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The Peculiarities and Distinctions of (Puerto Rican) Spanish in New York

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Abstract

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The purpose of this study is to investigate and compile a better understanding of the peculiarities and distinctions of the current Puerto Rican dialect of the Spanish Language, spoken particularly in selective neighborhoods within the boroughs of New York State. The main focus of this research thesis will be a historical overview of the characteristics of the Puerto Rican dialect from how it began to form to its transpiration to its current level, elaborating on a better understanding of the context. Within an intensive dissection and study of the dialect, I will focus on the phonological, morphological, lexical and other aspects and introduce specific examples and productions from various contexts. I will explain the processes of how and why such speech patterns are made and how they differ from not only other dialects of Spanish but other languages as well. This thesis will contain many examples within each linguistic field used to show how the direct influence of the English language and American culture has shifted, shaped, integrated and changed the Spanish spoken by Puerto Ricans in each of those fields within the United States. Lastly, numerous methodological approaches are unveiled concerning selective studies and experiments that not only give a more in-depth insight of the dialect through the reference of different articles, books, graphs, statistics, and speech/text examples but also provide an illustration of the relationship among the Spanish standard language, English language, Puerto Rican language (from Puerto Rico) and the current Puerto Rican dialect spoken in New York, USA. The thesis concludes with a summary of the main points which helps to understand the current usage of such a distinct dialect and ends with suggestions for further research in language acquisition.

Dedication Page

To my father Jack, who has done nothing more and nothing less than give up everything for me and humbly give me his all so that I receive the very best education that I possibly could. This Masters' thesis is dedicated to you Pa. I will get that doctorate, have the girls call the house and ask for Dr. Figgy, and you will get that house and car you wanted, living comfortably and happy. First $100,000 is on me, let's travel the world, dance Salsa, do it all and when we are done…off to Jake's Dilemma for a beer!

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Language is a skin: I rub my language against the other. It is as if I had words instead of fingers, or fingers at the tip of my words. My language trembles with desire.

- Roland Barthes

Since the beginning of the 19th century, Puerto Rico, historically, has been seen to deliver one of the earliest, most numerous and continuous waves of Hispanic migrants to the New York area of the United States. This particularly follows the secession of Puerto Rico by Spain to the United States as a result of the Spanish-American War in 1898. Untouched by the influence of the United States' English language, culture and customs, the basis of Puerto Rican Spanish, expressed by the natives of Puerto Rico and first generation individuals to the United States, comprises of a mixture and blend of Andalusian and Canarian Spanish (individuals from Andalusia and the Canary Islands who immigrated to Puerto Rico for various reasons), and presents lexical features from what remains of the Taíno linguistic culture (words such as *hurakán* and *humacao)*; both words originate from both the Taíno culture and from numerous languages of African descent. This influence originates more specifically from the tribes of the mountainous region of Puerto Rico and from many neighboring cultures from locations such as Catalonia, France, Italy, Asturias, and the Caribbean Islands. Some notable traits of Puerto Rican Spanish that are transferred from and influenced by Andalusian Spanish concern its phonological and morphological attributes (i.e. several distinct suffix endings of the perfect tenses of its participles).

As a result of countless different factors, such as: a strong and active imposition of English instruction in Puerto Rico within the school system, job force, government, etc (instruction instilled since 1903) and because of the long history of the intermingling, integration and culture mixing of the Puerto Rican culture with that of the United States', certain peculiarities and unique characteristics have transpired across from each culture, through the

years, towards the other (*urban ghettoization*). "The effects of American administration inevitably pushed more Anglicisims into the Puerto Rican lexicon, while driving Spanish out of the classroom," (Lipsky, 117). This resulted in the social outcasts of many dialects, especially Puerto Rican Spanish. Such exclusion has resulted in the creation and shaping of different forms and instances that directly affect the grammatical structure of each language and created a new output that second and third-generation Puerto Rican are producing within the New York area. Examples of this include but are not limited to code-switching, code-mixing, Spanglish,

"Nuyorican" talk, transfers of vocabularies and lexicons, structures and formatting, and influential productions. The main objective and purpose of this dissertation is to compile a detailed analysis and offer possible solutions as to certain research questions that target the peculiarities and distinctiveness of various Puerto Rican Spanish utterances and productions within the Nuyorican communities throughout the New York area. With reference to an overall timeline of change within the Puerto Rican ethnolinguistic culture and identity, it's imperative to lay mention to its exposures and influences that have been directly made in contact with the speech aspect of the language by the direct relationship with the English and Spanish natives and first generation speakers that have been carried on to second and third generations. My objective is a detailed analysis of the reasons for such utterances. My research questions consist of the following:

1. What causes language outputs by Puerto Rican's second and third-generations to be so peculiar in comparison with the prescriptive rules of each language?

2. Is this creation considered a new type of dialect that may be nationally recognized, as it is spoken by a majority of the inhabitants of the culture within this state?

Table 1: Number of Spanish Speaking Individuals (sorted by highest in state)

New York	1,050,000
Florida	482,000
New Jersey	366,800
Pennsylvania	228,600
Massachusetts	199,200
Connecticut	194,400
Illinois	157,900
California	140,600
Texas	69,500
Ohio	66,200

Chapter 1: Background information and literature review

1.0 Puerto Ricans in the United States

In general, Puerto Ricans make up the fifth largest Spanish speaking population and the second largest Spanish-speaking group in the United States (Lipski, 3). The first effective wave of Puerto Rican migrates arrived shortly before World War II and Puerto Rican Spanish stretched into urban areas throughout New York City and east of Detroit. During the early 20th century (1902-1948), the United States imposed English as the main language of instruction not only on the island of Puerto Rico, but mandated throughout schools, the job/labor force, etc.

1.1 The effects of cross linguistic influence:

1.1.1. Lexicon: borrowings and calques

With integration and hints of assimilation, American English and Puerto Rican Spanish began to come into contact with one another socially, and integration and transfers inevitably began to occur. Spanglish, in a more general sense, varies dependent on the geographical area and dialectal/languages available for exposure, which as a result has provided different mictures, produces "Cubonics," a dialect spoken by Cuban-Americans, Dominican influenced Spanglish, spoken by Dominican immigrants/Dominican-Americans, "Nuyorican" Spanish, spoken by Puerto Ricans in New York, "Pachuco," a mixed Spanish spoken by Mexican Americans, etc. (Liliana, 22). Nuyorican Spanish (Spanglish), as goes the given name of the new Puerto Rican style of Spanish, is a type of informal means of communication in which serves as a blend and mixture of traits from both the Spanish and English languages yet depends on its geographical location. For example, as the interaction between the two started to commence, "false cognates" start to arise, which started to become more acceptable in daily conversation, as a result of transfer between the two languages. This result is known as a "semantic shift." A "sematic shift" refers to the evolution and change of a word or word usage to an instance where the meaning has been altered over time. This is also an allusion to how the speech for a community has and will change over time; in this context, the language patterns and structure for Puerto Rican Spanish has changed over time and will be analyzed within this dissertation. For example, the Spanish word *aplicar* could now be used in the context of "applying for a job" whereas *registarse,* could now be used to mean "to register for a class" (Lipski, 44). This is made possible from the understanding that *aplicar* is similar in spelling and essences to the English word *apply.* But

although it started as a false cognate, it has become more socially acceptable to use in spite of its false pretenses. Another example consists of the action of borrowing in which when concerning languages, different features and aspects of grammatical units are "borrow" and transferred from the structure of one language into the structure of another. In this same instance, "borrowing" can result in two things. The first is of "assimilated borrowing," for example, morphemes, in an attempt to create its own peculiar and unique utterance. This results in productions such as, "chekea" meaning, "to check" when the correct standard Spanish word choice is "verificar," "parquear" in whose meaning alters to become "to park" or instances when the correct Spanish word is not used and words become changed to mimic both phonology and morphology of a certain language, such as the change from "homerun" to *jonrón* (Liliana, 25). The resulting examples of morphological and phonological assimilated borrowings are as follows: "**text**eando" "**googl**eando" "**hang**ueando" "**Marke**ta" "**email**ear." Some words serve as examples of borrowing from the English language and changed to fit the Spanish structure in writing and daily conversation: *londri* (laundry), *lonchear* (lunch), *mol* (mall), *troka* (truck), and *biles* (bills); the more that such words are utilized and daily conversation, with the passing of time, they start to become incorporated into the norms of the language's usage and accepted to misrepresent standard Spanish words because of their excessive usage (Liliana, 24).The following examples is of "non-assimilated borrowing" in which, in general, may result in lexical, semantic, morphological or phonological borrowings (*-ar* is the most productive suffix in the Spanish language). Concerning certain word choices and syntax, the usage of progressive verbs in Puerto Rican Spanish is becoming more frequent. For example, there is a stronger lean in Puerto Rican Spanish towards the usage of progressive verbs, such as in the example *le estamos enviando el paquete mañana* instead of the correct statement *le enviaremos el paquete mañana.* Another

example is the usage of phrase such as *Yo estoy comiendo la manzana (I am eating the apple)*, in which a speaker may always use the progressive tense of a verb rather than the alternative such as *Yo como la manzana (I am eating the apple)* (Lipski, 44).

The transfers of grammatical structures also affect and occur in both directions in regards to each prospective language. When discussing the influence of English over Spanish, one case of transfer occurs syntactically and pragmatically with loan words, borrowings and "calques," or idiomatic expressions in the form of translations. For example, the expression "to call back" in English is translated literally into "*devolver la llamada.*" As an example in Puerto Rican Spanish in New York, but hardly on the island, "llamarse para atrás" was the expression translated into English and became acceptable as a stylistic attribute of Puerto Rican Spanish. As additional and various portions of the two languages were being transferred and fused, many individuals started to refer to this new Puerto Rican Spanish spoken in New York as Spanglish or "Nuyorican talk." Yet, at the same time, many prescriptivists and professional educators gave Spanglish, this newfound style of Spanish that had emerged through the interactions of the two peoples, cultures and languages, a negative connotation, ungrammatical and remote from the standard grammatics that is the Spanish language, as being known as "New York City Spanish," or "NuYorican Spanish." "NuYorican" became the term used to label Puerto Ricans who were born in New York, and not Puerto Rico, and were accustomed to this emerging style of Spanish. Both "NuYorican" and "Spanglish" began to be received negative markers such as "sloppy speakers" and "uneducated Latinos" etc. "Acosta-Belen (1975, 151) observes that "speakers of the non-defined mixture of Spanish and/or English are judged as 'different' or 'sloppy' speakers of Spanish and/or English and labeled as deficient bilinguals because they do not have the ability to speak either well. (p.48)

One of the most apparent and noticeable characteristics of U.S. Puerto Rican Spanish is the frequency of loan translations or "wholesale syntactic calquing," (Lipski, 125). This is a semantic/syntactic issue that is a result of the influence of the English culture in not only Puerto Rico but through the interaction of the two languages throughout the mid-20th century. Within this process, sections or whole sentences are translated word by word, taken from English and translated into Spanish or vice-versa. Although it may not seem sensible culturally or semantically in Spanish, it carries the meaning as is understood within the English speaking culture. Some examples of this are the following:

¿Cómo te gusto la playa? (How did you like the beach?) [*¿Te gusto/cómo lo pasaste*]

El problema está siendo considerado (The problem is being considered) [*Se está*
    estudiando el problem)

Te llamo para atrás (I'll call you back) [*Te vuelvo a llamar*] (Lipski, 125)

El sabe cómo hablar ingles. (He knows how to speak English) [*El sabe hablar ingés*]

1.1.2   Cultural identity and self-perception

Lipski (1975) supports the previously mentioned notion that English serves as the first cause of the soon transformation of the Spanish language in New York and Lipski (1975) evaluates Puerto Rican Spanish, not only spoken, but in text as well. More specifically, Lipski (1975) analyzes translated text and has found data that supports the inquisition that it is due to the penetration of the English language and customs into that of Puerto Rican Spanish, an "archaic (means) survive (als)." In most of Lipski's discovery cases, loan translations are occurring in written texts as well due to the interaction and integration into the Spanish written text (Lipski, 125).

Discussing the distinct and unique lexicon of U.S. Puerto Rican Spanish, one can see that there are many words and phrases that excel beyond the idea that Anglicism is the main contributor to the vocabulary of everyday speech. The following examples are words that are used every day in Puerto Rican communities such as *El Barrio (Spanish Harlem), Washington Heights*, the *South Bronx*, parts of Brooklyn and other neighborhoods, whose usage is even unknown on the island of Puerto Rico. These examples are seen as specimens of slang by many individuals yet are identification marks of the dialect:

Table 2: Puerto Rican Loan Words

aguinaldo (Christmas carol)
ay bendito (oh, goodness [common interjection])
bomba (form of traditional music with strong African influence)
chavos < ochavos (money [*chavo* = penny])
china (sweet orange)
chiringa (kite)
coquí (type of small frog—the cultural icon of Puerto Rico)
cuatro (small guitar with ten strings)
escrachao (ruined, broken)
guagua (bus)
habichuela (red bean)
mahones (blue jeans)
matrimonio (dish of red beans and rice)
pantallas (earrings)
pastel (meat pie made with crushed plantains)
petiyanqui (obsequious admirer of American ways)
plena (type of typical music with heavy percussion, including a large tambourine)
tapón (traffic jam)
zafacón (garbage can, waste basket)

(Lipski, 126)

On the other hand in everyday colloquial settings, there are cases within U.S. Puerto Rican Spanish, in which there are lexical borrowings and transfers that are occurring resulting in direct intraset code-switching. They are not random instances yet, occur for different reasons. For example, there are times where there is a suitable word, yet a U.S. Bilingual implements a

borrowed English word with equivalent means to replace the Spanish word within a Spanish structured sentence such as: *Le pagué* <u>*cash*</u> (I paid him cash). *No es como antes que era un* <u>*choice*</u>*,* una decision (It's not like before when it was a choice, a decision…) (Shin, 52). There are Spanish words for the two previously chosen words, *efectivo* and *elección*, but this lexical borrowing occurs as a result of the influence and culture of English language's lexical foundation within the intermingling of the English and Spanish cultures within the community and its properties (jobs, stores, buildings, etc.). Where languages are in contact and language identities start to formulate, efficiency of that dialect begins to establish. In a study conducted by Naomi Shin (Shin, 50), to investigate the efficiency of lexical borrowing as a result of word-length and the ease of their replacement, her study consisted of thirty eight sociolinguistic interviews with bilingual Latinos within New York (many consisting of Puerto Rican descent). Her study found that due to the shorter length of syllables and letters in some English words than in Spanish, especially when concerning Noun Phrases, the individual would most be incentive to transfer and borrow the English word that is shorter rather than longer. In the same resepct, Shin found that it would not be done with associated word pairs in which only differ by a few letters, such as *respecto>respect*, *ley>law,* or within the sentence: *Se está sosteniendo ahora la isla por* <u>*los*</u> <u>*handouts*</u>*, verdad por los cupones (The island is now being supported by the handouts, right, by the vouchers [hand-outs>distri-bu-cio-nes]).* Words such as Switzerland [Suiza] and appointment [cita], etc., was shown to be kept in its Spanish production because of the shorten length increasing the speed of one's conversation and the length of an overall sentence production (Shin, 54). "Word-shortening increases efficiency by advancing the speed of communication and reducing memory load…a strategy aimed at 'lightening the cognitive load' associated with bilingualism…a step towards efficient communication" (Shin, 2).

> We are your linguistic nightmare, your linguistic aberration, your linguistic *mestizaje*, the
> subject of your *burla*. Because we speak with tongues of fire, we are culturally crucified.
> Racially, culturally, and linguistically, *somos huérfanos*—we speak an orphan tongue. –
> *Gloria Azaldúa, 1987*

Not only, as a result of Spanglish, has the process of borrowing originated from only Spanish to English, but occurs as well from English to Spanish as well. They are not considered an identical phenomenon though; as consequentially Table 3's Spanish words all have a Spanish equivalent. Whilst at the same time, the Spanish borrowings in English stand for foreign concepts. An example of this is the Table 3 in which reveal some of these instances:

<u>Table 3: Noun borrowings</u>

From Spanish to English	From English to Spanish
Adobe (*adobe)*	Chagüer (shower) (In Spanish: *ducha*)
Alpaca (*alpaca*)	Lonche (lunch) (In Spanish: *almuerzo*)
Armadillo (*armadillo*)	Troka (truck) (In Spanish: *camión o camioneta*)
Barricade (*barricada*)	Traila (trailer) (In Spanish: *remolque*)
Cannibal (*caníbal*)	Aseguranza (f) (insurance) (In Spanish: *seguro*)
Coyote (*coyote*)	Explication. (explanation)(In Spanish: *explicación*)
Embargo (*embargo*)	Grincar (greencard) (In Spanish: *tarjeta verde*)
Guitar (*guitarra*)	Rufero (roofer) (In Spanish: *techista*)
Mosquito (*mosquito*)	Hesitación. (hesitation) (In Spanish: *duda*)

(Liliana, 26)

Returning to the previously mentioned concept of Spanglish and its effect towards Puerto Ricans in the Spanish speaking communities in New York, many individuals have associated Spanglish with the Nuyorican identity, bestowing negative connotations of improper mastery of either of the two languages, a sense of urbanisms and "ghetto" slang within this community of speakers; "a jargon of poor, uneducated immigrants…disowned by Father English and orphaned by *Madre Español"* (Maduro, 1998). Puerto Rican Spanish in New York has been seen as the "Ebonics of the Spanish language," thriving on the tongues of the lower class and continuously deviating from the standard of either of the two languages. On the other side, others believe that

this phenomenon is misunderstood as they refer to Puerto Rican Spanish as Spanglish in the beginning stages of a new dialect and one-day fused language. Yet, with the rapid growth of Hispanics within the United States, both English and Spanish speech are being affected in the same communities and in the near future could have resounding repercussions (Maduro, 1998), yet Spanish is a "two-way function." The fascination lies within two concepts of Spanglish that make random productions of utterances different than a structured dialect. What makes the Puerto Rican dialect (a reference to the "Spanglish" in New York) different is the acknowledgment of two sub types. The first type is "adaptive bilingualism" in which what is generated and delivered is not by a conscious action, but executed because the speaker's language capacity has been integrated with the exposure of the language culture. This is done whether influenced by the community, racially mixed homes, exposed to it at a young age etc.

1.1.3 Code switching as a structurally constrained phenomenon

I am new. History made me. My first language was Spanglish. I was born at the crossroads and I am whole.

- Aurora Levins Morales, *Child of the Americas*)

The following example is a code mixed dialogue from the Spanglish novel *Yo-Yo Boing!* by Giannina Braschi:

In Spanish

Ábrela tú.

¿Por qué yo? Tú tienes las keys. Yo te las entregué. Además, I left mine adentro.

¿Por qué las dejaste adentro?

Porque I knew you had yours.

¿Por qué dependes de mí?

Just open it, and make it fast.

In English:

You open it.

Why me? You've got the keys. I gave them to you. Besides, I left mine inside.

Why did you leave them inside?

Because I knew you had yours.

Why do you always depend on me?

Just open it, and make it fast.

"…contrary to the attitude of those who label Puerto Rican code switching 'Spanglish' in the belief that a chaotic mixture is being invented, English-Spanish switching is a creative style of bilingual communication that accomplished important cultural and conversational work." – Zentella (p.49). One important process of New York Spanglish that Nuyoricans commonly incorporate is the process of code-switching. Code-switching, in essence, is the "alternation between two languages in the middle of a discourse" (Maduro, 1998). It occurs "when two languages share the same morpho-syntactic structure," (Liliana 29). It is the combination, transference, formation and shaping from the smallest aspect of what are known as *morphemes*, or the smallest unit of a word that holds grammatical information, to a larger scale feature: words or sentences; this can occur from a morphological level to a word level or higher. It is the transference of items from language into the phonological, morphological and syntactical patterns of another language (L2-L1) (Poplack, 3). It may vary as well from single words to even phrases, clauses and/or switches that transpire from an innate ability to know when to shift in languages according to implicit principles that are applied. Some examples of inter-sentential code switching and borrowing are noted in the following table:

Table 4: Most Common Patterns and Borrowings That Occur in Code-Switching

Pattern Example
(1) Insertion of material from one language into the structure of another:

Este jaiwei es peligroso *(This highway is dangerous).*

(2) Alternation between structures

I mean *cuando voy al pueblo a comprar algo*, I don't like…
(I mean, when I go to town buy something, I don't like…/

(3) Congruent lexicalization of material different inventories into a shared grammatical Structure (an example of intrasentential Code Switching [morphological level]
*The water está boileando.(*The water is boiling)

(4) Equivalence constraint, the order of the elements in a sentence especially if word order is shared.
It's a wonderful holiday tradición .....*with the* familia
(It's a wonderful holiday tradition …..with the family) (Liliana, 29)

Within the transfers and loans/borrowings, the code-switch usually occurs "where the morpho-syntactical and phonetic integrity of either language is not altered" (Maduro, 1998).

This is known as the **the free morpheme constraint** (Poplack 1980)**,** which decides whether, for instance, if a switch occurs in the middle of a word, that the pronunciation be established dependent on the language of the suffix (Maduro, 1998). One cannot switch between a free and a bound morpheme, unless they are phonologically integrated. Codes may be switched as long as they are not bound. An example of this includes the Spanish morpheme –*iendo* (Eng. –*ing*) in which is a bound morpheme that would not seem sensible with the English root word *eat* to become *eatiendo* (in transferring the bound suffix across a different discourse). Another constraint mentioned by Poplack (1980) is the **equivalence constraint** occurs in which the transference from L1-L2 is not in violation of the syntactical rule of the matrix language and can

be intermixed where the sentence structure of each sentence is matched to each corresponding word in the opposite sentence. An example of this is included with the following example in which one sentence maps over the other sentence's language structure and is able to intermix and transfer words from one sentence to another sentence and the code-switch will be permissible.

Table 6: Permissible code-switching points

Eng	I	told him	that	so that	he	would bring it	fast.
	↑	⤬	↑	↑	↑	⤬	↑
Sp	(Yo)	le dije	eso	pa' que	(él)	la trajera	ligero.
Cs	I	told him	that	PA' QUE		LA TRAJERA	LIGERO. (04/73)

"Tell Larry **que se calle la boca.** (Tell Larry to shut his mouth) (Poplack, 7). A third constraint within code-switching is the **principle of least resistance** (Poplack 1980) where it is a mechanism of utilization when the speaker may want to avoid a loss of words and uses the other language to fill in the thought to make it complete without pausing and searching for other words within the same language (Poplack 1980). As a positive view, it can be seen as an individual's ability to pick the best word, clause or phrase that facilitates the best communicative and emotional meaning within their conversations. It is the understanding of the mesh of both languages with the ability in switching on and off one and the other (Maduro, 1998). In Puerto Rican Spanish, the use of Spanglish, whether intrasentenial code switching or the usage of loan words, relates to the insertion of English words in a Spanish statement or Spanish words in an English statement: *Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español* (Poplack, 1979). As a classical example of code switching, the lexicons of both languages, in which

although there is an insertion of one language into another, a matrix (basic) language with the embedded (transferred) language, there is a structure in place for what can occur in order to be understood and accepted. It is about understanding the structure of the host language and being able to transfer certain words or morphemes in order to construct an informal utterance that is Spanglish.

1.1.3 Expressions and Identities

Loanwords, in which in essence, are the basics of code switching, code-mixing, etc and in its simplified form are words switched either from English-Spanish or Spanish-English; "they reflect the cultural duality of Spanglish" (Maduro, 1998). As they are transferred as either words, phrases or clauses, certain structures that consist of certain sayings, metaphors, idiomatic expressions, or terminologies, at times may only seem sensible within their original language. For that reason when such expressions are transferred, the whole example is shifted. This is done because certain expressions created within their original language, because of the demeanor of that language, bring a sense of emotion and cultural consciousness that can only be achieved, understood and executed within that language, and therefore might/will lose its uniqueness and message if translated into another language or interpreted word by word. Each language is attributed to its own culture with its own means of understanding certain pragmatic concepts that is rooted with their overall existence.

For example, a lyric of a Latino rap song states: "Echar pa'lante [move forward] with my people is my imperative" (Stavans, Spanglish 17). The phrase "Echar pa'lante" as a Spanish expression is transferred into the English spoken conversation because this expression is

connected and rooted into the Hispanic culture revealing sentiments that would otherwise sound disconnected and bizarre in another language's context (Maduro, 1998). With each language's expression or saying, a sentimental connection is made either culturally, historically, societal or as the overall make-up of what makes the language/culture what it is. A sample statement is as follows: "Hey Dad, I remember sitting in *abuelita's cocina* (grandma's kitchen) when we were drinking a *taza de café.*" Within this example, certain phrases, noun clauses or expressions, are transferred over in its original language because of the emotion and feeling that is expressed and understood only in the original language's context. With the purpose of emoting that feeling within the listener/reader, the original language is kept for the reason to show delicate issues such as family relationships, traditions, customs, communities, and etc. (in Spanish) (Maduro, 1998). In terms of the culture this also occurs with other items such as activities, hobbies and even food as one retains the loan word in its original language, such as: tortilla, menudo, chile, etc.

1.1.4.1 <u>Pragmatic Identity and Self-Expression</u>

How does Puerto Rican language behavior play a role in the formation of their distinct cultural identity within New York communities? The vortex of unique distinctions of what has blended to make the different peculiarities of Puerto Rican Spanish has created not only an exclusive linguistic variant, but a unique identity for the speakers themselves, playing a role in which every aspect becomes a factor in the overall representation of Puerto Ricans within New York. As the Hispanic/Latino communities in New York, such as *El Barrio*, *Washington Heights*, the *South Bronx*, parts of Brooklyn and other neighborhoods, start to grow through

migration and more second and third generations start to fill the community, a language shift and change in community culture begins to commence. Contrary to the belief that code switching within U.S. Puerto Rican Spanish is a *jargon*, exhibits lack of proficiency or excessive random vocabulary, switches, and transfers, study's analyzations have revealed that such processes are a result of many social instances and word/code choices that are purposely made by the speaker (Myers-Scotton, 1997). This type of word or structure selection is appropriated and used in a social manner when concerning conversations and "interpersonal relationships." It allows the individual to format his/her manner and style of speaking, shape it with certain word and structure selections and allow them to make the stylistic language choices geared towards the specific discourse at hand (Liliana, 30). These discourse strategies, dependent on the audience, can be referred to communities such as at home with family, school gatherings, church, at one's workplace, etc. "Language connects the members of a community," (Pinker, 1994). Both language and behavior affect each other when concerning traditions in the current culture within that community; "the individual perception of the world and the cultural schemata conception of a community are determined to a great extent by the most common language spoken by th[at] community…" (Gill, 1997). It is not just as a communicative competence but a cultural identity created through that language usage, in which, what is done, is specifically chosen in accordance to the situation, person, and conversation. "Prior knowledge aids comprehension and implicit presupposed cultural knowledge interacts with the reader's own cultural knowledge to redefine and extend schemata" (Floyd & Carrell, 1991). All basic, background, and relevant knowledge helps in connecting bridges between not only the two languages and cultures but helps in building a growing foundation of Spanglish within speakers. For instance, one case where this may apply concerns the ease of a student to explain himself, concerning a certain topic or

subject, by the means of Spanglish as an aided device. By utilizing the many different peculiar and distinct features, such as code-switching, code-mixing, transfers and the mixture of transfers, borrowings and calques, the speaker may be able to fully switch back and forth between both languages dependent on the response, ambiance, feeling, and understanding that he/she desires from their audience; this is also reliant on the message that they are trying to portray in deciding which language, from a word, phrase, clause, etc., will best be emoted and perceived by that audience.

1.1.4.2 Language Functions: footing, clarification, and crutch-mixing

A prior knowledge and interaction with the languages assist the audience in analyzing, breaking down and understanding the semantic meaning of their utterance. This is done by finding a correlation between their prior knowledge from exposure or interaction, whether they are similar words, grammatical units, concepts, structures or pronunciations etc. and connecting them with similar concepts and backgrounds of family, school, the workplace, and/or the community. They can best relate and comprehend the speaker's intention of their switching or transfer significantly as "a socially and culturally constructed symbol system that reflects [their] group identity, status differences, origin, and educational background," (Liliana, 44). Language, in terms, is used for different communicative functions, whether they are executed for a societal means, expressed exuberating attitude and behavioral interpersonal means, academic, or to "express a feeling or give information," (Liliana, 48). In terms of interaction between a speaker and his/her audience, a specific collection of specific vocabulary, idiomatic expressions, and semantic/pragmatic structures are executed dependent upon the audience, the culture, and if the ambience is interpersonal and informal. The setting plays a role as if there is of a certain formality within

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the conversation. Specifically focusing on bilinguals, in contexts that range from the formal to the interpersonal, due to code switching, code-mixing etc, such individuals are able to switch not only between English and Spanish, but semantically/pragmatically between what is accepted and not accepted by the society or culture, what is formal and not formal. Such individuals are able to switch not just amongst languages but their deliverance of interfused structures, concepts, and comprehensions, however dependent upon the objective and purpose of the situation. The purpose of a study of language functions is for linguists-formalist or functionalist-yet to understand and agree upon a consensus of how and for what purpose is the language being used in the society, whether academically, for communicative purposes, or sentimentally, depending upon the society, etc. The purpose of language functions of bilingual code-switching/mixing in U.S. Puerto Rican Spanish is to "accomplish conversational strategies," (Liliana, 49). These consist of what is known as "footing, clarification, and crutch-mixing (Liliana, 49). These are examples of conversational instances in which the functions and objective of the switching/mixing is necessary for the community/cultural grasp of the conversation (Leech 1983) (O'Malley, 61). An example of footing, expressed by studies done by Zentella (1997), includes what is known as a topic shift in which code-switching occurs whilst the main idea is simultaneously being expressed (i.e. *Vamos a preguntarle*. It's raining!). This may include not only topic shifts, but also change of speakers, answering one's own question within the dialogue, or in seeking approval or attention: *¿Porque estamos en huelga de gasolina,* right?" ("Because we are in a gasoline strike, right?") (Liliana, 49) (Zentella, 1997, p. 94). A second language function that occurs is clarification in which the speaker wishes an act of clarifying after a statement is said or expressed. Within social conversation, an act of code-switching occurs and inflections within the voice as these statements are produced: *¿No me crees*? You don't believe

me?" ("You don't believe me?"). They are a large reason why switches occur within bilingual conversation. In a study by Zentella (1997) of speech productions within Puerto Rican children, it was found that "25% of mixes were linked to crutch-mixing," (Liliana, 49). Crutch-mixing occurs when a momentary loss of words is at hand in that language, causing a transfer of words from a secondary language or a manner of describing, using other words in the primary language: Give me some *piña o deso - o cómo se llama*" (English: "Give me some pineapple or whats-its-name"; in Spanish: "*Dame un poco de pina o de eso – o cómo se llame*") (Zentella, 1997, p. 98). A condensed reference is provided within Table 5 concerning the previous information:

Table 5: Communicational factors "in the head" of the speaker

Communicational factors "in the head" of the speaker (Zentella, 1997, p. 92)

Conversational strategies	Example
Footing	"*¿Porque estamos en huelga de gasolina*, right?" ("Because we are on a gasoline strike, right?")
Clarification and/or emphasis	"*¿No me crees*? You don't believe me?" ("You don't believe me?").
Crutch-like code mixing	"Give me some *piña o deso - o como se llama*" ("Give me some pineapple or whats-its-name")

(Zentella, 1997, 92)

The discourse of U.S. Puerto Rican Spanish is grasped, deciphered and simplified based on an analyzation of its peculiar and distinct grammatical units. Zentella (1997) studies the production of bilingual Spanglish within Puerto Rican speakers (children) and understands that prior knowledge helps in the communication even between Puerto Rican Spanglish speakers and

speakers of other Latino communities of Spanish speakers (Zentella, 1997). With this derives

Zentella's (1997) study, in which she recorded what her subjects did and did not do (pertaining

to the rules) according to their utterances and productions. There are similar and understood

points in sentences (clauses) in which Puerto Rican Spanglish speakers code-switched and

transferred information. For instance, the Spanish sentence: *(Yo) he podido enseñarle a leer a*

Maria would never be said like this: *Yo have been able enseñar Maria leer*, in which certain

points such as switches between the pronoun and auxiliary verb or omission of the indirect

pronoun *a* is committed (Equivalence Constraint) (Liliana, 47). As the audience mixes such

instances with their prior cultural and language knowledge (emotions, stereotypes, insights,

observations etc.) and exposure, this begins to generate not only a tolerance and early stage

acceptance for Spanglish as a spoken entity, but also as a cultural and linguistic identity for

Nuyoricans as the years continue to endure.

Consequently, some of the ways in which Puerto Rican Spanish speakers express

themselves, that were noted as ungrammatical by prescriptive rules in both English and Spanish,

are numerous (Lipski, 59). Some of these manners that will be mentioned in the next section are

seen as both grammatical violations, yet in an interesting manner, stand as an informal variety

and recognizable features that are accepted as Puerto Rican Spanish. Whereas in some aspects

would be deemed ungrammatical by the standard prescriptive rules of Spanish, it has become a

means of ethnolinguistic identity for Nuyorican Spanish.

One example of this situation consists of the instability of nominal and adjectival inflection which involves the consistency of agreement between both cases and number issues as well. The follow productions in Puerto Rican Spanish are common and typical: *Decían palabras que eran inglés. (They said words that were in English)*, *Mi blusa es blanco (My blouse is white)*, and *Tenemos un casa alla (We have a house over there)*. Another distinction within the style of Puerto Rican Spanish is the acceptability of incorrectly conjugated verb forms. The style became very descriptive as it was geared and pertained to the society of speakers who spoke it. Some examples include: *Mi mama y papa **eh** bueno (My mother and father are good)*, *Esos pajaritos se metió adentro (Those birds got inside)*, and *Yo no sabe bien (I don't know well).* It is an issue with gender and number agreement and simultaneously many individuals have labeled this style as "slang," "ghetto," and "Spanish Ebonics" (Lipski, 60). A third concern with Puerto Rican Spanish is the incorrect usage of definite and indefinite articles and the errors in prepositional usages. It is very common within Puerto Rican Spanish than in other dialects to omit and eliminate both definite and indefinite articles. Some of these examples include: *Cuando tú deja **[la]** musica (When you quit music)*, **[El]** *Español es muy bonita**[o]** (Spanish is very pretty)*, *Yo iba a **[la]** escuela (I go to school)* and *Tengo miedo de **[los]** examines (I'm afraid of exams) (Lipski, 60)*. Substitution or deletion of certain prepositions within structures is another style and deviation from standard grammatical usage: *Hoy etamos **[a]** siete (Today is the seventh), Vamos a estar mas cerca a la familia d'el (We are going to be closer to his family),* and *Comenzaba **[en]** septiembre (It begins in September).*

Lastly, redundancy in subject usage is common in Puerto Rican Spanish in the U.S. whereas when pertaining to the subject, it is already within the morphological verb ending of the action verb, and therefore a subject is not needed. Some examples of this redundancy include:

***Yo** sé las palabras pero cuando **yo** tengo que encontrar las palabras es cuando **yo** tengo problemas (I know the words but when I have to find the words, that's when I have problems),*

***Yo** lo jablo onde **yo** quiero (I speak it when I want),* and ***Yo** aprendí francés, **yo** tome francés por tres años, pero **yo** no sé hablar muy bueno porque **yo** lo perdí todo. Si **yo** pudiera aprender todas las lenguas, para que **yo**, cuando **yo** vaya a un país, **yo** misma pueda hablar. (I learned French, I took it for three years, but I don't know how to speak very well because I lost it. If I could, I would learn all languages so that when I went to a country, I myself could speak)* (Syntactic Transfer). The following is a table that compares the usage of the previous issues amongst US Spanish speakers who are fluent, bilingual with English and vestigial (Lipski, 63):

Table 6: Structural Features of U.S. Spanish Speech

Feature	Fluent Spanish speakers	Bilingual with English	Vestigial/TB Spanish speakers
Unstable adjectival inflection	Never	Never	Always
Unstable verb agreement	Never	Never	Always
Categorical use of subject pronoun	Never	Sometimes	Frequently
Anaphoric pronoun violations	Never	Never	Frequently
Errors/elision of prepositions	Never	Rarely	Frequently
Errors/elision of articles	Never	Rarely	Frequently

The relationships expressed above reveal that the difference between Transitional Bilingual US Spanish speakers with true bilinguals is what has led to become customary as a part of the stylistic dialect that is emerging from Puerto Rican US Spanish speakers. "…much of the criticism directed at Spanglish as an impoverished language spoken in the United States, stems from confusing the symptoms of trans-generational language attrition with stable bilingualism," (Lipski, 64).

1.1.7   Phonology and Syntax

In discussing the grammatical topic of phonology and the similarities and differences concerning US Puerto Rican Spanish and Spanish from Puerto Rico, there are many traits that go beyond the mere statement that the influence of English is the sole main contributor. U.S. Puerto Rican Spanish contains many noticeable traits in which distinguish itself from the island's dialect. In Puerto Rican Spanish there is a deletion or weakening of the syllable or the word final /s/ to an aspirated /h/ or deletion. There is also a shift of the /r/ sound to that of a /l/ sound. Some examples of this include: Pue**r**to>Pue**l**to and Come**r**>Come**l**. For example, this occurs in words such as [pu.'el.'ta] instead of the correct form [pu.'er.ta] (door). Within U.S. Spanish, this trait is associated and carried throughout the lower social classes and older individuals, especially amongst males (Lipski, 124). Another phonetic trait of U.S. Spanish in New York consists of the "velarized trill /r/," (close in comparison the uvular /R/ in French). Many Puerto Ricans also change the /r/ to a [χ], in which words such as *arroz*; it does not get pronounced with a rhotic /r/ sound but rather a [χ] sound and also the pun that the words *Ramón* and *jamón* are

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much like homophones because the two sounds resonate alike within the dialect. This trait is one of the more notable of Puerto Rican Spanish out of the phonetic list of traits (Lipski, 124).

Another phonetic example consists of the phrase final and word final prevocalic sound of /n/ being converted in speech to a velarized /ŋ/. This phonetic change occurs in words such as *también* [tambiéŋ], *ancha* [aŋcha], *antes* [aŋtes], *rincón* [riŋcoŋ] and *instánte* [iŋstante] or even before a vowel such as in *en Agosto* [eŋ Agosto] (Lipski 144). Also, the /j/ sound in US Puerto Rican Spanish is delivered as an affricate sound in word/phrase initial position and does not weaken intervocalically (Lipski, 124). Some examples of when the /j/ sound changes to that of an affricate is included in the word *hielo* [dʒielo], a**y**uda [adʒuda], ab**y**ecto [abdʒecto], and *cónyuge* [condʒuge]. The intervocalic /d/ becomes weaker and is sometimes omitted/delete. This most commonly occurs within the morphological suffix –*ado* or –*ido.* Some of these examples are: *hablado>hablao, vendido>vendio, dedo>deo, cocinado>cocinao,* and *cansado>cansao.* Another phonetic trait concerns the affricate /ʧ/ (in which is written as a *ch)* in which at some times is produced as the fricative sound /ʃ/, such as in the English word *ship.* An example in which this transformation occurs is the word *chico,* in which at times a Puerto Rican speaker gives the utterance a soft /ʃ/ sound within conversation with another individual, thus changing the initial pronunciation from *chico* (/ʧico/) to *chico (/ʃico/)* (Lipski, 124). Finally, also at times the "posterior fricative /x/" also becomes weak to where it becomes an aspirated [h] sound. An example where this occurs is the Spanish word *jota*, in which the pronunciation /hota/ is much weaker in its initial pronunciation then with the fricative /x/ sound.

The endings, which consist of –*ado*, -*edo,* and –*ido,* in verbs such as *Yo he com**ido** (I have eaten)*, drop the intervocalic */d/* (i.e. this occurs many times in Seville and San Juan), which results in the recognizable utterance of words in Puerto Rican Spanish such as *hablao* instead of

the correct verbal term *hablado* or *tirao* instead of the corrected *tirado.* This phonological issue gives a unique twist to the participle formation in Puerto Rican Spanish. A second phonological issue deals with the shortening of words by Puerto Rican speakers in which two syllable words such as *padre* (father) will be shortened by their syllables becoming [pai] *(madre* [mother] becomes [mai]). Another phonological feature is the weakening of certain postvocalic consonants such as */s/.* For instance, this occurs in word pronunciations such as [lo.'do] versus the grammatically correct [los.'dos].

In discussing the grammatical topic of syntax and the similarities and differences concerning US Puerto Rican Spanish and Spanish from Puerto Rico, there are many traits that excel beyond the mere statement that Anglicisms are the main contributor. U.S. Puerto Rican Spanish contains many noticeable traits in itself that is distinguishable from the island's and other dialects' of Spanish as well. In most Spanish dialects, where subject pronouns, such as, *yo, tú, usted,* etc, are omitted because they are understood through the morphological endings of verbs, US Puerto Rican Spanish retains the redundancy of subject pronouns within both literature and spoken Spanish (Lipski, 125). This is thought to be done as a result of a "complex array of pragmatic and sociolinguistic factors" in which within the New York ambiance, English has been strongly imposed on the dialect and its influence of overt subject pronouns is high as subjects are necessary for every verb within the English language. Spanish in general has a loose syntax structure, meaning that the word order within a Spanish statement or question is very loose concerning the order of the subjects, verbs and objects. In a study done by Ricardo Otheguy (2008) and two accompanying researchers, 142 individuals from six Spanish-speaking communities were chosen to participate in long conversations, unknowingly for what the researchers were searching (Garland). As the conversations were coded for present or missing

pronouns, their study revealed that between the different generations (first, second and third) the earlier generations used pronouns in 30% of phrases with "eligible verbs" where other generations such as second and thirds used pronouns in 38% of "eligible verb" phrases. The influence was overtaking the first generation and the recent Spanish dialects within the Spanish speaking communities within New York (Garland). A syntactical trait of Puerto Rican Spanish is that concerning statements and questions, following subject pronouns, inversion does not frequently happen. This means that the structure for the sentence would continue as S-V-O (Subject-Verb-Object), much like within the English structure, rather than an option such as S-O-V. This is mostly apparent within questions that accompany subject pronouns. An example of this trait is the following: *¿Qúe tú quieres?* (What do you want?). Another syntactical trait concerns personal pronouns as subjects within sentence. In certain circumstances, personal pronouns such as *yo, tú,* etc, at times occur as a "preposed lexical subject of infinitives," instead of having the order rearranged or the infinitive conjugated (Lipski, 125). The personal pronoun is understood as the subject of the infinitive and is used in daily speech in U.S. Puerto Rican Spanish. For example, this occurs in such instances as: *para **yo** hacer eso* [for me to do that] and *antes de tú venir aquí* [before you came here]. In most cases, *para* serves as the indicator for this occurrence at times (Lipski, 125). One characteristic that is similar between both Puerto Rican Spanish and Puerto Rican Spanish in the U.S. is the little to non-usage of the subjunctive within daily conversation and speech. Evidence by Granda (1972), Torres (1990), and Vázquez shows that although many believe it to be declining, usage of the subjective is starting to evolve and become utilized more.

<u>1.1.8 Social factors in language choice and usage</u>

Rank	Spanish Spoken at Home Population Percentage ▼	City / Population
1.	29.5%	Yonkers, NY / 196,277
2.	23.9%	New York, NY / 8,184,899
3.	18.2%	New Rochelle, NY / 77,177
4.	14.5%	Mount Vernon, NY / 67,397
5.	12.3%	Rochester, NY / 210,595
6.	8.9%	Syracuse, NY / 145,216
7.	7.4%	Buffalo, NY / 261,210
8.	6.6%	Schenectady, NY / 66,202
9.	6.6%	Albany, NY / 97,737
10.	1.0%	Cheektowaga, NY / 75,018

In the above table of the 2010 U.S. Census American Community Survey, New York, NY was ranked 2nd highest in the Spanish speaking percentage of the home. With such factors as a racially mixed home, racially and linguistically mixed community, mixed linguistic instruction, especially in a city community as diverse as New York, NY, adaptation to the omnipresent ambiance of a mixed language production can, over time, become implemented into the speech of an individual. This would result in the speakers being at times unaware of their new verbal code that is effective in efficient lexical borrowing and transfers due to the implicit instruction from interactions with other individuals within that community or dwelling. The second type is deliberate Spanglish in which the speaker consciously is transferring words or borrowing phrases from one language into the next in order to identify himself/herself with the audience. In this situation, since it is one of pure conscious, the loan transfers and borrowing varies from situation to situation and from region to region (Maduro, 1998). Dependent on the situation, a Nuyorican may express both subtypes within their dialectal variation in which is attributed by others as "New York Spanglish."

Puerto Rican Spanish, in its linguistic context, is not just a dialect/language, if not a classification of a manner in which a group of people within New York identifies themselves and

makes them unique within a community that would conceivably be either Spanish or English. It is intertwined with the community's culture, background history, and proof of the effect of the influence and interaction of two languages, but more importantly two linguistically affected cultures. It results in a blend of identities, social customs and cultures. "Language and context constitute one another: language contextualizes and is contextualized" (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 369).

1.1.9 Morphosyntax and Assimilated Borrowings

After discussing the lexicon and processes of transfers and loans that affect the Spanglish of U.S. Puerto Ricans, the contact between the English and Spanish languages in New York have affected Puerto Rican production morpho-syntactically (Maduro, 1998). Firstly, the importation and mixture of affixation within this new production is affected. One sample of this is the addition of Spanish suffixes, such as the gender endings of –*o* (masculine) and –*a* (feminine) that are normally added to the ending of Spanish nouns, now added to the ending of English nouns. Examples of this include: the English word "dog" becoming "dogo," "root" becomes "roota," "sign" becoming "signo," etc. (Maduro, 1998). Another transfer concerns the Spanish diminutive suffix in which usually expresses the noun it is attached to as a smaller entity. For example, in Spanish, *perro* means dog while *perrito* means little dog. One morpho-syntactical aspect that has occurred in Spanglish is the transfer of that Spanish diminutive into English in a combination of nouns and suffixes. Some samples of this include: *dog* becoming *doguito* (*little dog*), *house* becoming (*housita*), and *kiss* becoming (*kissito*). Not only does this occur with nouns, but verbs (infinitives as well) within the languages. Spanish verbal endings are also transferred to connect with English verbs creating new morphological specimens. Verbal

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endings such as *–ar, -ear, -ado,* and *-ada* are some verbal morphemes that would transfer. To reiterate, some examples from earlier: *flipar* or *flipear*, meaning "to flip," *chequear*, meaning "to check," *parquear*, meaning "to park," *el cloch* (instead of the Spanish word *embrague*), meaning "the clutch," and *puchar*, meaning "to push" (Maduro, 1998). Others examples of verbs in which follow the Spanglish inflection rules are included in the following tables:

Table 7: Examples of Infinitives

SPANGLISH	ENGLISH	SPANISH
"Formatear"	"to format"	"dar forma"
"Chatear"	"to chat"	"charlar"
"Nerdear"	"to do things nerdy do"	"actuar como un *nerd*"
"Liquear"	"to leak"	"perder"

(Liliana, 35)

Table 8: Spanish Inflectional Markers in PresentTense Indicative Mood of verb "To Chat"

SPANGLISH	ENGLISH	SPANISH
"Yo chateo"	"I chat"	"Yo charlo"
"Tú chateas"	"You chat"	"Tú charlas"
"El/Ella/ Usted chatea"	"He chats"	"El charla"
"Nosotros chateamos"	"We chat"	"Nosotros charlamos"
"Vosotros chateáis	"You (plural) chat"	"Vosotros charláis"
"Ellos/Ellas/Ustedes chatean"	"They chat"	"Ellos charlan"

(Liliana, 35)

Table 9: Conjugation for Preterit Tense Indicative mood of the verb 'To Chat'

SPANGLISH	ENGLISH	SPANISH
"Yo chateé"	"I chatted"	"Yo charlé"
"Tú chateaste"	"You chatted	"Tú charlaste"
"El/Ella/Usted chateó"	"He chatted"	"El charló"
"Nosotros chateamos"	"We chatted"	"Nosotros charlamos"
"Vosotros chateáisteis	"You (plural) chatted"	"Vosotros charlásteis"
"Ellos/Ellas/Ustedes chatearon"	"They chatted"	"Ellos charlaron"

(Liliana, 35)

Continuing with the morpho-syntactical effects within Spanglish, not only do the transfers of Spanish suffixes affect verbs and nouns in general, but also the rules concerning Spanish gender formation of how it contains only two genders changes in addition concerning neuter nouns of the English language within Spanglish. What normally would consist of neuter nouns within the English language becomes transformed into either a masculine or feminine noun due to the gender affiliation with the transference of the Spanish suffix into Spanglish. An example of this is the words *Latino* or *market*. The options in Spanglish may either be *Latino* or *Latina* giving off a gender infliction with each one leaving out the option of a generic word that could be either gender; there exist now a masculine and feminine possibility for "an inanimate object, abstract concept or neuter noun (Maduro, 1998). Another example of this is the word *market* that within Spanglish creates the possibility of *market**a*** instead of the Spanish existent word *mercardo* which satisfies the syntactical need (Maduro, 1998). Another aspect concerns not nouns and verbs, but of definite and indefinite articles that are mixed and blended for Spanglish. As Spanish articles, definite and indefinite, are transferred over to blend with that of English, they carry characteristics of gender and number, that which English articles do not contain. For this reasoning, English articles such as *the, a,* and *an* do not carry gender or number and when Spanish articles are transferred over, they are used in combination with the Spanglish nouns that reflect the Spanish gender to create a Spanglish noun phrase. An example of this explanation takes the Spanish article *el/la* and, for instance, with the newly created Spanglish word *rufo* (meaning "roof") creates the noun phrase: *el rufo* (meaning "the roof). Following this structure many noun phrases are created to reflect this principle: *el fono* or *el remoto.*

Table 10: Examples of Gender and Number Assignment to English Nouns in Spanglish

Singular masculine	Plural masculine	Singular feminine	Plural feminine	English	Spanish
		"la troka"	"las trokas"	"the truck"	"la camioneta"
		"la jaiwei"	"las jaiweis"	"the highways"	"la autopista"
"el rufo"	"los rufos"			"the roofs"	"los techos"
"el lonche"	"los lonches"			"the lunch"	"el almuerzo"

In continuation of a morpho-syntactical order, Spanglish in its general essence is "a free-style language; an avatar of spontaneity and grammatical irreverence," and because of this, changes the syntactical structure, or free structure for that matter, would go against the nature of Spanglish as an entirety (Maduro, 1998). The style of its order is dependent on the speaker himself making him artistic and unique in an improvisational manner; this is said as a result that his choice of word order is influenced by the word orders he/she had learned from interaction with the prescriptive and descriptive context of both the English and Spanish languages (Maduro, 1998). One sample concerning word order of adjectives within Puerto Rican Spanglish follows the English rules closely of an adjective preceding the noun that it describes: *el red dress*. With this stylistic and syntactically free approach, these results in the newly created and produced idiomatic expressions and numerous creations of combined words by means of different affixes and articles, from the English and Spanish language, that provides an innovative and new means of expression, resulting from the mixture of two customs and two cultures.

1.1.10 Further research and conclusion

For many decades, Puerto Rican Spanish spoken in New York has been a unique phenomenon, one in which has been referred to as the offspring between English and Spanish-due to the levels of interaction and influence encounters of English towards the Spanish language and Puerto Rican culture. Nuyoricans, especially those who speak Spanglish, have delivered utterances that are not only are unique but specifically pertinent only to that mixture or encounter of Puerto Rican culture and the English language. Because of this mixture, many productions are revealed that are very peculiar and distinct including certain phonological, morphological, semantically/pragmatic, and syntactical switching, mixings, and transfers. Much research have been done focusing on the overall general aspect of code-switching, calques, code mixing, etc., yet one field that has yet to be studied more is its social aspects concerning certain daily functions and why and to which language the Nuyorican individual might choose, whether it is code-switching, or not. Does the individual switch from English to Spanish, Spanish to English, use both equally, in which circumstances and/or does it change dependent on the situation or comfortability of the speaker? What is the social effect of this manner in reflexive daily situations? The objective of the literature review was to shine a specific light upon history, concepts, and numerous grammatical examples of the peculiarities and distinctions of the utterances and productions of Puerto Rican Spanish in New York; then, to compare and contrast this with English and Spanish to perhaps understand when and why this happens in society, and what are some of the social reasonings for these occurrences. Many hypotheses were given concerning differences from the analyzation of large Spanglish structures to the minimal as the morphological or lexical change. Different concepts and reasonings were introduced as to not

only the different types of distinct features and how they differ from English and Spanish, but also where they stem from, in which situations and their causes and effects. Now that this has been covered in the literature review, the next section of this analytical paper will focus on different studies and experiments done to answer questions such as: Why do these peculiar and distinct productions occur? What type of societal, historical, cultural and pragmatic information and knowledge is revealed from such studies and experiments? Are the changes mentioned in the literature review pertinent to a specific age group, gender, or class of Nuyoricans, and if so, in which are more apparent? Does the individual switch from English to Spanish, Spanish to English, use both equally, in which circumstances and/or does it change dependent on the situation or comfortability of the speaker? What is the social effect of this manner in reflexive daily situations? I hope that with such research of a collection of experiments and studies that will reveal the confusion clouding these questions and shine a light of better comprehension upon the "why" of its initial creation, utilization and execution of Puerto Rican Spanish within communities and societies in New York.

Chapter 2: The Socio-Pragmatic & Identity-Related Aspects of Puerto Rican Spanish in New

York

Ethnolinguistic intergenerational continuity will ultimately be possible only for those who are proficient in Spanish and pressure must be exerted in different directions depending on which are the determinants of Spanish language ability.

- Ofelia Garcia and Milagros Cuevas (2006)

INTRODUCTION

In the previous linguistic review section, the focus was fixated on not only the grammatical aspects of the Puerto Rican dialect in New York, but also reflecting upon the societal and cultural identity established from the union between the English language/United States culture and Spanish language/ Puerto Rican culture. Close attention was paid to specific unique features of Nuyorican Spanglish in discerning between not only what grammatically made it distinct from each language, but what and why such examples were so peculiar and have only occurred between the Puerto Ricans and the "American" culture. Emphasis was placed on speculations of how this came about, what the processes are that result in these productions and it has shaped the dialect and identity of Nuyoricans with New York. The next chapter of this dissertation will concentrate on different research and studies executed focusing on the dialect of Nuyoricans within neighborhoods such as Spanish Harlem, Washington Heights, Brooklyn, South Bronx etc. Prime examples of research will focus on trying to answer lingering questions mentioned at the end of the literature review section of the thesis: Why do these peculiar and distinct productions occur? What type of societal, historical, cultural and pragmatic information and knowledge is revealed from such studies and experiments? Are the changes mentioned in the literature review

pertinent to a specific age group, gender, or class of Nuyoricans, in which are more apparent? Does the individual switch from English to Spanish, Spanish to English, use both equally, in which circumstances and/or does it change dependent on the situation or comfortability of the speaker? What is the social effect of this manner in reflexive daily situations? Hopefully with an additive study of the collection of socio-cultural and linguistic research performed on different ages, genders, locations, etc. of Nuyoricans, certain theories may be stated that may lead to further specific research as to why such productions result in the way they do, how it affects their cultural mindset, and if its peculiarities and distinctiveness will endure to become a prominent cultural identity that can be recognized as an independent entity.

2.1 Sociolinguistic Researches

2.1.1 Second-generation Nuyoricans in Spanish Harlem

A study was carried out by Ofelia Garcia and Milagros Cuevas (2006) in which their test subjects encompassed second generation Nuyorican individuals living in East Harlem, New York. Since the "peak" of Puerto Rican immigration amassed between the 1940s and 1960s, second-third generations of Puerto Ricans in the United States are the focal sets of individuals who would present the most beneficial data of Spanglish and "Nuyorican talk." This is due to the historical observation that these generations were exposed to and furthered the utilization of such mixtures, transfers, mergers between grammatical structures, cultural insights, and linguistic foundations. Thus as a result, they have created a peculiar and distinct, pragmatic and culturally popular identifiably new manner of informal speech within Spanish speaking communities in New York. General studies, revealed by the *Language Policy Task Force of the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños*, has shown that the bilingual community within East Harlem has

presented usages of both languages in its original standard and dialectal forms, and signs of a mixed presence between the two; however, the organization does not stand for language loss as an issue for what is occurring specifically in East Harlem, but rather for a rising means of communication that has taken place as a result of the two languages, cultures, and peoples that are in constant interaction (Garcia & Cuevas, 1). Although there is a varied usage of Spanish and/or English with second generation Nuyoricans, it is dependent on the individual(s) and their personal (familiar) exposure in whether a transfer includes more Puerto Rican Spanish elements in their English speech structure or English elements within their Spanish structure. As a result, second generation Nuyoricans account for that language usage (English/Spanish) within that community and whose effect and outcome relies on the linguistic participation of its members. The study initiated by Ofelia Garcia and Milagros Cuevas (2006) focused on the variation of the Spanish language ability of second generation Nuyoricans in Spanish Harlem and how pertinent were the factors that affected their transfers, mixings, borrowing, calques, etc. (Why do the peculiar and distinct productions, mentioned in the previous section, occur?). These factors include but are not limited to psychological factors, societal, community and/or demographic features, childhood and/or family influences, or aspects from schooling in Spanish or present day usage in the community by adults. "Ethnolinguistic intergenerational continuity will ultimately be possible only for those who are proficient in Spanish, and pressure must be exerted in different directions depending on which are the determinants of Spanish language ability,"

(Garcia & Cuevas, 1). The control group for the study, in discovering the determinants of their Spanish ability, was comprised of twenty-six second generation Nuyoricans in Spanish Harlem. In determining such proficiency and maintenance of the essence of language that they would produce, Ofelia Garcia and Milagros Cuevas (2006) constructed the following table consisting of

eight variables that would better categorize and find a centralized reason for the production and reasoning for their variation and influences:

<u>Table 11: Thematic clusters and conceptual framework</u>

1. *Individual factors*

    a) demographic factors

        1. Age (Var.1)

        2. Sex (Var.2)
        3. Education (Var.3)

    b) psychological factors dealing with attitude toward bilingualism and Spanish (Var.4)

2. *Monolingual familiarity factors* dealing with time spent in the island (Var.5)

3. *Bilingual community factors*

    a) past language use in childhood in home (Var.6)

    b) study of Spanish in school (Var.7)

    c) present language use in community (Var.8)

Table 11 encompasses different factors that might serve as the cause in affecting the production of second generation Nuyoricans to commit to the mixtures and transfers that they do. Some of these instances, as mentioned, included the influence from their age group, whether it is more apparent in one gender than in the other, the attitudes and behaviors directed towards the acceptance of one language usage over the other, family/bilingual community factors, and the exposure to language instruction, whether by family, school, community, or etc. Taking these matters into account, and creating sub-clusters within the framework, serves as a device in sorting through the different factors to pinpoint what are some influential factors in the creation and utilization of Nuyorican Spanish in the way that it is expressed today in Spanish Harlem.

2.1.1.1 The Spanish Harlem Experiment

Twenty six participants in the experimental group ranged from the ages of 18 to 36 with an average schooling of 13 years, in which half of that amount studied Spanish in a formal school setting, and ultimately all expressed positive opinions towards not only the general understanding but their usage and continual maintenance of the Spanish language within their community of East Harlem, New York (Garcia & Cuevas, 2). The framework for the study consisted of a series of interviews that the participants partook within their households that lasted from approximately one hour to two hours. The study and data collection process were dissected by means into three fragments.

Firstly, the subject was asked to describe, in Spanish, the events that were occurring in a photograph; their speech utterances were being recorded (and later transcribed); the photograph depicted a school fair that was attended by both Latino parents and children. The overall purpose of the first part of this study was to evaluate their quantitative and qualitative Spanish usage when describing what was depicted within the photograph. What Ofelia Garcia and Milagros Cuevas (2006) considered for quantitative means when transcribing was the ratio and percentage of Spanish words to English words uttered throughout the whole recorded production from the individual. What the experimenters looked for concerning the qualitative means was broken down into three subcategories that was rated from 1 (very poor) to 5 (excellent) in terms of fluency, grammatical accuracy, and phonology (Garcia & Cuevas, 2). Overall, this constituted the oral section of the three fragments of the study and data collection. The second objective of the overall study focused on measuring the subject's Spanish literacy ability (Garcia & Cuevas, 2). This was accomplished by creating a Spanish "cloze" test that was administered directly after

the first section, oral section, in which was done to catalog their literacy and grammatical ability. Some people who scored poorly on the oral section of the study performed well on the written analytical section. The first and second section of the study sets up the revelation of important Spanish ability data to the objective of this study (Garcia & Cuevas, 3). Not only does it give the experimenters Spanish quantitative and qualitative scores but a Spanish literacy score in addition. The third objective of the overall study focused on asking the subject a series of "demographic and sociolinguistics questions," (Garcia & Cuevas, 3). These questions were geared towards the different independent variables within the conceptual framework of Table 11.

Upon completion of the study, directed at the twenty six individuals within the control group, the findings of the experiments carried out for the three segments of the overall study had shown interesting results in giving key components and details to better understanding the Spanish ability and usage by second generation Nuyoricans. The results, in which explain and characterize both the Spanish ability and usage amongst second generation Nuyoricans, can be summed up in four principles, statistically: **the only predictor of Spanish ability is the present social use of Spanish in the community by the individual as well as his or her level of education, there is a life-life of Spanish use, Spanish use is more prevalent amongst the youth, and Spanish use is not related to time spent in monolingual country** (Garcia & Cuevas, 4). What this study in essence reveals to my own understanding is the importance of the role that society plays in the constant usage and existence of the Spanish language within a community. The data within this study supported the notion that through that social usage and through the means of education, data concerning prevalence in the usage and maintenance of the Spanish language thrived because of its constant practice and formal instruction. This was reflected in the data analysis of the subject's grammar, structure, and their fluency. With

instruction, practice/usage and interaction, the frequency of the Spanish language increases and is maintained.

<u>2.1.1.1.1 Predicting One's Spanish Ability</u>

<u>Table 12: Predicting Spanish ability</u>

$N = 26$

Variable Entered*	Multpl R	R Square	Beta In	F to Enter	Significance
1. PresUse	.5589	.3124	.5589	10.90	.003
2. Educ	.6990	.4885	.4205	10.98	.000

*No other variable met the .05 significance level for entry into the model.

When evaluating the results of the Spanish ability of second generation Nuyoricans, an important and significant predictor is not only one's education, but also one's current usage of the Spanish language in the community as well. Table 12 shows statistically both the present usage versus the education of the individuals and matches these values according to the variables discussed in Table 11 (in which 2 out of 8 met the .05 mark level). "Accounting for 31% of the variance in Spanish ability," the current usage of the language in the community was revealed as the better predictor of the Spanish Ability of the two values entered (Garcia & Cuevas, 4). The data concerning "the present usage of Spanish in the community" in Table 11 was formulated from questions concerning domains of Spanish speech whether it is spoken in the household with family, one's job, workplace, church, community center, neighborhood, club/organization, telephone, public place, etc. The statistical results and data of this experiment reveal information that is of much practicality. It reveals to the experimenters and audience that the best predictor of not only Spanish ability but usage within the community is the opportunity for that language to

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be practiced freely. "Language usage predicts language ability" (Garcia & Cuevas, 2). The more an individual has more chances and situations where they practice the Spanish language the more proficient there language ability and usage will become. It is a balanced relationship that is best described with the example of a bilingual: if a bilingual wishes to continue as one, he/she must "actively use their language in authentic communication," whereas if an individual does not or have less opportunities to actively practice their language, their language becomes that of a minority language and there will be a result in a language shift for them within that community (Garcia & Cuevas, 5). In concerning Spanish ability amongst Nuyoricans in East Harlem, the only way to continue the presence of Spanish usage is to continue allowing opportunities where Spanish is actively spoken, whether it is in stores, jobs, public centers, etc. The next highest point concerning the preservation of Spanish ability and language usage in East Harlem fell upon was the level of education. The more education and individual has, the better Spanish ability they contain, concerning both oral proficiency and literacy. Contrary to the notion that there are many English-only schools that instruct their lessons in only the English language, the experimenters Ofelia Garcia and Milagros Cuevas (2006) came to the conclusion that regardless of the instruction of language, as long as the location is within a community which values the Spanish language and where this language is actively being used, it serves to be very advantageous returning to the first point in Table 12 of Spanish ability from present exposure, ability and usage. This was the scenario for all twenty six subjects within this experiment. East Harlem, as a community which not only highly exposes the resident to the Spanish language and culture, but and actively contains the Spanish language spoken frequently as an active means of communication within the neighborhood. This is carried out in many grocery stores, churches, fast food restaurants, public playground, and etc. Another portion of evidence from the

experiment reinforced the education notion of Table 12 that the professionals within the experiment, who succeeded professionally and remained within the East Harlem community, furthered their exposure, proficiency, and Spanish ability as they constantly had to communicate in order to serve their neighborhood properly (i.e. whether as professional bilingual teachers, secretaries, social workers, etc) (Garcia & Cuevas, 5). As a linguistic equation of practicality, the balance of education and socio-advancement in proficiency and language usage is apparent. Such individuals with much schooling had more opportunities (i.e. professionally) then one who did not have much school. Concerning this, Ofelia Garcia and Milagros Cuevas (2006) made a quick reference to an example of a supermarket grocery "packer" who dropped out of high school, will make little use of his Spanish in this scenario. As a collective finding, it is deemed important because the relationship of education to Spanish ability and usage is high as the balance of the importance of the Spanish community with the minority language (in this case Spanish) with the socio-economic lives of its inhabitants within minority communities (Garcia & Cuevas, 5). This sheds a clearer light upon the reasoning of variance amongst a heavy populated minority community of East Harlem, judged to be bilingual, of second generation Nuyoricans. It is within that language community in which the maintenance and variance (i.e. regression in this case) of the said language is challenged by surrounding and affecting factors that may either directly influence or shape the contents as more instances continue to progress. This is the difference between a minority language that is only widely used in one instance (childhood, one location, etc) to become a spoken tongue used "here and there" (Garcia & Cuevas, 6) to one that progresses due to the allowing of opportunities. Spanish cannot survive as a minority language if it only occurs and pertains to one variable, such as family. The social and community aspect of the Spanish language is what promotes its ability and usage to continue. One negative and

controversial factor that plays another role in the regression of such a minority language (Spanish) as pinpointed in Table 12 is what is known as the "English-only movement." This occurs as an action affecting second generation Nuyoricans by restricting the Spanish social and public usage, gearing more towards the acceptable and standard usage of the English language.

This resorts to not only a regression (alluding to Table 12) but a threat to "intergenerational continuity," (Garcia & Cuevas, 7). "A higher level of education among second generation Nuyoricans brings about better ability in Spanish" (Garcia & Cuevas, 7). It denotes the common assumption that education may bring about a linguistic and "cultural assimilation and structural incorporation" (Garcia & Cuevas, 7), by Table 12 and the above primary segment of the experiment, and reaffirms the notion that through higher levels of education increases Spanish ability, proficiency and usage. Through both increases of Spanish usage and higher educational encounters raises Spanish awareness ultimately leading in the increase of usage for not only Spanish, but English as well.

2.1.1.1.2 Spanish as a life-line

Table 13: Life-Line Correlation Table

	Age	Educ	Attitd	Monolg	PastUse	PresUse	Abl
Age		.51	.06	.21	-.26	-.45	.01
Educ			.24	.08	.19	-.07	.38
Attitd				.22	-.01	.00	-.08
Monolg					-.03	-.02	.09
PastUse						.69	.53
PresUse							.56
Abl							

*This correlational table presents correlations between the continuous variables in the study. They are age, level of education, attitude toward Spanish, density of contact with the monolingual context, past language use in childhood, present language use in the community, and Spanish ability.

The second finding, which sheds light on the Spanish ability and usage amongst second generation Nuyoricans, is referred to by Ofelia Garcia and Milagros Cuevas (2006) as a "life-

line" of Spanish usage. The resulting statistics from the experiment can be found in Table 13.

Both Ofelia Garcia and Milagros Cuevas (2006) compare the stronghold of the Spanish language within a person to an individual's time line. The relationship is strong between both the present usage of Spanish by an individual in adulthood with the encounter, interaction, and usage of the individual to Spanish from their past younger years. This alludes to the balanced notion that the more an individual uses Spanish as a child, the more he/she will use continue using it as an adult (both usages are strongly correlated with their Spanish ability [i.e. resort to Table 13 (.56)]). Table 13 reveals the statistical variation between the variables mentioned in Table 11 with the individuals age, level of education, attitude towards Spanish, density of contact with the monolingual context, past language use in childhood, present language use in the community with their Spanish ability (Garcia & Cuevas, 8). In clarifying Table 13, the results signify and lead to the conclusion that Spanish frequent usage as a child is very important in correlation with Spanish ability and how it is presently used within the community, although it does not appear as a direct and independent predictor of direct Spanish ability (Garcia & Cuevas, 8). The importance of this table and correlation between the variable factors with a person's childhood is if it directly leads to the active participation and usage of that Spanish language in adulthood in social and community context. Similar to the conclusion found from within the experiments of

2.1.1.1.1 Spanish Ability, the activeness and public spread of Spanish within a community and its survival amongst Nuyoricans are directly linked. As mentioned within *2.1.1.1.1 Spanish Ability*,

"if children are to speak Spanish as adults, they must have opportunities to speak Spanish in the community, both as children and as adults," (Garcia & Cuevas, 8).

2.1.1.1.3 The usage of Spanish amongst young individuals

Another aspect from Table 13 reveals that there is a negative association between the ages of the individual with the present usage of the Spanish language to reveal (from the experiment) that Spanish is spoken more within the younger crowds as the older Nuyoricans speak Spanish less and less. This is significantly apparent even though, as previously mentioned, there is no correlation between age and that Spanish language ability (Garcia & Cuevas, 8). According to the study done by Ofelia Garcia and Milagros Cuevas (2006) and their results from Table 13, there is more activity from younger Nuyoricans when it comes to actively speaking Spanish in the community than older Nuyoricans. This may account for many different reasons. For instance, dependent on the community, as it may offer different opportunities for Spanish usage, may host different language events in which a younger crowd of Nuyoricans will partake more over than a crowd of older Nuyoricans. Another example may consist of the community not offering opportunities for the older crowd of Nuyorican individuals to "reactivate" or utilize their Spanish and for that reason they have fewer chances to be proactive in their language communication. According to Table 13, Ofelia Garcia's and Milagros Cuevas' (2006) results and conclusion suggest that the older crowd of Nuyoricans participate less in Spanish speaking events and activities while the younger crowd is associated more with Spanish usage within the East Harlem community (this may be an option [case] for aging speech communities) (Garcia & Cuevas, 9). Yet, as a result of this experiment there was no association found between an individual's attitude with their language usage or Spanish ability.

2.1.1.1.4 Spanish usage and time affected by Puerto Rico

The fourth and final finding which was extracted from the experiment concerning the Spanish ability and usage amongst second generation Nuyoricans consists of the assumed correlation of a regression of Spanish usage due to the fact of a segment of time spent in the monolingual country, the United States. Yet, on the contrary, there is no revealed correlation (from Table 12 or 13) in which the time spent in Puerto Rico is directly linked to either the individual's Spanish ability or usage (Garcia & Cuevas, 9). This finding alone is of substantial importance for the survival of Spanish within bilingual communities because it reaffirms the presence and position of U.S. Spanish within bilingual communities such as East Harlem.

"Nuyoricans who use Spanish most and know it best are not the ones who have spent more time in Puerto Rico, but those who have been active in the bilingual Nuyorican community," (Garcia & Cuevas, 10). The only variable that is not stagnant, may be the attitude towards the usage and ability of the language, such as if a person is visiting or living in Puerto Rico, yet from the study Ofelia Garcia and Milagros Cuevas (2006) conclude that contact of a Nuyorican second generation individual with the monolingual discourse neither results in an increase or decrease of Spanish ability, proficiency or usage for the individual, yet only increases one's pride in their "ethnolinguistic group," (Garcia & Cuevas, 10).

2.1.1.1.5 Conclusion

There are a number of conclusive notions that stem from the research and study done by Ofelia Garcia's and Milagros Cuevas' (2006) concerning Nuyorican and the correlations

between their ethnolinguistic community with their language ability and usage. The wide and active usage of Spanish within Nuyorican bilingual communities may only thrive if its speakers utilize the minority language as more than just a communicative means amongst monolingual families. The maintenance goes beyond the household and must be spread across many different events and locations and the educational opportunities for Nuyoricans must increase if the Spanish ability and usage for second generation Nuyorican is to increase. "…to improve the status of Nuyorican Spanish and its speakers…[one must] breed [an] almost spontaneous variety of Spanish that is closer to monolingual norms," (Garcia & Cuevas, 10). The attitudes and behaviors of Nuyoricans towards Spanish must be one that is kept as protection: to be protected as the "language of the home" (Garcia & Cuevas, 10). This can be done as simply as having parents continuing to talk to their children in Spanish, giving them the same opportunities that they had received as children. Another crucial criterion for Nuyorican youth is the ability to speak out against the stereotypes that continually plow through the mindset of on looking individuals. No longer must the thoughts of other individuals about Nuyorican language/culture be one of "un-education," and a feature of aging and a poor socio-economic community yet transform to one that represents a strong Nuyorican community that uses its language, Spanish, "alongside English, to negotiate social and economic justice for the community at large," (Garcia & Cuevas, 10). Nuyorican, as an identity that incorporates all that it does, must be maintained to a higher level of prestige and essence, and this occurs as the more opportunities and levels of Spanish ability and usages increase, and the factors that determine them increase as well. The most directed help that may initiate this cause can stem from the help from bilingual professionals who are at a better position to directly assist in raising the status of both the Nuyorican identity and Spanish language ability and usage and expanding it as a resource within

the community through setting an example, projecting their voice in advocating for its presentation, and increasing education and economic opportunities (Garcia & Cuevas, 10). This conclusively will resort in a stronger and more stabilized Nuyorican Spanish identity, language and variety.

2.2 An Introduction to the Typology of Code-Switching

To switch from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation…

-Weinreich (1953) (on code-switching)

In a study constructed and carried out by linguistic researcher, Shana Poplack, she ventured to discover if the relationship is one of a mutual symbiosis as the degree of bilingualism is governed and determined by the presence of code-switching, whether it is as a subject of the "equivalence constraint." Since code-switching, as mentioned more specifically in Section 1.1.3, has been revealed to be used in accordance to the general and established syntactical rules for both the matrix and the embedded language, does in fact the equivalence constraint on code switching have a direct effect on the bilingual degree of an individual speaker (Poplack, 1)? Thought of to be violated by non-fluent bilingual speakers, she hypothesized that many of such utterances would violate the syntactical rules that are in place for code-switching and for the languages at hand. She contemplates that such productions would be "risky" in their syntactical productions and outputs and for that reason are in direct relationship that such non-fluent speakers will construct creations in which directly violate the 'equivalence constraint.' In order to test such a hypothesis, Poplack (1980) constructed an experiment analyzing the spontaneous speech patterns of twenty Puerto Rican residents of East 102nd Street of the stable bilingual

neighborhood of El Barrio, East Harlem, New York City, that vary in degree of bilingualism of both English and Spanish. The location is dominantly Puerto Rican (95%) and gives an ideal setting for the study to unravel. Results of the study showed that both fluent and non-fluent bilinguals were both able to code-switch effectively and grammatically, as fluent bilinguals favored syntactical switches in different parts of the sentences, non-fluent bilinguals focused on switching between sentences, so that they merely do not violate the grammatical rules of either language (Poplack, 1). Interpretation of these results show that code-switching in general comes from the bilingual's grammatical structures of both languages that overlap, suggesting that it is a sign of linguistic and stylistic bilingual skills rather than a loss of linguistic ability in either of the languages.

It is a study that aims to survey the role of both Spanish and English from an analyzation of their speech patterns through observation of their daily lives within the community, attitudes towards each prospective language, and the "quantitative sociolinguistic analysis of selected linguistics behavior" (Poplack, 1).

2.2.1 A Sociolinguistic Analysis

"It is only by linking ethnographic observations with linguistic analysis that code-switching behavior may be most adequately explained," (Poplack, 3). Before carrying out the sociolinguistic analysis, Poplack (1980) constructed different categories in a means of helping to distinguish and identify the different utterances that she would receive and be able to place in their prospective grouping. These different category constraints set boundaries and rules in accordance to grammatical code switches and to what level of integration they affect, whether

phonological, morphological, or syntactical. The following table, Table 14, reveals different examples of each type and possibility, with all results concluding with a means of code switching (Poplack, 3):

Table 14: Identification of base language integrated code-switching

Type	Levels of Integration Into Base Language			CS?	Example
	phon	morph	syn		
1	✓	✓	✓	No	Es posible que te MOGUEEN. (They might mug you.) (002/1)
2	–	–	✓	Yes	Las palabras HEAVY-DUTY, bien grandes, se me han olvidado. (I've forgotten the real big, heavy-duty words.) (40/485)
3	✓	–	–	Yes	[da 'waɾi se] (58/100)
4	– '	–	–	Yes	No creo que son FIFTY-DOLLAR SUEDE ONES. (I don't think they're fifty-dollar suede ones.) (05/271)

This sociolinguistic analysis promotes the hypothesis that it is indeed both the combination of both functional (social and pragmatic) and linguistic factors that create a rule-governed model that explains code-switching behavior in both fluent and non-fluent Nuyoricans.

These proposed models and types from Table 14 are established based on "acceptability judgments" of whether the utterance is grammatically accepted or not. However, this does not include certain examples in which may be acceptable by certain communities and societies and not others (case of an overtly stigmatized sociolinguistic marker) (Poplack, 5). However, Poplack (1980) focuses on linguistic universals that account for code-switching instances by Puerto Ricans that would suffice such reasoning for their usages and categorized by Table 14's levels of integration of code-switching. And while many linguistic researchers use this as a response to the generic rumor that the decline of Puerto Rican fluency in Spanish is due to code-

switching, this sociolinguistic analysis presents data that not only analyses the codes set forth by the twenty Puerto Rican subjects, but also its behavior in relevance by the varied degrees of fluency with their proposed bilingual ability (Poplack, 9).

2.2.2 The Hypothesis of configured code-switching

There are two types of Nuyorican configured "intra-sentential" code-switching that is mentioned by Poplack (1980) in which are further analyzed within her experiment. The first focuses on a high volume and content that is repeated through the sentence. One example that illustrates the first type of high "intra-sentential" volume is the following: *Why make Carol* **SENTARSE ATRAS PA' QUE** *(sit in the back so) everybody has to move* **PA' QUE SE SALGA** *(for her to get out) (*Poplack, 9)? Within this example, there is a high concentration of phrases that are transferred that fit the syntactical rules of the English language in both the beginning and ending of the sentence. The second example, noted by Poplack (1980) concerning the concentration of intra-sentential code-switching by Nuyoricans is of a less "intimate" setting that focuses on tag switches and/or single word switches. This entails upon one word that is transferred. This may be because the speaker does not know the word in the matrix language or more emphasis is given to the word because it is in the original language. An example of a less intimate and concentrated intra-sentential code-switch is the following: *Salian en sus carros y en sus (They would go out in their cars and in their)* **SNOWMOBILES**. The reasoning established by Poplack (1980) for both instances falls on the role of the speaker, the situation/setting in which he/she speaks and to whom they are speaking. In one direction the reasoning may be one of style (if it is for intimacy and/or emphasis), but conversely the choice of usage depends on the

"ethnic group membership" of the balanced bilingual who can flutter between both choices. The more intimate the configuration is, the more vividly utilized it is when concerning an "in-group" membership of "intra-sentential" code-switching and of those who contain an out-group or non-group membership use more of an emblematic switching (all dependent of the membership of the individual). Poplack's (1980) theory reaffirms that contrary to true code-switching recognized by all linguists, it is actually separated into different groupings dependent on different memberships for different purposes. "**To what extent is the bilingual competency, revealed by skilled code switching behavior of a balanced bilingual, shared by the non-fluent bilinguals in the same speech environment** (Poplack, 10)**?** At the same time, Poplack (1980) ventures to find out if code-switching has an effect on the bilingual ability of an individual. With non-fluent bilinguals in the sample group of the overall experiment, Poplack's (1980) hypothesis results in three different consequences. First, the individual is able to skillfully travel between the usage of both intimate and emblematic code switching regardless of his/her bilingual competency in either language. This may result in ungrammatical utterances and productions in which emphasizes the claim that such code-switching is the result in a decline and social deviance from the proposed original standard. Secondly, the speaker might avoid intra-sentential code-switching and therefore stem away from risky situations that such configurations might lead him/her. Although this may assure grammatical examples, the claim might stand as such that there is less material and "lack of availability" in the second language for the code-switching to occur in the first place. This leaves the availability of a third option in which no code-switching is done entirely (at the end of the study, the data shows that this is not considered since all of the subjects code-switched at some point in time of the experiment) (Poplack 10).

<u>2.2.3 Intra-sentential code switching data and results</u>

The study contained a subject group of twenty socially active Nuyorican individuals, between the ages of their early twenties and fifties; half of the sample consisted of members who were family oriented and shared social participation in activities amongst each other, where the remaining sample's contained unemployed men and women who focused less on family and friendships, and participated less in societal activities. This observation took place between the years 1975-1977; this study was also done to see the effect of the society and community on an individual's bilingual ability. The subjects were mostly born in Puerto Rico and were chosen based on an age group of the arrival age, zero to six years old and seven to twelve years old, and their language preference, where half of the subjects were Spanish dominant, 10% English dominant, and the rest was bilingual (Poplack, 12). Influence of peers and community has an astounding influence on the language preference, ability, and constructed means of communication, as the study thoroughly proves. The first means of observation was through an attitude questionnaire given to the subjects to analyze their attitudes and views towards various aspects of the Puerto Rican discourse and all that it encompasses. From a socio-linguistic standpoint, the subject's self-reports revealed that 55% considered themselves Spanish dominant speakers as the rest, bilinguals. 95% of the subjects rated themselves with an above average **proficiency** in Spanish and less than 45% claim proficiency in English (Poplack, 13). This is an important self-evaluation because it denotes the hypothesis that if code-switching only relied on the "lack of availability" in the second language, the subjects in this study would favor using Spanish more than English as their basis. Concerning self-identification, over 65% expressed

positive attitudes and behaviors towards the Puerto Rican, Nuyorican culture, and the importance of the bond between the culture and the Spanish language (90%).

Si tu eres Puertorriqueño (if you're Puerto Rican), your father's a Puerto Rican, you should at least de vez en cuando (sometimes), you know, hablar Español (speak Spanish).
-Sally, member of the sample

The members are aware of the existence and constant usage of code-switching in their community and amongst themselves; that is a norm of their community on E. 102nd street. Yet, there be something more than the hypothesis that code-switching only lies as a means for language identity of a culture or lack of availability of words, phrases, or concepts in another language. Another means of data collection consisted of sixty six hours of recorded speech in interviews and in "natural settings." Natural settings included gossip *(bochinche)* or interactions and conversation flows within the community, at local shops, stores, and restaurants. By studying the essences of uninterrupted natural speech, the experimenters are able to study not only when code-switches occur but answer why as well.

2.2.3.1 Transcription interpretations of recorded data

After an analysis of the sixty six hours of recorded conversations and interactions, exactly 1, 835 instances of code-switches were found and transcribed to its syntactical function and purpose (Poplack, 16). These instances varied from single words, to phrases and concepts, and each one was noted on how the code-switch came about (hesitation, unknown word in matrix language, etc.). Some examples of their recorded transcriptions will be explained in the next few paragraphs. The first instance that was recognized was the switching of "complete parts of speech." For example, with the help of a tag word, syntactic switches occurred concerning the entire segment of a part of speech.

a. But I wanted to fight her **con los puños** (with my fists), you know.
b. Siempre esta **promising** casas. (He's always promising things.)
c. I could understand **que** (that) you don't know how to speak Spanish, G VERDAD') (right?).

In each example, an entire part of speech was code-switched. In example a, the independent clause preceded by what was transcribed as a prepositional phrase had transferred from the Spanish language into the matrix language of English and followed by a tag. Similar to example a, example c code switches the conjunction *Que* (what) into the English language matrix and is also followed by an independent code switched tag of *Verdad?* as well. In example b, the code switched was transcribed as a verb that is transferred from the English language into the Spanish structure following a Spanish auxiliary verb and preceding a noun phrase (Poplack, 16). Other function examples of code-switching include interjections such as different **fillers.** For example this includes hesitations such as *este* (ummm), *I mean*; interjections such as *oh shit!* Or *Ay Dios Mio!!* (Oh my G-d); tags such as *entiendes?* (understand?) and *you know* and finally different expressions such as *no way* and *y toda esa mierda* (and all that shit) (Poplack 16). Unlike the examples given in the beginning, these examples are productions that are less linked to the syntactical structure of the rest of the sentence and are independent to that structure. Code-switching examples varied from one to a few word code switches to larger ones that even included words in which when transcribed as free in structure, and not as an important immovable part of the structure: *No tienen ni tiempo (they don't even have time) sometimes for their own kids, and you know who I'm talking about.* The following is an example of a block paragraph that was recorded of the subject speaking about a single discourse.

But I used to eat the BOFE, the brain. And then they stopped selling it because TENIAN, ESTE, LE ENCONTRARON QUE TENIA (they had, uh, they found out that it had) worms. 1 used to make some BOFE! Despues yo hacia uno d'esos (then I would make one of those) CONCOCTIONS: THE GARLIC con cebolla, y hacia un mojo, y yo dejaba que se curara eso (with onion, and I 'd make a sauce, and I 'd let that sit) FOR A

COUPLE OF HOURS. / Then you be drinking and eating that shit. Wooh! It's like eating anchovies when you're drinking. Delicious! (Poplack 16)

The importance of this transcription is the focus of at what times the individual code-switches between the two languages occurs, for how long, and is it an important enough switch that gives substantial information as to why the switch occurred and what the structure is for the switch. Within this paragraph, the experimenters analyzed and have revealed that this individual changes his/her base language frequently and what leads into such switches in most of the above cases is a "part of speech" switch in which a verb, prepositional phrase, etc, is transferred into the base language and the subject continues speaking in that language until there is a break with another "part of speech" transfer, a **filler** that occurs, etc. The base language for the different individuals varies dependent on which language is more dominant concerning switches; balanced bilinguals alternate between both languages as a base language because of their dominance in both languages (above example). A third notable transcription of codes-switches that were done focuses on language aspects that are integrated into the community and culture that are understood by the individual. One example of this is as follows*: Ay, que CUTE [kju] se ve!'*

How cute he looks!' This utterance is a transfer not only of the English word into a Spanish based language but the base language takes over the phonology of the word as well to give it a Spanish pronunciation of the English word "cute." Another example of this is the following: En ese tiempo habia muchos **junkies** (At that time there were a lot of junkies). This is also an example of an English word that is transferred into a Spanish based structure but the pronunciation is Spanish-based as well. Throughout the different recordings that were transcribed this was the case for food names, proper names, and names of places (Poplack, 18).

After cross analyzing the 1,835 recorded pieces of code-switching data, many important observations had surfaced. One piece of striking information was that out of the 1,835 examples of the code switching, whether interviews or in a natural setting, not one was an ungrammatical combination [L1-L2 or L2-L1] (Poplack, 20). This is in disregard of the degree of bilingualism of the individual or their bilingual ability. This supports the original hypothesis as it is also revealed that there were no instances or transfers of bound morphemes in natural speech (in reference to *eatiendo)*. There were some switches within idiomatic expressions, but it was less than 5% of the samples in which that occurred. An example of this is the following: *Mi mai tuvo que ir a firmar Y SHIT pa' sacarme, you know.* (My mom had to go sign 'n shit to get me out, you know). "This finding is strong evidence that alternation between two languages requires a high level of bilingual competence. Code-switching involves enough knowledge of two (or more) grammatical systems to allow the speaker to draw from each system only those rules which the other shares, when alternating one language with another," (Poplack, 21). 96% of the data supports the notion that code-switching is a skill as smooth transitions are made from the transferred item to the following grammatical items, following all of the rules of that grammatical system and keeping in bounds with the language's discourse. It is the skill of unawareness where the individual alternates between the two languages unaware of its occurrence yet still keeping to the rules of both grammar systems and transferring/code-switching correctly. It is the relationship amongst the constituent that transfers and the preceding and following grammatical units. The experimenters grouped the different examples of code-switching that were found throughout the study and group them by their syntactical categories in

which share similar characteristics. They are grouped also by the number of instances in which each category includes an English to Spanish transfer, Spanish to English transfer, and the percentage of its frequency throughout all the samples that the researchers had collected. Some of these features include a transfer that consists of the whole sentence, a particular word and/or part of speech, a phrase and/or clause, etc.

Table 15: Code-switching by syntactic category

Syntactic Category of CS	# of CS from Eng to Sp	# of CS from Sp to Eng	% of Total CS	N
determiner	3	0	0.2%	3
(single) noun	34	141	9.5	175
subject noun phrase	44	25	3.8	69
object noun phrase	62	78	7.6	140
auxiliary	0	0	0.0	0
verb	6	13	1.0	19
verb phrase	27	13	2.2	40
independent clause	44	35	4.3	79
subordinate (and relative) clause	53	23	4.1	76
adjective	3	12	0.8	15
predicate adjective	6	37	2.3	43
adverb	14	33	2.6	47
preposition	2	0	0.1	2
phrases (prep, adj, advb, inf)	55	39	5.1	94
conjunctions (sub-ordinate, coordinate, relative pronoun)	33	16	2.7	49
sentence	201	171	20.3	372
filler	9	11	1.1	20
interjection	26	89	6.3	115
idiomatic expression	8	23	1.7	31
quotation	20	14	1.9	34
tag	9	403	22.5	412
Totals	659	1176		1835

Intra-sentential spans from "determiner" through "conjunctions (subordinate, coordinate, relative pronoun)". *Extra-sentential* spans from "sentence" through "tag".

About half of the data corroborates the hypothesis that individuals code-switch entire sentences as a result of less interaction with grammatical systems of both languages and a less risk of violating rules within each; one example concerns whole "sentences" as 20% of the code-switching data that occurs. This also gives supporting evidence for the equivalence constraint

theory that whole groupings and constituents are more favored to be code-switched than parts or elements of the sentence (Poplack, 23). The table also shows the sample's preference towards transfers from English to Spanish, yet when most of the single word transfers of fillers, interjections and etc, are removed from the data there is no degree significance between either of the language (Poplack, 23). It refers to a balanced knowledge of both grammatical systems that allows the individual to code-switch with knowledge of at what points to transfer within the sentence, an overlapping of both languages (grammars). Out of the 1,835 portions of data that the researchers collected, a crucial aspect reveals that there were no ungrammatical combinations of L1 or L2 of code-switching, regardless of their bilingual competence or ability. "By showing that non-fluent bilinguals are able to code-switch frequently, yet maintain grammaticality in both Ll and L2 by favoring emblematic or tag-switching, it has also been demonstrated empirically that code-switching is not monolithic behavior (Poplack, 34). In essence it is not just a focus of the effect of the community that constitutes the code switches that occurs, but the code-switches that creates and forms as a part of the community's speech; an Ethnolinguistic identity. This is the same occurrence that is portrayed throughout E. 102nd street and East Harlem as a part of the culture, not as a deficiency within the language. It is the balance of the integration of both the construction of the language with the social and cultural aspects of the community that creates that identity (no social motivation of the language). It is the significant choice of the speaker rather than the switch points which, depending on the bilingual ability, allows him/her to code-switch with a large amount of possibilities for switches within the spoken discourse (Poplack, 35).

Table 16 Bilingual code switching grammar graphs

a. Inter-sentential switching b. 'tag'-switching c. Intra-sentential switching
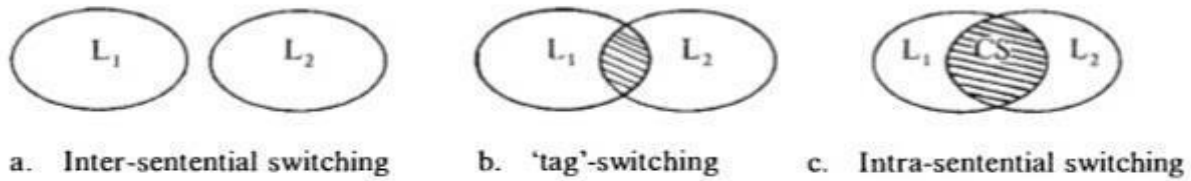
The results of this experiment reveal to me and support the notion that code-switching is not just a matter of language deficiency in either L1 or L2, yet a full comprehension of the grammatical rules and systems of both languages. This was proven through the study in which both balanced and unbalanced bilinguals were able to produce code-switches and transfers that did not conflict with the grammatical systems or rules of either of the two languages. Instead, none of the code-switches were ungrammatical; at the same time, the study revealed that it wasn't just a transfer because of an unknown word, phrase or clause, but because of a cause of identity that interacts cohesively with the features of the community's culture. From words to phrases, fillers, interjections, and hesitations, code-switching is revealed as "an indicator of degree of bilingual competence," (Poplack 35). It is the ability to unknowingly be able to transfer segments of information between the matrix and secondary languages and simultaneously have the massed possibilities of switch points for such transference.

2.3 The cultural and linguistic motivation of lexical borrowing in New York City

In the previous sections, code-switching was discussed in depth concerning the cross analysis between its indicators and causes for its occurrences. From a study conducted by researchers, a hypothesis concerning its relevance (and not as a lack or deficiency) was proven efficient as not only supporting features revealed what code-switching embodies, at which points, and what it reveals about the competence and ability of a balanced bilinguals. But that it is due also to a set of strong skills in the grammar systems of both languages, the individuals in the sample produced no ungrammatical instances of code-switching, contained ample points in which to code-switch, and was used frequently and simultaneously to fully construct the culture of the community. Now that code-switching has been discussed, in terms of its socio-linguistic participation in its creation as a community ethnolinguistic identity, the final construction in which will be presented concerns the subject of lexical borrowing within Puerto Rican Spanish spoken in New York City. There are many different hypothesis reasonings as to why this occurs inter-and among cultures; one of them being the mixture and interaction of Puerto Rican Spanish with other Spanish and non-Spanish speaking cultures that clash within the community on an interactive daily basis (cultural gap) (Ortigosa, 1). Lending and borrowing in essence is referred to in this case with a labeling of certain concepts, objects, theories and/or actions, yet in spite of this, this reasoning does not cover all of the cases and instances as to why such loans and borrowings occur, or not as straightforward (loanwords). What are the motivations for lexical borrowing in the Spanish speaking communities with New York, in which starts to transform the culture and identity of the language to include the presence of other language characteristics in their lexicons and daily speech?

Ana Ortigosa ventures to excavate the issue of the motivation of such borrowing and loans of such lexical borrowing within that Spanish spoken in New York City and at the same time attempts to not disprove but shine light upon the notion that it's not just because of cultural gaps that exists but a new cultural designation to a original concept, object or action that they encounter as well as factors including the grammars and society that come into play. She introduces three new types of motivations for such occurrences that she reveals within her paper and through extensive studies and research (data), experiments were carried out. She brings light and refocuses upon twenty interviews that were conducted by Ricardo Otheguy concerning the generational groups of Spanish speakers and their utterances, giving more support to her hypothesis concerning her three causes of lexical motivation. Past theories of such motivations of lexical borrowings focused merely upon the societal factors and influences such as the giving of labels and new vocabulary to new concepts, ideas, actions, and objects, etc, so that their prospective generation may refer and incorporate the essence of what they come across in their own daily language, culture and customs:

> The main cause for borrowing is related with the inability of a given vocabulary to name new things, that is to say, it originates in the necessity of extending the referential function of language. The function of these borrowings is, therefore, referential. The loanwords that best show this function are the ones that are incorporated into the L1 at earlier stages.
>
> Mendieta, *El préstamo en el español de los Estados Unidos* (1999: 43)

It is a means to incorporate what is new from another culture into the daily lexicon of the Spanish speaker allowing for different transferred and/or altered words into the different dialects dependent upon the interaction of the speakers.

2.3.2 Cases of Previous Motivations of Lexical Borrowing

Therefore, as stated by Mendieta, the best effecting and successful instances of lexical borrowing within the dialects of Spanish speakers within New York would be exposed from the cases incorporated into a speaker's L1 at its earlier stages (Ortigosa, 3). Some examples of fields in which the early process of lexical borrowing would occur would be in areas such as food, locations, education, cultures, social/political structures, etc. One case may concern an immigrant whose L1 is Spanish and may come into contact with many concepts in New York that he/she might not be accustomed to, and for this reason must adapt to them and the new environment with the process of lexical borrowings in order to give a new identity to convey such interpretations (Ortigosa, 4). For example, some concepts that may not be understood from the speaker's L1's culture may be *brunch, sophomore, happy hour, spring break* and etc. Such examples serve as a motivation for lexical borrowing in order to adapt with new concepts in a new environment: "Borrowings into the Spanish of USA represent a sign of acculturation by the minority group," (Ortigosa, 4). The context of this may be more likely to occur when Spanish is spoken in a New York location, rather than a Latin America location, leading to calques and borrowings that will only convey the message in the most clear and point-driving matter if such borrowing is practiced (Otheguy & García, 1993).

Another case may concern instances, in which the target language may already have a word/concept that is similar to that of the secondary language. Due to what is referred to as semantic specialization, the individual would use a borrowed word from the lexicon of a secondary language although they had a sufficient and equivalent vocabulary in their main language. This would be done for the purpose of restriction or specialization in which the word might refer to something more specific in the same subject field that the original word refers. To better explain this concept, Ortigosa refers to two examples. The first is an allusion to the researcher Haugen, who mentions the action of semantic specialization with the example of a Norwegian immigrant, who in turn used the word *hage* to refer to any orchard or garden, yet Norwegian immigrants in the USA specifically refer to an orchid as a *hage* and a garden of flowers and vegetables was referred to as a garden (Haugen 1938: 19-20). The second example that Ortigosa refers to is the concept of *lunch* in Spain and how it may be different then the concept of lunch in the United States. In Spanish spoken in the United States, the Spanish word for lunch is either *almuerzo* or *comida* yet in Spain the concept of lunch is not referred to as a "a meal that you have in the afternoon," yet "a light meal served to guests in a celebration: *Habrá un lunch después de la conferencia.* There will be a reception after the conference (Otigosa, 4). For this reason, *lunch* becomes a lexical borrowing in an adaption to its concept within the United States.

A following case of a known motivation of lexical borrowing includes emotional or expressive connotations that come with such calques and loan words that are only used in certain situations (Mendieta [1999] and Silva-Corvalán [2001]). This is dependent upon the speaker's feelings and situation that occurs allowing the speaker to convey their feelings, attitudes, thoughts and/or opinions with a certain situation (that may not be found in their own prospective

language). An example of this consists of interjections such as *No Way!* and *Oh my God!*
(Ortigosa, 4). Prestige of one language over another may serve as another means of motivation dependent upon the motivation of adaptation of the individual to the community he/she resides. Dependent upon the situation that the speaker is in, if the prestige of one language is greater than the other, lexical borrowings may occur. Some examples of situations and lexicons in which they may offer are *staff* or *shopping center* instead of *personal* or *centro commercial* (Ortigosa, 4). It is a means of a self-identification of the speaker by using borrowed words and forms depending upon what identity they are trying to adopt or maintain for themselves. As a cultural reality or prestige of one language over another, Zentella (1990) comments on Puerto Ricans in New York that use loan words from the English language as a neutral expression to dilute the differences in various labels for a word (for example the English word *kite* where different Spanish terms are used: *chiringa, cometa, chichigua, papalote)* (Ortigosa, 5). "It is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact," (Ortigosa, 5). It is the importance of societal factors and structures that cause such output of speakers and gears their language usages depending upon the setting, situation, feedback from opposing and interacting speakers from their community and the motivation of adaptation within that society. Yet, Ana Ortigosa ventures to prove that it is also linguistics factors that play a role in the outcomes certain utterances and lexical borrowings with her last two reasoning. It is not just societal factors but linguistic functions, prestige, structures and grammars that have much to do with the motivation of lexical borrowings between two or more languages. For example, focusing on the study by Zentella (1990) of Puerto Rican Spanish (phonological aspects), because of a similarity between the phonological and morphological aspects of the English word "carpet" and the Spanish word

carpeta (meaning: folder), such similarity serves as a motivation for lexical borrowing. The focus of such motivations of lexical borrowings result in the cultural values in relation to New York City, the length of words (a favor lies more with reduced syllables) (*weekend* instead of *fin de semana*), and groupings of words that are frequently used in colloquial situations (Ortigosa, 5). All of this, in essence, depends upon the generation of the speaker and the dialectal region to which the speaker comes into interaction.

2.3.3 The Analyzation and Study of Lexical Borrowing Utterances

With a sample of twenty individuals, ten as a first generation informant and ten as a second generation informant, Ortigosa studied, analyzed and focused on all of the speech utterances that contained noun phrase borrowings from single words such as *customers* to noun phrases such as *foreign language program* (Ortigosa, 6). Studying the frequency of such borrowing within their speech, Ortigosa studies not only in which instances and fields do the participants use noun phrases, but also which generation used more as a total means to explain the factors of the motivation of their lexical borrowing within language contact (cases of code switching was excluded from the results of this study). The results that are found in Table 17 are categorized into semantic categories, letting the audience know the different subject fields in which the sample had used lexical borrowings in their speech. It is then broken into how many instances were used and separated into which generation used a certain amount, followed by certain examples. It seems that after reviewing Table 17's results, one can see that when it came to the topic of work related terms first generation immigrants had more lexical borrowing instances than in any other sematic category. Examples of this category includes terms such as

social worker, parole officer, boss, foreman, in which for different reasons (which will be explained in the following paragraph) chose to use such borrowed words in place of a continual lexicon in Spanish of the chosen words at hand. When analyzing Table 17 concerning 2nd generation Spanish speaking immigrants, the most lexical borrowing instances occurred when speaking about other means of societal occurrences that were specific to that community (this also will be explained in the next paragraph). This category contained labels, concepts, and theories in which were lexically borrowed rather than using a term within their own native language. The semantic category that closely followed was referring to the topic of education. Some examples of terms that were lexically borrowed in the samples' productions were *high school, bachelor,* and *foreign language program* (Ortigosa, 7). After a direct evaluation and analyzation of the data second generation (those who had been living in New York much longer) had seventy types of lexical borrowings while first generation had only twenty nine. "The more intense the contact situation is, the more likely it is that extensive structural borrowing will occur," (Ortigosa, 8).

Table 17: Results by generation and semantic categories

Semantic categories	1st generation	2nd generation	Examples
Work related terms	11	11 (15 tokens)	*social worker, parole officer, boss, foreman*
Education	4	18 (22 tokens)	*high school, college, bachelor, foreign language program, record*
Financial and monetary	2	5 (5 tokens)	*taxes, biles (bills), welfare check*
Housing (parts of a house, building)	1	4	*building, basement, lunchroom, homeroom*
Food	0	2	*hamburguer, marshmallows*
Transportation	2	1	*subway, transfer, six train*
Leisure time	1	3	*recreation, nightclubs, mole*
Other	8 (11 tokens)	26	*realization, role, speaker, probation, soup kitchen, teenage years, ID, common denominator*

2.3.4 The Three Motivations for Lexical Borrowings

2.3.4.1 Filling the Cultural Gap

Of the three main motivations for lexical borrowings, Ortigosa's first focus is of the motivation of the "filling of a cultural gap" as mentioned previously in this section. It is the differences amongst the cultures of the two communities that allow for the individual to borrow certain words and concepts in order to convey their message in the most precise way to be

understood within that community and community's culture (in this scenario, that of the United States). Certain examples that were extracted from the study relied on a cultural understanding and encounter with the United States culture with samples such as *freshman, marshmallow, soup kitchen, welfare,* and *quarter* as they surfaced as being instances in which there was no direct equivalence within their target language (Ortigosa, 8). Table 18 gives more of a quick insight as to what the equivalence would be according to the dictionary. In such instances where such words would be borrowed, the speaker, at that timing, felt that by using the borrowed lexicon, it would be efficiently easier to convey their message directly and quickly than giving a direct translation. It also results in an extra effort to search for a similar Spanish term to use if not in addition the usage of the direct translation of the word.

Table 18: Direct Translation from L1 to L2

Freshman: *estudiante de primer año universitario.*
Marshmallows: *malvavisco, gomita.*
Soup kitchen: *comedor de beneficiencia.*
Welfare: *bienestar social.*
Quarter: *moneda de 25 centavos.*

Some other examples of lexically borrowed words across the different sematic categories mentioned in Table 17 are the following: *high school* instead of *escuela secundaria* (which according to societal structures of what constitutes a high school and what of a secondary school may be different) and *customer service* instead of *servicio al cliente* (Ortigosa, 9). The frequency of the borrowed words is in relevance to the speaker's discourse and/or environment that dictates within the usage of the word with how many times that word is said and integrated

into the speaker's discourse (proper names versus labels of an item [metro vs. subway]). Society in term also has an effect on whether an individual borrows certain terms or not. Otheguy (1988) discusses how frequency in lexical borrowing in New York Spanish can also occur depend on the interpretation of different concepts. One example of this is the usage of the lexically borrowed word *building* instead of the usages of the Spanish translation *edificio*. This, in most cases is done because of the belief that *building* in essence represents a "new notion requiring a new expression" in the same way as within the Spanish language itself that *aplicación* is used instead of *solicitud;* moreover because a new concept and means of expression is communicated and is sensed to be different than the feeling of the latter. Otheguy, on this matter is quoted as saying, "Loanwords are incorporated into U.S. Spanish so as to equip it to express the same notions that are communicated in English," (Ortigosa, 11)

2.3.4.2 The Shortening of Words and Collocations

Continuing with the three main motivations for lexical borrowings, Ortigosa's second motivation for lexical borrowing concerns the shortening of words. Aside from the cultural context in which the first motivation thrived upon, the second and third motivations that Ortigosa established from her research and studies focused on the linguistic factors that are associated and are shaped because of the interaction that is established between the clashes of two different languages. For communicative purposes, such lexical structural properties are inserted; functional demands of the utterances are important and therefore shape what the speaker produces. As a frequent motivation and for communicative purposes of conveying ones message in a purposeful yet quick manner, the selection of words choices that contain fewer syllables or

letters are favored that those that are longer (Ortigosa, 12). For example, an individual might lexically borrow the word *heater* into their speech to convey the message quicker and more effectively rather than use the longer Spanish word *calentador* or *calefacción* or *roommate* instead of *compañero de cuarto*. In the following table, Table 19, are some examples extracted from the study done concerning the lexical borrowings that were done and what the same example would have looked like if it was expressed using the equivalent word or phrase in Spanish (notice the latter has a longer amount of time and syllables and more words that are used) (Ortigosa, 12). What to extract from the results of this table is that illustrated Spanish equivalences in which were left for lexical borrowings are shown to be "syllabically and/or structurally long" and for this reason is thought of as natural for the shortest possible means of expressing the equivalence. This is the same result when Ortigosa centralized in studying the noun phrases. The borrowing of whole noun phrases as an alternative to its Spanish counterpart was shown more frequently in the data presented from the samples in the study. Some examples of such noun phrases that were borrowed were *hardware store, travel checks, community college, Middle East, common denominator, computer engineering,* etc. Because of the syntactical structure, in which cannot be broken, they represent collocations in which contain restrictions on their sequence of words.

Table 19: Borrowings and functional economy

Borrowing	Translation in Spanish
Estamos en una ciudad donde hay tanta pobreza y tanta dificultad y tanto **mismanagement**...	Estamos en una ciudad donde hay tanta pobreza y tanta dificultad y tan _mala administración_
Me llamaron al **draft** del 86	Me llamaron al _servicio militar/reclutamiento_ del 66
este **furry** no sé, mi mamá se lo dieron	Este _muñeco de peluche_ no sé, mi mamá se lo dieron
Comencé a trabajar los **weekends**	Comencé a trabajar los _fines de semana_
Aquí tratamos al paciente, mira...con folletos, con **charts**	Aquí tratamos al paciente, mira...con folletos, con _gráficos_
Tengo clientes que vienen de **probation**	Tengo clientes que vienen de _libertad condicional_
si la gente necesita un lo que tienen un **refill** de las pastillas	si la gente necesita un lo que tienen un _repuesto/recambio_ de las pastillas
Voy tanto a los **nightclubs**	Voy tanto a los _clubes nocturnos_
Y dimos la vuelta, como un **ambush type**	Y dimos la vuelta, como un _tipo de emboscada_
Estoy cogiendo un **break**	Estoy cogiendo unas _vacaciones_
La **realización** que mi primer idioma fue español	El _darme cuenta_ de que mi primer idioma fue español
Mi **goal** era hacer un político	Mi _objetivo_ era hacer un político
Necesitas **ID** para tomar	Necesitas _identificación_ para tomar

For that reason, it is extremely difficult to directly translate most collocations because they will not express and convey the same meaning as the culturally defined noun phrase and strict syntactical structure (*credit card* or *high school)* (Ortigosa 13). The motivation for such lexical borrowings of noun phrases is mostly because "they constitute well-established and cohesive phrases," so that "the Spanish speaker in NYC encounters these expressions, he borrows them as an indivisible linguistic expression; that is, they become part of his mental lexicon repertoire in the same way as he stores individual lexical items," (Ortigosa, 13). The

following Table, Table 20, expresses how certain words extracted from the study may be categorized into the three types of motivations expressed by Ortigosa from the study and results that were collected, and in turn, the audience understands the limitations and how such examples may be served and fitted into one of the three and for what reason (especially as to why second generation may say it more and to what reasons over the first generation):

Table 20: Summary of Lexical Borrowing

	Words	Cultural gap	Length of words	Collocation
First Generation	High school	X		X
	weekends		X	
	quarter	X		
	customers	X		
	goal		X	
	break		X	
	dishwasher	X		
	subway	X		
	kinder	X		
	advanced level	X		X
	travel checks			X
	customer service	X		X
	basement	X		
	day care	X		X
Second Generation	college	X		
	Community service			X
	fraternity	X		
	Parole officer	X		X
	business	X		
	real state	X		X
	principal's list			X
	probation		X	
	hamburguer	X		
	ID	X	X	
	record	X		
	receptionist	X		
	taxes	X		
	Summer school	X		X

<u>2.3.5 Conclusion of Lexical Borrowing</u>

As noted through not only this study, but in addition with the studies conducted by Otheguy and

Zentella, there are many different theories, not solely one, in which can account for the different

reasonings as to why lexical borrowing occurs within the expanding dialects of Spanish within

the New York (USA) area. Whether they may be of a filling of a cultural gap or due to linguistic

factors of shortening or collocations, the data seems to support and overlap each other across the

various studies that are being done. Several factors seem to revolve around the notion that both

adaptation of the differences within the culture in creating a new ethnolinguistic identity and

means of expression/communication and that linguistic form/structure both have a similar

vocation for lexical borrowing to incorporate a new means of definition and unique speech

utterances are always changing dependent upon the society. In a similar manner as of code-

switching, <u>society</u> plays a huge role in implying what in speech is acceptable or not and what

may come of it. Both code-switching and lexical borrowings are both situations in which a

bilingual performs to either adapt to the linguistic structure of the dialect of that community or in

order to communicate efficiently with the standard norms of speech in daily conversation,

"Structure is in service of function," (Ortigosa, 15).

<u>Chapter 3: The Conclusion of the Peculiarities and Distinctions of (Puerto Rican) Spanish</u>

Language is a process of free creation; its laws and principles are fixed, but the manner in which the principles of generation are used is free and infinitely varied. Even the interpretation and use of words involves a process of free creation.

-Noam Chomsky

The main focus of this dissertation was to focus and to dissect upon not only the essence of what Puerto Rican Spanish is but upon what features make it unique and why there are certain characteristics that make it peculiar, in a way, from not only the standard Spanish language but other neighboring dialects of Spanish as well. In order to tackle this general interest, this dissertation was divided into two main sections. The first main section, the literature review, focused on dissecting the general concept of Puerto Rican Spanish into different concepts. Various unique and distinct examples were analyzed, straying away from the standard and norm of the language in which added on to the ethnolinguistic identity of what created the image of Puerto Rican Spanish. This was done by focusing on the different grammatical units (phonology, morphology, syntax, etc) supported by an array of studies conducted to support such claims. At the same time, peculiar aspects surfaced and were compared to not only what was occurring but how it differed from the standard Spanish language, other Spanish dialects, and even the United States English language. The first chapter of the dissertation focused on the structure and the "what" is occurring within Puerto Rican Spanish, what is the image that is portrayed within certain Spanish speaking communities throughout New York, and through endless examples provided a grammatical viewpoint on the study of the actual context itself.

The focus then ventured onto the analyzation of the grammatical features that stood out to create such an identity. What is the cultural identity that is portrayed by the Puerto Rican people? It has come to my strong belief that it is within the co-relationship and balance between a culture's language and identity, each one shapes the other. This dissertation has covered that every aspect, in which contains matters of distinctness and uniqueness that adds to the culture of Puerto Rican Spanish in New York is important in shaping the overall identity and culture in establishing that ethnolinguistic identity. It covered not only the different grammatical aspects but also different processes that transpire throughout the many productions including but not limited to code-switching, lexical borrowing, incomplete acquisition and attrition, and social factors that all affect the communication and deliverance aspect of the language, and how it is received and accepted depends on the society in whether it changes or stays constant. As the general concept of Puerto Rican Spanish in New York started to split into more specific characteristics, the research questions started to formulate into stronger steps towards questioning "why." What causes such distinct and peculiar language outputs by Puerto Rican second and third-generations in comparison with the prescriptive rules of each language? The main focus was to find out why such utterances were occurring, was it something that was affecting it more than a grammatical substance? Was it social? Then the focus was not only why did such characteristics surface but would this creation be considered a new accepted type of accredited dialect that may be recognized, as it is spoken by a majority of the inhabitants of the culture within this state? Chapter one of this dissertation set up the background knowledge that is needed about all grammatical aspects, linguistics and social, of Puerto Rican Spanish so that the continued research contained within Chapter two may be understood and can be focused on the collection and analyzation of the many studies that were done. This was to compile a better understanding

of the direct reasonings to such theories surrounding the research questions of "why?" and "what are the causes?"

With a base background of all the aspects of Puerto Rican Spanish, Chapter two focused on three important studies that were done that targeted the research questions directly through intensive research and data collection. In extracting necessary and important details, the construction of Chapter two not only gathered information to answer the research questions but also shed light on other possible researches that could be done. Since a society is always changing, its language is always changing as well. Focus lied heavily upon society and its response to such utterances mentioned in Chapter one. This chapter focused on the perception received by the New York audience that allows the Puerto Rican Spanish to continue formulating and shaping, as a result of positive/negative feedback. Three main areas that the articles targeted were code-switching, the usage and prominence of Puerto Rican Spanish within social areas, and the issue of motivation of lexical borrowings. All three of these areas are issues that arise as a result and in response of Puerto Rican interaction within itself (first-second generations), its Spanish speaking community, and as a result of the influence of United States English as well.

To return to the focus of the dissertation, Chapter one's literature review and Chapter two's methodology presents not only available data that answers the questions but leaves room for further research because, like state previously, language is constantly changing. Therefore, new empirical data may surface as the study will never cease. Yet, according to the present day status and information collected towards the matter, the most up-to-date data is revealed. Although mostly expressed concerning the motivation of lexical borrowing, the same concept repeated itself throughout not only the three articles in Chapter two, but throughout all the articles used throughout Chapter one as well. In reference to what causes many language outputs, by second-

third generation Puerto Rican speakers in New York, the interaction (positive/negative) and influence of the cultures of different societies play a major role in influencing, over time, on the different outputs of these individuals. Tables 17-20 prove that a second generation (in contrast to a first generation) Spanish speaker contains more utterances in which relate to the opposing culture or language because of the aspect that second generation individuals have been involved within this society's culture longer. The longer speakers reside within a community the more the language is affected due to the constant social interaction that occurs daily. To support this notion, the article by Garcia & Cuevas also supports data on how a sample of different individuals who participated in social gatherings and activities in the community had more Spanish usages and examples of utterances that were affected by the opposing United States culture than the sample of first generation individuals who did not participate in social interactions (whether at jobs, public places and buildings, events, etc). Society as the main cause and influence stands at the end of the tunnel as the main contributor to different outputs by Puerto Rican individuals. The longer a culture of people reside in a community and continuously immigrate in hopes to **adapt** to the structure of that community, the more influences overtake the production from its grammatical influences to its social relevance. With the daily interaction with the United States' culture and in different attempts to adapt within different communities throughout the New York area, influences are establish from transformations of the pronunciations of words, to the addition of affixes, the changing of the meaning of words, to code-switching and borrowing from that culture and language which are then integrated into the Puerto Rican identity in order to cohesively function and prosper within the mixture of the community. As Puerto Ricans have been migrating to the United States, New York in particularly since the late 19th century (moreover than any other Spanish dialect in language

contact with English from the United States), Puerto Rican Spanish had undergone the most adaptation of cultural influence since its arrival. In a means of adaption, Chapter two focuses on the usages and typology of code-switching which is, I believe, an emergence towards a new dialect in addition to Puerto Rican Spanish in which has evolved from its previous status to one that is becoming more accepted and practiced amongst second and third generation individuals (shown through the different tables such as Table 17-20). Code-switching especially, is practiced as bilinguals are <u>unawares</u> (as the identity of Puerto Rican Spanish has evolved) of their new productions. For a dialect to be influenced and affected by the U.S. English, such speakers are able to unknowingly code-switch between the two languages dependent upon the situation, the audience and the theme. The speech has evolved to a point in which bilingual or not bilingual, studies have shown that speakers still produce grammatically correct switches and grammatically correct instances of lexical borrowing between both languages. Puerto Rican Spanish has flourished to a symbiotic relationship in which the culture and language of New York English has affected the production and transformation of words, phrases, concepts, labels, and meanings or Spanish productions in a means to adapt to the culture and in essence has evolved, in my belief, to a new type of dialect. This new type of dialect, although I disagree that the name

Spanglish considerably suits the complex manner and grammatical systems of this new type of dialect that incorporates everything spoken in this dissertation, but is being recognized as what Nuyoricans speak. The name recognized and given to Nuyorican productions is called Spanglish or even Nuyorican Spanish because of the recognizable mixture of traits of English in its Spanish structure. Yet, in the same manner, to arrive at such a level, it is again society that has recognized it as an acceptable offspring of the standard Spanish language as a means of communication and ethnolinguistic identity for Nuyoricans in the Spanish speaking communities

within New York. Because of that societal interaction, later generations of Puerto Rican speakers are learning and utilizing such characteristics and traits. The data presented in this dissertation has supplied the available data in order to answer the research questions with the most up to date information, yet as previously mentioned, language, cultures, society and its interpretation, the media and its interactions are always and constantly changing. For that manner, further research regarding these questions will always thrive because new peculiar and distinct outputs can be formed, studied, analyzed and presented depending on the encounters that may arise due to new interactions between Nuyorican and other cultures. For example, in the next twenty years, society may present the opportunity for Nuyoricans to come into language contact with, for instance, French speaking individuals. After much time passes and many interactions are established in social location, influences of one language over another will begin. This can incorporate anything for example, of French influenced pronunciation of Spanish words, Spanish influenced gender endings in French nouns, code-switching could begin and even lexical borrowing could occur. Society, above all else, serves as the main contributor for the peculiarities and distinctions of Puerto Rican Spanish in New York.

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