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Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Decisions of Correctness in New Mexico Spanish

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES ON DECISIONS OF CORRECTNESS IN NEW MEXICO SPANISH - KRAVITZ

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES ON DECISIONS OF CORRECTNESS IN NEW MEXICO SPANISH

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Foundations

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Abraham and Esther Kravitz, without whose love, support and confidence it would never have been possible. The dissertation is presented in loving memory of my mother who was so proud of my achievement.

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES ON DECISIONS OF

CORRECTNESS IN NEW MEXICO SPANISH

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The purpose of the present investigation was to examine the attitudes of Spanish speakers of an Albuquerque community toward local and standard Mexican Spanish. The preferences expressed and the linguistic elements involved in such decisions were explored. Sociolinguistic factors related to individual and group choices were also considered.

In order to probe the relationship between social and linguistic facts, a single community was investigated. Martineztown, a small, insular Albuquerque Spanish-speaking community was first observed with regard to availability of formal models of Spanish. Sociolinguistic and ethnographic interviews were then conducted. Additional interviews were completed in other New Mexico communities to provide geographical breadth.

Observation of models of formal Spanish in Martineztown revealed Spanish-language periodicals, pamphlets and, more significantly, church publications. Similarly, oral models of formal Spanish were found primarily in religious settings. The media, particularly radio stations, also provide important models.

Decisions of correctness with regard to local and standard Mexican Spanish in a formal, educational setting were examined from a sociolinguistic perspective. Informants provided demographic information and were asked to address specific issues related to language attitudes. In the linguistic interview, informants were required to choose the more correct of two items, thus indicating preferred forms. Information regarding the relative importance of the various linguistic elements (lexicon, phonology, morphophonemics and syntax) in decisions of correctness was also elicited.

Seventy interviews were conducted in Martineztown and thirty were completed in other New Mexico communities. Interviews were conducted by a native Spanish speaker and recorded by the researcher.

The results of the present investigation fall into three general categories: the choice of variety considered to be most correct, the social correlates of such judgments and the relative importance of the various linguistic elements in making these decisions.

Residents of Martineztown demonstrated considerable community cohesion in their choice of linguistic variety. Clearly, standard Mexican Spanish is considered to be correct in an educational context.

In the area of social correlates of linguistic decisions, two basic types of speakers emerged. The first is the better educated individual who is more likely to be literate in Spanish. This type is less inclined to listen to Spanish language radio and considers standard Mexican Spanish to be correct in an educational setting. The second type of speaker is more likely to be illiterate in Spanish and has less formal education. He or she regularly listens to

Spanish language radio which, apparently, fosters local Spanish usage. Informants in this category showed a greater preference for local Spanish than those from the first group.

The various linguistic elements were found to carry different weights in decisions of correctness. By pairing stigmatized forms with preferred forms, it was possible to determine the relative importance of lexicon, phonology, morphophonemics and syntax in informants' judgments. A hierarchy was constructed, based on data collected, indicating the relative importance of the linguistic elements in decisions of correctness:

lexicon
syntax
morphophonemics
phonology

This ranking was found to be intuitively satisfactory when considering the communication of meaning. Lexicon and syntax, the primary carriers of linguistic meaning, were most frequently the focus in decisions of correctness.

The results of the present research have several implications for the field of education. Standard Spanish, regarded highly in this community, needs to be presented to all language students. Lexicon should be an important emphasis in language teaching, especially in the lower levels. Phonology may be most easily postponed until more advanced levels of language learning. More generally, Spanish speakers in the communities studied expressed strong attitudes toward linguistic varieties and such attitudes should be considered in any planning for language classrooms.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Spanish language, originally brought to New Mexico by Spanish conquerors and settlers, has a long, rich and varied heritage. Spanish speakers in southern New Mexico, for example, speak a variety which has been influenced by exposure to numerous waves of Mexican immigrants to the United States. The Spanish of northern New Mexico, on the other hand, has been more isolated and has not undergone a number of the changes typical of the southern New Mexico variety. Urban New Mexico Spanish has been maintained in the face of growing numbers of English speakers and has changed more drastically than the Spanish of the more isolated rural areas.

The overall powerful theme which unites all of these varieties of Spanish is that of maintenance. The Spanish language has been maintained in New Mexico through various generations and historical processes, through all socioeconomic classes, among both males and females and despite differences in religious beliefs. The Spanish-speaking population is a large one. Hernández-Chávez, Cohen, and Beltramo (1975) suggest that the number of Spanish speakers in the Southwest alone is greater than six million. Figures from the 1980 U.S. Census confirm this estimate. Individuals over the age of 5 reportedly speaking Spanish at home number 6,480,011 in the five-state Southwest region, or 15.7% of the total population. The numbers in New Mexico are even more impressive. A total of 352,488 individuals

or 29.7% of the population claims to speak Spanish at home. Interest, then, in the Spanish language and its variation can be attributed to its persistence through both time and space.

The Spanish of the Southwest is a complex phenomenon which cannot be analyzed merely in terms of the various linguistics elements of which it is composed. The social dynamics which are responsible for its maintenance, its internal variation and attitudes towards this variety contribute to an overall understanding. The framework which best suits the examination of a phenomenon of such complexity is one which unites the exploration of social values and institutions with the analysis of purely linguistic elements. This framework is sociolinguistics. Only recently introduced, sociolinguistics has greatly expanded the more traditional framework of descriptive Spanish linguistics. These frameworks, coupled with the sociolinguistic subfield of language attitudes, form the foundation for the present research. In order to visualize the manner in which these traditions complement one another, a brief history of their relationship with respect to the study of Southwest Spanish is necessary.

The first studies of Southwest Spanish date back to the early 1900s when Espinosa wrote Studies in New Mexican Spanish (1909-1915). That linguist extensively described the Spanish of New Mexico in several important volumes. He examined phonological and morphological elements of New Mexico Spanish as well as influence from English. The focus was on ways in which the New Mexico variety differed from standard Spanish.

Interest in the Spanish of the Southwest waned in the decades that

followed but intensified as Hispanics and Hispanic subgroups began to emerge as ethnically identifiable groups. In the 1940s, for example, the Pachucos appeared along with their own special brand of Spanish. Barker (1950) described the jargon with special reference to the lexicon. Still, the emphasis was on deviations from standard Spanish. Barker's study, however, did address the relationship between the social situation of the Pachucos and the development of Pachuco Spanish, indicating the value of considering social factors when examining a linguistic variety.

With the emergence of sociolinguistics as a viable subfield of linguistics in the 1960s, the Spanish language of New Mexico and of the Southwest in general became a more frequent object of study. Thompson's (1971) dissertation on language maintenance in Austin, Texas, was an early doctoral study in the realm of Southwest Spanish sociolinguistics. He identified locality of childhood residence (urban vs. rural) as a major predictor of language maintenance. He also demonstrated that the three-generation process of language shift was occurring in that community. Thompson and, subsequently, many other researchers have found sociolinguistics to be a valuable framework for the investigation of Southwest Spanish.

Sociolinguistics recognizes two primary types of variation in language: geographical and social. Both pertain to Southwest Spanish. Geographically, Southwest Spanish is generally considered to be the variety of Spanish spoken in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. The linguistic and cultural differences among the carriers of the language to the New World as well as its current geographical

expanse are responsible for variation within Southwest Spanish. Social variation is also found, with variety used dependent upon the domain, ranging from informal oral to standard written Spanish. Because of this geographical and social heterogeneity, Southwest Spanish is best described from a sociolinguistic perspective.

While the early studies of Southwest Spanish were typically derived from the tradition of dialectology, largely descriptive in nature and focusing on geographical variation, sociolinguistics posits a relationship between language and social variables. Societal institutions such as education, religion and the family have been found to influence language. In order to better understand a variety such as Southwest Spanish, a minority language spoken by a particular ethnic group in the United States, one must also explore the nature and status of its speakers. The sociolinguist would contend that smaller elements of language and society are also a valuable area for study. Specific linguistic choices may be directly related to group membership(s) of the speaker in addition to temporal and spatial considerations. Language, then, according to the sociolinguistic framework, is not homogeneous. It is best understood with reference to the social setting in which it is used.

The field of language attitudes addresses a specific area of sociolinguistics, that of perceptions. The language variety which an individual speaks is considered to reflect certain values and, therefore, listeners tend to judge the speaker by the variety employed. Social elements such as age, birthplace, education and socioeconomic status may account for differences in attitude. Attitudes toward

different language groups often translate into more generalized attitudes toward social groups.

Two levels of sociolinguistics, the macro- and the micro-, focus on different aspects of language attitudes. At the macro sociolinguistic level, one might examine societal values and attitudes toward the various population subgroups and the varieties spoken. At the microlevel, the focus would be on the specific linguistic characteristics which carry the social information that allows the listener to make judgments about the speaker. Both approaches demonstrate the complexity of language attitudes, comprising linguistic and sociolinguistic components.

The present study draws upon the three major areas discussed above, descriptive Spanish linguistics, sociolinguistics and language attitudes, in order to understand the sociolinguistic nature of attitudes of residents of a Southwestern bilingual community toward variation and correctness. It seeks to determine the relative acceptability of two different varieties of Spanish in an educational setting and the process by which decisions of correctness are made. It also explores the community sociolinguistically in order to determine the social processes which underlie the language attitudes expressed.

Descriptive Spanish linguistics is employed in this research in order to establish the nature of the varieties being observed and judged. A more theoretical branch of descriptive linguistics provides the basis for understanding the process used in making decisions of correctness. Sociolinguistics contributes to an understanding of

both the social relationships of the Spanish-speaking community and specific individual traits related to linguistic preferences. It permits the exploration of language attitudes in the appropriate social context and the examination of bilingual forces in the community. In addition, the final analysis of attitudes and the ways in which they develop and function within the community provides important implications for language teaching and bilingual education. Thus, the theoretical basis and the general focus of the present research span several interrelated disciplines.

While the focus of most studies of Southwest Spanish has been descriptive, emphasizing language use, the present research examines attitudes toward correctness. Information regarding linguistic preferences in a formal setting is sought. Therefore, such attitudinal data take precedence over information regarding language use. This difference in perspective is significant. The present study does not profess to describe the Spanish spoken in the Southwest but, rather, to examine attitudes toward standard and Southwest Spanish and the manner in which linguistic choices are made.

In order to pursue the sociolinguistic concepts of linguistic correctness and formal language, an overall view of the social processes at work in the community is essential. The varieties of the Spanish language and the social settings for the appropriate selection of the variety of Spanish to be used are both areas that must be addressed. One way to approach this matter is through the analysis of the availability of standard Spanish in the community which, in turn, helps to explain decisions of correctness. Local

churches, the cemetery, and social service centers provide community members with models of standard Spanish, written and sometimes oral. They also provide examples of formal language which is, nevertheless, not standard. A close examination of such institutions would add to the understanding of value judgments made by community residents. In short, a broad social view of the community is a prerequisite for understanding the sociolinguistic processes at work.

A total sociolinguistic attitudinal view of a Spanish-speaking community such as the one presented herein has several potential applications. The success of a variety of Spanish taught in school will be partially dependent upon individual and community acceptance. Preferences of community members should be determined before sound educational resolutions can be made. Furthermore, the knowledge that language may be used to judge a speaker and that the various elements of language may carry different weights in such judgments will have repercussions for language teaching.

Integrating the social and linguistic background described above, the present study proceeds to evaluate the decisions of members of a single Albuquerque community, Martineztown, described in depth in Chapter 2, regarding local and standard varieties of Spanish. These decisions are not examined in a vacuum but are related to attitudes toward the Spanish language expressed by residents. In addition, a geographical perspective is introduced, comparing the judgments made by members of the Martineztown community with those of residents of other New Mexico communities. In short, the present study represents the integration of social and linguistic perspectives

to approach the notion of language attitudes of Spanish speakers in New Mexico.

The overall objectives of the present study, derived from and integrating several subdisciplines of linguistics, can be stated as follows:

1. Descriptive Spanish Linguistics: to identify the variety or varieties of Spanish considered to be correct by speakers of Spanish in a single New Mexico community,

2. Linguistics: to describe the linguistic process used in making such decisions,

3. Macrolevel Sociolinguistics: to examine the social factors involved in the formation of language attitudes in a bilingual setting,

4. Microlevel Sociolinguistics: to explore the social correlates of specific linguistic decisions, and

5. Education: to explore the relative value of different varieties of Spanish for an educational setting.

In the chapters that follow, the interdisciplinary nature of the study is emphasized. Chapter 2 provides a broad description of the community being studied, encompassing demographic, economic, political, social and linguistic elements. In Chapter 3, relevant literature in the fields of linguistics and sociolinguistics is discussed with special reference to research needs. Chapter 4 introduces the methodology employed in the study, describing methods and instruments used to observe and elicit the wide range of data collected. Chapters 5 and 6 present the results of observations and interviews,

respectively. The findings reported in Chapter 5 with reference to the availability of models of formal Spanish in the Martineztown community, provide a foundation for understanding the decisions of correctness in a formal setting presented in Chapter 6. A final analysis and integration of these results is presented in Chapter 7. In this section, educational implications and directions for future research are also discussed.

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

In order to develop a fuller understanding of the social and linguistic processes at work in the formation of attitudes toward different varieties of Spanish in the Southwest, the present study focuses on one particular community. By limiting the geographical boundaries of the study, it was possible to closely examine numerous aspects of life related to language attitudes.

In choosing a community, several factors were considered. Urban centers are the areas of greatest cultural contact but enclaves of Spanish speakers within the urban center can offer information regarding both the use of Spanish within the community and outside influences. Several such communities exist in Albuquerque. Martineztown is an ideal community in many ways. The residents are primarily Spanish-speaking and tend to form a close network of relationships. Yet the central location of the barrio in Albuquerque makes continued contact with people from outside of the community an everyday phenomenon. Previous studies of Martineztown are available, providing both background information and some opportunity to examine the community using a dynamic approach.

Martineztown is, in many respects, typical of Hispanic communities throughout the American Southwest. Physically, socioeconomically, linguistically and in terms of religious affiliation, it shares many characteristics with other urban barrios. Politically, however,

Martineztown is more characteristic of New Mexico, where Hispanic involvement in politics is substantially greater than in other Southwest Spanish-speaking communities. Demographically, Martineztown is also somewhat atypical. The Martineztown population is older than that of the typical Hispanic community. In spite of these differences, an examination of the economy and institutions within the community reveals more similarities than differences between Martineztown and other Hispanic communities of the Southwest. These characteristics, along with the availability of previous sociological and linguistic studies of the community, make Martineztown residents an ideal target population for the present study.

Martineztown is a homogeneous, centrally located community of Albuquerque. The residents are mainly Spanish-speaking although most speak English as well. The community is close-knit, relatively poor and insular. Residents have a sense of belonging to the community and take an interest in local issues.

The boundaries of Martineztown have been defined differently by various agencies and organizations. The present study has accepted the broadest boundaries, also used by the U.S. Census: Interstate 40 to the north, Grand Avenue to the south, Interstate 25 to the east and Broadway to the west. It is located in the center of Albuquerque just northeast of the downtown area (see Figure 1--Map of Albuquerque and Martineztown).

The two interstate highways neatly separate the community from the rest of Albuquerque, much as railroads and highways serve to divide many Southwest cities (Madsen, 1973, p. 12). Martineztown, however, lacks

(Drawing courtesy of Garland D. Bills)

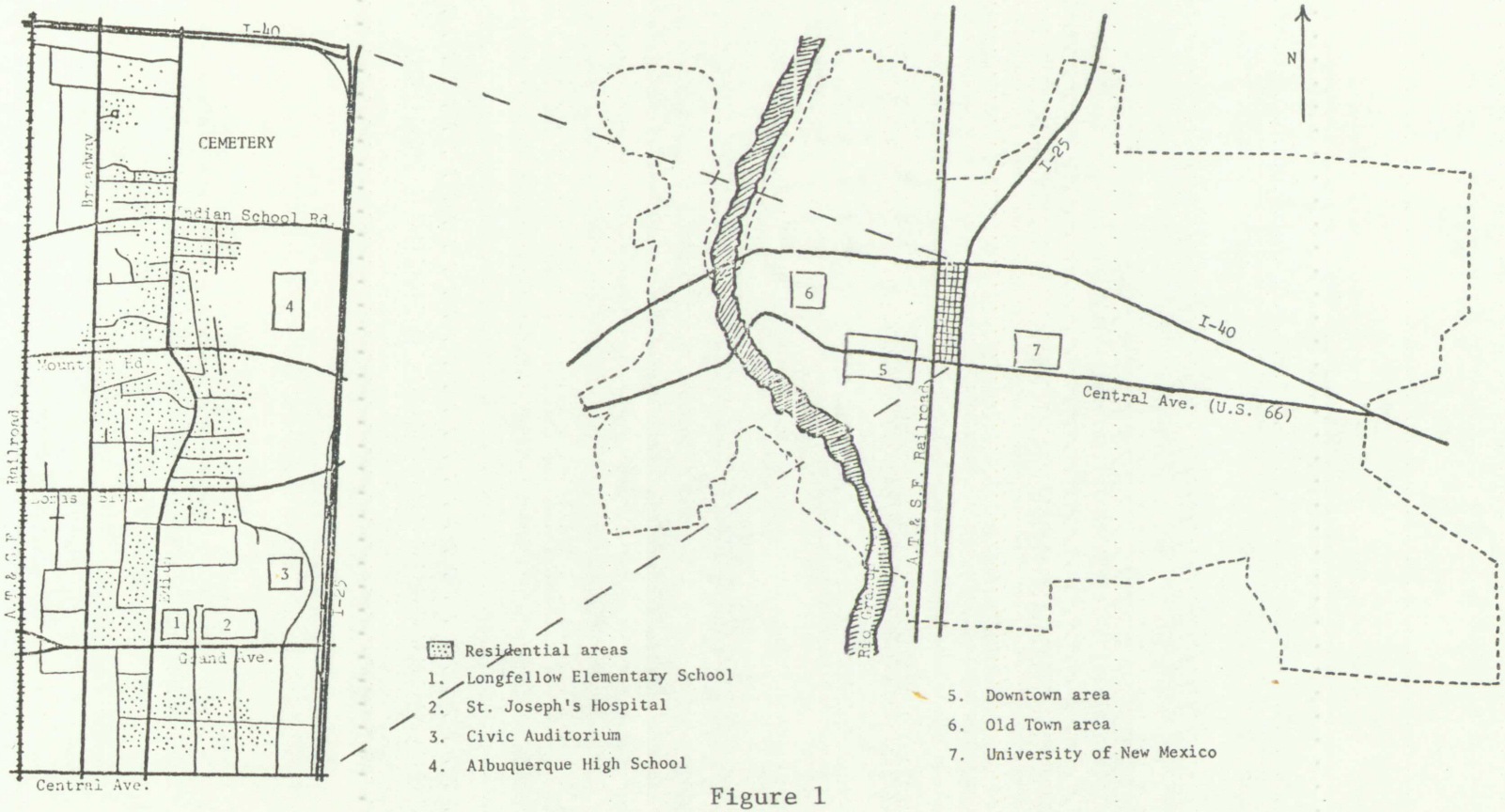

Figure 1

MAP OF ALBUQUERQUE AND MARTINEZTOWN

many of the facilities which allow the Texas Mexican-American communities described by Madsen to be self-contained. Residents of Martineztown must leave the community to shop for clothing, household goods and even food. The only retail shops in the area are small groceries where residents buy "last-minute" items. Jobs are limited within the community, sometimes causing young people to move out of Martineztown to other areas of Albuquerque in search of employment. In short, in spite of a preference for local ties, Martineztown residents must leave the community on a regular basis.

The history of the community dates back to the sixteenth century when El Camino Real, the main route from El Paso to Santa Fe, passed along approximately what is now Edith Boulevard, the heart of the area (Robbins, 1980). Prior to 1850, the Martineztown area, although not yet populated, served as a summer grazing spot for cattle and sheep owned by residents of Old Town, a community now separated from Martineztown by the downtown section of Albuquerque. The area was settled in 1850 when Don Manuel Martín and his wife took permanent residence in the campground used while tending the livestock. At that time the Martineztown borders on the north and south were much narrower than they are today. The community extended only from Mountain Road on the north to Marble Avenue on the south and was known as Los Martines (Robbins). The east and west boundaries were not fixed. Many people raised chickens, goats and cows, and gardens and ranches were common.

The oral tradition in this community is quite strong and the older residents continue to tell and retell the history of the

community. Pride in the community and its historical roots are evident in some of the oral literature collected by I. Lloyd Herrera in Una breve historia de Martíneztown (1977). Their pride is also evident in the written histories and reports of the two local churches. The Martín family broke with the Catholic church in the 1880s and, in 1889, founded the Second Presbyterian Church, the first church in Martineztown. San Ignacio, the community's present Catholic Church, dates back to 1916. These two churches, then, were present early in the history of the community. Both have played and continue to play important roles in the lives of Martineztown residents.

In 1925, Martineztown was incorporated into Albuquerque. The community began to expand southward shortly thereafter when Hispanics, many from the mining towns of Grants and Madrid, New Mexico, settled in Las Palomitas, south of Lomas Boulevard and north of Grand Avenue. With this expansion, Martineztown came to exhibit boundaries similar to those accepted in the present study.

Some small industries were present at that time, including a sawmill, a wool company and a dairy (Herrera, 1977, pp. 16-24). The economic base of the community, however, remained primarily agricultural. Today Martineztown, due to its central location in Albuquerque, has been forced to abandon its gardens and livestock and now presents a basically urban facade. This is in contrast to the South Valley, a Hispanic area marginally located with reference to Albuquerque, which has maintained a rural appearance and, to some extent, life-style.

Some historical landmarks in Martineztown still remain. Manuel's market in South Martineztown is well-known. The Martineztown House of

Neighborly Service now stands where Maggie's Grocery once catered to local residents. The two cemeteries, Mount Calvary and the Santa Barbara camposanto are historical landmarks as is the Catholic San Ignacio de Loyola church. The presence of all of these landmarks testifies to the persistence of tradition in the community.

The area loosely called Martineztown in this study and bounded as described above, is considered by local residents to comprise three separate communities. The area south of Lomas Boulevard is sometimes referred to as "Dog Town." This designation, according to one report, was due to a previous preponderance of dogs in the area. A second version of the story alludes to the dogs used by Farmer John Grogan to protect his hogs in the early 1900s (Herrera, 1977, p. 18). North of Mountain Road is considered to be Santa Barbara. The remaining area, that which lies between Lomas Boulevard and Mountain Road is, properly, Martineztown. The insistence of authorities and other outsiders (the researcher included) in calling the entire area Martineztown is a source of annoyance to the residents. The division between North Martineztown and South Martineztown (the area south of Lomas Boulevard) is a result of differences of opinion regarding redevelopment plans in the late 1960s. Local politics were at the heart of the controversy. Those living in North Martineztown, led by a senior and more conservative resident, felt that accepting redevelopment funds would be detrimental to the community. The residents could not afford the higher taxes and maintenance and utility bills that would accompany redevelopment. Residents of South Martineztown, led by a younger resident, accepted such funds although relocation was often required.

Acceptance of redevelopment funds north of Lomas Boulevard was an individual decision, resulting in the extremely heterogeneous physical appearance of this area. Similar tensions also exist between North Martineztown and Santa Barbara. Informants indicated that these are two separate communities, not to be confused as one. Many residents recognize the intracommunity tensions and at least some are working to overcome them. The new Santa Barbara-Martineztown Park, carefully named to represent both communities, may become a common meeting ground.

Physically, Martineztown has a varied appearance. Some areas maintain a semirural look because of dead-end and unpaved streets adjacent to bare hills. In some areas it resembles an urban barrio with boarded-up windows, fences and doors in disrepair, old cars in dusty backyards and the graffiti of the young people. More than half of the houses in Martineztown were built prior to 1950 (see Table 1). These homes are generally single family, single story, structures with small front and back yards. There are a few older apartments in the northern portion of the community. Some homes have been renovated with funding from the Model Cities project and seem more representative of middle class America. Model Cities monies were also responsible for the construction of some apartments on the south side of the community.

Housing in Martineztown has been in a state of flux during the last 10 years. As indicated in Table 1, over 30% of all housing units have been built in the last decade. This has resulted in better facilities for the community. According to the 1970 census, 111 homes lacked some or all plumbing facilities. In 1980, only

14 homes remained without such comforts (U.S. Census, 1972, Table H-1; Municipal Development Department, 1980).

Table 1

Decades of Construction for Homes in Census Tract 20 (Santa Barbara-Martineztown)

Decade	Number of Structures Built
1970 - 1979	247
1960 - 1969	56
1950 - 1959	49
1940 - 1949	165
1939 or earlier	243

Note. From 1980 Census STF 3A, Table 109.

The population of Martineztown at the time of the 1980 census was 2,023 persons comprising 499 families (Municipal Development Department, 1980). This represents a 1.1% decline in the population since the 1970 census. The population of Martineztown is a fairly old one, with 23% of the total being over 55 years old (U.S. Census, 1980, Table 10). This distinguishes Martineztown from other Southwest urban barrios where the median age is a very young 19 (Barrett, 1971, p. 197). Hudson-Edwards and Bills (1980) found the average age of Martineztown residents to be 33. This population is significantly older than that of typical urban Hispanic communities. Discussion with community residents reveals that the younger generation has become very mobile

and that many have left Martineztown and even Albuquerque, moving to other parts of the United States, primarily within the Southwest.

The male-female ratio in Martineztown is typical of urban Hispanic communities. In 1960, as documented by Barrett (1971), the ratio of men to women was 94.8 to 100 in urban areas and 97.5 in all parts of the Southwest. The 1970 census figures for Martineztown are quite similar: 93.8 men for every 100 women. By 1980, the male:female ratio had risen to 97.4 to 100 (U.S. Census, 1980, Table 10).

The population of Martineztown is also a very stable one. This trait has been reported both by Vincent (1966) and Hudson-Edwards and Bills (1980). The latter found that almost half of the residents surveyed were born in Martineztown and 92% were born in New Mexico. In the 1970 census, 69% of persons reporting their place of residence in 1965 were living in the same home 5 years later. An additional 23% had moved into Martineztown from elsewhere in the Albuquerque standard metropolitan statistical area (U.S. Census, 1970, Table P-2). The 1980 figure reveals the increased mobility among community members but it is clear that a fair amount of stability is still characteristic of Martineztown (see Table 2). Residents of Martineztown, then, tend to stay in the same community. In-migrants are likely to be from the Albuquerque area. Martineztown is much more stable than other Hispanic communities where 50% of the Spanish-speaking men moved between 1955 and 1960 (Barrett, 1971, p. 165).

According to residents, Martineztown is currently undergoing a change with regard to population. Many members of the community commented that, in the last 5 years, there has been an influx of

Mexican nationals. Census reports confirm these statements. In 1970, just 1% of the population was foreign born (U.S. Census, 1970, Table P-2). One decade later, the figure increased to over 10% (U.S. Census, 1980, 3A, Table 33). This is an important change in a community of New Mexico, a state in which as many as 96% of the residents are native born (Barrett, 1971, p. 167). The increased numbers of Mexican nationals may be a contributory factor in both the high rate of "standard" Spanish preferred by community residents in the present study and changes in language attitudes among community members.

Table 2

Residential Stability in Martineztown

	%
1970 Census, *N* = 2,029	
Living in same house in 1965	69
Living in same SMSA in 1965	92
1980 Census, *N* = 1,877	
Living in same house in 1975	54
Living in same SMSA in 1975	85

Note. Age 5+.

Martineztown is typical of Hispanic communities in the Southwest with reference to education. The median number of years of school completed for adults over 25 in 1970 was 8.0 (U.S. Census, 1970, Table P-2). Only 17% of this adult group was graduated from high school. The 1980 statistics show some change. A full 29% have now graduated

from high school with 9% continuing on to college compared to 3% in 1970 (U.S. Census, 1970, Table P-2; U.S. Census, 1980, 3A, Table 48). These figures are quite close to the 1960 census statistics for the Spanish-speaking population of New Mexico in general reported in Barrett (1971, p. 182). For the entire state, the median years of school completed was 8.4 for males and 8.5 for females. Schmidt and Koford (1975, p. 102) report that median years of school vary greatly among the Spanish-speaking in the Southwest with Texas having the lowest educational level (6.7) and California attaining the highest level (9.7) based on the 1970 census. In spite of changes being made, Hispanics still lag behind Anglos in educational attainment. Barrett (p.179) compares the educational attainment of the Spanish-speaking population of New Mexico with that of the total white population of the state in 1950 and 1960. While the Hispanic population made gains in the number of years in school in that decade, the median rising from 7.4 to 8.4, it did not approach the increases made by the larger New Mexico white population which climbed two grade levels, from 9.5 to 11.5. This pattern of gains being made by the Spanish-speaking population but not keeping pace with the larger society will be seen again in the area of annual income.

The educational statistics translate into economic facts for Martineztown residents. The community, according to the census, is a poor one. The median family income in 1970 was $5,070 as compared to the median of $10,926 for Albuquerque (U.S. Census, 1970, Table P-4). Ten years later, the Martineztown family median income had risen to $8,297, a 64% increase, yet the Albuquerque median had nearly doubled

to $20,061 (U.S. Census, 1980, 3A, Table 74). Again, the gains made by the community are dwarfed by those made by all city residents. These gaps are quite similar to those reported for Mexican-Americans in the Southwest in 1960 (Moore, 1970, p. 60).

The economic figures are closely related to the types of employment held. In 1970, the most common field of employment in the Martineztown area was service work, followed by labor and clerical work. For women, service and clerical work were most common, followed by professional and technical employment (U.S. Census, 1970, Table P-3). The 1980 breakdown was similar, with precision production, craft and repair workers outnumbering those in service occupations, followed by administrative support workers including those in clerical positions (U.S. Census, 1980, 3A, Table 66). With the exception of the professional and technical positions, these are typically low-paying jobs. The 1970 census reports a 9.1% unemployment rate (U.S. Census, 1970, Table P-3), but this figure seems low compared to data reported by Hudson-Edwards and Bills (1980) indicating that half of the heads of household held no gainful employment in 1975. The 1980 unemployment figure of 4.5% seems even less credible. The difference in numbers is probably due to self-categorization in the groups labeled "unemployed" and "not in labor force." One must also consider the size of the group that has withdrawn from the labor force in order to better understand the employment situation. Nearly 55% of the adult population over 16, according to the U.S. Census (1980, 3A, Table 58), has withdrawn from the work force, indicating that employment problems and a low median income are characteristic of this community.

To further highlight the economic situation, U.S. Census statistics for 1970 found 202 or 31% of 652 households reporting no car available (U.S. Census, 1970, Table H-2). The community did not fare much better in 1980. At that time 194 or 27% of the homes still had no vehicle available (1980, 3A, Table 123). This is a liability in a sprawling city such as Albuquerque, especially in a community which, as mentioned previously, is not self-contained. This situation is probably both a cause and result of the economic status of the community.

Family life is very important in Martineztown, with the wife/mother being the primary integrating force. According to Vincent (1966), most community members are connected by consanguineal, affinal or ritual kinship ties. Values and attitudes would be expected to be transmitted through these connections. The transmission of language by this means will be explored later in this thesis.

Traditional authority figures, often found in rural Hispanic communities, are also present: the priest, minister and patrón (Vincent, 1966). These community figures, as demonstrated in Chapter 5, represent linguistic models for the residents and may influence and/or reflect language use and attitudes. The authority figures and the institutions they represent, then, are directly relevant to an understanding of language attitudes. Social ties, then, both internal and external to the family, are likely to have attitudinal correlates.

Longfellow, the local elementary school, has also been prominent in community life. It has provided a bilingual program for the local children. The school has also produced several publications relating to New Mexico Hispanics. Una breve historia de Martineztown was

compiled by I. Lloyd Herrera, the principal of the school in 1977 when the booklet was published. Recently, Longfellow became a magnet school, attracting students from all parts of the city to its fine art program. (Although the informants in the present study made little reference to the new program, it would be interesting to determine whether or not the change will affect the close ties the school has traditionally maintained with the community.)

Another important community institution is the church. Ninety-four percent of the surveyed residents of Martineztown are Catholic (Hudson-Edwards & Bills, 1980). The percentage of residents claiming Catholicism is somewhat higher than that presented by Wagner for various areas of Texas: 12.3%, 18% and 22% of the Spanish-speaking residents of Galveston, Villa Coronado and Linda Vista, respectively, reported being non-Catholic (Wagner 1971, pp. 31, 35). On the other hand, Martineztown may be religiously more conservative than those Texas communities. Perhaps the limited alternatives within the geographical boundaries of Martineztown have helped to maintain the Catholic religion. The only other church found in the Martineztown area is the Second Presbyterian Church which, although it temporally antecedes the Catholic church in Martineztown, represents, historically, a splinter group in the community. Both churches cater to local residents. Associated with San Ignacio church, where most Catholics attend mass, are Catholic Social Services and various Catholic societies (Vincent, 1966). The Second Presbyterian Church provides space for the Martineztown House of Neighborly Service and also sponsors numerous church-related groups. Both churches provide

services in Spanish as well as English, thus potentially reaching all members of this community. The church, then, is central to Martineztown life and has been closely linked to the Spanish language of Martineztown.

Linguistically, this community is predominantly Spanish-speaking. Of adults over age 25, a recent survey found that 90% or 83 out of 92 claim Spanish as their only mother tongue (Hudson-Edwards & Bills, 1980, p. 143). Nevertheless, Martineztown seems to now be undergoing a modified version of the three-generation language shift that occurs among Hispanics throughout the Southwest and among all immigrant groups in the United States. The oldest generation tends to use primarily Spanish in all linguistic situations while the middle generation uses both Spanish and English, sometimes mixed and often determined by the social domain in which the language is to be used. The younger generation prefers English in most domains with the exception of the home. The growing reliance on English in Martineztown is exhibited by numerous other communities in the Southwest (see Chapter 3). English use is closely related to increased contact with the growing Albuquerque urban center and is accompanied by strong feelings about the Spanish language. These attitudes comprise the subjective aspect of the present study.

The above examination of the various aspects of life in Martineztown indicates that, in many respects, this community is typical of urban Hispanic communities in the Southwest. Although it differs somewhat demographically and politically, it is socially, economically and linguistically quite similar to other Spanish-speaking

barrios. The present study will attempt to relate these sociological variables to linguistic variables such as language attitudes and literacy.

All of these elements of life in Martineztown have direct relevance for the linguistic situation. The demographic makeup of the community is closely related to language use and can be expected to affect language attitudes. Intergenerational change with respect to language use has and will continue to have direct influence on the language of the community. Younger generations, with more education and greater mobility and contact with city residents outside of Martineztown, tend to be increasingly English-dominant and, concomitantly, less familiar with Spanish. The movement of these individuals away from the barrio may result in a more elderly, linguistically conservative community. The younger residents appear to be replaced by Mexican immigrants whose Spanish is likely to influence Martineztown Spanish. The current state of demographic flux, then, will have its own effect on the population, language and language attitudes of that population.

Economic and educational factors tend to go hand in hand as the employment situation is a result of educational level attained. Both are related to language attitudes, particularly with respect to contact with standard and local Spanish in the media, in the workplace and the classroom.

Hispanics in New Mexico have traditionally played an important role in politics and Martineztown residents have been strongly involved in local politics. Such participation in mainstream politics with both Hispanics and non-Hispanics may have repercussions in the area of

ethnic and, perhaps linguistic, attitudes as community residents are brought into contact with politicians from all around the state as well as urban planners and workers from various social agencies.

Finally, the social structure of the community may be expected to influence language attitudes. The close-knit nature of the community is likely to create group cohesion with respect to values, attitudes and, more specifically, the language attitudes being examined in the present study. Such perceptions are, presumably, transmitted through familial and social ties, bringing about concordance in this area.

An examination of the total demographic, economic, political and social structure of Martineztown, then, contributes to an overall understanding of the sociolinguistic phenomenon of language attitudes. Such data provide background information regarding language use and language shift, basic to a sociolinguistic study. They also help to delineate social roles in the community and in- and out-group relations, all of which are fundamental to an understanding of language attitudes, very much a social phenomenon. The integrated approach employed in observing the community in general will also prove valuable in exploring the background literature and evaluating the results of the present research.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The integrative approach of the present study requires that background information be drawn from diverse disciplines. This chapter will review the relevant literature, tying together the various ends which, when interwoven, comprise the broad sociolinguistic framework used in this language attitudes study. Contributions from the sociolinguistic areas of language maintenance and shift and diglossia are discussed as are data on descriptive Spanish linguistics. The concept of standard is examined, paving the way for the exploration of general language attitudes research. The focus of the literature is then narrowed to emphasize local sociolinguistic studies carried out in the last two decades. Finally, all of the above background information is integrated and interrelated to specifically reflect the nature of the Spanish language situation in Martineztown. The research needs in Southwest Spanish language attitudes are then assessed and the specific objectives of the present study are delineated with respect to those needs.

Macro Sociolinguistic Processes: Language Maintenance/Shift and Diglossia

Language maintenance, as mentioned in Chapter 1, typifies Southwest Spanish over its long period of history in the United States and through various social changes during that time. The language shift which is

now occurring in all parts of the Spanish-speaking Southwest accompanies a more general social change. This section explores language maintenance and the role of diglossia in that process as well as language shift in Southwest Spanish. The emphasis is on language as part of a social process.

The maintenance of the Spanish language in the Southwest has been documented copiously in the literature. Solé (1980), Thompson (1971, 1974), López (1978), and Cohen (1975) are just a few of the researchers who have investigated this phenomenon. Several reasons for maintenance have been proffered by these authors. López (1978) suggests that the continual in-migration of Spanish speakers to Los Angeles from Mexico has been largely responsible. Solé (1980), in discussing language maintenance throughout the Southwest, mentions the importance of the segregation of Spanish speakers from the mainstream but stresses intragroup explanations: the lack of internal differentiation within the communities, the compact settlement pattern and the low occupational and educational levels. For many reasons, then, Spanish in the Southwest has persisted in spite of a lack of official sanction. In fact, official opposition has been the case. The use of Spanish was, at best, discouraged and, at worst, castigated in the schools prior to the advent of bilingual education. Nevertheless, the language has been maintained in its stronghold, the home, and in the community. Thus, according to the 1970 U.S. Census, 81% of the New Mexico population of Spanish heritage claims Spanish as the mother tongue. In Martineztown, Hudson-Edwards and Bills (1980) found that two-thirds of the Hispanics interviewed claimed or were reported as having a

Spanish mother tongue. Nearly all informants over 25 were so reported.

In spite of the successful maintenance of the Spanish language, the generational shift common to many Spanish-speaking communities appears to be taking place in Martineztown as well. Two-thirds of the informants aged 25 or younger claimed to use predominantly English in the home domain while nearly three-fourths of those over 25 use primarily Spanish. The generation within the family was also found to be an important factor in reported language use in the home. The parents of heads of household were most likely to report using predominantly Spanish in the home (67% of the subjects), the senior generation of heads of household reporting similar use (66%) and the junior generation, children of household heads, substantially less likely to use Spanish as the primary language at home (23%). Hudson-Edwards and Bills (1980, p. 156) suggest that the environment does not support continued use or fluency:

> In sum, the junior generation is much more prone than the senior one not to develop mature native-speaker competence in Spanish despite having acquired it as a first language, and secondly, to resort to the use of English as a primary language of the home even in those instances where a fluent command of Spanish was maintained.

This process of generational language shift has been well documented in the literature on Southwest Spanish. López (1978) suggests that generation in the United States, rather than age or place of birth, explains degree of language shift in the urban setting of Los Angeles. Thompson (1972) found that generation in the urban setting itself most closely explains this phenomenon. His research in Austin established the following relationships:

Age	Generation	Childhood Residence	Language Used
60+	1st	Rural	All Spanish
30-59	2nd	½ Rural, ½ Urban	All Spanish or ½ Spanish/½ English
18-29	3rd	2/3 Urban, 1/3 Rural	All Spanish, ½ Spanish/½ English and, increasingly, no Spanish

Clearly, the intergenerational language shift found in Martineztown is, in various versions, a common phenomenon in Spanish-speaking communities of the Southwest. With regard to generation in the United States, however, Martineztown demonstrates a rural character in spite of its urban setting. Most of the residents of Martineztown trace their roots back for several generations to Martineztown and various locations in New Mexico. Spanish, as would be expected using Thompson's formulation, has persisted in this insular and characteristically rural New Mexico community through several American-born generations. Hudson-Edwards and Bills (1980) also note that Martineztown more closely parallels a rural community (Arroyo Seco, as documented by Ortiz, 1975) than it does a large metropolitan area (Los Angeles, as reported in López, 1978) in mother tongue data. Only now that Martineztown has developed extensive contact with the urban center which bounds it has language shift begun. Thus, models of language shift stressing the three-generational process which neatly applies to immigrant groups need to be reexamined for Spanish-speaking communities such as Martineztown, where the Spanish language has prospered for many generations prior to the onset of language shift. Factors such as generation in the urban setting and participation in the mainstream community need to be included in these models.

The present study examines this age-generational shift from the point of view of discriminations of correctness. It may be supposed that the younger generation, less fluent and less prone to the use of Spanish, will also be less likely to approximate the norms of the community in decisions of correctness.

Turning to another aspect of macro sociolinguistics, the language situation in Martineztown can best be described as a diglossic one, in which Spanish and English complement each other. Spanish is used in the home, church and community while English is the preferred language for business, education and interactions outside of the community. In this respect, Martineztown is representative of most Spanish-speaking communities of the Southwest. Barker (1972) describes the functions of the two languages in the following manner: Spanish is identified as the language of intimate and family relations while English is the language of social relations and relations with Anglos. He also stresses the importance of sociological/ethnic factors in language choice. Intergroup relations, affiliation with Mexico and the Mexican community as well as aspirations of socioeconomic mobility are also important in language choice. Barker summarizes the diglossic situation by placing Spanish at one end and English at the other of an informal-formal continuum.

The presence of a diglossic situation in which two different languages occupy the two extremes of such a continuum has led to a situation in which the members of the speech community control a limited number of varieties of each language. Thus, Ornstein suggests that "scarcely one out of several hundred members of the Mexican-

American speech community is able to control a standard variety of Spanish in a manner minimally acceptable to an educated native speaker from any of the score of nations whose official language it is" (1972, p. 74). Rather than using a form of standard Spanish in formal situations, English is used, leaving many speakers with an apparently limited active Spanish repertoire at the formal end of the spectrum, but not a limited linguistic repertoire when both languages are considered. For the purposes of the present study, then, it was anticipated that, due to the use of English in the formal domains, familiarity with, as well as use of, formal, standard Spanish would be limited, and inversely correlated with knowledge and use of English.

Martineztown, then, is a bilingual community in which Spanish and English coexist in a diglossic relationship. The Spanish language is currently in the process of language shift with the younger generation possessing less fluency than the older generation and the community taking on an increasingly urban character, including the shift from Spanish to English. Nevertheless, the Spanish language retains its importance, as most adults over 25 claim Spanish as their mother tongue. The Spanish language, as it is known in Martineztown, needs to be examined both internally and in relation to the Spanish of the region.

Descriptive Spanish Linguistics

The Spanish of the Southwest has been described in numerous studies dating back to the early 1900s with Espinosa's extensive description of New Mexico Spanish (a brief outline of his work is published as Espinosa, 1917). However, the emphasis has been almost

entirely on deviations of Southwest Spanish from "standard Spanish," generally Standard Mexican Spanish.

Many regional aspects of vocabulary have been documented. Long lists of lexical items are provided by Cotton and Sharp (1980), Craddock (1976), Ramírez (1973), Espinosa, Jr. (1957), Ornstein (1951) and many, many others. Lexical items generally are presented in the literature in one of two manners: the Southwest Spanish form with the Standard Spanish equivalent or the local form with its English gloss. Most items documented are nouns and verbs although a few other parts of speech appear. The following is a sample list, highlighting only a few forms:

from Ornstein (1951)

baratío	'bargain'
feria	'change (money)'
fierros	'tools'
guisar	'to fry'
jalar	'to pull'
naguas	'skirt'
¿quése?	'where is?'

While these lexical items are not catalogued in any special way, other lexical lists are categorized according to various criteria:

Spanish base--from Cotton and Sharp (1980)

gusjear, jaspear, martiar, martillar	'to eat'
machetear	'to eat voraciously'
entacucharse, floriar	'to get dressed up'
jirimiquear	'to complain'
tomatear	'to stare at'
cachetear	'to slap'

English base--from Cotton and Sharp (1980)

lonchar	'to eat lunch'
guachar	'to watch'
tochar	'to touch'
mopear	'to mop'
tichar	'to teach'

Disapproved behavior--from Cotton and Sharp (1980)

borlotear, taconear	'to dance'
abolillar	'to act like a gringo'
garrotear	'to beat up'
idear	'to daydream'

Archaisms--from Espinosa, Jr. (1975)

ansí
añidir
mesmo

Pachuco--from Barker (1975)

órale	'OK'
gacho	'lousy'

Craddock (1976) provides perhaps the most thorough breakdown of Southwest Spanish lexical items. He offers the following categories:

Mexicanisms

boliche	'bowling alley'
camión	'bus'
modos	'manners'
genioso	'ill-tempered'
en veces	'at times'

Previously undocumented regionalisms

colondrices	'doves'
pescado chato	'catfish'

Direct adaptation, an English word absorbed after phonological or morphological adaption; interferential, with immediate impact of English or Spanish when speaking

caremos 'we care'

Direct adaptation; integrated, with assimilation of English influence

chanza - oportunidad

Direct adaptation involving formally similar words in the two languages

interferential	integrated
confidencia - confianza	marqueta - mercado
población - población	

Blends--interferential

adventaja

Semantic displacement--interferential

asociaciones	'organizations'
lecturas	'lectures'

Semantic displacement--integrated

aplicación - solicitud
atmósfera - ambiente

Ramírez (1973) even goes as far as to present the various lexical items in three categories: proper, acceptable and slang, along with the English equivalent. Individual lexical items were assigned to one of three categories by 15 sugjects with the following selected results:

English	Proper	Acceptable	Slang
dance	bailar	borlotear dar vueltas chanclear	
work (n.)	trabajo empleo		jale
push (v.)	empujar	empuchar	pushar
teach	enseñar profesorar	tichar	

While Ramirez's list goes furthest in obtaining native speaker judgments in assigning an acceptability value to the various words, it is clear that a larger sample is needed to make a fair determination. Furthermore, the type of Spanish used in the interview, not considered in her study, needs to be a variable considered in the findings.

Probably the greatest difficulty with all of these lexicons is that they are not peculiar to the American Southwest. As Peñalosa (1980) points out, many of these forms are found in colloquial Mexican Spanish. A brief glance at Rosaldo's (1948) "List of Slang and Colloquial Expressions of Mexico" identifies as appearing in Mexico many of the presumed Southwest Spanish forms, such as feria for 'change,' gacho for 'lacking grace (lousy),' jalar meaning 'to pull,' nomás for 'just' and orita for 'now.' It becomes clear that the border dividing the United States and Mexico politically does not as clearly divide the two areas linguistically. Teschner (1974) proposes a cross-referenced lexical compilation from the entire Spanish-speaking world to remedy this problem. Until such time as a publication of this sort is completed, the concept of regionalisms is not very useful. Nevertheless, these lexicons supplied many of the items used in the present study to determine the acceptability and conditions of use of these forms in the community.

Phonological features of Southwest Spanish are provided by Cárdenas (1975), Post (1975), Lance (1975) and Ornstein (1974) among others. All of these articles relate the Southwest Spanish form and the Standard Spanish form either by means of phonological rules or by a prose comparison. Among the phonological rules and differences proposed are the following:

from Ornstein (1974b)	Southwest Spanish
merger of /$\overset{v}{c}$/ and /$\overset{v}{s}$/	mu[$\overset{v}{s}$]a[$\overset{v}{s}$]o
/r/ with retroflex interference from English	ca[ṛ]ne
deletion of the intervocalic /l^y/	si[Ø]a
epenthetic [e] in word final position following [l] or [r]	comere
raising of a word final unstressed /e/	noch[i]

from Cárdenas (1975)	
simplification of consonant clusters	asoluto
fricative /s/ realized as a laryngeal glide [h]	nohotroh

from Post (1975)	
simplification of vowel groups	orita
reduction of two like vowels	crer
deletion of word final /d/	verdá

from Lance (1975)	
bilabial fricative /ƀ/ is manifested as a velar fricative [ɡ]	güeno

Although these phonological items do not exhaust the list of features ascribed to Southwest Spanish, they highlight those documented with greatest frequency.

The compilation of phonological rules and differences is useful in understanding the relationship between Southwest Spanish and other varieties. However, as Ayer (1971, p. 117) notes, these differences represent only a small portion of the entire phonology of the variety:

> Such anomalies of pronunciation are interesting, and are certainly characteristic of the dialect, but we must make clear that such features are exceptional and are not as noteworthy as the degree to which the phonology of Spanish has been maintained in the face of the predominant official language of English.

Again, several needs become immediately apparent. First, it is necessary to determine the relative frequency of occurrence of these forms and under what sociolinguistic conditions they occur. Second, the occurrence of these forms more or less frequently does not presuppose societal acceptance. It is important to determine to what extent, if at all, these forms are accepted by the community and under what conditions their use might be appropriate. Finally, it is important to view the above questions at the community level and across communities in order to determine the extent to which the results apply to a particular community, in this case, Martineztown.

Peñalosa (1980), Bills and Ornstein (1976), Cárdenas (1975), Lance (1975), Espinosa, Jr. (1957), Rael (1939) and others offer morphological and morphophonemic descriptions of Southwest Spanish. These, too, are presented in prescriptive or comparative form and are often incorporated in discussions of phonological rules. Some of the morphological/morphophonemic characteristics noted for Southwest Spanish are:

from Peñalosa (1980)	Southwest Spanish
merger of -er and -ir verbs in first person plural of the present tense	salemos
change of stress--penultimate to antepenultimate in certain verb forms	pídamos
regularization of verbs	
o>ue	duermimos
e>ie	piensamos
miscellaneous	componí, andé, escribido
use of tú with strangers	

from Bills and Ornstein (1976)	Southwest Spanish
regularization of diphthongizing verbs	cierró
alternation of -nos and -mos in first person plural with antepenultimate stress	hablábanos
from Espinosa, Jr. (1957)	
use of morpheme -ón more common than -dor to indicate agent	quejón
more extensive use of diminutives	ahorita
from Rael (1939)	
use of a, des and en prefixes by analogy	enregistrar
from Lance (1975)	
use of ha for he	yo ha visto

Arguments similar to those raised above for phonology exist also for morphological and morphophonemic elements of Southwest Spanish. These morphological items need to be examined more carefully with respect to conditions for use and acceptability.

Syntax, often designated as the least studied linguistic area of Southwest Spanish, is adequately described in some areas, particularly that of the subjunctive mode. Lozano (1972, 1974) and Floyd (1978, 1980, 1981, 1983) have been principals in this area. Lozano (1972) posits two features underlying the subjunctive. The feature [+optative], which encompasses the semantic characteristics of volition, obligation, intent and persuasion, obligates the subjunctive in both standard and Southwest Spanish. The feature [+dubitative] includes the semantic

characteristics of doubt, unreality and probability. Although this feature also obligates the subjunctive, it may be nullified. In a later discussion of this subject, Lozano (1974) suggests that the subjunctive is optional with the feature [+dubitative] in standard dialects of Spanish but is not present in Chicano Spanish. Floyd (1978) notes the need for additional and more comparable data in this area. Nevertheless, patterns such as the loss of the subjunctive in expressions of doubt [+dubitative] and its retention in expressions of volition [+optative] seem to be emerging and have served as a data base for the present study.

Other areas of syntax have been only briefly surveyed. Peñalosa (1980) highlights prepositions, articles and structural modification (this last possibly due to influence from English). Cárdenas (1975) notes the substitution of the prepositional phrase de nosotros for the possessive forms nuestro, nuestra, nuestros or nuestras. Both Cárdenas (1975) and Lozano (1974) suggest that the preference for the periphrastic ir + infinitive over the future indicative is characteristic of Southwest Spanish. Lozano (1974) notes other grammatical features of Southwest Spanish involving tenses: the imperfect tense, for example, often replaces the conditional. The loss of the personal preposition a before human animate nouns functioning as direct objects is also mentioned.

Hensey (1973) takes a transformational approach in the description of Southwest Spanish. He lists a large number of deviations from standard Spanish from student compositions. In spite of his identification of variation as errors, he aptly proposes feature notation and

cites transformational explanations. This area is currently wide open to future research.

Finally, Lastra de Suárez (1975) reports on the Spanish syntax of children in Los Angeles. She mentions the use of the definite article before names and the use of mi in place of me for direct objects. The presence or absence of these forms in adult speech of the community needs to be verified.

Thus, a broad spectrum of syntactic elements of Spanish of the Southwest has been identified but considerable elaboration and further documentation are needed. The lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic descriptions presented in this section represent only a fraction of the available descriptive material on Southwest Spanish. Nevertheless, they are illustrative of the literature in the area and formed the basis upon which the present study was constructed.

Language Attitudes and Standard Language

The field of sociolinguistics, including both macro- and micro-levels, is based upon the premise that language and social facts are closely intertwined. The subfield of language attitudes is an example par excellence of the strength of the relationship. Research in this area demonstrates that evaluations are made regarding a speaker based on sociolinguistic input. Human beings are judgmental creatures, no less so with regard to language. Furthermore, listeners tend to make inferences based on finite amounts of linguistic input. These inferences are predicated on a more general system of values and beliefs (Giles & Powesland, 1975). These inferences are both

linguistic and social in nature. The convergence of these social and linguistic beliefs comprises an individual's language attitudes. However, these attitudes may be viewed at the societal level as well. In fact, the relationship between individual and societal attitudes is clearly reciprocal with respect to influence. When societal attitudes are focused on language, different linguistic varieties assume unequal values. While different cultures appear to be more or less relativistic with regard to varieties within a language or two or more distinct languages, societal pressures seem to help develop a system for evaluation.

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

and are predicated upon social valuations of the speakers (Giles & Powesland, 1975, p. 11). The norm in this terminology appears to be based on acceptability to the speakers, determined by general agreement.

Intimately related with the concept of imposed norm is the notion of a standard language or variety. Giles and Powesland (1975, pp. 15-23) distinguish between two types of standard: a context-related standard and a class-related standard. The context-related standard is generally considered appropriate in certain social situations, usually corresponding to the more formal domains and is not limited to speakers from a particular social class. A class-related standard is not context-related, carries the most prestige in the culture and is usually peculiar to the highest social class. In our own American society, where residents are proud of the largely indefinable class distinctions and the social mobility of the American people, a context-related standard may be more relevant, at least for English. The type of standard with regard to Spanish may vary in different parts of the world. In Martineztown, however, where the various social statuses are unevenly represented, the goal of determining the presence or absence of a community norm must bypass the notion of class-relatedness and focus on a context-related norm.

In the present research, the term "norm" is used for the above concept of context-related standard so that confusion does not occur between the notion of an international "standard" for the Spanish language and a local "norm" which may or may not be congruent with the internationally accepted variety. The term "standard" will be used in the present study with a lower case s to indicate a generally

accepted form of the Spanish of Mexico. This variety of Spanish is not a single, formally identified, universally accepted variety, if indeed such a variety exists for Mexico, but, rather, a broader one which is comprised of forms generally accepted in various standard dialects of Mexico. This "standard" variety is not, then, a unitary dialect, deserving of a title and upper case S, but the union of acceptable varieties of Spanish from Mexico. In contrast to the notion of "standard Mexican Spanish" in the present report, is the expression "local Spanish" which here also takes on a broader meaning than is generally the case. The label is used to indicate a variety of Spanish which is common to many speakers of the Southwest. It is a combination of a regional and social dialect which coexists with at least a passive recognition of a higher-status variety, that of Mexico. For this reason, the term "regional" has been rejected in favor of "local." The latter should not be considered to be bounded by community or even state borders but can be regarded as synonymous with Southwest Spanish.

Informants in the present study were asked to indicate a preference for the more correct of two items. The assumption is made that the individual has internalized a set of rules upon which he/she may draw in order to make such a decision. This intrinsic knowledge of the language, termed competence, by Chomsky (1965, pp. 3-10), is described in a generative grammar. Performance, on the other hand, refers to actual language behavior. The speaker's competence does not necessarily coincide with reports of his/her own knowledge. Similarly, the speaker's reports of his/her own performance or actual behavior based on an underlying competence, may not be accurate. Closely related to

the notions of competence and performance are grammaticalness and acceptability, respectively. Acceptability, as an aspect of performance, can be operationalized and measured, whereas grammaticalness can only be inferred and abstracted from vast amounts of data (Chomsky, 1965, p. 11). The present study is not aimed at linguistic usage and therefore cannot properly fit into the area of performance. However, since grammaticalness and competence cannot be measured by a simple test, neither is competence the aim of the present research. This study, in an effort to demonstrate recognition of the intermediate nature of the data elicited, employs the term "correctness" rather than "grammaticalness" but uses "acceptability" to refer to the phenomenon of community agreement with reference to a given form.

Language attitudes research, then, deals with the speaker's evaluation of performance. The present research both narrows and broadens the focus of such inquiries. It restricts acceptability to a specific formal context, that of education, and drives it one step closer to a concept of grammaticalness by forcing informants to make decisions regarding two forms which may both be acceptable and may even be represented in the informants' grammar. The present research expands language attitude research, however, by emphasizing community rather than individual preferences and group cohesion.

According to Greenbaum's terminology (1977), this study represents a merging of macro- and microlevel inquiry. ". . . the macro-level concerns attitudes towards the acceptability of a language or of a variety within a language, whereas the micro-level concerns the acceptability of specific linguistic features. The two levels

intersect in an investigation of features across varieties" (p. 1). By focusing on specific linguistic elements of two varieties of Spanish, it begins to cross the line from a basically macrolevel orientation to one which incorporates microlevel concerns. Conceptually, then, the present study belongs to the macrolevel orientation of sociolinguistics, having as one of its primary goals the understanding of attitudes toward local and standard varieties of the Spanish language. The data base of this investigation, however, stems primarily from micro sociolinguistic roots, focusing on specific linguistic and sociodemographic variables. The interest in the ranking of linguistic variables in decisions of correctness more closely fits into the microlevel inquiry. In short, the two concerns are tightly intertwined in the present research in order to better understand attitudes toward language and correctness at the community level.

Any discussion of people's linguistic preferences and decisions of correctness presupposes the existence of opinions and attitudes toward language, however subconscious they may be. Indeed, a wide range of research on attitudes toward language demonstrates that people judge others on the basis of language used. These studies also portray language as reflecting, even providing a framework for understanding, social facts. In the remainder of this section, results of several representative language attitudes studies will be examined.

Several attitude studies by Giles (e.g., Giles & Powesland, 1975) using accent guises have demonstrated that British speakers of RP (Received Pronunciation) or the "standard" variety of English for the

community are judged higher in prestige than speakers of non-standard varieties. Research conducted in the United States has produced similar results. Harms (1961) found that taped voices alone were sufficient to allow Mid-Western listeners to identify the social status of the individuals whose speech they evaluated. Racial identification has also been shown to be possible with 80-90% accuracy on the basis of taped speech (Giles & Powesland, 1975).

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

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

Hannum (1978) in a study conducted at the University of New Mexico presented native speakers with tapes of speakers of different geographical varieties of Spanish. When subjects evaluated the speakers on a semantic differential scale, New Mexico speakers were rated on a par with speakers of other regional varieties, thus establishing New Mexico Spanish as a viable variety with a status

equivalent to that of other regional varieties. It must be kept in mind, however, that university students may be more likely than the average Albuquerque resident to be egalitarian in their assignment of values to people in general because of humanistic university training.

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

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

Urban Albuquerque Sociolinguistic Studies

While there is considerable literature relating to the Spanish of the Southwest, the data for Martineztown and even Albuquerque are much more scarce. Furthermore, geographically relevant studies tend to be only peripherally related to the proposed research. Both Mallory (1971) and Timmins (1971) conducted educational sociolinguistic research in Albuquerque in the years immediately following the passage of bilingual education legislation and with direct relevance to that practical concern. Although their work was not conducted in Martineztown, it provides useful information about the linguistic situation in Albuquerque in general. Their sociolinguistic focus adds to their value.

Mallory (1971) looked at attitudes toward language and bilingual education in Duranes, a Hispanic community northwest of Old Town in Albuquerque. She found that the older residents were more interested in the teaching of English than Spanish in the schools. Younger people were often suspicious of bilingual education programs. Even parents of children enrolled in such programs had no clear commitment to bilingual education. With respect to language attitudes, the bilingual education program seemed to have improved the children's Spanish language competence and, consequently, their attitudes toward speakers of that language. These gains were made in spite of a somewhat cloudy picture drawn by the Albuquerque Public Schools of local needs and bilingual education goals. This is exemplified in an unpublished Albuquerque Public Schools mimeo on the bilingual program: "Parents have a negative attitude toward the Spanish

language . . . the community provides poor models of speech." Nevertheless, the report continues, "The teacher will learn that if cultural patterns are to be authentic, the language must be authentic also" (Albuquerque Public Schools, 1969, cited in Mallory, 1971). There is an apparent contradiction in purposes in the Albuquerque Public Schools statement. A negative value judgment has been placed on the speech of community members yet the language to be used in bilingual education programs must be "authentic." This inconsistency on the part of the public schools may be attributed to a lack of information about language usage and language attitudes in Albuquerque. Nor are the public schools alone in their biases. A prominent language scholar earlier gave the following description of Southwest Spanish: "La lengua española del Sudoeste representa una evolución algo arcaizante del castellano de la epoca clásica, empobrecida en cuanto al vocabulario . . ." (Espinosa, Jr., 1957, p. 17). Ornstein's (1974) survey clearly demonstrates the poor reputation of this variety among college students. When asked to characterize Southwest Spanish, Anglos and Chicanos did so in the following manner:

	Anglo	Chicano
Formal, educated	0%	5%
Informal, everyday	32%	40%
Southwest dialect	17%	24%
Border slang	51%	31%

Southwest Spanish is often viewed as a poor relative of other more "standard" varieties.

The present study will clarify some of the issues related to language attitudes. It assesses the status of local Spanish in

Martineztown and seeks to determine the relative importance of the linguistic elements involved in the speakers' evaluations of this variety. Furthermore, it compiles information regarding models of Spanish available to the community in order to obtain a more holistic view of the kinds of Spanish which are acceptable to community members.

Timmins (1971) assessed the relative bilingualism of Spanish-surnamed children attending Armijo Elementary School in the South Valley of Albuquerque. Employing a usage rating schedule, word-naming task and picture response task, she found that very few of these children had any practical Spanish language ability in terms of production. She concludes that Spanish is disappearing rapidly for this population. Although the present study is aimed at adult community members, the pattern of language loss is nevertheless an area of focus. Furthermore, the elementary school children studied by Timmins over a decade ago are the young adults of today and so the data from the South Valley of Albuquerque and the data on the younger adult generation of Martineztown are, to some extent, comparable with regard to language shift.

Directly related to the population examined in the present research, Teitelbaum (1976) evaluated bilingualism among children at Longfellow Elementary School, which has traditionally served the Martineztown area. Her results are somewhat different from those of Timmins. She found that the Spanish language skills of Longfellow children varied greatly and that the bilingual education program in which they were enrolled seemed to be responsible for the expanded domains of Spanish language ability demonstrated by the older children. Since Timmins's

students were not enrolled in a bilingual education program, it is difficult to determine to what extent the special program was responsible for the superior Spanish language performance of Teitelbaum's subjects. Teitelbaum's subjects have not yet reached adulthood and so it is not possible to determine whether or not the expanded knowledge of Spanish into additional social domains has actually been put into practice in Martineztown. It would be interesting to locate Teitelbaum's subjects within the next few years to evaluate their current language use and attitudes.

The notion of bilingual education seems to imply the presence of two languages both of which possess a single variety which is acceptable to and sanctioned by some reputable institution. Such a situation does not exist for Spanish here in the Southwest. The Albuquerque Public Schools statement quoted above indicates the nature of the problem. Not only do different varieties of Spanish exist, but their status within the Spanish-speaking community is unclear. Furthermore, these varieties are heavily laden with attitudes, expectations and prejudices carried by the residents. It is possible that only a small percentage of the population actually controls more than one variety of Spanish. It is not altogether clear how these varieties can be defined or labeled or the extent to which they are present in the communities studied.

Overall Sociolinguistic Perspective and Research Needs

It has been assumed by many that distinct "standard" and "local" varieties of Spanish coexist in Southwest Spanish-speaking communities. For example, Elías-Olivares and Valdés-Fallis (1979, p. 6) suggest

that Southwest Spanish speakers command more than one variety. Hernández-Chávez, Cohen and Beltramo (1975) argue that the differences between Southwest Spanish and Mexican Spanish are quantitative rather than qualitative. The features of the two varieties, they suggest, are the same. Only the proportions and combinations of use distinguish the two varieties. Webb (1980, p. 327) proposes that the "acrolects of bilingual English-Spanish speakers often differ from standard Mexican Spanish or standard American English in distinctive pronunciation, particularly in patterning." The situation may be represented as a continuum as follows:

Local Informal Spanish	Local Formal Spanish	Standard Mexican Spanish

The presence of a continuum with a local informal variety, a local formal variety and an international standard helps to explain differing opinions regarding the approximation of local Spanish to standard Mexican Spanish.

It has also been assumed that there is no community-wide consensus regarding the nature of the correct variety, that no norm exists. Asked where the best Spanish is spoken, Cohen's (1974) better educated and socioeconomically more advantaged subjects chose Spain. According to Lastra de Suárez (1975, p. 65) there are varying standards even within a community:

> Nos encontramos ante una situación lingüística en la cual no hay un standard local definido: los inmigrantes o las personas que han viajado consideran standard el habla de la gente culta de México o de otras capitales de América; los directores de las estaciones de radio y televisión consideran

> standard el habla culta de la Ciudad de México. Los nativos de Los Ángeles no tienen modelos de habla culta en las escuelas ni en las iglesias. El radio y la televisión ejercen sin duda la mayor influencia; no así la prensa que sólo leen los inmigrantes pues la mayoría de las personas nacidas en Los Ángeles no saben leer en español. Los nativos de Los Ángeles no quieren imitar el habla de la Ciudad de México, pues la consideran peculiar y se burlan de la entonación, pero así y todo probablemente el habla culta de México represente en cierto modo el standard a juzgar por lo que se lee y se oye en el periódico, la televisión y el radio. Podemos establecer niveles en el standard local desde lo formal hasta lo no formal:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | (1) formal escrito | La Opinión, un periódico local. |
> | (2) formal oral | Locutores de radio anunciando. |
> | (3) informal oral | Locutores hablando con el público; programas donde se dan recetas de cocina. |
> | (4) coloquial | Conversaciones de personas cultas que han tenido contacto con el extranjero. |

While Lastra de Suárez proposes the existence of various monolingual models, Cohen (1975, p. 208) feels that "some bilinguals do not model their Spanish on any variety used by unilingual speakers of their language, but on local bilingual usage." Solé (1980) concludes that, in light of the present limitations in the data, it is impossible to ascertain the presence or absence of a single internal standard.

Perhaps the confusion over the standard variety or varieties of Spanish is due, in part, to expectations based on a knowledge of the varieties controlled by monolingual speakers of English or Spanish. These individuals must control several varieties of one language and use them in a manner consistent with social status and aspirations and appropriate to the social setting. Bilinguals use their two languages in much the same way.

> Although correlation of higher status with use of Standard Spanish is found among residents of and immigrants from Mexico, the same is not necessarily true among U.S.-born Chicanos, as

> upward mobility in the United States does not require proficiency in Standard Spanish as it does in Standard English. The Chicano's Spanish in this case is more likely to be correlated with his parents' socioeconomic status than his own, at least if they are of the immigrant generation. On the other hand, there may be a positive correlation between socioeconomic status and the likelihood of studying Spanish in school and successfully acquiring Standard Spanish (Peñalosa, 1980, p. 150).

In short, the concept of a standard Spanish to be used for the formal domain may be an imposition of expectations of monolinguals on bilinguals in a diglossic situation. The present research explores native speakers' own concepts of language through ethnographic interviews in order to create a formulation more closely related to the views of the community.

Given the array of data presented above, it is clear that more work is needed in the area of Southwest Spanish. A survey of research needs, as proposed by leading authorities in the field of Southwest Spanish reveals the current state of the art and a few of the most pressing needs, lending direction to future research.

In "Linguistic Research on U.S. Hispanos--State of the Art," Bills (1975) describes a few of the traits of research in Southwest Spanish borrowed from the Hispanic tradition. First, the focus has been on speech fragments with little or no linguistic or social context. Second, the emphasis has been largely on deviations from the standard. Third, a philological interest in deviations has prevailed with historical explanations used to help make sense of these differences. Finally, research on Southwest Spanish has been characterized by a lack of interest in theoretical issues. He continues by pointing out the provenience of more current studies from the field of the

macrolevel sociology of language. In this orientation, social variables are correlated with language choice and attitudes with a relative disregard for sociolinguistic research which correlates linguistic variables with social elements.

The need for additional descriptive research on both regional and social dialects of Southwest Spanish is noted by Bills and Ornstein (1976). Bills (1976) emphasizes the need for more pan-Chicano Spanish studies and for synthesis. Finally, Peñalosa (1980) lists Chicano attitudes toward "correct" Spanish speech as one of the main areas for Chicano sociolinguistic research into attitudes.

The present research attacks many of these research needs in a broad study of the Spanish language in Martineztown. In the descriptive realm, it compiles informants' judgments of correctness while also assessing their familiarity with some of the regionalisms documented in the literature. In terms of sociolinguistics, it identifies the relationship between specific linguistic variables and social factors. In the area of social setting, it focuses on the formal domain of education, one which affects all community residents at some point in their lives. Informants are asked specific questions about language preferences in this setting and also are given an opportunity to explore the concept of language in such a social milieu in more open-ended questions. A strong emphasis is placed on the attitudinal portion of the study. Informants are asked not only to judge examples of local and standard Mexican Spanish and discuss the relative importance of the various linguistic elements in making their decision, but they are asked to explore their attitudes toward local Spanish

and available models of Spanish. The notion of standard is very closely monitored because of its educational implications. Macías (1974; cited in Peñalosa, 1980, p. 167), for example, found that 77.4% of the parents of Headstart children surveyed in East Los Angeles disapproved of the use of Caló by teachers. González (1972) suggests that the speech of adult Chicano speakers should be the classroom norm and that standard Spanish should also be taught. More information regarding the public's attitude toward local and standard Spanish is needed before any well-formulated decisions can be made.

Problems to be Investigated

While the above studies demonstrate that listeners can and probably do evaluate a speaker on the basis of the variety of the language used, it is not altogether clear which features constitute the varieties in question. For example, Arthur, Farrar and Bradford (1974) had listeners rate pronunciation used on the tape as Standard English, Chicano English or points in-between on a continuum. Lexicon, syntax and morphology remained constant because the speakers read a passage. The only variables, then, which differentiated the Standard from the Chicano English speaker were phonetic, perhaps phonological, differences in the delivery of the passage and probably some differing intonational patterns. While this limitation on variables studied provides a detailed understanding of language attitudes and phonological differences, it has isolated an element of language which is not ordinarily isolated. Furthermore, it has not specified the linguistic variables involved in the different varieties judged. This last difficulty is characteristic of matched guise studies in general. Bourhis, Giles and Lambert (1975),

Giles (1971; cited in Giles & Powesland, 1975, p. 32), Hannum (1978) and others have demonstrated that different varieties are differentially evaluated, based on phonetic, phonological, morphological, morphophonemic, lexical and syntactic information. However, none of the studies specifies which specific linguistic variables are preferred; only generalized varieties such as "Standard English," "Received Pronunciation" or "Puerto Rican Spanish" are specified.

The present study does not have as broad a scope as the guise studies in that it cannot possibly consider all linguistic variables involved in people's judgments of speech of their interlocutors. This is so because differences between the two varieties being considered are too numerous and constantly changing.

The present study does, however, attempt to specify selected forms --phonological, morphophonemic, lexical and syntactic--which are preferred for formal speech and to determine whether the local preferences are for a variety which approximates Standard Mexican Spanish or whether they do, in fact, constitute a local norm. This aspect of the task can be formulated as three questions:

Question 1. Are the linguistic forms specified in the literature for New Mexico and the Southwest in general considered to be correct in this community?

Question 2. Do the members of the community agree on the forms which they consider to be correct Spanish?

Question 3. If so, do the forms considered most correct by this community approximate Standard Mexican Spanish or do they constitute a local norm?

A pilot study conducted in this community (Kravitz, 1978) begins to address these questions. In the pilot study, respondents provided demographic, linguistic and attitudinal information. In the linguistic portion, they were asked to choose the most correct of two or more sentences. Each sentence contained one or two lexical, phonological, morphophonemic or syntactic variables. The choices made were considered to represent the individual's discrimination of linguistic correctness for those variables. It was found that most forms chosen by the respondents as correct were the standard rather than the local form. For single variable sentences, agreement usually exceeded 70%. For example, given the pair

Tengo frío.
Estoy frío.

38 respondents chose Tengo frío while only 2 preferred Estoy frío. In other pairs, the standard form was chosen but not by such an overwhelming majority:

Quiero que vengan mañana.	39
Quiero que vienen mañana.	5
Volamos rápido.	30
Vuelamos rapido.	8

Thus, general agreement does seem to exist in terms of forms considered to be more acceptable. The broader base of forms used in the present study will help to evaluate this pattern more conclusively.

The present study goes beyond these first three questions, however. If, indeed, it is the case that members of the community do generally agree on correct forms, it would be valuable to know specifically which linguistic factors are most important in making these decisions.

Is phonological accuracy more important than syntactic correctness? Is the choice of lexical item more important than adherence to a morphophonemic rule? If some factors are more important in determining correctness, perhaps a hierarchy, useful to both language teachers and language learners, could be established, ranking the relative importance of the various linguistic features in judging correct speech and, therefore, also in producing correct speech. This issue can be reduced to a fourth question for the research:

Question 4. Can linguistic factors be ranked by relative importance in listeners' evaluation of correctness and, if so, will one factor (such as choice of lexical item) override others (such as pronunciation)?

The pilot study, again, attempted to address this question. In the double variable pair

Di[θ]e que no tiene dinero.
Di[s]e que no tiene plata.

preference was given to the first sentence, most respondents placing emphasis on the lexical item rather than the pronunciation. The presentation of double variables was the area in which the pilot study was weakest and is the area in which the present study makes the greatest improvements. In the first place, the example given directly above is trivial for this community, since the /θ/ is not an attested form for this area of New Mexico. The present study uses more relevant forms. Second, in order to pair preferred forms with stigmatized ones, it is necessary to be able to differentiate between the two. The pilot study provides such information so that correct pairings, not always accomplished in the pilot study, have now been made with greater accuracy.

Finally, a greater number of pairs with double variables was presented in order to get a broader view of the process used in making these decisions.

The determination of linguistic facts, however, is only half of the picture. The field of sociolinguistics, as discussed above, has consistently demonstrated that relationships exist between language use and social factors. Some social factors often found relevant are age, sex, generation in the United States, place of residence and migration history, type of schooling (monolingual versus bilingual), educational level attained and language background. The present study will evaluate the relationship between these variables and decisions of linguistic correctness as well as attitudinal factors:

Question 5. To what extent are various social factors related to adherence to the local norm, if one exists?

In addition, the availability of models of standard language would be expected to influence the attitudes toward standard versus local language in this community. It is beneficial to determine availability of models of formal and standard language and to document their use in this community.

Question 6. What sources of standard Spanish (oral and written) are found in this community and to what extent and under what circumstances are they used?

Question 7. To what extent do these models of standard Spanish influence the attitudes of community members toward standard and local varieties of Spanish?

The above questions represent the various disciplines on which the present study is based. Question 1 pertains to the area of descriptive Spanish linguistics. Questions 2 and 3 are, more properly, the domain of macrolevel sociolinguistics. Microlevel sociolinguistics is the source of Question 5 while 4 is best described as a linguistic concern. Questions 6 and 7 return to the macrolevel sociolinguistic focus. All of these concerns need to be integrated in order to ascertain the relationship among them:

Question 8. What relationships exist among the four major areas of this study: social factors, linguistic choices of correctness, attitudes toward language and availability of sources of standard language?

The present research explores the entire question of attitudes of New Mexico Spanish speakers toward standard and local varieties of Spanish, taking into consideration community setting, availability of models of Spanish and native speaker conceptualization as well as linguistic and sociolinguistic factors. All of these elements will be shown to work together in producing the complex phenomenon of language attitudes among Spanish-speaking adults in Martineztown.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

In keeping with the interdisciplinary nature of the present research, an eclectic methodology was employed in collecting data. Demographic interviews, forced choice decisions, direct questioning, observation and ethnographic interviews contributed to the total study. These methods of obtaining data range from tightly to loosely structured, providing a formally as well as substantively varied record.

The type of information sought helped to determine the specific method to be used. The availability of written and oral models of Spanish within the community was best examined by observation and close inspection. Visits to local offices, churches, community centers, cemetery and formal ceremonies produced a wide assortment of written materials found in Martineztown along with information regarding the oral Spanish used by community leaders. When interviews were later conducted, additional materials were sometimes provided by informants and comments were noted.

Demographic data were most efficiently collected by means of closely structured interviews. Observation alone would not have produced the accurate information required for the statistical tests later performed on such data.

Preferences for the various linguistic forms being examined were best explored by means of a forced choice technique and direct

questioning. The former required informants to make decisions regarding linguistic forms without the need for specific language training. The subjects could then provide information regarding the importance of the various linguistic components of Southwest Spanish without awareness of those components. By answering direct questions posed by the interviewer, informants stated their reasons for choices made, again without the need for specific linguistic terminology.

A loosely structured interview was used to elicit attitudes toward language. Informants were given the opportunity to discuss broadly defined topics regarding language attitudes, thereby allowing considerable flexibility in both the subject discussed and the manner of approaching it.

To gain an understanding of community concerns with reference to language, an emic approach was employed using an ethnographic interview. This allowed informants to outline themes of interest to community members and to pursue them in their own manner.

The various strategies employed in obtaining data, then, were matched with the type of information sought. The techniques used differed primarily in structure and in the type of data produced. The results are varied yet they converge to produce an inverted pyramid of data, building on a specific foundation of microlevel sociolinguistic information to a general understanding of community language attitudes of macrolevel sociolinguistics.

The Sample

Since it was not feasible to interview all community members, a stratified sample of 70 residents of Martineztown was interviewed.

A stratified sample, which samples the various subgroups of the population proportionately (Popham & Sirotnik, 1973, p. 45), allows the researcher to draw meaningful inferences regarding the entire population. Two factors considered to be important in sociolinguistic research, age and sex, were used as elements of the stratified sample.

Age of the subject has been found to have a powerful effect on language use in both monolinguals and bilinguals. Age correlates with many life stages which may also be influential in language use and norms. Labov, in his early study of New York City English, found a clear pattern of language use and the development of linguistic norms in children. Preschool children tend to pattern their language after their parents but school-age children seem to use the peer group as a point of reference for linguistic as well as social values. A greater understanding of community-wide norms develops as the individual enters high school. Labov summarizes: "complete familiarity with the norms of the community seems to be attained at the age of 17 or 18" (1972, p. 138). Even adults, however, do not constitute a homogeneous group with reference to language use. Labov, in studying the centralization of (aw) on Martha's Vineyard, was able to identify four different generations of residents, demonstrating four different levels of centralization, with this process occurring most frequently among younger adults (Labov, pp. 165-167). Moving away from usage to attitudes, in a test of recognition of social prestige attributed to various linguistic forms found in New York City English, broad differences in such recognition were found between subjects below and above the age of 40 (Labov, pp. 150-156).

In research on bilingualism, similar results are reported. Lieberson (1972, pp. 248-250), in his study of bilingualism in Montreal, found that age and sex interact in determining degree of bilingualism. Beginning in the late teens, differences in the sexes emerge with regard to the control of two languages, apparently related to differences between the sexes in participation in the work force, with males being more likely candidates for bilingualism.

Further advantages of age and sex as variables to be employed in constructing a stratified sample are the quantifiable and discrete nature of the variables, respectively, and the objective manner in which they can be determined. Socioeconomic status, while often an important factor in understanding language use and attitudes, is a sensitive and subjectively structured category and one in which great variation within the community was not expected. Similarly, educational level attained was not expected to vary greatly within Martineztown. Thus, age and sex, known to be valuable factors in sociolinguistic research, were chosen as the variables to be considered in stratifying the sample.

Information for the Martineztown-Santa Barbara area regarding these factors was drawn from the 1970 U.S. Census. The predetermined numbers for each age-sex category as specified in Table 3 were filled by residents of Martineztown. An attempt was also made to obtain a fair sampling of the community with reference to educational level attained. This effort produced a mean educational level very similar to that provided by the U.S. Census of 1970.

The use of a stratified sample allows the results of the present study to be generalized to the population of the community as a whole.

While it does not allow for further statistical generalization, the sample used does resemble many Southwest Spanish-speaking communities and may be used as a springboard for further investigation.

Table 3

Stratification by Sex/Age for Martineztown--Number of Informants per Category

Age	Sex	
	Male	Female
18-34	12	15
35-54	9	12
55+	11	11
	32	38 (N = 70)

Data Collection

In the interest of obtaining a broad range of sociolinguistic information about New Mexico Spanish and in keeping with the interdisciplinary nature of this study, several different sources of data, representing the fields of linguistics, education, anthropology and sociology, were used. Data collected by the various methods are complementary, helping to provide an integrated view of the language and the attitudes toward it.

Prior to collecting specific language attitude data, several weeks were spent by the researcher systematically observing potential sources

of standard Spanish. Data obtained served as background for the remainder of the study. The models of Spanish found within the community were considered to reflect and, in turn, influence the Spanish of Martineztown. For instance, pamphlets, magazines and newspapers, often written by non-residents, would be expected to exercise some unidirectional influence on Martineztown Spanish and perhaps on attitudes toward different varieties of that language. Gravestone inscriptions reflect rather than influence local Spanish. Oral models of formal Spanish such as sermons of clergymen and speeches at local events may both reflect and influence language and language attitudes of community members.

A modified form of "Observing Literacy" developed by Ortiz, Engelbrecht and Irvine (1980), a set of guidelines for examining written language, was used (see Appendix A). This instrument provided a structure for observing the who, what, when, where and how of literacy in the Martineztown area. It focuses on the function of written language in the community, the users, the form taken and the appropriate social settings for its use. It was also found to be useful for examining oral models of Spanish found in the media and in religious institutions. Television and radio stations serving the Albuquerque Spanish-speaking community were examined and social institutions were observed. Newspapers, magazines, books, religious literature and headstones at the local cemetery were used as sources of written and formal Spanish.

The primary means of collecting language attitude data was the sociolinguistic interview. Seventy interviews were conducted in Martineztown and 30 additional interviews were conducted in Carnuel, Española and Grants to provide geographical breadth. The 70 individuals

interviewed in Martineztown, as mentioned previously, represent a stratified sample of that community while the other New Mexico residents were chosen by convenience. Interviews in Española were obtained by door-to-door requests while those in Grants and Carnuel were prearranged with the help of acquaintances of the researcher.

The interviews were conducted in 100 homes by a team consisting of a native New Mexico Spanish speaker and the researcher. The interviewer spoke in Spanish whenever possible and the researcher, serving as a recorder, remained silent until the structured portion of the interview was concluded. All interviews were tape-recorded, notes were taken and written responses to the taped portion of the interview were collected.

The initial interviews consisted of three parts: a demographic portion, a linguistic section and a language attitude section (see Appendices B, C and D for the instruments used). Data collected in the first and last sections were tabulated and tested for correlations with linguistic information from the second section. The results of these tests are presented in Chapter 6.

The demographic portion of the interview asked the interviewee to provide information regarding age, educational level attained, length of residence in the community, migration history, religion, employment and language background. This portion was structured in much the same way as other sociolinguistic studies conducted in the Martineztown area (Hudson-Edwards & Bills, 1980; Kravitz, 1978) in an attempt to elicit comparable and useful information which might then be found to be related to linguistic decisions. All of these

sociological factors were tested for their relationship to attitude toward language.

The second or linguistic portion of the interview consisted of a stimulus tape presented to the informant, who was instructed to make a forced choice of the better of two sentences for a formal, educational setting. The stimulus tape, containing 50 pairs of sentences with one or two linguistic variables in each pair, was recorded by a native speaker of New Mexico Spanish. Syntactic, phonological, morphophonemic and lexical variants were presented to the listeners. The stimulus sentences were of two types: those containing one linguistic variant and those containing two. Those containing one consisted of two sentences, exactly alike with the exception of a single linguistic element, for example:

31. Esta maestra sabe tichar.
    Esta maestra sabe enseñar.

Other pairs contained two types of variant, one morphophonemic and one syntactic or one lexical and one phonological, for instance. The latter is exemplified by:

19. Van a enseñar de nochi.
    Van a tichar de noche.

In the last example, typical of sentences containing two variables, the anticipated preferred forms <u>enseñar</u> and <u>noche</u> were each placed with the anticipated stigmatized form (<u>tichar</u> and <u>nochi</u>). Such a pairing was expected to provide information regarding the relative importance of the various linguistic factors in decisions of correctness.

All pairs contained forms documented in the literature or heard by the researcher and native speaker informants.

Informants were given an answer sheet on which to record their answers to the linguistic portion of the interview (Appendix E). In a few cases, one of the research team completed the form based on the informant's oral responses. While informants were writing their responses, the recorder noted any comments made and language used. On selected items, the informant was asked why he/she chose that particular option and these responses were recorded as well. Responses given allowed the researcher to assess the focus of the informant in making his/her decision regarding correctness.

The final portion of the interview consisted of eight questions regarding the informant's experiences with potential sources of standard Spanish and attitudes toward local and other varieties of that language. This more open-ended portion allowed informants to explore language variation with little structure from the interviewer. Informants were asked about their usage of the Spanish language media and specific preferences. They were also asked to evaluate local Spanish and to express preferences for different varieties in formal situations.

In order to collect more in-depth information regarding the informants' experiences with language varieties and attitudes toward them, 13 ethnographic interviews (Spradley, 1979) were conducted with selected informants from the stratified sample. According to Spradley, such interviews are conducted with the goal of discovering the informant's organization of his/her cultural knowledge. The interviewer does not begin with specific, preplanned questions or hypotheses but

allows informants to explore their own interests, thereby allowing them to organize reality according to cultural expectations. Thus, the researcher does not impose his/her own values or concerns on the community members nor does he/she structure the interview based on predetermined categories, often culture-specific. Since the ethnographic interview is an open-ended interview which follows the informant's interests and concerns and utilizes his/her own categories and not necessarily those of the interviewer, a firm questionnaire was not used. However, similar kinds of questions took form in several of the interviews. These are presented as Appendix F. The focus of these interviews was on the attitudes of informants toward local Spanish and their own perspective. Informants for this portion of the study were chosen from the various age/sex groupings and tended to be long-time Martineztown residents who expressed considerable interest in the study.

Together, the three major portions of this study, the availability of models of standard Spanish, the sociolinguistic interview and the ethnographic interview, provide a wealth of information with an interdisciplinary bent, aimed at producing an integrated view of the mutual influences of linguistic and social factors on the language attitudes of Martineztown Spanish speakers.

In the following two chapters, results of these interviews are presented. The availability of models of standard Spanish in the community is addressed in Chapter 5, exploring language in various community institutions and laying the groundwork for the language attitudes data reported in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

THE AVAILABILITY OF MODELS OF FORMAL SPANISH

The availability of models of standard and local Spanish was observed both in oral and written forms. Various locations and occasions were observed using the Instrument for Observation of Availability of Models of Standard Spanish (see Appendix A). For written Spanish, headstones at the local cemetery, church prayer books and announcements and state and local publications were examined. For oral language, observations were made at the Catholic and Presbyterian churches, the Senior Citizen's Center, the Martineztown House of Neighborly Service and the local park. Spanish language media were also examined.

In the first two sections of this chapter, language used in the two local churches is explored. The oral language used by church leaders is examined as is the written Spanish found in various sectarian publications. Interactions among parishioners and between congregation members and the clergy are noted and the structure of religious services provided are considered. The local cemetery proved to be a major source of data on written Spanish from a historical perspective and is treated in a separate section. Finally, the role of the media in providing Martineztown residents with models of formal Spanish is discussed, and the varieties used in the media are examined in sociolinguistic context.

The Second Presbyterian Church

The Second Presbyterian Church provides the community with three Spanish language situations. The Spanish service and church school are weekly events. Bilingual services are also held occasionally.

The Spanish language service provides models of both oral and written standard Spanish and some instances of local forms. The weekly program for the services is bilingual, English on one side and a standard variety of Spanish on the other. The hymnbook, or Himnario, is published by El Departamento de Música y Adoración del Concilio para la Obra Hispano Americana, located just north of Martineztown. Many of the hymns were written originally in Spanish while others are translated. The Spanish exemplified is neither standard Mexican Spanish nor local Spanish but, rather, a biblical Spanish. This variety is typified by formal, stilted language including the use of the second past subjunctive form -se and the use of the second person plural vosotros form.

The language of the pastor in delivering the service was also considered to be a model of formal Spanish. In general, the pastor employed standard Mexican Spanish. With reference to the present study, he used the subjunctive mode at all times when prescriptively required in that variety and retained the final d in such words as verdad. No diphthongization in order to regularize verbs was noted. One notable exception to his use of standard Mexican Spanish was the substitution of an aspirated sound for a word-final s. He said, for example, Graciah a Dioh. In short, the pastor generally used a standard variety of Spanish, exhibiting only one local form being considered in the present study.

In comparison to English services at the same church, the Spanish services took on a more instructional structure, yet there was a more informal atmosphere. The pastor directed questions at the Spanish language congregation but not at the English language group. This may, however, be a function of size: the English-speaking group was far larger than the Spanish. The religious leader also translated some relatively uncommon Spanish words into English. The atmosphere was more relaxed as he told personal anecdotes and laughed cordially during the Spanish language service.

After Spanish language services, a Bible study group met. Most interactions took place in Spanish. In spite of the presence of a Colombian group leader who spoke a standard form of Spanish with some Caribbean influence in the phonological sphere, group members continued to use the variety with which they were familiar. No forms specifically related to the present study were noted.

On the fifth Sunday of the month, when it occurs, a bilingual service is held. It tends to follow the pattern of the English service in that the attendance is large and the service is somewhat impersonal. The minister conducted the service primarily in English but one instance of responsive reading was in Spanish and two hymns were sung in Spanish. Many of the members of the congregation used the Himnario in singing and reading, demonstrating some literacy in Spanish. The only example of duplication of material in the two languages was a song rendered by the choir, sung first in English and then in Spanish. The minister gave the sermon in English but added some instructional examples in Spanish. The pattern, then, was one of alternation of

languages rather than translation and the use of Spanish for explanation and elaboration of a basically English service.

In spite of ample availability of models of Spanish at the Second Presbyterian Church, the extent of the influence of the Spanish heard and read there must not be overestimated. Most church members live outside of Martineztown and, therefore, direct influence in Martineztown is probably minimal. Though the number of Presbyterians in the community is not known, the residents are overwhelmingly Catholic.

San Ignacio Catholic Church

San Ignacio Church is a central part of the lives of many residents of Martineztown. Approximately 400 families, 370 of which reside in Martineztown, are registered members of San Ignacio. Approximately half of the regular churchgoers are Mexican immigrants, according to Father Tafoya, the parish priest. This group is certain to have an effect on language use in services.

The 10:30 Sunday mass at San Ignacio is entirely in Spanish. The church is generally full for this mass, with both children and adults attending.

Catholic Social Services, closely associated with San Ignacio Parish, provides social services to the entire city of Albuquerque and works closely with many of the senior citizens of Martineztown. Father Tafoya also holds Catholic mass for these older adults at the Centro de Amistad de los Ancianos, the Martineztown senior citizen center. Thus, large numbers of community residents are served, directly or indirectly, by San Ignacio Church.

Father Tafoya, one church reader (changed weekly) and pamphlets used at mass represent models of Spanish for Martineztown residents. El Misalito is the hymnbook with all songs and readings in Spanish. Praise is a monthly publication with readings, prayers and songs in Spanish and English in separate sections of the pamphlet. The Spanish used in both of these written models is standard with a few instances of biblical Spanish, such as the use of the second person plural command form. The Spanish spoken by Father Tafoya, a native of Albuquerque's North Valley with no formal training in Spanish, is generally standard Mexican. Two exceptions were noted, however. The local form [awa], a variant of [ag^{w}a] was noted in his sermon. The first person singular verb forms yo ha hecho and yo ha fallado, documented in the literature for Southwest Spanish, were also observed. No other examples of local Spanish were noted, either in reading or speaking. Numerous opportunities for d-deletion in word final position were found (lealtad, piedad, fieldad) but no instances of d-deletion were noted.

The oral reader, a different person each week, reads from Praise. Since reading will ordinarily allow only phonological variation, no observations of the readers' lexical, syntactic or morphophonemic structures can be made. Their pronunciation of the written text was found to follow standard Mexican pronunciation quite closely.

In singing, the congregation as a whole was observed using the local form piedá for piedad, deleting the final d. It is impossible, however, to determine what percentage of the congregation actually uses the local form.

As mentioned previously, the entire service is carried out in Spanish. This includes the greetings and informal speech of the priest, sermons, readings, congregational readings, prayers, songs, etc. However, when the individual members of the congregation greet each other on the Sabbath, approximately halfway through the mass, the phrase "Peace be with you" is used. No instances of a Spanish greeting were observed. This brief switch seems to indicate the acceptance of stereotyped English phrases in Spanish language contexts.

The Spanish language pamphlets are used and read by the majority of the congregation, indicating either literacy in Spanish or, at least, an ability to follow written Spanish. This seemed to be true of teenagers as well. The children, however, did not usually attempt to use the pamphlets. Adult use of Spanish language written materials reveals widespread familiarity with the written word in Spanish for members of this community. While they may be, as was heretofore assumed, functionally illiterate in Spanish, unable to write standard Spanish in a manner minimally acceptable to an educated native speaker, some receptive literacy is present. The church offers opportunities in the daily activities of residents of Martineztown for them to be exposed to the written form of Spanish. The relationship between the passive ability to follow the text and productive literacy in written Spanish needs to be explored more fully but is beyond the scope of the present research. Similarly, the transfer of literacy from English to Spanish merits scrutiny.

San Ignacio Church also distributes a weekly publication consisting of a printed page from the Archdiocese of Santa Fe with religious

readings and a page of local names and dates. The front page, on which are found discussions of topics of religious significance, is entirely in English. An inset contains passages from the Bible in English on one side and standard Mexican Spanish on the other. The second inside page contains local schedules and names in a mixture of Spanish and English, usually a Spanish translation following the English but with occasional instances of Spanish only and numerous instances of English only. A quick perusal of this page reveals that standard Mexican Spanish is not always used. The variations found, however, do not always conform to descriptions of local Spanish and most may be attributed to marginal literacy in Spanish:

Ven hacia a mi.	(standard: Ven hacia mí.)
Resare	(standard: Rezaré)
Descubrir lo	(standard: Descubrirlo)

Some more closely reflect influence from English:

Misa siempre es bueno y tremendo.	(standard: La misa siempre es buena y tremenda.)

The advertisements at the back of the pamphlet are primarily in English with an occasional slogan printed in Spanish.

Catholic Social Services offers support to the entire Albuquerque community. Among the written materials available there, English predominates but Spanish publications are available. The agency's own publication is entirely in English. Three other publications available there are: "Verdades sobre el Cáncer Colorectal" of the American Cancer Society, "Gastos Nucleares y Nuevo Méjico" of the Southwest

Research and Information Center and "Hay Ayuda Para Usted Cuando La Necesite" of the Gas Company of New Mexico. The first of these publications is written in standard Spanish. The Southwest Information and Research Center publication was found to contain numerous examples of non-standard Spanish, most of which may be categorized as orthographic variations of two kinds: influence from English (e.g., milliones for millones) and missing accent marks (e.g., razon for razón). One possible instance of local Spanish was in the area of preposition deletion: dentro cajas (standard: dentro de cajas). The Gas Company pamphlet contained predominantly standard Mexican Spanish with a few exceptions which again, may be classified as orthographic:

1. numerous missing accent marks, which may be the result of either faulty typing or limited literacy in Spanish
2. the use of capital letters for names of days of the week, perhaps a result of English influence

Several examples of stilted Spanish, probably the result of direct translation from English, were also noted.

Mt. Calvary Cemetery

Examples of written Spanish found on headstones at Mount Calvary Cemetery in Martineztown reveal changes in language use since the 1940s. The relative frequency of occurrence of Spanish, English or both offers evidence for changes in language. The content of the writing on the tombstones, including spelling, provides information on formal language use. Finally, ethnographic interviews indicate the extent of the influence of this written language on local Spanish speakers.

Headstones at Mt. Calvary provide a diachronic view of language

used. A survey of a thousand headstones there produced a great deal of information regarding language choice (Spanish vs. English) in a formal context, selection of a specific language variety, literacy and change in language attitudes.

Of the thousand headstones counted, only 390 were marked legibly with a Hispanic surname clear. Of these, 262 or 78.2% were in English, 61 or 18.2% in Spanish and 12 or 3.6% in both. Patterns of language used over time are typical of the fate of Spanish in verbal communication over the same period. As revealed in Table 4, Spanish appears on fewer and fewer headstones as the twentieth century proceeds with only two minor reversals. A concomitant increase in English use is noted. If headstones containing both Spanish and English are counted with the Spanish monolingual headstones, forming the dichotomy Spanish/not Spanish, the trend becomes even clearer. This is not an unreasonable grouping since most bilingual headstones consisted of a Spanish inscription and a standard English inset such as "Rest in Peace." The inclusion of a standard English phrase parallels similar findings at San Ignacio Church where a standard English greeting is inserted in an otherwise all Spanish mass. The increase in the use of Spanish in the 1970s, while not indicative of a major reversal in language preference, may reflect some of the social changes of the 1960s and early 1970s with ethnic tongues seen as being more worthy of use in all domains.

The relationship between language used on the headstone and age and sex of the deceased was explored. No relationship was found to exist for sex and language choice. Overall, no relationship between

Table 4

Percentage of Gravestones Inscribed in Spanish, English and Both Languages by Decade of Death

Decade	Spanish	Both	English
Before 1900	66	0	34
1900-1909	58	2	40
1910-1919	31	6	63
1920-1929	32	4	64
1930-1939	17	5	78
1940-1949	9	1	90
1950-1959	12	2	86
1960-1969	0	0	100
1970-1979	2	5	92

age and language preference was noted (see Table 5). However, for the 1930s and 1940s a trend surfaced. Using four age groupings, a relationship between age and language used on the headstone appeared. The youngest as well as the oldest group had a higher percentage of Spanish use than did the middle groups (see Table 6). One possible explanation for this phenomenon presents itself in the form of domain theory. The oldest people, besides being older and more traditional, are confined to the home for the most part. The youngest group also tends to be centered in the home, especially the children. The home has traditionally been the stronghold for the ethnic tongue. The members of the middle groups, aged 18-54, are found in the public domain where English predominates. The question remains as to why this age/language relationship did not appear in other decades. In the 1960s there was an entire section of the cemetery devoted to babies and all headstones were in English. This may have become standard procedure. In fact, the standardization of gravestones and the disappearance of most headstones inscribed personally by family members in more recent decades may detract from a fair assessment of language choice.

In the period since World War II, almost all tombstones have been inscribed in English. Only a few examples to the contrary were found. One fairly common Spanish inscription consists of an English word order imposed on a Spanish date (e.g., julio 20, 1948). Prior to 1940, several tombstones were inscribed in Spanish but still the majority were in English. Most Spanish headstones provide instances of standard Spanish. One exception is the writing of dates of birth and death as in the aforementioned example. Spelling variants fall

Table 5

Percentage of Gravestones Inscribed in Spanish, English and Both Languages by Age at Time of Death

Age	Spanish	Both	English
0-17	18	2	80
18-34	14	4	82
35-54	22	2	76
55+	19	4	77

Table 6

Percentage of Gravestones Inscribed in Spanish, English and Both Languages by Age at Time of Death, Sections 1-3, Primarily 1930s and 1940s

Age	Spanish	Both	English
0-17	26	0	74
18-34	10	5	85
35-54	9	6	85
55+	23	3	74

into three major categories: errors in word junctures, difficulties in spelling sounds which have merged in New Mexico Spanish, and variants indicative of local Spanish. Examples of the first type include de scanse (standard: descanse) and ala edad (standard: a la edad). Mayo was spelled mallo on one headstone indicating that these sounds were not distinguished. An example of local Spanish was eda for edad. This last example, directly pertinent to the present study, demonstrates the usage of the local form, even in a formal setting (headstones), yet it is impossible to determine attitudes toward this form at the time it was written on the headstones. Still, it is possible to assume that this form, having been used in a formal setting, was not greatly stigmatized. It is probable that the phonetic form [eda] was considered by some to be correct in pronunciation at the time the gravestone was inscribed. While indirect evidence points in this direction, this statement cannot be scientifically tested and this assumption must remain speculation.

A scheme for representing the kinds of linguistic variation found on headstones at Mt. Calvary cemetery is presented in Figure 2. Basically, variation on headstones is assigned to one of two causal factors: literacy and bilingualism. Most of the examples have been placed in the first category. Marginal literacy in Spanish probably accounts for changes in word juncture such as the examples given above and is certainly responsible for backwards formation of letters such as И and Я. Alternating spellings for the same word seem to point in the same direction. Finally, phonological rules functioning in the community may be responsible for some variation in spelling

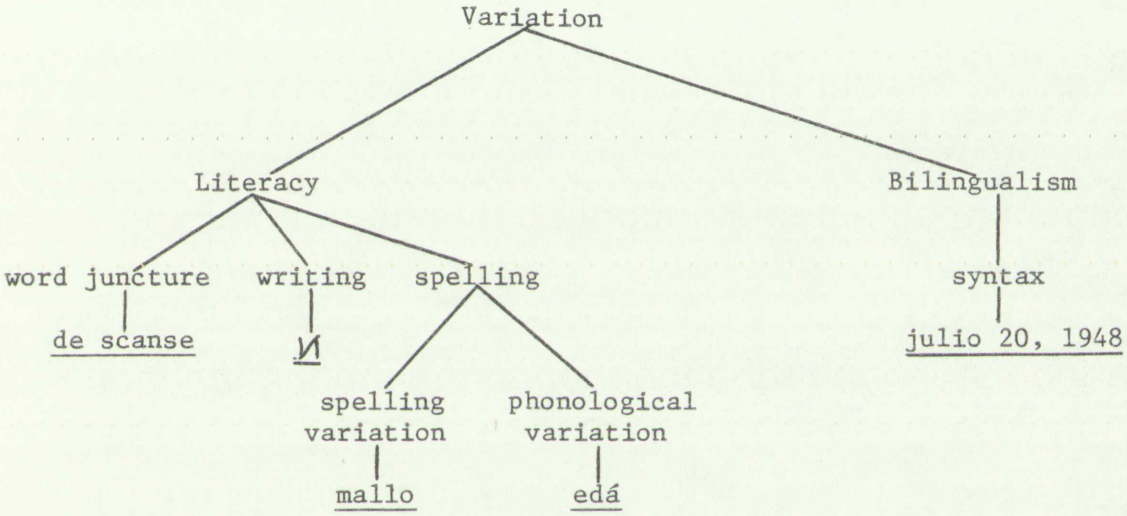

Figure 2

Linguistic Variation on Headstones

such as in the example of eda for edad. The only area in which clear evidence of influence from English was found was in syntax, the formation of dates using English syntax and Spanish lexicon.

Mt. Calvary Cemetery provides a great deal of linguistic information in a diachronic context. Although headstones probably do not influence the Spanish of the community, they do reflect language attitudes toward the two languages used in the community and toward different varieties within those languages.

The Media

The media are a strong force in the United States and the Spanish language used in the media must be considered a possible source of influence on the Spanish language of the Martineztown community. Radio and television stations in Albuquerque were surveyed regarding Spanish language programming. El Hispano, the only Spanish language newspaper in New Mexico, was also examined.

Of the 18 radio stations in Albuquerque, only 4 provide any Spanish language programming. KDAZ offers religious teaching in the morning. KUNM has music, a talk show and interviews at various times during the week. KANW offers Spanish language music on Saturday mornings and KABQ has all programming in Spanish. Announcers on KANW are local Spanish speakers and they tend to sprinkle their Spanish generously with English words and phrases. Two new stations, KXKS and KLTN which began broadcasting shortly after the present research in Martineztown was completed, promise to become important in that community.

Spanish language television is almost entirely of Mexican origin. Channel 48 provides movies, sports, soap operas, comedies, children's

shows, news, in short, a wide variety of programming, from Mexico. The Spanish used is predominantly standard Mexican Spanish. Channel 4 carries the only major local Spanish language program, "Valentino de la O." This is an hour long variety show, combining local talent with acts from Mexico and discussion in Spanish and English. Other less important (in terms of number of viewers in Martineztown) Spanish language programs include "Somos Bilingües" (channel 7, one-half hour per week), "Presente" (channel 5, one-half hour per week), "Realidades" (channel 7, one-half hour per week), "Encuentro" (channel 14, one-half hour per week) and "De Colores" (channel 14, one-half hour per week). These last three have been offered on an irregular basis. In addition, Spanish language programming is available on cable stations.

The weekly newspaper El Hispano is available to Martineztown residents primarily through subscription. Spanish is used for a wide variety of functions in the newspaper: news, political announcements, social calendar, voting announcements, religious news, cartoons, advice and advertisements. An examination of commercial and classified ads reveals some real differences in appropriateness of language to be used. Using July 1982 issues of El Hispano, one hundred of each type of ad were classified with regard to language used. The results are displayed in Table 7. For commercial ads, Spanish predominated. English was more likely to be used for classified ads. This may be due to the origin of such ads. Commercial ads, placed by businesses, may be replicas of or derived from similar ads in Mexican periodicals. Alternatively, the ad-writers probably have training in Spanish writing whereas local residents, the source of classified ads, may not. The

difference, then, may be attributed to literacy or access to formal Spanish language training.

Table 7

Language of Commercial and Classified Ads in El Hispano, July 1982

	Commercial Ads	Classified Ads
Spanish	59	25
English	40	75
Both	1	0

The Spanish found in El Hispano conforms closely to standard Mexican Spanish, although at least one columnist is from elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world and the editor of the newspaper is of Spanish/Cuban origin. This explains the predominance of standard Spanish in the newspaper. John Gutiérrez (1982) found El Hispano to be atypical of the Spanish language press in the United States in that the attitude toward both Hispanic ethnicity in general and the Spanish language specifically is usually positive. This positive attitude may certainly have an equally positive effect on the readers.

Concluding Remarks

The present survey of the availability of models of standard Spanish has been limited due to the peripheral nature of its relationship to the main focus of this dissertation. However, it is clear that the

relationship between the media and language, language attitudes and ethnicity in general is an area in need of further exploration. In fact, the media have been the focus of a great deal of attention from the Hispanic community. One Albuquerque television station has been fighting court battles in which it has been charged that it does not offer enough programming sympathetic to and representative of the minority community (Albuquerque Journal, August 20, 1982). A similar concern has been voiced concerning the press. A speaker at the First National Conference on the Spanish Language Media indicated that the Spanish language press has been expanding because of the offensive stereotypes of Hispanics in English language writing (Albuquerque Journal, August 22, 1982).

In the present research, an analysis of the models of Spanish language observed shows that a heterogeneous set of models is available to Martineztown residents. An examination of the relative influence of each of these models is presented in Chapter 6. In that chapter, specific results of the sociolinguistic interview are presented and the relationships among the linguistic and sociological variables are explored.

CHAPTER 6

THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF DECISIONS OF CORRECTNESS

The results obtained in the sociolinguistic interview portion of the present research can be divided into four broad categories: Spanish language, macro and micro sociolinguistic and linguistic results. The first of these, the Spanish language, takes the form of descriptive, dialectal information, broadening the data base on the variety known as Southwest Spanish. The second type of results, the macro sociolinguistic, adds to an overall view of the community and an in-depth understanding of language values among speakers of Southwest Spanish. The sociolinguistic data augment the wealth of diverse information already available regarding the relationship between language and various social categories. The final class of results, the linguistic, provides evidence, heretofore unavailable, for the existence of a hierarchy used to evaluate correctness.

Spanish Language: Preferences for Standard and Local Forms

In the area of dialect description, the primary goals of the present research were:

1. to test the validity in New Mexico of selected linguistic forms documented for Southwest Spanish,

2. to evaluate the status of these forms in the community with reference to judgments of correctness, and

3. to test the relative acceptance of standard Spanish and Southwest Spanish forms in New Mexico.

Results in these three areas will be discussed and an overview of Spanish in New Mexico, with special reference to Martineztown, will be presented based on data collected. The results have been further separated into lexical, phonological, morphophonemic and syntactic categories and will be presented in that order.

The present study examined a small sample of lexical forms documented in the literature on Southwest Spanish (see Chapter 3) in order to determine the extent of recognition within Martineztown and community preferences in a formal setting. The lexical pairs bailar - danzar, cuadra - bloque, pavo - torque, enseñar - tichar, camión - bos and dinero - plata were considered. In all but the final pair, the distinction is between a standard Mexican Spanish item and an item which appears to be borrowed from English with appropriate changes made in the phonetic manifestation. The last pair represents, again, a standard Mexican Spanish word which this time is paired with another standard item, plata or 'silver,' whose meaning has generalized to mean 'money' in some varieties of Spanish.

Table 8 contains the tabulation of frequencies for the lexical items in the study, indicating that the standard form is preferred in all cases. (Results of the Chi Square Test for Goodness of Fit for all items are found in Table 12.) It should be noted, however, that three local forms exhibited a high level of acceptance: torque, bos and bloque. These items, although not the form preferred by the majority, are probably heard within the community and are certainly acceptable to a large minority of the residents. This is in contrast to some of the other lexical items presented which were unfamiliar to

Table 8

Lexical Items and Frequency of Choice--All New Mexico Communities Investigated

Frequency/ Raw Score	Item (with standard Mexican form first)
90	46. Los maestros ganan poco dinero.
6	Los maestros ganan poca plata.
88	1. Es buena música para bailar.
9	Es buena música para danzar.
87	31. Esta maestra sabe enseñar.
8	Esta maestra sabe tichar.
59	4. Caminaron una cuadra.
37	Caminaron un bloque.
55	34. Viene el camión.
40	Viene el bos.
53	26. Todos comen pavo.
41	Todos comen torque.

many of the New Mexico Spanish speakers interviewed: danzar, plata (with the denotation 'money') and tichar. The last of these was particularly amusing to many of the informants who frequently commented that that form was merely English pronounced like Spanish. In short, the standard Mexican Spanish lexical forms were all considered preferable to lexical items documented as local, Southwest Spanish although some of the latter were familiar to residents.

Eleven phonological items were examined in the present research. Each of these has been documented in the literature on Southwest Spanish. Descriptions of the phonological processes along with items from the present study exemplifying those processes are provided below with the standard Mexican Spanish variant given first:

1.	retention of the [x] in word initial position	hallar [Ø] - hallar [x]
2.	realization of /g^w/ as [w] intervocalically	agua [g^w] - agua [w]
3.	manifestation of fricative /s/ as laryngeal glide [h]	nosotros somos [s] - nosotros somos [h]
4.	realization of /$\overset{v}{c}$/ as [$\overset{v}{s}$] intervocalically	muchacho [$\overset{v}{c}$] - muchacho [$\overset{v}{s}$]
5.	deletion of /d/ in word final or intervocalic position	edad [đ] - edad [Ø] jugado [đ] - jugado [Ø]
6.	realization of second person singular preterit -ste as -tes	comiste - comites
7.	raising of a mid-front vowel in word final position	noche - nochi
8.	retention of Castilian Spanish [θ] instead of [s]	cenaron [s] - cenaron [θ]
9.	deletion of palatal /y/ in intervocalic position	silla [y] - silla [Ø] calle [y] - calle [Ø]

The results of the phonological portion of the study are similar to the lexical results. Table 9 reveals a consistent preference for standard Mexican Spanish over forms that accord with Southwest Spanish phonological rules. While apparently familiar with most of the variants played for them, the New Mexico residents were amused by the pronunciation of muchacho with [s̊] in item 21. The remaining forms were considered seriously, indicating the aforementioned familiarity.

The frequencies for the phonological items in Table 9 indicate that decisions in this area were not as clear-cut as they were for lexical items. This may be due to the greater ease in hearing lexical items or, alternatively, to greater flexibility with regard to acceptance of phonological variation within the community.

Morphophonemic variants were represented by eight items in the linguistic segment of the study. Five of these are morphophonemic changes (diphthongization) in the infinitive or first person plural present of the verb in order to regularize all stem forms of the verb. The standard Mexican Spanish forms followed by the regularized form are presented in Table 10. In all five cases in which morphophonemic diphthongization was presented, the standard Mexican Spanish form was preferred.

Another example of regularization, this time in the participial form of the verb on analogy with other -ir verbs, was rejected. In the case of item 20 in Table 10, the standard Mexican Spanish participle escrito was strongly preferred to Southwest Spanish escribido.

The final morphophonemic items were distinct examples of changes in front vowels of the first person plural form of the verb in the

Table 9

Phonological Items and Frequency of Choice--All New Mexico Communities Investigated

Frequency/ Raw Score	Item (with standard Mexican form first)
80	5. No pueden hallarlo. [Ø]
16	No pueden hallarlo. [x]
78	21. ¿Ve al muchacho?
10	¿Ve al mushasho?
65	38. No hay clases de noche.
16	No hay clases de nochi.
61	32. Han jugado todo el día. [đ, đ]
32	Han jugado todo el día. [Ø, Ø]
60	30. La maestra le preguntó al niño: ¿Qué comiste?
35	La maestra le preguntó al niño: ¿Qué comites?
58	40. Cenaron frijoles. [s]
21	Cenaron frijoles. [θ]
56	22. Tiene treinta años de edad.
20	Tiene treinta años de edá.
55	18. Nosotros somos de aquí.
34	Nohotroh somoh de aquí.
45	44. Se cayó la silla. [y]
32	Se cayó la silla. [Ø]
42	10. Salieron a tomar agua. [g^w]
25	Salieron a tomar agua. [w]
41	50. Juegan en la calle. [y]
33	Juegan en la calle. [Ø]

Table 10

Morphophonemic Items and Frequency of Choice--All New Mexico Communities Investigated

Frequency/ Raw Score	Item (with standard Mexican form first)
71	35. No tenemos nada.
21	No tienemos nada.
58	48. Pensamos poco.
30	Piensamos poco.
57	6. Volamos rápido.
32	Vuelamos rápido.
53	28. Es mejor pensar en el futuro.
34	Es mejor piensar en el futuro.
51	47. No podemos ir.
39	No puedemos ir.
71	20. Ha escrito su nombre.
26	Ha escribido su nombre.
37	13. Todos los días salimos a las tres.
52	Todos los días salemos a las tres.
43	37. Pedimos libros nuevos.
48	Pidimos libros nuevos.

present indicative. For both salir and pedir, the Southwest Spanish form was accepted as correct more frequently than the standard Mexican variant (see Table 10).

In the morphophonemic realm, then, New Mexico residents were less consistent with reference to preference for standard Mexican Spanish or Southwest Spanish forms. This indicates that New Mexico Spanish speakers are probably more flexible with regard to variation in some areas of morphophonemics than in lexicon or phonology.

In the area of syntax, the present study examined the subjunctive mode, articles, the preposition a and the expression equivalent to English 'to be cold.'

The subjunctive mode in Spanish, marked in terms of frequency of use, has been the primary area of research in the otherwise barren territory of grammatical analysis of Southwest Spanish. The review of verb usage by Floyd (1978b) comments extensively on the loss of the subjunctive. She cites Ross (1975) and Marrocco (1972) as particularly clear demonstrations of non-use of the subjunctive in expressions of doubt. Sánchez (1972) claims that the indicative is the usual mode in Southwest Spanish and that the subjunctive is used primarily in expressions of hope and some indirect commands. Solé (1977) clarifies the picture somewhat by looking at several uses of the subjunctive. She asserts that the subjunctive remains stable in expressions of finality and volition. The indicative and subjunctive modes alternate in temporal expressions and those indicating emotion. In expressions of negation and doubt, however, Solé suggests that the indicative has replaced the subjunctive mode in Southwest Spanish.

The present research, while not attempting to elicit information regarding the use of the subjunctive, has taken initial steps to determine the acceptability of the substitution of the indicative for the subjunctive in formal language settings. In all three cases in which the standard subjunctive and the local indicative were presented alone, the subjunctive was designated as correct. The examples given represented two instances of expressions of volition and one of doubt (see items 2, 42 and 49 in Table 11). While the use of the indicative in place of the subjunctive has been documented in the literature on Southwest Spanish, it is clear that a preference for the latter remains. The strength of that preference, however, becomes an interesting topic. A second glance at Table 11 shows that the use of the subjunctive was strongly preferred with the verb of volition querer, with 86% of the informants choosing Quiero que vengan mañana over Quiero que vienen mañana. The verb esperar also signaled a need for the subjunctive to a large percentage of the informants (71%) but the agreement was not as great. Finally, the verb dudar, expressing doubt, caused more disagreement, with only 57% of the informants choosing the subjunctive mode over the indicative. Thus, a tentative ranking can be made which fits quite closely with Solé's analysis. The preference for the use of the subjunctive with expressions of volition is still quite strong, with the verb querer requiring the subjunctive more often than esperar which itself is a weaker statement of volition. The preference for the subjunctive over the indicative with verbs carrying the feature of doubt is only slight, perhaps indicating the gradual loss of the subjunctive in those conditions. The subjunctive mode in Southwest Spanish, then, appears to be in a state of flux.

Table 11

Syntactic Items and Frequency of Choice--All New Mexico Communities Investigated

Frequency/ Raw Score	Item (with standard Mexican form first)
86	2. Quiero que vengan mañana.
11	Quiero que vienen mañana.
71	42. Espero que tenga sueño.
20	Espero que tiene sueño.
57	49. Dudo que diga mentiras.
36	Dudo que dice mentiras.
80	8. Comienzan a trabajar.
16	Comienzan trabajar.
71	24. ¿Conoce a María?
26	¿Conoce a la María?
45	17. Entendemos el sistema.
49	Entendemos la sistema.
87	3. Tengo frío en el invierno.
10	Estoy fría en el invierno.

The use of the prepositional a after the verb comenzar was preferred to its deletion in Comienzan a trabajar. Eighty percent of the informants indicated that the preposition was required, demonstrating a preference for the standard Spanish usage (see item 8, Table 11).

Both the use of the article before a given name and the gender revealed in article selection for a problem noun was tested with this instrument. In the case of a Spanish given name, the informants indicated a rather sharp preference for the standard form which does not include an article preceding the name. Thus, in item 24 containing the options ¿Conoce a María? and ¿Conoce a la María?, the standard was preferred. In the case of a word such as sistema which requires a masculine article contrary to the common rule in standard Spanish which designates a feminine article with words ending in -a, the feminine article was nevertheless assigned (see item 17, Table 11). The preferred variant appears to be yet another case of regularization of rules to exclude exceptions. The fact that 45 of the respondents selected the standard variant, however, shows considerable awareness of prescriptive norms in this community.

Finally, the acceptance of an expression which demonstrates the imposition of English syntax on Spanish lexicon and phonology was tested. The standard Spanish syntax was chosen overwhelmingly over the English syntax for the expression 'to be cold' (see the last item in Table 11).

The overall examination of the decisions of acceptability in the area of syntax indicates, on the whole, a strong consensus among the residents of Martineztown. Standard Spanish syntax is almost always

more acceptable in formal situations than is the local variety. The gender of articles is the only area in which local Spanish may be acceptable.

The preceding discussion of choices made by informants in the present study indicates that the long lists of "deviations" from standard Spanish found in the literature must be examined more closely. Perhaps forms documented in the literature are merely idiosyncratic or, more likely, true for only a small portion of the Hispanic community in the Southwest or for only informal settings. In order to determine the validity and frequency of use of these forms, it will be necessary to obtain more information, especially with reference to the level of formality of the sociolinguistic situation. An analysis of the formality of the setting in which the form was observed as well as the speech habits of the interlocutors and the discourse itself is needed to shed more light on the acceptability of standard and local forms in this and any community.

Macrolevel Sociolinguistics: Community Agreement with Regard to Correctness

A speech community is a group of individuals who share a single speech variety and a common set of norms for its appropriate use (Fishman, 1971, p. 232). While this definition refers primarily to language use, a logical extension of it would sociolinguistically define a speech community as one which shares a set of expectations and evaluative criteria for language, given a particular sociolinguistic setting. Labov (1972, pp. 120-121) states that "The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements,

so much as by participation in a set of shared norms." The results of the present research demonstrate that this group of New Mexicans forms a sociolinguistic speech community according to this definition. Table 12 lists all linguistic items with frequency of choice. For 39 of the 50 items judged by informants, agreement was very high, reaching at least the .05 level of significance using the Chi Square Test for Goodness of Fit. Twenty-six of these were found to be significant at the .001 level, demonstrating substantial agreement among informants. Consensus was especially strong on pairs of sentences containing a single syntactic variant. The preference for the standard Mexican Spanish syntactic variant was significant at the .05 level or better for all but two items (16 and 17) even when items containing two linguistic variables are considered. In short, the preference for the standard form unites the large majority of the informants, indicating cohesiveness with reference to judgments of linguistic acceptability.

Microlevel Sociolinguistics: Social Correlates of Linguistic Decisions

The microlevel sociolinguistic portion of the present study examines the relationship between demographic variables and linguistic choices. The primary demographic variables studied were those of ascribed status: age and sex. In addition, years of education and migration history were examined. These were tested for their relationship to language choice in several domains.

Attitudinal data, pooled with other sociolinguistic data, are extremely important to an understanding of language and its significance

Table 12

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

Item	Frequency	χ^2
Lexical		
1. Es buena música para bailar.	88	64.34***
Es buena música para danzar.	9	
4. Caminaron un bloque.	37	5.04*
Caminaron una cuadra.	59	
26. Todos comen torque.	41	1.53
Todos comen pavo.	53	
31. Esta maestra sabe tichar.	8	65.69***
Esta maestra sabe enseñar.	87	
34. Viene el camión.	55	2.37
Viene el bos.	40	
46. Los maestros ganan poca plata.	6	73.50***
Los maestros ganan poco dinero.	90	
Phonological		
5. No pueden hallarlo. [x]	16	42.67***
No pueden hallarlo. [Ø]	80	
10. Salieron a tomar agua. [g^w]	42	4.31*
Salieron a tomar agua. [w]	25	
18. Nohotroh somoh de aquí.	34	4.96*
Nosotros somos de aquí.	55	
21. ¿Ve al muchacho?	78	52.55***
¿Ve al mushasho?	10	
22. Tiene treinta años de edad.	56	17.05***
Tiene treinta años de edá.	20	
30. La maestra le preguntó al niño: ¿Qué comiste?	60	6.58*
La maestra le preguntó al niño: ¿Qué comites?	35	

Table 12 (cont.)

Item	Frequency	χ^2
Phonological (cont.)		
32. Han jugado todo el día. [ð, ð]	61	9.04**
Han jugado todo el día. [Ø, Ø]	32	
38. No hay clases de noche.	65	29.64***
No hay clases de nochi.	16	
40. Cenaron frijoles. [θ]	21	17.33***
Cenaron frijoles [s]	58	
44. Se cayó la silla. [y]	45	2.19
Se cayó la silla. [Ø]	32	
50. Juegan en la calle. [Ø]	33	.86
Juegan en la calle. [y]	41	
Morphophonemic		
6. Vuelamos rápido.	32	7.02**
Volamos rápido	57	
13. Todos los días salimos a las tres.	37	2.53
Todos los días salemos a las tres.	52	
20. Ha escribido su nombre.	26	20.88***
Ha escrito su nombre.	71	
28. Es mejor piensar en el futuro.	34	4.15*
Es mejor pensar en el futuro.	53	
35. No tienemos nada.	21	27.17***
No tenemos nada.	71	
37. Pedimos libros nuevos.	43	.27
Pidimos libros nuevos.	48	
47. No puedemos ir.	39	1.6
No podemos ir.	51	
48. Piensamos poco.	30	8.91**
Pensamos poco.	58	

Table 12 (cont.)

Item	Frequency	χ^2
Syntactic		
2. Quiero que vengan mañana.	86	57.99***
Quiero que vienen mañana.	11	
3. Tengo frío en el invierno	87	61.12***
Estoy fría en el invierno.	10	
8. Comienzan a trabajar.	80	42.67***
Comienzan trabajar.	16	
17. Entendemos la sistema.	49	.17
Entendemos el sistema.	45	
24. ¿Conoce a María?	71	20.88***
¿Conoce a la María?	26	
42. Espero que tiene sueño.	20	28.58***
Espero que tenga sueño.	71	
49. Dudo que diga mentiras.	57	4.74*
Dudo que dice mentiras.	36	
Lexical x Phonological		
7. El camión llegó muy de noche.	55	2.37
El bos llegó muy de nochi.	40	
19. Van a enseñar de nochi.	91	74.48***
Van a tichar de noche.	6	
43. El mushasho tiene dinero.	66	15.36***
El muchacho tiene plata.	28	
Lexical x Morphophonemic		
12. Pensamos tomar el camión.	58	4.17*
Piensamos tomar el bos.	38	
23. Tenemos que caminar dos cuadras.	64	9.91**
Tienemos que caminar dos bloques.	33	
45. No puedemos bailar.	88	66.67***
No podemos danzar.	8	

Table 12 (cont.)

Item	Frequency	χ^2
Lexical x Syntactic		
16. Esperamos que compren pavo.	51	.68
Esperamos que compran torque.	43	
25. Dudo que tiene plata.	14	47.25***
Dudo que tenga dinero.	81	
29. Quiero que venga el camión.	57	4.74*
Quiero que viene el bos.	36	
Syntactic x Morphophonemic		
15. Cuando tenemos frío no puedemos dormir.	76	31.19***
Cuando estamos fríos no podemos dormir.	21	
33. No podemos comenzar trabajar.	21	28.77***
No puedemos comenzar a trabajar.	73	
Syntactic x Phonological		
11. Dudo que cenan frijoles. [θ]	17	35.70***
Dudo que cenen frijoles. [s]	74	
27. Tengo frío de nochi.	86	60.17***
Estoy fría de noche.	10	
39. Espero que salen de la calle. [y]	14	43.62***
Espero que salgan de la calle. [Ø]	77	
41. Quiero que se caiga de la silla. [Ø]	69	20.60***
Quiero que se caye de la silla. [y]	25	
Morphophonemic x Phonological		
9. Es mejor pensar en la silla. [Ø]	67	17.02***
Es mejor piensar en la silla. [y]	27	
14. No tienemos carne.	30	9.45**
No tenemos carni.	59	
36. Pensamos en la cena. [θ]	53	2.13
Piensamos en la cena. [s]	39	

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

in this community. Attitudes toward the two varieties of Spanish being studied were elicited from informants and stories related to language were also sought. While data from individual informants are not necessarily comparable because of the variability inherent in the open-ended and ethnographic interviews, a rich library of information was collected, providing information regarding language experience, the status of the Spanish language media, attitudes toward different Spanish language varieties and their speakers and a wealth of other sociolinguistic and attitudinal information. The relationship between these data and the sociolinguistic variables mentioned above was also tested.

An examination of the relationship between several of the demographic and sociolinguistic variables indicates a number of significant relationships. Using Chi Square to test significance of relationships, education, language use and attitudes toward language were found to be significantly related in several instances.

Level of education, not surprisingly, correlates strongly with reported language use at home ($p < .001$; see Table 13). Informants with more education were more likely to report greater English use at home than were those with less education. Seventy-four percent of those informants with formal education beyond the twelfth grade claimed to use primarily English at home while all informants with no education and 62% of those who completed grades 1 through 8 reported using primarily Spanish.

A similar pattern is found for the relationship between education and reported language use at work ($p < .001$) and with friends ($p < .001$;

see Tables 14 and 15). All informants with no formal education reported using solely Spanish at work and 31% of those with 1 through 8 years of training claimed to use primarily Spanish. On the other extreme, 83% of those with post-high school training reported using more English than Spanish. In much the same way, 47% of the highly educated group claimed to use mostly English with friends compared to the less educated group in which only 11% reported English as the primary language used with friends. All of the respondents with no formal education and 75% of those with first to eighth grade education reported that Spanish is the language of preference for this domain. In short, the more educated informant is more likely to use English in his/her everyday activities, both public and private, than is the less educated informant.

The relationship between language use at home and with friends in informal situations and informants' self-evaluations of their Spanish ability was found to be significant. Informants who rate their own Spanish highly tend to use it with friends (see Table 16). All informants who rate their Spanish poorly use English at least half of the time with friends. Sixty-three percent of those who rate their Spanish very highly use more Spanish than English with friends. Thus, use of Spanish with friends and one's self-evaluation of Spanish are closely related.

The results in the area of language use at home and self-ratings of Spanish ability are even more striking (see Table 17). All informants who rate their Spanish poorly use primarily English in their interactions at home. Seventy-six percent of those who consider their Spanish very good use that language at least half of the time at home.

Table 13

Education by Language Used at Home, in Percentages

Language at Home	Years of Education				
	None	1-8	9-11	12	12+
English	0	0	5	7	11
English, some Spanish	0	24	30	41	63
English and Spanish	0	14	35	37	16
Spanish, some English	20	31	20	15	5
Spanish	80	31	10	0	5
n	(5)	(29)	(20)	(27)	(19)

Note. $\chi^2(16) = 43.68$; $p = .0002$.

Table 14

Education by Language Used at Work, in Percentages

Language at Work	Years of Education				
	None	1-8	9-11	12	12+
English	0	26	44	17	44
English, some Spanish	0	13	19	50	39
English and Spanish	0	30	25	25	11
Spanish, some English	0	9	6	8	0
Spanish	100	22	6	0	6
n	(5)	(23)	(16)	(24)	(18)

Note. $\chi^2(16) = 51.10$; $p = .000$.

Table 15

Education by Language Used with Friends, in Percentages

Language with Friends	Years of Education				
	None	1-8	9-11	12	12+
English	0	0	11	11	21
English, some Spanish	0	11	21	26	26
English and Spanish	0	14	42	41	42
Spanish, some English	0	29	5	19	5
Spanish	100	46	21	4	5
n	(5)	(28)	(19)	(27)	(19)

Note. $\chi^2(16) = 47.05$; $p = .0001$.

Table 16

Self-rating of Spanish Ability by Language Used with Friends, in Percentages

Language with Friends	Spanish Ability				
	None	Poorly	OK	Well	Very Well
English	100	14	11	4	0
English, some Spanish	0	43	13	33	0
English and Spanish	0	43	36	22	38
Spanish, some English	0	0	15	22	13
Spanish	0	0	25	19	50
n	(1)	(7)	(53)	(27)	(8)

Note. $\chi^2(16) = 26.59$; $p = .046$.

While directionality of influence cannot be determined, it is likely that self-evaluation of ability and even comfort with the language are closely related to its use in the more private domains.

Age and sex, surprisingly, are not generally closely related to reported language use or attitudes toward language. Neither language used at home nor language used at work were related to age. Language use with friends, however, did correlate with age ($p < .001$; see Table 18). For adults 55 and over, English is never the primary language for use with friends. On the other hand, 38% of informants under age 35 claim to use predominantly English in this domain.

A relationship between age and language used at work is found when sex of the informant is controlled. Females tend to use more English at work while males prefer to use at least half Spanish ($p < .01$; see Table 19). Seventy-six percent of the females claimed to use predominantly English at work while only half as many of the males so reported. Thirty-one percent of the men indicated that they use mostly Spanish at work while only 11% of the women preferred Spanish in that domain. These data on language use at work will be examined more closely in the discussion of standard scores in the next section of this chapter.

Exposure to Spanish in the media surfaced as important in several instances. A large portion of the community makes use of both Spanish language television and radio. More than half of the informants reported using both while less than 10% tune in to neither. Table 20 shows that informants who listen to Spanish language radio tend also to watch Spanish language television ($p < .05$; see Table 20). Spanish

Table 17

Self-rating of Spanish Ability by Language Used at Home, in Percentages

Language at Home	Spanish Ability				
	None	Poorly	OK	Well	Very Well
English	100	14	4	0	13
English, some Spanish	0	86	34	38	13
English and Spanish	0	0	28	17	50
Spanish, some English	0	0	17	28	13
Spanish	0	0	17	17	13
n	(1)	(7)	(53)	(29)	(8)

Note. $\chi^2(16) = 37.14$; $p = .002$.

Table 18

Age by Language Used with Friends, in Percentages

Language with Friends	Age		
	18-34	35-43	55+
English	17	6	0
English, some Spanish	21	30	0
English and Spanish	36	24	35
Spanish, some English	10	21	17
Spanish	17	18	48
n	(42)	(33)	(23)

Note. $\chi^2(8) = 20.90$; $p = .007$.

Table 19

Sex by Language Used at Work, in Percentages

Language at Work	Sex	
	Female	Male
English	41	15
English, some Spanish	35	23
English and Spanish	13	33
Spanish, some English	4	8
Spanish	7	23
n	(46)	(40)

Note. $\chi^2(4) = 14.15$; $p = .007$.

Table 20

Spanish Television Use by Spanish Radio Use, in Percentages

Spanish Radio	Spanish TV		
	Never	Sometimes	*n*
Never	60	40	(15)
Sometimes	33	67	(83)

Note. $\chi^2(1) = 4.12$; $p = .042$.

language radio is, in turn, related to Spanish literacy and attitudes toward local Spanish. Informants who write Spanish are more likely to avoid Spanish language radio than those who are illiterate in that language although both groups generally do listen ($p < .05$; see Table 21). Furthermore, Spanish language radio listeners tend to rate local Spanish as good or very good while non-listeners are more likely to rate local Spanish as poor ($p < .01$; see Table 22). Fully 84% of the listeners rated local Spanish positively (OK, good or very good) while 78% of the non-listeners rated it poorly. Loyalty to local Spanish, then, seems to generalize to, and might possibly be fostered by, Spanish language radio.

Productive literacy is also correlated with attitudes toward Spanish language use and local Spanish. Nearly half of the informants who write Spanish felt that they would produce a higher level of Spanish when talking to a teacher while those illiterate in that language reported that the Spanish they would use with a teacher would be their usual variety ($p < .001$; see Table 23). Informants who were literate in Spanish were divided in their preferences for the type of Spanish to be used with teachers. Those who indicated no ability to write Spanish, however, generally suggested that they would use the same Spanish with teachers as they would in any social setting. The statistical correlation is corroborated by comments made by respondents. Many of those who indicated that they would use the same Spanish for teachers explained that they control only one level of that language and that they would, therefore, use that variety with a teacher or any other interlocutor.

Table 21

Ability to Write Spanish by Spanish Radio Use, in Percentages

Spanish Radio	Write Spanish	
	No	Yes
Never	3	20
Sometimes	97	80
n	(30)	(69)

Note. $\chi^2(1) = 4.68$; $p = .031$.

Table 22

Quality of Local Spanish by Spanish Radio Use, in Percentages

Spanish Radio	Local Spanish					
	None	Poor	OK	Good	Very Good	*n*
Never	11	67	0	22	0	(9)
Sometimes	3	14	14	56	14	(36)

Note. $\chi^2(4) = 13.47$; $p = .009$.

Most informants who write Spanish also read the language ($p < .001$; see Table 24). Ninety-seven percent of those who write Spanish also reported an ability to read the language while only 81% of the readers claimed a knowledge of Spanish language writing. Thus, productive literacy seems to predict receptive literacy. Figures for literacy in general were much higher than was originally assumed. Fully 84% of the subjects indicated an ability to read Spanish and 70% claimed to be able to write the language. These figures are based on self-report and, therefore, require corroborating evidence. Nevertheless, even if only half of these self-reports were accurate, this would represent a substantially greater Spanish language literacy rate than has heretofore been supposed. A clear definition of literacy needs to be constructed and testing needs to be completed before a definitive statement can be made with reference to literacy in Martineztown.

Finally, literacy in Spanish is significantly related to attitudes toward local Spanish. One hundred percent of those who do not read Spanish rated local Spanish as OK, good or very good while 34% of those who do read Spanish rated the local variety as poor ($p < .05$; see Table 25). Similarly, all non-writers rated local Spanish as OK, good or very good and 41% of those who were literate in Spanish rated local Spanish as poor ($p < .05$; see Table 26). In other words, those informants who are more educated in Spanish and who possess literacy skills tend to be more critical of local Spanish. Perhaps these same people have received some formal training in Spanish or have had more experience with other varieties of Spanish. It is likely that this increased exposure has made them more critical. These educated

Table 23

Ability to Write Spanish by Spanish Used with a Teacher, in Percentages

Spanish with Teacher	Write Spanish	
	No	Yes
Same	85	51
Best	15	49
n	(26)	(53)

Note. $\chi^2(1) = 8.40$; $p = .004$.

Table 24

Ability to Write Spanish by Ability to Read Spanish, in Percentages

Read Spanish	Write Spanish	
	No	Yes
No	47	3
Yes	53	97
n	(30)	(69)

Note. $\chi^2(1) = 29.56$; $p = .000$.

Table 25

Quality of Local Spanish by Ability to Read Spanish, in Percentages

Read Spanish	Local Spanish					
	None	Poor	OK	Good	Very Good	n
No	0	0	43	43	14	(7)
Yes	5	29	5	50	11	(38)

Note. $\chi^2(4) = 10.05$; $p = .04$.

Table 26

Quality of Local Spanish by Ability to Write Spanish, in Percentages

Write Spanish	Local Spanish					
	None	Poor	OK	Good	Very Good	n
No	0	0	21	57	21	(14)
Yes	6	35	6	45	6	(31)

Note. $\chi^2(4) = 10.05$; $p = .04$.

individuals may be partly responsible for the poor reputation of local Spanish among both Hispanics and non-Hispanics of the Southwest and for many of the standard language preferences of the present study.

To summarize the results of the microlevel sociolinguistic portion of this study, age, sex, educational level attained and self-evaluation of ability in Spanish appear to be the best predictors of language use. Spanish language television and radio use are closely related although the radio reaches more listeners. Literacy in Spanish seems to negatively influence Spanish language radio use which, in turn, has a positive effect on opinions of local Spanish. Literacy in that language is closely related to the level of Spanish a speaker would use in speaking with a teacher. Finally, literacy itself has a negative effect on attitudes toward local Spanish. Speakers educated or trained in Spanish literacy skills may be partly responsible, then, for both the standard linguistic preferences obtained in this study and for the poor reputation of local Spanish in general.

Integration of Macro- and Microlevel Concerns: Modal and Standard Scores and Their Social Correlates

Basic to the present research are the notion of community cohesion with regard to linguistic decisions and that of the contrast between standard and local variety. Decisions of the community members if, indeed, they are in agreement, would constitute a norm. As discussed above, agreement among these New Mexico speakers was high and a norm may therefore be considered to exist. This norm was summarized in the construction of a modal choice for each interview item and a modal score for each informant, representing the extent to which the

individual matched the overall community preferences. In much the same way, each pair of the single variable and some of the double variable sentences presented in the interview contained a standard and local form. A standard score, the ratio of standard to local responses, was computed for each informant. These modal and standard scores were then tested for their relationship with the sociodemographic and attitudinal variables considered in this study. The results help to promote an understanding of the factors involved in approximation to a community norm and in preferences for standard or local Spanish.

First it must be noted that, using the *t* test, it was found that there is no statistical difference between the modal and standard score (see Table 27). Apparently, the norm in most cases *is* the standard form and thus the two tests are congruent. Closely related to these data is the set of scores for American and Mexican born informants. As shown in Table 28, the standard score for those who claimed Mexico as their birthplace was significantly higher than that of the American born informants ($p < .0005$). Not surprisingly, then, informants who were raised and educated with exposure to a standard variety of Spanish tend to consider that variety preferable in a formal context, more so than American born speakers. A little more difficult to interpret, however, is the significant difference in the modal responses of the two groups displayed in Table 29. The Mexican born informants tend to approximate the modal responses of the community much more closely than do the American born. This suggests that the Mexican immigrants not only approximate but *represent* the norm to which the Spanish speakers of this area aspire.

Table 27

Relationship Between Modal and Standard Scores

Scores	Mean	*t* value	Degrees of freedom	Two-tailed probability
Modal	.6823	1.84	99	.069
Standard	.6702			

Table 28

Modal Scores for American and Mexican Born

Place of Birth	Mean	*t* value	Degrees of freedom	Two-tailed probability
United States	.6525	-8.18	48.23	.000
Mexico	.8649			

In order to determine the relationship between modal and standard scores of Martineztown residents and those of other areas in the state, a *t* test was used. The results of this test, found in Table 30, indicate that, based on their modal and standard scores, informants from all four areas may be considered, statistically, as one population. There is no significant difference between the Martineztown scores and those of Española, Grants and Carnuel combined ($p > .05$).

Several sociodemographic variables were found to correlate with the two scores when all informants are considered. The most significant are place of birth, birthplace of parents, where the best Spanish is reported to be spoken, whether or not the informant listens to Spanish language radio and ability to read and write Spanish. The correlations are displayed in Table 31. Each of these is discussed at greater length below.

Place of birth and birthplace of parents are closely related to the modal and standard scores. People born in Martineztown tend to have a lower score than those born in other areas. A similar pattern can be observed for birthplace of parents, with Mexican parentage producing the highest score and those whose parents were born in Martineztown obtaining the lowest score. Since these scores do not refer to fluency, Spanish language ability or any other language quality, a low score merely suggests a preference for local forms and movement away from the community norm. These data support the notion of a norm which comes from outside the community, closely resembling a standard variety of Mexican Spanish. Those born in Mexico, 14 of the 100 informants, most nearly approximate standard Spanish in their

Table 29

Standard Scores for American and Mexican Born

Place of Birth	Mean	*t* value	Degrees of freedom	Two-tailed probability
United States	.6272	-9.82	36.50	.000
Mexico	.9346			

Table 30

Comparison Between Martineztown Modal and Standard Scores and Those of the Remaining Three New Mexico Communities

Scores	Mean	*t* value	Degrees of freedom	Two-tailed probability
Modal				
Martineztown	.6738	-.92	94.34	.362
Non-Martineztown	.7021			
Standard				
Martineztown	.6593	-.98	90.10	.328
Non-Martineztown	.6957			

Table 31

Correlations of Selected Sociodemographic Variables with Modal and Standard Scores, All Informants

Variable	Modal Score		Standard Score	
	Correlation	Probability	Correlation	Probability
Place of birth	.3987	.000	.4938	.000
Father's birthplace	.4044	.000	.4916	.000
Mother's birthplace	.4097	.000	.4942	.000
Spanish language radio use	.1818	.035	.1933	.027
Ability to read Spanish	.2448	.007	.2693	.003
Ability to write Spanish	.3863	.000	.4427	.000
Where best Spanish spoken	.2232	.018	.2804	.004

decisions of correctness. This is not surprising because of their exposure to that variety. However, the fact that they most closely approximate the community norm indicates that they may represent the norm to which community residents aspire. Since the other New Mexico communities are statistically very similar to Martineztown, the standard Mexican norm can be generalized to Española, Grants and Carnuel. A larger sample from these areas, coupled with research from more isolated, rural communities, would shed some light on the influence of immigrant Mexicans on community norms.

Correlations between informants' modal and standard scores and access to formal Spanish were found in the areas of Spanish language radio and ability to read and write Spanish. Informants who listen to Spanish language radio tend to score higher on both scores than those who do not. These results are at variance with self-reports of preferences for the two varieties in question, mentioned previously, in which informants who listened to Spanish language radio were more likely to report a higher regard for local Spanish. The two may be reconciled if one considers that the Spanish language radio may be an instrument for the presentation of different varieties to the community and may promote acceptance of variation in general. A preference for standard Spanish in decisions of correctness may nevertheless be implied.

People who know how to read Spanish generally score higher on both measures than those who do not. A similar, still stronger, tendency can be seen for those who write Spanish. A closer look at the relationships, however, indicates that they may be a function of

the literacy of Mexican born individuals who tend to score higher. This idea is borne out by the lack of a statistically significant relationship between ability to read Spanish and the two scores when only American born Martineztown residents are considered (see Table 32). Nevertheless, a statistically significant relationship for this native group does exist with regard to ability to write Spanish and these scores. Ability to read and write, in the present study, are reported by the informants themselves and it is possible that informants who reported a knowledge of reading Spanish (84%) may only be generalizing skills from English and may not have any formal training whereas some of those reporting ability to write Spanish (only 70%) may be reflecting some training in this skill. Formally trained individuals would be expected to have received some influence with respect to correct Spanish in the course of their training, whether in the home or in some social institution such as the school or church.

Finally, the data from all informants show that opinions with respect to best Spanish are correlated with both scores (see the last variable in Table 31). People who consider local Spanish to be best have the lowest scores while those reporting that the best Spanish is spoken in other countries such as Spain or Mexico scored highest. Their reported preferences with regard to correct Spanish are found, then, to be congruent with specific linguistic choices. Those for whom standard, foreign varieties of Spanish were a reference point, tended to choose standard rather than local forms as correct and closely approximated the group norm of standard Spanish. Reference group, in this case a linguistic one, does appear to influence language attitudes.

Table 32

Correlations of Selected Sociodemographic Variables with Modal and Standard Scores, American-born Martineztown Informants Only

Variable	Modal Score		Standard Score	
	Correlation	Probability	Correlation	Probability
Ability to read Spanish	.1853	.084	.2039	.064
Ability to write Spanish	.2870	.015	.3367	.005
Sex	-.2314	.042	-.2396	.036
Language used at home	-.2419	.035	-.2462	.032
Language used at work	-.3499	.007	-.3711	.004
Language used with friends	-.2437	.035	-.2059	.064
Education	.4697	.000	.4387	.000
Quality of local Spanish	-.3739	.019	-.3525	.026

Inspection of relationships which are found to be statistically significant when only American born Martineztown residents are considered (see Table 32) sheds some light on social processes which are occurring in that community. These same processes may be influencing attitudes toward the Spanish language among these people but may not be general trends throughout New Mexico and certainly may not be present in Mexico.

Table 32 shows a relationship between sex of the informant and modal and standard scores. Males tend to obtain lower modal and standard scores and females higher ones. This supports the notion of women using more standard language than men, perhaps due to linguistic sensitivity. The greater adherence of women to prestige forms in careful speech is a widespread phenomenon, particularly characteristic of lower-middle-class women (Labov, 1972, p. 243). Greater identification with normative expectations on the part of women in Martineztown may be reinforced by the occupational structure of the community as discussed in Chapter 2. Women in Martineztown often hold clerical, professional and technical positions requiring careful attention to language, generally English. These same jobs offer limited opportunity to associate with other Spanish speakers. Men, on the other hand, often find themselves among other Spanish-speaking males as physical laborers, using local Spanish more frequently. Both the emphasis on linguistic correctness for women in the office situation, perhaps generalized from English to Spanish, and the opportunity for the men to use local Spanish on the job widen the gap in linguistic preferences of the two sexes. This difference may not have appeared among the Mexicans because of exposure of both sexes to

standard Spanish both in the home and at school. Equivalent exposure for both sexes in New Mexico may not exist.

Language use reported by the native Martineztown group for the home and work domains is also related to modal and standard scores. A negative correlation exists between Spanish language use and these scores. A person who uses mostly Spanish or all Spanish at home is more likely to choose local and non-standard items for the formal context. Similarly, informants who use primarily Spanish at work score lower on the modal and standard scores. Language used with friends also correlates negatively with the modal score, indicating a tendency for those who speak Spanish with friends to deviate from the community norm for correct Spanish. These people may, however, be more likely to approximate the community norm, if one exists, for informal Spanish, although this phenomenon was not considered in the present research.

Although education is not related to scores when all informants are considered, when the Mexicans and residents of other geographical areas are eliminated from the data, education becomes an important variable. In Table 32 a strong positive correlation is revealed between years of schooling and modal and standard scores. The better educated informant, not surprisingly, prefers standard Spanish for a formal situation, thereby more closely approximating the community norm. It is not clear, however, that education (which has occurred primarily in English for most of the Martineztown informants) is responsible for these preferences. It is likely that a third variable, perhaps family environment and attitudes, exists which accounts for both the scores

and the educational level of the informant. Nevertheless, the relationship between formal training and preference for standard Spanish indicates the strength of the ties between formal education and preference for standard language.

Finally, a tendency was found for people who rate local Spanish highly to obtain lower modal and standard scores. This, again, reinforces the relationship between reported evaluation of the local variety and actual performance with regard to linguistic elements of that variety. If informants evaluate local Spanish highly, they do, in fact, rate the local forms highly as well.

These relationships, not noted when all informants were considered, demonstrate the functioning of certain sociodemographic and sociolinguistic principles in Martineztown and perhaps in other Spanish-speaking communities as well. Education in both English and Spanish appears to be closely related to preferences for the standard variety. Language use is also a factor in such choices. Finally, the sex of the individual seems to be related to linguistic correctness as has been demonstrated for American English-speaking communities, thus exhibiting a social process which may cross language barriers.

Linguistic Hierarchy: The Ranking of Linguistic Variables in Decisions of Correctness

The present study attempted to determine the relative importance of the various linguistic structures in making decisions of correctness. Lexicon, phonology, morphophonemics and syntax are all important aspects of a sentence. However, in evaluating a speaker and his/her speech, it is likely that a listener focuses on a single, perhaps

most salient, feature of the sentence. The presentation of sentences containing two different linguistic variables was intended to obtain information regarding the focus of the listener. One variable would have to be disregarded if a sentence contained both a preferred and a stigmatized form. For example, in item 19, Table 33, the favored lexical item enseñar was paired with the phonologically stigmatized nochi, while the rejected lexical item tichar was paired with the phonologically more acceptable form noche. A forced choice technique was employed whereby the informant was obliged to choose one of the sentences although he/she might feel uncomfortable with both. In the example just mentioned, the first of the sentences, Van a enseñar de nochi, was chosen as preferable by the majority of informants, indicating the greater importance of the lexical item in this judgment of correctness or, conversely, a greater tendency to disregard the objectionable phonological element. Table 33 provides the data regarding items containing two variables.

At the outset of the research an attempt was made to pair variables such that a preferred form was paired with a stigmatized form, based on data collected previously (Kravitz, 1978). However, some pairs proved to be parallel, containing either both favored or both rejected forms. These items, of course, were generally of little value to the present analysis and are indicated with an X in the column labeled "Variable of Precedence" in Table 33.

In pairs containing lexical and phonological variables (lexical X phonological), the preferred lexical item was chosen and the stigmatized phonological item was disregarded. Thus, in item 19,

Table 33

Variable of Precedence in Items Containing Two Variables

Variables	% chosen as more correct	Item (the preferred item in each pair is presented first)	Variable of precedence
L X P	94	19. Van a enseñar de nochi.	L
	6	Van a tichar de noche.	
L X P	70	43. El mushasho tiene dinero.	L
	30	El muchacho tiene plata.	
L X P	58	7. El camión llegó muy de noche.	X
	42	El bos llegó muy de nochi.	
M X P	71	9. Es mejor pensar en la silla. [Ø]	M
	29	Es mejor piensar en la silla. [y]	
M X P	66	14. No tenemos carni.	M
	34	No tienemos carne.	
M X P	58	36. Pensamos en la cena. [θ]	M
	42	Piensamos en la cena. [s]	
S X P	81	11. Dudo que cenen frijoles. [s]	X
	19	Dudo que cenan frijoles. [θ]	
S X P	90	27. Tengo frío de nochi.	S
	10	Estoy fría de noche.	
S X P	85	39. Espero que salgan de la calle. [Ø]	S
	15	Espero que salen de la calle. [y]	
S X P	73	41. Quiero que se caiga de la silla. [Ø]	S
	27	Quiero que se caye de la silla. [y]	

Table 33 (cont.)

Variables	% chosen as more correct	Item (the preferred item in each pair is presented first)	Variable of precedence
L X M	92 8	45. No puedemos bailar. No podemos danzar.	L
L X M	66 34	23. Tenemos que caminar dos cuadras. Tienemos que caminar dos bloques.	X
L X M	60 40	12. Pensamos tomar el camión. Piensamos tomar el bos.	X
S X M	78 22	15. Cuando tenemos frío no puedemos dormir. Cuando estamos fríos no podemos dormir.	S
S X M	78 22	33. No puedemos comenzar a trabajar. No podemos comenzar trabajar.	S
L X S	85 15	25. Dudo que tenga dinero. Dudo que tiene plata.	X
L X S	61 39	29. Quiero que venga el camión. Quiero que viene el bos.	X
L X S	54 46	16. Esperamos que compren pavo. Esperamos que compran torque.	X

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

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

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

While syntax and lexicon are clearly more important than morphophonemics and phonology in such decisions, the ordering of the former remains more problematical. The three items containing lexical and syntactic variants were found to contain parallel variants and

therefore were of no use in ordering the two types of linguistic structure. A single pair of items, however, provides data for a tentative ordering.

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

Item 45 contains the same morphophonemic alternatives paired with two lexical items, bailar, the preferred form, and danzar, the rejected form. Again, the morphophonemic item was disregarded in light of the overpowering lexical item. No puedemos bailar was elected by 92% of the informants. A brief glance at the relative strength of bailar over danzar and tengo frío over estoy fría in items 1 and 3 (in Tables 8 and 11, respectively) indicates that they are nearly equivalent when presented alone. Given identical morphophonemic pairings, the lexical item appears to be relatively more powerful, judging by the greater percentage of informants embracing the lexical variant and rejecting the morphophonemic variant than the percentage favoring syntactic structure over morphophonemic structure. The proposed hierarchy used in judgments of linguistic correctness, then, posits greatest significance carried in lexical structure with slightly less importance given to syntax. Morphophonemic

structure carries still less importance, with phonology being the linguistic element most easily disregarded.

A Linguistic Hierarchy for Judgments of Correctness

in order of descending importance	lexicon syntax morphophonemics phonology

The proposed hierarchy appears to be intuitively justifiable in terms of salience and identifiability of the various linguistic elements. Lexicon and syntax are more salient to the layman and more easily identified. The comments of the informants support this statement. When asked why they chose one of the double variable items over the other, most informants noted lexical differences if they were present. These differences were both more salient and more easily identified and discussed by the respondents. Furthermore, informants seemed to be better schooled with reference to geographical differences in Spanish language vocabulary than in the other aspects of Spanish language. They often discussed the "history" of the two lexical items, indicating both a familiarity with geographical differences and some background with reference to the lexicon of the language. Syntax and morphophonemics were discussed less frequently, indicating either their relative inconspicuousness and/or a lack of "education" (in the sense of folk-teaching) regarding these aspects of language. Some discussions of phonology also occurred although not nearly as many as those of lexicon. The willingness of informants to discuss phonology is probably attributable in large part to the layman's understanding of "accent" in language.

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

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

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

There are, of course, several major differences between these two studies and the present investigation. In the Politzer and Delisle studies, the distinction is between correct and incorrect forms whereas in the present study, the options were presented as two viable varieties of

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

The present findings are bounded with reference to generalizability. It must be remembered that the informants in the present research have probably not received formal training with regard to Spanish grammar. It is possible that a community which has received such formal education would place a greater emphasis on syntax, a linguistic element which is not as familiar as lexicon to the unschooled language user. Furthermore, it is possible that different languages and even different varieties of the same language vary in the relative importance placed on the various linguistic structures, although the Politzer and Delisle studies suggest that this is not the case. The value of the present hierarchy, then, must be further tested in different linguistic settings.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

The present research, rooted in the Hispanic language tradition, has sought to supplement the wealth of data already available on the various dialects of Spanish. From the sociolinguistic perspective, it has focused on attitudes toward language, their sociological correlates and the decision-making process used in judgments of correctness. Furthermore, implications for the fields of linguistics and educational linguistics can also be drawn.

Martineztown residents, socioeconomically typical of Southwest Spanish-speaking communities, are aware of and have well-formulated attitudes toward variation in the Spanish language. Preferences are generally toward standard Mexican Spanish for a formal educational setting. In the areas of lexicon and phonology, group totals in judgments of single-variable sentences all point toward standard Mexican Spanish. In the syntactic and morphophonemic examples, only one and two local forms, respectively, were preferred by the majority of informants. These findings indicate that Martineztown residents are familiar with the standard Mexican forms of the language and consider them to be more correct. The next concern then, is to examine the models of standard Spanish available to the community and upon which these decisions are based.

Standard Mexican Spanish is found in Martineztown in both the written and oral forms. A local social service office provides

various Spanish language publications representing both standard and local Spanish. El Hispano, a weekly publication, may be acquired through subscription. El Misalito and Praise publications, available in Spanish at San Ignacio Catholic Church and the Himnario used at the Second Presbyterian Church contain many examples of standard Spanish. Finally, headstones at Mt. Calvary Cemetery represent both types of Spanish.

While these written forms of the language are found throughout Martineztown, the extent of influence is questionable. Publications available in the Catholic Social Services office can also be read in English, the language spoken more comfortably by most young residents of Martineztown and read with more facility by the majority. Many of the older residents, for whom Spanish would be easier, fail to make use of these items due to illiteracy or failing eyesight. The Second Presbyterian Church caters primarily to people who reside outside of Martineztown. Influence there, then, is minimal. The effect of written materials from San Ignacio Church might be great and needs to be examined more intensively.

Oral models of standard Spanish available in Martineztown include the two clergymen, community leaders and Spanish language radio and television. Another potential model not systematically considered in the present research is the Mexican national population, heretofore not a significant element of the Martineztown community but, according to this study, an increasingly important factor which must be examined. Many of the subjects interviewed indicated that they watch Spanish language television, particularly "Valentino de la O," a program in which primarily standard Spanish is employed. Most informants also

said that they listen to Spanish language radio, generally station KABQ. This station provides Spanish music with news and commentaries also in Spanish. The music, largely imported from Spanish-speaking countries, provides models of standard Spanish. The news broadcasts also provide such a model although announcers on the different stations vary in the proportion of standard and local Spanish forms used. The two clergymen use primarily standard Mexican Spanish while the community leaders were observed to use both varieties. In general, then, oral models of Spanish are more abundant in the community and probably represent a greater influence on attitudes toward the different varieties than do written models.

These sources of written and oral Spanish may also serve as a reflection of the Spanish language use and attitudes toward different varieties of Spanish in the community. The cemetery is an example par excellence. While it is unlikely that gravestone inscriptions are read regularly, the instances of local Spanish literacy and indications of local phonological rules and lexicon are true representations of formal Spanish for Martineztown and other Albuquerque residents. In much the same way, the Spanish heard on radio may be as much a reflection of Albuquerque Spanish as it is an influence on the language and language attitudes of the Martineztown residents.

Martineztown residents and New Mexico Spanish speakers in general, as sampled in this survey, may be considered to be members of a single speech community. Agreement among informants, especially on items containing single variables, was high. This indicates that New Mexico Spanish speakers do, indeed, share a single set of linguistic norms

for Spanish. These rules form the basis not only for their actual language usage but also for their judgments of correctness in linguistic input. Language attitudes, then, seem to be governed by the same types of sociolinguistic processes that influence language usage.

The preferences of the informants in this survey do not coincide with actual language use as reported in the literature discussed in Chapter 3. Only a handful of the forms documented for Southwest Spanish are considered correct. This does not, however, mean that they are not used. Sometimes informants selected a standard form but in repeating the sentence gave a local form, probably indicating actual daily usage.

In order to explain this phenomenon, it is helpful to employ data collected in the language attitudes portion of the study. When asked to name the place in which the best Spanish is spoken, the greatest percentage of the respondents (31%) suggested Mexico. Only 10% mentioned Martineztown. When asked for an opinion of local Spanish, several informants described it as "muy mocho." This negative attitude toward local Spanish explains, in part, the decisions made by the informants. Exposure to standard Spanish, fairly widespread according to the observations made of availability of models of standard Spanish, provides informants with at least a passive knowledge of that variety. Informants apparently use this input as a standard against which local Spanish can be measured, finding local Spanish inferior. Such attitudes may be spread and reinforced by means of in-group (e.g., intra-community) social and familial ties and through out-group (e.g., external Hispanic

and non-Hispanic) influences. Further research will be required to verify this hypothesis.

Educational Implications

The present research has uncovered important inter-influences of media, literacy and attitudes. Informants who are illiterate in the Spanish language are more likely to listen to Spanish language radio than those who possess literacy skills. Perhaps the literate informants have more of the Spanish language media available to them and therefore have less need for Spanish language radio. It is also possible, however, that Spanish language literacy brings with it certain attitudes toward local versus international varieties of Spanish, encouraging the individual to broaden his/her horizons with reference to the Spanish language. A wider knowledge of the language and its variation would, first of all, expose the speaker to different varieties and attitudes of native speakers toward them and, second, provide exposure to out-group attitudes toward the local variety. Both types of experience are likely to lower the individual's perception of the value of local Spanish because both educated native speakers and outsiders tend to deprecate local varieties of the language. It must also be considered that the literate informants may come from a background in which literacy and correctness are valued and that the attitudes may precede literacy, the latter actually being the result of the former. In either case, literacy and language attitudes favoring the standard variety are closely related elements of language.

Spanish language radio listeners, generally a less literate group with reference to the Spanish language, tend to rate local Spanish highly. This phenomenon can be attributed to the influence of the radio stations themselves in their use of both varieties. This group has had greater exposure to the positive, employable aspects of the local variety than has the literate group. Spanish language radio, then, may be exerting a positive influence on local Spanish speakers by providing exposure to both varieties on an equal basis and by reinforcing the use of Spanish daily.

Another interesting phenomenon found to be related to literacy in the Spanish language was the informants' self-ratings with reference to different levels of Spanish. A monolingual, typically, controls several levels of language to be used in varying social settings. These are generally identified by the native speaker as two different levels, high and low, good and bad or formal and informal. A bilingual may or may not control levels at both ends of the spectrum in each of his/her languages. A bilingual who speaks only Spanish at home but who uses English at school or work may not control a formal variety of Spanish or an informal style in English. While the present study did not approach the topic of English literacy and variation, it did address the notion of levels of Spanish controlled. Literate informants indicated that they would use a higher, more formal variety of Spanish when conversing with a teacher while those who were illiterate in Spanish felt that they did not control such a second style and that they would employ the only variety with which they were familiar. Literacy in Spanish, then, provides the speaker with

control, or perceived control, of at least two levels of the language, giving the speaker greater flexibility in language use and less need for English in a formal setting.

These same literate individuals tend to be the most critical of local Spanish. They are more likely than illiterate speakers to rate local Spanish as poor. An understanding of the process of language learning illustrates the irony in this situation. Language is most easily learned in the home or community at any early age. The more literate informant, while perhaps not better educated, seems to have a greater facility with the language and yet looks condescendingly upon the local variety, propagated by the community and the home, the centers of early language learning. A preference for more standard language might suggest placing the school in charge of teaching language, surely a less adequate learning situation. A compromise would need to be reached between home and school, in which the home could be charged with providing the fluency and ease of learning while the school could present standard forms, simultaneously reinforcing the notion of different levels of Spanish appropriate to different situations.

This brings us to the crux of the matter, implications for the field of education, particularly in the area of language teaching. Specifically, what models of language teaching are implied by the present findings? This discussion will be divided into four sections: (1) the variety of Spanish to be taught or accepted in Spanish language or bilingual programs, (2) linguistic aspects of language teaching, (3) sociolinguistic implications for language teaching, and (4) implications for further research.

The Variety

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

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

Linguistic Aspects

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

lexicon
syntax
morphophonemics
phonology

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

Lexicon is, according to this rank ordering, the most important element to the listener in his/her judgment of correctness. This is intuitively reasonable because the lexicon carries the bulk of meaning in a language. Syntax, by the same reasoning, adds key meanings to the messages being sent and would, therefore, rank above the remaining linguistic elements. Morphophonemics and phonology tend to carry substantially less linguistic meaning, although they may carry fair amounts of sociolinguistic information characteristic of social or geographical dialect. Phonology is the linguistic element least likely to be mastered by the adult non-native speaker and is most likely to vary from community to community and be apparent in every message sent. This is not true of lexicon, for example, which, although it varies greatly from region to region, may not appear to vary in all domains

of language. In other words, several sentences may be communicated before a regional lexical variant may appear but phonological differences are apparent almost immediately. New Mexico Spanish speakers may be more willing to accept these phonological variations because of their frequency of occurrence and unlikelihood of preventing understanding of meaning. It would be interesting to see if speakers of other languages use the same hierarchy in making decisions of correctness and whether or not manner of presentation of stimuli (oral versus written) would change the ordering.

Such a hierarchy has some distinct implications for language teaching. The teaching of the lexicon and syntax should be high-priority areas in language pedagogy while morphophonemics and phonology should take second precedence. Again, most meaning is conveyed in the lexicon and syntax and native speakers judge those elements to be most important in their decisions of correctness in Spanish. Variation from the norm in morphophonemics and phonology are more acceptable and, therefore, should not be high priority items in the language classroom until, perhaps, the more advanced levels of language learning.

Sociolinguistic Implications

There are numerous sociolinguistic implications for language education to be derived from the present research. In addition to the actual choice of variety to be used and other forms to be accepted in the classroom, the language attitudes of the target population will have various correlates. The actual relationship between language attitudes and language use must be examined closely. In the case of New Mexico residents, the two do not coincide. The research results

would argue that, given the educational setting imposed by this survey, language attitudes rather than actual usage should govern decisions regarding choice of variety for education. While informants may use a local variety, expectations and evaluational judgments point to standard Spanish as that expected and preferred for at least one formal language setting, the classroom.

The relationship between literacy and Spanish language radio use is interesting and also points out some important directions. Literacy appears to be tied to language attitudes in that an ability to read and write Spanish provides the speaker with a broader exposure to differing varieties of Spanish and out-group attitudes, producing in literate speakers negative attitudes toward the local variety. These same speakers reject Spanish language radio, perhaps for its admixture of the two varieties.

The values reflected in reports of literacy, media use and language attitudes may be part of a larger cultural orientation, although this hypothesis was not tested in the present research. It is reasonable to assume that the literate Spanish speaker who prefers standard Spanish for an educational setting, who avoids the Spanish language media and who has completed his/her high school education will have a general cultural orientation which is external to the local community and language. This is in contrast to the individual with a local community orientation whose use of the local language variety reflects in-group solidarity. Thus, two groups of Spanish speakers begin to emerge, with some overlap between the groups:

Group I	Group II
out-group orientation	in-group orientation
high level of formal educational attainment	low level of formal educational attainment
standard Spanish	local Spanish
literate in Spanish	illiterate in Spanish
less use of Spanish oral media (probably substituting Spanish written media or English media)	greater use of Spanish oral media

The presentation of literacy in Spanish can be expected to be quite disconcerting to members of Group II, for whom literacy represents an entire set of values regarding the local variety and perhaps even the community in general. For members of Group I and those who fit in the intersection of the two types, literacy should not be as problematic. While this scheme needs to be examined more thoroughly, it is clear that it has ramifications for the language teacher. The two varieties, as documented abundantly in the literature and supported by the present research, carry a great deal of sociolinguistic information and attitudes which should not be overlooked in the classroom.

The presence of two sub-groups within the Spanish speaking communities investigated requires some modification of the notion of a single speech community addressed in earlier pages. A more accurate description is that of a single speech community with some internal variability, particularly with reference to cultural orientation and its linguistic correlates.

One further implication for the field of education is based on the effect of immigration on Southwest Spanish speakers. The economic and political situation in Mexico in the early 1980s has caused an influx of Mexican nationals into New Mexico. Conflict in Nicaragua

and El Salvador has, likewise, resulted in an increase in immigration to the United States. This trend is seen in Martineztown where the population of Mexican nationals has increased significantly in recent years. It is difficult to measure, at this time, the potential influence of these immigrants but they undoubtedly bring with them Mexican and Central American varieties of Spanish, increasing exposure to non-local Spanish for New Mexico residents and bringing with them their own attitudes toward different varieties of Spanish. Not only must the educational system cater to the new immigrants but it must be prepared to deal with the new varieties and language attitudes represented.

Implications for Further Research

The present study has taken steps to increase knowledge in the following areas:

1. verification of selected documented linguistic forms and attitudes toward them,
2. examination of preferences for standard Mexican versus local Spanish for a formal educational setting,
3. ranking of linguistic elements used in decisions of correctness,
4. exploration of the relationships among literacy, the media and language attitudes, and
5. examination of the relationships among various social factors, language attitudes and decisions of correctness.

Some questions, however, remain unanswered. A sociologist might ask about the ways in which language attitudes are transmitted. Are such

attitudes conveyed through families, peers, the various social institutions or some other means? The social anthropologist might study the intra-community links through which such attitudes are transmitted. The psychologist might want to further examine the relationship between individual and group language attitudes and self-esteem with reference to bilingualism. He/she might also explore the possibility of a psychological mechanism which may be functioning in the linguistic hierarchy presented herein. The sociolinguist might want to examine more closely the relationship between language attitudes and actual language usage. The linguist, perhaps, would be interested in determining to what extent the hierarchy used by informants interviewed in this study in their decisions of correctness can be generalized to other speech communities. It is hoped that in the future, some of these potential areas of research are pursued.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INSTRUMENT FOR OBSERVATION OF AVAILABILITY OF MODELS OF STANDARD SPANISH

(Revised from Ortiz, Engelbrecht, & Irvine, "Observing Literacy")

I. Literacy Materials

A. Reading: books, magazines, signs, application forms, etc.

B. Writing: letters, forms, etc.

Some questions to guide research:

1. With what types of activities are reading and writing associated in this community?
2. What kinds of information are appropriately transmitted orally/in writing?
3. Who can be observed using literacy skills in this community? Does the practice of literacy vary with age, sex, socioeconomic/occupational group?
4. In what settings or under what circumstances is Spanish literacy used? English literacy? Both?
5. In what settings or under what circumstances is standard Spanish literacy used? Local Spanish? Both?

Literacy Environment--Describing the setting in terms of literacy

1. Where is the setting located?
2. How much of the physical space is designed for and/or usable for literacy acts (tables, counters, etc.)?

3. Are reading materials

   a. provided?

   b. available for sale?

   c. brought?

4. What proportion of reading materials are in

   a. standard Spanish?

   b. local Spanish?

   c. mixture of standard and local Spanish?

   d. English? (hereafter, a, b, c, and d will be referred to, collectively, as varieties present in the community)

5. How many and what types of reading materials are available in the varieties present in the community?

6. By whom are these materials read?

7. By whom are these materials written? For whom? For what purpose?

8. Are these literacy materials permanent, temporary or changing? If they change, how often?

9. Does writing occur in Spanish? If so, answer questions 10-13 below.

10. Are writing materials

    a. provided?

    b. available for sale?

    c. brought?

11. What proportion of writing materials are in each of the varieties present in the community?

12. How many and what types of writing materials are available in each of the varieties present in the community?

13. By whom are these materials written?

14. Are these materials permanent, temporary or changing? If they change, how often?

Literacy Events--Describing the actual uses of reading and writing in any setting

1. Characterize the event.
2. For each event, describe:
   a. situational characteristics
      i. day of week
      ii. time of day
      iii. location of event within the setting
   b. demographic characteristics of participant(s) in the event
      i. sex
      ii. age
      iii. socioeconomic/occupational group
   c. linguistic characteristics of the event
      i. in which variety of Spanish did the event transpire?
      ii. what was the topic and the purpose of the written communication?
3. How many events per unit of time?
4. How long does an event last?
5. When there is a choice between standard and local Spanish, how often is a particular choice made, and by which kind of person?
6. When there is a choice between an oral and a literacy event, how often is a particular choice made, and by which kind of person?

II. Oral Models

Oral language as heard in the following environments: church, school, store, restaurants, at meetings, on radio, at garage sales

Some questions to guide research:

1. With what types of activities are standard and local Spanish associated in this community?
2. What kinds of information are appropriately transmitted in standard or local Spanish?
3. Who can be observed speaking each variety of Spanish in this community? Does the kind of Spanish spoken vary with age, sex, socioeconomic/occupational group?
4. In what settings or under what circumstances is standard Spanish used? Local Spanish? Both?

Language Environment--Describing the setting

1. Where is the setting located?
2. Are written materials available? In which variety?
3. What proportion of spoken language is in each of the varieties present in the community?
4. How much and what types of oral language are produced in each of the varieties present in the community?
5. By whom is this language spoken? To whom? For what purpose?
6. Is this language available to the entire community or only part?
7. Is this language available to the community regularly or sporadically? How frequently is it available?

Oral Language Events--Describing the actual uses of standard and local Spanish

1. Characterize the event.

2. For each event, describe:
   a. situational characteristics
      i. day of week
      ii. time of day
      iii. location of event within the setting
   b. demographic characteristics of participant(s) in the event
      i. sex.
      ii. age
      iii. socioeconomic/occupational group
   c. linguistic characteristics of event
      i. in which variety of Spanish did the event transpire?
      ii. what was the topic and purpose of the oral communication?
3. How many events per unit of time?
4. How long does an event last?
5. When there is a choice between standard and local Spanish, how often is a particular choice made, and by which kind of person?

APPENDIX B

INSTRUMENT FOR ELICITING DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. What is your name?

2. Sex?

3. How old are you?

4. Where were you born?

5. Where else have you lived? For how long?

6. How long have you lived in Martíneztown?

7. How many years of education did you complete?

8. Could you tell me a little about your use of Spanish and English?

   Which do you use most at home? E Es ES Se S

   Which do you use most at work? E Es ES Se S

9. How well do you speak Spanish?

   1--not at all
   2--poorly
   3--fair, ok
   4--well
   5--very well

10. Where do you think the best Spanish is spoken?

APPENDIX C

INSTRUMENT FOR ELICITING JUDGMENTS OF LINGUISTIC CORRECTNESS

L	1.	a. Es buena música para bailar. b. Es buena música para danzar.
S	2.	a. Quiero que vengan mañana. b. Quiero que vienen mañana.
S	3.	a. Tengo frío en el invierno. b. Estoy fría en el invierno.
L	4.	a. Caminaron un bloque. b. Caminaron una cuadra.
P	5.	a. No pueden hallarlo. [x] b. No pueden hallarlo. [Ø]
M	6.	a. Vuelamos rápido. b. Volamos rápido.
L x P	7.	a. El camión llegó muy de noche. b. El bos llegó muy de nochi.
S	8.	a. Comienzan a trabajar. b. Comienzan trabajar.
M x P	9.	a. Es mejor pensar en la silla. [Ø] b. Es mejor piensar en la silla. [y]
P	10.	a. Salieron a tomar agua. [g^w] b. Salieron a tomar agua. [w]
P x S	11.	a. Dudo que cenan frijoles. [θ] b. Dudo que cenen frijoles. [s]
L x M	12.	a. Pensamos tomar el camión. b. Piensamos tomar el bos.
M	13.	a. Todos los días salimos a las tres. b. Todos los días salemos a las tres.
M x P	14.	a. No tienemos carne. b. No tenemos carni.
M x S	15.	a. Cuando tenemos frío no puedemos dormir. b. Cuando estamos fríos no podemos dormir.

L = Lexical
P = Phonological
M = Morphophonemic
S = Syntactic

L x S	16.	a. Esperamos que compren pavo. b. Esperamos que compran torque.
S	17.	a. Entendemos la sistema. b. Entendemos el sistema.
P	18.	a. Nohotroh somoh de aquí. b. Nosotros somos de aquí.
L x P	19.	a. Van a enseñar de nochi. b. Van a tichar de noche.
M	20.	a. Ha escribido su nombre. b. Ha escrito su nombre.
P	21.	a. ¿Ve al muchacho? b. ¿Ve al mushasho?
P	22.	a. Tiene treinta años de edad. b. Tiene treinta años de edá.
L x M	23.	a. Tenemos que caminar dos cuadras. b. Tienemos que caminar dos bloques.
S	24.	a. ¿Conoce a María? b. ¿Conoce a la María?
S x L	25.	a. Dudo que tiene plata. b. Dudo que tenga dinero.
L	26.	a. Todos comen torque. b. Todos comen pavo.
P x S	27.	a. Tengo frío de nochi. b. Estoy fría de noche.
M	28.	a. Es mejor piensar en el futuro. b. Es mejor pensar en el futuro.
L x S	29.	a. Quiero que venga el camión. b. Quiero que viene el bos.
P	30.	a. La maestra le preguntó al niño: ¿Qué comiste? b. La maestra le preguntó al niño: ¿Qué comites?
L	31.	a. Esta maestra sabe tichar. b. Esta maestra sabe enseñar.
P	32.	a. Han jugado todo el día. [~~d~~, ~~d~~] b. Han jugado todo el día. [Ø, Ø]

S x M	33.	a. No podemos comenzar trabajar. b. No puedemos comenzar a trabajar.
L	34.	a. Viene el camión. b. Viene el bos.
M	35.	a. No tienemos nada. b. No tenemos nada.
M x P	36.	a. Pensamos en la cena. [θ] b. Piensamos en la cena. [s]
M	37.	a. Pedimos libros nuevos. b. Pidimos libros nuevos.
P	38.	a. No hay clases de noche. b. No hay clases de nochi.
P x S	39.	a. Espero que salen de la calle. [y] b. Espero que salgan de la calle. [Ø]
P	40.	a. Cenaron frijoles. [θ] b. Cenaron frijoles. [s]
P x S	41.	a. Quiero que se caiga de la silla. [Ø] b. Quiero que se caye de la silla. [y]
S	42.	a. Espero que tiene sueño. b. Espero que tenga sueño.
L x P	43.	a. El mushasho tiene dinero. b. El muchacho tiene plata.
P	44.	a. Se cayó la silla. [y] b. Se cayó la silla. [Ø]
L x M	45.	a. No puedemos bailar. b. No podemos danzar.
L	46.	a. Los maestros ganan poca plata. b. Los maestros ganan poco dinero.
M	47.	a. No puedemos ir. b. No podemos ir.
M	48.	a. Piensamos poco. b. Pensamos poco.
S	49.	a. Dudo que diga mentiras. b. Dudo que dice mentiras.
P	50.	a. Juegan en la calle. [Ø] b. Juegan en la calle. [y]

APPENDIX D

INSTRUMENT FOR ELICITING LANGUAGE ATTITUDE AND SPANISH LANGUAGE MEDIA DATA

1. Do you listen to Spanish language radio?
2. Do you watch Spanish language TV?
3. Do you read/write Spanish?
4. If so, what do you read?
5. Where do you think the best Spanish is spoken? By whom? Under what circumstances?
6. What do you think of the Spanish of _____?
7. Do you think it is important to speak Spanish? For what purposes?
8. If you were speaking to a teacher in Spanish, what kind of Spanish would you use?

APPENDIX E

RESPONSE SHEET FOR JUDGMENTS OF LINGUISTIC CORRECTNESS

1.	a	b	26.	a	b
2.	a	b	27.	a	b
3.	a	b	28.	a	b
4.	a	b	29.	a	b
5.	a	b	30.	a	b
6.	a	b	31.	a	b
7.	a	b	32.	a	b
8.	a	b	33.	a	b
9.	a	b	34.	a	b
10.	a	b	35.	a	b
11.	a	b	36.	a	b
12.	a	b	37.	a	b
13.	a	b	38.	a	b
14.	a	b	39.	a	b
15.	a	b	40.	a	b
16.	a	b	41.	a	b
17.	a	b	42.	a	b
18.	a	b	43.	a	b
19.	a	b	44.	a	b
20.	a	b	45.	a	b
21.	a	b	46.	a	b
22.	a	b	47.	a	b
23.	a	b	48.	a	b
24.	a	b	49.	a	b
25.	a	b	50.	a	b

APPENDIX F

INSTRUMENT FOR ELICITING PERSONAL INFORMATION ON AVAILABILITY OF MODELS OF STANDARD SPANISH AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

(Subsample)

This will be an ethnographic interview. Therefore, the questions cannot be predetermined. Some possible opening ethnographic questions (Spradley, 1979) are provided here but it must be emphasized that the questions will vary as the interviews progress.

1. Can you tell me what the Spanish in _____ is like?
2. Describe the last time you heard Spanish spoken or used in_____.
3. Can you give me an example of _____ (Spanish described in #1 above)?
4. Tell me about some experiences you have had with Spanish here in _____.
5. Imagine you are having a conference with your child's teacher. Could you tell me some things you might say in Spanish? Some things the teacher might say? (perhaps role play)

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Merryl Leslie Kravitz was born in Brooklyn, New York, on February 6, 1953. She attended Hunter College High School and entered the State University of New York at Binghamton in 1970. She took her junior year abroad at the University of Guadalajara, Mexico, and in 1974 was graduated with honors from the State University of New York with a B.A. in Anthropology and Linguistics.

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