

SPANGLISH: A STUDY OF THE FEATURES OF BILINGUAL SPEAKERS IN GEORGIA

by

AMY HERNANDEZ

(Under the Direction of Marlyse Baptista)

ABSTRACT

Spanish and English have coexisted in many areas of the United States since its independence. English has influenced Spanish in many ways as a result of this contact producing a mixed code called Spanglish. Spanglish is spoken by bilingual speakers of both languages, and to other speakers of Spanglish. The idea that Spanglish has been growing in popularity and even in acceptability has both excited and frightened speakers of Spanish and English alike. This work explores the linguistic processes involved in Spanglish as well as discusses who speaks Spanglish and why. Ten bilingual speakers of Spanish and English living in Georgia were recorded to analyze their informal speech patterns. The features of Spanglish discussed are the lexical borrowings, morphological additions, and code switching. The instances of code switching were proven to be bound by syntactic rules which are also discussed.

INDEX WORDS: Spanglish, Language Contact, Code Switching, Lexical Borrowings from English into Spanish

SPANGLISH: A STUDY OF THE FEATURES OF BILINGUAL SPEAKERS IN GEORGIA

by

AMY HERNANDEZ

B.A., The University of Missouri, 1997

B.S.Ed., The University of Missouri, 1998

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2004

© 2004

Amy Hernandez

All Rights Reserved

SPANGLISH: A STUDY OF THE FEATURES OF BILINGUAL SPEAKERS IN GEORGIA

by

AMY HERNANDEZ

Major Professor: Marlyse Baptista

Committee: Sarah Blackwell
Diana Ranson

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
August 2004

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my four grandparents. By their very existence I was interested in the mixing of two cultures and consequently Spanglish. Before this project I could never express the feeling of growing up with two cultures. The use of Spanglish so simply expresses this mix on such a deep level. I can never imagine what my Mexican grandparents gave up to come to this country for a better life. I only hope that they are proud that their dream was a success. I also hope that my American grandparents know that I have always admired them for their strength of character and perseverance and without their example I would have never made it this far in my academic career.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Only with the help of many people have I been able to complete this project. I would first like to thank my major professor, Dr. Marlyse Baptista, who has encouraged me and given me invaluable advice and suggestions. She also helped me to stop freaking out and get to work. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, Dr. Diana Ranson and Dr. Sarah Blackwell. They also gave me inspiration and encouragement and were of extreme help. This work would not have been possible if I had not had the pleasure of knowing such nice people that gave up their time to let me record their conversations. I owe my deepest thanks to those participants. I would also like to thank Eunice Rojas for transcribing one of my conversations at the last minute, without her help I would never have finished on time. I am forever indebted to Joan Parker who walked my dog, stayed up late with me, and brought me food; I would have starved to death without her. I thank Lisa VanZwoll who encouraged me to go to the library during the summer when all I wanted to do was go to the pool, without our library plan I would never have even started this project. I owe thanks to Jason Garland who let me use his mini disc recorder so that I could have clear digital recordings of my data. It made my life so much easier. I thank Amy Harold and Walker McNiff for always encouraging me, praying for me, and checking in on me. It meant so much to know that she was there. I would like to thank Steve Casadont and Mitch McCoy for always being my friend, how lonely it would have been without them. I thank Celia Peris-Peris for always offering to help me with whatever she could do to help. I would also like to thank Samantha Osborne and Nikki Ford for being great officemates. Lastly, I would like to thank my family for supporting me in all of my academic endeavors.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	vii
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 WHAT IS SPANGLISH?	5
3 WHO SPEAKS SPANGLISH AND WHY?	21
4 DATA FROM BILINGUAL SPEAKERS	37
5 CONCLUSION	57
REFERENCES	60
APPENDICES	63
A BACKGROUND INFORMATION	63
B CONVERSATION 1	64
C CONVERSATION 2	69
D CONVERSATION 3	75
E CONVERSATION 4	81
F CONVERSATION 5	87

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1: Examples of code switching from Conversation 3 (Juan)	45
Table 2: Examples of code switching from Conversation 3 (Roberto)	46
Table 3: Examples of code switching from Conversation 5 (Josefina)	50
Table 4: Examples of code switching from Conversation 5 (Rosa)	51

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Spanglish has been a subject of interest among speakers of both Spanish and English especially in the United States. English has exerted influence on Spanish since the languages first came into contact in the 1800s. Interest in this topic has become more prevalent in this country over the last century with the growing number of Hispanics in the United States. Due to the rapid growth in population of this linguistic group and the greater mobility of society in general, language contact between Spanish speakers and English speakers has increased greatly. Because of the relative ease of travel, many people move around frequently. This perpetuates constant contact between the speakers of English and Spanish and has expanded the area in which this contact is an issue. What once was isolated to border towns and large cities has moved into other regions. The state of Georgia, for example, has a growing number of Hispanics in many cities, not just Atlanta. Because of this increase in population, the contact between speakers of English and Spanish has also increased. As a result, the influence of English on Spanish is evident in Spanglish. For some like González Echevarría (1997) and Mallo (1954) it is a symbol of degradation of not just one language, but both. Others, like Anzaldúa (1990) and Alvarez (1998), view it as a necessary way of communicating that reflects the bicultural situation in which they live. Language is intrinsically tied to identity and culture; for this reason many like Stavans (2003) feel that language use is a topic of the utmost importance. Some, like the Real Academia Española, shun the influence of English because for them it is a symbol of a power struggle between the United States and the rest of the world. However, for many who are

of Hispanic descent, it seems unnatural to deny one part of their culture. In the United States it would be impractical for Spanish speakers not to speak English, but to quit speaking Spanish would constitute a loss of identity. For those who constantly communicate in both languages it is natural to mix the two whenever they are with other members of the same linguistic community. The use of Spanglish has been viewed as a symbol of solidarity and is gaining in popularity (Artze 2001:51). It is common to hear Spanglish on the Spanish language channels as well as to see it in print in magazines and newspapers.

What exactly is the code often called Spanglish? Merriam-Webster defines Spanglish as “Spanish marked by numerous borrowings from English; any of various combinations of Spanish and English” (2003:1195). The purpose of this study is to look at Spanglish in terms of borrowing and code switching. Spanglish is marked by numerous borrowings from English that have Spanish equivalents. If there is no equivalent for the concept in Spanish and an English word is used to name this new concept, this type of borrowing is not a part of Spanglish since monolinguals would use and accept these words. Code switching and borrowings are both important components to Spanglish. Spanglish is a valid form of communication and is neither a degradation of Spanish nor English. Through the analysis of the linguistic features of Spanglish, this work will support the idea that Spanglish is a legitimate form of communication and that it is rule governed. Some such as González Echeverría (1997) and Mallo (1954) regard Spanglish as a random mixing of English and Spanish rooted in a lack of linguistic knowledge of both languages, or one or the other language. Mallo (1954:135) feels that bilingual speakers each create their own acceptable borrowings from English into Spanish and this multiplies with each speaker during each speech act which he equates to an epidemic. However, languages are complex systems that are always rule governed. When defining a language or dialect many

features must be taken into account, including the linguistic components of the language itself, such as syntax, vocabulary, morphology, semantics, phonetics and phonology as well as the sociological features of the extralinguistic context. The scope of this project must be narrowed to looking at a small part of this extremely complex system. The influence of social factors and context are impossible to ignore in a study such as this one that deals with language contact. For this reason context is often noted. The linguistic features of Spanglish that this project deals with are evidenced in two areas of language contact. The two main areas of analysis are code switching and borrowing. These areas deal with lexical items, semantic meaning, and to some degree syntax.

By analyzing the speech of ten bilingual speakers of Spanish and English living in Georgia, this project seeks to identify the characteristics of Spanglish among this extremely heterogeneous group of speakers. Many speakers of Spanglish living in Georgia come from distinctly different backgrounds and have different experiences that influence their language choice and use. The aim is to look for the common ground in the Spanglish spoken by different speakers and to show that it is not random mixing of Spanish and English. It is extremely difficult to obtain examples of speech that are untainted by the research design and this as always must be taken into account. In an attempt to elicit natural speech, the researcher recorded conversations of pairs of speakers who knew each other well in the hope that this familiarity would put speakers at ease even though they were aware that they were being recorded. Through the orthographic transcription of these recorded conversations and analysis, specific features from each individual's speech can be observed. Spanglish is the process of adapting and borrowing words from English as well as language switching. Some bilingual speakers keep each code distinctly separate and avoid speaking Spanglish, while others embrace it. The context of

the conversation and level of formality will greatly affect language choice. It is expected that some of the informants will attempt not to use Spanglish while others will do so naturally without much thought. Speakers for this project were chosen based on their language use. Either the researcher has witnessed the speakers use Spanglish or they admit to having been influenced by English. To better understand the data collected, it is of the utmost importance to know what other researchers have found in this area of study.

This study begins with the definition of Spanglish as well as how others have typically defined this term. A brief discussion of the historical development of Spanglish is followed by the linguistic areas that comprise Spanglish as well as some of the specific features of the language. The third chapter seeks to identify who speaks Spanglish and under what circumstances they use this form of language. After identifying what Spanglish is and who speaks it, Chapter four gives a description of the data recorded from the bilingual speakers and talks about the borrowings and instances of code switching followed by conclusions.

CHAPTER 2

WHAT IS SPANGLISH?

Span'glish \'span-glish, -lish\ n. [blend of *Spanish* and *English*] (1965): Spanish marked by numerous borrowings from English; *broadly*: any of various combinations of Spanish and English (Merriam-Webster: 2003, 1195).

Spanglish is the term given to the variety of Spanish that shows a great influence of English as a result of a high degree of contact. This term tends to be a more general label given to this mix that has been called many things including: Tex-Mex, Inglañol, Casteyanqui, Pocho, Pachuco, Chicano, and Cubonics among others. Ilan Stavans, a Mexican novelist and professor, defines Spanglish as “the verbal encounter between Anglo and Hispano civilizations” (Stavans 2003:5). He chooses the word *civilizations* because he wants to convey the message that this encounter is not just a linguistic one. He also uses the word *encounter* rather than *clash* because he wants to avoid a negative connotation (Stavans 2003:6). Stavans also refers to Spanglish as an anthropological journey (qtd in Artze 2001:50). No matter how you define it, most agree that this mix of Spanish and English is a non-standard form of either language. That is one of the only things critics can agree upon. To its opponents, Spanglish is a threat and it must be stopped. To many speakers of Spanglish it is the only code they feel comfortable using to express themselves; it is part of their identity. Thus, the use of Spanglish has been a topic of controversy almost as long as it has been in existence. Nebrija sought to standardize the language to protect it from changes as early as the fifteenth century and Mallo (1954) wrote about the “plague” of Anglicisms and the horrible influence of English.

Starting as early as the 15th century, there was a drive to standardize Spanish, especially in the written form. Nebrija was the first to compile a grammar that listed specific rules for the language in 1492. With this standardization came a linguistic pride that led to the idea of purity of language, and to the desire to strive to keep Spanish free from outside influences. During this time Spain was sending conquerors to the new world to establish colonies and solidify Spanish power. With this spread of Spanish power came the spread of the Spanish language. Stavans (2002:2) points out that

For the Conquest involved not only political, military, and social colonization; it was an act of linguistic subjugation, imposed on millions of Indian peoples who spoke such languages as Mayan, Huichol, and Tarascan in Mexico, and Arucanian, Guaraní, and Quechua in South America. The Spanish language spoken today on the continent that ranges from Ciudad Juárez to Tierra del Fuego is an acquired artifact.

In the Americas, where Columbus laid claim to lands in the name of Spain, there were already languages established by the indigenous peoples who lived there. With the arrival of the Europeans, the necessity to speak a common language arose quickly. As a result, the contact between the speakers of the languages started very early due to the need for communication between the colonizers and the indigenous peoples. This contact between the language of the Spaniards and the indigenous languages yielded many borrowings. Certain terms from indigenous languages made their way into the dictionaries of Spanish in a short amount of time. For example, Nebrija's 1492 *Diccionario latino-español* listed the Latin term *barca* for boat. Just three years later in his *Vocabulario español-latino* he added the Nahuatl term *canoa*. In the 18th century, Spain formed the *Real Academia Española de la Lengua Castellana* in a greater attempt

to keep the language from being altered by outside influences. If changes to the language were made and lexical borrowings were added, at least they would be sanctioned and controlled. The original members of the academy were not academics, nor were they lexicographers; they were simply interested in keeping Spanish pure. This idea can be seen in their motto “*limpia, fija y da esplendor*” ‘clean, standardize, and grant splendor’ (Stavans 2000:2). The *Real Academia* is still a powerful watchdog of the language with the purpose of keeping the language from corruption. However according to Stavans (1999:162),

Protecting Castilian Spanish from the barbarians in the ghettos of East Los Angeles and Spanish Harlem is futile, for Spanglish is here to stay, and it is time for the nation’s intelligentsia to acknowledge it. Language, after all, changes constantly. Borges wrote in an Anglicized Spanish, and Julio Cortázar made his fiction come alive by writing in Spanish with a French twist.

Often, the borrowings from English are seen as a corruption by language purists such as Mallo (1954) and González Echeverría (1997). This idea has a political basis as a result of the power struggle between Spain and the United States. Spain was not happy to lose control of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines to the United States in the Spanish-American War of 1898. However, Spain does take pride in the fact that Spanish has become such an influential language in the US and Spain even awarded Puerto Rico the prestigious Príncipe de Asturias prize for declaring Spanish as their official language in 1992 (Stavans 2000:3). However, the fact remains that borrowings and influences from neighboring and invading languages can hardly be discounted in the formation of any language. It is simply a natural process. When Latin spread throughout Europe it came in contact with the speakers of languages that were already being spoken in those areas and changed as a result of that contact. After settling in the Iberian

Peninsula, the language was subject to the languages of those who invaded the territory. The Muslims from North Africa brought Arabic to the peninsula and this remained an influence on the language from 711 until 1492. As a result, Spanish has many Arabic influences, but there Arabized Spanish is not criticized now. Those influences and borrowings have been accepted into standard Spanish. If there had been a successful attempt to keep the language ‘pure’, Classical Latin or even a language indigenous to the peninsula, like Iberian, would be spoken on the Iberian Peninsula.

González Echevarría, professor of comparative literature at Yale University, recognizes the fact that Spanish is a language built upon the influences of other languages, but feels that these influences were acceptable only during the formation of a language. He states, “I suppose my medievalist colleagues will say that without the contamination of Latin by local languages, there would be no Spanish (or French or Italian). We are no longer in the Middle Ages, however, and it is naive to think that we could create a new language that would be functional and culturally rich” (qtd in Artze 2001:53). It is impossible to keep one language from being influenced by another when they are spoken in the same area, especially when the contact lasts for many years. It is also impossible to say that the “formation” of a language lasts only for a certain amount of time. The idea that language change is acceptable in the Middle Ages, but unacceptable in the modern era is not a sound one. Every language is a fluid convention of humans that changes with each speaker of that language.

The influence of English has been a notable factor on Spanish from the beginning of the 20th century when dictionaries of Anglicisms first began to be published. English had been influencing lexical items in Spanish for many years prior. Some of the important scholars that have published dictionaries of Anglicisms are Ricardo Alfaro (1970), Antonio Fernández García

(1972), Elena Mellado de Hunter (1981), and Emilio Lorenzo (1996). The influences between English and Spanish are not unidirectional. Spanish borrowings into English are undeniable. Words such as *rodeo*, *tortilla*, *amigo*, and *mañana* are easily heard in the United States among monolingual speakers of English (Stavans 2003:41). These influences and borrowings into English have not engendered the negativity that those into Spanish have. Mallo (1954) equated these Anglicisms to a plague. He observed that because of the growing number of bilingual speakers and the growing economic influence of the United States on the hemisphere at that time, the number of Anglicisms accepted into the language had also greatly increased. He further noted that each bilingual person created his or her own Anglicism, incorporating it into his or her language, putting it into circulation, making it an epidemic. He, like many critics, feared the destruction of the language that he loved so much and felt that borrowings from English can take away the very essence of the Spanish language (Mallo 1954:135). However, Mallo (1954:137) found acceptable the introduction of words of English origin into Spanish when there was no way to name a particular concept using authentic Spanish. But, if there was a way to say it in Spanish, why use an Anglicized phrase? (Mallo 1954:137-8). What he criticized is the idiosyncratic borrowings of bilingual speakers. However the borrowings that occur as a result of linguistic gaps are seen as far more acceptable, not with just Mallo, but with those who criticize Spanglish in general. But how does one define an acceptable linguistic gap? For some the gap is much larger than for others. The reasons words are borrowed appear to vary, as Smead (1998:118) notes: “Most cultural borrowing (resulting in generalized Anglicisms, in this instance) can be traced to the introduction of some new referent and the corresponding linguistic sign. However, most purists, such as Alfaro (1964), see the intimate borrowing that takes place in the Chicano community as pernicious because no such motivation is apparent.” Just because

the motivation is not apparent to academics or critics does not mean that it does not exist. When English borrows a word from Spanish, the motivation is sometimes the same as for a borrowing from English to Spanish, i.e. a linguistic gap. However, some borrowings, like *amigo*, have a sense of novelty. The use of a word in Spanish such as *amigo* by a monolingual speaker of English does not reflect a linguistic gap. The English speaker knows the word *friend*, but has chosen to use *amigo* for whatever reason. In its history there have been more people concerned with keeping the language free from borrowings. However, language academies were not formed to keep the language standardized, clean and full of splendor.

The history of the English language reflects language contact just as the history of Spanish does. The real beginnings of English start in the sixth century, but written records really start in the ninth century with the use of Old English. English has been divided up into three main periods: Old English (450-1100), Middle English (1100-1450/1500), and Modern English (1500-present) (Stevick 1968:15). The beginning form of the language itself was a branch of West Germanic with its own set of dialect boundaries on the island that is Great Britain (Stevick 1968:15-6). What is of most interest is the area of lexical borrowings in the development of English. At the time when Old English was spoken, the language did not come into contact with other languages very often. As a result the speakers of Old English had little need to adopt or borrow words from other languages. They were exposed only to other dialects of Germanic and those dialects were similar enough for communication. However, during this time the Anglo-Saxons were beginning to be exposed to Latin as a result of the spread of Christianity (Stevick 1968:235). During Middle English the language was exposed to French as a result of the Norman Conquest. With the Normans came their language. There was a period of bilingualism and language contact between the French and the English. French was the language of prestige

and therefore greatly influenced English (Stevick 1968:237). “English had permanently incorporated seven thousand or more words from French during the period of Middle English” (Stevick 1968: 231). During the renaissance, right after French occupation and influence, there was a drive to enrich the language by adding many Latin terms. The language of higher learning and prestige was no longer French, but Latin (Stevick 1968:241). This movement was met with a backlash much like that of those who opposed the introduction of an Anglicized Spanish, a variety of Spanish that includes many borrowings from English. The English who opposed the introduction of more Latin terms were acting out of linguistic pride, as they had already experienced great change in their language as a result of the contact with French. In response to that contact, they wanted to return to a previous form of English that predated French influence. As Stevick (1968:231) observes, “During the nineteenth century the relearning of Old English inspired many to wish to see English “purified” of foreign words, returning the language to its “Saxon” splendor.” However, it is very hard to control a language and to consciously delete words from the accepted lexicon. During this time was the beginning of Modern English when the world began to be explored and there was a drive to colonize. Because of this exploration and colonization, English came into contact with a great number of languages. Borrowing had become such a common practice in English during the time of contact with French that, with this increased contact with other languages, words were borrowed frequently, and over such a short period of time, that the words were accepted into the lexicon long before people could question the effect of that borrowing on the language. So in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Spain and France were establishing language Academies to standardize their language, English was just beginning to accept borrowings as a natural part of language formation.

Because of the proximity of the United States Mexico is one of the Spanish-speaking countries that is most susceptible to the influence of English. Why did Spanish speakers first start to use English words? St. John (1951) believed that such borrowing had an economic motivation. He explains that many people used Anglicisms rather than the original Spanish term due to the influence of the United States on many industries in Mexico. For instance St. John (1951:253) writes: “Let us consider the case of Mexico, dependent on the United States for almost all of its heavy machinery, automobiles, buses, railroad equipment. Is it any wonder that the mechanic, learning in a General Motors factory to service GM cars, learns to speak of *el crankcase* rather than *la caja de cigüeñal*.” Other factors that contributed to the use of an Anglicized Spanish were the fact that industrial and business techniques were borrowed from the United States, American movies in English with subtitles were imported, and almost all international news came from the American or English owned news agencies. These news dispatches had to be translated from English quickly, which resulted in linguistic awkwardness. Bilingual speakers could be tempted to translate directly from English into Spanish directly, keeping some of the English structures because of the time constraints. St. John also noted that although most linguistic borrowings were lexical, there was an example of morphological borrowing in the formation of plurals. He observed that the formation of plurals in nouns ending in consonants was accomplished by adding an *-s* rather than the *-es* Spanish morpheme (St. John 1951:253).

Lexical borrowings are by far the most common type of influence from one language to the next, and the case of Spanglish is no exception. However, there are morphological and syntactic influences as well. Alvarez (1998:485) sees Spanglish as comprising two basic practices: switching and borrowing. “Borrowing words from English and Spanishizing them has typically been the creation of immigrants, who contort English words for every day survival.”

To accommodate words to Spanish phonotactics final consonants are often dropped so that [m] is replaced by [n] and [v] is replaced by [b]. Also, sounds that are not common in Spanish are switched to their closest Spanish counterpart, so that the English *shorts* is pronounced like *chores* when borrowed into Spanish (Alvarez 1998:486). Cantero (2000:178) adds that when an English noun is borrowed into Spanish it must be assigned the gender markers that all nouns possess in the Spanish grammatical system. She analyzes three ways English nouns are changed to fit into the Spanish system. The first means she discusses is the phonological adaptations that nouns undergo. This can be easily seen in vowels since there are far fewer vowel sounds in Spanish than in English. For example the word *fun* becomes *fon* and *truck* becomes *troca* (Cantero 2000:178). The second type of borrowing she looks at is English truncations in which only an abbreviation of the word is used, like *bro* for ‘brother’ used in the sense of ‘friend’ rather than ‘blood relative.’ And the last category is one she refers to as derivational stem-switching. This occurs when a Spanish morpheme is added to an English noun. This is another process in which an English noun is made to sound more Spanish. Examples of this type of borrowing are *junglista*, *troquita*, and *soundtrakgrafía*. (Cantero 2000:179). With verbs, Cantero sites a specific set of suffixes. She notes that most verbs that take an English root use the suffix *-ear* or *-iar*. Some examples of such verbs are *parquear*, meaning ‘to park,’ *surfear* meaning ‘to surf,’ *pickiar* ‘to pick,’ *taipiar* ‘to type,’ and *wekiar* ‘to wake’ (Cantero 2000:180).

The second way that Spanglish adapts English features is what Alvarez (1998:486) refers to as code switching. Alvarez sees switching as one step further than borrowing. The children of immigrants are often the ones that speak a mix of the two languages. Code switching has been criticized as linguistic laziness and ignorance of both languages. One such critic of Spanglish is Veciana-Suarez, a columnist of the Miami Herald (qtd in Artze 2001:52). However, Alvarez

(1998:486) is hopeful when she states, “a new school of thought has recently emerged that says that Spanglish illustrates a high degree of fluency in both languages.” Code switching does not just occur at random moments indicating a lack of linguistic information from either English or Spanish. Switching has been proven to be a rule governed behavior of bilingual speakers. Toribio conducted a study in which she tested various bilingual speakers about their ability to code switch and to see whether there were certain instances in which code switching was unacceptable. She observes that “[w]ith respect to its linguistic form, code switching is systematic and orderly, reflecting underlying syntactic principles. That is, bilinguals may be shown to exhibit a shared knowledge of what constitutes appropriate, grammatically sanctioned code switching” (Toribio 1999: 119). Grammatically sanctioned switches according to Toribio occur between sentence clauses if there is a pause before the language switch. Other contexts in which a switch can occur are: between coordinated clauses using a conjunction, between phrasal conjunctions, between subject and predicate, between verb and complement, between noun and relative clause, and for sentence modifiers (Toribio 2000:194). Toribio never outlines specifically what constitutes as unacceptable code switching. However, she does include transcripts of two stories written using code switching one of which she calls acceptable use of code switching the other she calls unacceptable. The story that she labeled as code switching in unacceptable places often code switched between the determiner and the head noun as well as between adjectives and nouns (Toribio 1999:120). An example from her transcript is “*Who is the más hermosa del valle?*” (1999:120). In her study, Toribio tested bilingual speakers’ perception of what was acceptable code switching and what was not according to their perception. To do this she had each speaker read two different stories, one that used code switching in a way that followed the rules, and another that code-switched in a somewhat

random manner. Then she noted each speaker's facility or difficulty in reading each passage and also asked them what they thought of each story. After this, she asked them a series of questions about the contexts and purposes of their code switching. Then she had them retell a story using Spanglish, or code switching, to see at what junctures they made a switch. She found that the bilingual speakers that she tested had more difficulty in reading the passage that had random code switching and their attention was called more to that passage. They felt as if more switches occurred in that particular passage because they occurred at random moments. The passage that followed the rules for code switching tended to call less attention to the reader. Also when speakers were called upon to recount the story using both languages they followed the same rules that Toribio established as acceptable switches according to the native speaker judgments. Subjects were asked to retell a story in both written and oral formats. The written results had an even stricter adherence to the rules of code switching (Toribio 1999). Alvarez's attempt to define Spanglish included two ways that English becomes mixed with Spanish, switching and borrowing.

Another linguist, Field (1994:91) attempts to define Mixed-Spanish, Pocho, or Spanglish in a different way. Field sees that there are four possibilities for definition of the nature of Spanglish or what he refers to as Mixed-Spanish. The first possibility is that this linguistic phenomenon is a dialect of Spanish, a non-standard version that has been greatly influenced by English. This definition assumes that the influences of English do not change the nature of the language sufficiently, and thus it falls under the label of Spanish. It also implies that all influences on syntax, morphology, semantics, and phonology are not great enough to alter the language so that it is unrecognizably Spanish (Field 1994:91). Another possible definition of Spanglish offered by Field is that it is a separate language. This definition involves the idea that

the language has changed so much through contact with English that speakers of Spanish and speakers of Spanglish are unable to understand each other. The languages are no longer mutually intelligible (Field 1994:91). The third possible label Field gives to Spanglish is that it is neither a dialect nor a separate language, but that it is habitual code switching. This means that it sounds like Spanish, but with an occasional word in English or perhaps it sounds more like English with some words in Spanish. Field believes that this is the normal style of speech for Chicanos born in the United States. The fourth option is that it is a mixed language that results from code mixing by “members of an in-between ethnic or cultural group” (Field 1994:92). Field makes the distinction between code switching and code mixing by using Fishman’s 1989 definition of code switching. “Code switching is defined as changing from the use of one language to that of another within a single speech event. It normally occurs in situations where the different languages are being maintained, each with its own distinct functions” (Field 1994:87). A single speech event is an utterance by the speaker which could include switches that occur within a sentence or between sentences. Field (1994:87) also states that “code mixing involves the incorporation of linguistic elements from one discrete system to another. It can become a code in and of itself, even a principal or native code.” Field says that these speakers have not gained full proficiency in either English or Spanish so that the mixed language is their primary language and it has become their home or in-group language. All four definitions imply direct contact between speakers of either the standard or regional dialects of both Spanish and English. Field describes the type of contact that each definition implies as follows: “[The first two definitions] rely on language contact, leading to change, as an underlying cause. [The third and fourth], on the other hand, assume additional catastrophic circumstances, e.g., acute shifting, pressure to index the social (i.e., mixed) identity” (Field 1994:92). Depending on the

circumstances of the speaker and the type of speech that is used, Spanglish could fall under any of these definitions. The term Spanglish is general refers to any of these processes.

If we consider Spanglish to be a non-standard dialect of Spanish then we can compare it to a non-standard dialect of English, African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in the United States. Many linguists and critics have done just that. However, often the term Ebonics is used to talk about what linguists call AAVE. Ebonics is a term that was intended to encompass a great number of languages spoken by black people not just in the US. However, a confusion of terms occurred after this term was applied to the Ebonics debate in California (Green 2002:7). One writer who compares Spanglish to AAVE is Veciana-Suarez, columnist for the *Miami Herald*. She compares the debate over Spanglish to California's debate over Ebonics in 1996. This debate Stavans has also compared Spanglish to AAVE using the term Ebonics saying that "[Both are] intraethnic vehicle[s] of communication, used in the United States ... to establish empathy among [groups]" (qtd in Artze 2001:52). When thinking about the historical development of AAVE Green (2002:8) says, "Historical discussions about the origin of African American English often start at the point at which African slaves were thrust into a linguistic situation in which they had to learn English." AAVE, like Spanglish, has its own grammar and set of syntactic rules. Stavans also points out that Spanglish, like AAVE, is used as a more powerful language in music (Stavans 2003: 43). Rap music, especially, uses both AAVE and Spanglish as a demonstration of solidarity and linguistic power. The speakers of AAVE have been ridiculed for decades for not speaking a standard form of English. "It is generally believed that American Blacks communicate differently than other Americans. There is the accompanying belief that Black communication has not achieved the abstract, superior communication level allegedly attained by mainstream America" (Holt 1975: 86). The speakers of Spanglish likewise

are ridiculed for speaking a non-standard form of either Spanish or English. Montes-Alcalá (2000:218) comments on the use of non-standard speech by bilinguals in the US and the negative perception people have. According to Montes-Alcalá (2000:218) “[t]his phenomenon has been socially stigmatized by monolinguals and bilinguals alike, and has been given derogatory labels such as “Tex-Mex” or “Spanglish.” Code switching is often attributed to illiteracy, lack of formal education, or lack of proficiency in one or both languages.” In both cases, a non-standard form seems to imply a lack of education in the eyes of society.

Stavans contends that a comparison to AAVE is not exactly accurate because there is an important difference between Spanglish and AAVE. “Ebonics is not a product of *mestizaje*, the cross-fertilization of two perfectly discernible codes; Spanglish is. Spanglish is also not defined by class, as people in all social strata, from migrant workers to politicians, academics and TV anchors, regularly use it, both in the United States and south of the Rio Grande” (qtd in Artze 2001: 52). Since Spanglish is the product of mixing two languages rather than a non-standard dialect of one language, this comparison falls short. Instead, Stavans (2003) compares Spanglish to Yiddish and accepts that as a truer comparison. Yiddish as defined by Merriam-Webster is “a High German language written in Hebrew characters that is spoken by Jews and descendants of Jews of central and eastern European origin” (2003:1453). It is also the result of language contact. Stavans (2003:44) describes it as “the result of crisscross of Hebrew and German, to which Slavic terms were added, and then some more from Polish, Russian, Romanian, Latvian, French, English, etc.” At first Yiddish was seen as a language for women and children, but by the 19th century a vast majority of poor, uneducated Jews spoke it and could no longer speak Hebrew. This dialect then became a mature language in itself. Jewish scholars began to write texts in Yiddish which also led to its validation as a language (Stavans 2003:45).

Some Hispanic writers have used Spanglish in their literary works and it is gaining popularity among the Hispanics in the US as a language of cultural power. Yiddish has also been called a ‘hybrid language’ much like Spanglish. In a time when there is a movement back to speaking Modern Hebrew, the supporters of Yiddish say that only Yiddish reflects “a distinctly Jewish social environment that could be recreated in Palestine” (Berdichevsky 2004:17). Yiddish was a language that developed out of necessity to unify a cultural group of people that came from different nationalities. Spanglish does much the same for Hispanics in the United States. However, most agree that it is not a language in itself. Often it is used to unify people from different backgrounds, Cubans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and so on. The difference, however, between Yiddish and Spanglish is that Yiddish had a common religion to tie the cultural group together. Hispanics have many different religious backgrounds and therefore Spanglish cannot be associated with just one religion. This lack of religious association gives Spanglish less of a reason to serve as a unifying language. Some Hispanics in the US see their experience as Cubans, perhaps, as completely different as that of the Mexican-Americans. Not everyone wants to be a unified group of Hispanics in the US. The Jews who spoke Yiddish already had that strong tie to each other, their shared religion, and this gave them more ambition and desire to create a common vehicle of communication. Yiddish started out as a dialect spoken only by women and children but gained acceptance as a tongue spoken by an ethnic group used to distinguish them from the environment of that ethnic group (Stavans 2003:44).

The question that worries some critics concerns the future of Spanglish. Will Spanglish replace Spanish? This is not likely. To this question Stavans (2003:33) answers “let us focus on the present tense.” Will there ever be such a drive to standardize Spanglish? Since Spanglish is primarily an oral form of communication that seems highly unlikely for now. However, given

the growing number of Hispanics in this country no one can predict what the future holds for this form of speech. Will there be an Academia de Spanglish to safeguard the language from outside influences? Again this is highly unlikely since the language seems to be based on a desire to facilitate communication rather than on a desire to codify a set of grammatical rules. If Spanglish is one day recognized as a language, it will probably follow the example of English that has no language academies to govern acceptable lexical items. Most likely the Academy of Spanglish will not exist to make sure that the language is standardized since it comes from a non-standard dialect. English also seems far more accepting of slang as does Spanglish. English was greatly influenced by being spoken in a bilingual setting for a long period of time as currently the case with Spanglish. The development of Spanglish and its essence can best be described by Stavans (1999:163) when he writes:

So the emergence of Spanglish is neither sudden nor new. In one way or another it has been around for decades, even centuries, although since the mid-1980s it has gained not only national attention but a sense of urgency, making its presence felt in rap and rock music, art and literature. But even though poets and singers are beginning to pen it down, and sections like the classified ads in newspapers and music and sports magazines can't avoid it, it remains for the most part, an oral code of communication, free in spirit and defying standardization.

CHAPTER 3

WHO SPEAKS SPANGLISH AND WHY DO THEY SPEAK IT?

According to the US Census Bureau, the total Hispanic population of the United States was 37.4 million in 2002. The largest group of Hispanics in the United States is of Mexican descent and comprises 66.9 percent of the Hispanic population. Central and South Americans compose 14.3 percent of the total, Puerto Ricans 8.6 percent and Cubans 3.7 percent. The last category is simply called 'other Hispanics' and is 6.5 percent of the total Hispanic population. More than one in eight people in the US are of Hispanic origin (US Census Bureau 2003).

According to Friedman (2001:196), the Hispanic population in the US had grown sixty percent over the last ten years. This growing number of Hispanics has greatly affected the language of communication for many in this country. This growth trend does not seem to be slowing down. According to Stavans (1999:160), "The Census Bureau has declared that by 2020 Latinos will be the largest minority group in the United States, surpassing blacks and Asians and numbering more than 70 million. One of every four Americans will be of Hispanic descent." American society and culture will be affected in ways that we are unable to predict. The areas of this country that one typically associates with a high Hispanic population are not the only ones experiencing this type of growth. In the state of Georgia the Hispanic population grew .6 percent between 2000 and 2002, which translates to an increase of 76,426 Hispanics in just two years. In the city of Atlanta that growth was even greater with regard to the total population (US Census 2003). With this growing population comes a greater exposure between two cultures and two languages. The contact between those of Hispanic origin and the newly arrived immigrants has

created a dynamic that encourages language mixing. This mixing of the languages, Spanglish, will become an even more popular form of communication among this growing group of Americans.

According to Field, the Hispanic community consists of two groups of people, the foreign-born Latinos and the American-born. He says that many of the American-born are nearing the end stages of a shift to English (Field 1994:93). He conducted a study to look at the different uses of language among these two groups. He found that American-born bilinguals were far more likely to code-switch, at home or with friends, in intimate situations (Field 1994:101). Foreign-born Hispanics were more likely to keep the languages separate because of the stigma associated with mixing the languages. Also, Field attributes this reluctance to mix languages among the foreign-born to the idea that competency in code switching appears to be acquired at an early age. If those who immigrate after the age that code switching competency is acquired have not been exposed to bilingual situations, they will feel uncomfortable code switching (Field 1994:97). Not all Hispanics choose to mix the two languages, but those who do have done so for various reasons.

Stavans (2000:1) says that the speakers of Spanglish are “the nearly 35 million people of Hispanic descent in the United States, who, no longer fluent in the language of Cervantes, have not yet mastered that of Shakespeare.” This definition implies that there is a linguistic gap of information on the part of those who use Spanglish. This is only partially true, according to Yale University professor Roberto González Echevarría, who attributes the ignorance of both languages to only the poor and uneducated speakers of Spanglish. González Echevarría says that there are two groups of people who speak Spanglish; the primarily uneducated poor who lack linguistic knowledge in both languages, and the educated Hispanics who are embarrassed of their

backgrounds so they use words in English for prestige (qtd in Corces 1999:36). He says that the uneducated poor are barely literate in either language and as a result they use English words and constructions in their daily speech because “they lack the vocabulary and education in Spanish to adapt to the changing culture around them” (qtd in Artze 2001:51). He also says that the educated Hispanics use English words and phrases as a result of feeling empowered by doing so. Being Latino and bilingual is not the only prerequisite for using Spanglish. Some feel that using a combination of English and Spanish is an artificial way of speaking. What drives some to speak Spanglish may have more to do with the community of which they are a part. Toribio (1999:129) found that being part of a linguistic community that code switches is a necessary criterion for speakers to code switch.

In their extensive research on bilingual communities, researchers such as Adalberto Aguirre and Guadalupe Valdés have observed that while competence in two languages is a necessary precondition for code switching, it is an insufficient prerequisite in determining successful code switching performance: membership in a community in which code switching is practiced may also be required.

Bilingual speakers of Spanish and English, who manage to keep the contexts in which they use one language or the other separate, may have little or no motivation to mix the two. Quite possibly this type of bilingual would look at Spanglish as an unnecessary form of communication and see it as a bastardization of either or both languages.

Hispanics in the US have often been divided into groups according to the country of origin, as evidenced in the US Census Bureau’s breakdown of Hispanic populations. However, speakers of Spanglish are commonly divided into four groups based on their linguistic features and communities: Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Cubans, and the more general group of “other.” Each

of these groups has a distinct lexicon that can be easily misunderstood by other Hispanics who do not speak the same variety or dialect of Spanish. Stavans (1991:565) describes one of these misunderstandings:

In the early eighties, for instance, when the Hispanic consumer began to be taken seriously by major marketing corporations, an insecticide company decided to launch a product on Spanish speaking television and radio. They hired an advertising agent with little expertise and an incomplete knowledge of the Hispanic linguistic idiosyncrasies. The result was a commercial that stated that the product was infallible in killing *bichos*. The ad went on the air and of course almost a third of the audience roared with laughter every time they say or listened to it. The word, you should know, means bug or insect in Mexico City, but in San Juan it is used to refer to the penis.

As a result of dialectical differences, the mixing of their distinct variety of Spanish with English, which is also regional depending on the area of the US, can result in different combinations of Spanglish. In Miami the mixing is flavored by Cuban Spanish, in New York, Puerto Rican Spanish, and in the southwest the variety of Spanish that is influential is Mexican. The different names given to Spanglish reflect these different influences. The term Cubonics (Alvarez 1998:484) has been applied to the mixing of Spanish and English in Miami. Nuyorrican is the term for Puerto Ricans who live in New York and often speak Spanglish (Stavans 1999:168) and Tex-Mex is spoken in Texas (Alvarez 1998:485). Each of these different dialects has different lexical items that maybe misunderstood by speakers of other dialects of Spanish, but that can easily be explained. Spanglish is the general term used to talk about all of these varieties of language mixing.

When speaking of language mixing, there are certain contexts in which bilingual speakers feel more comfortable speaking a hybrid language. For some, the contexts are restricted to informal, intimate situations with friends or family. “Most speakers fall into Spanglish only among other bilingual Latinos, and when they do, it is often with a sense of humor” (Alvarez 1998:484). When this is the attitude it is clear that bilingual speakers use Spanglish as a way to demonstrate a greater intimacy with others who share the same bilingual, bicultural life. When Almeida Jacqueline Toribio conducted her study in 1999 of bilingual speakers, she included questions about when each of the speakers felt comfortable using Spanglish. She did this to better understand what actual speakers felt about language mixing. The contexts they thought were appropriate are as follows. The first speaker, who is a Chicana from California, reported that she felt most comfortable using Spanglish with her in-group, friends and family. This included both oral and informal written communication. She also said that she uses Spanglish when she doesn’t know a word, when there is no translation for a concept, for added emphasis, and to express emotion (Toribio 1999:116-8). The second speaker, also from California, spent significant time in Mexico during his early educational years. He lived there from the age of five until he was ten years old. His parents, who are Mexican, moved the family back to California at that time. He states that he only mixes languages with friends and family, and only when there is not a direct translation for a concept. He also reported never using Spanglish as a form of written communication (Toribio 1999:125-7). The third subject of the study was a Mexican-born immigrant who moved to the United States during her junior high school years. She reported that she rarely mixes the languages and only does so in e-mails to friends, when she does not know a word and when there is not an adequate translation (Toribio 1999:131-4). The fourth and final speaker of the study was raised in California by her Mexican immigrant parents. Unlike the

other three speakers who reported native like proficiency in both languages, she states that she is not as strong in Spanish. She also reports a greater degree of code switching than do the other participants interviewed. She says that it allows her to express herself more fully and that she uses Spanglish to affirm her identity (Toribio 1999:136-9). The interesting thing about every speaker, regardless of how often they mix languages, is that they did not feel that the use of Spanglish is particularly aesthetically pleasing. Most of the speakers feel that it is bothersome when they hear people using both Spanish and English.

Most speakers agree that Spanglish is the language they use in informal contexts or in cases that call for expression of emotion or that need a special language to express a certain reality. When you have access to two full lexicons it opens up a greater range of expression. Certain things are more easily described in the structure and words of English, while others are best described in Spanish. Jennifer Bingham Hull says

For those truly bilingual, Spanglish can reflect impressive verbal skills as speakers choose from two languages for just the right expression. Switching back and forth between Spanish and English, or ‘code switching’ as linguists call it, these people will often use Spanish to express emotions and English for analytical thoughts. They also use Spanglish as a shortcut, replacing long Spanish words and phrases with shorter English ones (Artze 2001:52).

Ilan Stavans quotes the Mexican intellectual Alfonso Reyes as having said that the “law of the easiest effort” ruled the formation of language (Stavans 2003:54). When there is an easier way to say something bilinguals will choose to say it in the language that costs the least amount of energy. However, this law does not always apply. There are occasions when the most

descriptive language is not the most economical. Seklaoui (1989:4) introduced a more comprehensive motivation for language use, “the principle of efficiency.”

Human beings seek to adapt their behavior to their purposes as efficiently as possible, exerting effort where required by the circumstances and reducing it when not warranted. In the speech act, then, the speaker tries to find the most effective means of expression for his [or her] purposes by taking into account all variables present in the context. Economy will not function indiscriminately, regardless of purpose, but rather only in areas not essential to the speaker’s goal.

While most speakers of Spanglish see it as a language to be used in informal contexts among friends, some see it as a way to empower themselves. It is used to establish empathy among them, to unify a minority community, and to demonstrate solidarity (Stavans 2003:43). When Anzaldúa (1990:203) talks about growing up in a bicultural setting she talks about some of the prejudice and negative feelings she encountered when speaking Spanish.

I remember being caught speaking Spanish at recess—that was good for three licks on the knuckles with a sharp ruler. I remember being sent to the corner of the classroom for “talking back” to the Anglo teacher when all I was trying to do was tell her how to pronounce my name. “If you want to be American, speak ‘American.’ If you don’t like it, go back to Mexico where you belong.”

As a result of this type of prejudice there is a drive to bond with others who experience the same type of incident. Because of the desire to reflect this sense of being caught between two worlds, it is natural to mix the two codes of those worlds. Anzaldúa (1990:204) explains this feeling of displacement and the desire to reflect this feeling in her language.

For a people who are neither Spanish nor live in a country in which Spanish is the first language; for a people who live in a country in which English is the reigning tongue but who are not Anglo; for a people who cannot entirely identify with either standard (formal Castilian) Spanish nor standard English, what recourse is left to them but to create their own language?

This creation of a language is a constant reminder of the duality of the identity of Hispanics who experience the feeling of being caught between two cultures. It is also a symbol of solidarity among a large heterogeneous group. Being Hispanic in the United States is a somewhat difficult position to define. To begin with many different races, classes and nationalities are grouped under the term Hispanic. There are those who were born in this country and those who are newer immigrants. According to Flores et al (1990:58) there is also a distinction between the “older” and “new” ethnics. Another factor that keeps Spanish such a vital part of the identity of Hispanics is the growth rate of the Hispanic population in the United States and the “historical back-and-forth migration” (Flores et al 1990:58). Field (1994:92) says that mixing is used to index social relationships, to display ethnic solidarity which shows that the use of Spanglish is psychologically and sociologically motivated. For this reason language mixing and language use often play a major role in literature as well as in the informal interactions among members of the same linguistic community. Ferré (2002:2), a Puerto Rican author, expresses this feeling of duality in many of her works. In her poem called “Language Duel” she writes:

... In fact, I swear
that as I talk to you
in English
about my right to speak

in Spanish,
I can hear the cannon balls roar
over my head.
Not to take advantage
of the double perspective
and run full speed ahead
down parallel rails
seems a pity...

This poem expresses the feeling of being torn between two cultures and two languages. The author also published versions in Spanish and versions in English of all of her poems in this collection under the name of *Language Duel*. This theme is a recurring one throughout many of her poems in this collection.

For some speakers of Spanglish, not only does this use of language mark a unifying identity among Hispanics, but it is also a comfort zone in which to communicate with those who understand this pull between two cultures. Santiago says, “Para muchas personas bilingües, combinar ambos idiomas es cuestión de identidad y comodidad, la confirmación de que viven entre dos culturas [For many bilingual individuals combining the two languages is a matter of identity and comfort, the confirmation that they live between two cultures]” (qtd in Corces 1999:36). The use of a mixed language is simply a comfortable result of living in two languages. And Pérez Firmat sums up this feeling best when he says, “hablar sólo uno de los dos idiomas sería como respirar con un solo pulmón, o bailar con un solo pie. Es posible, pero no es divertido [Speaking only one of the languages would be like breathing with only one lung, or dancing with only one foot. It’s possible, but it is not fun]” (qtd in Corces 1999:36-7).

Not only is Spanglish used by Hispanics in their everyday lives, but authors use it in their novels and poetry because they believe it to be a legitimate form of communication. Sometimes Spanglish is the only way to express certain creative thoughts that adequately reflect the reality of living in a bicultural setting. Julia Alvarez, an American author from the Dominican Republic, says “Language is not a little, airtight, clean, finished container of something. It’s permeable, alive. It moves” (qtd in L. Alvarez 1998:485). The concept of using the language spoken by actual people in works of literature and fiction is nothing new. Abramovitch, the grandfather of Yiddish literature, writes, “What good does the writer’s work and thought serve him if they are no use to his people?” (qtd in Stavans 2003:45). Many other American authors have used specific dialects in their writing to convey a certain feeling and to paint a particular picture. In addition to authors, musicians, radio DJs, magazines and television stations use Spanglish as a valid form of expression. According to the publisher of *Latina* magazine, a US magazine that targets a Spanglish-speaking Hispanic audience, the use of Spanglish is just good business. “If we were an English magazine, we would be just general market. If we were a Spanish-language magazine, we would be Latin American. We are the intersection of the two, and we reflect a life between two languages and two cultures that our readers live in” (Alvarez 1998:485). She has just defined who the speakers of Spanglish are, those who wish to reflect the fact that they are living between two cultures as well as two languages. The best way to do that is to mix the two languages so that they may demonstrate just how influential and important this contact between two cultures is. Because the use of Spanglish is becoming more mainstream, some feel that it will become widespread in all contexts, even in educational settings. This is extremely troubling for some such as Veciana-Suarez who feels that endorsing Spanglish as a valid form of

communication in the educational setting is teaching Latino children to settle for menial jobs (qtd in Artze 2001:52).

There is no ambition to make Spanglish a language taught in schools or to be accepted in more formal situations. “Many see it as a purely colloquial form of communication best suited to popular culture, and there is little talk of introducing a Spanglish curriculum in schools or demanding that Spanglish be accepted in the workplace” (Alvarez 1998:484). Some see the introduction of Spanglish into schools as a threat to both languages. They feel as if there will no longer be a desire to speak Spanish or to speak English if a speaker can get by with speaking a hybrid of the two. Stavans discusses another reason cited for the evolution of Spanglish among its critics. He found that the opinions of others attribute the development of Spanglish to “a general state of ‘laziness’ among Hispanic immigrants to learn proper inglés completamente and the endorsement of multicultural programs in schools that encourage cultural hybridity rather than discourage it” (Stavans 2003:50). The idea that biculturalism and multiculturalism are something to be avoided is a frightening thought when they are such a reality in the United States. Being part of two cultures results in the crossing over of certain features from one culture to the other. The mixing of these cultures is an inherent part of a person’s identity.

This is why Stavans offered a course called “The Sounds of Spanglish” at Amherst College in Massachusetts in 1999. He wanted to explore the mixing of the two languages and the reasons that some of his students used Spanglish while others did not. He wondered what his students felt about the mixing of the languages and wanted to see what influenced the creation and use of Spanglish. The central focus of the class was the study of the development of Spanglish. The course created a backlash among intellectuals and speakers of both Spanish and English. He has received hundreds of letters and e-mails in protest of this class. Articles have

been written about it not only in the US and England, but also in the countries of the Spanish speaking world. Some of the criticism he has received includes statements such as “I’m repulsed to know that there are people like you still devoted to the destruction of as beautiful a language as Spanish” (Stavans 2003:48). What this critic failed to realize is the true purpose of the course. Stavans wanted to empower his Latino students by letting them explore their use of language as a valid form of expression. He was not attempting to teach people to speak Spanglish nor was he advocating its use in formal academic writing.

When two cultures and two languages stay in contact for a long period of time the resulting influences are often scrutinized by the members of the speech communities involved. The topic of the influence of English on Spanish has been debated formally. In 1997 the first Congress on the Future of the Spanish Language was held in Zacatecas, Mexico. Both sides of the debate were represented. The purists gave speeches about the preservation of the language. Others talked about the inevitability of change in language (Stavans 2003:34).

Those who have been called language purists, or, as Steven Pinker calls them, language mavens, concern themselves with protecting a language (Pinker 1994:373). All languages have such critics because there will always be those resistant to change of any kind. To protect a language is to fight change in a language. The purists “refuse to endorse Spanglish as a vehicle of communication. They claim that it lacks dignity and an essence of its own” (Stavans 1999:160). This assertion is based on much more than word choice and syntax; it is based on the sociological and political factors that surround communication. Many purists see the use of Spanglish as a symbol of the low social status and lack of education of Hispanics in the United States. González Echevarría says, “Spanglish, the composite language of Spanish and English that has crossed over from the street to Hispanic talk shows and advertising campaigns, poses a

grave danger to Hispanic culture and to the advancement of Hispanics in mainstream America” (qtd in Artze 2001:51). He sees the use of a mixed language as a symbol of oppression and proof that Hispanics will not be successful unless they speak a standard form of both languages.

Veciana-Suarez, a columnist for the Miami Herald, feels that not only does the use of Spanglish perpetuate social inferiority, but also laziness with language that should not be tolerated. “If we formally sanction Spanglish, are we allowing proper grammar to take a backseat to convenience? Are we giving the nod of approval to linguistic laziness and ignorance? ...Teach them Spanglish, and teach them to settle for substandard English and menial jobs” (qtd in Artze 2001: 52).

Other purists blame Bilingual Education programs for the growth of Spanglish. They feel that the school systems’ acceptance of both languages encouraged children to mix the two languages. As a result, these children have difficulty separating the two languages. “Spanglish, the purists suggest, is the result of a bankrupt system of Educación Bilingüe: when teachers and parents forget how to delineate the line between one language and the other, the outcome is verbal chaos” (Stavans 2003: 50). It seems that this type of thinking has ignored important realities of living in a bilingual, bicultural setting. As long as there is exposure to both languages over a long period of time, each language will influence the other. Some opponents to Spanglish have even suggested that its use is a threat to English. However, this suggestion seems to be motivated by a political agenda. Artze (2001:53) says that the director of the *Real Academia Española*, Victor Garcia de la Concha and the secretary of the *Language Academies Association*, Humberto Lopez Morales said “Spanglish does not threaten the Spanglish language but does threaten English.” The assertion that only the influencing language can be affected seems to have a political overtone.

Of course, not all opinions of the mixing of English and Spanglish are negative. According to Pérez Firmat (1987:21), “it is not a question of leading a double life, but of compacting one’s doubleness into one life, of exploring and exploiting that space between, of walking the fault lines.” He sees the mixture of two languages and two cultures as an enriching experience. He sees himself as equal parts of two cultures. As a result, the mixed language he uses is nothing to be degraded, but is a reflection of his bicultural status. “In linguistic terms, what I am advocating is the practice of what some would regard as a barbarous, substandard mixture of Spanish and English” (Pérez Firmat 1987:21). He also equates the experience of being bicultural to that of a biological concept called the ‘edge effect.’ The ‘edge effect’ is the meeting of two types of environments whether a shoreline, the border between forest and desert, or the area between mountains and plains. These areas are noted for rich and complex ecosystems that can be attributed to the combination of two different environments. Pérez Firmat sees the cross cultural experience of the Latino writer, and Latinos in general, as a fertile area produced by a similar edge effect. The area between the two languages is a wealth of linguistic knowledge from which to choose the right expressions. Having this in mind, he feels that only the embracing and mixing of these two cultures and languages will make the Latino singular rather than marginal (Pérez Firmat 1987:36-7).

Another writer, Sagel, who is an American living in New Mexico, shares this positive opinion of Spanglish. Sagel learned Spanish after a few years of living in New Mexico and now uses this language in his writing. He also chooses to mix the two languages in a style that is very comfortable for him. In an interview with Rodríguez (1992), Sagel shares his experience of living and writing in Spanglish. “And I started out trying to write it in English, and then I couldn’t! I was thinking in Spanish and I was trying to translate into English and I could do that

to a certain extent but there were things that just didn't work, words didn't have the same sort of feeling to them" (Rodríguez 1992:138). Rodríguez asked about the acceptance of Sagel's use of a non-standard Spanish that was highly influenced by English. Sagel states, "Most people accept that this is a legitimate idiom, at least people who are open minded enough to realize that language is not something set in cement, but rather a mirror of culture, a mirror of reality, and the duality of the reality in this part of the United States is such that language almost has to reflect it" (Rodríguez 1992:141).

Zentella, a professor in Ethnic Studies at the University of California—San Diego, also has a positive opinion of Spanglish. She believes it to be a "sign of linguistic dexterity" (Alvarez 1998: 486). She also says that it is a form of communication that is often misunderstood as a sign of inferior linguistic knowledge. In reality, it is a complex juggling act that requires quick thinking. Zentella (1982) has done extensive research on bilingualism, and specifically, the Puerto Rican experience. She feels that sociopolitical forces shape a language contact situation. These forces also influence the opinions of the speakers in that particular speech community. She discusses some of the historical opinions on the use of both Spanish and English on the island of Puerto Rico and the result of the conflicting opinions on language choice and use. She also talks about the dialect of Spanish of the Puerto Ricans in the United States. The 104 years of direct contact of Spanish and English has created strong opinions on both sides. Each group has an intense linguistic pride and many see the influence of English as a form of oppression. Those who want to 'protect' Spanish are the biggest supporters of the independence movement viewing it as the only way to get linguistic freedom to speak a purer Spanish (Zentella 1982:42-3). Nash who also did extensive research of Puerto Rican Spanish in the 1970s says that because of the political and social situation of Puerto Rico, Puerto Ricans are trapped between two

worlds. They want to hold on to their traditions rooted in Spanish but cannot escape the influence of English. She quotes an optimistic opinion of Ruben del Rosario, a professor at the University of Puerto Rico: “La lengua es lo que se dice [Language is that which is spoken]” (Nash 1974: 231). This positive opinion of linguistic change from 1974 seems to indicate that the struggle of the language purists and the linguists, who freely accept change as a natural part of language, is a debate that will continue to go on as long as languages are spoken. It shows that at any given time in history, one can find evidence of this debate when the question of language change arises.

CHAPTER 4

DATA FROM BILINGUAL SPEAKERS

In order to get a better understanding of the Spanglish that is spoken in Georgia, it seemed imperative to record and collect data from bilingual speakers to analyze the features of their language. Those features include borrowings and code switching. This study was conducted by recording informal conversations with ten bilingual speakers of English and Spanish. Speakers were chosen by the researcher because of their level of contact with both languages and because they agreed to be recorded. Each conversation took place between two speakers who knew each other well in order to create a more informal setting. The researcher conducted the recordings, but attempted to remain apart from the conversations so as not to influence the language choice of the participants. The conversations were on various topics chosen by the speakers themselves and were fifteen to twenty minutes in length. There were five male speakers and five female speakers who ranged in age from 19 to 52. After having their conversations recorded, the participants filled out a questionnaire to find out their opinions of Spanglish and the influence of English on Spanish. After the researcher recorded each conversation, I transcribed the conversations orthographically in order to analyze features of the informal speech recorded. These transcriptions can be found in Appendices B through F. The names of the participants were changed to protect their anonymity. The places of origin of the speakers were varied with some from Puerto Rico, Mexico, Spain, Venezuela, Cuba, and Brazil. All speakers were native speakers of Spanish with the exception of the Brazilian speaker. The Brazilian speaker is a native speaker of Portuguese, but is married to a Venezuelan and has

spoken Spanish for years. This range of nationality resulted in a broad range of features with the intention of giving a general picture of Spanglish.

The binary approach to looking at Spanglish used by Alvarez (1998:485) is defined as lexical borrowing as well as code switching. In this study this binary approach is used to analyze the recorded speech of the bilingual participants. The data reflect both of these features. Lexical borrowing is defined here as taking a word from English and changing the pronunciation or adding a Spanish morpheme. This makes the English word fit into the Spanish grammatical system and also facilitates pronunciation. Semantic borrowing also occurs with words that are false cognates in Spanish and English. The meaning of the word in Spanish is changed to reflect the meaning of the similar word in Spanish. Borrowing happens when there is an equivalent in Spanish for the concept or idea, but the English word is preferred. Code switching occurs when languages are switched at the phrasal or clausal boundaries. One speaker may begin one sentence in Spanish and end it in English. This also has been shown to be rule governed and not random (Alvarez 1998:484). Spanglish also includes phonological and syntactic influences of English; these influences are viewed in the context of borrowings and code switching. In addition, it is important to note the context in which the conversations occurred as this plays an important role in the use of Spanglish.

The borrowings that occur throughout the conversations can be classified into three categories. The first category is a lexical borrowing that borrows the whole word from English. This type of borrowing shows phonological influences since the pronunciation is often adapted to Spanish. An example of this type of borrowing would be the use of *business*, but pronounced [bis-nes] instead of [biz-nəs]. The second type of borrowing is the use of an English root word but adding a Spanish morpheme to the word. An example of this word would be *switcher*, using

the English root *switch* and adding the Spanish morpheme *-ar*. The third category is when a semantic borrowing occurs. For example the use of *asistir* to mean ‘to assist’ when in standard Spanish it means ‘to attend.’ Words that look and sound similar in English and Spanish, but have different meanings are sometimes assigned the English meaning rather than the Spanish.

The instances of code switching can also be classified into three groups. The first type of code switching occurs between independent inflected phrases, at the IP level. These switches occur either at a coordinating conjunction or at a pause. The conjunction will be in either English or Spanish independent of the language in which the clause, or phrase, originated. The second category of code switching takes place within the complementizer phrase, or the CP. These switches occur when the independent clause and the embedded clause are in different languages. The complementizer can be in either language and both directions, Spanish to English and English to Spanish, are possible. Another possible switch within the CP is at the specifier position of the CP and often happens when there is a *wh*-word in this position. The last group of code switching includes switches at the verb phrase or noun phrase level in which the complement is in a different language from the head of the phrase.

The first recorded conversation was conducted between a married couple from Puerto Rico in their home. A transcription of their conversation can be found in Appendix B. Juanita and Emilio hold Master’s degrees and are in their early thirties. Juanita was born in Columbia, but grew up in Puerto Rico and admits that English has a big impact on the way in which she speaks Spanish. She says that usually she speaks Spanglish when she wants communicate her ideas quickly and some ideas come to her in English first and others in Spanish. She restricts this mixing of languages to informal contexts and does not do so in formal or academic settings. She has no negative opinion of switching between the two languages. Her husband, Emilio, was born

and raised in Puerto Rico and says that he is more influenced by English now that he lives in the United States. Certain ideas come to him in English first and it is hard for him at times to think of certain concepts in Spanish. These are the times when English influences his Spanish. His opinion of Spanglish is positive if it is done out of ease of speech, but he thinks poorly of those who purposefully switch to English to sound more intelligent or to claim higher social status. This information about Emilio's opinion was obtained by his answers to the questionnaire as well as through a conversation with the researcher.

During the course of this conversation, when Emilio directed any conversation toward the bilingual researcher, he code switched into English. For example, he said, "Correr en bicicleta, comer papitas, you wanna roll it?" This was done at the very beginning of the conversation. He was obviously speaking in Spanish to his wife, but switched into English to speak to the researcher. Later he interrupts his conversation with his wife to ask, "Do you want to check if it's recording at a level you can hear well?" Then he says to his wife, "See, she's an expert." This was the only notable code switching he performed during the course of the conversation and it was possibly influenced by the previous conversations with the researcher in English. Most of this part of the conversation was done to check the status of the recording. The code switching also followed the rules of code switching outlined by Toribio (1999). The switch occurred at independent clauses and after a pause. However, his lexical borrowings were done more naturally in the course of the conversation in two instances in which the word in English seemed to come to him with greater ease since he later used the word in Spanish. He described food as *sweet* first and then later used the Spanish word *dulce* which indicates that the first word that came to his mind was in English. This type of borrowing belongs to the first category in which whole words are borrowed from English. The other example of his borrowing, also belonging to

the first category, was the use of the word *brownies* which has no exact equivalent in Spanish. This type of borrowing was also noted in Toribio's (1999) study when she asked her speakers in which contexts they used Spanglish. Most who admitted to speaking Spanglish said they did so when there was no direct equivalent in Spanish. As for Juanita her borrowing and code switching occurred more frequently. In the beginning of the conversation when her husband tells her that the green beans were tough she responds with *All right*. This phrase seemed to express her feeling better than any equivalent in Spanish and this borrowing belongs to the first category. The other time she code switched was when she quoted exact dialogue from a previous conversation and happened between inflected phrases. As far as lexical borrowings she also used English words for reasons of facility. She uses the phrase "y not good que se ha dormido" [it's not good that she has slept]. The expression *not good* was used for emphasis and seems to express her idea better than a Spanish counterpart. She also describes a movie as having a lot of *landscape*, luggage as going to *wear out*, the weather as *drizzling*, and papers she gives her students as *handouts*. These single word borrowings could reflect a faster retrieval of the English word rather than Spanish or could be a better expression of what she wanted to say. She first uses *dañar* and then later switches to *wear out* for what seems to be reasons of clarification. When talking about the movie she went to, she also says that she ate a lot of *popcorn*. This use is somewhat different as it could have been done for reasons of efficiency, since the expression *palomitas de maíz* is more time consuming to say. After the recording of the conversation, Juanita makes mention that she said *popcorn* because it was much faster to say than *palomitas de maíz*. All of these borrowings belong to the first category. With the other words she used Spanish equivalents as well, but used English to better express her ideas. The last item of note is her use of the word *sílabo* to mean 'syllabus.' The word for *syllabus* is *programa del curso*

(Larousse 2002: 345) and the word *sílabo* cannot be found in the dictionary. This shows transference of meaning due to a similarity in the words and could be classified as a third category borrowing.

The second conversation was recorded in a coffee shop. The transcription of their conversation can be found in Appendix C. The speakers are colleagues and know each other fairly well. Both Ana and Esperanza have their Master's degrees and are in their mid to late twenties. Ana is from Puerto Rico and Esperanza is from Spain. This fact seemed to affect the results. Esperanza who has used Spanglish reverted to speaking standard Spanish perhaps as a result of being recorded or perhaps the presence of the researcher influenced her language choice. In addition, the Spanglish she has been known to use is far more limited because she has lived in the United States for only two years. Because of this use of a more standardized Spanish, Ana also tended to use more standard Spanish, but lexical borrowings were noticeable. She preferred some English words to their Spanish equivalents. Because of these factors this conversation was not a real example of true Spanglish, but did show some of the features of Spanglish. Ana says that she mixes Spanish and English in informal settings and uses English when she cannot think of a word in Spanish. She also sees mixing as a normal process and does not have a negative opinion of Spanglish. Esperanza admits an influence of English on technical terms and uses English for new concepts that she encounters here in the United States, but says she rarely mixes the languages when having a conversation with Spanish speakers.

Esperanza did not demonstrate any features of Spanglish, however Ana did so in a few instances. Ana did not code switch but used borrowed terms. While they were talking about bars, coffee houses, and clubs local to Puerto Rico, Ana described the musicians as having *jam sessions* and the culture as *beatnik*, but she made sure to call attention to the fact that she was

using English by saying phrases that mean “as they say in English.” Also, terms such as *hip-hop* and *rock* that are long accepted borrowings from English into standard Spanish were used by both speakers. The most interesting feature of the conversation was that Ana used more words in English rather than their Spanish counterpart toward the end as the conversation was more relaxed and the speakers were more at ease. Most of the influence of English can be seen while Ana speaks of the political situation of Puerto Rico. She uses the term *pro- status quo* to describe one of the political parties in Puerto Rico. However, it is possible that she said *estatus quo*. The standard Spanish form of this would be *estatus quo*. Additionally during the course of the conversation, Esperanza refers to the political parties in Puerto Rico and calls one *estadistas*. The name of this political party reflects an influence of English. The meaning of this word is ‘statesmen’ (Larousse 2002:136) in standard Spanish rather than ‘pro-statehood’ as it does in Puerto Rico. This shows the influence of the United States and the concept of statehood and reflects a semantic borrowing. Ana, when talking about the political fervor of the island, says that the town gathers in the streets and “bala su horna.” Here she is using the term *horna* for ‘horn.’ The word in standard Spanish is *trompa*. This type of borrowing is a clear example of a root being taken from English and giving it a Spanish suffix to make it sound as if it is a Spanish word, a second category borrowing. Cantero (2000:179) talks about the process she calls derivational stem-switching. This process involves adding a Spanish morpheme to an English noun. In this case a final *-a* was added to the noun *horn* because it is more natural to end a word in a vowel in Spanish and a gender needed to be assigned to the word. The addition of an *-o* to the word was not possible as the word *horno*, ‘oven,’ in Spanish already exists. The last instance of English influence is in the phrase *fan de auto-determinación*. This example is also open to interpretation; she quite possibly could have said *afán de auto-determinación* which would be all

Spanish. Here she is describing the political minds and opinions of the Puerto Rican people. *Fan* has typically been used in the context of ‘sports fanatic.’ While both the first and second conversations show features of the presence of Spanglish both seemed to be somewhat influenced by the fact that they were being recorded.

The third conversation is the best example of a conversation in Spanglish, and can be found in Appendix D. Both speakers were completely at ease with one another and with the recorder as well. The fact that they were being recorded did not seem to influence them whatsoever. This conversation took place in the same coffee shop as the second conversation. The speakers of this conversation were male and of Mexican origin. The two are very close friends. Roberto is a 44-year-old graduate student and Juan is a 24 year-old who works in the restaurant industry. Juan completed an eleventh grade education. Roberto uses Spanglish when communicating with friends in informal settings and has no negative opinion of its use. Juan says that he speaks Spanglish all the time and is proud of being able to speak two languages. He feels that his use of Spanglish reflects his bilingual ability.

This conversation is marked by numerous instances of code switching and by many borrowings. Both Juan and Roberto code switch between sentences and within sentences. The switches that occur within a sentence occur between independent clauses after the coordinating conjunction, or after a pause, or at the complement of the verb phrase. These are the code switches that were defined as grammatically acceptable to Spanglish in Toribio’s (1999) study. The language of choice did not seem to be dictated by the previous speaker’s language use. When spoken to in Spanish both speakers answered in English on occasion. The reverse was also true. Some examples of code switching are in the tables that follow. The first table contains data taken from Juan’s speech.

Table 1: Examples of code switching from Conversation 3 (Juan) (Transcript in Appendix C)

Context/ theme of conversation	Example:	Type of code switch
Restaurant work	(1) Por la mañana de siete a tres soy preparador <i>and on the evenings I'm on the line.</i>	Type 1
Restaurant work	(2) Eso es jueves, viernes y sábado solamente <i>cause Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday is a slow day.</i>	Type 2
Money and restaurant work	(3) <i>It's cash money, so...</i> me conviene, propina.	Type 2
Money and school	(4) Lo tuve que dejar por la situación de que <i>problem with my money you know bank credit card and stuff.</i>	Type 2
General statement about work and life	(5) <i>So that's where I'm at right now</i> en la vida.	Type 3
Owning your own business/ owning a pool hall	(6) <i>Yeah, I mean you could put two or three and then charge em per hour.</i> Y lo pones acerca de una comunidad hispana.	Type 1
Speaking of places Latinos go to play pool	(7) El único lugar que está es <i>Brass Row which is over there by Mitchell Bridge Road next to Publix.</i>	Type 3
Talking about translating for people	(8) <i>Cause I don't even look for people to help out translating I just bump into people.</i> La gente me llega.	Type 1
Quoting someone asking for help translating.	(9) “Me ayudas a traducir este bil” de no sé quien. <i>They actually want to pay me five, ten dollars.</i>	Type 1
Doing laundry	(10) <i>I went to a buddy of mine last night y ya era muy tarde and I have three loads and he only have one washer and one dryer.</i>	Type 1

In the first example of code switching in Juan's speech the switch occurs within a sentence at the clause boundary and at the coordinating conjunction. This is one of the acceptable places to switch codes according to Torbio's (1999) study. Sentences (5) and (7) show the switch occurs with verb modifiers. Examples (6), (8), and (9) show code switching that occurs between sentences. Sentence (10) is an example of a switch at a coordinating conjunction that happens twice in the same sentence. Some of the instances in which Roberto code switched are outlined in the table that follows.

Table 2: Examples of code switching from Conversation 3 (Roberto) (Transcript in Appendix C)

Context/ theme of conversation	Example:	Type of code switch
General response to discussion on life	(11) Es caliente el roofing. <i>It's hot.</i>	Type 1
On being a student	(12) Yo no hago nada. <i>Do nothing. Just read, study, it's your life piece of cake man.</i> Yo leo, estudio, hablo.	Type 1
On being a student	(13) <i>Read, kill yourself reading and reading and...</i> pero bueno, no es como cargar, por ejemplo los pollos allí en Con Agra.	Type 1
Working in construction	(14) Si trabajas afuera bueno me gusta pero la humedad es <i>terrible, man.</i>	Type 3
Owning your own business	(15) En <i>your house mainly then how much ok</i> cobras el negocio y cuanto vas a pagar y cuanto puedes pagar.	Type 3
Translating for people/ owning your own business	(16) Me quería pagar veinte dólares la señora porque ayudé a la señora pero <i>yeah man a business like that.</i>	Type 1
Talking about Juan's poem to his girlfriend	(17) <i>Is your poem in inglés o español?</i>	Type 3
Talking about the poem	(18) <i>You're still organizing things, that's the point...</i> cualquier cosa... un poema libre, ¿verdad?	Type 3

In Roberto's examples of code switching he also follows the rules outlined by Toribio (1999). Sentence (11) and (12) are examples in which the code switching occurs between sentences and it seems it is done for extra emphasis on what is being said since the same ideas are stated in both Spanish and English. Sentences (13) and (16) show switches at coordinating conjunctions. Sentence (14) shows a switch between verb and complement and (15) shows a switch between subject and predicate. Sentence (18) shows a switch within the verb phrase. All of these switches occur according to the rules governing code switching that Toribio outlined (Toribio 2000:194).

The borrowings that occurred in the conversation between Juan and Roberto can be classified into the three categories: borrowings of words directly from English, borrowings that take a root from English and add a morpheme from Spanish, and semantic shifts in words that are similar in Spanish and English. The first category includes words that are more easily expressed in English or better convey the message of the speaker. From the first conversation the use of *popcorn* would fall into this category. The examples from this conversation include the use of *roofing* by both speakers when talking about the type of construction work Juan did. Juan said, "Duré un mes en la construcción, pero estaba de roofing." Roberto also used this borrowing, "Es caliente el roofing." Perhaps this lexical choice was made because the Spanish word did not occur to either speaker, and for this reason the Spanish equivalent was never used. The next example of this type of borrowing occurs in the use of the term *el business*. For example, "Un día vamos a hacer este business." This occurs as often as the use of the Spanish term *negocios* which shows that one happens to come to mind quicker than another and this is the term that each speaker uses. The other words that are borrowed and that fit in to this category are *psychos*, *la register*, and *este bil*. Each of these words is borrowed directly from

English and has an equivalent in Spanish, *psicópata*, *la caja*, and *factura*. The example sentence in which Juan uses *este bil* he is quoting someone who asked him for help translating. Only one example of the second category of borrowing can be found in this conversation. The second category includes those words that borrow the root word from English and then add a Spanish morpheme to it. The use of the stem *poetry* in English and the addition of the morpheme *-ía* in Spanish is seen in the example *poetría*. The suffix *-ía* is used in the word for poetry in standard Spanish *poesía*. Juan says, “Me gusta la *poetría*.” Words in the third category of borrowing show a change in meaning from what the word meant in Spanish to reflect the meaning of its similar English counterpart. The four examples of this type of borrowing occur with verbs. Juan says, “Pero no sé que si voy a pasar.” Here he uses the verb *pasar* to mean ‘to pass a test.’ The verb *pasar* in Spanish means ‘to pass time,’ ‘to pass by,’ ‘to pass through.’ The word used for passing a class or a test is *aprobar*. Another example of this is the use of *ordenar* for ‘to order drinks.’ While it is true that *ordenar* means ‘to order,’ it is only in the sense of putting things in order, not in the sense of asking for something, which would be expressed by *pedir*. The third verb that shows this type of semantic shift is *asistir*. Juan says, “Asisto a veces.” He means to say that he assists people with translations sometimes. However, the verb *asistir* in Spanish means ‘to attend’ [in the sense of attending school or a meeting. The final verb of this category is *regresar*. Again it is Juan who says, “me regrese el favor.” Usually this verb is used when talking about the actions of people returning to a place and not returning something like a favor. *Devolver* would be the verb that is used in this transitive sense.

For the fourth recording two close friends were recorded in the same coffee shop. The transcription of this conversation is in Appendix E. Both of these speakers are male and have both finished Master’s degrees. They are also in their early thirties. The first speaker, Julio, is

Puerto Rican but was born in the United States. He thinks that English has no affect on the way that he speaks Spanish he also denies any mixing of the two languages. He also claims that the use of Spanglish is just a linguistic phenomenon. That he thinks of its use is neither bad nor good and that he does not judge the speakers that use it. Gabriel, the other speaker, is Brazilian and speaks both Spanish and English fluently. His wife is from Venezuela and she communicates with him solely in Spanish. He states that although he has lived in this country for a number of years English does not influence the way in which he speaks Spanish, but Portuguese and more recently Italian have both had an influence on his Spanish.

Julio, who denies any influence of English on his Spanish, uses the phrase “ténganlo para tras.” This occurs at the very beginning of the conversation. He uses this to mean ‘take it back’ however *para tras* means ‘back’ in the sense of ‘behind’. This shows a direct influence of English since there are occasions in which English uses *back* with a sense of ‘return.’ Examples of this type of meaning are ‘take something back’ or ‘call someone back.’ This example is neither code switching nor lexical borrowing but is an instance that takes the structure of English and shows semantic influence. Spanish words are plugged into English structure and are used in ways that are not part of standard Spanish. In addition to this marker of influence, Julio’s use of exclamations like *wow* also shows that his speech has been influenced by English. Towards the end of the conversation Julio says “que tiene tape pegado a las alas” in reference to the Cuban airline. His lexical borrowing of *tape* demonstrates that he doesn’t even realize when he borrows from English.

The fifth and final conversation recorded took place between coworkers and was held in the office of one of the employees; transcription can be found in Appendix F. Both speakers are female and seemed very comfortable with each other. Josefina is 52 and was born in Cuba, but

has lived in Miami for many years. She also is married to a monolingual English speaker. Rosa is a 19 year old college student from Venezuela and works as a translator. They both feel that their Spanish is greatly influenced by English; however they both admit that they try to avoid mixing Spanish and English or speaking Spanglish unless they are in an informal setting with bilingual speakers. Their conversation took place in the late afternoon after they had worked together during the day. Code switching occurred in almost every speech turn. Some examples of code switching from Josefina's speech are in the table that follows.

Table 3: Examples of code switching from Conversation 5 (Josefina) (Transcript in Appendix F)

Context/ theme of conversation	Example:	Type of code switch
Work	(19) <i>Remember that translation?</i> Lo que hicimos el otro di...	Type 1
Translating work	(20) Una página es una cosa, <i>the other one would say something else.</i>	Type 1
Work	(21) <i>Now we need to celebrate</i> cuando nos pagan, <i>we're going to go shopping.</i>	Type 2 and Type 1
Shopping	(22) Vamos a ir a shopping y a comprar unas cosas <i>so cute to wear.</i>	Type 3
Work	(23) <i>I was thinking, you know,</i> para la otra translation...	Type 3

Example (19) is an instance of code switching that occurs between sentences. Sentence (20) shows code switching within a sentence and occurs after a pause and happens between different sentence clauses. In sentence (21) code switching also occurs within the sentence at the clause boundaries. The first switch occurs at the adverbial conjunction while the second switch appears after a pause, as in example (20). Sentence (22) is interesting because it has code switching as well as lexical borrowings. The switch occurs at the boundary of verb and complement which is within the constituent of the VP. The lexical borrowing is an example of the speaker being more

familiar using the English word *shopping*. Both speakers always refer to this concept as “shopping” rather than “ir de compras.” Sentence (23) also shows a switch at the verbal complement.

Rosa also code switches often. Her examples follow the same rules and patterns of the code switching of the other speakers. Rosa’s data are in the following table.

Table 4: Examples of code switching from Conversation 5 (Rosa) (Transcript in Appendix F)

Context/ theme of conversation	Example:	Type of code switch
Translation/work	(24) Sí, es insoportable en realidad la traducción. <i>I don’t think they even knew what they were talking about.</i>	Type 1
School	(25) Ahorita estoy tomando una clase pero es <i>really laid back</i> .	Type 3
Coffee	(26) Ah este café, lo necesito. Estoy muriendo de frío. <i>It’s so cold in here.</i>	Type 1
The desired length of the conversation being recorded.	(27) Sí, <i>I’m wondering</i> la misma cosa.	Type 3
Translating all day	(28) Como que la mente... <i>gets tired</i> .	Type 3

In sentence (24) the code switch happens from one sentence to the next. Sentence (25) shows an example of a verb complement switch. Example (26) shows a switch between sentences. Sentence (27) shows a switch at the verb and complement boundary. The last example (28) shows a switch between subject and verb which occurs less often than the other types of switches, but is still one of the accepted places to switch according to Toribio’s study.

During the course of this conversation it was hard to tell what items were lexical borrowings and which items were merely code switches. The items that were used as replacements for Spanish words constantly during the course of the conversation were *shopping*, *sale*, and *healthy*. Words that were assigned a gender and an article for use as nouns were *la real*

estate business and *los dictionaries*. Examples of words that have roots taken from English, but were given Spanish morphemes include *switchar* and *frizada*. Far more interesting are the later examples that have been assigned new morphemes for integration into the system.

When looking at the syntactic features of code switching, one can easily see the rules that govern the appropriateness of switching. Switching cannot occur at random places within an utterance; rather there are syntactically sanctioned places that a switch can occur. Those places are before or after a coordinating conjunction, type 1, at the complement within the complementizer phrase, type 2, or within the verb or noun phrases, type 3. Some of the earlier examples of code switching show this clearly. The first type of switch occurs at the coordinating conjunction that connects two inflected phrases. Sentence (1) from Conversation 3 is a perfect example of this type of switch. The switch occurs between two independent clauses.

(1) Por la mañana de siete a tres soy preparador *and on the evenings I'm on the line*.

(Appendix D:75)

(29) *I don't know* pero sabe caramelo. (Appendix F:87)

Switches of this type also occur at pauses between inflected phrases. The second type of code switching was reflected in sentence (21).

(21) Now we need to celebrate cuando nos pagan, we're going to go shopping (Appendix F:87).

There is a clear switch at the complementizer phrase. The switch occurs in the specifier position of the complementizer phrase; the main clause starts in English and the embedded clause is in Spanish. The switch occurs within the CP at the level of the *wh*-word. This *wh*-phrase serves as a trigger of an acceptable switch. There are many examples from the data collected of this type of switch. Some other sentences that exhibit a CP switch are the following:

(2) Eso es jueves, viernes y sábado solamente *cause Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday is a slow day.* (Appendix D:75)

(4) Lo tuve que dejar por la situación de que *problem with my money you know the bank credit card and stuff.* (Appendix D:75)

(30) *And to tell you the truth I believe* que cuando alguien oye la conversación *we are holding right now they are going to think we are totally out of the tree.* (Appendix F:89)

Each of these examples shows a switch at the CP level. The interesting thing is that the complementizer can be in either the language of the main clause or the language of the embedded clause. Sentence (4) demonstrates the use of a complementizer in the language of the main clause, Spanish; just after the complementizer the switch is made. The complementizer can be in either language, either the language of the main clause or the embedded clause. Many switches also occur within the phrase structure between head and complement. In sentence (5) a switch occurs in a verb phrase between the verb and its predicate.

(5) *So that's where I'm at right now* en la vida. (Appendix D:76)

Most other examples of switching occur within the VP at the NP complement level. The switch occurs between the V head and its NP complement.

(27) Sí, *I'm wondering* la misma cosa. (Appendix F:89)

(31) *There is* no allí en este, en la cantina no había nadie que hablara español. (Appendix D:78)

In sentence (32) there are two types of switches one at the NP complement of V and one that is IP internal. The switch occurs between the subject and predicate.

(32) *To tell you the truth I believe it will be* una de las cosas que ella *have to present before she can teach these people.* (Appendix F:89)

There are other example sentences of this type of IP internal switch at the IP. The specifier in this phrase starts in Spanish, but the switch occurs at the head position, I, where the auxiliary verb is in English.

(28) Como que la mente *gets tired*. (Appendix F:90)

The next sentence (33) has a switch at the VP.

(33) *And I wonder how long Amy quiere que nosotras hablemos*. (Appendix F, 90)

In the following sentence (34) the switch occurs within the IP but at the switch occurs at the adverbial level.

(34) Y ellos tienen que ir *all the way over there*. (Appendix F:90)

Sentence (25) also has an internal shift in the IP, but occurs at the AP level.

(25) Ahorita estoy tomando una clase pero es *really laid back*. (Appendix F:87)

Each of these examples shows switches that occur at syntactically acceptable places. The phrase structure is something that cannot be ignored and further supports what Toribio described in her study on code switching and the rules that govern the switches.

The areas in which code switching is not possible are at the quantifier. It would not be acceptable to say *muy rich* or *so bonito*. The data from the conversations supports this idea as there are no instances in which a switch occurs at the quantifier. Toribio (1999) alludes to the unacceptability of switches between determiner and noun. In her study she tested the acceptability judgments of her participants by including a story that used such switches. She found that most participants found that these switches were awkward (Toribio 1999). However in the data shown in Conversation 5 a switch of this type occurs. Josefina says “her clase” which clearly shows a switch at this point she continues in Spanish after *clase*. Further research is needed to see if this is indeed an acceptable place to code switch.

It is of important note that there are certain shortcomings in the way in which the data were collected for this study. If repeated it would be extremely valuable to first attempt to make the conversational settings more natural. This could be achieved by going to the homes of the participants. The first conversation yielded a more natural conversation because it took place in the home of the participants and the fact that the speakers were married also helped to elicit more natural speech. It is also advisable to study a more homogenous group, if possible. It would be interesting to see what features speakers from the same country of origin share. It would also be interesting to see what role age, gender, and education play. During the course of the study some of the speakers did not use Spanglish. Most of the speakers were selected for participation in this study because the researcher had noted their use of Spanglish in daily interactions. What she found, however is that many chose not to use this type of language during the recording. Almost all of the speakers have used Spanglish in my presence in prior interactions. Perhaps the very nature of having one's language studied influences language use. To avoid this in the future the researcher would invent a content-based research question to elicit speech from the participants, by asking them, for example, for their opinions on particular topics, such as current events. In the fifth conversation the results were affected by the speaker's knowledge of the project. This is extremely clear when the participants actually speak of the project during the course of the recorded conversation. The researcher was unaware of the participants' level of knowledge since the project was not discussed beforehand, but another person had apparently described the research goal to them. Perhaps in an attempt to help the researcher the participants chose to code switch more often than they would naturally and this is a possible reason for the occurrence of the switch between the determiner and the noun in *her clase*. It is important not to inform participants of the goal of the project so that their speech is not influenced by the subject of

investigation. The third conversation was by far the most natural because the speakers had no idea of what would be analyzed. The speakers in this group also seemed to be the most linguistically unaware which meant that they were less self-conscious of language choice. This also contributes to the naturalness of speech. In the future it is important to take the focus off of actual speech as to avoid self-consciousness as much as possible.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

Spanglish is a valid form of communication that is rule governed. Some use it as their preferred form of communication depending on the situation. It is undeniable the importance of context when looking at the use of Spanglish and the features of Spanglish. Each speaker recorded was extremely influenced by the fact that they were being recorded. For some this meant that they avoided using Spanglish unconsciously in an attempt to be more formal. The conversations were also influenced by the pairing of speakers. Some speakers felt more comfortable speaking to their partner than others. The more comfortable the speakers were with each other the more natural and informal their speech was. To look at natural speech was the goal of this investigation. Another factor could be the educational level of the speakers; since it seems that the more educated speakers code-switched less.

The Spanglish of the speakers was shown to include both code switching and borrowing in some cases and only borrowing and semantic shifts in others. The code switching that occurred was not random as often thought of when speaking of Spanglish. It is a common misconception that Spanglish is a jumble of English and Spanish mixed together at random with no rules to govern it. Many purists such as González Echeverría (1997) and Mallo (1954) share this criticism of Spanglish. Many researchers have studied the rules of code switching and the grammatical restrictions that govern the switches. Toribio (1999) outlines the rules that govern code switches. When analyzing the data of the speakers of this study it was shown that these rules can be applied to the speakers of Spanglish in Georgia as well. The switches did not occur

at random and only violated the code switching rules outlined by Toribio in the one instance previously noted. This demonstrates that speakers of Spanglish are bound by the syntactic rules of code switching. Spanglish, like any language or dialect, is a rule governed code. Switches normally occur between inflected phrases, at the complementizer or between the complement and the verb or noun. The trigger of a switch is often signaled by a pause in the discourse.

The borrowings that occurred during the course of the conversations can be grouped into three different categories: words borrowed directly from English, words borrowed from English and then modified by the addition of a morpheme from Spanish, and words that are assigned semantic meaning because of its similar appearance to an English word. In each of the five conversations borrowing of the first type were present. This kind of borrowing happens for many reasons. Sometimes one word is much more efficient in English than its counterpart in Spanish. Efficiency plays a valuable role in this kind of borrowing. Certain concepts are better expressed in English as well, depending on how the speaker became familiar with this concept. If a speaker has a certain experience in English they are more likely to use the English word. For example when Juanita says *popcorn* perhaps she does so because she went to the movies in the United States and had to order *popcorn*. Borrowings of the first type are the most common. Speakers in the third and fifth conversations use borrowings of the second type by creating new words from an English root to which a Spanish ending has been added, such as the verb *switchar*. Second generation speakers are the most likely to use such borrowings, perhaps because they are not even aware that the root comes from English. Cantero (2000:179-181) determined that English nouns and verbs can be adapted to Spanish morphology by the addition of the following suffixes: *-ear* or *-iar* for verbs, and *-ista*, *-ica*, *-ita*, *-ero*, among others for nouns. The example of a noun of this type comes from the third conversation when the speaker

refers to *poetría*. When speaking of verbs Cantero notes that often *-ar* endings are added to these newly created verbs from English words. This happens because the largest group of verbs in Spanish is the group of verbs that have the *-ar* ending. In the fifth conversation the verb *switchar* shows this phenomenon. The last category of words that change meaning due to contact with similar words in English is also often unnoticed by the speaker. The third conversation shows many examples of this with the verbs, *asistir*, *pasar*, and *ordenar*. However, the first and second conversations also have examples of this type of borrowing.

For further study, it would be interesting to look for other examples of code switching that happens between the determiner and the noun to see if this really is an acceptable place to switch or not. Also, it would be interesting to look at different groups of speakers of Spanglish. It would be valuable to look at the major categories of those who typically speak Spanglish: Mexican speakers, Puerto Rican speakers, and Cuban speakers for comparisons of the different varieties of Spanglish. It would also be interesting to see what role geographical region plays. To look at the effect region has on speech patterns would also be an area of interesting study. Do the Spanglish speakers sound the same in Missouri and Georgia? Additionally, it would be fascinating to study the reverse effect of the contact between Spanish and English. Would the affects be the same on English discourse? How are native English speakers affected by the study and mastery of Spanish? According to Nash (1974), who has done extensive research on the language contact in Puerto Rico in the 1970's, English is affected quite differently than Spanglish. There is not a tendency to code switch or borrow words, but to use direct translation of phrases and use the syntax of Spanish rather than English. This is something that could be compared with Spanglish and perhaps other language contact situations. These are the areas of interest for further research sparked by this project.

REFERENCES

- Alfaro, Ricardo J. 1970. *Diccionario de Anglicismos*. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, SA
- Alvarez, Lizette. 1998. It's the Talk of Nueva York: The Hybrid Called Spanglish. *Language: Readings in Language and Culture*, ed by Virginia P. Clark, Paul A. Eschholz and Alfred F. Rosa . 483-488. New York: St. Martin's.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. 1990. How to Tame a Wild Tongue. *Out There Marginalization and Contemporary Culture*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 203-211.
- Artze, Isis. 2001. Spanglish is Here to Stay. *The Education Digest*. 67:1, 50-54.
- Berdichevsky, Norman. 2004. *Nations, Language and Citizenship*. Jefferson: McFarland and Company, Inc. 13-43.
- Cantero, Mónica. 2000. Adapted Borrowings in Spanish: A Morphopragmatic Hypothesis. *Research on Spanish in the United States: Linguistic Issues and Challenges*. Ana Roca Ed. Somerville: Cascadilla Press. 177-183.
- Corces, Laureano. 1999. Re-evaluating Spanglish. *Geolinguistics*. 25. 35-38.
- Fernández García, Antonio. 1972. *Anglicismos en el Español (1891-1936)*. Oviedo: Gráficas LUX.
- Ferré, Rosario. 2002. *Language Duel*. New York: Vintage Books, a Division of Random House, Inc.
- Field, Fred. 1994. Caught in the Middle: The Case of Pocho and the Mixed Language Continuum. *General Linguistics*. 34:2. 85-105.
- Flores, Juan and George Yudice. 1990. Living Borders/Buscando America: Languages of Latino Self-Formation. *Social Text*. 24. 57-84.
- Friedman, Robert. 2001. Language Purists Dismayed by Spanglish. *Geolinguistics*. 27. 195-197.
- González Echeverría, Roberto. 1997. Hablar Spanglish es Devaluar el español. July 17, 2004 (www.el-castellano.com/clarin.html).
- Holt, Grace. 1975. Metaphor, Black Discourse Style, and Cultural Reality. *Ebonics: The True Language of Black Folks*. Robert L. Williams ed. St. Louis: Robert L Williams and Associates, Inc. 86-109.
- Larousse Pocket Dictionary. 2002. Barcelona: Larousse.

- Lorenzo, Emilio. 1996. *Anglicismos Hispánicos*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Mallo, Jerónimo. 1954. La Plaga de Los Anglicismos. *Hispania*. 37:2. 135-140.
- Matluck, Joseph. 1960. The Comic Strip: A Source of Anglicisms in Mexican Spanish. *Hispania*. 43:2. 227-233.
- Mellado de Hunter, Elena. 1981. *Anglicismos Profesionales en Puerto Rico*. Río Piedras: Editorial Universitaria.
- Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary 11th Edition. 2003. Springfield: Merriam-Webster Incorporated.
- Montes-Alcalá, Cecilia. 2000. Attitudes Towards Oral and Written Code Switching in Spanish-English Bilingual Youths. *Research on Spanish in the United States*. Ana Roca ed. Somerville: Cascadilla Press. 218-227.
- Nash, Rose. 1974. Spanglish: Language Contact in Puerto Rico. *American Speech*. 45. 223-233.
- Pérez Firmat, Gustavo. 1987. Spic Chic. *Caribbean Review*. 15:3. 20-21,36-37.
- Pinker, Steven. 1994. *The Language Instinct*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc.
- Rodríguez, Pilar. 1992. Living the Spanglish Way: A Conversation with Jim Sagel. *Confluencia: Revista Hispanica de Cultura y Literatura*. 8:1. 137-146.
- Seklaoui, Diana. 1989. *Change and Compensation: Parallel Weakening of [s] in Italian, French and Spanish*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Smead, Robert N. 1998. English Loanwords in Chicano Spanish: Characterization and Rationale. *Bilingual Review*. 23:2. 113-123.
- St. John, Francis C. 1951. Some Remarks on the Anglicization of Latin American Spanish, with Particular Reference to the Speech of Mexico City. *Hispania*. 34:3. 251-255.
- Stavans, Ilan. 1991. The Sounds of Spanglish: Neither Cervantes nor Shakespeare. *Commonweal*. 118:17. 564-566.
- _____. 1999. The Sounds of Spanglish: Between Lingo and Lengua. *Hopscotch*. 1:1. 160-170.
- _____. 2000. The Gravitas of Spanglish. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. 47: 7. B7-9.
- _____. 2003. *Spanglish: The Making of a New American Language*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

Stevick, Robert D. 1968. *English and Its History: The Evolution of a Language*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

Toribio, Almeida Jacqueline. 1999. Spanglish? Bite Your Tongue! Spanish-English Code-Switching among Latinos. *Reflexiones: New Directions in Mexican American Studies*. Austin: CMAS Books. 115-147.

_____. 2000. Once Upon a Time en un Lugar Muy Lejano... Spanish-English Code Switching across Fairy Tale Narratives. *Research on Spanish in the United States: Linguistic Issues and Challenges*. Somerville: Cascadilla Press. 184-203.

United States Census. May 31, 2004. (www.census.gov).

Zentella, Ana Celia. 1982. Spanish and English in Contact in the United States: The Puerto Rican Experience. *Word*. 33:1-2. 41-57.

APPENDIX A

Background Information

Age: _____ Gender: _____

Ethnicity: _____

Highest level of education: _____

Where were you born? _____

Where were your parents born? _____

Do you think English effects the way you speak Spanish? _____

Are there times when you mix Spanish and English and times when you do not? What are they?

What is your opinion of mixing English and Spanish and the people who do it? _____

APPENDIX B

*Note: The transcriptions were made using standard orthography. Ellipses were used to denote pauses in speech and when they occur at the end of the line it indicates an interruption by the next speaker. The transcription deviates from standard orthography when a syllable is elided such as in 'pa' for 'para' or when the change is word specific. However, other phonetic variations that can occur in any context were not represented. Since the goal was to look at English borrowings and code switching rather than conversational dynamics, I did not find it necessary to do more than orthographic transcriptions. Transcriber's notes are included in brackets. When conversation was unintelligible it was noted in brackets. Conversation 4 found in Appendix E was transcribed by Eunice Rojas.

Conversation 1

Juanita: ¿Qué hicieron?
Emilio: ¿Con la bebé?
Juanita: Mmmhmmm. ¿Se enojó cuando nos fuimos?
Emilio: No. Correr en bicicleta, comer papitas, you wanna roll it?
Me: I already did.
Emilio: este... correr bicicleta, comer papitas, comer habitúelas
Juanita: ¿y las habitúelas están buenas?
Emilio: sí.
Juanita: ¿si?
Emilio: Están un poquito duritas.
Juanita: All right.
Emilio: Pero no te vayas. Salir afuera con las burbujas, sentar en la piedra, en la otra piedra, en la silla.
Juanita: ¿En cuál silla?
Emilio: En esa.
Juanita: ¿Y comió?
Emilio: Pues, comió banana y ella estaba con un poco papita y habitúela cuando comí y después comió banana y después la acosté a ver Barney
Juanita: ¿Se durmió?
Emilio: Se durmió.
Juanita: Y not good que se ha dormido.
Emilio: Pero levántala.
Juanita: ¿Y los video?
Emilio: ¿Qué video?
Juanita: ¿Has visto algo?
Emilio: No visto nada.
Juanita: ¿Y cuántos son?
Emilio: Depende.

Juanita: La bolsa se ve gordita.
 Emilio: Parece que sea gordita.
 Juanita: Este... que te iba a decir que compraste unas zanahorias que están bien grandes
 Emilio: ¿Y qué pasa?
 Juanita: Que no compres eso.
 Emilio: ¿Por qué?
 Juanita: Porque estas zanahorias bien grandes son ... es como cuando lo echan
 Emilio: Tienen hormonas y cosas.
 Juanita: ¿Y son anormales tú las viste? Eran así. Entonces había...
 Emilio: Pero son sweet son dulces y esos me gustan
 Juanita: Pero eso tiene que ver con el tipo de zanahoria pero las compare con una vieja que viene allí que era mas chiquita y se veía anormal la grande.
 Emilio: Está bien.
 Juanita: Es como cuando le dan hormonas a las vacas pa que tengan mas leche.
 Emilio: Este...pregúntame de la película
 Emilio: ¿Y la película qué tal?
 Juanita: Chacho brutal. No me botaron del cine por milagro.
 Emilio: Do you want to check if it's recording at a level you can hear well?
 Me: It is. I watch the ...
 Emilio: Ok
 Me: I'm watching the monitor
 Juanita: Ok
 Emilio: See she's an expert
 Juanita: Este
 Emilio: La película qué brutal
 Juanita: Que no sentí que no se me botaron del cine porque sabe que estaba yo sentado encima de Cristian Ahh Ahh.
 Emilio: ¿De miedo?
 Juanita: Sí. Me gustó porque por no sé si es por el director nuevo por primera vez tiene como que mucho landscape de escena pero unas escenas brutales.
 Emilio: Eso dice que eso escuchó en aquel día
 Juanita: La escenografía está mucho más bonito que los primeros dos
 Emilio: Que cambio del directo fue fue bueno
 Juanita: Pero a mí no me parece yo que si la tercera va a dar más miedo. Yo grité pero igual grité en la primera y en la segunda. Este...Me siguen gustando todas. Pero Cristian ahora está con fiebre que será la mejor la único que tiene que ver otra vez con el segundo video porque pregúntame si entendía. Le preguntaba a Cristian "¿Qué dijo?" Porque decía "Oh I'm going ruh ruh ruh." I'm going where? Le decía enfogoná Y me decía me decía raaaaa. Y él entendía más que yo. Y yo OK ok. Entonces para que verla otra vez y con subtítulos porque había un enredo que yo no entendí bien que si el malo al final era malo y el otro era bueno y yo sé ni Fulanito ni un ratón pero bien brutal. Y fue un tipo con un nene tan grande. Y los efectos especiales esta vez están mejores o por lo menos en el cine se ven bien brutal. Hay que verla en el cine. La están dando en el IMAX.
 Emilio: ¿En el IMAX?
 Juanita: Y esa con ese landscape debe estar brutal de ver en el IMAX... ¿qué más?

Emilio: Que Bumba me llamó que se va pa Francia y quiere llevarse los sacos me quería prestado los sacos de la [incomprehensible]

Juanita: ¿Qué le dijiste?

Emilio: que dije que sí que venir a buscarlo y que me va a llamar. Pero no me llamó.

Juanita: Pero se te van a dañar. O sea se te van a wear out. Porque así mismo los irán a montar en el avión. Tú sabes que la gente de los aviones...

Emilio: Más se le daña el [incomprehensible] del saco

Juanita: Bueno para que sepa.

Emilio: Yo le diré y se van a estropear.

Juanita: ¿Y que te dijo de José?

Emilio: ¿De la cruz?

Juanita: ¿Y cuando se va?

Emilio: Ya mismo. Creo que mañana.

Juanita: Entonces que vas a hacer el otro viernes

Emilio: ¿El viernes en la Habana? ya me llamó Carlos.

Juanita: Y ¿qué dijo?

Emilio: Que sí y el sábado tengo un guiso por la mañana

Juanita: ¡Por la mañana! ¿En dónde?

Emilio: En el Work Congress Center

Juanita: ¿De qué?

Emilio: Una convención.

Juanita: ¿Los cinco también?

Emilio: [nods]

Juanita: O sea te vas a acostar tarde el viernes que levantarte temprano el sábado mira qué bien.

Emilio: Ya a las diez y media, tiene que salir de aquí a las nueve y media me tengo que levantar a las ocho y media y me acuesto como a las cuatro. Salir corriendo de allá cuando termine.

Juanita: Este...Mira se ríe.

Emilio: Trajo brownies ella.

Juanita: ¿Ah, sí?

Me: Sí.

Juanita: Como si lo tuvieses planeado. Yo me llené de popcorn. Yuck. No quiero comer más popcorn.

Emilio: Sí en ese cine es malo.

Juanita: Es más rico en la microonda.

Emilio: Sí

Juanita: Pero estamos acostumbrados

Emilio: O está más *pamado* o está salado... o... o duro

Juanita: Está más fresco el de microonda. Este y cómo te fue en la clase con Eddie.

Emilio: Bien pero no pudimos hacer mucho.

Juanita: ¿Por qué?

Emilio: Pierdo el tiempo en lo que llegué pues llegué medio tarde... el tapón allá pues estaba lloviendo y...

Juanita: ¿Llovió?

Emilio. [incomprehensible]

Juanita: ¿Llovió aquí?
 Emilio: Aquí no ha llovido.
 Juanita: Está como... drizzling
 Emilio: Y yo no sé cómo Wally es y es [incomprehensible] y tiene otro estudiante que viene a las tres. Y llegó otro estudiante. Eso es para hacerlo en una hora todas las semanas. Tendré que pagarle si quiero que sea así.
 Juanita: Pero te dijo que lo va a hacer de gratis.
 Emilio: Pepe lo dijo como que gratis pero me cancela y si me tiene que cancelar si esa semana si el otro sábado pero si le pago pues allí es más... no me cancela tanto Y pues fui a la tienda y estaba Toño allí con la dueña...
 Juanita: ¿Comprando más DVDs?
 Emilio: No que el amigo de de los dueños de la tienda y se pasa y ella trabaja allí. Creo que los sábados que...
 Juanita: ¿Estaba con la esposa o con la dueña de la tienda?
 Emilio: Bueno estaba la dueña de la tienda y la esposa de Toño y Toño
 Juanita: Trabaja allí para que se lo pagan en DVDs, ¿verdad?
 Emilio: Pues... y los sábado creo que tienen una tienda, un flea market, y entonces pues... sabe pues está el flea market está esa tienda entonces Toño va en una o que sé yo algo así y le pagan tú sabes.
 Juanita: ¿En DVDs?
 Emilio: En DVDs.
 Juanita: Y entonces ¿qué compraste?
 Emilio: Algunas cosas que necesitaba. Ha ha ha.
 Juanita: Y porque no me dices... necesitamos conversar. Pues dime dime.
 Emilio: Pues nada, unas cosas compré pues te digo.
 Juanita: ¿Cuántos?
 Emilio: ¿Cuántos qué?
 Juanita: DVD.
 Emilio: Nada. Ha. Ha. Ha.
 Juanita: ¿Música puertorriqueña, música cubana?
 Emilio: Ay negra, no sé.
 Juanita: Bien.
 Emilio: Y ¿tú no vas a comer?
 Juanita: No tengo hambre ahorita. Tengo que prepararme para mañana.
 Emilio: ¿Mañana empieza?
 Juanita: Mmhmm.
 Emilio: ¿A qué hora entra?
 Juanita: A las doce pero tengo que estarme mucho más temprano porque no he sacado fotocopia de ningún sílabo. De mañana quiero dar unos handouts que de introducción a narrativa y... Ay Dios mío es que no me acuerdo de todo eso y un panorama histórico y no tengo ganas de enseñar No tengo ganas... Y Juana me llamó ayer y me dejó un mensaje que la llamara, que llamara el celular. Que estaba en Miami que necesitaba un favor. Y yo me puse...
 Emilio: Que la cubra. Debe enseñar.
 Juanita: No, no. Tú me imagines que me pide que la busque en el aeropuerto.
 Emilio: que ella no nos quiso llevar aquella vez

Juanita: Ni nos llevó ni nos recogió. Te acuerdas cuando dejó las llaves en la puerta
Emilio: y nos dejaron en la estación de tren de Lindberg
Emilio: Y yo a ellos una vez que regresaron de Puerto Rico los recogí al aeropuerto y si
llama Bill yo no voy a decir que no. No tengo cara para hacer eso. Ahora quizás
le diga “No sé si te acuerdas las navidades pasadas...”
Emilio: ¿Qué?
Juanita: Que nos dejaste en Lindberg.
Emilio: Diré pues que lleguen a Lindberg yo los busco allí.
Juanita: Nosotros cogimos un taxi desde el aeropuerto hasta casa de Juana
Emilio: Sesenta pesos.
Juanita: Muchacho. Ah porque hacía frío también
Emilio: Y como ochenta maletas. Dile no pues con taxis con [incompreensible] como
sesenta pesos
Juanita: No pero si en taxi es más que sesenta pesos.
Juanita: Ya lo conté todo. ¿Qué más te cuento?

APPENDIX C

Conversation 2

- Ana: No sé.
- Esperanza: Puerto Rico.
- Ana: Puerto Rico. Sabe que allí hay en la casa rosada en la casa blanca que son en estas zonas no son mansiones antiguas que sean... echan matrimonios históricos. Y allí exposiciones de arte y no sé si te diste cuenta que allí dentro también en los premios del morro a este lado hay una escuela de arte de arte clásico.
- Esperanza: Sí, sí porque todo el mundo salió con carpetas enormes.
- Ana: Exacto. Ves a los universitarios allí.
- Esperanza: Y me gustó muchísimo que justo en frente está el cine Vallejar creo que se llama y hacían películas españolas y una cubana que fuimos a ver normal por cierto
- Ana: Pues es nuevo, es nuevo. Porque originalmente eso lo hicieron para la conmemoración del quinto centenario del descubrimiento de la isla en mil novecientos noventa y dos. Y se usaba para eventos culturales pero todo esto está en nueva ola de hacer cine en la comunidad es muy nuevo muy muy nuevo.
- Esperanza: Y bueno otra cosa que me gustó también que es mi otra parte favorita de Puerto Rico especialmente San Juan es el viejo San Juan porque es muy similar a cualquier cosa en España.
- Ana: Verdad que sí.
- Esperanza: Y ves estas calles con baldosines, que tienes que andar así... tututu
- Ana: Ah ha.
- Esperanza: Un coche no puede ir recto tranquilamente.
- Ana: Exacto.
- Esperanza: Y me encantan todas las calles empinadas y estrechitas.
- Ana: Y los colores.
- Esperanza: Y de colores y los balcones con las rejas tan bonitas como en España. Me hizo mucha ilusión porque eso solo he visto en España anteriormente claro.
- Ana: Inicialmente.
- Esperanza: Esto me gustó muchísimo muchísimo. Y a pesar de ser tan pequeña es que tantas cosas de ver y es preciosa.
- Ana: El viejo San Juan te toma un día.
- Esperanza: Sí.
- Ana: Un día completo.
- Esperanza: Sí, sí, sí, sí.
- Ana: Para conocerlo bien. De principio al fin o sea entrando por el paseo de la Princesa con aquella fuente majestuosa hasta la catedral hasta más arriba el moro incluso para ir a almorzar o ir de copas o sea puedes ir a un lugar para el almuerzo a otro lugar para el café, el postre a otro lugar para ir de copas.
- Esperanza: Y por las noches hay un montón de movimiento allí.

Ana: Sí.

Esperanza: Es que no podíamos ni andar, te digo en serio. Íbamos caminando y nos venían oleadas de gente hacía nosotros era increíble la gente joven que hay allí. La marcha que hay y otra cosa que me impactó mucho, que se lo dijo a María Elena, todo el mundo sabe bailar en Puerto Rico.

Ana: O pues claro.

Esperanza: Te la digo en serio. Yo no bailé ni una sola vez porque me sentí ridícula. Realmente. Te lo prometo. María Elena salió, vale, a bailar, y yo decía a esa chica donde lo han enseñado. Sabe bailar su amiga y yo “otra persona que sabe bailar perfectamente.” La gente tiene gracia realmente o sea es que...es increíble.

Ana: Es...es ese ritmo se lleva adentro. Es algo que la gente no comprende. Mis estudiantes quieren que les enseñemos a leer sa... a bailar salsa, merengue. Y claro ellos quieren un método... un, dos, tres, cuatro. Un, dos, tres cuatro. Yo no puedo enseñarles. Porque escuchas la música y no sé de inmediato ya sabes. Pum, allí voy. Lo disfrutas de manera espontánea. Y yo creo que es algo muy caribeño.

Esperanza: Sí.

Ana: Porque si te das cuenta los dominicanos, los cubanos, los puertorriqueños.

Esperanza: Que hay una gracia especial.

Ana: Que a veces la gente dice, vaya, eso es una generalización que fea se escucha pero es cierto. Los colombianos del área del Caribe, los panameños. Es que culturalmente o sea tú creces con una presencia música bien amplia.

Esperanza: Sí.

Ana: Yo veo a estos chicos de aquí de Estados Unidos y bueno ¿qué escuchan? Bueno, country o hip hop o que sé yo pero nosotros crecemos con una varia música que Bolero y todo el mundo le gusta. Luis Miguel y su bolero y todo eso. La música romántica y tiene el rock latino y rock criollo de la isla, el hip hop de la isla que el reguetón que no sé que pero la salsa y la merengue y los ritmos tradicionales. Si se siguen Pepe Juan de Noel y la juventud los goza.

Esperanza: Sí, sí es verdad.

Ana: Y aprendemos... nacemos con esa sensibilidad. Porque está alrededor tuyo.

Esperanza: Es como casi un don, ¿no? Tienes que nacer allí para saber moverte como la gente allí. Verdad, estábamos en el Neuyorrican Café allí que es un lugar perfecto para ir porque tocan salsa en directo y salsa... bueno o sea sabes que esa gente sabe lo que está haciendo que nadie cogió un CD y están copiando

Ana: Exacto.

Esperanza: Era buenísimo y te sientas allí para ver a la gente simplemente bailar y solo eso ya a me daba envidia te lo digo en serio, Dios mío esa gente tiene que tomar clases.

Ana: Pero sabes lo lindo de este tipo de lugares que de alguna manera al Viejo San Juan está regresando a la cultura de la bohemia que era algo que se veía en los sesenta y los setenta. Yo no crecí con eso porque yo nací en el setenta y seis o sea ya para el tiempo cuando estaba creciendo cuando tú hablabas de la vida nocturna en el Viejo San Juan en los sesenta y los setenta todo el mundo hablaba de los bares y las tabernas donde había bohemia donde había música en directo donde iban los cantautores jóvenes agarraban la guitarra y allí a cantar no como en inglés llaman jam session. Y eso es lo que pasa en Neuyorrican Café. Si te das cuenta los muchachos que se presentan allí son jóvenes universitarios que escriben su propia

material que lo componen y lo presentan. Y entonces es como volver una vez a esa cultura beatnik lo que decía... como se dice en inglés. No, pero es cultura bohemia vas, te das unas copas, baila... lo que ves es la música de calidad.

Esperanza: Pero también me da esa sensación que es una manera de... no de oposición como una rebelde y mucho menos sino otra manera de mostrar que la salsa no es lo que se vende al mundo. Porque si realmente tú vas a España y ves lo que es salsa no es nada de lo que yo vi. Es decir, mejor lejanamente yo... porque no tengo idea sinceramente puede parecerme pero yo soy un ignorante en esto puedo decirte de...de verdad que esa gente tiene arte.

Ana: No es lo mismo. Pero tú sabes nosotros, los puertorriqueños, hacemos una diferencia... la salsa vieja, la salsa autentica. Lo que tú escuchaste allí nosotros lo llamamos saúco. Eso es saúco de verdad. Lo que tú escuchas a veces en Europa como dices tú en España cuando estaba yo, he escuchado es una fusión de ritmos y le meten un poco de hip hop y...

Esperanza: Que vende más.

Ana: ...le meten un poco de otra cosa. Y entonces a eso lo llamamos fresa, ¿no? Algo lite. Entonces al... al conocedor de la música digamos o al boricua que conoce la música de su isla pues sabemos distinguir estos dos. Ah no Fulanito no, eso es música fresa. Fulanito de tal, eso es saúco. Eso sí es auténtico.

Esperanza: Qué gusto poder distinguirla porque yo me di cuenta porque sonaba muchísimo mejor pero realmente yo no sé...

Ana: El sonido, el sonido es más pesado más...

Esperanza: Más consistente.

Ana: Más consistente.

Esperanza: De verdad.

Ana: de la percusión es... más fuerte. No es este sonido eléctrico del sintetizador. Ni...

Esperanza: Y más natural también porque también era directo pero se nota lo que están haciendo en ese momento y es arte realmente y que tienen gracia y em... el chico que tocaba la percusión es que cerraba los ojos y todo y decías Dios mío es que lo está viviendo de verdad está en este momento en éxtasis. Y la gente salía y todo el mundo baliaba con todo el mundo que nadie conozca. Y decías Dios mío todo el mundo sabe bailar. Sea lo que sean que sea una canción totalmente diferente aunque sean pasos diferentes y digo Dios mío han venido aquí por tomarme por tonta. Me decía Juana “¿quieres bailar?” y yo “no.”

Ana: Pero que no has bailado ni una sola vez. Era tu oportunidad de que un buen boricua, de estos mulatazo bellísimo te diera a cuatro vueltas y te enseñara.

Esperanza: Mira Ana yo bailé en Puerto Rico y me echan de la isla. Yo no, yo me negaba porque esa gente es buena o sea es que tiene gracia es [incomprehensible] ningún o ninguna academia ni que es nada que digas es profesional, no, saben bailar. Saben cuando tienen que girar y cuando no tienen que girar. Me parece un misterio totalmente. Hmm Yo soy como un palo al lado de esta gente. Es verdad. En España, en general, no tenemos tanta gracia. En España en el sur se baila flamenco y algo más espera no tiene que haber... y sinceramente no tenemos tanta gracia de verdad.

Ana: Pero fíjate que en comparación con los ritmos auténticos españoles el flamenco requiere mucho... espíritu mucho... mucha energía. Es un baile bien apasionado también.

Esperanza: Sí. El problema es que el flamenco demasiadas veces se toma como el baile de España y es una cosa sólo del sur. Es decir esa gente tiene gracia y sabe hacerlo. Pero no soy del sur y es un misterio totalmente sabe hacerlo y leo todas las cosas y que pasa es que vengo aquí como soy española. Pero es verdad esa gente tiene una gracia especial como en Canarias. Tienen un estilo más latinoamericano. Tienen una gracia totalmente diferente. Bailan samba como si fueran brasileños y yo olvídate porque me muere de la vergüenza.

Ana: Pero tú sabes lo que es bien curioso que en Puerto Rico la mayor parte de los españoles que venían, venían de Andalucía.

Esperanza: Ah.

Ana: Había gallego, había sus colonias de gallego por ejemplo los padres de mi abuelo eran gran canarios. Y entonces había mucho mucho canario mucho andaluz. Por eso nuestra manera de hablar también es bien parecida a la manera de hablar del andaluz o sea aspiramos las eses decimos o cambiamos ele... ere por ele en medio de las palabras.

Esperanza: Sí es muy parecido.

Ana: Entonces es también parecido yo creo que es energía también o sea aparte de que nos viene de nuestro lado afro.

Esperanza: Claro.

Ana: Pues la aportación española también...

Esperanza: A bien dentro de España me llamó mucha atención la gente de Canarias de verdad porque son muy latinos son más de lo que la gente se piensa y habla con un acento totalmente diferente al andaluz al gallego y al de cualquier otro lugar y tienen... incluso físicamente son más grandes que en el medio de España, son más morenos, no parecen típicamente españoles y son mucho mejor porque la media [incomprehensible] [laughter] por decir pero de verdad a veces se olvida que Canarias son parte de España porque están apartada... apartados pero son españoles con un estilo totalmente diferente y en la manera de bailar se nota que tienen una gracia especial yo voy a Canarias y estuve en Canarias y me daba vergüenza también bailar con ellos es que hija me sacaban de Valencia donde todos bailamos igual.

Ana: Pues vas a tener que tomar una clase de baile. Mira que María va a dar una clase. Es de salsa y merengue.

Esperanza: Ya lo he visto. Ya lo he visto.

Ana: Yo no he tomado una clase con ella pero dicen que es muy buena instructora.

Esperanza: ¿Alguna vez has tomado tú clases Ana para bailar?

Ana: Mira, no. En realidad, no. Tengo unos amigos muy buenos que son un matrimonio. Están casados uno con el otro. Ella fue su instructora de baile en Puerto Rico y así se enamoraron. Entonces nos reunimos, ponemos música, bailamos, y bueno para aprender unas vueltas, o algunas piruetas así algo bonito pues sí o sea ella nos enseñan pero en realidad, no. En realidad a bailar aprendimos en la casa.

Esperanza: Viendo la gente, ¿no?

Ana: Viendo la gente en las fiestas de familia.

Esperanza: Y se nota muchísimo porque es algo que nunca olvidas.

Ana: Nunca.

Esperanza: Es decir te pueden enseñar a bailar, te pueden enseñar cuatro pasos y puede quedar dentro de tres meses y después no sepas esos tres pasos pero lo que es natural nunca lo olvidas y cada vez bailas mejor porque...

Ana: Y puedes bailar con cualquier persona.

Esperanza: Exactamente.

Ana: Ahora depende de la pareja porque por ejemplo la salsa pues requiere que el hombre sepa bien dirigir la mujer, ¿ves? Ahora, si el hombre tiene dos pies izquierdos olvídate. Olvídate de eso ah no mija ni van pa tra ni pa lante. Pero por ejemplo yo que bailo siempre con la misma pareja pues ya estoy acostumbrada. Entonces ya suena la música y tú das un brinco y fuacata allí está.

Esperanza: Tú vas a seguir a esa persona.

Ana: Exacto. Y si cambio de pareja. Muy bien. Tranquilamente. Pero si el muchacho que está bailando conmigo como que está nervioso que no sabe muy bien como dar el paso. Entonces...

Esperanza: Se nota muchísimo.

Ana: Se nota.

Esperanza: Es verdad, también allí en el bar en que estuvimos cualquier persona bailaba con cualquier otra persona que no dices que tengan unos pasos o una rutina aprendida o hay que bailar siempre el mismo. No, es que cambian de persona al mejor una persona que no conocía porque Juana bailó con un chico que nunca había visto en su vida. Y parecía de verdad cuando bailaban que realmente se conocían y que habían enseñado y como si fuera una actuación. Es increíble la capacidad que tienes que tener para seguir unos pasos inconscientemente.

Ana: Volviendo al tema de Puerto Rico...

Esperanza: Lo que sí me dijo el padre de Juana es que están intentando hacer un tren en Puerto Rico y la verdad es que está bien porque mucha gente no tenga coche. Yo vi un supuesto tren, una estación o algo y me decía aquí están haciendo el tren y yo... hmmm, vale...

Ana: Lo que pasa es un proyecto que lo hizo la administración anterior que era nuevo progresista o sea pro-estadidad la actual gobernadora es pro-status quo. Y en Puerto Rico la política es muy partidista. Entonces si vienen los del color azul y hacen el proyecto el tren urbano cuando vuelve la... las elecciones y ganan los del color rojo se quedó el proyecto detenido.

Esperanza: Me llamó mucha atención que hay elecciones en noviembre en Puerto Rico y todo el mundo ya está en tensión.

Ana: Claro. Claro que sí.

Esperanza: Era como que se acabaron y yo pregunté “cuándo son las elecciones.” Digo “llego a tiempo para ver las elecciones puertorriqueñas” y me dijeron no en noviembre. Y yo “no puede ser.”

Ana: Son en noviembre pero ya la gente está haciendo campaña.

Esperanza: Y por la radio...

Ana: Por el...la radio

Esperanza: Viven los estadistas, viven los independentistas de todo. Pero increíble yo pensaba que llegaba a tiempo y me dijo Juana que se toman muy en serio.

Ana: Muy en serio.

Esperanza: que tienen como una semana no sé que para... para pensar o meditar que... es súper-serio realmente.

Ana: Es súper-serio. Contrario a los países incluso Estados Unidos, donde el nivel o sea el porcentaje de los votantes es mínimo considerando la población del país sin embargo en Puerto Rico el pueblo se desborda y bala su horna. Y aquello es increíble o sea hay familias divididas y de todo. Y el día de las elecciones hay caravanas y todo el mundo a la calle y los viejos, los niños, todo al mundo aquí con su bandera y siempre se forman una pelea así pequeña y la gente se calla bandadazo y todo pero es parte de idiosincrasia puertorriqueño o sea Puerto Rico tiene una mente muy politizada. La política, el estatus social de la isla, se lo toman muy en serio. Y no es algo de los adultos nada más ni de... de edad media sino que incluso los universitarios en general o sea el joven puertorriqueño es un joven politizado se envuelve en las manifestaciones políticas.

Esperanza: Sí porque me llamó mucha atención que cada vez que votas, si lo piensas, estás decidiendo si quieres que el gobierno sea independiente, estadista o popular. No es una pequeña decisión.

Ana: En general tenemos un espíritu de auto-determinación muy fuerte que no toleramos que nadie imponga nada. Entonces yo creo que en parte por eso es una de las razones por las cuales hasta el momento que nos hemos mantenido como un estado libre asociado. O sea nos asociamos pero con calma aquí no vengas a plantar la bandera y a decirme lo que tengo que hacer. Ah, sí, sí hay la ley federal, OK pero nosotros tenemos nuestra constitución, nuestras leyes, nuestros aranceles, nuestra... nuestro programa de haciendo nuestros impuestos, etcétera. O que sea fan [ese afán] de auto-determinación está muy presente en la gente porque la gente quiere sentirse parte del proceso.

APPENDIX D

Conversation 3

- Roberto: No voy a estar aquí pero Juan, su carnala, su carnala, carnal
Juan: Todos estamos presentes
Roberto: Cuéntanos algo de tu del trabajo que haces en el On the Borders
Juan: Podemos hablar acerca de eso. Por la mañana de siete a tres soy preparador and on the evenings I'm on the line.
Roberto: On the line?
Juan: On the line where I'm just getting orders in and throwing them out myself
Roberto: How many people man?
Juan: Trabajamos somos seis trabajadores.
Roberto: Sí.
Juan: Dos lavaplatos y cuatro [incomprehensible] eso es jueves, viernes, y sábado solamente cause Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday is a slow day.
Roberto: It's full time?
Juan: Yeah.
Roberto: Full time work?
Juan: Full time and part time job at Wild Wing tres días a la semana cuatro horas por día.
Roberto: Man you kill yourself.
Juan: Well it's not so bad. It's not so bad, cause four hours, yeah, well, you know, sleeping-wise, yeah. But it's not so bad, you know.
Roberto: Mmmhmm.
Juan: We don't have to lift up heavy stuff or anything.
Roberto: ¿No? ¿Nada?
Juan: Es mas sociable. Conoces gente. Hablas con la gente. Te comunicas.
Me: ¿Y qué haces en Wild Wing?
Juan: También soy cocinero. I run food on Fridays. Running food you know...it's cash money, so...me conviene, propina. Y estaba en la escuela, pero dejé la escuela por los trabajos porque necesito dinero.
Me: ¿Qué estudiaste?
Juan: En Athens Tech.
Me: ¿Y qué?
Juan: Acabando mi GED. Sí sí sí. Pero no sé que si voy a pasar.
Roberto: ¿No se ha acabado tu GED?
Juan: No. Lo tuve que dejar por la situación de que problem with my money you know the bank credit card and stuff.
Roberto: Oh, bank credit cards, man.

Juan: That'll kill you right there, man. That's no joke. I owes a bunch of money. I overdrawn mine, so it's not a good thing right now. So that's where I'm at right now en la vida.

Roberto: Sssss. Yeah man, es tremendo.

Juan: ¿Y tú?

Roberto: ¿Yo? Yo no hago nada. Do nothing. Just read, study, it's your life. Piece of cake, man. Yo leo estudio, hablo. En las clases hablamos, ¿verdad? ¿Cómo estás? How you doing?

Juan: That kind of thing?

Roberto: Uh huh. Es tenemos que... ellos tienen que repetir, "¿Cómo estás?" y ellos tienen que decir "¿Cómo estás?" para que aprendan y si poco que hablan.

Juan: Claro.

Roberto: Y "adiós" "adiós" Hoy estaba hablando con unos- con mis estudiantes y enseñándoles "Que les parece y...el Kerry es un poco aburrido candidato. Y dice un estudiante "A mí me parece que Kerry es muy muy muy muy liberal." ¿Liberal? [incomprehensible]

Me: "Muy muy muy muy liberal!"

Roberto: Muy muy muy muy digo mucho muy muy muy muy liberal. Tú necesitas—you have to say something like that.

Juan: Yeah.

Roberto: "A mí me parece que Kerry es aburrido." O "A mí me parece que Kerry es alto." Sí, es alto, ¿no?

Me: Creo que sí

Roberto: Nunca sabes en la televisión.

Juan: ¿Y tú también eres maestra?

Me: Sí.

Juan: Está bien.

Roberto: Estudiante y maestra.

Juan: Estudiante y maestra.

Roberto: Yeah man, both things. I mean it's hard. You have to write a lot.

Juan: Have to put up with a lot.

Roberto: Read, you kill yourself reading and reading and....pero bueno, no es como cargar, por ejemplo los pollos allí en Con Agra.

Juan: Una pesadilla.

Roberto: O otra hoja en la construcción en el calor, como ahora.

Juan: [incomprehensible] no está bien.

Roberto: Caliente, caliente ahora. Si trabajas afuera bueno me gusta pero la humedad es terrible man.

Juan: Cualquier época para mí es terrible.

Roberto: ¿Has trabajado en la construcción?

Juan: Duré un mes en la construcción, pero estaba de roofing.

Roberto: Roofing?

Juan: Oh my God. I had to get up there and nail those things—ta, ta, ta. And no, mucho [calde] en la espalda no pude so I decided to quit.

Roberto: En qué...qué temporada

Juan: Calor... en este...

Roberto: ¿Calor? No man.
 Juan: Al fin de este mes hacía calor.
 Roberto: Ah no roofing...
 Juan: Un trapo mojado en la cabeza y un sombrero
 Roberto: Es caliente el roofing. It's hot. Yo trabajaba en la construcción pero no roofing.
 Juan: Yeah I couldn't handle it. I didn't even know anything I just jump in there and nail something seriously.
 Roberto: Pero allí estás bien, ¿no? En el restaurante, hay aire acondicionado...
 Juan: Yeah there's food and bathrooms ha ha ha. Just in case there's an emergency. [incomprehensible] you know you run to the bathroom.
 Roberto: Bien.
 Juan: It's fun like that porque you don't understand so many people do so many crazy things. You see that kind of shit and you can laugh at them.
 Roberto: People.
 Juan: People, I guess you could say all the students because all the waiters and waitresses are estudiantes de la Universidad otros son extranjeros y hacen unos estupideces y dicen unas cosas pero raras y nos vienen borrachas y muchas cosas así y...
 Roberto: Pero seguro que hay dos, tres...
 Juan: Que [divertado] sí es muy divertido hasta los malos todos.
 Roberto: Por todo.
 Juan: Like everybody has their own thing going on you know?
 Roberto: Yeah.
 Juan: It's fun though.
 Roberto: Dos, tres psychos.
 Juan: There's always a hair in the soup, man. There's always a hair in the soup. It's all cool. Me gusta trabajar en restaurantes. Empecé lavando platos, limpiando mesas, en la register, luego empecé de mesero y ya subí hasta cocinero. Ya lo sé todo.
 Roberto: Vamo... Un día vamos a hacer este buisness, man. El business del... del...
 Juan: De lo que he contado.
 Roberto: Lavacoches.
 Juan: ¿Por qué no tiene negocio?
 Roberto: [incomprehensible] negocio, business.
 Juan: Latino Touch.
 Roberto: Network, Latino Network.
 Juan: Carwash.
 Roberto: Mexican Network.
 Juan: Yeah you could say Mexican.
 Roberto: Neta.
 Juan: [incomprehensible].
 Roberto: Porque no me pasa está cerrado... un trabajo así ocho horas cada día. Man demasiado.
 Juan: Muy aburrido.
 Roberto: Sí no es muy... pero entonces si tienes el business, tienes el business, mira, entras claro tienes que chombear tienes que...
 Juan: Claro es bueno de tu parte.

Roberto: Sí, sí pero, whenever you have the time...whenever...

Juan: See that's the problem though.

Roberto: You are your own boss.

Juan: That's the problem. Ha ha ha.

Roberto: That's the problem man.

Juan: Cause you can do whatever you want whenever you want and nobody can tell you nothin about it. And if you don't have control over yourself... ya se acabó todo. Ya se acabó todo. No llegas lejos. Cause of self esteem and stuff, es mucho, man. Aparte de saber hacer trabajo, yo sé que...

Roberto: Pero si sabes que vas a ganar propio dinero.

Juan: No, pues sí.

Roberto: Trabajas y es tu propio dinero. Aquí dependes de un salario cuanto y si no te gusta el salario...

Juan: Puedes buscar...

Roberto: Otro trabajo.

Juan: One of them though.

Roberto: Verdad entonces, business, pero mejor. Para mí es... desde chico mi papá nunca trabajaba para alguien pero para él mismo

Juan: Oh really?

Roberto: [incomprehensible] en tu casa. En your house mainly then how much ok cobas el negocio y cuanto vas a pagar y cuanto puedes pagar. Mi papá trabaja el lunes si quiere si no, no. Trabaja el sábado o domingo si quiere si no, no. Entonces

Juan: Está bien eso.

Roberto: Ellos trabajaban doce horas por día [incomprehensible] Work twelve hours a day or just seven hours a day so...

Juan: That's cool.

Roberto: Por eso quiero hacer el business, man. Aquí es mucho... mucho trabajo.

Juan: You see the other business I was thinking about too is like have a bunch of pool tables.

Roberto: Pool tables?

Juan: Yeah, I mean you could put two or three and then charge 'em per hour. Y lo pones acerca de una comunidad hispana. Man you could make a lot of money especially if you have a license to sell beer.

Roberto: No hay un lugar para latinos especial aquí mexicanos.

Juan: Yeah, no tienen. El único lugar que está es Brass Row which is over there by

Mitchell Bridge Road next to Publix. Brass Row, pool tables.

Roberto: For Mexicans?

Juan: No, just for anybody.

Roberto: Anybody?

Juan: But there's a lot of Hispanic people that goes there. Por eso te digo que hace falta un negocio así también.

Roberto: Sí porque los indígenas o los hispanos quieren su propio lugar. Muchas veces... anoche fuimos... éramos cuatro. Nadie habla inglés. El Toques, Juan, El Tigre. Entonces para ordenar yo tengo que ir. Ah Roberto, le digo "alright." Please would you you know four rum coke. There is no allí en este... en la cantina no

había nadie que hablara español. Entonces estos amigos no hablan inglés, necesitan “¿qué onda?” “Alright, man.” So is it así hay muchos mexicanos, ¿no?

Juan: Asisto a veces.

Roberto: Traduciendo.

Juan: I be like that all the time, translating. I take people to court, hospitals, translate their bills. And you know it’s been like that for awhile. My friends, people I don’t even know, people like where I work at the laundromat up the hill right beside... right in front of Pizza Hut. Allí trabajo en los lavadores and people just walk in there. “Hey, tú hablas inglés, ¿no?” “Ah, yeah, poco.” “Me ayudas a traducir este bil de no sé quien.” They actually want to pay me five, ten dollars pero I be like “no, está bien. Mejor luego tú me regreses el favor.” M’k and that’s it.

Roberto: Yeah I have done that.

Juan: And I don’t know, but I mean I’m always thinking should I just dedicate my life to that, translating and stuff and give out my business card. Cause I don’t even look for people to help out translating I just bump into people. La gente me llega.

Roberto: Lo mejor es que tengas una oficina por ejemplo como lavacoches puedes servicios extras si traduces, si hacen... si quieren formularios para un trabajo. Yo he hecho eso. Una señora estaba en Con Agra me pasé media hora y me dijo “Señor, señor, veinte dólares por gracias por su ayuda.” “no, no, no señora, adiós, adiós.” Me quería pagar veinte dólares la señora porque ayudé a la señora pero yeah man a business like that. No hay mucho servicios para hispanos. Así que se necesitan servicios.

Juan: Sí. Y hablando de servicios en este... como te digo...en esta grabación podemos hablar de todo, ¿verdad? De amor...de violencia... de negocios.
[incomprehensible] [laughter] el amor fluye en el aire. [laughter] No, I was just being curious.

Roberto: Love is in the wing.

Juan: No cause actually you know you wanna know why cause today I was in the laundromat washing the rest of my clothes cause I went to a buddy of mine last night y ya era muy tarde and I have three loads and he only have one washer and one dryer so I was like no I’m not gonna sit here til two o’clock in the morning so I went up there today and I was thinking about my girl because she wanted Mexican. And I just started writing just anything y mis ideas como un poema. Me gusta la poetría. No sé mucho pero me gusta los poemas. Por eso te preguntaba si si trataba de eso.

Roberto: Is your poem in inglés? ¿español?

Juan: En español. ¿Quieres que te lo leo?

Roberto: ¿Puro español?

Juan: Puro español. Yo casi no escribo en inglés porque no sé mucho escribir en inglés. Si te lo leo. Ok estaba escribiendo que todo no bien organizado, ¿verdad? pero no es un poema cien por ciento it’s just a thought you can look at it like whatever. Este amor loco solamente lo entendemos tú y yo
Para que nos hundíamos si la reconciliación es un abrazo
El amor que sentimos es loco
Déjate querer amorcito mío

Deja quererte vamos a hablarnos
Vamos a seguir
I gotta like put it more organized. It's just a thought you know? I don't know
cause there's things you can only understand some things... yeah.

Roberto: Ah so it's good to write what you think and feel, man.

Juan: Yeah and I just couldn't...

Roberto: You're still organizing things that's the point... cualquier cosa... un poema libre,
¿verdad? Claro si tienes un cuadercito mejor que este...[looking at the scrap of
paper] [laughter]

Juan: Yeah this is ugly.

Roberto: Porque este se te olvida ...

Juan: Yeah, like I was saying it's just a thought... this old beat up paper, it's okay. I'll
keep that in mind. I'll put it in a better book.

Roberto: Un cuadercito siempre que tengas porque...

Juan: Una agenda.

Roberto: Lo traigas aquí porque las ideas se van o llegan de repente. Si llegan de repente...

Juan: Es como...

Roberto: Yo a veces a las dos o tres de la mañana me levanto y escribo algo.

Juan: Oh yeah?

Roberto: Tengo una pluma o lápiz. Es difícil las ideas... las ideas buenas, en mi caso, no
vienen, no vienen [laughter].

APPENDIX E

Conversation 4

*note: This conversation was transcribed by Eunice Rojas.

- Julio: Le ortogaron...le dieron soberanía al país de Irak. En otras palabras tengan su país después del reguero que nosotros hemos hecho, ahora no podemos más con esto... ténganlo para tras. Te lo devolvemos.
- Gabriel: Arregla tú la situación.
- Julio: Arregla la situación, exactamente.
- Gabriel: Bueno, un día tenía que pasar esto. Tenían una fecha del treinta. Y a lo mejor lo hicieron dos días antes para que no hubiesen atentados y todo eso, bombas explotando en el día, el treinta.
- Julio: Este presidente tuyo es...tremendo.
- Gabriel: ¿Mío?
- Julio: Sí, él es tuyo.
- Gabriel: Yo soy brasileño. No tengo nada que ver con esto.
- Julio: Pero tú lo elegiste.
- Gabriel: No, no.
- Julio: No, verdad, tú eres chavista.
- Gabriel: Sí, mi problema es en Venezuela.
- Julio: En Venezuela es tu problema.
- Gabriel: No, pero, el gran fue haberse metido en la guerra. Una vez que se metió en este, en este problema todo, un día tendría que salir, ¿no?
- Julio: Todo el mundo se lo dijo antes de entrar. Trataron de advertirle que
- Gabriel: Todo el mundo no...
- Julio: Todo el mundo no, pero...
- Gabriel: Algunas personas.
- Julio: Algunas personas. Y él no escuchó y esas son las cosas que pasan cuando uno quiere...
- Gabriel: Pero sabes que, una cosa interesante que en la época en que hubo la invasión de Irak yo tenía el programa de radio con Joaquín y Marta, ¿no?
- Julio: Me acuerdo, eso era los viernes por la noche.
- Gabriel: Sí, por la noche. Y Marta y yo hablamos mucho de eso, ¿no? Que nos parecía absurdo que los Estados Unidos se metiera sin la ayuda de la ONU, sin pasar por todos los pasos, ¿no? Todo el proceso, el procedimiento para por fin decidir entrar o no en el país. Y siempre me pareció que la prensa en los Estados Unidos no, a mí no me parece que la prensa haya opinado en contra de la ocupación de Irak y por lo menos y siempre sigo los noticieros y vi la prensa americana muy con... con todo lo que pasó porque llegó un cierto momento que ser en contra de la ocupación de Estados Unidos era, de cierta manera era ser antipatriótico, ¿no?

Julio: Ridículo, ridículo.

Gabriel: ¿Cómo ves tú la prensa en Estados Unidos en estos momentos de crisis, cómo?

Julio: Igual, Igual.

Gabriel: Siempre pasa lo mismo, o...

Julio: Yo te diría que sí. A través de la historia siempre se ha visto este patrón de conducta. Y de verdad que, este concepto de que cuando uno no está de acuerdo con una política o algo que el gobierno está haciendo y que uno es menos americano por cuestionar para mí yo encuentro que eso es ridículo, ridículo. Porque en una democracia uno tiene el derecho de cuestionar. Y ya con se, ese derecho de cuestionar, no sé, se guarde en una gaveta creo que no, eso... la democracia, pues se sufre.

Gabriel: mm hmm.

Julio: Así que eso es, eso es... pero, ustedes los republicanos...

Gabriel: Yo no soy republicano. Muchacho, yo soy brasileño. No tengo nada que ver con esto. Mira, nosotros, Marta y yo, siempre hablamos de eso. ¿Dónde están las pruebas? ¿Dónde están las armas de destrucción masivas, no? Que era la base del discurso de Bush. Y ah, se pasaron dos años todavía no hay nada comprobado y todavía la gente sigue apoyando a Bush.

Julio: Él dice, él dice que las hay. Lo que pasa es que no se le va, no la va a publicar, o le va a informar al público en su momento porque recuerda que él cree que todo lo dice en su momento. Y todavía estamos esperando. Pero no sé, creo que... que los eventos...

Gabriel: Tú eres, tu puedes votar el la elección americana, ¿no?

Julio: Yo voto...

Gabriel: ¿Tú siempre votas?

Julio: Siempre voto.

Gabriel: Y ahorita ¿vas a votar en quién?

Julio: ¿Para quién?

Gabriel: Para quién y ¿por qué?

Julio: Pues, para cualquier persona menos... así esté Juan de los Santos de Dios Roble el pagán Guzmán en poder, o postulándose para Presidente, voto por ese.

Gabriel: ¿Sí?

Julio: Si está Bush entonces está el otro partido que es cualquiera

Gabriel: Cualquiera.

Julio: Cualquiera.

Gabriel: Uno Dos Tres de Oliveira Quatro.

Julio: Es un nombre brasilero. Un Dos Tres de Olivera Quatro.

Gabriel: Pero tú crees que el hecho de haber un tercer candidato, esto obviamente no es muy favorable para que, que John Kerry gane las elecciones.

Julio: No sé. Yo creo que...

Gabriel: Pero eso es... ¿Cómo se llama el otro, Nahder?

Julio: Ralph Nader

Gabriel: Nader. Tiene derecho, ¿no? Por lo menos en mi país las elecciones tiene quince veinte partidos y cualquiera desde que tenga un cierto nivel de escolaridad, una cierta edad y que haya participado en las elecciones en los últimos tres o cuatro

pleitos puede candidatarse, y que tenga un partido también, puede candidatarse a Presidente de la República.

Julio: Wow.

Gabriel: Y aquí la gente siempre, algunas personas reclaman, cuando hay un tercer, una tercera opción, una tercera vía. Y quieren siempre tener sólo dos partidos, o sea, republicano o demócrata. Yo que vengo de fuera, cuando miro los dos partidos para mí, es casi la misma cosa.

Julio: ¿Sí?

Gabriel: Para mí los dos son bastante conservadores... Entonces no hay opción.

Julio: Ahora los republicanos piensan aquí que los demócratas son...

Gabriel: Liberales, no liberales. Usan la palabra liberal peyorativamente. Muy interesante. Ser liberal es casi como ser comunista en latinoamérica.

Julio: ¿Sí?

Gabriel: Sí, es algo extremadamente negativo.

Julio: Sí...es algo.

Gabriel: Es actuar liberal. Como si fuera... No, no, yo no. Los demócratas... Sí, soy liberal. Eh, simplemente explicar lo que es ser liberal, no, se ofenden también. No, yo no soy liberal. [incompreensible] Fue una de las primeras cosas que yo vi cuando vine aquí. Acusar uno de liberal era algo fuerte. Ha, ha, ha. En Brasil la gente quiere ser liberal.

Julio: Sí, las cosas que pasan en este país.

Gabriel: ¿Qué más? ¿Y mañana, tú vas a ver el partido mañana?

Julio: Voy a ver el partido, sí.

Gabriel: ¿Dónde? ¿En la casa?

Julio: Creo que voy a venir a Little Italy...

Gabriel: Oh, podemos ver, mirarlo juntos. ¿A que hora es? ¿Las dos y media?

Julio: Dos y media. Después de la clase entonces voy a... Yo acabo a las tres y media así que voy a ver la segunda mitad.

Gabriel: Ah, yo ya voy a estar allá. Sí... Portugal y Holanda.

Julio: Eso va a ser tremendo partido. Para mí que ese es el mejor partido...

Gabriel: Sí, creo que sí.

Julio: Y creo que el que gane allí va a ganar.

Gabriel: ¿Tú crees?

Julio: Aunque la República Checa está jugando muy bien.

Gabriel: Sí, yo voy con la República Checa. Yo siempre digo que voy con la República Checa, pero si Portugal está en la final, por el simple hecho de tener en la historia de Brasil este, este [elo?] con Portugal yo creo que voy con Portugal en la final, pero teóricamente tendría que ir con la República Checa porque es el único equipo que está ganando, que está jugando para ganar.

Julio: Sí.

Gabriel: Los otros están siempre pensando en el resultado, tienen miedo de jugar y los checos están jugando fútbol.

Julio: Los checos están jugando y de qué manera.

Gabriel: Sí, entonces a uno que le guste el fútbol tiene que ir con...

Julio: Oye, entonces, yo no vi el partido entre Portugal y

Gabriel: Inglaterra.

Julio: Inglaterra. ¿Quién...?
 Gabriel: Tremendo partido.
 Julio: ¿De verdad? ¿Quién ganó? Bueno, Portugal ganó
 Gabriel: Empató durante tiempo normal. Inglaterra iba a ganar hasta cuarenta del segundo tiempo.
 Julio: ¡No me digas!
 Gabriel: Sí, y entonces Portugal empató uno a uno. Fueron para la prórroga. Entonces Portugal metió un gol a la, a los tres cuatro minutos de la prórroga y cuando estaba terminando... Inglaterra empató.
 Julio: ¡No me digas!
 Gabriel: Sí, a los trece del segundo tiempo de la prórroga, entonces.
 Julio: Wow. Se fueron a los penaltis.
 Gabriel: A los penales. Sí. Y Portugal ganó en el último. EA... Bueno, todos convirtieron los cinco primeros. Ah, no, no. No convirtieron porque... Beckham perdió uno pero un muchacho de Portugal también.
 Julio: ¿Beckham perdió uno?
 Gabriel: Sí, tiró la pelota hacia la lua, la luna.
 Julio: Ha, ha.
 Gabriel: Sí, ridículo.
 Julio: ¿De verdad?
 Gabriel: Sí, como el gol está aquí, la pelota hacia allá. He he. Y los arcos. Entonces, lo perdió de una manera ridícula.
 Julio: ¿Tú piensas que es uno de los mejores jugadores del mundo?
 Gabriel: No, por favor. Quizás de los más pinta, de los más bonito, más bello. Tiene bastante habilidad, pero comparado con los más grandes de la historia... Hay mucha publicidad. Hoy en día todo es. No solamente con él, pero con los brasileños también. Esta gente tiene... Este Ronaldo que juega con el Real Madrid tiene un contrato con la Nike de cien millones de dólares por diez años. Es demasiada plata. Entonces, no...
 Julio: Y él nunca llegó a ser... él es bueno, pero tampoco jugó...
 Gabriel: Es un gran jugador pero no es para tanto.
 Julio: No es ningún Maradona.
 Gabriel: No, no es Pelé, no es Maradona, no es Cruyff.
 Julio: No es Cruyff.
 Gabriel: No es Beckingbauer. Es un jugador muy arriba de la media.
 Julio: ¿Dirías que no es ni un Batistuta?
 Gabriel: Ehh... Quizás ya está más o menos al nivel de Batistuta.
 Julio: mmmmm.
 Gabriel: Pero no es el Romario, no es Bastaten. Es otra clase de jugador...
 Julio: Cruyff. Me acuerdo de Cruyff. Tremendo jugador.
 Gabriel: Tremendo jugador, sí. ¿Qué más, de qué más hablamos hoy?
 Julio: No sé. ¿De qué más?
 Gabriel: De Blue Sky. Estamos aquí en Starbucks, pero vamos a hablar de lo que están haciendo en Blue Sky. ¿Qué te parece esto?
 Julio: No sé. Pienso que cambiarlo...
 Gabriel: Parece que van a tener un restaurante, no?

Julio: Para mí, para mí que a veces, no sé. Si la fórmula está bien de la manera que tienes algo. Tratar de cambiarlo sería... A veces pierdes. Lo pierdes todo por tratar de cambiar.

Gabriel: Sí.

Julio: Y fíjate como lo tenían antes como un local, como un café local. La gente venía y tenía su sándwiches preparados y todo. Piensa que era mucho mejor que ahora que ahora hay que ordenar... Antes yo venía a Blue Sky por la conveniencia de buscarme un café y un sándwich rápidamente.

Gabriel: Mmm hmmm.

Julio: Yo no quiero estar allí esperando un sándwich. Ridículo, perdóname. Ridículo. Y si el negocio se va al piso eventualmente es porque no hicieron la investigación apropiada.

Gabriel: Pero, alguien me dijo que Blue Sky es de la gente de [incomprehensible]. ¿Es verdad eso?

Julio: Creo que sí, creo. Creo.

Gabriel: Que ellos han comprado varios negocios en el centro de Athens para impedir que las grandes corporaciones tomen todos los espacios...

Julio: Ellos son activistas en el pueblo mucho. Y siempre, ellos están también con estos códigos de mantener cierto ambiente de arquitectura y todo para que no se vaya el sentido de pueblo. Y lo hacen allá... Ellos tienen, ellos son dueños de varias casas en Normaltown también. Hay que arreglarlas y pintarlas de cierta manera. No pueden ser muy modernas, etcetera. Así que no sé. Pero yo espero que el Blue Sky todavía sirva un buen producto porque...

Gabriel: Un poquito caro, no.

Julio: El Blue Sky?

Gabriel: Sí a mí siempre me parece...

Julio: No tanto, bueno....

Gabriel: ¿Siempre me regalan este jugo de limón que cuesta, cuánto, tres dólares?

Julio: Bueno, pero es...

Gabriel: Es bastante caro.

Julio: Pero aquí...

Gabriel: Aquí todo es caro

Julio: Aquí todo es caro cuando se trata de café o de jugo o lo que sea. Nada es muy barato que digamos.

Gabriel: Mm. hmm.

Julio: ¿Y qué vas a hacer ahora cuando acabe el verano?

Gabriel: ¿El verano? Tráteme psicológicamente para la clase que me queda para terminar el doctorado.

Julio: ¿Cuál es?

Gabriel: Bueno, cualquiera... La que sea más fácil, probablemente, pero José quiere que yo tome la clase con Bultman.

Julio: ¿Qué clase es?

Gabriel: Es una clase de teoría. O sea que la clase en sí a mí me gusta. Lo que me fastidia es hacer trabajos y presentaciones. Ya son diez semestres que estoy aquí, cinco años porque estaba antes... y siempre tomo clases en verano. Nunca tengo vacaciones. Entonces, siempre esto trabajo, presentaciones...

Julio: Y en diciembre fuiste, digo ¿vas a Venezuela?
Gabriel: Sí, eso sí.
Julio: Y ya tienes el boleto de avión
Gabriel: Quizás mañana... Me va a costar seiscientos y ocho dólares, pero voy a llegar por Valencia. No voy a llegar por Caracas porque vive Patricia vive cerca de Valencia, como a veinte minutos. Entonces yo voy por otra ciudad.
Julio: ¿Y cómo... el avión llega a Valencia?
Gabriel: Sí, llega a Valencia desde Aruba y después va a Caracas. Sí, llego a Valencia. Es que yo no quiero ir a Caracas que son dos horas después para retornar de coche. Prefiero parar por ahí.
Julio: Prefieres montar en una avioneta de esas que tiene tape pegado a las alas.
Gabriel: Pero llegan más rápido.
Julio: Llegan más rápido.

APPENDIX F

Conversation 5

Josefina: Hey Rosa! How are you?
Rosa: I'm good. ¿Cómo estás tú?
Josefina: [incomprehensible] bien. Remember that translation? Lo que hicimos el otro di...
Rosa: Horrible.
Josefina: God, what a pain. Eso de verdad... con esa cantidad de cosas and to tell you the truth I don't know what they say. What's wrong with these people? You know?
Rosa: Sí, es insoportable en realidad la traducción. I don't think they even knew what they were talking about.
Josefina: I don't either. I mean I tell you. Una página es una cosa, the other one would say something else. It's kind of...
Rosa: Well, it contradicted itself, totalmente.
Josefina: I'm telling you. Now we need to celebrate cuando nos pagan, we're going to go party.
Rosa: Outlet Mall shopping.
Josefina: And we're going to go shopping. Vamos a ir a shopping y a comprar unas cosas so cute to wear.
Rosa: I know.
Josefina: I know.
Rosa: Ah este café lo necesito estoy muriendo de frío. It's so cold in here.
Josefina: Thank God. Está freezing. Está frizada aquí adentro en este sitio, it is amazing. But anyways that's good you know. This is a new thing you know they just created. Parece ser una mezcala de qué sé yo que vaya. Who know's what the heck is in.
Rosa: I don't know pero sabe caramelo.
Josefina: But it tastes good.
Rosa: Mmm hmm, it tastes like... caramelo.
Josefina: Es bueno cuando saben bueno y le dan a uno... they keep you calentica.
Rosa: Yeah.
Josefina: So what's up with the University? ¿Cómo están las cosas por allí?
Rosa: I don't know. Ahorita estoy tomando una clase pero es really laid back. Es... es por internet. Entonces la puedo hacer cuando quiera luego cuando quiera...
Josefina: So whenever you please you just va on-line, escribes three, four things, and then you go back to business and call Laura and then you go hit the sack.
Rosa: Exactly.
Josefina: Jesus christ. I was thinking you know para la otra translation...
Rosa: Uh-huh.
Josefina: That we have to do perhaps va a ser mejor que nos juntemos unos días antes, we get together to see what's going on and plan ahead because that many pages I

mean you have to be typing en la computadora y luego... we need to think about it first antes de empezar el trabajo.

Rosa: Sí hay que ver que tipo de... vocabulario.

Josefina: What kind of vocabulary para escoger los dictionaries.

Rosa: Mmhmm.

Josefina: Que tenemos que escoger. And that is before we go to Miami.

Rosa: Ah, ¿sí?

Josefina: Because estoy planning on taking vacaciones y a ver a gente porque is a long time que no veo a nadie.

Rosa: Ay que ridículo que allí hay de todo.

Josefina: Go to la playita, and have some fun and then who knows? Un poquito de color porque estoy blanca como una frog. I mean I have to do something about it.

Rosa: Sí con esta lluvia, con este tiempo aquí.

Josefina: I'm telling you, jesus christ.

Rosa: It's horrible.

Josefina: It is horrible. What are you going to do tomorrow?

Rosa: Tomorrow? Ah, no sé. Creo que voy a dormir hasta bien tarde, hacer unas diligencias, si está [incomprehensible] tiempo, I'm gonna maybe sunbathe un ratico, I don't know.

Josefina: Maybe you're gonna sunbathe?

Rosa: Uh-huh.

Josefina: Por un ratico.

Rosa: mm hmm un ratico.

Josefina: No mucho. Tú sabes que tengo una amiga que se llama Amy. I got a friend named Amy I'll tell you about y ella quiere que yo converse en... en.. tú sabes que we speak like that in Miami y tú dices tres palabras en un idioma y la otra y you can understand me porque puedes hablar las dos cosas pero otra gente that maybe won't be able to understand todas las cosas que tú está diciendo porque es complicado cambiar de un idioma pa otra.

Rosa: Yeah.

Josefina: Pero I hope she like lo que vamos a hacer.

Rosa: Sí, ojalá que sea useful.

Josefina: Ojalá que sea useful she can apply that as her clase y puede sacar de eso un buen provecho.

Rosa: ¿Quién sabe qué otros idiomas ellos están haciendo, no?

Josefina: I don't know if they are doing in another idioma, I'm not to sure about it, but at least we're gonna try for me it's kind of everyday activity hablar en that way.

Rosa: yeah.

Josefina: Not in here though no aquí. Aquí no tengo tiempo to speak both languages unless I am contigo o con otro de los intérpretes because if I speak like this a mi esposo he got no clue.

Rosa: He wouldn't understand.

Josefina: y es lo que está pasando porque es americano y no entiende, sabe just a few little words and he use them un ratico ahora y después. But I mean it's fun. Te acuerdas el otro día que te dije que vamos a ver si... si compramos cosas nuevas allá en el mall de Atlanta

Rosa: mm hmm

Josefina: To go shopping allá somebody told me that they have tremendos precios en el mall.

Rosa: Tienen un sale?

Josefina: Some kind of sale. Me gusta porque quiero comprar cosas más baratas, shoes y otro tipo de... you know como me encantan los suits. So if I can get a couple of dos trajes con zapatos que combine

Rosa: Si especialmente en esta época porque ya está en invierno los trajes se ponen en sale, you know?

Josefina: Season is changing and when that happens you know what happens, not to mention that I have to watch for la talla nueva, estoy fuera de talla, tengo que comprar otra. At this moment I don't even know qué size soy. I don't know that any longer. ¿Cuál es tu size?

Rosa: ¿Mi size? Bueno yo también estoy en un problema no sé que size soy no sé ni un size ni el otro size. Antes era entre uno y tres. Ahora estoy entre cuatro y quién sabe qué.

Josefina: ¿O quién sabe who? Who knows who?

Rosa: ¿Quién sabe who?

Josefina: [laughter] that's funny. And I wonder how long Amy quiere que nosotros hablemos.

Rosa: Sí. I'm wondering la misma cosa.

Josefina: Estoy wondering about el tiempo que nosotros hablemos con esto. And to tell you the truth I believe que cuando alguien oye la conversación we are holding right now they are going to believe that we are totally out of the tree.

Rosa: Sí yo creo.

Josefina: It's so funny. But I hope que ella no diga a la gente quien somos nosotras.

Rosa: No por favor, porque esto creo que lo pongan en su clase

Josefina: Porque I can't believe que esa Josefina es dice que es intérprete te hablando half way in slang.

Rosa: Le dijiste tu nombre.

Josefina: Claro. Rosa también que trabaja en la compañía so we both get the blame for everything, but that's fun. Tú sabes que yo conozco a Jeff.

Rosa: Ah sí ¿quién es?

Josefina: Jeff es el novio de Amy. Él es el fiancé de Amy. He works on my computers. He's a brain. So smart.

Rosa: Y él trabaja allí en legal aid

Josefina: He's the one that trabaja en legal aid

Rosa: Sí, me parece chévere lo conocí hoy.

Josefina: He's un flaquito bonito. He's a dear friend of mine. He's the one who got me into this situation, doing this.

Rosa: Oh it's all Jeff's ... es todo Jeff

Josefina: But I'm doing it gladly porque yo quiero que ella saque a good grade en esta situación.

Rosa: Claro que...Es su thesis. Creo que es su thesis.

Josefina: To tell you the truth I believe it will be una de las cosas que ella have to present before she can teach these people or show these people what is...

Rosa: In order to graduarse.

Josefina: Como que se habla en espanglish and this is real Spanglish by somebody who practices Spanglish which is not recommended. Yo no recomiendo a nadie que hable en espanglish porque es el rompe de los dos idiomas. It's not good because none of the languages are being spoken in the right way.

Rosa: Es como un dialecto... como una jerga, como un slang.

Josefina: Some kind of dialect o jerga, you know. Some kind of slang but only a bilingual person would be able to entender por conversar asi cambiar...switcher de un idioma pa otro.

Rosa: Switchar. [laughter]

Josefina: It's a key thing, de repente, like if you are in Miami and you tell somebody "hey [incomprehensible] quieres tú comer pastelitos we can go to this such a place and then we're going to do this and that. It's an automatic thing it comes in your mind just like that.

Rosa: You don't see that too much here in Athens.

Josefina: No, you need to find somebody bilingual que está used to hacerlo porque si no está used to tampoco lo hace because it is something you have to get used to de hacer.

Rosa: A mucha gente no le gusta hacerlo.

Josefina: A lot of people don't like it, but in many ways like I said it comes automatically. Estoy acostumbrada si estoy hablando a un gringo I talk to English... in English all the time. I switch if I am speaking with somebody que habla español y me conduzco en español nada más without switching to the other language. But when I'm with you, you know we do that all the time while we are working.

Rosa: It's more fun this way.

Josefina: It's fun in court. When I have to do it automatically not specifically Spanglish pero tengo que hablar a una persona en un idioma y otra persona en another one.

Rosa: Oh tienes que switchar constantemente

Josefina: I do that I switch automatically.

Rosa: Algunas veces se confunde cuando está hablando en inglés y también en español

Josefina: I did it to the judge a couple of times cause I was cansada empecé speaking in English and then I continued speaking in Spanish and then I ended up completely in English and everybody was expecting me to speak in español. So it was a total disaster.

Rosa: Como que la mente... gets tired

Josefina: La mente se cansa... La mente gets tired and then you automatically do it. Yeah but like I said it's just a practice and it's just for fun. Let's see ask me something about...

Rosa: ¿y qué está haciendo Herb hoy? ¿Está trabajando?

Josefina: I assume que él está en la oficina del hijo de él, in his son's office.

Rosa: Ah ellos trabajan together

Josefina: I believe... yeah que están trabajando en some kind of inspection they have to do tomorrow in Marietta. Y ellos tienen que ir all the way over there in order to do that inspection. You know it's far away.

Rosa: An inspection for...

Josefina: It's about mold. Una inspección de mold que tienen que hacer para detectarlo en the house.

Rosa: y no hace inspecciones aquí en Athens con la real estate business?

Josefina: He does, I think he spoke with a friend of mine who's in real estate about that and they are planning doing something like that.

Rosa: Seguro que está con bastante business con eso.

Josefina: Probably que están con bastante business.

Rosa: Claro mejor que están aquí y no tienen que ir a Atlanta.

Josefina: That was a specific major trabajo que salió el [incomprehensible] and they took it because it's a lot of money que está envuelto no cuestión de esa manera and they're gonna make that money and... tienen que hacer los trips and we're talking about maybe six, eight thousand dollars cada semana.

Rosa: That's worth...

Josefina: So no voy a ser impatient because it's pretty good money so why not? And he have to do it, but that's what he's doing today. Voy estar con las cosas bastante calmadas. And I'm expecting que me lleve a comer a un lugar en the afternoon.

Rosa: Dile que te lleve a sushi.

Josefina: He doesn't like sushi. Tengo que convencerlo to go to another place cause sushi I mean he's not into sushi.

Rosa: He's not into it?

Josefina: No, you know I like it a lot.

Rosa: Oh yeah he doesn't like rice. No le gusta el arroz

Josefina: Él no come rice y no sushi tampoco.

Rosa: Claro que no el sushi es puro rice casi

Josefina: So I take him there and I'm totally screwed. I cannot take that out of him. But maybe I convince him to go to Rafferty's y comer una ensalada. I love la ensalada de Rafferty's porque tiene una cremita la más rica y un panito...y un panito con una cremita dulce arriba que it's really good.

Rosa: Bien healthy también.

Josefina: It's healthy also now that I'm in that diet state.

Rosa: Y se nota

Josefina: I'm trying to do dieta. La dieta de 'see-diet.' I eat everything I see. I have another diet I cannot talk about porque el nombre no es buena palabra. I'll tell you later though. Ese se trata de diet ese que tenga nuevo. Maybe you would like to put it onto practice who knows?

Rosa: ¿Quién sabe? me tienes que contar.

Josefina: Maybe I'll tell Amy, too, but later when I see her. I love Amy you know. She got me into this kind of craziness, but I mean she's a good friend of mine. I cannot even believe that I have to go back pa legal aid para esa interpretación con esa mujer ahora.

Rosa: Pero es por teléfono, ¿no?

Josefina: Es por teléfono but I still have to be there.

Rosa: It's an interview?

Josefina: I still have to be there for a few minutes then to go to the telephone to do the interview con la mujer que [incomprehensible]. It's still a pain you know where. But anyways it was a pretty good day today excepting that yo tenía en mi agenda

on the schedule un deposition that never pasó. Llamé al abogado estaba out to lunch, space cadet. So he says “well, I forgot.” “What do you mean I forgot? You had me on the schedule.” “Well, but they change it. I’m sorry.” Todos apologies, todo perdón y todas las cosas, but the fact remains the same I was screwed today going over there and for nothing. A pretty good day anyways. And on top of that it rained.

Rosa: Y llovió encima all over you.

Josefina: I’m gonna shrink if I keep mojandome like that. I’m gonna shrink

Rosa: [laughter]

Josefina: I don’t think I will be able to shrink any more. Si me encojo más me voy a poner...

Rosa: Invisible.

Josefina: Y si y demasiado eso. But other than that the day was pretty good no tuve que hacer nada en corte hoy. I didn’t have to go to corte today, pero tomorrow perhaps tengo que volver a la corte to do something.

Rosa: ¿Tienes un caso?

Josefina: I think will. I’m not too sure, but ella dijo que she’s gonna email me and tell me si había casos o no había casos so I have to wait a ver que dice ella.