
True warriors die, goes the Spanish saying, with their boots on. Among immigrants, the Spanish language itself also dies, it seems, con las botas puestas. And sometimes the dying language revives and walks on the boots again. The grandchildren of Puerto Rican immigrants use Spanish much less than their grandparents, for a diminishing range of purposes, with many fewer interlocutors, and with code switches that fill up about 10% of an average Spanish discourse with English words and sentences. But when this third generation does use the language, it is a robust form of Spanish, equipped with the same inventory of nominal and verbal inflections as that of the immigrants, still resting on a basic Spanish foundation largely devoid of English elements. Moreover, when pressed to construct speech events in Spanish, these American Latinos deploy affixation and stitch together coordination and subordination in a manner that substantially resembles the behavior of their Puerto Rican grandparents. And in larger stretches, the structure of their Spanish narratives keeps to the same pattern of recounting events followed by the first generation. Only the lexicon is diminished because disuse chips away at the stock of the grandchildren’s Spanish vocabulary. To replace the lost words, loans from English come in, and surviving Spanish lexical items are put to creative uses, their traditional meanings used in calques of English-style communications.

This conclusion, the surprising structural strength of a language among speakers who are in fact abandoning it, is the central finding in Torres’s sociolinguistic study of three generations of Puerto Ricans in the New York City suburb of Brentwood. But are these speakers in fact abandoning Spanish as some of Torres’s data show? The author stresses the complexity of the issue, documenting not only the many ways in which Spanish is dying among third-generation youngsters, but also the way it comes back to life in many of the same individuals when personal and personal relationships endow it with newly found value later in life. Torres stresses as well the significance, beyond structure, of the content of her informants’ narratives, where tensions are played out between evolving cultural systems, and between assimilation to the positive parts of a new society and resistance to its racist elements.

Torres is best at recognizing, in the novel usages of immigrant and minority speech, not only loss but also linguistic creativity. To discover, as Torres has, that only 2% of the third-generation Spanish vocabulary is made up of English loanwords, that the seemingly highly hybridized speech of these informants is still 90% Spanish, or that many of their new uses rest on existing meanings will not necessarily change a widespread perception that their Spanish is a simplified mishmash. But then again, this perception measures this dialect against an implicit expectation of zero switching to, and zero borrowing from, English, an expectation that would crash in the face of even much smaller rates of English penetration.

Still, Torres’s central finding can be tempered by more sober criticisms. Her standard for measuring the third generation is not the Spanish of Puerto Rico, but that of the Puerto Rican-born generation in Brentwood. Thus all the changes in the Spanish of that first generation become themselves the baseline from which the grandchildren are measured. In addition, as she acknowledges, her sample excludes many Brentwood Latinos who refused to speak in Spanish at all. And the data are all narratives, which exact fewer linguistic demands than other linguistic genres. Still, good data are presented and analyzed, established ideas are challenged, and a rich, complex, and highly nuanced picture of immigrant bilingualism is allowed to emerge.

RICARDO OTHEGUAY
*City College of New York*

RUSSIAN