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by

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**Let's Talk About el Lenguaje: An Examination of Code-switching in  
Latino Films, YouTube, and Radio**

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**Let's Talk About el Lenguaje: An Examination of Code-switching in  
Latino Films, YouTube, and Radio**

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## Dedication

I'd like to primarily dedicate this work to my family. Para mis padres, hermanos, y abuelos que me han apoyado en cada paso del camino.

- A mis padres: gracias por el apoyo incondicional que me han brindado, por darme motivación cuando más la he necesitado, creer en mí, y por darme las fuerzas para lograr mis metas.
- A mis hermanos: gracias por escucharme y alegrarme mis días con sus mensajes, memes y GIFs. Espero que al ver mis logros digan “si ella pudo, yo también puedo.”
- A mis abuelos: gracias por los consejos, el apoyo, las porras desde lejos, y la sabiduría que me han brindado. Ustedes me dijeron que “valgo oro” y que “para atrás, ni para agarrar vuelo,” y me la creí y lo tomé muy en serio.

Gracias a ustedes, llegué hasta el final de la meta. Este logro es tanto mío, como de ustedes.

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## **Abstract**

### **Let's Talk About el Lenguaje: An Examination of Code-switching in Latino Films, YouTube, and Radio**

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The goal of this thesis is to examine and compare the code-switching (CS) used in three Pantelion films set in Los Angeles (LA) to CS used in an LA YouTube video blogger and LA Radio. CS has been identified as a prominent characteristic of films that portray the Latino population (Berg, 2002; Helland, 2015); however little research has examined the types of CS used and how representative they are of Latino speech. This paper finds that films do not accurately represent the language (specifically the CS) of LA Latinos. Additionally, the language choices in Latino films reinforce prescriptivist and language purism ideologies of the acceptable use of code-switching. Most of the code-switching in the films was intersentential and tag switching, whereas the YouTube videos and radio recordings displayed a preference for intrasentential switching. The use of intersentential switching in films can be attributed to it being easier to subtitle, and by including it, the films serve a prescriptivist medium that reinforces language purism and pejorative ideologies of code-switching, which could lead to an increase in language insecurity and a decrease in bilingualism in the Latino community.

This paper utilizes Torres (2007) Strategies for the Inclusion of Spanish as a theoretical framework, and expands their definitions to encompass films, YouTube, and radio. Furthermore, based on Torres' (2007) work, this paper finds that the Latino films accommodate for monolingual speakers using several strategies, while the YouTube videos and the radio station are aimed towards bilingual Latinos who, as an audience, receive bilingual gratification. While the representations of Latinos in the films were mostly positive, there was still a lack of diversity in the cast of the films, especially an absence of U.S. Latino actors. The films display a dichotomy between Mexican and American actors, conflating the diverse nationalities that compose Latinidad into one: Mexican. This work expand the current literature on how CS is incorporated in media, and opens the door to new avenues of investigation on the examination of how representative CS is in different mediums.

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# Chapter 1 – The Backstory: Analyzing the Use of Code-Switching in U.S. Latino Films

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Recently, Latino<sup>1</sup> films such as *Coco* (2017) have demonstrated to Hollywood that stories involving Latinos are important and can be successful. *Coco* (2017), a Disney/Pixar movie centered on Latinos and their traditions, became a box office hit when it was released. In the United States, the movie grossed over 200 million dollars showcasing the driving force Latino stories in film have in attracting a Latino audience to theaters (IMDb, Inc., 2018c). The film comes at a time when Latinos are asking for more representations in the media, whether that is in music, film, television, radio, etc. In 2017, Latinos comprised 17.6% of the population of the United States, yet, only 3.1% of the characters in 2016's top 100 films were of Latino descent (United States Census Bureau, 2017a; Smith, Choueiti, & Pieper, 2017).

Most media representations of Latinos have been in the form of damaging stereotypes which reinforce negative views that people have of the Latino community; it is rare for Latinos to be portrayed with a highly accomplished profession (e.g., physicians or attorneys), as Latinos are more likely to be portrayed as a “hot-blooded gang member, musician, or illegal alien” (Roman, 2000, p. 42). Latinos have often been portrayed as *bandidos*, harlots, male buffoons, female clowns, Latin lovers, dark/sensual ladies, and as lazy/untrustworthy (Berg, 2002; Portillo, 2017). The portrayals of Latino characters have been changing in recent years. According to a recent Theatrical Home Entertainment Market Environment (THEME) Report by the Motion Picture Association of America

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<sup>1</sup> The term “Latino” is used throughout this thesis as defined by Berg (2002) as “the umbrella term for people of Latin American descent that in recent years has supplanted the more imprecise and bureaucratic designation ‘Hispanic.’ Thus, Cuban Americans, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and any people who trace their ethnic roots back to Central or South America are considered Latino if they live in the United States” (p. 5)

(MPAA), Latinos purchased 23% of the 1.24 billion admission tickets sold in 2017 (Motion Picture Association of America [MPAA], 2017). The demand for more Latino content and the opportunity of capitalizing in an untapped and fortuitous market has led big production studios like Lionsgate (in the US) and Televisa (in Mexico and Latin America) to partner and create a new film production studio: Pantelion Films (Serna, 2017).

Pantelion Films produces movies aimed at Latinos, and most of them use English and Spanish in their dialogues. Their biggest film, *Instructions Not Included* (2013), is currently the fourth top grossing foreign film in the United States, having earned almost 45 million dollars in the box office (IMDb, Inc., 2018a). The movie has characters that speak English and Spanish, and at times, engage in code-switching. Additionally, Pantelion's *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017) and *How to Be a Latin Lover* (2017), are films that include characters of Latino and Anglo backgrounds who speak both English and Spanish.

Recently, Pantelion released a remake of the film *Overboard* (2018). As an avid supporter of films that include Latino protagonists, it was refreshing to recognize more Latinos in the big screen, yet when actors spoke in English and Spanish, I began questioning if their language abilities in switching were representative of my own, as I perceived their language switching to occur in odd places. With this in mind, I started thinking of actors that are capable of switching between these two languages, and yet the only ones that came to mind were George Lopez and Salma Hayek. As more films are being produced for Latinos, do U.S. Latinos see themselves and the way they speak accurately represented in the media?

There is limited research examining the types of code-switching used in media and how representative they are of Latino speech. Briefly, code-switching (CS) is defined as the process of alternating between languages in the same conversation, utterance, or interaction (Bentahila & Davies, 1995; Toribio, 2002; Bullock & Toribio, 2009; and

Holmes & Wilson, 2017). Bleichenbacher (2008) describes different types of code-switching in film, the motivations for including CS in scenes, and how it is used primarily for characterization purposes. Helland (2015) analyzed Pantelion's *From Prada to Nada* (2011) using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and described the context where switches between English and Spanish occur, which helped emphasize the characters' Latino backgrounds, resulting in the stereotypical use of language. Other research includes the analysis of bilingual linguistic manipulation in humoristic scenes showcased in the TV show *I Love Lucy* (1951-1957) (Kirschen, 2013) and the use of CS in kid's TV shows that include Latino characters and create a "generic Latino" image (de Casanova, 2003). The previously mentioned literature examines the use of Spanish and English in the media, yet it does not acknowledge how the alternation between English and Spanish closely resembles the speech produced by bilinguals.

### **1.1 Research Questions**

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the types of CS that are most prevalent in films marketed to U.S. Latinos and compare them to the CS used by Latinos from Los Angeles that appear in YouTube videos and work in a popular bilingual radio station. Pantelion Films, such as *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), and *How to Be a Latin Lover* (2017) are examples of movies that are aimed towards U.S. Latinos that speak English and Spanish. These films are set in Los Angeles/Hollywood, a historic setting for Latino cinema (Portillo, 2017). Yarel Ramos, a YouTuber who is known for using English and Spanish codeswitching in her vlogs (video blogs), grew up in the city of Los Angeles. MEGA 96.3 FM, a radio station based out of Los Angeles, California, is also known for using code-switching by its music, advertisements, and their radio hosts. Even though these films, YouTube videos, and radio

station are set in Los Angeles/Hollywood, code-switching is portrayed differently: films utilize scripted CS, while YouTube videos and radio do not. This thesis examines how close the resemblance of CS in films is compared to other media formats (i.e. Ramos' YouTube channel and audio recordings from MEGA 96.3 FM). This project is guided by the following research questions:

- 1) Are the language choices in the films *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), and *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017), reinforcing a prescriptivist ideology of the acceptable usage of code-switching?
- 2) If code-switching is used in the previously stated Latino films, what are the main types of code-switching portrayed (e.g., intersentential, intrasentential, tag-switching, insertions)?
  - a) Which actors in the films use intersentential/intrasentential switching?
    - i) Do the actors' countries of origin and language repertoires influence and affect their portrayals of code-switching on screen?
      - (1) How is the Latino community affected by actors portraying a different type of CS than the one primarily displayed by Latinos?
  - b) Using an adaptation of Torres' (2007) *Strategies for Inclusion of Spanish in Latino/a Texts*, what are the main ways in which code-switching is incorporated in film dialogues?
    - i) Does the code-switching in the films' dialogues accommodate the monolingual English audience?
    - ii) Does the code-switching in the films reward the bilingual Latino audience with inclusion into multi-layered meanings (Noriega, 1992; Helland, 2015) of dialogue that requires the background and understanding of Latino culture?

- c) How does the CS shown in the films *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), and *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017) compare to the CS displayed by the bilingual English/Spanish speakers in the YouTube videos from Yarel Ramos' channel and audio recordings from the radio station MEGA 96.3 FM?
  - i) What are the main types of CS exhibited in the films, YouTube videos, and audio recordings from the radio station?
  - ii) If the CS types shown in the films differ from the CS types displayed in the YouTube videos and radio clips, what are the implications of not having similar speech representations of CS in films catered to U.S. Latinos?

## **1.2 Outline of Chapters**

In the previous paragraphs, I have delineated the purpose of the thesis and set the importance of conducting an analysis in language and stereotypes shown in films. In the following sections, the key concepts of code-switching, language ideologies, and media representation will be defined, and I will present the theoretical framework that will guide the analysis of the films.

In *Chapter 2 – The Footage: Exploring Latino Films*, I will give a detailed synopsis of the selected Pantelion films, as well as background information of key characters and the actors that interpret them. The chapter will also include a more detailed explanation on the selection of the films and an overview of the transcription process. In addition, an analysis will be conducted on the types of CS present in the films, the strategies for including Spanish in them, as well as the stereotypes and representations observed in the movies.

In *Chapter 3 – The Dialogue: YouTube Videos*, I will describe the background of Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra, the vlogger and her guest respectively. Both vloggers are from Los Angeles and use code-switching in their videos. The chapter will contain an overview of the topics discussed in the YouTube videos and details of the transcriptions. Furthermore, an analysis of the types of CS that appear in the YouTube videos and how reflective the switches are of the speakers' backgrounds will be included.

In *Chapter 4 – The Sound Effects: Radio Clips*, I will delve into the last type of media used in the analysis. The radio station MEGA 96.3 FM is popular in LA, not only for its music, but for its use of English and Spanish in all of its programming, including advertisements. The recordings analyzed are of radio hosts Melissa and DJ Eddie One, will showcase their abilities to switch between Spanish and English. An analysis on their linguistic patterns will provide a more realistic example of Spanish-English code-switching in Latino bilinguals in Los Angeles.

In *Chapter 5 – The Montage: Comparison Across Media*, the data from the three mediums (Films, YouTube, and radio) will be compared. The analysis will compare and contrast CS from the selected films, against CS from the YouTube videos and radio clips. The chapter will include a depiction of the key places where switches occur, as well as any patterns that arise in the data.

Finally, in *Chapter 6 – The Denouement: A Final Look at the Code-switching*, I will discuss the implications that the code-switching portrayals in the media has on the Latino community. Some of the implications include the perpetuating of pejorative language ideologies that have affected the use of code-switching and created linguistic insecurity in Latinos. This chapter will summarize the primary strategies observed for Spanish inclusion and the representations of Latinos in the different mediums. The chapter will also explore the limitations that the analysis had and future directions for research.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Code-Switching (CS)

While there are many definitions of code-switching (CS), CS can also be referred to as code-meshing, code-mixing, and intermixing, etc. (Bullock & Toribio, 2009; Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Muysken, Díaz, & Muysken, 2000). This thesis defines CS as the effortless process of alternating between languages in the same conversation, utterance, or interaction (Poplack, 1980; Bentahila & Davies, 1995; Toribio, 2002; Bullock & Toribio, 2009; and Holmes & Wilson, 2017). CS is found in language contact communities like Spanish-English bilingual communities in the United States (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Toribio, 2002). Code-switching is performed by individuals living in bilingual communities, and it contributes to the construction of the speaker's ethnic identity (Toribio, 2002; Bullock & Toribio, 2009; and Holmes & Wilson, 2017). Code-switching parallels the complex and hybrid identity of Latinos by being the convergence of cultural, societal, and language ideologies (Toribio, 2002; Zentella, 1997; Anzaldúa, 1987). There are different types of code-switching which have distinct characteristics. In the following subsections, I define the types of CS used in the analysis provided in Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5.

#### 2.1.1 *Intra-sentential switching*

Intra-sentential switching is the most complex switching; it requires interlocutors to abide by syntactic rules defined by the community or the speakers themselves (Poplack, 1980). Intra-sentential switching is known as the most *intimate* type of CS, as it can symbolize membership to a community and requires a high proficiency in both languages (Poplack, 1980; Gardner-Chloros, 2009). Intra-sentential switching occurs in-between phrases and sentences and can vary in length (e.g. utterance length) (Poplack, 1980). For

example, Toribio (2002) finds that the syntax of Spanish and English is kept in a response from one of the participants, which further supports Poplack's (1980) assertion that the ability to produce intrasentential switching is related to competence and proficiency in both languages. The following example is from Yanira, one of the participants in the study, who displays intra-sentential CS:

***Example 1: Yanira, intra-sentential switching.***

“LA MADRE DE CAPERUCITA LE DA a jar of honey. As Little Red Riding Hood is walking along the forest SE ENCUENTRA CON UN LOBO. EL LOBO PLATICA CON Little Red Riding Hood for a while. They both finish talking Y EL LOBO CAMINA EN OTRA DIRECCIÓN OPUESTA A LA DE CAPERUCITA” (p. 97).

***2.1.2 Inter-sentential switching***

Inter-sentential switching occurs at the end of phrases or full clauses, and it occurs after pauses or punctuation marks (Myers-Scotton, 1997). This type of CS is more common than intra-sentential switching since it does not require bilingual speakers to have high proficiency in their second language (Holmes & Wilson, 2017; Bullock & Toribio, 2009). Toribio (2002) found inter-sentential switches were easier to read than intra-sentential switching. Participants also primarily utilized inter-sentential switching when retelling narratives. The following example from Toribio (2002), shows Rosalba producing inter-sentential switching in her speech when retelling a short story:

***Example 2: Rosalba, inter-sentential switching.***

“The next day the queen asked the mirror again, ‘Who is the fairest one of all now?’ Y EL ESPEJO CONTESTÓ, ‘Snow White is the fairest of them all.’ PERO MIENTRAS TANTO, UN PRÍNCIPE, CAMINABA POR EL VALLE Y VIO A BLANCANIEVES” (p. 109)

### 2.1.2.1 Tag-switching

Within inter-sentential switching, there is a type of switching that does not require proficiency of a second language, tag-switching (i.e. tags) (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). Tag-switching is the least *intimate* type of code-switching, yet it requires understanding of cultural and ethnic traditions that a language carries as it encompasses phrases or words that are hard to translate. While keeping the grammaticality of sentence, tags are easily inserted anywhere within a sentence or phrase, and function as an *ethnic identity marker* (Poplack, 1980; Holmes & Wilson, 2017). Tags are dependent on the interlocutors and the connection to their community; this makes tags difficult to translate for individuals who do not speak the language nor belong to the community (Poplack, 1980). Tag-like switches include interjections, fillers, tags, and idiomatic expressions since they are simple enough to attain and incorporate in a second language learner's lexicon (Poplack, 1980). The following tag-switching examples (underlined> are taken from Poplack's (1980):

#### ***Example 3: Tag-switches from Poplack (1980)***

- a) VENDÍA ARROZ (He sold rice) 'n shit.
- b) But I wanted to fight her CON LOS PUÑOS (with the fists), you know (p. 596).

Examples 3a) and 3b) show phrases that do not require the speaker to have an advanced knowledge of the grammar structures in their second language. Example *a)* shows an idiomatic expression, while example *b)* shows a tag. If the tags were to be translated directly into another language, they would lose the cultural meaning behind it, one that an individual that is part of the community would understand fully and be able to use grammatically.

### 2.1.3 Muysken's Typological Code-Mixing

In this section, I define code-switching terms using Muysken et al.'s (2000) Typological Code-Mixing, which utilizes the term *code-mixing* instead of CS and describes CS as *alternation*. Muysken et al. (2000) distinguish the different types of *code-mixing* as *alternation*, *insertion*, and *congruent lexicalization*. The latter term will not be utilized throughout this thesis since Spanish and English are not languages that share the same prestige and acceptability in the United States, a requirement for congruent lexicalization to happen (Muysken, et al., 2000; Gardner-Chloros, 2009).

1. *Alternation* occurs when the structures of two different grammars match, thus code-switches can occur at points of equivalence. The two languages remain relatively separated in an A-B configuration and is likely to happen in stable bilingual communities where the languages are kept separate. An example of alternation is Poplack's (1980) article title:

***Example 4: Alternation, Poplack's (1980) article title.***

“Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL (and I finish in Spanish).”

The grammars of English and Spanish are structurally compatible (both being Subject-Verb-Object languages), which provide more places for switching to occur in a sentence. The previous example shows an alternation occurring between a noun (*Spanish*) and an English conjunction (*and*). The title could have the languages reversed, with the noun and conjunction marking the switching points, and would still maintain grammaticality (e.g. A VECES EMPIEZO UNA ORACIÓN EN ESPAÑOL and I finish in Spanish).

2. *Insertion* is a process similar to borrowing, where lexical items (e.g., single words or phrases) are introduced and embedded to a constituent (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). Insertions are not code-switches as they closely resemble lexical borrowings, which is a process that does not require any bilingual proficiency from the speaker (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). Additionally, insertions are different from tag-switching as they are not necessarily culturally connected phrases. An example of insertion comes from the Netflix Original Series *Club de Cuervos* (2015-2019):

**Example 5: Insertion, *Club de Cuervos* (2015-2019) scene.**

**CHAVA IGLESIAS**

“¿Y DE DONDE QUIERES QUE SAQUE LAS CÁMARAS? ¿QUE CONTRATE EL *staff*, QUE DISEÑE LA PÁGINA, QUE CONTRATE EL *hosting*?” (Season 4, Episode 3).

In Example 5, Chava Iglesias inserts the words *staff* and *hosting* into the Spanish dialogue. In this case, the English insertions are lexical borrowings from English and not part of the Spanish lexicon. These insertions are not code-switches as they do not require speakers to be proficient in English.

## **2.2 Language Ideologies on Code-Switching**

Most research on language ideologies and code-switching has focused on usage and acceptance (McClure, 1997; Zentella, 1997; Montes-Alcalá, 2000, Diaz, 2004; Gardner-Chloros, 2009, for reference). For example, Bentahila (1983) questioned Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco about their attitudes towards CS and found that a majority expressed disapproval, with some attitudes ranging from pity to disgust. The study demonstrates the

negative ideologies regarding CS that permeate bilingual communities. Gumperz (1982) revealed that subjects attributed CS to characteristics such as lack of education, bad manners or language inability. These perceptions on CS have a large impact in society as individuals start feeling ashamed of their bilingual skill to switch between languages. Using surveys to examine attitudes toward CS, Toribio (2002) found that negative views described CS as ugly-sounding, believing that those who use it seem less intelligent, and ultimately viewing it as language mutilation.

Because of the pejorative views on code-switching, Latinos may experience symptoms of *linguistic insecurity*, believing that their speech is inferior compared to other dialects (Zentella, 2007). Hidalgo (1988) surveyed individuals from Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, and El Paso, TX, on their attitudes on CS. Results showed that 74% of the participants disagreed with the statement that it sounds pretty when speakers change continuously from Spanish to English, and vice versa, while 61% confessed that hearing CS bothers them. Hidalgo concluded that Mexican participants viewed CS as “downgrading their own language” (p. 14). This is similar to the opinions presented in Toribio (2002), where CS is considered *language mutilation*. Negative views of code-switching are contrary to research finding that being able to CS stems from being highly or mildly proficient in both languages (Poplack, 1980). Therefore, research that examines how code-switching is represented in media is imperative, as media representations of CS may be reinforcing these negative perceptions of code-switching and in the process, prescribing the right way of speaking to U.S. Latinos.

Recent research suggests that ideologies towards CS have not changed. In a study conducted in two Texas border towns, Laredo and Edinburg, researchers used a matched-guise test to determine the attitudes that locals had towards CS (Rangel, Loureiro-Rodríguez, & Moyna, 2015). A matched-guise test is used to obtain the covert ideologies

and attitudes that individuals have towards different dialects or languages. The experiment utilized recordings of Mexican Spanish, Standard English, and code-switching for the matched-guise test. The researchers measured for solidarity in language, status, and personal appeal using a Likert scale. Results showed that code-switching had the lowest favorability rating, while English and Spanish were rated similarly for status. Researchers noted that participants reacted negatively when the code-switching guises were played. Some of the participants' reactions included making "explicit comments such as laughing or frowning in disapproval" (Rangel et al., 2015, p. 194). These results corroborate previous findings showcasing negative attitudes towards code-switching, even in border towns where CS is more likely to be used.

### **2.3 Code-switching in Films**

Literature on code-switching in films focuses on foreign accents and CS reinforcing pejorative language ideologies (Bleichenbacher, 2008; Grambling, 2010; Lippi-Green, 2012). Barnes (2012) analyzed how CS was used in science fiction/fantasy, war, and intercultural films, to portray *insiders* and *outsiders*. The author concluded that CS is a resource that screenwriters and directors employ to develop relationships and identities of characters in films. Moreover, language has been found to play a key part in formulating a characters' ethnic background, and Spanish and CS have been established as important elements that conform the representations of Latinos in films (Berg, 2002; Helland, 2015).

Helland (2015) recognized that CS was portrayed in the film *From Prada to Nada* (2011) to aid in the creation of Latino characters' ethnic background and identity. The author states that CS was used in the film to make the film be as culturally authentic as possible, showcase the different levels of solidarity and language accommodation that occurs between characters based on their relationship, and to confront language purism and

assimilation ideologies. Since Spanish and CS are features included in the portrayals of Latinos, at times the language choices have led to stereotypical dialogues produced by actors. These dialogues are primarily produced for characterization purposes and consequently, the reinforcement of harmful ideologies (Bleichenbacher, 2008; Helland, 2015).

### ***2.3.1 Bleichenbacher's Motivations for Code-switching in Multilingual Films***

Bleichenbacher (2008) illustrates how CS and accents are used in multilingual films, implicitly convey the background of a character, instead of showcasing how bilingual speakers speak. The author names those instances as *unrealistic code-switching*. An example presented is from the Jack Ryan film *Clear and Present Danger* (1994). In the scene, Colombian characters Cortez and Escobedo are speaking Spanish. Cortez says “*Estados Unidos*” (“United States”), Escobedo proceeds to switch to English, and keeps using English during the remainder of their conversation (p. 79). The characters use of Spanish establishes their identity as Colombian. When Cortez and Escobedo switched from Spanish to English, they *code-switched unrealistically*, since there was no need for them to switch. Therefore, the characters conveniently switch to reflect their ethnic background, even though the conversation does not reflect a real CS situation.

Bleichenbacher (2008) analyzed 28 movies (e.g., *The Bourne Identity* (2002), *Fools Rush In* (1997), *Just Married* (2003)) where code-switching is present. Bleichenbacher made distinctions between *linguistic motivations* and *narrative motivations*. *Linguistic motivations* are depicted when characters in a film mimic the language choices and speech patterns (e.g., code-switching) that other speakers have, while *narrative motivations* are present when CS is primarily utilized for characterization purposes and to fulfill narrative

plots. Using these distinctions, the author created the following categories to explain the primary motivations for using CS in multilingual films:

1. *Situational CS* is motivated by situational factors which “includes speaker’s linguistic repertoire, the addressee(s) of a turn, or the topic discussed.”
2. *Metaphorical or Marked CS* are switches that are highlighted and seem to be a turning point in the conversation; used for “linguistic politeness and language display”
3. *Indexical CS* are switches that are present for the benefit of the viewer. The switches serve to portray the ethnolinguistic background of a character. There are usually no psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, or pragmatic factors that prompt the switch.
4. *Edited CS* is observed in scenes where conversations are in different languages (each conversation is monolingual, but each in a different language) and the dialogues are merged either by camera work or editing.

Bleichenbacher analyzed 241 multilingual scenes and their depictions of CS. Bleichenbacher found *situational CS* was the most frequent motivation observed, followed by *metaphorical CS*. The following example of *situational CS* is from the film *Fools Rush In* (1997) where Isabel (portrayed by Salma Hayek) code-switches when she is angry or in pain.

***Example 6: Situational CS, Fools Rush In (1997), obtained from Bleichenbacher (2008).***

**Excerpt 51** (Fools Rush In, 0 51 30 – 0 52 01)

Isabel: I told you to make it special, idiot, not to kill him. **Se me salen de aquí todos, dejan me fuera** get the hell outta here you two come on **vámonos!** (p. 199)

In Example 6, Isabel is speaking to her bilingual brothers and code-switching is used to reflect her emotional state. Since the brothers are present in the film, Isabel is prompted to code-switch with them because they understand both languages, therefore producing a scene *situational code-switching* occurs. In other words, addressees, which in this case are the brothers bring out the CS of Isabel; if the brothers were not in the scene, the code-switching is unlikely to have been produced. As Salma Hayek's acquired English as an adult, she is only able to produce intersentential switches, a feature that will be discussed further in *Chapter 2*. Bleichenbacher (2008) notices how the dialogue produced by Hayek could also be understood by an English monolingual viewer, since direct translations for the Spanish portions are also provided in the same utterance.

#### **2.4 Media Representations of Latinos and Stereotypes**

As one of the purposes of this thesis is to examine CS in films, it is imperative to provide an overview of how Latinos have been portrayed historically in this medium. Code-switching in films is often utilized for characterization purposes, where characters' language choices end up conveying their ethnic background (Bleichenbacher, 2008). Language choices can result in the portrayals of stereotypical characters such as Latinos being portrayed as lazy and untrustworthy, or as ethnic and exotic (Portillo, 2017).

Historically, Anglo-actors have been cast in films to play Latinos, wearing *brownface* and speaking an accented Spanish (Berg, 2002). It was common for Latino characters to *butcher* their English dialogues, appearing as *ignorant* and not yet fully *assimilated* (Berg, 2002). The negative portrayals of Latinos also include the following stereotypical characters: *el bandido* and the harlot; the male buffoon and the female clown; the Latin lover and the dark lady; the hot-blooded sexy character; the gangster or gang member, who is frequently portrayed as a drug dealer; the snazzy entertainer; and the

immigrant, who is often portrayed as illegal (Berg, 2002; Roman, 2000). Berg (2002) also notes how protagonists are usually White and light-skinned, while antagonists are often dark-skinned and numerous film narratives tell the story of the American male hero that fights against the foreign villain. Furthermore, having light-skinned White protagonists and dark-skinned foreign villains portrayed in the media reinforces negative colorism ideologies and perpetuates the vilification of foreignness.

When Latinos are stereotyped in mass media, the community and its members have to deal with its repercussions. Roman (2000) examined whether media has incorporated positive Latino representations or whether stereotypical portrayals are still occurring. The author also analyzes the internal and external effects that stereotypes have in marginalized groups, with some external effects including the reinforcement of the label *Latinos* as *other* or *foreign*, and the silencing of the community. Similarly, internal effects of stereotypes in marginalized groups include the normalization of the stigma by the affected individuals. Stereotypes in media can lead to Latinos' perception of their selves to change as they internalize and accept negative stereotypes (Roman, 2000; Berg, 2002). Treviño (1985) described it best the effect that these stereotypes have on Latinos: "what these stereotypes... all have in common is that they reduce to a one-sided, superficial and exaggerated depiction the real variety and depth and complexity of a struggling people" (para. 8).

In prime-time television, there is a lack of Latino representations, with portrayals composing less than 10% of roles, and Latino characters often being placed in crime dramas and sitcoms (Children Now, 2004; Mastro, 2009). Most notably, a recent study showed that Latinos comprised only 3.1% of character portrayals in the top 100 films of 2016 (Smith, Choueiti, & Pieper, 2017). The percentage of portrayals in both television

and film is notably lower than the demographics of Latinos in the US (17.6% of the total population<sup>2</sup>), signaling a lack of Latino characters in the media.

Avila-Saavedra (2011) explains, there are two main reasons reflecting the importance of having Latinos in the media. The first reason sustains that with more representations in the media, Latinos will have bigger social power. Secondly, it would have an overall positive impact in American society. Latinos have lived through incidents where they are confronted for speaking a foreign language and not *assimilating* to American culture. Consequently, the Latino community will find comfort and reassurance that there is a place for them in the United States if there are more Latinos in the media and more positive representations. Therefore, contemporary representations of Latinos should be examined to determine how whether the current portrayals might be reinforcing the stereotypes that Latinos are trying to break. The examination of these portrayals includes analyzing not only the characters and their roles, but also the language that is used in films when they are showcasing Latinos and their speech patterns.

## **2.5 Theoretical Framework**

Code-switching in films has been examined using a variety of approaches, which has led to a better understanding of the relationship of languages in films. For this thesis, I will be using Bleichenbacher's (2008) Motivations for Code-switching in Multilingual Films (Situational, Metaphorical, Indexed, and Edited CS) as a basis for my theoretical framework. In addition, I will be adapting Torres' (2007) Strategies for Inclusion of Spanish in Latino/a Texts in order to analyze the data from the three mediums: films, YouTube, and radio.

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<sup>2</sup> Percentage obtained from the United States Census Bureau (2017a).

Torres (2007) analyzes the code-switching strategies that Latino/a writers incorporate in their literary texts. The author states that the use of English and Spanish mixing in texts can help promote its acceptance. Usually, authors cater to the monolingual reader by not challenging them out of their comfort zone, while maintaining the certainty of a wider audience reception. The same argument can be made for films that use subtitles whenever a foreign language is present, in order to accommodate the monolingual English audience. The Strategies for Inclusion of Spanish in Latino/a Texts as delineated by Torres are the following:

### ***2.5.1 Strategy One: Common Words***

The first strategy encompasses the inclusion of Spanish words in a context where meaning is obvious. Some of these words are items that people are familiar with, regardless of their cultural background. Examples of these words include “mango, tortilla, casa, mamá” (p. 78). A similar strategy is explained by Bleichenbacher (2008), where films incorporate cognates and well-known expressions into dialogues. Using *sí* or *hola* in a film does not usually merit the use of subtitles since they are words that are common/high frequency words. If words are not common, the context in which the words are used can provide clues to the words’ meaning. The following film excerpt from *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017) showcases this strategy:

#### ***Example 7: Strategy One, scene 683 from How to be a Latin Lover (2017).***

**MAXIMO:** GRACIAS, sweet Cindy. I hope your pussycats realize what a beautiful scratching post they have in you.

In the previous example, the word *gracias* is incorporated into the film without the use of subtitles. The viewer may understand the word *gracias* as the Spanish translation of *thank you* since it is a common word that is at times used in media by individuals who know little to no English. The word *gracias* has permeated American culture, to the extent that at times it is used mockingly, since the word is at times pronounced with an English accent as “grassy-ass” (Hill, 2009, p. 139). The mock pronunciation of *gracias* can be found in different merchandise, such as humorous greeting cards and T-shirts (Hill, 2009). Therefore, the word *gracias* does not need a translation since it is an easily recognizable word by English-speaking viewers of the film.

### **2.5.2 Strategy Two: Immediate Translation**

The second strategy discusses the inclusion of Spanish words with translations for them before or after they are introduced. Translations do not create any discomfort for readers or viewers since they do not exclude individuals from what is being said. Calques are also a way to “translate literally or figuratively” Spanish words that are turned into creative English words or phrases (p. 78). An example used by Torres is Sandra Cisneros’s novel called *Caramelo*, where a character is called “Aunty White-Skin” and its literal translation in Spanish is Titi Blanca. In the case of visual media, the strategy is exemplified by the TV shows such as *Dora the Explorer*. In the adventures of Dora and Boots, there are plenty of instances where Boots says, “let’s go!”, while Dora responds with “*Vámonos!*” (de Casanova, 2008, p. 465).

### **2.5.3 Strategy Three: Subtitles**

Another strategy used by Latino/a writers is having a glossary which readers can refer to when they do not understand a word. As Torres (2007) states, authors give

monolingual readers a priority when texts include glossaries. Subtitles in films would be the equivalent of a glossary in books, since they are available as translations of the dialogues for the audience. The strategy is visible in the film *From Prada to Nada* (2011), where part of the film is in Spanish, and subtitles are always present. A disadvantage of subtitles is the possibility of language being misrepresented and less complex than the original dialogues (Bleichenbacher, 2008). In *From Prada to Nada* (2011) the monolingual audiences are accommodated with subtitles, while the bilingual audiences are gratified with dialogues that have cultural meaning that cannot be translated with subtitles.

#### ***2.5.4 Bilingual Gratification/Monolingual Accommodation***

Noriega (1992) explains how filmmakers use soundtrack and different film techniques besides language to establish the identity in films. By doing so, the filmmaker creates *multi-layered meanings* which are not easily accessible to monolingual audiences that have little or no connection to the Latino culture or Spanish language. The three previously mentioned strategies accommodate for monolinguals, while offering different levels of bilingual gratification. Strategies One and Two (Common Words and Immediate Translations) do not offer much gratification to bilinguals. Meanwhile, Strategy Three (Subtitles) does offer bilingual gratification since subtitles at times may not convey the cultural meanings that are showcased in the dialogues of films.

When complex CS and Spanish is freely incorporated in bilingual content (i.e. books and films), individuals can experience the most bilingual gratification. This approach is illustrated in the popular text *Killer Crónicas* (2004), by Susana Chavez-Silverman, which is completely written in English and Spanish code-switching. The book does not accommodate monolingual readers since there are no translations or a glossary, giving the bilingual reader greater gratification. In the film *Selena* (1997), subtitles are not used even

though there are scenes in Spanish. Since the film does not use subtitles, it gives bilingual speakers an advantage of better understanding the storyline and emotional attachment to the characters.

## **Chapter 2 – The Footage: Exploring Latino Films**

### **1. INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER AND FILM HISTORY**

#### **1.1 Latino Films in the Last 50 Years**

From the poor Latino representation to the recent production of American movies geared toward Latinos, the film industry has made strides when it comes to embracing Latinos. Recently, the Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences (AMPAS) documented the changes that Latino film culture has had in the past 50 years in Los Angeles. AMPAS documented the change in film culture and created an online archive called “Pacific Standard Time: LA/LA Latin American & Latino Art in LA” (PST LA/LA). The archive contains oral histories of prominent Latinos in Hollywood, including actors, directors, and producers, who detail how Latinos have navigated Hollywood ideals and challenges throughout the years.

##### ***1.1.1 Representation of Mexican Americans in Films***

Most representations of Mexican/Latino characters were portrayed as deceitful and sluggish, cementing a stereotype that would follow Latinos for decades, and is still present in some representations of Latinos (Beauchamp, 2017; Negrón-Muntaner, 2014). Actors, such as Dolores del Río and Gilbert Roland, started revolutionizing the film industry and fighting against stereotypes by maintaining their accents, resisting being typecast (Beauchamp, 2017). Another manner in which Latinos started fighting against stereotypes in films was by writing and producing their own stories. Prominent films that stemmed from this fight include *Zoot Suit* (1981) and *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* (1982). In an interview Luis Valdez, writer of *Zoot Suit* (1981), attributed the film’s success to “the

pressing need for people to see themselves, to reaffirm their own existence by seeing themselves reflected” (L. Valdez, interview, June 7, 2014).

Valdez’s comments reflect the desire that Latinos had of being in the big screen, yet, until recently, Hollywood did not show them in more positive light. Since 1996, 69% of *iconic* maids in television and films were Latinas, and between 2012 and 2013, 17.7% of Latino characters in cinema were portrayed as criminals or linked to security or law enforcement (Negrón-Muntaner, 2014). Between 2007 and 2017, 3.1% of characters in films have been Latinos, and the percentage has remained steady throughout the decade (Smith, Choueiti, & Pieper, 2017). Recently, Diego Luna, a Mexican actor, portrayed the first Latino hero in the Star Wars franchise with the film *Rogue One: A Star Wars Story* (2016). The role obtained a positive reception from the Latino audience, since Luna kept his heavy Mexican accent with his character (King, Streeter, Herling, & Rose, 2018). Other Latinos are also being included in big budget films, such as Oscar Isaac in the new *Star Wars* trilogy and *X-Men Apocalypse* (2016), and Zoe Saldña in *Guardians of the Galaxy* (2014) (Ryan, 2017). These actors play roles that are positive representations for Latinos, but unlike Diego Luna, they do not show an accent in their roles that relates them to the speech of other Latinos.

Actors are not the only ones representing Latinos in cinema, with three prominent Mexican directors making waves and sweeping awards shows in recent years. The self-called *Three Amigos*, Alfonso Cuarón (*Gravity* (2013), *Roma* (2018)), Alejandro G. Iñárritu (*Birdman* (2014) and *The Revenant* (2015)), and Guillermo del Toro (*Pan’s Labyrinth* (2006) and *The Shape of Water* (2017)), have made major strides in revolutionizing Hollywood. The directors are Academy Award winners and have produced projects that are big box office hits, with Iñárritu earning back to back Oscars for *Birdman* (2014) and *The Revenant* (2015). The directors have made an impact in Latino cinema by

producing stories that do not rely on stereotypical representations of Latinos and their countries, showing real landscapes and people (Shaw, 2016). Unlike other directors/actors who have had success in the United States and suppressed their Latino identity in the process, they have managed to keep their Mexican heritage as a source of pride (Shaw, 2016). The *Three Amigos* have managed to achieve success while openly being proud of their heritage, becoming a positive representation of Mexicans in the film industry. Even though the directors have received recognition from the highest awards in the film industry, representation and recognition of Latinos and Latino films is still lacking.

Latino actors have been underrepresented when it comes to the highest awards in the film industry. The Oscars have been around for 90 years and during that period, Latino actors have received 16 nominations in total, winning only 6 of those. The last time an Oscar was received by a Latino was seventeen years ago (Moreno, 2018). Recently, Alfonso Cuarón's *Roma* (2018) made history by being the first Mexican film nominated in both Best Picture and Best Foreign Film categories, winning the latter. Additionally, the Mexican protagonists of the film, Yalitza Aparicio and Marina de Tavira received nominations for the film, with Aparicio becoming the first Indigenous woman to be nominated in the history of the Oscars (Ruiz-Grossman, 2019). Even though the *Three Amigos* are receiving many awards for their films and have had success in the box office, their films do not include many portrayals by Latino actors.

## **1.2 Latinos in the Box Office**

Latinos have great power over the box office numbers, evidenced by the following films aimed at the Latino audience. *Instructions Not Included* (2013) is the 4<sup>th</sup> highest grossing foreign movie of all time (IMDb, 2018a) and *Selena* (1997) is the 13<sup>th</sup> highest grossing music biopic of all time (IMDb, 2018b). Meanwhile, *Coco* (2017) made \$209.7

million in domestic Box Office and \$807 million worldwide after its release (IMDb, 2018c). The films are all comprised by Latino casts and shy away from stereotypical representations. The MPAA's recent reports on the demographics of moviegoers recognize that Latinos comprise a substantial part of the box office sales. In response, Hollywood has started producing more films with Latino-centered stories. Some of these films include: *The Book of Life* (2014), *Coco* (2017), *Spanglish* (2004), *Ferdinand* (2017), and *Beatriz at Dinner* (2017).

The editorial director of *Latina Magazine*, Robyn Moreno, explained to *USA Today* that "it seems like across the board, (studios) are getting it... we're Latinos and we're American, so we want to see ourselves almost everywhere" (Ryan, 2017). Pantelion Films was one of the first production studios striving to change representations of Latinos. Pantelion's chairman, Jim McNamara, acknowledges that Pantelion Films was created as a result of "Latinos not seeing themselves in Hollywood movies" (Wollan, 2011). Since then, the production company has released big box office hits such as *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017), and *Overboard* (2018).

## **2. PANTELION FILMS**

Pantelion Films is a production studio that results from Lionsgate Entertainment and Grupo Televisa's desire to produce more films for the Latino audience (Wollan, 2011). It has dubbed itself "the first major Latino Hollywood studio and the new face of Hispanic entertainment" ("Pantelion Films"). Pantelion Films produces films across a range of genres, while keeping the Latino audience as a priority. The company has utilized statistics, such as the ones included in the MPAA report, to understand that Latinos are frequent moviegoers and acquire a large proportion of movie tickets sold, since they attend theatres with their families (Valdivia, 2016).

According to Pantelion's website, it has co-produced about 40 films since January 2011, their first movie being *From Prada to Nada* (2011). Some of its most notable box office hits in the United States, and Latin America are *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *Cantinflas* (2014), *No Manches Frida* (2016), *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017), *Overboard* (2018), *Ya Veremos* (2018), and most recently, *No Manches Frida 2* (2019). Pantelion Films has plans on releasing 8 to 10 movies every year, all of them aimed at the Latino audience (Wollan, 2011).

### 3. SELECTION AND DATA OF FILMS

Since the release of *From Prada to Nada* (2011), I started following the releases of Pantelion Films, since saw myself reflected in them. Last year, while watching *Overboard* (2018), I noticed that characters were primarily code-switching intersententially, and would usually keep their languages separate. The observation prompted me to watch other films from Pantelion and start examining the language use in them to try and find other types of CS in them that could potentially be reflective of the speech of Latinos. As a result, the films analyzed in this thesis are *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017) and *How to Be a Latin Lover* (2017). All three films were produced by Pantelion Films and marketed towards Latino audiences in the United States and Latin America. The following are the criteria used for the selection of the films:

- Films premiering after 2010 with contemporary portrayals of Latinos.
- Films that utilize English and Spanish in their dialogues.
- Films set in the Los Angeles/Hollywood area (California). The focus on films set in LA was prompted from the historical value that the city has in the film industry. As well, LA has a large population of Latinos, and prominent Latino films have

been set there, such as *Born in East LA* (1987), *Mi Familia* (1995), *Zoot Suit* (1981), and *El Norte* (1983).

### **3.1 Instructions Not Included (2013)**

#### ***3.1.1 Synopsis***

*Instructions Not Included* (2013) follows the story of Valentin, a womanizer that lives in Acapulco and finds himself with a daughter after the mother leaves the baby behind with him. He embarks on a quest to return the baby to her biological mother by traveling to Los Angeles. However, Valentin ends up relocating to Los Angeles due to fear of authorities taking away his daughter Maggie, if he were to try to go back to Mexico. Living in Los Angeles, Valentin works as a stuntman and Maggie often accompanies him to his film sets. Maggie serves as a translator between Valentin, and the producers/directors of the films he works in. In a turn of events, Maggie's mom, Julie, wishes to be reunited with her daughter and fights Valentin for custody. As a plot twist, it is revealed that Maggie was born with a heart deformity and could die suddenly. The film concludes with Maggie and Valentin returning to Acapulco, and later Julie joining them to spend together Maggie's final days.

#### ***3.1.2 Main Characters***

Loreto Peralta, a Florida-born Mexican-American actor, plays the role of Maggie, Valentin's daughter. Eugenio Derbez explained that Peralta's addition to the movie was last minute since she did not come on board until a week before they started filming (Lozano, 2013). Her casting was peculiar since she did not have any acting classes or experience prior to the film. At first, Eugenio Derbez was looking for a boy for the role, but since they could not find someone with the characteristics he was seeking, they opened

the role for either a boy or a girl. After visiting major cities for casting calls, Derbez was desperate and sought help on Twitter to find a boy or a girl that was 6 or 7 years old, blonde, blue-eyed, and spoke English and Spanish with “no accent at all” (Lozano, 2013). Peralta speaks English and Spanish fluently, a skill showcased in the film.

In the film, Jessica Lindsey is an American actress portraying Julie, Maggie’s estranged mom and prominent lawyer. The actress was born in Washington, D.C. and lived in LA before being cast for the film. Eugenio Derbez states that she was the only American actress he could find that spoke a “good fluent Spanish” (Lozano, 2013). Daniel Raymont is an American actor that plays Frank Ryan, an American producer that hires Valentin as a stuntman and becomes his best friend in Los Angeles. Raymont was born in New York and grew up in Mexico and Washington D.C. Both Lindsey and Raymont are able to speak English and Spanish fluently and use both languages in the film. The actors produce Spanish with a heavy English accent; contrastingly, Peralta, produces English and Spanish as a native speaker of both languages.

### **3.1.2.1 Eugenio Derbez as Valentin Bravo**

Eugenio Derbez was born in Mexico City and started his career as an actor and comedian in 1980. Derbez reached fame and success not only in Mexico, but Latin America as well, by writing and producing TV comedy shows such as *Derbez en Cuando* (1999) and *La Familia P. Luche* (2002). In 2012, he was part of CBS’s TV short-lived series *Rob!*, where he appeared as a recurring character throughout the series’ eight episodes. The series was the first time Derbez appeared in an American production. In 2013, *Instructions Not Included* (2013) was released in the Latin America and the United States; the film’s box office success marked Derbez’ official transition to Hollywood (IMDb, 2018e). Derbez

wrote, directed, and produced the film, which became a worldwide box office hit, racking almost a \$100 million (IMDb, Inc., 2018a).

Eugenio Derbez is also the protagonist of the film, playing Valentin Bravo, Maggie's father. In *Instructions Not Included* (2013), Derbez uses Spanish most of the time, as his character claims not to know English and refuses to learn it. In the director's commentary of *Instructions Not Included* (2013), Derbez claims that common to see Latino families in the US that do not want to learn English, a decision he wanted to represent in his film. Derbez explains that in these cases, the children of immigrants are then pressured to learn English correctly and usually serve as their parents' translators (Lozano, 2013). Prior Latino films have historically shown the assimilation story of Latinos in the United States, including their acquisition of English (Berg, 2002). Contrastingly, the film *Instructions Not Included* (2013), breaks away from that stereotypical narrative.

### **3.1.3 Coding/Transcriptions**

The data used for the analysis of the film was obtained from the site Subscene.com, which is a website where users can upload and download subtitle files for TV series, movies, and music videos. This website holds an extensive amount of subtitle files in different languages for countless movies. Most files are available in one language. For bilingual films, the user has to choose one language for the downloaded file. In this case, the subtitles were downloaded in English (Subscene, 2014). The file was in SubRip Subtitle (.srt) format and opened in Microsoft Word and converted to a Text (.txt) file. In the file, the different dialogues were marked by scene numbers and time codes. I manually transcribed and annotated the Spanish scenes in the film into the Text file. Additionally, I watched the movie three times to ensure accurate transcriptions that completely captured the dialogues in the film.

<b>Raw Data (Subscene, 2014)</b>	<b>Transcribed Data (Dialogues)</b>
435 00:29:19,560 --> 00:29:20,891 You okay, buddy?	435 <b>FRANK</b> 00:29:19,560 --> 00:29:20,891 - You okay, buddy?
436 00:29:21,040 --> 00:29:23,361 You know I hate English, okay?	<b>VALENTIN</b> - YA SABES QUE ME CHOCA EL INGLES, ¿OKAY?
437 00:29:23,520 --> 00:29:24,601 Yeah, fine, look.	<b>FRANK</b> - Yeah, fine, look. TE ESTAMOS ESPERANDO, MAGGIE YA SE FUE A SU LUGAR
438 00:29:24,760 --> 00:29:27,366 (IN SPANISH) We're waiting for you. Maggie's already there.	<b>VALENTIN</b> - AY VOY.
439 00:29:27,520 --> 00:29:28,521 Coming.	

Table 1. Raw Data and Transcribed Data Comparison from *Instructions Not Included* (2013)

During long scenes, only the first scene number and time stamp were kept for reference, and the rest were deleted since they served no purpose for the analysis. The subtitles also lacked the mention of characters, which were also manually added for each dialogue in order to make sense of the scene. Table 1 provides an excerpt of the raw data from the subtitle file on the left side of the table. The final transcription is shown on the right side for comparison. The transcribed data was easier to read and analyze. After the subtitle file was fully transcribed, I watched the film for a fourth time to pinpoint scenes where language switches occurred. The observations included the kinds of portrayals of Latinos, the purposes of using code-switching, and the role of subtitles in the film.

When all of the switches were noted, an Excel file was created and the switches were classified in one of the following categories: Intersentential, Intrasentential, Tag switches, Borrowings/Insertions. A switch was catalogued whenever a character switched

between languages (e.g., English to Spanish, Spanish to English) within the same turn. Therefore, switches that occurred after a peripheral character responded or interjected, were not catalogued. Afterwards, every switch was individually reviewed and classified according to the characteristics of the different types of CS detailed in *Chapter 1*. Once the switches were cataloged, counts were done for each type of switching. The following example shows how the different switches were broken down:

***Example 8: Types of switches catalogued, scene from Instructions Not Included (2013)***

1010

01:04:45,680 --> 01:04:49,321

**JULIE**

- I'm sorry. Oh, shit. EN QUINCE MINUTOS TENGO *meeting* AQUI, PERO DIME RAPIDO, ESTABAS EN LA CLINICA, Y...

**VALENTIN**

- NO, NO, ESTA BIEN, LUEGO TE CUENTO

**JULIE**

- SEGURO?

**VALENTIN**

- SEGURO.

**JULIE**

- Okay, uuuh, taxi! I'll see you later. AY, NO TRAIGO cash, would... ¿TIENES DIEZ DOLARES PARA PAGAR EL TAXI?

The example showcases five switches performed by Julie, with three of them being intersentential (underlined) and one being intrasentential (bold underline). The remaining switch is an insertion of the word 'meeting' in her first dialogue (italicized). The focus was set on switches that occurred during the same turn since those had the potential of being unscripted, while switches involving turn-taking between the characters might be part of the script.

### 3.1.4 Results: CS in Instructions Not Included (2013)

When the switches were tallied, it was the American characters, Julie and Frank, and two secondary characters, who performed most of the code-switching in the films. Some dialogues from both characters that illustrate this finding are shown in *Table 2*:

Dialogues by Julie	Dialogues by Frank
120 00:09:03,960 --> 00:09:06,201 <b>JULIE</b> - I can't. NO PUEDO.	435 00:29:19,560 --> 00:29:20,891 <b>FRANK</b> - Yeah, fine, look, TE ESTAMOS ESPERANDO, MAGGIE YA SE FUE A SU LUGAR
983 01:03:23,400 --> 01:03:26,563 <b>JULIE</b> - HAS HECHO UN GRAN TRABAJO CON ELLA, ES UNA NIÑA FELIZ, DULCE. I don't know how I could have left her	1037 <b>FRANK</b> 01:06:12,080 --> 01:06:13,206 - Sorry, pal... TE ESCUCHO... ENTONCES, ¿QUE?
1111 <b>JULIE</b> 01:10:08,920 --> 01:10:12,811 - UM, ELLA ES RENEE, MI PAREJA and this is Valentin.	1434 01:29:44,480 --> 01:29:45,720 <b>FRANK</b> - You're unbelievable. ¿PORQUE NO SIMPLEMENTE DICES LA VERDAD?

Table 2. Dialogues by Julie and Frank

A total of 32 switches were counted for the film *Instructions Not Included* (2013). Fourteen were considered intersentential switches and nine were classified as intrasentential switches. The remaining switches included four tag switches and four borrowings/insertions. Julie (performed by Jessica Lindsey) showcases the most switches compared to the rest of the characters in the film, producing 17 of the 32 switches from the film. Julie also produced the most intrasentential switches (6 times). Frank produced a total eight switches, making him the character with the second most switches in the film.

The switches performed by Julie and Frank are primarily produced when they are engaging in conversation with Valentin. This implies that although Valentin claims he does not speak English, he understands it to a certain extent, making him a passive bilingual. This will be further discussed in *Chapter 6*.

Valentin, the protagonist, switches once, as he primarily speaks Spanish in the film. Maggie serves as a translator between her dad and other characters. While translating, Maggie keeps her languages separate, although she still manages to code-switch three times. Maggie’s code-switching occurs primarily in the presence of her mother, Julie. *Table 3* shows a breakdown of switches per character, the actors’ backgrounds, and the ethnicity of the character they are portraying. The table shows that White characters in the film perform 26 of the 32 switches.

<b>Character</b>	<b>Total code-switches (32)</b>	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Background of Actor</b>	<b>Nationality/Ethnicity of Character</b>
Julie	17	Jessica Lindsey	American/White	American/White
Frank	8	Daniel Raymont	American/White	American/White
Maggie	3	Loreto Peralta	Mexican American	Mexican American
Valentin	1	Eugenio Derbez	Mexican	Mexican
“Abuelita”	1	Magda B. de Kneip	N/A	American/White
“Film Director”	1	Ari Brickman	Mexican	American/White
Jackie	1	Karla Souza	Mexican American	Mexican/Mexican American

Table 3. Breakdown of Switches by Characters and Background in *Instructions Not Included* (2013)

The storyline of *Instructions Not Included* (2013) does not include a narrative that explains the bilingualism of Julie and Frank. The film portrays the characters as being able to speak both languages fluently since they can engage in intrasentential code-switching, which requires high language proficiency (Poplack, 1980). Conveniently, the movie shows Valentin, a Spanish monolingual that refuses to learn English, developing relationships with other bilingual characters. Bilingual characters, such as Julie and Frank, code-switch often with Valentin, even though Valentin needs his daughter to translate for him in most cases where English is utilized.

## **3.2 Everybody Loves Somebody (2017)**

### ***3.2.1 Synopsis***

*Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017) is directed by Mexican-born Catalina Aguilar Mastretta and follows Clara, a Mexican gynecologist based in Los Angeles, who has a cynical view of love derived from observing her patients' relationships. When Clara's parents decide they want to get married after being together for forty years, she starts seeking a date for the wedding. She invites her co-worker, Australian nurse, Asher. At the wedding, Clara is reunited with her former flame, Daniel, who left her eight years before. Daniel, a Mexican doctor and close family friend, is also invited to the wedding. This results in a love triangle between Daniel, Asher, and Clara. The film follows Clara as she deals with her feelings for Daniel and Asher and tries to decide who she wants to be in a relationship with. In the end, Clara decides to move on from Daniel and try a new relationship with Asher.

### **3.2.2 Main Characters**

Karla Souza plays the protagonist, Clara. Karla was born in Mexico City and lived in Colorado until she was eight years old. She studied in different schools across the world and began her acting career at the age of 22 in Mexico. Souza is part of other Pantelion Films, such as *From Prada to Nada* (2011) and *Nosotros los Nobles* (2013). Karla Souza is also recognized for her role as Laurel in the hit ABC TV series *How to Get Away with Murder* (IMDb, 2018f).

José María Yazpik was born in Mexico City and plays the role of Daniel. He lived and attended school in San Diego when he was a child. Yazpik's family relocated to Tijuana, but he continued his studies in San Diego, and crossed the border every day to do so (IMDb, 2018g). Ben O'Toole is an Australian actor who portrays Asher, who is also Australian. O'Toole relocated to Los Angeles in order to pursue his acting career and has been part of major films such as *Hacksaw Ridge* (2016) and *Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Men Tell No Tales* (2017) (IMDb, 2018h).

### **3.2.3 Coding/Transcriptions**

The subtitle file for *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017) was retrieved from SubtitlesX, a similar website as Subscene, since the latter did not have English subtitles available for the film (SubtitlesX, 2017). Besides the source of the subtitle file being different, the same procedures for retrieving, coding, and transcribing the data as detailed in section 3.1.3 were used for *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017). *Table 3* shows raw and transcribed data for comparison and exhibition of the process the data went through:

Raw Data (SubtitlesX, 2017)	Transcribed Data (Dialogues)
1161 01:15:40,702 --> 01:15:43,512 - Mm-hmm. - I envy you, sis.	1161 01:15:40,702 --> 01:15:43,512 <b>CLARA</b> - ME DAS ENVIDIA, HERMANA. NO SABES LO QUE SE SIENTE QUE LA AUSENCIA DE ALGUIEN TE DEJE SIN RESPIRAR. ES LA VERDAD, NO LO SENTISTE HACE DIEZ AÑOS QUE TE CASASTE CON MAX Y NO LO ENTIENDES AHORA QUE TE QUEDAS CON EL, PUES, POR FALTA DE IMAGINACION.
1162 01:15:43,639 --> 01:15:47,348 You don't know how it feels when you can't breathe because someone's not there.	1162 01:15:43,639 --> 01:15:47,348 You don't know how it feels when you can't breathe because someone's not there.
1163 01:15:47,476 --> 01:15:50,548 That's the truth. You didn't get it 10 years ago, when you married Max,	1163 01:15:47,476 --> 01:15:50,548 That's the truth. You didn't get it 10 years ago, when you married Max,
1164 01:15:50,679 --> 01:15:54,354 and you don't get it now, as you stay with him due to a lack of imagination.	1164 01:15:50,679 --> 01:15:54,354 and you don't get it now, as you stay with him due to a lack of imagination.
1165 01:15:54,483 --> 01:15:55,723 Mom?	1165 01:15:54,483 --> 01:15:55,723 Mom?
1166 01:15:57,986 --> 01:15:59,397 I'm sorry, Bobs, I was playing.	1166 01:15:57,986 --> 01:15:59,397 I'm sorry, Bobs, I was playing.
1167 01:15:59,521 --> 01:16:01,558 - I didn't mean... I didn't mean that. - Let's go.	1167 01:15:59,521 --> 01:16:01,558 - I didn't mean... I didn't mean that. - I didn't mean... I didn't mean that.
1168 01:16:01,690 --> 01:16:03,033 - Abby, please...	1168 01:16:01,690 --> 01:16:03,033 - Abby, please...

Table 4. Raw Data and Transcribed Data Comparison from *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017)

### 3.2.4 Results: CS in *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017)

The film has a running time of 102 minutes and throughout, only a total of 15 switches were observed, with eight of those being intersentential switches. The rest of the switches produced were one intrasentential switch, one tag-switch, and five

borrowings/insertions. All of the switches were performed by Clara and Daniel. Daniel produced most of the borrowings/insertions and Clara produced most of the intersentential, intrasentential, and tag switches. It can be noted that Asher does switch between English and Spanish, but never in the same speaking turn, thus leaving zero switches counted.

In *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), Clara and Daniel keep their languages separate for the most part, with Daniel displaying four borrowings/insertions and one intersentential switch. Clara produced the rest of the switches documented in the data. These switches are in varied contexts: with her patients, when speaking to Asher, when spending time with her family, and even when drunkenly singing karaoke. The film's director mentioned in a podcast that she wanted to showcase the bilingual and bicultural stories of Latinos by casting actors that were able to switch back and forth, not only between languages, but between cultures as well (Aguilar Mastretta, 2017).

In the film, it seems that the only openly bilingual characters are the protagonists, Clara, Asher, and Daniel. The rest of the family are portrayed as Spanish monolinguals when speaking, yet they all understand English. Clara's sister, Abby, is the only character explicitly portrayed as a passive bilingual. Abby speaks to her husband and son in Spanish, yet they always respond in English, leading the viewer to believe that Abby is able to understand English but does not speak it. The passive bilingualism displayed by Abby will be further discussed in *Chapter 6*.

<b>Character</b>	<b>Total switches (15)</b>	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Background of Actor</b>	<b>Nationality/Ethnicity of Character</b>
Clara	10	Karla Souza	Mexican	Mexican
Daniel	5	José María Yazpik	Mexican	Mexican
Asher	0	Ben O'Toole	Australian	Australian

Table 5. Breakdown of Switches by Characters and Background in *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017)

### **3.3 How to Be a Latin Lover (2017)**

#### **3.3.1 Synopsis**

Ken Marino directs the film *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017). The story follows the life of Maximo, a gigolo and gold digger that marries an older rich woman in order to live a lavish life. After 25 years of marriage, Maximo's wife leaves him for a younger man. Maximo is then forced to seek his sister, as he has no money and nowhere to go. Sara, a widow, reluctantly welcomes Maximo in her home and son's (Hugo) life. The movie details the lengths that Maximo will go through in order to regain his previous over-the-top lifestyle. Maximo goes as far as taking advantage of his family to accomplish his selfish goals. In the end, Maximo makes amends, returns to his gigolo days, and finds himself developing stronger relationship with his sister and nephew.

#### **3.3.2 Main Characters**

After *Instructions Not Included* (2013) became a success, Derbez founded his own production company called 3pas Studios. The production company joined forces with Pantelion Films, in order to produce more stories in the big screen that are aimed towards Latinos (Blair, 2016). Eugenio Derbez is the protagonist of *How to Be a Latin Lover*

(2017), where he portrays Maximo, the stereotypical Latin Lover. Unlike his role in *Instructions Not Included* (2013), Derbez displays full language competency of Spanish and English, as this was his first major English role (Derbez & Odell, 2017).

Mexican superstar actress Salma Hayek stars alongside Derbez, portraying Sara, Maximo's sister. Hayek was born in Veracruz, Mexico and began her acting career in Mexican telenovelas. Derbez recently made the move to Los Angeles/Hollywood, meanwhile Salma Hayek has been a part of the American film industry since 1991. Hayek arrived at Hollywood with a low proficiency in English. Because of her acquisition of language as an adult, her accent is very pronounced, something that Hayek has struggled with when looking for roles in Hollywood. Hayek soon found fame when director Robert Rodriguez started hiring her for his films, giving her the opportunity to portray characters while keeping her Mexican accent (Hayek, 2003).

Other cast members in *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017) include Canadian actor Raphael Alejandro, who plays Hugo, Sara's son. At a young age, the actor already has an extensive linguistic repertoire that includes Spanish, Portuguese, and French. Additionally, the cast is comprised of many well-known comedians and actors in secondary roles such as Rob Lowe, Michael Cera, Kristen Bell, Ben Schwartz, Omar Chaparro, Vadhir Derbez, Rob Huebel, and Rob Riggle.

### ***3.3.3 Coding/Transcriptions***

The same procedures for retrieving (Subscene, 2017), coding, and transcribing the data as detailed in section 3.1.3 were used for *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017). In the left column of *Table 6*, the raw data downloaded from Subscene is shown; in comparison, the right column shows the transcribed data, which was obtained by manually annotating the Spanish dialogues in the film.

Raw Data (Subscene, 2017)	Transcribed Data (Dialogues)
836 00:49:21,268 --> 00:49:22,094 <i>Mira.</i>	836 00:49:21,268 --> 00:49:22,094
837 00:49:22,136 --> 00:49:24,230 Hugo needs to focus on his school work.	<b>SARA</b> MIRA. Hugo needs to focus on his school work.
838 MAXIMO 00:49:24,270 --> 00:49:26,632 Hey, he has a crush on a girl at school.	<b>MAXIMO</b> - Hey, he has a crush on a girl at school. I'm trying to help the kid. TU YA SABES LO QUE ES QUE ALGUIEN TE GUSTE, ¿O NO? MISTER, NECESITO QUE ME ENGRASEN LA PUERTA UNA VEZ A LA SEMANA.
839 00:49:26,670 --> 00:49:27,896 I'm trying to help the kid.	
840 00:49:29,021 --> 00:49:32,981 You know what it's like to like someone! Or no?	<b>SARA</b> - No. NO VA UNA COSA CON OTRA. ADEMAS JAMES ES SOLAMENTE MI AMIGO
841 00:49:33,025 --> 00:49:34,944 Mister "I need you to grease my door once a week"	<b>MAXIMO</b> - AY POR DIOS
842 SARA 00:49:34,968 --> 00:49:35,968 No.	
843 00:49:36,195 --> 00:49:38,155 You're taking one think for another.	
844 00:49:38,197 --> 00:49:40,456 - And James is just a friend! - Oh, my God.	

Table 6. Raw Data and Transcribed Data Comparison from *How to Be a Latin Lover* (2017)

### 3.3.4 Results: CS in *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017)

Compared to the previous two films, *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017) displayed a large number of tag switches and no intrasentential switches. A total of 30 switches were

catalogued with 14 of them classified as intersentential switches, 13 tag switches, and three as borrowings/insertions. Most of the switches are performed by Maximo and Sara, with Maximo portraying 18 of the switches and Sara producing nine of them.

The types of switches and the actors that produce them showcase their bilingual language proficiency. Derbez and Hayek do not produce intrasentential code-switching, which is not surprising since it is the most complex type of code-switching. Intrasentential code-switching is rare outside of bilingual communities, and neither of the actors grew up in a bilingual setting (Poplack, 1980). Equally important, the director of the film notes that they wanted to have Derbez and Hayek’s dialogues be 80% English and 20% Spanish. Limiting the actors’ language choices could have affected the display of more advanced code-switching (Derbez & Odell, 2017). The director justifies the decision by explaining that she wanted to reflect the speech patterns of an authentic Latino family. In this case, Hugo, Sara’s son, does not perform any code-switching since he does not speak Spanish. While Sara is shown to be bilingual, Hugo is portrayed as an English-speaking monolingual that does not understand Spanish. Therefore, whenever Hugo is around Sara and Maximo, they have to accommodate for him by switching to English.

Character	Actor	Dialogue
Remy	Michael Cera	“You sneeze, you lose, ESE.” (158)
Quincy	Rob Corddry	“Listen, MENUDO, you think you're the first money grabbing gigolo” (609)
Rick	Rob Lowe	“Alright. HOLA.( <b>accented: “ow-lah”</b> ) Everybody knows how to say that” (930)

Table 7. Switches by secondary characters in *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017)

The rest of the switches are performed by secondary characters, played by American actors Rob Lowe, Rob Corddry, and Canadian actor Michael Cera. They produce

the remaining three switches, which are phrases aimed at Maximo's character (see *Table 7*). As it will be explained, the use of these phrases from White characters towards Maximo, a Mexican character, have a deeper significance, making them problematic. When Remy addresses Maximo, Remy appropriates *ese*, a common term used by *pachucos* (Arrieta, 1994). By using *ese*, Remy conflates Maximo's Mexican culture with *pachuco* culture, misidentifying and indexing him (Dávila, 2012). The second phrase produced by Quincy, calls Maximo *Menudo*, which makes reference to a successful Puerto Rican boy-band from the 80s and 90s. Calling Maximo 'Menudo' perpetuates the idea that the Latino community is homogenous, erasing the differences that exist and within the community. The last phrase, spoken by Rick, occurs in a context where he is trying to imitate Maximo's Mexican accent. When Rick mimics Maximo's accent, he ends up producing an accented *hola*, which prompts Maximo to react and respond to the imitation with: "and somehow you screwed it up." The previously mentioned characters are not the only ones that produced Spanish when Maximo was around. Millicent, a white rich old lady, was proficient in Spanish and exclusively spoke it with Maximo.

### **3.3.4.1 Language use and stereotypes**

The movie uses disagreements between Maximo and Sara to showcase their Spanish, whenever emotions are running high, referencing the hot-blooded Latino stereotype (Berg, 2002). Another stereotype in the film, as its name explicitly states, is the *Latin lover*. The film brings out all of the elements that once made this portrayal a distinctive and popular one. Some of those elements are showcased when Maximo trains his nephew on how to be a "Latin lover." Part of his teachings include the sexy talk, glaring glance, casual walk, and wardrobe that has characterized the *Latin lover* stereotype. However, the film incorporates the stereotype in order to make fun of it, and ultimately,

break it (Anderson, 2017). The film portrays Maximo, as a Latin lover in his era of decadence, with a beer belly and in his 40s, showing the complete opposite of what a Latin lover is “supposed to look.” The deliberate decision of ridiculing the stereotype does start the process of removing the stereotype, since now the public also visualizes the life of the *Latin lovers* beyond their prime years. The image of the *Latin lover* now includes Derbez’s portrayal, one that introduces a touch of reality to the gigolo and womanizer version that is commonly shown. Consequently, demolishing the fantasy and perfect beauty standards aspects of the stereotype.

#### **4. OVERALL ANALYSIS OF FILMS AND CONCLUSIONS**

##### **4.1 Code-Switching and Language Use**

The films *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), and *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017) showcase English and Spanish and occasionally, code-switching between the languages. After analyzing the code-switches, intrasentential switching is the type of code-switching that appears the least frequently throughout the films. Intersentential switching was the type of code-switching that was most prevalent in the films. This finding aligns with previous research on CS and is consistent with the linguistic backgrounds of the actors producing the switches, since this type of switching does not require high proficiency in both languages (Bleichenbacher, 2008; Poplack, 1980). Intersentential CS is also more positively viewed than intrasentential switching, which makes its production more likely to occur (Bullock & Toribio, 2009; Zentella, 2007).

In like manner, tag switching (which is considered to be intersentential switching) is the second most used type of CS in the films. Seeing a large number of tag switches is not out of the ordinary since it is the least complex type of switching, but it requires the speakers to have a cultural understanding of the phrases being used in order to incorporate

them correctly in their speech (Poplack, 1980). *Figure 1* demonstrates a comparison of switches across the three films.

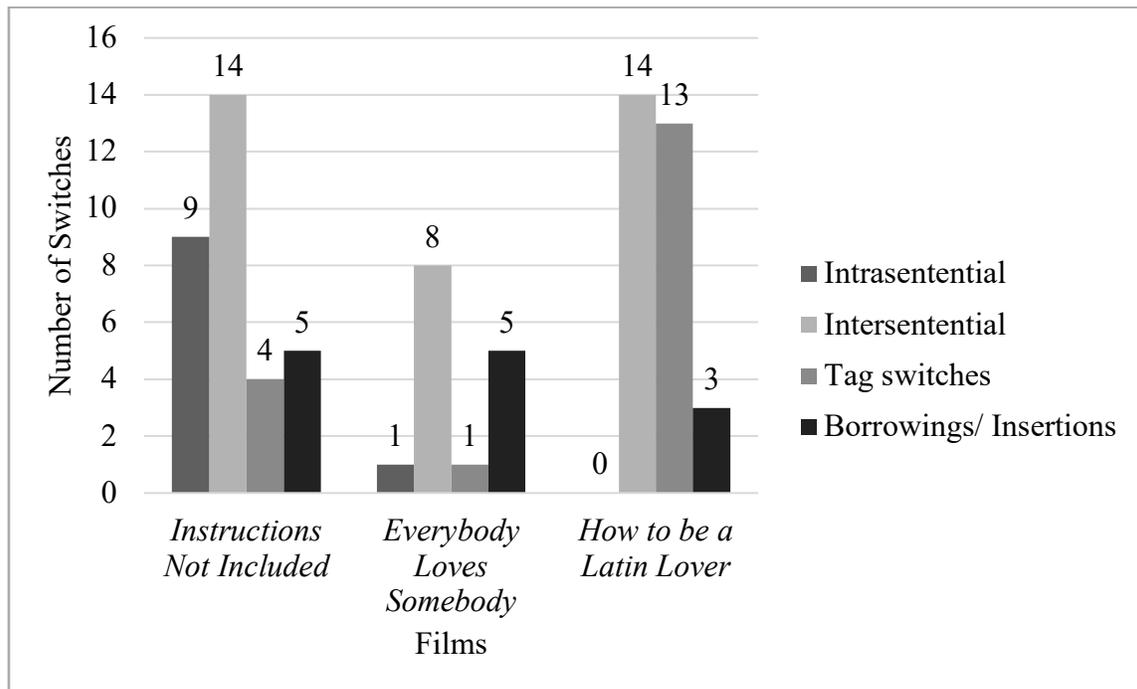


Figure 1. Number of Switches observed in Latino Films

#### 4.1.1 Bleichenbacher’s Motivations for Code-switching in Multilingual Films

A common thread that arose in the films was having English monolingual white characters who inexplicably spoke highly proficient Spanish. Characters that support this observation are Frank and Julie in *Instructions Not Included* (2013), Asher in *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), and Millicent in *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017). It is clear that the characters’ usage of Spanish is caused by the fact that the movie is marketed towards the Latino audience, but it is not representative of the language ideologies in the US about

Spanish and the demographics that know fluent Spanish as a second language (Zentella, 2007; United States Census Bureau, 2016).

The films primarily showcase Bleichenbacher's (2008) Motivations for Code-switching: *Situational CS* and not *Metaphorical CS*, *Indexical CS*, or *Edited CS*. *Situational CS* is motivated by situational factors, such as the addressees, topic of the conversation, and linguistic repertoire, and is displayed in the three films. In *Instructions Not Included* (2013), Frank and Julie use code-switching with Valentin, knowing that he would understand the English portions. As such, Frank and Julie do not code-switch unless they are in the presence of someone else who knows both languages. Meanwhile, in *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), Daniel and Clara use code-switching with each other and other bilingual speakers to display the fact that they are fluent in English and Spanish. Additionally, the use of English and Spanish by Daniel and Clara could index their *Latinidad* with their language ability (Dávila, 2012). Finally, in *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017), Sara and Maximo only code-switch with one another since they are able to understand both languages, therefore, displaying *Situational CS*. Their code-switching is also influenced in the topic of conversation and whether or not Hugo is listening to them. Overall, *Situational CS* is present in all of the analyzed films to showcase the linguistic repertoires of the actors, and by doing so, having the Latino audience relate to the characters and feeling represented.

## **4.2 Strategies for Inclusion of Spanish (Theoretical Framework)**

### ***4.2.1 Strategy One: Common Words***

The three Pantelion Films display the use of the Strategies for Inclusion of Spanish by Torres (2007) detailed in Section 2.3.2 of *Chapter 1*. The films use Spanish words that are recognizable to people who do not speak the language. The following are examples of

phrases present in each film, and even though they are not subtitled, they are still easily understood by the monolingual English audience that watches the films. The context gives away their meaning, and at times they have become borrowings in the English language (such as *chile*). The inclusion of common words reassures the audience that these films were made with Latinos in mind. Moreover, the film does not exclude monolingual English audiences when scenes that include Strategy One are playing, even though they are not subtitled.

<b>Instructions Not Included (2013)</b>	<b>Everybody Loves Somebody (2017)</b>	<b>How to be a Latin Lover (2017)</b>
1182 01:13:44,520 --> 01:13:49,526	939 01:03:17,093 --> 01:03:20,631	683 00:42:00,338 --> 00:42:02,166
<b>MOVIE DIRECTOR</b> - Your dad is one big wacko, I've never seen anyone like him, NO SEÑOR!	<b>DANIEL</b> - The trick is just to let the last CHILE float. It will be great with the chocolate, so then you get the hotness without the acidity. You get the punch.	<b>MAXIMO</b> - GRACIAS, sweet Cindy. I hope your pussy cats realize what a beautiful scratching post they have in you.

Table 8. Examples of Strategy One in all three films

#### 4.2.2 Strategy Two: Immediate Translation

The second Torres (2007) strategy used in the films is when a translation is provided before or after a Spanish word or phrase is used. Even if the English speaker is unfamiliar with the foreign word or phrase, it will not hinder their ability to understand what is being said since the gap will be filled by an utterance that gives them the meaning they are missing. Immediate translations accommodate the monolingual audience and helps them understand what is going on. With immediate translations, the films do not need subtitles and it can be a device that satisfies both bilingual and monolingual audiences.

Thus, immediate translations serve to give the Latino audience the sense of inclusion in the representations, while maintaining the monolingual audience included as well. The examples in *Table 9* stem from the films where this strategy is showcased:

<b>Instructions Not Included (2013)</b>	<b>Everybody Loves Somebody (2017)</b>	<b>How to be a Latin Lover (2017)</b>
120	597	753
00:09:03,960 -->	00:37:24,342 -->	00:45:10,572 -->
00:09:06,201	00:37:26,413	00:45:11,798
<b>JULIE</b>	<b>CLARA</b>	<b>MAXIMO</b>
- I can't. NO PUEDO.	- You're being obnoxious,	- [PU]'TA MADRE. Horse
	ME ESTAS	shit.
	MOLESTANDO	

Table 9. Examples of Strategy Two in all three films

#### 4.2.3 Strategy Three: *Subtitles*

The third and final strategy from Torres (2007) involves having a glossary, or in this case, subtitles. When the films were released in the United States, their Spanish scenes were accompanied by subtitles. The use of subtitles opened the door to English-speaking audiences to enjoy the movie. This also meant that even though reading might be an inconvenience while watching a movie, the English monolingual audience was being accommodated. The use of intersentential code-switching also makes it easier to subtitle, with production studios translating full phrases or sentences for the English-speaking audience. Therefore, seeing the preference of intersentential switching over intrasentential switching in the data could be directly linked to the production of subtitles and the accommodation of monolingual audiences.

Something that these films have in common is that they use humor and Latino idioms that are difficult to translate. Eugenio Derbez described in the Director's

Commentary how he struggled with the subtitles for *Instructions Not Included* (2013) since some of the jokes were the product of linguistic manipulation that only worked in Spanish. The subtitles ended up having misplaced jokes or translations that were not funny to English speakers. Bilingual gratification is obtained from subtitles since the humor in the film contains cultural aspects specific to Latinos. Scenes were more humorous if the viewer had membership to the community. Linguistic manipulation as displayed in the film gratifies Spanish speakers who can extrapolate a deeper level of jokes and wordplay that cannot simply be translated.

In *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017), when Sara and Maximo are arguing there is rapid exchange of dialogues and code-switching in English and Spanish. Intrasentential code-switching is being produced by Sara and Maximo. Consequently, some of these dialogues were not displayed in the subtitles, giving bilinguals watching the film an advantage to the monolingual audience (both English and Spanish monolingual audiences). Scenes like these reassure the Latino audience that the films are indeed produced for them, since they can get more out of the dialogues, context, and imagery, than an individual that is not part of the Latino community would. Additionally, the films can also serve as exposure of the Latino culture to individuals that are not part of the community.

### ***4.3 Media Representations of Latinos and Stereotypes***

The beginning of this chapter explained how Latinos have a long history of being stereotyped in the media, including cinema. As Bleichenbacher (2008) states, code-switching can sometimes be used for characterization purposes, which could include perpetuating stereotypes of how people supposedly speak. Similar to Bleichenbacher's (2008), the Pantelion films showed that most of its code-switching was not for characterization purposes since they do not display discriminatory tendencies against

Latinos. The only problematic switches present in the films were observed in the *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017) in the form of insertions/borrowings, which are not considered to be code-switching.

Even though the films are aimed at U.S. Latinos, there is only one U.S.-born Latino in a primary role in the films analyzed here: Loreto Peralta, who plays Maggie in *Instructions Not Included* (2013). None of the film directors are U.S. Latinos either, which makes their purpose of representing a genuine Latino experience a complicated issue since neither them nor the actors can necessarily draw from their linguistic experiences. In all three films, the directors have explained that they use both English and Spanish in order to represent the Latino experience. Catalina Aguilar Mastretta, director of *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), stated in an interview that she wanted to create a “truly bilingual and bicultural film” (Aguilar Mastretta, 2017). In the following chapters there will be a comparison to speakers from Los Angeles that use English and Spanish regularly, which will provide a visualization of how “truly” portrayals of bilingual Latinos in these films are.

It is refreshing seeing more films produced to be inclusive of Latino audiences, telling stories that reflect the population in a different light rather than the typical portrayal. There is one crucial element that the films analyzed in this thesis are still lacking regarding representation, which is U.S. Latinos. Their casts are composed primarily of actors that are Mexican, Anglo-American, or Canadian. Only one primary character was a U.S.-born Latino. Directors have great influence in the casting choices, with both Derbez and Marino speaking of the casting decisions. Derbez explained that he struggled in casting American actors fluent in Spanish and a child that could speak English and Spanish without an accent (Lozano, 2013). Marino described that most of the cast in his *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017) was selected based on past professional or personal relationships with him or

Derbez, i.e. friends of Marino or Derbez were cast (Derbez & Odell, 2017). Therefore, directors play an important role in deciding the types of representations that most closely resemble the experiences of Latinos, as well as their language use.

The three films, *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), and *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017) have characters that break with the usual stereotypes that are attributed to Latinos. In *Instructions Not Included* (2013), Valentin is a stuntman in Hollywood that is paid generously allowing him to have a more than comfortable lifestyle in Los Angeles with his daughter, Maggie. In *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), Clara is a gynecologist, and Daniel is a doctor that travels internationally. Finally, in *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017), Sara is an architect. These characters break with the usual jobs that Latinos stereotypically have in films as gardeners, maids, working in security, or drug dealing. The films serve as a reminder that Latinos are present in different industries, whether that is the film, medical, or design industries.

An element that could be changed in these films is the incorporation of assimilation narratives, where films show how Latinos assimilate to American culture and find success in the United States (Berg, 2002). These narratives are present in all three of the films, with the Latino characters working toward obtaining a high-paying profession, achieving upward mobility, in the search of becoming middle/high class. The inclusion of positive roles in films makes excellent strides towards breaking harmful and stereotypical portrayals of Latinos in cinema, but production studios should be aware of the types of narratives surrounding these portrayals. With this in mind, it is also critical to have diverse representations that show real experiences of Latinos as migrants in the United States, that include the challenges they encounter in their daily lives.

## Chapter 3 – The Dialogue: YouTube Videos

### 1. INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER

YouTube is a video platform that has over a billion users, almost a third of Internet users, who watch and produce revenue for the service and its creators (“YouTube”, 2018). Launching in June of 2005, the platform quickly grew, becoming the most popular site for videos in the social media domain (Scolari & Fraticelli, 2017; Balakrishnan & Griffiths, 2017). As YouTube became more prominent, so did its video/content creators, who are called *YouTubers* or *Vloggers* (video bloggers). The popularity of YouTube has given some of its *YouTubers* celebrity status, in the platform and in real life, with some of them using their YouTube channel to create their personal brand, which for some, can become a lucrative business (Scolari & Fraticelli, 2017). Some of YouTube’s highest earning stars earn millions of dollars each year (Forbes Magazine, 2018). Forbes Magazine named Ryan ToysReview as the highest-paid YouTuber of 2018, amassing \$22 million during the year (Forbes Magazine, 2018). The Forbes’ list is compiled every year, noting the top ten YouTubers; however, none of the featured YouTubers were U.S. Latino.

*Business Insider* recently published a list of the nineteen most popular YouTubers in the world, and although some of the channels are of Latin American or Spanish creators, U.S. Latinos are absent on the list (Lynch, 2018). The most popular U.S. Latino YouTube channel is Bethany Mota’s beauty and fashion page, with almost 10.5 million subscribers (Tarnovskaya, 2017). Bethany Mota does not use Spanish in her videos, nullifying the possibility of code-switching in her content. None of the top channels feature Spanish/English code-switching, but there are still some YouTubers that are not as popular that still produce it. With this in mind, bilingual creators that post monologues or conversations are likely to show how they speak in their daily lives. Since the films

discussed in the previous chapter used English and Spanish in a scripted way, a comparison to unscripted code-switching in YouTube videos can be completed by looking at the speech patterns of YouTubers who use both languages. This comparison can yield some insight to better understand whether films display accurate use of language when they represent Latinos. In this case, since the films are set in Los Angeles, the videos chosen for comparison stem from Yarel Ramos' YouTube channel, a Los Angeles native.

## **2. YOUTUBE VIDEOS**

In media portrayals, Latinos are often misrepresented in stereotypical roles. In films, it is common for code-switching to be used for characterization purposes, alienating Latinos from those representations. An alternative medium is YouTube, where everyone is welcome to share and create content, and people are likely to identify with others online. Content creators on YouTube are able to start profiting from their popular videos, with some vloggers obtaining celebrity status because of the platform. YouTubers that have become celebrity can enjoy some of the benefits that Hollywood celebrities have: fame, followers, and money for endorsements or advertisements. YouTubers then become representations of their viewers, and it is likely their viewers watch their content because they find it relatable.

Therefore, it is important to analyze YouTube videos and the representations provided by them, particularly language. In this case, it is imperative to examine Latinos that use English and Spanish in their videos and identify the motivations behind them (Bleichenbacher, 2008). Are they using code-switching to tap into a niche audience? Is their code-switching a performance for their viewers, or does it reflect their quotidian speech patterns? As well, how are Latinos being represented in these videos? Are stereotypes being perpetuated or broken? Analyzing YouTube videos can yield important

information that not only can be used to compare representations in other mediums, but it can also reflect how Latinos are using YouTube to express themselves and to find online communities where they feel welcome.

## 2.1 Yarel Ramos

Yarel Ramos is a YouTuber that code-switches between Spanish and English in her videos. Ramos was born in Los Angeles, California to Mexican immigrant parents (Univision, 2017). She attended the University of Miami, where she earned a bachelor's degree in Journalism and a master's degree at the University of Southern California (#WeAllGrow Latina Network, 2018). Ramos has worked as a reporter and host for local TV stations and cable shows in networks such as Mun2 (from NBC). In January 2012, Yarel Ramos created a YouTube channel where she uploads videos and talks about a range of topics, with most of them being in English and Spanish. Currently, Ramos hosts Univision's Edición Digital California (Univision, 2017; #WeAllGrow Latina Network, 2018).

The majority of Ramos' videos show personal experiences and conversations with her friends and other Latinas, including her friend Anabel Vizcarra. The videos from Ramos' channel cover topics such as Ramos speaking about her love for *micheladas*, her stance on Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), her call for action when Mexico was affected by an earthquake, and her makeup tutorial of the *Catrina* for Día de los Muertos (YouTube, 2018). The introduction to Yarel Ramos' videos include a greeting to her viewers that showcases her language proficiency in English and Spanish, and code-switching abilities:

“Hey guys! ¿COMO ESTAN? Once again, here on the YouTube...” (Let's Get Menstrual ft. Anabel Vizcarra)

## **2.2 Anabel Vizcarra**

Anabel Vizcarra is featured in two videos of Ramos' YouTube channel. Anabel was born in Cosalá, Sinaloa, Mexico and moved to Los Angeles when she was ten; she worked in real estate before becoming a holistic women's empowerment coach (Yarel Ramos *Let's Get Menstrual ft. Anabel Vizcarra*, 2017; Vizcarra, 2017). Anabel is fluent in English and Spanish and code-switches between both languages during her appearances in Yarel Ramos' videos.

## **3. SELECTION OF DATA OF YOUTUBE VIDEOS**

The first step for the selection of videos was choosing a YouTuber that utilized Spanish and English in their video blog (vlog). As such, Yarel Ramos' YouTube channel was selected as the primary source of data for her use of Spanish, English, and code-switching. The selection of videos was guided by criteria similar to the one used for the film selection in Chapter 2. The YouTube videos had to be posted after 2010, include appearances of Latinos, and content catered for Latinos as their primary audience. The individuals featured in the videos must also be from the Los Angeles/Hollywood, California area. Using the previous criteria, the following two videos were selected for the analysis: *Let's Get Menstrual ft. Anabel Vizcarra* and *Entre Amigas: A Single Mothers Journey*.

### **3.1 Data Transcriptions**

After the videos were selected, manual transcriptions were completed for both. The first video, *Let's Get Menstrual ft. Anabel Vizcarra*, lasts 8:56 minutes, while the second video, *Entre Amigas: A Single Mothers Journey*, runs for 10:42 minutes. Manual transcriptions were produced since subtitles were not available for the videos. The transcriptions were created in Microsoft Word. To distinguish between languages, the

Spanish portions of the dialogues were written in uppercase, while the English portions were annotated in lowercase. Additionally, the transcriptions distinguished the dialogues in the videos by noting the speaker that produced it as Y or A, for Yarel Ramos or Anabel Vizcarra, respectively (see *Table 1*).

The transcriptions were revised extensively by rewatching the videos between five and seven times and comparing the compiled text with the audio from the video. Once the transcriptions were finalized, the switches in the dialogues were catalogued using a Microsoft Excel sheet which included the categories of intersentential switching, intrasentential switching, tag switching, and borrowings/insertions. Microsoft Excel was used to keep all of the data organized. The following excerpt from the transcriptions showcases how the switches were catalogued and then quantified:

<p>Y: Ask away and we'll answer the questions. Anabel thank you so much again for being here with us it was a pleasure to hear you tell us so many <u>important things</u>. <u>PARA TODOS QUE LA CHEQUEN Y LA BUSQUEN EN LAS REDES SOCIALES</u>. <i>She is soon</i> going to start her YouTube channel, as well, to keep us <u>very informed</u> <u>PERO TAMBIEN</u> VA A VENIR CON NOSOTROS A CADA RATO A CONTESTAR NUESTRAS <u>PREGUNTAS, OBVIAMENTE</u>, and <i>don't</i> forget to subscribe, don't forget to share, leave your comment, I'm writing back to all of you guys, I love you guys, I love your comments, so share! <i>BESITOS!</i></p>
--

Table 10. Turn by Yarel Ramos in *Let's Get Menstrual ft. Anabel Vizcarra*

As demonstrated in *Table 1*, in this part of the conversation between Ramos and Vizcarra, Yarel Ramos (Y) produces five different switches. Two of the switches are intersentential (underlined) and two are intrasentential switching (bold underline). The last switch is a tag switch (italicized) and is illustrated at the end of the dialogue. In order to look at the same kinds of switches as the films, the switches that occur within the same

turn are the ones catalogued. With this focus, code-switches that are produced from video editing are not counted towards the speakers' total switches.

## **3.2 Analysis**

### ***3.2.1 Let's Get Menstrual ft. Anabel Vizcarra***

The YouTube video *Let's Get Menstrual ft. Anabel Vizcarra* shows Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra chatting. Their conversation tackles topics surrounding taboo subjects in Latino culture, such as menstrual cycles. Ramos and Vizcarra talk about their experiences growing up as Latinas and undergoing their first periods. The video is guided by an informal interview conducted by Ramos towards Vizcarra, where the former probes about Vizcarra's experience as a holistic coach and her knowledge on women's "womb power" (Yarel Ramos *Let's Get Menstrual ft. Anabel Vizcarra*, 2017).

#### **3.2.1.1 Results: CS in Let's Get Menstrual**

After the switches in the transcriptions were catalogued, a total of 45 switches were observed in the video. Twelve of the switches were intersentential, 22 were intrasentential switches, eight were tag switches, and lastly, three were borrowings/insertions. *Table 2* showcases the types of switches produced by each of the speakers in the YouTube videos. Ramos produced more switches than Vizcarra, with five times as many intersentential switches and almost twice as many intrasentential switches. Both speakers produced more intrasentential switches than any other type of switching. Contrastingly, borrowings/insertions were the type of switching that was produced the least. *Table 3* shows how Yarel Ramos (Y) and Anabel Vizcarra (A) mix freely between English and Spanish. The table showcases an example of the code-switching in Ramos' dialogues, with is predominantly filled with intrasentential switches.

Speakers	Intersentential	Intrasentential	Tag-switching	Borrowing/Insertions	Total (by speaker)
Ramos	10	15	2	1	28
Vizcarra	2	7	6	2	17
Total (by type)	12	22	8	3	45

Table 11. Switches in *Let's Get Menstrual*, by speaker and type

Y:	PERO ALGO QUE A MI SIEMPRE ME LLAMA LA ATENCION, Y QUE SIEMPRE HA SIDO COMO UN taboo, like to not speak about it, or like really we can't, it's our menstrual cycle
Y & A:	[yelling]
Y:	Right? CIERRA LOS OJOS and I go back to when I was a kid and, OSEA, HOLA, SEÑORITA
A:	SORPRESA!
Y:	SORPRESA! And even my mom was very like, like she didn't even know what to tell me, she was like AH OKAY, AHORA, TEN AQUI, PONTE ESTO
A:	Y NO LE DIGAS A NADIE
Y:	Y NO LE DIGAS, Y NO LE DIGAS A NADIE, Y TE VA A PASAR TODOS LOS MESES, POR EL RESTO DE TU VIDA. A MI NO ME VINO MI CICLO HASTA COMO CUANDO TENIA QUINCE O DIESCISEIS AÑOS, like, I'm still going through puberty, still growing, PERO TU HABLAS MUCHO DE ESE TEMA Y ME ENCANTA DE LA MANERA QUE LE REFIERES A ESTE CICLO QUE VIVIMOS LA MUJERES Y COMO DEBEMOS DE ENTENDERLO, DE ACEPTARLO, and to tap into that, into our womb to really be empowered from it

Table 12. Dialogues by Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra in *Let's Get Menstrual*

### 3.2.2 *Entre Amigas: A Single Mothers Journey*

The second video analyzed is *Entre Amigas: A Single Mothers Journey*. In this video, Ramos and Vizcarra discuss the life of the latter, and her experiences as a single mother. They speak about Anabel Vizcarra's life in Sinaloa, her move to Los Angeles,

starting out in real estate, and her study of spirituality and Ayurveda<sup>3</sup>. Vizcarra also talks about the challenges of being a single mother, her relationship with her own mother, and the growth she has had since becoming a holistic coach. Similarly, to the first video, Ramos leads the conversation with Vizcarra by inquiring into Vizcarra’s past experiences.

### 3.2.2.1 Results: CS in *Entre Amigas: A Single Mother’s Journey*

In the video, a total of 33 switches performed by Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra can be observed. Seven of the switches were intersentential, while 22 of the switches were produced intrasententially. The remaining switches were comprised by two tag-switches and two borrowings/insertions. The video clearly demonstrates a preference for intrasentential switching, paralleling the results of the first video analyzed. *Table 4* shows the types of switches that each speaker produced in the video, with Ramos and Vizcarra having similar number of switches in each type. It is possible that in this video, Ramos limited her production of switches since the video revolved around Vizcarra. *Table 5* contains an excerpt of the transcriptions for the YouTube video and showcases the code-switching of both Ramos (Y) and Vizcarra (A). As it can be observed, intrasentential switching is prevalent in their dialogues and the speakers move from one language to the other freely.

Speakers	Intersentential	Intrasentential	Tag-switching	Borrowing/Insertions	Total (by speaker)
Yarel	5	12	1	1	19
Anabel	2	10	1	1	14
Total (by type)	7	22	2	2	33

Table 13. Switches in *Entre Amigas: A Single Mother's Journey*, by speaker and type

<sup>3</sup> “Ayurveda is a traditional Indian medicinal system that has been practiced for thousands of years” and is based on the use of natural products (Patwardhan, Vaidya, & Chorghade, 2004, p. 789).

Y: Y ESTAMOS ENTRE AMIGAS EL DIA DE HOY CON ANABEL VIZCARRA. She's uh, a really great great friend of mine, you guys can find her on all my social because I always tag her on all these posts that I put whenever...
A: All the selfies...
Y: Whenever I'm like, I don't know what to do with my life. I met Anabel many years ago. I know her family very well. My family adores her, ES COMO SI SOMOS FAMILIA, and um, I've always admired her because she's been able to do these amazing things with her life. You are a single mother, when I met you, you were kicking it with real estate, she's still helping out with that part of my life that's been leading somehow, PERO QUISIERA QUE COMPARTIERAS, PUES ANTES QUE NADA GRACIAS POR ESTAR AQUI. QUE COMPARTIERAS UN POQUITO DE, like, you know, how was the ANABEL VIZCARRA ASI, LA NIÑA, ALLA EN COSALA, EN SINALOA. Who was she? What did she do? What was she like?
A: Oh, wow. BUENO, I grew up in COSALA, Y ERA UNA NIÑA MUY CURIOSA, SIEMPRE ME GUSTABA LA NATURALEZA, ME GUSTABA SABER PORQUE LOS ANIMALES HACIAN LAS COSAS QUE HACIAN, Y MUY CURIOSA. At ten years old, that's when we came here and when we started to live this crazy city life.

Table 14. Dialogues by Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra in *Entre Amigas*

#### 4. OVERALL ANALYSIS OF CS IN VIDEOS AND CONCLUSIONS

##### 4.1 Code-switching and Language Use

Both YouTube videos show informal conversations between Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra, where English and Spanish are used freely. The speakers grew up learning English and Spanish in the Los Angeles, California region, and have Mexican parents. Even though Vizcarra migrated to the United States at the age of ten, her linguistic repertoire demonstrates high proficiency in both languages, as shown by her production of intrasentential switches. Ramos and Vizcarra's linguistic abilities are displayed in both of the YouTube videos, where they are able to produce all types of code-switching, primarily intrasentential switching (see *Figure 2*).

The YouTube videos start with Ramos greeting the audience with a bilingual introduction. The introduction could influence the production of code-switching from Vizcarra since she could be accommodating to Ramos' speech patterns (Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis, 1973; Callahan, 2006). As well, their relationship could prompt them to use the code-switching that they use regularly with each other. Because of this relationship, it is possible that the code-switching displayed in the video can be representative of the language that proficient English/Spanish bilingual Latinos use in Los Angeles.

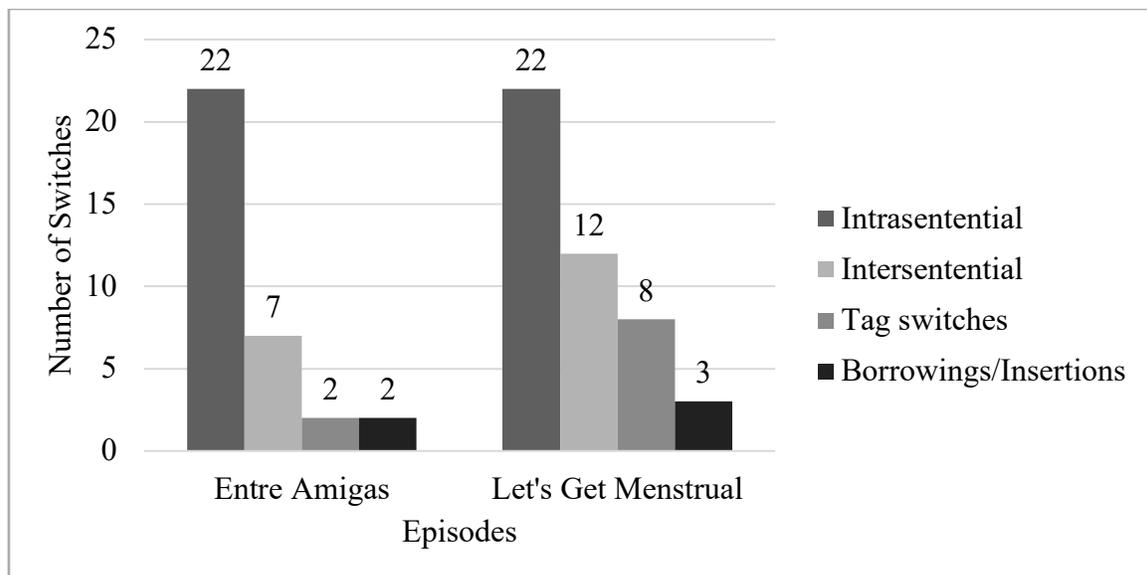


Figure 2. Switches in YouTube Videos.

Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra do not shy away from producing code-switching and display it as something that comes naturally to them. As previous research shows, ideologies towards CS have usually been negative (Rangel et al., 2015; Toribio, 2002; Hidalgo, 1988). By posting videos that include code-switching, Latinos can find themselves and their languages positively represented. As well, sharing YouTube videos

where code-switching is produced, Ramos and Vizcarra start normalizing its use and acceptance.

## **4.2 Strategies for Inclusion of Spanish (Theoretical Framework)**

### ***4.2.1 Strategy One: Common Words***

The YouTube videos analyzed in this chapter are aimed towards Latinos, since their inclusion of Spanish is unrestricted (i.e. the videos freely incorporate complex Spanish). The videos do not integrate Torres' (2007) first strategy: common Spanish words inserted within English dialogues, which are easily recognizable by people who do not speak the language. Ramos and Vizcarra produce complex sentences of English and Spanish, which means that monolingual or low-Spanish/English proficiency viewers are unlikely to completely understand the conversations.

### ***4.2.2 Strategy Two: Immediate Translations***

Similarly, Strategy Two: Immediate Translations is not used to incorporate Spanish in the videos. The lack of immediate translations can be attributed to the high proficiency of both speakers, who might not find it necessary to repeat themselves in the other language so the addressee can understand what was said. By not incorporating Strategy Two, Ramos and Vizcarra narrow their audience to include only English/Spanish bilingual speakers.

### ***4.2.3 Strategy Three: Subtitles***

The last strategy involves having a glossary, or in video form, subtitles. YouTube offers the setting of adding closed captions and subtitles to videos, giving the opportunity to YouTubers of adding subtitles or having them auto-generated by voice recognition. Auto-generated subtitles do not work with bilingual videos since they are only capable of recognizing text in one language. In the case of the videos analyzed in this chapter, subtitles

were not available from the content creator (Yarel Ramos), and auto-generated subtitles were only accurate during the portions of the videos where English was used.

Since the subtitles were not a reliable option to obtain a translation of the conversation, monolinguals would not be able to understand the videos. Therefore, the conversations between Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra do not accommodate for monolingual viewers. According to Torres (2007), the free incorporation of Spanish gives the most bilingual gratification since the content is created specifically for them. By not incorporating subtitles, bilingual viewers can receive gratification from understanding what Ramos and Vizcarra are talking about. Consequently, Latinos that are monolingual and speak either English or Spanish are excluded from these videos since none of the previously mentioned strategies are used to accommodate for them. Therefore, the videos are only inclusive of Latinos that are bilingual.

### **4.3 Media Representations of Latinos and Stereotypes**

In the YouTube videos, representations of Latinos are positive. Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra are successful Latinas, and by publicly talking about their experiences, they are able to change the stereotypes that surround the Latino community (Berg, 2002). In the videos, the YouTubers are not hyper-sexualized or seen as exotic. On the contrary, Ramos and Vizcarra are showing that Latinos are more than the stereotypes, with complex identities and stories that are usually not portrayed in other types of media. Their conversations also give viewers a glimpse at Latino culture, the traditions, and the topics that are sometimes not discussed. By doing so, they start strengthening the idea that the Latino community is not homogenous, but rather, multi-dimensional.

## **Chapter 4 – The Sound Effects: Radio Recordings**

### **1. INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER**

Before IMAX screens and YouTube videos, radio was a prominent form of communication that served many purposes. Nowadays, some radio stations are available online, making them accessible and easy to stream from anywhere around the world (Ren & Chan-Olmsted, 2004). With streaming services such as Spotify and Apple Music, radio has had to embrace and adapt to streaming (as seen by iHeartRadio's online streaming service). The evolution of radio into streaming has been documented and analyzed by scholars looking to understand how these services reach individuals (Glantz, 2016; Ren & Chan-Olmsted, 2004). Radio hosts connect with their audience, and vice versa, with a radio station's success measured by the engagement it has from listeners. Since some radio stations are now web-based, the pool of listeners is much larger and advertisements no longer target only local audiences (Ren and Chan-Olmsted, 2004).

Radio is the third medium analyzed in this thesis. Radio was chosen because language is its central focus, as it is an auditory medium with no visual presentation. Radio hosts have limited airtime and have to get messages across during small segments in-between songs and commercials. Because of the rapid nature of linguistic exchanges on the air, it is likely that radio hosts showcase their quotidian speech patterns. The radio hosts have the ability of including and excluding different parts of the audience tuning in (i.e. by speaking directly to individuals who shared the same location, occupation, age, star sign, or names) (Montgomery, 1986). Radio hosts can talk in "fairly general or highly restrictive" ways, while maintaining and engaging their audience (even the one that is momentarily excluded) (Montgomery, 1986, p. 425). To engage with audiences, hosts have to relate to the individuals listening, therefore, hosts in bilingual radio stations probably

use code-switching on the air as a way of displaying how they interact with other bilinguals. Such is the case of MEGA 96.3 FM, a radio station based in Los Angeles.

## 2. BACKGROUND TO MEGA 96.3 FM

The station MEGA 96.3 FM was a Christian radio channel before it was acquired by Spanish Broadcasting System, Inc. (SBS) (Ross, 2003) and transformed into KXOL FM “El Sol,” a Spanish Adult Contemporary radio station (Crespo, 2011). In 2005, the station went through a rebranding, becoming Latino 96.3, primarily playing reggaetón and some hip hop (Crespo, 2011). It has since become MEGA 96.3 FM, “LA’s Number 1 Party Station” (Spanish Broadcasting System, Inc., 2018). Currently, MEGA 96.3 FM plays a range of music including: reggaetón, urban bachata, R&B, and dance club music (Crespo, 2011). The radio station showcases a blend of English and Spanish through its music choices, advertisements, and the hosts’ language use. Radio hosts and callers switch between English and Spanish whenever they tell jokes or stories on the air, alternating between sentence-by-sentence (intersententially) switches or phrase-by-phrase (intrasententially) switches (Draemel, 2011; Miller, 2005). Additionally, in 2005, the radio station’s general manager told the *LA Times* that the radio hosts are the ones that decide how to speak, since “the idea is to mirror and reflect the very listener... it's really not a matter of language so much as one of lifestyle” (Miller, 2005, para. 24).

This radio station has been previously used to compare the speech, specifically the code-switching of radio hosts, with that of actors in films (Draemel, 2011). Draemel (2011) examined code-switching by comparing *natural speech* in radio and *planned speech* from the film *Real Women Have Curves* (2003). The author catalogued the switches from the radio station and film using a grammatical/syntactical approach, identifying the different points in a sentence where switches would occur. The study concluded that intrasentential

switching is the most prevalent type of code-switching in radio, while intersentential switching was most frequently displayed in the film *Real Women Have Curves* (2003). The study differs from the approach taken in this thesis, which will be further reviewed in the Discussion section of *Chapter 6*. For the current analysis, the speech of two radio hosts from MEGA 96.3 FM will be analyzed and compared to the data from the films and YouTube videos from *Chapter 2* and *3*, respectively.

## **2.1 Melissa Rios**

Melissa Rios works in MEGA 96.3 FM as a radio host, being part of the Morning Show, which airs from Monday to Friday for four hours, starting at six in the morning. The radio host grew up in Asuza, California (MEGA 96.3 FM, 2018), a city that is part of the Los Angeles County. Melissa Rios started her career in radio in 2012 and started co-hosting the Morning Show in 2016. Rios uses code-switching when speaking English and Spanish to her audience while on the air and in promotional advertisements for the radio station (MEGA 96.3 FM, 2018).

## **2.2 DJ Eddie One**

DJ Eddie One was born in El Salvador and moved to Los Angeles when he was eleven. Even though he did not know much English when he first moved to the United States, he acquired the language in school (MEGA 96.3 FM, 2018). The radio host was chosen for this analysis since he has lived in Los Angeles for almost thirty years, giving him ample time to acquire the speech patterns that other residents in the city display. DJ Eddie One has a show in MEGA 96.3 FM that airs between 3 P.M. and 7 P.M. from Monday to Friday. In his show, the radio host uses both English and Spanish, freely switching between them.

### **3. SELECTION OF DATA OF RADIO RECORDINGS**

MEGA 96.3 FM produces shows for residents of Los Angeles and offers a streaming option on their website (Spanish Broadcasting System, Inc., 2018). The radio station's audience are people that speak English and Spanish, with residents identifying their language use with that of the DJs (Miller, 2015). The radio show was selected because it provides a different type of media where code-switching occurs in an unscripted manner (besides YouTube), and interlocutors freely switch between English and Spanish. MEGA 96.3 FM was chosen for the analysis by fulfilling criteria that parallel the ones used for the films discussed in *Chapter 2* and the YouTube videos analyzed in *Chapter 3*. The radio station is currently active and producing new shows and have Latinos as their primary audience. In addition, MEGA 96.3 FM's radio hosts are from the Los Angeles/Hollywood, California area and utilize English and Spanish in their air interactions.

#### **3.1 Data Transcriptions**

After selecting MEGA 96.3 FM and the radio hosts, I started recording "The Morning Show" with Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One's show. DJ Eddie One's show only involves him in the cabin, talking to the audience, and at times making reference to other staff members from the radio station, but never interacting with them. Meanwhile, Rios' show is shared with two other radio hosts that use English and Spanish, and for this analysis, only the switches produced by Melissa Rios will be analyzed.

The radio station was streamed through MEGA 96.3 FM's website. Recorded shows were selected at random. The radio station was streamed using a MacBook Pro, and was manually recorded using the laptop's microphone and an application from Apple's App Store called Audio Recorder. As radio shows contain music and commercials, only host talking portions of radio shows were recorded. The files were saved in .MP3 format

and labeled with the speaker’s name, as well as the date and time recorded. The complete recordings resulted in approximately twenty minutes of conversations by Melissa and DJ Eddie One (about ten minutes each). The recordings were then manually transcribed using Microsoft Word. In the transcriptions, Spanish portions were written in uppercase, while English portions were written in lowercase to signal English pronunciation or an Americanized accent used, regardless of proper nouns or acronyms (see *Table 1*).

After recordings were fully transcribed, the switches found in the transcriptions were cataloged in a Microsoft Excel sheet that included categories for the different types of switches: intersentential, intrasentential, tag switches, and borrowings/insertions. Lastly, all of the switches were quantified using Microsoft Excel’s COUNTIF formula, which added the fields that contained any text, resulting in accurate counts for each type of code-switches. The following table shows an excerpt of the transcriptions. The example shows how the different types of code-switching were determined and then catalogued.

<p><b>DJ EDDIE ONE – JUL 26 2018 – 5:28 PM</b></p> <p>MEGA NOVENTA Y SEIS TRES I.a.’s number one <u>party station</u> EL EX DUEÑO DE <i>papa john’s</i> DIGO EX PORQUE AHORA YA LO QUITARON DE <i>c.e.o.</i> PERO EL TODAVIA ES DUEÑO DEL VEINTINUEVE POR CIENTO DE LAS <i>stocks</i> DE <i>papa john’s</i>. EL ESTA DEMANDANDO A SU PROPIA COMPAÑIA DESPUES DE QUE LO QUITARON DE <i>c.e.o.</i> POR COMENTARIOS <u>RACISTAS</u> so <u>papa johns</u> <u>DEMANDANDO A papa john’s</u>, yes it’s <u>possible</u> MEGA NOVENTA Y SEIS TRES</p>
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Table 15. Excerpt of Transcript, different types of switches are exemplified

For the purpose of this analysis, the switch that occurs in the phrase “MEGA NOVENTA Y SEIS TRES LA’s number one party station” will not count towards the total number of switches. The switch is not quantified since it is the radio station’s slogan and is often repeated by the radio hosts. If a switch occurred after the slogan, as is the case in the previous example (e.g., “party station EL EX DUEÑO”), then it was cataloged as an

intersentential switch. The previous example in *Table 1* shows a total of ten switches. Out of the ten switches, four are intrasentential (bold underline), one switch is intersentential (underlined), and the remaining five are borrowings/insertions (italicized).

## **3.2 Analysis**

### ***3.2.1 Summary of conversations in recordings***

The radio recordings include conversations between Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One that focus on a variety of topics, but the show primarily focuses current events and pop culture. Some of the topics include: Jennifer Lopez's new music; the relationship between millennials, real estate, and avocados; Coca-Cola in the household; and the firing of Papa John's CEO, to name a few. Moreover, the radio hosts shared personal anecdotes, such as Melissa Rios' awkward encounter with a woman who asked her if she was pregnant, when she was not.

### ***3.2.2 Results: CS in Radio recordings***

A clear pattern emerged after the switches were quantified. Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One displayed in their dialogues a preference for intrasentential switches. In the approximate ten minutes of recordings from "The Morning Show" Melissa Rios produced 105 code-switches. Rios displayed a total of 83 intrasentential switches, five intersentential switches, four tag-switches, and 13 borrowings/insertions in the recordings. DJ Eddie One produced almost half as many total switches. In total, the radio host performed 40 intrasentential switches, three intersentential switches, three tag-switches, and 13 borrowings/insertions in his dialogues. *Figure 3* shows the different types of switches that each of the radio hosts displayed in their speech.

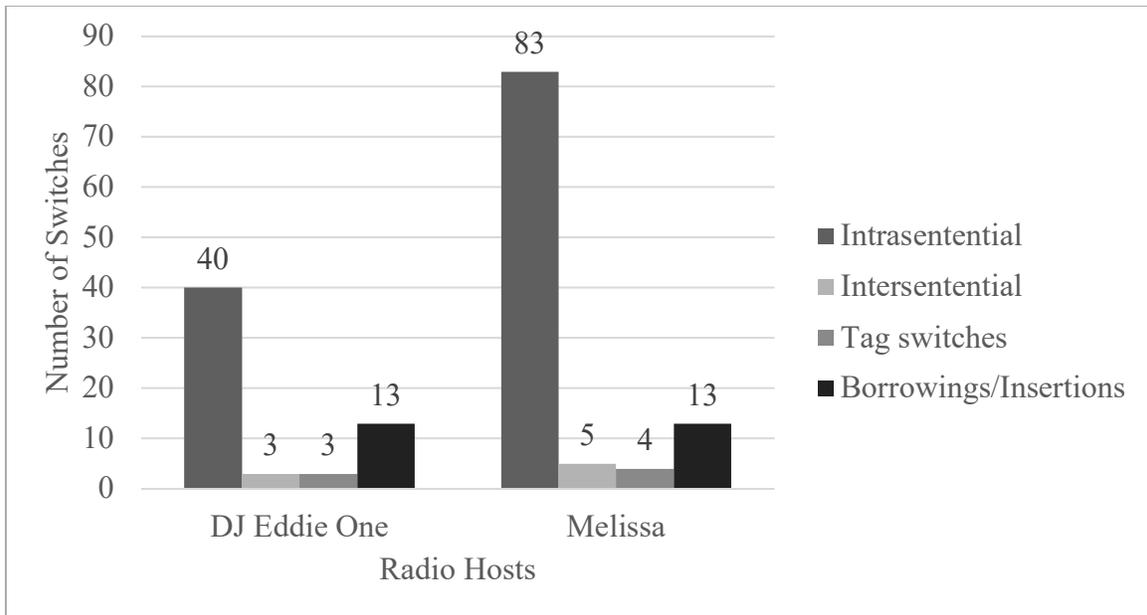


Figure 3. Switches in Radio recordings by hosts.

Even though the radio recordings are short (approximately 20 minutes in total), they included plenty of switches in their speech samples. Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One together produced 123 intrasentential switches in total, more than fifteen times the amount of intersentential switches found in the recordings. Seventy-five percent of the switches catalogued from the radio recordings of both hosts were intrasentential switches, while only 5% were intersentential switches. As well, 16% of the overall switches analyzed were borrowings/insertions and 4% were tag-switches.

#### 4. OVERALL ANALYSIS OF CS IN RADIO RECORDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

##### 4.1 Code-switching and Language Use

The large number of intrasentential switches compared to the other types of switches reflect a clear preference that Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One have for the most complex types of code-switching. The production of intrasentential code-switching reflects

the hosts' high proficiency in English and Spanish. Since the radio hosts have lived in the Los Angeles/Hollywood area for decades, it can be inferred that the speech patterns displayed by them is reflective of the patterns in the community.

<b>DJ EDDIE ONE – JUL 26, 2018 5:55 PM</b>
HOY SOLO HOY EN UN DIA listen to this DIES Y NUEVE BILLONES DE DOLARES that's a whole lotta money ESTO PASO HOY EN LA BOLSA DE VALORES DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS PARA DECIRTE QUE Mark Zuckerberg EL DUEÑO DE FACEBOOK BAJO DOS POSICIONES EN LA LISTA DE LOS MAS RICOS that's how much money he lost in one day, that's crazy man MEGA NOVENTA Y SEIS TRES

Table 16. Excerpt of Transcriptions, shows sample of DJ Eddie One's switches

<b>MELISSA – JUL 27, 2018 10:13 AM</b>
... YO ME ESTABA MURIENDO DE VERGÜENZA PORQUE it's a maternity dress TOY BIEN GORDA, TODAVIA NO ME QUEDA LA ROPA REGULAR and I was wearing my maternity dress DIGO YO, PUES QUE LE DIGO, LE HECHO MENTIRAS Y LE DIGO QUE EN LA MACY'S O LE DIGO LA VERDAD, POS LE DIJE LA VERDAD LE DIJE oh I got it at H&M in the maternity section and she's like oh I'm sorry, are you pregnant? How many months are you? Y LE IBA A DECIR QUE TE IMPORTA Y LE DIGO uhhh I'm not ma'am PAREZCO QUE TENGO CUATRO MESES DE EMBARAZO PERO LO ACABO DE TENER HACE SIETE MESES give me time bro give me time ASI QUE UN SALUDO MALA ONDA ...

Table 17. Excerpt of Transcriptions, shows sample of Melissa Rios switches

Melissa Rios showcases a high proportion of intrasentential switches, compared to the other types of switches. The switches might be a result of her interactions with the other radio hosts in “The Morning Show,” but Rios still shows an inclination for intrasentential switches. Meanwhile, DJ Eddie One produced half as many intrasentential switches as Melissa Rios, even though the recordings included about the same time for each host (about ten minutes each). This can be attributed to the fact that DJ Eddie One hosts his show alone and is only engaging with an audience that does not reciprocate. The previous excerpts

shown in *Table 2* and *Table 3* are of the transcribed dialogues that show the code-switching that the radio hosts engage in while they are on the air.

As the previous examples illustrate (*Table 2* and *Table 3*), Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One switch freely from English and Spanish. The radio hosts not only talk with other people in the radio cabin that could engage in code-switching with them, but also speak to an audience that is bilingual and likely produce code-switching as well. Since the dialogues of both Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One are not scripted (except for the MEGA 96.3 FM's slogan), the language choices that they display are likely to parallel the linguistic choices from their daily lives.

The speech patterns that Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One display are community-specific, since the structures of code-switching are influenced by the community that produces it, which in this case, showcase a variety of Mexican Spanish from Los Angeles (Poplack, 1980). Therefore, it is likely that the hosts perform intrasentential code-switching on the air since it is probably reflective of the frequent use and inclusion in their quotidian routines outside the radio station. Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One primarily perform intrasentential code-switching since they generally interact on the air with a bilingual audience. While the radio audience does not directly interact with the audience (i.e. responding to the hosts), it is probable that the CS the hosts produce is reflective of the audience's speech patterns, since they are still being engaged in the content deliberated by the hosts.

When the radio hosts from MEGA 96.3 FM use code-switching, they are not only relating to their audience, but also challenging existing language ideologies that affect Latinos. The radio hosts code-switch frequently and highlight their linguistic skills by mixing their English and Spanish. Using CS is a quality that characterizes the radio station and is one that Latinos are seeing represented in a positive way. Since the radio hosts decide

how to speak, they are exhibiting a mixture of languages that, as research has previously shown, clashes with the usually negative ideologies and lack of acceptability of code-switching that is present in society. (Zentella, 1997; Toribio, 2002; Rangel et al., 2015).

The radio station is a platform with the potential of reaching millions of listeners, especially Latinos, and showing them that the manner in which they speak is a matter of pride. In 2005, an article from the *LA Times* stated that MEGA 96.3 FM was growing amongst Latinos in Los Angeles (Miller, 2005). The station not only attracted bilingual Latinos, but also monolingual English and Spanish speakers who preferred other monolingual stations, before switching to MEGA 96.3 FM and increasing their ratings (Miller, 2005). Additionally, code-switching and expressing the bilingualism can be something lucrative, since the radio station is one of the top stations in Los Angeles, even though the content that is produced is completely bilingual (Miller, 2005). Therefore, with the radio hosts from MEGA 96.3 FM showcasing intrasentential code-switching, more positive representations are presented for language mixing, especially this type of CS that is usually correlated to a lack of education or sounding ugly.

#### **4.2 Strategies for Inclusion of Spanish (Theoretical Framework)**

In the case of MEGA 96.3 FM, its hosts do not use any of Torres' (2007) Strategies for Inclusion of Spanish. The radio hosts use complex Spanish in their utterances, do not offer immediate translations, and dubbing of the audio is not available and would unlikely be produced by the radio station. Therefore, MEGA 96.3 FM does not accommodate for monolingual speakers, making it difficult for Spanish or English monolinguals to fully comprehend the radio dialogues. It is important to note that passive and less proficient bilinguals may listen to the language should be able to understand more of the content produced by the radio station than monolinguals.

As Torres (2007) notes, bilinguals obtain the most bilingual gratification when their languages are used and mixed freely. Listeners of MEGA 96.3 FM that speak English and Spanish receive bilingual gratification from the code-switching produced by the radio hosts. One of the station's listeners that has received bilingual gratification from listening to MEGA 96.3 FM is Gary Soto, a U.S. Latino and a resident of Los Angeles. In an interview, Soto explains that listening to MEGA 96.3 FM is "like being home" since "you get English and Spanish and you don't notice the difference, it all blends together" (Miller, 2005). The radio station explicitly markets towards Latinos that speak both English and Spanish, such as Soto. MEGA 96.3 FM has doubled its ratings by targeting Latinos, becoming one of the most popular stations in Los Angeles (Miller, 2005).

#### **4.3 Media Representations of Latinos and Stereotypes**

The radio station incorporates all kinds of bilingual elements, starting with hosts engaging in code-switching, to having bilingual advertisements, and playing music that also blends languages, as is the case with some reggaetón and bachata songs. With MEGA 96.3 FM encouraging CS from their radio hosts, the medium starts normalizing its use and growing the exposure that marginalized manners of speech usually have. It has been common that Latinos feel *linguistic insecurity* and suppress their want to switch amongst the languages that compose their linguistic repertoire (Toribio, 2002; Zentella, 2007). Meanwhile, the radio station serves as a prescriptivist medium that instead motivates individuals to express themselves as they desire, by showing them that the use of CS can be lucrative, even when it has been negatively viewed (Zentella, 2007). Additionally, when the radio station includes callers that also code-switch, audiences listening can feel their speech represented and validated.

## Chapter 5 – The Montage: Comparison Across Media

### 1. CODE-SWITCHING AND LANGUAGE USE

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the code-switching present in the films, YouTube videos, and radio recordings analyzed in *Chapters 2, 3, and 4*. A comparison between the different mediums will identify code-switching patterns portrayed in the films in contrast to those produced by speakers from Los Angeles in the YouTube videos and radio recordings. The comparison will illustrate how Latino speech is portrayed in the big screen and how it is reflective or non-reflective of the speech that Latinos produce in their quotidian life as demonstrated in the YouTube and Radio clips. In addition, this chapter will take a closer look at the different strategies used to incorporate Spanish in the different mediums, and whether monolingual accommodation or bilingual gratification is present. Finally, the chapter will describe the representations and stereotypes of Latinos that might be present in the films, YouTube videos, and the radio recordings analyzed in this thesis.

As a starting point, *Figures 4, 5, and 6* show a summary of the results discussed in previous chapters; the pie charts illustrate the different types of switches that were present in each medium. The percentages show the total amount of switches (e.g., intrasentential, intersentential, tag-switches, and borrowings/insertions) observed in the films, YouTube videos, and radio recordings analyzed. The switches in all of the films were used when calculating the percentages in *Figure 4*; for YouTube and Radio, the total number of switches of their respective speakers were added, and then percentages were calculated, as shown in *Figures 5 and 6*.

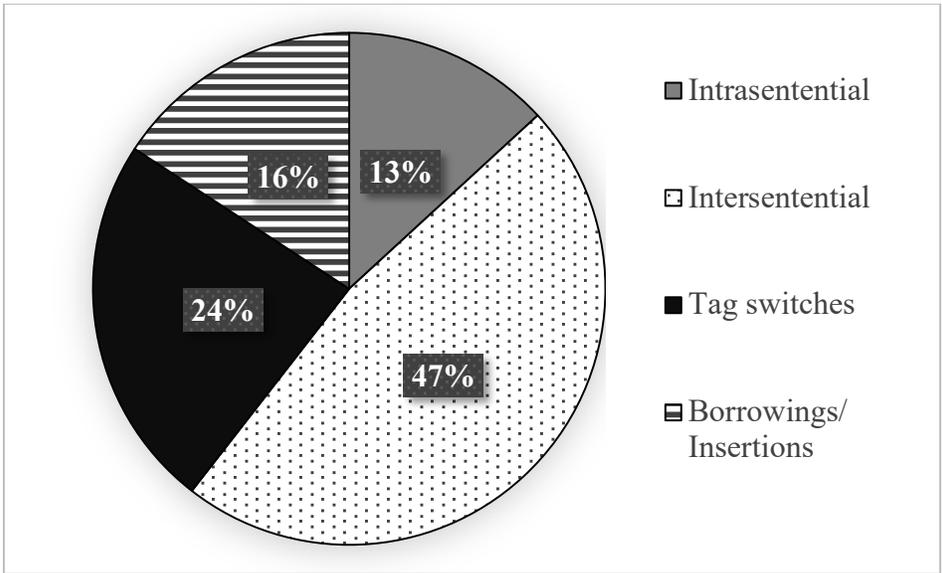


Figure 4. Percentages of Switches in Latino Films

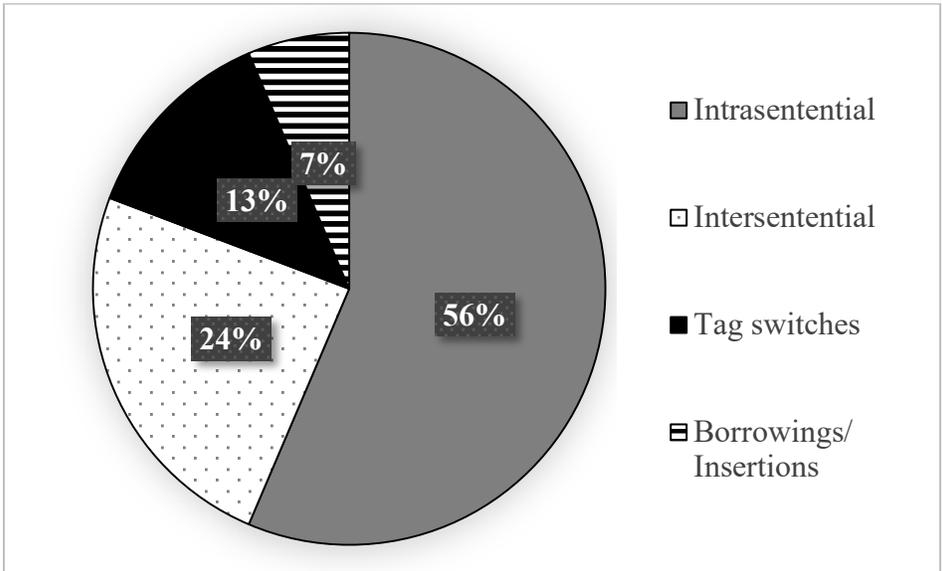


Figure 5. Percentages of Switches in YouTube Videos

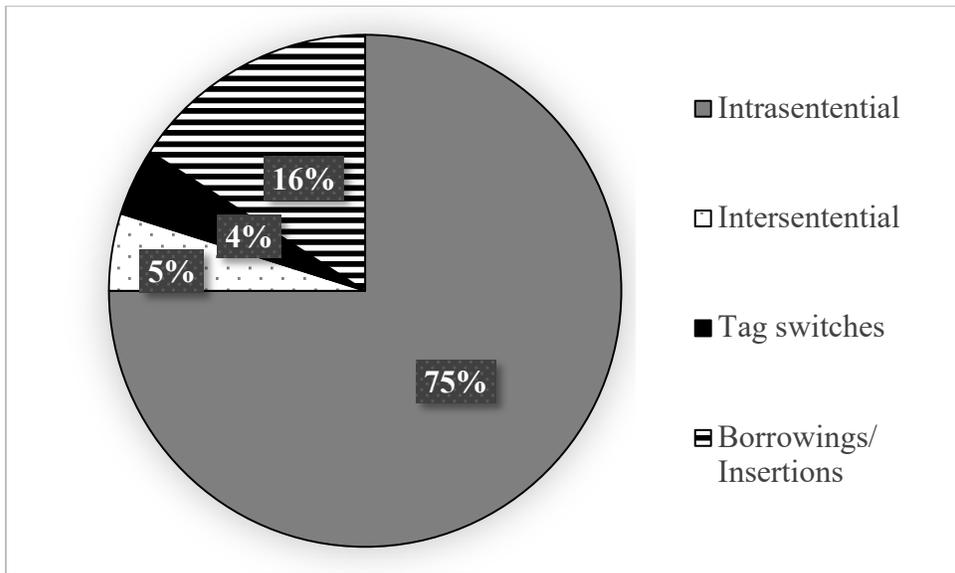


Figure 6. Percentages of Switches in Radio Clips

### 1.1 Intrасentential switching

Los Angeles is a bilingual community where Spanish and English coexist, making it an ideal setting for intrасentential switching to originate. The films selected for this thesis, as well as the speakers from the YouTube videos and radio station, are from Los Angeles. *Figure 4* shows the number of switches observed in the films, with only 13% of them performed intrасententially. Contrastingly, *Figure 5* illustrates how 56% of the code-switches produced in the YouTube videos were spoken intrасententially. Similarly, *Figure 6* shows that 75% of code-switches from the radio clips were intrасentential. The contrast between the types of code-switching in each medium is clear: YouTube videos and radio show larger percentages of intrасentential switches than those produced in Latino films.

The films analyzed are composed by casts that include actors from a variety of backgrounds. Some of the actors portray White and Latino characters that are able to produce code-switches in their dialogues. With the exception of Loreto Peralta from *Instructions Not Included* (2013), none of the actors are from bilingual communities. Since

actors do not have experience engaging with code-switching outside of the movie set or when growing up, it is difficult for them to replicate intrasentential switching. Intrasentential switching follows grammatical rules set by the speakers of the bilingual community that produces it (Poplack, 1980). What could be an acceptable place to code-switch in an utterance produced by a speaker from Los Angeles, might not necessarily sound completely grammatical and be produced by a speaker from Miami. Therefore, when films cast actors that are not from Los Angeles to portray characters that reside in the city, it is unlikely that the switches in films reflect the CS from speakers, such as Ramos, Vizcarra, Rios, and DJ Eddie One.

The speakers from the YouTube videos, Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra, produced more than half of their total switches intrasententially, more than four times the percentage of intrasentential switches produced in the films (See *Figure 4* and *Figure 5*). The percentage is not out of the ordinary since both speakers are fluent in English and Spanish, and their friendship and membership to the Latino community opens the opportunity for them to code-switch (Poplack, 1980, Toribio, 2002). Ramos and Vizcarra's conversations occur on a couch, where they are chatting about topics friends usually talk about. Since they are both aware of each other's linguistic repertoires, they can produce and understand intrasentential switches (Toribio, 2002).

Finally, the radio hosts, Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One, produced three-fourths of their total switches intrasententially, almost six times the percentage of intrasentential switches observed in the films (See *Figure 4* and *Figure 6*). The radio station, MEGA 96.3 FM is set in Los Angeles and has a target audience of Latinos who are bilingual and may code-switch. Therefore, the radio hosts produce intrasentential switches knowing that the audience listening to their show is able to understand them. Since the speakers analyzed in this thesis are from Los Angeles, they can produce code-switching that parallels the CS

spoken in the community, ultimately producing the grammatical rules implicitly set by the community and speakers themselves.

## 1.2 Intersentential switching

In the films *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), and *How to Be a Latin Lover* (2017), the characters produced more intersentential switching than any other type of switching (See *Figure 4*). The films had the largest percentage of intersentential code-switches at 47% of total switches in comparison to the 24% of the YouTube videos (See *Figure 5*), and the 5% in the radio clips (See *Figure 6*). The percentage of switches in the films compared to the other mediums is justifiable as intersentential switching is easier to produce than intrasentential switching. Intersentential CS is more accessible for bilingual actors to practice and produce particularly when studying their scripts, even if they are not highly proficient in a second language since the languages are kept separate. Since intrasentential switching does not have a clear separation between languages, it would be difficult to practice and memorize, therefore, not coming naturally to actors that are not used to producing this type of CS. The actors in the films, although bilingual, did not grow up in bilingual communities and are either American or Mexican. With intersentential switching, the performers are keeping their languages separate, something that resembles the linguistic climate of both Mexico and the United States, where bilingualism is not encouraged or easily accessible.

The percentage of intersentential switches produced in the films is almost twice the percentage of intersentential switches displayed in the YouTube videos (See *Figures 4* and *5*). The intersentential switches produced by Ramos and Vizcarra can be attributed to the recalling of memories and topics being experienced in a certain language (Altman, Schrauf, & Walters, 2012; Altman, 2015). The conversations between Yarel Ramos and Anabel

Vizcarra could be considered semi-structured interviews, therefore, more switches are to be expected when there are pauses. Nevertheless, intrasentential switches accounted for more than double the intersentential switches in Ramos and Vizcarra's speech.

The percentage of switches in films was more than nine times the percentage of intersentential switches observed in radio (See *Figures 4 and 6*). The lack of intersentential switches can be attributed to the rapid speech production in radio, where the hosts have limited time to speak to the audience in between songs and commercials. Intersentential switching could be more difficult to produce when there are hardly any pauses in the speech, which could lead to intrasentential switching being more frequently used by radio hosts. Moreover, the hosts might be accustomed to switching back and forth between English and Spanish since they know the audience listening can understand their code-switching (Miller, 2005).

Another reason why intersentential switching may be present in the films, besides the abilities of the actors, is that it is easier to subtitle. Intrasentential switching is much harder to subtitle because the switches are in-between sentences, resulting in subtitles looking awkward or incomplete. Contrastingly, intersentential switching is simpler to subtitle since the switches occur less frequently and at the end of utterances or when there is a pause for punctuation. The subtitles, in this case, would show full sentences or phrases. Subtitles will be discussed further in *Section 2.3*.

Production companies might have a more favorable preference towards intersentential switching since it can also attract more audiences (Draemel, 2011). The films are marketed towards U.S. Latinos, but studios are known for striving to attract larger audiences in order to obtain more money at the box office. As a result, the films need to accommodate monolingual audiences, including those that speak only English or Spanish. By using intersentential switching, audiences can understand dialogues much easier, since

the languages are kept separate for longer utterances, and can be subtitled better. Monolingual accommodation will be discussed further in *Section 2.4*.

### ***1.2.1 Tag-switching***

In the films, 24% of the observed switches were categorized as tags (refer to *Figure 4*). Meanwhile, the YouTube videos displayed 13% of its total switches as tags (refer to *Figure 5*), and radio only showed 4% of its total switches (refer to *Figure 6*). From the 18 tag-switches displayed in films, 13 of them were observed in the film *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017). Some of the tags were curse words in Spanish or problematic words, such as Remy saying ‘*ese*’ when speaking to Valentin. Tag switches are common since some speakers use them as part of their quotidian speech, conveying information of the speaker’s background (Poplack, 1980; Holmes & Wilson, 2017). An example of tag-switching is the repetitive use of ‘*mira*’ before switching to English by Sara, a character portrayed by Salma Hayek in *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017).

In the YouTube videos, tags are not as prominent, with only 13% of the switches being tags. Tags in films are (percentage-wise) almost twice as many as the percentage in the YouTube videos (See *Figures 4* and *5*). Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra often used tags such as ‘*you know?*’ and ‘*right?*’ in Spanish portions of their speech. These tags are common, as noted in the work of Poplack (1980). The tags displayed in the YouTube videos may be the same as the tags used by other bilingual speakers in Los Angeles, with Ramos and Vizcarra reproducing common tags found in the speech of the area.

In the radio recordings, 4% of the switches observed were tags, with most of them being a variation of ‘*oye*’ (used by Melissa Rios) or the tag ‘*right?*’ (used by DJ Eddie One). The percentage of tags in films is six times larger than the percentage of tags in radio (See *Figures 4* and *6*). The radio hosts speak in small and limited intervals of time;

therefore, it is normal that they would want to get as much information across to the audience, in the process, avoid using tags. Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One show an inclination towards engaging with the audience using the previously mentioned tags, which could be reflective of the audience's speech. None of the tags used by Melissa Rios or DJ Eddie One, especially 'oye' and 'right?' were observed in the films. Consequently, tag-switches displayed in the radio hosts' speech further display the differences in the speech patterns portrayed in films, with tags used more often in films than by speakers.

### **1.3 Borrowings/Insertions**

In this analysis, the films and radio recordings both 16% of their total switches categorized as borrowings/insertions (See *Figure 4* and *Figure 6*), while the YouTube videos had 7% insertions (refer to *Figure 5*). Most of the insertions in the films were included to create the illusion that the films are bilingual. As Torres (2007) notes, authors that include Spanish in their texts to infer to the reader that the setting is bilingual or culturally Latino, without resorting to code-switches in their writing, only borrowings/insertions. For example, in the film *Everybody Loves Somebody*, most of the insertions occurred in an English context. One of the main characters, Daniel, produces the majority of insertions/borrowings, most of them being food ingredients or locations. The character keeps the Spanish pronunciation of the words, refusing to assimilate its pronunciation and not using translations. Since the words inserted are topical, they do not necessarily have translations that can convey the cultural meaning that the original word does. Something similar occurs in the radio recordings, where the hosts keep terms such as brands or currency in its respective language.

The radio recordings displayed the same percentage of borrowings/insertions as the films. Looking at the specific instances where these insertions occur, most of them are

topical insertions, such as currency. When Melissa Rios inserts ‘penny’ in a Spanish utterance, it can be attributed to the term not having a translation. In addition, Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One, insert English brand names, since the names can be recognized better in the language they are marketed in, even if they do have translations. Like the films, the insertions in radio are also topical, which can be attributed to the hosts discussing current events that they likely read about in news articles. It is easier to recall the terms in the language it was originally read or learned in (Altman, Schrauf, & Walters, 2012; Altman, 2015). Thus, it is plausible that the source of information for products or current events is English, which may prime for the hosts to use English when discussing Papa John’s CEO or US currency and producing English insertions/borrowings.

In contrast, the YouTube videos displayed only 7% of its switches as borrowings/insertions, with only five occurrences (see *Figures 2* and *5*). The small percentage of borrowings/insertions is indicative of the speakers being well-versed in the topics of conversation they were discussing. By being knowledgeable in the topics, Ramos and Anabel can produce more complex CS, such as intrasentential switching, as the results show in the *Figures 2* and *5*. This can be attributed to the speakers knowing the terms in the language they are using, avoiding borrowings/insertions to express themselves. In one of the instances, Vizcarra inserts the word ‘discomfort’ in a Spanish sentence. Ramos then responds and parallels Vizcarra’s insertion/borrowing by repeating and inserting it in a Spanish sentence. Repeating what a speaker says is a strategy used by listeners to show attention and understanding. In this case, it seems Yarel Ramos is reciprocating to Anabel Vizcarra’s speech by mirroring her insertion. The same effect is present in the radio recordings, with the hosts repeating the word ‘penny’ within Spanish phrases after it is first introduced by one of the hosts in the Morning Show. Contrastingly, none of the insertions/borrowings that were observed in the films appear twice.

## 1.4 Motivations for Code-switching

Including code-switching in the films *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), and *How to Be a Latin Lover* (2017) seems to be a deliberate action when considering the intended audience: Latinos. In Chapter 1, *Section 2.3.1*, Bleichenbacher's (2008) four Motivations for Code-switching in Multilingual Films were presented: *Situational CS*, *Metaphorical or Marked CS*, *Indexical CS*, and *Edited CS*. In his data, Bleichenbacher (2008) observed that Situational CS was present the most, with Metaphorical or Marked CS following. The same pattern can be noticed in the films analyzed in this thesis, with Situational CS being the primary motivation for switching. In some instances, the topic of conversation prompts the occurrence of Situational CS; with films, Situational CS is driven by the audience. The audience sitting in a theater is considered when producing dialogues, even when the listener or recipient in the conversation is not. Since the movies are marketed towards Latinos, the main motivation to use code-switching is to attribute a bilingual quality that reflects the Latino community in the United States.

Similarly, the YouTube videos and radio recordings also use code-switching situationally, since they are targeting the Latino audience who speaks the way they do. The topics covered in the films, YouTube videos, and radio recordings (e.g. Mexican food, Latin artists, traditions and taboos in Latino culture, etc.), are relevant to Latino audiences. Code-switching can be used to connect with an audience by making them feel included. As observed in the three mediums, language is the primary characteristic used to link Latino culture to bilingual Latinos. Ultimately, the use of CS alienates Latinos that are monolingual and portrays Latinidad as a quality contingent on an individual's bilingual linguistic abilities and repertoires.

Metaphorical or Marked CS occurs to display a speaker's language repertoire and could be used to change the topic of a conversation. The speakers in the three mediums can move across conversations in a single language, and yet, by using CS, they engage an audience that can produce it as well. In the films, the use of Metaphorical or Marked CS explains why the majority of the characters that produce switches are White/American. The characters are not producing the switches as part of the conversation; they are using code-switching to showcase their language proficiencies and relating to the audience watching the film (Bleichenbacher, 2008). In other words, the production companies are overseeing who is producing the switches, since having both English and Spanish can be seen as sufficient when attracting the Latino audience.

### **1.5 Conclusions of CS Use in the Mediums**

The films *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), and *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017) showed a greater number of intersentential switches than other types of code-switching. In contrast, each of the speakers from the YouTube videos and radio recordings showcased a larger number of intrasentential switches, than other types of code-switching. *Figure 7* illustrates the number of switches observed in each film, while *Figure 8* displays the switches produced by the speakers in the YouTube videos and radio. The large percentage of intersentential switches in films is expected since performing intrasentential switches can be restricted by the speakers' linguistic backgrounds. Meanwhile, the speakers from the YouTube videos and the radio recordings can talk freely and showcase their code-switching abilities.

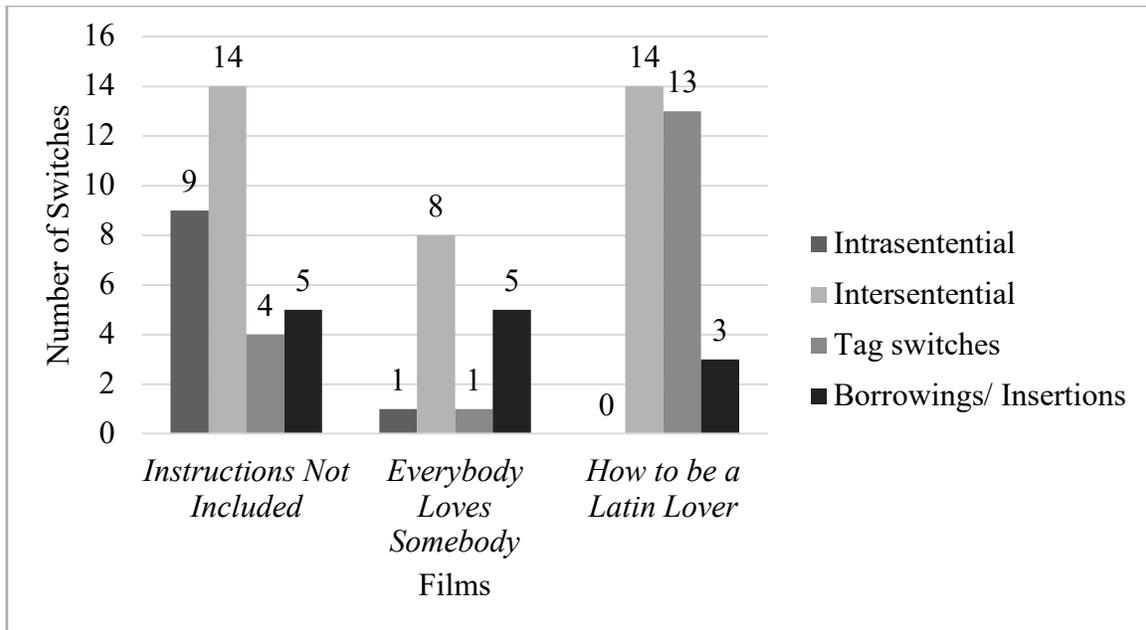


Figure 7. Count of Switches per Film

With the YouTube videos, the informality of the conversation can create a space where intrasentential switching is not influenced by pejorative language ideologies, and the speakers can express themselves and their linguistic repertoires, freely. The YouTubers are producing intrasentential switching to an audience that will understand them, a similar situation with the radio hosts, who keep in mind an audience who speaks comparably, and is able to follow along. In contrast, the films' target audience is not a bilingual audience, rather an English or Spanish monolingual audience. Pantelion Films keeps the Spanish and English monolingual audience in mind since these individuals can bring in more money at the box office (the monolingual audiences are bigger than the bilingual, as demographic statistics show).

The comparison of the films against the speech of Yarel Ramos, Anabel Vizcarra, Melissa Rios, and DJ Eddie One provided evidence of the differences between the scripted

speech portrayals in the films and the naturalistic speech in a video blog or radio station. The YouTube vloggers and radio hosts are from Los Angeles and U.S. Latinos, who have the experience of living in a bilingual community, unlike the actors in the films. The speakers display the dexterity needed for intrasentential switching and frequently produced switches in their speech. Contrastingly, the films do not include characters who reflect the speech patterns of the speakers, even though they are aimed at audiences that include individuals such as Yarel Ramos, Anabel Vizcarra, Melissa Rios, and DJ Eddie One.

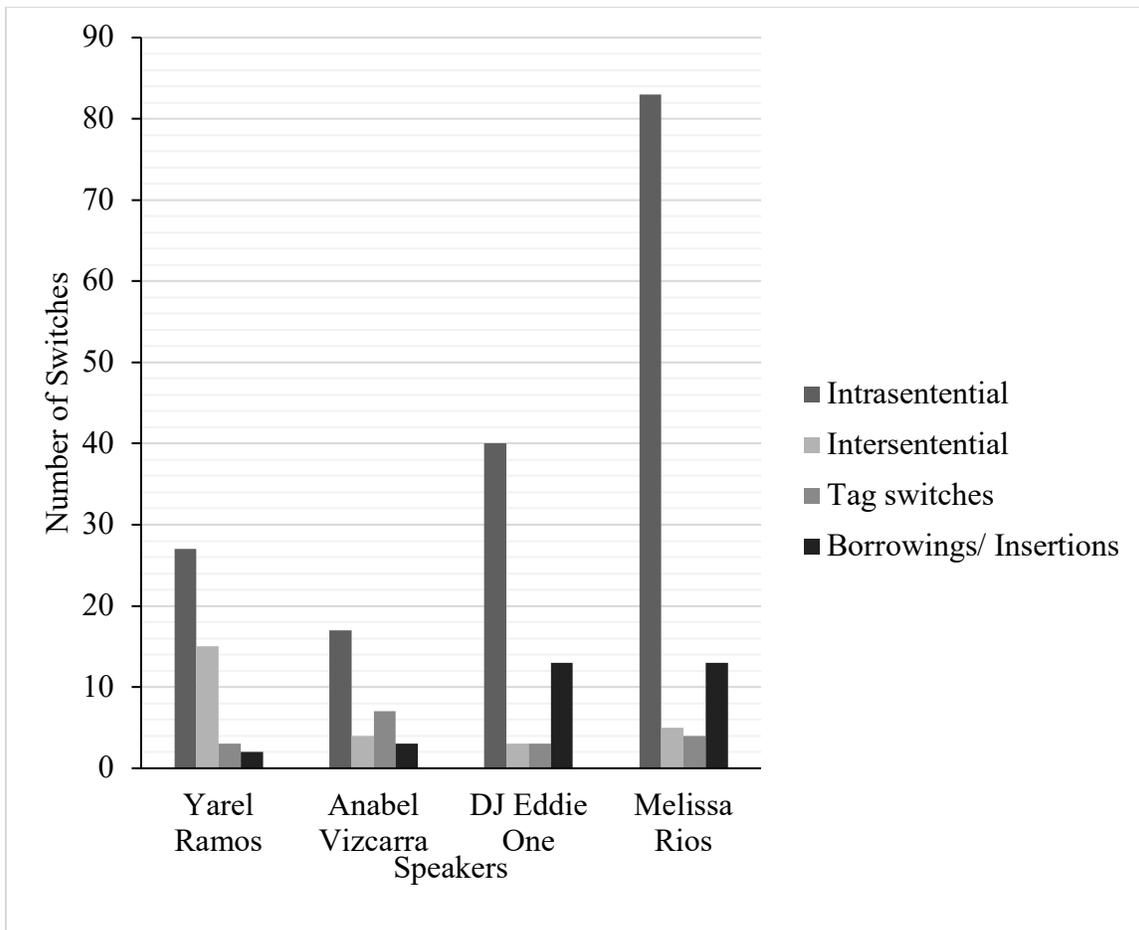


Figure 8. Count of Switches per Speaker

The films tell bilingual audiences that it is acceptable to switch, as long as the languages are kept separate. While the films have a total running time of more than five hours and a half, the movies produced fewer switches than Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra displayed in 20 minutes, or that Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One did in 20 minutes. The movies *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), and *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017) have characters that are portraying speakers from Los Angeles, and yet, their speech patterns are not reflective to those shown by Ramos, Vizcarra, Rios, and DJ Eddie One.

Intrasentential code-switching is common in the speech of Ramos, Vizcarra, Rios, and DJ Eddie One, which could be mimetic of the switching patterns displayed by bilingual Latinos in Los Angeles. This type of switching is stigmatized more than intersentential switching, which explains why it is produced more in the films than by the speakers analyzed in this thesis. Even though the switches might be representative of speaker's speech, the inclusion of CS in the films can be attributed to production studios wanting to add a Latino characteristic. In this case, language and code-switching help attract its intended audience: Latinos. In the films, all of the Latino characters are either Spanish-only or Spanish/English speakers, while there are no Latino characters that are English-only speakers. One of the implications of employing Spanish as a characteristic of Latinidad, is that Latinos who do not speak the language may feel excluded, questioning their identity and membership to the community. Using Spanish and CS to showcase Latinidad will be discussed further in *Chapter 6*.

## **2. STRATEGIES FOR INCLUSION OF SPANISH**

As discussed in *Chapter 1*, this work adapts Torres' (2007) Strategies for Inclusion of Spanish in Latino literature to film, YouTube, and radio. The three main strategies

discussed in this section are the use of common words, immediate translation, and subtitles. After illustrating the form in which the strategies are present in each medium, I will examine the monolingual accommodation and bilingual gratification that these strategies provide.

## **2.1 Strategy One: Common Words**

Torres (2007) explains the first strategy for including Spanish as the use of common words that can easily be recognized by a monolingual audience. Common words can appear as tag-switches or borrowings/insertions, which were observed in all of the films but did not appear in the YouTube videos and radio recordings. Inserting words such as ‘*gracias*’ and ‘*hola*’ are examples of using common words as switches. Even if the speaker is an English monolingual, it is likely that they will understand the switch, whether by recognizing it or by using the context surrounding it.

The films occasionally used common words in order to convey the ethnic background of a character and their familiarity with the Spanish showcased in another character’s dialogues. By using common words, such as food ingredients, the characters can present themselves as bilinguals. Still, the strategy is not used often, as reflected by the small percentage (16%) of borrowings/insertions. The lack of *common words* in the form of borrowings/insertions is justified by the complex Spanish (not easily accessible vocabulary) evident throughout the YouTube videos, with long segments spoken in a single language without many switches. Lastly, the radio recordings rarely use this strategy, since most of the borrowings/insertions are English words in Spanish phrases.

## **2.2 Strategy Two: Immediate Translation**

The second strategy discussed by Torres (2007) is the use of translations directly before or after a Spanish word or phrase is incorporated in speech. Immediate translations not only accommodate for the monolingual audience, but it also takes away from the bilingual experience, by inserting redundant words and phrases. This strategy can be seen in the films as discussed in *Chapter 2, Section 4.2*. When the films incorporate Spanish with an immediate translation, closed captions are rarely used, and if they are, the text avoids the redundancy. The use of immediate translations privileges monolinguals by keeping them from being alienated during the film and avoiding the feeling of foreignness, even though the films are geared towards a bilingual Latino population.

The YouTube videos and the radio recordings do not use immediate translations whenever Spanish is used in the dialogues, as the YouTubers and radio hosts are aware that their audiences are able to understand the Spanish produced. For English or Spanish monolinguals, it would be challenging to completely comprehend the content in both the YouTube videos and the radio show, as these mediums primarily use intrasentential switching and rarely use translations. Therefore, YouTube and radio do not accommodate for monolingual speakers since they are not the intended audience. In contrast, the films are targeting wider audiences, both bilingual and monolingual ones in the United States and Latin America. Ultimately, it is evident that the films use immediate translations to clearly define a broad monolingual and bilingual target audience, while YouTube and radio are specifically targeting bilingual Latinos.

## **2.3 Strategy Three: Subtitles**

The third and final strategy for incorporating Spanish is the use of subtitles. Subtitles in Latino films make sure that the audience, whether bilingual or not, can

understand the movie. When the films selected for this thesis were released in the United States, they were all accompanied by subtitles. When the film *Instructions Not Included* (2013) was released in Mexico, it did not include any subtitles, even during English scenes. In this case, *Instructions Not Included* (2013) accommodated for the American English-speaking monolingual audience but did not accommodate for Mexican Spanish-speaking monolinguals.

In comparison, with YouTube videos, the creators can manually add the subtitles. If no subtitles are available, YouTube offers the option of displaying automatically generated subtitles by voice recognition. Voice recognition only works with one language, producing inaccurate subtitles whenever other languages are included in a video. In the case of Ramos' videos, neither Spanish nor English speakers are accommodated, evidence that the target audience is Latino bilinguals. With the radio station, MEGA 96.3 FM, including subtitles is impossible, since the medium is only audio-based.

#### **2.4 Monolingual Accommodation**

Monolingual accommodation is present in all of the films, which is to be expected. Although the films are aimed towards U.S. Latinos, they are still targeting monolingual audiences, both English and Spanish. The films use different strategies to accommodate monolinguals. The films accommodate for monolinguals by principally producing intersentential switches and maintaining the languages separate. In contrast, the YouTube videos and radio station do not accommodate Spanish-only or English-only speakers. By mainly using intrasentential switching, the YouTube videos and radio hosts keep in mind their bilingual audiences. The audiences for the YouTube videos and the radio station can understand English and Spanish and are likely to code-switch, resembling the speech of the speakers analyzed in this thesis.

## **2.5 Bilingual gratification**

Bilingual gratification is achieved by freely incorporating Spanish. However, in this analysis, there are still limited opportunities for it to occur in the films. For example, subtitles cannot translate fully what some cultural phrases can convey to speakers of the language or members of the community. Understanding the meaning of what is being said can provide bilingual gratification to those individuals that watch the film. Additionally, it can foster a sense of belonging, knowing that the film takes the individual into account when creating the film (Roman, 2000; Torres, 2007).

In the films, subtitles fall short when translating humor, since humor is connected to cultural belonging. There are instances where a joke only works in Spanish, and the subtitles are not able to convey the humor, leading to bilingual audiences to comprehend it and obtain gratification from it. As well, subtitles might not fully translate the dialogues in a scene, leaving words or phrases out. In those cases, bilinguals receive more meaning out of a scene than a monolingual would, especially when code-switching is involved.

In contrast, the YouTube videos and the Radio clips do not accommodate for monolinguals, giving bilinguals the most gratification. In the videos, Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra talk about cultural experiences that bilinguals and Latinos will relate to. The same occurs with the radio station when hosts speak with the audience about current news or personal events. Since they primarily use intrasentential switching, bilingual speakers will obtain the most gratification, as they are also the audience that will fully understand the content of the conversations in the YouTube videos and the Radio clips.

## **3. STEREOTYPES AND REPRESENTATIONS**

The films show Latinos as stuntmen, architects, and doctors, breaking the mold from the usual representations of Latinos as criminals, exotic, and hot-blooded. Most actors

in the films are American or Mexican, presenting a dichotomy between the nationalities. U.S. Latinos are comprised of individuals from different countries in Latin America: some Latinos are Puerto Rican or Guatemalan, from the Dominican Republic or Cuba. The Latino community in the United States is comprised of a diverse array of nationalities and backgrounds, yet the films present a Latinidad that is only Mexican. By doing so, the films are erasing the different identities that are part of the Latino community.

Furthermore, there is also a lack of diversity in the films by presenting only White Americans and Mexicans. The only instance where another minority is present in the films is in *Instructions Not Included* (2013). When Valentin goes to a hotel in Los Angeles, the concierge that greets him is African American. The casting was involuntary, as Eugenio Derbez explains in the director's commentary of the film. The other two films, *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017) and *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017), do not include primary or secondary characters portrayed by actors that are Indigenous, African American, Asian American, or part of any other minority group. The lack of other ethnicities in the films, present the United States as White-only, erasing other demographic groups.

In contrast, the YouTube videos and Radio clips include Latinos presented more positively. One of the common portrayals of Latinos is as *lazy* or *untrustworthy*, yet all of the speakers present themselves in a different light. The four speakers, Yarel Ramos, Anabel Vizcarra, Melissa Rios, and DJ Eddie One have successful careers and are prominent figures in their communities. With the exception of DJ Eddie One (from El Salvador), the speakers are of Mexican heritage and live in Los Angeles, a city with a high Mexican/Mexican American population. Yarel Ramos is currently a TV host at Univision California, while Anabel Vizcarra is a well-known holistic coach. Both Melissa Rios and DJ Eddie One have long careers in radio and music. By sharing their success with the public, all of the speakers help towards the reimagining of what a Latino is like. Even

though the films have Latinos in fruitful careers, they can still do a better job at representing how Latinidad looks and sounds like, starting with the inclusion of more Latino actors in their casts.

## **Chapter 6 – The Denouement: A Final Look at Code-switching**

### **1. PURPOSE OF THESIS**

The aim of the thesis is to demonstrate why it is essential to have more Latino representations that resemble real people, including their code-switching patterns. Research has focused on how Latinos are portrayed in film (Roman, 2000; Berg, 2002), however little research has examined the language use of Latino characters (Bleichenbacher, 2008; de Casanova, 2008; Kirschen, 2013). As such, the purpose of this thesis is also to narrow the gap in the literature that neglects language use of Latino characters. This thesis analyzed the types of CS found in films that are targeted towards U.S. Latinos and compared them to the CS patterns found in a Latino YouTube channel and Latino radio. These observations pinpoint the differences between types of code-switching present in each medium, with films including more intersentential switching and YouTube and radio displaying more intrasentential switching. This thesis also examined the strategies to include Spanish in each medium, complicating the motivations behind the use of code-switching and the speakers that produce it (Bleichenbacher, 2008). The thesis further identifies whether monolingual accommodation and bilingual gratification is present and their depictions in each medium. Finally, this thesis studied the representations and stereotypes of Latinos in each medium.

### **2. DISCUSSION**

#### **2.1 Code-switching**

The data illustrates how Latinos' speech patterns are not adequately represented in the films that are marketed towards them. Intrasentential switching is used most frequently by Yarel Ramos, Anabel Vizcarra, Melissa Rios, and DJ Eddie One, whereas the characters

in the films *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), and *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017) primarily utilize intersentential switching. Consequently, the results demonstrate that Pantelion Films misrepresent how Latinos speak.

The results parallel those from Bleichenbacher (2008) and Draemel (2011), where the authors observe intersentential switching as the most prevalent type of CS in films. Draemel (2011) also examined the CS from one radio host in MEGA 96.3 FM, Raq C. In the study, intrasentential switching is found to be the primary type of CS used between the radio host and the callers. This thesis extends this prior analysis by taking a different approach and examining switches as an indication of language ideologies, whereas Draemel (2011) takes a grammatical/syntactical and sociopragmatic approach. Contrastingly, the films, YouTube videos, and radio are examined to determine whether their use of CS reinforces prescriptivist ideologies, as well as looking at the types of representations and stereotypes that surround language use. Additionally, this thesis uses Bleichenbacher (2008) and Torres' (2007) as a theoretical framework to analyze the data, which is not included in Draemel (2011). Moreover, this thesis incorporates a third medium (YouTube) for comparison, which further supports the conclusions stemming from the analysis of the speech patterns of Latinos, and some of the misrepresentations in media of language use.

One of the misrepresentations found in the data is the use of tags such as '*right?*' Mendoza-Denton (2014) discusses the different discourse markers (tags) found in the speech of her informants<sup>4</sup>, which are from California. One of Mendoza-Denton's primary informants, T-Rex, displays the tag '*right?*' in her speech when saying, "like suppose we are at basketball right?" and "I'm a Norteña in the other group right?" (Mendoza-Denton,

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<sup>4</sup> Some of the discourse markers found in the data that Mendoza-Denton collected included "well, now, but, right, you know" (Mendoza-Denton, 2014; Schiffin, 1988).

2014, p. 165, 183). Switches cataloged from the speech of radio host DJ Eddie One also show that he frequently uses ‘*right?*’ as a tag, further supporting that it might be a common tag in Los Angeles and California, in general. Even though the tag is also present in the speech of Yarel Ramos and Anabel Vizcarra, none of the tag-switches in the films involve ‘*right?*’, demonstrating some of the discrepancies of speech representations in the movies.

Another misrepresentation is including more intersentential switching in films, where YouTube and radio use more intrasentential switching. As shown in Chapter 2, the actors in the films grew up in countries that are primarily monolingual<sup>5</sup>. Limited by their linguistic repertoires, the actors do not have the experience necessary to produce intrasentential switching, which is reflected in the small number of intrasentential switches. This can be attributed to the actors not growing up in bilingual communities as early bilinguals of English and Spanish. Therefore, it is easier for them to produce intersentential switches instead of intrasentential switching (Poplack, 1980; Toribio, 2002; Bullock & Toribio, 2009).

Most of the primary characters in the films, inexplicably (in the narrative), are English/Spanish bilinguals. Yet, the public education systems in Mexico<sup>6</sup> and the United States<sup>7</sup> do not encourage or make it easily accessible for individuals to learn a foreign language. Consequently, the rates of bilingualism in each country are low. Knowing the ideologies that reinforce keeping languages separate (i.e. language purism), the large

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<sup>5</sup> In Mexico, a third of the urban population between 14 and 55 years old knows *some* English, with only 2% declaring that they could speak it fluently (Estrada, 2009). According to the U.S. Census, 85% of adults are English monolingual (United States Census Bureau, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> In Mexico, the Elementary School Reform came into effect in 2009, which included teaching of English in elementary and secondary public schools. Even though the reform mandates the teaching of English, it has not made much progress since there is a shortage of trained instructors in second language teaching (Secretaría de Educación Pública, 2011).

<sup>7</sup> In the United States, 20% of students in K-12 are enrolled in foreign language classes, which Spanish being the most popular language taught (American Councils for International Education, 2017). In addition, only 11 states mandate that students meet certain foreign language requirements in order to graduate (American Councils for International Education, 2017).

percentage of intersentential switches in the films is unsurprising. Furthermore, by using intersentential switching, the films are prescriptivist in nature by showcasing what they deem as acceptable switching. For bilinguals that code-switch intrasententially, not having characters in films that speak as they do can lead to internalizing pejorative language ideologies of CS (Zentella, 1997; Roman, 2000). Additionally, intersentential switching keeps audiences engaged by providing enough context that lets individuals understand the narrative, while giving the films a bilingual, and therefore, Latino quality.

Misrepresentations can have significant implications, since media is usually seen as a place of reference of what is commonly accepted, serving as a prescriptivist medium (Zentella, 2007). The films serve as a prescriptivist medium not only by reinforcing pejorative ideas of CS but by also encouraging language purism. By preferring intersentential switching, the films reinforce language purism ideologies, where keeping languages separate is the norm, and mixing languages is discouraged (Zentella, 2007). Additionally, research has shown that third-generation bilinguals are likely to lose their mother tongue (in this case Spanish), and having inaccurate speech portrayals in films may aid in furthering this loss (Lopez, 1996). Latinos may start internalizing the idea that their speech is not correct when films marketed towards them because of their storylines, do not portray speech accurately. This may lead to lower confidence in language production, and the decrease of bilingualism, with future generations beginning to lose their bilingual skills, especially their Spanish language (Roman, 2000).

Furthermore, by not showing realistically how Latinos speak and switch their languages, the films reinforce ideologies towards CS that have prevailed in the Latino community (Toribio, 2002; Zentella, 2007; Rangel et al., 2015). These ideologies include thinking that CS is ugly-sounding, and its use infers that speakers are not fully proficient

in either language. Reinforcing those ideologies leads to Latinos internalizing their code-switching as an action to be avoided since it is frowned upon.

Some positive and realistic representations of Latinos and their linguistic abilities occur in *Instructions Not Included* (2013) and *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), where Valentin and Abby, respectively, are presented as passive bilinguals. In the films, characters speak to Valentin and Abby in English and Spanish, with them only responding in Spanish throughout the movies. Therefore, the characters are able to understand English, even though they do not speak it. Passive bilingualism in Latinos has been documented extensively and is attributed to the attrition that individuals suffer when they do not maintain their heritage language (Lipski, 1993; Uribe de Kellett, 2002; Anderson & Goldstein, 2012; Montrul, 2013). By showing Valentin and Abby's characters as passive bilinguals, the films showcase a reality of many Latinos who do not speak Spanish and yet, understand it. The films only showcase English passive bilinguals, even though there are U.S. Latinos who are Spanish passive bilinguals. Consequently, the identity of Latinos is sometimes challenged when they do not speak Spanish, with some believing that they are *not Latino enough* without the language, creating more *language insecurity* (Zentella, 2007). Therefore, the normalization of passive bilingualism with representations in films, such as Valentin and Abby's, can help Latinos relate their experience and provide them with the affirmation that their language (or lack thereof) does not invalidate their Latinidad. Future work could examine more representations on passive bilingualism in media, including samples of U.S. Latinos that are either English or Spanish passive.

The films are centered in Mexico and the United States, which leads to the casting of Mexican and American actors. While this may be true, the films are marketed towards all Latinos in the U.S., and that includes Latinos who have other nationalities and speak a different variety of Spanish than the one presented in films. Not only do the films generalize

the way Latinos code-switch, but also the variety of Spanish that they use. For example, the films do not show other Spanish varieties such as Caribbean Spanish (Cuban, Dominican, Puerto Rican), which are often stigmatized. The lack of portrayals further displays the low status of these dialects, even though many Latinos in the U.S. speak them (Zentella, 2007). Having only Mexican actors portraying U.S. Latinos, the films present one variety of Spanish (e.g., Mexican Spanish). Therefore, the movies reinforce a prescriptivist ideology by perpetuating the idea that Mexican Spanish is the acceptable variety and increasing its privilege amongst other varieties, while in the meantime, subordinating and erasing other accents and dialects.

Equally important, the films do not include U.S. Latinos (except for Loreto Peralta in *Instructions Not Included* (2013)), nullifying the possibility for more accurate representations of speech patterns found in Latinos. By including more U.S. Latinos in films, whether they are bilingual or monolingual, the speech portrayals could result in closely resembling the patterns reflected by other Latinos, including the possibility of code-switching and accented dialogues. The inclusion of U.S. Latinos and accurate speech could help create better representations of Latinos, breaking negative stereotypes that have pervaded in media; this will be discussed further in *Section 3.3*.

## **2.2 Bleichenbacher's Motivations for Code-switching in Multilingual Films**

The films examined for this thesis paralleled the results from Bleichenbacher (2008) where the two primary types of CS observed in his data were *Situational CS* and *Metaphorical or Marked code-switching*. *Situational CS* was used to connect with the audience by the audience being the addressee. This further gives the films qualities that could characterize them as Latino films (i.e. by switching with topics that relate to the audience, it creates the notion that the films are bilingual). This type of CS is also present

in the YouTube videos and the radio recordings, with the speakers using code-switching to connect with their audience, even if it is not necessarily prompted by the context and addressees, they are producing it to. By using *Situational CS*, the three mediums are targeting a niche audience: Latinos, primarily bilingual ones. With *Situational CS*, the Latinos may watch the films or YouTube videos, or listen to the radio station because they appear to be tailored for Latinos, and not necessarily because of their storyline/content. Meanwhile, the inclusion of *Metaphorical or Marked code-switching* in the three mediums normalizes the use of CS, by providing a positive representation of it. Ultimately, having *Metaphorical or Marked code-switching* for the purpose of language display could motivate Latinos to demonstrate their linguistic and bilingual abilities in a society that negatively views the use of CS (Toribio, 2002; Zentella, 2007; Rangel et al., 2015).

### **2.3 Strategies for the Inclusion of Spanish**

Torres' (2007) Strategies for Inclusion of Spanish were used in order to pinpoint how films incorporate the language in their primarily English dialogues. Even though the films are marketed towards the Latino community in the United States, there is ample evidence that suggests that these films incorporate Spanish in order to accommodate monolingual audiences. In doing so, the production studios take away from the experience that bilinguals may have as viewers. It also further creates the suspicion that the bilingual community is not the priority of the films since they are not exclusively made for them. Moreover, monolingual accommodation takes away from monolingual English speakers the experience of foreignness that Latinos at times feel when watching an English-only movie that generally does not include subtitles. Although there is still some bilingual gratification present in the films, they do not reach their full potential that the YouTube videos and the radio recordings have since the movies do not incorporate Spanish freely

(i.e. without using any of Torres' (2007) strategies and including Spanish in English dialogues without monolingual accommodation).

The production studios are prioritizing the monolingual English audience when they include English subtitles in the films, since they do not offer the movies with Spanish subtitles<sup>8</sup> (or other languages, for that matter). By focusing on English speakers (regardless of bilingual speakers), the films exclude Latinos who only speak Spanish from understanding scenes with English dialogues. The subtitles also promote the use of intersentential switching present in the films, since longer utterances are easier to add subtitles to, than intrasentential switches where mixing of Spanish and English happens more often. Therefore, including subtitles is easier for intersentential switching, it is possible that inaccurate language portrayals in the film are the result of production studios accommodating for the English monolingual audience.

Box office ticket sales may be one of the main reasons why production studios prioritize accommodating monolingual audiences (even Latino films). Monolingual audiences are part of the box office success of Pantelion Films. In the United States, releasing a film that includes Spanish dialogues with no subtitles accompanying it would exclude audiences, and ultimately hinder its success in the box office. The need for subtitles can lead to film producers and directors encouraging actors to use intersentential switches, instead of intrasentential switches. When a film performs well in the box office, production studios are provided with the funds needed for more films to be produced. These films are still likely to consider and accommodate the monolingual audiences in order to ensue higher profits and success in the box office. Therefore, this process creates a cycle that could prove difficult to break, hindering the production of more accurate representations

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<sup>8</sup> In 2016, there were 40 million speakers of Spanish in the U.S. and 13.3% of U.S. residents speak Spanish at home (United States Census Bureau, 2017b). Regardless of the large population of Spanish-speakers, production studios do not include subtitles in the language when releasing the films in theaters.

of the naturalistic speech of Latinos in the United States. For instance, publishing presses prefer monolingual texts over bilingual ones, since they target wider audiences and have the potential for more revenue (see Torres (2007) for a discussion).

Conversely, bilinguals may obtain gratification simply by listening to other individuals speak and switch between languages in a similar manner as they do. Bilingual gratification could stem from knowing that the content was created for bilinguals, even if monolingual accommodation is present in other forms. By providing bilingual gratification, the production studios still achieve the distribution and consumption to Latinos of content that was created for them. If the audience is pleased from the content and representations, individuals could become regular viewers of the films produced by the studio, since they may recognize that the film is created for them. Meanwhile, Latinos may obtain bilingual gratification by simply having more representations in the big screen, of their culture and languages, even if they are not completely accurate. In contrast, the YouTube videos and radio station are truly bilingual and give the most bilingual gratification, likely securing an audience that recognize that the videos and radio station exclusively target them.

## **2.4 Representations/Stereotypes**

When Latinos were identified as profitable audiences and consumers, more representations in media started occurring (Dávila, 2012). Therefore, it is imperative that we stop and examine the portrayals since research has shown that there is a small number of Latinos in the media and their representations are usually stereotypical, showing Latinos unfavorably (Martinez & Ramasubramanian, 2015; Smith et al., 2017; Roman, 2000; Berg, 2002; Negrón-Muntaner, 2014; Portillo, 2017; Beauchamp, 2017). Even in contemporary films such as *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017), the protagonists portray stereotypical

Latinos, such as the *Latin Lover* (Maximo/Eugenio Derbez) or the hot-blooded hypersexualized Latina (Sara/Salma Hayek).

The films are a step towards more and better representations of Latinos in the big screen, but still lack in certain areas. Firstly, all of the Latinos in the films are of Mexican descent, portraying Latinidad as Mexican-only, leading to the erasure of other nationalities that comprises the Latino community. Dávila (2000) states that “Mexican language, accent, and mannerisms... are generally favored as the embodiment of generic Hispanicity” (p. 85). Portraying Latinos as Mexicans or Mexican Americans creates the image that Latinos are the only individuals that immigrate from Mexico, excluding and dividing the Latino community from individuals that migrate from other Latin American countries (Dávila, 2000; Dávila, 2012; Lindenfeld, 2007). Secondly, because the Latinos in the films are Mexicans, the Spanish displayed in the movies is of the Mexican variety. Therefore, the films normalize Mexican Spanish and its accent, erasing the other varieties of Spanish that are part of the linguistic repertoires of U.S. Latinos.

The film *Instructions Not Included* (2013) exemplifies how casting decisions perpetuate stereotypical representations of language in media. As detailed in *Chapter 2*, Eugenio Derbez was looking for a child that did not have an accent in Spanish or English to play the role of Maggie. By choosing to cast an actor “without an accent,” Derbez reinforces the use of Standard (or Generic) Spanish, known as “Walter Cronkite Spanish” (Dávila, 2000). This type of Spanish excludes any kind of regionalisms and accent, generalizing the Spanish that many Latinos use across the U.S. When Derbez chooses to use Walter Cronkite Spanish, the film prescribes the *correct* Spanish dialect that should be used. Therefore, varieties with accents are deemed unacceptable or not worthy of being represented in the big screen. Additionally, by using a universal variety of Spanish, Derbez ensures that viewers can feel represented, mimicking the TV show *Dora the Explorer*,

where it is impossible to identify the background of its protagonist (de Casanova, 2008). At the same time, the film erases varieties of Spanish, ultimately homogenizing the speech of Latinos and their identity.

The films do not include other minorities or ethnic groups in the films, creating a dichotomy between Mexican and American actors. By doing so, the films portray an image that lacks the diversity of the population that comprise the United States and Mexico. On the other hand, the films strive to portray Latinos in a positively manner, which they accomplish by having Latinos play characters that are architects, doctors, and stuntmen. These images break from the stereotypical representations of Latinos as criminal or blue-collar roles (Smith et al., 2017).

The only film to showcase a Latino stereotype was *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017), which as the name entails, portrays a *Latin Lover*. The film uses humor in order to create a parody of the stereotype by exaggerating its characteristics. Eugenio Derbez defends the use of the Latin Lover by stating that the use of humor and parody breaks the stereotype, instead of reinforcing it. Derbez does not achieve this since the character lacks depth and is only a *Latin Lover* all throughout the film. Had the character evolved and become a positive role and representation, then Derbez might have achieved his purpose. Instead, Maximo starts as a *Latin Lover* and even through hardship, remains a sexualized *Latin Lover*. Therefore, the character displayed a lack of evolution beyond the stereotype, resorting to decades-old typical tropes that are supposed to be humorous. Contrastingly, a more positive representation can be found in the film with Sara, a Latina who works as an architect and breaks with stereotypes of Latinas portrayed as maids or stay-at-home moms (Berg, 2002; Smith et al., 2017).

Different from the films, the YouTube videos and the radio recordings portray Latinos positively because the mediums show the speakers in professional roles as

YouTubers (with Ramos also being a journalist and Vizcarra also being a holistic coach) and radio hosts. These roles break from the usual criminal and hot-headed portrayals of Latinos in television and film (Berg, 2002; Smith et al., 2017). The positive portrayals could be correlated with obtaining more subscribers and revenue, since Latinos are unlikely to be supportive of other Latinos that reinforce harmful stereotypes. In like manner, the YouTubers and radio hosts could obtain more support from Latinos if they feel represented in ways that more closely resemble their life of professionals and law-abiding citizens, contrary to stereotypical portrayals.

### **3. LIMITATIONS**

Although this thesis pinpoints some of the differences found in the speech portrayed in films compared to the speech patterns showcased by Latinos, the project still had some limitations. For one, only four Latino speakers (two speakers from YouTube and two speakers from radio) were used for the comparison against actors from the films. By having a limited number of speakers and the presence of only one variety of Spanish (Mexican Spanish), it is difficult to produce greater generalizations of the speech patterns present in Latinos. Additionally, the code-switching produced by the actors in the films and the speakers from the YouTube videos and the Radio clips is performative. The CS found in all three mediums is considered performative and not naturalistic since the actors/speakers are producing it in order to engage an audience that switches as well. Therefore, the speech patterns observed in Yarel Ramos, Anabel Vizcarra, Melissa Rios, and DJ Eddie One may not be accurately representative of the speech patterns found in other Latinos from Los Angeles. Since their speech is tailored to their bilingual audiences, it is possible that it does not represent their quotidian speech patterns.

Another limitation is human error, which can primarily occur in the transcription and coding processes. The transcriptions were completed manually after watching the films several times to ensure accuracy, but some switches may not be represented as they occur in the films. Moreover, when the coding and cataloging of the switches was completed, the categorization of each switch was dependent on the definition of each category: intersentential switching, intrasentential switching, tag-switches, borrowings/insertions. The majority of the switches fell into their respective category; some of the ambiguous switches which were determined to belong to a certain category, could be disputed. Future work should include multiple raters and inter-rater reliability in order to ensure the best transcription and coding.

Finally, a limitation present in the data regarding all three mediums, was restricting the examination of switches to within a speaker's turn. By only looking at switches within the turn, switching between languages after a different character or speaker spoke was not counted towards any category. The decision to focus on switches within the same turn comes from the possibility of observing switches that could potentially be unscripted, since switches within different turns could be written in scripts. Future studies could instead consider including switches outside of a speaker's turn to observe whether the patterns still hold true.

#### **4. CONCLUSIONS**

This thesis examined the code-switching patterns found in films and compared them to the ones produced by speakers in their regular speech. The films *Instructions Not Included* (2013), *Everybody Loves Somebody* (2017), and *How to be a Latin Lover* (2017) primarily use intersentential switching in their dialogues, while the speakers from the YouTube videos and radio recordings primarily produced intrasentential switching. Thus,

I return to the main question posed at the beginning of this thesis. Do the language choices in the films seem to reinforce prescriptivist ideologies? Indeed, films seem to support prescriptivist ideologies of the acceptable use of code-switching, since the movies show an inclination towards intersentential switching, which keeps languages separate for longer utterances, producing full grammatical phrases and sentences before a switch occurs. In using intersentential switching, the films act as a prescriptivist medium where language purism ideologies are reinforced, since the most acceptable form of code-switching (intersentential) is the one that shows languages separate for long periods of time. With the films having a wide distribution and reaching millions of people, especially Latinos, having negative language ideologies present may further perpetuate Latinos' disapproval of their own code-switching abilities. Furthermore, it might reinforce ideas that Latinos' own speech is wrong and does not *sound nice*, increasing their *language insecurity* (Zentella, 2007), which could lead to a decline in bilingualism, propelled by a decrease in motivation for teaching younger generations Spanish.

Additionally, the main types of code-switching in films are intersentential switching, followed by intrasentential switching, tag-switches, and borrowings/insertions. These switches are influenced by the actors that perform it who were primarily Mexican or American actors, which in the process misrepresents Latinos, not only in terms of how they speak, but also the variety of Spanish used. The use of Mexican Spanish in films aimed towards U.S. Latinos increases the privilege that Mexican Spanish variety has and further stigmatizes other dialects such as Dominican Spanish (Zentella, 2007). Moreover, these movies feature more positive representations of Mexican Spanish varieties, while marginalizing other dialects and potentially associating them with more negative stereotypes of non-Mexican Latinos, such as criminals and oversexualized women (Berg, 2002). The presence of previously mentioned negative stereotypes can lead to individuals

to conflate media representations of Latinos and their language use, linking a language variety with a stereotype. Therefore, further marginalizing Latinos for their language practices and in the process, further stigmatizing code-switching and promoting assimilation towards monolingualism, primarily English (Rosa, 2014).

By using Torres' (2007) strategies to incorporate Spanish in the films, the production studio accommodates for the English monolingual audiences that view the movies, taking away from the bilingual gratification that Latinos who are proficient in English and Spanish might obtain from watching the film. There are instances in which the films are not able to completely subtitle and translate cultural and ethnic components of the language, especially with humor. In the cases, where only bilingual Latinos may understand, the gratification is greater. Along the same line, the YouTube videos and the radio recordings provide the most bilingual gratification since they incorporate Spanish freely. With this in mind, Latinos in the film industry may start looking for other mediums to distribute their content as they intended it to be. This can be seen with more diverse content spreading in the digital libraries of streaming services such as Netflix, Hulu, and Amazon Prime Video (Gonzalez-Sobrinio, González-Lesser, & Hughey, 2018). In platforms such as these, creators can distribute their films while giving viewers the option of adding subtitles, giving them monolingual accommodation if needed. In the process, Latinos can experience the most bilingual gratification by watching films that were created for them digital platforms. If the Latino content in these platforms finds success, the production companies may start investing more money in creating more films for Latinos that include a wide release in theaters, and that could possibly freely incorporate Spanish in them.

The results presented in this thesis showcase how films with Latino producers, directors, and actors fail to represent the speech patterns of Latinos correctly. The

misrepresentation of speech patterns can be attributed to the dichotomy of American and Mexican actors cast in the films, with almost no U.S. Latinos appearing in the films. This dichotomy shows not only a lack of diversity in the films, but also a misrepresentation of Latinidad. Latinos in the film are shown as Mexican who speak Mexican Spanish<sup>9</sup>; this portrayal does not accurately portray the different varieties of language and nationalities that comprise the Latino community in the United States. With these representations, the idea that Latinos are Mexican is further perpetuated, not only erasing the nationalities of other Latinos, but also reinforcing the generic and Pan-Latino image that has been present in the media (Dávila, 2000). Ideologies such as these are still prevalent in media, with Fox News' chyron "Trump Cuts Aid to 3 Mexican Countries," being a prime example of how different nations (in this case, El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala) are conflated into one: Mexico (Stelter, 2019). When identities are erased and merged as one, the histories and struggles of each nation is reduced to a general one, when each one has a different account experienced. Therefore, films that have a wide reach could focus in not only representing Latinos, but the different individuals, nationalities, and language repertoires that compose a diverse community in order to give a spotlight to Latinos that are marginalized and forgotten in the big screen. In return, having diverse representations can normalize and accentuate the different varieties of Spanish and the different nationalities within the Latino community.

Prior research has examined the representations of Latinos in Hollywood, including the portrayals that are still lacking Latinos in media (Berg, 2002; Roman, 2000; Smith et al., 2017). Film portrayals have been examined at length, but the language patterns in

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<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that the sample of films chosen for this thesis may be biased towards Mexican portrayals since Pantelion Films is comprised by Televisa, a Mexican communication conglomerate, and Lionsgate.

Latino characters has been overlooked. As such, this thesis addresses a critical gap in the literature by observing code-switching in Pantelion films. It is imperative to further analyze how Latinos are represented in Hollywood, and the implications that incorrect portrayals of speech may have in the Latino community. With this in mind, the following section presents different routines in which future research on the topic can be expanded upon.

## **5. FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

The research presented in this thesis serves as a starting point that warrants further development. Future research can examine the switches that occur outside of a speaker's turn. Doing so could illustrate how other speakers in the films that are bilingual use their languages, but do not switch during their speaking turn. Using Conversation Analysis (CA), response times could be measured and compared to previous research that shows how long a turn usually takes to produce (Sacks et al., 1978; Heldner & Edlund, 2010; Levinson & Torreira, 2015). By using this method, the results could identify whether the respondent is eliciting the switch of the language of the first speaker.

Another future direction for this work includes the addition of more films, not only from Pantelion Films, but from other production companies as well. Doing so can open the comparison of speech to other varieties of Spanish and other languages. Additionally, a more significant number of actors could be analyzed, including some that could be Latinos. By analyzing more media, the speech patterns could be more accurate and lead to stronger conclusions on the implications that representations have in Latinos. The additional media can be compared to the speech of Latinos obtained through sociolinguistic interviews. Having such interviews can provide more accurate portrayals of the code-switching produced by Latinos. As well, different varieties of Spanish could be examined, since the

speakers might showcase more diverse linguistic repertoires than those analyzed in this thesis.

Lastly, comparisons on the use of code-switching can be drawn from films released before the year 2000, in contrast to those released after. By including older films, the analysis could showcase how portrayals have changed throughout the years, and whether movies had depictions that closely resembled Latinos and their language use. The analysis could also take a closer look at the role that writers and speech coaches have in the production of code-switching by actors. Ultimately, obtaining interviews with production executives, directors, actors, and writers could yield the best understanding behind the use of code-switching in films, and whether primarily using intersentential switching is deliberate.

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