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**CODE-SWITCHING, CODE-MIXING AND RADICAL BILINGUALISM IN U.S.
LATINO TEXTS**

by

ROSHAWNDA A. DERRICK

DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Graduate School

of Wayne State University,

Detroit, Michigan,

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

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2015

MAJOR: MODERN LANGUAGES (Spanish)

Approved by:

Advisor

Date

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my favorite two people on this earth: Cassandra and Roy Derrick.

Thank you for giving me the gift of books, unconditional love and the freedom to be me

And

to the loving memory of my second mother Josephine Graham (1919) – (1999) and my dear friend Juana Lidia Coello Tissert (1958) – (2014). You will forever live in my heart.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Code-switching (CS), the use of two or more languages or varieties of the same language in the same utterance or conversation, has been studied from a variety of perspectives.¹ From a sociolinguistic point of view, researchers like Gumperz (1982) and Grosjean (2010), among others have been interested in social factors relating to the bilingual speech community, and more specifically, in figuring out who uses CS, in which situation, talking to whom, and why. From a purely linguistic or grammatical point of view, linguists like Poplack (1980) and Myers-Scotton (1993) have researched the linguistic nature of the switches themselves and have tried to account for grammatical vs. ungrammatical switches.

In the United States, the use of Spanish-English CS in Latino texts is not a new phenomenon and has a long tradition which goes back to the 1960s and 70s.² Although the inclusion of Spanish has been more prevalent in poetry and plays, it has also appeared in novels and short stories. Callahan (2004), for example, has analyzed the use of CS in ten short stories and nine novels/novellas produced between 1970 and 2000.

More recently, Torres (2007) has studied the use of Spanish by U.S. Latino authors in novels from 1990 to 2004 and has distinguished 3 different strategies: *Cushioned Spanish*, *Gratifying the Bilingual Reader* and *Radical Bilingualism*. The first strategy *Easily Accessed*, *Transparent* or *Cushioned Spanish*, exposes readers to Spanish vocabulary whose meaning is

¹ The term code-switching is here broadly defined. Different approaches have used varying definitions and spellings. Some include: code-switching, codeswitching and code switching.

² Some prominent figures who have authored Spanish/English texts include: Rodolfo González, Jesús Colón, Pedro Pietri, Cherrie Moraga, Rodolfo Anaya (*Bless me, Ultima*), Gianna Braschi (*Yo Yo Boing!*), Sandra Cisneros (*Caramelo* and *Woman Hollering Creek*), Shaggy Flores (*Sancocho: A book of Nuyorican Poetry*), Esmeralda Santiago (*When I was Puerto Rican*), among many others.

apparent from the context. This type of incorporation of bilingualism is a subtle way to introduce “Hispanic” concepts to a primarily monolingual American audience without causing unease. Torres comments that usually the Spanish is italicized in these novels, which denotes its “foreignness.” She offers the following example from Nicholasa Mohr:

- (1) "Midday was the time when folks went home, showered, ate an abundant *almuerzo* and then took a long *siesta*"³ (Mohr 1997: 11) ‘lunch’ and ‘siesta’

In this example, we see that the words *almuerzo* ‘lunch’ and *siesta* ‘nap’ are italicized to mark their difference from English. They are assumed to be intelligible to monolingual English readers based on the context.

The second strategy that Latino authors utilize is what Torres refers to as *Gratifying the Bilingual Reader*, which provides pleasure and comfort to the bilingual audience. This strategy grants full access to bilinguals while still allowing monolinguals to understand the central message being communicated. Many times Spanish is not marked as foreign, although it might be translated, as in the following example which Torres offers from Ortiz Cofer (1994):

- (2) "But she had said, '**No gracias**,' to the funeral, and she sent the flag and metals back marked **Ya no vive aqui**: Does not live here anymore. Tell the Mr. President of the United States what I say: **No gracias**" (Nada: 51).⁴ ‘No thank you’

In this case the Spanish is not marked as foreign; and it can even influence English syntax as in the sentence “Tell the Mr. President,” a direct translation from “Dile al señor president.” (86)

Lastly, the third strategy, *Radical Bilingualism*, is found in works that contain sections with sustained CS which would be intelligible only to bilingual readers.⁵ The use of language

³ All Spanish words will be translated at the end of the utterance as in: **perro** ‘dog’. For those utterances that contain mixed discourse, the examples will give a full translation as in (3) below. Additionally, unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

⁴ Spanish words will appear in bold in all examples.

alternation is so intense that monolinguals of Spanish or English would find these texts problematic. Torres quotes Braschi's *Yo-Yo Boing!* as an illustration of this type of strategy. As Jean Franco and Alexandra Vega-Merino explain in the introduction of *Yo Boing!*, this work contains Spanish and English used together in poetry, monologues and dialogues. The *Radical Bilingualism* strategy is most prominent in the dialogues where the author addresses other bilingual speakers. Braschi also shows her views on mixing both Spanish and English when she comments:

- (3) If I respected languages like you do, I wouldn't write at all. **El muro de Berlin fue derribado.** Why can't I do the same. **Desde la torre de Babel, las lenguas han sido siempre una forma de divorciarnos del resto de la humanidad.** Poetry must find ways of breaking distance. I am not reducing my audience. On the contrary, I am going to have a bigger audience with the common market-in Europe-in America. And besides, all languages are dialects that are made to break new grounds. I feel like Dante and Petrarca, and Boccaccio and I even feel like Garcilaso forging a new language. **Saludo al nuevo siglo, el siglo del nuevo lenguaje de América y le digo adiós a la retórica separatista y a los atavismos.** (qtd in Torres 2007: 88)

‘The wall of Berlin was torn down. From the Tower of Babel, languages have always been a form of divorcing ourselves from the rest of humanity... Greetings to the new century, the century of the new language of America and I say goodbye to the separatist rhetoric and to the atavisms.’

Torres also mentions Chávez-Silverman's text *Killer Crónicas*, which is completely mixed, as shown in (4).

- (4) These **crónicas** began as letters: **cartas a amigos extrañados**, love letters to cities, smells, people, voices and geographies I missed. **O, por otra parte, comenzaron como cartas a un lugar**, or to a situation that I was experiencing intensely, **casi con demasiada intensidad** and yet pleurably as well, **a sabiendas de que la vivencia acabaría demasiado pronto.** (xxi)

‘These *crónicas* began as letters: letters to missed friends, love letters to cities, smells, people, voices and geographies I missed. Or, on the other hand,

⁵ Samia Mehrez (1992), a translation theorist, notes that *Radical Bilingualism* forces readers to become bilingual as the two languages that are utilized together are unintelligible to monolingual readers of either language. Furthermore, the use of radical bilingualism creates a hybrid voice which indicates the realities of a post-colonial culture.

they started as letters to a place, or to a situation that I was experiencing intensely, almost with too much intensity and yet pleurably as well, knowing full well that the experience would end too soon.’

Casielles-Suárez (2013) has recently distinguished between the type of sustained CS in (3), where switching occurs at the sentence level from what she refers to as *Radical Hybridism*, which involves a closer connection between the two languages and is exemplified by the following sentences from Junot Díaz’s *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao (BWLOW)*:

(5) **Muchacha**, you wouldn’t believe **el lío en que me metí anoche**

‘Girl, you wouldn’t believe the mess I got myself into last night’

(6) A consummate **culocrat** to the end ‘asscrat’

In this type of CS Spanish and English are mixed not only inside the same sentence but even inside the same word, as shown in (6).

In a recent book on bilingualism, one of the main scholars in this field, Francois Grosjean, specifically refers to Junot Díaz and Chávez-Silverman. Grosjean (2010) points out: “[t]oday one does not need to be advanced in one’s literary career to write bilingually, as can be seen in the prose of two Hispanic American contemporary writers.” (142) He discusses the “Spanglish” employed by Junot Díaz in which Spanish is introduced into his English prose, as shown in (7)

(7) [They] shrieked and called him **gordo asqueroso** ! He forgot the **perrito**, forgot the pride he felt when the women in the family had called him **hombre** .⁶ ‘disgusting fat boy,’ ‘little dog or Latin dance’ and ‘man’

Additionally, he notes that Susana Chávez-Silverman blends Spanish and English “with a frequency of switches that is higher than normal, at least in written mode.” (143) In (8) we have another example:

⁶ In Spanish Caribbean countries, the *perrito* is a type of dance similar to what is known as twerking in the U.S. or “booty-dancing.”

- (8) **Entro y veo a la Rectora, una cool beige-y bottle blond (of course), still con ese semi-incongruente (sha es invierno, no jodas!) hideous orangey bronceado que usan tantas porteñas y me besa y veo al Juvenil** and my heart is in my throat **y se ve un poquitín alicaído eso sí, e intenta susurrarme en inglés** let me tell you what happened, OK, mama? (28)

‘I enter and I see the principal, a cool beige bottle blond (of course), still with this semi-incongruent (now it’s winter, stop fucking around) hideous orangey bronze that so many Argentine women use and she kisses me and I see the Juvenil [nickname she uses for her son] and my heart is in my throat and he looks a little depressed and he tries to whisper to me in English let me tell you what happened, Ok, mama?’

This use of Spanish-English CS in written discourse is not restricted to literary works. Some studies have looked at songs (Ohlson 2007, 2008, 2009 and Cepeda 2000), blogs (Montes-Alcalá 2007), e-mails and letters (Montes-Alcalá 2001, Negrón Goldberg 2009), diaries (Montes-Alcalá 2000), magazines (Mahootian 2005, Betti 2008), advertisements (Luna and Peracchio 2005, Maier Bishop 2006), and greeting cards (Potowski 2011). Further, the more radical mixture of the two languages exemplified in (4)-(8) above is also becoming more prominent in mainstream media.

Further, as Jonsson (2005) has pointed out with particular attention to plays by Moraga, CS has been found to have local and/or global functions. Based on Auer’s (1999) distinction between local and global meanings, she notes that while some switches do have a local function which might be quoting, emphasizing, or adding humor, sustained mixing tends to have more a global function which has to do with expressing a hybrid identity or challenging power relations.

The goal of this dissertation is to contribute to this line of research by analyzing the use of Spanish-English CS in contemporary U.S. Latino texts and to sort out the different ways in which a text can be radically bilingual. I am especially interested in investigating the linguistic nature of the CS employed in literary and non-literary texts to see if there is any evidence of Spanish-English CS becoming the unmarked choice and approaching what Auer (1998, 1999)

has referred to as a *fused lect*, a relatively stable mixture of two or more languages. From a social and sociolinguistic perspective, I also consider whether the local functions identified for oral CS have any role in written CS and whether CS is starting to be perceived as a prestigious form of communication rather than as a sign of linguistic incompetence.

The rest of the chapter is organized as follows: in section 1.2 I offer an overview of the main theoretical approaches to CS. In section 1.3, I state my goals and the theoretical frameworks I will be using. Section 1.4 introduces the texts to be analyzed and section 1.5 explains my methodology and analyses. Finally, section 1.6 presents the organization of this dissertation.

1.2. Main Theoretical Approaches to the Study of CS

1.2.1. Some Terms: CS, Borrowings, Calques, Semantic Extensions, and Code-mixing

Although my dissertation focuses on Spanish-English CS, it is important to consider it in relation to other language contact phenomena such as borrowings, calques and semantic extensions. Poplack (1980: 583) defines CS as “the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent” and distinguishes three types of CS: *Tag*, *Inter-sentential* and *Intra-sentential*. Tag-switching is seen when a tag phrase is taken from one language and inserted into another. Some English tags include *so*, *you know*, *I mean*, etc. Casielles-Suárez (2013) gives the following example of a tag-switch from *BWLOW* by Junot Díaz:

- (9) “She cried out each time they struck her but she did not cry, **entiendes?** ‘do you understand’ (146)

Another type of switching is inter-sentential (also known as extra-sentential), where CS takes place outside of the sentence.⁷

- (10) A: I had a dream yesterday, last night.

⁷ In her examples Spanish appears in capital letters.

B: ¿**DE QUÉ NÚMERO?** ‘What number?’

A: **EL CERO SETENTA Y CINCO.** ‘Zero seventy-five.’ (Poplack 1980: 598)

The last and most complex switching is intra-sentential CS, which happens when the switch occurs within the sentence. Poplack notes that only the most competent bilinguals use intra-sentential CS because it requires the most skill to produce. In (11) we have an example:

- (11) He was sitting down **EN LA CAMA, MIRÁNDONOS PELEANDO, Y**
 (‘in bed, watching us fighting and’) really, I don’t remember **SI ÉL**
NOS SEPARÓ (‘if he separated us’) or whatever, you know. (Poplack 1980: 589)

Thus, different types of CS have been distinguished in the literature. Further, CS is closely related to other phenomena such as the use of borrowings, calques and semantic extensions. *Loanwords* or *borrowings* are words taken from one language and incorporated into another. Many times these borrowings are phonologically adapted into the recipient language and are used in monolingual discourse. In (12) we have an example:

- (12) Vamos a sacar las cuentas para pagar los **biles** (<bills)
 ‘Let’s add up the expenses to pay the bills’ (Sánchez 1983: 125)

Calques are loanword translations taken from one language and integrated into another. Instead of borrowing one word, many times phrases are translated word for word, as shown in example

(13).

- (13) Mi hijo está en la **escuela alta** (<high school)

‘My son is in high school’

Furthermore, there are times when a word from a language assumes the meaning of a cognate in a different language. This is referred to as a *semantic extension*. For example, the verb ‘aplicar’ in English and Spanish can mean ‘to apply.’ However, in standard Spanish ‘aplicar’ refers to the

application of a substance such as a cream and the verb ‘solicitar’ is used to denote ‘looking for employment.’ In the U.S. due to strong contact between English and Spanish for bilingual speakers, ‘aplicar’ has now been semantically extended. In addition to being used when denoting the ‘application of a cream,’ its meaning now includes ‘applying for a position’ in U.S. Spanish. Other acceptable semantic extensions include:

- (14) **carpeta** “folder” + “carpet”
 (15) **librería** “bookstore” + “library”

Finally, in addition to CS, some scholars have used the term code-mixing (CM) or language mixing (LM) to refer to cases where rather than a switch we have a continuous back and forth between the two languages. For Auer (1999) CM or LM describes language alternation which is more stable than CS. In his example of Italian and Swiss German dialect he notes: “it seems to be their alternating use which in itself constitutes the “language”-of-interaction.” (315) In (16) we have an example:

- (16) perché meinsch **che se tu ti mangi** emmentaler **o se tu ti mangi una fontina** isch au ‘because, you mean, if you eat Emmental **cheese** or if you eat Fontina cheese, there is also en unterschied, oder? schlussändlich è sempre dentro li però il gusto isch andersch. a difference, isn’t there? Actually, it’s still there, but the taste is different’
è vero!
‘that’s right!’

For Auer, LM is different from CS because it contains more occurrences of mixed discourse as a feature of a conversation. In his study he comments that, “CS will be reserved for those cases in which the juxtaposition of two codes (languages) is perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event by participants. The term LM, on the other hand, will be used for those cases of the juxtaposition of two languages in which the use of two languages is meaningful (to participants) not in a local but only in a more global sense, i.e. when seen as a recurrent pattern.”

(310) We will come back to this distinction when we consider in more detail Auer's theory of CS in the next section.

1.2.2 Grammatical Approaches to CS

From a linguistic point of view, researchers have observed that CS is not a random mixture of two or more languages. There are grammatical and ungrammatical switches and one of the main objectives of linguistic approaches to CS has been to discover which rules are followed in cases of intra-sentential CS. Here I will review some of the most important linguistic or grammatical approaches.

Until the 1970s CS was mainly viewed as a random phenomenon that occurred in bilingual speech communities. However, in works published in the 70s some researchers started to notice reoccurring patterns and constraints. Timm (1975), Pfaff (1979) and Gumperz (1976) proposed "The clitic constraint," which notes that clitic subject or object pronouns must appear in the same language as the verb, as exemplified in examples (17) and (18).

(17) **El perro** chewed him up 'The dog'

(18) ¿**Porque te hicieron** beat up? (Pfaff 1979: 301) 'Why did they beat you up?'

Pfaff (1979) additionally proposed a constraint for Spanish-English CS in NPs. She points out that although switches between determiners and nouns are common, as shown in (19), switching between nouns and adjectives is in general prohibited.

(19) El flight **que sale de Chicago**. (305)

'The flight that leaves from Chicago.'

In pioneering work also done with specific reference to Spanish-English CS, Poplack (1980, 1981) proposed two universal constraints for CS: the *Free Morpheme Constraint* and the *Equivalence Constraint*. The Free Morpheme constraint suggests that a switch should not happen between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the lexical form has been adapted

phonologically into the language of that morpheme. That is, while languages do adapt morphologically words which have been borrowed, a real switch is not expected between a stem and a suffix. For instance, Spanish has borrowed the word “to park” as *parquear*, which is a morphologically adapted borrowing. However, a switch is not expected between an English stem and a Spanish suffix, as in neighbor-dario (“neighbor-hood”). The Equivalence constraint points out that switches most commonly occur at places where the surface structure is shared between both languages and cannot occur at points where the structure is different. In other words, a code-switch at a particular point is possible because it does not interfere with the syntax of either language before or after the switch. As an example, “*ella estaba* tired” ‘she was tired’ can work but “told *le*, *le told*, him *dije*, *dije him*” ‘I told him’ (Poplack 1981: 176) could not occur because the combination of constituents is ungrammatical.

Although these types of constraints seemed general enough to be able to account for data from different language combinations, numerous counterexamples have been pointed out in the literature. In response to these counterexamples, Poplack (1988) has suggested that some of the counterexamples are not real instances of CS but what she has referred to as *nonce borrowings*, spontaneous borrowings only used by bilinguals, which are not adapted into the receiving language. The notion of equivalence has also been criticized since some languages do not have the same categories. Further, Sebba (1998) has suggested that ‘equivalence’ is constructed by speakers rather than inherent to the languages.

In the 80s and 90s researchers proposed different constraints and in some cases tried to account for CS data without any special mechanisms particular to CS, but just using general principles of theoretical frameworks in the Generative tradition, such as the Government and Binding Theory (in the 80s) or Minimalism in the 90s. Some additional constraints include

Joshi's (1985) closed-class item constraint, Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh's (1986) Government Constraint and Belazi, Rubin and Toribio's (1994) Functional Head Constraint. As Mahootian (2006) points out, Woolford's (1983) Phrase Structure Congruence Model was one of the first attempts at accounting for CS data without appealing to a third grammar and without language specific constraints. In the same spirit, other researchers have tried to develop what have been referred to as Null theories of CS. Among these we can mention Mahootian's (1993) Head-Complement Principle Model and MacSwan (1999, 2000), who applies Chomsky's (1995) Minimalism Program to the analysis of CS.

One of the most ambitious and influential theories of CS is the *Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model* proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993b, 1998). It is based on the difference between a matrix language (ML) and an embedded language (EL). Myers-Scotton (2002:59) notes that the languages referred to as the Matrix Language and the Embedded Language do not participate equally in intra-sentential codeswitching. She says: "This unequal participation is referred to as the Matrix Language – Embedded language hierarchy, and the Matrix Language is the label identifying the language with the larger structural role." The MLF model proposes 4 hypotheses (The ML hypothesis, The Blocking hypothesis, the EL Island Trigger hypothesis and the EL Implicational Hierarchy hypothesis), and has been developed into the so-called 4-M model of morpheme classification (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000), which combines a grammatical account with a psycholinguistic view (e.g. Myers-Scotton & Jake 2009). However, despite its comprehensive coverage of both bilingual processing and bilingual production, the distinctions it is based on are not clear and have been criticized. Mahootian (2006:523) points out the circularity in the definitions of ML and system morphemes. Thus, the ML is the language which

contains the system morphemes and the system morpheme principle specifies that system morphemes are supplied by the ML.⁸

Finally, some scholars have pointed out that the reason why none of the constraints proposed in the literature have been found to account for CS data is because we need to distinguish between different types of CS. Both Muysken (2000) and Auer (1998, 1999) have proposed a typology of CS. Muysken's typology (2000) distinguishes between *insertion*, *alternation* and *congruent lexicalization* as seen below. Insertion includes placement of a lexical item or phrase from one language into an utterance which is otherwise in a different language. Thus, in (20) the English phrase "in a state of shock" is inserted in the Spanish sentence.

(20) **Yo anduve** *in a state of shock* **por dos días**. (5, qtd. in Pfaff 1979:296)

'I walked in a state of shock for two days.'

Alternation occurs when there is a switch from one language to another:

(21) **Andale pues** *and do come again*. (5, qtd. in Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez 1971: 118)

'That's alright then and do come again.'

Congruent lexicalization (CL) is based on similarity in surface structures meaning that lexical items from either language can be placed anywhere in the utterance due to congruent structures as in (22) and (23):

(22) Any way [sic], **yo creo que las personas** who support **todos estos grupos como los**

Friends of the Earth **son personas que** are very close to nature. (146, qtd in Moyer 1992:

437)

'Anyway, **I believe that the people** who support **all these groups like the** Friends of the

Earth **are people** who are very close to nature.'

⁸ For additional problems with the definition of matrix language, see Gardner-Chloros (2009:101-104)

- (23) **El government ha dicho que si es necesario tomarán** disciplinary action **contra ellos.**
(147, qtd in Moyer 1992: 421)

‘The government has said that if it is necessary that they’ll take disciplinary action against them.’

From this perspective, the fact that there are different types of CS might explain why the theories proposed in the literature have not been able to account for all data from different languages. The MLF model might be better at accounting for insertions in cases where there is a clear ML while some of the constraints proposed in the literature would apply to cases of alternation, where there is a switch point to a different language. Muysken’s CL is even more interesting since it seems to capture a fairly characteristic hallmark of Spanish-English CS in the U.S, as mentioned by Grosjean (2010) with specific reference to the work of Junot Díaz and Susana Chávez-Silverman.⁹

Finally, Auer (1998, 1999) has also proposed a continuum of CS where he differentiates between code-switching, code-mixing or language mixing and fused lect from the perspective of a conversational model. Auer (1999: 313) notes that *code-switching* occurs when there is a language switch in the conversation (or utterance). He offers the following example which shows CS locally.

- (24) 01 Ag.: *noja am spielplatz*
‘well in the playground’

02 Cl.: *am (spielplatz)*
‘in (the playground)’

03 Ag. -m: *wissen Sie wo der spielplatz isch?*
‘do you know where the playground is?’

04 m: *das is:[:*

⁹ Muysken also relates the different types of CS to different types of bilingual settings. I consider these issues in section 1.2.3.

‘it is: :’

05 Cm.: [*der kann ja h[ingehe*
‘he can pass by there’

06 m: [*äh: :*

07 Ag. -Cm.: *se: mo va ccamená propriə llá*
‘oh I’m sure he will pass by there’

This would be equivalent to Muysken’s alternation. As exemplified in (16) above, *Code-mixing* also referred to as language mixing, happens when there is overall mixing as a feature of the conversation. This mixing then can lead to a *fused lect*, which is considered to be stabilized language mixing that approaches a mixed language. He notes that these mixed languages developed from the second and third generation speakers of the languages in contact. Some of examples of mixed languages he gives are Michif and Sinti (p. 322) Auer (1999) provides the following example from Holzinger (1993: 324f).¹⁰

- (25) Me homs ***noch nicht an*** o vurdi dre, his o grai ***šon*** pale *los*.
Ich war noch nicht im Wagen drin, (da) war das Pferd schon wieder los.
‘I was ***hardly back*** in the car, the horse was ***loose*** again.’

Tšava, hoi kerdal ***denn***, pandal i graies ***gar richtig fest?*** Dša vri, pande i graies ***fest!***
Bub, was hast du denn gemacht, hast du das Pferd nicht richtig festgebunden? Geh raus, binde das Pferd fest!
‘Son, what have you done, didn’t you tie the horse ***up properly?*** Go out, tie ***up*** the horse.’ (322)

With this typology, as a fused lect is approached, the discourse becomes more and more mixed to the point where the two languages in interaction are indistinguishable, thus leaning towards the

¹⁰ The following passage illustrates the Romanés dialect (Siniti) which is a mixed language formed from Romani and German. Auer notes that the Hamlelner Sinte have been bilingual for many generations (1999:322). [author’s transcription conventions and translation into German; German in italics] ((taken from a longer narrative)).

creation of a mixed language.¹¹ Auer points out that the difference between CS, LM and fused lect forms a continuum and that in any given speech community language contact can move up on the continuum to arrive at a fused lect, but that a fused lect will never reduce back to CS.

Thus, there are multiple approaches, which try to explain the linguistic nature of CS. As we will see in more detail in 1.3, I think that Muysken's distinction between insertion and alternation, and their combination, and Myers-Scotton notion of a matrix or base language are crucial to investigate the nature of Spanish-English CS, as it appears in U.S. Latino texts.

1.2.3 Sociolinguistic Approaches to CS

The sociolinguistic approaches to CS have focused on social factors and realities of the bilingual speech community. CS is viewed as a function of social contexts that transpire within multilingual societies and many times relate directly to the identity of those who produce code-switched utterances. There are micro-linguistic perspectives which focus on the inter-individual level and macro-linguistic perspectives which look at broader aspects of the societies where CS occurs. Gardner-Chloros (2009: 42-43) summarizes three types of factors:

1. Factors independent of particular speakers and particular circumstances in which the varieties are used, which affect all the speakers of the relevant varieties in a particular community, e.g. economic "market" forces such as those described by Bourdieu (1997), prestige and covert prestige (Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1974), power relations and the associations of each variety with a particular context or way of life (Gal, 1979).

¹¹ Another well-known example of a mixed language in the linguistics literature is Media Lengua, which is composed of the combination of Spanish vocabulary and Quichua grammar. Below is an example from Muysken (2000:19):

MeL *Chicha-da-ga xora-mi iribi-chi-ndu, ahi-munda-mi chichi*
 Qe *Aswa-da-ga sara-mi yanu-sha, chay-munda-mi*
 Sp *Chicha, haciendo hervir jora, después*
 MeL *sirni-nchi, ahi-munda-ga dushi-da poni-nchi*
 Qe *shushu-nchi chay-munda-ga mishki-da chura-nchi.*
 Sp **la cermimos, y después la ponemos dulce.**
 'As to chicha, having boiled corn first we strain it and then we put in sugar.'

2. Factors attaching to the speakers, both as individuals and as members of a variety of sub-groups: their competence in each variety, their social networks and relationships, their attitudes and ideologies, their self-perception and perception of others (Milroy and Gordon, 2003).
3. Factors *within the conversations* where CS takes place: CS is a major conversational resource for speakers, providing further tools to structure their discourse beyond those available to monolingual.

The earliest, most influential work on CS from a sociolinguistic perspective is that of John J. Gumperz, which was recapitulated in Gumperz (1982). He first distinguished between *situational* and *conversational* CS. In situational CS participants switch languages if there is a change in the situation (e.g. in the interlocutors, context, etc.). Conversational CS occurs without an external change. This was later referred to as metaphorical CS. Gumperz's other influential distinction is that between the *we-code*, associated with the minority language and in-group and informal activities and the *they-code* the majority language associated with more formal out-group relations.

Several researchers have proposed different local functions of CS. In a study of language interaction between Japanese-born women residing in the U.S Ervin-Tripp (1964) found four primary factors which would trigger a change in language variety:

1. Setting (time and place)
2. The participants involved
3. Their roles in relation to each other
4. The function of the interaction

With particular regard to Spanish-English CS Valdés-Fallis (1976) proposed the following 12 categories:

Category	Definition	Example
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Situational Switches	Related to social role of speakers	No example given
Contextual Switches	Situation and topic are linked to other language	<i>Pues sí, mira, cada vez que iba, bueno la consulta era eight dollars (66).</i>
Triggered Switches	Switches due to preceding or following item	<i>No si yo brincaba en el trampoline when I was a senior (58).</i>
Switching of isolated terms	Lexical need?	<i>No, porque mira te subes en el trampoline y brincas en el aire (59).</i>
Identity Markers	Stress in-group membership	No example given
Preformulations	Linguistic routines	<i>ese domingo, I might be there, because my friend and her husband are bringing her suegros (69).</i>
Discourse Markers	But, and, of course, etc.	<i>you know, to go back. Pero the last time he told me I didn't have to go back unless I flare up (67).</i>
Metaphorical Switches	Obvious stylistic device for emphasis or contrast	<i>I started going like this. Y luego decia, look at the smoke coming out of my fingers... (71).</i>
Proper Nouns	No definition given	<i>Aquí en State dicen que es coed (82).</i>
Quotations and paraphrases	May be contextual or non-contextual	<i>Me dijo que if I flare up to go back, you know to go back (66).</i>
Sequential Responses	Speakers use language last used	<i>Yo hasta empecé a escribir lo que soñaba. Every morning I would get up... (79).</i>
Symmetrical Switches	Blend and proportion of language alternation is made to resemble that of other speakers	<i>I cut it so short and I know that if I cut it, then me pudiera (78).</i>

(Code-switching strategies proposed by Valdés- Fallis (1976: 58) as qtd in Hernandez 2009: 16)

Gumperz (1982) also proposed some functions of metaphorical CS, which explain why bilinguals alternate between languages in certain situations. His functions are:

1. [q]uotations: a quote is code-switched.

2. [a]ddressee specification: the code-switched message is aimed towards a particular participant.
3. [i]nterjections: an interjection is code-switched.
4. [r]eiteration: the code-switched message repeats what was previously said.
5. [m]essage qualification: the code-switched message elaborates on what was previously said.
6. [p]ersonalization versus objectivization: a code-switched message hints at a personal or objective tone.

(Gumperz 1982: 75-80)

In her analysis of Spanish-English CS Mahootian (2005) identifies three functions: idiomatic, attention getting and emotionally/culturally evocative/bonding. More recently and also with regard to Spanish/English CS Montes-Alcalá (2007) has modified Gumperz's functions and has used: direct quotation, emphasis, clarification, tags, triggered switches and a free category for those switches which do not seem to belong to any of the previous categories.

As Zentella (1997: 99) has pointed out: "pinpointing the purpose of each code switch is a task as fraught with difficulty as imputing the reasons for a monolingual's choice of one synonym over another, and no complete accounting may ever be possible." In fact, as noted by Auer (1998, 1999) in addition to particular local functions of a specific switch, global functions are also important, especially in cases involving LM. He says, "[t]he term LM, on the other hand, will be used for those cases of the juxtaposition of two languages in which the use of two languages is meaningful (to participants) not in a local but only in a more global sense, that is, when seen as a recurrent pattern." (310)

In addition to his previously mentioned typology of CS, Muysken (2000) notes that there can also be sociolinguistic connections to his categories. For example he mentions that,

[t]he process of alternation is particularly frequent in stable bilingual communities with a tradition of language separation, but occurs in many other communities as well. It is a frequent and structurally little intrusive type of code-mixing. Insertion is frequent in colonial settings and recent migrant communities, where is a considerable asymmetry in the speakers' proficiency in the two languages. ... congruent lexicalization may be particularly associated with second generation migrant groups, dialect/standard and post-creole continua, and bilingual speakers of closely related languages with roughly equal prestige and no tradition of overt language separation (9).

Thus, the social circumstances can influence the type of CS used in a particular community.

Mahootian (2005) notes that in the CS present in the magazine *Latina*, which she refers to as code-mixed discourse, the “[m]ixed Spanish-English code is another means for Latinos in the U.S.A. (a) to show unity among themselves as a subset of all Hispanic-Americans, (b) to identify themselves as a group separate from their predecessors’ generation, and (c) to continue to maintain strong emotional ties with their heritage.” (373)

Myers-Scotton’s (1983, 1993a, 1998, 2002) *Markedness Model* also takes a look at CS motivations as they relate to identity. According to this model, bilinguals use their languages to greet each other in a way that is most appropriate for each interaction. In a bilingual setting where there is no unmarked norm, many times, speakers create their own norm for interaction and as a result, “overall switching” is the outcome. The “overall switching” allows for bilinguals to show their dual identities. This model has been criticized by scholars such as Auer (1998) for making assumptions about the perceived knowledge of bilinguals and what they believe about their languages and speech contexts.

With a similar interest to bilingual interaction and language choice, Heller (1992) examined CS from an ethnographic perspective, looking to CS as a political strategy.¹² She notes that the very fact of being bilingual enables speakers to, “say and do, indeed to be two or more things where normally a choice is expected.” (Heller 1988: 93)

Additionally, Zentella (1997) and Morales (2002) have proposed different viewpoints about social factors of CS. Zentella’s anthropological work has shown ways that New York City Latinos construct multiple and transitional identities through the use of standard and non-standard Puerto Rican Spanish, standard New York English, Puerto Rican and Hispanicized dialects of English, and African American vernacular English. Depending on who the subject is interacting with, these identities will be renegotiated. Morales (2002) notes that CS is used in Latino communities as a form of resistance against the dominant culture.

Finally, there are some theories from different disciplines, which can be useful to examine CS data, even though they have not been proposed for CS specifically. Jonsson (2005) uses theories proposed by Anzaldúa, Bourdieu and Bakhtin, among others, and points out that the CS in the plays by Cherríe Moraga show global functions around two main areas: power relations and identity construction.

1.3 Goals of Dissertation and Theoretical Frameworks

As Torres (2007) has pointed out, the use of Spanish-English CS in literary texts has mainly consisted of the insertions of transparent and italicized Spanish terms in English texts plus the occasional use of intersentential CS, the inclusion of a Spanish sentence in an otherwise English text, sometimes followed by its translation (Torres’ *Cushioned Spanish* and *Gratifying the Bilingual Reader* strategies). The following examples from Sandra Cisneros’ *Caramelo* (2002) show this use of Spanish:

¹² See also Heller (1995, 1999)

(26) What do you mean? You like chocolate, don't you? It's practically all chocolate, with just a teeny bit of *chile*, a recipe as old as the Aztecs. Don't pretend you're not Mexican!

(55) 'chile'

(27) Don't worry, *mi gordita*, I'm sure the dry cleaners can fix it. (54) 'my fatty'

(28) –¿*Mande usted?* At your orders? (58) 'Yes sir'

(29) It's no use. *El destino es el destino*. A person's destiny is her destiny. (69)

'Destiny is destiny'

However, in what has been termed *Radical Bilingualism*, some writers have used sustained CS where the switches are much more common and without a translation, as we saw in example (3) from Braschi's work *Yo-Yo Boing!*

Even further, some authors are beginning to use multiple insertions and intrasentential CS, which produces highly hybrid sentences, in addition to hybrid texts. As mentioned in section 1.1, Grosjean (2010) specifically refers to two Hispanic American contemporary writers whose works have not been linguistically analyzed before: Junot Díaz and Susana Chávez-Silverman. In (30)-(31) we have some examples from their works:

(30) Gradually, Beli began to see beyond the catcalls and the *Dios mío asesina* 'and the *y ese tetatorío* and the *que pechonalidad* to the hidden mechanisms that drove these comments.

(*BWLOW*: 93)

'My God your looks can kill,' 'and those are some tits' and 'what a chest'

(31) **Reconoció**, I mean, its appropriately early modern, literary origins— **cuando leyó la primerísima crónica que empollé y mandé desde northern Califas, a principios de mayo** (it seems so long ago already . . .). (*Scenes*: 11)

‘I recognized, I mean, its appropriately early modern, literary origins—when he read the very first crónica that I came up with and sent from Northern California, in the beginning of May (it seems so long ago already...)’

One goal of this dissertation is to examine Díaz’s and Chávez-Silverman’s use of CS and suggest that although isolated examples such as those in (30)-(31) above might seem similar enough and might place them in the Radical Bilingualism category, a thorough linguistic analysis will show that they are radically bilingual and hybrid in very different ways. While Díaz’s works are clearly written in English, Chávez-Silverman’s texts do not have a base language and approach Auer’s notion of fused lect.

Additionally, the use of Spanish-English CS goes beyond literary texts and is becoming much more prominent in all kinds of texts produced in the U.S. It is pervasive in songs, advertisements, magazines, films and newer media such as blogs, chats, Instagram and text messages. A second goal of this dissertation is to investigate the linguistic nature of the CS used in non-literary texts and find out if they show any sign of radical bilingualism. Although we expect magazines and advertisements to be relatively conservative in their use of CS, newer types of texts such as blogs, chats and text messages might show the type of mixed discourse used by Chávez-Silverman. An important presence of his type of mixed discourse in Latino texts would be very relevant to both linguistic and sociolinguistic theories of CS. From a linguistic point of view, in this type of discourse with no base language, the grammars of the two languages are in contact in the same sentence, which can lead to the formation of a stable mixed language. From a sociolinguistic point of view, a prevalent use of this type of mixed discourse would mean that what is meaningful is not the function of each individual switch, but the act of switching. This analysis will allow me to provide a tentative answer to the following questions:

1. Are Hispanic American contemporary writers creating a new kind of code-switching?
2. Are there any differences between literary and non-literary texts?
3. What are the functions of code-switching in literary and non-literary texts?

My analysis will use some of the theories mentioned in section 1.2. In order to discover the linguistic nature of the CS used in the selected texts, I will take into account the base language of each sentence, if one can be determined, and use Muysken's (2000) typology of CS. For insertions I will consider the type of phrase inserted and for alternations the switch point and if it abides by Poplack's (1980, 1981) Free Morpheme and Equivalence constraints. Illustrated below are examples from my corpus which I will examine using the above mentioned theories:

- (32) The landscapes were superfly—even though there was a drought on and the whole **campo** , even the houses, were covered in red dust. (*This is How You Lose Her*, 10) 'countryside'
- (33) **Me vuelvo un poco** stir crazy. (*Killer Crónicas*, 4) 'I am going a little stir crazy'
- (34) So, **qué es lo que esto nos dice** about borders, **identidades**, transnational studies, about the end of nationalisms, **sobre el** supposedly-shrinking global **mundo**? (*Killer Crónicas*, 10).
 'So, what is it that it tells us about borders, identities, transnational studies, about the end of nationalisms, about the supposedly-shrinking global world?'

In addition to investigating the linguistic nature of Spanish-English CS, I am also interested in examining the local and global function of CS in these texts. For the local functions I will take into account those proposed by Gumperz (1982) and Montes-Alcalá (2007), among others, as illustrated by samples from my corpus below:

(35) Contextual Switches:

I've practically been in my pj's and eating "**recalentado**" for the last 24 hours.

(December 27, 2014) 'leftovers'

(36) Quotations:

"Don't you dare do that to me," my mother said, and then cried out in Spanish: "**¡Estás loca! ¡No me puedes hacer esto!**" (*Latina Magazine*, September 2010: 78)

'You are crazy! You can't do this to me!'

(37) Emphasis:

Her name was Ana Obregón, a pretty, loudmouthed **gordita** who read(*BWLOW*, 34)

'chubby girl'

(38) Identity Marker:

Tu papi—Human first, pero **Chicano, artista, activista** (*Mi Hijo no Speak Espanglish*)

'Your father—Human first, but Chicano, artista, activist'

(39) High Impact Terms:

No more chicks crying over him on the couch or gobbling the **rabo** downstairs.

(*THYLH*, 97) 'dick'

Furthermore, this dissertation takes into account Auer's (1999) notion of global function as developed in Jonsson (2005) where she notes two functions of CS: establishing a hybrid identity and challenging power relations. I investigate if there is any evidence of CS becoming the unmarked mode of written communication among Latinos and starting to be perceived as a prestigious mode of communication with symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1989, 1996). As mentioned above, I am also interested in the social implications of Spanish-English CS in U.S. Latino texts.

Therefore, I reference theories from related fields such as Border studies and consider the works of Anzaldúa (1987), Arteaga (1994), and others.

Anzaldúa's (1987) writes:

Until I am free to write bilingually and to switch codes without having always to translate, while I still have to speak English or Spanish when I would rather speak Spanglish, and as long as I have to accommodate the English speakers rather than having them accommodate me, my tongue will be illegitimate. I will no longer be made to feel ashamed of existing. I will have my voice: Indian, Spanish, white. I will have my serpent's tongue - my woman's voice, my sexual voice, my poet's voice. I will overcome the tradition of silence. (59)

Arteaga (1994) comments that when we see bilingualism in literature authored by U.S. Latino writers it is an identity search through the two cultures and shows some type of resistance towards monolingual Anglo culture. In the following paragraph he refers to Bakhtin's (1981) notion of heteroglossia when he notes:

The mere presence of Chicano discourse resists Anglo-American suppression of heteroglossia, much as the background noise of menials jars a social gathering. The presence of difference undermines the aspiration for an English-only ethos. And inasmuch as Chicano discourse is specifically multilingual and multivoiced, it further undermines the tendency towards single language and single-voiced monologue, that is, it undermines Anglo American monologism. (14)

Further, as a potential tool of empowerment, U.S. Latinos might be using this type of language mixing to construct and reconstruct a hybrid/third space identity as they navigate two languages and cultures. While the insertion of a particular word or the specific switching to another language at a certain point may have one of the noted functions mentioned above, the use of CS as the unmarked code, is probably pointing a general, more global aim of reaffirming a bilingual identity and defending a bilingual code.

1.4 Texts

My selection includes fictional and non-fictional creative texts, journalistic texts, and other media. In regard to literary texts, I will analyze the two authors mentioned by Grosjean (2010): Junot Díaz and Susana Chávez-Silverman. My analysis of Díaz's work will concentrate on his 2008 Pulitzer Prize winning book *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* (*BWLOW*) (2007) and his most recent work *This is How You Lose Her* (*THYLH*) (2012)

Díaz's texts focus around the central concept of love and growing up in the NYC Dominican community. These texts showcase the language choice of the NYC Spanish speaking community as well as those in the Dominican Republic. As mentioned in the previous sections, although clearly writing in English, Díaz has an interesting way of blending Spanish and English in his texts which is shown by the following examples:

(40) She was one of those golden **mulatas** that French-speaking Caribbeans call chabines, that my boys call **chicas de oro**; she had snarled, apocalyptic hair, copper eyes, and was one white skinned relative away from **jaba**.¹³ (*BWLOW*: 59)
'mulattos, golden girl'

(41) Those **cabronas**, they were like, **No jamás**, never (*THYLH*: 4) 'Those bitches, were like, No never'

Furthermore, I will analyze two creative non-fiction works by Susana Chávez-Silverman: *Killer Crónicas* (2004) and *Scenes from la Cuenca de Los Angeles y otros Natural Disasters* (2010). *Killer Crónicas* is especially interesting since there is an oral version of this text recorded by the author available at http://uwpress.wisc.edu/audio_cronicas.html. Having access to the oral version will allow

¹³ In this context, "jaba" is a the term in the DR for "high-yellow" or a term used to refer to the lightest skin color of Black Americans in the U.S.

me to distinguish borrowings from CS, which is sometimes difficult to do in a written text.

Chávez-Silverman was raised bilingually and bi-culturally and has lived in various cities including Los Angeles, Madrid, Buenos Aires and Guadalajara. Her two texts originated as a collection of emails that she sent to friends and family members. An instance of this language mixing from *Killer Crónicas* (2004) follows below:

Mamá y papa, after their **flechazo** meeting **en la cubierta de ese** Transatlantic linear carrying them to a study abroad program **en Madrid en el verano del '49** (I think), **y after su** cross-cultural, tumultuous courtship **que terminó en una modesta boda en el** front lawn **de mis abuelos** Chávez en San Diego, Califas, **y after el** subsequent **adistanciamiento de papa de su familia judía** de New York (**especialmente de su mamá**, Grandma Edna) **pues** what other kind of marriage could they be expected to have? (34)

‘Mom and dad, after their love at first sight meeting in the deck of that Transatlantic Linear carrying them to a study abroad program in Madrid in the summer of ’49 (I think), and after their cross-cultural, tumultuous courtship that ended in a modest wedding in the front lawn of my maternal grandparents house in San Diego, California and after the subsequent distancing of dad from his Jewish family in New York (especially from, his mother, Grandma Edna) well what other kind of marriage could they be expected to have?’

Her latest work *Scenes from la Cuenca de L.A. y otros Natural Disasters* (2010) shows a similar type of mixing as shown below:

(43) **Camino rápido por esta** sudden, too—early **primavera**. A small, icy rivulet of sweat runs down my spine. My tissue-weight turquoise cotton top **se me pega, cual ventosa, a la piel, semi-transparentándose**. My lips part slightly; tiny **casi jadeos se me escapan. Voy bien rápido**, long limbed. **Y hace un calor intenso**, unnatural **en este** supposedly still **invernal** Aquarius birthday season. (73)

‘I walk quickly for this sudden, too—early spring. A small icy rivulet of sweat runs down my spine. My tissue-weight turquoise cotton top sticks to me, which sucks at my skin, semi-see through. My lips part slightly; tiny almost pants escape from me. I am going really quickly, long limbed. And it’s intensely hot, unnatural in this supposedly still winter Aquarius birthday season.’

In order to discover if this type of mixing is currently being used in non-literary texts, I will also analyze magazines, advertisements, songs and newer types of texts such as blogs, chats and text messages.

In her review of the use of CS by Latinos, Toribio (2011) mentions journalistic texts and songs.¹⁴ In (44)-(46) we have some examples of Spanish-English CS in journalistic texts:

(44) **Yo y mi Winston – porque** Winstons taste good like a cigarette should.

(Advertisement sung in a movie house in Puerto Rico, cited in Nash 1970: 224) ‘My Winston and me—because Winstons taste good like a cigarette should.’

(45) Marco Discount House: **Cabecera con frame, 2 mesas de noche, 1 triple dresser con 2 espejos. Fibra lavable, 2 corner bed y ottoman en azul. Elegante sofá-cama.**

(Newspaper advertisement from Puerto Rico, cited in Nash 1970: 226) ‘Marco Discount House: headboard with frame, 2 night tables, 1 triple dresser with two mirrors, Washable fiber, 2 corner beds and an ottoman in blue. Elegant sofa-bed.’

(46) Design Men’s Salon, toupées **a la medida**, hair weaving y **pelucas** stretch **para caballeros**. (Advertisement in the yellow pages of the telephone book) ‘Design Men’s Salon, customizable toupees, hair weaving and stretch wigs for gentlemen.’

And in (47)-(49) some examples from songs:

(47) **Qu’hubo, aquí estoy MC Kid Frost. Yo soy el jefe, matón**, yes, the big boss.

My cohete’s loaded, it’s full of **balas** I put it in your face and you won’t say **nada...** Some of you don’t know what’s happening, **qué pasa** It’s not for you

¹⁴For other analyses relating to CS in songs see Babalola and Awolowo (2009), Hok-Shing Chan (2009), Julca-Guerrero (2009) and Ohlson (2007, 2008, and 2009).

anyway, this is for la **raza** (Mexican American hip hop artist Kid Frost, “La Raza” 1992)

‘What’s up, here I am MC Kid Frost. I am the boss, thug, yes, the big boss. My gun is loaded, it’s full of bullets I put it in your face and you won’t say anything... Some of you don’t know what’s happening, what’s up It’s not for you anyway, this is for the race [Latinos/Chicanos].’

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

‘Check this out, baby, we have a big mess. Last night you didn’t go to your uncle’s house. It turns out, hey, you were at a party Higher than the sky, drunk off of Bacardi... Right now you’re just a liar, a straight liar. Today you tell me one thing and tomorrow it’s something else.’

- (49) If tomorrow you feel lonely it’s okay. **Te prometo, princesita, volveré**
Please stop crying, **se me va el avión** When you miss me **pon nuestra canción**.

(Dominican-York Bachata artists Aventura, “Our song” 2005)

‘If tomorrow you feel lonely it’s ok. I promise, little princess, I’ll come back. Please stop crying, the plane is leaving me. When you miss me put on our song.’

For my analysis of journalistic writing, I examine one year of entries (from January 2014-January 2015) of the bilingual blog titled *Life in Spanglish* (<http://lifein的角度.com>) and one full issue of the magazines *Latina* and *Cosmo for Latinas*. *Life in Spanglish* is authored

by L.A. Chicana native Cristina who uses her blog as a way to experiment with her two languages.¹⁵ In (50), (51) and (52) we have some examples from her blog:

(50) **Tú que casi nunca dabas escándalos, y hoy todo el mundo te está mandando tweets medio groseros...** You did not need this, **especialmente ahora que estás saliendo más en la televisión gringa.** (January 10, 2012)

‘You almost never used to have scandals, and today the entire world is sending you ean tweets... You did not need this, especialy now that you are appearing more on American T.V.’

(51) I just think it’s a shame for an accomplished actress (**si no es que la mejor de México**) to go off on a rant about things that nobody cares about, **diciendo puras incoherencias**, tarnishing her image... (January 10, 2012)

‘I think it’s a shame for an accomplished actress (if not Mexico’s best) to go off on a rant about things that nobody cares about, saying things that make no sense, tarnishing her image...’

(52) **Otra que se la pasó *having fun* toda la noche fue Sofia Vergara**, who has this Hollywood fame thing down like a true superstar. (January 31, 2012)

‘Another that was having fun all night was Sofia Vergara, who has this Hollywood fame thing down like a true superstar.’

Here we can see some examples from *Latina*:

(53) When you think of wallpaper, what’s the first thing that comes to mind? **Abuela’s** ‘Grandma’s’ kitchen circa 1985? (96, September 2009)

¹⁵ L.A. blogger Cristina (no last name given) comments that this blog is an “experiment to see if I can get away with publishing the weird word combos that pop up in my mind, in Spanglish”. She goes on to say that, “My high school (prepa) Spanish teacher would not be proud, **pero como dijo Obama cuando entró a la presidencia el 20 de enero del 2009** (but like Obama said when he entered his presidency on January 20, 2009) “It’s a different world and we must change with it.” <http://lifeinspanglish.wordpress.com/about/>

- (54) So I'm sticking with *las rubias*...at least for now. (66, September 2009) 'the blonds'
- (55) **Chica**, concealer is your new best friend! (58, September 2010) 'Girl'
- (56) We asked Prince Royce for relationship advice, and sure enough the *bachatero* cutie got right down to business. (126, September 2010) 'Bachata singer'

And some examples from *Cosmo for Latinas*:

- (57) I'll make a *tamarita* for my *familia* this *Nochebuena* (5, Winter 2014) 'citrusy cocktail, family, Christmas Eve'
- (58) Delicious *huarachas*, Ceviche, Steaming vats of *carnitas*. (32, Winter 2014) 'Central American dish' and 'braised porks bites'
- (59) Yes, you CAN look this hot *con un bebé* (70, Winter 2014) 'with a baby'

Further, I am interested in examining some songs and social media posts from a variety of well-known U.S. Latinos. As far as music, with urban Bachata being one of the most popular and recognized types of U.S. Latino music to utilize Spanish-English, I had an interest in analyzing a variety of songs from the most recognizable artists. They include: Aventura ("Cuándo Volverás" and "Peligro"), Toby Love ("Buscando una Nena") and Prince Royce ("Te Regalo el Mar"). Some examples of the types of CS that they utilize are given below in (60) – (62):

- (60) **Ay dime** baby if you're ever coming back (Aventura, "Cuándo Volverás") 'Oh tell me'
- (61) **Amaneciendo** we can go on and on (Toby Love, "Buscando una Nena") 'Waking up'
- (62) Pass me a shot **para poder olvidar** (Prince Royce, "Te Regalo el Mar") 'to be able to forget'

Outside of *bachateros* or bachata singers, there is a presence of U.S. Latino artists that use Spanish-English CS in their raps. I also examine artists like Molina ("Mi Hijo no Speak

Espanglish”), a Chicano poet and rapper who aspires to create harmonies by sharing his ethnic background and political ideologies through music. Other artists include Mellow Man Ace (“Mentirosa,” “Half-Man” and “Latinos Mundial”), the first rapper to gain fame in the U.S. by using Spanish and English together. Pitbull (“Mujeres”) and Yerba Buena (“Bilingual Girls”) are also world recognized U.S. Latino artists who use Spanish-English CS in many of their songs.

Illustrations of the use of their language mixing are exemplified below:

(63) **Mijo**, you come from many cultures, many a lyric ‘son’
 Know that *these roots* run deep into the land of spirits
 Chihuahua, Mexico **El valle de San Luis, Colorado** ‘San Luis Valley, Colorado’
 Influence **de España, pero primero indígena** ‘Influence from Spain but first
 Indigenous’
Mi visabuela was a **curandera, Tarahumara**, wise woman—a healer ‘My great
 grandmother was a healer, Native Mexican American’
 This is *your history*, **mijo**. (Molina, “Mi Hijo no Speak Espanglish”) ‘my son’

(64) **Le tengo miedo del** Child Support (Pitbull, “Mujeres”)

‘I am afraid of Child Support’

(65) **Un dia estaba en tu casa** y ring there goes the phone (Mellow Man Ace,
 “Mentirosa”)

‘One day I was at your house and ring there goes the phone’

(66) Get my girl “**bien caliente**” on that bear skin “**alfombra**” (Mellow Man Ace,
 “Latinos Mundial”) ‘really hot’ and ‘rug’

(67) **Claro que**, yes, I wanna be **contigo** (Yerba Buena, “Bilingual Girls”)

‘Of course, I wanna be with you’

Finally, I also consider Instagram posts that use Spanish-English CS like those produced by Colombian-American DJ Alex Sensation as exemplified by (68) and (69).

(68) Gm my beautiful friends happy Friday **feliz Viernes** [sic] **social** got a lil sun this morning **pero ya estoy** ready **para el** party got some crazy music y **boletos para todos los eventos**...let's go (September 2014)

'Gm my beautiful friends happy happy social Friday got a lil sun this morning but now I'm ready for the party got some crazy music and tickets for all of the events....let's go.'

(69) **Martes** happy Tuesday **mi gente** ready **para La Mega Mezclaaaa** time to party **dejame** [sic] **tus saludos** shot outs and also win those tix **para el Megaton La Salsa Vive Enrique Iglesias Pitbull y mas** [sic], **buen dia** [sic] **para todos** and God bless. (September 2014)

'Tuesday happy Tuesday my people ready for La Mega mix time to party leave me your greetings shout outs and also win those tickets for the Megaton Salsa Live Enrique Iglesias Pitbull and more, good day to all and God bless.'

1.5 Analyses

In order to answer the research questions mentioned in section 1.3, I will carry out both linguistic and sociolinguistic analyses. The grammatical analyses will investigate in detail the nature of the sentences and phrases used and the sociolinguistic analyses will look at the local and global functions of the texts.

1.5.1 Linguistic Analyses

As mentioned in section 1.2.2, Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 1998, 2002) notion of matrix language is problematic. One of the problems is that not all sentences have a matrix language. Thus, instead of trying to find a matrix language for all cases of CS, I will divide the sentences which include CS into English-base bilingual sentences, Spanish-base bilingual sentences and

hybrid sentences. I consider the *base language* as the language which provides the grammatical structure for the sentences and most of its lexical items. Thus, sentences such as that in (70) will be analyzed as an English-base bilingual sentence, which can include one or more insertions of Spanish words or phrases.. Examples below from well-known U.S. Hispanic authors show English as the base language in their bilingual texts:

(70) **I met papi's** sucia (Drown:43)

‘whore’

A sentence such as that in (71), will be considered a Spanish-base bilingual sentence:

(71) **En una de esas, los 4 muestran sus mejores “dance moves” y una coreografía para una de sus canciones mas intensas, la de “Déjate Caer”, y bailan bastante bien, por cierto.** (*Life in Spanglish*: September 6, 2013)

‘In one of those, the 4 of them show their best dance moves and a choreography for one of their most intense songs, “Déjate Caer”, and they dance really well, of course.’

A sentence such as (72), on the other hand, will be considered a hybrid sentence with no base language:

(72) This city I love ***está toda spread out, es enorme, llena de tráfico y luces,***
y freeways y mini-malls. (*Life in Spanglish*: January 13, 2012)

‘This city I love is all spread out, it’s enormous, full of traffic and lights and freeways and mini-malls.’

Since the texts also include English and Spanish monolingual sentences, the analysis of the sentences will be as follows:

1. Monolingual English Sentences: sentences that include only English.

2. English-base Bilingual Sentences: sentences which have English as the base language and 1, 2, or 3+ Spanish insertions.
3. Monolingual Spanish Sentences: sentences that include only Spanish.
4. Spanish-base Bilingual Sentences: sentences which have Spanish as the base language and 1, 2, or 3+ English insertions.
5. Hybrid Sentences: sentences with no base language.

This classification will allow me to determine the degree of bilingualism in the text and the type of CS used. My analysis takes into account Muysken's distinction between insertions and alternations, but does not attempt to identify cases of congruent lexicalization as different from alternations. Thus, English-base bilingual sentences and Spanish-base bilingual sentences involve insertion while hybrid sentences can include cases of alternation as in (73) or cases which Muysken might consider instances of congruent lexicalization, as in (74)-(75).

(73) It means you have E.S.P. baby, **me dijo esa vidente en New Orleans**. (*Killer Crónicas*:

4) 'It means you have E.S.P. baby, a clairvoyant in New Orleans told me.'

(74) Smugly, **después de haber vivido siete meses en Buenos Aires sin haber visto ni un solo show de tango (no siendo— a contracorriente de half the mundo here and everywhere else, including Tokyo— tango aficionados in the slightest)**, I was confident we were taking our Iranian born, Oregon-bred, Harvard-educated attorney and Andalusian academic friends to THE REAL THING. (*Killer Crónicas*:17)

'Smugly, after having lived seven months in Buenos Aires without having seen not even one tango show (not being—against the current of half of the world here and everywhere else, including Tokyo—tango fans in the slightest)...'

(75) **Porque** when we'd first entered El Chino, he'd whispered to me, —**Esto no me gusta,**

Susana. (24) 'Because when we'd first entered El Chino, he'd whispered to me—I don't like this Susana.'

From my perspective, since no base language can be determined, both will be considered hybrid sentences.

For sentences involving insertions, I will take into account the syntactic nature of the word or phrase inserted and note if they are Noun Phrases (NPs), Adjective Phrases (APs), Verb Phrases (VPs), Prepositional Phrases (PPs), Adverb Phrases (AdvPs), etc. For those sentences that include alternation, I will analyze the switch points and see if they comply with the constraints proposed by Poplack, especially the Free Morpheme constraint and the Equivalence constraint. These analyses will thus help determine the linguistic nature of the CS used in these texts.

1.5.2 Sociolinguistic Analyses

For the sociolinguistic analysis, I will investigate the local or global functions of CS and the attitudes toward this phenomenon. For texts which are predominantly written in English, but include the insertion of Spanish words, phrases and sentences I will focus on the local functions of the CS and use the following functions: contextual switches, emphasis, high impact terms, identity markers and quotations. This will allow me to see if these functions are similar to those observed for oral CS and if there is a difference between literary and non-literary texts.

For texts which are predominantly hybrid I will focus on global functions and take into account the general motivations which make the authors of these texts choose CS as the default “language” of interaction.

Some of the authors of the texts have expressed their motivation in interviews. Thus, Junot Díaz has explained some of the reasons why he is inserting Spanish in his texts without italics. He says:

For me allowing the Spanish to exist in my text without the benefit of italics or quotations marks a very important political move. Spanish is not a minority language. Not in this hemisphere, not in the United States, not in the world inside my head. So why treat it like one? Why ‘other’ it? Why de-normalize it? By keeping Spanish as normative in a predominantly English text, I wanted to

remind readers of the mutability of languages. And to mark how steadily English is transforming Spanish and Spanish is transforming English. (qtd. in Casielles- Suárez 2013: 476)

Susana Chávez-Silverman's case is different. First, rather than fiction works, hers are creative non-fiction works based on personal e-mails and letters. In this case, rather than a conscious flouting of the rules we observe an authentic use of a mixed-code, which is similar to that used in oral discourse, and not a literary device. Thus, Chávez-Silverman is writing the way she talks, which can be readily seen in the oral renderings of her book *Killer Crónicas*. She seems to be asserting her resistance towards the dominant culture and her right not to choose between her two languages, as Anzaldúa (1987) noted:

Deslenguadas. Somos los del español deficiente. We are your linguistic nightmare, your linguistic aberration, your linguistic mestizaje, the subject of your burla. Because we speak with tongues of fire we are culturally crucified. Racially, culturally and linguistically somos huérfanos—we speak an orphan tongue (80).

'Foul-mouthed. We are the ones with the deficient Spanish. We are your linguistic nightmare, your linguistic aberration, your linguistic mix, the subject of your joke. Because we speak with tongues of fire we are culturally crucified. Racially, culturally and linguistically we are orphans—we speak an orphan tongue.'

As shown in (63) above, Molina's lyrics show a similar lament, which uses both languages in an effort to make Chicano discourse legitimate. While Chávez-Silverman's and Molina's creative works are relatively unknown, an analysis of texts with a wider audience such as those appearing in newspapers, magazines, songs, blogs, etc., will show if Latinos in the U.S are adopting this type of mixed-code as their default mode of communication in writing, even in non-literary, artistic contexts, if they are becoming comfortable *bilinguaging*, in Arteaga's words, and if they are "resisting Anglo-American suppression of heteroglossia." Finally, I have interviewed some

of the authors of my texts to get their own perspectives on the function of CS in their texts and in their lives.

1.6 Organization of Dissertation

In this chapter I have introduced the main linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches to the study of code-switching, my research questions and theoretical frameworks, the texts to be analyzed and the types of analyses to be carried out. The rest of the dissertation is organized as follows.

Chapter two is the literature review chapter where I consider previous research on Spanish-English CS in the U.S. I first review analyses of Spanish-English CS in oral discourse and I consider both grammatical and sociolinguistic analyses. Grammatical analyses show that Spanish-English CS, similarly to CS involving other languages, is not a random mixture of the two languages and follows certain patterns. Further, sociolinguistic analyses show that Spanish-English CS can perform a variety of functions including quoting, emphasizing, clarifying, adding humor and including or excluding addresses. Second, I consider the linguistic and sociolinguistic analyses of Spanish-English CS in written discourse. Although CS in written discourse is planned and thus differs from its occurrence in oral discourse, the analyses of Spanish-English CS in written discourse show that it is similar in its linguistic nature as well as its functions

Chapters three, four and five are dedicated to the analyses of the texts. Chapter three is focused on Junot Díaz's works *BWLOW* and *THYLH*. A detailed examination of these works shows that despite the fact that his work has been considered an example of radical hybridism (Casielles-Suárez 2013) or code-fusion (Dumitrescu 2014), 85.8% of the sentences in *BWLOW* and 92.3% of the sentences in *THYLH* are monolingual English sentences. This means that it is the quality of the CS rather than the quantity that makes his works be perceived as a different

kind of CS. As far as the functions of the Spanish words inserted in his English sentences, I point out that these are similar to those found in oral CS and include contextual switches, emphasis, high impact terms, identity markers and quotations.

Chapter four is dedicated to the analysis of Susana Chávez-Silverman's texts *KC* and *Scenes*. The linguistic analysis of these texts shows that despite the apparent similarity between isolated examples taken from Díaz's and Chávez-Silverman's texts, in Chávez-Silverman's texts monolingual English sentences constitute a much lower percentage of the sentences (18.4% in *KC* and 23.5% in *Scenes*). In fact most of the sentences (45.4% in *KC* and 43.3% in *Scenes*) are hybrid and lack a base language. Thus, her texts could be considered to be approaching what Auer refers to as a fused lect. From a sociolinguistic perspective, individual switches in her texts cannot be said to have a particular function. Rather, it is the act of permanent switching which points to the expression of a hybrid identity, which challenges monolingual norms following the tradition of Anzaldúa. Finally, from my interview with her in March 2015 I add her own perspective to my analysis of her work.

Chapter five focuses on non-literary texts and examines two magazines, *Latina* and *Cosmo for Latinas*, excerpts from the blog *My Life in Spanglish*, some songs by artists Aventura, Toby Love, Prince Royce, Mellow Man Ace, Pitbull, Molina and Yerba Buena, as well as Instagram posts by NYC Colombian-American DJ Alex Sensation. While the type of CS present in mainstream magazines like *Latina* and *Cosmo for Latinas* shows a preponderance of English sentences with the insertion of some Spanish words, newer types of texts appear to engage in the type of fused discourse used by Chávez-Silverman.

Chapter six presents the overall conclusions of my dissertation and some suggestions for further investigation.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF STUDIES ON SPANISH-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

2.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a review of previous studies that have looked specifically at Spanish-English CS in oral and written discourse from both a linguistic and a sociolinguistic perspective. First, I consider the studies that have analyzed Spanish-English CS in oral discourse and then I concentrate on the analyses of Spanish-English CS in written discourse. Since some of the studies refer to Spanish-English CS as Spanglish, I start by examining the use of this term in the literature.

2.2 On So-Called *Spanglish*

The mixing of Spanish and English has been informally referred to as *Spanglish*.¹⁶ In many cases it is believed that those who use Spanglish utilize language choice as a way to showcase their dual identity by speaking both Spanish and English simultaneously. There are numerous definitions of Spanglish. For example, The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines it as: “Spanish marked by numerous borrowings from English; broadly: any of various combinations of Spanish and English.” While in this definition borrowings are mentioned rather than CS, the Dictionary of the Real Academia Española (RAE) defines “Espanglish” as: “[m]odalidad del habla de algunos grupos hispanos de los Estados Unidos, en la que se mezclan, **deformándolos**, elementos léxicos y gramaticales del español y del inglés.” ‘the way of speaking of some groups of Hispanics in the United States, where they mix and deform lexical and grammatical elements of Spanish and English.’ In noting these definitions from two different reputable sources, the

¹⁶ For works on Spanglish see: *Spaniglish: an anglicized Spanish dialect* by A. Ardilla (2005) and *A linguistic analysis of Spanglish: relating language to identity* by A.B. Rell and J. Rothman (2007).

definition given by the RAE immediately brings attention to the use of the verb “**to deform.**” Just as there are an array of ways to describe this phenomenon, there are equally as many terms given to ways that different groups of U.S. Latinos use it. For example, Stavans (2000) comments that some examples in the United States are: Nuyoricán Spanglish, spoken by Puerto Ricans in New York; Dominicanish, the Spanglish version spoken by Dominicans; Istlos, the Spanglish for East Los Angeles and Sagüesera, the one spoken on South West Street in Miami. Other common terms for this type of mixture are Caló, Cubonics, Tex Mex, Pachuco, Pocho. Although Spanglish is not a linguistics term and in fact can include all different linguistic phenomena mentioned in chapter one (borrowings, calques, semantic extensions, CS and LM) it is still attracting attention from linguists and non-linguists. It is a very controversial topic that many view negatively (as exemplified above in the definition given by the RAE). Stavans (2003) defines it as the verbal encounter of the Anglo and Hispano civilizations (5).

He comments that there are many who believe Spanglish to be a jargon used by those that are uneducated and unable to speak standard Spanish or English properly. Thus, Nobel Prize winner Octavio Paz, has said of Spanglish that ‘it is neither good nor bad, but just abominable.’ On the other hand, scholars such as Anzaldúa (1987) and Arteaga (1994) view the use of this language mixture as a way to express a hybrid identity and as a way to navigate bilingual and bicultural realities, as we saw in chapter one. Betti (2008) notes that Spanglish has grown from a street language into the preferred language of online communication between U.S. Latinos and that it is also utilized as a tool for U.S. Hispanic authors in their texts. She says:

[en] estas páginas presentaremos las diferentes posturas de los investigadores acerca de la naturaleza lingüística, cultural y étnica de este código informal que, de idioma callejero de las clases pobres hispanas en los Estados Unidos, en los últimos años ha llegado a representar no solamente los hispanos en la red, sino también el estilo de las nuevas generaciones de escritores latinos,

que han hecho del spanglish el medio para afirmar su propia identidad dentro del contexto norteamericano. '[in] these pages we will present the differing stances of researchers regarding the linguistic, cultural and ethnic nature of this informal code that has changed from a street language of low income Hispanics in the U.S., to becoming within the last few years a representation of not only Hispanics online, but also the writing style of the new generation of Latino writers that have made Spanglish the medium to affirm their own identity within the North American context.'(4)

Many scholars agree that we should take this phenomenon into consideration as an important aspect of U.S. Latino culture based on the fact that as many immigrants come to the U.S. they use Spanglish to connect them. Thus, although Spanglish is not a technical linguistic term and can encompass different language contact phenomena it is being used by both Hispanics and authors and it may be gaining some acceptance to refer to the mixture of Spanish and English. Other scholars like Otheguy (2009) and Otheguy and Stern (2010) view Spanish-English CS as simply borrowings that are utilized to express words or phrases that are most authentic to the Latino experience in the United States. As opposed to the views of many U.S. Latinos, Otheguy and Stern (2010:96-97) comment about Spanglish that:

[f]irst, it conceals the fact that the features that characterize popular forms of Spanish in the USA are, for the most part, parallel to those of popular forms of the language in Latin America and Spain; second, the term incorrectly suggests that popular Spanish in the USA is of an unusually hybrid character; third, it inaccurately implies that Spanish in the USA is centrally characterized by structural mixing with English; and fourth, it needlessly separates Spanish-speakers in the USA from those living elsewhere.

To prove their claim that there is no evidence of a linguistic fusion of Spanish and English, they state:

The term Spanglish is thus, when applied to these phrases, highly inaccurate, as it suggests a mixture of linguistic systems that is simply not aligned with the facts. A linguistic system is not composed of a list of uses, since uses frequently differ from one

cultural setting to another, and they change rapidly when the cultural environment changes. By contrast, the linguistic system is composed of the lexical, phonological, and grammatical mechanisms that underlie these uses. For the appellation Spanglish to be justifiable, one would have to demonstrate that there exists in the USA a community of speakers who have a new, and different, underlying linguistic system. (92)

In contrast other linguists and sociolinguists like Zentella and Morales have defended this term. According to Morales (2002), Spanglish is a hybrid language, which represents the ultimate encounter of a dual identity and its use exemplifies a bilingual that is comfortable with both of them. He notes:

Why Spanglish? There is no better metaphor for what mixed race cultures means than a hybrid language, an informal code: the same sort of linguistic construction that defines different classes in a society can also come to define something outside it, a social construction with different rules. Spanglish is what we speak, but it is also who we Latinos are, and how we act, and how we perceive the world. (3).

2.3 Spanish-English CS in Oral Discourse

As mentioned in chapter one, many researchers interested in CS have looked at Spanish-English CS data both from a linguistic and a sociolinguistic point of view. I will start the review with the linguistic studies which examine the nature of Spanish-English CS. Many of these studies examine intrasentential CS with an interest in the structure, constraints, types of switches, and switch points. Sociolinguistically speaking, scholars have been interested in examining CS in the context of the cultural practices of the U.S. Spanish-English community. These inquiries analyze the functions of CS, linguistic factors connected to historical, political and social factors, bilingual roles in conversation, and linguistic identity.

2.3.1 Linguistic Analyses of Spanish-English CS in Oral discourse

The earliest study of the grammar of Spanish-English CS dates back to 1917 when Espinosa carried out a study on the Spanish of New Mexico. He says:

The kind of speech mixture which brings into the Spanish of New Mexico the use of regular English words and phrases has no fixed limits and cannot follow regular laws. There is no limit to the use of such curious phenomena, and they are most common among those who work in the cities, the school children and the educated who know English well. Even the uneducated, however, partake in this phenomenon, so that the English influence on the Spanish language of New Mexico and Colorado is very strong in various ways. (Espinosa 1917: 103)

Later, in the 70s and 80s, linguists began to carry out more detailed studies of the syntax of Spanish-English CS as well as of the linguistic competence of Spanish-English bilinguals. For example, McClure (1977) examined the formal and functional aspects of code-switching in Mexican-American children. She used the transcripts from 90 hours of tape recordings of children from 3 to 15 years old with particular interest in the code-switched utterances and their linguistic structure. The study pointed out that the CS used by the children was not random nor was it induced by lexical gaps in their language abilities.

Along the same lines, Pfaff's (1979) study examined conversational data from 200 Spanish-English bilinguals of differing ages and backgrounds in numerous settings in order to determine the grammatical constraints on CS. Pfaff took into account: "(1) the point of onset of the mix, (2) the syntactic structure or constituency of the mix, and (3) the duration of the mix." (295) Her study concluded that the linguistic knowledge of bilinguals enables them to create syntactically sound code-switched utterances from the grammar of their two languages, without using a third grammar.

The monumental study carried out by Poplack (1980) analyzed 20 Puerto Rican bilingual families living in New York City with varying levels of competence in Spanish and English. This study found that proficient bilinguals are able to create grammatical code-switched utterances. Depending on the bilingual competence of the speakers, she classifies the switches into complex code-switches or “more intimate” and those that are less intimate.” In (1)-(2) we have some examples of “intimate” switches:¹⁷

(1) Why make Carol **sentarse atras pa’ que** everybody has to move **pa’ que se salga?**

‘Why make Carol sit in the back so that everybody has to move for her to get out?’

(2) He was sitting down in **la cama, mirandonos peleando, y**, really, I don’t remember **si el nos separo** or whatever, you know.

‘He was sitting down in bed, watching us fighting and really, I don’t remember if he separated us or whatever, you know.’

Less intimate switches which are composed of mostly tag switches and noun insertions are shown in (3)-(4):

(3) **Vendía arroz n’shit.**

‘He sold rice n’shit.’

(4) **Salían en sus carros y en sus** snowmobiles.

‘They would go out in their cars and snowmobiles.’

As mentioned in chapter one, based on her research on Spanish-English CS data, Poplack was the first to propose general constraints on CS such as the *Free-morpheme Constraint* and the *Equivalence constraint*. Her work changed the direction of research on grammatical approaches to CS. These studies started to show not only that Spanish-English CS has rules and constraints,

¹⁷ Poplack (1980:589): notes that intimate switches contain a “codeswitched segment, and those around it, must conform to the underlying syntactic rules of two languages which bridge constituents and link them together grammatically.”

but that those who are able to produce it in its most radical form are skilled bilinguals with an intricate knowledge of both languages.

Finally, Lipski's (1985) examined 30 hours of radio air time from a Spanish-English Houston, Texas radio station in order to analyze the spontaneous code-switching of the DJs along with the listeners. He found that the most common switches occurred before and after prepositions, after tag-phrases and at sentence boundaries and noted that "code-switching is a rule-governed form of linguistic behavior, and not an unprincipled confusion." (17)

As we see from the studies presented above, scholars have had an interest in the linguistic nature of Spanish-English CS in the U.S. as early as the 1970s. These analyses have shown that the switching is not random, but rule-governed.

2.3.2 Sociolinguistic Approaches to Spanish-English CS in Oral Discourse

In addition to studies which have investigated the grammar of Spanish-English CS, there have been many studies interested in its sociolinguistic implications. As mentioned in chapter one, Valdés-Fallis studied the CS patterns of a bilingual Mexican-American woman from southern New Mexico. She analyzed the 6 cassette tapes containing samples of the subject's conversations in a variety of contexts and with a variety of different Spanish-English bilinguals. The study examined the context, topic, domain and speaker roles of these interactions and as a result Valdés-Fallis proposed 12 functions of CS. Gumperz's (1982) is also a study of Spanish-English CS where he pointed out that Spanish took a more active role in conversation while English was utilized more for description.

McClure (1977) also found in her study mentioned above that bilingual Mexican-American children were using CS for situational changes and as a stylistic device in conversation.

Zentella (1982) examined the contact between Spanish and English used by Puerto Ricans on the island and in El Barrio of NYC. The study analyzed bilingual children ranging from 6 to 12 that were raised in NYC. The author studied the creation of Spanglish and analyzed how the linguistic factors surrounding this speech variety are connected to historical, political and social factors. The study examined 1,639 tape recorded code-switches and revealed three prevalent communicative functions:

1. Switches that cover gaps in the speakers knowledge ('Crutching')
2. Switches that realign the roles of speaker-hearer ('Footing')
3. Switches that seek to emphasize and/or control. ('Appeal and Control')

(Zentella 1982: 49)

Silva-Corvalán (1983) studied Spanish-English CS from a unique perspective by examining what she terms "code-shifting." This project examined the speech of bilingual Mexican adolescents that were born in the U.S. or came to the U.S. around preschool age, who have had no formal schooling in Spanish but were able to converse in the language. According to Silva-Corvalán, code-shifting takes place when the bilingual uses the language in which they have less competence in order to accommodate the language preference of the speaker they are communicating with. She found that this type of language use is often preceded by pauses and violates the constraints of the languages involved. She also noted that code-shifting is used as a tool to cover for a speaker's lack of language abilities in a certain language. Additionally, it seemed to occur when the English-dominant bilingual is prompted to interact with Spanish dominant speakers by discussing a situation that they have a personal role in.

Following a different point of analysis related to language shifting, Zentella (1997) combined quantitative and qualitative methods of research to investigate language use among

Puerto Ricans in New York City. Her analysis found that children speak English with each other, while shifting to Spanish in obeisance to their elders. She proposed that Spanish and English together make up their linguistic competence in a singular sense, and that their linguistic production will draw from English or Spanish based on the context of the speech situation in regards to setting, norm and other participants.

With a pure focus on linguistic identity, Bailey (2007) assessed ways in which language practices connect with identity amongst Dominican teens living in Providence, Rhode Island. The study concluded that these adolescents are able to mediate identity through intra-group unmarked CS, using their language as an identity marker of their Dominican heritage. Bailey (2008) uses the same Dominican-American group and defends a sociolinguistic perspective which takes into account historical privileging and allows for a more complete view of social language practices. He uses the term “heteroglossia” and notes that: “(a) Heteroglossia can encompass socially meaningful forms in both bilingual and monolingual talk, (b) it can account for the multiple meanings and readings of forms that are possible, depending on ones subject position; (c) and it can connect historical power hierarchies to the meanings and valences of particular forms in the here-and-now.” (267) The study concluded that a social view of language is a better framework to analyze CS especially when examining it in light of those that reside in a predominately monolingual environment.

Finally, Rodríguez-González and Parafita-Couto (2012) have examined the social, grammatical and psycholinguistic aspects of Spanish-English oral CS by giving an overview of the literature in the field from all three perspectives. They discuss the advances of Spanglish and Spanish-English CS and suggest that we will not be able to appropriately account for a valid blueprint of how Spanish-English CS works unless we engage in multidisciplinary collaboration

between scholars from different fields. The article ends with the authors noting that Spanglish is in its early development and that now, more than ever, it seems to represent an attempt for those who identify with both Spanish and English to form their own cultural identity.

A review of the sociolinguistic studies of Spanish-English CS in the U.S. has shown that scholars are very interested in the ways that language mixing connects to the U.S. bilingual experience and influences the domains of their lives within their communities. As we will see later in the upcoming chapters, this dissertation shows that Spanish-English CS for some U.S. Latino authors and artists is the linguistic variety that many of them use to express themselves most authentically. As a result, in addition to using it in conversations, they often use it in a variety of written discourses.

2.4 Spanish-English CS in Written Discourse

Although studies of CS were originally interested in its occurrence in oral discourse, many studies of written CS have begun to emerge. This is due to the fact that CS is not only appearing in literary works but also in other types of written texts such as newspapers, magazines, advertisements, blogs, different types of social media, e-mails, cards, and song lyrics.

Similarly to the study of Spanish-English CS in oral discourse, there are both linguistic and sociolinguistic analyses. Linguistically, scholars have investigated the linguistic nature of written CS and assessed if the constraints proposed for oral CS are maintained or flouted in different types of texts. From a sociolinguistic perspective studies have examined written CS in connection to the community that it comes from and have analyzed the local and global functions of CS in texts and the connection which is built between author and audience through CS.

2.4.1 Linguistic analyses of Spanish-English CS in Written Discourse

The earliest studies of Spanish-English CS in written discourse are studies of literary texts. Toribio (2000) examined the grammatical rules for Spanish-English language alternation in fairy tale narratives. In order to examine bilingual competence, Toribio assessed the subjects by looking at the way that bilinguals read, recounted and reproduced bilingual utterances. For the reading task, the subjects read two tales: one that consisted of well-formed bilingual sentences and the second which contained sentences that violated the proposed constraints for CS. The article noted that bilinguals had a difficult time reading the poorly constructed utterances which was made obvious through pauses, false starts, breakdown and laughter (188). They showed virtually no difficulty reading the well-formed fairy tale. When asked to recount the fairy tale endings utilizing CS, the study found that 9/10 bilinguals produced well-formed endings, most of them composed of intersentential CS, although there were instances of intrasentential CS, especially at phrasal boundaries. In conclusion, the study showed that Spanish-English bilinguals possess the ability to point out ill-formed CS and the ability to create it.

Callahan (2004) analyzed 30 texts from 1970 to 2000 which use Spanish-English CS using Myers-Scoton's MLF model. She points out that although "there has been a "tendency to discount written code-switching as artificial" (2), it is in fact similar to oral CS in its linguistic nature as well as sociolinguistic functions, although, as she notes authors of written texts tend to compensate for readers who do not have bilingual competency. In Callahan (2003), she examined the use of Spanish-English CS and register in fiction and non-fiction. The study was interested in deciphering if Spanish-English CS is present only in informal contexts or if it happens in other situations. For fiction, Callahan assessed 10 short stories and 9 novels that had either English or Spanish as the principle language. As far as non-fiction, she studied an array of texts including books, newspapers, magazines and emails. The study concluded that as opposed

to the literary texts, the non-literary texts all had English as the base language. Callahan also points out that CS seems to have gained more public acceptance over the years, but that its use in written content has been mostly confined to specific types of genres such as novels, poetry and songs. She found that it is never utilized in formal registers which give referential information.

More recently, Alvarez (2013) has examined the mixing of Spanish and English in Cuban-American Roberto Fernández's *Raining Backwards* (1988). She suggests that the Spanish-English bilingual is able to read the primarily English text on a different level than the monolingual English reader. The author finds examples in the text of calques, lexical transfers and morphosyntactic transfers. As a result, the study concludes that this subversive use of English is a tool utilized by Fernández to highlight the linguistic practices and cultural memories of the Cuban Americans in Miami.

Casielles-Suárez (2013) has analyzed code-switching in Junot Díaz's *BWLOW* and has examined ways in which Díaz creates powerful bilingual images by flouting well-known constraints on intra-sentential CS. Her study used Muysken's typology of CS and showed that through insertion and congruent lexicalization this text constitutes what she terms *Radical Hybridism*, which shows a closer connection between the two languages. She comments:

From this perspective, sustained code alternation, as that found in other fully bilingual works where Spanish paragraphs and/or sentences alternate with English ones, might not be the only radical strategy to introduce Spanish in English texts or even the most radical. I think that sustained insertion leading to sustained congruent lexicalization of the type we have seen in Díaz's novel might be even more radical in the sense that in this case there is a more intimate connection between the two languages, where Spanish does not so much alternate with English, but "invades" English. Thus, if the term "radical bilingualism" is used to refer to sustained alternation, I propose the term "radical hybridism" to refer to the use of spontaneous loan words, and sustained insertion and congruent lexicalization à la Díaz, where rather than switching to Spanish for more than one phrase, what we find is massive

borrowing of single words, and single and multiple insertions of Spanish phrases in shared structures. (Casielles-Suárez 2013: 484-485).

Other scholars that have examined the linguistic nature of this text include, Dumitrescu (2014) who analyzes *BWLOW* along with his latest book *This is How You Lose Her* (2012). She notes that Díaz's style is differentiated from other U.S. Latino authors because he does not include italics or any other type of script to separate Spanish from English in his writing. Apart from its textual appearance, she notes about his use of language structure that his texts do not exemplify the classic CS types that many other authors use in isolated instances. Instead, Díaz utilizes Spanish-English CS uniquely as shown below in (5) and (6):

(5) Listen, **palomo**, you have to grab a **muchacha y méteselo**. That will take care of everything. Start with a **fea**. **Coje** [sic!] that **fea y méteselo** ... **Hijo**, you are the most **buenmoso**[sic!] man I know. (*BWLOW*: 24)

'Listen, lame, you have to grab a girl and stick it in her. That will take care of everything. Start with an ugly one. Grab that ugly girl and stick it in her... Son, you are the most handsome boy I know.'

(6) Beli ...still had the ovaries to spit, **Cómeme el culo**, you ugly disgusting **vieja!** (*BWLOW*: 141)

'Beli...still had the ovaries to spit, eat my ass, you ugly disgusting old woman!'

This study concludes that Díaz has created what she terms "code-fusion" through his use of congruent lexicalization. She notes that this linguistic style: "refleja la práctica heteroglósica típica de las sociedades bilingües y multilingües postcoloniales, que es el "translenguar" 'reflects

the typical heteroglossic practice of postcolonial bilingual and multilingual societies, known as translinguaging' (1).¹⁸

Thus, two recent studies (Casielles-Suárez 2013 and Dumitrescu 2014) have pointed out that the work of Junot Díaz contains a type of code-switching which differs from other types and reflects a kind of “radical hybridism” or “code-fusion.” In chapter three I will point out that a thorough linguistic analysis of Díaz’s texts reveals that in fact sentences such as those in (4)-(5) above constitute a very low percentage of the total sentences in his works when compared to more daring texts such as those written by Chávez-Silverman.

To summarize, scholars have pointed out that there are many similarities between the syntax of Spanish-English CS in oral and written discourse. They have also found that typically authors follow the grammatical constraints proposed for CS in oral discourse.

2.4.2 Sociolinguistic Approaches to Spanish-English CS in Written Discourse

2.4.2.1 Literary Texts

Many studies have examined the use of CS in poetry. Valdés-Fallis (1975) carried out a sociolinguistic analysis of bilingual Chicano poetry as a reflection of the language patterns of Mexican-Americans. Her analysis found that bilingual poets use their languages as devices which create powerful live images for their readers. The bilingual poet “does not have to sacrifice the aesthetic potential of either of his codes. In fact, very often he exploits them simultaneously.” (885) She points out the following four functions in bilingual poetry:

1. a change in languages can signal a different domain or situation
2. the language used to narrate may depend upon the stage of bilingualism of the speaker
3. languages are also switched without signaling a change in domain or situation

¹⁸ García (2009) notes that, “translinguagings are multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to *make sense of their bilingual worlds*. Translinguaging therefore goes beyond what has been termed code-switching...although it includes it, as well as other kinds of bilingual language use and bilingual contact” (45).

These changes are definitely related to a specific feeling for the language that a speaker may have or his momentary need. Languages are clearly used metaphorically for emphasis or contrast. (Valdés-Fallis 1975)

In regard to bilingual plays, scholars such as Pfaff & Chávez (1986) examined CS in oral communication in comparison with its use as a literary device in texts authored by Chicanos. As a point of departure, they looked at five Chicano plays which include: Luis Valdez' "Bernabé", "Las Dos Caras del Patroncito" and "Los Vendidos," and Ysidoro R. Macías' "Mártir Montezuma" and "The Ultimate Pendejada." Their analysis pointed out that in the five plays examined Chicanos mediate their search for identity through language. The authors determined the instances of intra-sentential code-switches are less frequent than in oral discourse. They close by saying:

[i]n general, we can state that the use of code-switching in Chicano drama supports the findings of the studies of natural discourse, that is, that 'code-switching' is a speech variety in its own right. Further, that it is the variety which covertly, if not yet overtly, represents the true Chicano identity—drawing on both Anglo and Mexican culture—but a distinctive blend on its own" (252).

Otton's (1988) dissertation studied CS in 12 Chicano plays. The author found 204 instances of CS and divided them by the type of switch (clarification, quotes, emphasis, translation and repetition). This study concluded that CS occurred for the following reasons in plays:

1. to characterize the characters in their racial and cultural origin
2. to affirm the importance of Hispanic culture and language
3. to quote what was said (or thought)

4. in some cases to establish a relationship with the audience at a particular time and to facilitate the comprehension of people who are not bilingual
5. to interrupt communication between the speaker and the listener (i.e. a farmworker who uses Spanish so that his boss won't understand him"

(Otton 1988: iv)

Subsequent studies interested in poetry include research carried out by Mendieta-Lombardo & Cintrón (1995). This article analyzed Spanish-English bilingual poetry using Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1983, 1993a) to examine the socio-psychological motivations for CS. The study concluded that bilingual authors attempt to form solidarity with their readership, assuming that they are bilingual. In order to establish this relationship, they use the unmarked choice of CS which is used in oral speech. The authors note:

[b]y using the code-switching type preferred among bilingual peers, the author expands the medium (from oral to written) where code-switching is considered unmarked, where it is expected. Consequently, there may be an understood, although perhaps not intentional, broadening of the forum of code-switching as a socially acceptable discourse mode. Inclusion in the literary realm may promote legitimization of this mode and of the ethnic groups that practice it (570).

Cintrón's (1997) doctoral dissertation carried out a sociolinguistic analysis on the CS employed in Spanish-English poetry with a particular interest in the authors' motivation for CS in their works. Cintrón's analysis found that the poet's degree of language markedness has the intent to control the audience/poet relationship and the tone of the piece. She noted that if the poet wants to create more distance from the audience the CS style is "less expected and exhibits more interpretive complexity." (158) On the other hand, when the poet wants more of a connection with the readers, they tend to use a more unmarked discourse which includes CS

styles that are congruent with those used within the speech community. This shows more cultural identification with the audience on behalf of the poet.

Timm (2000) investigated CS in poetry and found that similar to Auer's examination of CS in conversation, it fulfills some of the same functions in poetry:

1. Switching can mark changes in participant constellation, i.e. to include, exclude, or marginalize co-participants in or bystanders to a conversation. This is, in general, of greater relevance to conversational switching than to literary switching; however, code-switching in poetry may be interpreted as either inviting or off-putting by any potential reader or listener, and thus effect of inclusion or exclusion of an audience may be realized.
2. Switching can mark thematic changes including topic shift, topicalization, and identity of speaker(s).
3. Switching can mark a change in speaker's mood, for example, from sad to happy, from somber to upbeat, from angry to tender, from emotional stability to disequilibrium—or vice versa.
4. Switching can be used for rhetorical or stylistic effects such as foregrounding, reported speech, parenthetical remarks and literary devices.

(Timm 2000: 99)

The investigation concluded that although conversational and literary CS share similar pragmatic functions written CS has a wider “metapragmatic capacity.” (104) CS in poetry has the capacity to rewrite the stories of Chicanos and is a way that the community legitimizes their oral tradition of Caló by representing those who use it. The written representation of this linguistic variety of Spanish and English also creates an imagery that only those living between the Anglo and Mexican cultures can understand. This dissertation finds similarly that Spanish-English CS in literary works

exists as a way to give voice to the experiences of U.S. Latinos and as a way to highlight the languages of their two worlds.

Along the same lines, Hatcher (1988) examined Spanish-English CS in the poetic works of Chicano authors Alturista and Cisneros in an effort to shed more light on their bilingual language use practices. She found that in Alturista's poems CS is used to show division. She points out: "the first English sections tell the reader what the author is facing" and the proceeding Spanish sections, "helps the bilingual reader to understand that it has not been an easy journey." (22) In terms of those poems authored by Cisneros, the study concluded that she uses Spanish to clarify her message to bilingual readers. She also noted that the code-switched elements are those that are "powerfully meaningful."

Anderson (2004) analyzed the plays "Beautiful Señoritas," "Coser y cantar" and "Botánica" by Dolores Prida in interaction with theories of CS, discourse analysis, and literary linguistics, using the status and solidarity framework. The CS patterns found in the plays were consistent with the premise of *MLF* proposed by Myers-Scotton. The author comments that, "[b]oth Beautiful Señoritas and Botánica maintain a majority of switches from the ML to the embedded language, despite the fact that English is the ML of Beautiful Señoritas and Spanish is the ML of Botánica." (47) He says: "Thus, the high frequency of intersentential codeswitching use amplifies the need for audience members to have a proficient working knowledge of Spanish, despite the fact that the principal language of narration is English" (48).

As mentioned above, Jonnson (2005) studied CS in Chicano plays authored by Cherríe Moraga. Her study distinguished between CS and CM and analyzed local and global functions of these phenomena. The analysis concluded that CS fills creative, artistic and stylistic functions in the plays and that CS and CM can serve as responses to domination in that they can be used to

resist, challenge and ultimately transform power relations. This type of language mixing is also used to construct and reconstruct a hybrid/third space identity.

In addition to plays and poetry, scholars have also examined CS in novels. For example, Keller (1976) analyzed Spanish-English bilingual novels authored by Ernest Hemingway, Eduardo Rivera and El Huitlacoche. His analysis found that the authors used bilingualism in a distinct way that reaches out specifically to the audience their literature is fashioned for. For example, Hemingway's readership is primarily monolingual English speaking audience, for this reason, "one of his prime concerns is to evoke Spanish by means of English." (138) On the other hand, those novels authored by Latino authors are assumed to be produced for bilingual readers. Keller comments about the style of these writers that: "[t]heir style parallels certain aspects of the language production of the living bilingual community." (139) In addition to the intended audience, Keller also looked at the style employed within these works. For texts written by Latino authors, he found that "[m]ost of the Spanish lexicon used is highly charged emotionally, either because of the social relationships that these items indicate, because of the inherent emotional connotations of the items themselves, as in the case of obscenities and blasphemies, or because they are cases of items that refer to objects of 'nostalgia' value." (141)

Keller (1984) investigated Chicano authors who use Spanish and English in their works. He notes: "[b]ilingual authors by marshalling both Spanish and English and their switching between the two, are able to depict characters, explore themes, express ideologies or messages and fashion rhetorical devices in unique ways." (171) The study put importance on identity markers (órale, ése, ésa, among others), which connect the Chicano community to the author. It was also found that Chicano writers include Amerindian vocabulary into their works as a strategy to try to recover the voices from their cultural past. Keller concluded that there are many

similarities between the CS utilized in the Chicano community in comparison with that used in literature. However, he found that the use of bilingual language in literature is most concerned with the aesthetics of portraying the intended message (through the role of the character, the creation of a bicultural literary space, the expression of tone, for imagery, etc), rather than its communicative function within the community.

More recently, Cortés-Conde & Boxer (2002) analyzed CS in Sandra Cisneros' *Women Hollering Creek* and proposed that the author creates a fluid bilingual identity which allows not only for CS but which encourages the formation of a new system which allows for word play using both languages. This results in linguistic strategies that promote humor and in-group solidarity within novels.

Bürki (2003) analyzed CS in New York Puerto Rican literature. The study looked at literature produced over various generations and was interested in how CS functioned in these texts. The author noted that by looking at New York Puerto Rican literature the use of CS has not only evolved to be more accepted, but its use by bilingual authors has become more innovative. In her review of Braschi's *Yo Yo Boing!*, she notes that Braschi uses CS to show her navigation of two different cultures and that her language choice is a way to show how she walks the path on a search for her own poetic expression of her experience. Bürki concludes that more recent Spanish-English bilingual authors like Braschi have ultimately created a new way of expression that was born out of this bicultural reality. In later chapters, this dissertation will further show that not only do U.S Spanish-English bilingual authors employ CS to express their own bicultural experiences, but that they do it in very different ways.

With a similar interest, Martin (2005) examined CS as a tool available to ethnic American authors working with language pairs like Spanish-English, English-Chinese and English-Jemez,

which functions as a technique to add color and depth to their protagonists. Her study showed that through code-switched discourse, the authors showcase the authenticity of their novels along with the bicultural and bilingual reality of these communities. Similar to Montes-Alcalá (2000, 2007), Martin utilizes as a base the functions of CS proposed by Gumperz (1982) and concurs that written CS has similar local functions to those found in oral discourse such as emphasizing or adding clarification to an utterance.

2.4.2.2 Non-Literary Texts

Alvarez (1988) analyzed code-switched narratives of Spanish-English bilinguals. Her study concluded that narrative structure and language plays a role in the production of CS. There was more CS in English based narratives than in those that had Spanish as the base language. In English most of the CS occurred at the beginning of the narrative. In Spanish narratives, the CS occurred primarily at the end in a place where the speaker finished narrating a series of events.

Similarly, Torres (1992) studied personal narratives of U.S. Spanish-English bilinguals in New York. In order to analyze these narratives, Torres took into account the language proficiencies of the speakers in order to determine if they were using CS as a stylistic device or as a means to fill a lexical gap. Her study concluded that first generation Spanish speakers used it as a “creative discourse strategy” and to fill lexical gaps related to technical terms. For the speakers that were born in the U.S. or came to the U.S. as children, they seemed to utilize it to fill functional purposes, such as adding emphasis, for effect, and quotations. CS in this group was also used to transition from one section of discourse to another. For those that were less proficient in Spanish, they switched to English to fill lexical gaps and many times these switches were preceded by pauses.

Scholars have also examined Spanish-English CS in music. Cepeda (2000) examined those of the “Latin Boom” of the late ‘90s and early ‘00s within the U.S. The investigation was interested in ways that Spanish through song has invaded U.S. mainstream culture and how language choice is mediated. The study determined that the Spanish used in the songs shows a change in the political power of Latinos in the U.S. along with an assertion of the linguistic preferences of the artists.

Ohlson (2007, 2008, and 2009) also investigated CS in popular songs of U.S. Latinos. In the 2009 study, she uses Myers-Scotton’s (1993a) framework of the *Markedness Model* and proposed that the Spanish follows the rights and obligations of unmarked discourse and that English is used as a marked variety.

Recently, researchers have become interested in how Spanish-English CS functions on the internet. Montes-Alcalá’s (2000, 2007) research draws from Gumperz (1982) functions of CS and looks at CS in diary entries, emails and blogs. Her findings indicate that CS in written discourse seems to be more of an identity marker and stylistic device, while in spoken conversation CS appears to serve a wider range of functions. Her 2001 study analyzed Spanish-English mixing in her own journal entries over the period of a year and a half. She categorized the types of CS that she employed by situational and metaphorical CS as pointed out by Blom and Gumperz (1972). However, her definition of situational CS differs from that proposed by the aforementioned scholars which note that situational CS occurs amongst bilinguals depending on changes in the situation. Montes-Alcalá on the other hand defines it as a type of clarification given by one speaker when another does not understand the message being communicated. As a result, the other speaker uses CS as a tool of accommodation. Montes-Alcalá concludes that the

pragmatic functions in written CS do not match up exactly to those employed in oral CS and attributes this to the fact that in written CS there is a lack of participants.

The 2007 study showed that bloggers use CS to demonstrate specific social and stylistic functions comparable to CS in oral discourse. Examples of the local functions from her (2007) article include:

(7) Lexical items: the insertion of lexical items generally points to a momentary lapse of an equivalent word in the language of the interaction. Ex: **AYER ME LLEGÓ LA roomie NUEVA, ES FRANCESA Y SE LLAMA** Celine.

‘Yesterday my new roommate arrived, she is French and her name is Celine.’

(8) Direct quotations: are used when the speaker switches to the language that the information was given in. Ex: I was saying good night to her, when she asked me "**QUÉ TE PASA, HIJA, ESTÁS TRISTE?**"

‘What’s wrong with you daughter, are you sad?’

(9) Emphasis: stresses the same information in a different language. Ex: I have been doing so for the past **DIEZ O QUINCE AÑOS** or so. ‘ten or fifteen years’

(10) Clarification: elaborates the message given in the first language. Ex: But we will have to get back to her in another post, because I have to go now... **SÓLO TE DAN 30 MINUTITOS EN EL DLC.**

‘They only give you thirty short minutes in the DLC.’

(11) Tags: also known as sentence fillers which are many times unconscious. Ex: So... **AQUÍ DE NUEVO EN EL** Disney Learning Center... ‘Here again in the...’

(12) Triggered switches: in the bilingual communication, there are times when one word activates the onset of the second language in discourse. Ex: Los Angeles and Colorado will

be the only **RECUERDOS DE LO QUE HUBO ANTERIORMENTE**. ‘memories of what there was before.’

(13) Free: Ex: **EN EL MUNDO HISPANOHABLANTE** we have a very similar debate **SOBRE LA INFLUENCIA DEL INGLÉS** on other languages.

‘In this Spanish speaking world we have a very similar debate about the influence of English on other languages.’

The investigation concluded that the use of CS is a way for bloggers to express their awareness of both the Hispanic and Anglo cultural realities (169).

Along the same lines, Hernandez (2009) analyzed language choice in the blogs of 15 bilingual Puerto Rican bloggers. The bloggers identify their blog language as Spanglish and the study categorized their patterns of CS and aimed to find ways that English has influenced their linguistic variety online. Using Montes-Alcalá’s (2007) categories of socio-pragmatic functions of CS, Hernandez assessed the bilingual blogs. The study concluded by finding the following percentages by function:

1. Lexical items: 61.06%
2. Triggered switches: 2.94%
3. Quotations: 3.13%
4. Elaboration: 6.07%
5. Evaluation/Emphasis: 18.79%
6. Discourse markers: 8.02%

The author comments that she eliminated the “tag” and “free” categories proposed by Montes-Alcalá (2007) because they were ill-defined.

Aside from blogs, there have also been studies on Spanish-English CS in emails and letters. For example, Negrón Goldberg (2009) was interested in how Spanish-English CS works in emails. She examined the emails of five U.S. Latino bilinguals using multi-dimensional scaling and tree diagrams. The study found that English was used for professional or formal contacts while Spanish, which was the native language of the participants, was reserved for situations that inspired intimacy, informality and in-group communication. The study also noted that Spanish was used to personalize work related emails that used English as the matrix language.

Montes-Alcalá (2005), although not focused on Computer Mediated Communication (CMC), also examined CS in letters. She analyzed an array of notes that were addressed to the researcher and other members of the writer's household between 1996 and 1999, and categorized them by their socio-pragmatic functions as originally proposed by previous scholars (Gumperz 1982, among others). She found evidence of the 8 following:

(14) Quotations: **ELLA LE MUESTRA ESO Y LE DICE**, “look, it can't be me because I haven't read these messages.”

‘She showed him/her this and tells him/her’

(15) Emphasis: **FUE EN EL 91**, spring break, **YO Y 5 AMIGOS (4 DE ELLOS**, Napa boys!)

‘It was in 91, spring break, 5 friends and I (4 of them, Napa boys!)’

(16) Parenthetical comments: **AL BAJAR AYER ME ENCONTRÉ CON TODAVÍA OTRA SORPRESA, AUNQUE ESTA CONSTITUYE UNA AGRADABLE** (unlike most of the other surprises I've received in Barcelona)....

‘When I came down yesterday I found another surprise, although it was a nice one...’

(17) Lexical need switches: I hope you dig the **CURIOSIDADES** that I've enclosed for you.
Enjoy! 'little things'

(18) Triggered switches: **SOBRE TODO EN RELACIÓN A UN CAMPUS COMO UCSB** [...], **PUES NO MUCHOS** undergrads take even the most minimal break [...] to realize what a tragic, shameful, ever so unjust world we inhabit.

'About everything relating to a campus like UCSB... Well, not many undergrads take even the most minimal break...'

(19) Linguistic routines, formulaic, and/or idiomatic expression: **LA LECTURA DE ÉSTE CONSTITUYÓ UNO DE LOS RATOS MÁS AGRADABLES QUE HE PASADO ÚLTIMAMENTE** – no doubt!

'The Lecturer gave one most enjoyable talks that I have heard lately'

(20) Stylistic switches: ¡**HOLA GUAPA, GUAPITA!** For the past month, the concept of time has been non-existent[...].

'Hi pretty girl, pretty little girl'

In terms of the free category, the author notes that she grouped the examples that did not correspond to any other category or those that were a combination of the other listed functions.

(21) Free category: **LLAMÓ JUAN** to say hi!
'I called Juan to say hi!'

(Montes-Alcalá 2005: 104-107)

She concluded that those speakers that use CS in their oral discourse will also use it in writing. Further, she found that even those that do not use it in speaking will use it when writing to another bilingual. Lastly, she noted that although there is some social judgment associated with oral CS, it does not seem to transfer to written CS as it exists in a more intimate one-on-one interaction.

Additionally, there has also been interest in Spanish-English CS in magazines, stand-up comedy and greeting cards. As mentioned previously, Mahootian's (2005) study analyzed English/Spanish CS in *Latina*, a popular bilingual magazine for women. She suggests that code-mixed discourse is used to intentionally emphasize the bilingual identity of the orator. Betti (2008) also investigated CS in *Latina*. She analyzed various issues from 2003 and found a number of Spanish-English language mixing strategies including: "la alternancia de códigos, la mezcla de códigos, e incluso calcos, términos híbridos, prestamos del inglés, entre otras características. 'code-switching, code mixing, and even calques, hybrid terms, loans from English, among other characteristics.'" (61) Betti concluded her study by noting that language mixing in *Latina* exists as a way to highlight the U.S. Latino identity of its readers. Many times the CS employed is used for terms or concepts that directly relate to the culture and personal world of the article writers which speaks to the duality of their experiences in the Anglo and Latino world.

Wells (2011) looked at CS in the comedy of George Lopez and analyzed the ways that he takes his audience into account during performances. The author noted that Lopez uses a specific language choice as a way to include or exclude his audience members. Lopez utilizes Spanish and English as a way to navigate functions which include: ritualized events, expressing emotions and creating solidarity (66). Wells also noted how Lopez' Hispanic identity is emphasized as he interacts with his audience which may or may not be bilingual and bicultural. For performances that he assumes that the audience will include mostly bilinguals, he utilizes anecdotes and personal stories which include more CS. Alternatively for those performances that he presumes to be addressing a monolingual audience, he uses Spanish minimally, although he still discusses the same topics of immigration which directly references his identity as a hyphenated American

in the U.S. Ultimately, the author found that the comedian has a chameleon-like ability to control his language use and does so in a way which best fits his audiences as exemplified by their responses to his humor.

Potowski (2011) has recently analyzed the perception of Spanish-English bilingual speakers in regards to bilingual greeting cards that are available for purchase. The results suggest that regardless of the linguistic and cultural authenticity of the code-switched discourse 70% of participants would not purchase the cards because they felt that the message in some way showed mock-Spanish.¹⁹

Some studies have combined both linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. For example, Luna & Peracchio (2005) evaluated the advertisement given by AFLAC, “Twenty million *hijas* are covered by AFLAC” using Myers-Scottons *MLF model*. Their study also examined consumer attitudes and determined that the consumer’s opinion of the value of a product is higher when CS occurs from the minority to the majority language versus the opposite. According to the authors:

A reason for this effect is that the negative attitudes of the majority group toward the group without power and prestige are adopted in part or in whole by this group and are often amplified to such extent that members of the minority group downgrade themselves even more than they are downgraded by the dominant group. Indeed, in extreme cases, the minority group’s attitudes toward their language are sometimes less favorable than the majority’s attitudes. (Luna and Peracchio 2005: 761)

Finally, Maier Bishop (2006) analyzed CS in bilingual advertisements and attempted to decipher the best CS pattern (Spanish-English versus English-Spanish) for advertisers when trying to interest the U.S. Latino community. Her results showed that CS from English to

¹⁹ The term Mock Spanish (coined by Dr. Jane H. Hill) is used to refer to Spanish utterances used by monolingual American English speakers, which are often ungrammatical like “*No bueno*,” “*No problema*,” etc.

Spanish is the best option due to the fact that the matrix language (English) would not hinder recall of the embedded language (Spanish) for the consumer.

2.5 Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the literature published on Spanish-English CS in the U.S. Latino context for oral and written discourse. For the linguistic studies relating to oral discourse, scholars have pointed out that Spanish-English CS is rule governed and follows constraints.

As far as sociolinguistic perspectives, some studies have pointed out a variety of local functions. Other studies have also examined linguistic identity, language attitudes and ideologies and have noted that U.S. Spanish-English bilinguals often utilize CS to reference their biculturality and to facilitate conversation with Spanish dominant speakers.

There has also been research done on Spanish-English CS in writing. Most of the studies which have done a linguistic analysis found out that written CS follows the same grammatical patterns which have been observed in oral discourse. Other studies have examined the more linguistically interesting intrasentential CS which has been evident in more recent texts and have pointed out that the more radical CS represents the daily linguistic practices of U.S. Latinos.

The studies interested in sociolinguistic aspects of Spanish-English CS have examined the powerful images created by U.S. Latino authors and artist in texts. They have also investigated the functional uses in comparison with those in oral discourse and found similar uses. As for linguistic identity, these studies have shown that U.S. Latinos often use Spanish-English CS to connect with their bilingual audience through shared third space and hybrid identities.

This dissertation contributes to this line of research by analyzing recent texts, which have not been fully examined before from a linguistic and sociolinguistic perspective. The next three

chapters investigate the linguistic nature and sociolinguistic functions of the CS used in literary and non-literary texts in order to find out if these texts show a new type of CS and if there are any differences between literary and non-literary texts.

CHAPTER THREE: JUNOT DIAZ'S *BWLOW* AND *THYLH*

3.1. Introduction

Junot Díaz, the author of *BWLOW* and *THYLH* was born in the Dominican Republic. He came to New Jersey at six years old and his fascination for books grew when he entered Elementary School. As a young adult and as a college student he delivered pool tables, worked as a dishwasher and at a steel mill. These experiences, together with his Dominican roots and perspective as an immigrant to this country, have deeply informed his writing. Currently, he is a Creative Writing Professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a 2012 MacArthur Fellow.

The use of Spanish-English CS in his texts show a type of language mixing that is not traditionally seen in bilingual literary texts that use Spanish and English. There have been two recent linguistic analyses that study Díaz's works. Both Casielles-Suárez (2013) and Dumitrescu (2014) have analyzed the Spanish-English CS in his texts.²⁰ As noted in chapter two, Casielles-Suárez (2013) examined *BWLOW* using Muysken's (2000) typology of CS. She concluded that through the use of insertions and congruent lexicalization Díaz creates *Radical Hybridism* which is created as "Spanish becomes a part of English." (477) Dumitrescu (2014) considered Díaz's most recent works *BWLOW* and *THYLH* from a linguistic point of view. She examined the Spanish-English CS in the two texts and found that through the use of congruent lexicalization a type of code-fusion was formed. Her study determined that this type of language mixing is typical of postcolonial bilinguals and it is a reflection of their translanguaging practices.

Although Casielles-Suárez (2013) and Dumitrescu (2014) provide insightful analyses of Díaz's CS strategies and style, my linguistic analysis of the text will point out the ways that

²⁰ For other recent studies that have examined Junot Díaz's texts see: *The Translation of English-Spanish Code-Switching in Junot Díaz's Piece "the Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao"* by N. Jimenez Carra (2011) and *How to Distinguish Hypothetical from Actual Speech in Fiction: Testing the Typicality Hypothesis* by L. Karttunan (2013).

BWLOW and *THYLH* are radically bilingual. In order to illustrate this point, I analyze the types of insertions in English and Spanish as well as the hybrid images that his texts create. I show that through intra-word insertions, a diversity of insertion types and hybrid noun-phrases the Spanish-English grammar that Díaz uses is one that we have never seen before in bilingual U.S. literary texts that include Spanish. In addition to the linguistic analysis, this chapter is also interested in a sociolinguistic analysis of the texts. My analysis will point out that CS occurs in *BWLOW* and *THYLH* to highlight Hispanic culture which appears through references to things like food and family. I also show that CS is used to elaborate and to describe people and places in the narration, to mark the Dominican identity of the characters, and to also quote directly and indirectly.

3.2. Texts

BWLOW is an award winning text which has won prestigious awards like the National Book Critics Circle Award and the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction in 2008. It follows Oscar Cabral, an overweight Dominican-American teen as he grows up in Patterson, New Jersey. Oscar has a fascination for comic books, science fiction and the idea of falling in love. As the story progresses the text reveals information about his family's history. For example, it gives an overview of his sister's love/hate relationship with their mother. It also chronicles his grandmother's life in the Dominican Republic as well as his mother's upbringing which eventually takes her to New York City.

This text is very interesting for U.S. Latino literature because it is one of the first to use intrasentential CS without the use of bold, quotation marks or italics to differentiate English from Spanish. In an interview with Ch'ien (2004) Díaz discusses his choice to not make the two languages as different from each other:

For me allowing the Spanish to exist in my text without the benefit of italics or quotations marks a very important political move. Spanish is not a minority language. Not in this hemisphere, not in the United States, not in the world inside my head. So why treat it like one? Why ‘other’ it? Why de-normalize it? By keeping Spanish as normative in a predominantly English text, I wanted to remind readers of the mutability of languages. And to mark how steadily English is transforming Spanish and Spanish is transforming English. (204)

This work puts into writing the realities of Hispanic Americans who use two languages and live between two cultures. As a result, *BWLOW* exemplifies the way that the U.S. is changing in the very fact that stories like Oscar’s are able to be told. As Dumitrescu (2014) comments, “le propone al lector una fusión ingeniosa de ambos idiomas, que prácticamente no tiene precedente y que representa lo más innovador y original de su creación literaria.” (411)²¹

THYLH showcases 9 interwoven short stories which have Yuniór, the best friend of Oscar Wao in *BWLOW* as the protagonist. Most of the stories are built around the central issue of Yuniór’s infidelity. Díaz himself in an interview with Gina Frangello (2012) comments that the book is “a tale about a young man’s struggle to overcome his culture training and inner habits in order to create lasting relationships” and as he matures and grows “he finally begins to see the women in his life as fully human” which eventually leads him to change his ways. *THYLH* has been well accepted and was a finalist for the National Book Award (2012) for fiction as well as the Andrew Carnegie Medal for Excellence in Fiction (2013). As we will see in more detail below, his mixing of the two languages is notably distinct from the CS strategies used by other U.S. Hispanic authors.

²¹ “Díaz provides his reader with an ingenious fusion of both languages, which practically has no predecessor and which represents the most innovative and original of his literary creations.” (411)

3.3 Linguistic Analysis

Previous linguistic analyses of Spanish-English CS such as Callahan (2004) have used Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Framework to investigate the linguistic nature of thirty texts composed of novels and short stories with an interest in the authenticity of the CS utilized in the texts. The study concluded that in general written CS follows the same grammatical patterns that are found in oral CS. Other studies like Casielles-Suárez's (2013), as we saw above, used Muysken typology of CS to point out some of the grammatical strategies that authors like Díaz use to incorporate Spanish into their texts. As mentioned in chapter one, my analysis is a more detailed, sentence by sentence analysis which establishes the base language of each sentence and divides them into: Monolingual English Sentences, English-base Bilingual Sentences (which include Spanish insertions), Monolingual Spanish Sentences, Spanish-base Bilingual Sentences (which include English insertions) and Hybrid Sentences (which have no base language and include a mixture of alternations and insertions). This type of linguistic analysis will show that although apparently similar, Díaz's texts are different from Chávez Silverman's texts. Below, figures 3.1 -3.2 show the percentage of monolingual English sentences vs. sentences including Spanish in *BWLOW* and *THYLH*.

Figure 3.1 Monolingual English vs. Sentences Including Spanish in *BWLOW*

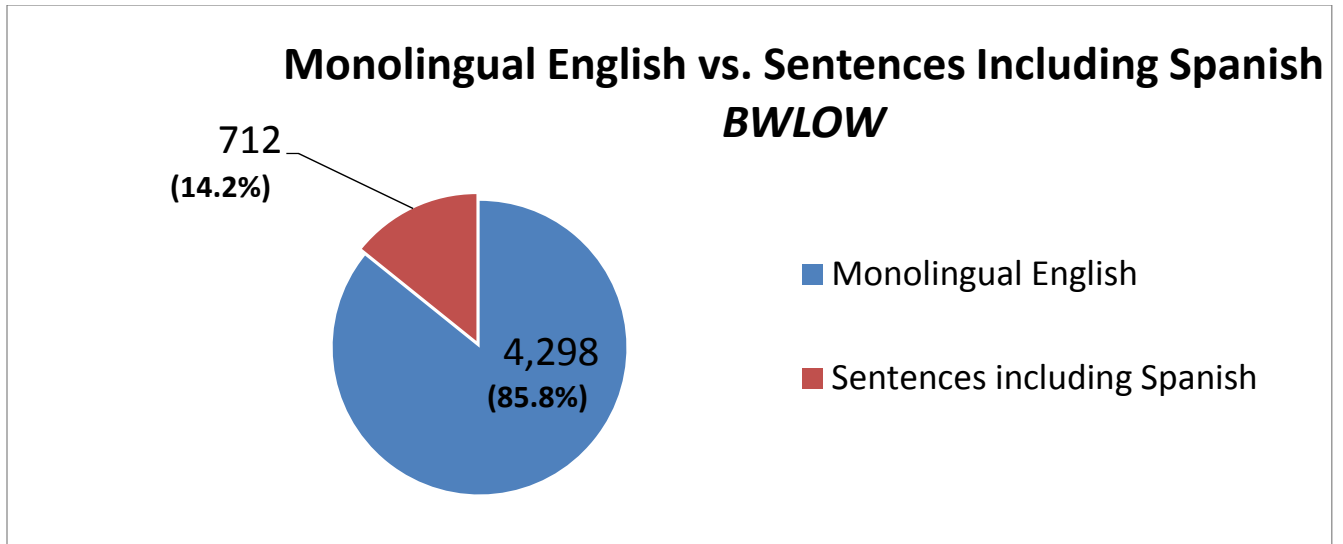
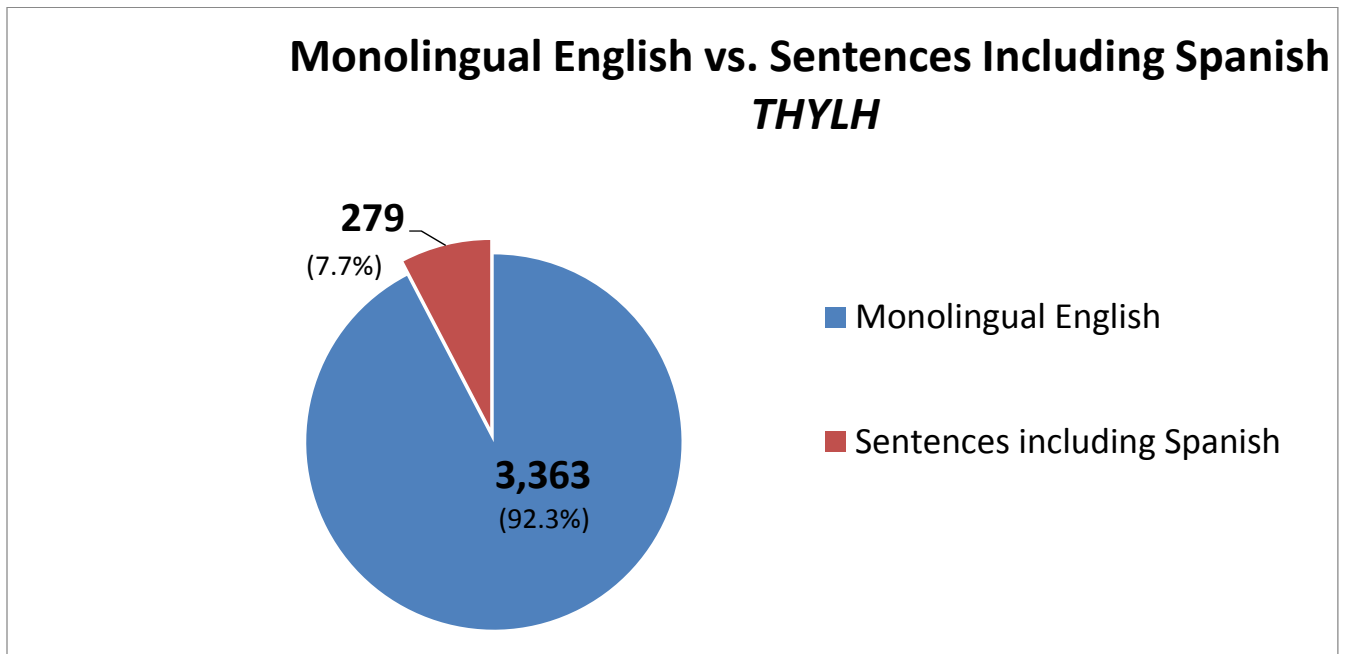


Figure 3.2 Monolingual English vs. Sentences Including Spanish in *THYLH*



As we see from the two figures above roughly 90% of each text is given in Monolingual English. This means that Díaz's innovative use of CS is not based on the quantity of bilingual sentences, but on the quality of his CS. Figures 3.3 and 3.4 show the complete division of his texts into the five types of sentences mentioned above.

Figure 3.3 Linguistic Analysis of *BWLOW*

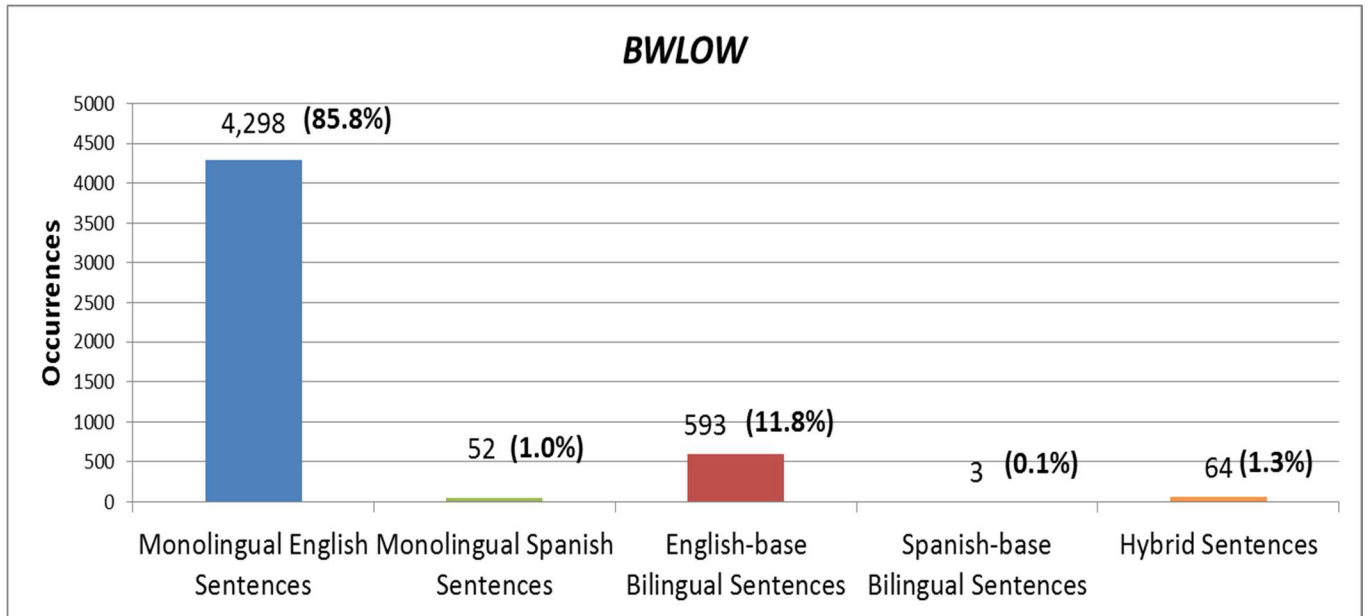
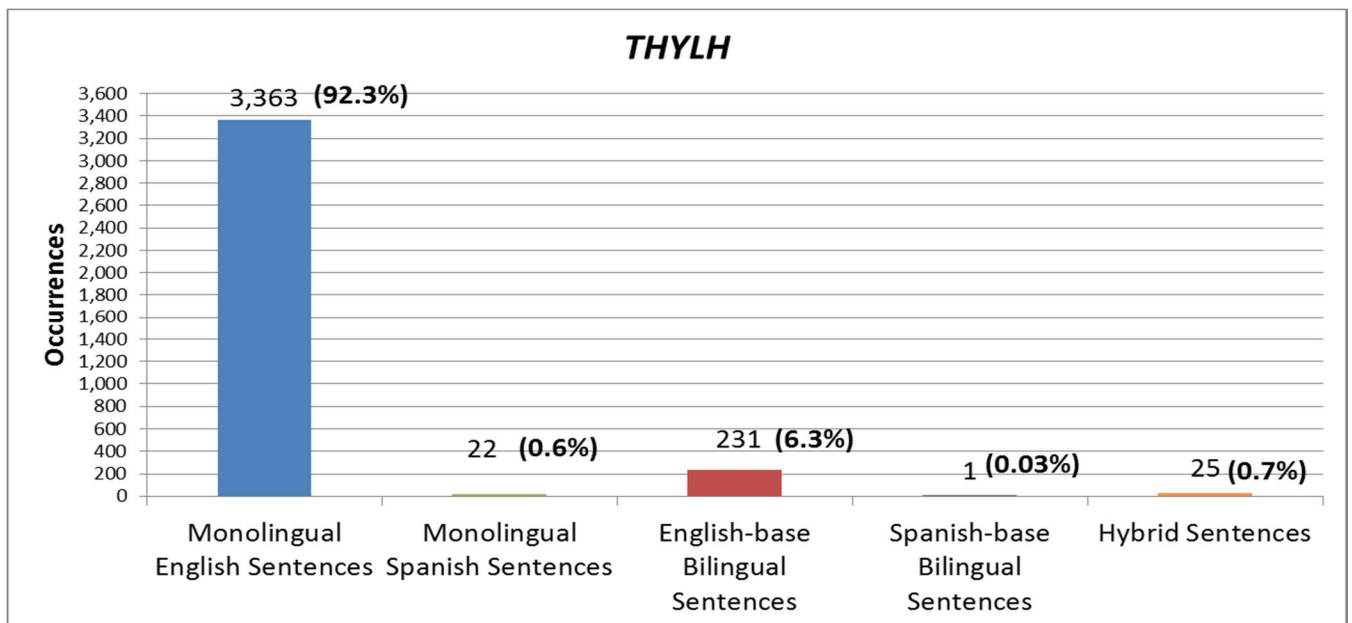


Figure 3.4 Linguistic Analysis of *THYLH*



The figures point out that most of the sentences including Spanish are English-base bilingual sentences (11.8% in *BWLOW* and 6.3% in *THYLH*) where Díaz inserts Spanish words and phrases into English sentences. In the next subsections I consider each of these categories in detail.

3.3.1 Monolingual English Sentences

Initially, it appears that these texts might share more in common with other popular bilingual texts due to the low number of code-switched sentences. Although most of the utterances appear in monolingual English, some of these English utterances include the indirect presence of Spanish. All of these examples would fall under Torres' (2007) category of "Gratifying the bilingual reader" as they engage bilinguals in a different level of reading. Here, nuances like pronunciation, Spanish syntax and popular expressions in the Spanish speaking world would be assumed to be overlooked by monolingual English readers even though they are presented in English. In some cases monolingual English sentences show influence from Spanish. Thus in examples (1)-(5) from *BWLOW* show textual evidence of Spanish's presence.

- (1) It was like the fight between the egg and the rock... (70)
- (2) Because I'm from Nueba Yol he talks about how rich he's going to become and I try to explain to him that I don't care about that but he looks at me like I'm crazy. (72)
- (3) Yuniór, the movie is finis... (172)
- (4) You black, she said, fingering Beli's thin forearm. (85)
- (5) You want to be a useless woman all your life? (106)

As we see in (1), Díaz references a popular expression in the Dominican Republic which is used in cases where someone is confronted with a situation where they feel inferior to a superior force. It translates in Spanish to "**el pleito del huevo y la piedra**" in which the egg is weak and the rock is strong—alluding to the fact that the rock will win the battle every time so there is no need to fight. Examples (2) and (3) show the Dominican pronunciation of the words "New York" and "finished". Finally, in (4) and (5) we see how Díaz incorporates broken English into the dialogue to showcase the authenticity of how his characters express themselves in English.

Casielles-Suárez (2013:479) has also pointed out instances of Hispanicized syntax in *BWLOW*. She comments that in some instances, “focus elements appear sentence-initially in a structure called “focus preposing.” (479)

The example in (6) exemplifies this:

(6) Eighteen months she worked at the Palacio Peking (105)

This presence of Spanish in monolingual English sentences can also be seen in *THYLH* as exemplified by examples (7) and (8):

(7) You no deserve I speak to you in Spanish, he says. (4)

(8) The dirties are brought down by orderlies...(57)

In (7) we see a similar pattern that Díaz uses in *BWLOW*, where English is utilized as a tool to present the accents of Spanish speakers who communicate in English. Example (8) is a translation from “**las sucias**” or those that are sick with HIV/AIDS.

Thus Díaz incorporates Spanish indirectly into the dialogue of his texts even in monolingual English sentences. The next sections will shed some light on the ways that his texts depart from the Spanish use of his predecessors making his bilingual texts innovative and distinct.

3.3.2 Monolingual Spanish Sentences

The percentage of monolingual Spanish sentences is very low (.01% in *BWLOW* and .03% in *THYLH*). In most of the instances Spanish appears to be the language which is used to show description, humor, emotions and cultural connections while English seems to be the language which Díaz uses as the tool to tell the story. Monolingual Spanish is used to quote Spanish speaking characters in the story. This is illustrated below from *BWLOW* in (9)-(13)

- (9) **Pórtate como un muchacho normal.** (22)
‘Act like a normal boy’
- (10) **Cuidate mucho, mi hijo.** (32)
‘Be very careful, my son’
- (11) **Gordo, no me digas que tú todavía tienes hambre?** (108)
‘Fatty, don’t tell me that you’re still hungry?’
- (12) **Ay, hija no seas ridícula.** (154)
‘Oh, daughter don’t be ridiculous.’
- (13) **Esto aquí es un maldito *infierno*.** (275)
‘This here is a damned hell.’

THYLH follows the same pattern of the use of monolingual Spanish

- (14) **Ay mi hijito, ay mi tesoro.** (96)
‘Oh my Little son, oh my treasure.’
- (15) **Qué tú crees que ella busca por aquí?** (106)
‘What do you think she is looking for here?’
- (16) **No tiene papeles.** (106)
‘She doesn’t have papers.’
- (17) **Doña, es verdad que tu hijo taba rapando una vieja?** (174)
‘Ma’am is it true that your son was fucking an old lady?’
- (18) **Que viva Colombia.** (216)
‘Long live Colombia’

The 52 instances of monolingual Spanish in *BWLOW* were all direct or indirect quotations. Similarly in *THYLH*, the 22 occurrences followed the same pattern. Thus, Díaz uses monolingual Spanish as a way to give validity to the voice of his Latino characters.

3.3.3 English-base Bilingual Sentences

As Figures 3.3 and 3.4 above show, 11.8% of the sentences in *BWLOW* and 6.3% in *THYLH* are English sentences which contain some Spanish words. Figures 3.5 and 3.6 show the types of Spanish phrases inserted in English sentences.

Figure 3.5 Spanish Insertions in *BWLOW*

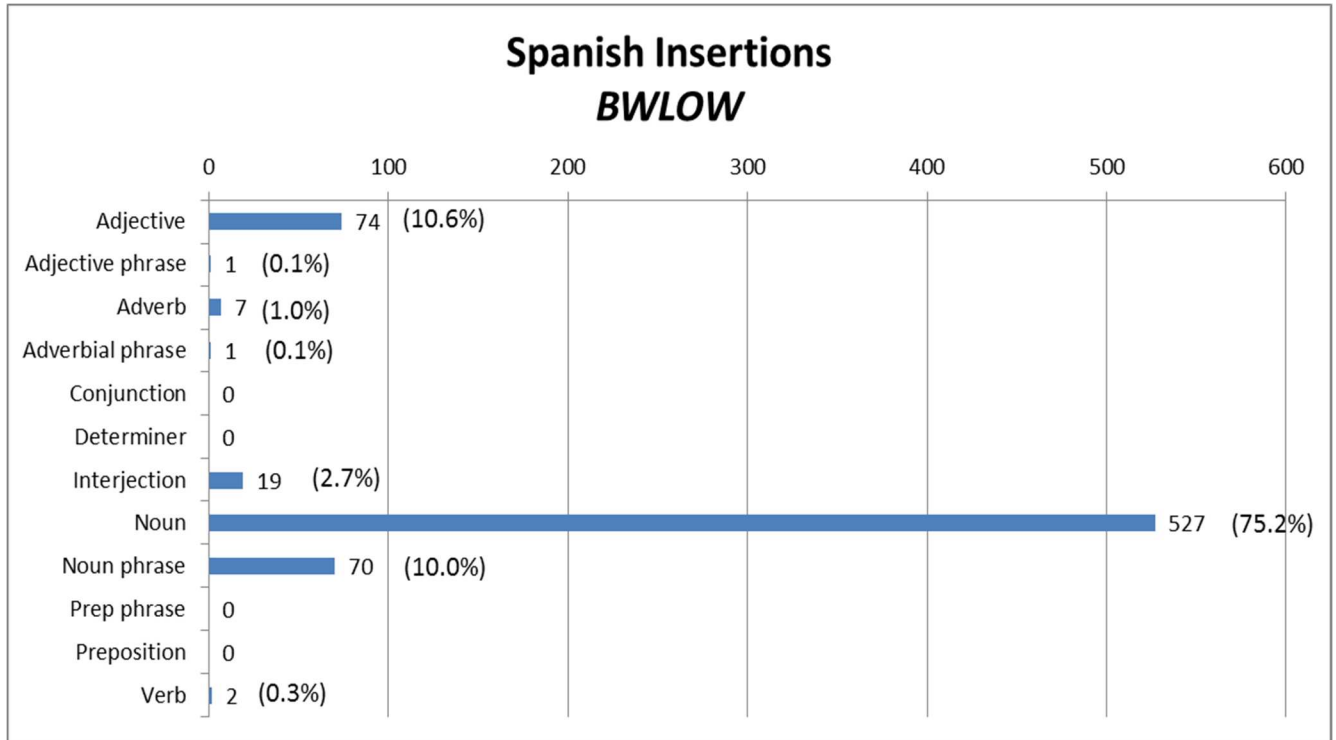
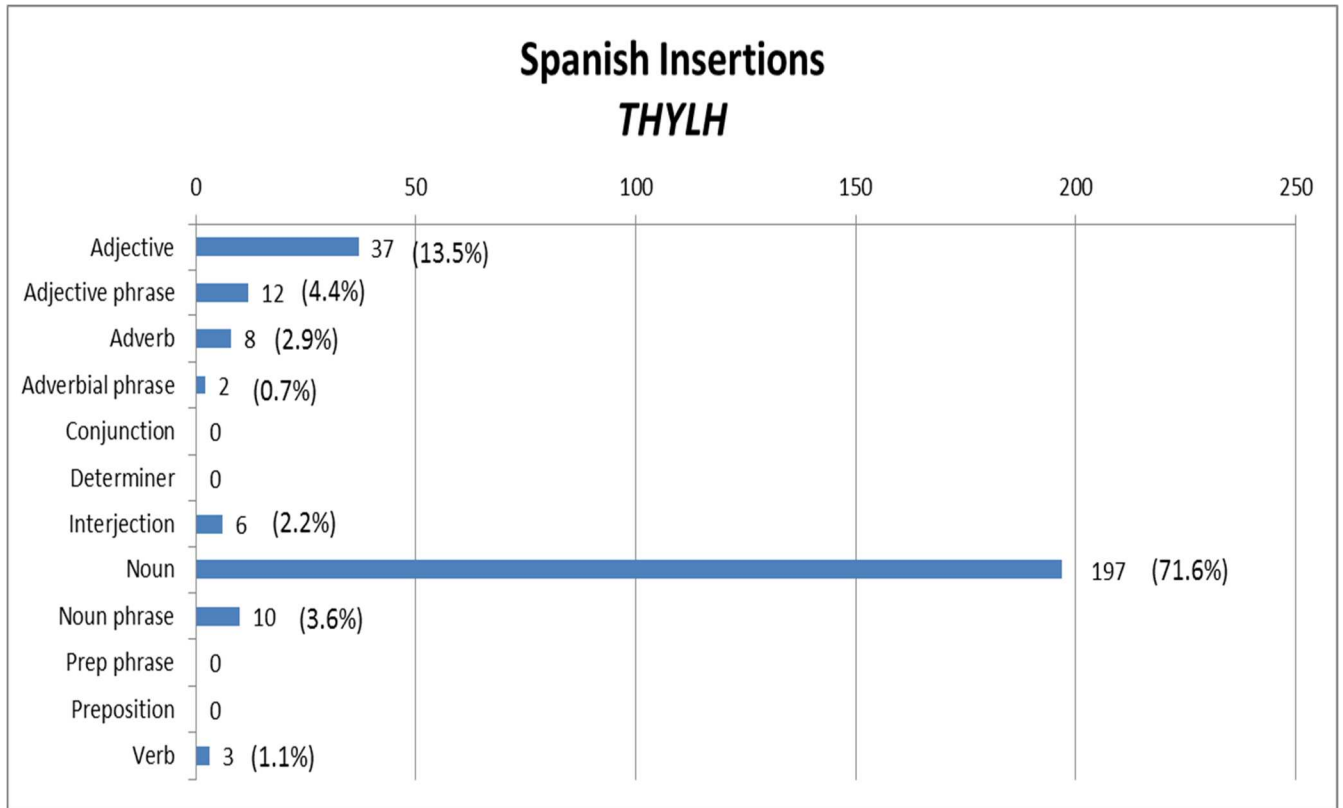


Figure 3.6 Spanish Insertions in *THYLH*



These figures show that 75.2% of all insertions in *BWLOW* and 71.3% in *THYLH* are nouns, which is similar to previous findings of types of insertions such as Callahan (2004). Single Spanish nouns are the most common type of word that Díaz inserts into his English texts. These findings are on a par with other studies that have examined U.S. Latino texts such as McClure (1998), Callahan (2004), Torres (2007) and Casielles-Suárez (2013). Díaz comments in an interview quoted in Ch'ien (2004) that:

Look for instance at dictionaries and their way of adopting foreign words. When does a loan word become an English word? Is “*hacienda*” a word in Spanish or English? You know what I’m saying? The point is, I am pushing the dates on a lot of these words. I decided I don’t need a hundred years for the Oxford English Dictionary to tell me that it’s okay to adopt this or that word as part of our normal vocabulary. I feel that’s what we always should do. We should be pushing the dates on words. (204)

Díaz takes his creation of a bilingual text to the next level by incorporating single nouns that none of his predecessors have ever regularly used in their texts. As a result, rather than utilizing words that are transparent and are assumed to be easily decipherable to monolingual English readers as seen above in chapter one from Cisneros' *Caramelo*, Díaz' terms are often puzzling even to Spanish-English bilinguals that are not familiar with Caribbean or Dominican Spanish. Below are some examples in (19)-(23) from *BWLOW* and *THYLH*:

- (19) If he'd been a different nigger he might have considered the **galletazo**. (*BWLOW*, 15) 'bitch-slap'
- (20) The kid who don't dance, who ain't got game, who lets people clown him—he's the **parigüayo**. (*BWLOW*, 20) 'a guy who goes to parties just to watch'
- (21) Then, like now, Santo Domingo was to **popóla** what Switzerland was to chocolate. (*BWLOW*, 121) 'pussy'
- (22) By the middle of Day 3 of our All-**Quisqueya** Redemption Tour we were in an air-conditioned bungalow watching HBO. (*THYLH*, 12-13) 'Dominican'
- (23) How sweet was that **toto**? (*THYLH*, 188) 'pussy'

I also found the following NPs:

- (24) I came back for you, **mi amor**. (*BWLOW*, 109) 'my love'
- (25) She and your mother shared a common place, La Vega, where Miss Lora had been born and whom your mother had recuperated after the **Guerra Civil**. (*THYLH*, 158) 'Civil War'

As far as adjectives, we see below that Díaz often uses Spanish to describe the characters within his literary world. Some examples include:

- (26) A romantic she was, but not a **pendeja**. (*BWLOW*, 111) 'idiot'

- (27) Now you look **candela**, Constantina said approvingly. (*BWLOW*, 113) ‘glowing’
- (28) I thought she was a **boricua**, but later she told me she was half **boricua** and half **dominicana**. (*THYLH*, 64) ‘Puerto Rican, Dominican’
- (29) Both your father and your brother were **sucios**. (*THYLH*, 164) ‘dirties’ → ‘whores’
- (30) You consider flopping in front of her—My leg! My leg!—but that seems incredibly **cursi**. (*THYLH*, 191) ‘corny’

There was one adjective phrase:

- (31) Within hours of El Jefe dancing **bien pegao** with those twenty-seven bullets, his minions ran amok—fulfilling, as it were, his last will and vengeance. (*BWLOW*, 156) ‘really close’

In all of these examples, the adjectives and adjective phrases seem to emphasize the description in a way that stylistically gives the phrase more Latin flavor. To give the same dramatic effect a monolingual English author might utilize quotations, bold font or capital letters.

There was only one instance of an adverb, as exemplified below:

- (32) You try it all, but one day she will simply sit up in bed and say, No more, and, **Ya**, and you will have to move from the Harlem apartment that you two have shared. (*THYLH*, 181) ‘stop’

I also found two adverbial phrases:

- (33) How about I buy you a drink? he said, and when she turned away **como una ruda**, he grabbed her arm, hard, and said, Where are you going, morena? (*BWLOW*, 115) ‘roughly’
- (34) You remember how all the other guys had hated on her—how skinny she was, no **culo**, no tities, **como un palito** but your brother didn’t care. (*THYLH*, 153) ‘ass’ and ‘like a stick’

Below we can see an example of an interjection::

- (35) And when one of the Four was fooling herself she let her know it with a simple extended **Bueeeennnoooo**. (*THYLH*, 95) ‘well’

There were also two verbal insertions:

- (36) Do you know that she bought that house **CULEANDO?** (*BWLOW*, 282) ‘by fucking’
 (37) Dude was **figureando** hard. (*THYLH*, 96) ‘fronting’

As a group, these Spanish insertions show the bilingual nature of the texts and the variety of inclusion strategies that Díaz uses which creates a radical Spanish-English prose. In addition to phrase and word insertions, Díaz uses intra-word insertions, which further show the hybridization of the texts. In (38)-(40) we have some pointed out by Casielles-Suárez (2013:484) and in (41) a similar one using the Spanish word *culo* or ‘ass’ as the root of the English word.

- (38) **Northamericana** (88)
 (39) ...while the Friends of the Dominican Republic were **perejiling** Haitians... (215)²²
 ‘parsley saying’
 (40) A consummate **culocrat** to the end (19)
 (41) ...the Trujillato regime would have been the world’s first **culocracy**...(217)

²² Dominican Dictator Rafael Trujillo did not want Haitians in the Dominican borderlands during his regime and as a result, those suspected to be Haitian instead of Dominican were tested on the pronunciation of ‘perejil’. If they pronounced it without trilling the “r” then they were shot or killed on the spot.

Muysken (2000: 221) comments that this can be seen in language contact situations where congruent lexicalization is present. Although these switches do not appear to follow Poplack's *Free Morpheme Constraint* if considered in isolation, in these sentences we can see that rather than inserting bound morphemes like -crat, -cracy, -ing, or north-, what Díaz is doing is treating the Spanish roots as English roots, that is, borrowing them and making them part of the English sentence. Unlike many other U.S. Latino authors that use single Spanish nouns to create a bilingual text, Díaz uses insertions to create a hybrid and non-transparent prose where Spanish and English mesh together seamlessly. This intimate connection between the two languages can be seen in other examples as these from *BWLOW*:

- (42) **Tal-and-tal** time (93) 'so and so'
- (43) **Shiva**-sized lingam (99) 'God-sized'
- (44) **Cursí**-ness (124) 'corny'
- (45) Truji-**líos** (152) 'mess'
- (46) **Toto**-energy (180) 'pussy'
- (47) **Sucesos**-style (304) 'Sucesos was a Mexican soap opera'
- (48) No-**toto**-itis (173) 'pussy'

Similar examples appear in *THYLH*:

- (49) All-**Quisqueya**-Redemption tour (12) 'Dominican'
- (50) **Campesina**-ness (105) 'Peasant'
- (51) **Prieta**-ness (105) 'Black'

It is this borrowing not only of Spanish words in English sentences, but of Spanish roots in English words, which sets apart Díaz's CS from that of others. The use of apostrophes in the following examples show that Spanish words are treated as if they were English words:

- (52) Can't you see the **muchacho's** working? (31) 'boy'
- (53) **Fea's** become my new name. (54) 'Ugly'
- (54) This was when he threw students out of class for breathing, when he would tell his mother to fuck off, when he couldn't write a word, when he went into his **tío's** closet and put the Colt up to his temple, when he thought about the train bridge. (268)
- (55) He let himself into his **abuela's** house (he still had the key). (316) 'grandmother'
- (56) He was your **tío's** best friend. (327) 'uncle'

I also found a similar occurrence in *THYLH*, as illustrated in (57)-(60)

- (57) Sure, staying locked up at my **abuelo's** house bored Magda to tears...(10) 'grandfather'
- (58) Dance with another woman, dance merengue with her, and see if your **jeva's** not roused to action. (18) 'girlfriend' or 'lady'
- (59) **Claro que sí, Mami'd** say, trying to put her glasses on. (31) 'Of course yes, mom...'
- (60) Right in the middle of one of **Mami's** prayer sessions, he strolled in with the Parkwood girl who had the hugest donkey on the planet, and later I said, Rafa, **un chin de respeto**. (96) 'mom' and 'a little bit of respect'

These examples seem to highlight that although Díaz uses English as a base language for his texts he has the versatility to mix the grammars of both languages as he pleases. The Spanish and English mix together in a way that draws from a variety of devices and word types leaving out the distinction between languages which creates a type of hybridity. I will go into more detail about his fusion of languages in the Hybrid Sentences section.

3.3.4 Spanish-base Bilingual Sentences

Although the percentage of Spanish-base bilingual sentences is very low, there were some instances of English words inserted into sentences which had Spanish as a base language. I found three examples from *BWLOW* and one from *THYLH*, which I will illustrate below:

(61) **Coje that fea y metéselo.** (*BWLOW*, 24)

‘Grab that ugly girl and stick it in her’

(62) **A culo que jalaba más que una juna de buey.** (*BWLOW*, 92)

‘An ass that pulls more than a group of oxen’ Translation: Her looks pull more men than a group of oxen.

(63) **La negra está encendida indeed.** (*BWLOW*, 114)

‘The dark girl is on fire’

(64) **Callate la fucking boca.** (*THYLH*, 98)

‘Shut your...mouth’

Similar to those sentences which highlight English as the base language, these four examples illustrate the language fusion that Díaz skillfully creates through Spanish-English CS. Further, as (61) and (62) show, he goes beyond the usual insertion of a noun/noun phrase when he inserts an English determiner in an otherwise Spanish sentence.

3.3.5 Hybrid Sentences

As mentioned in chapter one, I classify as hybrid sentences those sentences for which a base language cannot be established. The percentage of these sentences in Junot Díaz's work is low (1.3% in *BWLOW* and .7% in *THYLH*). These include sentences with alternations and sentences which include both alternations and insertions. As noted by Muysken (2000:5) in sentences involving alternation the languages in contact remain relatively separate in the clause. Close examination of the alternation patterns of both texts shows that *BWLOW* (42 alternations) and *THYLH* (21 alternations) do not deviate from expected alternation between Spanish and English. As we can see below, Díaz follows a similar pattern with the majority of his alternations. He often uses culturally charged interjections and frequently separates English and Spanish by using a comma or colon. Some examples follow in (65) - (70)

(65) **Coño, muchacha**, stop looking at me and feel. (*BWLOW*, 53)

'Damn, girl'

(66) El Jefe cries, **Coño, me hirieron!** (*BWLOW*, 155)

'Damn, I got shot'

(67) **Son muy cómodos**, he announced to his friends. (*BWLOW*, 239)

'They are very comfortable'

(68) **Búscame algo para comer**, she'd say to me. (*THYLH*, 105)

'Get me something to eat'

(69) **Ta muy mal**, she says. (*THYLH*, 208)

'It's really bad'

(70) **Que tan mas buena que el Diablo**, they guarantee. (*THYLH*, 208)

'They are better than anything you've ever had'

Below we can see some examples from both texts of sentences that have alternations and insertions:

- (71) Listen, **palomo**: you have to grab a **muchacha y metéselo**. (*BWLOW*, 24)
 ‘Listen, lame: you have to grab a girl and stick it in her’
- (72) For those **capitaleños** who never leave the 27 de Febrero or who think Güaley is the Center of the Universe: **Samaná es una chulería**. (*BWLOW*, 32)
 ‘For the people from the Capital who never leave February 27th street or who think that Güaley is the Center of the Universe: Samaná is a dream.’
- (73) **Dale un galletazo**, she panted, then see if the little **puta** respects you. (*BWLOW*, 14)
 ‘Bitch-slap her, she panted, then see if the little whore respects you.’
- (74) On buses, the **machos** were like, **Tú si eres bella, muchacha**. (*THYLH*, 16)
 ‘boys’ and ‘Yes you are beautiful, girl’
- (75) Heaps of **plátanos** and **yuca**, smothered in liver or **queso frito**, **Flaca**. (*THYLH*, 82)
 ‘plantains’ ‘yucca’ ‘fried cheese’ and ‘skinny’

This type of CS thus contrasts with other types, which would also fall in the Radical Bilingualism category such as that used by Braschi (1998) in her text *Yo-Yo Boing!*, where the switch happens intersententially rather than intrasententially. Below we have an example.

- (76) –**Voy a esperar que llegue mi libertad. Me va a caer como el maná del cielo. Voy a hacer tu vida tan y tan imposible. Con guerrillas anárquicas—aquí y allá. Hasta que me des mi independencia.**--Who is the stronger? The bamboo that bends in the gale or the elm that won’t -The one that won’t-no matter what-**eso es tener dignidad**. (161)

‘I’m going to wait until my freedom comes. It is going to fall like manna from heaven. I’m going to make your life so very impossible. With anarchical guerrillas—here and there. Until you give me my independence—Who is the stronger? The bamboo that bends in the gale or the elm that won’t—The one that won’t – no matter what—this is having dignity.’

This is why Casielles-Suárez (2013) and Dumitrescu (2014) have referred to this type of CS as radical hybridism and code-fusion respectively. Casielles-Suárez (2013) notes:

sustained code alternation, as that found in other fully bilingual works where Spanish paragraphs and/or sentences alternate with English ones, might not be the only radical strategy to introduce Spanish in English texts or even the most radical. I think that sustained insertion leading to sustained congruent lexicalization of the type we have seen in Díaz's novel might be even more radical, in the sense that in this case there is a more intimate connection between the two languages, where Spanish does not so much alternate with English, but 'invades' English. (484-485)

In Dumitrescu's (2014) words:

Los ejemplos comentados en este apartado inducen a pensar que para Junot Díaz el español y el inglés no solo alternan en pasajes o fragmentos textuales sucesivos, como se ha visto en el apartado anterior, sino que incluso tienden, muchas veces, a fusionar el uno con el otro en un único código discursivo cuyos hilos lingüísticos constitutivos resultan, en última instancia, si no imposibles, al menos muy difíciles de desentrañar. Y no me refiero solamente a las creaciones léxicas o a los sintagmas híbridos arriba mencionados, sino también a los casos, numerosísimos, en que la alternancia es tan constante que, a cierto punto, la frontera entre la lengua matriz y la lengua que se inserta en esta matriz (según se ha planteado en la literatura de especialidad sobre *code-switching*—cf. Meyers Scotton, 1993, en particular) se vuelve borrosa. Propongo llamar a este fenómeno “fusión de códigos”, para diferenciarlo de los casos “clásicos”, por así decirlo, de alternancia de códigos inter o intra-oracionales.²³

My grammatical analysis has shown that this innovative hybridism is not due to the quantity of sentences including Spanish (only 14% in *BWLOW* and 7.7% in *THYLH*), but to the quality of the mixing and switching. Both in cases of alternations where no base language can be established such as those in (65)-(70) and (71)-(75) as well as in cases where Spanish words are

²³ [t]he examples that have been commented on in this section point out that for Junot Díaz Spanish and English do not just alternate in passages or textual fragments, like we saw in the previous sections, but that they even tend of fuse into their own discursive code whose linguistic threads which are ultimately, if not impossible, or at the very least, very difficult to disentangle. And I am not only referring to the hybrid lexical creations and phrases above, but also to numerous cases where the alternation is so constant that, to some extent, the line between the matrix language and the embedded language (as in Myers-Scotton 1993, in particular) is blurred. I propose for this phenomenon to be called “code-fusion”, to differentiate it from the “classic” cases, which are known as the alternation of inter or intra-sentential codes. (20)

inserted into English sentences such as those in (9)-(31), Díaz creates a radically bilingual text which shows the powerful images that he conjures by weaving Spanish and English together. Further, Díaz goes beyond the insertion of nouns to the insertion of other categories, including determiners, and even more radically to the insertion of Spanish roots inside English words, as we saw in section 3.3.3.

3.4. Sociolinguistic Functions

As pointed out in chapter one (section 1.5) I will be looking at the following functions: Contextual Switches, Emphasis, High Impact Terms, Identity Markers and Quotations. On a par with other studies like Callahan (2004) and Jonnson (2005), I will consider how these functions compare to and differ from CS in oral discourse. For this analysis, I considered all sentences including Spanish where there were intrasentential code-switches.

Below, figures 3.8 and 3.9 show the local functions that I found for Díaz's works. The numbers below reflect the different types of switches found per occurrence for each type of function.

Figure 3.8 Local Functions *BWLOW*

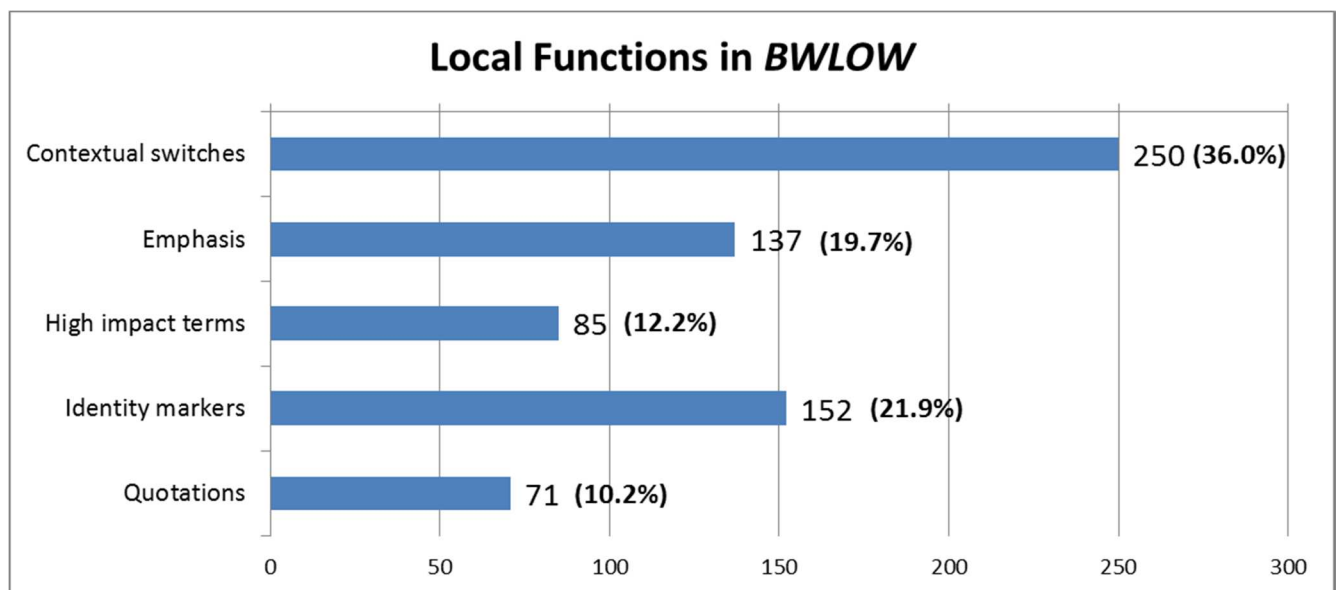
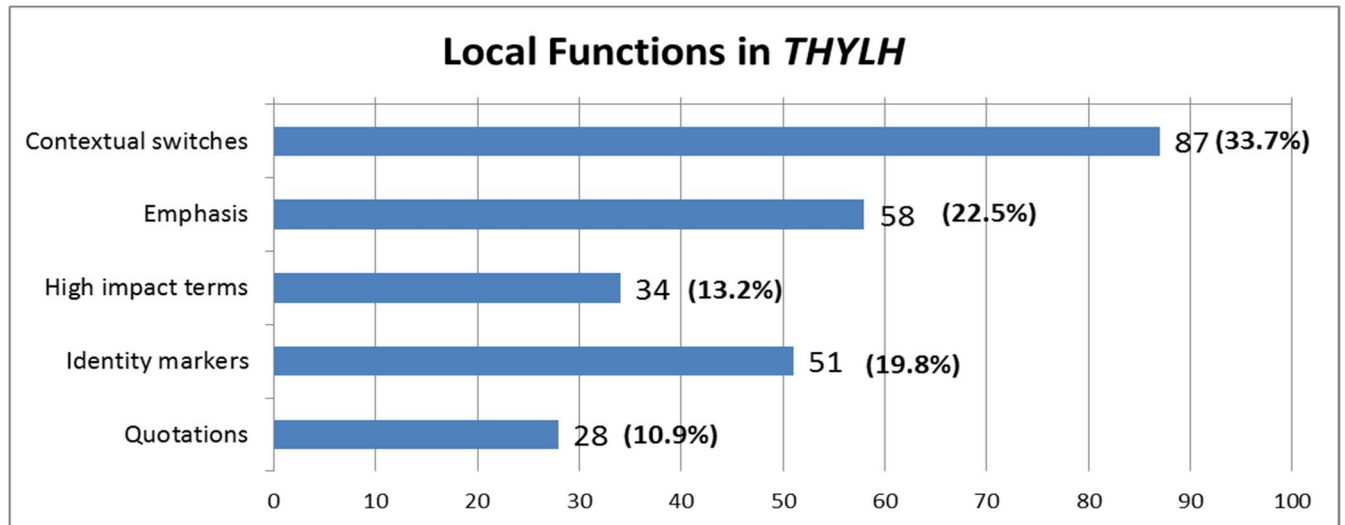


Figure 3.9 Local Functions *THYLH*

In Díaz's texts contextual switches are the most prevalent function. As we will see below, these switches reference Hispanic culture through food, community and family. Another point of interest is the use of High Impact terms in *BWLOW* and *THYLH*. Of all the texts that I analyze in this dissertation, Díaz's texts have the highest occurrence of this function. Although Callahan (2004) makes reference to taboo terms in here analysis of U.S. Spanish-English texts, Torres (2007) makes no reference to this kind of language as a strategy to include Spanish in U.S. Latino texts.

3.4.1 Contextual Switches

In both texts, *contextual switches* stand out as the most prevalent category. Valdés-Fallis (1976) notes that these types of switches occur when, "situation and topic are linked to [the] other language." (58) Díaz uses CS to reference words that are connected to the Hispanic family and foods. Scholars as early as McClure (1977) regarding Spanish-English CS have pointed out that in this bilingual context Spanish is most likely to be produced when referring to family child-care, kinship and food. On the other hand, English is most popular when U.S. Spanish English bilinguals discuss topics like sports, school and U.S. holidays (McClure: 19). In

BWLOW and *THYLH*, it appears that Díaz uses contextual switches to Latinize his texts for monolingual English readers. These switches tend to refer to the broad cultural terms that are associated with the Hispanic world. *BWLOW* had 39.5% and *THYLH* 33.7% of switches linked to food items and kinship. Some of the food items include:

- (77) We jumped on each other and the table fell and the **sancocho** spilled all over the floor
(*BWLOW*, 63) ‘stew’
- (78) **Hija**, she said while frying **pastelitos**, maybe you need help. (*BWLOW*, 54) ‘daughter’ and ‘fried pies’
- (79) They ate **pescado frito** and waded in the **río**. (*BWLOW*, 133) ‘fried fish’ and ‘river’
- (80) Alma’s nails are too dirty for cooking, your spaghetti **con pollo** is the best in the land.
(*THYLH*, 48) ‘with chicken’
- (81) Heaps of **plátanos** and **yuca**, smothered in liver or **queso frito**. (*THYLH*, 83) ‘plantains’ and ‘yucca’ and ‘fried cheese’

Some family references are:

- (82) What luck? His **tío** snorted. (*BWLOW*, 24) ‘uncle’
- (83) Just be glad you didn’t get my luck, **hijo**. (*BWLOW*, 24) ‘son’
- (84) His **abuela** Nena Inca had lost her husband six months after they got married. (*BWLOW*, 45) ‘grandmother’
- (85) **Pero, hermano** why’d you tell her? (*THYLH*, 18) ‘But, brother...’
- (86) Then your **abuelo** catches something in the DR and your mother has to fly home.
(*THYLH*, 169) ‘grandfather’

Other cultural contextual switches include:

- (87) To the **pueblo** that betrayed him. (*BWLOW*, 5) ‘town’

- (88) Because I'm from **Nueba Yol** ...*BWLOW*, 72) 'New York'
- (89) Then you'll have to call me **doctora**. (*THYLH*, 173) 'Doctor'
- (90) You barely finish the first bottle of **romo**... (*THYLH*, 209) 'rum'
- (91) You manage to save a tiny piece of the **foto**. (*THYLH*, 214) 'picture'

3.4.2 Emphasis

These two texts also use Spanish to emphasize extensively by way of description. Many of these terms would be considered cushioned and their meaning easily identifiable by monolingual English speakers. Through emphasis as a stylistic device, Díaz highlights the skin tones, bodies, physical descriptions, professions and accents of his Latino characters and those in the world around them. As Torres (2007) points out about U.S. Hispanic texts, "[w]riters of these texts are not using Spanish merely to recreate authentic dialogue. Rather, their language represents a culturally specific *Latinidad* they use Spanish to reference their particular histories, experiences, demographic realities, and ways of being Latino/a." (79) As far as the occurrences in the texts, *BWLOW* showed 19.7% and *THYLH* 22.4% of the local functions as emphasis as exemplified below:

- (92) The only old-school **dominicana** he knew who had dated a **moreno** until Oscar's father put an end to that particular chapter... (*BWLOW*, 20) 'Dominican girl' and 'Black guy'
- (93) Her name was Ana Obregón, a pretty, loudmouthed **gordita** who read ...(*BWLOW*, 34) 'chubby girl'
- (94) Standing in his foyer, wearing a full length leather coat, her **trigueña** skin blood- charged from the cold... (*BWLOW*, 37) 'golden' or 'mulatto'
- (95) And **indiecita**, with huge feet. (*THYLH*, 103) 'a light skinned Black girl'
- (96) Do you like **negras**? (*THYLH*, 132) 'Black girls'

3.4.3 High Impact Terms

High impact terms are those which cause a jaw-dropping effect. In Díaz's case, there are a large number of high impact terms which seem to be of a humorous nature. These terms are typically viewed as taboo and definitely "gratify the bilingual reader." 12.2% in *BWLOW* and 13.1% in *THYLH* were notable instances of high impact terms. As Callahan (2003) points out, [i]t is not unusual for codeswitching to co-occur with taboo words, which are an unmistakable marker of a register associated with an informal style." (15) And as a result, she comments that expletives and interjections are often switched. The high impact terms many times are exemplified by the use of swear words and "culturally charged" adjectives. Some of them include:

- (97) Then see if the little **puta** respects you. (*BWLOW*, 15) 'whore'
- (98) We stopped serving **pendejada** last week. (*BWLOW*, 108) 'bullshit'
- (99) What kind of **maricón** name is that? (*BWLOW*, 137) 'fag'
- (100) I'll probably never taste her **choca** again. (*THYLH*, 23) 'pussy'
- (101) Those **cueros** are going to drive me crazy. (*THYLH*, 72) 'whores'
- (102) No more chicks crying over him on the couch or gobbling the **rabo** downstairs. (*THYLH*, 97) 'dick'

3.4.4 Identity Markers

In addition to using contextual switches to refer to the Hispanic home and food, Díaz also utilizes a variety of terms which emphasize the unmistakable Dominican-American identity of his main characters. Valdés-Fallis (1976) comments that identity markers, "stress in-group membership." (58) Díaz seems to be the most daring author to showcase authentic Dominican-

American linguistic identity in his texts through CS. This distinguishes him from the majority of U.S. Latino authors that use Spanish-English CS and maintain the insertion of transparent and cushioned Spanish terms into their bilingual works. 21.8% in *BWLOW* and 19.7% in *THYLH* of the switches were identity markers. Many of these occurrences are presented with words that would be indecipherable to bilingual speakers who are unfamiliar with Dominican Spanish and sometimes Díaz even includes terms that would be difficult to understand unless one is familiar with the linguistic nuances of that region of the Dominican Republic. Torres (2007) refers to the strategy to include these types of terms as “Gratifying the Bilingual Reader.” She says that,

[s]ome Latino/a texts, while published by mainstream presses, quite frequently seem to favor the bilingual, bicultural reader. These Latinized texts tend to provide special pleasure to the bilingual reader; monolingual readers may not have complete access to the text and while they can often decipher the meaning from the context, sometimes they must resort to a dictionary, and occasionally no reference book will help. (83)

Torres (2007) goes on to note that many times these terms refer to cultural terms and slang words. In my corpus I found the following instances:

- (103) Beli didn't have quite enough of anything to snap these **Rubirosas** out of their rich-girl reveries. (*BWLOW*, 88) ‘playboys’
- (104) But one man's **jiringonza** is another man's life. (*BWLOW*, 235) ‘mess’
- (105) This is where the Garcia's and the Colons come to relax after a long month of oppressing the masses, where the **tutumpotes** can trade tips with their colleagues from abroad. (*THYLH*, 14) ‘rich people’
- (106) She used words like **deguabinao** and **estribao** on the regular. (*THYLH*, 103) ‘exhausted’ and ‘rich’
- (107) I could be **aguajero**, but he just ran his finger across his back. (*THYLH*, 111) ‘faking’

3.4.5 Quotations

As pointed out by many of the foundational studies that have looked at the functions of Spanish-English CS in bilingual interactions, switching languages to quote someone is a customary expectation if there is a dialogue. Gumperz (1982) comments about quotes that, “the code switched passages are clearly identifiable either as direct quotations or as reported speech.”

(76) I found notable occurrences of direct and indirect quotes in *BWLOW* (10.2%) and *THYLH* (10.8%) which are shown below in (108)-(112):

(108) **Pa’ fuera!** His mother roared. (*BWLOW*, 22) ‘Get out!’

(109) When she threw away my Smiths and Sisters of Mercy posters—**Aqui no quiero maricones**—I bought replacements. (*BWLOW*, 60) ‘I don’t want fags here’

(110) Those cabronas, they were like, No, **jamás**, never (*THYLH*, 5) ‘never’

(111) **Ay mi pobre**, she laughs. (*THYLH*, 171) ‘Aw my poor baby’

(112) He whistles. **Que viva Colombia.** (*THYLH*, 216) ‘Long live Colombia’

3.5 Conclusions

This chapter has presented my grammatical and sociolinguistic analysis of Díaz’s *BWLOW* and *THYLH*. I have shown that these texts represent a different kind of U.S. Latino prose which through the use of insertions and hybrid sentences create a different type of radically bilingual text even though only around 10% of the sentences include any Spanish. However, this small percentage of sentences show radical language mixing strategies like multiple insertions, intra-word switches and the creation of hybrid-noun phrases. Grammatically speaking, Díaz weaves together Spanish and English and borrows hundreds of Spanish words. These words are treated like English words and inserted into English-base sentences. The preservation of an English syntax could be due to the fact that the texts are intended to be read by monolingual

English speakers, too. Nevertheless, *BWLOW* and *THYLH* are hybrid texts which are inclusive and also gratifying to bilingual readers, especially those that are familiar with Caribbean Spanish. My analysis of the sociolinguistic functions has pointed out that Díaz uses Spanish for contextual switches, emphasis, as an identity marker, for high impact terms and for quotations. I believe that Díaz's texts show a new type of English which does not necessarily resist dominant Anglo-American culture, but rather, aims to include the U.S. Latino community. The next chapter considers Chávez-Silverman's texts, which show a very different type of radical Spanish-English CS.

CHAPTER FOUR: SUSANA CHAVEZ-SILVERMAN'S *KC* AND *SCENES*

4.1 Introduction

Susana Chávez-Silverman, the author of *KC* and *Scenes* was born in Los Angeles, California. Her mother a Chicana teacher and her father, a Jewish Hispanist raised her and her siblings bilingually and interculturally in a host of countries. She received her Ph.D. from the University of California, Davis and is currently a Professor of Spanish and Latino/a Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures Department at Pomona College. In 2001 she was awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities fellowship for her research on Women's poetry in Argentina. During her time abroad, she sent many bilingual emails and letters to family and friends which later informed many of her *crónicas*.

To date there have been very few studies that have looked at Chávez-Silverman's texts from a linguistic or sociolinguistic perspective. Spyra (2011) examined Chávez-Silverman's rejection of translations in *Killer Crónicas* and suggests that the author's refusal to choose one language for her *crónicas* seems to point to the fact that she does not see languages as "one-to-one equivalents." (204) Spyra (2011) notes that if scholars focused more on multilingual literature as polyglossic rather than translatable, they would see the value of looking at the foreign-ness in written texts (206).²⁴ Another study that analyzes Chávez-Silverman's *KC* is Allatson and Browitt (2008). Their study examined the *crónica*: "There's No Place Like Home/Camino a Casa Crónica." They note the unintelligibility of Chávez-Silverman's *crónicas* by readers that are not Spanish-English bilinguals. Further, they suggest that the text "demonstrates that code-switching between Spanish (es) and English is a progressive, creative elaboration grounded in the everyday." (20) They conclude that this *crónica* exemplifies the daily reality of many Spanish-English bilinguals in the U.S. and that there is much uncertainty

²⁴ Polyglossia has been defined by various scholars as the presence of multiple languages in any type of discourse.

related to “definitional meaning and locational certainty at the US-Mexico border.” (20) Although Spyra (2011) and Allaston and Browitt (2008) both mention the illustration of creative language mixing in Chávez-Silverman’s prose, they do not provide a linguistic analysis of her texts. This chapter presents a linguistic analysis of her texts using the same classification as that used for Díaz’s works. As we will see, the highest percentage of sentences in Chávez-Silverman’s texts are not monolingual English sentences, as was the case with Díaz’s, but hybrid sentences. That is, sentences with no base language. Further, I will consider the global functions of this type of mixed discourse using the concepts of resistance, double-voicedness, translanguaging and transglossia, and excerpts from my interview with her in March 2015.

4.2 Texts

KC, published in 2004, started as a series of emails and letters that Chávez-Silverman sent to friends and family members while living abroad. The University of Wisconsin website for the text notes:

A woman living and communicating in multiple lands, Susana Chávez-Silverman conveys her cultural and linguistic displacement in humorous, bittersweet, and even tangible ways in this truly bilingual literary work. These meditative and lyrical pieces combine poignant personal confession, detailed daily observation, and a memorializing drive that shifts across time and among geocultural spaces. The author’s inventive and flamboyant use of Spanglish, a hybrid English-Spanish idiom, and her adaptation of the confessional “crónica” make this memoir compelling and powerful. *Killer Crónicas* confirms that there is no Latina voice quite like that of Susana Chávez-Silverman²⁵.

In interviews, Chávez-Silverman has said that she has chosen to write in this style because her friend Hugo asked her to email him a “chronicle” of their adventures so that he could remember

²⁵ The University of Wisconsin Press page (<http://uwpress.wisc.edu/books/2616.htm>)

them when he returned home to Spain. *KC* boasts an array of literary strategies including the use of short story, prose poetry and reportage. In (1) we have an example taken from *KC*:

- (1) **Cuando tengo familia** perished **en el Holocausto**, **y a mi tía Gertrude, princesa vienesa venida a menos** (and never let anybody forget that) **porque se casó** with my dad's Uncle Morris Leviloff, **hermano de mi abuela paterna, despues de haber sido la UNICA sobreviviente de toda su familia de un campo de concentración** and somehow she escaped, **de niña**, and came to the U.S. **pero de MUCAMA**, as a maid to a rich family in Connecticut, **y fue allí donde conoció a** Uncle Morris, who at the time was a carpet layer. (*KC*, 107)

‘When I have family perished in the Holocaust, and my aunt Gertrude, Viennese princess rundown (and never let anybody forget that) because she married with my dad's Uncle Morris Leviloff, brother of my paternal grandmother, after having been the ONLY survivor of all of her family from a concentration camp and somehow she escaped, as a child, and came to the U.S., but as a MAID, as a maid to a rich family in Connecticut, and it was there that she met Uncle Morris, who at the time was a carpet layer.’

Her newer text *Scenes from la Cuenca de Los Angeles y otros Natural Disasters* (2010)

uses a similar language mixing style, as seen in (2):

- (2) **Al principio**, way back **en el fall del 2007**, **cuando volví de ese** epic East Coast trip— **la boda de mi hermana la Wiggue en Nueva York, con el George**, staying **en lo del Santo-Amor y su familia** in yucky, yuppie Princeton, **sentada hora tras hora en los** archives in the gorgeous, Goth, Princeton library, **copiando a mano** (I know, **ya sé, ¿qué boluda, no?**) (148)

‘At first, way back in the fall of 2007, when I came back from that epic East Coast trip—the wedding of my sister Wiggue in New York, with George, staying in Saint-Love and his family in yucky, yuppie Princeton, sitting hour after hour in the archives in the gorgeous, Goth, Princeton library, copying by hand (I know, I already know, what an asshole, right?’

Scenes follows Chávez-Silverman's journey from California to South Africa to Australia and back through *crónicas* which are addressed to family, friends and people from her past.

4.3 Linguistic Analysis

Although the examples in the previous section might seem similar to those taken from Díaz's works, a complete linguistic analysis shows that they are radically bilingual in a different

way. Figures 4.1 - 4.2 show the percentage of English monolingual sentences in contrast with sentences including some Spanish.

Figure 4.1 Monolingual English vs. Sentences Including Spanish in *KC*

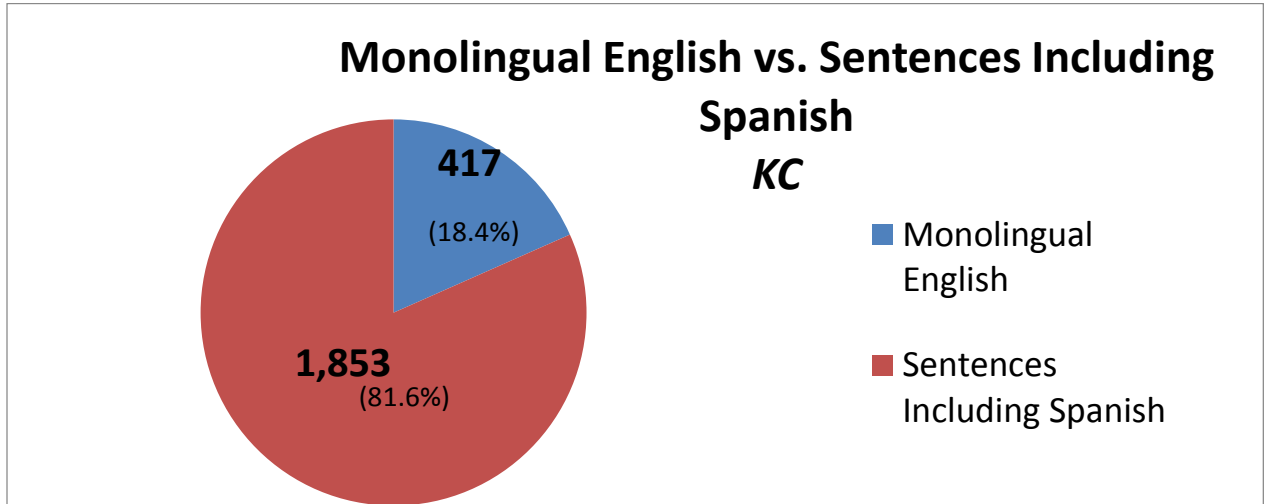
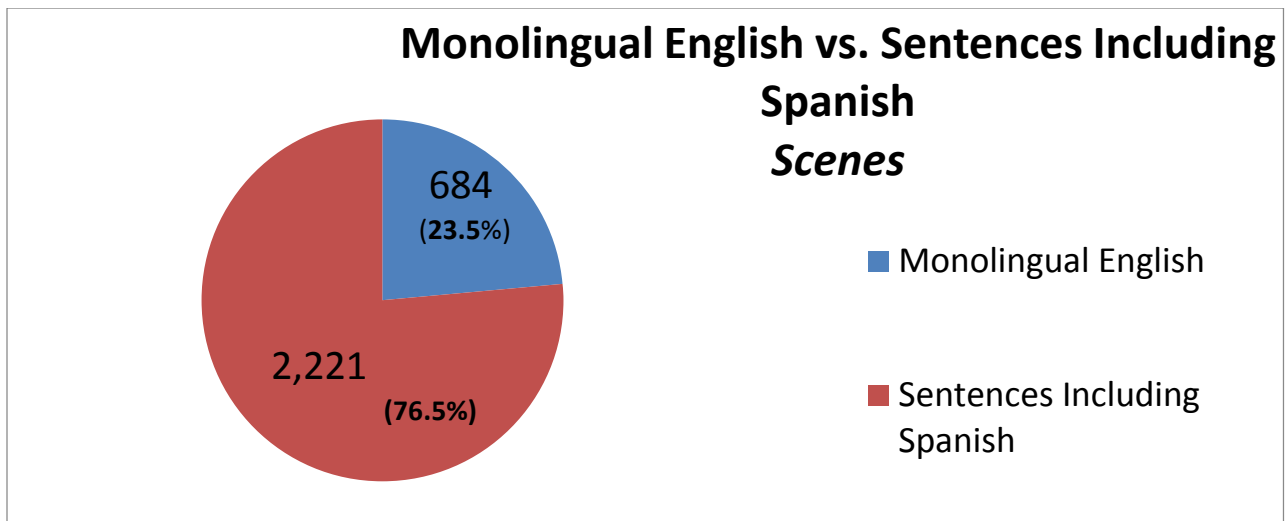
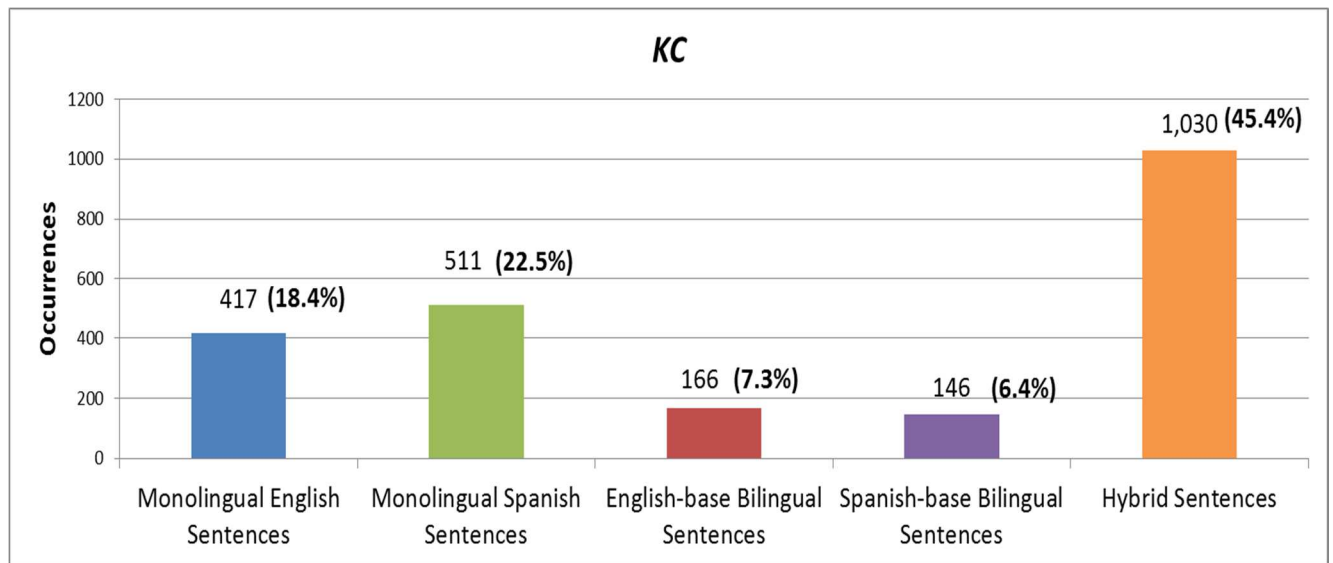
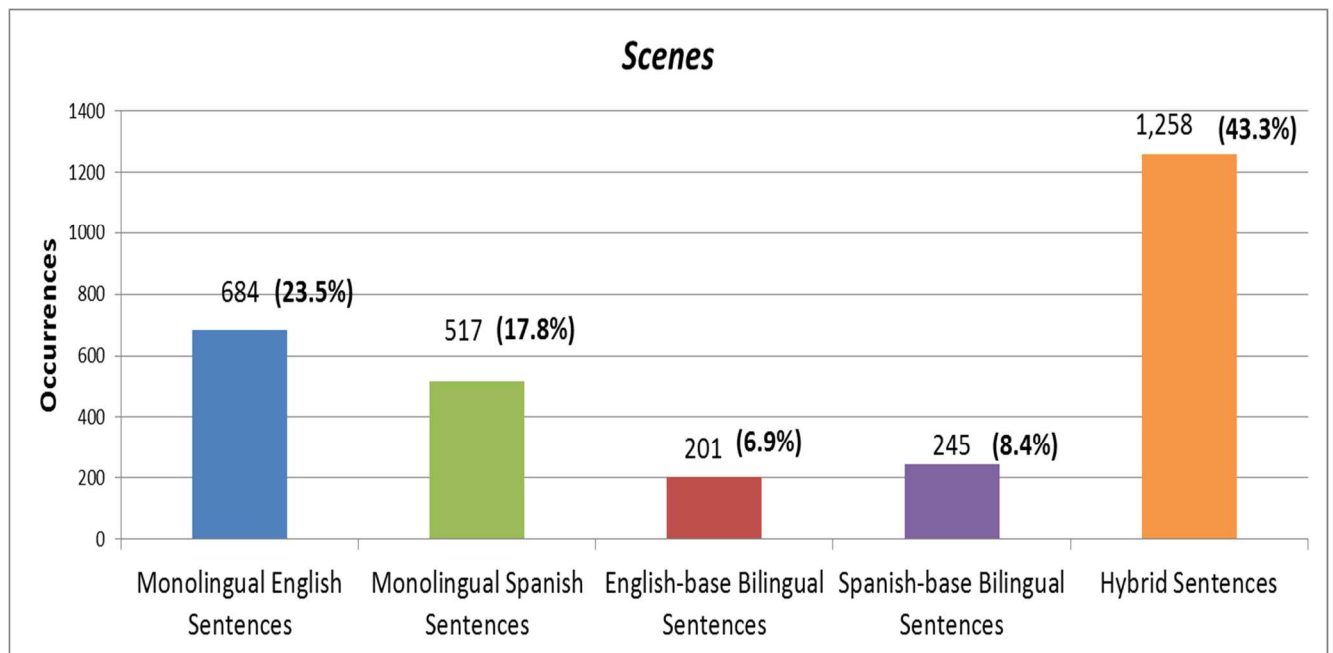


Figure 4.2 Monolingual English vs. Sentences Including Spanish in *Scenes*



As we can see from the two figures above, Chávez-Silverman's use of monolingual English is extremely different from Junot Díaz's texts *BWLOW* and *THYLH*. Differentiated from his almost 90% of monolingual English in each text, *KC* and *Scenes* have about 20% of monolingual English. Figure 4.3 shows the percentages of the five types of sentences.

Figure 4.3 Linguistic Analysis *KC*Figure 4.4 Linguistic Analysis *Scenes*

These figures illustrate that the percentages of each type is pretty similar in both works and it is totally different from Díaz's works. Here the most common type of sentence is not monolingual English, but the hybrid type with no base language. Further, monolingual Spanish sentences are as common as monolingual English sentences (22.5% vs. 18.4% in *KC* and 17.8% vs. 23.5% in

Scenes) and Spanish-base bilingual sentences as common as English-base bilingual sentences (6.4% vs. 7.3% in *KC* and 8.4% vs. 6.95 in *Scenes*). This shows that Chávez-Silverman's balance between the languages can be seen not only in the fact that most of her sentences are hybrid but also in the similar amount of monolingual sentences in each language and the similar amount of Spanish-base and English-base sentences. In the next subsections I consider each of these types.

4.3.1 Monolingual English Sentences

Although the percentage of monolingual English sentences is very low compared to the works by Junot Díaz, Chávez-Silverman's works include some monolingual English sentences. In (3)-(8) we have some examples:

- (3) Poking awake the grumpily dozing Juvenile, I gestured somewhat frantically to Bahram and Pablo, who had the advantage of being seated on the outer bench. (*KC*, 23)
- (4) A fate worse than death: to be alive and to have to remember. (*KC*, 52)
- (5) Usually I can dissuade myself from these total neurotic excesses by focusing on something I DO (I mean sometimes I can): such as writing. (*KC*, 69)
- (6) This was what I'd been trying to keep myself (safe) from, then. (*Scenes*, 26)
- (7) And I know the last night, our last night [but it wasn't : you returned, dragging your friends Ken Steenkamp and Steve Du Toit with; you turned back from Tahoe, from the eastward drive, back toward a tidal lure] especially won't leave you, Montenegro [funny coincidence, or not: I have a colleague with the surname Montenegro, but for me, it is always— only—the name I called you after we saw Du† san Makavejev's film Montenegro, at the Bridge, out on Geary, remember? (*Scenes*, 43)
- (8) My words looking for your words, wishing it were your eyes, your faces I could see, talking, reassuring, laughing with me. (*Scenes*, 107)

I did not find any indirect presence of Spanish in the monolingual English Sentences, in contrast to what we saw in the previous chapter for some of the English sentences in Junot Díaz's works.

4.3.2 Monolingual Spanish Sentences

The percentage of monolingual Spanish sentences is similar in both works (22.5% in *KC* and 17.8% in *Scenes*) and differs considerably from Junot Díaz's works (1.0% and .6%). In *KC* and *Scenes* monolingual Spanish seems to function semantically the same way as English does. This is in contrast to Díaz's texts in which monolingual Spanish is used to quote characters and to add local color. Below are a few examples of the occurrence of monolingual Spanish in *KC*.

- (9) **Pues sí, tenemos también gente de México.** (*KC*, 22) 'Well yes, we also have people from Mexico.'
- (10) **Ve y pregúntaselo a El Chino si quieres.** (*KC*, 25) 'Go and ask El Chino if you want.'
- (11) **La realidad era que papá no había hecho nada.** (*KC*, 36) 'The reality was that Dad hadn't done anything.'

Apart from the typical usage of monolingual Spanish in prose exemplified by Chávez-Silverman, it is also interesting to note her non-standard use of spelling to reflect certain pronunciations. This highlights her bilingual and bicultural experience through her travels in the U.S. and abroad. For example, below, I have illustrated the unique way that she represents the Argentine accent. To do this, she uses two hallmark characteristics of this accent: *rehilamiento* and aspiration of [s]. With *rehilamiento* the letters "ll" and "y" are pronounced as [ʃ] or [ç], similar to English words "fusion" and "treasure." This results in words like "pollo" 'chicken' in Spanish to be pronounced as *po-sho* and "playa" 'beach' as *pla-sha*. Additionally, there are textual examples where Chávez-Silverman aspirates the [s]. This is a well-known feature that is visible in many Latin American countries where the [s] is eliminated at the end of a syllable. So in this case a word like "mosca" 'fly' is pronounced as *moh-ka*. Examples of this phenomenon using monolingual Spanish examples from *KC* can be found below.

- (12) **Entre comishas.** (21) ‘In quotes’
- (13) **Shego al Colegio me siento como una niña, como una colegiala.** (KC, 28) ‘I arrive to the school and I feel like a little girl, like a schoolgirl.’
- (14) **me SACA de onda que me humishen, Joey sabe ehto . . . cómo sigo en piyama?** (KC, 27) ‘It FREAKS me out when they humiliate me, Joey knows this...how am I still in my pajamas.’
- (15) **Los pasos de mí mihma, también.** (KC, 82) ‘My own steps, too.’
- (16) **Es algo programado por el gobierno de la ciudad, armadito para turihtas, no?** (KC, 85) ‘It is something programed by the city’s government, armed for tourists, right?’
- (17) **—¿Y voh qué creés?** (KC, 92) ‘And you what do you think?’
- (18) **Yo ehtuve.** (KC, 114) ‘I was.’
- (19) **Te extraño Silbana, y sé que tenéh razón.** (KC, 123) ‘I miss you Silbana, and I know that you are right.’
- (20) **O de una larga pesadisha.** (KC, 125) ‘Or from a long nightmare.’
- (21) **Y yo, ob-vio que no, y . . . ¿te podemos ashudar en algo?** (KC, 129) ‘And I, obviously not, andcan we help you with something?’

This also occurs in *Scenes*:

- (22) **Y . . . aceptalo, ¿queréh?** (30) And...accept it, do you want to?
- (23) **Como saben, enloquehco con el olor a nardo.** (38) ‘As you guy know, I go crazy over the smell of spikenards.’

4.3.3 English-base Bilingual Sentences

As shown above, the percentage of bilingual sentences with English as the base is quite low (7.3% in *KC* and 6.9% in *Scenes*). This is not very different from what we saw in the previous chapter. As Figures 4.5 and 4.6 below show, however, the percentage of the different types of phrases inserted is quite different.

Figure 4.5 Spanish Insertions in *KC*

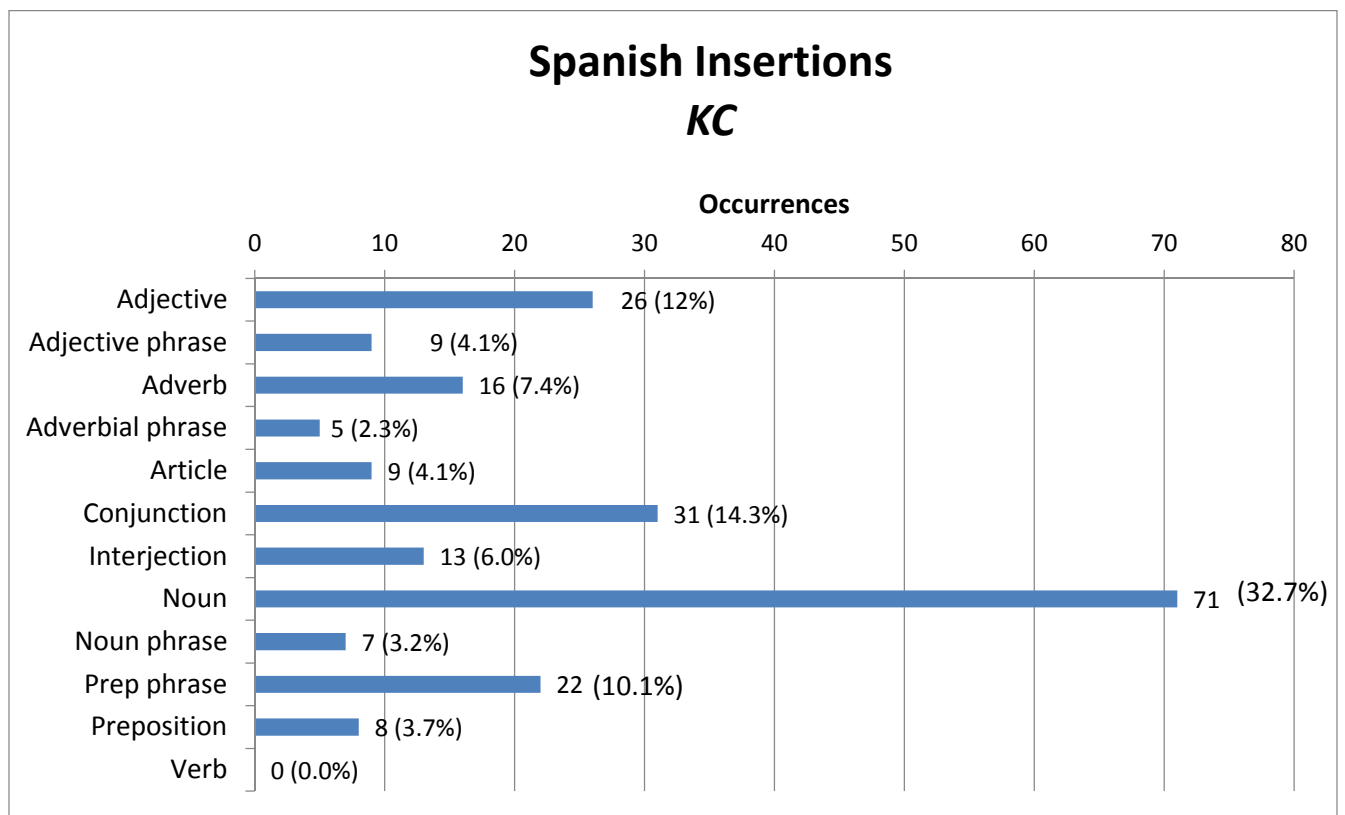
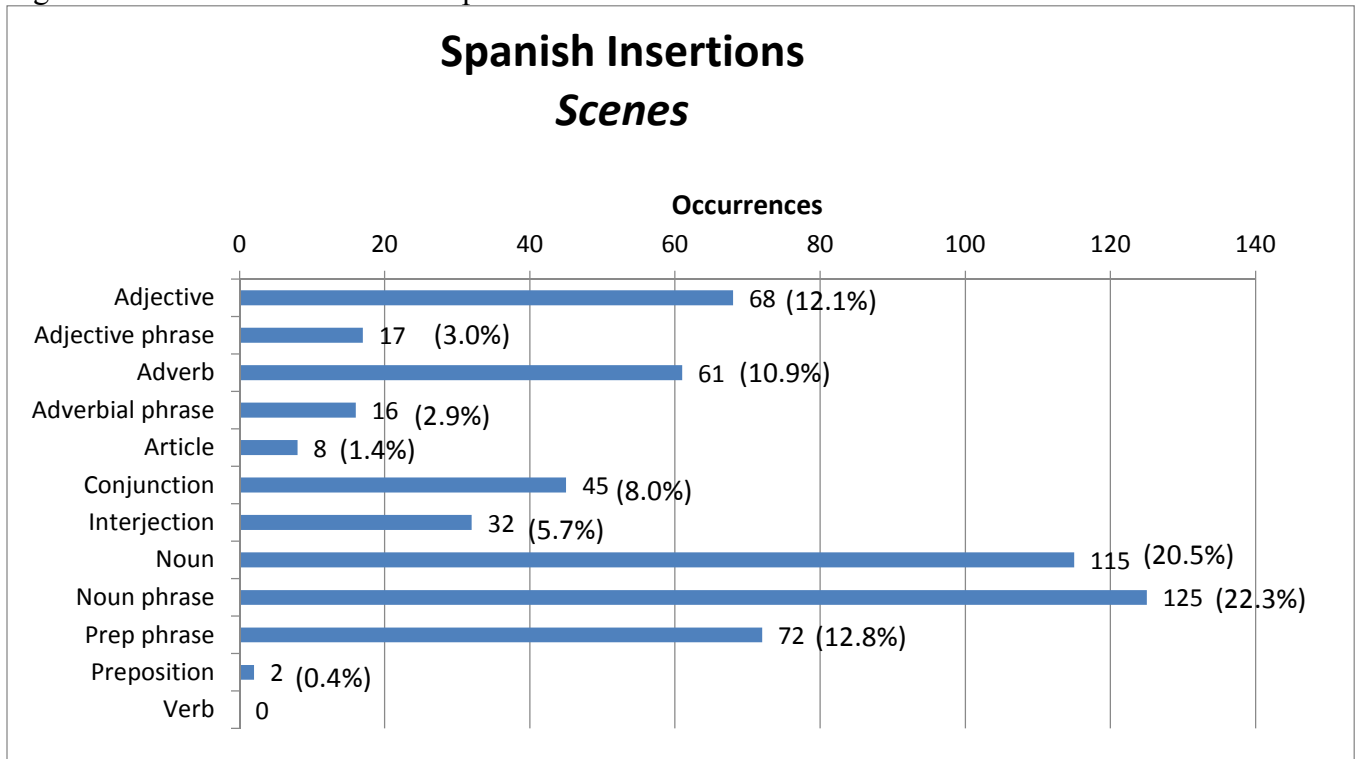


Figure 4.6 Spanish Insertions in *Scenes*

As these two figures show, Chávez-Silverman utilizes different types of Spanish insertions in *KC* and *Scenes*. In comparison to Díaz's Spanish insertions in chapter three, there is even more diversity in these two texts. One thing that they do have in common is that nouns are the most frequently inserted Spanish words in both of the texts. These results are on a par with other studies like Callahan (2004). In her corpus, nouns represented 2,586 out of the 6,697 tokens.

As seen in other contemporary U.S. Latino texts, Chávez-Silverman's texts follow the same trend of inserting Nouns and NPs more than any other word class (32% and 3.2% in *KC* and 20.5% and 22.3% in *Scenes*). What is notably different is that the gap between the incorporation of nouns and other word classes is not as large as in traditional Hispanic-American bilingual texts, which have used Spanish-English CS. While the difference between the insertion of single nouns and the insertion of NPs was dramatic in Díaz's works (75.2% of Nouns vs. 9.7% of NPs in *BWLOW* and 71.3% of Nouns vs. 3.3% of NPs in *THYLH*), in Chávez-Silverman's

texts, this difference can only be seen in *KC* (32.7% of Nouns vs. 3.2% of NPs). In *Scenes*, however, the two categories are very similar and the percentage of NPs in fact exceeds that of Nouns (20.5% of Nouns and 22.3% of NPs). While, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the high percentage of single nouns in Díaz's works probably points to these being cases of nonce borrowings rather than real switches, the number of possible nonce borrowing in Chávez-Silverman's work, particularly in *Scenes* is quite low and constitutes only 20.5% of all insertions. Some examples of Noun and NPs include:

- (24) I could see **el show** would easily go on until 3 in the morning. (*KC*, 23) 'the show'
- (25) I didn't want— yet I was fatally drawn to— **los clásicos**. (*KC*, 41) 'the classics'
- (26) The **México** with smashed **guayabas** releasing that rubber-sweet, acrid scent into the pale ochre dirt. (*KC*, 46) 'Mexico' and ' guava'
- (27) A festering maze of muddy **callejones**, carton-toting **mestizo** looking men, sleazy, stolen electronic fencing **locales** and everywhere: **calcetines** for sale! (*KC*, 132) 'alleys', 'mixed heritage', 'locals' and socks'
- (28) The pain, **el remordimiento**, is not just yours. (*Scenes*, 28) 'the remorse'
- (29) Montenegro, **amor**, it's simple: you have deregulated me. (*Scenes*, 47) 'love'
- (30) Cronopia gave them **una mirada** silent but drop-dead sexy. (*Scenes*, 61) 'a look'
- (31) Approach to La Plata, **Provincia de Buenos Aires, Argentina** Dirt roads. (*KC*, 117) 'La Plata, Province of Buenos Aires, Argentina'
- (32) No mom, nothing to do with **filete de ternera**. (*KC*, 118) 'veal steak'
- (33) **Polvo finito** that gets on everything. (*KC*, 137) 'Fine dust'
- (34) To live with Nick, **el escultor sureño**, Vietnam vet. (*Scenes*, 34) 'Southern Sculptor'
- (35) Working on, working out **tantas cosas**. (*Scenes*, 146) 'so many things'

In Díaz's texts, adjectives made up the second largest word group used to insert Spanish words into his predominately English texts. Similarly, Chávez-Silverman in *KC* (12%) and *Scenes* (12.1%) uses adjectives to describe people, experiences and scents through her exploration of the world. This is illustrated in (36)-(40):

(36) I was sort of relieved by the **porteños**, however **chetos**. (*KC*, 21)

‘Argentines from the Capital’ and ‘rich’

(37) By this time, after having sprayed it on a card and finding it mildly **intrigante**, and then anointing Pierre's forearm, I quickly pronounced: “It's expensive ‘head perfume,’ is what it is!” (*KC*, 68) ‘intriguing’

(38) Dangerously **abierta**. (*Scenes*, 61) ‘open’

(39) **Reactivados**, reactualized by this or that scent. (*Scenes*, 74) ‘Reactivated’

(40) Leaning toward the latter, **OB-vio**. (*Scenes*, 153) ‘Obviously’

Adjective Phrases

(41) What about my **extremadamente bajoneantes** image issues de **asher**? (*Scenes*, 87)
‘What about my extremely slump issues of yesterday?’

There were also some cases of inserted Adverbs and Adverbial Phrases (7.4% and 2.3% in *KC* and 10.9% and 2.9 in *Scenes*. Below we have some examples:

(42) How could I have written, how could I have said that day, **tan** smugly, **tan** literarily...(*KC*, 41) ‘so’ and ‘so’

(43) **Totalmente** blocking my path. (*KC*, 54) ‘totally’

(44) **Tan** hollow, somehow. (*Scenes*, 37) ‘So’

(45) **Bien** skilled, just like you, Lee. (*Scenes*, 59) ‘Well’

(46) Suddenly missing, **visceralmente**, the smells, the sounds of home. (*Scenes*, 73) ‘deeply’

Aside from the inclusion of nouns and adjectives, no other contemporary U.S. Latino text has consistently used other types of Spanish insertions to give voice to their stories. Uniquely enough, Chávez-Silverman also has a high percentage of Conjunctions (14.3% and 8.0%), Prepositional Phrases (10.1% and 12.8%) and Prepositions (3.7% and 0.4%) in her texts. This shows innovation for the use of Spanish and English in a bilingual U.S. Latino text. Examples of conjunctions, prepositions and prepositional phrases are shown below:

Conjunctions

- (47) **Y** of course they didn't break up. (*KC*, 37) 'And'
- (48) **Pero** it's you, Daddy. (*KC*, 43) 'But'
- (49) Or I try to remember edifying, **pro-mujer** statements made by attractive women I admire, such as Lauren Hutton, Diane von Furstenburg, even Diane Lane, **pero** this strategy flat out failed me yesterday. (*KC*, 69) 'pro-woman' and 'but'
- (50) My parents secretly hoped being skinny and weak and jaundiced would put me off my move to your country, **pero** no such animal!. (*Scenes*, 50) 'but'
- (51) **Y** just now el Steve told me, independent of my opinion, that this very one is the nicest studio. (*Scenes*, 81) 'And'
- (52) I don't give in all that often, **pero** it really is what my O-pos blood type craves: red meat and lots of it (sigh, only in Argentina). (*Scenes*, 98) 'but'

Prepositions

- (53) Popular **desde** day one. (*KC*, 30) 'since'
- (54) **En** Oaxaca, to be precise. (*KC*, 45) 'In'
- (55) I'm waaay too out of it **para** Disneyland. (*KC*, 78) 'for'
- (56) **De** alternating moments, periods. (*Scenes*, 66) 'From'

Prepositional Phrases

- (57) Maybe that's precisely his point **con este** "Cologne"? (*KC*, 68) 'with this'
- (58) **En realidad**, I don't remember how I managed to move to the right, through 4 or 5 lanes of bumper-to-bumper in that behemoth, canary colored, motorcycle and testosterone-toting vehicle. (*KC*, 77) 'In reality'
- (59) Hot-to-trot for his new field assignment **en Latinoamérica**. (*KC*, 114) 'in Latin America'
- (60) Maybe one day I'll even be burning a custom CD **para ti**, hey? (*Scenes*, 80) 'for you'
- (61) Their long, white, dandelion-puff blossoms appeared briefly **en la primavera del año pasado**— triumphant, thrust skyward, shockingly phalluslike. (*Scenes*, 130) 'in the spring of last year'
- (62) Oh, those lion-colored hills **de ambos lados de la 280N** make me weep, ecstatically, **con su belleza**. (*Scenes*, 59) 'Oh, those lion-colored hills on both sides of the 280N make me weep, ecstatically, with their beauty.'

Finally, there were also insertion of Spanish interjections (*KC* 6.0% and *Scenes* 5.7%) and determiners (*KC* 4.1% and *Scenes* 1.4%), as seen in (63) – (66):

Interjections

- (63) **Bueno**, in almost a year. (*KC*, 79) 'Well'
- (64) Corrugated tin shacks (**coño**, I sound like Chrissie Hynde, or like an Elvis song), carcasses of abandoned cars. (*KC*, 113) 'shit'
- (65) Sounds like a really obvious, second wave feministic proclamation, **¿qué no?** (*Scenes*, 34) 'right?'
- (66) **Ay**, you know. (*Scenes*, 98) 'Oh'

Determiners

- (67) **Una** happily-ever-after? (*KC*, 104) ‘A’
- (68) Not talking about **los** road trips! (*Scenes*, 99) ‘the’

In section 4.3.5 we will see in more detail the nature of hybrid sentences, those sentences for which a base language cannot be established, but it is worth pointing out that even in sentences with English as the base language, in addition to examples like those above where we find one insertion of a Spanish word or phrase, sentences with multiple insertions including discontinuous or non-constituent insertions abound. In (69) – (74) we have some examples from *KC* and *Scenes* that include three or more Spanish insertions.

- (69) Like in one of those richly stenciled, movie like, long, long dreams, **donde** it feels like you’re sleepwalking **bajo agua**: that was my life **con el padre del Juvenil**. (*KC*, 79) ‘where’, ‘under water’ and ‘with Juvenil’s father’
- (70) **Pero** it’s hard to tell **a veces** with **porteños**. (*KC*, 89) ‘But’, ‘sometimes’, ‘Argentinians from the Capital’
- (71) **Que una** grown woman, **escritora**, world traveler, scholar and mother should be, **STILL**, **tan** warm blooded. (*KC*, 100) ‘That a grown woman, writer, world traveler, scholar and mother should be, **STILL**, so warm blooded.’
- (72) From shop keepers to taxi drivers and **ni** fucking **modo los** academics. (*KC*, 149) ‘no fucking way the academics’
- (73) Suddenly **la anagnórisis** hits me, plain as the (alas, **algo demasiado** pronounced) **nariz** on my face: maybe herein lies **la salvación**. (*Scenes*, 67) ‘Suddenly the anagnorisis hits me, plain as the (alas, something really pronounced) nose on my face: maybe herein lies salvation.’

- (74) Actually, it is the thought of having that tiny “clip” inside me, in such an intimate locus of my **geografía interior**, that I find most unsettling and yet (**bueno**, you know how genuinely strange I am) . . . also somehow **hechizante**. (*Scenes*, 104) ‘Actually, it is the thought of having that tiny “clip” inside me, in such an intimate locus of my interior geography, that I find most unsettling and yet (well, you know how genuinely strange I am)... also somehow bewitching.’

Similar to Díaz’s texts, *KC* and *Scenes* include many cases of hybrid phrases, which show her bilingual and bicultural voice, as those shown below:

- (75) from the 50th story **de las Twin Torres** (*KC*, 52) ‘of the Twin Towers’
- (76) I used to think **el Beverly Center** was quite the **abeja’s rodillas** (*KC*, 67) ‘I used to think the Beverly Center was quite the bee’s knees’
- (77) a little minirant/**explicación contigo** (*KC*, 83) ‘explanation with you’
- (78) **cheto-ville** (*KC*, 144) ‘rich boy-ville’
- (79) **este spring/incipiente verano** (*Scenes*, 36) ‘this spring/incipient summer’
- (80) over-**la-cima** (*Scenes*, 39) ‘over-the-top’
- (81) flight-or-**vuelo** (*Scenes*, 66) ‘flight-or-fly’
- (82) probably designer sun **gafa-ed**, **chupamedias** (*Scenes*, 77) ‘probably designer sunglasses-ed, bootlickers’
- (83) cool as a **pepino** (*Scenes*, 104) ‘cool as a cucumber’
- (84) like there was no **mañana** (*Scenes*, 106) ‘like there was no tomorrow’

Similar to Díaz, Chávez-Silverman also creates hybrid compound noun phrases. In (85)-(105) we have some examples from *KC*:

- (85) our **alterna**-guidebook (16) ‘alternate’

- (86) Pierre insisted I get a friggin' squishy, almost **hongo**-like **memoria**-foam mattress topper
(76) 'mushroom' and 'memory'
- (87) **el gitano**-looking **mozo** (20) 'the gypsy-looking waiter'
- (88) **acidez**-inducing (20) 'acid-inducing'
- (89) **Chino**-certified price (25) 'Chinese-certified price'
- (90) **indio**-filled markets (46) 'Indian-filled markets'
- (91) **huarache**-leather (46) 'Sandal-leather'
- (92) **chapopote**-scented (47) pitch-scented
- (93) **copal**-wood **alebrije** owls.(47) 'resin-wood' sculptured owls'
- (94) chilean **entraña**-smelling **mercados** (47) 'insides' and 'markets'
- (95) death-**pronóstico** scent (47) 'death-forecast scent'
- (96) funhouse-**espejo** (69) 'fun-house mirror'
- (97) teen-**encarnación** (72) 'teen-encarnation'
- (98) **el alterna**-boy (73) 'the alternative-boy'
- (99) Dodge chariot-turned-**calabaza** (78) 'pumpkin'
- (100) my hyper-**reconocimiento** (79) 'recognition'
- (101) no **zurdo**-tract (83) 'no left handed-tract'
- (102) weird cyber-**geografía**. (82) 'weird cyber-geography'
- (103) Catholic **cura**-in-training (119) 'priest-in-training'
- (104) **chango**-on-the-back (123) 'kid-on-the-back'
- (105) mad-**vaca** (146) 'mad-cow'

Examples from *Scenes* can be seen in (106)-(127) below

- (106) **verga**-trees (12) 'penis'

- (107) still-**tapatío** (12) ‘from Guadalajara’
- (108) **nalga**-busters (12) ‘butt’
- (109) smooth-as-**seda** (25) ‘leather’
- (110) **terremoto**-toppled (34) ‘earthquake’
- (111) **trucha**-nailed (39) ‘trout’
- (112) **tecolote**-eyed (40) ‘owl’
- (113) **la abandonada**-by-teen-mom (65) ‘abandoned’
- (114) verbal **arañazo**-fests (65-66) ‘scratch’
- (115) **hueso**-rattling (71) ‘bone’
- (116) blow-**arriba** dolls (84) ‘up’
- (117) slow-as-**lodo** (88) ‘mud’
- (118) **caldera**-colored (105) ‘kettle’
- (119) kick-**nalga** (108) ‘butt’
- (120) **ceniza**-green (110) ‘ash’
- (121) human-**tiburones** (118) ‘sharks’
- (122) **busto**-manipulating (105) ‘bust’
- (123) pseudo-**indígena** (110) ‘indigenous’
- (124) **brisa**-borne (125) ‘breeze’
- (125) **mota**-hazed (127) ‘marijuana’
- (126) **nalga**-challenging staircase (127) ‘butt’
- (127) **pendejo**-grinning (128) ‘asshole’

Through the use of a variety of Spanish word insertions, hybrid phrases and hybrid compound nouns Chávez-Silverman, like Junot Díaz, creates a radically bilingual text which goes beyond the type of Spanish-English language mixing present in other U.S. bilingual texts.

4.3.4 Spanish-base Bilingual Sentences

As mentioned above, in contrast to Díaz's works, the percentage of Spanish-base bilingual sentences in Chávez-Silverman works is similar to the percentage of English-base bilingual sentences (6.4% in *KC* and 8.4% in *Scenes*). The English insertions follow the same pattern that I pointed out for the Spanish insertions. As expected, Nouns and NPs prevailed as the highest categories: (21.9% and 10.6% in *KC* and 18% and 31.8%) in *Scenes*). Figures 4.7 and 4.8 show the percentages of all types of phrases.

Figure 4.7 English Insertions in *KC*

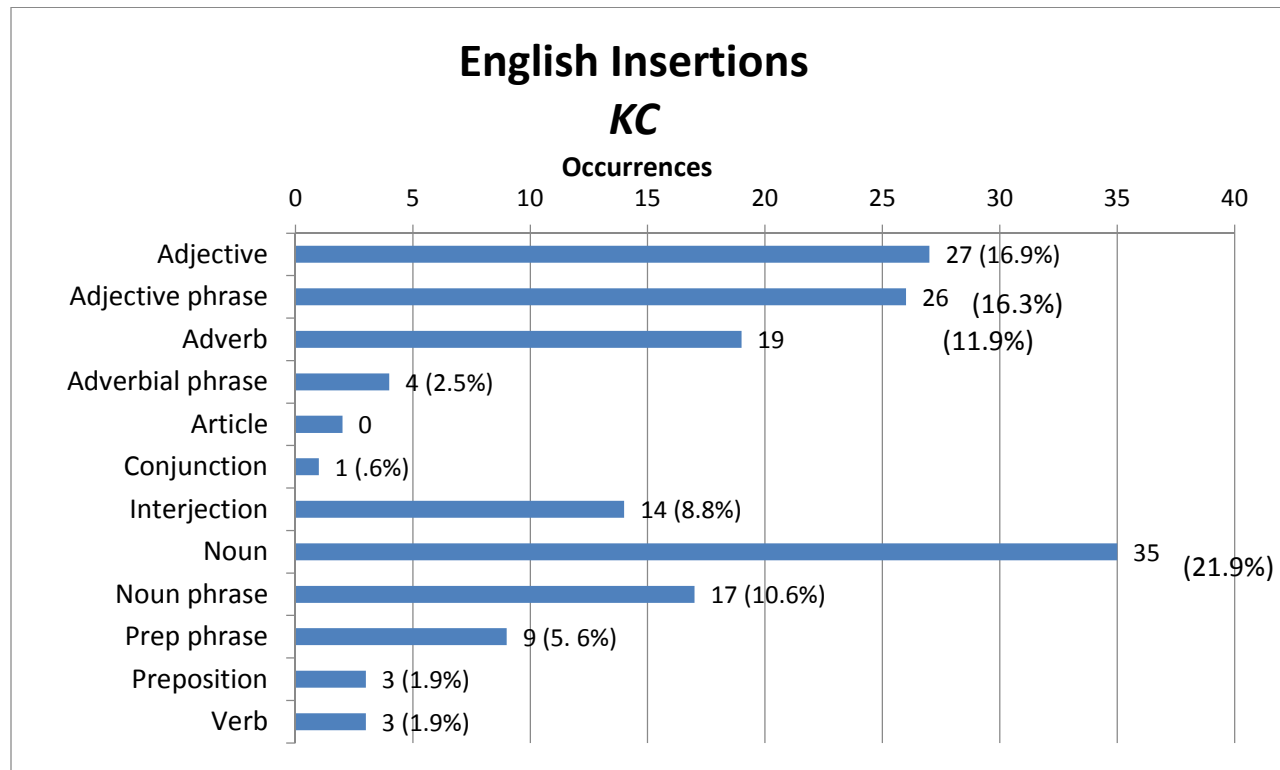
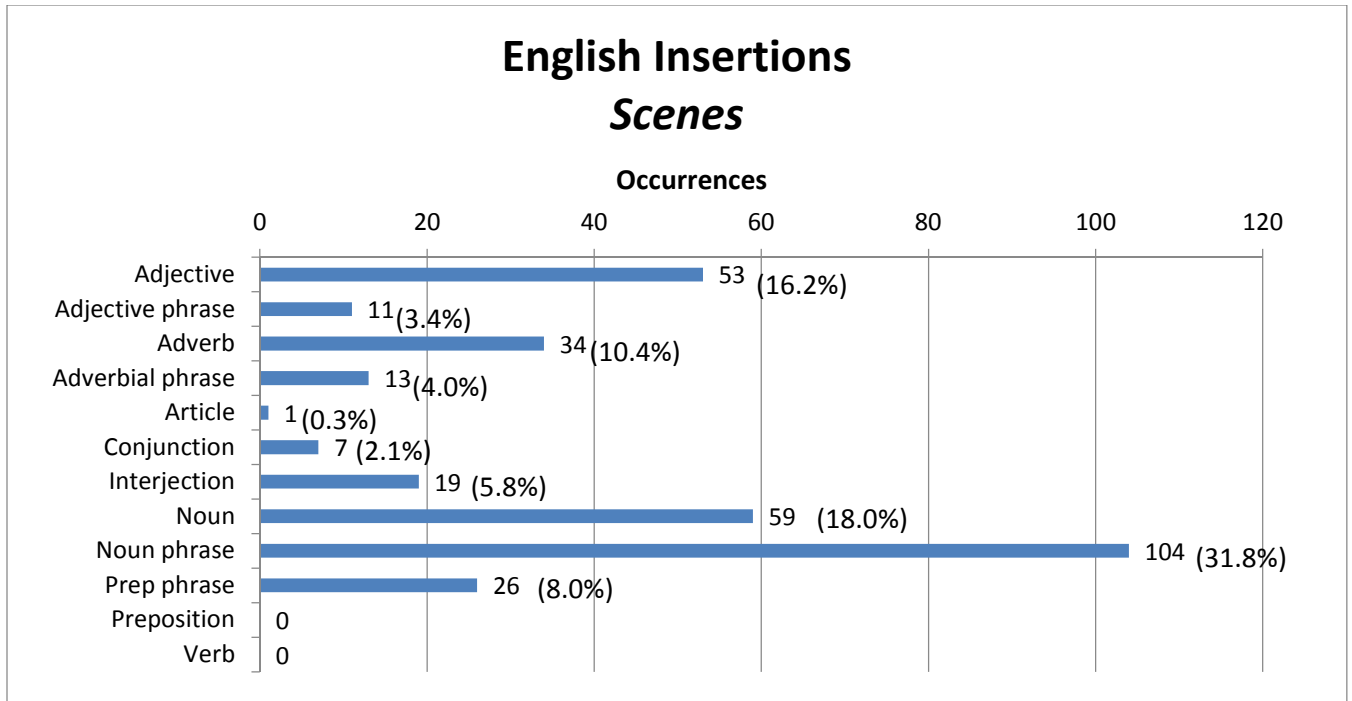


Figure 4.8 English Insertions in *Scenes*



As the figures above show, this is similar to the Spanish insertions in English-base sentences. Some examples of Nouns and NPs appear below:

(128) **Que este lugar es para** insiders. (KC, 24)

‘This place is for...’

(129) **Desde su gaze, diríamos ahora.** (KC, 99)

‘From his gaze, we would say now.’

(130) **¿Y a tu nieto Joey, que vino a la Argentina de child y volverá a Califas de teen: cambiada la voz, pobladas las cejas y hablando un cahteshano aporteñado?** (KC, 118)

‘And your grandson Joey, that came to Argentina as a child and will go back to California as a teen: with his voice changed, bushy eyebrows and speaking Argentine Spanish?’

(131) **Y que tuvimos un** miscarriage. (Scenes, 25)

‘And we had a miscarriage.’

(132) **Porque las pyracantha y romero bushes que abundan ni modo hacen este perfume.**

(*Scenes*, 127)

‘Because the plentiful pyrcantha and Rosemary bushes make this perfume anyway.’

(133) **Estoy a un solo día de mi exodus del Vortex.** (*Scenes*, 142)

‘I am only one day away from my exodus from the Vortex.’

(134) **Dónde el desgarrador y argentinísimo social realism?** (*KC*, 22)

‘Where the piercing and very argentine social realism?’

(135) **Que twenty years son veinte años, y toda la cosa.** (*KC*, 45)

‘That twenty years are twenty years, and everything.’

(136) **Y me tildan, puede ser, de just another tourist, a fin de cuentas an outsider que jamás podrá realmeecente CONOCER la Argentina, somos un país con una hihtoria taaan compleja, mirá voh, el peronihmo, ah inexplicable voh no ehtuvihte voh no lo vivihte voh nunca entenderáh del todo.** (*KC*, 85)

‘And they brand me, it could be, as just another tourist, at the end of the story an outsider that could never really KNOW Argentina, we are a country with a history that is sooo complex, look at the peronismo, oh unexplainable, you weren’t here, you didn’t live it, you will never understand it all.’²⁶

(137) **Eso siempre fue yuppie central.** (*Scenes*, 30)

‘This was always yuppie central.’

(138) **Fui en el health walk.** (*Scenes*, 34)

‘I went on a health walk.’

²⁶ Peronismo in Argentina refers to the political, social and economic principals of Perón and his regime.

(139) **Simón, gente, patrasito estoy en este** suburban college town, **en el** easternmost edge **de** L.A. county. (*Scenes*, 151)

‘Yeah, people, for a while I have been in this suburban college town, in the easternmost edge of L.A. county.’

Aside from Nouns and NPs many of the other word categories have a large number of English insertions. Particularly large is the percentage of adjectives and adjective phrases in *KC*, which together is slightly higher than nouns and noun phrases together. Following, are examples from the other prevalent categories:

Adjectives (*KC* 16.9% and *Scenes* 16.2%)

(140) **Sentirme triturada**, run through, **obliterada**. (*KC*, 73)

‘feeling shredded, run through, obliterated.’

(141) **Me siento** abandoned, solitary. (*Scenes*, 29)

‘I feel abandoned, solitary.’

Adjective Phrases (*KC*, 16.3% and *Scenes* 3.4%)

(142) A big huge **despliegue of nacionalismo popular, regional, anti-globalizador!** (*KC*, 84)

‘A huge display of popular, regional and anti-globalizing nationalism!’

(143) **Antaño me consideraba** so free. (*Scenes*, 34)

‘I used to consider myself to be so free’

Adverbs (*KC* 11.9% and *Scenes* 10.4%)

(144) **Lágrimas y gritos transatlánticos** y finally. (*KC*, 36)

‘Transatlantic tears and screams and finally.’

(145) **Pero repito**: why? (*Scenes*, 18)

‘But I repeat : why?’

Adverbial Phrases (*KC* 2.5% and *Scenes* 4.0%)

(146) **Me sentí** out of time, **furiosa de repente, estafada, dis/locada.** (*KC*, 23) ‘I felt out of time, suddenly furious, defrauded, dislocated.’

(147) Right here, **en mi secreto recinto.** (*Scenes*, 14) ‘Right here, in my secret place.’

Conjunctions (*KC* 0.6% and *Scenes* 2.1%)

(148) **Y mis tíos Larry and Zippie Levine están en Long Island.** (*KC*, 154) ‘And my uncle Larry and aunt Zippie Levine are in Long Island.’

(149) Or, **patrás al futuro.** (*Scenes*, 57) ‘Or, back to the future.’

Interjections (*KC* 8.8% and *Scenes* 5.8%)

(150) Hell, **si no hubiera sido por Pizarnik, habría hecho, casi seguro, una tesis sobre Cortázar.** (*KC*, 41) ‘Hell, if it weren’t for Pizarnick, I would have done, almost for sure, a thesis about Cortázar.’

Prepositional Phrases (*KC* 5.6% and *Scenes* 8.0%)

(151) **Ni siquiera había visto a la tal Jean in** over 20 years. (*KC*, 36) ‘I had not even seen Jean in over 20 years.’

(152) **Aquí me quedo,** for now. (*Scenes*, 75) ‘I’ll stay here, for now.’

Prepositions (*KC* 1.9% and *Scenes* 0.0%)

(153) Beyond **toda descripción, toda foto.** (*KC*, 134) ‘Beyond all descriptions, all pictures.’

As in the previous section, Chávez-Silverman also uses multiple insertions of English words in Spanish-base bilingual sentences. This further exemplifies the hybrid nature of Chávez-Silverman’s use of bilingualism in her texts. Some examples of this include:

(154) **Los de Julio apenas se movían,** sluggishly **rozándose,** politely **ASUMIDOS en su** basic **inmovilidad parisina.** (*KC*, 103)

‘Those that belonged to Julio barely moved, sluggishly, grazing, politely, taking on their basic Parisian immobility.’

- (155) **¿Cómo a alguien con mi historia, con mis pasiones e inclinaciones, me tocó de landlady precisamente la muy judía, muy inmigrante Susana Lustig de Ferrer, wife de Aldo Ferrer, el Ministro de Economía under Frondizi?** (*KC*, 107)

‘How can someone with my history, with my passions and inclinations, by change I got her as a landlady, precisely the very Jewish, very immigrant Susana Lustig de Ferrer, wife of Aldo Ferrer, the Secretary of the Economy under Frondizi?’

- (156) Hmmm . . . **este** behavior— **este lanzarse y luego recular** endlessly— **¿será emblemático del “histeriqueo” porteño del que siempre te me quejás?** (*KC*, 122)

‘Hmm... this behavior—this lancing forward and then going back endlessly—what is emblematic about the “hysterical” Argentinian from the Capital that you always complain to me about?’

- (157) **Pero** this summer, **él va a estar en** summer school **y por las tardes**, volunteering **o trabajando o bien hanguendo con los friends en las cashes, qué sé sho.** (*KC*, 125)

‘But this summer, he is going to be in summer school, and in the afternoons, volunteering or working or hanging out with his friends in the streets, what do I know.’

- (158) **Almorzamos en** Greens, **ese famoso**, vegetarian-luxe **restó** in the Marina. (*Scenes*, 24)

‘We ate lunch in Greens, this famous, vegetarian-lux restaurant in the Marina.’

- (159) **Bueno, en realidad**, souls **bien** different, **pero** touching. (*Scenes*, 72)

‘Well, in reality, souls really different, but touching.’

(160) **Ya que no way me inducirá esta overheated caminata a ningún natural Zen zone, Padrino, comienzo a invocar tu nombre, como mantra, como me enseñó la Marie,** in her Prana yoga class. (*Scenes*, 131)

‘There is no way that this overheated truck would take me to any natural Zen zone, Godfather, I start to call out your name like a mantra, like Maria taught me how to do in her Prana yoga class.’

(161) **Pero** on the other hand, **confieso también no estar** inoculated, not completely, **contra los charms de lo que puede hacer el dinero.** (*Scenes*, 147)

‘But on the other hand, I also confess to not being inoculated, not completely, against the charms of money.’

We also have intra-word insertions where English words are treated like Spanish words and even take Spanish suffixes. Some are shown in (162)-(169):²⁷

(162) **Speehecito** (*KC*, 90) ‘little speech’ instead of **discurso**

(163) **Tus blondas girlfriends** (*KC*, 103) ‘blond’ instead of **rubia**

(164) **Disapointeada** (*KC*, 119) ‘disappointed’ instead of **disilusionada**

(165) **Blimpificación** (*Scenes*, 84) ‘Blimpification’

(166) **slackecito** (*Scenes*, 125) slack instead of **flojo**

(167) **friquear** (*Scenes*, 133) ‘freaky’

(168) **queeneriles** (*Scenes*, 136) ‘little queens’

(169) **Googlero** (*Scenes*, 147) ‘I google’

²⁷ For these examples from *KC*, I listened to the audio files found at: http://uwpress.wisc.edu/audio_cronicas.html. I wanted to determine if these were code-switches or borrowings. The files confirmed that these instances are English borrowings, which have been morphologically and phonologically integrated into Spanish.

Thus, as opposed to the works of Díaz where both the amount of monolingual Spanish sentences and Spanish-base bilingual sentences was extremely small (1.0% monolingual Spanish and .01% Spanish-base bilingual sentences in *BWLOW* and 0.6% monolingual Spanish and .03% Spanish-base bilingual sentences in *THYLH*), in Chávez-Silverman's works the percentage of both monolingual Spanish and Spanish-base bilingual sentences is high and similar to that of monolingual English sentences and English-base bilingual sentences, as shown in Figures 4.3 and 4.4 above. That is, the use of Spanish and English is much more balanced. *KC* and *Scenes* utilize both languages together to construct a text where the two languages meld together in a way that no other U.S. Latino author has displayed in the past. Going beyond Díaz's *BWLOW* and *THYLH*, she uses translations to create humor along with hybrid constructions and phrases to bring pleasure to bilingual readers. While Díaz creates a hybrid text through the use of Spanish borrowings which flow into the English, *KC* and *Scenes* do not show a preference for English or Spanish base sentences as we see in the analysis of the two texts. Instead, Chávez-Silverman illustrates her diversity of language by including both Spanish and English words and phrases from a variety of word-class types to construct her hybrid text. As we will see in the next section, this is further exemplified with her use of hybrid sentences.

4.3.5 Hybrid Sentences

In this section, I examine those sentences in *KC* and *Scenes* that do not have a prevalent base language. These utterances are composed of alternations as well as alternations plus insertions. They further highlight the diversity of Spanish-English CS in Chávez-Silverman's texts as this category contains the largest amount of occurrences in both texts, as displayed above in Figures 4.3 and 4.4. *KC* (45.4%) and *Scenes* (43.3%) have Hybrid Sentences as the most prevalent category. For alternations, I have looked to see if Chávez-Silverman follows the same

patterns as Díaz. As we saw in chapter three, his alternations obeyed the grammar rules which have been proposed by numerous scholars for the interaction between Spanish and English intrasententially. I have classified all of the alternations in the texts as expected (those which follow the constraints for CS) or unexpected (those which deviate from the typical pattern). My findings for *KC* and *Scenes* show that Chávez-Silverman does obey the rules for alternation, although her style is notably different from Díaz. In mostly all of the alternation patterns, Chávez-Silverman switches seamlessly between both languages as illustrated in (170)-(173).

(170) I know, **ya sé, mamá.** (*KC*, 45) ‘I know, I already know, mom’

(171) Exactly as I remember it, **y sabes qué?** (*KC*, 98-99) ‘Exactly as I remember it, and you know what?’

(172) **Estuvimos en silencio** and it was cloudlike. (*Scenes*, 95) ‘We were in silence and it was cloudlike.’

(173) “You are the place where something will happen”; **recuerdo esas palabras.** (*Scenes*, 120) ‘I remember those words’

On the other hand, there are some instances where her language mixing veers from what has typically been accepted in the linguistics literature for language alternation. In these instances, although the language structure is similar for both English and Spanish, there have been some discussions about the types of CS that are acceptable. For example, in Toribio (2001) she discusses the Spanish-English CS that occurs between a determiner and a NP. She says that this is a murky area because in most cases it can’t be deciphered. She comments, “[a]s nouns are the most frequently borrowed category of words, it proves difficult to determine whether a cross-linguistic pairing of determiner and noun is representative of insertional or alternational codeswitching.” Below, I have pointed out some examples of this type of CS.

(174) **Que si no dominás tu temper**, how are you going to be able to drive? (*KC*, 31)

‘If you don’t get your temper under control...’

(175) **Laura se acuerda de un fight daddy** and mom got into over politics (maybe the death penalty)? (*KC*, 39)

‘Laura remembers a fight...’

(176) **Natuurlik, después de ese sales pitch**, I immediately snapped it up. (*Scenes*, 86)

‘after that sales pitch...’

(177) **Yo todavía quiero todo y el wrapper** too, baby. (*Scenes*, 89)

‘I still want everything and the wrapper too, baby.’

(178) **Pausamos**, close to a rough-hewn gate, looking into some kind of ranch, **viendo pasar vehículos que yo te recordaba eran como los safari guide jeeps**, for game spotting. (*Scenes*, 95-96)

‘We pause, close to a rough-hewn gate, looking into some kind of ranch, watching cars pass that I remind you were the safari guide jeeps for game spotting.’

In addition to the alternations which I discussed above, Chávez-Silverman’s texts are also composed of a high number of a combination of alternations and insertions *KC* and *Scenes* are perhaps the only published Spanish-English bilingual texts which showcase radical bilingualism to this extent. These instances often contain long descriptive paragraphs of bilingual prose. Examples of this are displayed below in (179)-(184)

(179) **Descubrimos al tiro, poh, que** he had deep plans to introduce me to a zillion poets and other cultural figures **todos los días**, altho I tried to tell him **que estábamos de vacaciones, y yo medio intoxicada**, besides, **de poetas, escritores y otras figuras mediáticas**, after five intense months **en Buenos Aires**. (*KC*, 59)

‘We discovered right away, well, that he had deep plans to introduce me to a zillion poets and other cultural figures every day, although I tried to tell him that we were on vacation, and I was half way intoxicated, besides, from poets, writers and other barely known figures, after five intense months in Buenos Aires.’

- (180) Trish, oh Howard, Miss Zooloo, Tina and **la** Pamela Williams, a double Remy Martin (**un** double whammy, **máh bien**) in Rosebud’s in Union Square, **esperando que** Helen and Pamela **terminen su shift para ir a cenar o bailar**. (*KC*, 133)

‘Trish, oh Howard, Miss Zooloo, Tina and Pamela Williams, a double Remy Martin (or better, a double whammy) in Rosebud’s in Union Square, waiting for Helena and Pamela to finish their shift to be able to go out for dinner or to dance.’

- (181) **Finalmente**, after miles and miles of someplace that could be, **casi**, the San Fernando Valley **de** Califas back when I grew up in it— with that blowsy, sun-addled energy, all TG & Y stores, no-name brand drive-in chicken places, abandoned warehouses and pumpkin patches— **doblamos a la izquierda en Lisandro de la Torre, en la frontera entre los barrios de Mataderos y Liniers, frontera también con la provincia occidental de Buenos Aires**. (*KC*, 145)

‘Finally, after miles and miles of someplace that could be, almost the San Fernando Valley of California back when I grew up in it—with that blowsy, sun-addled energy all TG& Y stores, no-name brand drive-in chicken places, abandoned warehouses and pumpkin patches—we turn left on Lisandro de la Torre, at the border between the neighborhoods Mataderos and Liniers, also the border with the Western province of Buenos Aires.

- (182) Yes, that big ol’ huge flower **que le digo la** scrotal flower, **esa planta que tienen mi** hairdresser Raimundo and his wife **la Tere en su yarda**: it droops down, enormous and phallic, **y despide un** creamy, dreamy, heavy, utterly torrid scent, **a toda hora, pero especialmente de noche**, all throughout the year. (*Scenes*, 86)

‘Yes, that big ol’ huge flower that I call the scrotal flower, that plant that my hairdresser Raimundo has and his wife Tere in their yard: it droops down, enormous and phallic, and it leaves a creamy, dreamy, heavy, utterly torrid scent, at all times of the day, but especially at night, all throughout the year.’

- (183) **Pero casi más interesante: mientras le platicaba de los perfumes que más me enloquecen** (you know, Diva by Ungaro, Norma Kamali’s Body Incense— a pure shot of **iglesia católica** to the **venas**— Guerlain’s Vetiver, YSL’s Kouros, etc.), she said she just knew I’d love Miller Harris’s Feuilles de Tabac, **del cual ella sólo tenía una** teensy **muestra**, which she couldn’t let me have **porque** she herself planned to wear it on New Year’s Eve. (*Scenes*, 86)

‘But almost even more interesting: while she talked to her about the perfumes that drive me the craziest (you know, Diva by Ungaro, Norma Kamali’s Body Incense—a pure shot of

catholic church to the veins—Guerlain’s Vetiver, YSL’s Kouros, etc.), she said she just knew I’d love Miller Harris’s Feuilles de Tabac, which she only had a small sample of, which she couldn’t let me have because she herself planned to wear it one New Year’s Eve.’

(184) **No me acuerdo** exactly where or when, **capaz en una** psychology class **en la UC—Santa Cruz, aprendí que** everybody can see the dots, **que son sólo una función de** extreme **cansancio**. (*Scenes*, 113)

‘I don’t remember exactly where or when, in a psychology class at UC—Santa Cruz, I learned that everybody can see the dots, that they are only a function of extreme tiredness.

As we can see from the examples above, the Spanish-English CS that is being used is sustained and appears to be stabilized through the duration of both texts. I believe that this points to Chávez-Silverman’s language ability and comfort with both languages and reflects the kind of mix which U.S Latinos are using orally. Scholars such as Myers-Scotton (1999, 165) note that “overall switching as an unmarked choice seems to be the first step to what has been called the development of a semiautonomous “Mix.”” It appears that the radical CS found in *KC* and *Scenes* this kind of semiautonomous mix, which is what Auer (1999: 310) refers to as a *fused lect*.

To summarize, as opposed to Díaz, who writes in English and brings Spanish words and sentences into his English sentences, in Chávez-Silverman’s works both languages are equally represented. In *KC* and *Scenes* there is no base language, and if we were to name one category that best describes the code that Chávez-Silverman uses it would be a hybrid one. To separate this kind of CS from Díaz’s, which has been called *radical hybridism* (Casielles-Súarez 2013), I propose the term *radical fusion*, where the fusion between the two languages is not restricted to a small percentage of sentences in the text, but applies to the text as a whole. That is, Chávez-Silverman’s works do not have a base language and are the closest to a mixed language any Spanish-English written text has gotten.

4.4 Sociolinguistic Analysis

In the previous chapter I analyzed the local functions of the use of CS in Díaz's works, which was mainly the use of Spanish words, phrases and sentences in an otherwise English text. We saw that Díaz uses CS to reference Hispanic and Dominican culture and refer to foods, people and family. He additionally uses Spanish as a way to point out the linguistic identity of his characters through Identity Markers and Quotations. Humor is a big part of his texts and the inclusion of High Impact Terms is another function that he uses.

In the case of Chávez-Silverman's works, CS is not used for a particular function in a particular instance, but as the default form of her discourse. Therefore, what is meaningful in this case is not each individual instance of switching, but switching as a whole or what has been termed the global functions of CS. As noted in Jonsson (2005: 203) local functions are more prevalent and easily distinguished in discourse that utilizes CS. On the other hand, global functions apply more to discourse where LM is present. She goes on to note:

As the word *global* indicates, these functions are not necessarily seen locally, i.e. in the text. Instead, they function on a higher level. Therefore, the presentation of these functions, which often refer to central concerns of the society, does not include examples from the plays [texts of interest]. Instead, theoretical frames and notions are introduced and used in the discussion of global functions of CS and CM. This discussion will be developed around two main areas: power relations (addressing questions of domination, resistance and empowerment) and identity construction. (203)

From this perspective, global functions as those which are not visibly identifiable in discourse, and thus different from local functions, which provide clarification, emphasis or quote something that has been said by someone else, as noted in chapter three. Global functions, on the other hand, point towards the use of CS as a tool accessible to bilingual speakers to reference their resistance to dominant culture. Their third space and hybrid identity as well as their resistance towards choosing between their languages.

Taking these ideas of U.S. Latino's resistance towards dominant Anglo culture into consideration, I will layout evidence from other Spanish-English bilingual American scholars that use CS to reference their bilingual and bicultural identity as well as some border and culture theories that can be used to connect the linguistic to the socio-cultural statements that Chávez-Silverman's texts appear to make. I will conclude the chapter with some general discussion of how these radically bilingual texts connect to the U.S. Hispanic community as a whole and some insights from a personal interview that I did with Susana Chávez-Silverman in March 2015.

4.4.1 U.S. Latino Language Ideologies and Resistance

Although the United States does not have an official language, historically there has been a push to use only English in public settings. This has therefore led Anglo Americans in power to lean towards English as the most appropriate language, thus creating a dominant ideology of language. This notion is further exemplified by Johnson (2000: 62) who states that:

Dominant ideology guides conceptions of reality through repetition of preferred, privileged practices treated as though they were "natural." This control of meaning relegates other cultural systems to the margins by making their meaning systems seem wrong, deviant, unimportant, primitive, or even invisible.

With English as the expected norm, this dominant ideology has left little room for language diversity in the U.S. public sphere, as illuminated by the English-only movement. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 which was supposed to provide higher quality education for students that did not have English as a native language only wound up placing them in said programs which were poorly developed (Amy Wells 1989). This led to negative perspectives of Latinos in the United States as uneducated and as having poor language abilities in English and Spanish.²⁸

²⁸ As we saw in chapter two, some definitions of Spanglish show the negative connotations associated with those who mix Spanish and English. Even Chávez-Silverman has mixed feelings about this term. In the interview I had with her, she said: "I'm not 100% **convencida de ese label**, Spanglish. Don't get me wrong, as a kind of shorthand, I don't really have a problem with it. **Pero** I think in general the term is used in a kind of commercial sense (ridiculous

In a constant struggle for legitimacy and acceptance of the two languages and cultures that U.S. Latinos live between on a daily basis, they are often faced with the dilemma of choosing between English or Spanish when deciding how to most authentically express themselves. Julia Alvarez in the introduction to Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands* comments:

As one in that first generation of Latinas who came of age in those pre-multicultural, pre-women's movement days, I floundered as to what it meant to be a hyphenated, bicultural, bilingual American. The old model of immigration I was present with was an assimilationist, melting-pot model: you became an American by cutting off your ties to that "old-world," including its language, its culture, its ways of making meaning, and you blended in with the mainstream American culture. (2)

As a protest to having to choose one language over another, cultural productions such as Díaz's and Chávez-Silverman's texts show that these more contemporary U.S. Latinos have taken the stance to resist these previously imposed notions and to construct their own creative works which illustrate their talent in a language that is most natural to them. Their language choice makes up part of their social and linguistic identity. This is affirmed by Gumperz and Cook (1982: 7) who comment, "social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language." Aside from the negative language ideologies associated with the term Spanglish and those who use it, there are many who celebrate U.S. Latino's preference for Spanish-English CS as a way to express their hybrid identity and to resist Anglo-American provisions of what is standard language. For example, Anzaldúa notes about Spanish-English CS (which she refers to as Chicano Spanish) that:

film **con el Adam Sandler y Paz Vega**, not to go all essentialist on us here—after all, **amo** la Madre Patria, and I grew up in Spain—**pero** come *on!* **Paz Vega es española!**), or to refer to an oral, conversational praxis.”

‘I’m not 100% convinced of this label Spanglish....But, I think in general the term is used in a kind of commercial sense (ridiculous film with Adam Sandler and Paz Vega, not to go all essentialist on us here—after all, I love the Motherland, and I grew up in Spain but come *on!* Paz Vega is Spanish!), or to refer to an oral, conversational praxis.’

Chicano Spanish is a border tongue which developed naturally. Change, *evolución, enriquecimiento de palabras nuevas por invención o adopción* have created variants of Chicano Spanish, *un nuevo lenguaje. Un lenguaje que corresponde a un modo de vivir*. Chicano Spanish is not incorrect, it is a living language. For a people who are neither Spanish nor live in a country which Spanish is the first language; for a people who live in a country in which English is the reigning tongue but who are not Anglo; for a people who cannot entirely identify with standard Spanish nor standard English, what recourse is left to them but to create their own language? A language which they can connect their identity to, one capable of communicating the realities and values true to themselves—a language which terms that are neither *español ni inglés*, but both. We speak a patois, a forked tongue, a variation of two languages.²⁹ (77)

Similarly to Anzaldúa, Chávez-Silverman uses CS in her daily life. In my interview with her, she pointed out that she uses it with almost everybody. She says: “[a]nd something I really love about L.A. is that I can, in fact, code-switch on a daily basis, **casi** 24/7. With whom? **Prácticamente con todo el mundo**. With my family, my friends, **mis** students **y mis colegas**, people in shops and other businesses, restaurantes, **en la calle**. It’s a daily practice.³⁰ Like this one, all the answers she provided to my questions contained CS.

Her texts contain sometimes direct reference to the two languages:

(185) **Hasta pueden pronunciar algunas palabritas en inglés**, they will proudly tell you.

(KC, 23) ‘They can even pronounce a few words in English, they will proudly tell you.’

(186) They’re speaking a high, singsong, too-70s ENGLISH! (KC, 98)

(187) I ended up with Miguel, Spanish-speaking, **aunque le faltaba algun léxico perfumeril crucial**. (Scenes, 136) ‘although he didn’t have some of the crucial lexicon.’

²⁹ ‘Chicano Spanish is a border tongue which developed naturally. Change, evolution, enrichment of new words by invention or adaption have created variants of Chicano Spanish, a new language. A language that corresponds to a way of living. Chicano Spanish is not incorrect, it is a living language.....--a language which terms that are neither Spanish or English, but both.’

³⁰ ‘And something I really love about L.A. is that I can, in fact, code-switch on a daily basis, almost 24/7. With whom? Practically with everybody. With my family, my friends, my students and my colleagues, people in shops and other businesses, restaurants, in the streets. It’s a daily practice.’

(188) **Mientras que antes**, my diary from 1982, was really English dominant. (*Scenes*, 125)

‘While before, my diary from 1982, was really English dominant.’

(189) **Está un tal Lutero y su sidekick el Carlo, un Ph.D. student cubano que no habla español.** (*Scenes*, 33) ‘There is Lutero and his sidekick Carlo, a Cuban Ph.D. student that

doesn’t speak Spanish.’

(190) **Y**, just by the way, **de su** older daughter **que habla perfecto español**, learned in Argentina. (*Scenes*, 81) ‘And, just by the way, from his older daughter that spoke perfect

Spanish, learned in Argentina.’

There are also examples of nostalgia in the narration for how Spanish makes the narrator feel:

(191) **Los sonidos del español** carry over to me **de repente, brisa-borne**, across a small ridge.

(*Scenes*, 125) ‘The sounds of Spanish carry over to me suddenly, breeze-borne, across a small ridge.’

(192) **Pero ese** reverie **nostálgico es interrumpido**, jarringly, by the voices of two Latino men arguing **en español.** (*Scenes*, 141) ‘But that nostalgic reverie is interrupted, jarringly, by

the voices of two Latino men arguing in Spanish.’

I also noted some instances in *KC* where the author highlights bilingualism positively as a resourceful device which can be used by the bilinguals:

(193) **Entro y veo a la Rectora, una** cool beige-y bottle blonde (of course), still **con ese semi-incongruente (sha es invierno, no jodas!)** hideous orangey **bronceado que usan tantas porteñas y me besa y veo al Juvenil** and my heart is in my throat **y se ve un poquitín alicaído eso sí, e intenta susurrarme en inglés** let me tell you what happened, OK, mama? (*KC*, 28)

‘I enter and I see the Director, a cool beige-y bottle blond (of course), still with that semi-incongruent (it’s Winter, don’t fuck around!) hideous orangey bronze that so many Southern Argentine women use and she kisses me and I see Juvenil and my hear is in my through and he looks a little weak, and he tries to whisper to me in English let me tell you what happened, OK, mama?’

(194) **Habiendo una preponderancia bastante** heavy **de** Aries in our group (**cuatro de nosotros**, including **el** previously mentioned Harvard-trained, Spanish-, English and Farsi speaking litigator), **huelga decir que** we got our way. (KC, 19)

‘Having a pretty heavy preponderance of Aries in our group (four of us, including the previously mentioned Harvard-trained, Spanish-, English and Farsi speaking litigator, needless to say that we got our way.’

(195) **Pero ojo: mamá** gave as good as she got, **porque también hubo muchas escenas** like the time I remember Daddy shouting if that French jerk ever calls here again (**por un colega de mamá en un** high school **en Los Angeles** where she taught French and Spanish; **el pobre franchute** had fallen hard for her), that’s it. (KC, 36)

‘But watch out: mom gave as good as she got, because there were also a lot of scenes like the time I remember Daddy shouting if that French jerk ever calls here again (one of mom’s colleagues at a high school in Los Angeles where she taught French and Spanish; the poor French guy had fallen hard for her), that’s it.’

4.4.2 Heteroglossia, Bilingualism, and Translanguaging

There are several notions which can be useful to talk about this renewed interest in defending a fused language, which can be seen in the works of Chávez-Silverman and other U.S. Latinos. These include Bakhtin’s *heteroglossia* and *double-voiced discourse* as well as García’s *translanguaging* and *transglossia*.

As noted above, there have been many adverse perceptions regarding the linguistic variety that U.S. Latinos use to express their hybrid identities. Scholars like Alvarez and Anzaldúa have used their platform to discuss these issues and the daily struggle of U.S. Latinos against being told how to talk and which language to use in which setting. As a result, other U.S. Latinos both in academia and in the community have joined in on this debate and discussion producing a variety of authentic Hispanic-American literary and non-literary texts. More recently, these productions have extended to the use of Spanish-English CS in journalistic texts, songs and social media, as we will see in the next chapter. Thus, Spanish-English CS is gaining popularity in mainstream Anglo-American culture and the preference for a unique U.S. Latino

code is becoming acceptable and even respected in the Hispanic-American community, thus, acquiring some sort of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977, 1999). This means that instead of seeing Spanish-English CS as a form of communication which is used by those who are not competent in one language or the other, U.S. Latinos are beginning to use this linguistic variety with pride and to see it as a valid and as a valuable part of their identity. Bourdieu (1999: 5) remarks:

[s]ymbolic capital is the capital of recognition accumulated in the course of the whole history of prior struggles (thus very strongly correlated to seniority), that enables one to intervene effectively in current struggles for the conservation or augmentation of symbolic capital, that is, for the power of nomination and of imposition of the legitimate principle of vision and division, universally recognized in a determinate social space.

Thus, in the context of Spanish-English CS in Chávez-Silverman's texts, symbolic capital gives these works, in the words of Johnson (1993: 7), a "degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration or honour and is founded on a dialectic of knowledge (*connaissance*) and recognition (*reconnaissance*)" within the bilingual Hispanic-American community. Naturally, this prominence and high esteem would not necessarily translate over to the Anglo-American marketplace, due to the lack of understanding, but in the eloquent words of Anzaldúa (1987:81)

Until I am free to write bilingually and to switch codes without having to translate, while I still have to speak English or Spanish when I would rather speak Spanglish, and as long as I have to accommodate the English speakers rather than having them accommodate me, my tongue will be illegitimate.

From this type of articulation which we have seen among various U.S. Latinos in their public works, it appears that due to the uncertainty of how their language use would be perceived, previously many Hispanic-Americans, as noted above by Alvarez, did not have the opportunity to fully write their stories using their own words. In our interview Chávez-Silverman said that she does not feel pressured to translate her works into just Spanish or English. On the contrary,

she believes by writing in Spanish-English CS her readers are getting the best of both worlds. When I asked Chávez-Silverman how her writing evolved she said that it was in response to a variety of emotional, intellectual, political and familial factors. She also commented that her bilingual family and intercultural upbringing influence how she uses language to create her stories. Therefore, she uses Spanish-English CS with pride in her texts and encourages her readers to embrace her linguistic choices. In addition to attracting a variety of readers, authors of radically bilingual texts like Chávez-Silverman and Díaz have also been awarded and applauded publically for their efforts. As a result, these texts are gaining acceptance in their own community as well as others, as exemplified in the review for *KC* by Daniel Hernandez of the *Los Angeles Times*,

A stirring memoir . . . practically a performance. *Killer Crónicas* is a testament to the maturing sense of global and pan-Latin citizenship being claimed by Chicanos and U.S.-born Latinos in the American West. Combine this with such innovation in language, and her book may one day be regarded as a refreshing turning point in Latino literature, maybe even the truly bilingual literary voice that the pioneering Chicana critic Gloria Anzaldúa called for.

Bakhtin's theories are also important in this context. Bakhtin (1981) makes an important distinction of the ways that language is tied to the social context that it comes from. In connecting written discourse with living discourse he says about stylistics in literature that "[m]ore often than not, stylistics defines itself as a stylistics of "private craftsmanship" and ignores the social life of discourse outside the artist's study, discourse in the open spaces of public cities and villages, of social groups, generations and epochs. (269) He argues that these social factors must be taken into consideration in order for language to really be analyzed for all of its content. This is further exemplified as he comments:

we are taking language not as a system of abstract grammatical categories, but rather language conceived as ideologically saturated, language as a world-view, even as a concrete opinion, insuring a maximum of mutual understanding in all spheres of ideological life. Thus, a unitary language gives expression to forces working toward concrete verbal and ideological unification and centralization, which develop in vital connection with the processes of sociopolitical and cultural centralization. (271)

Keeping this social and cultural situation in mind, we see that language is always contextual and connected to the place that it comes from. Thus, applying this to the U.S. Latino perspective, the Spanish-English CS that exists in the literary works of authors like Díaz and Chávez-Silverman, (and those that we will see later in chapter five) is connected to the realities and third-space identity of the Hispanic-American bilingual community. Finally, although his concept of heteroglossia was specifically intended to refer to the author/character double voice in novels, it could perfectly capture the type of non-monoglossic discourse Latinos are interested in. From this perspective, authors like Chávez-Silverman are able to directly interact, in a sense, with their bilingual readers on another level which would be unobtainable through the use of monolingualism. At this intersection, she is able to express and share her hybrid identity with those that are most directly related and connected.

Thus, in connecting the social and cultural experiences of U.S. Latinos, these authors use together heteroglossic practices as well as double-voiced discourse to connect to each other through written discourse. As mentioned earlier, Artega (1994:13) says heteroglossia “is the context of historical, interlingual, and interdiscursive factors that come into play in, and affect the meaning of, any utterance.” He goes on to comment about its existence in the U.S. Latino commonplace and more specifically about the Chicano-American context. He says: “[c]hicano poem and cultural subject acknowledge heteroglossia; this is what Chicano means: intercultural heteroglot” (241). From this perspective, the global functions of Spanish-English CS in U.S.

Latino texts bridge this gap and are reflective of the struggle of Hispanic-Americans who live between two social and cultural contexts.

Mignolo's concept of bilinguage and bilinguaging is also relevant. Chávez-Silverman herself refers to it in an interview with labloga.blogspot.com to talk about this connection to languages, geographic spaces and the audience in *Scenes* says:

There are many ways I could describe my book but, **hoy por hoy**, I'm going to go with a term used by Argentine writer and scholar Walter Mignolo: bi-language love. This book, possibly even more than my last one, is strongly about emotional connection: using a language that is in (at least) two places at once. I use Spanish and English together—as well as their in-between!—to connect with memories, with a sense of wonder and yearning, and with a bunch of important people in my life. Also, to connect with other spaces, in a geographical and temporal sense. Of course, I wanted use this language, these musings and adventures (some of them every day, some of them more unusual) to connect with the reader, too. 'today'

Finally, I think that García's notions of Translanguaging and Transglossia are also relevant in this context. García (2013) notes:

[t]he terms code-switching and translanguaging are normally used interchangeably, but this article strongly advocates the need to distinguish between them. While code-switching states that the bilingual speaker uses two languages as two separate monolingual codes, translanguaging believes that bilingual speakers have a unique linguistic repertoire which they strategically use to choose elements that enable effective communication. Translanguaging, therefore, is the process by which bilingual [speakers] make use of the many resources their bilingual status offers. (2-3)

With the multiple language options that Hispanic-American bilinguals have at their disposal, they are able to utilize their languages in a way which allows for a variety of strategies to articulate their hybridity. Further, Garcia (2009) connects her ideas to Mignolo's concept of "an other tongue." She says:

a societal stable, and yet dynamic, communicative network in the 21st century, with many languages in functional interrelationship, might be better called 'transglossia'. Transglossia has the potential to release ways of speaking of subaltern groups that have been previously fixed within static language identities and hierarchical language arrangements and that are constrained by the modern/colonial world system. Transglossia can develop what Mignolo (2000; 249) calls 'an other tongue', 'the necessary condition for "an other thinking" and for the possibility of moving beyond the defense of national languages and national ideologies. (108)

Thus, texts like those written by Chávez-Silverman show the desire to transcend bilingualism and move toward transglossia, heteroglossia, bilinguaging or translanguaging. That is, a new hybrid and dynamic mode of communication, which goes beyond language barriers and creates what I have referred to as radical fusion. This new language allows Chávez-Silverman to connect most genuinely with herself as well as her bilingual audiences and neighbors, and express with pride who she is to the outside world. Hopefully, this empowerment in the bilingual Hispanic-American community will continue to lead to linguistic freedom and acceptance of Spanish-English CS within the public sphere. Even further, Chávez-Silverman's intended audience is not restricted to Latinos. She reads her works in many different parts of the world and she told me that one of the most intense and fruitful discussions she had of her work happened in South Africa interacting with a bilingual, but not Spanish-speaking audience. Thus, hers is a perfect example of Transglossia.

4.5 Conclusions

From a linguistic point of view Chávez-Silverman's texts are perhaps the first Spanish-English texts to be composed primarily of hybrid bilingual sentences. Unlike Díaz texts, which use the indirect presence of Spanish as a strategy to keep the text primarily in monolingual English, *KC* and *Scenes* maintains a hybrid fluidity of Spanish and English without interference

from the other language. These texts show radical fusion and balanced bilinguals are able to read the utterances as if they came from a monolingual text. This type of language mixing approaches what Auer (1999) terms a fused lect. By analyzing both Díaz and Chávez-Silverman's texts these chapters have bridged the gap in our understanding of the ways that some U.S. Latino authors use radical bilingualism in their Spanish-English texts.

Sociolinguistically, this unique linguistic creation, as noted by Bakhtin, relates directly to the cultural and social context of the community that these texts come from. The U.S. Latino community, which Díaz and Chávez-Silverman write from, shows the empowered originality and innovation of language that comprises this community's linguistic identity. We have seen in the sociolinguistic analysis that the global functions of Spanish-English CS move beyond the local functions of CS, which point out the places in the text where we can explain why there was a shift from one language to another. Instead, the global functions show that the very act of using sustained CS is distinctly meaningful in itself.

As more U.S. Latinos make the choice to use more CS with pride and conviction, it will be viewed as an accepted and global form of communication amongst its speakers, acquiring symbolic capital in its community. Further, through heteroglossia, double-voicedness, translanguaging and transglossia, bilingual Hispanic-Americans are using their linguistic tools to showcase their hybrid identity by using this linguistic variety as a strategy of cultural unification. This ultimately places U.S. Latinos in a position to connect to each other through their authentic narrative and to further demand linguistic acceptance and freedom. In the next chapter I investigate if there is any evidence of this radical fusion in a variety of non-literary texts to investigate if U.S. Latinos are including sustained CS across an array of written discourses.

CHAPTER FIVE: SPANISH-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING IN NON-LITERARY TEXTS

5.1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters we have seen that Junot Díaz and Susana Chávez-Silverman create radically bilingual texts through a variety of CS strategies. These extend beyond the insertion of Nouns and NPs, which Callahan (2004) has noted in Spanish-English bilingual texts from 1970-2000, to include multiple insertions, hybrid noun phrases, intra-word switches and phonetic spelling to represent different accents in these author's texts. In Díaz's texts we saw that CS was often used as a literary device for humor, to quote and to create hybrid powerful images. Additionally, in the case of Chávez-Silverman's texts her strategy approaches what I have referred to as radical fusion. In order to find out if this newer type of sustained CS and LM is also present in non-literary texts, this chapter looks at different types of non-literary texts including magazines, songs, blogs and Instagram posts. It is important to analyze these types of texts to see if there is any parity in the CS across different types of written texts.

As mentioned in chapter two, there has been some research involving non-literary texts. Thus, Mahootian (2005) and Betti (2008) have both examined the magazine *Latina*. Mahootian has pointed out that the Spanish words in the magazine are italicized to emphasize the bilingual identity of the article authors and Betti has noted that the authors of *Latina* utilize Spanish in the otherwise English discourse to integrate cultural expressions or phrases that do not translate to the same cultural meaning across languages. There has also been some research on Spanish-English CS in songs. Both Cepeda (2000) and Ohlson (2007, 2008, and 2009) have examined this phenomenon in music. Cepeda's analysis noted that the Latin music boom of the 90s and 00s in the U.S. brought to the forefront the growing political power of Latinos in the U.S. by the popularity of their music in mainstream culture. Additionally, its presence highlights their

linguistic preferences and identity. Ohlson's sociolinguistic research used Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model to conclude that U.S. Latino artists tend to use Spanish as the unmarked variety, while English is the marked variety in their music.

In regard to blogs, Montes-Alcalá (2007) and Hernandez (2009) have made some interesting contributions to the literature. Montes-Alcalá's study compares the CS found in blogs to that found in oral discourse. She analyzed the functions of CS in 15 blogs and found seven functions which explain why bloggers use CS: lexical items, direct quotations, emphasis, clarification, tags, triggered switches and free. Using slightly different categories, Hernandez (2009) followed the same line of investigation as Montes-Alcalá and noted that CS in blogs is utilized to portray the bilingual identity of the bloggers and their awareness of their biculturality. As far as I know there has not been any published research that examines Spanish-English CS in Instagram messages. Since this is a written, yet informal mode of communication, it might be a good place to look for the kind of sustained CS Latinos are using among themselves.

As noted in chapter one, I examine two U.S. Hispanic magazines: *Latina* and *Cosmopolitan for Latinas*. On the "About Us" section of *Latina* it states that, "Latina magazine, was founded in 1996. With a single readership of 2 million bilingual, bicultural women in the United States, today it is the largest magazine edited by and for Latin women. Since 2005 Latina has ranked No. 1 in total advertising pages among 38 Hispanic publications. The second magazine, *Cosmopolitan for Latinas*, made its first issue available on May 2012. Adweek.com comments:

When Hearst Magazines launches *Cosmopolitan Latina* in May, it will target an audience that brands are growing increasingly aware of: the millions of young, bilingual and bicultural Latino Americans. And it won't be like the Spanish-language magazines

that already dominate the market. For starters, it will be in English. “What typically happens when you have a magazine or product targeted toward Latinas is, it has a very wholesome, family approach,” said the magazine’s editor, Michelle Herrera Mulligan. *Cosmo Latina* will provide “the kind of conversation that goes on when the door is shut, when we can talk about things openly and honestly.”

These magazines give textual evidence of the day-to-day experiences of U.S. Latinas and although English is used as the base language, as we will see in the linguistic analysis, they also use CS.

I also examine a variety of songs by well-known U.S. Latino artists. Bilingual music in the United States is an interesting space where the biculturality of these artists is played out. For example in contemporary U.S. urban Bachata, the mixture of traditional Dominican music and that of its diaspora in the United States is expressed through the songs of various *bachateros* or Bachata artists. In the late 90s and early 00s Aventura was the first group to mix Dominican Bachata beats with urban U.S. R&B lyrics. In addition to mixing musical styles, they also mixed Spanish and English, which is reflected in all of their songs in some way. I analyze two of their songs, “Cuándo Volverás” and “Peligro.” Toby Love, originally a backup singer for Aventura, born to Puerto Rican parents, but raised by a Dominican step-father, was the first to coin the term “cruckchata.”³¹ His song, “Buscando una Nena” is another perfect example of this mixture of styles and languages. A more recent addition to this group of U.S. Latino *bachateros* is Prince Royce. I analyze his song “Te Regalo el Mar.” Other U.S. Latino artists that use Spanish-English CS are those which have a preference for rap and reggaetón.³² Three popular artists: Mellow Man Ace, Pitbull and Yerba Buena, all of Cuban descent, have had musical popularity in Spanish, English and Spanglish. I examine Mellow Man Ace’s “Mentiroso,” “Half-Man,” and

³¹ Crunkchata is mixture of traditional bachata with American R&B.

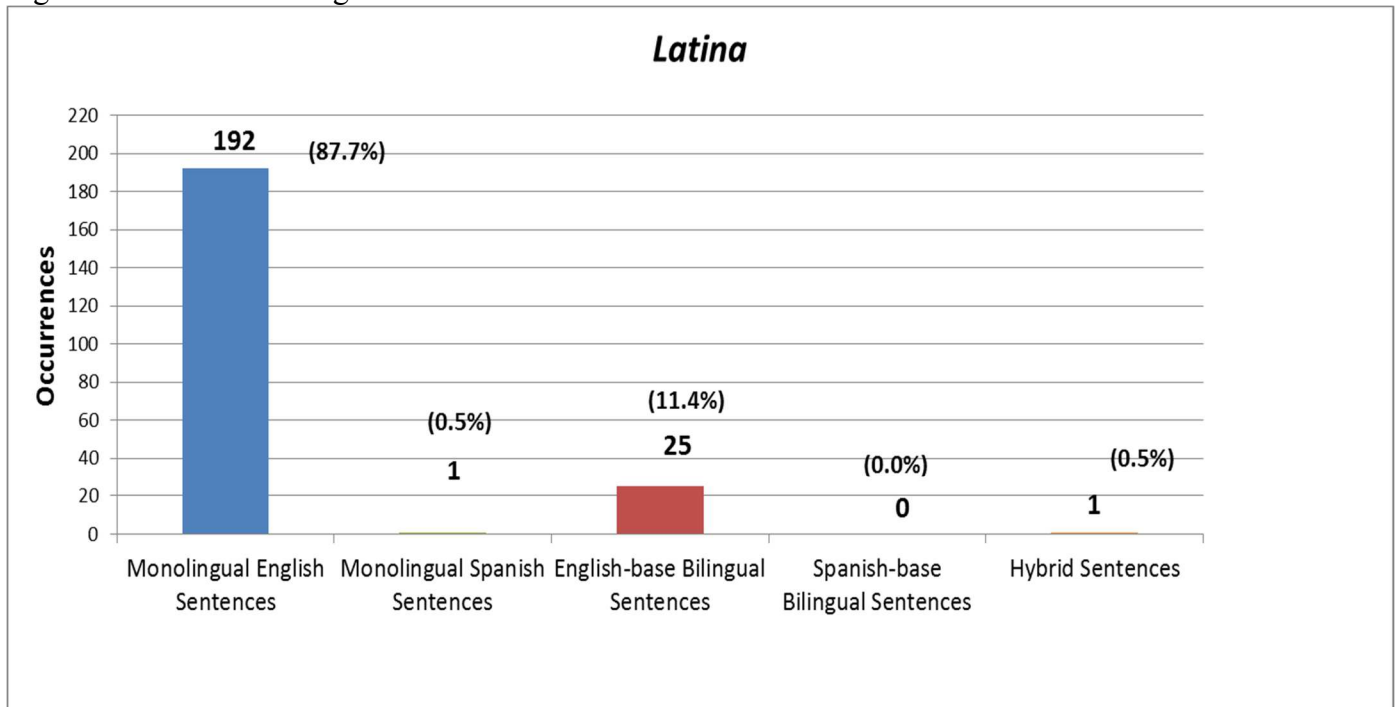
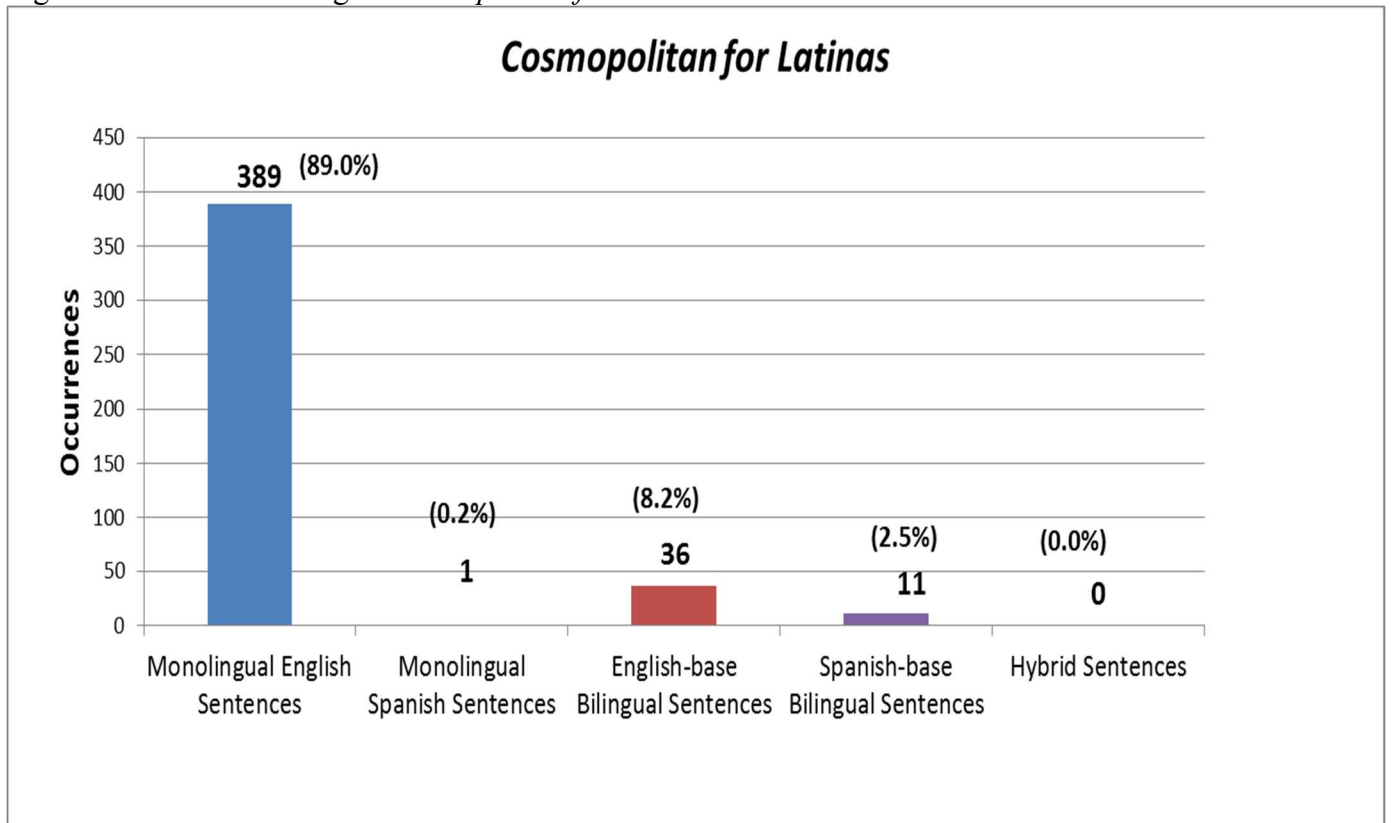
³² Reggaetón is the combination of Jamaican reggae beats, tropical sounds and rap.

“Latino Mundial,” Pitbull’s “Mujeres,” and Yerba Buena’s “Bilingual Girl.” Lastly, Molina’s music is a combination of rap, poetry and the spoken word.

Outside of texts like magazines and songs, which are highly edited, other texts like blogs and Instagram posts tend to be more spontaneous and stylistically unique. For this reason, with an interest in the CS in these types of texts, I analyze one year of *My Life in Spanglish*, a blog produced by Chicana Cristina Burgos, who lives in the Los Angeles area and two months of Instagram posts of La Mega 97.9 DJ Alex Sensation, a Colombian-American, who lives his life in Spanglish both on-air and on Instagram. As done in previous chapters I will consider the linguistic nature of the CS used as well as its functions and provide additional insights from interviews with some of the authors of these texts.

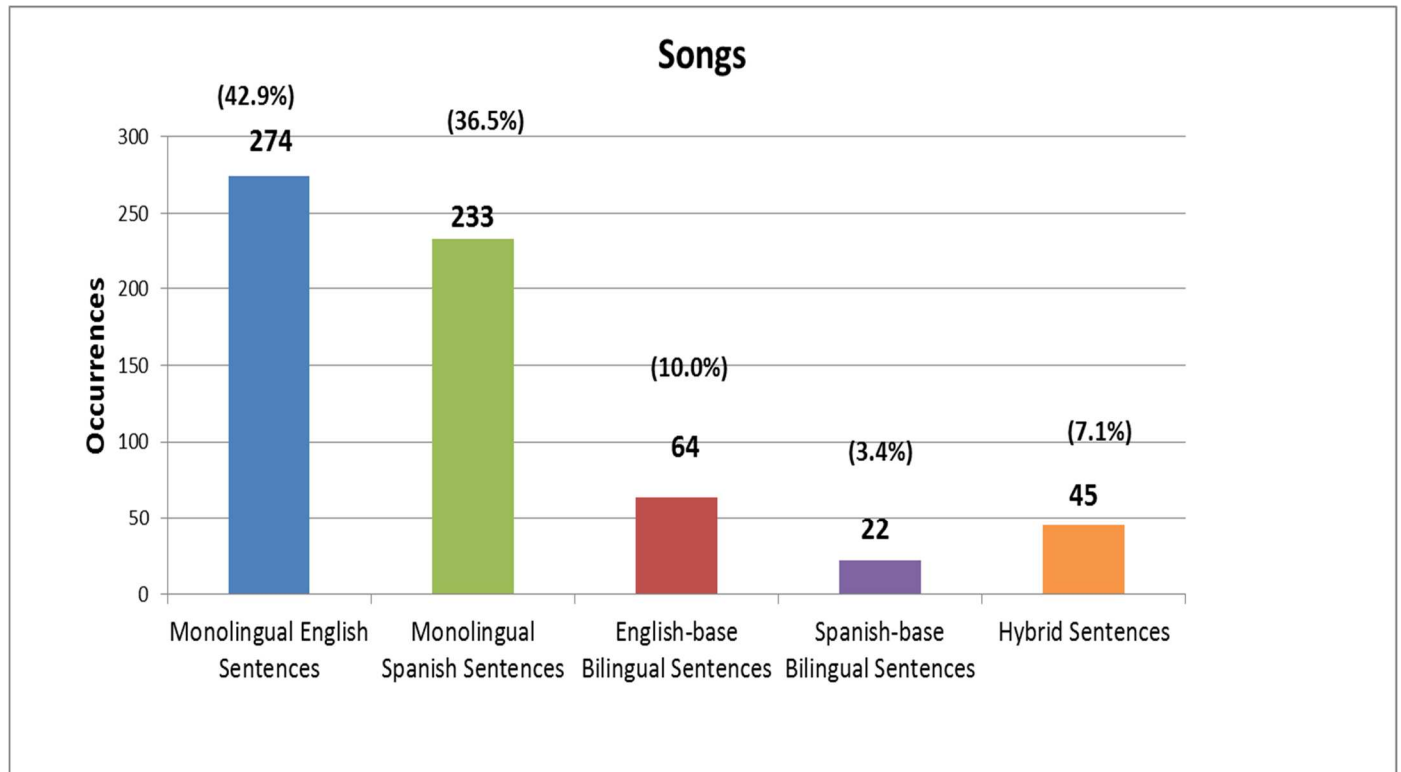
5.2. Linguistic Analysis

In order to find out if current CS used by U.S. Latinos in non-literary texts is similar to that seen in the previous chapters I analyze the grammatical nature of the CS using the same division between monolingual English sentences, monolingual Spanish sentences, English-base bilingual sentences, Spanish-base bilingual sentences and hybrid sentences with no base language. While we expect less audacious strategies in magazines and songs, blogs and Instagram posts might show us the type of hybrid sentences we have seen in literary texts, and more specifically in the non-fiction works by Chávez-Silverman. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show the types of sentences in *Latina* and *Cosmopolitan for Latinas*.

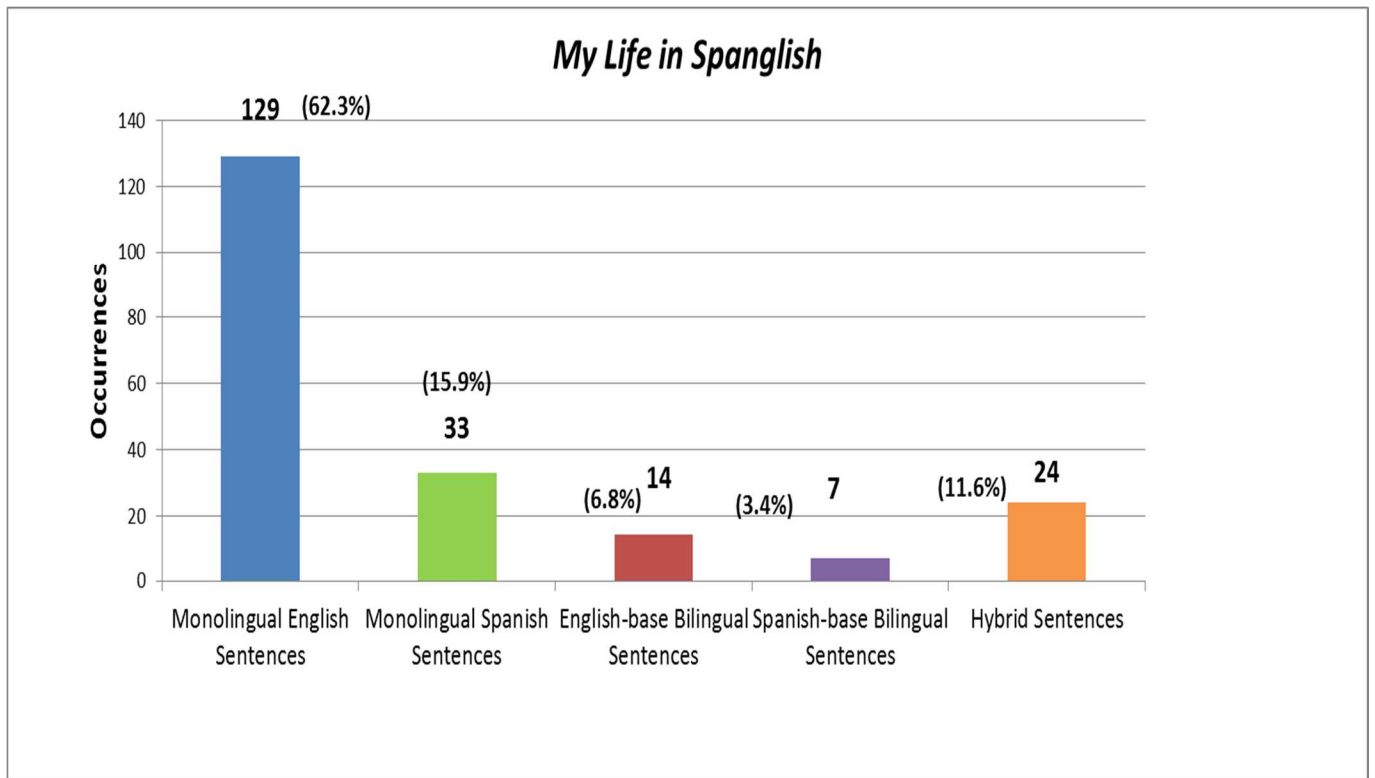
Figure 5.1 Code-switching in *Latina*Figure 5.2 Code-switching in *Cosmopolitan for Latinas*

As the two figures above show, the high percentage of monolingual English sentences is similar in both magazines and does not differ much from the kind of CS found in Díaz's works, which was limited to around 10% of its content. This is expected since magazines are intended to be read by all U.S. Latinas regardless of their linguistic abilities in Spanish. Also similar is the very low percentage of hybrid sentences as well as monolingual Spanish and Spanish-base bilingual sentences, which makes English-base bilingual sentences the main source of CS. Figure 5.3 shows the types of CS found in the 10 songs I analyzed.

Figure 5.3 Code-switching in Songs

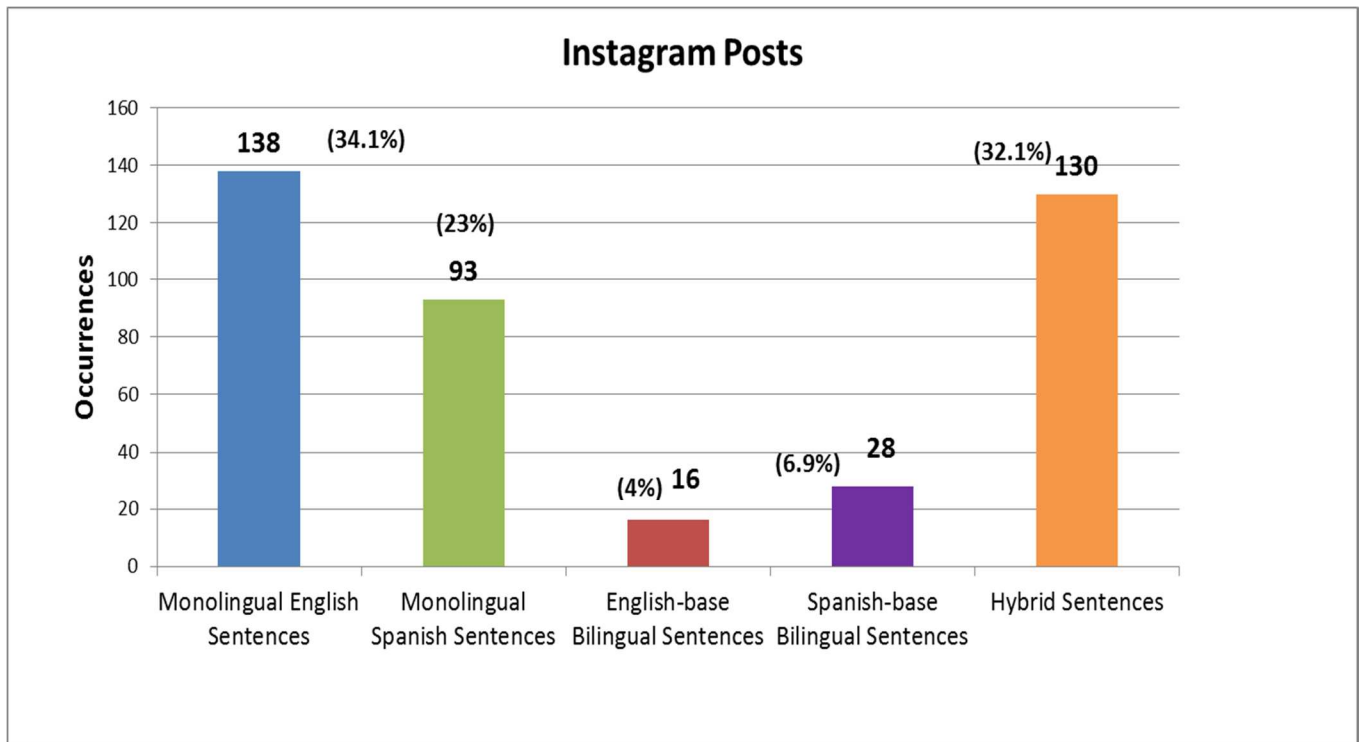


That data presents songs as having a much more balanced presence of the two languages (42.9% monolingual English vs. 36.5% monolingual Spanish and an incipient presence of hybrid sentences (7.1%). Figure 5.4 shows the results for the blog *My Life in Spanglish*

Figure 5.4 Code-switching in *My Life in Spanglish*

As figure 5.4 shows although monolingual English is the preferred code, the presence of monolingual English sentences is considerably lower than in the magazines analyzed (62.3% in songs vs. 87.7% and 89% in magazines), but higher than in the songs, which showed 42.9% of monolingual English sentences. Further, the types of sentences including Spanish also differ from magazines and songs. While in the magazines these were mostly English-base bilingual sentences and in the songs mostly monolingual Spanish sentences (36.5%) followed by English-base bilingual sentences (10%) and some presence of hybrid (7.1%) and Spanish-base sentences (3.4%), this blog offers a much more balanced presence of monolingual Spanish sentences (15.9%) and hybrid sentences (11.6%). Finally, figure 5.5 shows the linguistic analysis for two months of Alex Sensation's Instagram posts.

Figure 5.5 Code-switching in Instagram Posts



As illustrated above, these Instagram posts are very different from any of the other types. They show the lowest percentage of monolingual English sentences (34.1%) and the highest percentage of hybrid sentences (32.1%). Thus, these posts use hybrid sentences almost as much as monolingual English sentences and constitute the most radical use of CS. In the next subsections I comment on each of these categories in all types of texts.

5.2.1 Monolingual English Sentences

As noted above in figures 5.1 and 5.2 monolingual English is the category with the highest number of occurrences in *Latina* and *Cosmopolitan for Latinas*. In both magazines, I examined all of the articles in order to analyze the language choice of the authors and to assess if and how they used Spanish-English CS. In *Latina*, there were 7 articles total adding up to 87.7% of monolingual English. In *Cosmopolitan for Latina*, I analyzed the 12 articles present in the

issue which were composed of 89% of monolingual English. It seems to be clear from the results that both of these magazines cater to the bilingual and monolingual English audience and that in order to be inclusive, English is the base language for all articles in both magazines. On the official website's *About Us* section it notes that, "100 percent Latina. 100 percent American. All pride. All passion. This is how Latina Media Ventures (LMV) sees its unique world. And it is what drives the mission to bring the U.S. Latin community the best, most empowering, engaging and culturally relevant content across a range of media platforms that include publishing, digital, live events and consumer products and services." The result of using monolingual English as the base language for the articles allows for these magazines to benefit from the inclusion of all Latinas in the United States using the assumption that English is the unifier.

From the 10 U.S. Latino songs that I analyzed monolingual English was also the highest category totaling 42.9% of the count. More specifically, in 7 of the 10 songs, English was the highest category followed by monolingual Spanish. This trend was also followed in the blog *My Life in Spanglish*. From the year of blog posts that I analyzed, 62.3% of the corpus was composed of monolingual English sentences. Lastly, Alex Sensation's Instagram posts also show monolingual English as the highest number of occurrences totaling 34.1%. However, in this text, that percentage is followed very closely by hybrid sentences, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

These percentages lead me to believe that in non-literary texts, monolingual English is the preferred base language of the majority of these artists. It seems that some of the reason has to do with maintaining the interest of all U.S. Latinos, for more culturally circulated texts like the magazines and songs.

5.2.2 Monolingual Spanish Sentences

Starting with magazines, since both *Latina* and *Cosmopolitan for Latina* have English as the base language of the issues, it is interesting to consider those utterances that have Spanish as the base. In the issues that I analyzed, both magazines are composed of very small occurrences of monolingual Spanish sentences, often not more than one per article. Some examples can be found below:

Latina

- (1) **Salud!** (20) ‘Cheers!’
- (2) “**La carne estaba un poco salada, ¿no?**” (56)

‘The meat’s a little salty, right?’

- (3) “**¿Qué otra cosa existe pero la cena?**” (57) ‘What’s more important than dinner?’
- (4) **¿Cómo se dice?** (76) ‘How do you say it?’
- (5) **Ay, Mamá!** (91) ‘Oh, Mom!’
- (6) **Por favor.** (94) ‘please’
- (7) **Dolores Dice** (120) ‘Dolores says’

Cosmopolitan for Latinas

- (8) **Mis guapas!!!** (15) ‘My beauties’
- (9) **¡En vivo!** (24) ‘Live!’
- (10) **¡Cálmate!** (70) ‘Calm down’
- (11) **¡Qué horror!** (121) ‘What a horror!’
- (12) **¡Regalos!** (129) ‘Gifts!’
- (13) **Cosas Ricas.** (129) ‘Delicious things’

(14) ¡**Dios mío!** (141) ‘My God!’

The monolingual Spanish utterances above show that in general, monolingual Spanish is used on its own to add Latin flavor to the otherwise monolingual English utterances in most cases. In my examination of the magazines, monolingual Spanish was often found in headings of articles or sections that were written in monolingual English. Also, looking at the language that is used, the Spanish is typically very transparent. This means that even those readers who do not have bilingual competence are able to guess what the words mean because the utterances typically contain one or two words and also because the pictures in the text are very closely correlated to the Spanish. The exclamation points also stand out as an indicator of the use of Spanish to excite the reader in a way that monolingual English may not be able to do.

In songs, there are a higher number of occurrences of monolingual Spanish. In fact, this category is the second largest category for all of the songs combined totaling 233 occurrences or 36.5% of the total. Three of the 10 songs analyzed have Spanish as the base language of the song. Some examples include:

(15) **Que ya no me quiere ver** (Aventura, *Cuándo Volverás*)

‘That now she does not want to see me’

(16) **Por tu amor me ahogo en un bar** (Prince Royce, *Te Regalo el Mar*)

‘For your love I am drowning myself in a bar’

(17) **Una nena que me suba** (Toby Love, *Buscando una Nena*)

‘A girl that takes me up’

(18) **Ay mi madre no le digas eso es un mala palabra** (Pitbull, *Mujeres*)

‘Oh my don’t say that it is a bad word’

(19) **Y mañana es otra cosa** (Mellow Man Ace, *Mentirosa*)

‘And tomorrow it is something else’

As for blogs, *My Life in Spanglish* shows monolingual Spanish as the second largest category as well. There was a total of 15.9% of the corpus composed of this category, as exemplified below.

(20) **Así que tuve un “habla” conmigo misma y decidí a ponerme al tiro.**(January 13,

2015) ‘So I had a talk with myself and decided to get on it right away’

(21) **Felicidades Diana y Stephanie, les quedó super bonito todo.** (October 28, 2014)

‘Congrats Diana and Stephanie, everything came out really beautifully.’

(22) **Dan premios diferentes categorías, como Ciencias, Letras, Ciencias Sociales, Investigación Científica y Técnica, Cooperación Internacional.** (October 24, 2014)

‘They give awards from different categories like Sciences, Arts, Social Sciences, Scientific and Technical Investigation and International Cooperation.’

(23) **¿Ustedes ya tienen regalo listo para su Papá?** (June 9, 2014) ‘Do you guys already

have a gift ready for your Dad?’

(24) **Mi Mamá se merece todo, todo, todo.** (May 8, 2014) ‘My Mom deserves everything,

everything, everything.’

In Alex Sensation’s Instagram posts, monolingual Spanish is the third largest category and totals 23% of the corpus. Here are some examples from the Posts:

(25) **El amor de mi vida mi madre el mejor regalo de este año tenerte conmigo gracias a**

Dios (December 31, 2014)

‘The love of my life my mother the best gift this year is having you with me thank God’

(26) **Buen dia para todos 🙏❤️👉 bendiciones** (January 1, 2015)

‘Good morning everybody... blessings’

(27) **Que romantico** 🧑🏻👩🏻👩🏻 (January 4, 2015)

‘How romantic’

(28) **Un mensajito de corazon** ❤️📧 (January 15, 2015)

‘A message from the heart’

(29) **Una voz increíble y la humildad que tiene [@tonydize](#) es admirable gracias por venir al show nos vemos el Viernes en el MsG** (February 4, 2015)

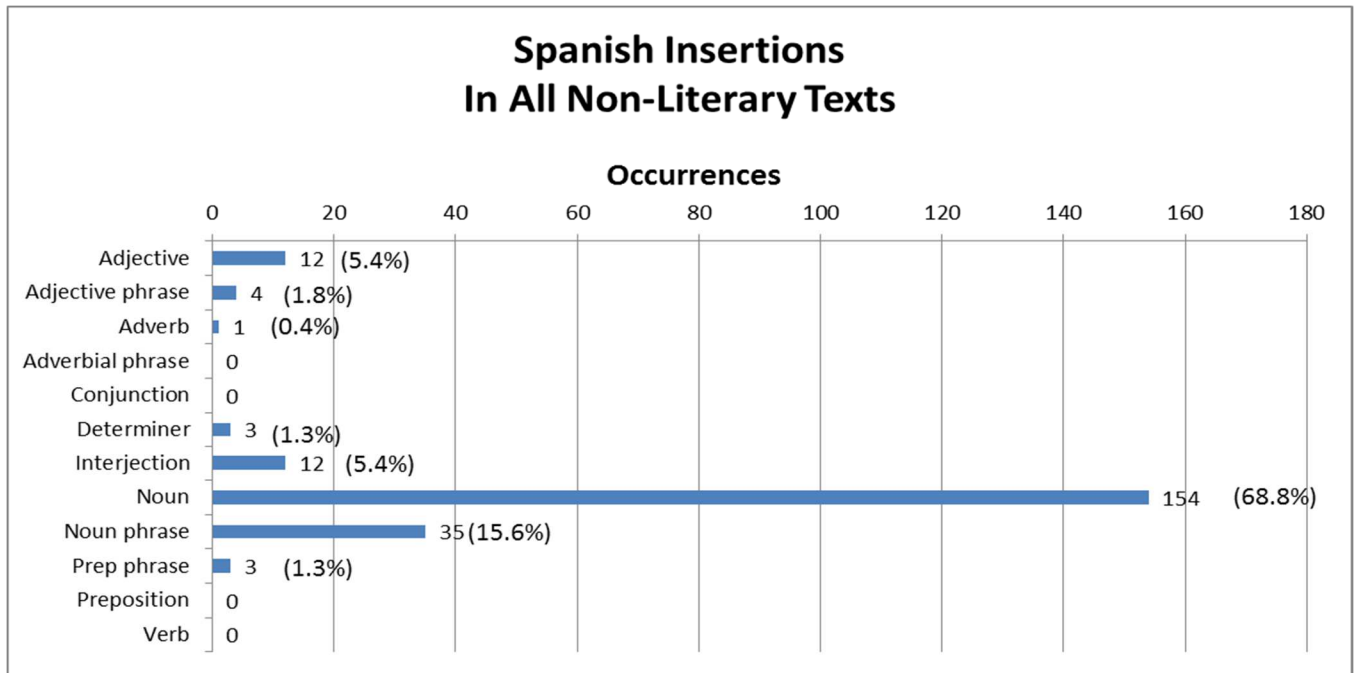
‘An incredible voice and the humility that he has [@tonydize](#) is admirable thanks for coming to the show and I’ll see you Friday at MsG.’

In songs, blogs and Instagram posts it appears that monolingual Spanish functions the same way as monolingual English. Next, we will see how these U.S. Latinos integrate Spanish and English insertions into their texts.

5.2.3 English-base Bilingual Sentences

As we saw in chapters three and four, the percentage of English-base bilingual sentences was similar across the four literary texts that I analyzed. Díaz’s texts totaled 11.8% for *BWLOW* and 6.3% for *THYLH*. Similarly, in Chávez-Silverman’s texts the total was 7.3% for *KC* and 6.9 for *Scenes*. The percentages of English-base Bilingual Sentences in these texts are similar to those found in literary texts (11.4% in *Latina*, 8.2% in *Cosmopolitan for Latinas*, 10% in *Songs*, 6.8% in the *Blog* and 4% in *Instagram*). However, the types of Spanish insertions in non-literary texts are less diverse than those found in literary texts, as highlighted in figure 5.6

Figure 5.6 Spanish Insertions in Non-Literary Texts



As shown in Figures 5.6, the majority of the insertions all non-literary texts are Nouns (68.8%) and NPs (15.5%). This is similar to my findings for both Chávez-Silverman's and Díaz's works. There were also a notable amount of adjectives (5.4%) and interjections (5.4%). In general, my findings are on a par with those of Mahootian (2005) where she notes that most of the Spanish insertions come in the form of words related to Hispanic food, culture and family. Some examples of Noun and NP insertions from my corpus are exemplified below:

- (30) The aroma of **café** brewing on the stove will trigger a myriad of memories for Latinos.
(*Latina*, 60) 'coffee'
- (31) Leave those **tacones** at home! (*Cosmopolitan for Latinas*, 34) 'heels'
- (32) once Mexico, before that, simply "**mama tierra**", now Aztlan. (*Mi Hijo no Speak EspanGLISH*) 'mother earth'

- (33) I hope everyone had a **Feliz Navidad** and is enjoying the Holidays. (*My Life in Spanglish*, December 27, 2014) ‘Merry Christmas’
- (34) I’ve practically been in my pj’s and eating “**recalentado**” for the last 24 hours. (*My Life in Spanglish*, December 27, 2014) ‘leftovers’
- (35) This pizza the **chimis** the burgers the **chicharron** never happened (Instagram posts, February 22, 2015) ‘Hamburgers’ and ‘fried chicken’

After Noun and NP insertions, Adjectives and AdjPs were also prevalent types of Spanish insertions in the non-literary texts. Instances of these occurrences are given below:

- (36) In her first role as a Latina, Jessica Alba played kick-ass **migra** officer Sartana, who at first tries to bust undocumented immigrants but later shows compassion for them. (*Latina*, 98) ‘migration’
- (37) It was **muy importante** that my polish didn’t have phthalates, as they’ve been shown to cause birth defects. (*Cosmopolitan for Latinas*, 70) ‘very important’
- (38) Get my girl "**bien caliente** (*Half Man*) ‘good and hot’
- (39) My view right now insane @planblive @daddyyankee destroyed the stage **demasiado fuerte** (Instagram posts, January 8, 2015) ‘very strong’

Additionally, interjections were also well represented in the texts as illustrated below:

- (40) **Salud** ☺ and gn (Instagram Post, January 8, 2015) ‘cheers’
- (41) **Felicidades** Paulina Vega Miss Universe Colombia (Instagram Post, January 8, 2015) ‘congratulations’
- (42) **Salud** to your beauty! (*Cosmopolitan for Latinas*, 5) ‘cheers’
- (43) So **gracias** for reading and retweeting, Mr. Favreau, and I hope your movie does really well. (*My Life in Spanglish*, May 6, 2014)

Aside from the multiple insertions, I also noticed that in some of these texts Spanish words were treated like English words, as we have seen with other texts. Thus, there were apostrophes to show possession, hybrid noun phrases and the capitalizing of nouns that should be lowercase in Spanish. Although, not all of the texts show these same tendencies, it is interesting to note that in some U.S. Latino discourses, there is a tendency to use Spanish with an English syntax in mind, in certain utterances.

- (44) By 1987, the group's billing was changed to Gloria Estefan and the Miami Sound Machine, and two years later, in a rare **non-machista** gesture for a Latin man, Emilio took a step back and launched Gloria as a solo artist. (*Latina*, 102) 'non-macho'
- (45) We all know that girl code dictates sisters before misters, but are you really keeping your **chica's** best interest at heart when you cover for her lying, cheating ways? (*Cosmopolitan for Latinas*, 30) 'girl's'
- (46) Elisa has had to set her guy straight, but our **cultura's** love for family bonds can often spell bad news. (*Cosmopolitan for Latinas*, 113) 'culture's'
- (47) Whether you're going to your **familia's** for dinner or having friends over, whip up these crowd pleasers for a memorable night. (*Cosmopolitan for Latinas*, 125) 'family's'

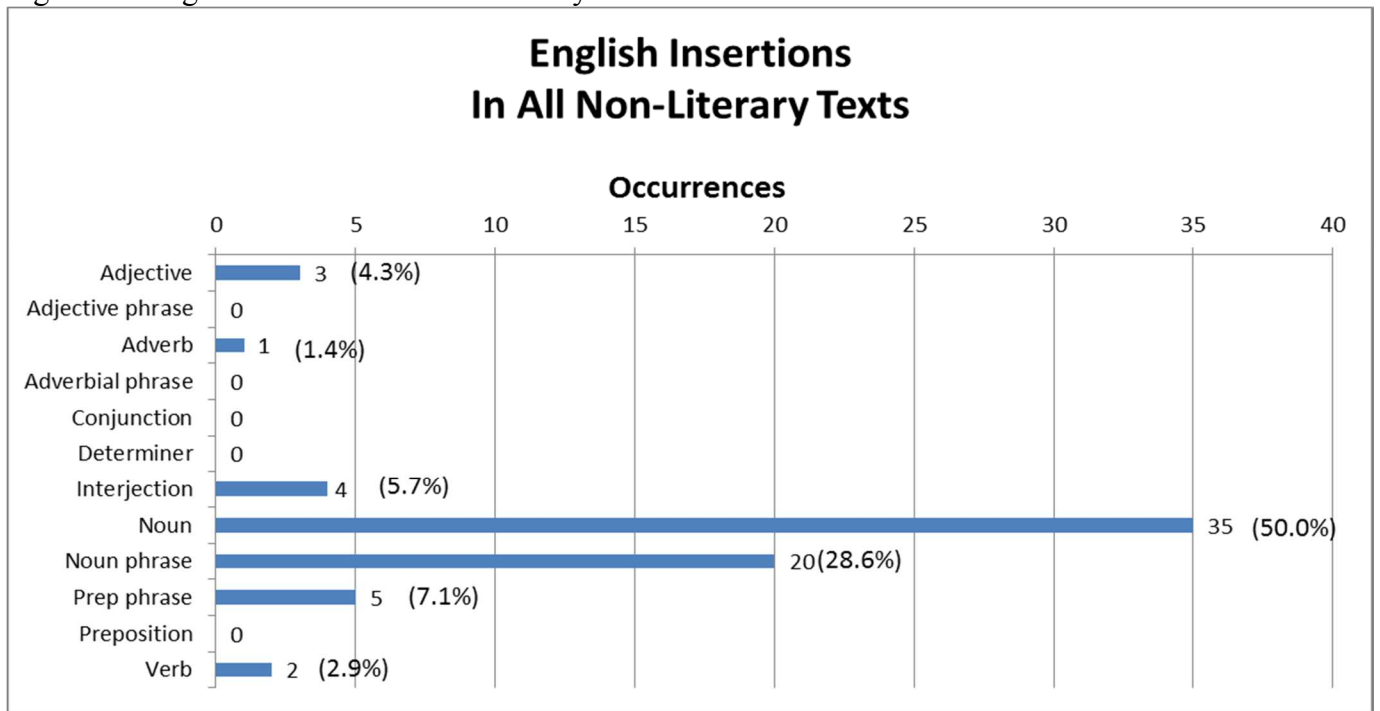
5.2.4 Spanish-base Bilingual Sentences

All of the texts except for the Instagram posts have more occurrences of English-base bilingual sentences than Spanish-base bilingual sentences. This is the case even for the songs that had Spanish as the base language. This was also the case for Díaz's texts, as opposed to Chávez-Silverman's, which were totally hybrid without a base language. This could point to U.S. Latinos seeing CS as a way to pepper their English with Latino cultural flavor as a marker of their linguistic identity. Since they live, work and are educated in the U.S., perhaps this the reason

that English is predominately the base language for certain artistic interactions. In general, the instances of Spanish-base bilingual sentences like with English-base bilingual sentences were produced in the form of Nouns and NPs as seen in figure 5.7.

Since the base language of the magazines is English, and the total number of occurrences in Spanish is relatively low for the corpus, it is not surprising that there were no occurrences of Spanish-base bilingual sentences for these texts. I believe that this is largely due to an interest on behalf of the magazines to remain accessible to monolingual English readers of any cultural background. As for songs, there were notably fewer instances of English insertions than Spanish insertions like we saw above. Nevertheless, the pattern for inclusion is similar.

Figure 5.7 English Insertions in Non-Literary Texts



As expected, most of the insertions involve Nouns (50%) and NPs (28.6%). However, there is a considerable percentage of Interjections and PPs. Some examples of Nouns and NPs appear in:

(48) **Si no te llevan para el court** (*Mujeres*) ‘If they don’t take you to court’

- (49) **Pastillas anti-conceptivas** (el birth control pill) (*Mujeres*) ‘birth control pills’
- (50) Bilingual girls **y con el vamos acabar, aah** (*Bilingual Girls*) ‘and with it we are going to finish, ohh’
- (51) **Les deseo muy feliz Father’s Day a todos los Padres, pero especialmente al mío, que es el mejor Papá del “mundo-mundial” y al que quiero tanto.** (*My Life in Spanglish*, June 9, 2014) ‘I wish a very happy Father’s Day to all of the fathers, but especially to mine, who is the best Dad in the world of all worlds and who I love so much.’
- (52) **Así que Mom, ¿qué te gusta?** (*My Life in Spanglish*, May 8, 2014) ‘So, Mom, do you like it?’
- (53) **Que locuraaaaaaa gracias a todos por compartir con nosotros** incredible night. (Instagram posts, December 31, 2014) ‘What craziness thank you to everyone for sharing with us incredible night’
- (54) **Gracias a mi amigo @mambostylebarbershop por venir a esta hora a ponerme alante gracias mi bro.** (Instagram posts, January 14, 2015) ‘Thanks to my friend...for coming at this time to put me ahead thank you my bro’

There were also notable instances of PPs (7.1%)

- (55) **Me tomo un trago** with a stunt (*Latinos Mundial*) ‘I’ll have a drink’
- (56) **Abran paso** for the kings, aventura. (*Peligro*) ‘Make way’
- (57) Full disclosure: **Participé en la producción de este video** behind the scenes, **y quedó tan bonito, que quise compartirlo aqui en el blog.** (*My Life in Spanglish*, May 8, 2014) ‘Full disclosure: I participated in the production of this video behind the scenes and it came out beautifully, and I wanted to share it here on the blog.’

5.2.5 Hybrid Sentences

As we saw in Figures 5.1 and 5.2 the percentage of hybrid sentences in these non-literary texts is almost absent in magazines. However, hybrid sentences appear in songs (7.1%), in the blog (11.6%), and make up one of the main categories in the Instagram posts (32.1%), only second to monolingual English sentences

All instances of hybrid sentences in the magazines involve alternations. These tend to occur as a way to highlight the bicultural experience of U.S. Latinos and Spanish is consistently used to reference family, culture, romance and empowerment. Many times these occurrences appear in the form of quotes or indirect quotes.

- (58) I always say “**Que no se ponga el sol sobre nuestro enojo.**” (*Latina*, 72) ‘Don’t let a day go by without settling an argument, even if that means having to admit you’re wrong’
- (59) Legendary Mexican grass-roots organizer Dolores Huerta hasn’t slowed down either since turning 80; the cofounder of the United Farm Workers of America continues to mobilize unions, activists and regular folks with the rallying cry of **Si Se Puede!** (*Latina*, 95) ‘Yes we can!’
- (60) **Dale un poco de dulce** by wearing a bandy bra. (*Cosmopolitan for Latinas*, 119) ‘Give him a little bit of sweetness...’
- (61) I was the first person to try it and I realized quickly that **se le había ido la mano** with the salt. (*Cosmopolitan for Latinas*, 121) ‘she had let her hand go’

Many of these examples represent typical well-known expressions or realities of the Hispanic experience and would not have the same power if expressed in English.

Similar alternations appear in the songs, as exemplified below:

- (62) **Mi vis abuela** [sic] **was a curandera, Tarahumara**, wise woman—a healer (*Mi Hijo no Speak Espanglish*) ‘My great grandmother was a healer, Mexican Native American, wise woman—a healer’
- (63) Pass me a shot **para poder olvidar** (*Te Regalo el Mar*) ‘Pass me a shot so I can forget’
- (64) **Christina diciendo que no es tu hija**, and you are the father... (*Mujeres*) ‘Christina saying that it’s not your daughter’
- (65) **Porque no sabia** that u were a **relambia** (*Mentirosa*) ‘Because I didn’t know that you were a sucker’

In examples (58), (59) and (64) Spanish is used to quote directly or indirectly.³³ In other examples like (61) it is used to reference expressions in the Spanish speaking world which would not translate as humorously to English. In (62) and (63) we note that U.S. Spanish-English bilinguals tend to use Spanish as the unmarked code of interaction to talk about family members and cultural expressions that do not translate well in English.

Interestingly 11.6% of the sample of the blog consisted of hybrid sentences. The language of the blog is much more spontaneous and recounts day-to-day events of the blogger’s life in Los Angeles. It also seems that the blogger believes her audience to be Spanish-English bilingual and as a result, is less restricted in her use of CS in the blog. This is exemplified by longer chunks of discourse between switches. In other words, as opposed to the occasional hybrid language mixing in one or two stanzas with songs, or possibly four or five hybrid sentences per magazine issue, the blog shows more fluidity between the languages.

³³ Christina Saralegui’s *El Show de Cristina*, a Miami-based Spanish language show which ran from 1989-2010.

- (66) **Entonces, me puse muy contenta cuando mis amiguitas de Macy's** sent me their Latina Beauty Box to start the year off right. (January 13, 2015) 'So, I was very happy when my friends from Macy's...'
- (67) I think it makes me glow a little bit, **quien sabe**, maybe it's [sic] wishful thinking but I'm enjoying it so far. (January 13, 2015) 'who knows'
- (68) **Me encanta trabajar con estas dos mujeres admirables y talentosas:** Martha Gil de Montes, Macy's Media Relations y Ariana Cabral, fashion stylist and author of La Catrina de la Moda blog (October 28, 2014) 'I love working with these two admirable and talented women...'
- (69) Basically, they gave us their insights on how **las mujeres somos lo máximo** and that we have it all **para lograr lo que queremos**. (October 28, 2014) 'Basically, they gave us their insights on how women are the best and that we have it all to obtain what we want.'
- (70) **Hoy por la mañana estuve viendo la tele buscando algo que ver**, trying to stay away from the news **y de las noticias "que no quiero saber."** (October 24, 2014) 'Today in the morning I was watching T.V. looking for something to watch, trying to stay away from the news and of the news, "I don't want to know anything about.'
- (71) While he does not expect to medal, he'll be well representing us **mexicanos** who truly know the meaning of "**No gano, pero cómo me divierto.**" (January 30, 2014) 'While he does not expect to medal, he'll be well representing us Mexicans who truly know the meaning of, "I don't win but I have fun."'

Although these sentences are hybrid in the sense that no base-language can be determined, the two languages do not appear as fused as in Chávez-Silverman's texts.

Finally, Alex Sensation's Instagram posts, of all the texts, show the most radical type of language use totaling 32.1% of hybrid sentences. I believe that this is true in part because he works as a bilingual DJ for La Mega 97.9 one of the U.S.'s largest bilingual Spanish-English radio stations. As a result, he uses Spanish and English daily with the radio stations listeners, at night clubs and on the road as he hosts a variety of events and concerts nationwide. Many of his followers and listeners naturally follow his social media pages, especially Instagram. His language use online is shown in his Instagram posts and as a result, this type of discourse along with text messages represents one of the most radical mixing of Spanish-English CS that we have seen in non-literary texts. Since Alex Sensation is known as a bilingual artist, it is assumed that his audience members are also bilingual. Examples (72)-(77) illustrate the type of hybrid sentences that he uses online:

- (72) **El ultimo dia de este año** ready to give you all a great show **gracias por compartir conmigo y dejarme ser parte de sus vidas** are u ready? (December 31, 2014) 'The last day of this year ready to give you all a great show thanks for sharing with me and for letting me be a part of your lives are you ready?'
- (73) **Mi primer baby ya todo un hombre esta mas alto que el papa** 😊😊but he will always be my baby love you Javi (December 31, 2014) 'My first baby all grown up is more tall than his father...'
- (74) **Yo se que todo el mundo esta tratando de rebajar las libritas de los holidays** but who can say no to chocolate covered strawberries (January 2, 2015) 'I know that everyone in the world is trying to lose their holdiaiy weight...'

- (75) **Primer party del año en LaBoom Queens** amazing🔥🔥🔥🔥🔥🔥🔥🔥🔥**la lluvia no para la rumbaaaa** omw to the BX Praia Lounge (January 4, 2015) ‘First party of the year at Laboom Queens amazing... the rain doesn’t stop the party...’
- (76) **Papi** u gotta keep them J's fresh **olvidate lo que diga la gente** (January 6, 2016) ‘Man you gotta keep them J’s fresh forget what they people told you’
- (77) She is asking for my hand in marriage what do u think **me caso o no?** (January 14, 2015)
She is asking for my hand in marriage what do you think should I get married or no?’

As noted from the examples above, Alex Sensation’s CS does not seem to point to language mixing as a strategy to refer language, culture or experiences. It appears that he mixes Spanish and English as his unmarked mode of communication with his bilingual audience. My findings are similar to Callahan’s (2003:15) conclusions about Spanish-English CS in non-fiction texts. She comments that in the cases where texts illustrate a less formal speech and are more conversational, there will tend to be a higher occurrence of CS. Although she examines other types of non-literary texts, it is interesting to note that in most of the cases where hybrid sentences appear in my texts they often reference a sort of conversational discourse. Alex Sensation’s use of Spanish-English CS most similarly resembles the hybrid language mixing that is notable in Chávez-Silverman’s texts which are based off of emails and letters.

The grammatical analysis of these texts has shown that monolingual English is the preferred code for the magazines and the blog. Similar to Díaz’s texts, it appears that the expected audience is English dominant and that Spanish is used to add Latin flair and to reference Hispanic culture and membership. These texts do not require that the reader be a balanced bilingual. As for the songs and Instagram posts, they seem to call for more linguistic competence in both Spanish and English. Some of the songs included more Spanish than English

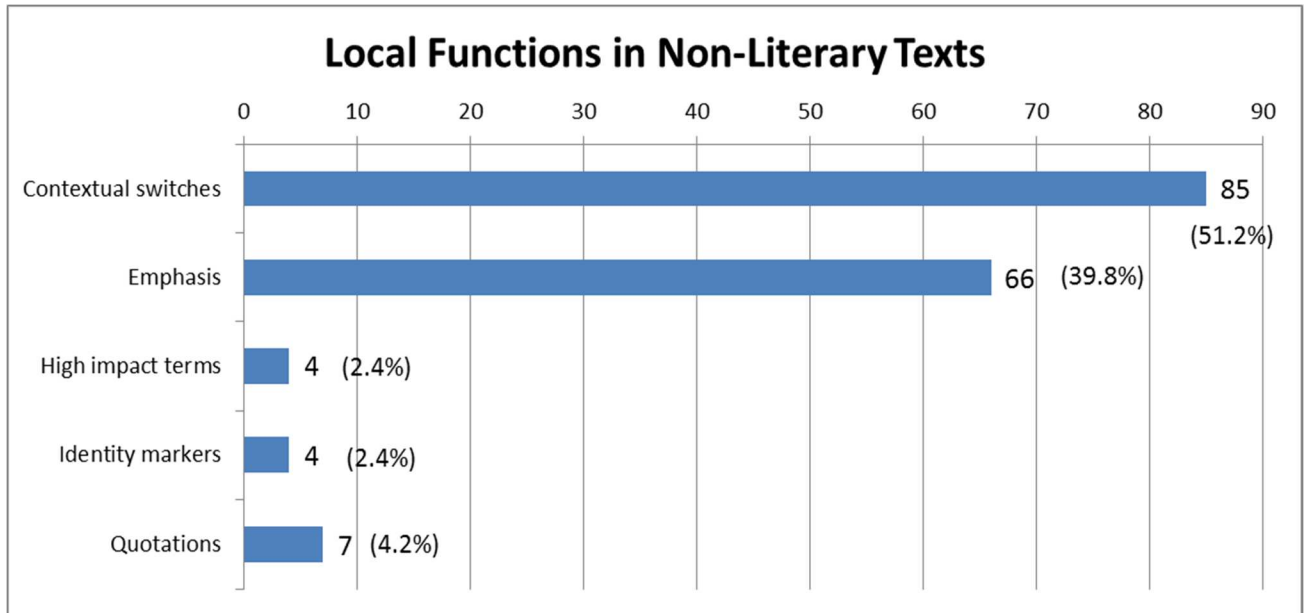
and vice versa even coming from the same artist. This leads me to believe that these artists consider their audience to be more bilingual. Additionally, for the Instagram posts from a glimpse at the comments of his Instagram followers, they are clearly bilingual and bicultural. Many of the comments also use Spanish-English CS and show appreciation for Alex Sensation's language preferences.

5.3 Sociolinguistic Analysis

In chapter three, I pointed out some of the local functions of CS in the texts written by Díaz. My analysis found that the majority of the switches in both *BWLOW* and *THYLH* were primarily composed of contextual switches, or those words or phrases, which are code-switched because they relate directly to topics in the Spanish-speaking world. In an in-group U.S. Latino Spanish-English interaction, these topics or contexts are typically expressed in Spanish. To analyze the functions of CS in these non-literary texts I will use the same set of local functions: (1) Contextual Switches, (2) Emphasis, (3) High Impact Terms, (4) Identity Markers and (5) Quotations.

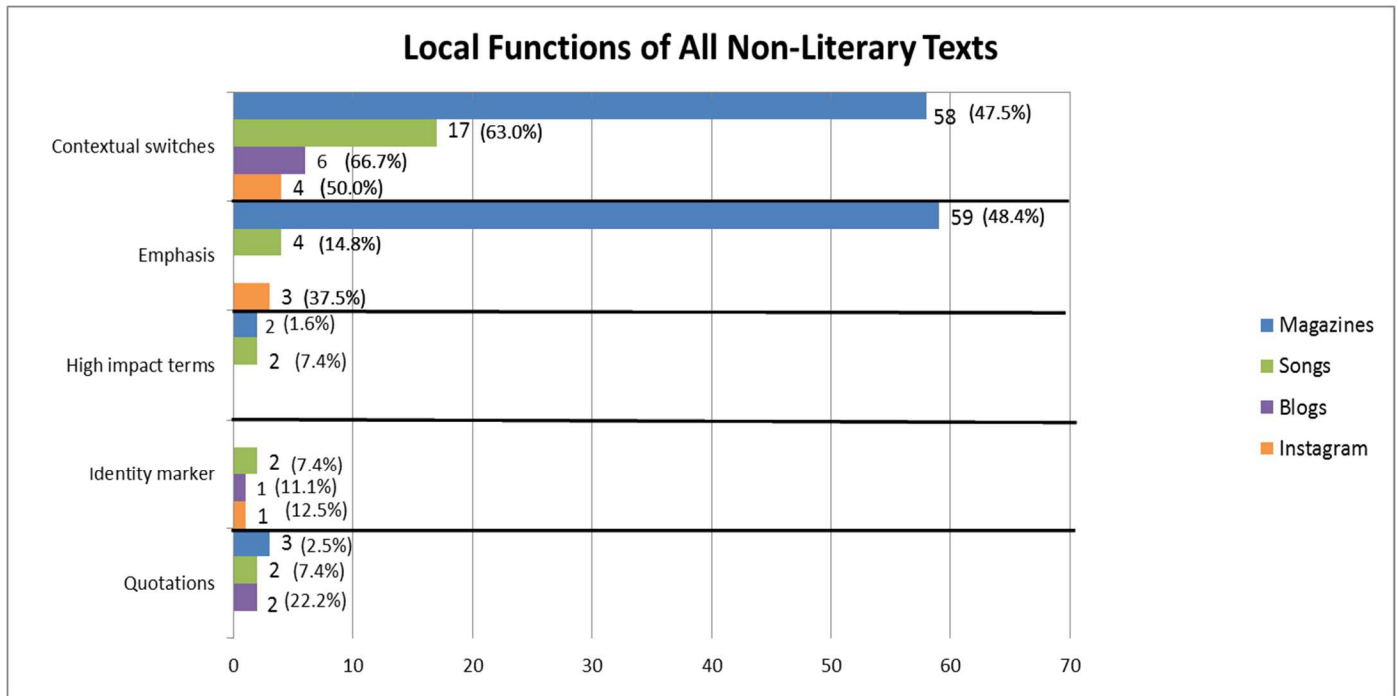
Figure 5.8 shows the functions of all the texts together. Below, I will give a more detailed discussion of how these functions were displayed in each of the individual texts.

Figure 5.8 Local Functions in Non-Literary Texts



As this figure shows, contextual switches are the most prevalent type of function amongst all of the texts, followed by emphasis. The other three categories: high impact terms, identity markers and quotations are not so prevalent. Figure 5.9 shows these local functions by type of text

Figure 5.9 Local Functions in Non-Literary Texts (By Text)



In this chart, I have more of a break down that includes the percentages of the local functions by text. Interestingly, most of the code-switches which can be attached to a certain function come from the magazines and songs.

5.3.1 Contextual Switches

As mentioned previously, contextual switches are those which are related to situations or contexts which are most closely linked to a bilingual's other language(s). In all texts, contextual switches were the most visible. Some of the contexts exemplified relating to Spanish across all texts were family, close friendships, religion, food and culture. In order to appropriately assess the sociolinguistic functions of the use of Spanish in *Latina* and *Cosmopolitan for Latinas*, in addition to considering the instances of intrasentential CS in the articles that I examined above in the linguistic analysis, I also took into consideration other isolated occurrences of Spanish in ads both issues. Below are some examples.

Latina

- (78) The aroma of **café** brewing on the stove will trigger a myriad of memories for Latinos. (60) 'coffee'
- (79) The unique sound, created by barrel shaped drums of African origin, served as the soundtrack to the **carnavales** of their beloved native island. (102) 'carnivals'
- (80) Whether you're skiing with friends or staying at **Abuela's** house for the holidays, traveling together can raise tons of issues. (116) 'Grandma's'
- (81) What my **mamá** would do is throw a **chancla** at 'em. (118) 'mom' and 'sandal'
- (82) Within three days, according to **mi amiga**, the miracle happens. (120) 'my friend'

Cosmopolitan for Latinas

- (83) She loves spending time *con familia*, running dancing or practicing yoga. (15) ‘with family’
- (84) These wildly known Christmas flowers are native to Mexico, and legend has it were a wonderful gift for *Jesucristo*. (26) ‘Jesus Christ’
- (85) You only live once mama-create a story that will make your *nietos* blush. (34) ‘grandchildren’
- (86) Although humans are hardwired to love Coke-bottle curves in our *comunidad*, the pressure is especially intense. (109) ‘community’
- (87) Elisa has had to set her guy straight, but our *cultura’s* love for family bonds can often spell bad news. (113) ‘culture’s

In songs, I found that most of the contextual switches followed the same pattern of Spanish being used to reference culture, family and food. Interestingly, I also found that these bilingual artists use English to point to notions related to night life, drinking and dancing.

- (88) My **hijo** tries hard (*Mi Hijo no Speak Espanglish*) ‘son’
- (89) **Tu abuelo y sus hermanos** picked oranges and avocados (*Mi Hijo no Speak Espanglish*) ‘Your grandfather and his brothers...’
- (90) Pass me a shot **para poder olvidar** (*Te Regalo el Mar*) ‘...to be able to forget’
- (91) **sudando** (in the party?) (*Buscando Una Nena*) ‘sweating’
- (92) **Resulta ser** hey you were at a party (*Mentirosa*) ‘It turns out...’

Switches referring to Spanish food, culture and family could also be found in *My Life in Spanglish*, as shown by the following examples:

- (93) I started off the year right with my morning **cafecito** as my Mom and I watched the Rose Parade on TV. (January 1, 2015) ‘coffee’
- (94) I hope everyone had a **Feliz Navidad** and is enjoying the holidays. (December 27, 2014) ‘Merry Christmas’
- (95) I’ve practically been in my pj’s and eating “**recalentado**” for the last 24 hours. (December 27, 2014) ‘leftovers’
- (96) My **sobrinitos** were quite pleased when I told them that Santa loved his midnight munchies. (December 27, 2014) ‘nieces and nephews’
- (97) They had live Mariachi music, book reads, coloring tables, face painting, Catrinas, **agua dulce** and **pan de muerto**. (October 28, 2014) ‘sweet water’ and ‘bread of the dead’

Since the majority of Alex Sensation’s Instagram posts are radically code-mixed and resemble Chávez-Silverman’s texts in that they are mixed by default, it is difficult to point out concrete functions of CS. In other words, by looking at the corpus as a whole, the mode of communication is not Spanish or English, but Spanish-English CS. However, there were a few instances where I found contextual switches in Spanish, which follow the patterns of the other texts. These instances point to Hispanic culture, religion and food.

- (98) Work hard and never give up **siempre con Dios** (January 4, 2015) ‘...always with God’
- (99) #tbt when [@johnnymarines](#) brought me an Aventura plaque [@kingivn](#) photo bombed 🤪🤪🤪 **Jueves Clasiicooo recordandooooo** (January 8, 2015) ‘...Throwback Thursday remembering’
- (100) Frozen NY good to be back 🤪🤪🤪 **gracias a Dios** (February 20, 2015) ‘Thank God’

- (101) This pizza the **chimis** the burgers the **chicharron** never happened 🤔🤔🤔🤔 (February 22, 2015) ‘hamburgers’ and ‘fried chicken’

5.3.2 Emphasis

In chapter three we saw that Díaz’s texts use Emphasis to describe. These non-literary texts also use Emphasis as a way to point out nationalities and backgrounds as well as professions. In this sense, the texts elaborate the bond and connection between U.S. Latinos by highlighting information about them. However, as opposed to using Spanish to illustrate the Latino experience in the U.S., many of these texts seem to be using it to add effect as a strategy to maintain their audience’s interest.

Latina

- (102) Also on ABC, **cubana** JoAnna Garcia became the only Latina lead star of a primetime sitcom (the comedy *Better With You*). (93) ‘Cuban woman’
- (103) That makes six countries in the region where gay **parejas** have won rights, from sharing health insurance to having joint custody of children. (94) ‘couples’
- (104) The ambitious 18-year old **mexicana** added “fashion designer to her resume when she launched her clothing line. (95) ‘mexican girl’
- (105) In her first role as a Latina, Jessica Alba played kick-ass **migra** officer Sartana, who at first tries to bust undocumented immigrants but later shows compassion for them. (98) ‘migration’
- (106) **Monstrua**-in-Law (120) ‘Monster’

Cosmopolitan for Latinas

- (107) To see the **Boricua** queen in person, it's possible to imagine that anyone ever told her she needed to change her body. (5) 'Puerto Rican'
- (108) The bilingual blog follows the **Colombiana's** career which will inspire you too. (13) 'Colombian's'
- (109) Is it a homegirl's duty, or a totally unfair pain in the **pompis**? (30) 'butt'
- (110) Try some serious sexy swaying, make strong eye contact, and hell, throw your **chones** on stage! (34) 'panties'
- (111) Don't be afraid to go bare in public-with your **maquillaje**, that is. (59) 'makeup'

Songs

In all of the songs, I found four instances of Emphasis, which describe the U.S. Latino reality.

- (112) He is working towards 100 now—**cien** (*Mi Hijo no Speak Espanglish*) 'one hundred'
- (113) They made it **en America**. (*Mi Hijo no Speak Espanglish*) 'in America'
- (114) We come from a long line of **campesinos**. (*Mi Hijo no Speak Espanglish*) 'farmers'
- (115) **Cholo** cats got something (*Latinos Mundial*) 'Chicano'

Instagram

From my analysis of Alex Sensation's Instagram posts, Emphasis is shown through description and to accentuate celebrations.

- (116) **Salud** 🍷 and gn (January 8, 2015) 'Cheers'
- (117) **Tacaños** be like (February 11, 2015) 'Cheap people'
- (118) **No puedo mostrar los boobies** 🙈😳😳😳 (February 23, 2015) 'I can't show'

5.3.3 High Impact Terms

As for High Impact Terms, there were a total of four in all of the texts that I examined. As I mentioned in chapter three, these terms are those, which are shocking or “taboo” for the audience. Illustrated below are the occurrences that I found:

- (119) She's a **tremenda fiera** (*Mentirosa*) ‘hot beast’
- (120) Cuz just a **mentirosa con tu lengua venenosa** (*Mentirosa*) ‘a liar with your poisonous tongue’
- (121) You know, when you almost called your boss a **sin vergüenza** (or worse)? (*Cosmopolitan for Latina*, 112) ‘shameless’
- (122) Eating them releases the same rush of pleasure and pain you get from a nice swat on your **culito**. (*Cosmopolitan for Latinas*, 118) ‘ass’

Thus, in contrast to Díaz’s works, which included a high percentage of high impact terms in Spanish, none of the texts examined here use these terms.

5.3.4 Identity Markers

In the corpus, I found very few instances of Spanish being used to mark the identity of the artist. In chapter three, I pointed out the identity markers that pointed to Díaz’s Dominican-ness. In this selection of texts, the artists occasionally alluded to their own identities and to the larger bilingual U.S. Latino identity in the occurrences.

- (123) **Orgullo hispano @juanes** representando en los Grammys Colombia papa did i mention i'm doing the official remix to **Juntos y tambien estamos grabando un tema juntos gracias por tu amistad** 🙌🙌. ❤️❤️❤️❤️ (Instagram, January 8, 2015) ‘Proud Hispanic representing at the Grammys Colombian Pop did I mention I’m doing the official remix to “together” and also we are recording a song together thanks for your friendship.’
- (124) **Si señores, tenemos un paisano**, to root for during the games. (*My Life in Spanglish*, January 14, 2014) ‘Yes ladies and gentlemen we have a countryman, to root for during the games.’
- (125) Influence **de Espana, pero primero Indigena** (*Mi Hijo no Speak Espanglish*) ‘Influence from Spain but first Indigenous’
- (126) **Tu papi**—Human first, pero **Chicano, artista, activista** (*Mi Hijo no Speak Espanglish*) ‘Your father—Human first, but Chicano, artista, activist’

5.3.5 Quotations

I found several instances of quotations or indirect quotations, which came from songs, magazines and the blog. These texts would be the most natural places to show dialogue. The occurrences that I found are exemplified below:

- (127) “**La carne estaba un poco salada, ¿no?**” (“The meat’s a little salty, no?”) she would say. (*Latina*, 56) ‘The meat was a little salty, right?’
- (128) “**Pero bueno...**” she might offer as a weak consolation. (*Latina*, 57) ‘But ok...’
- (129) I always say “**Que no se ponga el sol sobre nuestro enojo.**” That means, “Don’t let a day go by without settling an argument, even if that means having to admit you’re wrong.” (*Latina*, 72)

- (130) Legendary Mexican grass-roots organizer Dolores Huerta hasn't slowed down either since turning 80; the cofounder of the United Farm Workers of America continues to mobilize unions, activists and regular folks with the rallying cry of ***Si Se Puede!*** (*Latina*, 95) 'Yes we can!'
- (131) **Recogiste y dijiste** ("call me back, i'm not alone.") (*Mentirosa*) 'You picked up and you said...'
- (132) So I told the girl in spanish i said "hey **ya me voy**. (*Mentirosa*) 'now I'm leaving'
- (133) Remember that old saying "**Más pronto cae un hablador que un cojo...**" (*My Life in Spanglish*, April 28, 2014) 'It's easier to catch a liar than a cripple...'
- (134) Are you listening to me NBC? **Mas vale que lo pongan**. (*My Life in Spanglish*, February 21, 2014) 'You guys better put it on.'

In conclusion, some of the functions that have been pointed out for oral CS and CS in written literary texts can also be seen in these non-literary texts. These include contextual switches, emphasis, identity markers and quotations. The only function that was almost absent was the use of high impact terms, which was predominant in Díaz's texts. The authors of the texts analyzed here use Spanish-English CS as a strategy which allows them to use both of their languages to represent their linguistic preferences most authentically in any type of discourse.

5.4 Insights from Interviews

As we have seen in the previous section, similar to my findings for Junot Díaz's *BWLOW* and *THYLH*, contextual switches and emphasis are the most prevalent local functions of CS in magazines, songs and the blog *My Life in Spanglish*. Thus, in these texts, which contain mostly monolingual English or English-base bilingual sentences, Spanish is used most often to reference Latino culture, food, family members and to emphasize experiences that are unique to Latinos'

hybrid and bicultural existence. *My Life in Spanglish* and many of the songs analyzed did contain an important percentage of monolingual Spanish sentences as well. Apart from the possible functions of specific uses of CS it is important to investigate the general motivation which prompts the authors of these texts to include Spanish and Spanish-English CS. In chapter four I examined some global functions having to do with questions of resistance and identity construction and I incorporated some insights from an interview with Chávez-Silverman. Three of the authors/artists whose works I have analyzed in this chapter graciously accepted to answer some of my questions about their use of CS and its meaning: Cristina Burgos (Blogger from *My Life in Spanglish*), Mellow Man Ace and Toby Love. This chapter ends with some of the insights from these interviews.

All of them said that they use Spanish-English CS (or Spanglish) on a daily basis. Similar to Chávez-Silverman, they all live in areas where there is a large Hispanic population and as a result they mentioned that they are able to use their preferred linguistic variety with family members, bilingual co-workers, and in the community (the car wash, grocery store, the bank, etc.). Toby Love says about using Spanish-English CS, “I use it every day, I mean being a Latin American born in the United States with my mom, my dad, my friends, basically everybody that I grew up with... the Spanglish thing, I think is real important because it’s what I grew up on. I mean If I didn’t speak Spanglish, I wouldn’t be myself honestly.” Further, they all agreed that Spanglish is a part of their identity, a part of who they are and the language that they “live in.” Toby Love affirms that it’s “a part of life,” Mellow Man Ace claims “it’s second nature to me,” and Cristina Burgos notes “I can’t imagine communicating without it.”

Spanish-English CS seems to be so embedded in who they are that they do not even realize they are using it until it is pointed out. It looks like their written texts match their oral

linguistic behavior and that one of the reasons why they use it in their writing is to reflect who they are and how they talk. When asked if they would consider writing only in Spanish or only in English, they admitted that it would be very difficult for them to just use English or Spanish in their work. Toby Love said: "...if I just did an album that's 100% English or a 100% Spanish, I just wouldn't be myself." Thus, Spanglish is considered to be the unmarked choice for in-group interactions, which highlights their bicultural identity.

When I asked them about how they integrated the language of their community into their writings, they also had similar answers. In general, it seems that they do not consciously decide when to use English or Spanish. Instead, they all admit that the final product reflects whichever language is most authentic to whatever they are writing. Thus, Ace Man Mellow said: "the music itself just talks to me and tells me." Blogger Cristina Burgos noted: "It is not really a thought out decision I make before I write. Honestly, it is very much a state of mind, spur of the moment thing." Toby Love says: "When I sing my songs, it just comes out. If it sounds right in English, make it happen and if it sounds right in Spanish, make it happen in Spanish. That's how it usually works." It is apparent that these U.S. Latinos are remarkably connected to their linguistic variety and that they would not necessarily compromise and choose one language over the other for their writing.

Finally, when I asked them about their intended audience, Cristina Burgos said that although she wants to reach to Hispanic people who also speak Spanglish, her blog was not limited to Hispanics only. Ace Man Mellow and Toby Love were even more emphatic about their intention to reach all kinds of people. They appreciate their non-Spanish speaking audience and they very much enjoy the fact that their art reaches out to those outside of their community. Keeping them in mind, they hope to facilitate an opportunity for those audience members to also

partake in their artistic productions. Ace Man Mellow says: “when making music I don’t generalize, I just make my music in hopes that someone out there will like it no matter what language he or she may speak.”

Similarly, Toby Love points out: “well, honestly when I’m making my music, I really don’t think about if the person is Spanish or if the person is American. My goal is to make sure they feel what I’m saying and that they feel what I’m doing.” As these interviews show, not only do these artists look to strengthen a bond with their own community, but their translanguaging practices also extend beyond intra-group artistic expression. They are interested in using their art and their language to reach other communities inside and outside of the United States.

CHAPTER SIX: OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

Latinos in the U.S. use Spanish-English CS in conversations on a daily basis. This type of CS has been studied in detail and research has shown that it is not a random mixture of the two languages and that it can have varied functions such as elaborating, emphasizing, adding humor, excluding or including interlocutors or making reference to specific cultural elements of a particular language such as family, food, music, etc. Many Latinos refer to this phenomenon as Spanglish and have started to embrace it as part of their hybrid linguistic and cultural nature. In fact, all of the authors I interviewed: Cristina Burgos, Mellow Man Ace, Susana Chávez-Silverman and Toby Love admitted using Spanglish on a daily basis when interacting with members of the Latino community and considered it an important part of their identity.

Further, although the use of Spanish-English CS in written texts, mostly literary, tended to be limited to the insertion of a few Spanish lexical items, usually in italics and/or followed by a translation, some newer texts are engaging in what has been termed Radical Bilingualism (Torres 1997). This term refers in a rather vague way to the use of sustained CS as seen in works by authors such as Braschi and Chávez-Silverman. At the same time the few works which have looked at CS in other types of texts such as magazines, songs, blogs, etc. have found a much less radical use of CS, which tends to have similar functions to the use of CS in oral discourse, but is not as pervasive as that found in literary texts such as those mentioned above.

This dissertation has explored what the term Radical Bilingualism covers by looking at the linguistic nature and the function of CS in different types of texts produced by Latinos in the U.S. I have pointed out the necessity of a grammatical as well as a sociolinguistic analysis of these texts as it is impossible to analyze language without an understanding of its outside factors like the community that it comes from. The linguistic analysis has identified five types of

sentences: monolingual English sentences, monolingual Spanish sentences, English-base bilingual sentences, Spanish-base bilingual sentences and hybrid sentences. This detailed analysis has allowed me to point out important differences between all the texts. First, although the works by Junot Díaz and Susana Chávez-Silverman's would belong in the Radical Bilingualism category in the sense that both contain sustained CS, no italics or translations and go beyond the other two strategies (the use of Transparent or Cushioned Spanish and the Gratifying the Bilingual strategy) I have shown that they are radical in a very different way. Junot Díaz' texts are around 90% monolingual English and hardly contain any hybrid sentences. Most of the sentences which include any Spanish words have English as the base language. However, the reason why his works have caught the attention of linguists, who have referred to his strategy as Radical hybridism (Casielles Suárez 2013) or Code-fusion (Dumitrescu 2014) is because of the quality of the mixing, which includes hybrid NPs, hybrid compounds and even hybrid words. As he himself has admitted in interviews, he has consciously borrowed hundreds of Spanish words and used them as if they were English words. This is definitely different from the use of the sustained use of the two languages in different sentences or even paragraphs more evident in works by Braschi and others. Susana Chávez-Silverman's texts, on the other hand, do not have a base language. Most of the utterances in her two works are hybrid. In addition, she uses a similar percentage of monolingual English and monolingual Spanish and a similar percentage of English-base and Spanish-base bilingual sentences. Interestingly, she used the same hybrid sentences in her answers to my questions, which everybody else answered in monolingual English. Thus, her writing is totally different from Díaz' in that it is intrinsically and extensively hybrid. I have referred to this strategy as radical fusion.

Second, an analysis of non-literary texts has shown that they are all different as well. Similar to Díaz' texts, around 88% of the sentences in the magazines were monolingual English sentences. Monolingual Spanish, Spanish-base bilingual and hybrid sentences were practically absent and the presence of Spanish was restricted to mostly transparent Spanish nouns like *salud* and *café* in English-base bilingual sentences. Songs, on the other hand, had a much lower percentage of monolingual English sentences (42.9%) and the highest number of monolingual Spanish sentences of all texts (36.5%). The blog I analyzed was also different from the magazines. Around 38% of the sentences included Spanish and it contained an important percentage of both monolingual Spanish (15.9%) and hybrid sentences (11.6%). Finally, the Instagram posts examined were the most radical of all texts and showed the lowest percentage of monolingual English sentences (34.1%) and the highest percentage of hybrid sentences without a base language (32.1%).

Thus, although they do not contain the type of radical mixing, which we saw in Junot Díaz's texts, the magazines, the blog and some of the songs are similar to Díaz's texts in that English is the base language of most of the sentences. I believe this to be because of the anticipated audiences of these texts, which are assumed to include monolingual English speakers. Alex Sensation's Instagram posts, on the other hand, which can be assumed to be aimed specifically towards U.S. Latino bilinguals, are inherently hybrid, and approach Chávez-Silverman's *crónicas*.

To address my research questions from chapter one, my analysis has shown that Hispanic American contemporary writers are creating something new and they are doing it in different ways both in literary and non-literary texts. Díaz's and Chávez-Silverman texts are both innovative, but completely different in their linguistic nature while in non-literary texts this

innovation can only be seen in the Instagram posts. This innovative and highly hybrid code has come out of diverse bilingual communities. Thus, Cristina Burgos mentioned in my interview with her that she uses CS with her friends in Los Angeles as well as with school friends back home by the U.S.-Mexico border. Chávez-Silverman also noted how her writing arose and developed. She says: “I *can* tell you that my bilingual writing has evolved in response to a combination of factors: emotional, intellectual, political, familial. I was lucky enough to grow up in a bilingual family, and to be raised interculturally (I grew up between the U.S., Spain and Mexico). I’ve also chosen (or been chosen by!) bi- or multilingual amigos y amantes, casi sin excepción.”³⁴

The functions of the CS in the different texts I have analyzed are also varied. For those texts which have English as the base language, the use of Spanish seems to be used to fulfill similar functions to those which have been pointed out for oral CS and CS in written texts. These include the use of CS to make reference to some aspects of the Spanish culture (contextual switches), to emphasize, to mark identity, to quote or for high impact terms, particularly in the case of Díaz’s works. Thus, CS is used to reference family, food, places, scents, images, etc.

Apart from these local functions, there are also global functions, those which are not locally visible in the text but rather point to the authors’ resistance towards the dominant culture linguistic ideologies and their search for an identity. The authors of all the texts examined here seem to use CS in their writing to produce authentic texts or as Chávez-Silverman put it “because they can.” From this perspective, CS allows authors and artists to use the linguistic variety, which is most authentic to them to tell their bilingual and bicultural stories.

³⁴I *can* tell you that my bilingual writing has evolved in response to a combination of factors: emotional, intellectual, political, familial. I was lucky enough to grow up in a bilingual family, and to be raised interculturally (I grew up between the U.S., Spain and Mexico). I’ve also chosen (or been chosen by!) bi- or multilingual friends and loves, almost without exception.’

In most of my interviews with various U.S. Latino authors and artists they affirmed that their use of Spanish-English CS is something that just happens. Cristina Burgos points out: “It’s my “inside voice” and I rarely try to edit it.” The fact that so many of these U.S. Latinos have reached out to their community through their “inside voices” shows that CS is acquiring some sort of symbolic capital for contemporary U.S. Latinos. Toby Love notes:, “[y]ou know, it’s the way I was raised. It’s the only way I know how to be. I mean, if I am speaking to someone, even if you’re not Spanish, it just comes out sometimes. It’s something that I’m used to, it’s a way of life.”

These attitudes of protecting the in-between-ness of languages concur with what has been referred to as heteroglossia, bilanguaging and translanguaging. This is particularly evident in radically fused texts like Chávez-Silverman’s and Sensation’s. Although Latinos’ use of CS has been usually connected to the Hispanic community in the United States, I think that they are engaging in a global and truly translanguaging experience. Thus, all authors interviewed pointed out that they were not writing just for Latinos, but for anybody in the world.

In further research I would like to investigate how Alex Sensation’s language use online mirrors his speech on air on NYC’s La Mega 97.9. It would also be interesting to analyze his interaction with other bilingual radio personalities and with the audience. A second area of further research would be to do a further investigation of U.S. Latino online communication in social media to see if it is as radically fused as Alex Sensation’s Instagram Posts. Analyzing the bilingual comments from audience members would also be an interesting piece of the puzzle to take into consideration. Lastly, as I have pointed out in this dissertation, there are different ways that U.S. Latino authors are engaging in radical bilingualism. Different terms have been proposed such as Casielles-Suárez’s (2013) radical hybridism, Dumistrescu’s (2014) code-fusion

and my term radical fusion. Subsequent studies could contribute to sort out the different types of radical bilingualism. Although it is too early to say, some of the texts I have analyzed show the type of hybrid CS, which can develop into a stable mixed language. Further research will have to determine if this is happening in some communities in written as well as in oral discourse.

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ABSTRACT**CODE-SWITCHING, CODE-MIXING AND RADICAL BILINGUALISM IN U.S. LATINO TEXTS**

by

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August 2015

Advisor: Eugenia Casielles-Suárez**Major:** Modern Languages (Spanish)**Degree:** Doctor of Philosophy

My dissertation, *Code-switching, Code-mixing and Radical Bilingualism in U.S. Latino texts* investigates the nature and significance of Spanish-English code-switching in U.S. Latino texts. I analyze fiction, creative non-fiction, journalistic texts, songs, and social media messages and I carry out a grammatical and sociolinguistic analyses of these texts. Although many of these texts would fall into Torres' (2007) Radical Bilingualism category, I point out that there are in fact different ways in which a text can be radically bilingual and I show that some of these texts are approaching Auer's (1999) notion of a fused lect. From a sociolinguistic point of view I consider the local and global functions of code-switching and investigate if it is becoming the unmarked code even in writing among U.S. Latinos. The analyses of the texts and the information gathered through interviews with some of the authors of the texts suggest that code-switching is not perceived as a sign of linguistic incompetence, but as an important part of Latinos' linguistic and cultural identity.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

I was born and raised in the Detroit area. As a very young child, I had an uncanny interest in books and reading. This passion materialized in Middle School when I joined the reading club. In High School I excelled in English literature, Language Arts and Foreign Language classes. This interest led me to pursue a major in Business and a minor in Spanish at Wayne State University. Once I started taking classes in both specializations, however, I realized that my talents were best served in Spanish and that I did not want to pursue a career in Business. As a result, I finished my Bachelor's degree with a major in Spanish and a minor in Business.

After finishing my undergraduate degree in 2008, I applied for and was awarded a Graduate Teaching Assistantship which allowed me to pursue graduate studies in Spanish at Wayne State University. This scholarship not only afforded me financial security as a graduate student, but it also introduced me to many faculty members who nurtured and guided me. In 2009, I took a Spanish Phonetics and Dialectology course, taught by my current advisor Professor Casielles, which introduced me to the dialects of the Spanish speaking world abroad and in the U.S. This course sparked my curiosity about bilingualism in general and code-switching in particular and made me want to pursue the study of Spanish linguistics at the Ph.D. level. On this journey, I was blessed with other scholarships like the Rumble and King-Chavez-Parks Fellowships, and I also worked with Professor Gidlow from the History department as a research assistant and as a mentor to other graduate students. In 2013 I attended the Linguistic Society of America's Summer Linguistic Institute at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, MI. There, I had an opportunity to take classes with two well-known scholars in my field: Pieter Muysken and Ad Backus.

In addition to Wayne State University, I have also taught at Oakland Community College and Oakland University, and I have had an opportunity to learn more about teaching methodologies in Higher Education thanks to Professors Catherine Barrette and Felecia Lucht as well as the Kern Innovating Teaching Faculty Fellowship that I received from Lawrence Tech University.

Additionally, during my graduate studies I have been an active member of the Graduate Forum and was President in 2013. More recently, I have become an Associate Editor for the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese's *Spanish and Portuguese Review*. As far as my research, I have presented my work at a variety of regional and national conferences and will be presenting two of my articles at the Modern Languages Association Conference in January 2016. I have had one of my papers published in the Selected Proceedings of the Pennsylvania Foreign Language conference (2011) and another piece published in *Hispania* (2014). In fall 2015, I will be starting a new role as Assistant Professor of Spanish Linguistics at Pepperdine University in Malibu, CA