

Southern-Bred Hispanic English: An Emerging Socioethnic Variety

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1. Introduction

Most sociolinguistic descriptions of Hispanic English in the US have focused on relatively stable, durable communities, such as the Mexican-American communities of the Southwest (Peñalosa 1980; Ornstein-Galicia 1984; Galindo 1987; Santa Ana 1991; Fought 2003; Mendoza Denton 2008) or Hispanic communities in urban area of the northeastern US (Wolfram 1974; Poplack 1978; Newman 2007). These descriptions naturally recognize that these varieties combine substrate features from the historical language contact situation with vernacular traits and regional dialect features of American English in various constellations to form distinctive socioethnic varieties. For example, Fought (2003) and Mendoza Denton (2008) observe that Chicano English in Southern California combines structural traits that include substrate influence from Spanish, regional Southern California dialect traits, features from vernacular African American English, and even characteristics associated with stereotypical Southern California “Valley Girl Talk” to construct regionally situated, ethnically identifiable varieties of English.

While durable Hispanic communities have existed in some regions of the US for centuries now, other regions in the US, including urban and rural regions in the Mid-Atlantic South, are just beginning to witness the emergence of enduring Hispanic communities. Between 1990 and 2010, for example, more than a million migrants from Mexico, El Salvador, and other Central and South American countries, settled in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Subsequently, states such as North Carolina and Georgia experienced the highest percentage of growth in their Latin American population, and now have the largest percentages of monolingual Spanish speakers. Figure 1, from Kasarda and Johnson (2006) shows the dramatic regional shift in the immigration flow at the turn of the twenty-first century.

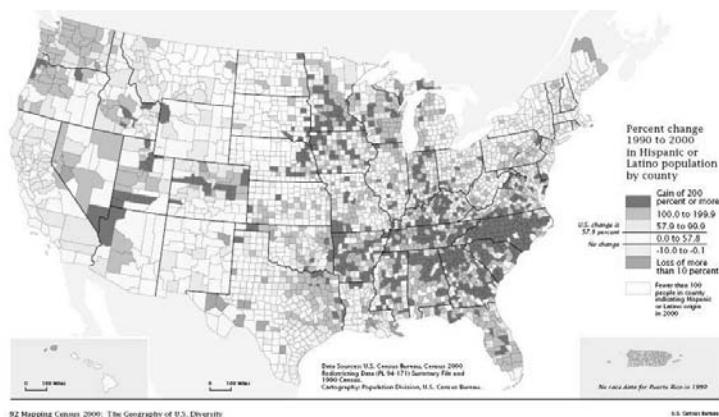


Figure 1. Change in Hispanic percentage from 1990-2000

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Many of the new residents who come directly from their country of origin are acquiring English exclusively in the context of their new surroundings. Though some of the school-aged children in these communities now have been born and reared in the United States, Spanish is still their native language and the dominant language for communication within most of these emerging communities.

The emergence of these communities raises a number of important questions about the development of new varieties of English. What are the social and linguistic processes involved in the emergence of a new socioethnic variety? Do new Latino residents accommodate to the local dialect traits of their cohort English-speaking communities, and if so, to which community? What aspects of the local dialect are most prominent in their speech and how are they combined with other constellations of English language structures? And how do these emerging varieties of Hispanicized English compare with more established varieties such as Chicano English in the Southwest? New contact situations such as the ones considered here offer a unique opportunity to examine the process of ethnic dialect formation and dialect accommodation in its formative stages.

2. Variability and Incrementation

Traditional typologies of language contact situations typically consider the outcomes of a language contact situation in terms of discrete categories of attribution such as transfer (Weinreich 1953; Odlin 1989; Thomason 2001) from a source or input language, accommodation to the traits of a particular regional and/or socioethnic model of the target language, or interlanguage derived from the second language acquisition process (Selinker 1972; Tarone 1988, 2001). At the same time, some models allow for the possibility of innovation and interdialectalism, that is, forms that occur in neither contact variety but derive from the contact situation (Trudgill 1986; Mendoza Denton 2008).

The empirical investigation of transfer and accommodation indicates that these outcomes are hardly ever as straightforward and discrete as the traditional typologies of language contact would suggest. For example, our examination of accommodation and transfer in emerging Hispanic varieties of English in the mid-Atlantic South (Wolfram, Carter & Moriello 2004; Callahan 2008; Kohn 2008; Kohn & Askin Franz 2009) indicates that intermediacy and variability is the norm in the transfer of structural traits from Spanish and in the accommodation of traits from localized, regional varieties of English. Wolfram et al. (2004) consider the issue of language transfer and dialect accommodation associated with the emergence of new Latino/a communities in the Mid-Atlantic South by examining the emergence of English structures in two developing communities in North Carolina, one in the metropolitan area of Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, and one in Siler City, a relatively small, rural area about 50 miles west of Raleigh. The communities differ in size, as well as the urban and rural settings in which they are situated, but both communities share a common spatial segregation of the Hispanic community from their respective, cohort community and similar social network patterns within the Hispanic community. The sample focused on younger speakers, aged 10 through 17, due to the fact that this is the group most flexible in terms of language learning as well as the group with the greatest potential to accommodate to the local dialect of the area.

Conversational interviews were conducted by bilingual fieldworkers who could converse with participants both in Spanish and English. For the sake of comparison, several interviews were also conducted with white and African American cohorts in order to examine benchmark English-dialect models available for Hispanic residents outside of the English-as-a-second-language classroom. The Southern European American dialect found in the region falls well within the parameters of Southern Piedmont speech. Phonetic traits include a vowel system that indicates some Southern breaking, fronted back vowels, ungliding of the /ai/ diphthong, and back-upgliding of the vowel of *bought* and *caught*, as described in Labov (1994), Thomas (2001), and Labov et al. (2006). At the time of the collection of data (2003-2004), the Latino communities in Raleigh and Siler City were obviously in the formative stages of development and still in the process of negotiating their accommodation to the English varieties of the region.

To examine the potential influence of a regionally diagnostic variable in more detail, we have undertaken an acoustic analysis of the /ai/ diphthong, one of the most pervasive and symbolic variables associated with Southern American English (Labov et al. 2006). In non-Southern areas of the U.S., the diphthong has a significant offglide, but in most areas of the Southeastern U.S. the glide may be

reduced to the point that it is perceptually heard as a monophthong. In the Piedmont region of North Carolina where our study is situated, /ai/ is characterized by the weakening of the glide in non-prevoiced contexts (i.e. prevoiced as *time* and *tide* or open syllables as in *bye* or *tie* (Thomas 2001:194)). Throughout this region, particularly rural areas such as Siler City, /ai/ ungliding is a dialect trait that cuts across social class and ethnic boundaries. In an urban area such as Raleigh, it is a less-saturated dialect trait and more sensitive to social stratification.

Spanish, like non-Southern varieties of English, has an /ai/ diphthong in words such as *bailar* ‘dance’, *hay* ‘there is’, and *caico* ‘shoal’, which contrasts with /a/ in words such as *pan* ‘bread’, *dama* ‘woman’, and *tan* ‘so’. The fact that both Spanish and English have a diphthong /ai/ does not, however, mean that they are phonetically identical (Borzzone de Manrique 1979). Phonetically, diphthongs may differ in the position and steady state of the nucleus, the trajectory and steady state of the glide, and the duration of the glide in relation to the overall production of the vowel (Lindau, Norlin & Svantesson 1990; Peeters 1991). To give an idea of the possible range of /ai/ in Spanish and English, we compare in figure 2 the production of the /ai/ vowel for a set of 11 young speakers (age 10-14) from Siler City. The graphic display of the mean for the measured tokens includes the position of the nucleus and the length and direction of the glide trajectory based on an instrumental analysis of their production. The duration of glide, which includes its transition and steady state, and the overall vowel segment were also measured in milliseconds. Tokens for /ai/ were limited to pre-voiced consonants for the sake of this comparison. Measurements of each nucleus were made .35 milliseconds into the vocoid; measurements of the glide trajectory include both the transition and the steady state of the glide. The position of the nucleus and the trajectory of the glide are based on the mean for six to ten prevoiced productions for each English and Spanish speaker, taken from conversational interviews conducted in English and Spanish, respectively. A local African American and European American adolescent are included for a comparison of the local norm.

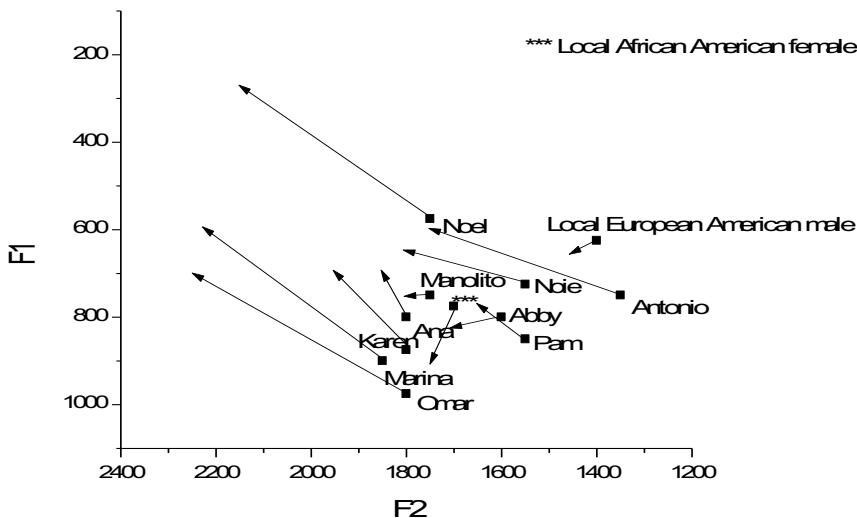


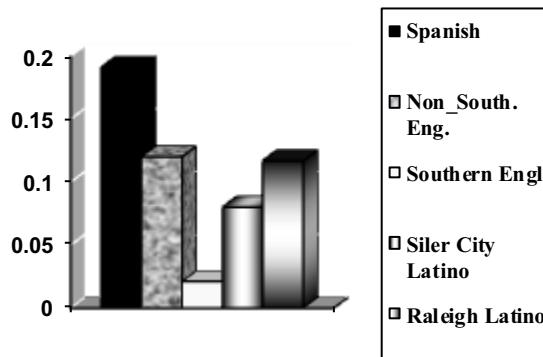
Figure 2. Nucleus and glide trajectory for selected Siler City Hispanic speakers

Both the European American and African American speakers included in figure 2 show the kind of glide reduction that we would expect in a rural region of North Carolina (Thomas 2001: 194). The Hispanic speakers show much greater variation, including speakers who have a more backed nucleus and relatively long glide trajectory and those with a more front nucleus and shorter glide trajectory. More heavily accented speakers, such as Antonio and Noel (pseudonyms), show a longer and higher glide trajectory, whereas speakers such as Manolito and Ana, who show better overall proficiency in English, indicate a much shorter glide. Though the data show some accommodation to local glide reduction by particular individuals, we do not find the pervasive /ai/ glide reduction that is typical of the regional variety represented by the non-Hispanic Siler City residents.

Though the comparison of speakers' means gives an overall picture of vowel trajectory, it does

not reveal the variation among particular productions of items. In the examination of individual speakers, Wolfram et al. (2004) compare trajectories for different lexical items, showing how some items may consistently have greater or lesser trajectories for particular items. For example, the word *Carolina* may consistently show ungliding while other lexical items show gliding.

Another diagnostic dimension of vowel production across different language varieties is the duration of the glide within the production of the overall vowel (Laver 1994:284). Though glide duration may interact with acoustic distance in that a longer glide trajectory would be expected to take more time than a shorter one, not all differences in duration are directly related to acoustic range (Lindau, Norlin & Svantesson 1990). It is therefore instructive to consider the duration of the glide in relation to the overall vocalic segment. In figure 3, we give the mean duration of the glide and the overall vocalic segment in milliseconds, including representative monolingual Spanish speakers, non-Southern speakers, Southern European American speakers, Siler City Hispanic speakers, and Raleigh Hispanic speakers based on measurements reported in Wolfram et al. (2004) and Carter (2005). The figures are also converted into the percentage of the vowel occupied by the glide in the accompanying table. For the Siler City and Raleigh groups where we have more representative numbers of speakers, the standard deviation (SD) is given as well as the mean.



	Spanish	Non-Southern English	Southern English	Siler City Hispanic Eng.	Raleigh Hispanic English
Mean Glide (SD)	.191	.120	.021	.080 (.067)	.117 (.019)
Percentage of Glide	76.5%	47%	17.5%	42.4%	55.5%

Figure 3. Relationship of the glide to the overall vowel

Several observations can be made on the basis of figure 3. Compared to the Southern benchmark variety, the Hispanic English speakers show that the glide occupies a much higher percentage of the vowel. Also, the mean duration of the overall vowel tends to be longer, though this is somewhat relative. There are also differences indicated between the Siler City and the Raleigh subsamples; Siler City speakers show considerably more variance than the Raleigh speakers. For the Raleigh speakers, the proportion of glide ranges from 44 to 62 percent of the overall vowel, whereas it ranges from less than 10 to almost 90 percent for the Siler City speakers. Correspondingly, the standard deviation scores are much higher for Siler City (11 speakers) than Raleigh (seven speakers).

We see that there is much more gradience and variation in the transition from a more Spanish phonetic production of /ai/ to the American English production of this diphthong than idealized models of language transfer assume. The phonetic transition from L_1 to L_2 productions of /ai/, Southern or

otherwise, appears to be gradual and incremental rather than abrupt and discrete. It also appears to show a kind of phonetic intermediacy between Spanish and English that resembles Trudgill's (1986) definition of 'interdialectal forms', that is, 'forms that actually originally occurred in neither dialect' (Trudgill 1986:62). These forms not only appear in the incipient stages of new dialect formation, but may be incorporated into a stable dialect as well. Thus, Mendoza-Denton (1997, 2008) describes the production of the vowel in the *-ing* suffix as intermediate between the [i] vowel of Spanish and the reduced, shwa-like vowel of unstressed syllables in American English. The kind of acquisitional intermediacy indicated here may provide the phonetic foundation for the development of such interdialectal forms into an enduring, socioethnically affiliated variety of English.

We also see the prominent role of the lexicon in the early stages of development, not only in terms of the acquisition of particular lexical items but in terms of the acquisition of phonetic processes as well. Thus, some speakers may acquire a glide-reduced production of the /ai/ vowel for particular lexical items (e.g. *Carolina*) well before—or even while resisting—the acquisition of a generalized version of prevoiced glide weakening. This suggests that the lexical diffusion may play a role in the early stages of local dialect accommodation in second language acquisition, just as it does in second dialect acquisition (Chambers 1992).

Another empirical documentation of accommodation is the recent examination of quotatives by Kohn (2008) and Kohn and Askin Franz (2009). The quotative frame syntactically brackets directly reported speech, thought, emotions, mimetic expressions, and so forth. Proliferating studies of this phenomenon have documented the rapid diffusion of the *be like* quotative frame (*So he's like, "What do you want from me?"*) in terms of other quotative variants among world Englishes (Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999; Tagliamonte & D'arcy 2007; Buchstaller 2008) as well as its relatively rapid acquisition by speakers of English as a second language (Ferrara & Bell 1995). In comparing two sites of emerging Hispanic communities in North Carolina, Durham and Hickory, North Carolina, Kohn and Askin Franz (2009) show that there are a number of structural (e.g. *be like* is favored when the subject is 1st person, etc.), demographic (length of residency, regional location), and interactional (e.g. Hispanics with more extended contacts with African American) factors that correlate with the distribution of different quotative forms. Figure 4, adapted from Kohn & Askin Franz (2009), compares the distribution of quotative forms for Latino/as in Hickory, a predominantly (77 percent) European American, rural community in western North Carolina and for Durham, an urban population with a significant African American population (44 percent) in the piedmont region of North Carolina.

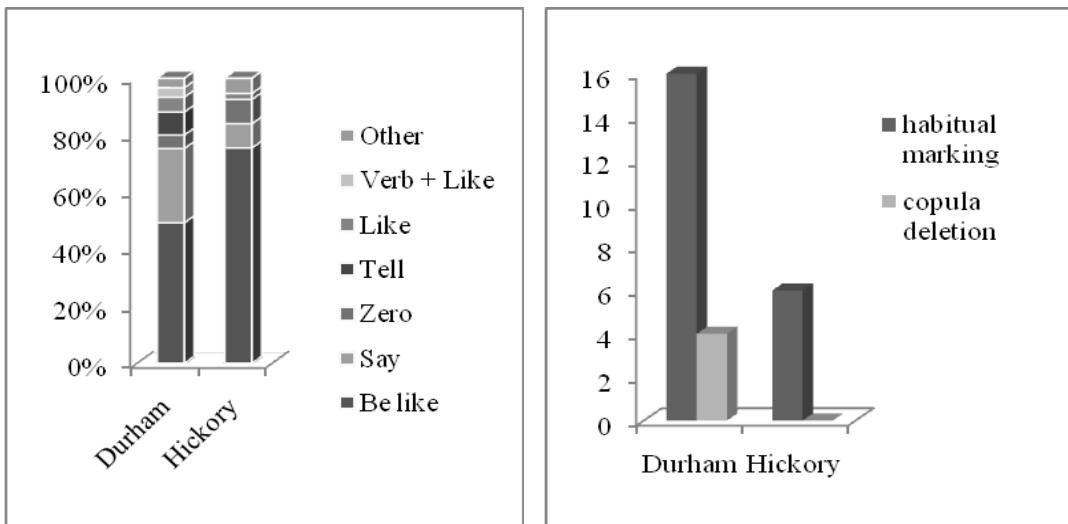


Figure 4. The use of different quotative forms for Hispanics in Hickory and Durham (adapted from Kohn & Askin Franz 2009)

The graph reveals more diversity among the types of quotative forms used by Hispanics in Durham than in Hickory. Findings further indicate that Hispanics in Durham are more likely to use an invariant form of *be like* with habitual aspect (e.g. *They always be like, Stop it*) based on their more extensive contact with the AAE cohort model in the urban context of Durham. We thus see how quotative distribution demonstrates variable, selective, and local accommodation in different contact situations.

3. The Substrate Effect

One of the most controversial and enduring questions about socioethnic varieties of English is the persistence of substrate effects from the original contact situation. In some cases, the formative contact situation is now centuries removed and it is difficult to reconstruct the original contact dynamics based on limited and elusive sociohistorical background language data. At the same time, there are current contact situations in which we can observe emerging socioethnic varieties undergoing adaptation in process so that the application of the uniformitarian principle (Christy 1983; Labov 1994) allows us to understand the dynamics of language contact from the past based on our observation of language contact in the present.

In many respects, the reduction of syllable-coda consonant clusters (CCR) in vernacular English dialects is the paradigm case of systematic variability in variationist sociolinguistics as well as a prime candidate for a durable substrate effect in representative socioethnic varieties (Guy 1980; Wolfram et al. 2000; Schreier 2005). There are a number of unresolved issues about CCR, including the internal phonetic traits of CCR (Browman & Goldstein 1991; Surprenant & Goldstein 1998), details of the reduction process (Fasold 1972, Guy 1980), and the most adequate explanatory account of the process (Guy 1991, 1997; Guy & Boberg 1997, Santa Ana 1996), but there is widespread agreement on the types of clusters that may be affected by CCR and the kinds of structural linguistic contexts and social factors that favor CCR. One of the potential sources of influence on the relative incidence of CCR is language contact history, and varieties of English with heritage languages lacking syllable-coda clusters tend to have significantly higher levels of CCR than other varieties (Wolfram et al. 2000; Schreier 2005). Although all varieties of English have CCR in preconsonantal position (e.g., *wes' side* or *fin' time*), in prevocalic position significant levels of CCR are primarily characteristic of English varieties influenced by language-contact situations rather than through independent, internal linguistic change.

Practically all studies of Hispanicized English show a lingering contact effect of CCR when these varieties are compared with cohort varieties of English (Wolfram 1974; Santa Ana 1991; 1996; Galindo 1987; Fought 2003; Callahan 2008). Sometimes these effects are fairly straightforward and reflected simply by higher levels of CCR when compared with cohort, non-Hispanic varieties of English. At the same time, social and interactional variables may intersect with these effects. For example, Wolfram (1974) found that Puerto Rican teenagers with extensive peer contact with African American in New York City actually showed a higher level of CCR than their African American peers but that those with less extensive contact with African American peers had levels of CCR that fell between the AAE norm and the European American norm. On the basis of these results, he concluded that there was an additive effect for those with extensive contacts with African Americans. In emerging Hispanic communities, factors such as length of residency (LOR), proficiency in English, and the local contact situation are more likely to have an effect (Callahan 2008). Some of the figures for CCR will be examined later in relation to other structural linguistic factors and social factors (cf. figures 7 and 8) influencing unmarked past tense forms; it is sufficient here to note that CCR, a prominent feature in emerging varieties of Hispanic English, is a reasonable candidate for persistent substrate effect based on a comparison with durable Hispanic communities.

Why would CCR be a reasonable candidate for persistent substrate influence? Part of the explanation is probably related to its internal phonological structure, but part of the explanation may also be embedded in a sociopsychological explanation. The reduction of syllable-coda consonant clusters is a well-known trait of first language development (Ingram 1989), second language acquisition interlanguage (Tarone 1980, 1988, 2001), and phonological transfer (Weinreich 1953; Odlin 1989), as well as internal structural change (Schreier 2005). Furthermore, in contrast to

segmental inventories, phonotactic transfer tends to be relatively durable. Sabino's study of Negerhollands (Sabino 1993, 1994), for example, shows the long-term persistence of phonotactic transfer patterns; she notes (1994:16) that "250 years after the arrival of the first slave ship, a substrate phonotactic constraint was still partially evident in the language of the last speakers of the language." Though we may be impressed with the long-term potential for CCR, we are hardly surprised that a structure involving a phonetically complex phonotactic sequence would be among those traits perpetuated as a substratal effect. The persistence of extensive levels of CCR as substrate may also be supported by its relative lack of social saliency. Labov notes (2001:196, 28) that CCR 'elicits only moderate style shifting and subjective reactions when compared to some other phonological features.' Style shifting is, of course, one of the primary indicators of social marking, as salient features are likely to show heightened sensitivity to stylistic manipulation (Labov 1966, 2001). The fact that CCR is a natural phonological process that is shared in part by practically all varieties of English may further lead to a type of "camouflaging" effect (Spears 1982) in which a vernacular dialect form that appears to be like a closely related form in a standard variety may not be readily apparent to listeners. In standard varieties of English, CCR is quite common in some phonetic contexts, in particular in preconsonantal position (e.g. *tes' case*, *col' person*), in unstressed syllables (e.g. *breakfas'*), and in unstressed function words such as *an'* for *and*. In cases of partial structural, social saliency might be reduced in where there is, in fact, a diagnostic difference. Accordingly, CCR would seem to be a prime candidate for manifesting a subtle, enduring ethnolinguistic difference.

Prosodic dimensions of speech, including intonation and timing, are often candidates for substrate effect, and recent research on these attributes (Thomas & Carter 2006; Thomas 2011) has examined some of these effects using instrumental techniques for measuring these parameters (Thomas 2011). For example, Thomas and Carter (2006), using the Pairwise Variability Index (Grabe & Low 1995), examine syllable timing in terms of the continuum of syllable-timed and phrase-timed rhythm for a number of different varieties of English. In their exploratory consideration of syllabic rhythm, they show a continuum of timing that ranges from the current-day AAE and EAE as primary stress-based varieties at one end of the scale and Spanish as a primary syllable-timed language at the other end. In between these extremes, in regressive order of stress-based rhythm, are ex-slave AAE of the mid-1800s, Hispanic English, and Jamaican English. In figure 5, based on Carter (2007), we examine syllable timing for North Carolina AAE and EAE, an incipient Raleigh Hispanic community where most the speakers were native speakers of Spanish, and a long-term Latino/a community from southern Texas (Pearsall, TX), and one variety of Mexican Spanish. Lower scores indicate more syllable-timed rhythm.

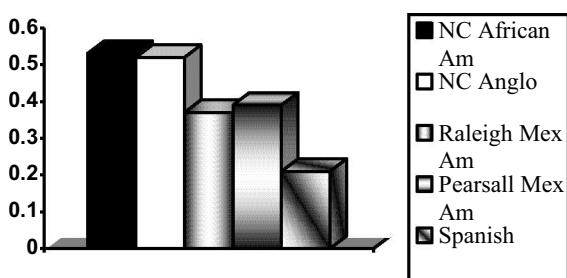


Figure 5. Differential timing in representative ethnic varieties of English (based on Carter 2007)

Two important observations can be made on the basis of figure 5. First, we see that ethnic varieties of English again show intermediacy in terms of source and target language norms. But we also see that timing in an incipient Hispanic community in North Carolina appears to match that for a longstanding Hispanic community in Southern Texas.

In figure 6 are a series of measurements of syllable timing in the Spanish and English of speakers in Pearsall, Texas, arranged by date of birth, from Wolford & Carter (2010). The time span extends more than eight decades and measurements were done for both Spanish and English.

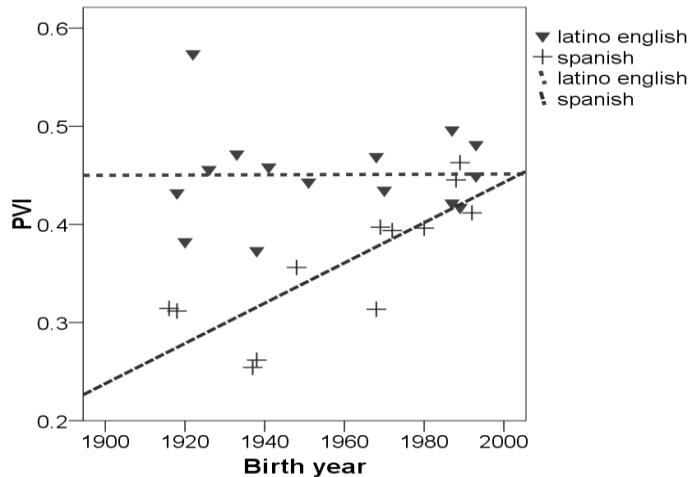


Figure 6. Syllable timing in Pearsall, Texas, by date of birth and language (from Wolford and Carter 2010)

The regression slopes for English and Spanish show a dramatic convergence in timing over the generations, with the timing for English relatively stable across the generations. However, the timing in Spanish over these same generations converges with that of the English timing, showing how the contact situation affects both the now-dominant English and the receding Spanish language. In this instance, we see a shift in the timing of the heritage language towards the intermediate timing state of the replica English variety. It should be remembered here that the youngest generation of speakers is much more English dominant than the older, Spanish-dominant generations. While we see persistent, modified substrate in the English variety, we also see an accommodation in the heritage language as it loses its dominant status in the current generation. We find a mutual, reciprocal influence that affects the heritage language as well as the variety of English within the broader context of language shift. Indeed, the incidence of substrate influence can be both complex and variable, with interdialectal outcomes more the norm than the exception.

4. Reconfiguration and Reallocation

One of the persistent questions about language-contact situations is the role of substantive structural reconfiguration and innovation. For example, it has been hypothesized that the language-contact situation affecting some Native American varieties has been restructured to include a systematic, variable constraint related to ‘habitual’ aspect or that the tense-mood-aspect (TMA) system of African Americans has been significantly restructured through language contact and/or innovation (Debose 1995; Rickford 1986; Labov 1998). At the same time, it has been amply demonstrated that in second language acquisition there is a regular sequencing in which tense marking is favored for irregular verbs (Wolfram & Hatfield 1984; Wolfram 1985), that long forms (e.g. *treated* > *missed*), are favored over other forms, that consonant singletons favor marking over clusters (e.g. *stayed* > *missed*) and so forth.

In a recent analysis of tense unmarking in Hispanic English, Callahan (2008) compares constraints on tense unmarking in a longstanding Hispanic community in Pearsall, Texas, and an emerging community in Durham, North Carolina, examining generational groups for Pearsall and length of residency groups for the emerging Hispanic community in Durham, North Carolina. The relevant constraints shown in Figures 7 and 8 are prevocalic bimorphemic clusters (e.g. *missed out*, *lined up*), prevocalic monomorphemic clusters (e.g. *mist on*, *find out*), long forms following coronal stops (e.g. *waited*, *treated*), and irregular past-tense forms (e.g. *go/went*, *come/came*).

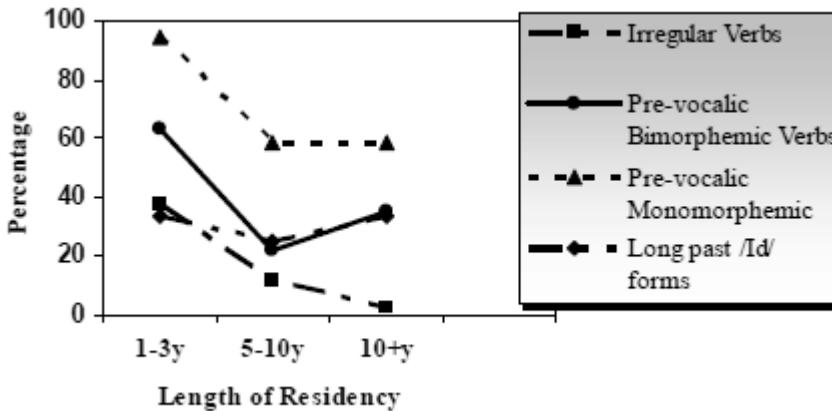


Figure 7. Incidence of tense unmarking in Durham, NC, by LOR

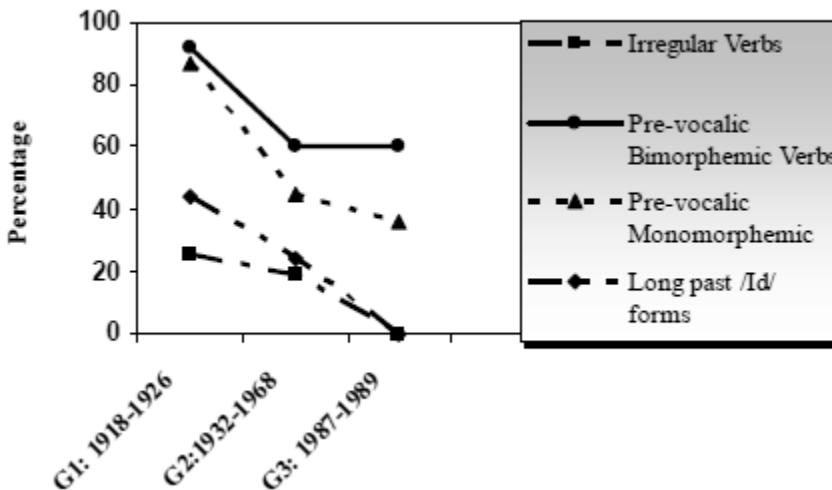


Figure 8. Incidence of unmarked tense in Pearsall, Texas, by generation

We see parallels for generational cohorts in Pearsall and the LOR cohorts in Durham in terms of the linear regression of tense unmarking, leading Callahan to conclude that generational change may recapitulate the stages of second language development in a way that roughly supports Major's (1987) Ontogeny Model. For example, we see parallel regression of tense unmarking in the various structural contexts for different generations and for different LOR groups. At the same time, Callahan's (2008) multivariate logistic regression analysis reveals a kind of aspectual reallocation in which unmarked tense is highly favored in contexts where the progressive would be used in Spanish. In Spanish, the imperfect category in a sentence such as *Manejaba al trabajo* could be glossed as 'I used to drive to work', 'I would drive to work', or 'I drove to work all the time' whereas the "perfect" or simple past in *Manejé al trabajo* would be used for 'I drove to work on a particular occasion'. In Callahan's analysis,

the strongest factor by far (.894 in the Goldvarb multivariate analysis) favoring unmarked tense is the imperfectivity of the verb. This restructuring demonstrates how aspectuality from the source language is transferred and reallocated in the reconfiguration of tense unmarking in Hispanic English. At the same time, there is phonologically based reduction that might be attributed to transfer and generalized second language acquisition. However, the aspectual reconfiguration is a variable effect rather than a distinctive, denotative TMA category. The variability of the effects and the systematicity in the reallocation point towards a parallel process in emergent socioethnic varieties that recapitulates how remnant effects have been instantiated into the construction of durable socioethnic varieties.

5. Conclusion

Most studies of Hispanicized English varieties are limited to describing the outcomes of language contact situations. In this presentation, the comparison of durable ethnolinguistic varieties with emerging language varieties in the progress allows us a unique perspective in terms of both the process and the product of language contact with English. One of the essential observations from our investigation is that there is inherent gradience and variation in both transfer and accommodation, demonstrated in the ungliding of /ai/ and syllable timing. It also appears to show a kind of phonetic intermediacy between Spanish and English that resembles Trudgill's (1986) definition of "interdialectal forms", that is, "forms that actually originally occurred in neither dialect" (Trudgill 1986:62). These forms not only appear in the incipient stages of new dialect formation, but may be incorporated into an enduring socioethnic variety as well (Mendoza Denton 2008).

Another observation from our empirical examination concerns the prominent role of the lexicon in the early stages of development in emerging socioethnic varieties, not only in terms of the acquisition of particular lexical items but in terms of the acquisition of phonetic processes as well. For example, we showed that speakers may accommodate a glide-reduced production of the /ai/ vowel in some lexical items while resisting the acquisition of a generalized version of prevoiced glide weakening. This observation suggests that the lexical diffusion may play a prominent role in the early stages of local dialect accommodation in second language acquisition just as it does in second dialect acquisition (Chambers 1992). The relatively early accommodation of lexical regional forms such as *y'all* and *hey* in the South (Wolfram et al. 2004) and the early adoption of quotative *be like* with some local accommodation (Kohn 2008) underscore the prominence of the lexicon in early socioethnic variety construction.

We have suggested that some types of structural forms may be predisposed towards substrate effects, though this observation is difficult to formulate as a strong principle about the nature of this predisposition. Phonotactic and prosodic structures, along with more subtle, noncontrastive segmental phonetic detail, seem to be viable candidates for substrate endurance but there also seem to be underlying phonetic conditions, such as complexity, convergence with predictable interlanguage processes, and phonetic subtlety that may enable these effects. At the same time, we must recognize that substrate effects are not necessarily unilateral sources of explanation and are sensitive to social conditions in the process.

Notwithstanding the effects of variables such as LOR, proficiency in English, and the status of the community as a socioethnic entity, some variation appears to be a matter of individual choice or agency. Thus, we see speakers with similar LORs, levels of proficiency in English, community backgrounds, and family histories making quite different choices in terms of dialect accommodation. The individual basis of alignment based on social affiliation and speaker agency was illustrated dramatically in one interview conducted with two siblings, an 11-year old girl and her 13-year old brother. Their parents came from Mexico, but the children lived all of their lives in the North Carolina Piedmont. In the sociolinguistic interview the girl had only one case of unglided /ai/ out of 17 potential tokens (5.9%), while her brother produced almost two-thirds (62.8%) of his /ai/ diphthongs as unglided, indicating an obvious difference in the accommodation of the local Southern norm for these two speakers. The adolescent boy, who also indicates other Southern vernacular features in his speech, identifies strongly with the local non-Hispanic "jock" culture of adolescent boys, projecting a strong "macho" image, while his sister, who uses few vernacular features to go along with her predominantly glided production of /ai/, is much more oriented toward to mainstream American institutional values.

Such cases demonstrate the symbolic choices that speakers may make as they mold their identities in relation to those around them and for themselves, even within the same family. Though this case might also suggest gendered behavioral roles in that the particular cultural value choice is more viable for boys than girls, not all boys choose this option in local affiliation and vernacular norms. Our studies of emerging Hispanic English in different locales in North Carolina (Wolfram et al. 2004; Callahan 2008; Kohn 2008; Kohn & Askin Franz 2009) suggest that one of the factors that guides choices about accommodating the local dialect is related to the symbolic role of that dialect. In some instances, the local dialect might be viewed simply as a regional mainstream norm, whereas in other cases it may be viewed as a vernacular norm associated with a particular socioethnic or regional group in conflict with mainstream norms. Ideologies about regional and local dialect forms and symbolic affiliation through language therefore cannot be dismissed in examining the emergence and durable effects of language contact situations.

Perhaps the most significant finding concerns the multiplicity of sources and the intersection of the processes that converge while constructing a socioethnic variety from an original contact situation. Attribution is never simple and unitary, showing instead the interaction of processes that reveal convergence in the explanation. In accounting for tense unmarking in both emerging and stable Hispanic English varieties, for example, it is necessary to appeal to transfer, generalized second-language interlanguage processes, and reallocation and reconfiguration. We have further seen that reallocation and reconfiguration are not exceptional cases, but may be reasonable and natural linguistic consequences in the construction of a socioethnic variety from a contact situation. Though the multiplicity, complexity and interaction of sources may challenge our attempts to explain the processes and products of language contact between English and Spanish, these are the realities that have been empirically confirmed in emerging and durable socioethnic varieties of Hispanicized English.

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