and Kleiner 1999; Fridland 2008; Fridland and Bartlett, 2005, 2006; Hoffmann and Walker 2010; Preston 1999). Moreover, the salience of particular *phonetic* differences (as opposed to lexical or other differences) has emerged as an important identification cue. The use of these cues has been revealed in a variety of contexts, such as the Northern Cities Vowel Shift (Niedzielski 1999) and the perceptions of southern vowels (Fridland and Bartlett 2005, 2006; Fridland 2008) in the United States. The importance of sociophonetics (the study of the relationship between phonetics and their evaluation in a given social setting) in the context of establishing and maintaining ethnicity has been documented among larger immigrant groups (e.g., Hoffmann and Walker

2010). These results can even be extended to nonce (nonsense) words. For instance, Staum Casasanto (2009) revealed that social information influenced the processing of ambiguous nonce words in the listeners the same way it influenced the processing of real words. Thus, listeners learn probabilistic relationships between social characteristics of speakers and their linguistic —especially phonetic— behavior.

Similar results have been found in studies examining perceptions of dialectal differences in Spanish varieties, in particular Caribbean varieties. Specifically, studies examining perceptual attitudes towards varieties of Spanish among Miami Cubans (2002), Costa Ricans (Jara Murillo 2008), and inhabitants of Veracruz, Mexico (Orozco 2010) all converged on the low esteem attributed to Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish.[1] The outcome of these studies falls in line with previous work (e.g., Demirci and Kleiner 1999) in revealing a correlation between low economic and educational attainment of a country and the lack of prestige attributed to these varieties. Consequently, varieties spoken in countries, such as the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, which are plagued by ongoing economic and financial woes, are rated lower than the speech of, for example, Colombia, Argentina, or Spain, countries that up until recent years have enjoyed more stable economies and continue to evidence higher levels of education (e.g., *World Economics*, data 2012). We can see this same pattern reiterated in the relationship between Puerto Ricans and Dominican immigrants (and attitudes towards Dominican Spanish by extension). Puerto Ricans statistically speaking reach higher levels of education than those Dominican immigrants that come to Puerto Rico. Consequently, Dominican Spanish, the language of the migrant group, is highly stigmatized and has become synonymous with speakers of lower income and lower level of education. The context is also racialized since Dominicans are perceived to be 'darker,' with stronger African features than their Puerto Rican counterparts (e.g. Duany 2005; Mejía Pardo 1993). Therefore, the large degree of linguistic similarity between both varieties appears in conjunctions with a set of social, educational, and perceived racial differences. Previous studies suggest (e.g., Demirci and Kleiner 1999; Preston 1999) that small linguistic differences have become markers or 'icons' (Irvine and Gal 2000) that link certain linguistic features with particular social groups. These observations are supported by studies investigating the relationship between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico (e.g., Duany 2005; Mejía Pardo 1993; Suárez Büdenbender 2009). They point to the fact that speakers may claim to use linguistic cues for identification of a speaker's origin only, but the process has several layers of association co-occurring, whereby linguistic cues are interpreted as well as physical/semiotic cues (e.g., dress, skin color, behavior) as indicators

of socioeconomic/national/ethnic background. To quote Irvine and Gal (2000:74): "(…) linguistic differentiation crucially involves ideologically embedded and socially constructed processes." Thus identification processes are a form of social profiling that include linguistic as well as socio-educational cues. In the present case this means that relatively small linguistic differences will become salient markers along with non-linguistic cues that speakers may or may not be aware of.

The present study

The purpose of the present work is to contribute to this ongoing discussion on the possible influence of the social context on linguistic evaluations by presenting insights into linguistic perceptions and identification strategies collected from speakers of two linguistically very similar varieties of Spanish: Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish. The methodology used follows studies in perceptual dialectology and therefore elicits the speakers' awareness of differences and their explanations of the linguistic and non-linguistic differences they perceive. The setting of the study is San Juan, Puerto Rico, which has seen an influx of Dominican emigrés in search of economic advancement since the 1960s (e.g., Duany 2005). A close look at census data reveals a bifurcation between both groups at the socioeconomic and educational levels. According to recent data, an estimated 65,815 Dominicans live in Puerto Rico currently. Of these, 59,219 were born outside of Puerto Rico (American Community Survey, estimates for 2012). To date, many Dominicans remain employed in the lower-paying blue-collar jobs, such as service occupations (40.3%), domestic and retail trade (20.9%), and construction (16.4%) (American Community Survey, estimates for 2012; Duany 1998; Hernández 2002). One of the reasons for this are the immigrants' comparatively low levels of education. For instance, of the Dominican population on the island above the age of 25, only 18.7% obtained a high school diploma, and 43.8% did not complete high school (US Census Bureau, 5-year-estimates 2010-2014).[2] By comparison, most Puerto Ricans have a high school diploma (71.9%), or have the opportunity to pursue college degrees,[3] and, therefore, find employment in, for instance, the managerial and business occupations (30.4%), in service occupations (20.3%), and in sales and office occupations (27.8%) (US Census Bureau, 5-year-estimates 2008-2012). Thus, due to the socioeconomic and educational differences between both speaker groups and the perceived differences in race discussed above, relatively small linguistic differences as well as non-linguistic cues (e.g. behavior, skin color, clothing) could become crucial and highly salient cues in the identification of a speaker's national origin.

The present study addresses this context by examining self-reported strategies for identifying speakers' origins. Based on the observations mentioned above, the following set of research questions emerged to guide the present study:

Question 1: What is the level of confidence to identify speakers by linguistic means only? For example, based on linguistic cues alone, how certain are people in judging the national origins of speakers?

Question 2: What specific linguistic items do the participants report using in assessing speakers' national origins?

a. Which phonetic/phonological items do the participants report using?

b. Which lexical items do they mention?

c. Which, if any, morphological and syntactic differences do participants report noticing between the two varieties (e.g., expletive "ello," double negation)?

Question 3: Do the participants mention aspects of peoples' appearance (i.e. dress, skin color) or behavior? Do they link these qualities with socioeconomic status?

Given the relatively dense population of Dominicans in much of San Juan, it is very likely that speakers of both varieties have extensive experience in hearing and communicating with each other frequently and in a variety of social contexts. It is, therefore, hypothesized that speakers of both varieties will report a high degree of confidence in being able to identify the speech of the other.

Hypothesis 1: Speakers of both varieties will report a high degree of confidence in being able to identify the speech of the other.

The bulk of linguistic differences lie in the area of phonetics, phonology, and the lexicon. Moreover, in recent work examining speakers' perceptions of other varieties it was found that much emphasis is placed on phonetic/phonological differences and less on structural differences, such as morphology and syntax (e.g., Fridland 2008; Niedzielski 1999). Therefore, it is hypothesized that speakers will report using differences in pronunciation and the lexicon rather/more than than morpho-syntactic differences between Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish.

Hypothesis 2: Speakers will report relying more on phonetic/phonological differences or dissimilarities in the lexicon than on morphological or syntactic differences.

Mejía Pardo (1993) found that Puerto Rican participants revealed hesitancy at mentioning racial, educational, and socioeconomic differences, however, articulated their negative evaluations of Dominican Spanish freely. The author pointed out that criticizing linguistic differences was a socially more acceptable means to express negative evaluations of ethnic or socioeconomic differences.

> Hypothesis 3: The main focus of the questions will gear the participants towards mentioning linguistic cues as guidelines for speaker identification. Mentioning non-linguistic markers would reference a highly sensitive topic. It is hypothesized that speakers will be less likely to mention these.

For the present study, sociolinguistic interviews were conducted in San Juan, Puerto Rico with Puerto Rican natives and Dominican migrants with the aim of gaining insight into the linguistic strategies reported by both speaker groups. The ensuing sections will offer details on the data collection.

Participants

The analysis is based on the data culled from 129 participants. Data collection for this study took place on two occasions: a pilot study and a larger data collection. The pilot study had a total of 30 participants: 15 Puerto Ricans and 15 Dominicans. The participants for the second data collection were 52 Puerto Rican participants and 47 Dominican participants. The length of residence of Dominicans living in Puerto Rico spanned from 2 weeks to 42 years. The youngest participants were 18 years old. The oldest Puerto Rican was 75 years old, and the oldest Dominican was 83 years old. All participant data was collected by stratified random sampling, i.e., the participants were asked on the street if they would be willing to participate. The first part of the questionnaire contained several items that enquired about their age, the country of origin (Dominican or Puerto Rican nationality), and length of stay in Puerto Rico (for Dominicans), and level of education. Table 1 offers an overview of all participants who took part in the study.

Data collection was conducted in several regions of metropolitan San Juan (Guaynabo, Río Piedras, Hato Rey, Santurce, Calle Loíza, Condado, and Viejo San Juan). The interviews were all conducted in Spanish by the investigator of European/Spanish origin, who is not a native to Puerto Rico or the Dominican Republic.[6] The Dominican participants came from different regions of the Dominican Republic: 25 participants came from the metropolitan area of Santo Domingo, 20 participants were from the Southeastern Dominican Republic, 14 were from the Cibao region in the

Table 1: Participants

	Puerto Rican Participants	Dominicans in PR
Total #	68	63
Ages	18-75	18-83
Gender	Men = 42 (61.7%) Women = 26 (38.2%)[4]	Men = 32 (50.8%) Women = 31 (49.2%)
Length of Residence	N/A	2 weeks – 42 years
Level of Education + university degree[5]	Men = 20 (29.4%) Women = 14 (20.6%)	Men = 4 (6.3%) Women = 3 (4.7%)

north of the Dominican Republic, 3 were from the central and central-western portion of the state, and 1 had been born in Río Piedras, Puerto Rico, had returned to the Dominican Republic for some time and resided in San Juan at the time of the data collection.

The majority of Puerto Rican participants (n=33) was originally from areas of metropolitan San Juan, such as Río Piedras and Santurce. Other participants had moved as adults to the metropolitan area because of job opportunities. Among these were 15 participants from areas in the north and northeast of the island (e.g., Bayamón, Vega Baja, Manatí), 7 from central areas of the island (e.g., Aibonito, Cayey, San Lorenzo), 4 from the South (e.g., Ponce, Yauco), and 3 originally from the western provinces of the island (e.g., Cabo Rojo, Mayagüez). Also, 6 participants were born in the mainland U.S. and then subsequently raised in Puerto Rico (e.g., San Juan, Aibonito, Vega Baja).

The level of education was also recorded so as to examine how far reported trends from recent census data would also emerge in the participant pool. The patterning among Puerto Rican and Dominican participants is reflective of the level of education reported in the previous section. In more detail, all participants indicated some level of education (all were literate), albeit a small number of Dominicans indicated only a

few years of schooling. By comparison, among the Puerto Rican participants 20% (women) to 30% (men) reported having received a college level education. Therefore, this sampling, albeit small, is representative of both populations under investigation in this study. To ensure that all participants felt equally at ease with the procedure, the investigator presented the questions on the questionnaire orally, and the responses were recorded and also noted on paper. For those participants who were unfamiliar with *Likert* scaled items, the task was explained orally and a visual aid was offered (Appendix B).

Materials

The materials for the study consisted of sociolinguistic questionnaires that were administered orally by the investigator. The questionnaire was designed to tap into speakers' perceptual attitudes, i.e., their evaluations and reflections on how they pinpoint a speakers' national origin by their speech. It's content and format is based on studies emanating from perceptual dialectology that examine speakers' thoughts on dialectal differences (e.g., Preston 1996, 1999). The focus of the present study is to examine the participant's reported 'strategies' in the context of two very similar dialectal variants. Please refer to Appendix A, which offers the complete questionnaire used in the study. Note that the first part (Part I) was used in the pilot study as well as in later data collection. Part II was only used in the second part of data collection. Initially, information on the participant's gender, place of birth, attained level of education, and occupation were elicited, as were the length of stay in Puerto Rico, and San Juan in particular, for the Dominican migrants. Following, a small set of open-ended questions allowed the participants to express their thoughts freely and elaborate on their own perceptions of differences between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish (item 1) and any examples of differences they could offer (item 2). All participants completed this first part of the questionnaire (including the pilot study participants).

During the second part of data collection, the questionnaire was enhanced to include several 7-point *Likert*-scaled items. These were also administered orally. The participants were required to indicate their agreement or disagreement with a given statement, on a 7-point scale ranging from 1= *no, de ninguna manera* 'absolutely not' to 7= *totalmente de acuerdo* 'absolutely agree.' More specifically, item 3 asked the participant to rate the difference that (s)he felt existed between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish. In item 4, the participant had to indicate his/her level of confidence in identifying a person's origin based on his/her accent. Lastly, item 5 asked the participant to specify how possible it was

to identify a person's national origin by the words (s)he used. During the entire interview process participants were free to elaborate at any length on any of these items, and oftentimes they did so, offering valuable insight into their strategies and perceptions.

Procedure

The interviews took place in public spaces within the city of San Juan. The investigator walked up to people on the street, presenting herself as a teacher from the US who was interested in understanding how Dominicans and Puerto Rican Spanish speakers were able to differentiate their speech. Prior to the interview, each participant was asked for his/her consent to take part in the study and to be recorded during the interview. For the open-ended questions, the participants were encouraged to reply in as much detail as they felt necessary. For the second part of the questionnaire (Part II), each participant was instructed to indicate to what degree he/she agreed or disagreed with the statement. A few participants were less familiar with this procedure and were offered a visual aid, a simplified representation of a *Likert* scale (Appendix B). All interviews were recorded on a Marantz PMD 620 as 32-bit wave files.

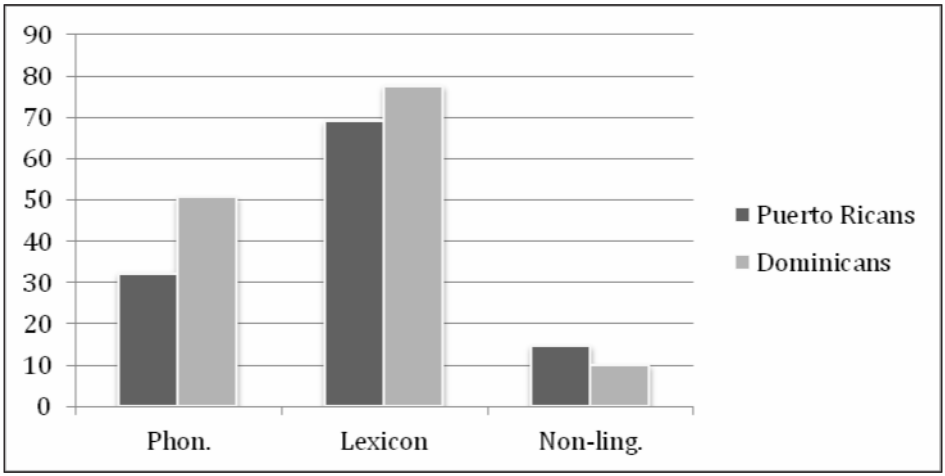
Data Coding and Analysis

All interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. The answers to the 7-point *Likert* scales in the questionnaires and surveys were coded in *Excel* and then transferred to SPSS. Data analyses comprised t-tests in SPSS, which compared averages for each item between groups of origin (Dominican vs. Puerto Rican participants). The ensuing section will offer a presentation of the survey's results.

Presentation of results

The presentation of the responses follows the order of questions on the questionnaire, starting with the open-ended items and concluding with the set of scaled items. In response to item 1 ('Would you say that your way of speaking Spanish is different from that of the Dominicans/Puerto Ricans?'), all speakers confirmed that they felt that their variety of Spanish was different from that spoken by the other group. With respect to item 2 ('What are the differences/similarities between the Spanish spoken in Puerto Rico and the Spanish spoken in the Dominican Republic?'), their responses fell into at least one if not all of the following categories: (a) phonetic/phonological differences, (b) lexical items, and (c) non-linguistic items (social behavior, cultural differences, etc.).

Chart 1: Representation of responses for item 2 in percentages



As can be seen in Chart 1, lexical differences were reported to be used by the majority of Dominican (77.7%) and Puerto Rican (69.1%) respondents. The responses for the use of phonetic/phonological differences and non-linguistic cues differed to a larger degree. Of the participants, 32 Dominicans (50.7%) and 22 Puerto Ricans (32.3%) reported relying on phonetic/phonological cues, whereas 15 Dominicans (23.8%) and 10 Puerto Ricans (14.7%) reported integrating non-linguistic cues into their identification strategies.

Statistical analyses in the form of independent samples t-tests were conducted and revealed statistically significant differences between the following evaluations: Phonology – Lexicon (Dom), $t(62) = 3.97$, $p < .05$; (PR) $t(66) = 6.52$, $p < 0.5$; Lexicon – Non-Ling (Dom), $t(62) = -3.32$, $p < 0.5$; Phonology – Non-Ling, $t(66)=4.12$, $p < .05$. Based on these results the difference between Dominicans who rely on lexical difference and their compatriots who use phonetic difference is statistically significant. Likewise, the difference between Puerto Ricans relying on lexical vs. phonetic differences was also significantly different. Based on the results, Dominicans using lexical differences was also statistically significantly higher than those who reported using non-linguistic means. The comparison lexical vs. non-linguistic cues was also statistically significant for the Puerto Rican group.

Linguistic Markers for Identification

In terms of main markers for identification, participants indicated that lexical and phonetic/phonological differences were crucial. A key

feature for both Dominican and Puerto Rican participants was the articulation of /r/. Several Dominican participants (n=10) explicitly reported on the velarization of /r/ (i.e. a throaty, French-like /r/) in Puerto Rican Spanish as a key feature in identification processes (1). Some Puerto Ricans (n=7) also stated a difference in the articulation of this sound, as, for instance, in (3). One Dominican participant delineated the difference between the speech in the San Juan metro area and the less urbanized areas at the center of the island, which includes the vocalization of liquids (the articulation of the vowel /i/ instead of an /l/ or an /r/) (2). Another Puerto Rican participant (4) mentions the vocalization of liquids in word and syllable-final position (*come[i]* for *comer*, 'to eat') as a marker for rural Dominican Spanish. Although this feature has been attested previously in Puerto Rico (Álvarez Nazario 1990), it is a well-known feature of the variety of Dominican Spanish spoken in the northern region of the Cibao (e.g., Jiménez Sabater 1975).

1. *El puertorriqueño se come la 'r', no habla con la 'r'.*

   'Puerto Ricans eat the 'r,' they don't speak with the 'r.' (Dominican, male, 55)

2. *A si, los algunos, lo de la isla hablan cantaditos como los de Santo Domingo que critican mucho, hablan con la "i" lo del Cibao, lo del sur hablan mucho con la "r" aunque van a la universidad.*

   'Ah, yes, some, those from the center of the island speak in a sing-song like those from Santo Domingo, whom they criticize a lot, they speak with 'i' like in the Cibao, those from the south speak with the 'r' although they go to university.' (Dominican, male 36)

3. *El dominicano pronuncia mucho la 'r'.*

   'Dominicans pronounce the 'r' a lot.' (Puerto Rican, female, 41)

4. *Ellos hablan (…) a veces con la 'i'.*

   'Sometimes they speak (…) with the 'i.' (Puerto Rican, female, 36)

Many participants have daily interactions with speakers of the other group. In particular, the areas of Santurce, Barrio Obrero, and Río Piedras are densely populated by Dominican migrants, and contact between Puerto Ricans and Dominicans is an everyday occurrence. This also fosters a more detailed knowledge of dialectal differences, as can be seen in (5):

5. *Porque, por ejemplo, el dominicano, ellos tienen sus regiones. Hablan con la 'i',* ¿entiende? *Es como aquí por ejemplo, yo, hay personas que dicen "perro" [pe'Ro][7] y es perro [pe'ro]. Son los jíbaros, ¿tú sabes?*

   'Because, for example, the Dominicans, they have their regions.

They speak with the 'i', you know? It's like here for example, I, there are people that say perro [pe'Ro] and it's perro [pe'ro]. They are country folk, you know?' (Puerto Rican, male, 60)

However, some Dominicans are also acutely aware of regional differences in Puerto Rican Spanish:

6. *Y ellos igual que nosotros... los pueblos hablan diferente. Ponce habla diferente a Arecibo. Si, en 'el carro', en 'la ropa', en 'el arroz'. El puertorriqueño de la capital te dice 'arroz' de verdad. Pero el puertorrique*ño del á*rea de Arecibo te dice 'aho'.*

   'And they just like us … the smaller towns speak differently. Ponce speaks differently than Arecibo, in words like 'el carro,' in 'la ropa,' in 'el arroz.' The Puerto Rican from the capital says 'arroz' properly. But the Puerto Rican from the area around Arecibo says 'aho.' (Dominican, male, 36)

Another reported feature was the increased loss of syllable-final /s/ in Dominican Spanish:

7. *La pronunciación de ellos, como que desenfatizan más como a la 's'.*

   'Their pronunciation, as if they deemphasize more the 's.' (Puerto Rican, male, 70)

Another set of responses (8-10) pointed to an awareness of intonational differences between both varieties of Spanish. Particularly interesting is a brief comment cited in (9), in which the participant imitated the intonational contours of the expression "oh, oh" as alluded to in (8). Moreover, in (10), the speaker mentions a perceived difference in rhythm between both varieties.

8. *Ellos tienen una forma de pronunciar ciertos vocablos (…). Pero así que uno los distingue por la entonación, por un cierto tipo de soneo que ellos tienen con ciertas palabras o cierta forma de enfatizar sus oraciones.*

   'They have a way of pronouncing certain words (…). But this is how one can distinguish them, by their intonation, by a certain kind of sound that they have with certain words or a certain manner of emphasizing their sentences.' (Puerto Rican, male, 41)

9. *Y siempre dicen "o, o" esa palabra esta*.

   'They always say "oh, oh" this word.' (Puerto Rican, male 47)

10. *Por ejemplo el dominicano, nosotros los dominicanos la mayoría hablamos con un acento diferente al boricua. El boricua habla como más lento, nosotros más rápido.*

    'For instance the Dominican, we Dominicans, most of us speak

with a different accent than the Puerto Ricans. The Puerto Rican speaks slower, we speak faster.' (Dominican, male, 33)

These comments point to the fact that speakers are aware of a number of key linguistic differences between both varieties, which include the articulations of /r/ and /l/, and a number comments addressing a difference in *acento* 'accent' and certain circumlocutions, hint at the speakers' attempt to describe intonational differences. The vast majority of comment however mentioned differences in the lexicon.

Lexical Markers for Identification

Another pillar of dialectal identification stated in the responses is the difference in lexical items between both varieties as delineated in the introduction. Recall that 77.7% of Dominicans and 69.1 % of Puerto Ricans pointed to lexical differences as cues for identification. To exemplify a number of responses on this topic, item (11) samples a statement from a Puerto Rican participant on Dominican Spanish and item (12) offers a statement by a Dominican living in San Juan.

11. *¿Una palabra típica del dominicano? Pues eso sería 'qué vaina', eso dicen siempre. Qué más... 'esa vaina'... bueno así lo dicen.*

    'A typical Dominican word? Well, that would be 'that's a pity, they say that all the time. What else… 'that's a pity'[8]… well, that's how they say it.' (Puerto Rican, female, 21)

12. *Cuando hay una persona que le está siendo infiel a su esposo o a su esposa, sabes que es "un amante". Eso se llama "amante" cuando tú tienes una relación fuera de matrimonio. Pues aquí le dicen "chillo". ¿"Chillo" es un pescado? ¿Verdad?*

    'When there is a person who is unfaithful to their husband or wife, you know that we call this "a lover." That is a "lover" when you have a relationship outside of marriage. Well, here they call it "chillo."[9] "Chillo," that's a fish, right?' (Dominican, female, 26)

Although many referenced lexical differences, only few could offer concrete examples. Most items mentioned referred to food items as in example (12). Other examples include *ajonjolí* and *achiote*, different kinds of peppers, which according to a participant are more used by Dominicans (Puerto Rican, male, 60). Another participant explained that the verb *enangostar* 'to narrow, to get narrower' was not familiar to any Dominicans he had met (Puerto Rican, male, 52). Also, as seen in (11) a few (n=3) Dominican respondents explained that the word *vaina* 'thing' or the expression *que vaina* 'damn' was a common expression used by Dominicans and recognized as Dominican by Puerto Ricans.

Non-linguistic Markers for Identification

Although the questionnaire only referenced linguistic differences, a number of comments referenced non–linguistic cues as means of identification. This result is particularly striking since socio-cultural or racial differences as a means of identification are highly sensitive topics. These forms of speaker identification include evidence of the socioeconomic status of the person being identified, his/her level of education, his/her outward appearance, overall social behavior, and references to specific cultural differences such as music, food, gender roles, and perceptions of beauty.

As can be seen in Chart 1, more Puerto Ricans than Dominicans report using these cues. This can, at least in part, be explained by the existing socioeconomic and educational differences between the immigrant population and the majority group. The following statements presented in items (13-15) depict the most detailed explanations and insight given by participants. The speaker in item (13) underlines the fact that a wide range of social behaviors differentiates both speaker groups. The same speaker (item 14) details how differences in social behavior can cause friction between speaker groups.

13. *O sea son diferencias... o sea, no explico ¿cuál son diferencias sobre eso? Pero son boricuas y son dominicanos, pero no sé, el conjunto es distinto. Pero la diferencia entre el dominicano y el boricua es muy distinta. ¿Por qué? Por la forma de expresarse, la forma de actuar, de conducirse.*

    'They are differences, whatever, don't I explain what those differences are? But they are Puerto Ricans and they are Dominicans, but I don't know, the entirety is different. But the difference between a Dominican and a Puerto Rican is clear. Why? Because of their way of expressing themselves, the way they act, the way they behave.' (Puerto Rican, male, 52)

14. *Así que les falta educación, moral. Tú vas por allí atrás y se mudan cinco dominicanos y aparecen 21… una cosa de estas atroces, entonces. (…) Porque los primeros dominicanos que vinieron aquí a Puerto Rico eran gente bien decente (…). Pero ahora no, ahora te dicen 'eh ca...'*[10] *te hablan mal y todo.*

    'They are lacking moral education. You go back there and five Dominicans move in and 21 appear… one of those atrocious things, then. (…) But the first Dominicans that came here to Puerto Rico were good, decent folks (…). But now no, now they say 'hey you as…' they talk badly to you and everything.' (Puerto Rican, male, 52)

Examples (13) and (14) are important since the differences mentioned are not necessarily due to different countries of origin, although they were expressed in this context, but might also be used to describe Puerto Ricans of a lower socioeconomic class or differences in educational attainment to the speakers. This speaks to the image of Dominicans as pertaining to the lower socioeconomic and educational group and serves as a justification of negative evaluations and point clearly to the existence of prejudicial notions towards Dominicans (e.g., Mejía Pardo 1993). Many Dominicans are aware of this pattern as shown in example (15). The explanation offered by a young Dominican woman on the origin of some of the Puerto Rican stereotypes of Dominican immigrants is remarkable. In her explanation she traces the image of Dominicans in Puerto Rico to the rural origin of many migrants. At the same time, as she points out, life in the Dominican capital is quite similar to that in San Juan. However, few highly educated Dominicans come to Puerto Rico for work.

15. *Pero la mayoría de las personas que migran para acá, que vienen por esa vía, son de campos. De sitios sumamente atrasados de Santo Domingo. No son las personas de la ciudad, son los que vienen de campo. (…) Esas personas que vienen de un campo obviamente se diferencian de las que son de la capital. Hay una diferencia bien grabada tanto en la forma de hablar, como en la forma de vestir, como en la forma de, como físicamente, hay cierto…*

    'But the majority of people who migrate here, that come in this way, are from the countryside. From places thoroughly underdeveloped compared to Santo Domingo. (…) These people that come from the countryside obviously are different than those from the city. There is a clear difference in their manner of speaking, as well as in what they wear, as in their way of, like physically, there are ….' (Dominican, female, 26)

The importance in this description lies in the fact that the speaker clearly draws parallels between Dominican migrants' poor background and the evaluations and perceptions of Dominicans Spanish in Puerto Rico. Since evaluations of language never emerge in a context of a social vacuum, the comments in this section point to the fact that Dominican Spanish has become tantamount with a speaker of a poorer less educated background. Thus, social characteristics of a group have become merged, or *indexed*, with certain linguistic markers (e.g., Irvine and Gal 2000). This is undoubtedly also due to speakers' extended contact with the other linguistic group. Based on this, their confidence in identifying members of the other group should be accordingly high, as the findings presented in the ensuing section will show.

Participants' Evaluations of Likert-scaled Items

The responses to the *Likert*-scaled items can be found in Table 2. Recall that item 3 asked the participants to rate agreement with the sentence 'My Spanish dialect is different from that of the Puerto Ricans/Dominicans.' Item 4 asked to indicate agreement on 'I believe I can identify easily if a person is Dominican/Puerto Rican,' and item 5 required agreement or disagreement with the statement 'You can know if a person is Dominican/Puerto Rican by the words that they use.' The mean responses indicate high agreement with all statements. Participants believed that there exist differences between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish. The mean rating of agreement to this item is very high for both sets of speakers (5.59 and 6.17, respectively). Moreover, both groups reflect a high level of confidence in being able to recognize the origin of a speaker by his/her accent (6.53 for Dominicans and 6.64 for Puerto Ricans). Also, lexical differences are deemed very salient by both groups of speakers (6.72 and 6.38, respectively).

Table 2: Mean ratings to items 4-6

	Dom. on PR Spanish (SD)	PR on Dom. Spanish (SD)
Overall differences	5.59 (1.23)	6.17 (1.20)
Identification by accent	6.53 (1.08)	6.64 (.98)
Identification by lexicon	6.72 (.59)	6.38 (1.42)

Note: Standard Deviation presented in parentheses.

T-tests were conducted in SPSS to uncover whether the differences in ratings between the responses per group and question were statistically significant. No statistically significant differences in ratings were found between groups, underscoring the participants' equally high ratings on their confidence in being able to differentiate accents that to them are quite distinct.

Discussion and contextualization

What stands out in the responses offered by the participants is the level of confidence reported by the speaker groups regarding their ability to distinguish a speaker of a particular variety by linguistic means only (Research Question 1). The results for *Likert*-scaled item 4 reveal a high level of confidence on the part of participants concerning their ability to recognize speakers of Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish by linguistic means only. This result confirms Hypothesis 1, which stated that speakers of both varieties would report a high degree of confidence in being

able to identify the speech of the other group. Given the close contact that Puerto Ricans and Dominicans experience on a daily basis in metropolitan San Juan, this outcome is not a surprise, but rather expected. In particular, interactions that are not based on specific formulas (e.g., service interactions), but rather occur at a personal level, e.g., conversation with neighbors, coworkers, a chat with a customer at a supermarket, or the occasional visit to the hair salon, will offer ample opportunity to acquire knowledge about linguistic features different to one's own native variety. Nevertheless, the degree of certainty—almost equal in both groups—is remarkable. However, whether these speakers would indeed be able to identify a speaker based on linguistic means only is largely unknown and should be addressed in future research. In a recent verbal guise study (Suárez Büdenbender 2013), this ability was put to the test within this community. The results showed that although some Puerto Ricans were able to identify their own variety and that of Dominicans based on recordings, the length of residence of the Dominican speakers in Puerto Rico was an important factor. The Dominican verbal guise that had lived in San Juan the longest was in fact identified as Puerto Rican. This finding points to the fact that these perceived differences are transitional and that Dominicans would only be recognized as such by linguistic cues only until they adapt or level their speech to that of the Puerto Rican majority. Adopting a more Puerto Rican-like accent places the speaker in the realm of more positive evaluations, which underlines the role of the non-linguistic elements within the identification process.

Research Question 2 offer insights into the specific linguistic items that the participants report to using in identifying a speaker (phonetic/phonological, lexical, morphological, or syntactic). The results for items 5 and 6 ("Identification by accent" and "Identification by lexical items") reveal very positive ratings for both statements, indicating a high degree of confidence by both groups of participants to recognize differences between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish by linguistic means only. The responses to the open-ended items reveal their heightened awareness of linguistic differences, which, to a certain extent, justifies their confidence. Here, the statements could be summarized to fit into one or several of the following categories: (a) phonetic/phonological items, (b) lexical differences, and (c) non-linguistic items (social behavior, cultural differences, etc.). Some statements were very general. For instance, the comment, cited in the title of this paper, of a perceived difference in *cantadito* 'a sing-song' quality between Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish was wide-spread and uttered by members of both linguistic groups. However, the participant statements also revealed a fairly detailed knowledge of phonetic/phonological differences, such as intonational differences. These results point to the fact that metalinguistic

knowledge among non-linguists can be quite fine-tuned, especially in cases in which both groups have daily contact with each other.

At the outset it had been hypothesized (Hypothesis 2) that speakers would report on relying more on phonetic/phonological and lexical cues than morpho-syntactic ones, and this was also confirmed. Therefore, much like in studies, such as those by Fridland (2008a, b), Niedzielski (1999), and Preston (1999), morphological and syntactic differences are either noticed less by listeners or they are not aware of their use in the identification of a speaker. It is important to state that they are also less frequent in production than are phonetic/phonological variants, therefore offering fewer opportunities for listeners to notice.

The results also highlight the close link between language and social context in the minds of speakers. Just as in the studies by d'Anglejan and Tucker (1983), Demirci and Kleiner (1999), and Luhman (1990), to name just a few, many of the participants in this study appear to link membership of one group with particular behavioral patterns, as well as socioeconomic and educational levels. Research Question 3 addressed the possible use of perceived socioeconomic or educational differences as a means to identify a speaker of a particular variety. The results of the questionnaire, especially the responses to the open-ended items, confirm that the participants in this study use linguistic as well as non-linguistic differences, such as occupation, looks, clothing, and behavior, to identify a speaker's background. Given the socioeconomic, cultural, and educational differences that exist between many of the Dominican immigrants and Puerto Rican natives, this is perhaps not surprising. Several early studies on Dominican–Puerto Rican relations on the island have pointed to awareness among members of both groups about these differences (e.g., de la Rosa Abreu 2002; Duany 2005; Mejía Pardo 1993). What is remarkable is their willingness to openly mention these observations, especially towards the interviewer who is not part of either linguistic community. Mejía Pardo (1993) reported hesitancy among her Puerto Rican participants to discuss their thoughts on the socioeconomic and also perceived racial differences between themselves and the Dominican minority. Their hesitancy is understandable, as these issues are complex and misinterpretation by the listener is possible, which is an outcome the speakers may want to avoid. Mejía Pardo concluded that negative evaluations of Dominican Spanish were a socially accepted outlet for negative feelings towards this group.

In this study it was hypothesized (Hypothesis 3) that speakers would focus on linguistic differences (culled in the questionnaire) and avoid mentioning socioeconomic and educational differences as markers for speaker identification, due to the highly sensitive nature of this topic. In particular, Puerto Ricans considered language a more reliable marker

of Dominican identity than possible non-linguistic markers, such as perceived socioeconomic or educational differences. However, a number of remarks on social differences in both speaker groups were made and members of both groups admited to using the non-linguistic differences as an identification strategy. This outcome suggests that, through contact, Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish speakers have developed a mental, or iconic, link between social characteristics of speakers and their linguistic behavior (e.g., Demirci and Kleiner 1999; Irvine and Gal 2005; Preston 1999; Staum Casanto 2009). Everyday contact reinforces these impressions and connections. Both Puerto Rican and Dominican participants in this study revealed their awareness of a variety of different behaviors (music choice, in group behavior, dress and overall appearance) that are commonly associated with Dominicans. These findings are echoed in the verbal guise study conducted by Suárez Büdenbender (2013). When asked to relate particular characteristics to each guise, the adjectives describing the Puerto Rican guises were rated more positively than the Dominican ones with respect to educational and professional achievement. These results support the assumption that Dominicans Spanish has become iconically linked to speakers of lower educational and social attainment. A phonetic perception study should be done to investigate whether the mentioned phonetic/phonological features are indeed used to identify Puerto Ricans and Dominicans by linguistic features only. Otherwise, identification could largely be based on non-linguistic cues only, where as speakers *believe* to use linguistic cues to differentiate speakers, in spite of speakers' insistence that they do as can be seen by the responses to the scaled items and described in Table 2.

The evaluations presented here appear to be part of a larger pattern that extends to speakers of other varieties of Spanish as well. It is likely that low evaluations of Dominican Spanish from speakers of other varieties, such as Miami Cubans (Alfaraz 2002), Costa Ricans (Jara Murillo 2008), and Vera Cruz Mexican Spanish speakers (Orozco 2010) can, at least in part, be linked to general knowledge. Alfaraz (2002) found that Miami Cuban Spanish speakers (also a Caribbean Spanish variety) rated Dominican Spanish as the least "correct" and least "pleasant" among all Spanish varieties. The author related this outcome with the comparatively low economic and educational attainment of the Dominican Republic compared to other countries. Crucially, Puerto Rico received the second lowest ratings in these categories, which according to the author, was due to the same economic reasoning and the fact that Puerto Rican Spanish is said to have suffered a lot of influence from English. It is interesting to note, and an example of "recursiveness" (Irvine and Gal 2000), that the same reasoning by which Puerto Ricans appear to evaluate Dominicans and Dominican Spanish negatively can be applied

to their own variety by members of other groups. These findings all serve to underline that language evaluations are inherently connected to our outside, social world and that linguistic differences and our attitudes towards them are intimately linked in our minds to how we see ourselves and others.

In sum, the participants reported being aware of a series of linguistic features that they believe to use in the identification of a speaker's origin, however these forms of identification appear to co-occur with observations of the speaker's social behavior and indications of his/her social and educational status. It would be necessary to test these abilities in more detail than offered by Suárez Büdenbender (2009) by presenting participants with a series of recordings of Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish speakers and examining the participants' abilities to correctly identify the origin of the speaker by selected linguistic features only. The results would greatly contribute to this discussion. Such a study could also shed light on the (non) importance of linguistic features (phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon) or non-linguistic features (clothing, behavior, etc.).

Conclusions

In line with previous work (e.g., Demirci and Kleiner 1999; Niedzielski 1999; Preston 1999), the results from this study emphasize the high value speakers place on phonetic/phonological differences in the identification process. What is more, the participants were very aware of using these clues in their identification processes. As attested in some replies, the knowledge of these differences, at least in some cases, is quite detailed.

Another pillar of linguistic difference identified by the participants is the lexical differences between Dominican and Puerto Rican Spanish, which were cited in a multitude of ways. In accordance with previous work, no awareness of morpho-syntactic differences was reported (Fridland and Bartlett 2008; Niedzielski 1999). Very little work to date has examined the saliency of morpho-syntactic differences, especially in the context of Caribbean Spanish, in spite of some striking features, such as double-negation, and the overt expletive *ello* 'it' in Dominican Spanish. It would be beneficial to examine this issue closer for a more complete understanding of identification strategies by non-linguists.

The significance of the interface between known linguistic cues and socioeconomic and educational differences in the identification process was also highlighted in the present data. Most of the comments on non-linguistic cues are testament to the close interaction between both groups at home, in the work place, and in their free time. Several of

the participants hinted at their awareness of the existence of particular stereotypes and prejudices towards either group. These socio-behavioral observations have not been the subject of much work in the field; however, together with our knowledge of non-linguists' linguistic strategies, it appears a topic of high importance and merits further research.

Notes

[1] These low ratings, however, do not extend to all Caribbean varieties, as Cuban Spanish received higher ratings in all of these studies.

[2] Of this population, 16.6% held a college or associate's degree, and 20.9% received bachelor's degrees or even proceeded to graduate degrees (US Census Bureau, 5-year-estimates 2008-2012).

[3] 49.9% of Puerto Ricans have at least partial education at the college level (16.4% with a bachelor's degree) (US Census Bureau, 5-year-estimates 2008-2012).

[4] Among the Puerto Rican participants there is a slight majority of men over women. Within sociolinguistic research (e.g., Labov 1990; Wolfram 1969) women have been found to be particularly aware of socially accepted forms in their production but also in evaluations of language. Although the difference in total numbers here is not great, the analysis might need to consider women's higher sensitivity towards accepted and non-accepted forms.

[5] During the pilot study this question was not answered by all participants, therefore, it is possible that these numbers might be higher for both groups. However, it is not surprising to see a higher percentage of higher education among the group of Puerto Ricans compared to the Dominican immigrants. As mentioned above, Dominican migrants in Puerto Rico are mostly blue-collar workers who have received little formal education, particularly at the university level.

[6] The fact that the interviewer was of European/Spanish origin and not native to Puerto Rico or the Dominican Republic may have had an impact on the respondents' answers. They may have felt more comfortable expressing themselves towards a compatriot that to an outsider. This may have prompted the participants to express answers they believe to be politically correct. The interpretation of the results will need to take this fact into account.

[7] The articulation was exemplified in the participant's pronunciation and transcribed accordingly here.

[8] The expression *qué vaina* is difficult to translate and depends very much on the context. It is similar to the Puerto Rican expression *el coso* or *el coso ese* and can be translated as 'that's a pity,' 'how bad,' or 'what a shame.'

[9] The colloquial term for 'lover' in Puerto Rican Spanish is *chillo*, which coincides with the word for 'red snapper.'

[10] This is an abreviation of the phrase *eh carajo* 'oh, hell.'

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APPENDIX A

Encuesta en Puerto Rico (San Juan)

Sexo:

Nivel más alto de educación que ha completado:

Edad:

Tiene empleo:

Lugar de nacimiento:

(Sólo para Dominicanos:)

Si nació fuera, indique el número de años que lleva en P.R.:

Años en San Juan:

PARTE I:

1). ¿Diría usted que su forma de hablar el español es diferente de la de los puertorriqueños/dominicanos?

2.) ¿Cuáles son las diferencias/semejanzas entre el español que se habla en Puerto Rico y el español que se habla en la República Dominicana?

PARTE II (*not in pilot study*)

3). Mi dialecto del español es diferente del de los dominicanos/puertorriqueños.

No, de ninguna manera						Totalmente de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4.) Creo que puedo identificar fácilmente si una persona es dominicana/puertorriqueña por su acento.

No, de ninguna manera						Totalmente de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

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

No, de ninguna manera						Totalmente de acuerdo
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX B

Figure 1: Visual aid for *Likert* scale