

## OUR LINGUISTIC AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

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Both material and social conditions determine whether the languages of national and lingual minorities throughout the world thrive, struggle to survive, or cease to exist. Where society is stratified, the social and economic level that the lingual minority occupies will determine the status of the minority language, the extent of its social functions, and the type of social and linguistic interaction between majority and minority language groups. Changes in material and social conditions necessarily produce changes in language and in the status of languages, ensuring their maintenance or loss.

In the Southwest of the United States, the social and linguistic situation of the population of Mexican origin (Chicanos) is intrinsically connected to employment, immigration, and education, factors that have undergone change since 1848, when the Southwest was wrested from Mexico. These have greatly influenced where Chicanos live, how much contact they have with Spanish and English speakers, and thus the degree of preservation of Spanish language varieties and linguistic assimilation.

Chicanos in the Southwest are a national and lingual minority largely of working-class status in contact with a majority English-speaking population that also constitutes the dominant class. Invariably socioeconomic status plays a significant role in determining linguistic and cultural assimilation because material factors combine to produce particular patterns of social relations and attitudes toward a given language. Given the particular population configurations in the Southwest, this process of acculturation and linguistic assimilation is ongoing and incomplete. Thus, at present, the Chicano community includes three different groups; Spanish monolinguals, English monolinguals, and bilingual persons. The bilingual group is the most widespread and the most complex because individuals exhibit various levels of language proficiency in the two languages and various patterns of language choice according to function and domain, as we shall see later. Before exploring the particular Spanish

varieties of this population, I will analyze briefly the various factors that create and maintain the present language situation.

According to various statistics, more than 15 million persons in the United States are of Mexican origin and about 80 percent of these reside in urban areas. In the last forty years this population has been characterized by geographic and occupational mobility, which has taken it out of largely agricultural work into the factory and into service industries. This occupational mobility, however, has not been accompanied by great strides in social mobility, and Chicanos continue to be a low-income population. According to the Bureau of the Census, about 25 percent of all families of Mexican origin have an income below the poverty level. This economic situation is the result of labor segmentation within a capitalist system that has produced a dual labor market: a primary sector with workers who are highly paid and enjoy a certain stability, and a secondary sector characterized by low wages and unstable employment. Workers within the secondary labor market are primarily members of minority groups and women. This dichotomy in the labor market is the most important factor in determining the type of social and linguistic contact between communities because it is the labor process that determines relations of production (i.e., those arising between the owner of the means of production and the workers) and thereby, social relations between groups, classes, and individuals. Thus low-income jobs lead to the concentration of the minority population in ghettos and barrios, where housing is cheap and where one can rely on friends and relatives for assistance during moments of crisis. Those who can earn more money achieve a certain social mobility, moving out of the barrio into higher income bracket English-dominant communities. The concentration of the Spanish-speaking population in certain residential areas is thus a result of poverty and racial discrimination and is largely responsible for the maintenance of Spanish.

The same urbanization and industrialization that have led to segregation and labor segmentation have also produced geographical mobility. Thousands of Chicanos have migrated from towns and rural areas characterized by strong interethnic and family ties to large, sprawling suburbs interspersed with freeways, industry, junkyards, warehouses, and dumps where these bonds are dissolved and where there is often little contact between neighbors. Thus we have a concentrated minority that is segregated from the majority community and within which are conditions that alienate community and family members from each other. This situation both unites and separates the Chicano community. Occupational mobility has also created diversity in the patterns of social relations by bringing highly segregated agricultural workers into a secondary labor market, which usually includes workers from various minority groups. Thus workers in small industries, restaurants, hospitals, maintenance, and other support services are likely to be primarily Chicano and black but may include Asian groups as well. The presence of other minority groups, as well as low-income whites, in these employment categories introduces the Spanish-speaking worker into an English-dominant domain, although some interworker relations may call for Spanish.

Another highly significant factor that influences the linguistic context is the continual flow of workers from Mexico into the United States, which is both documented and undocumented. These workers constitute not only a reserve labor pool but a reserve language pool as well, allowing a constant infusion of Mexican varieties of Spanish into the Southwest. Because both incoming Mexican workers and second-, third-, or fourth-generation Chicanos often reside in the same low-income areas, contact between the two groups has been continuous. Those who have been able to leave the barrio for higher-income areas have little or no contact with these recently arrived Mexicans, nor with other Chicanos, and consequently little contact with the Spanish language. The obvious exception here, of course, are the high-income Mexicans who migrate to the United States, reside in particular high-income areas, like Coronado or La Jolla in San Diego County, and relate socially to other Mexicans of the same income bracket.

The economic factor is thus highly significant as an impediment to the linguistic assimilation of many Chicanos. In general one could say that first- and second-generation Chicanos are likely to make much greater use of Spanish and be Spanish-dominant or Spanish monolingual, whereas the later generations, third, fourth, and subsequent ones, are either English monolingual or English-dominant bilinguals. Yet, the generational factor is not as significant as the segregational factor for people who have stayed in the barrio in contact solely with Spanish-speaking persons. Some persons in Chicano barrios do not speak English at all and some are quite limited in English, although they have lived in this country for many years. It is, of course, possible to be a manual or unskilled laborer without being literate or having any proficiency in English. The presence of these Spanish monolinguals not only reflects the degree of segregation in the Southwest but evidences numerous functions that Spanish continues to have in areas where English is not indispensable.

Education has also contributed to a changing language situation, because instruction in English has facilitated the overlapping of language functions and seriously undermined the use of Spanish as the home language. As educational attainment has increased, formal and informal contact with English has also increased as new roles and situations have opened up for the population. Bilingual education in the public schools, especially of Spanish-language students, could still have a strong impact on the maintenance of Spanish, but unfortunately these bilingual programs have been primarily transitional ones, in which the objective is the rapid acquisition of English in order to place the minority-language students in classes where English is the sole means of instruction.

Occupation, salary, education, and years of residence are all interconnected factors affecting the language choices of Chicanos. Their status in society as primarily low-income working-class persons explains the low status of Spanish in the United States, despite the presence of some middle-class Chicanos in professional, technical, and primary industry categories. Lack of socioeconomic success can lead to disparagement of oneself, one's group, and one's language. It is not surprising, then, that education and the acquisition of English are seen

to be the principal vehicles for social mobility and assimilation. For this reason, many parents consciously decide to stop speaking Spanish in the home so that their failure in school will not be repeated by their children. Where change of language in the home is not a conscious decision, the children themselves learn to associate Spanish with conditions of poverty and to resist its use. Language choice is thus both conscious and subconscious, as is evident in many Chicano homes where parents address their children in Spanish and they respond in English.

All of these conditions have produced various types of bilingualism. Using the classification outlined by Glyn Lewis (1972), we can distinguish four types of bilingualism in the Southwest: stable, dynamic, transitional, and vestigial. Stable bilingualism is found at the Mexican border, where Spanish maintains all its functions on the Mexican side, as English does on the U.S. side despite the presence of certain domains, like the commercial areas, where both languages may be used.

In dynamic bilingualism, one of the languages threatens to displace the other as differentiation of social roles and overlapping of language functions occur. This bilingualism, which arises in times of great mobility and instability, when everything is in the process of change, is widespread in Chicano communities and is renewed by each incoming generation of immigrants. Transitional bilingualism, on the other hand, is a more advanced stage, in which one language completely appropriates some of the functions of the other, displacing it little by little until finally only the dominant language remains and only vestiges are left of the other, as evidenced in some expressions or terms reminiscent of another time and culture.

The linguistic context is thus heterogeneous and contradictory, because while Spanish is being displaced in many homes it continues to be maintained as the informal language of home, friendship, and intimacy in many communities. The presence today of an increasingly larger Spanish-speaking community has allowed Spanish to be the second language of several domains in the Southwest. Although it is never the principal language, it sometimes functions as an alternative or secondary code, as evidenced by Spanish versions of billboards, traffic signals, announcements on TV and radio, government and health brochures, rulings, warnings, and school textbooks as well as by bilingual telephone operator services, bilingual salesclerks, and bilingual translators in government and the courts. Ironically, while gaining a certain visibility at the public level, Spanish has suffered losses of important functions in various spheres. For many Chicanos today, English is the language of the home, the choice for all domains and functions, spoken even in intimacy.

Attitudes of Chicanos toward the Spanish language reflect the full gamut of possibilities, from rejection of the language and the subordinate status that it represents, to defense of it as a symbol of cultural resistance. Maintenance of Spanish is thus considered a bond uniting working-class Spanish speakers in U.S. communities to workers in Latin America. For some middle-class Chicanos and Latinos the maintenance of Spanish means greater opportunities in employment and within the existing political system. Whether it serves as a symbol of resistance or acquiescence to the system, the Spanish language

will continue to survive as a living language in the Southwest as long as the material conditions of stratification persist.

### SPANISH OF THE SOUTHWEST

The Spanish spoken in the Southwest includes a number of varieties reflecting the national origin, as well as its rural or urban nature, the social class, and the education of immigrants from Mexico and Central and South America. This study will deal only with the Spanish varieties of the population of Mexican origin.

Because Mexican immigration, since 1848 but especially since the early part of the twentieth century, originates in various parts of Mexico (despite certain patterns of immigration from certain Mexican regions to particular southwestern states), it is difficult to propose a classification in terms of regional dialects, although studies of dialect have been attempted under the assumption that some variants are peculiar to one state when in fact they are widespread throughout the Southwest. I propose here a study of several sociolinguistic varieties that can be further subdivided by degree of standardization and by rural or urban origin. The linguistic phenomena that characterize these popular Southwest varieties are not exclusive to the Spanish of Chicanos; they can be found in popular varieties throughout the Spanish-speaking world, especially in the popular Spanish of Mexico, the source of our own varieties. Only the *extent* of the borrowing phenomenon can be said to be a distinctive feature of Chicano Spanish. Linguistic borrowing is, of course, widespread whenever two languages are in contact and especially where one is subordinate to the influence of the other. As a consequence of the political and economic influence of English-speaking countries, the English language is a source of loans for many languages including Latin American and peninsular Spanish. Quantitatively, however the degree of absorption of these loans is greater in Chicano Spanish because of the daily and close contact with the English language.

In a descriptive study, like this one, the function of particular variants within particular contexts is not specified. An analysis of the variables that trigger particular shifts, be they speech acts, turn taking, the presence of particular addressees, or the transmission of particular messages, is also absent. Neither is the aim of this study to propose rules of variability postulating that particular social and linguistic factors trigger certain phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical rules. I offer here an inventory of linguistic features that characterize the Spanish of Chicanos, not only in Texas and California but also in the rest of the Southwest. Not all of these features appear in the Spanish varieties of all speakers, but a continuum will be presented that includes numerous variants typical of both rural and urban Spanish varieties in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. A Chicano Spanish speaker can fall at one or more points along this continuum. Despite urbanization, rural varieties are a major consideration in this study, for most Chicanos have rural roots, whether in the United States or Mexico.

Spanish varieties of the Southwest include both standard and popular codes. Within standard varieties, we can distinguish between formal and

informal styles, marked by differences in phonetic and lexical rules. Consider the following examples of both styles:

Formal Style:	Informal Style:
¿Fuiste al cine?	'Tonces 'stábamos hablando inglés.
Ojalá que vayamos.	'Stá bueno.
Lo empujaron.	'Horita no me acuerdo. Lue'ó te digo.
Ahora no me acuerdo.	

These standard varieties are the codes used in formal domains, particularly in radio broadcasting, whether in Mexican border stations transmitting to the Southwest or in Spanish-language stations of the Southwest. These standard varieties are generally part of the repertoire of urban Mexican immigrants who have had some schooling in Spanish. Thus education and literacy in Spanish are significant factors determining literacy in Spanish and the acquisition of standard varieties of Spanish. Proficiency in Spanish, however, is primarily oral in the Southwest, especially among second and subsequent generations, because bilingual education is a new component of public schooling and limited generally to non-English-speaking students. Most Chicanos have received no instruction in Spanish.

The rural roots of the Chicano population and the presence of numerous newly arrived immigrants from rural areas in Mexico have served to give the oral Spanish of Chicanos a definitely rural flavor. Differences between rural and urban varieties can also be expressed in terms of rule differences affecting the phonology, morphology, and syntax. Some rules are characteristic of both urban and rural varieties. Particular combinations of these rules can be said to characterize the language of different speakers in the community. As we shall see in the following examples, sex, age, and style are important factors distinguishing between the *vato loco* (the cool dude), the *comadres* (the barrio housewives), the *jovencita* (the young teenage girl) and the Chicano university student.

A *vato loco*:<sup>1</sup>

Guacha, ¿por qué no me alivianas con un aventón y me dejas en el chante? Y mientras que vas por el Chente, yo tiro clavao, me rastió la greña y me entacucho. Te traís al Chente a mi cantón y le digo a la jefa que nos aliviane con un calmante porque a mí ya me trai la jaspia, y quiero refinar. Le dices al Chente que 'stoy invitao a un borlo y pa' que se desagüite el vato le digo a mi güisa que le consiga una jainita para irnos a borlotear todos. ¿Cómo la ves?

Some *comadres*:

Fijate que anoche llegó Juan echándole trancazos a la Filomena. Hizo una rejolina que ¡Válgame Dios! Y pa cabarla de amolar pos no se le antojó a Pedro irse a meter al borlote quesque pa pararle el alta al Juan. A ése ni quién lo paciñe pero Pedro es mu cabezudo.  
¿Y a poco se le rajuelió todo?

Ande, si ni chanza tuvo, porque lo-lo vino la chota y cargó con toos.

Diay la Filomena se dejó venir.

¿A poco quería que se lo juera a sacar?

Pos sí. Y como le dije yo, comadre: "No me vengas con lloriqueos. Amárate las naguas como las meras mujeres y déjalo que se pudra nel bote."

No sé pa qué le habló a la ley. Ya no más por no andar dejando.

A *jovencita*:

Hey, Mary, ¿por qué no vienes pa mi casa? Tengo un magazine nuevo that I got this morning nel drugstore. Tiene todas las new songs, muy suaves, de los... cómo se llaman... You know... los que cantan ésa que tocaron... ahí nel jukebox when we were at the store. No, hombre, not that one, the other one, la que le gustó much a Joe. I like it too porque tiene muy suave rhythm y las words también, muy suaves... yeah... what? really???? ...te llamó? OOOOhhhhh, Mary. Ese está de aquellotas.

A Chicano university student:

Gento orita ya stá despertando y stá diciendo pos que la única modo de ganarle al gabacho en el juego, este... es meternos haciendo cosas de nohotros como de la política y economía, metiéndonos, gente mexicana, que tiene el corazón mexicano, que quiere yudar la gente mexicana... Como orita van a tener gente correr en las elecciones de 72 en el estado de Texas. Toavía no han agarrao la persona. Yo creo que es una movida mal porque no tenemos la feria y las conexiones y todo eso. Tenemos que empezar en los pueblos chiquitos. Yo ha hablado con gente que sabe más que yo que cree lo mismo.

These are all examples of the Spanish spoken in the Southwest. Although all reflect popular varieties, it is evident that standard forms predominate in the oral production. Thus it is the presence of certain morphological and lexical markers that characterize popular varieties and that distinguish them from standard varieties. These popular varieties could be classified in terms of place of origin (rural or urban) and in terms of particular subcodes as follows:

**Urban:**

*General:*

¿Fuistes al cine?

Cuando vuélvamos, le digo.

¡Qué bueno que haiga venido!

No sabe espelear.

Me llamó pa tras.

Pagaron los biles.

*Caló:*

Le taloníe pal chante.

Aliviáname un frajo.

**Code-shifting:**

Allí esta más barato *because the one que me trajo Maggie costaba nomás one-ninety-eight.*

Y está muy loco el tripe ese porque *mine is a cábula, you know, and liberación también es cábula and is really a beautiful trip and...*

**Rural:****General:**

Y tamién me gustaba en la noche porque nos juntábanos, un grupo nos juntábanos y nos sentábanos debajo de ese árbol.

¿Qué hicites ayer? ¿Adónde fuites?

Vivemos por la Hill. ¿On tá? Pos tá allí por la ochenta y siete.

Lo vide ayer y me dijo que asina nomás era pero como nomás no trabaja, pos por eso se lo truje a usted pa que me lo arregle.

Each one of these examples contains different types of variants that I shall examine later. As previously indicated, the discourse of any one individual may include standard as well as popular forms. These shifts between varieties function like shifts between styles in many cases and may be grouped within particular repertoires. The findings indicate that although a particular speaker may shift between *está* or *tá*, according to the intimacy or informality of the situation with a given addressee or for a particular speech act or function, rarely do we find a speaker who shifts between *dicemos* and *decimos* according to these same contextual features. Except for cases where there is a conscious effort to make certain shifts as the result of instruction in the Spanish language, a speaker who uses *dicemos* rather than *decimos* will generally use the same form throughout his shifts from informal to formal styles. Lexical shifts are also common for all speakers, especially shifts from loanwords to common Spanish terms, as in shifts from *puchar* to *empujar*, where various factors trigger the change, but again one rarely finds cases, except for those of the conscious learner of new language varieties, where a speaker shifts from *asina* to *así*, that is, from a rural form to an urban form.

In the Spanish version of this article, I attempted to defend Chicano Spanish in view of attacks from various quarters about the inferior quality of its language varieties. Yet despite this defense, the article did not completely escape the tendency to follow certain syntactic notions of norm. Obviously the Bernsteinean notions (1968) of elaborated and restricted codes should have been completely rejected in that article. Popular varieties of language, as demonstrated by Labov (1972), are linguistically complex codes with great syntactic variety, broad vocabularies, and the capacity to serve as the means for transmitting abstract ideas as well as concrete information. Popular codes in the Southwest have numerous functions where they are used as the principal means of communication, such as the home, the neighborhood, centers of recreation, and the church. Because language is a social convention there are instances in which the social context does not require extensive verbal expansion of certain ideas. Once suggested, they are clear to the addressee.

Thus it is often not necessary to verbalize certain explanations that are part of general knowledge. Often not more than two or three words are necessary for the meaning to be clear to a friend or family member. The same codes are shared, not only linguistic codes but social ones as well. The mode of explicit or implicit expression depends, of course, on the message to be transmitted and its specific context. All languages also have ready-made expressions of high frequency that can communicate as much as more complex structures, which may be considered unnecessary in informal contexts. In English, for example, there are numerous expressions containing the verb *get*. It is thus nothing strange that informal Spanish has a number of similar expressions containing the verb *agarrar*. These expressions, common in many Spanish-speaking nations and thus not unique to Southwest Spanish, are quite frequent in Chicano communities. Consider the following examples collected from taped interviews and personal observations:

1. Tienes que agarrar una tarjeta para registrarte. (conseguir)
2. Yo voy a agarrar tres cursos. (seguir)
3. Agarra al niño. (Tómalo en los brazos)
4. Agarra al niño. (Detenlo)
5. Voy a agarrar el libro. (tomar)
6. Voy a agarrar trabajo. (conseguir, obtener)
7. Ya lo agarraron. (arrestaron)
8. Es muy agarrado. (adj. derived from *agarrar*—tacaño)
9. Ahí no agarran chicanos. (emplean)
10. Me agarró bien fuerte. (abrazó)
11. No puedo agarrar la estación. (sintonizar la emisora)
12. Agarró la paseada. (se tiró al vicio)
13. Ya agarró juicio. (ya entró en razón)
14. Ya le voy agarrando. (entendiendo)
15. Quieres agarrar los derechos de un americano. (disfrutar)
16. Al rato lo agarra el Army. (recluta)
17. ¿No me quieres agarrar una orden? (comprar)
18. ¿No me quieres agarrar este taquito? (recibir, aceptar)
19. Voy a agarrar el bos. (tomar el bus)
20. Me agarró bien fuerte la calentura. (dio)

As these examples indicate, informal expressions are useful for many language functions within contexts in which Spanish is used. Unfortunately, some language functions require particular experiences that have been either totally inaccessible to persons of Mexican origin or accessible only in English. Without formal instruction in Spanish, it is then not surprising that Chicanos have not developed certain academic and technical language varieties in Spanish. The instructors in bilingual education programs often are native Spanish speakers who have not had the opportunity to develop the lexical repertoire necessary for teaching biology, math, history, or government nor the metalanguage necessary to explain certain cognitive concepts. Obviously these additional language skills can be easily acquired by native

speakers if teachers are appropriately trained. Unfortunately the problem is even greater, for besides being deprived of the opportunity to develop these formal language skills in Spanish in the public schools, Chicanos are often also deprived of the opportunity to acquire them in English, as indicated by numerous studies of achievement levels in minority schools throughout the Southwest.

Most of the Spanish-language variants that will be described were derived from the language samples provided through taped interviews of seventeen Chicano students at the University of Texas at Austin. These students were originally from San Antonio, Laredo, Brownsville, Austin, Mason, Odessa, Lyford, Seguin, and San Angelo, Texas. Since then I have had ample contact with students in California, whose speech is also discussed here. Texas Chicanos are much more Spanish dominant, however, than those in California because of their greater concentration in the Texas valley and stronger patterns of segregation in housing and education throughout the state. The study, then, is based primarily on the taped interviews, on personal observations of Chicano university students in Texas, on written compositions by Chicano students in my classes, and on my own personal experience as speaker of Chicano Spanish.

### PHONETIC VARIANTS

The phonetic variants that I shall describe are common in the popular Spanish varieties of Chicanos but may be found throughout the rest of the Spanish-speaking world. Some changes, such as aphaeresis, laxing, and loss of voiced fricatives, are part of the informal style of all Spanish speakers, whether their main language codes are standard or popular.

#### VOWEL CHANGES

The popular Spanish varieties of the Southwest are characterized by vowels so lax, or nontense, that unaccented vowels are often lost. This vowel loss is especially common in initial position if the vowel is unstressed. In polysyllabic words, unstressed noninitial syllables before stressed syllables may be lost. Diphthongization of contiguous hiatus vowels also occurs unless the two syllables are maintained through the introduction of an intervocalic glide. Homologous vowels are generally reduced to one syllable.

*Aphaeresis.* The loss of an unaccented vowel in initial position often occurs in rapid and informal speech.

Loss of initial low vowel (*a*):

yudar, cordar, rodillar, silenciar, paciguar, cabar, reglar, hogar, prender, horcar, hora, horita

Sometimes, however, the vowelless form becomes the accepted form. Consequently it is common to hear, even in careful speech, *Se hogó en el río* or *los hogados* in certain varieties of Chicano Spanish.

Other examples:

haber > ber    estar > tar    hacer > cer    había > bía    estoy > toy, stoy  
enfermedad > fermedad    hubiera > biera    estuviera > tuviera

*Synaeresis.* Two syllables are often contracted into one, in this case through diphthongization.

ea > ia	pelear > peliar (desiar, mariar, voltiar, rial, tiatro, golpiar)
aí > ai	caído > caido (traido, ahi, maiz, raiz)
ae > ai	traer > trai (caer > cai, or, sometimes, a contraction: trer, quer) trae > trai (cae > cai)
oe > ue	cohete > cuete
oa > ua	toalla > tualla
eo > io	preocupa > priocupa (or sometimes, reduction: procupa) peor > pior

*Substitution of simple vowel for diphthongs in stressed position.*

ie > e	ciencia > cencia (setembre, pacencia, alenta, quero, sente, penso)
ue > o	pues > pos    luego > lo'o > lo (mueblería > moblería)
ua > a	graduar > gradar
au > a	aunque > anque
ie > i	diez y ocho > diciocho, dicinueve, etc.
ei > e	treinta y cinco > trentaincino (venticinco, etc.)

*Change of high vowels to mid-vowels.*

i > e	injusticia > enjusticia (estoria, polecía, decesiva, enmagino, dericion, defícil, ofecina, dejieron)
u > o	rumbo > rombo (complir, tovimos, joventud, imposieron, recoperó, sepoltura, secundaria, caloroso)

Vowels appearing before a nasal may become low mid-vowels:

invitando > anvitando    entonces > antonces    enveces > anveces

*Change of unstressed mid-vowels to high vowels.* In the speech of some New Mexicans and their descendants, final mid-front vowels become high as well.

e > i	entender > intender (disilucionó, manijar, siguridad, disconfiado, dishonesto, impedir, decir, siguida) leche > lechi
o > u	morir > murir

*Apocope.* One or more sounds may be lost at the end of a word.

para > pa clase > clas

*Prothesis.* A sound is often added to the beginning of a word, in this case a low mid-vowel.

tocar > atocar yendo > ayendo gastar > agastar

*Contraction of homologous vowels.*

ee > e leer > ler creer > crer

*Syncope.* A sound is often lost in the interior of a word, in this case, unstressed syllables before stressed syllables.

desaparecido > desaparecido desapareció > desapareció necesita > necita desapego > despego zanahoria > zanoria alrededor > alrededor

*Epenthesis.* A sound is inserted or developed; in this case, a glide is inserted in intervocalic position.

creo > creyo veo > veyo cree > creye tío > tiyo mío > miyo leer > leyer creer > creyer oído > oyido maestra > mayestra quería ir > quería yir of > oyi destruir > destruyir

For other cases of epenthesis, see the section on consonants.

*Laxing of unstressed vowels:*

schwa [ə] pero > pəɾə le > lə me > mə

*Metathesis.* Two vowels are transposed.

iu > ui ciudad > swidād > swidá

### CONSONANT CHANGES

In general, consonants in popular Chicano Spanish also tend to be non-tense, with laxing of fricatives, especially voiced fricatives, the aspiration of sibilants and sometimes of the voiceless labiodental fricative *f*, and the simplification of consonant clusters. These consonantal changes are also common in the informal popular varieties of the rest of the Spanish-speaking world. Some are particularly prevalent in rural Spanish.

*Aspiration of the sibilant -s- in any position.* This occurs especially in rural Spanish varieties in north central Mexico and Texas.

nosotros > nohotros puertas > puertah decir > dihir este > ehte Sí, señor > hí, heñor

*Aspiration of the voiceless labiodental fricative f.*

fuiimos > juimos fue > jue fuerte > juerte

*Aspiration of what is now only an orthographic h in urban Spanish.* This aspiration was common in sixteenth-century Spanish.

Se fue de hilo > Se fue de jilo. Se huyó > Se juyó.  
Se hallo... > Se jalló...

*Loss of voiced fricatives in intervocalic and final positions.*

1. Intervocalic [b], [d], [g]  
todavía > toavía, tuavía todos > toos estado > estáu  
lado > lau luego > lue'ó > lo'ó > lo agua > awa  
abuelo > awelo iba > í:a
2. Intervocalic -y-  
ella > ea ellos > eos botella > botea billetera > bietera  
orilla > oría cabello > cabeo, etc.
3. In final position  
vecindad > vecindá usted > usté muy > mu

*Interchangeable "grave" voiced fricatives [b] and [g].*

aguja ~ abuja boato ~ guato abuelo ~ agüelo

*Simplification of consonant clusters.*

ct > t	doctor > dotor
nd > d	andábamos > aḏá:mos
mb > m	también > tamién
rr > r	barrio > bario correr > corer
	arrancar > arancar cierra > ciera
	arriba > ariba agarrar > garar
rl > l	tenerla > tenela pensarlo > pensalo
rn > n, l	paramos > paranos, paralos

*Metathesis.*

pared > pader problema > porblema, pobrema  
impresiones > impersiones lengua > luenga  
magullado > mallugado estómago > estóngamo, estógamo

*Epenthetic consonants.*

lamer > lamber estornudar > destornudar querrá > quedrá  
 podemos > podermos mucho > muncho  
 nadie > nadien, naiden aire > aigre adrede > aldrede  
 huelo > güelo

*Lateralization.*

d > l de > le advierto > alvierto desde > desle  
 n > l nos > los nosotros > losotros nomás > lomás

Use of "archaic" terms, common in rural Spanish. For example:

semos, asina, ansina, truje, vide, naiden, haiga, endenantes

*Stress changes.*

mendigo > méndigo (change in stress paralleled by change in meaning)  
 seamos > séanos, séamos (affects all first person plural, present subjunctive verbs)

*Alveo-palatal fricative instead of the affricate.* It is common in West Texas, southern New Mexico, Tijuana, and the southern part of California to hear *sh* instead of *ch* in words like *muchacho* (*mushasho*) and *cuchara* (*cushara*). This fricative variant has also been documented in Cuba, Paraguay, and other parts of Latin America.

noche > noshe choque > shoque leche > leshe

*English interference.* There are cases of English interference in the speech of some Chicanos, although generally only in that of nonnative speakers of Spanish. The use of retroflex *r* is one example in the speech of English-dominant Chicanos.

Rule differences between varieties may involve the sound system as well as the morphosyntactic component or the lexicon. Some of the differences involve rule simplification, as we shall see in relation to the verb system.

**VERB TENSES OF INDICATIVE MOOD**

Southwest Spanish has maintained the same orientation of tense that we find in standard Spanish, as described by Bull (1965). Verb tenses reflect the focus (simultaneous, anterior, or subsequent) from a particular time axis, whether explicitly or implicitly stated. This verbal tense system continues to

function in Southwest Spanish, but the morphology and the tenses associated with particular time orientations have varied. To see the differences we must look at the systemic uses of verb tenses in standard Spanish in terms of two time axes: present and past.

The future tense is seldom used in a systemic way. Generally, to indicate a subsequent action, speakers use the present tense or the periphrastic form with the verb *ir* plus infinitive.

Saldré mañana = Voy a salir mañana  
 Salgo mañana

The future case is retained for nonsystemic cases, as in cases of probability:

*Será tu papá* (or, *Ha de ser tu papá*) 'It's probably your father'  
*No sé que quedará* (*querrá*) 'I don't know what he wants (might want)'

The future perfect tense is almost never used. To indicate a distant future point before another moment, the simple future tense plus an adverb are used:

Para diciembre habrá llegado = Va a llegar pa diciembre

Two tenses are oriented toward the present (present and present perfect), and five tenses are oriented toward the past.

**PRESENT TENSE**

The orientation is the same in the Spanish of Chicanos, but there is a tendency to add duration to the tense when the action is in progress, as in the following example:

*Sí, sí te oigo* = *Sí, sí te estoy oyendo* 'I'm listening'

**PRESENT PERFECT TENSE**

As in other Spanish varieties, the use of the preterit verb plus adverb is more common here than the present perfect tense: *Se ha ido* or *Ya se fue*. Other changes here are morphological in nature and affect the auxiliary verb (*he* > *ha*, etc.) or the past participle (*roto* > *rompido*, etc.).

The following are examples of verb tenses oriented toward the past:

**Simultaneous to the past**

Perfect aspect	Preterit tense	comí
Imperfect aspect	Imperfect tense	comía



Anterior to the past	Past perfect tense	había comido
Subsequent to the past	Conditional tense	comería
Subsequent to the past but anterior to a subsequent point	Conditional perfect tense	habría comido

### PRETERIT AND IMPERFECT TENSES

These two tenses, as in the standard Spanish verb system, indicate actions simultaneous to the past axis. The only changes here are morphological, as we shall see later. There is also a tendency to add duration to the imperfect tense:

Comía cuando entró = Estaba comiendo cuando entró.

### PAST PERFECT TENSE

This tense has the same function as in the standard variety. The only changes, again, are morphological. In some cases the auxiliary is changed from *haber* to *ir*, as in *iba comido* for *había comido*. Is it really from the verb *ir* or is it a case of metathesis: *había* > *bía* > *iba*? Perhaps it is a case of confusion between two forms that suffer laxing of fricatives: *había* > *bía* > *ía*; *iba* > *ía*. Or perhaps it is a case of an *-er* verb conjugated as an *-ar* verb: *habiba* (as in *teniba*, *sentiba*) > *iba*.

### CONDITIONAL TENSE

This tense is also rare except in nonsystemic cases indicating probability in the past: *¿Quién sería?*

In place of the conditional we have the imperfect indicative tense and the imperfect subjunctive tense. The question *¿Qué haría Ud. si tuviera mil dólares?* is often answered with either *Yo iba a México* or *Yo fuera a México*. Thus the function of the conditional tense is maintained, but the form having this function is different.

### CONDITIONAL PERFECT TENSE

As in the conditional tense, a substitution is often made, here by use of the past perfect indicative or past perfect subjunctive tenses. For example, the question *¿Qué habría hecho Ud. si hubiera recibido mil dólares?* is often answered with (1) *Yo fuera comprado un carro*, (2) *Yo (hu)biera comprado un carro*, or (3) *Yo (ha)bía comprado un carro*.

Thus, tenses oriented toward the past are often simplified to the preterit, imperfect, and past perfect tenses. The imperfect tenses also function to indicate a point subsequent to the past. The orientations, therefore, seem to be reduced to two, those indicating an action before some given point and those indicating actions both simultaneous and subsequent to a particular moment. (See Table 1.)

**Table 1**  
Indicative Verb Tenses

	<i>Anterior</i>	<i>Simultaneous</i>	<i>Subsequent</i>
Axis in the present	Present perfect	Present	Present
Axis in the past	Past perfect	Imperfect and preterit	Imperfect

### VERB TENSES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

The subjunctive mood includes four tenses in modern Spanish (present, present perfect, imperfect, and past perfect) that appear in subordinate clauses (noun, adjective, and adverbial). In noun clauses, the subjunctive appears after verbs of influence, verbs of doubt or negation, and verbs expressing an emotional view (*Es ridículo que salga*). In the popular Southwest varieties, uses of the subjunctive follow these general rules except after verbs of doubt, where sometimes it does not appear. On occasion, the use is extended to other verbs: *No sé si venga*. I shall now consider some examples where the subjunctive does not appear.

Indicative tense after expressions of doubt or negation:

No creo que tiene muchas ganas.  
No creo que es necesario.  
No creo que hay sólo una manera de hablar el español.  
No hay nada que puede hacer.  
No hay nada que yo puedo hacer bien.  
No hay seguridad que hallas trabajo.

In some cases there is never a vacillation between the indicative and the subjunctive, as in expressions like *ójala (ojalá)* and *ójali (ojalá y)*:

Ójala y venga.  
Ójala que ténganos tiempo.  
El espera que nos pórtenos bien.  
El sueño de mi hermana es que algún día júntenos un poco de dinero.

In clauses introduced by verbs of influence there is no uniformity of use:

A nosotros los católicos nos dice que estéyamos preparados.  
El podrá decir que ténganos un buen tiempo.  
Le gusta que lo van a buscar.  
Hizo que abandonaban el pueblo.  
Querían que la mujer les hacía la cena.  
Quiere que vamos a San Antonio.  
Perdón que no lo ha entregado.  
A mi mamá le gustaba que volvíamos temprano.  
Pedro no quiso que su hijo se casaba porque pierdía.  
Mandó que paraban de ir.

Es mejor que fumamos.  
Quería que me paraba.

Overall, the tendency seems to be to retain the subjunctive after expressions of hope and in some cases after verbs of influence functioning as indirect commands: *Quiere que váyamos; Dijo que ciérremos la puerta.*

In adjective clauses, the subjunctive is used to modify a nonspecific or indeterminate noun to express contingency or expectation: *Se necesita una mujer que tenga vientiocho años* (any woman that might be twenty-eight years old) versus *Ví una mujer que tiene vientiocho años* (a particular woman who is twenty-eight years old). Unfortunately this construction was not used at all in the taped interviews nor did it appear on compositions. The only example appeared in combination with an adverbial clause where the subjunctive was not used: *Pero con una ocupación como maestra no la puede hacer menos que se casa con alguien que es rico.*

In adverbial clauses, the subjunctive is used where the action is subsequent to a given axis: *El vendrá a las cinco. Entonces iremos > Iremos cuando venga.* Or *Me dijo que vendría a las cinco. Yo comí a las tres > Comí antes de que viniera él.* In the varieties in the Southwest the indicative is sometimes (but not always) substituted for the subjunctive in cases of subsequent action, as indicated by the following examples.

- Lo mandó pa que juera decirle a Demetrio.
- ... antes que me fui.
- El gobierno gasta miles de dólares cada año para que no plantan varias cosas.
- Chicano Studies serán necesario hasta cuando la escuela pública enseña, no adoctrina.
- Cuando la sistema se cambia más, los chicanos no van a tener que depender en los gringos.
- Antes de que comenzaba a pagar...
- Dice que la vida es una cosa que nos pasa antes que llegamos al fin descanso, la muerte.
- Cuando acabamos ¿vamos a tener un examen?

The subjunctive also appears in subordinate clauses introduced by *si* where an unreal and improbable condition precedes a conditional probability:

*Si tuviera dinero, iría.* 'If I had the money, I would go.'  
*Si hubiera tenido dinero, había, ido.* If I had had the money, I would have gone.'

Southwest popular varieties offer several possible combinations. The auxiliary *hubiera* is often replaced by *fuera*. Both the subordinate and independent clauses may take the subjunctive form. In some cases different combinations of indicative and subjunctive forms are used. The following examples are classified according to patterns of use:

Si \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_  
subjuntivo                    subjuntivo

- Si biera tenido un auto, yo te biera visitado.
- Si tuviera mil dólares, yo fuera a Europa.
- Te dijiera si supiera.
- Si ellos llegaran a nuestros escalones, fuera fácil para comenzar una revolución.
- Si yo fuera sido el papá, yo fuera visto que mi hijo...
- Si yo fuera el papá, yo le fuera dicho al hijo que lo que vía pasado, vía pasado.
- Si fuéranos tenido bastante más tiempo, se me hace a mí que pudiéranos hablar con esos jóvenes para decirles que no tuvieran miedo de platicar la verdad.

Si \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_  
                  subjuntivo                    indicativo

- Te decía si supiera.
- Si no fuera por la idea, ahorita no tuvíamos Chicano Studies.
- Si le biera pasado algo a mi mamá, la familia no podía, mi papá no podía mantener la familia.

Si \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_  
                  indicativo                    subjuntivo

- Te dijiera si sabía.
- Le ofreciera trabajo si podía.
- Le dciera que es muy difícil. Si no le podía enseñar el mal de sus deseos, entonces le ayudara comenzar algún negocio.

Si \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_  
                  indicativo                    indicativo

- Te decía si sabía.
- Si yo era el papá, yo le decía de la vida.
- Si yo tenía dinero, iba a las vistas esta tarde.

There are other, unusual uses of the subjunctive. In some cases *haber* plus infinitive is used as an equivalent of *tendría que*; in other words the impersonal construction with *haber* admits a subject:

Un buen católico hubiera que rechazar las cosas del mundo.

This same construction also appears as an equivalent of *debería haber* plus past participle:

Y los gringos van a tener que 'cer lo que hubieran hacido años pasado.

The same phrase appears with *fuera* replacing the auxiliary *hubiera*:

En vez de hacer el edificio fueran ayudado la gente pobre en Austin.

Sometimes in the substitution of *hubiera* by *fuera*, the verb *haber* is retained in infinitive form:

Puedo vivir la vida como si no *juera* *ber* *pasado*. (como si no hubiera pasado)

### MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB

Verbs in Spanish are divided into three conjugation groups, according to thematic vowel: *-ar*, *-er*, and *-ir*. The first conjugation group, verbs ending in *-ar*, is the largest not only because most Spanish verbs belong to it but because it contains all modern loanwords (subsuming the *-ear* group). In the popular varieties of the Southwest, the three conjugation groups have, for all practical purposes, been reduced to two groups, forms ending in *-ir* having been taken into the *-er* group. The same phenomenon was observed by Espinosa (1930) in New Mexico. Consider the following examples:

Standard Varieties	Popular Varieties
salgo	salgo
sales	sales
sale	sale
<i>salimos</i>	<i>salemos</i>
salen	salen
como	como
comes	comes
come	come
comemos	comemos
comen	comen

The only case where the thematic *-i-* vowel is retained, in the first person plural form, is eliminated in the popular varieties. Numerous instances exist of similar verb regularizations, as in the following examples:

Standard	Popular
venimos	vinemos
sentimos	sintemos
vestimos	vistemos
mentimos	mintemos
sequimos	siguemos
pedimos	pidemos
dormimos	durmemos
morimos	muremos

Mid-stem vowels become high vowels ( $e > i$ ;  $o > u$ ) as the thematic vowel is lowered ( $i > e$ ). In some cases these vocalic changes correspond to a regularization of the stem, as is evident below:

pid-o	vist-o
pid-es	vist-es
pid-e	vist-e
pid-emos (< pedimos)	vist-emos (< vestimos)
pid-en	vist-en

Stem vowels that are diphthongized when stressed maintain the diphthong even when the syllable is unstressed; subsequently new forms with diphthongized stems are created or derived:

piens-o	puedo/puedemos	vienen/vieron
piens-as	cuento/cuentando	juego/jugó
piens-a	pierdo/pierdía	despierto/
piens-amos (< pensamos)	acuesto/acuestó	despiertando
piens-an	quiero/quieriendo	duermen/duermieron

Other stem changes that may occur include verbal forms derived from preterit or other tenses:

tuve/tuvía	quiso/quisiendo	pido/pidía/pidiste/pidía
fui/juíanos	vino/vinía	

The simplification of the verb morphology seems to be a strong tendency. Numerous irregular verbs have become regularized in these Southwest popular varieties, as is common in the popular varieties of other Spanish-speaking areas of the world:

seguí/seguió	decir/deciste	decir-dicir/diciera/dicía
componer/componí	poner/poní	sentí/sentió
producir/producieron	entretener/entretení	cabrer/cabieron/cabo
eres/ero	costar/costa	ando/andé
tú has/yo ha/nosotros hamos		forzar/forzan

The same regularization is evident in the formation of past participles. Not only are there regular variants of irregular participles but there are also participles derived from new stems:

abrir/abrido (abierto)	escribir/escibido (escrito)
decir/decido/dicido/dijido (dicho)	hacer/hacido (hecho)
morir/morido (muerto)	poner/ponido (puesto)
resolver/resolvido (resuelto)	puedo/puedido (podido)
volver/volvido (vuelto)	romper/rompido (roto)
supe/supido (sabido)	niego/niegado (negado)
tuvo/tuvido (tenido)	

In some cases regular verbs are conjugated like irregular verbs:

entregar/entriego

Or verbs in *-er* are conjugated like *-ar* verbs:

traer/traiba (traía)	tener/teneba (tenía)
caer/caiba (caía)	sentir/sentiba (sentía)

The impersonal *haber* construction is also inflected for number:

Había muchos accidentes > Habían muchos accidentes

Number inflections are also regularized for second person verb forms. In the Spanish verbal system, the second person morpheme is *-s* and it appears in all conjugated forms except in the preterit, where the morpheme is *-ste*. In Southwest Spanish final *s* is maintained throughout all conjugated second person forms, as occurs in other popular Spanish varieties. Thus the forms *hablaste*, *viviste*, and *comiste* are *hablastes*, *vivistes*, and *comistes* in Southwest Spanish. In some of the rural Southwest varieties of Texas and New Mexico, the preterit morpheme is *-tes* rather than *-ste*. Thus we have forms like these:

fuiste > fuites	viste > vites
tomaste > tomates	viniste > vinites

Forms like *fuistes*, *vistes*, *tomastes*, and *vinistes* are common in urban varieties.

There are other number inflection changes in rural varieties. The first person plural morpheme, for example, which is *-mos* is changed to *-nos* whenever stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable. Proparoxytones (*esdrújulas*) occur in first person plural forms in the following tenses:

conditional tense: comeríamos > comeríanos  
 imperfect tense: comíamos > comíanos  
 imperfect subjunctive tense: comiéramos > comiéranos

As I noted previously, regularization of verb stems is common in these popular varieties of Spanish, affecting not only stem vowels but stress as well. This regularization is especially evident in present subjunctive forms. Once stress is retained in the stem, new proparoxytones arise, as in the following examples:

pueda	piense
puedas	penses
pueda	piense
puédamos (< podamos)	piésemos (< pensemos)
puedan	piensen

This retention of stress on the stem vowel affects regular verbs as well, even when there is no diphthongization of stem vowels involved:

coma	viva
comas	vivas
coma	viva
comamos (< comamos)	vívamos (< vivamos)
coman	vivan

Once these verb forms take the stress on the antepenultimate syllable, all undergo changes from *-mos* to *-nos* in rural Southwest varieties:

puédamos > puédanos	piésemos > piésenos
comamos > cómanos	vívamos > vívanos

Other changes in the verb system are easily explained as phonetic changes or the retention of archaic forms. The only other interesting phenomenon noted is frequent use of the reflexive forms to indicate the inchoative aspect of verbs and the willingness with which one undertakes an action (Bull 1965):

Me fui a comer el taco.	Me salí de la clase.
Me fui.	Me vine temprano.
Me tomé el vino.	Me leí todo el libro.

## PRONOUNS

### PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The personal pronoun system has also undergone simplification, especially in the speech of young people and in the state of California, where the formal *usted* is rarely used. Strangers and adults are immediately addressed as *tú*. In Texas, on the other hand, the *usted-tú* distinction is maintained throughout the general Mexican-origin population, although young people seem to prefer one second person singular pronoun form. The feminine plural form is also rare, leaving the following pronoun system:

yo	nosotros
tú	ustedes
ella, el	ellas, ellos

An interesting phenomenon is the use of the plural proclitic accusative form when the direct object is singular and the indirect object is plural. Evidently there is a transposition of the plural marker from the dative to the accusative, as demonstrated in the following example:

Les di el libro a ellos. > Se los di (a ellos).  
 Les di la mesa a ellas. > Se las di (a ellas).

An analogous transposition occurs with the enclitic *nos*, which becomes *no* when it is followed by another clitic pronoun. Bear in mind that a somewhat

similar sibilant loss occurs in standard varieties when imperative forms lose the final *s* if followed by an enclitic *nos*: (*Vamos + nos = Vámonos*; *peñemos + nos = peñémonos*). The loss of final *s* after *nos* is thus an extension of the vowel loss rule plus transposition:

Nos dio el dinero. > No los dio.  
Védanoslo. > Védanolos.  
Védanoslos. > Védanolos.

A similar transposition of consonants is prevalent in imperative verbs, where verb final *n* is transposed to the end of the first enclitic pronoun:

Dérmelo. > Démenlo.  
Vénganse. > Véngansen.  
Bájense. > Bájensen.

Other pronoun variants are the result of phonetic changes. The unstressed *me*, for example, is often assimilated to a mid-back vowel in its immediate context:

Me lo dio. > Mo lo dio.  
No me gusta. > No mo gusta.  
Se me olvida. > Se m'olvida.

In some cases *me* is converted into *mi*, if there is an adjacent high vowel:

Me dijo que no. > Mi dijo que no.  
Me encontré... > M'incontré...

Other phonetic changes include the lateralization of nasals, affecting both personal and clitic pronouns. Often both *nos* and *los* appear in the same discourse:

1. Quiere que los sálgamos.
2. Nos dice que los páremos.
3. Pasamos día tras día sin jamás pensar en lo que los pasará.
4. Los encontramos con unos jóvenes.

#### INTERROGATIVE AND RELATIVE PRONOUNS

In the popular Spanish of the Southwest, the interrogative *qué* is often substituted for *cuál*, especially in informational questions calling for *what* in English. Thus instead of *¿Cuál es tu dirección?* or *¿Cuál es tu número de teléfono?* we often hear *¿Qué es tu dirección?* or *¿Qué es tu número de teléfono?*

Inflection for number often disappears in the case of *quién/quienes*:

¿Quiénes son? > ¿Quién son?

Perhaps this simplification is a result of English influence, where there is only one interrogative form: *who*. As previously indicated, however, simplification is a strong tendency in these popular varieties and could easily explain this loss of number inflection. Nevertheless, the use of *que* for *lo que* sounds somewhat like a literal oral translation from the English:

Esto es todo *que* puedo decir de mi comunidad.

There are other pronominal variants in Chicano communities, which I shall merely note, like the use of *acuál* for *cuál*:

Ahí estaba el Piporro no sabiendo acuál quería.

Frequent in rural Spanish varieties, in the Southwest, and throughout the Americas are compound combinations of indefinite pronouns: *algotro* (*algún otro*), *algotra*, *algotros*, *algotras*, *un otro* (only in the Southwest following the English *another*) and *cada quien* (*cada uno*).

#### NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, AND ADVERBS

Gender and number agreement rules are also simplified in these popular Spanish varieties. The norm for standard varieties, for example, calls for the article *el* before feminine nouns in the singular that have an initial stressed low vowel: *a*. In the popular varieties, elision produces *l'* before all singular (masculine or feminine) nouns with a word initial vowel, whether the vowel is stressed or not. Thus we have examples like the following:

el agua > l'agua	la amiga > l'amiga	la hermana > l'hermana
el oro > l'oro	el aguacate > l'aguacate	el humo > l'humo

Simplification also occurs in the case of gender inflection. In standard Spanish, where gender is inherent in all nouns, there is no correspondence between ending and gender, that is, all nouns that end in *a* are not automatically feminine nouns. Words like *día*, *problema*, *sistema*, and other words derived from Greek and ending in *a* are masculine in gender. In the popular varieties, on the other hand, all words that end in *a* (except for words of high frequency, like *día*) may be converted to the feminine gender. Although gender simplification does not occur in all popular varieties, these are some typical examples:

la sistema    la síntoma    la diploma    la mediodía

Another modification of number inflection is characteristic of some rural popular varieties, especially those used in West Texas and New Mexico. The stress rule in standard Spanish calls for an *-s* plural morpheme after stressed *-á* and *-é*, as in *sofás* or *cafés*. Nouns ending in a consonant, with some exceptions

discussed later, take an *-es* plural morpheme, as in *papeles* or *poderes*. In these popular varieties, however, both rules are applied to words ending in stressed *á* and *é* so that the plural morpheme after words ending in stressed vowels is *-ses*, as in the following examples:

pie/pieses papa/papases café/cafesés mamá/mamases

In nouns ending in unstressed vowel plus *s*, with stress on the penultimate syllable, the plural morpheme is zero, as in words like *el lunes, los lunes*. Since Spanish in the Americas is characterized by *seseo* (that is, by the absence of a  $\theta$  phoneme), words like *lápiz* are pronounced with a final sibilant *s* sound as in *lunes*. It is not surprising then that in West Texas one often hears *el lápiz* and *los lápiz*.

Another feature of popular Spanish, especially among the younger bilingual generations, is the lack of number and gender agreement between nouns and adjectives. It could well be a case of English interference, particularly in written texts where Chicano students are prone to translate from their English literary variety when writing compositions in Spanish. Thus, some cases of lack of agreement arise in written discourse that might not ordinarily appear in oral speech. Let us look at some examples:

los escuelas  
 muchos cosas  
 Una mujer hecho para pelear.  
 Una cadena que está conectado.  
 El televisor es vieja.  
 Las personas que son gordas son muy alegre.  
 Yo creo que el tercer persona es hombre.  
 No son igual.  
 Estas dos maneras son universal con nuestra gente.

Sometimes in the same discourse a speaker will select more than one gender for the same word:

las ideales, el ideal	el pared, la pared
el función, la función	el parte, la parte
Las ideales, el Ideal	el pared, la pared

Agreement between numerals and nouns is also simplified. In popular varieties numbers ending in *ún* tend to take a singular noun: *Tiene veintiún año*, rather than *veintiún años*, as in the standard variety. The apocopated form of *ciento* is also common: *ciento cincuenta* > *cien cincuenta*. With numerals over one hundred there is no agreement with the nouns that follow unless the *cientos, cientos* immediately precede the nouns:

400 mujeres—cuatrocientas mujeres  
 343 mujeres—treientos cuarenta y tres mujeres

In addition to inflectional suffixes, derivative suffixes abound in the oral speech of this area. The diminutive *-ito, -ita* affix is used in great abundance not only to indicate small sizes and quantities or short duration but to demonstrate affection or sympathy as well, as is common in other Spanish-speaking areas. For example:

más tardecita, al ratito, un momentito, lo'o lueguito, orita, orititita, muchita (muchachita), muchito (muchachito), el negrito, la tiendita, toitito (toditito), toita (todita), frijolitos o frifolitos, carrito.

Augmentative suffixes are also frequent in Chicano speech with various functions as in other Spanish-speaking areas. More interesting, to augment a qualitative feature to indicate repeated or prolonged duration or even to reiterate an intention, the adjectives, adverbs, or verbs are repeated or the prefixes *re-* and *rete-*, common in other areas, are used:

Está azul azul.  
 Está fuerte fuerte.  
 Está retebonito.  
 Vino luego luego. Vino lo'o luego.  
 Ponlo recio recio. (más fuerte)  
 Iba recio recio. (bien rápido)  
 Ese hombre no más trabaji trabaji y tú de hoquis.  
 (trabaja y trabaja)  
 Anda canti canti. (cantando)  
 Lo vi corri corri. (corriendo)  
 Estaba chifli chifli. (silbando)  
 El niño está brinqui brinqui. (brincando)

## ENGLISH INTERFERENCE<sup>2</sup>

As a result of the daily contact between English and Spanish speakers and the dominant role of English in every aspect of society, loanwords are numerous in the Spanish of the Southwest. Although the influence of English is primarily evident in the lexicon, it sometimes occurs in pronunciation and syntax. English has also affected intonation patterns, as is particularly evident in the Spanish of bilingual Chicano students who have had all their academic instruction in English.

We will first look at some examples of morphosyntactic influence. Changes within any language are generally explained in terms of rules already operating within that language. It is, of course, possible to find, for example, uses of possessive adjectives before parts of the body and articles of clothing even where there is no contact with English. Yet bilinguals often translate thoughts from one language to oral production in another, especially when the use of the two is continuous and contiguous within the space of a conversation. These

bilinguals are often surprised to find that all Spanish speakers do not automatically use the possessive all the time, as in English:

*Tengo las manos sucias.* > *Mis manos están sucias.* 'My hands are dirty.'  
*Se pusieron el sombrero.* > *Se pusieron sus sombreros.* 'They put on their hats.'

Translation also seems to be the explanation for the addition of the particle *a* before infinitives. Spanish normally uses the *a* after certain verbs of motion (*ir a*, *salir a*, *entrar a*, *venir a*, etc.) to produce expressions like *Va a venir a comer*. Other verbs, however, like *querer*, *dejar*, *deber*, and *poder*, for example, are not followed by *a*, as is evident in sentences like *Quiere comer*, *Puedo ir*, or *Debe cantar*. In the following examples, verbs and *to be*-plus-adjective expressions normally not accompanied by *a* appear with this preposition as is common in English, where infinitives are introduced with *to*:

1. Querían a comenzar.
2. Déjeme atocar la colcha.
3. Lo quieren a quechar.
4. Quedé de a ir para Mexico.
5. Ofreció a prestárnolas.
6. Porque es difícil a presentar todos los lados.
7. Es importante a yir.
8. ¿Pero es asesinato a quitarlas del cuerpo?
9. Es difícil a leer.

A further extension of this phenomenon is the appearance of an epenthetic *a* before a number of verbs. Thus one student wrote: *No puedo hagastar a tiempo a cambiar el mundo*. And others were recorded as saying: *Tuvimos a registrando*; *Tuvimos a buscando*; *Andamos a vendiendo unos posters*.

Where there are certain correspondences between the English and the Spanish verb systems, the English patterns are frequently followed. In the speech of young Chicanos, the progressive tenses are often the preferred form, where a simple present would do as well. Standard Spanish, of course, also has the progressive tense. The difference here is the *absence* of the present tense in speech to refer to an action in progress. Thus a question like *¿Por qué fumas?* would typically be translated as 'Why do you smoke?' rather than as 'Why are you smoking?' In fact the second translation would sound odd to some Chicano Spanish speakers. Other cases pointing to English interference are the use of *-ing* verbals as nouns. Like many English speakers learning Spanish, Chicano students who are native speakers of Spanish often use these verbals as gerunds rather than simply as participles, as is common in Spanish. English gerunds have to be translated as infinitives in Spanish:

After *leaving* the office, he went to the drugstore. (Después de *salir* de la oficina, se fue a la botica.)

In the following examples we will find several cases of Spanish *gerundios* functioning like *gerunds* rather than like participles:

1. Para mis hermanitos viviendo en el proyecto era bueno.
2. El hijo quería poner al papá en una posición de sintiéndose culpable de los problemas del hijo.
3. Autorizando abortos es algo que exige mucho pensamiento.
4. Usándolas es una manera de afirmar su mexicanidad.
5. El ideal de la hombría consiste en nunca permitiendo que el mundo exterior penetre en su intimidad.
6. El dinero que gana lo gasta en tomando.

English interference is more commonly seen in written texts than heard in oral speech. Here the interference arises from lack of practice in Spanish composition as a result of English dominance. This type of interference is evident in the absence of an article before generic and mass nouns in Spanish, where an article is always required. Thus sentences like *Man is mortal* or *Rice is good* must be translated as *El hombre es mortal* and *El arroz es bueno* in Spanish. Chicano students, however, will often omit the article, as in English:

1. Capitalismo es un sistema económico
2. Religión es algo muy personal
3. Gente ya orita está despertando
4. Todos creen que cambios son necesarios.
5. Estadísticas revelan que...

Constant translation from one language to another, especially when dealing in Spanish with material that has been learned and rehearsed in English, often leads to the translation of prepositions, such as the preposition *to* before infinitives as we have already seen. Informal English also allows particular prepositions that follow certain verbs to appear in sentence final position with transposed object complements. Literal translations thus appear strange in Spanish, as in the following examples:

1. La muerte es un tema que todos piensan en a veces.
2. Quieren quedar vivos porque su vida es la única vida que están seguros de.
3. ...significa en realidad lo que nosotros tenemos fe en.

Prepositions are especially difficult to translate, but problems also arise when no preposition is required in Spanish, as in the following example:

*No estamos pidiendo por mas caridad.* (*pidiendo más caridad*) 'We're not asking for more charity.'

The one distinguishing characteristic of Chicano Spanish is the presence of numerous loanwords from the English language. The phenomenon of borrowing is, of course, common throughout the world in areas where languages are in contact. In fact the Spanish language itself has incorporated numerous loans from Arabic, Greek, French, Italian, Germanic languages,

and American Indian languages throughout its history, loans that are today generally accepted by all Spanish speakers. The Spanish varieties of Latin America and Spain also have incorporated English loanwords but not to the extent that Chicano Spanish has. Thus the distinguishing phenomenon in the Southwest is quantitative and refers to the *degree* of borrowing rather than to the phenomenon itself. Borrowing is actually quite logical given the dominance of English, and given the exclusion of Spanish from most formal functions, especially in academic and technological fields. Thus, information provided and stored in English is frequently converted into Spanish through morphological and phonological adaptations. In most cases borrowing leads to the incorporation of new meanings into Spanish varieties in the Southwest. Often, equivalent terms exist in Spanish but with different connotations, so that particular meanings can be captured only through these loanwords. Often the whole borrowing process becomes a linguistic game that Chicanos delight in playing. Sometimes the equivalent term in Spanish is not part of the Chicano repertoire and borrowing is the only alternative. Various reasons exist, therefore, for the presence of these loanwords in Chicano Spanish; all provide the Spanish varieties with new meanings, but not all are the result of lexical gaps.

Spanish varieties include a number of verbs borrowed from English. These verbs are generally integrated into the *-ar* conjugation group, with *-ear* (pronounced *-iar*) combinations having a higher frequency, as in the following examples:

<i>shine</i> > <i>chainear</i>	<i>lock</i> > <i>laquear</i>	<i>dust</i> > <i>dostear</i>
<i>mop</i> > <i>mapear</i>	<i>quit</i> > <i>cuitear</i>	<i>watch</i> > <i>huachar</i>
<i>spell</i> > <i>espear</i>	<i>catch</i> > <i>quechar</i>	<i>match</i> > <i>mechar</i>
<i>miss</i> > <i>mistear</i>	<i>type</i> > <i>tapear</i>	

Nouns borrowed from English are provided with number and gender, like all nouns in the Spanish language. A certain uniformity prevails throughout the Southwest in terms of the gender assigned to particular loans, but in some cases there are differences. Thus the term for *plug* may vary between *plogue* (masculine) and *ploga* (feminine). What is *magasin* (m.) for some is *magasina* (f.) for others. Yet for terms of high frequency, gender assignments are generally the same in Texas as in California. In some cases gender differences correspond to differences in meaning. For example, in some areas the term for *truck* is *troque*, whereas in others, it is *troca*. Often, *troque* is the larger vehicle and *troca* is equivalent to *troquita*. Sometimes the gender of a loanword corresponds to the gender given its equivalent in Spanish, as in *puche* (from *push*) for *empuje*: *un puche*, *un empuje*. Where it is a matter of false cognates, as, for example, *carpeta* for *alfombra* 'carpet,' terms already part of the Spanish language with another meaning (*carpeta* 'portfolio' or 'folder') retain their original gender. The form is often simply supplied with an additional meaning if the standard meaning is familiar. *Yarda* and *mecha*, which normally mean *measurement* and the *wick* of a candle or lamp, respectively, in Chicano varieties refer additionally to English *yard*, the green space in front of a house, and *match*.

Sometimes the equivalent in Spanish is not familiar to the Chicano, or it is seen as not having the same meaning, given the different context of use. The equivalent for *mapiador* (from *mop*), for example, is the uncommon *trapeador*. In fact one student indicated that the action *mapear* 'to mop' involved the use of a mop, whereas *trapear* meant cleaning the floor with *trapos* 'rags'. Thus the introduction of new tools led to the incorporation of new loanwords to reflect new meanings.

Because these popular varieties have a simplified gender and number system, words ending in *a* are automatically feminine. In some cases the final low vowel is derived from final *er* in English, where the schwa is related to the central vowel in Spanish, *-a*. Thus we have examples like the following:

*la dipa* 'dipper'    *la juila* 'wheeler'    *la mira* 'meter'    *la rula* 'ruler'

The gender of some words is determined by its correlation with sex, as in the following examples:

*el bosero* 'busdriver'    *la norsa* 'nurse'    *la huayfa* 'wife'  
*el broda* 'brother'    *el troquero* 'truckdriver'  
*el hueldeador* 'welder'

New loanwords ending in final *e* or in a consonant are generally masculine:

*el fil*    *el yin* 'gin'    *el cloche*    *el bil*    *el bos*    *un daime*  
*el fone*    *el estare*    *un nicle*    *el suiche*    *el faite*    *el saine*

Phonetically, English sounds are adapted to the Spanish phonological system. English sounds are thus replaced with the segment that more closely resembles it in terms of manner of articulation or point of articulation. Thus, words with English *sh* are generally adapted as *ch-*: *sheriff* > *cherife*, *shampoo* > *champú*. In some areas of the Southwest, however, the fricative variant *sh* exists, as we indicated previously, allowing the following pronunciations: *sherife*, *mushasho*, *shampú*. Words ending in a consonant other than *d*, *l*, *r*, *n*, or *s* are incorporated with an added final vowel, generally *e*, as in *puche*, *sete*, *cloche*, but sometimes *a*: *brecas*. Words ending in *er*, although generally incorporated with a final *a* (*meter* = *mira*), may at times reveal a final *e*: *mofle* 'muffler', indicating possible acquisition through the printed word. Words starting with initial *s* plus consonant take an epenthetic initial *e* as in *espear* 'spell', *esqupear* 'skip', and *estare* 'starter'. English words with aspiration, *h*, have a velar fricative in Spanish: *jaiscul* 'high school'.

#### EXTENSIONS OF MEANING

The incorporation of loanwords has meant the broadening of the semantic fields by allowing the expression in Spanish of meanings acquired through the English language. Chicano Spanish has made false cognates, where the meaning in English is not equivalent to the meaning in standard Spanish varieties, into



true cognates, with equivalent meanings. Sometimes the standard meaning is not familiar to the speaker; at other times the speaker adapts to the new meaning system and simply incorporates an additional meaning for that word. Thus, the word *colegio*, which is a public school in most Latin American countries, becomes synonymous with *college*, to indicate the first four years of university work in an institution without graduate studies. The concept of high school is represented by *jaiscul*, the translated *escuela alta*, or *secundaria*. This incorporation of false cognates as true cognates is widespread. Below are just a few examples:

Chicano Spanish	Standard Spanish	English
librería	biblioteca	library
carpeta	alfombra	carpet
conferencia	reunión	conference
lectura	conferencia	lecture
suceso	éxito	success
realizar	darse cuenta	realize
parientes	padres	parents

When lexical items in English resemble Spanish items with a few minor differences, the loan is incorporated as a true cognate, leading to phonetic and morphological differences between the loan and the original Spanish equivalent, as in the examples below:

*competición* 'competition' for *competencia*  
*populación* 'population' for *población*  
*teléfono* 'telephone' for *teléfono*  
*perpetual* 'perpetual' for *perpetuo*  
*materialístico* 'materialistic' for *materialista*  
*asistente* 'assistant' for *asistente*  
*explotación* 'exploitation' for *explotación*  
*practical* 'practical' for *práctico*  
*distinto* 'distinct' for *distinto*  
*farmacista* 'pharmacist' for *farmacéutico*  
*sadístico* 'sadistic' for *sádico*  
*incapable* 'incapable' for *incapaz*  
*correctar* 'correct' for *corregir*  
*directar* 'direct' for *dirigir*

### COMPOUND PHRASES

English phrases may be borrowed directly and translated literally to produce previously inexistent combinations, like *objetores concientes* (Weinreich 1968, p. 50) for *conscientious objectors* in Florida Spanish. Loan translations are also common in the Spanish of the Southwest, producing combinations that often make no sense to someone coming from another Spanish-speaking country, unless the necessary English code is part of his or her repertoire. These compound phrases include expressions like the following:

English Phrase	Loan: Compound Phrase	Standard Spanish Equivalent
to call back	llamar pa'tras	volver a llamar
to put back	poner pa'tras	devolver, volver a poner
to have a good time	tener un buen tiempo	divertirse
How do you like it?	¿Cómo te gusta?	¿Qué te parece?
to run for office	correr para un puesto o una oficina	ser candidato
to figure the problems out	figurar los problemas	resolver los problemas
Your town is run by anglos.	Su pueblo está corrido por anglos.	está dirigido, gobernado
he grew more confused	creció más confusido	se puso más confuso

Sometimes the English phrase serves as a model for the loan, especially if the literal translation calls for some modification in Spanish, as in these examples:

to get a college education > *agarrar colegio*  
 to get a kick out of > *agarrar patada*

*Hybrid compounds.* In some cases part of the original English phrase is translated, and part of the phrase is a loan:

flour > *harina de flor*  
 bedroom set > *sete de recamara*  
 light meter > *mira de la luz*  
 light bill > *el bil de electricidad, el bil de la luz*  
 traffic sign > *saine de tráfico*

Often the incorporation of loanwords leads to the displacement of an existing Spanish term or to the less frequent use of particular terms. For example, the incorporation of *huachar* 'watch,' together with the existing *mirar* 'look,' have led to the loss of *ver* in the repertoire of some young Chicano Spanish speakers. In some cases, where various terms have similar denotations but different connotations, the incorporation of loans allows for a richer repertoire. Series like the following are common in Chicano Spanish: *el chó, el mono, las vistas, la película, el cine: brecas, manea, frenos*. The Spanish equivalent may not be familiar to some speakers, leading necessarily to the incorporation of loanwords, as in the case of *espelear* 'spell,' when the word *deletrear* is not part of instruction in school.

### CODE-SWITCHING

The discourse of bilingual Chicanos is often composed of shifts from one language to another, initiated not only with turn taking in conversations, but within the same utterances. Chicano speakers are aware of these shifts and often

answer that they mix both languages when asked if they speak English or Spanish at home: "Pos hablamos revuelto. Inglés y español." These shifts, triggered by shifts in speech act, theme, or language function, are often considered to be the mode of expression that best captures the bilingual, bicultural situation of the Mexican-origin population residing as a minority within an English-dominant society. Code-shifting is thus common in Chicano short stories, novels, poetry, and essays published in Chicano journals and magazines. In *Magazin*, published for a short while in San Antonio, the following sentence appeared in a story: "Se encerró in the recamara and cried over her mala suerte."

Where shifts occur, each language segment retains the pronunciation and grammatical form of the proper language. Thus sentences like *Me puchó* are not examples of code-shifting, because the loanword *puchar* is a part of Chicano Spanish and follows all the necessary morphological and phonological Spanish rules. A sentence like *Me dio un push*, with *push* pronounced as in English, is a case of code-shifting, because the shift is from one phonological and lexical system to another.

Elsewhere I have discussed shifts as means of conveying different levels of meaning. Here, however, I will briefly examine some linguistic constraints that operate in code-shifting. There is not yet a large set of rules to describe nor a code-shifting grammar to propose, but I will attempt to demonstrate that shifts do not occur at random.

The grammatical systems of both languages are totally different in terms of underlying structures, rules, ordering of rules, and rule transformations. Some rules, however, are somewhat similar at the categorical level. Both languages, for example, form the progressive tenses with an auxiliary verb plus present progressive morpheme. In some cases, as in the formation of questions, the transformational rules differ significantly, with English requiring reordering of categories and the addition of the verb *do*. Shifts seem to occur where there are similarities in structures but not in cases where the surface structures are entirely different. Thus we find examples like these:

Lo hizo *slowly*.      Vino *early*.

but never like these:

\*How lo hizo?      \*When vino?

The explanation could be that English requires the particle *do*:

1. How *did* he do it?
2. When *did* he come?

Thus shifts like the following are not possible in Chicano discourse:

1. \*Con quién *Peter go?* for ¿Con quién va Pedro?
2. \*Cuándo *is Mary coming?* for ¿Cuándo viene María?

The usual surface form for questions in the Southwest requires placing the verb before the subject: ¿Cuándo viene María? ¿Con quién viene Pedro? Because some varieties of Spanish, like Caribbean Spanish, allow for the preposition of the subject before the verb (¿Cuándo mi esposo lee? ¿Cuándo yo comeré? ¿Con quién ella baila?), it may be that shifts are being determined by surface structure rules operating in this area.<sup>3</sup>

Where surface forms are similar there are no problems, and shifts may occur even in the middle of phrases. As I have mentioned, English has verbal complements—gerunds—which function like nouns, whereas in Spanish only infinitive verbals function like nouns. In code-shifting, Spanish participial constructions function like English gerunds and English gerunds function like objects of Spanish prepositions:

1. I'm talking about *conociéndonos*.
2. está hablando de *integration*, de *understanding other people's cultures*.
3. Estoy por *lowering the standard*.

Thus it would appear that where surface forms are similar but structural rules are significantly different, the speaker will follow the English rule.

The only examples considered here are those that appeared in the taped interviews. In the analysis that follows, however, I have followed my intuition as well. We will look now at specific uses within noun and verb phrases, as well as at shifts occurring at the clause or sentence level.

*Shifts within noun phrases.* The noun phrase in both English and Spanish consists of the following: (determiner) noun (adjective clause). In these possible combinations, I have found that a noun in English may be preceded by an article in Spanish:

1. el *wedding*
2. el *building*
3. los *officials*
4. metieron un *suit*.
5. Tenemos un *newspaper*.

Spanish nouns, however, are not preceded by English articles. Thus we did not find sentences like \**The muchacho está aquí* nor \**A mujer vino*. Only in cases where the press has popularized a term and made it a Spanish loan to English do we find any instance of English article plus Spanish noun:

*Most of the barrio* va por Gonzalo Barrientos.

English nouns may be modified by adjectives in Spanish:

1. Tiene todo el *building* agujeráo.
2. en cualquier *facet of school life*

An English noun modified by an English adjective can be preceded by an article in Spanish:

Hay un *friendly atmosphere*.

If no article is necessary, the entire noun phrase may appear in English after a Spanish verb:

1. Te dan *greater yields*.
2. Puede dar *better results*.
3. Si hay *run-offs*.

Within the Spanish noun phrase, Spanish nouns may be followed by an adjective clause in English:

Una cosa *that turns me off*...

The same occurs within an English noun phrase, where the English noun may be modified by an adjective clause in Spanish.

1. *That's another bitch* que tengo yo con los chicanos, que ponen música americana.
2. La *most beautiful thing* que nos ha pasado.

*Predicate adjectives and predicate nouns.* A sentence begun in Spanish, with a Spanish verb, may have an English predicate, as in these examples:

1. Me quedé *surprised*.
2. Te digo que está *prejudiced*.
3. Apá es el *dominant*.
4. La vida no nomás es un *party*.
5. Esa es una cosa que ya estamos *brainwashed* los mexicanos.
6. Es *self-employed*.
7. Parece que soy *sensitive*.

Spanish predicates, however, did *not* occur after English verbs.

- \**He is carpintero*.
- \**She is sensible*. (i.e., She is sensitive.)

Adjectives in English within a Spanish structure may be modified by Spanish adverbs:

1. No quieren ser muy "*radical*." (radical—in English)
2. Es muy *friendly*.

English adverbs, however, do not appear with Spanish adjectives: Thus we do not hear \**Es very amistoso*. Nor do English adjectives appear within a Spanish

noun phrase, that is, between a Spanish determiner and a Spanish noun: \**un friendly hombre*.

*Verb phrases.* Both English and Spanish have underlying sentences of this type: S → noun phrase + auxiliary + verb + (noun phrases). In examples gathered from the recorded interviews, we found that sentences initiated in Spanish, with Spanish auxiliaries, could be followed by English participles:

1. No está *hurting* a la tierra
2. Te están *brain-washing*
3. Cuando van *aging*...
4. Estaban *striking Kelly* (AFB), but not: \**He is trabajando*

Shifts occur within the auxiliary phrase itself. In Spanish, the auxiliary phrase could be represented morphologically as follows:

Aux → tense (aspect) (*haber* + *-do*) (*estar* + *ndo*)

The English auxiliary rule has been variously represented, but here I will follow this morphological model, quite similar to the Spanish rule:

Aux → tense (*have* + *-en*) (*be* + *-ing*)

The code-shifting grammar is thus creating the following combination:

Aux → tense (*haber* + *-do*) (*estar* + *-ing*)

with the verb that follows in English.

*Subject-verb relations.* A Spanish verb may be preceded by a noun phrase that contains a Spanish article plus English noun:

Dice el *announcer*...

Spanish, of course, allows reordering of subject and verb.

*Verbal phrases.* As in the case of progressive verb phrases, periphrastic phrases used to indicate future or subsequent actions and formed with the verb *ir* plus infinitive may consist of the conjugated verb *ir* in Spanish followed by an English infinitive:

Si va take una muchacha el *dominant role*...

The opposite combination (verb *go* plus Spanish infinitive) does not occur:

\**If you're going to tomar*...

*Noun phrases after prepositions.* Spanish prepositions may be followed by English nouns:

1. Yo estoy hablando de *interaction, de power*.
2. Siempre ando con *hate*.

On the other hand, Spanish nouns rarely appear after English prepositions, unless, again, it is the case of a culturally marked term, like *barrio* or *gente*:

*I'm talking about interaction with la gente*

If the verb combines with a preposition in the English expression (as in *look for*, *watch over*, *look up*, etc.), then verb loanwords will retain the preposition in English:

*What would it be like si un perrao estuviera afuera watchando over quien sale para perseguirlos*

*Verb complements.* Verb complements (direct objects) may appear in English after a Spanish verb:

1. Si no tienen *integrated parties* ...
2. Tiene todo el *publicity*.
3. Agarra el *moisture*.
4. Te dan *greater yields*.
5. Se caba cuando va al *cemetery*, halla el *grave* de su madre ...

*Vestigial Spanish.* One of the more frequent types of code-shifting is the introduction of colloquial Spanish expressions in English discourse. Lewis (1972) has commented that in cases of vestigial bilingualism, after the dominant language has taken over all of the functions of the subordinate language, what remains of the nondominant language is evident in a few vestiges, a few expressions or words from a former period. It is to be hoped that Chicano Spanish will never be reduced to the insertion of phrases like *Órale!* or *Jijo!* in English discourse.

This inventory of some linguistic constraints operating in code-shifting is obviously incomplete. It will now have to be integrated into a semantic and ideological analysis that will indicate the function these shifts have in Chicano discourse.

## CONCLUSION

Code-switching and loss of Spanish among younger generations who prefer communicating strictly in English are indicative of strong pressures to assimilate the dominant language. Yet the presence of major contradictions within U.S. society, which contribute to segregation in residence, education, and employment, guarantee the continued concentration of these populations in certain sectors and thus continued interaction of Chicanos with each other, allowing thereby the maintenance of the Spanish language. Chicano barrios are still bilingual and in some instances Spanish monolingual. With the continuing immigration of Mexicans, popular Spanish varieties of the Southwest are constantly enriched and invigorated, especially where a great deal of social and linguistic interaction exists between new and older residents.

I have tried to describe some of the major characteristics of rural and urban Spanish varieties, from a linguistic and pedagogical perspective, for it is important that Spanish classes for native speakers concentrate on making students aware of the existence of different language varieties and on allowing them to increase their language functions in Spanish to where they can discuss academic, political, and technical topics in Spanish and shift from one Spanish variety to another, according to the linguistic and social context.

I do not pretend to suggest that the characteristics of the Spanish varieties presented here are unique to Chicanos or the Southwest. The popular varieties of Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, and other Spanish-speaking areas share many of the features of Chicano Spanish. In general terms, all popular varieties share certain tendencies and certain rules. But despite similarities each specific context is distinct, and the mode of expression is necessarily different. In that sense, the language of Chicanos is a product of the Chicano community. It is the verbalization of communal experience.

## NOTES

1. Dialogue of Benito Villanueva as recorded by Olga Villanueva, San Diego.
2. This section follows Weinreich's (1968) analysis of loanwords.
3. With thanks to Rosa Kestelman, East Los Angeles College, for the information on Caribbean Spanish.

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