

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, PREFERENCE, AND CO-ETHNICITY

Alma Simounet-Géigel

Introduction

It was not until we established our residence in St. Croix about ten years ago that we realized we were not what we thought we were. For forty-two years my husband and I had referred to ourselves as Puerto Ricans. Hearing us codeswitch from English to Spanish, islanders, U.S. mainlanders and other “anders” would comment in a surprising manner: “Oh, you’re Hispanic,” or as one Crucian expressed to complicate matters more: “I thought you white; you Hispanic.” Thus, we were initiated into what was to be our newly found ethnicity, one which we presumably shared with some Cubans and an impressive number of Dominicans in St. Croix. Throughout our lives we had learned to distinguish ourselves from Argentinians, Mexicans, Cubans, Dominicans, and other Spanish speakers, but, lo and behold, we were now to view ourselves as part of a larger, presumably homogeneous whole.

How the term Hispanic emerged as the official label for millions of Spanish speakers from Central, South, and Caribbean America is succinctly explained by Shorris in his book *Latinos* (1992).

... in 1980 the U.S. Census was on the verge of choosing Latino as the correct word when someone said that it sounded too much like Ladino, the ancient Castillian now spoken only by descendants of the Spanish Jews who went into exile in the fifteenth century. Latino was replaced by Hispanic in the Census. (xvi)

And this is how we all came to be called.

In this paper I will first attempt to show you through the use of data collected in the continental United States that, even though as a Spanish-speaking group we do possess “shared and distinctive values, common ancestry, a collective consciousness and a self-perception as being different from others” (Dow 1991:23), still we ARE different within this ethnicity and it is precisely through the preference and proficiency in our shared language that this coethnicity is manifested. Subsequently, I will describe the sociohistorical circumstances which effected these differences in our language behavior.

Language variation

For centuries distinct groups of peoples have believed that the languages they speak are monolithic entities which should remain intact despite contact with other languages and despite the “transgressions” committed by their own speakers. This view has given rise to the desperate call of “save our language” which today is still found in the daily misinformation spouted out by an impressive number of writers in newspapers and magazines all over the world. In spite of the contributions of sociolinguistics, one of which has been to shed light on this matter, diehard –standard–bearers of the normative proposition of language purity continue to rave about the issue in warlike calls to arms, and to revel at the discovery of the most insignificant “offenses” in the speech and writings of well-known figures.

This quasireligious view of language as an unchangeable whole was first challenged by historical linguists—the great vowel shift and the IndoEuropean family of languages—and dialectologists, who since the beginning of this century have sent out scouts to different regions to record the occurrence of linguistic changes. The great challenge, however, came from sociolinguistics, whose research has uncovered, among other findings, “the recognition of the importance of the fact that language is a very variable phenomenon, and that this variability may have as much to do with social reality as with language. A language is not a simple, single code used in the same

manner by all people in all situations ... “ (Trudgill 1983:32). Moreover, it is never static in its lifetime.

This principle of language variation has explained not only how the same language spoken in noncontiguous geographical areas has developed differently (English in England, the United States Australia) but also how the same language of a speech community which shares territorial space within a nation varies according to setting, social class, gender, age, and others. This variation, of course, like language itself, undergoes constant change. (Trudgill 1983; Holmes 1992) Therefore, this phenomenon results in the varieties of English spoken in the US or that of French in France, or that of Spanish in Spanish-speaking America. In the case of the latter, the varieties of Spanish are the result of not only variation within national boundaries but also of variation from country to country and island to island—from Argentina to Mexico, to Venezuela, to Nicaragua, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, to mention a few.

If we take a quick glance at the immigrants from these countries to the United States, it is rather easy to fall prey to the notion that we are faced with a group of peoples whom we would readily categorize as a rather homogeneous speech community; that is, one that shares not only language but also a similar set of cultural values reflected in attitudes and norms which rule their communicative behavior (Gumperz 1976) or as Hymes states “a community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech” (1974:51).

Yet a more scrutinizing look would unveil a conglomerate of communities whose members, although they do share customs, general cultural patterns and an impressive number of regional varieties of Spanish, “have little interaction with each other,...do not recognize that they have much in common culturally,...and do not profess strong affection for each other” (de la Garza et al. 1992:14). Perhaps because of the language matter, these peoples are readily labeled under the rubric of Latin Americans, and when they are viewed as populous pockets within the territorial domain of the United States, they are classified as Hispanics, a term which in reality refers to the people of Spain, or Hispania, the name given to the Iberian peninsula by the invading Romans.

Ironically, in the United States, the real Hispanics are not included in this term but are identified as Spaniards, or the more

recently coined term European Americans (Alba 1990). Thus the general ethnic umbrella given to these "Latinos" in the U.S. brings together, rather forcefully and arbitrarily, a number of individuals who do not view themselves homogeneously (Simounet-Géigel and Géigel 1991). In the introductory chapter to his book *Latinos*, Shorris (1992) quotes one of his informants who states: "Just tell them who we are and that we are not all alike," (xvixvi). Shorris insists on the existence of a larger group. This leads to the following interchange:

"We are Mejicanos," she responded.

"Hispanic?" I asked.

"Mejicano," she said.

"Hispano, Latino, Latin, Spanish, Spanish-speaking."

"Mejicano," she said.

synthesizes wisely this discussion on identity: "To conflate cultures is to destroy them; to take away the name of a group, as of an individual, is to make pale the existence of the group" (xvi).

In response to this threat of the loss of ethnic identity, a number of qualitative and quantitative studies in addition to autobiographical accounts have been published with the aim of correcting these generalized errors (Santiago 1993; De Sipio and Henson 1992; de la Garza et al. 1992; Shorris 1992). It is as a result of the quality, richness of data, and detailed information contained in the last two publications that they have been selected as the main and major sources for the work presented here together with Grosjean's (1982) major work on bilingualism.

The present study examines the language proficiency and preference of Spanish-English bilingual speakers in the continental United States with the end-in-view of providing evidence of the variation which characterizes the linguistic behavior of the individuals in these groups. It is our belief that it is this variation, in conjunction with other types of variation such as attitudes,

education, socioeconomic status and general communication behavior, which gives support to the principle of the groups coethnic rather than the imposed monolithic categorization.

Spanish Speakers in the United States

It is banal and oversimplistic to describe variation in language proficiency and preference if the two linguistic phenomena are not entrenched within the larger perspective of culture, of which language is a significant componential element. The assumption explicated here is that language is a mirror and carrier of culture, more specifically of ethnic culture; and it is simultaneously a disseminating and perpetuating agent of both the static and dynamic cultural knowledge individuals must possess in order to be continuing bonafide members of their particular ethnic group. Thus to speak convincingly of the differences in the language proficiency and preference of Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States, variation factors at the ethnocultural and social levels of the various groups must by necessity be discussed in order to help explain the currents which generate these differences. Variation is then reflected in the linguistic behavior in diverse manners: phonologically, lexically, syntactically and communicatively.

Although Latinos have come to the United States from almost every Spanish-speaking country in the Americas, the majority of the studies available have concentrated on the Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. This is basically due to the fact that these three distinct Latino national origin populations are

the largest and politically the most significant... As of March 1990, the Census Bureau estimated that Mexicans constituted 64 percent of all Hispanics, while Puerto Ricans and Cubans were 11 and 5 percent respectively... Together they account for almost 80 percent of the nation's Hispanics (de la Garza et al.:7)

In order to prove our argument of the diversity within these three major groups we will first make reference to the evidence concerning language proficiency and preference according to the results of the 1992 Latino National Political Survey (de la Garza et al.), which from here on will be referred to as the Survey. In this

Language proficiency, preference, and co-ethnicity

Survey the authors gave a 184-item questionnaire to 1,546 Mexicans, 589 Puerto Ricans, and 682 Cubans eighteen years of age or older and to 456 non-Hispanic whites. The authors believe the sample was representative of 91 percent of the population of these three Latino groups in the U.S. The respondent was defined

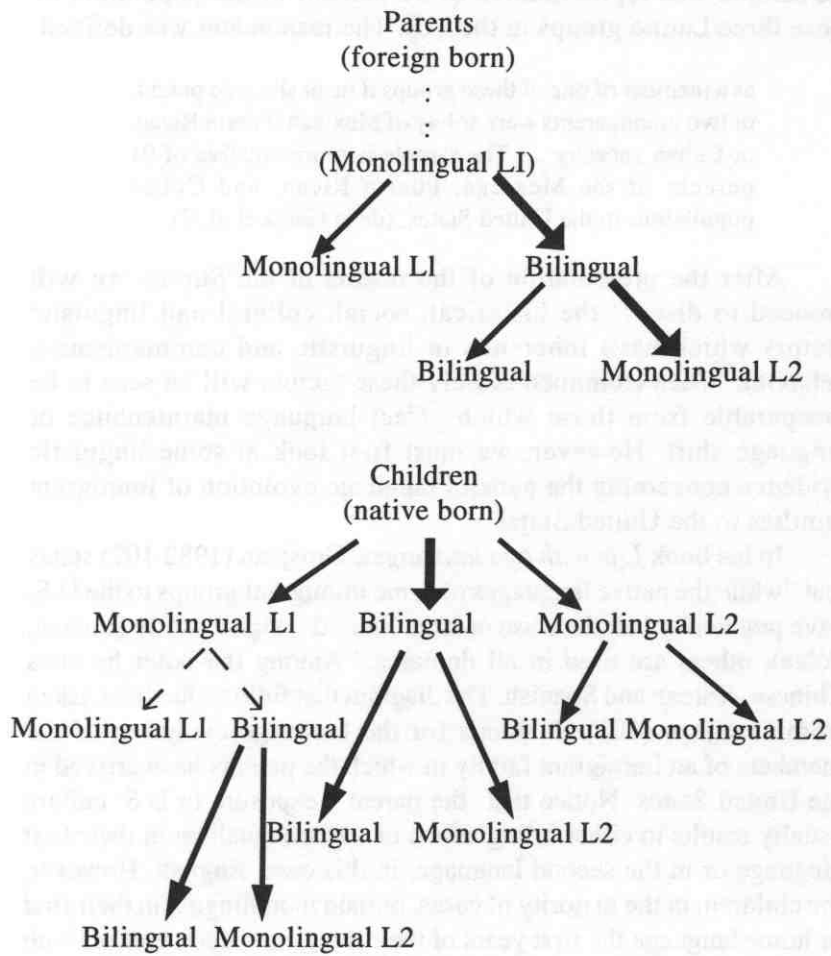
as a member of one of these groups if he or she, one parent, or two grandparents were solely of Mexican, Puerto Rican, or Cuban ancestry The sample is representative of 91 percent of the Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban populations in the United States. (de la Garza et al.:7)

After the presentation of the results of the Survey we will proceed to discuss the historical, social, cultural and linguistic factors which have inherence in linguistic and communicative behavior. When examined closely these factors will be seen to be inseparable from those which affect language maintenance or language shift. However, we must first look at some linguistic evidence concerning the general language evolution of immigrant families to the United States.

In his book *Life with two languages*, Grosjean (1982:102) states that "while the native languages of some immigrant groups to the U.S. have practically lost their use or have limited it significantly (French, Poles), others are used in all domains." Among the latter he cites Chinese, Korean and Spanish. The diagram that follows has been taken from Grosjean (103). It stands for the language evolution of the members of an immigrant family in which the parents have arrived in the United States. Notice that the parent's exposure to U.S. culture usually results in either bilingualism or monolingualism in their first language or in the second language, in this case, English. However, the children, in the majority of cases, remain monolingual in their first or home language the first years of their lives, then upon contact with the outside world, learn English, a fact which may lead to either bilingualism in their first language and second language or monolingualism in the acquired language.

Haugen (1969:235) believes that "...both children and parents seem almost like pawns in a game which they do not themselves understand." Grosjean admits that the pattern is quite general and that it has many different patterns and fluctuations which do occur (105). It is the occurrence of these different patterns that explain the diversity

we find in the language proficiency and preference among Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans in the US. The darker lines stand for the most common pattern of evolution.



Before we delve into what the Survey offers in terms of databased information from their questionnaire concerning language proficiency and preference among our three Latino groups, we should clarify what is meant by each term. Language proficiency refers to the individual's assessed outcome of language learning through a formal or informal means; that is, at school vs. in uncontrived settings as on the street (Baker

Language proficiency, preference, and co-ethnicity

1993:5). It is also defined as the speaker's skill in and command of a language. Language preference, on the other hand refers to the language the bilingual speaker "feels more at home in" (Hoffman 1992:22) or comfortable with. It is also referred to as the bilingual's dominant language. In the Survey, proficiency was assessed through the use of a self-rating scale in response to the following question:

Considering your abilities in understanding, speaking, reading and writing English or Spanish, which of these statements best describes your abilities in Spanish? Would you say that you...

- don't know Spanish?
- are no different in either language?
- are better in Spanish?
- are much better in English?
- are much better in Spanish?
- are better in English?
- don't know English?

Interviewees were also asked to read six sentences and three words in the language in which they were interviewed and to translate them in writing into the other language. This item was used to assess literacy in the subjects' non-dominant language.

The concept of preference was measured in terms of the repeated frequency of use of each language in the home environment. Other questions were also used to look at language preference because they shed light on this matter (language preference at work, bilingual education, English Only policy, and the importance of learning English). The question on language preference appears below.

What language do you usually speak at home?

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Only Spanish | More English than Spanish |
| More Spanish than English | Only English |
| Both languages equally | |

In the discussion that follows we will look first at the statistical results of the Survey concerning the language proficiency and

preference of the Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans in the United States. Then we will focus on the various factors which help explain the diversity within these Latino groups.

Latino National Political Survey Results

According to the Survey, “among the most unexpected and important findings of the LNPS is the degree to which Mexican and Puerto Rican respondents were either bilingual or English dominant” (59). Table 1 below shows the percentages of self-assessed overall language ability for each group (in the Survey, ability is equated with proficiency). All the respondents included in the table were U.S. citizens.

Notice should be made that in these data, 13% of the Mexicans, 66% of the Puerto Ricans, and 71% of the Cubans were born outside the United States in the respective Spanish-speaking country. These are foreign-born, as referred to in the Survey. Monolingualism in either Spanish or English received very low percentages.

Table 1

Overall Language Ability

Overall Language Ability	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban
Only Spanish	6 0.6%	43 7.3%	17 5.3%
Better in Spanish	98 11.1%	198 33.7%	118 37.7%
No difference	227 25.9%	146 24.9%	88 28.2%
Better in English	482 54.9%	183 31.2%	83 26.6%
Only English	65 7.4%	16 2.8%	7 2.2%
Total	877 100.0%	587 100.0%	312 100.0%

When viewed by national origin, the Mexicans displayed the highest overall English language ability (54.9%) followed by the Puerto Ricans (31.2%) and the Cubans (26.6%). These percentages

Language proficiency, preference, and co-ethnicity

for command of English grew significantly higher when the amounts reported for bilingual ability were added: 80.8%, 66.1%, and 44.8% for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans respectively.

The question on literacy attempted to obtain information concerning the respondents, ability to read and write in the language not used in the interview. As a result of the translation test item administered, the Survey reported that the majority of Spanish-speaking respondents obtained low English language literacy scores and the majority of English-speaking subjects obtained low Spanish literacy scores. Tables 2 and 3 below present more specific information.

Table 2

English Literacy of Respondents Interviewed in Spanish

English Literacy of Spanish dominant	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban
Low	99 62.5%	160 52.0%	129 66.5%
High	60 37.5%	148 48.0%	65 33.5%
Total	159 100.0%	308 100.0%	195 100.0%

Table 3

Spanish Literacy of Respondents Interviewed in English

Spanish Literacy of English-dominant	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban
Low	380 52.9%	183 65.7%	90 79.3%
High	339 47.1%	95 34.3%	23 20.7%
Total	719 100.0%	278 100.0%	113 100.0%

When the same test was administered to the non-citizens, the results varied somewhat. In this category of non-citizens only Cubans and Mexicans were included because by law, all Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens, and in the sample obtained only two Puerto Ricans identified themselves as non-citizens. While the majority of the citizens in the three groups obtained low literacy in their nondominant language, the English-dominant non-citizens had even lower Spanish literacy. Yet the majority of the Spanish-dominant non-citizens obtained high scores in English. Tables 4 and 5 below present the results.

Table 4
Spanish Literacy of Respondents Interviewed in English
(non-citizens of US)

Spanish Literacy of English-dominant	Mexican	Cuban
Low	63 86.3%	41 84.5%
High	10 13.7%	7 15.5%
Total	73 100.0%	48 100.0%

Table 5
English Literacy of Respondents Interviewed in Spanish
(non-citizens of the US)

English Literacy of Spanish-dominant	Mexican	Cuban
Low	215 36.2%	81 25.5%
High	379 63.8%	237 74.5%
Total	594 100.0%	318 100.0%

while Mexicans do not evidence a strong maintenance of Spanish, Cubans manifest the opposite and Puerto Ricans, once more, fall in between the two cogroups.

Three Different Histories and Realities

We will now look at each of these groups in order to determine the various factors which explain, to a certain extent, the variation in language proficiency and preference among the three co-groups examined. We do not pretend to give an exhaustive account of each Latino group, but rather focus on the variables which help us understand the data reported in the Survey. Among these factors we will examine migratory history and settlement patterns, average socioeconomic background, contact with country of origin, U.S. citizenship, and some general cultural traits which seem to characterize the majority of the individuals in each co-group as members of the U.S. community of peoples.

According to Grosjean (1982:100), since the middle of the 16th Century, Mexicans have been in the United States Southwest, where they lived for over 250 years under Spanish and then Mexican rule. For this reason, Shorris states that the Mexicans live in the "light of their own history" (1992:95). Place names and house and church architecture are living evidence of the influence of Spanish culture. When this territory was ceded to the U.S. government in the 1840's, Mexicans became strangers in their own land. Grosjean states:

they suffered great prejudice and discrimination. They lost their land through bribery, extortion, and violence; they met with unequal justice; they were discouraged and often prevented from voting; their children were segregated in schools; and in general they were faced with strong racial prejudice, which at times culminated in lynchings. (100)

The 1900's witnessed another massive migration from Mexico into the United States as a result of the Mexican Revolution and better job opportunities in the north. Today, out of 21.4 million Latinos, 64% are of Mexican origin (de la Garza et al.:7). Of these it is roughly estimated that over seven million are undocumented workers (Grosjean:101). Most still live in urban areas in the

southwest, mainly in California and Texas. The first settlers comprised “hacendados” and their workers. Exiles of the 1910 Mexican Revolution “quickly established themselves as an elite” in U. S. territory (Shorris 1992:96) and after World War II, the G.I. Bill opened educational opportunities for many.

However, the millions of documented and undocumented laborers are “hopeful poor who come to the United States willing to abandon their national culture ... and failed immigrants, the unfortunate poor, who come hoping to change their life situation, but end up repeating it in new surroundings ... “ (Shorris:130). Thus, although many Mexicans have attained higher education and inclusion in the more successful socioeconomic classes, millions are still clawing their way through life in search of a dignified existence.

The well-off Mexicans who are U.S. citizens travel to Mexico to visit relatives. Few of the “sojourners-the distrustful poor who hold on to their national culture, because they intend to return to their native country...” (Shorris:130) return home. The non-citizens, the undocumented have no choice but to remain out of contact with the home and family they left behind.

When asked to describe their character in a single word, Shorris, informants responded “aguantar”to bear, to endure.

They endure their fate bravely and with a certain style ...
The Mexicans do not mean merely to live long without dying but to have fortitude ... younger people say the single word that best describes the character of the Mexican Americans is ‘respeto, ... (it) combines with ‘aguantar’ to produce passivity. (105106)

Latino educators believe that this last characteristic makes it possible for the young to allow an adult to talk down to them and to put up with anything.

Such a brief look at this Latino group, as we have just presented here, helps us to understand, at least in part, why, of the three cgroups, the Mexican U.S. citizens display a higher proficiency in English, and concomitantly, a much higher preference for English over Spanish. The descendants of the 75,000 who were treated as conquered people in the 1840’s (Grosjean 1982) plus those who continued to cross the border and eventually became citizens were

relatively linguistically assimilated. They had limited contact with relatives in Mexico, and through their belief in endurance and respect were trapped into the game of survival in exchange of language and identity, despite the reverence for education in Mexican culture.

The noncitizens, however, overwhelmingly use Spanish at home. This is understood when the data tell us that these individuals emigrated to the United States as adults. If we follow Grosjean's tree of language evolution for U.S. immigrants presented earlier, we can predict that these non-citizens are at the start of a language road which will eventually lead to bilingualism or even monolingualism in the second language in the case of their children.

The Cuban story is different. Cubans arrived in the United States in 1959 and most of the 1960's as the largest group of political refugees in U.S. territory. Many were businessmen, teachers, lawyers, nurses, and skilled workers who rapidly entered the U.S. market. Although there are many living in New York, New Jersey, California, and Illinois, the immense majority live in Miami. In the first wave, 1959-1962, 31% were professional, technical, and managerial (compared with 9.2% of the entire Cuban population); 33% clerical or in sales (compared with 13.7 percent of the entire population); 8% were semiskilled or unskilled; 7% were service workers; and 4% were agricultural workers. Only 4% had less than a fourth grade education (compared with 52% of the entire population), and 36% had completed high school or had some college (compared to 4% for the entire population). (Shorris 1992:64)

This profile explains the different image projected by the Cubans in the U.S. communities (to be discussed below) and the markedly different treatment the Cuban immigrant cogroup has received in the United States in contrast to the other two groups. This, of course, was somewhat altered with the arrival of the "Marielitos" or Cuban exiles who left en masse from the port of Mariel and whose general profile differed significantly from the one described above.

As exiles from a regime they have vowed to outlive and from a country to which they have promised to return, the Cubans have fought to maintain language and culture. "Human rights, the Spanish language, and Cuban culture are the three stones on which the

boiling pot of the exile sits” (Shorris 1992:14041). They have learned English but have not forgotten their Spanish, and they make sure their children speak it. In fact, they judge people by how well they speak Spanish. And as to their characteristic life stance, it is “*atrevimiento*” boldness, daring. “...the Cuban has nothing of the supplicant in his culture; he has been wronged, and he means to set the world aright” (65).

The majority of Cubans thus assess their Spanish language proficiency higher than their English proficiency; their preference for Spanish is the highest of the three groups, both in the case of those who have become U.S. citizens as of those who are still non-citizens. They fought for bilingual education (Grosjean 1982) and their hatred for the Castro regime, which they plan to outlive, has become the driving torch that keeps their Spanish so alive that it has turned Miami into a Spanish-speaking metropolis in the heart of the continental United States.

The history of the Puerto Ricans on the mainland has been very different from that of the Mexicans or of the Cubans. Puerto Ricans began to migrate to the United States at the beginning of this century but in greater numbers after World War II because of the following conditions prevalent in Puerto Rico: an exploding population, rising unemployment, better job opportunities in the mainland and low cost of air travel (Grosjean:97); however, they were U.S. citizens, which entailed different implications in terms of migratory patterns.

They have settled in New York City, Newark, Jersey City, Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia. While Puerto Rico holds a population of 3.57 million, there are approximately 2.5 million on the U.S. mainland.

Unlike the other Latino groups discussed here, Puerto Ricans are characterized by a two-way migratory pattern. They move to the mainland and then return to visit or resettle, most probably because they are U.S. citizens, a critical issue in the back and forth geographical mobility. According to Grosjean (1982), a number of problems have accompanied Puerto Ricans in their migration to the United States

1. The language barrier: The older generation and young children are monolingual in Spanish and because of the circulatory migrant movement and the possession of US

Language proficiency, preference, and co-ethnicity

citizenship, the incentive to assimilate is not as lifethreatening as in the case of the other groups.

2. Racism: Large segments of the U.S. population regard them as non-white and together with poverty and a "foreign" language the barrier is enhanced.
3. Discrimination: Despite U.S. citizenship they have found discrimination in housing, jobs, and education and their working class socioeconomic status makes this discrimination more marked. Their cultural life stance reflects a nostalgia for the island (a constant in the linguistic and cultural studies carried out among them) but also a happy-go-lucky attitude toward life as a result of a fear of the future. Shorris (1992) believes it is the partying mentality exhibited by troops expecting to go to battle and face death. That is why Puerto Ricans' response to "How are you?" is "En la lucha; en la brega" struggling against fate, struggling to survive.

... "struggle" in the context of the Puerto Rican character means the struggle to survive, the attempt to overcome one's fate. Without the aspect of struggle, the Puerto Rican character would be dolorous rather than tragic, the partying an expression of despair rather than a rage against the past. Without partying, the Puerto Ricans would not be wounded, they would be dead. (90)

In addition to this, the political status of the island, neither a state nor an independent country, is an important reflection of the struggle to survive, of the fear of the future, of what the political outcome will be in terms of the final status for the island. As Puerto Ricans sometimes state, "we are and we are not." This ambivalent stance into which they believe they are born, the history of migration, and the barriers faced despite U.S. citizenship explain the results in language proficiency and preference. The larger percentages, very close to each other, fluctuate between 25 and 33 percent, like island status, no clear majority. As for language preference, not as markedly as in the case of the Cubans, Puerto Ricans prefer Spanish although a great number speak both English and Spanish. They are U.S. citizens, but they are fiercely

nationalistic. They are closely divided into pro English Only, 49%, and against it 51%; overwhelmingly in favor of all U.S. citizens learning English, 83%; strongly for bilingual education 87%, in the sense of learning English and Spanish, and not in the sense of solely maintaining language and culture; willing to be taxed for bilingual education, 70%; and staunch believers that US history should be taught together with Puerto Rican history, 71.6%.

This is the result of 500 years of colonization and its accompanying discrimination and exclusion—a situation that culminates in low self-esteem or what Muñoz Marín claims, is the problem of self-respect among Puerto Ricans. Shorris (1992) states:

How Spanish-speaking people from the Caribbean could have moved to the mainland United States without experiencing the sense of change that creates the true revolution is one of the cruelties of colonialism ... Since Puerto Rico has been a colony for almost five hundred years, the people of the island have no other view of themselves, no other history... Since they cross no border when coming to the mainland,, they cannot become Americans, cannot become at all; nothing changes for them—they remain Puerto Ricans, they remain colonized Of all the Spanish-speaking peoples of the hemisphere, only the Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens, and only the Puerto Ricans are barred from the United States As long as Puerto Ricans cannot immigrate, they remain immutable, wooden people on whom the outer vestments of culture can be changed, but who are fixed by the morticians of colonialism in timeless imitations of party-goers. (144-145)

Conclusion

In terms of ethnic variation among the Latino co-groups, this study has merely scratched the surface, in great part due to the delimitations set out from the beginning to language proficiency and language preference. The Survey utilized as the major source of information has been a revealing scientific document in the midst of myths and speculations. It has proved beyond a reasonable doubt that although there is much that they share, as Latinos, there are many important aspects of life about which they disagree.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alba, R. 1990. *Ethnic identity: The transformation of white America*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Baker, C. 1993. *Foundations of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.
- de la Garza, R., De Sipio, L., García, F. Chris, García, J., and Falcón, A. 1992. *Latino voices: Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban perspectives on American politics*. Boulder: Westview Press, Inc.
- De Sipio, L. and Henson J. April. 1992. The Cuban American enclave and the construction of ethnicity. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association in Chicago.
- Grosjean, F. 1982. *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Gumperz, J. and Hymes, D. 1972. *Directions in sociolinguistics: An ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Haugen, E. 1969. *The Norwegian language in America: A study in bilingual behavior*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Holmes, J. 1992. *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. New York: Longman.
- Hoffman, C. 1992. *An introduction to bilingualism*. London: Longman.
- Hymes, D. 1974. *Foundations in Sociolinguistics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Santiago, E. 1993. *When I was Puerto Rican*. New York: Addison Wesley.
- Shorris, E. 1992. *Latinos: A biography of the people*. New York: Norton.
- Simounet-Géigel, A. and Géigel, W. November. 1991. La raza: The search for identity. Paper presented by the Speech Communication Association annual convention in Atlanta.