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SPANISH-ENGLISH BILINGUALS' ATTITUDES

TOWARD CODE-SWITCHING:

PROFICIENCY, GRAMMATICALITY AND FAMILIARITY

A Thesis in

Spanish

by

Tyler Kimball Anderson

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The thesis of Tyler Kimball Anderson was reviewed and approved* by the following:

Almeida Jacqueline Toribio
Professor of Linguistics and Spanish Linguistics
Thesis Advisor
Chair of Committee

Barbara E. Bullock
Professor of French and Linguistics

P. Giuli Dussias
Assistant Professor of Spanish, Linguistics and Psychology

John M. Lipski
Professor of Spanish and Linguistics

William R. Blue
Professor of Spanish
Interim Head of the Department of Spanish, Italian and Portuguese

*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School

ABSTRACT

In order to assess attitudes towards grammatically felicitous and infelicitous codeswitching and determine the factors that contribute to these evaluations, this study presents Spanish-English bilinguals of diverse proficiencies with recordings of four fairytales differentiated by grammaticality of intrasentential code-switching. Reactions from 274 participants are collected via a matched-guise technique, which unveil a continuum of preferences that confirms in part that grammatical code-switching is more positively viewed than ungrammatical code-switching. While it was anticipated that higher proficiency bilinguals would differentiate more judiciously between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switches, the results indicated that these bilinguals failed to distinguish the two text types. Indeed, their evaluations were consistently positive, a finding which is attributed to higher proficiency bilinguals' heightened identification with the code-switching texts. Results also indicate that listener-judges tend to distinguish grammaticality when listening to unfamiliar fairytales, which is attributed to a more acute concentration required for processing meaning; this attention amplifies the salience of the grammaticality of the switches. It is likewise evident from the results that female code-switchers are evaluated less positively than male code-switchers, a finding not unexpected given the extant literature on gendered speech which indicates that women are rated less positively than men when using 'non-standard' forms such as code-switching. In addition to the matched-guise survey, further analyses were carried out in conjunction with one female storyteller. Results from participant judges' first impression of this storyteller demonstrate that on the aggregate participants' evaluated this speaker differently when she used grammatical versus ungrammatical code-switching.

Keywords: Codeswitching, attitudes, matched-guise technique, identity, gender,

proficiency, insertions, borrowing

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Abominable, say intellectuals. Fresh, say teenagers. Liberating, say poets. Lucrative, say advertisers. Rambling, disjointed, muddled, say educators. Discourteous, disrespectful, say parents. Ingenious, ignorant, defining, divisive, foul. These are but some of the perspectives that have been offered regarding the blend of Spanish and English that is pervasive among U.S. Latinos.

Linguists have repeatedly demonstrated that lexical borrowing and code-switching, like any language phenomenon, are governed by grammatical rules and principles, i.e., there are acceptable forms that recur in bilinguals' speech, and other combinations that are seldom if ever attested or accepted. But can the non-specialist bilingual discern licit from illicit forms? If so, is bilingual proficiency implicated in this discrimination? These are the central research questions that inspire this study.

To begin, let's discuss the extensive contexts in which this mixture of Spanish and English are found.

1.1 Contexts of code-switching

Code-switching, or the alternation between two languages, is a common outcome of living in a multilingual setting, so much so that it is found in diverse settings, from the mundane (e.g. playground, work place) to the sublime (e.g. poetry, novels). For example,

in (1) two bilingual children talk informally, trying to decide how to hook up a microphone for use in a study.

(1)   Code-switching child dyad

Doris: Hol' your head up.

Blanca: *Cuando hablas tienes que hablar-* you know, regular. *No vire/h/ la cabeza pa(-ra a-)llá y eso.* OK? Remember don't put your mouf in the—*en el micrófono.*

'When you speak you have to talk—you know, regular. Don't turn your head that way. OK? Remember don't put your mouth in the—in the microphone.'

Doris: [To all] Blanca be actin' big an' baad. (Zentella, 1997: 33)

Similarly in (2), a pre-teen explains why she didn't like living in Puerto Rico.

(2)   Code-switching, adolescent dyad

Delia: It's so boring!

Dude: 'Cause you don't' have nobody to take you out!

Delia: I go out a lot *pero* you know *que no* [unintelligible] after—It's not the same you know, *no e(-s) como acá. Porque mira*, you go out *y to(-od e-)l mundo lo sabe*: how you go, where, with who you go out, who you go with—

'I go out a lot but you know that no [unintelligible] after—It's not the same you know, it's not like here. Because look, you go out and everyone knows it: how you go, where, with who you go out, who you go with—'

Dude: [Interrupting] I don't worry about it.

Delia: —*con quién sale(-s)*, if you—*si tú (es-)tá(-s) jangueando con un muchacho,…*

'—with whom you go out, if you—if you are hanging with a boy,…' (Zentella, 1997: 99-100)

And in (3) we see an informal exchange between a mother and her child.

(3)   Code-switching, child-parent dyad

Lolita: *Tengo frío, me voy a poner una suera.*

'I'm cold, I'm going to put on a sweater'

Mother: *Una suera, y sube ya mismo que van a ser las diez.*

'A sweater, and come up right away because it's going to be ten o'clock.'

Lolita: I'm goin' with um *este* ('um') Ana. She's coming up at ten—she's leaving at ten.

….

Mother: *Pero quítate eso.*

'But take that off.'

Lolita: Wait. I have to leave it on. I have to go like this and Ana's gonna

put it all over again. (Zentella, 1997: 38)

Code-switching is also common in exchanges in the bilingual classroom, as witnessed

in the conversation between a teacher and students in a math class, presented in (4).

(4)   Code-switching, teacher-student dyad

Teacher: How many tens and how many ones in 41? E.

Student E: Ten (in a loud voice)

Teacher   *E, cuando te toca hablar, no hablas alto, cuando te toca, la voz*

tuya se oye [incomprehensible] C'mon! How many tens and how

many ones? Don't tell me you forgot. M?

'E, when it's your turn to talk, you don't talk loud, when

it's your turn, your voice can be heard [incomprehensible]'

(Zentella, 1981: 123)

From these informal exchanges, we see how naturally and easily children, adolescents,

and adults switch between Spanish and English, with no communicative cost. It is a

natural expression of their proficiency in the two languages.

The use of Spanish and English code-switching has more recently been transferred to

the internet, where code-switched instant messages, blogs and emails are prevalent.

Examples (5a-c) demonstrate this use of code-switching in cyberspace.

(5) Code-switching in emails and blogs

    a. Do you think you could do me *el gran favor de alguna manera volver a copiarlo?* (Montes-Alcalá, 2005: 177)

        'Do you think you could do me the big favor of somehow copying it again?'

    b. Just kidding. *No he hablado con nadie.* (Montes-Alcalá, 2005: 179)

        'Just kidding. I haven't spoken with anyone.'

    c. Just this morning I was totally stressing about one of my accounts …So much so that I was ready to quit (not practically but mentally - not that I could afford to be without a job *con todos lo biles que tengo*!

    (Alma 2006)

        '…with all the bills that I have.'

Again, the fluidity of these switches points to the natural production of code-switching in this informal setting.

Aside from the spontaneous use in informal venues, the mixture of Spanish and English is also seen in premeditated and revised contexts, such as in children's rhymes and in music. For example, in the excerpt in (6) taken from the popular bilingual version of *The Night before Christmas,* we see how the mixture of Spanish and English creates a playful, jovial mood.

(6)   Code-switching in children's literature

'Twas the night before Christmas *y por toda la casa*,

Not a creature was stirring—*¡Caramba! ¿Qué pasa?*

Los niños were tucked away in their *camas*,

Some in long underwear, some in pajamas.

...

Then chuckling aloud, seeming *muy contento*,

He turned like a flash and was gone *como viento*.

And I heard him exclaim, and this is *verdad*,

Merry Christmas to all*, ¡y Feliz Navidad*!

In a similar manner, the songs in (7a-b) illustrate how code-switching is used to appeal to a bilingual audience. For example, (7a) illustrates the use of code-switching in rap from the 90s, and (7b) demonstrates how this use of Spanish and English has been utilized more recently in traditional music genres, i.e. bachatas.

(7)   Code-switching in music

a.   Check this out baby, *tenemos tremendo lío*

Last night you didn't go *a la casa de tu tío*

Resulta ser, hey, you were at a party

High in the sky, *emborrachada de Bacardí*

I bet you didn't know *que conocía al cantinero*

He told me you were drinking and wasting my *dinero*

Talking 'bout come and enjoy what a women gives an *hombre*

But first of all I have to know your *nombre*

And I really wanna ask you *que si es verdad*

And please, *por favor*, tell me la *verdad*

'Cause I really need to know, yeah, *necesito entender*

if you're gonna be a player or be my *mujer*

'Cause right now you're just a liar, a straight *mentirosa*

Today you tell me one thing *y mañana es otra cosa*

(Mellow Man Ace, *Mentirosa,* 1990)

b.   …I believe you will end up alone

Y vas a extrañar mi lindo amor

I believe my love will always be in your heart

Pero será muy tarde corazón

I believe you'll miss my lovin

You'll cry in bed

So I'll come home

You'll notice you were wrong

But I'll be gone (I'll be gone)

Apuesto que vas a llorar

Mejor decirte que olvidar

como tu cuerpo me correspondió

Sé que brindarás otra versión

Pero hasta un ciego ve que te fui fiel

> I know very well you'll say that I did wrong
>
> *Quizás te crean, quizás juzguen mi amor*
>
> *Pues ya no aguanto, no me voy a mortificar*
>
> Right from this moment *le pondrá a esto final*
>
> *Recoge todo no me hables*, pack your bags
>
> You gotta go, babygirl, you gotta go
>
> (Aventura, *I believe*, 2002)

Equally noteworthy is the advance that code-switching is seeing in the business realm through advertisements. As the Hispanic population grows in the United States, this group is targeted for its purchasing power (Luna and Peracchio 2005), and in order to target this group, agencies are increasing their use of code-switched advertisements in newspapers and magazines. Examples such as those in (8) are attempts to reach out to the Spanish-English bilingual community.

(8)   Code-switching in advertisements

    a.   *Hoy más que nunca, tiempo* is money.

        (from *El Diario/La Prensa*, cited in Stavans 2003: 3)

    b.   Looking great doesn't have to cost a *fortuna*

        (from *Latina*, cited in Luna and Peracchio 2005: 43)

Not only is code-switching found in these popular forms, but it is also witnessed in more sophisticated realms. For example, Alurista, the renowned Chicano poet, intertwines Spanish and English in a masterful way. His books of poetry include poems written entirely in Spanish and others written wholly in English. And several of his

poems place elements from both languages in juxtaposition, symbolizing the dual nature

of the bilingual (cf., Valdes Fallis 1976). In his poem *walking about*, reproduced here as

(9), Alurista draws on elements from both Spanish and English in his soliloquy of

solitude.

> (9) Code-switching in poetry: *walking about* by Alurista
>
> walking about barceloneta
>
> *el distrito gótico de arcos*
>
> *y torres con lágrimas de roca*
>
> *imagínome lo que sería*
>
> *sin ti la vida, xe, merxe*
>
> *sonrientes estos rostros*
>
> *catalanes de hablar de manos*
>
> walking about *lacerado*, wounded
>
> lost in desire, wish u were here
>
> i am whole and in pieces *sobrio*
>
> torn and gathered, alone *sereno*
>
> and in the world *entre todos*
>
> *si dinero tuviese, si rico fuese*
>
> *no estaría donde estoy, abandona'o*
>
> *mira que te quiero tanto que*
>
> *ya me ahoga este llanto, las*
>
> *lágrimas se han secado, sólo*

sal rueda y arde en el parpadeo

que repíteme por qué? why?

(Alurista, 1996: 54)

While the message of solitude expressed in this poem could be communicated through one language or the other, the mixture conveys the sense that the author is at once 'whole and in pieces'. Indeed, as a bilingual Alurista would be incomplete without English or Spanish, just as he feels incomplete without his lover.

Code-switching is also beginning to find greater acceptance from publishers and other such gatekeepers, and thus the use of code-switching in novels and short stories is becoming more commonplace (Callahan 2004). For example, in his short story 'El difunto Joe Hurts' / 'The Late Joe Hurts', set in the Hispanic Southwest, Jim Sagel intersperses English with Spanish in the speech of the bartender-narrator, as illustrated in the Spanish version (10a) and English version (10b) of the story:

(10) Code-switching in literature

    a.   Güeno, pero según platican los viejos, esa enfermedá fue tan terrible que no quedaban ni carpinteros pa' hacer cajones—de modo que *they just wrapped the* muertos *up in a sheet,* una sábana o un sarape y ya estufas. (Sagel, 1991: 46)

        'Well, according to the old men, that disease was so bad that there weren't any carpenters to make coffins—so they just wrapped up the dead in a sheet, a sheet or a serape and that was it.'

b.   *Ay ¡qué sanamagón!* ('Oh my goodness) —Your beer! The

barmaid's a little forgetful, I'm afraid—more than just a little,

you're probably thinking. *Oyes* ('Listen), you heard the joke about

the old-timer who wanted to marry the young girl?… (Sagel, 1991:

101)

Language mixing has likewise made inroads into the classics, as authors such as Ilan

Stavans test its possibilities; consider the controversial translation of *Don Quixote* into

'Spanglish;' whose beginning is reproduced in (11):

(11) 'Spanglish' Don Quixote by Ilan Stavans

First *Parte*, Chapter *Uno*

In *un placete de La Mancha* of which *nombre no quiero remembrearme, vivía*,

not so long ago, *uno de esos* gentlemen who always *tienen una lanza* in the rack,

una buckler *antigua*, a skinny *caballo y un* greyhound *para el* chase. (Stavans

2003: 253, italics added)

Such mixing is markedly different from the previously presented code-switching. While

code-switching is "the easy transit between the languages," 'Spanglish' for Stavans is "a

handful of so-called 'borrowed' terms, *palabras prestadas*, adapted—revamped, really—

to somehow fit a Spanglish mode of communication, *una manera de ser espanglishada*

(Stavans 2003:13, italics added)." This deliberate strategy, considered hip and hilarious,

was emulated by one student in the *Pledge of Allegiance* in (12a) and *La declaración of*

Independence in (12b).

(12) 'Spanglish'

    a.   Yo plegio alianza a la bandera de los Unaited Esteits de América…

    b.   Nosotros joldamos 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. (cited in Stavans 2003:15)

Unfortunately, such forms, though quite unique, are offered by Stavans as representative

of Latino bilingual speech. Because these examples fail to show the rule-governed nature

of code-switching, readers are left to believe that code-switching is a capricious

combination of two languages, which linguists have long shown to be inconsistent with

actual use of Spanish and English in the same speech situation.

1.2 Scholarly interest

The literature on code-switching is replete with discussions on the syntactic

constraints that linguists have determined to be consistent with bilingual language use,

with special attention being placed on intrasentential code-switching—the alternation

between languages within the sentence (cf., e.g., Gingràs 1974; Timm 1975; Pfaff 1979;

Poplack 1980, 1981; Lipski 1985; Belazi et al. 1994; MacSwan 1999). Linguistic

research has also focused on why bilinguals switch (Gumperz 1976), when the switching

occurs (Zentella 1997) and how language identities are formed through code-switching

(Kells 2002). Furthermore, sociologists look at how code-switching, much like the use of

other linguistic varieties, gives rise to cohesion and division based on the identities forged

by its use (Lo 1999). From a psycholinguistic perspective, the processing of code-switching has also been investigated (cf. Dussias 2003), and the social roles of code-switching in multilingual societies have been explored (Myers-Scotton 1993).

1.3 Purpose and rationale of study

In spite of the fact that code-switching is widespread and has been repeatedly shown to be rule-governed and systematic, this use of two languages continues to be disparaged. In fact, it is so stigmatized that code-switchers themselves often deny engaging in it. Nowhere is this stigma more evident than in the school setting. Teachers often pity those who display this speech form, even resorting to questioning their cognitive abilities, as illustrated in a teacher's exclamation in (13).

(13) Teacher's evaluation of code-switching

"Those poor kids [who code-switch] 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).

Zentella (2003) indicates that even the terms used to describe this speech style by the public imply a "linguistic mongrelization" (p. 56). Terms such as *Spanglish*, *Tex-Mex* and *casteyanqui* imply that these speech forms are simply a combination of *Span*ish and En*glish* and fail to recognize the linguistic nature of these speech forms. As mentioned above, in order for linguists to establish that this speech form is more than just an uncontrolled amalgamation of two languages, they have set out to determine the rule-

governed nature of this fluid movement between codes. However, while linguists are well aware of the rule-governed nature of these alternations, little focus has centered on whether or not the non-linguist is capable or aware of these restrictions. Attempts that linguists have made to determine what the non-linguist perceives regarding language variation have principally investigated the issue from a direct approach (e.g. questionnaires, surveys, grammaticality judgment). For example, researchers using the methodologies common in Folk Linguistics/Perceptual Dialectology have sought to determine what it is that the non-linguist is consciously aware of with regards to linguistic norms, whether monolingual or interlingual. While these methods have their merit, they are limited in uncovering the non-linguists' true ability to distinguish between differing manifestations of language contact (cf. Pieras-Guasp 2002). It has similarly been shown, that as bilingual proficiency increases, so too do code-switching abilities (Montes-Alcalá 2001, Poplack 1980). Likewise, awareness of code-switching norms increases along with the development of bilingual proficiency (Toribio, et al. 1993).

It is the purpose of the present study, therefore, to demonstrate that the non-linguist is cognizant (at least at some covert level) of grammatical workings regarding Spanish-English code-switching.

In order to determine this awareness, a less direct research methodology—the Matched-guise Technique—is implemented to investigate the attitudes that Spanish-English bilinguals hold toward felicitous and infelicitous code-switching. While attitudes toward languages and language varieties have been implicated in language learning (cf., Gardner and Lambert 1972), language planning (cf., Adegbija 2000), language

maintenance (cf., Bills et al. 1995, Pieras-Guasp 2002), and language shift (cf., Fishman 2001), Romaine (1995) notes that there has been relatively little attention paid to the prestige attached to speech forms representing diverse types of interlingual influence. Garrett et al. (2003) also note that studies on language attitudes have focused largely on reactions toward *generalized* varieties. In contrast, the present study seeks to evaluate bilingual speakers' attitudes towards a *specific* bilingual linguistic variety: code-switching.

1.4 Research questions and predictions

Therefore, in assessing bilinguals' abilities to differentiate between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching, the present study addresses two interrelated research questions, as presented in (14).

(14)   Research Questions

   a.   Research Question 1

   Are Spanish-English bilinguals sensitive to grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching?

   b.   Research Question 2

   Does said sensitivity coincide with the language proficiency of the bilinguals?

Responding to the above questions, recordings of grammatical-ungrammatical code-switching dyads of four fairytales were created. Spanish-English bilinguals of differing

levels of proficiency were asked to listen to these recordings and evaluate the speaker on semantic-differential scales, thus measuring their attitudes toward grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching. (The details of the methodology are specified in chapter 4).

With the above research questions in mind, it is proposed that bilinguals' ability to make subtle distinctions between grammatical and ungrammatical switches will be reflected in their attitudes towards these varieties (15a), and that these abilities will sharpen as proficiency increases (15b).

(15)   Predictions

    a.   Prediction 1

        A hierarchy of acceptability will obtain among bilinguals, with grammatically felicitous code-switching eliciting more positive evaluations than grammatically infelicitous code-switching.

    b.   Prediction 2

        Differential evaluations will accord with personal linguistic characteristics of the individual judges, with more proficient bilinguals making greater distinctions between the two texts types.

1.5 Organization of dissertation

The following chapters of this thesis discuss in more detail bilinguals' attitudes towards code-switching. The second chapter provides a discussion on the study of

language contact, and its manifestations. The chapter reviews the literature on code-switching, giving special attention to its rule-governed nature, and the methodologies employed in its examination. The chapter then summarizes studies that focus on language attitudes, with an emphasis on the matched-guise technique. Chapter 3 presents a preliminary study on attitudes towards manifestations of bilingual speech, along with the findings and limitations that inform the main study. The fourth chapter provides a detailed discussion of the methodology used in investigating the above research questions and testing the related predictions. A thorough discussion is provided on the design of the materials, including questionnaires, bilingual texts, and indirect and direct measures of attitudes. In Chapter 5 descriptive statistics and results of the analysis of variance of the data from the matched-guise survey are presented. Results are presented both as the conflation of all semantic-differential scales, and then by individual scale, as a function of the grammaticality of the text. The interaction between participant judges' proficiency and grammaticality is then presented, which is followed by interpretations of the data, taking into consideration the research questions and predictions. Chapter 6 provides the findings of a qualitative and quantitative analysis of reactions from additional attitudinal measures in reference to the code-switching of one female storyteller. The thesis concludes with chapter 7, which provides interpretations of the findings, implications and broader contributions of the study. Finally, directions for future research are presented.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

**MANIFESTATIONS OF LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LANGUAGE
ATTITUDES**

2.1 Introduction

Research on language-contact phenomena during the last 30 years has shed light on

the nature of the manifestations of bilingual speech, among these, lexical and structural

borrowing and linguistic convergence. Of particular interest here are the factors that

regulate code-switching, or the alternation of languages in the same speech act. The

findings reported in a robust body of antecedent research point to grammatical,

discourse/pragmatic, and socio-psychological constraints on code-switching. From a

grammatical perspective, code-switching is rule-governed, demonstrating syntactic

restrictions proportionate to speakers' bilingual proficiency. Moreover, code-switching is

deployed in specific settings for specific discursive/pragmatic aims. Finally, as a social

behavior, the practice of code-switching is influenced not only by speakers' attitudes, but

also by the disposition of interlocutors and the community and society at large towards

these language forms and those who engage in them.

Owing to the complex nature of code-switching, the research undertaken in the

present study is informed and motivated by studies in syntax, sociolinguistics, and the

social psychology of language, and the findings are pertinent to these and other fields,

including first and second language acquisition, language proficiency assessment, language policy, and pedagogy.

As a preface to the study of Spanish-English bilinguals' attitudes toward felicitous and infelicitous code-switching forms, this chapter provides a discussion of three pertinent topics. It begins by briefly reviewing the literature addressing manifestations of linguistic contact. One such phenomenon that will be discussed in some detail—inasmuch as it supports the rule-governed nature of language contact manifestations—is lexical borrowing. The discussion will then turn to code-switching, which will occupy a major focus of this chapter. Finally, the chapter will provide an in-depth discussion on language attitudes, with an emphasis on the measurement of individuals' reactions toward diverse language varieties. The information provided in this chapter will serve as background for the study of bilinguals' reactions toward borrowing and code-switching, which will be discussed in detail in chapters three through six.

2.2 Language contact phenomena

When two languages come into contact, the outcomes are multiple and varied. In the following pages I provide an overview of language contact, including a general definition, some factors that lead to language contact, and potential consequences of such contact. I then explore in more detail two probable outcomes of language contact: lexical borrowing and code-switching.

2.2.1 Language contact—definition

Researchers have defined language contact as the concurrent use of more than one language in the same geographic area (cf. Thomason 2001). Though adequate for most purposes, this definition is at once too specific and too broad. It is not difficult to imagine a situation in which speakers of one language come into the same geographic region with speakers of another language for a short period of time (e.g. professional meetings) with no significant linguistic interaction taking place. Therefore, to improve on this definition, the *interaction* of speakers of different languages must be incorporated. Likewise, the concept of geographic proximity can be too specific, for in today's world of technological advancements, it is increasingly possible to interact with speakers of other languages without entering into the same geographic environment. This can be easily observed in the use of English in the realm of technology, where direct, physical contact between speakers of this and other languages may be nonexistent, yet significant linguistic interactions occur. Hence, the notion of geographic proximity is incidental in many cases of language contact.

In light of the above considerations, language contact in the present study will be broadly defined as the *interaction* (whether in close proximity or at a distance) between individuals who use more than one language or language variety, promoting multilingualism in some (if not all) community members. In what follows, I provide a summary of the conditions that bring about language contact.

2.2.2 Factors implicated in language contact

Numerous scholars have addressed the factors that lead to the interaction of members of different linguistic communities (Grosjean 1982, Clyne 2003, Paulston 1994, Thomason 2001 and Myers-Scotton 2002). Multiple factors have been identified, among these, military conquest, religious spread, living in border areas, (im)migration, ethnic awareness, liberation, technological advances, travel, education and globalization, each discussed below.

Myers-Scotton describes *military conquest and consequent colonization* as "perhaps the most important factors" (2002: 31) leading to language contact. Generally speaking, when an indigenous population is confronted with rulers or colonists who speak an unfamiliar tongue, the suppressed group may deem it necessary to learn the new language (or be compelled to do so). For instance, with the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the area of present-day New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah and California all became part of the United States. The linguistic effects of this military maneuver and colonization of this area by English-speaking settlers can be witnessed in Spanish lexical borrowings by English speakers (i.e. *adobe, carne, mesa, rio,* and *savvy* (cf. Smead 2004)) as well as in the loss of Spanish among many heritage speakers of Spanish in this region (cf. Bills et al. 1995).

Another source of language contact—and one often connected with military conquest—is *religious spread*. For instance, the spread of Islam and Christianity brought Classic Arabic and Latin into contact with speakers of other languages. Furthermore, the

conquistadors justified their conquest and subjugation of the indigenous people in the New World by what they perceived as the need to spread Christianity.

Living in border areas or ethnolinguistic enclaves can also contribute to language contact. The existence of borders—linguistic and/or political—creates the possibility that people living in close proximity to these borders will interact with people who speak another language. In this instance bilingualism can be either unidirectional or mutual, depending on socioeconomic forces. This is evidenced in the Brazilian border region of northern Uruguay, where many of the Portuguese speakers who reside on the Uruguayan side of the border have learned Spanish, and in many cases have simply displaced Portuguese in favor of the more politically and socially dominant language of the region (Elizaincín 1995).

Another causal factor of language contact is *(im)migration.* The primary motivation for migration usually stems from the desire to improve one's standing, either for economic or social reasons. Likewise, many refugees have been forced to flee their home in search of sanctuary. Though migration is usually voluntary, forced migration was also common prior to the nineteenth century, at which time slavery was prohibited in most countries (Myers-Scotton 2002: 30). Regardless of the nature of the relocation, migrants are often faced with the need to learn a new language. For instance, throughout the history of the United States, there has been an influx of immigrants from around the world, primarily from Europe, who brought their languages or language varieties with them. While this had considerable impact on the English of the U.S., the impact has been more pronounced in the immigrant languages, most notably in the form of language loss.

Many of these immigrants' grandchildren did (do) not speak the imported languages, having supplanted them completely with English. This trend continues today with Spanish-speaking immigrants in the United States, notwithstanding the continual influx of Spanish speakers into the country (Veltman, 1983, 2000).[1]

Even though immigrant languages are generally lost by the third generation, an increase in *ethnic awareness* or in national ties can help promote a revival of the ethnic language and can thus stimulate its maintenance (cf., Fishman 2001). This ethnic awareness has been key in the desire to maintain the *Isleño* dialect of Spanish in and around St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana; however, such awareness may not be enough to save this dialect (Coles 1993). Similarly, Torres (1997) reports that Spanish language maintenance among Puerto Ricans in Brentwood, New York, is correlated with a desire to maintain their linguistic heritage. One possible contributor to an increase in ethnic awareness is oppression. For example, the oppressive linguistic policies imposed during the Franco regime toward the Catalan people had an unanticipated outcome, causing the Catalan people to be even more adamant about maintaining their language (and culture). Likewise, the English Only movement (and similar movements) in the United States may contribute to the maintenance of minority languages due to the added awareness of the ethnic and linguistic heritage by these individuals.

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[1] Interestingly, some researchers and scholars (i.e., Thomason 2001, Huntington, 2004) claim that this trend is not continuing in certain Hispanic communities in the United States (e.g. California and Florida) where "the number of speakers remains more or less constant" (Thomason, 2001:9). Thomason recognizes that this constancy of Spanish speakers can be attributed to the continuing influx of Spanish-speaking immigrants to the U.S., which (by use of simple mathematics) should be indication enough that there is either a high mortality rate amongst these immigrants, or that these speakers continue to shift to the English language, much like other language minorities have done in the past. Huntington (2004) interprets these facts quite differently, claiming that this (perceived) maintenance of Spanish by these immigrants is a great threat to the English-speaking majority and the Anglo-Protestant culture that the majority upholds.

Related to an increase in ethnic awareness is the reaction of a liberated group toward its former oppressor, what Myers-Scotton labels *liberation*. Evidence of such liberated thinking is seen with the variety of Spanish spoken in Mexico after the emancipation from Spanish control. As noted in Hidalgo (1987), after the War of Independence, the political leaders of the country strove to disavow any ties—including linguistic—to the old regimes. Among other things, they established the Mexican Language Academy in 1875, which brought with it the acceptance of indigenisms—especially lexical—in direct opposition to former linguistic policies. This liberationism can be seen more recently in publishers' increased willingness to print books written in Spanish-English code-switching (cf. Callahan 2004).

Technological advancements—together with the mass media—have contributed to the diffusion of languages. The ability to access foreign language materials through the internet, for example, has led to linguistic diffusion that in years past would not have been possible. For instance, the possibility that Ingush[2] speakers would come into contact with English would have been rare; yet today, such contact is possible due to these technological advancements.

Technological advancements have also enabled and stimulated the desire to *travel* abroad for pleasure. These ventures into foreign language-speaking countries impact the language habits of both traveler and host country. The traveler sees the need to learn another language in order to acquire certain services in the host country, while

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[2] Ingush is a Caucasian language spoken in the region north of Georgia in Eastern Europe. It is very closely related to the Chechen language.

individuals in the host country see the learning of the traveler's language as a means of better serving the traveler, and thus improving their economic status. Historically, travel for commercial purposes also brought about the need for both traveling merchant and costumer to learn at least some of each other's language, or even to acquire a Lingua Franca. Many of these cases brought about the creation of pidgins (and subsequently creoles). In the U.S. the need for learning Spanish is seen in cities with a vital Hispanic population (e.g. Miami) where business owners must be willing and able to provide for the needs of the Spanish-speaking population if they are to achieve economic success.

Certain languages (or language varieties) have also historically served as a mark of an *educated* person. For example, in the eighteenth century, French was a hallmark of such a person in Russia. Today, English has quickly become the hallmark of the educated, and in many countries English is studied as a second language. The same holds true for those Spanish-speakers who enter the United States who desire to improve their economic standing by increasing their English skills, many times at the expense of their first language (Zentella 2000).

Finally, as the number of educated speakers of a foreign language increases, the *spread of these international languages* may continue throughout the populace. The spread of English throughout the world today is an indication of this impetus. Likewise, the usefulness of Spanish has caused it to become the most commonly learned foreign language in the United States. As Coulmas notes, "The more people learn a language, the

more useful it becomes, and the more useful it is, the more people want to learn it" (1992: 80 in Myers-Scotton, 2002: 34). **[3]**

While these are not the only factors that contribute to language contact, the list is ample enough to explain many cases of interlingual influence. Likewise, it is obvious that many factors work in tandem to influence the outcome of contact induced language change and language loss.

2.2.3 Linguistic consequences of language contact

The outcomes of linguistic contact on the individuals are numerous (Weinreich 1963) and depend on the length and intensity of the contact situation (de Granda 1995). This naturally leads to the question: what linguistic consequences are attested relative to the length and intensity of contact? In answering this question, Thomason provides the Borrowing[4] Scale, reproduced in Table 2.1, together with the warning that "any borrowing scale is a matter of probabilities, not possibilities" (Thomason 2001: 71).

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[3] Conversely, one research notes that "Spanish is only a prestige idiom in the United States where there are irrelevant numbers of Spanish speakers. Where Spanish speakers are a relatively large group, it is an idiom held in considerable contempt…. The more locally irrelevant an ethnic language and culture is, the higher its social status, and the more viable locally, the lower its social status" (Kjolseth 1972: 98, cited in Peñalosa 1980: 188).

[4] While borrowing is generally used to refer to the incorporation of lexical items into the host language, Thomason broadly defines it to include any linguistic property, from lexical items on through to morph-syntactic structures.

Table **2.1**: Borrowing Scale (adapted from Thomason 2001: 70-71)

1.Casual Contact: borrowers need not be fluent in the source language, and/or there are few bilinguals among borrowing-language speakers

Lexicon   Only nonbasic content words—most often nouns, but also verbs, adjectives and adverbs

Structure   None

2. Slightly more intense contact: borrowers must be reasonably fluent bilinguals, but they are probably a minority among borrowing-language speakers

Lexicon   Function words (e.g. conjunctions and adverbial particles like 'then') as well as content words, still nonbasic vocabulary

Structure   Only minor structural borrowing at this stage, with no introduction of features that would alter the types of structures found in the borrowing language. Phonological features such as new phonemes realized by new phones, but in loanwords only; syntactic features such as new functions or functional restrictions for previously rare word orders

3. More intense contact: more bilinguals; attitudes and other social factors favoring borrowing

Lexicon   More function words borrowed; basic vocabulary—the kinds of words that tend to be present in all languages—may also be borrowed at this stage, including such closed-class items as pronouns and low numerals as well as nouns and verbs and adjectives; derivational affixes may be borrowed too (e.g. –able/-ible, which originally entered English on French loanwords and then spread from there to native English vocabulary)

Structure   More significant structural features are borrowed, though usually without resulting in major typological change in the borrowing language. In phonology, the phonetic realizations of native phonemes, loss of some native phonemes not present in the source language, addition of new phonemes even in native vocabulary, prosodic features such as stress placement, loss or addition of syllable structure constraints (e.g. a bar against closed syllables), and morphophonemic rules (e.g. devoicing of word-final obstruents). In syntax, such features as word order (e.g. SVO beginning to replace SOV or vice versa) and the syntax of coordination and subordination (e.g. increasing or decreasing use of participial constructions instead of constructions that employ conjunctions). In morphology, borrowed inflectional affixes and categories may be added to native words, especially if they fit well typologically with previously existing patterns

4. Intense contact: very extensive bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers,
   social factors strongly favoring borrowing

Lexicon   Heavy borrowing

Structure   Anything goes, including structural borrowing that results in major
typological changes in the borrowing language. In phonology, loss or
addition of entire phonetic and/or phonological categories in native words
and of all kinds of morphophonemic rules. In syntax, sweeping changes in
such features as word order, relative clauses, negation, coordination,
subordination, comparison, and quantification. In morphology,
typologically disruptive changes such as the replacement of flexional by
agglutinative morphology or vice versa, the addition or loss of
morphological categories that do not match in source and borrowing
languages, and the wholesale loss or addition of agreement patterns

The Borrowing Scale is divided into four levels of contact, based on relative intensity.
A contact situation being assigned to the 'low' stage (1) indicates a situation of casual
contact, where only a few lexical items are borrowed; while a situation assigned to the
'high' stage (4) indicates intense contact, including very extensive bilingualism. The
levels of contact are further specified as allowing for two main outcomes of language
contact—lexical borrowing and structural borrowing—in the contributing languages.

It should be clear that calculating contact intensity is very difficult (a fact recognized
by Thomason). For example, it is difficult to determine where to locate the Spanish
language in the United States with regards to its contact with English. The intensity of
contact between these two languages in some U.S. communities is very high; yet it is
probable that the contact situation between Spanish and English in the U.S. has not even
reached the third stage of intensity on Thomason's model (see Silva-Corvalán 1994,
1995). One contributing factor may be found in the attitudes of both the Spanish-speaking

community as well as that of the dominant English-speaking community toward contact (and noncontact) varieties of Spanish and English.

2.2.3.1 Lexical borrowing

As witnessed in Thomason's Borrowing Scale, lexical borrowing is the most common consequence of language contact, and is evident in nearly all languages. Even in cases where it is presumed that a language has formed in isolation, it is likely that samples of lexical borrowing can be found (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). An extreme example of lexical borrowing is found with English, where it is thought that 75% of the lexicon has been borrowed, mainly from French and Latin (Thomason 2001).

'Borrowing' is an umbrella term used to refer to a variety of lexical level phenomena. The particular type of borrowing (i.e., integrated loans, loanshifts, 'nonce' borrowings, calques) is determined by a variety of individual and social conditions, (cf., Winford 2003, Thomason 2001 for relevant discussion). As illustrated in (1), borrowing may result from marginal contact between languages, as seen with the European expansion into formerly Mexican-owned territories of the southwestern United States. As described in the literature, most of the borrowing associated with this type of contact is motivated by the need to designate new objects, persons, places and concepts (cf., Haugen 1953, Weinreich 1963).

(1) Borrowings resulting from marginal contact

         canyon, corral, rodeo

Much like European settlers confronted with unfamiliar areas of cultural knowledge, persons of Mexican heritage in the early American Southwest drew on English as the vehicle for the articulation of behaviors and practices for which they may have lacked expression. Nevertheless, it is immaterial whether the Spanish language makes available the necessary terminology, for, as Azevedo (1993: 385) notes,

> Al que no sabe el nombre español de un nuevo aparato, le parece normal llamarlo *breca* (break), *clocha* (clutch), o *troca* (truck)…. Se trata de un proceso de aculturación, de un esfuerzo adaptivo normal en una situación de lenguas en contacto.
>
> > 'For one who doesn't know the Spanish name for a new device, it seems normal to call it *break*, *clutch*, or *truck*…It concerns a process of acculturation, of a normal adaptive effort in a situation of language contact.'

In circumstances of unidirectional bilingualism, lexical borrowing is more pronounced, and the domains in which borrowing is likely to occur depend on social aspects of the contact situation. Likewise, borrowings are confirmations of historical contact (Myers-Scotton 2006), as exemplified in (2), where English-language lexical items borrowed into Spanish serve to trace the migratory history of the Mexican-origin population in the agricultural sectors of the American southwest (Sánchez 1983).

(2) Mexican migration history

   migrante (migrant); *files* (fields); *brocle* (broccoli)

Similarly, in (3a), the residential patterns of Puerto Ricans are reflected in vocabulary referencing their settlement into the urban tenements of East Harlem; and (3b), an extract drawn from Esmeralda Santiago's *Cuando era puertorriqueña*, reflects the participation of Puerto Ricans in the larger mainland society through employment.

(3)   Puerto Rican urban settlements

    a.   *la boila* (the boiler); *el estín* (the heat, modeled on steam); *el súper* (the superintendent); *el bloque* (the block); *el token* (the token); *la factoría* (the factory)

    b.   Cuando trabajaba, Mami era feliz. Se quejaba de estar sentada en frente de una máquina de coser todo el día, o que los *bréiks* eran muy cortos, o que el *bosso* era antipático. …Cuando a Mami le daban *leyof*, teníamos que aceptar *welfear*.

        'When she worked, Mom was happy. She complained about sitting in front of a sewing machine all day, or that the *breaks* were too short, or that the *boss* was unfriendly….When Mom was *laid off*, we had to accept *welfare*.' (Santiago 1994: 269, 271)

Finally, for Spanish-language heritage children and adolescents in the United States, the locus of English-language influence is the school, and accordingly, there emerges a range of pertinent loans and loanshifts, as illustrated in (4).

(4)   *el paper* or *el papel* ('term-paper,' which displaces *trabajo*, *informe*)

register or registrar ('register,' which displaces *matricularse*)

la lecture or *la lectura* ('lecture,' which displaces *conferencia*)

la principal(a) ('principal,' which displaces *director(a)*)

Therefore, as witnessed in the above examples, lexical borrowings can illustrate the social history of language contact.

In situations of prolonged bilingualism, such as that seen along the Texas-Mexican border, lexical borrowing may be encouraged by the intensity of contact. For example, Norma Cantú's *Canícula*, an English prose narrative set along this border, provides several instances of Spanish lexical items.

(5) The *mercado*. Rangel who always made funny jokes and called us *pochas*, sold us trinkets when we'd saved our pennies or a *madrina* had been generous. Colorful toy baskets filled with tiny pottery that fit small ones into larger ones; I'd imagine how many it would take and what it would be like to see them go on and on expanding, smaller ones into larger ones, until they all fit in Bueli's *cazuela* for making *fritada*, a clay pot big as a washtub with the black bottom from sitting on the fire on wash days; tiny pots for tiny meals we'd feed the *chicharras*, tiny brooms and mops to clean matchbook size rooms; sometimes, the baskets also came with a doll family so small, the baby was the size of an ant. You couldn't really see through the red or green or blue cellophane anchored with rubber band to keep prying little fingers out until you got home. Rangel also sold rolling pins and *molcajetes* along with the toys—*valeros*, *lotería* games, tops, *pirinolas*,

masks that made you look like El Santo or the other wrestlers on TV, and genuine

leather whips like the real *vaqueros* used, like Zorro's (Cantú, 1995:101, italics

added)

As shown in (5), items such as *mercado* (market), *pocho* (Mexican-American), *madrina*

(godmother), *cazuela* (saucepan), *fritada* (fried dish), and *molcajetes* (mortar and pestle)

function as echoes of the Mexican cultural traditions of the southern valley.

In reviewing the above examples, it should be evident that lexical borrowing does not

similarly affect all linguistic domains: certain content words (drawn from predictable

categories) are more canonical candidates for borrowing than others. In fact, Muysken

(2002: 74), in his review of language contact worldwide, has established a hierarchy of

borrowability, wherein words of particular lexical categories are more acceptable

borrowings than others; this is illustrated in (6), where nouns and adjectives lend

themselves most easily to lexical borrowing, as compared to pronouns and conjunctions,

which are the least likely to be adopted.

(6) Hierarchy of borrowability

nouns> adjectives> verbs> prepositions> coordinating conjunctions>

quantifiers> free pronouns> clitic pronouns> subordinating conjunctions

In addition, not all nouns are deemed equally 'necessary' for borrowing (Haugen 1953).

For example, borrowing does not generally target core vocabulary such as *house* and *bed*,

as there is sufficient congruence for such general concepts across languages (cf., Backus

2000, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Myers-Scotton 2002, 2006), but borrowing is

enhanced for words that have a highly specific referential meaning, and whose cross-

linguistic equivalents, where they exist, conjure up quite different connotations (cf.

Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995, Otheguy and García 1993). This observation is formalized

by Backus (2000) in the Specificity Hypothesis, presented here in (7).

(7)   Specificity Hypothesis

"A high degree of semantic specificity stimulates insertional code-switching

[lexical borrowing]" (Backus 2000: 126-7)

This suggests that the semantic specificity of certain items facilitates their incorporation

into a receiving language.

2.2.3.2 Structural alternations

Thomason's Borrowing Scale (Table 2.1) also indicates that another common

outcome of language contact is *structural alteration*. These modifications primarily affect

the phonology, morphology and syntax of the languages involved. Morphological change

may commence as late as the third stage of contact depicted on the Borrowing Scale; and

it is perhaps because Spanish-English contact has failed to reach this stage that Poplack

(1981) is able to postulate the Free-Morpheme Constraint, according to which borrowing

of bound morphemes from English into Spanish is precluded (i.e. **corring (running)*,

*runiendo (corriendo)). It is not that morphemes such as the progressive could not be

incorporated into Spanish or English; it is simply that the contact has not become intense

enough to yield such results.[5] In fact, many researchers have provided examples that

refute the Free Morpheme Constraint (cf. Bentahila and Davis 1983), showing the need to

take into consideration the intensity and length of the contact between the two languages,

as suggested by Thomason.

According to the Borrowing Scale, syntactic changes start to take place beginning

with the second stage, though it is mentioned that the probability is rare at such an early

period of contact. Thus, it would be improbable to find syntactic change in the Spanish of

the United States. If there are any cases where syntactic alteration has been attested, we

should look to language contact as the source of change only after internal causes have

been ruled out (cf. Cassano 1975, Silva-Corvalán 1994). One possible area of syntactic

change that has been enhanced by contact with English can be seen in the increased use

of the overt subject pronouns by Spanish speakers in the United States (Flores and Toro,

2000).

2.2.3.3 Code-switching

Another outcome of intense language contact is code-switching, or the alternation

between languages in the same speech situation. When language contact is stable,

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[5] The progressive marker -*ing* has a great probability of entering as an active element in Spanish (much like –ible/-able entered from French into English), if the intensity of contact with English were to increase. Even varieties of Spanish with little contact with English have incorporated this suffix into their language (by means of lexical borrowings of nouns) in forms like *hacer footing, hacer camping, hacer surfing.* However, in these forms the progressive ending has not been adopted wholesale, as of yet, but has piggy backed into the language on full lexical forms. The mere fact that the progressive ending is being used in the Spanish language should be reason enough to postulate the possibility of it being used actively if the intensity of contact should increase.

speakers will activate different language modes—multilingual and unilingual—within a

multilingual range (Grosjean, 2001). For example, Zentella (2000) reports in her long-

term study of the linguistic practices in a bilingual community of New York City, that

children called on English or Spanish as required by the speech situation, e.g., speaking

English with each other, while shifting to Spanish in deference to their elders. For these

children, as well as for adults, Spanish and English together constitute their linguistic

competence in a singular sense, and their linguistic performance draws upon English or

Spanish, as required by the speech situation (Lance 1975). It is also commonplace in such

communities that as bilingual speakers interact in bilingual mode, they extend this

competence to code-switching.

In what follows, I provide an overview of code-switching, including a general

definition of the phenomenon, its pragmatic functions and linguistic constraints, and

finally a general summary of the perceptions of code-switching.

2.2.3.3.1 Code-switching—definition

Code-switching can be defined as the rapid, uninterrupted change between two

languages in an unchanged speech situation. Conventionally, code-switching has been

distinguished from borrowing, which, as previously noted, consists of adopting a form

from a donor language and oftentimes adapting it phonologically and morphologically to

the linguistic system of the host language (Grosjean 1982: 129).

Examined from a structural stance, code-switching is identified as intersentential or

intrasentential. Intersentential code-switching may be recognized as the juxtaposition of

well-formed Spanish and English sentences in the same discourse; this can be witnessed in lines 7, 9 and 11 of the segment of '*Celebrate'*, a rap by Tierra Tejana, reproduced below in (8). Intrasentential code-switching, on the other hand, is the manifestation of the movement between English and Spanish within the confines of a single clause, without violating the grammatical rules of either language, as witnessed in lines 1, 5 and 12. It is this latter form that will be of most interest to the present study.

(8) *'Celebrate'* by Tierra Tejana

Esta semana was the worst one yet (1)

Vino el boss y me dijo: "Hey, Fred." (2)

"Fred! My name's not Fred," *le dije yo*. (3)

And this is what he said: "Drop what you're doin' (4)

Mira, ven aquí." *El condenado* didn't even say please! (5)

Do this; do that, … (6)

Hey, cool it, dude. Chill out. *Olvídalo ya*. Hey man, relax. (7)

Esta semana is all in the past. (8)

Vente, carnal. Man, you move too slow. (9)

I've got my paycheck—c'mon let's go. (10)

Órale, mis amigos. I know you just got paid. (11)

Canten conmigo todos 'cause it's time to celebrate. (12)

2.2.3.3.2 Code-switching—discursive/pragmatic functions

From a discourse analytical perspective, code-switching in bilingual conversation serves a number of important functions (cf. Gumperz 1976, Zentella 1997). Montes-Alcalá (2001, 2005) provides several examples of each of these functions based on naturalistic code-switching from personal journals and emails, as illustrated in (9).

(9) a. Direct quotes:

Intercambiamos direcciones y dijo que we would keep in touch.

'We exchanged addresses and he said that we would keep in touch.'

b. Emphasis:

Llamé pero no había nadie. I missed him so bad!

'I called but there was no one there. I missed him so bad!'

c. Parentheticals:

Allí, out of the blue, *acabamos planeando un viaje para la semana que viene.*

'There, out of the blue, we ended up planning a trip for next week.'

d. Clarification/Elaboration:

Caminamos por Melrose, checking out the stores, *y luego decidimos ir a cenar.*

'We walked along Melrose, checkout out the stores, and then we decided to go to dinner.'

e.   Fixed or formulaic phrases:

La clase de hoy fue way over my head.

'Today's class was way over my head.'

In (9a) we see one of the main pragmatic functions of code-switching, wherein the bilingual speaker or writer chooses to switch languages to report what another person said. Such a switch may be carried out because the person being cited has used the alternate language, or merely to set that segment apart as a quotation. Likewise, code-switching is implemented in order to give emphasis to a particular utterance. The author of (9b) could easily have maintained Spanish to express her feelings of separation, yet by switching to English she is calling attention to this phrase and thus reinforcing the meaning of the previous statement. According to Montes-Alcalá in some instances the switching of elements can also have a softening effect on the expression, making it seem "like a whisper to an imaginary audience" (2001: 203). In the example provided in (9c), we see that explanatory or qualifying information has been inserted by switching to English. Switching can also serve to clarify or elaborate. The statement in (9d) illustrates how the writer has switched to English to provide additional information for why she and a companion were walking through Melrose. The switch into English serves to elaborate this information without distracting from the Spanish-language message. Finally, code-switching can also be triggered by a fixed or formulaic phrase, as illustrated in (9e), where the fixed expression 'way over my head' has triggered the switch to English.[6]

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[6] Montes-Alcalá splits this into two separate categories: Idiomatic expressions and Clichés.

In addition to the above pragmatic uses of codeswitching, Reyes (2004) provides nine other uses of codeswitching in her study of children's bilingual speech, as illustrated in (10). For example she notes that these students switched in order to (10a) imitate, (10b) represent speech, (10c) shift topic, (10d) make situational switches (e.g., to switch between science talk to non-science talk), (10e) ask a question, (10f) insist (non-command), (10g) accommodate for turns, (10h) specify a person, and (10i) as a discourse marker.

(10) a.   Imitatation:

   y luego le hace sí I'm hungry [robot voice]

   'and then he says yes I'm hungry [imitating a robot]'

  b.   Representation of speech:

   alright I'm calm. I'm calm…*a lo mejor están diciendo estamos chulos*

   'Alright, I'm calm, I', calm…maybe they are saying that we are cool

  c.   Topic shift:

   We finished all the books…thank you. *Mira mis calzones se me andan*

   We finished all the books…thank you. Look, my underwear is falling

   down.

  d.   Situation switch:

   *mira, mira los magnets…*what was he saying during recess.

   'Look, look at the magnets…what was he saying during recess?'

e.   Question shift:

Let me see *cómo lo hiciste*.

'Let me see how you did it.'

f.   Insistence (non-command):

a ver…Let me see.

'Let me see …let me see.'

g.   Turn accommodations:

Claudia: *Y luego se va a salir a las cuatro y media* from school.

        'and then she's getting our at four thirty from school'

Jimena: *De la* project school?

      From the project school?

Claudia: Summer school. She don't need to go to summer school.

h.   Person specification:

You should ask A *si quiere comer nieve después de la escuela*

'You should ask A if she wants to eat ice cream after school'

i.   Discourse marker:

Okay *así era*

'Okay, like this'

2.2.3.3.3 Code-switching—grammatical nature

In addition to the discursive/pragmatic functions illustrated in (9) and (10), code-switching presents grammatical properties, i.e., it is rule-governed and systematic, much like other contact phenomena (recall the discussion on lexical borrowing). Indeed, as researchers have repeatedly reported, bilinguals may be shown to exhibit a shared, unconscious knowledge of what constitutes appropriate intrasentential code-switching. In the pages that follow I will review the research literature that demonstrates that bilingual speakers do indeed have an intuitive ability to recognize grammatically correct (felicitous) code-switching. Finally, this section will conclude with a discussion on the techniques used to study the rule-governed nature of this phenomenon.

Several switch sites are identified as opportune for switching in the literature on the grammatical constraints on code-switching (cf., e.g., Gingràs 1974; Timm 1975; Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1980, 1981; Lipski 1985; Belazi et al. 1994; MacSwan 1999). The most common switch sites, illustrated in (11), include the following junctures: i) between a noun (N) and its relative clause (CP); ii) between a subject (DP) and the predicate (VP); iii) between a verb (V) and its object (CP or DP); and iv) between a sentential adverbial phrase (AdvP) and the clause being modified (S).

(11) Felicitous switch sites

    (i)   N/CP

        Había siete enanitos who had worked all day in the mines.

        'There were seven dwarfs who had worked all day in the mines.'

(ii) DP/VP

The squirrel *no tenía nada más que frijoles.*

'The squirrel didn't have anything but beans.'

(iii) V/DP

Un día la reina miró her magic mirror.

'One day the queen looked in her magic mirror.'

(iv) AdvP/S

Every day*, la reina preguntaba a su espejo mágico quién era la más hermosa del reino*.

'Every day, the queen asked her magical mirror who was the most beautiful in the kingdom.'

In turn, a number of sites are reported to be incompatible with fluent code-switching. For example, it has been shown that bilinguals are unlikely to alternate languages i) between an auxiliary verb (AUX) and its verb phrase; ii) between a determiner (DET) and noun phrase; iii) between negation (NEG) and its verb phrase; and finally, iv) between an object or subject pronoun (NPpro) and the verb phrase. Such infelicitous switching is exemplified in (12):

(12) Infelicitous switch sites

(i) AUX/VP

Her father had *vuelto a casarse con una viuda que tenía dos hijas*.

'Her father had remarried a widow who had two daughters.'

(ii)　DET/NP

His friend couldn't believe that the squirrel would prefer the woods and

fields to the *calles llenas de carretas y de gente.*

'His friend couldn't believe that the squirrel would prefer the woods and

fields to the streets filled with carts and people.'

(iii)　NEG/VP

Graciela ya no had the comforts of a palace.

'Graciela no longer had the comforts of a palace.'

(iv)　NPpro/VP

I want you to return with me to the city where I *vivo y te enseñaré cómo*

es mi vida en la ciudad.

'I want you to return with me to the city where I live and I will show you

how my life in the city is.'

As it is not the purpose of this study to discuss the syntactic intricacies of code-

switching phenomenon, I have simply presented the specific non-ambiguous switch

points referenced in the literature. To be sure, the collective acceptability of other switch

sites continues to be discussed. In addition, because the purpose of the present work does

not entail the furthering of a particular paradigm (i.e. Minimalism, Optimality Theory,

Matrix Language Framework, etc.), this section does not focus on the specific theoretical

frameworks in which code-switching data have been couched. However, the means by

which such data are collected will be addressed.

2.2.3.3.4 Code-switching and research methodologies

Several techniques have been exploited to uncover the rule-governed nature of code-switching, including corpora evaluation, elicited production tasks, translation tasks, elicited imitation tasks, eye movement data, grammaticality and acceptability judgments, and read-aloud tasks. As White states, when results from different tasks and speakers converge on the same trends, "this suggests that we are indeed gaining insight (indirectly) into the nature of the underlying linguistic competence" (2003: 17).

Evaluations of corpora draw on collections of written or spoken speech. For example, Callahan (2004) draws on a corpus of written code-switching to test the tenets of Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Framework. Huerta-Macías (1981) recorded informal conversations of a bilingual Chicano family living in Texas and used these recordings to assess the alternations in their everyday speech. In the example in (13) we witness code-switching from naturalistic data, we some family members discuss a recent visit with a friend.

(13) Corpora evaluation from naturalistic data

    L: *Vi a Betsy con el doctor.*

          'I saw Betsy with the doctor.'

    G: *¿Está trabajando?*

          'Is she working?'

    L: Mr. Page got fired. [Mr. Page worked with Betsy]

    G: Mr. Page? Why?

L: I don't know. She said he was there on a Friday and then on Monday he just didn't come back.

G: *¿Hijo! ¡Qué monjas!*

    'Gosh! What nuns!'

L: She said that Ann Clare took over with another *monja*.

G: *¡Hijo!*

L: She doesn't even know what he did wrong or anything. He just came back one day to clean out his desk.

M: *¿Qué pasó? ¿Eso fue en Lamar?*

    'What happened? Was that in Lamar?'

L: *Aja. ¿Se acuerda de Mr. Page el que era Principal? Lo corrieron* [to M].

    'Yes. Do you rmember Mr. Page who was the Principal? He was fired.'

    The board or somebody [to G].

M: *¿Así no más de pronto lo corrieron?*

    'They fired him just like that?'

G: *Bueno, y* she doesn't like the new administration?

L: No.

G: And that's why she's quitting.

(Huerta-Macías 1981: 158)

While corpora are useful sources of data, they are inadequate in indicating what is not possible in intrasentential code-switching. In order to discover what is precluded, other methodologies have been implemented. One such technique is *acceptability or grammaticality judgments*, wherein speakers are presented with several sentences with

different switch sites, and asked to judge whether the sentence is acceptable to them. An example of this is provided in (14), as found in Gingràs (1974). Note that the sentence presented in (14a) was judged as acceptable by 94% of his subjects, whereas sentence (14c) was rejected by all subjects.

(14) Grammaticality Judgments

    a.   Tell Larry *que se calle la boca* (94%)

          'Tell Larry that he should shut up.'

    b.   *El hombre* who saw the accident *es cubano* (100%)

          'The man who saw the accident is Cuban.'

    c.   *Perdí* the *libro* that *tú diste* to me (0%)

          'I lost the book that you gave to me.'

    d.   *El* man old *está enojado* (5%)

          'The old man is upset.'

In addition to the traditional grammaticality judgment task, multiple elicitation techniques have been employed in code-switching research. For example, Azuma (1996), in an *elicited production task,* reports on an investigation of code-switched units that extend beyond the single noun. As part of his study, Japanese-English bilinguals were asked to discuss several topics while being recorded. During the course of their discussion they heard a tone (randomly generated at 8-12 second intervals), which indicated that they were to immediately switch languages. Azuma, in confirmation of his predictions, finds that the participants delayed their switches until they reached the end of

the constituent boundary. For example, in (15a) the speaker heard the tone at the word *about*, yet continued to speak in English until the end of the constituent boundary. Likewise, in (15b) the speaker completed the prepositional phrase and continued on in Japanese until completing the corresponding and related constituent.

(15) Elicited Production Task (English/Japanese)

    a.   We chit-chat for I guess [*about two hours*] nijikan hodo

          mudabanashi o shita ato

          'We chit-chat for I guess about two hours after we chatted for

          about two hours'

    b.   Ano moo [[*kuji kara*] *rokuji-made*] un fixed pattern and takes uh…

          'Well, from 9 o'clock to 6 o'clock (it's a) fixed pattern and (he

          usually) takes uh… (Azuma 1996: 406)

Overall, Azuma finds overwhelming evidence that switching in this production task included the minimal phrasal unit, thus indicating that components of the composite languages in code-switching remain intact.

A similar methodology that has been used to determine the rule-governed nature of code-switching is the *elicited imitation task*. In this task participants hear a sentence (either well- or ill-formed) and are asked to repeat it, with the assumption that they will unconsciously repair ill-formed sentences. Such tasks measure a speaker's comprehension and control of syntax, as reflected in their ability to make repairs to the ill-formed sentences. For example, Toribio et al. (1993) investigated the ability of Spanish second-language learners to process and repeat grammatical and ungrammatical

code-switched sentences. They found a cline in abilities to make repairs, with beginning students exhibiting random processing errors, followed by the intermediate students who imitated the well-formed as well as the ill-formed sentences with relative ease, on to the advanced group, who had consistent difficulty with the ill-formed sentences, either demonstrating various types of disfluency or making repairs to the stimuli sentences.

In another study, Dussias (2003) notes that naturalistic data indicate that there is a distributional difference in the Spanish-English code-switching for AUXILIARY + PARTICIPLE, where switches between the Spanish auxiliary *haber* and English past participle are largely non-existent. However, switches involving the Spanish auxiliary *estar* and the English present participle occur much more frequently. Using *eye tracking technology*, subjects were presented with monolingual sentences and sentences with switches either before the auxiliary verb or between the auxiliary and participle. It was found that participants took significantly longer to read the sentences with *haber* + English past participle (16a) than to read the sentences with switching at phrasal boundaries (16b). Conversely, no reading time differences were seen for the *estar +* English present participle (16c) when compared to the switching at phrasal boundaries, as can be seen from the data presented in Table **2.2.**

(16)   Eye movement data

    a.   *El arquitecto piensa que los pintores han* painted the wall.

    b.   *El arquitecto piensa que los pintores* have painted the wall.

    c.   *El arquitecto piensa que los pintores están* painting the wall.

    d   *El arquitecto piensa que los pintores* are painting the wall.

    'The architect thinks that the painters have painted/are painting the wall.'

Table **2.2**: Results of eye-tracking experiment Dussias (2003)

	Switch Site		Reaction Time (in milliseconds)
HABER + Past Participle	CONDITION 1: Spanish subject, English verb and participle	(*los terrorisitas* have injured)	603
	CONDITION 2: Spanish subject and verb, English participle	(*los terrorisitas han* injured)	998
	CONDITION 3: monolingual English	(the terrorists have injured)	535
ESTAR + Present Participle	CONDITION 1: Spanish subject, English verb and participle	(*los ciudadanos* are supporting)	660
	CONDITION 2: Spanish subject and verb, English Past Participle	(*los ciudadanos están* supporting)	691
	CONDITION 3: monolingual English	(the citizens are supporting)	533

The findings from this study suggest that switches between auxiliary and present participle forms differ from switches between auxiliary and past participle forms.

In a study of *reading times,* Rakowsky (1989) investigated the processing of intrasentential code-switches by bilinguals and second language learners. She presented native Spanish-English bilinguals and native English speakers who were learning Spanish as a second language with test items which included unilingual English sentences, unilingual Spanish sentences, sentences with a code-switch at phrasal boundaries (i.e.

grammatical code-switching), and sentences with a code-switch that did not correspond to a phrasal boundary (i.e. ungrammatical code-switching). The judges showed no significant difference in reading times between code-switches at phrasal boundaries and unilingual sentences, but demonstrated significantly longer reaction times for sentences with code-switches that did not correspond to syntactic boundaries.

In a *read-aloud task*, reported in Toribio (2001a), Spanish-English bilinguals rejected the language alternations presented in the invented fairytale narrative in (17a)—in which the language alternations include switching at boundaries known to breach code-switching norms (cf. 12)—as being affected and forced; and although unable to articulate exactly what accounted for their negative assessment of the alternating forms in the narrative, some participants proposed explicit editing recommendations for improving on the ill-formed combinations of the text, as expressed in (17b).

(17) a. "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" / "*Blancanieves y los siete enanitos*"

... En la cabina, vivían siete enanitos que returned to find Snow White asleep in their beds. Back at the palace, the stepmother again asked the *espejo*: "*Y ahora, ¿quién es la más bella?*" *El espejo otra vez le* answered without hesitation, "Snow White!"…

'…In the cabin, there lived seven dwarfs who returned to find Snow White asleep in their beds. Back at the palace, the stepmother again asked the mirror: "And now, who is the most beautiful?" The mirror again answered her without hesitation, "Snow White!"…'

b.   …I just think, like, for example the last sentence, "When Snow White bit into the apple, she *cayó desvanecida al suelo*," that I wouldn't say it, it doesn't sound right. I would probably say, "When White bit into the apple, *ella se cayó al suelo*." Or "she fell *desvanecida al suelo*"…

'…I just think, like, for example the last sentence, "When Snow White bit into the apple, she fainted on the floor," that I wouldn't say it, it doesn't sound right. I would probably say, "When White bit into the apple, she fell to the floor" Or "she fell fainted to the floor"…'

Such introspections demonstrate that just as monolingual native speakers have an intuitive sense of linguistic well-formedness in their language, Spanish-English bilinguals are able to rely on unconscious grammatical principles in producing and evaluating code-switching strings. As researchers continue to use different techniques to study code-switching, information will be provided for an increased understanding of its rule-governed nature and the unconscious knowledge that bilinguals possess of the structural properties underlying this phenomenon. As will be discussed in further detail, the present research implements another methodology in evaluating the innate nature of code-switching: the Matched-guise Technique.

2.2.3.3.5 Code-switching and bilingual proficiency

Contrary to common assumptions, code-switching patterns may be used as a measure of bilingual *ability*. Indeed, the degree of proficiency that a speaker possesses in two languages has been shown to correlate with the type of code-

switching employed. For example, Montes-Alcalá (2001) claims that as greater

proficiency in both languages develops so too does the likelihood of

intrasentential code-switching. Similarly, Poplack (1980) observes that Spanish-

English bilinguals who reported dominance in one language tended to switch by

means of tag-like phrases (e.g., *sabes/you know* and *¿verdad?/right?*); in contrast,

those who reported and demonstrated the greatest degree of bilingual ability

favored intrasentential code-switches. Similar patterns are attested among

children acquiring a second language in early childhood. McClure (1981: 92)

concludes that

> just as the monolingual improves his control over his verbal resources
>
> with age, so too does the bilingual. Further, just as there is a
>
> developmental pattern in the monolingual's syntactic control of his
>
> language, so too may such a pattern be found in the bilingual's control of
>
> the syntax of code-switching, which begins with the mixing of single
>
> items from one code into discourse in the other and culminates in the
>
> codechanging of even more complex constituents.

This increased sensitivity in correlation with increased proficiency is also seen in

bilingual language acquisition. Köeppe and Meisle (1995), for example, report that the

language mixing behaviors of two German-French bilingual children developed in such a

way as to indicate that as their grammar develops simultaneously in the two languages, so

too did the rule-governed nature of their code-switching performance. Prior to age 2 years

5 months the children mixed languages at infelicitous sites (i.e., between bound

morphemes, after function words). But as their proficiency increased, the number of ungrammatical switches decreased until switching at lexical categories (i.e., nouns and verbs) predominated. This, they suggest, lends evidence to the claim that speakers cannot obey grammatical constraints on code-switching until they possess sufficient grammatical knowledge (cf. Meisel 1989 and Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal 2000).

Much like code-switching in bilingual first language acquisition, language alternation in the acquisition of a second language is also shown to be rule-governed and systematic. One of the most interesting findings in the literature on second language acquisition is the conclusion that as proficiency increases, so too do abilities to unconsciously perceive subtleties in the L2. As White (2003: 3) indicates,

> …regardless of how UG [Universal Grammar] is formalized, there remains a consensus (within the generative linguistic perspective) that certain properties of language are too abstract, subtle and complex to be acquired without assuming some innate and specifically linguistic constraints on grammar and grammar acquisition.

Of relevance to code-switching, Toribio (2001b) demonstrates that as adult L2 learners become more proficient in the L2, they become more sensitive to code-switching norms.

While sensitivity to code-switching norms is contingent upon competence in the two languages, this competence is an insufficient prerequisite in determining successful code-switching *performance*. Researchers such as Valdés-Fallis (1976) and Lipski (1985) have observed that membership in a community in which code-switching is practiced may also be required. That is, code-switching practice requires social knowledge that is culturally specific and acquired through contextualized practice. Social acceptability of code-

switching also determines the type of code-switching forms that bilinguals produce. For example, it has been reported that Spanish-English bilinguals from New York produce more fluid intrasentential code-switching than French-English bilinguals from Ottawa-Hull, the latter producing infelicitous utterances to draw attention to the act of switching itself (cf. Poplack, Wheeler, and Westwood 1989). Thus, affective factors also contribute to the type of code-switching witnessed.

2.2.3.3.6 Perceptions of code-switching

> I felt it in Taino
>
> I thought about it in Spanish
>
> I wrote it in English
>
> Victor Hernández Chávez's (2001)

Rather than being random manifestations of bilingual speech, then, contact phenomena such as code-switching are principled and predictable. However, social factors intervene to confer prestige on some languages and language varieties and stigma on others. In addition, languages may be accorded different functions, as observed in the above poem by Hernández Chávez. In many bilingual communities, one language variety is used in formal situations, while the other is relegated to informal ones—a traditional diglossic situation (cf. Ferguson 1959). This same assignment to particular domains holds true for code-switching, which is often consigned to informal settings.

Code-switching is generally disparaged in popular view, as depicted in the statements in (18a-b). Even the vernacular nomenclature for the amalgamation—terms such as *Spanglish, espanglés, mocho, Tex-Mex, Cubonics*, *Gringoñol*, *Englañol*, *casteyanqui*, and *ingleñol*—carries pejorative connotations that reflect on the perceived intellectual and linguistic abilities of speakers of contact Spanish.

(18) Perceptions of code-switching

    a.   El cambio de códigos o *code-switching*, sobre todo entre inglés y español, se interpreta como una deficiencia lingüística que revela la falta de proficiencia del hablante en ambas lenguas, la cual le obliga a recurrir a la segunda lengua cuando agota su repertorio en la primera.

'Code-switching, above all between English and Spanish is interpreted as a linguistic deficiency that reveals a lack of proficiency in both languages, which forces the speaker to turn to the second language when his inventory has run out in the first one.' (Fernández 1990:52)

    b.   … in [*sic*] a linguistic point of view [codeswitching] is an abomination. Is [*sic*] a great lack of elementary edutacation [*sic*] to mix 2 differents [*sic*] languages, thus is not the way ordinary poeple [*sic*] choose to speak but the way choose by people without a trace of education.

Don't missunderstand [*sic*] me I'm no [*sic*] against the "PEOPLE", I'm against the "LACK OF EDUCATION" that favors such things like the "spanglish" (Aldebarán 2005).

Similarly, researchers have used pejorative terms to describe the perceived linguistic limitations of code-switchers, e.g., 'semilingualism'—the postulation that certain groups speak each language in their linguistic repertoire with only limited facility, and that this incapacity leads to weakened cognitive abilities. MacSwan (2000) discredits this notion, pointing to other factors (i.e. socioeconomic status) as causes for why bilingual students might perform below their monolingual counterpart. He continues to point out that the term itself has damaging effects, e.g., teachers who have been exposed to this terminology have been known to connect poor academic performance with 'low language abilities' (MacSwan, 2000: 14).

Not surprisingly, a familiar finding in research on evaluations of contact varieties is that speakers often accept the stigma attached to their way of speaking, indicative of their linguistic insecurity (cf. Wald 1988); this is unmistakable in Tato Laviera's bilingual poem, "My Graduation Speech", which concludes:

… hablo lo inglés matao

hablo lo español matao

no sé leer ninguno bien

so it is, spanglish to matao

what i digo[7]

¡ay, virgen, yo no sé hablar!

---

[7]It should be noted from the infelicitous use of code-switching (between a subject pronoun and verb) that the poet has cleverly used an ungrammatical switch as further indication of his lack of linguistic knowledge, not only of Spanish and English, but of code-switching as well, thus further illustrating his linguistic insecurity and perceived ineptitude..

This notion is echoed in a study of Chicana women where Galindo (1996) finds that

code-switching is stigmatized by these women[8], citing that "Code-switching seems to

grate on the ears of some Laredoans, Mexicans, and Anglos. It is not very well received,

and it is considered impolite to use it; but speakers concede to its prevalence and growing

existence in their community" (1996:13). In the same vein, Hidalgo (1986) finds that her

Mexican informants from Juárez held great disdain toward the code-switching of their

Mexican-American counterparts in El Paso, in part because of the low status of those

who code-switch. "The belief that Mexican-Americans—speakers of Code-switching—

are no longer part of the Mexican mainstream is widespread throughout the country"

(Hidalgo, 1986:210). And Flores (1993: 164), in his discussion of the Puerto Rican

language and culture in the United States, points out that both Puerto Rican and

American monolinguals view code-switching "as the tragic convergence of two

nonstandard vernaculars, and thus assumed to epitomize the collapse of the integrity of

both."

Nevertheless, despite the negative prestige associated with many speech varieties

(including code-switching), they persist, in large part because they serve important

functions as markers of social identity (cf. Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez 1975,

Jacobson 1977, Fernández 1990, Zentella 1997, Toribio 2002). Under proper

[8] In spite of these negative perceptions, the participants in her study did not view code-switching as negatively as they did caló. (Caló has many meanings. Peñalosa (1980) describes it as a variety of Spanish spoken by young Mexican-American males primarily as a secretive code. She notes that although in the 1940s and 1950s it was seen as the code of the underworld—and this connotation persists among many— the code is now used primarily among the younger generation. Galindo (1996), on the other hand, sees caló simply as the Spanish of the 'gente humilde', or uneducated class.)

circumstances (i.e., in certain settings, with certain individuals) some bilinguals may be led to attach covert prestige to interlingual speech because it becomes a vehicle for intra-ethnic communication. In fact, many have begun to see code-switching as an asset and resource, and not as a deficit: "I think Spanglish is the future […]," says Nely Galan, the president of Galan Entertainment. "It is perfectly wonderful. I speak English perfectly. I speak Spanish perfectly, and I choose to speak both simultaneously" (in Alvarez 1997: A1).

2.3 Language attitudes

As can be seen from the previous discussion, it is well understood that all linguistic varieties (including separate languages in multilingual societies) can trigger assumptions about speakers' socioeconomic standing, their personal attributes, and their group membership (cf. Garrett et al. 2003, Adegbija 2000). These communal patterns of reactions toward linguistic forms, along with the norms, values, prestige, stigma and stereotypes that these elicit are known in the literature as *language attitudes* (cf. Omdal 1995, Knops and Van Hout 1988). As expected, these collective reactions to language variation are subjective and can fluctuate from person to person and from group to group. Shuy (1985) notes that no dialect is inherently good or bad, but that every dialect is in itself a legitimate form of language, a valid instrument of human communication, and that its prestige and perceived correctness come simply from the prestige of those who use it. Thus, the reactions we have toward a language are based on the relative social characteristics of the speakers of a particular variety and on how these speakers are

perceived. This subjectivity in evaluation of language varieties has been labeled *The Social Connotations Hypothesis* (Giles and Niedielski 1998). Under this hypothesis, the pleasantness or unpleasantness of a particular language variety is contingent upon the social attributes of speakers of that variety, which are linked to societal ascriptions of positive or negative traits to a particular linguistic community; again, the perceptions are not inherent in the language variety itself (for the standard language is simply the dialect of those in power) but in the perceived social value of the speakers of that variety. In spite of this fact, one cannot escape the reality of these social evaluations and the consequences that these have on the perception of members of particular linguistic groups.

The study of language attitudes is central to several disciplines, and interdisciplinary research is characteristic of this field. Not only is the study of language attitudes central to sociolinguistics, it also forms a substantial element in studies in communication, and is the main stimulus for research in the social psychology of language (Giles and Billings 2004). It takes on considerable importance in theories regarding language planning (cf., Adegbija 2000; Casesnoves and Sankoff 2003, 2004; Woolard and Gahng 1990); language maintenance and shift (cf., Bills et al. 1995, Pieras-Guasp 2002, Fishman 2001, Mejías et al. 2002); and is also implicated in impression formation[9] (Bradac 1990). More broadly, language attitudinal research has also been carried out in entire nation states (cf. Garrett et al. 2003, Huygens and Vaughan 1983). In addition, some researchers have been

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[9] Impression formation is a term used by social psychologists to describe the way interactions influence how we perceive other people. This can be based on the way they dress, the way they walk, how they stand, etc, and—most importantly for studies in language attitudes—formation of first impressions are often based on the speech of the people we interact with.

concerned with the importance of language attitudes and its role in motivation in foreign language learning in general (cf., Gardner and Lambert 1972, Gardner 2001), while others have investigated the connection between language attitudes and desires to learn specific foreign languages in a particular setting (cf. Dörnyei and Csizér 2002). Teachers themselves have also been the focus of language attitudes research, with considerable focus on how their attitudes affect the academic progress of students (Choy and Dodd 1976); still other researchers have focused on students' reactions to teachers' language varieties (Boyd 2003).

From the beginning, language attitudes research has focused on the perceived value of competing languages as used by bilinguals (Lambert et al. 1960). This focus has expanded to the investigation of attitudes toward differing dialects of the same language (Romaine 1980, Ros i García 1984, Knops and van Hout 1988), as well as to degrees of foreign accentedness (Ryan and Carranza 1975, Ryan, Carranza and Moffie 1977, Bresnahan et al. 2002, Boyd 2003, Brennan et al. 1975, Giles et al. 1995). As can be seen by the expansive list of studies addressing language attitudes, it is apparent that this area of study is immense and diverse.

One finding that has consistently surfaced in language attitudes research has been that listener-judges' attitudes vary depending on the linguistic variety in question. In spite of this consistent finding, language attitudes have yet to be used to determine if subtle variations are perceived based on the linguistic abilities of the listener-judges.[10]

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[10] In fact, those with interests in Folk Linguistics (cf. Niedzileski and Preston 2000) assert that using indirect methods such as language attitudes for tapping into judges' perceptions of language varieties

Therefore, it is the purpose of the present study to investigate the usefulness of the matched-guise technique (see below) in determining whether listener-judges of differing levels of proficiency are able to perceive subtle differences between different types of language contact forms (i.e. lexical borrowings (common vs. specific nouns) and code-switching (felicitous vs. infelicitous)).

In what follows, I provide a definition of language attitudes, including a discussion of perspectives on the nature of language attitudes (i.e., behaviorist or mentalist), and focus on the techniques used to measure the phenomenon.

2.3.1 Language attitudes—definition

In spite of the importance of language attitudes in sociolinguistic and social psychological studies, there is a lack of consensus by researchers with regards to how language attitudes should be defined (Giles et al., 1983:81). Baker (1992:11) notes that "definitions of attitude are surrounded by semantic disagreements and differences about the generality and specificity of the term." The fact that sociolinguists, social psychologists of language, and indeed laypersons, use the term indiscriminately has also augmented the problem of defining the term (cf. Edwards 1982). While this may pose a problem theoretically, enough common ground exists among researchers in different fields, and more importantly among researchers and laypersons, as to allow for interdisciplinary research and dissemination of findings to the public. In the remainder of

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undermines the their abilities to talk about language variation. Yet it is precisely because the naïve listener is incapable of speaking about subtle variations that another way of accessing their ability to perceive such nuances must be utilized; assessing their language attitudes is one way of gaining access to these intuitions.

this section I will provide a review of the definitions of language attitudes and the stance

that will be taken in this study, prefacing the concrete definition with a discussion on the

composite nature of language attitudes.

2.3.1.1 Nature of language attitudes

In order to define language attitudes, we must first gain an understanding of its

nature. Giles et al. (1983) question whether attitudes are uni-dimensional or

multidimensional, deciding in favor of the latter, and stating that attitudes are made up of

three components: cognitive, evaluative, and conative (cf. Baker 1992, Agheyisi and

Fishman 1971).

The first of these components, the *cognitive*, focuses on the thoughts and beliefs

about an object. Those who hold a positive attitude toward the Spanish language, for

example, might express a belief that the Spanish language should be maintained in the

United States through such programs as bilingual education or after school programs.

They also may express a belief of the importance of the transmission of the Spanish

culture to subsequent generations.

The *evaluative* (also labeled *affective*) component deals with the *feelings* that a group

or individual holds toward a particular object. One may openly hold a positive belief of

the importance of a particular object but more privately hold prejudices or anxieties

concerning this subject. It is this underlying component that is seldom investigated in

attitudinal research. As Baker (1992) notes, it is not unlikely that the cognitive and

evaluative components conflict. Edwards (1982) points out that it is necessary to

distinguish *beliefs* (the *cognitive* element) from *attitudes* (the entire construct). A belief requires no real commitment from the evaluator, and may well differ greatly from his deeper feelings. An immigrant may *believe* that learning English is important for financial gain and social mobility, yet still refuse to learn the language due to a negative evaluation of the language and its speakers. With this said, many investigations stating that they entail language *attitudes* might be more properly considered studies on language *beliefs*. Therefore, the study of *attitudes* must go beyond this uni-faceted approach and also look at the other components that make up the attitudes construct.

Finally, the *conative* component (also labeled *reactional* or *action*) is concerned with whether or not the belief or evaluative components will be put into action. Fishman (1971) focused his attention in earlier attitudinal research on this component of the construct. In his research he asked participants to determine how likely they were to use a particular language. As with the cognitive component, this outward manifestation of the attitude through one's behavior, however, is not necessarily an indication of a true attitude; it may well be that the action is solely based on a willingness to please or show political correctness.

When we appreciate that 'attitude' is a construct composed of three components, as depicted in Figure **2.1**, we will then be able to understand the construct in its entirety. As can be seen, the three components merge together to form a single construct of attitude (Baker 1992: 13). Unfortunately, this diagram leads us to believe that all of the components contribute equally to the construct. However, as described above, the evaluative element tends to play a greater role in the underlying attitude of the individual,

and should therefore be given more prominence in attitude research. As will be shown in subsequent sections, the methodology that is implemented in the present research—the Matched-guise Technique—focuses its attention primarily on this component.
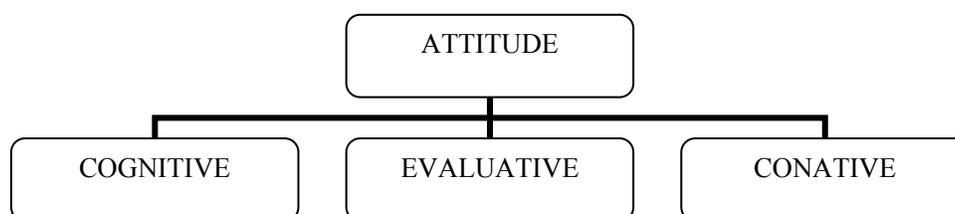
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   │    COGNITIVE    │ │   EVALUATIVE    │ │    CONATIVE     │
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Figure **2.1**:Attitudes Construct (adapted from Ajzen as reproduced in Baker 1992:13)

2.3.1.2 Language attitudes—perspectives

Aside from discussing the nature of attitudes, two perspectives have influenced the defining and understanding of these evaluative reactions. First, the *behaviorists* have argued that attitudes are overt and observable in the behavior or actions of those being studied. From this perspective, attitudes function as an independent variable that is subject to external forces, with psychological elements being of secondary importance (cf. Adegbija 2000 and Giles et al. 1983). The second perspective of attitudes is the *mentalist* point of view. Williams notes that this perspective perceives attitudes as "an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response" (1974:2 as cited in Adegbija 2000:76). From this vantage point, attitudes are not directly observable through actions or behavior, but are inferred through introspection (cf. Giles et al. 1983).

Other approaches to attitudes combine the mentalist and behaviorist perspectives and view social formation of attitudes as the key area of emphasis (cf., Adgebija 2000). The information that is received throughout the socialization process during our lifetime—through interaction with relatives, mass media, schoolmates, etc., and the reactions that we perceive from ingroup or outgroup members, as well as our personal necessities—aids in shaping our attitudes toward objects, including language varieties (cf. Fernández 1990). As mentioned by one researcher:

> When we talk about attitudes, we are talking about what a person has *learned* in the process of becoming a member of a family, a member of a group, and of society that makes him react to his social world in a *consistent* and *characteristic* way, instead of a transitory and haphazard way (Sherif, 1967: 2, cited in Garret et al., 2003: 4).

Because we continually receive information, these attitudes can be in regular flux; however, they are sufficiently stable to be analyzed and studied. Due to the dynamic nature of attitudes, there is a continual need to assess and reassess (Knopps and van Hout 1988).

Indeed, it is certain that each of these perspectives on language attitudes (either mentalist, behaviorist, or the combination of the two) has its merits and shortcomings, depending on what a researcher desires to investigate. In fact, it must be understood that attitudes are observable and external, as well as internal, and that the socialization process is essential in the development of these social evaluations (cf. Adegbija 2000, and Knops and van Hout 1988).

Taking into consideration the nature of language attitudes and the perspectives that have been assumed in their investigation, a broad definition of language attitudes will be adopted for the purposes of this study: *Language attitude* refers to the way in which observers *react* toward language varieties and language use. However, and of great importance to the methodology of the present study, the definition also includes the ways in which these observers react to the *users* of language varieties (cf., Grosjean 1982, Lambert et al. 1960).

2.3.2 Measurement of language attitudes

Shifting from the nature and definition of language attitudes, the discussion now turns to a more significant topic to the present study—the measuring of language attitudes. In spite of their changeable nature, language attitudes relate to the perception of group characteristics and are thus sufficiently stable to allow for a reliable measurement (Gaies and Beebe 1991:157). In order to evaluate an individual's reaction toward language varieties, sociolinguists and social psychologists of language have tended to approach the question from one of two approaches: direct or indirect.

Prior to the 1960s the approach was generally a direct one, in which investigators primarily employed questionnaires, surveys, polls, (ethnolinguistic) interviews, and attitudinal rating scales that required participants to express their attitudes about particular languages or language varieties. Recently, another form of direct assessment has been implemented with the advancement of perceptual dialectology (cf. Long and Preston 1999, Preston 1999). For example Preston (2000) asked subjects from Michigan

to trace and label dialect zones on a blank map of the United States. The subjects then rate the zones according to where better English is spoken, thus providing a direct assessment of their linguistic awareness. It was found that those zones that subjects considered to be more like the Michigan dialect were rated more positively. In another study from this paradigm, Niedelski and Preston (2000) look specifically at the way 68 non-linguists talk about language and language varieties, and the attitudes that the respondents have toward these varieties. Like its predecessors, this paradigm seeks to determine whether the 'judges' are consciously aware of linguistic differences. However, it is highly likely that the judges may be aware of subtle linguistic differences and yet be unable to express these distinctions. Likewise, judges may perceive differences that have no linguistic basis. It is therefore necessary to use methods that bypass the judges' inability to explain linguistic subtleties.

In addition, these direct methods, though useful, are often unable to uncover an individual's *genuine* attitude toward a linguistic variety, and often miss the dynamic and constructive process that forms an intrinsic part of one's attitude. This shortcoming stems, at times, from the possible desire of observers/judges to conceal their true attitude towards a particular variety. Garrett et al. (2003: 8) identify this as 'de-individuation' or "the tendency of respondents … to report socially desirable attitudes rather than their own private attitudes … by giving the response they assume the researcher wants … without any thought about what their [own] attitudes are." The ability of individuals to introspect, therefore, is what allows researchers to gain access to attitudes; however,

when it comes to measuring these attitudes, such reflection is also a potential source of systematic error.

As a consequence of the inherent weaknesses of direct methods, a method of indirectly tapping into individuals' stereotypes about language—the Matched-guise Technique (MGT)—was developed by Lambert and his colleagues. This method focuses the evaluators' attention on the assessment of the *speakers* of different language varieties rather than the language varieties themselves. This is based on the idea that judges will form and validate their assessment on stereotypical behavior (cf., Omdal 1995: 86). It is postulated that those whose speech closely approximates that of the positively viewed group will be perceived as possessing positive attributes, whereas those whose speech diverges from this target will be perceived as demonstrating undesirable or inferior traits (cf., Grosjean 1982). Therefore, by indirectly investigating the ways in which individuals ascribe characteristics to speakers, investigators are able to circumvent the reticence or inability of these judges to explicitly express views on language varieties.

In the seminal study by Lambert et al. (1960), judges were presented with recordings of English and French speakers, after which they were asked to rate the speakers on fourteen non-linguistic attributes (e.g., height, looks, sense of humor, patriotism, etc.). The researchers found that there was a great disparity in the judges' assessments of the speakers, which correlated with the prestige of the language variety being analyzed: The English guises—the prestigiously viewed group—were rated higher with regards to social status, while the French guises were rated higher in solidarity. The judges were unaware that they had rated the same bilingual individual in both samples. This tendency

demonstrated that the judges were basing their assessment entirely on the language variety, and not on paralinguistic information. Because of its ability to access covert attitudes, the MGT has become a mainstay among researchers on language attitudes. Five commonly noted successes of the MGT have been compiled by Garrett et al. (2003: 57):

1. It is a rigorous and elegant design for investigating people's private attitudes. It is often claimed that direct questioning of respondents about their attitudes is less likely to elicit such private attitudes, and more likely to lead to the expression of attitudes which respondents consider socially acceptable or even socially desirable….

2. It has led to the convincing and detailed demonstration of the role of language code and style choice in impression formation.

3. It has generated a very considerable number of studies internationally, especially in bilingual/bi-ethnic, multilingual/multi-ethnic contexts, with a reasonable degree of comparability, allowing for cumulative development of theory.

4. It has led to the identification of the main dimensions along which evaluations are repeatedly made: prestige, social attractiveness, dynamism. It has therefore begun to explain the sociolinguistic ecology of language variation.

5. It has laid the foundation for cross-disciplinary work at the interface of the social psychology of language and sociolinguistics.