O. Of the many English-Spanish contact situations, perhaps the best known is that of Mexican Americans in the United States. In addition to speaking varieties of Spanish which may in certain cases be distinguished from more prestigious dialects of Mexican Spanish, many Mexican Americans speak English with a distinctive set of linguistic characteristics that set this group apart from non-Hispanic speakers of American English (USE). Most research programs dealing with the comparatively new subject of Chicano English have attempted purely internal descriptions, comparing Mexican-American English (MAE) with other varieties of United States English (USE) and perhaps considering the influence of certain dialects of Mexican Spanish. It is the purpose of the present article to broaden the perspective on English-Spanish contact by contrasting Mexican-American language behavior with less well-known bilingual configurations in Central America, which represent a quite different situation. Rather than focusing on specific linguistic details of the various English dialects themselves, I shall attempt to demonstrate the feasibility and importance of concurrently studying diverse sociolinguistic networks in order to achieve more complete descriptions of individual English dialects.

1. To fully characterize MAMtv is-á-vis its two logical counterparts, Mexican-American Spanish and USE, it is necessary to situate the language behavior of Mexican Americans within a complex network of sociolinguistic relations, attitudinal variables and political interactions with American society as a whole (cf. Metcalf 1979; Peñalosa 1969). Many of the linguistically distinctive aspects of the English of Mexican Americans cannot be explained in purely linguistic terms, as the result of Spanish-English interference, but must also take into consideration the social structure of their communities, their access to high-quality public education, their acceptance into other social groups (with the possibility of upward mobility), and their ethnic political identifications as a member of a particular 'minority group' of Americans (cf. Sánchez 1983; ch. 2). All these factors converge in the specific linguistic and cultural configurations of the United States southwest to create a situation which could hardly be duplicated elsewhere.
Or could it? Investigators have long assumed a *sui generis* status for Mexican-American language behavior, because it has been assumed that the situation cannot be readily compared with other language contact situations, except perhaps that of Puerto Ricans in the United States. Let us examine what seems to set Mexican Americans apart in linguistic terms, in order to determine whether it is possible to offer any external comparisons. The most obvious feature is that they live in an English-dominant society while they maintain certain ethnic identifications with Latin America, although they use a variety of Spanish which in many cases is not considered totally acceptable by speakers raised in Mexico or elsewhere in Latin America. This is largely due to the lack of viable educational opportunities in Spanish (and even in English) for many Mexican American children, which results in a linguistic proficiency picked up largely off the street, from peer-group interactions reinforced by parents and older relatives. The Mexican American is often made to feel that there are deficiencies in his use of the Spanish language, as anglophone children and teachers deal with a form of Spanish which seems foreign and overly rigid to the Mexican American. With respect to English usage, the Mexican American living in the southwest is faced with another phenomenon, which rarely passes unnoticed, namely the significant differences between southwestern varieties of AmE and what might be termed 'standard AmE', which is largely a northern and midwestern *fantasy* perpetuated throughout the rest of the country. Southwest 'Anglo' speakers are ambivalent in their reaction to the standard as used on radio and television, which is often negligible and really is perceived as having nothing to offer, yet at the same time these very speakers may consciously or unconsciously seek to eliminate the 'drawl' or 'twang' from their own speech, feeling that it is socially disadvantageous. Few exceptions to the rule are observable: in some small radio stations, particularly those specializing in country-western music or evangelistic presentations, the local standard may characterize the speech of the announcer, but in most instances the broadcast language stands out in sharp contrast to the speech outside the studio. This same distribution holds true for the English speech of radio personnel of other ethnic backgrounds; although an announcer may be found whose English carries traces of the ethnic accent on some programs (usually musical variety shows) directed specifically at the local ethnic community, all traces of accent disappear when such an announcer occupies a position in which broadcasts are made to the public at large, and it is impossible to detect the ethnic origin of the announcers by their speech patterns. This phenomenon is worthy of serious sociolinguistic investigation, since it is indicative of ethnic and linguistic attitudes in the United States.

In reality, the Mexican American living in the southwest is confronted with at least three distinct forms of English in the speech of his cohorts. The first is the distinctively 'Chicano-accented' English which is characterized by Spanish intonation and slight phonetic differences in certain segments, as well as by occasional syntactic markers. The second pattern is that of the Mexican American who has perfectly mastered the regional variety of English; an increasingly large number of Mexican Americans speak English in a form indistinguishable from that of any other Texan, New Mexican, Californian, etc. AmE is most often found in public broadcasting, but also heard in some instances where the speaker wishes to present an image of maximum respectability to the American public at large. Therefore when speaking of the English of Mexican Americans it should be borne in mind that this includes not only Spanish-accented English but also southwestern regional and standard AmE, since all three forms partake of the social network in which the Mexican American lives, works and studies.

2. In order to more accurately delineate the linguistic aspects of Mexican American language behavior and to separate them from those features which result from particular local interactions, it is useful to search for parallel situations, or one in which the roles are reversed. Finding a completely parallel situation appears to be impossible, since no other country in which a large segment speaks English has a significant resident Hispanic community originating in a neighboring country. Turning to other possibilities, namely the existence of a diametrically opposed sociolinguistic situation, we are more fortunate, for there exist, on the Caribbean coast of Central America, several regions whose situations may prove useful in analyzing language usage among United States immigrants. With the exception of Belize all the Central American republics are officially Spanish speaking, but the Caribbean coast contains several enclaves where some form of West Indian English (WIE, usually creolized) is the predominant language, with native speakers of Spanish being in the minority, although retaining cultural and political superiority. Such English-speaking areas are the Bay Islands of Honduras, Nicaragua's Caribbean coast, particularly the port of Bluefields and the Costa Rican port of Limón, there is also Guatemala's tiny port of Livingston and parts of Puerto Barrios, the Corn Islands off the coast of Nicaragua, nearby San Andrés and Providencia Islands belonging to Colombia, the Bocas del Toro and Corozal region of Panama, and numerous small settlements along the Caribbean coast of Central America. For our purposes, the first three areas are of greatest significance, since in these regions English has achieved a certain social and political status, public and private education is available in that language, and English may be heard in radio broadcasting. Let us therefore briefly review the historical events that led to the formation of these bilingual communities.

Perhaps the best known of the English-speaking areas in Central America are the Bay Islands of Honduras (Roatán, Guanaja and Utila), with some tiny islands, since the islands are an attractive location for United States tourists. Historically the islands have a checkered history, having changed hands a number of times, and for most of their history the Bay Islands have only nominally been controlled by exter-
nal governments. As early as the seventeenth century, the Bay Islands were the site of frequent pirate attacks and pirates used the coves as hideaways. In later centuries, the Bay Islands, as much of the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua, was nominally under British control, and it was not until the middle of the last century that the islands passed permanently into Honduran hands. Today English is definitively the predominant language of the islands; it is spoken natively by a significant majority, both white and black. Most of the white islanders speak no Spanish or speak only a minimal variety with an accent that might be taken for that of the southern United States. When travelling to the mainland, these islanders rarely use Spanish, reflecting Hondurans' minimal knowledge of tourist English for communication. The black islanders, perhaps due to contact with the increasing population of migrant laborers from the mainland, tend to speak more Spanish and speak it better, although few native islanders speak Spanish with the fluency of mainland Hondurans. In recent decades the Bay Islands have been the scene of immigration from the mainland, due to increased job opportunities and higher wages; thus the ladinos (Spanish-speaking Hondurans, usually of mestizo origin) have made incursions in the islands. While on the surface intercultural relations are cordial, there is a perceptible separation in patronizing stores, forming street corner groups and to a lesser extent (given the limited geographical extension) choosing neighborhood of residence. The islanders consider themselves Hondurans, but many have rarely or never been to the mainland and when islanders with more money do travel, it is frequently to the United States or to the anglophone West Indies, including the Cayman Islands and Jamaica, whence came many of the islanders' ancestors.

Nicaragua's port of Bluefields is the capital of the large east-coast department of Zelaya, and provides a multicultural panorama, mixing British West Indian, Nicaraguan ladino, and some Miskito (Afro-Indian) influence. In Bluefields language usage is closely related to ethnic background: the creole (Afro-European) inhabitants speak English natively, although most speak Spanish with greater or lesser fluency. The ladinos speak Spanish nearly exclusively, although many speak at least enough English to engage in commercial transactions. Since Nicaragua's Caribbean coast was largely under British control until the middle of the last century, it is natural for the area to follow the same patterns as other British Caribbean possessions; indeed, most of the area's creole inhabitants are descended from Africans and Europeans who arrived via the West Indian islands once held by Britain. The English-speaking inhabitants are largely Protestant, and the Moravian Church has long been important in the area, providing not only religious instruction but also contact with more prestigious varieties of English. Traditionally the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua has been marginalized; it is accessible by air from Managua, but most take the journey by the combination of bus and river launch, at best a full day's trip. The current government is trying to encourage Nicaragua's English- and Miskito-speaking citizens to participate more fully in attaining the goals of the Sandinista revolution, a difficult task given their traditions fought in their region. As part of its emergent literacy campaign in the Nicaraguan government prepared materials in English and Miskito for coastal Indian residents, typically using BrE patterns in the former case. It is premature to judge the success of this six-month program, which reportedly has been terminated. The linguistic situation of Bluefields is becoming muddled due to the large influx of ladino Sandinistas from western Nicaragua, who are attempting to establish the network of organizations, committees and conferences that characterize the revolutionary regime in the nation's major cities. The relative diffusion of English and Spanish speakers is perhaps more evenly divided in Bluefields now; English is less pervasive than in the Bay Islands, but there is no doubt that it is permanently enshrined. Most English-speaking residents do not have the money to travel, but those that do often go to the United States or former British possessions or occasionally to nearby San Andrés Island, politically part of Colombia but with a similar English-speaking West Indian population, now the object of a Nicaraguan territorial claim. Bluefields' black residents listen to Caribbean music in English (reggae being the most popular), and to other English-language broadcasts when they can be received, and those who are literate read books and newspapers in English.

The English-speaking residents of Costa Rica's Puerto Limón are of more recent arrival, being mostly descendants of black laborers imported from Jamaica in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to work on the construction of the United Fruit Company's railroads. These workers were brought in on a massive scale, but were culturally and socially cut off from the mainstream of Costa Rican life. Until 1949, a government decree forbade black Costa Ricans from leaving the general area of Puerto Limón. Today, Costa Rican's black citizens theoretically enjoy the full rights of citizenship, but in practice few leave the Limón province there is noticeable discrimination based on race. Of the three areas under study, Limón probably has the lowest proportion of English-speaking inhabitants, but perhaps since they are of most recent arrival, the city boasts a significant educational attempt to keep English functioning as a viable language. Few of the white or ladino Costa Ricans in Limón speak English, except for a scattering of tourist English-speaking inhabitants speak Spanish and all but the oldest speak it fluently, although English is generally chosen for intra-group communication. Limón's English-speaking community maintains cultural ties and identification with Jamaica and also imports English-language reading material from the United States and other countries. There appears to be a greater attempt to integrate the newcomer of all backgrounds into the mainstream (i.e. Hispanic) Costa Rican life, by means of assimilation, and the very fact that an individual from this area maintains West-Indian English and traditions automatically ensures a
English is used as a lingua franca for inter-ethnic communication, as in a conversation between a Garifuna (Black Carib) and a Belizean Creole, or between a Miskito and a creole Nicaraguan (cf. the discussion in Holm (1983b) and Escure (1983)). Some of the most noticeable divergencies of the C4ME creole lies in the verb phrase, the case-marking of personal pronouns, as well as intonational contours. However, most speakers readily comprehend spoken AAE and in turn may be understood by Americans without linguistic training. All C4ME speakers command a certain range of points on the continuum, from the already mentioned mestes to the basilect or 'broad creole' most different from ST E and effectively constituting a language in itself. This latter mode is the most stigmatized and is avoided by many speakers, but all have at least a passive knowledge of the basilect.

The varieties of C4ME most similar to ST E are found in the Bay Islands, particularly Utila and Roatán, perhaps due to the large number of resident and transient Americans, Canadians and Britons. Of the three areas under study, the Bay Islands is the one place where lack of ability in English is a definite disadvantage. Despite the Honduran government's continued insistence on the use of Spanish as the sole instructional medium, school programs in English have traditionally existed on Roatán, and the Bay Islands boast the lowest illiteracy rate in Honduras, officially around 1.2% as opposed to the 50-60% illiteracy of the nation's rural areas. Bluefields traditionally had limited educational opportunities in English, but recently the Sandinista literacy campaign has made reading materials available in that language. For the most part, these materials are based on British/American models, but the occasional syntactic influence of creole English does creep in and the majority of the teachers employed in the literacy campaign are from the English-speaking Caribbean coast residents, whose English therefore served as a model for the pupils; in the Bluefields schools, Spanish continues to be used as the medium of instruction. Puerto Limón maintains private schools for English-speaking children, although there is no noticeable support from the national government for such linguistic maintenance programs. Subjectively there appears to be a higher level of awareness of the desirability to speak and study English.

Regarding the public media, each of the three areas, while geographically remote from the respective cultural centers of each nation, is serviced by local radio stations, broadcasting materials in both Spanish and English, and in this respect some interesting observations may be made and correlated with available documentation for the United States. In addition, residents of the Caribbean coast of Central America listen to stations from other areas and countries, via short wave radio. The Bay Islands offer Radio Roatán, a small station that typically employs an English-speaking announcer, and a Spanish-speaking announcer on the same program (both speaking perfect Spanish). The musical offerings are from Latin America, the anglophone West Indies and the United States, and the announcers make comments and read advertisements in both Spanish and English. Spanish is more frequently used, but English is
also represented in the broadcasts. The English used is standardized in terms of grammar and vocabulary, although retaining the West Indian intonation to a greater extent than is found in, for example, in radio broadcasting from nearby Belize. Most Islanders also listen to the power-don broadcasting in Spanish, full Honduran mainland stations, which broadcast exclusively in Spanish, and also to stations in the United States.

Bluefields offers Radio Zinica, whose programming is nearly exclusively in Spanish. In sharp contrast to the cultural predominance in English in this area (cf. Wood 1983), musical offerings are typical of English in this area (cf. Wood 1983). Musical offerings are also broadcast in English in the United States. The English used in the areas where Spanish is spoken is geographically different from even the most unaccented English that one finds in the United States. The Bluefields announcers also give evidence of their Crab background, in contrast to the ethnically unidentifiable their Crab background. They are, in fact, the only individuals that one can clearly discern, the Crab, but the English intonation is clearly discernible, the Crab accents, but the English intonation is clearly discernible, in contrast.

In Porto Limon there are several radio stations, but only Radio Casino broadcasts in English, and only for 2-3 hours per day. The emphasis is on popular West Indian music with minimal commentary, but the language used is relatively inflected by creole elements. English that does occur is decided by the creole elements. The English that does occur is decided by the creole elements. English that does occur is decided by the creole elements. English that does occur is decided by the creole elements. English that does occur is decided by the creole elements.

In each of the three areas being discussed, English-speaking residents are able to hear at least some examples of English on local stations, but in each the English used does not correspond completely to English. The English used in Costa Rica is as distinct from Costa Rican English as is the English used in the United States Spanish from American English.

Let us now mention some of the systematic similarities and differences between Camé and MAMÉ, with respect to their embedding in sociocultural matrices. A significant issue concerns the amount of linguistic variation found among speakers. When Spanish is spoken, there is a noticeable transference of Spanish intonation, and of certain aspects of semantic, whereas grammatical interference is minimized among fluent bilingual speakers. Lexical interference is not as common as for speakers of Spanish in the midst of an English phrase, which frequently triggers a code-switch to Spanish. In most cases it is felt, right or wrong, that among MAMÉ speakers, the language that more easily assimilates a syntactic transfer. When a MAMÉ speaker pronounces a Spanish word in the midst of an English discourse, he may receive either a Spanish or an English pronunciation, even if the interlocutor is a Spanish speaker. Proper names are more frequently given the Spanish pronunciation whereas common nouns are more variable. In the radio English of MAMÉ speakers, nearly invariably there is no Hispanic accent, which may even include the pronunciation of Spanish names with English phonology. This is undoubtedly due to the highly competitive nature of commercial broadcasting in the United States, where minority groups have traditionally been excluded, and whose recent incursions into broadcasting media have only come about through sacrificing a considerable degree of ethnic or cultural marking (cf. Gutierrez 1976, Sánchez 1983: ch.2.). Exceptions to this general trend are programs of a cultural or social nature aimed at the Hispanic community, where Spanish phonology may occasionally be used in English discourse.

Among Camé speakers, it is most cases possible to discern any phonological influence from Spanish on English, which is not surprising since Spanish is a second language for these speakers. The intonation of Camé is that of WCae, as is the segmental phonology. Spanish words for which no ready English equivalent exists (particularly food and monetary terms) may be intercalated or adapted to English models, but are invariably given English pronunciation. This behavior is carried over to Camé radio English; that is, there are almost no words pronounced in Hispanic fashion, and there is even more of an attempt to avoid mixing Spanish words into the English discourse. However, the Spanish of Camé speakers may be more strongly influenced by Camé; this is simply true in intonation and segmental phonology, where a detectable MIE accent may arise when Spanish is spoken. However, except in the Bluefields station, Camé speakers purge their radio Spanish of most traces of non-Spanish linguistic characteristics, and use the same type of standardized Spanish as for English speakers. Camé radio personnel speaking English tend toward more standardization, and more often use exclusively English phonology when dealing with Spanish lexical items than do their bilingual counterparts in the United States. In some cases it may be that the radio announcers faithfully reflect the linguistic behavior of the local speech communities, since Camé speakers rarely give Spanish words a Hispanic pronunciation in English, regardless of the context, whereas MAMÉ speakers frequently do so.
In partial summary, Table 1 outlines the sociolinguistic matrices in which CAE and MME are embedded and demonstrates the extent to which the two groups of linguistic communities may be considered sociolinguistic mirror images. Since little work has been done on the embedding of CAE in a Spanish matrix, this table serves more to indicate directions for future research than to summarize results already obtained.

Table 1: A comparison of MME and CAE characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAE</th>
<th>MME</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. National Language</strong></td>
<td><strong>English; considerable regional variation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Prestige Dialect</strong></td>
<td><strong>Capital cities; midwest ‘standard’</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Abilities in Standard Lang.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fair-good; fair</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Range of Non-standard Varieties</strong></td>
<td><strong>Greek continuum; some colloquial; wider range</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5. Self-perceived Linguistic Prestige</strong></td>
<td><strong>Seldom adequate; sometimes inadequate</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6. Cultural Identification of Language</strong></td>
<td><strong>West Indies/U.S.; regional U.S.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7. Standard Aspired to</strong></td>
<td><strong>Educated U.S.; regional/national</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8. Majority Attitude toward Minority Lang. Abilities</strong></td>
<td><strong>Non-standard; sometimes accented; non-standard</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9. Interference from Other Language</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lexical-syntactic; phonetic; lexical; some syntactic</strong></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAE</th>
<th>MME</th>
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<tr>
<td>10. National Survival Values</td>
<td>Tourism; foreign trade; high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Educational Opportunities</td>
<td>Public schools (may be limited); few outside groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Radio Broadcasts</td>
<td>Few hours daily; many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Reading Materials</td>
<td>Small amounts imported; locally available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Intra-group Language</td>
<td>English (some Spanish among younger generations) or Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. # of Minority Speakers</td>
<td>May be decreasing; increasing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Influx of New Minority Group Speakers</td>
<td>Little immigration; significant immigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Racial Characteristics/ Stereotypes</td>
<td>Creole; black/white; mestizo/white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Reluctance in Speaking with Native Speakers from Other Areas</td>
<td>Little; may be some</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1 continued*
Table 1 continued

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CAME</th>
<th>MAME</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19. Radio standards</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standardized West Indies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accent-free national norm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standard Mexican</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Radio pronunciation of words in other language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English phonology</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Spanish/Eng. phonology</td>
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<tr>
<td>English/Spañol phonology</td>
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In particular, the following questions need to be addressed:

1. What is the variety of English consciously or unconsciously regarded as the 'standard' to be imitated in each case? In the case of MAME this is clearly some dialect of USE, but in specific instances it may be the regional variety or some national standard. For CAME speakers this choice is not as immediately clear, since there is less contact with any standardized form of English. While the spoken dialect is related to varieties found in the anglophone West Indies, much of the reading matter comes from the United States and U.S. radio broadcasts are heard throughout the region. Moreover, the highly nonstandard creole varieties are used as separate codes of English, under appropriate circumstances, which has no ready counterpart among MAME speakers, although it corresponds partially in function (as in indication of in-group status) but not in origin to Pachucó and other types of Hispanic jive talk in the United States (cf. Barker 1950).

2. What is the attitude of the English-speaking groups themselves with regard to their own linguistic performance vis-à-vis some form of 'standard' English? The MAME speakers is in closer contact with USE varieties, and many MAME speakers are aware of divergences between MAME and other varieties of AME. These differences may cause feelings of inferiority and may result in discrimination for certain jobs. CAME speakers are less often beset by feelings of inferiority regarding their particular variety of English, although there is a certain stigma attached to the simple fact of speaking English in an essentially Spanish-speaking society. On the other hand, the CAME speaker is generally aware of the range of varieties from creole to non-creole English in Central America, and of the stigma that attaches to the basilectal end of this continuum.

3. What is the attitude of the majority speakers of the respective areas as regards the language behavior of CAME or MAME speakers? Most Anglo-Americans perceive MAME to be accented in those speakers who have not totally acquired the regional variety, and this accent is invariably perceived to be non-prestigious. As for Spanish language abilities, most Anglo-Americans living in the southwest or in other areas with large Mexican American populations are equally certain of the strong accent of Mexican American Spanish, giving it such derogatory names as pocho of Tex-Mex, again usually without empirical evidence to support such beliefs. Spanish-speaking residents of Central America are uniform in their condemnation of CAME as an unacceptable dialect, but most have no objective criteria of knowledge to form such a judgment. Most Central American Latinos feel certain that CAME speakers produce deficient Spanish as well, but objectively this is not the case.

4. What is the amount of Spanish influence that may be discerned in the English of the groups in question? MAME presents definite evidence of Spanish influence on its phonology and to a certain extent on its syntax (cf. Pachá 1980:ch.6.). On the other hand, CAME contains comparatively little Spanish influence. Nonetheless, because of each group's original first language, the Spanish of CAME speakers does give evidence of English phonology, and this is not generally true for the Spanish of MAME speakers, which is, however, strongly influenced by English lexical and syntactic configurations.

5. What are the educational opportunities for the speakers in question? MAME speakers have access to the American public school system, whereas those students beginning with little English ability in limited English programs may find themselves at a severe disadvantage, and the children of migrant workers or 'undocumented' immigrants often attend no schools at all. The CAME Speakers, representing a socially marginalized group in Central American society, in many cases have fewer opportunities for education in either language than do Mexican Americans (Sanchez 1983:ch.2; Lipski 1982)

6. What are the societal pressures for speaking English as opposed to Spanish? The MAME speaker will find activities outside of a limited sphere all but impossible without English. The CAME speaker, by inclination, but it is usually Spanish rather than English which is essential in Central America. Spanish, on the other hand, is not essential in the United States, outside of the large Spanish-speaking population nuclei.

7. What kind of linguistic and cultural identification is there with countries or regions other than the area in which the speakers live? MAME speakers may identify with Mexico, particularly when speaking Spanish, but their use of English is identified with their actual area of residence in the United States. CAME speakers, on the other hand, may identify with the English-speaking West Indies or Belize in their English language usage, whereas their Spanish is identified with the regional varieties of each Central American country.

8. What is the language chosen for intragroup communication? MAME speakers may speak to one another in English, or by switching
codes, depending upon a complex array of factors, not all of which are derived from actual linguistic abilities in each language. The speakers have traditionally spoken to one another in English, but among the youngest generations there is a tendency to employ Spanish even with Camé peers. Code-switching also occurs, but not as frequently as among Máame speakers.

5. It is interesting to compare Table 1 with the typology recently proposed by Moag (1983). In offering a classification of societies where English is used, Moag suggests, in addition to the usual English as a native/second/foreign language, a new category: English as a Basal Language, defined for a society in which "English is the mother tongue, and Spanish, the dominant language of the society as a whole." This latter concept was explicitly mentioned and a number of parameters are to be considered in the present study. Moog's classification is more comprehensive and the necessity for expanding the currently accepted typologies to accommodate such situations is evident. For example, one may take exception to certain specific points, but this is largely the result of imperfect or insufficient information being available about the various Camp groups. It is hoped that the preceding presentation, together with the material in Holm (1969), will serve as a complement to Moog's typology.

6. In some of the partially defined areas and offering independent justification for additional typologies. At the same time, it is evident, by comparing the sociolinguistic configurations of both Máame and Camp, that even Moog's typology must be further extended, since Máame speakers do not clearly fall into any of the four categories, despite the many Máame speakers, yet Máame speakers are not truly part of the majority English-speaking society, as long as they retain characteristic Máame features. The English as a Basal Language category does not apply either, since although the Máame group does speak a variety of English not native, the majority language is also English; and thus the questions of attitudes, influences, official policies and the like do not apply. Nor does the English as a Second Language category apply to the Máame speaker, at least as used by Moog. In this country, African nations: among other things, the second language (Spanish) is not the appropriate forum to discuss possible extensions or modifications of this four-way taxonomy, but it is evident that global sociolinguistic typologies of native languages spoken within a country may vary between nonstandard varieties which result from bilingual interaction (e.g., Máame) and monolingual speech groups (e.g., Black American). The case of the Máame speaks English in the United States is essentially the same as that of the Camé speaker using Spanish in Central America, and probably parallels other stable situations elsewhere in the hemisphere.

NOTES

1 Linguistic fieldwork in Central America was carried out in December, 1981, in January, March, April and December, 1982 and in March, 1983. For financial assistance to visit Honduras, thanks are due to the University of Houston, which provided a limited-grant-in-aid. Special thanks are due to John Holm for extensive help in revising the manuscript.

2 The area of most severe discrepancies between regional and national standard is the realm of public broadcasting, both radio and television, where no matter the region of the country, nearly all the announcers speak the same variety of English which, while perhaps quasi-native to some parts of the country, is really the product of schools, pushed forward by the weight of tradition. Cf. Gutierrez (1978), Lipski (1983), Peñalosa (1981:9).
Such countries as Jamaica, Trinidad, Belize and Guayana have multicultual traditions radically different from those in the United States and therefore provide different profiles of attitudes and inter-ethnic relations. An area with a similar bilingual profile is Gibraltar, but despite the role of English as the sole official language, the native Spanish-speaking population so outnumber the English-speaking Gibraltarinos and Britons that for all practical purposes English is the second language of this enclave, spoken fluently by a small percentage of the residents.

This work was originally prepared before the volume by Holm (1983a) came out. It has been revised to include reference to these studies, and the reader is referred to these excellent individual presentations for a nearly exhaustive bibliography, as well as a linguistic evaluation of the various Central American English dialects.

Davidson (1974) offers the best historical panorama of the Bay Islands. For the linguistic dimension, see Warantz (1983).

See Holm (1983c) and the bibliography therein for the linguistic details of Bluefields English. Floyd (1967) provides historical details.

Thanks are due to the Ministry of Adult Education in Managua, which graciously provided me with copies of materials used in the literacy campaign.

Bourgeois (1981) offers some remarks on the integration of the Nicaraguan Caribbean coast into the revolutionary government.

See Meléndez and Duncan (1979) for the historical perspective, and Herzfeld (1983) for linguistic details of Limón English.

Official census figures, interpreted by Castellanos García (1980). The latest available census figures are from 1974, and these figures have probably dropped somewhat.

For Mexican-American and Puerto-Rican American speakers, this behavior is reviewed and studied in Lipski (1982).

For some more global implications, see Kernan et al. (1977), Wurm (1977), Craig (1977, 1980), Ryan and Carranza (1976).

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T2 HOLM, John: Central American English. Heidelberg (Groos), 1982. Spoken examples on tape (ca. 90 min.)

T3 MACAFEE, Caroline: Glasgow. Amsterdam, 1983. Spoken examples on tape (60 min.)


T5 WAKELIN, M.F.: The Southwest of England. Amsterdam, 1986. Spoken examples on tape (ca. 60 min.)