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Mexican-American Spanish in its societal and cultural contexts

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MEXICAN-AMERICAN SPANISH
IN ITS
SOCIETAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

Edited by
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CONTENTS

This volume of the Rio Grande Series in Language and Linguistics attempts to shed light on significant aspects of Mexican-American Spanish in its societal and cultural contexts. This volume expands on the themes of the first and second volumes, which concentrated on selected lexical, morphosyntactical, phonological, and suprasegmental aspects of Spanish in the United States. The book is divided into four thematic areas: Mexican-American discourse, sociocultural issues and processes, language attitudes, and educational issues.

The first section is led by Rosaura Sánchez' most interesting comparison of natural and written discourse in the Chicano community. She first reveals the inter-textuality of and the heteroglossic situations in Rolando Hinojosa's works, which she also finds present in the colloquial radio broadcasts of a well-known Mexican disc jockey in Los Angeles. She finds that both the literary expressions of Hinojosa and the broadcasts of the disc jockey produce an ambience of familiarity by using colloquial voices representing social types that respond to a multiplicity of texts and, in the process, generate cultural production.

Beatriz Arias shares the results of an exploratory study designed to contrast the allocation of teacher instructional behaviors in English and Spanish in comparable bilingual education programs in Southern California. She found in both programs that teachers are not mixing Spanish and English during instruction in the content areas, and that this pattern of language use also was being emulated by the students. This is in sharp contrast to the belief held in some quarters that bilingual education results in an indiscriminate and unproductive language mix. Variation in teacher behaviors was occurring across student language proficiency groups. Students of limited English proficiency were receiving less of the teacher allocated behaviors in English and Spanish classes than students with no English proficiency and those considered fully proficient in English. This instructional pattern is usually associated with low academic achievement, though the long-term effects on the academic achievement of the LEP students in this study remain to be identified in future research.

Sheila Shannon probes into a fourth-grade bilingual classroom in order to identify how children of limited-English proficiency use Spanish and English and what opportunities to use these languages are available to them. A finding of major importance to the concept of transfer in bilingual education is that LEP students rarely have opportunities to speak English, given the limited speech production elicited from them in various types of instruction. It is just as important to note that limited English production can not be blamed on Spanish use, which does not supplant or encroach upon English use or instruction. The negative expectations phenomenon is unfortunately present in the bilingual program under study, resulting in LEP students behaving as a homogenous group, one that is limited in English use in spite of a documented wide range of English proficiency among its members.

This section is brought to a close by Jacob Ornstein-Galicia, who analyzes the linguistic and social significance of the Caló used along the U.S.-Mexico border. He first traces the historical development and geographical trajectory of Caló, noting that its social significance has changed as a result of the _movimiento_ and that it is not the exclusive domain of young males. Both males and females of various generations are familiar with at least some of the salient features of Chicano Caló, many of

which have made their way into Chicano Spanish and other regional varieties. Ornstein-Galicia also traces the research on Chicano Caló through the work of George Barker, Lurline Coltharp, John Terrance Webb, and Rogelio Reyes. Lastly, he describes some of the linguistic features of Chicano Caló along the U.S.-Mexico border. He feels there is considerable research to be done in the area of kinesics and proxemics to better understand Chicano Caló.

The second section is led by Margarita Kay's assessment of research needs in Chicano Spanish for health care. She identifies and explores four major areas of research that require attention on the part of both linguists and health care professionals: first, reasons for monolingualism of health care providers; second, the sociolinguistics of the interview in health care; third, lexical differences between standard Spanish and Chicano Spanish and the source of this variation; and lastly, the use of translation and interpreters to determine that accurate conveyance of information between provider and patient is taking place. The problems that can arise with negative consequences for patients are discussed with examples provided to illustrate the gaps in research in health care communication.

A team of mental health professionals who cover a wider range of interaction with the Mexican and Mexican-American community in El Paso complement the work of Margarita Kay. This team is composed of Sandra Johansson, Antonio Juárez, Harmon Hosch, and Lawrence Meyer. They also are concerned with communication issues and problems that affect psychiatric diagnosis and treatment of Mexican-American clients. They discuss selected sociolinguistic characteristics of Mexican-American discourse such as the use of tú and usted, codeswitching, and some of the problems associated with medical translation and interpretation. Of major importance to health practitioners is the team's research with the El Paso Acculturation Scale, an instrument designed to allow the provider to identify culture-related behavioral patterns. It is their position that the scale can assist providers in selecting a mode of interaction for diagnosis and therapy.

George K. Green and Lino Garcia, Jr., examine domain-related lexical borrowing in the English and Spanish of South Texas. While they provide a historical overview of lexical borrowing between these two languages that can be largely characterized as a form of cultural diffusion, they also explore the affective dimension of lexical borrowing, which involves admiration or disdain. Green and Garcia analyze lexical borrowing in selected domains, noting that in South Texas English terms borrowed by Spanish are generally from the public domain, while Spanish terms borrowed by English tend to be from the private domain. The researchers conclude that the affective function of language, especially in relation to the concept of cross-cultural xenophobia, is far more important in lexical borrowing than has generally been recognized.

Sally Said, like Chester Christian, Jr., in this section, directs her research toward the commonalities of Mexican-American Spanish. She uses the printed mass media as a source of data to determine if large urban newspapers with a wide circulation serve as an informal standard of Spanish, what she terms a restandardization of style and usage in the Spanish-language press in the United States. She provides historical overviews of La Opinión of Los Angeles and La Prensa in San Antonio. In addition, she reviews the stylistic development of La Prensa. She recommends additional research on printed mass media in order to determine to what extent its success is linked to functions assigned within a community.

Theresa Meléndez Hayes contributes an interesting review of selected Chicano poets of the 1960s and 1970s who were published in the small publications of that era and who employed a dramatic folk process that

catered to what was a relatively small and particular audience. Meléndez Hayes analyzes their poetry from the oral tradition use of the dramatic as a means to gain an insight into how a Chicano poet recreates his unique perspective of the world. She employs two modes or stances of the artist to gauge the poet's role as a performer within a cultural and social experience: the poetry of performance and the poetry of celebration. In the former the poet is the vehicle of a "message" presented in a narrative style with conventional language, while in the latter the poet presents the message with assistance from the audience in a ritualistic and personalized fashion that often involves language repetition. Among the poets whose works are discussed under each mode are José Antonio Burciaga, José Montoya, Raúl Salinas, Angela de Hoyos, and the late Tomás Rivera.

Shaw N. Gynan takes the lead in the fourth section with a study that documents the language abilities of New Mexican college students in Spanish courses for native speakers in order to detect and evaluate the presence of linguistic insecurity. Of particular interest is the finding that the use of Spanish in the home influences the concept the individual has of his ability in that language. Gynan also found that while language attitudes were found to be unrelated to language competence, reading ability was found to be a predictor of self-evaluation of language ability. Gynan concludes there is variation in language attitudes in New Mexico and recommends additional research on these attitudes and language behavior. Of specific relevance to the maintenance and recovery of Spanish is the need to determine whether parental education on the topic of linguistic and cultural identity can retard the shift form Spanish to English in the Albuquerque region.

Chester Christian, Jr., presents selected sociocultural contexts of Texas Spanish that are partially based on his often humorous experiences. He highlights the universality of Spanish with an interesting comparison of Rosaura Sánchez' description of Chicano Spanish in "Nuestra circunstancia lingüística" with Argentine "gaucho" Spanish in the poem "Martín Fierro." His trajectory leads to a perusal of the myths and misconceptions that surround nonstandard Spanish, which is followed by an overview of the negative attitudes held by some Spanish teachers toward Mexican-American Spanish and their subsequent overcorrective behavior. Chester Christian, Jr., ends with a recommendation that research also be conducted on the common elements of Spanish in various geographical locations, times, and sociocultural contexts in order to better understand how the similarities are developed.

Margarita Hidalgo significantly expands the research on attitudes toward Mexican-American speech with her study of the perceptions on codeswitching in Juárez, Mexico, which is situated across from El Paso, Texas, along an immigration, cultural, and linguistic corridor that historically has extended from Mexico to New Mexico and Colorado.

She employs two apparently disconnected theoretical constructs: the Hypothesis of Social Connotations (to explain why Mexicans do not accept codeswitching) and the Theory of Speech Accommodation (to analyze the communicative difficulties between Mexicans and Mexican Americans, such as the economic, political, and social differences that threaten their identities).

Merryl Kravitz, using the "Imposed Norm Hypothesis" as a theoretical framework, explores the attitudes toward Southwest Spanish and standard Spanish of residents of Martineztown, an Albuquerque Spanish-speaking community, and other New Mexico communities. The study seeks to identify the variety of Spanish preferred in these communities and the linguistic elements employed to make decisions about the correctness of the Spanish varieties in

question. Several examples of lexicon, syntax, morphology, and phonology are presented. Informants in the target communities based their decisions about correctness mostly on lexicon; syntax, morphophonemics, and phonology played a substantially decreasing role in their decisions about correctness. Kravitz finds this pattern of linguistic element use to be cautiously similar to a hierarchy developed by R. Politzer and H. Deslile to rate the seriousness of linguistic transgressions in German. The communities surveyed indicate a clear preference for standard Spanish. Kravitz attributes this preference to a negative attitude by New Mexican Hispanics toward the regional variety, which also has resulted in poor transmission of the variety across generations, particularly in educational settings. Kravitz recommends that schools make room for the two varieties in recognition of the communication viability of the Southwest variety in the region.

Norman Binder in his article "Attitudes Toward Language Use: A Multi-group Analysis," examines and compares attitudes toward Spanish and English language use by educators, businessmen, and citizens in the bilingual community of Brownsville, Texas. On the one hand, he finds minor differences between the groups in their perceptions of the quality of Spanish language use and of the usefulness of English and Spanish in a variety of contexts. No group regarded Spanish used in the community as "formal, educated," and all groups regarded a knowledge of Spanish and English as being useful in getting jobs, career advancement, social contacts, and in success in school. On the other hand, he discovers significant differences between the groups in their attitudes toward teaching Spanish to all students in the community's local school district. Educators, even though they recognized Spanish as being socially and economically useful to individuals, were much less willing to promote the continuation of Spanish than members of the business community and a random selected group of citizens. The article suggests that research on people's attitudes toward language use should consider the importance of occupational groups as an influencing factor.

John Bergen and Erlinda Gonzales-Berry cap the fourth section with research geared to answer the questions "to what extent does the use of Spanish by Hispanics result in discrimination against this group?" and "how is such discrimination manifested?" The researchers studied Hispanic students from the University of New Mexico enrolled in first-year Spanish courses for native speakers. This group was deemed to be considerably Anglicized by virtue of their self-ethnic identification and self-rated and institution-rated Spanish proficiency.

The major finding in this study is that to the degree that Hispanics use Spanish they experience discrimination from non-Hispanics, with the inference that less Anglicized Hispanics are more subject to discrimination, since they are more likely to use Spanish. Other interesting findings about why a small proportion of Hispanic youth choose to study Spanish in school are included. Their research confirms the historical assumption that differences in attitudes people harbor about sociological phenomena are linked with their language background.

Adalberto Aguirre explores sociolinguistic variables relevant to bilingual classrooms by identifying the language use and mass media orientations among Mexican-American children. Expanding on his research on bilingual communities and bilingual education programs, Aguirre compares the home language reported by parents with their children's self-reported language use. This is of particular importance, as most children are initially placed or referred for placement in bilingual education on the basis of parent-reported home language use. The results in this area indicate that the language spoken by children is more associated with parent-reported home language. This level of activity may not be accounted for in the placement of students in bilingual classrooms or the instructional

features of the programs. The programs. The potential for the development of instructional approaches like the ones described by Beatriz Arias in the first section is apparent. Aguirre also presents interesting findings on the children's mass media orientations of importance to their interactive potential in bilingual-education classrooms.

George K. Green addresses a neglected dimension of foreign language teaching: translation, the fifth language skill. He first makes an important distinction between interlingual translation, which occurs between languages, and intralingual translation, translation within a single language. Green considers translation a language arts skill that is central rather that peripheral to the acquisition of a first or second language. He notes that in the latter case a speaker is acquiring and using multiple language skills, 18 to be precise. He concludes that translation as a technique in foreign language instruction offers a direct insight into the relationship between meaning and form as it varies from language to language. Insightful examples of translation are offered in support of his views.

Dennis J. Bixler-Márquez follows up his work on communication trends in the Southwest by focusing attention to the gap between the communication needs of business and industry and the skills of high school and college graduates and professionals along the U.S.-Mexico border. The main message conveyed in this article is that the regional educational systems are not keeping up with the demands of the English-Spanish dimension, and that an Asian and even a European dimension, also associated with the "twin plant" industry, international trade, and Asian investments in Mexico and the United States, clearly call for reform of the educational systems. Some regional and international approaches to the training of personnel and the education of students at various levels are suggested.

L. Antonio González closes the final section with a study designed to measure the effects of first language education (Spanish) on the second language (English) and the academic achievement of Mexican immigrant children obtaining an elementary education in the United States. He accomplished this task by comparing the context-reduced and context-embedded language skills in English and Spanish of students schooled in Mexico a minimum of two years with a group of students schooled entirely in the United States. González found a common underlying proficiency does exist between L1 and L2 skills: children with high scores in context-reduced Spanish language skills also scored high in context-embedded. Lastly, his findings suggest that the development of L1 is a very important foundation for academic achievement in L1 and L2. González discusses at length the implications of this research for bilingual education.

MEXICAN-AMERICAN DISCOURSE

NATURAL AND LITERARY SPANISH DISCOURSE

Rosaura Sánchez

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All discourse is dialogue, states the Russian critic Bahktin in The Dialogic Imagination, for all discourse, all texts, are responses. The speaker or writer of a text is always a potential or active listener or reader and in that sense is always "responding" whether immediately or after a short or long period of time to the reception of another text. No speaker, adds Bahktin, is a first speaker; one not only presupposes the entire language system but previous utterances as well, whether one's own or the utterances of another, utterances with which one interacts in various ways, whether it be to support or contradict them or simply to assume them as presuppositions shared by the listener. Bahktin sees all utterances as part of a complex organized chain. Thus, all listening and all reading is in a sense already the first phase of a response. (Estética, 257-258)

For this reason, written texts are dialogic phenomena, not only in the sense that texts, whether oral or literary, are heteroglossic and incorporate a number of codes and languages that intersect and dialogue internally, but also in the sense that texts are intertextual and continually transmit the "voices" of others, albeit after a process of reinterpretation and redirection to suit the speaker's purposes and intentions.

Bahktin is not the only one who has analyzed utterances as responses. In rejecting the notion of statement-reply as the basic unit of conversation, Ervin Goffman (Forms of Talk) has proposed analyzing the units in terms of references. Each utterance can be said to refer to a "mentionable event" acting thereby as a response to a previous statement. In fact, in the statement-response analysis, the "statement" already functions as a response. (Goffman, 48) Thus, the basic unit becomes reference-response. (Goffman, 50) Within this scheme, assertions, evaluations, requests, as well as replies, can all be characterized as responses to actual, past, or assumed propositions.

In further analyzing the nature of utterances, Goffman also explores what translators and interpreters of Bahktin have called intertextuality. The speaker or reader is, in fact, not only responding to previously emitted discourse but incorporating it as well. As Bahktin has indicated, various perspectives, texts, and voices converge, intersect, and bifurcate in a text or in an utterance. (Estética, 284) Speech and writing is thus characterized by what Bahktin calls "discurso ajeno," (the discourse of others), which one makes "propio" (or one's own) to produce what is translated in Estética de la creación verbal as time of one's own as well as that of another or of others. If for Bahktin, then, there is an internal dialogue within utterances and if there is also constantly an appropriation or assimilation of the words of others, for Goffman this intertextuality is an "embedding capacity", which allows us to speak words that "are often not our own, at least our current 'own'." (Goffman, 3)

Given the dialogic nature of discourse, in speech or in writing, one is constantly addressing other voices, other texts, and other listeners or readers not necessarily immediately present in the encounter, but perhaps removed in time and space, or even near but not participating in the actual encounter. This analysis forces a reconsideration of the notion of addressee, as Goffman has proposed in his discussion of the "participation framework." Although Bahktin's notion of "dialogue" is much more comprehensive than Goffman's in that it both considers the social situation

within which texts are produced, that is, the interactional context, and a larger context of "history" itself as well, Goffman's "participation framework" does in fact go beyond what sociolinguists have generally considered in their analyses of communicative acts. The hearer, receiver, or audience is generally the intended receiver or the participant in the encounter. The speaker-hearer model of dialogue, however, was already considered insufficient, as Goffman himself notes, by Hymes himself who earlier on questioned the notion of a dyadic model:

> In short, serious ethnographic work shows that there is one
> generally, or universal, dimension to be postulated, that of
> participant. The common dyadic model of speaker-hearer specifies
> sometimes too many, sometimes too few, sometimes the wrong
> participants. (Foundations in Sociolinguistics, 54)

For this reason, Goffman proposes considering the entire social situation within which dialogue occurs. In his analysis of "footing," Goffman finds that speakers are also aware of bystanders or what he calls the "gathering," which includes the aggregate of persons, regardless of the fact that one is not directly in communication with them:

> For it turns out that routinely it is relative to a gathering,
> not merely to an encounter, that the interactional facts will
> have to be considered. Plainly, for example, speakers will
> modify how they speak, if not what they say, by virtue of
> conducting their talk in visual and aural range of
> nonparticipants. (Forms of Talk, 136)

The audience thus forms part of the social situation and affects the way we talk and what we do. Thus, individuals within a situation can have what Goffman calls "participation status" as "ratified participants to the talk" or be bystanders. This participation framework allows for shifts within the situation enabling a speaker to shift not only from one recipient to another but also to address a wider field, the gathering itself, whether directly or not.

A similar situation occurs in literature where a writer can address both an immediate reader within a particular sphere or a larger readership, which can encompass critics and other writers, even onto umpteen generations. More specifically, the writer interacts with other texts, whether these be oral or written texts. Literary texts are thus always responses to literary history in particular and to all of history in general.

Let us review some of these points, which we will later use to analyze and compare natural and written discourse in the Chicano community:

1. We will speak of discourse as text. Texts then can be oral or written.

2. All texts dialogue with other texts: all texts are, in fact, responses to the discourse of others.

3. All texts are intertextual: all texts incorporate one's own discourse and that of others.

4. All texts are multiform in style and variform in speech and voice. Texts then are heteroglossic, since one is constantly combining a diversity of social speech varieties of languages.

Shifts within discourse, which I will call code-shifting, are a result of shifts in responses, that is, shifts in the participation status of addressees or individuals within a social situation.

This dialogic analysis allows us to concentrate on language or discourse as a social product, as a means of relating to others. A talk then is a "social encounter" — to use Goffman's term, but what is the "unit" to be studied? Goffman suggests that one is forced to examine "moments" of talk, since it is difficult to find neatly packaged stretches of talk. As he states, "there are lots of encounters so intertwined with other encounters as to weaken the claim of any of them to autonomy." (Goffman, 131) What we can examine, however, are the social relations expressed through small or larger stretches of talk. Responses then must be seen as expressions of relations between individuals, rather than between the speaker and formal or ritual elements that we consider in analyzing communication. Language is dialogical and ideological. Shifts within discourse, therefore, have to be seen as shifts in perspective, as shifts in social relations, for all discourse arises from the need to relate to others. Communication is, thus, a social exchange.

With these notions in mind we will look at two types of discourse: Radio Talk and Literature. The first is oral discourse. The term "natural" is somewhat of a misnomer if we associate the term with "spontaneous," since all discourse is conscient not only of meaning but of social relations, as Goffman has so well pointed out in his discussion of footing and response cries. As we will see, what occurs in oral conversation occurs as well, although in a different mode and style, in public radio talk and in literature. Let us begin by looking at literary discourse.

The novel, as Bahktin has indicated, is "a phenomenon multiform in style and variform in speech and voice." In a novel, a diversity of social speech varieties or languages and individual voices are artistically combined and orchestrated to produce a particular novelistic style. Bahktin's analysis of heteroglossia and intertextuality is especially useful in an analysis of Rolando Hinojosa's works, which are characterized by this very multiplicity of voices.

More specifically, this heteroglossia takes the form of a multiplicity of linguistic varieties, styles, and discourse modes. The text, states Bahktin, can incorporate various types of discourse: literary, semi-literary, technical, and oral everyday discourse as well as the individualized speech of particular characters. Within the particular Chicano context, the discourse repertoire can be quite ample. First of all, both the writer and reader face two macro-systems: English and Spanish; within each system there are a variety of codes, both urban and rural, both popular and standard codes. Within each code there are also a variety of styles that change not only in terms of function but also according to topic, addressee, and context. These styles differ in terms of formality. The colloquial and intimate styles may also trigger the use of sub-codes like caló. Additional subcodes in terms of sex can be distinguished.

This diversity of voices, styles, and codes corresponds to a diversity of social types that exist within our communities. Once introduced in the literary text, these voices cannot be considered neutral; each voice reflects a perspective, a point of view, a social relation with the addressee or the gathering as a whole. These voices can also be delivered in various modes: dramatic, epistolary, burlesque, ironic, exhortative, pathetic, melodramatic, humorous, etc., etc. The particular combinations of these voices, modes, and styles determine the narrative style of a text.

Hinojosa's books, as we shall see, make ample use of various combinations. His five books (Estampas, Generaciones y Semblanzas, Korean Love Songs, Mi Querido Rafa, and Rites and Witnesses) can actually be seen as constituting one macrotext, one novel chronicling the lives of several generations of Chicanos in the Valley of South Texas. Since the focus of the first two works is the heterogeneity of everyday life in the Chicano community, the novelist has provided fragmented sketches of a multiplicity of characters from various walks of life. Through a series of monologues, dialogues, interviews, and testimonials, the works provide an intersection of various styles, modes, and language varieties as well as code-shifting in the discourse of characters and narrators. The novel dialogues as well with various forms of literary and semiliterary styles, with folklore, popular culture, and foremost with history, although we will not focus on the latter at this time.

The novel's intertextuality is evident throughout the work. For example, it even dialogues with literary history in the titles of his works. XVth century works are the source for two titles: Generaciones y Semblanzas by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán and Claros varones de Castilla by Hernando del Pulgar; the author has also borrowed the sketch form or "cuadro" of costumbristas from XIXth century Spanish literature; in his portrayal of the character Jehú, the reader finds intersecting picaresque texts, as well as elements of folklore, popular culture, and semiliterary texts such as letters and interviews. The "gathering" here is thus that of literary history.

The novel's focus on the "collective" through brief sketches of particular individuals gives rise to a multiplicity of voices. These voices reflect primarily male styles of informal Spanish within an ironic and humorous mode. Given the cyclic repetition of events, episodes, and character sketches in the novel, heteroglossia allows for several voices to comment on the same issue, adding information and providing use of an informal style that lends an air of familiarity to all social relations presented in the narrative. This style serves then to blur social stratification in the Chicano community.

Shifts also occur within the narrators' discourse. The narrators are sometimes serious, sometimes cynical but generally good-humored as they describe the individual flaws and strengths of a multitude of characters. In a novel where loyalty to friends and blood ties is important, it is the male informal style that cements relations. This style is generally both clever and impudent, as is evident in the excerpt below on Don Orfalindo Buitureyra, a Chicano pharmacist whose wife is unfaithful.

Don Orfalindo Buitureyra es cabrón de nacimiento. También es farmacéutico pero eso ya es culpa del estado de Texas.

Don Orfalindo Buitureya es cabrón en el sentido etimológico popular. En el sentido tan dicharachero como certero. No es cabrón en el otro sentido: alguien que cae mal o que es aprovechado o tacaño o cosa parecida. No. Don Orfalindo no es una mala persona. Además, eso de ser cabrón no es acto propio o sui generis o lo que sea. Don Orfalindo era don Orfalindo y entonces vino su mujer y fue ella la que lo hizo cabrón: Made in Texas by Texans, aunque, en este caso, by Chicanos.

— ¿Y la prole?
— No, la prole es de él.
— ¡Cómo no! Si todos se le parecen en la nariz...
— ¡Y en las quijadas! Si hasta parece que los cagó...
— Conque se parecen, ¿eh?
— Como un mojón a otro.

— Pero es cabrón...
— Bueno, esa mancha no se le quita ni con gasolina.

The ironic thus becomes burlesque as male adults elaborate the local chismografía at the cantina, taunting each other and casting indirect darts of sarcasm in the direction of fellow bar clients. Sexual liaisons, unfaithful wives, gambling, violent encounters, and the past are some of their favorite topics of conversation. Everyone in town is fair game. In the cantina, the gathering encompasses all those within earshot, and one cannot trust that the barb is not being cast in one's direction.

The character Echevarría, an older man who remembers the past, is equally burlesque in his scornful comments about the Texas Ranger Choche Markham, who tried to pass himself off as a friend of the Chicanos but who in fact was the lackey of the ruling class. Once again the character is in the cantina where he speaks clearly so that all may hear what the Rangers, the Anglo landowners, and their allies, the Leguizamón, did to the Chicano/Mexicano landowners. It is drink and age that here afford Echevarría the right to say what no other characters say in public about the bolillos, rinches, and Leguizamón:

"Bien haya que habia agente como don Julián Buenrostro que le dijo al pinche rinche que se fuera a la chingada - que él, Julian Buenrostro, cruzaba el río y se echaba al monte tras el que fuera. Y lo hizo, raza. Lo cumplió. Bien haya el que tiene los pantalones puestos y no se agacha a mear. Amigo de la raza... ¡Mamalón eso es lo que es Choche Markham! En su vida ha ayudado a la raza. En su vida..."

The various informal encounters between males also allow for shifts not only in style and mode but in language as well. En Mi Querido Rafa, code-switching in the letters is a sign of close friendship between cousins; but it also functions as a shift in mode to convey the character Jehú's need to make light of his problematic situation at the bank, to distance himself from all the muck he describes in his letters and to play down his new importance as loans officer. English is, of course, the language of the ruling class dialogues, however hispanicized it may be. Thus in Mi Querido Rafa code-switching in Jehú is also a signal of assimilation and of having penetrated the inner circles of the ruling-class Anglo world, as is evident in his letter to Rafa:

Mi querido Rafa: Lunch at the Camelot; Noddy me mandó & that's the word, son, a que fuera a look over a deal; Noddy se quiere deshacer de la agencia de carros y el buyer wants-has-to use the bank's money for said purpose. A eso se le llama barrer pa' dentro. Fue cosa de dos horas; no tenía qué, ya que los abogados se encargarán - still, two hours away from the bank are two hours away from the bank y lo que se oye en el Camelot no se oye en cualquier lugar.

Some recalcitrans are still not happy re Becky Escobar's membership - pero se van a peer pa'dentro. Así se van a quedar. Te digo que the next target is the Music Chorale - Noddy hace lo que le dé la ch. gana & what you gona do about it, Slick?
(17)

On the other hand when Jehú responds to someone else's assimilation, in this case, the Anglo's political puppet, Ira Escobar, the put-down is primarily in Spanish:

Mi querido Rafa: ....

El cambio en I.E. es increíble; digan lo que digan,
seeing is not believing. A lo menos yo lo veo y no lo creo.
Juraría que se da shine en la cara ya que, God forbid, eso no
puede ser sudor. Es lustre. Le bailan los ojos y es lo más
acomedido que pueda haber. Mira: sólo le falta llamar a Noddy
así, Noddy, en vez de Mr. Perkins pero sabido es que hay que
darle tiempo al tiempo.

In these letters, the immediate addressee is Rafa but in effect Jehú
appears to borrow the mode and style of Echevarría, as if he were back at the
cantina.

There are few, very few, examples of female discourse in the novel. In
fact, the female voice is notable for its absence from these sketches. One
would have to assume that the Valley is primarily a male world, with women as
bed partners and not much else, for the novel does not for the most part
consider women as an important part of Valley history. They do not appear as
listeners nor as speakers, except in a very few cases.

The multiplicity of characters in the Hinojosa novel and the continual
shifts in space and voice in the first two volumes eliminate movement in time
but guarantee heterogeneity and heteroglossia. The last two volumes, on the
other hand, will introduce time and contradiction while not eliminating
heteroglossia, for both concentrate on the economic and political structure
of the Valley.

In a literary text, "participation status" is thus not easily defined
and the notion of a "gathering" is much broader. Voices within the text
dialogue with other texts and with other voices in the same text as well as
with a particular addressee. The reader at the same time is clearly part of
the audience, whether he be an eavesdropper or bystander or specific
participant. Responses are thus directed toward various voices and point to
different social relations.

The same heteroglossic situation is evident in Radio Talk. In Forms of
Talk Goffman has proposed analyzing Radio Talk as a means of analyzing
constraints on talk in general because radio talk, although self-conscious,
strives to produce the effect of "a spontaneous, fluent flow of words." The
announcer, states Goffman, normally executes all sorts of "remedial actions"
whenever his performance fails in some way, whatever the slip or error.

Remedial action and correction mechanisms are not, however, what lead us
to a study of radio talk, but rather an interest in code-shifting,
realignment, heteroglossia, and response cries. Radio Talk is, of course, a
particular type of discourse involving a series of transmission conventions
and constraints but today the particular format of stations providing the
latest news and service broadcasts requires the appropriation of a number of
everyday language varieties to convey the effect of spontaneous speech.
Radio Talk, in fact, provides a non-innocent production of code-shifting and
intertextuality as the broadcaster shifts from one type of discourse to
another.

My example is the radio broadcasts of Humberto Luna, the best known
Mexican disc jockey in Los Angeles. His local celebrity status calls for his
playing host to various Spanish language events and performances in the city.
His presence is generally advertised as "Humberto Luna y sus lunáticos," for
he has become known for his heteroglossic early morning show over station
"Radio Q" (KTNO), a Spanish language station transmitting out of Los Angeles.

His program is incredibly heavy on talk and commercials; in fact very little
popular music is ever played during his morning broadcast, although Mexican
and Latin American music are the format of the station during the rest of the
day.   Yet his is one of the more popular Spanish language radio programs in
the city of Los Angeles.   His popularity is undoubtedly a response to his
heteroglossic personas and his constant intertextual shifts in topic, code,
style, and mode that imply shifts in social relationships and realignment.

A thirty-minute segment consists on the average of a newscast, a
sportscast, community bulletins, a large number of commercials, perhaps one
song, perhaps none, and dialogues with several fictitious characters whom he
impersonates.   These characters generally converse with him over the phone,
in imitation of talk shows based on calls from the radio listeners, but their
calls are treated as interruptions by bothersome or troubled or sometimes
even helpful individuals; these callers serve as foils for the broadcaster or
other announcers, often commenting on the newscast itself or on tidbits of
information provided in the newscast on famous singers or film stars.   When I
first began listening to his show many years ago, his repertoire included
only the impersonated voice of an older man who used to call in to scold him
or tell jokes or comment sarcastically on the news.   Later he added the voice
of an effeminate homosexual who used to call to tell him his likes and
dislikes in the world of film.   Today his impersonations include both male
and female voices; he has an older granny type named Doña Pura, a sports
enthusiast, a Reverend, and several others.   In fact, he additionally has
incorporated the voices of real Others who call him at set times to ask
questions or express a comment.   Dialogue is thus the emphasis of the
program, but instead of an understood dialogue between broadcaster and
listeners, he has incorporated real voices with which he converses throughout
the program, whether these be staged callers or taped voices of characters he
himself impersonates.

One of my students taped a typical one-hour broadcast period, which
began with an informative summary of major headlines in the news plus several
commercials.   Like other radio or T.V. commercials today, these incorporate
segments of dialogue; one offering medical services includes a dialogue
between mother and young son:

— Oye, mamá, ¿qué son todas estas manchas?
— (Hasta el niño se ha dado cuenta...) confides the woman.

Even commercials that are simply announcements of dances, car dealers,
and insurance service, department stores, shampoos, furniture stores, and
vitamins assume a continuing dialogue between salesman and client.

In several commercials, the appeal is through the direct dialogue of a
client from the barrio with the listeners.   In one case, for example, the
advertisement of treatment for alcoholics is interspersed with a wife's
monologue on how her husband was helped by a particular hospital.   Another
announcement advertises the services of a lawyer who offers to help workers
hurt on the job.   This ad is also accompanied by a young worker's voice,
which presents his case:

Antes del accidente yo ganaba bien en la fábrica.   Hasta
tenía mis ahorros pa casarme con Teresita; pero las cosas
cambiaron.   Pa mantener a una familia se necesita trabajo y ya me
doy cuenta que para un hombre con un solo brazo, no hay trabajo.
Yo ya no hago planes para el futuro.   Quién sabe qué va a pasar.

After this sobering statement, an announcer states, "Este hombre merece toda la ley." You are then instructed to call a particular lawyers' firm, after which a lawyer with an English accent states: "Hablo su idioma pero más importante hablo el idioma de la ley." A stratification of dialogue is thus established, with social relations and relations of production determining the exchange value of dialogue.

Some of the most successful commercials on TV, of course, are based on situational dialogues, like that of mother and son over the phone advertising A.T.T. with their famous "Reach out and touch someone" commercial. In some cases the dialogue is implicit but not explicit. For example, in the Arrowhead water commercial a situation of people exercising and drinking their water while others watch involves no actual dialogue of the envious ladies but their voices are implicit although not vocalized, present though absent. Radio, on the other hand, can not depend on gestures and images to produce the effect of interaction; it has to provide the dialogue. At this Spanish language station, commercials depend to a large extent on situational dialogue and on an appeal to the language varieties of the local listeners. Some appeal to particular age groups, like the "Hombre Abominable de las Nieves" advertising Foremost milk, an ad that appeals to children and has all the sound effects of an Alaskan wind and snow-blown plain. Not all advertisers are Mexican. In one case, there is a Cuban announcer advertising Anacin. In an area where there are immigrants from various parts of Mexico as well as Cuba and Puerto Rico, it is important to appeal to a heterogeneous listening audience.

Within the radio programming there are particular announcements or broadcasts that require a set format. On this particular day, a sportswriter, for example, provides a rapid review of the current Boxing Champs in various weight divisions and the leading contenders. The regular D. J. Luna has nicknamed the sportscaster, "Fray Píldoras." After Píldoras' newscast, the phone rings and a man calls in to say:

    — Yo no comprendo a este señor que anuncia, sinceramente; ¿cómo
       se pone a hablar con ciertas personalidades importantes del
       mundo deportivo, siendo él un analfabeta?
    — En otras palabras ...
    — En otras palabras que no debe meterse en lo que no le
       importa...
    — ¿Qué tiene que ver?...

The staged caller goes on to protest the type of interviews made on the show and finally involves both Luna and the sportscaster in dialogue about him. Insults are traded to produce piped laughter. Later, after other reports and commercials, another listener calls in. It's a "regular" on the show: Doña Pura, an older lady who provides the popular rural variety of Spanish:

    — Quiubo, Doña Pur.
    — Ora, buenos días.
    — Pues aquí nomás.
    — Ya te saludé en denantes, ¿verdá?
    — Sí, hace como una hora y media.
    — Pero no más te hablo otro ratito pa, pa felecitar el programa.
    — ¿De veras?
    — Pos ese, ese buen Píldoras...
    — Oh, ¿le gustó la entervista?
    — Ya le estoy agarrando a ese muchacho porque informa todo.
       Mira, yo, yo ya estaba con pendiente.
    — De qué, doña Pur.

— ¿Quién será campeón y quién será campeón? Ni dormía.

— Ahh.

— Y oh, hora que dan la información completa, pos ya estoy a
gusto. Pero lo que le faltó fue decir las desas de la lucha
libre.

— No, ¿la, la, los resultados?

— Los resultados. Porque mire, yo iba muncho a la lucha, -aún
cuando estaba en el rancho.

— ¿Me va a empezar a platicar algo?

— Sí, había una vez, un luchador, le decían el trogloloditatan
gordo y menso, menso. Ese muchacho tiraba patadas al revés.

— (ronquido) (Here the D.J. starts snoring.)

— Le decían la burra catrina porque

— (ronquido)

— Porque, dizque, dizque la patada que él daba era de, de pos
de, coz de esconceo.

— (ronquido)

— Una vez, la tiró una patada voladora y le cayó al público y
allí estaba mi santa madre sentada...

— (ronquido)

— Eh, muchacho, muchacho...

— (ronquido)

— Ya te volviste a dormir, muchacho del demonio

— (risa del público) (piped laughter)

— Muchacho ¡Ah!, ¡qué muchacho!

— (línea abierta del teléfono) (open telephone line)

— Eh, ef... (risa del público) (laughter)

The dialogue ends and the commercials continue. Thus through the voice
of this older woman, the broadcaster speaks to a large segment of his radio
listeners, who according to studies of Spanish language radio listeners, are
primarily rural immigrants and storytellers. As in the case of other
callers, the announcer either feigns boredom or affects tolerance to produce
laughter, but more importantly to produce dialogue between listeners and
announcers. Through these fictitious characters whose voices he
impersonates, the announcer has, in fact, populated his anonymous audience
with recognizable voices and faces, voices to which he can respond.

Luna has populated his audience with varied types. His imitation of
"The Reverend" is especially interesting because it is a spoof of sugary
church jargon, which he delivers in a measured sing-song tempo. The Reverend
is a matchmaker on Luna's program, pairing fictitious callers whom he
sermonizes:

— ¿Cómo está, Reverendo?

— Muy buenos días, Hermano Luna, encantado, muy contento, aquí,
gracias al Señor, espiritualmente, lleno de goce, esperando
que con nuestros hermanos podamos hacer bastantes ganchos el
día de hoy y de allí salgan algunos matrimonios, lindos, pero
que los hermanos hablen con fuerza, que levanten el
espíritu..."

At this point a caller interrupts, then hastily hangs up. Both Luna and
the Reverend immediately know who it is, the crank caller. So spoofs spoof
reality. And so it goes on Humberto Luna's Program. The assumed dialogue
that broadcasters carry on with their listeners is here materialized through
these fictitious callers. The participants within the fictitious interaction
include a broad spectrum of listeners, both fake and real; first of all,
there are the immediate feigned callers within the particular skit situation,
but in fact the "gathering" includes the entire Spanish-speaking community of

Southern California. The bystanders, who at times become participants, are the other broadcasters standing by with news, weather reports, and traffic reports.

The announcer himself also plays a number of social roles. In the case of the old lady, he plays the young whippersnapper who dozed off while his elders retell their experiences. In the concerned adult who calls about the sportscast, Luna plays the peer who goes out of his way to calm the caller until the listener is insulted by another announcer. In the case of the Reverend, the announcer Luna is party to a spoof, not only of protestant religious radio shows but also of matching games in which couples are brought together through calls or surveys. Dialogue has thus become the crux of his entire program; what started as filler material between songs and announcements has now become "the program." The success of his show is directly attributable to the multiplicity of voices and to the mocking of particular barrio types that this heteroglossia affords.

To conclude: Both radio and literary texts thus dialogue with a multiplicity of voices representing social types in the real community. Both take what is "ajeno" -- or the voices of others -- and make them their own by basing their creations on these voices. Both produce an air of familiarity through the use of popular colloquial styles. Both are responses to a multiplicity of texts, whether these be literary, cinematographic, comedy, religious, folkloric, T.V., or historical texts. The response may be ironic, satirical or simply an affirmation through recognition and imitation. It is these shifts between voices and codes that produce a sense of heterogeneity. Sometimes these fictitious encounters also point to contradictions within our society, much as real dialogue does as it responds to objective and subjective conditions. It is through these voices, the voices of other social beings, that these artists respond to their reading and listening audiences and continue social dialogue in cultural production.

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Introduction

The objective of this study was to contrast the allocation of specific teacher instructional behaviors related to the implementation of bilingual curricular approaches in grades 1 through 3 in two comparable bilingual programs. Little work has been done in documentation of the specific instructional behaviors designed to address the needs of limited and non-English speaking students in bilingual classrooms.

Background of Language Learning in the Classrooms

In discussing the language arts curricula of the bilingual program, it is particularly relevant to distinguish the current theoretical orientation that influences or, perhaps, doesn't influence current language teaching practices. The teaching methodology that is employed in bilingual classrooms reflects the structures and functions of both languages, and the process involved in acquiring each language either simultaneously or sequentially. There has been a shift in theoretical formulations of second language acquisition from an emphasis on language use to communication (Krashen, 1980). Consequently, many of the new second language methods (e.g. Asher's Total Physical Response, Gattegno's Silent Way, among others) have espoused meaningful practice as the underlying tenet. In other words, exposing the child to natural communication is now considered sufficient to activate the child's language learning process. Therefore, the most important characteristic of a natural communication situation in the language classroom is focusing the attention of the speaker/listener on the content of the verbal communication rather than on its form. Nevertheless, the classroom is still considered a formal setting for language learning where speakers of a language must acquire the actual forms of languages use and the meanings of these forms. Therefore, it is a challenge to the language teacher to strike some type of balance in designing meaningful instructional experiences that advance the student's understanding and command of the language(s). This requires careful consideration of the cognitive, linguistic, and personal skills/interests of the student the teacher plans to serve.

Research on Bilingual Instructional Practices (Spanish/English)

The use of two-language instructional settings has little empirical support. Language use of English and Spanish in five bilingual kindergarten classrooms was investigated by Legaretta (1977). In the study, two different program models, the Concurrent Translation (i.e. interchangeable use of languages within a lesson) and the Alternate Days (i.e. alternating languages across periods and/or days), were compared on the extent to which each met the stated programmatic goal of equal language use. Furthermore, functions of teacher language (e.g. warming, accepting, directing, and correcting behaviors) were also examined in each language. Legaretta's (1977) findings noted that classrooms using the Concurrent Translation Approach favored English for all functions and for the greater percentage of time (70% by teacher, 71% by students). In addition, teacher talk dominated classroom

interaction (80-85%). In contrast, the Alternate Days Approach produced equal amount of Spanish and English by both teachers and children, with Spanish used more than English (72% versus 28%) for warming, accepting, and directing behaviors, but not correcting behaviors.

In a subsequent study, Legarreta (1979) compared language use by native Spanish-speaking kindergarten children in five program models: 1) Traditional monolingual English instruction with no formal English as a Second Language (ESL) training, 2) Traditional with daily ESL, 3a) Bilingual using the Concurrent Translation Approach with no ESL, 3b) Bilingual using Alternate Days Approach with no ESL, and 4) Bilingual using the Concurrent Translation Approach with daily ESL. Her results confirmed the earlier findings that balanced language use occurred more often in classrooms using the Alternate Days Approach, whereas unbalanced language use (28% Spanish, 72% English) occurred in classrooms using the Concurrent Translation Approach. In addition, pre-and post-test data on language proficiency in both Spanish and English comprehension and production was collected by peer testers. In all bilingual treatments, children made significantly greater gains in English oral comprehension than comparable peers in the traditional all-English treatments. Furthermore, the balanced bilingual treatment (3b) produced the greatest gains in English oral comprehension and communicative competence in both English and Spanish. There are methodological problems associated with the research design, primarily one of a small sample (52) studied for all program models and a non-random selection of students from 17 kindergarten classrooms. Additionally, it also would have been interesting to have included for comparison a model that is widely used in bilingual programs — a Bilingual Model using the Alternate Days Approach with ESL.

Students' language proficiency was a control variable that distinguished the bilingual classroom observation studies conducted by McLennan (1978) and Milk (1980). McLennan (1978) examined the effects of both a concurrent model (spontaneous alternation of English and Spanish) and an alternate model (separate language sessions during the same class period) in five high school classrooms. Students (66) were classified as English-dominant, Bilingual, and Spanish-dominant. Videotapes were made and transcripts were analyzed using Bellack's (1966) paradigm of pedagogical moves (structuring, solicitation, response, and reaction). Bilingual students participated equally under both instructional treatments; however, English-dominant students interacted best in the concurrent model treatment, whereas the Spanish-dominant students exhibited greater interaction in the alternate model treatment. During both model treatments, teachers dominated classroom interaction with a high percentage of moves (the majority being solicitation and structuring) and words.

The identification of effective teaching practices in bilingual education classrooms as reflected in positive student outcomes has been documented by few researchers. Legaretta's work (1979) has been cited as one such example. Ramírez and Stromquist (1979) investigated ESL methodology in bilingual elementary schools in an effort to identify effective teaching practices associated with student language learning. A group of 18 ESL teachers and their classes were videotaped across four lessons with similar content. Students were pre- and post-tested over a six-month period on English performance measures of oral comprehension and production. Teaching behaviors and characteristics associated with positive student growth included asking guided questions, correcting grammatical structures, explaining new vocabulary, and teachers' knowledge of linguistics. A rapid pace and over-emphasis on modeling as a technique were found to have negative effects. The influence of these teaching behaviors held for students' growth measured in both English oral comprehension and production.

Similarly, in the area of Spanish reading, Ramírez (1979) examined the effect of teaching behavior on students' reading achievement in Spanish. Again, a group of 18 teachers of Spanish reading and their classes were videotaped across two reading lessons having similar content. Students were pre- and post-tested over a three-month period using the Inter-American Prueba de Lectura, Level II. Those teaching behaviors that were associated with positive students growth included emphasizing decoding skills, explaining grammatical rules, engaging students in the oral reading of one or several sentences from paragraphs, and correcting pupil errors in decoding. Those found having negative effects included asking students questions about details in the story, explaining vocabulary meaning out of context, and asking students to read whole paragraphs without focusing on reading subskills.

Aside from these research studies investigating effective instructional practices in bilingual classrooms (primarily Spanish/English), the only other systematic investigation of teacher behavior as a factor in the quality of educational opportunity afforded ethnic minority children was the landmark study conducted by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (Jackson & Cosca, 1974) of Mexican-American students. Those findings noted that Chicanos in the Southwest received substantially less of those types of teacher behaviors presently known to be most strongly related to student achievement. Specifically, teacher interaction involving Chicano and Anglo students was significantly different in the use of praise and acceptance. Moreover, the use of students' ideas and positive feedback was found to be significantly related to investigated characteristics of teachers, students, classrooms, and schools.

Research Questions

As has been shown, previous to this work, there has been very little research upon which to base the rationale for using two languages, each as medium of instruction as well as the topic of instruction. This study focuses on the implementation of the Spanish/English Bilingual curriculum in diverse contexts. The contexts of concern are classrooms where the student population represents children who have been identified as non-limited or fluent-English-proficient. The main interest was to describe the "bilingual curriculum" within the language arts component in order to see how teachers allocate and manage the two languages of instruction. The study is designed to address the following questions:

1. What are the overall instructional practices occurring for non English-proficient (NEP), limited-English-proficient (LEP), and fluent-English-proficient (FEP) students by languages area?

2. Is there a significant difference between teacher behaviors and instructional practices directed toward NEP, LEP, and FEP students?

3. How do pupil behaviors differ according to the language arts components?

4. What is the extent of teachers' use of Spanish and English by content area and student language groups?

5. What is the extent of students' use of Spanish and English across content areas and language groups?

Methodology

Classroom observations were conducted in two schools in twelve classrooms (grade 1-3) contrasting two Northern California School districts.

School District A

School District A is located in the fastest growing metropolitan area in California, perhaps the greatest urban concentration of California's Mexican-American population outside of Los Angeles resides here. The bilingual school is located in the downtown area. According to the 1980 census, this area was 52% Hispanic with a median income of $7,800, a poverty rate of 30%, and an unemployment rate of 17%. The community is unique for urban Mexicanos and Chicanos in that it has retained some elements from the past (e.g., mom & pop grocery stores) with Chicano-owned business co-existing with a growing Asian community (largely, Japanese and Vietnamese).

The bilingual school was selected for observation based on a recent state review recommendation for operating an exemplary bilingual program. The program had been supported and developed through the efforts of staff and community over an eight-year period. At this site, the overwhelming majority of non- and limited-English speaking students were Spanish-speaking and of Mexican descent. This population (394) comprised almost half of the total student population at this school (808). It should be noted that the overall student majority at the school was also of Mexican descent. The grade-level breakdown of non- and limited-English speaking children is listed as follows:

TABLE 1

Distribution of NEP and LEP students By Grade

	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL
NES	62	52	24	13	14	13	5	183
LES	25	29	54	28	35	25	15	211

During the observation period, the bilingual school offered a K-6th curriculum with both bilingual and monolingual English components. The staffing pattern consisted of twenty-nine classrooms, of which eighteen were taught by bilingual teachers and eleven by monolingual English teachers. Grade levels K, 1, 2, 3, and 4 offered a total of fifteen bilingually-taught classes. In addition to the classroom teachers on staff, this school also maintained a resource staff, which included the following positions: a media center specialist, a math specialist, a perceptual-motor specialist, and a nurse.

Six bilingual teachers in grades 1-3 were observed during their instruction of English and Spanish language arts, English language arts, Spanish reading, English reading, Spanish as a Second Language, and English as a Second Language. Furthermore, each teacher was interviewed by the same observer who had recorded his classroom instruction. Interviews were taped and, with the exception of one teacher whose tape proved inaudible, the tapes were transcribed to provide information on a number of variables, one of which was a self-assessment of language proficiency in both Spanish and English. All five teachers rated themselves highly (good/excellent) in four facets (speaking, listening, reading, and writing) of language proficiency.

The allocation of instructional time for the English and Spanish language arts components at this school averaged two hours per day at each grade level. However, the manner in which instruction was delivered differed substantially at each grade level and merits additional discussion. The 1st grade class observed was a self-contained bilingual classroom staffed by a bilingual teacher and aide, whereas the 2nd grade classrooms (2) offered a teaching model — a bilingual teacher paired with a monolingual English-speaking teacher. On the other hand, all third-grade classes (4) were organized on multi-levels based on language and academic skills and, thus, were team taught. Although two hours of instruction were allocated to Spanish and English language arts, this time period was not equally balanced at all grade levels. Whereas, the 1st and 2nd grades did allocate about an equal distribution of time to each of the languages, the third grade classes demonstrated a preference for English-language instruction (65%) over Spanish. This was probably a reflection of the "press" that exists at that grade level to reclassify students as fluent English speakers.

School District B

School District B is situated in northern California, about 100 miles south of San Francisco. The school is centered in a predominantly Hispanic, low socio-economic rural community with approximately 35% Mexico-born residents and a migrant transiency rate of 35%. These community characteristics are reflective of the school. The school enrollment is 547 students. The racial composition is 80% Hispanic, 18% Anglo, and 2% other. Fifty-two percent of the students are identified as migrants, 63% receive Aid To Families With Dependent Children, and 73% qualify for the free-lunch program. Students are divided in the following grades: K=83 students, 1st=88 students, 2nd=73 students, 3rd=67 students, 4th=72 students, 5th=80 students, and 6th=84 students. The following represents the total language composition of these students: NEP=125, LEP=278, FEP=80, and English only=64.

The overall achievement level of the school district was at the 38th percentile, and the bilingual school placed at the 1st percentile. The bilingual program at school district B has been operating for English-only track and 11 classrooms in the bilingual instruction track. Both tracks extend from Kindergarten to 5th grade.

The bilingual program is defined as a language transitional program. But in practice, as described by the principal, it is a bilingual maintenance program, because the majority of students who enter the program stay in the program through the sixth grade. The bilingual instructional track from Kindergarten through the 6th grade provides for the maintenance of the native language. Interestingly, the transition from L1 to L2 is accomplished not necessarily between the English and bilingual instructional tracks but rather within the bilingual track, and specifically within individual classrooms. In other words, a native language and a second language track are operative simultaneously within the bilingual classroom. Therefore, a student can both transition from L1 to L2 within the same bilingual classroom and stay in the program after L2 has been acquired.

Students may also transition between the English and the bilingual instruction classroom tracks. Grade levels Kindergarten through 3rd experience minimal transitions. The main transitional thrust is between grades three and four. If the students acquire English proficiency by the 3rd grade they are encouraged to transition to the English-only classroom track at the fourth grade, unless parents or teachers object to the transition. In this particular program, parents prefer that their children remain in the bilingual program regardless of English proficiency.

The bilingual classrooms, particularly grades Kindergarten through fourth, practice an alternate class team-teaching model during language instruction. Teacher language abilities (L1 and L2) are used for student placement. For example, an English-dominant teacher is assigned the English language classes formed with English-dominant students from several different grade levels. This teacher also teaches English as a Second Language to the limited-English proficient students. The Spanish-dominant teacher has similar responsibilities with the Spanish-dominant students, in addition to teaching Spanish as a Second Language to the English-dominant students. Of the six teachers observed, three were Spanish-dominant and three were English-dominant.

These multi-grade and language-diverse classrooms require the individual teacher to organize the students in 4-5 working groups. These groups are arranged by two criteria. First, because teachers maintain L1 and L2 instruction in the same classrooms, groups are organized by language ability. Two groups are usually in L1 and two groups in L2 with one group from each language being more advanced than the other. Second, students are organized by reading levels associated with the three reading programs utilized.

There were a total of 333 students in the twelve classrooms selected for observation. Table II displays the breakdown of students observed by language proficiency. The classes ranged in size from 20 to 30. However, the actual class size is a deceptive description in both of these bilingual settings. In reality, most teachers had to team or group students according to language ability or content area. Consequently, the average class size is an approximation of the average number of students usually present for instruction.

TABLE 2

Language Proficiency of Students Observed By School Site*

	LES	NES	FES	TOTALS
School A (6 Classrooms)	79	40	56	175
School B (6 Classrooms)	58	63	47	158
TOTAL	137	103	103	333

*As measured by the Language Assessment Scales (LAS) by De Avila, 1976.

Instruments

The classroom observation instrument utilized at both sites was a modification of an earlier version developed by Delgado and Arias (1976) that had been used in a national evaluation of bilingual education programs. This instrument was designed to obtain information regarding three aspects of the bilingual classroom environments: the physical conditions, the grouping patterns observed during the instructional period, and the behavioral interactions between adults (teachers/aides/resource persons) and students during the observed instructional period. Modification of the instrument involved the inclusion of teacher and student behaviors that had been noted in the research literature on teacher effectiveness as those associated with

instructional practices that had resulted in positive student performance. Primary attention was focused on the adult's interactions with students during the instructional period. Teacher behaviors such as commanding, instructing, modeling, demonstrating, questioning, and correcting were coded along with the following student behaviors: explaining, responding, questioning, reading, and writing/manipulating. This classroom interaction instrument differed from other similar timed procedures in two ways. The language used by the student and the adult was recorded as was the designated language dominance of the student observed. These modifications were essential for describing the frequency with which each language was used, who used it (teachers, aides, students, etc.), and how language was expressed by various teacher/student behaviors.

The interaction form contains ten separate categories of information that relate to a number of classroom variables thought to influence positive student/teacher interaction. Each row of boxes across the page represents an observation interval, requiring thirty seconds for completion (15 seconds for observation and 15 seconds for recording). There are a total of ten rows (columns in 2nd version for Site B) per observation sheet. In both versions of the instrument for Site A and B, the first page of the form included checklists for "Grouping Patterns" employed during the observation period. However, in the Site A's version, a global assessment (rating 1-10) of language use (Spanish and English) by each group of participants (teachers/aides/students) was also recorded after the observation period terminated. The other categories of information included on the interaction sheet were: instructor direction (dyad, small, large, and whole group), student direction (teachers, peer, materials, etc.), student/teacher attention (positive, negative, and neutral), and acknowledgement/praise (non task-related). In addition to the information collected with the classroom observation instrument, the classroom teachers (12) were interviewed. The development of the teacher interview guide followed the need to ascertain: 1) teacher background information such as training, experience, and language proficiency; 2) teachers' perceptions of effective curricular/organizational components in bilingual programs (both school and district levels) with correspondence to the level of implementation at their respective school site; 3) teachers' articulation of instructional strategies for English and Spanish language arts; and 4) teachers' conceptualization of appropiate assessment procedures grouping students in English/Spanish language arts.

Procedure

At School Site A, three trained observers visited six classrooms a minimum of two days during Spring 1981 to observe the entire language arts curricula in both languages and to interview the teachers. Observations at School Site B were conducted 2-3 days a month from January to June 1982 with six teachers. Observations at both sites were collected in six content areas: Spanish language arts, English language arts, Spanish reading, English reading, Spanish as a Second Language, and English as a Second Language. In order for the observers to be able to document each interaction according to the language proficiency of the student, a method was devised by which students could be visually identified. Before the start of the observations, each observer met with the classroom teacher to review the class rosters of the NES, LES, and FES student distribution. Because the observations at School Site A were limited to 2 days, students were given self-adhesive colored stickers to wear, which allowed the observers to identify them according to their designated language group: red=NES, blue=LES, and green=FES. At School Site B, this device proved unnecessary, inasmuch as each observer became quite familiar with the students, having observed them from January through June.

Observers were advised to spend the first 10-15 minutes of the observation period getting the "feel" of the classroom. As soon as the observer had a general understanding of what was taking place in the classroom (the subject matter being studied, which students were working together, which adults were working with which groups, etc.), the first step on the observation form had been covered. The next step was the completion of the classroom interaction sheet. The observers coded the categories of teacher and student behaviors during 25 consecutive observation intervals for each content area period. A total of 2165 observation intervals were coded across the twelve classrooms selected for observation. Finally, the same observer who observed the classroom interaction conducted the interview with the classroom teacher. This took place after observations had terminated. Interviews lasted approximately 30 to 40 minutes each. Twelve were completed.

Results

Descriptive statistics were used to summarize the data. It should be noted that during one observation several instructor activities could be coded. Consequently, these percentages do not indicate that the behaviors occurred exclusively during the observation interval.

While a total of 2165 observation intervals were coded for the twelve classrooms selected, we were concerned only with the behaviors that occurred exclusively during the observation interval. Although a total of 2165 observation intervals were coded for the twelve classrooms selected, we considered only the behaviors occurring during what the teacher called English and/or Spanish language arts. Thus, only 117 observations from Site A and 89 from Site B were the basis for our analysis.

The differential in observations between the two sites is accounted for by the fact that in Site B the organization of English and Spanish content areas were not discreet. That is, during an English language arts period, Spanish as a Second Language instruction could be occurring for a small group of students. This required the elimination of many observations that were confounded by this problem. Furthermore, in order to ascertain if contrasts in teacher behaviors were occurring, it was necessary to base the analysis on approximately equal numbers of total observations for each site.

At each site, for each of the content areas (Spanish and English language arts), we found that the teachers were completely consistent in their use of Spanish and English. All observations coded during English arts in each site found that the teacher was using English only. Similarly, all observations coded during Spanish language arts found the teachers at both sites using only Spanish.

Tables III and IV present the distribution of instructor activities by content area and language proficiency for each site. In Site A the instructor behavior most frequently observed in both Spanish language arts was observes/listens. Instructor questions had the next highest frequency of occurrence in both content areas. Instructor explains, demonstrates, and commands were observed in that order in decreasing frequency of occurrence.

TABLE 3

Percentage of Instructor Activity by Student
Language Proficiency and Content Area: Site A

English Language Arts				Spanish Language Arts		
Activity	NEP*	LEP*	FEP*	NEP	LEP	FEP
Observes	100%	96%	75%**	100%	94%	90%***
Questions	43%	61%***	50%**	75%	61%	50%
Explains	22%	65%	63%	19%	39%	20%
Commands	65%	22%	13%	25%	33%	10%
Demonstrates	22%	39%	25%	31%	39%	10%
Disciplines	22%	4%	13%	0	8%	30%
Corrects	17%	9%	25%	19%	14%	0
Transitions	4%	0	0	6%	3%	0

Total Observations: 79   62

*Non-English Proficient, Limited English Proficient, Fluent
English Proficient
**Significance Level: p < .05
***Significance Level: p < .01

TABLE 4

Percentage of Instructor Activity by Student Language
Proficiency and Content Area: Site B

English Language Arts				Spanish Language Arts		
Activity	NEP*	LEP*	FEP*	NEP	LEP	FEP
Explains	0	83%	60%	78%	80%***	27%
Corrects	0	37%**	20%	6%	28%	36%
Commands	0	0	60%	17%	4%	45%
Questions	0	30%	0	67%	64%	45%
Demonstrates	0	0	20%	11%	8%	36%
Disciplines	0	0	20%	6%	8%	0
Observes	0	0	20%	22%	68%	36%
Transition	0	0	0	0	0	0

Total Observations: 35   54

*Non-English Proficient, Limited English Proficient, Fluent
English Proficient
**Significance Level: p < .01
***Significance Level: p < .001

Table VI presents the distribution in Site B of instructor activities by
content area. In English language arts, the instructor activity most
frequently observed was explains, followed in decreasing order of frequency
by corrects, commands, questions, demonstrates, and disciplines. In Spanish

language arts, the instructor behavior most frequently observed was questioning, followed in decreasing order of frequency of occurrence by explaining, observing/listening, correcting, and commanding.

In controlling for the language proficiency group, the instructor behavior observes/listens in Site A was distributed equally among the three student language groups in both content areas. However, in Spanish language arts, NEP students received 75% of instructor questions compared to 43% in English language arts. Instructor explaining was more prevalent in English language arts for LEP and FEP students (65% and 63%) than in Spanish language arts (39% and 20% respectively). Instructor commanding with NEP students in language arts compared to 25% (NEP) in Spanish language arts. Instructor disciplining was observed minimally.

Table IV presents instruction activity for Site B. Instructor explaining was observed with the highest frequency in English language arts. In the same content area, the instructor behaviors correcting, commanding, and questioning were observed in order of decreasing frequency. In Spanish language arts, instructor questioning was observed most frequently, followed by explaining, observes/listens, correcting, commanding, and demonstrating, in decreasing order of frequency of observations. The least frequently observed instructor behaviors were disciplining and transitions.

In Site B, when the student language proficiency group was controlled, no observations were reported for NEP students in English language arts because of the low number of NEP students found in this content area. In English language arts LEP students were reported with a higher frequency of instructor explaining, questioning, and correcting. In Spanish language arts, FEP students were reported with a higher frequency of instructor explaining, questioning, and correcting. In Spanish language arts, FEP students were reported with a lower frequency of instructor questioning (45%) than NEP (67%) and LEP (64%) students. FEP students were also reported with less (27%) instructor explaining that NEP (78%) and LEP (80%) students. In Spanish language arts, LEP students were reported with the highest frequency of instructor observes/listens (68%) in comparison with NEP (22%) and FEP (36%) students. In the same content area, NEP students were reported with a lower frequency of instuctor correcting (6%) and commanding (17%) than FEP (36% and 45% respectively) students.

In testing for statistical significance of the teacher behaviors across language groups, it was found that at Site A teachers questioned LEP and FEP students more frequently than NEP in English language arts. Also during this content area, NEP and LEP students received more instructor observing than FEP. Similarily in Spanish language arts, FEP students received less observing that NEP and LEP.

At Site B, clearly there is a difference in the behaviors as compared with Site A. Here the distribution of the behaviors is different from A and statistical significance was found for two behaviors. In English language arts, LEP students received more correcting that FEP and in Spanish language arts, LEP students received more explaining than NEP or FEP.

The overall pattern of student language use paralleled, for the most part, that of the instructor at both sites. Again, students rarely were observed using English in Spanish language arts or Spanish in English language arts, regardless of language proficiency.

Tables VI and VII present student activity by language proficiency and content area. In Site A, the student activity most frequently observed in both content areas was observes/listens, followed in order of decreasing

frequency of occurrence by responding, reading, and questioning. The least observed student behaviors were explaining and transitions.

It is of interest that the frequency of student behaviors across sites was very different. In Site A, students observing and responding were more prevalent in both content areas, whereas at Site B, students reading, observing, and responding were more prevalent. Again, comparison cannot be made for the NEP group at Site B in English language arts due to the curricular organization of the class.

Discussion

Before discussing the results of the observation data, two caveats are necessary. The realities of classroom organization in bilingual settings made it possible to collect data on NEP student behaviors in English classes at Site B. Only after data collection had begun did it become apparent that given the way the bilingual program operated, NEP students by definition would not participate in English language arts until a minimal level of competence had been reached in the native language — Spanish. On the other hand, Site A's approach was to include NEP students in English language arts components. Herein lies the second caveat: the observation data was attempting to describe and contrast teacher and student behaviors by student language proficiency and content areas, but, because of the great heterogeneity of student language proficiency in bilingual classes, content areas were delivered more on a small group basis rather than in whole class instruction. In this type of classroom organization, Spanish language arts and English language arts were occurring concurrently. Finally, the small number of observations on which the following discussion is based underscores the importance of the exploratory nature of this study.

Nevertheless, more intensive data from site A, as reported elsewhere (see Arias and Delgado 1982), has suggested that specific teaching behaviors in bilingual classrooms are associated with gains in student outcome measures. Additionally, Site A was identified as noted earlier, as a site with an exemplary bilingual program. The observation data was aggregated, first, at the grade level and, then, at the school level to see if there were any main effects due to grade level and school. There were no significant differences

TABLE 6

Percentage of Student Activities by Language Proficiency and Content Area: Site A

Activity	English Language Arts			Spanish Language Arts		
	NEP*	NEP*	FEP*	NEP	LEP	FEP
Observes	100%	100%	88%	96%	86%***	90%
Responds	57%	39%	63%***	38%	47%	40%
Reads	4%	17%	25%	15%	30%	20%
Questions	4%	9%	0	4%	3%	0
Transitions	4%	0	0	4%	0	0
Explains	0	0	0	0	0	0

*Non-English Proficient, Limited English Proficient, Fluent English Proficient
**Significance Level: $p < .02$
***Significance Level: $p < .05$

TABLE 7

Percentage of Student Activities by Language
Proficiency and Content Area: Site B

Activity	English Language Arts			Spanish Language Arts		
	NEP*	LEP	FEP	NEP	LEP	FEP
Reads	0	50%**	80%***	26%	52%***	0
Observes	0	33%	100%	67%	68%	55%
Responds	0	37%	0	63%	80%**	36%
Explains	0	20%	0	7%	8%	0
Questions	0	0	0	4%	8%	0
Transitions	0	0	0	0	0	0

*Non-English Proficient, Limited English Proficient, Fluent
English Proficient
**Significance Level: $p < .01$
***Significance Level: $p < .05$

in teaching behaviors across grades, thereby permitting the data to be
aggregated at grade level. However, the small size of observational data
available for this type of analysis at Site B allows us only to contrast
those behaviors occurring at Site B with those occurring in a similar program
at Site A.

We can interpret from the results that in both bilingual programs
teachers are allocating their language behaviors specifically with regard to
content area: Spanish is used in Spanish classes and English is used in
English classes. While this appears to be expected, it is noteworthy that
teachers are not mixing their use of Spanish and English in the content areas
during content area instruction. This is particularly important in that
teachers often serve as the only language models for students acquiring a
second language. It is only with regard to the teachers allocation of
English and Spanish that we encountered similarities between the two sites.
Even though there was sufficient similarity between grades to permit looking
at the total teaching behaviors for each site, between sites the similarities
ended with teacher and student language allocation. The data allows us to
look at each program as a case study of sorts where we can see the variation
of teacher behaviors across student language proficiency groups. Students
are also following the teachers' example in the content areas by consistenly
using the language of the content area and not mixing language during this
instructional time.

As we look at the data by student language proficiency, one pattern
emerges. This is that LEP students, whether in English or Spanish classes,
particularly in Site A, are receiving less of the teacher allocated behaviors
than NEP or FEP students. While this pattern is less evident due to the
limited NEP or FEP data in Site B, this observation holds for teacher
behaviors such as correcting and questioning. Similarly, the LEP students at
Site A are participating less (as measured by the observation instrument)
than NEP or FEP students.

These results are exploratory and suggest that even in sites where
"exemplary" bilingual programs are operating, there is still a differential
between the teacher and student behaviors across language groups. The
consequences of these differences is not yet known but from this exploratory
study we must necessarily conclude that it is important that future research
in bilingual settings take into account student language proficiency.

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AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF A FOURTH-GRADE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM

PATTERNS OF ENGLISH AND SPANISH

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Before the advent of bilingual education, English was not only the language of instruction in U.S. schools; it was also the language of the school and everyone in it. Hispanics, as well as other linguistic minorities, were reprimanded, even ridiculed, for speaking their native language in school. Within the last twenty years, reforms such as bilingual education make this no longer the case. The "other" language is now allowed and sometimes encouraged in schools. Research that examines how teachers and children experience language in schools emphasizes that this is a complex situation. Moreover, studies done in bilingual classrooms show that, with two languages, the complexity grows. However, most research ignores the intermediate grade levels that include children classified as Limited-English-Proficient (LEP). A basic assumption underlying the design that is characteristic of most bilingual programs — that children acquire full English proficiency by the end of third grade — may influence researchers to focus on the primary grades. However, one only has to consider the constant immigration and migration of Hispanics in this country to realize that these children come to school at any grade level. And, it turns out, the influx of Hispanics is just one reason why some children are classified as limited in English after third grade.

I base this report upon the results of an ethnography I conducted on a fourth-grade bilingual classroom. I examine how children who are classified as LEP use Spanish and English and the opportunities -- and their nature -- for language use.[1] This study contributes to knowledge about the complexities of language at school, particularly in the case of those children identified as LEP.

Sociolinguistics and Classroom Language

This study of language in social contexts, sociolinguistics, is an ideal approach to understanding language and schools. Through the ethnography of communication, we come to understand the organization and meaning of teachers' and students' talking, listening, and silence. Ultimately, this understanding leads to the improvement of both teachers' and students' educational experiences. Hugh Mehan (1984) argues that, by examining the process of what goes on in classrooms and how language is used, we see more clearly why success or failure occurs. Mehan reviews ethnographies of communication done in classrooms and finds that classroom participants must learn the tacit "rules of the game." These involve knowing with whom, when, and where children can speak and act to succeed in school. Furthermore, Mehan points out, research examining life in classrooms indicates that ability grouping can have unintended consequences: "low groups are taught less frequently and are subjected to more control by the teacher." (p.179) Mehan asserts that grouping creates a caste-like system in the classroom and gives children differential access to the curriculum. These realities of classroom life take on further dimensions, it turns out, when we look at the research on language in bilingual classrooms.

Dell Hymes, a pioneer in sociolinguistics, says that, "bilingual education is a sociolinguistic subject par excellence." (1974, p.119) The

forces that influence language use and status in the wider society are, to some extent, played out in bilingual classrooms — microcosms of languages in contact. Much of the research in this area consists of studies of how teachers and children in bilingual classrooms use Spanish and English and the factors that influence language choice. Several studies (Bruck & Shultz, 1977; Legarreta, 1977; Milk, 1984) indicate that children tend to follow the teacher's lead in establishing language use patterns. Genishi (1976) and Shultz (1975) both found that bilingual children choose to use Spanish, English, or to codeswitch between the two languages, depending on their knowledge or assessment of their interlocutor's language ability. Studies on the possible effects of the way languages are allocated in bilingual programs on actual language use indicate that those that separate the two languages promote equal language use (alternate days) while those following a concurrent (translation) approach tend to favor English. (Legarreta, 1977; Milk, 1984). Only a small part of the complex problem accounts for the identification of interactional and curricular factors that influence teachers' and children's use of Spanish and English in bilingual classrooms.

As one would expect, the classroom processes found in regular classrooms take on special meaning in bilingual classrooms. Milk (1980) shows that grouping strategies in classrooms based on language dominance mitigate against the interaction of Spanish and English speakers. Although he found that Spanish dominant children had opportunities to use English in whole class instruction, they did not use English for natural communication. He reports that grouping the students resulted in separating them from English speakers and into small groups where they spoke Spanish among themselves. This evidence suggests that having two languages in a classroom works to separate the two into "camps," and that loyalties to one or the other language might be involved.

The separation of Spanish and English in bilingual classrooms can be seen as a diglossic situation. Peñalosa (1981, p.115) defines this as "the use of two languages or language varieties, a 'high' formal, official one and a 'low' informal, colloquial one, in separate spheres of a given society or community." Research indicates that English is generally favored as the language of instruction in bilingual classrooms. Shultz, cited above, found English to be the "natural" language of the first-grade classroom he studied. Bruck & Shultz refer to the gradual "anglicization" of the classroom; they note also that teachers convey the message that English is a more important language in the classroom because of the functions they allocate to English: giving directives, correcting work, and making procedural statements. Phillips (1975) examined the effect Spanish or English lessons had on children's and teachers' codeswitching in K-3 bilingual classrooms; she concluded that English is more "intrusive" than Spanish.

Much of the research on language use in bilingual classrooms has focused on the primary grade levels in elementary schools (for example, all of the studies cited above). I maintain that the design that is characteristic of most bilingual programs in this country, which roughly follows the Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) model, has greatly influenced this trend. TBE Programs use the native language as the medium of instruction in Kindergarten and first grade while English is gradually introduced. By approximately the end of the third grade, children who entered school assessed as LEP are theoretically ready to participate in the English-only curriculum, having had conceptual development in their native language while learning English as their second language (Anderson & Boyer, 1978; Trueba & Barnett-Mizrahi, 1979). Evidence that English dominates classroom language use can be viewed as supporting the goals of TBE programs: the first language is used as a bridge over which LEP students cross to the traditional, all-English curriculum. Problems arise, however, when the children and the

program designs become less and less convergent. Who are the LEP children in the fourth grade, and why are they classified as LEP? This group of children include those who have not scored fully proficient in English on formal language measures; those who have done so but have not scored minimum levels on a standardized test of basic skills in English; as well as children who have enrolled in schools after the primary grades as recent immigrants. Children who live in communities that are characteristically low-socioeconomic, whose residents have immigrated from Latin American countries, and in which Spanish is a vital language in everyday life — barrios — often receive such classification.

STUDY SETTING AND DESIGN

Hispanics in Redwood City, California — Polks Barrio

Redwood City, approximately 30 miles south of San Francisco, is home to a large number of Hispanics. Many live in the various barrios throughout the area, and Polk Elementary School, the site for my study, serves one such barrio.[2] It has many characteristics of barrios throughout the Southwest, which is surprising, in a barrio over 500 miles north of the border. As we travel north on Atlantic Avenue through the exclusive, tree-lined estates of Concord, we come abruptly upon Polk Elementary, which faces two grocery stores with advertisements in Spanish covering their storefronts. Across Atlantic Avenue from the school lies a row of shops, all with Spanish names and offering services and fare associated with Hispanic culture: a Mexican delicatessen, a carnicería, a shop selling items for christenings, bodas, and quinceañeras. Figure 1 lays out the boundaries of Polk's barrio. As we continue up Atlantic into the community, Mexican restaurants, auto upholstery shops, inexpensive furniture stores, and cantinas abound. East of Atlantic is an older neighborhood of two- and three-bedroom houses with small front and back yards. After school, we see a few children riding their bikes or walking home from school. Many of the people living here are Anglo with some Hispanics and Blacks. At the far west edge of the barrio, lie factories and warehouses, and the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks. The far northern boundary is a spur line of those tracks, which connect with more tracks belonging to the commuter trains. The area between Atlantic, the commuter tracks, the Concord walls (the estates are behind high walls), and the spur line tracks, consists of multiple family dwellings and single houses with built-on rooms or other structures filling the small yards to accommodate more people. After school, we find many children playing outside these dwellings, as well as young adults passing the time in groups around a car or porch. Nearly all of the inhabitants of this area are Hispanic.

The clearly-marked boundaries of Polk's barrio, the stores and services offered in Spanish, the generally low socioeconomic conditions, and the density of the population are features barrios share. It appears that this neighborhood is undergoing the process Camarillo (1979) calls barrioization--the formation of residentially and socially segregated Hispanic neighborhoods.

Hispanic LEP Children in the Fourth-Grade at Polk

The fourth-grade classroom in this study represents one in which there is a high concentration of Hispanic LEP students, both those who did not follow the ideal TBE model and recent immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries, primarily Mexico. Of these children, 27 of the 29 children are classified as LEP, and of the remaining two, one is a monolingual English speaker and the other is what Peñalosa (1981) calls a "covert bilingual" (those who deny ability in a language in which they are proficient). The
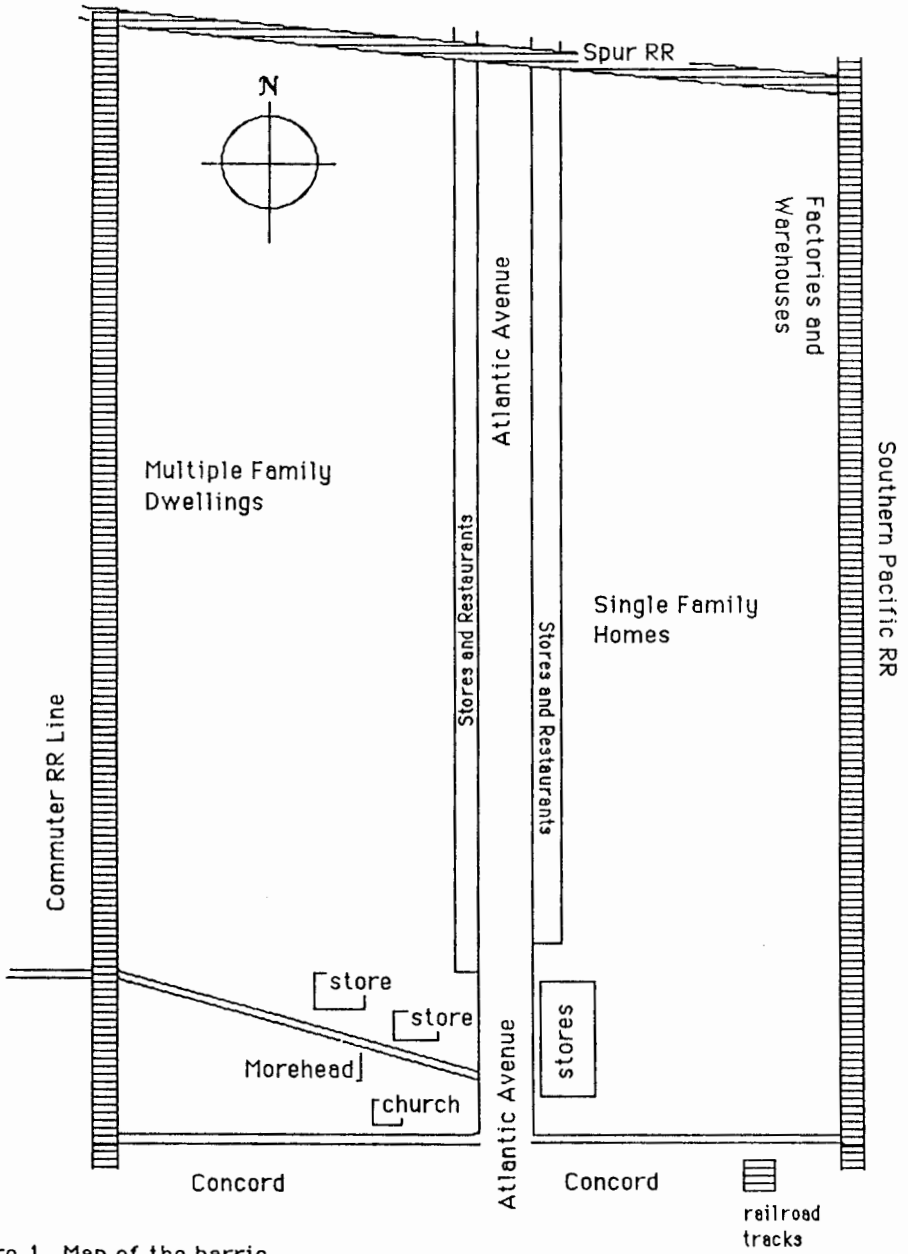
Figure 1. Map of the barrio

school district recognizes the special needs at Polk for the LEP students in the intermediate grades and offers a modified TBE program in the fourth grade. English is the primary language of instruction, with instruction in Spanish language arts and reading offered for some of the LEP children. Recent immigrants receive English as a second language (ESL) classes for one class period per day outside of the regular classroom.

As with most classrooms, there is great variation among individuals in many features. Most of the children have been at Polk for at least three years, some since Kindergarten. During the five months I spent in the classroom, four children moved back to Mexico and two new students arrived, one from El Salvador and the other from Mexico.

Method

I observed the children for over 30 hours -- in the classroom, on the playground, in the cafeteria -- and I spent additional time investigating the boundaries of the barrio and its characteristics. I also obtained data through informal interviews, casual conversations carried on at the students' desks or outside of the classroom. I interviewed the teacher at those times I felt I needed background information and, occasionally, to have a better understanding of the workings of the classroom: the routine, group constituencies, unusual activities, and school norms. The teacher, the aide, other teachers at Polk, the principal, and the district person in charge of the bilingual program all provided me with necessary information regarding the district, school, community, and individual children and their families. This information, the students' English proficiency test scores as measured by the Language Assessment Scales (LAS), and my fieldnotes and audiotapes constitute the raw data.

I conversed with the LEP children primarily in Spanish, so that they might feel more comfortable speaking in their native language; my use of Spanish was necessary in the case of those who are virtually non-English speaking.

LANGUAGE USE PATTERNS IN A FOURTH-GRADE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM:

ASSESSED LANGUAGE ABILITY VS. OBSERVED LANGUAGE USE

To demonstrate the children's language use patterns in this fourth-grade bilingual classroom, I have graphically juxtaposed the children's scores on the LAS in English and my observations of their actual language use (see Figure 2). I have displayed both types of information in the form of the classroom seating arrangement pattern. The LAS scores are one of five levels: solid black represents a Level 5, full English proficiency; solid white is Level 1, no English proficiency; and dotted squares indicate intermediate levels.

Although 27 of the 29 children are considered LEP in this classroom, their levels on the English language assessment vary widely. Eight children scored at full English proficiency, Level 5; however, six of these are categorized as LEP because they did not score above the 34%ile on a standardized test in English, the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS). This is the additional criteria for participation in an all-English curriculum at Polk. The other two children scoring Level 5 are Amy, the English monolingual, and Ana, a covert bilingual.[3] Four of the five non-English proficient students, scoring a Level 1, are recent immigrants. The other child is Enrique, who has been at Polk for several years and participates in the Special Education program.

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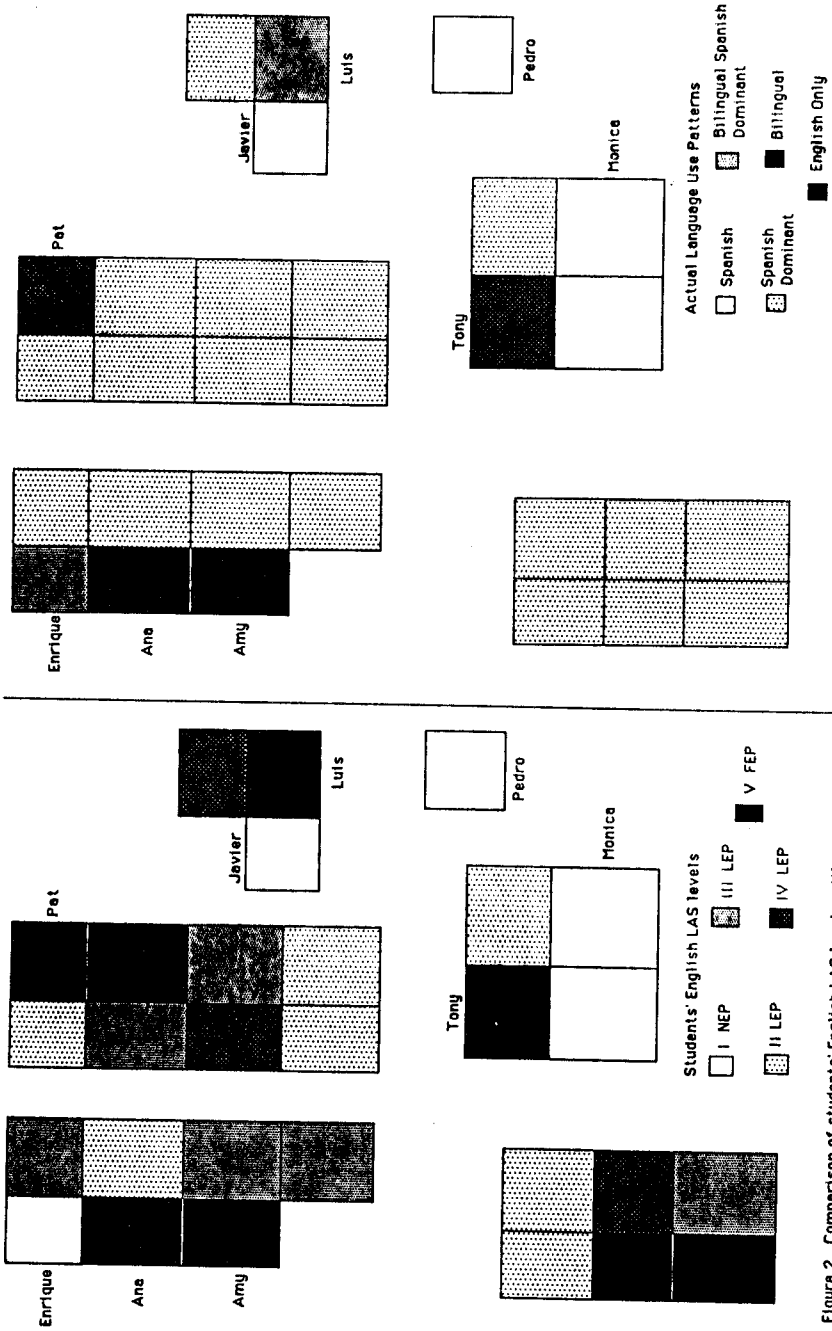
Figure 2. Comparison of students' English LAS levels with observations of their actual language use.

The results of my observations show a different pattern of language use among the children as we see with the other classroom display. Only Amy and Ana speak English exclusively and the rest of the children speak predominantly Spanish, regardless of the English proficiency they demonstrated on a formal language measure. An examination of the processes in this classroom provides evidence to suggest why this pattern of language use has been established.

English Patterns

Much of the children's language use patterns results from the nature of the classroom itself. Like most classrooms, the teacher dominates the talking and controls the allocation of turns for children to participate. Opportunities for the children to speak English are strikingly rare. The teacher uses primarily English for instruction to the whole class or to a small group while the rest of the class does seatwork. During instruction, the children respond with one word or short answers, the only time they have to speak English at all. The remainder of the time, they talk quietly among themselves in Spanish, with the exception of Amy and Ana. Because the children are usually not encouraged to speak, it is particularly interesting when they do participate verbally in English.

The showing of films in this classroom represents at least one opportunity in which the children are permitted to express their thoughts, reactions, or experiences in group discussions. The following vignette shows how this happens.

> The other fourth-grade, from an English-only classroom, comes in to see the film with this class. They settle in. The teacher says, "pay very close attention," and starts the film. It is about amphibians with footage on their eating, climbing, and mating habits. At the mating part, some children squirm and giggle and the teacher tells them to "quiet down" in a mildly reproachful manner. The film is in English; everyone is attentive, including the LEP children. When the film ends, the lights go on and the discussion begins with the teacher asking about what kind of frogs were shown in the film. He accepts answers only from the children who raise their hands. One child suggests "leopard" and others: "tree frog," "western," and "salamander."
>
> Teacher: Who can tell me how a frog starts out?
> Girl: eggs
> Teacher: How does it breathe?
> Whole group together: in the water!
> Teacher: all of them? (no response) Where would you find a specimen? (responding to a voice near him) in a stream? freshwater, maybe.
>
> At this point, the teacher calls on Max who tells a personal story about a salamander. Now the children are eagerly raising their hands to be called on to tell their own story. Bonnie tells about a frog and a salamander she had seen; and Ana, Mary, and Nathan each have their turn to elaborate their personal experiences with amphibians and reptiles. The teacher interrupts Nathan's story to talk about "Outdoor Ed" to regain the floor and to indicate that the discussion is over. Amy is permitted to add her story. The visiting class is dismissed and the children go to their respective seats and quietly talk among themselves. (Fieldnotes 2/7/85)

Film discussions represent the only time that all the children participate in elaborated discussions. However, the teacher does not encourage elaborated responses; he is satisfied with the short answers at the beginning of the discussion. When Max tells his story, the teacher is more directly engaged with his task of rewinding the film than with the child; he does not respond in any way to Max's story. However, the children recognize that the teacher is allocating time for them, and they show enthusiasm about participating. Each child tells his story to an unresponsive audience, but they are eager to do only that. When they raise their hands, they reach up out of their seats and look imploringly at the teacher. He calls on only the most controlled volunteers, though; and some children choose to tell their tales to the person next to them rather than compete for the floor through the teacher. Let me point out that children who were called on are all in the other fourth grade with the exception of Amy and Ana, that is, children fully proficient in English. Everyone speaks only English during the entire time, which demonstrates the influence of the content, a discussion about a film in English, on the use of English. Also, the context of the interactions, the whole group, influences the use of English. No LEP children respond or contribute, and not a single comment in the film discussion is made in Spanish.

I found that what typically goes on in this classroom mostly involves the children doing seatwork — completing worksheets, reading, drawing, etc. During this time, they are permitted to talk quietly among themselves, particularly if they can appear to be "working." Even when completing seatwork assignments in English, the LEP children help one another or discuss their work in Spanish. The content of the interaction — English curriculum — diminishes in importance as a factor in determining language use in the context of a classroom that allows the children to use their native language to communicate informally with one another. The only exception to this general rule is that many of the LEP children do say numbers in English, occasionally. Ricardo, who came from El Salvador last year, claims that he understands almost everything the teacher says in English, and he feels that he has no problem understanding the math lessons, which are taught in English.

Amy and Ana are very distinct members of this classroom. They interact only with each other and the teacher — exclusively in English. They alone in this classroom read at or above grade level in English, tutor children in the third grade, and belong to the Girl Scouts. They are not integrated into the classroom with the LEP students, and very few efforts are made to facilitate interaction between these girls and the other students. The only child who does interact with Amy and Ana is Enrique. He sits next to them, and this proximity provides him with many opportunities to become aware of and curious about things the girls do and say. What is so surprising about Enrique's behavior is that one would not expect this child to be the sole accessor to the English speakers. He achieved at Level 1 on the IAS, no English proficiency, and yet he speaks the English he knows with Amy and Ana. Fillmore (1976) identified this behavior as a second language acquirer's social strategy — use whatever is known in order to get by. Since no other children in the classroom interacted with the English speakers, and the LEP children interacted in Spanish with each other, I was not able to observe how they might use their English language skills.

Five children in the class have language use patterns that include English: Amy, Ana, Enrique, as we have seen; and Pat, Tony, and Luis, who I will discuss now. For Pat, his pattern of using English appears to be in large part due to the extra attention the teacher gives him. Since the teacher interacts with him in English, Pat responds in English. Generally, Pat speaks Spanish with his peers, following the patterns of the group.

Tony is a child who defies the tacit rules for getting the floor to speak in the classroom; he does not wait for the teacher to call on him. It seems that when Tony broadcasts his comments on whatever has captured his attention, he takes the role of someone who is more at the teacher's level. In this classroom, that calls for English. Both Pat and Tony scored Level 5 on the IAS and, at least in their case, their language use patterns reflect the English they apparently have.

Luis, who also scored a Level 5, also breaks classroom rules for speaking, which gives him a slight edge for opportunities to speak English. However, Luis and Tony use these opportunities to express themselves in either language, as not all their outbursts are in English. Generally, both boys demonstrate their loyalties to the IEP group. If what they are saying is meant to demonstrate their knowledge, experience, or feelings directly to the teacher, they speak English. For example, Luis challenged the teacher in English about the difficulty of an art project the children were expected to carry out, pointing out that the slides on which they were to draw a picture were too small. However, when the teacher asked Ricardo, a second time, if he had finished his math, Luis came to his defense and said, "Ya te dijo, Mr. X".

I have demonstrated that the children's ability to use English was not particularly observable in this classroom. I spoke Spanish to the children in our informal conversations, and I came to find that by doing this they viewed me as attempting to gain access to their group. It took time for the children to accept me at their intimate and informal level. In my early visits, the children often responded to me in English.

> Luis is doing math problems on the computer and I am discussing
> computers with him. Both he and I are speaking Spanish. Luis
> interrupts one of my responses and says, "You don't have to
> speak Spanish to me, I speak English." I decided that I would
> concede and speak English with him. It is a rainy day, and he
> asks me if I got wet coming to school. I tell him "no," and he
> says, "I got soaked! My book...everything! Have to do my
> spelling all over and I did it all!" "At home?", I ask, and he
> nods affirmatively. (Fieldnotes 2/8/85)

Luis spoke only English to me from that point until he felt that I could be considered a friendly invader in the Spanish-speaking group. Two weeks after Luis' announcement that I should speak English with him, we saw the film "Children of the Fields," a documentary for children about migrant farm workers. At the end of the film, the discussion was initially about who in the class would like to work in the fields but quickly changed to one of sharing experiences of those who had actually done so. (17 of approximately 45 children indicated that they have been involved with farmwork.)

I turn to Luis and tell him, in English, about my having lived in New Mexico and that I have picked onions and chiles myself. Luis then relates to me, very enthusiastically, his experiences picking corn, peaches, and apples in Mexico; and how he loves working in the sun; and how big and heavy the sacks and baskets are. He tells me all of this in Spanish; and, in fact, Luis has rarely spoken English to me since. Our shared experiences put us in a different relationship, one in which we speak Spanish, the language of informal interaction in this classroom belonging to the IEP children. All of the children, with exception of Amy and Ana, eventually speak to me only in Spanish.

Spanish Patterns

Spanish is used for instruction only in small groups for Spanish reading
and language arts or when the teacher offers "backup" in Spanish after he
presents lessons in English. Ricardo, because he is a recent arrival with
very little English, relies heavily on Spanish as an instructional language.
He complains that the aide allocates only ten minutes of the total forty-five
meant to be divided between the English and Spanish groups. He says that his
homework is often not discussed or not collected.

The teacher and aide devote less time to Spanish instruction and allow
far more interruptions than during any other instructional period. This is
reminiscent of what Mehan pointed out as a common occurrence for low-ability
groups in regular classrooms. Could it be that the children who require
Spanish for instruction are viewed as being of low ability? Does having
limited-proficiency in English translate into academic inferiority in
classrooms where LEP children are grouped? The evidence I present would
suggest that the answer is yes. However, I would add that it is also a
matter of the relative status of each of the languages in the classroom. The
established language use patterns in this classroom — English is the
language of instruction and the teacher, and Spanish is the language of peer
interaction among the LEP children — demonstrate again the "intrusiveness,"
"importance," and "naturalness" of English over Spanish in bilingual
classrooms found elsewhere.

The status of Spanish erodes further when I examine the quality of
instruction. Consider the following language arts lesson involving a word
matching exercise.

> Teacher: (to class as he goes over to the back table to work
> with the Spanish language arts group) Work on reading, spelling,
> or math. He sits with Rosa, Ricardo, Marta, Carlos, Enrique,
> Sam, and Pedro and tells them to put their "name and date" on
> their worksheets and then adds, "la fecha y su nombre." While
> eliciting answers from the small group, he interjects directives
> in English to the group: "not now," "don't worry." Tony comes
> over to get some help with his seatwork, and the teacher goes
> over the meaning of "wren" with him. Meanwhile, Enrique is
> entertaining Rosa and Marta in the Spanish group talking about a
> personal experience. The group gradually breaks down with the
> boys now talking among themselves while Tony and the teacher
> interact. The teacher turns once to the group and says, "Boys,
> hey, get busy."
> Pedro muses about his worksheet and offers to his group: "Tren
> es negro. Negro es tren. El tren es negro."
> After a few minutes, the boys try to get their work done and
> Pedro then asks for the teacher's assistance.
> Pedro: "No sé qué es 'estrecho.'"
> Teacher: "opuesto ..'cuadrado'"
> Pedro: "Redondo?"
> Pedro appears very confused. The teacher leaves the group and
> asks the class to prepare for social studies.
> (Fieldnotes 3/17/85)

When Pedro says he does not know what the Spanish word for "narrow"
means, the teacher gives him the clue that the opposite is "square." Pedro
then logically concludes that "estrecho" must mean "round." This becomes
problematic when the actual opposite of "narrow" — "broad" — is mismatched
with the true opposite of "square." Towards the end of the day, Rosa is
completing her worksheet and I ask if I may have a look. She has paired

"estrecho" with "cuadrado," and "ancho" with "redondo" as opposites. I ask
her if these are actually opposites and she says nothing, just smiles
politely and puts her work away.

The teacher apparently does not know what "estrecho" means either; but,
rather than admitting that, he leads the children astray. Not only is
Spanish instruction characterized by less time and quality, it is also clear
that the LEP children's ability in Spanish, indeed the fact that they are
native-speakers of the language, is ignored in this classroom. This was
somewhat illustrated by the incident cited above, in that the teacher could
have conceded to the children that he did not have the meaning of "estrecho"
on the tip of his tongue; he then could have initiated a discussion among the
children of what the word meant. The status of Spanish, and that of the
children as speakers of that language, is effectively diminished by not using
the children as resources of their native language.

I discovered another variation of how the teacher and aide ignore the
native language ability of the children. Time and time again, the teacher
and aide refer to Spanish/English dictionaries for the meanings of Spanish
words, usually for the purpose of finding the correct answers for the
worksheets they distribute to the children.   In one activity, a
buscapalabras, I asked a boy I sat next to, who had come from Mexico only two
weeks before, what "esmalte" means. He told me that is "fingernail polish."
I asked the aide if she knew what the word meant, and she picked up the
dictionary. I mentioned that she could ask the children to which she replied
thoughtfully, "Oh. They would know, wouldn't they?"

Conclusions

The language use patterns that I have described for this classroom I
interpret to be a result of the nature of the classroom itself, the unequal
status of the two languages involved, and the grouping of a very diverse
group of children into the one category of LEP. Well-intentioned teachers
cannot be blamed for these undesirable consequences.   In this case, the
teacher was recommended to me as an exemplary bilingual teacher, and I found
that he was dedicated, well-organized, and hard-working.

In some ways, encouraging children to talk in school is not a large part
of what curricula emphasize. Back to basics, scope and sequence--the lock
step pedagogy--require children to stay on task, fill up pages, and read.
The management of classrooms is facilitated by quiet, industrious students.

Grouping children by any criteria is ultimately meant to improve their
chances of being taught. However, in this case, I have demonstrated how
grouping children into the LEP category results in their behaving as a
homogeneous group -- a group that is limited in English. The diversity of
the children's language is obscured, and their potential is not being tapped.

Spanish does not share the prestige of English in this bilingual
classroom. In fact, it is not a bilingual classroom, rather a diglossic one.
English is the "high" language of instruction, and Spanish is the "low"
language, the language of informal, peer interaction. Furthermore, I have
demonstrated that when Spanish is used as an instructional language, its
status is clearly lowered.

The LEP children have embraced Spanish as their language. If Spanish is
a low status language in this classroom, does this affect the children's
status? I maintain that if Spanish is to be used in school, this must be
considered. When bilingual programs offer further assistance in the native

language after the transition to English should have occurred, planners must examine the purpose and goals of such a move. If the purpose is to extend the bridge to English, then Spanish must share the status of English as an instructional language. I provide evidence here that when that does not occur, we patronize Spanish-speaking children. Ignoring English language ability potential, and relegating Spanish to a low status can only add to the already enormous obstacles impeding Hispanic barrio children's academic success.

AUTHOR NOTES

NOTES

1. I will use IEP throughout this paper as the conventional designation for a classification that schools use. I ask the reader not to read "IEP" as an acronym but rather as three letters: "l", "e", "p". I would like to avoid any derogatory connotation.

2. Andrew Cohen (1972) carried out his sociolinguistic assessment of the first three years of the bilingual program at Polk.

3. Ana chooses to speak only English and denies ability in Spanish. Amy reported to me that she hears Ana and her parents speaking Spanish when she spends the night, although Ana told me that she does not speak Spanish.

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<center>

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC STATUS OF A U.S.-MEXICO BORDER CALO[1]

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Background

While the implications of Black English and many of its features are well-known to the linguistic community, U.S.-Mexico Border Caló, or more briefly Chicano Caló, remains submerged, unfamiliar save in the U.S. Southwest. At a time of heightened sensitivity to social dialects, this appears to be regrettable, particularly since ChC is a variety known to some extent by most speakers of Mexican-American Spanish, comprising a speech community of perhaps 10 million, and indeed the largest "foreign language" minority of the U.S. Much like Black English, moreover, ChC mirrors changes in attitudes toward language minority languages and varieties resulting from the civil rights drives and advances of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as the rising power of the ethnics in American society and elsewhere. Nevertheless, outworn notions of ChC also known as Pachuco, Tirili, bato loco, cholo, still persist, one misconception being that it is merely a slang, another, that it is a completely secret code of criminals.

Chicano Caló first came to general attention during World War II, when Mexican-Americans, bizarrely attired zoot suiters, called Pachucos in Spanish, began to have difficulties with the police and authorities in El Paso, Texas, and other southwestern cities. The Pachucos engaged in pilfering and delinquent acts, smoked marijuana, and used drugs, employed a special caló, they dressed in a weird manner, in zoot suits, with long tapering waistcoats, pointed-toe shoes, baggy trousers, and duckbill haircuts. In trouble with the law, many hopped freight trains to Los Angeles. In the summer of 1943, the media had worked up sentiment against the so-called vagrants, and vigilante committees of servicemen went into the East Los Angeles barrio, particularly the Sleepy Lagoon district, beating up any zoot suiters (plus Latin-looking young males) they could find. Finally, the Mexican consul complained to the Los Angeles mayor, and the beatings stopped. Actually the Mexican ambassador also intervened, amidst tension between the U.S. and Mexico (McWilliams, 1968).

Upward Mobility of a Highly Stigmatized Code

Although ChC was at first highly stigmatized, it has continued to gain in upward mobility from such status. U.S. social history, for one thing, took a hand in advancing the position of ChC. In the wake of Black power and other ethnic movements of self-affirmation, Chicano activists re-interpreted the role of the Pachuco and caló-speaker, as more sinned against than sinning, often assuming the stance of a Robin Hood. Moreover, wishing to distance themselves from conventional Mexican-American, Mexican, and Anglo society, the activists set about to forge a new Chicano identity, separate and distinct from those cultures, and even invented a mythology, to serve as an ethos, with a mysterious and remote birthplace, somewhere in Arizona, and called Aztlán. As regards to language, ChC, the tongue of rebellious elements, was chosen as the symbolic embodiment of Chicano expression, and is regularly utilized in Chicano literature for foregrounding, code or stylistic switching, involving words, phrases, and whole stretches of speech in caló. In Chicano theatre, as exemplified by El Teatro Campesino, this code pervades in the dialogues of the plays presented. Particularly because English is the most common vehicle of literary output, the availability of ChC, and its association with the downtrodden, provides a solution for writers who, above all, wish to point to their own distinctive ethnic identity.

Those who have continued to call ChC a mere slang, have been grossly in error, since the sociolinguistic impact and status of this code has gone vastly beyond the evanescence of slangs, which are usually of short duration. The fact is that ChC has been a steady source of lexical borrowing and style-shifting for colloquial registers of both Mexican and Mexican-American Spanish. For example, to say "Have you a car?," the Southwest Spanish speaker has the choice of the formal ¿Tienes automóvil?, the colloquial but unmarked (non-stigmatized) ¿Tienes coche? or the ChC marked, stigmatized ChC term ¿Tienes ranfla?

A common misconception about ChC in the southwest has been that its active and passive use has been limited to younger males. The fact is that, increasingly, all ages and social SES have some knowledge of it, and as Galindo (1982) has shown in her master's thesis, young Chicana females at the University of Texas, Austin, are acquainted with the code and occasionally use it to manifest their own liberation.

Genesis of Chicano Caló

As there is very little of written nature attesting to its development, one must extrapolate this from other evidence. Ultimately, ChC stems in part from the speech of Gypsies of Romani, of Indo-Iranian origin, who migrated from India, through Persia (Iran) and arrived in Europe by the 15th century A.D. Farming out to Northern Europe, the Balkans, and the Iberian Peninsula, they untypically became permanent dwellers of suburban areas of Spanish cities. Little by little the Gitanos, as the Spaniards called them, lost their Indo-Iranian mother tongue and switched to Spanish, although retaining a sub-set of lexical items usually known as Gitano Caló. As is the case with ChC, there has been a fascination with the flamboyant life style of the Spanish Gypsies, especially in connection with the flamenco motif, which has invested this vocabulary with an air of "chic".

Although records are sparse, there is every reason to believe that Spanish Gypsies arrived with the settlers from Spain. Even if they had not, there would have been enough persons (especially from Andalucia) acquainted with the Gypsy life style and vocabulary to have brought this lexicon to the New World.

Analyses of ChC lexicon reveal that it is related in varying degrees to other calós of the Romance-speaking world, including the Portuguese Cala, the Italian gergo, the French apache, as well as to the speech of the Indo-Iranian Romani. In addition, ChC embodies items from the Spanish underworld speech or the germanía, used to some extent in the 18 Spanish-American nations as well as Spain. Finally, it borrows from American English and Mexican slang, or sometimes adopts standard Spanish terms though shifting their meanings.

The secret nature of ChC has been exaggerated, although it can be said to conserve the tendency to seek semantic concealment from authorities and all outsiders (Reyes, 1989). Individuals not conversant with ChC often find comprehension of speech with heavy ChC content to be difficult or utterly impossible.

Research

Thirty years ago George Barker, an anthropologist, published his classic study of this sub-culture in a monograph titled Pachuco: An American Spanish Argot and Its Social Functions. Although sympathetic to the Pachucos, whom he described in realistic but human terms, he still regarded their life-style

as an aberration that should be corrected by social intervention -- in the direction of the Protestant work ethic, of course. In El Paso, Lurline Coltharp (1965) did fieldwork in South El Paso's barrio and published Tongue of the Tirilones: A Linguistic Study of a Criminal Argot. Coltharp's study is still useful today, but she has been repeatedly criticized for her title, and for the "criminal" association with which she invests the caló, which she, incidentally, chose to call Tirilón, merely another of the numerous terms for this variety. Finally, a third monograph of significance for the study of ChC was the 1976 doctoral dissertation of John Terrance Webb at the University of California at Berkeley. Entitling his work An Investigation of Non-standard Lexical Items in Spanish, Webb's study includes much more than a detailed lexicon, since he also addressed syntax, the ethnography of contemporary caló speakers, and their life style in East Los Angeles. In addition, there have been hundreds of essays and articles on the subject, ranging from naive and misguided to the rigorously scholarly.

My own initiation into ChC harks back to 1949 when I was carrying out a study of the distinction between North and South New Mexico Spanish. It became obvious that no understanding of the colloquial Spanish of the Southwest was possible without at least some understanding of basic ChC. Leaving the Southwest in 1951 for Washington, D.C., I returned 17 years later, this time to El Paso, Texas, considered the cradle of ChC fieldwork here in connection with the Sociolinguistic Studies in Southwest bilingualism. Convinced that ChC was alive and well in the informal registers of Southwest Spanish, I have devised and begun to utilize a Spanish-English bilingual questionnaire aimed at discovering the extent of knowledge of ChC of Spanish-English bilinguals stratified as to age, sex, SES, and including as subjects faculty, staff, and students. As one graduate student put it "Everybody who really speaks Spanish down here knows the Caló."

Linguistic Aspects

The fascination with vocabulary, so typical of treatments of social dialects, unfortunately has often deflected attention from the sociolinguistic implications of the corpus that one may have gathered of such varieties. We hypothesize here that free from constraints of social dialects and unworried about censure of any "Academy of the Language," or prescriptive language journals, calós in particular can become a fine mirror of tendencies in the language in general.

As regards ChC, syntax is basically conservative, although non-prescriptive. For example, constraints on word-class boundaries may be violated freely, as in the adding of gender to nouns that are strictly speaking, unmodifiable, as carnal "brother" and carnala "sister." Other tendencies include abundant use of se in reinforcing of dummy function with virtually any verb and the use of le as an intensifier, both after verbs (common in Mexican Spanish) and after nouns (less common, and not "allowable" in the standard language), as in hijole. Chicano Caló also reflects Popular Spanish in its preference for strings of basic or kernel sentences, with almost no subordinative complexity, often punctuated by interjections.

The lexicon still remains at the core of ChC or any special code. It is difficult at this point to determine whether the bulk of the lexicon distinguishable as ChC is of metaphorical origin or consists of borrowed vocabulary from Spanish and or English, and semantically modified. Among the examples of rhetorical devices, metaphor is most common, the more striking the better. For example, arroyo "creek" for the Rio Grande (Rio Bravo, in

Mexico), __filer, alfiler__ "pin" for __shiv,__ __knife,__ or __arpón__ "harpoon" for needle (drug addiction). In lexical choice, ChC follows the common Popular Spanish in a liking for derivational suffixes that show largeness, power, hugeness, outrageousness, or sometimes diminution. Favorite endings are: __ucho, ucha, acho, acha, azo, asa, ón, ona__, while for diminution __ito, ita__ are utilized. Meanings, it should be emphasized, and nuances, are more commonly carried in suffixes than they are in adjectives preceding or following nouns.

Much of what goes on in ChC interaction belongs under the rubric of Word Play, although almost no studies of it from this viewpoint have been made, as they have in Black English, and including shuckin, jivin, the dozens, and the like. Another part of this neglected area, as well, is needed attention paid to the aspects of language performance, including kinesics and proxemics.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Chicano Caló is a vibrant variety of Spanish on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico Border that continues to evolve while maintaining many of its traditional features. It is used and understood in varying degrees by many segments of the Border's Spanish-speaking communities. Longitudinal studies should be conducted to gauge the development and influence of Chicano caló on other forms of Spanish and viceversa.

SAMPLE OF CHICANO CALO[2]

Dos chavales teorican	Two fellows chat
Andrés: Esele, quiero teoricarte. ¿Qué pasiones?	Hi there. I wanna talk to you. What's happening?
José: Pos casi na'. Le taloneo un jale y no está. No sé cómo le hago pa' refinar, pistear y pagar las drogas	Well, almost nothin'. I'm hustlin' a job and there ain't any. What am I gonna do to eat, drink and pay debts?
Andrés: No te ahüites, bato. Onde camello yo, pos ai te dan una chamba. El chingón, pos es de aquellas. Es bato cora. ¿Onde cantaneas?	Don't give up, guy. Where I work, they'll give you a gig. The number one guy there's a real fella. He's a guy with heart. Where are you staying?
José: Ya mero con una hüisa de Mexicle. Quiere arranarse conmigo. ¡Qué loca . . .	With a gal from Mexico. She wants to marry me. What a fool!
Andrés: Tienes leche, mi bato. Pos, hasta mañana. Mañana te huacho, en el lugar que aquí te pongo en este pápiro. Andale pos.	You got luck, my friend. So, till tomorrow. Tomorrow I'll see ya in the place that I'm putting down on this paper. Right on.

Glossary of Caló or Caló-related terms:

teoricar - to chat

ésele - Hi, there

pasiones - rhyming for pasa

refinar - to eat

pistear - to drink

camellar - to work

chingón - number one

cantonear - live, shack, stay

chamba - gig

bato - guy

cora - with heart

Mexicle - Mexico

arranarse - to get married, to live,
                     to squat

huachar - to look, see

papiro - paper

ahuitarse - to despair, give up

NOTES

1. Portions of this paper were presented at the Linguistic Society of America Summer Meeting, 19-20 July, 1985, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. Appreciation is expressed to the National Endowment for the Humanities for grants supporting research conferences on Chicano Spanish and English.

2. The items in sample of Chicano Caló were obtained from Rubén León et al. Glossary of Caló (mimeo). California State University, Los Angeles, CA., 1973.

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SOCIOCULTURAL ISSUES
and
PROCESSES

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This paper reflects the point of view of an applied anthropologist, one who, as a nurse, is concerned with improving patient care. Research is needed to alleviate the problems of the speaker of Chicano Spanish, and then the findings of the research must be applied. We all know horror stories of what happens when a sick person seeks care from professionals or agencies where languages are not shared: stories of babies shunted from one hospital to another, of accident victims denied access to emergency rooms, of women giving birth in parking lots, of wrong medications prescribed, or of treatments not followed. In the USA. these problems occur most frequently with speakers of Spanish. Some of what I will say may apply to all health care communication, some will be concerned specifically with all Spanish speakers, and some will focus on the speaker of Chicano Spanish. It is notable that in the past several years, I have attended many national conferences on the health care needs of Mexican-Americans, but I tend to be the only one ever to bring up language as a problem that must be addressed. The conveners of these conferences do not think to invite real linguists, the professionals who must do the research for improving communication vital to life.

Research is needed on the following topics.

1. Investigation of reasons for the monolingualism of health care providers.

2. Study of the sociolinguistics of the interview in health care.

3. Lexical differences in Spanish, and the sources for this variation. The intralinguistic differences in the lexicon of Chicano Spanish, and what causes these differences.

4. The use of translation and interpreters for learning if communication has taken place, whether through interpreters or directly.

The Monolingualism of Health Care Providers

The monolingualism or glottocentrism (Kay, 1977, 166) of health care providers needs to be investigated. The professionals speak English only and appear to expect others to learn English in order to receive health care. It is implicitly assumed that the educated, healthy professional giving health care has less linguistic competence than the person who is ill, frightened, in pain, often old, and who is in need of health care, when we concentrate on

the language needs of the patient, not the provider. For example, an article on "Uses of the 1980 Census for Hispanic Health Services Research" (Giachello et al., 1983:269) states:

A potential barrier to receipt of appropriate medical care for Hispanics is the difficulty in communicating with health personnel. The census question on how well a respondent speaks English could shed considerable light on the extent to which this

might be an access barrier. Note that the emphasis is upon English-speaking ability of a patient.

How can health care providers be motivated to learn Spanish, and how may learning Spanish be made more easy for them? How can we insure that medical and nursing curricula include courses in medical Spanish? I once surveyed students at a school of nursing, and learned that 90% of the students wanted to learn medical Spanish. The dean of the school, although she could find no regular place in the curriculum for language study, felt that such a course would be a useful elective. However, the Spanish department refused to teach the course. In that department, anything other than peninsular Spanish was not worth teaching. Language studies with practical applications were looked down upon. So it was necessary to look elsewhere for instruction for the few students who could take on an extra class, a class, I believe, required for all competent professional health care in the Southwestern USA. Thus, there should be research on the reasons for the monolingualism of medical providers and the reluctance not only of health care curriculum designers to include language but also Spanish departments to teach applied courses. This is what we would call the anthropology of education. Of course, literature of the Golden Age is magnificent and gongorismos should be studied, but not to the exclusion of practical applied language learning.

Additional research in this area should include studies of non-orthodox ways to teach Spanish to such adult learners. The use of tapes, computer self-paced learning, appropriate vocabulary, and clear question frames should all be investigated.

The Sociolinguistics of the Interview in Health Care

The sociolinguistics of the interview or encounter in health care deserves research attention in order to improve this care. What are the problems in giving and receiving messages, that is, communication such as a patient's medical history, when there are differences between health care provider and client in socioeconomic status, education level and kind, education location (USA or Mexico, for example), generation removed from Mexico, language competence in speaking, reading and writing Spanish, and in dialect choice? Many doctors, for example, are from Cuba or other Latin American countries, and of considerably higher socioeconomic status than their clients. Many registered nurses are from the Philippines. The nurses' aide is likely to be Chicano (Alvarado, 1980). Each situation offers different problems.

Whatever the dominant language of the actors, there are always sociolinguistic factors affecting the encounter. If interpreters are used, a common solution to the problem of different languages in the speech event, the sociolingistics becomes even more complex. How does a migrant farm laborer tell the doctor details of dysentery when his interpreter is the wife of an Argentinean physician? How does the Mexican owner of a mine discuss his cardiac symptoms through the office cleaning woman, a fifth generation Mexican American who never was taught either scientific English or Spanish?

What should be taught? The health care provider who knows Spanish is more likely to know scientific Spanish than any variants. But translating a technical idea from scientific English to scientific Spanish may not help our patient. There are lexical differences in scientific Spanish, lay medical Spanish, Chicano medical Spanish, and code-switching styles. For example, the doctor may call 'enlarged tonsils' HIPERTROFIA BENIGNA DE LAS AMIGDALAS, the lay person AMIGDALAS GRANDES, the Chicano, ANGINAS. In code-switching, I was told:

Las anginas get to the point that se hinchan y uno no puede
swallow mientras que estén infected.

In English, the Spanish ANGINA is often translated as 'angina', a word that
usually refers to chest pain experienced by patients with heart disease.

Lexical Differences of Various Medical Systems

Chicanos participate in various medical systems, each of which has a
different vocabulary (Kay, 1978). The study of these vocabularies has
various names such as psycholinguistics or ethnographic semantics. I like
ethnolinguistics (Agar, 1980) because this label considers lexical
differences as reflections of the particular culture using the words.
Medical labels have a purpose, often to direct treatment (Kay, 1977). A
system already mentioned is orthodox biomedicine, which concentrates on
etiology, the causes of the disease, ror labeling, because it is the cause
that will direct the treatment prescribed by the physician. Returning to the
example of the tonsils, if they are infected by a bacterial invasion,
antibiotics will be prescribed. If the cause is a virus, antibiotics will do
no good. The disease will be labeled by the causative agent, for example,
streptoccol tonsillitis and pharyngitis. The patient, however, is more
likely to be concerned with the sore throat symptom and the Spanish speaker
will label the condition as DOLOR DE GARGANTA, and seek treatment to relieve
the pain. Folk medicine of the media will call the condition 'sore throat'
and recommend an over-the-counter 'reliever' such as mouthwash. Domestic
folk medicine will prescribe various GARGARISMOS such as YERBA COLORADO
(Rumes crispus) because it is 'cold' and astringent. Such a disease is
classified as benigna, meaning 'mild', not totally innocent but requiring
professional medical attention. This classification assists the patient in
selecting treatment and cure. There are also various alternative medical
systems. For example, ESPIRITISMO is a new form of folk medicine that is
attracting many Chicanos who are dissatisfied with orthodox biomedicine
(Makclin, 1978). It has its own vocabulary.

Linguists of Chicano Spanish are producing glossaries and dictionaries
that can be more useful in health care than standard Spanish-English
dictionaries. One example is Kay's Southwestern Medical Dictionary (1977).
This is a glossary of medical terms that emphasizes lay language, in order to
deal with the cognitive differences between health care providers,
specialists trained in a specific science, and their clients. Because of
differing information about what constitutes illness, the basic premises of
biomedicine are not shared. There are different ideas about physiology and
pathology, resulting in obstacles to conceptual transfer. Also, clients and
providers have a different orientation to sickness. As separated by
anthropologists (see Fábrega, 1971), clients are concerned with illness, that
is, their experience of how they perceive and interpret symptoms. Health
care providers diagnose and treat diseases, conditions that are objectively
demonstrable. Linguists of Chicano Spanish have not found terms that label
these different dimensions of sickness (both are called enfermedad);
nonetheless, the contrast is important. Thus, there may be lexical
differences that reflect different codification of reality, or the same or
similar word may have different meanings. So, for example, the English word
'stress' is borrowed to encode a popular idea and pronounced estrés. But
'stress' may have quite different meanings to the health care provider than
to the patient.

All speakers of Spanish do not share all the language; thus, there are
intralinguistic differences in the lexicon of Chicano Spanish. Lexemes, that
is, words or phrases having to do with health, illness, diagnosis, treatment

and care vary, resulting from contact with other systems. There is a lot of literature, some would say too much, on Mexican folk medicine and its classic concepts. In a previous paper (Kay, 1979) I have shown that a folk medical term may be retained in an individual's lexicon, but the meaning of the word has shifted to reflect interference from biomedicine. Examples of folk terms that have changed for some speakers of Chicano Spanish include _envidia, aire, mal ojo, fiebre, susto, empacho,_ and _bilis._ They are terms that, in Kany's (1960, 8) words, "although outwardly appearing intact have shifted their semantic values." For most of my Chicano informants in Tucson, _envidia_ is not a form of witchcraft unconsciously inflicted on the sufferer as it is for Rubel's (1966) informants. _Envidia_ is simply a word that is synonymous with _celos_ and indicates poor mental habits that are widespread but not seriously pathological. If it causes illness, the disease is a condition in the individual who feels this emotion, not one that is projected on to the one who is envied. _Aire,_ identified by Madsen (1964) among others as 'a volitional wind causing disease' is now defined as 'gas' especially in the intestines or around the heart. The name of another commonly reported folk disease may have different meaning for speakers of different Spanish communities. For many Chicanos, _Mal de ojo_ means simply 'eye disease'. However, if the preposition 'de' is removed, and the lexeme is _mal ojo,_ the condition is 'evil eye', an unchanged concept.

Fiebre was a disease classification that had grouped daily, intermittent, tertian or quartan fevers, all specific diseases in scientific nosology of the past. Now _fiebre_ is seen as a feature of many, if not most diseases. _Susto,_ classically a great shock, was also an illness, the Chicano meaning of which is only an 'unpleasant surprise', at most, 'trauma'.

Empacho, a disease 'caused' by the adherence of undigested food in the gastrointestinal tract that then moulds, is firmly 'believed in' by all informants. The meaning of this construct, however, differs for many: _empacho_ has become a more serious version of 'irregularity' featured in television commercials, best treated with laxatives instead of the complex folk therapy.

Bilis is most closely glossed as 'disease of the gall bladder'. In classical humoral medicine, the emotion of anger had been seen as the stimulus for releasing bile by the gall bladder. Barrio women say that 'bilis viene de coraje', as always. But today they state that the condition is treated by removal of the affected organ, or decreasing its dietary stimulation, ideas from official biomedicine.

Translation and Interpreters

A common way to deal with the problem of monolingualism of the health care provider is to use translators. Translating and working through interpreters requires skill that is rarely taught but can be learned. Werner and Campbell (1970) have outlined points that should be understood. There are two kinds of translations. One kind is called asymmetrical or unicentered translation, which emphasizes the health care provider. The translator sits down with a Spanish-English dictionary and changes the language of the questionnaire, history form, or whatever is required. However, as discussed above, the words to be translated are often scientific lexemes that are not commonly understood by the lay person, so it makes little difference to the patient if the words are English or Spanish.

The translation that is centered on the dominant language will often attempt to employ cognates. But cognates can be dangerously misleading. For example, the nurse in charge of one hospital unit wanted to translate the

term "discharge planning." The concept for which she needed an accurate translation was 'the instructions that are given to a patient prior to dismissal from the hospital and return to home'. _Planeamiento_ seemed to be a satisfactory gloss for 'planning', but 'discharge' gave troubles. Someone gave her the word _descargo._ This cognate refers to acquittal or exoneration, which may reflect how some patients might feel about being permitted to leave the hospital, but this is not the concept that the nurse had in mind. The next cognate given to the nurse was _desecho,_ a particularly unfortunate choice, as the hospital unit in question was for gynecological patients. _Dar de alta,_ the correct term, could not have been guessed from cognates.

The second kind of translation discussed by Werner and Campbell (1970) is symmetrical or decentered translation. This aims at both loyalty of meaning and equal familiarity and colloquialness in the two languages. In this kind of translation, the interpreter would assist the health care provider to learn if the patient had experienced disease conditions that are known to the scientific biomedical tradition, but would try to find words that reflect ideas of the client's culture, words that are equivalents. Translation competence is really the ability to translate meanings of one culture into a form that is appropriate to another culture. (Spradley, 1979, 19). Here, too, caution must be exercised. For example, the folk term _alferecia_ for one group of informants (Kay, 1977) could be biomedically glossed as 'post febrile convulsions'. For others, the term may mean 'epilepsy', a very different condition. Sometimes disease concepts in one culture have no equivalent in another, as discussed above.

The formal methods of back translation are useful, both for training the interpreter and for preparing written materials. An interview schedule is prepared in the most translatable English, avoiding slang and technical terms as much as possible. Two interpreters are then put to work, one translating the first half into Spanish, the other the second half. When they have finished, each is given the other half to work with, that is, the translation that the other had made. Each then translates the other's work back into English. The products are then compared. The health care provider learns what can be asked, and how it can be asked, and which of the questions are untranslatable, and how they can be changed. This technique assures that the content is reflective of intralinguistic differences. It can be used with any language, including English, Spanish, Chicano Spanish, and their variants.

Werner and Campbell (1970) make clear that a great deal of skilled training is needed for translation and interpreting, beyond our goal of competence for the health care provider. If the health care provider has learned some Spanish, he or she can modify one part of Werner and Campbell's methods, a technique called back translation. This is especially useful to obtain what Kleinman (1980) calls learning the client's explanatory model. The health care provider does not take for granted that he understands the context of the client's speech. An example of this verifying back translation to provide loyalty of meaning would be as follows:

You say your child is 'constipated'. Tell me what happens. In his case, what caused it? What usually causes it? What would you think would be the best treatment?

Usted dice que su niño está estriñido. ¿Cuál es la diferencia que hay entre estriñido y empachado? Dígame qué pasa. En su caso, ¿qué fue lo que lo provocó? En su opinión, ¿cuál es el mejor tratamiento?

This technique makes it possible to go beyond simply learning enough Spanish to give health care, to arriving at real dialogue between health care provider and client for collaboration in care.

Research in these areas is vital. This is where the specialists in language can make a real contribution to the health care of speakers of Spanish and its dialects. It is research that must be done.

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MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES: LANGUAGE AND ACCULTURATION WITH MEXICAN-AMERICAN POPULATIONS

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Mental Health Service Delivery Issues

There is a substantial literature suggesting that Mexican-American populations tend to utilize mental health services less than the majority population. Explanations for this under-utilization range from language problems and the relative lack of Hispanic professionals offering services to possible lack of culturally relevant therapy modalities. Other factors cited include the stronger family emphasis in Hispanic culture and Hispanics' known tendency to seek help within the extended family, the compadrazgo system, as well as through the church and folk healers.

Beyond sheer receipt of services, of significant concern is what kind of reception, diagnosis, and treatment the Mexican-American client obtains once he/she enters the mental health clinic. A basic issue is the language in which the services are offered. Marcos (1980) in a recent review of his work in this area documents the fact that bilingual Hispanic clients respond more passively when interviewed in English, pause longer in responding to questions, and offer verbal responses that are more pathological. It is patently obvious that predominately Spanish-speaking clientele need to be interviewed and treated in Spanish, especially when dealing with emotional content. Ruíz (1975) points out that Spanish tends to be the language in which more affective material is expressed and English, more conceptual and rational material. Dealing with bilingual clients raises additionally complex problems and difficult decisions for clinicians, as language can be used defensively (Marcos, 1980). However, it is clear that language is a basic consideration and that Spanish-speaking and Spanish-English bilinguals need to have treatment available in their language.

Attitudes towards Mexican Americans would be expected to be important in addition to language. Sandler, Holmen, and Schopper (1978) found that caseworkers' perceptions of Mexican-American female clients fit typical stereotypes for Mexican Americans. Their view of them as passive, docile, and non-dominant was quite discrepant from their clients' self-perceptions. Bloombaum, Yamamoto, and James (1968) also found that psychotherapists' cultural stereotypes are similar to those of the general population. An interesting study done with college students in Santa Barbara (Furlong, Atkinson, and Casas, 1979) found that counselors' belief in assimilation versus cultural pluralism affected their ratings of counselor attractiveness more than did the ethnicity of the counselor.

While it has been shown that attitudes, culture, and language affect psychiatric interviews and clients' perceptions of their counselors, one needs to examine how these variables may affect the actual diagnosis and treatment of clients. Fábrega and Wallace (1968) found that non-Mexican psychiatrists diagnosed Mexican Americans in a more pathological direction than did Mexican psychiatrists, especially in the case of males. Naturally, language may be an important moderator variable (Marcos, 1980). More severe psychiatric diagnoses have implications for the quantity and the kind of treatment. Yamamoto et al. (1968) found that ethnic patients were seen for less intensive and shorter-term treatment than majority cultures patients. Examining a mental health population in southern Texas, Fábrega and Wallace

(1971) found that Spanish-speaking Mexican Americans had more traditional conceptions of mental illness and its treatment than did English speakers. They also concluded that Spanish-dominant, Mexican-American clients have a greater present-time orientation, are more fatalistic, and terminate therapy earlier than do more acculturated Mexican-American clients.

On the Texas-Mexican Border, the issues of language, attitudes, acculturation processes, socio-economic status and power structures effectively weave a chain link fence that prevents individuals from successfully crossing from one ethnic group to another and that shields each group from the other. Psychotherapists need to continually navigate the complex labyrinth of these issues as they interact in therapy and in service delivery. What can be conceptual and isolated is, here, an ongoing everyday reality.

In the spirit of the Border as a living reality, our group of university and community mental health practitioners recently shared our views and ideas in our applied areas.

Clinical Implications

The practical question of when to use "tú" and when to use "Ud" with clients was discussed. Antonio Juárez introduced the question, which was framed by an example of a couple who recently visited him presenting marital problems. They had been to the mental clinic a few years ago and had not continued. He asked why. The husband informed him that he was upset to find that the counselor used "tú" with his wife, whom the male counselor had seen individually twice. Not only did he feel this was disrespectful, but wondered about a possible romantic involvement between the two! Juárez speculated that in the lower-income immigrant "barrios" of El Paso, this "tú" and "Ud" distinction may take on even more important tones because "Ud" may be an important piece of pride and represent more traditional views. Clearly, beginning a therapy relationship with the wrong perceived degree of formality can make the difference between whether the client returns or not.

Much discussion was generated about regional and social class differences in the use of "tú" and "Ud." Even within the same family, region and barrio, there are differences in "tú" and "Ud" usage. The general consensus seemed to indicate beginning with "Ud" and modifying to "tú" as appropriate. However, Juárez pointed out that in many cases beginning with "Ud" may set the therapeutic tone and have implications for the quality of transference in the relationship. It was pointed out that in some clinical training programs in Latin America, "Ud" is taught as the only acceptable form between therapist and client. Meyer gave an example of the Mental Health Center's Columbian psychiatrist who tends to use "tú" with his clients, but expects "Ud" for himself. This form works well for those wanting a dependent and formal relationship, but not for those who want more of a peer relationship. Thus, "tú" and "Ud" usage has much excess meaning and has important therapeutic results, as presented initially. Most therapists will be dominant in one language and will often miss these subtleties of case usage.

The psychotherapist working in a bilingual environment needs to be highly facile with this dialect and culture. Using too formal, educated a Spanish, failing to recognize regional words, code-switching, or using too "cholo" a style can all lead to therapeutic failures. Premature termination, transfer of clients, excessive medication, or a negative effect of treatment may result from a therapist's insensitive linguistic behavior.

For non-Hispanics whose dominant language is English, depression (depressed, depressing) or sorrow (sad, saddened, sorrowful) will typically suffice as an understandable feeling state across a wide variety of English speakers. However, the direct translation of "deprimido," or "depresivo" is highly inadequate and imprecise on the Border. "De bajo ánimo," "triste" or "aguitado" is more easily understood by Spanish-speakers of the area. Clinicians need to learn a broad range of non-technical words and understand a variety of dialects.

Very common is the phenomenon of "code-switching." Below is a typical example of this phenomenon given by a fourteen-year-old Hispanic Texan, as given in response to a Thematic Apperception Test:

> Está pensando en algo. En "school" o que sus papás hacen "divorce" o no. Se siente "sad." Se queda con la mamá y pasó por el "judge" y se "fight" por los "kids" a ver quien las tenga.

Another story from the same boy:

> "I think they're going to school to students learn something" y luego se van a la "house." Se siente siempre feliz y "sad."

How could a monolingual Spanish clinician or someone who could not write or comprehend this bilingual creation possibly be empathetic with this young man?

Johansson pointed out that she had worked at being able to process and potentially speak Spanish and English simultaneously. Other bilingual, bicultural therapists from the Border report linguistic problems in treating recent immigrants from the interior of Mexico, because they cannot sustain their Spanish in the therapeutic contact.

Clients may use language defensively, withholding affect by not speaking Spanish, excluding a monolingual relative by using only English, or by making language the therapy topic. Many Hispanic clients may become ingratiating to their Spanish-speaking therapist and vice versa. Many power issues are played out in linguistic terms, serving as yet one more challenge to the alert clinician.

In psychotherapy, these linguistic and acculturation concerns are most clinically relevant in terms of whether they impede or facilitate empathy and the therapeutic process. Most traditional "talk therapies" assume a basic relationship of trust and rapport between client and therapist. An important clinical tool in establishing accurate empathy is matching the client: therapists may match client nonverbal positions or gestures; they also may adopt dress or language to fit their clients in an effort to communicate understanding. Bilingual, bicultural sensitivity and ability are important and yet often untaught therapeutic skills.

Research: El Paso Acculturation Scale (EPAS)

Scale development proceeded through a number of phases. Initial item selection was based upon the prior work of Olmedo and his colleagues (Olmedo, Martínez, and Martínez, 1978; Olmedo and Padilla, 1978) and the work of Szapocznic and co-workers (Szapocznic and Kurtines, 1980; Szapocznic, Scopetta, Kurtines, and Arnalde, 1978). The theoretical writings of Díaz-Guerrero (1977, 1979) and of Padilla (1980) and Ramírez (Ramírez III, Garza, and Cox, 1980; Ramírez III and Castañeda, 1974) influenced our conceptual

understanding of 78 items, taped language usage within a number of social contexts (home, work place, neighborhood, and with friends), socioeconomic and biographical information, and semantic differentials contrasting the meaning of the concepts "mother," "father," "male," and "female," which had been shown to be predictive of differences between Mexican Americans and Anglo-Americans in the past (Olmedo, et al., 1978).

The questionnaire was translated into Spanish by a committee of bilingual psychologists and social workers and reviewed by a linguistics professor and a professor of Spanish at the University of Texas at El Paso. Equivalence of translation was tested via back-translation as well as by empirical testing with bilingual students at El Paso Community College serving as subjects. Non-equivalent items were re-translated or eliminated until no statistically significant differences were obtained between the two forms.

Three techniques were used to reduce the total number of items in the scale. Multiple discriminant analysis using all items as predictors and stated ethnic/racial group membership was used, as well as multiple regression where a continuous 7-point scale ranging from "I am Anglo" through "I am Mexican" was regressed on all other items. Finally, factor analysis was used. These results are consistent with other studies demonstrating differences in interview behavior (Levine and Franco, 1980; Maring, 1979). Hosch (1983) found that acculturation level was a significant predictor of attitudes toward bilingual education (r-.14, p < .05), whereas stated ethnicity was not. Similar results were obtained by Bassetti (1983) in a study of attitudes towards being single. Interestingly, Bassetti's data also demonstrates the acculturation of Anglo-Americans living on the U.S.-Mexico Border towards the Mexican culture, in that acculturation was a stronger predictor of attitude than these subjects' stated ethnicity.

Two separate studies have been conducted to determine if the EPAS can discriminate between groups of subjects based upon their stated ethnicity. In the first, 187 students from University of Texas at El Paso and the Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez completed the EPAS. Their data were subjected to a classification analysis. Overall, 87% of the cases were correctly classified. Approximately 93% of the Mexican subjects, 88% of the Anglo subjects, and 81% of the Mexican-American subjects were correctly classified.

These results were replicated in a second study of 559 cases from Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Chihuahua, Mexico. Anglo subjects were correctly classified 86% of the time, Mexican Americans 62% of the time, and Mexicans 96% of the time (overall correct classification was 91%). Errors in classification are instructive here. No Mexicans were incorrectly classified as Anglos, only as Mexican Americans. Similarly, two Anglos were misclassified as Mexican Americans and one as Mexican. However, 19% of these Mexican Americans were incorrectly classified as Mexican and 5% as Anglo. These data demonstrate the diversity among the Mexican-American population and, further, justify using an instrument such as the EPAS to investigate culturally-related behavioral patterns rather than stated ethnicity, as has been done so frequently in the past.

Items were retained that significantly predicted ethnic group membership and the continuous identification variable as well as loaded significantly (greater than .40) on one and only one factor. Thirty-nine items satisfying these criteria were retained and comprise the EPAS as it is currently used.

The current version of the EPAS demonstrates reasonable internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha - .73) and moderate test-retest reliability

(r(57)) — .72, p (.001). Construct validity was demonstrated by correlating EPAS scores with ARSMA scores (Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso, 1980), another instrument purporting to measure acculturation in Mexican Americans. Results indicated that the two instruments are significantly associated (r=57) with a high EPAS score representing greater acculturation toward the Mexican culture, whereas a high ARSMA score represents acculturation toward the Anglo culture. The correlation, although significant, is low. This suggests that the instruments, at least in part, are measuring different constructs. Evidence for these constructs was obtained from a factor analysis of all items of both scales. The EPAS is factorially complete (measures separate components of acculturation), whereas the ARSMA is not. Thirteen ARSMA items and six EPAS items had high loadings (greater than .50) on the first factor obtained (language usage/ethnic identification).

Two ARSMA items loaded highly on the third factor obtained (cultural exposure) as did two EPAS items. However, only EPAS items had high loadings on factors 2, 4, and 5 ("father," "feminine," and the concept of "good" factors respectively).

Three studies have been conducted that demonstrate the predictive validity of the EPAS. Nering (1981) demonstrated significant differences in rated comfort of interviewees as a function of subjects' gender, acculturation level, and interviewer ethnicity, $F(2, 12)$ — 5.12, P=.03 in a simulated counseling interview.

Conclusion

The EPAS is the beginning of a possible measuring instrument for levels of acculturation along our subtly complex border. It promises utility in research and in clinical applications. Those working with Mexican-American populations need to clearly assess levels of acculturation on a multidimensional instrument such as the EPAS. Clinicians need to work and better perceive the complexity of the interaction of their own and their clients' language, ethnic heritage, values, and cultural identity as they influence the interpersonal process of mental health service delivery.

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DOMAIN-RELATED LEXICAL BORROWING IN THE ENGLISH AND SPANISH OF SOUTH TEXAS

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Introduction

As a general principle of sociolinguistics, systematic lexical borrowing within a single linguistic domain may result either from cultural innovation or from administrative imposition, whether the latter be implemented by direct military conquest or through gradual mercantile colonization. In the case of cultural innovation, foreign words are adopted to describe objects, processes, and abstractions that are either unknown in domestic society or perceived to be sufficiently distinct from domestic circumstances as to warrant a new name.

Since ancient time, even the most domineering of conquering civilizations have always adopted some local vocabulary, especially for regional conditions and as place names. The Romans as conquerors of the Iberian Peninsula came to employ local terms such as "vega" ('river valley' in the Basque language) and "páramo" ('high plain' in an unknown pre-Roman tongue) for an industry that in Hispania dated from prehistoric times.[1] Many place names in Spain are also of pre-Roman origin: "Spain," "Iberia," "Cádiz," and "Málaga," among many others.[2] On the other hand, Roman administration was imposed upon vanquished Iberia together with certain corresponding Latin terms universally incorporated into all the Romance languages: "consul," "justice," "senate," "legion."

Apart from cultural innovation and administrative imposition, there exists yet a third type of lexical borrowing for "local color effects" that has been too little considered and that may, indeed, prove to be the most interesting sociolinguistically. In his A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English, Bentley remarks:

> More often Spanish elements are taken over into English
> for local color effects, for their richness or
> connotation, including humor, for picturesqueness, or
> for descriptive contribution of some kind.[3]

The Affective Dimension of Lexical Borrowing

Such borrowing tends to be inextricably related to certain value judgement about cultural differences or cultural innovations across both cultural and language bounds, often involving either admiration or disdain. In a period of Spanish maritime power and also, what is almost more important, general cultural ascendancy — especially the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries — English borrowed such naval terms as "galleon," "armada," "flotilla," "embargo," and "cargo" from Spanish words. "Armada" and "flotilla" connote the highly positive idea of a large group of well-appointed naval vessels; "galleon" calls forth the image of a large, rather luxurious ship of Spanish design of that period.[4] On the other hand, the names of many types of smaller sailing vessels in English have been borrowed from Dutch or Low German: "yacht," "yawl," "schooner;" these are

words that evoke a rather different image, that of the smaller but highly practical sailing craft of designs originating in the North Sea. And yet the Dutch names borrowed for smaller vessels also include (according to Serjeantson) the word "scow," which is definitely markedly pejorative. The sailing prowess of the Dutch, on the other hand, is recognized implicitly in such borrowings as "skipper" and "boss," and today's yachtsman would certainly find it hard if not impossible to describe the delicate adjustment of sails and course in a regatta race without some vocabulary of Dutch origin: "luff" (flapping of sails when vessel is close to the wind), "vang" (pulley and rope device used to hold boom and keep the sail from billowing excessively when running before the wind), or "jib" ('foresail').[5] These lexical borrowings from Dutch or Low German also imply cross-cultural borrowings from Spanish.

At about the same time that English accepted and acculturated the positive maritime terms mentioned above, several other Spanish words were borrowed that, taken as a group, express the disdainful Anglo-Saxon perception of excessive class distinction in Spanish society: "grandee" (English form), "don" (sometimes capitalized and used as a noun, in which case it is a close synonym of "grandee"), "patrón," and "peón." "Grande" in medieval Spanish society was the nobleman granted the hereditary privilege, usually as a galardón for prowess in battle, of not removing his hat in the presence of the sovereign. The word "grandee" in English tends to connote a haughty individual noted for his hospitality but also for a lifestyle totally removed from any hint whatsoever of manual labor. The English speaker employs the word to designate a person with a degree of social and economic power that is highly unusual in the English-speaking world and, thus, is considered a negative attribute somewhat analogous, though less extreme, than that expressed by borrowings from other languages such as "satrap" (from Old Persian), which is political in implication and thus closer to "cacique." Conversely, the words "patrón" and "peón," although they may simply be translated as 'employer' and 'employee', tend to imply a rather more patriarchal relationship, the word "patrón" being in its origin and augmentative of the Spanish word for father. "Peón" as an English word connotes a person in abject servitude and thus in somewhat similar in its implications as "coolie" (from Chinese).

As a first attempt at studying such cross-cultural zenophobia reflected in lexical borrowing, we might consider the use, respectively, by a Spanish and an American writer of the foreign terms of address "mister" and "don." For his part, Julio Camba, the Spanish humorist of the early twentieth century, in his tongue-in-cheek article on the comparative advantages and disadvantages of French and English beds employs the word "mister" in the following context:

> En el salón de un hotel o en un <u>Boarding house</u> inglés, uno hace amistad con míster Tal o míster Cual, uno de esos hombres muy grandes que hay en Inglaterra. Días después, uno sube a su cuarto y ve allí una camita que parece de juguete. Pues en aquella camita tan pequeña duerme aquel inglés tan grande.[6]

The context betrays the subtle disdain felt by the Hispanic writer towards the, to him, excessive degree of practicality in England. On the other hand, the late nineteenth-century American historian Frank W. Blackmar uses the word "Don" in symmetrically similar fashion to describe what to him seems to be excessive hospitality to the point of impracticality in the social life of early California:

The spirit of generosity pervading the people is well illustrated by the following incident. A Spanish girl, Amalia Sibrian, relates her experiences on a journey from Monterey to Los Angeles in 1829. A young American accompanied her father's party, who insisted on paying for everything he received. "At one house the señora gave some fruit, whereupon he handed her two _reales_ which she let fall on the floor in surprise while the old Don, her husband, fell upon his knees and said in Spanish, 'Give us no money, no money at all; everything is free in a gentleman's house.'"[7]

Here the word "don" is employed as a synonym for "grandee" with the sense of perceived cultural differences: excessive pride and overdone hospitality at the expense of practicality, which is undoubtedly a cultural value of the Anglo-Saxon.

Neither Bentley nor Serjeantson comments on the large number of English borrowings from Spanish for the naming of Africans, native Americans, and racial mixtures involving these races: "negro," "mulatto," "quadroon," "piccaninny" (probably from "pequeñín," a diminutive form of "pequeño" 'small'), "mestizo," "sambo." (The current English form is given in each case.) Activist Afro-Americans have taken exception to the word "negro" and have lobbied hard to have it replaced by the English word "black." "Sambo" in current English usage is a racial slur. The other terms mentioned have tended to disappear in recent years. Today it would be unthinkable, except as an insult, to openly refer to the child of black parents as a "piccaninny." "Mestizo," on the other hand, is somewhat less offensive. The introduction of most of these terms into English almost certainly is the result of a not-too-subtle zenophobia found historically among English speakers, who have viewed with marked disdain anyone with a darker skin tone. The highly derogatory colloquial for "coon" may well be derived from the Spanish word "barracón" ('slave quarters').

Historically, Spanish has borrowed from English terms that imply an admiration for certain aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture, most especially in the area of politics: "lider," "mitin," "parlamento." Spanish has, of course, a number of words that might be employed in place of "líder" — "jefe," "cacique," "caudillo," "cabecilla," "dirigente" — and yet none of them is as positive in tone as the term taken from English. Spanish borrowings from English that, in contrary fashion, imply a slightly negative tone in the implicit evaluation of certain attributes of Anglo-Saxon character are "dandy," "lor(d)," and "spleen." In the process of affective lexical borrowing that we are exploring, the word often comes to acquire a highly positive or negative tone that it completely lacks in the language of origin. The Spanish speaker is likely to give the borrowed term "lord" the same pejorative coloration that "grandee" carries with it in English.

Lexical borrowings involving an admiration for some aspect of a foreign culture are often integrated into the acculturating language to the point that their origin is soon quite forgotten. For example, the use of the Latin adjective "liberal" ('free') to designate a progressive political party originated in Spain during the resistance to the Napoleonic invasion and was first associated with the Cortes de Cádiz of 1812. After the return of Fernando VII to the throne several years later and again after his restauration through the intervention of French monarchists (los Cien Mil Hijos de San Luis) in 1823, large numbers of Spanish intellectuals emigrated to London and popularized their political designation in the British capital. Today no English speaker remembers the Spanish origin of this usage and the standard English dictionaries make no mention of it. Lapesa in his _Historia de la lengua española_ comments:

La palabra __liberal__ venía aplicándose a los simpatizantes con la
filosofía enciclopedista, pero en las Cortes de Cádiz se ciñó
a designar el ideario de la política constitucional; con este
sentido hizo fortuna en toda Europa.[8]

On the other hand, lexical borrowings associated with either a disdain
for certain aspects of foreign culture or a feeling of quaintness of
picturesqueness to which is often attached a slight negative tone are seldom
assimilated to quite the same degree. For example, the borrowed words
"cantina" and "peluquería" in English designate commercial establishments of
lower social class than "bar," and entirely out of the class of "cocktail
lounge" — indeed calling to mind the lyrics of the 1950's song attributed to
Tom Lehr: "to the strumming of guitars in a thousand grubby bars." They
refer to something decidedly non-Anglo-Saxon. "Sombrero" designates a type
of broad-brimmed hat that an English speaker would not consider wearing
except to a costume ball.

In considering lexical borrowing between English and Spanish in South
Texas, it is important to distinguish between words that have already been
incorporated into the language in general and those that are recent
borrowings or that are limited to a specific region.

History of Lexical Borrowing Between the Two Languages

Borrowing between the two languages is not symmetrical historically.
English borrowed a substantial number of lexical items from Spanish at the
time of the Golden Age, then it borrowed little from the late seventeenth
century down through the first half of the nineteenth century, later it
borrowed heavily from Spanish in relation to the Mexican War and the conquest
of the Southwest, and finally it has continued to take over Spanish words in
large measure as a result of continued contact with Mexico.[9] On the other
hand, the borrowing of English words by Spanish has gradually increased over
several centuries. Lapesa summarizes the situation in the following terms:

La lengua inglesa, que había permanecido ignorada en el
continente durante los siglos XVI, XVII, empezó después a
ejercer influencia, primero con su literatura y pensadores,
más tarde por prestigio social... Desde fines del siglo
pasado, en anglicismo ha crecido grandemente, más que en
España en Hispanoamérica, sobre todo en países estrechamente
afectados por la expansión política y económica de los Estados
Unidos.[10]

Whereas Spanish had borrowed very little from English prior to the
intensive contacts in the United States Southwest between English and Spanish
speakers dating from the mid-19th century, English had borrowed a number of
groups of domain-related terms, including the maritime terminology mentioned
above, the designation of racial and class distinction previously considered,
and certain groups of vocabulary associated with what is considered typically
Spanish, such as the bullfight: "matador," "torero," "toro," and "picador."
"banderillas," etc. In literature, a few Golden Age terms taken by English
from Spanish are quite obvious, among them such proper nouns as "Quijote,"
"Celestina," and "don Juan," as well as the English adaptation of "pícaro,"
"picaroon," which is sometimes translated as 'rogue'. Perhaps the English
language's debt to Spanish in the areas of grammar terminology and theatrical
nomenclature has not been sufficiently recognized: certainly, Nebrija's
grammar in its adaptation of Latin terminology to a modern European language
antedated similar efforts by English grammarians, and equally certainly
Shakespeare drew more heavily on Lope de Vega's theatrical techniques and
terminology than is generally recognized, at least in the English-speaking

world. In both cases, Latin and Greek terminology evidently entered English via Spanish.

The earliest and most substantial domain-related borrowing of Spanish words by English in the Southwest involved the cattle industry, which had been established on a virtually industrial basis by Spanish missionaries in the 18th century and which was largely taken over by Anglo-Saxon colonists and carpetbaggers in the following century. The widely popularized synonym of "cowboy," "buckeroo," is, in fact, a corruption of the corresponding Spanish term, "vaquero," a derivative of "vaca" ('cow'). Such words as "ranch," "corral," "stampede," "mustang," "bronco," "lariat," "cinch," "chaps," and "rodeo" have been incorporated into the English of the Western United States to the point that many Americans would hardly consider them foreign. One of the more colorful cases is the "Dolly Welter" knot, a turn of a rope around a hitching post or a saddle horn, from the Spanish phrase "¡Dale vuelta!"[11] Other occupational contexts have contributed a rather more limited group of vocabulary items. Among mining terms adopted by English from Spanish in the Southwest, we find "bonanza," "placer," and "arrastra."[12]

Other English borrowing from Spanish in the Southwest includes numerous terms descriptive of the local geography. Some have been completely incorporated into English: "canyon" ("cañón" in Spanish), "mesa," and "sierra." Others are common in regional place names: "loma," "vega," "cerro," "llano," "ciénaga," "arroyo," "rincón," "cuesta," "barranca," "río," etc. At least five names of states are Spanish without any modification whatsoever: "California," "Arizona," "Colorado," and "Nevada." "Montana" presents us with Spanish for 'mountain' with the tilde missing the "eñe".

An additional distinction involving lexical borrowing in this region is the case of the originally native-American word that is borrowed by English through Spanish. The place names "Mexico" and "Texas" are examples, and, in a way typical of this region, suggests yet another distinction: the borrowing from Náhuatl, the language of the Aztecs that was spread far beyond its original zone of influence as a colonial lingua franca, and, on the other hand, the borrowings from local native languages such as the Karankawa language of South Texas. The only generally recognized case of borrowing from this is the name of our state, "Texas," which is said to be a local Indian word for 'friends'. Why, however, do we never consider certain etymologically inexplicable items of Mexican-American vocabulary to be of possible Karankawa origin? The word "frajo," for example, in local Mexican-American Spanish designates a cigarette, which was an object not historically native to Europe.

In terms of domain-related borrowing, United States English has adopted through Spanish a large number of originally native-American names for flora and fauna of the Southwest, most of them from Náhuatl: "mesquite," "nopal," "coyote," etc. English, of course, also shares with other European languages a number of words borrowed by the first Spanish explorers to name the new objects that they encountered on this side of the Atlantic: "canoe," ("canna" in Spanish, originally from Arawak), "hurricane" ("huracán" in Spanish, originally from Arawak), "potato" (mixture of "batata," Spanish word for wee potato taken from Arawak, and "papa," Spanish word for potato taken from Quechua), "cocoa" ("cacao" in Spanish, originally from Náhuatl), "tomato" ("tomate" in Spanish, originally from Náhuatl), and "tobacco" ("tabaco" in Spanish, originally from Arawak).

Domain-Related Lexical Borrowing in South Texas

In recent borrowings between English and Spanish in South Texas, marked complementary grouping is noted in the domains of the items borrowed: English terms borrowed by Spanish are generally from the public domain

because English is the language of school, work, sporting events, public administration and politics, and mass communication, although the growth of Spanish-language radio has recently been marked, and there are now ever more Spanish-language television programs and periodicals originating in the United States. Spanish lexicon borrowed by English tends to be from the private domain, because Spanish continues in large areas of South Texas to be from the private domain, because Spanish continues in large areas of South Texas to be the dominant language of communication in a majority of homes, whereas the vast majority of the inhabitants of Brownsville, Texas, speak Spanish in the home at least part of the time.[13]

In addition to lexical borrowing as such, false cognates, syntactic interference, and calques are also extremely common, but are perhaps even more frequent in Mexican-American Spanish than in the English spoken here. Radio announcers speak of "las pólizas de Reagan en Centroamérica." Here taxes are known as "taxas." instead of the standard Spanish "impuestos." "Bil" from English "bill" is widely used in place of "cuenta" or "factura." Another common calque is "aplicar" in the sense of 'apply for a job', whereas standard Spanish prefers "solicitar." The balance owed is "balance" in local and Mexican Spanish rather than the standard Spanish "saldo."

In public administration and politics, South Texas Spanish has also felt a substantial influence of English. Candidates for public office are said to "correr" rather than "postularse" (sS = standard Spanish). Election posters are "posters" and not "carteles" (sS). The English "poll" is widely used in place of "encuesta" (sS).

The Spanish of South Texas shares with Mexico and the rest of the Spanish-speaking world a long list of lexical items borrowed from United States English from the names of automobile parts and electrical apparatus, due evidently in large measure to the innovation of Ford, Edison, and other American inventors and industrialists of the turn of the century. In this context, there is probably more borrowing in Mexico than in other Hispanic countries and yet more in South Texas. For example. Mexicans use "switch" almost to the exclusion of standard Spanish "interruptor," as well as "transmisión" in place of "caja de cambios" (sS). In South Texas and the neighboring Mexican state of Tamaulipas, such borrowings include "mofle" ("silenciador"sS), "clouch" ("embrague sS), "pompa" (bomba"sS), "claxón" ("bocina" sS), "carter" ("generador" sS), "breque" ("frenos" sS), and "rin" ("rueda" sS). In fact, many mechanics in Matamoros, Mexico, do not understand such standard Spanish terms as "interruptor," "embrague," or "caja de cambios."

Other areas of United States technological innovation such as aeronautics, electronics, computers, and space exploration also inevitably cause numerous borrowings by Spanish speakers here as elsewhere.

An example of local borrowing by Spanish from English of a clearly affective nature is the terms "bos" from English "bus." Even well-educated Mexicans and Central Americans refer to the bus in Brownsville, Texas, as "bos" by which they mean a clean new vehicle with air conditioning as distinct from the local bus or "camión" of the sister city of Matamoros, Mexico, which is often literally a converted truck and the long-distance bus in Mexico that is called "autobús" or "bus".

English Lexical Borrowing from Spanish in South Texas

Recent English lexical borrowings of Spanish terms in South Texas tend to fall into three semantic categories of the private domain: food, social arrangements, and extended family. Although South Texas and Mexican Spanish

have borrowed a number of nouns for food products from English — "hot dogs," "burgers," "cottage cheese" or "queso cottage," "corn flakes," and "t-bone" or "rib-eye steak" — the list of Spanish word used in South Texas English is very much longer, perhaps in part in recognition of the extraordinary diversity of Mexican cuisine owed in large measure to the pre-Colombian culture diversity of the country and perhaps in part due to the fact that the vast majority of the residents of Texas south of the Nueces River are of Mexican extraction and have never entirely accustomed their palate to bland Anglo-Saxon fare at mealtime, although certain varieties of fast food are only slightly less popular here than in other areas of the United States. In any case, it should be noted that standard outlets of fast food chains here routinely serve jalapeño peppers on the side for a charge of about ten cents.

Breakfast in South Texas is a meal that often features "huevos rancheros," eggs sunny-side up served over tortillas and covered with warm "pico de gallo," possibility for almuerzo, here the first meal of the day but in standard Spanish the mid-morning meal as opposed to the very early meal of the farmer at the break of dawn that is known in standard Spanish as desayuno, is "menudo," a soup made with beef tripe. On Sunday mornings, many local residents buy "barbacoa," a pit barbecue beef, which is traditionally served with hot tortillas and "pico de gallo" or "salsa verde."

The Mexican or Mexican-American answer to fast food is the "taquería," the hole-in-the-wall restaurant that serves a wide variety of "tacos," that is, a mixture of meat, cheese, lettuce, tomatoes, and salsa served in a fried tortilla shell or any one of a wide variety of combination of fried eggs, fried potatoes, refried beans, "carne guisada" (Hispanic pot roast) or other meat wrapped in a large "tortilla de harina" (often called a flour tortilla because it is made with wheat flour rather than corn meal.)

Mexican contribution to the United States diet, with the resulting importation of the corresponding Spanish vocabulary, move north with each succeeding spring wave of Mexican immigrants and summer group of happy United States tourists returning home typifying our saying of "panza llena, corazón contento" ('happy is the man whose stomach is full'). These borrowings include at least six culinary contexts apart from the breakfast and fast food vocabulary items already mentioned: (1) sauces such as "mole," a sauce with a chocolate base that is served hot with chicken and other meats, as well as marinating sauces such as those used to prepare "seviche," a seafood cocktail that is served cold, (2) other dishes made with the ubiquitous tortilla rolled such as "enchiladas," "flautas," and "burritos," (3) light soups called "caldos" prepared either with beef consomme or with seafood and heavy creamy soups of a wide variety of basic ingredients including corn, tortillas, and cauliflower, (4) exotic (at least to Anglo-Saxons) fruits, vegetable and tubers such as "guayava" ('guava') and the numerous types of bananas that are not generally known in the United States, (5) and extensive assortment of grilled meats ("asado"), which list encompasses "cabrito" (young goat), "alambres" (shish kebab), "fajitas" (beef skirts), and many others, and (6) desserts such as "flan" (Spanish pudding) and "chongos" a sweetened derivative of curdled milk).

The second major context of the private domain in which English systematically borrows Spanish vocabulary is found in the area of social arrangements. One of the first phrases that an English speaker learns upon visiting South Texas is the traditional welcome to the Mexican or Mexican-American home: "Mi casa es su casa." ('My house is your house.') Whereas local Spanish has borrowed "pori" ("party") from English, a long list of Spanish terms for social gatherings are widely used in English including "fiesta," "pachanga" (a close synonym), "fandango" (about the same thing, but dated), "boda" (literally 'wedding' but used in the sense of wedding

reception, dinner, and party), "tornaboda" (late night continuation of the wedding party for family and close friends that is often held at a "quinta" ('country house'), "quinceañera" (party in celebration of young woman's coming of age at fifteen — not limited to any social class as in the case of the debutante ball), and "bonco" (a dice game used as an excuse for a social gathering at which there is no gambling but at which the host or hostess awards a few prizes at the end of the evening on the basis of scores).

The third and final context of the private domain in which English has sytematically borrowed from Spanish relates to the vocabulary of the extended family, like the social arrangements discussed in the previous paragraph, a positive value and an area of societal strength among Hispanics. This vocabulary includes "cuate" ('close friend' or 'buddy' from the Náhuatl word coátl that means both 'twin' and 'snake'), "compadre" (man linked to the extended family by the baptismal rite), "padrino" ('godfather'), "madrina" ('godmother'), "ahijado/a" ('godchild'), "abuelo" ('grandfather' or 'grandpa'), "abuela," "abuelita," "huelita" ('grandmother' or 'grandma'), "tío" ('uncle' but often used for relationships not strictly family). "primo/a" ('cousin').

Conclusions

This article has attempted to show certain clear patterns in lexical borrowing between the two languages of South Texas: Spanish tends to borrow from English in the public domain; English tends to borrow from Spanish in the private domain. Finally, it is theorized that the affective function of language — particularly in relation to what we have chosen to call comparative cross-cultural zenophobia — is more important in lexical borrowing than has generally been recognized.

NOTES

1. Corominas considers it of Celtic origin: Juan Corominas. _Breve diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana._ Madrid: Gredos, 1961, p. 388.

2. For a detailed discussion see: Rafael Lapesa. _Historia de la lengua española._ Madrid: Gredos, 1981, pp. 15-52; Vicente García de Diego. _Gramática histórica española._ Madrid: Gredos, 1961, passim. Ramón Menéndez Pidal. _Manual de gramática histórica española._ Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1966, pp. 15-19.

3. Harrols W. Bentley. _A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English, With Special Reference to the American Southwest._ New York: Octagon Books, 1973, p. 7.

4. Mary S. Serjeantson. _A History of Foreign Words in English._ New York: Barnes and Noble, 1962, pp. 198-199.

5. _Ibidem,_ pp. 175, 177-178.

6. Julio Camba. _Playas, ciudades y montañas._ Madrid: Lapasa-Calpe, 1963, p. 76.

7. Frank W. Blackmar. _Spanish Institutions of the Southwest._ Glorieta, New Mexico: Rio Grande Press, 1976, p. 257.

8. Lapesa, _op. cit._, p. 292.

9. Bentley, _op. cit.,_ passim.

10. Lapesa, _op. cit._, p. 290-291.

11. Bentley, _op. cit.,_ p. 132.

12. Bentley, _op. cit.,_ p. 93.

13. See article in this volume by Binder.

RESTANDARDIZATION OF SPANISH IN THE HISPANIC PRESS

OF THE SOUTHWEST

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The archives of Spanish-language newspapers published in the United States are a rich source of data for the study of changing language norms within the Hispanic community. Occupying a middle ground stylistically between the informality and uniformity of Standard Spanish as codified by the Latin American and Spanish language academies, journalistic Spanish as found in large urban newspapers provides a supradialectal norm accessible to a literate public over a wide geographic area. Processes of leveling and the gradual incorporation of neologisms operate to maintain readability and to meet the demands of changing domains and functions for Spanish within the community. An overview of the history of two Southwestern newspapers -- La Prensa of San Antonio (1913-1962) and La Opinión of Los Angeles (1926-)-- illustrate what may well be a widespread phenomenon: the informal restandardization of style and usage in the Spanish-language press in the United States.

The availability of older Spanish-language newspaper materials, necessary for a diachronic study of press language, is somewhat limited. A partial listing of Mexican-American periodicals dating from 1848-1972 has been provided in three issues of El Grito (Ríos & Castillo 1970, 1972; Rojas 1973). A serials listing also appears in Aztlán (Cabello-Argandoña et al. 1971). The Ayer Directory of Publications (1983), a standard reference, lists current foreign language publications, including Spanish-language periodicals, while the Geographic Index of a State Historical Society of Wisconsin publication (Strache & Danky 1979) gives the location of archives for many Spanish-language newspapers. Recently, Lector (1984) has published a list of current Spanish-language newspapers, though their listing is less complete than the others.

A concept central to the study of both the linguistic/stylistic and sociolinguistic changes undergone by journalistic Spanish in the Southwest is that of standard language. The process of creating a standard for a language community involves selection of a language variety, codification, elaboration to meet special needs, and promulgation (Hudson 1980, 33). This process can be carried out formally, through the gradual recognition, adaptation, and spread of a prestige norm. It is possible that Standard Spanish, introduced through newspapers begun by expatriates and their families, has been adapted for use as a local or regional written standard in this informal manner. Additional study could determine the degree of uniformity among leading Spanish-language publications in the United states and could provide the basis for a style manual, an instrument that would be of use to editors and writers seeking to publish for U. S. Hispanic readers.

The role of language academies in maintaining the unity of Standard Spanish in Spain and Latin America, and the possibility of such a role for the North American Academy of the Spanish Language, should not be discounted. The history of the Latin American academies is discussed by Guitarte and Torres Quintero (1974). While the North American Academy, founded in 1973 by prominent international scholars of Spanish language and literature, has declared its intention to "correct and maintain" Southwest Spanish (Cárdenas 1980, 18), it is likely that efforts to do so would be met with resistance

because of resentment of the nonstandard status thus accorded local varieties (Dressler 1982, 329; Cooper & Fishman 1974, 9). An institution, such as the Academy, could promote maintenance of Spanish by helping to guide any restandardization process currently at work through descriptions of existing linguistic norms, the determination of the detection of change, and the development of dictionaries and descriptive grammars. Attention could thus be focused on the state of written Spanish in the United States, since most linguistic studies of the language have looked at spoken varieties.

In order to identify linguistic and stylistic changes in journalistic Spanish that could provide evidence of a restandardization process, I have examined single-issue samples yearly from 1914-1919 and at five-year intervals thereafter of La Prensa (from archives at San Antonio College and from an old copy of the paper, September 16, 1961), and at five year intervals of La Opinión (from archives at the Barker History Library at the University of Texas at Austin) beginning in 1926. Excerpts quoted here in the Appendix are from La Prensa and illustrate stylistic characteristics of the earliest and latest years of that publication: 1914, 1915, 1919, 1949, 1954, 1961.

Research concerning the Spanish-language press could focus on the historical contribution of the Spanish-language newspapers to language maintenance, in the manner of the Fishman (1985) study of the role of the mother-tongue press in the ethnic community. Since in many communities certain public-formal functions have been assumed by English, Spanish is in danger of relegation to private-intimate functions (Sánchez 1982, 12), with eventual stylistic shrinkage and resulting monostylism. The presence of a written variety showing stylistic diversity, yet sensitive to local norms, could contribute to the maintenance of Spanish for public-formal functions.

The standardness of the Spanish used in La Prensa in the early years was assured by Ignacio Lozano, Sr., the founder of both La Prensa and La Opinión. Richard García, in his 1979 article on class consciousness in San Antonio in the thirties, views Lozano as a member of an antirevolutionary moneyed elite unsympathetic to the plight of workers or to the struggles of the rising new middle class. An urban background and high cultural level are mentioned as factors separating Lozano and other expatriates who fled the 1910 Revolution in Mexico from the largely rural laboring class immigrants of the 1920s (García, 43). That Lozano perceived his role as a champion of Spanish and as a spokesman for Mexican culture is pointed out by Francine Medeiros in a 1980 article on the content of editorials and news stories from the early years (1926-1929) of La Opinión. The same editorials appeared in the two newspapers; 73 percent were devoted to Mexico-related issues, while only 11 percent dealt with problems of Mexicans in the United States (Medeiros, 73). Both newspapers were widely read, with a circulation of over 7,000 daily and 12,000 for La Prensa and as high as 25,000 for La Opinión on Sundays by 1930, making them the most widely read Spanish-language newspapers of their time in the United States. Stylistically, it appears that the language of the two newspapers, while judged close to that of Mexican newspapers in the 1920s (Gamio 1930, 136-138), changed to meet the demands of diversifying journalistic genres and of changing community language norms. Rubén Munguía (personal communication, April 13, 1982) the son of the former owner of the printing company that printed La Prensa during the lifetime of Ignacio Lozano, Sr., suggests that a stylistic flowering during the 1920s was due to an influx of Mexican intellectuals who wrote for the paper, and that their decreased involvement (through repatriation, death, or turning to other interests) caused the stylistic decline in the later years. However, the decline also coincides with a period of decreasing prestige of Spanish and of increasing of English into formerly Spanish-language domains.

Samples taken from La Prensa (Appendix) exemplify this development. In the early years of La Prensa, sentences were fairly long, averaging 40 words per sentence (the average for Excélsior today), as compared with the recommended 15 to 17 words per sentence for English-language journalism. There was little stylistic differentiation, with editorial comment and entertaining asides giving news reports the flavor of a letter from home (Sample 1, Appendix). Soon thereafter, editorial comment was removed from news reports, separate editorials of 20-word sentences were written (Sample 3, Appendix), while a new stylistic type, the foreign correspondent's report (Sample 2, Appendix) featured sentences of 45 words.

By the 1930s for both newspapers, news reports, whether written locally or received from correspondents, averaged approximately 30 words per sentence, as did essays of editorial tone (Sample 4, Appendix). Originally, material from Mexican and U.S. news agencies was little different from other news reports with respect to sentence length and structure. Just prior to World War II, the material from U.S. agencies began to show a preference for subject-verb-object word order, probably indicating hurried translations, which differentiated it from other reports. In the mid 1940s, English began to appear alongside Spanish in advertisements: Compre aquí — lowest prices in town.

By the 1950s translations of Associated Press releases and of English-language material from other sources accounted for most reports of national and international news, with only local news and editorials written directly in Spanish. A typical AP translation (Sample 5, Appendix) demonstrates some of the characteristics of such translations: almost entirely subject-verb-object word order; preference for ser passives over se passives, mirroring the English be construction; English-influenced lexical choice, such as en la mañana for de la mañana. That such English-language influence is not solely the problem of newspapers in bilingual communities is evidenced by the style manual published by the EFE Agency in Spain (1980), now the third largest international news agency, which identifies such interference in journalistic Spanish throughout the Spanish-speaking world as a major threat to the integrity of the Spanish language (EFE p.11).

Aside from sports reporting with its notorious borrowing of English terminology, and the bilingual advertisements, there was little increase in the use of English borrowings, English-like constructions, or words common to spoken varieties but not normally used in writing, until the late 1940s. During the 1950s the readership of La Prensa declined, and in 1957, after the death of Ignacio Lozano, Sr., his widow was forced by financial difficulties to reduce the paper to a weekly, and in 1959, to sell it. Only the issues from 1913-1959 are available on microfilm. A story in the San Antonio Light (March 2, 1963, 2) tells that the last issue of La Prensa to be published came out on January 31, 1962.

From talking with San Antonio residents who remembered La Prensa and had kept back copies, I discovered that the new owners had changed to a bilingual format, at first with Spanish and English versions of all stories, then to a complementary system in which only news of the Hispanic community was published in Spanish. The rest — national, international, and more general local news — was reported only in English. Unable to compete with the English-language dailies, La Prensa folded.

With the change to the complementary bilingual format in the late 1950s, the material that had been translated from English-language sources was now published in English. The essay (Sample 6, Appendix), which had merged with the editorial in function, was replaced with guest-authored articles in florid prose, usually on patriotic topics, by noted academicians or literary

figures from Mexico. These items were suitable for being tucked away as keepsakes, but the English-language portion of the newspaper carried the full responsibility for linking the Hispanic community to the world of daily affairs.

During the same period, La Opinión, under the directorship of Ignacio Lozano, Jr., son of the founder, continued to publish entirely in Spanish. I do not have information concerning the time at which La Opinión struck its own course and ceased to be linked in editorial policy with La Prensa. Established in 1926 because of the growing readership of La Prensa on the West Coast, La Opinión differed little stylistically from the parent newspaper in the early years. By the 1950s, La Opinión was showing less of the English-language influence found in La Prensa. It has continued to enjoy community support, with a circulation of 78,000 daily in the late 1980s.

This overview of the history and stylistic development of journalistic Spanish in a particular case suggests that there is much to be learned from Spanish-language press archives about the process that has shaped this written variety according to the exigencies of style and to the linguistic preferences of editors and readers. The eventual demise of La Prensa and the continuing vigor of La Opinión provide the opportunity to study the extent to which the language of the press and the destiny of Spanish-language newspapers in the U.S. are linked to the functions assigned to Spanish within a community.

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APPENDIX

Sample Articles from La Prensa

Editorialized news reporting

San Antonio, Texas, jueves 10 de septiembre de 1914, p. 1.

ZAPATA NO QUIERE SOMETERSE A DON VENUSTIANO

EXIGE QUE SE CUMPLA EN TODOS SUS DETALLES

CON TODO LO QUE ESTIPULA EL PLAN DE AYALA

Continúa siendo un punto muy obscuro en la actual situación mexicana, el incansable y tenaz guerillero del Sur Emiliano Zapata, que ahora pretende que Carranza vaya en persona a tratar con él, a sus terrenos, donde dice tener muchos deseos de verle.

Zapata insiste en que se lleve a cabo el plan de Ayala, que lo colocaría a él en la Presidencia Provisional de la República, pues dice tener los mismos derechos que Carranza para ocupar ese puesto. Don Venustiano ha declarado sencillamente absurdas las pretensiones de Emiliano, que quiere hacerle tablas el juego con su Plan de Ayala, tratando de nulificarle el Plan de Guadalupe, que le da derecho al alto puesto que ambiciona Zapata.

Total: que todo se está volviendo planes, y el que se está yendo al plan de un abismo es el país, que ya resiste al peso de tantos redentores y de tantos planes . . .

Foreign correspondent's report

San Antonio, Texas, martes 16 de septiembre de 1919, p. 1.

ELISEO ARREDONDO FUE LLAMADO DE ESPANA

EL LICDO. MEDIZ BOLIO VA DE PRIMER SRIO. A LA LEGACION DE MADRID

Telegrama especial para LA PRENSA.

MEXICO, D.F., septiembre 15.—La Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores ha mandado llamar con verdadera urgencia al señor Eliseo Arredondo, Ministro Plenipotenciario en España.

Oficialmente se anunció, que a su salida de Madrid, el señor Arredondo, dejará los negocios de la Legación en manos del conocido poeta Luis G. Urbina, que es el primer secretario de la Legación Mexicana . . .

Editorial

San Antonio, Texas, jueves 16 de septiembre de 1915, p. 3.

EL NACIONALISMO DE CARRANZA

Es inexacto: este periódico no se obstina en el nacionalismo de Carranza. Más todavía: ni siquiera cree en ese nacionalismo.
Pero la verdad es que la ambición de mando del Primer Jefe, ese egoísmo que lo impulsa a sostenerse en la primera magistratura de la república a despecho de todos los agentes interiores y exteriores que lo combaten, es útil en el actual momento, para afirmar el precedente ya establecido de que en México "sólo gobiernan los mexicanos," y que la odiosa hegemonía que pesa sobre los demás pueblos de la América Latina no reza con nosotros....

Essay article

San Antonio, Texas, viernes 16 de septiembre de 1949, p.5.

Mauricio Durán

LA ESTUPENDA OBRA REVOLUCIONARIA DEL CURA HIDALGO

(Conclusión)

La caída de la ciudad de México, que hubiera sido inevitable emprendido el ataque a continuación de la brillante victoria en el Monte de las Cruces hubiera producido el derrumbamiento del régimen virreinal, y el gran caudillo hubiera consumado la independencia cuarenta y cinco días después de haberla proclamado en Dolores. Hidalgo, sin embargo, no se resolvió a atacar la capital por diversas causas que lo obligaron a suspender su marcha sobre aquella ciudad y a contramarchar con el propósito de apoderarse de Querétaro....

Associated Press wire service translation

San Antonio, Texas, jueves 16 de septiembre de 1954, p. 1.

RECAPTURAN A LOS PRESOS FUGITIVOS

WELDON, Texas, 15 de septiembre.—(AP)— Los tres prisioneros que escaparon de la prisión agrícola Eastham, el lunes en la mañana, fueron capturados anoche, siete millas al sur del lugar de donde huyeron. Fueron localizados por los sabuesos.

Entre los prisioneros está J__ L__, de San Antonio, Texas, quien cumplía ocho años por robo en el condado de Béxar, y que fue localizado arriba de un árbol juntamente con K__ D__ que cumple diez años de condena por robo en el condado de Jefferson.

Patriotic Essay

San Antonio, Texas, jueves 14 de septiembre de 1961, p.4.

EL PADRE DE LAS LIBERTADES MEXICANAS

D. MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA

Por D. Arthur Arnáiz y Freg, Presidente de la Asociación Mexicana de Historiadores; Académico de la Mexicana de la Historia, Correspondiente de la Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid.

Erguido ante el pórtico de su templo parroquial, en la tibieza de una húmeda madrugada de septiembre, señaló el padre Hidalgo en 1810 la hora de lanzarse al heroísmo. Fue en la plaza anchurosa de la Villa de Dolores donde la aurora alumbró por vez primera a un puñado de patriotas decididos a conquistar la libertad al precio de su sangre. Los bronces de las esbeltas torres proclamaron la terminación del duro vasallaje y, al responder a su llamado heroico, el pueblo mexicano adquirió dignidad cabal, y el concimiento pleno de su fuerza . . .

FOLK PROCESS IN CHICANO POETRY

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The thematic and the contextual levels in Chicano poetry of the 60s and 70s have been studied from a historical perspective by Tomás Ybarra-Frausto (1977), who speaks of the poet's "dominant tension . . . between the search for an authentic voice and the necessity to integrate intellectual currents from both the Mexican and Anglo-American literary tradition" (p. 105). From a similar perspective, but focusing on Chicana poets, Miriam Bornstein (1981) notes that "the interdependence of the two aspects of a text [ideological and aesthetic] derives from the fact that by mere use of ordinary language we communicate a model of the world" (p. 34). Although these studies demonstrate the various traditions from which Chicano poetry derives, the study of another structural and aesthetic level, a dramatic one drawn from the oral tradition, can lead towards some definition of the role of the Chicano poet as she/he re-enacts that unique "model of the world" found in Chicano culture. In the following work, I review poets of the late 60s and 70s who were published in some of the many small publications that flowered during those times and who employed a dramatic folk process that attended to a relatively small and particular audience. This dramatic level, which focuses on the relationship between the poet and his/her audience as set out in the style of the performance, I believe, can also demonstrate the tenuous relationship between folk and individual poetry in the process of invention.

In folklore studies of recent years, there has also been a renewed interest in context, as opposed to the study of text alone, because of the recognition of the communicative attributes of folklore; that is, the meaning of a text is dependent on both the "intent of the speaker and the attitude of the listener":

> The performer of folklore knows — though he may not be overly aware of such knowledge — a set of rules, a system of communication, a grammar, in which the relationships between the attributes of verbal messages and the social-cultural reality are in constant interplay, transforming symbols and metaphors, styles and structures, themes and forms in response to social variables of a situation. (Ben-Amos, D. and Goldstein, K., 1975, 2-3)

There is an insistence on an accurate analysis that includes the "tradition-carrier and the audience," the reactions, the language, the culture (Köngäs, E. and Maranda, P., 1962, 135). Thus, the roles of both poet and audience should play a significant part in the interpretation of poetry. Abelardo Delgado in an interview has said that "the largest milestone [in Chicano literature] is that . . . our still uneducated and impoverished masses have accepted our work . . ." The literary thrust has been "towards an accessible poetry written in the language of the Chicano" and towards "the creation of a mass audience" (Bruce-Novoa, J., 1976, 116). Because of the exclusion of most of Chicano literature from that of the dominant society, this poetry is directed towards a relatively limited and specified audience, and its role is thus similar to that of folk literature in a technological society.

In Chicano poetry, I find two modes, or stances, of the artist that are neither all-inclusive of nor limited to Chicano literature, and that

interpret the poet's role, either as performer or celebrant, within our cultural and social experience. One I call the poetry of performance, as it is largely narrative and involves a collective yet passive attitude on the part of the audience; in this mode the poet is the vehicle of the "communication" or "message". The other I term the poetry of celebration, as it is ritualistic, personal, and requires a high degree of participation from the audience; in this mode the poet is the celebrant presenting the "message."

The formation of poetic purposes, or "strategies," to use Kenneth Burke's term (1957), develops the stance of the Chicano artist. The purposes intended can be various — to incite, to console, to honor, to absolve — depending on the content or the occasion of the poem. Although the poet is the performer in both modes, I use the categories, performance and celebration, to distinguish the relative degrees of participation of poet and audience required in the interpretation of the poem. A distinction also lies in the characteristics of the formal, prosodic elements in each.

Américo Paredes (1964), working towards a definition of folk poetry, believes that its intentionally conventional language results in an aesthetic effect, similar to that of ritual, which leads to a balanced pattern and structure. This pattern evolves out of the necessity to impart "a sense of form to an oral performance" (pp. 215-217). Consequently, the corrido, with its parallel lines and paired quatrains, tends to conform "to an essentially binary structure found in most folk literature" (pp. 217-219). He goes on to say that folk poetry may be characterized by the influence of chant or song on its rhythm and diction, by the expression of group feelings and attitudes implicit in the environment, and by the supreme involvement of the performer himself (p. 224).

In performance, the poet uses a conventional language with a strong dose of rhyme and rhetorical devices stressing a recognizable binary structure. In celebration, repetition is at the vocabulary level rather than at the structural level; here repetition transcends its sometimes comic power and becomes the musical, highly-adorned language of ritual that catalogues element after element while reiterating the same idea. (Cf. its comic function in Burciaga's declamation against the cultural illiteracy of the dominant society in "Skool Days" in which a student undermines the punishment by using three pencils simultaneously to write: "I I I, will will will, not not not, speak speak speak, Spanish Spanish Spanish," thereby effectively diminishing the meaning, [Carrillo, L., et al., 1978, 66-67.])

The poetic voice in performance is identifiable to the audience as one of our own speaking to us, whereas in the other stance the poetic voice is much more subdued, because it is meant to be our own voice speaking for us.

The Chicano poets, in performance, confirm the community's sense of alienation; and in celebration, they "combat" alienation: they attempt to repossess the world by naming it (Burke, 265). Sylvia Wynter says in her article, "Ethno or Socio Poetics":

> For to name the world is to conceptualize the world; and to conceptualize the world is an expression of an active relation. A poem is itself a sign of man's creative relation to the world; in humanizing this world through the conceptual/naming process he invents and reinvents himself as human. (Benamou, M., and Rothenberg, J., 1976, 87).

The poet as performer is witness to the Chicano experience, a role that he/she authenticates by employing a journalistic mode or vision. He/she is

testifying to the authenticity of historical events to solidify the present in terms of the past. As celebrant, the poet transfigures the past, present, and future as one through a ritualized naming.

"Letanía en Caló" by José Antonio Burciaga (1976) is one of the best examples of the poetry of celebration. When reciting it in public, Burciaga asks the audience to join him in chanting the response. Poet and audience meet and participate as one in a mock-prayer invoking the "Bato Loco/Cuate de mi barrio/ Cholo de Los" to pray for us, and asking that we be freed: "Líbranos . . . De los gabas . . . De la migra . . . De lo gacho . . . De los vendidos." Burciaga ends the litany, naturally, with "Amén y Con Safo" (p. 16).

Here Burciaga is playing with several ideas that come from the collective experience: the legendary piety of the pachuco, the acknowledgement of repressive forces within the immediate society as well as in the dominant one, and, most importantly, the power of the word. The lines of invocation establish a cumulative effect with the chanting of the name of the god, counterpointed by the repetitive response in a two-fold structure, one of adulation, the other of supplication. And as the audience is caught up by the familiar rhythm, in contrast to the unfamiliar content, Burciaga punctures the inflated effect of litany with the reverse-prayer formula of the barrio: <u>con safo</u> (in folkloric terms, a "charm" or curse against defilement).

In contrast to this kind of poem, in which the poet leads the audience in forming an attitude, the poetry of performance presents the artist as an interested by-stander who will report the action. One theme in performance can be the heroic or nationalistic. José Montoya, in his evocative and well-known portrayal of "El Louie," shows us the contradictory aspects of the pachuco: the fantasy and the reality (Castañeda Shular, A., <u>et al</u>., 1972, 173-176). After a romantic description of Louie, singing, well-dressed, surrounded by girls, Montoya breaks midway through the epic-like poem to an abbreviated, compact "battle" scene in dialogue. The short scene has all the heroic qualities: the expressed brotherhood, the consolation of the women, the dependence on and trust in the hero, "But we had Louie . . ."

This scene is in contrast to the undramatized narration of Louie as a soldier in Korea, "heroism and the stockade," which is quickly passed over to place Louie once again in the local setting that suits him best, "strutting to/early mass on Sunday morning." The real action is not on a national scene, but in the elements that constitute Louie's life: barber college, his friends, and La Chiva (heroin). At the end of the poem, Montoya intercedes once again as the by-stander, repeating the first line twice and reminding us of the occasion of the poem, "Hoy enterraron al Louie," and bringing the audience back to the initial scene of eulogy, "Vato de atolle, el Louie Rodríguez."

Montoya's lament on the death of Louie is similar to the lament of the hero in <u>corridos.</u> (This mode is a very common one in folk literature, as in the early twentieth-century Texas-Mexican <u>corridos</u> of border conflict or in the nineteenth-century New Mexican <u>décimas</u> on local political power plays [Paredes, A., 1976, and Meyer, D. L., 1975].) Similarly, this hero exhibits the best qualities — high-spirited, courageous, even foolhardy — and his death is a reflection of the life he led. His fame rests not only on his strengths and deeds, but also on his frailties and suffering. Speaking the entire truth as he sees it, Montoya stands as witness to this event, and speaks for his own time, not for all time, a necessity that insures the validity of the witness.

The pachuco-hero theme recognizes the significance of the past in relation to the present, as Montoya recalls that "los baby chooks/se acuerdan de Louie." Other biographical poems on the pachuco also emphasize this aspect: "His shoulders, they carried that pride...that we of 'La Nueva raza'/are discovering now . . . if only I had listened" (Grados, V., 1974, 68). Such poems attempt to correlate the past personal experiences of others with those of our own.

Carmen Tafolla, in her poem "19 años," also uses the journalistic method to describe the experience of a young Chicana in the barrio:

> De niña fue pachuquita, valiente, chocante, peleonera,
> y nadie le decía que hacer.
> Nunca le habían conquistado. (Carrillo, L., et al.,
> 1978, 61-62)

Each stanza narrates an eventful episode in her life, up to her nineteenth year, when the narrator says "la conocí," either met her or recognized her, working as a prostitute. However, the young girl has not been denigrated by her position because "era más mujer que todas. Ella vendía sus horas./Otras vendían sus vidas." Up to the last two stanzas, the poet has been objectively telling a story, but when the persona enters the action, she allows the heroine to speak for herself. The pachuquita now has control over her life and says: "Por tanto que me chingan de afuera, no me pueden chingar el corazón."

Raúl R. Salinas begins his "Homenaje al Pachuco" in dramatic monologue, a literary convention, to be sure but a folkloric narrative element as well, in which he takes the stance of one speaking to a pachuco. And Salinas, using direct address and interjections to the other, ridicules the academization of the pachuco in ironic contrast to the neglect of those same "carnales" in the jails of Aztlán. But he soon widens his audience as he relates the many injustices committed. Towards the end of the poem, he enters again briefly as reporter saying, "¿Cómo la ves tú, Compa?" and then declaims against the society that ignores the "forlorn fugitives/of the total jail," and ends in salute: "Hail Pachuco!" (Alurista, et al., 1976, 151-153).

Chicano writers continue to adopt the corrido as a political tool directed towards the people, as in Esteban Jordán's two poems, "La Marcha de los Campesinos" and "Siguieron los Campesinos," which relate the march to Austin and to Washington, D.C., in 1977 (Carrillo, 84-85). Jordán uses the form admirably, employing traditional formulas and repetition of key phrases to counterpoint the action: "Decía Claudio Ramírez el que marchaba al compas/Son 20 millas por día las que tenemos que andar." This statement begins as simple factual information, but is transformed into the rallying cry of the campesinos as they encounter obstacles and resistance. Jordán remains true to the tradition in his role as performer-witness in the lines:

> Estos versos que compuse se vasan de realidad
> Yo también fui campesino y no lo puedo negar
> . . . .
>
> La política no entiendo y no me quiero envolver,
> Pero sé que unidos todos nos podemos defender.

(In a less serious mode, José Efraín Vela Lira composes comic corridos about local characters and events in "Mi Amigo, el Vacunador," and "Se Casaron Rupe y Lipe." One deals with the adventures of a self-styled hero and the other is a play on the names of the two intendeds: Felipe Reyna and Ruperta Coronado [Carrillo, 80-82].)

Another instance of a traditional form used for a contemporary theme is David Herrera's poem entitled "Adiós Chicanita" (1976, 25). Using the quatrain of the <u>corrido</u> in lines approximating the octosyllabic (one of the most common folk meters in the Latino tradition), Herrera narrates an episode from a modern soldier's life. The soldier is bidding goodbye to his wife as he leaves for war: "Voy a luchar con mi raza/Para que se acabe el dolor." The war is against the "patrón" and is "entre los barrios":

> Ya los pobres van a luchar
> Por la tierra de Aztlán
> Que le habla a sus hijos
> Que ya vengan a luchar.

Asking his wife for a good-bye kiss, he requests that upon his death, she remind their son how he died, "como murió su papá," heroically. The emphasis in the use of the <u>corrido</u> form is an historical one, narrated by an observer who wishes to present the events that have formed the Chicano experience.

The theme of the barrio, or its broader realization, Aztlán, is also used to present a collective experience of resistance and oppression. In "El Río Grande," Abelardo Delgado sees Aztlán as both historical reality and myth (Castañeda Shular, 264-265; cf. Mares, E. A., 1973 and also Leal, L., 1981). In this poem, the poet is the chronicler who reports his experience and also that of the border river that divides Aztlán. Mimicking the <u>corrido</u> format, he uses paired quatrains that complement each other. The parallel structure is reinforced by the rhyme in assonance and the double hemistiches, tending towards the octosyllabic. Delgado personifies the river as an old, uncared for man who has been witness to contradictory events: serving as mediator between two lands, "tú le has dado a la lechuga el chile como hermano," but also as testimony to illusionary hopes: "sirves de espejo a la esperanza que se fue": as a part of nature and fruitfulness: "para los enamorados tus orillas son mil camas," and as death and cruelty: "y tus aguas tiñen de una sangre insegura." Delgado ends the poem in a traditional farewell: "un día tus fuerzas, como las fronteras, se van a acabar . . . /háblame pronto, río grande, que el tiempo te va a matar." The poet, as witness and visionary, proclaims the rebirth and reunification of Aztlán.

Angela de Hoyos' poem, "Para una ronda agridulce," expresses a similar theme of the barrio as pedagogical tool (1975, 8-9). The structure is antithetical in both language and content, as set up in the title: not only in the paradoxical "agridulce," but also in "ronda," night serenade or trap. She addresses the protagonist, magically wishing him into the "calles alegres de mi barrio," as if he "belonged there," waiting for the "noche de fiesta." But, already anticipated by the references to the fence and "barandales" of his song, he is taken prisoner, as "premio primorozo" by a "morena/morenaza," into the barrio, the "Westside" of San Antonio. The passive observer, which includes both the "prisoner" and the audience, is forced to take part in the culture of the barrio, represented by its ironic bilingualism: "Las Golondrinas Cafe/Pan Dulce . . . Yo Aquí Me Quedo Place/Barbacoa Los Domingos" where he is assaulted by a "young-old face . . . con ojos de pistola." This disembodied person aggressively challenges the prisoner (and by extension, the audience) to be his champion in the struggle of the Chicano, "a noble paladín to bear his torch/beyond his daily prayer of/Dios dirá . . ." De Hoyos has identified the audience with the protagonist by using direct address and by leaving the prayer of the barrio unresolved. In this way, she has committed the protagonist/us to action. Once tempted by the pleasures and the joys of the barrio, we become responsible for its struggles as well.

De Hoyos' poem and those other examples of the poetry of performance I have cited have, what Roger D. Abrahams calls, the quality of "vicarious

identification" (1969). Abrahams charts the various forms of oral genres according to audience response, the "sympathetic involvement of the members of the audience with the construction of the piece," which can be one of "active involvement" or involvement through a "vicarious identification" (p.119). He believes that "folklore is meaningful as a term only insofar as it designates artistic expression in which there is a certain degree of personal interrelationship between performer and audience" (interpersonal meaning the direct expression of one person to a limited number of others). And he says, "with the development of the techniques of reproduction, there is a further removal of performer and audience" (p.126). While not all of his categories pertain, his description of the spectrum of genres and audience response is useful in seeing the range of techniques and purposes in folk literature. His spectrum begins with the conversational and play genres, which he feels "intensify the conflict inherent in recurrent situations to which it is giving a name," as in jokes or charms. At the other end are the fictive and static genres, such as ballads and folk painting, in which resolution is inherent. Thus, at one end of the spectrum there is concern with conflict and movement, while at the other, concern with resolution and stability (pp. 104-128).

For example, in several of Tomás Rivera's poems, in which the celebrative mode is found even though it is celebration in reverse (i. e., the event to be celebrated is castigated instead, a common reversal in folk contexts), conflict is emphasized. "Hide the Old People or American Idearium" begins with the Mexican children's folk lyric: "A la víbora, víbora de la mar/de la mar,/por aquí pueden pasar./Los de adelante corren mucho y/los de atrás se quedarán," which is transformed into a kind of "danza de la muerte"; the poem is a re-enactment of the fate of the old (Rivera, 59). The poem continues:

Escóndanlos.
Escóndanlos bien.
Escóndanlos en la casona grande y lujosa,
Escóndanlos.
¡Que nadie los vea, ya están muy viejos!
¡Son puro trabajo,
no valen la pena ya!
¡Que no nos miren!
si ya no nos conocen.
Ellos ya se gastaron.
Escóndanlos.
. . . . . .

The second stanza repeats the word "escóndanlos" in each line, creating a frenetic excitement that parallels the circular, repetitive movement of the children's game. The insistence in the third stanza, in the voice of the anonymous perpetrators, is that the old not be seen, that they not look, because they no longer recognize. The anonymous protagonists play another game of "las escondidas," so to speak, in which they attempt to hide their old, so that they, the responsible people, will not be seen. Rivera repeats the word "escóndanlos," ending the poem by returning to the last lines of the first stanza and of the folk lyric: "Los de adelante corren mucho y los de atrás se quedarán." The repetitive structure and the dramatic re-enactment, along with the ironic use of children's game lyrics, underline the theme of the poem: we are all celebrants in this ritual of death.

In this mode, the poet's voice is subdued. The audience is an active participant because it is engaged in the conflict. By using a conversational tone, and familiar forms, such as prayer, game, dicho, and focusing on details of everyday life, the poet is able to achieve a sense of recognition

and of oneness in the audience. This effect becomes ritualistic because the work not only expresses a common emotion or attitude, but it is also reliving a basic pattern of the audience's experience (Burke, 318).

Rivera's "Siempre el domingo" is also set in the prayer-in-reverse form and again uses ritual as theme and structure. The poetic voice curses the "yo pecador" who goes to church: "Vayan a la iglesia el domingo/y rueguen por yo pecador,/mientras. . . ," while the other "yo" catalogues the dead men of war (from Villa to "Ike") and their instruments at the cantina, where his prayer to the dead is one of dance and diversion:

Yo me voy
a la cantina
a bailarles y
a divertirles
a tantos hombres muertos
. . . . . . (p.69)

The cataloguing and repetitive use of words and phrases that occur here is a primary characteristic of poetry of celebration.

The portrayal of more mundane rituals is also common. In his "Oda al molcajete," Jesús "El Flaco" Maldonado (1976, 54-55) praises the molcajete as an object symbolic of the Chicano cultural experience. Delineating the daily ritual of this "piedra mágica," he intersperses Chicano responses of approbation: "¡Aaaamaa-sisate! ¡Ajua! ¡Dale gas!" after each stanza describing an effect of the molcajete: "nace la sabrosa fuerza/el piquete mexicano/de la Raza Noble." These stanzas lead up to the second half of the poem which names the magic produced:

magia sin nombre
magia hechicera
magia de Aztlán
magia Tejana
magia de Nuevo
. . . .
magia Chicana.

Maldonado kisses the stone in veneration of "el pilón Azteca/el carnalismo /que corre en nuestras venas" and completes the ritual by citing the proverbial "estómago lleno/corazón contento."

The poet leads the chant, allowing participation through the responses and the expectation of form in cataloguing and in proverbial expression. Maldonado is very much aware of this form and uses it in other poems, such as "Don Juanito," which carries the cry of the vendedor "¡Pan! ¡Pan calientito!" as a repetitive chant affirming cultural unity: "carrying en su canastota/ el dorado corazón/de nuestra gente," and at the same time, warning of its dissipation: "Lejos de mi Tejas/los cantos are but echoes/slowly fading/slowly dying" (pp.56-58).

It is significant that Maldonado has said the major influence on his poetry was Mexican music and that he believes his poetry has a place in "rejuvenating" the Chicano culture:

Me gusta compartir los poemas que creo yo le gusten a la gente. Trato yo de enfocar en la cultura, las comidas, lo que creo se ha estado perdiendo como caramelos, pirulís, pan dulce. Trato de bring it out, to rejuvenate it, que renazca otra vez. Entonces me entusiasmo más y sigo escribiendo. (Yarbro-Bejarano, Y., 1978, 36;

see also José R. Reyna, "Tejano Music as an Expression of Cultural Nationalism," *Revista Chicano-Riqueña,* 3:3 [1976], 37-41)

He believes that his poetry on food emphasizes a positive aspect of Chicano culture that the people can enjoy, and the people, in turn, influence him through their language and written expression (pp. 36-38).

Maldonado's role is of celebrant in his ritualization of the Chicano culture and people, of "fixing" the relationship between poet and audience as one of praxis. Abelardo Delgado has given a succinct interpretation of the role of the poet:

One role is that of a recorder for Chicano events, happenings, victories, defeats, struggles from a poetic perspective absent from newspapers and prose journals. The other role is that of "animator," to give spirit and even at times philosophical direction and criticism. And yet a third role is to serve as a model in our communities for other writers to follow in developing their own creative spirits. (Bruce-Novoa, p. 112)

Because much of the Chicano population has been urbanized (Ybarra-Frausto, 1977, 83) and because of the "paucity" of conventional forms of folkore in a modern urban society, (Dorson, 1971) there is a need to study how the traditional functions of folk literature have been transformed and how individual literary modes have taken up folkloric processes of communication. The dramatic mode, in the minstrel or jongleur sense of performance, must depend on a process of poetic creativity, audience reception, and poetic re-creation based on response. Although Chicano poetry and fiction no longer have as limited an audience as in the past (there is a strong indication of interest from both European and Latin-American audiences as well as mainstream American), its mainstay in this genre of poetry continues to be the Chicano, from whom it draws its inspiration and artistry.

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LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

LINGUISTIC INSECURITY IN NEW MEXICO: A PILOT STUDY

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Theoretical Considerations

The Spanish of New Mexico has a long and proud history, but as admirers and speakers of the language anticipate the 400th anniversary of the presence of Spanish in New Mexico, the language may face extinction. In this paper the language abilities of native New Mexican college students who enter courses of Spanish for native speakers are documented in order to determine what insecurity is and to what extent it exists in New Mexico.

William Labov is often credited with an operationalization of the term "linguistic insecurity." Labov (1972) discovered the existence of the phenomenon while studying variation of English in New York. He posited that such insecurity can be best understood as a negative attitude toward a negative speech pattern. Linguistic insecurity can best be detected when an individual displays a wide range of stylist variation in his speech, when there is fluctuation of forms in a given context, and when the individual places undue importance on linguistic correctness. Labov claimed to quantify this concept by presenting subjects with word pairs, one member of each being a colloquial or regional form and the other being the standard form. The subject was then asked to identify which form he or she would use and which form he or she would identify as correct. From this procedure a proportion would be calculated and used as an index of linguistic insecurity.

This definition has been regarded as problematic. Darnall (1976) and Macaulay (1975) both present arguments against the concept, pointing out the ambiguous nature of it. There are two fundamental flaws with the idea. First, a high score on the index of linguistic insecurity (ILI), indicating a high proportion of corrected local forms to total number of local forms claimed as regularly used by a subject, does not necessarily indicate a negative attitude toward the colloquial variety. The speaker may be aware of the standard form and be capable of identifying such forms, despite using the popular forms. Alternatively, the speaker may be very insecure and also aware of the difference between colloquial and standard and accordingly perform in the standard in order to hide the colloquial forms. Second, the concept appears to imply not simply a negative attitude toward one's own language variety, but rather more precisely an unjustified or unreasonably negative attitude toward one's own speech variety. This is only an inference based on Labov's writings, but the idea that the attitude toward the speech variety is disproportionately negative appears to constitute the definition of insecurity.

Peñalosa (1980) defines what appears to be the opposite of linguistic insecurity, but of course this polar opposite is not labeled "linguistic security." Rather, Peñalosa describes "language loyalty" as the retention by a group of its language despite attempts from outside and in to get rid of the language. This would appear to be as disproportionately positive as linguistic insecurity is negative. Unfortunately, Labov's ILI does not in any way allow one to determine the extent to which deference to a standard or defense of the vernacular is disproportionate.

Macaulay claims that Labov's observations of a large amount of linguistic insecurity in New York were unfounded and that such evidence of insecurity needs to be reexamined in light of other data presented by informants. Nevertheless, in a replication study, Owens and Baker (1984) demonstrated that the instrument is indeed reliable. They also claim that it is valid, but do not address the issues mentioned above. Owens and Baker claim that their study confirms that women are less secure linguistically than men and that lower middle-class individuals are less secure in this respect.

Since the validity of the ILI has not been established, one should interpret such results with great caution. Validity should be established in order to prevent such problems of interpretation, and the only way of accomplishing that is in part through theoretical reformulation. The problem encountered upon undertaking such a task is that the final concept is rather far removed from the original, and lacks some of the appeal that the original has.

Scotland and Canon (1972) outline a theory of cognitive social psychology that, although not addressed to linguistic issues with the exception of a few examples, may be applied with considerable facility to the task of devising a theory of linguistic insecurity. If one observes one's own linguistic interaction and listens to advise from others regarding linguistic ability, then it is likely that one will come to realize when and what forms or styles of speech are appropriate or correct. Even conclusions made about the appropriate use of speech forms can influence what one believes to be true about his or her linguistic ability. Here then are at least three sources of variation that influence the association that one makes between one's own speech and an evaluation dimension. This is basically what is understood to be an attitude. Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) define an attitude as a learned predisposition to respond in a consistently positive or negative manner with respect to a given object, entity, state, or person.

By now, the problem involved in even a superficial reformulation of the concept is evident to the reader. The word "negative" appears in Fishbein and Ajzen's conceptualization of attitude, but only in conjunction with "positive," and Scotland and Canon's theory does not even make an explicit reference to the idea of a negative attitude toward a negative referent. Labov, as noted so well by Macaulay, was too impressed by the salience of what few negative attitudes he witnessed, and this led him to the incorrect inference that New York City was a great sink of negative linguistic prestige. The approach just outlined simply does not allow such a bias to color results of any investigation that may be carried out with regard to linguistic insecurity.

As happens with many theoretical formulations, we must now find a new term to describe linguistic insecurity and language loyalty. Following the framework of cognitive social psychology, we note that after much language interaction, an individual may recall several instances in which he has spoken. Let us suppose that this person has had difficulty in understanding, difficulty in expressing himself, and has been criticized rather severely for performance errors. Let us further suppose that this individual is able to predict the extent to which communication in this language is going to result in successful goal attainment, a primary motivating factor in daily affairs. If the individual is constantly criticized, then he may well conclude that the probability that a subsequent linguistic interaction will be successful is fairly low. Perhaps with each subsequent interaction, the subject will be forced to revise continually his subjective probability that linguistic interaction will be successful.

This perceived probability that interaction in a given variety of language will be successful may be referred to as a sense of linguistic competence. "Success" may be defined according to any number of criteria ranging from functional communication to sociolinguistic goal attainment. Among the more functional criteria are to be included success at communicating a message, or understanding a message. Sociolinguistic criteria may include approval of linguistic forms by significant other people (grandparents, parents, siblings, other relatives, friends, coworkers, teachers).

Historical Perspective

The circumstances of Spanish in New Mexico would lead one to believe that there is indeed a great sink of negative linguistic prestige in the state, but this is too simple a way to characterize the situation. On the one hand, while maintenance of the language continues to this very day among native New Mexicans, the shift to English by the younger generations has been documented and described as drastic (Hudson-Edwards and Bills). Nevertheless, evidence also exists that attitudes among New Mexicans toward New Mexican Spanish are positive (Hannum, 1980). Certainly such positive attitudes toward Spanish have also been documented by Fishman (1971), Solé (1977), and others, although these positive attitudes are not typically good predictors of linguistic competence.

If language loyalty or a sense of high linguistic competence does exist in New Mexico, then amazement or at least admiration is warranted. Carter (1970), Ramírez (1977), and González (1977) all document governmental and popular disdain toward the local variety of Spanish in New Mexico. Furthermore, the linguistic purity so long defended by the educational system was menaced by the local variety of Spanish. Negative attitudes toward New Mexican Spanish have been documented by a number of scholars (refer to MacIntosh and Ornstein (1974), Miller (1975), and Ramírez (1977).

Subjects, Materials, and Procedures

In this study, we present information that, while not gathered in what could be called a completely scientific manner, is none the less an important part of the corpus of data on the noteworthy survival of New Mexican Spanish. The date is coded, subjected to factor analysis, frequency tabulations, exploratory model building, linear analysis, and means comparisons in order to produce some simple charts that allow us to confirm certain conclusions and to raise questions worthy of further study.

The New Mexicans whose linguistic data were analyzed for this report took a test to be placed in an appropriate course of Spanish for native speakers in the fall of 1984 and 1985. Of the 235 placement tests available for analysis, only those students who reported being raised in New Mexico from ages 1 to 8 were kept in the study. Of these students, only 5 students reported having received formal education in Spanish. Because of this small number of students, only a very limited analysis of the effect of education on linguistic competence, self-evaluation, and language attitudes could be carried out. The results of the tests of 131 subjects were then analyzed in an attempt to discover their relative sense of linguistic competence.

The New Mexico students were divided into three groups for descriptive purposes only. The group from Albuquerque, 73 in all after elimination of incomplete forms, consisted of 57.5% women and 42.5% men (see Table 1). Over 65% of the Albuquerque students reported hearing little or no English at

TABLE 1

Descriptive Statistics of New Mexico Sample

Raised in Albuquerque

HOMELANG	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
1	5	5	6.849	6.849
2	43	48	58.904	65.753
3	19	67	26.027	91.781
4	5	72	6.849	98.630
5	1	73	1.370	100.000

RELATIVE	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
1	26	26	35.616	35.616
2	19	45	26.027	61.644
3	23	68	31.507	93.151
4	4	72	5.479	98.630
5	1	73	1.370	100.000

SEX	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCFNT	CUM PERCENT
1	42	42	57.534	57.534
2	31	73	42.466	100.000

NEWMEX	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
1	4	4	5.479	5.479
2	30	34	41.096	46.575
3	32	66	43.836	90.411
4	7	73	9.589	100.000

LATINAM	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
1	1	1	1.370	1.370
2	5	6	6.849	8.219
3	30	36	41.096	49.315
4	37	73	50.685	100.000

TABLE 2

Descriptive Statistics of New Mexico Sample

Raised in Northern New Mexico (Excluding Santa Fe)

HOMELANG	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
1	2	2	5.878	4.878
2	16	18	39.024	43.902
3	12	30	29.268	73.171
4	7	37	17.073	90.244
5	4	41	9.756	100.000

TABLE 2 (cont)

RELATIVE	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
1	3	3	7.317	7.317
2	20	23	48.780	56.098
3	17	40	41.463	97.561
4	1	41	2.439	100.000

SEX	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
1	27	27	65.854	65.854
2	14	41	34.146	100.000

NEWMEX	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
1	2	2	4.878	4.878
2	7	9	17.073	21.951
3	25	34	60.976	82.927
4	7	41	17.073	100.000

LATINAM	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
2	1	1	2.439	2.439
3	15	16	36.585	39.024
4	25	41	60.976	100.000

home, and similarly nearly 62% reported speaking little or no English with relatives outside the home. A majority of these students expressed positive attitudes toward the Spanish of New Mexico (about 54% described the language as excellent or good). An even more impressive number of students approved of South American Spanish (91%). This group may be summarized as moving rapidly toward English monolingualism, apparently because of circumstances beyond their control (lack of the language at home), but these same students are positive about New Mexican Spanish and quite enthusiastic about South American Spanish.

The Northern Mexican group (see Table 2) is composed of 41 students. The majority of them (56%) use at least half Spanish at home, in contrast with the Albuquerque group where the majority do not hear much Spanish at all at home. While most of these students (56%) speak little or no Spanish with relatives outside the home, substantially more do speak with such relatives (nearly 44%). A stunning 78% approve of New Mexican Spanish, and over 97% rate Latin American Spanish positively. In summary, this group maintains Spanish to a notably higher degree, and they also express considerably more positive attitudes toward both New Mexican and Latin American Spanish.

The group from Southern New Mexico is considerably smaller (see Table 3). Of these 17 students, nearly 53% hear at least half Spanish at home. Nearly the same percentage speaks with relatives outside the home in Spanish. Notably, under 30% rate New Mexican Spanish positively, and while over 88% rate South American Spanish positively, this figure is lower than either that of the Albuquerque or Northern Mexican groups. The members of the group from the South is similar in that they maintain Spanish to a higher degree as do the Northern New Mexicans. The Southern New Mexicans appear to stand out in that their attitudes are manifestly more negative toward New Mexican Spanish.

A word of caution is needed regarding this latter point. These tests were not given to subjects who were chosen randomly and independently and, therefore, cannot be said to be representative of the population at large. For this reason, it is not possible to conclude anything based on these data. Nevertheless, these quite intriguing figures lead one to speculate that either Southern New Mexicans do not like the Spanish that they speak or, more likely, that they do not like the Spanish spoken in Northern New Mexico. Just what they understand "New Mexican" Spanish to be cannot be resolved based on the present corpus of data.

All students wishing to be placed in a course for native speakers took a test that purported to measure their ability to discriminate between standard Spanish and interlanguage (nonnative Spanish), to spell correctly, to read and comprehend, and to analyze grammatical form and function. Following the test, most of these students answered a rather extensive background questionnaire that requested information about their birthplace, upbringing, present residence, use of Spanish in the home, use of Spanish with specific individuals, education in Spanish, and attitudes toward New Mexican Spanish, Mexican Spanish, Latin American Spanish, and their own Spanish.

TABLE 3

Descriptive Statistics of New Mexico Sample

Raised in Southern New Mexico (South of Socorro)

HOMELANG	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
1	2	2	11.765	11.765
2	6	8	35.294	47.059
3	4	12	23.529	70.588
4	5	17	29.412	100.000

RELATIVE	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
1	3	3	17.647	17.647
2	5	8	29.412	47.059
3	7	15	41.176	88.235
4	2	17	11.765	100.000

SEX	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
1	8	8	47.059	47.059
2	9	17	52.941	100.000

NEWMEX	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
1	1	1	5.882	5.882
2	11	12	64.706	70.588
3	4	16	23.529	94.118
4	1	17	5.882	100.000

LATINAM	FREQUENCY	CUM FREQ	PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
2	2	2	11.765	11.765
3	4	6	23.529	35.294
4	11	17	64.706	100.000

Data Analysis and Interpretation

No particular structure had been hypothesized to underlie this large number of items (146 in all), and therefore the factor analysis of this data must be considered purely exploratory in nature. Principal components of the tests were extracted based on a minimum eigenvalue criterion of one, and this pattern is displayed in Table 4. The structure revealed is interesting. The first factor to which items load can be attributed is best described as home language. Items that request the student to describe how frequently he or she speaks Spanish with other people correlate highly with the hypothesized underlying structure, but as well the student's evaluation of his or her Spanish, and the reading test results also load to this factor.

TABLE 4

Factor Analysis of Grammatical and Background Variables

Rotated Factor Pattern

	FACTOR1	FACTOR2	FACTOR3	FACTOR4	FACTOR5	FACTOR6
FRIENDS	0.78	0.14	-0.14	0.10	-0.20	-0.07
RELATIVE	0.75	-0.11	-0.02	0.15	0.12	-0.23
PARENTS	0.74	-0.01	-0.08	-0.00	-0.15	0.16
SELFSPAN	0.68	0.31	0.05	0.04	0.11	0.04
HOMELANG	0.66	-0.01	0.06	-0.24	0.33	0.04
SIBLING	0.63	0.06	0.13	-0.07	0.26	0.03
GRANDPA	0.60	-0.10	0.15	-0.04	-0.30	-0.01
DICTATE	0.03	0.86	0.02	-0.09	-0.18	-0.08
TENSE	-0.06	0.62	-0.07	0.40	0.16	-0.22
READ	0.46	0.62	0.07	-0.04	0.17	0.28
NEWMEX	-0.08	0.07	0.88	0.10	-0.03	0.03
SPANNMEX	0.14	-0.08	0.86	-0.02	-0.08	-0.06
LATINAM	-0.04	0.07	-0.06	0.82	0.04	0.01
MEXICO	0.03	-0.08	0.24	0.71	-0.23	-0.25
AGE	0.03	-0.15	-0.01	-0.00	0.78	0.19
SEX	-0.00	-0.33	0.16	0.09	-0.49	0.04
ACCEPT	-0.04	-0.13	-0.09	0.12	0.24	0.68
RAISED	0.32	0.03	0.09	0.30	0.07	0.52
COWORKER	0.43	-0.02	0.00	0.33	0.33	-0.59

The second factor extracted consists largely of test items: the dictation section, the reading section, and the tense or grammatical analysis section. Factor 3 is attitude toward New Mexican Spanish. Factor 4 is attitude toward other Spanish (Latin American and Mexican). Age and sex are correlated with the fifth factor in a way that is not at all transparently clear, and the last factor consists of the student's performance on the discrimination or acceptability test and the area where he or she was raised.

The mathematical analysis was useful in reducing somewhat the analysis of the data, but the theoretical framework mentioned at the outset of this paper is needed in order to make sense of what has been demonstrated thus far. As mentioned by Solé (1978), Fishman (1971), Gynan (1984), and others, language attitudes are not good predictors of behavior. As we can see here, language attitudes are unrelated to either self evaluation of Spanish or actual measured performance in Spanish.

Another interesting aspect of the results of the factor analysis is the lack of relationship between self evaluation of Spanish and performance on the acceptability, dictation and tense tests. Lindman, in a 1977 article in *Language and Speech* obtained very similar results. The question remains as to why this is so. To complicate the issue, reading is apparently fairly well related to both self-evaluation and to the objective test. This is a question yet to be answered in exploring the relationships that may obtain among the variables loading to the first factor.

TABLE 5

Predictors of Self Evaluation of Spanish

Class Level Information

CLASS	LEVELS	VALUES
RELATIVE	5 1 2 3 4 5	
HOME LANG	5 1 2 3 4 5	
READING	8	100 55.6 66.7 72.2 77.8 83.3 88.9

number of observations in data set = 131
94 observations used in analysis

Dependent Variable: Self Rating of Spanish

SOURCE	DF	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQ	F VALUE	PR > F	R-SQ	C.V
MODEL	14	21.47	1.53	4.95	.0001	0.51	24.85
ERROR	79	20.36	0.26	ROOT MSE		SELFSPAN	MEAN
TOTAL	93	41.83		0.51		2.043	

SOURCE	DF	TYPE ISS	F VALUE	PR>F	DF	TYPE IIISS	F VALUE	PR>F
RELATIVE	4	8.49	8.23	.0001	2.32		2.25	.075
HOMELANG	4	8.16	7.92	.0001	4.84		4.70	.002
READING	6	4.82	3.12	.0090	4.82		3.12	.010

Inasmuch as no hypotheses were available concerning this factor structure, a stepwise regression program was used to discover what variables might be useful in predicting the self evaluation of Spanish. Forward, backward, and maximum r-square procedures were used, and a model consisting of three predictor variables was determined to be likely to account for the largest proportion of variance in this corpus of data. The variables "relative," "homelang" and "reading" were demonstrated to be the best predictors of self evaluation of Spanish.

The variables were entered into a general linear regression model, and analysis-of-variance statistics were produced. These are presented in Table 5. As can be seen, the proportion of variance accounted for by this model is over .50. The three variables are good predictors of self evaluation of Spanish.

Means comparisons were obtained so that the relationships between the predictor variables and the self-evaluation of Spanish could be better understood. The results of means comparisons are presented in Table 6.

The first Duncan grouping shows that self-evaluation drops as interaction in Spanish with relatives who do not live at home decreases. This decrease in self-evaluation is apparent when the subject speaks in Spanish with outside relatives only half the time.

The second Duncan grouping shows that self-evaluation drops precipitously in homes where Spanish is spoken less than half the time. In homes where both languages are used, self-evaluation of Spanish remains constant.

The relationship between self-evaluation of Spanish and performance on the reading test is not easily discerned, but there is some correlation between decline in test score, and self-evaluation of Spanish. What is more interesting is that none of the other test items are related to self-evaluation. Perhaps spelling ability, grammatical analysis, and general linguistic ability are less salient aspects of competence in Spanish than reading, which most students may have tried. In the case of failure, it would be obvious to the subject whether or not he or she was capable of reading in Spanish, whereas such a distinction may not be made as easily with regard to the other test items.

The significant results we have produced in this study are better comprehended if visualized. In Table 7 are presented the results of the relationship between home language and self evaluation of Spanish. Note that no students who use only English in the home give themselves even a rating of good on the self evaluation scale, which ranges from 1 to 4. Interestingly, the 14 students who reported to using Spanish most of the time at home, only 1 gave the lowest self rating. This is good evidence that use of Spanish in the home influences the concept that one has of his own ability in that language.

In Table 8, it can be seen that of the 95 subjects who had completed data for this analysis, only 1 reported speaking with relatives outside the home in Spanish only. Only 5 reported using mostly Spanish with those relatives. Note that 62% of those who use half Spanish and half English with relatives outside the home report their ability in Spanish as only fair. Of the students who report no interaction in Spanish with relatives outside the home, a full 50% give themselves the lowest possible rating in Spanish. Again, this interaction with relatives outside the home exerts a measurable effect on the concept a student has of his language.

Finally, in Table 9, of the students who received an 83.3 on the reading test, over 94% rated their Spanish as fair or poor. Conversely, of those who receive a 94.4, over 34% rated their own Spanish as good. Interestingly, of those who received a score of 100% on their reading test, over 57% gave themselves a rating of only fair. No doubt these students recognize that passive reading ability does not imply speaking ability in Spanish.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In conclusion, we have seen that language attitudes are essentially unrelated to language competence. Although self-evaluation and results of objective testing are unrelated, as demonstrated by Lindman, reading ability is a predictor of self-evaluation, indicating the saliency of reading ability in comparison with other language abilities.

TABLE 6

Duncan's Multiple Range Test For Variable: Self Spanish

alpha=0.05   df=79   mse=0.257708
harmonic mean of cell sizes= 3.81963
means with the same letter are not significantly different

DUNCAN	GROUPING		MEAN	N	RELATIVE
	A		3.0	1	5
B	A		2.6	5	4
B	C		2.2	36	3
B	C		2.0	32	2
	C		1.6	20	1

DUNCAN	GROUPING		MEAN	N	HOME LANGUAGE
	A		2.5	4	5
	A		2.4	14	4
	A		2.4	26	3
	B		1.7	45	2
	B		1.6	5	1

DUNCAN	GROUPING		MEAN	N	READING
	A		2.4	26	100
B	A		2.3	23	94.4
B	A		2.0	3	66.7
B	A		2.0	4	77.8
B	A	C	1.9	15	88.0
B		C	1.6	17	83.3
		C	1.3	6	72.2

Although 'the area where raised' was not a significant predictor of any other factor, the descriptive statistics indicate that there is variation in language attitudes in New Mexico. The exploration of these language attitudes and the relation that may exist between them and language behavior deserves further study. Perhaps the most important data is presented in Table 7. There we see what drastic changes the use of mostly English in the home has on one's concept of one's own ability in the language. Future studies must involve Spanish-speaking parents of children, in order to determine whether or not education of parents regarding linguistic and cultural identity can make a dent in the massive shift to English taking place. Especially in the Albuquerque region, where bilinguals have taken the first step toward regaining their language, and the positive attitudes expressed there toward all forms of Spanish are ample justification for a hopeful outlook for Spanish maintenance in the State.

TABLE 7

Self-Evaluation of Spanish by Home Language

SELF SPANISH   HOME LANGUAGE

FREQUENCY PERCENT ROW PCT COL PCT	1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
1	2 2.11 10.53 40.00	14 14.74 73.68 30.43	2 2.11 10.53 7.69	1 1.05 5.26 7.14	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	19 20.00
2	3 3.16 5.66 60.00	31 32.63 58.49 67.39	11 11.58 20.75 42.31	6 6.32 11.32 42.86	2 2.11 3.77 50.00	53 55.79
3	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	1 1.05 4.35 2.17	13 13.68 56.52 50.00	7 7.37 30.43 50.00	2 2.11 8.70 50.00	23 24.21
TOTAL	5 5.26	46 48.42	26 27.37	14 14.74	4 4.21	95 100.00

TABLE 8

Self-Evaluation of Spanish by Relatives

SELF SPANISH   RELATIVES

FREQUENCY PERCENT ROW PCT COL PCT	1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
1	10 10.53 52.63 50.00	6 6.32 31.58 18.75	3 3.16 15.79 8.11	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	19 20.00
2	9 9.47 16.98 45.00	19 20.00 35.85 59.38	23 24.21 43.40 62.16	2 2.11 3.77 40.00	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	53 55.79
3	1 1.05 4.35 5.00	7 7.37 30.43 21.88	11 11.58 47.83 29.73	3 3.16 13.04 60.00	1 1.05 4.35 0.00	23 24.21
TOTAL	20 21.05	32 33.68	37 38.95	5 5.26	1 1.05	95 100.00

TABLE 9

Table of Reading Scores by Self-Evaluation of Spanish

READING FREQUENCY PERCENT ROW PCT COL PCT	SELF SPANISH 1	2	3	TOTAL
55.55	0 . . .	0 . . .	0 . . .	0 0.00
66.67	1 1.06 33.33 5.26	1 1.06 33.33 1.92	1 1.06 33.33 4.35	3 3.19
72.22	2 4.26 66.67 21.05	0 2.13 33.33 3.85	6 0.00 0.00 0.00	6 6.38
77.78	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	4 4.26 100.00 7.69	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	4 4.26
83.335	4 8.51 47.06 42.11	9 8.51 47.06 15.38	2 1.06 5.88 4.35	17 18.09
88.89	4 4.26 26.67 21.05	9 9.57 60.00 17.31	2 2.13 13.33 8.70	15 15.96
94.44	2 2.13 8.70 10.53	13 13.83 56.52 25.00	8 8.51 34.78 34.78	23 24.47
100	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	15 15.96 57.69 28.85	11 11.70 42.31 47.83	26 27.66
TOTAL	19 20.21	52 55.32	23 24.47	94 100.00

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Introductory Observations

One of the most gratifying experiences of my life was that of learning Spanish during the fifties on the streets of South El Paso and in the institutions of higher learning on la calle Mariscal in Ciudad Juárez. The pleasure was not only in learning to express myself in ways I had never before known to be possible, but also in becoming a friend of many who were equally alienated from polite society, as well as from the vice squad and the social police. What I did not discover for years was that this alienation represents a sociocultural context that has produced similar manifestations throughout the Spanish-speaking world, in literature as well as in popular speech.

This was not a sudden discovery, but a realization spawned over a period of years as I was teaching Mexican-Americans Spanish and Latin American literature at Ysleta High School and the University of Texas at El Paso. I was always impressed by their nearness, linguistically and culturally, to the great traditions of Spain and Latin America. This impression has developed even further at Texas A&M University, where, in the same class with Anglos and Mexican-Americans, I teach bolivianos, cubanos, ecuatorianos, españoles, guatemaltecos, hondureños, peruanos, nicaragüenses, salvadoreños, venezolanos, and others. For example, in one recent graduate class on Texas Spanish, my students were from Spain, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and the United States, with Mexican-Americans from South Texas (McAllen), West Texas (Van Horn), and Chicago. It was easier for me than for them to see what they had in common. I had them analyze each other's dialects, and their focus generally was on differences, revealing the linguistic prejudices of each and ignoring the similarities, which I consider of much more fundamental importance.

Research Approaches to the Unity of Spanish

The usual method of research on Mexican-American Spanish is to describe its manifestations in terms of deviations from official norms as they are taught in schools. Another method would be to study the similarities between these and other deviations in other places and at other times, with the purpose of understanding better the underlying sociocultural contexts that produce them. I believe that the latter represents a pressing research need, which might counteract the provincial viewpoint too often reinforced by the former, as well as illuminate more clearly the functions of languages in general.

A useful instrument for doing this could be Jacob Ornstein-Galicia's "tentative sociolinguistic notational system" presented at the XIth International Congress of Linguistics (1972), which lists some fifty terms associated with different sociocultural contexts. What I learned as pachuco, for example, is associated with several of his terms: "ar (argot, slang, caló, patois, "street variety"), vu (vulgar), po for pornographic, obscene, scatological), jo (jocose, "wordplay"), and others.

My own initial view of the pachuco of South El Paso was very parochial. I learned it ten years before Lurline Coltharp's Tongue of the Tirilones (1965) was published. I had not met other experts from El Paso like John Sharp, and I knew nothing of George Barker's study of pachuco in Tucson. I perceived the dialect as a local way of showing contempt for the authorities.

Octavio Paz, on the other hand, found in the pachuco of Los Angeles a key to Mexican culture in general, as demonstrated in his book, which has become a modern classic, Laberinto de la soledad (1963). In a later book, Conjunciones y disyunciones (1978), he extended it to elements of language behavior with universal significance. Speaking the kind of language represented by pachuco is, he believes, a poetic act of the dispossessed, symbolized by the subversive carcajada, of liberation from the constraints of formal society. In his book, the significance of pachuco becomes universally human.

My purpose here is much more modest. It does not require the knowledge, intelligence, or imagination of Octavio Paz. Let me illustrate by a series of lessons I had on the use of the word coger. One institution that provided many of my initial Spanish lessons was the El Paso City-County Health Department. Upon leaving the building one day, I said in a loud voice, "Bueno, voy a coger a otra." This produced not the civilized sonrisa described by Paz, but the subversive carcajada, and not only on the part of the employees, but also of the clients. When I returned, I asked one of the nurses what was so funny about what I had said. She refused to tell me directly, but told a story to illustrate her point. It concerned a woman who went to see her neighbor's husband. He wasn't home. His wife explained, "Fue a coger el tranvia." The neighbor shook her head in admiration and exclaimed, "¡Ay, qué hombre!"

One erroneous belief that I long harbored was that this particular user of coger was local. For years, I combined the provincialism of the gang member with that of the language teacher. I had no idea, for example, that my being a gabacho had any relation to there being a Gabacho river on the French side of the Pyrenees.

Later, a professor from Spain at the University of Texas at Austin, Ramón Martínez-López, told me of making a speech to a group of women in Argentina, where he had the occasion to use the word coger repeatedly. The women, he said, were obviously upset, embarrassed, and dismayed, but he had no idea what was wrong. At last one of them, in a stage whisper, said to all, "El no sabe; es español." He said that they discovered later that the word was so strong that they would not even use compound words like recoger and encoger.

Later still, I recurred to the authorities and found that Collins Spanish Dictionary lists as one meaning of coger "to lay" or "to screw" for Argentina, Bolivia, Cuba, Mexico, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Zamora Vicente says that agarrar "ha sustituido a coger por razones de pudor en Argentina, Uruguay y Venezuela" (1979, 435). He does not mention Bolivia, Cuba, or Mexico, and although writers on "Chicano" Spanish have noted the frequency with which "agarrar" is used, I have never read this mentioned as a possible explanation. However, I have seen a third-grade pupil in Laredo giggle and cover her mouth when the teacher said "Voy a coger la tiza".

Paz began Conjunciones y disyunciones as an introduction to Armando Jiménez' Nueva picardía mexicana, (1971; a sequel to the Picardía mexicana originally published in 1960). It is an ample and fascinating study of the type of sociocultural contexts that produce pachuco as well as other

"subversive" dialects, including much of what is now identified as "Chicano," with extended treatments of pendejo, chingado, and other words I used to hear many times a day in South El Paso and Cd. Juárez. García Márquez has said about Jiménez' work "Su labor nos permite enterarnos del idioma del pueblo, al que los opulentos y engreídos le hacían asco. Con ella podemos comunicarnos mejor y adentrarnos en el alma de la gente, comprenderla y quererla" (1982, 8).

Sociocultural Contexts of Texas Spanish

South El Paso offers one of several of the sociocultural contexts of Texas Spanish. Thirteen miles downriver, Ysleta provides others, and seven hundred miles down the Rio Grande still others are provided. However, these and all other dialects of Texas Spanish have much in common not only with each other, but with rural Castilian Spanish, rural Costa Rican Spanish, and the Spanish spoken by the Argentine gaucho a hundred years ago, as well as with "el español culto informal" as spoken everywhere the language is used. This is demonstrated by reference to other descriptions of the Spanish spoken in other places and at other times as well as by its representation in literature.

Long before linguists began to make meticulous descriptions of spoken speech, dramatists, novelists, short story writers, and even poets were, by indicating peculiarities of the speech of their characters, providing information with respect to the sociocultural contexts in which it occurs. A perusal of any number of works of literature can show the similarity of the sociocultural contexts of the varieties of Spanish spoken in Texas to that of other geographical environments in the Spanish-speaking world.

Those who do the best research in the area usually realize that so-called Chicano Spanish represents patterns common throughout the Spanish-speaking world, and have at times stated so in their work. For example, Rosaura Sánchez, whose article entitled "Nuestra circunstancia lingüística" (1972), has been re-published several times, becoming one of the standard descriptions of "Chicano" Spanish, states:

> 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 (1982, 46).

Rosaura Sánchez' Chicano Discourse (1983) not only recommends but also utilizes some of the most sophisticated methodological approaches that I have seen in the study of Mexican-American Spanish. At this point, however, I would like to use an approach she does not recommend, comparing her description of "Chicano" Spanish to a description by the editors of an anthology of the "gaucho" Spanish of Argentina used in the long poem Martín Fierro one hundred years earlier (Englekirk, et al., 1968, 205-206).

In "gaucho" Spanish "e and i, o and u frequently take each other's proper places in unaccented syllables: cair for caer... medecina for medicina, policía for policía ..." In her description of "Chicano" Spanish, Rosaura Sánchez notes "change of high vowels" such as i to e and o to u, giving examples such as enjusticia, estoria, polecía, rumbo (for rumbo), complir, etc. She also lists the same type of phenomena under

"change of unstressed mid-vowels to high vowels" as in _manijar, murir,_ etc. (Sánchez, 1982, 20).

The major difference between the two descriptions of what occurs in the two dialects is that the one by Sánchez is in technical linguistic terminology and the one in the anthology is written for conventional readers. This is true of most of the other elements in the two descriptions. The editors of the anthology state that in "gaucho" Spanish "e sometimes changes to _ie_ in accented syllables: _prienda_ for _prenda,_ _ausiencia_ for _ausencia;_ the reverse is also true: _cencia_ for _ciencia._" As in the first mentioned case, even the same example _is used:_ Sánchez lists "substitution of simple vowel for diphthongs in stressed position," and gives as examples, _cencia, setembre, pacencia, penso, pos,_ etc.

The examples could go on and on: in gaucho Spanish "the _d_ between two vowels disappears especially in past participles;" in Chicano Spanish there is a "loss of voiced dental fricatives in intervocalic and final positions." In gaucho Spanish, "combinations of consonants difficult to pronounce are simplified;" in Chicano Spanish there is "simplification of consonant clusters." In gaucho Spanish, "g takes the place of _b_ in some words, of _h_ in others: _güeno_ for _bueno, güesos_ for _huesos._" Sánchez lists "interchageable 'grave' voiced fricatives," such as _aburja_ for _aguja, agüelo_ for _abuelo,_ etc. In gaucho Spanish "j takes the place of _f_ in some words, of _h_ in others: _juego_ for _fuego...,_" and in Chicano Spanish there is "aspiration of the voiceless labiodental fricative _f_ and aspiration for what is now only an orthographic _h_ in urban Spanish." She gives the examples _jue_ for _fue, se juyó_ for _se huyó._ There is elision in gaucho Spanish, _apócope_ in Chicano Spanish; there is sometimes a _b_ inserted before an _m_ in both; there is metathesis in both; there are archaic forms in both.

Myths and Misconceptions

Word lists and dictionaries representing Texas, Mexican-American, and Chicano Spanish have been made up listing pronunciation variations as different "words." The richness of non-standard vocabulary thus available is obvious from the above. But I would like to suggest that anyone who wants a real _Diccionario de Babel_ try something like this for English variations.

Should we infer from the above that Mexican-Americans speak a dialect of Spanish associated only with gauchos and other poor and uneducated country people?

In the early seventies, two Costa Rican sociologists made such an assumption; they thought that they could establish the socioeconomic position of rural Costa Ricans through their use of language and attempted to elicit some of the pronunciation patterns listed above as characteristic of gauchos and Chicanos among Costa Ricans of widely varying socioeconomic level (Seligson and Seligson, 1975). However, they found no significant correlations of non-standard usage with any index of economic level; the only correlation of any significance was with years of education, and that, .40, was a modest one.

While it is widely assumed that the non-standard characteristics of Spanish under discussion are not found among well-educated, middle-class people in Spain and Latin America, there is other evidence to the contrary. One description of "el habla culta informal" spoken in Colombia (Flórez, 1963), a country that has a popular reputation, among highly educated people of other countries as well as Colombia, of representing the "best"

Spanish spoken, utilizes some of the same descriptive terminology as the descriptions of gaucho and Chicano Spanish. This is an overtly invidious description, with categories of "habla culta, habla culta informal, and habla inculta."

What is most interesting in terms of comparison is that many of the elements listed above as characteristics of both "gaucho" and "Chicano" speech are listed here as characteristics of the habla culta informal of Colombians. One characteristic, for example, is "relajar en mayor o menor grado las vocales," with examples given such as escharon for escucharon, and vasito becoming vasto. Another tendency is "cerrar la /e/ y la /o/ inacentuadas en concurrencia con vocal abierta, precedente o subsiguiente." Examples given include pelié for peleé, linia for línea, no sia tonto for no sea tonto, iar for ear in all infinitives, as peliar, pasiar, golpiar, etc. Others include oi for eo, as in pior for peor, ua for oa, as in almuada for almohada and tualla for toalla. Also, oe becomes ue, with the example given nuesnada for no es nada (Flórez, 1963).

The description of el habla inculta seems to be more a matter of degree than of kind; for example, a characteristic is "debilitar mucho las consonantes fricativas entre vocales," as in conservaor for conservador, to weaken fricative consonants in intervocalic position. Finally, one of the notable characteristics of "uncultivated" speech is overcorrection: "como reacción ante los frecuentes vulgarismos, producir — también frecuentemente — ultracorrecciones y realizar articulaciones arcaicas o afectadas en el castellano de España (v labiodental, d de -ado, x como cs, etc.)."

Overcorrection and Other Occupational Hazards of Language Teachers

Overcorrection is one of the occupational hazards of the language teacher, and one from which I suffered for several years, and to a certain extent still do. I was misinformed as well as informed by teachers, colleagues, and educated friends when I spoke the Spanish I had learned in El Paso, and came not only to commit but to teach the more serious errors of overcorrection.

The variations from place to place and time to time have been exaggerated through the influence of Spanish teachers, defiantly provincial "Chicanos," "scientific" linguists, and monolingual reporters, among others. It has resulted in a low degree of awareness on the part of those in Texas who speak Spanish of the relation between the language as they speak it and Spanish as it is spoken elsewhere, and of the kinship among dialects resulting from similar sociocultural contexts in different places.

For thirty years, I have been hearing Mexican-Americans deprecate their own use of Spanish, and monolingual Anglos declare that it is not Spanish at all. When my sixteen-year-old daughter read the abstract of this paper, she told me that from time to time her classmates have asked her if she speaks "real" Spanish or the kind the Mexicans speak.

Last month I was having a tire repaired in Del Río, Texas, and began speaking Spanish with the mechanic. In the course of the conversation, he told me, "Usted habla español mucho mejor que nosotros. Nosotros hablamos un español mocho." "Mocho" was the only word in the conversation I did not know as standard; however, I looked it up later in my Nuevo pequeño Larousse, and found that in the Americas — not just in Texas — it means "mutilated." To my ear, his Spanish was not in the least mutilated; on the

other hand, I have heard many Spanish teachers mutilate the language with great pride.

When we first moved to Bryan, I came home one day to find my Peruvian wife speaking Spanish with a woman I had not met, and I joined the conversation, which continued at a rapid pace. I assumed that the woman was Mexican-American when she used the word "asina." I know that it is a word used throughout the Spanish-speaking world, but also that few of those who use it came to the United States except from Mexico. Finally the woman asked me, "¿Y cómo es que usted habla español tan bien?" My wife said, "El es profesor de español en Texas A&M." Suddenly the woman started tripping over her tongue, finding it almost impossible to continue the conversation. I have found that I communicate much better with native speakers of Spanish in Texas when I do not reveal that I teach the language.

Some Spanish teachers, wanting to believe that they speak "better" Spanish than that of their students, go so far as to call what they speak "Castilian" Spanish, opposing it to the "Tex-Mex" of their students. The problem is that not only most of the Anglos but many of the Mexican-American themselves have swallowed this story.

How deep this kind of ignorance can become was demonstrated to me last January. Someone called from the newspaper USA TODAY and told me there were rumors of a new language developing in Texas. I spent about half an hour trying to explain that there is nothing new about Texas Spanish, that it represents processes that have been occurring in the language for centuries, and that almost all the variations are represented wherever Spanish is spoken. They must have published an account of the interview, because I received several calls about it from various parts of the United States during the next few weeks.

One of the calls was from a radio station in Oklahoma City. They scheduled a radio-telephone interview with me on the subject. The interviewer expressed the belief that native speakers in Texas would not be able to understand Castilian Spanish. I told him that there are two definitions for "Castilian": it may be a synonym for "Spanish" or it may represent the dialect of Castile, and that my best friend is from Spain, and I have heard him speak Castilian for years with our Mexican-American students, with no evidence whatsoever of difficulty on his part or theirs. The interviewer told me that he himself has studied Castilian Spanish in high school, and that he had gone to South America expecting to be able to use the language, but that nobody could understand his Castilian and he could not understand them. I asked him what part of South America he had visited. "Brazil," he told me.

Postscript: The Investigation of Common and Shared Elements

One possible direction for research that might counteract these misleading tendencies is toward the investigation of common elements in the Spanish spoken in different geographic locations at different times, utilizing creative literature as well as standard descriptions by Alfaro (1970), Kany (1960), Menéndez Pidal (1980), Zamora Vicente (1979), and others, with attempts to discover the similarities in sociocultural contexts that produce given linguistic phenomena.

Let me give the last word to Zamora Vicente: (1979, 378-379) "A lo largo del Nuevo Mundo, desde Nuevo México a la Tierra del Fuego, los fenómenos fonéticos se repiten. Algunas regiones denotan alguna preferencia por éste o por el otro fenómeno, pero todos existen en todas partes, y, por añadidura, todos son conocidos en el español peninsular."

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PERCEPTIONS OF SPANISH-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

IN JUAREZ, MEXICO

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The southwestern region of the United States has for several decades provided an excellent ground in which to study the Spanish language and its multiple contacts with English. While for many years researchers' efforts were devoted to describing the non-standard features, deviations, and English interferences of the Spanish spoken in the southwest (Bills 1975, vi), the current interest of scholars focuses on language development, language varieties, language maintenance, and language attitudes.[1] Within the past decade, attitudes toward Mexican-American varieties have gained the attention of researchers both in and outside the Southwest. To date, although there is not a leading study on attitudes toward Southwest Spanish, there are various pieces of research indicating contradictory trends in the field.

In their review of research on ingroup and outgroup reactions to Mexican American language varieties, Ryan and Carranza (1977) state that traditional depreciation of Spanish has not led to systematic preferences for English among Mexican Americans. Spanish is rated more favorably than English at least among those who identify themselves as Chicanos, and among those who consider Spanish appropriate in certain domains (e.g., home and family). Younger Mexican Americans, those with the self-referent Chicano, and those enrolled in courses of Spanish for Native Speakers appreciate Southwest Spanish, code-switching, and New Mexican Spanish at least for some purposes.[2] In a study conducted by Solé (1977) on the basis of three dimensions (ideological, instrumental, and affective), it was found that attitudinal loyalty to Spanish was fully verbalized only among the most educated, English proficient and upwardly mobile segment of a Mexican-American group. The subjects' behavioral commitment to Spanish, however, seemed to be primarily a function of linguistic ability rather than attitudinal orientation towards the language.

Whereas all the studies aforementioned were conducted in southwestern communities of the interior, the investigations by Amastae and Elias-Olivares (1977) and the studies reported in Ornstein (1982) were carried out in border areas characterized by the predominance of individuals of Mexican descent and their systematic contact with Mexico. The findings of border studies suggest that Mexican Americans tend to believe that they speak an informal variety, a southwestern dialect or "border slang".[3] Although such disparity of outcomes may be in part the result of discontinuous methodologies and frameworks, it can be assumed that differences in attitudes are partially due to proximity to the ancestral country. While this presupposition will only be confirmed with more abundant and reliable studies, my experience in border areas leads me to assume that border inhabitants are extremely sensitive to dialect variation. Interestingly, individuals of Mexican descent inhabiting U.S. border areas are more fluent in Spanish than Mexican Americans of the interior, but they may also be more insecure about their competencies, given their constant exposure to and unconscious comparison with Mexican nationals, who often threaten Mexican Americans with their natively fluent Spanish. Although several competent scholars (Huerta, 1978; Keller, 1982; Peñalosa, 1981) have observed that Mexicans tend to reject and criticize Mexican Americans' speech and behavior, thus far no study has provided the underlying reasons for this apparent dissociation.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss and interpret Mexicans' evaluations of one of Mexican Americans' speech varieties, that is, Spanish-English Code-switching.[4] Code-switching (C-S) is defined as alternating, continuous, and systematic stretches of Spanish and English in the same discourse. Researchers distinguish, however, between intersentential and intrasentential switching: the former consists of switching languages at sentence boundaries, whereas "intrasentential switching involves the shift from L_1 [language] to L_2 [language] in the middle of a sentence, often with no interruptions, hesitations, pauses, or the other indications of a major categorical shift . . . This type of language shifting, which is characterized by a smooth flow between English and Spanish, is common in most United States Hispanic communities . . ." (Lipski, 1986, 2-3). Both intersentential and intrasentential C-S are common styles of communication among bilingual individuals of Mexican descent inhabiting El Paso, Texas. The latter type, however, may be perceived by those who are monolingual, as an abrupt, inexplicable, and often annoying change of languages. For decades, I had observed that Mexican residents of Juárez reacted negatively to this "otherwise natural" style of communication. Opinions about C-S were gathered in 1980 and 1981, as a part of a major study on language attitudes and language use.[5] Thus, whereas this paper primarily concerns itself with perceptions of C-S, it is indispensable to first offer a general account of the theoretical-methodological background that generated the main research. To clarify the present examination, this paper will be divided in six sections: (1) Juárez setting and background, (2) theoretical framework, (3) sample method and respondents, (4) English use and language loyalty, (5) "inherent" values of C-S, and (6) communicative values of C-S.

1. SETTING AND BACKGROUND

Juárez lies approximately 1,300 miles northwest of Mexico City, the capital of the country, 300 miles north of Chihuahua City, the capital of its state, Chihuahua, and immediately south of El Paso, the corresponding U.S. border city. The two border cities share a common life that dates back to the 17th century, when the two communities known as Paso del Norte, were one. Although the Mexican-American War (1846-48) separated the two communities politically, they have remained closely linked by social, economic, and cultural forces (Martínez, 1980). Juárez and El Paso enjoyed a peaceful life until the beginning of the 20th century, when they were caught in the Revolution of 1910-21, the social upheaval that linked the vast northern area with the rest of the country. When the Revolution ended, however, Juárez's economic dependence on the United States in general, and on El Paso, in particular, increased considerably (Martínez 1978). Today, although Juárez as a port of entry is in a strategic position, it nonetheless remains economically dependent upon and vulnerable to internal and external forces.

At present, the gainfully employed population of Juárez works mainly in industry, commerce, and services. In addition, a small percentage of the Juárez residents commute daily to El Paso where they work in construction, trade, and services. Almost the entire population of Juárez is, for economic purposes, very much involved with American society. For example, it is estimated that one third of the Juárez population draws its livelihood from the one hundred and sixty American-owned assembly plants set up on a permanent basis in this locality (Martinez, 1978). A less significant proportion of the Juárez population works in tourism and services of different types (e.g., health care deliveries).

In comparison to other regions of Mexico, Juárez is a very developed area that has historically attracted thousands of migrants from the interior of Mexico (Castellanos, 1981), many of whom have, since the 19th century, crossed the border to the United States in order to work (Martínez, 1977).

Thus, people move to the border seeking a higher standard of living (Castellanos, 1981). Daily contact between Juárez and El Paso occurs on all social and economic levels and involves a wide complex of activities such as work, shopping, entertainment, visits to relatives and friends, and commercial transactions (D'Antonio and Form, 1965). The proximity of the United States has indeed affected the stability of the local population, since juarenses move constantly from Juárez to El Paso and back, owing to diverse personal and financial interests. This flow facilitates contact, which inevitably provokes judgment and comparison of languages and language varieties. Several decades of intense interdependence with El Paso have stimulated Mexicans to modify habits in dress, diet, language, and interpersonal relationships (Martínez, 1977 and 1978). The area most strikingly affected by dependence and cultural interaction has been that of consumer habits.

People of the interior of Mexico, noting these changed consumer habits, especially in the 1920-1950 period, charged the Northerners with "denationalization." The charge extended not only to the level of purchasing per se but to cultural beliefs, language use, and language education. Juarenses defended themselves by making clear that their commercial vassalage to El Paso was almost an obligatory condition, because Juárez was a city very much apart from the Mexican economy (Martínez, 1978). Nonetheless, they reaffirmed that they were attitudinally and behaviorally affiliated to the Mexican heritage; as a result, the community witnessed campaigns on behalf of nationalism, enhancement of language loyalty through education, discussions on the issue of Mexicanness in the local newspapers, and refutation of charges from the interior regarding the level of "Yankee" influence in the border people's daily lives (Martinez, 1978). Some of the issues discussed in the newspapers of the 1950s were the stereotype of the pocho,[6] on the one hand, and language maintenance, on the other. The concerned citizens defending their city emphasized that Juárez residents were not to be confused with individuals of Mexican descent inhabiting El Paso.

At present, juarenses still claim to adhere strongly to the Mexican cultural continuum in the face of their economic orientation toward the United States. This nationalistic attitude has been corroborated by Bustamante (1982), who directed a study on national identity and use of English. This cross-national investigation revealed that Juárez residents reported the highest scores with respect to Mexican values, customs, and traditions, as well as the highest scores in English use.[7] Six Mexican urban centers — Juárez, Tijuana, Matamoros, Uruapan, Acapulco and Mexico City— were included in the study.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Juárez-El Paso area is a manifold ethnic setting distinguished by the presence of Mexicans, Anglo-Americans and Mexican Americans. This diversity encompasses the use of two official languages (Spanish and English), their regional and social varieties, and, more interestingly, the blending of the two in the vernacular. The complexity of the border milieu resembles other contact situations in which individual and social judgments about nonstandard languages and language varieties may readily originate, giving rise to stereotypes of different sorts.

The attitude research conducted in recent years in the U.S., Canada, and Great Britain has advanced transcendent hypotheses involving various categories of language evaluation: (a) the societal values of specific identifiable features of a language or language variety,[8] (b) the different types of motivations that individuals or groups might have about learning a language,[9] and (c) the judgments and communicational difficulties of speakers who associate a given language to a national or ethnic group.[10]

The continuous social contact of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the
border area thus offers an ideal opportunity to test assumptions about
language judgments and speech strategies between these two ethnically related
groups. The following sections of this paper deal with the "Hypothesis of
Social Connotations," and with the "Theory of Speech Accommodation," two
seemingly unrelated frameworks that serve as a basis for exploring the
possible sources of attitudes and reactions prevailing on the Mexico-U.S.
border.

The Hypothesis of Social Connotations

The areas in which judgments about nonstandard languages and varieties
often tend to be made are those related to aesthetics, correctness, and
adequacy merits. In order to demonstrate that these value judgments are
equally unsound, Trudgill and Giles (1979) have critically discussed
sociolinguistic research carried out both under experimental conditions and
in the speech community itself. In addition, the authors have developed an
experiment based on the evaluation of the aesthetic merits of a number of
varieties of the English language.

After interpreting the body of data that emerges from empirical studies
dealing with urban dialects, Trudgill and Giles demonstrate that the true
nature of value judgments is that they are not linguistic judgments but
social judgments. In English, for example, multiple negation, absence of
third person singular -s, and presence of -s on other grammatical persons are
all widely considered to be "wrong" (p. 170). The data presented in a number
of studies (e.g., Labov, 1971; Wolfram, 1969) show that they are most typical
of working- or lower-class speech; Trudgill and Giles (1979:170) state that,
as a result

grammatical forms which are most typical of working-class dialects
have low status, because of their association with groups who have
low prestige in our society. This low status leads to the belief
that these forms are "bad" and they are therefore judged to be
"wrong." Evaluations of this type are therefore clearly social
judgments about the status of speakers who use particular forms
rather than objective linguistic judgments about the correctness
of the forms themselves.

Another area in which value judgments about language tend to be made is
that of aesthetic judgments; this is so because

there is still a widespread feeling that some dialects and, in
particular, some accents are much 'nicer,' 'more pleasant' or
'more beautiful' than others (Trudgill and Giles, 1979, 173).

The aesthetic argument is often used by those who claim that there may
be nothing "wrong" about the accent, but such accent may be very "ugly" (p.
173-4). Trudgill and Giles (1979) attempt to demonstrate, too, that
aesthetic judgments, just like judgments concerned with correctness, have no
place in the objective evaluation of spoken language. Although there is
scarce documentary evidence to state that there exist languages and varieties
of languages with superior aesthetic qualities,

this is an area where may linguists are prepared, at least
informally, to make as many value judgments as laymen (Trudgill
and Giles, 1979, 173-4).

In explaining the reasons for this widespread phenomenon, Trudgill and
Giles offer two opposing approaches. The first approach (known as the
"inherent value hypothesis")

maintains that some linguistic varieties have become accepted as standards or have acquired prestige simply because they are the most attractive (Trudgill and Giles, 1979, 174).

The second view (the "imposed norm hypothesis") proposes that a dialect or accent is not elevated to a position of prestige because it is inherently the most pleasing form of that language, but because it has gained consensual validity due to cultural norms and due also to a perceived association with the status of the social group that happens to speak in that manner.

The authors argue, nonetheless, against both hypotheses. The "inherent value hypothesis" is discarded because the general public is subjected to cultural norms that are strong and pervasive. Against this hypothesis they cite nasalization, a linguistic component commonly associated with "unpleasant" Australian accents of English, but a feature of many "nice" Received Pronunciation speakers (p. 177). The competing view, although seemingly sound, is also discarded on the basis of two experiments whose purpose was to determine whether people who had virtually no knowledge of French and Greek would be able to differentiate on aesthetic and prestige dimensions, the various forms of French spoken in Quebec and two varieties of Greek spoken in Greece. The results of these two investigations indicated that the Welsh judges of the French-Canadian varieties were totally unable to distinguish them on aesthetic grounds (Giles, Bourhis, and Davies, 1974). Likewise, none of the British subjects who rated the Greek dialects showed signs of agreement on the relative aesthetic merits of the two types of Greek (Giles, Bourhis, and Lewis 1974). These two experiments nullify the "imposed norm hypothesis" because the validity of cultural norms and the prestige of a group of speakers are not universal. Additionally, both hypotheses are invalidated by another experiment involving evaluations of five accents of one language, English. The subjects, coming from diverse regions of the English-speaking world, were unable to assign uniform aesthetic and prestige merits to all the varieties because their connotations change from place to place.

Trudgill and Giles (1979) therefore propose a more flexible hypothesis accounting for the relativity of linguistic value judgments:

> . . . aesthetic judgments of linguistic varieties are the result
> of a complex of social connotations that these varieties have
> for particular listeners . . . Connotations of this type are
> by no means only a question of prestige of lack of it, and,
> crucially, they can and do vary within cultures (Trudgill and
> Giles, 1979, 180).

This "Hypothesis of Social Connotations" may account for the relationship between the aesthetic merits of different languages and the connotations that they evoke in the minds of members of a particular group. Under this conceptual framework, if social connotations of a language variety are not known to an individual, he will not be capable of ranking it aesthetically relative to other varieties.

> Aesthetic judgments about language, that is, are just as much
> social judgments as those concerned with correctness (Trudgill
> and Giles, 1979, 181).

Assumption 1

The hypothesis just discussed and the observed negative prestige of the mixed language variety, C-S, spoken in El Paso led this writer to assume that insofar as "inherent" values is concerned, C-S would be rated unfavorably by Juárez residents.

The Theory of Speech Accommodation

The theory proposed by Giles and associates accounts for the sociocultural factors influencing differentiated ethnolinguistic groups; it also outlines the socio-psychological processes and linguistic strategies adopted when those groups come into close contact. The basic postulate of this theory is that under certain conditions a speaker may shift the characteristics of his speech (accent, speed, style, grammar) in order to obtain his listener's approval. Under different social and personal circumstances, the speaker may alter his way of speaking in order to dissociate himself from others and hence accentuate his linguistic differences. A shift toward the interlocutor's speech is termed convergence, whereas a shift away from the interlocutor's speech is termed divergence. Through speech accommodation and adjustment, individuals express positive and negative values, attitudes, and intentions toward others (Giles 1973; 1977; Giles et al., 1977).

One experimental study illustrates how a French-Canadian speaker was favorably evaluated by English-Canadians because of his perceived considerateness and effort in bridging the cultural gap even though his English was not natively fluent. In a situation such as this, there is reciprocal accommodation or convergence, which functions as a stimulus for positive attitudes between members of conflicting groups (Giles et al., 1973). The opposite has also been shown, that is, that speakers tend to diverge in order to stress the differences between themselves and the outgroup. Accent divergence among Welsh people learning Welsh was investigated in a language laboratory where subjects were asked questions about their reasons for learning a 'dying language.' The questions were presented verbally by a British-accented speaker who threatened the subjects' feelings of ethnic identity. The subjects replied by broadening their Welsh accents and by introducing Welsh words and phrases in their responses (Bourhis, Giles, and Lambert 1975). The first of the two experiments conducted by Bourhis and associates was so designed that French-Canadian subjects would hear a speaker of formal Canadian French style accommodating to a speaker of European French (upward convergence), by switching from his formal Canadian French to popular French (downward divergence), or by showing no accommodation. The purpose of the second study was to investigate the listener's evaluative reactions to similar types of accent change in the context of Britain. The South Welsh accent was the regional variety of English chosen for empirical investigation, since broadening a Welsh accent in English can be taken as a reflection of an individual's desire to emphasize his national identity. In the second study, South Welsh listeners heard a mild Welsh accented speaker accommodating to a speaker of standard accent or Received Pronunciation by switching to this prestigious variety (upward convergence), by switching to a broader Welsh accent (downward divergence), or by showing no accommodation (i.e., making no change from a mild Welsh accent).

It was found in both Canada and Britain that upward convergence was associated with an increase in perceived intelligence by listeners. Although cross-national consistency is apparent in that upward convergence is associated with increased intelligence in both cultures, in Britain a speaker adopting a standard speech style will, in addition, be perceived as less trustworthy and kinder than someone who maintains his own speech style. If a speaker in the Britain setting emphasizes his identity with a member of the outgroup (by means of downward divergence), he will be perceived as more trustworthy and kinder than had he just maintained his identity through speech (i.e., used his mild Welsh accent). Apparently in Wales, a broad accent may be perfectly acceptable as a medium for expressing one's national identity. This is not the case, however, among people in Quebec.

Assumption 2

Guided by the "Theory of Speech Accommodation," I assumed that Juárez residents would reject the Spanish/English Code-switching used in El Paso because they perceive it as an impediment to communication.

SAMPLE

In order to test the hypotheses proposed above, this writer gathered a sample of 45 males and 40 females, all of whom were personally interviewed in the winter and spring of 1980-81 at establishments such as stores, restaurants, American assembly plants, banks, public offices, schools, and universities, each of which were visited several times. The sample was drawn haphazardly from these establishments, but it was purposive, for its goal was to include individuals of diverse backgrounds who had at the same time a relatively stable occupation in Juárez. Thus, in all their establishments, executives, managers, secretaries, janitors, or assembly line workers were adequate for the purposes of the study as long as they (1) were willing to participate, (2) had been residing in Juárez for over five years, and (3) lived in Juárez at the time of the interview. Transients and migrants from the interior of Mexico were intentionally avoided. Juárez residents working in El Paso also served as informants, because approximately 10% of the gainfully employed population of Juárez commutes daily to El Paso, Texas.

3. METHOD

The interviews, which lasted for 30 to 60 minutes each, were based on a structured instrument eliciting data on sociodemographic characteristics, language use, and language attitudes. The foregoing assumptions led to the creation of a series of questionnaire items focusing on: 1) instrumental and integrative orientation toward English, 2) formal and informal exposure to English, 3) attitudes toward local vs. national Spanish, 4) sentiments of language loyalty, 5) perceptions of code-switching, and 6) demographic characteristics of the subjects (Ss).

Respondents' Characteristics

Almost one half of the Ss (46%) were born in Juárez; a little more than a third (39%) were born elsewhere in Mexico; and 14% were born in El Paso. Ages ranged from 16 to 68 years. Although the majority of the Ss had resided in Juárez almost all their lives, more than half claimed to have lived either in the interior of Mexico (as children or as adults) or in the interior of the United States (El Paso or elsewhere). Subjects' occupations ranged from unskilled workers to entrepreneurs; the great majority (92%) were employed in Juárez, whereas the rest (8%) worked in El Paso at the moment of the interview.

Income, father's occupation, and the neighborhood of residence in Juárez were considered the three variables determining socioeconomic status (SES). Income ranged from $80.00 to $1,600.00+ (U.S. currency) per month. Residential areas were classified as lower-lower, lower-working, lower-middle, middle-middle, upper-middle and upper-upper class based on infrastructural factors such as degree of urbanization, quality of public services, and cost of square meter of residence. Father's occupation was based on a hierarchical social prestige scale ranging from unskilled and semiskilled workers to professionals and entrepreneurs.[11] A scale for these three variables was devised that resulted in six social groups identified for the study: (1) upper-upper, 12%; (2) upper-middle, 12%; (3) middle-middle, 22%; (4) lower-middle, 13%; (5) lower-working, 34%; and lower-lower

class, 7%. Individuals of upper and middle classes are obviously
overrepresented in the sample, owing to the criteria used in sample
selection.

The education of the Ss revealed a range of years of schooling from
three years of elementary school to post-baccalaureate study; some college
education constituted the category higher education; anything less was lower
education, and each group contained 50% of the sample. Formal exposure to
English was likewise diverse. Almost two thirds of the Ss (61%) had been
exposed to the mandatory English courses offered in Mexican schools for three
hours per week. Fewer individuals had studied English in academies,
commercial schools, and in elementary, junior/middle, and high school and
college in the United States. The time of instruction in English (in either
Mexico or the U.S.) ranged from one month to seventeen years. The number of
years of formal instruction was associated with both SES (r.=.622, p<.001)
and education (r=.512, p<.001).[12]

4. ENGLISH USE AND LANGUAGE LOYALTY

If reactions towards other codes spoken in the area had not been
examined, the exploration of attitudes toward Spanish-English code-switching
would have been incomplete. For this reason, the study on which this paper
is based addressed the use of attitudes toward English, the only foreign
language with which Juárez residents are in close contact. In addition, the
major study looked into language loyalty sentiments and reactions toward
correctness of Mexican Spanish varieties. Of all the variables involved,
only English language use and language loyalty turned out to be directly
associated with the responses to items on the values of C-S. [13]

English Use

It had been observed that the official language of the United States was
utilized in Juárez in two major domains: (1) in interpersonal interaction
with Americans who visit the city for diverse personal and economic purposes,
and (2) through radio, television, movies, books, and periodicals. Face-to-
face interaction between residents of Juárez and native speakers of English
takes place in certain appropriate contexts within the city, such as hotels,
restaurants, shops in the tourist sectors, and American assembly plants. It
was found that Juárez residents who tended to speak English with Americans
tended also to listen to the radio and watch television with varying
frequency. Reading American publications, and writing business letters,
personal letters and homework assignments, were less frequent activities than
all the other uses, while speaking English with Mexicans was extremely rare.
Finally, the data showed that English use was correlated with both formal
exposure to English (r.=.621, p<.001) and with a higher SES (r=.543, p<.001).

In spite of the fact that English plays an important role in intergroup
communication, Spanish serves for all intragroup purposes in all private and
public domains. Therefore, the speech community under discussion is
characterized by its ready access to functionally differentiated bilingual
and diglossic roles. Since it may be assumed that English represents a
threat to border residents, it has been reported elsewhere (Hidalgo, 1984)
that English use, attitudes toward English, and local identity are all
positively intertwined factors, that is, Juárez residents hold healthy
opinions about the language spoken in the United States. These favorable
reactions are determined, to an extent, by both a positive identification
with the border and its concomitant cultures and languages, and by the
individual's degree of bilingualism. In another report (Hidalgo, 1986) I
have proposed that the degree of bilingualism, as reflected by English use,

seems to be a powerful moderator of attitudes toward different codes.
Paradoxically, I also found that language loyalty exercises a significant
effect on attitudes toward C-S.

Language Loyalty

For the purposes of the major study, language loyalty was the variable
that explored how people from Juárez feel about maintaining their language as
it is presumably maintained in the rest of the country, that is, without the
mixture of English. The questions did not call on respondents to claim a
behavioral commitment, but they were rather intended to elicit an opinion
based upon personal, emotional grounds. With respect to language
maintenance, the majority of the Ss claimed that Spanish should be preserved
on the Mexican side of the border as in the interior of Mexico. In addition,
about one-half of all the subjects denied that language mixture takes place
in Juárez, whereas another fifty percent reported that the blending of
Spanish and English does occur in the community.

This discrepancy of perceptions seems to be the result of frequency of
contact with bilingualism, and it is directly associated with an overt
rejection of C-S. That is, those individuals who do not perceive or admit
language mixture in Juárez tend to be the same ones who condemn the use of C-
S in El Paso. Language loyalty has been defined as a subjective state of
mind that produces an attempt at preserving the threatened language when
language shift is on the threshold (Weinreich, 1968, 99). On the Mexican
side of the border, language loyalty appears to be a patent and unobstructed
attitude that most border residents are willing to externalize at the
slightest provocation, for they seem to have a subjective need for ethnic
identity assertion. Sizeable proportions of Juárez residents claim to remain
loyal to Mexican Spanish for emotional, communicative, educational, economic,
and political reasons. Using the formal version of Mexican Spanish not only
guarantees the much needed solidarity and continuity with Mexico but also
facilitates the achievement of personal, social, and economic goals in
Mexican society. Juarenses' adherence to the national code causes them to
reject C-S, for this style of communication represents the major threat to
their historical struggle for language and identify preservation. Language
loyalty is thus significantly correlated with attitudes toward C-S.

5. THE INHERENT VALUES OF SPANISH-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

The items created to explore how Juárez residents feel about the
beauty, pleasantness, correctness, and ethnicity of the mixed language
variety spoken in El Paso are presented in Table 1. The table reveals rather
clearly that Code-switching (C-S) is held in low esteem by most Ss. This low
opinion of the "inherent" values of C-S is also apparent in the spontaneous
comments offered by approximately one-half of the informants.

Table 1 shows that the majority of the Ss (82%) strongly disagreed with
the statement that the Spanish spoken in El Paso is more correct than that
spoken in Juárez. Judgments about correctness were based on a perceived lack
of formality, on a perceived striking influence of the English language, or
on a combination of these two factors. The following opinion illustrates the
issue:

En El Paso la gente no puede terminar en español lo que quiere
decir. Muchas veces le falta el vocabulario que se aprende en
la escuela y tiene que recurrir al inglés.

With respect to Item 2, almost two thirds (60%) of the Ss strongly or somewhat agreed that the Mexicans of El Paso should imitate the Spanish of Mexicans from Juárez.   The most representative judgments have to do with ethnic identity; for example:

> Si los de El Paso quieren llamarse mexicanos, deberían hablar
> como los de Juárez porque Juárez es el modelo más cercano a la
> manera de hablar de los mexicanos.

With respect to Item 3, three fourths (74%) of the entire sample disagreed with the statement that it sounds pretty when people change continuously from Spanish to English and vice versa.   Finally, almost two thirds (61%) of the Ss confessed that it annoys them to hear C-S.

TABLE 1

Response Percentage: The Inherent Values of Code-Switching

Items	1	2	3	4	5	Total %
1. The Spanish spoken in El Paso is more correct than the Spanish spoken in Juárez.	82	0	13	0	2	97%*
2. Mexicans from El Paso should imitate Mexicans from Juárez when they speak Spanish.	12	14	14	11	49	100%
3. It sounds very pretty when the Mexicans from El Paso change from Spanish to English and from English to Spanish.	65	9	13	5	8	100%
4. It bothers me when Mexicans from El Paso talk English and Spanish at the same time.	27	10	2	13	48	100%

Scale: 1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Rather disagree; 3 = Uncertain,
        4 = Somewhat agree; 5 = Strongly agree

* Total percentage is low because respondents missed the items.

Who Rejects Code-switching for Its Inherent Values and Why

Although it was not hypothesized that Mexican women would reject C-S more strongly than men, it was found that the former displayed overt negative feelings toward this language variety. (Sex and the inherent values of C-S are correlated at .344, p<.01. When expressing value judgments, women utilized the same kind of supplementary remarks reported by Labov (1966, 499). Mexican women externalized their disparagement of C-S in statements such as: "Se oye muy feo." "Espantoso." "Me molesta." "Me cae mal." In contrast, most male informants claimed not to feel annoyed by constant C-S, although about one-half of them DID consider it incorrect and de-ethnicized.

It was found, too, that individuals with high scores in language loyalty verbalized their rejection of C-S (Language loyalty, and the inherent values of C-S were correlated at .455, p<.001. According to Weinreich (1968, 77-8), the attachment to the mother tongue makes a person rationalize that his native language is richer, more subtle,and more expressive than others. This concept of language loyalty

> would seem to be a specific form of ethnocentrism, which is of special significance because of the fundamental and highly visible association between a group of persons and the language they speak (Taylor and Simard, 1975:46).

As reported by Trudgill and Giles (1979), judgments about the correctness, adequacy, and aesthetics of nonstandard languages and language varieties appear to be related to social judgments rather than to linguistic judgments per se. The "Hypothesis of Social Connotations" would also make clear why many attitudes and beliefs held in Mexico regarding the use of C-S in the U.S are encountered in Mexican-American communities of the interior. In East Austin, Texas, Elías-Olivares (1976) conducted a study among ninety-three persons of different ages and occupations. She found that some members of this community, including teachers, described "good Spanish" as the avoidance of Anglicisms, and believed that those who code-switch between Spanish and English speak mocho, revuelto, that is, a mutilated kind of Spanish (p.152). The same objective mocho ("incomplete") was utilized by many of my own informants from Juárez belonging to the lower-middle and lower working classes. With the word mocho they wanted to express the idea that Mexicans residing in El Paso do not finish their utterances when they speak in Spanish. Not only the Spanish spoken in El Paso, but the Spanish spoken in the American Southwest in general, is perceived as lacking native fluency and articulateness, and whereas most Mexicans are aware that a difference exists between their own speech and that of Mexicans residing in the United States, only a few informants claimed Mexican Americans go through a personal struggle when they try to communicate entirely in Spanish. Some opinions illustrate the issue:

> La gente de allá batalla mucho para hablar el español, o no puede terminar lo que quiere decir, o lo dice todo revuelto. Los adultos nunca pierden el español, pero a los niños y a los jóvenes se les dificulta hablarlo o lo hablan mocho.

Due to the cultural pressures exerted in both Mexico and the United States against Mexican Americans, many of them have lost confidence in their own native abilities; this insecurity stands out particularly when they involve themselves in verbal exchange with Mexican nationals. Elías-Olivares' (1976) older informants expressed their feelings of discomfort when talking to people from Mexico, who speak, according to them, a "better," more "formal," more "perfect" Spanish (p.152). Although not all Mexicans overlook the complex nature of individual attitudes and feelings involved in verbal interplay and not all of them display insensitivity towards their kinsmen in

the United States, a good proportion of people south of the border deprecate language mixture.

The general belief prevailing in Mexico since the late 19th century when masses of Mexicans emigrated to the United States is that emigration north of the border is a denigrating process that involves not only economic exploitation but also the loss of the national language and cultural values. Thus, when Mexicans evaluate C-S, they partially base their judgement on Mexican-American status in the United States. In brief, C-S may draw forth not only one particular reaction but a multiplicity of biased meanings that are conveyed through values of correctness, beauty, pleasantness, and ethnicity. I would venture to conclude in this section that the community investigated is not unique in its appreciation of C-S. The belief that Mexican Americans — speakers of Code-switching — are no longer part of the Mexican mainstream is widespread throughout the country, and its beginnings must be traced to the mid-19th century when Mexico lost in war the southwestern states that now belong to the United States.

6. THE COMMUNICATIVE VALUES OF CODE-SWITCHING

The second set of items was created in order to explore how Mexicans feel about communicating with Mexican Americans and how they may react to the use of continuous C-S. The items and the results are presented in Table 2, which shows that slightly more than two thirds (69%) of the Ss strongly or somewhat agreed with Items 1 and 2. This majority reported that Mexican Americans can actually speak Spanish but that they pretend to ignore it. Items 3 and 4 show that about one-half of all Ss claimed not to understand Mexican Americans when they switch continuously. Presented in an impersonal phrasing, these two items served to draw out a number of unsolicited comments regarding communication difficulties that were attributed to the "unexpected" changes from one language to another.

Who Rejects Codes-switching for Its Communicative Values and Why

The reason underlying the rejection of C-S for its communicative values are: 1) low frequency of English use and 2) sentiments of language loyalty. (The first variable is correlated with the communicative values of C-S at -.328, p<.01 and the second one at .410, p<.001). First, those juarenses who reported using English infrequently reacted negatively toward C-S because of their limited bilingual abilities. Second, those Ss who believed that Spanish in Juárez has been maintained and should be maintained without the mixture of English also rejected C-S because they did not identify with it.

The studies reviewed in Section 2 examined the social consequences that follow when a speaker accommodates or fails to accommodate his speech with reference to his interlocutor. In applying these propositions to the El Paso-Juárez setting, I assume that Mexicans fail to switch continuously from Spanish to English and vice versa (even if they are bilingual), because C-S is not the speech style that reflects social status, or intelligence, or any other positive moral trait. On the contrary, they consider that adopting C-S downgrades their own language. At the same time, Mexicans perceive that Mexican Americans do not accommodate to Spanish-only speech style because they do not identify with it.

In addition, negative reactions toward C-S may arise in the El Paso area due to the linguistic heterogeneity of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Whereas both groups appear ethnically homogeneous, they vary along a continuum from predominantly monolingual in Spanish to predominantly monolingual in English. Failures in communication between groups are thus

TABLE 2

Response Percentages: The Communicative Values of Code-Switching

Items	1	2	3	4	5	Total %
1. Mexicans who emigrate to El Paso never forget their language.	40	29	9	14	7	99%
2. Mexicans from Juárez do not really need to know English because they can communicate in Spanish with Mexicans from El Paso.	61	8	9	14	7	99%
3. It is impossible to understand what Mexicans from El Paso say when they mix the two languages	24	29	8	15	22	98%
4. One can mix the two languages -- Spanish and English -- as Mexicans of El Paso do, and still understand what people say.	21	22	11	20	22	96%

Scale: 1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Uncertain; 4 = Somewhat agree; 5 = Strongly agree.

** Total percentage is low because respondents missed the items

perceived as originating from Mexicans' limited abilities in English and from Mexican Americans' limited abilities in Spanish. The most common opinions of Ss who did not know English were expressed in the following statements:

No todo se entiende. Muchas veces hay que adivinar lo que la gente quiere decir cuando mezcla los dos idiomas. A veces ellos no nos entienden a nosotros. Hay que decir las cosas de varias maneras, y cuando uno no sabe inglés hay que darle muchas vueltas en español.

On the other hand, the reports provided by bilingual Ss led me to assume that those who are proficient in English may adopt one of the two following strategies when communicating with Mexican Americans: 1) they switch their Spanish-only style to an inconspicuous intersentential C-S, showing a moderate attitude of convergence; 2) they maintain their Spanish-only style but respond to messages in English or in C-S in their own style; this would be an example of no accommodation. Monolingual individuals, on the other hand, expressed an attitude of divergence, because they claimed to feel annoyed, irritated, and sometimes abused by continuous C-S. Monolinguals are therefore more likely to feel disoriented and dissociated from speakers of C-S in the context of El Paso.

As in the case of attitudes toward correctness, perceptions of C-S emanate from various interconnected and complex factors. On the one hand, there exist objective linguistic obstacles such as the lack of proficiency in English or lack of proficiency in C-S; on the other hand, attitudinal conflicts seem to hamper verbal communication, especially when unexpected, fortuitous encounters occur. Mexicans perceive Spanish as a component of their identity and may or may not identify with Mexican Americans. When Mexican Americans switch languages continuously, Mexicans tend to remain aloof, but if Mexican Americans maintain the Spanish-only style to which Mexicans strongly adhere, the latter may readily identify with the former.[14]

In sum, there seems to be more of a dissociative motivation and behavior between Mexicans and Mexican Americans. According to Bourhis, Giles, and Lambert (1975), speech divergence is adopted when the speaker wishes to emphasize his group identity or when he disapproves of his listener for attitudinal-personality reasons. Thus, language divergence between both groups may be related to a mutual desire to express each group's own authenticities and loyalties. Furthermore, ethnic affiliation may be important to both groups, inasmuch as they constantly interact with each other and may consider the "other" group a relevant outgroup from which they both want to distinguish themselves. Under these circumstances, it has been argued, members of contrasting ethnic groups may accentuate the values of ethnic distinctiveness and use them in an attempt to maximize their differences (Giles, 1979).

7. CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of this paper was to show that the variety of Spanish spoken in El Paso is perceived by Mexicans on the Mexican side of the border as a code that carries neither "inherent" attributes (e.g., beauty, pleasantness, or correctness) nor communicative values. Opinions towards the variety spoken north of the border were explored through direct questionnaire items. Eighty-five residents of Juárez, Mexico, responded to a series of questions dealing not only with perceptions of Code-switching but also with demographic and language use dimensions. The subjects interviewed represent all of the socioeconomic and educational strata of the community and many of them contributed with useful insights and (biased?) opinions about Code-switching. Perceptions of Code-switching, however, do not seem to be independent of other variables, but in the major study appear to be correlated with a low frequency of English used by the individual and linked to his/her sentiments of loyalty towards Spanish. Be this as it may, my original assumptions that Mexicans and Mexican Americans have a number of reasons to dissociate themselves from each other during verbal interplay have been borne out not only by the responses to the survey presented above but also by the spontaneous comments of some of the subjects interviewed. Two seemingly unconnected theoretical frameworks have been utilized to support these assumptions: (1) the Hypothesis of Social Connotations and (2) the Theory of Speech Accommodation. While the former helps to explain why

Mexican residents believe that Code-switching is incorrect or unpleasant, the latter helps to understand the reasons underlying the communicative difficulties between these two groups. Whereas this linguistic dissociation may be the result of an intricate series of motives that are superficially approached herein, it is necessary to make clear that Mexicans and Mexican Americans have for centuries maintained meaningful familial and social bonds. Recent studies about social interaction in the border area reveal that the contact between groups is rather intense and, therefore, conflictive. Through surveys conducted in two border cities (Juárez and Tijuana) it was found that 73% and 67%, respectively, of the Ss interviewed had relatives in the American Southwest with whom they visit on a regular basis (Castellanos and López, 1981). Another study carried out in Juárez among 360 assembly plant workers revealed that Mexicans perceive sharp disagreements resulting from differences in interests, values, and ideals between themselves and Mexican Americans, and report serious confrontations in labor relations, daily crossings of the border, as well as in general social interaction with their kinsmen to the north. It has also been pointed out that competition for unskilled and semiskilled occupations may be one of the sources of negative reactions and mutual rejection and discrimination between the groups under discussion (Stoddard, 1978), as Mexican Americans seem to resent that Mexicans demonstrate an exceptional willingness to improvise and take almost any non specialized job that pays for their work (Hidalgo, 1983). In brief, Mexicans and Mexican Americans display systematic conflicts not only because they fail to understand in toto the language and communicative norms of each other, but because social, political, and economic disparities constantly threaten their identities.

<center>NOTES</center>

1. Bowen and Ornstein (1976); Elías-Olivares (1983); Amastae and Elías-Olivares (1982); Peñalosa (1981); Sánchez (1983), and all the papers delivered at the National Conference for Research Needs on Chicano Spanish I and II (1983 and 1985), The University of Texas at El Paso.

2. Southwest Spanish seems to be defined as the general informal variety spoken in the region and closely related to informal Mexican Spanish; code-switching, on the other hand, is perceived as the most common Spanish/English communicative strategy. New Mexican Spanish has been recognized as the most archaic variety spoken in the American Southwest, one related to the form of Peninsular Spanish spoken in the seventeenth century.

3. The author of this article, Jacob Ornstein-Galicia, acknowledges an overlap and possible confusion in the terminology employed to designate the informal (and vernacular?) language of the border.

4. Code-switching, Spanglish, or Pocho refer to the style of communication that is characteristic of individuals of Mexican descent inhabiting El Paso and the southwestern region of the U.S. In this paper, I use the scholarly term Spanish-English code switching.

5. See Hidalgo 1983 and 1986.

6. Pocho refers pejoratively to the person of Mexican descent whose lifestyle and behavior are notoriously Americanized.

7. Bustamante (1982) defines English use as the sporadic interference of words and phrases with Spanish discourse and to the utilization of borrowings, brand names, and business names of the foreign language. This definition differs considerably from my own, as reported in Hidalgo (1984).

8. See Labov (1966); Trudgill (1971).

9. See example Gardner and Lambert (1972).

10. See the numerous studies by Giles and associates.

11. Luis García de la Rosa, Director de Desarrollo Socioeconómico, Municipio de Cd. Juárez, advised me to measure SES by considering income, residence, and father's occupation. He provided the scales utilized for the first two variables. The scale for income corresponds to 1980-81 and was originally specified in Mexican currency, which I converted to U.S. currency at the then rate of 26.50 pesos to a dollar.

12. The criteria utilized to discuss this and all the subsequent correlations are p<.001 and p<.01

13. The detailed findings of the section have been reported elsewhere. The reader should refer to Hidalgo 1983, 1984, and 1986.

14. Various sources suggest that language is one of the fundamental components of identity and that individuals tend to identify with those who share the same cultural background (Taylor et al., 1973; Giles et al., 1974). The assumption that Mexicans and Mexican Americans tend to dissociate from each other finds further corroboration in the fact that C-S is the code through which a number of Mexican Americans manifest their ingroup membership (Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez, 1975; Elías-Olivares, 1976; Huerta, 1978).

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DECISIONS OF CORRECTNESS IN NEW MEXICO SPANISH

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Sociolinguistic research of the 1960s and 1970s spawned numerous language attitude studies indicating that listeners evaluate their interlocutors on the basis of language or language variety spoken. Listeners tend to make social or linguistic judgments based on finite amounts of linguistic input. Individual language attitudes both reflect and contribute to a more general set of societal attitudes resulting in the assignation of unequal values to different linguistic varieties found within the community.

The bases for this differential valuation, though extremely complex, may be reduced to two competing hypotheses. The "Inherent Value Hypothesis" suggests that some varieties of language are inherently better than others, thereby easily explaining societally-sanctioned attitudes. Some support for the Inherent Value Hypothesis comes from research by Brown, Strong, and Rencher (1975) in which Anglo-American students with no knowledge of the French language were able to differentiate among French Canadian speakers on the basis of social class based on taped oral recitations. Although extra-linguistic cues may have been a factor, the Inherent Value Hypothesis cannot be easily dismissed, especially among non-linguists. Research by Giles, Bourhis, and Davies (1975), using subjects who were unfamiliar with either of the varieties being studied or their assigned status among speakers of that language, helped to disprove this first hypothesis. As an alternative, the "Imposed Norm Hypothesis" suggests that values attached to different varieties are external to the varieties themselves and are predicated upon social valuations of the speakers (Giles and Powesland 1975:11). Thus, language and social attitudes are inextricably intertwined in the formulation of norms within the community.

The present study explores the language attitudes of residents of Martineztown, an Albuquerque Spanish-speaking community, with comparative data from three additional New Mexico communities. It examines more closely the attitudes toward local and standard Spanish and the relative importance of the various linguistic elements in making decisions of correctness.

A brief inspection of research in the area of language attitudes shows that such investigations have generally taken the form of matched guide studies. Giles and Powesland (1975), using accent guides, demonstrated that British speakers of Received Pronunciation, the "standard" variety of English for the community being studied, were judged higher in prestige than speakers of non-standard varieties. In the United States, Harms (1961) found that taped voices alone were sufficient to allow Mid-Western listeners to identify the social status of the individuals whose speech they evaluated. Racial identification has also been shown to be possible with 80-90% accuracy on the basis of taped speech (Giles and Powesland, 1975).

Studies related to the Hispanic population of the American Southwest report similar findings. Arthur, Farrar, and Bradford (1974) found that Mexican-American English speakers were differentially evaluated according to the variety of English spoken. On scales related to success, ability, and social awareness, a speaker using Chicano English was rated consistently lower than the same speaker using a standard English guise.

Carranza and Ryan (1975) demonstrated that such ratings are context-dependent. They found differing attitudes for the school and home domains. Both their Anglo-American and Mexican-American subjects indicated a definite preference for English in the educational domain, and among Mexican Americans Spanish was considered slightly preferable to English for home use. Thus, the appropriate variety depends on the domain under consideration.

Hannum (1978) in a study conducted at the University of New Mexico presented native speakers with tapes of speakers of different geographical varieties of Spanish. When subjects evaluated the speakers on a semantic differential scale, New Mexico speakers were rated on a par with speakers of other regional varieties, thus establishing New Mexico Spanish as a viable variety with a status equivalent to that of other regional varieties. It must be kept in mind, however, that university students may be more likely than the average Albuquerque resident to be egalitarian in their assignment of values to people in general because of humanistic university training.

In an attitudinal study of social variation in language, Flores and Hopper (1975) looked at Mexican Americans' reactions toward standard and non-standard forms of both English and Spanish. They found that non-standard varieties were rated lower than standard varieties by all subjects except those who preferred the self-referent Chicano (a group of college students). Demographic factors that interacted with language guise were income, level of education, age, and amount of Spanish used.

Given the widespread ability to judge group membership, social status, and personality traits based on linguistic input, it is clear that language is a vehicle for carrying large amounts of social information. Certainly, the languages or language varieties spoken by Hispanics in New Mexico carry information for both Spanish and English speakers. New Mexico residents, in their everyday activities, make linguistic decisions that communicate social facts such as those portrayed by research. However, it is not clear from the literature which variety or varieties of Spanish are considered to be of higher or lower status here in the Southwest and which linguistic factors are involved in preferences expressed.

The present research attempts to address these questions. Two varieties of Spanish are examined. The first, Southwest Spanish, is considered in this research to be the variety of Spanish spoken by many Hispanics in the five-state area known as the Southwest: California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Colorado. It has been copiously described in the literature of Barker (1972), Bills and Ornstein (1976), Craddock (1976), Floyd (1980), Lozano (1972, 1974), Ornstein (1951, 1974), and Peñalosa (1980) to name just a few of the principal contributors. The second variety to be examined, standard Mexican Spanish, is considered to be a generally accepted form of the Spanish of Mexico. The use of a small s indicates not a single, unified variety, if indeed such a variety exists for Mexico, but rather the union of forms generally accepted in various standard dialects of Mexico. This study seeks to determine the preferred variety for several New Mexico Spanish-speaking communities and the linguistic elements -- lexical, phonological, morphophonemic, and syntactic -- that are used by listeners in making such decisions.

One hundred informants in four New Mexico communities, Carnuel, Española, Grants, and Martineztown, were interviewed. Each informant was presented with a stimulus tape providing pairs of sentences containing standard Mexican Spanish and Southwest Spanish forms read by the same native Spanish speaker. The informant was asked to choose the sentence that would be the more correct of the two in a formal, educational setting. In simple items, a single linguistic variable distinguished the two sentences.

Responses to these pairs helped to establish a base of preferred forms. In double variable items, a preferred form was paired with a stigmatized one in order to determine the linguistic area of focus in making decisions of correctness.

Informants interviewed in all communities demonstrated a preference for standard Mexican Spanish in most cases. For 39 of the 50 items judged, agreement was very high, reaching at least the .05 level of significance using the Chi Square Test for Goodness of Fit (see Table 1). Twenty-six of these were found to be significant at the .001 level. Consensus was especially strong on pairs of sentences containing a single syntactic variant. The preference for the standard Mexican Spanish syntactic variants was significant at the .05 level or better for all but two items (16 and 17) even when items containing two linguistic variables were considered. In short, the preference for the standard form unites the large majority of the informants indicating cohesiveness with reference to judgments of linguistic acceptability.

These results demonstrate that the informants, representing four distinct geographic communities, form a single speech community. Labov (1972:120-121) states that "The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms." This group of New Mexicans clearly shares such a set of expectations and can, therefore, be considered a single speech community.

In addition to specifying the variety of Spanish considered correct in a formal setting, the present study also attempts to determine the relative importance of the various linguistic structures in making decisions of correctness. Lexicon, phonology, morphophonemics, and syntax are all important aspects of a sentence. However, in evaluating a speaker and his/her speech, it is likely that a listener focuses on a single, perhaps most salient, feature of the sentence. The presentation of sentences containing two different linguistic variables was intended to obtain information regarding the focus of the listener. One variable would have to be

TABLE 1

Frequency of Choice for All Items and Chi Square Test for Goodness of Fit

(Item)		(Frequency X^2)
Lexical		
1. Es buena música para bailar.	88	64.34***
Es buena música para danzar.	9	
4. Caminaron un bloque.	37	5.04*
Caminaron una cuadra.	59	
26. Todos comen torque.	41	1.53
Todos comen pavo.	53	
31. Esta maestra sabe tichar.	8	65.69***
Esta maestra sabe enseñar.	87	
34. Viene el camión	55	2.27
Viene el bos.	40	

TABLE 1 (cont.)

(Item)	(Frequency X^2)

Lexical (cont.)

46. Los maestros ganan poca plata.   6   73.50***
    Los maestros ganan poco dinero. 90

Phonological

5. No pueden <u>h</u>allarlo. [x]   16   42.67***
   No pueden <u>h</u>allarlo. [0]   80

10. Salieron a tomar a<u>g</u>ua. [gw] 42   4.31*
    Salieron a tomar a<u>g</u>ua. [w]   25

18. Nohotroh somoh de aquí.   34   4.96*
    Nosotros somos de aquí.   55

21. ¿Ve al muchacho?   78   52.55***
    ¿Ve al mushasho?   10

22. Tiene treinta años de edad. 56   17.05***
    Tiene treinta años de edá.   20

30. La maestra le preguntó al niño:
        ¿Qué comiste?   60   6.58*
    La maestra le preguntó al niño:
        ¿Qué comites?   35

32. Han juga<u>d</u>o to<u>d</u>o el día. [d, d] 61   9.04**
    Han juga<u>d</u>o to<u>d</u>o el día. [0, 0] 32

38. No hay clases de noche.   65   29.64***
    No hay clases de nochi.   16

40. <u>C</u>enaron frijoles. [0]   21   17.33***
    <u>C</u>enaron frijoles. [s]   58

44. Se cayó la si<u>ll</u>a. [y]   45   2.19
    Se cayó la si<u>ll</u>a. [0]   32

50. Juegan en la ca<u>ll</u>e. [0]   33   .86
    Juegan en la ca<u>ll</u>e. [y]   41

Morphophonemic

6. Vuelamos rápido.   32   7.02**
   Volamos rápido.   57

13. Todos los días salimos a las tres. 37   2.53
    Todos los días salemos a las tres. 52

20. Ha escribido su nombre.   26   20.88***
    Ha escrito su nombre.   71

TABLE 1 (cont.)

(Item)		(Frequency X^2)

Morphophonemic (cont.)

28.	Es mejor piensar en el futuro. Es mejor pensar en el futuro.	34 53	4.15*
35.	No tienemos nada. No tenemos nada	21 71	27.17***
37.	Pidimos libros nuevos. Pedimos libros nuevos.	43 48	.27
47.	No puedemos ir. No podemos ir.	39 51	1.6
48.	Piensamos poco. Pensamos poco.	30 58	8.91**

Syntactic

2.	Quiero que vengan mañana. Quiero que vienen mañana.	86 11	57.99***
3.	Tengo frío en el invierno. Estoy fría en el invierno.	87 10	61.12***
8.	Comienzan a trabajar. Comienzan trabajar.	80 16	42.67***
17.	Entendemos la sistema. Entendemos el sistema.	49 45	.17
24.	¿Conoce a María? ¿Conoce a la María?	71 26	20.88***
42.	Espero que tiene sueño. Espero que tengo sueño.	20 71	28.58***
49.	Dudo que diga mentiras. Dudo que dice mentiras.	57 36	4.74*

Lexical x Phonological

7.	El camión llegó muy de noche. El bos llegó muy de nochi.	55 40	2.37
19.	Van a enseñar de nochi. Van a tichar de noche.	91 6	74.48***
43.	El mushasho tiene dinero. El muchacho tiene plata.	66 28	15.36***

TABLE 1 (cont.)

(Item)		(Frequency X^2)

Lexical x Morphophonemic

12.	Pensamos tomar el camión.	58	4.17*
	Piensamos tomar el bos.	38	

23.	Tenemos que caminar dos cuadras.	64	9.91**
	Tienemos que caminar dos bloques.	33	

45.	No puedemos bailar.	88	66.67***
	No podemos danzar.	8	

Lexical x Syntactic

16.	Esperamos que compren pavo.	51	.68
	Esperamos que compran torque.	43	

25.	Dudo que tiene plata.	14	47.25***
	Dudo que tenga dinero.	81	

29.	Quiero que venga el camión.	57	4.74*
	Quiero que viene el bos.	36	

Syntactic x Morphophonemic

15.	Cuando tenemos frío no puedemos dormir.	75	31.19***
	Cuando estamos fríos no podemos dormir.	21	

33.	No podemos comenzar trabajar.	21	28.77***
	No puedemos comenzar a trabajar.	73	

Syntactic x Phonological

11.	Dudo que cenan frijoles. [0]	17	35.70***
	Dudo que cenen frijoles. [0]	74	

27.	Tengo frío de nochi.	86	60.17***
	Estoy fría de noche.	10	

39.	Espero que salen de la calle. [y]	14	43.62***
	Espero que salgan de la calle. [0]	77	

41.	Quiero que se caiga de la silla. [0]	69	20.60***
	Quiero que se cae de la silla. [y]	25	

Morphophonemic x Phonological

9.	Es mejor pensar en la silla. [0]	67	17.02***
	Es mejor piensar en la silla. [y]	25	

14.	No tienemos carne.	30	9.45**
	No tenemos carni.	27	

36.	Pensamos en la cena. [0]	53	2.13
	Piensamos en la cena. [s]	39	

disregarded if a sentence contained both a preferred and a stigmatized form. For example, in item 19, Table 2, the favored lexical item enseñar was paired with the phonologically stigmatized nochi, while the rejected lexical item tichar was paired with the phonologically more acceptable form noche. A forced choice technique was employed whereby the informant was obliged to choose one of the sentences although he/she might feel uncomfortable with both. In the example just mentioned, the first of the sentences, Van a enseñar de nochi, was chosen as preferable by the majority of informants, indicating the greater importance of the lexical item in this judgment of correctness or, conversely, a greater tendency to disregard the objectionable phonological element. Table 2 provides the data regarding items containing two variables.

At the outset of the research an attempt was made to pair variables such that a preferred form was paired with a stigmatized form, based on data collected previously (Kravitz 1978). However, some pairs proved to be parallel, containing either both favored or both rejected forms. These items, of course, were generally of little value to the present analysis and are indicated with an X in the column labeled "Variable of Precedence" in Table 2.

In pairs containing lexical and phonological variables (lexical X phonological), the preferred lexical item was chosen and the stigmatized phonological item was disregarded. Thus, in item 19, the first choice was preferred to the second. Similarly, morphophonemic and syntactic items were afforded more weight than phonological ones in all cases. In item 9, the stigmatized phonological item (y-deletion) was disregarded in favor of the preferred morphophonemic item (no diphthongization). The use of the subjunctive mode for an expression of volition (item 39) carried more weight than the phonological palatal-retention. All other pairs containing phonological items followed this pattern. In short, phonological structure is most easily disregarded in decisions of acceptability in formal settings.

An analysis of items containing morphophonemic and lexical or syntactic items indicates that both lexicon and syntax take precedence over morphophonemic structure. In item 45, the first sentence was considered preferable, the lexical item bailar being the variable of precedence and the morphophonemic item being overlooked in its favor. In item 33, preposition-retention is favored over non-diphthongization in the morphophonemic item podemos. As morphophonemic structure assumes greater importance than phonology but less importance than lexicon and syntax in informants' decisions, the foundation of hierarchy of linguistic structures used in decisions of correctness can be established. Phonology may be placed at the bottom of the hierarchy, indicating least importance in decisions of correctness, with morphophonemics one level above it.

While syntax and lexicon are clearly more important than morphophonemics and phonology in such decisions, the ordering of the former remains more problematical. The three items containing lexical and syntactic variants were found to contain parallel variants and, therefore, were of no use in ordering the two types of linguistic structure. A single pair of items, however, provides data for a tentative ordering.

Item 15 contains two syntactic variants for the English phrase 'we are cold': tenemos frio and estamos fríos. The syntactic variants are paired with two morphophonemic structures documented for the first person plural of the verb poder in the present indicative: podemos (standard Mexican Spanish) and puedemos (Southwest Spanish). In this item, the preferred syntactic variant took precedence over the stigmatized regularization of the verb form, the first sentence being selected 78% of the time.

TABLE 2

Variable of Precedence in Items Containing Two Variables

Variables	% chosen as more correct	Item (the preferred item in each pair is presented first)	Variable of precedence
L X P	94 6	19. Van a enseñar de nochi. Van a tichar de noche.	L
L X P	70 30	43. El mushasho tiene dinero. El muchacho tiene plata.	L
L X P	58 42	7. El camión llegó muy de noche. El bos llegó muy de nochi.	X
M X P	71 29	9. Es mejor pensar en la silla [0] Es mejor piensar en la silla. [y]	M
M X P	66 34	14. No tenemos crini. No tienemos carne.	M
M X P	58 42	36. Pensamos en la cena. [0] Piensamos en la cena. [s]	M
S X P	81 19	11. Dudo que cenen frijoles. [s] Dudo que cenan frijoles. [0]	X
S X P	90 10	27. Tengo frío de nochi. Estoy fría de noche.	S
S X P	85 15	39. Espero que salgan de la calle. [0] Espero que salen de la calle. [y]	S
S X P	73 27	41. Quiero que se caiga de la silla. [y] Quiero que se caye de la silla. [y]	S
L X M	92 8	45. No puedemos bailar. No podemos danzar.	L
L X M	66 34	23. Tenemos que caminar dos cuadras. Tienemos que caminar dos bloques.	X
L X M	60 40	12. Pensamos tomar el camión. Piensamos tomar el bos.	X
S X M	78 22	15. Cuando tenemos frío no puedemos dormir. Cuando estamos fríos no podemos dormir.	S

TABLE 2 (cont.)

Variables	% chosen as more correct	Item (the preferred item in each pair is presented first)	Variable of precedence
S X M	78	33. No puedemos comenzar a trabajar.	S
	22	No podemos comenzar trabajar.	
L X M	85	25. Dudo que tenga dinero.	X
	15	Dudo que tiene plata.	
L X S	61	29. Quiero que venga el camión.	X
	39	Quiero que viene el bos.	
L X S	54	16. Esperamos que compren pavo.	X
	46	Esperamos que compran torque.	

Note. L = Lexicon
M = Morphophonemics
P = Phonology
S = Syntax
X = Parallel variables; no variable of precedence

Item 45 contains the same morphophonemic alternatives paired with two lexical items: bailar, the preferred form, and danzar, the rejected form. Again, the morphophonemic item was disregarded in light of the overpowering lexical item. No puedemos bailar was elected by 92% of the informants. A brief glance at the relative strength of bailar over danzar and tengo frio over estoy fria in items 1 and 3 (in Table 1) indicates that they are nearly equivalent when presented alone. Given identical morphophonemic pairings, the lexical item appears to be relatively more powerful, judging by the greater percentage of informants embracing the lexical variant and rejecting the morphophonemic variant than the percentage favoring syntactic structure over morphophonemic structure. The proposed hierarchy used in judgments of linguistic correctness, then, posits greatest significance carried in lexical structure, with slightly less importance given to syntax. Morphophonemic structure carries still less importance, with phonology being the linguistic element most easily disregarded.

A Linguistic Hierarchy for Judgments of Correctness

in order of descending   lexicon
importance   syntax
                              morphophonemics
                              phonology

The proposed hierarchy appears to be intuitively justifiable in terms of salience and identifiability of the various linguistic elements. Lexicon and syntax are more salient to the layman and more easily identified. The comments of the informants support this statement. When asked why they chose one of the double variable items over the other, most informants noted lexical differences if they were present. These differences were both more

salient and more easily identified and discussed by the respondents. Furthermore, informants seemed to be better schooled with reference to geographical differences in Spanish language. They often discussed the "history" of the two lexical items, indicating both a familiarity with geographical differences and some background with respect to the lexicon of the language. Syntax and morphophonemics were discussed less frequently, indicating either their relative inconspicuousness and/or a lack of "education" (in the sense of folk-teaching) regarding these aspects of language. Some discussions of phonology also occurred, although not nearly as many as those of lexicon. The willingness of informants to discuss phonology is probably attributable in larger part to the layman's understanding of "accent" in language.

A communication framework may also be invoked to explain these results. In the communication of meaning, lexicon carries the primary load. Syntax is second only to lexicon in carrying the meaning of language. Morphophonemics and phonology, while carrying large amounts of sociolinguistic information, are less important in the communication of linguistic meaning. Furthermore, in written language, the latter two are not even a concern, except as they affect orthography. Thus, the hierarchy proposed herein closely parallels a ranking of the communicative values of the various linguistic elements in language.

Some additional evidence in the area of error analysis supports this finding. Politzer (1978) and Delisle (1982) in their investigations of German secondary students' evaluations of the errors of non-native speakers in oral and written language, respectively, constructed similar hierarchies. Their subjects were asked to rate the seriousness of various linguistic violations, with the following results:

	Politzer % rating error more serious than others	Delisle % rating error more serious than others
vocabulary	77	66
verb morphology	55	64
word order	54	56
gender	51	51
phonological	36	41
case ending	28	21

There are, of course, several major differences between these two studies and the present investigation. In the Politzer and Delisle studies, the distinction is between correct and incorrect forms, whereas in the present study the options were presented as two viable varieties of Spanish. A second difference is between the errors of foreign speakers in the Politzer and Delisle studies and the variation of native speakers in the present research. A third difference is in the categorization of the variables studied. Still, certain comparisons may be drawn. In all three studies vocabulary was considered to carry the greatest weight in listeners' and readers' evaluation of language. Verb morphology held an intermediate position, and phonology was considered least important (excluding case endings, which are not relevant to the Spanish study). Examples of syntax across studies are not comparable. Delisle suggests that comprehension, similar to the communication framework proposed herein, is the underlying factor in the hierarchy. Thus, in spite of differing foci, all three investigators reached similar conclusions. If taken with caution because of

dissimilar emphasis, the results of the Politzer and Delisle studies may be considered complementary to the hierarchy presented above.

The present findings are bounded with reference to generalizability. It must be remembered that the informants in the present research have probably received little or no formal training with regard to Spanish grammar. It is possible that a community that has received such formal education would place a greater emphasis on syntax, a linguistic element that is not as familiar as lexicon to the unschooled language user. Furthermore, it is possible that different languages and even different varieties of the same language vary in the relative importance placed on the various linguistic structures, although the Politzer and Delisle studies suggest that this is not the case. The value of the present hierarchy, then, must be further tested in different linguistic settings.

Two major implications for the field of language teaching may be drawn from the findings of this research. The first pertains to the use of different linguistic varieties in the classroom, a question involving both linguistic and social elements. The second is more strictly a pedagogical concern, that of linguistic priorities in the second language classroom.

When creating or restructuring any language program, the first question asked should always refer to the target population and its needs. Such requirements are educational, socioeconomic, and sometimes political. Attitudinal preferences, as demonstrated by the present research findings, should also be considered. Unfortunately, the decision of whether to use standard or local Spanish in a language teaching program is not easily answered. Some indications from this study, however, follow.

Preferences of informants surveyed are clearly for standard Spanish in formal settings. Certainly any program designed for this speech community needs to present standard forms. The teacher, ideally, should be a fluent speaker of standard Spanish, a model living up to community expectations. However, local Spanish should not be overlooked as a viable variety, particularly for intra-community communication. A negative attitude on the part of many community members has forced local Spanish (and, for some, the only variety they know) behind closed doors. Parents have not taught it to their children, partly because the latter are too embarrassed to use it. The vulnerability of local Spanish to such attitudes and preferences for English needs to be overcome in a language teaching program by an affective component aimed at reinforcing the use of the local variety and expanding the use of Spanish both in and outside the classroom. Thus, there is room for both varieties in the classroom, and the ideal teacher would be well-versed in, positive toward, and willing to foster the use of local Spanish, which can be used as a foundation in the expansion of the New Mexico speaker's repertoire.

Perhaps the most distinctive findings of the present research are in the area of linguistic hierarchy. An attempt was made to determine the rank order of the various linguistic elements in listeners' decisions of correctness. Lexical, phonological, morphophonemic, and syntactic elements were considered. They have been ranked as follows, in descending order of importance:

> lexicon
> syntax
> morphophonemics
> phonology

This hierarchy, intuitively logical in terms of salience to the layman and justified both by statistics and individual comments in this study, has clear ramifications for language teaching. The teaching of lexicon and

syntax should be high-priority areas in language pedagogy, while morphophonemics and phonology should take second precedence. Most meaning is conveyed in the lexicon and syntax, and native speakers judge these elements to be most important in their decisions of correctness in Spanish. Variation from the norm in morphophonemics and phonology are more acceptable and, therefore, should not be high priority items in the language classroom until, perhaps, the more advanced levels of language learning.

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The two studies resulted in responses from 101 educators, 74 businessmen, and 104 citizens. Seventy-five percent of the respondents were Mexican-American, eighteen percent Anglo, and seven percent Black or other. The "other" category was composed primarily of those from Central or South America. Males made up forty-four percent of the sample and females fifty-six percent. Males made up a larger percentage of the sample from the business group, while females made up a larger percentage of the educators group.

Results

Respondents were asked how they would best characterize the Spanish spoken in Brownsville and Matamoros, and the Spanish used in Brownsville radio and TV and in printed media. They were also asked to characterize their own Spanish. Table 1 is a summarization of those responses. Those respondents selecting a "don't know" response were excluded from the analysis.

TABLE 1

Characterization of Spanish by Educators, Businessmen,
and Citizens

Educators' Characterization of Spanish

How would you characterize the Spanish	Formal Educ	Informal Everyday	S.West Dialect	So.Tex. Dialect	Border Slang	
1. spoken in Brownsville?	1	33	1	27	37	N=78
2. used in Brownsville radio & TV?	35	38	0	18	10	N=63
3. used in printed media in Brownsville?	34	45	2	12	8	N=67
4. spoken in Matamoros?	26	59	2	6	8	N=65
5. you speak?	26	48	2	10	15	N=82

Businessmen's Characterization of Spanish

How would you characterize the Spanish	Formal Educ	Informal Everyday	S.West Dialect	So.Tex. Dialect	Border Slang	
1. spoken in Brownsville?	4	27	1	30	36	N=70
2. used in Brownsville radio & TV?	32	36	3	20	9	N=59
3. used in printed media in Brownsville?	36	30	5	23	5	N=56
4. spoken in Matamoros?	37	45	5	3	10	N=60
5. you speak?	35	35	1	13	15	N=71

Citizens' Characterization of Spanish

How would you characterize the Spanish	Formal Educ	Informal Everyday	S.West Dialect	So.Tex. Dialect	Border Slang	
1. spoken in Brownsville?	3	44	3	26	24	N=96
2. used in Brownsville radio & TV?	53	33	2	7	5	N=88
3. used in printed media in Brownsville?	45	44	1	7	2	N=86
4. spoken in Matamoros?	40	50	0	0	9	N=82
5. you speak?	18	60	3	9	7	N=97

Few respondents in any group regarded the Spanish spoken in Brownsville as "formal" or, by implication, as standard Spanish, or as a "Southwest dialect." "Border slang" was the most popular choice among educators and businessmen. The popularity of this choice and the absence of any substantial recognition of Spanish as being formal and educated in a community with extensive Spanish use tends to confirm Kjolseth's statement that the more visible a language is locally, the lower its social status (Kjolseth, 1972). Response choices of "informal everyday" and "South Texas dialect" made up the largest response categories. These two choice categories, however, do not lend themselves to subjective classification. They may or may not represent positive or negative attitudes. Because of the small number of Anglo respondents in each group and because such a large percentage of Anglos responded with a "don't know" response, comparisons between Anglos and Chicanos between groups was not possible. By combining groups and then comparing responses, Anglos selected the "border slang" category by much higher percentages than Chicanos.

Characterization of Spanish in radio, TV, printed media and in Matamoros were much more favorable than spoken Spanish in Brownsville. Perceptions of Spanish use as "formal, educated" ranged from a low of twenty-six percent to a high of fifty-three percent. In addition, no more than ten percent of any group regarded Spanish used in any of the contexts as "border slang."

Differences in attitudes did exist between groups in each of the contexts. Educators tended to have slightly less favorable attitudes toward Spanish use. Fewer educators regarded Spanish use as "formal, educated," and more educators regarded Spanish use, in all but one context, as "border slang." Citizens as a group were somewhat more favorable disposed toward the use of Spanish in all contexts.

Interestingly, all three groups characterized their own spoken Spanish more favorably than the spoken Spanish in the community at large. Because of the higher educational status of educators and businessmen in the study, these perceptions may reflect reality. However, in the case of randomly chosen citizens, a gap exists between their perceptions of themselves and the community at large. Controlling for education, income, and ethnicity produced no significant changes in the findings.

A broad range of questions was used to determine the respondent's attitudes about the functionality of knowing how to speak, write, and read Spanish and English. Table 2 summarizes responses to six questions that deal with the importance of knowing Spanish in a variety of contexts.

The overwhelming majority of all three groups viewed knowing Spanish as important or of major importance in the areas of getting a job and in career advancement in Brownsville. Educators were the group with the highest percentages indicating that Spanish was of major importance in these two areas. Citizens had the lowest percentages. The context in which all groups viewed Spanish as least important was in school success. However, even in this context, the majority in each group viewed Spanish as important or of major importance. The more informal environments of making friends, personal fulfillment, and communicating with family also had high percentages by all groups indicating importance. Citizens as a group showed the highest support for Spanish in these informal contexts. When controlling for levels of education, however, this group's support for Spanish more closely approximated the other two groups.

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Introduction

Research on attitudes toward non-English language use in the United States is widespread. Much of that research in the Southwest has focused on the nature of attitudes among Chicano and Anglo teachers and students. For example, Williams (1976) found that both Mexican-American and Anglo teachers used non-standard or ethnic speech of Blacks and Hispanics as a basis for rating Anglo children higher in academic expectations. In addition, Williams (1971) found Anglo and Black teachers more willing to identify Mexican-American students as using ethnic and non-standard speech than Mexican-American teachers.   Penfield (1982) noted that Chicano English is not regarded as an ethnic dialect but as imperfect English. According to Galván (1976), future teachers exposed to literature critical of subjective evaluations based on varieties of language still maintained negative attitudes toward non-standard English. Politzer (1981) notes that attitudes of Chicanos toward Chicano English vary depending upon the degree of their acculturation and assimilation, while Anglos frequently view Chicano English as defective.   In one study, Ornstein-Galicia (1974) discovered that while Anglo students rated Spanish language use lower than Chicanos, both groups rated Spanish use low.

Implicit in most of the literature on attitudes of teachers and students is the idea that attitudes by these groups, especially teachers, are important in the educational process.   More than other groups in society, educators tend to place a heavy emphasis on the standard English language in a context where different languages converge most often.   Furthermore, educators' attitudes are probably most significant in the development of future attitudes and behavior about language use (Edwards, 1982; Shuy, 1972).

Research on attitudes toward language use have revealed information critical, not only to the area of education, but to the economic and political condition of non-English speaking individuals as well.   Peñalosa (1980) noted that while separation of attitudes toward speech forms from attitudes about social characteristics of the speakers is difficult to determine, the evidence indicated that "people react primarily not to linguistic behavior as such, but rather to language primarily as symbolic of something else, i.e., supposed social or psychological characteristics." Likewise, Fraser (1973) concluded that speech characteristic are associated with such social characteristics as educational level, friendliness, and social status.   Non-English language use becomes a means of stereotyping an individual as inferior.   In fact, Peñalosa (1980) posited the emergence of a new form of prejudice called languagism.   Hiring discrimination based on languagism may become the most prevelant form of discrimination.

If attitudes toward linguistic behavior reflect attitudes toward the group using that speech and if those attitudes are negative, then the importance of attitudinal research on a broader segment of society becomes even more important in the public policy arena where a growing concern of United States citizens involves the continuation or increased use of languages other than English.

Within the past several years, almost every state has considered legislative action to make English its official language.   Several states,

including California and Florida, have approved such legislation. Proposal for a constitutional amendment making English the official language of the United States have also been introduced in the United States Senate and the United States House of Representatives.

Millions of Americans are becoming involved in this issue regarding multilingualism in the United States. On the one hand, there are those who worry about the "dangerous spread of 'bilingualism' in our society" (Horn, 1986). They consider non-English dominant language use or bilingualism as a threat to American unity, and to the social and economic mobility of America's minority youth — especially Hispanics. Government-mandated, bilingual education programs frequently become the focal point of debate because such programs are often regarded by this group as perpetuating the threat.

On the other hand, there are those that believe that bilingualism and cultural pluralism represent the very essence of America's greatness. While recognizing the need to learn English, they condemn the English First movement as a form of continuing discrimination and an attack on the civil rights of America's non-English dominant citizens. The English First movement represents, not an attack against a form of speech, but an attack against the group using a form of non-English speech.

Although attitudes toward non-English language use have been recognized as important in education, economics, and politics, little research has been conducted among groups other than educators. One study of teacher, students, and "lower-class" workers in Quebec, Canada, suggested that different groups have different perceptions of the level of prestige of a language (d'Anglejan, 1973).

This article describes and compares the attitudes of three groups (educators, businessmen, and citizens) toward language use in Brownsville, Texas. After a short section on methodological concerns, the article examines each group's perceptions of Spanish in a variety of contexts, their attitudes about the utility of functionality of Spanish and English within selected social and economic arenas, and their attitudes toward promoting Spanish within the community.

Methodology

Data utilized in this article was gathered in two separate studies in Brownsville, Texas, a community where bilingualism is a fact of life. In this city of 105,000 people, two thirds of the population are to some degree bilingual, about one third of the adult population is monolingual Spanish, and about fifteen percent is monolingual English. Bilingual education also represents a substantial component of the educational system in the community.

Data for the first study was gathered by this author and George K. Green, also of Pan American University at Brownsville, from a randomly selected group of educators in the Brownsville Independent School District in 1985 (Binder and Green, 1986). The results of that study prompted an additional study in 1986-1987 of businessmen and citizens in Brownsville. The primary purpose of the second study was to identify attitudes of these two groups and then compare their attitudes with those of the educators. Businessmen were selected because they represent a group that depends heavily on Spanish-speaking workers and could conceivably have different attitudes of the community at large. The questionnaire used in the study of educators' attitudes and behavior was used to gather data from businessmen and citizens.

TABLE 2

Attitudes on the Importance of Knowing Spanish
in a Variety of Contexts

Educators' Attitudes on the Importance of Knowing Spanish

Rate the importance of Spanish in Brownsville for each of the following:	Little/No Importance	Important	Major Importance	N
1. Getting a job	13	29	58	100
2. Career advancement	19	31	50	99
3. School success	31	52	17	100
4. Making friends	23	58	19	99
5. Personal fulfillment	24	47	30	98
6. Communicating with family	29	31	41	98

Businessmen's Attitudes on the Importance of Knowing Spanish

Rate the importance of Spanish in Brownsville for each of the following:	Little/No Importance	Important	Major Importance	N
1. Getting a job	7	44	49	73
2. Career advancement	8	51	41	73
3. School success	32	46	22	72
4. Making friends	29	52	19	73
5. Personal fulfillment	23	47	30	73
6. Communicating with family	22	51	26	72

Citizens' Attitudes on the Importance of Knowing Spanish

Rate the Importance of Spanish in Brownsville for each of the following:	Little/No Importance	Important	Major Importance	N
1. Getting a job	9	48	43	102
2. Career advancement	13	49	39	103
3. School success	25	55	19	103
4. Making friends	11	67	22	103
5. Personal fulfillment	11	68	22	102
6. Communicating with family	11	42	47	102

For comparative purposes, all respondents were asked to indicate their attitudes about the importance of English in each of the same contexts (see Table 3). In general, when evaluating the importance of English, each group selected the category of "major importance" more often for each context than when evaluating the importance of Spanish. In the contexts of getting a job, career advancement, and school success, each group identified the importance of English as being of major importance sixty-six percent of the time or more. The largest percentage difference in perceptions of the importance of Spanish and English was in the context of school success. Each group identified English as being substantially more important than Spanish. Only in the context of communicating with family, did a knowledge of English become of less importance. Educators viewed English as being of little or no importance almost twice as often as did businessmen and two and one half times as often as did citizens.

TABLE 3

Attitudes on the Importance of Knowing English
in a Variety of Contexts

Educators' Attitudes on the Importance of Knowing English

Rate the importance of Spanish in Brownsville for each of the following:	Little/No Importance	Important	Major Importance	N
1. Getting a job	4	28	68	99
2. Career advancement	4	14	82	99
3. School success	2	14	82	99
4. Making friends	19	54	27	97
5. Personal fulfillment	9	50	41	97
6. Communicating with family	32	41	27	95

Businessmen's Attitudes on the Importance of Knowing English

Rate the importance of Spanish in Brownsville for each of the following:	Little/No Importance	Important	Major Importance	N
1. Getting a job	3	30	67	74
2. Career advancement	0	34	66	74
3. School success	3	25	72	74
4. Making friends	12	58	30	74
5. Personal fulfillment	10	53	38	74
6. Communicating with family	17	56	28	72

Citizens' Attitudes on the Importance of Knowing English

Rate the importance of Spanish in Brownsville for each of the following:	Little/No Importance	Important	Major Importance	N
1. Getting a job	2	26	72	102
2. Career advancement	0	27	73	102
3. School success	2	26	72	102
4. Making friends	4	65	31	102
5. Personal fulfillment	3	51	46	102
6. Communicating with family	13	51	36	100

Another set of questions attempted to measure the group's attitudes regarding the importance of Spanish in selected professions. Respondents were asked in which of a group of job categories would a knowledge of Spanish be useful in Brownsville. While educators' perceptions of the usefulness of Spanish in all categories were slightly less than the other two groups, all three groups indicated that Spanish would be useful in all job categories by overwhelming majorities.

TABLE 4

Percent, by Group, Indicating that Spanish Was Useful
in Various Job Categories

% indicating that Spanish was useful

Job Categories	Educators	Businessmen	Citizens
1 Professionals	95	100	98
2 Managers and Administrators	94	99	98
3 Sales workers	95	99	99
4 Clerical	95	99	99
5 Craftsmen	87	94	99
6 Operatives	82	94	97
7 Transport Operatives	94	97	100
8 Laborers	80	90	96
9 Farmers	81	92	95
10 Service Workers	95	97	99

Another series of questions explored the need for Spanish in the
business community. Respondents were asked whether the Brownsville business
community needed employees who speak, read, and write Spanish. Table 5
indicates that all three groups regarded employees that speak, read, and
write Spanish as a necessity for business activity in the community.
Educators were again slightly less certain about the need for employees that
speak, read, and write Spanish, while the business community had the highest
perception of need.

TABLE 5

Perceptions, by Group, about the Need for
Employees in Brownsville that Speak
Read, and Write Spanish

The Brownsville business community needs employees that:	Educators		Businessmen		Citizens	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
1 Speak Spanish	89	6	96	4	89	8
2 Read Spanish	80	12	90	10	87	12
3 Write Spanish	78	18	84	14	81	16

Two additional questions viewed broader attitudinal characteristics
related to the value of being bilingual. The first question compared the
value of being monolingual in the United States (See Table 6). Again,
widespread support for bilingualism was indicated by all groups. Educators
indicated the least support and citizens the most support for bilingualism.
The second question asks respondents to make a judgment about the importance
of Spanish in relationship to English in the United States in broad terms. A
small minority in each group chose Spanish as the first language. The
remaining respondents in each group chose between Spanish as a second

language, while an even smaller majority of citizens regarded Spanish as being equal with English. Slightly more than one third of educators viewed Spanish as being equal with English. Businessmen, by a nine percent margin, selected Spanish as being equal with English as compared to Spanish being a second language.

TABLE 6

Value of Being Bilingual and Importance of Spanish
Compared with English, by Group

% selecting each category

To be Bilingual:	Educators	Businessmen	Citizens
1 Is better than being monolingual	86	90	93
2 Is worse than being monolingual	5	3	1
3 Is the same as being monolingual	8	7	6
	N=95	N=73	N=103

If a Brownsville resident knows Spanish then Spanish should be regarded as:	Educators	Businessmen	Citizens
1 A second language	58	40	42
2 A first language	8	11	7
3 Of equal importance to English	23	49	52
	N=95	N=73	N=103

The preceding discussion indicates quite clearly that while each of the three groups viewed the type of Spanish being used in the community as not being "formal, educated," each group acknowledged the importance of knowing Spanish and that this knowledge of Spanish was useful in a variety of contexts. While each group varied in their perception of the functionality of Spanish in various contexts, in almost all situations a substantial majority viewed Spanish as an important asset. An attitudinal disposition favorable to Spanish, especially in the economic arena, might suggest a willingness to promote the study of the Spanish language within the community. Respondents were asked whether the Brownsville Independent School District should require all students to learn how to speak, read, and write Spanish. Table 7 indicates that major differences exist regarding this potential behavioral characteristic. Educators, by a substantial margin, think that the Brownsville Independent School District should not teach students the Spanish language. Businessmen and citizens, by equally wide margins, think that the Brownsville schools should teach Spanish. When controlling for ethnicity, the results remain the same. By two to one margins, both Anglo and Chicano businessmen and citizens support teaching Spanish in the school district. Only thirty-one percent of Chicano educators and twenty-five percent of Anglo educators support such a proposition. Educators' attitudes are probably influenced heavily by their work environment. The educational institutions emphasize English as the mechanism for promoting educational success. This is supported by the group of Brownsville educators' belief that monolingual English students are more successful in elementary school than students that speak Spanish as a primary language. Seventy percent of educators agree. Only forty-nine percent of

TABLE 7

Group Attitudes about BISD Teaching Spanish

Should BISD require all students to learn how to speak, read, and write Spanish?	% selecting each response		
	Educators	Businessmen	Citizens
1 Strongly agree	10	28	21
2 Agree	20	35	44
3 Disagree	46	28	31
4 Strongly disagree	25	9	4
	N=92	N=71	N=102

the citizens would agree with that idea (see Table 8). Not only do educators regard English as the primary language of education within the school system, they also promote learning English for Spanish-speaking parents. A majority of educators think English for Spanish-speaking parents should be mandatory or stressed, whereas a majority of businessmen and citizens believe English should be optional (See Table 8). In general, educators as a group are less willing to promote Spanish.

TABLE 8
Success of Monolingual English Speaking Students
and Need for English Availability to
Spanish-Speaking Parents

Monolingual English students are more successful than students who speak Spanish as a primary language	% selecting each response		
	Educators	Businessmen	Citizens
1 Strongly agree	35	29	20
2 Agree	35	26	32
3 Disagree	21	31	42
4 Strongly disagree	9	4	7
	N=89	N=70	N=92

English courses for Spanish speaking parents should be	Educators	Businessmen	Citizens
1 Mandatory	13	11	9
2 Stressed	58	35	34
3 Optional	27	53	55
4 Not community's concern	2	1	3
	N=99	N=72	N=101

The findings of this study show some general patterns of attitudes among all groups with some important exceptions. Overall, each group views somewhat negatively the type of Spanish that is spoken in Brownsville. Other mediums of Spanish communication are viewed more positively. Each group supports the functionality of the Spanish language in the community. Spanish is viewed as important for getting jobs, for career advancement, and as an asset in all the categories of professions. It is viewed as less important

for school success, but here too it is regarded as important. In social contexts, like making friends and communicating with family, it has substantial support. In regard to promoting the learning of Spanish, the groups are not in agreement. Educators are much less willing to utilize the public education system to teach Spanish than are businessmen and citizens. Educators regard more favorably the promotion of English within the community.

In relative terms, the group that is generally more supportive of Spanish language use is the citizen group. Educators are least supportive of Spanish language use and the business community falls between the other two groups. The importance of the group experience itself appears to be important in understanding attitudes toward language use.

The results of this study have implications for the continuing debate on bilingualism in American society. It substantiates to a large degree the notion that being bilingual is a positive asset to individuals in a society, especially in communities where bilingual realities exist. It also points out the functionality of being bilingual. It also, however, points out the reality of the opposition to promoting bilingualism within that portion of the system that has a profound impact on the success or failure of a bilingual society — the school system.

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LANGUAGE USE AND PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION:

THE CASE OF SPANISH SPEAKERS AT UNM

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Social Movements Favoring the Use of Spanish

Since the end of the 1960s there have been three movements in the United States that should lead to a greater use of Spanish by native Spanish speakers in this country. These movements are (1) the increased immigration of Spanish speakers, (2) the assertion of pride in being a member of a minority group, and, related to this, (3) bilingual education, one aim of which is to preserve minority languages in our society. The language that has undergone the greatest growth as a result of these movements is, of course, Spanish. During the 1970s the Hispanic population in the United States increased 57% from 9,294,509 to 14,603,683 (Bureau of Census, 1984). The latter figure includes some 1,374,400 immigrants who came from Spanish-speaking countries between 1971 and 1980. The largest numbers of these are from Mexico and Cuba with approximately 637,200 and 276,800 registered immigrants respectively during that decade (Bureau of Census, 1984: 86). The most recent mass influx of Hispanics is the 124,789 Cuban refugees who arrived in the 1980 Cuba to Florida boat-lift (Bureau of Census, 1984: 89. See also Varela, 1983). In addition, there is a large number of undocumented Hispanics in the United States, most of whom are Mexican. For example, the following are the statistics for fiscal year 1983 alone: (1) The authorities apprehended 1,076,300 deportable Mexican aliens in this country. (2) This number accounts for 93% of all deportable aliens located and is an increase of 280,900 over the number of undocumented Mexicans apprehended in fiscal year 1982 (Bureau of Census, 1984). (3) Ninety-nine percent of all deportable aliens entered across the Mexican border. Beyond the purely statistical facts given above, the internal conditions favoring the use of Spanish among the native born have also improved in recent times. For example, students are no longer forbidden to use Spanish on school grounds. Employers are more reticent now than during the pre-civil rights era to prohibit their employees from using Spanish among themselves on the work site. In 1973 a bilingual election requirement was added to the Voting Rights Act of 1965; it stipulates that information relating to election processes be made available in minority languages when "more than 5 percent of the citizens of voting age of such State or political subdivision are members of a single language minority and ... their illiteracy rate ... is higher than the national illiteracy rate" (42 USC Sec., 1973). The use of Spanish by the media is more prevalent now than at any time in the nation's history. Fishman et al. (1981) identified 834 commercial and non-commercial radio and television stations in the United States that air programs in Spanish. Moreover, Univision, a Spanish network based in New York City and telecasting programs originating mainly in Mexico, is now generally accessible throughout this country. It has become common practice for the public sector of our economy to make information available to Spanish speakers in their native language. And within the private sector employees who speak Spanish are sought in response to the increased use of Spanish by the clientele. In locations in which there is a high concentration of Spanish

speakers, the business community has also responded to the growing "Hispanic market" with Spanish-language advertising. The bilingual education movement has received tremendous governmental support, and thriving programs have been established in the numerous areas of the country in which there are large Hispanic populations. At the same time, Spanish is challenging French as the language most studied in our schools. Indeed, Spanish has become the second language of the United States. In view of these movements, one would surmise that there would be less discrimination against Spanish speakers in the United states today than previously was the case.

Social Movements Discouraging the Use of Spanish

On the other hand, there have been other movements (or even countermovements) that inhibit the use of Spanish in American society. Dwindling enrollments in language courses in the schools show that our technological society is content to be monolingually English. The once prevalent federal funds for public service programs (including bilingual education) have been reduced. The educational, social, and economic advances made by minority groups have given rise to cries of reverse discrimination and consequent legal and governmental action. For example, the Congressional Quarterly report (1981) notes that during the 96th Congress Senators Hayakawa and McCloskey sought to repeal the bilingual provisions to the Voting Rights Act. Furthermore, as noted in the House Joint Resolutions of the 98th Congress, the H. J. Resolution 169 initially introduced in the first session of the 97th Congress by Sen. Hayakawa (see congressional research service, 1981) calls for a constitutional amendment which states that "Neither the United States nor any state shall require by law, ordinance, regulation, order, decree, program or policy, the use in the United States of any language other than English." Although the resolution died in committee, it recognized the increased use of Spanish in our society and therefore was designed to curb its threat to the obvious national language. Prior to 1965 the immigration of Latins (and other ethnic groups) into the United States was restrained by the National Origins Act of 1924. This act had established percentage quotas for each nationality based on the percentage of that nationality in the total population of the Unites States as it had been in 1890. But laws passed in 1965 and 1976 eliminated those percentage quotas. This triggered the current wave of Hispanic immigration that now threatens the Establishment through the potential formation of a culturally, politically, and linguistically unassimilated bloc of separatists. The projection that in 100 years the population of the United States will be one-third Hispanic (and one-fourth Oriental) has accordingly led rightist groups to attempt to curtail the immigration of Latins into the country through measures such as the Immigration Reform and Control Act (better known as the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill). Sen. Simpson summarizes the alarm caused by extensive Latino immigration as follows: "If linguistic and cultural separatism of Hispanics rise above a certain level, the unity and political stability of the nation will in time be seriously eroded" (Siegel, 1982). While this proposal gained a large following among conservatives, its discriminatory nature vis a vis U.S. Hispanic citizens contributed to its defeat in the 98th Congress. On the other hand, although pride in La Raza is widespread among Hispanic youth and although there is a need for Spanish speakers in both the government and private business, the harsh realities of these difficult economic times have made mastery of English more important today than ever before for our young people. Researchers note that, while there is an increase in Spanish speakers among first generation immigrants and their children, the use of Spanish among native-born Hispanics is declining, especially in metropolitan areas (Fishman et al. 1971; Thompson, 1971 & 1974; Ortiz, 1975; Hudson-Edwards, and Bills, 1982; and Bergen, 1986). The countermovements mentioned above account for much of the decline of such use of Spanish. Such countermovements indicate that discrimination against Hispanics is still with us.

Being faced with such conflicting movements we have wondered to what extent the use of Spanish is or is not accepted by the majority of non-Hispanics. In other words, to what degree is the use of Spanish by Hispanics met by discrimination from non-Hispanics? And if such discrimination exists, how is it manifested?

Design of the Experiment

To answer these questions we conducted a study involving 122 Chicano students enrolled in first year Spanish courses designed for native speakers at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. Although neither this group of students nor the city of Albuquerque is necessarily representative of our larger society, the choice of both for the present study is well motivated. The University of New Mexico is the largest institution of higher learning, and Albuquerque is the only truly metropolitan area in New Mexico, the state that has the largest percentage of Hispanics (36.6%) of all states in the country (Bureau of Census, 1982). Moreover, the respondents themselves are Hispanics who are old enough to be familiar with adult life and young enough to want "to get ahead;" these factors make them ideal subjects for a study dealing with discrimination. Finally, since we are professors at the University of New Mexico, these choices made the study logistically easy for us.

The experiment itself consisted of administering a questionnaire[1] to each respondent requesting information regarding personal history, language use, and experiences with discrimination perceived by them in eleven different facets of society: hiring practices, the school system, public agencies, the police, newspapers, courts of law, stores and restaurants, the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, social and economic advancement, and general discrimination against one's family members and friends. The following is an example of the items dealing with discrimination:

Do you believe the courts of law in this town are more likely to convict a person of Hispanic descent rather than an Anglo?

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. No opinion
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

We examined twenty-three demographic and language use variables: age, sex, place of residence through eight years of age, language spoken through the age of eight, where Spanish was learned (at home, school, work, or some combination thereof), prior study of Spanish (both in high school and college), the Spanish course in which each student was enrolled, proficiency in Spanish (as revealed by a test that the student took upon entering the course and by the self-perceived Spanish proficiency of the respondent), the grade that the student received upon completing the course, the degree of use of Spanish at family gatherings and on a daily basis, the language preference of the respondent, and the extent of the individual's use of Spanish with his or her grandparents, father, mother, siblings, spouse, children, other relatives, friends, and coworkers.

The group is heterogeneous from a demographic perspective. There are 68 males and 54 females ranging in age from 18 to 46; 47.2% spent their early childhood (through the age of 8) in rural Spanish-speaking areas, 31.1% in Spanish speaking barrios of a city, 11.3% in Anglo neighborhoods in a city, and 10.4% in rural non-Spanish speaking areas. There is also diversity in

their Spanish proficiency and use of Spanish. For example, their scores on the previously mentioned proficiency test range from 26 to 86, the mean score being 62. There is a similar diversity in the extent to which the respondents speak Spanish with their parents:

FREQUENCY OF USE	% OF RESPONDENTS
Never	8.6
Rarely	36.2
Sometimes	42.9
Generally	8.6
Always	3.8

There are five phases in our analysis of the data. (1) The first procedure that we use involves measures of central tendency — specifically the frequency of each option indication by the respondents as well as the mean indication for each dependent (discrimination) variable. This shows the extent to which discrimination is perceived by the respondents. (2) In the second set of operations, we examine measures of association (namely, Pearson

TABLE 1

Extent of Perceived Discrimination

AREAS	% PERCEIVING DISCRIMINATION	MEAN
Advancement	67.6	3.6
Hiring	44.4	3.3
Stores	40.6	1.4*
Police	38.9	3.2
Courts	37.9	3.2
Friends	35.2	3.0
News	32.4	3.1
Family	29.6	2.8
School	25.0	2.9
Aliens	22.2	2.7
Agencies	12.0	2.8

*there are only two options (yes/no) for answering this item rather than five as for the other items.

product-moment correlation coefficients) in order to identify in what ways the variation in discrimination perceived is related in a statistically significant way to particular independent (background) variables. This allows us to eliminate from our analysis all background variables that are not so associated with discrimination perception. (3) We then apply factor analysis to the eleven dependent variables and to those independent variables that, as identified through the second step, are associated with the

dependent variables in a statistically meaningful way. As a result, we reduce our data to fewer, more abstract, and more relevant variables for identifying variance in discrimination perception. (4) Next, we determine the correlation coefficients between the underlying variables discovered in step three, thereby identifying those demographic characteristics of the respondents that accompany a greater or a lesser degree of perception of discrimination by the respondents. That is, we predict who are the Hispanics who consider Hispanics victims of discrimination. (5) Finally, through a multiple regression we show the proportion of variance in such perception that is explained by those more abstract demographic characteristics.

In the following discussion we present our findings from each of these five phases of our investigation.

The Magnitude of Discrimination Perceived by the Hispanic Community

Elementary Statistical procedures (frequency counts and mean readings) indicate that the perception of discrimination, while not rampant, is never the less appreciable (see Table 1). The frequency count varies from two-thirds of the respondents believing that Hispanics must work harder than Anglos in order to advance socially and economically to approximately one-fourth of the subjects stating that the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service suspects most people of Hispanic descent of being illegal aliens. Only in the realm of social service (government agencies) is such discrimination deemed to be minimal. This is not surprising given the widespread familiarity by the general population with the illegality of discrimination based on ethnic origin. On the other hand, discrimination is most perceptible in the work world. Again, this response is understandable, inasmuch as Hispanics have historically filled the most menial and lowest-paying jobs in the Southwest. Given the degree of acculturation of Hispanics who are college students, we might not expect that the measures of central tendency would reveal the extent of discrimination that we have noted. Yet, despite such conformity to the majority culture, the respondents still are of the opinion that such discrimination is commonplace. Certainly the members of less Anglicized groups (the uneducated, the less affluent, and those in menial occupations) must feel even more alienated from mainstream America.

Relationships Between Demographic Characteristics and Discrimination Perception

To find out who among our Hispanic students most perceive the discrimination that we have just noted, we determine the correlation coefficients between each of the eleven discrimination variables and each of the twenty-three background variables. This allows us to eliminate ten demographic variables that are not associated in a meaningful way (which throughout our study is the .05 significance level) with any of the discrimination variables. We show that those that have no relationship to the perception of discrimination are age, proficiency in Spanish (both as revealed by the test and by self-appraisal), the use of Spanish with one's siblings, children, and relatives, (excluding one's parents, grandparents and spouse), where the respondent learned Spanish, whether the respondent had previously taken a Spanish course designed for non-natives in college, current enrollment either in a course designed for native speakers or non-native speakers, and the grade that the student eventually received in that course. As a result, we have identified thirteen demographic variables that are significantly associated with perception of discrimination. They are sex, residence in an Hispanic or Anglo neighborhood, the prior study of Spanish in high school, the language(s) spoken in the home through the age of

TABLE 2

*Correletions Between Discrimination Perception and Demographic Characteristics

	SEX	AREA	LANGS	FATHER	MOTHER	ABUELOS	SPOUSE	FRIENDS	COWORKERS	GATHERINGS	DAILY	STUDY	PREFERENCE
Hiring											.212		
School			.220	.203					.238			-.210	
Agency	-.206	.207										-.266	
Police	-.210					.241	.198						
News									.281				.263
Courts		-.231		.241	.239	.266			.261				.218
Stores								.252		.211			
Family												-.206	
Friends									.271			-.231	.224
Advancement								.218					
Aliens													.239

*p< .05

eight, language preference, the use of Spanish on a daily basis and with one's father, mother, grandparents, spouse, friends, and co-workers, and (consequently) its use at family gatherings. Table 2 presents the correlation coefficients between these demographic variables and the discrimination variables; in all cases there is a weak to moderate correlation.

After having obtained such associations through simple correlations we next apply factor analysis in order to ascertain which, if any, discrimination variables are associated with some more abstract underlying variables(s) that had not been identified through our questionnaire. A similar factor analysis reveals the same information with respect to demographic variables. The first factor analysis shows that there is but one abstract underlying factor that accounts for 54.6% of the variance in

response to the items in the questionnaire dealing with the eleven areas of discrimination. This factor, of course, can be none other than the respondents' perception of discrimination per se (see Table 3). In other words, there is a strong tendency among the Hispanic students to view discrimination in the same way in each of the original eleven sub-areas of discrimination. This means that the individual departs from the general premise as to whether or not discrimination does exist, and to what degree,

TABLE 3

Factor Analysis of the Discrimination Variables

AREAS OF DISCRIMINATION	DISCRIMINATION PER SE
Hiring	.758
Schools	.751
Agencies	.707
Police	.799
News	.765
Courts	.850
Stores	.479
Family	.821
Friends	.865
Advancements	.509
Aliens	.713

and then proceeds to perceive the relative presence or absence of discrimination in each of the eleven sub-areas in that very same way.[2]

On the other hand, the factor analysis of the thirteen demographic variables clearly reveals that they are explained by five underlying variables: (1) the use of Spanish in general, (2) sex, (3) the use of Spanish with one's spouse, (4) the language(s) spoken in the home through the age of eight, and (5) the study of Spanish in high school. Factors 1, 3, and 4 are separate from one another (see Table 4). In summary, factor analysis analysis identifies the common underlying dependent variable (discrimination) and five general demographic variables. We can now determine the correlation coefficients between the former and the latter in order to identify more easily who among our subjects are those who are most inclined to perceive a greater degree of discrimination against Hispanics. There are only two significant relationships between the twenty-three background characteristics and discrimination perception. That is, the latter is associated only with

TABLE 4

Factor Analysis of Background Variables

Abstract Underlying Variables

Background Variables	USE	SEX	SPOUSE	LANG(S) IN HOME	STUDY
Study in High School					.869
Sex		.683			
Languages at home				.572	
Residence					
Father	.749				
Mother	.779				
Grandparents	.668				
Spouse			.688		
Friends	.729				
Job Site	.633				
Family Gatherings					
Preference	.629				
Daily	.764				

the use of Spanish and the study of Spanish. Again, in each case the coefficients (.344 and -.212 respectively) suggest a weak to moderate relationship. What is most important is that among the numerous demographic characteristics examined both of the only two that are associated with discrimination perception deal with language.

Finally, multiple regression analysis shows that these two variables explain 18.7% of the variance in discrimination perception (see Table 5).

TABLE 5

Use and Study of Spanish: Correlation with Discrimination Perception along with Proportion of Variance

Background Variables	Correlation with Discrimination Perception	R-Square
USE	.344	.122
STUDY	-.212	.089
USE + STUDY		.187

<u>Conclusions</u>

The major finding of our research is that Hispanics experience discrimination from non-Hispanics largely to the degree that the former speak Spanish. As a result, we can infer that discrimination is directed against the less Anglicized Hispanics. Inasmuch as the Spanish language is the most overt manifestation of Hispanic culture in the United States, the greater the preference for using Spanish as a means of communication the more the speaker is apt to be a target of discrimination. Although there are considerable sociological differences among our respondents, they nevertheless represent a more Anglicized or culturally integrated group than do Hispanics as a whole. In the first place, the fact that they are university students indicates that they have middle class aspirations or, at the very least, that they are not economically deprived. Being a college student in this country presupposes and necessitates a large degree of conformity to the ideals of the dominant Anglo Society. Our respondents manifest such conformity. For example, they attend a university in which the student body is 67.7% Anglo.[3] Moreover, 48.8% of the respondents currently live either in mostly Anglo neighborhoods or in neighborhoods consisting of a mixture of Anglos and Hispanics. Only a relatively small percentage of the respondents prefer that most of their friends, neighbors, and co-workers be of Hispanic descent; these percentages are 18.4, 21.1, and 28.9 respectively. Finally, 57.9% of the respondents prefer to identify themselves ethnically by conservative terms (namely, American, American of Mexican descent, Spanish American, and Spanish) that imply assimilation into the dominant society, as opposed to 42.1% who prefer separatist ethnic labels (Chicano, Mexican, or Mexicano). Inasmuch as our sample consists of Spanish speakers who are, for the most part, considerably Anglicized and, consequently, somewhat lacking in Spanish fluency, we hypothesize that the proportion of variance in discrimination perception explained by language use is even greater among less Anglicized and more Spanish dominant samples of the Hispanic population.

Our research also provides some important information that explains the relative lack of study of Spanish by Hispanic youth. A perplexing question for teachers of Spanish throughout the Southwestern United States is: "Why does such a relatively small number of Hispanic youth choose to study in school the language of their cultural heritage?" This question is even more puzzling in view of the current minority movements in our society as well as the growing pride in minority groups alluded to earlier. To answer this seemingly paradoxical question we again note that, although Chicanos essentially trust the school system (see Table 1), it is apparent from the analysis of our data that their views on (or experiences with) discrimination have a bearing on whether they elect to study Spanish formally in school. Those students who see the majority culture as discriminatory towards them towards them tend to elect not to study Spanish in school. We have already observed that Chicano students perceive themselves as victims of discrimination to the extent that they speak Spanish in their daily lives. Undoubtedly, many of those who use the language consistently do not study it in order to avoid participation in programs — often conducted by Anglo teachers — that traditionally have attempted to eradicate their regional dialect and "teach" them a "standard" variety of the language. Conversely, students who look upon the school system with an increasing degree of trust are more inclined to study Spanish for extended periods of time. One explanation for their willingness to study Spanish is that they do not feel discriminated against, inasmuch as they typically are monolingual English speakers or, at best, passive bilinguals. Consequently, (like Anglo students) they are not threatened by a language program that characteristically discourages the use of a home dialect that they do not speak in the first place.

There is an important corollary to this observation concerning the study of Spanish on the university level. Hispanics who are passive bilinguals often enroll in Spanish courses for non-natives since they believe that the students who enroll in the native track are fluent speakers of Spanish. However, our data confirm that there is little cause for such concern, since the majority of such students (88.6% in our sample) do not consider themselves to be fluent in the language. However, 100% of our sample consider themselves to be at least passive bilinguals. In short, virtually all the students are at the same elementary level insofar as speaking proficiency is concerned. They are there to learn the language, not to take advantage of other students who are less fluent than themselves.

On a more general and theoretical plane, sociolinguists have long maintained that the differences in attitudes that people experience concerning sociological phenomena are characteristically correlated with their language background. Our research confirms this historical assumption.

In closing, it is understood that the two significant correlations discovered in this study do not explain all the variance dealing with the perception of discrimination by Hispanics. Rather, each accounts for an appreciable part and together they explain 18.7% of such variance. Many other unidentified factors account for the remaining 81.3% of the variance. There is a need for further research to identify these other factors and determine the strength of their correlations with discrimination perception. We believe that we have provided important information insofar as the Spanish language is concerned.

NOTES

1. The latter includes items selected from a similar questionnaire entitled "Cultural Background" which was designed by Amado Padilla.

2. However, the mineigen values so reveal that the discrimination perceived as emanating from stores and restaurants as well as discrimination encountered in social and economic advancement are separate underlying variables. But, since they explain such a small proportion of the total variance in discrimination in general (i.e., 8.6% and 7.6% respectively) and following the factor analysis itself, we do not treat them as separate underlying variables.

3. This information was supplied to us by the office of Admissions and Records of the University of New Mexico.

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EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

THE PROCESSUAL ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN BILINGUAL CLASSROOMS: LANGUAGE USE AND MASS MEDIA ORIENTATIONS AMONG MEXICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN

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Several years ago, I focused on the need for developing more effective approaches in the sociolinguistic study of bilingual communities (Aguirre, 1980). In particular, I argued that the development of refined socio-linguistic approaches to the study of language use in bilingual communities would assist in the development of bilingual education programs. As a result, a sociolinguistic model was developed that took into consideration the sociolinguistic character of a bilingual community in the development of a bilingual education program for the community's elementary school (Aguirre & Bixler-Márquez, 1979). Thus, it was possible to develop a bilingual program that approximated the sociolinguistic character of the community. On the one hand, the success of the bilingual program was enhanced in that it would not be a burden on the sociolinguistic profile of the community. On the other hand, the close approximation between parents' sociolinguistic features and the bilingual program's structure created a set of realistic expectations for both parents and the school.

While the sociolinguistic model developed dealt only with the structural arrangement of sociolinguistic dimensions in the community, it did not examine the processual interaction of these dimensions. For instance, the model is quite effective at creating a portrait of a bilingual community's sociolinguistic character. However, it is a portrait that is based on the aggregate nature of structural features rather than on their processual nature. For example, the model facilitates the development of a bilingual program that falls on a continuum based on a bilingual community's sociolinguistic profile. However, it is not possible to observe how the bilingual program developed is affected by actual language processes at work in the community.

This limitation in the model, however, does not constrain the model's utility. For our purposes, the model was a tool for developing bilingual programs that were similar, not identical, to sociolinguistic features in the community. As such, it does serve its purpose in that it facilitates the development of working programs. The degree to which the programs actually work will largely depend on how closely each such program mirrors the identity of the corresponding bilingual community. Given the rapid shift in social and linguistic forces within any community, it becomes almost impossible to develop sociolinguistic models that are identical with the bilingual community they are dealing with. As a result, the best one can hope for is the development of sociolinguistic models that approximate a community's sociolinguistic profile (Rubel, 1968).

In an attempt to bring some attention to the need for the examination of processual dimensions in bilingual programs, this paper examines the mass media orientations for English and Spanish in a sample of Mexican-American children enrolled in bilingual classrooms. I selected to focus on mass media orientations for the following reasons: (a) children spend on the average 5 hours a day interacting with some form of mass media (Greenberg, et al., 1983); (b) the availability of mass media in both English and Spanish is

widespread (Gutiérrez, 1977); and (c) watching and listening habits are functional indicators of actual language use (Bixler-Márquez, 1985). As a result, by focusing on mass media orientations in English and Spanish I can examine their association with a child's home language and self-reported language use. A contrastive analysis of home language use and self-reported language use may, in turn, enable one to evaluate the utility of using either dimension for locating a child within a bilingual classroom.

The Study

The respondents in this study are two hundred Mexican-American children enrolled in bilingual classrooms, grades 2-4, at twenty schools in Riverside County and San Bernardino County. The children and their parents were also part of a larger study focused on opinions and attitudes toward bilingual education (Aguirre, 1985). One unique feature of this study is that it enables us to compare and contrast the home language reported by parents with the children's self-reported language use. At each of the twenty schools, one bilingual classroom was randomly selected from the available number of bilingual classrooms. From each classroom selected, Mexican-American children were randomly selected from the available number of Mexican-American students.

The children were interviewed by bilingual (English/Spanish) Mexican-American graduate students who were indigenous to the areas in which they were assigned to work. The interview was conducted in the language in which the child felt most comfortable. However, for the most part, the interviews were conducted in both languages. Each child was asked a total of fifteen questions in an effort to elicit the following types of information: (a) home language use, (b) language use with parents and siblings, and (c) use of English and Spanish language media. The interview lasted between ten and fifteen minutes. Each child was called out of the classroom and interviewed in the school library.

All of the children used as participants in this study reside in areas where there is reception of both English and Spanish-language television channels and radio programs. In addition, only those children whose parents had indicated in the parental interview that both English and Spanish media were used in the home are included in this study's sample. As a result, the sample reported in this paper does not suffer from the presence of internal differences that might arise due to the availability or non-availability of Spanish language media.

Results

According to our interviews with parents, 26% identified English as the language spoken most often at home, and 74% identified Spanish as the language spoken most often at home. The results in Table 1 suggest that there is a very low association between home language use and a child's mass media orientations. Using phi coefficients as our measure of association (Bohrnstedt & Knoke, 1982:311-314), one finds the following in Table 1: home language and TV language, $x=0.0669$; home language and radio language, $x=0.0429$; home language and TV language preference, $x=0.0559$. A rather close association, however, is present between home language and the self-reported language use of children ($x=0.3927$).

When children were asked to report which language they used most often for speaking, 57% reported English and 43% reported Spanish. The associations in Table 2 are as follows: reported language use and TV language, $x=0.1788$; reported language use and radio language, $x=0.5716$; reported language use and TV language preference, $x=0.3039$.

TABLE 1

Reported Home Language and Mass Media Orientations

| Childrens' Responses | HOME LANGUAGE* | |
	English (N=52)	Spanish (N=148)
TV Language		
Spanish	6%	10%
English	94%	90%
Radio Language		
Spanish	25%	21%
English	75%	79%
TV Language Preference		
Spanish	46%	40%
English	54%	60%
Self-Reported Language Use		
Spanish	15%	60%
English	85%	40%

*As reported by parents.

TABLE 2

Reported Language Use and Media Orientations

| Media Orientation | Reported Language Use | |
	English (N=114)	Spanish (N=86)
TV Language		
Spanish	6%	17%
English	94%	83%
Radio Language		
Spanish	18%	76%
English	82%	24%
TV Language Preference		
Spanish	33%	64%
English	67%	36%

Contrasting the results in Table 2 with the results in Table 1, one can observe that the child's reported language use has a much closer association with media orientations than with the home language reported by parents. In other words, for these results, reported language use is a better descriptor

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for media orientations than parental reported home language use. Secondly, the results in both Table 1 and Table 2 suggest that there is more interaction with English-language media in households where Spanish is reported as the home language and by children who report Spanish as the language they use most often. In contrast, there is very limited interaction with Spanish language media in those households where English is reported to be spoken and by children who report English as the language they speak most often. In particular, the results in Table 2 suggest that children who report speaking Spanish have markedly more Spanish-language media contact than children who report English as the language they speak most often.

Language Use by Context

The results in Table 3 are focused on the association between reported home language use and the children's reported language use in the home and in school. The particular associations in Table 3 for reported home language use are: with parents, x=0.5847; with siblings, x=0.3125; with friends, x=0.3927; playground, x=0.1207; classroom, x=0.1011. As a result, reported home language use with siblings is inversely associated. That is, English is used most often with siblings in Spanish-speaking households, and Spanish is used most often with siblings in English-speaking households. This pattern of cross-language use has been identified by Aguirre (1984) as a sociolinguistic feature in bilingual Mexican-American households.

Regarding the children's reported language use in school, it is not unexpected to find that the majority reported English as the language spoken most often. One must note again that children from Spanish-speaking households tend to have greater latitude in their language choice than children from English-speaking households.

TABLE 3

Reported Home Language Use and Context

| | Home Language* | |
Context	English (N=52)	Spanish (N=148)
Home		
With Parents		
Spanish	15%	80%
English	85%	20%
With Siblings		
Spanish	40%	12%
English	60%	88%
With Friends		
Spanish	15%	60%
English	85%	40%
School		
Playground		
Spanish	5%	15%
English	85%	40%
Classroom		
Spanish	15%	25%
English	85%	75%

*As reported by parents.

The results in Table 4 are focused on the association between the children's reported language use and their reported language use by context. The particular associations with reported language use are as follows: with parents, x=0.1311; with siblings, x=0.2624; with friends, x=0.2123; playground, x=0.2125 classroom, x=0.0652. A comparison of the phi coefficients for the associations in Table 3 and for the associations in Table 4 shows that reported home language is a better descriptor for the children's reported language use in the home. This result is not unexpected because it is consistent with the results in Table 1 regarding the association between home language and reported language use by children.

An interesting association is the one regarding the reported language use with siblings. According to the results in Table 4, children who report speaking Spanish most often are more likely to make greater use of Spanish and English than children who report speaking English most often. Secondly, there is a very weak negative association for reported language use in the classroom. Though the value of the phi coefficient is negligible its direction is not because it suggests that children who primarily speak English tend to speak Spanish more in the classroom than children who primarily speak Spanish. Accordingly, children who primarily speak Spanish tend to speak more English in the classroom than children who primarily speak English.

TABLE 4

Reported Language Use By Context

Context	English (N=114)	Spanish (N=86)
Home		
With Parents		
Spanish	80%	90%
English	20%	10%
With Siblings		
Spanish	10%	30%
English	90%	70%
With Friends		
Spanish	20%	40%
English	80%	60%
School		
Playground		
Spanish	10%	25%
English	90%	75%
Classroom		
Spanish	20%	15%
English	80%	85%

Discussion

While the results are not really unexpected, their implications for bilingual program planning are. For instance, most children are placed or referred for placement in bilingual classrooms based on the results of a home language survey completed by parents. The results show that home language as reported by parents is a poorer descriptor of children's language use than the children's self-reported language use. One could conclude that home language as reported by parents is not a reliable indicator for identifying

the language needs of their children in the school. However, one would then face the anomalous results that home language as reported by parents is closely associated with the children's reported home language use.

An examination of the results in Table 1 for the language spoken by children shows that its association with home language as reported by parents is more apparent for English-speaking households than for Spanish-speaking households. There appears to be greater use of both English and Spanish in Spanish-speaking households. Thus, the aggregate portrait of these children in their bilingual classrooms is that they are Spanish speakers. The portrait, however, does not reveal the fact that there may be a higher degree of bilingual activity in a group of these children. For the teacher, the problem becomes one of identifying this group and developing a teaching approach for it.

The teacher's problem may be solved if closer attention is placed on the child's self-reported language use. While the results in Table 3 show that there is a close association between home language and context, the results in Table 4 show a weak association between children's self-reported language use by context. In this case, there is a structural differentiation in the children's language use by context when one considers home language use. However, the actual process of language use by children does not serve as a differentiating feature among them. As a result, the self-reported language use of children suggests that they are more similar than different in their language use. This is indirectly reinforced by the weak negative association between classroom language use and self-reported language use in Table 4. That is, this dissimilarity in the children's language use in the classroom may be a vehicle in pushing them to share similar features in their language use.

By focusing on the self-reported language use of children one could acquire information regarding the oral language skills of children in both English and Spanish. Such information would be quite effective in developing instructional programs that build and extend existing oral language skills rather than using them as a basis for determining what has not been learned (Aguirre, in press). In particular, it would reinforce the child's sociolinguistic behavior that could result in a more positive identification process with the classroom. I have suggested elsewhere that it is the lack of a positive identification with the bilingual classroom that too often results in the child not being able to communicate effectively in it (Aguirre, 1981). As a result, what are perceived to be educational problems may simply be communication problems.

Mass Media Orientation

Our results regarding the children's mass media orientations show that their interaction with Spanish-language television programming is quite low despite exhibiting a preference for it. Regardless of whether one considers home language or self-reported language use, interaction with Spanish-language television is limited. It has been suggested that limited exposure to Spanish-language media is indicative of a low degree of maintenance for the Spanish language (Amastae, 1982). However, it has also been suggested that Mexican-American children limit their exposure to Spanish-language television programming because of the limited availability of children's programming on Spanish-language channels (Neuman & Pitts, 1983).

An examination of radio listening by language shows that children, regardless of home language and self-reported language use, interact more with Spanish-language radio programming than with Spanish-language television programming. These results would counter any argument that the children in

the sample have made a shift from Spanish to English. For example, in order to follow action in a radio program one must understand the language. This condition does not hold for television viewing. It is possible to follow action on a television screen without understanding the language. If this is a plausible condition, then the children in the sample possess the necessary linguistic skills in Spanish for listening to radio programs in Spanish. Thus, their radio listening patterns indicate a high degree of maintenance for the Spanish language.

The pattern in responses for television viewing shows that most television programming is watched in English. The fact that most of the children would prefer some of their television programming in Spanish suggests that if it were available they would watch it. It may be that the limited availability of children's programs in Spanish constrains their viewing to English-language channels. As a result, one would have to be rather careful in using viewing of television programming in English as an indicator of language shift.

Finally, one needs to consider whether placement in the bilingual classroom has increased interest in the child so that he/she will seek to develop a bilingual approach in his/her behavior. The children's interactive patterns with language suggests that there is a great deal of bilingual activity that does not extend to their mass media orientations. The children do not appear to be using the symbolic nature of the mass media to reinforce their sociolinguistic features. While the data limits the level of interpretation one can present regarding the role of the bilingual classroom in producing these results, it does raise the following questions: are the children bilingual because they are in a bilingual classroom? or is a classroom bilingual because the children are bilingual? An approach such as the one presented in this paper could very well enable the interested teacher and researcher to decide just exactly which comes first, the classroom or the child.

<u>Concluding Remarks</u>

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the processual role of language, and its implications for bilingual classrooms. We have observed that it may be in the best interests of the classroom teacher to examine the language behavior of students rather than rely on their parents reported home language use. The classroom teacher would then be in a better position to develop adequate classroom materials for each student, hopefully by group, and to imply the child's linguistic abilities as a building block. The teacher could also utilize the student's language use patterns as a means for promoting a higher degree of bilingual activity in the classroom. Though there are limitations in all of these observations, these observations are necessary in facilitating a positive identification process between the child and the bilingual classroom.

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TRANSLATION: THE FORGOTTEN FIFTH LANGUAGE SKILL

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Translation, in its essence, is nothing more or less than paraphrasing: to translate in the broadest sense of the word is to paraphrase, to substitute a new form of expression for the old form while maintaining the original content unchanged or modifying it slightly; often in translation we amplify or abridge the text somewhat, thus making the new text longer or shorter than the original one. Normally, we think of translation as involving a change from one language to another (Russian to English, English to Chinese, etc.). This is the process best designated intralingual translation.[1] However, in the case of ancient texts — Beowulf or Chaucer in English, the jarchas or Poema del Mio Cid in Spanish, the Nibelungenlied in German, or Chanson de Roland in French — we would perhaps find the idea of intralingual translation (that is, translation within a single language) to be quite natural. Similarly, translating into the standard written language from a highly differentiated regional dialect — the English of East Anglia, England, to cite one such variety — would also seem to us a perfectly reasonable idea. Moreover, certain sociolects (sociolects are social variants of language) such as Cockney, the working-class variety of the English of East London with its omitted and added h's, as well as the technical jargons of certain highly developed or markedly idiosyncratic professions, including the C.B. slang of the truck driver, might analogously lend themselves to the art of the translator, the forgotten professional in the United States of the 80's at least.

Thus defined, translation, the substitution of one language form or mode of expression for another, is the quintessential language skill. When we speak, we translate our mental ideas into oral symbols; in comprehending spoken language, the inverse process occurs. In formal writing — as it is taught in Freshman composition courses, for example — we find a case of multiple substitution of linguistic forms. First of all, the original idea needs to be developed, that is, translated into a more complete and more logical form. Secondly, the first draft must be rewritten, at least once if not several times, in order to achieve the clearest, most readily understandable form, in order to establish a uniform style, and in order to make all transitions perfectly explicit. The first page of the written version of this presentation, for example, was rewritten no less than six times — which is not to say that its author is absolutely satisfied with its present form. Finally, basic reading involves multiple language substitution: the symbols of written language are first recorded into those of oral language, and these, in turn, are converted into mental comprehension, although the tripartite process may be condensed into a bipartite one in advanced readers.

Translation, therefore, is not just to be viewed as a single additional language skill and not just a language art associated with those people that can boast a command of two or more languages. It is rather a language art that is essential and natural, and definitely not peripheral to the practical concerns of the teacher dealing solely with the native language. In teaching several of the core courses in translation from English to Spanish or Spanish to English of Pan American University at Brownsville's Translator Program, I have regularly included paraphrasing in a single language, either English or Spanish, as an important part of the program, one designed to give the student a true understanding of the essential and basic character of the process of translation, rather than just a vocational approach peripheral to

other language concerns.[2] I always find that such exercises are entirely new to the students; although they are intrigued by paraphrasing, they find it to be initially somewhat difficult, and quite invariably they ask why such exercises are never included in English classes.

What is it, exactly, that is so basic about translation, paraphrasing, or linguistic substitution? Some of our best linguists, language professors, and anthropologists — such as Edward Sapir, Kenneth Burke, and Susanne K. Langer — in considering the theory of language in general agree that the use of symbols represents the essential feature of all language or human communication, the feature that distinguishes it from animal language, at least all animal language so far discovered: some marine biologists suspect that certain sea mammals such as whales and dolphins may have language like ours, yet all attempts to date have failed to discover any such animal communication.[3] Burke has coined the term "symbolicity" for the making, use, and the misuse of symbols.[4] All such experts agree, moreover, that our psychology as a science today is quite incapable of explicitly describing the basic mode of symbolicity, that is, the conversion of mental activity into streams of oral symbols and the inverse process that converts oral language into mental comprehension. If the essential processes of language are, thus, not easily made explicit, nonetheless they certainly can be and are taught as an art based upon an intuitive understanding of the process of translation.

Is language substitution, thus to be considered a fifth language skill? Yes, as paraphrasing, in the case of the strictly monolingual person. In the case of the bilingual or multilingual person, however, we are dealing with multiple or even many language skills of the monolingual. My son Jorge Andrés, who is 9 years old, reads, writes, speaks, and comprehends both Spanish and English. If he, for example, is to develop into a perfectly balanced bilingual and biliterate person formally trained in both translation and interpreting (oral translation), he will eventually command at least 18 different language skills: the five skills in English, the five skills in Spanish, oral translation from English to Spanish and oral translation from Spanish to English (two more skills), translating written English into written Spanish and translating written Spanish into written English (two more skills), for a total of 18 individual language skills. Similarly, a perfectly trilingual and triliterate person with a complete command of all the substitution skills would command a total of 29 individual skills. In the case of a person with total command of four languages, the number would rise to 66 individual skills, The general formula is $n^3 + 2$, that is, the number of languages raised to the third power plus two.

Two conclusions are immediately evident from this analysis. First of all, foreign language instruction involves more than has generally been thought by those caught up in the audio-lingual approach, whether or not all the individual skills are consciously taught. Any experienced foreign language teacher knows that students do a certain amount of translation, whether or not it is part of the integral curriculum. Rather more important is the realization that translation, paraphrasing or linguistic substitution are quite central to language arts. Perhaps the language teacher has become too accustomed to consider solely the form and meaning -- the main thrust of translation and the main topic of translation effectively taught.

In a period of reaction against foreign language instruction based largely upon the incomplete analysis employing the oft-repeated stereotype of the four language skills, a rationale for foreign language teaching within our curricula at all educational levels has been sought but can not be found in terms of just four skills. Without advocating a return to the overworked and often deficient use of translation as the principal method employed in the foreign language classroom -- and this teacher personally much prefers a

wide variety of methods including translation as a secondary method -- it should be pointed out that effective translation is of immediate benefit to the student in the foreign language classroom because it offers a direct insight into the relationship between meaning and form as it varies from language to language -- certainly this is the real rationale for teaching languages other than English to our children. We will cite only two examples. In German the word for the object that we call a glove in English is "Handschuh," that is 'a shoe for a hand.' Here, a metaphor is employed to extend the meaning of the word "Schuh" in a way that no German would ever think twice about, but one that immediately offers a curious insight into the nature of language and its workings for any English-speaking person.[5] The English speaker learning German is thus brought to view reality in a very slightly different fashion.

On the other hand, differences between similar but not identical expressions in two different languages often reflect very distinct ways of viewing the world, that is, a difference in world view or Weltanschauung.[6] For example, we speak in English of necessity being the mother of invention, whereas in Spanish we are wont to say that necessity has a face like a heretic. ("La necesidad tiene cara de hereje.") We note here that these specific differences between the forms of expressions reveal just such a difference in world view: the Anglo-Saxon in the face of crisis thinks about the possibilities of a mechanical solution to the concrete problems, that is, technology, whereas the Spanish speaker is seen to consider the spiritual side of the crisis itself. The English speaker focuses on the material, the Hispano deals in terms of the abstract.

NOTES

1. George Steiner begins his book on translation with a discussion of Intralingual translation. His approach is essentially philosophical and is based on a remarkable command of a number of European languages by the author. After Babel. London: Oxford, 1977.

2. For an introduction to Spanish-English translation as a profession, see Gerardo Vázquez-Ayora. Introducción a la Traductología. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1977. The author is a professional translator with many years of experience with the Organization of American States.

3. Edward Sapir is often cited for his discussion of the symbolic character of language. See "Language" in Culture, Language and Personality. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949, pp. 1-44.

4. Kenneth Burke. Language as Symbolic Action, Essays on Life, Literature, and Method. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966, p. 5.

5. Susanne K. Langer discusses the metaphorical nature of language, among other topics, in her article, "Language" included in Foreign Language Teaching, An Anthology, ed. Joseph Michel. N.Y.: Macmillan, 1969, pp. 3-40.

6. The theory that different world views are implicit in different languages is generally attributed, in a highly developed form, to Benjamin Lee Whorf. See his article "Languages and Logic" in Language, Thought, and Reality, Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf, ed. John B. Carroll. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1956, pp. 233-245.

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Several leading publications such as Time, The Wall Street Journal, and U.S. News & World Report have recently focused their coverage on the dynamics of the United States-Mexico border. This emphasis is hardly surprising, given the economic, political, and human ties between the two countries and an increased public awareness of the interdependent nature of the world economy.

Most institutions and economic enterprises along the border are quick to mention the unique characteristics of the binational setting as well as the needs and problems they generate. One growing need is for educational systems to produce individuals with professional and technical communication skills in English and Spanish. A cursory glance at Mexican and American classified ads on any given day confirms this need.

Some metropolitan areas like Brownsville, El Paso, Laredo, and Los Angeles have managed to produce a significant number of bilingual professionals. U.S. News & World Report indicated that approximately twenty percent of the Anglo population in the El Paso area is bilingual. This reflects a growing awareness among high socioeconomic Anglo residents, already aware of more employment options by virtue of their advantaged status and concomitant opportunities, that a good command of both English and Spanish increases their employability in desirable fields. The proportion of Hispanics who are bilingual is considerably larger, but the numbers of each population who can function effectively in the two languages in specific settings such as business, industry, or government is not known.

A third linguistic and cultural dimension has to be seriously considered by educational policy formulators for the 1890s as a result of increased Asian economic presence in the United States and in the twin plant industry along the U.S.-Mexico border. Powell et al. (1987) revealed that Japanese investment in the United States rose from virtually zero in 1975 to almost 30 billion dollars in 1987. Japanese-owned companies in the Unites States employed over 225,000 people in 1986, although the number of Japanese personnel, mostly executive, was small. This trend continues in the United States as Japan and other Asian nations seek to maintain and extend their hold on the American market, this time by operating in the United States. At the same time, American companies have sought to remain competitive in the U.S. market by establishing or relocating plants in Mexico. For example, according to a 1988 report in El Fronterizo, General Motors had opened 29 plants in Mexico and planned to have 50 in operation by 1990. Japanese companies such as Sony, Sanyo, and TDK have operated plants in northern Mexico for some time. Other Japanese companies such as Mitsubishi, Toshiba, and Seiko have recently followed suit. Samsung, Gold Star, Daewoo and other Korean companies quickly gauged the economic and political advantages accrued to members of the twin plant industry and also proceeded to open manufacturing plants in Mexico.

The Asian dimension has generated a set of technical and business communication needs comparable to those generated by the interface of Spanish with English. The professional presence of Asian languages and cultures is

nascent in the region. Asian executives and their Mexican and American personnel are in the process of developing viable communication networks, internally and externally, which is a learning process. For example, some of the new Japanese firms encountered resistance from their Mexican employees, who were not at all convinced they should spend their break time doing calisthenics in order to develop an esprit de corps.

Evidently, a new linguistic and cultural network is developing in the region. It will transcend the English and Spanish parameters and be multilingual and multicultural. The Japanese and the Koreans now form an important part of the professional milieu in the United States and along the U.S.-Mexico border. Therefore, Spanish, English, Japanese, Korean, and other languages must be accommodated.

One question that then comes to mind is, in light of the ever-extending global economy, will current language education programs be able to address the multilingual, crosscultural communication needs of border communities and their export markets in the not-too-distant future? Galante (1985) and executives of potential multinational companies indicate that the lack of personnel with foreign language crosscultural communication skills in American firms abroad is a serious obstacle to their success.

This array of first- and second-language instruction programs has been effective within the limits of its objectives. Indeed, exemplary school systems in cities such as San Antonio and El Paso have received national recognition for leadership and innovation in bilingual education and related programs. Still, the existing collage of options cannot fully meet the growing communication needs in English and Spanish of business and industry in the Southwest (Bixler-Márquez, 1987). Furthermore, the demand for Asian languages is fast pressing at its heels. For example, in El Paso, Texas, a small private Japanese school first opened its doors in 1988 and was training about 12 twin plant employees in Japanese language and culture. Also, some Japanese executives expressed a desire for a Japanese school that would enable their children to continue their education and be competitive upon their return to Japan (Templin, 1988).

Several remedies might be brought to bear fruitfully on the insufficient language instruction that results in educated adults who are not truly bilingual but whose work requires sophisticated communicative competence in the region's languages. In the dimension of Spanish-English, schools first must educate young children, regardless of whether they are English monolinguals, Spanish monolinguals, or bilinguals, to acquire both languages with a degree of proficiency that will prove useful in the global economy. It is far easier, from an attitudinal standpoint, and far less painful to learn a second language at age five rather than after adolescence. Maintenance bilingual education for both majority and minority language students has proved successful in many of the world's communities, including Miami, Mexico City, and Colonia Juárez in Chihuahua.

Another approach would be to establish magnet schools with maintenance bilingual education programs that include Asian languages under the enrichment, not compensatory education, label. Such programs could enable Johnny and Juanito to become the national linguistic and cultural asset for which they have a potential that is currently allowed to remain fallow. The enrichment to both individual and community would likewise rebound upon American enterprises, so sorely in need of such linguistic resources, in the United States, Mexico, and in the rest of Latin America (Hageman, 1984).

Such measures are essentially long-term, since it would take twelve years for the first graduates of enrichment bilingual education to come to the marketplace. Interventions are needed now at each level of public education and at the university level. For example, elementary schools, through second language and bilingual education programs, need to prepare the foundation for the next generation of programs. High school programs, just as those found at some universities, must insure that applied second language abilities be developed alongside the more traditional skills. Such programs also would include developing language in field settings as well as in the classroom.

In specific regard to the Asian dimension, universities and community colleges on both sides of the border should examine the viability of linking with existing programs in the United States, notably those in West Coast institutions of higher education. Also, Asian, Mexican, and American firms doing business on the U.S.-Mexico border and educational institutions in their respective countries should develop cooperative ventures to address their communication needs. These could include the creation of university-affiliated institutes in Japan and Korea where American and Mexican personnel could be trained in the target languages, cultures, and the art of doing business with the appropriate Asian firms. Mexican and American university faculty in the very same institutes could initially prepare Asian executives bound for the twin plant industry; their training could be continued in comparable institutes in the United States and Mexico, before and after job assignments. An attractive side feature of the institute approach is the potential for creating an instructional cadre that can eventually service elementary and high schools. It should be noted that the Council on International Educational Exchange (1988) already operates comparable cooperative centers for study abroad from which valuable lessons can be learned.

This region has the resources and the instructional capacity to produce a substantial portion of America's future leadership in areas like international affairs and commerce. As Naisbitt (1982) has claimed in Megatrends, information processing in this era is the United States' main economic strength. It would be disastrous, then, for the Southwest not to be at the cutting edge of a megatrend already in effect. It would be ironic and doubly disastrous if Southwestern communities approached the 1990s relying on outside human resources for bilingual information-processing services. If this region is to grow beyond a cheap labor market at all levels of the economy, its schools must cope successfully with the demographic and economic developments in this area. The region cannot afford to educate its youth for a non existent culturally monolithic world (Meléndez, 1989). Bilingualism is not only a communication trend but a prerequisite for the human and technical development of the U.S.-Mexico border.

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The principal purpose of this study was to investigate the effects of first language education on the second language and academic achievement of Mexican immigrant elementary school children in the United States. This was done by examining and comparing the context-reduced and context-embedded language skills in both English and Spanish of 34 sixth-grade Mexican immigrant children in a bilingual program who had been schooled in Mexico a minimum of two years (Group M) and 38 sixth-grade children of Mexican immigrants in the same bilingual program who had been totally schooled in United States (Groups US).

This study was motivated by Cummins' (1981) theoretical framework, which contends that limited English proficient (LEP) children must develop two types of English-Language skills for success in school: one is context-embedded, the other is context-reduced. Additionally, he contends that there is an interdependence between first and second language proficiency. Hence, much of what is learned in one language can be transferred to the other language. Thus, three research questions were posed: (a) Can the distinction between context-reduced and context-embedded language skills be empirically validated? (b) Does a common underlying proficiency exist between first (L1) and second (L2) language skills? (c) What is the importance of L1 development for the school achievement of bilingual children?

Reading comprehension tests were employed to measure context-reduced language skills in English and Spanish. The Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM II) in Spanish and English were used to measure context-embedded language skills in both languages. Finally, communicative competence in English and Spanish was tested using recording of the dialogue elicited by the BSM II.

Statistical analyses were done to (a) compare the two groups' performance on these tests, (b) examine the relationship of years of Mexican schooling on the test results, and (c) analyze the interrelationships among the tests. Results indicated that (a) a valid distinction could be made between context-reduced and context embedded language skills, (b) there was evidence for a common underlying proficiency between L1 and L2 skills of these children, (c) L1 development appeared to be positively related to the L2 and academic achievement of these Mexican immigrant children in U.S. schools.

Statement of the Problem

The specific objective of this study was to examine the context-reduced and context-embedded language skills in both English and Spanish of sixth-grade Mexican immigrant children in a bilingual program who had been schooled in Mexico in a minimum of two years and sixth grade children of Mexican immigrants in the same bilingual program who had been totally schooled in the United States.

The principal research questions were:

1. Can the distinction between context-reduced and context-embedded language skills be empirically validated?
2. Does a common underlying proficiency exist between L1 and L2 skills?
3. What is the importance of L1 development for the school achievement of bilingual children?

For many years limited-English-proficient (LEP) children were categorized as retarded and placed in special education programs or they simply became frustrated and dropped out of school (Hartman, 1948; Secota, 1925; Carter, 1970; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1971, 1974). With the introduction of bilingual education in the 1960s it was assumed that such inequities would be resolved. However, because of many obstacles, including the lack of trained bilingual teachers, proper materials, skepticism, and social political issues, public education continued to neglect the needs of limited-English-proficient (LEP) children (see statistics compiled by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1974) on the academic achievement and dropout rates of Hispanics).
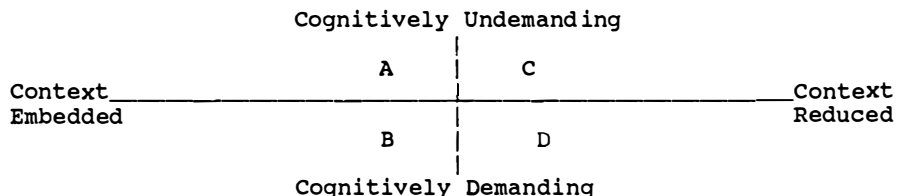
With the establishment of bilingual education programs came confusion regarding both entry and exit criteria. This occurred because the conception for bilingual education was not specific enough in its description to evaluate the entry into or exit from a bilingual program by LEP children. There was, in fact, no distinction made as to the acceptable competency level in the development of literacy skills in LEP children, whether immigrant or not, to properly evaluate their entry into or exit from a bilingual program. As a consequence, many LEP children were either not placed in a bilingual program or else were exited from the program before they acquired the skills needed for adequate participation in the regular all-English curriculum.

More specifically, transitional bilingual education programs today employ bilingual instruction as a means of instructing LEP children in content areas while they learn English. Once the students are considered proficient enough in conversational English, they are exited into an all-English program. It is assumed that these children have acquired the English-language capability necessary to progress without academic impediment. However, after their exit from a bilingual program, it is commonly observed that LEP children will then begin to lag behind their classmates in English academic skills. Because, at this point, these children are now officially considered fluent English speakers, they no longer qualify for bilingual education and consequently are left to sink or swim with the label of "underachievers."

Cummins (1981a) points out that there exist some serious difficulties with this conception of bilingual education. He defines two specific problems: (a) This educational approach ignores the socio-cultural determinants of minority students' school failure, which are more fundamental than linguistic factors, and (b) it fails to adequately conceptualize what is meant by English proficiency, in a way that is likely to result in the creation of academic deficits in language minority students (p. 2). Cummins (1980a) found evidence for the existence of these two problems in an analysis of teacher referral forms and psychological assessments of over 400 language-minority students in Canada. The overriding characteristic that surfaced was that children's English communicative skills appeared considerably better developed than their academic language skills. Cummins then suggests that it is a misconception to assess English proficiency only on the basis of "peer appropriate face-to-face communicative skills." Such an error in evaluation can impede the academic progress of the LEP student.

Cummins (1981a) theorizes that "experience with either language can promote the development of proficiency underlying both languages" (p. 25). He calls this "Common Underlying Proficiency" (CUP) or the "Interdependence Hypothesis." The more proficient bilingual children are in L1, the faster they will acquire the cognitively demanding aspects of L2. Because of their experience in L1, they can also process context-reduced material in L2 more proficiently. Cummins is, therefore, suggesting that L1 and L2 cognitive and academic language proficiency are interdependent and consequently manifestations of a common underlying proficiency.

Cummins has proposed a theoretical framework of communicative competence to address the needs of language minority children. This framework is conceptualized in the following graphic:

```
                  Cognitively Undemanding
                            |
                  A         |         C
Context_____|_____Context
Embedded                    |                              Reduced
                  B         |         D
                            |
                  Cognitively Demanding
```

Range of Contextual Support and Degree of Cognitive Involvement in Communicative Activities (Cummins, 1981a and 1981b).

The continuum that extends from left to right exemplifies the magnitude of contextual support available when a meaningful interaction takes place. "Context-embedded" versus "context-reduced" communication described the two extremes of the continuum. In context-embedded communication "the participant actively negotiates meaning through interaction in which cues (i.e., gestures, intonation, situations cues) are exchanged to clarify meaning." Context-reduced communication "relies heavily on linguistic cues to meaning and can be most closely identified with literacy skills (Cummins, 1981a, p. 12). The vertical continuum depicts the range of active cognitive involvement taking place in the task or activity. The upper part of the vertical continuum represents communicative tasks and activities that the learner has mastered linguistically and that thus require little cognitive activity. The lower end of the continuum represents communicative tasks and activities in which the linguistic skills have not been mastered and consequently require cognitive involvement.

From this research, Cummins (1981a; 1981c) contends that it takes immigrant children who arrive after the age of six an average of five to seven years length of residence to attain age-appropriate academic skills in English. However, it takes them about 1-1/2 to two years to develop age-appropriate English communicative skills. This contention is maintained on the basis that literacy-related skills are an ongoing development process throughout the school years. The more obvious aspects of interpersonal communication skills, however, reach plateaus by about age six.

Subjects

Two types of Spanish-Speaking students from a bilingual program were included in the study: sixth graders who were born and schooled in Mexico but immigrated to the United States (Group M) and sixth graders who were born

in Mexico but immigrated to the United States before beginning school (Group US). Students born and schooled in Mexico had to have had at least two years of education in Mexico to be included in the study, while those born in Mexico but immigrated to the United States before beginning school had to have received all their education in this country. Generally, children from both Group M and Group US were of low socioeconomic backgrounds. The subjects consisted of 72 children. Thirty-four pupils belong to Group M and 38 pupils belonged to Groups US.

Instruments

As the Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills - Español and the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) examine reading comprehension, they were also used to measure context-reduced language skills. The Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM II), because it is administered orally and individually using graphics, was employed to measure each student's ability to perform context-embedded language tasks in English and Spanish. Two questionnaires were also used: the Language Domains Survey gave an indication of the children's language use; the Parent Questionnaire reported demographic information and language use at home. Finally, communicative competence in English and Spanish was tested using recording of the dialogue elicited by the BSM II.

Research Design

The research design consisted primarily of a comparison of performance of Group M (the children with at least two years of schooling in Mexico) and Group US (student having had all their schooling in the United States). First, using the groups as the independent variable and the test results as the dependent variable, group differences were computed on context-reduced and context-embedded language skills. Next, the relationship between the test performance and the children's years of schooling in Mexico were examined. Language use was also compared over the two groups using group as the independent variable and language domain responses as the dependent variable. Group differences in socioeconomic status were also examined using employment, educational level, and salary as the indicators. Finally, the relationship between test results and language use was examined using language use as the independent variable and test results and the dependent variable.

Data Analyses

The data were analyzed using appropriate procedure of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences. The analyses were conducted in the following manner:

1. Crosstabulation and Chi-square (X^2) analyses were done to investigate group differences in language use in various domains, parents' years of education, type of employment and level of income.

2. Pearson product-moment correlations were computed and scattergrams constructed to examine: (a) the relationship between years of schooling in Mexico and test results, (b) the relationship between context-embedded and context-reduced language skills, (c) the relationship between performance on English tasks and Spanish tasks, and (d) the relationship between language use and test results.

3. T-tests were calculated and effect sizes (ES) computed to investigate group differences in test results.

<div align="center">TABLE 1</div>

Relationship of Years of Schooling in Mexico to Test Results

Group a	M	SD	ES	t	rb
	English Reading Comprehension (121)				
M	60.32	12.70			
			.24	2.03*	.11
US	53.05	17.04			
	Spanish Reading Vocabulary (40)				
M	21.71	5.97			
			.43	3.61**	.42**
US	16.50	6.21			
	Spanish Reading Comprehension (45)				
M	19.21	5.11			
			.43	3.65**	.41**
US	14.61	5.55			
	Spanish Reading Total Score (85)				
M	40.85	10.44			
			.47	3.96**	.45**
US	31.11	10.41			
	BSM II English (6)				
M	5.03	1.77			
			-.06	-.51	-.29**
US	5.21	1.21			
	BSM II Spanish (6)				
M	6.00	-0-			
			.56	3.27**	.33**
US	5.71	.52			
Group a	M	SD	ES	t	rb

<div align="center">TABLE 1 (Cont)</div>

<div align="center">Spanish Communicative Competence (5)</div>

M	4.61	.45			
			-.52	-4.17**	-.54**
US	4.93	.16			

<div align="center">English Communicative Competence (5)</div>

M	3.74	1.20			
			-.51	-4.15**	-.57**
US	4.62	.52			

Note. The number in parentheses next to each name indicates the maximum possible score.

a n = 34 for Group M and 38 for Group US for all tests.

b Correlations reported are between years of Mexican schooling and test scores for Group M and Group US combined.

*p < .05 (two-tailed)

**p < .01 (two-tailed)

Only those results that were most significant will be reviewed. Hence, language use and preference in different domains, both home and school, will not be referred to. Additionally, only the most significant test results will be examined together with their tables and figures.

English Reading Comprehension

The comparison between group M and Group US in the English reading comprehension test has important implication for the Interdependence Hypotheses. As shown in Table 1, Group M had a significantly higher mean score that Group US (p < .05). The ES and the r, however, were quite small. Figure 1, which graphically illustrates the relationship between years of schooling in Mexico and English Reading Comprehension, shows a somewhat curvilinear relationship with those children having two years of schooling in Mexico scoring higher than both Group US children and those children with more than two years of schooling in Mexico.

Spanish Reading Tests

The Spanish reading measures consisted of both vocabulary and comprehension tests, with the Spanish reading total scores being the sum of both the vocabulary and comprehension scores. Group M had significantly higher scores than Group US in all three tests (p, .01). In fact, positive significant correlations (p, .01) between years of schooling in Mexico and test scores were found for Spanish Reading Vocabulary, Spanish Reading Comprehension, and Spanish Reading total scores (see Table 1). The scattergram on Figure 2 shows the relatively better performance on the Spanish Reading Total Scores by children with four and five years of Mexican schooling.

BSM II-English Test Results

Because this test uses illustration and is orally administered on an individual basis, it was considered an indication of context-embedded language skills. The BSM II-English was the only test that did not yield a significant group mean difference. However, a negative significant correlation was found between years of Mexican schooling and performance on this test (p, .01). Figure 3 shows that the majority of the children from both groups scored at the highest level (6).

BSM II-Spanish Test Results

The BSM II-Spanish results show that superior competence Group M had in Spanish context-embedded language skills. This was indicated by the significant group mean difference (see Table 1). The positive significant correlation between the test scores and years of Mexican schooling (p, .01). The relationship between years of Mexican schooling and BSM II-Spanish shows that all Group M children scored at the highest level (see Figure 4).

Interrelationship of the Test Results

Pearson product-moment correlations were computed to examine the interrelationship among all scores. These correlations are presented in Table 2 for each group separately as well as both groups combined. A total of 84 correlations were computed, of which 37 were statistically significant. It is interesting to note that there was such a high correlation between English and Spanish reading test scores, suggesting the transfer of reading skills from one language to the other. The most important relationships, however, are those found among English Reading Comprehension, the BSM II-English, and English Communicative Competence (see Figure 5). Of particular interest are those children who scored high or reasonably high on the BSM II-English and/or on English Communicative Competence but nonetheless scored poorly on English Reading Comprehension. The implications are that most bilingual programs use a high degree of fluency in English Communicative Competence and a high score on the BSM II-English or some similar context-embedded test to judge the transfer of limited-English-speaking children to the mainstream program where they must then handle English reading comprehension to be able to be successful academically. However, according to the present study, these two variables may be negatively correlated for many children.

The scattergrams in Figure 5 show the distribution of scores which verify that some children do score high on both context-embedded language skills and also score high on context-reduced language skills. However, the distributing trend in the scoring shows many children with high BSM II-English and English Communicative Competence scores also scored low in English reading comprehension. In the present exiting criteria of most bilingual programs in the U.S., the children's ability to handle face-to-face conversation in English and results on context-embedded test such as the BSM II are the principle measures employed in the decision to transfer them into the all English mainstream program. Once in the mainstream program, these children would have to handle English reading comprehension well to be able to be successful academically. As this study shows, many such children would probably fail in the mainstream program because they would be judged

English Reading Comprehension Scores (121)

Years of Mexican Schooling
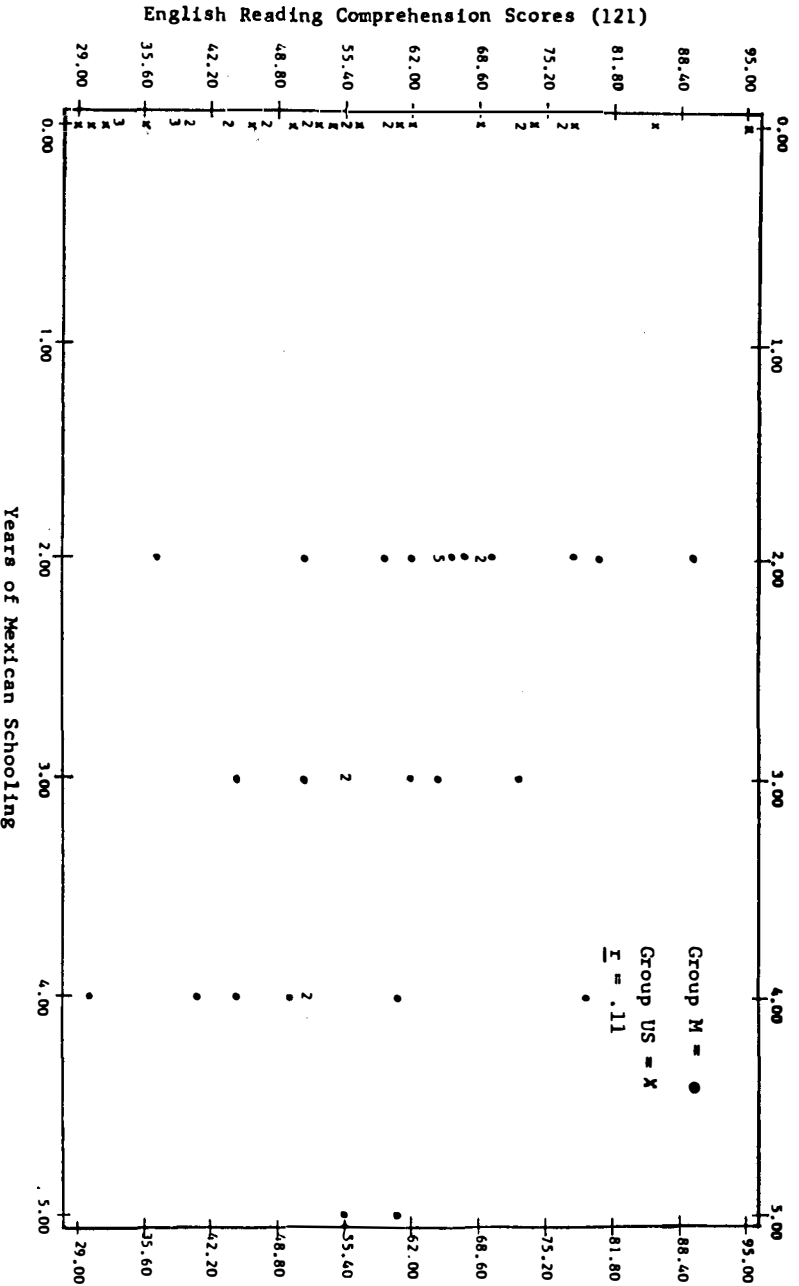
Group M = ●
Group US = X
$r = .11$

Figure 1. Comparison of the relationship between English reading comprehension and years of schooling in Mexico. (Results for Group US are located at 0 years of schooling in Mexico only)
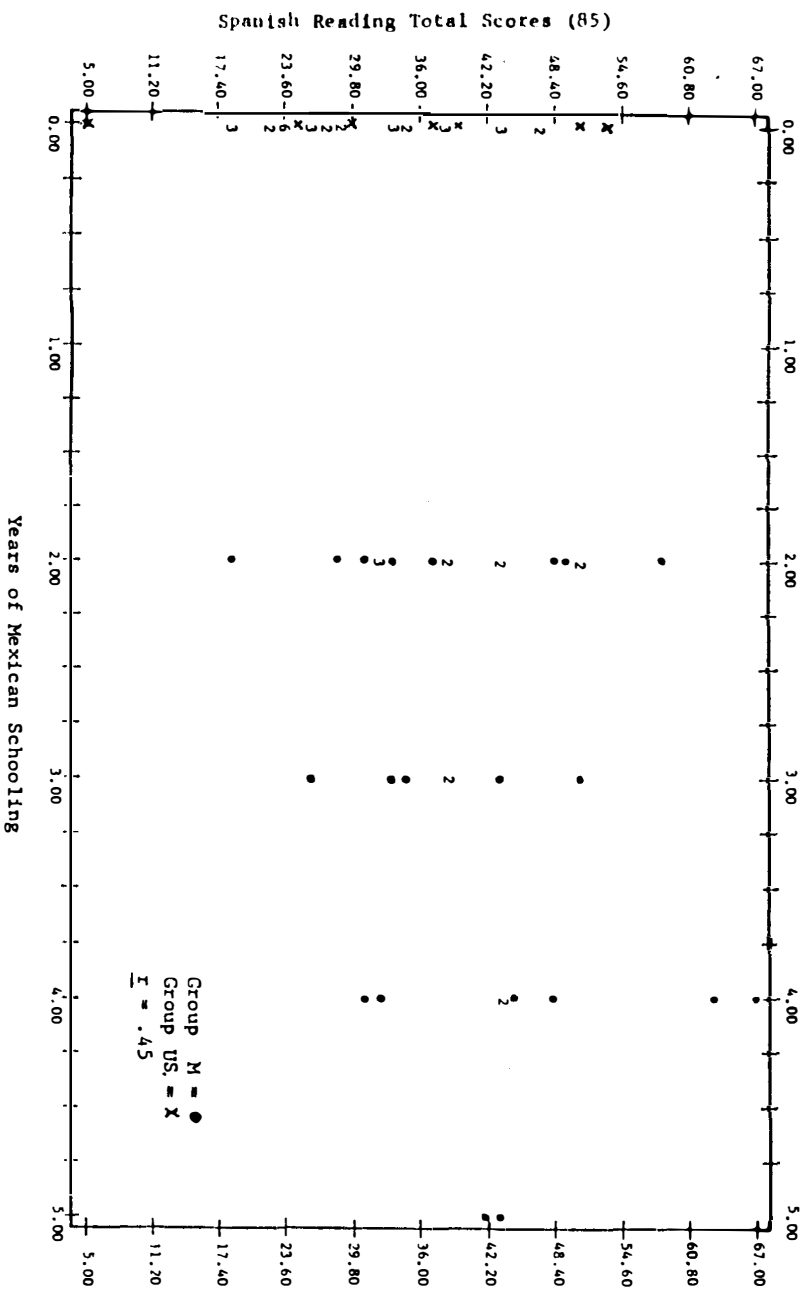
Spanish Reading Total Scores (85)

Years of Mexican Schooling

Group M = ●
Group US. = X
r = .45

Figure 2. Relationship between Spanish reading total scores and years of schooling in Mexico. (Results for Group US are located at 0 years of schooling in Mexico only.)
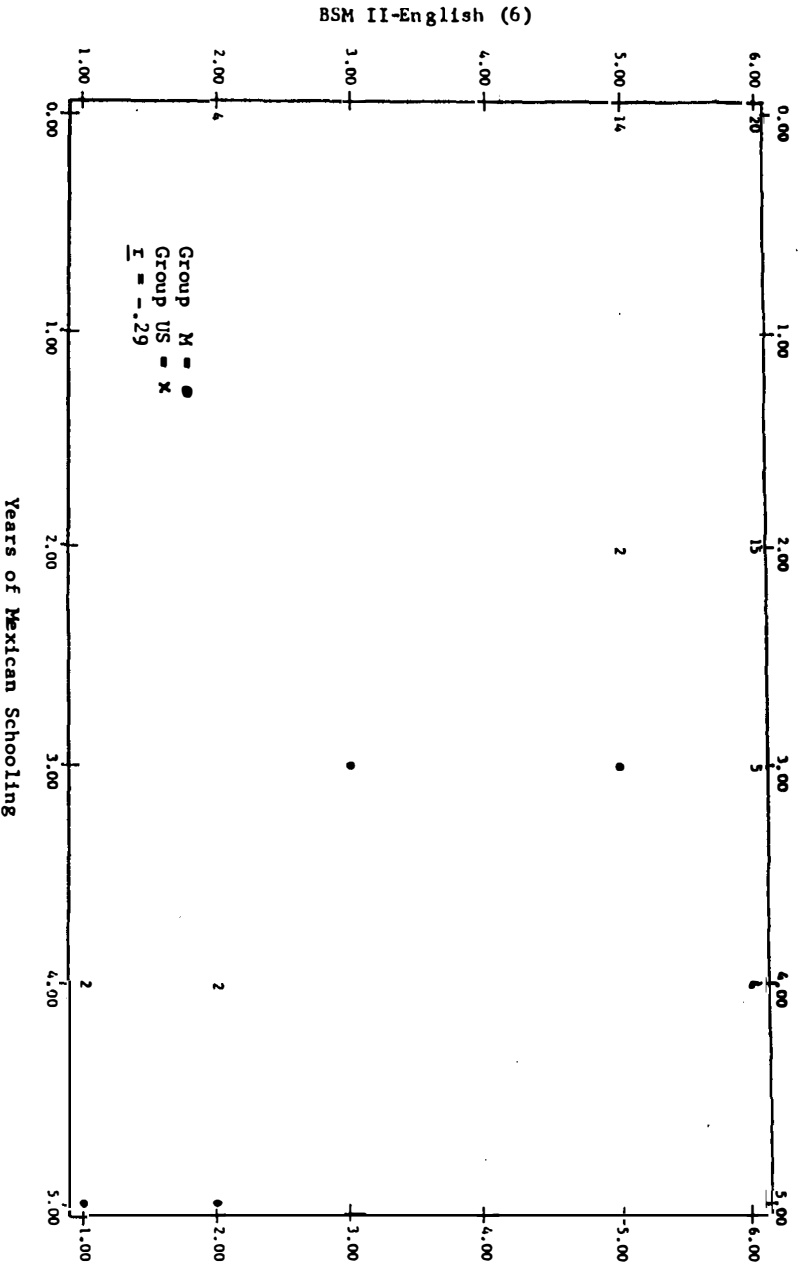
BSM II-English (6)

Group M = ●
Group US = x
r̄ = -.29

Years of Mexican Schooling

Figure 3. Relationship between BSM II-English and years of schooling in Mexico.
(Results for Group US are located at 0 years of schooling in Mexico only)
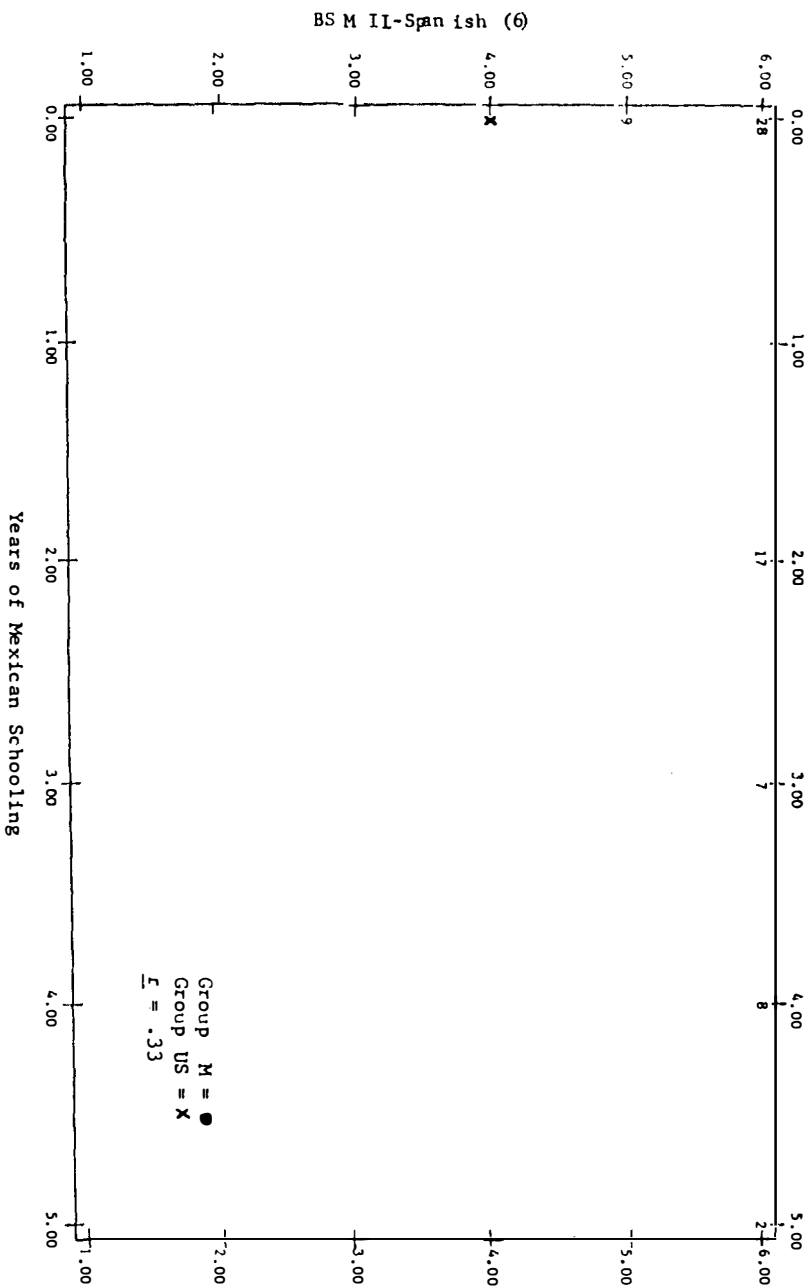
BS M II-Spanish (6)

Years of Mexican Schooling

Group M = ●
Group US = X
r = .33

Figure 4. Relationship between BSM II-Spanish and years of schooling in Mexico. (Results for Group US are located at 0 years of schooling in Mexico only)

Table 2
Interrelationships of the Test Results

Test	1 M	1 HS	1 M+US	2 M	2 HS	2 M+US	3 M	3 HS	3 M+US	4 M	4 HS	4 M+US	5 M	5 HS	5 M+US	6 M	6 HS	6 M+US	7 M	7 HS	7 M+US	8 M	8 HS	8 M+US
1. English Reading Comprehension	—																							
2. Spanish Reading Vocabulary	.40**	.40**	.45**	—																				
3. Spanish Reading Comprehension	.50**	.53**	.55**	.76**	.57**	.71**	—																	
4. Spanish Reading Total Score	.48**	.52**	.54**	.95**	.90**	.93**	.93**	.84**	.91**	—														
5. BSM II English	.44**	.32**	.33**	-.06	.03	-.07	.10	-.04	-.04	.01	-.04	-.04	—											
6. BSM II Spanish	—	-.05	.05	—	.12	.22*	.33*	.36**	.01	—	.25	.31**	—	.10	.03	—								
7. English Communicative Competence	.39*	.38**	.18	.13	-.03	-.12	.24	.05	-.05	.19	.01	-.09	.75**	.63**	.66**	—	.15	-.11	—					
8. Spanish Communicative Competence	.29*	.04	.02	.16	-.01	-.09	.24	.21	-.01	.20	.11	-.06	.68**	-.06	.48**	.52**	-.01		.92**	.30*	.86**	—		

Note: M refers to Group M only (df = 32), US refers to Group US only (df = 36), and M+US refers to Group M and Group US combined (df = 70).

*(p < .05)

**(p < .01)

English Reading Comprehension Scores
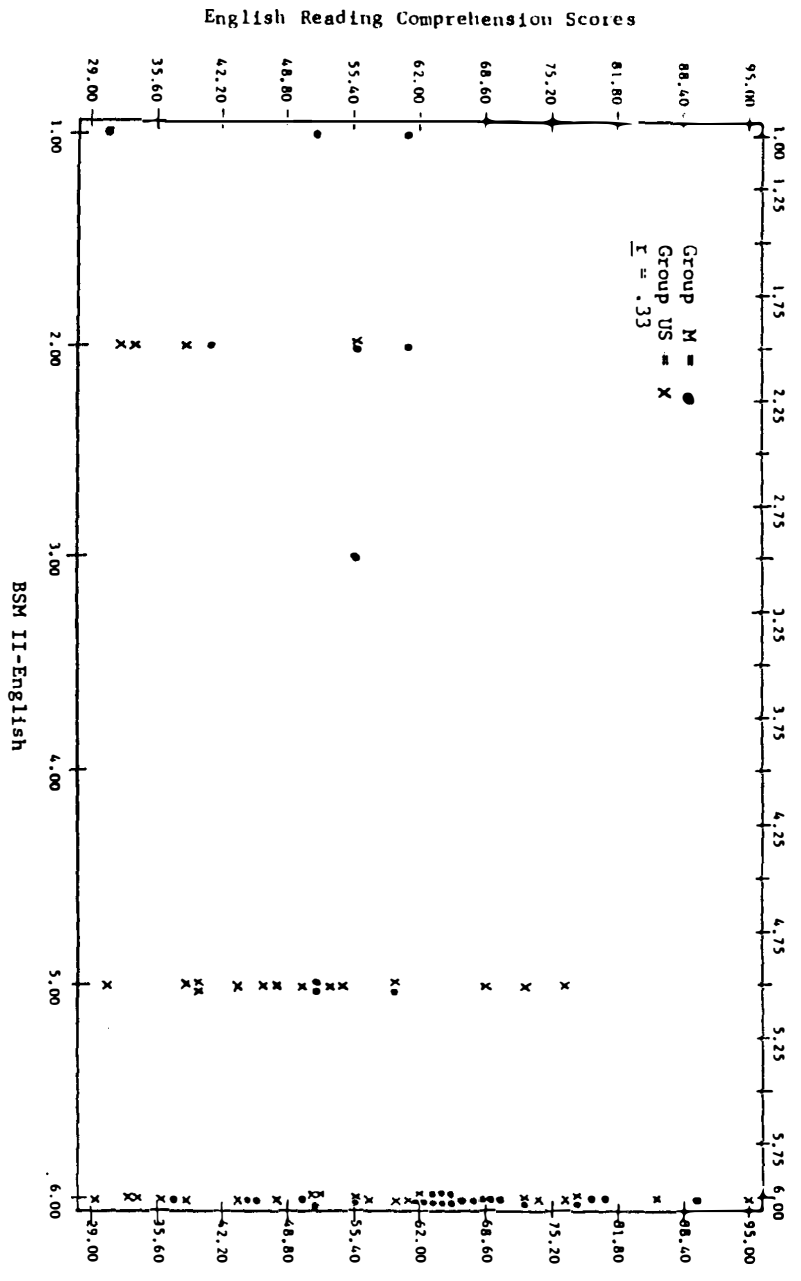
Group M = ●
Group US = X
r = .33

BSM II-English

Figure 5. Relationship between English Reading Comprehension and BSM II-English.

proficient in English context-embedded language tasks but would not have the English Reading Comprehension skills to survive in the mainstream program. These data seem to support the notion that in order to transfer children into the mainstream program they should first be able to score well on an English reading comprehension test. In contrast to Cummins' theory, this result seems to imply that context-embedded language skills are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the development of context-reduced skills. However, it should be noted in Figure 5 that most of the children who are affected by the aforementioned results are from Group US. As opposed to Group M, they are lacking in experience in context-reduced Spanish language skills, which are needed to transfer into English. The missing ingredient, thus, is sufficient context-reduced Spanish language skills, which combined with context-embedded English language skills would give such children a stronger foundation for academic success in English.

Discussion of Results

Group M performed better than Group US in Spanish and English context-reduced language tasks, while Group US performed better than Group M in context-embedded English language tasks. Group M was significantly better than Group US in the BSM II-Spanish, while Group US was significantly better than Group M in Spanish Communicative Competence. Despite Groups US's significantly better performance in Spanish Communicative Competence rating and Group M's significantly better performance in the BSM II-Spanish, both groups showed a high level of competence in context-embedded Spanish language skills. It is noteworthy that children with two and three years of Mexican schooling continue to score generally higher than all other children in all language skills areas. These results show an overall distinction between context-reduced and context-embedded language skills.

Does a common underlying proficiency exist between L1 and L2 skills? Group was able to use the academic experience they had in Mexico to excel in English literacy skills in the U.S. Group US, meantime, struggled in an effort to advance in English literacy skills without the benefit of context-reduced Spanish language skills. Group M had developed context-reduced Spanish language skills in Mexican schools. After immigrating, these children of group M, particularly those with three and four years of residence in the U.S., were able to learn English and then use the common underlying proficiency between English and Spanish to transfer literacy skills into English.

What is the importance of L1 development for the school achievement of bilingual children? The development of first language skills to promote the school achievement of bilingual children is support by the data. The interrelationship between the Spanish reading tests and English reading comprehension shows that those children who scored high on context-reduced Spanish language skills also scored high on context-reduced English language skills. These results support the validity of the Interdependence Hypothesis.

Conclusions

The following conclusions were reached as a result of the analysis of the data obtained in the study.

1. The distinction between context-reduced and context-embedded language skills can be empirically validated. In fact, Cummins' estimations of time for the growth and development of context-reduced (5-7 years) and context-embedded (1-1/2-2 years) language skills were approximately validated also.

2. A common underlying proficiency does exist between L1 and L2 skills. Children who had high scores in context-reduced Spanish languages skills also had high scores in context-reduced English languages skills.

3. The development of L1 is important for the school achievement of bilingual children. It was found that Mexican immigrant children who have had some schooling in their native country generally scored higher on reading comprehension and language proficiency tests than U.S. schooled Mexican children.

Implications for Education

The results presented in this study strongly suggest that the native language of limited-English-proficient children is a key element in the positive and successful development of their academic achievement in English. For this reason, it should be nurtured and sustained as a tool for success. this makes the criterion used to assess and categorize children critical for entry and exit from the bilingual program. Some implications are:

1. Kindergarten or First Grade LEP children should be administered a measure of context-embedded language skills in both L1 and L2. These two tests would give school personnel an indication of the children's home-language experience in both languages.

2. When exiting the children from the bilingual program a measure of context-reduced English language skills should be taken as criterion for placement, i.e., English reading comprehension tests. This type of test would reflect the child's ability to handle the academic demands of all-English classroom.

3. Sociocultural factors should also be a consideration for the proper entry-exit evaluation of LEP children. Chesarek (1981) and Bhatnager (1980) have found that children who seem to be acculturated and test at a high level of English language context-embedded skills generally show lower levels of English academic achievement than those who identify more with their own culture.

4. LEP children should be taught in L1 about 90% of the time throughout the early primary grades with the remaining 10% being utilized to develop ESL skills. The percentage of instruction in L1 should be progressively reduced as the children go from fourth, to fifth, to sixth grades.

5. The objective of school personnel (administration and teachers) should be to provide the children with ample time in the bilingual program so that they can transfer strong L1 skills to L2 once English is learned.

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Adalberto Aguirre, Jr., is an associate professor of Sociology and Associate Dean for the College of Humanities & Social Sciences at the University of California - Riverside. He has edited a collection of papers entitled: Language Use in the Chicano Speech Community (The Hague: Mouton, 1985), and numerous articles on sociolinguistics and bilingual education. His articles have appeared in such journals as: The NABE Journal, Language in Society, Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos, International Journal of the Sociology of Language, Revue Roumaine de Linguistique. He is completing a book-length manuscript regarding the stature of theory and method in the sociolinguistic study of bilingualism.

M. BEATRIZ ARIAS

M. Beatriz Arias is director of the Bilingual Education Center at Arizona State University. Her teaching activities focus on the implementation of state and federal policies related to bilingual education, desegregation, and second language education. Dr. Arias' professional and research interests are concentrated in the development of strategies to provide curricular equity in multiracial settings, especially with regard to linguistic and cultural minority students.

A graduate of Occidental College in Los Angeles, Dr. Arias received the B.A. with a double major in Sociology and Spanish. Her M.A. degree, also from Occidental College, focused on the study of urban education. She holds the Ph.D. degree from Stanford University where she investigated bicultural approaches to self-concept assessments.

She became a Kellogg Foundation Fellow in 1982 and in 1985 received a postdoctoral fellowship for research from the National Research Council.

As a court-appointed expert on school desegregation issues, she has testified in Los Angeles, Denver, San Francisco, and Chicago.

Dr. Arias has taught at the University of California, Berkeley, and at the Graduate School of Education at UCLA, as well as serving as Director of the Bilingual Education Program for the Pasadena (California) Unified School District.

She is the author of numerous articles on bilingual and desegregation issues related to limited- and non-English speaking students. Her invited contributions to several books include a chapter entitled "The Impact of Television on the Socialization of the Hispanic Child," which appeared in Television and the Socialization of the Minority Child (Mitchell-Kernan, Ed.) 1982. Currently, Dr. Arias is completing work on a book, Language, Equity, and Schooling in the Southwest.

Dr. Arias knows and enjoys the art of Mexico and has served as a board member of the Mexican Museum in San Francisco.

JOHN J. BERGEN

John J. Bergen is an associate professor in the Department of Modern and Classical Languages at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, New Mexico, where he teaches upper division and graduate level courses in Spanish linguistics.

He received the Bachelor of Arts degree, magna cum laude, in modern languages from St. Bonaventure University, the Master of Arts degree in Spanish linguistics from Cornell University, and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Hispanic languages and literatures from the University of California at Los Angeles.

Among his publications are studies dealing with sociolinguistics, semantics, generative grammar, language pedagogy, and philology. These publications have appeared in journals such as Hispania, Romance Notes, and Language Sciences; his research is also represented in a previous issue of the Rio Grande Series in Language and Linguistics and he has edited studies on Spanish and Portuguese sociolinguistics that have been published by the Georgetown University Press.

In addition, he has directed numerous dissertations at UNM on sociolinguistic aspects on New Mexican Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, and the use of Spanish among Haitians in the Dominican Republic as well as on generative phonological themes concerning the historical development of Spanish, and comparisons between Spanish and Dutch.

NORMAN BINDER

Norman Binder received his B.A. (1969) in Government from the University of North Dakota and his M.A. (1971) and Ph.D. (1974) in Government from the University of Arizona. During the past 16 years at Pan American University at Brownsville he has taught a broad range of political science, history, and sociology courses in Latin American and Minority Studies. He has conducted research in South Texas on such varied topics as women and Mexican Americans in politics, voting behavior, quality of life studies, attitudes on language use, and more recently on tourism. He is the author of several articles and reports in these areas.

DENNIS J. BIXLER-MARQUEZ

Dennis J. Bixler-Márquez is an associate professor of bilingual and multicultural education at the University of Texas at El Paso, where he has served as director of Chicano Studies and Assistant Dean. He received a doctorate in bilingual and multicultural education and a Master of Arts degree in Spanish from Stanford University and a B.A. in Political Science/Spanish and a Master of Education in Elementary Education/Reading from the University of Texas at El Paso. His professional publications have appeared in the International Journal of the Sociology of Language, Hispania, The NABE Journal, and The Journal of Borderland Studies. He is coeditor of volumes two and three of the Rio Grande Series in Language and Linguistics and editor of the series Bilingualism Today for Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

CHESTER C. CHRISTIAN, JR.

Chester C. Christian, Jr., Professor in the Department of Modern and Classical Languages at Texas A&M University, received B.A. and M.A. degrees in Sociology from the University of Texas at Austin, an M.A. in Spanish from the University of Texas at El Paso, and a Ph.D. in Latin American Studies (Spanish and Sociology) from the University of Texas at Austin. His first formal research on Spanish language and culture in the Southwestern United States was completed in 1963, and he has continued to publish articles and book chapters on the subject. He has worked as a consultant on bilingual education at local, regional, state, and national levels, and has taught at

Ysleta High School in El Paso and in the Department of Modern Languages at the University of Texas at El Paso, where he was also Director of the Inter-American Institute from 1967 to 1973.

Christian has conducted surveys on attitudes and values in Guatemala, Colombia, and Peru, and literary research in those as well as other Latin American countries.

During the summer of 1988, Christian studied Quechua at the University of Texas at Austin, and is working on a study comparing Spanish/English bilingualism in Texas with Quechua-Spanish bilingualism in Peru, especially with respect to Spanish as a socially and politically dominant language in Peru and a subordinate language in Texas. He received an academic leave from Texas A&M University for Fall 1988 to travel to Peru for this purpose.

LINO GARCIA, JR.

Lino Garcia, Jr., is an associate professor of Spanish and chairman of the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures at Pan American University-Edinburgh, Texas. He has been associated with the University for over twenty-one years. He received his B.A. from St. Mary's University in San Antonio, Texas in 1959; his M.A. from University of North Texas in Denton, Texas in 1966; and his Ph.D. in Spanish Literature and Latin-American Studies from Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1981.

His teaching experiences include tenure as Instructor of Spanish and French at Peacock Military Academy San Antonio, Texas from 1959 to 1966. He later taught at Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio, Texas, from 1966 to 1967. In 1967 he received an appointment as Instructor of Spanish at Pan American University in Edinburgh, Texas. He presently serves as Chairman of Department of Modern Languages and Literatures; and as Director of the Latin-American Studies Program. His teaching responsibilities include Beginning Spanish, advanced courses in Golden Age Literature (Cervantes, the Renaissance and Baroque Periods), and graduate courses in Peninsular and Spanish-American Literature.

His research interest centers on Golden-Age Literature and the Mexican Novel (Carlos Fuentes). He has presented papers at national and international Hispanic conferences and has various publications. He served as chairman of the II Annual RGRGLL Symposium on Spanish held at Pan American University-Edinburgh, Texas, in April, 1988.

He is actively involved in community affairs having served as City Councilman for the City of Edinburgh, Texas. He has served as chairman of the Edinburgh Housing Authority, and of the Edinburgh Development Council. He also served as treasurer of the local Junior High School PTA. His wife is a kindergarten teacher in the local schools. They have two grown children and they make their home in Edinburgh, Texas.

ERLINDA GONZALES-BERRY

Erlinda Gonzales-Berry received her Ph.D. at the University of New Mexico in 1978. From 1974-1978 she taught at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana and, in 1978-1979, at New Mexico State University. She is currently an associate professor at the University of New Mexico. During the eight years that she directed the Spanish for Bilinguals Program at UNM the program doubled in size and the number of Spanish majors from that program increased dramatically.

In addition to language and culture classes Professor Gonzales-Berry teaches Chicano literature, Latin American literature, and Southwest Spanish. She has published numerous articles on language pedagogy and on Chicano narrative and recently completed the edition of a volume called Pasó por aquí: Four Centuries of New Mexican Hispanic Literature, which will be published by the University of New Mexico Press. A collection of creative literature, Las mujeres hablan: An Anthology of Nuevomexicana Writers, which she co-edited with Diana Rebolledo and Teresa Márquez, was recently published by El Norte Publications.

While at UNM, Professor Gonzales-Berry has received the Outstanding Teacher of the Year Award and a Presidential Fellowship.

L. ANTONIO GONZALEZ

In 1971 L. Antonio González received a B.A. from New Mexico Highlands University in Elementary Education and later an M.A. in Elementary Bilingual Education. He also attended the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara as the first exchange student from NMHU. There he majored in and completed 33 semester hours in History with emphasis on Spanish Colonial Expeditions. In 1986, as a Title VI Fellow, he completed a Ph.D. in Teacher Education at the University of Illinois with a specialty in Early Childhood Education and Bilingual Education. His dissertation was recognized as one of the top three dissertations in the United States by the National Association for Bilingual Education in its 1987 competition.

Antonio has 17 years of experience in education having taught both kindergarten and first grade bilingual, directed an HSST/CDA Program, supervised student teachers, and is currently at the University of Houston as an assistant professor and director of the Bilingual Teacher Education Development and Improvement Program. This project is currently developing computer-aided, interactive video disk lessons for both regular and ESL teacher trainees.

He has also been involved with different agencies, social and educational associations, etc. in a service capacity. Included in those is New Mexico State President of AEYC, appointed by Governor Apodaca to the Educational Advisory Board to the Human Rights Commission, New Mexico Headstart Directors Association, National Association for Bilingual Education (Local, State, and National level), Houston ISD City Wide Advisory Board and Children at Risk Ad HOC Committee, Houston Police Department Bilingual Testing Advisory Board, etc.

His research is currently dealing with literacy development and stages of development in bilingual children. He has a contract to write a book that he should complete very soon.

GEORGE K. GREEN

George K. Green — "Jorge" to his family and friends — is an eclectic polyglot whose research interests range from linguistics to Hispanic literature, to folklore, and to translation. A graduate of the Munich Interpreters Institute with a doctorate in Latin American Literature from Columbia University, he currently teaches Hispanic Letters and Linguistics at Pan American University at Brownsville, where he coordinates the Translator Program and the Hispanic Studies Program. His publications include co-authorship of a four-language dictionary, an English reader used in several European countries, a number of translations, and a series of manuals for

teaching Spanish to bilingual speakers of Spanish. He is a charter member of the Rio Grande Research Group for Language and Linguistics, series editor for its publications, of which this book is one, and Chairman of the first (1987) RGRGLL Symposium in Brownsville, Texas. He is currently President of the Alamo-Valley Chapter of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese. His present activities include, apart from teaching 12-14 courses a year, planning additional volumes in this series, helping to coordinate the 1989 RGRGLL International Symposium at Pan American University in April of 1989, preparing a practical manual in Spanish-English translation, completing a basic Spanish text for English speakers, and writing a book on Darío's swans. Other book projects for which he hopes to find time in the near future are a general theory of the novel, a collection of Mexican-American folktales, and a practical comparative manual of English-Spanish grammar.

SHAW N. GYNAN

Shaw N. Gynan is an associate professor of Spanish and Linguistics at Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington, where he has taught undergraduate and graduate courses in Spanish and linguistics since 1986. Dr. Gynan received his B.S. in Languages from Georgetown University, an M.A. in Spanish from the University of Texas at El Paso, and a Ph.D. in Ibero-Romance Philology and Linguistics from the University of Texas at Austin.

Dr. Gynan specializes in Spanish sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. His research in these areas focuses on language attitudes, analyzed within a cognitive, social, and psychological framework. Gynan is therefore interested primarily in understanding the individual's perception of and mediating role in the relationship between language and society and the student's perception of the process of second language acquisition.

Gynan's publications include articles in the Modern Language Journal, Hispania, and the Bilingual Review/Revista Bilingüe, book chapters, and numerous reviews. He has delivered papers at meetings of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese and Kentucky Foreign Languages Conference and the Linguistic Association of the Southwest. Dr. Gynan is a member of the associations mentioned above as well as of the Asociación de Filología y Lingüística de la América Latina, the Modern Language Association, and the Washington Association of Foreign Language Teachers.

MARGARITA HIDALGO

Margarita Hidalgo has a B.A. from Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (Mexico), an M.A. from Michigan State University, and a Ph.D. from the University of New Mexico. Her research interests include Hispanic linguistics, language attitudes, and sociolinguistics. Her articles about language attitudes and language use on the Mexico-U.S. border have appeared in Anthropological Linguistics and Language in Society. She has also published articles and reviews in Language Problems and Language Planning, the Hispania Journal of Behavioral Sciences, Chasquis, and the Journal of Language and Social Psychology. She has taught at the State University of New York at Binghamton and is currently assistant professor of Spanish linguistics at San Diego Sate University, where she teaches Spanish-American Dialectology, Mexican and Chicano Sociolinguistics, and the Evolution of Modern Spanish.

HARMON M. HOSCH

Harmon M. Hosch earned his Ph.D. in Personality and Social Psychology from the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research in 1976. He has been a member of the faculty in the Department of Psychology at UT El Paso since 1975 and currently holds the rank of associate professor. Hosch was a Fulbright Senior Lecturer with the Facultad de Psicología of the Autonomous University of Chihuahua during the 1982-1983 academic year. He serves as an Academic Specialist under USIA sponsorship to six Mexican institutions of higher education during 1988-1989. In that capacity he has been presenting short courses on the uses of computers in social science research. Hosch has served in a number of university administrative positions since 1983, most recently as Director of the Office of Sponsored Projects.

Hosch has authored many scholarly articles. He is most widely known for his work in psychology and law. His research has focused on the influences of expert psychological testimony on jurors' decision-making and on the factors that influence the accuracy of eyewitness identifications. His most recent research is evaluating the factors that influence jurors sentencing of Mexican-American defendants.

ANTONIO JUAREZ

Antonio Juárez is currently a psychotherapist with the El Paso Guidance Center in El Paso, Texas. In addition, he is in private practice and working on his doctoral dissertation at New Mexico State University. His primary interests are in the area of cross-cultural clinical psychology, and more recently, in the area of Attention Deficit Disorder in young children. On a more informal basis, Juárez is investigating the efficacy of the use of Tai Chi Chuan (a Chinese martial art/exercise) in the treatment of adolescent patients with self-control problems. As an adjunct to his private psychotherapy, he teaches Tai Chi at Sun Valley Regional Hospital, a local psychiatric facility.

SANDRA L. JOHANSSON

Sandra L. Johansson received her Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology from the University of Oregon in 1971. She did her clinical internship at the University of Colorado Medical center in 1970-1971 where cultural concerns were emphasized. She spent six years in a community mental health center in Ohio where she was engaged in psychotherapy outcome research.

In 1977 she moved to El Paso where she was chief psychologist at the community mental health center, involved in teaching, supervision, research, and direct care. Her cultural concerns highly stimulated in this bi-cultural bilingual setting. Her fluency in Spanish made this dimension accessible. After eight years with the mental health center, she worked for two more at a child guidance center. A Fulbright Teaching Fellowship in 1984 furthered her work in Jungian psychology and in cultural aspects of psychology.

Currently, she is in private practice where she works in Spanish and English with a wide variety of clients and consults with organizations. Past articles are published in Journal of Sex Roles, Journal of Community Psychology, and Behavior Therapy.

MARGARITA KAY

Margarita Kay was born in Washington, D.C., an ethnic hybrid of immigrant parents who early taught her the value of language. Spanish instruction began when she was eight, after moving to Las Cruces, New Mexico. It has proved to be her single most valuable professional skill. New Mexico was still officially bilingual when she was a child. She graduated from Radford School in El Paso where some of her classmates commuted from Juárez and gave her opportunity to improve idiomatic, norteño Spanish.

She received the A.B. in Nursing from Stanford University, after which she worked with the Visiting Nurse Service of New York in East Harlem with Puerto Rican families. She received the MSN from the University of California, San Francisco, where she sometimes served as interpreter for patients from Central America.

While studying for the Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Arizona, she taught medical Spanish at the El Rio Santa Cruz Neighborhood Health Center. Material from this course was used in preparing The Southwestern Medical Dictionary, published by the University of Arizona Press and now in its fourth printing. Her dissertation, Health and Illness in the Barrio: Women's Point of View was an ethnosemantic study of illness, treatment, and healers.

Most of her research has emphasized the lay point of view rather than that of official medicine. Both her roles of nurse and anthropologist are as broker, to bridge two cultures, biomedicine, and domestic care. She is on the faculty of the College of Nursing, University of Arizona, where she teaches graduate courses in Maternal and Newborn Nursing, Field Methods in Nursing Research, and Clinical Anthropology.

Most of her research has concerned Mexican Americans, beginning with a comparative study of Mexican mothers in Guadalajara and Mexican American mothers in Tucson. Other studies include "The Ethnosemantics of Mexican American Fertility, curanderismo, menstruation, menopause, grandmothers, and widows." She is currently Principal Investigator of a project titled The Efficacy of Support Groups for Mexican American Widows. On the side she studies healing in the American Mexican West, especially the use of ethnotherapeutic agents and their historic roots in Eighteenth Century Northwestern New Spain.

Honors include election to Sigma Xi, Sigma Theta Tau and fellow of the American Academy of Nursing.

MERRYL KRAVITZ

Dr. Kravitz was born in Brooklyn, New York, and attended Hunter College High School. She earned her B.A. in Anthropology/Linguistics at the State University of New York at Binghamton in 1974. She spent her junior year studying at the Universidad de Guadalajara where she gained fluency in Spanish. Upon graduation from SUNY, she moved to New Mexico where she continued her studies of variation in Spanish. She attended linguistic institutes in Tampa, Florida and Oswego, New York. She earned her M.A. in Anthropology with specializations in Linguistics and Ethnology from the University of New Mexico in 1976 and continued there until 1985 when she completed her Ph.D. in Educational Foundations/Linguistics. Her dissertation, Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Decisions of Correctness in New Mexico Spanish, deals with the linguistic elements used in making judgments of correctness. It examines two varieties of Spanish available to residents

of Martineztown, an urban barrio of Albuquerque, and attitudes toward those varieties.

Dr. Kravitz is currently teaching middle school Language Arts and Literature for the Albuquerque Public Schools and English as a Second Language for the Albuquerque Technical-Vocational Institute.

Professional papers include:

"Spanish and English Gravestone Inscriptions in an Albuquerque Cemetery," paper presented at the 1982 Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest, Albuquerque, New Mexico, and

"Grammaticality Judgments and Standard Spanish in a Southwest Community" in Key, McCullough and Sawyer, eds., The Bilingual in a Pluralistic Society, SWALLOW VI: Proceedings of the Sixth Southwest Areal Language and Linguistics Workshop, California State University, Long Beach, 1978.

TERESA MELENDEZ HAYES

Teresa Meléndez Hayes is an associate professor in English at the University of Texas at El Paso where she teaches Chicano literature, Mexican folklore, Chaucer, and Humanities: Medieval. She received her Ph.D. in Literature at the University of California at San Diego in 1977. Her publications include a book on Spanish balladry, El caballero burlado y La infantina (Instituto Menéndez Pidal, in press), and articles on the oral tradition, Chicano literature, and folklore.

LAWRENCE MEYER

Lawrence Meyer was born in a small multicultural community in Minnesota in 1949. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology from Morningside College in 1971. Following a tour of duty with the U.S. Army, he attended the University of Texas at El Paso and received a masters in Clinical Psychology in 1976. For the past eleven years he has worked for a community health center in El Paso, Texas. He is actively involved in the treatment of emotionally disabled adults and continues to be interested in the development of culturally sensitive treatment approaches.

JACOB L. ORNSTEIN-GALICIA

Jacob Ornstein-Galicia received a B.S. degree in Language Education and a Master of Arts degree in Spanish Language and Literature from Ohio State University. In 1940, the University of Wisconsin at Madison conferred upon him, with distinction, the Ph.D. degree in Philology, Linguistics, and Hispanic Languages and Literatures.

During World War II this distinguished polyglot served as a civilian intelligence officer with the Office of Strategic Intelligence (OSS) in Washington, D.C., North Africa, and Italy.

He has taught modern languages and literatures as well as linguistics at Washington University in St. Louis, Georgetown University, Seton Hall University, and the Department of Defense School. Since 1968 he had been affiliated with the University of Texas at El Paso, where he currently is Emeritus Professor of Modern Languages and Linguistics.

Ornstein-Galicia has written or coedited over 15 books and written numerous articles. Among his most recent works are Chicano Speech in the Bilingual Classroom (Peter Lang Publishing, 1987), Form and Function in Chicano English (Newbury House Publishers, 1984), and the first two volumes of the Rio Grande Series in Language and Linguistics (Pan American University at Brownsville, 1988 & 1989). He was managing editor of the Modern Language Journal and is currently on the editorial board of Language Problems and Language Planning.

Jacob L. Ornstein-Galicia was one of the co-founders and directors of the Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center at the University of Texas at El Paso, one of the charter members and founders of LASSO, the Linguistic Association of the Southwest, and a co-founder of the Rio Grande Research Group for Language and Linguistics.

He frequently presents papers at national and international conferences. Ornstein-Galicia has also helped pioneer studies in Chicano English, as well as Spanish and other language varieties, especially those of the Southwest. He is also known for his organization of important conferences, his efforts at networking in Linguistics, and his encouragement of young scholars.

SALLY E. SAID

Sally E. Said is currently director of foreign languages at Incarnate Word College in San Antonio, where she teaches Spanish, linguistics, and English composition for international students. As acting co-director of developmental courses, she is adapting the curriculum to meet the needs of students with limited English proficiency. She holds a B.A. in Spanish and French, an M.A. in applied linguistics, and a Ph.D. in romance linguistics from the University of Texas at Austin. Her previous teaching assignments include Spanish at U.T. Austin, linguistics at the University of Khartoum (Sudan), and Spanish linguistics at the University of Houston and at the University of Texas at San Antonio. She has presented conference papers and workshops and has published articles on Spanish dialectology, U.S. Spanish, and application of linguistics to the teaching of language and to the language of collaborative learning. As the result of a project in folklore and children's literature that she directed in the Sudan, Dr. Said co-authored a book of folktales for children (with Fathelbari Ahmed and Tawheeda Osman), Tales of Animals, Magic, and Men, published by Khartoum University Press in 1983.

ROSAURA SANCHEZ

Rosaura Sánchez has her Ph.D. in Romance Linguistics and her M.A. in Spanish Literature from the University of Texas at Austin. She is an associate professor in the Department of Literature and in the Third World Studies Program at the University of California in San Diego. In addition to her book Chicano Discourse: Socio-Historic Perspectives, she has written a number of articles on Chicano Spanish, Chicano literature, literary theory, and la Chicana. From a sociolinguistic analysis of discourse she has gone to an ideological analysis of literary discourse, as is evident in her recent work in Chicano literature. She also writes short stories.

SHEILA M. SHANNON

Sheila M. Shannon received her Ph.D. in Education with a minor in Linguistics from Stanford University in 1987. Her dissertation is entitled

"English in el Barrio: A Sociolinguistic Study of Second Language Contact." She was a postdoctoral research associate with Dr. Kenji Hakuta in the Department of Psychology at Yale University. Dr. Shannon's work at Yale was with the Center for Language Education and Research (CLEAR) and centered on the Puerto Rican student population in the New Haven Public Schools where she examined the practical applications of using translation activities with bilingual background children. Her dissertation research had prepared her for further work with translation and Latino children because translation emerged as natural point of contact with English for children of the Northern California barrio community. Presently Dr. Shannon is an assistant professor in the School of Education and the Division of Language, Literacy, and Culture at the University of Colorado at Denver. She teaches graduate courses including Second Language Acquisition, and continues work with the Spanish-speaking community with principal concerns regarding the sociopolitical context of language use and education.

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