378.76
OKO
F757p
cop.2

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE PRONUNCIATION OF SPANISH PLACE NAMES IN THE SOUTHWESTERN UNITED STATES

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

MASTER OF ARTS



BY

ZILLAH FORD

Norman, Oklahoma

1947

O.U.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
LIBRARY

Downloaded from SHAREOK. Persistent Handle URL: https://hdl.handle.net/11244/338838

378.76
ORO
F757p
cop.2

THE PRONUNCIATION OF SPANISH PLACE NAMES IN THE SOUTHWESTERN UNITED STATES

A THESIS

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

BY [redacted]

GENERAL

283893

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To those who contributed toward the compilation of data pertaining to the pronunciations used in this work, the author is heavily indebted. She would especially thank her students in the states of Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas; Professor R. M. Duncan of the Modern Language Department of the University of New Mexico, Professor Rudolph Willard of the English Department of the University of Texas, his friend, Mr. Norman Laird McNeill, and Professor Stephen Scatori of the Modern Language Department of the University of Oklahoma.

In particular she would thank Professor Thomas Pyles of the English Department of the University of Oklahoma, to whom the author owes a very great deal indeed, since this present study may be altogether and most gratefully attributed to his teaching, his suggestion, and his direction.

To Mr. J. R. Hilliard she is indebted for the painstaking preparation of the typescript and finally but not least to her son, Joseph Peters, for encouragement and assistance throughout the composition of the paper.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
PHONETIC SYMBOLS	8
Chapter	
I. VOWELS	
In Positions of Stress	10
In Unstressed Positions	42
Diphthongal Combinations	68
II. CONSONANTS	69
III. STRESS	96
CONCLUSION	107

THE PRONUNCIATION OF SPANISH PLACE NAMES IN THE SOUTHWESTERN UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION

Santa Fe, originally christened La Ciudad Real de la Santa Fé de San Francisco in the year 1609, has the distinction of being not only the oldest city in New Mexico but the oldest city in the southwestern United States, including California. The youngest Spanish-named city within this geographical section is (to my knowledge) Bunavista, Texas, which was born of the Second World War and the synthetic rubber industry in 1944. Within the 335 years that separate the founding of Santa Fe from that of Bunavista lie weighty events in the history of those who, on the one hand, speak Spanish, and of those who, on the other hand, speak English. In regard to this history, however, we are at the present concerned with but one phase, the linguistic: the linguistic in relation to the English pronunciation of the Spanish-derived place name in Arizona, California, Colorado, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Texas. In view of the strongly marked Spanish-English contacts that have existed in this given territory for at least a hundred years, inquiry into English ways with Spanish place names should yield some interesting results. Certainly, it presents pertinent queries at the outset. To what extent does English

follow the Spanish pronunciation? In what section or sections do speakers of English give better approximations of the Spanish pronunciation? What factors bear upon any given name's resistance to anglicization? Does the presence of a marked Mexican population influence the English pronunciation? Are existing English imitations based on the "school" or learned pronunciation or are they recognizable aural imitations? What proof can be found in support of either premise? To what extent does the English orthography reflect anglic imitative interpretations of the Spanish pronunciation, and to what extent does it reflect anglicization of the Spanish name? What, finally, can be said of the future of the English pronunciation of the Spanish-derived place name?

The foregoing questions will be considered in this study from one point of view, that of the English language. The purpose of this study is to examine all ascertainable, customary English pronunciations of any given place name coming within its scope and to deduce from such an examination the extent to which the Spanish phonetic values have become anglicized. The stated purpose is phonological rather than phonetic, that is, we are not so much concerned here with the listing of examples of the pronunciation or pronunciations of each of the more than one thousand names included in this investigation as we are with determining the general principles which govern the English pronunciation of the Spanish-derived place name. The present study falls, therefore, into three main divisions (1) the Spanish vowels in stressed and unstressed positions (2) the Spanish consonants (3) stress.

The extent to which the Spanish-derived place name has yielded to anglicization in any given state, section thereof, or in the

territory as a whole depends, to a certain degree at least, upon the historical background of the state, section, or total territory under consideration. It depends more especially, perhaps, upon the history of the relationships of the Spanish and the English-speaking peoples: social, economic, political, cultural, religious - the nature of which determines in turn the linguistic contacts between the two peoples in any one of the given states or in the territory as a whole. Therefore, the brief historical outline of the Southwest which follows will treat, as concisely as possible, of those events which have brought influence to bear upon our specific language problem.[1]

Prior to 1800 New Mexico included Arizona, Utah, and part of Colorado. Considerably contrasted purposes motivated the laborious treks of Juan Cabeza de Vaca, 1528, of Pedro Mendoza, 1539, of Friar Marcos de Niza and Estevanico, 1539, of Vasquez de Coronado, 1540, and of Juan de Oñate, 1597. Expulsion of the Spaniards from New Mexico by the Pueblo Indians when Santa Fe was about three-quarters of a century old led to the establishment of Isleta, not far from what is now El Paso, Texas. Twelve years later under Diego de Vargas the Spaniards reconquered the territory. That moment is still commemorated every year by an elaborate fiesta in Santa Fe. From 1700 to 1800 the Spaniards increased from 2,000 to approximately 20,000. Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and Taos were the leading cities. With the establishment of independence from Spain in 1821, contacts with native English-speaking residents of the United States were accelerated considerably.

---

[1]The historical material herewith used is based upon that given by Harold W. Bentley in his A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English (Columbia University Press, New York, 1932), pp. 25-56.

Spanish interest in California came from a realization of its importance as a bulwark against foreign invasion from the Pacific. Prior to 1759, in which year San Diego was established, we know very little of what is now California. Outside of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo's venture in 1542, Sir Francis Drake's contact with the California coast in 1579, and Sebastian Vizcaino's discovery of Monterey Bay in 1602, we know nothing of moment. Within fifty years after San Diego was occupied more than twenty missions were established in California. The civil power rested in a Spanish governor whose headquarters were at Monterey. Until the time California gave its allegiance to Mexico, in 1822, no contacts between English-speaking and Spanish-speaking people took place in California, except on those extremely rare occasions when merchant vessels chanced to touch the coast. After 1822, American scouts and trappers began to drift into Pacific coast settlements. Decline of the influence and power of the missions and the increased trend toward republicanism assisted the few Americans in playing a progressively important part in affairs. Spanish trade and immigration laws were ignored, and, by 1830, various "foreign" (English, American, Russian) trade centers had been established. Approximately 700 Anglo-Americans were living in California by 1845. Intermarriage with the better Spanish families took place. The time between the raising of the Bear flag of independence over California in 1846 and the discovery of gold in the San Francisco foothills was very brief, and, by 1850, nearly 100,000 non-Spaniards had rushed California in an unprecedented manner. This tremendous and sudden influx of non-Spanish speaking people plays a decided part in the swift crumbling of the Spanish

regime which today survives only in tradition, history, and bits of the Spanish language, which include place names that have become, in the main, quite, if not altogether, anglicized. There was no time for extensive and intimate associations between the English-speaking and the Spanish-speaking peoples, such as we shall find in the history of the Lone Star state, the one (together with New Mexico) which demonstrates some remnant of feeling for the Spanish in the pronunciation of certain of its Spanish-derived place names.

From the founding of Isleta in 1682 to the Louisiana purchase of 1803 there was little opportunity for language contacts between speakers of English and speakers of Spanish in the present territory of Texas. Upon the death of Moses Austin in 1821, his son, Stephen Fuller Austin, assumed leadership of the first truly concentrated movement towards the establishment of American colonies in Mexican Texas. Although eleven decades have passed since Texas won her independence from Mexico, she houses today no less than 400,000 Mexicans in her border territory, and, although Texas is not nearly so Mexican in regard to social and political make-up as New Mexico (whose state legislature is conducted in both English and Spanish), nor so Spanish in its atmosphere, architecture, and traditions as California, its linguistic borrowings (consisting of popular loan words and place names) are greater than those in any other section of the United States.

How Spanish [santa ˈfe] > English [ˈsæntə ˌfe] and [ˈsæntə ˌfi] is a process that certainly involves Fort Leavenworth, Franklin, Westport, Independence, and other places in the vicinity of the present Kansas City - for these are the various starting points of the Santa Fe Trail,

points whose routes converged within a few miles and headed due west to the great bend in the Arkansas River. The Trail divided at the present Fort Dodge. From here one route involved the famous Cimarron crossing of the river bearing that name, and reached, at length, to a district northeast of Las Vegas on what the maps yet list as the Rio Gallinas, where it was joined by other divisions of the Trail. The other route went west from Dodge City to Bent's Fort. Here the Trail turned south and west in a nearly direct line to the settlements in New Mexico. Between the time of Zebulon M. Pike's initial expedition in 1806 and the year 1820 not less than a score of American expeditions had set out on the Trail. By 1831 travel on the Trail was regular and frequent. Exchange of words and phrases in English and Spanish assuredly took place, and names such as Albuquerque, Bernalillo, Las Vegas, Taos, and, obviously, the name of the capital itself began to be accommodated to the English pronunciation. Thus the English pronunciation of Spanish place names came to be heard along all the distance from Missouri to Santa Fe and thence to California and Chihuahua. There is no way of knowing the exact values given to these names as they were pronounced by these tradesmen and adventurers of more than a hundred years ago, nor does this study concern itself with such a problem. We can but assume that there were individual variations then as now.

From Santa Fe to El Paso to Carrizal to Gallegos, and thence to Chihuahua the trail of this name, while never so travelled as the main overland route, is important in that conditions on it paralleled and formed a part of the Santa Fe conditions and the contacts between speakers of English and speakers of Spanish. The Gila Trail which went

south from Santa Fe to a point just above El Paso turned west here toward the head waters of the Gila River where it followed the river's course to its junction with the Colorado River. From here the trail went due west to San Diego, thence to Los Angeles. The so-called "Spanish Trail" went northwest from Santa Fe into the Uncompahgre Mountains, on through the Wasatch Range into Utah, and from there it went southwest into California.

The broadcasting of the Spanish place name during the Mexican War bears mention in its relation to this study. The "Texas question" made headline news at least once a week, and Americans were reading and pronouncing (eye-learned pronunciations, since they had no radio news commentators to guide them) such names as Palo Alto, Matamoros, Monterrey, Buena Vista, Rio Grande, Cerrogordo, and many, many others. The Mexican War is doubtless responsible for the appearance of some of the Spanish-derived place names in eastern territory, but without thorough investigation it is impossible to give explanations for these names not only in the East, but for many, if not most of the names in the Southwest itself, but this phase of place name study, interesting though it is, does not concern us here.

PHONETIC SYMBOLS

The symbols used in this study indicate approximate pronunciation in some instances, rather than minute gradations of sound.

[ɑ] as in ask (New England)

[ɑ] as in father

[æ] as in fat

[e] as in mate

[ɛ] as in met

[i] as in street

[I] as in bit

[o] as in cold

[ɔ] as in call

[u] as in tool

[ʊ] as in full

[ʌ] as in dull

[ə] as in a of above

[ɑɪ] as in ride

[ɑʊ] as in now

[ɔɪ] as in boy

[ɪu] as in feud

[jʊ] as in union

[oʊ] as in know (diphthongal)

[b] as in bold

[β] as in lobo

[d] as in do

[ð] as in abogado

[F] as in fate

[g] as in give

[ɣ] as in agua

[h] as in hold

[K] as in king

[l] as in look

[m] as in many

[n] as in not

[ŋ] as in sing

[ñ] as in cañon

[p] as in pale

[r] as in run

[r̄] as in rico

[s] as in sit

[ʃ] as in shut

[t] as in top

[θ] as in thin

[ð] as in then

[v] as in very

[w] as in week

[j] as in yet

[z] as in zinc

[ʒ] as in leisure

[dʒ] as in jump

[tʃ] as in chide

[ĉ] as in mucho

[χ] as in Juan

[ĝ] as in el hielo

CHAPTER I

VOWELS

In Positions of Stress

[a]

Spanish a has two values. Although medial a, phonetic symbol [a], is the general sound of Spanish a in most cases, velar a may occur before o or u, or when in contact with a following [ɣ] or [χ], or when before [l] in a closed syllable. Navarro and Espinosa[1] use the same phonetic symbol for both medial and velar a. In A Primer of Spanish Pronunciation[2] the sound of medial a is described as being between the a of English ask and the a of father. Before palatal consonants it approaches more the a of ask. Velar a approaches the English a of father. There is, therefore, no exact equivalent of Spanish a in the English language. The prevailing English conception of Spanish a is that it is always [a] ; that there are two values for a in Spanish is a bit of information which is "caviare to the general." In those place names whose pronunciation is imitative of the Spanish, English

---

[1] Tomás Navarro y Tomás and Aurelio M. Espinosa, A Primer of Spanish Pronunciation (Benj. H. Sanborn and Co., New York, 1927), pp. 22-23.

[2] Ibid.

customarily substitutes [a] < [a]. In this study there will be no distinction made between medial and velar [a].

An examination of the Spanish place names in the United States listed by Bentley[1] (based on Leonard's Guide, ninth edition) reveals that of the 320 names given for California 268 employ the letter a. In 144 of these a occurs in a position of stress.[2] These figures are cited as an indication of the frequent occurrence of the letter. This present investigation is not so much concerned with the listing of examples of the pronunciation of a in a stressed position[3] as it is with formulating those general principles which govern its pronunciation in English. When a word goes over from the phonetic system of one language into that of another, it is inevitable that there will be divergence from the original pronunciation. Striking changes occur especially in regard to vowels; when perceptible change does not occur, the conditions responsible for the phenomenon will show that the pronunciation of the vowel under such conditions does not go contrary to the phonetic pattern of the borrowing language, providing, of course, that the word has not resisted the naturalizing process.

---

[1]Harold W. Bentley, A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English (Columbia University Press, New York, 1932), pp. 221-236.

[2]In the English pronunciation.

[3]Or with the listing of examples of the pronunciation of any given vowel or consonant in any given position. My purpose, as I state it, tallies exactly with that of Thomas Pyles in his "The Pronunciation of Latin Learned Loan Words and Foreign Words in Old English," PMLA, LVIII (1943), p. 893.

[a] > [ɑ] before a consonant cluster beginning with r. The uninitiate might infer upon hearing [ɑ] in Ricardo (Texas) that the denizens of the Lone Star state had meticulously preserved what is generally held to be one of the niceties of "true" Spanish pronunciation--when it is but an ironic coincidence, one which does nothing whatever to halt the lament of the passing of yesteryear, nor to assuage the distress felt because of the doom of Spanish [a], a very keen distress experienced by members of that school of pronunciation which would strive to keep some semblance of Spanish in the borrowed place names. The [ɑ] in Ricardo (Texas) is altogether in line with the English phonetic system, which decrees this value of a for the letter when it occurs before r ending a syllable (as in Harvard) followed by a consonant, or before final r (as in car). Therefore, it surprises none but the novice to find the sound of [ɑ] used in the stressed syllables of such place names as Cárta, El Bernárdo, San Márcos (Texas); Del Már, Miramár, and San Cárlos (California).

[a] > [æ], [ɛ], [e], and [ɑ] before intervocalic r and rr. In the pronunciation of some, Spanish [a] meets with its most ordinary fate--a lowering to [æ], which will be discussed subsequently--before intervocalic r and rr. Instances of [a] as [æ] in this position are found in Caro and Navarro (Texas), and in Cuchara Camps (Colorado). It must not be presumed that [æ] is invariable before r in this position,[1] in the place names listed above, and in like names, for, as

---

[1]Both [æ] and [ɛ] are customary pronunciations for a before intervocalic [r] in English. Words such as carry, marry, charity, and hilarity offer examples of this type of wavering in English.

Kennedy remarks, the influence of r has long been one of change and variation in the pronunciation of English vowels,[1] and Caro, for example, is also heard as [ˈkɛɪo] . Another value for a before intervocalic r is that of [e] . Stressed a, is so pronounced in Candelária and Lasára (Texas). It may be pointed out that Southern speech habits generally prefer [e] in names such as Samária, Sárah, and Máry, but [ɛ] in this position is heard in the speech of many persons from Orange, Texas, on the Louisiana line, to El Paso, Texas, near the New Mexico line. In San Elizario[2] (Texas) [a] > [ɑ] .

[a] predominantly > [æ] . Examination of the lists of Spanish-derived place names appearing in Leonard's Guide ninth edition,[3] shows n and l to be the most recurrent consonants following stressed a.[4] Initially, medially, and finally [a] > [æ] before l and n. Examples: Álamo, Hidálgo, and Encinal (Texas); Ánimas, Estáncia, and Cápitan[5] (New Mexico). Before [d] , [s] , [ʃ] , [z] , and [k] , [a] > [æ] in the following Texas place names: Estacádo, El Páso, Palácios, the Brázos River, and Port Laváca. The foregoing examples are not isolated phenomena, nor does this value for [a] in the cited positions occur only in Texas (and New Mexico);

---

[1] Arthur G. Kennedy, Current Speech (Ginn and Co., New York, 1935), p. 192.

[2] A small town near El Paso and, therefore, in the class and the district wherein imitative pronunciations have a better chance of survival.

[3] Harold W. Bentley, A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English (Columbia University Press, New York, 1932), pp. 221-236.

[4] This pertains to the six states herein considered.

[5] Initial stress is stronger in the English pronunciation. Spanish: [kapiˈtan].

it occurs similarly throughout the Southwest and in California. That a as [æ] should be so commonly employed in the borrowed Spanish place name obviously needs no comment, since [æ] is of very frequent occurrence in English and is used regularly in English speech under the conditions cited in the above place names.

[a] > [ɑ] , [e] , [æ] in the -ado, -ada endings and elsewhere. In the English pronunciation there is considerable wavering to be noted in the value of a in a set of endings that may be termed the -ado, -ada endings. The name of the state of Colorado has three variant pronunciations of stressed a. Within the state itself [a] > [ɑ], [æ] , and [e] . Opinions vary as to whether [ɑ] or [æ] is preferred by Coloradans.[1] Both pronunciations have wide currency. While it is, at the present, impossible to come to any conclusion, the evidence points to the prevalence of [ɑ] in the pronunciation of those living in the southern part of the state and to the prevalence of [æ] in the pronunciation of those living in the more northern part of the state. Certainly in northeastern Colorado [æ] is heard much more frequently than [ɑ] .[2] The same variation occurs in the pronunciation of Colorado Springs (Colorado) and in the name of the University of Colorado. However, it is my impression that [ɑ] is preferred to [æ] in the pronunciation of the name of the university. The sound of [e] for a in Colorado is little used within the state.

---

[1] See George L. Trager, "Some Spanish Place Names of Colorado", American Speech, October, 1935, pp. 203-207. Trager thinks [ɑ] is the most common pronunciation, but for reasons that will be revealed later, Trager's pronouncement appears to be somewhat tinged with personal preference.

[2] In Nebraska and Wyoming, to the east and north, [æ] is predominant.

Instances of its use occur in the speech of railroad men and older people. In the East and in the South the preference is definitely in favor of [a] for a in reference to the name of this state. However, in Colorado City (Texas), a is said as [e].[1] It is of interest to note that when pronounced, local wavering occurs in the pronunciation of names using the -ado, -ada endings it is between [a] and [e] in Texas, but, generally, elsewhere, in the territory under consideration, the wavering is chiefly between [a] and [æ].[2] In Alvarádo, Randádo, and Saládo (Texas)[a] >[a] and [e]. Apparently stable English values have developed in some names employing -ado and -ada: in El Dorádo (California)[a] >[a]; in Eldorádo (Oklahoma and Texas)[a] >[e]; in Rociáda (New Mexico)[a] >[æ], and in Granáda (Colorado)[a] >[e].

Although a before intervocalic [r] and a in the -ado, -ada endings seem to be most susceptible to variation, such variation occurs elsewhere. In a street name, Solano, in Berkeley, California, [a] > both [a] and [æ]. In the Mojave Desert [a] > [a] and [æ]. While [a] in the Rio Grande River is very, very commonly [æ],[3] in the pronunciation of some speakers in the vicinities of Albuquerque

---

[1] In Nevada City (Texas) a is also pronounced [e], but Nevada City (California) is [nə'vædə]. Although Nevada is outside the scope of this present study, it may be noted that three variant pronunciations of stressed a occur also in Nevada. [nə'vædə] occurs more frequently within the state itself (Californians also prefer this pronunciation); [nə'vedə] is used by the old-timers, and [nə'vadə] is heard in the East and South.

[2] In Granada (California)[a] >[a] and [e], but in El Granada (California) [a] >[æ] and [e].

[3] In Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico.

and Santa Fe [a] > [ɑ]. In Llano[1] (California) [a] > [æ] and [ɑ]. In Llagas Creek (California) [a] > [ɑ] and [e].

It seems to me that the only conclusions to be drawn from these variant pronunciations is that the pronunciation is still wavering between a feeling for the Spanish phonetic value of a and the English preference for [æ] or [e] in positions of stress when the letter a occurs under the above given circumstances.

[a] subjected to stress shift. In Cómal[2] (Texas), El Capitan (New Mexico), Trínidad (California and Colorado), and Álcatraz (California) [a] in the final syllable, which receives the stress in the Spanish pronunciation, becomes [æ] . Although English, in accord with the Germanic tendency, has shifted the main stress from the last to the first syllable, some stress remains on the syllable originally stressed in Spanish or [a] would undergo complete reduction to [ə] as it does in Avila[3] (California), Bogáta[4] (Texas), Nícolaus[5] (California), Pórtal[6] (Colorado), Santo Thómas[7] (Texas), Sebástian (Texas) and San Sebástian[8] (California), and Sólar[9] (Colorado).

---

[1]Llano (Texas) is ['læ no] .

[2]In this and the following names the stress mark indicates the syllable receiving the stronger stress in English.

[3]Spanish: Ávila.

[4]Spanish: Bogotá.

[5]Spanish: Nicolás.

[6]Spanish accents the final syllable.

[7]Spanish: Tomás.

[8]Spanish: Sebastián.

[9]Spanish accents the final syllable.

That [aɪ] in Spanish árboles is heard as [a] in Arbóles (Colorado) is attributable to the happy circumstance of its occurrence under conditions that prescribe [a] for a in English. In Pánama (Oklahoma), final stressed [a] [1] > [ɔ], furnishing an example of a lowering of [a] > [ɔ] that is especially characteristic of General American English.[2] In Anahuac (Texas), Spanish [a'na wak] > ['æn ə ˌwæk], ['æn ɪ ˌwæk], and ['æn jə ˌwæk].

---

[1] Spanish: Panamá.

[2] Obviously the last syllable of this name, Panama, receives secondary stress in English.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
LIBRARY

Closed and Open e

There are two values for the letter e in Spanish. Closed e as [e] is found in open syllables, and in closed syllables before m, n, s, or x (s). It has no diphthongal glide as the [eɪ] in English they but otherwise is similar to it.[1] Open Spanish e [ɛ] , similar to English e in let, is used in closed syllables, except those closed by m, n, s, or x (s), when in contact with a multiple, trilled r anywhere, when before the j sound [x] , and in the diphthongs ei and ey.

In the following sections we shall observe the treatment stressed Spanish e is given in the English pronunciation of certain names in the states under consideration.

[e] retained (variant [eɪ] . Instances in which e occurs under primary stress are confined to approximately one-sixth of the given place names in Texas,[2] while stressed a occurs in approximately one-third. In California[3] the comparison is even more pronounced: stressed e is found in less than fifteen percent of California's Spanish place names, while a occurs in nearly half the total number. In the

---

[1] Tomás Navarro y Tomás and Aurelio M. Espinosa, A Primer of Spanish Pronunciation (Benj. H. Sanborn and Co., New York, 1927), pp. 19-21.

[2] Cf. Harold W. Bentley, A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English (Columbia University Press, New York, 1932), pp. 222-225; 234-236.

[3] Ibid.

remaining states, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, a likewise predominates in a position of stress.

Although undiphthongized [e] may be heard in the English pronunciation of the following (as well as other) Spanish-derived place names, the tendency is predominantly toward diphthongizing [e], with resultant [eɪ]. In the transcriptions of English approximations of Spanish closed e used herein such diphthongization is to be inferred from [e] unless, of course, the loss of the diphthongal quality be so specified.

In Mesa, Pecos, San Jose, and Vega (Texas), e is customarily [e]. Throughout the Southwest and California the pronunciation is ['mesə] for mesa, whether the word be a proper name[1] or a common noun, and its use as a common noun is quite frequent. Bentley[2] cites its literary use by Josiah Gregg (1844) in Commerce of the Prairies, p. 74. Bentley also gives a phonetic transcription of the English pronunciation as [me:sa] and [mɛsə]. The first pronunciation is Spanish, and [mesə] is the usual English imitation of it; [mɛsə], Bentley's second pronunciation, seems to me to be an imitation of a somewhat more open e frequently heard in popular Mexican speech in the Southwest. Trager[3] comments upon the unquestioned prevalence of [mesə] --despite local Mexican [mɛsa] --in the pronunciation of mesa whether it is used in regard

---

[1] It occurs as the name of a community in eight states.

[2] Op. cit., p. 165.

[3] George L. Trager, "Some Spanish Place Names of Colorado" (American Speech, October, 1935), pp. 203-207.

to the place name[1] or the common noun. He ascribes the prevailing to the influence of the learned or "school" pronunciation. But it is an explanation in want of extending. No "school" or learned pronunciation, regardless of how urgently it may be advocated, succeeds if it appeals to the native ear as being "foreign". Los Angeles, for example, with all its variant pronunciations has not among them the one recommended daily for years by the Los Angeles Times, spelled Loce Ahng-hayl-ais.[2] Initial [aŋ] is un-English; but [meɛ] is not.[3] Then, of course, the popular idea of the pronunciation of Spanish e among the people in the Southwest and in California is that it is simply and always [e]. In no Spanish place name among the hundreds investigated in this study is found an instance of Spanish open e [ɛ] used in unquestionable deference to the Spanish phonetic system. Later in this section such use of [ɛ] as we shall find made will be showed to be in accord with the English and opposed to the Spanish pronunciation of the letter under the given circumstance, or its retention can be demonstrated to be due to analogy with the English phonetic practice.

Spanish [e] survives in the pronunciation of Pecos, in the river and valley of this name in New Mexico and Texas. In New Mexico, with its sparsely settled tracts of land and its small communities,[4] many of them

---

[1] Mesa and Mesa Verde both occur in Colorado.

[2] Compare Spanish [lo ˈsaŋ xɛles].

[3] It should be borne in mind that speakers of English characteristically associate length with a vowel in an open syllable (as e, in mesa).

[4] Some of New Mexico's Spanish place names are no more than sidings on the railroad. Train crews are Mexican. One hears the pronunciation of such place names from railroad men who have imitated the Mexican pronunciation.

largely Spanish in population, the English approximation of stressed [e] is retained in a fairly large percentage of place names employing the letter in this position. In Galisteo, Gallegos, Jemes, La Mesa Las Vegas, Palvadera, San Mateo, and Santa Fe[1] (New Mexico), one hears e as [e]. This value is also ascribed to e in California's San Jose, Vallejo, and San Andreas, in Colorado's Conejos, and in Arizona's Dos Cabezas. Two names in this list merit more than mere listing: Conejos (Colorado) and Vallejo (California). Here, since the e before j [x] should be pronounced [ɛ],[2] the tendency of English may be seen at work again, behind the mask of an apparently "foreign" sound.[3] The j [x] is, of course, not pronounced; nor is [h]--the nearest English equivalent of [x] --ordinarily pronounced because of the difficulty it presents for English speakers in an intervocalic post-tonic position. Thus [e] comes directly before [o] in Vallejo and [əs] in Conejos, producing examples of hiatus[4] of the type speakers of English find not too troublesome. The prevailing English conception of Spanish e as [e] is again demonstrated in a variant pronunciation of San Miguel (New Mexico): [sæn

---

[1] Despite the fact that [ˈsæntə ˌfi] is unfashionable it persists in southwestern folk speech, especially among older people, and, in reference to the railroad of that name, older Santa Fe employees ordinarily say

[2] Compare Spanish [koˈnexos], English [kəˈneəs]; Spanish [vaˈjexo] English [vəˈleo]. In [vaˈjexo], [j] is used for ll (Castilian [lj]) because it is the sound customarily used by native speakers of Spanish throughout the western hemisphere.

[3] When English stresses the first of two vowels in hiatus such stress commonly results in lengthening.

[4] Galisteo and San Mateo (New Mexico) and San Andreas (California) present further examples of [e] in hiatus.

mə'gɛɪl] . This name is also pronounced [sæn məgɛl] and very frequently [sæn mə'gɪl] in southern New Mexico. San Miguel (California) is [sæn mə'gɪl].[1]

[e] before intervocalic simple r > [ɛ]. In Sapinéro and Trinchéra (Colorado); Mescaléro and Mosquéro (New Mexico); Calavéras and Madéra (California); Dinéro and La Féria (Texas), and Madéra Canyon (Arizona) [e] > [ɛ] in accordance with English phonology. Trager[2] finds [trɪn'tʃɛrə] for Trinchera (Colorado) a "good imitation of Spanish pronunciation", but, inasmuch as he states later in his article on Colorado place names that "the Spanish language is still very much alive in southern Colorado" and that "linguistically and culturally this region and northern New Mexico are one and the same", it becomes obvious that he belongs to that group which, in endeavoring to put the best light possible on English ways with Spanish words, lapses frequently into "wishful thinking". To the impartial investigator it is a bit difficult to concede [trɪn'tʃɛrə] to be a "good" imitation of Spanish [trin'tʃera]. Short Spanish [i] is lowered to [ɪ] in the first syllable; stressed [e] becomes [ɛ], and final [a] becomes [ə]. The consonants are altogether English, and there is marked, initial stress.

[ɛ] before consonant combinations beginning with r > [ʌ]. In Camp Verde (Texas) and Mesa Verde (Colorado), e, Spanish [ɛ], before a consonant cluster beginning with r is reduced to [ʌ]. The same

---

[1] This pronunciation is, perhaps, an example of folk etymology. McGill is a fairly popular name in the Southwest.

[2] George L. Trager, "Some Spanish Place Names of Colorado" (American Speech, October, 1935), pp. 203-207.

treatment is given e in Palos Verdes (California). Yerba in Yerba Buena (California) is [ˈjʌrbə].

Complete vowel shift: [e] >[i]. Examination of southwestern Spanish place names appearing in Leonard's Guide, ninth edition,[1] reveals that certain place names employing stressed e have become altogether anglicized. California has eight such place names, among them Goléta and San Pédro; Colorado has four: Aréna, Galatéa, La Véta, La Véta Pass; Oklahoma has one: El Réno; Texas has six, among them Tolédo and Santa Eléna.

A comparison of the Spanish and English phonetic transcriptions of the place names cited follows.

Goleta (Spanish, goˈleta ; English, gəˈlitə.) Under stress [e] >[i] ; [a] unstressed becomes [ə].

San Pedro (Spanish, samˈpeɖro; English, sænˈpidro.) In San [a] >[æ] ; [m] >[n]; in Pedro [e] >[i] and [ɖ][2] >[d].

Arena (Spanish, əˈrena ; English, əˈrinə.) Initial and final [a] in unstressed position is reduced to [ə] ; stressed [e] >[i].

Galatea (Spanish, gaˈlateə ; English, ˈgæləˈtiə.) There is lowering of [a] to [æ] ; complete reduction of [a] >[ə] in the second and final unstressed syllables; [e] >[i] under stress; equal stress on the initial and penultimate syllables.

---

[1] Cf. Harold W. Bentley, A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English (Columbia University Press, New York, 1932), pp. 222-225; 234-236.

[2] The voiced dental, inter-dental fricative in Spanish.

La Veta (Spanish, la'veta ; English, lə'vitə .)[1] The unstressed [a] in La and in the final syllable of Veta becomes [ə] ; stressed [e] > [i].

El Reno (Spanish, ɛl'reno ; English, ɛl'rino .) In the stressed syllable [e] >[i] .

Toledo (Spanish, to'leđo ; English, tə'lidə.) In the first syllable [o] >[ə] ; stressed [e] >[i] ; final [o] is reduced to [ə] .

Santa Elena (Spanish, santa e'lena; English, sæntə ə'linə .) Stressed [a] in Santa >[æ] ; unstressed final [a] in Santa and unstressed [e] in Elena suffer reduction to [ə] ; stressed [e] >[i] ; final unstressed [a] >[ə].

[ɛ] < e before consonants c, l, s, t, and z. In Tecolote (New Mexico) Spanish [e] in the first syllable becomes English [ɛ] . In Spanish, this syllable has but secondary stress and, although ordinarily in English it has no more than secondary stress, it is sometimes heard with primary stress. Here, again, English makes a closed syllable of an open Spanish one, and prescribes for e its customary value in such a position.[2]

El and Del provide examples of e as [ɛ] under secondary stress. El is always [ɛl] whether it is used as a separate word as in El Campo (Texas) or as the first syllable of a name: Eldorado (California, Oklahoma, and Texas). Del is always [dɛl] , as in Del Rio (Texas). Obviously this retention of Spanish [ɛ] is no talking point for the

---

[1] La Veta Pass is pronounced in the same way.

[2] Compare: Spanish te-co-lo-te; English tec-o-lo-te or tec-ol-o-te.

Hispanophile, who, despite his linguistic myopia, is doubtless able to discern the common English usage of [ɛ] before [l] .

Before intervocalic [s] , [e] becomes [ɛ] in Progresso (New Mexico) and Progreso (Texas); [e] is [ɛ] before a consonant cluster beginning with s in Modesto (California).

In Isléta (New Mexico) and Ysléta (Texas), [e] > [ɛ] before [t] ,[1] in accordance with the obvious English practice.

Before [z] Spanish [e] >[ɛ]: Frézno (California), Los Fréznos (Texas). English usage of [ɛ] before [z] is common. It occurs in words variously spelled, such as Jezebel, pheasant, says.

Variable e before d, n, n, s, r. In Alameda (California) e (Spanish [e]) is both [i] and [e] .[2] Here d causes the same type of wavering that was observed when this letter was intervocalic after a.

Before [n] , e is by some speakers [ɛ] (In a syllable closed by n, e in Spanish is [e]), but ordinarily e in this position is [ɪ] . An example is found in El Centro (California), which is heard very commonly as [ɛl 'sɪntro]. This variant is not listed by Shafer[3] who would, presumably, lead the gentle reader to believe that Californians are a race apart. In his list only [ɛl 'sɛntro] occurs. Although he asserts he

---

[1]The English system of syllabication here disarranges the Spanish (as it does frequently) by making the penultimate syllable a closed one: Spanish: Is-le-ta; English: Is-let-a.

[2]During a three years' residence in Alameda County (California) I never heard e as anything but [i] in the pronunciation of the county's name.

[3]Cf. Robert Shafer, "The Pronunciation of Spanish Place Names in California" (American Speech, December, 1942), pp. 239-246.

283893

quizzed every one from the common laborer to the college professor as a check against his listed pronunciations, my own impression is that he has prettified many if not most of them.

Certainly in Texas and New Mexico it would be rare indeed to hear [ɛ] before [n]. The e in Belén and in San Lorénzo (New Mexico) is [I]. In the towns of Argenta and Haciendo (Texas), stressed e is also [I].

Before ñ in two Texas towns, Lopeño and Salineño, e is heard as both [e] and [i]. The same variation is heard in Lamesa (Texas) before intervocalic [s], the [i] variant being the one discoverable example of "abuse" in relation to the southwestern pronunciation of mesa as [ˈmesə].[1]

Intervocalic r preceded by e generates three pronunciations of Bandera (Texas), wherein e is heard as [ɛ], [I], and [e]. In Calaveras (Texas) e is [ɛ] or [e]; in Madera of the same state one hears [məˈdɪrə] and [məˈderə].[2]

Ribera (New Mexico), however, has no customary variant before r. It is heard simply as [rɑɪˈbɪrə] and as such is an example of a completely naturalized pronunciation wherein [e] > [I].

[e] and [ɛ] subjected to stress shift. In Cortez (Colorado) and Santa Inez (California) e is heard as [ɛ], although primary stress has been shifted from the last to the first syllable in the English pronunciation. The Spanish value of e [ɛ] in this position is retained

---

[1]Perhaps the variant [i] is a result of a loss of identity which the word mesa undergoes when it is made into one word with its article. La Mesa (New Mexico) has no such established variant.

[2]In the Embarcadero in San Francisco, California, e before r is pronounced [ɪ] as well as [ɛ].

because it is in accord with English phonology. The stressed e of Spanish océano meets with a less fortunate fate in Oceano (California). In the anglicized [oʊsiˈænoʊ] stressed Spanish [e] is reduced to unstressed English [I].

Closed and Open i

Spanish closed [i] , similar to English [i] in see but uniform in quality throughout the duration of the sound, that is, with no diphthongal glide, is used in all open syllables. Spanish open [i] , described by Navarro and Espinosa,[1] is a sound half-way between closed [i] and the open quality of English [I] in hiss. It is used in most closed syllables, especially before l, r, and s. English-speaking students of Spanish have difficulty in approximating the sound and almost invariably relapse into the more open [I] of English. Therefore, in the pronunciation of anything so much in the category of common property as is a place name, we can scarcely expect to find this latter nicety observed.

Other values of stressed i, diphthongal and semi-consonantal, will be considered later.

[i] retained. Approximately one-fifth of the Spanish place names in California and Colorado and one-fourth in New Mexico and Texas use i in a position of stress. These estimates are based on the Spanish place name lists appearing in Leonard's Guide, ninth edition.[2] In

---

[1] Cf. Tomás Navarro y Tomás and Aurelio M. Espinosa, A Primer of Spanish Pronunciation (Benj. H. Sanborn and Co., New York, 1927), pp. 17-18.

[2] Cf. Harold W. Bentley, A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English (Columbia University Press, New York, 1932), pp. 222-226; 230-232; 234-235.

regard to frequency of occurrunce, i ranks second to a, but its Spanish sound value has fared somewhat better than that of a: [i] is retained in a fairly large percentage of the place names wherein it appears, especially in those of New Mexico and Texas. The most frequent use of [i] occurs in the ita and ito, itas and itos diminutive suffixes. Texas has at least a dozen names employing some form of this very common suffix;[1] among them are Bonita, Palito Blanco, and Realitos; New Mexico has about the same number; among them, Chaperito and Placitas. Other instances of its use are found in Bonita and Sahuarita (Arizona); Mesita, Naturita, and Rosita (Colorado); Amorita and Clarita (Oklahoma); San Bonito and Sausolito (California).

The next most frequent use of [i] occurs in those names ending in another set of diminutive suffixes: illo and illa and their plurals. Examples: Cabrillo (California), Mesilla Park and Cerillos (New Mexico).

In some names [i] is heard before intervocalic [n], as in Chino (Arizona), Santa Catalina (California), Merino (Colorado), Encino (New Mexico and Texas). Before [nj] it is heard in Treviño (Texas). It occurs before [d], [k], [p], and [s] in some place names: Stampede[2] (Texas), Anton Chico (New Mexico), Chico (California and Texas),

---

[1]In addition to those names transcribed literally from the Spanish there are those in which the spelling has been anglicized and [i] in an open syllable is written e. Examples: Tuleta, Lometa, and Mareta (Texas). Palmetto State Park (Texas), however, is an example of anglicization of the diminutive ito in both spelling and pronunciation. The name is from palmito [pal'mito]. English: ['pæl'mɛtə]. It is also used as a common noun.

[2]From Spanish estampida. The spelling has been anglicized to conform to the English pronunciation which retains the [i] sound in the stressed syllable.

San Felipe (New Mexico and Texas), Benicia (California).

In commenting upon the retention of [i̇] under the conditions illustrated herein, it is pertinent to remark the frequent occurrence in English of the sound [i̇] . The language has accumulated a great number of words employing it. The sound appears variously spelled in both open and closed syllables; in native and in borrowed words. In English [i̇] occurs under conditions which parallel the use of the sound in the cited Spanish place names.

[i̇]>[ɪ]. Before [d] , [l] , [m] , [s] , [r] , and [v] , i in a closed syllable[1] becomes [ɪ] . Examples serving to illustrate such anglicization are: Presídio[2] (Texas), Camarílla (California), Villa Nueva (New Mexico), Tímpas (California), Buena Vísta (New Mexico and Texas[3]), El Porvenír and Gran Quivíra (New Mexico), and Olívia (Texas). In Segno < signo (Texas), the attempts of the transcriber to indicate Spanish [i̇] are of

---

[1]The English method of syllabication is here referred to. While the syllable count remains the same in Spanish and English in, for example, Amarillo (Texas), the syllable division does not remain the same: Spanish, a-ma-ri-llo; English, am-a-rill-o.

[2]Presidio is entirely familiar to southwesterners and westerners; it is heard in every day speech from El Paso, Texas to San Francisco, California. Presidios (military forts) were established by the Spaniards throughout the Southwest and California. It is significant to note the status of presidio in Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, fifth edition, (based on Webster's New International Dictionary, second edition) wherein it no longer appears marked as a foreign word, and wherein the anglicized pronunciation appears first. As late as the third edition of Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (based on Webster's New International Dictionary), presidio appears marked as a foreign word, with the Spanish pronunciation given first place. Toward the early part of the century it appeared in Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary as a foreign word, with the Spanish pronunciation the only one therein listed.

[3]In this state the place name is spelled as one word.

no avail: the pronunciation is [ˈsɪɡ no] .

[i] > [aɪ]. In a few Spanish place names [i] in an open syllable is heard consistently as [aɪ] . This type of anglicization occurs in Vina (California); Niñaview[1] and Salida (Colorado); Lima and Salina (Oklahoma).

[i] varies with [aɪ] and [ɪ] . In Point Pinos (California) [i] is heard as a variant of the [aɪ] pronunciation for i, but in Asilomar (California) [i] varies with [ɪ] .

[i] subjected to stress shift. In the following place names English, in accord with the common Germanic tendency, has shifted the stress to the first syllable. In Spanish, each of the names bears a written accent over i, demonstrating that the word is accented contrary to the ordinary rule for accent in Spanish.

In Bólivar (Texas) stressed [i] in Spanish is reduced to [ə] .

In Cápulin (Colorado and New Mexico) initial stress reduces [i] to [ɪ] .

Gárcia (California and Colorado) has variant pronunciations. The one that concerns us here is the anglicized [ˈɡɑrʃə] , wherein i does not undergo reduction, but by assimilation with c in the English pronunciation serves to produce [ʃ] .

In San Mártin and San Quéntin (California), [i] in the final, stressed Spanish syllable becomes [ə] in the final, unstressed English syllable.

---

[1] The tilde is nothing more than an orthographic flourish. Nina, which composes the first element of this hybrid place name, is pronounced [naɪ nə] .

[i] undergoes apocope. Seneca Creek (Oklahoma) is an apocopated, thoroughly anglicized form of the diminutive cieneguilla. Gould[1] says the name of this creek is from Cinneguilla de Burro. It is of interest to note here the anglicized orthography of cieneguilla which is indicative of its pronunciation: the gemination of n indicates shortness in the preceding i which has been substituted for Spanish e. Semi-consonantal i [j] has suffered loss.[2] In Seneca Creek, of course, the anglicization has been extended to include loss of the diminutive illa ending and the unvoicing of g [g] to [k] , spelled c.[3] Seneca said as ['sɪnəkə] and ['sɪnə kɪ] shows its kinship with Cienega (California and New Mexico) when this name is pronounced as ['sɪnəgɪ] and ['sɪnɪgɪ] .

---

[1] C. N. Gould, Oklahoma Place Names (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1933), p. 25.

[2] The i following c in cieneguilla is semi-consonantal. In the Spanish pronunciation e is the vowel in the first syllable of this word. In English, e before a nasal very, very commonly becomes [ɪ] .

[3] Folk etymology, apparently responsible for the imitative orthography of Seneca, is, in the first place, very likely responsible for the pronunciation which, in Oklahoma, shows no Spanish remnant whatever.

Closed and Open o

Spanish o has two values.[1] Closed o is similar to English o in tone, but it is uniform throughout and does not end in a diphthongal glide. The muscular tension is quite pronounced. Spanish o is pronounced closed in open syllables. Exceptions are noted below. Open o is similar to o in English gone, although it is not so open a sound. Spanish o is pronounced [ɔ] in the following cases:

1. In closed syllables.
2. When in contact with a trilled r anywhere.
3. When before the j [χ] sound.
4. In the diphthongs oi and oy.

Approximately one-fifth of the total number[2] of Spanish place names included in this study employ o in a position of stress.[3] That the sounds [o] and [ɔ] have undergone considerable variation in the English pronunciation of the Spanish place name will be demonstrated in the following sections.

---

[1] Cf. Tomás Navarro y Tomás and Aurelio M. Espinosa, A Primer of Spanish Pronunciation (Benj. H. Sanborn and Co., New York, 1927), pp. 23-25.

[2] Cf. Harold W. Bentley, A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English (Columbia University Press, New York, 1932), pp. 222-226; 230-236.

[3] California's percentage is nearer one-fourth.

[o] retained. The English approximation of Spanish closed [o] [1] occurs chiefly before the letters a, b, c, l, ll, m, n, r, s, t, and y in those names whose syllabication is either in line with the English method of syllabication, or it occurs in a syllable closed in the English pronunciation wherein [o] (in both instances) is in accord with the English practice. Examples of o thus used are found in the following place names: Balbóa and Point Lóbos (California), Lóco (Oklahoma and Texas), Frijóle[2] (Texas), Cebólla (Colorado), La Jólla[3] (California), Paloma (California), Las Palómas (New Mexico), La Paloma (Texas), San António (California, New Mexico, and Texas), Dolóres and Sonóra[4] (Colorado), and Ruidóso (New Mexico), Ruidósa (Texas), Hermósa (California and New Mexico), Cayóte and Kyóte (Texas), Coyóte (California and New Mexico), Mogóta (Colorado), Lajóya[5] (New Mexico), and La Jóya (Texas).

[o] >[ɑ] and [ʊ]. In certain place names wherein English has altered the Spanish syllabication, original [o] in an open Spanish

---

[1] With some speakers: [oʊ] . There is much less muscular tension in English [o] even when the diphthongal value is not notably present.

[2] Frijole [frɪ'holɪ] is an example of back formation. From frijoles, its proper singular is frijol.

[3] Pronounced [lə'hojə], sometimes [lə'hɔɪjə] or, with loss of [j], [lə'hɔɪə]. An example of an English aural transcription which shows the transcriber's knowledge of Spanish ll as [j]. Properly La Joya. Note La Joya (Texas) and Lajoya (New Mexico).

[4] Sonora (California) is also heard as [sə'nɔrə]. Stressed [o] > [ɔ] .

[5] Variant: [lə'hɔɪjə]. Compare [mən'tojə] and [mən'tɔɪjə] for Montoya (New Mexico). This name is a common one among the Mexican ranch laborers of southern New Mexico. The English pronunciation here is [mən'tɔɪjə]. Open o [ɔ] is heard in the usual Mexican pronunciation of this name.

syllable frequently becomes [a] in the English closed syllable; [o] > [u] as well as [a] in divergent developments of chilicote, which appears as Chilcoot ['tʃɪl'kut] in California and Chillicothe [ˌtʃɪlə'kaθ] in Texas. In one name wherein [o] occurs in an open syllable (Alamosa) and in another wherein it occurs in a closed syllable (Raton), it may become [u]. Although in the pronunciation of the better educated, Alamosa (Colorado) is [æləˈmosə],[1] in the folk pronunciation of the name [o] > [u], a development mentioned by Trager[2] and also by Ritchie,[3] Trager finds the [u] puzzling, "since", he says, "the Spanish of the region uses a comparatively open variety of o in a stressed syllable". Jarosa (Colorado), he points out, never has [u] < [o] as does Alamosa, but he overlooks one rather frequent Colorado pronunciation of Raton

---

[1] Alamosa (New Mexico) is [æləˈmosə]; no [u] variant for [o] is customary with New Mexicans.

[2] Cf. George L. Trager, "Some Spanish Place Names of Colorado" (American Speech, October, 1935), pp. 203-207.

[3] Cf. Eleanor Ritchie, "Spanish Place Names in Colorado" (American Speech, April, 1935), pp. 88-92. Ritchie attests that the "oo sound of Spanish u, apparently lost in the process of Americanization, crops up in erroneous pronunciations of Spanish o". (In Alamosa.) Just why Spanish u should behave in such an erratic manner is a secret Ritchie does not reveal--regrettably, since revelation of the processes whereby such a linguistic sport establishes itself would be ammunition of the atomic variety that the Hispanophile dreams of. Would it be impertinent to ask if Ritchie has truly appreciated the profundity of her own statement? Establishment of the reincarnation of Spanish u in Alamosa would be headline news in Spanish periódicos from Monterrey, Mexico to Santiago de Chile, with repercussions in Barcelona and Madrid. The denizens of Mexico City would turn out en masse in their thirteen acre plaza, declare a national holiday, celebrate a mammoth fiesta, and re-christen the Paseo de la Reforma the Paseo de Alamosa--embalming, por supuesto, the triumphant Spanish u in the pronunciation !. Those who worry about a realistic approach to practical inter-Americanism could go fishing, secure in the realization that the millenium of Hispano-American relations had been reached.

(New Mexico) as [ræ'tun]. Although the o in Raton, of course, is the open, not the closed o, this distinction has apparently no bearing on the English tendency to shift Spanish o to [u]. Common Spanish loan words attest to the shift in the orthography: barbecue < barbacoa, barracoon < barracon, calaboose < calaboza. Occasionally in the Southwest ['kaɪ ut] is heard for coyote; this pronunciation seems to have more currency in the Northwest--certainly it does in Wyoming.[1] The shift of [o] or [ɔ] to [u] really does no violence to linguistic ways. It may be remarked that it parallels what happened in English when [õ] >[u] as a result of the great vowel shift. Also, while it is of interest to note that in certain developments of Spanish itself, unstressed o (occasionally, stressed o) becomes [u],[2] I am not inclined to believe that the [u] heard in Alamosa and Raton, for example, has any particular bearing on the question of imitative English pronunciation. It appears to me that the shift of o to [u] is but a variously developed phenomenon characteristic of both languages, as are other phonological phenomena such as, for example, nasal infix and metathesis.

Before n [a] is heard in such names as Santa Mónica (California and Texas), Farallónes (California), Gerónimo (Arizona and Texas), and in San Gerónimo (California and New Mexico). Before p in Trópico

---

[1] In Nebraska ['kaɪ ut] is also heard. Sometimes ['kaɪ ˌutɪ].

[2] I have had native Spanish-speaking pupils pronounce gallo as ['βaju] ; toallo as [tu'aja] ; con as [kun] , for example. Data pertaining to this form of vowel substitution in the popular speech of Mexico may be found in Vol. IV of the Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispanoamerica (Buenos Aires, 1938), pp. 288-289.

(California), [o] > [a]. This treatment of o in the foregoing place names is in obvious accord with the English sound value for o under analogous circumstances furnished by words in every day English vocabularies.

[ɔ] retained in some closed syllables. Before certain consonant combinations such as rd, rm, rt, and st an approximation of prescribed Spanish o is apparently retained in the English pronunciation of the Spanish place name. The "retention", however, is ascribable to customary English usage of [ɔ] under identical conditions. This is readily apparent in such place names as Alamogórdo (New Mexico),[1] Matagórdo[2] (Texas), Cerrogórdo (Oklahoma), Córdes (Arizona), La Reforma (Texas), Del Nórte (Colorado), Córte Madera and Contra Cósta (California).

[ɔ] >[a]in other closed syllables. In closed syllables wherein appears before the consonant clusters nch, nd, nt, sc, sq, and before final s, it becomes [a] in the English pronunciation. Examples of such anglicization occur in Cóncho (Arizona, Oklahoma, and Texas), Hóndo (California, New Mexico, and Texas), Mónte Vista (California and Colorado), Pasamónte (New Mexico), Pónta (Texas), Mósca (Colorado), and Bósqueville (Texas), and in every Los used as a prefix in the place names of New Mexico and Texas. Los Cerillos (New Mexico) and Los Angeles (Texas) serve as examples. Los is pronounced [las], [lɔs],

---

[1] In New Mexico's Cordova, o is likewise [ɔ] before rd. Stress shift to the penultimate (Spanish: ˈkɔrdova) preserves unstressed Spanish o as [o] in the English pronunciation.

[2] [mæt əˈgɑrd ə] provides a variation which is ascribable to a feature particularly characteristic of American English: the unrounding of o: [ɔ] > [a].

and occasionally [los] in California's Los Angeles, Los Gatos, etc.

[ɔ] >[o], [a], [u], and [ə] before final n. In Cahóne[1] (Colorado), Cajón (California), Cimarrón,[2] Piñón, Ratón, Ramón, and Rincón (New Mexico), and in San Ramón (California) [ɔ] > [o].

In Aragón (New Mexico), the Cimarrón River (Colorado, Oklahoma, and New Mexico), Rincón (California), León (Oklahoma), and in San León (Texas) [ɔ] > [a].

In Patroon[3] (Texas) [ɔ] > [u], and in the pronunciation of Ratón (New Mexico) by many Coloradans [ɔ] > [u].[4]

The stress shift to the first syllable in the anglicized pronunciation of certain Spanish place names reduces stressed Spanish [ɔ] to unstressed English [ə]. Examples: Cáñon City (Colorado), Cányon[5] (California and Texas), La Únion[6] (New Mexico), Límon and Piñon (Colorado).

[ɔ] before final r and in contact with trilled r >[o]. In Amador (California) and Matador (Texas) [ɔ] >[o] before final r. This same anglicization occurs in El Moro (Colorado), El Morro[7] (New Mexico),

---

[1] An anglicized spelling of Cajón.

[2] Variants for o include [a] and, sometimes, [ə].

[3] This name may or may not be derived from Spanish patrón.

[4] In Raton Street in La Junta, Colorado, o is heard as [u], [a], and [o].

[5] Entirely anglicized in spelling and in pronunciation.

[6] Also heard as [jun'jon], with diphthongized o.

[7] Both [ɔ] and [a], other customary English values for o before r, are sometimes heard in the pronunciation of this and like names; although [o] appears to be more frequent, especially in the pronunciation of northern New Mexicans.

Pasa Robles (California), Santa Rosa[1] (New Mexico), and Socorro (New Mexico and Texas).

[ɔ] before j [χ] >[o]. In Ojo (Colorado) and Ojo Caliente (New Mexico) [o] >[o] before j, which is here pronounced in English as [h].

---

[1]Initial r in Santa Rosa and Paso Robles is trilled r in Spanish; therefore [ɔ] should follow.

Closed and Open u

Spanish u has two values:[1] as [u] it is pronounced closed in open syllables. Similar to English u in rule it has, however, no trace of diphthongal glide but is uniform throughout, and the muscular tension is quite pronounced. This sound is also used for u in closed syllables; except that in most closed syllables it has a more open quality than closed u. This open u is between Spanish closed u and the u of English put. It is very difficult for English speaking students of Spanish to pronounce Spanish open u even approximately correctly, and, as in the case of Spanish open [i], the approximation of the sound does not occur in the English pronunciation of any Spanish-derived place name.

The occurrence of stressed u in the place names included in this study is infrequent.[2] It appears in somewhat less than four percent of the total number of place names under consideration.

[u] retained. Before b, c ([s] and [k]), ch, g, l, m, n, p, r, t, and z, [u] is heard in the stressed syllables of the following place names: Núbia (Texas), Crúce[3] (Oklahoma), Las Crúces (New Mexico),

---

[1]Tomás Navarro y Tomás and Aurelio M. Espinosa, A Primer of Spanish Pronunciation (Benj. H. Sanborn and Co., New York, 1927), pp. 25-26.

[2]Cf. Harold W. Bentley, A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English Columbia University Press, New York, 1932), pp. 222-226; 230-235.

[3]Apparently a back formation from cruces. Cruz is the proper singular.

San Lúcas (California), Trúchas (New Mexico), Refúgio[1] (Texas), Agua Dúlce (Texas), Dúlce (New Mexico), Montezúma (California, New Mexico, and Texas), Laguúna (New Mexico and Texas), Guadalúpe (California, New Mexico and Texas), Palodúro (Texas), Frúto (California), Santa Crúz (California and Texas), De Lúz (California), and La Lúz (New Mexico). The sound of [u], variously spelled, occurs regularly in English under conditions analogous to the use of [u] in the place names listed above.

[u] >[ɪu]. In Cuba (New Mexico) and in La Cuba (California) [u] >[ɪu] in accordance with the English practice.

[u] >[ʊ] and [ʌ] before nd; [ʌ] before mb, nt, and [ʊ] before r. In El Segúndo (California) [u] >[ʊ] and [ʌ]. In Cumbres and in La Junta (Colorado) [u] >[ʌ]. In Altúras, Dulzúra, Point Súr, and Ventúra (California) [u] >[ʊ].[2]

---

[1] Pronounced [rə'fɪvɪo] and [rə'fɯrɪə]. In the first listed pronunciation [u] >[ɪ].

[2] [u] is sometimes heard in Ventura.

In Unstressed Positions

[a]

In Spanish all the vowels of a word are pronounced sharply, clearly, vigorously. Despite the fact that stress accent is strong and the accented syllable bears most of the stress, all the vowels of a word are pronounced with the same care as the accented vowels.[1] The quantity of an accented Spanish vowel is not necessarily longer than that of an unaccented vowel. The length of a final unaccented vowel may even surpass that of the vowel in the tonic position.[2] Final unaccented vowels are usually pronounced almost as clearly and distinctly as in any other position.[3]

---

[1] Cf. Tomás Navarro y Tomás and Aurelio M. Espinosa, A Primer of Spanish Pronunciation (Benj. H. Sanborn and Co., New York, 1927), pp. 9; 16.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Upon occasion the final vowel is lax enough to lose its timbre. In saludos, for example, a pronunciation of o (described by T. Navarro y Tomas as "relajado" in his Manuel de pronunciación espanola [Madrid, 1932, 4th edition], p. 60) may be heard at times which is neither [ɔ] nor [o] . This sort of laxness does not occur regularly in final position and when it does it resembles the sound of French mute e, but with less rounding. In Mexican Spanish I have heard, for example, "Corren y tapan las plantas" said as [koɾɛn i tapɛn las plantas]. It must be remarked that [ɛ] shown in the phonetic transcription of tapan is but an approximation of the sound which, to my ear, is between the sounds ascribed to Spanish e and to [ə] . It seems hardly necessary to comment on the likelihood of English "imitations" of such a sound, in view of the known, customary fate of unstressed vowels in English. When English ears hear ['tapan] English tongues promptly respond with ['tapən] or ['tæpən] ; therefore, it is scarcely to be expected that gradations of reduction of a Spanish vowel would be noted by the average speaker of English, whose natural tendency is to reduce completely the vowel in this position.

That unstressed [a] undergoes change no less momentous than does stressed [a] in the English pronunciation of the Spanish place name is demonstrated by a total of eight English sound substitutions for [a] in this position. Variously, [a] > [ɑ], [æ], [e], [ɛ], [ɔ], [aɪ], [ɪ], and [ə]. Additionally, [a] undergoes aphesis, syncope, and apocope. In the following sections we shall observe the conditions under which [a] is subjected to these specific phonetic changes.

[a] retained as [a] before a consonant cluster beginning with r. In accord with the English practice[1] [a] is heard in the first syllable of Argénta, Barbarósa, and Martínez (Texas), and of Margarita in Santa Margarita (California). Owing to a complete shift in stress [a] is also heard in San Mártin (California) and in Márquez[2] (New Mexico).

[a] >[æ]. In some two-syllabled words with terminal stress [a] > [æ]. Raton [ˌræˈton] (New Mexico) and San Manuel [sæn ˌmænˈwɛl] (Texas) serve as examples. The initial syllables of Raton and Manuel bear marked stress in the English pronunciation. They may bear equal stress.

In three-syllabled names with penultimate stress wherein a in the initial syllable precedes a consonant cluster beginning with l, m, n, and s, [a] >[æ]. Examples: Alcíno (Texas), Alhámbra (California and Texas), Altúras (California), Cañónes (New Mexico), Lampásas (Texas),

---

[1] Which here involves not only the principle of heaviness, favoring the tendency toward initial stress (Argenta and Martinez), but the principle of rhythm (Barbarosa and Margarita).

[2] Note Marcial in San Marcial (New Mexico) wherein unstressed [a] > [ə] when the accent is entirely retained on the final syllable: [ˌsæn məˈrʃɛl].

Manzáno (New Mexico), Tascósa (Texas). That [a] is not reduced to [ə] in the above syllables is ascribable to the fact that a in analogous circumstances is heard as [æ] in English.[1]

In four-syllabled names with penultimate stress [a] > [æ] in the first syllable which, in the English pronunciation, receives marked initial stress.[2] Examples: Àlvarádo (California and Texas), Àmorita (Oklahoma), Pàsadéna (California and Texas).

In some names because of a complete shift in stress [a], unaccented in Spanish, bears primary[3] accent in the English pronunciation, wherein it is heard as [æ] . Examples: Ánahuàc[4] (Texas), Oceáno[5] (California), Sebástian[6] (Texas), and Sápello[7] (New Mexico).

[a] >[e]. In San Gabriel [sæn 'ge brɪl][8] (Texas) [a] > [e]. Gabriel, to be sure, occurs as an English name (of Hebrew origin). The angel Gabriel, for instance (and presumably), is known by all--from moppet to grandame.

---

[1] Not infrequently, as in the place names listed, with level and even primary stress: Castilian, galvanic, mandated.

[2] It may receive level, as well as primary stress.

[3] That the accent may also be level with or secondary to another syllable (in the English pronunciation) is a matter that will be discussed later under Stress. In any event, the syllable originally stressed in Spanish bears no stress in the English pronunciation of the names listed.

[4] Spanish [a'na wak] English ['æn ə,wæk] Variant.

[5] Spanish [o'seano] English [o ʃɪ'æno]

[6] Spanish [sebas'tjan] English [sə'bæstʃən]

[7] Spanish sapillo [sa'pijo] English ['sæpɪo]

[8] Spanish [san ga'brjɛl]

[a] >[æ] and [ɛ] before intervocalic r; occasionally before t (intervocalic). Before intervocalic r unaccented [a] is heard as [æ] and also as [ɛ] by some speakers. Examples: Árriba[1] (Colorado), Arivaca (Arizona), Carrizózo (New Mexico), Maricopa (Arizona), Maripósa (California), Láriat[2] and Saragósa (Texas).

Before t in Matagorda[3] (Texas) [ɛ] varies sometimes with [æ]. Matamoros, although in Mexico, is familiar to southern Texans who usually pronounce it [ˌmætəˈmoɹəs]; sometimes by Texans further removed it is [ˌmɛtəˈmoɹəs]. That [ɛ] tends to supplant [æ] elsewhere is demonstrated in the anglicized spelling of this name as it appears in three of the middle-western states: as Metamora, it is found in Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. The first syllable, in which [a] appears, in the above listed place names bears either primary or secondary stress in the English pronunciation. It may bear level stress.

[a] >[ɔ]. In Saltillo (Texas) [a] >[ɔ]. This name is pronounced [sɔlˈtiə] and the [ɔ] is a most obvious result of analogy with English salt.[4] In San Augustine (Texas) [a] >[ɔ] and Spanish Agustín undergoes complete shift in stress. The anglicized spelling completes its metamorphosis.

---

[1] Spanish [aˈɾi ba]. The shift in accent in the English pronunciation saves initial [a] from complete reduction to [ə]. English [ˈæɹəbə].

[2] Spanish [la ɾeˈata]. English [ˈlæviət].

[3] Also Matador (Texas). (The accents are indicative of one variety of English stress.)

[4] A diminutive of salto, saltillo means a little jump or leap. It can be slightly derisive.

[a] > [aɪ]. In the pronunciation of railroad men and in that of "old-timers", Saguache (Colorado) is heard as ['saɪ watʃ]. Trager,[1] in commenting upon this pronunciation, says it probably represents analogy with some similar name of English origin, but he does not propose a name. Saguache [sa'gwatʃe], a Spanish transcription of an Indian name, is heard as [sa''watʃe], in the local Spanish pronunciation. (This disappearance of g before u, which results in a glottal stop, is in line with the Mexican pronunciation of agua ['a'wa] heard throughout the Southwest.) Trager,[2] however, exhibits symptoms of the auditory hallucination which commonly characterizes the victims of Hispano-mania when he states that [sa'watʃe] "with obscured unstressed vowels"[3] differs little from the English [sə'watʃ].[4] That the [aɪ] <[a] in ['saɪ watʃ] is not an isolated phenomenon can be factually demonstrated by Bentley's[5] phonetic transcription of galleta. He lists galleta as "Spanish, gaɪ je:ta

---

[1] Cf. George L. Trager, "Some Place Names of Colorado" (American Speech, Oct. 1935), pp. 203-207.

[2] Ibid.

[3] See pronunciation of the unstressed Spanish vowel under [a], p. 42, wherein (from the prescribed Castilian point of view) the pronunciation of Spanish vowels in unstressed positions is noted.

[4] Note [a] > [ə]; stressed [a] > [a]; apocope of [e] in the final syllable. [sə'watʃ] no more convinces a Mexican that he is hearing [sa'watʃe] than futbol ['fut bɔl] convinces a native speaker of English that he is hearing football ['fʌt bɔl].

[5] Cf. Harold W. Bentley, A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English (Columbia University Press, New York, 1932), p. 138.

English, the same."[1] Did the "old-timers" keep the accent on the penultimate (in Spanish; the final in English) and say [saɪ'watʃ], they would be appreciably nearer to the Spanish than are those who say [sə'watʃ], but the Germanic tendency to pull the stress to the first part of the word results here in emphasis on the diphthong. Itasca (Texas) provides an example of Spanish a transcribed as English i. Pronounced [aɪ'tæs kə], this name is from atasco, which is the root of two other Texas names: Atascosa [ætəs'kosə] and Tascosa [tæs'kosə], and of Atascadero [ə,tæs kə'dɛro] (California). These related names may be observed to demonstrate four varieties of the treatment initial unstressed [a] undergoes in the English pronunciation.

[a] >[ɪ]. In Santa Anna (Texas) [,sæntɪ'ænə] as well as [,sæntə 'ænə][2] is heard. One pronunciation of Alamosa (Colorado) is [,æləmusɪ] Anahuac (Texas) is frequently ['ænɪ,wæk]. The names of the states of Arizona and California are heard in folk speech as [,ærə'zonɪ]

---

[1]Only by those familiar with Spanish; even then final [a] usually becomes [ə], and [,gaɪ'etə] or [,gaɪ'eə] is also heard with loss of [j]. Galleta phonetically spelled as gaieta appears in The Overland Monthly, 1872, p. 146: "The coarse dry bunch grass or gaieta, never abundant on this route, was unusually scarce that summer." In regard to [aɪ] <[a], it has been my observation that in untutored Spanish speech [a] >[aɪ] in some words I have heard nadie ['nadje], for examples, said as ['naɪdi].

[2]Synalepha (common, but not obligatory) which takes place in rapid or familiar Spanish speech never occurs in the English pronunciation of this name. Its occurrence in Spanish results in [san'tana].

[ˌkæl əˈfɔr nɪ] , and [ˌkæl əˈfɔr nəɪ].[1]

[a] >[ə]. When [a] receives no stress in the English pronunciation, it is reduced to[ə] ,[2] whether its position is initial, medial, or final. Examples: Alma [ˈæl mə] (California, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Texas); Barbarosa [ˌbɑr bəˈrosə], Laguna [ləˈgunə], and Viboras [ˈvi bərəs] (Texas). In one pronunciation of San Francisco (California) and in one pronunciation of Carrizo (Texas) unstressed [a] loses all vocalic value and one hears [ˌsæn frˈnˈsɪs ko] and [ˈkrɪzə]. Saguache (Colorado) is also heard as [ˈswatʃ].

[a] undergoes aphesis. Although stress, as such, will be treated later in this investigation, it enters into the present discussion of such features as aphesis, syncope, and apocope of the unstressed vowels; in this instance, of a. An examination of the Spanish-derived place names in Texas,[3] for example, reveals that names employing trochaic and iambic rhythm stress[4] are about equally divided. Names of two,

---

[1]That the current fashion in English speech frowns upon such a value for a does not negate the fact that it exists. [ɪ] ≺ [a] may be heard in the anglicized pronunciation of any Spanish place name employing it in a medial or terminal position, as the above given place names demonstrate. [ɪ] and [ə] are both established variants of a in the cited positions, and as such may be heard in present English speech. It is of interest to note that "over-correction" results in [ə] terminally--where one might expect [ɪ] --in certain pronunciations of names such as Missouri and Cincinnati. In northeastern Colorado [ə] varies with [ɪ] in the pronunciation of terminal i in Padroni (a place name taken from the surname of an Italian family). "Over-correction" may quite possibly be responsible for the now "standard" [ə] for terminal a in names such as Arizona, California, Iowa, Oklahoma, etc. Terminally, [ɪ] in these and like names (whether the spelling is a or i) has demonstrably come to be regarded by many quite substantial citizens as "tacky"--a psychological reaction favoring the humanistic side of linguistic study.

[2]Variant:[ɪ].

[3]Cf. Bentley, op. cit., pp. 234-235.

[4]The reference is to the English pronunciation.

three, and four syllables preponderate. Two-syllabled and four-syllabled names are predominantly trochaic. Three-syllabled names are predominantly iambic, the proportion being approximately three to one.

In San António (Texas), prevalently [sæn'tonjə] by San Antonians, the unstressed first syllable of Antonio undergoes aphesis.[1] It thus conforms to the iambic stress pattern of an unaccented syllable followed by an accented syllable. Three-syllabled names with this stress pattern are of frequent occurrence. Texas has approximately one hundred such names.[2] Tascósa (Texas) is an aphetic form of Spanish atascosa, which, as we have noted heretofore, provides Texas with another Spanish place name. Phonetic transcriptions reveal that [a] in the initial syllable of iambic Tascosa is [æ] while the same [a] in trochaic Atascosa is completely reduced to [ə] : [ˌtæs'kosə] , [ˌætəs'kosə] . Both Falfa and Alfalfa appear on the Oklahoma map. Colorado also has a Falfa. ['musɪ] , an aphetic form of Alamosa (Colorado), is often used. The high school song, for example, refers affectionately to Moosey High School. Aphetic forms of names employing the article Las[3] not infrequently occur.[4] Crúces and Végas for Las Cruces and Las Vegas (New Mexico) provide examples. Aphesis of the syllable in which [a] occurs

---

[1] San Antonio may also be considered as an inseparable phonic group. In this case the phenomenon would be labelled syncope.

[2] Examples: Bandéra, Crestónio, Larédo, Socórro.

[3] Although orthographically Las is a separate word, phonetically it is the first syllable of the name it precedes.

[4] San before some names (especially the trochaic) may also undergo aphesis: [San] Pédro (California). Also, Santa may be omitted in reference to certain place names. The Santa Catalina Islands (California) are frequently referred to as simply Catalína.

changes the above names from the iambic to the trochaic stress pattern, and trochaic stress is one of the distinctive Germanic features of the English language.

[a] undergoes syncope. In Álamogòrdo (New Mexico) unstressed [a] undergoes syncope. Pronounced as[ˈæl məˌgɔr də][1] it thus conforms to the frequently occurring trochaic pattern with alternate stressed and unstressed syllables observed in other New Mexican names of four syllables:[2] Álbuquèrque, Móntezùma, Sábinòsa, Túlaròsa. In San Rafael[3] [sænˌ rəˈfɛl] (New Mexico) [a] undergoes syncope, thus producing the familiar /x/ trisyllable. In Frisco for San Francisco (California), [a] in Francisco plus the consonants that follow it undergo a variety of syncope. As Frisco (Colorado and Oklahoma) it has attained the status of a place name in its own right. Another variety of syncope involving unstressed [a] is observable in San Berdoo [sænˌ bərˈdu] for San Bernardino[4] (California). This syncopated form, it may be

---

[1] In this name, as in the four which follow, the stress may be reversed on the first and the penultimate syllables; it may also be level on these syllables. Here, as elsewhere, when a single stress pattern is used it is not meant to indicate, necessarily, an English pronunciation against which there is no appeal (unless certain phonological phenomena make fixed stress ordinarily obligatory). Stress, as such, will be considered at length later in this study.

[2] New Mexico has at least fifty Spanish place names of four syllables which correspond to this stress pattern. Texas has approximately the same number; California, about seventy. See Bentley, op. cit., pp. 222-226; 230-235.

[3] Spanish [san ra faˈɛl]. Compare the New Mexican pronunciation of this place name with other New Mexican names following the same pattern: San Miguel [sænˌ mɪˈgɛl] (San Miguel has variant pronunciations, but since these do not apply here, they are not listed); San Fidel [sænˌ fəˈdɛl]; San Marcial [sænˌ mərˈsɛl].

[4] Another syncopated form illustrative of trochaic rhythm is [sænˌ bərˈdino].

remarked, is trochaic, while San Bernardino is iambic. The so-called "telescoped" pronunciation of these California cities is not in good standing with the more language-conscious citizens of the respective places; but this is an impartial investigation of pronunciation, and for those who seek a linguistic Lord Chesterfield there is always Robert L. Shafer.[1]

[ɑ] undergoes apocope. Apocope of [ɑ] occurs in Stampede (Texas). From the four-syllabled Spanish estampida, Stampede has become a two-syllabled word heard variously with primary accent on the first syllable, primary accent on the last syllable, and equal stress on both syllables. Its use as a common noun especially in Texas and New Mexico has long been of such frequency that the majority of people who employ it have no thought or knowledge of its Spanish ancestry, just as they have none of lariat<la reata. Lariat (Texas) furnishes another example of apocopated [ɑ], while the shift in stress to the article, which has become one with the word, results in the preservation of unstressed [ɑ] as [æ] (variant [ɛ]). In the familiar Sànta Món for Santa Mónica (California) apocope of the last two syllables[2] fits the name into the trochaic trisyllable /X/. Compare the very infrequent /X/XX for Sànta Mónica. Sac[3] is heard for Sàcramènto

---

[1]Cf. "The Pronunciation of Spanish Place Names in California" (American Speech, December, 1942), pp. 239-244. Shafer lists only [sæn ˌbɜrnɑr'dino] and [sæn ˌbɑrnɑ'dino]. Apparently his ears have never been sullied with the frequent [sæn ˌbɑrnə'dino], and, if he ever heard Frisco, it is to be presumed that he looked away quickly.

[2]The reference is to English syllabication. Spanish: san-ta-mo-ni-ca.

[3]A syncopated variety is Sácto.

(California). Here [ə], the syllable in which it appears, and the two successive syllables undergo apocope, which results in one of those monosyllables whose number in English is of such frequent occurrence that it moved Thomas Nash in 1594 to a quite emotional outburst over the "scandall of it". Fifty years earlier Roger Ascham had inveighed against "straunge words as latin, french, and Italian" which made "all thinges darke and harde". Four hundred years have passed since Englishmen began the debate, and we yet have those who lean to the mellifluous, the polysyllabic, and we yet have those who carry the torch for Aristotle, classic commender of the speech of the common people. The point is--we have both.

[e] and [ɛ]

In a few New Mexican places names unstressed [e] is retained in the English pronunciation as [e] or [eɪ]. Under certain circumstances, when [e] occurs in a syllable that bears stress in the English pronunciation, or when it occurs in a syllable wherein English sound laws prescribe the value for it [e] > [ɛ]. Under certain other conditions [e] becomes, as well, [i], [aɪ], [ɪ], and [ə]. In some place names it undergoes aphesis; in others, syncope; in still others, apocope. Since unstressed [ɛ] is treated in the same manner as unstressed [e] in the English pronunciation, it will not receive separate consideration here, but instances of its anglicization will be noted in the examples wherein it is used when these occur in the following sections.

[e] retained, variant [eɪ]. In Quemádo, Seboyéta, Tres Lagúnas,

Tres Ritos and Tres Piédras (New Mexico) unaccented [e] is heard as [e] and [eɪ] .[1] That this phenomenon occurs in New Mexico is not surprising. New Mexicans,[2] especially in the northern part of the state, give , on the whole, better imitations of Spanish pronunciation than either the residents of the neighboring states or Californians. Not a few are bilingual. It is of interest to observe phonetic transcriptions of the names which preserve [e] in a syllable other than the tonic: Quemado [kɛɪ'madə]; Seboyeta [ˌsebə'jetə]; Tres Lagunas [tres lə'gunəs]; Tres Piedras [ˌtres pɪ'edrəs] ;[3] Tres Ritos [tres ɣitəs]. The most apparent reluctance of English to preserve all the "long" vowel sounds is obvious. The rhythmical principle in English stress tends to prohibit (or inhibits) vowel length in more than two successive syllables. In Quemado, final [o] is reduced to [ə]. In a trisyllable with iambic stress the most usual fate of the unstressed vowels is reduction to [ə] , as in Bogata [bə'gætə](Texas). If two of the vowel sounds are given the Spanish approximation, the third customarily suffers reduction, as in Salado [sə'lao] (Texas) and Quemado listed above. In a four-syllabled name with trochaic stress the alternate unstressed syllables almost

---

[1]California has a Tres Pinos, but here [e] > [ɛ] in accord with English e in such words as dress, trespass, etc., and is not, therefore, a concession to the more open e, [ɛ] , as it is heard in certain variations of Spanish speech throughout the Southwest. It is to be observed that both stressed and unstressed Spanish e whether it is said as [e] or [ɛ], Castilian or Andulasian, the value customarily ascribed to it in the English imitation is [e] or [eɪ] . Note Tres Piedras (New Mexico) given above.

[2]The reference is to those whose native tongue is English.

[3]Variant: [ˌtres 'pjedrəs] . These pronunciations are also heard in southern Colorado.

invariably undergo reduction. Note Seboyeta, Tres Lagunas, and Tres Piedras[1] given above.

[e] >[ɛ]. In the initial syllables (variously stressed in the English pronunciation) of Carrogórdo (Oklahoma), Espinóza (Colorado), Mescaléro, Serafíno, and Tecolóte (New Mexico) [e] >[ɛ]. This is in accord with the English sound value employed for this letter when it occurs in English under the conditions to be observed in the above names. In Helotes [hɛl'otɪs] (Texas), [e] >[ɛ], demonstrating again that initial syllable stress on iambic trisyllables is of frequent occurrence in English. In Concepcion (Texas) because of a complete stress shift e ([ɛ] here) is heard as [ɛ].[2] The pronunciation of the name is that of English conception. In the prefixes El and Del, e [ɛ] is also heard as [ɛ].[3] The sound is purely in accord with English.

[e] >[i]. In León (Oklahoma), San León (Texas), and San Leándro (California), [e] >[i] in hiatus. In Represa [ˌri'prɛsə] (California) [e] >[i].[4]

---

[1] English syllabication. Tres Piedras is an iambic trisyllable in Spanish, ie being a semi-consonantal combination: [je] . In the variant English pronunciation wherein i is [j] , it is also a trisyllable.

[2] Spanish, Concepción.

[3] In El Porvenir (New Mexico), El often becomes [ɪl] and is also spelled as Il. Compare English elk as [ɪlk] .

[4] Compare the pronunciation of repress as ['ri,prɛs] , resign as ['ri,zaɪn] , etc. Initial stress on re in these and like words is an example of the tendency towards initial stress which is characteristic of the Germanic languages.

[e] >[aɪ]. In Pyote ['paɪ ot] ;[paɪ'otɪ] (Texas) the Spanish word from which the name comes is effectually concealed by the anglicized pronunciation. Additionally, the oral transmission of the same has resulted in a transcription that gives no hint of the e in Spanish peyote [pe'jote]. It seems reasonable to infer that the pronunciation of this name[1] parallels that of the older, very familiar ['kaɪ ot] and [kaɪ'otɪ] < coyote.[2]

[e] >[ɪ]. Before the nasals n, ñ, and m [e] ([ɛ] before ñ) >[ɪ] (variant [ɛ]). Examples: Benavídes (Texas), Embarcadéro (San Francisco, California), Peñásco (New Mexico), Penitente (New Mexico), Temescál (California), Trementína[3] (New Mexico). Occasionally [ɛ] is heard as well as [ɪ], but its use is infrequent and customarily tends to vary with [ɪ] in the pronunciation of the same individual. This applies to residents of the states of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas and to the residents of the state of California with the exception of Shafer's test group of coast-wise sailors, college

---

[1] Peyote is a plant of the cactus family. When chewed it provides a kind of intoxication. Edna Ferber uses the word in Cimarron: "Her quick eye had leaped to the table where lay the little round peyote disk or mescal button which is the hashish of the Indian."

[2] Coyote with the above given pronunciation appears in Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary published nearly fifty years ago. Peyote, on the other hand, has no listing in Webster's then or now. In A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English (Columbia University Press, New York, 1932), p. 180, Harold W. Bentley lists the word with two English orthographic modifications: piote, pyote. His one phonetic transcription (for the English pronunciation) [pi:'o: ti:] is not used in the English pronunciation of the Texas place name.

[3] [ɛ] becomes both [ɪ] and [ə] in the closed second syllable of this place name.

professors, high school graduates, and day laborers. Regardless of other behaviour characteristics, inherent and acquired, from gob and teen-ager, from Ph.D. to longshoreman, these curiously assorted individuals share in common a linguistic phenomenon indeed worthy of note: they invariably chorus [ɛ] before the nasals.[1]

When [e] appears finally in an unstressed syllable it frequently becomes [ɪ].[2] Examples: Albuquérque (New Mexico) Coyóte (California and New Mexico), Guadalúpe (New Mexico and Texas) and Pyóte (Texas).

Medially, in such names as Monte Vista (California and Colorado) and Montezuma (California, Colorado, and New Mexico) [e] sometimes becomes [ɪ].

[e] >[ə]. Initially and medially when unstressed in the English pronunciation [e] ordinarily becomes [ə] . Examples: Mesquíte (New Mexico and Texas), Mónterey (California), Montezúma (California, Colorado, and New Mexico).

Aphesis of [e] and [ɛ] . In Stampede < estampida (Texas) loss

---

[1] See Robert L. Shafer, "The Pronunciation of Spanish Place Names in California" (American Speech, Dec., 1942), pp. 239-244. No variant for [ɛ] before n and m is listed for the following names: El Centro, Embarcadero, Sacramento, San Lorenzo, San Quentin, Temescal, and Ventura. One listing of Cienega appears as ['sɪnɪgɪ] , however, and, whether or not Shafer is aware of it, he has herein conceded that some varieties of American English do use [ɪ] before the nasals. In this syncopated pronunciation it is the unaccented, semi-consonantal i of the diphthong that drops out and accented [e] becomes [ɪ] before n.

[2] [ɪ] for e is always heard in Frijóle (Texas), although final e here results from a false singular derived by back formation from the Spanish plural frijoles.

of e results in syllable reduction at the beginning of this name. Aphetic forms of some names prefixed with El frequently occur, providing, thereby, a variant pronunciation. Examples: Capitan for El Capitan (New Mexico) and Porvenir for El Porvenir (New Mexico).

[e] undergoes syncope. In the Pedernales River (Texas) syncope involving metathesis and substitution of t for d occurs. The name is pronounced [pərt'nælɪs] . In rapid or familiar pronunciation San Angelo (Texas) becomes [sæn 'ændʒlo] with syncope of [e] . In at least two pronunciations of Los Angeles, [lɔs 'æŋgɪlɪs] and [ˌsæŋgɪlɪs], [e] undergoes syncope. In a variant pronunciation of Soledad ['sol,dæd] (California), [e] suffers syncope.[1]

[e] undergoes apocope. In such place names as Albuquerque, Coyote, and Guadalupe (New Mexico) and in Guadalupe, Kyote, and Pyote (Texas) final [e] undergoes apocope in the pronunciation of those impervious to the Spanish influence. When apocope occurs in the names Coyote (or Kyote) and Pyote, the rhythm shifts to the trochaic. In certain other names the silencing of final [e] is a permanent feature. Examples: Del Norte,[2] Mesa Verde, Saguache, and Val Verde[3] (Colorado), Mesquite (New Mexico and Texas), Chillicothe (Texas), Chilcoot[4] and Pinole (California). In Paso Robles (California) [e] loses all vocalic value. Spanish ['robles] > English [robl̩] . In Farallones (California) loss of [e] in the final syllable reduces Spanish [fara'jones] to English [færə'lanz].[5]

---

[1] This pronunciation, based, obviously, on the orthography, is an example of complete anglicization. Compare Spanish [sole'dad] .

[2] El Pasoans (El Paso, Texas) say [del 'nɔrtɪ] in reference to a hotel of this name in their city.

[3] A suburb of Denver.

[4] Here reflected in the orthography. Spanish: chilicote.

[5] Variant: [ˌfɛrə'lanz] .

[i]

The occurrence of [i] in an unaccented position is not of any considerable frequency in the Spanish-derived place names under consideration. In some names wherein stress shift occurs in the English pronunciation [i] is heard as [i]. Initial stress in the anglicized pronunciation results in the value of [aɪ] for [i] in some half dozen names. The most frequent value for [i] is [ɪ] and [ə]. Syncope of [i] occurs occasionally.

[i] retained. Strong initial stress in Frijóle (Texas) and stress shift in Avíla[1] (California) and Placédo[2] (Texas) preserves [i] as [i].

[i] >[aɪ]. In Hidálgo (Texas), Inéz (New Mexico), Límon (Colorado), Primera (Texas), Ribera (New Mexico), and Santa Ynéz (California), [i] >[aɪ]. In Hidalgo, Primera, and Ribera, as well as in Inez and Santa Ynez, there is characteristic, marked English stress of varying intensity on the initial syllable. In Limon we have an example of complete stress (as well as sound) shift, with reduction of the final syllable: [ˈlaɪ mən]. It should be borne in mind that in the English pronunciation of the foregoing place names i occurs at the end of an open syllable (that i in

---

[1] Spanish: Ávila.

[2] Cf. Spanish plácido. In this and the preceding place name the shift in stress from the initial to the penultimate (where it occurs regularly in trisyllabic Spanish paroxytones) lends a parallel in a phenomenon characteristic of Spanish classes comprised of English speaking students. Pagina, for example, is ordinarily first attempted by the student as [ˈpa'ɪnə] . Initial efforts to reproduce i with prescribed length result in [ˌpa'hinə] , a perfectly normal English development ascribable to the fact that, in English, long vowel sounds attract accent.

the Spanish syllabication here tallies with the English may be remarked but, of course, this instance of parallelism has no bearing on the English stress shift and sound shift in the anglicized pronunciation of these Spanish-derived place names); that length is characteristically associated with an open syllable in English, and that, quite obviously, the present English value of "long" i is [aɪ].

[i] >[ɪ]. In Chillicothe (Texas) [i] is reduced to [ɪ] before ll[1] and, medially, [i] is likewise reduced to [ɪ] ;[i] >[ɪ] before m in the Cimarrón River (Colorado, New Mexico, and Oklahoma), before n in Trínidad[2] (California and Colorado), before ñ in Piñón[3] (New Mexico); before consonant clusters beginning with n in Pintádo and Rincón[4] (New Mexico), and Trinchéra (Colorado); before consonant clusters beginning with s in Ámistad, Galistéo, Isléta (New Mexico), Ysléta (Texas), and Santa Ýsabel[6] (California).

[i]>[ə]. Initially and medially when [i] bears no stress in the English pronunciation it is reduced to [ə]. Examples: Chimáyo[7] (New Mexico), Dinéro (Texas), Priméro (Colorado); Gerónimo (Arizona and

---

[1]Spanish: chilicote.

[2]Spanish stresses the last syllable.

[3]Also in Piñon, Colorado, wherein the first syllable bears the total stress in the English pronunciation ['pɪnjən].

[4]The same value for i is found in Rincon (California), but here the first syllable of the name has either primary or level stress: ['rɪŋ,kan] or ['rɪŋ'kan].

[5]In the English pronunciation this Spanish word, accented on the last syllable, is resolved into the trochaic stress pattern.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Spanish: Chimayó.

Texas), San Gerónimo (California and New Mexico), Trínidad[1] (Colorado), Óptimo (New Mexico). In the above and like names [I] may be substituted for [ə] , but ordinarily it is not.

[i] undergoes syncope. In the folk pronunciation of Trinidad (California and Colorado) [i] not infrequently undergoes syncope and [ˈtrɪnədæd] >[ˈtrɪndæd]. For Mirando City (Texas) syncopated [ˈmrændə] is heard quite often. Orthographically and phonetically [i] undergoes syncope in Chilcoot < chilicote (California.

[o] and [ɔ]

The letter o occurs fairly frequently in an unstressed position. It occurs more ordinarily as [o] , but also as [ɔ] . In this discussion these two sounds will be treated separately or together as the circumstance demands. We shall observe under what conditions English maintains unstressed [o] as [o] or [oʊ] , and [ɔ] as [ɔ] .

In addition, we shall find that [o] becomes variously [a] , [I] , [aɪ], [u] , [ʌ] , [ɔ] , and [ə] , and that it undergoes aphesis and syncope. We shall find, as well, that [ɔ] sometimes becomes [o] , [a] , and frequently [ə] in the English pronunciation.

[o] remains [o] , variant [oʊ]. Because of varying degrees of initial syllable stress in the English pronunciation [o] is pronounced [o] (variant [oʊ]) before the Spanish tonic syllable in two-syllabled names and in trisyllables with iambic rhythm patterns. Examples: Nopal (Texas), Nogal (New Mexico), Lopeño (Texas), Goleta (California, and

---

[1]Spanish accents the final syllable.

Nogales (Arizona). In the initial syllable of Rociado (New Mexico) [o], variant [ou], is also heard. English makes of this iambic Spanish trisyllable a four-syllabled name tailored to the trochaic pattern. Stress shift in the anglicized pronunciation results in the retention of [o], variant [ou], in the indicated, accented syllable of Arbóles[1] (Colorado), Cordóva[2] (New Mexico), Sólar[3] (Colorado), Nópal[4] and Cómal[5] (Texas).

Final [o] is customarily heard as [o] and [ou] in the two-syllabled trochaic and in the iambic trisyllabic place name. Examples: Blánco (California, New Mexico, and Texas), Encíno[6] (New Mexico), Meríno (Colorado), Progréso (Texas), and Progrésso (New Mexico). In a four-syllabled name of iambic stress, such as Gerónimo (Arizona and Texas), final o is [o] or [ou].[7] In a few trochaic four-syllabled names, among them Arroyésco, Señorito, and Bernalillo (New Mexico) and El Dorádo[8] (California), final [o] is [o] or [ou]. Some native speakers of English employ these values for o in three-syllabled words with penultimate stress: potato, tomato, tomorrow, etc. Outside of the Spanish-derived place names included in this study usage of terminal o in words

---

[1] Spanish: árboles.

[2] Spanish: Córdoba.

[3] Spanish: solár. (This word does not require a written accent in Spanish, because of Spanish stress rules.)

[4] Spanish: [no'pal].

[5] Spanish: [ko'mal].

[6] But [ɪn'sinə] for Encino (Texas).

[7] Ascribable to rhythmic appeal: x / x /.

[8] In Eldorado (Oklahoma and Texas) final o is nearly always [ə].

of more than three syllables is of infrequent occurrence in English. Since the tendency in English is toward reduction of vowels in unstressed syllables, most trochaic four-syllabled names employing final o usually terminate in [ə]. Some, reflecting the treatment of final o in the iambic three-syllabled name, vary between [o] and [ə]. Such variation will be noted later in this section.

[ɔ] as [ɔ]. In analogy with the English practice under marked initial stress [ɔ] is heard as [ɔ] before such consonant clusters as rn, rt, and st. Examples: Hornitos, Cortez, and Costillo (California), and Tornillo (Texas).

[o] and [ɔ] > [a]. In Bolivar[1] (Texas) because of stress shift [o] is heard as [a] in the initial English closed syllable. In the name of the state of Colorado and in Colorado Springs (Colorado) [o] in the initial syllable becomes [a]. This same value replaces [ɔ] in the initial syllables of the following names: El Porvenír, Montóya, and Palvedéra[2] (New Mexico), Monterey (California), and Montezúma (California, Colorado, and New Mexico).

Los, which may be [los] or [lɔs] in Spanish,[3] is almost invariably

---

[1]Spanish: Bolívar.

[2]An anglicized version of Spanish polvadera, which word is itself a metathesized form of polvareda, explained as an acomodación a la serie de palabras terminadas en - era in "Datos sobre el habla popular de Méjico" in the Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispanoamericano, IV (Buenos Aires, 1938), p. 320.

[3]When Los occurs before a name beginning with a vowel, such as, for example, Los Angeles, according to Spanish phonetics, its final consonant goes with the initial vowel of the following word. Thus, in place names such as Los Alamos, Los Altos (California), Los Angeles (California and Texas), Los Ebanos and Los Indios (Texas), o in Spanish is [o].

as [ɪas] wherever it occurs in New Mexico and Texas; it is frequently [ɪas] elsewhere in the states under consideration, but in these it is also heard as [ɪɔs] and sometimes [ɪos].

[o] >[ɪ]. In Cibolo ['si wɪlə] (Texas), [o] becomes [ɪ] in the second unstressed syllable. The substitution of w for the "soft" Spanish b will be discussed under b and y later in this investigation. This name provides an example of retained stress in the English pronunciation (Spanish: cíbolo). Either [ɪ] or [ə] may be heard in English when the vowel occurs in a syllable receiving no stress.[1]

[o] >[aɪ]. In Coyote (New Mexico and California) and in Kyote (Texas) Castilian [o] >[aɪ]. Both names are commonly pronounced [kaɪ'otɪ][2] (variant: ['kaɪ,ot]). The orthography employed in the Texas place name is obviously imitative of the anglicized pronunciation. In Spanish-American speech in the Southwest one commonly hears [kɔ'jote] , not Castilian [ko'jote] . The [ɔ] in the first syllable very frequently appeals to the English ear as [ɔɪ] , which may be attributed to the influence of the following [j]. Bentley, in fact, demonstrates this when he lists the Spanish pronunciation of the word as [koɪ: jó: te].[3] It may be remarked that this development of [aɪ] < [ɔɪ] (<[ɔ] in Coyote) is analogous to the usage of [aɪ] instead of [ɔɪ][4] in the dialectal English

---

[1]Compare the pronunciation of Cibola in New Mexico: ['si bələ].

[2]Some New Mexicans say [kaɪ'jo tɪ].

[3]Harold W. Bentley, A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English (Columbia University Press, New York, 1932), p. 129.

[4]A result of the raising of the first part of the diphthong.

pronunciation of such words as boil and spoil.

[ɔ] >[u]. In Vamoosa[1] (Oklahoma) [o] >[u]. In this place name the unstressed Spanish syllable bears main stress in English. That [ɔ] and [o] may become [u] in the English pronunciation is a phenomenon that has been discussed under stressed o in this investigation.

[o] >[ʌ]. In Mogollon [ˌmʌgə'jon] (New Mexico) [o] in the first syllable becomes [ʌ]. There is secondary initial stress in the English pronunciation. Sometimes the name is spoken with level stress on the first and last syllables.

[o] >[ɔ]. In one pronunciation of Morága (California) [o] > [ɔ]. In a variant form wherein o receives no stress it becomes [ə].

[o] and [ɔ] > [ə]. In unstressed positions, initially, medially, and terminally, [o] and [ɔ] >[ə]. Examples: Camánche[2] (California), Cománche (Oklahoma), Sandovál and Socórro (New Mexico and Texas). In the majority of trochaic four-syllabled names in Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Texas final [o] >[ə]. Examples: Alamogordo, Carrizozo, Mescalero, and Sabinoso (New Mexico), Alvarado, Amarillo, and Cañutillo (Texas), and Eldorado (Oklahoma and Texas). In some iambic trisyllables such as Carrizo, Laredo, and Navarro (Texas), Cuchillo, Manzano, and Milagro (New Mexico) final [o] >[ə]. Wavering occurs in the pronunciation of final [o] in some names. Final [o] is heard as [o] (or [oʊ]) and [ə] in such names as El Morro and Solano (New Mexico); Alvarado,

---

[1] "Soonerese" for Spanish vamos.

[2] Anglicized spelling of comanche.

Camarillo, El Cerrito, El Modeno, Palo Alto, and Sacramento[1] (California), Colorado City (Texas), Colorado Springs (Colorado) and in the name of the state of Colorado itself.

When final before s [ɔ] >[ə] in the English pronunciation of most place names which employ it in this position. Examples: Cerillos, Gallegos, and Pinos Altos[2] (New Mexico), the Brazos River (Texas) and Pecos (Texas), Los Gatos (California). In Vallecitos (New Mexico) and in Point Pinos (California) [ɔ] is pronounced as [o] and [ə]. In Pórtal, (Colorado) under complete stress shift [ɔ] >[o]. This place name is said as [ˈpovtl̩].

Aphesis involving [ɔ] and [o]; syncope of [o]. Offering a parallel to the frequent local disposition of the feminine article prefix Las, Los is likewise subject to omission in the familiar English pronunciation of the Spanish place name. Los[3] Cerillos (New Mexico), for example, becomes Cerillos. When Los[4] Angeles (California) is pronounced as [ˈsæŋgɪɪs], the first two letters of Los undergo aphesis, producing concomitant reduction of syllable count.

In San Joaquin (California) Spanish [χoaˈkin] > English

---

[1]Possibly terminal [ə] is of a sound frequency pitched too low for Shafer's reception. Cf. Robert L. Shafer, "The Pronunciation of Spanish Place Names in California" (American Speech, Dec. 1942), pp. 239-244. He lists no variant for final [o] in the above cited California place names. He does, however, somewhat grudgingly concede that Sausolito is heard with final [ə] as well as [o]. He lists it as a second pronunciation--to which place he relegates all the more anglicized pronunciations he includes.

[2]Also [ˌpinosˈæltəs]. Compare Spanish [pi-no-ˈsal-tas].

[3]Spanish [ɔ].

[4]Spanish [o]. Los, Spanish slang for Los Angeles, is seldom heard in the English pronunciation.

[wa'kin] , with loss of Spanish unaccented [o] . Hiatus of "long" vowels before the tonic syllable is inhibited in English because of the principle of rhythmic stress. Substitution of [wa] for [χoa] will be discussed under the consonant j later in this investigation.

[u]

Less than two percent of the place names under investigation in this study employ u in an unstressed position. Retention of [u] as [u] occurs in a number of the names in this small group. In others [u] > [ju] and [jə] . In one California name [u] >[ʊ] . When [u] receives no stress in the English pronunciation it is reduced to [ə] .

[u] retained. Marked initial English stress accounts for the fact that [u] is heard as [u] in Santa Suzána and Tulára (California); in Durángo and Cuchára Camps (Colorado); in Chupadéro, Lucéro and Tularósa (New Mexico). Undiphthongized [u] is characteristic of General American English. Those who are familiar with it are prepared to concede the existence of the value of [u] in such words as due, Susan, student, Tuesday, etc. Observance of [u] in the above place names is most obviously in line with English usage.

[u] >[ju], variant [jə] and [ə] . In Uválde (Texas) and in La Únion (New Mexico) [u] > [ju] in accordance with the English practice. In La Union there is complete reversal of stress in the wholly anglicized pronunciation. Some New Mexicans say [ˌjun'jon] or [ˌjun'joun] for Union.

In Cápulin (Colorado and New Mexico) [ju] < [u] varies with [jə] and [ə]. There is a shift in stress from the final to the initial syllable in the English pronunciation.

[u] > [ɑʊ]. In Chowchilla[1] (California) we have an example of a complete vowel shift: [u] > [ɑʊ].

[u] > [ə], sometimes [ʌ] and [ʊ]. In Cañutillo and San Augustine (Texas) u, medially, becomes [ə]. In Trujillo (New Mexico) [u] > [ə]. English puts no stress on the syllables in which u occurs.

In Dulzúra (California) [u] (in the first syllable) > [ʌ]. In Suñol (California) [u] > [ə] and [ʊ]. Both [ʌ] and [ʊ] result here from the fact that English stresses the first syllable.

---

[1] Spanish: chuchilla.

Diphthongal Combinations

Spanish diphthongal combinations occur very rarely in the names considered in this study.[1] Both accented and unaccented diphthongal combinations will, therefore, be presented herewith. Such instances of the employment of au [au̯] and ey [ei̯] [2] occur chiefly in California names.

[au̯] > [ɔ]

In San Juan Bautista, Santa Paula, and Sausolita (California) [au̯] > [ɔ] in accord with the value ascribed to this combination in English.

[ei̯] > [eɪ]

In Del Rey, Monterey, and San Luis Rey (California) [ei̯] > [eɪ] in the English pronunciation. That [eɪ] is a closer approximation of [ei̯] than [ɔ] is of [au̯] is obviously ascribable to the fact that English itself prescribes [eɪ] for ey (or ei) in instances too ordinary to merit listing.

---

[1] A few combinations which appear, superficially, to be diphthongal are but anglicized spelling versions of something quite otherwise. Paraiso Springs (California) provides an example. From Spanish paraíso, this name, in the English pronunciation, becomes [pə'ɹe so] , with reduced syllable count.

[2] The phonetic symbols herein employed for the Spanish diphthongs are those used by Navarro-Espinosa in A Primer of Spanish Pronunciation (Benj. H. Sanborn and Co., New York, 1927), p. 29. The second element of the Spanish diphthong is very short and ends with an almost imperceptible friction. These weak i and u sounds are called semi-vocalic.

CHAPTER II

Consonants

Bilabials

Spanish b and v. Although orthographically not interchangeable, the letters b and v are pronounced alike in Spanish. Each has two different sounds, a voiced explosive sound, and a voiced continuant or fricative sound. When initial in a phonic or a breath group or when after m or n (phonetically also [m]), whether within a word or between words, b (or v) is a voiced bilabial explosive similar to English b in boy, but much less strong, that is, the muscular tension is much less pronounced and the lips meet very lightly. The phonetic symbol for this sound is [b].

In all other positions, that is, when not initial in a phonic or a breath group and when not after m or n, Spanish b (or v) is a voiced bilabial continuant or fricative, a sound not found in English. In making it the lips do not close completely but allow the breath to pass between them through a very narrow passage as in the position that the lips have in blowing. Between vowels the muscular tension is especially weak; the articulation rapid. The phonetic symbol for this sound is [β]. To be sure, in the majority of the place names included in this study there is no recognition of these different values of b

(or v) in the English pronunciation.[1] Preponderantly, English [b] and [v] are used when the letters b and v respectively occur in the orthography of the place name. It is to our interest, therefore, to concentrate upon the very few names which bear phonological or orthographic testimony of the English attempt to reproduce Spanish [β]. Cibola[2] (Texas) and Caballo (New Mexico) cause a shock to the spelling-conscious nerves of the English-speaking monoglot removed from the Southwest when he first makes their acquaintance. These names are always pronounced, locally, that is, as ['si wɪlə] and [kə'vajo]. In Cibola, [w] < weak, intervocalic [β], occurring here after the tonic syllable, is a logical English interpretation of [β], a sound which, as has been stated, does not exist in the English language.[3] The English [v] heard in Caballo[4] is, in the Southwest, with special reference

---

[1] That there is variation in the pronunciation of b (or v) by native speakers of Spanish is a fact known to the student of the Spanish language. In this study, however, there arises no occasion for the discussion of these differences, interesting as they are.

[2] New Mexicans say ['si bələ] or ['si bo lə].

[3] It is not uncommon for English speaking students in a beginning Spanish class to make this substitution of [w] for [β]. It seems pertinent to note that the Mexican interpretation of English [w], a sound unknown in Spanish may be, when not initial in a word, [β]. Examples occur in sviche < switch and in Brenbut < Brentwood.

[4] Compare English modifications of caballada as cavvieyard, cavoy, etc. Note v geminated medially in cavvieyard in order to denote concomitant shortness of the vowel in the preceding syllable, which in the English pronunciation bears primary stress. In relation to medial gemination of consonants it is of interest to observe that this device was occasionally used to indicate shortness of the preceding vowel (occurring in a stressed syllable) in Latin loans in OE. Thomas Pyles cites Affrica and zefferus in his "The Pronunciation of Latin Learned Loan Words and Foreign Words in Old English", PMLA, LVIII (1943), p. 901.

to New Mexico and Texas, the ordinary English approximation of Spanish [b] in this and in like words. Cabrita, for example, is pronounced by native English-speaking citizens of the Rio Grande Valley as [kə'vɹitə] . In Cordova (New Mexico) v has supplanted b in the orthography, just as [v] has supplanted [b] in the pronunciation. (This name, so spelled, appears in five other states, including Kentucky and Montana, which lie outside the scope of this study.) Initially, substitution of v for b is rare. It occurs in Voca (Texas).[1] In Boca (California) and La Boca (Colorado) standard orthography is employed and [b] is used where Texans use [v] .

epenthetic

Svarabhakti vowels appear sometimes after b in folk pronunciations of Pueblo [pɪu'ɛbəlo] (Colorado) and Diablo [daɪ'æbəlo][2] (California). Svarabhakti vowels, it may be remarked, are characteristic not only of English but of all languages. (The very term was first used by Panini to designate a phenomenon he observed in Sanskrit.) They sometimes occur in PE in such words as umbrella ['ʌm bəɹ̩ɛlə], burglar ['bʌɹgəlɹ̩], and athlete ['æθəlit]. They appear in OE Latin loans. Pyles[3] cites the following: cēder (< cĕdrus), fēfer, -or (< fĕbris), plaster (<(em) plastrum), temp-(e) l (< templum).

Spanish p. Spanish p, a voiceless bilabial explosive, is similar to English p with this difference: the explosion is weaker and there is no aspiration. In all instances of its use in the place names herein

---

[1]Medially in Christoval < Cristóbal (Texas) and Garvanza < garbanzo (California).

[2]Also [dɪ'æbəlo] . Bentley, loc. cit., p. 133. Bentley lists [di: ǽ bo: lo] as one of the English pronunciations of the common noun diablo. Although I have not heard this pronunciation, I have heard [di'æbəlo] , as well as those listed above, and, of course, [dɪ'æblo].

[3]Pyles, op. cit., p. 900.

considered the sound as made in the English manner. In Chapperal < chaparral (California), p is geminated in order to show that the preceding a (stressed in the English pronunciation) is said as [æ] .

Spanish m. Orthographically, Spanish [m] is both m and n; the phonetic symbol is [m] . In Spanish this sound is a voiced bilabial nasal similar to English m in more. When immediately before the bilabial consonants p, b, and v, the letter n is pronounced [m]. In all cases wherein the letter m is employed in the Spanish-derived place names, it is pronounced as m in the English fashion. There is, to be sure, no recognition of n as [m] in the prefix San in such names as San Pablo (California and Colorado) and San Bernardino (California).

Labiodentals

Spanish f. Spanish f is a voiceless labiodental continuant made with the lower lip touching the edges of the upper front teeth. It is quite similar to English f and its pronunciation in English, therefore, offers nothing of interest. It occurs infrequently, being employed chiefly in names compounded with frío, such as Frio Town and Rio Frio (Texas).

Spanish n before f. Spanish n before f is properly a labiodental sound, [m] . No trace of it is found in the English pronunciation of the Spanish-derived place name. San in San Francisco and San Fernando (California), for example, is [sæn] .

Dentals; Interdentals

Spanish d. Spanish d has two sounds, a voiced explosive sound and a voiced continuant or fricative sound. Spanish d is a voiced dental explosive when it is initial in a phonic group or when it appears after n or l. Its place of articulation is that of t. Although similar to English d it is dental, not alveolar. Its phonetic symbol is the

same as that for English d [d]. Voiced continuant d, used conspicuously between vowels, is an interdental continuant similar to English [ð], but much weaker and less interdental. Its phonetic symbol is [đ]. In the -ado ending d [đ] is regularly pronounced in slow and careful pronunciation, but otherwise it is very weakly articulated and often altogether silent. When d is final in a word but followed immediately by the vowel or consonant of another word in the same phonic group it is pronounced [đ], but when it is absolutely final before a pause it is pronounced very weakly, or, in the pronunciation of some, not at all.

In the English pronunciation of the Spanish place name there is almost no recognition made of Spanish d. English d ordinarily occurs in the English pronunciation when the letter is employed, whether in an initial position, as in Domingo (New Mexico), and intervocalic, as in Rociado (New Mexico), or a final, as in Goliad (Texas). Such instances of English imitation of Spanish d which occur are found in names employing the -ado ending, wherein d [đ] ordinarily drops out in rapid or familiar Spanish speech.[1] In Randado (Texas), for example, -ado is heard as [edo] and [ao] ; and in Salado (Texas), -ado becomes both [edə] and [ao] . In American English folk speech pronunciations of Guadalupe (Texas) r is arbitrarily inserted before d, and the result is [ˈgɑrdəˈlup] . and [ˈgɔrdəˈlup] .[2] This is analogous to the phonetic treatment the name

---

[1] Illiterate native speakers of Spanish are not aware that d exists in -ado, -ada, etc.

[2] George P. Krapp, Pronunciation of Standard English in America (New York, 1919), § 305: "In dialect speech an r is often inserted before a consonant after [ɔ:] , as in chalk, pronounced [tʃɔ:ɹk] , dog, pronounced [dɔ:ɹg] , soft .... For standard wash [wɔʃ] , Washington [wɔʃɪŋtən], popular speech often has [wɔ:ɹʃ] , [wɔ:ɹʃɪŋtən] . In such words [ɹ] probably arises from the diphthongal pronunciation of [ɔ] ...." The symbol [ɹ] used herein by Krapp is an inverted [ɾ] used for the fricative sound of r by some phoneticians in order to contrast r in, for example, such a word as three with retroflex r heard, for example, in guard in General American Speech.

of the Deity often undergoes in this type of speech.

Spanish t. In Spanish, t is a voiceless dental explosive not accompanied by audible breathing as in English alveolar t. Wherever the spelling as t has been retained in the English orthography, English t is used in the pronunciation in all positions.[1] Chillicothe (Texas) calls for special treatment. From Spanish chilicote, the English spelling of th for t in the Texas place name exhibits orthographic proof of a phonological phenomenon well known to teachers of Spanish who have English speaking pupils in their charge. Both dental t and d in Spanish frequently strike the English ear as th [θ] rather than d or t. Also, Spanish American students educated in our public schools, students whose only conception of the orthography of their native tongue is in terms of English orthography will substitute th for d in diez, for example. That the transcriber of Chillicothe was attempting to indicate the "correct" pronunciation of Spanish dental t is obvious. His efforts, meritorious as they were, have gone by the board. The name is said as [ˈtʃɪl ə ˌkɑθ] .[2]

Spanish t is geminated in Palmetto State Park (Texas), and Wanette[4] (Oklahoma) in order to indicate the pronunciation of e as [ɛ] .

---

[1] When t is pronounced. In rapid or careless speech t frequently drops out after n, especially in those place names employing the prefix Santa. Thus one hears [ˈsænə ˌfe] for Santa Fe (New Mexico) and [ˌsænə ˈrozə] for Santa Rosa (New Mexico), etc.

[2] Cf. Bentley, loc. cit., p. 151. Compare English hornather < Spanish jornada.

[3] Spanish: palmito.

[4] Spanish: Juanita.

In accordance with English orthography, which here indicates the anglicized pronunciation, Tomás appears as Thomas in Santo Thomas (Texas).

An example of nasal infix[1] (before t) is reflected in the anglicized orthography of Spanish Penitente in Penintente [ˈpɪn ən ˌtɪntɪ] Peak (New Mexico). This pronunciation is heard not only in reference to the name of the peak (where the spelling exhibits the tendency toward nasal infix) but in reference to the Spanish secret religious order of that name, whose activities are known, in part at least, to northern New Mexicans and southern Coloradans. To be sure the name, whether in reference to the peak or the religious order, is also heard as [ˈpɪn əˈtɪntɪ] and, less frequently, as [ˈpɛn əˈtɛn tɪ].

Alveolars

Spanish s. Spanish s has two sounds, a voiceless alveolar continuant sound, and a voiced alveolar continuant, which occurs only when before a voiced consonant. Both sounds are alveolar, quite different from English dental s [s] and z [z]. Additionally, Spanish s is silent

---

[1] A phenomenon occurring in Indo-European langauges. Examples of its occurrence in English are seen in the pronunciation of mighty as [ˈmaɪntɪ], united as [juˈnaɪntɪd], etc. An example of its occurrence in Spanish exists in the pronunciation of mucho as [ˈmuntʃo], a pronunciation I have heard in the Mexican Spanish of Colorado and New Mexico. But see Pedro Henríquez Ureña in his "El Español en Méjico, los Estados Unidos y la América Central", Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispanoamerica (Buenos Aires, 1938), IV, p. 374. To my knowledge no nasal infix occurs in the Spanish pronunciation of penitente, and, even though it should occur, the English pronunciation, for obvious reasons, could scarcely be labelled "imitative".

before r.[1] Wherever s occurs in the English pronunciation of the Spanish-derived place name it is pronounced in accord with English sound laws. That so-called imitations of Spanish values of s do not necessarily go contrary to the English practice will be demonstrated. It may be added that Spanish voiced alveolar s does not appeal to English ears untrained in Spanish phonetics as a voiced sound, and that English voiced dental s is a quite difficult sound for the native speaker of Spanish in learning English.

Ready examples of various types of the anglicization of Spanish s occur in such names as Santa Rosa (New Mexico) and San Jose (California), where s, in English, is voiced in an intervocalic position, and in such names as Las Vegas (New Mexico) and San Francisco (California) where s before a voiced consonant is unvoiced in English, and in such a name as Tres Ritos (New Mexico) where s is pronounced in English.

The English custom of voicing s in an intervocalic position is demonstrated in the orthography of certain names. Examples: Espinoza < espinosa (Colorado), Carrizozo[2] < carrizoso (New Mexico), Mendoza < mendosa (Texas).

In some names such as Hermosa (New Mexico) and Alamosa (Colorado) dental s is employed regularly in the English pronunciation.

---

[1] In American Spanish not only before r but before all other consonants, and, when final, s tends to drop out in familiar or lower class speech. Cf. [mi mo] < mismo, [lo tre Kaba'jero] < "Los Tres Caballeros". This silencing of s is never heard in the English pronunciation of the Spanish-derived place name.

[2] The last two syllables of this name have variant pronunciations: [zozə] , [zosə] , and [sosə]. There is also a Carrizozo Creek in Cimarron County, Oklahoma. The [zozə] pronunciation for zozo is more common here.

Intervocalic s is geminated in Progresso[1] (New Mexico) in order to indicate its pronunciation as [s]. In some names such as Barbarosa (Texas), Mariposa (California), and Tularosa (New Mexico) intervocalic s may be heard as both [z] and [s] in the English pronunciation. There is little in all this to further the hopes and desires of the Hispanophile who should bear in mind that there is marked variation in English in regard to the voicing and unvoicing of s (whether the sound occurs in an intervocalic or in a terminal position).[2] Spelled as ss, [s] frequently occurs in an intervocalic position in English. When s terminates a final syllable which bears no stress in the English pronunciation, it is regularly said as [s]. Examples may be cited in Hornitos (California), the Pecos River (New Mexico and Texas), and San Andreas (California). If the final syllable receives stress in the English pronunciation, final s is regularly voiced. This phenomenon occurs in certain pronunciations of Los Angeles (California) wherein les is said as [liz], and in Ceres ['sɪɹɪz] (Oklahoma). When occurring after a voiced consonant cluster and when final in an unstressed syllable, s is usually voiced in the English pronunciation: Cúmbres Pass (Colorado), Paso Róbles and Palos Vérdes[3] (California).

Spanish z; c before e and i. In the so-called "Spanish-American" pronunciation, z and c before e and i are pronounced according to the

---

[1] In Progreso (Texas) there is no gemination but the pronunciation is the same as that of the New Mexican place name, [prə'gɹɛso].

[2] Voiced and unvoiced s is heard in such words as greasy, geyser, and usage, for example. Many speakers make no distinction between grease as a noun, and grease as a verb; both are said as [gɹis].

[3] In the pronunciation of some, [s] is heard in Verdes.

rules stated for s in the foregoing section. In standard[1] Castilian the sound employed for voiceless z, and c before e and i very closely resembles English [θ]; it is phonetically represented as [θ]. Voiced Castilian z resembles English [ð] and its phonetic symbol is [ẓ]. The English pronunciation of z, and of c before e and i in the Spanish-derived place name bears no evidence of English awareness that a matter of considerable moment in the pronunciation of a Spanish sound is at stake. These letters are pronounced according to the English fashion. De Luz (California) is [ˌdɛlˈluz]; Encinitas (California) is [ˌɪn səˈnitɛs], San Lorenzo (California) is [sæn ləˈrɪnzə], and Zamora (California) is [zəˈmorə]. When there is stress in the English pronunciation on the final syllable, final z is voiced; when there is no stress it is regularly unvoiced. Examples: Inez [aɪˈnɛz] (New Mexico), Valdez [vælˈdɛz] (Colorado), Chavez County [tʃævɪs] (New Mexico), Hernandez [hərˈnæn dɪs] (New Mexico). In Juárez (Mexico) there is variation. Some El Pasoans

---

[1]Standard, of course, from the Castilian point of view, an arbitrary point of view I have been obliged to adopt for purposes of making the majority of the comparisons used in this study. But as Thomas Pyles points out to me in a letter (16 January 1946), "Also Mexican (and South American) Spanish bears a relation to continental similar (it would be inaccurate to say "the same") to that between American and British English. Of course the peculiarities of American Spanish (peculiarities from the Castilian point of view) all appear in non-Castilian speech--that's how they happen to be in American Spanish, just as the supposed peculiarities of American English (from the point of view of Received Standard) all appear in some varieties of British English or have at some time appeared. Spanish z is s not only in American Spanish, but also in the Spanish of the linguistic ancestors of Latin Americans and their living continental Spanish descendants. You can get an idea of the complexity of the problem from this: one would really have to know the linguistic geography of South and Central America and all the relevant Spanish dialects to make really authoritative pronouncements on the subject". For a study of Mexican Spanish, see Charles Carroll Marden's The Phonology of Spanish Dialects of Mexico City (Baltimore, 1896).

say [ˈwaɪɪs]; others [ˈwaɪɪz]. Farther afield it is more ordinarily [ˈwɔɪˈɛz] and [ˈwɔɪˌɛz]. (Rounding of a to [ɔ] also occurs in the El Pasoan pronunciation.)

In some names oral transcriptions contribute to the use of the sound of [s] rather than [z] in the English pronunciation. Examples are found in Lampasas (Spanish, Lampazos) and Saragosa[1] (Spanish, Zaragoza), both of Texas. The s spelling used in Mescal (Arizona), Mescalero (New Mexico), and Mesquite (New Mexico and Texas), is an anglicization indicative of the fact that s is not voiced in English before a voiced consonant, as it is in Spanish. Customary Spanish orthography uses z in these words, although in Mexico, for example, either z or s may be employed, with no difference in the resultant sound.

The palatalization of c before semi-consonantal i in the English pronunciation will be discussed later under Spanish semi-consonantal i.

Spanish l. Spanish l is a voiced alveolar lateral continuant. It differs from English l in that in most cases English l is articulated not only by the tip of the tongue touching the alveoles of the upper front teeth but also by the back of the tongue being raised toward the palate. This last tongue movement does not occur in the articulation of Spanish l. Articulated in the English manner, l appears as [l] in the English pronunciation of the Spanish-derived place name. Few names require special mention here. De Luz (California) is said as [ˌdɛl ˈluz] apparently because of analogy with names which employ the regular del

---

[1] Compare ordinary English Saragossa. In the pronunciation of the name of this Texas town [a] is never used for o, which, here, is [o] or [oʊ].

in the spelling of the prefix. In Chillicothe (Texas) l is geminated medially, and in Wandell[1] (Oklahoma) it is geminated finally, for the purpose of indicating concomitant shortness in the preceding vowels. The same device is used in the hybrid, Frankell (Texas).

Spanish n. When initial in the syllable, when between vowels, or when before any consonant except the bilabials, the velars, and f, Spanish n is a voiced alveolar nasal. English n is pronounced higher than Spanish n, being often post alveolar while Spanish n is alveolar. Spanish n has no recognition in the English pronunciation of the Spanish place name. Without exception it is supplanted by English n. In Santa Anna[2] (Texas), Ana is written and pronounced in the English fashion.

Spanish r, rr. Spanish r has two sounds. When not initial in a word and when not preceded by l, n, or s, r is a simple vibrant. It is a voiced alveolar single vibrant sound quite different from either British English r as in very, America, or the customary American English r, which is not even an approximation of Spanish vibrant r. When initial in a word, when after l, n, or s and when doubled, Spanish r is a voiced, alveolar, multiple vibrant sound. Trilled r has from two to five vibrations. English speaking students of Spanish are usually able to imitate the trilled r but it requires much practice and is difficult for many, although, generally, not so difficult as single vibrant r, which does not appeal to them as r at all.

---

[1]From Spanish Juan plus del. Compare San Juan del Río (Mexico).

[2]The Spanish orthography is retained in Santa Ana (California) and Dona Ana (New Mexico). The pronunciation of Ana, however, is [ænə].

In the English pronunciation of the Spanish place name there is no trace of either value of Spanish r, English r being substituted in all positions. In the customary English pronunciation r drops out before v in El Porvenir (New Mexico) and before n in El Bernardo (Texas). Very frequently r disappears before d in San Bernardino (California), and sometimes it is very weakly pronounced before b in Santa Barbara (California). In Monterey (California) the trilled vibrant r represented by rr in Monterrey (Mexico) is lost in the English spelling as well as in the pronunciation. In Aroya and El Moro (Colorado), and in Chapperal (California) Spanish rr [r̄] > English r [r] . In Tererro (New Mexico) there has been a reversal of r's significant of the anglicization of Spanish r. The Spanish is terrero.

Palatals

Spanish ch. The Spanish digraph ch represents a single sound, a voiceless prepalatal semi-explosive very similar to English ch in cheer. Its phonetic symbol is [ĉ] . Ordinarily, whenever it occurs in the English pronunciation Spanish [ĉ] is said as [tʃ] . Initially, however, in Chacon, Chama,[1] and Chaperito[2] (New Mexico), and in Chapperal[3] (California) [ĉ] > [ʃ] .[4] This is in line with the pronunciation of [ĉ] as [ʃ] in English chaps,[5] a clipped form of chaparejos. In Truchas (New

---

[1] In Colorado, ['tʃaməl].

[2] Diminutive of Spanish chaparro.

[3] Spanish: chaparral.

[4] New Mexicans and Texans also use this variety of English assibilation in referring to Chihuahua (Mexico) and to the old Chihuahua Trail, [ʃə'wa wəl] and [ʃə'wɔ wəl] . Apropos of a more anglicized pronunciation, I once heard [tʃə'huə'huəl] from the facile lips of a radio announcer whose linguistic ear--at any rate--had remained uncorrupted by the guitar and the mantilla.

[5] Sometimes spelled shaps. Compare ['ʃæntɪ], not [tʃ-] in "(sea) chanty".

Mexico) [ĉ] > both [tʃ] and [K]. The variant English pronunciation of ['truKəs] for this place name is of interest. It demonstrates a phenomenon of not infrequent occurrence in the experience of the classroom teacher of Spanish whose students speak English as their native tongue. A student attempting to pronounce techo, for example, may say ['teKo]. This association of the digraph ch with the sound [K] is quite naturally reflected in the anglicized spelling of Christoval (Texas) < Spanish Cristóbal. It is reflected also in common nouns borrowed from the Spanish. Mescal < Spanish mezcal is customarily said as [məs 'Kæl], but it is sometimes seen spelled meschal. More than a hundred years ago S. Pattie used the spelling meschal in his Early Personal Narratives (p. 363): "It is of this juice (maguey) they make a kind of whiskey called vino meschal".[1] Another example of ch as an orthographic representation of [K] occurs in broncho,[2] now, ordinarily spelled bronco and always pronounced ['braŋKo] or ['broŋKo]. In chikerones[3] < chicharrones, [ĉ] in a medial position has been replaced in spelling by k, and in pronunciation by [K]. Obviously, [K] < [ĉ] is a normal English phonetic variation for the diagraph ch, which is, in English, variously pronounced as [tʃ], [ʃ], and [K].

---

[1] See Bentley, loc. cit., p. 167.

[2] Ibid., p. 104.

[3] Ibid., p. 120.

Spanish semi-consonantal i. In Spanish the letter i is semi-consonantal when it appears before a vowel with which it forms a syllable, and when preceded by a consonant; that is in the syllabic group of consonant i vowel. Similar to English y in yes its phonetic symbol is [j]. In the place names herein considered [j] was found to combine variously with a, e, and o. We shall see that in the English pronunciation [j] >[I] and [ə], and, in one pronunciation of one name, [ar]. In some names, because of a preceding c or t, according to English sound laws i serves to produce [ʃ] and [tʃ], and thereby loses its identity. In certain names, with n+i+o, semi-consonantal i [j] is heard as [j] (which sound is most obviously in accord with the English practice).

[j]+a. In the following Texas Spanish-derived place names [j] is heard as [j] because of the preceding n: Apolónia, Blancónia, and Patónia.

The influence of a preceding c causes [ʃ] to appear in the final syllables of the following names: Estancia [ɛs'tæn ʃə],[1] San Acacia [sæn ə'kɛʃə],[2] Valencia [və'lɪn ʃə],[3] and San Marcial [sæn mər'ʃɛl] (New Mexico). It is of interest to note that the same fate overtakes [j] in a common Spanish word well known to Southwesterners: gracias. English ears interpret [sjas] as [ʃəs] and the result is ['gra ʃəs].

---

[1]Variant: [ɛs'tæn sɪ ə].

[2]San Acacio (Colorado) is said as [sæn ə'kæʃɪ o] or [-ə].

[3][və'lɪnsɪə] and [və'lɪnʃɪ ə] are also heard. These pronunciations lengthen the Spanish syllable count by one. Spanish: va-len-cia.

English-speaking beginning students of Spanish are obliged to correct this error. Even then, their nearest, most usual interpretation is [ˈθrɑsɪəs].[1]

In Sebastian (Texas) there is stress shift to the penultimate in the wholly anglicized pronunciation, which is [səˈbæs tʃən].

In such names as Candelária, Goliád, La Féria, Núbia, and Olívia (Texas) [j] >[I]. In Diablo (California), [daɪˈæblo] and [dɪˈæblo] are heard.

[j] + e. In the majority of the place names employing the consonant + [j] + e combination, English maintains the stress on e, and [j] is pronounced as [I] in English. Examples: Agua Caliente (Arizona and California), Fierro (New Mexico), Hacienda (Texas). In Casa Piedra (Texas) [j] suffers loss in the pronunciation of Piedra as [ˈpɛdrə], and in familiar or jocular [ˈdego]<(San) Diego (California). In San Gabriel (Texas) the stress shift in the English pronunciation to the first syllable in Gabriel causes the complete reduction of this consonant combination to [ə].

[j] + o. In accord with the English practice [j] in San Antonio (New Mexico and Texas) is heard as [j], with, of course, reduction of o to [ə];[2] [j] is also heard in Crestónio (Texas) and La Únion (New Mexico). In such names as Presídio, Refúgio, and San Elizário (Texas) [j] >[I]. In the pronunciation of Palácios (Texas) i, because of the preceding c, combines to produce [ʃ] so that Spanish [sjos] becomes

---

[1] Ibid. Compare variant pronunciations of Estancia and Valencia.

[2] Some New Mexicans and Texans (not, ordinarily, Texas San Antonians) say [ænˈtonɪo].

English [ʃəs]. The c + [j] + o combination in Concepcion (Texas) becomes [ʃən] in English, which is the result of stress shift from the final to the penultimate syllable. Nothing whatever that is Spanish about the name remains except its spelling.[1] The Conception Mission near San Antonio, Texas reflects the anglicized spelling as well as the pronunciation.

Spanish y. The sound of Spanish y (orthography y, hi; phonetic symbol [y]), when initial in a syllable, is usually a voiced palatal continuant or fricative.[2] There is a stronger palatal friction than in the y of English yes. Spanish consonantal y > English [j] in those place names employing the letter, which is not of frequent occurrence. A few New Mexican names will illustrate the English pronunciation: Arroyesco [ˌærə'jɛskɔ], Arroyo Hondo [ˌærɔjə'hando], Chimayo [tʃə'majo] Coyote [kaɪ'jou tɪ].[3] It may be remarked that for the better English approximation of Spanish consonantal values, it is most fortunate that Yerba, an older spelling of hierba, is used in those place names which employ the word. Pronounced as ['jʌrbə] it occurs, for example, in Yerba Buena[4] and Yerba Linda (California). No trace

---

[1] Although Missouri's Spanish-derived place names are outside the scope of this present study, it is of interest to note that in Conception (Missouri) even the Spanish orthography has succumbed to the English.

[2] Other values of Spanish y do not concern us here.

[3] [j] is pronounced by relatively few speakers. Very, very frequently it is omitted.

[4] A more customary pronunciation of Yerba Buena is ['gout 'aɪlən]. Although Spanish atmosphere-conscious Californians struggle for the recognition of Yerba Buena, this island is to my knowledge more frequently called Goat Island.

of [ĵ] resembling English g in gem is ever heard in the English pronunciation. In emphatic Spanish speech semi-explosive [ĵ] often appears for [y] when in an accented position or when immediately after l or n. One hears it in emphatic Spanish yo no sé. To my ear, yo so pronounced sounds like [ʒo] tending toward [dʒo]. In English, [ʒ] is, of course, never used initially.

Spanish ll. In Castilian, ll is a voiced lateral palatal; the phonetic symbol is [ʎ]. In western hemisphere Spanish, ll is regularly pronounced in the same way as Spanish [y]. Reflections of the subscription to yeísmo in the Spanish of the western half of the world appear in American English imitations of the sound, which imitations evidence themselves in two ways (1) by infrequent substitution of [j] for ll and (2) by the more frequent pronunciation of -illo and -illa endings[1] as [ɪo] or [ɪə]. Examples occur in New Mexico's Bernalillo (wherein both [-ɪo] and [-ɪjo] are heard), Cerillos [-ios], and Costilla [-iə]; in the Texas towns of Boquillas [-iəs], Cañutillo [-iə], and La Villa [-iə]. Elsewhere than in the Texas Rio Grande and in New Mexico[2] intervocalic ll ordinarily becomes [l]. Examples: Amarillo (Texas), Ballena, Camarillo, Farallones (California), and Cebolla (Colorado).

---

[1] Inclusive of the plurals.

[2] Variations, of course, occur in these areas. El Valle (New Mexico) is [ɛl'vælɪ]. The Gallinas River (on the maps, Rio Gallinas) in New Mexico is pronounced by the English element in the Las Vegas vicinity as [gə'jinəs], [gə'jinəs], and [gaɪ'inəs], but in southern New Mexico one hears [gə'linəs]. In the Gallinas Creek in the Oklahoma panhandle ll is [l], and Galena (< gallina), another bit of orthographic Soonerese, leaves no doubt as to its pronunciation. Other names might be listed. These serve merely as examples.

Initially, ll is of infrequent occurrence in the Spanish-derived place names included in this present study. It occurs in little known Llagas Creek (California) where it is usually pronounced as [j].[1] In Llano[2] (Texas) ll is [l] , ['læno].

In Texas, Barilla in the Barilla Mountains and Hills of this name is pronounced [bə'rɪə] and [bə'rɪlə] but in the Barela Mesa (Colorado) the name is pronounced as [bə'rɪlə] . Both names are from Spanish barrilla [bə'rija] , and each exhibits varying degrees of anglicization in its orthography. Four names employing y [j] for ll appear in Texas: Toyah, Toyahvale, Toyah Lake, and Toyah River. Toyah is from Cuban Spanish tolla. In La Jolla (California), on the other hand, we find that ll is employed for y in the spelling. The pronunciation of ll here is [j] .

Spanish ñ. Spanish ñ is a voiced palatal nasal. Its phonetic symbol is [ŋ] . Spanish ñ is a single and uniform sound; not a double sound, such as the English n+i in union. In the Spanish-derived place names included in this study ñ has various values ascribed to it in the English pronunciation. New Mexicans and Texans make somewhat better approximations of [ŋ] than are made elsewhere in the Southwest and in California. In the majority of cases wherein ñ occurs in the place names of New Mexico and Texas, the English [nj] frequently (customarily in some) appears for Spanish [ŋ]. Examples: Lopeño, Salineño (Texas),

---

[1]The name is sometimes heard as [ɪ'lagəs] and [lə'agəs].

[2]Shafer, op. cit., pp. 239-242, lists [ɪ'læno] and [la'ano] for Llano (California). He thinks these pronunciations indicate an attempt to pronounce two ll's together, thus reflecting the influence of the "school" or Castilian pronunciation of ll as [ʎ] . To me [la'ano] is suspect because of the principle of rhythm stress in English speech, which, here, would impose upon this trisyllable (in the English pronunciation, but a dissyllable in Spanish) the X/X pattern. It seems to me that [lə'ano] would be a more likely English pronunciation. If native speakers of English really say [la'ano], this pronunciation achieves the not unimportant distinction of being a phonological hapax legomenon among the Spanish-derived place names included in this study, since in no other instance (to my knowledge) does English (under ordinary speech conditions) preserve all the long vowel sounds in any given trisyllabic place name.

Cañones, Doña Ana, Española,[1] Peñablanca, Peñasco,[2] Piñon[3] (New Mexico). In nearly all names employing canon, the spelling has become canyon.[4] Examples: Canyon (California and Texas), Canyon Blanco (New Mexico), Canyon Diablo and Madera Canyon (Arizona).

In some names the tilde is no more than a graceful scribal flourish. Examples: Niñaview (Colorado), Boliñas, Point Año Nuevo, and Suñol (California). In Cañutillo (Texas) ñ is also [n].[5]

Velars

Spanish c, g, and k. When Spanish c occurs before a, o, or u, and when it occurs before a consonant, it is [K]. A voiceless velar explosive, the sound is similar to English k, but there is no aspiration. Since c in English has the value of [K] under the above named conditions we can expect no development of interest here.

In the digraph qu [K], u is silent in Spanish. Silent u is

---

[1]Loss of n also occurs in this and the preceding name. Variant pronunciations are [ɛs pə'novlə] and [ˌdanə 'ænə].

[2]There is also a Peneasco (New Mexico) and a Penasco River (New Mexico). The vowel e in the name of the town is an orthographic reflection of what frequently occurs in the anglicized pronunciation of this name. Here the ñ, rather its attempted pronunciation by native speakers of English, has generated the extra vowel sound, which, in turn is represented by e in the orthography. U.S. Highway 80 crosses the Penasco River below Artesia, New Mexico, and here and in the Pecos Valley the name of the river is ordinarily pronounced [ˌpɪnɪ'æskO].

[3]In Piñon (Colorado) ñ is preserved.

[4]Cañon City ['kænjən] (Colorado) is an exception.

[5]The Velasquez Spanish-English dictionary (New York, 1943), lists a variant spelling of this word: canutillo.

observed[1] in the English pronunciation of Bosqueville (Texas), Albuquerque, Atarque, Bosque, and Gran Quivira (New Mexico). Quivira (New Mexico), however, is also pronounced [kwɪ'vɪrə], and in San Quentin (California) [w] is always pronounced: [sæn'kwɪntɳ].

The sound [k] represented by k does not occur in the Spanish spelling of any place name included in this study. Kinta[2] (Oklahoma) employs k for qu in the anglicized spelling.

Spanish g. When before a, o, u, and when before a consonant, and when before e or i in the groups gue and gui, and in all these cases when initial in a phonic group, or when after n, g is a voiced velar explosive [g]. Voiced velar continuant g [ɣ] is used in all other cases except before the groups ge and gi wherein g is [χ]. Before e or i in the groups gue and gui the point of contact is farther to the front; otherwise [g] is similar to English [g] in go and get.

Obviously in accord with the English practice, g is heard as [g] in the English pronunciation of such place names as Granada and Los Gatos (California), Garcia and La Garita (Colorado), Gallegos (New Mexico), Goza (Oklahoma), and Goliad (Texas).

In relation to continuant g [ɣ] it is of interest to note the pronunciation of agua as it appears in this place name study. Spanish ['aɣwa] frequently becomes ['a'wa] in Mexican Spanish ([ɣ] in an intervocalic position is very weakly pronounced in Castilian). In Agua Caliente (California) and in Agua Fria (New Mexico) Agua is pronounced

---

[1] As also in risqué, sobriquet, quay, etc.

[2] Spanish: quinta.

as [ˈawə] and [ˈagwə] [1] by the English element; but in Agua Dulce and Agua Nueva (Texas) [ˈawə] appears to be the established English pronunciation. In Saguache (Colorado) [g] is silent. In Guajillo (Texas) pronounced as [waˈhiə], we have one of the English orthographic modifications of Spanish huajillo. Another is juagilla.[2]

Although [χ] as a value for g is of infrequent occurrence in the Spanish-derived place name of the Southwest, its treatment in the English pronunciation merits notice. In Argenta and San Angelo (Texas), Los Angeles (California and Texas), San Geronimo (California and New Mexico) and Geronimo (Arizona and Texas), [χ] >[ʤ], with the exception of the variant pronunciations of Los Angeles (California) wherein [χ] also >[g]. The pronunciations [rəˈfɪrɪo] and [rəˈfurɪə] for Refugio (Texas) provide a noteworthy example of the English solution for a difficult case of hiatus. Here [χ] >[r].[3] The usual English substitute for [χ] appears in Gila (New Mexico), pronounced as [ˈhilə].

In the English pronunciation, silent u is observed after g [g][4] in the following names: Aguilares[5] and Guerra (Texas), Dominguez (New Mexico), San Miguel (California and New Mexico).

---

[1]There are other pronunciations, but here we are concerned solely with [g].

[2]See Harold W. Bentley, A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English (Columbia University Press, New York, 1932), p. 146.

[3]In an English modification of chaparejos, chapararas, [χ] (orthography, j) also becomes [r]. Elbert Hubbard uses this anglicized version in The Philistine (Sept., 1899), p. 126: "To promote him further would be to invite him to swing his chapararas astride the neck of freedom...." See Harold W. Bentley, loc. cit., p. 119.

[4]Compare the English practice in guidance, guild, guilt, etc.

[5]In Aguilar (Colorado) [gi] >[gwɪ].

Spanish semi-consonantal u. Semi-consonantal u in Spanish is similar to English w in we. This sound is given to Spanish u or hu when it comes immediately before a vowel with which it forms a syllable. This sound is also given to u when it appears with the diaeresis, thus: ü. Semi-consonantal u is ordinarily said as [w] in the English pronunciation when it occurs before a and e, but [w] >[ɪu], [ju], and [u] in some names wherein it precedes e and i. In two names [w] >[ɪ].

[w] + a. In Agua Caliente (Arizona and California), in Agua Fria (New Mexico), and in Agua Dulce (New Mexico), [w] is pronounced as [w]. In names employing Juan, such as San Juan Bautista (California) [w] is said as [w]. Colorado has a Waunita Hot Springs, and Oklahoma possesses a Wann and a Wandell,[1] as well as a Wanette,[2] which serve as examples of English transcriptions of Juan and names employing it with some combining form. In Guadalupe (California, New Mexico, and Texas) [w] is ordinarily heard as [w], but in Texas the first syllable of this name is also pronounced as [gɑrd] and [gɔrd] with loss of [w]. In Anahuac, Caranchua, and Guajillo (Texas), in Saguache (Colorado), and Tia Juana (California) [w] is employed for semi-consonantal u in the English pronunciation. Chenango (Texas) furnishes an example of aphesis involving initial g as well as ua. Chenango is an aphetic form of Guachinango.

---

[1]Compare Juandel [wandel]. This was the Christian name of a college classmate of mine in New Mexico. The name is a shortened form of San Juan del Río. Clearly, the ancestry of the classmate so christened is not Spanish. It would scarcely occur to Spanish-speaking people to call a daughter the equivalent of John of the.

[2]This name is said to have been transcribed by a postmaster who could not spell Juanita. It is pronounced [wɔ'nɛt], [wa'nɛt]. See C. N. Gould, Oklahoma Place Names (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1933), p. 87.

[w] + e. English observes [w] in such names as Cuero and Cuevitas (Texas), Cuervo and La Cueva (New Mexico), Point Arguello[1] (California), and Pueblo[2] (Texas). In Puerto de Luna (New Mexico) is heard in ['pwɛrto], but in Puerto Rico (Texas) Puerto is pronounced ['pɔrtə] or ['portə] with loss of [w]. In Buenavista[3] (Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas) Buena is said as ['bɪunə] ; [w] > [ɪu] and [e] suffers loss. In Bunavista (Texas), a town "born of the [late] war and the government for the production of synthetic rubber",[4] the orthography has been altered to suit the anglicized pronunciation.

Waco (Texas) from Spanish hueco is an example of an English transcription of a Spanish name which preserves not only semi-consonantal [w] but the sound of the following [e] as well. Aside from frequently diphthongized [eɪ] for Spanish [e] and diphthongized [oʊ] for Spanish [o], this English pronunciation is one of the better imitations of the Spanish, attributable, to be sure, to the anglicized spelling of hueco as Waco. Huerfano (Colorado) is heard as ['ɔrfəno] , ['wɛrfəno], and ['wʌrfəno]; while El Huerfano, in New Mexico, a mountain peak, is

---

[1] Spanish: argüello.

[2] In Texas this name is pronounced ['pwɛblə] and ['pwebləˌ], but in Colorado [w] > [ɪu] or [ju]. Colorado pronunciations vary. The usual pronunciation, however, is [pɪu'ɛblo] or [pju'ɛblo] with loss of [u] in rapid pronunciation, ['pjɛblo] . Older Texans and Oklahomans may use the pronunciation [pɪu'æblo] and [pu'æblo] in reference to the Colorado "Pittsburgh of the West", which is better known to the majority of the citizens than the small Texas place of the same name.

[3] Written Buena Vista in Colorado and New Mexico.

[4] "'Abused Spanish' Place Names in Texas" (American Speech, October, 1944), p. 238.

[ˈwarfano] and, indicative of this pronunciation for huer, El Huarfanito is the name given a lesser peak in its vicinity. These names are the equivalent of "the orphan" and "the little orphan". The English pronunciation gives apparent evidence of the fact that it is influenced by awareness of the English translation.

w + i. Semi-consonantal u [w] appears before i in very few of the place names with which we are here concerned. In the names employing Luis, such as Don Luis (Arizona), San Luis (Colorado and New Mexico), San Luis Rey and San Luis Obispo (California), [w] > [u]; as [u] it bears the stress in the English pronunciation. Thus, Spanish [ˈlwis] > English [ˈluɪs] [1] or [ˈluəs]. In Ruidosa (Texas) and Ruidoso (New Mexico) [ɾwi] > [ɾiə]. Both names are pronounced [ˌɾiəˈdosə]. The phonological change that this name undergoes is of some moment. From an iambic trisyllable in Spanish it becomes a four-syllabled name with trochaic stress in English. In New Mexico the name is applied to a district in the mountains beyond Roswell where Roswellites build cabins, and where they fish in the mountain stream. It is referred to as "the Ruidoso" or "up in the Ruidoso". The [ɾiə] for [ɾwi] could be the result of analogy with the much more frequent río pronounced as [ɾiə], which means river. In any event, such a combination as [ɾwi] is too un-English to have had much chance to survive.

Spanish j. Spanish j is a voiceless velar continuant; its phonetic symbol is [χ]. Since [χ] is a sound that does not occur in present

---

[1] In Colorado, frequently [ˈluɪ]. In California, [ˈluəs], as it is in Colorado, when s is pronounced. San Louis Pass in Texas is [sænˈluɪs].

English, the English pronunciation when imitative of Spanish substitutes [h], which is no more than a weak pharyngeal aspiration. The substitution of [h] for [χ] is not uncommon in the English pronunciation of the Spanish-derived place names employing j, and helps bolster the popular but erroneous idea that the English pronunciation of San Jose (California and New Mexico) as [ˌsæn ho'ze] (which in rapid, familiar speech becomes [ˌsæn ə'ze]) is quite in keeping with the Spanish manner; when the truth of the matter is, it is precisely in the attempted pronunciation of the Spanish consonants that the veneer of English imitation wears very, very thin.

Throughout the southwestern United States and California [h] ≺ [χ] is heard in such place names as Frijole, Guajillo, La Joya (Texas), Jemes, La Jara, Lajoya (New Mexico), Jarosa, La Jara, and La Junta (Colorado), El Cajon,[1] Mojave, and San Jose (California).

In some names [χ] > [dʒ]. Examples: Jacobia and San Jacinto[2] (Texas).

In names employing Juan j is silent in the English pronunciation.[3] Examples: the San Juan Mountains (Colorado), San Juan Bautista and Tia Juana (California). In Wanette ≺ Juanita and Wann ≺ Juan (Oklahoma), and in Waunita Hot Springs (Colorado), orthographically and phonetically, Spanish j "takes the count". In San Joaquin

---

[1] In Colorado it is Cahone, an anglicized spelling which preserves the sound of [h] ≺ [χ].

[2] In San Jacinto (California) [h] ≺ [χ] seems to be predominant; although this name apocopated to San Jack testifies to [χ] > [dʒ].

[3] Exceptions occur: [h] ≺ [χ] is heard, but infrequently.

(California) j is silent.[1] Sometimes j is heard as [h] in Juarez (Mexico), but the customary English pronunciation does not include this approximation of [χ] .

Medially, in Maljamar [ˈmæl ə ˈmar] (New Mexico) j is lost in the English pronunciation. Loss of j frequently occurs intervocalically in such names as Armijo and Vermijo[2] (New Mexico), Conejos[3] (Colorado), and Sejita (Texas).

Spanish [ŋ] . When n comes before a velar consonant it is a voiced velar nasal [ŋ] . Spanish velar n is similar to English ng in sing. Since this value for n before a velar consonant also occurs in English, it is, most obviously, to be expected that in the English pronunciation [ŋ] is heard before c and g in such place names as Blanco (California, Oklahoma, and Texas), Durango (Colorado and Texas), and Rincon (California and New Mexico). In Los Angeles[4] (California and Texas) and in San Angelo (Texas) [ŋ] > [n] (a result of the English pronunciation of g as [ʤ] .[5])

---

[1] The [w] heard in [ˌsæn waˈkin] results from [χ] coming before [o] and [a] in hiatus. That English ears should have interpreted unstressed, rapidly executed [χoa] as [wa] is not surprising.

[2] In this and the foregoing place name [χ] > [h] in the variant pronunciation.

[3] Also [kəˈnehos], but infrequently so. Ordinarily, [kəˈne əs] .

[4] Always [n] in the Texas town of this name. In Angeles in the name of the California city n is both [n] and [ŋ] .

[5] Some speakers say [las ˈæŋgəlɪs] for Los Angeles (California). It is possible that Angeles in Los Angeles (California) has more variant English pronunciations than any given place name in the United States. The only values that recur stably in these variants are [æ] for a and [ɪ] for i in Angeles.

CHAPTER III

Stress

In this discussion of stress, Spanish stress will be treated in its simplest form, that is, stress in isolated words. Every word in Spanish has a fixed accent on one of its vowels, to which the Spanish ear is very sensitive. Placing the accent where it does not belong, then, is an egregious error. The principal accent rules are given herewith: (1) Words that end in a vowel or in the consonants n or s are stressed on the penult (2) Words that end in a consonant (including y), except n or s, are stressed on the last syllable (3) Words that do not conform to the above rules have a written accent mark (´) over the vowel that bears the stress.[1]

Examination of the Spanish-derived place names appearing in Leonard's Guide, ninth edition,[2] reveals that names employing trochaic and iambic rhythm (in the English pronunciation) occur in very nearly equal ratio. Throughout the territory under consideration names of two, three, and four syllables preponderate. Names of three syllables

---

[1] Tomás Navarro y Tomás and Aurelio M. Espinosa, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

[2] Bentley, op. cit., pp. 222-226; 230-235.

are predominantly iambic and their number very nearly tallies with that of the two and four-syllabled names, which are predominantly trochaic. We shall consider first those names wherein English apparently observes the Spanish accent. It will be seen that, in the majority of instances, the English pronunciation puts some stress upon the syllable originally stressed in Spanish.[1]

All Spanish dissyllables with penultimate stress would naturally have unchanged stress in the English pronunciation: Álma and Blánco (California and Oklahoma), Chíco (California, New Mexico, and Texas), the Pécos River (New Mexico and Texas), Jémes (New Mexico).

Some Spanish dissyllables with final stress are so stressed in English. Their treatment in English falls in two separate classes. If the first syllable be not altogether reduced, the stress tends to shift, so that in the pronunciation of a place name such as Raton (New Mexico) one may hear [ˌɹæˈton] , [ˈɹæˈton] , and [ˈɹæˌton] . The level stress in the second given pronunciation is analytical, and such stress occurs (in the English pronunciation) in other two-syllabled names[2] bearing final stress in Spanish. These names exhibit, as well, the stress variations noted in either the first or the third or in both the first and third phonetic transcriptions of Raton. Examples: Comal [ˈko ˌmæl] , [ˈko ˈmæl] (Texas), Nogàl [ˌno ˈgæl] , [ˈno ˈgæl] , [ˈno ˌgæl] (New Mexico), Nopal [ˈno ˌpæl] , [ˈno ˈpæl] (Texas), Rincon [ˌɹɪŋ ˈkon],

---

[1] It will be obvious that this is not to be ascribed to the influence of the Spanish phonetic system.

[2] To be sure level stress occurs in English itself, especially, perhaps, in General American English: ˈChest ˈnut, ˈfore ˈhead, ˈa ˈcorn.

[ˈrɪŋ ˈkon] ,[1] [ˈrɪŋ ˌkon] (New Mexico). In a two-syllabled Spanish name wherein English observes final syllable stress, the stress remains stable[2] when the vowel in the first syllable is completely reduced. Examples: Belen [bəˈlɪn] (New Mexico), Mesquite [məsˈkit] (New Mexico and Texas), Mescal [məsˈkæl] (Arizona).

Some degree of stress is ordinarily accorded to the penultimate syllable which bears the stress in the three-syllabled Spanish place name.[3] Marked initial stress, however, regularly results in the English pronunciation of this type of name when the vowel in the first syllable is followed by a consonant cluster, as in Costilla [ˌkɔsˈtijəl], [ˈkɔsˌtijə], [ˈkɔsˈtijə][4] (New Mexico). Other examples include Alturas,

---

[1]This and the following stress pattern occur in the pronunciation of Rincon (California) with this difference: [o] > [a].

[2]Stable under ordinary speech conditions. But if the principle of contrast is involved, here, as elsewhere, the contrasted syllable, regardless of customary stress, arbitrarily may receive the stress in the contrasted pronunciation. Thus: [ˈbʌlɪn] not [bɛlɪn]; [ˈmʌskit] not [ˈmɛskit].

[3]For comparative purposes it seems pertinent to note here that English (as would any given language, to be sure) from its earliest history has regulated the stressing of borrowed words so that in such stressing there shall exist no contradiction to its own stress laws. In regard, for example, to OE trisyllabic Latin loans, Pyles, op. cit., p. 895, note, has the following to say: "Because a learned loan word or a foreign word was not likely to be completely isolated from its original, it is reasonable to infer that a Latin word of three or more syllables with the accent not on the initial syllable in Latin bore in OE a secondary stress (sometimes approaching full stress) on the syllable originally stressed in the Latin word. The inference has some support in the fact that in a few isolated cases the syllable stressed in the original bears the alliteration in verse, a most unlikely occurrence if the Latin stress had not in some degree been retained." He cites áltàre, Cálèndas, cástèlles, cómèta, and others.

[4]The variant pronunciations here given reflect the stress treatment observed in Raton, Comal, etc. Also [ɔ] in the first syllable of Costilla is said as [o], but as this does not affect stress, it is, therefore not listed above.

Andrade, Balboa, Cabrillo, Represa, San Pablo, and San Pedro, all of California, and all bearing marked initial stress in the English pronunciation. Not infrequently the initial stress is so strong that is results in level stress on the first two syllables, or in primary stress on the first syllable of the foregoing and like names[1] in the manner demonstrated above in the two last-listed pronunciations of Costilla. Although initial syllable stress regularly occurs in a heavy first syllable, it is prone to occur before the tonic syllable in many of the three-syllabled place names, wherein the consonant is intervocalic in relation to the first and second syllables. The following names serve to illustrate this practice: Nogales [ˌno ˈgælɪs] , [ˈno ˈgælɪs] , [ˈnoˌgælɪs][2] (Arizona), Goleta [ˌgoˈlitə] , [ˈgoˈlitə], [ˈgoˌlitə] (California), Clarita [ˌklævˈitə], [ˈklæɹˈitə] ,[ˈklæɹˌitə] (Oklahoma), Coyote [ˌkaɪˈotɪ], [kaɪˈotɪ] , [ˈkaɪˌotɪ] (New Mexico), Lopeño [ˌloˈpinjə] , [ˈloˈpinjə], [ˈloˌpinjə][3] (Texas). When English puts no stress on the first syllable of the three-syllabled place name originally stressed on the penult in Spanish, the result is reduction,[4] with ordinarily stable stress in the English pronunciation. Examples: Bonita [bəˈnitə], Dinero [dəˈnɛɹo] (Texas), Garita [gəˈɹitə], Laplata [ləˈplætə] (New Mexico), Paloma

---

[1] Compare English dictator: [ˌdɪkˈtetɹ̩], [ˈdɪkˈtetɹ̩], [ˈdɪkˌtetɹ̩].

[2] The order in which these pronunciations occur (together with all others herein listed pertinent to stress) in no wise indicates prevalency, unless choice is indicated in a given transcription.

[3] Both Lopeño and Coyote have variant pronunciations, but since the stress remains essentially unaffected, these are not listed here.

[4] As it characteristically is, to be sure, when English does not observe stress on a syllable in any given position.

[pə'lomə] (California).

In the place names included in this study, the Spanish trisyllable with final stress is of infrequent occurrence, and in the English pronunciation it is arbitrarily stressed heavily on the first syllable, so that the /X/ pattern results. The stress on the first and last syllables of such names is quite frequently level; again, because of sentence rhythm, which involves, always, the intention of the speaker, the stronger stress may be applied to either syllable. It is very frequently applied to the first syllable.[1] Thus, Monterey (California) may be said as ['mantə,reɪ], ['mantə'reɪ], and [,mantə'reɪ][2] by the same speaker during the recounting of a single incident, because of the changing rhythmic requirements imposed upon him by various psychological factors which account in part, at least, for the position which he gives the name in any given sentence. Names which exhibit shifting stress, such as that noted in Monterey, occur elsewhere, of course, in California, and in Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas. They are of more frequent occurrence in California, New Mexico, and Texas.[3] Of especial interest are four of New Mexico's place names which fall in this present

---

[1] Especially if the word following the name begins with primary stress. Example: What about that Mónterey passenger list?

[2] Also, I have occasionally heard ['mantəɪ]. While this seemingly points to British English usage, what of [sɪ'mɑrn̩], a variant pronunciation for Cimarron in Colorado, where anything save General American English is uncommon? It seems to me that ['mantəɪ] is no more "British" than [sɪ'mɑrn̩]. Either of the pronunciations may be regarded as a reflector of the strong tendency toward initial stress, a tendency characteristic of the English language.

[3] See Bentley, op. cit., pp. 222-226; 230-235. California has approximately fifteen three-syllabled names bearing in Spanish final stress; New Mexico has about twenty; Texas a dozen or so.

category because of the prefix San: San Fidel, San Marcial, San Miguel, and San Rafael.[1] San does not customarily undergo aphesis (as does Las before Vegas and Cruces--names which bear primary stress) in the English pronunciation of these names, wherein it always bears some stress, not infrequently primary, as [ˈsæn ˌmɑrˈʃɛl], and often level, as [ˈsæn mɑrˈʃɛl], and, of course, with stronger stress on the final syllable [ˌsæn mɑrˈʃɛl]. Similar variations may be heard in the remaining three names given above, in San Jose[2] (California and New Mexico) and in other names similarly employing the prefix San before a dissyllable with final stress.[3] However, it is not to be presumed that San receives marked stress only in the above or like names. Not only San, but the articles El, Las, and Los, and the contraction Del may receive primary or level stress, especially when they precede names beginning with a consonant, which circumstance produces a heavy first syllable, and, in English,

---

[1]The last two syllables of Rafael are always syncopated to [fɛl] in the English pronunciation.

[2]This is news to Robert L. Shafer who brushes aside San, Santa El, Del, and Los with a summary "These words seldom bear any accent, never more than a secondary accent." (See Shafer, op. cit., pp. 239-242.) He gives the assertion herein quoted as his reason for not repeating the prefixes in the pronunciations of names wherein they occur. It must be obvious that Shafer is devoted to the task of convincing his readers that Californians pronounce their Spanish place names almost exactly after the Spanish manner, and it must be equally obvious that anyone so patently interested in putting over a "pronunciation program" cannot be relied upon; furthermore, if speakers of English consistently slight these prefixes according to Shafer's declaration, we should like to hear him explain, for example, how the language arrived at láriat < la reata.

[3]Names such as Santa Fe (New Mexico) and Santa Cruz (California), with final stress in Spanish, make, in English, identical rhythmic patterns with San Jose, /x/. They exhibit, as well, the same stress variations.

heavy syllables are often stressed. Examples: ˈEl ˈReno or ˈEl ˌReno (Oklahoma), ˈDel ˈMar or ˈDel ˌMar (California), ˈLas ˈVegas or ˈLas ˌVegas (New Mexico), ˈLos ˈChavez or ˈLos ˌChavez[1] (New Mexico). La is ordinarily stressed or unstressed in the English pronunciation according to whether or not it precedes a name with a stressed syllable. Here rhythm stress is involved: La Junta [lə ˈhʌntə] (Colorado), but La Garita [ˈla gəˈritə] (Colorado). The tendency towards aphetic familiar forms such as Végas for Las Vegas (New Mexico), Pédro for San Pedro (California) etc. seems to be more pronounced in relation to names beginning with an accented syllable. However, the article may be dropped before some names employing iambic rhythm. For example, Cerillos [səˈriəs] for Los Cerillos is heard in northern New Mexico, where there is also a Cerillos.

While the three-syllabled place name bearing initial stress in Spanish is most infrequent, it is scarcely a trick for speakers of English to observe this sort of Spanish irregularity when the phenomenon presents itself, as it does in Málaga (California and New Mexico), Álamo (California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas), Huérfano (Colorado), Óptimo (New Mexico), and Trópico[2] (California).

---

[1] Los is always [las] in New Mexico.

[2] Perhaps it is to pronunciations such as this that Shafer refers when he asserts that "Californians preserve the Spanish accent including its irregularities in almost all words". (See Shafer, op. cit., pp. 239-244). He adds "except those ending in -dad" and cites Trinidad [ˈtrɪnɪdæd], for example. Although he uses no secondary accent mark to indicate stress on the last syllable, we know there is a degree of stress on this syllable or it would be quite reduced, thus: [ˈtrɪnədɪd] or [ˈtrɪnədəd]. Trinidad, therefore, neither in California nor in Colorado is an example of complete stress shift to the primary syllable. (In Colorado, at any rate, it may be spoken with level stress on the first

In four-syllabled names with penultimate Spanish stress the principal accent is frequently shifted to the first syllable in English: Álbuquèrque (New Mexico), Ámarìllo (Texas), Cérrogòrdo (Oklahoma), Màricòpa (Arizona), Móntezùma (California, Colorado, New Mexico). These and like names may, to be sure, be heard with level or primary stress on the penult. They thus exhibit the same stress phenomena observed in the English pronunciation of the trisyllable with final Spanish stress.

Names of four syllables with antepenultimate Spanish stress are confined in the lists used in this study to a sole instance: Geronimo (Arizona and Texas). The customary English pronunciation is [dʒə'ranɪmo] or [dʒə'ranəmo], but [dʒɛr'anɪmo] with some degree of initial syllable stress may be heard.

Names of more than four syllables occur most infrequently but these, too, divide very nearly equally in regard to trochaic and iambic stress. California leads in the number of place names exceeding four syllables. From some fourteen names, trochaic Santa Barbara and iambic Embarcadero will serve as examples of the manner in which English manages these lengthier names. While primary stress often results in such a

---

and last syllables.) From his own list of 165 names he cites (in addition to names ending in -dad) five other "exceptions". Only three involve complete stress shift: Avíla (Spanish, Ávila) and one pronunciation of Garcia as ['gɑrʃə] (Spanish, García), and San Luis [sæn'luəs] (Spanish, ['lwis]). The remaining two names Shafer lists exhibit no greater degree of stress shift than do dozens he did not list, dozens which, together with Santa Ýsabèl and Rínconˋ Hill have merely put the primary stress upon the first syllable but have retained, ordinarily, some stress upon the final syllable. He might better have conned his own list and presented readers of American Speech with three names he apparently failed to perceive to be "exceptions": Oceáno (Spanish, océano), San Quéntin (Spanish, San Quintín in Lower California), and Nícolaus (Spanish, Nicolás). In the foregoing names, the stressed syllable in Spanish undergoes complete reduction in the English pronunciation.

name as Santa Barbara the stress is reversed if sentence rhythm (prescribed by the intention of the speaker) makes it obligatory.[1] In slow or emphatic speech level stress may be heard: Sánta Bárbara. In Embarcadero (California) stress has somewhat more than the garden variety of development. One may hear Embárcadèro, Embàrcadéro, with the first syllable scarcely more than a quick nasal murmur; and Émbárcadèro, Èmbàrcadéro, with initial stress as shown. In addition, the second and the penultimate syllables may have level stress with reduction of all remaining syllables save the last. In emphatic speech this name may be heard with three, and sometimes four level stresses: Émbárcadéro, Émbárcadéro. For still further variation in the English pronunciation the principle of contrast may be applied to each of the five syllables in turn.

To New Mexico with its seven-syllabled[2] Tierra Amarilla belongs the distinction of possessing the longest name in the five states included in this study.[3] Pronounced usually as [tɪˈɛrə ˌæməˈrɪjə] it testifies to considerable resistance to anglicization. Its geographical location, 7,466 feet high in sparsely settled northern New Mexico, its size--so small that no population figure is listed on the Conoco official road map (although Mills, 171, is listed)--these facts account for such retention of Spanish pronunciation as it exhibits. Hundreds of citizens

---

[1]Rising inflection may favor stronger stress on the antepenult in Barbara. Example: Sànta Bárbara? But: I've never been in Sánta Bàrbara. Stress, to be sure, may be reversed in the foregoing examples, and the intention with concomitant effect be, thereby, perceptibly different.

[2]English syllabication. Tierra is a two-syllabled word in Spanish.

[3]Longest, on the basis of lists appearing in Bentley, op. cit., pp. 222-226; 230-235.

in southern New Mexico are oblivious of its existence.

In some names English has removed all stress from the syllable stressed in Spanish, reducing, thereby, the stressed Spanish vowel to [ə] or [ɪ]. Since names of this type have been noted previously in the various sections devoted to the stressed vowels, little more than mention of selected ones need be made here. In Colorado, final Spanish stress on a dissyllable has been completely reduced in very nearly every instance of its occurrence.[1] An exception is Cahóne, whose respelling accounts for the retention of the stress, and Ortíz (a small town whose population is chiefly Mexican), which is, nevertheless, heard as [ˈɔrˌtiz] as well as [ˌɔrˈtiz] ; also [ˈɔrˈtiz]. The following names show complete stress shift with subsequent reduction in the unstressed syllable: Cáñon City, Gárcia,[2] Límon, Piñon, Pórtal, Sólar.

Some three-syllabled names with antepenultimate stress have been given penultimate stress in English, a phenomenon that bears a resemblance to over correction: Arbóles (Colorado), Avíla (California), Cordóva[3] (New Mexico), Placédo (Texas), while a matching number, four, with penultimate stress have yielded to the Germanic tendency towards

---

[1]See list of Colorado names, Bentley, op. cit., pp. 225-226. Only in New Mexico is there fairly general observance of final stress on a dissyllable so stressed in Spanish. New Mexico has a dozen or so names of this type with but one example of stress shift in one pronunciation so marked as to reduce the final syllable: Márquez [ˈmar kɪs].

[2]A two-syllabled name only in the English pronunciation. Here there are variant pronunciations with primary stress on the penult, as in Spanish three-syllabled García.

[3]Spanish Chimayó, with the accent on the final syllable, becomes English Chimáyo (New Mexico). This, too, may possibly be considered a result of overcorrection; although, here, the Germanic tendency towards moving the stress nearer to the front of the word is, perhaps, a more logical interpretation.

initial stress: Anahuac (Texas), Arriba[1] (Colorado), Bolivar (Texas), Sapello (New Mexico). It will be noted that six of these names are stressed in Spanish against the regular rules for Spanish accent and bear, therefore, a written accent: Árboles, Ávila, Córdoba, Plácido, Bolívar, Anáhuac. With the exception of Arboles and Cordova the vowel stressed in the Spanish pronunciation is completely reduced. That a in Arboles and o in Cordova do not suffer reduction is ascribable to their occurring in heavy initial syllables. In the English pronunciation considerable stress may be applied to the first syllable in Arboles and in Cordova. It may, upon occasion, be equal to the stress applied to the penult.

---

[1] In Arriba and Bolivar the unstressed syllables are completely reduced in the English pronunciation.

CONCLUSION

The questions presented at the outset of this study have, insofar as the scope of this investigation has permitted, been answered in the foregoing divisions of this paper devoted in turn to the English interpretation of the Spanish vowels in stressed and unstressed positions, of the Spanish consonants, and, finally, of Spanish stress. Instances of vowel values employed in the English pronunciation which are contrary to the English value customarily ascribed to the letter under the given circumstances are infrequent and, in most cases, show wavering. Such English imitations of Spanish vowel values that have been showed to persist are based, we may safely say, on the "school" pronunciation. Instances of recognition of Spanish consonant values are infrequent, occurring only with some letters, notably b (v), ll, j (g before e and i) and n, with the possible inclusion of s, in a limited number of names, wherein the pronunciation of the cited consonants often shows wavering. The names are stressed in such a manner that there is no contradiction to the English stress system, which contains iambic as well as trochaic rhythm patterns. The influence of the present Mexican population upon the present English pronunciation of the Spanish-derived place name is a subject open to discussion for those who are interested in exchanging whatsoever opinions they may hold. It involves the knotty problem of the social, economic, and political prestige of the Mexican, wheresoever

he may be. In regard to massed numbers, it may be pointed out that while Los Angeles is one of the largest "Mexican" cities in the world her Spanish-speaking citizens have scarcely contributed to a more Spanish pronunciation of the city's name, and that although El Paso's population is at least fifty percent Mexican and that although the city has looked daily at Juarez, Mexico, across the Rio Grande for a very long time indeed these advantages have not saved Spanish [a] from phonetic change. It is only in the smaller towns whose names do not suffer the myriad abrasions which frequent utterance inflicts, the endless linguistic wear and tear to which the better known names of the larger cities have been subjected--it is only in these smaller places that the "better" English imitations are heard, and, even here, in most instances, there is wavering. Phonological phenomena arising from English transcriptions of the Spanish place name have been noted and discussed. It may be added that, by and large, the observance of the Spanish orthography is better in New Mexico than elsewhere, but, even here, trends toward anglicization have been noted. In regard to future developments in the English pronunciation of the Spanish-derived place name, the weight of the evidence points to no lessening in the trend towards anglicization. It seems reasonable to append, however, that so long as political and social factors continue to remain stable in New Mexico, and that so long as people remain, on the whole, ignorant of the existence of Tierra Amarillo, this polysyllabic name (among others) will retain its veneer of "Spanish" pronunciation in the speech of English initiates who have passed that way.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Barnes, Will C. Arizona Place Names. Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 1935.

Bentley, Harold W. A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932.

Gould, C. N. Oklahoma Place Names. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1919.

Jespersen, Otto. Modern English Grammar. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1909.

Kennedy, Arthur G. Current English. New York: Ginn & Co., 1935.

Krapp, George P. The Pronunciation of Standard English in America. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1919.

Mencken, H. L. The American Language. 4th ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937.

Navarro, Tomás and Espinosa, Aurelio M. A Primer of Spanish Pronunciation. New York: Benj. H. Sanborn & Co., 1927.

Velázquez, Mariano. A New Pronouncing Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages. New York: Wilcox and Follett Co., 1943.

Webster, Noah. Collegiate Dictionary. 5th ed. Springfield: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1943.

Webster, Noah. New International Dictionary of the English Language. 2nd ed. revised. Springfield: G. & D. Merriam Co., 1934.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA LIBRARY

Articles

Pyles, Thomas, "The Pronunciation of Latin Learned Loan Words and Foreign Words in Old English", Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, December, 1943, pp. 891-910.

Ritchie, Eleanor. "Spanish Place Names in Colorado", American Speech, April, 1935, pp. 88-92.

Shafer, Robert. "The Pronunciation of Spanish Place Names in California", American Speech, December, 1942, pp. 239-244.

Trager, George L. "Some Spanish Place Names of Colorado", American Speech, October, 1935, pp. 203-207.

Ureña, Pedro Henríquez. "El Español en Méjico, los Estados Unidos y la América Central", Biblioteca de dialectología hispanoamerica, 1938, Vol. IV, pp. 329-379.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
LIBRARY

This volume is the property of the University, but the literary rights of the author are a separate property and must be respected. Passages must not be copied or closely paraphrased without the previous written consent of the author. If the reader obtains any assistance from this volume, he must give proper credit in his own work.

A library which borrows this thesis for use by its patrons is expected to secure the signature of each user.

This thesis by _____ has been used by the following persons, whose signatures attest their acceptance of the above restrictions.

NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE