25 Code-switching among US Latinos

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1 Introduction

Code-switching is the widely accepted term for the linguistic phenomenon whereby a speaker uses two linguistic codes within a single speech event, alternating between phrases, clauses, and utterances, often with no change in addressee or subject[1]. Tracing its origins, Benson (2001) postulates that the term "code-switching" was probably coined in the United States in the 1950s, though the history of code-switching research in North America is generally dated to the late 1960s and early 1970s (see, e.g. the seminal work of Fishman 1965 on the speech of Puerto Ricans in New York and that of Hasselmo 1970 on Swedish-English bilinguals in the United States). The lack of attention to code-switching, likely owed to the fact that many early scholars denounced this "speech mixture" as a random and therefore "deviant" language behavior that was attributable to deficits in intelligence, manners, or linguistic mastery, and whose inexorable end was linguistic and societal "deterioration" (see, e.g. Espinosa 1917; Haugen 1938; McKinstry 1930; Weinreich 1953). However, an extensive body of research published over the last four decades has summarily rejected this characterization, and it is now well established that code-switching is a communicative resource that is deployed by highly proficient bilinguals in ways that are linguistically, conversationally, and socially systematic and meaningful (consult Bullock and Toribio's 2009b *Cambridge handbook of code-switching* for an overview). Unfortunately, the early misconstruction of the phenomenon pervades popular thought, especially when it concerns code-switching among US Latinos, as is implied in the vernacular nomenclature of Spanish-English bilingual speech: *Tex-Mex* and *pocho* for Mexican Americans' bilingual speech forms, *Nuyorican* for that of Puerto Ricans, *Cubonics* for that of Cuban-Americans, and the ubiquitous umbrella term *Spanglish* (or its Spanish equivalent, *ingleñol*) for all manner and manifestation – real or imagined – of bilingual and contact speech among US Latinos (see Lipski

The Handbook of Hispanic Sociolinguistics, edited by Manuel Díaz-Campos

2007, Zentella 2002, and Otheguy 2007). Even so, many Latino individuals and communities have embraced code-switching as a communicative practice and some have even laid claim to the label *Spanglish* in conveying the importance of this speech style in symbolizing unique ethnic identities and in reinforcing specific socio-political stances.

This chapter presents an overview of the multiple facets of Spanish-English code-switching as practiced by US Latinos – its properties, its users, its motivations, and its contexts – foregrounding the main contributions of research efforts within diverse sub-disciplines of linguistics as well as application to allied areas. The discussion is accompanied by ample illustrations of code-switching (and other contact-induced forms, as relevant) that have been culled from a vast literature representative of diverse disciplines and their attendant methodological and interpretive frameworks; the interested reader is encouraged to consult the sources referenced for additional exemplars and information regarding the sources of the data. The chapter also signals some aspects of Latinos' code-switching behavior that have gone unexamined or merit further investigation.

2 Spanish-English code-switching: what is it?

The speech of bilingual Latinos is typified by a number of linguistic properties that serve to distinguish it from the monolingual English varieties of the surrounding US communities and from the Spanish source varieties. Most common are *loanwords* or *lexical borrowings*, single items that are inserted from one language into the other, as in (1a,b). Some borrowings are fully assimilated into the linguistic patterns of the receiving language and tend to recur in the speech of individuals and communities. Note that these are not unique to the lexical inventories of proficient bilinguals, as their occurrence is widespread in the speech of monolinguals and second language learners. A fitting example is found in José Montalvo's aptly titled "Poema bilingüe for Monolingual Americans," excerpted in (1c). Other borrowings – *nonce* borrowings (Poplack et al. 1988) – require a certain level of bilingual competence, given that the words retain their phonological and morphological form, as in (1d, e).[2]

(1) a. Vamos a sacar las cuentas para pagar los *biles*. (<*bills*)
(Sánchez 1983: 125)

b. Yo era el *bajolista*. Yo era el que manejaba el *bajó* (<*backhoe*)
(de Jongh 1990: 276)

c. and if you ever repeat this
I'll call you a liar,
but Ramón likes *cerveza*, so,
we became very good *amigos*
and we would get very *loco de la cabeza*...
(José Montalvo, 1992, "Poema bilingüe for Monolingual Americans," discussed in Mendieta-Lombardo and Cintron 1995)

d. [T]hese *empanadas* were enormous and the *tostones* exquisite.
(Sánchez Korrol 1994: 65)

e. Cartas *airmail* para *stateside* con menos de 11¢ son *surfaces*.
(Nash 1970: 226)

As can be surmised from the above exemplars, nouns are the most easily borrowed lexical items (see Muysken's 2000 implicational hierarchy). But the borrowing of discourse markers and tags (e.g. *so*, *anyway*, and *you know* from English into Spanish) is also frequent, facilitated by the fact that such elements are peripheral to clause structure, as shown in (2) (see Lipski 2002).

(2) a. y este, yo estaba sentada en el *porch* mío para coger un poco de aire *y'know* y para ver que nadie estuviera pasando cerca de mi casa porque si ven drogas de, *y'know*, cerca de tu casa pues piensan que uno también está en, *y'know*, en to' *so* allá yo estoy sentada en el *porch* cuando veo.... (Torres 2002: 74)

b. *Anyway* como en el inglés, hay muchas palabras del pachuco en inglés que se usa.
(Teschner 1972: 157)

Also recurrent in the speech of US Latinos are *loan shifts* (also labeled *semantic calques*), in which the meaning of an existing word is extended to include meanings of the corresponding (often cognate) word from the contact language, and (syntactic) *calques* or *loan translations*, translated phrases or idiomatic expressions. The felicitous use and interpretation of these "creations," illustrated in (3), may require bilingual knowledge, as the resultant usage is oftentimes unacceptable or incomprehensible to the monolingual; in this respect, such forms are similar to code-switching (see Backus and Dorleijn 2009 for relevant discussion).

(3) a. Estoy *quebrado*. (< 'I'm broke')
(Silva-Corvalán 1994: 173)

b. Cuando no tengo nada que hacer, *juego* música para oírla. (< 'I play music')
(Otheguy et al. 1989: 44)

c. *How* Jorge says ... (< 'Como dice Jorge')
(Isabel, cited in Zentella 1997: 174)

d. Y tu carro que compraste, *¿cómo* te gusta? (< 'How do you like it?')
(Silva-Corvalán 1994: 175)

e. I *got off* the car to go around to the driver's side. ('Me desmonté del carro')
(Trinch 2006: 76)

f. El sabe *cómo* hablar inglés. ('He knows how to speak English')
(Nash 1970: 229)

g. Tráigalo *para atrás*. (< 'Bring it back')
(Nash 1970: 229)

Of central interest here is *code-switching*, the alternating use of two languages within a segment of discourse. It is regularly practiced by Latinos who are proficient bilinguals, and is especially prevalent among those born and raised in the United States. It can be heard in popular speech (e.g. in casual conversations among bilingual peers, spoken word performances, radio advertisements, and song lyrics)

and it is reproduced in print copy (e.g. on internet chat rooms, on billboards, in lifestyle magazines, in poetry, and in prose). The ensuing examples offer several representative cases, with the Spanish-language segments rendered in italics.

(4) a. Speaker A: *¿Qué pasa*? Can't you come over today?
Speaker B: I would love to, but I don't know if we can for sure. *Déjame hablarte después que llegue*, Joe. I don't know what to tell you right now.
Speaker A: Okay *y* don't forget, *llámame después*.
(Adult women in a telephone conversation, cited in Pfaff 1979: 316)

b. Lord have mercy on me, *perdóname*
Disco de oro en México, órale
Y sin duda ya tú sabes que es hora de
Bailar con Proyecto otra vez
Si el tema no te gusta, cóbrame
Pero yo sé que te gusto so *enamórate*
If you want a live show then *cómprame*
Pero tienes que pagar en dólares
(Musical group Proyecto Uno, "Latinos" © 1996, examined in Ohlson 2008)

c. Way back *cuando estuve* at the ALA convention, I'd said *que hubo* a great small press called Soft Skull from whom I'd gotten *un montón de libros*.
(Internet blogger, cited in Montes Alcalá 2007: 169)

d. *¿Tienes Lupus?* You may not know.
(From *Latina* magazine, considered in Mahootian 2005)

e. Buy your home in Levittown Lakes, *donde la Buena vida comienza*.
(Radio advertisement in Puerto Rico, cited in Nash 1970: 224)

f. *Hoy enterraron al Louie*
And San Pedro *o sanpinche*
Are in for it. And those
Times of the forties
And the early fifties
Lost *un vato de atolle*
Kind of slim and drawn,
There toward the end
Ageing fast from too much
Booze *y la vida dura*. But
Class to the end...
(From "Hoy enterraron al Louie,"
Montoya 1969, reproduced in 1992, and discussed in Timm 2000)

g. *Hoy por la mañana a eso de las once*, it starts again: I'm at the Ranch with a pile of papers for Noddy to sign and N. calls Ira. *Este, por poco, se desmaya*; I mean I could hear the breathing! *Noddy le dice que acaba de llegar* from out of town *y que tiene unos cien recados que llame a Ira*. You must realize that Noddy is looking straight at me when he's talking to Ira. *Para que conozcas a Noddy*: "Hey, Ira, you're not thinking of dropping out of the race, are you?"
(Reproduced from Rolando Hinojosa, *Mi querido Rafa* 1981: 37, discussed in Callahan 2004)

An examination of the above samples of code-switching reveals that switches from one language to the other may occur between clauses (*inter-sentential* code-switching) or in mid-sentence (*intra-sentential* code-switching).[3] In each instance, the structural integrity of the contributing languages is maintained, that is, the Spanish segments conform to Spanish grammar and the English segments to English grammar. As such, Spanish-English code-switching does not constitute a "third" system, nor does it equate with a "wild grammar" in which anything goes. Unattested in Latinos' speech are productions of indiscriminate intermingling of Spanish and English morphemes, as in the inspired writing illustrated in (5a), and the "mock" incorporation of Spanish language material into English-language discourse, as in (5b), which include forms such as *joldeamos* 'we hold' and *drinko* 'drink' that violate word-formation rules for each of the languages involved (see Poplack 1980 and MacSwan 1999).

(5) a. Nosotros joldeamos que estas truths son self-evidentes, que todos los hombres son creados equally, que están endawdeados por su Creador con certain derechos unalienables, que entre these están la vida, la libertad, y la persura de la felicidad. (The United States Constitution, rendered in "Spanglish," from Stavans 2004: 15)[4]

b. el cheap-o, número ten-o, el big cheese-o, toro caca
The drinko for Cinco (advertisement for Corona beer)
no problemo, grassy ass, hasty banana
(From various sources, cited in Jane Hill 2008)[5]

It merits noting, however, that while the distinct grammatical structures of each of the bilingual's languages are readily discernible in code-switched speech, the alternation from the use of one language to the other does not represent a "clean break" (contrary to the contentions of Haugen 1953 and Grosjean and Miller 1994); rather, there is evidence of the continued presence of the language that is momentarily suppressed.[6] A ready example is found in pronunciation. Spanish-English bilinguals have been shown to demonstrate phonetic behaviors that differ from those of their monolingual counterparts, whether they are speaking in one language or alternating between them. For instance, in articulating the voiceless stops underlined in the monolingual Spanish sentence in (6a) and the monolingual English sentence in (6b), Spanish-English bilinguals show Voice Onset Time measurements that are distinct from those of monolingual speakers of the respective languages (although these values are distinct between the languages, that is, speakers maintain two separate systems). What is more, they further "adjust" their speech in articulating the same voiceless stops in the context of code-switching, demonstrating patterns of divergence, convergence, hyper-articulation, or transfer (Bullock 2009; Bullock and Toribio 2009a).[7] Interestingly, it is precisely the most proficient bilinguals who demonstrated the most converged or "compromise" forms.

(6) a. Monolingual Spanish
¿Para quién es la torta?

b. Monolingual English
Who took the cap from my pen?

c. English→Spanish code-switching
The typhoon damaged *techos y paredes*.

d. Spanish→English code-switching
Todos mis amigos talked Spanish as kids.
(Stimuli in Bullock and Toribio 2009a: 196)

Similar "indirect effects" of bilingualism – which Weinreich (1953) termed *interference* – are attested at the levels of morpho-syntax and discourse-pragmatics (see Silva-Corvalán 1994). It has been repeatedly documented, for instance, that overt referential and non-referential subject pronouns may be privileged over their null equivalents in the linguistic productions of Spanish-English bilinguals. For example, the careful quantitative variationist methods employed by Otheguy and his colleagues have shown that contact with English has stimulated the use of overt pronouns, such as the overt non-specific *ellos* in (7a), increasing their frequency in the contact Spanish of New York City (Otheguy et al. 2007; Lapidus and Otheguy 2005). Of relevance here is the fact that these tendencies may be increased in bilinguals' code-switched speech;[8] compare the forms in (7b) and (7c), produced by the same speaker in a narrative task.[9]

(7) a. *Ellos* me robaron el auto. [said without knowing who stole the car]
(Lapidus and Otheguy 2005: 67)

b. cuando Ø iba, cuando *ella* iba cantando y caminando, de pronto detrás de un árbol, salió el lobo, el mismo lobo que la iba persiguiendo. *Él* le dio unas flores y le dijo qué bonita Ø se miraba. También Ø le preguntó que pa' dónde iba, verdad, y *ella* le respondió, y le dijo, "Ø voy a la casa de mi abuelita ... (Toribio 2004: 170)

c. y llegando él, la cuarta semana, pues ya entonces *ella* empezó a sentir el, qué tan duro es trabajar, how, how easy she had it, how all the things that, that, that she took for granted, you know, she, uh, she started to reflect upon, así que *ella* decidió en la, durante la cuarta semana de que *ella* se iba a regresar al palacio, *ella* no podía vivir como una persona humilde. (Toribio 2004: 171)

Such findings have led researchers to postulate that bilinguals search for "parallels" between their language systems, leading to patterns of convergence that emerge expressly in the context of contact (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Toribio 2004).[10] Such structures, then, should be most discernible among bilinguals who regularly activate their languages in tandem, a prediction that remains to be confirmed.

The above discussion points to the unconscious modifications that bilinguals make in managing their two languages, particularly when the languages are activated simultaneously, as in code-switching. Owing to such findings, some researchers have contemplated the role of language contact in language change

(see Meisel 2001; Backus 2005). As reasoned by Bullock and Toribio (2006), bilingual contact data may allow for the possibility of observing grammatical change in progress. For, if bilinguals alter the phonetic range and syntactic options available for expressing language-specific differences by fixing on values and structures that are most congruent across their languages, these "converged" forms may be reinterpreted by subsequent generations as the models for phonetic and syntactic implementation, leading to subtle alterations in the linguistic systems acquired. In this way, Latinos who engage in Spanish-English code-switching may be active agents in the promotion of new varieties of US Spanish and US English.

3 Spanish-English code-switching: who practices it?

The diversity of language contact phenomena attested among US Latinos reflects the fact that these speakers do not constitute a monolithic linguistic community. Rather, individual speakers are situated along a continuum of language abilities.[11] As expressed by numerous scholars, it is axiomatic that there exist qualitative differences among the contact forms of fluent bilinguals, Spanish-speaking immigrants who have acquired English in adulthood, and native speakers of English who have acquired Spanish in adult classrooms. The simplified diagram below, adapted partly from Valdés (2001), is intended to represent this range of speakers – from the recently arrived immigrant with incipient knowledge of English (S_e), through the near-native speaker of English or Spanish (*SE*, *ES*), to a third-generation heritage speaker of Spanish who retains minimal Spanish-language abilities (E_s).

The diagram further depicts the positive correlation that obtains between the degree of language proficiency that a speaker possesses in two languages and the type of bilingual speech behavior that he or she presents. That is, the complex mixing of languages is characteristic of speakers with a high degree of competence in both languages. Of course, it stands to reason that code-switching (as opposed to borrowing, tag-switching, or emblematic switching) should be commensurate with advanced levels of bilingualism, as Aguirre (1985: 61) states: "The fact that two grammars are involved means that this type of language patterning should be accessible only to the fairly proficient speakers."

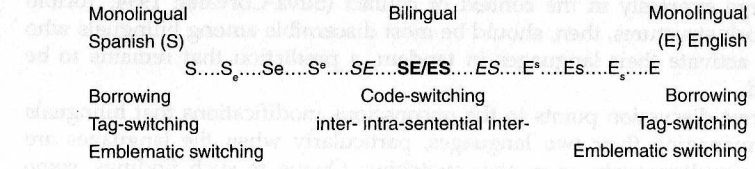

Figure 25.1 Diagram showing speakers and contact speech forms: a continuum.
Source: Author.

Numerous studies validate the above correlation. In her study of language practices among Puerto Ricans in East Harlem, New York, Poplack (1981) demonstrates that adults who reported to be dominant in Spanish or in English tended towards "emblematic" switches such as the insertion of single nouns (8a) or tag switches (8b), sometimes to the exclusion of sentential or more complex, "deep," or "intimate" intra-sentential switches that were favored by their more "balanced" bilingual counterparts (9a).[12] And similar patterns are attested in the speech of younger populations. McClure (1981) reports that Mexican-American children who are not sufficiently proficient in both Spanish and English code-switch predominantly at the word level, usually switching single nouns, while those children possessing greater proficiency in the two languages code-switch at higher constituency boundaries, for example between subject and predicate, between verb and direct object, and between nouns and relative clauses. Such patterns are replicated in Zentella's (1997) ethnolinguistic study, which documents the "evolution" of code-switching among several children; one child rarely code-switched in early observations, limiting herself to single-word insertions, but as her proficiency in English increased, she engaged in more intricate code-switching, as exemplified in (9b).

(8) a. Vendía arroz *n' shit*.
(Poplack 1981: 589)

b. Salían en sus carros y en sus *snowmobiles*.
(Poplack 1981: 589)

(9) a. Why make Carol sentarse atrás pa' que *everybody has to move* pa' que se salga?
(Poplack 1981: 589)

b. Todo el día *when I see the baby I tell Vicky*, "Lo puedo aguantar?" y ella dice 'Sí," *and I carry him. Then*, cuando se duerme, *I give it to Vicky*.
(Paca, cited in Zentella 1997: 133)

As should be clear, code-switching, as practiced in many communities throughout the United States, should not be associated with incipient language loss. Lipski (1986) speaks obliquely to this point in his study of the Isleños, Canary Islanders who settled in Louisiana in the late eighteenth century. In particular, he attributes the general lack of code-switching in the Isleño speech to the rapid shift from Spanish to English that precluded a period of bilingualism in which code-switching would emerge. Isleño speech demonstrates lexical insertions and tag switches, as in (10), but true code-switches are relatively uncommon.

(10) a. Venía un *twister* sobre la tierra.

b. Ella es un *bingo lady*, you know.
(Lipski 1986: 326)

Thus, code-switching emerges in US contexts of intense contact between Spanish and English, and in which monolingual norms have been relaxed. But bilinguals are not "instructed" in how to code-switch; they just do. And just as monolingual

native speakers of Spanish and English have an intuitive sense of linguistic well-formedness in their language, so too do code-switching bilinguals exhibit a shared knowledge of what constitutes felicitous intra-sentential code-switching.[13] The basis for this conviction is the empirical observation that bilinguals tend to switch intra-sententially at certain morphosyntactic boundaries and not at others. Early efforts to explain these preferences proceeded by proscribing certain switch sites, for example between pronominal subjects or objects and finite verbs, between finite verbs and infinitival complements, between auxiliaries and main verbs, between negative elements and verb (Timm 1975; Poplack 1980). Thus, while there are attested combinations such as those in (11a), generally absent are combinations such as those in (11b). Moreover, speakers reject sentences of the latter type in elicitation and grammaticality judgment tasks, although they may be unable to articulate what accounts for this status (Toribio 2001a, b).[14]

(11) a. *Pues*, I can't talk right now. Tengo *un perro* and I have to walk it *ahorita*.

b. *Well, I can *no hablar ahora*. Ø Have a dog and I *tengo que pasear* him now.

Such judgments of patterns of co-occurrence in code-switched strings can offer insights that are obscured in observations of monolingual data alone. In fact, a significant body of work in generative syntax has drawn on code-switching judgments to make larger claims about linguistic knowledge (see Woolford 1983; Belazi et al. 1994; MacSwan 2000, and works based therein).[15]

While there is a high degree of correspondence with respect to the patterns of code-switching that recur across bilingual individuals and communities, there do exist community-specific strategies for interpolating elements from two language systems. Poplack (1988) examined the French-English bilingual patterns in the adjacent communities of Ottawa and Hull in Canada and found that in Ottawa, where French is the minority language, code-switching was much more frequent than in Hull, where French is the official and majority language. In the latter, bilinguals sought to exclude Anglicisms from their speech and their switches were largely restricted to flagging or meta-linguistic commentary. While such geographically restricted patterns have not been documented for Spanish-English code-switching in the United States, there is some evidence that disparate strategies have evolved in different communities. One such example is found in the use of *hacer* + English stem in the borrowing of English verbs into Spanish utterances, as in (12). This pattern, which is rare relative to other modes of incorporation, has been reported only in the speech of Latinos in the Southwest (Pfaff 1979) and it is not accepted by bilingual Latinos in the eastern United States (Jenkins 2003).[16] More common is the incorporation of English verbal forms via morphological affixation of Spanish first-conjugation *-ar*, as in the examples in (13).

(12) a. Su hija hace *teach* allá en San José.
(Pfaff 1979: 301)

b. Tengo otro hermano que hizo *retire*.
(Jenkins 2003: 196)

(13) Mañana ya vamos a empezar a *chiroquear* (<'to (apply) sheet rock')
(Attested in Austin, Texas, construction site, day-laborer)

Identifying regional or community norms for Spanish-English code-switching among Latinos is a pressing task for future research. For instance, in US communities where Spanish and English have been in long-standing contact, and each enjoys some social prestige, as in some areas of Puerto Rico and the Southwest, the languages may have converged, thus sharing much of their grammatical structure, and code-switching may take the form of *congruent lexicalization* (Muysken 2000, 2002), where the shared structure can be filled with items from either language. This type of language mixing is characterized by back and forth switching, including non-constituents and single words, as in the attested example in (14).

(14) *Y mi* sister *no quería hacer* open *la* gate.
(Attested in Austin, Texas, metropolitan bus, native Tejano)

4 Spanish-English code-switching: why do speakers do it?

As a resource in the bilingual's repertoire, code-switching may be recruited in response to internal factors such as a speaker's specific communicative intent, or external factors such as the social context. There is no paucity in the literature of studies that address each. Gumperz, in his seminal 1982 work on discursive strategies, provides a list of functions served by code-switching, among these, quotation, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, and message. The premise underlying this and much subsequent work was that code-switching is always a conscious choice on the part of the speaker, and much research has been dedicated to analyzing language choice and imputing specific communicative aims to specific code alternations (see Valdés 1981 and Zentella 1997 among many others). Illustrated in (15) are samples of code-switching employed in the service of diverse pragmatic functions during a classroom activity reported in Reyes (2004).[17]

(15) a. Topic shift
We finished all the books... *[M]ira mis calzones se me andan cayendo* ...

b. Quotation
Y luego le hace sí {[robot voice] I'm hungry}

c. Persuasion
Ándale pues esa cosa we don't need this thing no more.

d. Emphasis
Loud *léelo* loud!

e. Question shift
Let me see *cómo le hiciste*?
(Reyes 2004: 84–85)

Many of the same pragmatic factors that have been signaled for conversational forms have been invoked in accounting for code-switching in literary texts (Valdes-Fallis 1976; Lipski 1982; Pérez-Torres 1995; Timm 2000; Torres 2005).[18] Thus, just as it does in spontaneous speech, the use of Spanish and English in writing presents the bilingual author with stylistic alternatives that combine the strength of both languages. Furthermore, in code-switching many find a linguistic mode that authentically encompasses their individual and collective experiences in the United States. As expressed by Flores (1993: 2002), bilingual poetry "corresponds to an ethos under formation; it is practice rather than representation of Latino identity." In the bilingual poetry of Gustavo Pérez Firmat (16a), the mixing of Spanish and English heightens the internal conflict faced by the Cuban American; for Gloria Anzaldúa (16b), it presents a linguistic means of depicting the encounter of cultures and worldviews.

(16) a. Soy un ajiaco de contradicciones,
un potaje de paradojas:
a little square from Rubik's Cuba
que nadie nunca acoplará.
Cha-cha-cha
(from "Bilingual Blues," Pérez Firmat 1995: 28)

b. To live in the borderlands means you
are neither hispana, india, negra, española
ni gabacha, eres mestiza, mulata, half breed
(from "To live in the borderlands ...," Anzaldúa 1987: 194)

The link between language and identity is well studied. In immigrant contexts, in particular, minority languages and non-standard forms such as code-switching may be assigned significant importance as features of group membership. Through the juxtaposition of Spanish and English, Latinos engage in the "performance of identity," as conceptualized by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), a positive assertion and enactment of their *Latinidad* (Toribio 2002). This association of language with identity is evident in the self-reproach of a teenager interviewed by Zentella:

(17) Sometimes I'm talking a long time in English and then I remember I'm Puerto Rican, lemme say something in Spanglish. (16-year-old male, quoted in Zentella 1997: 114)

Thus, Latinos' linguistic repertoires may be characterized as comprising two languages (and their attendant dialects, styles, and registers – see Valdés 2001) as well as the additional possibility of code-switching between them. And their choices in language use allow them to manage and signal distinct identities (see Myers-Scotton 1988, 1993a). As affirmed by Morales, "There is no better metaphor for what a mixed-race culture means than a hybrid language ... Spanglish is what we speak, but it is also who we Latinos are, and how we act, and how we perceive the world (2002: 3)."[19]

Of course, code-switching is only one of many interactional resources for identity construction and performance that are available to Latinos. In fact, code-switching

is not an *essential* trait of Latino speech, its deployment considerably constrained by societal, community, and individual ideologies regarding the languages and language varieties at issue. Standard language ideologies privilege the language forms of predominant social groups and institutions, stigmatizing those language varieties that deviate from this "natural" standard (see e.g. Lippi-Green 1997; Urciuoli 1991) as articulated here.

(18) a. Those poor kids come to school speaking a hodgepodge. They are all mixed up and don't know any language well. As a result, they can't even think clearly. (Teacher quoted in Walsh 1991: 106)

b. Pocho for me means ... doesn't know English and doesn't know Spanish, doesn't know both languages and doesn't know both of the cultures, kind of like a state of limbo, is [sic] lost. (University student, cited in Zentella's 2009 presentation on transfronterizos)

c. Don't mix, it's awful – well, it don't sound to me awful, but it would sound awful to a teacher. (Rosa Rivera, an informant quoted in Urciuoli 1991: 300)

At the root of these impressions, suggests Zentella (2002), is the perspective of bilingualism as "code" rather than as "practice" and the idealized view of the bilingual as one who does not switch from one language to the other in unchanged speech event (Weinrich et al. 1968: 73). Heller (1995: 5) too highlights that in contemporary society, what is valued is a bilingualism that is "a set of parallel mono-lingualisms, not a hybrid system." Thus some Latinos are precluded from code-switching by internalizing the stigma attached to their way of speaking.[20]

5 Spanish-English code-switching: when do speakers do it?

Code-switching is most common in communities where two languages are represented and where there is intense and longstanding contact between them. This is the case in many of the areas where Latinos have traditionally settled – New York City, Chicago, Miami, Houston, San Antonio, and Los Angeles, to name but a few. In such settings, the speech context will induce different language "modes" (Grosjean 1998), requiring the speaker to draw on one language or the other, and many speakers will extend this language-switching ability to alternating between languages in unchanged speech situations (contra Weinreich et al. 1968), especially with in-group members (Poplack 1983). Indeed, in some contexts, code-switching may be the norm, and remaining within a single language would be a violation of socially recognized rules of interaction, indicative of a speaker's lack of communicative awareness (see e.g. Gumperz 1976; Grosjean 1982). Thus, qualifying the above discussion, it should be said that not all linguistic alternations signal a particular communicative purpose, nor are all changes in function marked by a change in language (Zentella 1997). For some US Latinos, code-switching may represent an unmarked code, a conventionalized norm of social behavior (see Meyers-Scotton 1988, 1993a).

That Spanish-English code-switching represents a norm of language interaction among US Latinos is made evident in its increasing expansion into popular culture. The examples in (19) represent code-switching in music, across decades and genres (see Olhson (2008):

(19) a. *Qu'hubo, aquí estoy* MC Kid Frost
Yo soy el jefe, matón, yes, the big boss
My *cohete*'s loaded, it's full of *balas*
I put it in your face and you won't say *nada*
... Some of you don't know what's happening, *qué pasa*
It's not for you anyway, *this is for la raza*
(Mexican American hip hop artist Kid frost, "La Raza" © 1992)

b. Check this out, baby, *tenemos termendo lío*
Last night you didn't go *a la casa de tu tío*
Resulta ser, hey, you were at a party
Higher than the sky, *emborrachada de* Bacardi
... Right now you're just a liar, a straight *mentirosa*
Today you tell me one thing, *y mañana es otra cosa*
(Afro-Cuban-American rapper, Mellowman Ace, "Mentirosa" © 1989)

c. If tomorrow you feel lonely it's okay
Te prometo, princesita, volveré
Please stop crying, *se me va el avión*
When you miss me *pon nuestra canción*
(Dominican York bachata artists Aventura, "Our song" © 2005)

Not surprisingly, code-switching has been co-opted by US media outlets, as they attempt to reach the Latino audience in "their own language" (see Kelly-Holmes 2005; Hagen 2009). Radio broadcasts and print copy are replete with Spanish-English bilingual forms, as in (20), and periodicals such as *Latina* magazine entice bilingual Latino readers with titles such as those in (21).[21]

(20) a. *Yo y mi* Winston – *porque* Winstons taste good like a cigarette should.
(Advertisement sung in a movie house in Puerto Rico, cited in Nash 1970: 224)

b. Marco Discount House: *Cabecera con* frame, *2 mesas de noche*, 1 triple dresser *con 2 espejos. Fibra lavable*, 2 corner bed *y* ottoman *en azul. Elegante sofá-cama.*
(Newspaper advertisement from Puerto Rico, cited in Nash 1970: 226)

c. Design Men's Salon, toupées *a la medida*, hair weaving *y pelucas* stretch *para caballeros*
(Advertisement in the yellow pages of the telephone book in Puerto Rico, cited in Nash 1970: 226)

(21) a. *Ropa íntima* for everybody
b. Forget the *flaca* cover girls! What Latinos love most about Latinas *son las curvas.*
c. Send him *una carta de amor*
d. Seduce him *en la cocina*
(Samples from *Latina*, examined in Mahootian 2005)

To be sure, advertisers are taking full advantage of the growing economic opportunities associated with Spanish speakers in the United States and have explored ways of utilizing and exploiting Spanish and Spanish-English code-switching for its commercial potential. Their success can be measured not only in advertising revenue, but in the consumer marketing research directed at Latinos and focused on code-switching specifically. Luna and Peracchio (2005) and Luna et al. (2005) have investigated the influences of code-switching directionality and form on the recall and persuasiveness of print advertisements, and Bishop (2006) has explored the impact of code-switching on consumers' perception of advertisers' cultural sensitivity and on their expectations concerning empathy and responsiveness.

The "commodification" of Latinos' bilingual code-switching is made manifest in the wave of recent publications of bilingual prose texts such as *Yo-Yo Boing!* and *Killer Crónicas*, excerpted below (see Torres 2007).[22]

(22) a. all languages are dialects that are made to break new grounds. I feel like Dante and Petrarca, and Boccaccio and I even feel like Garcilaso forging a new language. *Saludo al Nuevo siglo, el siglo del Nuevo lenguaje de América y le digo adios a la retórica separatista y a los atavismos.* (Reproduced from Giannini Braschi, *Yo-Yo Boing!* 1998: 142)

b. *Qué me pasó esa primera vez*, so long ago? Why did this particular movie (in all my many movie going years) grab hold of me, reach inside me *con toda su* overwrought emotionality, hyper-*violencia*, and Baroque, dark Dutch humor *y machacarme el corazón? 18 años* wide open, giving it away, *me decía mamá. Amante de un hombre casado*, Viet Nam vet (*era un* médico *en la guerra*, never shot anyone). Yugoslavian-American. *De* Little Rock. *Escultor. Yo, obvio, era su modelo.* Begin to make sense? (Reproduced from Susana Chávez Silverman, *Killer Crónicas* 2004: 99)

That such language is viable in print media speaks not only to the increasing influence of Latinos in the marketplace but to the increasing acceptance of their language behaviors – a recognition that code-switching is the language of choice for many Latinos.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of code-switched copy rests in documenting the linguistic reality of US Latinos. In fact, Mahootian (2005) goes further to suggest that the very presence of code-switching in advertising copy is not merely a reflection and reinforcing of the practice; it is evidence of its propagation, and as such, code-switching signals language change. Adopting the view of Labov (1972) and Weinreich et al. (1968), Mahootian reminds us that one can speak of language change once a group of speakers uses an orderly pattern different from preexisting patterns to communicate with each other. Following this logic, she concludes that code-switching in print media is an instantiation of language change because "a variety (mixed-code discourse with

a distinct structure and socio-pragmatic function) is used in variation with other varieties (Spanish-only and English-only) in the Latino community in the United States (373)." Will this trend be arrested or continue unabated? Veremos.

NOTES

1 For the present study of code alternation, "codes" are understood as distinct languages (e.g, Spanish and English), rather than dialects or styles of the same language (e.g. switching between African-American and Standard American English). Additional terms are employed in the scholarly literature to label the phenomenon, including "codemixing," "codeshifting," "language alternation," "language mixture," and "language switching."

2 A useful means of conceiving of the difference between these types of borrowing is in terms of language processing: nonce borrowings are computed online when the bilingual's two languages are activated, whereas established borrowings are stored lexically in the inventory of the receiving language (see Muysken 2002). In this way, they are predicted to demonstrate disparate patterns of distribution, a matter that merits attention.

3 In Muysken's (2000) typology of code-switching, these examples are demonstrative of alternational code-switching, in which the languages occur alternately, each contributing its own structure, with a switch at a major syntactic boundary. This contrasts with insertional code-switching, in which there is an identifiable matrix language (Myers-Scotton 1993b) that provides the overall structure into which elements (typically single words or constituents) from the other language are embedded.

4 The Spanglish manifesto delivered by Stavans has generated highly animated and pointed criticism, as the extensive borrowing and calquing represented lacks authenticity (see Lipski 2007; Torres 2006, among numerous others).

5 The "mini-register" that Hill labels "mock" or "junk" Spanish is reportedly used most productively among middle- and upper-income, college-educated whites, in a form of covert racism. Hill writes, "Mock Spanish works to create a particular kind of 'American' identity, a desirable colloquial persona that is informal and easy going, with an all-important sense of humor and a hint – not too much, but just the right non-threatening amount – of cosmopolitanism, acquaintance with another language and culture. At the same time that Mock Spanish helps to constitute this identity, it assigns Spanish and its speakers to a zone of foreignness and disorder, rightly fleshed out with denigrating stereotypes (2008: 128–129)."

6 Dan Olson (p.c.) notes that Grosjean and Miller's acoustic measurements point beyond a "complete switch" to exaggerated or hyper-articulated VOT measurements for the initial consonant in the target homophone tokens in French-English stimuli such as *Il faudra qu'il copie Carl constamment*. Olson's own controlled experimental studies have shown that insertional language switching triggers hyper-articulation (e.g. in vowel duration, pitch, and VOT), enhancing the contrasts between the two languages. Thus, Grosjean and Miller's stimuli replicate insertional code-switching rather than alternational code-switching.

7 Similar patterns are observed at the level of prosody. For example, in a pilot study carried out by Bullock and her students, heritage Spanish speakers appear to anticipate the switch into English at the subject/predicate juncture in the Spanish-English sentence in (6d), producing an early peak alignment to mark the subject boundary, rather than the late peak alignment typical of Spanish (Bullock et al. 2007). See also Olson and Ortega-Llebaria (forthcoming).

8 While not ungrammatical, the increased occurrence and/or divergent distribution of overt pronominal subjects may be deemed infelicitous relative to the monolingual norm, as bilingual speakers are apparently suspending the discursive-pragmatic conditions that regulate their appearance, for example factors such as Specificity and Switch Reference. It should not go unremarked, however, that subject expression is highly variable, even in monolingual varieties of Spanish; thus the contact variety merely exhibits an expansion in the contexts in and/or frequency with which the overt forms occur (and as such, they do not introduce novel structures). Thus, an alternative explanation is found in cognitive economy: speakers may eliminate or reduce syntactic options. Other relevant examples are found in English lexical insertions, which often appear in their bare form – without articles or adjectives – in contact Spanish, diminishing the cost that is incurred in computing gender agreement (Otheguy and Lapidus 2003). It remains to be studied whether such "cost savings" are increased in code-switching.

9 This finding raises a causality dilemma: Overt subjects in Spanish promote surface similarity with English in Spanish-English code-switching; but code-switching is facilitated by the surface similarity of the contributing languages (see Poplack 1980, Gardner-Chloros 1995; Muysken 2000).

10 The similarities between these "interference" patterns and code-switching should be self-evident: both occur when the bilingual's languages are immediately or simultaneously accessible. In fact, Muysken (2006) suggests that interference may be described as a sub-case of code-switching, that is interference is language mixing that does not involve lexical material.

11 In addition, communities vary in the language varieties that are represented. For instance, Zentella identifies the following language varieties as comprising the linguistic repertoire of her informants in *el bloque:* standard and non-standard (Puerto Rican) Spanish, Puerto Rican English, African American Vernacular English, Standard (NYC) English, and Hispanized English. Members of other communities will present their specific, local language varieties.

12 Similarly, Montes-Alcalá's journal corpus demonstrates inter-sentential code-switching at the beginning of the sample, when the author's degree of bilingualism was more limited, and increased intra-sentential code-switching in the later periods as the author reached a steady state of bilingualism, "building a bridge between both languages" (Montes-Alcalá 2001: 198)."

13 The early works of Aguirre (1977), Gingràs (1974), Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez (1975), Jacobson (1977), Klavans (1985), Lance (1975), and Lipski (1985) established that Spanish-English code-switching is rule-governed and systematic.

14 Spanish-English bilinguals are able to rely on unconscious principles in distinguishing between permissible and unacceptable code-switches (see Bhatia and Ritchie 1996).

15 The acquisition of such knowledge has been illuminated by a growing body of research findings on code-switching in syntactic development in bilingual first language acquisition (see Cantone and Müller 2009). Thus, investigations of the syntax of code-switching have evolved significantly from early descriptive studies to a level of inquiry that is not only informed by syntactic theory but that can contribute to the advancement of linguistic theorizing.

16 The structure has also been noted in the speech of Spanish-English bilinguals in Belize (Hagerty 1996; Fuller Medina 2005).

17 Code-switching has been shown to be a useful resource in the classroom, as part of a whole language approach to learning (Goodman 1986; Huerta-Macías and Quintera 1992; Edelsky 2006; see also the contributions collected in Zentella 2005). For instance, Timm (1993) notes that for children who enter school accustomed to code-switching, its acceptance on the part of the teacher will be conducive to a more familiar and relaxed atmosphere which could enhance learning.

18 Of course code-switching in poetry and prose might not be structurally isomorphic with conversational code-switching – it reflects inherent correction, editing, and rewriting. Keller (1979) warns against attempts to measure the aesthetic value of a literary work based on how accurately it reflects the linguistic norms prevalent among a particular community. However, Lipski (1982) retorts that we must not seal off the literary artifact entirely from sociolinguistic criteria.

19 Morales continues, "[Spanglish] is also a way to avoid the sectarian nature of other labels that describe our condition, terms like Nuyorican, Chicano, Cuban American, Dominicanyork. It is an immediate declaration that translation is definition, that movement is status quo." However, Otheguy (2007) presents strong argumentation for rejecting the term Spanglish.

20 Nevertheless, changes in the linguistic and social landscape of the US have translated into different attitudes. Today, many Latinos reject standard language ideologies and the symbolic status of abstracted, idealized varieties of English and Spanish. Their cause is encouraged by the efforts of linguists such as Bonnie Urciuoli and Ana Celia Zentella, who promote "anthro-political" linguistic perspectives that value non-standard dialects and bilingual code-switching.

21 Hagen (2009) addresses other types of language mixtures observed in advertising that may not require a bilingual reader to achieve the desired effect, for example *Chikin es mooey gud*, from a Chick-Fil-A 2008 calendar.

22 Note, however, that although the trend has gained significant momentum in recent decades, code-switching is already present in poetry and prose of the late 1960s (see Callahan 2004).

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26 Language and Social Meaning in Bilingual Mexico and the United States

NORMA MENDOZA-DENTON AND BRYAN JAMES GORDON

> Y pos allí fue donde yo batallé porque el doctor era gringo y no sabía español, entonces cuando él hablaba él estaba mirando al niño y mi niño tiene doce años. Y yo creo que cuando pasa algo así pos él tiene que buscar a alguien que le traduzca porque yo soy la mamá. Me tenía que haber dicho a mí lo que pasaba y yo me sentí como que ni me tomó en cuenta y ni me explicó nada y pos yo no entendí lo que pasaba.
>
> So at that point I had a hard time because the doctor was Gringo and didn't know any Spanish, so when he talked he would look at my boy, who is twelve years old. And I believe that when something like this happens he needs to look for someone to translate because I am the boy's mother. He was supposed to tell me what was happening and I felt as though he paid no attention to me and didn't explain anything, so I had no idea what was going on.
>
> (Martínez 2008: 360, translation by Mendoza-Denton)

Phenomena of language contact between Spanish and English and Spanish and indigenous languages in the Americas have created a multiplicity of contexts in which social meanings are interactionally negotiated, meanings that carry the weight of historical precedent as well as the synchronic spark of current social issues. This chapter aims to review the rich literature on the negotiation of social meaning, distribution of socially available perspectives, and the crafting of identities through and in the use of language across these zones of contact. We will survey language contact phenomena according to spheres of use, starting with bureaucratic encounters, moving on to mediascapes and elites, considering transnational mobility and bilingual (including indigenous) communities, touching on

The Handbook of Hispanic Sociolinguistics, edited by Manuel Díaz-Campos