A: An’ then, uh, I was listenin’ to that tape las’ night that you asked my dad that story about the
Llorona.
C-A: Yeah.
A: What is that?
C-A: It’s the weeping woman, the wailing woman. It’s a, it’s a folktale, it’s a Mexican folktale.
B: What did you say?
C-A: La Llorona.
A: Is that the one?
C-A: About the woman who drowned her kids [A. and B. overlap]
A: Oh yeah.
B: Yeah
C-A: ... in the river, and then her, she’s destined, like her punishment was to go looking for them
all the time an’ she’s wailing and weeping.
A: But they said the only time, my daddy an’ them told us that but, they said that the only time
you can hear her voice when it starts to thunder and lightnin’.
C-A: Well, but like people say they’re out in the woods and they hear this sound and you know, an’
then they see like this ghost-like looking woman. But you know, it’s funny because other
place, other um, cultures have the same kinda story um, about a woman doin’ that. So, um, I
think I was asking him that because I wanted to know, like if he told you, the kids, these
stories, these folk stories.
A: I told, I told you the one, that story about La Llorona, huh? ’Bout the woman an’ that baby?
B: Yeah, you told me, you said somein’ else about that bird, too.
C-A: Oh, yeah,
A: La Lechuza.
C-A: Right. I asked Mary about that an’ she told me, “I’ll tell you about it but you gotta turn the
tape off.” She was real superstitious. She wouldn’t, she wouldn’t tell me about it. An’ also
the um, El Ojo.
A: Oh yeah.
C-A: El Mal de Ojo.
A: Yeah that, that happens very, very often to my sister’s kids. I don’ know why.
J: What?
A: El Ojo, Ojo Malo. It’s what they do, it’s that someone – like Bugger is sittin’ here, you know,
doin’ all this funny stuff right? And let’s say that if I didn’t like what he was doin’, I, I could
look at him an’ just say, say somethin’ to myself about him and he’ll somehow win’ up sick.
He’ll run fever, he’ll run chills, he’ll have all that. An’ the only way you can take that off the
chill is when you get an egg, a room temperature egg, rub it all, all down his body, say, well
we say the Catholic’s prayer. An’ then you get a half a glass of water, you crack that egg in
there, an’ put it in the corner where he sleeps at, an’ in the morning, that egg’ll be cooked.
But nobody can see the egg.
C-A: Right.
A: Only the person who put it in there in that corner. An’ you throw it out.
C-A: The other thing that they say that the kids can get, it’s like, if you’ve got a baby and if
somebody looks at your baby, but doesn’t touch him, you know, they’ll say, “Oh what a cute
baby.” And if you’ll notice, especially you see a lot of um, people who, well, I guess it’s not
just people from Mexico, but they’ll always touch the baby. Because if you don’t touch the
baby then you can give him Mal de Ojo.
A: Uh huh.
C-A: An’, an’ people will say that they’ll get, you know, stomach aches from that an’ stuff.
A: They get fever an’ stuff too.
C-A: Because, you know, a lotta people don’t want strangers touching their baby but they do it
because they don’t wanna, you know, have something bad happen to the baby. It’s jus’, it’s
a, well [A. interrupts]
A: I would see it all the time at the grocery store an’ uh, there’s a lotta girls that come in there
an' they look at these little ol' Mexican kids they say, "Oh she's so cute." An' she'll tell 'em in Spanish, you know, you hafta touch him. An' the girls'll say, "What, what does she want?" I said, "You hafta touch that child 'cause you were sittin' there lookin' at him thinkin' he's so cute." She said, "Why?" I said, "It's their belief."

C-A: Right.
A: So she'd go over there an' she'd touch him an' [B. overlaps]
B: You know how this Mexican lady, uh did Regina baby like that. I was holdin' Regina's baby.
A: Then, we were at Wal-Mart that las' time we took Bugger, it was a ol' Mexican lady, an' she, she was jus' touchin' Bugger all around his face an' everything. 'Cause she kep' lookin' at him, 'cause I had him, an' his hand, they were talkin' to me, an' I noticed she kep' lookin' at him. I was thinkin' to myself, "I hope this woman don't put Ojo on him." But when she got up she, you know, she did his head like that an' his face like that an' she just touched him. An' she gave him a little kiss on the side of his forehead an' took off.

B: That lady did Regina baby like that. She was like, "This is a pretty baby." An' she kissed him. She rubbed his head an' she kissed him on his forehead.
C-A: I think maybe they hafta touch the head, but I don't know, I'm not 100% sure. Yeah, it's, so it, like it might kinda freak you out like, you know, "Don't touch my baby, you're a stranger." But they're doin' that because they don't wanna have something bad happen to the baby.
A: An' La Lechuza, well, my dad an' them, they would always tell us at night, you know, don't go out there, Lechuza gonna get yall.
C-A: Sure because they're tryin', they'd say that so the kids don't go out at night.
A: But remember when I tol' Kiki that story, Kiki heard that, that, that lechuza that night. He was scared. It was scary 'cause they say he screeches out your name.
C-A: Oh.
A: An' you can hear 'em out here at certain times at night. When I hear 'em out there I come straight back in.
C-A: So what does it, does it go down an' get the kids, is that what the, is that what he does?
A: I never, I mean people, I've heard, my dad an' them will sit there an' say stories about that the Lechuza would grab 'em.
C-A: Uh huh.
A: But I've never, the minute I hear that screech, that first screech, I come in the house.
C-A: Uh huh.
A: I don't say nothin' else [laughs]. Bud say, "What you come in the house for?" I said, "That bird's out there." [C-A and A. laugh]
B: I read uh, like all of that stuff in this book one time. It was like in the library an' it was about like ol' Mexican stuff like that. An' I read enough to read about the Lechuza about whatever, whatever. I read like some other stuff about, this, it was like all kin'a stuff. I can't even remember all of that stuff — somein' about a tub of water an', an' your shadow or somethin'.
A: That's Bloody, Bloody Hails Mary, that's what they call that. La Sangre, La Sangre de Ave de Maria or something like that they call it in Spanish. Every year you see, an' my sister-in-law does this.
C-A: I've never heard of that one.
A: My sister-in-law does this every New Year's Eve. And it scares my brother real bad, Roy's wife. An' what they do is her and her family, they get together on New Year's Eve night an' they go aroun', uh, it's a big silver tub full of water, from what I'm told, 'cause she stayed with us plenty of times. And they go aroun' an' they sayin' some Spanish prayer. An' [C-A interrupts]
C-A: They walk around the tub?
A: Uh huh, holdin' hands.
C-A: Uh huh.
A: And as they go by there they hafta look. Now, they hafta do this in a full moon. Now they say if you see your shadow you don't plan to live within that year.
C-A: Huh.
A: But if you don't see your shadow, you plan to live within that year. An' about six months after they did that, that's when her uh, cousin got killed. An' that freaked us out. An' we, I don't mess with her, 'cause I have a sister who believes in that real bad.
C-A: Hmm.
A: She can sit there an' she puts stuff on people that you wouldn't believe. An' she, she, she's the kind that does the powder an' stuff. She messes with the powder, the candles, she does all that.
C-A: Huh.
A: An' uh, they put all kinds of oil on their body. They be doin' chattlin'. An' that's what I be callin' this. But I have a sister who does that.

C-A: What did you say, chatting?

A: Chattling, or something like that.

C-A: Chattling?

A: Callin' the spirits of the dead or somethin' like that.

C-A: Ohhh, huh.

A: Chat-, what do they call it, chat, chattlin'? I don't know.

A: Chattlin'.

C-A: That's why I asked you.

A: I think it's called chattling when they, they summon the spirits.

C-A: Huh.

A: An' she freaks me. When she comes aroun' I don't even like talkin' to her out there. She said, "If you don't talk to me I'ma put somethin' on you." I said, "Okay I'll sit down an' talk to you." [C-A and A. laugh]

C-A: I'll talk to you all you want.

A: You're not gettin' me like that. But she does that.

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Text #2

A: Yeah I was listenin' to the one you made yesterday. I had it on today. I listened to bits an' pieces of it. An' I was, I was sittin' there talkin' an' thinkin' about what my daddy had said about uh, you had asked him a question about you know, speakin' Spanish.

C-A: Uh huh. Oh right, yeah.

A: An' uh, he was right. Not, not too, not, these young kids won't speak it to save their lives.

C-A: Now did he, did they speak Spanish with all the kids?

A: Who?

C-A: Well like when you were growin' up in your family?

A: Oh yeah. My dad an' uh, my dad an' my mom?

C-A: Yeah.

A: Yeah they spoke Spanish to us. An' they said, "If you can't speak Spanish don't speak to us at all."

C-A: Uh huh. So that's how you learned.

A: An' that's how we learned it.

C-A: Yeah.

B: Whose is this?

A: Ice water. But I had Coke in it. An' uh . . .

C-A: It's Gator Aid Coke.

A: We learned piece by piece like that. You know, slowly but surely we learned it. But I didn' learn it till 'bout maybe about four or five years ago.

C-A: Really?

A: That's where I really picked it up.

C-A: How?

A: My uh, sister-in-law, my sister's married to a guy from Mexico. An' uh, it wasn' until when I started workin' at the, when I was workin' at Godwin's. All those Mexicans would come in there, you know, 'cause that's basically what that store - a lot of farmers, those ranchers they hire these Mexicans. They sit there an' they come in there an' they would be askin' so many questions. An' I couldn' never understand 'em. [laughs] I never understood what they were askin' until they, you know, they'll show me, you know, this is what you call this an' this what you call this. I said, "O.K." So I picked it up like that. An' I picked it up pretty quick.

C-A: But you already had it, you know, in [A. interrupts]

A: Yeah I had it but, I didn't have it like I have it now though.

C-A: Yeah. But now you don't have anybody, well I guess you practice with your, with your brother-in-law then, right? You talk with him?

A: No, I mainly, I talk to my sister more in Spanish than I do to him.

C-A: Huh.

A: Now he, now when he came down from Louisiana - that's where he met my sis-, my twin, Emily. An' uh, he didn' hardly know anything about English. An' now he can speak it just as well as anybody else can.
Text #3
A: Thursday night.
B: Yeah Thursday night.
S: [referring to AM] All that ol’ Spanish ol’ shit. Yall don’ know no English?
A: Call Aun’ May an’ tell her to pick you up ’fore she come.
S: No English at all?
B: Yeah I bet they talkin’ in Spanish so we don’t understan’ ’em.
V: [imitates A.] [laughs] Patricia know what you’re sayin’.
A: I’m pretty sure she does but I’m not hidin’ nothin’. [V. laughs] That’s why I know that everybody’s in there openin’ their mouth but her. An’ I know she know Spanish because she said that a couple years back that she knew how to speak all that. But I’m not sayin’ nothin’ bad am I? [all laugh] She got her mouth shut now huh.
B: She can’ understan’ you.
S: If I understan’ [all talk at once]

S: Hey look she got right back on this phone with this same bullshit. [V. laughs] I’m sorry, girl shit! Now listen. Ohhh I bet Bud, that’s, I bet that’s why he worn crazy. I bet Annie be fussin’ an’ go to fussin’ in Spanish an’ that’s been what be worryin’ him.
B: [yells] Exactly!
S: Hey . . . [A. continues talking in Spanish] Shut that Mexican shit up. Talk to me in English. [laughs]

Text #4
B: Kiki get paid today?
A: No either, either tomorrow or Saturday. They don’ get paid on Thursdays. He get paid on Friday or on Saturdays.
C-A: Does she pay ’em all the time or only when they work?
A: Only when they work.
C-A: Uh.
A: An’ with Bud that’s about every week. [laughs] She has, she has a foreman, Leslie, but he don’t do nothin’ for her.
C-A: Uh.
A: What he do do for her is against the law, but [laughs].
C-A: What’s that?
A: To him.
B: Steal from her.
A: He steal from her.
C-A: Who does?
A: You not gonna let them hear these tapes are you?
C-A: No. [A. laughs]
B: Leslie – I don’t care – Leslie R. or whatever his las’ name is.
C-A: Who’s that?
B: Uh, you know C.I’s step dad.
A: You know that trailer house you was lookin’ at, that brown one? The one right across it there’s another trailer house.
C-A: Yeah, with the addition on the front of it?
B: C.’s step daddy.
A: Yeah. With that, it’s like a [C-A interrupts]
C-A: Isn’t that where C. useta live?
B: That, way back [C-A overlaps]
C-A: The one on the left.
B: The big trailer down there.
A: Yeah.
C-A: Yeah there’s like a trailer an’ then there’s like a wood house attached to it.
A: Yeah, okay. Well there’s another trailer right beside it. That’s the one C. lives in.
C-A: Oh, she lives, oh.
A: She lives by her, well her an’ her hus-, husband to be, her fiancé.
C-A: Oh yeah, oh okay.
Jo: I think Daddy's over there at the store.
C-A: But that's where she [B. interrupts]
B: Oh, Daddy needs to come an' [voice fades]
C-A: But that's where she useta live.
A: Useta live at.
C-A: Okay.
A: But uh, yeah basically when he . . . well if you not gonna let nobody hear these tapes . . .
when he first started out with Miss F. he only had eight cows. Now he has about eight
hundred of 'em. [laughs] An' she may have maybe eight cows left. [laughs]
C-A: An' she doesn't know it?
A: She knows, but I don't think she wants to admit that she knows it. You know, everybody tells
her - her son, her daughter, ev-, you know, we do what we can with her, but. Yup, yeah I
said that's her business. As long as she, like Bud said, "As long as she pays me for my time, I
don't care what she say."
C-A: So he works for her? So he does, this other guy, what's his name? Leslie?
A: Yeah that's what Bud said. He don't care if, I mean, if anything he glad that Leslie ain't doin'
it, 'cause that'll give him time to do it, you know. Bringin' in them [unintelligible] to pay for
him. So, it don't, it don't bother him 'cause she knows what Leslie, what Leslie's doin' . I don't
think she know that Leslie wen' an' had four of those but I'm sure she had an idea of it.

Table 1: Third singular present tense marking for Annie (N=251)

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<th>Form</th>
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Table 2: Person/number distribution of present tense verbal -s over time for Springville AAVE
speakers (Adapted from Cukor-Avila 2003)

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Table 3: Distribution of present tense forms be for Annie (N=468)
(Totals and percentages without 1st pers. sing. forms and it's, that's, and what's)

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Table 4: Syntactic constraints on present tense be forms for Annie (N=468)
(Totals and percentages without 1st pers. sing. forms and it's, that's, and what's)

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<th>gonna</th>
<th>fitna</th>
<th>V+ing</th>
<th>loc/adv</th>
<th>adj</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>other</th>
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<td>(34)</td>
<td>(59)</td>
<td>(69)</td>
<td>(111)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-----</td>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
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\*copula absence is calculated as Straight Deletion (D/F+C+D)

gonna > v+ing > loc > adj > NP
Conclusions . . .
- Language Crossing?
- Audience or Referee Design?
- Identity?
- Sociolectal Adjustment or Linguistic Accommodation?

DOONESBURY by Garry Trudeau

HEY, EVER NOTICE BUSH IS THE ONLY ONE IN HIS FAMILY WITH A TEXAS ACCENT?

I MEAN, HE AND HIS BROS ALL GREW UP AND LIVED IN TEXAS—
HIS PARENTS WERE THERE FOR 30 YEARS—BUT ONLY BUSH HAS A TEXAS...

...EVEN AFTER ALL THOSE YEARS IN EASTERN SCHOOLS, WHY DO YOU SUPPOSE THAT IS?

WELL, MAYBE HE DIDN'T IDENTIFY WITH HIS OWN FAMILY'S ACCENTS CAN REVEAL LONGINGS AND ASPIRATIONS...

I MYSELF GREW UP IN CALIFORNIA, AND YET TO THIS DAY I HAVE A DISTINCT WISCONSIN ACCENT.

PACKERS FAN?

NO, JUST A DEEP LOVE OF LARD PRODUCTS.