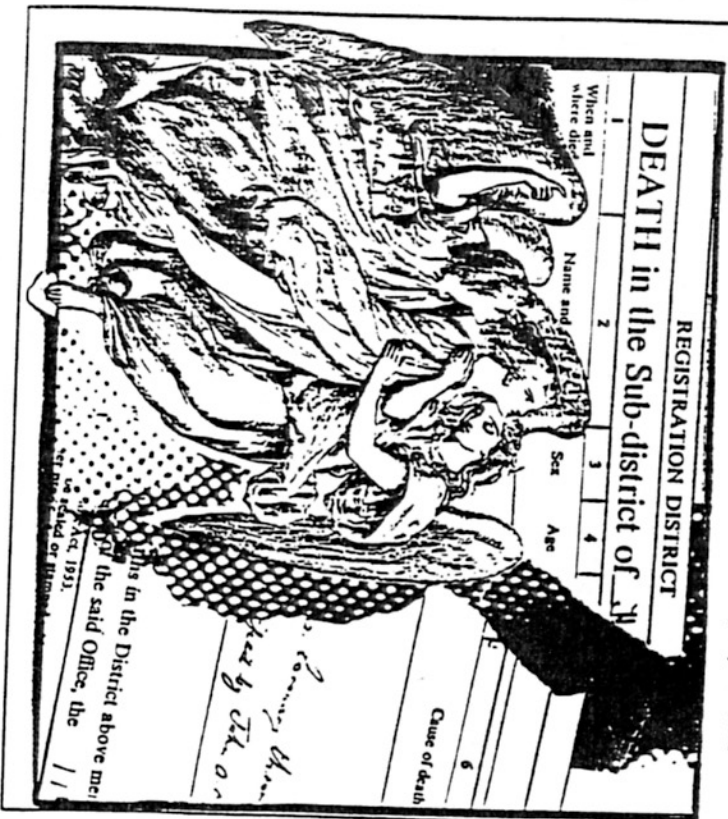


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Hasta La Vista, Baby Anglo Spanish in the American Southwest

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Introduction

Southwest Anglo Spanish has lately gone national. Arnold Schwarzenegger, accompanying President Bush on the campaign trail in New Hampshire in 1992, grows 'Hasta la vista, baby' at Bush's opponents and the delighted Granite State Republicans, plain Yankees one and all, cheer in 2, where it is uttered by Schwarzenegger in the role of good terminator as he blows the bad terminator away forever (he thinks). But trash film buffs will recall that the good terminator appeared out of the future without even clothing, let alone the voice of popular culture. He picks up the tag from John Connor, future savior of humanity and a tough little LA Anglo street kid!

The usage is an ironic reversal. In Spanish, *hasta la vista* ('until we meet again') is a rather formal farewell, uttered sincerely to express hope for the pleasure of a future meeting. But 'Hasta la vista, baby' appears in *Terminator 2* as an expression of contempt. The juxtaposition of the Spanish expression with English 'baby' renders it entirely colloquial, even vulgar.² Little John Connor instructs his terminator friend to say it with an exaggerated long [y]: 'Hasta la vee-sta, bay-bee'. The parodic irony, even pragmatic lowering or 'pejoration', and sound play are typical of certain types of Anglo Spanish usage.

Southwest Anglo Spanish deserves study, since it is an important facet of what initially appears to be the mysteriously absolute monolingualism of English speakers in the United States. Popular accounts of this monolingualism often attribute it to isolation and lack of necessity. But the 'isolation' account fails in the borderlands in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. Here monolingual Anglos are in daily contact with Spanish speakers. The 'lack of necessity' argument breaks down as well, since

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Anglos in the Southwest report frequent communicative problems. Working people complain that they are disadvantaged on the job because their fellow employees speak Spanish to one another. Wealthy Anglos grouse about how hard it is to give instructions to Spanish-speaking housekeepers and gardeners. People who meet the public – retail clerks, police officers, paramedics, tax preparers and the like – need Spanish so often that a considerable burden is placed on bilinguals.³ Yet Anglos seem not to 'learn Spanish', and the burden of cross-linguistic brokering is placed almost entirely on local Hispanics. The Southwest, then, manifests a peculiar reversal of the pattern of multilingualism familiar in other parts of the world such as central Europe or India, where multilingual skills tend to increase as one goes up the socioeconomic scale and are most concentrated among elites. In the Southwest Anglos, the economically dominant group, are 'monolingual'; Spanish speakers, a large subordinate minority, are usually bilingual; and Native Americans, who face perhaps the most ferocious forms of discrimination and occupy the bottom rungs of the economic ladder, are often at least trilingual. The obvious inconvenience to Anglos themselves of their monolingualism, and the very marked Southwestern pattern of the distribution of bilingual skills, strongly suggests that some factor deeper than the instrumental function of language is at stake here.

Almost all sociolinguistic work on language contact in the Southwest has focused on the usage of Hispanics and Native Americans.⁴ In the present paper, I explore instead the practices of Anglos, and attempt to locate these in political economic perspective because, as 'Hasta la vista, baby' shows, Southwest Anglos do not manifest some abstract zero degree of monolingualism. They do use Spanish, but in limited and specialized ways that support a broader project of social and economic domination of Spanish speakers in the region.

Spanish appears early in Southwest Anglo usage in a well-known complex of words dating from the mid-nineteenth century. The complex includes words associated with running cattle on arid open range in the Mexican style, words for cheap food and housing, words for land forms and exotic plants and animals and a few words for legal institutions. The meanings represented in this complex suggest contact between ordinary working people in a few limited domains of endeavor. A second very important layer of Spanish loan material is associated especially with tourism and real estate, enterprises within which the 'romance of the Southwest' is constructed and marketed to rustbelt refugees, retirees and tourists; I call this *nouvelle* Southwest Anglo Spanish, but it's also quite old, dating back to the 'Ramona' era in the 1880s in California.⁵ Finally,

there is a third type of usage, little discussed in the literature, to which 'Hasta la vista, baby' belongs: this is a whole series of adaptations of Spanish-language expressions to registers of jocularly, irony and parody.

These three contexts of Anglo Spanish usage are diverse, ranging from the downmarket 'cowboy' complex and jocular expressions to the upscale contexts of elite tourism. Yet the Anglo Spanish found in the elite domains is in many ways exactly like that found in the low-rent cowboy contexts, and the roots of the pejorative register can be seen in the 'cowboy' system. All three domains manifest significant distortions of phonology, morphology, syntax and meaning when compared, not only to standard American Spanish, but to everyday colloquial usage in the source language in the Southwest. Students of language contact take such distortions to be diagnostic of social distance between speakers of the source language and speakers of the target language, and of very limited bilingualism on the part of the latter. In Southwest Anglo Spanish these distortions often go well beyond a 'normal' Anglicization of borrowed material. They suggest not merely a situation of relatively little access to speakers of the source language (and, as noted above, such access has never been a problem, at least in purely physical terms), but an active distancing from Spanish speakers.

I suggest that an analysis of these usages as fundamentally 'distancing' is the most revealing approach. Anglo Spanish today is not the passive result of casual contact in the sort of environment that permits only limited bilingualism (as in, for instance, the development of pidgins in situations where learners have little access to speakers of the source language). Instead, Southwest Anglos are in quite intensive contact with Spanish speakers. I argue here, then, that Southwest Anglo Spanish is one aspect of the construction in the Southwestern United States of a durable regional political economy based on racial hierarchy, that requires Anglos to produce and reproduce the subordination of Spanish-speaking and Native American populations who have a prior claim to the resources of the region.⁶ Anglo uses of Spanish are strategic, constituting an important symbolic component of a broader project through which Anglos have reduced the Southwest Hispanic community, in both cultural and economic domains, to a profound marginality from which recovery is only just beginning.

Sheridan (1986) charts the history of this marginalization in Tucson, Arizona. Spanish speakers in Tucson had formed a community dedicated to large-scale ranching and vigorous commerce, that included many relatively well-off people. Through the 1930s Tucson had Spanish-language newspapers and live theater. Students of the history of Spanish-speaking

populations in the Southwest considered Tucson to manifest a relatively benign environment, where a small Hispanic middle class prospered, in contrast to the Texas borderlands or to Southern California, where overt and vicious racism rapidly subordinated Hispanics. However, Sheridan charts the steady erosion of the economic and cultural base of the Tucson Hispanic community during the first half of the twentieth century. Anglos moved steadily up the economic ladder while Hispanics constituted the bulk of the blue-collar workforce and, in fact, were increasingly recruited only into its lowest stratum, the floating pool of labor that could be hired at discriminatorily low wages in good times, yet easily fired and deported when agriculture or mining slowed down. Tucson exhibited increasing residential and social segregation, with the Hispanic community undergoing 'enclavement'. Even by 1910 an early high rate of interethnic marriages (mainly of Anglo men to Hispanic women) had been reduced to a negligible fraction of recorded unions, and residential segregation deepened.

Sheridan points out that the marginalization of Hispanics in Tucson occurred with surprisingly little overt violence and without official racist legislation. However, it is obvious from Sheridan's history that a single theme dominates Anglo interaction with Hispanics, from the earliest contact until very recent times: Anglos were utterly confident of their own racial and cultural superiority, to the degree that Hispanic history and culture, and even the most obvious Hispanic contributions to the way of life of Anglos in the Southwest, became, quite simply, invisible. Instead, 'Mexicans', in spite of their material physical presence in a diverse community, came to exist for Anglos only as an 'Other', constituted entirely through racist imagination. 'Mexicans' were racially impure, mongrelized. 'Mexicans' were incapable of creating technology or of using it above the level of the pick and shovel. 'Mexicans' were without culture, their lives being dominated by 'folklore and superstition' (Sheridan 1986: 232; quoting a Master's thesis written at the University of Arizona), base appetites and ignorance. 'Mexicans' were lazy and imprudent. These dimensions of 'Mexican' identity contrasted with the Anglo's vision of themselves: heirs to 'Anglo-Saxon' racial purity, technological ingenuity, a scientific culture, self-control and responsibility. In the one institution which formally attempted to intervene in the lives of Hispanics, the school system, the only aspect of Hispanic practice that was recognized as a cultural reality was the Spanish language. Yet this language was considered to be degenerate, a locus where bad character and slovenliness was constituted, such that its replacement by English became a driving necessity.

If the Spanish language itself was considered to embody the negative qualities of stigmatized 'Mexicans', how did any of its elements make their way into Anglo usage? Sawyer (1959) suggests that perhaps such elements come from the earliest phase of contact, a brief golden age of co-operation between two groups of sturdy pioneers. However, linguistic evidence of minimal bilingualism on the part of Anglos shows up in borrowings from the earliest period. Thus I suggest that there never was a golden age of bilingualism. Instead, Anglo Spanish has always been organized mainly around its role in the constitution of the 'Mexican' Other. It has been incorporated into English primarily as a form of parody, where the 'Mexican' voice is sharply opposed to the English one. In Bakhtinian terms, Southwest Anglo Spanish manifests not an exchange with an interlocutor whose voice is heard in its fullness, but a form of parody. Bakhtin (1929/1984: 194) quoted Leo Spitzer on this point:

When we reproduce in our own speech a portion of our partner's utterance, then by virtue of the very change in speakers a change in tone inevitably occurs: *The words of 'the other person' always sound on our lips like something alien to us, and often have an intonation of ridicule, exaggeration, or mockery.*

I should like to point out here the facetious or sharply ironic repetition of the partner's question-verb in the subsequent reply. Here we will observe that one can employ not only grammatically correct constructions but also constructions that are very bold, even impossible, for the sake of repeating somehow a portion of our partner's speech and giving it an ironic flavour.

Spitzer's observation, about conversational Italian, suggests a general semiotic principle through which the linguistic resources of a stigmatized Other can be appropriated. The material technology borrowed from Spanish-speaking frontiersmen can be seamlessly assimilated to an Anglo-Saxon 'cowboy' tradition, its Hispanic origins being known only to pedants. But what of the words for this tradition, with their obvious foreignness for English speakers? And what of the proximity of speakers of this language, who can hear Anglos using these words? Anglos can solve both these problems by parodic and ironic mimicry: the Other is engaged, but through ironic repetition, accomplished by 'bold' alterations and exaggerations. Thus 'Hasta la vee-sta, bay-bee' is a kind of locution on which Bakhtin (1929/1984: 193) comments, 'in parody, the deliberate palpability of the other's discourse must be particularly sharp and clearly marked'. Anglo Southwest Spanish is filled with 'boldness' in the form of exaggeration, and with 'impossibility', manifested in hyperanglicizations and absurd grammatical constructions. This 'boldness' has a double function: it both distances utterers from the voice which issues from their

mouths, and serves to denigrate the source of that voice, constructing this source as ridiculous and contemptible. And, while it is 'bold', it is also subtle, relatively invisible in a way that ethnic insults, racist joking or the push for English as an 'official language' are not. Thus it is peculiarly well suited to the ambivalent project of Anglo domination, that attempts simultaneously to reduce Hispanics to economic dependence and marginality, yet adopts many of their practices and exploits their presence in the region as a source of 'color' and 'romance' that will attract tourists and investors. I turn now to the linguistic evidence for these claims, considering each of the three major registers of Southwest Anglo Spanish in turn.

'Cowboy' language: Spanish nouns for cultural novelties

Borrowings from Spanish into English date to the earliest phase of contact between the two languages and extend across a broad range of usages from music to politics. Here, however, I focus on a well-known cluster of borrowings that appear primarily in the regional English of the US Southwest.⁷ The cluster is found in Southern California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, and extends up the Front Range of the Rockies into Colorado. Researchers for the *Dictionary of American Regional English*⁸ identified three diagnostic isoglosses for this cluster: these are the distributions of 'arroyo' (a seasonally dry wash), 'frijoles' (boiled beans, often drained and refried), and 'enchilada' (meat or cheese wrapped in corn tortillas, covered with chile sauce, and baked). This cluster of loan-words can be divided into at least five major semantic domains, not all having directly to do with cowboy technology. A few examples of each are listed below. I give the gloss of the Spanish term only when it is unpredictably different from the meaning of the English word.

I. Geographical terms:

- arroyo 'dry wash' S. *arroyo*
- mesa 'flat-topped plateau' S. *mesa* 'table'
- ciénega 'marshy area' S. *ciénega*
- chaparral 'thick brush' S. *chaparral*
- Santa Ana 'hot wind from the east' S. *Santana* (coastal Southern California only)
- mesquite 'Prosopis spp.' S. *mezquite*
- coyote 'Canis latrans' S. *coyote*

II. Cowboy terms:

- dalleys 'turns of the lasso around the saddle horn'
- S. *dalle vuelta* 'Give it a turn!'
- lasso 'rope for roping cattle' S. *lazo*
- lariat 'rope for roping cattle' S. *la reata*
- buckaroo 'cowboy, roughneck' S. *vagüero* 'cowboy'
- wrangler 'hand responsible for taking care of draft and riding stock' S. *caballero*
- corral 'enclosure for stock' S. *corral*
- rodeo 'competitive display of stock-working skills' S. *rodeo*
- 'roundup'

III. Architecture:

- adobe 'mud used as construction material, or a building made of adobe bricks' S. *adobe*
- patio 'outdoor enclosure used for eating, recreation' S. *patio*
- ramada 'covered outdoor area used for recreation' S. *ramada*
- 'temporary brush shelter'
- hacienda 'homestead', 'main ranch house' (Texas) S. *hacienda* 'land holding'
- pueblo 'Native American town (usually with multistory buildings)', rarely, 'Hispanic town' S. *pueblo* 'populace'

IV. Social organization and justice:

- hoosegow 'jail' S. *juzgado* 'court of justice'
- calaboose 'jail' S. *calabozo* 'prison cell'
- vigilante 'person illegally functioning in police role' S. *vigilante*

V. Food and liquor:

- frijoles 'boiled or refried pinto beans' S. *frijoles* 'beans'
- enchiladas 'baked dish of meat or cheese wrapped in corn tortillas covered in chile sauce' S. *enchilada* 'food cooked with chile sauce'
- aguardiente 'strong liquor' S. *aguardiente* 'brandy'

Some of these forms seem to be disappearing from Southwestern regional English. Sawyer (1959) found that in San Antonio only the oldest Anglo informants knew this vocabulary. My own informal surveys have turned up the fact that many students at the University of Arizona do not know such well-known forms as 'buckaroo' or 'hoosegow'. But borrowing

continues up to the present day in most of these domains. Ecologists use Spanish *bosque* to refer to stands of mesquite,⁹ and *bajada* for the alluvial fans at the foot of a mountain range. Food terms like *carne seca* and *burrito* are regularly borrowed into local English as particular dishes become popular. Anglo police officers talk about *cholos* (tough young Hispanic kids) and *barríos* (the neighborhoods where they live), and officers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service are universally known in the borderlands, by English and Spanish speakers alike, as the *migra*.

The older borrowings suggest a particular kind of language contact.¹⁰ First, the lexical range indicates contact on the job among working people. The food terms are for poor people's food, the architectural terms are those for humble dwellings and the words in the 'Social organization and justice' category suggest strongly the legal subordination of those who used them. English speakers arriving in the Southwest adopted much of the social organization, technology and vocabulary used by Mexican ranchers. Sheridan (1986) points out that the lexical complex constitutes an implicit recognition of the value of technological innovations developed by Spanish-speaking pioneers (which included some borrowing of Native American technologies) that permitted adaptation to life in the arid lands of the Southwest. The rich lexicon of 'cowboy' words suggest quite intensive language contact in this narrow domain; I have given only a tiny sample of the dozens of terms for kinds of equipment, clothing and animals that have been identified in rural Southwest English usage. However, the English forms of the borrowings suggest that there was only minimal bilingualism among those who adopted them, and give also hints of their at least partly parodic and ironic function. A word like 'lariat' reveals that the borrowers were not even aware that the first element, *la*, was the Spanish definite article; this form is reminiscent of the very earliest layer of Spanish loan-words into Native American languages, when the borrowers had minimal access to Spanish speakers. 'Dalleywelters' or 'dalleys', the term for the turns of rope made around the saddle horn to secure the lasso when roping cattle, is an English noun constructed from an entire Spanish sentence, *¡dale vuelta!* 'Give it a turn! Make a loop!' It has a strongly 'parodic' feel (I have talked to a 'horse person' who knows the word and regards it as a joke) and suggests precisely ironic imitation of some Spanish-speaking *vagueros* making this useful suggestion, rather than a parsing of his utterance. 'Buckaroo' acquired very early in its career pejorative connotations. Thus *DARE*, Vol. 1, cites Hart's 1910 *Vigilante Girl*: 'I can talk what they call "buckayro" Spanish. It ain't got but thirreen words in it, and twelve of them are cuss words'. But *DARE* restricts the definition to 'cowboy', failing to note specifically the parody and pejoration

in the usage (I return to the parodic phonology of this form in the discussion below of 'hyperanglicization').¹¹ 'Calaboose' and 'hoosegow', are the only cases in the lists above where the Spanish term is used in place of an English lexical item. The Spanish terms suggest an ironic contempt for Mexican justice, and are used 'lightly'. *DARE* points out that 'calaboose' (for which *DARE*'s earliest reference is 1792, for the 'calabouse' at Mobile) can only refer to a small-town jail. Thus, a night in the county drunk tank might be spoken of jocularly as a stint 'in the hoosegow', but a long prison term in a state penitentiary will be taken more seriously.

Spanish loan-words into Southwestern English are almost entirely restricted to nouns, a sign of very restricted bilingualism, since it has long been recognized that nouns are the earliest borrowings in an incipient bilingual complex. Further, these borrowed nouns refer exclusively to cultural or geographical novelties; there is no replacement of native English vocabulary in Southwestern English. A 'patio', for instance, is a different sort of structure from a 'porch', and the two lexical items exist side by side in the English of the region. Exceptional are the two terms 'hoosegow' and 'calaboose', which exist alongside 'jail', 'pen', etc. as especially belittling designations.

The phonetic shape of these borrowings often suggests that those who adopted them went to great lengths to avoid sounding like Spanish speakers: they manifest 'hyperanglicization'. Students of language contact identify the phonological nativization of loan-words, along with their incorporation into the morphology of the target language, as diagnostic of the refunctionalization of the borrowed word as a lexical item in the target language, rather than a nonce form or a code-switch (Gumperz, 1982). In examining how Spanish loan-words are nativized in English, we find pronunciation of unstressed vowels as [ə] and other minor modifications of vowelism to satisfy English phonotactic constraints, as in [ədówbiy] 'adobe', [kəRəél] 'corral' and [mésə] 'mesa'. We expect Spanish spirants like [ð], [y] to become English [d], [g], Spanish flapped and trilled [r] and [r̄] to become English [R], Spanish voiceless obstruents like [t] to become English flaps like [D] intervocally. Nor are pronunciations that assimilate Spanish borrowings to existing English lexical items surprising, as in [vjilɛDiy] from Spanish [bixiláme] (presumably adapting the new item to English 'vigilant'; note also normal nativizations like 'Argentina').

Even 'normal' nativization constitutes a culturally meaningful set of strategies for the accommodation of foreign material, and to perform it is a mode of social construction, namely, the accomplishment of 'speaking English', especially in the situation of Southwest Anglo Spanish, where many speakers are aware of the foreign origins of the lexical items.¹² To fail

to do the nativizations sends a variety of messages, including Chicano nationalism (as when Hispanic newscasters on English-language television pronounces place names and personal names with full Spanish phonemics), affection or solidarity when bilinguals talking together code-switched, or showing off bilingual expertise by an Anglo (likely to be considered somewhat snobbish by fellow English speakers).

Hyperanglicization goes well beyond the 'normal' nativization of borrowed Spanish words. Hyperanglicized forms exhibit extreme distortion of Spanish pronunciation, and seem often to be associated with somewhat ironic twists of meaning. Exemplifying this practice are forms like [bakáRúw] 'buckaroo' from Spanish *vagüero* and [kæ̀lbuws] 'calapoose' (faihouse) from Spanish *calaboso*, for which one would expect 'normal' Anglicizations something like [vəkəyRow] and [kæ̀lbuwsow] respectively.

Place names offer a particularly rich source of evidence for hyperanglicization. One of my personal favorites is the local Anglo pronunciation of the Texas town of Refugio, S. [refuxio]. English speakers call it, astonishingly, [RafáRiyow]. Peñalosa (1980) points out that Anglo inhabitants of San Pedro in Southern California call it [sæn píydRow]. There is no phonotactic reason for the shift to [iy] from [ey] in the stressed vowel (in contrast to the motivated shift in [ádwbij]: English lacks unstressed [ey] from Spanish [e] and it is regularly replaced with [iy]), and in fact elsewhere in the Los Angeles area Peñalosa finds the Anglo pronunciation [sæn péydRow].¹³

Alongside the extreme hyperanglicizations of established loan-words are somewhat less obvious cases, where spelling seems to determine the phonotactic strategies of speakers even where a pronunciation closer to the Spanish original would be perfectly acceptable. Many examples can be found among English pronunciations of Spanish personal and place names. I have heard [gwiłáR] for the Spanish surname *Aguilar* [a'wiłáR]. This pronunciation was used by an Anglo receptionist in a Spanish department in a major Texas university, in reference to a member of the faculty. I would have predicted perhaps [æ'gəláR], since many nativizations of Spanish surnames actually hypercorrect to final stress, as in the stress shift heard in personal names like *Vélez* [βełes], pronounced [vələ́z] by many English speakers.

Some well-known place names may manifest hyperanglicizations, but we must be cautious here. For instance, [la pyuwéDiy] 'La Puente', a town in Southern California, exhibits the definite article *la* where today's dictionaries give *el puente* 'the bridge', but the *la* is apparently attested historically for this lexical item in Spanish. Nativization of Spanish [pw] is

variable. While English has [tw], [kw], [gw], neither [pw] nor [bw] appear in native vocabulary. Pronunciations like [pyuwéDiy] and [byúwnɔ] from Spanish *buena*, occasionally heard for the Southern California town of Buena Park, represent a possible solution to this problem.¹⁴ Yet older anglicization strategies like [byúwnɔ] in California's 'Buena Park' and in the Colorado town of Buena Vista, along with old spelling pronunciations like [sályDɔ] 'Salida' (Colorado), are entirely consistent with the hypothesis that English speakers tend to 'distance' themselves from Spanish forms through the phonetic strategy of hyperanglicization. In the case of [las á'jilás] 'Los Angeles', the first element is commonly [lows] in the English pronunciation of other California place names such as 'Los Reales' (flows Rlyéilyz] in my dialect), Los Altos, Los Gatos, etc. However Shafer (1942:240) states that this item is 'usually [lɔs]. The vowel [ɔ] has merged with [a] in local English. This still does not solve the problem of why this most important regional place name followed English sound change, not the hispanicizing tendency of the [lows] forms found in the names of secondary communities. (The pronunciation [á'jilás] is normal nativization á la 'Argentina', or perhaps by assimilation to English 'angel' with trisyllabic shortening.)

Nouvelle Southwest's Anglo Spanish and the romance of the Southwest

Between about 1880 and 1920 Anglos from the East and Middle West discovered Northern New Mexico and coastal Southern California. Communities like Santa Fe and Taos in New Mexico and Pasadena and Santa Barbara in California developed colonies of expatriate artists and intellectuals, who vigorously promoted the Southwest as a land of sunny winters that promised good health, and landscapes that might substitute for the refinements of urban culture in inspiring poet and painter. Further, the 'ancient peoples' of the region – the 'noble and spiritual' Native Americans, the 'hot-blooded' yet 'easy-going' Hispanics – offered an opportunity for spiritual renewal and relief from 'civilization and its discontents'. This construction of the touristic value of these people required that promoters and tourists alike actively ignored the impoverished and subordinated condition of Hispanics and Native Americans in the Southwest, and the considerable interethnic conflict (including violent confrontation) thereby engendered (Rodriguez, 1987, 1989, 1990, has documented interethnic conflict precisely caused by tourism in the area around Taos, New Mexico). Instead, the Southwest was (and is) promoted as a land of interethnic harmony. Ethnic tourism continues to be an

important component of the tourist industry in the Southwest (and, in terms of dollar value, tourism is extremely important in the regional economy). Guides to the region often include calendars of Native American ceremonies, and visits to Native American communities, or to sites where Native American arts are demonstrated and sold, are promoted as more 'authentic' contact with Native Americans by a court decision that requires vendors in the famous *portal*, the shaded corridor alongside the palace of the Governors, to prove that they are Indians (Evans-Pritchard, 1987). First-class resort hotels, where Hispanics are usually employed only in the lowest paying jobs, strive for a 'Mexican' ambience in many details of nomenclature and decoration. Ethnic tourism focused on Hispanics is promoted through lists of Mexican restaurants and Mexican souvenir shops that are distributed by local tourist bureaus at major conventions. The inherent ambivalences of the promotion of ethnic tourism in a climate of racism were made very clear in an incident in Tucson in 1990. Tourist information distributed at the Tucson Gem and Mineral Show, an enormous exhibition that attracts buyers and sellers from all over the world, included only Mexican restaurants on the north (Anglo) side of town. This excluded a number of restaurants with national reputations and a large and appreciative Anglo clientele ranging from local cognoscenti to Hollywood celebrities. Protests from an outraged Hispanic business community were met by the reply that the organizers of the show were concerned not to steer unwary visitors into 'dangerous' parts of town.¹⁶

While Native Americans remain a significant attraction in the Interior Southwest (Arizona and New Mexico), the words of their languages are little known and difficult to represent orthographically, and, with some notable exceptions like 'kiva' and 'kachina', have little symbolic clout with outsiders.¹⁷ Thus Spanish has been recruited to the most important role in the construction of the exotic symbolic environment marketed by promoters of tourism and, increasingly, of real estate to permanent residents, especially retirees. Given the history of Spanish in 'downscale' cowboy and 'people' usages (and in pejoration and parody), this might seem an unlikely practice. Nonetheless, a register of Anglo Spanish usage has been created that associates the language with the 'upscale' realm of fancy resorts and pricey retirement communities dedicated to a lifestyle of 'active leisure'. However, the signs of extreme distancing from the actual usages of the local (or international) Spanish-speaking communities continue: 'upscale' or *nouvelle* Southwest Anglo Spanish is just as illiterate as 'downscale' usage.¹⁸ I illustrate the relevant patterns with material from

two particularly important Southwest tourist centers, Tucson, Arizona, and Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Anglo Spanish is definitely the language of choice for attracting tourists and permanent residents to Tucson, Arizona. Official Tucson was relentlessly Anglo from about 1920 until the 1960s: Anglos were casually racist, and the Hispanic community was steadily marginalized (Sheridan, 1986), and this was reflected in local nomenclatural practice. Now, though, locked in battle with Santa Fe for the Southwest tourist dollar, Tucson vigorously promotes its Spanish heritage.¹⁹ The Fort Lowell neighborhood, solidly Anglo since the US cavalry was stationed there to guard the town against Cochise and Geronimo, celebrates 'La Reunion de El Fuerte' (not, of course, *literate* Spanish *del Fuerte*). Tucson's rodeo is 'La Fiesta de los Vaqueros' and its big winter bike race is 'El Tour de Tucson'. The celebration of the town's patron saint was recently revived (on the initiative of Hispanic civic leaders who coaxed the Arizona Historical Society out of a stance which largely neglected their traditions and history in favor of Anglo ones) as 'La Fiesta de San Agustín'. (The cathedral itself, however, is usually referred to in local English-language media as 'St Augustine'). Bisbee, a copper-mining town brought back from the dead by tourism, whose history includes violent and virulent discrimination against Mexican-American miners, markets a bicycle race called 'La Vuelta de Bisbee' and a wine-tasting weekend called 'La Fiesta de Vinos'.

The pace-setters of the Southern Arizona tourist industry, the 'destination resorts', also use Spanish extensively. Hotel bars are 'cantinas' and a detached private suite is a 'casita' (California Anglo Spanish [KasidyDaj] 'outhouse', in the pejorative register, is apparently unknown to local hoteliers). The formal dining-rooms at the El Conquistador Hotel and the Westin La Paloma, which serve international-style cuisine at exalted prices, are 'La Vista' and 'La Villa' respectively (compare 'The Gold Room' at the older Westward Look Resort). The Tack Room (recently reduced to four stars from five) advertises itself as 'inside a beautiful old adobe hacienda'.

Even little children get recruited to Tucson's hispanicking project. The *Arizona Daily Star* for 2 December 1990 devoted the 'Kids' page (the back page of the Sunday comics) to revelations about Tucson's heritage of Spanish language:

In Tucson, we hear a lot of Spanish because Mexico is our neighbor. . . . But Whoa! Did you know that you speak Spanish too? Because we've lived side by side for so long - Mexico and the United States - we use some Spanish words so often they seem just like English. How about pronto? . . .

A discussion of a variety of Spanish loan-words follows, including 'pronto', 'siesta', 'fiesta', 'loco', 'corral', 'chile', 'mañana', 'hoosegow', etc. Accompanying features include a crossword puzzle with Spanish animal names, and a lavish color illustration with labels in Spanish ('el granero', 'el camino', etc.) that looks like a view of Bavaria.²⁰ The discussion, of course, neatly elides the fact that in Tucson 'we hear a lot of Spanish' not so much 'because Mexico is our neighbor' but because thousands and thousands of life-long citizens, perhaps a quarter of the community, are Spanish speakers. And the orientation of the article is entirely to Anglos, even though Tucson is home as well to bilingual Spanish-speaking children who, if the names on the children's stories, drawings and poems that are occasionally published by the *Star* are any guide, are devoted readers of the 'Kids' page'.

Tucson's street names illustrate both the relatively recent shift to nomenclatural hispanization and the 'parodic' forms of *nouvelle* Southwest Anglo Spanish. Although local boosters like to call Tucson 'The Old Pueblo', and the inner circle of the Anglo elite met for lunch for 50 years at the 'Old Pueblo Club', recently gone bankrupt, in fact Anglo civic leaders did their best to eradicate the Mexican-American community at the core of the city, tearing down blocks of adobe buildings and replacing them with a singularly hideous civic-center complex which becomes a concrete inferno in the summertime (the remaining old adobes downtown are rapidly being gentrified into law offices and expensive town houses). Through the 1960s, Tucson favored English street names. While Tucson retains an 'Alameda' and one or two other old Spanish street names, most of the streets in the center of town have names like 'Broadway', 'Stone', 'Congress' and, of course, a numbered grid that created corners like Sixth Street and Sixth Avenue. My own neighborhood, developed in the late 1940s, is bounded by 'Glenn', 'Fort Lowell', 'Campbell' and 'Mountain', with secondary streets named 'Adelaide', 'Blackledge', 'Hedrick' and 'Cherry'.

A shift in nomenclatural practice can be dated from the early 1960s, although Spanish nomenclature was used in the higher levels of the tourist trade before then (as in the 'El Conquistador' Hotel; many of the old dude ranches also had Spanish names). Newer subdivisions, especially those in the fashionable Catalina Foothills, have Spanish street names almost exclusively. For instance, an old multi-acre winter estate whimsically dubbed 'Rancho Sin Vacas' (Ranch without Cattle) was subdivided into streets with names like 'Calle Sin Pecado' (Street without Sin), 'Calle Sin Envidia' (Street without Envy) and 'Calle Sin Salida' (Street without Exit). Downtown, the sterile labyrinth of 1960s concrete carved out of the

former barrio between the community center and the federal courthouse sports a small complex of struggling shops and eateries called 'La Placita'.

Tucson street names are notorious locally for their barbaric pidgin Spanish, and constitute a rich source of illustrations of what Spitzer called the 'impossible'.²¹ Only recently an outraged and increasingly linguistically conscious Spanish-speaking community, joined by a tiny band of Anglo proponents of literate Spanish, succeeded in renaming a major boulevard: 'Camino del Tierra' became grammatically correct 'Camino de la Tierra' (Road of the Earth - in fact, what was probably wanted was *camino de tierra* 'dirt road'). However, the most casual perusal of a Tucson street map will reveal that many equally egregious examples remain. The 'de' construction is especially problematic. Most commonly, we find ungrammatical *de* without any article: 'Avenida de Paz' (Peace), 'Avenida de Pueblo', 'Camino de Cima' (Summit), 'Calle de Amigos' and 'Camino de Esperanto'.²² Sometimes the developer is aware of the need for a definite article, but gets the gender wrong, yielding constructions like 'Camino del Sierra' and 'Placita del Escuela' (School). Or number agreement fails, producing 'Calle del Juegos' (Games). Beyond the problems with *de* and with gender and number agreement one can find a wide range of other syntactic lapses: English calques, with Spanish lexical material in English order, like 'Cresta Loma' (perhaps from Hillcrest), but with the idea that somehow Spanish is backwards), 'Hidalgo Vista', 'Vista Lejos' (perhaps from 'Farview', backwards to be more Spanish), and 'Sierra Vista' (also the name of a town in Cochise County) are common.

Translation meaning often seems to be secondary to an elegant Spanish sound: out on the far east side is 'Calle de las Albondigas' (presumably *albondigas* 'meatballs'), and nobody has any idea what is meant by 'Camino la Zorra', in one of the most exclusive areas of the Foothills, although it may have something to do with foxes or skunks. Developers have a rough time telling Spanish from Italian and French, as evidenced by 'Camino Ingresso' and 'Camino Esplanade' (in evidence here is also one of Tucson's fanciest Foothill subdivisions, 'La Reserve', so named with triumphant cynicism after environmentalists lost a battle to block the development, which borders on a wilderness area that is the reserve for a protected herd of Bighorn sheep).

Saints are a course of trouble. 'San' gives a lovely old-mission ambience, but consider 'San Anna Drive' (instead of *Santa Ana*). Or how about Latinate 'San Paulus Road', on the southwest side, where one would expect *San Pablo*, or the street named 'San Valle': 'Saint Valley'? 'Holy Valley'?

The problems seen in street names are found quite generally in the real

estate and tourist industries in Tucson: easily spotted are 'de' difficulties – 'Casas de Santo' ('Our exclusive eastside development'); number-agreement problems: 'Villa Serenas' ('active senior community'); language mixtures: 'Montierra'; word-order problems: 'Verde Plaza Mobile Estates'; and, of course, saint difficulties: 'San Domingo' (instead of *Santo Domingo*).²³

The retail industry also provides examples: Broadway Southwest, a department store, promotes housewares, linens and furniture in a lavish quarterly advertising brochure called 'Casa'. This extracts the Spanish word neatly from its necessary syntactic context with the definite article *la*, and is in fact the wrong word, since literate Spanish for the interior of the home, as opposed to the 'house', is not *casa* but *hogar*. 'El Mercado de Boutiques', a strip shopping center on Broadway, provides a nice language-mixture example. Hispanic romance wars with Anglophilia in the shops at 'The Plaza at Williams Centre'. A jewelry gallery in Tumacacori is called 'De Mano', not the expected *a mano* 'by hand'.

In some contexts the use of Spanish is clearly restricted. Relatively few Tucson art galleries, especially at the high-priced end of the spectrum, have Spanish names: the solid ring of 'Huntington Gallery' or 'Rosequist Galleries' perhaps is more reassuring to big spenders, while a mid-market gift shop like 'El Mercado de las Americas' can risk a racier name. The big Del Webb retirement development in Oro Valley has gone through progressively de-hispanicizing nomenclatural mutations. First called 'Rancho Vistoso' after the estate that was subdivided for it, it was renamed 'Sun City Vistoso' to capitalize on brandname recognition, and most recently has become 'Sun City Tucson' without any Hispanic elements at all.²⁴ The model homes there have a reassuringly stratified mix of English and Spanish names: in the 'Canyon' series (with 'ny', not exotic *ñ*) 'The Rio Vista', 'The Madera' and 'The Sabino' are leavened with 'The Cottonwood'. In the more expensive 'Catalina' series of models, presumably aimed at wealthier (and more conservative) retirees, all the names are English: 'The Ridgetop', 'The Mountain View', 'The Crestview' and 'The Sunrise'.

Along with Southern Arizona and Southern California, the other great center of *nouvelle* nomenclatural hispanization is, of course, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Since I don't live in Santa Fe, I'm not exposed to the daily barrage of gems that come my way in Tucson, but it's clear that Anglo Spanish usage in the Ancient City, in spite of its reputation for honoring its Hispanic history (Santa Fe, to its eternal credit and enormous profit, never leveled its town center), exhibits many of the same phenomena.

Spanish is used at particularly high densities in Santa Fe tourist and real

estate marketing, and rather exotic and specialized words are often left untranslated. For instance, in a 'New Mexico Vacation Planner' brochure, the 'Art and Culture' section advises tourists that they can buy 'hand-crafted trasteros and santos'.²⁵ The annual parade of Zuni women carrying pots on their heads, held at the Gallup Intertribal Ceremonies, is advertised as a parade of 'Olla maidens'. A glossy color Santa Fe real estate catalog features an article entitled 'Los Cinco Pintores'.²⁶ Another featured article tries to straighten out the reader's Anglo Spanish: 'Farolitos are not Luminarias'.²⁷ Spanish architectural terms are used without definition: a property 'in the heart of the historic Eastside' is advertised as featuring 'old vigas and latillas'. 'Vigas', used often in the catalog to indicate that a house will have charming log-beamed ceilings, is never translated.²⁸ Another property, in Tesuque, has 'two acequias'.²⁹ (The small guest house on this property is described as 'a perfect rural "pied-a-terre"' – the extra quotation marks are in the original, suggesting that French is less naturalized in Santa Fe than Spanish.) Another house has 'a traditional elevated wood plank entry portal'. The cognoscenti will know that the proper pronunciation is [poRtál], referring to a covered walkway walled with arches. The catalog does occasionally translate a Spanish word: a ranch advertised at \$2 million is said to have 'beautiful vegas (meadows) surrounded by soft, rolling canyons'

In spite of the tendency for Santa Fe to market its Spanish heritage with a minimum of translation, even in this *cors cordium* of the Southwest tourist industry the distancing strategies of Anglo Spanish usage are very obvious. For instance, the same real estate catalog reviewed above announces: 'contemporary masterpiece features extensive portals and patios'. The pronunciation presumably is [poRtálz] – a curious hybrid, since Spanish *portales*, pronounced [poRtáleyz] or [poRtáliyz], is the local name, in normal nativized English, for the local prototype of this architectural feature, the famous archway alongside the old Palace of the Governors in the town center. *Vigas* goes untranslated, but the authors of the catalog clearly don't know exactly what the word means: a property in 'a superb Tesuque location' is described as having 'high viga and beam ceilings'. *Viga* means, precisely, 'beam'. And this is not the only case: 'Just two blocks from the Plaza' the many features of an 'incredible' property 'include vigas, beams, high ceilings, and many others'.

Santa Fe real-estate-ese also includes illiterate formations along the lines of 'ariat'. On a nationally televised public TV program on remodeling old houses, a Santa Fe builder showed the host a 'canale' [kánéily], a gutter draining a flat rooftop. This is backformed from the Spanish plural,

the Alcanin
Abie

canales: one gutter, in Santa Fe Anglo Spanish, should be a 'canal' [kənəl], modeled on 'portal'.

The catalog illustrates a phenomenon widespread in Spanish usage in the Southwest, the failure to use appropriate Spanish orthography, sometimes with ludicrous results. Acute accent marks are almost completely absent in the public use of Spanish (although one sometimes sees hypercorrections like 'Santa Fé') and the *tilde* is used only sporadically (recently Spain threatened to leave the European Economic Community unless the *tilde* was accepted in official symbol inventories, suggesting that orthography is not a trivial concern). In spite of heavy hispanization, the catalog is completely *tilde*-less – we encounter 'pinon forests' (not 'piñon forests') on these pricey estates, and the Christmas feature stories include an article on 'pinatas', not 'piñatas'. Similar orthographic difficulties are encountered in Arizona. In Tucson, the northwest side is split by the flood plain of the *Cañada del Oro*, a genuine Spanish name dating from the eighteenth century for a *cañada* 'riparian zone where reeds grow' where gold nuggets (*oro*) were found. While subdivisions in the plain of this alluvial feature use *tildes* in their billboard advertising and in full-page 'feature' advertisements in the newspapers, the local *Arizona Daily Star* does not have a *tilde* in the typeface used for comprehensive listings. Thus we encounter 'Canada Hills' and 'The Villages at La Canada', which seem to have in mind British Columbian winter visitors. Perhaps the most spectacular failure to use a *tilde* was documented by the *New Times*, a weekly newspaper in the Phoenix area: an enormous banner at Sky Harbor Airport in Phoenix welcomed tourists to their winter holidays with 'Feliz Ano Nuevo': 'Happy New Annus' (instead of *año* 'year').

The parodic and heavily distanced forms of *nouvelle* Southwest Spanish occur in full hearing and sight of Spanish speakers, many of whom are literate and articulate in Spanish in spite of the neglect of Spanish-language education in the region. It is very probable that the copy for the Santa Fe real estate catalog discussed above was actually typed up by a Spanish speaker, since clerical jobs are often held by Hispanics in that city. I once breakfasted in a hotel restaurant in Las Cruces, New Mexico: the *ambiente* was Old Mission, the waitresses wore off-the-shoulder lace blouses and long flounced skirts, and every employee in the place from the receptionist to the busboy was Hispanic. But the placemat greeted me with a cheerily illiterate 'Buenas Dias'. On the very first day that anyone studies Spanish, they learn that *día* is masculine, and that the greeting is *Buenos Dias*. Such illiterate usages occur even in material that is obviously directed specifically at Spanish speakers. Fernando Peñalosa (1981) notes that the San Bernardino County (California) Health Department issues a sign, posted

in restrooms everywhere, that instructs employees 'Wash Your Hands/ Lava Sus Manos'. He observes that it is astonishing to be able to accomplish three grammatical errors in a three-word sentence.³⁰ The sign is still being used; I washed my hands obediently under an exemplar in a doughnut shop in Victorville, CA in March 1992.

The Spanish jargon of the tourist and real estate industries takes itself much too seriously to use obvious pejorations like 'Hasta la vista, baby'.³¹ But, as can be seen in a wide range of *nouvelle* usages over the entire region, this layer of Spanish borrowings betrays precisely the same extreme distance from Spanish as does the colorful old cowboy layer or its modern pejorating descendant. It attends absolutely not at all to Spanish as a *language*, with a phonology and syntax – and I refer here, not to the Spanish of the Academia Real, but to the everyday vernacular that can be heard at the bus stop and in the grocery store in any Southwestern city. Spanish is not taken seriously, but seems to exist only as a loose agglomeration of symbolic material entirely available to be rearranged according to the whim of English speakers.

Parodic pejoration of Spanish expressions

'Hasta la vista, baby' belongs to a family of usages in which Spanish loan-words and expressions are given an ironic spin or subjected to semantic 'pejoration'³² to adopt them for usage in jocular registers, especially as insults. Such usages date to the nineteenth century, and ironic pejoration is fully possible even in the 'cowboy' loan-words, as evidenced by 'buckaroo' and 'calaboose'. Many individual Spanish words have been recruited to this register. For instance, Spanish *hombre* 'man', pronounced [hámbRiɲ], permits an extra twist of connotative excess beyond English words like 'guy', giving expressions like 'tough hombre' or 'bad hombre' a special flavor. When I was growing up in Los Angeles one could speak of a rural place as 'way out in the tules' [túwilyɲ], from *S. tules* 'reeds'. Another California pejoration documented by Carver (1989) is 'casita' meaning 'outhouse, privy', from *S. casita* 'little house'. 'Enchilada' turns up in a variety of ironic usages that are quite removed from food: someone who has got into a lot of trouble can be said to have 'bought the whole enchilada'; an important official, spoken of pejoratively or jocularly, is 'the big enchilada'. Spanish *cerveza* 'beer' turns up in jocular and ironic usage, adding to the richly ambivalent American English lexicon of liquor: one can say, 'I think she's overdoing the cervezas [soRvéysəz]', but not *'Heineken's is an excellent cerveza' (although perhaps 'Heineken's is one damn fine cerveza' might work?).³³

Gray et al. (1949) document a rich range of hyperanglicized parodic usages of Spanish from the University of Arizona in that period. While the data were collected among college students, the authors (a group of University of Arizona students and their instructor) hold that the usages parody the Spanish of out-of-town tourists. However, given the ample documentation of the pejorative register in Southwestern communities where tourism is not especially significant, this seems likely to be a 'secondary rationalization'; it is most likely that the usages manifest parodic mimicry of Spanish speech itself. Gray et al. (1949: 234) state that 'In most cases, these slang expressions are brought to the campus by students who live in border towns, and who speak both English and Spanish'. They document a variety of jocular leave-taking expressions. They include [ædɪjɔws], well attested in other contexts, as well as 'bolder' (to use Spitzer's term) parodies, such as 'hasty banana' (from *hastia manana*), 'hasty lumbago' (from *hastia luego*), and 'buena snowshoes' (from *buenas noches*). They also report several usages which I believe to be obsolete, including parodic greetings: [kɛjdávsɪs] (from *¿que dices?* 'What's up?') and ungrammatical as well as hyperanglicized [kɛjdɪgás] (from *¿qué diges?*), to which the reply is [néyDə] (from *nada* 'nothing'). A final (and, I devoutly hope, obsolete) usage reported is [vɪsɪjɔwn], 'a repugnant looking person' (especially, an ugly woman), from *S. visión*. Words that are pejorative in Spanish itself are especially likely to show up in English. Spanish *peón* 'indentured worker' appears in English as 'peon' [pɪjən], conveying a sense of extraordinarily low status: 'He treats us like peons'. English has borrowed *loco* 'crazy', but not *sano* or *juicio*. Spanish *cucaracha* [kuwkaRáçɔ] shows up as a pejorative in the recent film *V. I. Warshawski*, spoken by a Chicago bad guy. A friend of mine with a solid Southwestern heritage can produce 'all chingered up', calqued on 'all screwed (etc.) up' from *S. chingar*, a rare borrowing of a Spanish verb.³⁴ Some items in this register are 'fighting words': Weaver (1984) offers 'kittycumbotty', from *S. quere combate*. Weaver's context (illustrated in a cartoon) is a Texas bar fight that begins 'I may just have to lay some kittycumbotty on your ass'. English [kɪdɪjɔwɔbáDɪj], with the flap [D] imitating Spanish [r] in *quiere*, contrasts with the 'normal' nativization of [r] with [R], and suggests strongly that the expression originated in parodic mimicry of utterances by Spanish speakers – a strategy also illustrated by [ásɪɾə la vɪstɪɾə, béy#bɪj], that coexists with hyperanglicization in the pejorative register.

The Spanish syntactic frame *el . . . o* provides a productive site for the formation of English pejoratives, even outside the Southwest. A Detroit sportswriter once called a late-inning collapse by the Tigers 'the old el

foldo'. I have heard University of Arizona students refer to bad food as 'el gresao' [El grɪjɔsɔw]. Tucson has the dubiously named 'El Retro' gallery, specializing in 'Objects from the 40s, 50s and 60s'.

The pejorative register includes many borrowed Spanish phrases along the lines of 'Hasta la vista, baby'. In the film *Terminator 2*, young John Connor also teaches the good terminator to say 'no problema' [no pRɔwblɛmɔw], calqued on English 'no problem' from *S. problema*. In the film 'no problema' and 'hasta la vista, baby' occur in a brief curriculum of the vulgar that also includes plain English 'Eat me', to give the reader a sense of the pragmatic level to which these usages aspire. 'No problema' is flexible in its phonetic realization: while John Connor distances himself from the Spanish final vowel, Bart Simpson, the tough little kid on the television cartoon show *The Simpsons*, prefers 'no problema' [pRɔwblɛmɔ], with 'normal' anglicization. In a similar vein is 'comprende?' [kəmpRɛndɪj], from Spanish *¿comprende?* 'Do you understand?' This expression was used around Tucson for many years by Anglo foremen to 'Mexican' laborers, and was felt by workers to convey a contemptuous implication that they were too stupid either to understand instructions or speak English. A Spanish-speaking colleague who attests to this history reports that it is still in use: a dental hygienist of apparent Texas origin used 'comprende?' in instructing his (obviously Spanish-speaking) wife exactly how to floss her teeth. The expression's 'key' seems to be, 'This is really obvious, but maybe someone as dumb as you won't understand'.

The final scene of *Terminator 2* is a feast of code-switching along these lines. The bad terminator has been dispatched in a vat of molten steel. John Connor throws after him the super-futuristic metal arm and central processing unit saved by mad scientists from the first visit of the terminator, and bids these evil artifacts farewell with an insincere 'Adios' [aðɪjɔws].³⁵ A moment later, when the good terminator nobly lowers himself into the steel so that the technology that he represents can never threaten humanity again, he leaves John Connor and his mother with a profoundly sincere English 'Goodbye'.

It may be no coincidence that the mass media are now using the pejorative register of Southwest Anglo Spanish to evoke a peculiarly 'Southern California' ambience that is highly marketable. Films with an obvious Los Angeles setting (including not only *Terminator 2*, but such blockbuster as the *Lethal Weapon* series) are enormously successful. They promote a 'style' that is – casually, whimsically, effortlessly, attractively – violent, xenophobic and racist. This elevation of the pejorative register to media usage coincides with a nation-wide increase in the frequency of racist incidents and neo-fascist manifestations, and the movement to make

English the 'official language' of the United States and even (in an amendment to the Arizona state constitution, currently working its way through the courts) to sharply restrict the use of Spanish in public contexts. The pejorative register of Southwest Anglo Spanish, in comparison to more blatant anti-Hispanic expressions, seems quite innocent to its users. Thus it is easily recruited by liberal media, who cannot use the boldest ethnic jokes and epithets, but must market into a national mood of increased racism driven by economic insecurity in the world context.

Conclusion

The economic conquest of the Southwest by Anglos has been, in all periods, an ambivalent project. Southwest Anglo Spanish, in its several registers, is a systematic set of symbolic practices, reproduced during more than 100 years of Anglos' presence in the region, that serves this ambivalence well. All of its properties – semantic pejoration, hyper-anglicization, bold error and parody – occur in the earliest loans attested in the 'cowboy' register. At this period, Anglo Spanish was part of the production of stereotypes of 'Mexicans' that permitted Anglos to nail down what was, at least initially, an uncertain domination of a newly conquered region. On the one hand, in order to achieve this domination, it was necessary to borrow from Spanish speakers many forms of technology and social organization, but, on the other hand, if these same ingenious prior inhabitants were to be reduced to subordinate status, Anglos had to represent them as contemptible. This goal could be particularly well achieved through the subtle work of a parodic voice deeply embedded in usage and disguised, to some degree, as innocent accommodation to another language. Indeed, dialectologists have found it more than 'innocent': most of them have celebrated this work as an important site of American linguistic vigor and creativity. With the rise of the tourist economy in the region, new forms of ambivalence appeared. Anglos successfully marketed the 'diversity' of the Southwest as a source of rich touristic experience and a satisfying dimension of life for the permanent resident, but had to conduct such marketing while somehow veiling the oppressed status of Native Americans and Hispanics. The *nouvelle* register of Anglo Spanish, like the cowboy register, serves this ambivalent project well, by combining apparent 'authenticity' of language with rich absurdities of usage. Finally, the 'pejorative' register, constructing Spanish as an available source of apparently off-hand slang expressions ranging from the merely jocular to deeply belittling epithets and even to 'fighting words',

permits even speakers who prefer to avoid overtly racist jokes and epithets to participate in subtler forms of domination.

Southwest Anglos at every social level can produce these usages. Some *nouvelle* Southwest Anglo Spanish is aimed at a very fancy class of people indeed. The Santa Fe real estate catalog from which I quote above advertises property beginning at over a quarter of a million dollars and ranging up into the multi-million dollar stratosphere: this is advertising for some of the wealthiest and most sophisticated people in the world. Why would realtors (who in every other detail of their behavior attempt to blend with their clientele, wearing clothing and driving cars and maintaining offices at the very outer limit of their means) risk exposure as provincial illiterates in a major world language?²⁶ Their Spanish usage, in fact, provides a strong argument for the relatively unconscious nature of this symbolic work. However, it also suggests that the risks attendant upon using literate Spanish are more profound than any ridicule or economic disadvantage that might be invited by misusing the language. One risk of using good Spanish is 'personal': one might be thought to have come by it 'naturally', from unseemly association with (or, worse still, origins in) the stigmatized Hispanic community. And to use literate (or even decent vernacular) Spanish is not merely 'risky'. The near-universality – across the geographical distance from Corpus Christi, Texas to Santa Barbara, California, across time from the 'calabouse' in Mobile in 1792 (documented in *DARE*) to *Terminator 2*, and across Anglo classes from roughneck cattlemen to the elites of Tucson and Santa Fe – of the practices I have discussed suggest a deeper source, one in which illiterate Spanish is seen as not a matter of avoidance, but as aggressive strategy. Southwest Anglo Spanish includes special technique of borrowing, like parodic mimicry, hyperanglicization and grammatical boldness and impossibility. These strategies succeed in simultaneously creating an extreme distance from speakers of the source language and in constituting the source language, and, by metonymy, its speakers, in the most casual and apparently random way, as deeply contemptible.

The strategies of Southwest Anglo Spanish are, for speakers, a part of 'practical consciousness' (Williams, 1977: 110), the lived reality of their dominant status. Most Anglos are astonished when these usages are challenged as racist. Even as I write this article, as a native speaker I cannot avoid a deep, anxious sense that my claim here is somehow artificial and overwrought, the work of someone who has become a bit of a crank. But the weight of the evidence, the repeated patterns of Southwest Anglo Spanish in all of its registers measured against well-established theoretical foundations in the study of language contact and social semiotics, seems to

Complicit
dominant

me intellectually compelling. Through these practices we Anglos build a symbolic world in which any challenge of our dominance becomes extraordinarily difficult.³⁷ For the pervasive presence of Southwest Anglo Spanish in the regional symbolic environment means that every attempt to use their own language to construct a positive Hispanic identity exposes Spanish speakers to a casual contempt, unquestioned and even thought delightful, barely apprehended and continuously re-enacted. It means that every well-meaning project aimed at making Anglo Southwesterners bilingual in the most important second language of their region is drowned in this same semiotic cesspool: when, in the primer, little Juan says to little María, 'Hasta la vista', every schoolchild now hears the voice of the terminator. Southwest Anglo Spanish is funny and ridiculous, but it is also a keystone in the construction of an intricate and deeply rooted system of racist domination.

Objections can certainly be raised to this analysis. For instance, one might suggest that Spanish is simply the Yiddish of the Southwest, a rich source of jokes and irony of the type that makes a designer dress a *schnatte* and an expensive bibelot a *chotchke*. There is, however, an important difference. Colorful Yiddish is used by those who have a proper claim on its heritage, as well as by WASPS who aspire to the same level of wit. In contrast, the kind of Spanish that I have documented is, as far as I know, hardly used by Spanish speakers. It is the province of the Anglos, and utterly lacks affection for the source language manifested in Anglo-Yiddish colloquialisms.

A second objection to the analysis observes that fractured English appears on T-shirts all over the world, showing that even this prestigious language is vulnerable to being considered as a disorganized source of freely separable lexical and ethnographic tokens. Indeed, the T-shirt register of English invites close analysis: it may very well be that some resistance to, or at least parody of, English linguistic domination is being expressed on the chests and backs of the world's youth (some of the wilder shirts may be worn by sophisticated people expressing a consciously postmodernist stance). In most cases, however, it seems more likely that T-shirt English attempts to construct the wearer as a sophisticated and worldly person, one who can afford imported clothes or, perhaps, even to visit English-speaking countries.³⁸

One of the purposes of this paper is to call explicit attention to Southwest Anglo Spanish as a nearly invisible (at least to Anglos) symbolic dimension of racism, and, by making it visible, render it accessible to challenge. Most attention to linguistic racism in the published literature considers only explicit and flagrant strategies: prohibitions against the use of Spanish in

schools, 'official English' legislation and pejorative ethnic labeling and joking.³⁹ Popular resistance has been mounted primarily against 'ethnic jokes' that are obvious racist put-downs. I hope to have demonstrated that more covert aspects of usage – apparently innocent errors, phonetic play, semantic lowering – are also fully deserving of our attention as we explore the linguistic dimensions of racism and its cultural and political-economic roots. Such techniques are not only 'the weapons of the weak' (Scott, 1985); they are also the weapons of the strong.

NOTES

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1. Ethnic terminology in the Southwest can be touchy, so I remark briefly on why I chose the usage that appears in this paper. Traditionally, an 'Anglo' is anyone who is neither 'Mexican' nor 'Indian'. The term can encompass Irish-Americans and others who have no love for the English. Speakers of Spanish, regardless of geographical origin or citizenship, were traditionally called 'Mexicans' by Anglos. In the 1960s many Americans of Mexican heritage adopted 'Chicano', but the term remains controversial among Spanish speakers in the region. Spanish-speaking natives of New Mexico, for instance, often prefer 'Hispano' or 'Mexicano'. Some Americans of Spanish-speaking background prefer 'Latino'. However, many Mexican-Americans (the dominant Spanish-speaking group in the Southwest) feel strongly that 'Latino' applies only to Spanish speakers from the Caribbean. 'Hispanic' is, as Dan Nugent has pointed out to me, essentially a 'race' term introduced by the US Justice Department to include Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Spaniards, Mexicans, Salvadoreños, Colombianians, etc. However, I use 'Hispanic' here because, of the various possible choices, it seems to me to be the most politically neutral and non-pejorative.

2. One of the reviewers of this paper points out that some of this tone of contempt may come from the gendering of the target through the tag 'baby': the victim of the put-down is 'feminized'.

3. A class-action suit was recently filed by Spanish bilingual employees of the Tucson Police Department, who complained that their own work was constantly interrupted when they were called away to interpret for monolingual Anglos, and that their extra service was not compensated (see Gonzales, 1986). During the

summer of 1992 the Chief of Police proposed a plan for special training and supplemental compensation for bilingual skills.

4. Major sources include Durán (1981), Turner (1982) and Amstae and Elias-Olivares (1982), which emphasize studies of Hispanic communities. Outside sociolinguistics, dialectologists have conducted many studies of Spanish loan-words in English, with special emphasis on the 'cowboy' complex in rural usage. Much of this work is celebratory rather than critical, exalting the 'richness of the American language' (a usage that excludes from consideration immigrant languages, colonial languages with temporal priority over English in some regions, like Spanish and French, and Native American languages). See Carver (1989) for an overview of the major dialectological work.

5. Thomas (1991) looks at the cultural side of the California complex.

6. A brief methodological note: I have never conducted a period of fieldwork explicitly designed to test this proposal. I have lived in the Southwest for more than half my life (I grew up in Los Angeles and have lived in Arizona for ten years), and am, in fact, a native speaker of the registers of 'Spanish' here described. For the last three years I have taught a class on 'Political Economy of Language in the Southwest', and have had many discussions with local students and colleagues, both Anglo and Hispanic, on these matters. During this period I have also collected data from the variety of media – tourist brochures, street maps, newspapers and magazines, films, etc. – mentioned in the paper. It should be noted that, as one reviewer of this paper pointed out, Native Americans are also victims of the Anglo racist project. The symbolic forms through which Native Americans are attacked seem to me, however, to be distinct from the patterns described here.

7. In the interest of brevity I will neglect regional variation. For instance, dialectologists argue that 'buckaroo' is largely restricted to California. Carver (1989) reviews some of the regional differentiation. The major trends I discuss here are, I believe, quite general to the Southwest as defined by the *frijoles/enchilada/arroyo* isoglosses noted below. I suggest in this paper that the use of this kind of Anglo Spanish at a national level is rather new, but the *Dictionary of American Regional English* (DARE) (Cassidy, 1985) does record some Spanish loan-words in use in places like upstate New York, so the precise dating of its spread requires further research.

8. Cited in Carver (1989); only the first volume (A–C) of DARE is available to date; when DARE is cited here, that volume (Cassidy, 1985) is meant.

9. Rudolph Trijke, looking for a house to buy in Tucson, discovered that local real estate agents pronounce this [bask] to rhyme with 'mosque'. In the fixed collocation 'mesquite bosque' (Trijke, 1991). My own usage is [bowski], which is the pronunciation dominant among local biologists and ecologists, and also the pronunciation Trijke records in place names.

10. The generalizations about language contact made here can be explored further in any standard reference; Weinreich (1953) remains a superb source.

11. 'Buckaroo' is the subject of a large literature, cf. Mason (1960), Cassidy (1978) and Hill (1979). Of these authors, only Mason suggests a possible parodic quality

to the form, arguing that African–American cowhands blended 'buckra' (from Etk) with 'vaquero' to produce an ironic way of referring to Anglo cowboys. Cassidy and Hill reject this story as uneconomical, and as neglecting the attested 'buckaroo', which could get its second vowel only from a Spanish original. Hill, in fact, would presumably reject my argument that 'buckaroo' and 'calaboose' are 'hyperanglicized'; he has a story for the stressed [u] in these words that would group it with 'normal' nativizations. Wentworth (1942) suggests that 'buckaroo' is the source of what Cassidy (1978: 51) calls the 'ebullient' suffix of American English, '-eroo', as in 'stinkeroo', 'switcheroo', etc. I do not group this with the 'el...-o' formations discussed below, because my own intuition about these forms doesn't recognize them as 'Spanish'. (I note also 'switcherino', like 'switcheroo', usually in construction with 'the old...'.)

12. Although Sawyer (1959) found that in San Antonio (recall that the Alamo, site of a bitter defeat of gringo irregulars at the hands of the Mexican Army, is located there) local Anglos were not aware of the Spanish origins of the loan-word complex under discussion, she found also (Sawyer, 1975) that isolation of Hispanics from Anglos was so profound that Hispanics spoke a dialect of English different from that used by local Anglos – and that some of the differences were because Hispanic bilinguals, speaking English, avoided words that they knew to be of Spanish origin. We should recall that it is likely that this avoidance may be an artifact of the interview context. However, it might also reflect Hispanic anger and discomfort at the parody of Spanish in Anglo speech.

13. Peñalosa (1980) lists a number of similar cases. Shafer (1942) is an earlier study of the pronunciation of Spanish place names by California Anglos. Peñalosa was, I believe, the first to propose that these pronunciations manifest active contempt for Spanish, not mere ignorance.

14. Kenneth C. Hill reports that he has frequently heard [pawéblow] for 'pueblo'. An apparently archaic pronunciation of the name of the town of Pueblo, Colorado was [péblow]. Usually, however, Southwesterners say [pwéblow] and this instance of the [pw] cluster seems thoroughly established. Note, however, that its only native English parallels are in baby-talk forms like [pwídi] 'pretty'.

15. The reference is to *nouvelle Southwest* cuisine – 'chile rellenos' (note failure of number agreement – but that's what we call 'em) stuffed with goat cheese and ground hazelnuts, and the like. Renate Schultz points out to me that my use of this neologism reveals my roots in Southwest Anglo linguistic culture (or lack thereof): since *Espagnol* is masculine, the formation should be *nouvelau Southwest* Spanish.

16. Carlos Vélez has reported to me a particularly telling example of the ambivalence of 'Mexican food' as a focus of tourist promotion. Celebrating an academic award won by his son, his family visited an expensive hotel restaurant in Phoenix, only to find that it was 'Mexican food' night. At the entrance to the restaurant a large cutout figure of a Mexican bandit, which included every offensive feature of this well-known caricature, held a placard listing the evening's specials. Next to the cutout was a sign wishing the diners 'Welcome' in about a dozen languages – but Spanish *Bienvenidos* was not included.

17. Pueblo people are increasingly offended by the promiscuous use of these terms, particularly of 'kachina', a word for a beautiful and holy being, in unblushingly commercial contexts.
18. 'Cowboy' Spanish is occasionally used in the tourist industry, which has a minor 'old west' subdivision, a pale relic of the thriving dude-ranch industry of the 1940s and 1950s. Thus Desert High Country Stables has on its hayride menus 'Buckaroo Bacon' and 'Lead Wrangler Tea', but the beans are 'Camp-fire Beans', not *frijoles* (Carver, 1989, suggests that 'frijoles' may be found mainly in Texas, but Southern Arizona has a substantial Texan dialect substratum).
19. This competition is sometimes head-to-head, as in the annual contests to see which town has the best Mexican-food restaurants. When wonderful old *ranchos* recruited from the kitchens of Tucson's south side lost to Santa Fe yuppies two years in a row, a couple of years ago Tucson sent as its principal representative the chef from the Ventana Canyon Resort Hotel, who offered as his *especialité de la maison* 'Lobster flautas with mango salsa'. I'm pleased to report that we lost again.
20. There is nothing about the picture that would indicate that it represents a Spanish-speaking region. The tendency to repress the fact that the Spanish language is the voice of a somewhat distant world view was neatly illustrated in an exchange of letters to the editor of the *Arizona Daily Star* when that newspaper began running the Spanish-language version of the comic strip 'Peanuts': 'Peanuts' and a weekly column by Leyla Catalan, a local Spanish-speaking journalist, are the only Spanish-language materials in the newspaper, but some readers saw the comic strip as a threat to the linguistic integrity of the English-speaking citizens of Arizona. In defense of the strip, one reader wrote in that it was very important to publish it, so that we could all be exposed to the culture of another country!
21. Perálsoa (1980) gives a very similar list of street names and other place names for the Los Angeles area: Tucson lacks a place name that exactly matches his prizewinner, the town of La Habra (in studying Spanish, one learns early that nouns that begin in accented /a/ take *el*: *el águila*, *el hacha*, etc. – hence, obviously to anyone but a Southern California real estate developer, El Habra). In fairness, it should be noted that many of the street names listed below are not in the City of Tucson, but are in surrounding areas of Pima County.
22. If permitted a hermeneutic stab in the dark, I'd guess the namers were after *esperanza* 'hope'.
23. Some apparent grammatical errors may in fact be slyly correct. A bed-and-breakfast advertises itself as 'La Posada Clavo Plata'. I took this to be a complex calque attempting to stand for 'Silver Nail Inn'. However, Laura Cummings states that *clavo plata* is *cholo* slang meaning something like 'I'm gonna get my hands on some money', an ingroup usage that is unlikely to be familiar to the average tourist. A similar conundrum is posed by a street in a modest neighborhood on the (largely Hispanic and Native American) Southwest side of town called 'No le hace Ave.' or 'it doesn't matter Ave.'. One wonders whether this name is intended to evoke a pleasantly relaxed attitude among residents, or the position of the developer in relation to shoddy construction.
24. 'Tucson' is from eighteenth century Tohono O'odham (Papago) *tuk son* 'Black Base (of a mountain)', but this etymology is probably not known to most potential Sun City Tucson residents.
25. Tall decorated cupboards for dishes (*trastes*) and carved wooden figures of saints.
26. 'The Five Painters' – the reference is to Santa Fe artists Fremont Ellis, Walter Mruk, Josef Bakos, Will Shuster and Willard Nash (no Archuletas or Montalvos in that lot!).
27. According to this piece, by an author with a Spanish name, the brown paper bags with candles set in sand that are put along walls and walkways on Christmas Eve to welcome the Christ Child (in Santa Fe they stay up for weeks, like department-store Christmas trees, because they decorate the town at the height of the winter tourist season) universally called *luminarias* in my experience, are really 'farolitos': the 'luminarias' are instead bonfires lit on Christmas Eve.
28. A Tucson newspaper, in contrast, described the Old Town Artisans gallery as having '14-foot ceilings with vigas (logs) and saguaro ribs woven in perpendicular fashion'. However, just recently the *Arizona Daily Star* issued an advertising supplement in celebration of the opening of the new 'festa' facilities at Kennedy Park on the southwest side. Large type on the cover announced permanent 'puestos' for vendors – without translation of the word, which means 'market stalls'. Kennedy Park is in a Hispanic neighborhood and is used for Mexican holidays like Cinco de Mayo, so it may be that the *puestos* are aimed at Hispanic occupants.
29. Ancient irrigation ditches; presumably their presence means that the purchasers will have to get involved with the Tesuque Irrigation Society to determine when, and how (and in dry years /f/) they get their allotment of water and what their responsibilities are in the way of ditch maintenance. The word is much more romantic than the practice.
30. It should be *Lavarse las manos*, 'Please wash your hands'.
31. Not so the automobile industry. On a recent trip to Los Angeles I passed an enormous billboard on the south side of I-10 in Fontana, California: The billboard showed the sleek profile and blazing tailpipes of a high-powered automobile (I don't remember the make or model, although these were prominently featured), next to the legend 'Hasta LA vista, baby': The LA, written in enormous letters, seemed to be a pun on 'L.A.' for 'Los Angeles'.
32. The term was used by Schulz (1975) to describe the descent of terms for women into the semantic depths. For example, respectable *hijas* will become modern 'hussy', while 'husband' retains a stable neutral meaning; 'queen' picks up a derogatory meaning, while 'king' is stable. Schulz's demonstration of the systematic nature of semantic pejoration of women in English is an important contribution to sociolinguistic theory, and an important source of my own apprehension of the racist role of Southwest Anglo Spanish.

34. *DAFE* does not record this usage! You heard it here first – unless, of course, you already say it.
35. *DAFE* notes that as early as the nineteenth century 'Adios' was used in 'light conversation', and gives a passage from Mark Twain which suggests its role in insult at an earlier date. This expression in the pronunciation [ædɪɔwɪs] can be heard in the merely 'light' register. For instance, the *Arizona Daily Star* (7 March 1992) announced the last home game of the season for the University of Arizona Wildcats under the headline 'UA SENIORS SAY ADIOS TONIGHT'. In basketball-crazed Tucson, the 'key' (Hymes, 1972) here must be one of affectionate jocularity, and nothing worse. During the weeks when I was editing this paper, I heard a Tucson community leader, of Hispanic ethnicity, say [ædɪɔwɪs] to an Anglo subordinate who had to leave a meeting early. However, in spite of these attestations, I take the *Terminator 2* usage to be strong evidence that this is jocularity headed down, not up.
36. Jim Collins comments that he does not find Santa Fe real-estate-ese surprising, since it is clear that elites are important agents in racism. He cites Woolard's (1989) work on 'Official English' legislation in San Francisco as a case in point. However, Woolard suggested that San Francisco voters in upper-income precincts had to be wooed by a strategy of 'soft' racism, constructed out of indirection and metaphor. Santa Fe real estate usage is just plain illiterate, and publicly so.
37. Laura Cummings (pers. comm.) points out that the linguistic practices of *cholos* (formerly *pachucos*) subject English to parodic distortion, and may constitute one appropriate 'reply' to Anglo mimicry of Spanish. However *cholos* are regarded as a-cultural by both Spanish and English speakers alike, and their practices are studied almost exclusively within the 'sociology of deviance'. In discussing this paper with colleagues, I found that many Spanish speakers are quite conscious of, and angered by, the kinds of usage that I have reviewed, and, as I have pointed out, in a few cases they have organized to correct or eliminate especially egregious public illiteracies. An important line of research which should be undertaken is the study of awareness of Southwest Anglo Spanish among Hispanics, and their forms of resistance to it.
38. Haarmann (1989) calls this sort of usage 'impersonal multilingualism'. In documenting it in Japanese advertising he argues that it evokes positive qualities felt to be particularly 'English'.
39. A notable exception is the work of van Dijk (1984) and Billig (1988).

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The Politics of Unofficial Language Use

Walloon in Belgium, Tamazight in Morocco

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Introduction

The state under capitalism, according to Poulantzas, establishes the frontiers of the nation, thereby creating national territory which is then 'lived' as natural. In the process the state also unifies and homogenizes the nation which is now inside its frontiers, thus creating a nation which is homologous with its state. The state accomplishes this in part by monopolizing national traditions while suppressing the 'traditions, histories and memories of dominated nations' (Poulantzas, 1980: 113) now within the territory. In other words, 'the State establishes the modern nation by eliminating other national pasts and turning them into variations of its own history' (Poulantzas, 1980: 113). It thus historicizes a territory and territorializes a history, and, in the process, creates a unified, homogenized nation by eradicating difference.

A major tool of this homogenization process is the imposition of a standardized language disseminated through the public school system. Bourdieu points to the educational system as particularly important since it has a monopoly over the production of the mass of producers and consumers and therefore 'over the reproduction of the market on which the value of linguistic competence depends' (Bourdieu, 1977: 652). The official language indexes status so that people cannot rise through the hierarchy of a particular state without mastering the standard variety and abandoning less prestigious languages. Variations of this process have been described by Gal (1979), Dorian (1981), Ballbar and Laporte (1974) and others.

When a language becomes non-dominant, its linguistic market is restricted and its speakers may eventually abandon it. However, the process of language shift is not a smooth downhill slope toward oblivion. Languages which are not chosen as official state languages continue to have