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Phonetic Texts of Spanish Spoken in the United States (1912-2006)

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Félix Fernández de Castro
Universidad de Oviedo

Abstract: Dialectology, linguistic geography and sociolinguistics have frequently utilized the phonetic transcription of texts to illustrate the ways of speaking analyzed in dialect monographs, linguistic atlases and variation studies. This article retrieves ten of these works on Spanish in the United States that were published between 1912 and 2006. The work in which the phonetic texts appear (with a sample of each), its methodological framework and the system of transcription are described. Although today they are forgotten, dispersed or difficult to find in the linguistic bibliography, the compilation, homogeneous presentation and adequate historiographical contextualization of the materials that make up this work is of interest for higher education, research and the philological description of Spanish spoken in the USA.

Keywords: Spanish in the United States, dialectology, linguistic geography, sociolinguistics, history of linguistics, phonetic transcription.

*Editors' note: This text is an English translation, offered by the Observatorio, of the Spanish original submitted by the author. See study 079-06/2022SP.

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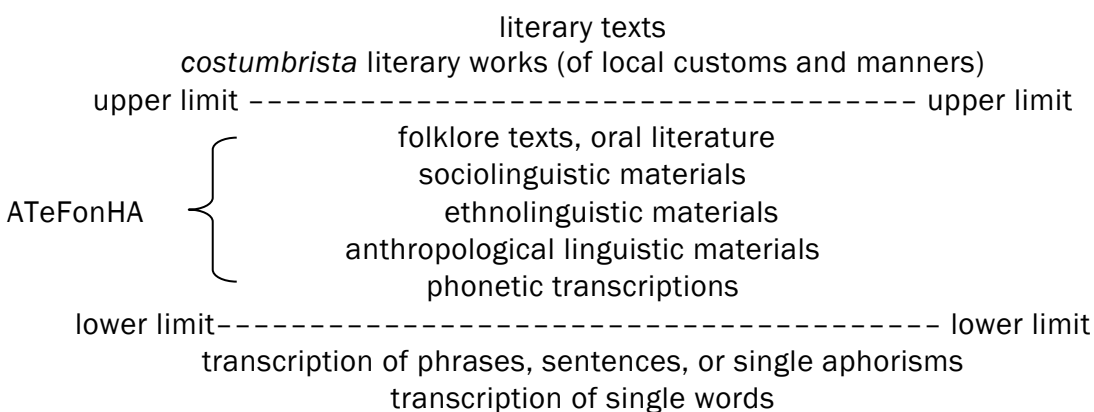
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1. Introduction¹

This article is an additional installment of the recopilation and editing work carried out in the project *Antología de textos fonéticos hispano-americanos – ATeFonHA* [Anthology of Hispanic-American Phonetic Texts]. In previous publications we have presented the general objectives and methodology of this work, a selection of materials from ten countries, and individual studies of Antillean and Central American texts (Fernández de Castro, 2007, 2010, 2011, 2021 and 2022). The entire project is based on the conviction that, although difficult to access today, these resources continue to attract high scientific and academic interest.

In spite of its name, the project today provides access to relatively diverse materials that oscillate between two limits, although still excluding those which are above or below:



¹ To access some of the works on which this study is based, I took advantage of the generous hospitality extended by the University of Massachusetts in Amherst (USA), where I was sent by the University of Oviedo in November 2005, within the framework of the bilateral agreement that has united our institutions for several decades. I wish to express my gratitude for this welcome to, among others, Juan Zamora (†), Eduardo Negueruela, Yvonne Gavela, Yamile Silva and María Twardy. I also wish to extend my thanks to the reviewers of *Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies*, whose corrections and suggestions have improved these pages in all aspects, from formal ones to contributions that have substantially enriched their content.

The analysis of literary and *costumbrista* texts exceeds the limits of this study, as the stylistic use of dialectal features makes their strictly linguistic evaluation difficult. It was also necessary to exclude repertoires of words and phrases that have already been inventoried in numerous studies, as they are of lesser interest than texts which are compiled in this project.

Between the two limits, therefore, is any text transcribed by a linguist with the intention of reflecting the *plane of expression* (or signifier). In addition to the phonetic transcriptions typical of traditional dialectology, this criterion allows for the inclusion of materials collected by researchers or teams in which linguistics intersects with sociology, ethnography or anthropology, as is very often the case in today's Hispanic America. The sole condition is that the authors adhere to established and explicit guidelines for the transcription of phonetic reality, even if they do not use a phonetic alphabet in the strict sense of the word, as is often the case due to practical or technical difficulties or editorial and printing limitations.

1.1. Past, Present and Future of Phonetic Texts

Phonetic transcription became a widespread scientific practice towards the end of the 19th century through the middle of the 20th. Reflection of the orality of language, either with extreme precision (narrow transcription) or with sufficient detail for its more intuitive or phonological description (broad transcription), was an indispensable skill common for all linguists: phoneticians, language teachers, dialectologists, historians of language and surveyors of the atlases that linguistic geographers were then beginning to compile.

This situation changed for various reasons. Simplification of techniques for recording sound and the subsequent development of acoustic analysis, which replaced the paradigm of phonetic articulation prevalent throughout the 19th century, deemphasized the scientific value of transcription. The transcriptions reflected sequences of segments, not the *continuum* of speech, and although very detailed, never achieved the fidelity of tape recordings. The classic phonetician began to seem like a sketch artist who captured a more or less simplified version of reality compared to the indisputable veracity of a photograph– which at least in theory captures the world just as it is.

After the tape recorder came mathematics. The heyday of variational sociolinguistics, beginning in the 1970s, definitively relegated phonetic transcription to the realm of research. Once indispensable for any dialect monograph, it lost relevance because–as defined–it reflected individual speech; what mattered for the new criteria of representativeness were characteristics obtained from groups of individuals balanced in terms of age, sex, sociocultural levels and so on.

These two factors almost consigned the practice of transcription and its achievements to oblivion in many academic circles. An extreme case of this is the inventory of samples incorporated by the Georgetown manual on American Spanish (Cotton and Sharp, 1988), where the only phonetic text is a facsimile of a Chilean transcription by Lenz, originally made in 1893.

However, as that manual and many others prove, we continue to need transcription. We can know precisely how often and under what conditions the implosive /s/ occurs in each of the Greater Antilles, but nothing evokes the speech of a Puerto Rican or a Cuban like the detailed phonetic texts of Navarro Tomás (1948) or Isbăşescu (1968). Today, a few seconds are enough to access audio and video samples from anywhere, but when a text is analyzed in depth by a teacher in the classroom, with the aim of examining all levels of language, from the phonetic to the

lexical levels, a sample previously processed and carefully assessed on the ground by another linguist will still be needed. We still require transcription, for the same reason that anatomy books still use engravings rather than photographs. The draftsman, like the phonetician, knows what to emphasize and what is important, as well as what is not, amid the shapeless masses of raw data.

The phoneticians who maintained the practice of phonetic transcription for decades drew portraits of speech that will never lose their value because they captured, as far as possible, a truth of things that their mere mechanical reflection obscures rather than illuminates. Fortunately, these were more numerous and lasted longer than might be believed, although it is sometimes difficult to find their traces in the current bibliography. The objective of this work is to collect and present these descriptive materials, some of them lost or half-forgotten, in an orderly manner, so that they may benefit the teacher and the researcher alike; they also serve as textual illustrations of the current knowledge of Spanish spoken in the United States.

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1.2. *The Tradition of Hispanism in the United States*

It is appropriate to add some background about the very old tradition of North American Hispanism, which adds the aspiration to include its rediscovery and vindication to the goals of this study. By the last third of the 19th century, a dense and solid academic fabric had been firmly established in this country; it included the beginnings of a whole stream of Spanish language research, especially in the southwestern part of the Union. These studies, due to their rigor and scientific excellence, soon caught the attention of the most important European Romance Languages scholars, who envisioned a *Romania Nova*, as it was called by many. Thus began a long tradition, with very strong ties to the *Escuela de Madrid*, where authors such as Marden, Espinosa, Post, Robe, MacCurdy, Canfield, Armistead and other

more recent ones such as Lipski appeared; they frequently extended their studies of the USA to include the entire continent or the entire Spanish-speaking world. In addition, North American universities have the generous tradition of attracting and welcoming talented academics whom they incorporated for various reasons. Among many others are Alonso, Navarro Tomás and Alvar—including contemporary scientific protagonists such as López Morales, responsible for the monumental work *Enciclopedia del español en los Estados Unidos* (2008).

It is no exaggeration to claim that this nation has been a leader in Hispanic studies during almost a century and a half. However, it is paradoxical that today these achievements tend to be overlooked by their own practitioners' current focus on cultural studies. The reasons for this neglect are complex, and will hopefully be temporary: on the one hand, current demands for the consolidation of curricular achievements, which almost force us to focus attention on the most recent bibliography, to the detriment of the most consolidated tradition; on the other, a certain ideological disposition that, in certain places, considers this scientific heritage too subject to Eurocentric criteria, and therefore prefers to leave it aside and at times begin almost from scratch.²

It seems, therefore, more than necessary to make an effort to record, inventory and permit the homogeneous management of this legacy, hoping that in times to come it will regain the appreciation and scientific attention it deserves.

² An example of this is the very recent monograph by Lamar (2018) on the language in California, in whose *status quaestionis* the historical lack of scientific attention received by this territory and its adjacent areas is denounced, but with no reference to Espinosa (1930), Post (1934), Lope Blanch (1990), Alvar (2000), or even López Morales (2008).

1.3. Map and Summary Table of Contents

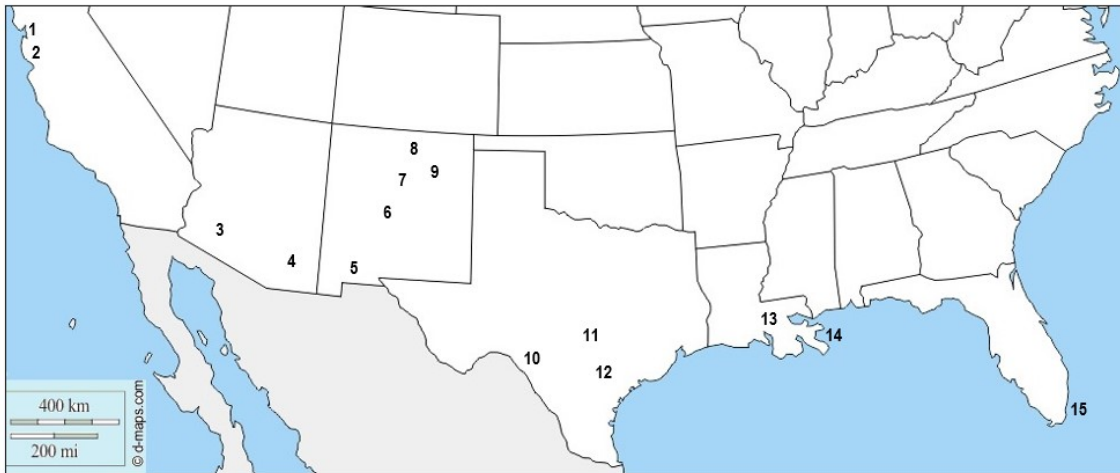
In the following pages I will present 10 works by 9 authors, a total of 191 phonetic texts transcribed from 61 informants from at least 15 different locations, and that add up to some 121,000 words (the quantity that I have compiled to date). They are clearly not a corpus, nor do they resemble the detailed planning of a linguistic atlas, but they come from an aggregation of initiatives, each different from the other. In any case, their abundance, diversity and representativeness make them worthy of being compiled despite their heterogeneity. In fact, the geographical distribution of all these isolated efforts does not produce a haphazard result, but rather, as will be explained below, overlaps with that great southern and southeastern arc of the United States, where the presence of Spanish is even greater today than in the past.

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The following map and table show these texts synoptically. The map contains only numerical references to places or geographical areas as specified in the table which follows it. Each row of this table shows the number of each place, the reference to each work and the particular block of texts (author, year and pages), the number of informants, texts, words (exact counts in short texts, estimated in the longest), and the type and level of detail of each transcription.

More will be said about the ways in which these texts appear in the introduction to each study. It should be noted in advance that the phonetic transcriptions themselves conform to either the alphabet of the *Revista de Filología Española* (ARFE), or the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), with varying levels of detail (broad, 'semi-narrow,' narrow). But there is more: as already explained in previous presentations of this project, many linguists have contributed materials that,

despite not being transcriptions proper, are worth including in this anthology.³ Thus, in the works of Lope Blanch (1990) and Armistead (1992) a phonetic alphabet is not used, and the basic principle of grapheme ↔ sound biunivocal relation (or at least grapheme ↔ phoneme) is not followed, but, as will be seen, the authors manage to reflect abundant phonetic phenomena of interest with their own orthographic transcriptions, and for this reason their texts will be presented here with the label *Ortografía fonetizada* (OF) (Phonetic spelling).



Map 1. Text locations. Source: author.

³ These criteria are explained in detail in Fernández de Castro (2007, pp. 292-293).

Nº	Place	Reference	Informants	Texts	Words	Formats
—	Unspecified (New Mexico)	Espinosa, 1930, pp. 283-313	1	28	4.300 *	ARFE narrow
1	San Francisco (California)	Kelm, 1998	3	3	523	IPA broad
2	San José (California)	Lope Blanch, 1990, pp. 271-331	5	5	25.000 *	OF broad
3	Yuma (Arizona)	Post, 1934, pp. 45-47, 48-50	3	4	800 *	ARFE narrow
4	Tucson (Arizona)	Post, 1934, pp. 47-48	1	1	194	ARFE narrow
4	Tucson (Arizona)	Lope Blanch, 1990, pp. 213-269	5	5	23.000 *	OF broad
5	San Miguel (New Mexico)	Alvar, 2000, pp. 420-421	1	1	450 *	ARFE narrow
6	Albuquerque (New Mexico)	Espinosa, 1930, pp. 281-282	1	1	40 *	ARFE narrow
6	Albuquerque (New Mexico)	Alvar, 2000, pp. 412-415	1	1	763	ARFE narrow
7	Santa Fe (New Mexico)	Espinosa, 1930, pp. 281-282	1	1	40 *	ARFE narrow
8	Valle de San Luis (New Mexico)	Espinosa, 1930, pp. 281-282	1	1	40 *	ARFE narrow
9	Mora (New Mexico)	Lope Blanch, 1990, pp. 167-202	4	4	18.300 *	OF broad
10	Del Río (Texas)	Kelm, 1998	1	1	129	IPA broad
11	San Marcos (Texas)	Lope Blanch, 1990, pp. 101-165	5	5	26.800 *	OF broad
12	Goliad (Texas)	Alvar, 2000, pp. 404-409	1	3	1.300 *	ARFE narrow
13	Donaldsonville (Louisiana)	Armistead, 1992, pp. 90, 134	2	2	34	OF narrow
14	Saint Bernard (Louisiana)	MacCurdy, 1948, pp. 17-90	5	19	6.800 *	ARFE narrow manuscript
14	Saint Bernard (Louisiana)	Armistead, 1992, pp. 14-168	12	91	8.600 *	OF narrow
14	Saint Bernard (Louisiana)	Alvar, 1998, pp. 139-159	2	7	1.400 *	ARFE narrow
14	Saint Bernard (Louisiana)	Coles, 1999, pp. 52-74	5	7	1.500 *	IPA broad
15	Miami (Florida)	Piñeros, 2006	1	1	125	IPA narrow
Totals: 15 specific localities and 9 authors			61	191	120.100 *	

* Estimated

Table 1. Distribution and characteristics of texts. Source: author.

1.4. Structure of sections

The sections dedicated to each work in this study have a repetitive structure, made up of four elements: introduction, facsimile, orthographic transcription and adapted phonetic transcription. Each element plays a specific role. The average length of the texts chosen as samples is about 250 words.

The *introduction* locates the methodological coordinates from which each work originated, and the school or theoretical influences with which its author identifies. Its transcription system will be described, and the informant profile for the chosen sample will be given when available.

The *facsimile* was obtained, whenever possible, from the oldest and best-preserved original edition available, with professional quality digitization. Some samples came from copies, but the goal was to achieve the highest possible degree of fidelity to the original.

The *orthographic transcription* presents the text in standard Spanish orthography. Although common for the authors themselves to offer this version of the texts they transcribed, there were exceptions. When they did not, a reconstruction based on the phonetic version was created here. If there were inconsistencies between what was transcribed phonetically and its orthographic equivalent, the orthographic transcription was recomposed to make it coherent and to avoid misinterpretation (a record is made when this happens). In Alvar (1998, l. 3), for example, there was a discrepancy between the orthographic version ('Entonces, en...') and the phonetic version ([eṽtónsə ɲəṽ]). In such cases, the phonetic register is more reliable, for what is preferred here is to spell 'Entonces en..., ' without pause.

The final section, entitled *Adapted phonetic transcription*, is the most thorough in this anthology. The creation of a modified version of another's phonetic transcription is a difficult task to undertake. The adapter has not listened to the original production (although in some present-day cases this is beginning to be possible, thanks to the use of multimedia technology). What is the value, then, of an adapted transcription? Simply, the advantages clearly outweigh the disadvantages. In these versions, a formally homogenized presentation of all the originals was sought out. Those who examine the facsimiles will find notations that use a more or less orthodox IPA or ARFE; some authors were able to reflect them typographically, while others had to make due with handwritten versions. You will find them in broad, semi-narrow or narrow levels, with application criteria that vary from one to another.

In order to make use of contributions as disparate as those in a unified corpus, each has been converted, in the last part of each section, into semi-narrow transcriptions in IPA (except for the orthographic-phonetic ones of Lope Blanch and Armistead).⁴ This means that the timbre variants of the vowels are not included unless they include a diphthong; and that, of the consonant variations induced by the phonic context, only the most general ones are reflected, in addition to the specific and characteristic features of US Hispanic speech. The result is a homogeneous format suitable for an analysis that encompasses the phonetic level. In general, these adapted versions result from simplifying transcriptions that were initially more complex. Each has a similar layout, independent of the original, and has been rendered in the same typeface—Microsoft's Unicode Calibri font. For these reasons, and with full awareness of the distortion coefficient that they imply, these adapted versions are presented here with their facsimiles for verification purposes.

⁴ For the application criteria, the guidelines recently issued by the C.S.I.C. have been followed; they are present for example in García Mouton (2016) and in García Mouton and Molina Martos (2017).

It is therefore a matter of articulating access to the text at various levels: the preliminary map and table are a guide to all the available materials, organized by location; from the orthographic text we enter directly to the lexicon and grammar; from the adapted phonetic we access the *plane of expression* in a normalized format; and finally, the researcher can build their own textual corpus of the Spanish spoken in the United States with the facsimiles and the information provided in the introductions to each section.

2. The Authors and Their Texts

2.1. Espinosa (1930) [1912]

The American Hispanist Aurelio Macedonio Espinosa (Senior) came from an old Colorado family. After beginning his studies in that state's university, he continued in New Mexico and later received his doctorate in Chicago in 1909, with his thesis *Studies in New-Mexican Spanish*. He then taught at Stanford, where he remained until his retirement. On a trip to Spain he met Menéndez Pidal and began a never-ending collaboration on the search for elements of Hispanic ballads and literature that survived in the old *Nueva España* (New Spain) (Espinosa, 1994).

This link to the *Escuela de Madrid* may explain why, in 1930, Amado Alonso inaugurated the *Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispanoamericana* (Hispano-American Dialectology Library (BDH)) with a volume dedicated to Espinosa's works on phonetics (the volume on morphology came out in 1946). In his prologue, Alonso outlined the entire series and explained his plan to gather scattered and inaccessible materials on American Spanish that would allow Romance Languages scholars to understand its dimensions and scientific value, and to update and structure this information as best as possible. He intended to do so in collaboration with each author—just as he had done via active correspondence with Professor Espinosa.

Alonso chose to model all of the monographs in his series on the work of Espinosa, which was an example of rigor and descriptive depth; it had already attracted the attention of European Romanists such as Hanssen, Menéndez Pidal and Krüger to American Spanish.

The *Instituto de Filología de Buenos Aires* (Institute of Philology of Buenos Aires) published in 1930-46 an aggregation of partial works by Espinosa, translated and revised under his supervision to form a homogeneous whole: the three parts of his thesis, originally published in English between 1909 and 1914, and some content from other sources published through 1925. Alonso added two sections of texts: some of them had appeared earlier in his thesis, and they sometimes show the differences in pronunciation of the same lines in different locations. Others, more extensive and discursive, had appeared in a separate article in 1912. All are in narrow transcription. Espinosa originally used the common Romanist alphabet, but Alonso and his editors adapted it completely to conform with that of the *Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispanoamericana* (BDH), an expanded version of the 1915 ARFE. The revisions were expressly authorized by Espinosa here as well, and among them was the general marking of phonetic accents, which had been missing in the 1912 texts. The informants were not identified, however. The fragment selected here is presented in a double facsimile of the 1930 version and the original of 1912. Of the more recent version, adaptations were made by Wagner (1949, pp. 84-86) and Alvar (1960, pp. 617-620).

erā: dōh kōmpādres ūmpōbre yū:ɟiko yel pōbre sjēmpre le sakába di-
nērwal ɟiko. el pōbre tení ē: su kása dōh konexitos. ū: día saljwá pa-
sjarse kon únwe suh konexitos yīnkōntiwá su kōmpádri lw iḿbitwá ko-
mēr ē: su kása. lógo kē su kōmpádre díxo kē sí soltwá su konexitwi le
díxo: á:nda kóje dílja mi muxér kē mi kōmpádre bá komér ko nosótjos.
el konexito saljó kojē:do i pjesto yegwá la kása. todo lwabi ecwel pōbre
pa xugálj ūmplán a su kōmpádre. kwāndo yegáron a la kása bídol ɟi-
kwal konéxwi le díxwa su kōmpádre: pero mirēḅ kē konexito tan ē:tē:-
dido kǵase mā:dáus. kōmpádre kwá:to kǵere por el. el pōbre kē bído kē
yá su plán iba saljē:do bién le díxo: puh le díre la berdá kē nó tēngo
más ayuda kése konexito pero yá por sér usté mi kōmpádre se lo bē:deré
i se lo bē:djó bjēḿ bē:dido. el ɟiko se xwé kō su konexito despwe ze la komi-
daj le díxwa su muxér: mirá kē konexito le kōmpriá mi kōmpádre asta
māndáus ase. su muxér le díxo kē lo māndár añkase su kōmpádrja ū:
mā:ndaḅ ilo māndáron perol konexito nó bolbjó. el ɟiko stába furjoso i
se xwé prō:to pāḅ kase su kōmpádre kō: lí:tī:sjōn de maḅalo.

erā: dōh kōmpādres ūmpovre iū:riko iel povre sjēmpre le sakava
ḅineru al riko. el povre tení ē:su kasa dōh konexitos. ū:día saljwá
pasjarse kon unwe suh konexitos iīnkōntrwá su kōmpádri lw iḿbitwá
komēr ē:su kasa. lógo kē su kōmpádre díxo kē sí soltuá su konexitui
le díxo: á:nda kore dílja mi muxer kē mi kōmpádre va komer ko
nosotros. el konexito saljó' kōriē:do i presto ieguá la kasa. todo
lwavi ecwel povre pa xugali ūmpplan a su kōmpádre. kuāndo iegarōn
a la kasa vídol ríkwal konéxui le díxwa su kōmpádre: pero mirēḅ kē
konexito tan ē:tē:dido kǵase mā:dáus. kōmpádre kuā:to kǵere por
el. el povre kē vído kē ia su plan ivá saljē:do vién le díxo: puh
le díre la verdá kē nó tēngo mas ayuda kése konexito pero ia por
ser usté mi kōmpádre se lo vē:deré i se lo vē:djó' viēm bē:dido. el
riko se xwé kō: su konexito despwe ze la komidaj le díxwa su muxer:
mirá kē konexito le kō:mpriá mi kōmpádre asta māndaus ase. su
muxer le díxo kē lo māndar añkase su kōmpádrja ū: mā:ndaḅ i lo
māndáron perol konexito nó volvió'. el riko stava furjoso i se xwé
prō:to pāḅ kase su kōmpádre kō: lí:tī:sjōn de maḅalo.

Orthographic Transcription**

Los dos compadres

1 Eran dos compadres, un pobre y un rico, y el pobre siempre le
2 sacaba dinero al rico. El pobre tenía en su casa dos conejitos.
3 Un día salió a pasearse con uno de sus conejitos y encontró a su
4 compadre y lo invitó a comer en su casa. Luego que su compadre
5 dijo que sí soltó a su conejito y le dijo: “Anda, corre, dile a mi
6 mujer que mi compadre va a comer con nosotros”. El conejito salió
7 corriendo y presto llegó a la casa. Todo lo había hecho el pobre para
8 jugarle un plan a su compadre. Cuando llegaron a la casa vio el
9 rico al conejo y le dijo a su compadre: “Pero, miren qué conejito
10 tan entendido, que hace mandados. Compadre, ¿cuánto quiere por él?”.
11 El pobre que vio que ya su plan iba saliendo bien, le dijo: “Pues le
12 diré la verdad, que no tengo más ayuda que ese conejito, pero ya por
13 ser usted mi compadre se lo venderé”, y se lo vendió bien vendido.
14 El rico se fue con su conejito después de la comida y le dijo a su
15 mujer: “Mira qué conejito le compré a mi compadre, hasta mandados
16 hace”. Su mujer le dijo que lo mandara en casa de su compadre a un
17 mandado y lo mandaron pero el conejito no volvió. El rico estaba
18 furioso y se fue pronto para en casa de su compadre con la intención de
19 matarlo.

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[Normalized version of the author’s original, which has a ‘semi-phonetic’ character.]

** Editors’ note: See Appendix added at the end of this English version of the study for translations of these orthographic transcriptions. For Armistead’s and Coles’s texts, we have included the English versions these authors originally provided (Armistead 1992, Coles 1999).

Adapted phonetic transcription

1 ['erā: 'doh ko^m'paðres 'u^m 'poβre 'jũ: 'uiko jel 'poβre 'sje^mpre le
2 sa'kaβa ði'nerwal 'uiko || el 'poβre te'ni ě: su 'kasa 'ðoh kone'xitos ||
3 'ũ: 'dia sa'ljwa pasjarse ko'nunwe suh kone'xitos jin^hkon'tɔwa su
4 ko^m'paðri lwi^mbi'twa ko'mer ě: su 'kasa || 'loɣo ce su ko^m'paðre
5 'ðixo ce 'si sol'twa su kone'xitwi le 'ðixo || 'a:nda 'koɣe 'ðilja mi
6 mu'xer ce mi ko^m'paðre 'βa ko'mer ko no'sotɔos || el kone'xito sa'ljo
7 ko'ujě:do i 'pɣesto je'ɣwa la 'kasa || 'toðo lwa'βi 'et^hjwel 'poβre pa
8 xu'ɣa 'lju^m 'plan a su ko^m'paðre || kwando je'ɣaron a la 'kasa 'βiðol
9 'uikwal ko'nexwi le 'ðixwa su ko^m'paðre || pero 'mireɲ 'ce kone'xito
10 tan ě:tě:'diðo 'cjase mā:'daɣs || ko^m'paðre 'kwā:to 'cjere po'rel |
11 el 'poβre ce 'βiðo ce 'ja su 'pla'niβa sa'ljě:do 'βjen le 'ðixo || puh le
12 ði're la βer'ða ce 'no 'teɲgo 'mas ajuða 'cese kone'xito pero 'ja por
13 'ser us'te mi ko^m'paðre se lo βě:de're i se lo βě:'djo 'βje^m bě:'diðo ||
14 el 'uiko se 'xwe kō su kone'xito ðes'pweze la ko'miðaj le 'ðixwa su
15 mu'xer || 'mira 'ce kone'xito le ko^m'prja mi ko^m'paðre asta man'daɣs
16 'ase || su mu'xer le 'ðixo ce lo man'daraɲ'kase su ko^m'paðrja 'ũ:
17 ma:n'daɣ ilo man'daron perol kone'xito 'no βol'βjo || el 'uiko s'taβa
18 fu'rjoso i se 'xwe 'prō:to paɲ 'kase su ko^m'paðre kō: lĩ:tĩ:'sjon de
19 ma'talo ||]

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2.2. Post (1934)

The North American Hispanist Anita C. Post included details in her 1934 monograph that illustrate the temporal and academic framework in which she was trained. We know that she lived in Yuma and Tucson between 1899 and 1906, and that in 1917 she graduated with a thesis on Arizona Spanish from the University of Arizona. We also know that she spent “Ten months of intensive study in Spain in 1921-22” (1934, p. 12), and what is more important, that during that stay her teachers were Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Tomás Navarro Tomás, Américo Castro and others. Finally, again in the United States, she received the tutelage of Aurelio M. Espinosa and obtained her doctorate with an expanded version of her previous study, which is reported on in this section.⁵

18

A summary review of Post’s book is sufficient to understand why she invokes her Spanish teachers from the start. Her monograph follows the patterns of historical grammar and dialectology that were cultivated at the time at the *Escuela de Madrid*. In the facsimile of its phonetic transcription, reproduced here with a neatness that over time no printing press, Spanish or American, was able to fully reproduce (Fernández de Castro, 2009), the reader quickly perceives the unmistakable imprint of the system established in Navarro Tomás’s *Manual de pronunciación española* (1932).⁶

⁵ I thank Professor Miguel Cuevas Alonso for the time and effort he dedicated to finding this and other materials that were inaccessible to me, during his research stay at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst (USA), in the fall of 2003.

⁶ The first edition of this work is from 1918, and continually expanded until the fourth in 1932. Later, Navarro Tomás reissued it in New York, and in 1967 he added to the facsimile of the previous one a supplement on the phonetics of American Spanish. For much of the 20th century, Navarro Tomás’s extremely detailed articulatory descriptions were studied in advanced Spanish phonetics courses around the world, so they become a kind of *communis doctrina* among Hispanists, especially Spanish and Americans. The extensive appendix of texts in narrow phonetic transcription with which the author completed his work contributed to this.

The work is completed in accordance with Navarro Tomás's model: five phonetic texts in narrow transcription, accompanied by a version that is non-normative, but semi-phonetic. Post indicates that she obtained the text reproduced here in its entirety (number 3) in Tucson and notes the following: "This version of the legend was related to me by one of our Spanish-American students at the University of Arizona" (1934, p. 47).

Facsimile (Post, 1934, pp. 47-48)

erixɛ ɖjún řéi mişterjó-
soi yebábe sólweł nõmbrə ɖə
lə ɕine pobláne. 'neł
řeináɖo ɖə su páɖrə ubúna
řəbɔlusjõn yéyagařũm-
bárko kə ştabayí. ɛł maɪ
'ştaba mwĩŋkjéto múi
řabjósɔ. la řəbárõnunos
pirátas. le kitárõn toɖas las
xóyas kə trájibe; la yebárõn
áun meřkáɖo pa beñdélə.
los kə ðenían ái no le
keriam pørkére mwier-
mósai ɖəlíkáɖe. lúniko
kə pođian aséɪ kõnéya
éraɖorárle kómo ɖjóse.

al fĩn, ũn tal ɖõn mişéł
le kõmpró pa řegalarle-
swespósa. le muxéɪ kiswa-
ɖotárle kwãndo le puđjérõn
libertáɪ. le bişjérõm bjén i
leredárõn kwãndo murjérõn.
kwãndwél seŋóɪ ɖõn mişéł
le presentwáswespóse le
kõnsəɖjo éya le libertá kõn tal

kə sisjéra kristjana i xwé
baütisáɖa katerina ɖə sãñ
xosé.

kõmwańia siɖo krjádẽm-
pwébla sjafisjonó mũñçó ɖə
la xẽntə ɖə pwéblə yal fĩn sə
kíswaséɪ kõmúna natał
désə pwéblwi se ðestía kómo
la xẽntjumíłdə. mũñkõł-
bídabə laz leyéñdas ɕinas
i las figúras fantástikaz ɖel
orjeñtə i laz ðorđáɖa.
despwéz ɖə su mwértə la xẽñ-
tjadotárõn su tráxe.

19

Orthographic transcription

La Leyenda de la China Poblana (Tucson, Arizona)

1 Era hija de un rey misterioso y llevaba sólo el nombre de la China Poblana.
2 En el reinado de su padre hubo una revolución y ella agarró un barco que
3 estaba allí. El mar estaba muy inquieto, muy rabioso. La robaron unos piratas.
4 Le quitaron todas las joyas que traía; la llevaron a un mercado para venderla.
5 Los que venían ahí no la querían porque era muy hermosa y delicada. Lo único
6 que podían hacer con ella era adorarla como diosa.
7 Al fin, un tal Don Miguel la compró para regalarla a su esposa. La mujer
8 quiso adoptarla cuando la pudieron liberrar. La vistieron bien y la heredaron
9 cuando murieron. Cuando el Señor don Miguel la presentó a su esposa le
10 concedió ella la libertad con tal que se hiciera cristiana y fue bautizada Catalina
11 de San José.
12 Como había sido criada en Puebla se aficionó mucho de la gente de Puebla
13 y al fin se quiso hacer como una natal de ese pueblo y se vestía como la
14 gente humilde. Nunca olvidaba las leyendas chinas y las figuras fantásticas del
15 oriente, y las bordaba. Después de su muerte la gente adoptaron su traje.

[Regularized version of the author's original, which has a 'semi-phonetic' character.]

Adapted phonetic transcription

1 [e' rixa 'ðjun 'reɣ̃ miste' rjosoj̃ ɰe' βaβa 'solwel 'nombre ðe la 'tʃina po' βlana ||
2 'nel rej̃' naðo ðe su 'paðre u' βuna reβolu' sjon 'ɰeɰaɣarum 'barko ke
3 staβa' ɰi || el maɣ 's' taβa 'mwiŋ' kjet̃o 'muɰ̃ ra' βjoso || la ro' βaro' nunos pi' ratas ||
4 le ki' taron toðas las 'xoɰas ke 'traɰ̃βa || la ɰe' βaron 'aɰn mer' kaðo pa ben' ðeɰla ||
5 los ke βe' nian 'aɰ no la ke' riam por' kera mwi' er' mosaj̃ ðeli' kaða || 'luniko
6 ke po' ðian a' seɰ ko' neja 'eraðo' rarla 'komo 'ðjosa ||

7 al 'fin | 'un tal don mi'γel la kom'pro pa reya'larla swes'posa || la muxej
 8 'kiswaðo'tarla 'kwando la pu'ðjeron liβer'taj || la bis'tjerom 'bjen i lere'ðaron
 9 'kwando mu'rjeron || 'kwandw'el se'noj don mi'γel la presen'twaswes'posa le
 10 konseðjo 'eja la liβer'ta kon tal ke si'sjera kris'tjana i 'xwe baɯti'saða kata'rina
 11 de saŋ xo'se ||
 12 komwa'βia siðo 'krjaðem'pweβla sjafisjo'no muntjo ðe la xente ðe 'pweβla
 13 ʒal 'fin se 'kiswa'sej ko'muna natal 'dese 'pweβlwi se βes'tia 'komo la
 14 xentju'milde || 'nuŋkolβiðaβa laz le'jendas 'tʃinas i las fi'γuras fan'tastikaz ðel
 15 orjente i laz βor'ðaβa || des'pwez ðe su 'mwerte la xentjaðo'taron su 'traxe ||]

2.3. MacCurdy (1948)

The North American Hispanist Raymond R. MacCurdy completed two research stays in different localities of Saint Bernard Parish, Louisiana, during the summers of 1941 and 1947. He composed his doctoral thesis, supervised by Ralph S. Boggs, and defended it in 1948 at the University of North Carolina.⁷

A distinct feature of his work is that it relies entirely on 19 texts recorded on phonograph records by five different subjects, which he later transcribed in full using the ARFE system in rigorously narrow manuscript mode (in fact, he is the only author among those whose texts are compiled here who marked pitch contours in his phonetic texts). This is preceded by a historical and geographical introduction on the origin of the *isleños* (islanders), descendants of the old Canary Islands natives who were settled there at the end of the 18th century by the Spanish crown. An extensive

⁷ I thank Dr. Teresa Chapa and Mr. Tim Hodgdon, from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, for the generous and diligent kindness with which they sent me a high-quality digitization of the original of the thesis, held in the library of this institution. Access to this document was crucial, because when MacCurdy published his study two years later, in New Mexico, he was forced to cut several elements from the first version, including the entire block of phonetic texts (MacCurdy, 1950, p. 4).

corpus follows, occupying 70 pages and containing some 6,800 words, constituting the first truly descriptive chapter of his thesis. It is not presented as an appendix—on the contrary, it is as if the author wanted to oblige the reader to review it before moving on to the sections dedicated to phonetics, morphosyntax and lexicon.

Of the 19 texts, one is a dialogue, another a story and yet another a collection of riddles. The others are all popular tales, most of them humorous, and MacCurdy enriches his transcriptions with very detailed annotations about the kinship they share with versions found in folkloric traditions of the Hispanic world, as well as in other cultures. Although this is an important component of his research, it is always presented in footnotes, and the predominant model in the study is that of a dialect monograph; in addition, the author closely follows the most current models and tools of American Hispanism at the time. Not only did he adopt the alphabets of the *Revista de Filología Española*, the *Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispanoamericana* and Navarro Tomás (1932), but he organized the contents of his study in rigorous accordance with Navarro Tomás's 1945 *Cuestionario lingüístico hispanoamericano* (Hispano-American Linguistic Questionnaire), which he considered “...a guide specially prepared for the purpose of providing standardization and uniformity in studies of Spanish dialectology” (MacCurdy, 1948, p. vi).

The second text is presented here as a sample; it is a story that describes the customs linked to mourning in *isleño* society. The recorded informant was 20-year-old Adam Perez Jr., a lifelong resident of Delacroix (one of the four nuclei of the parish), who had completed two years of university studies and was described as “very intelligent.” In fact, the author explains in the prologue that this young *isleño*, a companion of his at the University of Louisiana, inspired him to carry out this work.

Cuando uno se muera en la isla no se olvidan
 kwándo úno se mwéna en la ízla | nó s. olvídan
 pronto de él. El costumbre es de aguantar luto por
 pronto dé:l || él kostúmbre:z de aguantar luto por
 mucho tiempo. Yo sé hay veces que han aguantado luto
 múcho tjémpo || jó se ái tésés ke ún agwantáo luto
 hasta diez o doce años. La familia nunca quita luto
 ásta djéh o djose áños || la famiya núnka kíta luto
 a menos de dos años. Amigos aguantan luto también
 á meno de dos áño || amígós gwántan luto tamjén
 por bastante tiempo. Es una costumbre que yo sé
 por bastante tjémpo || és úna kostúmbre ke yó sé
 viene del español mismo. También tiene el costumbre
 tjéne del español méhmo || tamjén tjéne: l kostúmbre
 de coger limosna. Ahí todo todo hacen lo que pueden,
 de koxéi limáña || ún tódo tódo ásen lo ke pwé: n |
 que saben cuando él se muera lo van a hacer lo mismo
 ke sáben kwándo él se mwéna lo bán a: sér lo méhmo
 para él, le van a primentar a ayudar [a] la familia de
 pá él || ló bán a primentár a: yutár la famiya de
 él cuando él se muera. La gente nunca van a trabajar
 : l kwándo él se mwéna || la xénte núnka bán a trabaxár
 cuando hay un velorio en la isla. Todos se quedan y lo
 kwánda ay ún belórjo en la ízla || tó: se kéan i lo
 velan el muerto toda la noche y el día después van al
 bélan él mwérto tóda la nóci | yél día después bán al
 entierro.
 entjéro ||

Orthographic transcription

El luto

1 Cuando uno se muera en la isla no se olvidan pronto de él. El
2 costumbre es de aguantar luto por mucho tiempo. Yo sé hay veces que
3 han aguantado luto hasta diez o doce años. La familia nunca quita luto a
4 menos de dos años. Amigos aguantan luto también por bastante
5 tiempo. Es una costumbre que yo sé viene del español mismo.
6 También tiene el costumbre de coger limosna. Ahí todos todos hacen
7 lo que pueden, que saben cuando él se muera lo van a hacer lo mismo
8 para él, le van a primentar a ayudar la familia de él cuando él se
9 muera. La gente nunca van a trabajar cuando hay un velorio en
10 la isla. Todos se quedan y lo velan al muerto toda la noche y el día
11 después van al entierro.

24 [Original author transcription, with minor adjustments to correspond with the phonetic version.]

Adapted phonetic transcription

1 ['kwando 'uno se 'mwera en la 'izla | 'no sol'βiðan 'pronto 'ðe:l | | 'el
2 kos'tum'bre:z ðe aywan'tar 'luto 'por 'mutʃo 'tjempo | | 'jo se 'aj̥ 'βeses ke
3 'an aywan'tao 'luto 'asta 'ðjeh o 'ðose 'aj̥oʰ | | la fa'mija 'nuŋka 'kita 'luto 'a
4 'meno ðe 'ðo'saj̥oʰ | | a'miɣoʰ 'ɣwantan 'luto ta'mjen 'por βas'tante
5 'tjempo | | 'es 'una kos'tumbre ke 'jo 'se 'βjene 'ðel espa'ɲol 'mehmo | |
6 ta'mjen 'tjene:l kos'tumbre ðe ko'xej̥ li'mohna | | 'aj̥ 'toʰo 'toʰo 'asen
7 lo ke 'pwe:n | ke 'saβen 'kwando 'el se 'mwera lo 'βan a:'ser lo 'meʰmo
8 'pa 'el | 'le 'βan a primen'tar a:ju'βar la fa'mija 'ðe:l 'kwando 'el se
9 'mwera | | la 'xente 'nuŋka 'βan a traβa'xar 'kwando 'a'jum be'lorjo 'en
10 la 'izla | | 'to: se 'kean | i lo 'βelan 'el 'mwerto 'toʰa la 'notʃi | 'jel 'ðia
11 ðes'pwes | 'βan al en'tjero | |]

2.4. Lope Blanch (1990)

The Spanish-born linguist Juan Miguel Lope Blanch produced a copious body of scientific work in Mexico, and in 1964 proposed the research plan known today as *Norma Culta* which basically consists of collecting and transcribing oral samples from America and Spain with a unified format and methodology, and with a novel focus on the enlightened bourgeoisie of the big cities. In contrast to traditional dialectology, which due to its neo-grammatical origin is centered on the search for the ‘purity’ of uncultivated speech, Lope Blanch’s pioneering method in the field of sociolinguistics assumed that only the features that run from top to bottom of the diastratic scale make up the main rules of the language (Lope Blanch, 1967). Three decades later, José Antonio Samper collected texts from 12 capital cities on CD-ROM, selected from thousands of already published pages (Samper, 1997). Today it would be difficult to inventory the immense scientific production which resulted from this project.

25

Of all the issues that have appeared thus far in that compilation project, Lope Blanch himself was involved in two: one from Mexico D.F., which appeared in 1971, and another from 1990. In the latter he studied and transcribed materials on the Spanish spoken in the southwestern United States, which he obtained from descendants of ancient settlers in San Marcos (Texas), Mora (New Mexico), Tucson (Arizona) and San José (California)—all cities with important Hispanic heritage.

The general guidelines for these transcriptions were to choose the orthographic format, as most regional researchers did, in order to circumvent the demands of phonetic transcription, and above all to ensure uniform access to morphological and lexical units. However, many of those who worked with the texts, beginning with Lope Blanch himself, could not avoid making concessions to a minimum of phonetic realism, especially when dealing with speakers who, although educated, used in registers that were further from standard Spanish.

A good example of this can be found in this excerpt from an informant from Mora, a 45-year-old, fully bilingual man, with a medium cultural level and a high-ranking care management job. In the facsimile we can see that Lope Blanch himself marked all of the alterations typographically (in italics) with respect to the standard orthography. This was undoubtedly due to his concern that these not be hidden in the final section of the text, and is a strong testimony to the value of what in this anthology is considered ‘phonetic spelling’.

Facsimile (Lope Blanch, 1990, p. 192)

porque me acuerdo que *tos los muchitos* de ahí, *mu mal criaos*, muy... muy atroces. Pero yo (d)iré por qué eran tan atroces. Porque la primer día que fui yo a la escuela, me... me vistió mi *agüela* en un... vestido muy nuevo, con una *leva* negra, *nuevecita*, *mu bonita*, y me llevaron *p'allá*, *pa* lo que le decíamos *nohotros* el *excusao*, ¿ve? Le dice uno el... el *ban...*; sí, *l'excusao*. Bueno, me quitaron la *leva* los muchachos más grandes y me la tiraron *p'abajo*. Y luego, se sentaron arriba y le hicieron horrores arriba de *ea*. Fui y le platiqué a mi tío, que era un poquito mayor, y vino *p'atrás mu enojao*, y *tos* negaron que no habían hecho *eos* esta cosa tan mal. Mi hermanita se enojó, pero no hubo más. Pero nunca se me olvida esa *experencia* ¿no? Bueno: de *ai* nos *juimos pa* Wyoming. En Wyoming... la *experencia* que me acuerdo yo era que era el único mexicano en una escuela con puros americanos, anglosajones. Y la *mestra*... no le entendía yo. Me hablaba, me hablaba: no le entendía. *L'única* palabra que sabía yo era *ice cream*. Me sentó en una esquina... y mi mamá era *jovencita* entonces. Estaba... porque yo... *Ea* no tenía más de como diecisiete años cuando nací yo; de *mo* que... Imagino que era una mujer muy *jovencita*, pero era muy... Bueno, *l'habían educao lah* Hermanas hasta el libro ocho, pero... era *mu* viva en inglés y todo, ¿ve? *Ea* se dio cuenta que la *mestra*... *Tos* los días iba por mí, pero... se dio cuenta que no estaba aprendiendo,

Orthographic transcription

Recuerdos de la escuela (Mora, New México)

1 ...porque me acuerdo que todos los muchachitos de ahí, muy mal criados, muy...
2 muy atroces. Pero yo diré por qué eran tan atroces. Porque la primer día
3 que fui yo a la escuela, me... me vistió mi agüela en un... vestido muy
4 nuevo, con una leva negra, nuevecita, muy bonita, y me llevaron para allá,
5 para lo que le decíamos nosotros el excusado, ¿ve? Le dice uno el... el
6 ba[ño]...; sí, el excusado. Bueno, me quitaron la leva los muchachos más
7 grandes y me la tiraron para abajo. Y luego, se sentaron arriba y le hicieron
8 horrores arriba de ella. Fui y le platicué a mi tío, que era un poquito
9 mayor, y vino para atrás muy enojado, y todos negaron que no habían hecho
10 ellos esta cosa tan mal. Mi hermanita se enojó, pero no hubo más. Pero
11 nunca se me olvida esa experiencia ¿no? Bueno: de ahí nos fuimos para
12 Wyoming. En Wyoming... la experiencia que me acuerdo yo era que era
13 el único mexicano en una escuela con puros americanos, anglosajones.
14 Y la maestra... no le entendía yo. Me hablaba, me hablaba: no le entendía.
15 La única palabra que sabía yo era *ice cream*. Me sentó en una esquina...
16 y mi mamá era jovencita entonces. Estaba... porque yo... Ella no tenía
17 más de como diecisiete años cuando nací yo; de modo que... Imagino que
18 era una mujer muy jovencita, pero era muy... Bueno, la habían educado
19 las Hermanas hasta el libro ocho, pero... era muy viva en inglés y todo,
20 ¿ve? Ella se dio cuenta que la maestra... Todos los días iba por mí, pero... se
21 dio cuenta que no estaba aprendiendo...

27

[Normalized version based on the orthographic-phonetic version of the author.]

Orthographic-phonetic transcription

1 ...porque me acuerdo que tos los muchitos de ahí, mu mal criaos, muy...
2 muy atroces. Pero yo iré por qué eran tan atroces. Porque la primer día
3 que fui yo a la escuela, me... me vistió mi agüela en un... vestido muy
4 nuevo, con una leva negra, nuevecita, mu bonita, y me llevaron p'allá,
5 pa lo que le decíamos nohotros el excusao, ¿ve? Le dice uno el... el
6 ban...; sí, l'excusao. Bueno, me quitaron la leva los muchachos más
7 grandes y me la tiraron p'abajo. Y luego, se sentaron arriba y le hicieron
8 horrores arriba de ea. Fui y le platiqué a mi tío, que era un poquito
9 mayor, y vino p'atrás mu enojao, y tos negaron que no habían hecho
10 eos esta cosa tan mal. Mi hermanita se enojó, pero no hubo más. Pero
11 nunca se me olvida esa experencia ¿no? Bueno: de ai nos juimos pa
12 Wyoming. En Wyoming... la experencia que me acuerdo yo era que era
13 el único mexicano en una escuela con puros americanos, anglosajones.
14 Y la mestra... no le entendía yo. Me hablaba, me hablaba: no le entendía.
15 L'única palabra que sabía yo era *ice cream*. Me sentó en una esquina...
16 y mi mamá era jovencita entonces. Estaba... porque yo... Ea no tenía
17 más de como diecisiete años cuando nació yo; de mo que... Imagino que
18 era una mujer muy jovencita, pero era muy... Bueno, l'habían educao
19 lah Hermanas hasta el libro ocho, pero... era mu viva en inglés y todo,
20 ¿ve? Ea se dio cuenta que la mestra... Tos los días iba por mí, pero... se
21 dio cuenta que no estaba aprendiendo...

28

2.5. Armistead (1992)

The North American folklorist and Hispanist Samuel G. Armistead dedicated a large part of his research career to the Hispanic language and culture in Louisiana. After numerous visits and initial research there, he published in 1992 a dense monograph that recapitulates and organizes his previous achievements, and which we will use here because it is the most advanced and complete.

To Armistead we owe the precise delimitation between two dialects of Canarian-Hispanic origin. The *isleño* (islander) of Saint Bernard Parish was still relatively alive while he studied it; and the other, the *bruli* of Donaldsonville, northwest of New Orleans, was already vestigial.

His objective was not only to verify the survival of the linguistic modalities previously described by MacCurdy (1948), but, above all, to find out what cultural heritage linked to these variants of Spanish was preserved. For decades, Armistead recorded and cataloged oral manifestations that ranged from riddles to popular stories, to *décimas*, *corridos*, couplets, and ballads, most of them directly linked by form and theme to the Pan-Hispanic tradition. From this entire *corpus*, he selected almost 100 texts for his summary volume; these ranged from conservative one-line sayings to extensive stories, where constant code-switching between the *isleño* dialect and English can be heard. Only two small texts represent *bruli* here; the remainder are samples of *isleño*, corresponding to 12 informants from the 9 locations into which Saint Bernard was then divided, and add up to an estimated total of 8,500 words.

Armistead transcribed his texts with a very particular system: he used conventional orthography, but adapted it to reflect the pronunciation in an almost biunivocal way, which led him to incorporate four special symbols: “In the texts

transcribed here, the symbol \hat{s} indicates an aspirated s, which, in final-word position, coexists with the sound's disappearance, reflected in a consequent opening of the preceding vowel (*a, e, etc.*)" (1992, p. 8). In our adapted version we will preserve the notation of open vowels [*a, e, o*], but we will use [*s^h*] for aspiration, to avoid any misunderstandings that the symbol [*ŝ*] could cause.

The sample below is the beginning of a spontaneous account by Martín Alfonso, from Delacroix, recorded in 1976. Then about 60 years old, he had been one of Armistead's most frequent informants during several expeditions.

Facsimile (Armistead, 1992, p. 154)

30

Mi abuelo tenía un..., un *slave*: Big John lo yamaban. Tenía un..., un..., una campita atrá. Día a cortá leña. ¿Sabe? Cuando trujieron un barco yeno de negro..., de Africa..., de ešclavø, p'acá, lo encainaron y lo botaron al río, pero que'ó uno chiquito, abajo, a la prova, que no lo pudieron jayar. Y él se salvó. Pagaban quinientø peso, pero mi abuelo no pagó nada. Le jiso una campita atrá, pa él, pa cosiná y eso, qu'hašta que él fue grande, le mandaba . . . Dišpué él casaba y hablaba el ešpañol y tó. Lo yamaba Big John, dišpué de que era grande. Lo yamaban Big John. El le dijo.... Había otro negro, el otro la'ó del río, qu'era grande como él. *See?* Y mi abuelo.... Y él vino d'éšte la'ó 'el río a pelearse con el d'éšte la'ó. Dise:

—Porque tú erø el mejor aquí. ¿Eh? El dise: —Y de aquí a la Villa, dise, yo soy el mejor.

Y eyos fueron y... y ¿sabe?, un..., un barrilito de... de... de trenta galonø, se lo pidió al merca'er. Porqu'el Big John, que que'ó junto al tío abuelito, de *slave*, ¿eh? dise:

—*Tap it*. Y lo *tap*, le abió. Quitó el corcho y él bebió con él lo trenta galonø. Y el del otro la'ó del río, que vino a pelearse con él, hiso la mešma cosa. Con que ahí, ahí dise:

—Yo vine a pelearme contigo d'éšte la'ó.

Y él dise: —Tú le pu'es preguntá aquí a to'a la gente; yo no me gušta tormento.

Y él dise: —Yo no me voy pa'l otro la'ó del río, entø que yo me pelée contigo. Yo me... ¡Tengo que peleá contigo!

Y él dise: —No. Yo no quie'ó peleá.

Orthographic transcription

Big John

1 Mi abuelo tenía un..., un *slave*: Big John lo llamaban. Tenía un...,
2 un..., una campita atrás. Iba a cortar leña, ¿sabe? Cuando trajeron un
3 barco lleno de negros..., de África..., de esclavos para acá, los
4 encadenaron y los botaron al río, pero quedó uno chiquito, abajo, a la
5 proa, que no lo pudieron hallar. Y él se salvó. Pagaban quinientos
6 pesos, pero mi abuelo no pagó nada. Le hizo una campita atrás, para
7 él, para cocinar y eso, que hasta que él fue grande, le mandaba...
8 Después él cazaba y hablaba el español y todo. Lo llamaban Big
9 John, después de que era grande. Lo llamaban Big John. Él le dijo...
10 Había otro negro, el otro lado del río, que era grande como él. *See?*
11 Y mi abuelo... Y él vino de este lado del río a pelearse con el de este
12 lado. Dice:
13 —Porque tú eres el mejor aquí ¿eh? Él dice: —Y de aquí a la Villa,
14 dice, yo soy el mejor.
15 Y ellos fueron y... y ¿sabe?, un..., un barrilito de... de... de treinta
16 galones, se lo pidió al mercader. Porque el Big John, que quedó junto
17 al tío abuelito, de *slave*, ¿eh? dice:
18 —*Tap it*. Y lo *tap*, le abió. Quitó el corcho y él bebió con él los
19 treinta galones. Y el del otro lado del río, que vino a pelearse con él,
20 hizo la misma cosa. Con que ahí, ahí dice:
21 —Yo vine a pelearme contigo de este lado.
22 Y él dice: —Tú le puedes preguntar aquí a toda la gente; yo no me
23 gusta tormento.
24 Y él dice: —Yo no me voy pa el otro lado del río, hasta que yo me
25 pelee contigo. Yo me... ¡Tengo que pelear contigo!
26 Y él dice: —No. Yo no quiero pelear.

[This transcription did not appear in the original; it has been added here, based on the orthographic-phonetic version and its English translation.]

Orthographic-phonetic transcription

1 Mi abuelo tenía un..., un *slave*: Big John lo yamaban. Tenía un...,
2 un..., una campita atrá. Día a cortar leña, ¿sabe? Cuando trujieron un
3 barco yeno de negro..., de África..., de es^hclavø p'acá, lø
4 encainaron y lø botaron al río, pero que'ó uno chiquito, abajo, a la
5 prova, que no lo pudieron jayar. Y él se salvó. Pagaban quinientø
6 pesø, pero mi abuelo no pagó nada. Le jiso una campita atrá, pa
7 él, pa cosiná y eso, qu'has^hta que él fue grande, le mandaba...
8 Dis^hpué él casaba y hablaba el es^hpañol y tó. Lo yamaba Big
9 John, dis^hpué de que era grande. Lo yamaban Big John. Él le dijo...
10 Había otro negro, el otro la'ø del río, qu'era grande como él. *See?*
11 Y mi abuelo... Y él vino d'es^hte la'ø 'el río a pelearse con el d'es^hte
12 la'ø. Dise:
13 —Porque tú erø el mejor aquí, ¿eh? Él dise: —Y de aquí a la Villa,
14 dise, yo soy el mejor.
15 Y eyos fueron y... y ¿sabe?, un..., un barrilito de... de... de treinta
16 galonø, se lo pidió al merca'er. Porqu'el Big John, que que'ó junto
17 al tío abuelito, de *slave*, ¿eh? dise:
18 —*Tap it*. Y lo *tap*, le abió. Quitó el corcho y él bebió con él lø
19 treinta galonø. Y el del otro la'ø del río, que vino a pelearse con él,
20 hiso la mes^hma cosa. Con que ahí, ahí dise:
21 —Yo vine a pelearme contigo d'es^hte la'ø.
22 Y él dise: —Tú le pu'es preguntá aquí a to'a la gente; yo no me
23 gus^hta tormento.
24 Y él dise: —Yo no me voy pa'l otro lado del río, entø que yo me
25 pelee contigo. Yo me... ¡Tengo que peleá contigo!
26 Y él dise: —No. Yo no quie'ø peleá.

2.6. Alvar (1998)

In the introductory pages of his monograph *El dialecto canario de Luisiana* (1988), the Spanish linguist Manuel Alvar narrates the gestation of his work in detail, so we know that it was one that he coordinated during his appointments as visiting professor at the University of New York at Albany. Specifically, the first data collection was in the spring of 1991, and the final review in 1997.

During this time, he studied the Spanish of the area—and other adjacent ones—using three analytical schemes: the predominant being that of the *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de las Islas Canarias* (ALEICan – Alvar, 1978). For Alvar, the main objective of this research was to find the continuity between the vestigial Spanish of Louisiana and that of the Canarian settlers who had settled there in the 18th century. Of course, at that same time he was already compiling materials for the various sections of his *Atlas lingüístico de Hispanoamérica* (ALH), so he expanded the study with a small section dedicated to the comparison of these samples with those of some Texas border towns in which he had used the ALH questionnaire. And finally, he carried out a third contrastive review, focused on the lexical plane, in which he used the questionnaire of his recently concluded work, the *Léxico de los marineros peninsulares* (LMP – Alvar, 1989).

The book is completed by a collection of 7 phonetic texts, totaling 1,400 words, and a vocabulary of Louisiana Spanish. The texts were transcribed using narrow ARFE that, for the first time, used the computerized phonetic font so characteristic of all his later ALH contributions, and that, as suggested in Alvar (2000, p. 18), seems also to have been produced in Albany.

We do not know exactly who the speaker recorded here was, but the author identified his sources as residents of Poyras [sic], surely a typo for Poydras, Saint Bernard Parish, in present-day New Orleans.

Facsimile (Alvar, 1998, p. 143)

pare trampjár la fáte' kohíen-ɾ kompráben al^fəɔɾ
de três -o kwátroθjéntes' las poníem por-un lác ɾ
kompráben laş trámpes ɾ trampjábem pa la fátēs'
eñtónsə_əɲ tré o kwátro díe poníen suş trámpes-
aɸwére' priméro poníen las kánes-ɾ detrás de las
kánez beníen laş trámpes/ eñtónθəs koməɲθáben-a
trampjár/ si teníen kwátroθjéntes trámpes'
trabaháben de los klároş dəl díe áte la nósə' a
bésə k-usté kohíe θjénto ɾ θjénto bėjntə' θjénto
θiŋkwénte fátēs/ kwando kohíe la fáte kade bé ke
teníe bėjntisínko o trėjnte fáte ái kə pará-
e_eskwerár pørkə no_abíe módo de kargár tañte
fáte/ aɲkə parábe l-eskweráo' uɲ gweɲ trampéro
eskwére_a^fredəðɔɾ de dón-ɾ médje fáte pør mĩnúto'
y-eñtónsə poníe əl pjé en-əɫ kə yamábemə mɔřál' o
sée_e la^f-əhpálde' la féstə de le fáte s-eñtərábe
pa kə los-anɲmále no fekúrjéren-a le preríe/
koñtəníe dón pikáç' dosjénte trampe en-ɲm pikáç y
dosjénte_əñ-otro pikáç/ əl primér pikáç
əhpərimēntáre sj_əl-əhpabɿlásə a leħ-onθə_i
medja parábamos-e komér/ todos loş díes
parábamos-e komér lo pañaríto' despwe de dós-o
tré díe' lo pañaríto nos-əñtáben-əhpərándo ɾ te
poníes-a komér a la semáne o dó ɾ lo pañaríto te
keríen komér-əl lónşç' se posáben-əñ la bóte' se
posáben-əñ-əl-ómbro' tú no les-aθíaz náde' ɾ
kwando_akebábēs de komé^f le dábe lo kə teníe_e lo
pañaríto ɾ teníes-al-otro pikáç/ tódç^h lo pikáç
trabeháben-əñ-ün fədónðé ke beníe p-atrás-aɫ
kayúko/

Orthographic transcription

Trampear las ratas (Saint Bernard, Louisiana)

1 Para trampear las ratas, cogían y compraban alrededor de tres o
2 cuatrocientos [cañas]. Las ponían por un lado y compraban las trampas,
3 trampeaban para las ratas. Entonces en tres o cuatro días, ponían sus
4 trampas afuera. Primero ponían las cañas y detrás de las cañas venían
5 las trampas. Entonces comenzaban a trampear. Si tenían cuatrocientos
6 trampas, trabajaban de los claros del día hasta la noche. A veces, que usted
7 cogía ciento y ciento veinte, ciento cincuenta ratas, cuando cogía
8 las ratas cada vez que tenía veinticinco o treinta ratas hay que parar a escuchar
9 porque no había modo de cargar tanta rata. Aunque paraba el escuchar,
10 un buen trampero escuera alrededor de dos y media ratas por minuto,
11 y entonces ponía el pie[l] en el que llamábamos morral, o sea a las espaldas.
12 La resto de las ratas se enterraban para que los animales no recurrieran a
13 la prería. Contenía dos picados, doscientas trampas en un picado y doscientas
14 en otro picado. El primer picado experimentara si él espabilase a las once y
15 media parábamos a comer. Todos los días parábamos a comer los pajaritos;
16 después de dos o tres días, los pajaritos nos estaban esperando y te ponías
17 a comer a la semana o dos y los pajaritos te querían comer el loncho.
18 Se posaban en las botas, se posaban en el hombro, tú no les hacías nada,
19 y cuando acababas de comer les dabas lo que tenías a los pajaritos y
20 tenías al otro picado. Todos los picados trabajaban en un redondel que
21 venía para atrás al cayuco.

35

[Author's original transcription, with some minor adjustments to fully comply with the phonetic version.]

Adapted phonetic transcription

1 [para tram'pja la 'rata | ko'hian-i kom'praβan al'reou ðe 'tres-o
2 'kwatro'θjentas 'kaɲas | las po'niam por-un 'lao i kom'praβan las 'trampas |
3 i tram'pjaβam pa la 'ratas | en'tonse en 'tre o 'kwatro 'ðia | po'nian sus
4 'trampas-a'φwera | pri'mero po'nian las 'kaɲas-i de'traz de las 'kaɲaz βe'nian
5 las 'trampas | en'tonθes komen'θaβan-a tram'pja | si te'nian 'kwatro'θjentas
6 'trampas | traβa'haβan de los 'klaroz ðel 'dia 'ata la 'notʃe | a 'βese | k-us'te
7 ko'hia 'θjento i 'θjento 'βeĩnte | 'θjento θiŋ'kwenta 'ratas | kwando ko'hia
8 la 'rata kaða 'βe ke te'nia βeĩnti'siŋko o 'treĩnta 'ratas 'aĩ ke pa'raɲ-a eskwe'rar
9 porke no a'βia 'moðo ðe kar'ɣaɲ tanta 'rata | 'auŋke pa'raβa l-eskwe'rao |
10 uŋ gwen tram'pero es'kwera a'reðe'ðou ðe ðoh-i 'meðja 'rata por mi'nuto |
11 ʎ-en'tonse po'nia el 'pje en-el ke ʎa'maβamo mo'ral | o 'sea a la'-eh'palda |
12 la 'resto ðe la 'rata s-ente'raβa pa ke los-ani'male no reku'rjeran-a
13 la pre'ria | konte'nia 'ðoh pi'kao | do'sjenta trampa en-um pi'kao i do'sjenta
14 en otro pi'kao | el pri'mer pi'kao ehperimen'tara sj-el-ehpaβi'lase a lah-onθe-ʎ
15 meðja pa'raβamos-a ko'mer | toðos loz 'ðias pa'raβamos-a ko'meɲ lo paha'rito |
16 des'pwe ðe 'ðos-o 'tre 'ðia | lo paha'rito nos-eh'taβan-ehpe'rando i te po'nias-
17 -a ko'mer a la se'mana o 'ðo i lo paha'rito te ke'rian ko'meɲ-el 'lontʃo |
18 se po'saβan-en la 'βota | se po'saβan-en-e'l-ombro | 'tu no les-a'θiaz 'naða |
19 i kwando aka'βaβas ðe ko'me'le 'ðaβa lo ke te'nia a lo paha'rito i
20 te'nias-al-otro pi'kao | 'toðoh lo pi'kao traβa'haβan-en-un re'ðonde ke
21 βe'nia p-a'tras-aɾ ka'ʎuko | |]

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2.7. Kelm (1998)

The North American professor Orlando R. Kelm, of the University of Texas at Austin, was a forerunner in using the Web to present multimedia didactic materials: first only audio, and later videos with incorporated sound. One of his earliest achievements was the compilation *Transcripts for Phonetic Transcriptions: Spanish*, from 1998, in which 16 texts from 7 countries and at least 13 different informants are collected. In addition to the orthographic transcription, the original sound file was accessed from the page of each text (although those links are no longer active today, they can be retrieved), as was the broad phonetic transcription version, in IPA, of all or part of the sample. Some texts came from radio recordings, and others from personal interviews, as is the case of the one chosen here.

These resources are still available today (2022) on the Kelm website. Subsequently, he developed a much more ambitious platform, *Spanish Proficiency Exercises*, where one can find more than 500 short video recordings of subjects from all over the Spanish-speaking world organized by level of difficulty and by theme, and accompanied by transcriptions in Spanish—now only orthographic—and translations into English.

Both resources are clearly teaching-oriented, and their level of detail is appropriate for that purpose. Nonetheless, they are of great value for this anthology, and in some regions they are the only ones available as yet.

As a sample we have selected a text in which the informant speaks extensively about herself: she is María Paredes, an elderly woman with an elementary school education, but with many years of experience as a small business and property owner.

['bwenas 'notʃes / me 'ʝamo ma'ria pa'reðeʃ ðe
ro'driʝes / 'soj 'tia ðe da'βið / na'si en del 'rio
'teksas en 'mil 'noβe'sjeɲtos 'otʃo / 'kwando ʝo
'era 'niɲa / asis'ti a la es'kwela mwi 'poko
'tjempo / por'ke te'nia / 'ke / traβa'xaɾ /
apren'di a eskri'βir i le'er 'solo por'ke me ɣus'taβa
/ le'er / mi pa'pa traβa'xo en un 'ranʃo / i mi
mas 'lweyo se kom'pro un mo'lino / para
mo'leɾ ma'is / ʝo me ka'se a lae'daðe 'βejɲti'dos
'aɲos / mi es'poso se ʝa'maβa re'nato ro'driʝes
/ 'poko ðes'pwes re'n'tamos un lu'yaɾ / 'donde
pu'simos una tjenda ðe aβa'ɾotes / konel
'tjempo kom'pramos ðoso'lares 'donde i'simos /
i'simos e^h / 'nwestra 'tjenda i a'i traβa'xamos por
es'pasjo ðe 'trejɲtaj'siɲko 'aɲos / el mu'rjo en
'mil 'noβesjeɲtose'seɲtaj 'otʃo / me ke'ðe 'sola en
la 'kasa u'najo / 'lweyo fwi a βi'βir kon mi 'ixa
/ʔ'alma a: 'ostn 'teksas]

Orthographic transcription

La abuelita (interview, Del Río, Texas)

- 1 Buenas noches. Me llamo María Paredes de Rodríguez. Soy tía de David.
- 2 Nací en Del Río, Texas en mil novecientos ocho. Cuando yo era niña asistí
- 3 a la escuela muy poco tiempo porque tenía que trabajar. Aprendí
- 4 a escribir y leer solo porque me gustaba leer. Mi papá trabajó en un rancho
- 5 y mi... mas luego se compró un molino para moler maíz. Yo me casé
- 6 a la edad de veintidós años. Mi esposo se llamaba Renato Rodríguez. Poco

7 después, rentamos un lugar, donde pusimos una tienda de abarrotes. Con el
 8 tiempo compramos dos solares donde hicimos, hicimos eh... nuestra tienda
 9 y ahí trabajamos por espacio de treinta y cinco años. Él murió en mil
 10 novecientos sesenta y ocho, me quedé sola en la casa un año. Luego fui a
 11 vivir con mi hija Alma a Austin, Texas.

[Transcription based on the author's original, although adjusted in some segments in order to fully match the phonetic version.]

Adapted phonetic transcription

1 ['bwenas 'notʃes | me 'ɟamo ma'ria pa'reðez ðe ro'ðriyes | 'soɟ 'tia ðe da'βið |
 2 na'si en del 'rio 'teksas en 'mil 'noβe'sjento'sotʃo | 'kwando ɟo 'era 'ninja | asis'ti
 3 a la es'kwela mwi 'poko 'tjempo | pou'ke te'nia | 'ke | traβa'xar | apren'di a
 4 eskri'βir i le'er 'solo pou'ke me ɣus'taβa | le'er | mi pa'pa traβa'xo en un 'rantʃo |
 5 i mi || mas 'lweɣo se kom'pro un mo'lino | para mo'ler ma'is || ɟo me ka'se
 6 a lae'ðaðe 'βeɟnti'ðo'sanos | mi es'poso se ɟa'maβa re'nato ro'ðriyes | 'poko
 7 ðes'pwes ren'tamos un lu'ɣar | 'donde pu'simos una tjenda ðe aβa'rotes | konel
 8 'tjempo kom'pramos ðoso'lares 'donde i'simos | isimos e^h | 'nwestra 'tjenda
 9 i a'i traβa'xamos por es'pasɟo ðe 'treɟntaɟ'siŋko 'aɟos | el mu'rjo en 'mil
 10 'noβesjentose'sentaɟ 'otʃo | me ke'ðe 'sola en la 'kasa u'nano | 'lweɣo fwi a
 11 βi'βiɟ kon mi 'ixa | ?'alma a: 'ostin 'teksas ||]

39

2.8. Coles (1999)

Between 1989 and 1991,⁸ the North American Hispanist Felice Anne Coles studied the *isleño* Spanish of Louisiana, work for which she received her doctorate on the latter date. A revised version of this thesis was published in 1999.

Her work is serious and densely descriptive. Following a historical introduction and a review of the current research in which the author echoes the then preponderant perceptions of *isleño* as a vestigial code, she continues with a detailed analysis of this interpretation with a structure based on the different levels of language in which she addresses phonology, morphology and syntax. The work is completed by an anthology of texts carefully presented in three formats: the first shows the separation and labeling of the morphological and lexical components; the second is a phonetic transcription of the IPA original; and the third is a free English translation. 7 texts totaling about 1,500 words are presented in this format.

These texts exhibit some irregularities with respect to common practice. For example, the author details aspects relating to accents and other suprasegmental phenomena of the dialect in the corresponding section (§1.4), which essentially coincides with general Spanish, but does not record it in the transcriptions. Likewise, although the distribution of vowels, semivowels, and consonants is precisely described in the chapter on phonology, the phonetic symbol [y] is used interchangeably for the voiced palatal consonant [j] and for the non-syllabic variants of / i /, both [j] and [j̥]. In the adapted version, the former of these two conventions will be respected, but it has been decided to use the variants of / j̥ / and / i / univocally, in accordance with the guidelines set by Coles in the theoretical section.

⁸ This information has kindly been provided by the author herself via personal communication.

Below is a sample of a spontaneous and imaginative account by José “Chelito” Campos, a famous *isleño* informant who had previously worked with Armistead and Alvar, and who was about 90 years old when recorded. Although the meaning is difficult to reconstruct coherently, the text has the advantage of being extremely expressive and rich in morphophonological variants.

Facsimile (Coles, 1999, pp. 66-67)

[vino um . maleçon y ßino ke se paso y me ðio um puñetaso y me puse la kaßes al řeße . y ðeðe ñtonseh ayo las kosas al koñtraryo ðe la henñte . me ðesayuno a laz ðose ðe la noçe . se noñabamo si me . ßoy por la mañana . syempre yeßo lo kalsetines . ensima ðe las ßotas . lo kalsetine sola . lo pañtalone . un ðia me trage un řeloh . ðehpeñador . kreyenño ke ra un ayo pa lañtre ðel meno . no pweðe un fiyurase . kwanño a la siñko ðe la mañana el ðehpeñador me sonabañ ðentro ðe la ðripa . weñ . ðo sñabal řeße .]

[ai kohi un kaßayo . yo no ehño no ßa . kohi un kaßayo y no pusimo en kamino . komo inñenño ensima ðe mi y pusimo en kamino . y ißamo po la playa . nos enñtro un ambre oñible y no pusimo a kome . le di al kaßayo . um plaño . ðe ðosino y una ensalaða ðe skaßeça . y yo kome el pehkaño y ase na y ayi seyimos anñanño por la playa yo y . el kaßayo y naðaða pwe sekaða beyñte o ðreyñta . minuño . a be kansa . poke no parese pero lo kaßayo pesa y yo syempre lo ðenia sobre ðe mi . lo ke ðenia ke se asi poke fwe a řeße . y seyimio . por ðyeh miya . por la playa . por la kohña ðel mar . iyeyar a mi una ßyehiña . ðe kana . ehñtaða ayi la pobre . y . uste kyen sonñ . ðe onñde ßyenen]

[le ðiyo señoa ßyehiña ðe ðyo . yo me yamo hose kampo . ðiyo y yo soy nasio aki en los eñtaños uniño . ðiyo . pero la sanñre mia eh . ehpañoa ðehpaña]

41

Orthographic transcription

Relato fantástico (José 'Chelito' Campo)

1 Vino un malechón y vino que se pasó y me dio un puñetazo y me puse
2 la cabeza al revés. Y desde entonces hago las cosas al contrario de la
3 gente. Me desayuno a las doce de la noche. Se notábamos, si me
4 voy por la mañana. Siempre llevo los calcetines encima de las botas,
5 los calcetines sola, los pantalones. Un día me tragué un reloj
6 despertador, creyendo que era un año para adelante del menos. No
7 puede uno figurarse cuando a las cinco de la mañana el despertador
8 me sonaba al dentro de la tripa. *Well*, todo estaba al revés. Ahí
9 cogí un caballo. Yo no, esto no va. Cogí un caballo y nos pusimos
10 en camino. Como intento encima de mí. Y pusimos en camino.
11 Y íbamos por la playa. Nos entró un hambre horrible, y nos pusimos a
12 comer. Le di al caballo un plato de tocino y una ensalada de
13 escabecha. Y yo comer el pescado y hacer nada y allí seguimos andando
14 por la playa, yo y el caballo. Y nadaba pues secaba veinte o treinta
15 minutos. Al ver cansado porque no parece pero los caballos pesan y yo
16 siempre lo tenía sobre de mí. Lo que tenía que ser así porque fue al
17 revés y seguimos por diez millas por la playa por la costa del mar.
18 Y llegar a mí una viejita del Canal. Estaba allí la pobre y “Ustedes,
19 ¿quiénes son? ¿de dónde vienen?” Le digo, “Señora, viejita de Dios,
20 yo me llamo José Campo.” Digo, “Y yo soy nacido aquí en los Estados
21 Unidos.” Digo, “Pero la sangre mía es española de España.”

[Normalized version based on the author’s orthographic-phonetic version.]

Adapted phonetic transcription

1 [vino um maletʃon i βino ke se paso i me ðio um puɲetaso i me puse
2 la kaβes al reβe || i dede ntonseh ayo las kosas al kontrarjo ðe la
3 hente || me ðesajuno a laz dose ðe la notʃe || se notaβamo si me
4 βoɲ por la maɲana || sjempre ʝeβo lo kalsetines ensima ðe las βotas |
5 lo kalsetine sola | lo pantalone || un dia me traye un reloħ
6 dehpertaðor | krejendo ke ra un aɲo pa lantre ðel meno || no
7 pweðe un fiyurase kwando a la siɲko ðe la maɲana el dehpetaðor
8 me sonaβal dentro ðe la tripa || weʃ | to staβal reβe || ai
9 kohi uɲ kaβajo || ʝo no ehto no βa || kohi uɲ kaβajo i no pusimo
10 eɲ kamino || komo intento ensima ðe mi i pusimo eɲ kamino ||
11 i iβamo po la plaja || nos entro un ambre orible i no pusimo a
12 kome || le di al kaβajo um plato de tosino i una ensalaða ðe
13 skaβetʃa || i ʝo kome el peħkaðo i ase na i aji seɣimos andando
14 por la plaja ʝo i el kaβajo i naðaβa pwe sekaβa bejnte o trejnta
15 minuto || a be kansa poke no parese pero lo kaβajo pesa i ʝo
16 sjempre lo tenia sobre ðe mi || lo ke tenia ke se asi poke fwe a
17 reβe i seɣimo por djeh miɲa por la plaja por la kohta ðel mar ||
18 iɲeyar a mi una βjehita ðe kana || ehtaβa aji la pobre i uste
19 kjen son || de onde βjenen || le ðiyo seɲora βjehita ðe ðjo ||
20 ʝo me ʝamo hose kampo || diyo i ʝo soi nasio aki en los estaðos
21 uniðo || diyo || pero la saɲgre mia eh ehpaɲola ðehpaɲa ||]

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2.9. Alvar (2000) [1995]

Unlike his work on Louisiana (Alvar, 1998), which the author presented in the format of a dialect monograph, the volume entitled *El español en el Sur de Estados Unidos. Estudios, encuestas, textos* (also the result of his visits from Albany) was the first installment of several in which he planned to publish the information collected over the years in the project *Atlas lingüístico de Hispanoamérica* (ALH). In this volume, he covers a population of informants and a breadth of research areas large enough so that the work can be considered linguistic geography as well as dialectology; however, the first does not exclude the second, but rather amplifies it, as indicated by the subtitle of the work. Later, other installments with very similar structures were added, and today, in 2022, 6 of the 7 works planned by Alvar have been published in large format, with at least three consisting of three volumes each.

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Although over time these works evolved in presentation to resemble the linguistic atlases of the author's surveys, the first ones did not. They did, however, publish aggregations of diverse studies gathered by Alvar in various regions of America in an updated and orderly way. This first volume, containing 7 works related to the area, reflects this format. It consists of a large central section of maps showing the data from the ALH questionnaire, and a final appendix that includes 5 texts: two of which had been analyzed in the initial studies, plus three others that his wife, Elena Alvar, had published elsewhere. Alvar's insistence on creating a specific section for phonetic texts was evident, and was sustained in the remaining volumes of the series that were prepared according to his guidelines.

Upon reproducing these texts in his 2000 compilation, the author not only renewed interest in this type of material, but also, in this specific case, presented them with greater formality. These texts had appeared in several more or less informal versions (even handwritten in some cases), but here they were all presented

in the computerized format that had been used in his book on Louisiana. Alvar also added a section in which he mentioned and thanked his collaborators at the State University of New York who had provided the software.

Below is the beginning of a story in oral tradition that Alvar transcribed in 1995 from an informant of his, a 25-year-old Spanish teacher from Tierra Amarilla (New Mexico) and a resident of Albuquerque. The transcription was done in the narrow ARFE always used by the author.

Facsimile (Alvar, 2000, p. 413)

este kwẽnto me deθiẽ¹ mi grãme² pork-ẽe³ kʳiẽ⁴ ke ió⁵ sjẽmprẽ
 læ_ajũdẽre⁵_e mĩ mãmã | y_ẽl kwẽnto sæ iamãbe⁶ franθiskite⁷_i⁸ margerite |
 i mĩ mãmã sæ iamãbe⁹ margerite | i nó sé bjẽm porkẽ ẽe¹⁰ tan-espeθjãl kã
 læ iamãre_ũne¹¹ de laz mušãsez a ẽe¹²-margerite | perç en-ẽl kwẽnto
 sabrán¹³ | abie_ũng muñer¹⁴ kã ẽe¹⁵ ẽe mwi póbr⁹ | i ẽe¹⁶ bibie koñ dõs-
 ifies | i tenie_ũne kãse | y_ẽe tenie mĩses flõres-aqweere | i
 mĩsç_anĩmãle¹⁷ | i tenie dõs-ifie² no mãs | i¹⁸ la mãz meĩõr¹⁹ d-ẽe²⁰ se
 iamãbe margerite | ẽe tenie_ẽl kabẽc²¹ nègro y_ẽe mwi blanke_i
 tenie lçᵏ kašetã²² kolõr de xõse²³_i mwi bonite | i tʳiẽ²⁴ los-õfiç
 mwi nègros | la õtre emgnite | ẽe tenie_ẽl pẽlo kolcrãç²⁵ | ẽe gwẽre²⁶
 | i tenie mušãs pẽkes | i tenie²⁷ los-õfiç-asulõs | perç ẽe mwi gwẽbone²⁸
 | no læ guštãbe iũdãrle²⁹_e su mãmã | margerite_ẽe_ũne muñerõte³⁰ porkẽ
 ẽe ibe_esištir³¹-e los-anĩmãles | l-esõ³² ágwe_e las flõres-i l-ajũdãbe |
 y-ie³³ tenie kã ir-a la nõrje³⁴ pare kargãr³⁵-ágwe pare su kãse | y-ũñ dĩa
 ẽe qwe kón la õje³⁶ pare kargãr-ágwe | i kwãndo-stãbe_i³⁷ sekãndo kón la
 õje de læ nõrje sæ kaiõ_arẽntro³⁸ i sæ dezmeiõ | i lo kã pasõ ere
 rekõrdõ³⁹ aĩ deñtro⁴⁰ y-estãbe_ũne bieñite | i la bieñite⁴¹ la mirõ_e
 margerite | i bjõ k-ẽe mwi bonite | ke porkẽ no sæ-štãbe ⁴²
 pare_eiũdãle⁴³ kon sus kõses aĩ | eñtõnses | komc a margerite læ
 gustãbe-iũdãr mĩsç | komensõ e bañer | i limpjãr læ kãse de læ bjẽñite
 | y-ã-štãbe_i deñtro⁴⁴ de læ nõrja pasõ kom-ũne semãna | no sæ
 sãbe | y-ãl fĩn s-estãbe ponjeñdo mwi trištẽ margerite i sæ sintjõ mã⁴⁵
 læ bjẽñite porkẽ dífic ẽe kiθã s-estã-sjeñdo⁴⁶ mẽncz læ kũlpe d-ẽe |
 eñtõñθez læ dífiç_e læ margerite⁴⁷ | porkẽ tú mãs⁴⁸-a-iũdec | yõ tã bõ⁴⁹
 dãr-un ñemẽdjo | i sõñ-yẽrbas kí yõ kjẽro ke tú lo bẽbes | i kwãndo lo
 bebjõ ẽe sæ dezmeiõ tre bẽθ | i lwẽgo | kwãndo rekõrdõ ẽe | tãbe⁵⁰
 qweere | perç ẽe bídc⁵¹ kã ya stãbe sw_ẽrmãne franθiskite

Orthographic transcription

Francisquita y Margarita (Albuquerque, New México)

1 Este cuento me decía mi gramma porque ella quería que yo siempre le ayudara
2 a mi mamá. Y el cuento se llamaba Francisquita y Margarita. Y mi mamá
3 se llamaba Margarita, y no sé bien por qué era tan especial que la llamara
4 una de las muchachas a ella Margarita, pero en el cuento sabrán. Había
5 una mujer que ella era muy pobre, y ella vivía con dos hijas, y tenía una
6 casa, y ella tenía muchas flores afuera, y muchos animales. Y tenía dos hijas
7 no más, y la más mayor de ellas se llamaba Margarita. Ella tenía el cabello
8 negro y era muy blanca y tenía los cachetes color de rosa y muy bonita, y
9 tenía los ojos muy negros. La otra hermanita, ella tenía el pelo colorado,
10 era güera, y tenía muchas pecas, y tenía los ojos azules, pero era
11 muy huevona, no le gustaba ayudarla a su mamá. Margarita era una
12 mujerota porque ella iba asistir a los animales, le echó agua a las flores y
13 la ayudaba. Y ella tenía que ir a la noria para cargar agua para su casa. Y un
14 día ella fue con la olla para cargar agua. Y cuando estaba allí sacando
15 con la olla de la noria, se cayó adentro y se desmayó. Y lo que pasó era
16 recordó ahí dentro y estaba una viejita, y la viejita la miró a Margarita,
17 y vio que era muy bonita, que por qué no se estaba allí para ayudarla con sus
18 cosas allí. Entonces, como a Margarita le gustaba ayudar mucho, comenzó
19 a barrer y limpiar la casa de la viejita. Y ya estaba allí dentro de la noria,
20 pasó como una semana, no se sabe, y al fin se estaba poniendo muy triste
21 Margarita y se sintió mal la viejita porque dijo ella quizá se está haciendo
22 menos la culpa de ella. Entonces le dijo a la Margarita: “Porque tú me has
23 ayudado, yo te voy a dar un remedio y son hierbas que yo quiero que tú lo bebas.”
24 Y cuando lo bebió, ella se desmayó otra vez. Y luego, cuando recordó
25 ella, estaba fuera, pero ella vio que ya estaba su hermana Francisquita...

[Original transcription by the author, with some minor adjustments to maintain the coherence of the phonetic version.]

Adapted phonetic transcription

1 [este 'kwento me ðe'θia mi 'ɣrama pork'ea k^e'ria keɰ'o 'sjempre leajuðara
2 a mi ma'ma | ɰ eɫ 'kwento se ja'maβa φranθis'kitaj marya'rita | i mi ma'ma
3 se ja'maβa marya'rita | i 'no 'se 'βjem por'ke 'era tan espe'θjaɫ ke la ja'mara
4 'una ðe laz mu'tjatjaz a 'ea marya'rita | pero en eɫ 'kwento sa'βran | a'βia
5 una mu'heɰ ke 'eɰa 'era mwi 'poβr^e | i 'eɰa βi'βia kon 'dos 'iñas | i te'nia una
6 'kasa | i 'ea te'nia 'mutjas 'flores a'φwera | i 'mutjo ani'male^h | i te'nia 'ðos 'iña^z
7 no 'ma^s | i la 'maz maj'ou 'ðea se ja'maβa marya'rita | 'ea te'nia eɫ ka'βeo
8 'neyro 'jea mwi βlanka ɰ te'nia lo^k ka'tjete^h ko'loɰ ðe 'ɰosa ɰ mwɰ βo'nita | i
9 t^e'nia lo'sofoz mwi 'neyros | la 'otra erma'nita | eɰa te'nia eɫ 'pelo kolo'rao |
10 'era 'ɣwera | i te'nia mu'tjas 'pekas | i te'nia lo'sofoz a'sules | pero eɰa
11 mwɰ ɣwe'βona | no le ɣus'taβa ɰu'ðarla a su ma'ma | marya'rita 'era una
12 muhe'rota porke 'ea 'iβa asistir a los ani'males | le'tjo 'aywa a las 'flores i
13 laju'ðaba | 'jia te'nia ke 'ir a la 'norja para kar'ɣa'raywa para su 'kasa | ɰjun
14 'dia 'ea 'φwe 'kon la 'oja para kar'ɣa'raywa | i 'kwandos'taβa'i sa'kando
15 'kon la 'oja ðe la 'norja se kaj'o a'rentro i se ðezmaj'o | i lo ke pa'so era
16 rekor'ðo a'i ðentro jes'taβa una βie'hita | i la βie'hita la mi'ro a marya'rita |
17 i 'βjo 'kera mwi βo'nita | ke por'ke no ses'taβa 'i para aju'ðalla kon sus
18 'kosas 'ai | en'tonses | komo a marya'rita le ɣus'taβaju'ðaj 'mutjo | komen'so
19 a βa'rer | i lim'pjaɰ la 'kasa ðe la 'bjehita | 'jas'taβa 'i 'ðentro ðe la 'norja
20 pa'so komuna se'mana | no se 'saβe | 'jal 'φin ses'taβa po'njendo mwi 'triste
21 marya'rita i se sin'tjo 'ma la βje'hita porke 'ðiño 'ea ki'θa ses'ta'sjendo
22 menoz la 'kulpa 'ðeɰa | en'tonθez le 'ðiño a la marya'rita | porke 'tu 'mas
23 a'uðao | 'jjo te'βo 'ðaj un re'meðjo | i 'soɰ 'jerβas 'ki 'jo 'kjero ke 'tu lo 'βεβas |
24 i 'kwando lo βe'βjo 'ea se ðezmaj'o tra 'βεθ | i 'lweɣo | 'kwando rekor'ðo
25 'eɰa | 'taβa 'φwera | pero 'eɰa 'biðo ke ja s'taβa swer'mana φranθis'kita]

2.10. Piñeros (2006)

Colombian linguist Carlos Eduardo Piñeros created one of the most important resources available today for describing the variety of Spanish throughout the world: the website *Dialectoteca del español*, built during his years as a professor at the University of Iowa. It contains audio and video recordings of 30 different informants. Among them, 8 were Spanish; the remaining 22 came from 18 cities in more than 11 countries in America. All of them were university students or young teachers, both men and women.⁹

Each module has four elements, three of which are spontaneous speech and last about one minute each: *Region*, in which the informant describes his or her city of origin; *Anecdote*, in which they narrate some special or amusing event; and *Opinion*, where they express a preference for a writer or literary work. These samples appear in orthographic transcription. But there is a fourth section, *Tale*, in which each person reads the same text, the 119-word tale “The North Wind and the Sun,” well known to phoneticians around the world. Piñeros includes two transcriptions of this recording: the orthographic one—identical for all of them—and the phonetic one, using IPA at a narrow level.¹⁰

These samples have great value for the study of phonetic variation, given that they fulfill one of the fundamental requirements of the experimental method: to change only that which we are interested in changing, and nothing more. In fact, all sociolinguistic variables are controlled here—the informants come from the same

⁹ Since December of 2020 this platform has been inaccessible due to the discontinuation of the software that was initially used to create it. However, the designer and authorities at the University of Iowa report that work on its update has been underway since July 1, 2021, and it is expected to be available again by the end of 2022.

¹⁰ Since the end of the 19th century, the old journal *Le Maître Phonétique*, and its successor today, *Journal of the International Phonetics Association*, have been using this ancient Aesopic fable to illustrate the hundreds of languages and variants that have been described for more than a century in its pages. In these samples the text is translated, and its phonetic transcription follows.

sociocultural sphere and are of the same age. When each informant reads an identical text, the grammatical or lexical variation also disappears (as is well represented in the other fragments), and only that which affects pronunciation remains. In addition, these recordings are of high audio quality, and are relatively recent (the compilation is dated 2006).

Below is a reading by a Cuban-American speaker from Florida.

Facsimile (Piñeros, 2006)

[||ɐb. 'biɛn.to.ðɛl. 'nɔr.te.iɛl. 'sɔl|ɛh. 'ta.βãŋ. ,dih.pu. 'taŋ.do.se|
 ,so.βre. 'kuaɫ.ðe. 'e.jo. 'he.raɛl. 'mah. 'fuɛr.tɛ|
 'e.ra| ,e.raɛl. 'mah. 'fuɛJ.tɛ| ,kuaŋ.do.pa. 'so.b'|
 ,kuaŋ.do.pa. 'soʊm.bia. 'he.roɛm. 'buɛɫ.tɛ. 'nũ.na. 'ɣrɛ.sa. 'ka.pa||
 || ,se.pu. 'sɛ.rõŋ.ðɛa. 'kuɛJ.do| ,ɛŋ.kɛl.pri. 'me.ro|
 ke.lo. 'ɣra.ra| ,kɛb.bia. 'he.ro. ,se.ki. 'ta.ra.la. 'ka.pa|
 se. 'ria.kõn.si.ðe. 'ra.ðo| 'mah. 'fuɛr.tɛ.ke. 'lo.tro||
 ||ɛŋ. 'tõŋ.se.hɛb. 'biɛn.to.ðɛl. 'nɔr.te|
 so. 'plo.taŋ. 'fuɛr.tɛ. ,ko.mo. 'pu.ðo| ,pe.ro|
 'kuaŋ.to. 'ma.so. 'pla.βa|
 'ma.hɛh. 'tre.ʃa. 'mɛŋ.tɛ. ,se.se. 'ni.a. ,ɛb.bia. 'he.ro.la. 'ka.pa|
 al. 'kuɛb.po| ,ah.ta.ke|al. 'fiŋ|ɛl. 'biɛn.to.ðɛl. 'nɔr.te.sɛ.rin. 'd̥io||
 || 'lɛ.ɣo|ɛl. 'sɔl.bri. 'jo|ka.lu. 'ro.sa. 'mɛŋ.tɛ|
 ,i.ðɛi.me. 'ðia.to. ,ɛl.bia. 'he.ro|se. ,ðɛh.po. 'ho|ðe.su. 'ka.pa||
 ||a. 'si|ɛl. 'biɛn.to.ðɛl. 'nɔr.te|se. 'βio| ,o.βli. 'ɣa.ðɔa. ,rɛ.ko.no. 'sɛr|
 kɛl. 'sɔl| 'e.raɛl. 'mafi.βa. 'liɛŋ.tɛ.ðe.lofi. 'ðɔh||]

Orthographic transcription

El viento del norte y el sol

1 El viento del norte y el sol estaban disputándose sobre cuál de ellos era el
2 más fuerte, era... era el más fuerte, cuando pasó... cuando pasó un
3 viajero envuelto en una gruesa capa. Se pusieron de acuerdo en que el
4 primero que lograra que el viajero se quitara la capa sería considerado más
5 fuerte que el otro. Entonces, el viento del norte sopló tan fuerte como
6 pudo, pero cuanto más soplaba más estrechamente se ceñía el viajero la
7 capa al cuerpo, hasta que, al fin, el viento del norte se rindió. Luego, el
8 sol brilló calurosamente y de inmediato el viajero se despojó de su
9 capa. Así, el viento del norte se vio obligado a reconocer que el sol
10 era el más valiente de los dos.

50

Adapted phonetic transcription

1 [eb'bjento ðel 'norte jel 'sol | eh'taβaŋ dihpu'tandose | soβre 'kwal de 'ejo'herael
2 'mah 'fwerte | 'era | erael 'mah 'fweɫte | kwando pa'sob | kwando pa'soum
3 bja'heroem'bweltwe'nuna 'ɣrweſa 'kapa | | se pu'sjeronɟ dea'kweɫdo | eŋ kel
4 pri'mero | ke lo'ɣrara | kebbja'hero se ki'tara la 'kapa | se'rja konsiðe'raðo | 'mah
5 'fwerte ke 'lotro | | en'tonɟe heb'bjento ðel 'norte | so'plo tamɟ 'fwerte komo
6 'puðo | pero | 'kwanto 'maso'plaβa | 'maheh'treβa'mente se se'nja ebbja'hero la
7 'kapa | al 'kwebpo | ahta 'ke | al 'fiŋ | el 'bjeŋto ðel 'norte se rin'djo | | 'lweɣo | el
8 'sol bri'jo | kalu'rosa'mente | i ðeɣme'ðjato el bja'hero | se ðehpo'ho | de su
9 'kapa | | a'si | el 'bjento ðel 'norte | se 'βjo | oβli'ɣaðoa rekono'ser | kel 'sol |
10 'erael 'mah βa'ljeŋte ðe loɟ 'ðoh | |]

3. Conclusions

The preceding pages demonstrate both the abundance of phonetic samples in the United States and their extreme diversity. To a great extent, they represent independent initiatives rather than an organized plan of research. Despite this, if we observe the evolution of these works as a whole, it is possible to make some conclusions of possible interest. For example, they demonstrate a strong and continuous influence of the old Romance Languages Studies and European dialectology, and subsequently of the *Escuela de Madrid*, with the notable and direct influence of Menéndez Pidal and at least the first two generations of his disciples. Most of these transcriptions were made using the phonetic alphabet of the *Revista de Filología Española*, ARFE (this trend did not change until 1998 when the International Phonetic Alphabet, IPA, appeared); in addition, many of these studies closely followed the guidelines set by Navarro Tomás during his Madrid and North American teaching years, or in the *Cuestionario lingüístico hispanoamericano* (Navarro Tomás, 1945).

Another point of interest is the evolution that the style of transcription underwent over time along with researchers' changing interests: not all of these texts reflect oral expression with equal realism and a gradual change can clearly be observed in this respect between the late 19th and late 20th centuries. For ethnographers and folklorists, the important thing about the texts was the possibility of connecting them with recurring motifs or topics in traditional Pan-Hispanic literature. In this type of work, which began with Espinosa, and was continued by MacCurdy and especially Armistead, it was necessary to compose samples with a certain textual integrity rather than a faithful reflection of orality. Despite this, Armistead, for example, also made room for pure and freely discursive registers, such as the one presented here, for example, they showed in detail the hesitations and errors inherent in normal speech.

Parallel to this line of scholars was another, beginning with Post and continued by Lope Blanch, Alvar, Coles and Piñeros, whose primary objective was the description of linguistic variation, requiring a type of transcription that should be as realistic as possible. However, this was still confined to the segmental level, rather than to marking prosodic features that today are carefully labeled and codified in the study of orality.

Also noteworthy is the continuous attention that the *isleño* Spanish of Louisiana has attracted (four of the ten works compiled here are dedicated to it): scholars have continued to approach this variant for decades as if it were vestigial, but it is clearly still alive. It generates renewed interest, generation after generation; the cultural environment in which it endures is so contained and comprehensible that it still attracts dialectologists engaged in small-scale field work.

52

I must reiterate, however, that the foregoing is valid as an evaluation only of those works that I have been able to gather thus far; it will take time to create an exhaustive inventory of this type of material. We can affirm that a vein of Hispanism with a base on Romance Languages' and Menéndez Pidal's studies remains alive in the United States, but not that this is the single or predominant one. For this reason, I hope that this work's dissemination will help us learn about other as yet unknown studies and allow for a denser mapping of these samples.

Moreover, today there are ways of providing access to unpublished documents that will surely enrich this and other projects: there are digital open access repositories in universities and research consortia available to researchers – a good example of which is that of the institution publishing the present study.¹¹

¹¹ See the "Resources" section on the website of the *Observatory of Spanish Language and Hispanic Cultures in the United States*, Instituto Cervantes at Harvard University:
<https://cervantesobservatorio.fas.harvard.edu/en/resources>

I would like to encourage directors and authors of undergraduate, masters or doctoral theses on Hispanic linguistics in the US, invaluable but so often unpublished, to digitize and maintain them in these virtual repositories, with due recognition but freely accessible to any interested party.

In this way, all the studies that are currently cited as unpublished, and that we often only discover and use serendipitously, could henceforth be cited with a downloadable link; they would have the same vitality and relevance as those already deserving of the “*arduo honor de la tipografía*” [arduous honor of typography], as Borges would say. I am sure that among those hidden pages we would all find valuable material—and of course, new phonetic texts would appear from time to time.

Finally, in addition to this retrospective request, I would like to formulate another one that is more future-oriented, and that is to ask my colleagues who continue to promote research on the Spanish language in the United States to include in the curricula they supervise a space for phonetic transcription. This descriptive tool, despite having been sidelined by some modern linguistic practices, continues to be essential for completing our understanding of language variation.

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APPENDIX

The Two Compadres (New Mexico)

There were two *compadres*, a poor man and a rich man, and the poor man always took money from the rich one. The poor man had two little rabbits in his house. One day he went out for a walk with one of his rabbits and found his *compadre* and invited him to eat at his house. After his *compadre* said yes, he let go of his rabbit and said, “Go on, run, tell my wife that my *compadre* is going to eat with us.” The rabbit ran off and soon arrived at the house. The poor man had done this to play a joke on his *compadre*. When they got to the house, the rich man saw the rabbit and said to his *compadre*:

“But, look what a rabbit, so knowledgeable that it runs errands. *Compadre*, how much do you want for him?”

The poor man, who saw that his plan was already going well, said to him:

“Well, I will tell the truth, I have no one to help me but that rabbit but since you’re my *compadre*, I’ll sell it to you,” and he sold it at a good price.

The rich man left with his little rabbit after dinner and told his wife:

“Look what a rabbit I bought from my *compadre*, it even runs errands.”

His wife told him to send it to his *compadre*’s house on an errand and they sent it but the rabbit did not come back. The rich man was furious and soon went to his *compadre*’s house with the intention of killing him.

The Legend of China from Puebla (Tucson, Arizona)

She was the daughter of a mysterious king and bore only the name of China from Puebla. During her father's reign there was a revolution and she seized a ship that was there. The sea was very restless, very angry. Some pirates stole her. They took away all the jewelry that she was wearing; they took her to a market to sell. Those who came there did not want her because she was very beautiful and delicate. The only thing they could do with her was to worship her as a goddess.

Finally, a certain Don Miguel bought her to give to his wife. The wife wanted to adopt her when they were able to free her. They dressed her well and left their inheritance to her when they died. When Sr Don Miguel gave her to his wife, she granted her freedom as long as she became a Christian and was baptized Catalina de San Jose.

Since she had been raised in Puebla, she became very fond of the people of Puebla and finally she wanted to do as a native of that town and dress like the humble people.

58 She never forgot the Chinese legends and the fantastic figures of the East and embroidered them. After her death people adopted her costume.

Mourning (Saint Bernard, Louisiana)

When one dies on the island he is not forgotten quickly. The custom is to endure mourning for a long time. I know there are times that mourning was endured for up to ten or twelve years. The family never mourns less than two years. Friends endure mourning for a long time also. It is a custom that I know comes from the Spanish. It is also a custom to give alms. There everyone, everyone does what they can, each knows that when he dies others will do the same for him, they will try to help his family when he dies. People never go to work when there is a wake on the island. They all stay and watch over the dead all night and the next day they go to the funeral.

Memories of School (Mora, New Mexico)

...because I remember that all the boys there, very badly brought up, very... very atrocious. But I will say why they were so atrocious. Because the first day I went to school, my grandmother dressed me in a very... new suit, with a black jacket, brand new, very pretty, and they took me there, to what we called the toilet, you see? Some say the... the bathroom...; yes, the toilet. Well they took my jacket off, the bigger boys, and they threw it down. And then they sat on it and did horrible things on top of it. I went and talked to my uncle, who was a little older, and he came back very angry, and they all denied that they had done this very bad thing. My little sister got angry, but that was all. But I never forgot that experience, right?

Well: from there we went to Wyoming. In Wyoming... the experience I remember was that I was the only Mexican in a school with pure Americans, Anglo-Saxons. And the teacher... I didn't understand her. She talked to me, she talked to me: I didn't understand her. The only word I knew was ice cream. She sat me in a corner... and my mother was young then. I was... because I... She wasn't more than seventeen when I was born; so... I guess she was a very young woman, but she was very... well, she had been raised by the Sisters up to book eight, but... she was very lively in English and all, see? She realized that the teacher... every day she came for me, but... I realized I wasn't learning...

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Big John (Delacroix, Louisiana)

My grandfather had a... a slave: He was called Big John. He had a..., a shack out back. He would go out and cut wood. You know? When they brought a boat here full of Blacks..., from Africa..., as slaves, they chained them together and threw them into the river, but one little boy was left behind, down below, up in the bow and they couldn't find him. And he escaped. They were paying five hundred dollars [for them], but my grandfather didn't pay anything. He made a shack for him out back, so he could cook and so forth, until he grew up, he sent him....

Then he went hunting and spoke Spanish and everything. He called him Big John, when he grew up. They called him Big John. He told him.... There was another Black man, on the other side of the river, who was big like he was. See? And my grandfather....

And he came over to this side of the river to fight with the one on this side. He says: "So you're the best one around here." Eh? He says: "From here to New Orleans, I'm the best." And they went and, you know, one of those little thirty-gallon barrels: They asked the storekeeper for it. Because Big John, who stayed with my grandfather as a slave, you know, says: "Tap it." And he tapped it; he opened it. He took out the plug and drank up the thirty gallons with him. And the man from the other side of the river, who had come to fight with him, did the same thing. And then he says, he says: "I came over here to this side to fight with you." And Big John says: "You can ask all the people around here; I don't like trouble." And he says: "I won't go back to the other side of the river until I fight with you. I've... I've got to fight with you!" And Big John says: "No. I don't want to fight."

(Armistead 1992, p. 155)

Trapping Rats (Saint Bernard, Louisiana)

To trap the rats, they caught and bought about three or four hundred [reeds]. They put them aside and bought the traps, they were trapping rats. So in three or four days, they put their traps outside. First, they put the reeds and after the reeds came traps. Then they started trapping. If they had four hundred traps, they worked from the light of day until night. Sometimes when you caught a hundred and a hundred and twenty, a hundred and fifty rats, when you caught the rats every time you had twenty-five or thirty rats you had to stop and skin them because there was no way to carry so many rats. Although the skinning stopped, a good trapper skinned about two and a half rats a minute, and then he would put his skins on what we called *morral*, that is, behind his back. The rest of the rats were buried so that the animals did not return. It contained two nets, two hundred traps in one, and two hundred in another. The first net would be checked for rats and if we were lucky at eleven thirty, we stopped to eat. Every day we stopped to feed the little birds; after two or three days, the little birds were waiting for us and we fed them every other week and the little birds wanted to eat your lunch. They perched on your boots, they perched on your shoulder, you didn't do anything to them, and when you finished eating you gave what you had to the little birds, and you worked the other net. All the nets were in a circle that was coming behind to the canoe.

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Granny (Del Rio, Texas)

Good evening. My name is María Paredes de Rodríguez. I am David's aunt. I was born in Del Rio, Texas in 1908. When I was a child I attended school very little because I had to work. I learned to write and read only because I liked to read. My father worked on a ranch and my... but then he bought a mill to grind corn. I got married at the age of twenty-two. My husband's name was Renato Rodríguez. [A] little bit later, we rented a place, where we put a grocery store. With time we bought two lots where we made, we made eh... our store and we worked there for thirty-five years. He died in 1968, I stayed alone in the house for a year. Then I went to live with my daughter Alma in Austin, Texas.

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Fantasy Tale (Saint Bernard, Louisiana)

A bad guy came, and it came to be that he gave me a punch that turned my head backwards. And from then I did things contrary to most people. I ate breakfast at twelve midnight. People noticed it, so I went around in the morning. I always wore socks on top of my boots, socks alone, pants. One day I swallowed an alarm clock, believing that it was one year ahead. Nobody could figure it out when at five in the morning the alarm clock rang inside my guts. Well, everything was backwards.

Oh, I caught a horse there. I didn't, that didn't work, either. I caught a horse and we set out on the road. Like I tried everything on top of me. And we set out on the road. And we made our way to the beach. We became horribly hungry, and we set out to eat. I gave the horse a plate of bacon, and a pickled fish salad. And I ate fish and did nothing. And then we continued walking on the beach, I and the horse. And for swimming and then drying we took about 20 or 30 minutes. I looked tired, because it didn't seem that horses weighed a lot, but I always had it on top of me. I had to do it that way because it was backwards, and we continued for ten miles along the beach by the sea. And a little old lady from Canal arrived. She was standing there, and the poor thing said, "You, who are you? Where do you come from?" I said, "Ma'am, nice little old lady, I'm called Joseph Campo." I said, "And I was born here in the United States." I said, "But my blood is Spanish, from Spain."

(Coles 1999, p. 67)

Francisquita and Margarita (Albuquerque, New Mexico)

My grandma told me this story because she wanted me to always help my mom. And the story was called Francisquita and Margarita, and my mom her name was Margarita, and I don't know why it was so special that she [gramma] named one of her girls Margarita, but in the story you will find out.

There was a woman who was very poor, and she lived with two daughters, and had a house, and she had many flowers outside, and many animals, and had two daughters, no more, and the oldest of them was called Margarita. She had black hair and was very white and had rosy cheeks and was very pretty and had very black eyes. The other little sister, she had red hair, was foreign-looking, and had many freckles, and had blue eyes, but she was very *hueva*, she didn't like to help her mother. Margarita was a big strong woman because she took care of the animals, she watered the flowers and helped. And she had to go to the waterwheel to get water for her house. And one day she went with a pot to get water. And when she was there taking water with the pot from the waterwheel, she fell into it and fainted. And what happened was she recovered and that in there was an old lady, and the old lady looked at Margarita, and saw that she was very pretty, and why didn't she stay there to help her with her things there. So, since Margarita liked to help a lot, she started to sweep and clean the old lady's house. And she was there inside the waterwheel, about a week or so went by, no one knows, and finally Margarita was getting very sad and the old lady felt bad because she said maybe she is getting homesick and it's my fault. Then she said to Margarita: "Because you have helped, I am going to give you a remedy and they are herbs that I want you to drink." And when she drank, she fainted again. And then later, when she recovered she was outside, but she saw that her sister Francisquita was already there...

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The North Wind and the Sun (Miami, Florida)

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing over which of them was the strongest, was... was the strongest when a traveler... when a traveler wrapped in a thick cloak passed by. They agreed that the first to get the traveler to remove his cloak would be considered stronger than the other. Then the North Wind blew as strong as he could, but the more he blew the tighter the traveler hugged his cloak to his body, until, at last, the North Wind gave up. Then the Sun shone hotly and immediately the traveler took off his cloak. Thus, the North Wind was forced to acknowledge that the Sun was the braver of the two.

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