

both documented and undocumented, and the development of runaway shops or *maquiladoras* by U.S. enterprises on the Mexican side of the border have led to increased border urbanization and massive migration to the northern frontier zone itself. Thus, although Mexican immigrants come from all parts of Mexico, a number of them have spent months or years in Juárez, Matamoros, Piedras Negras, Ciudad Acuña, Nogales, Nuevo Laredo, Agua Prieta, Reynosa, Mexicali, Tecate or Tijuana, attracted by border industrialization or simply waiting for the opportunity to cross over into the United States. Among documented immigrants there are of course skilled and professional workers from urban areas and, as we have mentioned before, Spanish-language radio station announcers who use formal varieties of standard Spanish and have generally received their training in Mexico. These urban Mexican immigrants are one source of our urban Southwest Spanish varieties.

Undocumented workers who go back and forth from Mexico to the United States are thus forced to spend a great deal of time in urban centers like Tijuana. Consequently, despite their involvement in rural work here in this country, their Spanish may be urbanized. The following excerpts are from a taped interview by M. Salas of an undocumented worker who has spent many years working in the flower gardens of the Northern part of San Diego County, for periods of up to six months a year:

Excerpt A.

MS: —¿Te pagan en cheque o te pagan en puro dinero?

UW: — No, en cheque. Hay otra cosa, que aquí el ranchero nunca da . . .

MS: — ¿Moneda suelta?

UW: — No, no, no da cheque de este . . . que se quede uno con el talón.

Nunca. Yo estuve trabajando aquí la primera vez en este rancho, pero eran otros dueños, ¿no? Y aquí sí me pagaron, yo tengo mis talones, ¿no? cuando yo estuve trabajando aquí en este rancho. Pero él nunca daba cheque, con cheques personales, ¿no?

MS: — De parte de él nada más.

UW: — Sí, no hay, porque no hay ningún comprobante con que . . .

MS: — Son tramposos estos tipos.

UW: — Digo, sí pues sí, porque digo, ¿con qué le comprueba uno que estaba trabajando ahí?

MS: — Con nada, entonces él, Ud. no puede comprobar nada con él, con nadie.

UW: — Con nadie.

MS: — Y si viene la Migra, él sale limpio, claro.

UW: — Digo, con nadie puedo yo comprobar que estoy trabajando ahí, ¿no? porque no hay ningún comprobante de nada.

Excerpt B.

UW: — Digo, como habemos muchos, ¿no? Muchos trabajadores queremos quedar bien con el ranchero y muchos trabajadores, ¿no? O sea que yo

inclusive por mi parte, ¿no? yo nomás trabajo, digo, pues nada más por lo que me está pagando, ¿no?, digo, no puedo trabajar más, entonces hay algotros que trabajan más recio, eh, o que ganan más, eh, porque en un rancho, donde hay cinco trabajadores, no todos ganan igual.

MS: — La división entre . . . se pelean entre . . .

UW: — Sí, allí donde estaba trabajando yo, un señor que se llama L., ése, gana más, gana igual que otro que se llama B. y otro que se llama R., esos tres ganan igual.

MS: — Ganan dos la hora.

UW: — Ese es otro que precisamente lo acaba de desocupar, el señor ése, no sé qué dificultad tendría con él, ¿no? Y yo me, yo me salí primero, y luego hora que fui, precisamente ayer fui para allí, yo, pasé por allí y no, ya no estaba. Le pregunté a otro señor y ya no estaba.

MS: — ¿La hora?

UW: — La hora. Y luego otro, le daba cien dólares quincenales, trabajando domingos y todos los días, diez horas.

MS: — Y el otro, que le pagaba treinta a la semana, ¿quién era ése?

UW: — Ese es otro que precisamente lo acaba de desocupar, el señor ése, no sé qué dificultad tendría con él, ¿no? Y yo me, yo me salí primero, y luego hora que fui, precisamente ayer fui para allí, yo, pasé por allí y no, ya no estaba. Le pregunté a otro señor y ya no estaba.

Excerpt C.

MS: — ¿Y qué hacen los trabajadores cuando no tienen trabajo entonces?

UW: — Porque como te digo, como hay bastante gente aquí, ilegal, ¿no?, entonces no les cuesta a ellos trabajo volver a ocupar al trabajador.

MS: — ¿Pero qué hacen los trabajadores cuando no tienen trabajo?

UW: — Oh, algotros se van, se van para el sur, algotros se van para algotra parte.

MS: — ¿Para el norte?

UW: — Digo, encuentran trabajo en algotro lado o la migración los saca, algunos o digo, no falta, ¿no?, el problema; de todos modos, los trabajadores, esos que desocupan ya no vuelven. Ya no vuelven a trabajar allí hasta vuelta de año, ¿no?, hasta que este mismo tiempo . . . otra vez.

As is evident from these excerpts, this flower garden worker speaks an urban variety of Mexican Spanish. His use of *algotros* (from *algunos otros*) is a popular variant common to both urban and rural varieties, as is the form *habemos* (for *hay*). What is noticeable is his conservation of voiced fricatives in intervocalic position and the lack of apheresis (except for *hora* rather than *ahora*) or apocope. These undocumented workers who have migrated from rural to urban border areas, residing for long periods of time in areas like Tijuana, are a rich source of popular urban varieties, whether they penetrate the farm labor market or the industrial sector in this country.

Urban varieties can also be found among Chicanos whose parents immigrated from urban zones in Mexico. As examples, we will present excerpts from an interview with an eight-year-old girl, second generation, of Mexican

origin who at the time of the interview was a second grader in a National City elementary school. Her father works in construction and her mother in the school cafeteria. An eleven-year-old older brother with whom she converses in both English and Spanish is also a student in that school. The language of the home is Spanish. The family has a number of relatives in Tijuana, including an uncle who is a medical doctor there.

Excerpts.

a) Int: — Y ¿cómo te vienes a la escuela?

IV: — Mi mamá me trae en el carro.

Int: — Ah, ¿todos los días?

IV: — Sí.

Int: — ¿Y en la tarde?

IV: — No, en la mañana.

Int: — ¿Y cómo te vas?

IV: — Me voy con mi abuelita. Mi mamá me lleva pa trás pa la casa.

b) Int: — Y tu abuelito, ¿qué hace?

IV: — Trabaja en el yonque, arreglando carros o algo así.

c) Int: — ¿Qué es esto?

IV: — Un troque.

Int: — ¿Para qué se usa?

IV: — Para trabajar o para sacar la tierra; levantan la tierra.

d) Int: — ¿Y acá?

IV: — Se está desayunando, tomando un vaso de leche.

Int: — Oye, y tú esta mañana; ¿te desayunaste?

IV: — Sí.

Int: — A ver, ¿qué comiste?

IV: — Comí un pan y huevos y leche.

Int: — ¿Te levantas temprano?

IV: — Sí.

Int: — ¿A qué hora te levantaste?

IV: — Como . . . ahora, a las seis de la mañana, como mi mamá; se levantó a esa misma hora porque tiene que hacerle lonche a mi papá pa que se pueda ir a trabajar.

Int: — ¿Y tú te levantas también a esa hora?

IV: — Hmmhmmm, a ayudarle a mi mamá, a ver pa qué me necesita, a ver, para lavarle los trastes.

Int: — ¿Tú lavas los trastes ya?

Int: — Hmmhmm, le ayudo a lavar los trastes.

e) Int: — ¿Y ésta? ¿Qué está pasando aquí?

IV: — Se está quemando una casa.

Int: — ¿Qué pasaría?

- IV: — A lo mejor tiraron un cerillo.
 Int: — A lo mejor. ¿Qué más pudo haber pasado?
 IV: — Tiraron un cigarro.
 Int: — Hmmm ¿o?
 IV: — Dejaron la estufa o el calentón prendido y se quemó toda la casa.

f) "Gilligan's Island"

- IV: — Se trata de siete, de siete personas que se jueron, a, a ver cómo se puede decir eso.
 Int: — ¿Se fueron a qué? ¿A una isla?
 IV: — Sí, fueron a una isla y luego se les quebró el barco porque había, 'taba lloviendo mucho y luego ellos chocaron en una isla y ya no se podían baj... salir porque ya tenía un hoyo muy grande el barco.
 Int: — Hmmhmm
 IV: — Y luego hicieron casitas para ellos, para, para dormir y no sé, de ésa, muchas cosas como, como hace la gente en una casa y...
 Int: — ¿Y se quedaron allí a vivir?
 IV: — Hmmhmmm.
 Int: — ¿Y qué comen?
 IV: — Pues comen...
 Int: — ¿Cómo, cómo viven allí? ¿Qué, pescan o qué?
 IV: — Pescan, comen pescado y, y bueno, lo tienen que cocer, ¿verdad? porque si lo van a comer crudo.
 Int: — ¿A tí te gustaría vivir en una isla?
 IV: — Hmmhmmm.
 Int: — A ver, ¿por qué?
 IV: — Porque puedes respirar el, el aire.
 Int: — Y aquí, ¿aquí no?
 IV: — Sí, aquí también. Y puedes ir a la playa, así como hay una playa allí también.

- g) Int: — ¿Y este hombre?
 IV: — 'Tá leyendo un libro en la cama, en el sillón.
 Int: — En el sillón. ¿Qué estará leyendo?
 IV: — Un libro.
 Int: — ¿De qué?
 IV: — A ver. De las brujas.
 Int: — ¿De las brujas? ¿Tú, tú sabes algo de brujas? A ver cuéntame.
 IV: — Que no existen.
 Int: — Que no existen, heh, heh. ¿Por qué crees que está leyendo un libro de brujas?
 IV: — Que... a lo mejor se lo está leyendo a su muchachito pa que... A ver si cree que sí hay... brujas.

- Int: — ¿Tú crees que hay espantos?
 IV: — No.
 Int: — ¿Por qué?
 IV: — Porque espantos no existen.
 Int: — ¿Cómo sabes?
 IV: — Porque me dice mi hermano que espantos ya no existen ni nunca existaban, exis., exis., ¿existaban?
 Int: — Existieron.
 IV: — Existieron en el mundo.
 Int: — ¿Nunca existieron?
 IV: — No, porque yo vi una película de vampiros y yo tenía miedo que me mordiera un vampiro.
 Int: — Vampiro, heh, heh.
 IV: — Y luego mi hermano me dijo, "no creas en esas cosas porque no hay, no hay, nunca han existido los espantos."
 Int: — Ay, muy bien. Así que tienes un hermano muy inteligente.
 IV: — Hmmhmmm.
 Int: — ¿Cuántos años dices que tiene?
 IV: — Once.

- h) Int: — ¿Qué harías si tuvieras mucho dinero?
 IV: — Lo gastaba como ir a Disneylandia, al zoológico, o si no, ir a unas vacaciones a Hawaii o si no, gastarlo pa comprar un barco.

In these excerpts the eight-year-old girl shifts between some formal and informal variants, as for example between *pa* and *para* or *está* and *'tá*. On the other hand this second grader used *mamá* throughout the thirty-minute interview rather than *amá*; she used *abuelito* and *abuelita* rather than *güelito* or *huelito*; she used *desayunar* rather than *almorzar*, a rural variant for "to have breakfast"; she used *huevos* rather than *blanquillos*, a euphemism among rural residents; she used *cerillo* rather than *mecha*; she used *película* rather than *vista* or *mono*; and she used *pues* instead of *pos*. Yet she also reflects contact with Chicano Spanish, particularly in her use of a number of loanwords, common now along the Mexican border as well: *yonque* (from *junk*), *lonche* (not only as *lunch*, but as equivalent to *sandwich* or *torta*), *troque* rather than *camión*, and a loan translation like *llevar pa trás* ("to take back") rather than *llevar de nuevo* or simply *llevar*. Only on one occasion does she aspirate a word initial *f*: *se jueron*. When asked what she would do if she had a lot of money, she answered with the imperfect indicative tense rather than a conditional or subjunctive tense:

- Int: — ¿Qué harías si tuvieras mucho dinero?
 IV: — Lo gastaba como ir a Disneylandia. . . .

This variant could possibly be interpreted as the variant of an eight-year-old who has not yet fully developed an adult variety, except that we find it in the repertoire of adults in the Southwest as well. Consider the following exchange between two Chicana graduating seniors at UCSD. They are discussing a smog device that needs to be checked on a car that one of them is considering buying:

- A: — But it might be faulty.
 B: — Pues vale más que le preguntes, de to'os modos cuando venga. So you have to have that checked. And how are you gonn . . . you should have asked. Si te 'bieras acordado, le 'bías preguntado al hombre ayer.
 A: — Se me olvidó.

This construction: *Si te hubieras acordado, le habías preguntado*, with loss of initial syllables (apheresis), is common throughout the Southwest in both urban and rural varieties. The following variants are common:

- Si te hubieras acordado, le hubieras preguntado.
 Se te fueras acordado, le fueras preguntado.
 Si te hubieras acordado, le habías preguntado.
 Si te habías acordado, le habías preguntado.

Various combinations of these occur in both rural and urban popular varieties. Like the university senior, the second grader always responds with an imperfect indicative:

- Int: — Oye, ¿a ti te gusta la nieve?
 IV: — Sí.
 Int: — ¿Qué te . . . qué sabor?
 IV: — De . . . de chocolate.
 Int: — De chocolate. ¿Qué harías tú si no hubiera nieve?
 IV: — Tomaba agua nomás.

As in the previous case, the structure is: *Si no hubiera nieve, tomaba agua nomás* as opposed to the standard: *Si no hubiera nieve, tomaría agua nomás*. Thus the context implies a conditional function for an imperfect indicative verb form. This function can also be served through the use of adverbial phrases, as in excerpt (e):

- Int: — ¿Qué pasaría?
 IV: — A lo mejor tiraron un cerillo.

Here again *a lo mejor tiraron* functions like *tirarían*. The child is thus able to demonstrate knowledge of language use and language functions despite the fact that she does not use particular forms. The use of nonsystemic equivalents is of course common in all languages. In short, we see that her urban informal variety does not have a high number of morphological and phonological variants found

in rural codes. Her code is distinguished by the use of loanwords within a popular urban variety. Since both rural and urban varieties of Southwest Spanish are characterized by the incorporation of loanwords, our next section will deal with this phenomenon.

LOANWORDS

In analyzing codes we must take into account the different levels of signification and the various fields of content that are reflected in the units which make up the content of the signs. An analysis of loanwords from the English language into Spanish would thus involve an examination of the various cultural units (whether historical, social, economic or literary) which make up the semantic properties of these loans. Other studies on loanwords in the Southwest have focused on form and dealt with types of loans: loans, loan blends, loan shifts, loan translations, compound loans or hybrid loans.

Here, however, we are especially interested in examining the content behind these forms and the function of loanwords in the Spanish of Chicanos. We will study those loans which have displaced or coexist with other Spanish forms to see if these forms share some or all semantic properties and wherein they differ. We will try to determine whether the various possible readings are limited to contextual and circumstantial features and whether the connotations differ in such cases, since the cultural properties that make up the semantic units of the loans reflect the contexts within which the population lives and works, the degree and type of acculturation and the type of language contact. For this reason, before analyzing the phenomenon in terms of denotative and connotative markers we will look briefly at the context within which these loans occur.

A study of context requires not only examining the cultural content reflected in these loans but a brief look at this phenomenon in loans from other sources found in the Spanish language.

LOANWORDS: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Loanwords are common in the history of all languages. Spanish, for example, has numerous terms taken from Greek, Arabic, French, Italian and early Germanic dialects. It is interesting to observe the types of loans borrowed through contact with these various groups. Germanic loans in Spanish are primarily related to warfare as in words like *guerra*, *heraldo*, *robar* and *dardo*, reflecting the relationship of early Roman and peninsular colonies with attacking Germanic tribes.³

Arabic words on the other hand, fall into several domains. There are agricultural terms (as in *acequia*, *alberca*, *noria*, *acelga*), domestic terms (as in *almohada*, *azotea*), commercial terms (*almacén*, *quilates*, *quintales*), occupational terms (*alfarero*, *albañil*) and governmental terms (*alguacil*, *alcalde*). These reflect over 700 years of coexistence on the Iberian peninsula. It is interesting to note that the language of the peoples inhabiting the peninsula before the Roman invasion (except in the case of the Basques) has all but

disappeared. Traces of these early languages are sometimes found in the roots of some place names or river names. The impact of Roman colonization throughout seven centuries reached the full extent of the peninsula in the process of urbanization and *latifundismo* and in the extension of its communications network and economic system, obliterating most linguistic traces of the past.⁴ Thus political, military and economic conquest determined language choice by increasing and forcing language contact. The type of contact is also very important as it determines those areas or domains where language shifting or borrowing is likely to occur.

These factors are also significant in our study of the language contact situation in the Southwest. We can trace the status of Spanish as a minority language in contact with a majority language back to 1848 when the United States took the Southwest territory from Mexico. As in the case of the Iberians, the presence of this Spanish-speaking population is obvious in place names (El Paso, San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Sacramento, San Juan, Salinas, San Jose, San Antonio, etc.). The type of language and social contact between the two groups is also evident in loans taken from Spanish by the English-speaking colonizers who learned their early cowboy and mining trades from Spaniards, Mexicans and Indians. In ranching, English incorporated *buckaroo*, *lariat*, *rodeo*, *corral*, *burro*, *stampede*, *chaparral*, *calaboose*, *mesa*, *canyon*, *ranch*, *barbecue*. From the mining experience it absorbed *placer* and *bonanza*. By the end of the nineteenth century the former Mexican territory was totally in control of the English-speaking immigrants who determined the language of schools, courts, government and commerce. Other factors, however, like continued immigration from Mexico, residential segregation, occupational segregation and racism helped to maintain the Spanish language.

We can get an idea of the historical changes in the last century and their effect on the Mexican-origin population by looking not only at studies describing this period of urbanization, mechanization of agriculture, industrialization and growth of agribusiness in the Southwest but also by looking at linguistic studies of the period. An article on New Mexican Spanish written by Aurelio Espinosa and published in 1909, lists approximately 135 loanwords out of a total of 300 found in Spanish language research of New Mexico.⁵ These loans reflect not only linguistic impact but social impact as well. The acculturation of the Mexican population as it adapted to its new environment is indicated by terms which reflect areas basic to survival. There are loans indicating measurement: *bonche*, *cuara*, *nicle*, *peni*, *dola*, *bil*. Some refer specifically to occupations: *jobe*, *deschachar*, *cuitiar*, *parna* and some refer to consumer goods: *bogue*, *esprin*, *guincheste*, *overoles*, *sinque*, *suera*, *balún*, *ploga*. A few refer to American foods: *aiscrín*, *bisqueete*, *jeli*, *greve*, *lonche*, *queque*, *sángüiche*. Acculturation is evident, although in a humorous vein, in the incorporation of English expressions like: *al bechu*, *enejau*, *evrebore*, *fain*, *fon*, *fone*, *ful*, *fuliar*, *gurbai*, *jeló*, *jarirú*, *olraite*. As Espinosa states, "in the brief period of 50 years, the English language had already influenced New Mexico Spanish in many respects, especially in vocabulary."⁶

Let us recall that during this early period, the Southwest was still primarily dependent on ranching, agriculture and mining. As Mexican immigration to the United States increased after the turn of the century and during the Mexican revolution of 1910, these people were also incorporated into the agricultural economy, picking cotton in Texas and fruit and vegetables in California. The period around World War II brought increased industrialization and urbanization to the Southwest, particularly to California. Eventually the Mexican immigrant was also absorbed into the low-wage sectors of the service and blue-collar labor market. Conditions which have concentrated and segregated Chicanos have enabled the developing loanwords to take root and spread, maintained by succeeding bilingual generations. The loans have taken a similar form throughout the Southwest although a few variations occur. In California, for example, where there has been more of an international labor force involved in farm work including Filipinos, Arabs, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese and Mexicans, the word designating place of work is *fil* for field. In Texas where the field hands were primarily Mexicans (although in East Texas there were also Black farmworkers), the word is the Spanish term *labor*. Differences in form can thus be traced to different labor situations, that is, to different referents.

Loanwords then reflect historical conditions. The geographical and occupational mobility of Chicanos, for example, is reflected in the language. Spanish has incorporated a number of terms reflecting the transition into the service and blue-collar categories with terms like *weldeador*, *emplastador* (plasterer), *dompero*, *factoria*, *caneria*, *londres*, *meid*, *cuítear*, *descharchar*, *troquero*. The continued presence of Chicanos in the fields can be seen in words like *fil*, *migrante*, and *brocle*. Loans also reflect areas of residence on the other side of the proverbial tracks: *traques*, *dipo*, *dompe*, *treila*. The barrios, though segregated and poor, copied the gringo house-style with *yardas*, *miras de la luz*, *lotes*, *sinks*, *sure*, *plogues* and *carpetas* while *las huayfas* *dosteaban*, *waxeaban* and *mapeaban*. Chicanos were also integrated into the consumer society as indicated by *mapiador*, *mapiar*, *juila*, *teni*, *guayín*. Acceptance into the totally English-speaking public school system brought numerous terms associated with school activities and subject matter: *rula*, *espelear*, *taipear*, *mistear*, *ponchar*, *ringuear*, *espiche*, *faite*, *sainear*, *jaiscul*. Chicanos joined the automobile generation as indicated by *troca*, *cranque*, *cloche*, *estare*, *estarear*, *suiche*, *huachas*, *millaje*, *treila*, *saine*, *puche*, *yaque*, *parquear*, *raite*, *bos* and *bloques*. Acculturation meant shoes were *chaineados* rather than *lustrados*, people were *fuleados* rather than *engañados*; housewives paid *biles* rather than *cuentas* and instead of saying *se sale el agua* they say *la llave liquea*. Chicanos started eating *greve*, *lonches*, *sángüiches*, *harina de flor*, *aiscrín*, *binsones* and drinking *birria de la grocería* or *la marqueta* while they were *wachando la tele* or reading *el magasin*.

These loans reflect acculturation at the same time that they reflect resistance to shifting entirely to the English language. For all of these terms, once incorporated into Spanish, are as much a part of the local varieties of Spanish as Italian loanwords like *pibe*, *chau*, *bacán*, *laborar* are a part of Argentine

Spanish or Nahuatl words, like *elote*, *cacahuate*, *petate*, *hule* and *aguacate*, are part of Mexican Spanish. The difference is of course not the phenomenon itself as it exists worldwide in all languages. The difference is the type of borrowing and the extent of borrowing given the social and economic status of Chicanos in a country where English is the dominant language.

These loanwords must therefore be studied in terms of the historical content they reflect. In fact a few choice loans like *migrante*, *fil*, *weldeador* and *welferero* could serve to trace the history of the Mexican-origin population in this country. School-related loans reflect the lack of Spanish-language instruction in the public schools for many, many years. Loans reflecting agricultural work also point to a lack of educational opportunities for today's parents and grandparents who spent their school seasons in the fields. Consumer goods which were new around the turn of the century made their way to Chicano marketplaces as well, as evidenced by the loans. Immigration meant penetrating a different society with different values. Survival meant adapting to a certain extent and these loans indicate that the population did.

LOANWORDS: FUNCTIONS AND SEMANTIC PROPERTIES

In cases where loanwords coexist with popular and standard forms, the semantic properties generally differ in terms of denotative or connotative markers and contextual and circumstantial features. Consider the following pairs:

camión / troca, troque
cuadra / bloque
interruptor / suiche
enchufe / plogue, ploga
cuenta / bil
patio / yarda / solar

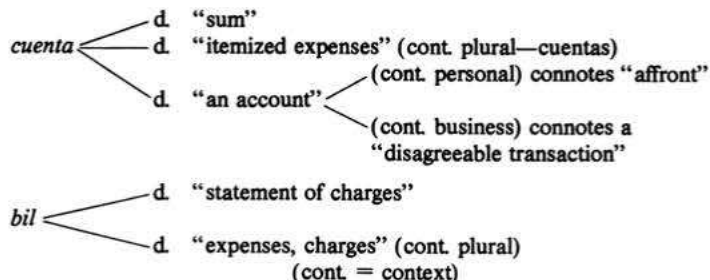
In most of these cases the loanword has become the general local term among second and subsequent Chicano generations. Possibly among the early immigrants, and even as late as the early forties in Southwest barrios, gadgets like light switches were not familiar objects constituting part of their cultural repertoire. In some rural areas, in both Mexico and the United States, there was either no electricity or lights were turned on by pulling on a small chain or string hanging from the ceiling. It was then logical that as these new commodities were introduced by an English-dominant society, they be denoted by English terms adapted to Spanish phonology and morphology. Charge accounts also introduced a new phenomenon: monthly bills, permeating all aspects of daily life in the United States. The term *cuenta* which is the standard Spanish equivalent for "bill," was already part of the repertoire of Mexican immigrants but with different denotations as is evident in the use of this term today. Consider the following:

1. Sacar la cuenta.
2. Vamos a sacar las cuentas.
3. Tengo cuentas pendientes con él.
4. Vamos arreglando cuentas.

In sentence 1, *cuenta* denotes "sum" or "answer to some computation." This utterance may occur at home in doing math homework or in any kind of computation. Sentence 2 has a similar but more specific meaning; here *cuenta* refers to a computation of expenses or itemized figures. In figuring out monthly expenses one can say the following in the barrio:

Vamos a sacar las cuentas pa' pagar los biles.

Thus "sacar las cuentas" means adding up expenses and figuring out the budget for the month. Sentences 3 and 4, on the other hand, refer to "personal accounts to be settled" and generally connote an affront or disagreeable affair which requires revenge or retribution. Thus for second, third and subsequent generations, *cuenta* does not denote the actual invoice or statement of charges, a function reserved for the word *bil*. The term incidentally is not used to denote a piece of paper money as in "dollar bill"; this denotation is reserved for *billete*. We can then describe the different readings of *cuenta* and *bil* in the Southwest as follows:



It is thus primarily the contextual features that determine the use of *bil* and *cuenta* although it is evident that from denoting a statement of charges the term *bil* has undergone an extension of semantic readings to refer not only to the statement itself but to the content of the statement, the charges themselves. At this point it appears that both terms refer to general expenses, but in fact the term *cuenta* has been completely displaced here and retained only in the sense of the actual figures or computations involved in an expense. Thus it is always "sacar las cuentas" but "pagar los biles" or even "tener muchos biles"—to have many debts. The plural *biles*, on the other hand is not synonymous with *gastos* which denotes personal expenses as opposed to household expenses, expressed by *biles*.

In the case of terms like *patio* and *yarda*, the semantic features are also different. *Yard*, according to Webster, is a "small, usually walled and paved area open to the sky and adjacent to a building," but in the context of Southwest homes, a yard is generally the open space in front of a house, covered with grass or flowers. In the barrio, *trabajar en las yardas* means to work as a gardener, generally for the Anglo middle class homeowners who have large houses and lots of greenery. *Patio*, although it also refers to the open space adjacent to a building, in the context of home, refers to the backyard. In Mexican or Latin American towns or cities where houses come up to the sidewalk, the backyard is often paved or covered with cobblestones and decorated with flowers. In Chicano Spanish the empty backyard is designated with the term *solar*, which also means "lot." All three terms thus differ in denotations.

<i>yard</i>	d.	1.	open space adjacent to buildings.
	d.	2.	open space with greenery and flowers around a home (context: Southwest house-styles)
<i>yarda</i>			
<i>solar</i>	d.	1.	lot
	d.	2.	empty backyard
<i>patio</i>	d.	1.	open space adjacent to buildings
	d.	3.	open space paved or cobblestoned behind a home

Other loans could be studied in terms of their connotations. Some particular loans and loan translations connote youth and unconventionality, especially when they are translations or borrowings from English slang. Consider the following:

1. Le voy a tener que enseñar inglés a mi chamaco nomás *pa que la haga* en la escuela.
2. Por ejemplo, *de cincho* que vinieron cocineros.
3. Anduvimos por el barrio *watchando la movida*.
4. . . . como yo conozco como son los *porasos* de la ganga.

These expressions from a young Chicano male are borrowed from: "to have it made," "it's a cinch," "watch this," and "big party."

In other cases, the loans connote "being one of the people," a sort of folksiness as opposed to the pretentiousness that can be connoted by use of a standard term. Compare the following examples:

1. Misteó mucha escuela.
2. Faltó mucho a la escuela.
3. Te misteo mucho.
4. Te extraño mucho.
5. Tengo que taipearlo primero y luego te lo llevo.
6. Tengo que pasarlo a máquina primero y luego te lo llevo.

7. Le dieron esa chansa de patrolman.

8. Le dieron una oportunidad de trabajar de policía.

In each of these cases, the utterance with the loan connotes familiarity while the standard expressions connote distance or coldness and in some cases, pedantry. All of these denotations and connotations are examined strictly within a Chicano context in intragroup exchanges. Once there is interaction with Spanish speakers outside the Chicano circle (which may include non-Chicanos), these denotations and connotations do not hold.

The loans that we have discussed are all examples of English lexical items adapted to the Spanish phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic system. Oftentimes the meaning of the English term is maintained while it is adapted phonologically and morphologically (spell = *espearar*; push = *puchar*); in other cases a Spanish term extends its meaning by borrowing a denotation from an English cognate ("false cognate") (realize = *realizar*; library = *librería*) or by translating an English phrase and retaining its English idiomatic meaning (call back = *llamar pa'tras*; to have a good time = *tener un buen tiempo*). In all of these cases the English lexical item is adapted to all the components of the Spanish grammar. Borrowing is a worldwide phenomenon affecting all societies in contact with another language, particularly when the source language belongs to a politically or economically dominant group. The reaction of other Spanish-speaking minorities in the United States to the extensive borrowing in the Southwest is generally directed not against the dominant society which has limited the possibilities of continued enrichment of the Spanish language through contact with Spanish-language activities in the arts, music, theatre, literature and academic instruction, but against the Chicano population whose survival has depended on its ability to adapt to a new environment and a new language. Far from simply succumbing to the English language, the Spanish-speaking Chicano population has dealt with the limiting situation by wielding the English language and transforming it for its own purposes and its own survival. The presence of loans in Chicano Spanish is a natural consequence of language and social contact; but it is not simply a sign of acculturation nor is it a tragic sign of language decadence. It is contradictorily both a sign of acculturation and a sign of resistance, for it is the subjugation of the English language to Spanish grammar as much as it is the penetration of American culture into Chicano Spanish.

Much has been said about the extent of English interference in the Spanish of Chicanos. We will discuss this topic further in our next chapter on code-switching.

The whole question of loans is quite complex but we hope to have suggested a new direction for the study of these terms in the Spanish of Chicanos. Loans can be further classified as general or restricted in terms of the various codes within which they appear. In the next section we will look at borrowings which are part of *caló*, the slang code or argot of Chicano youth.

CALÓ

Caló as an urban code is a synthesis of the different varieties spoken by Chicanos in the Southwest, for it incorporates standard Spanish, popular Spanish varieties, loanwords from English and even code-switching. It is primarily characterized by its penchant for innovativeness in its expansion of the lexicon to produce an argot, the slang of young Chicanos, primarily male. Thus in *caló*, the language acquires its highest level of semiotic elasticity as grammatical rules suffer rule extensions in all components of the grammar: sounds, structures and vocabulary. Many words associated with this code have become part of the general repertoire of the Mexican-origin population and ceased to be exclusively *caló* terms. In some cases, words associated with this variety are in fact lexical items taken from the standard language of other Hispanic areas. Fusing standard and popular urban and rural varieties, *caló* sprinkles in a handful of terms borrowed from the argot of Mexico and other Hispanic areas, overcodes (assigns additional meanings) the lexicon and undercodes it (simplifies the meaning) as well.⁷ In this section we will be especially interested in looking at the functions and levels of meaning found in this code. First we will look briefly at some important historical events affecting its status.

In the Southwest *caló* achieved a certain degree of notoriety during the decade of the forties, a period marked by geographical and occupational mobility in this area. While the eastern part of the United States had initiated this process of urbanization and industrialization during the nineteenth century, the western part of the country had remained primarily rural and dependent on agriculture, mining and the railroads till the second world war, when the war effort led to increased production of consumer goods, war matériel and agricultural products. Along with the large numbers of people migrating west came thousands of persons of Mexican-origin, especially from Texas, Arizona and Mexico. These new California residents of Mexican origin were concentrated in areas of low-income housing where other Chicanos already resided. As is well known, particular styles of dress and language codes can develop among isolated communities. These metropolitan ghettos and barrios allowed the codes of young men from the strongly Spanish-speaking urban and rural areas of Texas, especially El Paso, and the general Southwest to flourish, particularly in the Los Angeles area. The dress of these young Mexican men imitated the style made famous in Harlem, the zoot suit. In documents compiled by Carey McWilliams during this period we find the following information:⁸

Zoot suits were made by manufacturers all over the country and sold like hot cakes. . . . They went for them in the foreign districts; in fact the name seems to derive from a mispronunciation of the word "suit."

The zoot suit gained its original fame in New York's Harlem district, but became infamous on the basis of antics of its wearers on the west coast. Los Angeles police arrest about a dozen of the city's long coated, baggy panting Mexican residents each week for minor violations of the law.

This type of reporting was produced by an inflammatory press which incited the public against a growing Mexican-origin population and later supported the

beating of young Chicano males by Navy servicemen during the now famous zoot-suit riots. Other media versions of the situation also appeared, as in this sample of other articles compiled by McWilliams:⁹

The zoot suit is no label of juvenile delinquency. Many a young Mexican in a zoot suit works hard and takes his money home to mamacita for frijoles refritos and many a young zoot-suited Negro never shoots craps and goes to the Baptist Church every Sunday.

These young men with their wide-brimmed hats, long coats, ankle-tight trousers and duck-tail haircuts were called pachucos because the style was assumed to have been brought from El Paso (Pasuco → Pachuco), by young male migrants. However, it is known that the style was not limited to Mexicans and Blacks although it became an identity symbol for ghetto and barrio dwellers. Since minority groups in this country have always lived side by side in slums and other areas of low-cost housing, Chicano males were also able to incorporate numerous lexical items from Black English. According to information collected by McWilliams, the Black population of Los Angeles also increased tremendously, doubling in a period of about ten years to the point where the National Urban League was concerned with the "jive language" of young Blacks. Young Chicanos also had access to the argot of urban Mexico as Mexican immigration increased in the form of documented, undocumented, and temporary agricultural (Bracero) immigrants.

Caló is thus an urban phenomenon but it is important to recall that even though this period marks the urbanization of the Mexican-origin population, this population had always consisted of families who migrated from the fields to towns and cities during the off-seasons when no harvesting or farm work was available. Urbanization, as previously mentioned, brought increased contact with the English-speaking communities, both Black and White. The *caló* spoken today in the Southwest continues to reflect features of the *caló* of the forties but it has also made new lexical additions. It continues to be the slang of young Chicano males but oftentimes what passes for *caló* in the language of young Chicanos has only a trace of those rare exotic argot terms¹⁰ and numerous cases of overcoding and undercoding, as we shall see. Oftentimes all that remains is the peculiar intonation and a sprinkling of ornamental *órale-ése-vatos* added for effect.

Let us compare four varieties of *caló*: one reflecting the language of the Pachucos from El Paso during the forties, recorded by Olga Villanueva with the help of her father, Benito Villanueva; one recorded by Norma Elena Corvera in San Diego with the help of a friend; one recorded by Lynne Sullivan with the help of a friend in Tijuana and one recorded by Rey Gomeztagle of friends from Los Angeles. These texts will be followed by a list of interesting lexical items taken from the excerpts:

A) El Paso Caló:

— Guacha, ¿por qué no me alivianas con un aventón y me dejas en el chante? Y mientras que vas por el Chente, yo tiro claváo, me rastío la greña y me

entacucho. Te traís al Chente a mi cantón y le digo a la jefa que nos aliviane con un calmante porque a mí ya me traí la jaspia y quiero refinar. Le dices al Chente que 'stoy invitao a un borlo y pa que se desagüite el vato le digo a mi güisa que le consiga una jainita para irnos a borlotear todos. ¿Cómo la ves?

— Pos 'stá de aquella la idea pero, pos tú sabes que el Chente va andar muy quebradón porque acaba . . . va acabar de desafanar y no traí garra de aquella. ¿Cómo la ves?

— O, dile que no se agüite, le dices que no hay fijón por la feria y si necesita garra, yo le empresto pantas, lisa, taiya, carlangos, calcos y hasta calcetas si quiere. Sirve que cuando 'stemos refinando quiero que oiga una rolas que apará ora, ¿ves? ¡'Tán a todo güelo, tú sabes las songas que hay orita 'tán a todo güelo!

— Orale pues, 'tonces allí te guacho en tu cantón. Pero también le dices a la jefita que me aliviane con un refinazo, ¿eh? Y que no se le olvide los biroles, porque tú sabes como me cain de aquéllas los biroles, ¿eh? Tá de aquélla.

— Simón que yes, ése. 'Tonces aquí te . . . allí te calmo después que me dejes, ¿eh? ¡Tá de aquélla!

B) Two Young Chicano Males at Work in San Diego:

P: — Y qué ondas con las jainas, ¿dónde cantonean?

M: — Aquí en Carlsbad. Ahi estudia la ruca en un college, no sé cómo se llama.

P: — Y ¿te iba a hablar ahora?

M: — Ayer, loco. Ayer me habló, ése.

P: — ¿Sí?

M: — Pero le dijieron que no vivía aquí, ése, ¡fijate!

P: — Y ella, ¿no te dio el teléfono de ella?

M: — No, porque se agüitan los jefes si le habla uno, ¿ves?

P: — ¿Y qué onda, pero qué andaba haciendo esa onda allá?

M: — Andaban dos moras, y como estaba mi primo, pos, órale, no' fuimos a cotorriarla, ¿ves? Le di mi número de teléfono para que me llamara. Chulas, loco, las dos moras.

C) El Pachuco Tijuanaense:

— Y para no hacértela tan agüitona, pues decidí treparme a la burra que iba para el taun a agarrar otro tipo de patín. Y fijate que al estarle dando la marmaja al cafre, que mi pupila se endulza al palpar una beibi (wow, ¡qué beibi!) que iba bien trenzadota con su bato. Y pos, la neta, decidí agandallársela al ruco que ya pertenecía a la momiza más que a la chaviza—y por mi jefita que no aguantaba para ella, que era un mangazo. Mas de pronto que me pongo a carburar y me dije, "No aguanta el cambalacho porque la ruca se ve muy popis y furrís . . . y de esas pulgas—no brincan en mi petate." Así es que calmerón y chale a mi plan. Bueno, bato, con esto creo que ya estuvo suave, ¿no? Así es que—ai nos vidrios.

D) Vatos Locos from Los Angeles:

A: — Se cree muy chingón, ése.

B: — ¿Qué trae, ése, aliviánate, ése, llévate la suave, calmantes, ése.

A: — Ese, ¿cómo están las rucas allá por la Mariana?

B: — Las rucas, ése, chingáo, ése, 'tán de aquéllas.

A: — ¿'Tán buenotas las rucas entonces?

B: — 'Tán de aquéllas, man.

A: — ¿Bien firmes?

B: — Firmes, carnal. Nobody fucks around. If anybody tries to get it on with any of our jainas, tú sabes, se lo descontamos, ése, porque . .

A: — ¿Muy bravotes?

B: — Sabe, carnal, we just, we don't think that we're bravotes, carnal, we just don't like to fuck around. Somebody fucks around, pues ponle, carnal.

A: — Chingazos, ése.

B: — Chingazos, carnal. A la brava.

Vocabulary used in these four texts:

A

agandallársela — ganársela
agüitar — entristecer, deprimir
agüitona — pesada
alivianar — ayudar, ofrecer
aquélla (estar de aquélla) — magnífico
aventón — levantón, acción de llevar en el auto

B

bato (vato) — hombre
biroles — frijoles
borlo — baile, fiesta
borlotear — celebrar, festejar
burra — camión

C

cafre — chofer
calcetas — calcetines
calcos — zapatos
calmar — ver, esperar (calmontes = i.e., cálmate)
calmante — bocado, comida ligera
calmerón — calmarse
cambalacho — cambio
cantón — casa
cantonear — vivir
carburar — pensar
carlango — saco, abrigo, chaqueta
chale — no
chante — casa
cotorrear — hablar

D

desafanar — salir de la cárcel
desagüitarse — alegrarse

E

emprestar — prestar
entacucho — vestirse bien
ése — tú

F

fijón (no hay . . .) — nadie se fija, no importa

G

garra — ropa
greña — pelo
guacha — mirar
güelo — vuelo, a todo vuelo — fantástico
güisa — chica, muchacha

J

jainita — chica, muchacha
jaspia — hambre
jefita — mujer, mamá, esposa

L

lisa — camisa

M

mangazo — de mango, mujer linda
marmaja — dinero

moras — muchachas, chicas
momiza — de momia, muy viejo (más momiza
 que *chaviza* — más momia que *chaval*)

N
neta — netamente, sinceramente

P
pantas — pantalones
patín — andada, movida, diversión
popis y farris — rica y presumida

Q
quebradón — sin dinero

R
rafió — rastrillo, rastrillar — peinar
refinar — comer
refinazo — comida

rolas — discos
ruca — mujer
ruco — hombre

S
Simón — sí
songas — canciones

T
taiya, taya — corbata
tirar claváo — bañarse
taun — centro
tramos — pantalones
trola — cerillo

V
vato (bato) — hombre, muchacho
vidrios (Ahi nos vidrios) — nos vemos

The vocabulary we have itemized cannot all be called *caló*. Some of the items listed are standard, some popular and some, loans from the English language. A few, however, are strictly *caló* items. The *caló* vocabulary includes a combination of several elements which are added to the popular varieties so that the effect is that of an authentic code. Before we look at the specific elements, let us first examine the functions of *caló* in the previous excerpts.

Excerpt B is the best example of the incorporation of *caló* lexical items in the language of young Chicano males in everyday conversation. Both use a popular variety interspersed with familiar expressions and a few *caló* items when referring to the young girls (*moras, rucas, jainas, chavala*) one met on Saturday, what they drank (*pistiamos*), how they felt (*bien agüitado*) and where they lived (*cantonean*). Everything else is common in the popular varieties of adults and children in informal contexts. In conversation A, which involves two young Chicano males discussing a friend's release from jail, we again find the popular variants (*claváo, rastió, trais, pa, 'stá, cain, 'tá, 'tonces, güelo, empresto*) as well as the presence of *caló* markers. Here the particular *caló* elements include terms which fall in these general semantic areas: grooming, clothing, food, women and sex, recreation and crime. The Chicanos' camaraderie is signalled through the use of these *caló* lexical items, which in fact serve as reinforcement of their solidarity.

Episode D is a good example of the use of *caló* in what is commonly called *cábula* or *vacilada* among Chicanos. The exchange is meaningless at a denotative level since the whole purpose of the interaction is an empty boast about the women of their territory and their own ability to defend them, with blows if necessary. In this kind of jive, the medium, that is, the subcode itself—*caló*—becomes the message. In excerpt B, once again, the *caló* terminology connotes virility and allows speaker M to boast about his latest conquest.

Excerpt C, although recorded as a monologue by a young man from Tijuana, is more of a literary discourse where every other word is a figure of speech and the phraseology is both from popular speech and *caló*. Here the entire narration is marked by *caló* items although again the topics themselves do not trigger the shifts to *caló*. It is the intent to entertain and boast about these manly pursuits in discourse with other males that determines its usage. Thus the message in *caló*, beyond the denotations, can be expressed in terms of speech acts: challenges, boasts, insults, reinforcement and requests for solidarity. Young men who use this code with their friends generally do not use it with their families, women or older adults. Some of the more common *caló* terms, as we mentioned before, have been incorporated into the general repertoire of the Chicano population and are used in any intra-group informal context.

One technique used in *caló* is the introduction of unfamiliar terminology taken from standard Spanish varieties. It is their unfamiliarity which allows them to qualify as *caló* terms. In this category are words like *apañar* (to take); *calcetas* (stockings) and *chaval, chavallo, chavala* (boy, girl), common in other Hispanic areas. Some standard lexical items are overcoded or undercoded, as occurs in all rhetorical language. Eco has defined overcoding as either the assignment of additional meanings to expressions, or the assignment of different shades of meaning to a unit of the code to form more analytic subcodes. Undercoding occurs when an imprecise coding leads the speaker to make general assumptions and interpretations for lack of precise coding rules.¹¹ Assuming that *apañar* always means "to steal" would be a case of undercoding since the term has other meanings in other contexts. Undercoding also takes place when someone who does not know the *caló* code (nor the other codes in the Southwest), but who is aware of the existence of the argot, assumes that all terms used by young Chicano males in informal domains are *caló* terms, as occurred in the work of Lurline Coltharp, who characterized common loanwords from the English language as *caló*.¹²

Overcoding is a much more common phenomenon in the *caló* variety. Cases where additional meanings are assigned are common in all codes in the use of metaphors, metonyms and synecdoches. An example of an extension of meaning is a word like *cantón*, which denotes "a region or area" of a country. In particular circumstances, as for example in application forms or interviews, it denotes the county or region of origin and connotes "home." This particular process is part of the history of *caló* rather than a current reality since the term used for *county* in the Southwest is *condado*. In South America, however, the word *cantón* is common. An example of overcoding that is current and continuous is that of *vidrios*, which in the context of "Ahi nos _____" means "vemos" rather than "glass." This rule extension is context-restricted and involves *caló* conventions which determine synonyms if initial sounds are homophonous. Popular expressions also undergo overcoding as in the case of *jalar* (from *halar*) when its denotation is extended from "to pull" to the meaning "to work" through the addition of a circumstantial selection feature (circum-

stance: employment). A word like *carburar*, for example, which denotes the action of a carburetor, also is overcoded when it is assigned a particular shade of meaning in the context of a human subject. In this case, it means "to think." There are many other examples of overcoding; some involve forming new words and categories from other forms: thus *liviano* ("light") becomes *alivianar* ("to help, offer; to steal"); *perico* ("parrot") produces *periquear* ("to talk"); *talón* ("heel") gives *talonear* ("to walk, go"); *garra* which denotes "rag" in popular Mexican Spanish is extended to mean "clothes," and *rastrillar* ("to rake") in excerpt A means "to comb."

Caló also replaces a number of worn-out phrases with words that have homophonous beginnings. It is in this area where new coinings take place every day. The rule in *caló* is that if the meaning is clear, the context is known and the word starts with a similar sound or syllable, then a synonym can be coined, as in these examples:

<i>Standard or popular phrases</i>	<i>Caló phrases</i>
1. Ahi nos vemos.	Ahi nos vidrios.
2. Ya estuvo.	Ya estufas.
3. Sí.	Simón. Sirol.
4. ¿Qué pasó?	¿Qué pasión?
5. Ya sabes.	Ya sábanas.

Caló, like the popular varieties of the Southwest, also incorporates a number of loans from English. These are distinguished from the common loans by their limited use, primarily by young males in verbal interaction with other Chicano young people, and their identification with *caló*. These loans include words like *chante* (from *shanty*), *songa* (*song*), *taya* (*tie*), *biroles* (a combination of *beans* and *frijoles*), *birria* and *bironga* (*beer*).

And finally, *caló* includes a number of terms whose origin can be traced to the language of gypsies and to other Latin American argots. These include words like: *lisa*, *jaina*, *jaspia*, *entacucho*, *güisa*, *chale*, *calcos*, *tramos* and *trola*.¹³

Caló then is a highly creative code which utilizes a number of techniques to produce an effect of authenticity. Many of the phrases utilized in the *caló* excerpts are in fact found in the popular varieties as well. The uniqueness of the *caló* variety lies in the quantity, in the number of colorful expressions, combined with *caló* lexical items, used in the discourse of Chicano males rather than in the type of expressions created. *Caló* is not a secret language. As an intra-group subcode, it is an element in group solidarity, whether it forms part of the verbal interaction of gangs or of youth in general. Culturally, it has also been an expression form within Chicano poetry, short stories and novels. Years ago it was common in the Mexican movies of comedians, like Tin-Tán, or on Mexican radio comic hours. Today, it continues to be part of the daily discourse of Chicano males but in the artistic and literary fields, Chicanos have raised it to another level and made it a literary code as well.

SUMMARY

Let us now summarize the principal types of varieties found in the Southwest. There are basically two codes: a standard code and a popular code. The popular code is further subdivided into urban and rural codes because in many cases there are marked differences between the two although many urbanized Chicanos originally from rural areas fall into both categories. Within each category there are sub-codes, as for example, *caló*, which is an urban sub-code. We are postulating that differences between these three varieties occur at the morphosyntactic level primarily, although code differences may also involve lexical differences, as in the case of archaic terms, English loanwords or typically rural variants. Sub-codes are primarily stylistic variations involving pronunciation and vocabulary. In Table 4.1 we contrast a few of these forms. Often there will be no distinction between an urban and a rural popular form, but the same may be true for urban popular and standard forms.

Table 4.1 Contrast Between Standard and Popular Urban and Rural Codes

Standard	Urban popular	Rural popular
1. Fuiste. ¿Qué hiciste?	1. Fuistes. ¿Qué hicistes?	1. Juites / Fuites. ¿Qué hicites?
2. Salimos a las tres. Decimos.	2. Salimos / Salemos. Decimos / Dicemos.	2. Salemos a las tres. Dicemos.
3. No traía nada.	3. No traía nada.	3. No traiba nada.
4. No traje nada. No vi nada. Somos la nueva . . .	4. No traje nada. No vi nada. Somos la nueva . . .	4. No truje nada. No vide nada. Semos la nueva genera- ción.
5. Ibamos todos.	5. Ibamos todos.	5. Íbamos todos.
6. Cuando volvamos . . .	6. Cuando vuélvamos . . .	6. Cuando vuélvamos . . .
7. muchos padres muchos papás	7. muchos papás	7. muchos papases munchos papases
8. ¿El libro? Se lo di a ellos.	8. ¿El libro? Se los di a ellos.	8. ¿El libro? Se los di a ellos.
9. Nos lo dió . . .	9. No los dió . . .	9. No los dió . . .
10. Nos trajo a nosotros.	10. Los trajo a nosotros. Nos trajo a nosotros.	10. Los trujo a nosotros.

Our hypothesis is that shifts within individual repertoires occur primarily at the stylistic level rather than at a code level for most of the population since the shifts that we have noted are of a phonetic and lexical nature, at least in most of the cases observed. The one exception is the case of the self-conscious university Spanish literature and language student, who tries to shift entirely to the standard but is sometimes betrayed by his other code rules. The true exception is the individual who consciously and willingly shifts from one code to another.

Before proceeding to examine stylistic shifts occurring within Chicano Spanish discourse, we need to acknowledge our lack of concern with phono-

logical variants in the Chicano Spanish varieties. There are of course phonetic variants in the Southwest, phonetic rather than phonological as they all have the same underlying form. Traditional dialectological studies have focused on the presence of particular variants rather than on when they occur in terms of context, function and speakers. Resnick's synthesis of works on phonological variants, as we have mentioned before, is a good example of the classification of isolated variants. Although we find that phonetic shifts occur as shifts in style in most cases, we will note the presence of some phonetic variants found throughout the Southwest for those concerned with second language acquisition and the existence of particular sounds in Chicano Spanish. This brief summary (Table 4.2) will follow somewhat the variants list used in Resnick's study.¹⁴

Table 4.2 Phonetic Variants Found in the Spanish of the Southwest.

Form	Possible urban variant	Possible rural variant
/s/	alveolar [s]	{ alveolar [s] aspiration of some sibilants [h] }
trill /r/	trill [r̄]	{ trill /r̄/ [ɹ] combination trill and fricative }
/x/	[x] and [h]	[x] and [h]
palatal fricative /ɣ/	palatal glide [j]	{ -palatal glide [j] -loss of glide /ø/ }
labial fricative [β]	[β] or [v]	[β] or [v]
alveo-palatal affricate /č/	[č] (ch) or [š] (sh)	[č] (ch) or [š] (sh)
[ð] in -ado	[ð] retained /ð/ lost: ø	[ð] lost
labiodental /f/	[f]	[f] or [h] before ___ w

This chart does not note the extensive laxing of voiced consonants in all positions nor the appearance of epenthetic glides between certain *hiato* combinations, which we have discussed elsewhere. The neutralization of simple and trill /r/ we have only heard sporadically among English-dominant Chicanos who were limited in their Spanish. None of these phonetic variants are unique to Chicano Spanish since they all occur in other areas of the Spanish-speaking world as well.

STYLISTIC SHIFTS

Stylistic shifts from one sub-code to another occur primarily at the phonetic and lexical levels. Table 4.3 gives some idea of the type of shifts that occur in Chicano Spanish. In the next chapter we will examine several texts to pinpoint

Table 4.3 Some Examples of Styles in Chicano Spanish

Formal	Informal	Intimate	Familiar
1. Usted es	1. Usté es	2. To'o el día	
2. Todo el día	2. To'o el día		
3. No he tomado	3. No he tomáo		
4. Y luego	4. Y luego luego	4. Y lo' luego; Y lo' lo'	
5. Mi padre	5. Mi papá	5. Mi 'apá	5. Mi jefito ~ mi apá
6. Está bien	6. Está bien	6. 'Tá weno	
7. ¿Qué hora es?	7. ¿Qué hora es?	7. [Kjorés?] [Kjorasón?]	
8. Está cerca . . .	8. Está cerca . . .	8. 'Tá cerquita . . .	
9. ¿Dónde estaba?	9. ¿Dónde estabas?	9. 'On 'tabas?	9. 'Ontablas?
10. Se fue al trabajo	10. Se fue al trabajo.	10. Se fue a chamber	10. Le talonió pal jale
	11. Metí la pata	11. La regué	
12. ¿Qué pasó?	12. ¿Qué pasó?	12. ¿Quiubo?	12. ¿Qué pasión? ¿Qué ondas?
13. ¡Está fenomenal!	13. ¡Está fenomenal!	13. 'Tá a todo dar!	13. 'Tá de aquellas!
14. la policía		14. la ley la chota los "impleáos"	14. la jura la placa
15. Empújelo	15. Empújalo	15. Púchalo	

some factors affecting shift. The four styles that we have noted are the following: formal, informal, intimate and familiar. Distinctions between formal and informal are primarily differences in the care with which one pronounces, although there are sometimes lexical differences. The familiar style incorporates all types of slang that facilitate peer interaction and group adhesion. The intimate style is the family style characterized by loss of fricative endings, voiced fricatives as well as initial syllables in some cases.

Stylistic shifts occur with shifts in topic, speech act, addressee and context. These shifts are distinctive in nature as meaning changes when style is changed. Thus it is not the same to say "Hazme esquina" (*caló* for "Back me up") and "Apóyame" ("I need your support," lit. "Support me"), for the first connotes cultural and generational ties between the interacting participants that the second phrase cannot convey. Stylistic shifts are thus partly related to the composition of the group interacting. Consider the following examples:

Inter-group:	Está bromeando.
Intra-group:	Está vacilando.
Intra-sub-group:	Está cabuliando.

All of these sentences express that someone is kidding around but only the two intra-group expressions convey the idea of "jive." The third example from *caló* also conveys participation in an "in-house" activity. For an equivalent phrase we would have to go to the popular expressions of other areas, like the Argentine: "Está macaneando."

The next chapter will present several cases of shifts in style accompanied by shifts in language and language varieties. A study of shifts in style and code is a study of the relation between *what is said* and *what is done*, where the meaning (or content) determines the expression form or style one uses.

Notes

1. Melvyn C. Resnick, *Phonological Variants and Dialectic Identification in Latin American Spanish* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).
2. Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de la lengua* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1964).
3. Ramón Menéndez-Pidal, *Manual de Gramática Histórica Española* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1962), pp. 15-24.
4. J. Vicens Vives, *Aproximación a la Historia de España* (Barcelona: Editorial Vicens, 1968), pp. 39-46.
5. Aurelio Espinosa, "Studies in New Mexican Spanish, Part I, Phonology," *Bulletin University of New Mexico*, Vol. I, No. 2, December 1909, pp. 141-150.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Umberto Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976).
8. Carey McWilliams, "Zoot Suiters. A Compilation of Correspondence, Clippings, Reports and Documents." Microfilm. UCLA Research Library.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Adolfo Ortega, *Caló Tapestry* (Berkeley, CA: Editorial Justa Publications, 1977), pp. 1-5.
11. Eco, *op. cit.*
12. Lurline Coltharp, *The Tongue of the Tirilones: A Linguistic Study of a Criminal Argot* (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1965).
13. Ortega, *op. cit.*
14. Resnick, *op. cit.*

URBAN VARIETIES

As we have stated before, most persons of Mexican origin in the United States are presently residing in urban areas. Yet we cannot automatically speak of "urban" Spanish varieties, for urbanization is a fairly recent Southwest phenomenon which has concentrated Chicanos, in many cases, in urban barrios and ghettos and thereby allowed them to preserve their rural varieties. Let us recall that available statistics on undocumented workers indicate that these are primarily but not entirely farmworkers from rural areas and that during the first half of this century Mexican labor was recruited especially for agricultural work, drawing largely from a pool of displaced and landless peasants. Immigration,