

MASTER IN ENGLISH LINGUISTICS  
FACULTY OF ENGLISH PHILOLOGY  
UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID, SPAIN

# Analyzing the Use and Function of Mock Spanish in the Picturebook Collection

Skippyjon Jones

MASTER DISSERTATION

Presented by: **Alicia Juncos Zori**

Supervisor: **Dr. María Ángeles Martínez Martínez**

Date: **September 2013**

## Resumen en Español

Las lenguas en contacto entre poblaciones hispanas y americanas han sido notables desde la segunda mitad del siglo dieciocho. La lengua española se convirtió en la más significativa después del inglés, debido al tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), en el que Méjico cedería más de la mitad de su territorio, que comprende la totalidad de lo que hoy son los estados de California, Nevada, Utah, Nuevo México y Texas, y parte de los estados de Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, Kansas y Oklahoma.

Hoy en día la cultura y lengua hispana sigue teniendo una gran influencia sobre los Estados Unidos, principalmente debido a la inmigración y al número elevado de comunidades hispanas que residen en los Estado Unidos. Estos factores también se han reflejado en la lengua inglesa con la incorporación de préstamos provenientes del español.

En la segunda mitad del siglo veinte, hubo una expansión de términos españoles jocosos asociados con la vagancia, la falta de seriedad y la vulgaridad. Desde 1980 hasta los 90 esta forma de uso del español era muy habitual en todo tipo de medios de comunicación con el fin de construir un ambiente cómico y humorístico. Pero en muchos de los casos este uso del español estaba asignando estereotipos negativos a las comunidades hispanas.

Esta nueva tipología del español ha sido denominado por Jane Hill (1993a, 1995, 2008) como *Mock Spanish* o “Español Jocos”. Jane Hill define este uso de español como la imitación simulada de la lengua española, un mini registro con rasgos característicos como algunos sonidos del español, morfología típica y ciertas palabras españolas. El uso de ciertas

características estereotipadas del español es utilizado por los hablantes para representar la lengua española en su totalidad.

El objetivo de este trabajo es analizar el papel que juega el español en la colección de libros infantiles Skippyjon Jones. Específicamente, se propone analizar y descubrir el fin de aquellos términos que imitan o simulan el español. La hipótesis de este estudio mantiene que los libros infantiles Skippyjon Jones usan el español de manera jocosa y estereotipada, imitando ciertos rasgos característicos, y que estos libros están dirigidos a un público blanco anglosajón y no contribuyen a la integración social de los hispanos, como a primera vista pudiera parecer.

El corpus de este estudio comprende los siete libros de la colección Skippyjon Jones (2005-2012). En la descripción teórica del corpus se han empleado dos modelos diferentes para analizar los datos, ya que los libros de cuentos son productos multimodales y combinan texto e imagen.

1) El modelo de Jane Hill (1993a, 1995, 2008) para analizar los términos clasificados como *Mock Spanish* o Español Jocos. Hill identifica cuatro tácticas para construir el Español Jocos: peyoración semántica, eufemismo, imitación falsa y exagerada del acento español, y el uso de sufijos y prefijos españoles en palabras inglesas.

2) El modelo de Nikolajeva y Scott (2000 y 2006), que agrupa y clasifica la interacción entre imagen y texto en libros de cuentos en cinco categorías narrativas: simétrica, complementaria, realizadora, de contrapunto, y contradictoria.

La realización de este análisis ha consistido, en primer lugar, en el análisis lingüístico del corpus empleado, a través del modelo de Jane Hill. Se analizaron los diferentes términos clasificados como *Mock Spanish* y se categorizaron según el modelo de construcción correspondiente. Después, se llevó a cabo el análisis de las imágenes del corpus; a nivel general, se examinó y clasificó la interacción entre la imagen y el texto narrativo de los diferentes libros.

Los resultados del estudio muestran que el uso del Español Jocosos o *Mock Spanish* es una herramienta comunicativa habitual en la colección de libros *Skippyjon Jones*. El número de términos de Español Jocosos es mucho más elevado que el número de palabras españolas en forma de préstamo o cambio de código.

Los datos son bastante sorprendentes si se tiene en cuenta que esta colección de libros es utilizada por muchos profesores de educación pre-escolar en los Estados Unidos para introducir a los niños a la lengua española y el mundo hispano.

El análisis de las imágenes también refuerza este concepto de español jocosos y estereotipado, retratando dos comunidades totalmente diferentes: la comunidad anglosajona y la comunidad hispana. Los personajes hispanos, un grupo de perros Chihuahuas, son representados como un grupo vulnerable que recibe ayuda de la comunidad anglosajona, una comunidad desarrollada, adinerada, y con educación, representada por el personaje principal un gatito blanco al que llaman *Skippito*.

De esta manera parece confirmarse también la hipótesis de que a) la colección *Skippyjon Jones* usa el español de manera jocosos y estereotipada, imitando ciertos rasgos característicos; y b) que los libros están dirigidos a un público blanco anglosajón y no contribuyen a la integración

social de los hispanos, como a primera vista puede parecer a los lectores, sino que refuerzan estereotipos preconcebidos sobre la comunidad latina.

## **Acknowledgments**

First, I wish to express my sincere gratitude towards the supervisor of this project Dr. María Ángeles Martínez Martínez for her encouragement, patience, and advice while supervising this study. I would like to thank my family for the unconditional support they have provided me with carrying out this investigation. Finally, thanks to the Master's professors for having shared with us their knowledge, and having enlightened us the worth of researching.

## Table of contents

1. Introduction.....	1
2. Review of related literature.....	4
2.1 Spanish Language in America.....	4
2.2 Mock Languages .....	6
2.3 What is Mock Spanish? .....	9
2.3.1 Brief History of Mock Spanish.....	12
2.3.2 Linguistic Tactics for Constructing Mock Spanish.....	15
2.3.3 Mock Spanish Functions.....	19
2.4 Picturebooks.....	22
3. Materials and Method Section.....	25
3.1 Materials: Skippyjon Jones in Context.....	25
3.2 Methodology.....	28
4. A Multimodal Analysis of the Skippyjon Jones Series.....	30
4.1 Linguistic analysis.....	31
4.1.1 Phonetic Anglicization and Exaggerated Fake Spanish.....	31
4.1.2 Adding Spanish Morphology and Syntax.....	35
4.1.3 Semantic Pejoration.....	37

4.1.4 Euphemism.....	38
4.1.5 Misspelled Spanish Words and Punctuation Errors.....	40
4.1.6 Mock Spanish and Spanish in Skippyjon Jones.....	42
4.2 Image analysis.....	44
4.2.1 Enhancing Word-Image interaction.....	45
4.2.1.1 Character Construction.....	45
4.2.1.2 Setting Construction.....	46
4.2.2 Counterpoint Word-Image Interaction.....	48
5. Discussion.....	51
6. Conclusion.....	55
7. References.....	58

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Mock Spanish euphemism in <i>the Economist</i> .....	17
Figure 2: Total number of Mock Spanish words in the Skippyjon Jones series.....	43
Figure 3: Pageturners in <i>Skippyjon Jones</i> .....	47
Figure 4: Counterpointing in characterization: <i>Skippyjon Jones Class action</i> .....	49
Figure 5: Counterpointing in characterization: <i>Skippyjon Jones in Mummy Trouble</i> .....	50

## List of Tables

Table 1: Prototypical features of Mock Asian.....	8
Table 2: Skippyjon Jones book titles.....	27
Table 3: Hyperanglicization of Spanish.....	32
Table 4: Substitution or exaggerated pronunciation of consonants.....	32
Table 5: Exaggerated vowel length shown in spelling.....	33
Table 6: Substitution or exaggerated pronunciation of consonants.....	34
Table 7: Addition of definite articles.....	35
Table 8: Addition of Spanish suffixation.....	36
Table 9: Semantic pejoration.....	37
Table 10: Euphemism.....	39
Table 11: Spelling and grammatical mistakes.....	40
Table 12: Punctuation errors.....	41

## **1 Introduction**

Language contact is everywhere: numerous countries have more than one official language, and it is quite common that most people in the world speak two or three different languages. Occasionally, new words are incorporated in a language, other times new sounds and sentence structures are transmitted across different languages in a vast geographical region; hardly ever, completely new languages emerge in a contact situation. Languages in contact might also disappear, and language endangerment and death may generate language change.

Thomason (2001) wrote that language contact has been used with increasing frequency over the past two or three decades as a catalyst for a wide range of linguistic changes. Throughout human history, most language interactions have been face to face, and most often the people involved have a degree of fluency in both languages. There are other possibilities, especially in the modern world with more advanced means of worldwide travel and mass communication: many contacts now occur through written language only.

Language contact between the Hispanic and American population has been noticeable since the second half of the 1800 century. Spanish grew into the country's most significant language after English, due to the vast movement of Mexican immigration into the southwestern United States and California. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) ensured full rights to Mexican citizens of the United States in the acquired territories. Nowadays, Hispanic culture and language continues to influence the United States, mainly due to immigration of Latinos and the great number of Hispanic communities found across the country. These factors are portrayed in the

language by the incorporation and borrowing of a variety of Spanish words into American English.

In the second half of the twentieth century, there was a great expansion of humorous and laid back Spanish expressions associated with laziness, non-seriousness, and vulgarity. Throughout the 1980's and 1990's this usage of Spanish was common in various forms of communication as a tool to construct comic and humorous attitudes, but at the same time, this usage was covertly designating damaging stereotypes of the Hispanics population.

Jane Hill (2008) coined the term Mock Spanish to refer to this type of covert racist discourse, which consists in a simulated imitation of the Spanish language a, "Mini-register" including Spanish intonation, Spanish-looking morphology and Spanish vocabulary. The imitation of certain features is used in unsystematic ways by Mock Spanish users to represent the whole of the Spanish language. Mock Spanish is found in very informal settings and is generally used for the particular purpose of belittling or joking. Mock Spanish is identified by Jane Hill (1993b, 1995, 2001, 2008), as a sort of sophisticated, covert racism in American English, revealing unconscious attitudes, which are based, on stereotypes or preconceived ideas about the Hispanic community, and which could have detrimental effects on individuals and societies as a whole.

According to Hill (1993a), nowadays, the use of Mock Spanish can be found in every form of communication, from Hollywood films and television shows to smaller types of media such as T-shirts and greeting cards. From this time until today Mock Spanish has become an important resource for American English speakers. Furthermore, during this period, possibly introduced by

Hollywood and American television, Mock Spanish expanded around the English-speaking world.

This dissertation analyzes the use of Mock Spanish in the children's picturebook collection Skippyjon Jones. The hypothesis of this paper is that this children's book collection Skippyjon Jones uses Spanish as a mock language instead of introducing children to the Spanish culture and language. The books are addressed specifically to a white Anglo-Saxon population, but the analysis suggests that they do not really contribute to the social integration of the Latino community. Rather, they seem to reinforce preconceived negative stereotypes against Spanish speakers particularly, Mexicans in the USA.

In order to answer these research questions, this study has been divided into four main parts. In section 2, Mock Spanish is described in more detail, and this description is followed by a review of existing literature on the Spanish language in the U.S.A, form and uses of Mock Spanish, linguistic tactics for constructing Mock Spanish, and, finally, the main features of children picturebooks. The methodology is explained in section 3, while sections 4 and 5 set out to analyze and discuss the collected data, and are followed by the Conclusion in section 6.

## **2. Review of related literature**

### ***2.1 Spanish language in America***

Bearing in mind the underlying assumption that Mock Spanish is used to belittle the Hispanic population; in order to comprehend it in context we must briefly analyze the history of Hispanics in the United States. According to Hill (2008) the first Spanish speaking settlers

arrived in the U.S. around 1778, when a community of “Isleños” proceeding from the Canary Islands became residents when their land was purchased by Louisiana in 1804. Their dialect is still used in southern Louisiana, even though it is now dying. When Florida and Texas became states in 1845, the number of Spanish speakers increased greatly in the United States. After 1848, Spanish grew into the country’s most significant language after English, with the invasion of the vast Mexican extent that makes up the southwestern United States and California. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) ensured full rights to Mexican citizens of the United States in the acquired territories. Unfortunately, these measures proved to be worthless, and real no changes were made until the Post-Civil War reconstruction amendments to the U.S.

Constitution. Only those considered to be *Free White Persons*, where able to obtain American citizenship. Indians were not allowed to become residents until 1924. Numerous Mexicans from the new regions where considered to have Indian blood. Menchaca (1993) reported the legal battle initiated by this community, mostly against the illegal appropriation of their land, water, stock and other alternative forms of resources and working opportunities for 150 years.

Besides the old resident Spanish-speaking population, more recent immigration from different Spanish-speaking countries has contributed a considerable diversity of Spanish cultural communities to the American scene. Sadly, this diversity is hardly acknowledged by whites, who see them as homogenous groups that can be handled as a whole. Latinos in the U.S come from more than a dozen countries with diverse socio-economic, cultural and political backgrounds. But all these communities are normally integrated into the stereotype of Mexican Americans.

The same discrimination that caused Mexican Americans to be deprived of material resources also discredited the Spanish language, making it be either ignored or strongly excluded. Even though after 1924 Mexican Americans were all residents, the bilingual public health bulletins, safety documents and voter informational materials and election ballots required by law today, did not appear until the late 1960s and early 1970s. Spanish was prohibited in schools, with learners experiencing harsh punishment for those daring to speak it. Despite these difficulties, a few Spanish-language mass media persisted: newspapers, radio and theater among others, however, Spanish was not present in the public sphere for many years. The same racist beliefs that pointed out Mexican Americans as superstitious, dishonest, and corrupt, were also portrayed in judgments of their language. Spanish speakers were considered as people who disregarded the advantages and the full enlightenment that could be accomplish through English.

Hill (2008) points out that tension about the Spanish language continued, and throughout the past twenty years this was aggravated by movements like “U.S. English”, “ProEnglish” and “English first”. These organizations have promoted various state-level initiatives, along with campaigns for federal legislation to dictate English as the “legitimate” language of government. Corporations, frequently backed by the courts, have attempted to establish English-only workplaces. In countless districts, public schools are going back to English-only policies; state-financed bilingual education is limited in California and Arizona and endangered in some other states.

Although slogans like “English First” suggest an interest in the well-being of the English language, those who stand up for official-English policies cannot fairly be concerned about the status of English because this is, without a doubt, the most influential language spoken today. This suggests that their purposes are simply exclusionary. Both advocates, those who want to protect U.S. Spanish as a national resource for all Americans, and those who want to promote the historical legacy for Spanish-speaking communities, are often frustrated, consuming their energies in battling within this system.

To sum it up, pressure to ban Spanish from public life in the United States is strong. As Urciuoli (1996) indicates, Anglos accept Spanish exclusively in situations like cultural festivals and Mexican-themed restaurants. At the same time, Anglos still make use of a great deal of Spanish in the Regionalist Anglo Spanish and Mock Spanish analyzed hereafter. This simultaneous rejection and appropriation firmly indicates that Anglos have taken certain privileges to shape Spanish usage to their own purposes.

## ***2.2 Mock Languages***

Breidenbach (2006) describes mock languages as a parody of an existing language, either by building an artificial foreign accent and exaggerating its marked accent features, or by overusing specific stereotypical aspects of the language, like grammatical or vocabulary aspects. This is the case of Mock Italian “capeesh?” Mock French “Oolala, Wee Wee Wee”, or Mock Japanese “Sayonara”. Breidenbach (2006) points out that mock language comes into play in colloquial settings, as it concedes the speaker some leeway in an informal setting, since it

lends itself more easily to joking and playfulness. Some other popular mock languages other than from Mock Spanish are Mock Ebonics and Mock Asian.

According to Ronkin & Karn (1999), Mock Ebonics is used, by whites to imitate forms of African American Vernacular English. Mock Ebonics refers to attempts, particularly by whites, to represent spoken forms of this variety of English. It involves a combination of graphemic-phonetic, grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic strategies for embodying an out-group belief in the deficiency and mediocrity of Ebonics and its speakers. These strategies are frequent in speech stereotypes and they create anti-Ebonics language ideologies.

Ronkin & Karn (1999) state that Mock Ebonics is characterized by four major strategies that resemble the ones mentioned by Hill (2008) to construct Mock Spanish, namely: a) semantic and pragmatic derogation, b) the hyper use of *be* c) asystematic graphemic representations of phonetic segments, d) vulgar expressions. These strategies are used to suggest that one can 'speak' Mock Ebonics by simply supplementing Standard English with a set of hyper-salient markers to represent a language system. Mock Ebonics also reproduces negative stereotypes by representing laziness of speech and language disorders.

Mock Asian is another variety that can be found in our everyday life. Elaine Chun (2009) identifies Mock Asian in school playgrounds across the U.S.A, where infants of East Asian heritage are made aware of their ethnic difference through playful usage of a fabricated variety of American English commonly known as ‘Chinese accent’. This variety, re-named by Elaine Chun as Mock Asian, is a discourse that indicates a stereotypical Asian identity. According to Chun, (2004:264) “Mock Asian potential semiotics, is similar to that of Mock Spanish”, the difference being that Mock Spanish is present in diverse public domains from broadcast and greeting cards, to political speeches and advertisements (Hill 1998). While public manifestations of Mock Asian are less popular, possibly because of more overtly racist connotations. Chun (2004) points out that Mock Asian features are generally reported in mainstream American settings as stereotypical of Asians aiming to communicate in English and of Asians talking in an Asian language. Table (1) shows prototypical Mock Asian features.

DESCRIPTION OF MOCK ASIAN FEATURE		EXAMPLES AND COMMENTS
<b>Phonological features</b>		
1.	Neutralization of the phonemic distinction between /r/ and /w/	[ɹ]→[w], <i>wrong</i> pronounced as <i>wong</i> , <i>right</i> pronounced as <i>white</i>
2.	Neutralization of the phonemic distinction between /r/ and /l/	[ɹ]→[l] <i>fried rice</i> pronounced as <i>flied lice</i> [l]→[ɹ] <i>Eileen</i> pronounced as <i>Irene</i> , <i>like</i> pronounced as <i>rike</i> , <i>hello</i> pronounced as <i>hero</i>
3.	Alveolarization of voiceless interdental fricative ‘th’ [θ] to [s]	<i>thank you</i> pronounced as <i>sank you</i> , <i>I think so</i> pronounced as <i>I sink so</i>
4.	Nonsensical syllables with the onset ‘ch’ /tʃ/	<i>ching-chong</i> , <i>chow</i>
5.	Nonsensical syllables with the coda ‘ng’ /ŋ/	<i>ching-chong</i> , <i>ting</i> , <i>ping</i>
6.	Alternating high-low intonational contour; one tone for each syllable	H            L            H            L <i>ching – chong – ching – chong</i>
7.	Epenthetic ‘ee’ [i:] at the end of a closed word.	<i>break-ee</i> , <i>buy-ee</i> , <i>look-ee</i>
8.	Reduplication of word	<i>pee-pee</i> ; not unique to Mock Asian
<b>Lexical features</b>		
9.	Phrase-final <i>how</i>	<i>ching-chong-how</i>
10.	<i>ah-so::</i> [aso::]: low tone for initial syllable;	

Table (1) prototypical features of Mock Asian. Chun (2004: 268)

Chun (2004) indicates that the features in Table (1) are generally consciously used and interpreted as common Mock Asian characteristics; they mark a stereotypical-oriental person that explicitly mocks the Asian community, rather than making realistic impersonations of Asian speech. Mock Asian and Mock Spanish portray imagined Asians and Spanish speakers as linguistically comical and socially inferior.

### ***2.3 What is Mock Spanish?***

The term Mock Spanish is used by Jane Hill (1993b, 1995, 2001, and 2008) to present a model of sophisticated racism in American English, a type of covert racism or unconscious attitudes in many individuals and societies, based on stereotypes or predetermined ideas about diverse racial groups, which could have negative effects on individuals and societies as a whole. Mock Spanish is defined as “a “mini register” used to represent the Spanish language which entails the parody imitation of the Spanish language which incorporates features of actual Spanish-language in order to create a jocular or pejorative tone” (Breidenbach 2006:5).

Mock Spanish borrows Spanish terms and suffixes, modifies pronunciation into an extreme Anglicized version of the Spanish word, normally to make it sound humorous or derogative and to imply that the discourse is colloquial. Hill (2008) identifies four major tactics for the incorporation of the Spanish language into English. Some of these strategies include borrowing Spanish lexical items like “Adios” and assigning those negative values, or the addition of Spanish morphological elements such as the definite article “el” or Masculine suffix “o”, as in “El Skippyto”. This new way of speaking involves a different pronunciation, new meanings, and

new cultural values. The core vocabulary of Mock Spanish is probably no larger than a 100 words.

Mock Spanish is found in very informal registers and is generally used for the particular purpose of humor. In recent years, Mock Spanish is becoming more and more popular, especially in the media ( film, television and Internet), but Mock Spanish can also be found in our everyday life in greeting cards, newspaper headlines, video games, giftware, literature, advertisements, and so forth. This misuse of the Spanish language is popular in the public sphere and is becoming a popular tendency to express covert racism in the United States, since it is taken as innocent language expression by those who use it.

This linguistic practice creates a particular type of American identity. In one way, mock Spanish portrays a “desirable colloquial persona” Hill (2008: 128): informal, easy-going and humorous, but just enough not to be threatening towards the Hispanic language and culture. At the same time, Mock Spanish that associates Spanish and its speakers with denigrating stereotypes. Hill (1993b) points out these usages are particularly common among educated Anglo middle- and upper- class, especially monolingual speakers of English, who are not capable of using the proper Spanish vocabulary fluently.

As Hill (1995) points out, It is important to note that Mock Spanish cannot be understood as code-switching or Spanglish in the usual sense, because both of these phenomena have patterns of rule formation, in contrast with Mock Spanish. In code switching, the switches from one language to another may occur between clauses (inter-sentential code-switching) or in mid-clause position (intra-sentential code-switching). In either case, Spanish segments conform

to Spanish grammar and the English segments to English grammar. According to Stavans (2003) from a linguistic point of view, Spanglish also follows a pattern formation; otherwise it becomes nonsense or Mock Spanish, not Spanglish. Illan Stavans (2003) points out that Spanglish is a type of assimilation and mixing of English and Spanish. Speakers tend to adapt English words, specially verbs and nouns, into the syntactical pattern of Spanish. According to Stavans (2003) a Spanglish word may be any of the following 1) a loan word like “fiesta” or “arroyo” in English and “advertising” in Spanish; 2) mistranslated terms such as “banco” in Spanish for “river bank”; 3) Adapted words like “estilo”, “jazeer”, and “washateria”, which normally result from misunderstandings and misspelled words. Stavans (2003) believes that false synonyms and antonyms, uneducated guesses and flagrant errors are the basis of Spanglish vocabulary.

Stavans (2003) also points out that the sound and phonology of Spanish is used in Spanglish. This is not true of Mock Spanish, which either allows a heavily accented English pronunciation or an exaggerated fake Spanish accent. From a lexical and morphological point of view, Mock Spanish uses a limited set of Spanish affixes and lexical items to create a false and exaggerated imitation of the language. Besides from a sociolinguistic point of view, Spanglish is predominantly used by Hispanics to establish a form of empathy between one another, while Mock Spanish is used by Anglos to create jocular or pejorative stances.

### *2.3.1 A Brief History of Mock Spanish*

According to Hill (2008) the first manifestations of Spanish borrowings as Mock Spanish appear early, due to the original presence of Anglo Spanish communities in the American Southwest. In the borderlands in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California, monolingual Anglos are in daily contact with Spanish speakers. Spanish appears early in the Southwest, around the mid nineteenth century. Hill (1993a) identifies several varieties of Anglo Spanish.

Cowboy Anglo Spanish emerges in the southwest, bringing new vocabulary terms to the Anglo-Spanish community; it adopted much of the social organization and technology used by Mexican ranchers. Two of the examples that Hill (1993a) points out are “calaboose” a bold mispronunciation of the word “calabozo” jail, and “dalleywelters”, which is a term used for the turns of rope to secure the “lasso” when roping cattle. “Dalleywelters” is an English noun made from a complete Spanish sentence, “dale vuelta”.

According to Hill (1993a), Spanish loan words borrowed into southwestern English are, in most of the cases, restricted to nouns. This is a sign of very limited bilingualism, since nouns are the earliest borrowings in a basic bilingual complex organization, In addition, these borrowed nouns introduce mainly cultural or geographical innovations; there is no substitution for native English terms in Southwestern English. For example “a Patio” is a different type of construction than a porch. The phonetic structure of the borrowings frequently implies that those who adopted them rejected sounding like native Spanish speakers; furthermore, the borrowings are hyperanglicized, and display a severe distortion of Spanish pronunciation. Cowboy Anglo-Spanish thus overlaps with Mock Spanish and contributes several terms to its vocabulary.

Some Cowboy Anglo Spanish terms remain in specific vocabularies in some areas of the United States. It remains largely in frozen forms that are regularly strengthened by films and words that were recycled in Mock Spanish.

The second variety is known as “Regionalist Anglo Spanish”. Between 1880 and 1920 Anglos from the East and Middle West discovered Northern New Mexico and coastal Southern California. These areas began to advertise themselves to visitors. Areas such as Santa Fe and Santa Barbara developed communities of artists and scholars who promoted the Southwest as a place of ethnic tourism, and a variety of Spanish loan words were borrowed, including “siesta”, “fiesta”, “loco”, “chile”.

According to Hill (1993a), during this era there was an important widespread usage of Spanish in the Southwest, but at the same time, a failure to use correct Spanish grammar and spelling. This usage of the Spanish language frequently yields ludicrous connotations. For instance, Hill (2008) points out some examples of informational evidence in public places such as “*Buenas dias*” for *Buenos días* or “*la dia de muerte*” instead of *el día de los muertos*. Additionally, accent marks are practically absent in the public use of Spanish.

At this time, Anglo Spanish was part of the making of stereotypes of Hispanics; in fact, most of the linguistic tactics that build Mock Spanish were found in the Cowboy variety and the Regionalist Anglo Spanish. Anglos needed to borrow from Spanish speakers many terms related with technology and social organization, but, perhaps, the main goal was to lower the previous inhabitants to an inferior status: while Anglos climbed up the economic ladder, Hispanics represented the bulk of working force.

The full expansion of Mock Spanish was not obvious until the second half of the twentieth century, when Gray et al. (1949) reported an extensive collection of Mock Spanish terms among Anglo students at the University of Arizona .These included bold mispronunciation in greetings such as “hasty lumbago” and “buenas snowshoes”.

Coinciding with the English movement, Mock Spanish boomed in the 1980’s and 1990’s in every form of communication, from Hollywood films and television shows to smaller types of media such as t-shirts and greeting cards (Hill 1993a). From this time until today Mock Spanish has become an important recourse for American English speakers. It lends colloquial flair to every level of usage, from everyday conversation to dialogue used in films and television.

Furthermore, during this period, possibly introduced by Hollywood and American television, Mock Spanish expanded around the English-speaking world.

### 2.3.2 Linguistic tactics for constructing Mock Spanish

Hill (1993b, 1995, and 2008) identifies four main tactics used to construct Mock Spanish. These are a) semantic pejoration b) affixation, c) euphemisms, and d) anglicization and fake Spanish accent.

Semantic pejoration is the using of a neutral or positive Spanish word in a mock expression, where the terms are given a humorous or negative value. Hill (1993b) cites the very common accepted expressions “Adios” and “Hasta la vista,” which are used in Mock Spanish as threats or derogative expressions. The word “Adios” is often used as an insult, as an expression meaning “Goodbye and good riddance”. For instance, example (1) headline of the fox online newspapers:

(1) “Associated Press says 'adios' to 'illegal immigrant' and regard for rule of law.”

<http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2013/04/03/associated-press-says-adios-to-illegal-immigrant-and-regard-for-rule-law/#ixzz2Vdicbm7m>

Hill's (2008) examples of semantic derogation also include Spanish expressions used to address people; the most common include “amigo”, “señor” and “compadre” as shown in example 2.

(2) “Sorry, amigo: Wiki Leaks shows Canada prefers meeting U.S. without Mexico.

<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/sorry-amigo-wikileaks-shows-canada-prefers-meeting-us-without-mexico/article569094/>

Another widely used term is the word “nada”, which in Spanish means “nothing”, but in Mock Spanish means “absolutely nothing” or “less than nothing”. Words related to money, like “dinero” or “pesos”, normally imply that the item is a bargain.

Most Spanish terms that appear in Mock Spanish are targets of semantic pejoration. They don’t have to be necessarily insults, but they cannot be taken as serious or formal.

The second strategy for building Mock Spanish is euphemism. Euphemism refers to the borrowing of degrading and negative expressions, including scatological and obscene expressions, and substitutes them for English vulgar words. The term works as a euphemism for the corresponding disrespectful term or builds a new negative semantic space, as in “loco” for “crazy.”

According to Hill (2008), scatology euphemism is normally expressed by the nursery word “caca” as a euphemism for the word “shit”. There are innumerable online gift shops that sell mugs, shirts, greeting cards and other products with inscriptions that say “caca pasa” - *shit happens*- or “caca de toro” - *bull shit*-. These gift articles will probably be used in public spaces like work, where the English words “shit happens” would be unacceptable. A final example of the strategy of euphemism is the popular usage of the word “cojones”, which is especially offensive to Spanish speakers. *The Economist* published in 2004 a cover image saying “No cojones for Palestine or Israel” Figure1.



Figure (1). Mock Spanish euphemism in the Economist.

The third strategy for constructing Mock Spanish is to add Spanish morphology. One of the most common features is the use of the definite article “el”, as in “El Skippyto”. Other common phenomena are the addition of the suffix “-o” and other suffixes such as “-ista”. For example, the data used to discuss affixation by Hill include popular expressions such as “No problemo” from English “no problem”, “cheapo” and “drinko”. “No problemo” also occurs in newspaper headlines, as example (3) shows:

- (3) “In arguments on Arizona voting law, Scalia sees ‘no problemo’ for state requirements”

[http://www.abajournal.com/news/article/in\\_arguments\\_on\\_arizona\\_voting\\_law\\_scalia\\_sees\\_no\\_problemo\\_for\\_state\\_require/](http://www.abajournal.com/news/article/in_arguments_on_arizona_voting_law_scalia_sees_no_problemo_for_state_require/)

Another example is the popular expression “Drinko de mayo”, the new name that Anglos have given to the popular Mexican holiday, *Cinco de Mayo*. It is a day where the Mexican heritage community gets together and celebrates the Mexican pride, but it has also become an attractive party for bars where they pretend to celebrate “Drinko de Mayo” by selling typical Mexican drinks.

A recent addition of the suffix “-o” in Mock Spanish is the word “cheapo”. Multiple selling web pages where you can find bargains use the word “cheapo”. The urban dictionary includes this term, referring to it as something cheap, rubbish and of bad quality.

The last tactic of Mock Spanish is Anglicization and bold mispronunciation. Mock Spanish expressions are almost always pronounced with English phonology. Hill (1993) refers to this phenomenon as “hyperanglicization and bold mispronunciation”. One cannot produce Mock Spanish without using a broad American accent. Vowels modify their features to fit the American standard pronunciation. Mock Spanish structures are frequently more than simply Anglicized; they are “hyperanglicized”. These ludicrous mispronunciations provide an abundant source of vulgar jokes and several of them can be found in greeting cards, mugs or shirts which messages like “flea’s navidad” instead of *feliz navidad* or “grassy ass” for *gracias*.

Breidenbach (2006) mentions that Mock Spanish involves not only the use of hyperanglicized Spanish terms, as the imitation of Spanish accents when speaking English is also a common feature of Mock Spanish accents. For some decades, the imitation of Spanish accents on radio, television and film has focused on the English spoken by U.S. Mexican immigrants and their offspring: Mexican-Americans and Chicanos (i.e. Speedy Gonzalez). According to Breidenbach

(2006), there are three main features that can be applied to the stereotypical accent of all Spanish speech, regardless what accent is being imitated. These are: (i:), (ř) and (d), which correspond to the English graphemes 'i', 'r' and 'th' commonly found in audible versions of Mock Spanish accents. First, the phonetical representation of 'r' is used to represent stereotypical rhotic (ř) as in "really" [ři:li:]. The Second involves, the realization of 'i' as an elongated [i:] and the third consists in the use of [d] to represent either a dental stop [d] or an alveolar stop [d] instead of an interdental fricative [ð]. Breidenbach (2006) points out that one of the most potentially racist forms of Mock Spanish is the imitation of Spoken English with a heavy exaggerated Spanish accent. This domain is used in the Skippyjon Jones collection and it will be discussed in the analysis section below.

### 2.3.3 Mock Spanish functions

Mock Spanish is a useful tool in creating stances and identities. When speakers produce Mock Spanish they can either build a comic and humorous attitude, or they can also signal that the speaker holds a desirable, charming and informal personality. At the same time, Mock Spanish covertly designates negative stereotypes of Spanish and Spanish speaking people. Jane Hill (1995, 2008) points out that Mock Spanish has two main functions: "direct indexicality" and "indirect indexicality". According to Ochs (1996), direct indexicality, occurs when Mock Spanish is used as a humorous, easy-going way to show regional authenticity and community solidarity. Indirect indexicality, on the other hand, refers to those cases when Mock Spanish is used pejoratively to show distance and difference.

Jane Hill, in her book *The Everyday Language of White Racism* (2008) mentions as an example of “direct indexicality” George Bush’s Mock Spanish nicknames: many of the nicknames that Bush gave to his friends and subordinates were Mock Spanish and amongst those that have been divulged are: “Pablo” for Paul O’Neill, the first treasury secretary, or “El Grande Jorge” for congressman from California George Miller. By using Mock Spanish Bush, probably tried to create a likeable and humoristic image of himself.

The second type of indexicality is known as Indirect indexical force, Ochs (1990:295), describes “indirect indexicality” as cases in which “a feature of the communicative event is evoked indirectly through the indexing of some other feature of the communicative event.” The evoking component, in this case is the use of lexical features recognizable as Spanish in humorous and pejorative contexts, and not only conveys that the speaker possess an informal, and pleasant personality, but also carries through presupposition, strong pejorative connotations. It associates Spanish speakers and the language to laziness, non-seriousness, vulgarity and political corruption. Spanish is convenient for insults or joking, it is not related to sophistication. This “indirect indexicality” is the reproduction and creation of negative racist tags for members of the Spanish speaking community and it normally occurs below the level of consciousness.

Hill (2005) points out that Latinos, who are familiar with Mock Spanish, in contrast with their fellow citizens, often agree with the claim that mock Spanish is projecting racist stereotypes, or they find it as implying a lack of respect. For its Anglo users, these racist presuppositions are

opaque, because they are fully naturalized within the contemporary system of white racism that combines denigration of color with elevation of whiteness.

Breidenbach (2006) argues that there are four factors that contribute to a more complex understanding of Mock Spanish as a form of covert racism: 1) the facility and readiness to consciously acknowledge the past and present socio-historical interaction of the Hispanic American experience, 2) the relationship between participants involved in the Mock Spanish conversation, 3) the ideological meanings hidden behind the utterance, and 4) the intentionality of the source. According to Breidenbach (2006), Mock Spanish has to be examined inside the historical context of the racist practices and oppression toward Hispanics in the United States as a society since the mid 1800's as well as in America today. Second, it is important to consider the relationship between the different participants in Mock Spanish exchanges, particularly whether they have traits in common such as the same ethnic backgrounds or status. Third and fourth, one must consider the ideologies and intentions of the people who are using Mock Spanish.

Further evidence that Mock Spanish indexes discriminatory stereotypes is that it is usually associated with highly stereotypical and displeasing images of Hispanics. They are frequently found in anti-immigration websites. In the data, this function of Mock Spanish is the one that actually seems to be multimodally reinforced or prompted by the visual mode, as will be shown below.

## **2.4 Picturebooks**

Since the analysis will argue for the pejorative and discriminatory functions of Mock Spanish in a picturebook series for children, it seems necessary to briefly revise the features of the children picturebook genre with a potential bearing on the analysis.

Picturebooks as an art form are based on two different modes of communication: the visual and the verbal. These mostly differ in that images involve faster processing than the written text. In semiotic terms, multimodality (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001 and Kress 2010) refers to “the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001:20). Multimodality looks beyond language and examines these multiple modes of communication and meaning making. Each mode does a different thing: the image shows what takes too long to read, and the text what would be difficult to show.

According to Nikolajeva and Scott (2000) picturebooks communicate by two different sets of signs: the iconic -are those where the sign is a direct representation of its signified- and the conventional signs, - based on an agreement among the bearers of a particular language-. These two types of signs, iconic and conventional, have been present in human culture since early times, and have contributed to give rise to two parallel forms of communication: the visual and the verbal. The first is a direct, mimetic, representation of its object, while in the latter, the object is symbolically represented through language.

Nikolajeva and Scott (2006) describe images in picturebooks as complex iconic signs, and words as complex conventional signs. The function of pictures, iconic signs, is to describe or represent. The role of words, or conventional signs, is fundamentally to narrate. The main difference

between the two is that conventional signs are often linear, while iconic signs are nonlinear and do not provide straight, overt directions about how to read them. The difference between the two modes creates multiple possibilities of interaction between word and image in picturebooks.

In the process of “reading” a picturebook, the reader alternates between the verbal and the visual mode and back again, in an ever-expanding connection of understanding. Every new reading of either text or pictures creates a better interpretation of the whole. Possibly, children perceive this by intuition when they request the same book to be read aloud several times. Actually, they go more profoundly into its meaning. The verbal content has its gaps, as does the visual content, but words and images can fill each other’s gaps partially or completely.

Preliminary research on picturebooks (Hallberg, 1982; Golden 1990; Rhedin 1993; quoted in Nikolajeva and Scott 2006) has made some attempts at picturebook classification, but have only arrived at a basic distinction between illustrated books in which words carry the narrative weight while pictures are merely supportive and decorative, and picturebooks, in which both the visual and the verbal aspects are essential for the full comprehension of the story.

Nikolajeva and Scott (2000, 2006) point out that, in a predominantly verbal narrative, pictures are usually subordinated to words but in different degrees. The authors find five different types of image and word interaction in picturebooks narratives. These categories are symmetrical, complementary, enhancing, counterpointing and contradictory. In symmetrical interaction, both words and images tell the same story, there is nothing left for the reader’s imagination, and the reader remains passive. The relationship between words and images is rather

unimaginative, since everything that happens around the pictures is extensively described in the words.

In complementary interaction, image and text fill each other's gaps, and there is equilibrium between the image and the prose and, which help each other overcome their deficiencies. They are interrelated in different ways and they work together in order to build up each other. This provides a number of different possibilities of expression that seldom overlap, but work together to strengthen the ultimate effect. Both domains have in common that images and text fill each other's gaps totally and as in the case of symmetrical interaction they leave nothing for the reader to discover. However, as soon as images and words supply different information or contradict each other in some way, a diversity of meanings may be prompted. This is the case of the enhancing, counterpointing and contradictory image-word interaction types, where pictures and text literally tell two different stories.

In enhancing interaction, pictures strengthen the meaning of the text, or on the contrary, the words amplify the meaning of the picture so that different information in the two modes of communication produces a more complex, dynamic meaning. In counterpoint interaction words and images show different information and perspectives. It is the reader who has to create a connection between the two. Once that words and images provide alternative information or contradict each other in some way, we have diverse readings and interpretations. In counterpoint, the author identifies a variety of narrative domains in which counterpointing relations between images and words play an essential role such as counterpoint in address, in style, in genre or modality, in perspective, in characterization or counterpoint by juxtaposition

(Nikolajeva and Scott 2006). From these domains, the one with the strongest bearing on meaning construction in Skippyjon Jones collection seems to be characterization, as the pictures often provide information about the characters, Skippyjon Jones and his dog friends, which cannot be found in the text. This will be discussed in the analysis section below. An extreme form of counterpoint is contradictory interaction, where words and pictures appear to be in opposition, and image and text communicate two completely different stories, creating a lack of balance in meaning. That is to say, words and images contradict each other, or provide alternative readings and interpretations.

These terms are not absolute, as the connection between words and pictures in a picturebook will never be completely symmetrical or absolutely contradictory. But they are very useful in determining the ways in which picturebooks present narrative features such as setting, characterization, or temporality, focusing on the specific way word-image interaction at work.

### **3. Materials and method**

This section describes the materials used in the study as well as the methods used to achieve the aims presented in section 1 above.

#### ***3.1 Materials: Skippyjon Jones in Context***

The data used for this study consists in a collection of seven children's picturebooks known as "Skippyjon Jones." This series was written by Judith Byron Schachner and published between 2004 and 2012 by Scholastic. The book collection is very popular with young readers in the

United States and it has been awarded several prizes such as the first annual E.B. White Read Aloud Award (2004), and The National Education Association even named the book one of its "Teachers' Top 100 Books for Children"(2007).

The picturebook collection's main character is a Siamese cat called Skippyjon Jones. Skippy is a Siamese cat who refuses to be ordinary. Using his imagination, he goes on daring adventures as the great and noble El Skippito, the great sword fighter. Skippyjon Jones does not feel like a Siamese cat because of his physical characteristics: his large ears make him look like a Chihuahua. Whenever Skippy gets into trouble, he is punished and sent to his room so he can think about behaving like the cat he really is. Once in his room, he imagines he is "El Skipito freskito" a kind of Chihuahua sword fighter, who has a group of imaginary Hispanic Chihuahua friends, "Los Chimichangos", whose problems he helps to solve. He and his friends try to communicate in Spanish by using code switching and some other forms of invented Mock Spanish.

The first book was published in 2004 and is entitled *Skippyjon Jones*. The book was such a great success that the author decided to write a total of seven books about the Siamese cat and his friends "Los Chimichangos". At the same time, lesson plans were written so primary school teachers could work with the series, as well as web episodes on You Tube. Currently, there is a musical based on the Skippyjon Jones book collection and study guides specially designed for children in fourth grade.

The series follows a common pattern in the development of the story. First, Skippyjon Jones is at home, playing and not behaving like a cat, so he is punished by his mother and sent to his

room. Then, instead of reflecting on his behavior, Skippyjon Jones enters his own world where he meets his friends, “los Chimichangos” and they embark on different adventures. Thirdly, he comes out of his dream world when he is awakened by his mother. The books follow the same structure and the only section which differentiates them is the middle one, where he lives different adventures, which are reflected by the book titles. Table (2) displays the name and the publishing year of the different books.

Book title	Publishing year	Analysis
Skippyjon Jones	2005	SJJ1
Skippyjon Jones in the Dog House	2006	SJJ2
Skippyjon Jones in Mummy Trouble	2007	SJJ3
Skippyjon Jones and the Big Bones	2008	SJJ4
Skippyjon Jones Lost in Spice	2010	SJJ5
Skippyjon Jones Class Action	2012	SJJ6
Skippyjon Jones Cirque de Olé	2012	SJJ7

Table (2) Skippyjon Jones book titles.

The books are accompanied by an audio CD containing the complete text, which has also been used in the phonetic analysis part of the analysis.

### **3.2 Methodology**

Due to the growing importance of the Spanish language in the United States, children picturebooks in English seem to start introducing Spanish terms. The analysis initially included a review of existing picturebooks that contained some sort of Spanish form, either as a code-switch, borrowing, or a Mock Spanish term. After a broad analysis, I decided to focus on the book collection Skippyjon Jones, primarily because of the way the author introduces Spanish terms in the book and how English terms are manipulated to resemble Spanish words. The Skippyjon Jones picturebooks were initially fast reviewed in order to determine those elements that could be used to represent any type of Spanish, or be used as Mock Spanish. Next, the picturebooks were examined rigorously, implementing the respective theoretical issues that were considered in this research, and looking for evidence proving or disproving the research hypothesis that, despite winning several awards and despite their reputation as promoting Hispanic integration in the U.S.A, the Skippyjon Jones picturebooks use Mock Spanish and contain covert racism.

The analysis was organized according to Jane Hill's model for constructing Mock Spanish (2008), that is to say, after contextualizing the data, these were described, illustrated and explained, focusing on the following steps:

First, the textual analysis was applied, and special attention was given to the text that appears in the picturebooks. In this case, Spanish code switches, borrowings and other invented Spanish expressions like "mummito" for *mummy* were considered in order to identify Mock Spanish terms. The different Mock Spanish expressions were grouped in five different categories

according to their linguistics characteristics: a) semantic pejoration b) affixation, c) euphemisms, d) exaggerated mispronunciation, and e) grammatically incorrect and misspelled Spanish words.

Later, the image analysis was carried out, following Nikolajeva and Scott's (2000, 2006) study of multimodality in children picturebooks. The authors analyze image and word interaction in five different narrative domains. The resulting image-word interaction categories are: symmetrical, complementary, enhancing, counterpointing and contradictory.

Finally, I will discuss whether these semantic contributions support the educational and integrative purpose of the series, as it reputation goes, or whether they rather support the hypothesis of this study that the children's book collection Skippyjon Jones uses Spanish as a mock instead of introducing children into Spanish culture and contributing to the social integration of the Latino community. Instead, they rather seem to reinforce preconceived negative stereotypes against Spanish speakers, particularly Mexicans in the US.

Linguistic features are presented in graphic format, in order to better describe the findings of the study.

#### **4. A Multimodal Analysis of the Skippyjon Jones Series**

As mentioned in the previous section, Mock Spanish is the simulated imitation of the Spanish language, and this variety is normally used for the particular purpose of joking in informal settings, but Mock Spanish seems to be also frequently used in a pejorative way, indexing discriminatory stereotypes.

The following analysis will try to find out whether the “Spanish” used in the series Skippyjon Jones is used as a mock or, on the contrary, if it is real Spanish in form of a borrowing or a code switch. The analysis of the data will be analyzed at two levels. First, the linguistic analysis, which will be divided into five parts: phonetic anglicization, addition of Spanish morphology, semantic pejoration, euphemism, and incorrect or misspelled Spanish. The data of each of these parts will be shown in a table and will be explained. Second, the image analysis will be carried out, and the study will focus on the multimodal interplay of word and image in meaning construction.

#### **4.1 Linguistic Analysis**

This part of the analysis will focus on the verbal mode, looking for the presence of Mock Spanish phonetically, morphologically, and lexically in the linguistic component of the Skippyto picturebooks.

##### **4.1.1 Phonetic Anglicization and Exaggerated Fake Spanish**

The author uses two main phonetic strategies in order to create a jocular or pejorative tone in the books. These are: a) anglicization, or heavily accented English pronunciation when characters are speaking in Spanish, and b) exaggerated fake Spanish accent when characters are speaking in English. Examples can be found in tables 3 and 4.

Anglicization is constructed in the book by two main processes. In the first process (table 3), short vowels “o” and “e” are exchanged by diphthongs [ou] and [ei] as in *terremoto* pronounced as “terremoutou” or *fuego* pronounced as “fueigou”. The second process (table 4), involves the substitution of the phoneme [j] for the [h] sound and [j] for [dʒ] sound. For instance, *rojo* is substituted by the Anglicized word “roho” and *jurásico* for “yurásico”. Spanish terms are pronounced using the English phonetic system instead of the Spanish one. Vowels and consonants modify their features to fit the American standard pronunciation. These strategies make words sound jocular and they create distance and difference towards Spanish.

Process	Occurrence	Book (page)
Short vowels are exchanged by diphthongs		
“o” as [ou]	<i>Terremoto</i> - “terremoutou”, <i>loco</i> -“loucou”, <i>jurassico</i> -“jurasicou”	SJJ4(17,20,19)
	<i>Ojo</i> -“ojou”, <i>uno</i> -“unou”	SJJ5 (21,21)
	<i>Músculo</i> -“músculous”	SJJ7(20)
	<i>fuego</i> -“fueigo”	SJJ4(23)

Table (3) Hyperanglicization of Spanish: Oral form (Audio)

Process	Occurrence	Book (page)
Substitution or exaggerated pronunciation of consonants:		
Substitution of:		
[j] as [h]	<i>rojo</i> -“roho” , <i>ojo</i> -“oho”	SJJ5( 15 and 21)
	<i>traje</i> - “trahe”	SJJ7(24)
[j]-[ dʒ ]	<i>jurassico</i> -“yurassico”	SJJ4(11)

Table (4) Substitution or exaggerated pronunciation of consonants: Oral form (audio)

The second tactic, exaggerated fake Spanish accent, is constructed in the books by two processes: a) exaggerated vowel length, and b) substitution or exaggerated pronunciation of consonants. The first process (table 5) consists in the imitation of fake Spanish accent when speaking English by exchanging short vowel [i] for long vowel [i:] as the following example

shows: short [i] is pronounced as an exaggerated long [i:] as in “keeling” instead of *killing*. These examples are found in the series in a written form, so that readers can perform and recreate that jocular and mock accent while they are reading the book to their children.

Process	Occurrence	Book (page)
Exchanging short vowels for long vowels		
[i]- [i:]	“Ees”- <i>is</i> , “beeg”- <i>big</i> , “bees-ness”- <i>business</i>	SJJ1 (8, 8, 18)
	“leetle”- <i>little</i> , “keeling” - <i>killing</i> , “Stopeet”- <i>stop it</i>	SJJ2 (16,17,17)
	“seely”- <i>silly</i> , “steel”- <i>still</i>	SJJ3(13,8)
	“Weeck-ed”- <i>wicked</i> , “reelly”- <i>really</i>	SJJ5 (8) and SJJ4 (14)

Table (5) Exaggerated vowel length shown in spelling

The second process (table 6) is the substitution and exaggerated pronunciation of consonants. The most outstanding examples in the audio book are [ð] interdental fricatives, substituted by [d] voiced alveolar stops as in “dat” instead of [ðæt]; [h] is exchanged for the Spanish [j] as in “jandle” for *handle*, and final [t] is aspirated, as in “what” and “that”, where the final [t] is exaggeratedly pronounced. The data also shows instances, in both English and Spanish, of rhotic [r], in an attempt to try and sound more Spanish. Characters roll the [r] exaggeratedly, causing a mocking effect on the sound as in “perrito”, “hombre”, “rolled” and “right”.

Process	Occurrence	Book (page)
Exaggeration of:		
Aspiration of final [t]	“that”, “what”	SJJ1 (7, 7)
Rhotic [r]	“rolled”, “right”, “calor”	SJJ5 (15, 15, 15)
	“ears”, “great”	SJJ1 (8, 19)
	“grinned”, “perrito”	SJJ2 (15,16)
	“rumba”	SJJ4 (19)
	“drumroll”, “por favor”	SJJ7 (28,28)
Substitution of:		
[ð] for [d] interdental fricatives is substituted by voiced alveolar stop		
	<i>That</i> -“dat”, <i>There</i> -“dere”	SJJ1 (71, 13)
[h] for [j]	<i>Hombre</i> -“jombre”	SJJ5(11)
	<i>Holy</i> -“Joly”, <i>head</i> -“Jed”	SJJ1 (21, 8)
	<i>Have</i> -“jave”, <i>handle</i> -“jandle”	SJJ2 (16) and SJJ6 (6)

Table (6) Substitution or exaggerated pronunciation of consonants: Oral form

Finally, to create a mocking and jocular effect, the language pace is increased in the audio version: whenever there is an interaction of a Chihuahua or Hispanic “perrito”, characters talk twice as fast, and the fake Spanish accent is intensified trying to imitate the stereotype that Spanish speakers talk very fast. Both processes described above only occur in Chihuahua interactions, as the author highlights their Hispanic identity by making a mock of their accent, exaggerating it instead of giving a more realistic perspective of the Hispanic community.

#### 4.1.2. Adding Spanish Morphology and syntax

There is addition of Spanish morphology and syntax in the series, with two types of realizations:

1) the use of Spanish definite articles “El” and “Los”, and 2) borrowing of Spanish suffixation.

The first process (table 7) adds definite articles to English-named characters or objects such as “El bullito” for “bully” or “Los Marshmallocitos”, for the “marshmallows”.

Process	Occurrence	Book (page)
Addition of definite articles:		
El	“El skippito”, “El blimpo”	SJJ1 (12,18)
	“El bullito”	SJJ6 (10)
	“El Skippito mummito”	SJJ3 (24)
	“El Skippito Friskito”	SJJ4 (16)
Los	“Los chimichangos”	SJJ1 (12)
	“Los marshmallocitos”	SJJ4 (17)

Table (7) Addition of definite articles

The second process (table8), and at the same time the most popular in the books, is the addition of Spanish suffixation -o and the diminutive -ito in English words. Terms such as *gigantic* are transformed into “giganticoo”, or *mummy* into “mummito”. By adding definite articles and diminutives the new terms acquire a light, jocular humorous tone, but at the same time they cannot be taken seriously by the audience. For example, something as serious as a bully, who all the Chimichangos fear at school, is transformed into “El bullito”, a kind of jocular and funny bully which everyone fears but cannot be taken seriously.

Process	Occurrence	Book (page)
Suffixation:		
-o	“jell-o”, “indeed-o”, “eato”, “insaneo”	SJJ1(9,9,20,8)
	“need-o”	SJJ7 (21)
	“gigantico” and “extincto”	SJJ4 (10, 23)
-a	“attica”	SJJ2 (16)
Addition of diminutives:		
-ito/ itos	“Skippitto Friskito”, “maskito”	SJJ1(5,13)
	“Yippito “bangito” “popito” “buzzito”	SJJ1(22,24,24,24)
	“yew-haw-ito”	SJJ2 (24)
	“Egypt-ito”, “mummito”	SJJ3 (9, 9)
	“bullito”, “doubito”, “reade-rito”, “snack-ito”, “strike-ito”	SJJ6 (10,11,20,24,26)
	“Fable-itos”, “austronaut-ito”, “puppito”, “moon-itos”	SJJ5 (9, 11, 13, 15)
	“martian-itos”, “okey-doke-ito”, “shiver-ito”	SJJ5 (15, 19, 20)
	“fossilitos”, “marshmallocitos”, “snifferito”, “earthquake-ito”	SJJ4(15,14,13,18,21,10,10)
	“toes-titos”, “dinosaur-ito”, “sediment-ito”	

Table (8) Addition of Spanish suffixation

The analysis of the results shows that the suffixation of diminutives is the most common strategy of Mock Spanish in the books, and the author uses this technique mainly when Skippy is interacting with the Chimichangos to try to simulate Spanish language, but he actually seems to be implying that Spanish is an easy language and that can be constructed by just adding the suffixes -o and -ito. The author uses addition of Spanish morphology as a mock to create a

jocular atmosphere in the series and in order to make the new terms less elevated and not serious.

#### 4.1.3. Semantic Pejoration

In the seven Skippyjon Jones books it is not always easy to decide whether a Spanish word is an example of semantic pejoration as this would involve too much interpretative work on the part of the analyst. But a clear example is the word “adiós”, explicitly mentioned by Hill (1993b) as a typical example of this phenomenon.

In *Skippyjon Jones* the neutral Spanish word “adiós” is incorporated as a Mock Spanish expression and given a negative meaning (table 9). As Jane Hill (1993b) points out, the word “adiós” can appear in contexts where it means “good-bye and good riddance”, in this context the word implies death or to get rid of the something. Skippy and his friends say “adiós to the bad bumblebeeto” when they are going to get rid of the bumble bee by killing it and they use the word “adios” to express the action.

Process	Occurrence	Book
Semantic pejoration	- Adiós: adiós to the bad Bumblebeeto	SJJ1 (15)

Table (9) Semantic pejoration

There are other ambiguous cases such as Skippyjon Jones use of “amigos, muchachos” to collectively address his Chihuahua friends, which given the appropriate context, could function

as semantic pejoration items. This interpretation actually seems to be reinforced by the analysis of the visual component as shown below.

#### 4.1.4. Euphemism

Euphemism is also present in the Skippyjon Jones book collection. The word “loco” for *crazy* is the most common euphemism in the series. On the five occasions in which the word appears along the different books it is always directed to the Chihuahuas, and the main character Skippyjon Jones never goes “loco” or is “loco”; the cat never loses his reason even though he is a very young Siamese cat. The word appears in different contexts and expressions, as “this is loco” instead of “this is crazy”, “loco tail” instead of *crazy tail* and “perros go loco” for *dogs go crazy*. In one of the instances, the author uses the word “loco” in combination with the word “crazy” -“the Chimichangos went crazy loco”- to emphasize that the dogs went super crazy. More examples can be found in Table 10.

Another example of euphemism is the use of the Spanish words “fanatica” and “dramatica”, as in “He’s a fanatica and dramatica”. These two words are probably not considered as swear words or insults, but for a pre-school children book, they could be hard words, with very negative connotations. It is also important to notice that these adjectives are directed to a male participant but the author uses a feminine suffix probably to create a fake and jocular Spanish atmosphere. The same occurs with the word “perro mezquino”. It is a word with very negative values that could be interpreted as an insult in a pre-school context. The terms “fanatica”,

“dramatica” and “mezquino” denote negative values that are not probably going to be understood by pre-school children.

Process	Occurrence	Book
Words related with madness		
	“loco”: Then all the Chimichangos went crazy loco,	SJJ1 (15)
	perros go “loco”	SJJ5 (15)
	This is “loco”	SJJ4 (20)
	“loco” tail,	SJJ2 (17)
Other euphemisms		
	he’s a “Fanática” and so “dramática” (referring to the bumble bee)	SJJ2 (16,16)
	he is a perro “mezquino”	SJJ6 (11)
	es muy “stinkito”	SJJ4 (27)
	“Stinkitos” (referring to the Chimichangos)	SJJ4 (12)

Table (10) Euphemism.

The last expression used as a euphemism is “stinkitos”. Skippyjon Jones uses this term to call his Chihuahua friends: “Stinkitos! I can smell you but I don’t see you” implying that his Hispanic friends the Chimichangos, are stinky. The word “Stinkito” is a combination of the English adjective “stinky” and Spanish affixation -ito. Even though it is not a complete Spanish word, I

consider it a Mock Spanish euphemism because it has Spanish morphology integrated in the word and it adds a Spanish flair to a negative word.

#### 4.1.5. Misspelled Spanish Words and Punctuation Errors.

This section introduces a new category which Jane Hill does not mention among her tactics for identifying Mock Spanish, but which I will like to include in this analysis. This new category includes the use of incorrect and misspelled Spanish terms, and punctuation errors. The author of Skippyjon Jones uses terms which resemble Spanish words, but include spelling, concordance and grammatical errors (Table11), for instance, “mucho major” instead of *mucho mejor* or “mysterioso” for *misterioso*.

Process	Occurrence	Book (page)
Spelling and grammatical mistakes		
	“hombres de la marte”, “uno ojo”, “mucho hambre”, “no problema”	SJJ5 (21,21), SJJ6 (16)
	“suérte de lana también”, “mucho major”, “mysterioso”	SJJ6 (12), SJJ7 (19), SJJ1 (12)
	“Chi-wow-wow”, “purr-fecto”,	SJJ1 (3), SJJ7 (12)
	“queso cabeza”- (direct translation of cheese head)	SJJ6 (20)
	“Chi-wu-lu”, “chi-wu-lus”, “Chiwala”, “chiwalas”	SJJ7 (4, 10), SJJ6 (4, 3)
	“moood,cha-choooooos”	SJJ5 (17)

Table (11) Spelling and grammatical mistakes.

The misuse of punctuation marks in Spanish words is also common in the Skippyjon Jones books (Table 12). In some cases the author employs Spanish words, but preserving English punctuation rules as in “porque?” instead of *¿por qué?* Or “gatito’s” instead of *gatitos*.

Process	Occurrence	Book (page)
Punctuation errors		
	“Hola!”, “por favor!” , “gatito’s”	SJJ6( 12), SJJ3(20) SJJ6(12)
	“porque?”, “por favor!”	SJJ2 (18) SJJ6 (28)

Table (12) Punctuation errors.

All of these misspelled and ungrammatical Spanish terms mentioned above could have been easily proofread and corrected, but they have not. The signal that seems to be sent and received by Spanish speakers is that their language is not taken seriously enough to require consultation and correction.

Overall, the analysis seems to support the hypothesis that the Skippyjon Jones books contain Mock Spanish, as Hill’s (1993b, 1995, 2008) four main tactics to identify and construct Mock Spanish can be found in the data: anglicization, addition of Spanish morphology, semantic derogation, and euphemism. The analysis suggests the presence of a further linguistic realization of Mock Spanish in the form of misspelled Spanish words and punctuation errors which are not included among Jane Hill’s tactics to construct Mock Spanish.

It is important to note that Mock Spanish interactions in Skippyjon Jones appear in very informal settings between Skippyjon Jones and his Hispanic friends Los Chimichangos, assigning Spanish and its speaker's negative stereotypes, appearing as non-serious, casual, relaxed and humorous. The informal register, broken English and slang, used between Skippy and his friends, helps to shape this idea. This contrasts with the interactions between Skippyjon Jones and his mother and sisters where the language used is formal and serious register, very correct English with a southern accent from Oklahoma. The alternation of registers, the formal and serious, with the informal and jocular, depending on the interlocutor, helps to highlight even more the stereotypes in the book.

#### 4.1.6 Mock Spanish and Spanish in Skippyjon Jones

Mock Spanish, Spanish and English alternate in the linguistic organization of Skippyjon Jones. Spanish seems to occasionally be used in actual code-switching without pejorative connotations, but these cases are less frequent than Mock Spanish uses. Besides, most of the cases of Spanish borrowings and code-switches, although not categorized as Mock Spanish in the literature, recurrently involve semantic fields related to stereotypical Mexican and Hispanic reveling activities. These terms are commonly found and repeated in the series and they do not depict the basis of the Hispanic culture; they just portray what Anglos think the Mexican culture is. Some of them are: - *guacamole, Julio, tamales, siesta, fiesta, rumba, enchilada, chicharos, jalapeño, Montezuma, cha, tortilla, frijoles* and *tango*-. The common use of stereotypical Spanish firmly supports Urciuoli's (1996) investigation, that Anglos in America accept Spanish exclusively in situations like cultural festivals and Mexican-themed restaurants. It is important

to highlight this concept, because the Skippyjon Jones books are used as an educational tool for pre-school children in many schools, as a book to introduce children to basic Spanish and its culture, but as the graph in figure (2) shows, the number of Spanish words per book is very limited compared to Mock Spanish and in most of the cases it includes stereotypical terms and broken Spanish.

Figure 2 shows a comparison between the number of words in English, Spanish and Mock Spanish found in the data.

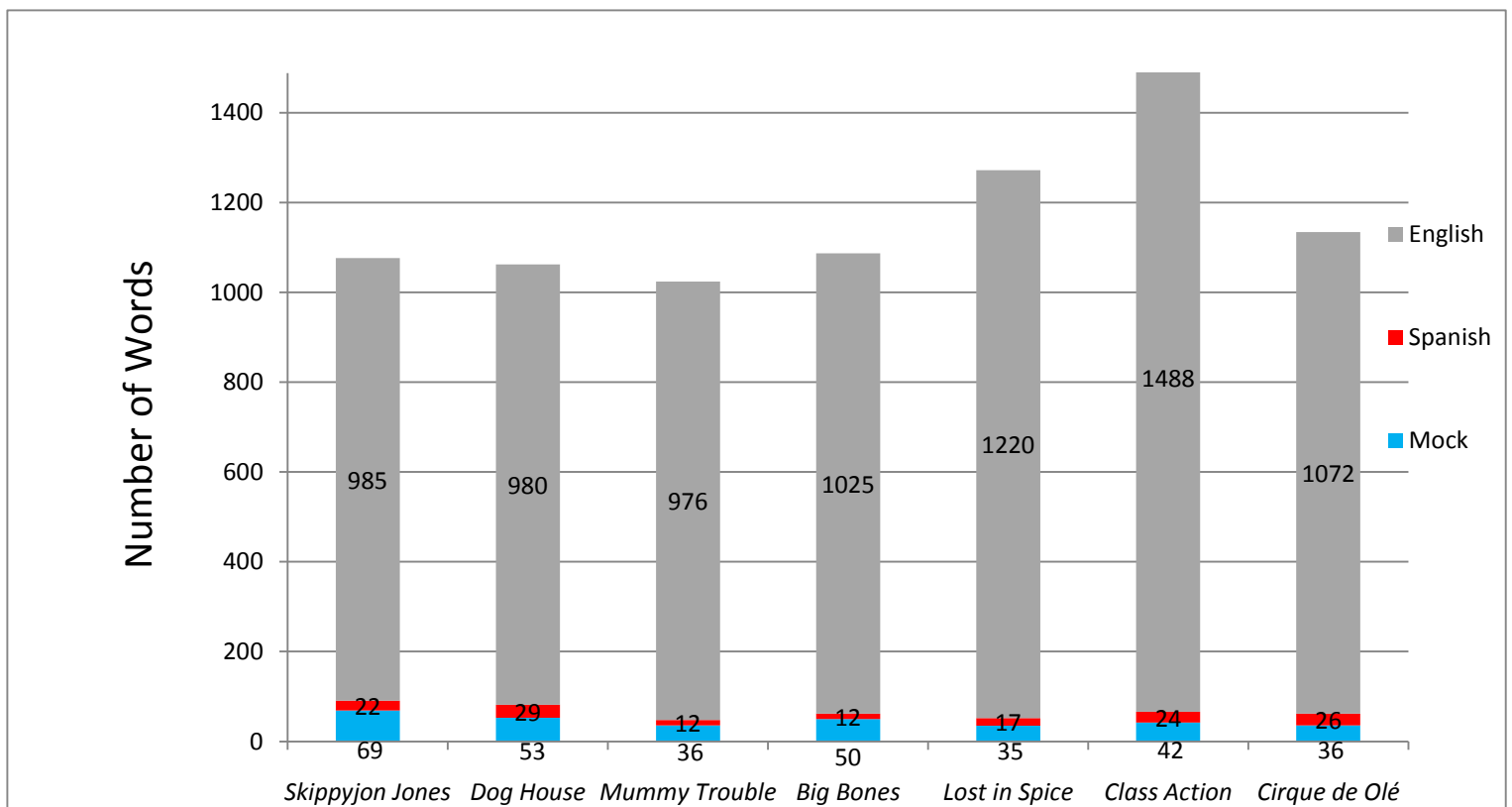


Figure (2) Total number of Mock Spanish words in the Skippyjon Jones series.

As the graph shows, English is the predominant language, followed by Mock Spanish and Spanish. The first six books contain an elevated number of Mock Spanish terms in comparison with real Spanish words, but it seems that the author in her last book is including more actual Spanish and reducing the Mock Spanish terms.

#### ***4.2 Image analysis***

Picturebooks are a multimodal genre, combining verbal and visual signs. The analysis shows that the image-word relationship types from Nikolajeva and Scott's (2006) model most frequently found in Skippyjon Jones books are of the enhancing and the counterpointing types. On certain occasions, the pictures amplify more fully the meaning of the words using an enhancing word-image interaction, and at other times, the words expand the picture so that different information in the two modes of communication produces a more complex and dynamic meaning construction process based on a counterpoint word-image interaction relationship. The text tells the reader about the main events occurring in the book, but the images often give the reader basic and important information that it is not reflected in the text. This information is mainly about characters and setting.

#### *4.2.1 Enhancing Word-Image Interaction*

Visual information in the book collection Skippyjon Jones is essential to know what characters look like and how they behave. They also expand the words rather than duplicate them through enhancing word image interaction: both word and image have substantial gaps in temporality and the pictures in most of the cases illustrate one of many similar situations narrated in the text.

##### 4.2.1.1 Character Construction

The narrative text tells the story and gives the reader a brief description of the emotional and psychological state of the characters, but the physical aspect is fully depicted through images. In Skippyjon Jones, the author uses animal characters and presents them very briefly in the text. From the text we know that there are two main sets of characters. Skippyjon Jones is a little kitten with big ears who sometimes pretends to be a Chihuahua and who lives with his family. The other main characters are the Chimichangos, a gang of Chihuahuas, whose leader is Don Diego. The text does not describe the characters in depth, but the images enhance the text by providing an in depth description of the characters, their behavior and their role in the group.

From the pictures we know that Skippyjon Jones and his family come from an educated middle-class. They are portrayed as white Anglo cats with blue eyes who live in a structured and organized family, where the mother is the head of the house. The images are clear and well organized. On the other hand, the Chimichangos are pictured as Hispanic-like colorful dogs, with different skin patterns, living in a disorganized large community. The images where the

Chimichangos are pictured are not clear; in most of the cases the leader of the band, Don Diego, is clearly drawn while the rest of the community is blurry and distorted, not letting the reader know the exact number of members in the gang and giving a collective image of the Hispanic community. The portraying of characters is conveyed both in picture and words, but as in the narrative text characters are barely described, the reader has to rely on the graphic representation.

#### 4.2.1.2 Setting Construction

The pictures enhance the brief description of the setting in the narrative text by giving a clearer image. The verbal narration foregrounds certain details of the settings, while ignoring others. The visual representation of settings, however, is “nonnarrated”, and therefore non-manipulative, in the sense that it allows the reader considerable freedom of interpretation and choice of where to focus attention. For example, by using images the author anticipates clues about where the adventure is going to take place. Skippy’s room is decorated with key setting elements. For instance, in *Skippyjon Jones and the big Bones*, the main character is constructing a toy with bones, and in *Skippyjon Jones Lost in Spice* the room has space decorations and toys related to space, like rockets and Martians. Additional examples of enhancement are *pageturners* (Nikolajeva and Scott, 2006: 153) verbal and visual details which encourage the reader to turn the page to find out what happens next. In *Skippyjon Jones*, *pageturners* are visual and nonnarrated, though important for the narrative. These *pageturners* do not appear in verbal form. The image is, once again, giving clues to the reader about what is going to

happen next, thus enhancing the written text. In Skippyjon Jones first book, Skippy is bouncing in his room and playing happily, but the reader knows that something is going to happen because the pageturner is showing an opened closet full of opened eyes observing Skippy (figure3).

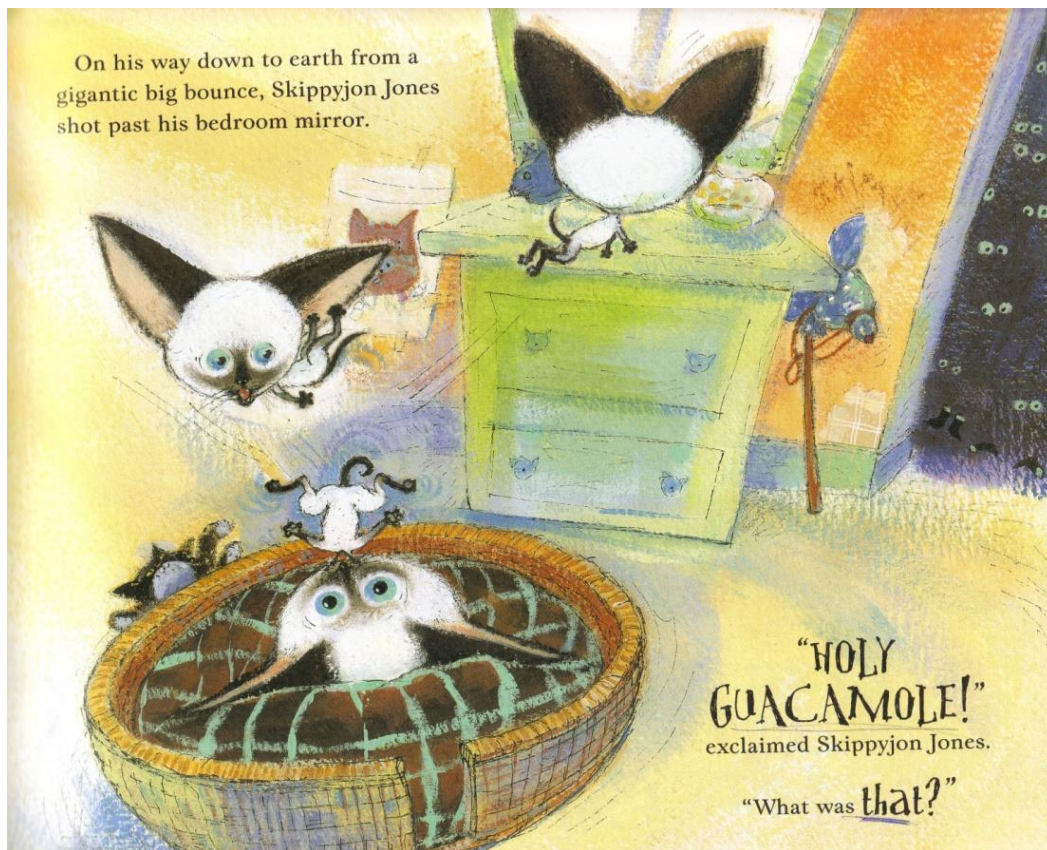


Figure (3) Pageturners in *Skippyjon Jones*: 7

#### *4.2.2 Counterpoint Word-Image Interaction*

We have just seen that the author uses the visual mode to enhance and add information about characters and setting. Character construction is also multimodally realized by means of counterpoint word-image interaction, in which the verbal and the visual mode, instead of mimetically reinforcing each other, present differing, and often contradictory information. The text presents the characters in a slightly different way from how the image is actually shown. The narrative text narrates the adventures of Skippyjon Jones and his friends the Chimichangos. Both types of characters are represented in the narrative text as animal characters but at the same time they are anthropomorphic beings with human attributes: they are able to speak, they have human motivation and social class. Animals are represented as living in an autonomous society dealing with their problems. But while the narrative text is telling the reader one story, the image frequently conveys a counterpointing message about the characters. The Chimichangos, for example, are often visually presented not as a mysterious band but as a weak, scary, dependent group of dogs which are incapable of confronting their problems. Even though they are a large community, they need Skippyjon Jones to solve their difficulties. The Hispanic dogs in the images behave more like animals than humans, except for Don Diego, the leader of the band, they are not as anthropomorphic as Skippyjon Jones is: they walk like dogs, bark, wear no clothes, lack personality and they have empty facial expressions denoting an animal behavior. Those behaving like humans are shown in the images as clowns,

Figure (4) shows how Skippy goes to school with the, but he is the only one that behaves as a human, raising his hand to talk and wearing a nice outfit. His classmates are behaving like dogs, chewing the class material and in the case of the Chimichangos, always naked.



49

from the *rio* Nile to find the Finx”, which does not match the unequal power relation shown in the image.

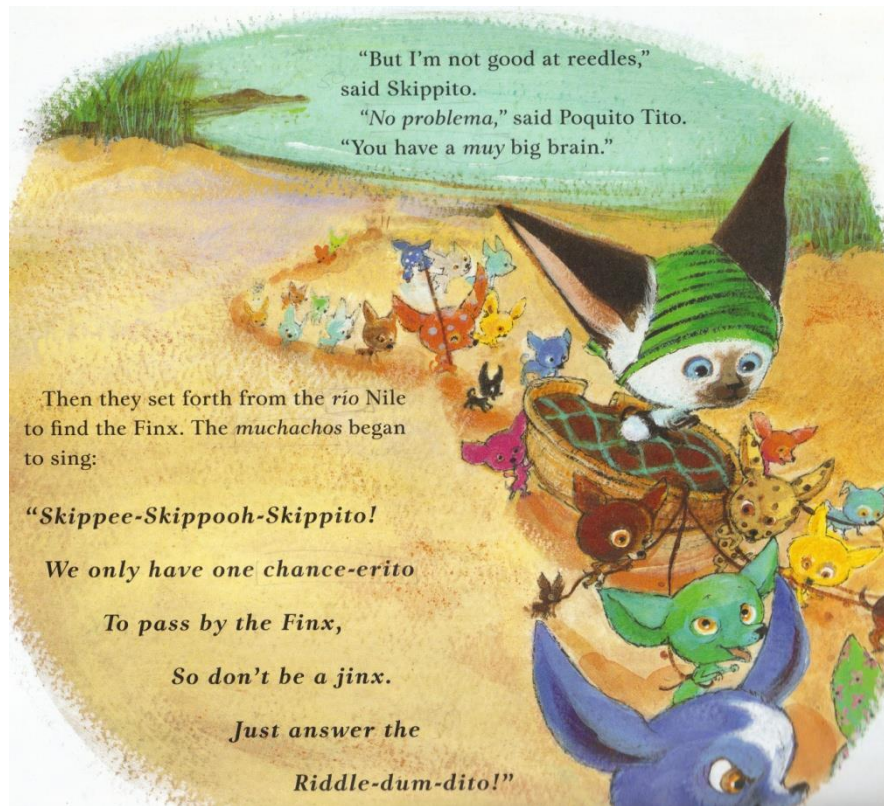


Figure (5) *Skippyjon Jones in Mummy Trouble*: 15

Overall, text and image seem to interplay and reinforce the idea of Anglo superiority.

## **5. Discussion**

This research has focused on the use of Mock Spanish in the book series Skippyjon Jones and the way in which the visual and the verbal modes support or contradict each other in meaning construction. The initial research questions were whether the series uses covert racism and whether the books reinforce an anti-Hispanic ideology.

The seven books in the Skippyjon Jones series were analyzed, first, linguistically, following Jane Hill's Mock Spanish model (1993b, 1995, and 2008) and second, visually using Nikolajeva and Scott's picturebooks multimodal model (2000, 2006).

The linguistic analysis has shown that Skippyjon Jones uses both English and Spanish, but English remains always pure, while Spanish appears in two different forms: Mock Spanish and Spanish. As mentioned in the analysis section, the author uses a combination of five different strategies to create Mock Spanish terms. There is one particular strategy which is outstanding in written and oral form throughout the seven books: an imitation of Spanish accent. The author heavily imitates Spanish accented English by increasing talking speed in the audio versions of the books, and by forcing a fake Hispanic accent. Words such as "Ees" - *is*; "bees-ness" - *business*; "beeg" - *big* are misspelled in the book, so readers can recreate a Mock Spanish accent when reading aloud to children.

According to Breidenbach's (2006) study based on a an internet survey on a Latino website ([www.migente.com](http://www.migente.com)) Latinos consider a faked exaggerated Spanish accent the most potentially

racist form of Mock Spanish, and, more specifically, English spoken with a heavily exaggerated Spanish accent. Despite this, Skippyjon Jones displays every single stereotypical phonetic feature typically portrayed as the norm of Hispanic speech: rhotic [r], elongated [i] elongated and the pronunciation of [ð] as [d] (Ornstein and Pensfield 1985).

Apart from the phonetic features, the Mock Spanish used in the books includes addition of Spanish morphology to English words to provide a Spanish flair but inevitably portraying negative stereotypes, denoting that Spanish is an easy language to construct. The constant use of Spanish terminology expressed in the form of semantic pejoration and euphemism also suggest covert racism and anti-Hispanic ideology.

Terms identified as Spanish in form of a code switch or a borrowing are in most cases popular stereotypical Spanish words which are not meaningful in terms of introducing and presenting Hispanic culture to pre-school children, as most of these terms are already borrowed and introduced in American culture through Mexican-themed restaurants. Words such as “Frijoles”, “enchilada”, “fiesta” and “siesta” represent a very stereotypical and superficial image of Hispanic culture. Everything is reduced to food, party and sleeping, conveying laziness, as well as laid-back and negative stereotypes about the Hispanic culture and its people. These words do not really depict the basics of the Hispanic culture, but just seem to reinforce preconceived ideas about what Anglos think the Hispanic culture is. The Spanish language in Skippyjon Jones is convenient for insults or joking, but it is not related to sophistication. This use of the language creates negative tags for members of the Spanish speaking community.

The image analysis conveys the same message as the language does. Skippyjon Jones character, life, and cultural background are in contrast with the Chimichangos. Whereas the first is a white, blue eyed cat, living in an organized middle-class family, the second group, the Chimichangos, are pictured as a collective group of street dogs, weak and disorganized, who need a leader - Skippyjon Jones- to help them solve their problems. The Chimichangos are usually shown as very participative during leisure time, dancing, and reveling but when they have to face problems and deal with certain responsibilities they run away in panic, unable to face their duties. At a first glance, the images present an integrative message, an atmosphere where cats and dogs, Anglos and Hispanics, are friendly and share the same adventures. But if we look indepth and analyze the images carefully, Skippyjon Jones is portrayed, by means of both enhancing and counterpointing word-image relationships (Nikolajeva and Scott 2006), as a human savior that has the social abilities and skills to help the weak. Meanwhile, the Chimichangos are pictured as living in poor conditions, behaving more like animals than humans, and in need of a savior.

The visual component in the books portrays two different realities: the Anglo world in which Skippyjon Jones reality is, and the Hispanic world, where the Chimichangos come from. The Chimichangos are uneducated; they need to attend school, they live in a disorganized society with no rules, and they just enjoy the pleasures of life, “fiestas”, wearing big “sombreros” and dancing with the “maracas”, but they are not able to survive by themselves without their little white hero. These two different worlds do not integrate into one another. The book represents two different communities, and the most developed, the wealthy and educated, helps the

vulnerable group. The series is constantly reinforcing stereotypes, enforcing a positive, imperialistic vision of Anglos as educated, organized, attentive, and generous.

When coming to the multimodal relation of text and image, Mock Spanish seem particularly relevant. Breidenbach (2006) points out that the relationship between participants involved in Mock Spanish exchanges and discourses should help to understand the interpretation of Mock Spanish as covert racism: if the social relation between participants is one of equal status the interpretation would be humorous and friendly, indicating a direct indexicality function of Mock Spanish. But if the social relation involves power and status differences, Mock Spanish would be performing an indirect indexicality function, as “a feature of the communicative event is evoked indirectly through the indexing of some other feature of the communicative event” (Ochs 1990:295).

In the Skippyjon Jones book collection, the relationship between participants involved in Mock Spanish interactions is not equal. In the first place, they come from different ethnic backgrounds, and in the second, they do not share the same status as far as power is concerned. Tiny Skippyjon Jones is much more powerful than his friends the Chimichangos who are portrayed as a disadvantaged social group whose main problems are related to their basic needs. They live in poor conditions and have trouble obtaining food. Meanwhile, Skippyjon Jones has all his basic needs covered, and the main troubles in his family setting are related to education, manners and social class.

Consequently, the analysis suggests that Mock Spanish is used pejoratively to reproduce and create negative racist tags of members of the Spanish speaking community, and it normally

occurs below the level of consciousness. Even though the language and Mock Spanish in the books is supposedly used to convey a humorous and easy-going stance, if we analyze it in combination with the images, it is clearly used pejoratively to show distance, difference and a form of covert racism. This unequal power status between Skippyjon Jones and the Chimichangos, and the use of Mock Spanish in their interactions seems also to provide grounds for the interpretation of Mock Spanish as racist.

## **6. Conclusion**

The purpose of this research has been to analyze Mock Spanish interaction in the book series Skippyjon Jones, and the way in which images and narrative text support or contradict each other in the construction of meaning and ideology.

In this study, the complete Skippyjon Jones collection was analyzed from a multimodal point of view, looking into the interaction of the verbal and the visual modes. First, the linguistics component was approached following Hill's (1993b, 1995 and 2008) description of Mock Spanish. Second, the analysis focused on the visual mode image aspect and images where analyzed following Nikolajeva and Scott children picturebook model (2006), which examines the interaction of image and text.

This study suggests that Mock Spanish is a frequent feature in the Skippyjon Jones collection. The number of Mock Spanish terms is much higher than the number of real Spanish terms, and most Spanish code-switches and borrowings in the book correspond to stereotypical terms

associated to Latinos in the U.S. These findings are especially significant if we take into account that the Skippyjon Jones collection is used in preschool settings to introduce children to Spanish and promote integration.

The analysis seems to support the hypothesis presented in the introduction, namely that the children's book collection Skippyjon Jones uses Mock Spanish instead of introducing children to Hispanic culture and language, and in doing so, reinforces existent stereotypes against the Hispanic community. As the analysis suggests, both language and images in Skippyjon Jones seem to exploit the existent stereotypes of Hispanic people in the USA in order to make them seem inferior. Even though the books might be perceived as integrative and humorous at first sight, with Anglos and Hispanics sharing adventures, the series might actually be directed at a white Anglo-Saxon American population, and would not really contribute to the social integration of the Latino community.

American speakers are exposed to the socio-cultural influence of Latinos through mass media and literature, due to the vast number of these communities in the United States. But at the same time, as Urciuoli (1996) indicates, Anglos in the USA accept the use of Spanish exclusively in situations like cultural festivals and Mexican-themed restaurants. This simultaneous rejection and appropriation of Spanish firmly indicates that Anglos have taken certain privileges to shape Spanish usage to their own purposes. Even though Spanish is the second most spoken language in the United States, it seems to remain as the language of low-class immigration. Ethnic ideology thus, is hidden in naïve and innocent-looking instruments such as children picturebooks.

After this research new questions should be addressed: first, an indepth analysis of new Skippyjon Jones picturebooks that might be published in the future would verify whether the author is still using Mock Spanish as an important resource to imitate Spanish or if, to the contrary, meaningful and well contextualized code switching and borrowing are introduced, in line with the last book *Skippyjon Jones Cirque de Olé*. In addition, it would be interesting to analyze Skippyjon Jones in real contexts, to find out how preschool teachers use the series in classroom settings and how Hispanic children and families feel towards it.

## 7. References

- Breidenbach, M. (2006). *Deconstructing Mock Spanish: A Multidisciplinary Analysis of Mock Spanish as Racism, Humor, or Insult*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Columbia: University of South Carolina.
- Chun, E. (2004). Ideologies of legitimate mockery: Margaret Cho's revoicings of Mock Asian. *Pragmatics* 14:2/3.263-289.
- Chun, E. (2009). Speaking like Asian immigrants: Intersections of accommodation and mocking at a U.S. high school. *Pragmatics* 19:1.17-38.
- Gray, H., V. Jones, P. Parker, A. Smith, and K. Lynn. (1949). Gringoisms in Arizona. *American Speech* 24. 234–236.
- Hill, J. (1993a). Hasta La Vista, Baby: Anglo Spanish in the American Southwest. *Critique of Anthropology* 3:2. 145–176.
- Hill, J. (1993b). Is it Really “No Problemo”? *SALSA I: Proceedings of the First Annual Symposium about Language and Society at Austin*. R. Queen and R. Barrett, eds. *Texas Linguistic Forum* 33. 1-12.
- Hill, J. (1998). Language, Race and White Public Space. *American Anthropologist* 100:3.680–689.

Hill, J. (1995). Mock Spanish: a site for the indexical reproduction of racism in American English.

In D.J. Glick (ed.) *Language & Culture: Symposium 2*.

<http://language-culture.binghamton.edu/symposia/2/part1/> (Accessed 02-09-2013).

Hill, J. (2005). Intertextuality as Source and Evidence for indirect indexical meanings. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15. 113 –124.

Hill, J. and D .Goldstein. (2001). Mock Spanish, cultural competence and complex inference. *Textus. English Studies in Italy* 14:2. 243–262.

Hill, J. (2008). *The Everyday Language of White Racism*. United Kingdom: Willey Blackwell.

Kress,G. and T. Van Leeuwen. (2001). *Multimodal Discourse. The modes and media of contemporary communication*. London: Arnold.

Menchaca, M. (1993). Chicano Indianism: A historical account of racial repression in the United States. *American Ethnologist* 20:3. 583-603.

Nikolajeva, M. and C. Scott. (2000). the Dynamics of Picturebooks Communication. *Children's Literature in Education* 31:4. 225-239.

Nikolajeva, M. and C. Scott. (2006). *How Picturebooks Work*. New York: Routledge.

Ochs, E. (1990). Indexicality and Socialization. In James W. Stigler, Richard A. Shweder, and Gilbert Herdt (eds). *Cultural Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 287-308.

Ochs, E. (1996). Linguistic Resources for Socializing Humanity. In J. Gumperz and S. Levinson (eds). *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*. 407–487. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ornstein, J. and J. Penfield. (1985). *Chicano English: An Ethnic Contact Dialect*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Ronkin, M. and Helen Karn. (1999). Mock Ebonics: Linguistic racism in parodies of Ebonics on the Internet. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 3:3. 360 –380.

Stavans, I. (2003). *Spanglish: the Making of a New American Language*. New York: Harper Perennial.

Thomason, S. (2001). *Language Contact: An Introduction*. Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press

Urciuoli, B. (1996). *Exposing Prejudice: Puerto Rican Experiences of Language, Race and Class*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.