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SPANISH-ENGLISH BILINGUALS' ATTITUDES TOWARD CODE-SWITCHING:

PROFICIENCY, GRAMMATICALITY AND FAMILIARITY

A Thesis in

Spanish

by

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ABSTRACT

In order to assess attitudes towards grammatically felicitous and infelicitous codeswitching and determine the factors that contribute to these evaluations, this study presents Spanish-English bilinguals of diverse proficiencies with recordings of four fairytales differentiated by grammaticality of intrasentential code-switching. Reactions from 274 participants are collected via a matched-guise technique, which unveil a continuum of preferences that confirms in part that grammatical code-switching is more positively viewed than ungrammatical code-switching. While it was anticipated that higher proficiency bilinguals would differentiate more judiciously between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switches, the results indicated that these bilinguals failed to distinguish the two text types. Indeed, their evaluations were consistently positive, a finding which is attributed to higher proficiency bilinguals' heightened identification with the code-switching texts. Results also indicate that listener-judges tend to distinguish grammaticality when listening to unfamiliar fairytales, which is attributed to a more acute concentration required for processing meaning; this attention amplifies the salience of the grammaticality of the switches. It is likewise evident from the results that female code-switchers are evaluated less positively than male code-switchers, a finding not unexpected given the extant literature on gendered speech which indicates that women are rated less positively than men when using 'non-standard' forms such as code-switching. In addition to the matched-guise survey, further analyses were carried out in conjunction with one female storyteller. Results from participant judges' first impression of this storyteller demonstrate that on the aggregate participants' evaluated this speaker differently when she used grammatical versus ungrammatical code-switching.

Keywords: Codeswitching, attitudes, matched-guise technique, identity, gender, proficiency, insertions, borrowing

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES ix

LIST OF TABLES x

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS xii

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Contexts of code-switching 1
1.2 Scholarly interest 12
1.3 Purpose and rationale of study 13
1.4 Research questions and predictions 15
1.5 Organization of dissertation 16

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 18

2.1 Introduction 18
2.2 Language contact phenomena 19
2.2.1 Language contact—definition 20
2.2.2 Factors implicated in language contact 21
2.2.3 Linguistic consequences of language contact 26
2.2.3.1 Lexical borrowing 29
2.2.3.2 Structural alternations 34
2.2.3.3 Code-switching 35
2.2.3.3.1 Code-switching—definition 36
2.2.3.3.2 Code-switching—discursive/pragmatic functions 38
2.2.3.3.3 Code-switching—grammatical nature 42
2.2.3.3.4 Code-switching and research methodologies 45
2.2.3.3.5 Code-switching and bilingual proficiency 52
2.2.3.3.6 Perceptions of code-switching 55
2.3 Language attitudes 59
2.3.1 Language attitudes—definition 62
2.3.1.1 Nature of language attitudes 63
2.3.1.2 Language attitudes—perspectives 65
2.3.2 Measurement of language attitudes 67
2.4 Chapter summary 74

CHAPTER 3 PRELIMINARY STUDY 76

3.1 Introduction 76
3.2 The study 76
3.2.1 Hypotheses 77
3.2.2 Materials 78

3.2.2.1 Texts 78
3.2.2.2 Language attitudes surveys 82
3.2.2.3 Language history questionnaire 84
3.2.3 Participants 84
3.2.4 Procedures 85
3.3 Results 85
3.4 Discussion 90
3.5 Limitations 92

CHAPTER 4 MAIN STUDY 93

4.1 Introduction 93
4.2 Hypotheses 93
4.3 Materials 94
4.3.1 Fairytales 95
4.3.2 Recordings 99
4.3.3 Surveys 101
4.3.3.1 Matched-guise questionnaire 101
4.3.3.2 Language history questionnaire 102
4.3.3.3 Language attitudes, insecurity and loyalty questionnaire 103
4.3.3.4 Language proficiency survey 105
4.4 Participants 105
4.5 Procedures 106
4.6 Chapter summary 107

CHAPTER 5 DATA ANALYSIS 109

5.1 Introduction 109
5.2 Grammaticality 112
5.2.1 Results—ANOVA analysis 112
5.2.1.1 All six scales 113
5.2.1.2 Individual scales 114
5.2.2 Proficiency (DELE) and grammaticality 114
5.2.3 Self-report proficiency and grammaticality 115
5.2.3.1 All six scales 116
5.2.3.2 Individual scales 117
5.3 Gender 120
5.3.1 Results—ANOVA analysis 120
5.3.1.1 All six scales 121
5.3.1.2 Individual scales 121
5.3.2 Proficiency (DELE) and grammaticality 122
5.3.3 Self-report proficiency and grammaticality 123
5.3.3.1 All six scales 124
5.3.3.2 Individual scales 125
5.4 Familiarity 125

5.4.1 Results—ANOVA analysis 126
5.4.2 All six scales 126
5.4.3 Individual scales 127
5.4.4 Proficiency (DELE) and grammaticality 128
5.4.4.1 Social Status 129
5.4.4.2 Prestige 130
5.4.4.3 Prestige + Social Status 130
5.4.5 Self-report proficiency and grammaticality 130
5.4.5.1 Social Status 131
5.4.5.2 Prestige 131
5.4.5.3 Social Status + Prestige 132
5.5 Summary of data 132
5.6 Interpretation of results 133
5.6.1 Differentiation of CS grammaticality 135
5.6.2 Acceptability hierarchy 138
5.6.3 Proficiency—DELE 140
5.6.4 Proficiency—self-report 141
5.7 Chapter summary 145

CHAPTER 6 REACTIONS TO ONE FEMALE STORYTELLER 146

6.1 Introduction 146
6.2 First impressions 146
6.3 Closed-response items 153
6.4 Chapter summary 158

Chapter 7 CONCLUSIONS 160

7.1 Introduction 160
7.2 Implications 160
7.2.1 Identity 160
7.2.2 Familiarity 163
7.2.3 Gender 165
7.3 Broader contributions 167
7.4 Limitations 171
7.5 Future research 173
7.5.1 Second language acquisition 174
7.5.2 Linguistic ethnography 175
7.5.3 Additive methodologies 175
7.5.4 Linguistic hierarchies 178
7.5.5 Language and education 179
7.6 Final word 180

APPENDIX A FAIRYTALE TEXTS 181

1.1 El ratón de cuidad y la ardilla de campo / The city mouse and the country squirrel—Grammatical Version 181
1.2 El ratón de cuidad y la ardilla de campo / The city mouse and the country squirrel—Ungrammatical Version 182
1.3 El príncipe pordiosero / The beggar prince—Grammatical Version 183
1.4 El príncipe pordiosero / The beggar prince—Ungrammatical Version 185
1.5 La cenicienta / Cinderella—Grammmatical Version 186
1.6 La cenicienta / Cinderella—Ungrammmatical Version 188
1.7 Blancanieves / Snow White—Grammatical Version 189
1.8 Blancanieves / Snow White—Ungrammatical Version 191

APPENDIX B MATCHED-GUISE SURVEY 193

APPENDIX C LANGUAGE HISTORY QUESTIONNAIRE 197

APPENDIX D DIRECT ATTITUDES AND LINGUISTIC INSECURITY SURVEYS 211

REFERENCES 220

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure **2.1**:Attitudes Construct (adapted from Ajzen as reproduced in Baker 1992:13) 65

Figure **6.1**: Response to statement 'I think this person is a lot like me' 154

Figure **6.2**: Response to 'Do you think that this person expresses herself well?' 155

Figure **6.3**: Response to 'Is this person easy to understand?' 156

Figure **6.4**: Response to 'Do you think this person sounds more Spanish or English?' 157

Figure **6.5**: Response to 'Do you think this person speaks more English or Spanish?' 158

Figure **7.1**: Comparison of Aural vs. Written Code-Switches 178

LIST OF TABLES

Table **2.1**: Borrowing Scale (adapted from Thomason 2001: 70-71) 27

Table **2.2**: Results of eye-tracking experiment Dussias (2003) 50

Table **4.1**: Fairytales Used in Study 96

Table **4.2**: Order of Texts by Survey 99

Table **4.3**: Order of Presentation of Surveys and Texts 107

Table **5.1**: Matrix Used for Statistical Analysis of All Data Based on Grammaticality of Switches 109

Table **5.2**: Matrix Used for Statistical Analysis of All Data Based on Gender of Speaker 110

Table **5.3**: Order of Texts by Survey 111

Table **5.4**: Matrix Used for Statistical Analysis of Reactions of 134 Participants Based on Familiarity of Text 111

Table **5.5**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Grammaticality 113

Table **5.6**: ANOVA with DELE Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable 115

Table **5.7**: ANOVA with Self-Report Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable 116

Table **5.8**: ANOVA with Self-Report Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable 118

Table **5.9**: ANOVA Split by Self-Report Proficiency 119

Table **5.10**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Grammaticality and Gender 120

Table **5.11**: ANOVA with DELE as a Between Subjects Variable--Gender 123

Table **5.12**: ANOVA with Self-Report Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable 124

Table **5.13**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Familiarity 126

Table **5.14**: ANOVA with Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable 129

Table **5.15**: ANOVA with Self-Report Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable....131

Table **5.16**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Grammaticality 136

Table **5.17**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Grammaticality 137

Table **5.18**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Familiarity....138

Table **5.19**: Average scores by Grammatical vs. Ungrammatical for the Familiar vs. Unfamiliar texts....139

Table **5.20**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Grammaticality for all 274 participants....140

Table **5.21**: ANOVA with DELE-Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable 141

Table **5.23**: ANOVA with Self-Report Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable—All Subjects....143

Table **5.24**: ANOVA with Self-Report Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable—Gender....144

Table **7.1**: Mean scores on statements on identity split by self-report proficiency 163

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Abominable, say intellectuals. Fresh, say teenagers. Liberating, say poets. Lucrative, say advertisers. Rambling, disjointed, muddled, say educators. Discourteous, disrespectful, say parents. Ingenious, ignorant, defining, divisive, foul. These are but some of the perspectives that have been offered regarding the blend of Spanish and English that is pervasive among U.S. Latinos.

Linguists have repeatedly demonstrated that lexical borrowing and code-switching, like any language phenomenon, are governed by grammatical rules and principles, i.e., there are acceptable forms that recur in bilinguals' speech, and other combinations that are seldom if ever attested or accepted. But can the non-specialist bilingual discern licit from illicit forms? If so, is bilingual proficiency implicated in this discrimination? These are the central research questions that inspire this study.

To begin, let's discuss the extensive contexts in which this mixture of Spanish and English are found.

1.1 Contexts of code-switching

Code-switching, or the alternation between two languages, is a common outcome of living in a multilingual setting, so much so that it is found in diverse settings, from the mundane (e.g. playground, work place) to the sublime (e.g. poetry, novels). For example,

in (1) two bilingual children talk informally, trying to decide how to hook up a microphone for use in a study.

(1) Code-switching child dyad

Doris: Hol' your head up.

Blanca: *Cuando hablas tienes que hablar*- you know, regular. *No vire/h/ la cabeza pa(-ra a-)llá y eso.* OK? Remember don't put your mouf in the—*en el micrófono*.

'When you speak you have to talk—you know, regular. Don't turn your head that way. OK? Remember don't put your mouth in the—in the microphone.'

Doris: [To all] Blanca be actin' big an' baad. (Zentella, 1997: 33)

Similarly in (2), a pre-teen explains why she didn't like living in Puerto Rico.

(2) Code-switching, adolescent dyad

Delia: It's so boring!

Dude: 'Cause you don't' have nobody to take you out!

Delia: I go out a lot *pero* you know *que no* [unintelligible] after—It's not the same you know, *no e(-s) como acá*. *Porque mira*, you go out *y to(-od e-)l mundo lo sabe*: how you go, where, with who you go out, who you go with—

'I go out a lot but you know that no [unintelligible] after—It's not the same you know, it's not like here. Because look, you go out and everyone knows it: how you go, where, with who you go out, who you go with—'

Dude: [Interrupting] I don't worry about it.

Delia: —*con quién sale(-s)*, if you—*si tú (es-)tá(-s) jangueando con un muchacho*,…

'—with whom you go out, if you—if you are hanging with a boy,…' (Zentella, 1997: 99-100)

And in (3) we see an informal exchange between a mother and her child.

(3) Code-switching, child-parent dyad

Lolita: *Tengo frío, me voy a poner una suera.*

'I'm cold, I'm going to put on a sweater'

Mother: *Una suera, y sube ya mismo que van a ser las diez*.

'A sweater, and come up right away because it's going to be ten o'clock.'

Lolita: I'm goin' with um *este* ('um') Ana. She's coming up at ten—she's leaving at ten.

….

Mother: *Pero quítate eso.*

'But take that off.'

Lolita: Wait. I have to leave it on. I have to go like this and Ana's gonna put it all over again. (Zentella, 1997: 38)

Code-switching is also common in exchanges in the bilingual classroom, as witnessed in the conversation between a teacher and students in a math class, presented in (4).

(4) Code-switching, teacher-student dyad

Teacher: How many tens and how many ones in 41? E.

Student E: Ten (in a loud voice)

Teacher *E, cuando te toca hablar, no hablas alto, cuando te toca, la voz tuya se oye* [incomprehensible] C'mon! How many tens and how many ones? Don't tell me you forgot. M?

'E, when it's your turn to talk, you don't talk loud, when it's your turn, your voice can be heard [incomprehensible]' (Zentella, 1981: 123)

From these informal exchanges, we see how naturally and easily children, adolescents, and adults switch between Spanish and English, with no communicative cost. It is a natural expression of their proficiency in the two languages.

The use of Spanish and English code-switching has more recently been transferred to the internet, where code-switched instant messages, blogs and emails are prevalent. Examples (5a-c) demonstrate this use of code-switching in cyberspace.

(5) Code-switching in emails and blogs

a. Do you think you could do me *el gran favor de alguna manera volver a copiarlo?* (Montes-Alcalá, 2005: 177)

'Do you think you could do me the big favor of somehow copying it again?'

b. Just kidding. *No he hablado con nadie.* (Montes-Alcalá, 2005: 179)

'Just kidding. I haven't spoken with anyone.'

c. Just this morning I was totally stressing about one of my accounts …So much so that I was ready to quit (not practically but mentally - not that I could afford to be without a job *con todos lo biles que tengo*!

(Alma 2006)

'…with all the bills that I have.'

Again, the fluidity of these switches points to the natural production of code-switching in this informal setting.

Aside from the spontaneous use in informal venues, the mixture of Spanish and English is also seen in premeditated and revised contexts, such as in children's rhymes and in music. For example, in the excerpt in (6) taken from the popular bilingual version of *The Night before Christmas,* we see how the mixture of Spanish and English creates a playful, jovial mood.

(6) Code-switching in children's literature

'Twas the night before Christmas *y por toda la casa*,
Not a creature was stirring—*¡Caramba! ¿Qué pasa?*
Los niños were tucked away in their *camas*,
Some in long underwear, some in pajamas.
...
Then chuckling aloud, seeming *muy contento*,
He turned like a flash and was gone *como viento*.
And I heard him exclaim, and this is *verdad*,
Merry Christmas to all*, ¡y Feliz Navidad*!

In a similar manner, the songs in (7a-b) illustrate how code-switching is used to appeal to a bilingual audience. For example, (7a) illustrates the use of code-switching in rap from the 90s, and (7b) demonstrates how this use of Spanish and English has been utilized more recently in traditional music genres, i.e. bachatas.

(7) Code-switching in music

a. Check this out baby, *tenemos tremendo lío*
Last night you didn't go *a la casa de tu tío*
Resulta ser, hey, you were at a party
High in the sky, *emborrachada de Bacardí*
I bet you didn't know *que conocía al cantinero*
He told me you were drinking and wasting my *dinero*
Talking 'bout come and enjoy what a women gives an *hombre*

But first of all I have to know your *nombre*

And I really wanna ask you *que si es verdad*

And please, *por favor*, tell me la *verdad*

'Cause I really need to know, yeah, *necesito entender*

if you're gonna be a player or be my *mujer*

'Cause right now you're just a liar, a straight *mentirosa*

Today you tell me one thing *y mañana es otra cosa*

(Mellow Man Ace, *Mentirosa,* 1990)

b. …I believe you will end up alone

Y vas a extrañar mi lindo amor

I believe my love will always be in your heart

Pero será muy tarde corazón

I believe you'll miss my lovin

You'll cry in bed

So I'll come home

You'll notice you were wrong

But I'll be gone (I'll be gone)

Apuesto que vas a llorar

Mejor decirte que olvidar

como tu cuerpo me correspondió

Sé que brindarás otra versión

Pero hasta un ciego ve que te fui fiel

I know very well you'll say that I did wrong

Quizás te crean, quizás juzguen mi amor

Pues ya no aguanto, no me voy a mortificar

Right from this moment *le pondrá a esto final*

Recoge todo no me hables, pack your bags

You gotta go, babygirl, you gotta go

(Aventura, *I believe*, 2002)

Equally noteworthy is the advance that code-switching is seeing in the business realm through advertisements. As the Hispanic population grows in the United States, this group is targeted for its purchasing power (Luna and Peracchio 2005), and in order to target this group, agencies are increasing their use of code-switched advertisements in newspapers and magazines. Examples such as those in (8) are attempts to reach out to the Spanish-English bilingual community.

(8) Code-switching in advertisements

a. *Hoy más que nunca, tiempo* is money.

(from *El Diario/La Prensa*, cited in Stavans 2003: 3)

b. Looking great doesn't have to cost a *fortuna*

(from *Latina*, cited in Luna and Peracchio 2005: 43)

Not only is code-switching found in these popular forms, but it is also witnessed in more sophisticated realms. For example, Alurista, the renowned Chicano poet, intertwines Spanish and English in a masterful way. His books of poetry include poems written entirely in Spanish and others written wholly in English. And several of his

poems place elements from both languages in juxtaposition, symbolizing the dual nature of the bilingual (cf., Valdes Fallis 1976). In his poem *walking about*, reproduced here as (9), Alurista draws on elements from both Spanish and English in his soliloquy of solitude.

(9) Code-switching in poetry: *walking about* by Alurista

walking about barceloneta
el distrito gótico de arcos
y torres con lágrimas de roca
imagínome lo que sería
sin ti la vida, xe, merxe
sonrientes estos rostros
catalanes de hablar de manos
walking about *lacerado*, wounded
lost in desire, wish u were here
i am whole and in pieces *sobrio*
torn and gathered, alone *sereno*
and in the world *entre todos*
si dinero tuviese, si rico fuese
no estaría donde estoy, abandona'o
mira que te quiero tanto que
ya me ahoga este llanto, las
lágrimas se han secado, sólo

sal rueda y arde en el parpadeo

que repíteme por qué? why?

(Alurista, 1996: 54)

While the message of solitude expressed in this poem could be communicated through one language or the other, the mixture conveys the sense that the author is at once 'whole and in pieces'. Indeed, as a bilingual Alurista would be incomplete without English or Spanish, just as he feels incomplete without his lover.

Code-switching is also beginning to find greater acceptance from publishers and other such gatekeepers, and thus the use of code-switching in novels and short stories is becoming more commonplace (Callahan 2004). For example, in his short story 'El difunto Joe Hurts' / 'The Late Joe Hurts', set in the Hispanic Southwest, Jim Sagel intersperses English with Spanish in the speech of the bartender-narrator, as illustrated in the Spanish version (10a) and English version (10b) of the story:

(10) Code-switching in literature

a. Güeno, pero según platican los viejos, esa enfermedá fue tan terrible que no quedaban ni carpinteros pa' hacer cajones—de modo que *they just wrapped the* muertos *up in a sheet,* una sábana o un sarape y ya estufas. (Sagel, 1991: 46)

'Well, according to the old men, that disease was so bad that there weren't any carpenters to make coffins—so they just wrapped up the dead in a sheet, a sheet or a serape and that was it.'

b. *Ay ¡qué sanamagón!* (‘Oh my goodness) —Your beer! The barmaid’s a little forgetful, I’m afraid—more than just a little, you’re probably thinking. *Oyes* (‘Listen), you heard the joke about the old-timer who wanted to marry the young girl?… (Sagel, 1991: 101)

Language mixing has likewise made inroads into the classics, as authors such as Ilan Stavans test its possibilities; consider the controversial translation of *Don Quixote* into ‘Spanglish;’ whose beginning is reproduced in (11):

(11) ‘Spanglish’ Don Quixote by Ilan Stavans

First *Parte*, Chapter *Uno*

In *un placete de La Mancha* of which *nombre no quiero remembrearme*, *vivía*, not so long ago, *uno de esos* gentlemen who always *tienen una lanza* in the rack, *una* buckler *antigua*, a skinny *caballo y un* greyhound *para el* chase. (Stavans 2003: 253, italics added)

Such mixing is markedly different from the previously presented code-switching. While code-switching is “the easy transit between the languages,” ‘Spanglish’ for Stavans is “a handful of so-called ‘borrowed’ terms, *palabras prestadas*, adapted—revamped, really—to somehow fit a Spanglish mode of communication, *una manera de ser espanglishada* (Stavans 2003:13, italics added).” This deliberate strategy, considered hip and hilarious, was emulated by one student in the *Pledge of Allegiance* in (12a) and *La declaración of Independence* in (12b).

(12) 'Spanglish'

a. Yo plegio alianza a la bandera de los Unaited Esteits de América…

b. Nosotros joldamos que estas truths son self-evidentes, que todos los hombres son creados equally, que están endawdeados por su Creador con certain derechos unalienables, que entre these están la vida, la libertad, y la persura de la felicidad. (cited in Stavans 2003:15)

Unfortunately, such forms, though quite unique, are offered by Stavans as representative of Latino bilingual speech. Because these examples fail to show the rule-governed nature of code-switching, readers are left to believe that code-switching is a capricious combination of two languages, which linguists have long shown to be inconsistent with actual use of Spanish and English in the same speech situation.

1.2 Scholarly interest

The literature on code-switching is replete with discussions on the syntactic constraints that linguists have determined to be consistent with bilingual language use, with special attention being placed on intrasentential code-switching—the alternation between languages within the sentence (cf., e.g., Gingràs 1974; Timm 1975; Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1980, 1981; Lipski 1985; Belazi et al. 1994; MacSwan 1999). Linguistic research has also focused on why bilinguals switch (Gumperz 1976), when the switching occurs (Zentella 1997) and how language identities are formed through code-switching (Kells 2002). Furthermore, sociologists look at how code-switching, much like the use of other linguistic varieties, gives rise to cohesion and division based on the identities forged

by its use (Lo 1999). From a psycholinguistic perspective, the processing of code-switching has also been investigated (cf. Dussias 2003), and the social roles of code-switching in multilingual societies have been explored (Myers-Scotton 1993).

1.3 Purpose and rationale of study

In spite of the fact that code-switching is widespread and has been repeatedly shown to be rule-governed and systematic, this use of two languages continues to be disparaged. In fact, it is so stigmatized that code-switchers themselves often deny engaging in it. Nowhere is this stigma more evident than in the school setting. Teachers often pity those who display this speech form, even resorting to questioning their cognitive abilities, as illustrated in a teacher's exclamation in (13).

(13) Teacher's evaluation of code-switching

> "Those poor kids [who code-switch] come to school speaking a hodgepodge. They are all mixed up and don't know any language well. As a result, they can't even think clearly" (teacher quoted in Walsh 1991:106).

Zentella (2003) indicates that even the terms used to describe this speech style by the public imply a "linguistic mongrelization" (p. 56). Terms such as *Spanglish*, *Tex-Mex* and *casteyanqui* imply that these speech forms are simply a combination of *Span*ish and En*glish* and fail to recognize the linguistic nature of these speech forms. As mentioned above, in order for linguists to establish that this speech form is more than just an uncontrolled amalgamation of two languages, they have set out to determine the rule-

governed nature of this fluid movement between codes. However, while linguists are well aware of the rule-governed nature of these alternations, little focus has centered on whether or not the non-linguist is capable or aware of these restrictions. Attempts that linguists have made to determine what the non-linguist perceives regarding language variation have principally investigated the issue from a direct approach (e.g. questionnaires, surveys, grammaticality judgment). For example, researchers using the methodologies common in Folk Linguistics/Perceptual Dialectology have sought to determine what it is that the non-linguist is consciously aware of with regards to linguistic norms, whether monolingual or interlingual. While these methods have their merit, they are limited in uncovering the non-linguists' true ability to distinguish between differing manifestations of language contact (cf. Pieras-Guasp 2002). It has similarly been shown, that as bilingual proficiency increases, so too do code-switching abilities (Montes-Alcalá 2001, Poplack 1980). Likewise, awareness of code-switching norms increases along with the development of bilingual proficiency (Toribio, et al. 1993).

It is the purpose of the present study, therefore, to demonstrate that the non-linguist is cognizant (at least at some covert level) of grammatical workings regarding Spanish-English code-switching.

In order to determine this awareness, a less direct research methodology—the Matched-guise Technique—is implemented to investigate the attitudes that Spanish-English bilinguals hold toward felicitous and infelicitous code-switching. While attitudes toward languages and language varieties have been implicated in language learning (cf., Gardner and Lambert 1972), language planning (cf., Adegbija 2000), language

maintenance (cf., Bills et al. 1995, Pieras-Guasp 2002), and language shift (cf., Fishman 2001), Romaine (1995) notes that there has been relatively little attention paid to the prestige attached to speech forms representing diverse types of interlingual influence. Garrett et al. (2003) also note that studies on language attitudes have focused largely on reactions toward *generalized* varieties. In contrast, the present study seeks to evaluate bilingual speakers' attitudes towards a *specific* bilingual linguistic variety: code-switching.

1.4 Research questions and predictions

Therefore, in assessing bilinguals' abilities to differentiate between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching, the present study addresses two interrelated research questions, as presented in (14).

(14) Research Questions

a. Research Question 1

Are Spanish-English bilinguals sensitive to grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching?

b. Research Question 2

Does said sensitivity coincide with the language proficiency of the bilinguals?

Responding to the above questions, recordings of grammatical-ungrammatical code-switching dyads of four fairytales were created. Spanish-English bilinguals of differing

levels of proficiency were asked to listen to these recordings and evaluate the speaker on semantic-differential scales, thus measuring their attitudes toward grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching. (The details of the methodology are specified in chapter 4).

With the above research questions in mind, it is proposed that bilinguals' ability to make subtle distinctions between grammatical and ungrammatical switches will be reflected in their attitudes towards these varieties (15a), and that these abilities will sharpen as proficiency increases (15b).

(15) Predictions

a. Prediction 1

A hierarchy of acceptability will obtain among bilinguals, with grammatically felicitous code-switching eliciting more positive evaluations than grammatically infelicitous code-switching.

b. Prediction 2

Differential evaluations will accord with personal linguistic characteristics of the individual judges, with more proficient bilinguals making greater distinctions between the two texts types.

1.5 Organization of dissertation

The following chapters of this thesis discuss in more detail bilinguals' attitudes towards code-switching. The second chapter provides a discussion on the study of

language contact, and its manifestations. The chapter reviews the literature on code-switching, giving special attention to its rule-governed nature, and the methodologies employed in its examination. The chapter then summarizes studies that focus on language attitudes, with an emphasis on the matched-guise technique. Chapter 3 presents a preliminary study on attitudes towards manifestations of bilingual speech, along with the findings and limitations that inform the main study. The fourth chapter provides a detailed discussion of the methodology used in investigating the above research questions and testing the related predictions. A thorough discussion is provided on the design of the materials, including questionnaires, bilingual texts, and indirect and direct measures of attitudes. In Chapter 5 descriptive statistics and results of the analysis of variance of the data from the matched-guise survey are presented. Results are presented both as the conflation of all semantic-differential scales, and then by individual scale, as a function of the grammaticality of the text. The interaction between participant judges' proficiency and grammaticality is then presented, which is followed by interpretations of the data, taking into consideration the research questions and predictions. Chapter 6 provides the findings of a qualitative and quantitative analysis of reactions from additional attitudinal measures in reference to the code-switching of one female storyteller. The thesis concludes with chapter 7, which provides interpretations of the findings, implications and broader contributions of the study. Finally, directions for future research are presented.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

MANIFESTATIONS OF LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

2.1 Introduction

Research on language-contact phenomena during the last 30 years has shed light on the nature of the manifestations of bilingual speech, among these, lexical and structural borrowing and linguistic convergence. Of particular interest here are the factors that regulate code-switching, or the alternation of languages in the same speech act. The findings reported in a robust body of antecedent research point to grammatical, discourse/pragmatic, and socio-psychological constraints on code-switching. From a grammatical perspective, code-switching is rule-governed, demonstrating syntactic restrictions proportionate to speakers' bilingual proficiency. Moreover, code-switching is deployed in specific settings for specific discursive/pragmatic aims. Finally, as a social behavior, the practice of code-switching is influenced not only by speakers' attitudes, but also by the disposition of interlocutors and the community and society at large towards these language forms and those who engage in them.

Owing to the complex nature of code-switching, the research undertaken in the present study is informed and motivated by studies in syntax, sociolinguistics, and the social psychology of language, and the findings are pertinent to these and other fields,

including first and second language acquisition, language proficiency assessment, language policy, and pedagogy.

As a preface to the study of Spanish-English bilinguals' attitudes toward felicitous and infelicitous code-switching forms, this chapter provides a discussion of three pertinent topics. It begins by briefly reviewing the literature addressing manifestations of linguistic contact. One such phenomenon that will be discussed in some detail—inasmuch as it supports the rule-governed nature of language contact manifestations—is lexical borrowing. The discussion will then turn to code-switching, which will occupy a major focus of this chapter. Finally, the chapter will provide an in-depth discussion on language attitudes, with an emphasis on the measurement of individuals' reactions toward diverse language varieties. The information provided in this chapter will serve as background for the study of bilinguals' reactions toward borrowing and code-switching, which will be discussed in detail in chapters three through six.

2.2 Language contact phenomena

When two languages come into contact, the outcomes are multiple and varied. In the following pages I provide an overview of language contact, including a general definition, some factors that lead to language contact, and potential consequences of such contact. I then explore in more detail two probable outcomes of language contact: lexical borrowing and code-switching.

2.2.1 Language contact—definition

Researchers have defined language contact as the concurrent use of more than one language in the same geographic area (cf. Thomason 2001). Though adequate for most purposes, this definition is at once too specific and too broad. It is not difficult to imagine a situation in which speakers of one language come into the same geographic region with speakers of another language for a short period of time (e.g. professional meetings) with no significant linguistic interaction taking place. Therefore, to improve on this definition, the *interaction* of speakers of different languages must be incorporated. Likewise, the concept of geographic proximity can be too specific, for in today's world of technological advancements, it is increasingly possible to interact with speakers of other languages without entering into the same geographic environment. This can be easily observed in the use of English in the realm of technology, where direct, physical contact between speakers of this and other languages may be nonexistent, yet significant linguistic interactions occur. Hence, the notion of geographic proximity is incidental in many cases of language contact.

In light of the above considerations, language contact in the present study will be broadly defined as the *interaction* (whether in close proximity or at a distance) between individuals who use more than one language or language variety, promoting multilingualism in some (if not all) community members. In what follows, I provide a summary of the conditions that bring about language contact.

2.2.2 Factors implicated in language contact

Numerous scholars have addressed the factors that lead to the interaction of members of different linguistic communities (Grosjean 1982, Clyne 2003, Paulston 1994, Thomason 2001 and Myers-Scotton 2002). Multiple factors have been identified, among these, military conquest, religious spread, living in border areas, (im)migration, ethnic awareness, liberation, technological advances, travel, education and globalization, each discussed below.

Myers-Scotton describes *military conquest and consequent colonization* as "perhaps the most important factors" (2002: 31) leading to language contact. Generally speaking, when an indigenous population is confronted with rulers or colonists who speak an unfamiliar tongue, the suppressed group may deem it necessary to learn the new language (or be compelled to do so). For instance, with the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the area of present-day New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah and California all became part of the United States. The linguistic effects of this military maneuver and colonization of this area by English-speaking settlers can be witnessed in Spanish lexical borrowings by English speakers (i.e. *adobe, carne, mesa, rio,* and *savvy* (cf. Smead 2004)) as well as in the loss of Spanish among many heritage speakers of Spanish in this region (cf. Bills et al. 1995).

Another source of language contact—and one often connected with military conquest—is *religious spread*. For instance, the spread of Islam and Christianity brought Classic Arabic and Latin into contact with speakers of other languages. Furthermore, the

conquistadors justified their conquest and subjugation of the indigenous people in the New World by what they perceived as the need to spread Christianity.

Living in border areas or ethnolinguistic enclaves can also contribute to language contact. The existence of borders—linguistic and/or political—creates the possibility that people living in close proximity to these borders will interact with people who speak another language. In this instance bilingualism can be either unidirectional or mutual, depending on socioeconomic forces. This is evidenced in the Brazilian border region of northern Uruguay, where many of the Portuguese speakers who reside on the Uruguayan side of the border have learned Spanish, and in many cases have simply displaced Portuguese in favor of the more politically and socially dominant language of the region (Elizaincín 1995).

Another causal factor of language contact is *(im)migration.* The primary motivation for migration usually stems from the desire to improve one's standing, either for economic or social reasons. Likewise, many refugees have been forced to flee their home in search of sanctuary. Though migration is usually voluntary, forced migration was also common prior to the nineteenth century, at which time slavery was prohibited in most countries (Myers-Scotton 2002: 30). Regardless of the nature of the relocation, migrants are often faced with the need to learn a new language. For instance, throughout the history of the United States, there has been an influx of immigrants from around the world, primarily from Europe, who brought their languages or language varieties with them. While this had considerable impact on the English of the U.S., the impact has been more pronounced in the immigrant languages, most notably in the form of language loss.

Many of these immigrants' grandchildren did (do) not speak the imported languages, having supplanted them completely with English. This trend continues today with Spanish-speaking immigrants in the United States, notwithstanding the continual influx of Spanish speakers into the country (Veltman, 1983, 2000).[1]

Even though immigrant languages are generally lost by the third generation, an increase in *ethnic awareness* or in national ties can help promote a revival of the ethnic language and can thus stimulate its maintenance (cf., Fishman 2001). This ethnic awareness has been key in the desire to maintain the *Isleño* dialect of Spanish in and around St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana; however, such awareness may not be enough to save this dialect (Coles 1993). Similarly, Torres (1997) reports that Spanish language maintenance among Puerto Ricans in Brentwood, New York, is correlated with a desire to maintain their linguistic heritage. One possible contributor to an increase in ethnic awareness is oppression. For example, the oppressive linguistic policies imposed during the Franco regime toward the Catalan people had an unanticipated outcome, causing the Catalan people to be even more adamant about maintaining their language (and culture). Likewise, the English Only movement (and similar movements) in the United States may contribute to the maintenance of minority languages due to the added awareness of the ethnic and linguistic heritage by these individuals.

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[1] Interestingly, some researchers and scholars (i.e., Thomason 2001, Huntington, 2004) claim that this trend is not continuing in certain Hispanic communities in the United States (e.g. California and Florida) where "the number of speakers remains more or less constant" (Thomason, 2001:9). Thomason recognizes that this constancy of Spanish speakers can be attributed to the continuing influx of Spanish-speaking immigrants to the U.S., which (by use of simple mathematics) should be indication enough that there is either a high mortality rate amongst these immigrants, or that these speakers continue to shift to the English language, much like other language minorities have done in the past. Huntington (2004) interprets these facts quite differently, claiming that this (perceived) maintenance of Spanish by these immigrants is a great threat to the English-speaking majority and the Anglo-Protestant culture that the majority upholds.

Related to an increase in ethnic awareness is the reaction of a liberated group toward its former oppressor, what Myers-Scotton labels *liberation*. Evidence of such liberated thinking is seen with the variety of Spanish spoken in Mexico after the emancipation from Spanish control. As noted in Hidalgo (1987), after the War of Independence, the political leaders of the country strove to disavow any ties—including linguistic—to the old regimes. Among other things, they established the Mexican Language Academy in 1875, which brought with it the acceptance of indigenisms—especially lexical—in direct opposition to former linguistic policies. This liberationism can be seen more recently in publishers' increased willingness to print books written in Spanish-English code-switching (cf. Callahan 2004).

Technological advancements—together with the mass media—have contributed to the diffusion of languages. The ability to access foreign language materials through the internet, for example, has led to linguistic diffusion that in years past would not have been possible. For instance, the possibility that Ingush[2] speakers would come into contact with English would have been rare; yet today, such contact is possible due to these technological advancements.

Technological advancements have also enabled and stimulated the desire to *travel* abroad for pleasure. These ventures into foreign language-speaking countries impact the language habits of both traveler and host country. The traveler sees the need to learn another language in order to acquire certain services in the host country, while

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[2] Ingush is a Caucasian language spoken in the region north of Georgia in Eastern Europe. It is very closely related to the Chechen language.

individuals in the host country see the learning of the traveler's language as a means of better serving the traveler, and thus improving their economic status. Historically, travel for commercial purposes also brought about the need for both traveling merchant and costumer to learn at least some of each other's language, or even to acquire a Lingua Franca. Many of these cases brought about the creation of pidgins (and subsequently creoles). In the U.S. the need for learning Spanish is seen in cities with a vital Hispanic population (e.g. Miami) where business owners must be willing and able to provide for the needs of the Spanish-speaking population if they are to achieve economic success.

Certain languages (or language varieties) have also historically served as a mark of an *educated* person. For example, in the eighteenth century, French was a hallmark of such a person in Russia. Today, English has quickly become the hallmark of the educated, and in many countries English is studied as a second language. The same holds true for those Spanish-speakers who enter the United States who desire to improve their economic standing by increasing their English skills, many times at the expense of their first language (Zentella 2000).

Finally, as the number of educated speakers of a foreign language increases, the *spread of these international languages* may continue throughout the populace. The spread of English throughout the world today is an indication of this impetus. Likewise, the usefulness of Spanish has caused it to become the most commonly learned foreign language in the United States. As Coulmas notes, "The more people learn a language, the

more useful it becomes, and the more useful it is, the more people want to learn it" (1992: 80 in Myers-Scotton, 2002: 34). [3]

While these are not the only factors that contribute to language contact, the list is ample enough to explain many cases of interlingual influence. Likewise, it is obvious that many factors work in tandem to influence the outcome of contact induced language change and language loss.

2.2.3 Linguistic consequences of language contact

The outcomes of linguistic contact on the individuals are numerous (Weinreich 1963) and depend on the length and intensity of the contact situation (de Granda 1995). This naturally leads to the question: what linguistic consequences are attested relative to the length and intensity of contact? In answering this question, Thomason provides the Borrowing[4] Scale, reproduced in Table 2.1, together with the warning that "any borrowing scale is a matter of probabilities, not possibilities" (Thomason 2001: 71).

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[3] Conversely, one research notes that "Spanish is only a prestige idiom in the United States where there are irrelevant numbers of Spanish speakers. Where Spanish speakers are a relatively large group, it is an idiom held in considerable contempt…. The more locally irrelevant an ethnic language and culture is, the higher its social status, and the more viable locally, the lower its social status" (Kjolseth 1972: 98, cited in Peñalosa 1980: 188).

[4] While borrowing is generally used to refer to the incorporation of lexical items into the host language, Thomason broadly defines it to include any linguistic property, from lexical items on through to morph-syntactic structures.

Table **2.1**: Borrowing Scale (adapted from Thomason 2001: 70-71)

1.Casual Contact: borrowers need not be fluent in the source language, and/or there are few bilinguals among borrowing-language speakers	
Lexicon	Only nonbasic content words—most often nouns, but also verbs, adjectives and adverbs
Structure	None
2. Slightly more intense contact: borrowers must be reasonably fluent bilinguals, but they are probably a minority among borrowing-language speakers	
Lexicon	Function words (e.g. conjunctions and adverbial particles like 'then') as well as content words, still nonbasic vocabulary
Structure	Only minor structural borrowing at this stage, with no introduction of features that would alter the types of structures found in the borrowing language. Phonological features such as new phonemes realized by new phones, but in loanwords only; syntactic features such as new functions or functional restrictions for previously rare word orders
3. More intense contact: more bilinguals; attitudes and other social factors favoring borrowing	
Lexicon	More function words borrowed; basic vocabulary—the kinds of words that tend to be present in all languages—may also be borrowed at this stage, including such closed-class items as pronouns and low numerals as well as nouns and verbs and adjectives; derivational affixes may be borrowed too (e.g. –able/-ible, which originally entered English on French loanwords and then spread from there to native English vocabulary)
Structure	More significant structural features are borrowed, though usually without resulting in major typological change in the borrowing language. In phonology, the phonetic realizations of native phonemes, loss of some native phonemes not present in the source language, addition of new phonemes even in native vocabulary, prosodic features such as stress placement, loss or addition of syllable structure constraints (e.g. a bar against closed syllables), and morphophonemic rules (e.g. devoicing of word-final obstruents). In syntax, such features as word order (e.g. SVO beginning to replace SOV or vice versa) and the syntax of coordination and subordination (e.g. increasing or decreasing use of participial constructions instead of constructions that employ conjunctions). In morphology, borrowed inflectional affixes and categories may be added to native words, especially if they fit well typologically with previously existing patterns

4. Intense contact: very extensive bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers, social factors strongly favoring borrowing	
Lexicon	Heavy borrowing
Structure	Anything goes, including structural borrowing that results in major typological changes in the borrowing language. In phonology, loss or addition of entire phonetic and/or phonological categories in native words and of all kinds of morphophonemic rules. In syntax, sweeping changes in such features as word order, relative clauses, negation, coordination, subordination, comparison, and quantification. In morphology, typologically disruptive changes such as the replacement of flexional by agglutinative morphology or vice versa, the addition or loss of morphological categories that do not match in source and borrowing languages, and the wholesale loss or addition of agreement patterns

The Borrowing Scale is divided into four levels of contact, based on relative intensity. A contact situation being assigned to the 'low' stage (1) indicates a situation of casual contact, where only a few lexical items are borrowed; while a situation assigned to the 'high' stage (4) indicates intense contact, including very extensive bilingualism. The levels of contact are further specified as allowing for two main outcomes of language contact—lexical borrowing and structural borrowing—in the contributing languages.

It should be clear that calculating contact intensity is very difficult (a fact recognized by Thomason). For example, it is difficult to determine where to locate the Spanish language in the United States with regards to its contact with English. The intensity of contact between these two languages in some U.S. communities is very high; yet it is probable that the contact situation between Spanish and English in the U.S. has not even reached the third stage of intensity on Thomason's model (see Silva-Corvalán 1994, 1995). One contributing factor may be found in the attitudes of both the Spanish-speaking

community as well as that of the dominant English-speaking community toward contact (and noncontact) varieties of Spanish and English.

2.2.3.1 Lexical borrowing

As witnessed in Thomason's Borrowing Scale, lexical borrowing is the most common consequence of language contact, and is evident in nearly all languages. Even in cases where it is presumed that a language has formed in isolation, it is likely that samples of lexical borrowing can be found (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). An extreme example of lexical borrowing is found with English, where it is thought that 75% of the lexicon has been borrowed, mainly from French and Latin (Thomason 2001).

'Borrowing' is an umbrella term used to refer to a variety of lexical level phenomena. The particular type of borrowing (i.e., integrated loans, loanshifts, 'nonce' borrowings, calques) is determined by a variety of individual and social conditions, (cf., Winford 2003, Thomason 2001 for relevant discussion). As illustrated in (1), borrowing may result from marginal contact between languages, as seen with the European expansion into formerly Mexican-owned territories of the southwestern United States. As described in the literature, most of the borrowing associated with this type of contact is motivated by the need to designate new objects, persons, places and concepts (cf., Haugen 1953, Weinreich 1963).

(1) Borrowings resulting from marginal contact

canyon, corral, rodeo

Much like European settlers confronted with unfamiliar areas of cultural knowledge, persons of Mexican heritage in the early American Southwest drew on English as the vehicle for the articulation of behaviors and practices for which they may have lacked expression. Nevertheless, it is immaterial whether the Spanish language makes available the necessary terminology, for, as Azevedo (1993: 385) notes,

> Al que no sabe el nombre español de un nuevo aparato, le parece normal llamarlo *breca* (break), *clocha* (clutch), o *troca* (truck)…. Se trata de un proceso de aculturación, de un esfuerzo adaptivo normal en una situación de lenguas en contacto.
>
> 'For one who doesn't know the Spanish name for a new device, it seems normal to call it *break*, *clutch*, or *truck*…It concerns a process of acculturation, of a normal adaptive effort in a situation of language contact.'

In circumstances of unidirectional bilingualism, lexical borrowing is more pronounced, and the domains in which borrowing is likely to occur depend on social aspects of the contact situation. Likewise, borrowings are confirmations of historical contact (Myers-Scotton 2006), as exemplified in (2), where English-language lexical items borrowed into Spanish serve to trace the migratory history of the Mexican-origin population in the agricultural sectors of the American southwest (Sánchez 1983).

(2) Mexican migration history

migrante (migrant); *files* (fields); *brocle* (broccoli)

Similarly, in (3a), the residential patterns of Puerto Ricans are reflected in vocabulary referencing their settlement into the urban tenements of East Harlem; and (3b), an extract drawn from Esmeralda Santiago's *Cuando era puertorriqueña*, reflects the participation of Puerto Ricans in the larger mainland society through employment.

(3) Puerto Rican urban settlements

a. *la boila* (the boiler); *el estín* (the heat, modeled on steam); *el súper* (the superintendent); *el bloque* (the block); *el token* (the token); *la factoría* (the factory)

b. Cuando trabajaba, Mami era feliz. Se quejaba de estar sentada en frente de una máquina de coser todo el día, o que los *bréiks* eran muy cortos, o que el *bosso* era antipático. …Cuando a Mami le daban *leyof*, teníamos que aceptar *welfear*.

> 'When she worked, Mom was happy. She complained about sitting in front of a sewing machine all day, or that the *breaks* were too short, or that the *boss* was unfriendly….When Mom was *laid off*, we had to accept *welfare*.' (Santiago 1994: 269, 271)

Finally, for Spanish-language heritage children and adolescents in the United States, the locus of English-language influence is the school, and accordingly, there emerges a range of pertinent loans and loanshifts, as illustrated in (4).

(4) *el paper* or *el papel* (‘term-paper,’ which displaces *trabajo*, *informe*)

register or *registrar* (‘register,’ which displaces *matricularse*)

la lecture or *la lectura* (‘lecture,’ which displaces *conferencia*)

la principal(a) (‘principal,’ which displaces *director(a)*)

Therefore, as witnessed in the above examples, lexical borrowings can illustrate the social history of language contact.

In situations of prolonged bilingualism, such as that seen along the Texas-Mexican border, lexical borrowing may be encouraged by the intensity of contact. For example, Norma Cantú’s *Canícula*, an English prose narrative set along this border, provides several instances of Spanish lexical items.

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

> masks that made you look like El Santo or the other wrestlers on TV, and genuine leather whips like the real *vaqueros* used, like Zorro's (Cantú, 1995:101, italics added)

As shown in (5), items such as *mercado* (market), *pocho* (Mexican-American), *madrina* (godmother), *cazuela* (saucepan), *fritada* (fried dish), and *molcajetes* (mortar and pestle) function as echoes of the Mexican cultural traditions of the southern valley.

In reviewing the above examples, it should be evident that lexical borrowing does not similarly affect all linguistic domains: certain content words (drawn from predictable categories) are more canonical candidates for borrowing than others. In fact, Muysken (2002: 74), in his review of language contact worldwide, has established a hierarchy of borrowability, wherein words of particular lexical categories are more acceptable borrowings than others; this is illustrated in (6), where nouns and adjectives lend themselves most easily to lexical borrowing, as compared to pronouns and conjunctions, which are the least likely to be adopted.

(6) Hierarchy of borrowability

nouns> adjectives> verbs> prepositions> coordinating conjunctions> quantifiers> free pronouns> clitic pronouns> subordinating conjunctions

In addition, not all nouns are deemed equally 'necessary' for borrowing (Haugen 1953). For example, borrowing does not generally target core vocabulary such as *house* and *bed*, as there is sufficient congruence for such general concepts across languages (cf., Backus 2000, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Myers-Scotton 2002, 2006), but borrowing is enhanced for words that have a highly specific referential meaning, and whose cross-

linguistic equivalents, where they exist, conjure up quite different connotations (cf. Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995, Otheguy and García 1993). This observation is formalized by Backus (2000) in the Specificity Hypothesis, presented here in (7).

(7) Specificity Hypothesis

> "A high degree of semantic specificity stimulates insertional code-switching [lexical borrowing]" (Backus 2000: 126-7)

This suggests that the semantic specificity of certain items facilitates their incorporation into a receiving language.

2.2.3.2 Structural alternations

Thomason's Borrowing Scale (Table 2.1) also indicates that another common outcome of language contact is *structural alteration*. These modifications primarily affect the phonology, morphology and syntax of the languages involved. Morphological change may commence as late as the third stage of contact depicted on the Borrowing Scale; and it is perhaps because Spanish-English contact has failed to reach this stage that Poplack (1981) is able to postulate the Free-Morpheme Constraint, according to which borrowing of bound morphemes from English into Spanish is precluded (i.e. **corring (running*), **runiendo (corriendo)*). It is not that morphemes such as the progressive could not be incorporated into Spanish or English; it is simply that the contact has not become intense

enough to yield such results.[5] In fact, many researchers have provided examples that refute the Free Morpheme Constraint (cf. Bentahila and Davis 1983), showing the need to take into consideration the intensity and length of the contact between the two languages, as suggested by Thomason.

According to the Borrowing Scale, syntactic changes start to take place beginning with the second stage, though it is mentioned that the probability is rare at such an early period of contact. Thus, it would be improbable to find syntactic change in the Spanish of the United States. If there are any cases where syntactic alteration has been attested, we should look to language contact as the source of change only after internal causes have been ruled out (cf. Cassano 1975, Silva-Corvalán 1994). One possible area of syntactic change that has been enhanced by contact with English can be seen in the increased use of the overt subject pronouns by Spanish speakers in the United States (Flores and Toro, 2000).

2.2.3.3 Code-switching

Another outcome of intense language contact is code-switching, or the alternation between languages in the same speech situation. When language contact is stable,

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[5] The progressive marker *-ing* has a great probability of entering as an active element in Spanish (much like –ible/-able entered from French into English), if the intensity of contact with English were to increase. Even varieties of Spanish with little contact with English have incorporated this suffix into their language (by means of lexical borrowings of nouns) in forms like *hacer footing, hacer camping, hacer surfing.* However, in these forms the progressive ending has not been adopted wholesale, as of yet, but has piggy backed into the language on full lexical forms. The mere fact that the progressive ending is being used in the Spanish language should be reason enough to postulate the possibility of it being used actively if the intensity of contact should increase.

speakers will activate different language modes—multilingual and unilingual—within a multilingual range (Grosjean, 2001). For example, Zentella (2000) reports in her long-term study of the linguistic practices in a bilingual community of New York City, that children called on English or Spanish as required by the speech situation, e.g., speaking English with each other, while shifting to Spanish in deference to their elders. For these children, as well as for adults, Spanish and English together constitute their linguistic competence in a singular sense, and their linguistic performance draws upon English or Spanish, as required by the speech situation (Lance 1975). It is also commonplace in such communities that as bilingual speakers interact in bilingual mode, they extend this competence to code-switching.

In what follows, I provide an overview of code-switching, including a general definition of the phenomenon, its pragmatic functions and linguistic constraints, and finally a general summary of the perceptions of code-switching.

2.2.3.3.1 Code-switching—definition

Code-switching can be defined as the rapid, uninterrupted change between two languages in an unchanged speech situation. Conventionally, code-switching has been distinguished from borrowing, which, as previously noted, consists of adopting a form from a donor language and oftentimes adapting it phonologically and morphologically to the linguistic system of the host language (Grosjean 1982: 129).

Examined from a structural stance, code-switching is identified as intersentential or intrasentential. Intersentential code-switching may be recognized as the juxtaposition of

well-formed Spanish and English sentences in the same discourse; this can be witnessed in lines 7, 9 and 11 of the segment of '*Celebrate'*, a rap by Tierra Tejana, reproduced below in (8). Intrasentential code-switching, on the other hand, is the manifestation of the movement between English and Spanish within the confines of a single clause, without violating the grammatical rules of either language, as witnessed in lines 1, 5 and 12. It is this latter form that will be of most interest to the present study.

(8) *'Celebrate'* by Tierra Tejana

Esta semana was the worst one yet (1)

Vino el boss y me dijo: "Hey, Fred." (2)

"Fred! My name's not Fred," *le dije yo*. (3)

And this is what he said: "Drop what you're doin' (4)

Mira, ven aquí." El condenado didn't even say please! (5)

Do this; do that, … (6)

Hey, cool it, dude. Chill out. *Olvídalo ya*. Hey man, relax. (7)

Esta semana is all in the past. (8)

Vente, carnal. Man, you move too slow. (9)

I've got my paycheck—c'mon let's go. (10)

Órale, mis amigos. I know you just got paid. (11)

Canten conmigo todos 'cause it's time to celebrate. (12)

2.2.3.3.2 Code-switching—discursive/pragmatic functions

From a discourse analytical perspective, code-switching in bilingual conversation serves a number of important functions (cf. Gumperz 1976, Zentella 1997). Montes-Alcalá (2001, 2005) provides several examples of each of these functions based on naturalistic code-switching from personal journals and emails, as illustrated in (9).

(9) a. Direct quotes:

Intercambiamos direcciones y dijo que we would keep in touch.

'We exchanged addresses and he said that we would keep in touch.'

b. Emphasis:

Llamé pero no había nadie. I missed him so bad!

'I called but there was no one there. I missed him so bad!'

c. Parentheticals:

Allí, out of the blue, *acabamos planeando un viaje para la semana que viene.*

'There, out of the blue, we ended up planning a trip for next week.'

d. Clarification/Elaboration:

Caminamos por Melrose, checking out the stores, *y luego decidimos ir a cenar.*

'We walked along Melrose, checkout out the stores, and then we decided to go to dinner.'

e. Fixed or formulaic phrases:

La clase de hoy fue way over my head.

'Today's class was way over my head.'

In (9a) we see one of the main pragmatic functions of code-switching, wherein the bilingual speaker or writer chooses to switch languages to report what another person said. Such a switch may be carried out because the person being cited has used the alternate language, or merely to set that segment apart as a quotation. Likewise, code-switching is implemented in order to give emphasis to a particular utterance. The author of (9b) could easily have maintained Spanish to express her feelings of separation, yet by switching to English she is calling attention to this phrase and thus reinforcing the meaning of the previous statement. According to Montes-Alcalá in some instances the switching of elements can also have a softening effect on the expression, making it seem "like a whisper to an imaginary audience" (2001: 203). In the example provided in (9c), we see that explanatory or qualifying information has been inserted by switching to English. Switching can also serve to clarify or elaborate. The statement in (9d) illustrates how the writer has switched to English to provide additional information for why she and a companion were walking through Melrose. The switch into English serves to elaborate this information without distracting from the Spanish-language message. Finally, code-switching can also be triggered by a fixed or formulaic phrase, as illustrated in (9e), where the fixed expression 'way over my head' has triggered the switch to English.[6]

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[6] Montes-Alcalá splits this into two separate categories: Idiomatic expressions and Clichés.

In addition to the above pragmatic uses of codeswitching, Reyes (2004) provides nine other uses of codeswitching in her study of children's bilingual speech, as illustrated in (10). For example she notes that these students switched in order to (10a) imitate, (10b) represent speech, (10c) shift topic, (10d) make situational switches (e.g., to switch between science talk to non-science talk), (10e) ask a question, (10f) insist (non-command), (10g) accommodate for turns, (10h) specify a person, and (10i) as a discourse marker.

(10) a. Imitatation:

y luego le hace sí I'm hungry [robot voice]

'and then he says yes I'm hungry [imitating a robot]'

b. Representation of speech:

alright I'm calm. I'm calm…*a lo mejor están diciendo estamos chulos*

'Alright, I'm calm, I', calm…maybe they are saying that we are cool

c. Topic shift:

We finished all the books…thank you. *Mira mis calzones se me andan*

We finished all the books…thank you. Look, my underwear is falling down.

d. Situation switch:

mira, mira los magnets...what was he saying during recess.

'Look, look at the magnets…what was he saying during recess?'

e. Question shift:

Let me see *cómo lo hiciste*.

'Let me see how you did it.'

f. Insistence (non-command):

a ver...Let me see.

'Let me see …let me see.'

g. Turn accommodations:

Claudia: *Y luego se va a salir a las cuatro y media* from school.

'and then she's getting our at four thirty from school'

Jimena: *De la* project school?

From the project school?

Claudia: Summer school. She don't need to go to summer school.

h. Person specification:

You should ask A *si quiere comer nieve después de la escuela*

'You should ask A if she wants to eat ice cream after school'

i. Discourse marker:

Okay *así era*

'Okay, like this'

2.2.3.3.3 Code-switching—grammatical nature

In addition to the discursive/pragmatic functions illustrated in (9) and (10), code-switching presents grammatical properties, i.e., it is rule-governed and systematic, much like other contact phenomena (recall the discussion on lexical borrowing). Indeed, as researchers have repeatedly reported, bilinguals may be shown to exhibit a shared, unconscious knowledge of what constitutes appropriate intrasentential code-switching. In the pages that follow I will review the research literature that demonstrates that bilingual speakers do indeed have an intuitive ability to recognize grammatically correct (felicitous) code-switching. Finally, this section will conclude with a discussion on the techniques used to study the rule-governed nature of this phenomenon.

Several switch sites are identified as opportune for switching in the literature on the grammatical constraints on code-switching (cf., e.g., Gingràs 1974; Timm 1975; Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1980, 1981; Lipski 1985; Belazi et al. 1994; MacSwan 1999). The most common switch sites, illustrated in (11), include the following junctures: i) between a noun (N) and its relative clause (CP); ii) between a subject (DP) and the predicate (VP); iii) between a verb (V) and its object (CP or DP); and iv) between a sentential adverbial phrase (AdvP) and the clause being modified (S).

(11) Felicitous switch sites

(i) N/CP

Había siete enanitos who had worked all day in the mines.

'There were seven dwarfs who had worked all day in the mines.'

(ii) DP/VP

The squirrel *no tenía nada más que frijoles.*

'The squirrel didn't have anything but beans.'

(iii) V/DP

Un día la reina miró her magic mirror.

'One day the queen looked in her magic mirror.'

(iv) AdvP/S

Every day*, la reina preguntaba a su espejo mágico quién era la más hermosa del reino*.

'Every day, the queen asked her magical mirror who was the most beautiful in the kingdom.'

In turn, a number of sites are reported to be incompatible with fluent code-switching. For example, it has been shown that bilinguals are unlikely to alternate languages i) between an auxiliary verb (AUX) and its verb phrase; ii) between a determiner (DET) and noun phrase; iii) between negation (NEG) and its verb phrase; and finally, iv) between an object or subject pronoun (NPpro) and the verb phrase. Such infelicitous switching is exemplified in (12):

(12) Infelicitous switch sites

(i) AUX/VP

Her father had *vuelto a casarse con una viuda que tenía dos hijas*.

'Her father had remarried a widow who had two daughters.'

(ii) DET/NP

His friend couldn't believe that the squirrel would prefer the woods and fields to the *calles llenas de carretas y de gente.*

'His friend couldn't believe that the squirrel would prefer the woods and fields to the streets filled with carts and people.'

(iii) NEG/VP

Graciela ya no had the comforts of a palace.

'Graciela no longer had the comforts of a palace.'

(iv) NPpro/VP

I want you to return with me to the city where I *vivo y te enseñaré cómo es mi vida en la ciudad*.

'I want you to return with me to the city where I live and I will show you how my life in the city is.'

As it is not the purpose of this study to discuss the syntactic intricacies of code-switching phenomenon, I have simply presented the specific non-ambiguous switch points referenced in the literature. To be sure, the collective acceptability of other switch sites continues to be discussed. In addition, because the purpose of the present work does not entail the furthering of a particular paradigm (i.e. Minimalism, Optimality Theory, Matrix Language Framework, etc.), this section does not focus on the specific theoretical frameworks in which code-switching data have been couched. However, the means by which such data are collected will be addressed.

2.2.3.3.4 Code-switching and research methodologies

Several techniques have been exploited to uncover the rule-governed nature of code-switching, including corpora evaluation, elicited production tasks, translation tasks, elicited imitation tasks, eye movement data, grammaticality and acceptability judgments, and read-aloud tasks. As White states, when results from different tasks and speakers converge on the same trends, "this suggests that we are indeed gaining insight (indirectly) into the nature of the underlying linguistic competence" (2003: 17).

Evaluations of corpora draw on collections of written or spoken speech. For example, Callahan (2004) draws on a corpus of written code-switching to test the tenets of Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Framework. Huerta-Macías (1981) recorded informal conversations of a bilingual Chicano family living in Texas and used these recordings to assess the alternations in their everyday speech. In the example in (13) we witness code-switching from naturalistic data, we some family members discuss a recent visit with a friend.

(13) Corpora evaluation from naturalistic data

L: *Vi a Betsy con el doctor*.

'I saw Betsy with the doctor.'

G: *¿Está trabajando?*

'Is she working?'

L: Mr. Page got fired. [Mr. Page worked with Betsy]

G: Mr. Page? Why?

L: I don't know. She said he was there on a Friday and then on Monday he just didn't come back.

G: *¿Hijo! ¡Qué monjas!*

'Gosh! What nuns!'

L: She said that Ann Clare took over with another *monja*.

G: *¡Hijo!*

L: She doesn't even know what he did wrong or anything. He just came back one day to clean out his desk.

M: *¿Qué pasó? ¿Eso fue en Lamar?*

'What happened? Was that in Lamar?

L: *Aja. ¿Se acuerda de Mr. Page el que era Principal? Lo corrieron* [to M].

'Yes. Do you rmember Mr. Page who was the Principal? He was fired.'

The board or somebody [to G].

M: *¿Así no más de pronto lo corrieron?*

'They fired him just like that?'

G: *Bueno, y* she doesn't like the new administration?

L: No.

G: And that's why she's quitting.

(Huerta-Macías 1981: 158)

While corpora are useful sources of data, they are inadequate in indicating what is not possible in intrasentential code-switching. In order to discover what is precluded, other methodologies have been implemented. One such technique is *acceptability or grammaticality judgments*, wherein speakers are presented with several sentences with

different switch sites, and asked to judge whether the sentence is acceptable to them. An example of this is provided in (14), as found in Gingràs (1974). Note that the sentence presented in (14a) was judged as acceptable by 94% of his subjects, whereas sentence (14c) was rejected by all subjects.

(14) Grammaticality Judgments

a. Tell Larry *que se calle la boca* (94%)
'Tell Larry that he should shut up.'

b. *El hombre* who saw the accident *es cubano* (100%)
'The man who saw the accident is Cuban.'

c. *Perdí* the *libro* that *tú diste* to me (0%)
'I lost the book that you gave to me.'

d. *El* man old *está enojado* (5%)
'The old man is upset.'

In addition to the traditional grammaticality judgment task, multiple elicitation techniques have been employed in code-switching research. For example, Azuma (1996), in an *elicited production task,* reports on an investigation of code-switched units that extend beyond the single noun. As part of his study, Japanese-English bilinguals were asked to discuss several topics while being recorded. During the course of their discussion they heard a tone (randomly generated at 8-12 second intervals), which indicated that they were to immediately switch languages. Azuma, in confirmation of his predictions, finds that the participants delayed their switches until they reached the end of

the constituent boundary. For example, in (15a) the speaker heard the tone at the word *about*, yet continued to speak in English until the end of the constituent boundary. Likewise, in (15b) the speaker completed the prepositional phrase and continued on in Japanese until completing the corresponding and related constituent.

(15) Elicited Production Task (English/Japanese)

a. We chit-chat for I guess [*about two hours*] nijikan hodo mudabanashi o shita ato

'We chit-chat for I guess about two hours after we chatted for about two hours'

b. Ano moo [[*kuji kara*] *rokuji-made*] un fixed pattern and takes uh…

'Well, from 9 o'clock to 6 o'clock (it's a) fixed pattern and (he usually) takes uh… (Azuma 1996: 406)

Overall, Azuma finds overwhelming evidence that switching in this production task included the minimal phrasal unit, thus indicating that components of the composite languages in code-switching remain intact.

A similar methodology that has been used to determine the rule-governed nature of code-switching is the *elicited imitation task*. In this task participants hear a sentence (either well- or ill-formed) and are asked to repeat it, with the assumption that they will unconsciously repair ill-formed sentences. Such tasks measure a speaker's comprehension and control of syntax, as reflected in their ability to make repairs to the ill-formed sentences. For example, Toribio et al. (1993) investigated the ability of Spanish second-language learners to process and repeat grammatical and ungrammatical

code-switched sentences. They found a cline in abilities to make repairs, with beginning students exhibiting random processing errors, followed by the intermediate students who imitated the well-formed as well as the ill-formed sentences with relative ease, on to the advanced group, who had consistent difficulty with the ill-formed sentences, either demonstrating various types of disfluency or making repairs to the stimuli sentences.

In another study, Dussias (2003) notes that naturalistic data indicate that there is a distributional difference in the Spanish-English code-switching for AUXILIARY + PARTICIPLE, where switches between the Spanish auxiliary *haber* and English past participle are largely non-existent. However, switches involving the Spanish auxiliary *estar* and the English present participle occur much more frequently. Using *eye tracking technology*, subjects were presented with monolingual sentences and sentences with switches either before the auxiliary verb or between the auxiliary and participle. It was found that participants took significantly longer to read the sentences with *haber* + English past participle (16a) than to read the sentences with switching at phrasal boundaries (16b). Conversely, no reading time differences were seen for the *estar* + English present participle (16c) when compared to the switching at phrasal boundaries, as can be seen from the data presented in Table **2.2.**

(16) Eye movement data

a. *El arquitecto piensa que los pintores han* painted the wall.

b. *El arquitecto piensa que los pintores* have painted the wall.

c. *El arquitecto piensa que los pintores están* painting the wall.

d *El arquitecto piensa que los pintores* are painting the wall.

'The architect thinks that the painters have painted/are painting the wall.'

Table **2.2**: Results of eye-tracking experiment Dussias (2003)

	Switch Site		**Reaction Time (in milliseconds)**
HABER + Past Participle	CONDITION 1: Spanish subject, English verb and participle	(*los terrorisitas* have injured)	603
	CONDITION 2: Spanish subject and verb, English participle	(*los terrorisitas han* injured)	998
	CONDITION 3: monolingual English	(the terrorists have injured)	535
ESTAR + Present Participle	CONDITION 1: Spanish subject, English verb and participle	(*los ciudadanos* are supporting)	660
	CONDITION 2: Spanish subject and verb, English Past Participle	(*los ciudadanos están* supporting)	691
	CONDITION 3: monolingual English	(the citizens are supporting)	533

The findings from this study suggest that switches between auxiliary and present participle forms differ from switches between auxiliary and past participle forms.

In a study of *reading times,* Rakowsky (1989) investigated the processing of intrasentential code-switches by bilinguals and second language learners. She presented native Spanish-English bilinguals and native English speakers who were learning Spanish as a second language with test items which included unilingual English sentences, unilingual Spanish sentences, sentences with a code-switch at phrasal boundaries (i.e.

grammatical code-switching), and sentences with a code-switch that did not correspond to a phrasal boundary (i.e. ungrammatical code-switching). The judges showed no significant difference in reading times between code-switches at phrasal boundaries and unilingual sentences, but demonstrated significantly longer reaction times for sentences with code-switches that did not correspond to syntactic boundaries.

In a *read-aloud task*, reported in Toribio (2001a), Spanish-English bilinguals rejected the language alternations presented in the invented fairytale narrative in (17a)—in which the language alternations include switching at boundaries known to breach code-switching norms (cf. 12)—as being affected and forced; and although unable to articulate exactly what accounted for their negative assessment of the alternating forms in the narrative, some participants proposed explicit editing recommendations for improving on the ill-formed combinations of the text, as expressed in (17b).

(17) a. "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" / "*Blancanieves y los siete enanitos*"

... *En la cabina*, *vivían siete enanitos que* returned to find Snow White asleep in their beds. Back at the palace, the stepmother again asked the *espejo*: "*Y ahora*, *¿quién es la más bella?*" *El espejo otra vez le* answered without hesitation, "Snow White!"…

'…In the cabin, there lived seven dwarfs who returned to find Snow White asleep in their beds. Back at the palace, the stepmother again asked the mirror: "And now, who is the most beautiful?" The mirror again answered her without hesitation, "Snow White!"…'

b. …I just think, like, for example the last sentence, "When Snow White bit into the apple, she *cayó desvanecida al suelo*," that I wouldn't say it, it doesn't sound right. I would probably say, "When White bit into the apple, *ella se cayó al suelo*." Or "she fell *desvanecida al suelo*"…
'…I just think, like, for example the last sentence, "When Snow White bit into the apple, she fainted on the floor," that I wouldn't say it, it doesn't sound right. I would probably say, "When White bit into the apple, she fell to the floor" Or "she fell fainted to the floor"…'

Such introspections demonstrate that just as monolingual native speakers have an intuitive sense of linguistic well-formedness in their language, Spanish-English bilinguals are able to rely on unconscious grammatical principles in producing and evaluating code-switching strings. As researchers continue to use different techniques to study code-switching, information will be provided for an increased understanding of its rule-governed nature and the unconscious knowledge that bilinguals possess of the structural properties underlying this phenomenon. As will be discussed in further detail, the present research implements another methodology in evaluating the innate nature of code-switching: the Matched-guise Technique.

2.2.3.3.5 Code-switching and bilingual proficiency

Contrary to common assumptions, code-switching patterns may be used as a measure of bilingual *ability*. Indeed, the degree of proficiency that a speaker possesses in two languages has been shown to correlate with the type of code-

switching employed. For example, Montes-Alcalá (2001) claims that as greater proficiency in both languages develops so too does the likelihood of intrasentential code-switching. Similarly, Poplack (1980) observes that Spanish-English bilinguals who reported dominance in one language tended to switch by means of tag-like phrases (e.g., *sabes/you know* and *¿verdad?/right?*); in contrast, those who reported and demonstrated the greatest degree of bilingual ability favored intrasentential code-switches. Similar patterns are attested among children acquiring a second language in early childhood. McClure (1981: 92) concludes that

> just as the monolingual improves his control over his verbal resources with age, so too does the bilingual. Further, just as there is a developmental pattern in the monolingual's syntactic control of his language, so too may such a pattern be found in the bilingual's control of the syntax of code-switching, which begins with the mixing of single items from one code into discourse in the other and culminates in the codechanging of even more complex constituents.

This increased sensitivity in correlation with increased proficiency is also seen in bilingual language acquisition. Köeppe and Meisle (1995), for example, report that the language mixing behaviors of two German-French bilingual children developed in such a way as to indicate that as their grammar develops simultaneously in the two languages, so too did the rule-governed nature of their code-switching performance. Prior to age 2 years 5 months the children mixed languages at infelicitous sites (i.e., between bound

morphemes, after function words). But as their proficiency increased, the number of ungrammatical switches decreased until switching at lexical categories (i.e., nouns and verbs) predominated. This, they suggest, lends evidence to the claim that speakers cannot obey grammatical constraints on code-switching until they possess sufficient grammatical knowledge (cf. Meisel 1989 and Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal 2000).

Much like code-switching in bilingual first language acquisition, language alternation in the acquisition of a second language is also shown to be rule-governed and systematic. One of the most interesting findings in the literature on second language acquisition is the conclusion that as proficiency increases, so too do abilities to unconsciously perceive subtleties in the L2. As White (2003: 3) indicates,

> …regardless of how UG [Universal Grammar] is formalized, there remains a consensus (within the generative linguistic perspective) that certain properties of language are too abstract, subtle and complex to be acquired without assuming some innate and specifically linguistic constraints on grammar and grammar acquisition.

Of relevance to code-switching, Toribio (2001b) demonstrates that as adult L2 learners become more proficient in the L2, they become more sensitive to code-switching norms.

While sensitivity to code-switching norms is contingent upon competence in the two languages, this competence is an insufficient prerequisite in determining successful code-switching *performance*. Researchers such as Valdés-Fallis (1976) and Lipski (1985) have observed that membership in a community in which code-switching is practiced may also be required. That is, code-switching practice requires social knowledge that is culturally specific and acquired through contextualized practice. **S**ocial acceptability of code-

switching also determines the type of code-switching forms that bilinguals produce. For example, it has been reported that Spanish-English bilinguals from New York produce more fluid intrasentential code-switching than French-English bilinguals from Ottawa-Hull, the latter producing infelicitous utterances to draw attention to the act of switching itself (cf. Poplack, Wheeler, and Westwood 1989). Thus, affective factors also contribute to the type of code-switching witnessed.

2.2.3.3.6 Perceptions of code-switching

I felt it in Taino
I thought about it in Spanish
I wrote it in English

Victor Hernández Chávez's (2001)

Rather than being random manifestations of bilingual speech, then, contact phenomena such as code-switching are principled and predictable. However, social factors intervene to confer prestige on some languages and language varieties and stigma on others. In addition, languages may be accorded different functions, as observed in the above poem by Hernández Chávez. In many bilingual communities, one language variety is used in formal situations, while the other is relegated to informal ones—a traditional diglossic situation (cf. Ferguson 1959). This same assignment to particular domains holds true for code-switching, which is often consigned to informal settings.

Code-switching is generally disparaged in popular view, as depicted in the statements in (18a-b). Even the vernacular nomenclature for the amalgamation—terms such as *Spanglish, espanglés, mocho, Tex-Mex, Cubonics*, *Gringoñol*, *Englañol, casteyanqui*, and *ingleñol*—carries pejorative connotations that reflect on the perceived intellectual and linguistic abilities of speakers of contact Spanish.

(18) Perceptions of code-switching

a. El cambio de códigos o *code-switching*, sobre todo entre inglés y español, se interpreta como una deficiencia lingüística que revela la falta de proficiencia del hablante en ambas lenguas, la cual le obliga a recurrir a la segunda lengua cuando agota su repertorio en la primera.
'Code-switching, above all between English and Spanish is interpreted as a linguistic deficiency that reveals a lack of proficiency in both languages, which forces the speaker to turn to the second language when his inventory has run out in the first one.' (Fernández 1990:52)

b. … in [*sic*] a linguistic point of view [codeswitching] is an abomination. Is [*sic*] a great lack of elementary edutacation [*sic*] to mix 2 differents [*sic*] languages, thus is not the way ordinary poeple [*sic*] choose to speak but the way choose by people without a trace of education.
Don't missunderstand [*sic*] me I'm no [*sic*] against the "PEOPLE", I'm against the "LACK OF EDUCATION" that favors such things like the "spanglish" (Aldebarán 2005).

Similarly, researchers have used pejorative terms to describe the perceived linguistic limitations of code-switchers, e.g., 'semilingualism'—the postulation that certain groups speak each language in their linguistic repertoire with only limited facility, and that this incapacity leads to weakened cognitive abilities. MacSwan (2000) discredits this notion, pointing to other factors (i.e. socioeconomic status) as causes for why bilingual students might perform below their monolingual counterpart. He continues to point out that the term itself has damaging effects, e.g., teachers who have been exposed to this terminology have been known to connect poor academic performance with 'low language abilities' (MacSwan, 2000: 14).

Not surprisingly, a familiar finding in research on evaluations of contact varieties is that speakers often accept the stigma attached to their way of speaking, indicative of their linguistic insecurity (cf. Wald 1988); this is unmistakable in Tato Laviera's bilingual poem, "My Graduation Speech", which concludes:

> … hablo lo inglés matao
> hablo lo español matao
> no sé leer ninguno bien
> so it is, spanglish to matao
> what i digo[7]
>
> ¡ay, virgen, yo no sé hablar!

---

[7]It should be noted from the infelicitous use of code-switching (between a subject pronoun and verb) that the poet has cleverly used an ungrammatical switch as further indication of his lack of linguistic knowledge, not only of Spanish and English, but of code-switching as well, thus further illustrating his linguistic insecurity and perceived ineptitude..

This notion is echoed in a study of Chicana women where Galindo (1996) finds that code-switching is stigmatized by these women[8], citing that "Code-switching seems to grate on the ears of some Laredoans, Mexicans, and Anglos. It is not very well received, and it is considered impolite to use it; but speakers concede to its prevalence and growing existence in their community" (1996:13). In the same vein, Hidalgo (1986) finds that her Mexican informants from Juárez held great disdain toward the code-switching of their Mexican-American counterparts in El Paso, in part because of the low status of those who code-switch. "The belief that Mexican-Americans—speakers of Code-switching—are no longer part of the Mexican mainstream is widespread throughout the country" (Hidalgo, 1986:210). And Flores (1993: 164), in his discussion of the Puerto Rican language and culture in the United States, points out that both Puerto Rican and American monolinguals view code-switching "as the tragic convergence of two nonstandard vernaculars, and thus assumed to epitomize the collapse of the integrity of both."

Nevertheless, despite the negative prestige associated with many speech varieties (including code-switching), they persist, in large part because they serve important functions as markers of social identity (cf. Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez 1975, Jacobson 1977, Fernández 1990, Zentella 1997, Toribio 2002). Under proper

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[8] In spite of these negative perceptions, the participants in her study did not view code-switching as negatively as they did caló. (Caló has many meanings. Peñalosa (1980) describes it as a variety of Spanish spoken by young Mexican-American males primarily as a secretive code. She notes that although in the 1940s and 1950s it was seen as the code of the underworld—and this connotation persists among many—the code is now used primarily among the younger generation. Galindo (1996), on the other hand, sees caló simply as the Spanish of the 'gente humilde', or uneducated class.)

circumstances (i.e., in certain settings, with certain individuals) some bilinguals may be led to attach covert prestige to interlingual speech because it becomes a vehicle for intra-ethnic communication. In fact, many have begun to see code-switching as an asset and resource, and not as a deficit: "I think Spanglish is the future […]," says Nely Galan, the president of Galan Entertainment. "It is perfectly wonderful. I speak English perfectly. I speak Spanish perfectly, and I choose to speak both simultaneously" (in Alvarez 1997: A1).

2.3 Language attitudes

As can be seen from the previous discussion, it is well understood that all linguistic varieties (including separate languages in multilingual societies) can trigger assumptions about speakers' socioeconomic standing, their personal attributes, and their group membership (cf. Garrett et al. 2003, Adegbija 2000). These communal patterns of reactions toward linguistic forms, along with the norms, values, prestige, stigma and stereotypes that these elicit are known in the literature as *language attitudes* (cf. Omdal 1995, Knops and Van Hout 1988). As expected, these collective reactions to language variation are subjective and can fluctuate from person to person and from group to group. Shuy (1985) notes that no dialect is inherently good or bad, but that every dialect is in itself a legitimate form of language, a valid instrument of human communication, and that its prestige and perceived correctness come simply from the prestige of those who use it. Thus, the reactions we have toward a language are based on the relative social characteristics of the speakers of a particular variety and on how these speakers are

perceived. This subjectivity in evaluation of language varieties has been labeled *The Social Connotations Hypothesis* (Giles and Niedielski 1998). Under this hypothesis, the pleasantness or unpleasantness of a particular language variety is contingent upon the social attributes of speakers of that variety, which are linked to societal ascriptions of positive or negative traits to a particular linguistic community; again, the perceptions are not inherent in the language variety itself (for the standard language is simply the dialect of those in power) but in the perceived social value of the speakers of that variety. In spite of this fact, one cannot escape the reality of these social evaluations and the consequences that these have on the perception of members of particular linguistic groups.

The study of language attitudes is central to several disciplines, and interdisciplinary research is characteristic of this field. Not only is the study of language attitudes central to sociolinguistics, it also forms a substantial element in studies in communication, and is the main stimulus for research in the social psychology of language (Giles and Billings 2004). It takes on considerable importance in theories regarding language planning (cf., Adegbija 2000; Casesnoves and Sankoff 2003, 2004; Woolard and Gahng 1990); language maintenance and shift (cf., Bills et al. 1995, Pieras-Guasp 2002, Fishman 2001, Mejías et al. 2002); and is also implicated in impression formation[9] (Bradac 1990). More broadly, language attitudinal research has also been carried out in entire nation states (cf. Garrett et al. 2003, Huygens and Vaughan 1983). In addition, some researchers have been

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[9] Impression formation is a term used by social psychologists to describe the way interactions influence how we perceive other people. This can be based on the way they dress, the way they walk, how they stand, etc, and—most importantly for studies in language attitudes—formation of first impressions are often based on the speech of the people we interact with.

concerned with the importance of language attitudes and its role in motivation in foreign language learning in general (cf., Gardner and Lambert 1972, Gardner 2001), while others have investigated the connection between language attitudes and desires to learn specific foreign languages in a particular setting (cf. Dörnyei and Csizér 2002). Teachers themselves have also been the focus of language attitudes research, with considerable focus on how their attitudes affect the academic progress of students (Choy and Dodd 1976); still other researchers have focused on students' reactions to teachers' language varieties (Boyd 2003).

From the beginning, language attitudes research has focused on the perceived value of competing languages as used by bilinguals (Lambert et al. 1960). This focus has expanded to the investigation of attitudes toward differing dialects of the same language (Romaine 1980, Ros i García 1984, Knops and van Hout 1988), as well as to degrees of foreign accentedness (Ryan and Carranza 1975, Ryan, Carranza and Moffie 1977, Bresnahan et al. 2002, Boyd 2003, Brennan et al. 1975, Giles et al. 1995). As can be seen by the expansive list of studies addressing language attitudes, it is apparent that this area of study is immense and diverse.

One finding that has consistently surfaced in language attitudes research has been that listener-judges' attitudes vary depending on the linguistic variety in question. In spite of this consistent finding, language attitudes have yet to be used to determine if subtle variations are perceived based on the linguistic abilities of the listener-judges.[10]

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[10] In fact, those with interests in Folk Linguistics (cf. Niedzileski and Preston 2000) assert that using indirect methods such as language attitudes for tapping into judges' perceptions of language varieties

Therefore, it is the purpose of the present study to investigate the usefulness of the matched-guise technique (see below) in determining whether listener-judges of differing levels of proficiency are able to perceive subtle differences between different types of language contact forms (i.e. lexical borrowings (common vs. specific nouns) and code-switching (felicitous vs. infelicitous)).

In what follows, I provide a definition of language attitudes, including a discussion of perspectives on the nature of language attitudes (i.e., behaviorist or mentalist), and focus on the techniques used to measure the phenomenon.

2.3.1 Language attitudes—definition

In spite of the importance of language attitudes in sociolinguistic and social psychological studies, there is a lack of consensus by researchers with regards to how language attitudes should be defined (Giles et al., 1983:81). Baker (1992:11) notes that "definitions of attitude are surrounded by semantic disagreements and differences about the generality and specificity of the term." The fact that sociolinguists, social psychologists of language, and indeed laypersons, use the term indiscriminately has also augmented the problem of defining the term (cf. Edwards 1982). While this may pose a problem theoretically, enough common ground exists among researchers in different fields, and more importantly among researchers and laypersons, as to allow for interdisciplinary research and dissemination of findings to the public. In the remainder of

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undermines the their abilities to talk about language variation. Yet it is precisely because the naïve listener is incapable of speaking about subtle variations that another way of accessing their ability to perceive such nuances must be utilized; assessing their language attitudes is one way of gaining access to these intuitions.

this section I will provide a review of the definitions of language attitudes and the stance that will be taken in this study, prefacing the concrete definition with a discussion on the composite nature of language attitudes.

2.3.1.1 Nature of language attitudes

In order to define language attitudes, we must first gain an understanding of its nature. Giles et al. (1983) question whether attitudes are uni-dimensional or multidimensional, deciding in favor of the latter, and stating that attitudes are made up of three components: cognitive, evaluative, and conative (cf. Baker 1992, Agheyisi and Fishman 1971).

The first of these components, the *cognitive*, focuses on the thoughts and beliefs about an object. Those who hold a positive attitude toward the Spanish language, for example, might express a belief that the Spanish language should be maintained in the United States through such programs as bilingual education or after school programs. They also may express a belief of the importance of the transmission of the Spanish culture to subsequent generations.

The *evaluative* (also labeled *affective*) component deals with the *feelings* that a group or individual holds toward a particular object. One may openly hold a positive belief of the importance of a particular object but more privately hold prejudices or anxieties concerning this subject. It is this underlying component that is seldom investigated in attitudinal research. As Baker (1992) notes, it is not unlikely that the cognitive and evaluative components conflict. Edwards (1982) points out that it is necessary to

distinguish *beliefs* (the *cognitive* element) from *attitudes* (the entire construct). A belief requires no real commitment from the evaluator, and may well differ greatly from his deeper feelings. An immigrant may *believe* that learning English is important for financial gain and social mobility, yet still refuse to learn the language due to a negative evaluation of the language and its speakers. With this said, many investigations stating that they entail language *attitudes* might be more properly considered studies on language *beliefs*. Therefore, the study of *attitudes* must go beyond this uni-faceted approach and also look at the other components that make up the attitudes construct.

Finally, the *conative* component (also labeled *reactional* or *action*) is concerned with whether or not the belief or evaluative components will be put into action. Fishman (1971) focused his attention in earlier attitudinal research on this component of the construct. In his research he asked participants to determine how likely they were to use a particular language. As with the cognitive component, this outward manifestation of the attitude through one's behavior, however, is not necessarily an indication of a true attitude; it may well be that the action is solely based on a willingness to please or show political correctness.

When we appreciate that 'attitude' is a construct composed of three components, as depicted in Figure **2.1**, we will then be able to understand the construct in its entirety. As can be seen, the three components merge together to form a single construct of attitude (Baker 1992: 13). Unfortunately, this diagram leads us to believe that all of the components contribute equally to the construct. However, as described above, the evaluative element tends to play a greater role in the underlying attitude of the individual,

and should therefore be given more prominence in attitude research. As will be shown in subsequent sections, the methodology that is implemented in the present research—the Matched-guise Technique—focuses its attention primarily on this component.

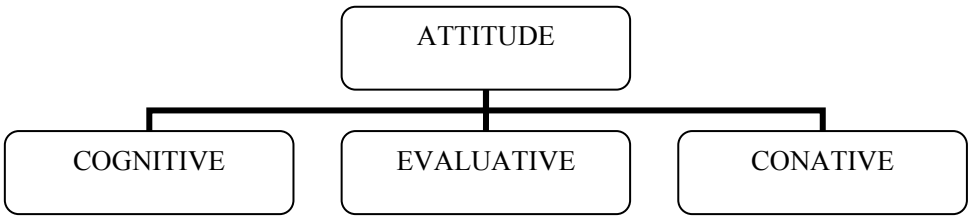

Figure **2.1**:Attitudes Construct (adapted from Ajzen as reproduced in Baker 1992:13)

2.3.1.2 Language attitudes—perspectives

Aside from discussing the nature of attitudes, two perspectives have influenced the defining and understanding of these evaluative reactions. First, the *behaviorists* have argued that attitudes are overt and observable in the behavior or actions of those being studied. From this perspective, attitudes function as an independent variable that is subject to external forces, with psychological elements being of secondary importance (cf. Adegbija 2000 and Giles et al. 1983). The second perspective of attitudes is the *mentalist* point of view. Williams notes that this perspective perceives attitudes as "an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response" (1974:2 as cited in Adegbija 2000:76). From this vantage point, attitudes are not directly observable through actions or behavior, but are inferred through introspection (cf. Giles et al. 1983).

Other approaches to attitudes combine the mentalist and behaviorist perspectives and view social formation of attitudes as the key area of emphasis (cf., Adgebija 2000). The information that is received throughout the socialization process during our lifetime—through interaction with relatives, mass media, schoolmates, etc., and the reactions that we perceive from ingroup or outgroup members, as well as our personal necessities—aids in shaping our attitudes toward objects, including language varieties (cf. Fernández 1990). As mentioned by one researcher:

> When we talk about attitudes, we are talking about what a person has *learned* in the process of becoming a member of a family, a member of a group, and of society that makes him react to his social world in a *consistent* and *characteristic* way, instead of a transitory and haphazard way (Sherif, 1967: 2, cited in Garret et al., 2003: 4).

Because we continually receive information, these attitudes can be in regular flux; however, they are sufficiently stable to be analyzed and studied. Due to the dynamic nature of attitudes, there is a continual need to assess and reassess (Knopps and van Hout 1988).

Indeed, it is certain that each of these perspectives on language attitudes (either mentalist, behaviorist, or the combination of the two) has its merits and shortcomings, depending on what a researcher desires to investigate. In fact, it must be understood that attitudes are observable and external, as well as internal, and that the socialization process is essential in the development of these social evaluations (cf. Adegbija 2000, and Knops and van Hout 1988).

Taking into consideration the nature of language attitudes and the perspectives that have been assumed in their investigation, a broad definition of language attitudes will be adopted for the purposes of this study: *Language attitude* refers to the way in which observers *react* toward language varieties and language use. However, and of great importance to the methodology of the present study, the definition also includes the ways in which these observers react to the *users* of language varieties (cf., Grosjean 1982, Lambert et al. 1960).

2.3.2 Measurement of language attitudes

Shifting from the nature and definition of language attitudes, the discussion now turns to a more significant topic to the present study—the measuring of language attitudes. In spite of their changeable nature, language attitudes relate to the perception of group characteristics and are thus sufficiently stable to allow for a reliable measurement (Gaies and Beebe 1991:157). In order to evaluate an individual's reaction toward language varieties, sociolinguists and social psychologists of language have tended to approach the question from one of two approaches: direct or indirect.

Prior to the 1960s the approach was generally a direct one, in which investigators primarily employed questionnaires, surveys, polls, (ethnolinguistic) interviews, and attitudinal rating scales that required participants to express their attitudes about particular languages or language varieties. Recently, another form of direct assessment has been implemented with the advancement of perceptual dialectology (cf. Long and Preston 1999, Preston 1999). For example Preston (2000) asked subjects from Michigan

to trace and label dialect zones on a blank map of the United States. The subjects then rate the zones according to where better English is spoken, thus providing a direct assessment of their linguistic awareness. It was found that those zones that subjects considered to be more like the Michigan dialect were rated more positively. In another study from this paradigm, Niedelski and Preston (2000) look specifically at the way 68 non-linguists talk about language and language varieties, and the attitudes that the respondents have toward these varieties. Like its predecessors, this paradigm seeks to determine whether the 'judges' are consciously aware of linguistic differences. However, it is highly likely that the judges may be aware of subtle linguistic differences and yet be unable to express these distinctions. Likewise, judges may perceive differences that have no linguistic basis. It is therefore necessary to use methods that bypass the judges' inability to explain linguistic subtleties.

In addition, these direct methods, though useful, are often unable to uncover an individual's *genuine* attitude toward a linguistic variety, and often miss the dynamic and constructive process that forms an intrinsic part of one's attitude. This shortcoming stems, at times, from the possible desire of observers/judges to conceal their true attitude towards a particular variety. Garrett et al. (2003: 8) identify this as 'de-individuation' or "the tendency of respondents … to report socially desirable attitudes rather than their own private attitudes … by giving the response they assume the researcher wants … without any thought about what their [own] attitudes are." The ability of individuals to introspect, therefore, is what allows researchers to gain access to attitudes; however,

when it comes to measuring these attitudes, such reflection is also a potential source of systematic error.

As a consequence of the inherent weaknesses of direct methods, a method of indirectly tapping into individuals' stereotypes about language—the Matched-guise Technique (MGT)—was developed by Lambert and his colleagues. This method focuses the evaluators' attention on the assessment of the *speakers* of different language varieties rather than the language varieties themselves. This is based on the idea that judges will form and validate their assessment on stereotypical behavior (cf., Omdal 1995: 86). It is postulated that those whose speech closely approximates that of the positively viewed group will be perceived as possessing positive attributes, whereas those whose speech diverges from this target will be perceived as demonstrating undesirable or inferior traits (cf., Grosjean 1982). Therefore, by indirectly investigating the ways in which individuals ascribe characteristics to speakers, investigators are able to circumvent the reticence or inability of these judges to explicitly express views on language varieties.

In the seminal study by Lambert et al. (1960), judges were presented with recordings of English and French speakers, after which they were asked to rate the speakers on fourteen non-linguistic attributes (e.g., height, looks, sense of humor, patriotism, etc.). The researchers found that there was a great disparity in the judges' assessments of the speakers, which correlated with the prestige of the language variety being analyzed: The English guises—the prestigiously viewed group—were rated higher with regards to social status, while the French guises were rated higher in solidarity. The judges were unaware that they had rated the same bilingual individual in both samples. This tendency

demonstrated that the judges were basing their assessment entirely on the language variety, and not on paralinguistic information. Because of its ability to access covert attitudes, the MGT has become a mainstay among researchers on language attitudes. Five commonly noted successes of the MGT have been compiled by Garrett et al. (2003: 57):

1. It is a rigorous and elegant design for investigating people's private attitudes. It is often claimed that direct questioning of respondents about their attitudes is less likely to elicit such private attitudes, and more likely to lead to the expression of attitudes which respondents consider socially acceptable or even socially desirable….
2. It has led to the convincing and detailed demonstration of the role of language code and style choice in impression formation.
3. It has generated a very considerable number of studies internationally, especially in bilingual/bi-ethnic, multilingual/multi-ethnic contexts, with a reasonable degree of comparability, allowing for cumulative development of theory.
4. It has led to the identification of the main dimensions along which evaluations are repeatedly made: prestige, social attractiveness, dynamism. It has therefore begun to explain the sociolinguistic ecology of language variation.
5. It has laid the foundation for cross-disciplinary work at the interface of the social psychology of language and sociolinguistics.

The MGT has also been used extensively in investigations on interlingual influences. For example, Ryan and colleagues (1975, 1977) examined how Spanish-accented English and Standard English were perceived in different settings. The findings indicated that as the degree of accentedness increased, the judges' attitudes became less favorable. Likewise, researchers have employed the MGT to investigate judges' evaluations of code-switching. For example, Gaies and Beebe (1991) investigated reactions toward Japanese-English code-switching, and found that their Japanese subjects exhibited negative evaluations of this interlingual manifestation.

In spite of its broad use in the investigation of language attitudes, the MGT is not without its critics. Garret et al. (2003: 58-61) list seven criticisms of the MGT, as summarized below.

The salience problem. Some critics sense that the MGT may systematically make language and language variation more salient than it otherwise is outside of the experimental environment (p. 59). While this critique may be well founded, it also points to the fact that the MGT can highlight certain features of the language to make them accessible to investigations.

The perception problem. This critique is formulated mainly by proponents of Perceptual Dialectology who claim that it is impossible to know if judges are really even aware of the differences presented to them. They argue for the need to substantiate language attitudes studies with techniques proposed in perceptual dialectology (i.e. dialect tracing, ethnolinguistic research) in order to uncover what it is that our judges are overtly aware of regarding linguistic variation (Preston 1999, Niedzileski and Preston

2000). However, as noted, because linguistic differences may be subtle, it is unwise to expect our subjects to be able to overtly express what it is that makes up these linguistic properties. Nonetheless these same judges may be aware of these differences at a subconscious level, and only by using a technique such as the MGT will researchers be able to discover what it is that these non-linguists are aware of.

The accent-authenticity problem. The proponents of this critique note that many times researchers utilizing the MGT will minimize the prosodic differences between the varieties in question, thus eliminating the authenticity of the varieties themselves. They note that the differences between two opposing varieties, in many instances, is multifaceted and not simply a one-to-one mismatch of features; therefore extensive variation must be taken into consideration.

The mimicking-authenticity problem. Linked with the above critique is the question of whether it is possible for a bilingual to be truly bilingual. Can they mimic both voices in such a way that they are 'authentic'? As Garrett et al. note:

> Judges might not be aware of what is not incorporated, and might still perceive inaccurately mimicked voices as 'authentic'. There is also a possibility, though, that judges may not be aware of selective representation at a conscious level, but might nevertheless judge the rendition to be 'odd' or 'unconvincing'. The mimicking-authenticity problem certainly warrants more investigation (2003: 59).

In spite of this valid critique, the mimicking-authenticity problem points to an asset of the MGT, wherein certain non-authentic varieties can be highlighted in

contrast to a controlled speech sample to determine their acceptability in a particular community.

The community-authenticity problem. This critique stems from the fact that in certain communities a linguistic variety is given one label (e.g., Spanglish), while the researchers might give it another (e.g., code-switching). However, it is unclear as to why researchers would want to provide a label to the linguistic varieties under study. Strict implementation of the MGT would warrant the simple presentation of the guises with no other specification regarding the variety, including a label. If a researcher were interested in finding out what the reaction was to a particular label, then this could be included as portion of the study.

The style-authenticity problem. The MGT is also critiqued for the presentation of styles of speech. Opponents of this method question whether or not certain styles are truly natural for particular speech varieties and communities. "There are also criticisms," Garrett et al. write, "concerning whether the use of such decontextualized language to elicit people's attitudes yields finding that can be extended to natural language use, where people are meaningfully and functionally 'doing things' with language, rather than 'merely voicing' utterances" (2003:60).

The neutrality problem. Finally, many researchers who use the MGT claim that their texts are 'factually neutral'; critics question whether this is truly possible. For example, is it possible to create a text that is factually neutral with regards to age? In many cases, what can be neutral for an adolescent may be perceived as charged by an adult.

Despite the claimed disadvantages of the MGT, it would be imprudent to dispense with the technique in light of the strengths of this methodology. As Garrett et al.

conclude, it would be undesirable "*either* to be uncritical followers of canonical methods in language attitudes *or* to dispense with all attempts to deal with language attitudes systematically through aggregational methods (2003:61)." Redressing the above-enumerated problems, I implement the MGT in the present study to assess bilingual judges' reactions towards diverse manifestations of Spanish-English contact.

2.4 Chapter summary

In this chapter I have delineated several areas of interest to the study of Spanish-English bilinguals' attitudes toward Spanish-English contact forms. First, I have provided a discussion on the rule-governed nature of the manifestations of language contact, including a summary of the factors that lead to this contact, and the subsequent outcomes. In particular, two outcomes were discussed in detail: lexical borrowing and code-switching. The research surveyed indicated that the borrowablity of a word into a recipient language depends on certain linguistic factors, including the semantic specificity of the lexical item, as highlighted by Backus (2000) in his Specificity Hypothesis. Likewise, this chapter has presented evidence indicating that switching between two languages is not done arbitrarily, but is contingent upon several factors, including the grammatical juncture of the switch site. Thus, for example, it was noted that bilinguals will not normally alternate languages after an auxiliary, complementizer, or negative particle, preferring instead language switches after nouns and verbs, among others.

In conjunction with the rule-governed nature of code-switching, bilingual proficiency was also discussed, focusing attention on how code-switching abilities are commensurate with greater linguistic skills in both languages. Also highlighted in this section was research on the correlation between proficiency and increased sensitivity to grammatical norms both in monolingual and mixed discourse.

Because of its centrality in investigating the ability of the layperson to differentiate among borrowing and code-switching forms, language attitudes were discussed in great length. Specifically of interest to the present study is the matched-guise technique, which is implemented for its ability to highlight variations in language and present them in an indirect way so as to allow an individualized evaluation of language variation.

CHAPTER 3

PRELIMINARY STUDY

ATTITUDES TOWARDS LEXICAL BORROWING AND INTRASENTENTIAL CODE-SWITCHING AMONG SPANISH-ENGLISH BILINGUALS

3.1 Introduction

As has been explained in Chapter 2, language contact forms (i.e. lexical borrowings and intrasentential code-switching) are rule-governed; in spite of this fact, language varieties differ in the prestige that is ascribed to them. In endeavoring to examine bilinguals' awareness of the nature of bilingual speech forms through their evaluations of speakers who engage in them, a preliminary study was conducted (Anderson and Toribio forthcoming). In this chapter I will present the results of this study, and discuss some of its findings, implications, and limitations, with an eye towards informing the present project.

3.2 The study

The aim of the preliminary study was to evaluate bilinguals' attitudes towards contact forms that may be manifested in the speech of Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States. The study is guided by two interrelated research questions:

(1) Research Questions

a. Research Question 1

Are heritage and second-language Spanish-English bilinguals sensitive to distinct types of contact phenomena?

b. Research Question 2

Does sensitivity to said phenomena coincide with factors such as language heritage and language proficiency of the judges?

3.2.1 Hypotheses

Taking into consideration the research questions in (1), the following specific outcomes are anticipated:

(2) Predictions

a. Prediction 1

A hierarchy of acceptability will obtain among bilinguals for diverse types of contact phenomena,

i. with monolingual Spanish speech eliciting the most positive evaluations, while bilingual speech the least positive;

ii. with lexical insertions more favorably evaluated than code-switching;

iii. with insertion of lexical items for specialized concepts being less marked than insertion of items denoting core nouns;

iv. and grammatically felicitous code-switching eliciting more positive evaluations than grammatically infelicitous code-switching;

b. Prediction 2

Differential evaluations will accord with personal linguistic characteristics of the individual judges:

i. with judges who are of Spanish language heritage rendering more favorable assessments of contact speech than second language learners of Spanish;

ii. and more proficient bilinguals making more fine-grained distinctions among the language contact types at issue.

3.2.2 Materials

A three-part battery was designed to test the hypotheses in (2), comprising the following instruments: five language texts, an attitudes survey, and a language history questionnaire, each elaborated below.

3.2.2.1 Texts

Five texts of the popular fairytale *Little Red Riding Hood/La Caperucita Roja* were prepared for presentation. Participants were informed that the texts were transcriptions of oral versions of the fairytale narrated by Spanish-English bilinguals, who had been guided by a set of pictures depicting the storyline. These 'authors,' they were told, had

been permitted to relate the story in a manner that was most comfortable to them, using Spanish, English, or both. In reality, the texts were produced by the authors of the study. One text was written entirely in medium-register Spanish. Two additional texts were also prepared in Spanish, but included English lexical insertions; one comprised words for concepts that are specific to the fairytale—*grandma* and *hunter*—and the other incorporated the core nouns *house* and *bed*. Two other texts were prepared in Spanish-English code-switching; one consisted of switches at those boundaries that have been shown to serve as grammatical switch sites in bilingual speech (in particular, between a noun phrase and verb phrase, between verb phrase and its object, and before a conjunction) and another comprised switching at boundaries known to violate code-switching norms (specifically, between an auxiliary verb and main verb, between determiner and noun phrase, and after a conjunction). The texts ranged from 171-180 words and the languages were differentiated by font color, with blue indicating Spanish and red marking English. Excerpts from each text appear in (3).

(3) Excerpts from texts

a. Medium-register Spanish

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

'There once was a girl named Little Red Riding Hood. One day her

mother said to her, “Take this jar of honey to your grandma’s house. But be careful with the fierce wolf.” In the woods the wolf came out to talk with the girl. He asked her, “Where are you going, Little Red Riding Hood?” She answered sweetly, “I’m going to my grandma’s house.”…’

b. Bilingual Spanish with insertions of specialized English-language lexical items g*randma* and *hunter*

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

‘…When the Wolf was about to eat Little Red, there appeared a hunter with a large rifle. He fired at the Wolf and killed him. “Grandma, where are you?,” cried Little Red. The elderly lady came out of the wardrobe, hugged Little Red and asked her to never again walk alone. The two thank the hunter and live happily.’

c. Bilingual Spanish with insertion of core English-language lexical items *bed* and *house*

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

‘…The Wolf arrived first at the grandma’s house. She got frightened and

hid. The Wolf got into the bed and dressed with the grandmother's clothes. Little Red arrived at the house and saw him lying in the bed.…'

d. Felicitous Spanish-English code-switching

…Once upon a time había una niña que se llamaba Caperucita Roja. Vivía en el bosque with her mother. También vivía por esas partes a big bad wolf. One day, Little Red Riding Hood's mother le pidió que le llevara una jarrita de miel a su abuelita. "Sure Mom," said Little Red Riding Hood, y salió hacia la casa de su abuela. …

…Once upon a time there was a girl named Little Red Riding Hood. She lived in the woods with her mother. There also lived around those parts a big bad Wolf. One day, Little Riding Hood's mother asked her to take a little jar of Money to her grandma. "Sure Mom," said Little Red Riding Hood, and she went out towards her grandmother's house. …'

e. Infelicitous Spanish-English code-switching

…El lobo se despidió y he took a shorter path to the grandmother's house. He arrived first, scared the grandmother, and chased her into the bosque. Se puso la ropa de la abuela porque creyó que the girl wouldn't notice him and he could easily eat her. Pero cuando llegó Caperucita Roja, she was not fooled and knew right away that it no era su abuela y empezó a gritar y a pedir auxilio. Un cazador que había heard what was happening arrived at that moment to salvar a la niña del malvado lobo. He shot the hungry wolf with an escopeta y lo mató.

'…The wolf said good-bye and took a shorter path to the grandmother's house. He arrived first, scared the grandmother, and chased her into the woods. He put on the grandmother's clothes because he thought that the girl wouldn't notice him and he could easily eat her. But when Little Red Riding Hood arrived, she was not fooled and knew right away that it was not her grandmother and started to scream and to ask for help. A hunter that had heard what was happening arrived at that moment to save the girl from the evil wolf. He shot the hungry wolf with a rifle and killed him.'

3.2.2.2 Language attitudes surveys

In order to uncover participants' evaluations of the language varieties that were represented in the texts in (3), two surveys were created. The first survey included twenty-two (twenty-one for the monolingual text) items across two measures. In one measure, participants rated the 'authors' of each text on personality characteristics using twelve pairs of opposing adjectives placed on a six-point semantic-differential scale, as shown in (4). These scales were chosen based on antecedent literature (Mulac 1975, 1976, Pieras-Guasp 1999). To determine the internal consistency of the scales, a Cronbach alpha coefficient was estimated as a reliability coefficient on the semantic-differential scales. Following this classical item analysis, it was determined that four scales (4d, f, i, and j) were working inconsistently with the other eight scales, and were thus discarded for purposes of statistical analysis. The relative order of each pair of adjectives was determined at random (intending to force participants to pay more

attention to the adjectives) and the pairs were indiscriminately ordered from one to twelve.

(4) Semantic-Differential Scales Used in Preliminary Study

On a scale of 1 to 6, rate the individual.

a. (1) illiterate – (6) literate

b. (1) upper-class – (6) lower-class

c. (1) nice – (6) rude

d. (1) quiet – (6) loud

e. (1) friendly – (6) mean

f. (1) passive – (6) active

g. (1) displeasing – (6) pleasing

h. (1) rich – (6) poor

i. (1) weak – (6) strong

j. (1) aggressive – (6) peaceful

k. (1) blue collar – (6) white collar

l. (1) attractive – (6) unattractive

The ensuing items presented questions that offered a more direct measure of participants' attitudes towards speech varieties (e.g., "Is this person easy to understand?") and those who engage in them (e.g., "What kind of job would this person be likely to

have?"). A final, open-ended item asked participants to conjecture as to the motivation for language mixing, which did not appear with the monolingual text.

3.2.2.3 Language history questionnaire

A language history questionnaire elicited personal information, (e.g., place of birth, length of residence, and family occupational history), and afforded a measure of language usage and proficiency, referencing educational background and language(s) of instruction, language use patterns in the home (who speaks what language to whom?), frequency of access to language(s) across domains (e.g., leisure and play activities, popular press, media), and self-reported proficiency across receptive (listening, reading) and productive (speaking, writing) domains in Spanish and English.

3.2.3 Participants

Spanish-English bilingual participants were solicited through letter of invitation circulated via email at a U.S. university. Participants were required to be bilingual, though no level of bilingualism was specified; indeed, it was important that the sample include heritage speakers[11] as well as second language learners of Spanish. Fifty-three Spanish-English bilinguals participated in the study. Fourteen are identified as heritage speakers, and thirty-four are second language learners with an average number of five

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[11] In the United States, a heritage speaker is a fluent speaker of English who learned another language (i.e. Spanish) in the home.

years of Spanish-language study; the remaining five participants did not provide enough information to determine to which group they belonged. From information collected from self-report data, twenty-five participants were assigned to the Spanish high-proficiency group, while twenty-four were assigned to the Spanish low-proficiency group; the remaining four participants did not complete this section of the survey, and therefore were not included in this section of analysis.

3.2.4 Procedures

In the email regarding the study, participants were given access to a website where the survey was posted. All materials (texts excluded) were made available in English or Spanish to promote participants' comfort with the tasks. The participants were first presented with the language history survey, followed by the survey on language attitudes that consisted of the random ordering of the five texts, each followed by the twenty-two-question survey. The time required to complete the study was approximately one hour. Participation was voluntary, and no remuneration was offered.

3.3 Results

Results from this study reveal patterns that are clearly consistent with the hypotheses posited. The matched-guise survey offered responses from the fifty-three participants that confirm the first two hypotheses. As seen from the mean scores presented in Figure **3.1**, the monolingual Spanish guise (3a) elicited the most positive reactions, as predicted in

(2a.i), and the lexical insertion guises (3b,c) were more favorably considered than the code-switching guises (3d,e), as predicted in (2a.ii).

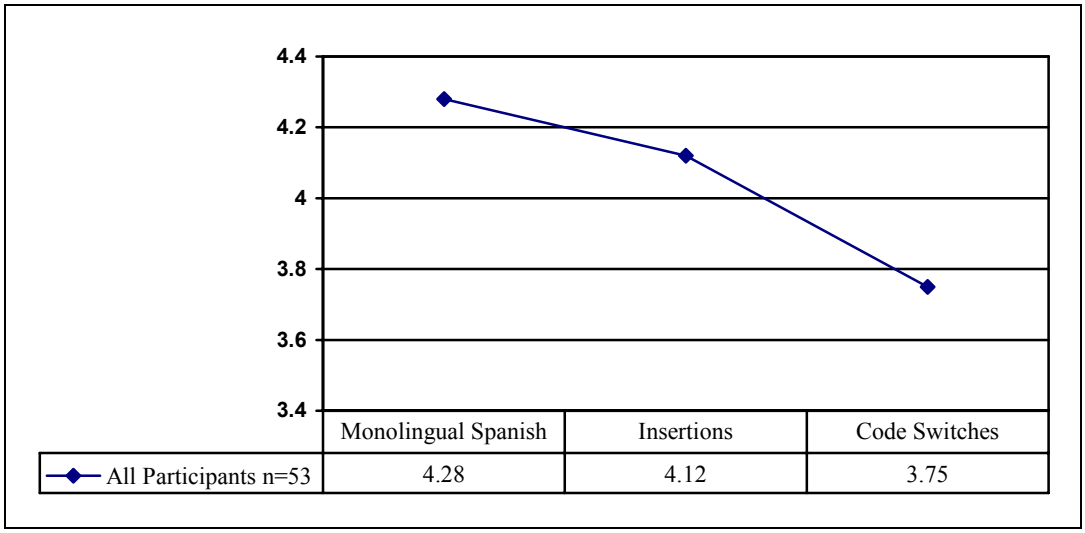


Figure **3.1**: Mean scores of all participants by contact phenomena

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

Continuing with the third and fourth hypotheses (2a.iii, 2a.iv), the participants distinguished between the two types of lexical insertion. The insertion of referentially and contextually more specific nouns (*grandma/hunter*), as in (3b), was viewed as more acceptable than the insertion of core nouns (*bed/house*), as in (3c); participants likewise distinguished between the two types of code-switching, with the grammatically felicitous code-switching guise illustrated in (3d) eliciting more positive evaluations than the grammatically infelicitous code-switching guise shown in (3e). Referencing Figure **3.2**, it merits pointing out the similar evaluations of texts composed in monolingual Spanish and those that comprised specific lexical insertions. This finding supports the observation that interlingual influence is an anticipated outcome of language contact and is most acceptable in the form of referentially specific nouns—recall the Specificity Hypothesis of Backus (2000).

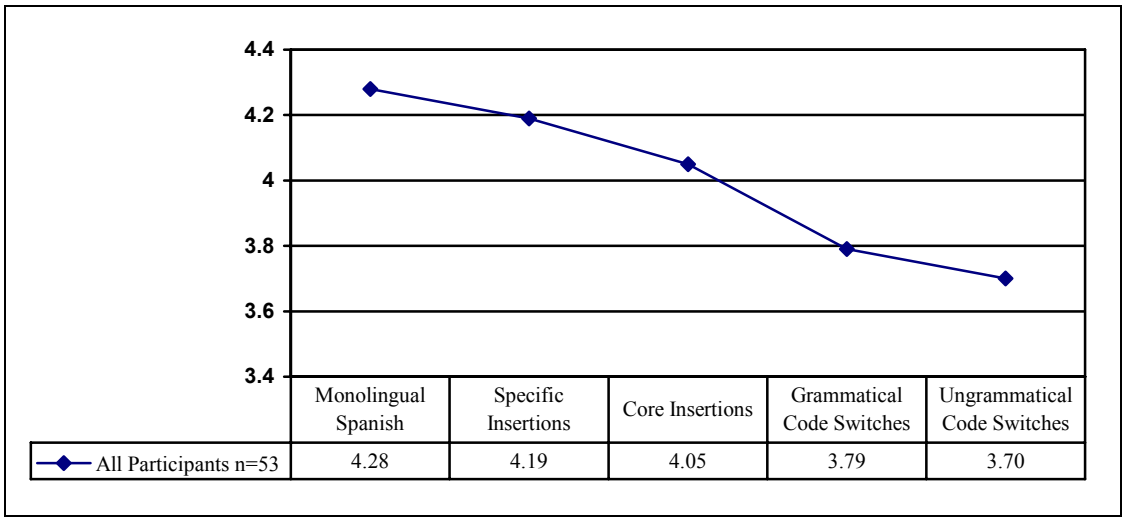
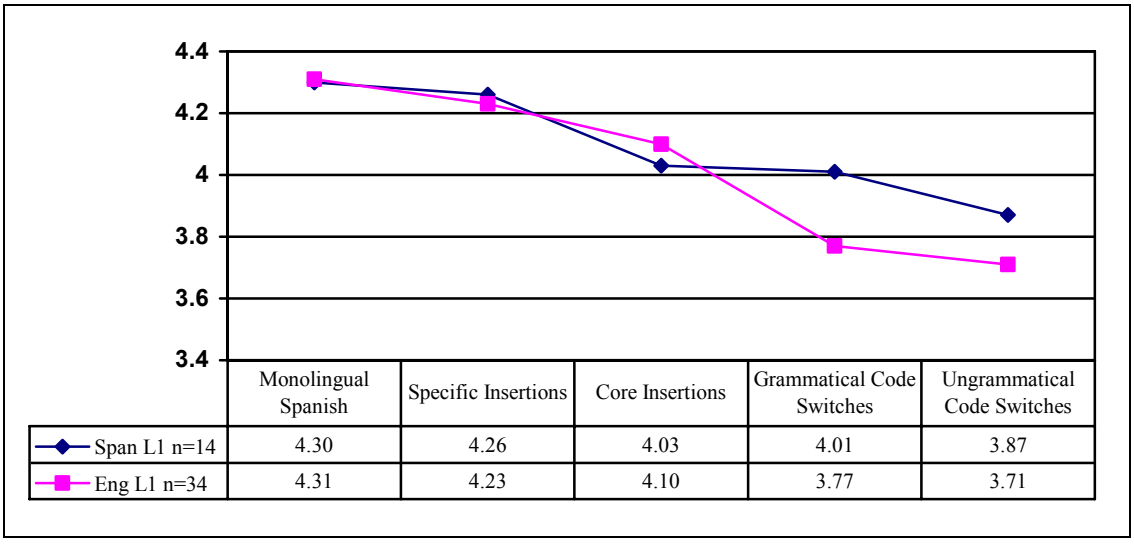


Figure **3.2**: Mean scores of all participants across five text types

Statistical analysis determined that the difference between the specialized (4.19) and core insertions (4.05) was indeed statistically significant ($p=0.0015<0.05$); however, the difference between grammatical (3.79) and ungrammatical (3.70) code switches did not reach statistical significance ($p=0.47$), indicating that the apparent difference between the two guises is attributed to random error.

Addressing judges' language history, Figure **3.3** illustrates that heritage speakers and Spanish second language learners react in a similar manner to the interlingual influences, contrary to hypothesis (2b.i). Indeed, statistical analysis revealed no significant effect of first language on participants' evaluations ($p=0.38$).

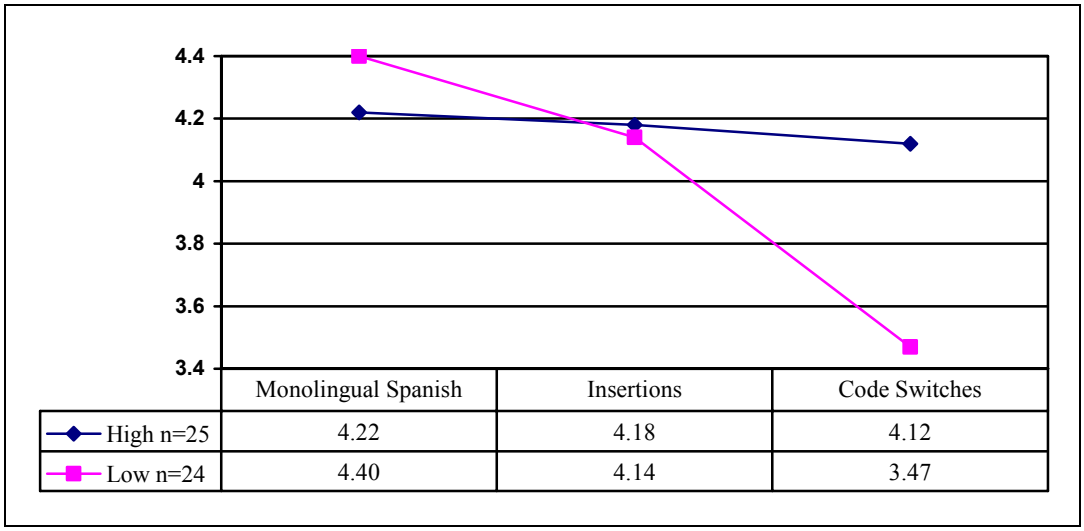


	Monolingual Spanish	Specific Insertions	Core Insertions	Grammatical Code Switches	Ungrammatical Code Switches
Span L1 n=14	4.30	4.26	4.03	4.01	3.87
Eng L1 n=34	4.31	4.23	4.10	3.77	3.71

Figure **3.3**: Mean scores by first language

When the data are analyzed according to participants' language abilities, there is manifest a difference in the ways the texts were evaluated, thus supporting the final hypothesis (2b.ii). As illustrated in Figure **3.4**, those speakers who reported higher abilities in Spanish maintain a consistently positive attitude towards all texts types

(p=0.02), regardless of the interlingual influence depicted. Those who declared lower abilities in Spanish viewed the monolingual guise most positively and greatly disfavored the code-switching guises.

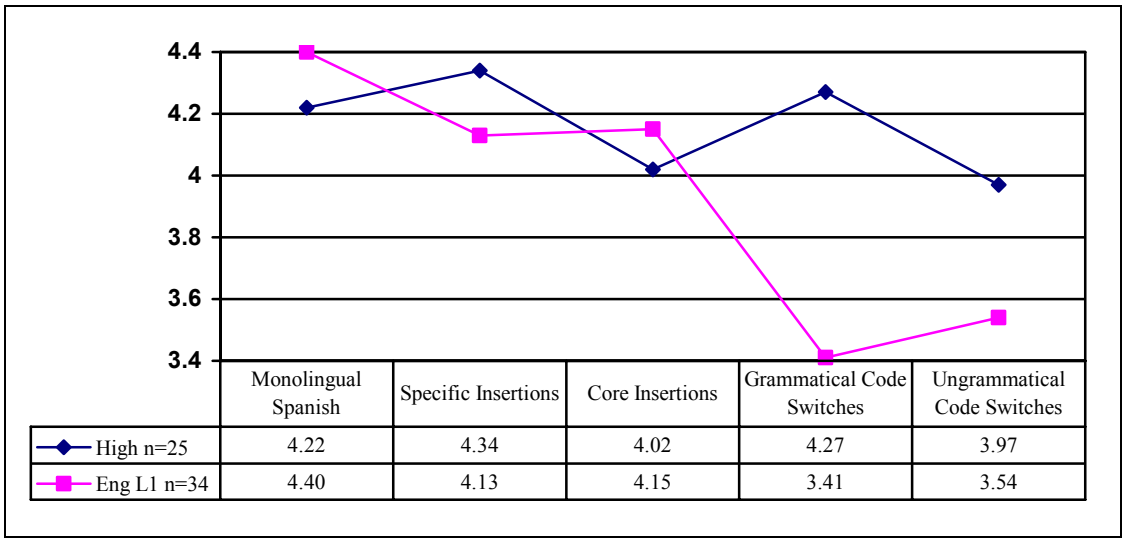


	Monolingual Spanish	Insertions	Code Switches
High n=25	4.22	4.18	4.12
Low n=24	4.40	4.14	3.47

Figure **3.4**: Mean scores by Spanish-language abilities

Statistical analysis determined that the overall attitude of those participants with higher language abilities in Spanish was more positive than those participants with lower abilities ($p=0.0187<0.05$). In addition, the higher language ability group had a statistically more positive attitude towards the code switching guises than did the lower ability group ($p<0.0001$).

Finally, when considering all five guises and the interaction with judges' language abilities, some interesting patterns arise. As illustrated in Figure **3.5** those speakers with low Spanish abilities are unable to make the more subtle distinctions between types of lexical insertions.



	Monolingual Spanish	Specific Insertions	Core Insertions	Grammatical Code Switches	Ungrammatical Code Switches
High n=25	4.22	4.34	4.02	4.27	3.97
Eng L1 n=34	4.40	4.13	4.15	3.41	3.54

Figure **3.5**: Mean scores by Spanish-language abilities across five texts types

Moreover, this low proficiency group viewed the guise with ungrammatical switches more positively than the guise consisting of grammatical switches. In contrast, participants with higher Spanish abilities were able to make more prominent distinctions between types of interlingual influences (lexical insertions vs. code-switching) and were also able to make the more fine-grained distinctions between the core vs. specialized insertions and grammatical vs. ungrammatical alternations. Interestingly, and contrary to predictions, the latter participants evaluated the monolingual guise less favorably than specific insertions and grammatical switches.

3.4 Discussion

The results from this preliminary study have indicated a tendency on the part of Spanish-English bilinguals to differentiate among distinct manifestations of language contact. As hypothesized, these individuals viewed the varieties in question along a

continuum, with single-noun insertions more positively evaluated than code-switching. The extent to which bilinguals made additional and more fine-grained distinctions within these categories was contingent on bilingual proficiency.

The aggregate of subjects evalutated the texts largely in accordance with the hypotheses in question. As was depicted in Figures **3.1** and **3.2**, (i) monolingual Spanish speech elicits the most positive evaluations and bilingual speech the least positive; (ii) lexical insertions are more favorably evaluated than code-switching; (iii) insertion of lexical items for specialized concepts are less marked than insertion of items denoting core nouns; and (iv), grammatically felicitous code-switching elicits more positive evaluations than grammatically infelicitous code-switching. When the participant 'judges' were identified by their reported language proficiency, it was observed that those with a higher degree of bilingual proficiency demonstrate more fine-grained appraisals than their less proficient counterparts, confirming previous work (e.g., Poplack 1981). Among high proficiency judges, referentially specific insertions and felicitous code-switching elicited the most favorable ratings, as witnessed in Figure **3.5**. Interestingly, texts incorporating these contact forms were preferred over monolingual Spanish guises, perhaps reflecting participants' recognition of the inexorable mutual influence of English on Spanish in the United States. However, as shown in Figure **3.3**, participants of Spanish- and English-language heritage demonstrated identical trends in their evaluations, contrary to the predictions.

3.5 Limitations

While its findings are suggestive, this preliminary study suffers from several limitations in terms of its design and materials that must be addressed. The first limitation concerns the on-line visual presentation of the materials. Contact forms such as those at issue are context-bound, practiced by bilinguals for bilinguals, and they emerge in the articulation of discourse. Even bilinguals who regularly produce contact forms in their everyday, face-to-face linguistic interactions may not view them as valid in written documents. It is possible that the impersonal, asynchronous, printed presentation of bilingual texts may have provoked negative responses. A second limitation of the present study is the small number of participants relative to the large number of variables, which did not afford the statistical power necessary for consistently significant results. Finally, a third limitation was found in the lack of independent measure of language proficiency. The main study addresses these limitations, as will be seen in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 4

MAIN STUDY

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The line of inquiry pursued in the preliminary study discussed in Chapter 3 is promising and invites additional attention, thus the main study further examines bilinguals' attitudes towards manifestations of Spanish-English bilingual speech, with notable changes in the hypotheses and the materials, which will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

4.2 Hypotheses

In the preliminary study, reactions towards distinct types of borrowing and code-switching across five different texts were evaluated. The present study is limited to an investigation of reactions towards grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching. Accordingly, the research questions (1) and predictions (2) of the preliminary study have been adjusted:

(1) Research Questions

a. Research Question 1

Are Spanish-English bilinguals sensitive to grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching?

b. Research Question 2

Does said sensitivity coincide with the language proficiency of the bilinguals?

(2) Predictions

a. Prediction 1

A hierarchy of acceptability will obtain among bilinguals, with grammatically felicitous code-switching eliciting more positive evaluations than grammatically infelicitous code-switching.

b. Prediction 2

Differential evaluations will accord with personal linguistic characteristics of the individual judges, with more proficient bilinguals making greater distinctions between the two texts types.

4.3 Materials

Improving on the preliminary study, the present study requires participants to evaluate aurally presented code-switched texts prepared by bilinguals. In addition, further

measures of proficiency and language insecurity are administered**.** These materials are discussed in detail below.

4.3.1 Fairytales

Recall that one limitation of the preliminary study was the presentation of code-switching in written form. In order to improve on this limitation (and to analyze bilinguals' sensitivity to grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching) a set of eight recordings of naturalistic retellings of four fairytales were created. As mentioned in chapter 2, one critique of the matched-guise technique is the propensity to use recordings that have been fabricated so as to control for unwanted variation. Garrett et al. (2003) propose dispensing with this rigor in order to achieve a more authentic speech sample. However, as the purpose of the study is to investigate the reaction to texts that would be deemed unauthentic in bilingual settings (specifically the ungrammatical code-switching), manipulation of these texts was necessitated. Nevertheless, to make both grammatical and ungrammatical texts retain their *genuineness* (recall the discussion in Chapter 2), participants were presented with naturalistic recordings of fairytales as retold by Spanish-English bilinguals. The use of fairytales is well motivated based on promising results from the pilot study, and such recordings have also been used in other speech-evaluation research due to the thematic neutrality of these texts (cf. Romaine 1980, Montrul 2004).

The four fairytales used in the study were: (i) *City Mouse and Country Squirrel/ El ratón de cuidad y la ardilla de campo* (ii) *The Beggar Prince/El príncipe pordiosero,* (iii)

Cinderella/La Cenicienta, and (iv) *Snow White/Blancanieves.* Two versions of each fairytale were created, with each text containing a total of 30 switches between Spanish and English. Of these switches, 10 were intersentential (at the sentence boundary or at the adverbial/sentence boundary). Of greater interest to the present study were the remaining 20 intrasentential switches. One version of each text contained only grammatically felicitous intrasentential switches, while the second version contained only grammatically infelicitous intrasentential switches. This gave a total of eight texts, shown in Table **4.1** and extracted in (3-6). (Full texts appear in Appendix A).

Table **4.1**: Fairytales Used in Study

Text 1 "City Mouse and Country Squirrel"	1a. Grammatical 1b. Ungrammatical
Text 2 "The Beggar Prince"	2a. Grammatical 2b. Ungrammatical
Text 3 "Cinderella"	3a. Grammatical 3b. Ungrammatical
Text 4 "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs"	4a. Grammatical 4b. Ungrammatical

(3) Extract of Text 1

City Mouse and Country Squirrel/El Ratón de la Cuidad y la Ardilla del Campo

a. Grammatical version

The city mouse, upon seeing this offering, made *una cara de desprecio ante la comida que le ofrecía su amigo. Sin consideración ninguna* the city mouse said to the squirrel:—*No comprendo cómo puedes aguantar* the backwardness of this country life.

b. Ungrammatical version

—*Ya que hemos* made such a long trip, I *voy a ofrecerte algo delicioso de comer*…. On an enormous table located in the middle of the room they *encontraron los restos de una cena especial. Al instante,* they were *comiendo excelentes carnes, quesos selectos y sabrosas tartas*.

(4) Extract of Text 2

The Beggar Prince / El Príncipe Pordiosero

a. Grammatical Version

Una mañana, desde el jardín, Graciela vio pasar un magnífico caballero who was mounted on a splendid horse. When Grace told her husband what she had seen, he said that it was probably Prince Philip and it appeared *que la gente del valle lo admiraba mucho. Graciela ya no tenía las comodidades del palacio—ni joyas, ni sirvientas, ni cama.*

b. Ungrammatical version

They lived there in poverty, but very happily, during the *primer año. Una mañana, desde el jardín, Graciela vio* pass by a magnificent knight who was mounted on a splendid horse. When Grace told her husband what she had *visto, ése le dijo que debía de ser el príncipe Felipe y parecía que la gente del valle lo admiraba mucho. Graciela ya no* had the comforts of a *palacio—ni joyas, ni sirvientas, ni cama.*

(5) Extract of Text 3

Cinderella/La Cenicienta

a. Grammatical version

Había una vez una joven muy bella whose mother had died when she was very young. Her father had remarried a widow *que tenía dos hijas. Dentro de poco, él se arrepintió de haberse casado con* such a cruel woman. With all of the suffering, *él también murió, dejando a su hija con la impertinente mujer.*

b. Ungrammatical version

Sus hermanastras no recognized her and they wondered who the young maiden was. *Porque Cenicienta estaba disfrutando tanto del baile ella no* saw what time it was. Suddenly, she *oyó el reloj del Palacio dar las doce. Sin despedirse del príncipe, la* maiden ran from the great hall.

(6) Extract of Text 4

Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs / Blancanieves y los Siete Enanitos

a. Grammatical version

Meanwhile*, en el palacio, la reina* asked the mirror again, who now was the most beautiful in the kingdom. The mirror *respondió: - Sigue siendo Blancanieves, que ahora vive en el bosque rodeada de* seven dwarfs. She couldn't believe her ears. Furious and full of rage, the cruel stepmother *se disfrazó de inocente viejecita y partió hacia* the little house in the woods.

b. Ungrammatical version

She *encontró a Blancanieves en la casa sola mientras los enanitos*

estaban working in the mine…. *Al volver los enanitos a la casa, Blancanieves no* was breathing. They believed that she had *muerto y le construyeron una urna de cristal para que todos los animalitos del bosque pudieran despedirse de ella.*

The order of the texts was manipulated across four surveys, and each participant heard only four of the above texts, two grammatical and two ungrammatical, as seen in **Table 4.2**

Table **4.2**: Order of Texts by Survey

Survey number	Text Order
1	1b, 2b, 3a, 4a
2	2b, 3b, 4a, 1a
3	3b, 4b, 1a, 2a
4	4b, 1b, 2a, 3a

4.3.2 Recordings

Two male and two female Spanish-English bilinguals were chosen to record the fairytales. All of the storytellers spoke a general Mexican variety of Spanish and a general American variety of English, thus broadly controlling for accent and speech variety.

The first storyteller, E, is a 32-year-old Spanish dominant bilingual, who was born in Mexico and moved to the United States when he was 11. He has native-like control of English, with a Mexican-American accent. The second speaker, R, is a 38-year-old

English-dominant bilingual from New Jersey, who has native-like control of Spanish. She is often confused for a native speaker of Spanish. The third storyteller, M, was born in Guanajato, Mexico and is a Spanish dominant bilingual. She began learning English at the age of 12 when her family moved to the United States 8 years ago. Her command of English is also native-like, and her accent is less pronounced than E's. She readily admits to switching between English and Spanish with her family and friends. The final storyteller, S, is a 39-year-old balanced bilingual. His first language is Spanish, but he began learning English at the age of 4. He was born in the United States to first generation Mexican immigrants, and his linguistic abilities in both languages are native. He also claims to have highly developed abilities in switching between Spanish and English, and found the ungrammatical text he read especially displeasing.

Each storyteller was provided with two copies of a given fairytale (one grammatical and the other ungrammatical) for recording. These copies were color coded for language to help the readers distinguish between the two written languages. After having read each version of the story out loud, the readers were given the opportunity to ask any clarifying questions regarding the texts. Each version of the texts was recorded at least twice, and the most natural version was selected for presentation in the study.

Recordings were made on a Marantz PMD670 Professional Solid State Portable Digital Recorder, using a professional microphone. This allowed for the creation of high quality recordings that could be compressed to a relatively small file for storage and access through the internet.

4.3.3 Surveys

4.3.3.1 Matched-guise questionnaire

As discussed, participants were presented with four recordings (see **Table 4.2**). Each recording was presented individually followed by a sixteen-item matched-guise survey (see Appendix B). These items were developed with the aim of uncovering participants' attitudes towards grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching. This survey began with an open-ended question asking the judges to give their first impressions of the storyteller. This was followed by nine additional items, the first asking the judges to conjecture as to where the speaker is from (either the United States or Mexico) and the remaining eight questions soliciting a more direct measure of participants' attitudes towards the storyteller (e.g., "Do you think this person sounds more Spanish or English?", "Is this person easy to understand?", "What kind of job would this person be likely to have?"). The participants then rated the storyteller on personality characteristics using six semantic-differential items (see Osgood et al. 1957) placed on a six-point scale, as sampled in (7). The polarity of the traits was controlled so that half of the favorable traits were presented first and half of them last.

(7) Semantic-Differential Scales

a. On a scale of 1 to 6, rate the individual.

(1) mean – (6) friendly

b. On a scale of 1 to 6, rate the individual.

(1) rich – (6) poor

c. On a scale of 1 to 6, rate the individual.

(1) educated – (6) uneducated

4.3.3.2 Language history questionnaire

A fifty-item questionnaire solicited participants' language history (see Appendix C). Ten items requested participants' demographic information, (e.g., place of birth, length of residence, and family occupational history); which was followed by four questions referencing educational background and language(s) of instruction. Fourteen items focused on frequency of access to language(s) across domains (e.g., leisure and play activities, popular press, and media). The subsequent seven items dealt primarily with language use patterns in the home and community (who speaks what language to whom), and the final fourteen items required participants to self-report proficiency across receptive (listening, reading) and productive (speaking, writing) domains in Spanish and English. The information gathered from this questionnaire was used to classify the participants for statistical analysis.

4.3.3.3 Language attitudes, insecurity and loyalty questionnaire

A second, fifty-four-item questionnaire was created to inform several areas of interest, including direct attitudes (see Pieras-Guasp 2002), and linguistic security (see Appendix D). Although this information is not to be used in the present study, the description is provided here in order to afford a thorough description of the research design. This survey began with an open-ended question that asked the participants to conjecture as to why people would mix Spanish and English, and was followed by eleven items that provide either a positive or negative view of the mixture of Spanish and English, to which the participants were asked to agree or disagree on a six-point Likert scale, as illustrated in (8).

(8) Direct Evaluations of Code-switching

a. In my opinion, the mixing of English and Spanish leads to the loss of Spanish.

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

b. When I mix languages, other people think I am stupid.

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE or N/A

c. Texts written in both Spanish and English reflect the speech of my community better than ones written only in English or Spanish.

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

The next four items asked the judges to explain when and in what contexts they themselves mix languages, as sampled in (9).

(9) When do participants code-switch

I mix languages: (check all that apply)

___ at home

___ at school

___ at work

___ with my spouse/girlfriend/boyfriend

___ at family gatherings

___ not applicable

These were followed by four additional questions on the participants' attitudes towards the learning of Spanish.

In order to determine how comfortable the informants are with both languages, a portion of this survey was dedicated to linguistic security. This survey consisted of 18 statements regarding levels of comfort with Spanish or English in specific settings, with which the judges were asked to agree or disagree on a scale of 1 to 6. Sample items appear in (10).

(10) Items on Linguistic Security

a. I feel comfortable when answering the phone in Spanish.

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

b. I get nervous when I have to talk to my teacher in Spanish.

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

c. In a restaurant, I feel calm and confident when I have to order a meal in English.

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

d. I feel uneasy whenever I speak English.

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

The final section of the survey consisted of seventeen questions concerning participants' levels of identification with Spanish or English (e.g., Spanish is important to my cultural identity). The final item of the questionnaire requested the participants to provide any impressions that they might have had concerning the study.

4.3.3.4 Language proficiency survey

In the preliminary study, participants were asked to self report their level of proficiency in Spanish. The lack of independent measure is a limitation that is improved upon here by utilizing an adaptation of the DELE (*Diploma de Español como Lengua Extranjera*)[12], an exam used to determine the level of proficiency of Spanish language learners. In the first portion of the proficiency exam, participants were asked to read through an article that contained 19 blanks. For each blank they were provided three words or phrases from which they were asked to choose the one that best completed the sentence. A 30-question, multiple-choice, grammar test followed.

4.4 Participants

A total of 274 (211 female, 63 male) participants took part in the study. All participants were required to be over the age of 18, but no additional information

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[12] Diploma of Spanish as a Foreign Language

concerning their age was collected. Participants were recruited from four universities across the United States.

4.5 Procedures

All materials were provided online using ANGEL (A New Global Environment for Learning), a classroom management system used on the campus of The Pennsylvania State University. The system allows instructors and researchers to develop quizzes and surveys to enhance teaching and scientific investigations. Though it is intended primary for use by students currently enrolled in a given course, the system also allows for participants to be culled from the entire campus, as well as permitting participation from the general public.[13]

The system was chosen because it is user-friendly and allows participants to complete materials online, thus avoiding the excessive use of paper surveys. The collection of data is also facilitated by this system, which allows the researcher to export participants' responses directly to Microsoft® Excel, where data can be further manipulated.

To take part in the study, participants were directed to a website where they were presented with additional information on how to complete the study. On this website, they found a link to the ANGEL system. Here they were asked to complete three files (consent form, main survey, and DELE). The surveys were presented in the order shown

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[13] The policy of Pennsylvania State University concerning the use of ANGEL by outside members of the university community has changed since this study was carried out and now participants from other venues are not allowed to take part in such surveys.

in Table **4.3**. Total time for the completion of the entire study took an average of 60 minutes.

Table **4.3**: Order of Presentation of Surveys and Texts

File	**Survey**
File 1	Consent Form
File 2	Language History Questionnaire Fairytales and Matched-guise Direct Attitudes Linguistic Security Self Identification
File 3	DELE

4.6 Chapter summary

As a summary of this chapter, eight Spanish/English code-switching recordings of fairytales were created, together with a battery of questionnaires for the purpose of investigating the subconscious abilities of Spanish-English bilinguals of diverse levels of proficiency to distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching, The questionnaires solicited reactions to four storytellers, as well as information on the language history of the participants, and their levels of linguistic security. These materials were provided to the participants via an on-line course-management system. Spanish

proficiency of the participants was determined by performance on a segment of a standardized exam.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

5.1 Introduction

Having discussed the materials used in the present study, in this chapter I present the statistical analysis of the results from the matched-guise survey. The first analysis will concern the data from all 274 participants, based solely on grammaticality. This requires taking the average of the reactions toward the grammatical texts (1a, 2a, 3a, 4a) and the average of the reactions toward the ungrammatical texts (1b, 2b, 3b, 4b), and analyzing these data. I first present the analysis of the average of all six semantic differential scales, then each scale individually. This is followed by the results of the interaction with proficiency. A matrix used for the analysis of the data is presented in Table **5.1**

Table **5.1**: Matrix Used for Statistical Analysis of All Data Based on Grammaticality of Switches

Subject	Grammatical	Ungrammatical
1		
2		
…		
274		

Because conflating all of the texts into one average may result in the loss of some nuances in the reactions, and because not all subjects saw all eight texts, I also analyze the data taking into consideration other factors that were not part of the predictions, but were nevertheless controlled for in the design. The first concerns the gender of the storyteller. All subjects listened to a male speaker read a grammatical text and another male speaker read an ungrammatical text (MaleG and MaleU, respectively). Likewise each heard a female storyteller read a grammatical text and another female storyteller read an ungrammatical text (FemG and FemU, respectively). The matrix used for this analysis is seen in Table **5.2**

Table **5.2**: Matrix Used for Statistical Analysis of All Data Based on Gender of Speaker

Subject	MaleG	MaleU	FemG	FemU
1				
2				
…				
274				

The final analysis relates to the results from only 134 of the 274 participants. Note that two of the fairytales are familiar to the general public (*Cinderella* and *Snow White*) while the other two (*The Beggar Prince* and *The Country Squirrel and City Mouse*) are more or less unknown. Because subjects were exposed to one of 4 different orderings of the texts, only 2 of the 4 surveys provided an ordering and presentation of the texts which would allow subjects to assess a grammatical and ungrammatical familiar text (FamG and FamU, respectively), as well as a grammatical and ungrammatical unfamiliar text

(UnFamG and UnFamU). Those subjects who were presented this ordering were those who took Surveys 2 and 4, as seen in Table **5.3.**

Table **5.3**: Order of Texts by Survey

Survey number	Text Order
1	1b (UnFamU), 2b (UnFamU), 3a (FamG), 4a (FamG)
2	**2b (UnFamU), 3b (FamU), 4a (FamG), 1a (UnFamG)**
3	3b (FamU), 4b (FamU), 1a (UnFamG), 2a (UnFamG)
4	**4b (FamU), 1b (UnFamU), 2a (UnFamG), 3a (FamG)**

As can be seen, the other text orderings did not yield the requisite pairings, and thus the responses of those who completed these two surveys were excluded from the analysis dealing with familiarity. With this grouping in mind, and assuming that similar guises were being viewed in comparable ways, a matrix was established to allow for the analysis of the data (see Table **5.4**).

Table **5.4**: Matrix Used for Statistical Analysis of Reactions of 134 Participants Based on Familiarity of Text

Subject	**FamG**	**FamU**	**UnFamG**	**UnFamU**
	Cinderella or *Snow White*		*Beggar Prince* or *Country Squirrel*	
1				
2				
…				
134				

The final sections of this chapter will present an interpretation of the data analysis in light of the Research Questions and Predictions; as will be seen, the findings point to bilinguals' abilities to differentiate between grammatical and ungrammatical code-

switching. I will then address the question of whether this discrimination favors grammatical code-switching over ungrammatical code-switching, and whether it is commensurate with the judges' bilingual proficiency.

5.2 Grammaticality

Below I present the information concerning the analysis of all 274 participants' reactions toward grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching. Based on the matrix in Table **5.1**, a 1 x 2 factorial design was created in order to test the effect of grammaticality, and data were subjected to an ANOVA analysis, using a Bonferroni correction to adjust for multiple comparisons.

5.2.1 Results—ANOVA analysis

It is important to recall that it was expected that there would be a main effect obtained for grammaticality across all scales and all subjects; see Research Question 1 and Prediction 1, repeated here as (1) and (2), respectively.

(1) Research Question 1

Are Spanish-English bilinguals sensitive to grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching?

(2) Prediction 1

> A hierarchy of acceptability will obtain among bilinguals, with grammatically felicitous code-switching eliciting more positive evaluations than grammatically infelicitous code-switching.

The overall results of the analysis are presented in Table **5.5**

Table **5.5**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Grammaticality

	Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken	Educated vs. Uneducated	Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Unpleasant vs. Pleasant	Friendly vs. Mean	All six scales
Grammatical CS M[a]	4.05	4.32	3.60	3.70	4.57	4.71	4.16
Ungrammatical CS M[a]	4.16	4.52	3.45	3.68	4.59	4.84	4.23
Grammaticality p-value	0.121	0.003**	0.027**	0.589	0.764	0.009**	0.129

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

5.2.1.1 All six scales

Statistical analysis of all scales showed that the difference in reactions toward grammatical and ungrammatical texts was statistically insignificant ($F(1,273)= 2.32$, $p=0.129$).

5.2.1.2 Individual scales

Because no statistical significance was found with all six scales collapsed, it proved necessary to discern which individual scales provided differential evaluations. The main effects for the individual scales are presented below.

For the individual scale assessing whether the oral production sounded prestigious or not, a main effect was obtained for grammaticality ($F(1,273)=4.922$, $p=0.027$, MSE=187.126). Likewise, Friendly vs. Mean showed a main effect for grammaticality, as did perceptions of levels of education ($F(1,273)=6.875$ and 8.838, respectively, $p=0.009$ and 0.003, MSE=91.325 and 176.777).

Turning to the individual scale Rich vs. Poor, no main effect was obtained for grammaticality ($F(1,272)=0.293$, $p=0.589$). Similarly, on the scale Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken, no main effect for grammaticality was obtained ($F(1,273)=2.451$, $p=0.121$). Finally, on the scale concerned with pleasantness, no main effect was obtained ($F(1,273)=0.090$, $p=0.764$).

5.2.2 Proficiency (DELE) and grammaticality

In order to inform Research Question 2 and Prediction 2 (repeated here as (3) and (4) respectively) analysis of the data was run with proficiency scores from the DELE as a between subjects variable.

(3) Research Question 2

Does sensitivity coincide with the language proficiency of the bilinguals?

(4) Prediction 2

Differential evaluations will accord with personal linguistic characteristics of the individual judges, with more proficient bilinguals making greater distinctions between the two texts types.

The lone scale that showed marginal significance with DELE proficiency as a between subjects variable is the scale Unpleasant vs. Pleasant ($F(1,219)=2.428$, $p=0.091$, $MSE=49.874$). The remaining analyses were determined to be highly insignificant, as seen in Table **5.6.**

Table **5.6**: ANOVA with DELE Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable

		Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken	Educated vs. Uneducated	Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Unpleasant vs. Pleasant	Friendly vs. Mean	All six scales
High Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	4.15	4.50	3.61	3.77	4.78	4.90	4.30
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	4.16	4.67	3.58	3.78	4.87	5.03	4.37
Intermediate Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	3.98	4.30	3.59	3.67	4.47	4.64	4.11
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	4.08	4.47	3.42	3.65	4.54	4.79	4.19
Low Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	4.27	4.21	3.65	3.67	4.51	4.62	4.13
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	4.16	4.49	3.51	3.67	4.36	4.68	4.19
Proficiency x Grammaticality p-value		0.897	0.808	0.821	0.963	0.091*	0.822	0.988

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

5.2.3 Self-report proficiency and grammaticality

Because the proficiency based on the DELE was not particularly revealing, the data were again analyzed based on self-report proficiency. Below I present the result of the

data based on this analysis, which was reported on a scale of 1 to 7, with 7 signifying native proficiency. Responses to the self-report were divided into three levels of proficiency, as follows: High 5 to 7 (n=113), Intermediate 4 (n=111) and Low 1 to 3 (n=50). The overall results of the analysis are presented in Table **5.7**

Table **5.7**: ANOVA with Self-Report Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable

		Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken	Educated vs. Uneducated	Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Unpleasant vs. Pleasant	Friendly vs. Mean	All six scales
High Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	4.02	4.28	3.59	3.67	4.68	4.77	4.17
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	4.17	4.53	3.58	3.75	4.76	4.96	4.31
Intermediate Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	4.03	4.30	3.57	3.66	4.49	4.67	4.12
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	4.07	4.51	3.39	3.71	4.68	4.78	4.18
Low Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	4.19	4.45	3.71	3.87	4.52	4.68	4.24
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	4.05	4.50	3.25	3.42	4.60	4.72	4.15
Proficiency x Grammaticality p-value		0.711	0.547	0.075*	<0.001**	0.401	0.524	0.18

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

5.2.3.1 All six scales

Statistical analysis of all scales showed no interaction effect (self-report proficiency x grammaticality), ($F(2,271)=1.726$, $p=0.180$).

5.2.3.2 Individual scales

Again, because no statistical significance was found with all six scales collapsed, further analyses were run to discern which individual scales provided differential evaluations.

For the individual scale assessing whether the oral production sounded prestigious or not, a marginally significant interaction effect (self-report proficiency x grammaticality) was obtained ($F(2,271)=2.618$, $p=0.075$, MSE=183.579). Similarly, on the individual scale Rich vs. Poor, a highly significant interaction effect (self-report proficiency x grammaticality) was obtained ($F(2,270)=8.199$, $p<0.001$, MSE=90.289).

In analyzing the results from the scale Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken, no interaction effect (self-report proficiency x grammaticality) was obtained, nor was there an interaction effect for perceptions of levels of education ($F(2,271)=0.341$ and 0.604, respectively, $p=0.711$ and 0.547). Likewise, on the scale concerned with pleasantness, no interaction effect was obtained ($F(2,271)=0.917$, $p=0.401$), and finally, Friendly vs. Mean showed no interaction effect ($F(2,273)=0.647$, $p=0.524$).

Therefore, because only two of the scales (Prestige and Social Status) produced interaction effects for proficiency x grammatically, it proved necessary to determine to what extent these two scales work together. The two scales were combined and further analyzed, and an interaction effect was obtained ($F(2,271)=5.316$, $p=0.005$, MSE=106.525). These data are presented in Table **5.8**.

Table **5.8**: ANOVA with Self-Report Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable

		Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Rich + Prestigious
High Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	3.59	3.67	3.64
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	3.58	3.75	3.67
Intermediate Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	3.57	3.66	3.61
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	3.39	3.71	3.55
Low Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	3.71	3.87	3.79
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	3.25	3.42	3.56
Proficiency x Grammaticality p-value		0.075*	<0.001**	0.005**

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

In order to determine what effect levels of proficiency played into this interaction effect, the data from the scales dealing with prestige and social status were further analyzed by splitting the data according to the participant judges' language proficiency. By doing this, it is possible to determine which, if any, proficiency group is distinguishing grammaticality of switches. The results of these analyses are presented in Table **5.9**.

Table **5.9**: ANOVA Split by Self-Report Proficiency

		Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Rich + Prestigious
High Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	3.59	3.67	3.64
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	3.58	3.75	3.67
	Grammaticality p-value	0.938	0.322	0.742
Intermediate Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	3.57	3.66	3.61
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	3.40	3.71	3.55
	Grammaticality p-value	0.123	0.456	0.474
Low Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	3.71	3.87	3.79
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	3.25	3.42	3.34
	Grammaticality p-value	0.003**	<0.001**	<0.001**

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

On the scale concerned with prestige, it was found that the difference in grammaticality was significant for the Low Proficiency group ($F(1,49)=9.440$, $p=0.003$, MSE=27.460), but not for the Intermediate ($F(1,110)=2.421$, $p=0.123$) nor the High group ($F(1,112)=0.006$, $p=0.938$).

Similarly, on the scale Rich vs. Poor, a main effect was found for the Low Proficiency group ($F(1,49)=13.926$, $p<0.001$, MSE=17.813), whereas the Intermediate ($F(1,110)=0.560$, $p=0.456$) and High groups ($F(1,111)=0.988$, $p=0.322$) did not show such an effect.

5.3 Gender

As mentioned above, it was feared that by conflating the eight texts into Grammatical vs. Ungrammatical, some nuances in the reactions might be lost. To address this concern, Data was submitted to an analysis based on the gender of the storyteller. Drawing on the matrix presented in Table **5.2**, a 2 x 2 factorial design was created (Gender: male speaker versus female speaker x Grammaticality: grammatical code-switches versus ungrammatical code-switches) and data were subjected to an ANOVA analysis, using a Bonferroni correction to adjust for multiple comparisons.

5.3.1 Results—ANOVA analysis

The overall results of the analysis are presented in Table **5.10**

Table **5.10**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Grammaticality and Gender

	Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken	Educated vs. Uneducated	Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Unpleasant vs. Pleasant	Friendly vs. Mean	All six scales
MaleGram	4.30	4.40	3.94	3.82	4.67	4.78	4.32
MaleUngram	4.44	4.72	3.86	3.84	4.95	4.99	4.47
FemGram	3.82	4.23	3.28	3.59	4.47	4.64	4.00
FemUngram	3.87	4.32	3.04	3.50	4.49	4.68	3.99
Grammaticality p-value	0.174	0.003**	0.025**	0.436	0.012**	0.011**	0.166
Gender p-value	<0.001**	<0.001**	<0.001**	<0.001**	<0.001**	<0.001**	<0.001**
Grammaticality x Gender p-value	0.502	0.089*	0.233	0.235	0.018**	0.071*	0.046**

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

5.3.1.1 All six scales

Statistical analysis of all scales did not return a main effect for grammaticality ($F(1,272)=1.928$ $p=0.166$). There was however a main effect for gender of speaker ($F(1,272)=104.585$, $p<0.01$, MSE=112.495) and an interaction effect was found for Gender x Grammaticality ($F(2,272)=4.013$, $p=0.046$, MSE=132.489).

5.3.1.2 Individual scales

As with the previous analysis, because no statistical significance was found for grammaticality with all six scales collapsed, it again proved necessary to discern which individual scales provided differential evaluations. The main effects for the individual scales are presented here.

For the individual scale assessing whether the oral production sounded prestigious or not, a main effect was obtained for grammaticality ($F(1,271)=5.057$, $p=0.025$, MSE=372.793) as well as for gender ($F(1,271)=131.993$, $p<0.01$, MSE=300.426). No interaction effect was found ($F(2,271)=1.430$, $p=0.233$).

For perceptions of levels of education, a main effect was obtained for grammaticality ($F(1,270)=8.885$, $p=0.003$, MSE=345.384) and gender ($F(1,270)=27.757$, $p<0.001$, MSE=215.587). A marginally significant interaction effect was also obtained ($F(2,270)=2.907$, $p=0.089$, MSE=340.089).

Likewise, Friendly vs. Mean obtained a main effect for grammaticality ($F(1,271)=6.520$, $p=0.011$, MSE=181.874) and gender ($F(1,271)=19.192$, $p<0.001$,

MSE=196.345). A marginally significant interaction effect was also obtained (F(2,271)=0.288, p=0.071, MSE=153.389)

Similarly, on the scale concerned with pleasantness, a main effect was obtained for grammaticality (F(1,271)=6.441, p=0.012, MSE=266.418) and gender (F(1,271)=31.796, p<0.001, MSE=256.639). An interaction effect was also obtained (F(2,271)=5.664, p=0.018, MSE=209.374).

In analyzing how articulateness interplays with perceptions of texts, no main effect for grammaticality was obtained (F(1,271)=1.858, p=0.174), whereas there was a main effect for gender (F(1,271)=65.226, p<0.001, MSE=75.707) with no interaction effect (F(2,271)=0.453, p=0.502).

Turning to the individual scale Rich vs. Poor, no main effect was obtained for grammaticality (F(1,268)=0.609, p=0.436) and no interaction effect was seen (F(2,268)=1.418, p=0.235). A main effect for gender was obtained (F(1,268)=43.167, p<0.001, MSE=131.559).

5.3.2 Proficiency (DELE) and grammaticality

The results of the analysis of data based on proficiency scores from the DELE as a between subjects variable indicate that no significance on any scale was obtained, as seen in Table **5.11**.

Table **5.11**: ANOVA with DELE as a Between Subjects Variable--Gender

		Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken	Educated vs. Uneducated	Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Unpleasant vs. Pleasant	Friendly vs. Mean	All six scales
High Proficiency	MaleGram	4.47	4.63	3.94	3.93	4.98	5.11	4.518
	MaleUngram	4.45	4.80	3.81	3.86	5.15	5.13	4.53
	FemGram	3.83	4.30	3.30	3.64	4.57	4.70	4.07
	FemUngram	3.87	4.57	3.34	3.73	4.77	4.93	4.20
Intermediate Proficiency	MaleGram	4.18	4.43	3.98	3.81	4.61	4.70	4.29
	MaleUngram	4.39	4.73	3.89	3.83	4.96	4.98	4.47
	FemGram	3.78	4.18	3.20	3.54	4.32	4.58	3.93
	FemUngram	3.76	4.19	2.96	3.46	4.46	4.60	3.90
Low Proficiency	MaleGram	4.52	4.28	3.92	3.77	4.51	4.65	4.28
	MaleUngram	4.55	4.58	4.00	3.75	4.80	4.87	4.43
	FemGram	3.83	4.15	3.40	3.60	4.47	4.57	4.01
	FemUngram	3.97	4.35	3.00	3.52	4.17	4.45	3.91
Proficiency x Grammaticality p-value		0.743	0.286	0.255	0.526	0.906	0.937	0.722

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

5.3.3 Self-report proficiency and grammaticality

Again, because no significant findings were obtained with DELE as a between subjects variable, further analysis was done with self-report proficiency used as a between subjects variable. Below I present the result of this analysis, with the overall results of the analysis presented in Table **5.12**.

Table **5.12**: ANOVA with Self-Report Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable

		Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken	Educated vs. Uneducated	Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Unpleasant vs. Pleasant	Friendly vs. Mean	All six scales	Rich + Prestigious
High Proficiency	MaleGram	4.21	4.32	3.88	3.76	4.81	4.86	4.31	3.83
	MaleUngram	4.40	4.63	3.85	3.81	5.06	5.06	4.47	3.82
	FemGram	3.84	4.21	3.32	3.60	4.55	4.67	4.04	3.45
	FemUngram	3.92	4.43	3.31	3.67	4.71	4.83	4.15	3.49
Intermediate Proficiency	MaleGram	4.31	4.46	3.94	3.78	4.58	4.72	4.29	3.85
	MaleUngram	4.43	4.80	3.96	3.95	4.84	4.92	4.49	3.95
	FemGram	3.75	4.14	3.22	3.53	4.41	4.61	3.94	3.37
	FemUngram	3.70	4.23	2.85	3.47	4.36	4.63	3.87	3.16
Low Proficiency	MaleGram	4.49	4.42	4.08	4.02	4.57	4.74	4.39	4.05
	MaleUngram	4.57	4.74	3.64	3.64	4.96	4.98	4.42	3.64
	FemGram	3.94	4.48	3.34	3.72	4.41	4.62	4.09	3.53
	FemUngram	4.14	4.26	2.86	3.20	4.29	4.46	3.87	3.03
Gender x Proficiency x Grammaticality p-value		0.747	0.487	0.346	0.498	0.347	0.558	0.471	0.246
Proficiency x Grammaticality p-value		0.804	0.533	0.085*	<0.001**	0.757	0.381	0.220	0.007**

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

5.3.3.1 All six scales

An overall interaction effect (gender x grammaticality x proficiency) was not found on the analysis of the conflation of all six scales ($F(2,270)=0.756$, $p=0.471$) nor was an interaction effect obtained for self-report proficiency x grammaticality ($F(2,270)=1.524$, $p=0.220$).

5.3.3.2 Individual scales

Again, because the results on the combination of all six scales were statistically insignificant, analyses were run on the scales individually. An interaction effect of grammaticality x proficiency was obtained for the scale dealing with social status (F(2,266)=8.117, p=0.03, MSE=169.967) and a marginally significant interaction effect was obtained on the scale dealing with prestige (F(2,269)=2.488 , p= 0.085, MSE= 366.023).

The pleasantness scale did not show an interaction effect of self-report proficiency x grammaticality nor did the scale Friendly vs. Mean (F(2,269)=0.279 and 0.585, respectively, p=0.757 and 0.558). Similarly, no interaction effect was obtained for the scale dealing with education (F(2,268)=0.631, p=0.533) nor with the scale dealing with articulateness (F(2,269)=0.218, p=0.804).

The two scales showing significant interaction effect with grammaticality x proficiency (i.e. prestige and social status), also showed a significant interaction effect when combined (F(2,270)=5.074, p=0.007, MSE=210.685).

5.4 Familiarity

In order to uncover any further trends, additional analyses of the data were run, this time taking into consideration familiarity with the fairytales. Based on the matrix in Table **5.4**, a 2 x 2 factorial design was created (Familiarity: unfamiliar versus familiar texts x Grammaticality: grammatical code-switches versus ungrammatical code-switches) and data were subjected to an ANOVA analysis, using a Bonferroni correction to adjust

for multiple comparisons. Recall from the discussion above that the data from only 134 of the participants were used in these analyses.

5.4.1 Results—ANOVA analysis

The overall results are depicted in Table **5.13**.

Table **5.13**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Familiarity

	Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken	Educated vs. Uneducated	Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Unpleasant vs. Pleasant	Friendly vs. Mean	All six scales	Rich + Prestigious
FamG M[a]	4.15	4.43	3.88	3.76	4.63	4.84	4.28	3.82
FamU M[a]	4.20	4.54	3.51	3.59	4.69	4.81	4.22	3.54
UnFamG M[a]	4.14	4.27	3.54	3.64	4.61	4.72	4.15	3.58
UnFamU M[a]	3.90	4.20	3.06	3.53	4.46	4.72	3.98	3.29
Familiarity p-value	0.066*	0.003**	<0.001**	0.112	0.107	0.124	0.001**	<0.001**
Grammaticality p-value	0.389	0.835	<0.001**	0.063*	0.593	0.837	0.091*	0.001**
Interception p-value	0.184	0.321	0.650	0.662	0.262	0.853	0.415	0.893

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

5.4.2 All six scales

Statistical analysis showed that marginal significance was obtained for an overall main effect across all six scales ($F(1,133)=2.893$, $p=0.091$). Interestingly, a main effect was also obtained for familiarity ($F(1,133)=12.5$, $p<0.001$, MSE=50.624); as anticipated,

no interaction effect was found for grammaticality x familiarity ($F(2,133)=0.67$, $p=0.451$).

5.4.3 Individual scales

Because only marginal significance was found with all six scales collapsed, it again proved necessary to discern which individual scales provided differential evaluations. The main effects for the individual scales are presented below.

For the individual scale assessing whether the oral production sounded prestigious or not, main effects were obtained for grammaticality ($F(1,133)=15.788$, $p<0.001$, MSE=204.254) and familiarity ($F(1,133)=25.687$, $p<0.001$, MSE=108.537). Again no interaction effect was obtained ($F(2,133)=0.207$, $p=0.65$).

Turning to the individual scale Rich vs. Poor, a marginally significant main effect was obtained for grammaticality ($F(1,133)=3.502$, $p=0.063$, MSE=102.306). No main effect was obtained for familiarity ($F(1,133)=2.556$, $p=0.112$) and no interaction effect was obtained ($F(1,133)=0.192$, $p=0.662$).

In analyzing how articulateness interplays with perceptions of texts, a marginally significant main effect was obtained for familiarity ($F(1,133)=3.441$, $p=0.066$, MSE=127.209) whereas there was no main effect for grammaticality ($F(1,133)=0.748$, $p=0.389$); again no interaction effect was obtained ($F(1,133)=1.784$, $p=0.184$).

For perceptions of levels of education, a main effect was obtained for familiarity ($F(1,133)=9.008$, $p=0.003$, MSE=127.373), while there was no main effect for

grammaticality ($F(1,133)=0.044$, $p=0.835$) nor interaction effect ($F(1,133) = 0.993$, $p=0.321$).

On the scale concerned with pleasantness, no main effect was obtained for grammaticality nor familiarity ($F(1,133)=.286$ and 2.633 respectively, $p=0.593$ and 0.107) with no interaction effect obtained ($F(2,133)=1.271$, $p=0.262$).

Finally, Friendly vs. Mean showed no main effects for grammaticality or familiarity ($F(1,133)=0.042$ and 2.401, $p=0.837$ and 0.124), and no interaction effect was obtained ($F(1,133)=0.034$, $p=0.853$).

Again, because only two of the scales (Prestige and Social Status) produced main effects for grammatically, it proved necessary to determine to what extent these two scales work together. An analysis of the collapsed data determined that there was a main effect for familiarity ($F(1,133)=19.372$, $p<0.001$, MSE=54.118) and grammaticality ($F(1,133)=10.776$, $p<0.01$, MSE=121.724). No interaction effect was obtained ($F(2,133) = 0.018$, $p=0.893$).

5.4.4 Proficiency (DELE) and grammaticality

Having determined that two scales —Prestige and Social Status— produced main effects for grammatically, these were again analyzed against DELE proficiency as a between subjects variable, in order to inform the question of whether proficiency plays a role in judges' discrimination of grammatical versus ungrammatical code-switches. The overall mean scores are presented in Table **5.14**

Table **5.14**: ANOVA with Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable

		Rich vs. Poor	Prestigious vs. Non- Prestigious	Rich + Prestigious
High proficiency Group	FamG M[a]	3.66	3.66	3.65
	FamU M[a]	3.86	3.93	3.89
	UnFamG M[a]	3.69	3.69	3.68
	UnFamU M[a]	3.79	3.10	3.44
Intermediate Proficiency Group	FamG M[a]	3.83	4.04	3.93
	FamU M[a]	3.49	3.19	3.34
	UnFamG M[a]	3.60	3.44	3.52
	UnFamU M[a]	3.47	3.03	3.25
Low proficiency group	FamG M[a]	3.70	3.73	3.71
	FamU M[a]	3.58	3.82	3.69
	UnFamG M[a]	3.70	3.61	3.65
	UnFamU M[a]	3.42	3.09	3.25
Familiarity x Grammaticality x Proficiency p-value		0.439	0.039**	0.076*
Grammaticality x Proficiency p-value		0.117	0.113	0.102

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

5.4.4.1 Social Status

An overall interaction effect (familiarity x grammaticality x proficiency) was not obtained for the Rich vs. Poor scale ($F(2,131) = 0.829$, p=0.439). Likewise, no interaction effect was obtained for grammaticality x proficiency ($F(2,131)=2.182$, p=0.117).

5.4.4.2 Prestige

On the scale Prestigious Sounding vs. Non-Prestigious Sounding, an overall interaction effect (familiarity x grammaticality x proficiency) was obtained ($F(2,131)=3.334$, $p=0.039$, MSE=223.745). However, no interaction effect was obtained for grammaticality x proficiency ($F(2,131)=2.218$, $p= 0.113$).

5.4.4.3 Prestige + Social Status

When the two scales are collapsed, statistical analysis shows that marginal significance was obtained for an overall interaction effect (familiarity x grammaticality x proficiency), ($F(2,131)=2.634$, $p=0.076$). However, no interaction effect was obtained for grammaticality x proficiency ($F(2,131)=2.322$, $p= 0.102$).

5.4.5 Self-report proficiency and grammaticality

Again, because the findings from the independent proficiency test (DELE) were unexpected, data were also subjected to an analysis against Self-Report Proficiency data. The results are presented in Table **5.15**. Because fewer participant data were used in this analysis as compared to the previous sections, only two divisions of proficiency will be presented, with 1 to 4 being Low Proficiency group (n=83) and 5 to 7 being High (n=51).

Table **5.15**: ANOVA with Self-Report Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable

		Rich vs. Poor	Prestigious vs. Non- Prestigious	Rich + Prestigious
High proficiency Group	FamG M[a]	3.71	3.88	3.79
	FamU M[a]	3.71	3.84	3.77
	UnFamG M[a]	3.61	3.59	3.59
	UnFamU M[a]	3.65	3.31	3.48
Low proficiency group	FamG M[a]	3.80	3.88	3.83
	FamU M[a]	3.52	3.30	3.41
	UnFamG M[a]	3.61	3.51	3.58
	UnFamU M[a]	3.46	2.90	3.18
Familiarity x Grammaticality x Proficiency p-value		0.907	0.657	0.723
Grammaticality x Proficiency p-value		0.095*	0.049**	0.041**

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

5.4.5.1 Social Status

On the scale Rich vs. Poor, no overall interaction effect was obtained (familiarity x grammaticality x self-report proficiency), (F(2,132)=0.014, p=0.907). However, marginal significance was obtained for the interaction of grammaticality x self-report proficiency (F(2,132)=2.827, p=0.095, MSE=100.161).

5.4.5.2 Prestige

No overall interaction (grammaticality x familiarity x self-report proficiency) was obtained for the scale dealing with prestige (F(1,132)=0.198, p=0.657). However, an

interaction was obtained for grammaticality x self-report proficiency ($F(1,132)=3.951$, $p=0.049$, MSE=100.161).

5.4.5.3 Social Status + Prestige

With the two scales combined, an overall interaction effect (grammaticality x familiarity x self-report proficiency) was still not obtained ($F(2,132)=0.126$, $p=0.723$). Nevertheless, an interaction effect was obtained for grammaticality x self-report proficiency ($F(2,132)=4.259$, $p=0.041$, MSE=117.919).

5.5 Summary of data

In the preceding sections the analysis of the data that were collected by means of the matched-guise survey were presented. The participant judges' reactions were first analyzed for sensitivity to grammaticality, which indicated significant trends on three of the six scales, but not on the aggregate. These data were then analyzed with proficiency as determined by results on the DELE as a between subjects variable. The analysis showed only one scale with a marginally significant interaction effect. The data were then analyzed by self-report proficiency as a between subjects variable, and the results indicated that two of the scales showed significant trends. The combination of these two scales indicated a highly significant interaction effect. The data were then split based on self-report proficiency on these two scales and their combination, and it was found that only the low proficiency group was showing the significant trends of differentiation.

Data were then analyzed with the gender of the narrator taken into consideration. There was an overall effect for gender on all scales, and four of the six scales obtained statistical significance; however the combination of all six scales was not significant. Data were again analyzed with DELE as a between subjects variable, and no significant trends were obtained. Self-report proficiency was then taken into consideration as a between subjects variable, and one scale was highly significant, and another was marginally significant. The combination of these two scales also reached statistical significance.

Finally, the data were analyzed taking into consideration fairytale familiarity. The overall analysis indicated that grammaticality of the text was significant (or marginally significant) on two of the six texts, and the combination of these two scales was also significant. The combination of all six scales was marginally significant, and familiarity was significant on the combination of all six scales. An analysis with proficiency based on the DELE as a between subjects variable was then carried out, and it proved significant on one scale. When self-report proficiency was taken into account, the findings showed significance on two scales, and the combination of these two scales.

In the subsequent section I will present the interpretation of these findings.

5.6 Interpretation of results

In the previous sections I provided detailed statistical analyses of the data elicited by indirect measures. In this section I offer an interpretation of those analyses in light of the research questions and predictions. As will be recalled, this study has set out to answer

two research questions, and test related predictions. These are repeated here as (5) and (6):

(5) Research Questions

a. Research Question 1

Are Spanish-English bilinguals sensitive to grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching?

b. Research Question 2

Does said sensitivity coincide with the language proficiency of the bilinguals?

(6) Predictions

a. Prediction 1

A hierarchy of acceptability will obtain among bilinguals, with grammatically felicitous code-switching eliciting more positive evaluations than grammatically infelicitous code-switching.

b. Prediction 2

Differential evaluations will accord with personal linguistic characteristics of the individual judges, with more proficient bilinguals making greater distinctions between the two texts types.

Also recall that these were investigated via indirect measures, and the results of these measures, detailed in these previous sections, will be repeated for ready reference as appropriate.

5.6.1 Differentiation of CS grammaticality

The analysis of the matched-guise survey confirms in some respects that Spanish-English bilinguals do indeed differentiate between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching, thus informing Research Question 1.

An examination of all 274 participants' responses across grammaticality of texts, as presented in Table **5.16**, indicates that on three of the six scales (Educated vs. Uneducated, Friendly vs. Mean, Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious), participants differentiated between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching in statistically significant degrees. Interestingly, even on these three scales, the evaluations show distinct trends in participants' assignation of positive evaluations of the guises. On two of the scales (Educated vs. Uneducated, Friendly vs. Mean) the ungrammatical versions were rated more positively than the grammatical, similar to the evaluations of the Low proficiency group reported in the preliminary study (see Figure **3.5)**. On the other hand, the scale concerned with prestige showed the opposite (predicted) trend: participants' inclination to more positively evaluate the grammatical texts.

Table **5.16**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Grammaticality

	Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken	Educated vs. Uneducated	Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Unpleasant vs. Pleasant	Friendly vs. Mean	All six scales
Grammatical CS M[a]	4.05	4.32	3.60	3.70	4.57	4.71	4.16
Ungrammatical CS M[a]	4.16	4.52	3.45	3.68	4.59	4.84	4.23
Grammaticality p-value	0.121	0.003**	0.027**	0.589	0.764	0.009**	0.129

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

A look at participants' responses to texts across grammaticality and gender of speaker showed a similar trend, as presented in Table **5.17**. As with the evaluation by grammaticality of guise, the same three scales showed differential trends for evaluation by gender. In addition, the scale Unpleasant vs. Pleasant also showed differential evaluations. However, only the Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious scale rated the ungrammatical more positively than the grammatical versions of the fairytales.

Table **5.17**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Grammaticality

	Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken	Educated vs. Uneducated	Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Unpleasant vs. Pleasant	Friendly vs. Mean	All six scales
MaleGram	4.30	4.40	3.94	3.82	4.67	4.78	4.32
MaleUngram	4.44	4.72	3.86	3.84	4.95	4.99	4.47
FemGram	3.82	4.23	3.28	3.59	4.47	4.64	4.00
FemUngram	3.87	4.32	3.04	3.50	4.49	4.68	3.99
Grammaticality p-value	0.174	0.003**	0.025**	0.436	0.012**	0.011**	0.166

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

Data were further evaluated across grammaticality and familiarity.[14] An examination of Table **5.18** reveals that on the aggregate, the reactions of these 134 bilinguals show trends that distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical texts at a marginally significant level. However, when scales were analyzed separately, more significant results were witnessed, on two of the six scales. For example, reactions to the scale Poor vs. Rich indicate that the difference between grammatical and ungrammatical texts approaches statistical significance, and data from the scale Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious indicate that the difference is highly significant. When combined, these two scales also yield differential evaluations that are highly significant with regards to grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching.

[14] By combining the texts based on familiarity MaleFam + FemFam and FemUnfam + MaleUnfam texts were also conflated. In so doing the effect of gender in the evaluation was eliminated.

Table **5.18**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Familiarity

	Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken	Educated vs. Uneducated	Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Unpleasant vs. Pleasant	Friendly vs. Mean	All six scales	Rich + Prestigious
FamG M[a]	4.15	4.43	3.88	3.76	4.63	4.84	4.28	3.82
FamU M[a]	4.20	4.54	3.51	3.59	4.69	4.81	4.22	3.54
UnFamG M[a]	4.14	4.27	3.54	3.64	4.61	4.72	4.15	3.58
UnFamU M[a]	3.90	4.20	3.06	3.53	4.46	4.72	3.98	3.29
Familiarity p-value	0.066*	0.003**	<0.001**	0.112	0.107	0.124	0.001**	<0.001**
Grammaticality p-value	0.389	0.835	<0.001**	0.063*	0.593	0.837	0.091*	0.001**
Interception p-value	0.184	0.321	0.650	0.662	0.262	0.853	0.415	0.893

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

Therefore, the findings from these data confirm in part that subjects are discerning the difference between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching, informing Research Question 1.

5.6.2 Acceptability hierarchy

The analysis provides further evidence in confirmation of Prediction 1 (6a), that a hierarchy of acceptability would be witnessed, with grammatically felicitous code-switching eliciting more positive evaluations than grammatically infelicitous code-switching. It is interesting to note from the above discussion that only one of the scales (Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious) was significant across all evaluations, and it was this same scale that showed the trend that was expected in the Prediction 1. Likewise, when data from the analysis of the data based on text familiarity (see Table **5.18**) are conflated

across grammaticality, those scales that were shown to be significant in participants' evaluation showed the predicted trend; these new data are presented in Table **5.19**. As can be seen from this table, on the aggregate, participants tended to rate the grammatically felicitous code-switching higher than the grammatically infelicitous code-switches. Analysis across measures indicates that this distinction also holds across the two scales that were previously determined by statistical analysis to be significant in producing a distinction in evaluation of the narrators in question (Poor vs. Rich and Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious).

Table **5.19**: Average scores by Grammatical vs. Ungrammatical for the Familiar vs. Unfamiliar texts

	All six scales	Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Rich + Prestigious
Grammatical Texts M[a]	4.22	3.71	3.70	3.70
Ungrammatical Texts M[a]	4.10	3.29	3.56	3.43
Mean difference	0.12	0.42	0.14	0.28
Grammaticality p-value	0.091*	<0.001**	0.063*	0.001**

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

However, analysis of the reactions of all 274 participants showed conflicting results. Again, the scale concerned with prestige showed the predicted trends; however, the other two scales that showed significant differences based on grammaticality presented a trend that was contrary to Prediction 1 in that the ungrammatical text was viewed more positively. The summary of these data are presented in Table **5.20**. On the aggregate, a similar trend is witnessed, but the trend is statistically insignificant.

Table **5.20**: Overall Means Score Across Scales for Grammaticality for all 274 participants

	All six scales	Educated vs. Uneducated	Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Friendly vs. Mean
Grammatical CS M[a]	4.16	4.32	3.60	4.71
Ungrammatical CS M[a]	4.23	4.52	3.45	4.84
Grammaticality p-value	0.129	0.003**	0.027**	0.009**

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

Thus, taking into consideration the data presented, support is found for Research Question 1 (5a), and the associated Prediction 1 (6a) is supported in part: participants, on the aggregate, tend to distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching, and this distinction is witnessed in a more positive evaluation of the speakers who used grammatical code-switching on some of the scales. Potential reasons for conflicting results will be presented in Chapter 7.

5.6.3 Proficiency—DELE

Turning to Research Question 2 (5b) and Prediction 2 (6b), it was anticipated that proficiency would play a role in participant judges' ability to more accurately distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switches. It is apparent by looking at Table **5.21** that grammaticality in conjunction with proficiency, as determined by the use of the independent measure of proficiency —the DELE (*Diploma de Español como*

Lengua Extranjera)—did not support the prediction.[15] Because the results based on the DELE failed to produce the anticipated outcome, data were reanalyzed based on self-report proficiency (which results are presented below in Table **5.22).**

Table **5.21**: ANOVA with DELE-Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable

		Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken	Educated vs. Uneducated	Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Unpleasant vs. Pleasant	Friendly vs. Mean	All six scales
High Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	4.15	4.50	3.61	3.77	4.78	4.90	4.30
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	4.16	4.67	3.58	3.78	4.87	5.03	4.37
Intermediate Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	3.98	4.30	3.59	3.67	4.47	4.64	4.11
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	4.08	4.47	3.42	3.65	4.54	4.79	4.19
Low Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	4.27	4.21	3.65	3.67	4.51	4.62	4.13
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	4.16	4.49	3.51	3.67	4.36	4.68	4.19
Proficiency x Grammaticality p-value		0.897	0.808	0.821	0.963	0.091*	0.822	0.988

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

5.6.4 Proficiency—self-report

The findings from the reanalysis of the data based on self-report proficiency (see Appendix C) indicate that grammaticality along with this measure of proficiency plays a statistically significant role in the distinction that bilinguals made between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switches, thus affirming that proficiency does in fact influence the way in which code-switching texts are perceived (see Research Question 2 in 5b).

[15] From these findings we see that the DELE seems to be insufficiently sensitive for the purposes of this study. The limitations of the DELE will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

Specifically, as can be noted in Table **5.22**, it was found that for the analysis of the 134 participants who entered into the evaluation of text familiarity, self-report proficiency significantly interacted with the Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious scale. It also played a marginally significant role in the evaluations on the scale Rich vs. Poor, as well as a significant role when the two scales are combined.

Table **5.22**: ANOVA with Self-Report Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable—Familiarity

		Rich vs. Poor	Prestigious vs. Non- Prestigious	Rich + Prestigious
High proficiency Group	FamG M[a]	3.71	3.88	3.79
	FamU M[a]	3.71	3.84	3.77
	UnFamG M[a]	3.61	3.59	3.59
	UnFamU M[a]	3.65	3.31	3.48
Low proficiency group	FamG M[a]	3.80	3.88	3.83
	FamU M[a]	3.52	3.30	3.41
	UnFamG M[a]	3.61	3.51	3.58
	UnFamU M[a]	3.46	2.90	3.18
Familiarity x Grammaticality x Proficiency p-value		0.907	0.657	0.723
Grammaticality x Proficiency p-value		0.095*	0.049**	0.041**

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

This same trend is also seen when data from all 274 participants are taken into consideration. As can be seen from an evaluation of Table **5.23**, on the Rich vs. Poor scale, a highly significant interaction effect was obtained, and a marginally significant interaction effect was obtained for the scale Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious.

Table **5.23**: ANOVA with Self-Report Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable—All Subjects

		Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich
High Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	3.59	3.67
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	3.58	3.75
Intermediate Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	3.57	3.66
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	3.39	3.71
Low Proficiency	Grammatical CS M[a]	3.71	3.87
	Ungrammatical CS M[a]	3.25	3.42
Proficiency x Grammaticality p-value		0.075*	<0.001**

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

An identical trend can be seen when dividing the texts by gender of narrator. The data presented in Table **5.24** indicates that on the Rich vs. Poor scale, a highly significant interaction effect was obtained, and a marginally significant interaction effect was obtained for Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious.

Table **5.24**: ANOVA with Self-Report Proficiency as a Between Subjects Variable—Gender

		Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious	Poor vs. Rich	Rich + Prestigious
High Proficiency	MaleGram	3.88	3.76	3.83
	MaleUngram	3.85	3.81	3.82
	FemGram	3.32	3.60	3.45
	FemUngram	3.31	3.67	3.49
Intermediate Proficiency	MaleGram	3.94	3.78	3.85
	MaleUngram	3.96	3.95	3.95
	FemGram	3.22	3.53	3.37
	FemUngram	2.85	3.47	3.16
Low Proficiency	MaleGram	4.08	4.02	4.05
	MaleUngram	3.64	3.64	3.64
	FemGram	3.34	3.72	3.53
	FemUngram	2.86	3.20	3.03
Gender x Proficiency x Grammaticality p-value		0.346	0.498	0.246
Proficiency x Grammaticality p-value		0.085*	<0.001**	0.007**

Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

As proposed in Prediction 2, it was anticipated that those participants with higher proficiencies would make more marked distinctions between the grammatical and ungrammatical texts. Surprisingly, however, it was the lower proficiency group whose evaluations of the texts showed greater differentiation. In fact, returning to the results presented in Table **5.22**, we see that the higher bilingual proficiency group in many cases failed to distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical texts. Contrary to the findings from the grammaticality judgment task reported in Toribio (2001b), while both proficiency groups evaluated the grammatical code-switching texts positively (and with minimal distinctions between the two proficiency groups), the more proficient group

continued to judge the ungrammatical texts favorably, while the lower proficiency group downgraded said texts. Thus the findings indicate that while self-report proficiency does indeed play a role in the distinction between the two texts, the predicted outcome is contrary to expectations. In Chapter 7 I present a possible explanation for this finding.

5.7 Chapter summary

In this chapter the data concerning the responses to the matched-guise survey have been presented and discussed. Ample evidence has been found to confirm that Spanish-English bilinguals do differentiate between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching as presented in recorded versions of fairytales. The findings also point to grammatical code-switching as being more positively viewed than the ungrammatical switches. Evidence has also been presented to support the prediction that the proficiency of the participants would influence their ability to distinguish between the two text types; however, the findings contradict the prediction that the more proficient bilinguals would be better able to distinguish between the two texts. In the following chapter I will discuss the preliminary findings of the data from other attitudinal measures that go beyond the matched-guise survey in conjunction with the evaluations of one storyteller in particular.

CHAPTER 6

REACTIONS TO ONE FEMALE STORYTELLER

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present some preliminary findings from additional measures that reference the reactions that participants' displayed toward R, a female, English-dominant bilingual born in the United States, who read the fairytale *La ardilla del campo y el ratón de la ciudad/The country squirrel and the city mouse.*

As will be recalled from the discussion of the materials in Chapter 4, participants were asked to listen to four fairytale narratives, and then offer their first impressions of the narrator. After providing their first impressions, participants were asked closed-ended questions regarding further reactions to the speaker. In what follows I will present sample responses to the open-ended items, followed by a summary of the trends regarding closed-ended items. 139 participants were presented with the grammatical version of the fairytale, and 135 listened to the ungrammatical version.

6.2 First impressions

After Spanish-English bilinguals listened to the story told by R, they were invited to offer their first impression of the narrator; ample space was allotted for participants to

type as much (or as little) as they wished. These comments ranged from very minimal (1a) to more extensive (1b).

(1) Examples of first impressions of storyteller

a. "Slower at English" (l1221)

b. "She spoke a lot slower than the first text which makes me believe that English is definitely her first language. She did not annunciate very clearly and just read through her words. However she did have a story telling tone to her which lead me to believe that she may possibly be a school teacher." (n0703)

Responses were scrutinized for mention of categories found throughout participants' responses: Spanish versus English dominant, Limited English proficiency, Bilingual, Reference to grammatical knowledge, Reference to code-switching (Good at code-switching, Confusing because of code-switching, Code-switching as a deficit, Code-switching as an aid to understanding, Weird switch points), Reference to storyteller's pronunciation, Age, Rate of speech, Ease in understanding, and Storytelling abilities.

The most interesting trend is found in the references to code-switching itself. When the storyteller used ungrammatical code-switching, participants made a total of 31 references to the language alternation versus only 11 such references when she used grammatical code-switching. Of those 11 comments, 9 positively referenced her abilities to switch fluently between the languages, as in (2).

(2) Positive reference to code-switching in grammatical text

"Woman who speaks both languages very well and is able to switch back and forth between the two languages and accents well." (m0429)

Concerning the 31 references toward code-switching in conjunction with the ungrammatical text, 8 of those referenced code-switching as a deficit, as illustrated in the comment in (3).

(3) Reference to code-switching as a deficit in the ungrammatical text

"This person was very unfeeling in her performance. She sounded like a badly trained English speaking person who didn't know Spanish well enough to tell the story all in Spanish." (e0203)

Another 11 references indicated that some confusion was created due to the ungrammatical switches. Two such references are presented in (4).

(4) Reference to code-switching as cause of confusion with the ungrammatical text

a. "i thought it was really confusing to understand the story with both english and spanish spoken. i think it is harder to understand spanish native speakers because they speak so quickly and their accent is hard to understand." (n0210)

b. "I'm confused. Why is there a little bit of Spanish and then followed by English and then Spanish again? I can't focus." (n1228)

Another 7 non-specific references were made dealing with the mere presence of (ungrammatical) code-switching, as reported in (5).

(5) General reference to code-switching in the ungrammatical text

"The person is combining both languages together: English and Spanish. This person is friendly."(e0730)

Of the remaining 4 comments, 3 referenced code-switching abilities of the speaker, as witnessed in (6a) and the last one saw code-switching as instrumental in aiding in communication, as illustrated in (6b)

(6) Positive reference to 'good' code-switching in ungrammatical text

a. "They seem to be a native English speaker. However they transition very well from English to Spanish and vice versa" (823)

b. "I think this person is fluent in Spanish but assumes that the listener is not and breaks her speech often." (l1116)

Another noteworthy trend came in the frequency of references to the rate of the narration. Of the 37 references, 22 were in conjunction with the ungrammatical text, where the participants felt that the story was too slow, as exemplified in (7).

(7) Reference to rate of narration of ungrammatical text

"She speaks very slowly... and it's very boring because she speaks so slow. There is no enthusiasm in her voice..." (k0926)

Of the 15 references to rate of the narration in the grammatical text, 2 of these referenced the quickness with which the storyteller told the story, as illustrated in (8).

(8) Reference to rate of narration of grammatical text

"The person spoke too quickly. Her voice also seemed very loud. I did not enjoy hearing her narrate this story." (n511)

Participants also made reference to the entertainment value of the story. Of those who heard the ungrammatical text, 20 commented that it was boring, as compared to only 9 in reference to the grammatical text. An example of this is presented in (9).

(9) Reference to boredom with ungrammatical text

"She seemed kind of dull...she did not show any emotion or change in prosodic features while telling the story." (k1218)

Participants also tended to comment on the narrators' grammatical knowledge (of English and Spanish) in evaluating the ungrammatical fairytale, where they made 11 such references, as apposed to only 2 in reference to the grammatical version. Two such comments are provided in (10).

(10) Reference to grammatical knowledge with ungrammatical text

a. "She is a young Spanish student still learning English. She speaks Spanish fluently but her English is still shaky."(a0702)

b. "again not very emotioal [*sic*] a bit boring and mediocre Spanish" (L0523)

Another trend emerged in reference to the ease with which the storyteller was understood. In this case, there were more references to the grammatical text. Eight participants commented on how easily the storyteller was understood in reference to the

grammatical version, as witnessed in (11a). With regards to the ungrammatical text, 3 participants felt that it was easy to understand (11b), whereas 2 commented that it was difficult to process (10c).

(11) Ease with which code-switched texts were understood

a. Grammatical Text: “She speaks slowly for a fluent spanish speaking person. I find her easy to understand but also boring at the same time. She doesn’t show much enthusiasm when she speaks.” (L0202)

b. Ungrammatical Text: “Very proficient and fluent in English and Spanish. Made a few pronunciation errors but still easily understood.” (L0510)

c. Ungrammatical Text: “Fair speaker; dragged some words out longer than they should have been spoken and mumbled others. It took somewhat of an effort to adjust to listening to the speaker without any difficulty. Speaking skills have much room for improvment moreso in spanish than in english.” (e0906)

Finally, one last notable trend came in reference to the narrators’ pronunciation. Though not as prominent as the other trends, participants referenced the pronunciation in the speaker’s narration of the grammatical text more often than her narration of the ungrammatical version, 34 to 26. An example is cited in (12).

(12) Reference to pronunciation in grammatical text

“Slow speaking. Has somewhat of a good spanish accent but probably english as a first language.” (n0615)

To summarize this section, the findings indicate that when speakers listened to a story narrated in ungrammatical code-switching, the language alternations are more salient than with the narration of a grammatical code-switching text, which points to the fact that these participants are indeed sensitive to the grammaticality of the switches. Likewise, the heightened reference to grammar in the ungrammatical texts also points to the salience of the switch points.

The prevalence of reference to pronunciation in conjunction with the grammatical text suggests a lack of salience that these grammatical switches generate. Because the grammatical switches do not call as much attention to the grammar, participants are more able to attend to other linguistic features, in this case pronunciation. The fact that the participants did not reference pronunciation as frequently when listening to the ungrammatical text points to the increased attention being paid to the more obtrusive and noticeable ungrammatical switches. Also of interest is the fact that the grammatical text was more easily understood and perceived as less boring.

Future analysis will include a comparison of all the speakers to further the findings. Likewise, all of these findings will be investigated for effect of participant judges' proficiency to uncover whether the more proficient bilinguals were making more astute evaluations of the code-switched guises.

In what follows I continue with the evaluation of speaker R on subsequent measures.

6.3 Closed-response items

After providing their first impressions, participants were asked to conjecture as to the narrator's country of origin—United States or Mexico. While participants were asked to choose one or the other, some selected both.

Recall that speaker R is from the United States. Of those who listened to her narration of the grammatical code-switching text, 26 felt that she was from Mexico, while 3 thought that she was from both Mexico and the United States. Of those who listened to the ungrammatical version, 42 gathered that she was from Mexico, and an additional 7 believed that she was from both Mexico and the United States. This distinction was statistically significant ($t(272)=1.99$, $p=0.047$).

The subsequent question asked the participants to agree or disagree on a six-point scale with the statement "I think this person is a lot like me." A lower mean score would indicate greater identification with this person. On average, those who heard the grammatical texts showed greater identification with the speaker than those who heard the ungrammatical version (3.65 as compared to 3.97), a distinction which was also statistically significant, $t(272)=2.52$, $p=0.012$. This is illustrated in Figure **6.1.**

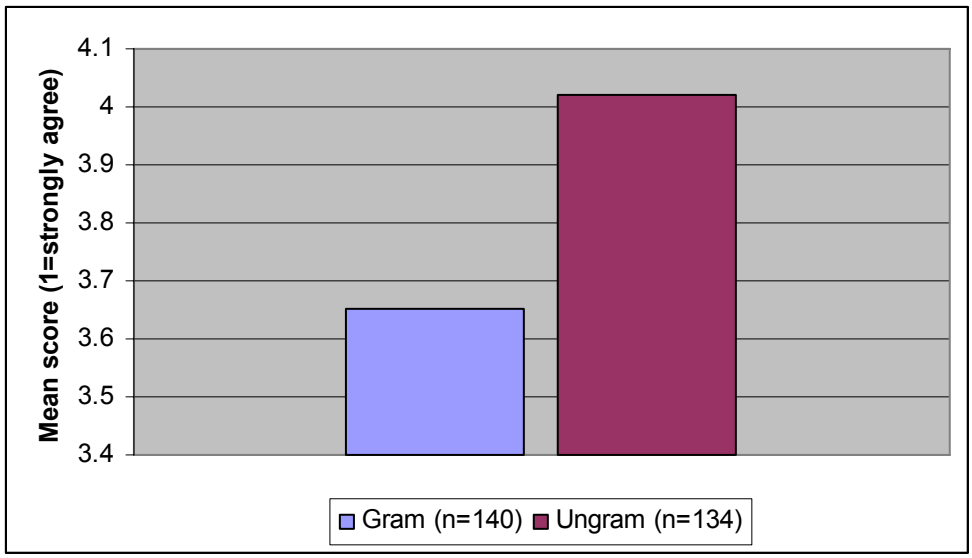

Figure **6.1**: Response to statement 'I think this person is a lot like me'

Participants were then asked if they would like to get to know this person. No differential trends were witnessed (grammatical M=1.23 and ungrammatical M=1.29, t(269)=1.00, p=0.315, where 1=yes). Likewise subjects were asked if they would like to work with this person, with similar results; no differentiation was made between the two texts (grammatical M=1.21 and ungrammatical M=1.20, t(270)=0.123, p=0.902, where 1=yes).

The next question asked participants to indicate if they felt that the narrator expressed herself well. Here we see a difference in evaluations, with those who listened to the ungrammatical version being more likely to say 'no' than those who heard the grammatical version (1.41 vs. 1.21, where 1=yes), a difference which was highly significant, t(268)=3.613 , p<0.001. This trend in depicted in Figure **6.2.**

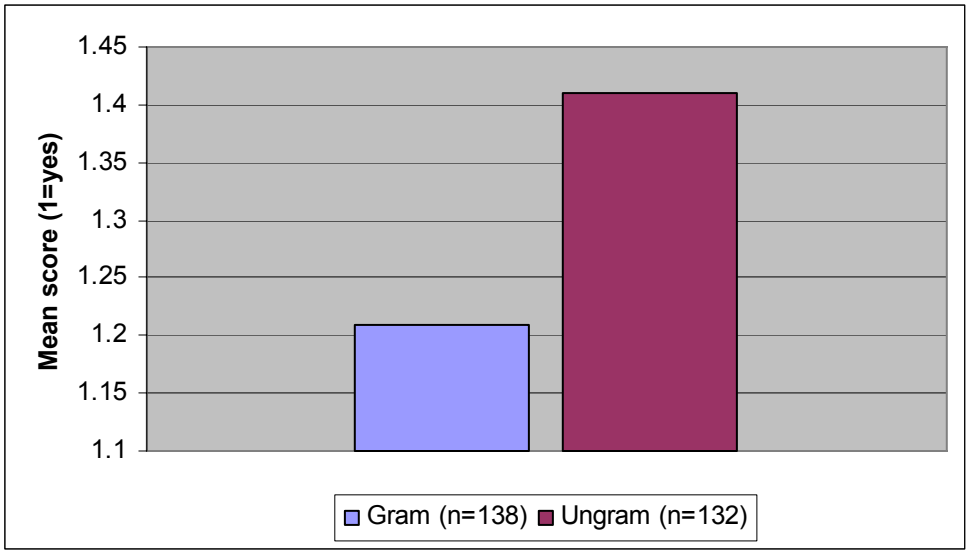

Figure **6.2**: Response to 'Do you think that this person expresses herself well?'

Next, the participants were asked if the speaker was easy to understand. The participants tended to say that the grammatical version was more easily understood than the ungrammatical version (1.05 vs. 1.14, 1=easily understood) as illustrated in Figure **6.3**; this difference was also statistically significant, $t(272)=2.365$, $p=0.019$.

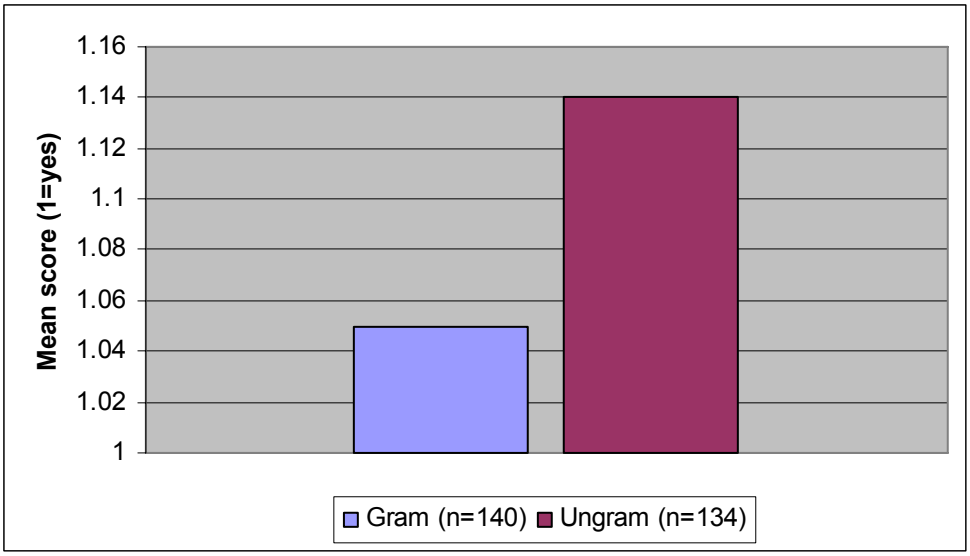

Figure **6.3**: Response to 'Is this person easy to understand?'

The last two questions related to whether the narrator sounded more Spanish-like or English-like and whether she normally spoke more Spanish or English. On the first question, participants reported that the grammatical text sounded more English-like than the ungrammatical (1.78 vs. 1.55, 1=sounds more Spanish), which was highly significant, $t(269)=4.05$, $p<0.001$. This trend is illustrated in Figure **6.4.**

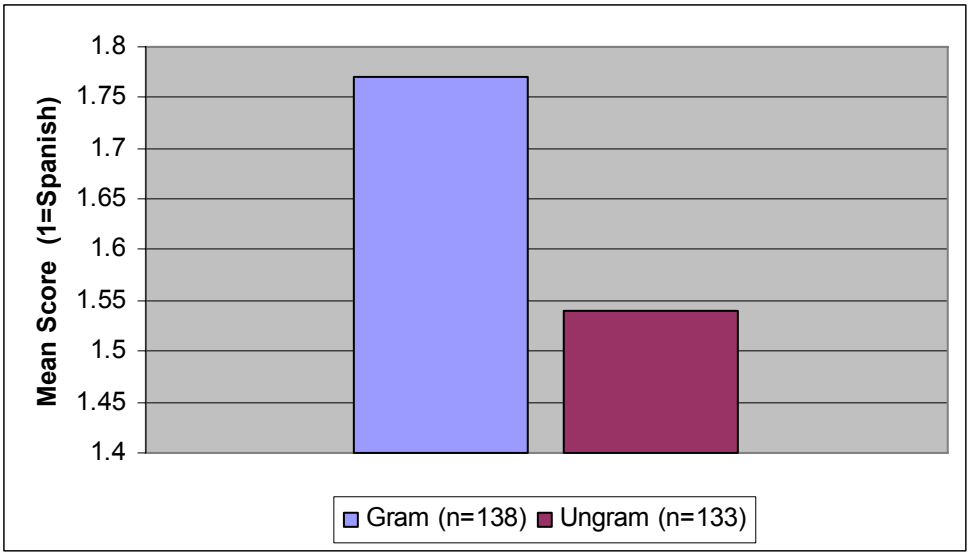

Figure **6.4**: Response to 'Do you think this person sounds more Spanish or English?'

On the ensuing question, the same trend was seen; participants felt that the speaker of the grammatical version spoke more English than did those who heard the ungrammatical version (1.77 vs. 1.61, 1=speaks more Spanish), as depicted in Figure **6.5**, which difference was again highly significant, $t(270)=2.856$, $p<0.001$.

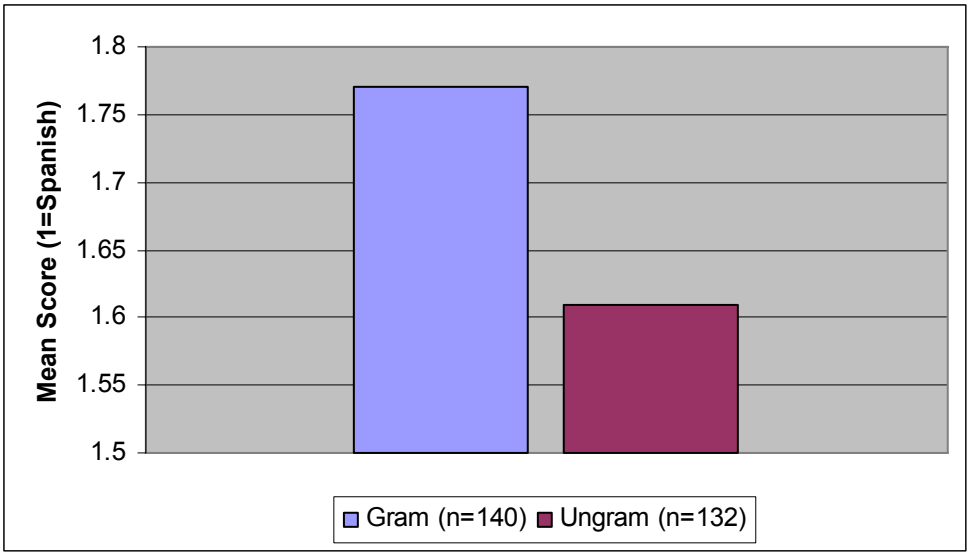

Figure **6.5**: Response to 'Do you think this person speaks more English or Spanish?'

In summary, the answers to the closed-ended questions point to the same trend as was seen with participant judges' first impressions. Participants react differently to the same storyteller depending on the type of code-switching employed in the narration. The speaker sounds more Spanish-like, is perceived to speak more Spanish and express herself less proficiently in conjunction with the ungrammatical version of the fairytale. Similarly, participants tend to relate better with the storyteller and understand her better when her narration comprises grammatical switches.

6.4 Chapter summary

In summary, the findings from this preliminary observation of the data associated with one of the female storytellers suggest the ability of Spanish-English bilinguals to differentiate between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching. Their first

impressions of the narrator reference a range of linguistic properties, from language proficiency to intelligibility. Participants felt that the storyteller was more boring, and spoke slower in the ungrammatical version. Likewise, they focused on her pronunciation more in the grammatical text, as opposed to more comments referencing code-switching proper in the ungrammatical version. These findings points toward the greater salience of the switches in the ungrammatical version.

The participants' responses to the closed-ended items point to these same trends in differentiating between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching. They tended to identify more with the speaker when she narrated the story with grammatical language alternations, and felt that she was at once more articulate and more easily understood. They indicated that the ungrammatical version made the speaker sound more Spanish-like and felt that this was indicative of her being more Spanish-dominant, which points to the fact that this form is often considered to be interference from one language to another, or a simple interlanguage.

In future studies the responses of the participants to the more direct questionnaires used in the present study (see Appendix D) will be analyzed. Of special interest are the answers to the question 'Why do you think these speakers mixed Spanish and English?', which will again shed light on the attitudes of these Spanish-English bilinguals toward code-switching and those who engage in this practice of alternating between two languages.

In the following chapter I will discuss in detail the implications of the findings from Chapters 5 and 6.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS, LIMITATIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

7.1 Introduction

Taking into account the findings from Chapters 5 and 6, in this chapter I will discuss the interpretations of the results, focusing on three factors that intervened in the evaluation of grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching: identity, text familiarity, and finally, the gender of the code-switchers. I will then discuss the overall implications of the findings from this research, and offer some broader contributions to other fields of study beyond sociolinguistics, e.g. social psychology. I will also discuss the potential benefits of using bilingual texts such as those designed for the present study to draw awareness to the nature of Spanish-English code-switching. The chapter will conclude by addressing the limitations of this study, and proposing directions for future research.

7.2 Implications

7.2.1 Identity

Recall from Chapter 5 that the more proficient bilinguals assessed the grammatical and ungrammatical texts equally favorably on several scales. One possible interpretation

of this unanticipated result is that the higher proficiency group evaluated the very act of code-switching positively. In other words, these bilinguals may have viewed the texts not as grammatical vs. ungrammatical, but in terms of identification with the bilingual code-switched speech forms. Because of their greater linguistic abilities, this higher proficiency group may have had more exposure to code-switching either as participants or observers in a bilingual setting, or with more explicit instruction on language varieties (i.e. in courses in bilingualism) in the university setting. Indeed, twelve participants (of the 274) reported Spanish as their first language, and ten of these indicated that they had spent an extended amount of time in the United States, and thus may be code-switchers themselves. Such factors could underlie participants' affinity toward the bilingual texts. Indeed, identity may well have superseded any desire to downgrade the texts based on grammaticality.

Prior research confirms the role that identity plays in the evaluation of linguistic varieties. Many of the early studies that made use of the matched-guise technique (e.g. Ryan and Caranza 1975) found that those who self-identified with a particular speech community would rate ingroup members higher on traits of solidarity, regardless of relative prestige of the language variety being evaluated. For example, de la Zerda and Hopper (1975) find that self-identification as 'Chicano' correlated with a more positive evaluation of code-switching. It is therefore not surprising to find that those participants who more closely identified with code-switching rated the ungrammatical code-switches higher than those who failed to show such an identity. Furthering this argument, it would be possible that as language proficiency increases so too would identification with the

Spanish speaking community. It should not be unexpected to find that the participants from the higher proficiency group would indicate a higher level of identity with code-switching through a more positive evaluation of narrators of bilingual texts, regardless of the type of switching shown; this is the finding of this study.

For the above reasons, the higher proficiency bilinguals in the present study may have shown no differential attitudes towards the two text-types due to a higher level of identification with the code-switching community. In order to corroborate or refute this hypothesis, I examined the results from two items from the survey on direct evaluations of code-switching (Appendix D): "The mixture of English and Spanish reflects who I am" and "Texts written in both Spanish and English reflect the speech of my community better than ones written only in English or Spanish". Recall that subjects were asked to agree or disagree with such statements on a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 indicating a higher identification with the statement. Definite trends show that this is indeed a plausible explanation for why the higher proficiency group failed to distinguish between the grammatical and ungrammatical switches. As seen by the mean averages presented in Table **7.1**, the higher proficiency group more closely identifies with the code-switching community than does the lower group.

Table **7.1**: Mean scores on statements on identity split by self-report proficiency

	Low-Proficiency Group M[a]	High-Proficiency Group M[a]	p-value
The mixture of English and Spanish reflects who I am	4.58	3.94	0.022**
Texts written in both Spanish and English reflect the speech of my community	4.76	4.27	0.08*

[a] Maximum score possible = 6.00
* Marginally Significant
** Highly Significant

The analysis of these responses indicates that indeed identity is a distinguishing factor for the two groups in question. As can be seen from Table **7.1**, the responses to the statement "The mixture of English and Spanish reflects who I am", is highly significant ($t(157)=2.32$, $p=0.022$). This is telling, since this statement is the most closely linked to self identity. The second statement, which concerns code-switching in the community, would be less likely to influence participants' reactions because many (if not most) do not reside in bilingual communities. In fact, statistical analysis confirms that this trend is insignificant ($t(161)=1.76$, $p=0.08$).

7.2.2 Familiarity

Another finding of interest concerns subjects' familiarity with the fairytales presented for evaluation. Although it was not hypothesized that familiarity would influence bilinguals' reactions toward the texts, it nevertheless appears that familiarity affects the way texts are perceived. As was seen in Table **5.16,** familiarity was highly

significant when all six scales were analyzed. In other words, participants' familiarity with the texts affected the way in which they perceived the narrators. Not surprisingly, narrators of familiar texts were viewed more positively than narrators of unfamiliar texts, irrespective of the type of code-switching they manifested in their narrative. Analysis of the individual scales confirmed the tendency to more positively evaluate the familiar texts. Of the six individual scales, two (Educated vs. Uneducated, Prestigious vs. Non-prestigious) showed statistically significant trends to differentiate between familiar and unfamiliar texts, and a third (Well Spoken vs. Not Well Spoken) approached statistical significance. Interestingly, when participants heard familiar texts, the differences in evaluations between grammatical and ungrammatical texts were essentially non-existent. In contrast, participants tended to distinguish grammaticality when evaluating unfamiliar texts.

Familiarity may play a vital role in the evaluation of the texts due to the attention required to glean meaning from the familiar versus less familiar tales. Because subjects were previously aware of the storyline of the familiar texts, it was not necessary to attend to the fairytale in order to gain a basic understanding of the plot. Thus, participants would fail to focus their attention on the grammar of the text; evaluations would be similar regardless of the switch points used in narrating the familiar fairytales. Conversely, unfamiliar texts would require the subjects to listen more intently in order to gain understanding. By paying more attention to the tale, the participants would also perceive differences in the grammaticality of the switches.

The contention that topic familiarity plays a role in the ability to perceive grammatical functions is supported by research in second language acquisition. For example, in a report on listening comprehension based on familiarity, Leeser (2004) anticipated that his participants would more easily process a new grammatical form (i.e. the Spanish future tense) in texts on familiar topics. However, results revealed that the second language learners who received one of the unfamiliar passages were more accurate in identifying future tense verbs than learners who received either of the two familiar passages (Leeser, 2004: 603). Therefore, the finding in the present study that patterns of grammaticality were more apparent in the unfamiliar texts is supported by research in related areas of linguistics.

7.2.3 Gender

One of the most interesting findings from this study is that participant judges evaluated the male code-switchers significantly more positively than female code-switchers on all measures. This is not surprising, however, when one considers the ample research that indicates that women speak more properly than men (Cheshire and Gardner-Chloros 1998) and are expected to adhere more closely to linguistic norms (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003). One study of teenagers in Detroit demonstrated that rebellious females used more negative concord (i.e., *I didn't do nothing*) than a similar group of males, while the less rebellious females used more proper language than the similar male group (Eckert and McConell-Ginet 1995). The findings indicate that these females use language as a marker of identity, either employing unconventional linguistic forms as a

marker of rebellion or by conforming to the social expectations of propriety. Likewise, Zentella (1997), in her study of bilinguals in New York City, points out that female children are anticipated to comply more fully with bilingual, linguistic norms than males because females are expected to show "respeto" in this setting.

As pertains to this study, code-switching is widely considered a non-standard linguistic form and is commonly viewed as ill-mannered, even in communities where such practice is commonplace (cf. Romaine 1995).[16] Given these (socio)linguistic facts, women would not be expected to use the 'non-standard' forms presented in this study. Therefore, the female guises would likely inspire more negative reactions from judges because they go contrary to sociolinguistic norms. This is not to say that women are not proficient code-switchers, for as Zentella points out, although women are faithful to their traditional role as keepers of culture by speaking more Spanish and expressing more loyalty to it, they also adapt to the need of the English-dominant society by becoming fluent bilinguals and proficient code-switchers. With these considerations in mind, it would not be surprising to find that women who use this non-standard speech variety will be viewed more negatively, which would be witnessed in downgraded evaluations on attitudinal scales, as seen in this research.

Therefore, the findings point to the fact that using Spanish-English code-switching is an expected linguistic behavior for men, which is witnessed in more positive evaluations of male speakers in comparison to the women code-switchers. Because female speakers

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[16] Cheshire and Gardner-Chloros (1998) report findings from a study of Greek-English bilinguals in England that go contrary to this expectation, showing that women in their study used more code-switching than male informants. However, they recognize that this trend depends largely on community norms. Poplack (1980) indicates that the female bilinguals from her study in New York were less likely to use code-switching than men.

tend to be the more conservative speakers when it comes to grammar, the use of what is considered to be a deviant linguistic form by these speakers would call attention to them, and thus result in their negative evaluation. This implies that code-switching is another example of gendered schema and ideologies (cf. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003).

7.3 Broader contributions

While its focus is on whether Spanish-English bilinguals are capable of distinguishing between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching, the present study also contributes extensively to several areas of research, as well as more broadly to how non-standard varieties are perceived by members of society.

To begin, the findings from this study inform previous research carried out in sociolinguistics and the social psychology of language. These two fields have long been interested in the reactions that participants have toward language varieties. Because the methodology used in the present study addresses Spanish-English bilinguals' *attitudes* toward code-switchers, the results from this study expand previous findings from these fields of study, and provide a point of departure for more focused research on attitudes toward code-switching and other contact varieties.

The findings from this study also point to the fact that several factors need to be taken into consideration when carrying out attitudinal studies. First, not only is bilingual *proficiency* implicated in listeners' ability to distinguish between code-switched narratives, *identity* also plays a significant and overriding role in mitigating the reactions that bilinguals have toward ungrammatical code-switching. Likewise, not only does

authenticity and neutrality need to be controlled when embarking on attitudinal studies using the matched-guise technique (see Chapter 2), *text familiarity* also needs to be considered. The storyteller *gender* is also influential in the evaluations, with male code-switchers being viewed more positively than the females switchers, and should also be controlled.

The methodology used in this study affords an additional means of tapping into speakers' knowledge regarding syntactic structure, thus providing additional methods for researching syntactic constraints beyond such traditional measures as grammaticality judgments. Using the matched-guise technique as a means of indirectly accessing speakers' intuitions about language varieties, therefore, may possibly provide for additional means of informing syntactic theory.

The instrument used in the present study allows for the presentation of a popular vernacular to students and professionals (i.e., teachers). Participants in the present study, for example, were presented with a language form that is representative of a linguistic variety spoken by Hispanics in the U.S., thus exposing them to the complex nature of communication in a bilingual community. This exposure can therefore encourage them to consider language as less restricted than what may have been their experience in a monolingual setting. As a result, they will be better prepared to accept differing linguistic varieties and those who use them. This is supported by the theoretical and empirical findings of Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (2005) who call for an increase in attention to bilingual communicative practices in educational settings, as these forms provide

rhetorical devices, e.g. voicing, style switching, prosodic clues, that enhance the bilingual's communication.

Along these same lines, the instrument may provide an additional way of testing language proficiency among second language learners. A more global approach to language testing (as opposed to the targeting of specific grammatical forms) can be attained with the use of this instrument. Students are thus appreciating language holistically, rather than as linguistic chunks. Likewise, this assessment can also target both listening and reading abilities in the second language, as was seen from both the preliminary study, where participants were asked to evaluate bilingual speakers based on written transcriptions, and the main study, where they were asked to listen to similar recordings.

Additionally, Becker (2001) points to the positive impact that code-switching has in an academic setting. She finds that those students who implement code-switching in a retelling of a fairytale produced more colorful narratives with a better-developed plot and story structure than those students who retold the story in either monolingual Spanish or English. She recognizes that code-switching is an untapped resource that teachers should consider using to develop lexical and reading abilities as well as enhance verbal skills.

Furthermore, the incorporation of the instrument used in this present study into the classroom lends legitimacy to bilingual language varieties, increasing the linguistic security of those speakers who engage in this form of communication. This is not to say that code-switching should be taught as part of the language arts curriculum, but students, especially those who use this form of speech, should be made aware of its linguistic and sociolinguistic validity. In order for this to happen, educators must be made aware of the

rule-governed nature of this linguistic variety. In so doing, they will be less inclined to downgrade their students based on language varieties (cf. Choy and Dodd 1976, Ramírez 1981).

This added awareness of bilingual code-switching has the potential of benefiting the society at large. For example, heritage Spanish speakers, who are most likely to use this type of linguistic strategy, will benefit greatly from increased interest in their language varieties. As seen in Chapter 2, many code-switchers see code-switching as socially incorrect, to be used only in the home or with friends. By giving it a more prominent footing in academic settings, they will perceive this as a legitimate form of communication, thus resolving issues of linguistic insecurity that they might feel (Kells 2002). More commonly children are led to believe that their English is substandard, their Spanish is inferior, and their code-switching is a mishmash. In such circumstances they may be discouraged from speaking at all. In fact, these speakers may feel uneasy in a monolingual setting, because they are unable to use the full range of their linguistic repertoire (Zentella 1981). Once they consider their speech variety as a legitimate form of communication, they will then be ready to accept a more standard form of communication that is often the goal of heritage language classrooms. In fact, the use of this type of research presented here can help in 'making space for bilingual communicative practice,' as called for by Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (2005).

7.4 Limitations

Although both research questions are affirmed by the findings in this study, several new questions have arisen regarding the merits of using the matched-guise technique in evaluating Spanish-English bilinguals' abilities to differentiate between grammatically felicitous and infelicitous code-switches. First, it was seen that a major restriction of the matched-guise technique was the ability to utilize accurate scales which would allow for differential evaluations of the texts in question. Of the six scales that were used in the present study, only one consistently offered such an evaluation, and three more did so sporadically. The remaining two scales failed to elicit differential evaluations of licit and illicit intrasentential code-switches in any degree. This limitation is not novel to this study, as Garrett et al. (2003) select this as one of the weaknesses of this methodology. Interestingly, they suggest dispensing with the use of semantic-differential scales for two reasons. First, finding scales that truly have polar opposite adjectives is highly unlikely. This was indeed seen in the present study, where several of the scales were simply labeled 'not'+ adjective, e.g., 'prestigious sounding vs. not prestigious sounding'. Likewise, these authors point to the semantic transparency of several adjectives. What the researchers may intend a particular scale to measure may be perceived quite differently by the participants. In order to mediate this limitation, Garrett et al. (2003) suggest that, prior to administering the actual study, a subset of participants be asked to listen to the recordings and evaluate the speakers using their own adjectives. The researcher can then take the most common adjectives from this subset and create appropriate scales for the main study. Thus, by using the adjectives that the subjects themselves used for

evaluation, investigators can indeed obviate this second limitation of the semantic-differential scales.

Furthermore, while code-switching is accepted in certain venues, it is generally unaccepted in others. For example, although this linguistic form has begun to skirt past gatekeepers, i.e., publishing houses, it is not usually considered a viable written form (cf. Callahan 2004). By and large, the form is generally accepted as an informal speech style. Therefore, one of the reasons why the study may not have yielded the predicted results in all cases was that the use of code-switching in storytelling (much like the limitation of the use of code-switching in writing that was noted in the preliminary study discussed in Chapter 3) may not have been accepted as a viable venue for code-switching. Future studies should look to remedy this limitation by using more naturalistic recordings of more spontaneous speech styles. Although discovering such recordings of ungrammatical code-switching is unlikely, such recordings can be made with trained 'actors'.

Another limitation that surfaced in the study was the use of the DELE (*Diploma de Español como Lengua Extranjera*). In the preliminary study no independent measure of proficiency was used; in order to remedy that limitation, a segment of the DELE was implemented. Although it was expected that this would allow for differential perceptions of the texts, analysis indicated that this was not the case. If the DELE were providing an accurate assessment of proficiency, the results from this study would provide evidence against Prediction 2, showing that increased proficiency is not commensurate with increased ability to perceive the differences between grammatical and ungrammatical proficiency. In order to confirm or refute this finding, the results from self-report

proficiency was used to reanalyze the data. Findings from these analyses showed a greater sensitivity to grammaticality than from the analysis of the data using proficiency as determined by the DELE. It therefore seems that the DELE was not providing an accurate assessment of proficiency. One possible reason why the results from the DELE did not prove sufficiently sensitive could be participant fatigue. This was the last of several surveys administered to the subjects. In fact, 25 of the participants did not take the test at all, and two of those who self-reported high proficiency scored extremely low on the DELE. Taking this into consideration, and because self-report proficiency is problematic itself (either because participants over or underreport their abilities), a better independent measure of proficiency is needed.

Finally, another limitation stems from the subject pool. Although every effort was made to find subjects of higher levels of proficiency, the subject pool was disproportionately skewed toward the intermediate proficiency group. Further research will need to find ways of gaining access to participants with both lower and higher proficiencies.

7.5 Future research

The promising results from this research, along with the limitations of the present study, make it essential to continue this line of inquiry. In what follows I discuss some potential areas for future studies.

7.5.1 Second language acquisition

Though the research outlined in this present study purposefully used second language learners of principally intermediate and higher proficiencies, further research is needed in determining to what extent proficiency plays a role in evaluations of grammatical and grammatical intrasentential code-switching. The results seem to contradict antecedent literature and Prediction 2, in that the lower proficiency group appears to be more capable of distinguishing between grammatical and ungrammatical switches. However, because it was believed that participants with extremely low levels of proficiency would not be capable of participating in this type of research none of these participants were solicited. Further research using participants with truly low proficiency would better indicate if there is indeed a cline in sensitivity to bilingual forms. A possible trend would demonstrate the lower proficiency group's inability to distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching, followed by the intermediate group's ability to distinguish between distinct types of code-switching. Furthermore, the higher-proficiency group would show no distinction between the texts types due to their levels of identification with the bilingual community, as seen in the present study. In order to further substantiate said cline, the trends from the matched-guise survey should be compared with results from grammaticality judgment tasks. It would be likely that the lower proficiency group would not be able to overtly distinguish between the two text types on such a task, and that the most proficient group would be able to correctly judge between felicitous and infelicitous code-switches. This information would also help to further corroborate identity as a confounding factor in language attitudinal research.

7.5.2 Linguistic ethnography

Further research on abilities to distinguish between differing types of language manifestation could properly investigate communities where code-switching comprises a large part of the linguistic competence and practice of its members. A comparative study of how code-switchers and non-code-switchers react toward code-switching guises would prove informative. So too would a similar comparison of how social and linguistic factors influence language attitudes and the ability to recognize grammaticality of code-switches. Likewise, differences in perceptions from differing Hispanic communities (e.g., Mexican communities in California compared to Puerto Rican communities in New York) could further inform the social factors that influence these linguistic evaluations.

One of the most intriguing results of this study was the fact that identity with the bilingual community might play a role in evaluations of grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching. Would members of Mexican-American communities more positively evaluate bilingual forms 'performed' by fellow Mexican-Americans? Would they downgrade Puerto Rican bilingual forms? Further research on such questions needs to be carried out.

7.5.3 Additive methodologies

A comparative look at the results from different research methodologies is essential in uncovering the true attitudes of participants. A comparison of results from a matched-guise survey with more direct methodologies (e.g. surveys, questionnaires, ethnographic

interviews, perceptual dialectology) would allow for a more detailed analysis of what the true attitudes of Spanish-English bilinguals are toward intrasentential code-switching.

In parallel with this line of inquiry, a more direct evaluation of the code-switches could be carried out using a ranking system. For example, participants would be asked to rank several versions of a particular radio announcement (i.e. monolingual Spanish, monolingual English, grammatically felicitous code-switching, infelicitous code-switching). In other words, to what extent does grammaticality of switches play into the acceptability of these ads for the bilingual community? And would these be evaluated differently from ads prepared for largely monolingual audiences (cf., Yo quiero Taco Bell)?

In light of the findings of Luna and Peracchio (2005), additional research into the acceptability of insertions in ads needs to be carried out. Their research determined that ads written in English with Spanish lexical insertions were evaluated less positively than those ads written in Spanish with English lexical insertions. They attribute this wholly to the direction of the switch, stating that the switch from English to Spanish activates a language-related inferiority complex in the Hispanic bilinguals. However, the indexing of Spanish through this switch may not be the primary factor in the lower evaluations, but the acceptability of the lexical insertion by this community. It may be that participants rated these Spanish insertions lower, not because of some linguistic inferiority complex, but simply because the switches sound unauthentic. However the insertion of English lexical items into Spanish advertisements could be switches that were anticipated and acceptable, and thus received more positive evaluations from the bilinguals. Therefore,

further research using the matched-guise technique and other techniques implemented by Luna and Peracchio (i.e. product evaluations) could look at the attitudes of bilinguals toward differing types of lexical insertions, with the goal of informing whether differing lexical insertions elicit differing evaluations.

Another area of research that is highlighted by the findings in Chapters 3 and 5 is the need to compare evaluations of reactions toward written and oral code-switching. As was mentioned previously, certain genres are more acceptable for the use of code-switching. These forms are context-bound, practiced by bilinguals for bilinguals, and they tend to emerge in the articulation of discourse. Therefore, even bilinguals who regularly produce contact forms in their everyday, face-to-face linguistic interactions may not view them as valid in written documents. Thus, it is likely that the impersonal, printed presentation of bilingual texts will provoke more negative responses than the use of similar materials orally. This is precisely the trend that is seen in a cursory comparison of the results from the preliminary study (Chapter3) and the main study (Chapter 5). It is apparent that the auditory presentation was viewed much more positively than the written presentation of code-switching, as can be seen in Figure **7.1.** Such questions will need to be investigated in future research.

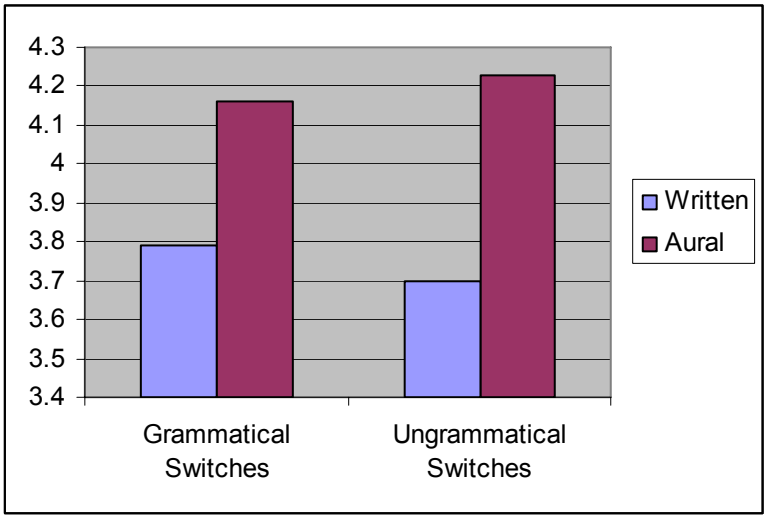

Figure **7.1**: Comparison of Aural vs. Written Code-Switches

More research is also needed to determine which arenas for written code-switching are pragmatically acceptable. One possible venue where such language forms would be well received is in on-line chat rooms or forums where switching in these settings may be seen as a natural outcrop of bilingual communication. Furthermore, the use of code-switching in poetry is likely to be more acceptable than in novels or fairytales. This hierarchy of acceptability in written texts needs to be further investigated.

7.5.4 Linguistic hierarchies

The results from this study are also in line with antecedent research on the outcomes of language contact. Recall that Muysken (2002) proposes that nouns are the most easily borrowed items, and Backus (2000) proposes that within this category, specific nouns are more easily adopted than core nouns (cf., Myers-Scotton 2006 for discussion); these hierarchies have been supported here. Recall that findings from the preliminary study

(discussed in Chapter 3), where bilingual judges demonstrated the following hierarchy of acceptability, as expressed in their attitudes towards distinct contact phenomena: borrowing of core lexical items < ungrammatical code-switching < grammatical code-switching < borrowing of specific lexical items < monolingual Spanish. In this respect it would prove relevant to use the matched-guise technique to confirm Muysken's hierarchy. For example, guises composed of borrowed pronouns should be viewed less favorably than guises with borrowed adjectives. Along these same lines, tag switches (e.g., phrases such as *verdad/right/you know/tú sabes*) should be viewed positively.

7.5.5 Language and education

Finally, given the growing number of speakers of contact Spanish in U.S. classrooms, the study of the attitudes of teachers and other practitioners needs to be carried out. Because of the negative impact that language evaluations can have on students, it is necessary to investigate the attitudes of teachers toward code-switching and other contact forms. One such study carried out by Ramírez (1981) indicated that teachers negatively evaluated students who code-switched. As he notes:

> Code-switching is a common phenomenon among Spanish / English bilingual pupils. It has a significant influence on teachers' expectations and therefore on the child's learning environment. The teacher in a culturally diverse classroom should understand that codeswitching is not a random mixing of English and Spanish words (Ramírez, 1981: 226).

Ongoing research is currently being carried out to advance finding concerning Spanish teachers' reactions to language contact forms such as intrasentential code-switching.

7.6 Final word

While the findings from this research on language attitudes do point to the ability of bilingual judges to distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching, the results are clouded by several factors that go beyond the targeted linguistic features (i.e. grammaticality of code-switches) and judges' proficiency. The reactions are additionally influenced by participant identity, speaker gender, speaker ethnicity, and text familiarity.

The research methodology used in this study, namely the matched-guise technique, has also provided results that in many cases run contrary to the extant literature. While the factors mentioned above (i.e. identity, familiarity) may have an important bearing on explaining why these results deviated from the expected trends, the methodology may have been inadequate for informing the main questions of this study. Gaies and Beebee (1991) suggest that the matched-guise technique's supposed advantages may be overrated, and should be supported by alternative methods, which allows for a greater understanding of what the matched-guise technique is actually measuring. Therefore, in order for less ambiguous results to be achieved, additional measures beyond the matched-guise technique (i.e. sentence matching, eye-tracking data) must be included in order to gain a better understanding of judges' abilities to differentiate between what linguists have determined to be grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching.

APPENDIX A

FAIRYTALE TEXTS

1.1 El ratón de cuidad y la ardilla de campo / The city mouse and the country squirrel—Grammatical Version

Había una vez un ratón de ciudad who went to visit an old friend, a squirrel, who lived in the country. La ardilla de campo era sencilla y bondadosa, y recibió con excitement the arrival of the city mouse. The squirrel no tenía nada más que frijoles, nueces, y pan para ofrecerle a su amigo, pero se lo ofreció con generosidad. The city mouse, upon seeing this offering, made una cara de desprecio ante la comida que le ofrecía su amigo. Sin consideración ninguna the city mouse said to the squirrel:—No comprendo cómo puedes aguantar the backwardness of this country life. His friend couldn't believe that the squirrel would prefer the woods and fields to las calles llenas de carretas y de gente. I want you to return with me to the city donde vivo y te enseñaré cómo es mi vida en la ciudad. No country squirrel could refuse the invitation and together the two friends emprendieron el camino de vuelta a la ciudad esa misma tarde. Los amigos no pudieron creer lo tarde que era cuando entraron a la mansión where the city mouse lived. —Ya que hemos hecho un viaje tan largo, voy a ofrecerte something delicious to eat—said the mouse. Guided by el aroma de un suculento banquete, the two friends went to the great dining room. On an enormous table located in the middle of la habitación, encontraron los restos de una cena especial. Al instante, they were eating excelentes carnes, quesos selectos y sabrosas tartas. Pero mientras disfrutaban de las delicias, no se dieron cuenta de que un grupo de hombres y mujeres entered the room.

Terrified, the two friends saltaron de la mesa y se precipitaron hacia el refugio más cercano. Llenos de miedo, se abrazaron fuertemente, hasta que no sentían the presence of the humans. But as soon as they left their place of refuge, they heard the bark of a dog que los condujo otra vez a su escondite. When the house finally calmed down, the country squirrel salió de la mansión that had given him such a fright, and wishing his friend a good life, he said: –It might be that you have a fondness for esta vida, pero yo prefiero nueces y frijoles en paz antes que pasteles y quesos con miedo.

1.2 El ratón de cuidad y la ardilla de campo / The city mouse and the country squirrel—Ungrammatical Version

Había una vez un ratón de ciudad que fue a visitar a un old friend, a squirrel, who lived in the country. La ardilla de campo era sencilla y bondadosa, y recibió con emoción la llegada del ratón de ciudad. La ardilla no had anything else to offer his friend besides beans, nuts and bread, but he se lo ofreció con generosidad. The city mouse, upon seeing this offering, made a cara de desprecio ante la comida que le ofrecía su amigo. Sin consideración ninguna the city mouse said to the squirrel —No comprendo cómo puedes aguantar la simpleza de esta vida en el campo. Su amigo no could believe that the squirrel would prefer the woods and fields to the calles llenas de carretas y de gente. I want you to return with me to the city where I vivo y te enseñaré cómo es mi vida en la ciudad. No country squirrel could rechazar tal invitación y juntos los dos amigos emprendieron el camino de vuelta a la ciudad esa misma tarde. Los amigos no could believe how late it was when they entered the mansion where the city mouse lived. —Ya que hemos made such a long trip, I voy a ofrecerte algo delicioso de comer—dijo el ratón. Guiados por el

aroma de un suculento banquete, the two friends went to the great dining room. On an enormous table located in the middle of the room they encontraron los restos de una cena especial. Al instante, they were comiendo excelentes carnes, quesos selectos y sabrosas tartas. Pero mientras disfrutaban de las delicias, ellos no realized that a group of men and women entered the room. Terrified, the dos amigos saltaron de la mesa y se precipitaron hacia el refugio más cercano. Llenos de miedo, se abrazaron fuertemente, hasta que no felt the presence of the humans. But as soon as they left their place of refuge, they oyeron el ladrido de un perro que los condujo otra vez a su escondite. When the house finally calmed down, the ardilla de ciudad salió de la mansión que le había given such a fright and wishing his friend a good life, he said. –It might ser que tengas simpatía por esta vida, pero yo prefiero nueces y frijoles en paz que pasteles y quesos con miedo.

1.3 El príncipe pordiosero / The beggar prince—Grammatical Version

Este es el cuento del príncipe pordiosero. King Arnold had a beautiful daughter, whose name was Grace. Al cumplir ella los veinte años, el rey invitó many neighboring princes to a party in honor of his daughter. Since she was unmarried, he wanted her to choose a husband. La princesa era muy dulce y cariñosa con todos. Ella tenía solamente un defecto: era indecisa. Rodeada por twelve suitors, she could not make up her mind and the king se enojó. Le gritó, "¡Juro por Dios que te casaré con el primer hombre that enters this room!" At that exact moment, a beggar, who had managed to avoid unos porteros, entró en la sala y exclamó, "Acabo de oír lo que dijo Ud.! ¡Juró por Dios! The princess is mine!" Since he could not go back on such a solemn oath, the king empezó los

preparativos para la boda de la Princesa Graciela. On the day of the wedding, everyone was surprised to see how handsome the beggar looked with ropa prestada. La gente decía que parecía ser príncipe al lado de la princesa. Al día siguiente, the new groom told the princess that they would have to start a new life. He had to return to his meager living and his humble house. They walked for three days until they came to a countryside que era muy verde y hermoso. Se escuchaba el cantar de pajarillos entre waterfalls, orchards and vineyards. At last, they arrived at a stone house que estaba construida al lado de un castillo. Frente a la casita, el nuevo esposo explicó that this was to be their new home. They lived there in poverty, but very happily, during el primer año. Una mañana, desde el jardín, Graciela vio pasar un magnífico caballero who was mounted on a splendid horse. When Grace told her husband what she had seen, he said that it was probably Prince Philip and it appeared que la gente del valle lo admiraba mucho. Graciela ya no tenía las comodidades del palacio—ni joyas, ni sirvientas, ni cama. Sin embargo, she grew to love her husband and her simple life among las clases humildes del valle. Su esposo no ganaba mucho en el palacio así que un día he asked her if she could work alongside him at the palace that evening. "Se dice que el Príncipe Felipe se ha casado y esta noche hay fiesta para la princesa who will be our new queen. I will leave for the palace now, and you can join me at eight. I'll be waiting inside la entrada principal. Cuando Graciela llegó al palacio, le sorprendió que los porteros bowed before her. She entered the hall, but could not see anything because the palace estaba oscuro. De repente sintió un fuerte abrazo y escuchó una voz conocida. "Welcome to your palace, Princess Grace, tonight's party se da en su honor. Soy el príncipe, el Príncipe Felipe, princesa."

1.4 El príncipe pordiosero / The beggar prince—Ungrammatical Version

Este es el cuento del príncipe pordiosero. King Arnold had a beautiful daughter, whose name was Grace. Al cumplir ella los veinte años, el rey invitó a muchos príncipes vecinos a una fiesta en honor de su hija. Como estaba soltera, él wanted her to choose a husband. La princesa era muy dulce y cariñosa con todos. Ella had only one defect: She was indecisive. Surrounded by twelve suitors, she could not decidirse y el rey se enojó. Le gritó, "¡Juro por Dios que te casaré con el first man that enters this room!" At that exact moment, a beggar, who had conseguido evitar a unos porteros, entró en la sala y exclamó, "¡Acabo de oír lo que dijo Usted! ¡Juró por Dios! The princess is mine!" Since he could not faltar a un juramento tan sagrado, el rey empezó los preparativos para la boda de la Princesa Graciela. On the day of the wedding, everyone was sorprendidos de ver lo guapo que se veía el mendigo con ropa prestada. La gente decía que parecía ser príncipe al lado de la princesa. Al día siguiente, the new groom told the princess that they would have to start a new life. He had to return to his meager living and his humble house. They caminaron por tres días hasta llegar a un país que era muy verde y hermoso. Se escuchaba el cantar de pajarillos entre cascadas, arboledas y viñas. Al final ellos arrived at a stone house that was built next to a castle. In front of the castle, the new group explained that this was to be their new home. They lived there in poverty, but very happily, during the primer año. Una mañana, desde el jardín, Graciela vio pass by a magnificent knight who was mounted on a splendid horse. When Grace told her husband what she had visto, ése le dijo que debía de ser el príncipe Felipe y parecía que la gente del valle lo admiraba mucho. Graciela ya no had the comforts of a palacio—ni joyas, ni

sirvientas, ni cama. Sin embargo, she grew to love her husband and her simple life among the valley's humble classes. Her husband didn't ganar mucho en el palacio así que un día he asked her if she could work alongside him at the palace that evening. "Se dice que el Príncipe Felipe se ha casado y esta noche hay fiesta para la princess who will be our new queen. I will leave for the palace now, and you can join me at eight. I'll be esperando dentro de la entrada principal. Cuando Graciela llegó al palacio, le sorprendió que los porteros la recibieran con una reverencia. Ella entered the hall, but could not ver nada, porque el palacio estaba oscuro. De repente sintió un fuerte abrazo y escuchó una voz conocida. "Welcome to your palace, Princess Grace, tonight's party is given in your honor. I am the príncipe, el Príncipe Felipe, princesa.

1.5 La cenicienta / Cinderella—Grammmatical Version

Había una vez una joven muy bella whose mother had died when she was very young. Her father had remarried a widow que tenía dos hijas. Dentro de poco, él se arrepentió de haberse casado con such a cruel woman. With all of the suffering, él también murió, dejando a su hija con la impertinente mujer. The young girl was left to share the house with her ugly stepsisters que no querían hacer nada. Todo el día la joven hacía los quehaceres de la casa y como sus vestidos estaban siempre tan manchados de ceniza, la gente called her Cinderella. Un día el Príncipe de aquel país anunció que iba a dar una fiesta that would surpass them all. All the maidens in his kingdom would be invited. However, the cruel stepmother told Cinderella that she had to stay home and sweep el suelo y preparar la cena para cuando volvieran ella y sus feas hijas. Llegó el día

del baile y con celos ella vio her stepsisters depart for the royal ball. Finally alone in the kitchen, Cenicienta no pudo reprimir los sollozos. De repente, se le apareció su Hada Madrina. With her angelic voice, the Fairy Godmother consoled the crying girl. Después de descubrir el porqué de las lágrimas, el hada madrina la transformó en princesa con her magic wand. She told the damsel that she too could go to the ball, but under one condition. When the Royal clock struck twelve, tendría que regresar a casa sin falta. La llegada de Cenicienta al Palacio caused a tremendous adulation. Al entrar en la sala de baile, el Príncipe quedó tan encantado de su belleza que bailó con ella toda la noche. Sus hermanastras didn't recognize her and they wondered quién era aquella joven. Because Cinderella was enjoying the ball so much, she didn't see what time it was. Suddenly, she heard el reloj del Palacio dar las doce. Sin despedirse del príncipe, la joven ran from the great hall. She descended the stairs with tanta prisa que perdió una zapatilla which the Prince picked up with a glimmer of hope in his eyes. Para encontrar a la bella joven, el Príncipe ideó un plan. Él se casaría con la muchacha que podría calzar la zapatilla. Primero, enviaría a sus heraldos a recorrer todo el Reino en busca de the owner of the slipper. All the damsels of the kingdom se la probaron en vano, pues no había ni una a quien le quedara bien la zapatilla. Al final los heraldos del rey llegaron a casa de Cenicienta. Claro estaba que las hermanastras no calzarían the slipper, but when Cinderella put it on, the messengers were shocked to see that it fit perfectly. And thus it happened that the Prince fell in love with la hermosa joven y ellos vivieron muy felices.

1.6 La cenicienta / Cinderella—Ungrammmatical Version

Había una vez una joven muy bella cuya madre había died when she was very young. Her father had vuelto a casarse con una viuda que tenía dos hijas. Dentro de poco, se arrepentió de haberse casado con una cruel woman. With all of the suffering, él también murió, dejando a su hija con la impertinente mujer. The young girl was left to share the casa con sus feas hermanastras que no wanted to do anything. All day long the young maiden did all the chores and because her dress was always covered with cinder, the people called her Cinderella. Un día el Príncipe de aquel país anunció que iba a dar un party that would surpass them all. All the maidens in his kingdom would be invitadas. Sin embargo, la cruel madrastra de Cenicienta le dijo que tendría que quedarse en casa a barrer el suelo y preparar la cena para cuando volvieran ella y sus feas hijas. Llegó el día del baile y con celos ella watched her stepsisters depart for the royal ball. Finally alone in the kitchen, Cenicienta no pudo reprimir los sollozos. De repente, se le apareció su Hada Madrina. With her angelic voice, the Fairy Godmother consoled the crying girl. Después de descubrir el porqué de las lágrimas, el hada madrina la transformó en princesa con su varita mágica. Ella told the damsel that she too could go to the ball, but under one condition. When the Royal clock struck twelve, tendría que regresar a casa sin falta. El arrival of Cinderella to the Palace caused a tremendous adulation. Al entrar en la sala de baile, el Príncipe quedó tan encantado de su belleza que bailó con ella toda la noche. Sus hermanastras no recognized her and they wondered who the young maiden was. Porque Cenicienta estaba disfrutando tanto del baile ella no saw what time it was. Suddenly, she oyó el reloj del Palacio dar las doce. Sin despedirse del príncipe, la maiden ran from the

great hall. She descended the stairs with so much haste that she lost a slipper which the Prince picked up with a glimmer of hope in his eyes. Para encontrar a la bella joven, el Príncipe ideó un plan. Él would marry the girl that could put on the slipper. First, he would enviar a sus heraldos a recorrer todo el Reino en busca de la dueña de la zapatilla. Las doncellas del reino se lo probaron en vano, pues no was even one who could get the slipper to fit. Finally the king's messengers arrived at Cinderella's house. It was very evident that the stepsisters could not calzar la zapatilla, pero cuando Cenicienta se lo puso, los heraldos estaban shocked to see that it fit perfectly. And thus it happened that the Prince fell in love with the beautiful maiden and they vivieron muy felices.

1.7 Blancanieves / Snow White—Grammatical Version

En un país muy lejano vivía una bella princesita llamada Blancanieves. Ella vivía con su madrastra who was very conceited and vain. Every day, la reina preguntaba a su espejo mágico quién era la más hermosa del reino, y cada día éste respondía: Tú eres, oh reina, la más hermosa de todas las mujeres. Fueron pasando los años. Un día la reina miró her magic mirror and asked who was the most beautiful in the kingdom. This time, however, the mirror answered: Snow White is the most beautiful. Entonces la reina, llena de ira y de envidia, mandó her servant, the hunter, to take Snow White to the forest and kill her. Como prueba de haber realizado el encargo, la reina le dijo que no regresara sin traerle el corazón de la princesa. Pero cuando llegaron al bosque el cazador sintió lástima de la joven inocente y no la mató, sustituyendo su corazón por él de un jabalí. Snow White, finding herself all alone, didn't know what to do, and began to cry. She spent toda

la noche llorando y andando por el bosque hasta que, al amanecer, she arrived at a clearing in the woods and found a beautiful little house que se vio muy acogedora. Entró en la casa y no tenía miedo. Los muebles eran pequeñísimos y, había una mesa adornada con seven little plates and tiny silverware. She climbed up to la alcoba, que estaba ocupada por siete camitas. La pobre Blancanieves, agotada tras caminar toda la noche por el bosque, juntó all of the beds together and she fell right to sleep. Por la tarde llegaron los dueños de la casa: siete enanitos who had worked all day in the mines. They were surprised to find the young girl in their home, and with all the noise que hicieron, Blancanieves se despertó. Entonces ella les contó su triste historia. Los enanitos suplicaron a la niña que se quedara con ellos y Blancanieves aceptó. She stayed with her new friends and all were happy. Meanwhile, en el palacio, la reina asked the mirror again, who now was the most beautiful in the kingdom. The mirror respondió: - Sigue siendo Blancanieves, que ahora vive en el bosque rodeada de seven dwarfs. She couldn't believe her ears. Furious and full of rage, the cruel stepmother se disfrazó de inocente viejecita y partió hacia the little house in the woods. She found Snow White at home alone while the dwarfs were working in the mine. The wicked queen ofreció a la niña una manzana that had been poisoned and when Snow White dio el primer bocado, cayó desmayada como si estuviera muerta. Al volver los enanitos a la casa, Blancanieves no respiraba. Creyeron que había muerto y le construyeron una urna de cristal para que todos los animalitos del bosque pudieran despedirse de ella. En ese momento apareció un príncipe a lomos de a handsome steed and no sooner had he laid his eyes on the Princess than he fell in love with her. Sintió el deseo de besarla, y al hacerlo Blancanieves volvió a la vida, pues el beso de amor que el príncipe le había dado rompió the wicked queen's

curse. Blancanieves se casó con el príncipe y expulsaron a la reina cruel y desde entonces todos vivieron felices.

1.8 Blancanieves / Snow White—Ungrammatical Version

En un país muy lejano vivía una bella princesita llamada Blancanieves. Ella lived with her stepmother who was very conceited and vain. Every day, la reina preguntaba a su espejo mágico quién era la más hermosa del reino, y cada día éste respondía: Tú eres, oh reina, la más hermosa de todas las women. The years went by. One day the queen asked her magic mirror who was the most beautiful in the kingdom. This time, however, the mirror answered: Snow White is the most beautiful. Entonces la reina, llena de ira y de envidia, ordenó a su sirviente el hunter to take Snow white to the forest and kill her. Como prueba de haber realizado el encargo, la reina le dijo que no come back without bringing the heart of the princess. But when they got to the forest, the hunter felt sorry for the innocent girl and didn't matarla, sustituyendo su corazón por él de un jabalí. Snow white, finding herself all alone, didn't saber qué hacer, y empezó a llorar. Pasó toda la noche llorando y andando por el bosque hasta que, al amanecer, she arrived at a clearing in the woods and found a beautiful little house that looked very inviting. She entered the house, and didn't tener miedo. Los muebles eran pequeñísimos y, había una table adorned with seven little plates and tiny silverware. She subió a la alcoba, que estaba ocupada por siete camitas. La pobre Blancanieves, agotada tras caminar toda la noche por el bosque, juntó todas las camas y ella fell right to sleep. Por la tarde llegaron los dueños de la casa: siete enanitos que habían worked all day in the mines. They were surprised to find the

young girl in their home, and with all the noise that they hicieron, Blancanieves se despertó. Entonces ella les contó su triste historia. Los enanitos suplicaron a la niña que se quedara con ellos y Blancanieves aceptó. She stayed with her new friends and all were happy. Meanwhile, en el palacio, la reina volvió a preguntar al espejo quién era ahora la más bella del reino. El espejo respondió: - Sigue siendo Blancanieves, que ahora vive en el bosque con los siete enanitos. Ella no pudo believe her ears. Furious and full of rage, the cruel stepmother disguised herself as an innocent grandmother and left for the little house in the woods. She encontró a Blancanieves en la casa sola mientras los enanitos estaban working in the mine. The wicked queen offered the niña una manzana que había envenenado y cuando Blancanieves dio el primer bocado, cayó desmayada como si estuviera muerta. Al volver los enanitos a la casa, Blancanieves no was breathing. They believed that she had muerto y le construyeron una urna de cristal para que todos los animalitos del bosque pudieran despedirse de ella. En ese momento apareció un príncipe a lomos de un handsome steed and no sooner had he laid his eyes on the Princess than he fell in love with her. Sintió el deseo de besarla, y al hacerlo Blancanieves volvió a la vida, pues el beso de amor que el príncipe le había given, broke the wicked queen's curse. Blancanieves se casó con el príncipe y expulsaron a la reina cruel y desde entonces todos vivieron felices.

APPENDIX B

MATCHED-GUISE SURVEY

Part 2

Fairytales

Below you will find links to the retelling of four fairytales in Spanish and/or English. Associated with each of these texts are some multiple choice and fill-in-the-blank questions. These bilingual storytellers were told that they could use English, Spanish or both in relating each of the fairytales.

After you have listened to each story you will be asked to rate the storyteller based on personal qualities. You will also be asked to answer some open-ended questions concerning your opinion of the speaker. Please be as honest as possible.

Text 1

Click on the following link to listen to the first story. Once you have finished listening to the story, answer the following questions. It may take a moment for the link to upload; please be patient.

LINK TO ONE OF THE EIGHT RECORDINGS

1. Please give your first impressions of this person.

    1.

    2.

    3.

2. Where do you think this person is from?

    _____ Mexico

    _____ The United States

3. I think this person is a lot like me.

    Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

4. What kind of job would this person be likely to have?

    _____ Doctor

    _____ Television Personality

    _____ Executive Assistant

    _____ Receptionist

    _____ Telemarketer

    _____ Construction Worker

    _____ Salesperson

    _____ Lawyer

    _____ Factory Worker

    _____ Teacher

    _____ none of these

5. Would you like to get to know this person?

____yes

____no

6. Would you work with this person?

____yes

____no

7. Do you think this person expresses himself/herself well?

____yes

____no

8. Is this person easy to understand?

____yes

____no

9. Do you think this person sounds more Spanish or English?

____ Spanish

____ English

10. Do you think this person speaks more English or Spanish?

____ Spanish

____ English

On a scale of 1 to 6, rate the individual

11. MEAN FRIENDLY

1 2 3 4 5 6

12. WELL-SPOKEN NOT WELL-SPOKEN

1 2 3 4 5 6

13. PRESTIGOUS-SOUNDING NOT PRESTIGOUS-SOUNDING

1 2 3 4 5 6

14. UNPLEASANT PLEASANT

1 2 3 4 5 6

15. EDUCATED UNEDUCATED

1 2 3 4 5 6

16. POOR RICH

1 2 3 4 5 6

The above survey was then repeated for texts 2-4

APPENDIX C

LANGUAGE HISTORY QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you for participating in this exciting research on language use. The project consists of three parts. For the first part, we ask that you fill out a questionnaire that will elicit biographical information regarding your language formation and language use.

For the second part of the study you will be required to listen to four brief recordings of some fairytales produced by four Spanish-English bilinguals. You will then be asked to respond to various questions concerning your impressions of the authors. Note: this is not a study of how well you comprehend Spanish or English.

The third part examines your personal feelings and opinions about language varieties. It is very important that you respond in the most honest manner. Again, the information you provide will remain anonymous, confidential, and individual.

We appreciate your efforts on our behalf and would welcome any comments or questions you might have.

Sincerely,

Tyler Anderson: tylera@psu.edu

Jacqueline Toribio: ajt5@psu.edu

Part 1

(Language History)

1. Please insert your middle initial and month and day of birth (i.e. b1031). Please use the same code throughout this study _____

2. Gender
   ___male

   ___female

3. Where were you born?

4. Name all the places you have lived and for how long (in years).

Where?	How long?
1. 2. 3. 4.	1. 2. 3. 4.

5. Where was your father born?

6. Where was your mother born?

7. What was the first language you learned?

8. What was the second language you learned?

9. At what age did you begin learning your second language?

10. What is your father's present occupation? Be specific (if none, what was his most recent job?)

11. What is your mother's present occupation? Be specific (if none, what was his most recent job?)

12. In what language did you receive your ELEMENTARY education?

    ____All English

    ____ More English than Spanish

    ____ Same amount of both

    ____ More Spanish than English

    ____ All Spanish

    ____Other

    ____ Not Applicable

13. In what language did you receive your SECONDARY (Junior High and High school) education?

____All English

____ More English than Spanish

____ Same amount of both

____ More Spanish than English

____ All Spanish

____Other

____ Not Applicable

14. What is the highest level of schooling completed by your FATHER?

____ preschool

____ elementary

____ junior high

____ high school

____ trade school

____ 2 years college

____ 4 years college

15. What is the highest level of schooling completed by your MOTHER?

____ preschool

____ elementary

____ junior high

____ high school

____ trade school

____ 2 years college

____ 4 years college

Please answer the following questions about your use of English.

16. How often do you WRITE in English?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

17. How often do you SPEAK in English?

____ every day, most of the day

____ every day, part of the day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

18. How often do you listen to the radio in English?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

19. How often do you read newspapers, magazines or books in English?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

20. How often do you listen to English music?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

21. How often do you watch television programs in English?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

22. How often do you watch movies in English?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

Please answer the following questions about your use of Spanish

23. How often do you WRITE in Spanish?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

24. How often do you SPEAK in Spanish?

____ every day, most of the day

____ every day, part of the day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

25. How often do you listen to the radio in Spanish?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

26. How often do you read newspapers, magazines or books in Spanish?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

27. How often do you listen to music in Spanish?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

28. How often do you watch television programs in Spanish?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

29. How often do you watch movies in Spanish?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

Please answer the following questions about your relationship with Spanish speakers

30. How often do you visit a Spanish-speaking country?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

31. How often do people from Spanish-speaking countries visit you?

____ every day

____ a few times a week

____ once a week

____ once or twice a month

____ once every thee or four months

____ once every six months

____ once a year

____ once every few years

____ never

32. In your current residence, which language is used most often for conversation?

____ All English

____ More English than Spanish

____ Same amount of both

____ All Spanish

____ Not Applicable

33. If you attend religious services, in which language are these services conducted?

____ All English

____ More English than Spanish

____ Same amount of both

____ All Spanish

____ Not Applicable

34. What language do you primarily speak with your close friends?

____ All English

____ More English than Spanish

____ Same amount of both

____ All Spanish

____ Not Applicable

35. What languages do your primarily speak with your school mates?

____ All English

____ More English than Spanish

____ Same amount of both

____ All Spanish

____ Not Applicable

36. What languages do your primarily speak with your co-workers?

____ All English

____ More English than Spanish

____ Same amount of both

____ All Spanish

____ Not Applicable

Rate yourself on a scale of 1 to 7 for the following in ENGLISH

(1 is minimal, 4 is moderate, 7 is native-like fluency):

37. Your ability to SPEAK English _____
38. Your ability to UNDERSTAND English _____
39. Your ability to WRITE English _____
40. Your ability to READ English_____
41. Your PRONUNCIATION in English _____
42. Your GRAMMAR in English _____
43. Your OVERALL ABILITY in English _____

Rate yourself on a scale of 1 to 7 for the following in SPANISH

(1 is minimal, 4 is moderate, 7 is native-like fluency):

44. Your ability to SPEAK Spanish _____
45. Your ability to UNDERSTAND Spanish _____
46. Your ability to WRITE Spanish _____
47. Your ability to READ Spanish _____
48. Your PRONUNCIATION in Spanish _____
49. Your GRAMMAR in Spanish _____
50. Your OVERALL ABILITY in Spanish _____

APPENDIX D

DIRECT ATTITUDES AND LINGUISTIC INSECURITY SURVEYS

Part 3

As you have seen, some people alternate between two languages in the course of a conversation. Below you will find various questions dealing with this phenomenon. Please answer the questions as honestly as possible.

1. Why do you think these speakers mixed Spanish and English?

In the next task, we ask you to give your opinion of some phrases that deal with the alternation between Spanish and English. Please use the following scale to answer the questions: 1=Strongly AGREE, 6=Strongly DISAGREE

2. It bothers me when speakers talk Spanish and English at the same time

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

3. People mix languages when they write because they do not know either language well.

   Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

4. In my opinion, the mixing of English and Spanish helps maintain Spanish.

   Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

5. It looks cool when somebody mixes Spanish and English in writing.

   Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

6. It sounds cool when speakers mix Spanish and English in the same conversation

   Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

7. People enjoy being around me more when I mix English and Spanish.

   Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

8. The mixture of English and Spanish reflects who I am.

   Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

9. In my opinion, the mixing of English and Spanish leads to the loss of Spanish.

   Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

10. When I mix languages, other people think I am stupid.

    Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

11. Texts written in both Spanish and English reflect the speech of my community better than ones written only in English or Spanish.

    Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

12. When I read texts in both Spanish and English, I can better relate to the author.
Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

13. I mix languages: (check all that apply)
___ at home
___ at school
___ at work
___ with my spouse/girlfriend/boyfriend
___ at family gatherings
___ not applicable

14. I mix languages in writing: (check all that apply)
___ letters
___ emails
___ my journal
___ not applicable

15. I mix language in spoken speech because: (check all that apply)
___ I might not know a word
___ It allows me to express myself more fully
___ There is no translation for a concept
___ For added emphasis
___ To affirm or express my identity
___ Just because I can
___ Not applicable

16. I mix languages in writing because: (check all that apply)

___ I might not know a word

___ It allows me to express myself more fully

___ There is no translation for a concept

___ For added emphasis

___ To affirm or express my identity

___ Just because I can

___ Not applicable

17. Why do you study Spanish?

18. Why do other people study Spanish?

19. Should more people study Spanish?

___ yes

___ no

20. Why?

The following section contains a number of statements concerning Spanish with which some people agree and others disagree. Using the scales provided, please rate how much you personally agree or disagree with these statements.

21. I get nervous when I have to talk to my teacher in Spanish.
    Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

22. I enjoy talking to people my age in Spanish.
    Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

23. I get nervous when my friends are talking about topics I don't understand in Spanish.
    Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

24. I feel comfortable when the teacher calls on me in Spanish class.
    Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

25. When I make a telephone call, I get mixed up if I have to speak Spanish.
    Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

26. Every time I speak with a Spanish-speaking person in Spanish, I feel relaxed.
    Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

27. I feel uneasy whenever I speak Spanish.
    Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

28. In a restaurant, I feel calm and confident when I have to order a meal in Spanish.
    Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

29. I feel confident and relaxed when I have to ask for directions in Spanish.
Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

30. I get nervous every time I have to speak Spanish in public.
Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

The following section contains a number of statements concerning English with which some people agree and others disagree. Using the scales provided, please rate how much you personally agree or disagree with these statements.

31. When I make a telephone call, I get mixed up if I have to speak English.
Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

32. Every time I speak with an English-speaking person I feel relaxed.
Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

33. I feel uneasy whenever I speak English.
Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

34. In a restaurant, I feel calm and confident when I have to order a meal in English.
Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

35. I feel confident and relaxed when I have to ask for directions in English.
Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

36. I get nervous every time I have to speak in English in public.

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

37. It is important to me to associate with English speakers.

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

38. English is important to my cultural identity.

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

The following section contains a number of questions concerning Spanish and English in the United States. Please give your first reaction to the questions, being as honest as possible.

39. It is necessary to speak Spanish in order to be considered Hispanic.

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

40. Spanish is important to my cultural identity.

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

41. How highly do you regard Spanish?

Low 1 2 3 4 5 6 High

42. It is important to me to associate with Spanish speakers.

Strongly AGREE 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly DISAGREE

43. How positively do you view Spanish?

Low 1 2 3 4 5 6 High

44. How highly do you think Spanish is regarded in the community in which you live?

Low 1 2 3 4 5 6 High

45. How important is the Spanish language to you?

Very Important 1 2 3 4 5 6 Not at all important

46. How important is it to you that your children learn Spanish?

Very Important 1 2 3 4 5 6 Not at all important

47. How highly do you think English is viewed in the community in which you live?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 very highly

48. How important is the English language to you?

Very Important 1 2 3 4 5 6 Not at all important

49. How well-represented is English in mass media (e.g., television, radio, newspapers) in your community?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Extremely well

50. In your opinion, how well-represented is Spanish in business institutions in Pennsylvania as a whole?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Exclusively

51. How well-represented is Spanish in mass media (e.g., television, radio, newspapers) in your community?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Extremely well

52. How important is it to you that your children learn English?

Very Important 1 2 3 4 5 6 Not at all important

53. How highly do you think people of Hispanic descent are regarded in your community?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 very highly

54. How highly do you think people of European descent are regarded in your community?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 very highly

55. Before you submit this survey, please feel free to make any comments about the study.

Thank you for participating in this study

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