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Systematicity of code-switching in the *Spanish in Texas Corpus*

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This study tries to establish the systematicity of code-switching as shown in a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the linguistic behavior of twelve Spanish-English bilingual speakers of Mexican descent, drawn from the “Spanish in Texas Corpus” (Bullock and Toribio 2013). Results show that the frequency and typology of code-switching varied substantially among these speakers, concurring with previous research that has characterized U.S. Latinos as a highly diverse group in social interactions (Valdés 2001; Carreira 2004; Potowski 2010; Montrul 2013; Fairclough 2016, among others) and use of linguistic forms (Silva-Corvalán 1993; Zentella 1997; Valdés 2001; Colombi 2009). Moreover, some researchers have indicated that personality might also influence the code-switching behavior of U.S. Latinos (Gardner-Chloros 2008; Dewaele and Wei 2014). These findings also reveal that code-switching is not a random process, but rather a rule-governed linguistic phenomenon. In agreement with previous research (e.g. Poplack 1980; McClure 1981; Valdés 1982; Zentella 1997; Muysken 2000; Toribio 2002), the findings in this study indicate that code-switching preserves the structure of both languages and is usually utilized by bilinguals who are highly competent in both codes.

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1. Introduction

Monolingual and bilingual speakers alike have access to different linguistic codes. While monolingual and mono-dialectal speakers are said to shift between styles of the same language (Milroy 2003), bilingual or multilingual speakers are said to switch between the two linguistic codes to which they have access (Donovan 2004). This linguistic phenomenon, known as ‘code-switching’, is the focus of this study.

Previous research has shown that code-switching, the alternation of two languages in the same conversational event, is a common and expected linguistic feature that emerges from language contact (Weinreich 1968; Poplack 1981; Muysken 2000; Montrul, 2013). Moreover, research on code-switching largely shares the belief that the switching is not a random process, but rather it is governed by extra-linguistic and linguistic factors. Grammaticality is preserved in both languages and usually achieved by advanced bilinguals who are highly proficient in both codes (Poplack 1980; McClure 1981; Valdés 1982; Zentella 1997; Muysken 2000). Yet, code-switching is still a highly stigmatized phenomenon, even for code-switchers themselves; it is usually viewed as a deviation from the linguistic norms, commonly associated with low levels of bilingualism and constrained to informal registers of the language.

The rejection of the notion of systematic linguistic processes involving language contact phenomena is not a contemporary trend but, on the contrary, follows a long tradition of discrediting contact languages and supporting ‘pure’ languages free of interference from others. As early as 1556, the classical English scholar Sir John Cheke was of the opinion that “our tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borrowing of other tungen” (as cited in Guijarro-Ojeda and Ruiz-Cecilia 2004: 217). A similar view was held by the Academie Française in the seventeenth century, whose purpose was “to cleanse the language of impurities, whether in the mouths of people or among men of affairs, whether introduced by ignorant courtiers or preachers or writers” (as cited in Baugh and Cable 1978: 261).

Code-switching is one of the most salient linguistic features of U.S. Spanish, frequently called ‘Spanglish’ because the two languages are mixed together, and it has been associated with these negative conceptions of contact language varieties. Spanglish co-exists with English in the same space in the US and has been categorized as a hybrid language and an abomination of ‘real’

Spanish, due to its status in the country and its linguistic characteristics, such as code-switching (Echeverría 1997; Osio 2002). The denigrators of Spanglish assume that speakers who mix Spanish and English in their speech do so due to their lack or loss of linguistic knowledge or because they are ashamed of their Hispanic community (Heinze 2012), without considering its linguistic features and the pragmatic and social motivations of this contact variety of Spanish.

The purpose of this study is to establish the systematicity of code-switching as shown in a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the linguistic behavior of twelve Spanish-English bilingual speakers of Mexican descent, drawn from the “Spanish in Texas Corpus”¹ (Bullock and Toribio 2013). The “Spanish in Texas Corpus” is a semi-controlled corpus comprising a large contextualized set of Spanish language data from 97 speakers throughout Texas. The naturalistic nature of the interviews, along with the size of the sample, make the corpus a perfect tool to carry out a study that documents the systematic principles of this linguistic form of communication. Although Texas is home to the second largest Latino population in the U.S., most of the research on Texas Spanish has focused on language attitudes towards Spanish on the Texas-Mexico border. Some studies focused on the use of and perceptions towards code-switching with a wide variety of results; while others found stigmatization of the use of code-switching by their own users (Chavira 2013; Rangel, Loureiro-Rodríguez and Moyna 2015). Still others found acceptance and positive attitudes towards the use of Spanglish (Pletsch de García 2008). Finally, Mejías, Anderson-Mejías and Carlson (2003) found that Texan bilinguals showed preferences towards Spanish for pragmatic reasons: they want to express linguistic solidarity.

The current study is an attempt to support the validity of code-switching as a systematic form of bilingual communication in language contact environments. In 2015, the 56.6 million Hispanics² in the United States comprised the largest racial or ethnic minority in the country, encompassing 17.6% of the nation’s total population (U.S. Census Bureau). Furthermore, the U.S. Census indicates that the number of Latinos in the country continues to grow, projecting that, by 2060, there will be 119 million Hispanics in the U.S., constituting 28.6% of the nation’s

¹ The “Spanish in Texas Corpus” can be accessed here: <http://corpus.spanishintexas.org/en>

² Although I recognize the subtle differences that the terms ‘Latino’ and ‘Hispanic’ connote, especially for the individuals that belong within these categories, in this paper both terms are used as synonyms, with no different value added to either of them.

population. With an increase of Latinos in the country it is crucial to elucidate the linguistic myths that surround this growing minority population. This study tries to further understand and explain what many bilingual Latinos speak in the U.S., which is usually negatively referred to as ‘Spanglish’, through an analysis of the structured nature of one of its more remarkable features, code-switching.

In the sections to follow, I present a discussion of Hispanics in the U.S., attitudes towards Spanglish, the status of Spanish in the U.S., theories about incomplete acquisition and language attrition in bilinguals, linguistic features of U.S. Spanish and, finally, the methodology, results and discussion of the present study.

2. Hispanics in the United States

The presence of Spanish in what we now call the United States of America goes all the way back to beginning of the sixteenth century, when Fernando and Isabel, the Catholic King and Queen of Spain, began the expansion of their empire in the North and South American continents. These territories have been in Spanish, Mexican and American hands and the growth of Spanish has been increasing since then. Whereas in 1980 only 6.4% of the total U.S. population was of Hispanic origin, as stated in the Introduction, in 2015, 17.6% of the overall population of the U.S. was of Hispanic origin. These numbers make people of Hispanic origin the largest ethnic or racial minority in the U.S., without even counting the approximately 4 million residents of Puerto Rico.

Although the presence of Hispanics in the U.S. is not limited to certain areas of the country, Latinos continue to be concentrated in some states more than others. In 2015, 18.8% of U.S. Latinos lived in the state of Texas, comprising 38.6% of the population in this state. These numbers position Texas as the state with the second largest Hispanic population in the country just after California, home to 27.1% of the population of Hispanic origin in the U.S. Moreover, according to the Pew Research Center, these numbers are even higher in Texan border towns, such as Brownsville or El Paso, where Latinos form 93.2% and 81.2% of their populations, respectively. Although the Latino population in the U.S. is quite heterogeneous in terms of origins, the vast majority (63.4%) are of Mexican origin, followed by Puerto Ricans (9.5%),

Salvadorans and Cubans (3.8% and 3.7%, respectively).

The U.S. Census Bureau also reports that, in 2015, 40 million U.S. residents from age 5 and older spoke Spanish at home, constituting 13.3% of all U.S. residents within this range of age. Among these, 72.4% were of Hispanic origin and, in the particular case of Texas, 76% of Hispanics living in the state reported that a language other than English was spoken in their homes. Moreover, 57.4% of Hispanic Spanish speakers also declared that they spoke English “very well” and only 9% declared that they do not speak English at all. These numbers suggest that, nowadays, the U.S. is a bilingual country and that most of U.S. Latinos are bilingual, and only a small number of U.S. Latinos has not learned English.

However, despite the great linguistic diversity of the country (according to the U.S. Census Bureau, there are at least 350 languages spoken in U.S. homes), there are few policies that support and protect the language of ethnic minority speakers, such as Spanish speakers; therefore, bilingualism at the individual level is not very strong (Austin et al. 2015). There is a tendency for language shift to occur from Spanish to the majority language, English, within Latino communities, to such an extent that, by the third or fourth generation of speakers, Spanish is likely to be lost (Thompson 1974; Bills, Hernández Chavez and Hudson 1995; Montrul 2005; Rumbaud et al. 2006; Potowski 2010). Although first-generation immigrants learn some English, they prefer to use Spanish; the second generation develop a preference for English, but still use their heritage language at the home environment; finally, by the third generation, the members speak only English (Tran 2010). Nonetheless, while the large majority of speakers of languages other than English and Spanish in the U.S. are foreign born, in the case of Spanish speakers, the difference between national and foreign-born Latinos is almost null, with 17 million and 17.5 million speakers, respectively. This indicates that U.S. Latinos tend to use Spanish with their children and that their children are more likely to maintain Spanish than children from other immigrant populations (Austin et al. 2015).

3. Attitudes toward Span(gl)ish in the U.S.

The numbers shown in the previous section suggest that both the U.S. in general, and Texas in particular, include bilingual communities where the Spanish and English languages are in

contact. However, even though the majority of Latinos in the U.S. claim to speak Spanish, their bilingualism is not usually recognized as being of much prestige as that of other English-Spanish bilinguals who do not live in a contact environment and who usually maintain both codes more separately than other U.S. Latinos (Derrick 2015). Instead, ‘Spanglish’³ is the term that is applied to the language production of the latter group, implying that they speak a hybrid language instead of two separate ones.

Stavans (2003) comments that there are many scholars who believe that Spanglish is a jargon of Spanish, used by uneducated speakers who are not able to speak standard Spanish or English properly. For example, Octavio Paz, the Mexican poet winner of the Nobel prize said that Spanglish “is neither good nor bad, but just abominable”. The Real Academia Española (RAE) scheduled to include in the 23rd edition of its official dictionary, *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* [Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy] in 2014 the following definition of Spanglish: “*modalidad del habla de algunos grupos hispanos de los Estados Unidos, en la que se mezclan, deformando los elementos léxicos y gramaticales del español y del inglés*” [‘The way of speaking of some groups of Hispanics in the U.S., where lexical and grammatical elements of Spanish and English are mixed and deformed’]. Although this definition was never published in written form, it was present in the on-line dictionary⁴ and the term “deformed” was removed only after several years of polemic discussions (Zentella 2016). Roberto González Echevarría (as cited in Zentella 2016:15), a Cuban professor of Spanish Literature at Yale University, defines Spanglish as “a composite language of English and Spanish that constitutes an invasion of Spanish by English and insults the essence and dignity of the language of Cervantes. It is spoken by poor Hispanics, many barely literate in either language, although educated Hispanics... embarrassed by their background may speak Spanglish to claim membership in the mainstream”. These definitions show that speaking ‘Spanglish’ is not considered to imply bilingualism. While the concept of ‘bilingualism’ usually carries positive connotations and refers to a desirable goal

³ Besides “Spanglish”, there are many other terms to name U.S. Spanish: Nuyoricán Spanglish, for Puerto Ricans in New York; Dominicanish, the Spanglish spoken by Dominicans; Istlos, the Spanglish version of East Los Angeles, Tex-Mex, the Spanglish in Texas, among others (Stavans 2003).

⁴ The RAE on-line dictionary can be accessed here: <http://dle.rae.es/?w=diccionario>

for all to obtain, on the contrary, ‘Spanglish’ tends to be used derogatorily. These pejorative views and the lack of recognition of Spanglish can have negative implications and repercussions for U.S. Latinos in terms of language loss/maintenance, intra-Latino cooperation, successful implementations of bilingual education and social disadvantages for U.S. Latino (Lipski 2008; Zentella 2016).

In contrast, other scholars advocate for Spanglish and agree on the fact that it is a relevant feature of U.S. Latino communities. Betti (2011) notes that Spanglish may be gaining some acceptance and points out the evolution that Spanglish has gone through, from just an informal language spoken among low income Latinos in the U.S., to the preferred language used for on-line communication between U.S. Hispanics and even as a stylistic tool for U.S. Latino writers in their texts. Latinos use Spanglish to connect to each other and to affirm their Latino identity. Otheguy and Stern (2010) deny the idea of Spanglish as a new third language, different from English and Spanish. According to these authors, considering Spanglish as a new linguistic code is “highly inaccurate, as it suggests a mixture of linguistic systems” (p. 92). Latinos code-switch in order to express concepts that are most authentic in their Latino experience in the U.S. Therefore, U.S. Spanish is not a new linguistic system, but “a list of uses” that “frequently differ from one cultural setting to another, and they change rapidly when the cultural environment changes” (p. 92).

The attitudes of Spanglish speakers towards their own language have also been widely studied, with varied results. Torres (1987) found that more than 50% of their Puerto Rican speakers in New York reported to have negative feelings toward code-switching, while Montes-Alcalá (2000) noted that young Spanish speakers in California were shifting toward a more positive view of code-switching. In California, with a Dominican group of speakers, Toribio (2002) found that the attitudes of the speakers varied considerably, from rejection, to apprehensiveness and even positive appreciation. Moreover, whereas in Montes-Alcalá’s study there was no difference in terms of code-switching production between speakers with different opinions towards code-switching, Toribio found that the number of switches was significantly reduced among those speakers who strongly rejected it.

3.1. The so-called Spanglish debate

Potowski (2009), states that there are two main topics that are debated regarding Spanglish. Firstly, as illustrated in the previous paragraphs, one topic is whether Spanglish is an acceptable linguistic practice or not. And secondly, setting aside its acceptability or rejection, a second topic is whether the term ‘Spanglish’ is the appropriate word to refer to the Spanish spoken by U.S. Latinos or if, on the contrary, it reflects negative connotations towards this linguistic practice. Ana Celia Zentella and Ricardo Otheguy, two scholars who openly support, understand and celebrate the Spanish spoken by U.S. Latinos as a bilingual linguistic practice, engaged in a famous debate on this second topic at the 22nd conference on Spanish in the United States⁵ (2009).

On the one hand, Ricardo Otheguy disregards the term ‘Spanglish’ and denies the idea of Spanglish as a new third language, different from English and Spanish, instead proposing the label ‘Popular or Colloquial U.S. Spanish’. According to this author, the popular Spanish spoken in the homes of U.S. Latinos is no different from Mexican popular Spanish in relation to the popular Spanish of Spain. All of these colloquial varieties present unique linguistic features: local vocabulary, local syntax and local morphology, that are probably foreign to those who have no contact with a particular variety. Moreover, U.S. Spanish has incorporated features of its neighboring language, English, just as some varieties of Spanish that are in contact with Quechua or Nahuatl, have borrowed from these languages. Finally, Otheguy concludes that using the label ‘Spanglish’ can jeopardize the survival of Spanish in the U.S., since second- and third-generation speakers might adopt the negative connotations that surround the term Spanglish.

On the other hand, Ana Celia Zentella acknowledges and defends the use of the term ‘Spanglish’ as a way of challenging the socio-political context. In the U.S., English is the dominant language and borrowings and mixings of Spanglish are an example of the oppression of Spanish in a country where it holds the position of subordinate language. According to Zentella, the word ‘Spanglish’ captures the conflict and oppression that U.S. Spanish speakers face in their lives and, by using the term, Spanglish speakers can appropriate the term and re-define it in a positive way, refuting its pejorative sense.

⁵ The full debate can be accessed here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nn6P0UdSDYw&feature=youtu.be>

No matter what it is called, such a linguistic blend is not an exclusive feature of the Spanish spoken in the U.S.; cross-linguistic influences are likely to naturally emerge in a situation when any two or more languages are in contact, such as ‘portuñol’, the mix of Spanish and Portuguese on the Brazil-Argentina/Uruguay borders, ‘Franglais’, the mix of French and English in parts of Canada, or ‘cocoliche’, the mix of Italian and Spanish in Argentina (Fairclough 2003). The next two sections explore the U.S. Spanish variety from both a social and a linguistic point of view. First, we look at the status of Spanish, both in the American society and in the lives of the Latino community members in the U.S. Southwest region. Second, we describe the linguistic characteristics that make U.S. Spanish of this particular region different from other primarily monolingual varieties of the language.

4. The status of Spanish in the U.S.

It is unlikely that both languages in a given bilingual society are completely equal in use. For example, in Peru there are fewer Quechua speakers than Spanish speakers; in Catalonia (Spain), Catalan is mainly used in the educational system, and French is the preferred language of the upper-class society in Morocco, even though Arabic is the official language of the country (Austin et al. 2015). The number of speakers, domains of usage and socio-economic status are factors that determine which is the majority language and which is the minority language in a bilingual society (Montrul 2013).

In this sense, following Ferguson’s (1959) and Fishman’s (1967) concept of *diglossia*, some scholars focus on the different domains in which the languages are used and the level of prestige that each one enjoys. They consider Spanish-English bilingualism in the U.S. to be a diglossic social arrangement (Klee and Lynch 2009): where English is the majority language, this ‘high prestige’ language is used in public and official domains, while Spanish is the minority language that holds ‘low prestige’ and is used in more informal and private situations. These situational restrictions and the social status of Spanish as the minority language in the U.S. affect how this new dialect of Spanish in the U.S. is being shaped. They are some of the reasons why the dialect of Spanish spoken by Latinos in the U.S. is different and is not considered as valuable as that spoken in other parts of the world where either monolingualism is the norm or Spanish is

positioned as the majority language in the society (Fairclough 2016).

The term *heritage speaker/language* (Wiley and Valdés 2000) is commonly used to talk about U.S. bilingual speakers who learned a language other than English at home, such as Spanish, but who have been immersed in English since childhood and received most of their schooling in English. Heritage speakers present a wide range of abilities in their heritage language, the minority language, from bilinguals with passive language skills (e.g. they can understand the heritage language but they cannot engage in a more advanced conversation), to highly advanced bilinguals who begin to acquire a formal register of the heritage language in their adulthood (Austin et al. 2015). The case of Spanish in the U.S. has been widely studied and some researchers suggest that heritage speakers of Spanish do not possess the same linguistic abilities as monolingual speakers, claiming that heritage speakers have either experienced language attrition in their L1, they have partially lost their Spanish abilities, or their acquisition of the heritage language was incomplete, so they have never acquired certain linguistic features (Silva-Corvalán 1994, 2001; Montrul 2002, 2004, 2010; Montrul and Potowski 2007). The next section addresses these questions of language attrition and incomplete acquisition in Spanish as a heritage language in the U.S.

5. The dichotomy between attrition and incomplete acquisition

Silva-Corvalán (2001) and Montrul (2010, 2013) analyzed this dichotomy between English as the majority language and Spanish as the minority in the US in terms of the amount of input that Latinos receive and the output they produce. Besides being the majority language, English may replace Spanish as the home language in some cases. There are several reasons why this may happen: (1) parents who are first-generation Spanish speakers might see Spanish as an obstacle for their children's success; (2) older children usually bring English into the home from school and use it with their youngest siblings, and (3) the frequency of contact with extended family members who still live in a Spanish-speaking country may decrease. At the same time, the English skills of these children keep improving over time. The reduced amount of Spanish input that these children receive along with their limited production of the language may lead them to 'forget' part of their Spanish and, therefore, to achieve a lower level of proficiency in what once

was their native language, if compared to speakers from other monolingual varieties. The situation of a speaker whose level of linguistic competence in a language has decreased, generally due to less contact and/or use of that language than before, is known as ‘attrition’, which is common in minority-majority language contact situations, such as the Spanish in the U.S. (Anderson 2012; Austin et al. 2015). As a consequence, the Spanish spoken by U.S. Latinos experiences changes at different levels of the language. Montrul (2011) claims that one of the most common manifestations of linguistic attrition is a decrease in fluency; bilinguals who suffer from attrition hesitate more and spend more time retrieving words from their lexicon. She also states that these bilinguals may also avoid using more complex structures, make grammatical errors, create new words influenced by the majority language and change their pronunciation of certain sounds that are produced differently in English. Furthermore, some studies have proven that children experience more extensive linguistic losses than adult bilinguals (Schmid 2002). Children experience attrition much earlier and faster than adults and, moreover, the attrition in children can affect more deeply the structure of the language (Montrul 2008).

Attrition implies that the bilingual has lost linguistic features that were previously acquired. However, there are some bilinguals who did not acquire all of the linguistic structures of the language during their childhood. The term ‘incomplete acquisition’ refers to those individuals who learned a language in a bilingual context and did not reach the same level of competence and proficiency than monolinguals of the same language or other bilinguals who share their same characteristics (Montrul 2008; Polinsky 2011). The age at which the child is immersed in the second language is an important predictor of incomplete acquisition (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Kopke and Schmid 2003). There are some late-developing areas of the language, such as certain uses of the subjunctive in Spanish, that, for those children who learn Spanish and English simultaneously, may have not received enough input in Spanish in order to be acquired (Montrul and Potowski 2007).

Attrition and incomplete acquisition are not mutually exclusive. An individual might not have acquired certain structures of the language and, at the same time, might experience linguistic attrition of other linguistic forms ; that is, bilinguals might experience attrition of just certain linguistic structures or vocabulary, maintaining others and they might also have never

acquired some other linguistic features or part of the lexicon (Montrul 2013; Austin et al. 2015).

In sum, whether it is due to a diglossic situation between Spanish and English in the U.S. or attrition of their Spanish or incomplete acquisition, the Hispanic community in the U.S. speaks a variety of the Spanish language that differs from those spoken in monolingual settings or in places where Spanish is the majority language. The next section explores the linguistic features of U.S. Spanish.

6. The linguistic features of U.S. Spanish.

Like other bilingual communities where two languages are in contact, Spanish has been in contact with English for many years, which continues to produce structural and lexical changes in the language. The confluence of immigrants from different backgrounds and origins, along with the diversity of Spanish competence and proficiency of U.S. Latinos and the status of Spanish as a minority language in the country, have made the Spanish spoken in the U.S. different from other varieties of the language (Montrul 2013). One of the most common and yet most criticized characteristics of U.S. Spanish is ‘code-switching’, or the mixing of two languages to different degrees. In this study, I am not equating Spanglish with code-switching but, on the contrary, I am treating code-switching as one of the main characteristics of the Spanish language spoken by U.S. Latinos. For that reason, it is a central part of this study.

Bilinguals have their two codes available at all times (Kecskes and Papps 2000); however, for most U.S. Latinos, English and Spanish are “situated along a continuum that induces different language modes within a bilingual range” (Toribio 2002: 165). In her well-known ethnolinguistic study, Zentella (1997) showed how bilingual Puerto Rican children in New York spoke English with their teachers and peers and Spanish with elders and infants within their community. In the bilingual mode, however, speakers can activate both languages at the same time, engaging in code-switching behavior, which is a natural linguistic phenomenon in bilingual communities, especially common among proficient bilinguals (Montes-Alcalá 2001; Toribio 2002).

In the linguistics literature, it is generally agreed that code-switching is “the *rule-governed* use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences” (Vu, Bailey and

Howes 2010: 201). However, there are many contact phenomena that fall under the name of ‘code-switching’. For reasons of clarity, following Vu, Bailey and Howes (2010), in this study, the term ‘code-switching’ is used as a generic term that comprises two other categories: ‘code-mixing’ and ‘code-changing’. On the one hand, code-mixing includes all cases where a single word or a concept is integrated from one language to another; borrowings and calques are included under the ‘code-mixing’ label. On the other hand, ‘code-changing’ refers to the alternating use of both codes within the same speech act; it usually describes more complete sentences or discourse markers and the code-changed portions are unmistakably English or Spanish (i.e. the core structure of the languages remains unchanged).

There has been extensive research on code-switching among U.S. Latinos and multiple approaches have been used in order to explain the nature of code-switching. In sections to follow, code-switching is explored with further detail. First, I provide a definition of the main types of code-switching phenomena; then, I present some of the most relevant linguistic approaches to code-switching; and finally, I introduce some of the most significant sociolinguistic approaches to code-switching, all to highlight that the code-switching phenomena are systematic and rule-governed.

6.1. Key concepts in code-switching: borrowings, calques and code-changing.

There are some linguistic categories that are more likely to be borrowed than others, depending on what Van Coetsem (1988:25) calls *stability gradient of language*. More stable domains that are more resistant to change include phonology, morphology and aspects of syntax and semantics. Less stable domains that are more amenable to change include the lexicon, certain areas of morphology (derivational morphology and free function morphemes), and certain areas of syntax. The first signs of contact among two languages in a bilingual contexts, where one of the languages is more prestigious than the other, are usually shown at the lexical level (Clyne 2003; Winford 2003; Toribio 2012; Montrul 2013). As discussed earlier, U.S. Latinos usually reduce their use of Spanish over time and, at the same time, increase their use of English, which makes it more difficult to remember or quickly access certain Spanish words (Silva-Corvalán 2001). As a consequence, certain words are borrowed from English, and introduced in the

Spanish spoken by U.S. Latinos.

A ‘lexical borrowing’, also known as ‘nonce borrowing’, is a single word or a group of words introduced from one language into a different one. They can be introduced by adoption, when they maintain the form of the original word, or adaptation, when they are phonetically or morphologically adapted to the recipient language. Examples of adopted borrowings from English into Spanish are: *cocktail*, *whiskey*, *shopping* or *parking*; examples of adapted borrowings are: *fútbol*, *lonche*, [*tfopin*] (for *shopping*) or *cloche* (Lipski 2008; Silva-Corvalán and Enrique-Arias 2001).

‘Calques’ are words or group of words that incorporate the meaning of a form from one language into a word that already exists in the other language; there is extension or reduction of function (Weinreich 1952; Fisiak 1995). In the case of Spanish in the US, a new meaning is given to a meaning that already existed in Spanish. Some examples of calques are: *atender* instead of *asistir* (‘to attend’), *aplicación* instead of *solicitud* (‘application’), *llamar pa’ trás* instead of *volver a llamar* (‘to call back’) or *pasar/tener un buen tiempo* instead of *divertirse* (‘to have a good time’), among others (Silva-Corvalán and Enrique-Arias 2001; Lipski 2008; Montrul 2013).

In general, neither borrowings nor calques have a significant impact on the grammar of the recipient language, since, as explained above, grammar is one of the most stable domains of language. Moreover, researchers generally agree that *basic or core vocabulary*, words referring to essential human activities, needs, etc., are less likely to be borrowed than more culture-specific vocabulary; that is, words that have their own meaning based on the cultural context to which they belong, such as local festivities, foods, etc. (Hock and Joseph, 1996; Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Thomason, 2001). Also, it is widely acknowledged in the literature that nouns are borrowed more easily than other parts of the speech. Verbs are harder and less frequent to borrow due to their structural complexity (Moravcsik 1978; Van Hout and Muysken 1994; Myers-Scotton 2002).

‘Code-changing’ is a typical linguistic feature among bilinguals and multilinguals that involves the use of more than one language in the same speech act; i.e. the alternation between languages can occur within the same sentence or at the beginning or end of a sentence. Although

code-changing has always been criticized, given the fact that bilinguals have two linguistic repertoires, it seems reasonable that they should be able to use both of them as long as the communicative situation allows for it (Silva-Corvalán and Enrique-Arias 2001; Silva-Corvalán and Potowski 2009).

6.2. Grammatical approaches to code-switching

Before the 1970s, code-changing was considered to be random and typical of bilingual communities; however, during the 1970s some linguistic patterns and constraints of code-changing were defined and recognized. They showed that code-changing is not a random phenomenon as there are structural properties that govern this linguistic feature. Pfaff (1979) and Gumperz (1976) considered the ‘clitic constraint’, according to which clitic subject or object pronouns are maintained in the same language as that of the verb (1a and 1b).

- (1) Spanish/English (Pfaff 1979: 301)
 - a. ‘*El perro* chewed him up’
The dog chewed him up.
 - b. ‘¿*Por qué te hicieron* beat up?’
Why did they beat you up?

During the 1980s, Poplack proposed two main linguistic constraints for code-changing: the ‘free morpheme constraint’ and the ‘equivalence of structure constraint’ (Poplack 1980, 1981). The ‘free morpheme constraint’ constrains code-switching between “a bound morpheme and a lexical form, unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme” (Sankoff and Poplack, 1981:5); therefore, words such as **eatiendo* (instead of ‘eating’ or *comiendo*) will never be accepted or produced by a bilingual of advanced Spanish proficiency (Poplack 1980). The ‘equivalence of structure constraint’ does not allow code-switching “when a rule from one language is not shared by the other” (Poplack 1980:586); therefore, code-switches such as **Yo le bought un abrigo* will never be generated by an advanced bilingual.

Poplack (1981) also proposed three main types of code-switching: ‘inter-sentential’, ‘intra-sentential’ and ‘tag-switching’. Inter-sentential code-switching refers to changes of

language within a same sentence (as in Example 2 from Poplack 1981). Inter-sentential code-switching occurs between sentences, at the end of a clause, and is the most complex change performed only by the most competent bilinguals (as in 3; Poplack 1981). Finally, tag-switching refers to switches in discourse markers (as in 4; Montrul 2013).

(2) Spanish/English (Poplack 1981: 177)

*Un americano me puede preguntar, **very nicely**, hace tiempo que yo te estoy viendo así y perdona que te pregunte.*

‘An American can ask me, **very nicely**, I have been seeing you like this for a long time, sorry that I’m asking you.’

(3) Spanish/English (Poplack 1981: 176)

*Ella canta canciones insultando a los hombres. **That’s why you never heard of her.***

‘She sings songs insulting men. **That’s why you never heard of her**’

(4) Spanish/English (Montrul 2013: 120)

***Well**, no sé si lo que dice es cierto. **I mean**, siempre dice mentiras.*

‘**Well**, I don’t know if what you are saying is true, **I mean**, you always tell lies.’

Although Poplack’s constraints account for data from different languages, numerous counterexamples are also found in the literature (Bokamba 1989; Myers-Scotton 1993a). In response, Poplack (1988) states that these counterexamples are not code-switches, but instead, are ‘nonce borrowings’: spontaneous one-word borrowings that are introduced in the receiving language with no adaptation.

A decade later, Myers-Scotton (1993b, 1998) proposed the *Matrix Language Frame* (MLF) model, based on the difference between a dominant language, the matrix language (ML), and a less dominant language: the embedded language (EL). Myers-Scotton (2002) points out that the relationship between the MT and the EL is asymmetrical and “the Matrix Language is the label identifying the language with the larger structural role” (p. 59); that is, the ML sets the grammatical frame for the switches, and it tends to be the first language of the speaker or the language in which the morphemes are more frequently used in speech. Different from Poplack’s model, the MLF tries to identify which components can be switched, and not only the situations where switching is blocked. This MLF model is governed by two main principles, the Morpheme

Order Principle and the System Morpheme Principle. According to these two principles, the morpheme order and the morpheme system in the code-switched utterance must not violate the ML and, therefore, the switchings of morphemes from the EL that do not meet the congruency conditions of the ML are blocked. The following examples show how the ML exerts control over insertions:

- (5) Turkish/Norwegian in Oslo (Türker, 2000, as cited in Auer and Muhamedova, 2005:37)

geç-en	sene	serie-de-ydi-k
pass-PART/SUBJ	year	league-LOC-bePAST-1PL
‘last year we were in the league’		

- (6) (Myers-Scotton, 2002, as cited in Auer and Muhamedova, 2005:37)
- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| ile m-geni, | hata si-ku-comment |
| DEM/cL9 Ch/S-visitor, | even 1SG.NEG-PST.NEG-comment |
| ‘that visitor, I did not even comment’ | |

In (5), the ML Turkish provides all the system morphemes, even the person/number suffixes on the noun, *serie*, that is imported from Norwegian. In (6), Swahili is the ML and the sentence follows Swahili word order; the inserted English element, ‘comment,’ has Swahili verb prefixes of person, number and tense. If there is an element of the EL that violates these principles from the matrix language, then a whole chunk of the EL must be imported as an ‘island’, and inserted in the ML frame. These *EL islands* can also occur when they represent idiomatic expressions and they are always under the constraint of ML grammar. The example below shows an ‘embedded language island’:

- (7) Latin/Early High German (Stolt, 1964, as cited in Auer and Muhamadova, 2005:38)

<i>Human-um</i>	<i>cor</i>	<i>kann</i>	<i>es nit</i>	<i>fass-en</i>
human-NEUTR.NOM/AKK.SG	heart-NOM/AKK	can-3SG	is not	seize-INF
‘the human heart cannot grasp it’				

The EL island consists of a subject-noun phrase, well-formed according to Latin syntax and morphology and with no German elements, inserted into a German sentence.

Finally, Muysken's (2000) typology consists of three types of switches: 'insertions', 'alternations' and 'congruent lexicalizations'. Each one of these three types of switches is constrained by different structural conditions. These switches vary in accordance to the specific bilingual context and, by doing that, this model accounts for most of the variation in code-switching patterns from different data and different languages.

'Insertions' (in Example 8) are lexical items or phrases from one language that are placed into a structure from the other language; the linguistic constraints of insertions come from the structural properties of the matrix language. In this sense, insertions act as borrowings: "the insertion of an alien lexical phrasal category into a given structure" (Muysken 2000: 3). 'Alternations' (in Example 9) are switches between structures from one language to another, acting similar to "the switching of codes between turns or utterances" (Muysken 2000: 4). Finally, 'congruent lexicalization' (in Example 10) refers to lexical items from different languages that are placed anywhere in the utterance due to similar structure.

- (8) Spanish/English (Pfaff 1979, as cited in Muysken 2000: 5)

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

- (9) Spanish/English (Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez 1978, as cited in Muysken 2000:5)

Andale pues, and do come again.
'**That's alright then**, and do come again.'

- (10) Spanish/English (Pfaff 1976, as cited in Muysken 2000: 6)

*Bueno, **in other words**, el **flight** [que sale de Chicago **around three o'clock**]*
'Good **in other words**, the **flight** that leaves from Chicago **around three o'clock**.'

All of these linguistic models and constraints show the governed-rule character of code-switching and suggest that bilingual speakers code-switch not due to a lack of knowledge, since by following these constraints they show an, at least intuitive, knowledge of both languages. Only advanced bilinguals are able to code-switch, since a high level of proficiency in both

languages is needed in order to do so (Poplack, 1980; Toribio 2002, 2004; Silva-Corvalán and Potowski, 2009; Montrul, 2013).

6.3. Sociolinguistic approaches to code-switching

Although this study focuses on the linguistic aspects on code-switching, it is worth-mentioning that this linguistic phenomenon has also been widely studied from a sociolinguistic point of view, taking into account social factors of the bilingual community. These social factors, in accordance with the linguistic constraints we have just seen, are correlated with the frequency and types of code-switches in the speech of bilinguals. There can be social norms that induce code-switching (Dolitsky and Bensimon-Choukroun 2000); code-switching can be used for communicative purposes (Grosjean 1982); and there can be social, contextual, interactional and/or individual reasons to switch between languages (Clément, Baker and MacIntyre 2003). For example, Latinos can code-switch in order to express group identity or status, convey confidentiality, change their role in the conversation, emphasize certain concepts or ideas, and signify or cross social or ethno-linguistic boundaries (Grosjean 1982; Gumperz 1982; Auer 1984; Zentella 1997). In the following paragraphs, I present some of the most relevant literature on the social aspects and functions that motivate code-switching behavior.

One of the pioneering studies on code-switching from a social perspective was carried out by Gumperz (1982). He distinguished between ‘situational’ and ‘conversational’ code-switching. During the conversation, when there is a change in the situation (e.g. the interlocutors, topic, context) and participants switch languages, ‘situational’ code-switching occurs. ‘Conversational’ code-switching (also known as metaphorical) takes place with no situational change. However, according to Gumperz, conversational switches are triggered by six possible functions: quotations, specification of the addressee, interjections, reiterations, message qualification and personalization or objectivization. Zentella (1997), in her anthropological work among Puerto Ricans in New York, completed Gumperz’s list of code-switching functions by identifying at least 22 communicative functions that trigger code-switching, such as realigning the conversation, clarifying or emphasizing messages, controlling interlocutors and keeping the community norms, among others.

Zentella (1997) also pointed out the connection between identity and code-switching. By using different varieties of both English and Spanish, U.S. Latinos can construct multiple and transitional identities. Mahootian (2005) also supports this correlation between code-switching and identity formation. She analyzes the code-switching instances in the magazine *Latina*, and, apart from identifying three functions of code-switching--idiomatic, attention getting and evoking emotion or culture--he also claims that Latinos use code-switching to show unity among themselves, to identify themselves as a group different from previous generations and to keep emotional ties with their culture.

In a more recent study, Gardner-Chloros (2009) also identifies three types of social factors that affect code-switching behavior. First, there are general social factors that affect all the speakers of a given bilingual community: the 'economic market' (the value of each language), linguistic prestige or lack thereof, power relations and the individual contexts that are associated with certain varieties of the language. Second, individual factors must be considered that affect speakers as individuals and as members of a specific sub-group: the individuals' competence in each variety, their social networks and their linguistic ideologies and perceptions. And third, there are conversational factors that affect the specific speech act where the code-switching takes place; i.e. code-switching as a resource for the bilingual speaker.

According to Zentella, trying to find the purpose for each instance of code-switching, however, is as difficult "as imputing reasons for a monolingual's choice of one synonym over another, and no complete accounting may ever be possible" (99). Code-switching is not a mere alternation between two codes, but a systematic, strategic and affiliative process among speakers who share the two codes; it involves conscious decisions about the use of the languages available to the participants in the conversation (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Álvarez and Chiu 1999).

7. The current study

Considering the studies above, and the persistent notion that Spanglish is chaotic and non-systematic (Echeverría 1997; Osio 2002; Heinze 2012), I reiterate that the purpose of this study is to establish the systematicity of code-switching in order to support its linguistic legitimacy as a systematic form of communication for bilinguals, as well as to contribute to the recognition of

the Spanish spoken by U.S. Latinos as a valid variety of the Spanish language. In order to compare different U.S. Spanish speakers, I turn to a corpus-based approach, using the *Spanish in Texas Corpus* (Bullock and Toribio 2013).

Based on a sample of twelve bilingual speakers of Mexican-heritage from Texas, for this study, I looked at the frequency and types of code-switching that occurred during semi-informal interviews in Spanish. As stated in the introduction, by analyzing quantitatively and qualitatively the linguistic behavior of this group of twelve bilingual speakers of Mexican descent, this study attempts to further understand and explain what is usually negatively referred to as Spanglish, examining the structured nature of one of its more remarkable features, code-switching. The two main research questions that guide this study are:

1. Quantitatively, what is the code-switching behavior of these bilingual Spanish-English speakers from Texas?

2. Qualitatively, does the code-switching behavior of these 12 speakers representative of Texas Spanish speakers reveal that it is indeed ruled-governed, supporting previous work by others?

In order to find answers to these questions, the next section describes the methods by which I obtained information from the corpus.

8. Methodology

As stated in the previous section, the data for this study were collected from the *Spanish in Texas Corpus*, which comprises informal video interviews in the Spanish language with bilingual Spanish and English speakers of Texas. The Corpus consists of over 500,000 words from interviews with 97 bilingual speakers of Spanish who live throughout different regions of Texas: El Paso in the far western region of the state, the Lower Rio Grande Valley in the south, and San Antonio and the central region, which includes Austin, Houston, and the Dallas/Fort Worth areas. The participants' ages range from 18 to 86 years old and there are 60 females and 36 males. Most of the participants were either born in the U.S. (54 informants) or in Mexico (30 informants),

although there are other nationalities and origins represented in the Corpus, as well⁶ (Toribio and Bullock 2016).

All the participants completed a questionnaire that elicits linguistic and extra-linguistic information. All interactions were in Spanish but the last one, which was conducted in English and was not considered for the analysis of this study. Although the interviewees did not perform any specific tasks, the interviewer followed a script, promoting similarity among the interviews.⁷ The duration of the interviews varies, from 0:09:05 for the shortest one, to 1:03:17 for the longest.

8.1. Participants

As only those of Mexican origin or descent were considered for this study, twelve participants (six men and six women) were randomly chosen, representing two age groups: young adults between 18 and 29 years old, and adults between 30 and 64 years old. As mentioned before, the duration of the interviews in the corpus varies greatly, but only interviews of 30 minutes or more were considered for this study.

All participants but one were second-generation U.S. Spanish speakers and all were educated mostly in English, with a few exceptions who were also educated in Spanish in elementary school. Language use varied widely among speakers, but all of them spoke and still speak some degree of Spanish, at least with their parents. Their self-assessment of their Spanish speaking ability and the importance of the language to their lives also varies, but in general, it is high. Many of these speakers belong to the same social network. Finally, the names of participants reflect those that appear in the Corpus, which are pseudonyms. More detailed information about the profiles of the participants is displayed in Table 1.

⁶ The other nationalities represented in the Corpus are: Colombia, El Salvador, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Peru, Spain, and South Korea.

⁷ The participants' questionnaire and the scripts for the interviews can be accessed on-line at: <http://corpus.spanishintexas.org/en/methodology>

Table 1. Participants' profile

	Age	Place of Birth: Father Mother	Place of birth	School language: Elementary Middle High-School	Language now: Parents Siblings Friends	Language childhood: Parents Siblings	Rate of Span. speaking: Ability Importance
LAURA	22	Mexico Mexico	USA	Spanish English English	All Spanish All Spanish Spanish,English	All Spanish Spanish,English	5 5
ESTRELLA	19	Mexico Mexico	USA	Spanish, English English English	Mostly Spanish Spanish,English Spanish,English	Mostly Spanish Spanish,English Spanish,English	5 5
CECI	20	Mexico USA	USA	Spanish, English English English	Mostly Spanish Spanish,English Mostly English	Spanish,English Mostly English	4 4
NORMA	43	Mexico Mexico	USA	English English English	All Spanish Mostly Spanish Spanish,English	All Spanish Spanish,English	5 5
ELIZABETH	44	Mexico Mexico	Mexico	English English English	All Spanish Mostly Spanish Spanish,English	All Spanish Spanish,English	5 5
BRENDA	37	Mexico Mexico	USA	English English English	Spanish,English Spanish,English Spanish,English	All Spanish Spanish,English	4 5
CHRISTOPHER	20	Mexico Mexico	USA	Spanish English English	Spanish,English All English Mostly English	All Spanish All Spanish	5 4
BENJAMIN	23	Mexico Mexico	USA	Spanish, English English English	Mostly Spanish Spanish,English Spanish,English	All Spanish Mostly Spanish	5 5
CHRIS	21	Mexico Mexico	USA	English English English	Mostly English Mostly English All English	Spanish,English Spanish,English	3 4
ARTURO	48	Mexico Mexico	USA	English English English	Mostly Spanish Spanish,English Spanish,English	All Spanish Spanish,English	4 5
JOSÉ	38	Mexico Mexico	USA	English English English	Mostly Spanish Spanish,English Spanish,English	All Spanish All Spanish	4 5
ERNESTO	36	Mexico Mexico	USA	English English English	Mostly Spanish Spanish,English Mostly English	All Spanish Spanish,English	3 5

8.2. Procedure and coding

All the interviews of the Corpus were previously transcribed by the website team. Based on these transcriptions, I coded all code-switched utterances at the linguistic levels. Two main categories of code-switching were distinguished, including ‘code-mixing’ and ‘code-changes’:⁸

1. *Code-mixing*, one (or few) word switches. Additionally, this category was divided into two sub-categories:

1.1. *Borrowings*, or overt code-mixed utterances. Depending on how the borrowings were introduced, they were classified as:

1.1.1. *Loan-words* (LW): English borrowings introduced by adoption, where English pronunciation and morphology are maintained:

(11) Laura
*Lo vi en una... en un **training** [‘treɪnɪŋ] (LW) del trabajo.*
‘I saw him in a... in a work **training**’ (LW)

1.1.2. *Loan-blends* (LB): English borrowings introduced by adaptation, where English pronunciation and/or morphology are adapted to Spanish:

(12) Estrella
*Porque siempre pasaba la **troquita** (LB) y luego le decía a mi hermano...*
‘Because the **truck** (LB) was always driving by and then I used to tell my brother...’

1.2. *Calques* (CAL), or covert code-mixed utterances. In this category, only lexical calques were coded:

(13) Christopher
*Ya muchos **se han movido** (CAL) de donde vivían antes.*
‘Many of them have **moved** (CAL) from where they lived before’

2. *Code-changes*, the alternation between both languages in the same speech act. Three sub-categories were differentiated:

2.1. *Inter-sentential code-change* (Inter-CC): where the change occurs between

⁸ All the examples are from the participants of this study.

sentences, either at the end or at the beginning of a clause:

(14) Ceci

*En el Lower Valley y, pues, no me acuerdo tanto de mi niñez, no más **like** yendo a la escuela y todo eso. **It's pretty much it. (Inter-CC)***

'In the Lower Valley and, well, I do not remember much about my childhood, just **like**, going to school and all of that. **It's pretty much it' (Inter-CC)**

2.2. *Intra-sentential code-changes* (Intra-CC): when the change occurs within the same sentence:

(15) Norma

*Hay tanta comunicación entre los vecinos, es más, **everybody to themselves, yeah (Intra-CC)***

'There is so much communication between neighbors, I mean, **everybody to themselves, yeah' (Intra-CC)**

2.3. *Tag-switches*⁹ (TS), where there is a code-change in a discourse marker, no matter where it occurred within the sentence:

(16) Norma

*Agarraba los libros que él está leyendo, **so (TS)**, más bien yo sola me enseñé a leer)*

'I took the books he was reading, **so (TS)**, I learned how to read by myself'

After coding, I first counted the frequency of code-switches in each of the categories described above and looked for patterns in the frequency and types of code-switchings in order to analyze the data quantitatively; second, I carried out a qualitative analysis of the data in order to identify how the theoretical frameworks of code-switching could be applied to these data to find some systematicity in the code-switching behavior of this group of speakers. This second part involves an examination of code-mixings (borrowings and calques) and code-changes (inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-changes and tag-switches) from Poplack's (1981), Myers-Scotton's (1998) and Muysken's (2000) theories on the systematicity of code-switching.

⁹ The discourse markers included within this category were: 'like', 'so', 'I know', 'I mean', 'cause', 'I think', 'yes', 'I guess', 'well', 'let's see', 'whatever', 'hopefully', 'you know'.

9. Results

In this section the results of the quantitative analysis of the data are presented, answering the two research questions posed at the end of Section 7.

9.1. Quantitatively, what is the code-switching behavior of these bilingual Spanish-English speakers from Texas?

Regarding the frequency and types of code-switching during the interviews, overall, there was a total of 809 code-switches by the twelve participants, with an average of 67 switches per participant (see Table 2). However, these results vary greatly per individual (see Table 3 and Figure 1)¹⁰. Only five participants produced 67 or more switches and four participants used 25 switches or fewer. Furthermore, two participants alone produced 50% of all the code-switches: Ceci, the only participant with one parent born in the U.S., accounted for 30% of the switches, and Norma, Ceci's mother, used 20% of the switches. By contrast, three participants--Brenda, Elizabeth and Laura--each produced 2% of the switches. Although the three of them attended school in the U.S., Elizabeth was born and lived during her childhood in Matamoros, Mexico. Considering the extra-linguistic features of the participants, these results show that the female participants produced slightly more switches (58%) than men (42%), and the young interviewees were responsible for 60% of the switches, while the adults used 40% of the code-switching instances. As for the typology of code-switches, all of the participants in this study produced slightly higher rates of code-mixing (54%) than code-changing (46%). However, individual variations among these two types of switches are quite significant. Three speakers--Laura, Estrella, and Elizabeth-- did not code-change at all, while two participants-- Brenda and Jose-- each produced only four code-changes. Once again, Ceci and Norma together produced more than 60% of the total number of code-changes. Of the 371 code-changes produced by all of the speakers, Ceci was responsible for 136 of them (37% of the total), and Norma produced 84 of them (23% of the total). Finally, code-mixes and code-changes are represented almost equally among young participants and female participants. Both younger participants and female participants produced slightly higher rates of code mixing (54% and 53%, respectively) than

¹⁰ The acronyms used in Table 2, Table 3 and Figure 1 are explained in section 8.2. (pages 23-24).

code-changes (46% and 48%, respectively). Figure 2 and Table 3 show these results with further detail.

One factor that might explain the individual variations among speakers regarding the frequency and typology of code-switches is personality. Gardner-Chloros (2008) points out that bilinguals' use of code-switching is in part the way they present themselves as speakers and personality variables might affect the amount and type of code-switching produced; code-switching is part of what has been called *styling the self*. Dewaele and Wei (2014) studied the individual variation in self-reported code-switching patterns and their results show that, besides other social and environmental factors, code-switching behavior is also mediated by the personality of the bilingual. More specifically, these authors found that individuals who are more open-minded, extroverted and who have lower levels of flexibility are linked with more self-reported code-switching. The varied and unique personality profiles of the speakers in this study might have an impact on their code-switching behavior and can account, to some extent, for the great degree of individual variation shown in these results.

Table 2. Analysis of all participants' code-switches.

	Total	Participants
	N	%
Code-Mixing		
LW	323	40%
LB	50	6%
CAL	65	8%
TOTAL	438	54%
Code-Changing		
Inter-CC	63	8%
Intra-CC	49	6%
Tag-S	259	32%
TOTAL	371	46%
TOTAL	809	
Code-switching		

Table 3. Analysis of all code-switches by individual.

Participants	Individual Results								
	LW	LB	Code-Mixing		Inter-CC	Intra-CC	Code-changing		Code-switching
			CAL	TOTAL			Tag-S	TOTAL	TOTAL
Laura	13	3	5	21	0	0	0	0	21
	62%	14%	4%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
Estrella	17	5	6	28	0	0	0	0	28
	61%	18%	21%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
Ceci	72	0	10	82	21	11	104	136	218
	33%	0%	4%	38%	10%	5%	48%	62%	
Norma	64	12	3	79	21	13	50	84	163
	38%	7%	2%	48%	13%	8%	31%	52%	
Elizabeth	6	10	4	20	0	0	0	0	20
	30%	50%	20%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
Brenda	6	5	2	13	3	1	0	4	17
	46%	38%	16%	76%	75%	25%	0%	24%	
Christopher	30	2	5	37	13	13	9	35	72
	41%	3%	7%	51%	50%	50%	13%	49%	
Benjamin	33	1	3	37	0	2	37	0	76
	43%	1%	4%	49%	0%	3%	48%	51%	
Chris	24	2	11	37	2	7	26	35	72
	33%	3%	15%	51%	3%	13%	36%	49%	
Chris	30	2	6	38	3	2	9	14	52
	58%	4%	11%	73%	6%	4%	17%	27%	
Jose	12	2	7	21	0	0	4	4	25
	48%	8%	28%	84%	0%	0%	16%	16%	
Jose	16	6	3	25	0	0	20	20	45
	35%	13%	7%	55%	0%	0%	45%	45%	

9.1.1. Typology of code-mixings and code-changes

All of the participants produced loan-words the majority of the time, or 74% (n = 323) of all code-mixings. These were followed by calques, 15% (n = 65) and, lastly, by loan-blends, 11% (n = 50) (See Table 4 for further details). These last numbers were reversed only in the case of adult participants; specifically, adult women: loan-blends in this group accounted for 24% (n = 27) of all code-mixings, and calques only for 8% (n = 9). Previous research has associated, on the one hand, higher levels of borrowing adaptation at the morphological and phonological levels with lower levels of bilingualism and, on the other hand, higher levels of phonological and morphological preservation of borrowing with higher levels of bilingualism (Haugen 1950; Mougeon, Beniak and Valois 1985; Poplack and Sankoff 1984; Poplack, Sankoff and Miller 1988). Since loan-words, or borrowings that maintain English phonology and morphology, were by far the most common type of borrowings among the participants, these findings suggest that this sample of Latino speakers comprises highly competent bilinguals in both, Spanish and English. Heredia and Altarriba (2001) suggest that the possibility of code-switching can be due to the classic ‘tip-of-the-tongue’ (TOT) phenomenon, or the inability to retrieve the correct word at a given time. Even though bilinguals might know the words they borrow, they might not use those words as frequently in Spanish as they do in English; therefore, switching into English can make the retrieval of the word easier and faster.

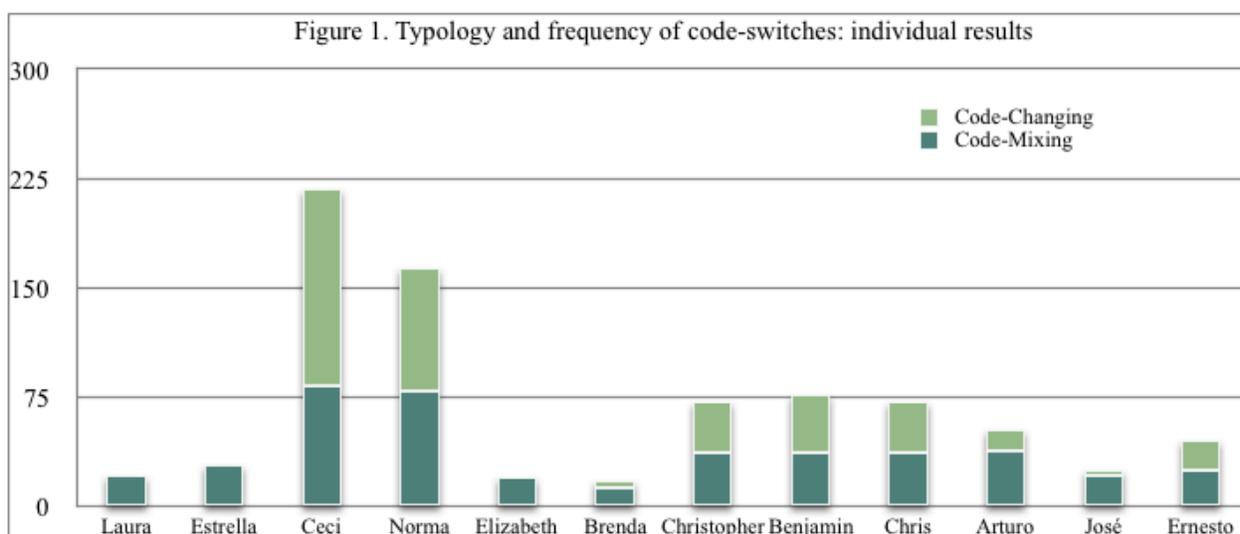


Table 4. Analysis of code-mixing.

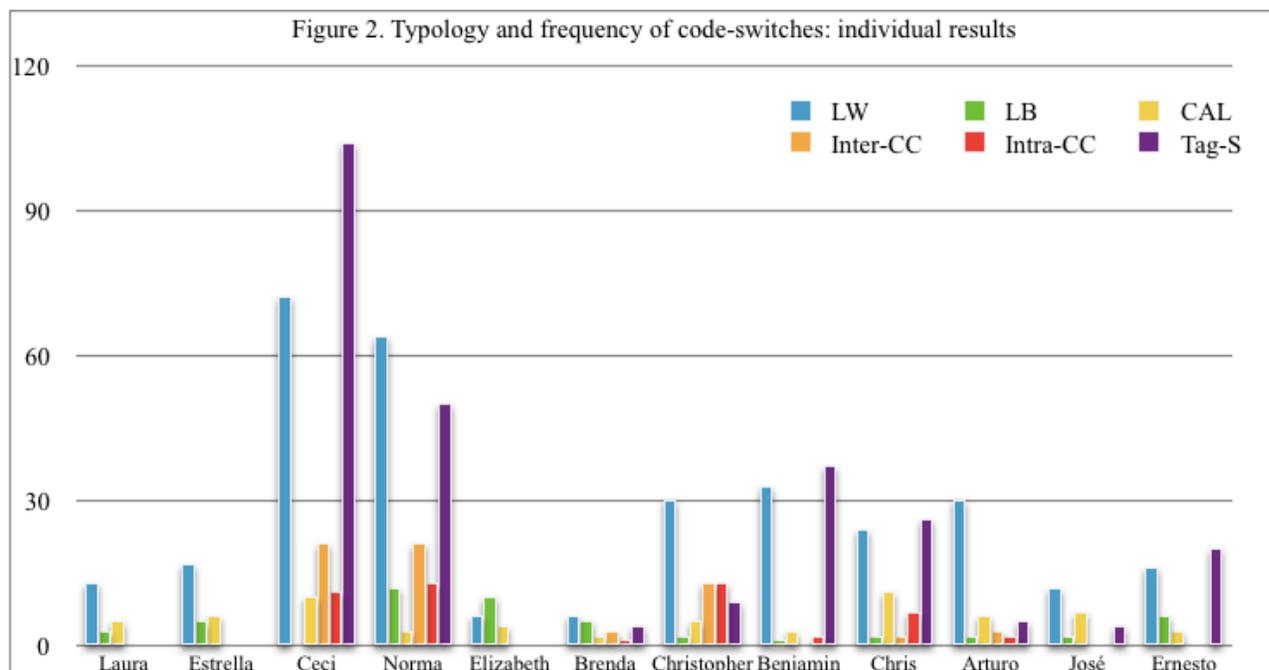
Code - mixing		
	N	%
LW		
Adult participants	134	31%
Young participants	189	43%
TOTAL	323	74%
LB		
Adult participants	37	8%
Young participants	13	3%
TOTAL	50	11%
CAL		
Adult participants	25	6%
Young participants	40	9%
TOTAL	65	15%
TOTAL Code-mixing		
Adult participants	196	45%
Young participants	242	55%
TOTAL	438	

Of the code-changes, tag-switches were the most common type by far, with 70% (n = 251), followed by inter-sentential code-changes, 17% (n = 63) and, finally, by intra-sentential code-changes, 13% (n = 49) (See Table 5 for further details).

Table 5. Analysis of code-changing.

Code - changing		
	N	%
Inter-CC	63	17%
Intra-CC	49	13%
Tag-switching	259	70%
TOTAL code-changes	371	

However, individual differences in results of tag-switches were especially pronounced. While four of the participants--Laura, Estrella, Elizabeth and Brenda-- did not produce any instances of tag-switching, Ceci and Norma were responsible for 73% (n = 188) of all tag-switches (see Figure 2 below and Table 4 above).



Previous literature shows that the introduction of function words or discourse markers (also known as “tag-switching”), words with little lexical meaning that convey grammatical relationships with other words of the same sentence, are associated with situations of intense language contact and frequently occur in the speech of a wide variety of U.S. Spanish-English bilinguals (Torres and Potoswki 2008). Moreover, some scholars correlate the introduction of function words with the level of bilingual proficiency; discourse markers are more frequently borrowed by balanced bilinguals as well as Spanish-dominant ones and less by those bilinguals with lower levels proficiency in Spanish (Torres 2002; Aaron 2004; Said-Mohand 2006, as cited in Torres and Potowski 2008). Contrary to these views, Lipski (2005) found English function words in the Spanish discourse of bilinguals of high, mid and low Spanish proficiency, suggesting that, in a situation of intense language contact, there is a correlation between the use of borrowed discourse markers and the level of acculturation of the bilingual speakers, regardless

of their level of proficiency. The wide distribution of English functional elements into the Spanish discourse of different types of bilinguals suggests that it is a normal feature that occurs during bilingual encounters and in situations of intense language contact; therefore, it is expected in the speech of the participants in this study. Furthermore, the presence of discourse markers in their speech could be taken as an indicator of balanced bilingualism and also as a sign of acculturation to the dominant culture.

9.2. Qualitatively, does the code-switching behavior of these 12 speakers representative of Texas Spanish speakers reveal that it is indeed ruled-governed, supporting previous work by others?

Just as monolingual native speakers of Spanish intuitively know how their language works, English-Spanish bilinguals also know how to code-switch, without being formally taught to do so (Toribio 2002). Despite the individual variation, below we see how the data from this sample of speakers reflect some syntactic principles and structural models that govern code-switching.

In this sample of bilingual speech are examples that show how the code-switching behavior of these speakers do not violate the two linguistic constraints proposed by Poplack (1981): the ‘free morpheme constraint’ and the ‘equivalence of structure constraint’. As shown in Example (17) with the word ‘training’, “code-switching does not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form” (Sankoff and Poplack, 1981:5); the speaker does not code-switch between the bound morpheme and the lexical form, since the result would be a word such as **entrenanding* or **traineando* that, according to Poplack (1980), would neither be accepted nor produced by an advanced bilingual. However, if the borrowing is “phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme” (Sankoff and Poplack, 1981:5), as shown in Example (18), then switching is allowed.

(17) Laura

Uno de los que recuerdo mucho fue mi maestro de middle school, y de hecho no fue mi maestro, él nada más me daba tutoría para que aprendiera el inglés mejor y él me influyó mucho en el sentido de salir adelante, de seguir estudiando y yo sé que lo hizo hacia todos, no nada más hacia mí, pero se me quedó muy grabado lo que nos platicaba, por qué era bueno ir a la escuela, por qué era bueno salir adelante, y es curioso porque hace más o menos una semana que lo vi en una... en

*un **training** del trabajo, tuve la oportunidad de acercarme a él y darle gracias y saludarlo.*

‘One of the teachers that I remember is my middle school teacher, actually, he wasn’t even my teacher, he just used to tutor me so I could learn English better and he influenced me a lot, to move forward, to continue studying and I know that he was like this with everyone, not just with me, but I remember well what he used to tell us, why going to school was beneficial, why moving forward was good, and it is interesting because like a week ago I saw him in a... a **training** at work, I had the chance to talk to him and say thank you and say hello.’

(18) Estrella

*Un día perfecto de mi infancia... uhm... no sé, o sea, estar... estar más bien en la casa y ya sea, porque a mí me gusta mucho la nieve entonces me imagino que un día perfecto en mi infancia sería... porque siempre pasaba la **troquita** y luego le decía a mi hermano ven, ven, ándale, dame un dólar.*

‘A perfect day in my childhood... uhm... I do not know, I mean, being... being at home and, because I like really ice-cream, so I imagine that a perfect day during my childhood would be... because the **little truck** was always driving by and then I used to tell my brother, come here, come here, give me a dollar.’

Example (19) shows both an example and a counterexample of the ‘equivalence of structure constraint’. According to the ‘equivalence of structure constraint’ code-switching “is not allowed when a rule from one language is not shared by the other” (Poplack 1980: 586). In English, clitic pronouns are placed after the conjugated verb, while in Spanish clitic pronouns always go before the conjugated verb. In a sentence like ‘they influenced me’, in order not to break the grammatical rules of either of the languages, the switch cannot take place within the sentence; otherwise, following Poplack’s ideas, the speaker would produce a switch such as **they me influenced*, which, again, would not be accepted as grammatical or produced by an individual with advanced bilingual competence. However, in the same Example 19, the speaker uses the same expression a little later but, the second time, she does code-switch, even though the same ‘non-sharing’ rule applies to that specific structure. She uses the conjugated form of the Spanish verb *hacer* (‘to do’) with the pronoun preceding the verb, followed by an English verb ‘influence’. Poplack (1988) explains counterexamples, such as the one in Example 19, by saying that instead of code-switches, these are ‘nonce borrowings’; that is, one-word borrowings introduced with no adaptation in the recipient language.

(19) Ceci

*Oh... no, vi que ellos no, **they influenced me** a graduarme de high school porque ellos. O mi mamá sí se graduó de high school y mi papá también, pero de ahí ya no fueron al **colegio** ni nada y luego pues **me hicieron influence** a ir al colegio para, I guess cavar eso para ellos. ¿Así se dice? Do you get me? So, yeah, my parents.*

‘Oh... no, I saw that they did not, **they influenced me**, to graduate from highschool because of them. Oh, my mom did graduate from high school and my dad did too, but they never went to college or anything and then, well, **they influenced me** to go to college to, I guess ‘carve’ that for them. Is that how you say it? Do you get me? So, yeah, my parents.’

Muysken’s (2000) model explains, to a certain extent, some of Poplack’s counterexamples, by allowing more flexibility through his three code-switching categories. First, ‘insertions’ are words or phrases in one language inserted in a structure of the other; in this sense, they act as borrowings, such as Example (19) above, where in the expression ‘me hicieron influenced’, the English word ‘influenced’ is inserted into a Spanish structure as an strategy for borrowing English verbs in the Spanish discourse. Second, ‘alternations’ are switches between turns or utterances, as shown in Example (20). And third, ‘congruent lexicalization’ are switches that, due to similar structure, can be placed anywhere in the utterance, as shown in Example (21).

(20) Arturo

***Oh, no, I 'm sorry!** Esa era la secundaria, la primaria era en Branch Land... Branch Land Hills aquí en El Paso en el setenta y... ¿qué era? Setenta y siete.*

‘**Oh, no, I’m sorry!** That was the secondary school, the elementary school was in Branch Land... Branch Land Hills, here in El Paso, in the seventy... What was it? Seventy seven.’

(21) Chris

*En la secundaria que fui sí había violencia. Este... estaba... yo era, estaba preocupado porque no supe si me iba a, iba yo a empezar a hacer las mismas cosas que ellos porque yo venía de una familia que me protegía mucho y que no querían que hicieras esas cosas, so por eso me preocupaba a veces yendo a la escuela si algo iba a pasar, me iba a meter en peleas, iba a hacer cosas que no quería, este... uhm... pero luego cuando entré al, a high school, este es cuando empecé más a separarme de esa, **that kind of background** y... mejor... uhm... **focus more** en la educación, en mi escuela. En mis... uhm...*

‘There was a lot of violence at the secondary school where I attended. This... it was... I was, I was worried because I did not know if I was going, was going to start doing the same things that they were doing because I come from a family that protected me a lot and they did not want me to do these kind of things, so, that is why I was worried when I went to school, if something was going to happen, I was going to get into fights, I was going to do things I did not want to... uhm... but then, when I started high school, then I started to separate myself from **that kind of background**, and... better... uhm... **focus more** on education, on my school. In my... uhm...’

Finally, according to Myers-Scotton’s (1993b, 1998) *Matrix Language Frame* (MLF) model, single words from the Embedded Language (EL) can be inserted into the grammatical frame of the Matrix Language (ML), as in Example (22). In other cases, even entire phrases from the EL can be inserted into the grammatical frame set by the ML, either in the middle of the sentence (Example 23) or in the boundaries of the sentence (Example 24). In Example (22), the ML Spanish controls the structure of the whole sentence and the English word ‘middle school’ is inserted into the Spanish sentence. Moreover, in this same example it can also be observed how, within the Spanish frame of the sentence, the structure of the EL is respected, as well. That is, while the most common order in Spanish in the noun phrase is: ‘noun + adjective’, the English borrowing ‘middle school’ maintains the typical ‘adjective + noun’ order of the English language; that is, the Spanish core grammatical features of Spanish are not violated by the insertion of an English word.

(22) Benjamin

*La **middle school**. Los mejores recuerdos. Yo creo, ya como ya entendía más el inglés, ya estaba aprendiendo más el inglés, ya, ya empecé a mirar las cosas diferente, a las personas, a las maestras o lo como es el ambiente de no no más de español a también a inglés, los dos. Y pues, muy bien, muy bonitas personas que conocí ya gracias por el inglés y todo.*

‘**Middle school**. The best memories. I think that, since I understood English better, I was learning more English, so I began to see things differently, people, teachers or the environment, it was not only Spanish, it was both, English too. And well, it was very good, I met great people, and everything thanks to English.’

In Examples (23) and (24), the grammatical structure of the matrix sentence in Spanish is not affected by the code-switching, nor is the internal grammatical structure of the embedded

sentences, in English, by the other language.

(23) Christopher

*Y, y, pienso yo, ¿verdad? Que en esas instancias, ¿verdad? Los niños, cuando me vienen a visitar para, para hablar, ¿verdad? De, de los tiempos que pasaron en la clase, dicen **ay, those, those are good times, miss. Son good times.** Esos buenos tiempos que la pasamos... ¿recuerda? ¿Recuerda usted? Mi mamá todavía dice... mi papá habla de... Y me da mucho gusto escuchar esos, esos cuentos de ellos porque pienso yo a veces, o como maestros nos ponemos a pensar qué diferencia, ¿verdad?*

‘And, and, I think, right? In these moments, right? Kids, when they come here to talk, right? About, about the time when they went to school, **ay, those, those are good times, miss.** Those are **good times.** These good times that we had, do you remember? Do you remember? My mom still says... my dad talks about... And I really like listening to these, these stories that they have because sometimes I think, or like teachers we think about this difference, right?’

(24) Norma

*Pues, I guess, lo más drástico fue eso, que pensé yo que iba a acabar la escuela y... y no, pero... pues hay que... también eso nos ha hecho valorar más lo que tenemos, porque tuvimos que comenzar desde mero abajo, y poco a poco hemos subido. Pero eso sí, yo pensé que iba a acabar la escuela, que iba a estar en un... de maestra o algo, pero... **but I don 't regret it.***

‘Well, **I guess,** that that was the most drastic thing, I thought that I was going to graduate from college and... and no..., but... well, you have to... that helps us to value more what we have, because we had to start from below, and little by little we have been going up. But, I did think that I was going to finish college, that I was going to become a... a teacher or something, but... **but I don't regret it.**’

These examples show that the code-switching behavior of these 12 speakers is not random, but, on the contrary, it reflects some structural and syntactic principles.

10. Discussion

This study examined the code-switching behavior found in the speech of various Spanish speakers of Mexican heritage in Texas, in order to establish a systematicity of this linguistic feature. The main findings of the study are discussed in the following sections.

10.1. Frequency and typology of code-switching behavior: Individual variation

The results showed that, although all of the speakers from this sample code-switched during the interviews, their behavior varied greatly at the individual level. Ceci, the only participant who

had one parent born in the U.S., and Norma, her U.S. born mother, were responsible for half of the code-switches produced among the entire sample of speakers. On the other hand, of the three participants (Laura, Elizabeth and Brenda) who engaged in only 2% of the code-switches of the entire sample, Laura and Elizabeth were first-generation speakers. Many scholars have highlighted that heritage speakers of Spanish are a highly diverse group (Valdés 2001; Fairclough 2016; Potowski 2010; Montrul 2013, among others) and, as Carreira (2004) states, there is no ‘one size fits all’ in such a heterogenous population. Heritage speakers of Spanish generally present a high degree of variation in their language use within their family and the community, along with other sociolinguistic factors, such as the age of arrival to the U.S., their schooling (or lack of) in Spanish, and their individual motivations towards their heritage language (Silva-Corvalán 1993; Zentella 1997; Valdés 2001; Colombi 2009). Moreover, some researchers have also pointed out that, besides social and environmental factors, personality might also affect the linguistic features of U.S. Latinos, in terms of the amount and type of code-switching produced (Gardner-Chloros 2008; Dewaele and Wei 2014).

10.2. Systematicity of code-switching

Researchers have demonstrated that code-switching is a rule-governed and systematic linguistic feature among bilinguals and, therefore, it can be a sign of greater bilingual competence (Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1980, 1981; Myers-Scotton 1992b, 1998, 2002; Toribio 2002, among others). In the sections to follow, I discuss the code-switching behavior of the participants in this study in relation with three structural models. First, I discuss how the code-switching behavior of these speakers follows Poplack’s (1981) constraints, second, I address Myers-Scotton’s MLF model (1993b, 1998) in relation to the code-mixing behavior of the participants; and third, I present a discussion of the results regarding code-changes and their relation with Muysken’s code-switching typology(2000).

10.2.1. Poplack’s (1981) constraints

In order to code-switch successfully, bilinguals need to command a certain level of grammatical competence in both languages; they are able unconsciously to produce adequate switches and

also to distinguish between acceptable and non-acceptable ones. As shown in previous sections, the speakers from this sample switched “between rule-governed Spanish and rule-governed English by mapping similar parts of the two grammars onto each other” (Zentella 1997: 122). This statement refers to Poplack’s ‘equivalence constraints’ and allows switches such the one in Example (25); however, since the grammatical structure behind questions in Spanish and English is not parallel, a switch such as: **Qué do tú mean?*, would not be allowed. The structure of Spanish and English questions is completely different; in English a question follows the ‘Question word + auxiliary verb + subject + verb’ order, while in Spanish auxiliary verbs do not exist and the subject, if it is implicit, goes at the end: ‘Question word + verb (+ subject)’. By switching between these structures, the grammaticality of both languages would be violated. Similarly, Poplack’s ‘free morpheme constraint’ specifies that switches between bound morphemes and lexical items are not allowed unless the lexical item is integrated into the language of the bound morpheme, as shown in Example (26); the verb ‘brakear’ is allowed because it is adapted into the Spanish morphology and phonology.

(25) Ceci

¿Dónde crecí? What do you mean?
 ‘Where did I grow up? **What do you mean?**’

(26) Laura

*O como frenar el automóvil, uno puede decir **brakear**, porque viene de la palabra también hacer un **brake**. Entonces, hay muchas palabras así que en realidad vienen del idioma inglés y se adoptaron por la gente aquí y las usan en el español.*

‘Like ‘to brake’ the car, you can say ‘**brakear**’ because it comes from the word **to brake**. So, there are many words that come from English and were adopted by people from here and they use them in Spanish’

10.2.2. Borrowings and the MLF model (Myers-Scotton 1993b, 1998)

Code-mixings were the most common pattern among all speakers, age groups and genders; specifically, borrowings introduced by adoption (also known as ‘loan-words’; e.g. ‘middle-school’), which maintain English phonology and morphology, were significantly more frequent than adapted borrowings (also known as ‘loan-blends’; e.g. ‘yarda’), which shift towards

Spanish morphology and/or phonology. This finding is supported by previous literature that associates, on the one hand, higher levels of borrowing adaptation at the morphological and phonological levels among speakers of lower levels of bilingualism; and, on the other hand, higher levels of phonological and morphological preservation of the borrowing, correlating to higher levels of bilingualism among speakers (Haugen 1950; Poplack and Sankoff 1984; Mougeon, Beniak and Valois 1985; Poplack, Sankoff and Miller 1988).

However, these studies also suggest that both the length of time a borrowing has been present in the language and its level of integration and acceptance within its community affect the level of adaptation. Newly introduced borrowings are less likely to be adapted than those that have been used for long periods of time. Such is not the case in this sample. Some examples of 'loan-blends' are: *lonche, troca, yarda, weekend, Thanksgiving, kinder* ('lunch', 'truck', 'yard', 'weekend', 'Thanksgiving', 'kinder'), among others. According to the theories of the referenced studies, all these borrowings should have maintained their English phonology and morphology, instead of becoming adapted into Spanish. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is Gumperz's (1964) notion of a 'linguistic repertoire', which is conceived from a perspective of social interaction and, therefore, is directly linked to a specific speech community. According to Gumperz, "a linguistic repertoire contains all the accepted ways of formulating messages" (1964:138). Members of the same speech community choose their language according to the meanings that they want to convey. These language choices are subject not only to grammatical constraints, but also to social restraints and agreed-upon conventions, which are learned and internalized along with grammatical rules. Most of the code-mixings found in this study are culture-specific words that, according to the previous literature, are more likely to be borrowed than "basic or core vocabulary words" (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Hock and Joseph, 1996; Thomason, 2001). As shown in Examples (27), (28) and (29), these borrowings belong to semantic fields that are related to the U.S. cultural context, so it could be claimed that these borrowings are part of a shared linguistic repertoire in this specific speech community. In this sense, Heredia and Altarriba (2001) see code-switching as a strategy to communicate certain ideas more effectively. According to these authors, there are some concepts that can only be truly expressed in one language; in a conversation between Spanish-English bilinguals, the speakers

would attain a greater level of understanding by switching to those certain words. In Example 25, Laura first tries to express the concept of ‘language arts’ class in Spanish by simply saying *inglés* (‘English’); however, she ends up switching into English and saying ‘language arts’.

(27) Laura

*Cuando, los dos primeros años que estuve aquí en la escuela eran... era bilingüe la educación. Este... muchas de mis clases eran en inglés, pero las clases fundamentales como inglés, no, como **language arts**, o **maths** eran bilingües. Este... a partir de esos dos años, después fue todo en inglés, clases en inglés.*
‘When, the first two years I was here in the school it was... it was bilingual education. Um... Many of my classes were in English but the most important ones, such as English, no, such as **language, arts**, or **maths**, were bilingual. After these two years, everything was in English, all the classes were in English.’

(28) Ernesto

*Para mí... para mí, me acuerdo esta que es en la **middle school** estaba en una... ¿cómo se dice? En inglés se le dice **spelling bee**. Y yo... yo saqué el primer lugar. Eso estaba muy bien. Es algo que todavía me recuerdo. Cosas así. Cosas así. I mean, no hay una experiencia que... que me recuerdo que me hace bien feliz, ¿verdad? Pero casi en total la escuela era algo positivo para mí.*
‘For me... for me, I remember that during **middle school** I was in a... how do say it? In English we say **spelling bee**. And I... I was in first place. That was great. I still remember it. Things like that. Things like that. I mean, I do not have just one experience... that I remember that makes me especially happy, right? But, in general, school was something positive for me.’

(29) Arturo

*Ah, canijo, ya tiene mucho. La conocí por un amigo, mi amigo estaba saliendo con la hermana de mi esposa y él me invitó una vez, yo creo me quería como... para ayudarla, pues sí, él quería estar más apartado con... con la hermana, ¿verdad? Y fuimos a... ¿adónde fuimos la primera vez? Pues como un... como un **drive-in**, pero allí vendían ah... bebidas y te puedes estar ahí sentado y... bien de cuentas él ya no quiso salir con la... con la hermana, o sea ahora mi cuñada pues y yo ahí empecé con... a salir con mi esposa, Lucy y, después de tiempo salíamos y ahí empezamos a hablarnos y uhm... y ya salimos como casi dos años con ella y ya después de los dos años, nos casamos.*
‘Well, it’s been a long time. I met her through a friend, my friend was dating my wife’s sister and he invited me once, I think he wanted me to... to help her, yes, he wanted to be by himself with... with her sister, right? And we went to... where did we go the first time? It was like a... like a **drive-in**, but they sold... drinks and you can sit down and... well, he did not want to date her... her sister

anymore, now she is my sister-in-law, and I started with... dating my wife. Lucy and, after dating for a while we started talking and uhm... and we dated for like two years and after two years we got married.'

According to previous studies, in language contact situations, changes are more likely to appear in the lexicon, since it is a less stable linguistic domain than, for example, grammar (Van Coetsem 1988; Clyne 2003; Winford 2003; Toribio 2012; Montrul 2013). These borrowings do not have a significant impact on the structural properties of the recipient language, which fits Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 1998) model: Spanish, here the ML, maintains its grammatical frame, where the English borrowing is inserted.

10.2.3. Code-changes and Muysken's model

Results show that code-changing was a common linguistic behavior among almost all the speakers. There were only three (Laura, Estrella and Elizabeth) who did not produce any type of code-change in their speech; however, these three participants did produce other types of code-switching, mainly borrowings. There is no general consensus in the literature on the boundary between single-morpheme switching and borrowing; some researchers treat them as essentially similar processes (Treffers-Daller, 1991; Myers-Scotton 1993b; Gardner-Chloros, 1995), while others argue that they involve different mechanisms (Sankoff and Poplack, 1981; Poplack and Meechan, 1995). In order to determine whether a specific word is a borrowing or a code-change, we should take into account monolingual speech, the level of phonological and morphological incorporation of that specific word and its frequency of use in the whole community (Poplack 1980; Lipski 2005; Montrul 2013). Since this was not the intended purpose of this study, some of the single-word switches that I considered as borrowings in these sample of speakers might be categorized as code-changes by some scholars and, therefore, it could be claimed that all the participants in this study produced, to some extent, some sort of code-changes in their speech.

Most of the code-changes found in this study belong to the 'tag-switching' category, which, as shown in Example (30), are function words or discourse markers. Tag-switching is generally associated with language-contact contexts (Lipski 2005; Torres and Potoswki 2008). Moreover, in the context of Spanish in the U.S., some researchers have shown that, as the

speakers become more proficient in English, the frequency of use of English discourse markers in their Spanish increases (Torres 2002; Aaron 2004; Said-Mohand 2006, as cited in Torres and Potowski 2008). However, Lipski (2005) reports the use of ‘so’ in the Spanish discourse of bilinguals of high, medium and low proficiency in Spanish. He also claims that the incorporation of function words happens below the level of awareness of the speaker: “a speaker who inserts so and similar items into a Spanish-only discourse is simultaneously operating on a metalevel in which discourse is framed in terms of English” (p. 12). Tag-switching is conditioned by the relationship between English and Spanish in the U.S. The great majority of U.S. Latinos spend most of their day speaking English, the dominant language; therefore, they unconsciously and spontaneously revert to English when not making a conscious effort to speak Spanish. By switching function words in a situation of intense language contact, such as the U.S., Latinos show acculturation to the dominant culture, no matter their level of proficiency.

(30) Benjamin

De mi vida laboral, yo creo sería, en mi trabajo muchas de las veces gente que habla, este, no tiene el dinero para, para pagar lo que voy a hacer yo, ¿verdad? So en veces que voy a sus casas y miro la condición que, en la que viven y todo, este, yo trato de ayudarles, so, en, sería eso.

‘In my professional life, I think it would be, at work, there are many times when people talk and, they do not have enough money to pay for what I am going to do, right? **So**, sometimes I go to their homes and see how they live and all of that and uh, I try to help them, **so**, that would be it.’

Lipski (2005) also points to Muysken’s (2000) typology of code-switching in order to analyze function markers in bilingual language switching. As we saw in previous sections, Muysken developed three types of possible switches: *insertions* of material from one language into another (acting as borrowings); *alternations* between utterances of the two languages, and *congruent lexicalizations*, or lexical items placed in similar grammatical structures. Muysken (2002: 8-9) states that *alternation* “[i]s particularly frequent in stable bilingual communities with a tradition of language separation ...”; *insertion* “is frequent in colonial settings and recent migrant communities, where there is a considerable asymmetry in speakers’ proficiency in the two languages”; and *congruent lexicalization* “may be particularly associated with second

generation migrant groups, dialect/standard and post- creole continua, and bilingual speakers of closely related languages with roughly equal prestige and no tradition of overt language separation”. Moreover, Muysken classifies the English word *anyway* in the Spanish speech from Gibraltar as a congruent lexicalization and suggests that it is possible that insertions can evolve into congruent lexicalization in certain communities. According to Lipski (2005), this could be the case of discourse markers in U.S. Spanish; they might have begun as insertions and evolved to congruent lexicalizations.

Although there is a great degree of variation in terms of frequency and typology of the switches at the individual level, a qualitative analysis of the code-switching behavior of these twelve U.S. Spanish speakers shows that code-switching is not a random phenomenon, but rather, a rule-governed linguistic feature, common in environments of language contact.

11. Final remarks

To conclude, the present study has examined the code-switching behavior of twelve Spanish-English bilinguals of Texas, drawn from the *Spanish in Texas Corpus* (Bullock and Toribio 2013), with the objective of finding possible patterns of systematicity in the alternation of English and Spanish via a quantitative and qualitative analysis. The results show that the frequency and typology of code-switching varied substantially among these speakers, concurring with previous research that has characterized U.S. Latinos as a highly diverse group in social interactions (Valdés 2001; Carreira 2004; Potowski 2010; Montrul 2013; Fairclough 2016, among others) and use of linguistic forms (Silva-Corvalán 1993; Zentella 1997; Valdés 2001; Colombi 2009). Moreover, some researchers have indicated that personality might also influence the code-switching behavior of U.S. Latinos (Gardner-Chloros 2008; Dewaele and Wei 2014). These findings also reveal that code-switching is not a random process, but rather a rule-governed linguistic phenomenon. In agreement with previous research (e.g. Poplack 1980; McClure 1981; Valdés 1982; Zentella 1997; Muysken 2000; Toribio 2002), the findings in this study indicate that code-switching preserves the structure of both languages and is usually utilized by bilinguals who are highly competent in both codes.

Despite addressing the second largest Hispanic population in the country, research on Texas Spanish has mainly focused on linguistic attitudes towards Spanish (Mejías, Anderson-Mejías and Carlson 2003; Pletsch de García 2008; Chavira 2013; Rangel, Loureiro-Rodríguez and Moyna 2015). By focusing on one of the most remarkable characteristics of U.S. Spanish, code-switching, and in an effort to support the validity of this linguistic feature as a systematic form of bilingual communication in language-contact settings, this study contributes to the recognition of U.S. Spanish, pejoratively referred to as ‘Spanglish’, as a valid variety of the Spanish language. As Rothman and Beth-Rell (2005:516) state, “Spanglish is not good or bad [...] Linguistically speaking, Spanglish is not better or worse than its constituent parts: Spanish and English. Judgments pertaining its status, however tangible and defensible, are merely opinions”.

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