

The Current State of Tucsonan Spanish

Stephanie Brock & Tasha Campbell
The University of Arizona

Abstract

The Spanish language, for centuries, has experienced a long and rich history in the United States. However, the majority of research on the linguistic vitality of Spanish in the U.S. Southwest has focused primarily on southern California, New Mexico and Texas. In the few studies carried out in Arizona, little focus has been paid to the city of Tucson. Therefore, we propose to carry out a detailed analysis of the current state of Spanish in Tucson, Arizona, presently listed as the second largest metropolis in the state (Phoenix being the first) and located a mere 60 miles from the U.S.-Mexico border. We analyze the current linguistic environment of Tucson with the aim of bringing to light a more thorough knowledge of the use of the Spanish language, as seen through its vitality in the community: the media, advertisements, services offered, etc. As such, the present study provides a brief summary of the over-200 year history of Spanish in Tucson as well as a review of the current examinations of the state of affairs in the Southwest region. Taken as a whole, we examine the vitality of the Spanish language in Tucson as seen through the Latina/o populations. We report that the thriving nature of the Spanish language in this city is dependent upon locality. This study, overall, serves to update the findings of a previous study (Jaramillo, 1995) and to expand upon the idea of linguistic landscapes and ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

1. Introduction

The Spanish language, for centuries, has experienced a long and rich history in the U.S. Southwest resulting in an extended presence to this day (cf. Hudson et al, 1995; Fishman, 2001; Anderson-Mejías, 2005; Cashman, 2009). Due to such a prolonged history, this geographic region has been host to languages in contact and subsequent linguistic innovations (consider not only the encounter of Spanish with English but with all of the indigenous languages that were once thriving in this area as well). Therefore, in this paper we propose to carry out a detailed analysis of the current state of Spanish in Tucson, Arizona—a city in the U.S. Southwest. We intend to analyze the linguistic environment of Tucson of today with the aim of bring-

ing to light a more thorough knowledge of the use of the Spanish language, as seen through its vitality in the community: the media, advertisements, services offered, etc. In this way, we will be able to better understand the linguistic dynamic among the Spanish speaking residents of Tucson. To date, the majority of research of linguistic vitality in the Southwest has focused primarily on southern California (e.g., Pease-Álvarez, Hakuta & Bayley, 1996; Hidalgo, 2001; Zentella, 2009), the state of New Mexico (e.g., Gonzales Velasquez, 1995; Bills, 1997; Villa & Villa, 2005), and Texas (e.g., Galindo, 1995, 1996; Anderson-Mejías, 2005). In those few studies that have been carried out in Arizona, to the authors' knowledge, all but one have concentrated on the state as a whole or on other northern cities in particular (the closest being Phoenix, a city roughly 125 miles to the north of Tucson and approximately three times its population (U.S. Census Bureau-QuickFacts) (c.f., Cashman, 2005, 2009; Mills, 2005). This single study that has spotlighted the state of linguistic affairs in Tucson is that of June Jaramillo; however, it is time for re-analysis as her report is 20 years old (Jaramillo, 1995).

Thus, this paper seeks to detail the linguistic landscape of the Spanish language as well as its prevalence and presence in and around the city of Tucson, Arizona. By this, we refer to the definition of Landry and Bourhis who asserted that linguistic landscape is "the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (1997: 23). As such, we begin with a brief summary of the history of Spanish in Tucson as well as provide a review of current examinations of the state of affairs in this Southwest region in §2. In §3 we describe the methodology we employed for this investigation. Following, in §4, we exam-

ine the vitality of the Spanish language in the city as seen through the Latina/o population. In §5 we analyze the services offered in Spanish throughout Tucson. Finally, in §6 we present some concluding remarks.

2. Language maintenance and shift: A review of the literature

Throughout the past three decades, much of the investigation regarding languages in contact has focused primarily on the sociolinguistic effects of such situations (cf. Resnick, 1988; Bills et al, 1995; Hidalgo, 2001; Guardado, 2002; Hurtado & Vega, 2004; Potowski, 2004; Mills, 2005; Cashman, 2009). That is to say, when two languages are used for communicative purposes in the same environment there are often consequences, namely language maintenance or shift (the latter of which typically leads to language death). Fishman (2000) and Valdés (2001) have both observed, and formally diagramed, the linguistic pattern of immigrants upon settling in a new country. As can be seen in Tables 1 and 2, most immigrant families will lose their native language by the third or fourth generation, namely, the grandchildren or great-grandchildren of those individuals who left their country of origin.

This pattern of language shift from native language A (e.g., Spanish) to language B (e.g., English) has been studied in detail by numerous linguists. Potowski (2004) found that among high school and college students in Chicago, Illinois, the majority (75%) of conversations with family elders (including parents) were conducted primarily in Spanish while this was not the case with peers (where only 45% of conversations were reported as taking place in Spanish). In Miami, Florida, Resnick (1988) discusses this same trend among Cuban-Amer-

Table 1 - Types of bilingual functioning and domain overlap during successive stages of immigrant acculturation (reproduced from Fishman, 2000)

Bilingual functioning type	Domain overlap	
	Overlapping domains	Non-overlapping domains
Compound (interdependent or fused)	<p><i>Second stage:</i> More immigrants know more English and therefore can speak to each other either in mother tongue or in English (still mediated by the mother tongue) in several domains of behavior. Increased interference.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p><i>Initial stage:</i> The immigrant learns English via his mother tongue. English is used only in those few domains (work sphere, governmental sphere) in which the mother tongue cannot be used. Minimal interference. Only a few immigrants know a little English.</p>
Coordinate (independent or discrete)	<p><i>Third stage:</i> The languages function independently of each other. The number of bilinguals is at its maximum. Domain overlap is at its maximum. The second generation during its childhood. Stabilized interference.</p>	<p><i>Final stage:</i> English has displaced the mother tongue from all but the most private or restricted domains. Interference declines. In most cases, both languages function independently; in other cases, the mother tongue is mediated by English (reversal of <i>Initial stage</i>, but same type).</p>

icans, noting the surprisingly high rate of English use among young adults despite the fact that they were not born in the U.S. Similarly, Hurtado and Vega (2004) found that the shift from Spanish to English among immigrant families in California is clearly evident when comparing older generations with younger ones, although the authors also note that there are obvious social factors that foment the generational transition to English monolingualism¹.

Despite such a seemingly dismal outlook on the maintenance of the Spanish language in English-dominant communities, it should be stated that not all share this opinion. Guardado (2002), observing the linguistic

characteristics of children from four different families in British Columbia, Canada, had a much more positive viewpoint toward generational linguistic inheritance. He remarks upon the outcomes of attitudinal differences in the home, finding that in those cases where the simultaneous learning of Spanish with English is encouraged, children acquire the heritage language more readily and completely. Thus, like Hurtado and Vega (2004), Guardado identified language maintenance as being more than just a purely linguistic phenomenon, and that it is influenced socially as well.

Other studies have taken differing approaches to examining the processes of language maintenance and shift specifically within

Table 2 - Bilingualism of different generations (reproduced from Valdés, 2001)

Generation	Possible language characteristics	
1 st Generation	Monolinguals in Heritage Language A	Incipient Bilinguals Ab
2 nd and 3 rd Generations	Heritage Language dominant Ab	English dominant aB
4 th Generation	English dominant Ba	English monolingual B

the context of the Spanish language in the U.S. Southwest. For example, Bills and colleagues (1995) carried out a study that analyzed the impact that physical distance had on the use of Spanish in the Southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas. Essentially, they were looking to explore the effect that distance has on language shift. As can be predicted, their results showed that overall, those who lived closer to the border favored Spanish retention due to the higher probability that they would communicate with Spanish monolinguals. In sum, the aforementioned studies contribute to a more community-centered view of how Spanish is maintained in well-established communities, such as those found in the Southwestern United States.

In addition to studying language maintenance, shift, and loss, researchers have become more and more interested in gauging language use and ethnolinguistic vitality among minority languages (cf. Adams, 1990; Jaramillo, 1995; Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Undoubtedly, one of the most pertinent studies that expands upon the previous statement is that of Jaramillo (1995). This study investigated the retention and use of Spanish specifically in Tucson, Arizona. As Jaramillo is solely focusing on one city, she is able to provide a well-rounded description of the socio-political context of Tucson at the time of her investigation. Essentially, she found that although the socioeconomic status of Latinas/os in Tucson is lower in comparison to other demographic groups, speakers of Spanish at that time were still able to enjoy a certain amount of prestige because of the well-established and contemporary practices that could be observed in the region. Jaramillo goes on to discuss macro-sociolinguistic factors as well as the proximity of Tucson to Mexico and their role in promoting positive

attitudes among Spanish-speaking members of the community. She recognizes that the larger the increase in the Mexican-American and Latina/o population of Tucson, the higher will be the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish throughout this area in the future. Due to the nature of Jaramillo's study and its similarity to the present one, these will be factors that we constantly (re)evaluate during the process of our own investigation.

As the socio-political situation continued to evolve and take further linguistic shape among the U.S. Southwest, researchers began to take notice of the repercussions of legislation acts regarding linguistic attitudes toward Spanish in that region. One of the primary examples of such legislation is that of the English Only Movement and its resulting complications on the schooling process of U.S. Latinas/os. In an attempt to shed more light on the situation, Combs (1999) examined the atmosphere in Arizona, offering an analysis of the Movement's effects. She noted that it has had a lasting impact on the linguistic choices of Spanish-speakers, not only in Arizona in general, but in Tucson in particular. The author explains that in the late 1980s, there was a general perception that portrayed Spanish-speaking communities in the U.S., and Mexican-origin communities specifically in Arizona, as not assimilating linguistically or culturally into the country (a view still held today²). Therefore, monolingual English speakers joined together to promote English Only laws (which, to date, have only been passed at the state and local levels, but not at the federal level). Her study goes on to comment on the fact that Proposition 106 (the forerunner to Proposition 203), approved in 1988 with a majority vote of 51%, was later found unconstitutional and overturned in 1996.

Further analysis of the attacks on Spanish in Arizona can be found in the work of Mahoney, MacSwan and Thompson (2004) who center their study on Proposition 203, legislation that passed in Arizona in 2002. Simply stated, Proposition 203 asserts that all students in Arizona be instructed in English. The authors afford a brief description and summary of the Proposition and how it will affect bilingual students in Arizona. Throughout their report, Mahoney et al. critique the Proposition on a few key points: 1) the implementation process, 2) its efficiency, and 3) its impact on bilingual students. Thus, studies such as those of Combs (1999) and Mahoney and colleagues (2004) offer valuable insight into the academic environment and its role in the educational trajectories of Latina/o students in Arizona, in addition to understanding and gauging the highly-politicized linguistic environment currently underway in the state.

Analogously, Cortez and Jáuregui (2004) present a linguistic analysis of the scholarization process of two similar Mexican-origin families—one living in Nogales, Arizona, and the other living in Nogales, Sonora. The authors offer an extensive summary regarding the familial backgrounds of each case study and explore language choice within each family to better understand how their ethnic identities are maintained³. Moreover, Cortez and Jáuregui chose to highlight and examine the importance of bilingual education in order to analyze how English acquisition differed, if at all, in each family. According to the investigators, they observed that the family living in Nogales, Arizona, felt that the constant exposure to English made them predisposed to losing Spanish, and therefore, their ethnic identity. The family residing in Nogales, Sonora, however, viewed the acquisition of English as a valuable necessity

that would bring economic success without having a damaging effect on their ethnic identity. Such findings are not surprising given the, at times, extreme institutionalized discrimination that the Spanish language and its speakers face on a daily basis in the U.S. Southwest. The sentiments expressed by these families depict the reality of the struggles of those residing yet further from the border to maintain a minority language in spite of internalized dominant ideologies.

By the mid-2000s, the English Only sentiment had grown and research began to take shape about the effects on bilingual students. For example, Cashman (2005) conducted a study about the use of code-switching in the discourse of pre-adolescent students in a predominantly Latina/o school in Phoenix, Arizona. She notes that these students use code-switching as a contextualization tool just as monolingual students may use aspects such as repetition or tone of voice. Combs et al (2005), on the other hand, set out to demonstrate that immersion programs lack structure for non-native English speakers. In their analysis, they found that many of the students, the majority from Latina/o origin, are unable to effectively communicate with their instructors due to their lack of training on the subject. Due to the fact that communication is limited between student and instructor, the investigators observe that this can cause some students to reject their ethnic identity while also not being able to fully identify with the dominant culture's background or language. These studies are extremely significant as they deal with the aftermath of the legislation passed that actively seeks to homogenize students instead of embracing their diverse backgrounds.

More recent work has aimed at dispelling myths and suggesting alternatives to English

Only policies. In fact, Cashman (2006), in her study, comments on the anti-bilingualism sentiment in Arizona. She attributes these attitudes to: 1) the contrast between recent and late generations of Latinas/os⁴, 2) the economic cost of maintaining a minority language, 3) the restlessness of monolingual English speakers, and 4) the belief that an autonomous country should have an official language. The author makes a point to critique these programs as solely serving the needs of the monolingual English community and as also creating tension among students from different social and economic backgrounds.

In sum, it has been shown here that much research and analysis have been carried out to date regarding minority language maintenance, shift and loss, not only in a purely descriptive manner (i.e., who, when and where) but also with consideration of the surrounding socio-political environments. Notwithstanding these previous studies, Tucson, Arizona, has been left on the periphery, receiving little attention despite its long history with the Spanish language and its proximity to the Mexican border. Therefore, the present analysis is an attempt to redress this matter and to offer a detailed examination that complements others of its kind within the U.S. Southwest.

3. Methodology of the present study

As could be seen in the previous section which endeavored to summarize earlier research on the linguistic environment(s) of the Spanish language in the U.S. Southwest, there is an obvious void regarding the state of affairs in the southern region of the state of Arizona. It is because of this that we propose to answer the following question in this paper: Is Spanish thriving in Tucson, Arizona? We define

thriving, in this context, as a language that is widely visible and seems to maintain a steady presence (see Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977). Seemingly straightforward, there are in actuality many facets that must be analyzed in order to fully understand the ethnolinguistic vitality of a minority language. According to Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977), some components include the relative socio-economic status of the minority group, that group's demographic representation compared to the population as a whole, and any institutional support they might receive. Through careful analysis of these elements which will be accomplished through a variety of document mediums as well as the researchers' thorough and detailed observations of the community itself, an answer can be put forth concerning the aforementioned question.

Before attempting to analyze the current state of the Spanish language in Tucson, Arizona, it was necessary to first look at this community's history and socio-political environment, exploring how it was that the language has maintained a presence for so long, such that it has remained a very obvious and distinctive feature (a quick perusal of the city would yield any number of Spanish language observations and interactions). Therefore, in §2 we endeavored to provide a brief⁵ historical review of the region, highlighting only that which was most salient and pertinent for the primary scope of this study. It was only after such an initial consideration that we could then understand the evolution of vitality of the Spanish language in the U.S. Southwest.

Included in the present analysis will be the most current U.S. Census data (comprising of their supplementary materials in addition to Census figures), as well as local statistical information (e.g., Pima Association of Govern-

ments, TucsonAZ.gov), as these provide insight into the size of the Latina/o population and the number of first-language (L1) Spanish-speakers that reside in Tucson (typically per self-report). We will also look at the various services that are offered in Spanish throughout the community, such as translation and interpretation services (although not limited to these), and to which domains these seem to primarily pertain. Additionally, and in conjunction with the identified Spanish-language services offered in the community, we will analyze advertisement practices of print media (including that which is seen at local bus stops and on billboards in the different sectors of Tucson) together with translation attempts from English to Spanish (in so doing, inspecting the translation's faithfulness to the original text and the clarity in understanding in the target language). Likewise, we patroned three of the most widely-accessible grocery store chains in the city (Fry's Food, Safeway and Food City) which disperse weekly bilingual circulars to local neighborhoods. Aside from these stores, we also chose to visit El Super, also a grocery chain, but one that markets specifically to the Latina/o communities, and Mercadito La Única, a neighborhood grocery store in South Tucson. Lastly, the presence⁶ of Spanish-language media (radio, TV, newspapers, etc.) will be reviewed as another indicator of this language's vitality in Tucson. This will not be limited only to the all-Spanish media, but the researchers will also attempt to determine the presence of Spanish in primarily English-language media as well (i.e., code-switching in newspaper article titles).

4. Analysis of the vitality of Spanish in Tucson, AZ

Hudson and colleagues (1995) clear-

ly state four methodologies that are typically used in a critical analysis of language maintenance of a contact community. These include a) calculating the total number of speakers of the heritage/native language, b) determining the proportion of these speakers with the total population, c) determining the proportion of these speakers with the heritage group as a whole, and d) analyzing the transmission rate of the heritage language across generations (p. 165). Nevertheless, the present analysis will not solely examine the maintenance of the Spanish language in Tucson in precisely the same manner. Rather, we are endeavoring to explain the linguistic landscape of the city with regard to the vitality of the Spanish language.

Despite such widespread documentation for linguistic vitality, the question has been raised as to its existence in Tucson, Arizona. While it appears as though such linguistic patterns exist among Spanish-speakers of Tucson, there are other factors that have contributed to the continued use of Spanish in this area. These can include, but are not limited to, for example, the significant Latina/o population, the close proximity to Mexico, and the recent socio-political climate. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, the overall Latina/o population in Tucson is 41.6% of the total population—noteworthy as it provides the opportunity for more in-group experiences and the continued ability to use Spanish among other speakers in the community. Also, as Tucson historically was a territory belonging to Mexico in the past, Spanish use preceded that of English in many generations of families. Even still, the location of this city allows for monolingual Spanish speakers to settle and begin the cycle anew. Finally, the recent attacks on the Spanish language and the education of Latina/o students within Tucson, and Arizona in general, has

led many in the community to come together in an effort to conserve the cultural practices that have persisted to this day. Tucson, thus, makes for an incredibly rich linguistic environment due not only to its long-standing population of Mexican-origin individuals but also its geographic location. These phenomena are relevant to the current study in that these patterns have emerged as relevant to the use and liveliness of Spanish in Tucson and therefore it is important to have a deep understanding of this information before proceeding to explore the current strength of this language in Tucson, Arizona.

4.1. The Latina/o population

According to the U.S. Census, as of 2010 there were just over 520,000 people residing within the city limits of Tucson, Arizona. Located a mere 60 miles from the U.S.-Mexico border, and currently listed as the second largest metropolis in the state (Phoenix being the first), Tucson is home to many Latina/o individuals. In fact, the Census found that 41.6% of the total population, or 216,308 people, identified themselves as being of ‘Hispanic or

Latino origin’ (of which the majority, 37.3%, identified Mexican ethnicity). These numbers are only on the rise since, in 2000, the Latina/o population at that time consisted of 35.7% of the city’s inhabitants. Furthermore, the 2010 Census found that 33.7% of Tucsonans reported that they speak a language other than English when at home (a number that did not significantly change from the previous census ten years prior). While this last statistic does not automatically translate into the number of non-English households that speak Spanish, it stands to reason that this language is the language of choice for most of these families due to the Latina/o presence in the community.

Deserving of mention is the city of South Tucson (Figure 1). Despite having been incorporated in 1940 (TucsonAZ.gov), this one square mile tract of land located in the ‘elbow’ where I-19 diverges southward from I-10, is entirely surrounded by the larger municipality of Tucson. As such, in many ways, South Tucson is still considered a part of Tucson proper and is generally thought of as a region or *barrio* within the city; however, it yet boasts of a unique character that is recognized by all. The



Figure 1: Map of Tucson and South Tucson city limits
[Retrieved from Google Maps, 25 April 2013]

“Pueblo Within a City”, as South Tucson is referred (SouthTucson.org), hints at its Spanish-language roots. In 2010, the U.S. Census registered 5,652 residents in South Tucson, 78.5% of whom identified as being of ‘Hispanic or Latino origin’. In the same way that many of the Latinas/os of Tucson proper claim Mexican heritage, nearly two-thirds (70.4%) of South Tucson’s population is of Mexican descent (U.S. Census Bureau-FactFinder). Moreover, 66.3% of the residents of this small enclave maintain that they speak some language other than English at home.

4.2. Spanish in Higher Education

From our perspective, we would be unable to complete this work without including pertinent information about the two main systems of Higher Education located in Tucson: The University of Arizona (UA) and Pima Community College (PCC). That is, we must come to a deeper understanding of the spaces dedicated to Spanish in institutions of higher learning to also comprehend the value assigned to it as a language. Thus, we propose to examine the two entities in order to present an authentic representation of Spanish at UA and PCC.

4.2.1. *University of Arizona*

UA was founded in 1885 and was not only the first institution of Higher Education in Tucson but also the first public university in the state of Arizona⁷ (Arizona.edu). Moreover, all throughout its history, UA has continually received recognition for its research, athleticism and exemplary graduates. As such, the university enjoys a certain privilege in the Tucson community and in fact, many Tucsonans are employed by UA in various capaci-

ties. Likewise, UA has one of the oldest Departments of Spanish and Portuguese (DSP) in the nation—having celebrated its centennial year in 2013. The UA’s DSP provides instruction for two of its main programs: the Basic Language Program (designed for L2 Spanish learners) and the Heritage Program (designed for individuals with varied exposure of ‘home’ Spanish). Combined, these programs serve over 4,000 UA students each semester (Arizona.edu). With such a vast amount of students, it is understandable, then, that the DSP offers several events every semester to foster student participation and socialization. At these events it is customary to interact in Spanish or Portuguese, though there is often communication in English. Usually, these events are promoted in the target language (Spanish or Portuguese), although they are often accompanied by an English translation so that other students may also participate. Notwithstanding such promotional flyers, there is not an extensive amount of Spanish seen around the UA main campus.

As we already provided statistical information for the city of Tucson, it is important to also mention similar numbers for UA in order to make preliminary comparisons. Overall, UA has a total student body⁸ of just over 40,000 which includes a 34.9% minority student population⁹ (or 13,651 individuals). Latina/o students make up 58% of the UA minority population, or 19.5% of the entire student body of UA (Arizona.edu). In general terms, that is a large proportion, but, keeping in mind that the Latina/o population in Tucson overall is 41.6%, it is clear that there is a large discrepancy between the proportion of Latinas/os in the community and those that are associated with this public university.

4.2.2. *Pima Community College*

PCC, established in 1966, is a two-year institution with six campuses located throughout the city of Tucson. PCC is a Hispanic-serving institution, meaning it has at least a 25% full-time student body that identifies as 'Hispanic or Latino'. In fact, each of PCC's six campuses has at least a 30%, and up to a 60%, 'Hispanic or Latino' population¹⁰. According to their website, PCC has a 50% minority student body including other minority categories such as: American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Black or African American, and Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander. Notwithstanding, PCC also provides student characteristic details of the number of Latina/o students taking classes in order to transfer to a 4-year college/university. The published statistics for the Fall 2012 semester was 39.8% (Pima.edu), which matches closely to the percentage of minority transfer students reported by UA for Fall 2012—41.8% (Arizona.edu). The high number of Latina/o students at PCC could account for the various official Spanish documents that we observed in the PCC student centers (e.g., FAFSA¹¹ instructional pamphlets).

5. Analysis of services offered

In analyzing the services offered in Spanish within the city of Tucson, our aim is to provide an accurate account of what is available to individuals who are either Spanish dominant or who prefer to receive assistance in the Spanish language. In order to accomplish this goal, we explored both print and electronic media. In doing so, we considered restaurants, government buildings, local stores, newspapers, radio stations, TV channels, billboards, public transportation advertisements and weekly grocery store circulars. In addition, we traveled to various parts of Tucson to gain deeper insight into the public spaces of Spanish as well as its utili-

zation by speakers of that language. A detailed review of our observations is provided below.

5.1. Public establishments

Within Tucson, there are numerous restaurants, official government buildings and local stores. With regard to restaurants and local stores, the most noticeable trend is that the language of any advertisements or pricing varies depending on that establishment's location within the city. For example, it is much more common to see Spanish used as a means of meaningful communication throughout areas in and around South Tucson than in the Catalina Foothills (a neighborhood located on the north side of the city). One possible explanation is the stratification of the Spanish-speaking communities in the metropolis's formative stages, that is, the specific neighborhoods that formed and housed those of Mexican-origin within Tucson as compared to the larger communities that formed over a greater period of time (this through both establishment and immigration). Nevertheless, English remains the prevalent language seen in public spaces throughout Tucson restaurants and local retailers. Meanwhile, government buildings that provide official documents are legally required to provide information in languages other than English when necessary. As there is a substantial percentage of Tucson's population that identifies as 'Hispanic or Latino', it is not far-fetched to assume that official documents and other information would be available in Spanish, and indeed, this is the case. However, we noted in our observations that while there were documents and other information provided in Spanish in the various government buildings in Tucson, not all of the documentation supplied in English had a Spanish counterpart.

5.2. Newspapers, radio stations and television channels

The city of Tucson boasts twenty separate newspapers and sources of news media, the most well-known being the Arizona Daily Star. Of these distinct entities, three offer information in Spanish on their respective websites. In print, *La Estrella de Tucson* and *Arizona Bilingual* are the only printed newspapers provided in the Spanish language. There are, however, three Spanish newspapers printed in Phoenix which are distributed to Tucson: *La Voz*, *Prensa Hispana*, and *Monitor Hispano*. Moreover, of the thirty-nine local AM and FM radio stations, eight offer music and/or talk-radio in Spanish. This is not to say, however, that Spanish is exclusively spoken or played by those eight stations and not played or spoken at any other time by the remaining thirty-one stations as radio can be more variable and spontaneous than other sources of media. Finally, in regards to television channels, there are ten local Tucson channels. Three of the ten local channels have programming in Spanish and include the parent companies of *Telemundo*, *Telenoticias*, and *Univisión*. Although it is possible to buy cable packages that offer more linguistically varied television channels, the previous figures represent the free channels provided locally.

5.3. Local advertisements and grocery stores

As with any large city, there are many local and chain grocery stores and markets that attend to the needs of the Tucson community. As such, each entity strives to advertise their products and services throughout the city to target populations. In examining the public spheres of Spanish in Tucson's local advertisements and grocery stores, we chose to analyze the most popular providers and compare them with more Spanish-friendly establishments.

Fry's Food Stores and Safeway are the two most popular, and established, nutritional sources in Tucson. However, there are other alternatives within the community, and, specifically, we will analyze Food City, El Super and Mercadito La Única, as they cater to the Spanish-speaking consumers in Tucson.

5.3.1. Fry's Food Stores

According to their website (Frysfood.com), there are sixteen Fry's Food Stores with Tucson addresses, many of which are concentrated in the Central and Eastern areas of the city. Fry's Food Stores are considered moderately priced and offer a member's card to customers in order to receive discounted prices on sale items. In general, their stores contain produce and dairy sections, a bakery, and a deli, along with a number of aisles of cultural and canned foods as well as other typical American products and brands. They also include various aisles of pharmacy and household products. In a typical store layout, there is one length of one side of an aisle that is dedicated to 'Hispanic' food. This aisle contains various brands of salsa and beans as well as tortillas, some spices and Latin American beverages. Although some of these products may have Spanish written on them, any advertisement done by Fry's Food Stores is almost exclusively in English, including their weekly circular¹².

5.3.2. Safeway

The grocery store Safeway, as displayed on their website (Safeway.com), has seventeen locations in and around Tucson. These grocery stores are mainly seen in the Northern and Eastern zones within city limits. Essentially, Safeway has all of the same elements as Fry's Food Stores, including the member's card. However, Safeway is considered to have,

overall, higher prices than Fry's Food Stores. Safeway also typically has a 'Hispanic' section, though it is, on the whole, larger than that of Fry's Food Stores. For example, this section tends to take up the entire aisle and includes a larger variety of salsas, and both American and Latin American brands. Nonetheless, we did notice that the selection of Safeway's 'Hispanic' section included more stereotypical 'Hispanic' food (i.e., tortillas, salsa, refried beans, and taco kits) leading us to believe that the store aims to sell these products to consumers who eat 'Hispanic' food but may not necessarily be of 'Hispanic or Latino' origin. Though there was not any general advertising by Safeway in Spanish (i.e., weekly circular), we did observe a Coca-Cola endcap with "Hecho en Mexico" [sic] (see Figure 2) written across it to emphasize the different recipes used to make Coca-Cola brand cola in Mexico and in the United States.

5.3.3. Food City

The Food City website (Foodcity.com) is available either in Spanish or English, and there are nine locations throughout Tucson, the ma-

ajority of which are centralized in and around South Tucson. The decor inside of Food City is typically very colorful and contains items traditionally used in celebrations by Mexican-origin populations, such as piñatas. In our observations, we noticed that each section of the store was labeled in both English and Spanish. For example, in the produce section, the word "Frutas" is juxtaposed in smaller letters across "FRUITS". Furthermore, many of the product descriptions are in Spanish, with the price labels shown in both languages, similar to their bilingual weekly circular. While we observed that the types of products and produce available at Food City is more limited in variety than that of Fry's Food Stores or Safeway, they typically consist of more Latin American or generic brands from American companies. Lastly, there are many Spanish and bilingual signs hanging above the aisles that advertise products such as Herdez Salsa, a type of salsa that an individual with Latina/o heritage might use over other brands. Likewise, Spanish music can be heard in the background and the employees, in general, use either Spanish or English, depending on the linguistic prefer-



Figure 2 - Coca-Cola endcap
[Photograph taken at Safeway on W. Saint Mary's Road, Brock, S., 13 April 2013]

ence of the consumer.

5.3.4. *El Super*

There is only one El Super in Tucson and it is located in South Tucson. Like Food City, El Super also offers Spanish and English information on their website (ElSuperMarkets.com), although it is worth mentioning that while the English webpage contains a large amount of Spanish, the Spanish webpage contains almost no English. Concerning the store itself, being divided into similar subsections, El Super is larger overall than some of the local Food City stores and advertises their products and establishment primarily in Spanish (see Figure 3 below). As this is a well-known and frequented location, the product selection is very large and reflects the diverse Latina/o population in Tucson. During our observations of El Super, Spanish music was heard playing on the loudspeakers, Spanish language television was seen on the TV behind the meat counter, and most of the interactions noted took place in Spanish (though there were a few instances of English).

5.3.5. *Mercadito La Única*

Mercadito La Única is, as its name implies,

a unique family-owned local business. Like El Super, there is only one location, also situated in South Tucson. The store is quite small and has only six small aisles, very different from the other businesses analyzed here. As there is a Tortillería located next door, many of the baked goods come directly from the neighboring business. In a similar fashion, there is a small restaurant, Lorena's Cocina, and a Carnicería located inside the market. Many of the employees communicated with one another in Spanish as well as with the customers. Most of the labeling was in Spanish, although some were bilingual. The majority of the product advertisement was in Spanish, including one for Coca-Cola. Moreover, Mercadito La Única employed the usage of popular characters from Mexican history to connect with the consumers on a cultural level and promote the services they offer (refer to Figure 4).

5.4. Translation efforts and services in Tucson

In what seems, from pure auditory observation, a highly bilingual environment, attempts at translation in and around the Tucson community are not as prevalent as one might



Figure 3 - El Super entrance sign

[Photograph taken at El Super on S. 6th Avenue, Campbell, T., 13 April 2013]



Figure 4 - Cantinflas poster

[Photograph taken at Mercadito La Única on S. 12th Avenue, Brock, S., 13 April 2013]

expect. Considering the public transportation system for instance, there are regularly several advertisements that are in Spanish, some of which have an English counterpart (see Figure 5).

As with most advertisements (language not being taken into consideration), the quantity of words tends to be scarce; however, for those that are promoting local groups and organizations, contact information (i.e., address, phone number, website address) is generally provided. It is interesting to note that for the majority

of these organizations that provide only a web address, the main language of the website is English with no readily apparent hyperlink to translate the webpage into Spanish. While the public transportation system has all of their propaganda and rider notices in Spanish, their website is no more superior than the others, containing a single line in that language at the bottom of their homepage (“Si necesita información en Español, favor de llamar al XXX” [sic]).

Other translation attempts in Tucson, Ari-

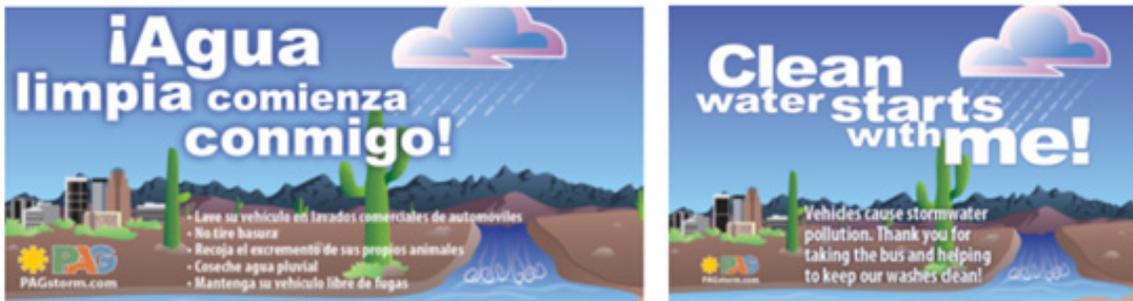


Figure 5: “Equivalent” Spanish and English advertisements displayed on the public transportation system of Tucson
[Retrieved from PAGstorm.com on 25 April 2013]



Figure 6: Examples of English-Spanish signs that can be seen in the aisles of national chain stores located in Tucson:

[a) The Home Depot; b) Walmart; c) Lowe's; Retrieved from Google Images on 25 April 2013]

zona, can be seen at some of the local grocery and shopping stores. National chain stores have attempted, in the last decade or so, to translate, to varying degrees, the signs located in and around their stores, and Tucson is no different in this respect. For instance, stores like Target, Walmart, Home Depot and Lowe's are among those that boast such propaganda (see Figure 6). On the other hand, lesser-known stores that are either only locally or regionally recognized have yet to support marketing ventures on the same scale, some of them opting instead to invest in Spanish-English advertisement circulars.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned

commercial practices, there are a number of businesses scattered throughout Tucson, including a large concentration in South Tucson, that cater more to the Spanish-speaking clientele of the area. As can be seen in Figure 7, while English is still present in these environments, it has nevertheless been relegated to a more submissive role and Spanish is instead the dominant language.

Per governmental regulation (at all levels: federal, state, and local), translation services must be rendered to the requesting individual(s) in order for all parties to fully understand whatever matters are at hand. These sorts of translation services can be seen in the



Figure 7: An example of a Spanish-English sign at a grocery store located in South Tucson [Retrieved from ElSuperMarkets.com on 25 April 2013]

community as well, particularly when in reference to ordinances/laws (Figure 8) and educational notices (Figure 9).

When considering the various attempts at English-to-Spanish translation in Tucson, it can be said that overall there is a remarkable level of comprehensibility, although the exact faithfulness from one language to the other can, at times, be disparate. In terms of correct orthography and punctuation, there is much variability, with accents or tildes, and inverted question/exclamation marks showing the most

inconsistency.

6. Conclusions

As seen in the analysis presented here, there are several organizations and establishments that make public space for Spanish in Tucson. This could range from a handwritten sign advertising the sale of *elotes* in front of a local market like Mercadito La Única or documents explaining how to access student financial aid as found at PCC. In this respect, the answer to our initial question regarding whether Spanish is thriving in Tucson, would be “yes”.



Figure 8: Examples of ordinances/laws posted in both Spanish and English in Tucson

- a) Photograph taken by Brock, S., 13 April 2013;
- b) Photograph taken by Campbell, T., 13 April 2013;
- c) Retrieved from Google Images on 25 April 2013]



Figure 9: Example of an educational notice posted in both Spanish and English in Tucson
[Photograph taken by Campbell, T., 13 April 2013]

That is, it is apparent that Spanish continues to be a significant and valued language in Tucson. However and perhaps more importantly, it is also clear that Spanish spaces are relegated to certain domains of the city. In fact, it is our belief that a truer response to the research question which drove our scrutiny of Tucson and the Spanish language, would be that Spanish is *not* thriving in this city. While it is evident that there are some pockets throughout the city in which Spanish does thrive (specifically South Tucson), it is plainly obvious that as a whole, we have yet to see that Spanish boasts of the same prestige as the small enclaves. Despite this fact, it is clear that Spanish is a valued language in the community and that it has the potential to either succumb to language loss or expand its presence and further develop as the U.S. Latina/o population increases in the upcoming years.

This study contributes to the wider literature of linguistic landscapes and ethno-linguistic vitality (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) by providing a detailed examination of a large metropolitan city in the U.S. Southwest, namely Tucson, Arizona. Due to the comparative nature of the present analysis with that of Jaramillo (1995), the possibility for future comparison with other U.S. cities exists.

Notes:

1 These factors will not be directly discussed in any more detail as they do not fall within the scope of the present analysis.

2 These sorts of sentiments are clearly visible on public blog, chat forum, and internet periodical headers, such as Immigrationready.com (“Why Don’t Mexicans have to learn english in my country???” [sic]), Articledestination.com (“Immigrants Must Learn English and Become Americans”), and Hudson Valley Press Online (“Immigrants Find No Need To Learn English”).

3 Mills (2005) did a similar study comparing Latina/o individuals from Arizona and California.

4 DuBord (2010) details in greater depth this generational contrast, including the socioeconomic aspect, in her study on language policies and ideologies in the educational system in Tucson.

5 Tucson was founded in August of 1775, making it older than the United States as a country (TucsonAZ.gov).

6 Fernanda Echavarri, with TucsonCitizen.com, commented at the end of 2008 on how Tucson is not following national trends regarding the correlation between an increasing Hispanic population and the quantity of Spanish-language media that is offered.

7 Arizona achieved statehood in 1912 (AZ-100years.org).

8 The UA student population is divided into undergraduate, graduate, and professional and medical.

9 International students are not included in minority population statistics.

10 Community Campus: 30.3%; Desert Vista Campus: 63.3%; Downtown Campus: 40.1%; East Campus: 32.6%; Northwest Campus: 32%; West Campus: 41.9%

11 Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA.ed.gov)

12 In their April 2013 circulars, it was noted that during the last two weeks of the month, the weekly circular for Fry’s Food Stores contained Spanish translations. However, these were contained to the front page and did not include all of the items advertised.

References:

- Adams, K. L. (1990). Ethnic and linguistic minorities in the Southwest: An overview. In K.L. Adams & D.T. Brink (Eds.), *Perspectives on Official English* (pp. 183-197). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Anderson-Mejías, P.L. (2005). Generation and Spanish language use in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 24(1-2), 1-12.
- Bills, G.D. (1997). New Mexican Spanish: Demise of the earliest European variety in the United States. *American Speech*, 72, 154-171.
- Bills, G. D., Hernández Chávez, E., & Hudson, A. (1995). The geography of language shift: Distance from the Mexican border and Spanish language claiming in the Southwestern US. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 114, 9-27.

- Cashman, H. (2005). Aggravation and disagreement: A case study of a bilingual, cross-sex dispute in a Phoenix classroom. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 24(1-2), 31-51.
- Cashman, H. (2006). Who wins in research on bilingualism in an anti-bilingual state? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 27(1), 42-60.
- Cashman, H. (2009). The dynamics of Spanish maintenance and shift in Arizona: Ethnolinguistic vitality, language panic and language pride. *Spanish in Context*, 6(1), 43-68.
- Combs, M.C. (1999). Public perceptions of Official English/English Only: Framing the debate in Arizona. In T. Huebner & K. Davis (Eds.), *Sociopolitical Perspectives on Language Policy and Planning in the USA* (pp. 131-154). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Combs, M.C., Evans, C., Fletcher, T., Parra, E. & Jiménez, A. (2005). Bilingualism for the children: Implementing a dual-language program in an English-only state. *Educational Policy*, 19, 701-728.
- Cortez, N., & Jáuregui, B. (2004). Influencia del contexto social en la educación bilingüe en una zona fronteriza de Sonora y Arizona. *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa*, 9(23), 957-973.
- DuBord, E. (2010). Language policy and the drawing of social boundaries: Public and private schools in territorial Tucson. *Spanish in Context*, 7(1), 25-45.
- Echavarrri, F. (2008, December 26). Spanish media shrinking here as Hispanic numbers boom. *Tucson-Citizen.com*. Retrieved from: <http://tucsoncitizen.com/morgue/2008/12/26/106102-spanish-media-shrinking-here-as-hispanic-numbers-boom/>
- Fishman, J.A. (2000). Who speaks what language to whom and when? In L. Wei (Ed.), *The Bilingualism Reader* (pp.89-108). London et. Al: Routledge.
- Fishman, J. A. (2001). 300-plus years of heritage language education in the United States. In J. Peyton D. Ranard & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage language in America: Preserving a national resource* (pp. 81-98). McHenry: Delta Systems.
- Galindo, D.L. (1995). Language attitudes toward Spanish and English varieties: A Chicano perspective. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 17(1), 77-99.
- Galindo, D.L. (1996). Language use and language attitudes: A study of border women. *Bilingual Review*, 21, 5-17.
- Giles, H., Bourhis, R.Y. & Taylor, D.M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations* (pp. 307-348). London: Academic Press.
- Gonzales Velasquez, M.D. (1995). Sometimes Spanish, sometimes English: Language use among rural New Mexican Chicanas. In K. Hall & M. Bucholtz (Eds.), *Gender articulated: Language and the socially constructed self* (pp. 421-446). New York: Routledge.
- Guardado, M. (2002). Loss and maintenance of first language skills: Case studies of Hispanic families in Vancouver. *The Canadian Modern Language Review/La Revue Canadienne des Langues Vivantes*, 58(3), 341-363.
- Hidalgo, M. (2001). Spanish language shift reversal on the US-Mexico border and the extended third space. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 1(1), 57-75.
- Hudson, A., Hernández Chávez, E. & Bills, G.D. (1995). The many faces of language maintenance: Spanish language claiming in five southwestern states. In C. Silva-Corvalán (Ed.), *Spanish in four continents: Studies in language contact and bilingualism* (pp. 165-183). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Hudson Valley Press Online (29 August 2008). *Immigrants Find No Need To Learn English*. Retrieved from <http://www.hvpress.net/news/138/ARTICLE/4995/2008-08-29.html>
- Hurtado, A. & Vega, L.A. (2004). Shift happens: Spanish and English transmission between parents and their children. *Journal of Social Issues*, 60(1), 137-155.
- ImmigrationReady.com (n.d.). *Why Don't Mexicans have to learn english in my country???* Retrieved from <http://immigrationready.com/immigration/993-1-immigration.html>
- Jaramillo, J.A. (1995). The passive legitimization of Spanish. A macrosociolinguistic study of a quasi-border: Tucson, Arizona. *International Journal of the Sociology of language*, 114, 67-91.
- Landry, R. & Bourhis, R.Y. (1997). Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: An empirical study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 16(1), 23-49.
- Mahoney, K., MacSwan, J., & Thompson, M. (2004). The condition of English language learners in Ari-

- zona: 2004. *The condition of pre-K-12 education in Arizona*: 2004, 3, 1-27.
- Mills, S.V. (2005). Acculturation and communicative need in the process of language shift: The case of an Arizona community. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 24, 111-125.
- Pease-Álvarez, L., Hakuta, K. & Bayley, R. (1996). Spanish proficiency and language use in a California Mexicano community. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 15, 137-152.
- Poisl, D. (n.d.). *Immigrants Must Learn English and Become Americans*. Retrieved from <http://www.articledestination.com/Article/Immigrants-Must-Learn-English-and-Become-Americans/1766>
- Potowski, K. (2004). Spanish language shift in Chicago. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 23(1), 87-116.
- Resnick, M. (1988). Beyond the ethnic community: Spanish language roles and maintenance in Miami. *International Journal of Society and Language*, 69, 89-104.
- United States Census Bureau (2010). *FactFinder*. Retrieved from http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=DEC_10_DP_DPDP1
- United States Census Bureau (2010). *QuickFacts-Tucson*. Retrieved from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/04/0477000.html>
- United States Census Bureau (2010). *QuickFacts-South Tucson*. Retrieved from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/04/0468850.html>
- Valdés, G. (2001). Heritage language students: Profiles and possibilities. In J.K. Peyton, D. Ranard & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource* (pp. 37-77). McHenry, IL, and Washington, DC: Delta Systems and Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Villa, D.J. & Villa, J.R. (2005). Language instrumentality in southern New Mexico: Implications for the loss of Spanish in the Southwest. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 24(1-2), 169-184.
- Zentella, A.C. (2009). San Diego's multilingual heritage: Challenging erasure. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 28(1), 103-129.