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**ENGLISH/SPANISH CODE-SWITCHING  
IN CHICANO SHORT FICTION**

**A Pro Gradu Thesis in English**

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Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää englannin ja espanjan kielten välillä tapahtuvaa koodinvaihtoa meksikolais-amerikkalaisten eli Chicano-kirjailijoiden novelleissa. Aineisto on koottu englanninkielisestä novellikokoelmasta, joka käsittää 31 eri kirjailijoiden kirjoittamaa novellia. Novellikokoelma on julkaistu vuonna 1992. Varsinaisen aineiston muodostavat novelleista poimitut 573 espanjankielistä ja 1 englanninkielinen koodinvaihtokohta. Tutkielmassa selvitetään koodinvaihtokohtien syntaktiset, semanttiset ja pragmaattiset piirteet, sekä tutkitaan niiden tehtäviä diskurssin osina. Näiden piirteiden pohjalta pohditaan koodinvaihdon merkitystä tunnelman luoja kaksikielisten kirjailijoiden teksteissä.

Tulokset esitetään ensin kvantitatiivisesti taulukoiden muodossa, mutta pääpaino on niiden kvalitatiivisella tarkastelulla. Syntaksin perusteella vaihtokohdat luokitellaan ensin kahteen ryhmään sen mukaan, esiintyvätkö ne itsenäisinä kokonaisuuksina vai kiinteästi lauserakenteeseen liittyvinä lauseenjäseninä. Tämän jälkeen jako suoritetaan edelleen pienempiin ryhmiin vaihtokohtien syntaktisen funktion mukaan. Tuloksia verrataan keskusteluaineistosta tehtyyn vastaavaan tutkimukseen. Syntaktiseen tarkasteluun liittyy myös koodinvaihdon alalajiksi käsitettävä ilmiö, jossa luodaan uusia sanoja sekoittamalla kahta kieltä samaan sanaan. Lisäksi tarkastellaan interferenssin vaikutusta vaihtokohtien oikeinkirjoitukseen. Tämän jälkeen vaihtokohtia tarkastellaan joko semanttisesti tai pragmaattisesti, riippuen siitä, kumpi näkökulma paremmin selittää tietyn vaihtokohdan esiintymisen tekstissä. Lisäksi tarkastellaan, millaisissa diskurssin kohdissa vaihtoja esiintyy.

Novellikokoelman 31 novellista koodinvaihtoa esiintyy 29 novellissa. 58.0% vaihtokohdista esiintyy kiinteinä lauseenjäseninä ja 42.0% itsenäisinä kokonaisuuksina. Tärkeä havainto tässä tutkimuksessa on, että jopa 48.0% aineistosta on yksittäisiä substantiiveja. Semanttinen tarkastelu osoittaa, että semanttisesti vaihtokohdat ovat useimmiten etnistä sanastoa, kuten kulinaarisia tai uskonnollisia termejä. Pragmaattisen tarkastelun tuloksista nähdään, että vaihtokohdat ovat usein eri tyyppisiä puheakteja tai esimerkiksi puhutteluja. Diskurssin näkökulmasta tarkasteltuna tärkeä tulos on, että 78.9% vaihtokohdista on henkilöhahmojen puheenvuoroja tai minä-kertojan puhetta, eli kirjailijan suoraa kerrontaa. Suoran kerronnan on todettu olevan yksi koodinvaihdon ensisijaisista funktioista myös keskustelussa.

Asiasanat: bilingualism, literary bilingualism, code-switching, code-mixing, interference, Chicano

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

The United States is traditionally known as a melting pot of different peoples and cultures. The whole nation is a mixture of peoples, their ways of life and, at least to some extent, their languages. Even though the Anglo-American people are the dominant group and English is the dominant language, the different Hispanic groups and the Spanish language are also gaining more and more foothold in the country.

Throughout the history of the nation, the Spanish language has been present alongside English. In fact, according to Amastae and Elías-Olivares (1982:1), the Spanish language has been spoken in what is now the United States longer than English has. Spanish settlements in Florida and the Southwest antedate English-speaking settlements in New England by several years. (Amastae and Elías-Olivares 1982:1). Nowadays, there are about 32 million Spanish-speaking residents (US Census 2000). That is 11.9 per cent of the whole population. In fact, in the United States there are now as many Hispanics as there are African-Americans.

Spanish is nowadays the second most spoken language in the United States. The Spanish-speakers are former residents of many Latin American countries, such as Mexico, Puerto Rico and Cuba. This study concentrates on the Chicanos. The Chicanos are citizens or residents of the United States who are of Mexican ancestry. They form the largest Hispanic population in the country. Of the Hispanic groups, the Chicanos have the longest history of living there. The Mexican-American border has always played a very important role in the relations between the two countries. Its presence has given the peoples an opportunity to interact.

According to Milroy and Muysken (1995:2) nearly all migrant communities attempt to maintain their original language and culture and their contact with relatives left behind in the homeland. This is true for the Hispanic populations in the United States as well. They have at least to some extent maintained their mother tongue, Spanish. Milroy and Muysken (1995:2) say that

characteristically bilingualism spans three generations, the third generation children being monolingual in the host language. However, as Gumperz (1982:64) points out, as old migrant populations assimilate to the host language, new groups of foreign language speakers move in. This movement keeps the Spanish language and bilingualism alive in these communities. Furthermore, the number of Hispanic immigrants in the United States has grown so much that their communities are not small minority groups anymore. They have many possibilities to use their own mother tongue outside their closest circles as well. This is probably one of the reasons why Spanish does not disappear so easily anymore. In addition, it seems that the maintaining of the mother tongue, Spanish, is a valued ethnic marker in these communities.

Because the Hispanic immigrants in the United States and their descendants have had to learn English as well, many of them are bilingual. Bilingual people tend to mix the languages they speak. The presence of both English and Spanish in the United States has led to a phenomenon that has during the last twenty years been the subject of many discussions and studies. The phenomenon is sometimes called *Spanglish* or *Tex-Mex*. Spanglish is a hybrid language that mixes elements from both Spanish and English. The term *Spanglish* can be used for different types of this hybrid. Sometimes it is used to refer to mixing Spanish and English in the same sentence or discourse. In linguistics this is usually called *code-switching*. The name *Spanglish* may also be used when referring to the Spanish language with English lexicon adapted and re-formed to fit the Spanish pronunciation and syntax, or vice versa. In linguistic terms this can include both *borrowing* and *code-mixing*. In addition, Gumperz (1982:68) points out that each communicating subgroup tends to establish its own conventions with respect to both borrowing and code-switching. This is due to such factors as region of origin, local residence, social class and occupation (Gumperz 1982:68).

There have been numerous discussions about whether Spanglish, or code-switching in general, is a sophisticated linguistic system used by people who are truly bilingual and speak both languages well, or whether it is just a mixture made up by illiterate and uneducated people who do not know either

language well. In fact, Crystal (1997:365) points out that the term *Spanglish* is often used in a pejorative sense, but that is not the meaning here. However, in various previous studies on Spanish/English code-switching it has been shown that to be able to code-switch successfully, the speaker has to know both languages well (see, for example, Poplack 1979/2000 and Pfaff 1982). Studies have shown that mixing the two languages practically never results in ungrammatical utterances. The utterances do not violate the grammatical rules of either language. This study addresses this question, too.

Step by step this mixing leads to language change. In the case of Spanish in the United States, nearly all these changes have affected more the Spanish language rather than English. Some feel that the mixture of the two languages is a threat to the Spanish language. They argue that it is deteriorating Spanish. Of course, American English has also been affected by the Spanish language. This can be seen especially in loan-words. American English has borrowed many words from Spanish, but its syntax has not been threatened.

As for other Hispanic groups, an important part of the Chicano culture is their particular way of speaking. Their speech is not necessarily Spanish only or English only, but it is often characterized by the use of *code-switching* and *code-mixing*. In this study, *code-switching* refers to the use of English and Spanish in the same sentence, utterance or discourse. It means inserting second language elements into the discourse or alternating between the two languages. The term *code-mixing* is used to describe switching languages within word boundaries, as a result of which new vocabulary is born.

The Chicanos have nowadays a strong literary tradition in the United States. The Chicano literature is also often characterized by the use of the two languages in the same piece of literature. Even though in linguistics the term *code-switching* is used primarily for involuntary switching between two codes, in this study the same term is used for the stylistic usage of second language elements, because for Chicanos it reflects actual speech patterns. Rudin (1996:3) says that code-switching has become almost a trademark of Chicano literature. This study looks at English/Spanish code-switching in Chicano short

fiction written in English. The data for the study was gathered from a collection of 31 short stories written by Chicano writers. As a basis for this study some theories on code-switching in conversation were used. One of the purposes was to find out what kinds of elements are switched in written discourse. The switches were looked at syntactically, semantically and pragmatically. A quantitative analysis of the data was carried out, to find out what kind of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic elements were the most frequently switched. An important part of this study was also to do a discourse analytic analysis of the switches in order to find out how the switches were inserted in the texts and what functions they have in a discourse. All this was done to find out what effect the switching has in a piece of written discourse. In literature code-switching is not necessarily a spontaneous phenomenon, but it is used as a stylistic tool. This study tried to find out what kind of a tool it is in Chicano short fiction.

Although this study is primarily concerned with English/Spanish code-switching, with English being the clear base language, it is important to note that in Chicano discourse the base language can be either. It can even be impossible to establish one, since in a discourse there can be so much switching between languages.

## 2 CHICANO CULTURE AND LITERATURE

### 2.1 Definitions

The term *Chicano* is used to refer to people of Mexican ancestry who have resided permanently in the United States for an extended period. Chicanos can be native-born citizens or Mexican-born immigrants who have adapted to life in the United States. The term *Chicano* itself has been created from a dialectal variant of the word *mexicano*, 'Mexican'. According to Bruce-Novoa (1994:226), the term was chosen by political activists in the 1960s to replace



other typical names, such as *Mexican*, *Mexicano* and *Mexican-American*. A common name created unity amongst the Mexican-Americans, the Chicanos.

Chicano literature is very powerful nowadays, especially the genres of poetry and short fiction. Works are written both in English and in Spanish, and mixing the two. According to McKenna (1988:30), the experience that Mexicans have of living in the United States sets the background for what is considered Chicano literature. For Paredes (1993, on the internet), Chicano writing includes those works in which a writer's sense of ethnic identity (*el chicanismo*) animates his/her work fundamentally, through the presentation of Chicano characters, cultural situations, and patterns of speech. These patterns of speech include especially the use of the two languages, English and Spanish, alternating between them in the same sentence or discourse.

## 2.2 The development of Chicano culture in the United States

Since the two are neighboring countries, there has always been migration between the United States and Mexico. There have always been Spanish-speaking Mexicans in the United States. But the development of actual Chicano culture began, when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 ended two years of warfare between Mexico and the United States. According to Nash et al. (1990:455) in that treaty almost a third of Mexico's land was turned over to the United States. The majority of the Mexican residents in the conquered territories stayed where they were and transformed into Mexican-Americans. The United States had 75,000 new Spanish-speaking residents. Inevitably, the trajectory of Mexican culture in the Southwest gradually moved.

As the immigration acts of 1921, 1924 and 1927 sharply limited European immigration and virtually banned Asian immigrants, the new laws opened the country to Mexican laborers (Nash et al. 1990:795). According to Brinkley et al. (1991:733), Mexico was specifically excluded from the restrictive immigration laws. Mexicans were eager to escape poverty in their own country and work in the fields and farms of California and the Southwest. During the

1920s nearly half a million arrived and Mexican immigrants became the country's largest first-generation immigrant group. The farm workers often lived in primitive camps with unsanitary conditions and nonexistent health care (Nash et al. 1990:795). Mexicans also migrated to industrial cities such as Detroit and Kansas City. According to Nash et al. (1990:795), they found opportunities by migrating, but they still were treated with prejudice and life treated them hard. The situation worsened still during the depression decade of 1930s, since the migrant workers were not needed anymore. Unemployed Anglos began to demand Mexican-held jobs that they had previously considered beneath them. Hundreds of thousands of Mexicans lost their jobs and drifted from the cities to small towns and farms in the South west looking for work (Nash et al. 1990:836). The competition for work increased ethnic prejudice. Both federal and local authorities encouraged and sometimes forced Mexican immigrants to go back to Mexico (Nash et al. 1990:836).

Then, World War II greatly accelerated the process of Mexican-American acculturation. For one thing, the war stimulated the movement of Mexican-Americans into large cities where military industries were badly in need of labor (Nash et al. 1990:865). Many left their home villages for the first time and even women gave up their traditional roles and worked outside home. Mexican-Americans worked in factories, in the fields, in the oil fields and joined armed forces in unprecedented numbers (Nash et al. 1990:865).

During the war there were many attempts to end discriminative treatment of the Mexican-Americans, but it was not easy to eliminate (Nash et al. 1990:865). Mexicans were discriminated against in a similar way as African-Americans. They were excluded from many public places such as hospitals, swimming pools and restaurants and they were constantly harassed by the police. Mexican immigrants were often unskilled and illiterate. They gravitated to large cities like other unfortunate Americans (Nash et al. 1990:951). Mexican-Americans were the most numerous newcomers and they sought better lives and equal rights. But often they were not successful. Since many of the wartime immigrants stayed after 1945, their experiences shaped the culture of enduring Mexican-American communities (Brinkley et al. 1991:805).

In addition to legal immigrants, there were also many illegal immigrants. During the recession in 1953-1954 the government launched Operation Wetback to deport illegal entrants. A total of 1.1 million were deported, some even after 40 years of living in the United States. However, during the following decades the number of Mexican and other Hispanic immigrants continued to grow in the United States. Brinkley et al. (1991:867) state that the newly arrived Chicanos were generally less well educated than either Anglo or African-Americans and thus less well prepared for high-paying jobs. Many spoke English poorly or not at all, a fact which further limited their employment possibilities. As a result, they found themselves concentrated in poorly paid service jobs (Brinkley et al. 1991:867).

According to Nash et al. (1990:1008), during the 1960s and 1970s Chicanos started to use confrontational tactics to protest against the discrimination. They developed their own sense of ethnic identity (Brinkley et al. 1991:927). They took part in the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. It was an open battle against racial segregation and discrimination (Brinkley et al. 1991:867). Chicanos were also gaining political voice. But direct action was more important than political representation (Nash et al. 1990:1008). Several organizations were formed in order to better the conditions of the Hispanics. By the mid-1970s, Hispanics had come to notice that strenuous organizing could lead to results. For example, they were able to pave the way for federal funding of bilingual education (Nash et al. 1990:1008-1009). However, according to Brinkley et al. (1991:928), the issue of bilingualism was not welcomed by everyone, but it raised opposition not only by Anglo-Americans but by Hispanics as well. The opponents argued that bilingual education might further prevent Spanish-speaking students from becoming assimilated to the mainstream of American culture.

Despite the growing number of Chicanos in the United States, economic conditions remained grim for many (Nash et al. 1990:1040). Language problems and other difficulties of adjustment hindered Chicano children at school. Bilingual education eased the situation of many, but they were not helpful for those who wanted to move quickly into the English-speaking

mainstream (Nash et al. 1990:1041). It was often difficult for Hispanic students to move through the educational system at all. In 1987, 40 per cent of Hispanic high school students did not graduate at all. This tendency continued in colleges, but the graduation number still dropped, as only seven per cent completed their studies. According to Nash et al. (1990:1041), this was due to the fact that colleges did not offer courses that had relevance to the backgrounds and lives of Hispanic students. Today the educational situation of Hispanic children and youths is better. Hispanics have also slowly extended the political gains they made in the early 1970s, they are now holding many elective offices throughout the United States.

Nowadays, there are about 32 million Spanish-speaking residents in the United States (US Census 2000). Chicanos are the largest Hispanic population in the United States. They have their own culture and ethnic identity, which is based on both Mexico and the United States. This culture and identity are reflected in their cultural products, such as pieces of literature.

### 2.3 The development of Chicano literature

According to Paredes (1993), distinctive Chicano literature is relatively young. He says that it started to shape itself in the generation after the conclusion of the Mexican War. According to Paredes (1993), much literary energy was used in chronicling the American takeover of the Southwest. Many pieces of literature were written by prominent south-western Mexicans who had supported American annexation only to feel betrayed afterwards. The output of historical and personal narratives was complemented by a barrage of poetry. Much of it was political verse that appeared in dozens of Spanish-language newspapers in the Southwest. The writers were largely concerned with describing a culture in transition. They wrote about the threat to Catholicism posed by Anglo Protestantism, the decline of the Spanish language and the indifference of government officials in Washington.

According to Paredes (1993) Mexican-American literature had by 1900 emerged as a distinctive part of the literary culture of the United States. Its origins were Spanish and Mexican, its primary language Spanish and its religion Catholic. In other words, despite its growing particularity, it remained within the orbit of Latin American written and oral tradition. For the most part, Mexican-American writing proceeded along established lines of development until 1945, when *Mexican Village*, a novel by Josephina Niggli, appeared. *Mexican Village* is series of short stories that describe Niggli's experience of being part of both Anglo and Mexican culture. According to Paredes (1993, on the internet), *Mexican Village* was the first literary work by a Mexican-American to reach a general American audience. Even more important, the novel was clearly intended to convey to American readers the distinctiveness of Mexican-American experience and expression.

According to Paredes (1993), the Mexican-American participation in the military during the World War II significantly reduced cultural isolation. Later on, like other forms of ethnic expression, Mexican-American literature received a boost from the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. For example, several Chicano publishing houses were established around this time. According to Palomo Acosta (1999), this was when the Chicano literary renaissance began. Writers reaffirmed their ethnic identity and addressed their community through fiction, poetry, essays and drama. They also pioneered the use of a bilingual discourse in literature. Recently, Chicano literature has expanded impressively outside its own community in all directions.

#### 2.4 Chicano short fiction

In the introduction for the collection *Mirrors beneath the Earth*, from which the data for this study was gathered, the editor Ray González states that short fiction is “perhaps the strongest genre in Chicano literature today” (1992:9). According to him, short story writing lived its renaissance in the 1980s. Before that, in the 1960s and 1970s poets had led the way, but short story writers are the ones who can be thanked for the growing audience and the national and

international attention Chicano authors have gained in the recent years. Paredes (1993) says that the major question now for Chicano writers and for all American authors whose ethnic identities are central to their work is how to maintain their cultural distinctiveness while reaching out to other communities. Paredes (1993) goes on stating that Chicano intellectuals and artists have recently been discussing the concepts of borders and *mestizaje*, the phenomenon of mixing races and cultures. Paredes (1993) suggests that it may be that the reformulation of these concepts is the key to the future of Chicano expression and its place in American culture.

## 2.5 Chicano style and discourse

As mentioned earlier, popular Chicano speech mixes languages. There is Spanish, there is English and there is hybridization. According to Gumperz (1982:74), Chicano residents of Spanish-speaking neighborhoods in the United States have developed their own dialect of Spanish. It has incorporated some of the features of *caló*, the slang of urban youth groups, and it also includes large numbers of borrowings from English. Residents of Mexico often use the term *pocho* to refer both to the American of Mexican descent and their urban dialect.

According to Arteaga (1996:10), since Chicanos live between Anglo and Latin America both physically and mentally, speech and writing also acknowledge and reflect the intercultural dynamics at play in constructing Chicano identity. Arteaga (1996:11) goes on stating that for Chicanos the border between Mexico and the United States is a space where English and Spanish compete for presence and authority. Arteaga also points out (1996:13) that internal dialogue is a contributing factor in the making of Chicano discourse. Flores (1987:149) also makes this point by saying that the Chicano experience and its literary manifestations imply a dialectical relationship between the conquered Chicanos and the dominant Anglo-American group. Arteaga (1996:13) also says that the U.S. American culture presents itself as an English language culture, although it is by no means a monolingual culture. He says that the tendency in the United States is towards the assertion of a monolingual

authority and the suppression of alternate languages. In this sense, for the Chicanos English and Spanish are very clearly distinct codes. For them, English is the language of the dominant, Anglo-American culture and Spanish the language of the minority Mexican-American, Chicano, culture.

Rudin (1996:3) says that even though Chicano literature cannot be pinned down to any particular mode of expression, but it is marked by stylistic and linguistic diversity. According to him, code-switching between English and Spanish has become almost a trademark of a considerable part of Chicano literature. Flores (1987:129) points out that the simultaneous use of both languages can be explained as “the Chicanos’ attempt to achieve cultural definition and autonomy in a conflicting reality”. Furthermore, Anzaldúa points out (1999:80) that “[t]here is no one Chicano language just as there is no one Chicano experience”. She says (1999:77) that a Chicano might speak standard or slang English, standard Spanish or standard Mexican Spanish, or regional variations of Chicano Spanish or Spanglish. This fact is reflected in Chicano fiction as well.

### 3 BILINGUALISM AND FEATURES OF BILINGUAL LANGUAGE USE

#### 3.1 Definitions of bilingualism

The terms *bilingualism* or *bilingual* are used both at a societal and at an individual level (Hoffman 1991:13-14). At the societal level the terms refer to a community, for example a nation, where two different languages are used. Finland would be an example of this. In this sense the terms are used to reflect official policies towards different languages in that community, but they do not say anything about the individuals. The members of a bilingual community are not necessarily bilinguals.

For this study the societal view on bilingualism is relevant in that the mixed discourse, speech or writing, is meant primarily for the members of that

community. Code-switching between languages is a phenomenon that occurs naturally only among bilinguals, since only the other bilinguals can understand it. The mixed discourse is also a way of excluding others. However, as stated earlier, despite the use of more than one language, Chicano writing has gained appreciation nationally, and internationally, as well. This is interesting, since to be able to understand the text as a whole, the reader should have a fairly good command of both languages.

At the individual level, the terms *bilingual* and *bilingualism* are often defined by the degree of a person's bilingualism. According to Romaine (1995:11), at one end of this scale would be people who have native-like command of two languages. At the other end would be speakers of one language who "can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language" (Romaine 1995:11). In the middle of this scale lies the definition that Crystal (1997:364) gives. He says that people may be called bilinguals when they are able to communicate, to varying extents, in a second language. This includes those who make irregular use of a second language, those who are able to use a second language but have not done so for some time or those who have considerable skill in a second language. For the purposes of this study the definition that Crystal gives seems appropriate, since in this study it is impossible to define the degree of the persons', in this case the writers', bilingualism.

### 3.2 Features of bilingual language use

A bilingual person has two separate languages in his/her use. In linguistics, different languages or other linguistic varieties, such as registers, styles or dialects, have traditionally been referred to as distinct *codes*. The fact that a bilingual person has all the time access to distinct languages, codes, often leads to certain features in the person's language use that are not present in a monolingual person's language. These features are discussed in this section. The features are *borrowing*, *interference*, *code-mixing* and *code-switching*.



### 3.2.1 Borrowing

All languages borrow words from other languages. English, too, has throughout its history borrowed an extensive amount of words from other, mainly European, languages. However, nowadays the situation concerning English is quite the opposite, and English is the language that gives the most words to other languages in Europe and all over the world. English loans to the Spanish language are, for instance, *el mitin*, ‘meeting’, *el estrés*, ‘stress’, and *los líderes*, ‘leaders’. Spanish has given English, especially American English, many words as well. For example, *nacho*, *tortilla* and *burrito* are Spanish borrowings.

As Hoffmann (1991:101) points out, borrowed words are usually adapted either phonetically only, as with Spanish *estrés*, or both phonetically and morphologically, as the plural formation *líder-líderes*. Sometimes the speakers try to copy the pronunciation of the source language, as in the Spanish word *mitin*. In addition, there is often some change in the meaning of the borrowed item, even if it is only in the context in which the word is used. This is the case for example with the Spanish word *mitin*, which refers only to political meetings, while in English the word can refer to any kind of meeting.

### 3.2.2 Interference

According to Hoffman (1991:95-100), the term *interference* refers to “the transfer of elements from one language to the other”. It can occur both in speech and in writing. It is involuntary and can occur when addressing both monolinguals and bilinguals. These facts distinguish interference from borrowing and code-switching which are considered more voluntary. Interference can occur at phonological, lexical, grammatical and cultural levels.

First, phonological interference is often called ‘a foreign accent’. It means that the bilingual speakers show features of stress, rhythm, intonation and speech sounds from their first language. Hoffmann (1991:97) also points out that interference in intonation can be a permanent feature, especially in adult

speakers. Second, grammatical interference often involves such syntactic aspects as word order, the use of pronouns and determiners, prepositions, tense, aspect and mood. The third type, lexical interference, is a more complicated concept, since in most cases it is hard to define whether the case is about involuntary interference or voluntary borrowing. It is said that lexical interference occurs when using one language the speaker accidentally borrows a word from the other language, maybe even re-forming it to fit the morphology of the first language.

In the case of the Chicanos, and other Hispanic populations in the United States, *interference* is an important concept. There have been many studies about how the English language is affecting the Spanish language, especially on the grammatical and lexical levels. The effect of English on Spanish has been shown to be quite strong. To mention some examples, Silva-Corvalán (1989) has reported simplification and loss of tense-mood-aspect morphology in the Spanish used in the eastern area of Los Angeles, Smead (1998) talks about the abundance of English loanwords in Chicano Spanish and Kirschner (1996) reports both the presence of structures not frequently noted in standard Spanish, such as the use of the optional subject pronoun, and a reduction of syntactic options regularly used in standard written Spanish.

### 3.2.3 Code-mixing

According to Hoffmann (1991:104), if code-switching occurs at the lexical level within a sentence, the phenomenon is called *code-mixing*. In other words, *code-mixing* takes place within word boundaries and results in sentences in the first language. Muysken (2000) has applied a different view to this. He treats all switching from language to another as code-mixing (2000:4). That is, in his terminology code-switching is a sub-phenomenon of code-mixing. Hoffman's terminology was applied for the present study and code-mixing was included as a sub-phenomenon of code-switching. In general sociolinguistic study it seems to be the more common and clear way.

However, it is often very difficult to distinguish code-mixing from borrowing. Hamers and Blanc (2000:259) say that they may be distinguished in that borrowings, loan-words, are fully integrated into the language and are in everyday use of monolinguals as well, that is, people who are not able to code-switch between languages. In the case of bilingual speakers, borrowing and code-mixing are usually much more extensive than in gradual language change, since bilinguals have all the time access to more than one code.

### 3.2.4 Code-switching

In Hoffmann's terms (1991:110), the term *code-switching* is used to refer to the alternate use of two or more languages or different linguistic varieties within the same utterance or conversation. In the case of bilinguals speaking to each other, code-switching can consist of changing between the two languages. In the case of monolinguals, the change can occur between, for instance, different styles.

According to Crystal (1997:365) code-switching occurs when an individual who is bilingual alternates between two languages during his/her speech with another bilingual person. This type of code-switching between languages occurs commonly amongst bilinguals and may take a number of different forms, for example alteration of sentences or phrases from both languages succeeding each other and switching within sentence or utterance boundaries. Auer (1998:51) also says that code-switching is observable in various social contexts all over the world. He says that it is a language universal in the behavior of multilingual speakers.

Hamers and Blanc (2000:259) talk about the difference between borrowing and code-switching. They say that the two phenomena are at either end of a continuum: a loan-word has been integrated to the recipient language, while code-switching is a more or less spontaneous. This definition is important for the present study in that there are a number of Spanish words in the data that cannot be counted as code-switches. These are words that are widely used by monolingual English speakers as well.

#### 4 FEATURES OF CODE-SWITCHING

Some studies done on code-switching have concentrated almost solely on details of constituent structure, that is, the grammatical features of the code-switched items. They have been trying to account for the linguistic constraints on code-switching. Other studies have not been so much concerned with the actual switched items, but with the discourse and interactional functions of code-switching. The present study takes into consideration both aspects. Consequently, this study has two purposes. One is to find out what kind of linguistic items are switched in written discourse. The switched items are considered syntactically, semantically and pragmatically. Based on this, the other purpose of this study is to consider the social and discourse functions of code-switching in literature.

##### 4.1 Grammatical and syntactic features of mixed discourse

One of the purposes of the present study is to find out the syntactic features of code-switched items in the short stories. This has been done in previous studies on code-switching in conversation as well. The methods used in these studies serve as a useful basis for the present study. However, since the other studies presented here have been done on code-switching in conversation, some modifications have to be made. In this study a two-level syntactic analysis is done. On the first level the code-switched items are divided into two groups according to whether they occur as whole sentences, clauses or utterances or as grammatical constituents of a sentence, clause or utterance. On the second level all the switches are divided into further groups according to their syntactic value.

On the first level, Poplack (1979/2000:242), in her much quoted work on Spanish/English code-switching, identifies two different types of code-switching in conversation: *intra-sentential* and *extra-sentential* switching. In the first type, *intra-sentential*, switching occurs within a sentence or an

utterance. Switching inside a sentence or an utterance involves a great syntactic risk, since the sentences and utterances must conform to the grammatical rules of both the first and the second language. The second type, *extra-sentential*, is switching on the boundary of two sentences or clauses, where each sentence or clause is in one language or another. This type of switching may also occur between speaker turns. Extra-sentential switching is not as grammatically risky as intra-sentential switching, since the switched items are not so closely tied with a certain syntactic structure.

A somewhat different first-level division is given by Moyer (1998:223-224). She reports studies done by Van Hout and Muysken (1994) and Muysken (1995a, 1995b). They distinguish different types of intra-turn switching in conversation. In Poplack's terms intra-turn switching can be either intra- or extra-sentential. The first type they talk about is *insertion*. Insertions are switches that are preceded and followed by elements from the other language. These can be phrasal constituents, such as noun phrases or prepositional phrases, or single words. The second type, *alternation*, can consist of switches of entire sentences, clauses or peripheral elements. According to Moyer (1998:224), they are actually changes to a different base language. The last type is *congruent lexicalization*. It means switches of several words which do not form one or more constituents. If congruent lexicalizations are used, it can be difficult to establish the main language.

On the second level Poplack divided the different types of switches further into smaller grammatical categories (1979/2000:242-243). The intra-sentential switches were divided into 15 different categories. These were *determiner, single noun, subject noun phrase, object noun phrase, auxiliary, verb, verb phrase, independent clause, subordinate clause, adjective, predicative adjective, adverb, preposition, phrases (prepositional, adjective, adverbial, infinitive)* and *conjunctions*. The seven categories that the extra-sentential switches were divided to were *sentence, filler, interjection, idiomatic expression, quotation* and *tag*.

In the present study on the first level the switches are divided into insertions and alternations, according to the terminology used by Moyer (1998). This division seems more appropriate for this study than Poplack's, since it makes a clear division between elements that are closely tied to sentence structure and elements that are not. Even though Poplack's sentence-based terminology suggests a more suitable division for written discourse, it is somewhat confusing. For example, she considers tags to be extra-sentential elements, but puts independent and subordinate clauses into the intra-sentential category. But when considering code-switching between Spanish and English in particular, the two are equally free to be switched into the other language. Both types are tied to sentence structure in that they cannot function on their own, but switching them does not lead to ungrammatical sentences in either language.

On the second level of analysis this study follows Poplack on most occasions. However, Poplack's categories *independent clause* and *subordinate clause* are on the first level considered *alternations*, while Poplack dealt them as intrasentential switches. Most of Poplack's other syntactic categories are also appropriate for this study, but for the purposes here it is not necessary to make a distinction between subject and object noun phrases. These are treated simply as noun phrases. Moreover, Poplack's extra-sentential group *idiomatic expressions* is here treated according to the syntactic value of the expression, that is, either as an insertion or an alternation, depending on the situation.

In Poplack's data of 1835 switches, tags were the most frequently switched, their percentage of all the switches being 22.5. The second most switched were whole sentences. Their percentage was 20.3. Next came the combined group of subject and object noun phrases with 11.4 per cent. 9.5 per cent of the switches were single noun switches. These results will be compared with the results of the present study.

#### 4.1.1 Syntactic constraints on code-switching

Poplack (1979/2000:255) found out that there are a large number of permissible switching points, not just a few favored ones. According to her,

there are only two syntactic constraints that restrict the occurrence of code-switching. These are *the free morpheme constraint* and *the equivalence constraint*.

The first, *the free morpheme constraint*, means that codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse, provided that the constituent is not a bound morpheme. This constraint was important for Poplack, because if it was violated, she did not consider the result code-switching. However, Poplack (1979/2000:227) is not arguing that switching could not occur inside word boundaries. The free morpheme constraint refers actually to *code-mixing*. Poplack takes as an example the English verb 'eat' and the Spanish continuous form suffix '-iendo'. They can be combined to a new code-mixed word *eatiendo*, but according to Poplack either *eat* or *-iendo* have to be pronounced according to the phonology of the other language. She says that to her knowledge such switches have not been made unless there has been some phonological integration into one of the languages. In the present study code-mixes were considered code-switching, and thus, this constraint could be violated.

The second constraint, *the equivalence constraint*, means that code-switches tend to occur in points in discourse where they do not violate a syntactic rule of either language. For example, in Spanish the adjective attribute is normally placed after the noun it refers to, while in English the attribute is placed before the noun. It would in most cases be ungrammatical in Spanish to say 'a *nuevo* book', 'a new book'. Similarly, in English it would be ungrammatical to say 'a book *nuevo*'.

However, Poplack does not claim that ungrammatical constructions would not occur at all. It is possible, even probable, that ungrammatical switches are used. However, what she does suggest is that simultaneous operation of these two constraints permits only code-switched utterances which, if translated into either language, are grammatical in both (Poplack 1979/2000:229). In fact, Poplack's most crucial finding was that there were virtually no ungrammatical

combinations of the two languages in the 1835 switches that she studied, regardless of the bilingual ability of the speaker (1979/2000:253).

Poplack's study offers strong evidence that code-switching is a verbal skill that requires a large degree of linguistic competence in more than one language (1979/2000:255). In addition, she says that code-switching is not random, but rule-governed behavior (1979/2000:227). Gumperz (1982:66) adds to this by saying that when code-switching, speakers have to process the internal rules of two distinct grammatical systems at the same time.

#### 4.2 Semantic and pragmatic features of mixed discourse

Most of the studies done on conversational code-switching have concentrated either on the grammatical features or the pragmatic features of code-switching. There has not been very much interest in the semantic features of the actual switches. Rudin (1996) studied code-switching in works of several Chicano novelists and looked at the switches from English to Spanish also semantically and pragmatically. He identified two pragmatic groups and three semantic fields with which most of the Spanish language elements of the English language novels were concerned with. These were *terms of address*, *high impact terms*, *ethnographic terms*, *culinary terms* and *terms for groups of people* (Rudin 1996:152).

The pragmatic groups that Rudin talks about are *terms of address* and *high impact terms*. The first group, *terms of address*, includes both formal and familiar terms. The second one, *high impact terms*, are interjections, swearwords, terms of blasphemy, highly affective and emotional idioms and euphemisms. In the present study both these groups are useful, but of Rudin's latter group only interjections will be handled as a separate group.

The rest of Rudin's groups are semantic fields. The third group, *ethnographic terms*, includes words that represent or describe Mexican-American culture, its material tokens, values, surroundings and nature. The fourth, *culinary terms*, is



actually a subcategory of ethnographic terms. The fifth one includes terms that are used for different *groups of people*. Rudin points out that not all the Spanish language entries in his data may be given a detailed analysis such as this, but entries belonging to these five groups are widely represented in the corpus (1996:153).

Rudin's categories were not, however, enough for the present study. As Rudin himself pointed out (above, 1996:153), he could not fit all the Spanish language entries into these five groups. More groups were needed. First, in the data of the present study the elements belonged to a larger number of semantic fields. Second, there was a need for more pragmatic groups. Since most of the switches in the data are reported speech, the concept of *speech act* is useful for this purpose. There are five different speech act categories. These categories are *representatives*, *directives*, *commissives*, *expressives* and *declarations*. The explanations that follow have been adapted from Mey (2001:120-124).

First, *representatives* are speech acts that state a state of affairs in the world. Nearly always they represent a subjective state of mind: speakers state something as the truth according to their own belief. Representatives are not thus necessarily true, but they are truthfully spoken. Paradigm cases of representatives are asserting and concluding (Levinson 1983/1997:240). Second, *directives* are speech acts by which the speaker tries to get the hearer to do something. Thus, at least in intention directives change the world in that they make things happen. According to Levinson (1983/1997:240), paradigm cases of directives are requesting and questioning. Third, *commissives* also change the world in that they create an obligation for the speaker him/herself. Commissives and directives are actually very similar, the difference is in the direction of the obligation. Commissives are usually promises, threats or offers made by the speaker (Levinson 1983/1997:240). Fourth, *expressives* express an inner state of the speaker. They are essentially subjective and do not tell us anything about the world. Paradigm cases of expressives are, according to Levinson (1983/1997:240), thanking, apologizing, welcoming and congratulating. Fifth, *declarations* are speech acts that change the state of affairs in the world just by being uttered. They are, for example,

excommunicating, declaring war, christening and firing from employment (Levinson 1983/1997:240).

Categorizing the data into different semantic fields and pragmatic groups is an important part of this study. By looking at the actual switched entries more closely, analyzing the effect of the bilingual discourse in literature becomes more productive.

#### 4.3 Communicative aspects of code-switching

In diglossia situations, where different languages are characteristically used for different purposes, speakers must know more than one grammatical system to be able to function properly in that community. Gumperz (1982:61) argues that in diglossia there is a simple, almost one to one, relationship between language usage and social context. Each language can be seen as having a distinct place or function in that community. However, only one code is employed at any time (Gumperz 1982:61). Gumperz adds that in this type of situation norms of code selection tend to be relatively stable (1982:61).

However, in conversational code-switching the relationship between language usage and social context is much more complex. Gumperz (1982:66) emphasizes that in communities whose members code-switch in their speech, there is no necessary direct relationship between a certain code and social context. As already mentioned, participants of a mixed conversation might be totally unaware which code is being used. Gumperz points out that their main concern is with the communicative effect of what they are saying (1982:61). Speakers in such situations do not use language according to some fixed, predetermined set of prescriptions, but they build on people's understanding of situational norms (Gumperz 1982:61).

Auer (1995) has developed further the idea of situational interpretation of messages. He suggests that code-switching should be treated as a *contextualization cue*. Contextualization cues are signals to and from the

participants of a conversation, according to which some aspects of contexts should be interpreted. Other contextualization cues are, for example, intonation, rhythm, gesture or posture. Auer says that treating code-switching as a contextualization cue also explains why in monolingual conversation the functions of this cue are often taken over for instance by prosodic or gestural cues (Auer 1995:123).

According to Auer (1995:123-124), contextualization cues have the following three characteristics. First, they are related to the process of inferencing. Because the same cue may receive different interpretations on different occasions, its meaning cannot be stated unless a sequential analysis is carried out. Second, there is a twofold way to contextual interpretation: for example, changing to another code has the meaning of indicating otherness, or code-switching may have, and often has, an inherent, conventionalized meaning. Finally, contextualization cues often bundle together. This is useful for the analyst in that other cues may be supporting the same interpretation.

In Auer's opinion (1995:124), code-switching should be studied as a contextualization cue, because it shares the above-mentioned features with the other cues. But it has also its own characteristics, which are strongly related to sequential patterns of language choice (Auer 1995:124). Auer talks about *participant-related* and *discourse related* code-switching (2000:170). These address the problem of language choice. First, *participant-related code-switching* is motivated either by the speaker's linguistic competence or by his/her preference to use a certain language (Auer 2000:176). Linguistic competence has the effect that a person might feel more comfortable using one or the other language, if his/her abilities in the two are not at the same level. A speaker's preference for one or the other language on its part may even be a political choice (Auer 1995:125). Second, *discourse-related code-switching* is switching to another language because of a certain conversational task, such as topic change or addressee selection.

Moyer (1998) also talks about the problem of language choice in bilingual conversation. She has divided the language negotiation in three levels of

language choice (Moyer 1998:222-224). At the highest level is the selection of a main language. According to Moyer, it is dependent on the linguistic ability of the speakers and can only be determined by taking into account the wider linguistic context of the conversation or speech event. At the intermediate level of language choice is inter-turn switching. The negotiation of language between turns is meaningful only if contrasted with the main language of conversation. The main units of analysis are thus speakers' turns. At the lowest level are the language choices within a speaker's turn. In Auer's opinion this third level does not affect the language choice of the interaction at all (Auer 1995:126).

How is this language negotiation reflected in literature? Why choose one language over the other, provided that the writer is bilingual and has a choice? Rudin (1996:4) points out that the choice of language does not lead only to a different readership, but also to different channels of publication, to a larger or smaller audience, and hence to larger or smaller royalties. The two languages, Spanish and English, have rather different values in the United States and in the world. As Rudin (1996:5) remarks, English is the language of one of the world powers and also a lingua franca in many parts of the world. Spanish, from the North American standpoint, is a language spoken by immigrants and in countries that, according to Rudin (1996:5), the United States has seldom regarded as nations with equal rights. In addition, the Spanish vernacular of the Chicanos is frequently regarded as a slang inferior to Standard Spanish. In the North American Southwest, along the US-Mexican border, language contact between Hispanics and Anglos is marked by the hierarchy of English over Spanish (Rudin 1996:7). Motivations for each author's language choice are, however, hard to define. They can be purely economical or political, or there can be some other reasons. Nevertheless, language choice does matter. Rudin (1996:9) says that most Chicano novelists have chosen English as their literary language. By choosing English, they can reach out to Anglo-American people.

The question that is addressed in this study is why the authors of the short stories have chosen to add also Spanish language elements in their texts? What kind of functions do those elements have? The code-switching phenomenon in

the texts is in outward appearance discourse-related, a discourse being a whole story. This is because the other participants of the discourse-event are unknown to the author at the time of writing a story. In fact, the other participants also remain invisible to the author. But when we look at the code-switched elements and their surroundings in the stories more deeply, we will notice that similar participant- and discourse-related tendencies can be found as in code-switching in conversation.

## 5 FUNCTIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING

### 5.1 Discourse functions of code-switching

Discourse functions of code-switching are closely related to its communicative features discussed in the previous chapter. Auer (1995, 2000) has identified certain tasks in discourse, for which code-switching tends to be used. These are discussed in the following.

According to Auer (1995:119), setting off of *reported speech* against its surrounding conversational, often narrative, context is the reportedly most frequent function of code-switching. He says that it is not unusual for code-switching to occur in cases where the language of reporting and the language used by the original speaker diverge. In such cases, the only function of code-switching is to provide a contrast between the conversational context of the quote and the reported speech itself. He says that in this case juxtaposing two codes can have a signaling value of its own, independent of the direction of code-switching. That is, in the case of using code-switching for reported speech, the language of the switch is not necessarily the original language of the utterance.

Besides *reported speech*, other activities that code-switching has been used for are *changes of participant constellation*, particularly *addressee selection*, *parenthesis or side-comments*, *reiterations*, i.e. quasi-translations and *topic shift*, to mention some (Auer 1995:120). However, Auer (1995:121) also points

out that the list will hardly ever be a closed one, because code-switching is used in a creative fashion, and that it can have conversational meaning even if used in a particular conversational environment only once. Auer (1995:123) goes on saying that in the typical bilingual speech community the correlation between language and activity is not strong enough to make code-switching predictable.

Even though these discourse functions of code-switching have been determined by their occurrence in conversation, some of them are applicable to literature as well. In literature code-switching is used for stylistic purposes, but it is found in many of the same points of discourse as in conversation. These points are especially *reported speech*, *addressee selection*, *parenthesis/side-comments* and *reiterations*.

#### 5.1.1 Reported speech

Rudin (1996:113) states that for obvious reasons Spanish language entries in an otherwise English language context appear mostly in reported speech. He says that their function is to indicate that the dialogue is Hispanic in nature. In his data it was sometimes even mentioned that the character is speaking in Spanish (Rudin 1996:114). Rudin also points out that the Spanish language entries found in reported speech passages function primarily as stylistic devices and that they do not necessarily depict a speaker who uses both languages (1996:114-115). These facts apply to the present study as well.

#### 5.1.2 Addressee selection

In the Chicano novels studied by Rudin (1996), addressee selection was depicted by the use of Spanish-language address terms in otherwise English passages. They could be either formal or familiar (Rudin 1996:152). Rudin (1996:155) points out that address terms can very easily be integrated into an English text. They can be added either to the beginning or the end of an English passage without obstructing its understanding, just as if they were proper nouns. They were, in fact, often used together with proper nouns.

Spanish-language address terms were widely represented in the novels. Rudin (1996:155) says that this was because the Mexican-American family was present in all the texts.

If in speech code-switching can be used for addressee selection, for purposes of excluding others or showing solidarity, in writing code-switched address terms depict that the speaker and/or the addressee is Spanish-speaking or bilingual. It might even be a signal to the reader that the character is speaking Spanish, even though the actual text is in English.

### 5.1.3 Parenthesis/side-comments

Parenthesis and side-comments are linguistic constructions that the speaker uses to give a parenthetical comment on what he/she is saying or doing. They can be for example interjections, that is, sudden, short utterances that often express emotion. They can also be items that convey what is happening in the background.

### 5.1.4 Reiterations

Rudin (1996:124-151) has identified four different types of reiteration in Chicano literature: *literal translation*, *non-literal translation*, *contextual translation* and *no translation*. First, *literal translations* are such where the English counterpart of the Spanish entry directly accompanies it, separated by a comma, a full stop, a dash or a coordinating conjunction (Rudin 1996:124-126). Second, in Rudin's data *non-literal translations* comprise three subcategories *paraphrase*, *explanation* and *summary*. As a criterion for differentiating them Rudin uses size (1996:134). *Paraphrases* are those non-literal translations that are about the same length as the original Spanish entry. *Explanations* are translations that are considerably longer than the Spanish entry they refer to. *Summaries* on their part are translations that are much shorter than the Spanish language items that they refer to. The third type is *contextual translation*. They are in fact not translations at all, but they are Spanish vocabulary in an otherwise English context whose meanings become

clear by the surrounding context. Fourth, for most of the Spanish entries in Rudin's data there is *no translation* at all.

## 5.2 Social functions of code-switching

As Bailey (2000:174) points out, code-switching is not only a language contact phenomenon, but also a social contact phenomenon. He says that the occurrence, shape, distribution and meanings of code-switching vary across and within communities. It has to be kept in mind that this study concentrates on the Chicanos, even though other Hispanic groups are mentioned at times as well.

Gumperz (1982:65) notes that bilingualism and, consequently, code-switching are found in ethnically and culturally diverse settings. Bilingual individuals spend much time interacting with others of different linguistic backgrounds. To be able to function effectively at work or business, they must have near native control of the majority language. However, Gumperz says (1982:65) that at the same time the persons are also part of ethnically based, peer, friendship or kinship networks, which have separate values, beliefs and communicative norms and conventions. According to Gumperz (1982:64) code-switching is perhaps most frequently found in the informal speech of people who are bilingual.

Gumperz (1982:65) goes on by saying that it is the separation between in-group and out-group standards that best characterizes the bilingual experience. He states that the juxtaposition of cultural standards is what distinguishes bilinguals from monolinguals. Bilinguals are usually aware of the fact that their own mode of behavior, or speaking, is only one of several possibilities and that style of communication affects the interpretation of what a speaker intends to communicate (Gumperz 1982:65).

As Poplack (1979/2000:255) points out, there is little doubt that functional factors are the strongest constraints on the occurrence of code-switching. For



Poplack (1979/200:255), one possible reason for the use of code-switching is that it is an indicator of bilingual ability, and as such, an ethnic marker. Poplack (1979/2000:237) also found out that the ethnicity of the interlocutor affects greatly the amount of switches in the speech of a balanced bilingual. In her data the balanced bilingual switches four times as frequently with an in-group interlocutor than with a non-member and uses a much larger percentage of intra-sentential switches with the in-group member. In addition, Gumperz (1982:69) found out that the usage of code-switching and borrowing can be a communicative resource for members of bilingual communities. Residents of such Spanish-English speaking areas as San Francisco and New York claim that they can tell much about a person's family background and politics from the way that person code-switches and uses borrowings. Gumperz goes on mentioning that bilinguals normally do not use code-switching styles with other bilinguals before they know something about the listener's background and attitudes. To do otherwise could risk serious misunderstanding (Gumperz 1982:69).

Pfaff (1982) also argues that there are social motivations for mixing languages and social factors cannot be excluded in any analysis. She points out that Spanish has been an important language in the south-western US for nearly four centuries and that the linguistic situation there is extremely heterogeneous. Even though code-switching has traditionally been stigmatized, from the 1970s onwards it has functioned as a symbol of bicultural identification and a strategy of neutrality among educated Mexican-Americans (Pfaff 1982:266) According to Pfaff (1982:266), code-switching actually reflects the speakers' desire to appear competent in both languages. This is one of the reasons why code-switching is important in Chicano writing as well.

One of Moyer's (1998:224-225) important observations is that although social tension between ethnic groups is absent in Gibraltar, the selection of a main language in a conversation is not a neutral choice. It can show formality and the speaker's alignment with Spanish or British identities. She also points out that the situation alone does not explain the language choice. Naturally, this goes for Chicano speech and writing as well. The difference is that there is

social tension between the Chicanos and the Anglo-Americans, and this, of course, affects the language choice as well.

## 6 METHOD

Many of the studies done on code-switching have been done on the language pair Spanish/English in the United States. Some of the most important of these studies have been reviewed here. Almost all the studies have been done on code-switching in conversation. This study on its part focuses on the code-switching phenomenon in literature. In literature, and in any kind of writing, the abundant use of elements from a second language reflects the speech patterns of the writer and his/her community. But while code-switching in conversation is a spontaneous phenomenon, in written discourse it is not. Of course, this type of discourse may come naturally to the writer, but as a whole, a piece of literature is normally a well planned work. This is why different rules apply to the two types of discourse. They cannot be studied using the same methods either. When considering the data linguistically, this study uses a combination of the methods used in different studies done on Spanish/English code-switching in conversation. In the discourse analytic section of this study references are made to studies that have been done on Chicano prose and poetry. They have noted that the texts were bilingual, but their main focus has been discourse analytic, not linguistic.

### 6.1 Data collection

The data for this study was gathered from a collection of short stories written by Chicano writers. The collection is called *Mirrors beneath the Earth* (ed. Ray González 1992). It includes 31 short stories, all written by different Chicano authors. In all the stories the main language is English.

The first task in this study was to read through the short stories and note all the Spanish language elements in the texts. In every story except in two there were some Spanish language elements. The main language in all the stories is clearly English, and consequently, the language of all but one of the switches is Spanish. The actual data consists of code-switched items from English to Spanish. Since there was only one switch from Spanish to English, in this study English will be referred to as the first language and Spanish as the second language.

Some general notes about the Spanish language entries in the texts should be made. First, the Spanish language elements were in most cases italicized. Second, there were also some spelling mistakes in Spanish. These are discussed in more detail in a further section.

## 6.2 Non-code-switches

There were three such types of Spanish language entries that had to be excluded from this study. One type was vocabulary that is nowadays widely used by monolingual English-speakers as well, that is, loan words to standard English. These were determined by experience and by their occurrence in various monolingual English dictionaries. This type of vocabulary occurred 101 times, but there were only 31 different words. Five words (*barrio*, *Chicano*, *enchilada*, *gringo* and *tortilla*) were used both in singular and in plural. Many of them occurred more than once and in various stories. Most of the words were names for different type or different groups of people. These were *macho*, *gringo*, *gringos*, *guerrillas*, *Latinos*, *Chicano* and *Chicanos*. They were used a total of 32 times. In addition, culinary terms that were excluded occurred 27 times. These were *tortilla*, *tortillas*, *enchilada*, *enchiladas*, *mole*, *burritos*, *tequila*, *tacos*, *salsa* and *jalepeño* (normally spelled *jalapeño*).

Another excluded type was some proper nouns. People's names were excluded if they were found on their own, even though many Spanish names mean something and their meaning might have played a role in the texts. However,

Spanish nick names were included, because in the stories they have a special meaning that becomes clear only if the reader is familiar with the Spanish language. That is, for the story to be considered monolingual, the nick names should have been translated. Other proper nouns that were included as switches were names of biblical saints, churches and other buildings. They could have been translated into English, but were not.

The third type that was excluded occurred only once. In example (1) the characters are talking to each other:

- (1) “[...] First I have to ask you a few questions though.  
 “What’s a *foca*?”  
 “A seal”, Verónica replied rather puzzled. “What’s a *foco*?”  
 “A lightbulb.”  
 “Right! But remember you’ve just told me a *foca* is a seal. Let’s just say a *foca* is a female seal and a *foco* is a male seal.”  
 Verónica was giving me a dubious look.  
 (*Esmeralda* 238-239)

In this case what is happening is not code-switching, but rather just the characters discussing the meanings of the Spanish words.

All the remaining Spanish languages entries were divided into different code-switching categories first according to their grammatical and syntactic features and then according either to their semantic value or their pragmatic usage, whichever was more relevant for a switch’s occurrence in the text.

### 6.3 Coding procedure

A code-switch is a second-language element used in a first-language discourse. In this study the code-switches were easy to determine, since they were simply Spanish-language elements in an otherwise English text. Most of the switches were simple, of a type where the switch started with the first word in Spanish and ended to the first following word in English. However, there were a few

cases where a larger segment of the Spanish language was divided into several different switches. Example (2) demonstrates this:

- (2) [...] not to mention the others, *putas sin vergüenzas desgraciadas pintadas chorreadas. En el nombre del Padre, del Hijo, y del Espíritu Santo...* He may be your Daddy, but he's half man, half goat. (*Saints* 45)

In example (2), the utterance from the word ‘putas’ to the word ‘Santo’ was counted as two different switches. The first part is an insertion switch, because it begins in the middle of a sentence. The second part adds a whole new sentence in Spanish and it was counted as an alternation. This was done because they are different when considering what they refer to. The first part is an apposition to ‘the others’, stating that ‘the others’ are ‘shameless, disgraceful, over-made-up, wet whores’. The second part is a comment on this, ‘in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit...’.

After determining the actual switches, the next step was to divide all the switches into different code-switch type categories. These categories were *insertion* and *alternation*. The terms were adapted from Moyer (1998). Making this division is important, because the two types of switches are rather different in nature. In order to form grammatical sentences, insertions have to conform to the rules of both languages in question. Alternations can be made more freely.

An insertion is a single word or a larger construction in the second language that is inserted inside a clause, sentence or utterance. Insertion switches have to conform to the rules of both languages. An alternation is a switch to the second language that occurs between clauses, sentences or utterances. Alternations can be more freely used than insertions. Words or constructions that do not necessarily form a grammatically complete sentence, often lacking a verb, were also counted as alternations, if they were marked as sentences by full stops, commas, exclamation marks or question marks. The same goes for instances of reported speech that had been marked by quotation marks or otherwise.

The following are clear examples of the different code-switching types:

- (3) “The dude who brought the *chavalito* here dropped this.”  
(*Insidious Disease* 77)
- (4) Then one night my aunt came into the bedroom and said,  
“*Está muriendo Chepe.*” My cousin Mary and I ran down  
to the church and knocked and knocked. (*Rosario  
Magdaleno* 22-23)

Number (3) is an example of an insertion. A single noun in Spanish has been included in the utterance. Number (4) is an alternation, a whole utterance in Spanish spoken by a character.

The third step was to divide the switches in further groups according to their grammatical value. At this point the two groups, insertion and alternation, were dealt with separately. In the case of the insertions, some of the switches were single items, for example single nouns; others formed phrasal components of a sentence, such as noun phrases or verb phrases. The alternations could be complete clauses, sentences or utterances, or smaller constituents that had been marked as sentences, clauses or utterances by punctuation marks. More generally, all the elements that were not tied to sentence structure were considered alternations.

Although proper nouns, especially people’s names, were excluded if they were found on their own, they were included as parts of sentences and utterances. Consider for example the utterance in example (5):

- (5) “*Lo siento, Verónica*” (*Esmeralda* 229)

This switch has been counted as an alternation, the whole utterance being in Spanish.

A quantitative analysis of the different code-switching types was done to find out which type was the most common. In this data the insertions formed the largest group. The results of these quantitative analyses were also compared

with findings of studies done in Spanish/English code-switching in speech, to find out whether there are any significant similarities or differences in the percentages.

Fourth, the switches were also categorized according to either their semantic value or their pragmatic usage. None of the switches were considered both from points of view of semantics and pragmatics, because their role in the texts seemed to be explainable by either semantic or pragmatic concerns. The semantic and pragmatic consideration also served the purpose of finding out what the function of the code-switching was in a piece of written discourse. At this point the two code-switching categories, insertions and alternations, were not kept apart anymore, but they were dealt with as a single group. Since the alternations were not necessarily complete clauses or sentences, semantically it made no difference whether a switch was an insertion or an alternation. Some of the semantic groups were for example *culinary terms* and *terms for people*. Most of the switches that were categorized were, however, alternations. Pragmatic groups were for example *friendly and familiar address terms* and *parenthesis/side-comments*.

Finally, the social and the discourse functions of code-switching were discussed. It was studied in which points of discourse the switches tend to happen. For example, in this data many of the switches were characters' utterances or parts of utterances.

#### 6.4 The frequency of the switches

It is important to note already at this point that the switches were by no means equally scattered in the texts. Some writers contributed much more than others to the number of the switches. Since the Spanish language entries were not evenly distributed in the corpus, some stories will be quoted and commented on more frequently than others. Of the 31 short stories studied, in two there were no switches. The highest number of switches in one story was 70. In only seven stories there were 30 or more switches per story. Together these seven stories contain 329 switches, which is 60 per cent of all the switches.

## 7 RESULTS

The data consisted of a total of 574 switches. The direction of the switch was in most cases from English to Spanish, but there was one switch from Spanish to English. It is shown in example (6):

- (6) “Miren, aquí está el *surprise*,” giggles Petra, drawing the curtains close together. (*The Marijuana Party* 146)

Since this switch is inside a character’s utterance that is otherwise in Spanish, it is a clear example of a switch from Spanish to English. However, if this utterance were spoken in a real conversation, it would not necessarily be an actual code-switch. It could be that the word ‘surprise’ could also be considered a borrowing, if it were pronounced as a Spanish word.

There was one occasion where a larger Spanish language construction had to be divided into more than one switch. Example (7) shows this:

- (7) I heard him saying to my mother, “*Cómo pasé hambres.*” *Pobrecito. Sufrió mucho.* Later, his brother Nicolás took him in. (*Rosario Magdaleno* 25)

In this case there is first an utterance spoken by a character: “*Cómo pasé hambres*”, ‘how hungry I was’. Then the first-person narrator comments the situation, also in Spanish, saying ‘Poor guy.’ The narrator still adds to this by saying ‘How much he suffered’. These have to be considered separate switches, because they are not parts of the same speech act.

In the following discussion the switches are divided into different groups first according to their code-switch type. These categories are *insertion* and *alternation*. Then the switches in these categories are divided into further categories according to their grammatical and syntactic value. Next they are discussed according to their semantic or pragmatic features. The last section is



concerned with the social and discourse functions of code-switching in this data.

## 7.1 Code-switching categories

First all the switches were divided into different code-switching categories. These categories were *insertion* and *alternation*. *Insertions* are single elements or phrasal components in the second language that are inserted in a clause, sentence or utterance that is otherwise in the first language. *Alternations* are primarily switches of whole clauses, sentences or utterances. However, also smaller switched elements that are not closely tied to sentence structure were considered alternations in this data. These were for example interjections and most address terms. The following section will make the difference between insertions and alternations clear to the reader.

## 7.2 Grammatical features of the switches

### 7.2.1 Insertions

In the data there were 332 insertions. That is 57.9 per cent of all the switches. They were thus the largest group in this data. In Poplack's (1979/2000) study of code-switching in conversation the percentage of insertions was 46.4. In her data alternation switches were the favored ones.

The insertions were divided further into different groups according to their grammatical value. At this point no attention was paid to their semantic value, their meaning, or their pragmatic usage. The percentages that follow refer to the group's share of the total number of the switches. The results of the grammatical analysis of the insertions are given in Table 1:

Table 1. Insertions.

1. NOUN PHRASES (TOTAL)	327	(57.0%)
A. INDEFINITE NOUN PHRASES	16	(2.8%)
B. SINGLE NOUNS	275	(48.0%)
C. DEFINITE NOUN PHRASES	10	(1.7%)
D. PROPER NOUNS	26	(4.5%)
2. PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES	3	(0.6%)
3. VERB PHRASES	1	(0.2%)
4. SINGLE ADVERBS	1	(0.2%)
	TOTAL:	332 (58.0%)

As it can be seen, single nouns are the most frequently switched elements of the whole data, their percentage being 48.0% per cent of all the switches and 82.6 per cent of the insertions. For example in Poplack's data (1979/2000) of conversational code-switching, single nouns formed only 9.5 per cent of all the switches, but they were also the most frequently switched intra-sentential elements. In Poplack's data there was a tendency to switch major constituents. In this data single noun switches are for example (8) and (9):

- (8) I take *Abuelito's* hand, fat and dimpled in the center like a valentine [...] (*Tepeyac* 53)
- (9) "We can get something at the *farmacia!* [...]" (*La Puerta* 254)

In example (8), the Spanish term for 'grandfather' has simply replaced the equal English one. In example (9), the character uses the Spanish term for the 'pharmacy' or 'drugstore'. None causes problems for the syntactic structure. Both are nicely and easily inserted in the text.

Indefinite noun phrases here refer to noun phrases without any kind of article. In Spanish an indefinite article does exist, but in this data it was not used in this kind of switches. Consider examples (10) and (11):

- (10) [...] clam dip, onion dip, *salsa fresca*, potato chips[...]  
(*La Luz* 182-183)
- (11) “*Cara de ángel* with a personality to match”, was how several of them described her. (*Esmeralda* 228)

In example (10), *salsa fresca* means ‘fresh sauce’. Even though salsa was one of the words that were excluded from this study, here it was considered to be Spanish, since it has a Spanish qualifier. Here it is a part of a list of foods, which are all indefinite noun phrases. In example (11), a character’s beauty is commented on by describing her as having a ‘face of an angel’.

Definite noun phrases are nouns with a definite article and possibly some qualifier. Definite and indefinite articles are used similarly in both Spanish and English. This is why definite noun phrases, too, can easily be switched. Examples (12) and (13) demonstrate this:

- (12) But ever since Susana helped Sybil sneak across *la frontera*, assisting her through the tumble of city life, [...] (*Sometimes You Dance With A Watermelon* 69)
- (13) “I will leave for *el norte* in two weeks”, he said [...] (*La Puerta* 252)

*El* is the masculine definite article in Spanish and *la* is the feminine one. *La frontera* in example (12) means ‘the border’ and *el norte* in example (13) means ‘the north’.

An interesting group was formed by proper nouns. As stated earlier, most of them were excluded from this study, especially characters’ names. But then there were some that were included. These were for example names of buildings and biblical saints. Consider examples (14) and (15):

- (14) [...] above the bell towers of *La Basílica de Nuestra Señora* [...] (*Tepeyac* 52)

- (15) Then there is the *Santo Niño de Atocha*, who goes out regularly with his worn shoes to help the poor and the defenseless late at night. (*Saints* 40)

In both these cases (14) and (15) the Spanish language name could have been translated into English. In example (13), *La Basílica de Nuestra Señora* would translate as ‘The Basilica of Our Lady’ and *Santo Niño de Atocha* in example (14) would be in English ‘The Holy Child of Atocha’.

Additionally, some nick names were also included in this study. Consider example (16):

- (16) [...], past *La Muñeca's* mother watering her famous dahlias [...] (*Tepeyac* 53)

In this example, the proper noun *La Muñeca* is a nickname that means ‘The Doll’. Even though in this particular story not knowing the meaning of the name does not hinder understanding the story, the nickname has an additional meaning other than just being the given name of a character. That is why it has also been counted as a code-switch.

Some prepositional phrases were also switched. Example (17) and (18) show this:

- (17) Every married woman should have a son, not only for her husband, but *por su vejez*. (*Cardinal Red* 274)

- (18) “Yup! We’re celebrating *con pura marijuana*.” (*The Marijuana Party* 147)

In example (17), *por su vejez* means ‘for her old age’. *Con pura marijuana* in example (18) means ‘with marijuana only’. In these cases the prepositional phrases are part of the syntactic structure of the sentence. There were other cases in this data, where a prepositional phrase had been switched, but it was not syntactically tied to the sentence and was thus considered an alternation.

A verb phrase was also switched as an insertion. Example (19) shows it:

- (19) [...] we cried and beat our breasts, *mea culpa, mea culpa, mea culpa-ing* ourselves into a fever. (*Saints* 50)

In example (19), *mea culpa, mea culpa, mea culpa-ing* means ‘saying the triple expression of admission of guilt for sins’. The switched element in example (19) is, in addition to being a verb phrase, a case of a code-mixed element. It is formed by a Spanish language noun phrase that is made into an English language verb phrase by using the suffix *-ing*.

There was also one occasion where a single adverb had been switched as an insertion switch. Example (20) demonstrates it:

- (20) *Absolutamente* a promesa was a promesa [...] (*The Rosary* 62)

*Absolutamente* means ‘absolutely’. It can be seen that single adverbs can also be freely switched. Switching them does not affect the sentence structure.

In this data all the insertion switches were inserted in the sentences, clauses and utterances grammatically correctly. The grammars of English and Spanish are relatively similar, a fact that makes these types of switches possible. In this data no ungrammatical switches were made. However, the switches involved only easy switches, where neither of the languages had to conform to the rules of the other.

### 7.2.2 Alternations

There were 242 alternations in the data. That is 42.1 per cent of all the switches. In Poplack’s data (1979/2000) alternations were the larger group, their percentage being 53.6. It is noticeable that in this data 97.9 per cent of the alternations were reported speech. There were 5 alternation switches that were not reported speech.

In this data the alternations were not necessarily grammatically complete clauses, sentences or utterances. The incomplete ones were counted as alternations, if they were separated from the rest of the text by full stops, exclamation marks, question marks or marked as reported speech by quotation marks or otherwise.

Amongst the alternations there are many constructions that by their grammatical features equal the insertions. That is, they are not necessarily what are normally considered sentences, containing certain elements, such as a predicative verb. Thus, the alternations can also be divided into further groups. There are the switches that are formed by single elements or constructions and there are switches that consist of two or more sentences, clauses, utterances or other constructions. The results of the grammatical analysis of the alternations are shown in Table 2:

Table 2. Alternations.

1.	FINITE CLAUSES	43	(7.4%)
2.	TWO FINITE CLAUSES	1	(0.2%)
3.	VERBLESS CLAUSES	142	(24.7%)
4.	TWO VERBLESS CLAUSES	3	(0.5%)
5.	THREE VERBLESS CLAUSES	2	(0.3%)
6.	INTERJECTIONS	25	(4.3%)
7.	NONFINITE CLAUSES	1	(0.2%)
8.	SUBJUNCTIVE CLAUSES	3	(0.5%)
9.	SUBORDINATE CLAUSES	9	(1.6%)
10.	TAGS	1	(0.2%)
11.	STANZAS	12	(2.1%)
	TOTAL:	242	(42.0%)

Stanzas from songs and poetry were included in the category of alternations, even though they differ from other types of switches. Since they are songs or poems, it would not make any sense them being said, sung or recited in any

other language than their original one, Spanish. In this they differ from other utterances found in the data. Grammatically they might be parts of some other group, but because of their meaning, they are grouped differently. Consider example (21):

- (21) “*Y aunque la vida me cueste, Llorona, no dejaré de quererte.*” She sang softly, her head swaying with each word [...] (*The Last Rite* 316)

Here the Spanish-speaking character is singing a popular folk song in her own language.

The largest group of alternations is formed by verbless clauses. They can be whole utterances or clauses, or some peripheral elements of an utterance or clause. Some of them are formulaic expressions such as greetings. Example (22) demonstrates such an expression spoken by a character:

- (22) [...] he greeted them with a light handshake. “*Buenos días, Señora Cardenales.*” (*Cardinal Red* 276)

The character greets Mrs. Cardenales saying ‘Good afternoon, Mrs. Cardenales’.

Many of the verbless clause switches were peripheral elements, such as address terms. Consider examples (23) and (24):

- (23) “You should have a son, *Mi ja.* [...] (*Cardinal Red* 274)
- (24) “No, I shall say not, *viejo tapado,*” Leonisimo’s wife replied [...] (*Brown Hair* 257)

In both these examples it can be seen that placing an address term or some other type of peripheral element into the sentence in another language does not affect the sentence structure at all, and does thus not cause any grammatical problems in either language.

On a few occasions two or three verbless clauses formed a single switch. All of these were cases where the message in the first clause was repeated by the second and the third clause. In example (25) a character is describing someone by saying:

- (25) Like cinnamon tea with milk and sugar. *Dulce. Muy dulce.* I didn't notice him at first but he made me take notice of him. (*Esmeralda* 230)

The character repeats what she had said before and gives emphasis to it by adding the adverb *muy*, 'very'. Similarly, in example (26) a character is praying to the Virgin Mary:

- (26) [...] his front with his small prayerbook, screaming "*¡Ave María Purísima! ¡Ave María Purísima! ¡Ave María Purísima!*" dismissing the faithful with a haphazard sign [...] (*The Rosary* 59)

The character repeats the prayer 'Holy Mother of God' three times. This also gives emphasis to what the character is saying.

The second largest alternation group is formed by finite clauses. They are grammatically whole clauses or utterances, with a finite predicative verb. Take for instance example (27):

- (27) '*En mi casa no tolero puterías*', he yelled at me. (*Esmeralda* 231)

In example (27), the character is reporting a man's words to her. The man yelled 'I don't accept whores in my house'. It is a grammatically whole, finite clause.

The third largest group is formed by interjections. These may be found as independent clauses or inside another clause. Examples (28) and (29) show this:



- (28) “¡Ay, no! But I just joined Catholic Mothers Against Pornography [...]” (*The Marijuana Party* 155)
- (29) “*Chingao*, there’s never anything to eat”, Susana grumbled. (*Sometimes You Dance With a Watermelon* 69)

In example (28) there is a typical Spanish interjection *ay* used. The whole interjection has also been marked as Spanish by placing the exclamation mark upside down before the clause. This is a standard Spanish practice. The interjection equals the English ‘Oh no!’. In example (29), the interjection begins the character’s utterance. It means something similar as ‘fuck’ in English. Compared to Poplack’s data, there were slightly fewer interjections in this data. In Poplack’s data 6.3 per cent of the switches were interjections, the number in this data was 4.4 per cent. The difference is probably due to the fact that Poplack’s study was done on code-switching in conversation, and interjections are more a phenomenon of spoken language.

Different types of subordinate clauses were also switched. Consider for instance the subordinate clause in example (30):

- (30) The only way is if we – *si la familia se ayuda*. (*Cardinal Red* 269)

*Si la familia se ayuda* means ‘if the family helps each other’.

In example (31) a relative clause was switched:

- (31) Wait till... yes, I’m gonna call Amalia, *la que nunca quiebra un plato*. (*The Marijuana Party* 142)

*La que nunca quiebra un plato* is an idiomatic expression for ‘who never does anything bad’.

There was also one nonfinite clause that had been switched. It is also an example of code-mixing. Example (32) shows it:

- (32) “Yeah, I know which law I’m breaking. Three Seventy-One point Three. *Espeeding*. [...]” (*The Rosary* 61)

In example (32) the nonfinite -ing-participle of the verb ‘to speed’ forms a clause on its own. It has also been transformed into a Spanish word by placing the letter ‘e’ in front of it. This is typical in Spanish and it is done to make the pronunciation of the word easier. This is done in all the words that in English begin with ‘st’ or ‘sp’. For example, ‘stereo’ is *estereo* in Spanish, although not a loanword from English.

The subjunctive verb form is far more common in Spanish than it is in English. It is a mood that has its own form in every person and in every tense. Three subjunctive clauses had been switched in this data. Please look at examples (33) and (34):

- (33) “*Pues que me lo miren!* Now that I’m all of forty, they might not get another chance. [...]” (*The Marijuana Party* 145)
- (34) [...]; there was no way he was ever going to be consecrated. *¡Ni lo mande Dios!* (*Saints* 45)

Example (33) means ‘Well let them see it!’. The verb in Spanish is in subjunctive form. *¡Ni lo mande Dios!* in example (34) is an idiomatic expression for ‘I hope so!’. Here also the verb is in subjunctive.

In Poplack’s data (1979/2000) tags were the most frequently switched elements, their percentage being 22.5. Tags are also normally used more in speech than in writing. In this data there was only one tag that had been switched:

- (35) “Believe it, Amalia. Tottie and I watch them all the time - *¿verdad, comadre?*” (*The Marijuana Party* 147)

The tag could be translated as ‘don’t we, my friend?’. It is also noticeable that in example (35) the writer has added the question marks upside down in the beginning of the tag question. That is also a signal that the following tag is going to be in Spanish. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 7.2.4.

### 7.2.3 Code-mixing

In this study code-mixing is considered a sub-phenomenon of code-mixing. In the data there were 11 instances where the term code-mixing can be applied. There were four different ways to mix the two codes in one word.

First, on seven occasions the English genitive suffix had been added to an otherwise Spanish word. Examples (36), (37) and (38) demonstrate this:

- (36) “Who told you about me?” Perfecta asks in a small voice, her eyes unable to raise above the *curandera’s* feet. (*Salvation* 291)
- (37) Sometimes they planted mines in the *campesinos’* land [...] (*Alligator Park* 123)
- (38) Dominga is *mamá’s comadre*. (*Saints* 47)

In example (36) the genitive suffix is added to a singular Spanish word. In example (37) the suffix is added to a plural Spanish word. In example (38) it is inside a Spanish noun phrase.

Second, example (39) illustrates the adding of the English suffix *-ing* to a Spanish noun phrase. In this data there was only this one instance when this had been done.

- (39) Together she and I charted and plotted my sainthood, together we cried and beat our breasts, *mea culpa, mea culpa, mea culpa-ing* ourselves into a fever. (*Saints* 50)

Here the noun phrase is used as a verb in the continuous form. In this example, *mea culpa, mea culpa, mea culpa-ing* means ‘saying the triple expression of admission of guilt for sins’.

Third, on one occasion the orthography of the original English word had been changed and the word had been made to look Spanish. Number (40) is an example of this:

- (40) He was often known after that day as “*El Sexi*”. (*Mr. Mendoza’s Paintbrush* 307)

The original English word is the adjective ‘sexy’. It has been made into a Spanish word by replacing the last letter ‘y’ with an ‘i’. The definite article *el* has been added as well. As a whole *El Sexi* means ‘the sexy one’.

On another occasion there was modification of the English word’s appearance and its pronunciation and it had been made into a Spanish verb. This example was already discussed in chapter 7.2. It is further demonstrated by example (41):

- (41) “Yeah, I know which law I’m breaking. Three Seventy-One point Three. *Espeeding*. [...]” (*The Rosary* 61)

In this example the nonfinite -ing-participle of the verb ‘to speed’ forms a clause on its own. It has also been transformed into a Spanish word by placing the letter ‘e’ in front of it. This is typical in Spanish and it is done to make the pronunciation of the word easier.

The fourth type of code-mixed vocabulary in this data is illustrated by examples (42) and (43):

- (42) Two *winitos* staggered by just then. (*Sometimes You Dance With a Watermelon* 70)

- (43) “[...] Get your *huila-daughter* out of my house at once or from now on I’ll take her anytime I want”, he shouted at my mother. (*Esmeralda* 231-232)

In example (42) the original English word is ‘winos’, but the Spanish diminutive suffix *-ito* has been added to it. Example (43) show a new compound word made of a word in Spanish and another word in English. *Huila-daughter* means ‘street-whore daughter’.

Code-mixing is an interesting phenomenon. It provides further evidence about the compatibility of this language pair. New words and grammatical combinations can easily be formed without them causing any problems for the syntax.

#### 7.2.4 Interference on orthography

In this data there were some noticeable features of orthography mistakes that kept repeating themselves. Many accent marks, exclamation and question marks were missing. In Spanish, accent marks are used in many words to point out the word stress or to distinguish the same word's different meanings from each other. In addition, in exclamation and interrogative phrases an inverted exclamation or question mark is placed in the beginning of the phrase. These were very often missing. It is probable that this is due to interference by English, since they are not used in English. Examples (44), (45), and (46) illustrate this:

(44) We'll talk more later, eh, *con mas tiempo...* (*Saints* 46)

(45) “*El chavalito este. Es tuyo?*” (*Insidious Disease* 77)

(46) Marijuana! *Hijo mano!* (*The Marijuana Party* 141)

In example (44), the word *mas* should be written with an accent mark above the letter 'a', *más*. In example (45), there is the inverted question mark missing before the interrogative phrase *Es tuyo?* The phrase should be written *¿Es tuyo?* Similarly, in example (46) there should be the inverted exclamation mark before the interjection *Hijo mano!* It should be written *¡Hijo mano!*

On one occasion there was simple misspelling of a Spanish word. Example (47) shows it:

(47) One more *tragito*, absolutely, just one [...] (*The Rosary* 64)

In example (47) a normal Spanish word has been misspelled. The word *tragito* should actually be spelled *traguito*. The word means ‘small drink’, ‘mouthful’. It is the diminutive form of *trago*, ‘drink’, ‘mouthful’. The diminutive ending in Spanish is –ito, but in order for this word to preserve its original spelling, the letter ‘u’ must be inserted. Otherwise the word stem would be pronounced differently in the diminutive form.

The fact that the usage of accent, exclamation and question marks that are not used in English had been neglected, suggests that the presence of the English language in the speech and writing of these writers has affected at least their written Spanish. These types of errors do not, however, affect in any way the intelligibility of the texts. In addition, it could also be that some of these errors were simply typing errors.

### 7.3 Semantic and pragmatic features of the switches

In order to examine the meanings and functions of the switches they were divided into different groups according to their semantic and pragmatic features. At this point the insertion and the alternation switches were not separated, but they were dealt with together as one group. This was done because the switches’ semantic or pragmatic relevance in the texts was not tied to their syntactic position. Nearly in all the groups both insertion and alternation switches are represented. That is why it was more sensible to bring the two groups together. However, it can be said that most of the switches that were considered semantically were insertions, mostly small, lexical elements. Accordingly, most of the switches considered pragmatically were alternations, larger constructions, for example whole speech acts. Of the total of 574 switches 349 (60.8 %) were grouped according to their semantic value and 225 (39.2 %) were considered according to their pragmatic features. Even though the line between semantics and pragmatics is vacillating, each switch was considered either semantically or pragmatically, whichever better explained the function of that particular switch in the text. These groups are discussed in the following.

### 7.3.1 Semantic features of the switches

The relevance of 354 switches (61.5 per cent of all the switches) was tied to their semantic features. These switches were divided into 14 different semantic fields. The different semantic groups were not decided on beforehand, but they were distinctly present in the texts. There were a few semantic fields with which most of these switches were concerned. The percentages after the groups refer to their share of all the switches in this data. The results are presented in table 3:

Table 3. Semantic fields.

1. TERMS FOR PEOPLE	128	(22.3%)
2. CULINARY TERMS	54	(9.3%)
3. RELIGION AND SPIRITUAL LIFE	41	(7.1%)
4. NATURE	29	(5.1%)
5. BUILDINGS/PLACES	23	(4.0%)
6. ENTERTAINMENT	15	(2.6%)
7. TITLES	14	(2.4%)
8. ARTEFACTS/THINGS	11	(1.9%)
9. CLOTHING	10	(1.7%)
10. BODY PARTS/BODILY FUNCTIONS	8	(1.5%)
11. BUSINESS	6	(1.0%)
12. MIGRATION TO THE US	6	(1.0%)
13. VEHICLES/PARTS OF VEHICLES	4	(0.7%)
14. OTHER	5	(0.9%)
TOTAL:	354	(61.5%)

By far the largest semantic field was formed by terms for people. These could be either references to single people or to groups of people. Examples (48) and (49) demonstrate references to single people:

(48) *Abuelito* under a bald light bulb, under a ceiling dusty with flies [...] (*Tepeyac* 53)

(49) I inhale the incense and *Mamá* Lupita comes to mind. (*Saints* 50)

Many of the terms used for people were actually Spanish names for family members and other relatives, such as the terms in examples (48) and (49). *Abuelito* in example (48) means ‘grandfather’ and *mamá* in example (49) means the same as ‘Mum’. The use of these terms reflects the great importance of family and relatives in the life of Chicanos.

Different groups of people were also many times referred to by their Spanish names. Examples (50), (51) and (52) illustrate this:

(50) [...] the loss of acres and acres of land to the *rancheros*. (*Brown Hair* 259)

(51) My mother said things would always be bad for the *campesinos* [...] (*Alligator Park* 123)

(52) [...] Alameda Street where old *Mexicanos* sold fruit on the roadside [...] (*Sometimes You Dance with a Watermelon* 72)

*Rancheros* in example (50) are ‘farmers’, *campesinos* in example (51) are ‘peasants’ and *Mexicanos* in example (52) are ‘Mexicans’. All of these groups are somehow in closer relation to Mexican people than some other groups, and that is why their names are used in Spanish and not English.

Titles used with or without peoples’ names were also among the Spanish language terms in this data. Examples (53), (54) and (55) demonstrate these:

(53) The *comandante* made up a list of people who were to be kidnapped or killed, so they could blame the guerrillas for those kinds of things. (*Alligator Park* 124)

(54) [...] morning mass with *Padre Yermo* would put him back on schedule again. (*Agua Bendita (Holy Water)* 221)



- (55) “[...] oh excuse me, *Señora* Hernandez,” he said [...]  
(*The Blackbird* 158)

In example (53) there is a military title, *comandante*, which means ‘commandant’ or ‘commander’. *Padre*, in example (54), is a Catholic title that means ‘father’, a priest. In example (55) *Señora* means ‘Mrs.’. They are all used in order to convey to the reader that the persons mentioned are Spanish-speaking.

Another interesting group was formed by culinary terms. In this data they were the second largest semantic group, with 9.3 per cent of all the switches. They were also the third especially important group in Rudin’s data (1996:155). It was the only subcategory of ethnographic terms that was important enough for Rudin to be treated separately (Rudin 1996:176).

The culinary terms that appeared in this data were mostly names of traditional Mexican dishes. This group is an important one, because it reflects the Mexican cultural heritage of the characters in the stories. However, as was already mentioned, many culinary terms were also excluded from this study, because they have become parts of monolingual English speakers’ vocabulary as well. As code-switches were counted for instance the terms in the following examples (56) and (57):

- (56) All they ever ate was beans and *tortillas* for breakfast and *avena* and coffee. And then the same thing for lunch. Then for supper maybe a little meat or *sopa*. (*Rosario Magdaleno* 22)
- (57) The last trip home from work was no different except for the going-away gift, a bottle of *mezcal*, and the promise of his job back when he returned. (*La Puerta* 252)

*Tortillas* in example (56) was one of the words that had to be excluded from this study, because it is a term that is used by monolingual English-speakers as well. But *avena*, ‘oat’ and *sopa*, ‘soup’, are examples of code-switched culinary terms. *Mezcal*, in example (57), refers to liquor made of the agave plant. It resembles tequila, another Mexican drink.

The third largest semantic group was formed by terms related to religion and spiritual life. These were for instance names of biblical saints and other spiritual characters or religious sayings. Religion is one of the important themes in these Chicano short stories and that is why the apparition of religious terms in Spanish is also natural. Consider examples (58), (59) and (60):

- (58) Then there is the *Santo Niño de Atocha*, who goes out regularly with his worn shoes to help the poor and the defenseless late at night. (*Saints* 40)
- (59) *En el nombre del Padre, del Hijo y del Espíritu Santo...* (*Saints* 41)
- (60) “*¡Ave María Purísima!* What in the name of God have you done to yourself, Leonisimo?” (*Brown Hair* 256)

In example (58) there is the name of a saint called *Santo Niño de Atocha*, ‘Holy Child of Atocha’. The *Santo Niño de Atocha* is a popular Christchild figure in Spain, Mexico and New Mexico. In example (59) there is a biblical saying *En el nombre del Padre, del Hijo y del Espíritu Santo* which means ‘In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit’. *Ave María Purísima* in example (60) means ‘Hail Purest Mary’.

Terms related to nature were also often switched. They were names of plants, animals and formations of nature. Numbers (61), (62) and (63) exemplify these:

- (61) He’d be up a little after dawn and after feeding his *gatitos* [...] morning mass with Padre Yermo would put him back on schedule again. (*Agua Bendita (Holy Water)* 221)
- (62) Then, a nocturnal blossom of the tall *saguaro*. (*Esmeralda* 230)
- (63) There was this *cañón* next to ours called Warrior Canyon [...] (*Rosario Magdaleno* 26)

*Gatitos* in example (61) are ‘kittens’ and *saguaro* in example (62) is a type of cactus plant. *Cañón* in example (63) is, as the name suggests, ‘canyon’.

Many buildings and other constructions were also often named in Spanish. Examples (64), (65) and (66) show this:

- (64) Several of them stood over the *acequia* and watched the huge orange and white fish that filled the waters. (*The Ghost of John Wayne* 87)
- (65) “A beautiful jewel on display, one befitting the *Museo de Oro* [...] (Esmeralda 226)
- (66) Procopio has worked in the village *cantina* for many years; [...] (The Man Who Found a Pistol 280)

*Acequia* in example (64) is ‘an irrigation ditch’ used in the yards. *Museo de Oro*, in example (65) means ‘Museum of Gold’. In example (66), *cantina* is a type of pub.

Some artifacts, such as kitchen supplies, were used by their Spanish names. Consider examples (67) and (68):

- (67) She also does pesto and quiche with *molcajete* and *metate*. (*Subtitles* 170)
- (68) [...] after praying on his knees in front of his dresser – which was lit with *velas* [...] (*Agua Bendita (Holy Water)* 223)

In example (67), *molcajete* is ‘a mortar’ and *metate* is ‘a grindstone’. *Velas*, in example (68), are ‘candles’.

Next, there were also many clothes that were named in Spanish. For instance,

- (69) Beneath the *huipil*, sheer black stockings with seems. (*Subtitles* 168)
- (70) She stroked the thunderbird on the *sarape* that served as her door. (*The Last Rite* 313)

*Huipil*, in example (69), is a traditional piece of garment worn by Indian women in Mexico and Central America. In the data it was also found in plural,

*huipiles*, and written *huipilli*. *Sarape*, in example (70), is a woolen, colorful poncho used as a piece of garment or as a bedcover. These terms are both traditional and ethnic and that is why it is natural that they are in Spanish in the texts.

Some body parts and bodily functions were also called by their Spanish names. Consider examples (71) and (72):

(71) They don't have no one belching and scratching and making *pedos* [...] (Saints 44)

(72) Her face is as smooth as a baby's *nalgas*. (Saints 45)

*Pedos* in example (71) are 'farts' and *nalgas* in example (72) are 'buttocks'. As it is a common saying that "something is as smooth as a baby's buttocks/bottom", the reader can probably guess the meaning of the Spanish word in example (72).

Names of traditional businesses were also used in Spanish. For example,

(73) [...] down the avenue one block past the bright lights of the *sastrería* of Señor Guzman [...] (*Tepeyac* 53)

(74) [...] past La Providencia *tortillería* where every afternoon Luz María and I are sent for a basket of lunchtime tortillas [...] (*Tepeyac* 53)

*Sastrería* in example (73) means a 'tailor's shop' and *tortillería* in example (74) refers to a tortilla restaurant. These are also ethnically loaded vocabulary, and used in a natural way even in an otherwise English language context.

Words related to entertainment, such as television, films and music, were also switched in this data. Examples (75) and (76) show this:

(75) There's nothing on on the radio anymore, and around here, whether it's El Paso *tejano* or Juárez *ranchera*, pop from Mexico City, hard or soft American rock, it's all boring [...] (*The Death Mask of Pancho Villa* 13)

- (76) All she does is watch her favorite *telenovela*. (*The Marijuana Party* 152)

Example (75) demonstrates two genres of popular music, *tejano* and *ranchera*. *Tejano* means actually ‘Texan, from Texas’ and as the name suggests, the genre was born in Texas. The musical genre of the Tejanos of South Texas has been influenced strongly by the mother country, Mexico, but also by their Anglo American, African American and immigrant neighbors. The *tejano* style is varied and it can probably best be recognized by its lyrics: the story is typically about ‘common’ people, such as illegal immigrants, small-time drug dealers or corrupt public officials, to mention a few themes. *Ranchera* is another very popular Mexican music form. *Rancheras* are often romantic and passionate songs full of nostalgia and sorrow. Example (76) has to do with television: *telenovela* is a soap opera style program.

A small semantic group was also formed by terms related to vehicles. Examples (77) and (78) demonstrate these:

- (77) “*Los wipers*”, snorted Sapo [...] (*The Rosary* 61)
- (78) With a weary step from the *autobús*, Sinesio gathered the last of his strength [...] (*La Puerta* 250)

Example (77), *los wipers*, ‘the wipers’, is at the same time an example of an English word that is being used as a Spanish words. It is reasonable to expect the words ‘wipers’ to be pronounced as if it were Spanish, since it is preceded by the Spanish plural masculine definite article *los*. In example (78), the word *autobús* means ‘bus’.

Some of the switches in this data were related to a common theme in Chicano stories and in Chicano life in general, namely immigration to the United States. These terms included the following:

- (79) I write to you from this country of abundance, the first letter I write to you from *los Estados Unidos*. (*La Puerta* 251)

- (80) “I will leave for *el norte* in two weeks”, he said gruffly [...] (*La Puerta* 252)
- (81) [...] Susana helped Sybil sneak across *la frontera* [...] (*Sometimes You Dance With a Watermelon* 69)
- (82) “[...] I understand he called the *migra* and had Omar deported.” (*Esmeralda* 232)

In example (79) the writer refers to the United States by its name in Spanish, *los Estados Unidos*. *El norte* in example (80) means ‘the north’. It refers actually to the United States, which is located to the north from Mexico. *La frontera* in example (81) refers to the border between Mexico and the United States. It means ‘the border’. *Migra* in example (82) is the Hispanic popular name for the United States’ immigration office.

In this data there were a total of five switches that could not be categorized either semantically or pragmatically. Since all of these were insertions, they were grouped under semantic fields as ‘other’. These are listed in examples (83), (84), (85), (86) and (87):

- (83) “[...] We shake hands, then wrap arms around one another for a long-time-no-see *abrazo*.” (*The Death Mask of Pancho Villa* 15)
- (84) “It was time to describe sheer happiness, she said, ‘even *picardía*, our own or someone else’s’”. (*Esmeralda* 238)
- (85) “Miren, aquí está el *surprise*,” giggles Petra, drawing the curtains closer together. (*The Marijuana Party* 146)
- (86) He’d given up on being called Beto, the name Ray had dropped on him when they were kids, the nickname for Robert that made him feel like a Mex, his L.A. *apodo* that Dolores wouldn’t use. (*The Pink Rosary* 200)
- (87) “Verónica has experienced a great freight, *un gran susto*.” (*Esmeralda* 235)

In example (83), *abrazo* means ‘hug’. *Picardía*, in example (84), means ‘slyness’. Example (85) is another case where it is possible that the English

word were used as a Spanish word. However, in this case the more probable explanation is that it is simply a common English word that is used as a code-switch. This conclusion can be drawn from the fact that *surprise* in Spanish is ‘sorpresa’ and the two words are so alike that by choosing the English one the writer probably intends it to be considered English. This was also the only switch from Spanish to English that was found in this data. *Apodo*, in example (86), means ‘nickname’ and *un gran susto* in example (87) is a reiteration of ‘a great freight’.

As it can be seen, most of the switches that were considered semantically were ethnically loaded terms or terms that were in tight relation with the typical Chicano literature themes. Ethnically loaded terms were especially culinary terms, clothes and terms related to entertainment. These clearly tell the reader something about Chicano culture and perhaps raise the reader’s interest towards it.

Terms that were present because of their relation to the themes of the stories were terms for people, titles, terms related to religion and spiritual life and migration to the United States. First, terms for people and titles tell the reader that the characters are Spanish-speaking Chicanos. Second, religious terminology is important because the Catholic religion with all its rituals is very important in the lives of Chicanos. Third, terms that are connected to migration to the United States also tell the reader that it is an important part of the Chicano experience in the United States. It does not make a difference whether the person has lived all his/her life in the United States, he/she is still considered an immigrant, often with unequal rights.

### 7.3.2 Pragmatic features of the switches

In the case of 220 switches (38.5 per cent of all the switches) it was the pragmatic position of the switch that made it relevant for the text. Some of the categories used for pragmatic grouping were different types of speech act. Speech acts describe the pragmatic force of utterances. The other pragmatic groups describe the pragmatic meaning of elements that are mostly found

inside utterances. As stated earlier, most of the switches in this data were characters' utterances or parts of their utterances. Table 4 shows the pragmatic groups and speech acts found in this data:

Table 4. Pragmatic groups and speech acts.

1. PRAGMATIC GROUPS (TOTAL)	119
A. FRIENDLY/FAMILIAR ADDRESS TERMS	46 (8.2%)
B. UNFRIENDLY/HARSH ADDRESS TERMS	18 (3.1%)
C. INTERJECTIONS/EXCLAMATIONS	25 (4.4%)
D. PARENTHESIS/SIDE-COMMENTS	18 (3.1%)
E. STANZAS (POETRY AND MUSIC)	12 (2.1%)
2. SPEECH ACTS (TOTAL)	101
A. REPRESENTATIVES	50 (8.8%)
B. DIRECTIVES	41 (7.1%)
C. COMMISSIVES	7 (1.2%)
D. EXPRESSIVES	3 (0.5%)
TOTAL:	220 (38.5%)

Terms of address together form the largest pragmatic group in this data. They include mostly expressions that are used for different people, mainly family members. In Rudin's data Spanish terms referring to family members and relatives belonged to one of the most widely represented semantic fields (Rudin 1996:155). He also points out that the Mexican American family was present in all the novels he studied (1996:155). This can be said about the stories studied here as well. It also explains their abundant occurrence.

The following examples show polite and friendly address terms:

- (88) “*Mi ja*”, she said, “when I die, I want you to fix my hair and make-up... (*Cardinal Red* 269)



(89) “*Mamá*, don’t talk like that.” (*Cardinal Red* 269)

(90) ”Man, it sure is hot! I sure could use a nice cup of coffee, *comadre*. And how’s your better half?” (*The Marijuana Party*, 149)

In example (88), a mother is addressing her daughter by saying *mi’ja*, ‘my daughter’. *Mi’ja* is actually a compound word of the words *mi*, ‘my’, and *hija*, ‘daughter’. In the data there were also instances where this switch was written *m’ija* or *mija*. In example (89) the character responds to her mother *mamá*, ‘Mom’. What makes this word Spanish is the accent mark over the last ‘a’. The address term *comadre* in example (90) is interesting. The term is used to address a female friend, but it has originally been used between the mother and the godmother of a child. It is also a compound word: the prefix *co-* means ‘together’ and the word *madre* means ‘mother’.

Impolite terms of address are mostly abusive names used to insult people. In Rudin’s terms this would be part of the category of *high impact terms*. For example, in *The Rosary*, two men are in a car following another car. One of them says:

(91) ”Step on it, *pendejo*! I’m throwing the book...” (*The Rosary* 64)

*Pendejo* is the equivalent of the English insult ‘asshole’. However, in this particular instance the character probably does not mean to insult the listener, but is using the word *pendejo* as a kind of interjection. Another example of an insult is a whole utterance spoken by a male character:

(92) A man’s voice, then the tumbling of a body, like a sack of potatoes, down a flight of stairs. “*Pinchi cabron, hijo de la...*” (*Sometimes You Dance with a Watermelon* 67)

In example (92) the character is actually insulting a woman who pushed him down the stairs by saying something like ‘Damn brat, son of a...’. In Rudin’s data Spanish swearwords were also one of the most frequently switched pragmatic groups (Rudin 1996:155).

Interjections were also often switched. In this data interjections were not necessarily meaningless words, but a word or a syntactic construction was considered an interjection if it served as one. Consider examples (93) and (94):

(93) “[...] ¡*Carajo!*” one of them kept repeating [...] (*La Puerta* 253)

(94) “¡*Por Dios Santo!*” and he swore and kissed his crossed thumb and forefinger. (*La Puerta* 254)

¡*Carajo!* in example (93) is actually a noun and it is a vulgar name for the male sex organ. But here it is used as an interjection and its English equivalent is ‘damn’ or ‘shit’. ¡*Por Dios Santo!* in example (94) is syntactically a prepositional phrase that means ‘for Holy God’, but here it is used as an interjection meaning something like ‘oh my God’.

Examples (95) and (96) are good examples of very frequent Mexican Spanish interjections:

(95) He bent over, mumbling, “*Hijole*”. By then the first creep had pushed Verónica into the car. (*Esmeralda* 234)

(96) She stares into the oval mirror, runs a finger around her brown eyes, and opens wide her mouth. ¡*Éjole!* I look like shit! (*The Marijuana Party* 143)

Both *hijole* in example (95) and *éjole* in example (96) are interjections used to express surprise.

In this data in two stories Spanish language had been used for parenthesis or side comments. There were a total of 10 instances: Examples (97) and (98) show these:

(97) [...] who would never allow their daughters (¡*Ni lo mande Dios!*) to marry Black. (*Saints* 40)

(98) [...] up the twenty-two steps we count out loud together – *uno, dos, tres* – to the supper [...] (*Tepeyac* 53)

In example (97) the Spanish side-remark is actually written inside parenthesis. *¡Ni lo mande Dios!* means ‘I certainly hope so!’. In example (98) the counting of the stairs, *uno, dos, tres*, ‘one, two, three’, is done in Spanish and it is occurring in the background, while the story itself goes on. Parenthesis and side-comments were studied by Rudin (1990) under the discourse functions of code-switching and they will be discussed further in the next chapter.

There were many instances where a Spanish-language song or poem had been cited in the texts. This group is different from the other groups in that the stanzas cited are not parts of characters’ natural speech, but they have their own form. However, they are important in this data in creating the Chicano atmosphere. They reflect the Mexican cultural heritage that lies beneath the Chicano culture. Examples (99) and (100) demonstrate these:

(99) “*Besame, besame muchooo!*” No he couldn’t get to the blinkers right now. “*Besame muchoooo... fifteen minutes.*” (*The Rosary* 61)

(100) [...] he shut his eyes and started praying the rosary [...]: “*Dios te salve, María, - llena eres de gracia, - el Señor es contigo, - bendita tu eres entre todas las mujeres...*” (*Agua Bendita (Holy Water)* 221)

In example (99) a character is singing a popular song while he is working. In example (100) a character is praying to the Virgin Mary: ‘May God save you, Mary, - you are full of grace, - the Lord is with you, - blessed are you among all the women...’.

There were also switches that could be considered as different types of speech acts. In this data the speech act groups were representatives, expressives, commissives and directives. The occurrence of different speech acts were present in the data further underlines the fact that most of the switches were reported speech and as such can be said to reflect actual Chicano speech.

Representatives are speech acts that commit the speaker to the truth of what he/she is saying. They can be for example assertions or conclusions. Consider examples (101) and (102):

- (101) “[...] You’re not going to believe me, *pero anoche me pasé la noche entera con el Foco prendido.*” (*Esmeralda* 239)
- (102) “*Soy Mando,*” he said, and looked straight at Joel [...] (*Insidious Disease* 77)

In example (101), the character is telling the other person that ‘but last night I spent the entire night with the light on’. In example (102) the character is introducing himself by saying ‘I’m Mando’.

Expressives express a psychological state. They can be for example thanking and apologizing. Examples (103) and (104) show these:

- (103) “[...] *Lo siento, Verónica.* We should have [...] (*Esmeralda* 229)
- (104) I [...] heard myself saying “*Gracias, Señora Mendoza.*” (*Days of Invasion* 109)

In example (103), the character is apologizing, saying ‘I’m sorry, Verónica.’ In example (104), the character is saying ‘Thank you, Mrs. Mendoza’.

Directives are speech acts by which the speaker attempts to get the addressee to do something. These can be requests, invitations, greetings or questions. Look at examples (105), (106), (107) and (108):

- (105) “*¡Entren!*” she said loudly. (*Mrs. Vargas and the Dead Naturalist* 293)
- (106) Greeting Apolonio, “*Buenos días, señor,*” Eva left in a rush. (*Agua Bendita (Holy Water)* 225)
- (107) “*Eva, hija, ayúdame.*” (*Agua Bendita (Holy Water)* 222)
- (108) *¿Dónde está el boleto de lotería?* (*La Puerta* 254)

In example (105), the character is inviting the person knocking on the door to ‘come in’. In example (106), Eva greets Apolonio by saying ‘Good afternoon,

Sir'. In example (107) there is a request: 'Eva, daughter, help me'. The question in example (108) means 'Where is the lottery ticket?'

The consideration of the pragmatic features of the switches contributes greatly to the understanding of the function of code-switching in the stories. Since most of the switches considered pragmatically were characters' utterances or parts of their utterances, it is clear that the writers have tried to show the reader of the stories that not only the characters are Spanish-speaking Chicanos. This was done either by writing the whole utterance of a character in Spanish or writing part of it in Spanish. Writing the whole utterance in Spanish causes problem to a monolingual reader, since he/she is not able to understand it. This is why writing a part of it in Spanish is a useful technique. But not just any part. For example, only an address term or an interjection in Spanish can be used to tell the reader that the utterance is spoken in Spanish or that at least the character is thinking in Spanish.

#### 7.4 Discourse functions of code-switching

Even though all the switches have been covered either semantically or pragmatically, to get an even more precise view of the functions of the switches in this data, they were studied also from the point of view of discourse. Auer (1995) has talked about the discourse functions of code-switching, that is, for what purposes code-switching is used in a discourse. Many of the features that Auer has found about code-switching in conversation were also present in this data. These were *reported speech*, *parenthesis or side-comments* and *reiterations*.

##### 7.4.1 Reported speech

First, code-switching as a signal for setting off of reported speech was what code-switching was mostly used for in this data. This was also Auer said about code-switching in conversation (1995:119). Of the 574 switches that this data consists of, 318 (55.4 per cent) were instances of reported speech. In addition

to that, 135 switches (23.5 per cent) were found in stories with a first-person narrator. In literature the narration of a first-person narrator is very similar to reported speech. As a consequence, it can be said that in this data 453 switches were in fact instances of reported speech. That is 75.3 per cent of all the switches in the data. Although there have already been many examples of switched reported speech when discussing other features of the switches, a few examples are still presented here:

- (109) “*Que bufanda tan linda,*” she’d say to Pera when she wore it. (*Cardinal Red* 274)  
 (110) “And I was planning to give you a bag of peaches, *Señora.*” (*The Blackbird* 158)

In example (109) there is a whole utterance that is spoken in Spanish. The character says ‘What a beautiful scarf’. In example (110) there is a Spanish-language address term inserted in the otherwise English utterance. These types of switches indicate to the reader that the speakers and listeners are Spanish-speaking and that in a Chicano community it is normal to speak Spanish or switch between the two languages.

#### 7.4.2 Reiterations

Reiterations were also one of the conversational tasks that Auer said code-switching is used for (1995:119). Reiterations were also discussed by Rudin in his study on bilingual Chicano literature (1996: 124-151). Reiterations form an interesting group. They are switches that are translated into the first language either before or after the actual switch. They are not necessarily directly translated, but their meaning can also be explained. It can also be that somewhere near the switch the same thing is mentioned in the first language, but it does not necessarily become clear that it is a translation.

In this data there were a total of 40 reiterations. That is 7.0 per cent of all the switches. In 25 cases the Spanish switch came before the English translation. That leaves 15 cases where the English version was mentioned before the

switch in Spanish. The reiterations were grouped according to Rudin's division of different methods: literal translations, non-literal translations and contextual translations. The percentages in Table 5 refer to the group's share of all the switches:

Table 5. Reiterations.

1.	Literal translations:	26	(4.5 %)
2.	Non-literal translations:	6	(1.0 %)
3.	Contextual translations:	8	(1.4%)

23 of the literal translations were direct translations, where the translation followed right after the original item. This was the largest reiteration group in this data, as it was in Rudin's data as well (Rudin 1996:124). Examples (111) and (112) illustrate literal translation:

(111) Most of the landscapers were from the other side, *el otro lado*, and they worked for four dollars an hour. (*La Luz* 178)

(112) "One year, no more. Save enough money, buy thing to sell here and open up a *negocio*, a small business the family can help with." (*La Puerta* 252)

In example (111) the translation is actually from English to Spanish: 'the other side', *el otro lado*. In example (112) the translation comes after the switch: a *negocio*, 'a small business'. By including these types of translations either from English to Spanish or vice versa the writer indicates to the reader that the character of the story probably might use the equivalent Spanish language terms instead of the English one. This is also a way of showing that the characters and surroundings are Spanish-speaking.

On three occasions the literal translation followed a few sentences later. This was noticed by Rudin as well (1996:127,128). Look at examples (113) and (114):

- (113) He snickered and said, "*Aquella es malvada.*"  
 "How bad can she be?" I asked everyone, anyone.  
 "She ain't bad," Efren said, starting his rig. He revved the  
 engine. "She's evil," he said, smiling. (*La Luz* 189)
- (114) "Why?" I yelled at the husband. "*¿Por qué?*" (*The Pink  
 Rosary* 189)

In example (113) the translation of *Aquella es malvada* comes many lines and sentences later. It means 'she's evil'. Example (114) illustrates an instance where the character's utterance is translated, but only after mentioning who is doing the talking. There is no indication that a translation is about to follow. A monolingual reader might not understand that it is a translation.

On three occasions there was an indication that what followed was a translation. This happened in Rudin's data as well (1996:131). Examples (115), (116) and (117) demonstrate this:

- (115) "His name was Omar," she began. I looked at her eyes filled with tears once again. "*Se llamaba Omar*", she repeated [...]. (*Esmeralda* 230)
- (116) Why did the man find the pistol? Was it his destiny, his *destino* as we say in Spanish. (*The Man Who Found A Pistol* 284)
- (117) "[...]They don't have no one belching and scratching and making *pedos*, you know, farts [...]" (*Saints* 44)

In example (115) it is mentioned that the character is repeating what she said earlier, she is just doing it in another language. In example (116) it is stated that *destino* is what Spanish-speaking people call 'destiny'. In example (117) the translation is preceded by an explaining comment, 'you know'. In this case the explanation is meant for the listener in the story. In the passage a grandmother is addressing her granddaughter. The grandmother is probably teaching a word in Spanish for her granddaughter, who may be losing her ability to speak Spanish fluently, or who may not speak Spanish nearly at all. It can be said that with these examples the writer is telling the reader that the characters are code-switching.



All the non-literal translations found in this data were in Rudin's (1996) terms *paraphrases*. There were no explanations or summaries. This was because none of the longer Spanish language entries had been translated in the texts. Examples (118), (119) and (120) demonstrate paraphrases:

(118) [...] I'll smoke pot for my birthday, that's what! I'll get high! *Me voy a hacer una marijuana.* (*The Marijuana Party* 142)

(119) ” [...]Go in there and perk her up a bit. *Animala.*” (*Esmeralda* 236)

(120) “*Toma, Tottie.* Have some Colombian gold!” (*The Marijuana Party* 148)

In example (118) the translation of ‘I’ll smoke pot’ that follows a little later is *me voy a hacer una marijuana*. It is not a direct translation, *me voy a hacer una marijuana* means actually ‘I’m going to roll a joint for myself’. The same goes for examples (119) and (120). *Animala* in example (119) means the same as ‘perk her up’, but since it is not made totally clear that it is a translation, and the English version is longer, it cannot be considered a literal translation. In example (120) *toma* does mean ‘have some’, but the English version of the offer is considerably longer and more detailed. In Rudin's data there were also instances of translation by paraphrase where the translation had been made explicit the same way as literal translation (1996:134). There were no cases of this type in this data.

Examples (121) and (122) illustrate contextual translations. The items are not translated directly, but they are explained in the surrounding sentences:

(121) He'd given up on being called Beto, the name Ray had dropped on him when they were kids, the nickname for Robert that made him feel like a Mex, his L.A. *apodo* that Dolores wouldn't use. (*The Pink Rosary* 200)

(122) I remembered the last time we'd had a party Efen had cooked *chivo*. He'd buried the entire goat in the ground [...] (*La Luz* 183)

*Apodo* in example (121) means ‘nickname’. As it can be seen, the word ‘nickname’ is mentioned earlier in the passage, and later the Spanish equivalent *apodo* is used. But it is not necessarily clear that it is a translation. This can be, however, deduced from the context. First, it is mentioned that the nickname made the character feel like a Mexican, then in the following sentence the same nickname is referred to as “his L.A. *apodo*”. The same goes for *chivo* in example (122). It means ‘goat’, and in fact the word goat is used in the following sentence to refer to the food that the character had cooked.

Most switches in this data were left with no translation at all. That is, 93.0 per cent of the switches had not been translated. This is possibly a sign of the intended target audience. But for the monolingual reader this is of course a hindrance, who cannot understand the words without a dictionary. However, a reader who takes the effort to try and find out the meaning of the switched items might learn something extra when reading the stories.

#### 7.4.3 Parenthesis and side-comments

Parenthesis and side-comments were also one of the pragmatic groups in this study. The reason for that was that the relevance of some of the switches was precisely in that they were used as parenthesis or side-comments. In this data this had been done in two stories. There were a total of 10 instances: Examples (123) and (124) show these:

(123) [...] who would never allow their daughters (*¡Ni lo mande Dios!*) to marry Black. (*Saints* 40)

(124) [...] up the twenty-two steps we count out loud together – *uno, dos, tres* – to the supper [...] (*Tepeyac* 53)

In example (123) the character is telling a story, and she is commenting on her own story by saying *¡Ni lo mande Dios!*, ‘I certainly hope so!’ In this example the side-comment has actually been written in parenthesis. In example (124), the character is describing how she climbs up the stairs, and in the background the reader can hear her counting the steps in Spanish: ‘one, two, three’.

These are interesting examples, because even though the actual texts are written in English, the reader can imagine that the character is actually a Spanish-speaking person.

## 8 DISCUSSION

This study was dedicated to English/Spanish code-switching in Chicano short fiction. It has to be noted that this study was carried out by, and likely to be read by, an outsider, by a European, non-native English and Spanish speaker. This is why in addition to features of bilingual language use an extensive section on Chicano history, literature and language use was included as background information. These sections together set the basis for understanding Chicano literature and the functions of code-switching in it.

In this study syntactic, semantic and pragmatic aspects of English/Spanish code-switching in Chicano short fiction as well as the discourse functions of code-switching in literature were studied. Thus a multi-level analysis was carried out. With the help of these different levels of analysis, it was possible to discuss the meanings and functions of code-switching in literature.

On the first level the switched items were examined grammatically. The switches were grouped into two different code-switching categories, insertions and alternations. This was done in order to find out how many of the code-switched items actually had to conform to the rules of both English and Spanish. It was found out that code-switching in the short stories studied here is somewhat different from code-switching in conversation. For example in Poplack's data (1979/2000) of Spanish/English code-switching in conversation, concluding the findings of other studies, whole sentences were the most frequently switched items. As a whole, in her data larger constituents were switched more often than smaller ones. In the short stories here, single nouns formed by far the largest syntactic group, although there were a significant

number of larger constituent switches as well. Even though code-switching in the stories appears to reflect the speech patterns of the Chicanos, the structure of the code-switching discourse is not similar to code-switching in speech. Most importantly, since the stories, as published literature always, are meant for as many people as possible to read, the second language elements have to be used in a different manner. The intended audience is not restricted, as it is when addressing a listener or listeners. In order for the stories to be read by people who do not speak Spanish or have limited abilities in Spanish, the switched elements cannot take up too much of the text. If a reader misses a word or two, not being able to understand their exact meaning, it does not hinder understanding the story as a whole. But if larger constituents and whole clauses and sentences are switched frequently, it can lead to frustration on the reader's part. However, in these stories the inclusion of Spanish language elements had been done in a successful manner.

As part of the grammatical analysis, code-mixing and interference were also studied. In this data there were a few code-mixed words, all of which functioned well in the texts. On a few occasions, interference of the English language could be seen. There were some spelling mistakes, and some punctuation marks that are specific for the Spanish language were missing.

On the semantic level, it can be concluded that the ethnic vocabulary used in the texts gives the discourse a sense of ethnicity. It becomes very clear to the reader that the characters are Hispanics and that their way of life is special, different from that of an Anglo-American or an African-American. Semantically the switches are tied to the reoccurring themes present in most of the stories: the Chicano family life, migration to the United States, Mexican food, Catholic religion, language and language use, Chicano entertainment and cultural artifacts. These reflect the fact that as immigrant groups normally do, Chicanos try to maintain their own cultural heritage from Mexico. They are still very much interested in Mexico, even though it might have been their dream to be or become an American. To indicate this for the reader, the Spanish language is used in the stories.

The same goes for the pragmatic groups as well. Address terms, interjections, parenthesis and side-comments and stanzas from poetry and songs had all been used in such a way that shows the reader that the characters and surroundings in the stories are Mexican-American. However, the speech act groups can be interpreted differently. Those switches in the speech act groups that are characters' whole utterances could be spoken as such by a monolingual or a bilingual Spanish-speaker. In addition, some of the switches in the speech act groups were larger constructions inside characters' utterances. They reflect more clearly the actual speech patterns of bilingual Chicanos.

What comes to the discourse functions of the switches in this data, they were used in much a similar way as Auer (1995) points out about code-switching in conversation. The setting off of reported speech was the most important discourse function of code-switching in the stories. In addition to that, many of the switches were found as parts of characters' speech acts.

It was found out that what has been confirmed by many studies done on conversational code-switching is valid for literary code-switching as well: code-switching is a verbal skill, rather than a deficiency. None of the combinations found in the corpus of this study was ungrammatical. Instead, the code-switched items in Spanish were smoothly entered into the English-language texts. It can be said that having the two codes at use is richness for the writers. In the stories the Spanish language elements added, even if not numerous in all of them, have a clear function. They indicate to the reader that the characters, the language, the lifestyle depicted, the environment and the spirit all are Mexican-American. They are not totally Mexican or Anglo-American but something in between. They are Chicano.

However, there is still much ground for further study. A larger corpus could be studied using a similar approach. There exists also the need for more reference studies in this particular language pair. For example, even though Poplack's study (1979/2000) is one of most quoted studies in this field, more studies on the syntactic features of code-switching between English and Spanish in conversation would be useful for syntactic comparison between conversational

and literary code-switching. In addition, the studies on literary code-switching quoted here had all been done using only qualitative methods, that is, explaining certain points of discourse pragmatically or semantically, but there was no indication of quantities of different types. In this study the quantitative part played an important role, even though the results of the quantitative section were explained qualitatively. If there exist such studies in which pragmatic and semantic features are studied quantitatively also, they would act as excellent comparison material for this type of study.

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