

HUMANITAS

ANUARIO DEL CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS HUMANÍSTICOS

21



UNIVERSIDAD AUTÓNOMA DE NUEVO LEÓN

1980

Es la escasez de tiempo
en una gran ciudad
para escribir poemas
y decir que te quiero en cuatro idiomas y dos manos
por lo menos las tardes de los sábados
o siquiera el domingo como cuando
conjeábamos caricias en el cine
apenas escuchando las películas

5

A la mejor
de veras
no es vejez ni tristeza
Es tan sólo el cansancio
Un gusto de apiadarse de uno mismo como cuando
te sorprendes y te enterneces porque
te sale un gesto como el de Cyrano
lanzando el monedero sobre el foro
(En tiempos de inflación y desempleo
si no te vas a la guerrilla acabas
como esta noche redactando tangos)
A la mejor es puro cuento todo
lo del pavor inmenso
y es tan sólo pequeño
Vámonos a dormir
estoy cansado.

"SOME CONSTRAINTS ON ENGLISH-SPANISH CODE-SWITCHING"

BY DORIS L. HENDERSON
University of Texas at Austin.

WHAT IS CODE-SWITCHING? Tsuzaki describes code-switching as "the alternate use of two languages—or the introduction of a completely unassimilated word from one language into another."¹ This practice then is that of the bilingual. True bilingualism, as defined by Roger Thompson, is "the ability to alternate between two or more speech varieties."²

Bilingualism, it itself, offers so many possibilities for investigation that one must restrict oneself to specific areas of study. Comparatively little research has been done on language switching (code-switching), and it seemed feasible to investigate further this neglected area of linguistics. However, a detailed study would require much more time and, perhaps, a team effort of several investigators doing the field work. As a class project, the gathering of data for such a study could be divided into three main areas of investigation; lexical, syntactical and phonological. The work of the first phase of investigation would be to analyze the structural of elements and that of the second phase an analysis of its sociostructural features, such as area, situation, ages and sex of speakers.

The purpose of this limited study has been two-fold:

1. To determine some of the syntactical constraints of code-switching in the speech habits of bilinguals.

¹ TSUZAKI, Stanley M., "English Influences on Mexican Spanish in Detroit," Mouton, the Hague Press, 1970.

² THOMPSON, Roger, "Language Loyalty in Austin, Texas." A study of a bilingual neighborhood, *Dissertation*, The University of Texas, 1971.

2. To show that code-switching is not necessarily restricted to certain social classes, namely, the lower socio-economic or uneducated.

The first part of the investigation concerns those syntactical features represented by the data (See charts pp. 26-34). The second and more heavily emphasized, deals with the area of socio-linguistics, as to the "who", "when", and "why" of code-switching. The study concludes that the matter of code-switching involves not only bilingualism, but also biculturalism. In other words, cultural traits, as well as linguistic elements are apparent.

Most of the field work done in previous studies on English-Spanish code-switching has been limited to studying the speech of children up to high-school level and members of a lower socio-economic class. This study, on the other hand, includes college level students, teachers whose native language in Spanish, and others of varied professions who would not be considered members of a lower-economic group. The data used herein also includes literary examples of code-switching, as representative of a particular style.

Perhaps the most authentic data concerning adult level code-switching was gathered through recorded telephone conversations. The investigator (sender) called two bilingual friends (teachers) purposely speaking in one language (code), in this case, Spanish. The participant (receiver) was able to speak freely. On both of these occasions receivers consistently code-switched. One did not seem aware of the investigator's speech pattern, while the other asked why the investigator spoke only Spanish.

In two other telephone conversations the investigator code-switched naturally. Even more code-switching was apparent in these cases, and the tone was friendlier, as more topics were discussed in a natural and informal style. The investigator, in fact, forgot she was investigating.

These conversations would not be defined as interviews. They were purposely kept informal, as questions about language itself would have evoked more careful speech. In some instances no code-switching took place, such as the conversation where code-switching was criticized as being "inferior" and the language of the "uneducated." This same bilingual teacher, who had code-switched on various occasions with friends, denied it when confronted with the question directly. However, on a later date she code-switched quite naturally, when language, correct speech, code-switching, etc. were not the topics: (telephone conversation)

"Oh, I was going to call you about that, PERO, I wanted to call the principle at Govalle first."

(On the way to class) "Oh, *y ese Daniel tan chulito con su lonchecito*; I jus love him."

The investigator purposely did not code-switch, so as not to influence the speaker, who did it so many times that the investigator lost count. This case suggests that the speaker is not aware of her code-switching, even though she frequently does it. In all other cases bilinguals freely admitted their code-switching and viewed it as an informal speech style used with other bilingual friends at certain times.

At the high school level, the investigator employed the use of students to gather data as they spoke; freely to their friends at school, home, on the bus, at parties, etc. These field workers were told the purpose of the study so that they would feel a part of the project.

Another form of data gathered at the high school level involved the use of a series of sentences in which the variables were all English, all Spanish or mixed. A class of thirteen Spanish native speakers was asked to check which ones were likely to be heard. (See charts pp. 26-34.)

WHO CODE-SWITCHES? As is shown in the data chart, bilinguals speaking with other bilinguals sharing the same languages tend to merge both languages, whether it is done consciously or unconsciously, partially or imperfectly. Code-switching is not limited to any social, age or economic group.

Posaura Sánchez claims that a uniform language in the Mexican-American community or "pueblo" does not exist. Children whose parents are immigrants speak Spanish. Second generation children in the United States speak a mixture of English and Spanish. Roger Thompson observed that the majority of parents of the second generation had stopped teaching their children Spanish. However, they were still learning to speak it, at least partially, from neighbors and other Spanish speakers.

The Mexican-American is bilingual because he possesses two linguistic systems—English and Spanish—which he uses alternately and many times mixes.

Roger Thompson maintains that "every adult is bilingual since everyone has at least two styles: formal and intimate. This broad definition of bilingualism allows us to make the social linguistic generalization that the phenomena are the same whether a speaker is using two languages, two dialects or two styles."³ According to Fishman, the term, "diglossia," refers to distinct varieties or

³ See footnote 2.

styles within the same language. For example, in Arab countries there is a written language that is used in government, religion, and literature; the other style is the popular dialect. It is interesting to examine when, where and with whom each variety is considered appropriate. Fishman claims that these norms are defined and enforced by the society rather than by the individual. Some norms are learned at home, others in the neighborhood, at school, on the bus, etc.

Priests and ministers who come from Spain, Mexico, or South America would naturally speak Spanish to their congregations. However, a priest or minister raised in the United States, a Mexican-American, would tend to speak the language of his congregation, even if it called for code-switching: (Austin, Tex.) "So, así es que, tenemos que..." (Benavides, Tex.) "Los six graders son los peores pecadores." Modern ministers and priests want to communicate whether it is in a U. S. barrio or in Mexico City. Therefore, a facility in code-switching would seem a necessity for a priest or minister working in a Mexican-American community.

Rosaura Sanchez has a special way of explaining the use of both J. Gumperz and Eduardo Hernandez Chavez have found that such language constraints are social and defined by the ethnic identity of the participants, by the topic being discussed, and by the informality of the situation. They further say that every dialect has its phonological, syntactical and semantic constraints whether spoken or written.

Rosaura Sanchez urges Mexican-Americans to recognize the validity of their dialect, and, in addition, to learn others for their own convenience. She points out that most Mexican-Americans codeswitch consciously and will admit it when asked. "Pos, hablamos revuelto inglés y español." The response to the same question asked to many bilingual Spanish teachers was. "Of course we do it, but it depends on the situation." Code-switching definitely seems to be a special style used in informal situations.

Several students at the University of Texas claim that their Spanish teachers code-switch when relating personal experiences. Dr. Fred Hensey, Professor of Linguistics at the University of Texas, states that this is a common practice among bilingual teachers. He further states that those who frown upon code-switching and claim they do not practice it, have an identity problem. Perhaps, this denial is due to the fact that Spanish in the United States has traditionally been associated with low socio-economic status, illiteracy, and ignorance. Howe-

⁴ SANCHEZ, Rosaura, "Nuestra circunstancia lingüística," *El Grito*, Quinto Sol Publications, Berkley, California, 1972.

ver, with more Spanish speakers entering the professions and otherwise achieving higher prestige in our society, this stereotype is changing.

Hayden found that bilingualism in San Antonio, Texas, is stable. This is natural, since San Antonio is the historic center of hispanic culture in Texas. He further states: "If we were to linguistically analyse the speech varieties used in various topics, domain roles, etc., we would find a spectrum with considerable mixing of the two languages at some points."⁵ He warns that one must not be too much of a purist in determining which language is being used in various domains, since this is the popular style in this area.

Roger Thompson's chart on "Frequency Rating for Spanish Usage," considering the variables of generation, indicates that Spanish is not being rejected, and that a stable relationship between English and Spanish has developed for "intra-ethnic communication." His study concludes that: "There are no significant differences between generations for the use of half or only Spanish with friends and neighbors. There is a strong tendency for those born in Austin to use half Spanish."⁶ This practice is logical, since Austinites receive their educational training in English rather than in Spanish. It will be interesting to investigate what happens with the younger generation which is receiving instruction in both Spanish and English in the bilingual schools. This analysis indicates that Spanish-English code-switching will, more than likely, exist in Austin for many years to come, probably indefinitely.

The study on contrastive linguistics in Puerto Rico by Nash and Rose showed considerable English influence in newspapers, finding such influence especially prevalent in the following sections: sports, commercial ads, entertainment, industry, commerce and social events. The results of their study proved that the English vocabulary found in Spanish newspapers is also found in the spoken language of adolescents, regardless of social status. Reasons given for preference of an English or Spanish word were: for personal needs, quicker to say, non-existence of Spanish or English equivalent, or the chosen word better described the immediate situation. Members of the lower socio-economic class showed less awareness of code-switching than members of the upper class.

Labov claims that there are no single-style speakers. Some informants show a much wider range of style shifting than others, but every speaker shows a shift of some linguistic variable as the social context and topic change. As

⁵ FISHMAN, Joshua A., *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, Article by Hayden, 1966, Paris: Mouton, 1970.

⁶ See footnote 2.

Halliday explains: "Each speaker has a range of varieties and chooses between them at different times."⁷

One of the best literary examples of variety in style and code switching can be seen in *Canto y grito mi liberación* by Ricardo Sánchez. In this case, the author uses code-switching for literary effect.

(All Spanish):

--"horizonte paseño,
duelo de juventud,
calles corridas
hambrientamente,
mi alma un peñasco
mi vida un poema"

--"hijita linda,

...
siento orgullo
en el pecho
miro tu rostro
y sé, vida mía,
que embelleces mi existir."

Recuerdo...

--"recuerdo un viejo fuerte,
con hombros anchos, alma llena,
y palabras que iluminaban mi vida

y tal hombre era
padre mío,
fuerte y cariñoso

(All English):

--Tap, tap, tap...
again do your heels tap;
their resonance
echoing,
reverberating

⁷ HALLIDAY, M. A. D., "The users and uses of language," *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, edited by Fishman, Mouton: Paris, 1970.

from wall to wall,
mockingly manifesting
your inner savagery...

--"amid crescendoes or conviviality,
betwixt softness and strains of peace,
inaugurable tintinnabulations lilt out
muted love calls from my famine/weak
esprit...

"tonight soft sounds shall emanate
and flood my thought world,
again i shall behold you
in the furtiveness of hope...

(Mixed):

--"and

I question

self-motives

and

mi alma weeps out
its paradox;

--"madre, todo

is too much, and my soul
boil its juices and
i shout

¡YA BASTA! to uncomprehending fools

and hope

that it is not too late...

--"the sounds of a furious past

assail mind/soul,
ritmos y gritos

tun-tun-pa

ca-tum-ba

tun-tun-pa

canto y grito mi liberación
y lloro mis desmadrazgos,

carisma, carisma
tun-tunpa,
i am serpent, i am man
ca-tum-ba, ca-tum-ba
tun-tun-pa.⁸

This anonymous English-Spanish poem was found one Christmas in the Austin newspaper:

LA NOCHE BEFORE CHRISTMAS

*Twas the night before Christmas, and all through the casa,
Not a creature was stirring, Caramba, Qué pasa?*

*The work was all done and the tired old nanas
Had tucked all the children away in their camas.*

*The stockings were all hung in their places with cuidado
In hopes that Saint Nick would feel obligado.
When all of a sudden I heard such a grito,
I jumped to my feet like a frightened cabrito.*

*I ran to the window to look para afuera
and who in the world do you think that it era?*

*Saint Nick in a sleigh and a big red sombrero
Came flying along like a crazy bombero.*

*And pulling the sleigh instead of venados
Were eight little burros, approaching volados.
I watched as they came and this quaint little hombre
Was shouting and whistling and calling by nombre:*

*Ay, Pancho! Ay, Pepo! Ay, Cucal Ay, Beto!
Ay, Chato! Ay, Memo! Ay, Bruca ya Neto!*

⁸ SANCHEZ, Ricardo, *Canto y grito mi liberación*, Amber Press, Doubleday and Co., New York, 1973.

*Then standing erect with his hand on his pecho
He flew to the top of our very own techo.
With his round, little belly like a bowl of jalea.
He struggles to fit down our old chiminea,
Then huffing and puffing at last in our sala
He filled all the stockings with lovely regalos
For none of the children had been very malos.*

*Then chuckling aloud (he seemed muy contento)
He turned like a flash, and was gone like the viento.*

*But, I heard him exclaim, and this es verdad,
Salud y Pesetas FELIZ NAVIDAD.*

Most of the code-switching in this poem was done with nouns or adjectives occurring at the end of each line.

When/where is code-switching done? This question was discussed in part in the preceding section. As is shown in the data chart, code-switching takes place when two bilinguals sharing the same languages and cultures, are engaged in conversation. Situations inviting code-switching also seem to be informal ones, involving participants who know each other well. Code-switching then becomes a natural instinct, or reflex, which in turn, leads to mutual understanding, and, somehow, a warmer relationship.

There are certain situations where code-switching would not take place. These are related to the formality of the occasion and the group of participants. For example, no one would have code-switched during the conference on "Martin Fierro" that took place at the University of Texas. Imagine switching to English when discussing Don Quijote or the Literature of the Golden Age: Calderón Quevedo or Lope de Vega. A U. S. bilingual would not switch with a bilingual from Spain, South America or Mexico until a personal relationship had been established. Formal situations are not conducive to code-switching.

Many purists are of the opinion that code-switching is the beginning of language change. Their theory is that the first generation immigrants speak the native tongue; and that the second generation, when exposed to the "other" language, speaks the native language to parents, but the "other" language to peers groups, in school, etc. The third generation will speak only the "other" language. Not so! Code-switching does not fall under the realm of language change. If it did, bilingual speakers would not be able to control

it. It is a language style all its own and has coexisted with both standard and non-standard English and Spanish for generations. It is this investigator's opinion, and that of many other Spanish teachers, that it will continue to do so, because of our proximity to Mexico and, more importantly, because our Spanish-speaking population has assimilated two cultures.

Fishman, in collaboration with Cooper and Kniple, supported the belief "that language is not merely a medium but is in itself a source of meaning." Language switching among bilinguals evokes stereotypes. An experiment among Puerto Ricans who had a facility in language switching included making tapes that were played to other Puerto Ricans who, in turn, were asked whether English or Spanish would have been as effective in certain instances. They concluded that these bilinguals had "internalized norms of the two cultures."

Language, as defined by some linguists, is "an instrument used by the members of the community to communicate with one another." Herman believes that the function of language is organizing groups of ideas and that this process "takes a peculiar development in the case of each individual."¹⁰ A speaker may be using social and stylistic variations to say the same thing in a different way, but language has changes only when a group of speakers use a different pattern to communicate with each other. Erwin and Lipp say that: "A speaker in any language community who enters diverse situations normally has a repertoire of speech alternatives which shift with the situation."¹¹

It has already been mentioned that code-switching depends on whether the setting is informal or formal. Uriel Weinrich claims:

There is some reason to believe that a facility in switching languages even within a single sentence or phrase is characteristic of bilinguals. It remains to be determined empirically whether habitual switching of this type represents a transitional stage in the shift from regular uses of another. Of course, it is obvious that a shift does not necessarily have to pass through such a transitional stage. A switch in language may be a single morpheme, an accent or simply a change in word order.¹²

* KNIPLE, Janes, COOPER, Robert and FISHMAN, "Language switching and interference of Conversation," *Lingua*, 1969.

¹⁰ See footnote 5. Siman Herman, "Explorations in the Social Psychology of Language Choice."

¹¹ ERWIN-LIPP, Susan, "An analysis of The Interaction of Language, Topic, and Listener," *American Anthropologist*, 1964.

¹² WEINRICH, Uriel, *Languages in Contact*, Paris: Mouton, 1968.

Fishman states that "there has been too little realization that language and society reveal various kinds and degrees of co-variation."¹³ Within a given language, one may be concerned with regional varieties of a single code. These may be social class variations or stylistic variations related to levels of formality. It would, therefore, seem safe to conclude that code-switching is a type of social behavior.

The data provided in the charts pp. 26-34 is representative of conversations heard in various places, such as school, bus, home, office, meetings, workshops, parties, etc., by bilinguals whose native language is Spanish. In some cases, both languages were considered native, as speakers learned them both before age six.

It is interesting to note that the majority of speakers, when inserting English terms in a Spanish sentence, keep the phonological English pronunciation. This can be seen, for example, in sentences No. 6 and No. 15 on the charts, pp. 26-27 with the word "basketball", in No. 5 with "later" and No. 14 with "assembly."

When similar elements exist in either language, the transition appears to be easy. Quite frequently the system differs, such as in the following example given by Rosaura Sanchez: In English the preposition appears before the gerund, and not before the infinitive, as it does in Spanish. In a mixed sentence, if one of the two elements is English, the English rule would dominate. The compliment in the following sentences is a gerund:

- 1) I'm talking about conociéndonos.
- 2) Está hablando de understanding.
- 3) Estoy por lowering the standard.

But such changes would not be allowed, for example, with interrogatives:

- 1) How did he do it? *How lo hizo? ¿Cómo lo hizo?
- 2) When did he do it? *When lo hizo? ¿Cuándo lo hizo? ;

The reason perhaps is because Spanish puts the verb before the subject in questions.

Even though there are many examples given in the verb charts, there seem to be some constraints. (See pp. 26-34.)

¹³ See footnote 5.

1. Lexical items for which Spanish equivalent is not as familiar as the English were uses frequently with a Spanish article; No. 12 un ice-cream, No. 14 un ticket, No. 20 el typewriter, No. 37 el education committee, No. 17 los tapes, No. 21 arthritis, No. 32 el legislature, No. 15 el basketball game. In sentence No. 38 the words "parties" and "Christmas" do not have the same connotations that "fiesta" and "Navidad" seem to have.
2. Much code-switching was done within the verb phrase in the chart examples, however, it is quite common in the noun phrase, also: el wedding es mañana; El building está muy cerca. On the other hand the English article with Spanish noun seems to be uncommon: the muchacha, the hombre.
3. Repetition of complete sentences in the other languages frequently occurs even though only one example is given in the charts: No. 18. Another example is: Vuelvo ahorita; I'll be back in a minute. This seems to be done for emphasis or clarification.
4. Spanish proverbs are used quite frequently to prove a point or simply for effect. (See p. 29, Sentence No. 31.)
5. Popular or fixed phrases in Spanish or English are used at will: "tú sabes," "you know."
6. Conjunctions frequently serve to switch codes: No. 23, No. 30, while at other times only the conjunction is said in Spanish: No. 28.
7. Proper nouns frequently serve to switch codes.
8. A noun in English can be modified by a Spanish adjective: (nosotros "Somos polite", No. 39 "el highway oscuro."
9. An awkward sentence to this investigator was No. 26: No tiene que ir *to school.
10. Rosaura Sanchez gave examples of Spanish article and English adjective plus English noun: "Un friendly atmosphere."
11. English adjectives can be modified by Spanish adverbs: No. 10-Bien windy.; No. 11-Somos muy polite.; No. 26-Es muy buena. However, one would not say: *Es very buena. * Somos very polite.
12. An "If" clause is heard in Spanish with the remainder of the sentence in English. No. 8.

13. Prepositional phrases in English with the main part of the sentence in Spanish are quite common: No. 15, No. 9, No. 26, No. 4 and No. 7.
14. After Spanish prepositions the noun may be in English: No. 41 "under Blue-Cross."
15. Spanish or English adverbs with the rest of the phrases in the other language: No. 44-ayer, No. 15-tonight, s No.-también, No. 10-afuera.

Why do Bilinguals code-switch? One of the problems which has not received enough attention is that of the choice by a bilingual speaker of one language over another in situations where either language could serve as the medium of conversation. So far, it seems to be dependent on such factors as personal needs, background, relationship of the speakers, and the immediate situation. A speaker makes use of both languages, depending on which language best expresses his thoughts at the time.

Martin Jaos claims that there are five styles of speech: intimate, casual, consultative, formal and frozen. Simon Hermon says that "A speaker who finds himself in two psychological situations which exist simultaneously will allow his personal needs to dominate."¹⁴ Some of the variables are the following: 1) When/where the activity takes place. 2) When the behavior in the situation may be interpreted as providing cues to group identification including social status. 3) When the person involved in the activity wishes to identify with a particular group or to be disassociated from it.

Other linguists differentiate variables as to formality or informality: 1) the relationship between two or more persons involved, considered from the speaker's point of view. 2) Sex, regardless of intimacy or status. 3) Origin or area a person comes from. 4) Aspects of situation.

The social context of language learning is the mother-child interaction. However, at a later stage the child forms a new grammar which is influenced by his peers. Even if a child speaks nothing but Spanish (the mother tongue) in his formative years, when exposed to other children who speak English or a mixture of Spanish-English, the child would assume that style through natural contact. It is a fact that when children move to a new dialect area, they adopt the new and prevalent language form, without abandoning their former rules and merely adding those rules that do not syntactically conflict with their own.

¹⁴ JAOS, Martin, "The isolation of styles," edited by Joshua A. Fishman, Paris: Mouton, 1968.

William Mackey believes that "a self-sufficient bilingual community has no reason to remain bilingual since all are fluent in two languages, but as long as there are different monolingual communities, there is a likelihood of contact between them."¹⁵ This language contact keeps bilingualism alive.

Haugen insists that "bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language; it is a characteristic of its use. It is not a feature of the code but of the message."¹⁶ In other words, the speakers decide whether or not the situation warrants the switching of codes. The function of each language in total behavior, and the degree to which the bilingual and his hearers have mastered both languages, determine the amount of code-switching which takes place from one language to the other. Some children have been conditioned to speak two different languages to the same person. These bilingual speakers can be said to have two native languages. This includes any child who has learned a language before age six from parents or others.

Not every linguistic change receives social evaluation, or even recognition. Lambert's studies in New York City proved that speakers who use the highest degree of a stigmatized feature such as code-switching show the greatest tendency to stigmatize others for their use of the same form. Some reasons as to the why of code-switching which Lambert chooses to disregard as valid considerations are the following: 1) Speakers are too lazy or careless to use recognized norms. 2) Differences in community patterns mean that lower class speakers would not be aware of the subjective norms of upper class speakers. Lambert states that we should reject class bias as a reason for code-switching, since "there is no reason to think that any one class has a monopoly on laziness."¹⁷ He advises students of linguistics to broaden their thinking on language diversity and consider the possibility and probability of relative cultural isolation (all English or all Spanish) and cultural pluralism (English-Spanish) as coexisting.

It is a fact that in many areas of the United States especially the Southwest, language switching, namely from English to Spanish, has existed for many years without becoming one code. "Language Diversity," as Lambert calls it, should have value for all humans other than linguists, for if one is not switching languages, he is switching styles.

¹⁵ MACKEY, William, "The Description of Bilingualism," edited by Joshua Fishman, Mouton: Paris, 1970.

¹⁶ HAUGEN, Einar, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," *Language*, 1950.

¹⁷ LAMBERT, "English, Spanish and Code-switching, alternate use of Both Languages," *The New York City Studies, Readings in the Sociology of Language*, Joshua Fishman, Mouton: Paris, 1970.

Some communities have developed a mixed language as their usual means of communication. This new language cannot be considered sub standard, as it has gained full stature in a community as an effective means of language interaction. There is no reason for this type of language to be considered less effective than any other. There are too many participants who code-switch, either consciously or unconsciously, to label such language use sub-standard or inferior.

Code-switching is most likely to happen wherever there is contact between two languages. There are no grounds on which the linguist who observes and describes this phenomenon could object to it as a use of language, because it works.

Tsuzaki discovered in his Detroit studies on Mexican-Spanish that influences stem from linguistic interference which has been accepted, rather than influences which have resulted from a lack of knowledge of, or disregard for, English as the donor language. Preference takes the form of switching which individuals use quite frequently.

Some linguists call the mixture of Spanish and English "Spanglish," as if a new language had developed. However, Weinrich insists that a new language must have the following characteristics: 1) a form palpably different from either stock language, 2) a certain stability of form after initial fluctuations, 3) functions other than those of a workday vernacular, and 4) a rating among the speakers themselves as a separate language. It is this investigator's opinion that code-switching, as discussed therein, does not represent a new language, but rather a new style, since speakers can speak one language or the other, or mix them at will.

Weinrich, like Tsuzaki, identifies the influences of one language on another as interference. He says two or more languages are said to be "in contact" if they are used alternately by the same persons. Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language are called "interference." This is a pretty broad definition of code-switching, and it does not take into account the aspect of control. Some bilinguals, especially those who have become students of language, have control over their preferences; thus, the term "interference" seems too broad, because it categorizes, speech habits of all bilinguals as an uncontrollable factor. As has been mentioned before, some bilinguals have found a warmer, more intimate form of communication in code-switching and they do it at will, not because they must. Some thoughts are better expressed in one language than another, and bilinguals choose to use the one best suited for the immediate situation. Somehow, the term "inter-

ference," does not apply in such instances. Meillet states: "a speaker always knows that he is using the one system or the other."¹⁸

What effect does code-switching have on bilinguals? The use of mixed language seems to invite criticism. Lambert, for example, is primarily concerned with the effect of underlying social values upon the bilingual child, the language learner and the bilingual community as a whole. Rosaura Sanchez warns:

*Tenemos que exigir programas de educación bilingüe en las escuelas, pero programas bien planificadas con profesoras bien preparadas, que entiendan que el hablar un dialecto no standard no es un obstáculo para el aprendizaje de un dialecto standard o de otras lenguas. El obstáculo es la profesora ignorante de todo aquello que no sea la norma.*¹⁹

Perhaps the most frequent complaint is related to linguistic decay. Fishman states that this is simply nonsense, since all the dialects, including all forms of standard English, are subject to change, both through the normal tendency of language to change and as a result of external factors such as movement of populations.

*A speaker who is made ashamed of his own language habits suffers injury as a human being; to make anyone, especially a child, feel so ashamed is as indefensible as to make him feel ashamed of the color of his skin.*²⁰

There is no justification for discriminating against any language whatsoever. Obviously, certain languages have to be established as the national language of a new nation. What matters is that the real issues and problems should not be allowed to be discredited by false notions that one language is inferior to another. One language style may be preferable to another in certain situations, but that does not render the other inferior per se.

CONCLUSIONS

It has not been my purpose to determine whether or not code-switching is grammatical or if it will someday be considered a standard language of its

¹⁸ NASH, Rose, Spanish-English Contrastive Linguistics (Reference to article by Meillet), International American University Press, Puerto Rico.

¹⁹ See footnote 4.

²⁰ See footnote 5.

own. Teachers agree that it should not be the language of the classroom for many reasons; the obvious one being that all students are not bilingual. It is further agreed, among many students of language that it will probably remain as it is: an informal, relaxed means of communication between bilinguals sharing; the same language and culture. This is not to imply that it is sub-standard, since it was found in many cases, especially among the educated, that perfectly grammatical English and Spanish were being used simultaneously.

This investigator is merely observing that code-switching does exist despite all purists' efforts to stop it; and, because of its extensive use in many areas, it should be recognized and studied by linguists who have tended to ignore it in the past. Furthermore, since it facilitates communication, it is simply incorrect to label those who practice code-switching inferior or uncultured. How can so many "code-switchers" be inferior?

Having established that code-switching occurs frequently between two or more people who share languages and cultures, one also observes that the practice encourages a friendlier and, therefore, more relaxed atmosphere, one which is conducive to greater understanding.

In view of my investigation and research, I would ask those purists who feel that code-switching is a mark of inferiority: What is so wrong with being able to function in two or more language codes simultaneously? Objectively speaking, this practice actually enriches communication rather than detracts from it. It makes for better understanding in this so called "melting pot of America." It seems appropriate to code-switch here: "No estamos perdiendo nuestra cultura; we're gaining another."

It is important to keep in mind that all bilinguals do not have to switch, they just like to. It is fun! At any given time, they could switch to one code or the other, depending on the situation, and that factor is what makes their speech so interesting. Having a command of various speech styles may be viewed as a talent rather than a weakness.

Having a mother whose native language is Spanish and a father who spoke nothing but English makes this investigator a prime candidate for use of code-switching. She has always felt fortunate to have had two cultures, and she is forever grateful to her parents for having taught her two codes,

CODE-SWITCHING DATA CHART No. 1

Abreviations:

- FHS-female high school student
- MHS-male high school student
- FCS-female college student
- MCS-male college student
- F/Ad-female adult
- SP/Tr.-Spanish Teacher

Speaker	Situation	Receiver	Message	Syntactical Structure
1. FHS	at school between classes	FHS	That guy you met, está feo?	$\begin{matrix} S \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ NP \quad VP \\ +Eng \quad +Span \end{matrix}$
2. FHS	at school	FHS	And everything that book says is true, también.	$\begin{matrix} S \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ NP \quad VP \\ +Eng \quad +Span \text{ (adv)} \end{matrix}$
3. MHS	Letter	girlfriend	Pues, like I always say, 'La Vida Loca.'	$\begin{matrix} S \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ NP \quad VP \\ +Eng \quad +Span \end{matrix}$ Exp. Like NP VP NP VP Missing Coni. Always say Δ Δ La vida
4. MHS	Letter	girlfriend	I'll love you por toda mi vida loca.	$\begin{matrix} S \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ NP \quad VP \\ +Eng \quad +Span \text{ (p.p.)} \end{matrix}$

Speaker	Situation	Receiver	Message	Syntactical Structure
5. FHS	After school	friend	¿Vas pa mi casa later?	$\begin{matrix} S \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ NP \quad VP \\ +Span \quad +Span \text{ (adv.)} \end{matrix}$
6. MHS	After school	friend	Vamos a jugar basket- ball at 7:00. (Eng.)	$\begin{matrix} S \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ NP \quad VP \\ +Span \quad +Span \text{ (Div. Obj. p.p.)} \end{matrix}$
7. FHS	After school	friend	Vamos pa' Highland Mall after school.	$\begin{matrix} S \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ NP \quad VP \\ +Span \quad +Span \text{ (p.p.)} \end{matrix}$
8. MHS	School Mall	friend	Si no "venemos" a la escuela Friday, they won't call home.	Entire sentence modified by Friday.
9. MHS	After	friend	voy a pescar el bus in the morning.	$\begin{matrix} S \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ NP \quad VP \\ +Span \quad +Span \text{ (art.)} \\ +Eng. \text{ (Div. obj. p.p.)} \end{matrix}$
10. MHS	School Mall	friend	Hace bien windy afuera.	$\begin{matrix} S \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ NP \quad VP \\ +Span \quad +Span \text{ (adv.)} \\ +Span \text{ (adv.)} \end{matrix}$
11. MHS	School Mall	friend	Somos muy polite.	$\begin{matrix} S \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ NP \quad VP \\ +Span \quad +Span \text{ (Preads)} \end{matrix}$
12. MHS	answering	friend	Fue a comprar un ice-cream.	$\begin{matrix} S \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ NP \quad VP \\ +Span \quad +Span \text{ (art)} \\ +Eng \text{ (div. obj.)} \end{matrix}$

Speaker	Situation	Receiver	Message	Syntactical Structure
13. MHS	question answer	friend	¿Pá dónde vas? Pál lunchroom.	(Ans.) NP → S → VP (understood) +Span (pp.) +Eng (obj. of prep.)
14. MHS FHS	question question	friend friend	¿Vas a comprar un ticket? pá ir? ¿Vas a ir al assembly in the morning? *	S → NP → VP +Span +Span (rep. art.) +Eng (p.p.)
15. FHS	question	friend	¿Vas al basketball game tonight?	S → NP → VP +Span +Span (prep. art.) +Eng (adj + N + adv.)
16. FHS	answer	friend	No, because I have to stay home.	(Ans. to No. 15) No code-switching within sentence.
COLLEGE LEVEL				
17. FCS	in class	classmates	Si tienen los *tapes para ayudarles, es más fácil.	* Lexical item in Eng.
18. MCS	telephone conversation	young lady	Por favor, dile a Juan que traiga el libro (Repeated same request in English, then switched back to Spanish on a new subjetc.)	Code-switching of entire sentence for emphasis or clarification.

Speaker	Situation	Receiver	Message	Syntactical Structure
19. FCS	watching TV	FCS	(interjected Spanish comments about actors) ¡Mira! ¡Ah! ¡La mentirosa! Este...	
20. FCS	in office	cooperating	Tengo que usar el * <i>typewriter</i> .	* Lexical item in Eng.
•21. FCS	in office	teacher	¿Qué será? * <i>arthrititis?</i>	* Lexical item in Eng.
22. Prof. at U.T. students of SP Eng Some Mex-Am. decent. Anglo-Brazilian.	after class Dobie Mall	Interaction of same	Prof. Spoke Portuguese to (3), students having problems in Eng. Grammar. Prof. Spoke Spanish to Mex. Am. students about vacation plans, etc. Mex.-Am student spoke Eng/Span to Mex-Am student. Mex. Am/Anglo spoke English commenting on lang. journal written in English. Brazilian students spoke Portuguese to Spanish students interjecting Eng. words for clarification. Spanish students spoke Span. to Brazilians.	

Speaker	Situation	Receiver	Message	Syntactical Structure
23. F/Ad	at home	son	Ven a cenar, or I'm going to put the food up.	
24. F/Ad	telephone conversation	daughter	Estaba llorando; I couldn't make out what she was saying	
25. F/Ad	Telephone conversation	daughter	He told me to watch my diet; miente, I don't have an ulcer.	
26. F/Ad	Conversation	F/Ad	El muchachito no tiene que ir to school. (Awk.)	
SPANISH TEACHERS				
27. SP/Tr	telephone	mother	Hi, mon; ¿Que estás haciendo?	
28. SP/Tr	telephone	SP/Teacher	I was going to call you about that, pero I haven't spoken to the principal at Govalle.	A compound Eng. sentence joined by Span conj. (Very common)

Speaker	Situation	Receiver	Message	Syntactical Structure
29. SP/Tr	on the way to class	SP/Tr.	Y ese Daniel tan chulito con su lonchecito; I just love him!	
30. SP/Tr	conversation	SP/Tr.	I have that book, pero no dice nada de eso.	
31. SP/Tr	Tele. Conv.	SP/Tr.	And like we say in Benavides, "Te dieron gato por liebre".	Eng. sentence + Span. proverb.
OTHER PROFESSIONS				
32. Bilingual program dir.	Meeting Co-workers (Mex-Am. master degrees		¿Cuántos mexicanos hay en el *legislature?	Lexical item in Eng. (N).
33. Mex-Am lawyer	at office	Client	You are the only one who knows la verdad.	
34. SP/Tr.	at workshop	Co-worker	Put the yellow *colores here on the table	Lexical item in span (N)

Speaker	Situation	Receiver	Message	Syntactical Structure
Bilin- parental consultant	at workshop	Co-worker	Give me los colores, so I can draw the flowers	(art) Lexical item in span (N)
Bilingual aide	at office	Co-worker	She thinks she is muy buena	S NP +Eng VP +Span (adv. +adj.)
P.H.D. student	in-service training	Co-worker	¿Cómo se llama la gringa en el * education committee?	Lexical item in Eng. (N)
Bilingual Super- visor	Tele. conv.	SP/Tr.	Vamos a unos parties mexicanos during Christmas.	S NP +Span VP +Span +Eng (div. obj. p.p.)
Deputy Co. Clerk Colorado	Telephone Conversation	Niece	Pero se me hace tan feo ahora; everything is so dead looking y el HWY tan oscuro.	S NP +Span VP +Eng S NP +Span VP +Eng (lex) +Span
Deputy Co. Clerk (Colora- do)	Telephone Conversation (about retiring)	Niece	Ya me come todo el mundo a que me quede; I do all the work, and they get the big money.	S NP +Span VP +Span S NP +Span VP +Eng +Eng

Speaker	Situation	Receiver	Message	Syntactical Structure
Deputy Co. Clerk (Colora- do)	(about operation)	Niece	No me cuesta nada under * Blue-Cross.	Lexical item in Eng. (N)
Deputy Co. Clerk (Colora- do)	(about theft problem)	Niece	Y aquí, robando como siempre; Albert watches, and the mail- man brings the mail to the house.	S NP +Span VP +Span +Eng +Eng +Eng (understood) S NP +Span VP +Eng +Eng +Eng
Deputy Co. Clerk (Colora- do)	(about sugar prices)	Niece	Mucha gente de aquí went to Mex. to buy sugar.	S NP +Span VP +Eng
Deputy Co. Clerk (Colora- do)		Niece	Ayer I had to go to Alamosa; la Dottie quería something.	S NP +Span VP +Eng +Span (adv.) S NP +Span VP +Span +Eng (div. obj.)

MISCELLANEOUS FIXED PHRASES OR POPULAR COMMENTS
MADE BY BILINGUALS AT VARIOUS OCCASIONS

- Idioms:** "Right on." "Right off." "Cooling it." "Far out."
Comments: "I mean" "you know" "Sabes" "in that sence" "Maybe" "in other words" "so, like you said" "Este" "pero" "Mira" "Look" "that fit."
Proverbs: "Like my grandfather always said, "Dime con quien andas y diré quien eres." Many examples such as this one are said to prove a point or simply for effect. Much would be lost in translation.

"An analysis of a code-switching exercise given to Reagan High School students in 1974." Thirteen students were asked to mark sentences according to whether or not they were likely to hear or use them.

	YES	NO
1. The old man is mad.	13	0
2. El hombre viejo está enojado.	11	2
3. El old man está enojado.	5	8
4. El man viejo está enojado.	3	10
5. El hombre old está enojado.	1	12
6. El old hombre está enojado.	3	10
7. The hombre viejo is mad.	9	4
8. El old man está enojado.	7	6
9. The man who saw the accident is Cuban.	13	0
10. El hombre que vio el accident es cubano.	13	0
11. The man que saw el accidente is cubano.	2	11
12. El hombre who vio el accident es cubano.	7	6
13. El hombre who vio el accidente es cubano.	8	5

(It was difficult to determine the validity of this questionnaire, since there are no apparent patterns. There are also contradictions as seen in No. 3 and No. 8 Phrases that were phonologically difficult to pronounce were marked YES such as "El old hombre." Other awkward phrases which made no difference as to preference were "que saw" and "who vio.")

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ERWIN-LIPP, Susan M., "An analysis of the Interaction of Language Topic and Listener," *American Anthropologist*, 1964.

ESPINOSA, Aurelio, *Estudios sobre el español de Nuevo Méjico*, Buenos Aires, 1930.

FISHMAN, Joshua A., *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, Mouton: Paris, 1970.

GAONA, Francisco, "El concepto de la clase culta y otras consideraciones de carácter lingüístico", Congreso Intranacional de Hispanistas, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, Univ. of Penns. Press, Philadelphia, 1972.

GUMPEREZ, J. y HERNANDEZ CHAVEZ, Eduardo, "Cognitive Aspects of Bilingual Communication," *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, Univ. of Penns. Press, Philadelphia, 1972.

HAUGEN, Einar, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," *Language*, 1956.

KNIPLE, James Jr., COOPER, Robert L. and FISHMAN, Joshua, "Language switching and the interference on conversation," *Lingua*, 1969.

LABOV, William D., COHEN, Paul, and ROBINS, Clarence, "A Preliminary Study of the Structure of English Used; by Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City." Final Report, Cooperative Research Project, Washington, 1956.

LABOV, William, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, University of Penns. Press, Philadelphia, 1972.

NASH, Rose, *Spanish-English Contrastive Linguistics*, International Press, Puerto Rico.

SÁNCHEZ, Ricardo, *Canto y grito mi liberación*, Amber Press, Doubleday and Co., New York, 1973.

SÁNCHEZ, Rosaura, "Nuestra circunstancia lingüística," *El Grito*, Quinto Sol Publications, California, 1972.

THOMPSON, Roger, "Language Loyalty in Austin, Texas. A study of a bilingual neighborhood," *Dissertation*, The University of Texas at Austin, 1971.

TSUZAKI, Stanley M., *English Influences on Mexican Spanish in Detroit*, Mouton: Paris, 1970.

WEINREICH, Uriel, *Languages in Contact*, Paris: Mouton, 1968.