

# Attitudes towards lexical borrowing and intra-sentential code-switching among Spanish-English bilinguals\*

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The present study seeks to evaluate bilinguals' attitudes towards the contact forms that are manifested in the speech of Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States, and the factors that contribute to this linguistic assessment. Towards that end, bilinguals of diverse proficiencies are presented with five versions of the fairytale *Little Red Riding Hood/La Caperucita Roja*: a normative Spanish text, two Spanish texts that contrast in the type of English lexical insertions made, and two code-switched texts, differentiated by type of intra-sentential alternation represented. Multiple measures are used to evaluate participants' attitudes, including scalar judgments on personality characteristics of the authors of the texts. Data from fifty-three participants unveil a continuum of preferences that largely confirms the hypotheses posited: Spanish-English bilinguals evaluate single-noun insertions more positively than code-switching and report more fine-grained distinctions — differentiating specific versus core noun insertions and felicitous versus infelicitous code-switching — as commensurate with social and linguistic factors, such as language heritage and linguistic competence.

**Keywords:** language attitudes, lexical borrowing, code-switching, Spanish, English

## 1. Introduction

In the linguistic and socio-psychological literature addressing bilingualism, attitudes towards languages and language varieties have been implicated in identity formation, language planning, language maintenance, and language shift, among others. However, as Romaine (1995) notes, there has been relatively

little attention paid to the prestige attached to speech forms representing diverse types of inter-lingual influence. The present study seeks to evaluate bilinguals' attitudes towards two outcomes of linguistic contact: lexical borrowing and code-switching.

### 1.1 Lexical borrowing

'Borrowing' is often invoked as an umbrella term to refer to a variety of lexical level phenomena, ranging from the integrated loans that are structurally adopted and socially acceptable in monolingual speech, to loanshifts that extend the meanings of items in the adopting language, to the 'nonce' idiosyncratic transference of unassimilated items. The particular outcome is determined by a variety of individual and social conditions (cf. Winford 2003; Thomason 2001 for relevant discussion). For instance, borrowing may result from marginal contact between languages, as when initiated by exploration or conquest; witness the now-common *canyon*, *corral*, and *rodeo* that ensued from European expansion into formerly Mexican-owned territories of the southwestern United States. As described in the literature, most of the borrowing associated with this type of contact is motivated by the need to designate new objects, persons, places and concepts (cf. Haugen 1953; Weinreich 1968). Thus much like the European settlers confronted with unfamiliar areas of cultural knowledge, persons of Mexican heritage in the early American Southwest drew on English for the articulation of behaviors and practices for which they may have lacked ready expression. Nevertheless, it is irrelevant whether the Spanish language in general makes available the necessary terminology, for, as Azevedo notes, "Al que no sabe el nombre español de un nuevo aparato, le parece normal llamarlo *breca* (break), *clocha* (clutch), o *troca* (truck)... Se trata de un proceso de aculturación, de un esfuerzo adaptivo normal en una situación de lenguas en contacto" (1993: 385).<sup>1</sup>

In circumstances of immigrant or subordinate bilingualism, lexical borrowing is more pronounced, and the domains in which borrowing is likely to occur depend on social aspects of the contact situation. As exemplified in (1), and examined in the thorough-going treatment by Sánchez (1983), English-language lexical items borrowed into Spanish serve to trace the migration and migratory history of the Mexican-origin population in the agricultural sectors of the Southwest. Similarly, in (2a), the residential patterns of Puerto Ricans are reflected in vocabulary referencing their settlement into the urban tenements of East Harlem; and in (2b), an extract drawn from Esmeralda Santiago's *Cuando era puertorriqueña*, there is observed the participation of Puerto Ricans in the larger mainland society through employment.

- (1) Mexican migration history  
*migrante* (migrant); *files* (fields); *brocle* (broccoli)
- (2) Puerto Rican urban settlements
  - a. *la boila* (the boiler); *el estín* (the heat, modeled on steam); *el súper* (the superintendent); *el bloque* (the block); *el token* (the token); *la factoría* (the factory)
  - b. Cuando trabajaba, Mami era feliz. Se quejaba de estar sentada en frente de una máquina de coser todo el día, o que los *bréiks* eran muy cortos, o que el *bosso* era antipático. ... Cuando a Mami le daban *leyof*, teníamos que aceptar *welfare* (Santiago 1994: 269, 271).<sup>2</sup>

For Spanish-language heritage children and adolescents in the United States, the locus of English-language influence is the school, and accordingly, there emerges a range of pertinent loans and loanshifts that stand in lieu of established terms:

- (3) *el paper* or *el papel* ('term-paper,' which displaces *trabajo*, *informe*)  
*register* or *registrar* ('register,' which displaces *matricularse*)  
*la lecture* or *la lectura* ('lecture,' which displaces *conferencia*)  
*la principal(a)* ('principal,' which displaces *directora*)

In situations of prolonged bilingualism, lexical borrowing may be promoted by the intensity of contact. In the English prose narrative of Norma Cantú's *Canícula*, set in Texas, Spanish lexical items abound. As shown in (4), items such as *mercado*, *pocho*, *madrina*, *cazuela*, *fritada*, and *molcajetes*, function as echoes of the Mexican cultural traditions of the southern valley.

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

wrestlers on TV, and genuine leather whips like the real *vaqueros* used, like Zorro's (Cantú 1995: 101, italics added).

It merits noting from the above examples that lexical borrowing does not similarly affect all linguistic domains: certain content words (drawn from predictable categories) are more canonical candidates for borrowing than others. In fact, numerous researchers have converged on a hierarchy of borrowability, representing a continuum from nouns and adjectives, which lend themselves most readily to borrowing, to pronouns and conjunctions, which are the least likely to be adopted (cf. Muysken 2002). In addition, not all nouns are deemed equally 'necessary' for borrowing (Haugen 1953). Thus, borrowing does not generally target core vocabulary such as *house* and *bed*, as there is sufficient congruence for such general concepts across languages (cf. Backus 2000, Thomason and Kaufman 1988), but it is enhanced for words that have a highly specific referential meaning, and whose cross-linguistic equivalents, where they exist, conjure up quite different connotations (cf. Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995). This observation is formalized by Backus (2000:128) in the Specificity Hypothesis, according to which the incorporation of items into a receiving language is facilitated by their semantic specificity:

(5) Specificity Hypothesis

Embedded language elements in [insertional] code-switching have a high degree of semantic specificity.

Note that the single word insertions referred to by Backus as insertional code-switching correspond to nonce or impermanent borrowings. The ensuing discussion addresses code-switching.

## 1.2 Code-switching

When contact between dominant and minority languages is stable, speakers activate different language modes — bilingual vs. unilingual — within a bilingual range (Grosjean 2001). For example, Zentella reports that in her long-term participant study of the linguistic practices of the bilingual community on a block in New York City, children could be observed to call on English or Spanish, as required by the 'observables' of the speech situation, e.g. pragmatic norms, specific setting, and participants (Zentella 1981, 2000). It is also commonplace, she notes, that as bilingual speakers interact in bilingual mode, they extend this ability to alternating languages in unchanged speech situations — that is, to code-switching.

Scrutinized from a discourse analytical perspective, code-switching in bilingual conversations may be characterized as serving a number of important functions, among them, marking emphasis, parentheticals, reported speech, and formulaic phrases (cf. Gumperz 1976; Zentella 1997; Montes-Alcalá 2001). When examined from a structural stance, such language alternation is identified as inter-sentential and intra-sentential. Each of these types is illustrated in Trini Campbell's children's narrative "Robin el Chicano bird" (cited in Timm 1993). As shown in (6) inter-sentential code-switching is prevalent in the first lines of the narrative; entire segments may be identified as well-formed Spanish and English sentences. But as the narrative progresses, the author moves between English and Spanish within the confines of a single clause, without violating the grammatical rules of either Spanish or English.

(6) "Robin el Chicano bird"

'Robin, get up,' said Mrs. Bird.

The sun was coming up. *Era una fresca mañana en primavera.*

'Robin, get up!'...repeated Mrs. Bird.

Robin could hardly open his eyes. He was so sleepy.

'Robin!' called Mrs. Bird, for the third time.

*Robin escuchó el canto de unos pajarillos que celebraban* the arrival of spring.

'If only I could sing,' said Robin. He got up and went to the window.

*Vio* lots of birds jumping from place to place *mientras cantaban alegremente.*

'If only I could sing,' Robin said again, with tears *en sus ojos.*

Then he flew away *yendo a parar* on top of a dried bush by a little pond.<sup>3</sup>

Like lexical borrowing, code-switching is rule-governed and systematic. Indeed, bilinguals may be shown to exhibit a shared knowledge of what constitutes appropriate intra-sentential code-switching. Spanish-English bilinguals will agree that the code-switching illustrated in "Robin el Chicano bird" represents felicitous or acceptable bilingual forms, whereas other language alternations do not. Consider by way of example the excerpt from the "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" fairy tale narrative in (7a), in which the language alternations include switching at boundaries known to breach code-switching norms, e.g. between auxiliary and main verb, between object pronoun and main verb, between noun and modifying adjective (cf. e.g. Gingràs 1974; Timm 1975; Aguirre 1977, 1985; Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1980, 1981; Lipski 1985). In a read-aloud task presented in Toribio (2001a), bilinguals rejected the language alternations in this invented narrative as being affected and forced; and although unable

to articulate exactly what accounted for their negative assessment of the alternating forms in the narrative, some participants proposed explicit editing recommendations for improving on the ill-formed combinations of the text, as expressed in (7b).

- (7) a. “Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs” / “*Blancanieves y los Siete Enanitos*”  
 ... *En la cabina, vivían siete enanitos que returned to find Snow White asleep in their beds. Back at the palace, the stepmother again asked the espejo: “Y ahora, ¿quién es la más bella?” El espejo otra vez le answered, without hesitation, “Snow White!”...<sup>4</sup>*
- b. ...I just think, like, for example the last sentence, “When Snow White bit into the apple, she *cayó desvanecida al suelo*,” that I wouldn’t say it, it doesn’t sound right. I would probably say, “When White bit into the apple, *ella se cayó al suelo*.” Or “she fell *desvanecida al suelo*”...

Such introspections demonstrate that just as monolingual native speakers of Spanish and English have an intuitive sense of linguistic well-formedness in their language, Spanish-English bilinguals are able to rely on unconscious grammatical principles in producing and evaluating code-switched strings (consult the syntactic-theoretical treatments of Woolford 1983; Belazi et al. 1994; D’Introno 1996; Toribio and Rubin 1996; and MacSwan 1999). Therefore, contrary to common assumptions, code-switching patterns may be used as a measure of bilingual *ability*, rather than deficiency. In fact, the degree of language proficiency that a speaker possesses in two languages has been shown to correlate with the type of code-switching employed. Poplack (1980) observes that Spanish-English bilinguals who reported to be dominant in one language tended to switch by means of tag-like phrases (e.g. *sabes*/ ‘you know’ and *¿verdad?*/ ‘right?’); in contrast, those who reported and demonstrated the greatest degree of bilingual ability favored intra-sentential switches. And similar patterns are attested among children acquiring dual languages in early childhood (cf. McClure 1981), and among adult second language learners (cf. Rakowsky 1989; Toribio 2001b): as they become more proficient in the component languages, they become more sensitive to code-switching norms.<sup>5</sup>

Rather than being random manifestations of bilingual speech, then, contact phenomena such as lexical borrowing and code-switching are principled and predictable, respecting structural (lexical and clausal) conditions. Nevertheless, such language forms are regularly undifferentiated from other types of phenomena that deviate from the prescribed monolingual target norm (e.g.

the interlanguage of second language learners) and are generally considered deviant in popular view, especially when attested in Spanish-heritage speech communities, as expressed by Fernández (1990: 52):

A pesar de la frecuencia con que ocurre este fenómeno en los Estados Unidos, existen actitudes negativas hacia esta variante por asociarla principalmente con la forma de hablar de grupos minoritarios impopulares. El cambio de códigos o *code-switching*, sobre todo entre inglés y español, se interpreta como una deficiencia lingüística que revela la falta de proficiencia del hablante en ambas lenguas, la cual le obliga a recurrir a la segunda lengua cuando agota su repertorio en la primera.<sup>6</sup>

Even the vernacular nomenclature for the amalgamation — terms such as *Spanglish*, *mocho*, *Tex-Mex*, *Cubonics*, and *ingleñol* — carries pejorative connotations that reflect on the intellectual and linguistic abilities of speakers of contact Spanish (8a), and not surprisingly, speakers often accept the stigma attached to their way of speaking (8b). Nevertheless, despite the negative prestige associated with many varieties, they persist, in large part because they may serve important functions as markers of social identity, e.g. they may signal dual U.S.-Latino identity (cf. Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez 1975; Jacobson 1977; Fernández 1990; Zentella 1997; Toribio 2002). Thus code-switching bilinguals may attach covert prestige to code-switched speech (8c).

- (8) a. Those poor kids come to school speaking a hodgepodge. They are all mixed up and don't know any language well. As a result, they can't even think clearly (teacher quoted in Walsh 1991:106).
- b. ... hablo lo inglés matao  
hablo lo español matao  
no sé leer ninguno bien  
so it is, spanglish to' matao  
what i digo  
¡ay, virgen, yo no sé hablar!  
(Tato Laviera "My Graduation Speech")
- c. Antes, cuando recién acabada de llegar aquí, como nuevo inmigrante, me horrorizaba al escuchar a la gente hablar... Poco a poco me di cuenta que el spanglish no es un complot... para lavarnos el cerebro a los hispanos. No, el spanglish es una herramienta, que los inmigrantes usamos para vivir diariamente en Estados Unidos (Zapata 2007).<sup>7</sup>

### 1.3 The study of language attitudes

As is evident from the previous discussion, linguistic varieties can trigger beliefs by and about a speaker and his/her group membership, and can lead to assumptions about said speaker's attributes (cf. Garrett et al. 2003). Such reactions towards linguistic forms are known in the literature as *language attitudes*. Language attitudes are central to numerous areas of linguistic study: identity formation, language planning, foreign language learning, language maintenance and language death. Of relevance to the present discussion of the outcomes of language contact, it has been suggested that the study of language variation would not be complete without consideration of the patterns of reactions, norms, values, prestige, stigma and stereotypes held by the community members toward linguistic forms, in other words, language attitudes (cf. Omdal 1995; Knops and Van Hout 1988).

Language attitude is a difficult concept to define. Sociolinguists, social psychologists of language, and indeed laymen, use the term indiscriminately; because of this general implementation, there is no common definition of the term (cf. Edwards 1982). In the present study a broad definition will be adopted. Language attitude refers to the way in which observers react toward language varieties and language use. However, and of great importance to the methodology of this study, the definition also includes the ways in which these observers react to the users of language varieties (cf. Grosjean 1982; Lambert et al. 1960). As difficult as it is to define, the concept of language attitude is even more problematic to *assess*. Even so, as noted in Garret et al. (2003) an attitude is a sufficiently stable evaluative belief so as to permit it to be recognized and in some way measured.

In order to evaluate an individual's reactions toward language varieties, researchers in sociolinguistics and the social psychology of language have tended to approach the question from one of two perspectives. The traditional approach has been a direct one, in which investigations consisted primarily of questionnaires and interviews that required participants to express their opinions about particular languages or language varieties. Recently, another form of direct assessment has been implemented in the field of perceptual dialectology, which seeks to determine the non-linguist's knowledge of language variation through tracing of dialect zones on maps (cf. Long and Preston 1999; Preston 1999). In this form of assessment, researchers attempt to determine whether the 'judges' are consciously aware of the linguistic differences being presented. A weakness of this method of assessment is that the judges may be aware of subtle linguistic differences and yet be unable to express these distinctions; likewise, the judges may perceive differences that have no linguistic basis.

Direct means of data collection such as interviews, questionnaires, self-reports, and the techniques proposed in perceptual dialectology, though useful, are unreliable in uncovering an individual's genuine attitude toward a linguistic variety. This stems, at times, from the possible desire of observers/judges to conceal their true attitude towards a particular variety. Garrett et al. (2003: 8) identify this as 'de-individuation' or "the tendency of respondents ... to report socially desirable attitudes rather than their own private attitudes ... by giving the response they assume the researcher wants ... without any thought about what their [own] attitudes are." In other words, the ability of individuals to introspect is what allows us to gain access to attitudes. However, when it comes to measuring these attitudes, such reflection is also a potential source of systematic error.

In response to the inherent weaknesses of direct methods, less direct methods have been formulated. These, rather than focusing on language varieties themselves, direct attention toward individuals' assessments of *speakers* of language varieties. Such methods are founded on the notion that judges form and validate their assessments based on stereotypical behavior. It is postulated that those whose speech closely approximates that of the positively viewed group will be perceived as possessing positive attributes, whereas those whose speech diverges from this target will be perceived as demonstrating undesirable or inferior traits. Thus, by using probes that assess the ways in which individuals ascribe characteristics to speakers of different language varieties, investigators are able to obviate participant judges' reticence or inability to explicitly express opinions about language varieties.

In 1960, a method of indirectly tapping into individuals' stereotypes about language — the matched-guise technique — was developed by Lambert and his colleagues in Canada. In their study, judges were presented with recordings of English and French speakers, after which they were asked to rank the speakers on fourteen non-linguistic attributes (e.g. height, looks, sense of humor, patriotism, etc.). The researchers found that there was a great disparity in the judges' assessments of the speakers, which correlated with the prestige of the language variety being analyzed: The English guises — of the prestigiously viewed group — were rated higher with regards to social status, while the French guises were rated higher in solidarity. Unbeknownst to the judges was the fact that they had rated the same bilingual individual in both samples. This tendency demonstrated that the participant subjects were basing their assessment entirely on the language variety, and not on paralinguistic information. Because of its ability to access covert attitudes, the matched-guise technique has become a staple among researchers of language attitudes.

In spite of its broad use in the investigation of language attitudes, the matched-guise technique is not without its critics (cf. Garret et al. 2003 for an overview). Nevertheless, it would be undesirable “*either to be uncritical followers of canonical methods in language attitudes or to dispense with all attempts to deal with language attitudes systematically through aggregational methods*” (Garrett et al. 2003: 61). Numerous researchers have noted this need to substantiate the matched-guise technique with direct measures and to elicit many and diverse forms of information from the participant judges (Edwards 1982). Guided by this exhortation, Pieras-Guasp (2002) employs questionnaires and matched guises in eliciting opinions on the importance and vitality of Catalan and Spanish in Mallorca, Spain. On the questionnaires, his participants reported that Catalan was important for instrumental purposes (e.g. for securing employment, for succeeding in school), but it was less favorably esteemed for social interactions (e.g. participating in sporting and religious activities). In contrast, the matched guises revealed that Spanish is considered the language of status and social mobility, and the Catalan guises were rated more positively on measures of solidarity.

## 2. The present study

In endeavoring to examine bilinguals’ perceptions of unilingual and bilingual speech behaviors and their evaluations of the speakers who engage in them, a study was designed to address two interrelated research questions:

- (9) a. Are heritage and second-language bilinguals sensitive to distinct types of contact phenomena?
- b. Does sensitivity to said contact phenomena coincide with factors such as language heritage and language proficiency of the judges?

### 2.1 Hypotheses

With the above enumerated research questions in mind, the following specific outcomes are anticipated:

- (10) Predictions
  - a. A hierarchy of acceptability will obtain among bilinguals for diverse types of contact phenomena,
    - with monolingual Spanish speech eliciting the most positive evaluations, and bilingual speech the least positive (i);

- with lexical insertions more favorably evaluated than code-switching (ii);
  - with insertion of lexical items for specialized concepts being less marked than insertion of items denoting core nouns (iii);
  - and grammatically felicitous code-switching eliciting more positive evaluations than grammatically infelicitous code-switching (iv).
- b. Differential evaluations will accord with personal linguistic characteristics of the individual judges:
- with judges who are of Spanish language heritage rendering more favorable assessments of contact speech than second language learners of Spanish (i);
  - and more proficient bilinguals making more fine-grained distinctions among the language contact types at issue (ii).

## 2.2 Methodology

### 2.2.1 *Participants*

Spanish-English bilingual participants were solicited through a letter of invitation circulated via email at a U.S. university. Participants were required to be bilingual, though no level of bilingualism was specified; indeed, it was important that the sample include heritage speakers as well as second language learners of Spanish. Fifty-three Spanish-English bilinguals participated in the study. Fourteen are identified as heritage speakers, and thirty-four are second language learners with an average number of five years of Spanish-language study; the remaining five participants did not provide enough information to determine in which group they belonged. From information collected from self-report data, twenty-five participants were assigned to the Spanish high-proficiency group, while twenty-four were assigned to the Spanish low-proficiency group; the remaining four participants did not complete this section of the survey, and therefore were not included in this section of analysis.

### 2.2.2 *Materials*

A three-part battery was designed for the purpose of this study, comprising the following instruments: five language texts, an attitudes survey, and a language history questionnaire, each elaborated below.

**2.2.2.1 *Texts.*** Five texts of the popular fairytale *Little Red Riding Hood/La Caperucita Roja* were prepared for presentation. Participants were informed

that the texts were transcriptions of oral versions of the fairytale narrated by Spanish-English bilinguals, who had been guided by a set of pictures depicting the fairytale. These ‘authors,’ they were told, had been permitted to relate the story in a manner that was most comfortable to them, using Spanish, English, or both. In reality, the texts were produced by the present authors. One text was written entirely in medium-register Spanish. Two additional texts were also prepared in Spanish, but included English insertions; one comprised words for concepts that are specific to the fairytale — *grandma* and *hunter* — and the other incorporated the core nouns *house* and *bed*. Two other texts were prepared in Spanish-English code-switching; one consisted of switches at those boundaries that have been shown to serve as regular switch sites in bilingual speech (e.g. between subject and predicate, between verb and object, between noun and subordinate clause) and another comprised switching at boundaries known to violate code-switching norms (e.g. between auxiliary and main verb, between conjunction and coordinated or subordinated clause, between negative marker and auxiliary or main verb). The texts ranged from 171–180 words and the languages were differentiated by font color, with blue indicating Spanish and red marking English. Excerpts from each text appear in (11).

(11) Excerpts from texts

a. Medium-register Spanish

Había una vez una niña que se llamaba Caperucita Roja. Un día su mamá le dijo, “Lleva esta jarrita de miel a casa de tu abuelita. Pero ten cuidado con el lobo feroz.” En el bosque el lobo salió a hablar con la niña. Le preguntó, “¿Adónde vas, Caperucita Roja?” Ésta le contestó dulcemente, “Voy a la casa de mi abuelita.” ...

b. Bilingual Spanish with insertions of specialized English-language lexical items

...Cuando el lobo estaba a punto de comerse a Caperucita, apareció el hunter con una escopeta grande. Le disparó al lobo y lo mató. “Grandma, ¿dónde estás?” gritó Caperucita. La ancianita salió del armario, abrazó a Caperucita y le pidió que nunca jamás caminara sola. Las dos le dan las gracias al hunter y viven felizmente. ...

c. Bilingual Spanish with insertion of core English-language lexical items

...El lobo llegó primero a la house de la abuelita. Ella se asustó y se escondió. El lobo se metió a la bed y se vistió con la ropa de la abuela. Caperucita llegó a la house y lo vio acostado en la bed. ...

- d. Felicitous Spanish-English code-switching  
 ...Once upon a time había una niña que se llamaba Caperucita Roja. Vivía en el bosque with her mother. También vivía por esas partes a big bad wolf. One day, Little Red Riding Hood's mother le pidió que le llevara una jarrita de miel a su abuelita. "Sure Mom," said Little Red Riding Hood, y salió hacia la casa de su abuela. ...
- e. Infelicitous Spanish-English code-switching  
 ...El lobo se despidió y he took a shorter path to the grandmother's house. He arrived first, scared the grandmother, and chased her into the bosque. Se puso la ropa de la abuela porque creyó que the girl wouldn't notice him and he could easily eat her. Pero cuando llegó Caperucita Roja, she was not fooled and knew right away that it no era su abuela y empezó a gritar y a pedir auxilio. Un cazador que había heard what was happening arrived at that moment to salvar a la niña del malvado lobo. He shot the hungry wolf with an escopeta y lo mató.

**2.2.2.2** *Language attitudes surveys.* Two surveys were created to reveal participants' evaluations of the language varieties that were represented in the texts. The first survey included twenty-two (twenty-one for the monolingual text) items across two measures. In one measure, participants rated the 'authors' of each text on personality characteristics using twelve pairs of opposing adjectives placed on a six-point semantic differential scale, as sampled in (12). The relative order for each pair of adjectives was arbitrarily determined (in an attempt to force participants to pay more attention to the descriptors) and the pairs were randomly ordered from one to twelve. To determine the internal consistency of the scales, a Cronbach alpha coefficient was estimated as a reliability coefficient on the semantic differential scales. Following this classical item analysis, it was determined that four scales were working inconsistently with the other eight, and were thus discarded for purposes of statistical analysis.<sup>8</sup>

- (12) a. On a scale of 1 to 6, rate the individual. (1) illiterate and (6) literate.  
 b. On a scale of 1 to 6, rate the individual. (1) attractive and (6) unattractive.  
 c. On a scale of 1 to 6, rate the individual. (1) aggressive and (6) passive.

**2.2.2.3** *Language history questionnaire.* The language history questionnaire elicited personal information, (e.g. place of birth, length of residence, and family occupational history), and afforded a measure of language usage and

proficiency, referencing educational background and language(s) of instruction, language use patterns in the home (who speaks what language to whom?), frequency of access to language(s) across domains (e.g. leisure and play activities, popular press, media), and self-reported proficiency across receptive (listening, reading) and productive (speaking, writing) domains in Spanish and English.

### 2.3 Procedures

Participants were directed to a website for completion of the study. All materials (texts excepted) were made available in English or Spanish to promote participants' comfort with the tasks. The participants were first presented with the language history survey, followed by the survey on language attitudes that consisted of the five texts, in random order, each followed by the twenty-two question survey.<sup>9</sup> The time required to complete the study was approximately one hour. Participation was voluntary, and no remuneration was offered.

### 2.4 Results and Discussion

Findings from this study are clearly consistent with the hypotheses posited. The matched-guise survey offered responses from the fifty-three participants that confirm our first two hypotheses. As seen from the mean scores presented in Figure 1, the monolingual Spanish guise (11a) elicited the most positive reactions, as predicted in (10a.i), and the lexical insertion guises (11b,c) were more favorably considered than the code-switching guises (11d,e), as predicted in (10a.ii).

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was run on the data by adopting a Bonferroni correction to adjust for the experimental error rate due to multiple comparisons. Because the analysis is run three times, each mean difference is considered significant when its  $p$ -value is smaller than  $0.05/3 = 0.017$ . The result of the analysis indicates that the difference between monolingual Spanish (4.28) and code-switching guises (3.75) is statistically significant ( $p < 0.0001$ ), as is the difference between lexical insertions (4.12) and code-switching guises (3.75) ( $p < 0.0001$ ). Also, the mean difference between assessments of monolingual Spanish (4.28) and lexical insertion guises (4.12) approaches statistical significance ( $p = 0.0367 > 0.017$ ). Therefore the results indicate that indeed bilinguals perceived a difference between the three text types.

Continuing with the third and fourth hypotheses (10a.iii, 10a.iv), participants differentiated between the two types of lexical insertions. The insertion

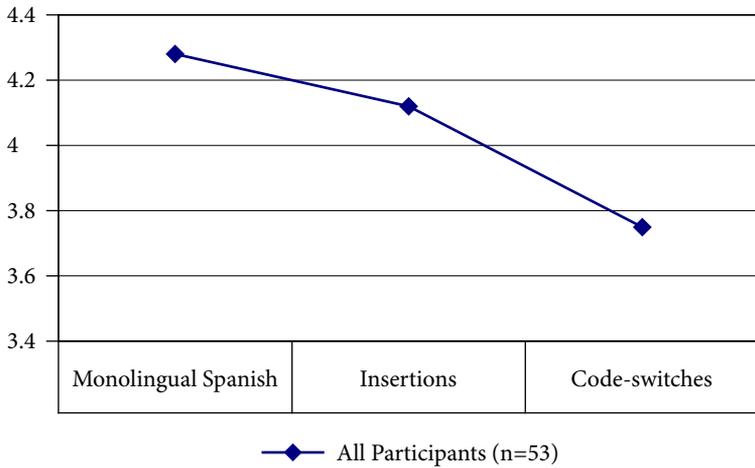


Figure 1. Mean scores of all participants by contact phenomena

of referentially and contextually more specific nouns (*grandma/hunter*), as in (11b), was viewed as more acceptable than the insertion of core nouns (*bed/house*), as in (11c); participants likewise distinguished between the two types of code-switching, with the grammatically felicitous code-switching guise illustrated in (11d) eliciting more positive evaluations than the grammatically infelicitous code-switching guise shown in (11e). Referencing Figure 2, it merits pointing out the similar evaluations of texts composed in monolingual Spanish and those that included specific lexical insertions. This finding supports the observation that interlingual influence is an anticipated outcome of language contact and is most acceptable in the form of referentially specific nouns — recall the Specificity Hypothesis of Backus (2000). Statistical analysis determined that the difference between the specialized (4.19) and core insertions (4.05) was indeed statistically significant ( $p=0.0015$ ); however, the difference between grammatical (3.79) and ungrammatical (3.70) code-switches did not reach statistical significance ( $p=0.47$ ), indicating that the apparent difference between the two guises is attributed to random error.

Addressing judges' language history, Figure 3 illustrates that heritage speakers and Spanish second language learners react in a similar manner to the interlingual influences, contrary to hypothesis (10b.i). Indeed, statistical analysis revealed no significant effect of first language on participants' evaluations. When the data are analyzed according to participants' language abilities, there is manifest a difference in the ways the texts were evaluated, thus supporting

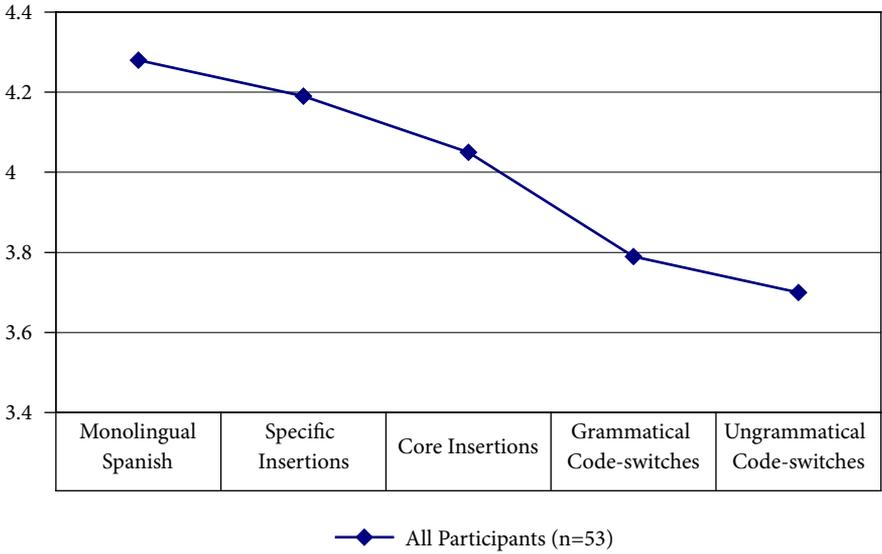


Figure 2. Mean scores of all participants across five types of texts

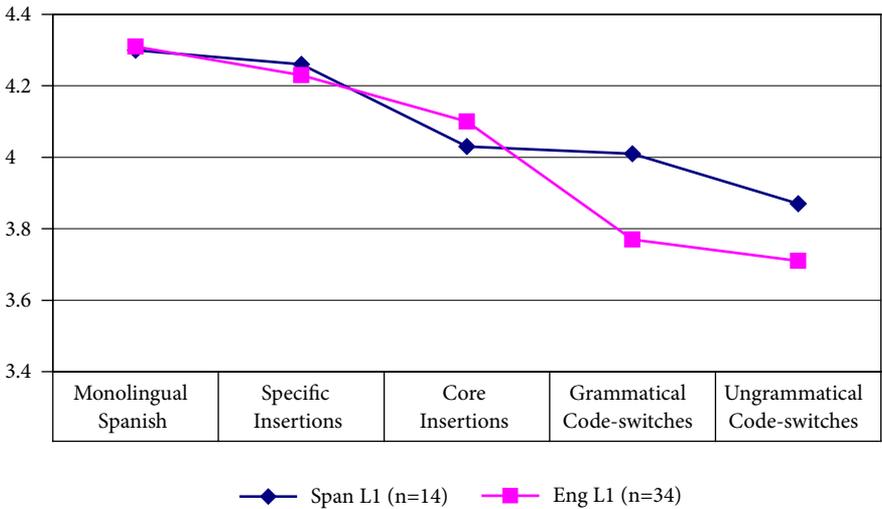
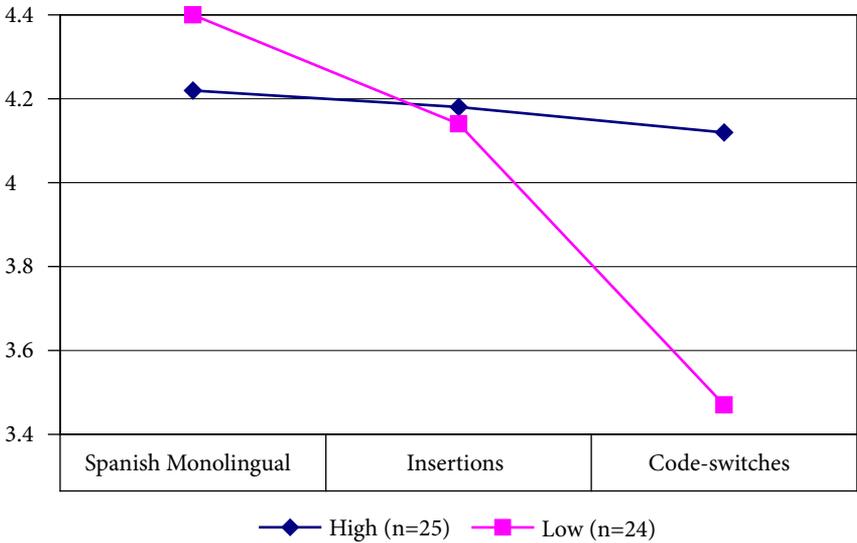


Figure 3. Mean scores by first language

the final hypothesis (10b.ii). As illustrated in Figure 4, those speakers who reported higher abilities in Spanish maintain a consistently positive attitude toward all texts types, regardless of the interlingual influence depicted, and those



**Figure 4.** Mean scores by Spanish-language abilities

who declared lower abilities in Spanish viewed the monolingual guise most positively and greatly disfavored the code-switching guises. Statistical analysis determined that the overall attitude of those participants with higher language abilities in Spanish was more positive than those participants with lower abilities, reaching statistical significance ( $p = 0.0187 < 0.05$ ). In addition, the higher language ability group had a statistically greater overall attitude towards the code-switching guises than did the lower ability group ( $p < 0.0001$ ).

Finally, when considering all five guises and the interaction with judges' language abilities, some interesting patterns arise. As illustrated in Figure 5, those speakers with low Spanish abilities are unable to make the more subtle distinctions between types of lexical insertions. Moreover, this low proficiency group viewed the guise with ungrammatical switches more positively than the guise consisting of grammatical switches. In contrast, participants with higher Spanish abilities were able to make the more fine-grained distinctions between the core vs. specialized insertions and grammatical vs. ungrammatical alternations. Interestingly, and contrary to predictions, the latter participants evaluated the monolingual guise less favorably than specific insertions and grammatical switches. We discuss this finding in the following section.

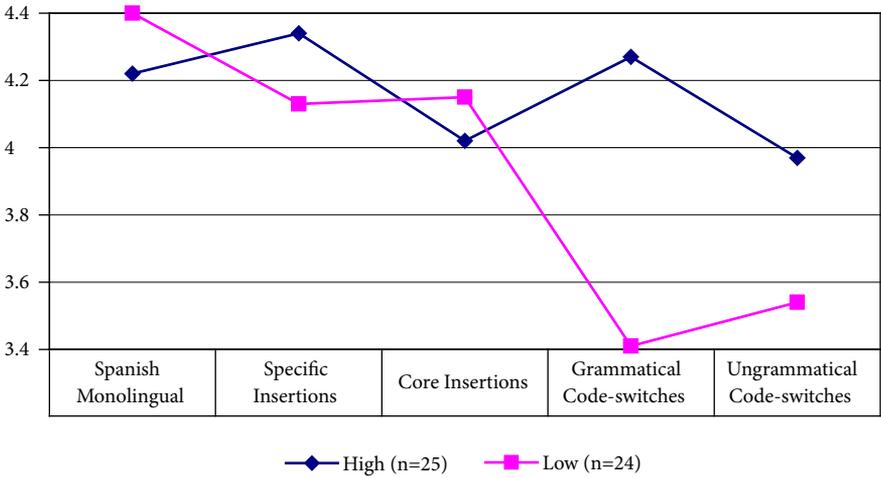


Figure 5. Mean scores by Spanish-language abilities across five texts types

### 3. Conclusions and directions for future research

The results from this study have indicated an ability on the part of Spanish-English bilinguals to differentiate among distinct outcomes of contact language. As hypothesized, these individuals viewed the forms in question along a continuum, with single-noun insertions more positively evaluated than code-switching. The extent to which bilinguals made additional and more fine-grained distinctions within these categories was contingent on bilingual proficiency.

The aggregate of subjects evaluated the texts largely in accordance with the hypotheses in question. As depicted in Figure 2, monolingual Spanish speech elicits the most positive evaluations and bilingual speech the least positive (10a.i); lexical insertions are more favorably evaluated than code-switching (10a.ii); and insertion of lexical items for specialized concepts are less marked than insertion of items denoting core nouns (10a.iii). When the participant 'judges' were identified by their reported language proficiency, it was observed that those with a higher degree of bilingual proficiency demonstrate more fine-grained appraisals than their less proficient counterparts, confirming previous work (e.g. Poplack 1981). Among high proficiency judges, referentially specific insertions and felicitous code-switching elicited the most favorable ratings, as witnessed in Figure 5. Interestingly, texts incorporating these contact forms were preferred over monolingual Spanish guises, perhaps reflecting participants' recognition of the inexorable mutual influence of English on

Spanish in the U.S. However, as shown in Figure 3, participants of Spanish- and English-language heritage demonstrated identical trends in their evaluations of contact speech (10b.i), contrary to our predictions. Finally, in accordance with (10b.ii), as bilingual proficiency increased, so too did the participant judges' abilities to make more fine-grained distinctions between felicitous and infelicitous language contact phenomenon.

While its findings are suggestive, this study suffers from several limitations in its design and materials which should be addressed (cf. Anderson 2006). First, as often remarked, borrowing and code-switching are commonly attributed to speakers' lack of education. In most learning contexts, where prescriptivist norms are imposed, bilingual students may not view language mixing as a legitimate linguistic behavior, in part because most teachers interpret such performance as a failure on the part of the student to attempt a word or structure. Hence, the invitation by university staff researchers to participate in the study could have compromised the reliability of the student judges' evaluations. A second, related limitation concerns the on-line visual presentation of the materials. Contact forms such as those at issue are context-bound, practiced by bilinguals for bilinguals, and they emerge in the articulation of discourse. Even bilinguals who regularly produce contact forms in their everyday, face-to-face linguistic interactions may not view them as valid in written documents. It is possible that the impersonal, asynchronous, printed presentation of bilingual texts may have provoked negative responses. A third limitation of the present study is the small number of participants relative to the large number of variables, which did not afford the statistical power necessary for consistently significant results.

These limitations aside, the line of inquiry outlined is promising and invites further attention. At the time of this writing, an additional 108 participants had completed the on-line study and the preliminary findings are consistent with those presented here. Also in progress is the analysis and interpretation of findings of a survey that was administered to the full cohort of 161 participants to directly probe attitudes through the presentation of various statements with which participants were asked to agree or disagree using a six-point Likert scale.<sup>10</sup> Of interest is whether evaluations of contact speech may be correlated with affective factors such as language insecurity or with social factors such as interaction with (other) speakers of contact varieties. Similarly, Anderson (2006) addresses many of the above issues, focusing on Spanish-English bilinguals' reactions to orally presented felicitous and infelicitous code-switches.

Future research will continue to manipulate the content and presentation of materials and further examine the potential contributions of factors such

as identity in judges' evaluations of language contact phenomena. One such manipulation concerns the category of the lexical insertions. Future work will comprise insertions of verbs and prepositions as a means of confronting the hierarchy of borrowability with new empirical support. The gender of noun insertions will also be manipulated. Recall that the insertions in the present study were distinguished by gender — *bed* and *house* are marked for grammatical gender, and *grandma* and *hunter* are additionally marked semantically for gender; new materials will exploit this difference.<sup>11</sup> Future materials will be delivered auditorily, redressing the aforementioned weakness and allowing for manipulation of degrees of phonetic convergence. Finally, future research will draw on similar methodologies in investigating monolinguals' and bilinguals' attitudes towards converged syntax.

## Notes

\* The first author would like to acknowledge the generous assistance of Sang Ha Lee in the statistical analysis of the data and the valuable comments offered by John Lipski and Paola Dussias.

1. 'For those who do not know the Spanish name for a new item, it seems normal to call it *breca* (break), *clocha* (clutch), o *troca* (truck)... We are dealing with a process of acculturation, a normal situation of adaptive creativity in a situation of language contact.'

2. 'When she worked, Mom was happy. She complained about sitting in front of a sewing machine all day, or that the breaks were too short, or that the boss was unfriendly....When Mom was laid off, we had to accept welfare.'

3. The Spanish portions are translated as follows: 'It was a fresh spring morning'; '(he) listened to the song of some little birds who were celebrating'; '(he) saw'; 'while they sang happily'; 'in his eyes'; 'going to land'.

4. In the monolingual rendition, the language switches are indicated by a slash mark: '... In the cabin, there lived seven dwarfs that / returned to find Snow White asleep in their beds. Back at the palace, the stepmother again asked the / mirror: "And now who is the most beautiful?" the mirror again answered / her, without hesitation, "Snow White!"...

5. It should not go unremarked, however, that although code-switching is subserved by bilingual competence, it is not an essential feature of bilingual practice. Researchers such as Valdés-Fallis (1976) and Lipski (1985) have observed that while competence in two languages is a necessary precondition, 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 practice requires social knowledge that is culturally specific and acquired through contextualized practice (cf. Toribio 2002).

6. 'In spite of the frequency with which this phenomenon occurs in the United States, there exist negative attitudes toward this language variety due to its association with the language of unpopular minority groups. Code-switching, especially between English and Spanish, is interpreted as a linguistic deficiency that unveils speakers' lack of proficiency in both languages, thus requiring them to turn to the second language when their repertoire in the first has run out.'
7. Before, when I had just arrived here, as a new immigrant, I was horrified by how the people spoke... Little by little I realized that Spanglish was not a complot ... to brainwash the Hispanic. No, Spanglish is a tool that the we immigrants use in daily life in the United States.
8. The remaining ten items presented questions that offered a more direct measure of participants' attitudes towards speech varieties (e.g. "Is this person easy to understand?") and those who engage in them (e.g. "What kind of job would this person be likely to have?"). A final, open-ended item asked participants to conjecture as to the motivation for language mixing; of course, this item did not appear with the monolingual text. The results from these items will not be discussed here.
9. The participants concluded the study by completing a second, direct attitudes survey, discussed in Section 3.
10. Statements range from 'It sounds pretty when speakers mix Spanish and English in the same conversation' to 'People mix languages when they write because they do not know either language well' and included items concerning participants' own use of code-switching.
11. Research has shown that the default gender for Spanish lexical insertions is masculine, unless the noun ends in [a]. For pertinent discussion, consult Otheguy and Lapidus (2003).

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