

**FROM PACHUCAN ONOMASTICS TO TEXAS GRAVEMARKERS:
Geolinguistic Growth and Territorial Evidence
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ABSTRACT

Ian Hancock, in his 1978 survey of the pidgins and creoles of the world, includes Pachuco—which he defines as “a Spanish-English contact language in waning use between Spanish and English speaking Americans, and used as an argot by some users of Mexican ancestry in Arizona and parts of Southern California.” Ethnic language data, gathered from Texas gravemarkers over the past two decades, indicates that Pachuco not only exists in present-day Texas, but also is thriving and spreading northward and eastward. Onomastics plays an essential role in the understanding of Pachuco’s spreading geolinguistic territory. Unlike their German, Czech, Scandinavian, French, Italian, Chinese, and Arabic Texas counterparts, Spanish language surnames have not assimilated into the English orthographic and phonological constraints. The Spanish language quasi-assimilation in and of itself argues for the widespread existence of Pachuco.

Each summer during the first weekend in August, Texans gather in San Antonio for four days of ethnic celebration. Descendants from the first to the most recent immigrants, they set up booths at the carnival-like arena that surrounds the permanent building of the University of Texas in San Antonio Folklife Center and entertain themselves and thousands of visitors with their dances, their music, their foods, their crafts, and their languages.

Thirty one different ethnic groups in all, they include Native American Indians: the Alabama, the Coushatta, the Tiguas, and the Kickapoos (5000 B.C. - 18th century A.D.), Spanish (1871), Mexicans (1750-1836, 1910-present), English and Scots (1800-1900), Irish (1820, 1830), Africans (1820, 1865), French (1842, 1854, 1876, 1900), German (1845), Jews (1848-1870, 1880-1920), Wends (1949-1850, 1854), Poles (1850s, 1870, 1900-1914, 1949-1951, 1982-present), Hungarians

(1850s, 1880-1920, early 1950s, 1956), Czechs (1850-1860, 1865), Norwegians and Danes (1850-1900), Chinese (1870, 1880s, 1917, 1949, 1968), Italians (1875-1920s), Welsh (1878), Lebanese (1880s), Armenians (1882-1910, 1920-1922, 1960s-1970s, 1980s), Greeks (1890-1920), Dutch (1895), Ukrainians (1895, 1930s), Belgians (late 1890s), Filipinos (1940s, 1965-present), Latin Americas: Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Argentineans, Bolivians, Guatemalans, Panamanians, and Peruvians (1950s), Japanese (1952), South Koreans (1950s-1980s); East Indians: Indians, Pakistanis, and Sri Lankans (late 1960s-early 1970s), Khmer and Vietnamese (1975-present) (Allen et al 1989, see Works Cited).

The rest of the year Texans enjoy that ethnic diversity less boisterously, yet openly and thoroughly as Bastille Day echoes the Fourth of July, Martin Luther King Day breaks up the dullness of February, Dies Y Seize welcomes us to September, Chinese New year allows us a second chance to start anew again. We never seem to run out of days to isolate and to thank one of our ethnic groups for making Texas Texas.

On a worldwide scale, of course, Texans only exemplify the rest of the United States. The overused clichés of the American Melting Pot and of the Salad Bowl highlight this same self-image of being multiethnic, multinational, and multilingual.

Few outsiders understand the deep effects of this diversity upon the Texans self-image. It is, perhaps, a major cause of the Texas image of braggadocio, of self-confidence, of bravado. Texans see Texas as a place for ranches as well as for shrimp boats; for oil wells as well as lumberyards; for citrus farms, dairy farms, vegetable farms, catfish farms, and commercial rose gardens; for breweries and

wineries; for small towns with small businesses as well as for three of the ten largest cities in the United States with headquarters for corporate giants. Texans see themselves as multiethnic, multinational, and multilingual.

Some of this self-image most likely has mythlike qualities, impossible to verify. Some of the self-image, however, has verifiable reality. Evidence of the multilingual history of the United States, for example, abounds in the museum-like confines of its cemeteries. Of relevance to scholars, moreover, the language data found in these cemeteries not only verifies a multiethnic and multilingual past—the data also provide (1) consistent patterns of language loss and language assimilation, (2) verifiable evidence of a strong bilingual present, and (3) hold clues of the possible emergence of a new, mixed-code language known variously as Pachuco, Pocho, Calo, and/or Spanglish.

Consistent Patterns of Language Loss and Language Assimilation

In ethnic language cemeteries, three types of language codes appear on the gravemarkers: (1) monolingual English language; (2) monolingual ethnic languages; (3) and mixed-code and/or bilingual markers—always mixed with English.

Research on English language gravemarkers has repeatedly shown a consistent pattern of the language of grief (Baird 1992, 251; Eckert 1993; Rotundo 1977, 99). If only one semantic item appears on a marker, that item will be the deceased's name (Figure 1, Greer);

GREER

Figure 1, Greer
City Cemetery, Taylor, Texas

if two semantic items appear, they will be the deceased's name and death date

(Figure 2, Wells);

FRANCES SEELIGSON
WELLS
JANUARY 30, 1978

Figure 2, Wells
Mission Park South Cemetery, San Antonio, Texas

if three items appear, they will be name, death date, and birth date (Figure 3, Bier);

WM. A. BIER
BORN
APRIL 9, 1860
DIED
OCT. 19, 1939

Figure 3, Bier
Wetmore Methodist Cemetery, San Antonio, Texas

the fourth item, if added, will be kinship terminology (Figure 4, McDonald);

DADDY	MOTHER
HIRAM ALLEN	DOROTHY ELIZABETH
1881 1936	1893 1972
M ^C DONALD	

Figure 4, McDonald
San Fernando Catholic Cemetery #3, San Antonio, Texas

the fifth predictable item will be the epitaph (Figure 5, Goll).

FATHER	MOTHER
MARTIN	MARTHA
SEPT. 25, 1880	NOV. 17, 1881
JULY 23, 1951	JUNE 20, 1976
ASLEEP IN THE GARDEN OF OUR HEARTS	

GOLL

**Figure 5, Goll
Wetmore Methodist Cemetery, San Antonio, Texas**

Three other semantic items may appear: occupation (Figure 6, Baylor),

MOTHER		FATHER	
THELMA ANTOINETTE BAYLOR		ROLAND NELSON BAYLOR	
LT SALVATION ARMY		SN US NAVY	
WORLD WAR 1		WORLD WAR 1	
JAN 3 1902	SEP 15, 1990 ^{****}	AUG 16 1896	SEP 6
	1978		

**Figure 6, Baylor
San Fernando Catholic Cemetery #3, San Antonio, Texas**

place of death, and place of birth (Figure 7, Underwood). These items, however, do not appear in any predictable pattern; much more often than not, the markers do not contain this information (Baird 1992, 253-4 note 32).

The majority of the monolingual ethnic language markers adhere to the same predictable semantic patterns as do the English markers: Name, Death date, Birth Date, Kinship terminology, and Epitaph. Occupation, place of death, and place of birth information still appears in unpredictable patterns. Places of death and birth, however, do appear more frequently on the ethnic language markers than they do on the monolingual English language markers. Our work, so far, has

MRS. NANCY J.
UNDERWOOD
BORN
IN SAVANNAH GA.
OCT. 5, 1873.
DIED
IN DEWERS TEXAS
OCT 11, 1901
AGE 28 YRS 7 DAYS
DEAREST LOVED ONE WE HAVE
LAID THE

IN THE PEACEFUL GRAVE'S
EMBRACE
BUT THY MEMORY WILL BE
CHERISHED
TILL WE SEE THY HEAVENLY FACE
FAR OFF THOU ART BUT EVER NIGH
I HAVE THEE STILL AND I REJOICE
UNDERWOOD

**Figure 7, Underwood
Clinton, Texas**

included eight ethnic languages: German, Czech, Polish, Swedish, Norwegian, French, Italian, and Chinese.

In addition to monolingual English markers and monolingual ethnic language markers, ethnic cemeteries in the United States also have significant numbers of bilingual and/or mixed coded markers. Bilingual markers have all or some of their semantic information repeated in the two languages. We have found few bilingual markers—perhaps a half dozen Chinese/English; perhaps three or four German /Czech.

Mixed code markers, on the other hand, do not repeat the semantic information—the information exists either in the ethnic language or in English. In light of the strong Spanish language presence in the United States, this influence of English upon the ethnic languages reveals much about the cultural advantages that immigrants placed upon English. After more than two decades of research, involving 200 or more students in fifty or more cemeteries with access to tens of thousands of markers, we have yet to find either a bilingual or a mixed code marker with Spanish linked with a non-English language.

Obviously to linguists interested in the study of languages in contact, these bilingual and mixed-code markers reveal much. The diachronic information on bilingual and mixed-code markers, in and of itself, bears witness to the slow, careful, movement of ethnic communities from their native language dependency to their final acceptance of English.

A closer examination of these bilingual and mixed code markers, however, reveals an even stronger insight into language assimilation. Whether bilingual or mixed-code, when semantic information appears in English it appears in the same pattern as described above for monolingual markers. In 1984, Baird and Duncan noted that a continuum-like pattern exists in the English influence upon German language as it appeared on Texas gravemarkers. If a marker had only one item in English and other items were in German, that English item would be the deceased's name. If two items appeared in English, those two would be the deceased's name and death date. The third item would be a birth date. Then appeared kinship terminology; then death place; birth place; and occupation. If only one item remained in German, they predicted that this item would be the epitaph (Baird & Duncan 1984).

Indeed this same assimilation pattern holds for the majority of bilingual and mixed-code markers, we have encountered—Korean/English, Greek/English, Arabic/English, Hebrew/English, German/English, Czech/English, Norwegian/English, and Swedish/English (Baird 1996, 125)

Verifiable Evidence of a Strong Bilingual Present

While these ethnic language markers, both monolingual and bilingual, present an overwhelming display of an unconscious, yet universal, language of grief—with name, death date, birth date, kinship, and epitaph forming a predictable continuum of importance (with occupation, death place and birth place have unpredictable importance), the ethnic languages prove have a special lesson to teach about the relationship of Spanish with the Texas (with the United States).

One of the contrasts with the other ethnic languages and Spanish lies within the gradual demise of non-Spanish and non-English markers. The most recent Czech marker we have found carries a death date of 1982; the latest German monolingual marker has a death date in the 1960s. In other words, the only monolingual markers still being erected in South Texas, with perhaps a few isolated exceptions that we have not discovered, are written either in English or in Spanish language. Moreover, the monolingual Spanish markers are appearing further north and further east in the state through time; their geolinguistic sphere is growing not disappearing (Baird 1989).

As with the other languages discussed, the monolingual Spanish markers follow the predictable pattern of semantic importance. If one item appears on a marker, that item will be the deceased's name (Figure 8, De La Peña); if two items appear, the name and death date; if three, the name, death date, and birth date (Figure 9, Marroquin); if four name, death date, birth date, and kinship terminology (Figure 10, Cavazos); and if five, all of the above plus an epitaph (Figure 11, Baldarrama).

DE LA PEÑA

**Figure 8, De La Peña
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio**

EUGENIO MARROQUIN
10.5.1899
12.19.95

**Figure 9, Marroquin
Catholic Cemetery, Floresville, Texas**

CONCEPCION C. RAMOS 1852 HIJA 1959	MODESTO S. CAVAZOS 1897 HIJO 1971
JOSEFA S. CAVAZOS 1861 MADRE 1918	GERMAN M. CAVAZOS 1854 PADRE 1913

**Figure 10, Cavazos
San Fernando Cemetery #1, San Antonio, Texas**

MADRE
ANTONIA B. BALDARRAMA
NACIO 1807
FALLECIO 1912
DESCANSE EN PAZ

**Figure 11, Baldarrama
San Fernando Cemetery #1, San Antonio, Texas**

Given, then that San Antonio, at least—if not all of Texas—has become a bilingual community (Figure 12, Water-Aqua), mixed code and/or bilingual Spanish/English markers abound in its cemeteries (Figure 13, Ramos). Since we know from all of these data with all of these languages the repeated importance of

DO NOT
DRINK
WATER
NO TOME
ESTA
AGUA

**Figure 12, Water-Aqua
Sign in Lock Hill Selma Cemetery, San Antonio, Texas**

RAMOS

MADRE	HIJO	DAD	MOTHER
DOLORES V.	CAESAR	SOLOMON V.	MARY C.
1896 – 1984	1922 -	AUG. 30, 1920	SEPT. 1, 1923
	AUG. 15, 1992	OCT. 7, 1986	

PRAY FOR US THAT WE MAY BE TOGETHER FOREVER

Figure 13 Ramos
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

name, then death date, then birth date, then kinship terminology, then epitaph, we can ascertain that on mixed-code markers with English and Spanish, English dominates the Spanish. Note, for example, the English language influence on the name Cantu, spelled without an accent mark (Figure 14, Cantu). Note also the father's portion of the marker written all in English, the remainder of the marker written in Spanish (Figure 15, Canales). While the Spanish language has increased its geographical base, in other words, the dominance of English still prevails in what would appear otherwise to be a growing bilingual community.

ESMEREJILDA
 CANTU
 NACIO EN BROWNSVILLE TEX
 ABRIL 13, 1872
 FALLECIO
 DIC. 13, 1935
 EDAD 63 AÑOS 8 MESES
 RECUARDO DE SU HIJO
 GUADALUPE

**Figure 14, Cantu
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas**

CANALES

FATHER ANTONIO O. JAN. 20, 1916 SEPT. 14, 1980	MADRE ADELA P. SEPT. 30, 1921 ABRIL 28, 1986
RECUERDO DE SU ESPOSA E HIJOS	RECUERDO DE SU HIJA E HIJOS

**Figure 15, Canales
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas**

**Possible Emergence of a New, Mixed-Code Language, Known Variously as
Pachuco, Pocho, Calo and/or Spanglish.**

The gravemarker proof that English dominates Spanish in the borderland that separates Texas from Mexico, while interesting and relevant, most likely surprises no one. A substantial number of mixed-code, Spanish/English gravemarkers in various South Texas cemeteries, however, deviate from the established pattern. Less frequent in appearance than the predictable name, death date, birth date, kinship, and epitaph hierarchy, numerous markers retain Spanish diacritics on the names—even though some or all of the other semantic items do appear in English.

Four different gravemarkers, each with the surname PENA, illustrate well the presence of these new data: note the predictable patterns in the monolingual Spanish (Figure 16, Peña), the mixed-code English/Spanish (Figure 17, Pena); the

monolingual English (Figure 18, Pena);--and then the unpredictable aberration (Figure 19, Peña).

PEÑA
ESTEBAN MAURICIA T.
ENE. 29, 1937 SEPT. 21, 1881
EDAD 50 AÑOS SEPT. 13, 1965
RECUERDO DE SUS HIJOS

Figure 16, PEÑA
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

CRUZ PENA
1852-1940
RECUERDO DE SUS HIJOS

Figure 17, PENA
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

PENA
HERMENEGILDO DAVID F. MARY P.
1912 - 1912 -

Figure 18, PENA
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

SUSIE PEÑA
SEPT. 13, 1911
SEPT. 6, 1966
OUR BELOVED MOTHER

Figure 19, PEÑA
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

Through the years our collection of these new patternless, mixed-code Spanish/English markers has grown considerably (Figure 20, Patiño), (Figure 21, Saldaña).

PATIÑO
MIGUEL FELICITAS O.
1833 -1895 1839 - 1914

McCLENAN			PATIÑO	
MINERVA	CHARLIE	CAROLINE	JOSEFINA	ALEJANDRO
JAN. 2, 1911		NOV. 19, 1911	1926	ELVIRA
APR. 6, 1911	NOV. 19, 1911	GRANDCHILDREN		

Figure 20, Patiño
San Fernando Cemetery #1, San Antonio, Texas

JESUS SALDAÑA
 APR. 14. 1894
 JUNE 20, 1951

Figure 21, Saldaña
San Fernando Cemetery #1, San Antonio, Texas

Initially, we dismissed the use of diacritics as a demonstration of ethnic pride; we had found similar expressions on an occasional Czech gravemarker (Figure 22, Cernik), (Figure 23, Sevcik) (Eckert 1993, 109).

CERNIK
 TOMAS ROZINA
 DEC. 1, 1840 MAR. 26, 1856
 AUG. 10, 1902 MAR. 8, 1942
 BLESSED ARE THE DEAD WHICH DIE IN THE LORD. REV. XIV, 13

Figure 22, Cernik
Holstyn, Texas, Cemetery

SEVCIK
 ANTON CECILIA
 JAN. 2, 1895 NOV. 13, 1896
 DEC. 2, 1956 JULY 11, 1956
 FATHER MOTHER
 REST IN PEACE

Figure 23, Sevcik

Holstyn, Texas, Cemetery

Yet the consistent appearance of the broken-pattern markers plus co-occurring research by Chicano culture scholars such as Gloria Anzaldua (Anzaldua 1987), Juan Bruce-Novoa (1980), Gabriela De Ferrari (1995), Arturo Madrid (Madrid 1995, 1986, 1982, 1977; Moyers 1989), and Suzanne Oboler (1992) led us back to the research of other linguists. That deeper look has proven most rewarding—and for the sake of discussion, if nothing else, I have chosen to isolate the phenomenon under the rubric “Pachucan Onomastics.”

Fellow scholars, working with the mixed-code spoken language—not the written gravemarker expression of that language—have variously called mixed-code Spanish/English speech *Pachuco*, *Calo*, *Tirili*, *Pochismos*, *Spanish-English*, *Pocho*, *Tex-Mex*, and *Spanglish*.

In 1958, Bert Kruger Smith edited a small monograph in which he compiled the stories of a Catholic Priest, Father Harold J. Rahm, and a social worker, John Robert Weber, both of whom worked at Our Lady’s Youth Center in south El Paso, Texas. Early in his narrative, Mr. Weber describes the people they worked with as Chicanos. “The Chicano culture,” he says, “develops its own language which is as equally unintelligible to the English speaking as to the Spanish speaking” (Smith 1958, 12).

In 1960, Anthropologist Haldeen Braddy published a list of drug addict vocabulary word attributed to the “Pachucos,” whom she described as Latin American juvenile delinquents from the Texas-Mexico borderland—especially in south El Paso. (Braddy 1960, 255). The Pachucos, in other words, referred to teenage gang

members drawn from the Chicano culture described by Weber. In an excellent discussion of the Pachuco, Braddy describes how they eventually left El Paso and moved to California—especially to Los Angeles (Braddy 1960, 255-64). She makes the interesting remark: “Today the Pachuco in El Paso have virtually disappeared as an organized group, but they have bequeathed to society several gangs of imitators” (Braddy 1960, 260).

In 1965, Lurline Coltharp, a linguist working in the same south El Paso community as did Rahm, Weber, and Braddy, isolated the Chicano language for detailed description. She decided to call this third language Caló—“a term that is not offensive to them.” Braddy also refers to this term Caló, which simply means “dialect” (Braddy 1960, 262; Coltharp 1965, 74). Two terms, Tirili and Pachuco, did offend some of her informants. Tirili, they said, referred to “hoodlums” and, interesting in light of Braddy’s findings, Pachuco referred to people from California (Coltharp 1965, 74).

In spite of her concerns about offending her informants, Coltharp published her research in a book entitled *The Tongue of the Tirilones* with the subtitle *A linguistic study of a criminal argot*. Moreover she mistakenly cites Weber as saying the language he and Rahm worked with was a criminal language. “The language has been generally credited, however, to the criminal element” (Coltharp 1965, 31 (with footnote reference to Rahm, not Smith, 1958, 11-12)). Weber did say that the Chicano culture had gangs, but he never mentioned the gangs as having a special language.

Nonetheless, Ian Hancock, in his 1971 survey of pidgins and creoles of the world, lists “Pachuco or Pochismos (a Spanish-English contact language in waning use between Spanish and English speaking Americans, and used as an argot by some users of Mexican ancestry in Arizona and parts of Southern California.” (Romaine 1988, 315).

About twenty years ago, the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C. published an anthology in which nineteen scholars shared their concerns about this merging language mixture of Spanish and English (Hernandez-Chavez, et al 1975). I quote from their introduction:

Today, there are upwards of six million Spanish speakers in the southwestern states along with millions more attracted to the agricultural and industrial center of the Midwest and East. Depending upon the region in which they live, the history of their settlement in the United States, local custom and other factors, they call themselves variously *hispanos*, *mexicanos*, *latinos*, *Mexican-Americans*, or *chicanos* (v).

Among other things, equality means for Chicanos the right to keep their language, to develop it, and to use it freely for all forms of communication (vi).

Perhaps the most important factor that distinguishes Southwest from Spanish speaking regions outside the United States and Puerto Rico is the influence of English, especially on the lexicon (viii).

Eighteen years after Hancock published his survey of pidgins and creoles throughout the world, John Holm, in his 1989 survey also refers to Pachuco. Instead of suggesting its demise, as did Hancock, Holm, citing both Coltharp and

Hancock, defined Pachuco as “a Spanish-English hybrid spoken by bilingual Chicano (Mexican-American) youths in the southwestern part of the United States that once belonged to Mexico (309). . . . A similar mixture of Spanish and English has been developing among the predominantly Puerto Rican Hispanics of New York City (Zentella 1981) and Cubans of Miami (Fernandez 1983)” (Holm 1989, 310).

Hernandez-Chavez, Cohen, and Beltramo, in the Center for Applied Linguistics Anthology, worried that few people took the Chicano culture, including its language, seriously (Hernandez-Chavez, et. al. 1975, vi & xvii). That lack of interest dissipated during the past two decades. In her 1987 collection of Mexican-American border region essays and poetry, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, Gloria Anzaluda writes:

"The *Pocho* is an anglicized Mexican or American of Mexican origin who speaks Spanish with an accent characteristic of North Americans and who distorts and reconstructs the language according to the influence of English (fn3). Tex-Mex, or Spanglish, comes most naturally to me. I may switch back and forth from English to Spanish in the same sentence or in the same word. With my sister and my Brother Nune and with Chicano *tejano* contemporaries I speak in Tex-Mex.

"From kids and people my own age I picked up *Pachuco*. *Pachuco* (the language of the zoot suiters) is a language of rebellion, both against Standard Spanish and Standard English. It is a secret language. Adults of the culture and outsiders cannot understand it. It is made up of slang words from both English and Spanish. . . . Through lack of practice and not having

others who can speak it, I've lost most of the *Pachuco* tongue" (Anzaldua Borderlands, 56).

"Some of the languages we speak are: . . . 6. Chicano Spanish (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California have regional variations) 7. Tex-Mex 8. *Pachuco* (called *Calo*)" (Anzaldua Borderlands, 56).

Conclusion

Within this context of the linguistic analyses of a spoken hybrid of English and Spanish, which in itself lies within a much larger context of Chicano studies, one can apply new insights into the consistently patternless language code mixing on a significant number of English/Spanish gravemarkers. To the consistent and predictable Spanish language (Figure 24, Patiño), and English language (Figure 25, Patino), exists the Pachuco language (Figure 26, Patiño); Spanish language (Figure 27, Treviño), English language (Figure 28, Trevino), and Pachuco language (Figure 29, Treviño).

MANUEL
JUNIO 12, 1938
EDAD 40 AÑOS
Su esposa e hijos dedican
este recuerdo a su memoria
PATIÑO

Figure 24, Patiño
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

EDWARD A. PATINO
MAY 24, 1956 DEC. 28, 1989

GOD'S GREATEST GIFT
RETURN TO GOD MY SON

Figure 25, Patino
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

PATIÑO
FATHER MOTHER
GILBERT A. OLGA
1920 – 1992 1921 -

Figure 26, Patiño
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

PADRE
LIBRADO G.
TREVINO
NACIO
AGOSTO 17, 1869
FALLECIO
JULIO 17, 1937
RECUERDO DE SU
HIJA Y NIETOS

Figure 27, Treviño
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

TREVINO
JUAN G. IN LOVING FRANCISCA A.
1919-1979 MEMORY 1919 –

Figure 28, Trevino
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

FRED R. TREVIÑO
MAR. 2, 1923
APRIL 30, 1944

Figure 29, Treviño
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

Evidence of the Pachuco influence exists even when both Spanish and English exist on the same marker. Note for example, in Figure 30, that both the name and the kinship terms appear in Spanish; the death and birth dates, however, appear in English. This disrupts the predictable pattern established by other monolingual and mixed-code markers (Figure 30, Muñiz).

MUÑIZ	
PADRE	MADRE
MANUEL SR.	ROMANA M.
MAR. 6, 1902	JULY 25, 1913.
SEPT. 20, 1997	FEB. 24, 1985

Figure 30, Muñiz
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

Most frequently, however, the Pachucan onomastics appear only with English (Figure 31, Piña). In essence, the co-existence of Pachuco with the Spanish markers seems totally natural, as with two Ybañez family markers; the Pachuco marker, with incomplete death dates (Figure 32a Ybañez), sitting in front of the older, Spanish monolingual marker—the patriarch with his three wives (Figure 32b, Ybañez).

PIÑA	
BROTHER	SISTER
JOHN M.	ZOILA C.
1914 – 1978	1908 – 1975
IN LOVING MEMORY	

Figure 31, Piña
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

YBAÑEZ	
FATHER	MOTHER
MANUEL H.	HERMINIA T.
1906 – 1966	1913 –

IN REMEMBRANCE FROM HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN

Figure 32a, Ybañez
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

YBAÑEZ
PADRE MADRE
JOSE MARIA CORINA H.
1887 – 1967 1888 – 1945

MADRE MADRE
JOSEPHINE P. JUANITA T. SUAREZ
1919 – 1987 1867 – 1949
RECUERDO DE SU ESPOSO E HIJOS

Figure 32b, Ybañez
San Fernando Cemetery #2, San Antonio, Texas

Postscript.

After the original research for this paper had been completed, the gist of the findings formed the essence of a public talk given to the San Antonio chapter of the Trinity University Alumni, in January of 1997. The Public Relations department felt the term Pachuco would not attract folks as well as would the term Spanglish. The Associated Press carried the local newspaper's account of the talk (Gold 1997) and various news media, both in the United States and in Europe, spread the story rapidly and supportively. In its March 25, 1997, issue, the New York Times carried an unrelated front page article "It's the Talk of Nueva York: The Hybrid Called Spanglish" (Guerrero 1997).

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