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This study has validated that bilinguals are able to code-switch because they have the necessary linguistic repertoire and because they have in their heads a shared linguistic and social knowledge to do so. This study explored the code-switching motivations in social interactions of a group of teenagers that spoke English and Spanish. A questionnaire and recorded speech samples were analyzed. Examples of the three most visible characteristics of Spanglish, borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing were found. The results of the study suggest that (1) domain influences language choice; (2) the most favored type of borrowing was of culture specific items; (3) speakers of Spanish have to be fully bilingual to code-switch and code-mix; (4) borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing were mostly used to emphasize, clarify and describe; (5) switches occurred at predictable points and (6) Spanish was preferred to appeal to humor.

SPANGLISH: IDENTIFYING SOME MOTIVATIONS A GROUP OF BILINGUAL
ADOLESCENTS HAD TO CODE-SWITCH IN INFORMAL SOCIAL
INTERACTIONS.

by

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

On August 14th, 2008 a news release from the US Census Bureau reported that nearly one in three U.S. residents would be Hispanic¹ by 2050. The Bureau estimates that the Hispanic population is projected to nearly triple, from 46.7 million to 132.8

¹ As defined by the *U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division, Ethnic & Hispanic Statistics Branch*: “*Persons of Hispanic origin werewere those who indicated that their origin was Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or some other Hispanic origin. It should be noted that persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race*”.

million during the 2008-2050 period. Its share of the nation's total population is projected to double, from 15 percent to 30 percent.

Also, as Hispanics keep moving to the United States, they need to learn English in order to communicate effectively while they use their native language, Spanish. Many of these Spanish speakers often use something called Spanglish. Artze (2001) states that the characteristic of Spanglish is its numerous borrowings from English. Stavans (2002) defines it as the verbal encounter of the Anglo and Hispano civilizations (p.5). It is a hybrid language, an informal code that Latinos speak in informal get-togethers (Morales, 2002).

For example, if a user of Spanglish wanted to say *I think the tap is leaking* (English) [Creo que la canilla esta perdiendo (Spanish)], he or she might say *I think the tap esta liqueando* in Spanglish.

When the speaker chooses to say *I think the tap está liqueando*, he/she is mixing

two different codes, English and Spanish. The first part of the sentence (*I think the tap*) is in English, the verb (*está*) is in Spanish and the rest of the sentence (*liqueando*) is in a mixture of both codes, Spanish and English; i.e.: Spanglish.

Example 2: If a speaker wished to say *you have to complete the insurance application* in Spanglish [Tienes que completar la solicitud para el seguro (Spanish)], he/she would say: *Tienes que completar la aplicación para la aseguranza.*

When the speaker says: *Tienes que completar la aplicación para la aseguranza*, he/she is borrowing words from English and adapting them. Although the sentence seems to be all in Spanish, the words *aplicación* and *aseguranza* are adaptations used to lexicalize a semantic feature that is perhaps unknown to the speaker in Spanish. The word *aplicación* is an adaptation of the English word *application* and *aseguranza* an adaptation of the English word *insurance*. In fact, *aplicación* has a different meaning in Spanish and the correct word for *aseguranza* in Spanish is *seguro*.

The following excerpt produced by an anonymous subject inspired me to further investigate this phenomenon because it was so unlike the alternation between Spanish and English that my family uses. Alfredo, whose native language was Spanish, had been in the United States for five years, and he mixed Spanish and English as in the excerpt below.

”Yo llegué y me bajé de la troka y abrí la traila...y fuimos a arreglar una chimenay que estaba liqueando.....luego nos vamos al lonche. Otro día fuimos al mol de Americas y cuando llegué me eché un chagiier.”
Alfredo

Translation into English:

“I arrived and got out of the truck and opened the trailer.....and we went to fix a chimney that was leaking.....then we go to lunch. Another day we went to the Mall of the Americas and when I arrived, I took a shower.”

Translation into Spanish:

“Llegué y me bajé de la camioneta y abrí el remolque.....y fuimos a arreglar una chimenea que estaba perdiendo.....luego fuimos a almorzar. Otro día fuimos al Centro comercial de las Américas y cuando llegué me di una ducha.”

I asked myself: What is this? What language is he speaking? I know that I wanted to know more about this version of Spanish and English.

Latin-American immigrants to the United States reflect the culture and language they bring with them. Most people assume all Latin-Americans speak either Portuguese or Spanish, but they are often unaware of the different varieties of Spanish spoken by immigrants. Each group arrives with its own unique variety of Spanish. This linguistic outcome is similar to the variety of English spoken in England, Ireland or Wales and the United States. Spanish-speaking immigrants make linguistic contributions of the Spanish from different Latin-American countries to the host community, often something different from the Spanish they spoke in their home countries. Nationality, age, and social class are important factors that shape the different kinds of Spanish they speak. Some examples in the United States are: Nuyoricán Spanglish, spoken by Puerto Ricans in New York; Dominicanish, the Spanglish version spoken by Dominicans; Istlos, the Spanglish for East Los Angeles and Sagüesera, the one spoken in the South West Street in Miami (Stavans, 2000).

This chapter introduces the problems associated with the language choices bilingual Spanish-English speakers make when they code-switch². The focus of this research puts special emphasis on how to interpret the speaker's intended social meaning. Thus, a bilingual speaker will be considered to be an individual having communicative competence in two languages, sometimes referred to as pragmatic or sociolinguistic competence (Myers-Scotton, 2007).

This research project will try to gain understanding into what language functions Latinos prefer to express in Spanglish rather than Spanish or English in their interactions with other bilinguals. I will first try to briefly explain what Spanglish is. The concept of code-switching will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter two.

Spanglish

Morales (2002), calls Spanglish a hybrid language; an informal code, a socio-linguistic construction that represents “the ultimate space where the in-betweenness of being neither Latin American nor North American is negotiated” (p. 95). He presents the idea of Spanglish as a border that divides cultures and identities in the United States. Moreover, Morales makes reference to the linguistic and social aspects of the blend of Spanish and English, which he considers a unique state of being, of having two identities and feeling comfortable with both.

Spanglish is a controversial topic. Some see it as a wonderful new language in development, others, sees it as a despised bastard that is ruining the language of *Don*

² Phenomenon that can be observed when fluent bilinguals produce discourses which in the same conversation include morphemes, phrases and sentences from two or more of the varieties of their linguistic repertoire (Myers-Scotton, 1997. Code-switching in F. Coulmas (Ed.).

Quixote. According to Stavans (2000), a strong defender of Spanglish himself, many consider Spanglish a bastard jargon spoken by uneducated individuals lacking a clear identity or those who can no longer speak acceptable Spanish or English.

Researcher's Role and Background

As an experienced EFL/ESP³ teacher, but also a L1 Spanish-speaking immigrant and an English as a second language learner myself, I became professionally and personally interested in the Spanglish phenomenon. I knew about the existence and development of this phenomenon before moving to Minnesota in 2002, but I had not been immersed in the actual change and adaptations of the Spanish language as an observer and participant in the actual “battlefield” where the language struggles take place. It is for these reasons that I wanted to find out more about Spanglish.

As an insider in this research I anticipate it will be challenging for me to keep the objectivity on which all serious research is founded because there is a risk that my personal experience and feelings may influence my analysis (Patton, 1985 as cited in Merriam, 1998). My role in this study will be that of an observer. Nonetheless, because I share the participants' culture and language, I will also be a peripheral participant (Merriam, 1998, p.101). This means that my participation will be secondary to the role of information gatherer. In other words, when I collect the data, I will keep in mind that too much involvement could affect the results of my findings. As the primary instrument for data collection and analysis, I will try to keep my research design flexible and responsive to changing conditions, have tolerance for

³EFL is an acronym for English as a Foreign Language; ESP is an acronym for English for Specific Purposes.

ambiguity and make use of my sensitivity and intuition to be a good communicator that can both effectively and accurately listen and report observations and findings (Merriam, 1998).

Guiding question

The purpose of this study is to explore to explore and identify the communicative motivations that a group of bilingual adolescents had to code-switch in informal social interactions.

Chapter Overviews

In Chapter one I introduced my research by establishing the purpose, the significance and the need for the study. The context of the study was briefly introduced as was the role, assumptions and biases of the researcher. The background of the researcher was provided. In Chapter two I provide a review of literature relevant to the topic at hand.

Chapter three includes a description of the research design and methodology that guides this study. Chapter four presents the results of this study. In Chapter five I discuss my conclusions. I also discuss the limitations of the study, implications and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

A bilingual speaker is one who uses, or has competence in more than one language (Clyne, 1997). Research on bilinguals suggests that personal history and experiences shape language choices. In this literature review, I will address the following topics: an overview of Spanglish and code switching (CS) and the role of context and cultural schemata⁴ in language choice by bilingual Spanish-English speakers. I will also give a description of language functions and how they relate to the purpose of my research.

I hope to find out whether bilinguals choose to use Spanglish rather than Spanish or English to perform certain specific language functions in their interactions with peers, and if so, which those are. I will try to provide understanding on what language functions the students I studied use to express in Spanglish rather than Spanish or English in their interactions with other bilinguals.

To do so, I will define Spanglish and explain some of its morphological, syntactical, lexical, and pragmatic aspects. I will also deal with the concepts of

⁴ Cultural Schema: Schema theory was developed by R. C. Anderson (1984), educational psychologist.

Cultural schema refers to the organized cultural knowledge and mental structures that represent a person's understanding of the world.

context, schema theory, code switching, code-mixing, borrowing and discuss how these phenomena relates to language choice.

Spanglish: What is it?

Spanglish is generally believed to be a mixture of Spanish and English.

Alternating between English and Spanish is one of the most common and visible characteristics of Spanglish (Stavans, 2000).

Other names for Spanglish are: *espangles* or *spangles* (*español* (Spanish) + *ingles* (English)), *casteyanqui* (*castellano* (Castillian) + *yanqui*), *inglañol* (*ingles* (English) + *español* (Spanish)), *argot sajón* (saxon jargon), *español bastardo* (bastard Spanish), *papiamento gringo*, *calo pachuco* and *a bilingual manifesto* (bilingual manifest) (Stavans, 2000).

There are different varieties of Spanglishes just as there are different varieties of Spanish or English. These varieties depend on important factors such as nationality, age, and class and vary in morphology, structure, phonology, and/or terminology. For example, the variant spoken by Cuban-Americans, also called Cubonics, is different from the Dominicanish spoken in Washington Heights by immigrants from the Dominican Republic; the Nuyorican Spanglish that Puerto Ricans speak in New York, the Pachuco spoken by Mexicans in El Paso, or the Sagüesera spoken in South West Street in Miami (Stavans, 2000).

Despite these differences, Stavans argues that the path towards a standardized form is open because the tools to decode it are in the culture. Not only is the number of people that understand and speak Spanglish extremely relevant, but it is also found, with variations, across social and economic levels as well as across nations. Thus,

Spanglish, becomes the “unifier” of a larger group that comes from different Spanish speaking countries (2003).

Precisely because Spanglish expresses emotions and feelings, and it is potentially understood and spoken by over 45 million speakers in the US and 250 million in the world Stavans prefers to call it a language (Stavans, 2003). He argues that although it started as a pidgin, Spanglish is not one because it is not just a simplified mixture of tongues to communicate between groups that have no other means of communication. Speakers of Spanglish are bilingual.

Others, such as Franco (2004), are not sure whether Spanglish is a language. Although it has incorporated more formal rules, it is difficult to know whether to call it a dialect, a Creole, an interlanguage or a language. He has suggested that it might be a creolized language with a more complex developed syntax and vocabulary, but that it is not a dialect, because it does not deserve the pejorative connotation the word carries (Franco, 2004). Nevertheless, it is not within the scope of this literature review to further discuss the linguistic status of the Spanglish phenomenon.

This linguistic phenomenon, the simultaneous use of Spanish and English, called Spanglish has been around for more than 150 years (Stavans, 2000). There is some contentious history behind the contact or clash of Spanish and English in the New World. Examples of contact between the Mexican and North American (American) cultures are the Spanish-American War in 1898 and the Mexican-American War in 1846-48 (Franco, 2004) that culminated with the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that transferred two-thirds of Mexico's territory to the US. Most recently and still ongoing

is the immigration from Spanish speaking countries, mainly Mexico, to the United States.

Attitudes towards Spanglish

There is an academic debate over whether Spanglish is a creation or destruction of Spanish. Spanglish has defenders and foes. It has been derogatively called a street and home language (Artze, 2001). On the other hand, Ilan Stavans (2000), who is one of its strongest advocates, states that Spanglish is an underground vehicle of communication, a bridge that unites the Latino community in the United States, and also one that reaches out towards Latin America.

In the United States, Stavans has compiled thousands of American words with both Spanish and English etymological roots. These words were born in *barrios* from Spanish Harlem to South Los Angeles. The author argues that language is not being destroyed, but rather, words that die are replaced by new ones and that code-mixing should not be perceived as linguistically inferior (Stavans, 2000).

Stavans is not the only advocate, Zentella (1997) claims that Spanglish is not merely a form of code switching and that it is a reason for the young to be proud of their code switching abilities. She states that it is altogether a fresh tongue, complete with its own syntax that should not be criticized as corrupt and inferior.

Octavio Paz, the Mexican author of *The Labyrinth of Solitude* and a Nobel Prize recipient has critically said about Spanglish: "*Ni es bueno ni es malo, sino abominable.*" ("*It is neither good nor bad, it is abominable*"). Indeed, the common assumption of the Latino community in the United States and Latin America is that Spanglish is a bastard jargon that is part Spanish and part English but has no clear

identity. It is spoken (or broken) by millions of people of Hispanic descent in the United States, and its speakers are people who are not only uneducated and intellectually unsophisticated; they are no longer fluent in the language of Cervantes and have also failed to master that of Shakespeare (Stavans, 2000).

Borrowing, Code-switching and Code-mixing

Relevant to the understanding of the Spanglish phenomenon is the understanding of the concepts of borrowing, code-switching (CS) and code-mixing that emerge as product of the contact of two languages, in this case Spanish and English. CS and borrowing seem to be the most frequent phenomena present in Spanglish (Ghirardini, 2006).

Although guided by the same motivation, lexical borrowing and code-switching (CS) are not the same. In both cases, both monolingual and bilingual speakers insert elements from one language into the grammatical frame of another because they are motivated by the need to express themselves. Nevertheless, only a bilingual speaker is able to engage in code-switching since he/she needs to know both languages involved (Myers-Scotton, 1997).

Zentella (1997) gives the following examples of English loan borrowing used regularly by Spanish monolinguals in New York City: *londri* ('laundry'), *lonchea* ('to lunch') and *biles* ('bills'). She explains that these words have been adapted phonologically and morpho-syntactically to the extent that the second generation believes them to be Spanish words.

While monolinguals adapt the phonological, grammatical and discourse features within one linguistic code, on the other hand, bilinguals are able to alternate between

the codes of two different languages. These codes can be switched at the boundary of complete sentences (inter-sententially), or within sentence boundaries (intra-sententially) Zentella (1997) gives the following examples:

Inter-sentential Code-switching (CS):

“*Sí, pero le hablo en español* (“Yes, but I talk to her in Spanish”)
When I don’t know something I’ll talk to her in English.”

Intra-sentential code-switching or code-mixing (CM):

“You know they walk *que ellas se comen el aisle complete.*”
 (“in such a way that they take up the whole”) aisle.

Poplack (1980 as cited in Romaine, 1989) distinguishes a third type of code-switching that she calls: tag-switching. This type of switching *involves the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is entirely in the other language* (p.112). This concept is similar to the notion of interjections or sentence-fillers (Gumperz, 1982 as cited in Romaine, 1989). Examples are: *by the way* and *Hey* to mark introductions of new topics; *anyway* to mark the return to a topic; *well* to show disagreement; *you know* to build solidarity and *actually* to provide emphasis.

Borrowing

Bloomfield (1933) explains that loanwords, vocabulary borrowings, are incorporated into the phonological and grammatical systems of the matrix language. For example: The English baseball word *homerun* has been incorporated into Spanish as *jonrón* and the Spanish word *patio* is used in English to refer to a courtyard.

He also classified borrowing into: cultural borrowing, intimate borrowing, and dialect borrowing. He gives examples of German and Italian words that have been

incorporated into English, such as: *pretzel* and *frankfurter*, or *piano* and *sonata*.

Torres (1989) gives the words *rodeo* and *corral* as examples of Spanish words incorporated into English.

Boas (1930) classified types of borrowing in: (1) loan blends, a combination of native and borrowed morphological material (e.g.; English *washable*, native root *wash* + the borrowed suffix *-able*); (2) loan translations, or calques, a morpheme-by-morpheme translation of a morphologically complex expression from the source language (eg the German and French terms for '*skyscraper*', based on the English: German *Wolkenkratzer* ('cloud-scratch-er'); loanshifts, semantic transfers of native material with a change in meaning to introduce a concept (e.g.; the English word *heaven*, which meant sky, with the introduction of Christianity, extended its meaning to a more religious one).

When countries share geographic or political arenas, such in the case of immigration or invasions, borrowing takes place. It is more common that immigrants and conquered people borrow items from the dominant or privileged group (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). Both English and Spanish borrow words from and to each other.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) demonstrated that due to cultural pressure, borrowing involves the adoption of foreign vocabulary first, then of structure. The intensity of the cultural pressure will be determined by the duration of contact and the degree of bilingualism. Also, second-language learners who do not master the new language will make language changes. As non-native speakers, they will consciously use the new vocabulary but keep the grammar of their L1 (native language). Thus,

Thomason and Kaufman concluded that “the more internal structure....., the more intense the contact must be in order to result in structural borrowing” (1988, p.73).

Thomason and Kaufman identified five different degrees of contact. They are listed here in increasing degrees: (1) casual contact where there is lexical borrowing only, and limited to content words (such as nouns and verbs) that are not part of core vocabulary; (2) slightly more intense contact, some function words are borrowed, such as conjunctions and adverbial particles; (3) more intense contact, personal and demonstrative pronouns may be borrowed, and more structural borrowing can be seen; Inflectional affixes may enter on loanwords; (4) strong cultural pressure, where structural features are borrowed. For example, inflectional affixes are borrowed and added to native words; (5) very strong cultural pressure where structural borrowing is heavy and where there are changes in the structure of words, for example, adding prefixes and pronominal affixes. Some examples are given in Table 2.1 and 2.2.

The Spanish letter *ñ* in the word *cañon* was probably switched at some point to *ny*. In the case of *rufero* and *hesitación* the new words take the phonology of English

Table 2.1

Noun borrowings

From Spanish to English	From English to Spanish
Adobe (<i>adobe</i>)	Chagüer (shower) (In Spanish: <i>ducha</i>)
Alpaca (<i>alpaca</i>)	Lonche (lunch) (In Spanish: <i>almuerzo</i>)
Armadillo (<i>armadillo</i>)	Troka (truck) (In Spanish: <i>camión o camioneta</i>)
Barricade (<i>barricada</i>)	Traila (trailer) (In Spanish: <i>remolque</i>)
Cannibal (<i>caníbal</i>)	Aseguranza (f) (insurance) (In Spanish: <i>seguro</i>)
Canyon (<i>cañon</i>)	Baica or baika (bike) (In Spanish: <i>bicicleta</i>)

Coyote (<i>coyote</i>)	Explicación. (explanation)(In Spanish: <i>explicación</i>)
Embargo (<i>embargo</i>)	Grincar (greencard) (In Spanish: <i>tarjeta verde</i>)
Guitar (<i>guitarra</i>)	Rufero (roofer) (In Spanish: <i>techista</i>)
Mosquito (<i>mosquito</i>)	Hesitación. (hesitation) (In Spanish: <i>duda</i>)

with a Spanish ending and spelling. In the case of *explicación* it is the other way around. The speaker's ability to keep languages apart, proficiency in each, and attitude toward each, as well as the domains of use of each, the number of speakers of each, all affect the kinds of borrowings that take place (Weinreich, 1968 as cited in Zentella, 1997). Terms are also borrowed to provide words that carry connotations associated with the host culture because it is prestigious, or to fill gaps when words lose their expressive force. For example, the word *roommate* is often used by Spanish

Table 2.2

Terms coined in sports used in Spanish and borrowed from English.

SPANISH	SPORT	TRANSLATION
<i>"Doubles"</i>	"tennis"	"Doubles"
<i>"Corner"</i>	"soccer"	"Corner"
<i>"Ofsai"</i>	"soccer"	"Offside"
<i>"Nocaut"</i>	"boxing"	"Knockout"
<i>"Gol"</i>	"soccer"	"Goal"
<i>"Tactear"</i>	"rugby"	"To tackle"
<i>"Jonrón"</i>	"baseball"	"Homerun"
<i>"Crol"</i>	"swimming"	"Crawl"

speakers as a loan to refer to someone who shares a house or room with somebody else. The translation into Spanish, *compañero de cuarto*, does not convey the true meaning the English word has. Spanish-English bilinguals who are speaking in Spanish often introduce this word in their conversation to refer to the concept of roommate as understood in the United States. Conversely, two bilinguals speaking English would likewise introduce the Spanish word *dulce de leche* to refer to the sweet jam similar but not equal to *caramel*.

Code-switching and Code-mixing

Gumperz (1982) defines a code switch as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (p. 59). Code switching (CS) is characterized by the use of morphemes from two or more languages or language varieties or effects of one language over another in the same discourse. CS can occur at the structural level, within one sentence, intra-sentential, sometimes called code-mixing, or between sentences, inter-sentential called code-switching (Myers-Scotton, 1997 as cited in Coulmas, 1997).

Ghirardini (2006), states that when two languages share the same morph syntactic structure, CS occurs. She further argues that code-mixing or intra-sentential code-switching, CS within the same sentence or fragment, follows the patterns shown in Table 2.3.

Here are some examples of inter-sentential CS as used in the media given by Stavans (2000):

(1) a popular soap-opera actress calls her son *espoliadísimo* (congruent lexicalization) in a talk-show meaning spoilt + idiom. (“spoilt” i.e. treated with excessive indulgence, excessively pampered + “*idiom*, superlative marker in Spanish),

“How is your son doing?”

“Muy bien, gracias. Espoliadísimo nomás!” (“Very well, thanks, though very spoilt”);

(2) in a bank’s slogan : “Conviértase en inversor con Continental National Bank, porque hoy mas que nunca, tiempo is money.” (“Become an investor, with Continental Bank, because today, more than ever, time is money”);

(3) in another commercial: “Apartments are selling like pan caliente and apartments de verdad!” (“Apartments are selling like hot cakes and true apartments indeed!”).

All these are examples of alternation.

Table 2.3

Most Common Patterns That Occur in Code-mixing

Pattern	Example
(1) Insertion of material from one language into the structure of another	<u>Este jaiwei es peligroso</u> (This highway is dangerous).
(2) Alternation between structures	I mean <u>cuando voy al pueblo a comprar algo</u> , I don’t like... (I mean, when I go to town buy something, I don’t like.../
(3) Congruent lexicalization of material from different inventories into a shared grammatical structure	<u>The water esta boileando.</u> (The water is boiling)
(4) Equivalent constraint, the order of the elements in a sentence specially if word order is shared.	<u>It’s a wonderful holiday tradición</u>with the familia (It’s a wonderful holiday traditionwith the family)

The main reason individuals alternate the use of two languages in the same discourse, i.e.; code switch, is not lack of proficiency. Neither is the selection of vocabulary random. Research has been conducted on CS since 1970. However, it was not until the 1990’s that research showed code-switching is not random and that lack of proficiency is not the reason for it (Myers-Scotton, 1997).

Myers-Scotton, (1997) claims that CS is often motivated by social variables of code-choice. She states that it is a strategy speakers use to influence interpersonal relationships. Likewise, Zentella argues that speakers have in their heads a shared linguistic and social knowledge of how to manage conversations that allows them to make language choices or vary the style and purpose of the discourse.

Thus, CS needs to be looked at from sociolinguistic/psycholinguistic perspectives. Gumperz (1982) and Auer (1984) referred to CS as a *contextualization cue* (p.218) that speakers use to signal and interpret intentions often used as a strategy to influence interpersonal relationships as cited in Myers-Scotton (1997). It is also argued that the social functions of CS reflect group values and rules within a certain community (Heller, 1988; McDonell, 1988; Heller, 1988; Bathis, and Ritchie, 1989; Jacobson, 1990; Eastman, 1992 as cited in Myers-Scotton, 1997). Code-switching may be influenced by the political arena of bilingual education versus English only language policies. Heller refers to CS as one of the “linguistic choices reflecting the dynamics of competition between ethnic groups in the larger political context” (Heller, as cited in Myers-Scotton, 1997, p. 218).

When discussing CS, Myers-Scotton (1997) refers to a basic premise: to be able to code switch a person must have the necessary linguistic repertoire. The speaker must be bilingual and fall into a certain demographic description, such as the case of individuals that are born in one country and moved to another where a different language is spoken.

How CS works in Spanglish

The grammatical frame, the morpheme order and system morphemes are set by the structure of the Matrix language (ML). The other language participating in CS is called the Embedded Language (EL) (Myers-Scotton, 1997). The grammatical frame is the syntax of the language. A morpheme is the smallest meaningful unit of language. For example, the word *unable* consists of two morphemes: the prefix *un* and *able*. The word *book* cannot be divided into smaller meaningful units. System morphemes are morphemes that are combined or arranged into a system to work as a coherent entity.

An example of how CS works would be the following phrase: *The red dress* (English); *El vestido rojo* (Spanish); *el dress rojo* or *el red dress*. In Spanglish the speaker may choose to keep Spanish word order [N + Adj] (Noun adjective), or keep English word order [Adj + N] (Adjective + Noun). In the former case, *el dress rojo*, Spanish functions as the ML and English as the EL. In the latter, *el red dress*, it would be the other way around since English syntax does not allow for N + ADJ (a noun followed by an adjective). The grammatical norm of the language chosen to act as the ML provides the basis for determining what the word order would be when generating a code-switch (Poplack 1989 as cited in Romaine, 1997).

The following example from Zentella (1997) further illustrates this: “*The Skylab es una cosa que esta rodeando el moon taking pictures of it*” (“The Skylab is a thing that is around the moon taking pictures of it”) is coded according to the grammatical form of the ML, i.e., Spanish with participation of English as EL (Spanish VP, *es una cosa que esta rodando* and English noun, *moon*).

The ML rules the adjective noun agreement. Gender and number are assigned to English nouns in Spanglish. An English noun is assigned a determiner that marks feminine or masculine gender and/or singular or plural. In Zentella's example, the speaker chose to say *el moon* assigning masculine gender to the word moon. Another speaker could have decided to say *la moon* (In Spanish *la luna*, the moon) assigning *feminine* gender instead to the English noun moon.

As I stated earlier, the excerpt below describing a career day in high school triggered my investigation is an example of code-switching. Here the speaker switches from Spanish or Spanglish, to English and vice versa. He does not always follow the grammar of the language from which the words have been borrowed.

I will use the previously cited excerpt from Alfredo to give Spanglish examples and attempt to justify their occurrence. In an attempt to make it simpler to understand for the non-speaker of Spanish, I have coded the paragraph in the following manner:

Regular font = Spanish
Italics = Spanglish
Bold type =English

"Yo llegué y me bajé de la **troka** y abrí la **traila**...y fuimos a arreglar una **chimena** que estaba **liqueando**luego nos vamos al **lonche**.
 Otro día fuimos al **mol** de Americas y cuando llegué me eché un **chagüer**.."
 Alfredo

Translation:

"I arrived and got out of the truck and opened the trailer.....and we went to fix a chimney that was leaking.....then we go to lunch. Another day we went to the Mall of the Americas and when I arrived me took a shower."

Spanish acts as the ML (Matrix language) and thus, Alfredo maintains the Spanish syntax while important changes are undertaken in the lexicon. Both languages participate in the lexicalization, *congruent lexicalization*. English is present

in the borrowed items that are assigned Spanish inflectional markers such as *liquear*. Spanglish follows the inflectional markers of its matrix language, Spanish, in the conjugation of the present progressive tense indicative mood of *liquear* (to leak): una *chimney* que estaba *liqueando* (a chimney that was leaking).

When Alfredo uses the word *troka* (*truck* in English, *camioneta* in Spanish), he is resorting to *adaptation* with the addition of a native morphological element final *a* to mark a feminine noun, in this case *la camioneta* (the truck). *Mol* is a phonological adaptation of the word *mall* (Ghirardini, 2006).

CS is a dynamic construct because the ML can change if the topic, attitude or participants change, i.e., if the sociolinguistic factors change, or if these factors change within the community. Thus the speaker will make choices at the conceptual level, deciding on the discourse model as well as the semantic/pragmatic messages depending on what he wants to say. Going back to the above example, the speaker could have chosen to say: “*The Skylab is a thing that is around la luna taking pictures of it*” (“The Skylab is a thing that is around the moon taking pictures of it”). In this case the sentence is coded according to the grammatical form of the ML (English) with participation of Spanish as EL (Spanish) (English VP, ‘is a thing around’ and Spanish noun *la luna*).

Particular mental representations that are influenced by the speaker’s or writer’s background knowledge, condition him/her to make linguistic choices. For example, deciding to use the farewell remark “*Hasta la vista, baby*” (“So long, baby”) or naming a song *Living la Vida Loca (Living the Crazy Life)* (Ricky Martin, 1999). Zentella (1997) refers to two deciding factors that influence language choice: (1)

Determination of the addressee and (2) adherence to the community norm or Follow the leader factor. She conducted a thorough study among Puerto Rican children and showed that they were very responsive to the dominant language of the addressee or hearer. Zentella was also able to observe that if an adult switched the language of conversation, the child switched too to adhere to the community norm or follow the leader. These are important factors that determine which language a bilingual speaker will use and whether he/she will choose to code-switch (Zentella, 1997).

Spanglish: Morphological, Syntactical and Lexical Overview

According to Ghirardini (2006), Spanglish is not ungrammatical jargon since it follows a set of precise rules of the grammar of the two languages involved, English and Spanish. She investigated its morphological constraints in the attempt to make progress toward a standardization of Spanglish grammar to establish a Spanglish model. She argues that with Spanish acting as the ML, CS is the most important characteristic of Spanglish and a symbol of a mixed cultural identity. She states that intra-sentential code switching or code-mixing is the most frequent pattern and that borrowing shows the influence of one culture onto another.

Both English and Spanish borrow words from and to each other. The imbalance of this phenomenon is influenced by the advantage of power, prestige and/or wealth enjoyed by the community that speaks the language. It seems that many words borrowed from English into Spanish have to do with science, technology, computing and the Internet and sports. The following tables show my own examples.

Going back to Alfredo's use of Spanglish, it seems he uses English verb roots adding the Spanish infinitive ending marker *-ar*. Example: "*liquear*" = *to leak*

Table 2.4

Examples of Lexical Borrowing		
<i>SPANGLISH</i>	ENGLISH	SPANISH
“ <i>Troka</i> ”	“Truck”	“Camioneta”
“ <i>Traila</i> ”	“Trailer”	“Remolque”
“ <i>Chimenay</i> ”	“Chimney”	“Chimenea”
“ <i>Liquiando</i> ”	“Leaking”	“Perdiendo/goteando”
“ <i>Lonche</i> ”	“Lunch”	“Almuerzo”
“ <i>Mol</i> ”	“Mall”	“Centro comercial”
“ <i>Chagüer</i> ”	“Shower”	“Ducha”

instead of the Spanish verb “*perder*” or “*gotear*”.

Infinitive marker endings in Spanish are: *-ar*, *-er* and *-ir*. However, most infinitives in Spanish end in *-ar*. Examples are: *amar* (to love), *hablar* (to talk), *limpiar* (to clean) and *jugar* (to play).

As shown in Table five, to form verbs in Spanglish, the most frequent ending to mark the infinitive is not *-ar* (infinitive marker) using an English root verb but rather *-ear*. It appears that Spanglish undergoes an adaptation by adding <e> to the *-ar* infinitive marker.

It appears that the affix [*-eando*] corresponds to its counterpart in English *-ing* to form the progressive forms, *i.e.* “*Yo estoy chateando*” = “I am chatting”
 Spanglish seems to follow the inflectional markers of its ML, Spanish. As shown in Table 2.6, verb conjugations seem to respect Spanish inflectional markers.

Table 2.5

Examples of Infinitives

SPANGLISH	ENGLISH	SPANISH
<i>“Formatear”</i>	“to format”	“dar forma”
<i>“Chatear”</i>	“to chat”	“charlar”
<i>“Nerdear”</i>	“to do things nerdy do”	“actuar como un <i>nerd</i> ”
<i>“Liquear”</i>	“to leak”	“perder”

Table 2.6

Spanish Inflectional Markers in Present Tense Indicative Mood of verb to chat.

SPANGLISH	ENGLISH	SPANISH
<i>“Yo chateo”</i>	“I chat”	“Yo charlo”
<i>“Tú chateas”</i>	“You chat”	“Tú charlas”
<i>“El/Ella/Usted chatea”</i>	“He chats”	“El charla”
<i>“Nosotros chateamos”</i>	“We chat”	“Nosotros charlamos”
<i>“Vosotros chateáis”</i>	“You (plural) chat”	Vosotros charláis
<i>“Ellos/Ellas/Ustedes chatean”</i>	“They chat”	“Ellos charlan”

Table 2.7

Conjugation for Preterite Tense Indicative mood of the verb ‘to chat’

SPANGLISH	ENGLISH	SPANISH
<i>“Yo chateé”</i>	“I chatted”	“Yo charlé”
<i>“Tú chateaste”</i>	“You chatted	“Tú charlaste”
<i>“El/Ella/Usted chateó”</i>	“He chatted”	“El charló”
<i>“Nosotros chateamos”</i>	“We chatted”	“Nosotros charlamos”
<i>“Vosotros chateásteis”</i>	“You (plural) chatted”	“Vosotros charlásteis”
<i>“Ellos/Ellas/Ustedes chatearon”</i>	“They chatted”	“Ellos charlaron”

Nouns

Again Spanish seems to rule the adjective noun agreement, thus assigning gender and number to English nouns. Gender and number are also assigned to nouns in Spanglish. An English noun is assigned a determiner that marks feminine or masculine gender and/or singular or plural (See Table 2.8).

Table 2.8

Examples of Gender and Number Assignment to English Nouns in Spanglish.

Singular masculine	Plural masculine	Singular feminine	Plural feminine	English	Spanish
		"la troka"	"las trokas"	"the truck"	"la camioneta"
		'la jaiwei"	"las jaiweis"	"the highways"	"la autopista"
"el rufo"	"los rufos"			"the roofs"	"los techos"
"el lonche"	"los lonches"			"the lunch"	"el almuerzo"

As for word order, in English adjectives are always placed before the nouns they qualify such as in *the red dress*. In Spanish adjectives can be placed before or after the noun, such as in *el vestido rojo* (*the red dress*). Here is an example of the same phrase in Spanglish where it becomes: *el dress red* or *el red dress*.

This section was intended to explain some of the characteristics of Spanglish, although, a thorough linguistics analysis of the phenomena of Spanglish is beyond the scope of this study.

Context

Social context and language choice are closely related (Romaine, 1989). Context refers to any shared linguistic and socio-cultural background knowledge which contributes to make communication happen. Leech (1983) considers context to be any background knowledge assumed to be shared by the participants, which contributes to the hearer's interpretations of what the speaker means by a given utterance. The importance of context is stressed by Dell Hymes, 1964 as cited in Brown, 1983) when he analyses the two roles context can have. On the one hand, it constrains the number of possible interpretations. On the other hand, it supports the intended one.

Schiffrin (1994) refers to context as “a world filled with people producing utterances: people who have social, cultural and personal identities, knowledge, beliefs, goals and wants, and who interact with one another in various socially and culturally defined situations” (p. 364); furthermore, she argues that “*language and context constitute one another: language contextualizes and is contextualized*” (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 369).

Language reflects social meanings at a macro level such as group identity and status difference as it is viewed as a socially and culturally constructed symbol system. A framework has been provided by Gumperz (1977 as cited in Levinson, 1997) to analyse the use of language in interpersonal communication.

Thus, linguistic features, called contextualization cues, are the surface features of the message. They are used by speakers to signal hearers so that they can interpret what they hear, its semantic content and how each sentence relates to the previous and the following (Gumperz, 1982). Contextualization cues are rarely consciously

perceived and they signal contextual presuppositions. For example, there can be important inter-cultural misunderstandings due to different pragmatics analyses of utterances such as in the case of leading questions, or hints that may not be interpreted correctly in institutional proceedings (Levinson, 1997).

Gumperz (1982) argues that to maintain involvement, certain linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge is to be shared. Certain rules of involvement and inferences, further governed by rules of social engagement are required by interactions. Gumperz (1967, as cited in Schiffrin, 1994), claims that within the notion of *interpretative frame* concerning contextual presuppositions, hearers make inferences of speaker's meanings, and that contextual presuppositions are “a kind of assumed background knowledge that permits inferencing to take place” (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 103).

Similarly, Bach states (as cited in Davis, 1981) that “contextual beliefs that figure in speakers’ intentions and hearers’ inferences must be mutual if communication is to take place” (p. 232).

Bilingual-bicultural individuals share those contextual beliefs as well as a vast repertoire of shifting as members of a reference group. A very important factor in controlling language choice, according to Fishman (2000), is group membership. One language or the other will be reserved for certain situations. These situations account for regularities in language choice on particular social occasions. Language choice will indicate intimacy, informality equality, solidarity, etc.

Topic also serves as a regulator of language choice. Some topics are better expressed in one language than in another. The speaker may choose to use a certain language to talk about a certain topic because that is the language he has been trained

in to refer to that topic, or because it is awkward to discuss it in that language. Also, the reason may be that one of the languages lacks the exact terms. Topics usually show patterns that follow the patterns used in the distinct spheres of activity of the group under consideration. Examples of spheres of activity of domains are: the family, the school, the church, etc. Domains help us understand choices of language and topic. Domain is a factor that greatly influences the language choices made by the speaker. Fishman (2000) defines domain as a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication that determine individual behavior and social patterns that are different yet related to each other.

Language choices and potential interpretations are supported and influenced by the common context and background Spanglish users share. As stated by Gill, in the active language process, knowledge about first language, the mother community and its culture are factors that influence language. The reality we see, our own reality is shaped to a great extent, by our native language. Our perceptual and conceptual patterns depend on the structure of our native language. Because language strongly influences our perception, different people will perceive visual and audio data in a different way depending on how this data is anticipated. The language we speak shapes our conceptual pattern (Gill, 1997).

The linguistic structure of our native language also influences the conceptual dimension of experienced reality. Language organizes experience, arranges and classifies the experience of our senses which results in a certain order of the world (Gill, 1997). Language and experienced reality maintain a dynamic interactive

relationship. Thus it is very likely that a speaker of a language focused on verbs will organize his thought patterns being specially concerned with events and actions. A Spanish speaker will probably perceive a chair as feminine since it is *la silla*. A speaker of German will probably perceive it as masculine *der Schtul* and a speaker of English will consider it neuter since nouns have no gender in English.

Since we do not use language in isolation, there is a symbiotic relationship between the world, language, the speaker and the speaking community. Language connects the members of a community (Pinker, 1994). Language impacts behavior and knowledge. Thus, the individual perception of the world and the cultural schemata conception of a community are determined to a great extent by the most common language spoken by the community speaks (Gill, 1997).

Sapir claims that human beings depend, to a great extent, on the particular language that has become the means of communication of their community (Sapir, 1929 as cited in Mandelbaum, 1958). Whorf's linguistic determinism claims that all cultures see the world in a different way according to the language they speak and that their capacity to think depends on the very language they speak (Whorf as cited in Pinker, 1994).

Schiffrin argues that the ways we organize language are “ways of being and doing” that are inherent to and have meaning in a particular cultural context within a framework of cultural knowledge - not linguistic but communicative competence by which we make sense out of our experience in the world. Consequently, the members of a social group have the cognitive capacity to make similar inferences (Schiffrin, 1994). Nonetheless, “...the scope of context is not easy to define...one must consider

the social and psychological world in which the language user operates at any given time” (Ochs, 1979 as cited in Levinson, 1997, p. 23). The case at hand is a group of adolescent bilingual Spanish-English speakers in the United States.

Cultural Schema

Code-switching and code-mixing are discourse strategies. Thus, bilingual speakers will choose which functions to perform in either language involved. At the pragmatic level, a speaker will make linguistic choices based on his/her “social relations, rights and obligations that exist and are created between participants in a conversation” (Romaine, 1989, p. 111).

The cultural schemata of a community will, to a great extent, be determined by the language that the community speaks (Carrell, 1981). The structure of our native language influences our perceptual and conceptual patterns, thus contributing to the make up of the world we see around us, our reality (Gill, 1997). Previous knowledge of the L1 graphophonic, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic systems, permits the speaker of a second language to actively *change* “text” during the creative transaction (Goodman, 1987).

Cultural content schemata (background knowledge) is relevant to language learning and facilitates the building of bridges between an individual’s existing knowledge and new knowledge needed for comprehension among second language learners. Furthermore, prior knowledge aids comprehension and implicit presupposed cultural knowledge interacts with the reader's own cultural knowledge to redefine and extend schemata (Floyd & Carrell, 1991). Prior knowledge activation is relevant to

building those bridges as many researchers have demonstrated in several experiences described below.

For example, Carrell and Floyd (1991) claim that texts in one's own culture are easier to read and understand than equivalent texts based on less familiar, more distant cultures. They conducted research on recall of letters about marriages in India and the USA that were heavy in cultural information about marriages. They concluded that prior background knowledge of the content area of the text (content schemata or schema) significantly affected reading comprehension of that text.

Similarly, in the 1970's, Steffensen, Anderson, Brandsford, Johnson and Mueller (as cited in Schmidt-Rinehart, 1994), demonstrated the importance of prior knowledge to aid comprehension and how implicit presupposed cultural knowledge and the reader's own cultural knowledge interact. Johnson (1981 as cited in Schmidt-Rinehart, 1994) demonstrated that the cultural origin of a text has greater effect on ESL reading comprehension than does linguistic complexity. For example, when the reader has had prior cultural experience such as experiencing a Halloween celebration, he/she can cope with new related information in a second language much more easily.

Also based on prior experience, Au (1979) used his ETR (experience-text-relationship) method to aid students in verbalizing what they already know about a topic. In his study, the teacher aided the student to interact with the text which helped the reader build relationships between the prior knowledge and the material found in the text.

Likewise, Hayes and Tierney (1982) conducted an experiment where they used analogies drawn to the game of baseball to teach the rules of the game of cricket. They showed how a text can teach or draw upon background associations to aid in the comprehension of a new topic.

Based on this previous research suggesting that prior background knowledge of culture-specific information impacts language learning, it can be argued that when someone has grown up bilingual or has acquired a second language, he/she is not starting from ground zero. Floyd and Carrel (1991) were able to prove the impact of prior background knowledge of culture-specific information by carrying out an experiment with culturally and linguistically diverse groups of intermediate-level proficiency students in English as a Second Language. They used an experimental and control group. From the data analyses, results showed a statistically significant superior performance by the trained-experimental group over the control group, whereas differences in the syntactic complexity of the text showed no significant effects on the participant's performance. Thus, the evidence showed that there is a relationship between the background knowledge that the individual brings to the incorporation of a second language and his/her ability to recall it. The bridges built between an individual's existing knowledge and new knowledge, his cultural and linguistic schema will be highly influential on the production of language.

When a person is bilingual, sometimes that background knowledge can get in the way and interfere with the production of the "second" language. This was demonstrated in a study conducted by a teacher in a secondary school classroom in Argentina. In general, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, the guerrilla revolutionary leader,

enjoys a very positive idealistic image, specially among young people. The teacher presented to a group of EFL⁵ students a text written in detriment of “Che” Guevara and afterwards asked them questions and recall on the information in the text. The result was that the information reported by the participants was favorable to Che Guevara in disagreement with the content of the text (Cordes et al, 1990). This showed that the existing background of the listener/reader influenced the perception of information presented. The students simply did not recognize that the information conveyed differed from their existing impressions.

The recognition of the importance of background knowledge and cultural schemata is relevant to understanding the Spanglish phenomenon and its characteristics of code-switching, both inter and intra-sentential. Based on the assumption that our cultural and linguistic schemata influence our production of a second language and that language is a socially and culturally constructed symbol system that reflects group identity, status differences, origin, and educational background. I will address the following question: Is the use of Spanglish constrained to the performance of specific language functions? Which are they?

Kintsch (1994) claims that when listening or reading we comprehend discourse not only by analyzing the units in the discourse (syntax, word order, aspect, form, relation with each other), but also, and most importantly, by creating a situation in our heads that is influenced by our general world background knowledge, beliefs, prejudices, perceptions and lexis. In other words, we construct a mental representation of our comprehension of the text read or heard, and place it in a model situation. This situational representation will be strongly influenced by our background global

⁵ EFL: acronym that stands for English as a Foreign Language.

knowledge of the world, our life experiences that will have shaped in us certain beliefs, perceptions, even prejudices (Kinstch, 1994)

On information transaction versus interaction in a social situation, he states that language is a major means to establish and maintain social interactions. That information transmission is often a secondary goal. Most of our use of discourse has to do with social interaction and not with information transaction. The interactional aspects of language, the interactional perspective is becoming more relevant in the psychological research on discourse (Kinstch, 1994)

Kinstch (1994) states that two persons will mentally represent the same written or spoken discourse in two totally different ways. They will probably share the microstructure (alphabet, words, sentences, grammar, etc) but the macrostructure will be unique to each. Thus, persons sharing a similar family, history, school background will have a better chance to share both the micro and macro structures.

When there is only partial sharing or no sharing of background at all, misunderstandings and communication gaps may occur due to these differences in ability to infer and retrieve from-long term memory. Even silences, interjections, gestures, pauses, inflection, and intonation play an important role in our everyday social interactions. Interpretation will depend on the construction in the mind of the listener/reader. Meaning is created by the interpreter and does not always match the author's. Spanish-English bilingual speakers, especially Latino immigrants with similar historic and world experiences, will share much of the micro and macro structures.

The Puerto Rican children in Zentella's study followed rules for what and where to switch because they shared a common knowledge that enabled them to use code-switching for communicative power and social bonding. She also argues that this knowledge is shared by several Latino communities (Zentella, 1997). For example, bilinguals do not favor switches between the pronoun and auxiliary, or between auxiliary and infinitive, or omit personal *a* or indirect objects that are required in the Spanish sentence, *(Yo) he podido enseñar le a leer a Maria*. Bilinguals do not typically produce the following switch produced by a second-language learner: *Yo have been able enseñar Maria leer* ("I have been able to teach Maria to read") (p. 116). Typical switch points for bilinguals are primarily at the boundaries of a restricted variety of syntactic categories. In Zentella's study, most children switched at similar points such as sentence, noun and NP (noun phrase).

Language Functions

Some linguists look at language as a mental phenomenon; others look at it as a societal phenomenon. The former are called *formalists*, for example, Chomsky and the latter *functionalists* such as Halliday.

While formalists try to explain linguistic universals and study language as an autonomous system and a genetic inheritance, functionalists, on the other hand, study it as a communicative tool with a social function (Leech, 1983).

According to Leech (1983), Halliday (1970, 1973) identifies three functions of language that are intrinsic to grammar: a) built into it: the ideational function where language represents experience of the world and thoughts in a coherent way; b) the interpersonal function where language expresses attitudes and behaviors, and c) the

textual function where language constructs a well-formed and appropriate text (Yule, 1996).

Leech also states his disagreement with Halliday arguing that only the ideational function of language falls into the realm of grammar while the other two, the interpersonal and the textual functions of language belong to the field of pragmatics; i.e.: language use.

When individuals use language functions, they are trying to accomplish a specific task such as giving information or express a feeling (Bachman 1990). O'Malley and Pierce (1996) state that functions can also be performed for academic or social/communicative purposes. Refer to Table 2.9 to see some examples of communicative language functions found in O'Malley (1996, p. 61).

Table 2.9

Communicative Language Functions

Communicative Function	Language used to:	Examples
Greetings/Leave-takings	Meet and greet others Say good-bye	"Hi! Nice to meet you!"
Requesting information/ assistance	Ask for information or help	"Excuse me, Could you please tell me where room 222 is?"
Giving information/ assistance	Provide information or assistance in response to a request.	"It's down the hall to the left."
Describing	Tell about a place, thing or idea	"It is 12 feet high, has lots of light and is big enough for 30 students."
Expressing feelings	Relate what he/she feels or thinks	"I feel nervous."

Chamot (1994) explains that "social language is the language used for the purpose of interaction in social settings" (p. 40). She states that functions, structures, vocabulary

and cultural concepts are tightly linked to create a message that is both expressed and comprehended in a highly personal way.

In interacting with others, bilinguals know “in the head” how to manage a conversation and employ code-switching to accomplish conversational strategies such as a) footing, b) clarification, and c) crutch-like code mixes (Zentella, 1997). The first of these three major categories is footing. As Goffman (1979) states, “a change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance” (p. 5). Some examples of code switches the children in Zentella’s research used to re-align or control the hearer’s behavior were: (a) changing the speaker’s role, for example, from friend to protector, or from narrator to evaluator of the narration; (b) interrupting their own speech in order to check for approval, attention or the interlocutor’s knowledge of what was being said; asking and (c) answering a question themselves, and changing the topic. The most popular type of change in footing was topic shift. The following is an example of realignment with shift in language to mark topic shift: “*Vamos a preguntarle*. It’s raining!”. In the next example the speaker is switching languages in order to check whether he/he is correct, or to seek approval or opinion: “*¿Porque estamos en huelga de gasolina, right?*” (“Because we are o a gasoline strike, right?”) (Zentella, 1997, p. 94).

The second major category is clarification and/or emphasis. When a monolingual individual wishes to clarify a message he resorts to repetition, louder and/or slower, or to change of wording. Bilinguals codeswitch. For example, a speaker would resort to translation to make sure his/her message is understood.

Example: “*¿No me crees?* You don’t believe me?” (“You don’t believe me?”). In Zentella’s research, clarification-emphasis strategies accounted for 33% of the switches associated with conversational strategy the children used (Zentella, 1997, p. 95).

The third major category are crutch-like code mixes that accounted for 25% of the switches linked to strategies in the Puerto Rican children study. They are switches used to fill in, made due to momentary loss of words, or the need for a word in the other language. Example: “Give me some *piña o deso - o cómo se llama*” (In English: “Give me some pineapple or whats-its-name”; in Spanish: “*Dame un poco de pina o de eso – o cómo se llame*”) (Zentella, 1997, p. 98).

Table 2.10

Communicational factors “in the head” of the speaker (Zentella, 1997, p. 92)

Conversational strategies	Example
Footing	“ <i>¿Porque estamos en huelga de gasolina, right?</i> ” (“Because we are on a gasoline strike, right?”)
Clarification and/or emphasis	“ <i>¿No me crees?</i> You don’t believe me?” (“You don’t believe me?”).
Crutch-like code mixing	“Give me some <i>piña o deso - o como se llama</i> ” (“Give me some pineapple or whats-its-name”)

This research is particularly interested in the interpersonal functions of language for social purposes used by a small number of bilingual adolescents to determine what language functions bilingual speakers are performing when they choose to speak Spanglish rather than Spanish or English in their social interactions with other bilinguals.

The Gap in Research

There are many studies and contributions on the topic of code-switching (CS) in bilinguals and Spanglish in the United States, but only a few address social aspects. Previous studies have not focused on what language bilinguals choose to use when code-switching to perform certain functions if any. I have not found many studies that focus on gaining insight into under which circumstances Spanish-English bilingual speakers choose to use Spanglish.

Conclusion

In light of the literature review, I intend to explore and identify the communicative motivations that a group of bilingual adolescents had to code-switch in informal social interactions. I hope that this attempt to find answers to the problems associated with the language choices bilingual Spanish-English speakers make when they code-switch will help educators and any other interested audience to better understand when bilinguals code-switch.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the methods I will use for the research to find out what language functions bilingual Spanish-English speakers choose to perform in Spanglish rather than Spanish or English in their interactions with other bilinguals. I will account for the decisions regarding the selected methodology.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I reviewed reports on current research related to the interests of this study, intending to explore and identify the communicative motivations that a group of bilingual adolescents had to code-switch in informal social interactions.

In order to answer my question, I gathered background demographic information by means of an open-ended questionnaire. After that, I audio-taped 10 participants during informal meetings where I expected Spanglish would be used. Finally, I collected, transcribed and analyzed language samples of the bilingual Spanish-English participants using Spanglish.

Overview of the Chapter

This chapter describes the methodologies used in this study. First, the rationale and description of the research design is presented along with a description of the research paradigm. Second, the data collection procedures are presented, together with a description of the participants and instruments used to collect and analyze the necessary data.

Qualitative Research Paradigm

The research design and belief that governed this study is qualitative. It is guided by the philosophical assumption that reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their social worlds. This attempts to understand the meaning embedded in the experiences of the research subjects (Patton, 1985, as cited in Merriam, 1997).

In light of this paradigm, I conducted a research project to determine whether the bilingual speakers' intentions in using Spanglish followed a pattern. If so, I wanted to know if Spanglish is used to perform certain language functions..

This study attempts to understand the meaning bilingual speakers of Spanish and English construct when they used Spanglish in interacting with other bilingual subjects in their social world, i.e., how they make sense of their world and their language as it is "lived" and "felt" (Sherman & Webb, 1998, as cited in Merriam, 1998, p.6-7). The nature of this research was also qualitative because it was flexible and evolving in its design and used small nonrandom samples collected by the researcher as primary data. Findings were comprehensive and richly descriptive. This study was not based on and did not seek precise numerical results; neither did it use a large random structured data collection approach (Merriam, 1998).

Content Analysis

Description is fundamental to all research, especially to qualitative research (Anderson, 1998). I used a systematic description of the contents of the data gathered. I described the relative frequency and importance of the relevant functions in the discourse I collected. The purpose of this approach was to "make reasonable

conclusions and generalizations based on a preponderance of the data” (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, as cited in Merriam, 1998).

Subjects

I collected the data from ten Latino bilingual Spanish-English speakers belonging to a small group of adolescents in high school. Students were part of a Latino Club that meets after school at a public high school. This group consisted of ten students, seven males and three females. Ages ranged from 14 to 18 years of age and grades from 9th to 12th grade. Participants were bilingual individuals who had a good to excellent command of both Spanish and English.

The ten students participating in this study were high school students, seven males and three females, who spoke both English and Spanish. They were all either born in the United States or moved to the United States during childhood.

Table 3.1 shows the origin and linguistic background of the participants. The data in Table 3.1 was compiled from the participants’ answers to a questionnaire (See Appendix A).

Out of the ten participants, six were born in the United States; three were born in Mexico, and one in Puerto Rico as illustrated in Table 3.1. Six of the students had lived in the United States all their lives since they had been born there. The rest of the participants had lived in the United States for periods of time ranging from three years to nine years. The student that had spent the least time living in the United States, three years, was the student from Puerto Rico. The three students from Mexico had been in the United States for four, five and nine years. Since the approximate average age of the participants was assumed to be seventeen years of

age, seventeen years of residence was assigned for the participants born in the United States.

Table 3.1

Demographic Questionnaire							
Participants	Question 1:	Question 2:	Question 3:	Question 4:	Question 5:	Question 6:	Question 9:
	Birthplace	How long in the US	L1	Language spoken with parents	Language spoken with siblings	Language spoken with friends	Student believes he/she is most Proficient at in...
1	USA (CA)	17	Spanish	Spanish	Spanglish	Spanglish	Spanish
2	USA (CA)	17	Spanish	Spanish	Spanglish	English	Both
3	USA (TX)	17	English	Both	English*	Both	English
4	USA (TX)	17	English	Both	English	English	English
5	USA	17	Spanish	Spanish	English	English	Both
6	PR	3	Spanish	Spanish	Spanglish	Both	Spanish
7	MX	5	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
8	MX	9	English	Spanish	English	Both	English
9	MX	4	Spanish	Spanglish	Spanglish	Spanglish	Both
10	USA (CA)	17	Spanish	Spanglish	Spanglish	Spanglish	English

USA = United States; CA = California; TX = Texas; PR = Puerto Rico; MX = Mexico.

Seven of the participants considered Spanish to be their first language. Only three of them thought of English as their first language. Of these three students, one was born in Mexico and two were born in Texas. I found this unexpected since Mexico is a Spanish-speaking country and Texas has a high rate of Spanish speaking residents (See Table 3.1).

Setting

The target group attended a suburban public high school in a large metropolitan city in the upper Midwest. Students participated in an after school program called Latino Club that meets regularly at the high school. The group met informally for one hour after school during the school year. The goal of the meetings was to receive help with homework and to prepare for an annual art show and performance to build pride and create community awareness of the contributions of Latin-American cultures.

Data

To answer my question, I mainly needed the following first-order data: samples of colloquial interactions by English-Spanish bilingual users of Spanglish. As to first-order, etic data, I used samples of individuals talking to each other informally during “social” time to observe when they used Spanish, English or Spanglish and looked for certain recurring functions, if any.

As to second-order, emic data, I needed feedback from subjects about their use of both English and Spanish and their knowledge of the concept of Spanglish. Questions asking for information regarding language spoken by the participants, and with whom, and whether they knew what Spanglish is, were included in the questionnaire administered prior to data collection.

Data Collection and Analyses

For data collection to be valid, a clearly developed, consistent set of procedures needed to be used. It was important to determine the data collection technique for what was being investigated (Anderson, 1998).

I remained flexible as to what the emergent data suggested and adapted to relevant data rather than use pre-established concepts. For example, in the case of new

language functions that arose in the transcripts beyond those already expected to arise, I modified or added new categories (Merriam, 1998).

The data collection took place during three one-hour sessions in the same teacher's room provided at the high school to hold the Latino Club meetings. Students met twice a week during the school year with two supervisors to do homework, prepare for an annual show and hang out. One goal of the program is to foster participation in a student created show to depict the cultural contributions of the Latino community and build pride on their Hispanic heritage. The main goal of the program is to find ways to help Latino students succeed in high school and lower the dropout rate.

Procedures

To strengthen this study, I collected data using several techniques in order to triangulate the findings. I gathered demographic data about all the subjects through an open-ended, one-page questionnaire to collect background information about the participants (See Appendix A). I audio taped and observed participants during data collection.

Demographic Questionnaire

To learn about the participants' background and language proficiency, I gathered demographic data about all the subjects through an open-ended, one-page questionnaire to collect background information about the participants (See Appendix A). The demographic questionnaire gave me perspective on the language background of the participants and prepared the arena for the data collection.

To make sure the questionnaire was clear in its format and presentation, I pre-tested the questionnaire with two subjects that were not been included in the research. Responses from these test subjects were then grouped into categories.

Students completed the questionnaire on site thus assuring that their responses were their own ideas and perceptions. Students were not prompted to answer in any specific way. Nonetheless, because they were talking to each other while completing the questionnaire, they might have been influenced by peers in giving certain responses. They had questions on whether to write their names on the questionnaire. They were told it was optional, but that they did not have to write their names. They were also informed of the confidentiality of the data collected and how their cooperation in this project would foster a better understanding on the reasons for code-switching.

A few students hesitated when answering question number five and six, (What language do you speak with your siblings/friends?), saying that it depended on with which friends they were interacting with because they had friends that only spoke English and friends that spoke both Spanish and English. They stated that friends and siblings sometimes used Spanish, sometimes used English and sometimes used Spanglish.

Taping and Observations.

I audiotaped the participants during three one-hour sessions. They were attending an after school program for Hispanic students at the end of the school year. I also took field notes as participants informally interacted during two of the scheduled meetings. During session one, I used ten tape recorders scattered about the room. During session two, I used four recorders. During session three, I used six recorders scattered around the room on different tables that the students were gathered around.

This last session was a pizza party to thank participants for their cooperation in this study.

The recording started out with clear consciousness of the presence of the recorders. Students referred to the recording several times discussing how they worked or commenting on them. For example, when a student tried to deny what she had said another one replied: “*Don’t deny it ‘coz you are guilty. I got proof.Do you want me to rewind it (the tape recorder), I can prove it on you*”. They showed special interest in the digital recorders used since most of them had never seen that type of recorder. Eventually, most of the students forgot about the recorders, especially after the first session.

Data Analysis

To analyze the data collected, I first listened to all recordings of all sessions and selected the most prolific to focus on. I based my selection on those conversations where the students used the most Spanglish or where a pattern was found. Because discourse is part of context, the selected whole sessions were transcribed.

After transcribing all the selected sessions, I color-coded the transcripts into three categories: English, Spanish and Spanglish. I selected the utterances in Spanglish to categorize language functions in Spanglish to see whether the participants performed certain language functions, such as teasing, joking or expressing surprise. In the selection of categories I attempted to reflect on the purpose of this research and aimed at answering the research question: To explore when bilingual Spanish-English speakers chose to use Spanglish rather than Spanish or English in their interactions

with other bilinguals. I wanted to specifically explore whether the use of Spanglish was constrained to the performance of certain specific language functions.

I made attempts to guarantee that the selection be exhaustive in a way that all relevant data fit into a category or subcategory and be mutually exclusive. I sought that each unit fit into the appropriate category or categories, be transparent, clear and conceptually congruent. In other words, I made sure that similar concepts were grouped together (Merriam, 1998).

Based on the premise that bilingual speakers make their choices to better fit their intentions, I built my language functions categories taking into account the following set of motivations:

- a. To add socio-pragmatic⁶ force: create empathy or rapport, joking, teasing, i.e., the speaker was trying to be friendly or funny.
- b. To mark discourse (discourse markers): words or phrases used to signal a change of topic, provide emphasis, etc. Examples: *by the way* and *Hey* to mark introductions of new topics, *anyway* to mark the return to a topic, *well* to show disagreement, *you know* to build solidarity, *actually* to provide emphasis.
- c. To lexicalize a semantic/pragmatic feature from the Embedded Language (EL), in this case English, that better conveys or simplifies the speaker's intentions than available lexemes from the Matrix Language (ML); in this case Spanish, i.e. existing ML and EL lexemes

⁶ Members of the community must share socio-cultural norms or it may lead to "pragmatic failure"; thus to a misinterpretation of the message intended by the speaker (Thomas, 1981, 1983 as cited in Leech, 1983). Example: Contrary to the speaker's intention, a joke or teasing might be perceived as offensive.

show a pragmatic mismatch. Examples: using the word *email* instead of *correo electrónico* or *imelear* instead of *enviar un correo electrónico* (send an email,) or *snow blower*.

- d. To lexicalize a semantic/pragmatic feature that exists only in the EL because there was a lexical gap in the ML i.e., the word or concept does not exist in Spanish, or it was unknown to the speaker, or vice versa. Example: the speaker used the English words *marshmallow* or *garage sale* or the Spanish terms *tortilla* or *siesta* (Myers-Scotton, 1997).

To further categorize the pragmatic functions that I found in my transcripts, I also followed the discourse or communicative approach suggested by Gumperz.

According to Gumperz (1982), code-switching can be found in almost every instance of conversation and a number of discourse functions mark these conversations. This communicative option is available to bilinguals as a means of expression and carries pragmatic meaning (Romaine, 1989; Gumperz (1982) as cited in Romaine 1989).

The categories that I used based on Gumperz set up are the following:

- Qualifying a message (a topic is introduced in one language and then further qualified in another)
- Clarifying or emphasizing a message.
- Interjections or sentence-fillers.
- Direct speech and reported speech or quotations.
- Marking personalization (reflects personal opinion or knowledge).
- Marking objectivization (reflects generally known fact).

First, recurring themes were identified on the tapes to identify the different topics present in the conversations. Then and to be able to identify and fit language functions into the appropriate category, I color coded the speech in the transcripts. I used color red for Spanish, color green for English or color blue for Spanglish. After that, recurring communicative language functions in Spanglish were identified on the transcripts to create additional categories. Finally, I entered the color coded data into an Xcel spreadsheet to fit into the categories created.

An etic perspective was used. As recommended by Merriam (1998), I collected and partially analyzed data simultaneously. To increase the reliability of my study I crossed checked my category-coding with insight and feedback from other bilingual teaching colleagues.

Ethics

I accepted the responsibility to respect the rights, needs, values, and desires of my data subjects and I took into consideration the professional codes and federal regulations to protect them from harm, ensure the right to privacy, informed consent, and protection from deception.

I followed schools' research policies, sent consent letters in Spanish to Spanish speaking parents and informed participants on what the study consisted of and what would be required of them.

This study employed the following safeguards to protect participants' rights:

- I shared the research objectives with the participants.
- I obtained written permissions from students and parents (bilingual Spanish-English informed consent).

- I followed involved organizations research policy procedures regarding human subject research.
- I kept the names of the students anonymous and destroyed all compromising records, such as names, addresses and phone numbers.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the methods used to explore the research question were presented. The rationale and description of the research design were stated along with a description of the qualitative paradigm and the data collection protocols together with a description of the participants and instruments that were used to collect and analyze the necessary data. I tried to avoid the following possible limitations of this study: intentional or unintentional biases in the researcher, descriptive data that was not clear and thus unintentionally presented in a misleading way, sampling and external validity problems that made it difficult to generalize the findings. The next chapter presents the results of this study.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to explore and identify the communicative motivations that a group of bilingual adolescents had to code-switch in informal social interactions. This Chapter will present the analysis and critical findings I made from the data collected.

Finding Number One: Domain influences language choice.

According to Fishman (2000), domain is a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture, in such a way that “individual behavior and social patterns can be distinguished for each other and yet related to each other.” (p. 94). The different domains of behavior will determine language choice and topic.

Analysis of the data showed that the students made a choice as to when they spoke Spanish, English and Spanglish, and that this choice was influenced by their domain. Fifty percent of the students said they preferred speaking Spanish with their parents.⁷ None reported speaking English with their parents. Three of the students said they spoke both English and Spanish with their parents, but one of these three said she spoke more Spanish than English although she spoke both. Only two of the students reported speaking Spanglish with their parents, but it is uncertain whether

⁷ Appendix A, Answers to Question Number 4.

they meant Spanglish or both, English and Spanish, since only one of these students gave an adequate definition of Spanglish.⁸

According to Fishman (2000), certain domains such as the family domain seem to be more resistant to displacement than other domains. For example, the occupational domain. Because younger immigrants more frequently leave the family to integrate into the host community to go to school or work, they are more likely to be influenced by the host language and culture than those family members that remain within the realm of the home.

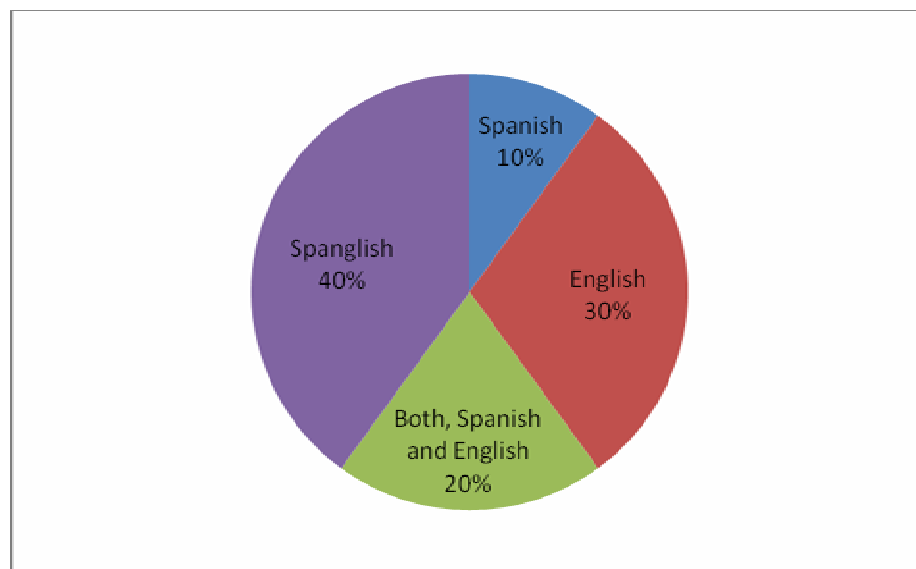


Figure 4.1. Language spoken with siblings.

Spanish was spoken in equal percentages with both siblings and friends (See Figures 4.1 and 4.2). The fact that Spanish, English and Spanglish were used with friends and siblings may be due to age factor. Friends and siblings were close in age range, i.e.; ranging between 14 and 18 years of age. As Zentella argues in her study of Puerto Rican children, bilingualism was a significant part of their lives. This may

⁸ Appendix A, Question 11.

have been true for the participants in my study. Spanish and English overlap to the extent that bilingualism, she claims, should not be looked at as “compartmentalized” (1997). Figure 4.2 shows that 60 percent of students said they spoke either English or both languages with their friends.

Four students stated that they spoke Spanglish with siblings. Three said they used English, two said they spoke both, English and Spanish, and one said Spanish.⁹ Refer to Figure 4.1 to see illustration of language choice with siblings.

The results for language spoken with friends were slightly different from the results of linguistic behavior with siblings. The percentage of English spoken with friends was higher than with siblings or parents. The percentage of Spanglish spoken with siblings was higher than with friends.¹⁰

Three students said they spoke English with their friends and three students said they spoke both, Spanish or English, depending on who their friends were. Similar answers were given by those students that said they spoke Spanglish with their friends. They claimed it depended on whether the friend understood Spanish or not. The only student that said he or she spoke Spanish with friends was the same student from Mexico, participant number seven, who had stated that he lived in the US for five years.

The results of the sampling showed that Spanish was the language most commonly used in the family domain. I have identified parents as family belonging to the family domain. Although siblings also belong to the family domain, I have also

⁹ Appendix A, question number 5.

¹⁰ Appendix A, question number 6.

included siblings and friends as peers in the school and friendship/fun domain. I took into account the younger age factor as opposed to parents considered adults and the

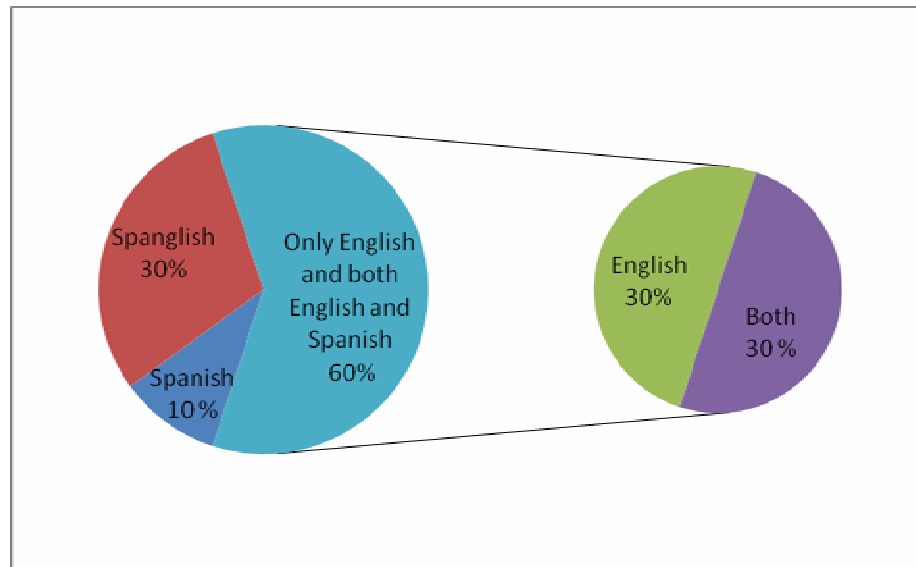


Figure 4.2. Language spoken with friends.

assumption that the participants shared school and games with siblings and friends.

English, Spanish and Spanglish were spoken in the school/friendship/fun domain to a much greater extent than in the family domain.

The average length of residence in the United States of the participants was 12.3 years. In the process of immigration over time, due to more interaction with English-speaking Americans (attending school), social mobility, and acculturation (adjusting to the new culture), bilingualism becomes characterized by far greater domain overlap and by far greater interference. The result is progressively greater “coordinate functioning” or “coordinate bilingualism” as opposed to “compound bilingualism”, where each language remains strictly separated with almost no overlapping domains.

For the second generations during childhood, languages function more independently of each other and domain overlap is at its maximum (Fishman, 2000 p. 101).

The findings show code-mixing and code-switching occurring outside of the family domain. The degree to which this occurs in settings beyond the school/friendship/fun domain cannot be determined given the parameters of this study.

Finding Number Two: The most favored type of borrowing was of culture specific items.

Borrowing may generally be attributed to factors such as prestige and need. Culture specific terms, e.g. those referring to food, are frequently borrowed (Romaine, 1989). My data illustrated that some words borrowed from English into Spanish also have to do with science, technology, computing and the Internet. The examples I found regarding these categories were: *Ipod* and *high speed internet*.

Lexical borrowing seemed to take place more frequently when students needed to refer to culturally specific items such as “prom”, American food and drinks and labels used to refer to grades in high school “freshman” or “juniors”. Other instances were to lexicalize a semantic/pragmatic feature that better conveys or simplifies the speaker’s intention, e.g., “pizza party”, “navy”, “amenities”.

Twenty two different topics were identified in the corpus of spontaneous speech used by the ten participants informally interacting with each other. They have been labeled A through V (See Table 4.1).

Context of Lexical Borrowing Findings

Appendix B classifies the topics listed in Table 4.1 under some of the most prevalent factors for lexical borrowing: (1) items that better convey a speaker's intentions in English; (2) items that only exist in English, and (3) items that only exist in Spanish (Myers-Scotton, 1997). Appendix B was intended to provide some context to the lexical borrowings identified. It was organized taking into account the types of topics the participants discussed.

The most favored type of borrowing was of culture specific items, especially items that did not exist in Spanish or that better conveyed the pragmatic meaning intended by the speaker. Several times in the recordings, speakers borrowed the words, *prom*, *juniors*, *seniors*, *sophomore* and *freshman* to lexicalize a semantic/pragmatic feature from the Embedded Language (EL), in this case English. For example, the word *prom* better conveys and simplifies the speaker's intentions than the available lexemes from the Matrix Language (ML). Although the Spanish expressions equivalent to *prom*, (*fiesta de graduación or fiesta de colación de grados*), show a somehow semantic similarity, the EL lexeme *prom*, better lexicalizes the pragmatic feature. The same occurs with the words *senior*, *junior*, *sophomore* and *freshman* because Spanish does not use those denominations to refer to the ninth, tenth, 11th and 12th grades in high school. Something similar was observed when a speaker used the word *party* instead of *fiesta* because there is a semantic mismatch between the two lexemes. The word *party* does not exactly translate the same concept into Spanish because there is a difference in the connotation carried by the word *fiesta*.

Other illustrations of borrowing used by the participants were: *soccer*, *navy*, *freedom of speech*, and *pepperoni*. These items better convey the speaker's intentions

in English or only exist in English. The word *soccer* was used to clarify the sport referred to since the word *fútbol* is reserved to refer to soccer and not to American football.

The word *navy* and the expression *freedom of speech* may have been chosen because they refer to concepts the speaker experienced or learned in English. When talking about food, the speaker was offering pizza to his/her interlocutor and borrowed the term *pepperoni* that does not exactly exist in Spanish. Likewise, in both instances the borrowed lexemes were used to lexicalize a semantic/pragmatic feature that exists only in the EL because there was a lexical gap in the ML; i.e., the word or concept does not exist in Spanish, or it was unknown to the speaker. There is no pepperoni pizza in Latin America.

Table 4.1

List of topics identified in the conversations

Topic A: Talking about completing a demographic questionnaire	Topic L: Telling someone what to do (instructions)
Topic B: Talking about prom	Topic M: Talking about candy wrappings
Topic C: Talking about age	Topic N: Talking about food
Topic D: Talking about misbehaving	Topic O: Talking about how the recorder works
Topic E: Talking about a TV show/radio	Topic P: Interviewing someone
Topic F: Talking about an apartment to rent	Topic Q: Talking about resembling someone else
Topic G: Talking about plans	Topic R: Talking about place of birth and where you have lived
Topic H: Talking about someone that is leaving	Topic S: Talking about future goals
Topic I: Talking about photos	Topic T: Telling jokes
Topic J: Playing hangman	Topic U: Talking about math problem
Topic K: Talking about sexual orientation. (Teasing)	Topic V: Sports

Finding Number Three: Speakers have to be fully bilingual to code-switch and code-mix

This study also showed and validated past research that a speaker must be fully bilingual to be able to fully code-switch. As stated in chapter two, monolingual speakers insert elements from one language into the grammatical frame of another but only bilingual speakers are able to engage in code-switching since they need to know both languages involved (Myers-Scotton, 1997). Bilinguals are able to alternate between the codes of two different languages Zentella (1997).

The following examples illustrate this finding: The supervisors were speaking Spanish, but the participant code-switched and responded in English describing the features he believed supervisor one had in common with supervisor two. To be able to do this requires higher fluency in both languages than to use a tag-like or crutch-like¹¹ switch.

B: “You guys have the same nose. You guys have the same nose.”

S1: “*No,! Tengo la nariz de mi padre. Dice que tenemos la misma nariz*” (“No, I have my father’s nose.” (To a third person, S2) “He says we have the same nose”)

B: “The same forehead.”

S2: “*No, es igual al papa.... Mostrale una foto de tu papa. Idéntica.*” (“No, she takes after her father...”(to S1) “Show her a picture of your dad. Identical.”).

B: “Ok, if you say so.” (CS: The participant is talking to the supervisors.).

¹¹ Tag-like and crutch-like switches are types of code-switching that require less fluency in both languages (Poplack, 1980 as cited in Romaine, 1989).

Another example of inter-sentential switching could be observed when the speaker code-switched to express a feeling of disgust when she said: “Oh my God! It’s so annoying! *Solo verle su cara me da...*” (“....Only to see his face makes me...”). Although the second sentence was unfinished, the speaker clearly switched inter-sententially from English to Spanish.

In the following example, the speakers are code-switching to describe an apartment to rent.

B2: “No, with the deposit. Oh yeah, there is a deposit. Two hundred dollars. It has a pool in the back. Seven nine ninety nine (799). *Son dos apartamentos, dos cuartos, dos apartamentos.*” (“....They are two apartments, two rooms, two apartments

B2: “*Y te dan, te dan con las amenities te dan high speed internet...*” (“And they give you with the amenities, they give you High speed internet”...).

B 1: “*Duda que tenga sauna, yacuzzi, alberca, güey!*” (“Doubt that they have a pool, dude!”).

B 2: “*Tienen atrás una pool*” (“They have a pool in the back”).

In the following example, the speakers are code-mixing to talk about where someone was born or has lived.

G: “*Mi papa vive twelve hours away from an ocean too...*” (“My dad lives twelve hours from an ocean too...”) (CM:

G: “*En Oaxaca?*” (“In Oaxaca?”)

B: “*Yo viví en Oaxaca, pero....* What part?” (CS: I lived in Oaxaca but... What part?)

G: “*Tonaca.*” (“Tonaca”). (CM/CS: The speakers are talking about where someone has lived).

Continuing with topic N, talking about food, in Table 4.2, Integrated Morphology Items, one of the speakers used the English verb “to order” with a Spanish inflection of the present tense first person plural, *-amos*. According to Sankoff and Poplack, 1981 as cited in Romaine (1989), a switch can only occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form if the lexical form has been phonologically integrated into the language of the morpheme. This is the so called *free morpheme constraint* (p.115). In this manner the prediction that *ordenamos* is permissible is fulfilled because the verb to order is phonologically integrated into Spanish as *ordenar* (*orden* + *-ar* [infinitive marker] + the inflectional morpheme *-amos* that carries grammatical information, first person plural present tense indicative mood).

Another example of English lexicon with a Spanish inflectional morpheme that I observed in my data was: *pushé* (“I pushed”) (See Table 4.2). The speaker was referring to the fact that he had pushed the button in the tape recorder. “To push” belongs to the English lexicon and has been added the inflection for the first person singular preterite tense indicative mood. The stress on the final vowel for the corresponding verb conjugation was kept. The conversation took place between the group supervisor and one of the students. They were talking about a tape recorder. Even though in the demographic questionnaire the student had no difficulty giving a definition of Spanglish, here he was unaware of the fact that he had code-mixed when he used *pushé* (“I pushed”). The supervisor answered him by also using the Spanglish conjugation corresponding to the pronoun *tú* (you informal) of the preterite

tense indicative mood of the verb to push, *pusheaste*. When she explained to the student that what he was using was Spanglish, he showed surprise (See Table 4.2).

Table 4.2

Integrated morphology items.

(a) Topic O: Talking about tape recorders

B: “*Ya paró, esta también.*” (“It stopped, this one too”).

S: “*Ponemos este.*” (“We put this one”).

B: “*Ya lo pushé*” (“I have already pushed it”). (Referring to pushing the button on the tape recorder, the speaker is using an English verb ‘push’ with a Spanish inflection for the preterite tense first person singular).

S: “*Ya lo pusheaste? Eso es Spanglish porque no se dice pushear se dice empujar*” (“Have you pushed it already? That is Spanglish because you do not say *pushear* you say *empujar*”).

B: “*Pushear*” (“To push”).

S: “Push it”.

(b) Topic N: Talking about food

B: “*Ordenamos unas pizzas ?Ordenamos unas pizzas hoy?* (“Should we order some pizzas? Should we order some pizzas, today?”)

The research study showed that the students borrowed and code-switched extensively between English and Spanish. The primary uses for borrowing were in instances where the borrowed word more accurately conveyed the intent of the speaker.

Finding Number Four: Borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing were mostly used to emphasize, clarify and describe.

The primary use for code-switching or code-mixing was to clarify or emphasize.

Speakers also used CS or CM to express feelings, to be funny, to talk about plans and to request.

Table 4.3

Functions

(a) Topic E: Expressing feelings

G: “*OK , you can go echarle en la face*”. (“OK, you can throw it on the face”).

(b) Unidentified topic. Emphasis.

G: “*Mi nombre no es buena, mister!*” (“My name is not *good girl*, mister!”)

(c) Topic E: Being funny

G: “*Yo así aprendí mis vowels! A, E, I, O, U, el burro sabe más que tú*”

(“That’s how I learned my vowels! A, e, i, o, u, the donkey knows more than you do!”).

(d) Topic G: Making plans

S: “*El picnic se pasó para el 4*” (“The picnic was moved to the 4th”).

G: “*¿Por qué? Why?*” (“Why?”).

(e) Topic O: Requesting

B: “*¿Tienes una pelota? ¿Tienes pelota? Tu machine, ¿dónde está? Pues,*

tráela” (“Do you have a ball? Do you have a ball? Your machine, where is it?

Then, bring it”).

In chapter two I referred to Zentella's classification of conversational strategies. Bilingual speakers use those strategies when they make language choices and switches based on their "in the head" knowledge. Nevertheless, because there are many different ways of being bilingual and language choices are individual, members of the same social network often create their own style of discourse (Zentella, 1997).

Table 4.4

Zentella's Conversational Strategies

(1) Conversational Strategy 1: Footing

Example:

G: "*Si, Vegas. No, never mind.*" ("Yes, Vegas. No, never mind") (The speaker is playing hangman. She thinks she has guessed the word).

(2) Conversational Strategy 2: Clarification and/or Emphasis

Example:

G: "*pero cuando esta el* (but when the ... is) power whatever.... "... "*es así, no ?*" (it is like this, right?)... "No, no, no,,no, *cierto*" ("correct"). (CM: the speaker is talking about a math problem clarifying a concept).

(3) Conversational Strategy 3: Crutch-like CM

Example:

B: "*Pancho, guarata* (sounds like), you know". ("Pancho, guarata")

(Translation for the word *guarata* has not been found) (CM: The speaker is using the interjections *you know* as a sentence filler

In Appendix C, I categorized some of the switches in my transcripts according to these conversational strategies. In Table 4.4, I grouped some examples of the

switches that correspond to Zentella's categorization that I observed in my study.

Some switches overlapped and fit into more than one category.

Crutch-like CM strategies were not frequently favored. In Table 4.4 the interjection *you know* is used as a sentence filler crutch switching from Spanish to English.

B: "*Pancho, guarata* (sounds like), you know". ("*Pancho, guarata*") *Note.* Translation for the word *guarata* has not been found.

This crutch-like type of CM is similar to the above mentioned tag-like CM. This type of switching requires less fluency in both languages than inter-sentential CS because it only involves the insertion of a word into a sentence that is all in the other language. Syntactic rules are not violated.

I found several instances to illustrate the point that tag like code-mixing is often used when the speaker's intention is to clarify, or seek clarification. Participant number six was explaining a problem-solving process. The speaker offered help to two boys that were doing math homework. She hesitated and doubted about what the right process was to solve the math problem. Participant six was a girl originally from Puerto Rico and had only been in the United States for three years. In the demographic questionnaire she declared she considered Spanish her first language. Although she spoke English very well, she also thought her proficiency in Spanish was higher. I was unable to confirm this fact, but I assumed that she learned to do math operations in her L1, Spanish, and was using crutch-like code-mixing in order to explain and clarify the process to herself and/or others (Zentella, 1997). In the following excerpt, she code-mixed several times either to clarify the message or to describe the process to others and/or to herself. She used the switches as crutch-like

fillers when talking about Topic U: “OK, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12,*es así, no?*” (“it is like this, right?”), and “No, no, no, no, *cierto*” (“correct”). She used tag like code-mixing in order to clarify, seek clarification or emphasize. Poplack (1980 as cited in Romaine) identified tag like code-mixing as a third type of code-switching, besides inter-sentential and intra-sentential, that requires less fluency in both languages.

An instance to emphasize or clarify by means of CS or CM was by specifying the addressee as the recipient of the message. One of the participants code-mixed using English first and then the Spanish word *vete*: “Come on, Pancho, *vete!*” (“Come on, Pancho, come on!”). Also, other speakers used repetition to emphasize the message and appeal to the addressee: “Pancho, *órale!*” The word *órale* is a Mexican interjection that also means *come on*.

Another example of code-switching by specifying an addressee as the recipient of the message was: “*Pancho! Pancho!!* Frank, Frank, Frank, *Francisco.*” The speaker code-switched calling someone by the Spanish nickname of the name Francisco, *Pancho* then switching to the nickname in English, *Frank*.

Finding Number Five: Switches occurred at predictable points where neither of the two languages syntactic rule was violated.

I could observe code-mixing when the speaker switched from Spanish to English in the following example: B: “*Estoy haciendo una entrevista* today so... (CM) How are you guys?” (“I am making an interview...”). The speaker was joking pretending to be interviewing another student on her graduation. He code-mixed using Spanish first and introducing the word *today* followed by *so*, then, left the sentence

incomplete. Even when the unfinished sentence is in English the interlocutor responded in Spanish. Both speakers continued to code-switch for the rest of the conversation. The switch occurred after the object NP (noun phrase) (*una entrevista*). This switch does not fit into any of the possible rule governed switches predicted by Sankoff and Poplack (1981 as cited in Romaine, 1989). The switch was possible because both languages share the same ordering. In Spanish you would say: “*Estoy haciendo una entrevista hoy así que...*”, in English it would be: “I am making an interview today so...”). The juxtaposition of the two languages did not break a syntactic rule in either language (See Table 4.5).

Sankoff and Poplack’s principle of *equivalence constraint* accounts for possible points of code-switching in Spanish/English discourse (1981, as cited in Romaine, 1989, p. 116). The principle states that these occurrence points can be predicted. The switches will happen at those points where neither of the two languages syntactic rule is violated. Table 4.5 illustrates the possibilities.

The same principle applies for borrowing instances such as the following: “*Vine así como penguin*” (“I came like a penguin”) and “*Vine con una monkey suit, como dicen*” (“I came with a monkey suit, as they say”). The speakers meant: wearing a tuxedo. In English, a speaker would say: “[I] came like this, like a penguin”, in Spanish the same ordering is followed: “*Vine así, como pingüino.*”, and “I came with a monkey suit, like they say” in Spanish becomes “*Vine con un traje de mono, como dicen.*”, the word order (S (subject)) V(verb) + adverbial + noun) is not altered. The only difference is that in Spanish a null subject is permitted while in English it is not (See Appendix B).

When the speaker said: “*le sacas* (“you take off”) four” the switch occurred between verb and object NP. When she said: “*te quedas con ocho* (“you keep eight”) and so *lo que puedes hacer es...*” (“...what you can do is...”), the switch occurred around a coordinate or subordinate conjunction. These two instances of CM fall into the possible switch sites for Spanish/English suggested by Sankoff and Poplack (1981 as cited in Romaine, 1989). Another example used by the same speaker was the following: “*aquí* (here) in this one”. In this case the switch was situated around an adverbial of place, *aquí* (here).

Another is example is: “*Yo así aprendí mis vowels! A, E, I, O, U, el burro sabe más que tú!*” (“That’s how I learned my vowels! A, e, i, o, u, the donkey knows more than you do!”). It could again be observed that the WO (word order) was not altered in this switch. The Spanish version would be: “*Yo así aprendí mis vocales.*”

Table 4.5

Sankoff and Poplack’s Possible Rule-Governed Switches from Spanish to English

- (1) Between determiner and noun;
 - (2) Between subject NP (noun phrase) and VP (verb phrase);
 - (3) Between verb and object NP;
 - (4) Between auxiliary and verb;
 - (5) Between preposition and NP;
 - (6) Internal to the prepositional phrase;
 - (7) Around coordinate and subordinate conjunctions.
-

Finding Number Six: Most of the situations where the speakers chose to appeal to humor were carried out in Spanish.

The ironic humorous conversations as well as the side remarks, or the setting off of humorous or funny statements were mainly done in Spanish. It seemed that most of the speakers in this study chose to use language Spanish to be funny (See Appendix D). Using the example above again, one of the speakers, while playing hangman, used code-mixing and rhyme to appeal to humor: “*Yo así aprendí mis vowels! A, E, I, O, U, el burro sabe más que tú!*” (“That’s how I learned my vowels! A, e, i, o, u, the donkey knows more than you do!”). The name of the letter *u* and the word *tú* (you informal) rhyme in Spanish, thus making it sound funny. Besides, the word *burro* (donkey) carries the connotation of a person not being smart and doing poorly in school or being uneducated. Consequently, if you are told that the donkey knows more than you do, the implication is that you are not smart at all.

I found it interesting to notice that one of the speakers appealed to humor when she compared the phonology of the words *hielo* (ice) (<'jelo>) in Spanish and the adjective *yellow* (<'jeləʊ>) in English to clarify her interlocutor’s intention. The speaker cleared it up in a funny way, clarifying that her friend was referring to the word *hielo* (“ice”) and not to *yellow*, the adjective for the color.

Other humorous instances were observed when the speakers were talking about a TV program in the Spanish broadcasting channel Univision and they were teasing another boy about his sexual orientation.

It seemed that the participants were comfortable with each other and had developed a common style of linguistic behavior. The great amount of teasing, joking and making fun of each other that was observed may also be attributed to a characteristic of teenage talk.

Conclusion

It is important to bear in mind that the knowledge people have to change and adapt their language to fit the constraints of social context is not always conscious (Goodman, 1987). Nonetheless, I hope participants obtained, if not a better understanding of their own language perceptions, at least gained awareness and insight on the issue of language, culture and bilingualism.

In the data presented in the previous chapter, I was able to observe the three most visible characteristics of Spanglish: borrowing, CS and CM. The examples of lexical borrowing collected showed the influence of one culture over another. The examples of code-switching and code-mixing allowed me to confirm Myers-Scotton's and Zentella's aforementioned basic premises, respectively, that to be able to code switch a person must have the necessary linguistic repertoire to do so and that speakers have in their heads a shared linguistic and social knowledge on how to manage conversations.

All the participants in this study were able to code-switch because they were bilinguals who fell into a certain demographic description and because they shared in their head the knowledge to be able to manage such conversations (Zentella, 1997). To some extent, it was possible to observe in the data collected that the participants produced well-formed utterances respecting the rules of both languages because (a) the grammatical structures they used were predictable and they were supported by knowledge of those norms, and (b) they had motivations to choose to perform certain functions using monolingual or bilingual speech (Myers Scotton, 1997). Examples of

those motivations are given in Tables 4.15, 4.16 and 4.17 and fully transcribed in the Appendixes).

The results of this study may be summarized as follows: (1) Domain influences language choice; (2) The most favored type of borrowing was of culture specific items; (3) Speakers of Spanish have to be fully bilingual to code-switch and code-mix; (4) Borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing were mostly used to emphasize, clarify and describe; (5) Switches occurred at predictable points where neither of the two languages syntactic rule was violated, and (6) Most of the situations where the speakers chose to appeal to humor were carried out in Spanish.

In this chapter, I presented the results of my data collection. In Chapter Five I will discuss my conclusions and major findings, their implications, and suggestions for further research based on what I learned from this experience.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

In chapter four, I presented the data collected from the research. In this chapter, I will discuss my major findings, the limitations and implications of this study and what suggestions I have for future research. I will explain what I learned from my findings, what other insights I gained that I was not expecting, and what conclusions I drew. In this research project I attempted to identify the motivations a group of bilingual adolescents had to code-switch in informal social interactions.

Demographic Information

The students' answers to the demographic questionnaire were not surprising. The first-hand information the participants gave about language shifting verified my assumptions that CS is part of these students reality. I had observed CS in school settings and at home among friends and family.

These examples represent the linguistic reality of first or second generation of immigrants that have grown up in a Spanish speaking home in an English-speaking country or in their Spanish-speaking native country and moved to the United States.

The fact that fifty percent of the participants said they spoke only Spanish with their parents, 30% of them said they spoke both English and Spanish, and the other 20

% said they spoke Spanglish demonstrates Fishman's aforementioned statement that the family domain is more resistant to displacement than other domains. (See Figures 2, 3, and 9). On the other hand, the percentage for only Spanish spoken with siblings and friends was as low as 10% (See Figures 4 and 5).

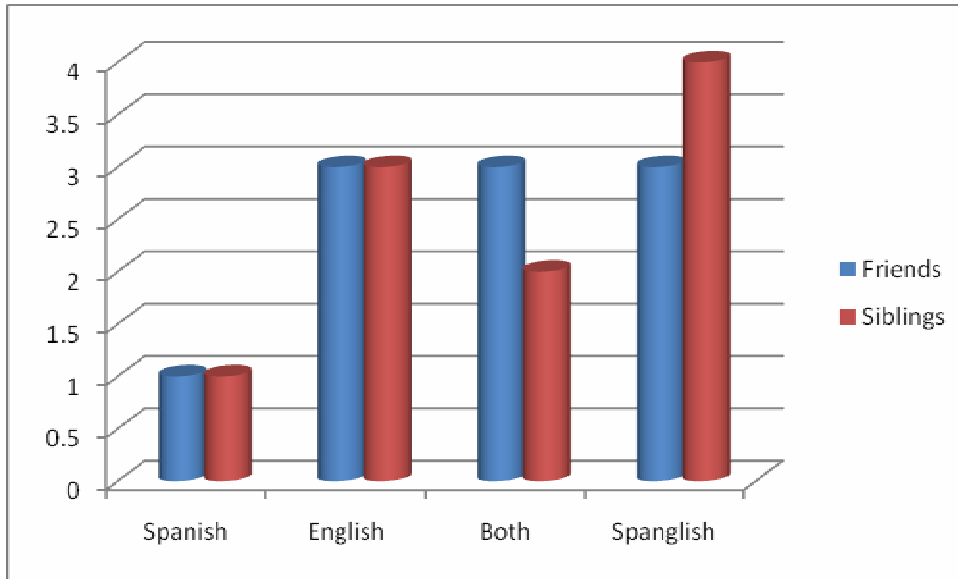


Figure 5.1. Language spoken with friends and siblings.

The individuals participating in this study were younger immigrants who left the family sphere of activity to integrate the host community to go to school. Thus influenced by the host language and culture, they not only became bilingual, but bicultural. They shared these characteristics with siblings and friends because they also shared similar ages.

Out of the nine participants who said they spoke both languages equally with friends and siblings, only one student responded that he spoke Spanish with a brother. It would have been interesting to ask whether he was referring to an older brother that perhaps came to the United States at an older age. Unfortunately, my questionnaire did not include demographic questions about age of family members, so I was unable to confirm the fact that Spanish is more resistant to displacement among older members of the community.

The degree of Spanish-English overlap was such that I was able to observe that bilingualism was not compartmentalized, as referred to by Zentella (1997), but rather, it fostered multiple instances of borrowing, CS and CM. Although Spanish was the dominant language during the recordings, there was a great deal of borrowing, CS and CM going on. The most favored type of borrowing was of culture specific items, especially items that did not exist in Spanish or that better conveyed the pragmatic meaning intended by the speaker. The two most visible circumstances were: (1) clarification or emphasis, and (2) describing a situation or process (See Tables 6 and 7 and Appendixes). The influence of the cultural schema on the mind of the speaker, referred to in the literature review, probably made her make the language choice, *party* instead of *fiesta*. The concept of *fiesta* means more than just getting together in school to eat pizza. An event of that sort is not quite a *fiesta* but just a party, a get together without the implications of a lot of fun, music and dancing.

I may argue that the participants in my study demonstrated proficient use of what Fishman calls coordinate bilingualism through the coordinate use of functions when they smoothly code-switched from one language into another. The two languages involved did not remain separate or compartmentalized, but integrated with clear messages easily understood by the members of this small community that shared the same background knowledge and cultural schema.

This shared mental codification of experience, such as being first or second generation bilingual immigrants, allowed them to organize their perceptions and

respond likewise in a particular way to stimuli in similar situations. For example, two different speakers borrowed similar words in a similar context when they used the words *penguin* and *monkey suit* to refer to a tuxedo. It is unlikely that the words *esmoquin* or *frac* (“tuxedo” or “tail coat”) were in either of the speakers’ Spanish repertoire. Possibly, those were not words that were of common usage among teenagers or middle class immigrant families in the United States. Generally, the family domain supports a Low (L) variety of the language as opposed to a High (H) variety as stated in chapter four.

I found it interesting that nine of the participants were able to articulate a very accurate definition of Spanglish. This demonstrated their language awareness and perceptions, and to some extent a metalinguistic understanding of their bilingual situation.

Borrowing, Code -switching and Code-mixing

In the following discussion and based on my observations, I will try to account for the sociolinguistic situation of the participants in my study. The lexical borrowings and language switches the participants chose to make were open to different interpretations, so I have attempted to give my own. Not every switch could be identified with a particular function, and it was hard to pinpoint the reason for the borrowing or switch.

Bilingual speakers use conversational strategies, as explained in chapter two, to make language choices and switches based on their ‘in the head’ knowledge. CS and/or CM are not entirely universal. There are also individual strategies, strategies that

develop with certain communities of code-switchers (Zentella, 1997). It was not possible to make conclusive generalizations regarding the switches, so most of them should be considered individual strategies.

It was not surprising to see that crutch-like CM was not the most favored strategy. This fact supports the answers the participants gave in the questionnaire about their proficiency in both languages because crutch-like and/or tag-like CM do not require high fluency in both languages. The data demonstrated that these individuals were fluent in both languages because they were capable of making more sophisticated switches. Even though I did not administer a proficiency evaluation, it could be argued that the participants were able to code-switch and code-mix because they were fluent bilinguals with high proficiency in English and Spanish.

In the following section I will discuss the switches identified in the corpus of spontaneous speech collected. These switches were statements made by the participants while they were informally interacting with each other in conversations about various topics. In my discussion, I will refer to inter-sentential code-switching as CS (code-switching) and to intra-sentential code-switching as CM (code-mixing). I fit the language samples of lexical borrowings and language switches into one of the twenty-two topics that the participants used in order to provide some context to the utterances (See Table 4.13).

In the following conversation excerpts, Topic B: “*¿Como estuvo el prom?*” (“How was the prom?”) and “*Los que pueden ir al prom son los juniors y seniors.*” (“Those

that can go to *prom* are the juniors and seniors.”), CS is occurring between the determiner and the noun abiding by *the equivalence constraint* principle predicted by Sankoff and Poplack (as cited in Romaine, 1989). The switch occurs at a point where the syntactic rule of neither language is violated. For example: NP = (det) N (*el prom/the prom*), or NP = (det) + N (*los juniors, the juniors*). The linguistic proficiency of the participants added to the social factors that made code-switching possible. The participants knew the syntactic rule for NP for both languages and so managed not to violate it when they code-mixed. In addition, because the word *prom* better conveyed the meaning intended by the speaker in the context given, he or she chose to borrow the word from English. The speaker was in a school setting in the United States, thus the word *prom* was a better choice than *colación de grados*. Besides, the chosen word also represents more accurately all the cultural implications it depicts, such as dressing up, or going out on a date. A similar case was the choice of the word *party* over the word *fiesta* (See Appendix B).

I will dispute the example given by Romaine (1989) regarding the *free morpheme constraint* concept. She claims that this constraint would predict that *flipeando* (flipping) would be permissible, but that because *catch* which has not been integrated into the phonology of Spanish would not be allowed, and therefore cannot take the Spanish suffix *-eando* that indicates progressive form. In the previously mentioned example of speech from my student Alfredo, he used the word *liqueando*, in Spanish *perdiendo o goteando*, (“...y fuimos a arreglar una chimenay que estaba

liqueando...) (“...and we went to fix a chimney that was leaking...”). Because the progressive suffix *-eando* was successfully attached to the lexical item, the verb *to leak* phonologically adapted as /lik/, abides by the free morpheme constraint principle. I argue that *catcheando* is just as permissible as *liqueando*. The progressive suffix *-eando* can be attached to the verb *to catch*, phonologically adapted into Spanish as /katΣ/, pronounced as /a/, front, low, open and unrounded, or as /ʌ/ central, mid, open and unrounded.

In his study of German/Italian code-switching, Auer (2000) hypothesized “that frequency of language alternation is most often similar for members of the same interactional network” (p. 183). This means that members of the same network adapt to each other and develop a common frequency of linguistic behavior because in interpersonal functions, language expresses attitudes and behaviors which may or may not be characterized by code-switching. Romaine, (1997) states that at the pragmatic level linguistic choices are manifested in the different varieties and styles of a language that spring from social relations created between participants in a conversation (Romaine, 1997). The fact that Spanish was the switched-to language used by most participants for being humorous and ironic, using side-remarks, or telling jokes supports the hypotheses above. I argue that the participants had developed a common style of language alternation behavior with a great amount of

frequent teasing and joking, or that the style observed was characteristic of adolescent talk.

In the examples presented for being funny-amusing/teasing, the participants used these functions to add socio-pragmatic force or relate to others through humor. For instance, the expression “*chamaco feo*” (“ugly boy”) was used to relate to another student by teasing him calling him *ugly*. Another student repeated the expression to emphasize the teasing and to show solidarity (See Appendix D).

Also in another instance, one of the students was asked to tell a joke. He explained that although he was a funny person, he never told jokes. Nevertheless, he told one that was incomplete and erratic. He used rhyme in Spanish to appeal to humor (See Appendix D).

Just as the switch-to language was Spanish for being humorous and funny, it was also Spanish the language given priority for swearing. Even though the participants were in an academic setting and they were aware of the fact that they were being recorded, there were several instances when using taboo language occurred. The speakers used the swearing words or expressions to tease, not to insult (See Appendix C).

Zentella’s classification of conversational strategies proved to be very helpful to identify what participants were doing when they were code-switching. The most favored strategy was clarification or emphasis, often by means of translation. This

point also demonstrates the bilingual proficiency of the participants who were able to translate accurately from one language into another. For example:

G: “*De rodillas !! como dice mi mama: “ Ponte de rodillas!”*. (“On your knees! like my mom says: “Get on your knees!”)

B: “What’s that?” (CS: The speaker is seeking clarification)

G: “*Ponte de rodillas!*” (“Get on your knees”) “Get on your knees! Ayer, me dijo que me poniera de rodillas mi mama” (“Yesterday, (she) told me to get on my knees, my mom.”). The speaker used translation to code-switch, Spanish then English (*Note*. G = girl, B = boy).

Other examples of translation used could be observed in the following examples (See Appendix C):

Example 3:

G: “I am seventeen”.

B: “*Tienes diecisiete años....*” (“You are seventeen....”). The speakers are talking about age. The boy (B) shows surprise at finding out the girl (G) is seventeen years old. She answered in English, but he repeated the answer in Spanish.

Example 11:

G: “*¿Que es obsceno?*” (“What is obscene?”).

B: “*Rated R*”.

The speakers were talking about jokes. The girl (G) wanted to know what *obsceno* (“obscene”) meant, the boy (B) gave an explanation in English.

Example 13:

Several speakers are playing hangman

B: “We can have more than once...”

G: “*Dos*” (“Two”). (CS: The speaker is using translation)

The only time when using both languages created some confusion was when the participants were playing hangman. Some kids found it confusing to determine what code was being used; for example, a girl asked for clarification on what language they were speaking when she explicitly said: G1: “*En que hablan en inglés o en español?*” (“What are you speaking, English or Spanish?”). She got another response that showed confusion: G2: “*No sé*” (“I do not know”). What created the confusion was that it was often unclear whether the words were being spelled in English or Spanish. For example, in the case of *i* (/ai/), *a* (/ei/ and /i/), that in Spanish are pronounced /i/, /a:/ and /e/ respectively.

Change in footing was also another favored strategy. The participants often changed the language when addressing a new partner or code-mixed to signal change in footing. They used CS or CM to switch from teaser to being teased, to control the conversation or call attention to self, often to clarify a situation. For example:

G: “*Si, Vegas. No, never mind.*” (“Yes, Vegas. No, never mind”))

The speaker thought she had guessed the word when playing hangman, she felt sure then she changed her mind. Also in the following example, the speaker code-mixed

in order to change her footing with an aggravating command accompanied by a change in intonation to stress the word *mister*. She was also clarifying/emphasizing.

G: "*Mi nombre no es buena, mister!*"

On the basis of the examples given above, my findings can be summarized as follows: (1) only bilingual speakers are able to produce sophisticated code-switching and code-mixing; (2) borrowing, CS and CM are an undeniable element of the linguistic reality of first generation adolescent immigrants, and (3) there are motivations behind the language choices these individuals make. The principal motivation for borrowing was using culture specific items. The most frequent motivation to use CS or CM was clarification. Spanish was favored when the intent was to be funny and amusing. This study also reinforces the idea that bilingual students need the educational community's support to preserve their often undervalued ability to speak more than one language.

Limitations

Certainly the entire scope of CS/CM and the phenomenon of Spanglish are too broad to have been covered in this study. However, I have attempted to provide an explanation for the patterns occurring in my data. For example, I tried to demonstrate the existence of borrowing, CS and CM as a natural element in the linguistic behaviour of bilingual adolescents.

Because this study only included a small group over a short period of time in a given context, I am unable to make generalizations regarding the use of CS. To be

able to accomplish this task, a longer, more comprehensive study is needed. Namely a study that would take into account more varied data and participants, during a much longer period of time and consisting of a larger corpus of data.

Implications

My discoveries in this research have been an important learning experience in my professional career. I hope it will help educators and the community in general, to better understand the cultural implications and consequences of code-switching. I hope it will inspire other educators to pursue further research regarding the situation of bilingual students in the United States.

It is reasonable to conclude that at the macro-level the sociolinguistic situation on this first and second generation of immigrant Spanish-speaking children is still unstable. These children may either lose Spanish in their repertoire or become part of the bilingual community. Factors such as social mobility (going to college, insertion in the job market), and geographical distance from the Midwest, namely Minnesota from Spanish speaking countries may influence and/or change the sociolinguistic situation.

While conducting this research, I learned about the undeniable impact of the host culture and language on Spanish in the United States. I also learned how important it is for educators and society in general to help preserve the incoming languages and cultures. Not only educators, but also politicians and decision-makers in general share the immense responsibility to help preserve the heritage and language of immigrants and celebrate diversity. Appropriate linguistic policies must be implemented to help teenagers

like the ones in my study to remain fully bilingual and bicultural while at the same time they become part of the mainstream and stabilize their sociolinguistic situation.

Further research

If I had had more time I would have investigated the implications of code-switching and identity. Because someone that has emigrated has a more complex sense of identity than one who has always lived in the same place he was born, the Spanglish phenomenon has become a manifestation of change in the lives of Latinos living in the United States. The personal history and experiences in the life of a person contribute to a great extent to determine who he/she believes he/she is, to shape his/her identity (Watkins-Goffman, 2001).

Is linguistic behavior an indication of identity? Do dialects merge when identity boundaries are erased? How do Spanglish users perceive their reasons for choosing Spanglish? Although Norton (2000) defines identity as the term to refer to a person's understanding of his or her relationship to the world, the construction of that relationship across time and space, and the person's comprehension of the possibilities for the future", she also argues it should be understood with reference to a larger social structure where social interactions take place. When an individual is not situated in one fixed group, i.e. when the social conditions change, there is a struggle with the inner self identity of individualism and the individual's roots. Like its carriers in their struggle for survival, it has had to adapt and blend in; it has

become contaminated and is emerging as something new following a similar development to previous patterns of linguist assimilation.

Some other questions I could have addressed, but fell beyond the scope of this investigation include: What is Spanglish? Is it a language, is it a dialect or just the linguistic manifestation of uneducated immigrants who cannot come to terms and grapple the language of the host community? Is the use of Spanglish constrained to a certain group? What are the socioeconomic or demographic implications? Where is it spoken and by whom? Other related questions that in my opinion, deserve further investigation are: how Spanglish manifests and performs at the semantic, syntactic, phonological and morphological level, what patterns it follows, how it differs or overlaps with English and whether it is governed by rules that may be predicted; which are the factors that influence language choice in immigrants? Is linguistic behavior an indication of identity? Do dialects merge when identity boundaries are erased? Why and when do bilingual Spanish-English speakers choose to use Spanglish rather than Spanish or English in their interactions with others? How do speakers of Spanglish use it to promote group belonging and identity? How do Spanglish users perceive their reasons for choosing Spanglish?

Summary

In my study I was able to observe the three most visible characteristics of Spanglish: borrowing, CS and CM. Spanglish seems to be rule-governed although

perhaps its rules are not yet clearly established. Participants in my research project produced well-formed utterances that respected the rules of English and Spanish and conformed to the norms of the shared language community. Some of those rules have been partially accounted for.

Perhaps Spanglish is on its way to a standardized form. I believe the path towards a standardized form is open because the tools to decode it are in the culture. We should take into account that Spanglish is found, though, with variations, across social and economic levels as well as across nations, that it becomes the “unifier” of a larger group that comes from different Spanish speaking countries and that the number of people that understand it and speak it is extremely relevant. As stated by Myers-Scotton (1997), CS patterns not only indicate the language proficiency of the speaker, but most importantly for future studies, may indicate how speakers perceive themselves in relation to the sociopolitical or cultural values that accompany the linguistic varieties used in CS.

Overall, this study was another rewarding, though challenging, instance of personal and professional growth. I hope it has provided the framework for other researchers to look for answers to the many remaining questions about Spanglish.

APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

(Adapted from Assessment and ESL (Law & Eckes, 1995) as used in Strupeck, A., 2006).

1. Where were you born?

2. If you were not born in the United States, say where you were born and how long you have lived in the U.S.

3. What is your first language? (The one you feel more comfortable with)

4. What language do you speak with your parents?

5. What language do you speak with your brothers and sisters?

6. What language do you speak with your friends?

7. How often do you speak Spanish? (Please, circle)
NEVER SOMETIMES OFTEN ALWAYS
8. How often do you speak English? (Please, circle)
NEVER SOMETIMES OFTEN ALWAYS
9. What language do you speak best? (Please, circle) ENGLISH SPANISH
10. Do you know what Spanglish is? (Please, circle) YES NO
11. If yes, give your definition:

12. How often do you speak Spanglish? (Please, circle)
NEVER SOMETIMES OFTEN ALWAYS

APPENDIX B

BORROWING: LEXICAL ITEMS IN CONTEXT

(1) Items that better convey speaker's intentions in English.

(a) Topic V: Talking about sports

S: "...soccer *El beisbol y el fútbol Americano....Muy aburrido... En cambio el soccer esta siempre en movimiento*". ("...soccer. Baseball and American football...very boring...soccer instead is always in movement").

B: "*Cuéntame more*" ("Tell me more").

(b) Topic O: Talking about technology

B: "*¿Dónde está el Ipod?*" ("Where is the Ipod?").

(c) Topic D: Teasing/joking

G1: "*Ya viene mi nanny!*" ("My nanny is coming now!").

G2: "*Ya viene mi nanny?*" ("My nanny is coming now!").

(d) Topic B: Talking about prom and graduation

B: "*¿Cómo se siente ser un Senior?*" ("How does it feel to be a Senior?").

B: "*Yo fui [al] prom*" ("I went to prom").

S: "*Fue en un salón no? Fue en un salón.*" ("It was in a reception room, right? It was in a reception room.")....

S: "*¿Cómo que no fuiste?*" ("How come you didn't go?")

G: "*Los que pueden ir a prom son los juniors y seniors. Si te invitan y sos sophomore o*

Freshman...*podes ir. ...si sos sophomore o Freshman puedes ir, si*

no,no" ("Those that can go to a prom are the juniors and seniors. If

they invite you and you are sophomore or freshman you can go...if not, you can't").

(e) Topic F: Talking about renting an apartment

B2: "*Y te dan, te dan con las amenities te dan high speed internet...*"

("And they give you with the amenities, they give you High speed internet"...).

B 1: "*Duda que tenga sauna, yacuzzi, alberca, güey!*" ("Doubt that they have a pool, dude!").

B 2: "*Tienen atrás una pool*" ("They have a pool in the back").

(f) Topic G: Talking about making plans

G: "*El 29 es el pizza party*" ("The 29th is the pizza party").

B: "*Quiero ir al navy*" ("I want to go to the Navy").

G: "*¿Quieres ir al navy? Mi hermano...*" ("Do you want to go to the Navy? My brother...")

(g) Unidentified topic: Disagreeing

G: "*Yo tengo the Freedom of speech*" ("I have the freedom of speech").

(2) Items that only exist in English.

(a) Topic N: Talking about food

"Mountain Dew, *si tienes Mountain Dew*" ("Mountain Dew, if you have it, Mountain Dew") (The speaker is responding to someone offering something to drink).

“*Pizza? ¿Qué vas a querer, pepperoni?*” (“Pizza, what are you going to want, pepperoni?”). (The speaker is offering someone something to eat).

(b) Topic B: Talking about prom

B: “*Vine así como penguin*” (“I came like a penguin”). (The speaker means: wearing a tuxedo).

S: “*¿Fuiste o no fuiste?*” (“Did you go or didn’t you?”)

B: “*Vine con una monkey suit, como dicen*” (“I came with a monkey suit, as they say”).

...

S: “*¿Como estuvo el prom?*” (“How was the prom?”)

B: “*Yo fui [al] prom*” (BW) (“I went to prom...”).

S: “*Los que pueden ir a prom son los juniors y seniors. Si te invitan y sos sophomore o freshman, puedes ir.*” (“Those that can go to prom are the juniors and seniors. If they invite you and you are sophomore or freshman, you can go.”).

(3) Items that only exist in Spanish.

(a) Topic V: Talking about sports

B: “*Las Chivas sucks.....y el America too*”. (*Las Chivas* and *el America* are the names of two soccer teams).

APPENDIX C

ZENTELLA'S CONVERSATIONAL STRATEGIES

1.- Conversational Strategy 1: Footing

Example 1:

G: “*Si, Vegas. No, never mind.*” (“Yes, Vegas. No, never mind”) (The speaker is playing hangman. She thinks she has guessed the word).

Example 2:

G: “*Mi nombre no es buenita, mister!*” (CM: There is a change in intonation to stress the word *mister*. The speaker is also clarifying/emphasizing).

B: “I’m sorry”. (apologizing).

Example 3:

G: “OK, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12,*es así, no?*” (“...it is like this, right?”) (CM: The speaker is code-mixing using a tag like question in order to check or clarify the concept).

Example 4:

B: “Is this one right?”

G: “*A ver...*” (“Let’s see...”) they are not always the same thing....”

(CM).

2.- Conversational Strategy 2: Clarification and/or Emphasis

Example 1:

G: “*pero cuando esta el* (but when the ... is) power whatever.... “....*es así, no ?*” (it is like this, right?)...“No, no, no,,no, *cierto*” (“correct”). (CM: the speaker is talking about a math problem clarifying a concept)

Example 2:

G: “*Yo lo hice, y lo hice de accidente y mi papa estaba carcajeado*, remember I told you?” (“I did it, it was an accident and my dad was cracking up, remember I told you?”). (CM: The speaker is talking about having done something funny. She is checking interlocutor’s recall)

B: “*Cuéntame more.*” (“Tell me more”) (CM).

Example 3:

B: “How old are you?” (*asking a question*).

G: “I am seventeen”. (She answers in English, he repeats the answer in Spanish).

B: “*Tienes diecisiete años. Dulce!?*.” (“You are seventeen. Sweet!?”) (CS: The speakers are talking about age. The boy (B) shows surprise at finding out the girl (G) is seventeen years old). I am not sure of what *dulce* (sweet) means here. Perhaps the speaker wanted to make an allusion to the saying “sweet sixteen”, although this saying refers to the social event of a girl coming of age at 16 in the United States not 17 and at 15 in Latin America. Perhaps he transferred the use of the word “sweet” in English meaning *nice*, not *sugared*.

Example 5:

G: ¡*De rodillas!* (singing: on your knees!) *Arias!?* *Arias, como dice mi mama: “ Ponte de rodillas!”*. (“On your knees! Arias!!!?? Arias, like my mom says: “Get on your knees!”)

B: “What’s that?” (CS: The speaker is seeking clarification)

G: “*Ponte de rodillas!*” (“Get on your knees”) “Get on your knees! *Ayer, me dijo que me poniera de rodillas mi mama*” (“Yesterday, (she) told me to get

on my knees, my mom.”). (CS: The speaker is using translation to code-switch, Spanish, then English, the speaker is using an ungrammatical conjugation of the verb *poner* (to put). It should be *pusiera* not *poniera*..

Example 6:

G: “OK, OK, Yo juego primero!...letras. OK, letter A<ei>, A<ei>. No, no”. (“OK, OK, I play first!...Letters. OK. Letter A, No, no”). (CS: Clarifying or emphasizing by using means of translation: Spanish, then English).

Example 7:

G: Come on, Pancho, *vete!* (“Come on, Pancho, come one!”)

B: “Pancho, *órale!*” (“Come on, Pancho!”) (CS: *órale* is a Mexican interjection that means *come on*)

Example 8:

“*¿No me crees?* You don’t believe me?”(You don’t believe me?). (CS: The speaker is using translation, Spanish, then English)

Example 9:

G: “*Creo que voy a comer..., que? Grass! Pasto!*” (“I think I am going to eat...what? Grass! Grass!”) (CS: The speaker is using translation, English, then Spanish).

Example 10:

B: “Bananas, *bananas*”. (“Bananas”) (CS: The speaker is using translation for clarification/emphasis, English, then Spanish)

Example 11:

G: “*¿Que es obsceno?* (“What is obscene?”).

B: “*Rated R*”. (CS: The speakers are talking about jokes. The girl (G) wants to know what *obsceno* (obscene) means, the boy (B) gives an explanation in English).

Example 12:

S: “*El picnic se paso para el 4.*” (“The picnic was moved to the 4th”)

G: “¿*Por qué?* Why?” (“Why?”) (CS: The speakers are talking about plans. The speaker is using translation, Spanish, then English to emphasize).

Example 13:

Several speakers are playing hangman

B: “We can have more than once...”

G: “*Dos*” (“Two”). (CS: The speaker is using translation to clarify)

...

G1: “E?”. (CS: The speaker is seeking clarification to clarify)

G2: “*E,e,e*”. (CS: The speaker is using translation to clarify)

G1: “L”.

G2: “*Ele, ele*”. (CS: The speaker is using translation to clarify).

G1: “L”

...

G: “V, as in *vaca*” (“v as in cow”) (CM: The speaker is clarifying with spelling in English and an example in Spanish).

G1: “Is this Spanish?” (CS: The speaker is seeking clarification)

G2: “*Español?* (“Spanish?”). Do you need help or you think you got it?” (CS: The speaker is using translation to clarify).

G2: “A, b”.

G1: “*En que hablan en inglés o en español?*” (“What are you speaking, English or Spanish?”).

G2: “*No sé*” (“I don’t know”).

G: “...*that’s my ene*” (“...that’s my n”) (CM: Clarifying). (CM: The speaker is using translation to clarify)....

G: “A, a, a, a, a <ei>

B: “*E, no*” (“Not e”) (CS: The speaker is using translation to clarify).

G: “A, a, a, a, a”. (“a, a, a, a, a”.)

...

B: “E?”

G: “*E, e, e*”. (e, e, e.) (CS: The speaker is using translation to clarify).

...

B: “O”

G: “No, o”

B: “O”

G: “O” (“o”) (CS: The speaker is using translation to clarify).

B: “O? Yeah” (CS: The speaker is clarifying).

B: “*E, i, i, e, e*”. (e, i, i, e, e) (CS: The speaker is using translation to clarify).

G: “*La I de “English”*”. (“The i as in English”) (CM: clarifying). *Note.* The word English is spelled with an i in Spanish: *Inglés*)

G: *OK, OK, Yo juego primero!.....letras. OK, letter A (ei), A (ei). No ,no.*
(CS: *OK, OK, I play first! Letters. OK. Letter A, No, no.*)

Example 14:

G: “*Mi nombre no es buena, mister!*” (“My name is not good girl, mister!”)

(CM: Clarifying/ emphasizing)

B: “I’m sorry”. (The speaker is apologizing).

Example 15:

G: “*¿Que dijiste.....?*” (“What did you say?”). (The speaker is seeking clarification).

B: “*¿Que dije? Yo no dije nada!* I said what a f!” (“What did I say? I didn’t say anything!”) (The speaker is clarifying)

Example 16:

B: “Hello! Where does it record? *De aquí o de acá?*” (“From here or here?”).

“...Where does it record? Here *o acá? Acá o aquí?* (“... or here or here? Here or here?”). Here or there?.” (CS/CM: The speakers are talking about how the recorder works. He is using repetition to clarify/emphasize. He is using two different Spanish lexemes for *here*, *aquí* and *acá*).

Example 17:

“Sign *aquí*”. (“Sign here”) (CM: The speaker is code-mixing to clarify/emphasize).

Example 18:

B: *¿Cómo?* (What?) (The speaker is seeking clarification)

G: I don’t know what that means. (CS: The speaker responds in English)

3.- Conversational Strategy 3: Crutch-like CM

Example 1:

B: “*Pancho, guarata* (sounds like), you know”. (“Pancho, guarata”)
 (Translation for the word *guarata* has not been found) (CM: The speaker is using the interjections *you know* as a sentence filler)

The following examples are taboo or swearing words

B: “¡*Chingado!*” (“fucked you”)

B: “¡*Chinga tu madre, güey!*” (“Fuck your” mother, dude!”).

B1: “¡*Tu madre!*” (“Your mother!”) (out of line, insult) ¡*Pelotudo güey!*”

(“You big balls, dude!”) (Note. The speaker is using swearing words to tease, not to insult).

B: “*La loca de tu hermana* (“Your sister the crazy one”) Note. *Loca* may mean *crazy* or *prostitute*.

Example 2:

G: “...*pero cuando esta el...* (“...but when the ... is...”) (CM to clarify) power whatever... “

B: “I’m telling him, you do... seven times,...before you...divide it and you get the answer.”

G: “...*pero cuando esta el...* (“...but when the ... is...”) (CM to clarify) power whatever... “

G: “OK, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12,*es así , no?*” (“it is like this, right?”) (tag-like CM to clarify)”... you got to.. *le sacas* (you take off) (CM) four *te quedas con ocho* (you keep eight) (CM) and then you do something with this 8. Yes it is!! I’m proud of me!...You divide or you *subtract?* *No, no, no, no, cierto* (“correct”) (CM to clarify or emphasize)...it’s... yeah you just divide by two....so what you do,

aquí (“here”) (CM) in this one, *lo que* (CM, “what”) , by that you subtract...*entonces* (CM, “then”) what you do *es que*.... (“[it] is that”) (CM) 75 take away and what you get *es esto* (“[it] is this”) (CM) the same thing is...I know because if you don’t get it...Subtract by.. here you go...*números* (“numbers”) (CM) ... then you divide, *pero* (“but”) (CM), it doesn’t always work... so *lo que puedes hacer es*... (“what you can do is...”) (CM)

B: “Is this one right?”

G: “A *ver...*”(Let’s see...) (CM) they are not always the same thing....”

G: “You can write it down if you want, you can write twenty and then “*entre este y este* (“between this and this”) fifteen” (CM)

APPENDIX D

OTHER CS/CM FUNCTIONS OBSERVED

1. Requesting information or assistance

Example 1:

B: “Hello! Where does it record? *De aqui o de acá?*” (“From here or here?”)...Where does it record? Here *o acá? Acá o aquí?* (“... or here or here? Here or here?”) Here or there?”. (CS/CM: The speaker is talking about how a recorder works. He is using repetition to clarify/emphasize. He is using two different Spanish lexemes for *here*: *aquí* and *acá*).

2. Expressing feelings or thoughts

Example 1:

G: “OK, you can go *echarle en la face*.” (“...throw it on his/her face”). (CM: The speaker is expressing anger. Equivalent expression in Spanish is: *echarle en la cara*).

Example 2:

B 1: “*Chingado!*” (Cool!). (CM: The speaker is expressing like.ivalent expression in Spanish is: *echarle en la cara*). Although the term *chingado* is literally a swear word that means “fucked”. In this context, it is used to show appreciation of what is being said.

3. Descriptions

Example 1:

B: “You guys have the same nose. You guys have the same nose.”

S1: “*No,! Tengo la nariz de mi padre. Dice que tenemos la misma nariz*”
 (“No, I have my father’s nose.” (To a third person, S2) “He says we have the same nose”)

B: “The same forehead.”

S2: “*No, es igual al papa.... Mostrale una foto de tu papa. Idéntica.*” (“No, she takes after her father...”(to S1) “Show her a picture of your dad. Identical.”).

B: “Ok, if you say so.” (CS: One of the participants is talking to the supervisors. The supervisors are speaking Spanish, but the participant code-switches and responds in English describing the features he believes S1 has in common with S2)

Example 2:

G: “here you go... *números*” (“...numbers”)...then you divide, *pero* (“...but”...) (CM), it doesn’t always work... so *lo que puedes hacer es...* (“...what you can do is...”).

G: “You can write it down if you want, you can write twenty and then “*entre este y este...*” (“...between this and this...”) fifteen” (CM: The speaker is describing a math problem process).

Example 3:

B2: “No, with the deposit. Oh yeah, there is a deposit. Two hundred dollars. It has a pool in the back. Seven nine ninety nine (799). *Son dos*

apartamentos , dos cuartos, dos apartamentos.” (“....They are two apartments, two rooms, two apartments.”). (CS: The speaker is describing an apartment to rent).

Example 4:

G: “*Mi papá vive* twelve hours away from an ocean too...” (“My dad lives twelve hours from an ocean too...”) (CM:

G: “*En Oaxaca?*.” (“In Oaxaca?”)

B: “*Yo viví en Oaxaca, pero....* What part?” (CS: I lived in Oaxaca but... What part?)

G: “*Tonaca.*” (“Tonaca”). (CM/CS: The speakers are talking about where someone has lived).

Example 6:

G: “Being a hobo?!” (laughs)

G: “Every time, every night when he goes to his house *se tiene que ir a su casa* outside the trash can.” (“...he has to go to his house...” (CM)

Example 7:

B: “*Ya lo pushé*” (“I have already pushed it.”) (CM: referring to pushing the button on the tape recorder: I have already pushed it) The speaker is using the English verb *push* with a Spanish inflection for the preterite tense first person singular).

4. Being funny-amusing/teasing (To add socio-pragmatic force/Relate to others through humor)

Example 1:

B: “*Chamaco feo!!!*” (“Ugly boy!”) (*teasing*)

G: (*repeating*) “*Chamaco feo!!!*” (“Ugly boy!”)

G: “*Hey, órale que tienes que decirnos un chiste*” (“Hey, come on that you have to tell us a joke!”)

B: “*Un chiste!!!! De que?*” (“A joke? About what?”)

B: “*Ok, les cuento un chiste: El burro esta triste*” (“OK, I tell you a joke: The donkey is sad.”) (*Note. The words chiste and triste rhyme in Spanish.*)

G: “*Si, no, en serio.*” (“Yes, no, seriously”)

B: “*Si, me acuerdo de uno. Te lo cuento pero no me acuerdo...*”. (“Yes, I remember one. I [would] tell you, but I don’t remember”)

B: “*No, he sido bien gracioso. Yo soy muy gracioso pero no he contado chistes.*

Ni siquiera dije un chiste y ya te reíste. Viste?” (“No, I have been very funny. I am very funny, but I have not told jokes. Not even a joke, and you have [already] laughed.”). (*Note. The words chiste and reíste rhyme in Spanish.*)

B: “*Ok, les cuento un chiste: El burro esta triste*” (“OK, I tell you a joke: The donkey is sad.”) (*Note. The words chiste and triste rhyme in Spanish.*)

B: “*No, he sido bien gracioso. Yo soy muy gracioso pero no he contado chistes.*

Ni siquiera dije un chiste y ya te reíste. Viste? (“No, I have been very funny. I am very funny, but I have not told jokes. Not even a joke, and you have [already] laughed.”). (Note. The words *chiste*, *reíste* and *viste* rhyme in Spanish).

He then tells them the following silly joke that he finally leaves incomplete because he declares he has forgotten the ending.

B: “Había una vez un perico, no un perico, era un burro parece. No me acuerdo. Era un tigre, ya me acordé. Y estaba encima de una montaña y pues se encontró un chicle en el suelo y lo recogió y lo comenzó a masticar.....pero tenía un amigo que era un burro y que pues... ya se me olvido.” (“Once upon a time there was a parrot, not a parrot, it was a donkey it seems. I don’t remember. It was a tiger, I remembered now. And he was o top of a mountain and well he found chewing gum on the floor and he picked it up and he started to chew it...., but he had a friend that was a donkey and that well....I already forgot it”).

B: “Me acordé de uno pero es obsceno” (“I remembered on, but it is obscene... and [he or I] had a friend who was a donkey.”)

G: “¿Qué es obsceno?”(What is obscene?)

B: “Rated R.”

B: “Había una vez un perico, no un perico, era un burro parece. No me acuerdo. Era un tigre, ya me acordé. Y estaba encima de una montaña y

pues se encontró un chicle en el suelo y lo recogió y lo comenzó a masticar.....pero tenía un amigo que era un burro y que pues..... ya se me olvidó.” (“Once upon a time there was a parrot, not a parrot, it was a donkey it seems. I don’t remember. It was a tiger, I remembered now. And he was on top of a mountain and well he found chewing gum on the floor and he picked it up and he started to chew it...., but he had a friend that was a donkey and that well....I already forgot it.”)

Example 2:

The speaker uses a common Spanish saying *que Dios se lo pague* (“May God pay you back”) in an ironic way. The implicit meaning is that he has not paid anything for the pizza and he will not pay anything, so the only compensation you can expect is God’s.

B: “*No sé, Muchas gracias, que Dios se los pague.*” (“I don’t know, thank you very much, may God pay you.”). (The speaker is thanking and joking.)

Example 3:

The speaker is joking pretending to be interviewing another student on her graduation.

B: “*Estoy haciendo una entrevista* today so (CM:)... How are you guys?” (“I am making an interview...”)

B2: “*Yo no tengo tiempo....*” (“I do not have time.”)

B: “Fine.”

B: “*Seguridad!!!*” (“Security!”)

Example 4:

G: “Hugh? Oh! *Hielo.*” (“Ice”)

B: “*Hielo?* (asking for clarification) *en español amarillo en español hielo.*”

(The speaker clears it up in a funny way, making a joke that he is referring to the word *hielo* (ice) and not to *yellow*, the color).

Example 5:

B: “*Vine así, como penguin.*” (“[I] came like this like a penguin”) (CM: The speaker means like a penguin, i.e. wearing a tuxedo).

S: “*Fuiste o no fuiste?*” (“Did you go or didn’t you?”)

B: “*Vine con una monkey suit, como dicen.*” (“I came with a monkey suit, like they say”) (CM: The speaker means wearing a tuxedo).

Example 6:

G: “*Yo así aprendí mis vowels! A, E, I, O, U, el burro sabe más que tú!*”

(“That’s how I learned my vowels! A, e, i, o, u, the donkey knows more than you do!”). (CM: the name of the letter *u* and the word *tú* (you informal) rhyme in Spanish).

Example 7:

G: “*Don Francisco presente.... y.....*” (“Don Francisco present... and...”)

B: “*Un viejo cabeza de cebolla y cara dey todos los que van ahí lloran.*”

(“An onion head old man and face...and all that go there cry.”)

Example 8:

The speakers are teasing another boy about his sexual orientation.

B1: “*Sí, eres?*” (“Are you?”) (Asking for confirmation).

B2: “*Eh, güey, lo que se ve no se pregunta.*” (“Hey dude, what you see you do not ask about!”).

B1: “*Quiero ver y saber la verdad.*” (“I want to know the truth.”).

5. Agreeing (Add socio-pragmatic force)

Example 1:

G: “Ay! I hate that dude!” (Auch!...)

G: “It’s a TV show!”

G: “Oh my God! It’s so annoying! *Solo verle su cara me da...*” (“...Only to see his face makes me...”). (CS: The speaker is also expressing a feeling of disgust although the sentence is unfinished).

B: “*A no, a mí tampoco me gusta!*” (“Oh no, I don’t like him either!”).

B: “*¿Qué onda?*” (“What’s up?”).

Example 2:

B: “*Yo también... same.*” (“Me too...same”) (CM: The speaker is referring to an item in demographic questionnaire).

6. Disagreeing

Example 1:

B: “Don’t deny it ‘coz you are guilty. I got proof.”

G: “¿*En que mundo?* (“In what world?”). (CS: The speaker is disagreeing with her interlocutor’s statement).

B: “I got prove!”

G: “Ok”

Example 2:

B: “That’s mine!”

G: “*A poco?... me lo encontré aquí!*” (“Really?... I found it here”) (CS: The speaker is using the expression *a poco* (you are right! really!) to express doubt ironically).

Example 3:

G: “...”*pero cuando está el* (“...but when the ... is...”) power whatever...” (CM: The speaker is explaining a math problem and is disagreeing with her interlocutor using the word *pero* (but).

7. Giving an opinion or suggestion/making a statement

Example 1:

G: “*Yo tengo* the Freedom of speech.” (“I have ...”) (CM: The speaker is talking about the first amendment).

Example 2:

B: “¿*Ordenamos unas pizzas ?¿Ordenamos unas pizzas hoy?*” (“We order some pizzas? We order some pizzas today?”) (CM : The speaker is using the

English verb to order with a Spanish inflection or the present tense first person plural *-amos*).

8. To signal a change of topic, provide emphasis, etc.

I was very difficult to pinpoint this type of switch due to the overlapping of the conversations in the recordings.

9. Qualifying a message (a topic is introduced in one language and then further qualified in another).

Example 1:

B: “Yeah.I had to leave. *Y me fui a prender a otro lado.*” (“...And I went to hang out somewhere else”). (CS: The speaker talking leaving the prom in one language and then further explaining that he left the prom party to go somewhere else).

10. Specify an addressee as the recipient of the message.

Example 1:

G 1 and G2: “*¡El Pancho, El Pancho, El Pancho!*” (“Pancho, Pancho, Pancho!”)

B: “*Levante la mano quien vaya el Pancho*” (“Raise your hand if you want Pancho to go”)

G1: “*¡Pancho! ¡Orale! Pancho!*” (“Pancho!! Come on! Pancho!”)

B: “Come on, Pancho, *vete!*” (“Come on, Pancho, come on!”) (CM:

G: “*¡Pancho! ¡Pancho! ¡Pancho!*” (“Pancho, Pancho, Pancho!”).

B: *Pancho! Pancho!!* Frank, Frank, Frank, *Francisco*. (CS: The speaker is calling someone by the Spanish nickname of the name Francisco (*Pancho*) then switching to the nickname in English (Frank).

Example 16:

B: “Hello! Where does it record? *De aqui o de acá?*” (“From here or here?”).
 “...Where does it record? Here *o acá? Acá o aqui?* (“... or here or here? Here or here?”) Here or there?”.(CS/CM: The speakers are talking about how the recorder works. He is using repetition to clarify/emphasize. He is using two different Spanish lexemes for *here*, *aqui* and *acá*).

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