

Spanish-English code-switching among US Latinos*

ALMEIDA JACQUELINE TORIBIO

Abstract

The present endeavor evaluates the linguistic attitudes and attributes that characterize and delimit code-switching practice among Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States, so doing with an aim toward establishing the (perceived) linguistic import of this communicative behavior as an intervening or catalytic variable in Spanish language attrition and loss, and its social import as a reflection or reconfiguration of Latino identity. Such an examination will afford a greater appreciation of the multiple and varied factors that enter into Spanish-English code-switching and will, in turn, contribute to our understanding of the linguistic situation of US Latinos more generally.

Introduction

In the past twenty years, increasing attention has been devoted to the phenomena attendant to language contact in US Latino communities, chief among these, the loss of lexical and morphosyntactic aspects of the Spanish language and the reduction of domains of usage with displacement toward English monolingualism.¹ Of interest in the present context is another linguistic process effected by language contact, namely, code-switching, the alternating use of Spanish and English in the same conversational event. Research on code-switching has generally fallen within two distinct traditions, the syntactic, providing insights into the linguistic principles that underlie the form that code-switched speech takes, and the sociolinguistic, which relates linguistic form to function in specific social contexts. This work seeks to merge these modes of inquiry, addressing Spanish-English code-switching within a broad linguistic and socio-cultural context. Viewed from a properly linguistic perspective, the manipulation of Spanish and English by US Latinos may be perceived

as a viable form of communication that promotes the maintenance of the Spanish language in the context of English; at the same time, it may be assailed as contributing to the demise of the socially subordinate Spanish language. Interpreted through a sociocultural lens, Spanish-English code-switching may be embraced and endorsed as affording US Latinos an authentic means of representing the juxtaposition of the Latino and US cultures; still, for others, this self-same bilingual behavior represents the contamination of the native culture in contact with the dominant US culture, borne of the convergence of traditions. These conflictive and conflicting views have their most visible consequence in the code-switching behavior of US Latinos.

The study elaborated herein evaluates these linguistic adaptations, with an eye toward establishing the linguistic import of code-switching as an intervening or catalytic variable in Spanish language attrition and loss, and the social import of this communicative behavior as a reflection or reconfiguration of US Latino identity. This assessment is accomplished by reference to the language attitudes and linguistic behaviors of four speakers: Yanira, Federico, Rosalba, and Guadalupe. All participants are native Spanish speakers of Mexican heritage who had lived in Santa Barbara County for a minimum of fifteen years at the time of study. The observations are drawn from the speakers' responses on various instruments: an extensive sociolinguistic survey and several empirical measures of bilingual code-switching competence and performance. It merits noting that these participants were singled out from a much larger study of fifty Spanish-English bilinguals from Southern California, a selection that is well motivated.² A review of responses by all fifty participants would require a concision in analysis or a synthesis of isolated linguistic features that would undermine the investigation of the multidimensional and complex linguistic phenomenon that is code-switching.³ Given this limitation, the four participants were selected as representative of the linguistic and attitudinal diversity of the larger sample. The assumption underlying the endeavor is that this linguistic form, like other language-contact phenomena, can best be understood by reference to the social, cultural, and psychological factors that also inform linguistic behavior.⁴

“Yanira”⁵

Yanira was born in East Los Angeles of Mexican immigrant parents. She spoke Spanish in the home and was first exposed to English at age four. While her elementary bilingual education program furnished fairly equivalent amounts of Spanish and English, subsequent high school and

postsecondary education advocated a fully English curriculum. At the university, where English governs instruction and interaction in the classroom, Yanira seeks out and engages in a variety of extracurricular Spanish-language activities on a daily basis, listening to Spanish-language radio stations, watching Spanish-language television programs, and reading Spanish-language magazines. Yanira reports speaking “about equal amounts” of Spanish and English with her friends on the college campus and with her siblings at home. But Spanish dominates in her interactions with the children at the afterschool program in which she is employed, and in more private domains, as when speaking with parents or participating in religious services.

Yanira’s language profile is commonly attested: Spanish language use is maintained with Spanish-dominant speakers, such as older adult relatives and young children; Spanish and English are both used among in-group members including siblings, and out-group members including friends and co-workers; and Spanish is displaced in favor of English in the classroom setting. Thus, for Yanira, as for many Latinos, Spanish and English together constitute her linguistic competence in a singular sense, and her linguistic performance may draw primarily upon English, primarily on Spanish, or on a combination of the two, as required by the speech situation. It is also common in Latino communities that as speakers develop the ability to switch between their languages in accommodating the needs of their addressees, some will also extend this ability to switching within a single conversational event — that is, to code-switching.

A review of survey items referencing Yanira’s code-switching behavior, reproduced in “Yanira, survey 1,” demonstrates that she code-switches in a variety of contexts, motivated by a range of linguistic and socio-psychological principles and beliefs. Still, her assessment of the behavior is mixed: she does not deem it aesthetically “pretty” but, rather, “bothersome” to the ear and concedes that it neither enriches her interactions nor garners her respect from peers in the community. And yet, there is some sense of acceptance and appreciation of this linguistic form for its significance in promoting the maintenance of the minority language. In addition, as indicated by the self-report, Yanira’s code-switching is accepted by her in-group interlocutors. She alternates Spanish and English in her oral speech as well as in her written communications with friends and family, to perform a variety of discursive functions.

Yanira, survey 1: code-switching attitudes and usage

Yanira was asked to rate how much she agreed or disagreed with given statements on code-switching; the rating scale ranged from 1 (agree) to 7

(strongly disagree). She was also asked to indicate the domains and purposes of her code-switching use.

It sounds pretty when speakers mix Spanish and English in conversation. — 7

It bothers me when speakers talk in Spanish and English at the same time. — 2

The mixing of English with Spanish leads to the loss of Spanish. — 7

The mixing of English with Spanish helps to maintain Spanish. — 1

The mixing of English and Spanish enriches interactions in my community. — 5

When I mix languages, others regard me as less intelligent. — 7

When I mix languages, I am more respected by my community. — 6

I mix languages:

- ✓ at home
- ✓ at school
- ✓ at work
- with spouse/girlfriend/boyfriend

✓ at family gatherings

I mix languages in writing:

- ✓ letters — to whom? *To friends and family*
- ✓ e-mails — to whom? *To friends*
- my journal
- other (please specify)

I mix languages in spoken speech because:

- ✓ I might not know a word
- ✓ it allows me to express myself more fully
- ✓ there is no translation for a concept
- ✓ for added emphasis
- ✓ to express emotion
- to affirm my identity
- ✓ just because I can

I mix languages in writing because:

- ✓ I might not know a word
- ✓ it allows me to express myself more fully
- ✓ there is no translation for a concept
- ✓ for added emphasis
- ✓ to express emotion
- to affirm my identity
- just because I can

There is no paucity in the literature of studies that address this aspect of code-switching. John Gumperz, in his seminal 1982 work on discursive

strategies, notes the important functions achieved by code-switching.⁶ The premise underlying early studies was that code-switching is always a conscious choice on the part of the speaker. Since then, much effort has been dedicated to analyzing language choice and imputing specific communicative strategies to specific code alternations. However, not all such linguistic alternations signal a particular communicative intent or purpose. As amply demonstrated in research conducted by Ana Celia Zentella, for some US Latinos, code-switching merely represents a norm of bilingual interaction, another way of speaking.⁷ This is not to suggest, however, that code-switching is haphazard in form.

With respect to its linguistic form, code-switching is systematic and orderly, reflecting underlying syntactic principles.⁸ That is, bilinguals may be shown to exhibit a shared knowledge of what constitutes appropriate, grammatically sanctioned code-switching. Several components of the present study sought to tap into this unconscious knowledge. One component, not represented here, incorporated an acceptability-judgment task, a methodology commonly employed in eliciting speakers' knowledge about the grammaticality of individual sentences.⁹ The three remaining instruments of code-switching competence and performance drew on speakers' beliefs about linguistic well-formedness in familiar fairytale narratives.¹⁰

In the first of the code-switching narrative tasks, the participants were instructed to read two fairy tales aloud and then respond to the questions that followed. The two narrative texts were of similar length and incorporated a comparable number of switches, though they differed significantly in the type of code-switching presented: "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" included switching at boundaries shown to violate code-switching norms (e.g. between auxiliary and main verb, between object pronoun and main verb, between noun and modifying adjective), and "The Beggar Prince" included switches at those boundaries that are thought to serve as common switch sites in bilingual speech (e.g. between subject and predicate, between very and object, between noun and subordinate clause).¹¹ Brief excerpts of each fairy tale text appear below:

Sample texts for task 1: narrative reading

The participants were asked to read aloud two fairy tales — "Snow White," which included grammatically unacceptable code-switching, and "The Beggar Prince," prepared in well-formed code-switched sentences; the reading recital was recorded and analyzed.

"Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs / BLANCANIEVES
Y LOS SIETE ENANITOS"
ÉRASE UNA VEZ UNA LINDA PRINCESITA BLANCA COMO

LA NIEVE. SU MADRASTRA, LA REINA, TENÍA UN MÁGICO mirror on the wall. The queen often asked, “Who is the MÁS HERMOSA DEL VALLE?” Y UN DÍA EL mirror answered, “Snow White is the fairest one of all!” Very envious and evil, the REINA MANDÓ A UN CRIADO QUE MATARA A LA PRINCESA. EL CRIADO LA LLEVÓ AL BOSQUE Y out of compassion abandoned LA ALLÍ. A squirrel took pity on the princess and led her to a PEQUEÑA CABINA EN EL MONTE. EN LA CABINA, VIVÍAN SIETE ENANITOS QUE returned to find Snow White asleep in their beds. Back at the palace, the stepmother again asked the ESPEJO: “Y AHORA, ¿QUIÉN ES LA MÁS BELLA?” EL ESPEJO OTRA VEZ LE answered, without hesitation, “Snow White!” The queen was very angry and set out to find the CASITA DE LOS ENANITOS. DISFRAZADA DE VIEJA, LA REINA LE OFRECIÓ A BLANCANIEVES UNA MANZANA QUE HABÍA laced with poison. When Snow White bit into the apple, she CALLÓ DESVANECIDA AL SUELO. POR LA NOCHE, LOS ENANITOS LA found, seemingly dead ...

“The Beggar Prince / EL PRÍNCIPE PORDIOSERO”

EL REY ARNULFO TENÍA UNA HIJA MUY HERMOSA QUE SE LLAMABA GRACIELA. AL CUMPLIR ELLA LOS VEINTE AÑOS, EL REY INVITÓ many neighboring princes to a party. Since she was unmarried, he wanted her to choose UN BUEN ESPOSO. Princess Grace was sweet Y CARIÑOSA CON TODOS. TENÍA SOLAMENTE UN DEFECTO: she was indecisive. Surrounded by twelve suitors, she could not decide and the king SE ENOJÓ. GRITÓ, “¡JURO POR DIOS QUE TE CASARÉ CON EL PRIMER HOMBRE that enters this room!” At that exact moment, a beggar, who had evaded A LOS PORTEROS, ENTRÓ EN LA SALA. EXCLAMÓ, “¡ACABO DE OÍR LO QUE DIJO USTED! JURÓ POR DIOS! The princess is mine!” There was no going back on such a solemn oath Y EL PORDIOSERO SE PREPARÓ PARA LA BODA. Everyone was surprised to see LO BIEN QUE SE VEÍA in his borrowed clothes. DESPUÉS DE ALGUNAS SEMANAS, the beggar made an announcement to the princess. EL NUEVO ESPOSO LE DIJO A LA PRINCESA that the time had come to leave the palace. They had to return to his meager work and a house QUE ERA MUY HUMILDE ...

The questions that followed the recital addressed ease of readability, comprehension, and enjoyability. By her own performance as by her assertions, reported in “Yanira, task 1,” Yanira found switching in

“Snow White” unnatural, as expected; she read the text haltingly, later commenting that she was detained by the switches, which she perceived to be more frequent and less patterned than in “The Beggar Prince.”¹²

Yanira, task 1: narrative reading

For this task, Yanira was instructed to read and respond to questions regarding the fairytales; her responses were recorded and transcribed.

Question: Was the segment of the fairytale easily read? Was it easily understood? Did you enjoy the segment of the fairy tale?

- Response (on “The Beggar Prince”): Yes, it was easy ... I enjoyed it.
- Response (on “Snow White”): Too much switching made it confusing. I enjoyed it but was too busy figuring out which language would come next.

Question: In comparing the two texts, which one was more easily read? Understood?

- Response: “The Beggar Prince” flowed better. You didn’t get stuck on the switches.

Question: In comparing the two texts, which one did you enjoy best? Why?

- Response: I enjoyed “The Beggar Prince” because it didn’t mix the languages so often.

Question: Is there a difference in the type of mixing in each text?

- Response: There is mixing in “The Beggar Prince,” but it makes sense. “Snow White” changes without a pattern.

Though unable to articulate exactly what accounted for her judgments, Yanira drew on her knowledge of Spanish and English — her linguistic competence — in completing the task, concluding that the mixing in the second text “made sense.” More notably, she was successful in rendering her judgments based in linguistic knowledge, rather than by recourse to her own prescriptive norms, which, as noted in “Yanira, survey 1” (above), would predicate against code-switching in general. That is, while she does not judge code-switching to be attractive as a communicative practice, she is able to discern the differential status of the code-switching patterns presented.

In the second narrative component, the participants were instructed to select one of the fairytales and recount the ending in mixed speech. Before we review the narratives, it must be pointed out that these narratives are *elicited* and therefore may not be representative of code-switched narration in spontaneous speech, though they will provide information about what are acceptable and preferred code-switching structures.¹³

Yanira, task 2: code-switching narrative retelling

Yanira was instructed to retell the ending of “Snow White” or “The Beggar Prince” in code-switching; her story was recorded and transcribed.

While ... BLANCANIEVES ESTÁ ... MEDIA MUERTA ... she’s lying there, and the dwarfs, they’re scared, they don’t know what to do and they pick her up, Y LA LLEVAN A LA CASA, LA PONEN SOBRE LA CAMA ... Y LA DEJAN ACOSTADA ALLÍ ... The dwarfs are very sad because they they ... they think they have lost their their friend, Snow White ... and they’re just crying and crying ... Y ESPERAN QUE TAL VEZ SE LEVANTE Y RESUCITE ... but the seven dwarfs, they’re around her bed and they’re there for a couple of hours ... but ... EN ESO SE VAN LOS ENANITOS A TRABAJAR, ESTÁN TRABAJANDO ... Before they were always really happy, singing and joyful ... and cheerful ... and they were just happy. PERO ESTA VEZ NO ESTABAN CONTENTOS PORQUE SU AMIGA ESTABA MUERTA. BUENO, ESTO PENSABAN ELLOS ... they’re ... so ... they weren’t happy ... and they were working but with frowns on their face, not frowns but ... UN POCO TRISTES ... NO TENÍAN SONRISAS NI NADA DE ALEGRÍA EN LA CARA ... so ... they continued working and ... EN ESO IBA PASANDO UN PRÍNCIPE ... Prince Charming ... ESTABA PASANDO POR EL BOSQUE Y SE ASOMÓ POR LA CASA DE LOS ENANITOS and he saw that ... there was a beautiful young lady lying in the bed ... motionless

In her recounting of “Snow White,” excerpted immediately above, Yanira alternates between Spanish and English with relative ease. Most significantly, the narration does not model the ill-formed code-switches of the exemplar.

Yanira’s oral narrative displays a preponderance of intersentential code-switching, with pauses at sentence boundaries, most likely indicative of the costly cognitive processes required in recalling and reformulating the story, rather than a lack of code-switching competence. This mitigating factor is eliminated in the third narrative component, in which Yanira was asked to review a sequence of pictures depicting the “Little Red Riding Hood” fairytale and recount the story in mixed speech, but this time in written form. This writing task was devised to elicit narratives that would be illustrative of the creativity of bilingual code alternation, while at once revealing of the notions of grammatical well-formedness that moderate bilingual expression. In her written narrative, excerpted below, Yanira’s code-switching ability is evident: the robust

examples of intrasentential code-switching illustrate a strong sensitivity to code-switching well-formedness.¹⁴

Yanira, task 3: code-switching narrative writing

Yanira recounts, in writing, the tale of “Little Red Riding Hood,” as depicted in a sequence of color drawings; the written sample is faithfully reproduced (introducing, however, the use of capitalization to distinguish between Spanish and English).

LA MADRE DE CAPERUCITA LE DA a jar of honey. As Little Red Riding Hood is walking along the forest SE ENCUENTRA CON UN LOBO. EL LOBO PLATICA CON Little Red Riding Hood for a while. They both finish talking Y EL LOBO CAMINA EN OTRA DIRECCIÓN OPUESTA A LA DE CAPERUCITA. Little Red Riding Hood continues to walk with flowers in one hand Y UNA CANASTA EN EL OTRO BRAZO MIENTRAS ELLA CAMINA, EL wolf HA LLEGADO A CASA DE LA ABUELITA DE Little Red Riding Hood. The wolf scares her off and takes over her bed. EN ESO LLEGA LA NIÑA SALUDÁNDOLA but points to her big teeth, big eyes, big nails and hairy head and hands ...

Yanira’s code-switching is consonant with that reported in the literature for proficient bilinguals; in this excerpt we can identify switches at the boundary between verb and object, between coordinate structures, and for adverbial clause modifiers. In addition, the morphological and syntactic integrity of each language is maintained within unilingual segments. This is not unexpected, since, as noted by Shana Poplack, among others, a prerequisite for successful code-switching is competence in the component languages: the most proficient code-switchers are also the most proficient speakers of the component languages.¹⁵

Yanira’s success at manipulating Spanish and English in code-switching corresponds to her self-report on language proficiency. As shown in “Yanira, survey 2,” she expressed confidence in her functional ability in Spanish and English, on receptive and productive measures.

Yanira, survey 2: language ability

Yanira was asked to rate her language abilities on a seven-point scale, where a rating of 1 represents minimal ability and a rating of 7 represents native-like ability.

Your ability to speak/understand/write/read Spanish — 7

Your pronunciation/grammar/overall ability in Spanish — 7

Your ability to speak/understand/write/read English — 7

Your pronunciation/grammar/overall ability in English — 7

This reported Spanish-language proficiency is corroborated in the Spanish-language narrative task, in which Yanira related the fairy tale of “Little Red Riding Hood” fully in Spanish; her story, sampled below, was well-elaborated with lexical selection and morphosyntactic and narrative structures that were appropriate to the task. To be sure, there are differences between the Spanish attested in Yanira’s fully Spanish narration and what would be produced in monolingual Spanish contexts by speakers of comparable educational level; however, this Spanish language text is structurally sound.

Yanira, task 4: Spanish language retelling

Yanira is instructed to tell the fairy tale of “Little Red Riding Hood,” fully in Spanish; her oral narration is recorded and transcribed.

... CAPERUCITA ROJA SE ENCUENTRA CON UN LOBO ... QUE PARECE QUE LE ESTÁ HABLANDO ... PERO ENTONCES ... EL LOBO SE VA ... Y CAPERUCITA ROJA SIGUE CON ... EN SU CAMINO ... CON FLORES EN SU MANO Y UNA CANASTA EN SU OTRO BRAZO ... ELLA SE FUE CAMINANDO ... MIENTRAS QUE EL LOBO ... VA A LA CASA DE SU ABUELITA ... Y ESTE ... LA ASUSTA ... Y PARECE QUE LA ABUELITA ESTÁ LEYENDO Y ... ÉL ... SE ESTÁ ... SE METE EN LA CAMA, ENTONCES LLEGA CAPERUCITA ROJA ... Y EL LOBO SE DISFRAZA DE SU ABUELITA, TIENE LOS LENTES PUESTOS, UNA GORRITA ... Y ESTÁ MUY CUBIERTO ... SE LE VE LOS DIENTES FEOS ... EL HOSICO, Y LLEGA CAPERUCITA ROJA Y ESTÁ HABLANDO CON ... CON ÉL, Y PARECE QUE ESTÁ APUNTANDO QUE ... ALGO TIENE MALO EN LA CARA ... TAL VEZ LOS DIENTES, LOS OJOS MUY PELUDOS ...

In sum, we have observed that for Yanira, as for many US Latinos, Spanish and English coexist and each is highly developed. Her continued use of code-switching in bilingual interactions across speech contexts is not interpreted as advancing the displacement of her native Spanish language or advocating the rejection of or opposition to the dominant English language. Rather, code-switching is an act of self-reflection. When asked whether Spanish-English code-switching reflects who she is, Yanira offers a resounding affirmation:

Yanira, survey 3: code-switching and identity

(rating scale: 1 = agree; 7 = strongly disagree)

The mixture of English and Spanish reflects who I am. — 1

And yet, while code-switching serves as a hallmark of community membership for US Latinos such as Yanira, we must recognize that it is not a defining characteristic of US Latino speech. For in addition to the individual bilingual speaker's linguistic capacity, the community of which the speaker is a member may be an important determining factor in code-switching behavior.

“Federico”

Federico was born in Lone Pine, California, where he spent his early years. When he was five, his parents returned the family to their native Mexico, where he was enrolled in elementary school in Colima, through the fifth grade. When he was ten, the family returned to Escondido, California, where he was immersed in an English-only junior high school program to accelerate his English language learning. In an irony common to the US Latino experience, Federico was made to enroll in high school Spanish courses in satisfaction of the *foreign* language requirement. Now a graduate student at the university, English dominates in his academic endeavors and in the university residences in which he has been lodged for seven years. However, Federico continues to nurture his native Spanish language: through television and radio programming and film selections, in participating in Spanish-language religious services, and in regularly writing and reading Spanish-language texts. Moreover, interactions with his spouse and other Latino students are commonly carried out in Spanish. Thus, given that Federico's communication with family and with friends can and often does proceed in Spanish, and there are substantial cultural and social factors encouraging his Spanish-language use, he is likely to maintain his native Spanish language alongside the more (socially) dominant English.

Federico himself expressed a strong desire to preserve and protect his Spanish language. (Federico requested that all materials related to the study be delivered in Spanish.)¹⁶ Not surprisingly, his evaluations of code-switching, seen in “Federico, survey 1,” disclose a decidedly negative appraisal. He objects to the aesthetic merit of code-switching, viewing it as an idiosyncratic speech behavior that effects Spanish language loss. Even in those domains in which he allows himself the luxury of free expression, Federico reports switching only to express himself more precisely when there is no cross-linguistic equivalent available. Note that he offers an emphatic “*no mezclo*” ‘*I don't mix*’ in response to whether he code-switches at family gatherings, and marks as “NA” (*not applicable*) items concerning code-switching in writing. The latter response is fairly

common among bilinguals, who view writing as a formal medium that should remain untainted by the alterations of speech, though it is also frequently observed that in modes that more closely approximate natural speech, such as personal letters, dairies, and e-mail, this taboo may be relaxed.

Federico, survey 1: code switching attitudes and usage

(escala: 1 = completamente de acuerdo; 7 = totalmente en desacuerdo)

Suena muy bonito cuando en el curso de una conversación en español e inglés los hablantes mezclan los idiomas. — 6

Me molesta cuando se habla en español e inglés al mismo tiempo. — 2

Desde mi punto de vista, el mezclar español e inglés lleva a la pérdida del español. — 2

Creo que el mezclar inglés y español ayuda a mantener el español.—6

La mezcla de español e inglés enriquece la socialización en mi comunidad. — NA

Cuando mezclo varios idiomas otros me consideran menos inteligente. — 1

Cuando mezclo español e inglés, me siento más respetado/a por los miembros de mi comunidad. — 7

Mezclo idiomas:

- en casa
- en la escuela/universidad
- en el trabajo
- con mi esposa/o, novio/a
- en reuniones familiares no mezclo

Mezclo idiomas cuando escribo: NA

- cartas — ¿a quién?
- e-mails — ¿a quién?
- mi diario
- otros (especifique)

Mezclo idiomas en el discurso oral porque:

- puede que no sepa una palabra
- me permite expresarme de una forma más completa
- no hay una traducción literal para cierto concepto
- para enfatizar
- para expresar emociones
- para afirmar mi identidad
- simplemente porque puedo y quiero hacerlo

Mezclo idiomas cuando escribo porque: NA

- puede que no sepa una palabra
- me permite expresarme de una forma más completa

- no hay una traducción literal para cierto concepto
- para enfatizar
- para expresar emociones
- para afirmar mi identidad
- simplemente porque puedo y quiero hacerlo

As a member of largely monolingual Spanish-speaking and English-speaking communities, Federico has come to believe that code-switching reflects a deterioration or inadequate mastery of both languages. It merits repeating that linguists have found that it is precisely the ability to perform structurally and functionally appropriate switches that distinguishes fluent from nonfluent bilinguals in many speech communities.¹⁷

Federico is a bilingual with a high degree of balance of competence in his two languages, as shown in his self-report in “Federico, survey 2” and corroborated by his Spanish-language sample in “Federico, task 4” and his advanced graduate standing in a US research institution.

Federico, survey 2: language ability

(escala: 1 = nivel mínimo, 5 = fluidez alta, como de hablante nativo)

Su habilidad para hablar/entender/escribir/leer español — 7

Su pronunciación/gramática/nivel general de español — 7

Su habilidad para hablar/entender/escribir/leer inglés — 7

Su pronunciación/gramática/nivel general de inglés — 7

Federico, task 4: Spanish language narrative retelling (transcription)

Estas imágenes que tengo enfrente de mí relatan el cuento de la Caperucita Roja ... una niña que fue enviada a casa de su abuelita por medio de su, me imagino, que su madre, no me acuerdo muy bien del cuento, pero la envió para llevarle ... un jarrito de, de leche o algo, me imagino. Y en su camino hacia la casa de su abuelita se encontró a un lobo que estaba vestido con un traje, un traje, pero era un traje viejo que tenía la, la, la vastilla del pantalón rota y andaba el lobo descalzo. El lobo también cargaba sobre ... sobre su cabeza un, un sombrero y parece que traía guantes puestos ... por lo tanto Caperucita Roja había ... traía unas flores en su mano y, y llevaba su canasta con el encargo ... que le había hecho su mamá ... entonces al, después de platicar ... el lobo con Caperucita Roja cada quien siguió por su camino ...

Clearly, Federico possesses the linguistic knowledge in Spanish and English that is required for rule-governed code-switching.

In fact, Federico's sensitivity to syntactic norms on code-switching is exposed in his narrative reading task. As indicated in his responses below, he readily recognizes the difference between ill-formed and well-formed code-switching, stating that, although he preferred the "Snow White" text, this selection was based more on its content than on its form; he found "The Beggar Prince" more easily read and more easily understood.

Federico, task 1: narrative reading (transcription)

Pregunta: ¿Fue el fragmento del cuento fácil de leer? ¿Fue fácil de entender? ¿Disfruté el fragmento del cuento?

- Respuesta (sobre "El Príncipe Pordiosero"): Sí, siento que el fragmento del cuento fue fácil de leer y fácil de entender, porque puedo leer en los dos idiomas, me imagino que al mismo nivel; no me causó ninguna angustia leer este cuento
- Respuesta (sobre "Blancanieves"): Este fragmento del cuento de "Blancanieves" fue un poco más difícil de leer, no fue difícil de entender, pero se me hizo un poco más difícil la lectura ... en el aspecto de que no llevaba un ritmo, o sea que el ritmo de la lectura fue un poco interrumpida por el hecho que unas palabras las usaron en el cuento en una manera que yo no las uso generalmente en ocasiones que he mezclado el lenguaje.

Pregunta: Comparando ambos fragmentos, ¿cuál fue más fácil de leer? ¿más fácil de entender?

- Respuesta: Se me figura que el fragmento de "Caperucita Roja" ["Príncipe Pordiosero"] fue un poco más fácil y de entenderse también.

Pregunta: Comparando ambos fragmentos, ¿cuál le gustó más?

- Respuesta: Me gustó más el de "Blancanieves," pero eso es porque me gusta más ese cuento no necesariamente la manera en que está escrito, pero si tuviera yo que leerle el cuento a otra persona me gustaría leerle mejor el de "Caperucita Roja" ["El Príncipe Pordiosero"].

Pregunta: ¿Hay alguna diferencia en el tipo de 'mezcla' en los dos fragmentos?

- Respuesta: Como mencioné anteriormente la diferencia en el tipo de mezcla es un poco más inadecuada de mi punto de vista el de "Blancanieves." Se me hizo un poco más difícil la manera en que se fragmentaron las frases del español al inglés.

Thus, while the language tasks in the study are not contextualized in natural speech situations, they do provide important insights into

Federico's code-switching competence. And yet, this linguistic capacity is not given expression in his speech production: he seldom code-switches.

In their extensive research on bilingual communities, researchers such as Adalberto Aguirre and Guadalupe Valdés have observed that while competence in two languages is a necessary precondition for code-switching, it is an insufficient prerequisite in determining successful code-switching performance: membership in a community in which code-switching is practiced may also be required. That is, code-switching requires social knowledge that is culturally specific and acquired only through contextualized practice. We predict, therefore, that although he possesses the requisite bilingual capacity — linguistic competence in Spanish and English — Federico will not demonstrate the needed communicative competence to engage in functionally well-formed code-switching. The prediction is borne out in his code-switching performance, transcribed below. As illustrated, Federico is unable to produce a code-switched narrative; he relates the ending of "The Beggar Prince" fully in Spanish, and is apologetic in his resignation. He makes a second attempt to comply with the demands of the task, this time relating the segment fully in English, with a single Spanish insertion of an adverbial modifier.¹⁸

Federico, Task 2: code-switching narrative retelling (transcription)

Cuando regresaron a la casa del, del pordiosero la, la princesa se puso muy triste porque pensó que nunca jamás vería todas las, las cosas bonitas que se encontraba y que ella tenía en el castillo porque eso que su vida con este hombre siempre fuera un, fuera una, una vida miserable sin dinero, sin, sin, ningún lugo ... [...] ... y ella se hizo una mujer muy humilde y muy buena de corazón. Nunca más quiso todas las riquezas que quería antes proque antes era una, una niña fresa, no trataba bien a sus compañeros, y ahora era mas buena de carozón ... como ven Se me hizo un poco dificil mezclar el inglés con el español. No es que no lo puedo hacer pero casi siempre pienso o estoy pensando en español. No estoy pensando en inglés y ... y ... y a veces es más es más fácil terminarlo de una manera pero, y I guess I could do it both ways. I don't know. It's hard for me though, yeah, you know if I start talking in one language I keep talking in one language so it's kind of hard. I can't concentrate on doing that. Umm ... so I'm not gonna try to do it ... umm ... she lived happily ever after, HUMILDEMENTE, umm, without all the riches that the ... see, I can't, I don't know, for some reason I hold myself back sometimes.

Federico is somewhat more successful in the written code-switching task, as expected. Still, in his written text, reproduced below, switching is infrequent and occurs at major syntactic boundaries — between clauses, between subject and predicate — and with single noun insertions, such as *abuela's* ‘grandma’s’ and *lobo* ‘wolf’, which is common among bilinguals who may possess the language resources that subserve bilingual code-switching competence but who lack communicative code-switching practice.

Federico, task 3: code-switching narrative writing (reproduction)

In the title frame we see CAPERUCITA ROJA EN EL BOSQUE CERCA DE UN NIDO CON PAJARITOS. At the same time we can see the wolf hiding behind a tree. The story EMPIEZA EN QUE SU MAMÁ LE HACE UN ENCARGO A CAPERUCITA. That is to take something to her ABUELA’S house. On the way to ABUELA’S house she runs into the LOBO and he asks her where she is going. After she tells him they both go on their way. The LOBO goes to LA CASA DE LA ABUELITA Y SE ACUESTA EN LA CAMA DISFRAZADO DE LA ABUELITA. This was after he scared her off. When Caperucita Roja gets there she suspects something Y LE HACE MUCHAS PREGUNTAS. EL LOBO SE ENOJA Y LA EMPIEZA A PERSEGUIR. A squirrel alerts the hunter of the events at the grandma’s house. ENTONCES ÉL VA Y JUSTO A TIEMPO SALVA A CAPERUCITA, MATANDO AL LOBO. CAPERUCITA and her grandmother reunite Y VIVEN FELICES EL RESTO DE SUS VIDAS.

The overview of Federico’s linguistic survey and language samples reveals that although code-switching is subserved by bilingual competence, it is not an essential feature of bilingual practice. For Federico, Spanish and English have maintained a antithetical relationship, circumscribing distinct worlds, and, unlike Yanira, he does not seek a compromise between them. As expressed in the appraisal he offered, the mixing of English and Spanish does not reflect who he is:

Federico, survey 3: code-switching and identity

(escala: 1 = completamente de acuerdo; 7 = totalmente en desacuerdo)

La mezcla de español e inglés refleja quién soy. — 6

This assessment may be motivated by a negating of the premise on which the statement is based — he does not code-switch — or it may be representative of an attempt to exclude code-switching from the discussion of Latino identity. Indeed, the status of bilingual code alternations is fervently disputed by laypersons and linguists alike.

The foregoing linguistic and sociocultural considerations notwithstanding, code-switching has been variously characterized as indicative of ill manners, imperfect language acquisition, or gross cross-linguistic interference. Furthermore, the nomenclature — terms such as *Spanglish* and *Tex-Mex* for Spanish-English code-switching — carries pejorative connotations reflecting these misconceptions about the social, intellectual, or linguistic abilities of those who code-switch. In fact, as amply observed by scholars such as Rodolfo Jacobson and Rosa Fernández, some speakers harbor such negative judgments toward code-switching that they disavow its use altogether.

“Rosalba”

Rosalba was born in Mexico, where she attended elementary school. Arriving in Santa Barbara as a preteen, she was enrolled in a junior high school in which instruction was delivered in English, with additional coursework in English-as-a-second-language. Her high school curriculum incorporated all English-language coursework, as did her college extension and university courses. Today, English dominates her workplace at the university and permeates her daily activities. Though she speaks only Spanish with her mother, she speaks more English than Spanish with other family members in her home, and all English outside of the home domain. And in spite of the accessibility of Spanish-language media in Santa Barbara, Rosalba avails herself of Spanish-language films, television programming, radio shows, and magazines less than once a week.

Yet, despite the reduction of domains of Spanish-language usage, Rosalba’s Spanish-language abilities are very well developed, as attested in the fairy tale narrative:

Rosalba, task 4: Spanish-language narrative retelling (transcription)

Caperucita Roja camina por el bosque, platicando con los pajaritos, ... y su mamá le manda a que lleve miel a su abuelita. En camino al bosque, Caperucita se encuentra con el lobo. El lobo le hace varias preguntas y después, cada quien toma diferentes caminos. El lobo se adelanta y entra a la casa de la abuelita. La abuelita se espanta y corre. El lobo se hace pasar por la abuelita. Entonces, Caperucita entra y se da cuenta que no es su abuelita, mientras tanto, una ardilla ha corrido a avisarle al cazador que Caperucita Roja está en peligro. Mientras tanto, el lobo espanta a Caperucita, y Caperucita empieza a correr. El cazador tira, dispara al lobo y Caperucita Roja y su abuelita se reencuentran, y Caperucita está libre ... está sana y salva.

As shown in “Rosalba, survey 2,” Rosalba herself estimates that she possesses native-like abilities in Spanish (and English), giving herself a perfect 7 in overall proficiency. Thus, while the domains that call for Spanish language use are increasingly limited, Rosalba clearly possesses the requisite linguistic knowledge to deploy the languages in her repertoires as dictated by the speech context.

Rosalba, survey 2: language ability

(rating scale: 1 = minimal ability; 7 = native-like ability).

Your ability to speak/understand/write/read Spanish — 7

Your pronunciation/grammar/overall ability in Spanish — 7

Your ability to speak/understand/write/read English — 7

Your pronunciation/grammar/overall ability in English — 7

As noted throughout our discussion, not only do bilinguals have recourse to monolingual verbal skills to realize their communicative intentions, but they can also exploit their ability to alternate between languages. This was not evidenced in Rosalba’s linguistic profile. As illustrated in “Rosalba, survey 1,” she reports to code-switch in spoken speech exclusively at family gatherings and only because she might not know a word; she code-switches in writing to close friends, again, only when there is no translation for a concept — the assumption being that the writing process reflects inherent correction, editing, and rewriting that would purge the text of unwanted switches. To be sure, Rosalba ascribes no positive attributes to code-switching at all: it is not pretty, it does not contribute to her linguistic interactions, and she is not respected or praised for engaging in it. Moreover, as the conservator of her languages, Rosalba rejects the practice of code-switching as epitomizing and hastening the loss of Spanish.

Rosalba, survey 1: code-switching attitudes and usage

(rating scale: 1 = agree; 7 = strongly disagree)

It sounds pretty when speakers mix Spanish and English in conversation. — 7

It bothers me when speakers talk in Spanish and English at the same time. — 1

The mixing of English with Spanish leads to the loss of Spanish. — 1

The mixing of English with Spanish helps to maintain Spanish. — 7

The mixing of English and Spanish enriches interactions in my community. — 6

When I mix languages, others regard me as less intelligent. — 3

When I mix languages, I am more respected by my community. — 7

I mix languages:

- at home
- at school
- at work
- with spouse/girlfriend/boyfriend
- at family gatherings

I mix languages in writing:

- letters — to whom?
- e-mails — to whom? *To close friends*
- my journal
- other (please specify)

I mix languages in spoken speech because:

- I might not know a word
- it allows me to express myself more fully
- there is no translation for a concept
- for added emphasis
- to express emotion
- to affirm my identity
- just because I can

I mix languages in writing because:

- I might not know a word
- it allows me to express myself more fully
- there is no translation for a concept
- for added emphasis
- to express emotion
- to affirm my identity
- just because I can

Thus, unlike many bilinguals, who embrace code-switching as a representation and enactment of a dual self, Rosalba is able to find ready expression while remaining within the confines of the individual languages in her repertoire. For Rosalba, the bicultural experience can best be defined as the mingling and manipulation of Spanish and English, not simultaneously, but independently.

This separation of Spanish and English and the rejection of code-switching that is reported in Rosalba's sociolinguistic questionnaire find additional, more salient evidence in her performance on the code-switching tasks. In the narrative reading task, Rosalba's conscious rejection of linguistic alternation is evident: as shown in "Rosalba, task 1," she fails to distinguish well-formed from ill-formed code-switched fairy tale texts. She expressed a dislike for code-switching and for the demands of the task itself, stating at its conclusion that she would have enjoyed the

texts had they been written fully in Spanish or in English. In addition, while she did experience greater difficulty in reading the ill-formed code-switched “Snow White,” she reported that the mixing in “Snow White” was easier, probably due to her familiarity with the story. That is, in her denial of the code-switching practice, she devoted no attention to the code-switching form.

Rosalba, task 1: narrative reading (transcription)

Question: Was the segment of the fairy tale easily read? Was it easily understood?

- Response (on “Snow White”): I find I hesitate a lot when it switches into Spanish. Again, I am familiar with the tale and I enjoy it, but I still have a hard time switching back and forth.
- Response (on “The Beggar Prince”): The segment was easy to read. It’s difficult to understand the switching; I’m not used to it. I would have enjoyed it better if it was all in English or all in Spanish.

Question: In comparing the two texts, which one was more easily read? Understood?

- Response: I think this one [“Snow White”] was more easily understood than the previous one.

Question: In comparing the two texts, which one did you enjoy best? Why?

- Response: I didn’t enjoy either.

Question: Is there a difference in the type of mixing in each text?

- Response: It seems the mixing is easier here in the second text [“Snow White”].

Thus, unlike less fluent bilinguals who are unable to assess code-switching grammaticality owing to diminished competence in one or the other language, Rosalba’s responses are motivated by her own prescriptivism. As such, her judgments on the code-switching task before her do not represent her linguistic competence but rather correspond to the disparaging of a bilingual practice.

Given Rosalba’s preference for Spanish and English monolingual speech, and her expressed disdain for code-switched speech, her performance on the remaining narrative tasks, in which she would be invited to code-switch, would prove telling. True to form, Rosalba’s code-switching narratives further evince the deliberate, self-conscious maintenance of unilingual codes. Her code-switching narrative, fully transcribed in “Rosalba, task 2,” was the shortest produced in the study; she did not want to prolong the recital and she did not want to code-switch.

Her narratives were composed of alternating, completely well-formed monolingual Spanish and English sentences — there was no definitive intra-sentential code-switching attested.¹⁹

Rosalba, task 2: code-switching narrative retelling (transcription)

The next day the queen asked the mirror again, “Who is the fairest one of all now?” Y EL ESPEJO CONTESTÓ, “Snow White is the fairest one of all.” PERO MIENTRAS TANTO, UN PRÍNCIPE, CAMINABA POR EL VALLE Y VIO A BLANCANIEVES. By this time she was awakening, and they walked along the forest and ... VIVIERON FELICES.

This separation of codes is even more pronounced in the production of the written code-switching narrative, which prompted numerous and varied instances of intrasentential code-switching among the other participants. Rosalba’s writing sample in “Rosalba, task 3,” while engendering a certain creativity and language play, is remarkable in reflecting self-conscious correction, again representing a social, rather than a linguistic, norm.

Rosalba, task 3: code-switching narrative writing (reproduction)

CAPERUCITA ROJA CAMINA POR EL BOSQUE Y PLATICA CON LOS PAJARITOS. Her mother asks her to take some preserves to grandma who is not feeling well. The bad wolf intercepts Little Red Riding Hood and runs to her grandma’s house. The grandma sees the wolf and runs away scared. EL LOBO SE HACE PASAR POR LA ABUELITA PERO CAPERUCITA ROJA LO DESCUBRE. LA ARDILLITA CORRE A AVISARLE AL CAZADOR QUE CAPERUCITA ROJA ESTÁ EN PELIGRO. The hunter kills the wolf. CAPERUCITA ROJA and her grandma are happy to see each other safe and alive.

Thus, while on a sociodiscursive level, bilingualism can be said to be reflective of a complex cultural and linguistic reality, it need not be manifested in the acceptance or overt practice of code-switching. For speakers such as Rosalba, it cannot be, for such a practice becomes symptomatic of a linguistic and cultural ambivalence that they do not espouse or tolerate. As reflected in Rosalba’s own assertion, code-switching does not encode her bicultural experience:

Rosalba, survey 3: code-switching and identity

(rating scale: 1 = agree; 7 = strongly disagree)

The mixture of English and Spanish reflects who I am. — 7

Yet, while Rosalba's demonstrated interest in the maintenance of Spanish resonates with other US Latinos, she is atypical in her conscious desire to maintain the nonintersecting, parallel modes of English and Spanish expression. Most bilinguals enhance their linguistic interactions by combining the strength of both languages and, in so doing, participate in the construction of a singular, unifying, powerful voice.

“Guadalupe”

Guadalupe was born in San Gabriel and raised in nearby Baldwin, California, where she lived with her Mexican immigrant parents until she left for college. Guadalupe's language-use patterns indicate that English has become dominant in both private and public domains. Exchanges with her father and older brother are conducted exclusively in English; and she addresses her mother in English, though the elder woman responds only in Spanish. She attaches a high value to both of the languages in her linguistic repertoire, and since leaving home, she has made a strong effort to maintain some level of Spanish proficiency, however minimal, though more for affective than instrumental reasons. She listens to Spanish-language radio and watches Spanish-language television several times a week, and she is a receptive participant in Spanish-language exchanges during weekly visits with her mother. However, she writes and reads in Spanish only once or twice per month, and the exclusive use of English with friends and co-workers is certain to advance the displacement of her native Spanish language.

Guadalupe's language-use patterns correspond with her self-reported language abilities. As shown in “Guadalupe, survey 2,” she reports high levels of ability in the receptive Spanish-language skills, but her ability in the corresponding productive skills are significantly diminished. In addition, the oral Spanish-language narrative task, transcribed in “Guadalupe, task 4,” demonstrates that the reduced exposure to and use of Spanish has affected Guadalupe's linguistic performance in significant respects — the sequence is frequently interrupted as she gropes for ways to express her thoughts.

Guadalupe, survey 2: language ability

(rating scale: 1 = minimal ability; 7 = native-like ability)

Your ability to speak/write Spanish — 4

Your ability to understand/read Spanish — 6

Your pronunciation/grammar/overall ability in Spanish — 4.5

Your ability to speak/understand/write/read English — 7

Your pronunciation/grammar/overall ability in English — 7

Guadalupe, task 4: Spanish-language narrative retelling (transcription)

ESTA ES LA HISTORIA DE ... CAPE[L]UCITA ROJA Y ... LA MAMÁ DE CAPELUCITA ROJA DIJO QUE ... QUE SE LLEVE ESTE DULCE O COMIDA A SU ABUELITA SO ... SE FUE Y ENCONTRÓ UN LOBO QUE ... HABLÓ CON ELLA Y DESPUÉS ... ELLA SIGUIÓ CAMINANDO A CASA DE LA ABUELITA. PERO EL LOBO SE FUE ... LLEGÓ AL CASA PRIMERO Y ASUSTÓ AL ABUELITA Y ... SE PUSO EN ... disguise [laugh] DE LA ABUELITA so ... CUANDO LLEGÓ CAPELUCITA ROJA ELLA VIO QUE NO ERA SU ABUELITA ... PERO AL MISMO TIEMPO EL ... squirrel, ARGRILLITA, ARGRITA (?) DIJO A ALGUIEN QUE ESTABA EN MUCHO ummm danger Y ... [long sigh] EL HOMBRE SE FUE A BUSCAR A CAPELUCITA ROJA QUE SÍ ESTABA EN ... in danger Y LA SALVÓ ummm PORQUE LLEVÓ ... UN ... gun A SALVARLA Y CAPELUCITA ENCONTRÓ A SU ABUELITA Y ESTABAN FELICES, ESTABAN BIEN. [sic]

The transcription illustrates that Guadalupe brings to the narrative task skills that are largely oral and are therefore more susceptible to erosion.²⁰ This narrative very clearly presents Spanish-language reduction, as seen in the lexicon and the simplification of morphological and syntactic structures; also evident is the use of English words, phrases, and discourse markers.

Given Guadalupe's highly positive feelings toward Spanish, together with her limited Spanish-language resources, it is not surprising that she is ambivalent about code-switching. To her mind, the linguistic practice is emblematic of Spanish-language loss, motivating her evaluation of the bilingual behavior as "not pretty." At the same time, code-switching affords her a means of deploying and developing the limited Spanish that she does command, thereby enriching her bilingual interactions; as communicated in her survey responses, she code-switches with diverse interlocutors in a multitude of domains and modes.

Guadalupe, survey 1: code-switching attitudes and usage

(rating scale: 1 = agree; 7 = strongly disagree)

It sounds pretty when speakers mix Spanish and English in conversation. — 6

It bothers me when speakers talk in Spanish and English at the same time. — 7

The mixing of English with Spanish leads to the loss of Spanish. — 2

The mixing of English with Spanish helps to maintain Spanish. — 2

The mixing of English and Spanish enriches interactions in my community. — 2

When I mix languages, others regard me as less intelligent. — 2

When I mix languages, I am more respected by my community. — 5

I mix languages:

- ✓ at home
- ✓ at school
- ✓ at work
- ✓ with spouse/girlfriend/boyfriend
- ✓ at family gatherings

I mix languages in writing:

- ✓ letters — to whom? *To boyfriend*
- ✓ e-mails — to whom? *To friends*
- my journal
- other (please specify)

I mix languages in spoken speech because:

- ✓ I might not know a word
- ✓ it allows me to express myself more fully
- ✓ there is no translation for a concept
- for added emphasis
- ✓ to express emotion
- ✓ to affirm my identity
- just because I can

I mix languages in writing because:

- ✓ I might not know a word
- ✓ it allows me to express myself more fully
- ✓ there is no translation for a concept
- ✓ for added emphasis
- ✓ to express emotion
- ✓ to affirm my identity
- ✓ just because I can

Guadalupe's veiled appreciation of code-switching was disclosed in her narrative reading task. As demonstrated in her reading and in her responses in "Guadalupe, task 1," she found both stories easy to read and enjoyable, though there were several Spanish lexical items that posed some difficulty for her, consistent with her differential language abilities. However, she was able to distinguish between the ill-formed "Snow White" and the well-formed "Beggar Prince."

Guadalupe, task 1: narrative reading (transcription)

Question: Was the segment of the fairy tale easily read? Was it easily understood? Did you enjoy the segment of the fairy tale?

- Response (on “Snow White”): It was, to me, I understood the whole. I did, I am familiar with the story; I did enjoy it ...
- Response (on “The Beggar Prince”): ... Yes, it was; I could understand both English and Spanish. This one was interesting.

Question: In comparing the two texts, which one was more easily read? Understood?

- Response: Both. I never read Spanish out loud, so I enjoyed the Spanish. But I couldn’t understand one or two words.

Question: In comparing the two texts, which one did you enjoy best? Why?

- Response: I enjoyed this one, “The Beggar Prince.” I don’t know why.

Question: Is there a difference in the type of mixing in each text?

- Response: I liked the “The Beggar Prince.” It read more smoothly, I think.

Guadalupe’s nonbalanced bilingual ability is again displayed in her performance on the code-switching narrative task, “Guadalupe, task 2,” where pauses, hesitations, and metalinguistic comments signal her difficulties with Spanish-language segments in particular; she is clearly dominant in English and resorts to English for words and phrases that are not immediately available to her in Spanish. More than that, her Spanish is modeled on the dominant English.

Guadalupe, task 2: code-switching narrative retelling (transcription)

They prepared for a funeral, Y PUSIERON MUCHAS FLORES ... Y INVITARON TODOS LOS ANIMALES QUE ... CONOCÍA. At that moment, the prince arrived, Y ... SE ACERCÓ, VIO A Snow White Y ... LE DIO UN BESO. At that moment, Snow White woke up, to the surprise of everyone that was there, Y TODOS ESTABAN MUY FELIZ QUE ... VIVIÓ, SOBREVIVIÓ, TODO QUE PASÓ CON ELLA ... AL MISMO TIEMPO ... EL ... the queen was not happy that she was still alive. But in attempts to kill her, LOS ENANITOS LE MATARON AL REINA, so ELLA NUNCA ... SUPIÓ QUE Snow White continued to live. And lived happily ever after. [sic]

Guadalupe’s written code-switching narrative, reproduced below, further documented her decreased Spanish-language abilities. For

example, we note the insertion of prepositions, the omission of pronouns and clitics, and variability in nominal and verbal morphology, all indicative of sustained contact with English.

Guadalupe, task 3: code-switching narrative writing (reproduction)

LA MAMÁ DE Little Red riding Hood PIDIÓ QUE ELLA LLEVA some food to her grandmother. While she was walking in the woods, EL LOBO ENCONTRO CON ELLA Y HABLO CON ELLA. They parted ways and Little Red Riding hood went on her way to her CASA DE ABUELITA. EL LOBO TAMBIEN FUE AL LA CASA DEL ABUELITA Y LO ASUSTO and she ran off. The wolf disguised himself as the grandmother Y ESPERO PARA CAPELUSITA ROJA A LLEGAR. She arrived and found the wolf, not her grandmother. LA ARDILLITA CONTO AL hunter QUE ESTABA PASANDO, Y LLEGO when the wolf was chasing Little red riding Hood. The hunter shot at the LOBO Y SE FUE CORRIENDO. CAPERUCITA ROJA ENCONTRO A SU ABUELITA Y TODO ESTABA BIEN OTRA VEZ. [sic]

Yet, despite the lag in her Spanish-language skills, as compared with her English-language proficiency, it would be disingenuous to suggest that Guadalupe code-switches primarily to fill gaps in linguistic knowledge. Code-switching is indeed employed to this advantage, especially when the speech situation calls for Spanish. However, recall that even in bilingual interactions that favor English, her dominant language, Guadalupe code-switches into Spanish. Thus, even while using the language of the dominant culture, Guadalupe is able to assert her cultural autonomy and uniqueness by embellishing her speech with known phrases from Spanish. In other words, switching to Spanish carries high personal and social significance: it delivers her from being fully engulfed by English. As indicated, code-switching becomes the linguistic material around which her Latina identity is configured.

Guadalupe, survey 3: code-switching and identity

(rating scale: 1 = agree; 7 = strongly disagree)

The mixture of English and Spanish reflects who I am. — 1

Conclusion

To recapitulate, the present study has examined Spanish-English code-switching within the context of the US Latino speech community in Santa Barbara and by reference to the linguistic repertoires and usage of four

individual community members. The findings reveal that the quantity and quality of code-switching attested varied considerably with speakers' linguistic and communicative competence, and, more significantly, with their differing attitudes toward code alternation and its role in establishing their sociocultural identity. We have observed that despite the low prestige associated with code-switching, covert norms value the duality conveyed by the linguistic alternations. In other words, code-switching is foregrounded in the speech of Latinos such as Yanira because it serves the important function of signaling social identity. We have also observed that code-switching is not an essential trait of US Latino speech: some speakers do not practice code-switching, being far removed from communities in which code-switching is the norm, as we noted in Federico's sociolinguistic profile. We have additionally demonstrated that some Latinos are precluded from code-switching by their acceptance and internalization of the stigma attached to the behavior: rather than subject themselves to the stereotype associated with those who engage in code-switching, these speakers, typified by Rosalba, renounce its use altogether. Finally, in reviewing Guadalupe's language situation, the problematics of finding ready and acceptable expression of a dual self were shown to be highly complex: the dominant social stigma prevailed in her assessment of code-switching as indicative of linguistic deficiency and loss, while more affective considerations valued and affirmed code-switching in granting her affiliation with two disparate linguistic and cultural worlds.

In concluding, we should remember that however extraordinary or extreme the linguistic attitudes and attendant enactments reported here, they are very ordinary reflections of the US Latino experience, which, as defined by Lauro Flores, implies contact between and interaction of Spanish and English.

Pennsylvania State University

Notes

- * This paper was presented in the *Plática Series* of the Center for Mexican American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin, where I served as Visiting Professor in 1998–1999. I wish to offer my warmest thanks to David Monetjano for his hospitality, and to Victor Guerra and Wolfgang Karrer for fruitful discussions on matters linguistic and other. A version of this paper appears in the Center's publication *Reflexiones 1999* (Toribio 2000a).
- 1. This line of inquiry is most prominent in the research of Silva Corvalán (1986, 1988, 1994), who examines the Spanish language data of successive generations of US Latinos.

2. The study on which this work is based was carried out in 1997–1998 at the University of California, Santa Barbara, in the context of a research group exploring questions pertaining to the historical and continued presence of Spanish and Spanish-English bilingualism in the City of Santa Barbara. I would like to acknowledge the support of various intramural funding agencies, among these, the Interdisciplinary Humanities Center, UC Mexus, and the Academic Senate, and express sincere appreciation to seven student researchers for their commitment and abilities in completing the project: Renée Basile, Mimi Beller, Cecilia Montes-Alcalá, Silvia Pérez-López, Christina Piranio, Guillermo Vásquez, and Patxi Zabaleta.
3. The reader is referred to Gumperz and Toribio (1999) for a brief description of code-switching and the edited anthologies of Jacobson (1990), Milroy and Muysken (1995), and Auer (1998) for in-depth, cross-linguistic, cross-disciplinary overviews. For discussion specific to the linguistic situation of Chicanos and Mexican Americans, consult Peñalosa (1980), Sánchez (1983), and Valdés (1985).
4. It is not my intent here to present an historical overview of the numerous studies addressing the speech situation of US Latinos. Instead, I will limit the discussion to the linguistic profiles of four speakers, drawing on relevant literature as called for in explicating particular linguistic patterns.
5. The biographical information that initiates each section is culled from participant responses to selected questions on the background questionnaire, which was developed in 1994–1995 in the context of a research focus group codirected with H.S. Gopal and Kimberly Noels. This test instrument, like all others, was prepared in English and Spanish.
6. Gumperz (1982) provides a list of discourse functions marked by code-switching: quotation, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, and message qualification. The listing is not exhaustive, as a review of the literature will demonstrate; subsequent research has corroborated Gumperz's classification and has revealed additional conversational strategies accomplished by code-switching. Especially noteworthy are the findings reported by Zentella (1997), who identified at least twenty-two communicative goals achieved by code alternation among Puerto Ricans in New York City.
7. Zentella states, "Not every switch could be identified with a particular function, and every change in communicative function was not accomplished by a shift in language (1997: 99)."
8. Substantial literature is devoted to exploring the grammatical properties of code-switching, including, Gumperz (1976), Gingrás (1974), Timm (1975), Wentz and McClure (1975), Aguirre (1977), Jacobson (1977), Pfaff (1979), Poplack (1980), Woolford (1983, 1984), Lipski (1985), DiSciullo et al. (1986), Belazi et al. (1994), Bhatia and Ritchie (1996), Toribio and Rubin (1996), Toribio (2000a, 2000b).
9. In the grammatical-acceptability task, participants were instructed to read forty-four pairs of code-switched sentences, as below, and indicate whether within each pairing the (a) sentence sounds better, the (b) sentence sounds better, (c) both sentences sound good, or (d) both sentences sound bad. The findings for this component were robust: participants demonstrated a strong sensitivity to well-formed code-switching.
 - (i) a. LOS ESTUDIANTES HABÍAN ELEGIDO a new representative.
b. LOS ESTUDIANTES HABÍAN elected a new representative.
 - (ii) a. Christopher Columbus was looking TESOROS EN TIERRAS LEJANAS.
b. Christopher Columbus was looking for TESOROS EN TIERRAS LEJANAS.
10. The code-switching components were designed and piloted in 1996–1997 in conjunction with a study on the syntax of code-switching funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities in the form of fellowship FA-34114-96.

11. The narratives were created by the present author; the nature of the specific switch junctures (felicitous versus unacceptable) is in keeping with proposals put forth by numerous researchers (Gingrás 1974; Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez 1975; Timm 1975; Aguirre 1977; Gumperz 1976; Pfaff 1979; Reyes 1976, 1978, Poplack 1980, 1981; McClure 1981, Zentella 1981; Lipski 1985).
12. Participants were individually tested in the language resource center on the university campus. Each sat at a separate cubicle furnished with a tape-player and headset (earphones with attached microphone), contributing to the desired privacy and silence. Concise written instructions (in English or Spanish, as requested) were presented for each task, and the sessions were untimed.
13. I should additionally emphasize that my interest here is not in the ways in which code-switching is organized in narrative discourse, though I may signal aspects that are germane to the narrative structures themselves. For relevant discussion on the narrative structure of code-switching, see Valdés (1976a, 1976b), koike (1987), Lipski (1985), and the extensive literature grounded in Keller (1979).
14. The conformance of Yanira's written narrative with established code-switching norms is explored in Toribio (2001b).
15. In fact, Poplack (1980) has suggested that code-switching behavior may be used to measure bilingual ability in that intrasentential switches imply a greater degree of competence in the two grammars involved (see also Wentz and McClure 1975; Jacobson 1977; Valdés 1981; Lipski 1985; Toribio 2001a).
16. As noted, all test instruments were prepared in English and Spanish to maximize participants' comfort.
17. Toribio (2001b) examines the purported correlation between code-switching and minority language loss, concluding that "code-switching should not be considered a necessary precursor or resultant condition for minority language attrition, save when alternations are not occasioned by specific social or cultural factors."
18. A comparison of Federico's reading task, "Federico, task 1," and the performance task, "Federico, task 2," speaks directly to the difference between code-switching competence and performance, a distinction that is central in linguistic research, as well as to the need for multiple measures in the study of code-switching.
19. Save for the subordinated quotation and the formulaic *vivieron felices* 'they lived happily', there is no intrasentential code-switching in evidence.
20. For a syntactic-theoretical analysis of language decline, as exemplified in Guadalupe's speech, consult Toribio (2001c).

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