

Acampo	Borrego (Springs)	Colma	El Capitán
Adelanto	Brole	Coloma	El Centro
Agua Caliente (Springs)	Buena Vista	Colusa	El Cerrito
Agua Dulce	Cabazón	Contra Costa	El Dorado
Agubela de Cato	Cabrillo	Corco	El Granda
Aguanga	Cádiz		
Alameda	Cahuenga		
Alamo	Calabazas		
Alcatraz	Calaveras		
Alhambra	Caléxico		
Alisal	Caliente		
Almanor	California		
Alondra	Calimesa		
Alta Loma	Calipatria	Corcorán	El Macero
Alta	Calpella	Corona	El Modena
Altadena	Cambria	Corona del Mar	El Monte
Alta(ville)	Camarillo	Coronado	El Morro (Bay)
Alturas	Camino	Corralitos	El Nido
Alvarado	Camino Real	Corte Madera	El Paso
Alviso	Campo	Costa Mesa	El Portal
Almadén	Campo Seco	Covina	El Río
Amador	Cañada de los Osos	Coyote	El Segundo
Angel	Cañon de los Osos	Chico	El Sereno
Año Nuevo	Cantil	Chula Vista	El Sobrante
Anza	Cantua (Creek)	Cresta Blanca	El Toro
Aptos	Cañon	Cucamonga	El Verano
Arellano	Canal de Santa Bárbara	Cupertino	El Viejo
Argüello	Capa Blanco	Decoto	Encanto
Aranza	Capa de Mendocino	Del Dios	Encinal
Arroyo Burro	Capa San Sebastián	Del Loma	Encinitas
Arroyo Grande	Capistrano	Del Mar	Encino
Arleta	Capitola	Del Monte	Escalón
Armona	Carmel	Del Paso	Esperanza
Aromas	Carmelo	Del Rey	Estudillo
Artesia	Carpintería	Del Rosa	Estero
Atascadero	Cartago	Del Trabuco	Famoso
Avalón	Casa Blanca	Del Valle	Fandango (Pass)
Avenal	Casa Correo	Descanso	Farallón
Avila (Beach)	Casitas	Diablo	Farmas
Azusa	Castro (Valley)	Dina	Fortuna
Bahía de Conversión	Castro(ville)	Dinuba	Fowla
Bahía de Monterrey	Catela	Dogpatch	Fresno
Bahía de San Francisco	Cayucos	Dogtown	Frontera
Balboa	Catalina	Dolores	Gabilán
Beikers	Cazadero	Domínguez (Hills)	Gardena
Benicia	Cerritos	Dos Palos	Goleta
Bermuda (Dunes)	Cerro Gordo	Dos Ríos	Gonza
Bernal	Chiques	Dulzura	González
Benito	Chino	East Los	Granada (Hills)
Biola	Chole	E.L.A.	Gratón
Bodega	Cima	El Alamo	Guada
Bolinas	Cimarrón	El Barrio	Guadalupe
Bonita	Colima	El Cajón	Güerne(ville)

El Grito

MAY 25 1933

Peris

QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS

as advertised in

EL MALCRIADO	CPA	P.O. Box 62, Keane, CA. 93531
EL EXITO	CPA	Beeville, Texas
RENACIMIENTO	CPA	Lansing, Michigan
EL CHICANO	CPA	Colton, California
LA JOYA	CPA	Oakland, California
HISPANIA		Publication of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese Annual Conference 1972, New York
AATSP Program		Annual Conference 1972, Chicago
AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION		Publication of the National Council of Teachers of English
ENGLISH JOURNAL		
INTERNATIONALE ZEITSCHRIFTEN AUSSTELLUNG		Frankfurt, Germany

IMPORTANT NOTICE

IMPORTANT NOTICE

The address of QUINTO SOL PRESS is different from the address of the EDITORIAL OFFICES. The address of SHIPPING AND RECEIVING is also different. THESE ARE THREE DIFFERENT ADDRESSES. To expedite replies to your orders and correspondence, PLEASE ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO:

QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS INC.
P.O. BOX 9275
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94709

Editorial Offices: 2150 Shattuck #606 Berkeley, CA 94704

Cover design: Spanish and Chicano place names en Califas

El Grito

114

Northwestern University

A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN/AMERICAN THOUGHT

Library

Volume VI, Number 1

MAY 25 1973

Fall 1972

Issue Editor: OCTAVIO ROMÁN, Ph.D.
Behavioral Sciences
University of California, Berkeley

Editor: HERMINIO RIOS C.
Comparative Literature
University of California, Berkeley

Contributing Editors: TOMAS RIVERA, Ph.D.
Romance Languages
University of Texas at San Antonio
SALVADOR ALVAREZ
Social Work
California State University at San Jose
GUSTAVO SEGADE, Ph.D.
Spanish
California State University at San Diego

Address all correspondence to:
P.O. Box 9275, Berkeley, California 94709

Copyright © 1972 by QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS, INC. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any manner without permission in writing, except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews.

Second Class Postage Paid at Berkeley, California 94701

A Critique of Pittian History 3
Raymond V. Padilla

Nuestra Circunstancia Lingüística45
Rosaura Sánchez

El Acre75
Fernando D. Vásquez

Five Styles of Chicano Art

 Malaquías Montoya88

 Edel Villagómez89

 Ramsés Noriega90

 Dennis Martínez91

 Carmen Lomas Garza92

051
G 871
v. 6

A CRITIQUE OF PITTIAN HISTORY

Raymond V. Padilla

PROLOGO

Aquí curioso lector pongo en tus manos mi crítica de la historia pitista. Te la encargo con el acuerdo de que ni la elogies ni la desprecies—sólo quiero que pienses en ella. En aquello del Chicanismo todavía no hay quien haya escrito la última palabra sobre el tema. Y tú bien sabes que en realidad solamente unas cuantas palabras se han escrito.

Quizás esta condición nos produce menos mal. Porque la fuerza de nuestro pueblo está en que *vivimos* nuestro fenómeno chicano y en que llevamos nuestra experiencia chicana pegada entre las entrañas—no obstante que nos arrinconen en miserables cárceles o que nos suban hasta las más altas esferas de la torre de marfil.

Sin embargo, aunque todos tengamos los ojos abiertos, hay que cuidarnos de no cegar nuestro espíritu chicano. Y recuerda que la fuerza del espíritu también está en el pensamiento. Por eso hay que hacer el esfuerzo de también llevar nuestro fenómeno en la mente. No te apures del peso, que si pasas por buenos pensamientos todos quedaremos más livianos.

Octubre de 1972
En el antiguo rancho de
don Luis Peralta
California La Alta
Aztlán

051
G 871
v. 6

INTRODUCTION

Several important questions confronted me as I began my analysis of Pitt's work. These questions related to the audience or audiences to which I was addressing my comments, the methods to be used to more effectively convey my thoughts and feelings, and the cultural and methodological assumptions I was accepting or rejecting. These and other questions were difficult for me to handle, yet I had to deal with them in some fashion in order to create a framework within which to present my critique.

Overall, I have deliberately avoided trying to write another history of the Californios as a rebuttal to the Pittian thesis. The task of re-writing history I leave to some committed historian who is willing to spend much time and energy—perhaps a lifetime of scholarship—rounding up materials and synthesizing a useful account of those vastly complicated people. Nor is my concern here to dispute this or that datum, or to challenge the historicity of some obscure or doubtful event, although in some cases where I recognize that the historical record has been violated flagrantly, I make an effort to highlight the discrepancies.

My objective is to write a critique which considers the problems and issues of historical thought: its logic and consistency; its biases and blind spots; its egocentric and ethnocentric pitfalls; in short, its theories and methods. I make special effort to show how cultural and attitudinal biases affect historical thinking and historical writing. Specifically, I bring these considerations to bear on Professor Pitt's work.

On a different level, another objective is to raise again as an issue the meaning and relevance which Gabacho¹ research has for the Chicano experience. More generally, I also want to challenge the Chicano to examine critically the generic concept of research and its implications for the Chicano. Assuming that one views research as an important fact of life in contemporary American society (and perhaps twentieth century man), then it is necessary for Chicanos to come to terms with it, just as they must come to terms with agri-business, the military, political powerlessness, inadequate education, poverty, prejudice, and a host of other issues.

A third objective is to “send a message” to those researchers—largely but not exclusively Gabachos—who have made a travesty of research, in its normative sense, by entering the Chicano world under the guise of “unbiased researchers,” and who then proceed to exercise freely their cultural biases and hang-ups on their luckless Chicano subjects. “Studies” produced by these pseudo-researchers have often gone unchallenged by their supposedly more critical colleagues who perhaps share the same biases or who may have little interest in the subject.

For the Chicano, both as critic and as subject, such pseudo-researchers and their research products pose a particularly difficult problem. If the Chicano attempts to criticize either the researcher or his products within the framework of a mythical rationalism and objectivism (the domain of pseudo-researchers), he may well be doomed to failure because historically such researchers have often refused to recognize the irrationality and subjectivity of some or all of their methodologies and conclusions. When a researcher claims to be objective by virtue of his methods or his theories, then, in my view, he is already engaging in irrational behavior. Research conducted under such a presumption has a rather large component of subjectivity—perhaps even irrationality—even if it is technically well executed. Therefore the message for the pseudo-researcher is this: Pick up your toys and go elsewhere.

In carrying out these thoughts I have exposed myself to a number of criticisms, two of which I will answer directly. First, I may be criticized for doing “reactive research.” The argument here is that Chicanos need not worry about tearing down every bad book that has been written about Chicanos. For if one were to follow that tactic, one could spend a lifetime merely writing rebuttals to ridiculous arguments and never get to the important task of *building* useful materials for the Chicano. I am swayed in favor of the healthy pragmatism contained in this argument. But I feel that its usefulness is largely a matter of application. Granted that one need not react to *every* bad account about the Chicano—for such accounts appear to be the rule rather than the exception—yet there is also a great need to react to *some* of them. Otherwise we would lose the positive contribution of the negative example. Philosophically, there is also some merit in knowing where we as Chicanos have been—or have been taken—in order to decide where we want to go. The issue, then, is one of judgment. I judge it important to criticize Pitt’s work on several grounds. First, it deals with history and there is a great need for the Chicano to look critically at his history and his historical condition. Second, Pitt’s book has received much favorable attention from both non-Chicanos and Chicanos. It has had considerable impact both in and outside of the Chicano community—at least in the academic segment of the former—and one might well profit by a skeptical reading of the work. Third, by taking a critical stance

toward the work I believe that much positive knowledge can accrue to the Chicano. Only through such a critical stance can the Chicano pursue the positive construction of his own reality.

Those who challenge my critique on the basis that it is polemical *may not fully understand the polemical basis of Pitt's decline thesis*. They may also not fully understand the difficulties involved in devising a strategy for ridding oneself of exploitative researchers and their products.² For my part, I refuse to be intimidated or limited by rationalist mythology (and methodology).

The Chicano, both as critic and as subject of research, who is boxed-in by mythical rationalism and objectivism creates a dilemma for his own defense. If he limits his arguments to the "rules of the game," he will not communicate his message. If he is to communicate his message successfully, he must go beyond the rules of the game as set by the Gabacho researcher. It is not surprising, therefore, that a last ditch response left to such a boxed-in Chicano may be at the existential level. His response is fundamentally an act of self-assertion where the Chicano refuses to negotiate the authenticity of his own reality.³ In operational terms this means that any Chicano (or any other human being for that matter) as subject of research has the inalienable right to tell any researcher to mind his own business.

These observations lead me to offer two propositions for Chicano research. First, Chicano research must be allowed to run its own course within the evolving Chicano perspective and its evolving criteria for validation; Chicano research should not be short-circuited by external validation criteria *unique* to the Gabacho perspective.

Secondly, the results of Chicano research, as of all good research, can be considered only as tentative conclusions and propositions. These conclusions and propositions can then be further tested and refined within the Chicano perspective.

These two propositions, combined with my earlier observations, are the basis upon which the following critique was written.

**PART I
THE PITTIAN THESIS
AND ITS ELEMENTS**

**THE PITTIAN THESIS
THE ARCADIAN MYTH AND CALIFORNIO DECADENCE
STEREOTYPING AND "SOCIAL SCIENCE FICTION"
THE ABUSE AND MISUSE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH**

THE PITTIAN THESIS

The fundamental thesis underlying Professor Leonard Pitt's interpretation of Californio history is that Californios as a people and as a culture *declined*. The title of his book, *The Decline of the Californios*, is a succinct assertion of that thesis.

As a point of departure, I suggest that the word "decline" needs explication. I take "decline" to mean, in its nounal sense, "a falling off; a diminution."⁴ The concept has even greater specificity if it is compared with various synonyms. These synonyms are "deterioration," "degeneration," and "decadence." The distinctions between these synonyms have been stated as follows:

Deterioration, degeneration, decadence, decline mean the falling from a higher to a lower level as in quality, character, or the like. *Deterioration* implies impairment, as of vigor, usefulness, or the like; *degeneration* stresses retrogression physically, intellectually, or often morally; *decadence* presupposes a former reaching of the peak of development and implies a turn downward with a consequent loss in vitality, or the like; *decline* differs from decadence in suggesting more momentum, more obvious evidences of deterioration, and less hope of revivification.⁵

I will examine the meaning and the apparent assumptions of the Pittian thesis within the framework of these definitions and distinctions.

Professor Pitt appears to rest the decline thesis on the following assumptions: (1) that the Californios and Californio culture underwent a developmental process which peaked either at some period before, or at about the time of, the Gabacho invasion of California, (2) that Californios and Californio culture entered a decadent phase perhaps before, but certainly during and after the Gabacho invasion, and (3) that the decadence of the Californios was rooted in Californio culture itself. Moreover, since "decline" implies "less hope of revivification," Pitt's thesis infers bleak prospects for the descendants of the "decadent" Californios.⁶

Professor Pitt uses three main tactics to justify his assumptions and to support his thesis. These tactics are: (1) the creation of a myth, (2) the use of a social science stereotype, and (3) the abuse and misuse of standard Gabacho historical research methods. The purpose of this critique is to show that none of these tactics can withstand close scrutiny and therefore that the Pittian thesis is invalid.

THE ARCADIAN MYTH AND CALIFORNIO DECADENCE

Pitt's fabrication is a kind of arcadian myth about Californio existence before the Gabacho invasion of the middle nineteenth century. The first chapter of his book is signally titled "Halcyon Days," and the author's message is clearly that Californios before the Gabacho invasion were living "high on the hog." But Pitt seems confused in describing precisely *how* the Californios were supposed to have lived their grand lifestyle. He presents two visions of the halcyon days which are competitive rather than complementary. On the one hand he presents Californios as hedonistic gentlemen farmers; on the other, he depicts a society of noble savages living from the goodness of Nature and Providence.

The picture of hedonistic gentlemen farmers arises from Pitt's transformation of California into a massive baronial estate where rancheros develop an ethic of conspicuous consumption. In this setting rancheros resemble wealthy planters from the South, or perhaps hacendados from across the Rio Grande. The business of the ranchero is to preside over a household of family, friends, guests, relations, servants, Indians, and an occasional Yankee adventurer who wanders across the sierras or around the Horn to find himself a guest of honor at a Californio table. These mythical Californios are a class of idle rich who enjoy idleness for its own sake. When they somehow bestir themselves to action, they spend their energies in amusement and entertainment. Their industry is therefore limited to horse racing, bear baiting, cock fighting, and gambling.

At the same time, Pitt's vision of Californios as noble savages depicts California as a fantasy land of pristine and quasi-civilized rancheros who bask in the good graces of nature and exhibit amoral and childlike qualities. In this scenario, Californios enjoy rural bliss within the confines of simple and commodious ranchos. Their existence is pastoral and serene, and California is a veritable land of milk and honey where indolence reigns supreme. Moreover, Californio society is structured to increase the individual's life of luxury and ease. Pitt dwells on the dances—the fandangos—the fiestas and celebrations, the quaint religious festivities, and the generally salubrious social climate of a "tradition bound," non-technological society. This romantic vision of California has deep roots within the writings of some Gabacho historians. While Pitt at times appears to debunk such historians, he simultaneously reifies their numerous fantasies by piling one denigrating Gabacho quote onto another as he spins the elaborate arcadian myth.

Pitt's fabrication of the halcyon days has a crucial function in the decline thesis. By engineering a Californio society composed of "grandeés without a court" and "indolent natives," Pitt creates an *imaginary peak* of Californio culture from which the rancheros will tumble helplessly once they are confronted with the Gabacho invasion. Yankee Argonauts with self-proclaimed puritanical virtues will be disgusted by a society of gregarious ranchero-aristocrats who surround themselves with retinues of relations, foreigners, servants, and Indians. For the Gabacho, the ranchero's life is too easy. He raises his cattle but without great toil, plants his crops but without much passion for trade, and lives off of nature in a state of society only once removed from that of the Indians whose labor the ranchero exploits. Pitt thus elevates the Californio to ethereal levels of pastoral enchantment only to hurl him into decline and decadence with ever greater tragedy and pathos. Here Pitt's scenario becomes more histrionic than historical.

As a result, Pitt's mythological presentations leave us without a real sense of California's revolutionary transformations prior to the Gabacho invasion. Nueva España's long struggle for independence, the secularization of the missions, the political feuding for regional control, and the development of ranchos through liberal land grant policies are all aspects of California before the Gabacho invasion which Pitt fades into the background of his mythical arcadia. Nor can the incessant military activity endemic to California during the Mexican period—which coincides with Pitt's halcyon days—be understood within Pitt's vision of playful Californios eternally basking themselves in a land of perpetual sunshine.

Pitt's halcyon days are also contradicted by other Gabacho writers who take a different view of the period. Mervyn Miller's account of the secularization of the California missions depicts California before the

invasion as no arcadian paradise or pastoral utopia.⁷ Miller's ambitious Californios, eager to secure mission properties and governmental and military control of the territory, have no meaning in Pitt's mythology. Another writer, George Tays, recounts the political instability of California between 1822 and 1846—the period which Pitt designates as the "Halcyon Days." Tays calls this period "Revolutionary California."⁸

As an aside, I propose that California before the Gabacho invasion could have been most aptly characterized as transitional, undergoing quick changes and the constant internal and external power plays of ambitious Californios and expansionist foreign powers. The secularization of the missions marks a shift of economic and political power in California comparable to the subsequent shift of power from Californios to Yankees after the Gabacho invasion. By transforming mission properties, and occasionally the missions themselves, into ranchos and general civilian control, Californios effectively changed the basis of settlement of California. The change was mainly from a mission to a rancho-oriented society. Naturally both the philosophy and the strategy of the *ranchero* meant a radical departure from the missionary pattern of settlement. I seriously doubt, however, that the change was from a mission utopia to a rancho arcadia.*

Yet the "Halcyon Days" myth serves Pitt very well because his thesis presumes that Californio culture reached a "peak" of development. By placing the Californios on an imaginary pedestal of cultural and social development, Pitt lays the groundwork for his thesis of Californio decline. From that elevated point, Pitt launches three attacks to carry his argument. These are (1) an attack on the quality of Californio culture in general, (2) an indictment of rancho culture in particular, and (3) an attack on the morality of the Californio lower classes.

Pitt's general attack on Californio culture rests on observations and judgments made by Gabacho settlers and adventurers who moved into the region during the Mexican period. Often expressing tacit or outright agreement with these writers, seldom presenting contradicting evidence, only occasionally indicating the heavy Gabacho bias, Pitt is tireless in concatenating one calumny after another in a seemingly endless chain of Gabacho deprecations of Californio culture. Through such a style of presentation, Pitt creates a gruesome picture of Californio decadence and decline.

Los Angeles, for example, is a perfect picture of decrepitude and deterioration:

*This viewpoint is subject to historical research, and I hope that studious Chicanos, and perhaps others as well, will investigate the historical records and delineate precisely the activities of the Californios before the invasion. Whether or not such research confirms my perspective, I would contend that my hypotheses are a more suitable starting point for serious research than Pitt's fanciful arcadia.

The village's human aspect seemed "very ugly," even to some settlers.* Domesticated creatures ambled about freely even in the best homes, which were cold and dark. And over everything man-made hung the "antiquated and dilapidated air" of Mexico. The cliché of the day was that the pueblo of *Nuestra Señora de los Angeles* contained no angels, unless they be fallen ones.** (page 122)

Quoting the Reverend James Woods, who sermonizes about the degeneracy in the same city, Californio culture is reduced to decadency of biblical proportions:

Near his doorstep a neglected child was bawling for its mother, dogs were fighting, and one man was trying to run down another with his horse; "what a spectacle for a country laying claims to christianity . . ." The afternoon's main attraction, the horse races, are the "fruits of popery—the only form of religion known among the Spaniards of the region." The "horses are very fine and richly caparisoned. But the men are a dark complexioned set with darker minds and morals. I preached this morning upon the destruction of sodom and Gomorroh (sic) and had I wanted materials for supposed scenes in those cities I could have found them in the very scenes" before his eyes.***(page 222)

Arguing along similar lines, Pitt tries to show that the Californio family, religion, and general social structure were less than what the upright Yankees desired.⁹

The rancharo class is especially vulnerable to Pitt's charges of decadence and decay. This is because Pitt manages to place the rancheros at the apex of an imaginary aristocratic society, where their behavior is strangely one-dimensional and fantastic. Pitt's rancharo "aristocrats" totally lack a sense of proportion and refinement. Their activities appear to be all form and little content, while their lifestyle seems dominated by childlike concerns and patterns of behavior which mimic adult society. In short, Pitt turns the rancheros into motion picture characters of the worst sort.

Yet, in a bizarre way Pitt may appear to speak well of the rancheros. He does this by attributing to them all the trappings and pretensions of aristocrats in a royal court. One suspects that the living conditions in

*Mrs. Hayes, March 31, in Benjamin Hayes, *Pioneer Notes . . . 1849-1875*, ed. by Marjorie Tisdale Wolcott (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 93; John W. Audubon, "Diary," Nov. 6, 1849, in Valeska Bari, ed., *The Course of Empire . . . Accounts of the Gold Rush . . .* (New York, 1931), p. 127.

**Joseph Lancaster Brent, *The Lugo Case: A Personal Experience* (New Orleans, 1926), p. 3; Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

***Lindley Bynam, ed., "Los Angeles in 1854-1855: The Diary of Reverend James Woods," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XXII (1941), 82-84.

the northern Mexican frontier were far from royal. However, the ultimate and cumulative effect of Pitt's manipulations is to effectively degrade the rancheros and thereby fit them more neatly into the decline thesis. It is through his power to dramatize and stylize that Pitt casts the rancheros first in the role of noble aristocrats, then in the part of *decadent* aristocrats.

I suggest that this kind of artificiality serves as the major basis for Pitt's decline thesis. Politically, for example, the rancheros are said to be a weak, pugnacious, and powerless bunch who reach out for foreign domination:

Meantime, Californians were so hopelessly embroiled among themselves that the spring of 1846 found the province in a particularly jittery state. The northerners recently had fought the southerners to a standstill over control of the treasury, which they both meanwhile had drained dry; José Castro and Pio Pico were about to resume the struggle and were lining up troops and horses for that purpose; and the Indian depredations were increasing. Grasping at diplomatic straws, the northerners sought out the French consul with a request for a French protectorate, while the Angelenos, never to be outdone by the Montereños, went to the British consul with a similar entreaty. Both the British and the French officials dismissed the proposals as irrelevant, however.¹⁰ (page 24)

Pitt, however, builds his strongest case against the rancheros around the notion of opulence and extravagance. He succeeds in transforming the mythical gentlemen-farmers-aristocrats into a class of idle rich thoroughly immersed in conspicuous consumption. Ordinary Californio festivities and diversions, under Pitt's flamboyant pen, turn into fabulous displays of opulence, indulgence, wealth and splendor. To the sober reader, Pitt's caricaturization becomes both ludicrous and unconvincing.¹¹

For example, speaking of the southern rancheros during the booming cattle trade at the time of the Gold Rush, Pitt notes:

If they had ever lacked the wherewithal to feel fulfilled as grandees, they now had it. Former poor men stuffed their pantries and wine cellars, bought goods from Yankee peddlers to their heart's content, gave generous handouts to friends, strangers, and servants, and generally spent—"wasted," as puritans clucked—their wealth freely. Don Antonio Lugo, son of a common soldier, owned a bridal outfit inlaid with \$1,500 worth of silver and used it in his daily chores, even at a time when he was strapped for cash. Pablo de la Guerra in 1851 splurged \$80 on a single chair for his father, even while expensive litigation got under way.* Rancheros snapped up

*José Antonio Menéndez to Pablo de la Guerra, March 4, 1851, MS, de la Guerra Collection, Owen Coy Room, University of Southern California (Los Angeles, Calif.).

costly European laces and silks for their wives to convert into *rebozos* and gowns that would be trailed about on clay floors in daily use. The variety and richness of personal effects were limited more by what Yankees imported than by what Californios would buy, for they bought almost anything. (page 128)

However, it appears that for Pitt the quintessence of *ranchero* decadence is best represented through their fiestas and celebrations. Describing what he considers a “typical” event, Pitt writes baroquely:

The regal Petra Pilar Sepúlveda required half a day for the drive from San Pedro and customarily migrated with an entourage of servants, trunks stuffed with gowns and jewels, and mattresses piled high for their stay at the wretched Bella Union Hotel. Her wedding in 1853 had lasted five days and nights, and its lavishness had made a deep impression on gringos. At the typical fiesta, dancing, singing, and eating proceeded all night and well into the following morning, perhaps even into the next evening, or at least until Juan Bandini, Antonio Maria Lugo, or Nicholas Den had finished competing at the *jota*, bolero, fandango, or waltz. (page 129)

And as if to add the finishing touch to his portrait, Pitt adds the following climactic end to the festivities:

At the climax of the fiesta came the flirtation called the *cascarón*. The object was to catch a victim unawares and crack open an eggshell filled with some harmless substance; he or she would then try to get even. Ordinarily, confetti or cologne water filled the egg, but in good years gold dust, even gold leaf, fluttered down on some heads. This delightful extravagance invariably made gringos gasp. (page 129)

The material extravagance which Pitt attributes to the *ranchero* class goes hand in hand with the moral laxity and criminality which he ascribes to all social classes, but especially to the Californio lower classes. Pitt devotes considerable space and attention to this subject, as if the key to “Californio decadence” is to be found in this archetypal theme of the cinema and television.

In fact, Pitt goes further than mere description of the Californio’s criminality and attempts to establish the causes for such perverse behavior. He hints, for example, that race might be a significant factor:

The resulting proliferation of crime netted for Los Angeles one of the worst reputations of any gold rush town; northern detractors thought of it as a place combining jaded opulence with rampant drinking, murder, brutality—the kind of disorder associated with mixed breeds and the stagnant cow county culture. (page 154)

Although Pitt does not appear to subscribe to the “it’s in their blood” argument, it seems that he places some credence in the “it’s in their culture” thesis. He ascribes a disruptive role to Mexican convicts

in California.¹² Later he strongly implies that Californio criminality had its roots in Mexican culture. Pitt observes:

... the bandido must be understood also as a product of social upheaval in Mexico. During the uncertain era that followed the revolutionary break with Spain, caudillos or banditlike chieftains roamed the countryside—a law unto themselves. Yankees who had fought them in the Mexican War recognized their special ferocity and learned, as Horace Bell put it, that south of the Rio Grande the line between “rebel and robber, pillager and patriot, was dimly defined.” The resemblance of the California bandits to their Mexican counterparts was unmistakable.* (page 75)

As an aside, one could just as well observe—using similar reasoning—that Bell and his cohorts learned their lessons well from the Mexican caudillos, for in the Gabacho invasion of the Southwest, it can be said, with perhaps greater verity, that among the Yankees one can hardly distinguish between “rebel and robber” and “pillager and patriot.” One would certainly be hard pressed to defend the “squatters,” the claim jumpers, and the *buitres negros*—the crooked lawyers—who invaded the southwest. In any case, it appears that Pitt’s theory of Californio criminality lies somewhere between biological determinism and cultural determinism.¹³

In a sense, Pitt’s treatment of the criminality theme is a replay of his rancho mythology. He does not treat Californios as rational beings. Instead he makes sweeping generalizations and draws gratuitous conclusions, thereby transforming the Californios into two-dimensional bad guys not unlike those on celluloid filmstrip. When Pitt concludes that

Mexicans engaged in numerous and brutal individual crimes, but their forte was highway robbery, stage holdups, and rustling, activities in which they continued to surpass all other nationalities, even after the gold rush. As late as 1875 the most notorious characters in the state still wore sombreros (page 256)

it seems that the only contribution he makes is to the mythology of Californio badmen, while adding nothing to our understanding of the Californios as a people. Were one inclined to argue along the same lines, the assertion could be made, probably with greater historicity, that in the “robbery” of real estate the Yankees far outstripped any other nationality in California.

Pitt’s rendering of the criminality theme leads to absurd caricatures of some Californio “bandits” in particular and of all Californios in general. His “badmen” are alternately crafty and stupid, fierce and meek, ugly and dashing, lawless and penitent, and especially guilty and repentent. Crafty criminals like Pancho Daniel lose their wits in the end.

*Reminiscences of a Ranger . . . (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1927), p. 100.

The last of the badmen, Pancho Daniel, managed to evade capture until March, 1858, when he stumbled into the hands of the law.* (page 173)

Or the criminal will blurt out confessions, especially to “white-heat” vigilantes, and then moralize to his Californio compatriots as he faces the gallows.¹⁴ Pitt’s peculiar mythology-as-history bias is perhaps best illustrated in the following passage where victims are criminals, criminals are victims, and “white-heat” lynchers turn into a white tornado that purges the fair California countryside of the degenerate Californios:

Next, the vigilantes went after José Antonio Garcia, the only available accomplice in the murder of Obiesa and Graciano. Taken into custody, Garcia wrote his mother in Mexico and dictated a confession detailing the crime and the extent of Jack Powers’s leadership, but asserted that he regretted having participated in the killing. “To all appearances truly penitent, and exhorting his friends to take warning by his fate, and to avoid evil companions,” Garcia was executed. Enlarged to 150 strong, the vigilantes set out that very night to hunt down several gang members hiding in a nearby wood. The brigade spread out and systematically tramped through the brush until they gunned down Linares and Blanco and captured Grijalva and others. The next day the town interred the dead bandidos and a martyred vigilante, and on the following day hanged yet another pair of badmen, both of whom confessed guilt, exhorting their countrymen to “keep away from bad company,” and acknowledged the fairness of their captors. (page 177)

And so as the California golden sun sinks into the blue Pacific Ocean, the wretched Californio criminals receive their just desserts and sink into eternity.

STEREOTYPING AND “SOCIAL SCIENCE FICTION”

For all its concern with Californio decadence, the Pittian thesis of Californio decline must be understood within a broader context than the mere ranchero class or even the Californios collectively. Pitt stresses this point when he confesses that

Despite my initial doubts . . . the longer I worked on this project . . . the more I became convinced that it touched at least tangentially some large and consequential themes of history. (page vii)

His message is even clearer when he says:

I see this study as an instance of the worldwide defeat of the relatively

*Los Angeles Star, March 27, 1859.

static, traditionalist societies by societies that were oriented to technology and the ideal of progress. (page viii)

Hence, Pitt seems to conclude that though Californios were not especially important in themselves,¹⁵ they may represent important global themes not only of history, but, as seen in the last quote, of social science as well.

On a different but related level, Pitt believes—and quite correctly—that “. . . the role of California’s contemporary Spanish-speaking minority is at once enormously misunderstood, and thus in need of elucidation.” (page viii) Moreover, he contends¹⁶ that

I show, in essence, that the current predicament of the Spanish-speaking has far deeper and older roots than might appear to those who reckon time from the Mexican Revolution of 1910, or World War I and the mass migration northward which followed. (page viii)

Therefore, Pitt sees his history as “. . . at the very least . . . an effort to go back to first instances in order to shed light on a contemporary issue.” (page viii)

In the context of these remarks, the decline thesis acquires new meaning and importance. What is of interest here is no longer merely the defeated Californios, but their twentieth-century progeny and cultural heirs as well. By coupling history and social science to his decline thesis, Pitt attempts to arrive at an explanation of the Chicano “predicament.” In doing so Pitt makes a number of assumptions about the nature of the Chicano and Chicano culture which, while they may support his decline thesis, shed very little light on the contemporary Chicano world. Nor do they help us to understand the Californio and his culture.

Pitt’s basic borrowing from social science is the notion that some cultures are “traditional” while others are “progressive.” A given culture is “traditional” or “progressive” depending upon the “cultural values” of the people who make that culture. Cultural values are in turn dependent upon the “value orientations” of a given people.

As a number of contemporary Chicano writers have observed,¹⁷ these notions have been popularized by some Gabacho social scientists to create a cultural deterministic view of the Chicano. At its worst, this view simply stereotypes both the Chicano and the Gabacho. The stereotypes are then used to justify existing social, economic, and political relations in contemporary Gabacho society.

In reviewing the Gabacho treatment of Chicanos in the social sciences, Nick Vaca has summarized the opposing value systems which impinge on the Chicano: at least as these value systems have been posited by Gabacho social scientists. The values of the two systems are essentially dichotomous and can be summarized as follows:

MEXICAN AMERICAN
VALUE SYSTEM¹⁸

Subjugation to nature
 Present oriented
 Immediate gratification
 Complacent
 Non-intellectual
 Fatalistic
 Non-goal oriented
 Non-success oriented
 Emotional
 Dependent
 Machismo*
 Superstitious
 Traditionalism

ANGLO (GABACHO)
VALUE SYSTEM

Mastery over nature
 Future oriented
 Deferred gratification
 Aggressive
 Intellectual
 Non-fatalistic
 Goal oriented
 Success oriented
 Rational
 Individualistic
 Effeminacy*
 Non-superstitious
 Progressive

In discussing this paradigm, Vaca concluded that the cultural determinism advocates have gained considerable following over the years because their approach explains "... the social ills of the Mexican American in the United States without indicting Anglo institutions."¹⁹ By first assigning to the Chicano's culture inherently negative characteristics, Gabachos then can spin elaborate causal explanations for any number of Chicano phenomena. Thus it is through the Chicano's culture that the Gabacho has explained the Chicano's "... mental and public health rates, high delinquency rates, poor academic achievement, occupational levels, rates of income, high mortality rates, and a multitude of other social puzzles . . ."²⁰ Among those social—or in this case historical—puzzles is the Californio decline thesis of Professor Leonard Pitt.

Through his use of cultural determinism, Pitt proclaims both the superiority of Gabacho culture and the inferiority and decadence of the Californio culture. The paradigm also allows him to sympathize with the "progressive conquerors" who are "bemused" as their victims "decline." (page vii) Within this context, Pitt's return to "first instances" for an explanation of the current Spanish-speaking "predicament" seems to be drenched with the ethnocentric bias of both Gabacho social science and history. His return to "first instances" acquires an ironic meaning in that Pitt uses history to show that Chicano culture, as portrayed by some Gabacho social scientists, is, in the first instance, based on a cultural legacy of a people who were conquered because they failed to cope with a superior Gabacho invader.

Cultural determinism has a profound and pervasive effect on Pitt's

*This and the Gabacho corresponding category were added by Vaca more-or-less tongue in cheek, one supposes.

history. Often the categories outlined by Vaca can be easily detected in Pitt's sentences and paragraphs. At other times, the effects are subtle and indirect, camouflaged through a bit of nostalgia or a piece of local color.

In either case, Pitt's affiliation with the cultural determinism paradigm of the social sciences can be easily established, for he can be quite explicit in indicating his position. His acceptance of the Chicano's alleged subjugation to nature, present orientation, immediate gratification syndrome, and complacency can be seen in the following excerpt. Note that opposite characteristics attributed to the Gabacho also surface.

An orientation toward the present, not the past or the future, permeated the value system of the Californios. The "old mañana habit" . . . implied a satisfaction with what one had today. Men did not prepare for the future, as such. They did do hard work when necessary and did take pride in it, but more in anticipation of the fun that came right at the end of it, rather than for any anticipated distant need. Owing to a happy combination of good climate, ample land, and cheap Indian labor, the rancho order worked smoothly on the basis of this value system. Once these conditions worsened, however, the Californios had neither the necessary psychological nor economic reserves to fall back upon. The future, in short, would come as a shock to them, and the Anglo-Saxon's (Gabacho's) preoccupation with labor, profit, and savings for the future always remained something of a mystery to them. (pages 12-13)

Carrying the point further, Pitt argues that "The Californios exemplified the tendency of Latin Americans to make pleasure the chief end of work." (page 13) And as if to elaborate on what pleasure means to Latin Americans, Pitt remarks that on festive occasions ". . . they consumed heroic amounts of food and drink, clearly indulging in conspicuous consumption." (page 13) Here Pitt may be leaving historical research altogether and falling into a quagmire of "social science" speculation.

Moving beyond description, Pitt uses the cultural values paradigm to spin out diaphanous causal relationships. These causal relationships are imagined to substantiate the thesis of Californio decline. For example, in speculating about the "causes" of Californio banditry—presumably a symptom of Californio decadence—Pitt reverts to cultural explanations which are not only the province of Old Rangers—like Bell—but of some social scientists as well. In what he calls a "promising conjecture," he inclines toward Margaret Mead's ". . . comment that crime among the Spanish Americans of the United States is often related to the destruction of village life." (page 75) For additional insight Pitt refers to Florence Kluckhohn who

... speculates that the sadism of some Spanish-American men represents the breakdown of the all-important relationship of brother to brother and father to son which pervades the entire culture.* (page 75)

In analyzing the specific "causes" of Californio "decline," Pitt seriously entertains the notion of "culture conflict." He says:

Culture conflict explains a great deal. Quite plainly, the Californian's economic naiveté and his penchant for conspicuous consumption led him to the brink of disaster. California after 1848 provides a classic instance of what David Riesman describes in another connection as the "inner-directed" society superimposing itself on one that is "tradition-directed." Margaret Mead's anthropological observations about the present-day New Mexicans shed clear light on the Californians of the nineteenth century: "It is still the present, the known and the sure, which has meaning... (He) wants things as they are, not as they were or as they should be... The persistence of this orientation to the present time in the face of equally persistent future orientation of Anglos is central to the whole process of Spanish American acculturation."** (page 283)

It seems that Pitt views the cultural values paradigm as appropriate for describing not only contemporary Chicanos, but also their immediate as well as their distant ancestors. His return to "first instances" is merely to show that today's Chicanos are the exact opposite of Gabachos because historically they have always been so. Since Gabachos have, and always have had, inherently superior characteristics, Chicanos necessarily have, and always have had, inferior ones. The proof for this contention is historically derived because Gabachos were triumphant over Californios during the 19th century invasion, and those Gabachos saw their victory as a function of their superior culture. The attempted proof is also scientific because a century after the invasion certain Gabacho social scientists have demonstrated that the descendents of the invaders (Gabachos) have a culture which is superior to the culture of the descendents of those who were invaded (Chicanos). Through nimble manipulation Pitt has gained a double-barrelled analytical weapon: He can use data gathered by *recent* social scientists to analyze *past* Californio culture and formulate facile explanations for its "decline," or he can explain the "decadent" condition of contemporary Chicanos by showing that they continue to exhibit the same dysfunctional cultural characteristics which he contends caused the "decline" of their ancestors as they faced the invaders. This parsimonious sequence of circular reasoning is satisfactory if all one is searching for is the face-lifting of an

*... Florence Kluckhohn, in *Variations in Value Orientations* (Evanston, Ill., 1961), p. 198.

***Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (New York, 1855 (sic)), p. 175.

old and continuing mythology. For those with a serious interest in Chicano history, the ruse is tinged with methodological and intellectual ineptitude.

Because Pitt buys wholesale the cultural values paradigm, he is unable to guard himself from entering the world of mythology and stereotypes. Consequently his characterizations of both the Chicano and the Gabacho are far from convincing. Yet even more damaging to the Chicano is his lapse from the generalizations of the cultural values paradigm into grossly stereotypical characterizations of the Chicano. It seems that once the door is opened to stereotypes, there is no way of telling where they will lead. For example, non-intellectuality can quickly turn into stupidity, dependency becomes docility, and complacency turns into laziness.²¹

In Pitt's work stereotypes become so rampant that, perhaps before he even realizes it, he leaves the foul arena of the cultural values paradigm only to become mired in the rhetoric of biological determinists. Sonorans seem to be favorite targets for this physical degradation, although Mexicans in general, as well as Californios, are similarly treated. In a cross-cultural transposition of the Gabacho racism which imputes an ape-like degeneracy to Blacks, Pitt creates an absurd fiction of Chicano biological deformity and deterioration which transforms the Chicano into an almost subhuman animal.

For example, Pitt offers only the lamest contradictions to the following quotations and viewpoints:

California's European roots were a source of pride to her people, but Farnham dwelt on "the Indian character" of the lower class, "the dull suspicious countenance, the small twinkling piercing eye, the laxness and filth of a free brute, using freedom as a mere means of animal enjoyment . . . dancing and vomiting as occasion and inclination appear to require."* (page 16)

It is therefore not surprising that Sonorans assume ogre-like proportions even when they were considered the best miners in the fields.

Where water was scarce and quartz plentiful, as in the southern mines, they (Sonorans) had the endurance to sit for hours and winnow dirt in their serapes, sometimes using their own gargantuan breath if the wind died down. (pages 54-55)

And completing the circle, such physical grotesqueness leads directly to an atrophied intellect and moral putrefaction:

In the first (California) legislature, nativists (Gabachos) freely categorized

*Thomas Jefferson Farnham, *Travels in the Californias and in the Pacific Ocean* (New York, 1844), pp. 356-357.

the Pacific immigrants (Mexicans and South Americans) as a race whose morality and intelligence stood "but one degree above the beasts in the field." (page 58)

It is upon such evidence that Professor Pitt attempts to establish his decline thesis.

On the other side of the coin, the cultural values paradigm can also lead to stereotyped views of the Gabacho and Gabacho culture. Though most stereotypes represent popular prejudices and cultural myths, the stereotypes of the Gabacho which have been fabricated by Gabachos exalt their own values and culture. Professor Pitt appears to believe in the Gabacho's progressiveness, aggressiveness, rationality, individualism, as well as, among other things, his success and goal orientations. If Pitt's Chicanos appear as marginal and perhaps even subhuman, then his Gabachos exemplify a class of demigods. They are an army of blond-haired and blue-eyed Argonauts for whom no obstacle is too great or any design too grand to remain unfulfilled. They march through Pitt's pages as an unchallengeable force, impelled by the force of Manifest Destiny and the inevitable advance of progress.²² They are superior to treaties, laws, customs, and conscience.²³ Their mission is to "advance civilization," and to place in the dustbin of history all those who might get in their way. In contrast to Chicanos who are heirs to a decadent race and culture, Yankees become the harbingers of a new order.²⁴ Within this framework, Pitt turns the Gabacho invasion of California into a holy crusade in the name of progress.

This attitude is perhaps best described in Pitt's view of the "Americanization" of southern California:

The boom of the eighties contributed vastly to the ongoing process of "Americanization." The sheer volume of immigration brought to southern California the very transformation the northerners had witnessed a generation earlier. In two years or so the population of Los Angeles jumped 500 percent, automatically transforming the electorate into an Anglo-American one. The mores changed equally radically. The type of consumer goods advertised for sale, the tastes in food and dress, prevalence of English over Spanish in daily and official conversation, the Gilded Age recreations, and the style of commerce—all changed rapidly and irreversibly. While describing the changing ethos of real estate promotion and commerce, Professor Glenn S. Dumke notes that "From 1888 onward, the southern counties were imbued with Anglo-American aggressiveness."* What started out as a "semi-gringo" town and a cultural backwash became practically overnight a booming Yankee commercial center and the best-known place in the entire West. (pages 274-75)

**Op. cit.*, (*The Boom of the 'Eighties in Southern California* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1944)), p. 226.

As is the case with stereotypes of Chicanos, Pitt's use of Gabacho stereotypes leads him far astray. Transcending such abstract notions as "initiative," "progress," "goal and success fulfillment," etc., Pitt confers heroic qualities on his Gabacho protagonists. Seemingly, the invasion must be viewed in heroic terms lest one deny the Gabacho mythology of fearless lawmen, tough rangers, rugged squatters, and indefatigable pioneers who trek into the wilderness to blend into the sunset. So from the villainy, decay and cowardliness of the Chicano emerges, with histrionic commotion, the Gabacho hero. Whether it is politics, gambling, love, or war, the Gabacho is ready to perform masterful feats of skill and daring.²⁵ However, the greatest heroism of Gabachos is exemplified in the maintenance of "law and order." The following novelesque passage will illustrate Pitt's handling of the heroic theme:

A sheriff now could succeed without vigilante aid, particularly if, like Alameda Sheriff Harry Morse, archenemy of bandidos, he possessed perseverance to match their bravado. So closely did Morse hound bandidos that they took him for a demon. Between 1864 and 1874 he trailed Bojorques mercilessly (but never laid eyes on him); killed Norrate Ponce (although killing was not his speciality); captured Tejada; and simply strode up to Procopio in a San Francisco dance hall, laid a hand on the bandido's shoulder, calmly declared, "Procopio, you're my man," and took him to jail.* For sheer drama nothing surpassed his single-handed showdown with Juan Soto, whom he began tracking after the badman had robbed and killed a Suñol shopkeeper in January, 1871. With customary aplomb Morse hiked directly into Soto's mountain fastness south of Gilroy, masquerading as a weary and lost traveler. His disguise gained Morse easy entry into Soto's casa for "a rest." When the bandit and his crew discovered the ruse, they began shooting it out with the Sheriff. A Mexican amazon momentarily pinioned Morse's arms, but he broke her grip and got safely outside. Finally the wounded Soto burst from the shack, "bareheaded, his long black hair streaming behind him, a cocked revolver in each hand," and flying suicidally at Morse. At this the Sheriff raised his rifle and shot Soto in the head.** (page 260)

Pitt's use of history, therefore, becomes the final component in an almost circular process of legitimizing racism and prejudice in the Gabacho culture. The persistence of 19th century Gabacho folk and popular prejudices against Mexico has been legitimized by some Gabacho social scientists through what Octavio Romano has called "social science fiction."²⁶ The cultural values paradigm is a product of these social science fiction writers. When a historian like Pitt makes use of it to

*Shinn, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

**Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-267.

explain the decline thesis and the Gabacho invasion of California, he is legitimizing these social scientists and their theoretical models. Through this circular process of legitimation, Gabacho prejudice is defended on the basis of a historical fiction based upon a social science fiction based upon folk prejudices and stereotypes, which in turn are constantly reaffirmed and legitimized by some social scientists and historians. Neither history nor social science seems to profit from this circularity. Nor does this process shed much light on the history of the Chicano.

THE ABUSE AND MISUSE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

The use of myths and stereotypes is an inadequate means of substantiating the Pittian thesis of Californio decline. It goes without saying that they are totally inadequate as valid techniques of any historical research methodology premised on "objectivity." To repeat, these fraudulent techniques are useful mostly for engaging in circular arguments of self-affirmation. Yet, these and other equally invalid techniques are the basis upon which Pitt attempts to build his thesis.

In the brief discussion that follows, I will call attention to three inter-related areas of methodological weakness. These areas are: (1) the persistent bias in the use of language, (2) an intrusive editorial posture, and (3) the careful selection of quotes and references to exclude contradicting evidence.

As Billington *et al.* have noted, "Loaded language can be used to convert innocent sounding descriptions into instruments of propaganda."²⁷ Some careful readers may have already noted from the material quoted thus far that Pitt demonstrates a remarkable carelessness in his use of words and phrases. The decadent ranchero, the heroic Gabacho, and the criminally-prone lower class Californio are all in some measure constructed through the use of biased language. Some readers might contend that these caricatures are playful and harmless. However, when they are presented disguised as history, their effect is mainly propagandistic. Certainly they have no place in a meaningful history of the Chicano or of any other people.

I do not think it necessary to belabor the point of word bias. Any reader can draw his own conclusions by opening the book—almost at random—and reading Pitt's exposition. Keeping in mind Pitt's decline thesis, it will quickly become apparent to the reader the extent to which Pitt is loading the language. Some typical examples will serve to make the point here.²⁸ For instance, speaking about Henry A. Crabb, who had been accused of fomenting revolution, Pitt writes:

With little provocation, a *brutal* Mexican governor seized and executed him (Crabb) together with fifty-eight followers. This *savagery* called forth a violent storm of words against all the Spanish-speaking. (page 209, emphasis mine)

In another instance, Pitt creates the stereotype of the non-intellectual Chicano simply through the use of loaded words.

This bill of particulars (i.e., the Gabacho revolt) *mystified* the Californians; aware of their own *numerous shortcomings*, they yet saw none that would serve as provocation for the Yankee rebellion. (page 28, emphasis mine)

Finally, in describing the Californio's resistance to the Gabacho invasion, Pitt demeans the tactics, ethics, and professionalism of the Californios through the use of language:

Employing *bluster* and *trickery*, Flores and his men overwhelmed Gillespie's eighty dragoons and forced the captain to sign surrender terms. On October 4 the *guerrillas* lined the street and *gloated* while Gillespie's dejected men marched out of town . . .²⁹ (pages 33-34, emphasis mine)

This same technique is applied in reverse to the Gabachos. On one occasion Pitt says, "The real aggressors were not Benton, Gwin, or the Californians, but the *Yankee Argonauts bursting with explosive energies*." (page 86) Many other similar examples could be cited.³⁰

A different, but equally flagrant, bias results from Pitt's editorial posture. Now I am calling attention specifically to the way in which Pitt "packages" his book (although later in this section I call attention to the discrepancies between Pitt's book and doctoral dissertation). Pitt gives headline attention to his thesis by making it the book's title. As a result, the thesis does not appear to the reader as a *hypothesis* but as a *given*. Similarly, a number of chapter headings can lead a casual or uncritical reader to draw unwarranted conclusions.

For example, Chapter One is titled "Halcyon Days." Yet, as I have already suggested, the Californio "Halcyon Days" are more myth than reality. Pitt, however, effectively uses this lead-in to make a case for his thesis. Similarly, Chapter Two is called "Rain in the Sheepfold." The metaphor obviously refers to the Californios as a nation of bleating and timid inhabitants, thus scoring another point for the Pittian thesis through editorial manipulation.

"'Greasers' in the Diggings . . ." is the title of Chapter Three. Here Pitt uses quotation marks around the word "greasers" but the repeated use of such words eventually has a tendency to restore their pejorative meaning. This title fits well with the degeneracy theme. Further, the notion of Californio criminality—an important component of the decline thesis—is given star billing in Chapter Ten: "Cow County Bandidos."

But perhaps the best example of Pitt's editorial intrusion into history is the last chapter which Pitt headlines "Schizoid Heritage." With this bold title Pitt relegates the contemporary Chicano to a rather feeble mental and cultural condition. "Schizoid Heritage" is Pitt's final verdict after having returned to "first instances" to "shed light" on the contemporary Chicano. This chapter title, as well as the decline thesis itself, unquestionably places Professor Pitt in the camp of those with a pathologic perspective of the Chicano.

The third bias is Pitt's apparent selection of sources to exclude evidence contradicting his thesis. Very early in his study he dismisses Californio sources because of "prejudice." He then builds his arguments largely from Gabacho sources—many of them newspapers and personal diaries. When he does incorporate Californio sources, they seem to speak against their own kind or in favor of the invader. For example, the beleaguered General Vallejo—who might have had second thoughts about his involvement with Gabachos—went to Washington to seek Congressional help in settling his disputed land claims. Pitt reports the following interview between Vallejo and Lincoln:

"The Yankees are a wonderful people—wonderful!" Vallejo exclaimed, as he warmed to the occasion. "Where they go, they make improvements. If they were to emigrate in large numbers to hell itself they would irrigate it, plant trees and flower gardens, build reservoirs and fountains and make everything beautiful and pleasant, so that by the time we get there, we can sit at a marble top table and eat ice cream." (pages 240-41)

This anecdote, and others like it, generally help to perpetuate the image of progressive and "energetic" Gabachos; or they show the "shortcomings" of the Californios.³¹ The assumption, it seems, is that the "evidence" is more convincing since it is coming from Californios themselves.

Perhaps a clearer statement of these methodological biases—and their effects—can be made through what I call a "test of consistency" between two related works of Professor Pitt. One is the text under discussion, and the other is Pitt's own doctoral dissertation from which is drawn much of the material in the book.³² I note at the outset, however, that while the book draws heavily from the dissertation, there are also significant differences between the two works. Moreover, there is a great deal of bias in the dissertation itself. Yet, the comparison is still instructive because the distortions in the book are more systematic and apparently more formalized within the Pittian thesis.

In his dissertation, Pitt makes certain qualifying judgments which do not appear in the book. Generally these judgments are somewhat more favorable toward the Californios than toward the Gabacho: a situation seldom encountered in the book. For instance, regarding California before the invasion, Pitt observes:

Many Mexicans who were crushed spiritually and otherwise by the rapid changes of the 1850's had actually already experienced in the Mexican era a slower and more acceptable transformation of the primary institutions that had traditionally molded their fathers' lives. (page 4)

Pitt's judgment of Gabacho writers who condemned Californio culture does not appear in the book:

The 1840's (Gabacho) conception of California was molded by literary conventions derived from established works such as *Gil Blas*, by popular myths growing out of the hoary Black Legend of Spanish cruelty, by racial theories stemming from the South's current pre-occupation with miscegenation and by feverish sentiments against Mexicans, as the West remembered the Alamo. (page 35)

Similarly,

With . . . (the) highest of all possible moral criteria the American tried to rationalize his forcible suppression of the Mexican. (page 36)

In the dissertation Pitt quotes many Gabacho writers, just as he does in the book. However, in the former work, as noted above, he sometimes tries to show the bias inherent in the material. After citing the wretched description of Juan Bandini given by Dana, Pitt suggests: "Of course, Dana was quite mistaken about the economic fortune of the Bandinis; the family was very solvent indeed." (page 10) He makes no such correction in the book, but instead leaves the uninformed reader to draw his own conclusions.

In fact, Pitt goes even further in the dissertation and presents a description, again from Dana's book, of a Yankee trader in California. It is an unflattering portrait which does not appear in the book. The Yankee trader was a

. . . fat, coarse, vulgar pretending fellow . . . who was eating out the very vitals of the Bandinis, fattening upon their extravagance, grinding them into their poverty; having mortgages on their lands, forestalling their cattle and already making an inroad upon their jewels, which were their last hope. (page 11)

Certainly this is not a wholesome picture of Gabacho enterprise.

Pitt contradicts the notion of an opulent Californio aristocracy in the following quote—which does not appear in the book—from Alfred Robinson.

. . . A. M. Lugo "amused us by his stories and eccentricities." For all his wealth "he lives miserably poor, depriving himself of the comforts of life, yet he thinks nothing of squandering thousands upon others." (page 12)

Californios, who are generally two-dimensional characters in the book, at times appear more humanized in the dissertation. For example, Pitt recounts the following anecdote.

According to an apocryphal story, when a native child reported excitedly to his parents that people from the 'States were coming along the road, his father mildly reprimanded, "Those are not people, those are gringos!" (page 105)

Whether apocryphal or authentic, no such stories appear in the book.

On the other hand, even while describing Californio dissensions, Pitt makes the following observation which will not be found in the book: "It cannot be said that the *Californios* lost the war or even a single battle because of dissensions in their ranks; their losses came from more fundamental causes." (page 63)

In the dissertation Pitt also draws a surprising conclusion about Californio reaction to the Gabacho invasion. There is no easy way one can come to a similar conclusion by reading the book alone. Pitt concludes:

The Californios have been depicted as bewildered innocents who stood by helplessly watching the march of progress. But it is not altogether true that they were idle spectators to the decimation of their land. Up to and about 1851 or even 1852 many were adjusting satisfactorily to what was new in their lives. They were active participants and successfully met new challenges with old responses. Even at their worst, they evaluated their struggle, fought back as best they could and appraised their losses carefully. (page 190)

Obviously such a conclusion is not in line with the decline thesis. It is also noteworthy that 1851 is the year Congress passed the nefarious Land Law.

Perhaps the greatest contrast between dissertation and book is most clearly illustrated by quoting parallel passages from both works and letting the reader draw his own conclusion. In describing the Sonoran's mining skill, for instance, Pitt notes in the dissertation:

The Sonoran seemed able to perform miracles by winnowing dirt in the breeze or even with the aid of his own breath. He could poke at the top soil with a knife and come up with a nugget the size of his fist. (page 102)

The equivalent passage in the book reads:

Sonorans somehow could probe the topsoil with knives and bring up nuggets, or work the *batea* (pan) to great advantage. Where water was scarce and quartz plentiful, as in the southern mines, they had the endurance to sit for hours and winnow dirt in their serapes, sometimes using their own gargantuan breath if the wind died down. (page 54)

In the dissertation Sonoran traders appear as a welcome sight to the miners.

The cries of the "skinnners" and the clank of animal bells was welcome

music in the mines, for they signaled an increase in the supply of goods even in the remotest camps (page 101)

In the book the traders are cheapened considerably.

. . . Yankee miners . . . had come to associate Mexican mule bells with savory cooking odors and a few cheap comforts of life . . . (page 57)

The Varela-Gillespie incident is a superb example of the way in which Pitt manipulates words in the book. Californios naturally lose in the transposition. The dissertation reads:

Memoirs of the Californios reveal a great deal of pride in the memory of Varela. Saddled with a fine for a trivial offense, this young Mexican stirred up about 15 or 20 boys and young men—"mere youths" and almost unarmed, one ranchero boasted—went down to Gillespie's headquarters and taunted him with shouts of *Viva Mexico!* An American officer of more gentle temperament would have regarded this merely as a drunken carousel of vagabonds and would have let it go at that, but Gillespie retaliated in a panic. (page 63)

The subtle as well as the obvious shifts which occur in the book version could serve as a lesson in distortion.

Fearful of a conspiracy, Gillespie searched several houses, confiscated arms, and did everything in his power to intimidate the occupants. In response, Servulio Varela, a young Mexican dabbler in rebellions, took a score of drinking companions to Gillespie's quarters and taunted him with drum rolls and shouts of "¡Viva Méjico!" In a panic, Gillespie fired his rifle into the darkness and sent the intruders scurrying into the hills. (page 33)

Equally instructive, if not revolting from a Chicano viewpoint, is Pitt's handling of the notorious Downieville incident where a Mexican woman was lynched by Gabachos. In the dissertation Pitt seems to be mildly judgmental.

Perhaps it was merely coincidence that the first woman lynched was dark-skinned and her victim light-skinned, that she was a foreigner and he a native, that she was a Mexican and he a gringo. But an American woman might not have suffered this same fate had she committed the same crime as the dark lady from Mexico. (page 160)

Professor Pitt's judgment in the book is on an entirely different level. Referring to the pregnant victim, Pitt boasts:

In light of the preceding two years of trouble, it seems altogether fitting that a *Mexican* woman should be so honored by gringos; if they had to punish Eve, then so much the better if she were a "greaser." (page 74)

Describing the confrontation between Soto and Morse (which I have previously quoted in detail) the dissertation reads:

A Mexican sheepherder, trembling lest his treason be uncovered by Soto, led Morse into the edge of the *bandido's* mountain fastness, a day's ride south of Gilroy. There Morse put on one of his unbelievably phony disguises. Posing as a weary traveler he talked his way right into the Soto hideout. (page 286)

The revised version printed in the book is:

With customary aplomb Morse hiked directly into Soto's mountain fastness south of Gilroy, masquerading as a weary and lost traveler. His disguise gained Morse easy entry into Soto's casa for "a rest." (page 260)

Finally, in the sanitation battle of Los Angeles, the dissertation reads:

Lower-class women persisted in using the town's water supply—the *zanja* ditches—for drinking and washing and disposal, despite repeated ordinances by gringo water commissioners. One decree asked that the women at least wash clothing on the *edge* of the main *zanja*, but to no avail. The washing of the laundry was a local institution where gossip was transferred and the women resisted efforts to curtail it. (page 315)

In the book the explanation of local custom is deleted and the reader is left only with stupidity as a reason for the women's behavior.

... the Yankee town fathers tried to dissuade the Mexican women from washing clothes in the *zanja*, the town's chief source of water, or at least to do their washing on the *edge* of the ditch; but lectures on hygiene generally produced only blank stares. (page 124)

Note also how the book includes *all* Mexican women, while the dissertation speaks only of "lower class" women.

It is worthwhile to emphasize again that there is much distortion in the dissertation itself. But, as I have demonstrated, it is even worse in the book. Sometimes, however, the differences between the dissertation and the book are minimal. The dissertation chapter on bandidos, for example, is almost as distorted as its equivalent chapter in the book. For instance, Pitt's belief in the inherent criminality of Californio culture is already clear in the dissertation: "... Hispanos were fundamentally depraved and constituted a class of the most 'desperate characters,' composed of 'idle hangers on about the large Spanish ranchos.'" (page 236) Similarly,

Among the very many cultural traits transported to California in Spanish or Mexican saddlebags, banditry was the most destructive. More than anything it was a product of Mexico's social revolutionary turmoil. (page 255)

Pitt appears to discount the possibility that banditry might just as well have been transported to California in covered wagons.

There are a great many other comparisons which could be made to

show the differences between the dissertation and the book. Those which I have already given show that Pitt's book is an effort to develop systematically the thesis of Californio decline. Clearly the thesis is already present in the dissertation, yet it is not well integrated. The book represents an effort to remedy that weakness.

It is an irony that the kindest words one could have for either of Pitt's works are the very words which the author writes in the preface to his dissertation: "A synthesis of the Mexican (American), his past and present, is yet to be written." (page v) Notwithstanding Pitt's dissertation and book, or perhaps because of them, the same words can be said today with equal accuracy.

PART II
SOME THEORETICAL PITFALLS

A FALSE PARALLEL AND AN IMPORTANT OMISSION
THE CASE OF FOOTNOTE 20a
HISTORY VS SOCIAL SCIENCE DE PASADA
A POSTSCRIPT

A FALSE PARALLEL
AND AN IMPORTANT OMISSION

A singular aspect of Pitt's text is the intricate manner in which he combines historical distortion, shoddy social science, and opinion to compile an exhaustive defense of his decline thesis. His principal attacks on Californio culture have been described; and they form the major basis for his thesis. However, Pitt is adept at producing other distortions to bolster his position. Among these are his comparative distinctions between New Mexico and California. He appears to contend, although with little conviction and less documentation, that after the Gabacho invasion of the Southwest the Nuevo Mexicanos somehow fared better than the Californios. Or, saying it differently, he appears to suggest that the Californios were particularly decadent when compared to other Mexican groups in the Southwest.

I tend to believe that arguments about which Chicano groups fared better under the Gabacho onslaught are somewhat academic, since most Chicanos seem to have led a troubled existence under the new Gabacho scheme. Further, any comparative account of the Chicano in the Southwest would probably require a complex research design and a considerable expenditure of time and energy.

On the other hand, Pitt's spontaneous and disconnected comparative judgments between Nuevo Mexicanos and Californios seem muddled, gratuitous, and facile; and the reader may well ask why Pitt forces

the comparisons. By way of explanation, I suggest that Pitt wanted to take advantage of contemporary studies carried out in New Mexico and apply them to California. Consequently, he felt obliged to construct some kind of nexus between the Californios and the Nuevo Mexicanos. Pitt's comparisons, it would seem, are an effort to draw parallels between two distinct regions in order to legitimize the use of data from one area for analyzing the problems of another. The result is that Pitt does an inadequate job on what might otherwise be an interesting, though difficult, topic.

Important omissions abound in Pitt's book. I have already suggested that his treatment of pre-invasion California leaves out much of the historical record. But most important is Pitt's failure to discuss the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In the entire text, Pitt makes less than a dozen references to the treaty, and nowhere does he discuss it as a separate topic. I suspect that a more careful historian of the Californios or the Southwest would give considerable attention to the treaty and its effects on the Mexican inhabitants of the region. To study Chicano history without taking into account the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is a glaring omission in Pitt's work. On the other hand, I can imagine the difficulties one might encounter in trying to fit the treaty into the decline thesis.

THE CASE OF FOOTNOTE NUMBER 20a

The Pittian thesis was received well in several quarters when it first appeared in *The Decline of the Californios*. The first printing of the book received an award from the Commonwealth Club for "the best work on California history" in 1967. But an astute critic might have remarked that Pitt had failed not only in his attempt to shed light on the contemporary Spanish-speaking scene, but on the Chicano scenes of the past as well. And if indeed Professor Pitt was interested in searching the Chicano past in order to clarify the meaning of the present, why did he choose to straitjacket Californio history in his absurd decline thesis?

Nor can one excuse the Pittian thesis on the grounds that there is a scarcity of primary sources and data for a thorough scrutiny of Californio history. While data may be missing in certain areas and for completing some of the details, the general outline of Californio history can be amply documented. It is clear, for example, that the Californios fell victims to a Gabacho invasion. Professor Pitt seems to be well informed on this point, yet his interpretation of this event (through the decline thesis) is based largely on Gabacho sources which are heavily biased. From reading Pitt, one might conclude that the invasion was a godsend to the Californios who were decaying in a fetid cultural miasma.

It is quite baffling to see Pitt reach such a dismal conclusion even after he has handled a great many documents which could just as well point to contrary conclusions. A cynical reader might claim, with some justice, that Pitt chose to ignore a great deal of history in order to fabricate a small bit of historical fiction. Fortunately, while traditional historians were lauding Professor Pitt for his new insights into an old problem, energetic Chicanos were vigorously rejecting the Pittian thesis through their words and actions. The Chicano's message was, and is, that the Gabacho has consistently exploited the Chicano first through a political and military invasion, then through economic manipulation and social subjugation. This seems to be an inescapable fact of history and no amount of historical manipulation or of intellectual fantasizing can eradicate it from the real world.

While the signs of the times may have escaped Professor Pitt in 1967, they certainly did not fail to attract his attention in 1970 when the third printing of *The Decline of the Californios* came off the presses. By then Pitt had some misgivings about his decline thesis and, perhaps as an act of penitent self-absolution, appended footnote number 20a to the text which in part reads:

In the final analysis the Californios were the victims of an imperial conquest, a fact of overriding importance which some Yankees, in their pre-occupation with "Providence" or "moral factors," chose to ignore. Only when the pattern of conquest is understood can the decline of the Californios be entirely comprehended. Stating the pattern simply and in its bold-est terms: the United States, which had long coveted California for its trade potential and strategic location, finally provoked a war to bring about the desired ownership. At the conclusion of fighting, it arranged to "purchase" the territory outright, and set about to colonize, by throwing open the gates to all comers. Yankee settlers then swept in by the tens of thousands, and in a matter of months and years overturned the old institutional framework, expropriated the land, imposed a new body of law, a new language, a new economy, and a new culture, and in the process exploited the labor of the local population whenever necessary. To certain members of the old ruling class these settlers awarded a token and symbolic prestige, at least temporarily; yet with that status went little genuine authority. In the long run Americans simply pushed aside the earlier ruling elite as being irrelevant. (page 296)

Thus at the *end* of 3rd printing of the book the astonished reader discovers that in one paragraph Pitt wipes out a large portion of the 296 page argument for the Pittian thesis. Some pundit might suggest that for all of his research and elaborate arguments Pitt finds it impossible to believe his own thesis. For this reason one might assert that the rightful place for this paragraph is in the prologue, not in the epilogue. In fact, with only slight modification this paragraph might be the preface for another more historically accurate account of the Californios.

Footnote 20a is noteworthy on another score. If paragraph one demonstrates Pitt's inconsistency, then the second paragraph (following below) is a notable example of Pitt's consistent tendency to dilute the importance of facts which appear favorable to the Chicano. Thus while Pitt concedes in the first paragraph that the Californios were fundamentally the victims of Gabacho imperialism, the second paragraph serves both as a palliative for the Gabacho conscience and as a way to muddle the issue. The second paragraph reads:

To be sure, this imperial conquest was not the result of a closely coordinated federal government policy (such as was the case in Cuba or the Philippines after the Spanish-American war), nor was it the result of a program of genocide (as in the instance of the California Indians). Nor did every participant act out of personal malice; in fact the conquest aroused in some Yankees a sense of remorse and guilt for the worst excesses of their fellow countrymen. Yet this subjugation by local authority proceeded steadily and swiftly in the towns and farms, in the courtrooms and schoolhouses throughout the state, and it had irrevocable consequences. The imperialism of Everyman, while not so tidy as the imperialism of statesmen and generals, can be every bit as encompassing; such was the case in California. (page 296)

While Pitt is quite correct in suggesting that Gabacho imperialism is a key element in Californio history, he is mistaken in claiming that the Gabacho invasion was *not* the result of "a closely coordinated federal government policy." Other historians have arrived at the opposite conclusion. Gastón García Cantú's *Las invasiones norteamericanas en México* recounts in some detail the Gabacho strategy to wrench from Mexico over fifty percent of its national territory.³³ From García Cantú's work it appears clear that the Gabacho policy of domination was very well coordinated at the diplomatic, military, and political level. Manuel Medina Castro's *El gran despojo*, while somewhat more partial than the previous work, is a scathing account of the Gabacho invasion of Mexican territory.³⁴ Like García Cantú, Medina Castro leaves no doubt whatever that, in his view, the American venture to capture Mexican territory was a coordinated plot hatched within the federal government over a period of several presidencies and consummated during the Polk administration.

Similarly, Pitt's fanciful notion of the "imperialism of Everyman" is a wide-eyed fabrication of little interest to Chicanos. It is about as useful in explaining the Gabacho invasion as the Pittian thesis is in explaining the "decline" of the Californios.

Having conceded that the imperialism thesis may provide a more historically viable interpretation of Californio history, one can raise several issues concerning the Chicano past as well as the implications of that past for the Chicano present and future. Clearly, if the Chicano is

heir to a history of invasion, colonization, and exploitation, then the present task of the Chicano is not to minister to his "schizoid heritage" as the Pittian thesis would suggest, but to raise again the collective consciousness of an oppressed people. Similarly, Californio history could be examined from the perspective of Gabacho aggression, a perspective adopted by both García Cantú and Medina Castro (as noted above). And if one is interested in viewing the Californios from a socio-psychological perspective, then the observations of Frantz Fanon may provide useful insights.

On the other hand, the Pittian thesis could possibly have an application—but quite an ironic one. Few would argue, for example, that a colonialist conquest is ever made without the active participation of some of the native population. Furthermore, few conquests can be maintained without the continued collaboration of some native faction. California and the Southwest were no exception. In California men like Mariano Vallejo and Pablo de la Guerra, in Texas Lorenzo Zavala, played important roles in bringing California and the Southwest under Gabacho control. These political opportunists had much to gain by way of land speculation, increased commerce, and the hopes of political aggrandizement. They were men of influence and power who hoped to continue in privileged positions and even increase their power through a Gabacho hegemony. Unfortunately, the Gabacho destroyed them very quickly after the invasion through the use of many subterfuges, including the Foreign Miners' Tax and the Land Law. Mexican historians treat these collaborators somewhat gruffly,³⁵ and one might suggest that in some sense these Californios and Tejanos declined. Had they taken a strong anti-invasion position, today they might enjoy a prominent place in Chicano history. As it is, many Chicanos know about men such as Tiburcio Vasquez, Joaquín Murieta, and Juan Cortina, but very few know about men with names like Vallejo, Zavala and de la Guerra.

HISTORY VS SOCIAL SCIENCE DE PASADA

Part One of this critique deals, in part, with Pitt's use of mediocre Gabacho social science for interpreting Californio history. While I do not wish to discuss here the history vs social science debate, one theoretical point must at least be noted.³⁶ To what extent can a historian use social science theory and research in interpreting historical research? And if a historian chooses to combine social science and historical methods and theory, what responsibility does he have to insure that he is not merely using the methodological and theoretical weaknesses of one discipline to camouflage similar or different weaknesses in another discipline? Or what responsibility does the historian have to avoid

legitimizing theoretical, methodological, and researcher prejudices which may be lurking in the social sciences?

One can conceive of mutual benefits which could accrue from a judicious combination of social science and history. Yet, Fischer has warned that,

If sociological history and historical sociology are conceived as a combination of the conceptual sophistication of the best sociologists and the dogged if often undirected empiricism of the best historians, then the prospects are very bright indeed. But one might also imagine an interdisciplinary effort which combined the worst of both worlds—the stupidity of historians and the ignorance of sociologists.³⁷

The Pittian thesis rests heavily on the assertion that Californio culture had dysfunctional traits. The primary defense for this assertion is the work of various social scientists which culminates in the cultural values paradigm. Since this paradigm is at best a compound stereotype, Pitt may have fallen victim to the ignorance of some social scientists. If this is the case, then Fischer's last sentence could be used as a terse summary of Pitt's fundamental methodological weakness in *The Decline of the Californios*.

A POSTSCRIPT

An important goal of this critique has been to challenge the Pittian thesis and to counteract the widespread support which it has received in the past several years. Pitt's book has been widely used in Chicano Studies courses and as an authoritative source on Chicano history. Yet few critics—Gabacho or otherwise—have challenged the basic assumptions and assertions of the work. On the contrary, much praise has come from a number of quarters. Navarro, for example, asserts that *The Decline of the Californios* is “. . . probably the most scholarly work on Mexican-American history.”³⁸ Moses Rischin, who swallows the Pittian thesis with gusto, believes that:

The book's major claim to originality is in the link that the author established between the bleak prospects of today's over two million Spanish-speaking Californians and the misfortunes of ten thousand nineteenth-century Californios.³⁹

Rischin thus proves his considerable capacity to swallow Pitt's nonsensical thesis. Even more astounding is his conclusion that “. . . Pitt is dedicated to historical rehabilitation . . .” In fact, following Fischerian logic one could suggest that Rischin's review combines the stupidity of historians, the ignorance of sociologists, and the imbecility of reviewers. Otherwise it is difficult to explain a statement like:

In California as elsewhere, nineteenth-century individualist Anglo-Saxondom overwhelmed a communally oriented caballero culture rendering the *Californio* quixotic, picturesque, and pathetic with a finality that was not to be quite the lot of their numerous and more isolated fellow ethnics in New Mexico.⁴⁰

Such is the extent to which Rischin internalizes the Pittian pendejada.

Even Meier and Rivera, who are certainly not biased against the Chicano, are in fundamental error when they claim that Pitt's book ". . . is an excellent pioneering monograph, one of the few written from a Mexican American viewpoint."⁴¹

Finally, the work of two anthropologists, currently used as a text in some university social science courses, accepts the Pittian thesis and presents it as a matter of fact.⁴² Thus we have again come full circle and now we see that some social scientists are legitimizing the historian and reifying the Pittian thesis. Borrowing a currently popular concept, it seems that the Pittian thesis has been promptly recycled back to the social sciences, from where it came.

NOTES

1. *Gabacho* as used throughout this critique refers to the amorphous agglomeration of U.S. inhabitants who are either of European origin or of European extraction. The term comes from a Chicano universe of discourse and might be translated into the Gabacho idiom as "Euro-American."
2. For more commentary on this subject, see Eduardo Seda, "Ethnic Studies and Cultural Pluralism," *The Rican*, I (Fall, 1971), pp. 56-65.
3. Such a response, of course, is most often labeled as irrational and subjective by Gabacho researchers. An alternate strategy for such a boxed-in Chicano is to take a critical stance toward his own reality. Under these circumstances, Gabacho criticisms become irrelevant.
4. *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, 6th ed., 1961, p. 214.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
6. See especially Chapter XVI, "Schizoid Heritage." Note: unless otherwise stated, references to Leonard Pitt are based on the 1970 printing of *The Decline of the Californios* (Berkeley: University of California Press). Henceforth only page numbers are given.
7. Mervyn Miller, "A History of the Secularization of the Missions of California" (unpublished M.A. thesis, College of the Pacific, 1932).
8. George Tays, "Revolutionary California" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1932).
9. For example, discussing Bouchard's attack on California, Pitt comments, "Family feeling and respect for age thus produced powerful sentiments whose weakening the Californians would later find especially painful." (page 12) Apparently, Pitt concludes that there was something weak about the Californio family as an institution.

Describing a religious scene, Pitt creates a semi-paganistic scenario:

The Assumption fiesta of August, 1857, lasting three days, included a bullfight, in which *el toro* gored a horse and killed a man.* On June 3, 1858, Corpus Christi began with two morning Masses, which were followed by an afternoon procession. When the laity and the clergy emerged from the church, the hundred white-robed girls of the Catholic orphanage walked to the cadence of a musical band and the escort of Twist's Southern Rifles and the mounted California Lancers with swords drawn. They toured the plaza, passing under flowering arches and pausing for benediction before bejeweled altars near the homes of Doña Benicia Sotelo, Ignacio del Valle, and Agustín Olvera. (page 218)

Finally, speaking through second parties, Pitt observes:

The *nativos* valued their military prowess, but Clyman certified it as "weak, imbecile and poorly organized and still less respected" . . . *The National Intelligencer*, in April 1846, told the gringo nation that "the Spanish portion of the inhabitants are a thieving, cowardly, dancing, lewd people, and generally indolent and faithless" . . . (page 16)

For an original source that makes vitriolic attacks on Californio religion, as well as Californios in general, see Lansford W. Hastings, *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California* . . . (Cincinnati: George Conclin, 1845). Facsimile edition by Charles Henry Carey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932).

10. The British and the French governments (especially the British) may have been more interested in gaining a foothold in California than Pitt suggests in this passage.
11. In one of Pitt's "sketches" which supposedly pictures Californio opulence, Pitt notes, "watermelon and other refreshments were available on call." (page 253) For me, at least, watermelons are not a particularly significant indicator of great wealth, regardless of the quantity consumed.
12. Pitt comments:

Those convicts (from Mexico) usually arrived in a state of wretchedness exceeded only by that of the Indians. Bands of so-called *cholos* (scoundrels) would brawl drunkenly on the public streets and commit theft and other assorted misdeeds—even homicide—while the political prisoners among them organized rebellions. This state of affairs greatly distressed the more genteel settlers. ** (page 6)

On the same theme of Californio criminality, Pitt writes:

It is, nevertheless, true that in the early Yankee years some Californios took to the highway and earned bad reputations entirely on their own hook. Disaffected youths found many reasons and opportunities to turn to crime . . . (page 149)

13. "Biological determinism" as a concept means that there is some genetic factor in the Californio which makes him, in this case, criminally prone. On the other

*Los Angeles *Star*, Aug. 22, 1857.

**Angustias de la Guerra Ord, *Occurences in Hispanic California* (Washington, 1956), pp. 54-55.

hand, "cultural determinism" means that there are elements in the Californio's culture which, when acquired by a person, will render that person criminally prone.

14. For example, "Reyes Felix also pleaded innocence, but so frantically that he confessed a previous crime." (page 157) Of course, Reyes was hanged anyway on his confession. In another instance, "A committee of public safety (i.e., vigilantes) . . . took the prisoner's confession in English and Spanish. The jury returned a verdict of first degree murder for Zavaleta and Rivas, and the next morning the town witnessed its first "grand" lynching. (page 156)

The final tableau for a number of Californio badmen is filled with heart-breaking pathos and cathartic repentance. In describing the Flores lynching, Pitt appears to vindicate Hollywood:

Flanked by two priests, Flores strode up the hill with firm steps, still looking "as composed as any one in the crowd . . . He was a young man . . . of pleasing countenance. There was nothing in his appearance to indicate the formidable criminal he had proved himself to be."* Through an interpreter, Flores told the crowd that he had committed many crimes, bore no ill will toward anyone, and was ready to die; . . . (page 171)

15. In the preface Pitt states,

. . . even in their heyday, the Spanish and Mexican Californians were numerically too small and culturally too backward to contribute to mankind much that was new or original. In the crowning phase of their evolution, the Yankees beat them badly and all but swept them into the dustbin of history. (page vii).

16. Carey McWilliams had already established this point in his *North from Mexico; The Spanish-speaking People of the United States* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1949).
17. See Octavio Romano-V., "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican-Americans," in *Voices; Readings from El Grito*, edited by Octavio Romano-V. (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, 1971), pp. 26-39; also Nick C. Vaca, "The Mexican-American in the Social Sciences," *El Grito*, IV (Fall, 1970), pp. 17-51.
18. Nick Vaca, "The Mexican-American in the Social Sciences," *El Grito*, IV (Fall, 1970), p. 45.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
21. To illustrate this point, note the following passages:

- (a) Dullness of native women—

. . . the Yankee town fathers tried to dissuade the Mexican women from washing clothes in the zanja, the town's chief source of water, or at least to do their washing on the edge of the ditch; but lectures on hygiene generally produced only blank stares. (page 124)

- (b) Docility of Californios—

He (Thomas Larkin) promised to all Californians the benefits of free trade, representative government, public education, and agricultural progress, and

*Los Angeles Star, Feb. 21, 1857 . . .

to their government leaders, posts in the new government. Eventually he felt that he had them (Californios) "eating out of his hand" and was reasonably confident that no blood need be shed in converting California into a Yankee territory. (page 21)

(c) Californio laziness—

The Californians, in Clyman's eyes, were "a proud indolent people doing nothing but ride after herds from place to place without any apparent object."* "Nature doing everything, man doing nothing" was Simpson's summation of the (Californio) economy.** (page 16)

22. Pitt can be quite explicit on this point:

The first two phases of American annexation, rebellion and military conquest, have greatly appealed to the popular imagination. The final stage, military government, by comparison seems inconsequential—an irritating interruption in the inevitable progress from Spanish-American to Anglo-Saxon control. (page 35)

23. One of the few references which Pitt makes to the important Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is presented in the following way:

They (some Californios) dismissed the news that a few Californios had been harried from their claims by fist-swinging Oregon Yankees, who refused to acknowledge that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo granted some Mexicans full citizenship . . . (page 50)

24. Note the peculiar Freudian overtones to the way in which Pitt presents the "wave of the future" concept:

Zealous advocates of the new business ethos, Coutts, Brinley, and Johnson represented the wave of the future in the cow counties. . . . Their Puritan ethic of labor and profit contributed to the emasculation of the local manhood. (page 115)

25. As noted in footnote 18, it seems that one Gabacho alone could engineer a diplomatic coup of California. Transferring this prowess from politics to romance, Pitt declares, "Curiously, many California women seem to have been more favorably disposed toward the Yankees than were their men." (page 23) Pitt then goes on to say why he thinks this is a reasonable conclusion. His evidence is the following stanza from a Yankee war song:

Already the señoritas
 Speak English with finesse.
 "Kiss me! say the Yankees,
 The girls all answer "Yes!"
 (page 23)

I tend to believe that such delusions are common to men at war, but of little value for Pitt's argument.

Finally, Pitt draws the following conclusion about gambling:

*Camp, *loc. cit.*, p. 29.

**Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Whether the (Gabacho) gamblers cheated or played straight, they usually beat the local novices hands down. One young Bandini lost as much as \$10,000 while "locked up along with those men." (page 108)

26. Octavio Romano-V., "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican-American," in *Voices; Readings from El Grito*, edited by Octavio Romano-V. (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, 1971), p. 36.
27. Ray Allen Billington, *et. al.*, *The Historian's Contribution to Anglo-American Misunderstanding* (New York: Hobbs, Dorman & Co., Inc., 1966), p. 11.
28. Other examples include the following:

(a) The non-intellectual Chicano—

The Californians now simply reverted to their *customary circular logic*, which held that evil came from outsiders, that outsiders were mostly evil, and that evil mothered evil. (page 52, emphasis mine)

The xenophobia which Pitt attributes to the Californios in the quote above is a ridiculous Pittian fabrication. Californios had been trading with foreigners, especially Yankees, since Mexican Independence. Even the missions engaged in some trade with foreigners after hostilities broke out between Mexico and Spain.

(b) The present orientation syndrome is shown in the following passage—

Just as the Spaniard's *eccentric work habits* could be turned to the operator's profit, so could his *spendthrift tendencies* be turned to the advantage of the merchant." (page 59, emphasis mine)

It is noteworthy that in the above passage Pitt equates Spaniards with Indians, Mestizos, Mexicans, Sonorans, and Californios.

(c) The irrational-emotional Chicano comes out in this excerpt—

The *ranchero never understood*, much less accepted, the gringo's concept of land tenure. The Land Law, preemption and occupancy rights, and the "jungle thickets" of land litigation made him not only *violently angry* but also *mystified him*. (page 89, emphasis mine)

It seems doubtful, however, that Californios did not understand that Gabachos were robbing them out of house and home. It is true, of course, that they refused to accept the Land Law without a struggle. They fought as best they could through the courts and through political influence. Vallejo went to Washington to fight for his land titles. See the excerpt from a de la Guerra speech to the California legislature which shows how some of the Californios felt about their situation, *El Grito*, V (Fall, 1971), p. 19.

29. In the only significant battle of the war fought in California, the Californios, though outnumbered, also defeated Kearny's forces.
30. The success orientation of the Gabacho is portrayed as follows:

General Riley discovered that "Americans, by their *superior intelligence* and *shrewdness* in business, generally contrived to turn to their own benefit the earnings of Mexicans, Chileans and Peruvians." (page 59, emphasis mine)

On another occasion Pitt notes: "For the *creative economic energy* of the Yankees, Californians had both admiration and criticism." (page 23, emphasis mine)

31. On a number of occasions Pitt manipulates the Californios so that they either praise the invaders or criticize their countrymen. An anecdote by Ygnacio del Valle is recorded as follows:

On arriving at the plaza of the government house, Senator del Valle suddenly saw "how far these demons, the Yankees, have gone" in dominating the Californians. Among the boys milling around, eating sweets, and selling newspapers, one small Yankee, perhaps nine years old, sacrificed half of his tin of molasses for a newspaper. He promptly unfolded the massive sheets and disappeared behind them to digest the latest news. This display of Yankee precocity contrasted horribly with the backwardness of native-born youngsters. "No wonder they eat us alive!" Don Ygnacio exclaimed. (pages 141-42)

Along the same lines, see Pitt's discussion of Francisco Ramirez on page 190.

32. "Submergence of the Mexicans in California, 1846-1890: A History of Culture Conflict and Acculturation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1958).
33. Gastón García Cantú, *Las invasiones norteamericanas en México* (México: Ediciones Era, 1971).
34. Manuel Medina Castro, *El gran despojo* (México: Editorial Diógenes, 1971).
35. In discussing Texas' declaration of independence, Medina Castro observes:

En seguida las firmas. 48 norteamericanos, 10 europeos, 3 traidores: Lorenzo de Zavala, ex ministro, ex gobernador, etc., y gran concesionario de tierras en Texas, J. Antonio Navarro y Francisco Ruiz.

36. The debate has also affected the Chicano. See for example Joseph Navarro's "The Condition of Mexican-American History," *The Journal of Mexican American History*, I (Fall, 1970), pp. 25-52.
37. David H. Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies; Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 37.
38. Navarro, p. 34.
39. Moses Rischin's review of *The Decline of the Californios* in *American Historical Review*, LXII, (April, 1967), p. 1089.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Rivera, *The Chicanos; A History of Mexican Americans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), p. 288.
42. Robert F. Heizer and Alan J. Almquist, *The Other Californians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). See especially Chapter VI.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- Billington, Ray Allen, et al. *The Historian's Contribution to Anglo-American Misunderstanding*. New York: Hobbs, Dorman & Co., Inc., 1966.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 1968.
- Fischer, David H. *Historians' Fallacies; Toward a Logic of Historical Thought*. New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

- García Cantú, Gastón. *Las invasiones norteamericanas en México*. México: Ediciones Era, 1971.
- Hastings, Lansford W. *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California . . .* Cincinnati: George Conclin, 1845. Facsimile edition by Charles Henry Carey, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932.
- Heizer, Robert F. and Almquist, Alan J. *The Other Californians; Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
- Medina Castro, Manuel. *El gran despojo*. México: Editorial Diógenes, 1971.
- Meier, Matt S. and Rivera Feliciano. *The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1972.
- Pitt, Leonard M. *The Decline of the Californios; A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966. Third Printing, 1970. All references in this critique are based on the 1970 printing.
- Romano-V., Octavio, ed. *Voices; Readings From El Grito*. Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, 1971.

ARTICLES

- Navarro, Joseph. "The Condition of Mexican-American History." *The Journal of Mexican American History*, I (Fall, 1970), 25-52.
- Rischin, Moses. Review of *The Decline of the Californios* in the *American Historical Review*, LXII, (April, 1967), 1089.
- Seda, Eduardo. "Ethnic Studies and Cultural Pluralism." *The Rican*, I (Fall, 1971), 56-65.
- Vaca, Nick. "The Mexican-American in the Social Sciences." *El Grito*, IV (Fall, 1970), 17-51.

UNPUBLISHED WORKS

- Kenny, William R. "History of the Sonora Mining Region of California, 1848-1860." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1955.
- Lederer, Lillian. "A Study of Anglo-American Settlers in Los Angeles County Previous to the Admission of California to the Union." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1927.
- McGinty, Ruth M. "Spanish and Mexican Ranchos in the San Francisco Bay Region." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1921.
- Miller, Mervyn. "A History of the Secularization of the Missions of California." Unpublished M.A. thesis, College of the Pacific, 1932.
- Miller, Robert R. "Mexican Secret Agents in the United States, 1861-67." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1960.
- Pitt, Leonard M. "The Foreign Miners' Tax of 1850: A Study of Nativism and Antinativism in Gold Rush California." M.A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1955.
- Pitt, Leonard M. "Submergence of the Mexicans in California, 1846-1890: A History of Culture Conflict and Acculturation." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1958.

- Robertson, James R. "From Alcalde to Mayor: A History of the Changes from the Mexican to the American local Institutions in California." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1908.
- Ruby, Carrie L. "Attitudes Toward Latin Americans as Revealed in Southwestern Literature." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1953.
- Tays, George. "Revolutionary California." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1932.

NUESTRA CIRCUNSTANCIA LINGUISTICA

Rosaura Sánchez

La mayoría de nuestros educadores piensan que las minorías desventajadas carecen de medios de expresión y que hablan dialectos primitivos y, por supuesto, inferiores. Las instituciones educativas han llegado a deificar los idiomas que han producido las grandes obras literarias del mundo, pensando que la literatura—generalmente occidental—es prueba del valor inherente de ciertas lenguas y por consiguiente de ciertos grupos raciales. El pueblo que a duras penas puede proveerse de una alimentación adecuada y que desempeña los trabajos más arduos de la sociedad generalmente no tiene ni el tiempo ni la energía para producir grandes obras artísticas cuando regresa exhausto a su casa.*

Los educadores parecen no darse cuenta que los idiomas establecidos no son más que dialectos que han sido favorecidos por algún grupo política y económicamente poderoso. Al proclamarlos dialectos oficiales los han difundido por todos los medios de comunicación y les han señalado funciones importantes en el gobierno, en la educación y en los centros culturales. El dialecto oficial o standard se convierte entonces en la herramienta necesaria para poder avanzar en la escala socioeconómica. De allí que los grupos minoritarios en EEUU procuren asimilarse a la cultura de la mayoría, olvidando, en la mayoría de los casos, el idioma de sus padres y de sus abuelos. Claro que para poder competir en este mundo anglo-sajón, hay que dominar el inglés, el inglés standard. Por esta razón más y más padres de familia México-americanos, queriendo evitar que sus hijos sufran las mismas humillaciones que ellos por hablar un *inglés mocho*, ahora les hablan inglés a sus niños. Y hay que concederles la razón, en parte por lo menos, porque ahora nos vemos rechazados de las universidades que exigen determinado puntaje

*Véase William Labov: "Academic Ignorance and Black Intelligence" *Atlantic*, June, 1972.

en los exámenes de ingreso, para los cuales las escuelas de barrio no nos han preparado.

Pero para sentir que lo nuestro tiene tanto valor como lo de cualquiera, tenemos que retener nuestro español. Tenemos que exigir programas de educación bilingüe en las escuelas, pero programas bien planificados con profesoras bien preparadas, que entiendan que el hablar un dialecto no-standard no es un obstáculo para al aprendizaje de un dialecto standard o de otras lenguas. El obstáculo es la profesora ignorante de todo aquello que no sea la norma, la profesora que considera al niño minoritario incapaz de expresarse más que con gestos o inflexiones e incapaz de enfrentarse a lo abstracto, en otras palabras, una profesora repleta de prejuicios burgueses.

En los últimos años debido a la iniciación de programas bilingües por el sudoeste de Estados Unidos se han planteado algunos problemas en torno a la selección de idiomas, puesto que al querer especificar la lengua materna del niño méxico-americano se ha encontrado que no existe una uniformidad lingüística entre el pueblo méxico-americano. Los niños que vienen de las zonas rurales o cuyos padres son inmigrantes mexicanos en las zonas urbanas sólo hablan español. Otros niños, de segunda o tercera generación en EEUU, hablan una mezcla de inglés y español. En la tesis doctoral de Roger Mark Thompson (1971) sobre el uso del español y el inglés en la comunidad méxico-americana, encontramos que la mayoría de los padres de segunda generación han dejado de enseñarles el español a sus hijos. Estos lo aprenden de vecinos y demás personas que aún hablan español.

A veces la selección de las escuelas participantes en los proyectos bilingües se hace a base de los apellidos hispanos y resulta que muchas veces estos niños de apellido García o Pérez no saben ni jota de español. La educación bilingüe es para todos, alguien dirá. Sí, claro, pero cuando el número de escuelas favorecidas es limitado, es preferible que el proyecto se dirija a esos niños que no dominan el inglés y que sin la ayuda de estos programas tendrían que repetir el primer año escolar.

Antes de que este problema se resuelva y de que la educación bilingüe sea para todos en general, habrá que investigar lo que se entiende por educación bilingüe. Algunas escuelas que reciben subvenciones del gobierno federal por participar en un proyecto bilingüe realmente dedican sólo 30 minutos diariamente a la repetición de ejercicios audio-linguales de sustitución. El niño que repite como perico "Es un triángulo. Es un círculo. Es un cuadrado." por 30 minutos, no recibe una educación bilingüe. Lo único que hace es memorizar una serie de términos dentro de una estructura de poca utilidad.

Algunas escuelas utilizan materiales preparados en Puerto Rico con vocabulario desconocido para el niño méxico-americano. Otras escuelas tienen materiales preparados por las profesoras mismas. En una escuela

que visitamos la profesora pedía que los niños subrayaran los dibujos cuyos nombres comenzaran con [m]. La hoja incluía el dibujo de un molino que debía subrayarse. Los niños lo identificaron como *papalote*. La mariposa les pareció *paloma*, *palomita*, o *palomilla*. Todo material que se prepara sin debida atención al dialecto local trae resultados mediocres y contraproducentes. Lo trágico sería que si antes los niños méxico-americanos aparecían como retardados por faltarles el vocabulario en inglés ahora también se les frustra por desconocer los términos que trae el diccionario de la Real Academia Española. Debemos considerar que si el niño desconoce un término, por ejemplo *balde*, es que en esa región se emplea otro, como *bote*, *tina*, *cedrón*, o *cubeta*. Claro que hay que ampliar el léxico del niño pero también hay que concretar lo que se está examinando, o la asociación de [m] con el sonido inicial de determinadas palabras o el conocimiento de determinadas variantes léxicas. Ciertamente se necesitan especialistas en la preparación de materiales para la enseñanza bilingüe, que conozcan el español regional.

El español del méxico-americano comparte varios rasgos con los dialectos hispanoamericanos como la debilitación de las fricativas, la aspiración de la sibilante, la tendencia a la monosilabización de los hiatos y el relajamiento de las vocales. Los rasgos distintivos proceden de nuestro contacto con el inglés, lo que ha producido en parte el uso de una cantidad de préstamos que se han adaptado al sistema fonológico y morfo-sintáctico del español y en parte una mezcolanza de los dos idiomas. Esta interferencia se da dondequiera que haya dos lenguas en contacto y dondequiera que dos idiomas lleguen a desempeñar una misma función dentro de la comunidad.

Puesto que un dialecto representa un subgrupo de un idioma utilizado dentro de ciertos límites geográficos, podría hablarse del dialecto méxico-americano del sudoeste de EEUU. Conviene considerar que no sólo es un habla regional sino también una variedad social que identifica a una minoría étnica vista por los anglos y los otros hispanos en nuestro ambiente como un pueblo sin líderes, sin ambiciones, de escasos recursos, de poca educación y de un bajo nivel socio-económico.

Un pueblo que participa en la economía de este país sin gozar de los bienes materiales que disfrutaban los adinerados o los de la clase media necesita un esfuerzo colectivo para cambiar una situación que comparte con gran parte del mundo. Nuestra lengua, lo que podríamos denominar un dialecto popular del español, nos une a un gran número de personas por todo el sudoeste de EEUU y por toda la América Latina. No vamos a dejar perder este vínculo, convirtiéndonos en un pueblo monolingüe, agringado. Ahora que nuestro idioma se ve amenazado con la desaparición, es imprescindible llegar a un acuerdo en cuanto a fines lingüísticos. ¿Cuáles son las variedades del español en nuestra comunidad? ¿Se puede establecer una de ellas como norma? Veamos algunos ejemplos del habla méxico-americana en Texas:

Un Vato Loco:

—Orale, carnal. Póngase trucha, ése. Esta noche en mi chante, si quieres, la calmamos un escante. Mi jaina se descuenta pal cantón de su jefa, ése, y ahí pistiando te periqueo. Nomás pa que capeyes cómo vamos a esponjarnos al perro, al que fregó a mi broda. Chale, ése, no se escame, vato. Lo apañamos al chota cabrón solano. Y lo-lo lo filoriamos. Después, de volada le taloniamos pal norte. Ahí nos maderiamos, caminando nel fil o nalgún jale. Tengo una bironga de aquellas, ése, nel chante. ¡Chinga! Me voy hecho madre, a ponerle al jale. Ni que rayara friegos de jando. Ahí lo guacho esta noche, ése.

Unas Comadres:

—Fíjate que anoche llegó Juan echándole trancazos a la Filomena. Hizo una rejolina que ¡Válgame Dios! Y pa cabarla de amolar pos no se le antojó a Pedro irse a meter al borlote quesque pa pararle el alta al Juan. A ése ni quién lo pacigüe pero Pedro es mu cabezudo.

—¿Y a poco se le rajuelió todo?

—Ande, si ni chanza tuvo, porque lo-lo vino la chota y cargó con toos. Diay la Filomena se dejó venir.

—¿A poco quería que se lo juera a sacar?

—Pos sí. Y como le dije yo, comadre: “No me vengas con lloriqueos. Amárrate las naguas como las meras mujeres y déjalo que se pudra nel bote”. No sé pa que le habló a la ley. Ya no más por no andar dejando.

Una Jovencita:

—Hey, Mary, ¿por qué no vienes pa mi casa? Tengo un magazine nuevo that I got this morning nel drugstore. Tiene todas las new songs, muy suaves, de los . . . cómo se llaman . . . You know . . . los que cantan ésa que tocaron . . . ahí nel jukebox when we were at the store. No, hombre, not that one, the other one, la que le gustó mucho a Joe. I like it too porque tiene muy suave rhythm y las words también, muy suaves . . . Yeah . . . what? realllly???? . . . te llamó? OOOOhhhhh, Mary. Ese está de aquellotas.

Un Chicano militante:

—Gente orita ya stá despertando y stá diciendo pos que la única modo de ganarle al gabacho en el juego, este . . . es meternos haciendo cosas de nohotros como de la política y economía, metiéndonos, gente mexicana, que tiene el corazón mejicano, que quiere yudar la gente mexicana . . . Como orita van a tener gente correr en las elecciones de 72 en el estado de Texas. Toavía no han agarrao la persona. Yo creo que es una movida mal porque no tenemos la feria y las conexiones y todo eso. Tenemos que empezar en los pueblos chiquitos. Yo ha hablado con gente que sabe más que yo que cree los mismo.

Todos estos ejemplos tienen algo en común, representan el habla popular, mezcla de lo standard con lo no-standard y a la vez fuertemente influenciado por el inglés en cuanto a vocabulario y fraseología. Claro que se puede romper con las normas fijadas por la Academia Española, pero para que el habla popular se convirtiera en dialecto standard—aunque se horroricen por allí con sólo pensarlo—habría que ser un pueblo de mucha influencia que pudiera difundir esa variedad por medio de la prensa, diccionarios, libros de texto, gramáticas, manuales de estilo y emplearlo en el sistema educativo, el gobierno y los medios de comunicación. Un dialecto standard necesita ser escrito y tener una función de suma importancia. Y esto es casi imposible ya que hasta ahora el número de altos funcionarios México-americanos en el gobierno o el sistema educativo es bien limitado y el número de éstos que emplean el español en sus funciones, casi inexistente. Lo más factible sería aceptar el español standard ya existente de esta región, o sea el español standard del norte de México. Veamos más detenidamente nuestra circunstancia lingüística.

Bilingüismo y Diglosia

El México-americano es bilingüe porque posee dos sistemas lingüísticos—el del inglés y el del español—que usa alternativamente y que a veces mezcla. El término *diglosia*, según Fishman (1971) se refiere al uso de distintas variedades de un idioma o de distintos idiomas para funciones específicas. En algunos países, como los países árabes, hay un dialecto culto escrito, que se emplea en el gobierno, en la religión y en la literatura y otro dialecto popular. En nuestro caso no se puede hacer una división tajante para señalar dos o más variedades del español. Se puede señalar una variedad standard mexicana que emplean algunas emisoras de radio y televisión y algunas iglesias protestantes, pero la mayoría de nosotros giramos en torno a esta norma en distintas órbitas, algunos bastante distantes, otros más próximos. Los más distantes, los que sólo poseemos una variedad popular del español, tenemos un repertorio verbal limitado. Nuestra sintaxis es sencilla con poca subordinación gramatical en la que se repiten los mismos adverbios y adjetivos de siempre como *suave, bueno, luego, entonces, ahorita*. Los sustantivos también se reducen a términos generales: *árbol, mata, pájaro*. Y en cuanto a los verbos, tomemos para el caso el verbo *agarrar* que ha reemplazado toda una serie de otros verbos:

1. Tienes que agarrar una tarjeta para registrarte. (conseguir)
2. Yo voy a agarrar tres cursos. (seguir)
3. Agarra al niño. (Tómalo en los brazos.)
4. Agarra al niño. (Detenlo.)
5. Voy a agarrar trabajo. (conseguir, obtener)

6. Voy a agarrar el libro. (tomar)
7. Ya lo agarraron. (arrestaron)
8. Es muy agarrado. (adj. derivado de *agarrar*—tacaño)
9. Ahí no agarran chicanos. (emplean)
10. Me agarró bien fuerte. (abrazó)
11. No puedo agarrar la estación. (sintonizar la emisora)
12. Agarró la paseada. (se tiró al vicio)
13. Ya agarró juicio. (ya entró en razón)
14. Ya le voy agarrando. (entendiendo)
15. Quieres agarrar los derechos de un americano. (disfrutar)
16. Al rato lo agarra el Army. (recluta)
17. ¿No me quieres agarrar una orden? (comprar)
18. ¿No me quieres agarrar este taquito? (recibir, aceptar)
19. Voy a agarrar el bus. (tomar el bus)
20. Me agarró bien fuerte la calentura. (dio)

Hay que ver también que la juventud México-americana va perdiendo el uso de las formas de respeto. Se tutea tanto a todo el mundo que el *usted* es casi desconocido entre ellos. En cuanto a formas infantiles, lo mismo dice un niño “¿On tá tu libro?” que un adulto.

El poseer sólo la variedad popular de un idioma no nos impide comunicarnos pero sí nos limita. Hay que ver el idioma como un arma, como un instrumento que nos permite desenvolvernos en distintas situaciones de distintas maneras. Entre más variedades del español conozcamos y sepamos emplear, mejor podremos enfrentarnos a cualquier situación y discursar sobre cualquier tema sin sentirnos avergonzados ni menoscabados. Pero el aprendizaje de otras variedades del español debe iniciarse en las guarderías, en los jardines infantiles, en las escuelas primarias y no dejarse para la secundaria o la universidad. Recordemos que el alumno recibe doce años de inglés y generalmente un año más en la universidad.

Como ya dijimos, actualmente el español standard no desempeña ninguna función importante en nuestra sociedad de manera que no se pueden señalar variedades formales sino solo variedades populares. Tampoco se puede clasificar el español estrictamente como el dialecto familiar y el inglés como el dialecto del trabajo, de la escuela y de los medios de comunicación ya que el inglés cada vez más está invadiendo el plano de la intimidad, especialmente entre la juventud. Lo más común ahora es la mezcla de los dos idiomas. Si pasáramos totalmente al inglés, la conversación perdería ese rasgo de intimidad, señal de pertenecer a la familia, al barrio o al grupo.

Se discute bastante si el cambio del español al inglés o vice versa se hace al azar o si operan algunas limitaciones sintácticas o sociales. John J. Gumperz y Eduardo Hernández Chávez han llegado a la conclusión

de que las restricciones son de tipo social (“Cognitive Aspects of Bilingual Communication”), definidas por la identidad étnica de los integrantes que participan en el diálogo, por el tema que se discute y por el grado de informalidad de la situación. En cuanto a las restricciones de tipo sintáctico, indican que hasta ahora sólo se puede decir que hace falta ampliar la investigación sobre el asunto. Ya trataremos este tema más detenidamente en la última parte de nuestro estudio.

Un dialecto, cualquiera que sea, tiene su estructura, sus reglas fonológicas, sintácticas y semánticas. En el habla también figuran todo tipo de restricciones sociales. Lo primero que tenemos que hacer es reconocer la validez del dialecto chicano. Después tenemos que optar por ampliar nuestros conocimientos, por aprender otras variedades del español, porque francamente nos conviene hacerlo.

Compartiremos aquí las características lingüísticas de 30 hablantes méxico-americanos en la Universidad de Texas (Austin) de San Antonio, Laredo, Brownsville, Austin, Mason, Odessa, Lyford, Seguin y San Angelo. El análisis se basa en las composiciones escritas por los alumnos, en nuestras observaciones personales dentro y fuera de la clase y en entrevistas grabadas con 17 alumnos.

El grado de desviación de la norma standard varía según la procedencia regional, el estudio anterior del español (de poca importancia, francamente), el uso del español o el inglés en casa y el interés del alumno en adquirir una variedad standard del español. El uso de *cómanos* por *comamos*, por ejemplo, es común a todos pero sólo dos alumnos (Austin y Odessa) dicen *iba ido* en vez de *había ido*. La mayoría dice *vía ido* (y así lo escribe). De manera que el habla del méxico-americano es una mezcla de formas standard y formas no-standard. En seguida analizaremos éstas.

FONETICA

Los cambios fonéticos que se producen en el español del méxico-americano se encuentran frecuentemente en el habla informal, descuidada o rural de todos los hablantes hispanos. La mayoría de los méxico-americanos no estamos conscientes de otra norma lingüística simplemente porque nunca hemos tenido instrucción en español sino en inglés. Apuntaremos aquí los fenómenos más comunes entre los alumnos.

VOCALES

En general las vocales iniciales átonas y las protónicas tienden a perderse. A veces las vocales altas átonas se abren un grado y las medias se cierran un grado. Los hiatos se convierten en diptongos a menos que

se introduzca una -y- intervocálica, generalmente en las palabras de dos sílabas; si las vocales son homólogas, se reducen a una.

A. Aféresis: la pérdida de sílabas iniciales

enfermedad > fermedad estar > tar (toy, tas, tamos, etc.)

haber > ber (bía, biera) hacer > cer

Pérdida de a- inicial: yudar, cordar, rodillar, silenciar, paciguar,
cabar, reglar, hogar, prender, horcar, hora,
horita

B. Sinéresis: la diptongación de vocales en hiato

ea > ia pelear > peliar (golpiar, desiar, mariar, etc.)

aí > ai caído > caido (traido, ahí, maiz, raiz)

ae > ai traer > trai caer - cai (a veces reducción: trer, quer)

oe > ue cohete > cuete

oa > ua toalla > tualla

eo > io preocupa > priocupa (a veces reducción: procupa)
peor - pior

C. Reducción de diptongos en sílabas acentuadas

ie > e ciencia - cencia (setembre, pacencia, alenta, quero, sente,
penso)

ue > o pues - pos luego lo'o lo mueblería moblería

ua > a graduar - gradar

au > a aunque - anque

ie > i dieciocho > diciocho, dicinueve, etc.

ei > e treinta y cinco > trenta y cinco (venticinco, etc.)

D. Vocales átonas que se abren un grado:

i > e injusticia > enjusticia (estoria, polecía, decesiva, existirá,
derición, defícil, ofecina, dejieron, enmagino)

u > o rumbo > rombo (complir, tovimos, joventud, imposieron,
recoperó, sepoltura, secundaria, caloroso)

Vocal ante nasal > a

invitando - anvitando en veces - anveces

entonces - antonces

E. Vocales átonas que se cierran un grado

e > i entender > intender (disilucionó, manijar, siguridad, dis-
confiado, dishonesto, impedir, decir, siguida)

o > u morir > murir, murirá

F. Apócope: la pérdida de sílabas finales

para > pa clase > clas

G. Prótesis: la adición de sílabas al principio de las palabras

tocar > atocar yendo > ayendo gastar > agastar

H. Reducción de vocales homólogas: ee > e

leer > ler creer > crer

I. Síncopa: la pérdida de sílabas pretónicas

desaparecido > desaparecido desapareció > espareció

necesita > nesita desapego > despego

zanahoria > zanoria alrededor > alrededor

J. Epéntesis: adición del deslizamiento -y- entre vocales

creo > creyo veo > veyo cree > creye tío > tiyo

mío > miyo leer > leyer creer > creyer

maestra > mayestra quería ir > quería yir

destruir > destruyir oído > oyido

K. Relajamiento de vocales átonas: schwa

pero > [pəɾə] le > [lə] me > [mə]

L. Metátesis

iu > ui ciudad > [swiɖaɖ] [swiɖá]

CONSONANTES

En general las fricativas se debilitan y se pierden, la sibilante se aspira; los grupos consonánticos se reducen; los sonidos coronales se hacen laterales y hay además los comunes casos de refuerzos consonánticos.

A. Aspiración de la s en cualquier posición:

nosotros > nojotros puertas > puertah

decir > dicir > dijr este > ehte

B. Aspiración de la f

fuimos > juimos fue > jue

C. Aspiración de la h como en el Siglo 16

Se fue de hilo. > Se fue de jilo. Se huyó. > Se juyó.

Se halló. > Se jalló.

D. Pérdida de fricativas sonoras en cualquier posición

a) intervocálica: b d g

todavía > toavía, tuavía todos > toos agua > [awa]
 estado > [estau] abuelo > [awelo] iba > [i:a]

b) -y- intervocálica

ella > ea ellos > eos botella > botea
 billetera > bietera orilla > oría

c) final

vecindad > vecindá usted > usté muy > mu

E. Confusión de fricativas

aguja > abuja boato > guato abuelo > agüelo

F. Simplificación de grupos consonánticos

ct > t doctor > dotor mb > m también > tamién
 nd > d andábamos > [a~~d~~a:mos]
 rr > r barrio > bario correr > corer agarrar > garar
 cierra > ciera arriba > ariba arrancar > arancar
 rl > l tenerla > tenela pensarlo > pensalo
 rn > n, l pararnos > paranos, paralos

G. Metátesis

pared > pader problema > porblema, pobrema
 impresiones > impersiones prejuicio > perjuicio
 magullado > mallugado estómago > estóngamo

H. Consonantes epentéticas

lamer > lamber estornudar > destornudar
 querrá > quedrá podemos > podermos
 mucho > muncho nadie > nadien aire > aigre
 adrede > aldrede huelo > güelo

I. Lateralización

d > l de > le advierto > alvierto desde > desle
 n > l nos > los nosotros > losotros nomás > lomas

J. Arcaísmos: semos, asina, ansina, truje, vide, naiden, haiga, endenantes

K. Cambios de acentuación: mendigo > méndigo seamos > séanos
 (todos los verbos en el presente de subjuntivo, primera persona plural)

L. Interferencia del inglés

u > yu que usaba > que yusaba comunicar > comyunicar
 d > r puedo > puero medio > merio
 me quedé > me queré

c > s noche > noshe muchacha > mushasha
 choque > shoque
 r > r (retrofleja) carne > ca\ne

TIEMPOS VERBALES

El México-americano ha conservado la misma orientación de los tiempos verbales que se encuentra en el español standard, según la descripción del sistema verbal del Prof. Bull (1965). El tiempo verbal señala el enfoque (simultáneo, anterior o posterior) desde determinado punto (expresado o sobreentendido) en el tiempo. Lo que ha variado es la morfología y la selección de tiempos verbales utilizados para expresar esas orientaciones. En el español standard los usos sistemáticos de los tiempos verbales son los siguientes:

Tiempos verbales orientados al PRESENTE:

Simultáneo al Presente	Tiempo Presente	como
Anterior al Presente	Perfecto	he comido
Posterior al Presente	Futuro	comeré
Posterior al Presente pero anterior a un punto futuro	Futuro Perfecto	habré comido

Tiempos verbales orientados al PASADO

Simultáneo al Pasado, Aspecto Perfecto	Pretérito	comí
Simultáneo al Pasado, Aspecto Imperfecto	Imperfecto	comía
Anterior al Pasado	Pluscuamperfecto	había comido
Posterior al Pasado	Potencial (Cond.)	comería
Posterior al Pasado pero anterior a un punto subsecuente al pasado	Condicional Perfecto	habría comido

ESPAÑOL DEL MEXICO-AMERICANO:

PRESENTE: La orientación es la misma en el habla del México-americano pero hay una tendencia a añadirle duración al tiempo o sea de hacerlo progresivo en todos los casos en que se utiliza en inglés: Sí, sí te oigo. — Sí, sí, te estoy oyendo. (I'm listening.)

PERFECTO: Para indicar una acción anterior pero pertinente al presente, se emplea el perfecto o el pretérito más adverbio: *Se ha ido.* o *Ya se fue.* Los cambios se producen en la morfología (he > ha, etc.).

FUTURO: El tiempo futuro es raro y se usa el presente o la forma perifrástica *ir* más infinitivo. En cambio se mantiene el futuro para casos no-sistemáticos, como para indicar probabilidad: *Será tu papá.* (o también *Ha de ser tu papá.*) *No sé qué quedará (querrá).*

FUTURO PERFECTO: Este tiempo es casi desconocido. Se emplean adverbios para indicar algún punto en el futuro: *Pa diciembre ya va a estar aquí.*

Los tiempos presente, perfecto, futuro y futuro perfecto quedan reducidos a dos: presente y perfecto.

PRETÉRITO e IMPERFECTO: Los tiempos simultáneos al pasado se mantienen con excepción de los cambios morfológicos que indicaremos más adelante. También hay una tendencia de añadir duración al imperfecto: *Comía cuando entró.* > *Estaba comiendo cuando entró.*

PLUSCUAMPERFECTO: Este tiempo se mantiene pero hay cambios morfológicos. En vez de *había comido* se oye también en algunos sectores *iba comido*. ¿Vendrá de *ir* o será caso de metátesis: *había* > *bía* > *iba*? Tal vez sea confusión de dos formas reducidas: *había* > *bía* > *ía*; *iba* > *ía*. O también podría ser que el verbo *haber* se confunde con los verbos en -ar: *habiba* (así como *teniba, sentiba*) > *iba*.

CONDICIONAL: Este tiempo es raro menos en los usos no sistemáticos: ¿Quién sería? Se ha substituido en su lugar el imperfecto de indicativo y el imperfecto de subjuntivo. A la pregunta: *¿Que haría Ud. si tuviera mil dólares?* se contesta: *Yo iba a México.* o *Yo fuera a México.* A la pregunta: *¿Qué habría hecho Ud. si hubiera recibido mil dólares?* se contesta: 1) *Yo fuera comprado un carro.* 2) *Yo (hu)biera comprado un carro.* 3) *Yo (ba)bía comprado un carro.*

También aquí se han reducido los tiempos verbales al pretérito, imperfecto y pluscuamperfecto. El imperfecto, igual que el presente, se utiliza para los casos subsecuentes. Tal vez podría hablarse de una división bipartita: de lo que es anterior a un momento dado y de lo que no es anterior. Entonces los tiempos de aspecto imperfecto indicarían los casos subsecuentes.

	Anterior	Simultáneo	Posterior
Con relación al Presente:	Perfecto	Presente	Presente
Con relación al Pasado:	Pluscuamperfecto	Imperfecto	Imperfecto
		Preterito	

SUBJUNTIVO

El subjuntivo (presente, perfecto, imperfecto, pluscuamperfecto) se usa en frases subordinadas (sustantivas, adjetivas, adverbiales) en al español standard.

En las frases sustantivas se emplea después de verbos de influencia, expresiones de negación o duda, y expresiones de tipo emotivo. En el dialecto méxico-americano existe la tendencia de no usar el subjuntivo según la norma, especialmente en los casos de verbos de negación o duda, a pesar de que también existe la tendencia de ampliar el uso: *No sé si venga*.

Indicativo después de expresiones de negación o duda:

No creo que tiene muchas ganas.

No creo que es necesario.

No creo que hay sólo una manera de hablar el español.

No hay nada que puede hacer.

No hay nada que yo puedo hacer bien.

No hay seguridad que hallas trabajo.

Algunas expresiones como *Ójala (Ojalá)* o *Ójali (Ojalá y)* siempre introducen el subjuntivo:

Ójala y venga.

Ójala que ténganos tiempo.

El espera que nos pórtenos bien.

El sueño de mi hermana es que algún día júntenos un poco de dinero.

En frases introducidas por verbos de influencia no hay uniformidad de uso:

A nosotros los católicos nos dice que estéyamos preparados.

El podrá decir que ténganos un buen tiempo.

Le gusta que lo van a buscar.

Hizo que abandonaban el pueblo.

Querían que la mujer les hacía la cena.

Quiere que vamos a San Antonio.

Perdón que no lo ha entregado.

A mi mamá le gustaba que volvíamos temprano.

Pedro no quiso que su hijo se casaba porque pierdía.

Mandó que paraban de ir.

Es mejor que fumamos.

Quería que me paraba.

La tendencia aquí parece ser de retener el subjuntivo con las expresiones de esperanza y en algunos casos de mandatos indirectos.

En las frases adjetivas el subjuntivo distingue lo indeterminado: *Se necesita una mujer que tenga 28 años.* (cualquier mujer) *Vi una mujer que tiene 28 años.* (una mujer en particular). Desgraciadamente esta construcción casi no se utilizó en las cintas ni en las composiciones. El único ejemplo apareció en combinación con una frase adverbial y aquí

salemos < salimos
salen

comemos
comen

Por lo tanto abundan las formas como

vinemos (venimos)
sintemos (sentimos)
vistemos (vestimos)
mintemos (mentimos)

siguemos (seguimos)
pidemos (pedimos)
durmemos (dormimos)
muremos (morimos)

Debe observarse que la vocal radical se cierra un grado ($e > i$; $o > u$) al abrirse la temática ($i > e$). En algunos casos se regulariza el tema al cerrarse la vocal radical:

pid - o	vist - o
pid - es	vist - es
pid - e	vist - e
pid - emos (< pedimos)	vist - emos (< vestimos)
pid - en	vist - en

Se dan otros reajustes del sistema verbal. Verbos cuya vocal radical se diptonga cuando es tónica conservan el diptongo cuando la sílaba es átona, y como consecuencia, de las formas diptongadas se crean nuevos temas para otros tiempos o derivados:

piens - o	puedo/puedemos	vienen/vieron
piens - as	cuento/cuentando	juego/jugó
piens - a	pierdo/pierdía	despierto/despertando
piens - amos (< pensamos)	acuesto/acuestó	duermen/duermieron
piens - an	quiero/quieriendo	

Se presentan también casos de cambios temáticos basados en otra forma verbal, como por ejemplo, la del pretérito:

tuve/tuvía	quiso/quisiendo	pido/pidí/pidiste/pidía
fui/juíanos	vino/vinía	

Puesto que la tendencia principal es la de simplificar la morfología verbal, el resultado general parece ser un mayor número de verbos que siguen la conjugación ordinaria:

seguí/seguíó	decir/deciste	decir-dicir/diciera/dicía
componer/componí	poner/poní	sentí/sentió
producir/produjeron	entretener/entretení	cabrer/cabieron/cabo
eres/ero	costar/costa	ando/andé
tú has/ yo ha/ nosotros hamos		forzar/forzan

Lo mismo ocurre con los participios pasivos. No sólo se encuentran formas regulares de los verbos con participios irregulares sino que

también pueden observarse participios derivados de conjugaciones irregulares:

abrir/abrido (abierto)	escribir/escrito (escrito)
decir/decido/dicido/dijido (dicho)	hacer/hacido (hecho)
morir/morido (muerto)	poner/ponido (puesto)
resolver/resolvido (resuelto)	puedo/puedido (podido)
volver/volvido (vuelto)	romper/rompido (roto)
supe/supido (sabido)	niego/niegado
tuvo/tuvido	

Otras veces los verbos regulares se conjugan como irregulares: entregar/entriego. O un verbo en -er se conjuga como uno en -ar:

traer/traiba (traía) tener/teneba (tenía) sentir/sentiba (sentía)

Incluso aparece la regularización de la forma impersonal del verbo *haber* al cual se le añade el sufijo de número: Había muchos accidentes. > Habían muchos accidentes.

En el sistema verbal del español el afijo de segunda persona singular es -s y aparece en todas las conjugaciones de todos los tiempos menos el pretérito. En el dialecto México-americano se agrega la -s al final de pretérito también, como en el habla popular de otros países hispanos. Un rasgo característico de la lengua dialectal es la pérdida de la -s- del afijo de persona:

fuiste > fuites	viste > vites
tomaste > tomates	viniste > vinites

pero en algunos casos, menos comunes se mantiene:

fuistes, vistes, tomastes, vinistes

El afijo de primera persona plural es -mos pero en nuestro dialecto se convierte en -nos si el verbo lleva el acento en la sílaba antepenúltima. Las formas esdrújulas son las siguientes:

condicional:	comeríamos	comeríanos
imperfecto:	comíamos	comíanos
imperfecto		
(subjuntivo):	comiéramos	comiéranos

Ahora bien, ocurre que las formas del presente de subjuntivo se han regularizado o sea que el acento se ha mantenido sobre la vocal radical, lo cual ha alternado la acentuación de la conjugación de primera persona plural. Una vez esdrújula surge conjuntamente el afijo -nos:

cóm - a
cóm - as

cóm - a
 cóm - amos > cómanos
 cóm - an

También conviene señalar el uso excesivo del reflexivo para indicar la fuerza de voluntad con la que se dispone a hacer algo (ref. Bull):

Me voy a comer el taco.	Me salí de la clase.
Me fui.	Me vine temprano.
Me tomé el vino.	Me leí todo el libro.

Otras modificaciones y reajustes del sistema verbal se explican fácilmente como cambios fonéticos o como formas arcaicas.

PRONOMBRES

Pronombres Personales. Se ha observado entre los jóvenes la tendencia a descartar el *usted* aún con los mayores y con los extraños. La forma *nosotras* tampoco se usa y debido a la distribución $n > 1$ suele oírse también *losotros*. Las formas nominativas que se mantienen son las siguientes:

Yo	Nosotros
Tú	Ustedes
Ella, El	Ellas, Ellos

En cuanto a los dativos y acusativos, el fenómeno más característico entre nosotros es el uso de un acusativo proclítico plural cuando el complemento directo es singular pero el indirecto es plural. Por consiguiente se producen los siguientes cambios cuando al faltarle una marca evidente de pluralidad al dativo se añade a otra forma:

Les di el libro a ellos. > Se los di (a ellos).
 Les di la mesa a ellas. > Se las di (a ellas).

Un problema análogo es la reducción de *nos* a *no* cuando le sigue otro pronombre enclítico o proclítico. Debe tenerse en cuenta que dentro de la norma el verbo pierde la -s cuando el *nos* es enclítico (*Vamos + nos > Vámonos*). De manera que esta reducción es sólo una extensión de la regla:

Nos dio el dinero. > No los dio.
 Véndanoslo. > Véndanoslos.
 Véndanoslos. > Véndanoslos.

Por otra parte la forma *me* se asimila frecuentemente a una *o* anterior o posterior:

Me lo dio. > Mo lo dio.

No me gusta. > No mo gusta.
 Se me olvida. > Se m'olvida.

y a veces se convierte en *mi*:

Me dijo que no. > Mi dijo que no.
 Me encontré. . . . > M'incontré. . . .

Si reconsideramos el caso de los pronombres enclíticos encontramos que tras imperativos se producen casos de metátesis y de epéntesis:

Dénmelo. > Démenlo.
 Vénganse. > Véngansen.
 Bájense. > Bájensen.

Como ya hemos observado, la lateralización de la nasal produce el uso de *los* junto a *nos*, a veces en el mismo hablante:

1. Quiere que los salgamos. 2. Nos dice que los paremos.
3. Pasamos día tras día sin jamás pensar en lo que los pasará.
4. Los encontramos con unos jóvenes.

Pronombres interrogativos y relativos. En el habla dialectal méxico-americana se ha generalizado el uso de *qué* por *cuál* en aquellos casos en los que se emplea el correspondiente *what* en inglés:

¿Cuál es tu dirección? > ¿Qué es tu dirección?

Así mismo se encuentra la reducción de los pronombres interrogativos a la forma singular:

¿Quiénes son? > ¿Quién son?

Tal vez se deba a que en inglés existe sólo una forma: *who*. Otro resultado de la interferencia del inglés es el uso de *que* por *lo que*:

Esto es todo que puedo decir de mi comunidad.

También debemos notar la variante *acuál* por *cuál*:

Ahi estaba el Piporro no sabiendo acuál quería.

En cuanto a los pronombres indeterminados se encuentran compuestos y combinaciones como los siguientes: *algotro* (*algún otro*), *algotra*, *algotros*, *algotras*, *un otro* (debido a la forma del inglés *another*) y *cada quien*.

SUSTANTIVOS/ADJETIVOS/ADVERBIOS

Las reglas de concordancia de género y número del español formal se simplifican en el habla popular de Texas. La norma, por ejemplo, exige

que los sustantivos femeninos singulares que se inician con *a-* tónica vayan precedidos por *el*. En nuestra lengua dialectal, en cambio, el artículo se elide a *l'* ante todos los sustantivos singulares—masculinos y femeninos—que se inician con vocal, tónica o átona:

el agua > l'agua	la amiga > l'amiga
la hermana > l'hermana	el oro > l'oro
el aguacate > l'aguacate	el humo > l'humo

Un caso análogo se plantea con respecto al género de los sustantivos. En español el género es inherente al sustantivo y no hay correspondencia entre terminaciones y género, puesto que todos los sustantivos que terminan en *-a* no son femeninos. Así palabras como *día*, *problema*, *sistema* y toda una serie de préstamos del griego terminan en *-a* pero son sustantivos masculinos. En el habla local, en cambio, toda palabra que termine en *-a* es femenina (menos *día*):

la sistema la síntoma la diploma la mediodía

Se observa otra modificación del sistema standard en la inflexión de número. Generalmente se añade a las palabras que terminan en *-a* o *-e* tónicas el morfema de pluralidad *-s*. En el habla México-americana, sin embargo, se añade *-ses*.

pie/pieses papá/papases café/cafesés mamá/mamases

Además en el español standard los sustantivos llanos (acento en la penúltima sílaba) que terminan en *-s* mantienen la misma forma cuando son plurales (afijo de pluralidad > \emptyset), como por ejemplo, *el lunes*, *los lunes*. En esta región, zona de seseo como todos los países hispano-americanos, se dice también *el lápiz*, *los lápiz*, dado que *lápiz* es una palabra análoga a *lunes*.

Otro rasgo bastante difundido entre la juventud es la falta de concordancia entre sustantivos y adjetivos. Bien podría ser por interferencia del inglés ya que la mayoría de los alumnos México-americanos a pesar de hablar español en casa y con los amigos, casi siempre traducen del inglés al español cuando escriben composiciones o están conscientes del habla. Veamos algunos ejemplos:

los escuelas muchos cosas Una mujer hecho para pelear.
 Una cadena que está conectado. El televisor es vieja.
 Las personas que son gordas son muy alegre.
 Yo creo que el tercer persona es hombre. No son igual.
 Estas dos maneras son universal con nuestra gente.

A veces un mismo hablante varía en la selección de géneros para un sustantivo:

las ideales, el ideal	el pared, la pared
el función, la función	el parte, la parte

La concordancia de numerales sustantivos también se simplifica. Si el numeral termina en *un*, se hace singular el sustantivo: *Tiene veintiún año*. También existe la tendencia de usar la forma apocopada de ciento: *ciento cincuenta* > *cien cincuenta*. En los numerales de cantidades superiores a cien generalmente falta la concordancia a menos que el *cientos*, *cientas* esté inmediatamente antepuesto:

400 mujeres - cuatrocientas mujeres; 343 mujeres trescientos cuarenta y tres mujeres

En cuanto a afijos derivativos, es característico de esta región el añadir diminutivos a un gran número de vocablos:

más tardecita, al ratito, un momentito, lo'o lueguito, orita, orititita, muchita (muchachita), muchito (muchachito), el negrito, la tiendita, toitito (toditito), toíta (todita), frijolitos o frifolitos, carrito, etc.

También abundan las formas con sufijos aumentativos, comunes a otros países hispanos. Algo más característico es el intensificar adjetivos, adverbios y verbos por medio de la repetición y los afijos *re-* o *rete-*:

Está azul azul.

Está fuerte fuerte.

Está retebonito.

Vino luego luego. Vino lo'o luego.

Ponlo recio recio. (más fuerte)

Iba recio recio. (bien rápido)

Ese hombre no más trabaji trabaji y tú de hoquis. (trabaja y trabaja)

Anda canti canti. (cantando)

Lo vi corri corri. (corriendo)

Estaba chifli chifli. (silbando)

El niño está brinqui brinqui. (brincando)

INTERFERENCIA DEL INGLÉS (Según el esquema de Weinreich)

Conviene señalar que como resultado general del contacto entre el inglés y el español no sólo se encuentran innumerables préstamos en el habla local sino que también se puede observar algunas modificaciones de tipo estructural. Dada la constante alternancia entre los dos idiomas, el inglés también ha influido sobre la entonación del México-americano que en gran parte sigue la curva de entonación del inglés (231↓) para afirmaciones simples y no la del español standard mexicano (1221↓).

Entre los reajustes morfo-sintácticos puede observarse que en el habla del México-americano se añaden morfemas de número y posesión donde la norma los elimina:

Tengo las manos sucias. Mis manos están sucias. (My hands are dirty).

Se pusieron el sombrero. Se pusieron sus sombreros. (They put on their hats.)

Por otra parte ha habido identificación de segmentos gramaticales del inglés con los del español. Así por ejemplo el *to* del inglés que introduce el infinitivo se traduce literalmente como marca del infinitivo en español:

1. Querían a comenzar. 2. Déjeme atocar la colcha. 3. Lo quieren a quechar. 4. Quedé de a ir para México. 5. Ofreció a prestárnolas. 6. Porque es difícil a presentar todos los lados. 7. Es importante a yir. 8. ¿Pero es asesinato a quitarlas del cuerpo? 9. Es difícil a leer.

Como extensión de esto, después se añade una *a* epentética a todos los verbos. Un alumno escribió: *No puedo hagastar tiempo a cambiar el mundo*. Y otros dijeron: *Tuvimos a registrando*. *Tuvimos a buscando*. *Andamos a vendiendo unos posters*.

Cuando hay formas correspondientes de los tiempos verbales en inglés y español se suele seguir el sistema del inglés. Por lo tanto es más frecuente la forma progresiva en el habla de los méxico-americanos, si el caso así lo requiere en inglés. Lo mismo acontece con el gerundio, que funciona en inglés como sustantivo pero no en español, donde se utiliza en tales casos el infinitivo. El méxico-americano, como cualquier alumno ánglohablante, utiliza el gerundio no sólo como adjetivo, lo cual es algo conocido si no aceptado por toda la América hispana, sino como sustantivo:

1. Para mis hermanitos viviendo en el proyecto era bueno.
2. El hijo quería poner al papá en una posición de sintiéndose culpable de los problemas del hijo.
3. Autorizando abortos es algo que exige mucho pensamiento.
4. Usándolas es una manera de afirmar su mexicanidad.
5. El ideal de la hombría consiste en nunca permitiendo que el mundo exterior penetre en su intimidad.
6. El dinero que gana lo gasta en tomando.

El inglés también ha causado la pérdida de algunas distinciones obligatorias dentro del español standard. Como ya señalamos, se ha dejado de usar en gran parte la forma *nosotras*, lo cual reduce las formas de primera persona plural a una sola, *nosotros*, como el *we*. Así también se pierde en muchos casos el pronombre de segunda persona *usted*, quedando el sistema reducido a un *tú* singular y un *ustedes* plural, o sea un *you* y un *you-all*.

Consideremos otro caso de interferencia: el español standard exige el uso del artículo determinado ante un sustantivo genérico o colectivo: *El*

hombre es mortal. El arroz es bueno. Como en inglés el artículo se elimina en estos casos (*Man is mortal. Rice is good.*), el estudiante méxico-americano generalmente omite el artículo al escribir y al hablar:

1. Capitalismo es un sistema económico.
2. Religión es algo muy personal.
3. Gente ya orita está despertando.
4. Todos creen que cambios son necesarios.
5. Estadísticas revelan que . . .

A veces surgen construcciones sintácticas imposibles dentro del sistema español al traducir los verbos del inglés que llevan una preposición añadida, la cual en el habla informal puede aparecer al final de la frase. En español esto no sucede, de allí que los siguientes ejemplos resulten extraños:

1. La muerte es un tema que todos piensan en a veces.
2. Quieren quedar vivos porque su vida es la única vida que están seguros de.
3. . . . significa en realidad lo que nosotros tenemos fe en.

Las preposiciones ofrecen muchas posibilidades de variación ya que muchas veces se reproduce la cognada que no corresponde:

1. Lo hizo en una manera. . . (de una manera)
2. No estamos pidiendo por más caridad. (pidiendo más caridad)

Préstamos

En cuanto a los préstamos, éstos se han integrado al sistema morfológico y fonológico del español. Si se trata de verbos se integran a la conjugación más productiva de -ar o más frecuentemente -ear, que casi siempre se reduce a -iar. Por ejemplo:

shine > chinear	tiss > tisear	dust > dostear
mop > mapear	quit > cuitear	watch > huachar
spell > espelear	catch > quechar	match > mechar
miss > mistear		

Los sustantivos derivados del inglés también tienen género y número aunque la terminación y el género pueden variar según la región. Así en algunas partes se dice *plogue* (m.) y en otras *ploga* (f.), aunque la forma masculina parece ser la corriente, y lo que es *magasín* para algunos es *magasina* para otros. Hay cierta medida de uniformidad en cuanto a las palabras de mayor frecuencia; por ejemplo casi en todas partes se dice *troca* (f.) (aunque a veces se oye un *troque* por allí). Podría decirse que en algunos casos se usa el género del sustantivo español reemplazado

por el préstamo, sólo que como regla general se recurre al inglés porque no se conoce el equivalente en español. Así el que dice *la troca* no la está substituyendo por *el camión*, ni el que dice *la yarda* por *el patio*, ya que los patios de México son algo muy distinto. En cuanto a *birria* y *bironga*, ciertamente reemplazan el término *cerveza* pero estos dos ejemplos ya son casos de variantes de una jerga y no del español general del tejano.

Cuando el préstamo termina en -er en inglés, se adapta al español como sustantivo femenino terminado en -a:

la dipa (dipper)	la juila (wheeler)
la mira (meter)	la rula (ruler)

En otros casos, en cambio, hay concordancia de género y sexo:

el bosero (de <i>bus</i>)	la norsa (de <i>nurse</i>)
la huayfa (de <i>wife</i>)	el broda (de <i>brother</i>)
el troquero (de <i>truck</i>)	el hueldeador (de <i>welder</i>)

Ocurre que algunas veces se emplean términos que ya existen dentro del español con otros significados como por ejemplo *yarda* y *mecha*. En estos casos se mantiene el género original. En cuanto a los préstamos que terminan en consonantes o que se integran con una -e final se encontrará que casi siempre con masculinos:

el fil; el yin (gin); el cloche; el bil; el bos; un daime; el cheque; el fone; el estare; un nicle; el suiche; el faite; el saine, etc.

En cuanto a consideraciones fonológicas, vale decir que en las transferencias sencillas los términos tomados del inglés se adaptan al sistema fonético del español. Las palabras que comienzan con sh- generalmente se pronuncian con la africada ch-: *sheriff* > *cherife*; *show* > *cho*; *shampoo* > *champú*. Si la palabra termina en consonante que no sea d, l, r, n, s generalmente se le añade una vocal, y la de más frecuencia parece ser -e: *puche*, *sete*, etc. Si comienzan con s- más consonante se le añade una e- inicial: *spell* - espelear; *skip* - esquippear.

Extensión de significado:

Puede observarse que cuando existen términos en español cuyas cognadas en inglés tienen otro significado, se pierde el significado original. Por ejemplo, *colegio* para la mayoría de los hispanos significa escuela o escuela secundaria y no los primeros cuatro años de universidad. El México-americano usa la palabra como equivalente de *college* ya que en EEUU se distingue entre *college* y *universidad*. Para escuela secundaria generalmente se dice *jaiscul* (high school) o *secundaria*. El

fenómeno de las cognadas falsas es bien extenso y sólo señalaremos algunos ejemplos:

Se dice _____	en vez de _____	por influencia de _____
librería	biblioteca	library
carpeta	alfombra	carpet
conferencia	reunión	conference
lectura	conferencia	lecture
suceso	éxito	success
realizar	darse cuenta	realize
parientes	padres	parents

Mezcolanza fonética y morfológica:

En otros casos se altera la forma del español para que corresponda mejor a su equivalente en inglés sin cambiar el significado:

competición (competition) por competencia
 población (population) por población
 teléfono (telephone) por teléfono
 perpetuo (perpetual) por perpetuo
 materialístico (materialistic) por materialista
 asistente (assistant) por asistente
 explotación (exploitation) por explotación
 practical (practical) por práctico
 distinto (distinct) por distinto
 farmacista (pharmacist) por farmacéutico
 sadístico (sadistic) por sádico
 incapace (incapable) por incapaz
 correctar (correct) por corregir
 directar (direct) por dirigir

Frases compuestas

Las frases del inglés se pueden reproducir textualmente con formas inexistentes dentro del español como por ejemplo *objetores concientes* (Weinreich, p. 50) que se ven en el español de Florida. Otras veces se hace una traducción literal de la frase, palabra por palabra. Se sobreentiende que estas frases no tienen significado ni uso en el español de otros países hispanohablantes:

to have a good time	tener un buen tiempo	en vez de: divertirse
How do you like it?	¿Cómo te gusta?	¿Qué te parece?

to run for office	correr para oficina	ser candidato
to figure the problems out	figurar los problemas	resolver los problemas
to throw in the can (jail)	echar al bote	encarcelar
Your town is run by anglos.	Su pueblo está corrido por anglos.	está dirigido, gobernado
he grew more confused	“creció más confundido”	se puso más confuso

A veces las frases del inglés sólo sirven de modelo y se reproducen un tanto alteradas:

to get a college education > agarrar colegio
 to call back > llamar pa' trás
 to come back > venir pa' trás
 to get a kick out of > agarrar patada

En algunos casos la frase del inglés causa la creación de un término nuevo en español para designar un concepto ajeno al español, como por ejemplo: *teenager*, que un locutor de radio en Austin traduce como *quinceañera*.

Compuestos híbridos

A veces se traduce una porción de la frase y la otra se reproduce en forma de préstamo en casos como:

flour > harina de flor bedroom set > sete de recámara
 light meter > la mira de la luz
 light bill > el bil de electricidad, el bil de la luz
 traffic sign > saine de tráfico

Al integrarse los préstamos al inglés se ha desarrollado una confusión entre el término nuevo y el viejo aunque en la mayoría de los casos, como ya indicamos, se tomó la palabra del inglés por desconocerse el término en español, especialmente en los pueblos ubicados lejos de la frontera mexicana. Algunas confusiones han resultado entre *huachar* (*guachar*) y *mirar*, eliminándose en muchos casos el *ver*. Otros ejemplos de varios términos para lo mismo son: *quechar*, *agarrar*, *pescar*; *tochar*, *tentar*, *tocar*; *sainear*, *firmar*; *el cho*, *el mono*, *las vistas*, *le película*, *el cine*, etc. Algunos términos como *deletrear* son casi desconocidos para la juventud y por lo tanto se usa *espelear* y así sucesivamente en muchos casos.

Cuando hay más de un término, a veces uno de ellos adquiere un significado especial. Según un alumno, por ejemplo, en su casa utilizan un *mapiador* para trapear con agua y un *trapeador* para encerar el piso.

Lo único que podemos presentar aquí es lo que los alumnos dijeron en las grabaciones aunque nos guiaremos un tanto por lo que decimos también en casa.

A. Dentro de la frase nominal, que puede contener los siguientes elementos: artículo + sustantivo + oración adjetiva, el sustantivo en inglés va precedido por un artículo en español:

1. el wedding
2. el building
3. los officials
4. metieron un suit.
5. Tenemos un newspaper.

Si se trata de un sustantivo en español popularizado por la prensa, éste puede aparecer con un artículo en inglés:

Most of the barrio va por Gonzalo Barrientos.

En cambio no se dice: *The muchacho está aquí; ni *A mujer vino.

El sustantivo en inglés puede ir modificado por adjetivos en español:

1. Tiene todo el building agujerao.
2. en cualquier facet of school life.

El sustantivo y el adjetivo pueden ir en inglés y el artículo en español.

Hay un friendly atmosphere.

Si no se necesita el artículo, toda la frase nominal puede aparecer en inglés:

1. Te dan greater yields.
2. Puede dar better results.
3. Si hay run-offs.

El sustantivo en español puede ir modificado por una oración adjetiva en inglés:

Una cosa that turns me off . . .

Un sustantivo en inglés puede ir modificado por una oración adjetiva en español:

1. That's another bitch que tengo yo con los chicanos, que ponen música americana.
2. La most beautiful thing que nos ha pasado.

B. Los adjetivos y sustantivos del predicado (Predicate Adjectives and Predicate Nouns) pueden aparecer en inglés después de un verbo en español:

1. Me quedé surprised.
2. Te digo que está prejudiced.
3. Apá es el dominant.
4. La vida no nomás es un party.
5. Esa es una cosa que ya estamos brainwashed los mexicanos.
6. Es self-employed.
7. Parece que soy sensitive.
pero no *He is carpintero.
ni tampoco *She is sensible. i.e. (She is sensitive)

Los adjetivos en inglés pueden ir modificados por adverbios en español:

1. No quieren ser muy "radical." (radical - en inglés)
2. Es muy friendly.

En cambio nunca se usa un adverbio en inglés con un adjetivo en español. No se dice: *Es very amistoso. De igual manera tampoco se usa un adjetivo en inglés con un sustantivo en español: *un friendly hombre.

C. En una forma verbal progresiva, el elemento auxiliar puede aparecer en español y el gerundio en inglés:

1. No está hurting a la tierra.
2. Te están brain-washing.
3. Cuando van aging . . .
4. Estaban striking Kelly (AFB).
pero no *He is trabajando.

D. En una cláusula, subordinada o independiente, si el verbo aparece en español, el sujeto en inglés funciona como elemento del español porque va marcado por el artículo:

1. Dice el announcer . . .
2. Una cosa . . . que es un fact.

E. Como en la forma progresiva, en las construcciones perifrásticas de *ir + infinitivo*, el segundo elemento puede ir en inglés:

1. Si va take una muchacha el dominant role . . .
2. En cambio no se diría nunca *If you're going to tomar . . .

F. Después de preposiciones en español, el sustantivo puede ir en inglés:

1. Yo estoy hablando de interaction, de power.
2. Siempre ando con hate.

Después de una preposición en inglés, rara vez se oye un sustantivo en inglés, a menos que la palabra esté de moda:

I'm talking about interaction with la gente.

Si el préstamo verbal del inglés tiene un elemento preposicional adicional, se incluye en el español:

What would it be like si un perrao estuviera afuera watchando over quien sale para perseguirlos.

G. Los complementos pueden parecer en inglés después de un verbo en español:

1. Si no tienen integrated parties . . .
2. Tiene todo el publicity.
3. Agarra el moisture.
4. Te dan greater yields.
5. Se caba cuando va al cemetery, halla el grave de su madre . . .

H. La introducción más grande es la de expresiones de moda, de modismos, como por ejemplo, "I mean," "right off," "in that sense," "Maybe," "in other words," "so like que."

* * * * *

Además de términos—adjetivos, verbos, sustantivos, etc.—se introducen frases enteras. Si seguimos con esta tendencia, acabaremos hablando inglés sólomente, con un "Orale" o un ¡Jijo! introducidos por allí como únicos vestigios de nuestro español.

BIBLIOGRAFIA

- Bernstein, Basil. "Some Sociological Determinants of Reception. An Inquiry into Sub-cultural Differences," *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, edit. by J. Fishman. Paris: Mouton, 1968.
- Bull, William E. *Spanish for Teachers*. New York: Ronald Press, Co., 1965.
- Espinosa, Aurelio. *Estudios sobre el Español de Nuevo Méjico*. Vol. II. Buenos Aires, 1930.
- Fishman, Joshua A. *Sociolinguistics, a brief introduction*. Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1971.
- Labov, William D., Paul Cohen and Clarence Robins. *A Preliminary Study of the Structure of English Used by Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City*. Final Report, Cooperative Research Project No. 3091. Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1965.
- Weinreich, Uriel. *Languages in Contact*. Paris: Mouton, 1968.

Dissertation

- Thompson, Roger Mark. "Language Loyalty in Austin, Texas. A Study of a bilingual neighborhood," The University of Texas at Austin, 1971.

EL ACRE

A Study of Space

Fernando D. Vázquez

A Description

Physical Location

El Acre is a small (.94 acre) park in a city of 28,000. It is located approximately seven blocks from the center of town in the direction of the barrio. El Acre is considered by some to be the line of demarcation between the barrio and the rest of the city. El Acre has been in existence since the 1800's, and it was part of the original subdivision of this early San Joaquin Valley settlement. It was then known as North Park. Later, during the turn of the century, its grounds served as a campus for the city's growing school system.

El Acre is an oval-shaped park covered with sparse grass and shaded by numerous Modesto Ash and pine trees. There are five cement tables and various benches placed around it for public use. A drinking fountain is in the center of the grounds. There are no restrooms. A cement walkway (that floods in the rain) stretches the length of the park, detouring only around a large, round, and perennially dry fountain in the center of El Acre.

Year round, there is activity at El Acre though it slows considerably during the coldest winter months and during the rainy season. It is in the warm and hot months from early spring to late fall that El Acre's population noticeably swells. Even when normal activities were disrupted once by the plowing under of the grass, people used to frequenting the park hung around watching the city workmen replant and waiting for their favorite place to become available.

On an average day, weather permitting, a person driving around El Acre can observe old men chatting, playing cards or just taking sun; young men standing around in groups or squatting, smoking; and perhaps some others engrossed in a game of dominoes. Occasionally too, a couple may be tossing a ball. Smaller groups may be gathered close to the edge of the park, or on the curbs by parked cars listening to the radio and talking. What may not always be visible to the passing motorist is that there are very distinct groups in the park interacting with

each other and with anyone else who might happen to intrude, whether unknowingly or by design.

Physical Interrelationship with Environs

El Acre has a number of physically significant factors which take form in various ways. These factors, not necessarily in order of importance, are as follows:

1. It lies in the center of the East-West line of demarcation for the city. The street dividing the city is a northbound one-way thoroughfare that runs directly into El Acre, causing traffic to move counter-clockwise around it.

2. The park, being oval shaped, changes the pattern of north-south east-west street direction, and causes a fanning effect of its avenues of approach. Consequently, there are six possible directions from which it can be approached by car and seven different directions to which one may take his leave. The difference is due to one-way traffic patterns.

3. The one-way traffic connects with outbound traffic routes to nearby towns to the north and northeast. It is also necessary for all traffic to and from most of the northern residential areas to traverse the route around or immediately adjacent to El Acre.

4. It seems a happy financial consequence for the merchant doing business in the commercial zone surrounding this nucleus of activity. Not only is his establishment accessible to traffic, but also to the walk-in trade from the neighboring residential areas.

5. The Police Department also has a particular interest in the park, for different reasons. Though these reasons may concern high traffic count, population density, or the type of populace El Acre draws, the park is the pivotal point in police beat assignments.

There are two major beat systems used in this town, and both cue off of the park. The "6 Beat" system is characterized by a disproportionately small, concentrated, sixth beat being drawn around the Acre area. This beat is immediately adjacent to four other beats that may be called for assistance, each approximately three to four blocks from the park itself.

When the "5 Beat" system is employed, the smallest (Acre Beat) is eliminated and its area is divided three ways. While Beat Four actually is assigned the park, Beats Two and Five back it up from their particular assignments, three and two blocks away respectively.

Observations and Assigned Roles

Basic Distinctions

Though the people who generally occupy the park may seem fairly homogeneous to the passing motorist, there is much more than meets the eye at a fleeting glance. The first and most obvious distinction that might be made is race. The park population is approximately 70% of Mexican descent while practically all of the remaining are of Black ancestry.¹ An immediate comparison can be made with the opposite side of the street where shopkeepers and shoppers alike display a more varied racial spectrum. The next distinction to be made is chronological. Approximately 35% of the Mexicans and 50% of the Blacks are over the age of 30. Closer observation reveals a median age of 60 for the Mexican and 35 for the Black.² On the lower end of the scale, the ages fluctuate from about 15 to 28 with the majority falling in the 17-19 and 24-26 age groups.³ This of course is an admitted interpolation as the younger groups are relatively unstable and most of the documented observation took place well after the school year began.

A third distinction to be made concerns the sexual composition of park inhabitants. Almost without exception, there are no Mexican females to be found at El Acre. The exceptions are: (a) Middle aged women who walk to or from town, usually accompanied by a daughter, comadre or a younger son; rarely alone; (b) Young girls walking to and from school, usually in groups. When alone, except for the more adventurous, or those having a brother or cousin present on the grounds, some walk around rather than through the park; (c) In addition, housewives with their children sometimes stop for lunch in the shade of the numerous trees. They are always accompanied by another woman and her children. Other females in the vicinity of the park might be seen in cars parked around El Acre for the following reasons: (a) They shop in nearby stores. This presence is only coincidental, and usually not by choice since all the shops are on the opposite side of the street, and the

1. This fluctuates from day to day however and is one factor that is infinitely affected by weather. Though the Black population may rise as high as 50% on a given day it may drop to "0" on a particularly cold day.

2. The sampling for the Mexican man was taken from the late summer/early fall day-time attendance and did not take into consideration the late afternoon/early evening card playing crowd that would bring the median down to the mid-forties.

3. This statement would hold true for the Mexican youth observed only, as the number of Black youth observed for this purpose was negligible.

women may be inviting unwanted attention just by their presence; (b) They may stop to talk to a boyfriend, though this occurrence would be rare. Usually, though not always correctly, unaccompanied girls are considered "free game" and are readily "hustled." For this reason males prefer that their women, particularly wives, do not approach them there. Such exceptions as exist are not relevant to this paper.

In the Black section of the park (territories to be discussed below), the average day will find more females per capita than elsewhere. The rough breakdown is approximately 60-65% male to 35-40% female. There is considerably more sexual cohesiveness observed in this group than elsewhere in the park. The females may be seen to sit and rap while knitting, reading or watching a game of dominoes.

If an exclusion of Anglos in park life has been noticed, it is only because of the relatively little interaction on a day to day basis that they have with the park "Insiders." The exceptions in this case are three: (a) A young blond lad that grew up in the neighborhood and is accepted as "O.K.," "a right guy," and "one of the dudes"; (b) One or two women considered "regulars" in the Black group; and (c) One of the city employees assigned to clean up the park (not much interaction here except that he or one of the other city employees is expected to clean up regularly). Other Anglo participation in the Acre may take the form of an occasional intrusion by blue collar workers (utility company, mail carriers, construction, etc.) during a lunch break. These are viewed as a definite invasion of privacy by the "regulars." The only other Anglos seen on the grounds are those buying or selling drugs, and an occasional "savior" trying to show the "poor heathens" that somebody "really cares." The latter are usually tolerated or ignored, in the knowledge that they'll soon tire and go away.

Sub-Groups and Territories

In making the distinction between types of territories and their uses, the terms "primary" and "secondary" can be applied. A "primary" area is the space within a geographically defined boundary most often occupied by a group and to which it holds a right acknowledged by peer groups. A "secondary" area is one which is not normally occupied by a given group but one into which it will "spill over" should its primary area become crowded or temporarily unsuitable. (See map #1)

Beginning with the Blacks in the extreme North end of the park, one can see this territory as being both the smallest and most ambiguously defined. Groups will "float" from primary to secondary areas if

their size increases enough to extend their perimeters, but not enough to infringe upon other primary areas.

Though usually these sub-groups show at least a surface tolerance to one another, they have been known on occasion to purposely provoke their neighbors by intruding into their space. (See Werthman and Piliavin, 1967: 58-59) These territorial domains are informally delineated and not as strictly adhered to as, apparently, the more rigid urban centers have experienced. (See Suttles, 1968: 114-115) For example, a Black may choose to "hang" nearer the Chicano area if it is not occupied. A Chicano, upon seeing him there may mutter some unendearing epithet to himself at such lack of "courtesy," but here it stops, both knowing that had the area been occupied the intrusion would have been avoided.

The younger Chicanos normally "hang" around the center of the eastern half of El Acre. This domain is by far the largest of the primary areas and is exceeded only by the breadth of its own secondary area.

Of special interest is the interaction between the young and old sub-groups among Chicanos. Though the Youths' primary area overlaps the Oldies' there is no need for the Old Ones to have a secondary area as they may freely traverse the park and stop where they wish. For the most part, however, Oldies prefer the extreme South end and the solitary bench in the southeastern quarter.

Pursuing the deference given the older citizens by the younger dudes, disrespectful conduct by an individual will be negatively and more vigorously sanctioned by his peers than by another of the older crowd. Another form in which respect is shown is that rarely if ever would one "toque-up" or (toke) in the "presence" of an "elder." "Presence" in this case would be near enough to be offended by the odor, or to observe the too obvious passing (or flaunting) of a joint. Approximately 20 feet, if the back is turned, may be considered appropriate; closer if dark.

Though the oldsters there for reasons other than card playing generally may be described as retired, disabled or unemployed, the younger dudes' presence can be described more precisely. The youngest, 15-16, though considered men by most standards, are definitely on the low end of the "pecking order" as perceived by others. The older sub-group is divided between the regular "vatos" and the "veteranos."

A cultural attribute manifested by park goers is the use of the whistle. Though whistling is widespread in the barrio, it is only readily observable to "outsiders" who may notice the distinct patterns of pitch and duration as one vato greets another in this residential fringe area, El Acre.

In the Chicano culture it is unheard of for one man to raise his voice to another, unless he's looking for a fight. While it is not appropriate to shout at another person, even across the width of the park, it is nevertheless acceptable to whistle. The whistle peculiar to this particular area is a short, three character expulsion of breath in two tones that might look something like this: *eeo-ee*, and repeated in rapid series of one, two or three repetitions. Once the whistler has the attention of the person he is addressing, he may make known by gestures of head and hands whether they must converse or merely exchange greetings at this distance.

There are expressive whistles in almost every geographic area where Mexicans are found as well as some personal family whistles. Though there are somewhat standard *silbos* for nearly every expressive exclamation; query, disbelief, disapprobation, assent, warning, etc., others have a more specific intent. For example, though an irritated mother may call her children in a melodic shriek, some fathers have been known to have a special whistle for each male child (the only ones allowed on the street), or a collective call claimed by all the children as "theirs." There are also accepted norms regulating when and who may or may not whistle at whom. Example: A child is expected to run to his father if the latter's attention is desired; he does not whistle.*

The Status Quo

Surrounding this earthy isle of existence are the venerable members of the Acre Merchants Association. The list of eligible members will begin at a low six o'clock on Map #1 and continue counter-clockwise to twelve o'clock, north on the right side of the street for one block,

*This measure of respect is carried even further by some people. As the late Andrea Vázquez (mi abuelita) used to say "Nomás se le silba a los animales, a la gente se les habla como es debido."

Further research in the area of whistling as a form of communication is continuing. At the suggestion of Leonard Olguin, UC Irvine, the Canary Islands may be considered as a source of possible origin for our own *chiflidos*.

Other systems of communication by whistling do exist. But Gomera's (one of the Canarios) is unique, according to Professor Classe of Glasgow University, who has taken the trouble to spend several months in the island learning it. For he describes it "as the only system based, not on prosodic notes, but on purely articulatory notes." In other words, it is "whistled Spanish" in which the variations in the pitch and tone of the whistle replace the vibration of the vocal chords. (Myhill, 1968: 159).

return on the opposite side of the street, and continue in the original direction to approximately nine o'clock:

1. A bar.
2. OEO funded training center office building.
3. A church.
4. Mexican food drive-in.
5. Barber shop.
6. Fresh produce market.
7. Liquor store.
8. Rummage shack.
9. Bakery.
10. Food market.
11. Rummage shack.
12. Coin-op laundry.
13. Gas station.
14. "Soul Food" cafe.
15. Shoe repair shop.
16. College assistance office (OEO).
17. XYZ enterprise (Junk store).
18. Italian food restaurant.
19. Doctor's office (General Practitioner).
20. Barber shop.
21. Drugstore.
22. Community credit union (OEO initiated).
23. Combination carpet sales and TV repair shop.

The location of #2, 16, & 22 are not coincidental since such locations were actively sought by the local Poverty War Lords in the early days of the Economic Opportunity Act. "Where the people live, that's where the action is," it was said.

To the surprise of many downtown merchants, this northern bastion of commercialism has one of the highest retail sales areas in town according to a city economic survey conducted circa 1967. On the strength of this fact alone, one would assume that the Acre's merchants would be somewhat sensitive to the area residents' particular needs and have at least a materialistic interest in their well-being. This assumption is partially correct, judging from the direct, indirect, first and second-hand responses to queries. The typical concerns voiced at an Acre Merchants Association meeting have gone something like:

We oughta get that park closed up if you ask me. Those damned kids are stealing me blind. Close the park and that will solve the (my) problem.

XYZ Enterprises is a relative latecomer to the Association. The

owner-manager has complained bitterly about high rates of pilferage, personal abuses and general harassment. It is his contention that "these Mexicans are no good, they're lazy and disrespectful . . . their parents should be called on the carpet." At a more recent Association meeting, one at which the city manager, a local judge and the Acting Chief of Police were present, he was heard to ask:

What constitutes loitering? Am I liable if I shoot one of 'em? Do they have to be inside the store?

The bakery shop owner, an establishment of longer duration, asked:

What is considered loitering? Can they be cited for standing around on public property? (sidewalk) What about when they lean up against my wall putting their feet up . . . wears out the paint, I have to clean up . . . also my plate glass windows have been broken. (The window has since been replaced with wooden paneling after an incident.) Can the curb be painted red? (The answer was no . . . it is part of a state road system that prohibits it.) Well, can the opposite side of the street (our side) be painted for diagonal parking, causing the street to narrow and making it impractical for them to park over there?

The liquor store owner has somewhat curbed the theft problem by using empty bottles for display. He also makes it plain there has been no love lost between himself and the park "Insiders" for the several years he has been there.

Another latecomer to the scene does not even tolerate anyone who *looks* young on his parking lot. A seemingly pleasant sort of person at first, he fairly bristles at the mention of "those hoodlums" and confides he's keeping a 30.06 under the counter and various handguns in strategic locations throughout the establishment.

It seems however that this is not the general feeling of all the merchants. One of the others volunteered that "Oh, those people just don't like Mexicans or Negroes, if you know what I mean."

The owner of the Italian restaurant did not complain of such episodes. Her major problem consisted of an unusual number of burglaries committed by parties of unknown ethnicity. "How can I blame anybody, I don't know who's responsible but I wish they'd stop." During the time this study was conducted her frustration was heightened by a burglar alarm that went off at will, day or night, and which the police tired of answering.

The pharmacist at the neighborhood drug store and a drive-in proprietess, both Mexican American, have no major complaints. The latter relates that "sometimes they (the guys from the park) get in the way, but I usually manage to discourage them from hanging around too much." The pharmacist, on the other hand says, "I guess the place just doesn't attract them. Most of my clientele is pretty stable, inventory

remains constant, and there's a minimum of pilferage. I've been at this location since early '68 and have never had any incidence of vandalism, burglary or harassment." Further questioning revealed that this fact was resented by the majority members of the Acre Merchants Association who hinted at his having what we shall call "ethnic immunity." The druggist went on to cite the short (30 day) business history of a record shop that last summer occupied the building now housing the second rummage shop (#11).

"They killed him (businesswise). That Chicano never really had a chance to get established. High pilferage, low turnover; the loitering I'm sure inhibited trade."

Other members of the status quo, formal institutions like churches, social welfare agencies, etc. as well as agencies of control (police and probation) possess views so varied in perspective that it would take volumes to relate.

Meanings of Space

What does El Acre really mean to those who go there? It depends on who you ask. To the beautifully wrinkled old brown men who go there, it may mean anything from a warm place in the sun to a refuge from old age. It is a place where you can be alone with the grass and trees, or to go for companionship and reminiscences of another era. It is a place you go to for escape from noisy grandchildren and nagging wives, or one at which you reflect upon the loneliness of not having them.

El Acre serves as a placita where information and social amenities are exchanged with courtesy and respect. It is a favorite gathering place of senior citizens, and one where they can interact with peers, join in a card game or just talk.

There is a younger (middle age) crowd that goes there after work, perhaps for a can of beer, a little conversation, or a card game with the other men after dinner. When the days become shorter and cooler the meetings are more infrequent. Saturdays after the weekly shopping is done or Sunday afternoons are preferable; similarly the beer is now replaced by the bottle of brandy or blended whiskey that passes around.

Of course the occasional wino may wander on the park to share a bottle with a contemporary, but this occurs more in the warmer months of the year. Besides, the slats in the only two wooden benches have splinters. (The rest of the tables and benches are concrete.)

One middle aged winito spoke about sleeping at the park:

I don't hang around here much . . . last time . . . last coupla times, was picked up—drunk they said, man was I sick.

The majority population at the Acre is the vatos. In this “home” away from home, the atmosphere is relaxed, informal and pleasant. Generally no one is going to hassle you unless you're looking to be hassled. Yet there is always a chance that “la placa” will show up. Although they rarely stop at the park they cruise around regularly.

“. . . maybe not man, but when they do, you know one of 'em is going to cagar el palo.”

What do you mean?

Shit, you know what I mean ése. They talk with their hands . . . they can't talk to you man to man, they gotta start pushing you or pulling you here or there . . . no way you can blame the dudes for getting pissed. . . and that's just to talk . . . if they think you really did something, they don't come looking for you here man, they go to your house.

This feeling seemed to be the general consensus. Though admitting that not all the cops were alike in this respect, it was easier to lump them all together than to distinguish one from the other. However, particular antagonism is felt toward selected individuals on the force, individuals of whom the chief is equally aware of as liabilities but that remain on duty in and around the Acre area. One of these “peace officers” has been known to cruise around the park in his squad car with one hand on the wheel and the other giving the vatos “the finger.”

After a similar incident the vatos decided to pay their respects to this lawman. A butcher paper and poster paint 4' X 25' sign greeted all passers-by with a statement that questioned the patrolman's masculinity. Though some of the area's residents did not object to this form of retaliation, they felt it a breach of respect to so blatantly declare that: REDNECK ES PUTO.

The vatos may be seen to hang around in groups of twos, threes or in groups as large as fifteen. While the older ones are content in just “cooling it,” some of the younger ones may horse around playing “ball” with a towel taken from one of the others' bare shoulders and knotted tightly.

Just sitting there observing the happenings around the park, one is at a particular advantage over the merchants from the other side. Yet, even this is preferable to the eyeballing received from some cars very obviously not from the area and circling more than once.

What are you looking at? Que somos? animales en el zoo?

There is a definite pride in saying that “this is our park man, and we

don't have to take that shit from anybody . . . do we go bother them in their houses."

This pride was challenged last year when the trees at El Acre, especially a tall pine on the southernmost exposure, were not decorated for the Christmas holidays. In past years, colored lights have been strung all around El Acre. Many of the Acre area residents were considerably put out at being so slighted.

Over en la pinchi courthouse, they got a tree over there that they decorate for some pendejo that dies . . . flowers and the whole bit . . . but en El Acre, not even lights for us to see . . . pero ya verán . . . (and they did).

Another incident that caused ill feelings was the inopportune decision to completely plow up the park and install a new sprinkling system days before a community-wide celebration was to take place on the grounds. A 16 de septiembre fiesta (1970) had been planned for a number of weeks and the city declined to issue a permit for use of the public facility on the grounds that revolutionary activity would surely ensue. That the affair was being sponsored by a coalition of responsible civic-minded and professional organizations was of no consequence.

One of the lasting scars of that action, and a most lamentable one to the vatos, was that along with the old grass and water pipes, many of the trees from the park interior were also removed.

Hijo que puntada, they took our shade trees. Leave it to the gavachos, they ruin everything, then they bullshit about ecology.

A city employee offhandedly remarked that it looked much better this way . . . easier to keep clean and all, "besides, now we can see what's going on in there . . ."

When asked about getting along with the older men one 19 year old replied:

Oh, alright . . . see that dude getting out of the car? (about 40 years old) Here comes a card hustle. Man that dude is *good*,—he can really play cards—So's that other dude, and the one with the hat . . . c'mon, this is going to be a good game.

Some of these younger dudes are allowed to play with the older crowd if 1) they have money, 2) they can keep their mouth shut, and 3) observe for a reasonable length of time before joining.

One young lad, a college freshman, confided that he was "glad to get the hell away from there."

Sure, I had a lot of good times there but, man if I'm going to stay clean I can't hang around there anymore. Tú sabes, man. I know I'll go back to it if I stay here . . . just came home to see my mom, I'll go back to school tomorrow.

His biggest fear was that if he didn't come up clean on the urinalysis he would be dropped from the methadone program. Hanging around the Acre would insure contact with his old crowd, and a temptation that was hard to resist.

Another student away at school found it necessary to return almost weekly (some two hundred miles each way).

I got to man. When the carnalillos look up to you, you just don't let 'em down . . . you know what I mean? . . . you got to be around to help 'em.

Are you getting a bad time about going to school?

. . . . Yeah, . . . they want to know if I'm better'n'em shit got time to give me a ride home?

Two weeks later he dropped out of school entirely.

To these people and others interviewed, El Acre has many meanings. A place where you go to meet the guys. A place where you decide what else it is you want to do—whether tonight, tomorrow, or next year—a place where you can watch the broads drive by, score a lid, or just get away from home.

After you've been out of town for any length of time, the fastest way to find out what's been going on is to go to the park. Sooner or later everyone you know or want to see will drive by, or walk across the grass, it's only a matter of time. Guys just out of the joint, back from college, the army, or just having been gone for a while, will make El Acre one of their first stops when they return. "It's kinda like coming home—¿sabes?"

Bibliography

Myhill, Henry

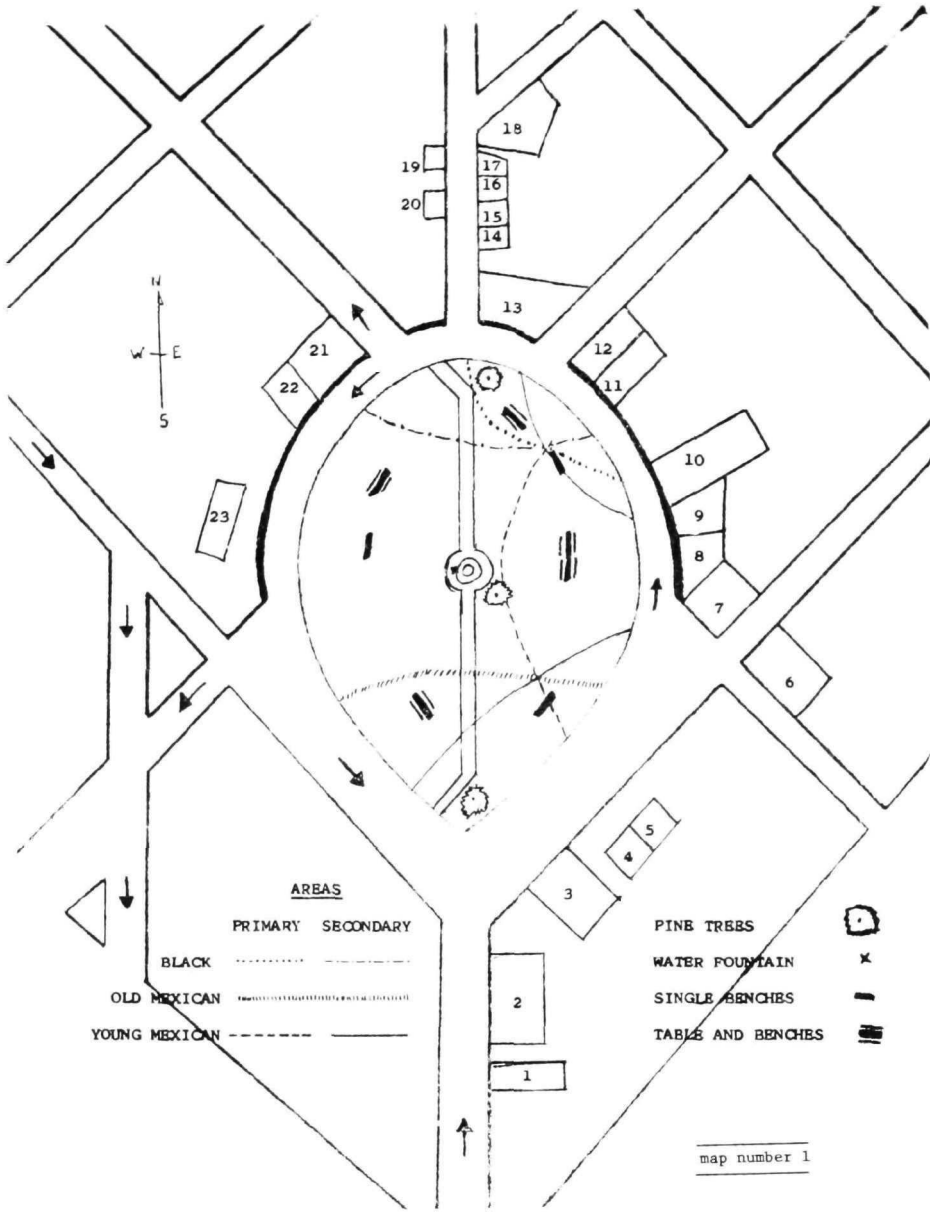
1968 *The Canary Islands*. London: Faber and Faber Limited

Suttles, Gerald D.

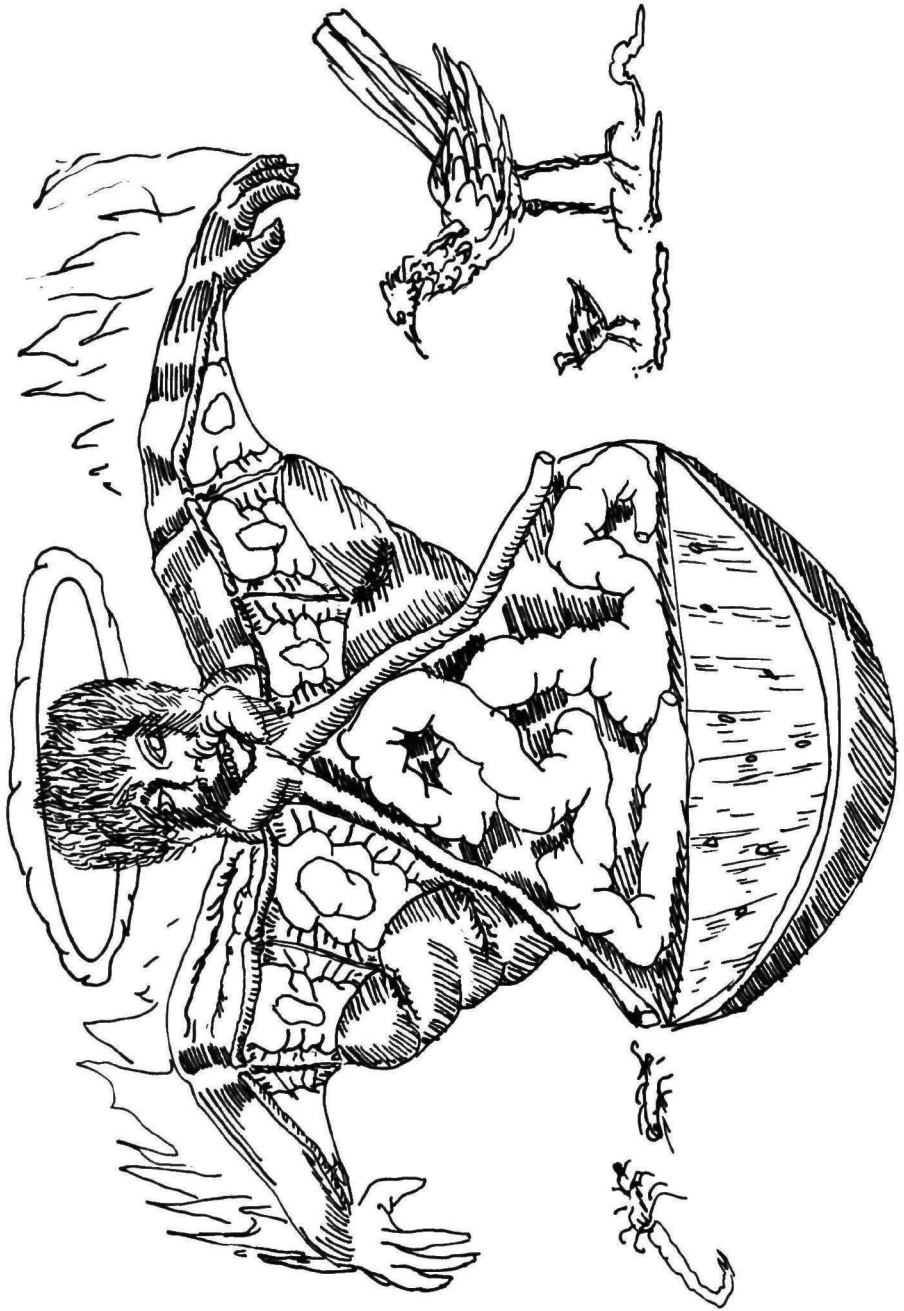
1968 *The Social Order of the Slum: Ethnicity and Territory in the Inner City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Werthman, Carl, and Irving Piliavin

1967 *Gang Members and the Police*. pp. 58-59 in David J. Bordua (ed.) *The Police*, New

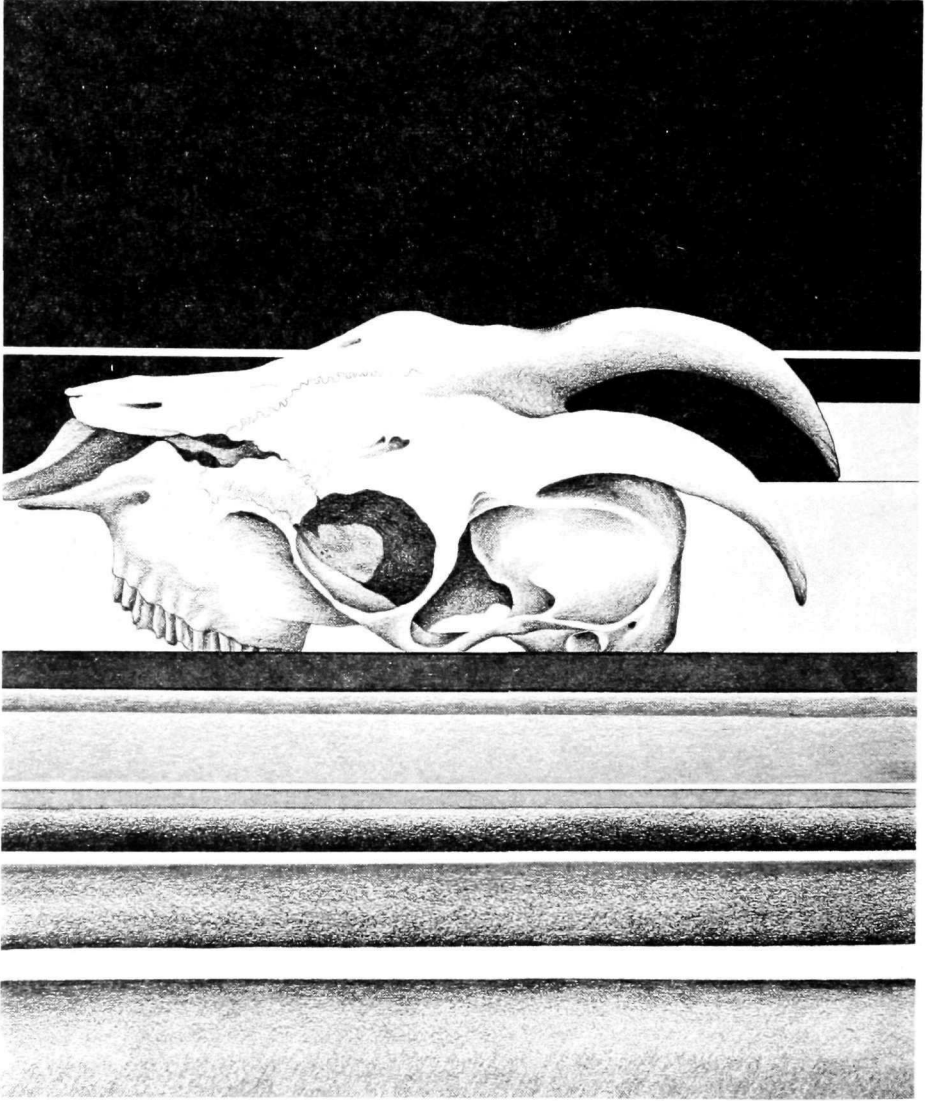






BATMAN C HICANO







Note: Due to the great number of requests for an extension of deadline because of unfinished manuscripts, the CHICANO PERSPECTIVE award deadline has been extended to SEPTEMBER 30, 1973 and the amount of the award increased accordingly.

America

A CHICANO PERSPECTIVE

\$2,000

(in addition to royalties)

FOR BEST STUDY OF AMERICAN SOCIETY WRITTEN BY A CHICANO

QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS announces a \$2,000 award for best study of the United States written by a person of Mexican descent who is a resident of the United States.

The study may be written by a Chicano or Chicana who is a migrant worker, union organizer, anti-poverty worker, health aid, secretary, busdriver, etc. Or, it may be written by a Chicano or Chicana in anthropology, history, literature, medicine, political science, psychology, sociology, etc. In short any Chicana or Chicano may submit a manuscript. All entries will be given equal consideration.

The work itself may be a narrative as in *Juan Pérez Jolote* by Ricardo Pozas A., or it may be written in the philosophical-historical style of *The Labyrinth of Solitude* by Octavio Paz, the style of *Profile of Man in Mexico* by Samuel Ramos, or it may be written in the journalistic style of *North From Mexico* by Carey McWilliams. If the author prefers, the entry may be a formal academic study, as in Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*.

Manuscripts must be book-length (200 pages minimum, typed, double-spaced, no maximum). They must deal with American Society as a whole. Entries may be written in Spanish or English or both.

Deadline for submitting entry:
30 September 1973

Announcement of winner:
30 December 1973

The winning entry will be published by QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS. For further information, write to:

**CHICANO PERSPECTIVE, QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS
P.O. Box 9275
Berkeley, California 94709**

Note: This award is in addition to the PREMIO QUINTO SOL literary award, announced elsewhere in this issue.

QUINTO SOL

Educators use QUINTO SOL BOOKS for contemporary literature in English, for minority literature courses, for ethnic studies, for social studies, for bi-lingual Spanish-English education, for history courses, for interdisciplinary courses, ESL, for courses in creative writing.

Educators use EL GRITO: A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN-AMERICAN THOUGHT, a quarterly, now in its 5th year, over 94,000 in circulation, to keep current with the best of Chicano creative literature, poetry, art, and scholarly thought. Contains articles and features on virtually every facet of Chicano life, past and present. Be sure to inquire about special issues and special bulk rates for classroom use.

QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS has published over 130 authors, essayists, artists, poets, academic studies and writers of creative literature, making this the most representative outlet for contemporary Chicano expression in quality literature. Many more are scheduled for publication during 1972-73-74.

QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS receives requests for materials from more than 1000 schools, community colleges, universities, and libraries each month—nationwide.

QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS materials are eagerly sought by other national and international publishers for their own anthologies, history books, social studies, and books on creative writing. Educators, why not get it direct from the original source?

"... y no se lo tragó la tierra"
"... and the earth did not part"

by TOMAS RIVERA

Winner of First Annual \$1,000 Quinto Sol Literary Award, by the distinguished Texas Chicano author, Dr. Tomás Rivera of the University of Texas at San Antonio. Favorable reviews in U.S., in México, Brazil. Dr. Tomás Rivera presently is the only Chicano writer of short stories with an international reputation. He has been compared to Juan Rulfo in his faithful portrayal of the campesino, to Octavio Paz in his ability to capture the philosophy of a people, and to Herman Hesse in his ability to penetrate into the inner psyche of individual existence.

SPECIAL FIRST EDITION — Bilingual
PAPERBACK — \$3.75

199 pages
HARDCOVER — \$6.50

BLESS ME, ULTIMA by Rudolfo A. Anaya

Winner of Second Annual \$1,000 Quinto Sol Literary Award. A story of a boy growing up in New Mexico. Called by Herminio Ríos "The best Chicano novel ever written." The author is a New Mexico educator, a native New Mexican.

Now Available
PAPERBACK — \$3.75

264 pages
HARDBACK — \$6.75

PERROS Y ANTIPERROS by Sergio Elizondo, Chairman of the Department of foreign Languages at New Mexico State University. This epic poem has to be the most powerful poetic statement reflecting the experience of the Chicano aztlanense written to date.

FIRST EDITION — Bilingual
PAPERBACK — \$1.75

76 pages

QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS, INC.
2150 Shattuck Ave. #606
Berkeley, California 94704
Telephone: (415) 549-1171
Cable: QUINSOL



EL GRITO

A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN-AMERICAN THOUGHT

Since 1967, EL GRITO has been publishing Chicano authors from throughout the nation. EL GRITO is distributed in 50 states, and internationally in 8 countries. EL GRITO has achieved the reputation of publishing the best of quality Chicano social science, history, social analysis, short stories, drama, poetry, art, satire, placing it at the forefront of the articulation of Chicano issues and contemporary thought. EL GRITO is recognized as the best of Chicano thought by Dr. Rudy Acuna of Los Angeles in his textbook of Chicano history; for its independence by the Chicano Press Association; and for its articulate boldness in presenting the best contemporary Chicano writing by Professor Robert Blauner, U.C., Berkeley sociologist in TRANS-Action.

EL GRITO is owned by Chicanos. EL GRITO is neither subsidized nor funded. EL GRITO is self-determined. Subscribe now.

QUARTERLY \$5.00 year – \$6.00 foreign

**iiFIFTH EDITION – REVISED AND EXPANDED!!
EL ESPEJO – THE MIRROR
SELECTED CHICANO LITERATURE**

**DRAMA * SATIRE * SHORT STORIES * POETRY * EXCERPTS FROM NOVEL
HISTORY MAKING ANTHOLOGY OF AUTOCHTHONOUS CHICANO LITERATURE WHICH
INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING AUTHORS:**

Tomás Rivera
Rudolfo A. Anaya
R. R. Hinojosa—S
Octavio I. Romano—V
Nick C. Vaca
Estela Portillo
Steve Gonzales
Raquel Moreno
Rudy Espinosa

Juan García
Sergio Elizondo
José Montoya
R. J. González
Alurista
Ernie Padilla
Jorge Alvarez
Tino Villanueva
Georgia Cobos

Paperback – \$3.75

Hardback – \$6.75

288 pages

VOICES

Presently being revised, expanded, and updated.

Publication date: May 15, 1973

Over 400 pages!

18 Chicano authors!

Inquiries invited.

Plan now for your Summer and Fall orders.

PREMIO QUINTO SOL

Fourth
Annual
Literary
Award



Fourth
Annual
Literary
Award

1973

1973

\$1,000

(in addition to royalties)

QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS announces a one-thousand dollar award for best literary work of 1973 – novel, collection of short stories, book-length essay or experimental writing – written by a person of Mexican descent who is a resident of the United States.

Deadline for submitting manuscripts
January 31, 1974

Announcement of Award
March 31, 1974

The literary selection receiving the award will be published by Quinto Sol Publications, Inc., in Summer, 1974

For complete information write to

PREMIO QUINTO SOL, QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS, INC. P.O. BOX 9275, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94709

QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS anuncia un premio de mil dólares por la mejor obra literaria – novela, colección de cuentos, ensayo, obra experimental – escrita por persona de ascendencia mexicana residente de Estados Unidos de Norte-América.

Ultimo día para entregar su obra
31 de enero de 1974

Anuncio del premio
31 de marzo de 1974

La obra premiada se publicará por Quinto Sol Publications, Inc., durante el verano de 1974

Para información completa dirijase a

PREMIO QUINTO SOL, QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS, INC. P.O. BOX 9275, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94709

ORALE

QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS está regando lana (mil bolas) por el mejor jale literario – novela, ensayo, cuentos, o vatosismos – escrito por vato que cantonea en el U.S.A.

Línea muerta para mandar su jale
31 de enero de 1974

Canto del premio
31 de marzo de 1974

El jale literario que se gane la lana se va a publicar por Quinto Sol durante el verano de 1974

No se raje. Para información completa escriba a

PREMIO QUINTO SOL, QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS, INC. P.O. BOX 9275, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94709

Winner 1970: Tomás Rivera of San Antonio, Texas for his collection of fourteen original short stories, "... y no se lo trago tierra." This award winning work is now available in a special bi-lingual edition (Spanish-English) from Quinto Sol Publications.

Winner for 1971: Rudolfo Anaya of Albuquerque, New Mexico for his novel "BLESS ME, ULTIMA." Now available.

Note: This award in addition to the CHICANO PERSPECTIVE AWARD.