

ANA ROCA AND JOHN B. JENSEN (eds.). *Spanish in Contact: Issues in Bilingualism*. Somerville: Cascadilla Press. 1996. xii + 226 pp. Paper (1-57473-008-8) \$23.95.

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In Paraguay, language choice fails to conform to widely held beliefs regarding the stability of Guaraní and Spanish; in the Andes, Spanish verb tenses acquire the evidential meanings of Quechua; in Buenos Aires, Argentinian youths of English origin shun the world's most widely sought-after second language; in Andalusia, classic conceptualizations of dialect mixing are brought to bear on a challenge to Labovian variationism; and, with data from several settings, an attempt is made to harness the vagaries of bilingual speech to the formalism of generative syntax. These are but some of the many nuggets to be mined from this very mixed and varied, but nonetheless very satisfying anthology. Specially welcome is the theoretical interest evident in several of the contributions, where proposals by Chomsky, Labov, Silva-Corvalán, Thomason and Kaufman help to frame the discussion.

The volume has three parts, for papers dealing with Spanish contact phenomena in Spain, Latin America and the United States. The editors are to be commended for a good introduction, though not for the missing subject index or the infelicities of labelling in some tables and charts. Despite the occasional lapse into field-specific jargon in the more quantitative papers, the presentation is very accessible, made the more so by the book's manageable size and pleasant appearance.

Klee's empirically grounded study of fifty Quechua-Spanish bilinguals supports the generalization by Silva-Corvalán that language contact produces no radical change in the structure of the affected language. The use of Spanish clitics by these speakers, whose other language has no overt object pronouns, shows traces of contact, especially in the semantically and morphologically more complex third person forms. Surprisingly, Klee's informants learn best the case distinction between *le* and *lo*, struggling much more with the gender distinction between *lo* and *la*, and with the number distinction between *le/lo* and their plurals. Some examples would have been helpful in a presentation made exclusively through charts and figures. Further, it remains unclear how informants can have mastered the case distinction and still show contact effects, as Klee reports, in their use of *lo*. These caveats aside, the finding that a complex semantic distinction such as case is learned before the seemingly easier and relatively more referential ones of number and gender remains a most interesting contribution, and an important reminder of first-language effects.

The support for Silva-Corvalán is most convincing in word order, where peculiar contact usages are shown to still fit within the structural norms of Spanish. Less satisfying is Klee's contention of no structural change in the use of the Spanish past perfect to indicate an event not directly witnessed by the speaker. As long as the Spanish preterite and past perfect are analyzed in terms

of tense, their use for evidentials seems like a clear introduction of a new meaning in the system. To support what is probably the correct position by Klee and Silva-Corvalán, one would need to give these forms a more abstract meaning, which could then accommodate, unaltered, both traditional time usages and the innovative evidentials.

In his study of Basque, Hammond analyzes several syntactic features (post-position of adjectives, right gapping in conjuncts, subordination through an autonomous word) as transfers from Spanish, seemingly contradicting Klee and Silva-Corvalán. Basque also plays a role in Cenoz's demonstration that Basque-Spanish bilinguals outperform monolingual learners of English in almost every measure, supporting also the use of Basque for Spanish natives as the medium of English instruction.

In one of several papers taking a sociology of language approach, Doyle documents *the different attitudes of immigrants to Barcelona and native Catalonians toward the Catalan language*. The traditional power imbalance between the two languages is starting to disappear, as *second-generation immigrants, no less than more established Catalonians, display an awareness of Catalan's instrumental value and its growing presence in professional circles*. Making heavy use of the problematic notion of regional dialect, Hidalgo presents a large linguistic tapestry of historical as well as present-day Mexico. One can quibble with the assertion that a Castilian dialect was spoken in New Spain in the early centuries of colonization (at a time for which *seseo*, the neutralization of the Medieval sibilants into a single phoneme /s/, has already been documented in several New World locales), but the wealth of scholarly information should prove most useful to all interested in the most populous country of the Spanish-speaking world.

In a most interesting paper on the sociology of language, Solé presents a thoroughly documented corrective to notions about Paraguay widely held in scholarly circles. *Paraguay has never been a bilingual country, as fully half of its inhabitants have always been monolingual Guarani speakers and an additional small percentage has always spoken only Spanish*. Language choice is not primarily based, as is widely believed, on matters of intimacy or solidarity. Choice of Guarani over Spanish is connected to being male and of rural origin and low occupational status, all of which bodes ill for the future maintenance of Guarani in a society undergoing steady modernization. The other predictor of language choice, positive affect in Spanish and derisive or aggressive talk in Guarani, also augurs badly for maintenance. Yet Guarani, and bilingual competence, are nearly universally regarded by Paraguayans in a positive light as symbols of the humane values that are seen to prevail over competitive materialism. This too, Solé warns, may not be grounds for optimism, as Paraguay gradually joins a wider world where these values are not held in high esteem.

In the biggest section of the book, dealing with Spanish in the USA, Smead and Clegg apply the present reviewers's ideas about linguistic modelling to the

study of Chicano Spanish. As has been found to be the case in other Spanish contact dialects (e.g. among Cuban Americans), most lexical calques among Chicanos consist of importations into Spanish words of English senses very similar to the words' own traditional meanings (e.g. *atender* with the English sense of attending an activity, rather than with the traditional Spanish sense of paying attention to someone). Most calquewords in Chicano Spanish are duplicative and unnecessary in strictly referential terms, raising again the interesting question of the motivation for calquing, about which the authors add some important observations.

In an intriguing paper on instrumental phonetics, Yavas shows that differences of voice onset time for English stop consonants by Spanish-speaking acquirers age 5 or 6, compared to those age 11 and 12, are sharply registered by instruments but not noticed by hearers, probably because they fall within the onset range of English natives. In another paper dealing with English pronunciation by Hispanic learners, MacDonald confirms that age of first acquisition, rather than social networks or other external factors, is the primary determinant of mastery of native phonology.

With the flare the field has come to expect, Jorge Guitart argues against a variationist view of the relationship between Andalusian and Castilian phonemics. Reviving the notion of dialect mixture, he proposes that phonologically radical speakers are switching between lects in a way that goes beyond the familiar conceptualization of movement between socially high and low varieties. Just as the speech of second-language learners becomes frozen in interlanguages, that of radical speakers is frozen in partially mastered interlects, and the switching reflects their only partially successful attainment of the high lect's norms.

The area of code-switching is treated within generative syntax by D'Introno, who accounts for an important range of ungrammatical judgments of code-switched sentences through the postulation of derivations where underlying syntactic traces from one language are improperly governed by elements of the other. This opens the door to an analysis in terms of a new definition of proper government held to reside in universal grammar. The analysis is hampered by the difficulty in obtaining, for code-switching data, the kind of convincing differentiation between grammatical and ungrammatical strings that a generative analysis requires. The problem is recognized by Toribio and Rubin, who point out in their own generative study of code-switching that tests of generative analyses cannot be based on either naturally occurring speech or grammaticality judgments. The work is not enhanced by the familiar attempt to appropriate the term competence for exclusive reference to hypotheses formulated within generative syntax, a scholarly usage that needlessly diminishes the value of other approaches whose results can equally well be imputed to the mind.

But this caveat aside, adoption of the generative approach makes most sense when analysts recognize, as do Toribio and Rubin, the empirical limitations of

the model, and then attempt to overcome them with experiments that supplement grammaticality judgments. Based in part on this better sort of data, an interesting generalization is proposed under which code-switched sentences are grammatical only when syntactic functional heads and their complements are kept in the same language. Even here, an additional problem comes from the fact, correctly recognized by the authors, that code-switching proficiency is itself developmental, so that not all bilinguals, nor all their grammaticality judgments, are equally trustworthy. While the nagging problem of the untestability of generative hypotheses is thus not entirely solved here, the functional head proposal remains the kind of broad theoretical generalization that is very much worth considering.

In a long paper by a prominent authority in the field on the use of personal subject pronouns by Cuban Americans, John Lipski places his work within the generative model and enhances it not only with naturalistic data but also with the results of questionnaires. Lipski's transitional bilinguals, who acquired Spanish as a quasi-native language in Florida but do not speak it with the normal fluency of monolinguals, are more tolerant than both monolinguals and balanced bilinguals of sentences with overt personal subject pronouns. In items like *En mi familia cada niño piensa que él sabe más que los otros* 'In my family each child thinks he knows more than the others', transitionals assent at rates of 80 percent whereas only 20 percent of monolinguals find these sentences grammatical. In many other items, however, the reactions of transitionals, monolinguals, and balanced bilinguals are not as strikingly different. Lipski sees his work as part of the wider discussion about syntactic differences between pro-drop languages like Spanish and non-pro-drop languages like English, and about the possibilities of resetting parameters under contact. But he ultimately offers a semantic explanation, under which transitionals are seen as adopting the English-like option of using overt pronouns without necessarily indicating focus or contrastive reference.

Anthologies that gather works from a symposium are not always read cover-to-cover (except by editors or reviewers). In this case, the exercise is very much worthwhile, as *Spanish in Contact* offers an excellent sampling of the internationally grounded study of Spanish linguistics in the United States.

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