Codeswitching: An Examination of Naturally Occurring Conversation

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1. Introduction

A bi-multilingual has the resources of two or more languages at their disposal. When in contact with others who share these resources, they may draw upon all their languages to communicate. The term "Codeswitching" (CS) is used to refer to this utilization of language resources in multilinguals' speech. Codeswitching is not hit or miss (Myers Scotton and Jake, 2001), and begins with conceptually activated discourse-level decisions (*ibid*). Codeswitching has been approached from different theoretical perspectives, and within these, employing different levels of analyses.

The purpose of the present study is to examine naturally occurring telephone conversations between bilingual Spanish/English speakers, to describe the types of codeswitching that occur, to analyze how codeswitching is used as a feature of discourse: for emphasis, change of topic, as a function of communicative stance, and to explain how the structures in their codeswitching may illuminate their bilingual competence. Rather than a quantitative analysis, due to the small number of participants, the examples of codeswitching will be analyzed qualitatively as to their functions within bilingual discourse. However, some general observations can be made about the differences in frequency of codeswitching amongst the participants. In addition, by the use of interviews, information was elicited from the participants about their bilingual backgrounds and attitudes towards bilingualism and codeswitching. The details afforded from these linguistic biographies will be factored into the analyses to determine how these can underpin and explain the forms and frequency of codeswitching used.

Codeswitching is also viewed as a bilingual/multilingual practice that is used not only as a conversational tool, but also as a way to establish, maintain and delineate ethnic boundaries and identities. As a social process, codeswitching has been understood to provide multilinguals with "a resource for indexing situationally salient aspects of context in speakers' attempts to accomplish interactional goals" (Heller, 1988: 3).

After a review of the literature outlining the different approaches to the study of codeswitching, attention will be focused on the discourse-related approach, and how this paradigm will be used in the present study. The methodology used to collect and transcribe the data will be outlined, including ethnographic information in the form of linguistic biographies of the participants.

2. Background research in codeswitching

Codeswitching as a field of study has a rich and varied literature encompassing research based on various theoretical models and research methodologies. The dominant perspectives in the study of codeswitching have been either sociolinguistic or grammatical in nature. The sociolinguistic approach has examined languages in contact in bilingual or migrant communities and concerns itself with the social and political motivations for its use. For example, codeswitching as a conversational strategy has been investigated in Gibraltar, where Spanish and English have been in contact for several hundred years (Moyer, 1998), social networks used by bilingual communities in Britain (Milroy and Wei, 1995), in New York by Puerto Rican immigrants (Poplack, 1980; Zentella, 1990), Los Angeles by Japanese/English speakers (Yamamoto, 2001), Arizona by Spanish/Neuhuatl speakers (MacSwan, 2000), and many other studies from around the world.

How codeswitching serves to function as a way of identifying and to align oneself with a group is another issue that researchers have examined (Barker, 1975; Hill & Hill, 1986; Myers Scotton, 1988,

1993; Myers Scotton & Ury, 1977; Zentella, 1997). This sociolinguistic perspective can be seen as a "Macro" approach to the study of codeswitching, as it defines its analyses to the larger view of codeswitching as a function of social context and hierarchies. In addition, the examination of language ideologies and attitudes have also been noted as an underlying factor (Gal, 1987, 1988; Jaffe, 1999; Kroskrity, 1993).

The grammatical approach to the study of codeswitching is psycholinguistic in nature, which entails experimental studies to support models of bilingual language processing. These models try to explain how bilinguals differ from monolinguals in the way their languages are internalized. Issues such as message construction, lexical access, and the integration of lexical and syntactic representation in bilingual language production and comprehension have been addressed (Bialystok, 2001; Dussais,2001; Grosjean, 1997; Muyksen, 2000; Myers Scotton & Jake, 2001).

In addition, the grammatical and syntactic investigation of codeswitching is driven by the notion that there are structural constraints on its production and that there is a systematic favoritism for switches to involve certain forms. The experimental methodologies used include elicitation, comprehension and grammaticality judgment tasks. Studies like those by Woolford (1983) and McSwann (2000) seek to explain codeswitching in terms of the Chomskian underlying frameworks for generative grammar. This approach can be seen as a "Micro" perspective, as it concerns itself purely with the syntactic formulation of codeswitched bilingual production and way their languages are internalized.

More recently, attention has been drawn to codeswitching as discourse related, in that its use contributes to the interactional meaning of the utterance and organizes conversation. The verbal interaction between bilingual speakers is therefore open to, as Auer (1995) has said, "local processes of language negotiation and code selection". This view is attempting to bridge the gap between the sociolinguistic approach that restricts its analysis to the social significance of codeswitching within bilingual communities, and the strictly grammatical approach, which seeks to explain models of psycholinguistic language processing or to define codeswitching in terms of grammatical models. Forms of codeswitching, including intrasentential, nonce borrowing, a shift to another language for a word or phrase, is now looked at within the context of conversational interaction, including change of topic, situation or interlocutor. P. Auer (1998) identifies eight conversational loci in which codeswitching is frequent:

1. Reported speech.
2. Change of participant constellation (address selection and the use of codeswitching to include/exclude/marginalize participants or bystanders).
3. Parentheses or side comments.
4. Reiterations (quasi-translations into the other language for the purpose of putting emphasis on demands, requests, for clarification, attracting attention and the regulation of turn taking).
5. Change of activity type (also referred to as mode shift or role shift).
6. Topic shift.
7. Puns, language play and shift of key.
8. Topicalization and topic/comment structure.

The purpose of this study to examine where codeswitching is being used as an element of discourse, e.g. to change the topic and provide emphasis. Rather than looking at codeswitched items in isolation, it is important to view the example within the context of its production, i.e. to view its position within conversational interaction. The methodology for such an analysis necessitates the collection of naturally occurring conversation.

Codeswitching has also been viewed as embedding relationships and attitudes in a wider social context. Woolard (1988) sees CS as socially motivated, functional and strategic, and represents the intersection of social identity, consciousness and action. Blom & Gumperz (1972) note codeswitching as being either "situational" or "metaphorical", and can show clear changes in the participants' definition of each other's rights and obligations (p.424). Situational codeswitching is seen as a code selection or language choice rather than "switching", and tends to be inter- rather than intrasentential.

Metaphorical codeswitching is viewed as alluding to the semantic effect depending on the typical "associations of the language" (*ibid*).

Shifting perspective is also noted as an underlying factor (Gumperz & Hernandez Chavez, 1975). Gal (1987) points out that some bilingual communities may allow intimate mixing, while others sanction a strict compartmentalization of codes. Heller (1988) discusses CS and attempts made towards a dynamic model in which it can be seen as "a resource for indexing situationally salient aspects of context in speaker's attempts to accomplish interactional goals" and to produce conventional social discourse or referential meaning (p.3).

3. Methodology

Over a period of four months, the telephone line of Participant A was connected to a voice-activated tape recorder. This was done in order to document calls to and from the TV cable company, with whom she was having a dispute at the time. All callers to the line were informed that their conversations were being recorded. However, after time, speakers "forgot" about the recording so this did not ultimately affect the naturalness of the conversations. The tapes were made available to the researcher. Not all the conversations recorded were relevant for the present study. Transcription was made using the format established by Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974) in the field of Conversational Analysis. Careful note was made of when switches from one language to another were made, in order to facilitate analysis. The names of the participants have been changed to protect their anonymity.

In addition, each of the participants was interviewed to establish their bilingual histories, and to elicit their attitudes towards bilingualism and codeswitching in general. These will be outlined next.

4. Participants, ethnography and linguistic biographies
4.1 Participant A

Named **Ana** in the transcript, Participant A is a 74-year-old native Spanish speaker of Mexican descent. She was born in Navajoa, Sonora, and lived there until her family moved to Tijuana when she was a young teenager. She moved to the United States at age 19, and has lived in the U.S. now for over 50 years. Ana reported that aside from schooling in Spanish, she had no "formal" instruction in Spanish. She has had little formal instruction in English, comprising of one semester of an adult education English language course. During her first years living in the U.S. she worked in a clothing factory making suits, which required a high level of expertise. Ana notes that although her boss was American, both Spanish and English were used in the workplace. She married an American monolingual English speaker at age 23, and has lived in English-speaking California neighborhoods throughout her marriage. It is interesting to note that as time progressed and her family grew, she spoke less Spanish in the home as her competence in English increased, and now almost exclusively speaks English to her four grown children. She remains in close contact with her Mexican family, now mostly living in San Diego, and also has Spanish-speaking friends and home help. When answering the telephone, Ana will normally execute her greeting in English, and will then speak either English or Spanish depending on the caller. However, there are also a few bilingual Spanish/English speakers with who she will also speak to in English.

When interviewed, Ana reported that she considered her native language to be Spanish, and that she also considered herself to be a "fluent bilingual". When asked about what she thought the advantages of being bilingual, she said that she found it a useful way to "take advantage" of people who didn't understand which language she was speaking. Ana was ambivalent on the issue of codeswitching. She considered "mixing" languages a sign of incompetent usage. Ana referred to "pocho" (the vernacular dialect of Chicano Americans) in a pejorative way, saying that they way spoke was a form of slang and not "real" Spanish. She also stated that she tried to bring her children up bilingually.

4.2 Participant B

Participant B is named **Bea** in the transcript examples and is a 73-year-old native of Lordburgh, New Mexico. The language of her birth family was Spanish as her parents were Mexican immigrants, and she grew up in a Spanish-speaking environment. However, she went to English speaking schools, and presumably learned English there and in the larger community. She stated that she had had no formal instruction in Spanish. Bea has lived and worked in the United States all her life. She was married for a time to an American English speaker, and secondly to a monolingual Mexican Spanish speaker, Participant A, Ana's brother. The relationship between these two is that of sisters-in-law. Ana and Bea have known each other for over 25 years, and speak to each other primarily in Spanish. Therefore, any English that appears in their discourse has been viewed as a codeswitch. Not only do Ana and Bea share language resources, but also shared history and experiences.

Bea does not have any children, but has close contact with her sister, another bilingual Spanish/English speaker, and had many friends and acquaintances, both bilingual and monolingual, in both languages.

When interviewed, Bea noted that she considered Spanish to be her native language, and that she saw herself as a fluent bilingual. Her attitudes towards her bilingualism included the positive aspect of "being able to understand other people, to be able to help other people, and to understand what's happening in other nations".

As an observation by the researcher, it is noted here that Bea, when speaking English, did not codeswitch into Spanish while being interviewed.

4.3 Participant C

Named **Cal** in the transcript examples, Participant C is a 40-year-old male born in Torrance, California, the youngest son, and the youngest child of four, of Ana. The languages of his birth family were both English and Spanish, so his linguistic background differs from the first two participants in that he was brought up in a bilingual household. However, the notes made above about Ana's increasing use of English must be kept in mind, and the fact that Cal is the youngest of Ana's four children. Cal would have been exposed to Spanish in the home the *least* amount of his siblings. Cal also grew up in the U.S., attending English-speaking schools, and noted that his formal instruction in Spanish began in junior high school and continued through to college level. He considers English to be his native language, but also regards himself as a fluent bilingual. He is married to a monolingual English-speaking wife, and speaks in English exclusively in his own home, and to his two young sons. When interviewed about his attitudes towards his bilingual upbringing, Cal said that: "most often we, as children, were spoken to [in Spanish] whenever our mom was mad at us". Although this observation denoted a negative emotional experience in Spanish interaction with his mother, he explained that he felt his bilingualism to be an asset to communication and understanding, and also as a positive realization of his heritage.

4.4 Participant D

Participant D is named **Dora** in the transcript examples. She is the 84-year-old older sister of Ana. She was also born and brought up in Navajoa, Senora, Mexico, and moved to Tijuana as an adult, along with the rest of her family. Dora has lived and worked in the United States for much of her adult life, and was the first of her Mexican family to do so, providing her younger sister with the opportunity to join her in the clothing factory. Dora has not had any formal instruction in English, but as the main provider for her mother and younger siblings, she was the first to venture across the border in the hopes to better her family's economic standing. She was married to a monolingual English speaker for some years, and since widowed, lives with her son in the U.S., and to whom she speaks both Spanish and English. Dora considers her native language to be Spanish, and regards herself as a "pretty good bilingual". She explained that being bilingual has been essential for living and working in the United States. Dora also noted that since retiring from an English-environment workplace, and being involved

with a monolingual Spanish-speaking local church and their activities, she uses her English less. Table 1 outlines the self-reported details of the participants' linguistic backgrounds.

Table 1. Participants Linguistic Backgrounds

Participant	Native Lang	Bilingual?	Mixing good or bad?	Other comments
	Years in U.S		Acknowledges mixing langs?	
Ana	Spanish	Fluent	bad	Manipulating interaction
	50+		Says no	
Bea	Spanish	Fluent	good	Understanding and helping people
	From birth		Says yes	
Cal	English	Fluent	neutral	Notes mother used Spanish when angry
	From birth		Says no	
Dora	Spanish	Pretty good	bad	Bilingualism essential for living and working in US
	50+		Says no	

From this information, it can be proposed that Ana and Dora are 'sequential' bilinguals (Poplack, 1980), as they acquired English as adults. Although Cal might be considered as a 'native' bilingual, as he was exposed to both languages from birth, the information gleaned from the interviews of Cal and his mother Ana reveal that Ana spoke less Spanish in the home as she learned more English, and as Cal is the youngest, for him the home environment was mostly in English. Cal 'picked up' his Spanish again when taking formal instruction in school. Bea, on the other hand, grew up in a Spanish speaking home, a bilingual community, and learned English from the start of schooling. She can be considered a 'native' bilingual. Poplack (1980) suggests that 'sequential' and 'native' bilinguals will codeswitch differently. Sequential bilinguals tend not to switch intrasententially, and will conform to constituent boundaries. Native bilinguals are observed to do the most mixing, and it is purported that this displays their bilingual competence.

It can be seen from the previous outlines of the participants that they know and are related to each other. However, in spite of their familial connections, their linguistic biographies differ, and their attitudes towards their bilingualism also. The importance of establishing this background information will be crucial in developing the analyses of the codeswitching that occurs between the participants in their conversations. By investigating the participants' meta-linguistic awareness of their bilingualism and backgrounds, it will allow for a more thorough understanding of the possible motivations underlying the discourse-related features of codeswitching that occurs, and help to explain their use.

5. Data and analysis

First observations of the transcripts reveal that each of the participants' use of codeswitching varies enormously. Observations of Ana's production reveal that she rarely codeswitches in either English or Spanish. Although phonological forms are not being analyzed in this study, it is noted that Ana's English is phonologically influenced by her Spanish. Bea's codeswitching into English occurs often while speaking Spanish, and the phonological features match the languages she uses during codeswitches. It has been observed that Bea does *not* codeswitch into Spanish when speaking to monolingual English speakers. Cal does not codeswitch from English to Spanish at all; save for

addressing his mother as *mamá* at the beginning of the telephone call. This is consistent with the fact that his mother Ana speaks almost exclusively to her children in English. Dora tends not to codeswitch within utterances, but as will be seen, will change codes (language) under certain circumstances.

Many forms of codeswitching were observed in the transcripts that have been outlined in the literature. These include lexical, nonce-borrowing, inter- and intrasentential codeswitching, tags, interjections and expressions. Table 2 outlines the observations made about the codeswitching by each participant, including whether phonological features of each language are adhered to while switching. These are based on the conversations transcribed, and does not actually give a complete picture of each participants' bilingual language use in other contexts, and with other interlocutors.

Table 2. Codeswitching by Participants

Participant	E to S	S to E	Lexical / Phrasal	Phonology Matches lang	Intersent	Intrasent
Ana	Yes	Yes	Yes / No	No	Yes	Only at constituent boundaries
Bea	Not to English speakers	Yes	Yes / Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cal	No	No	Once / No	Yes	No	No
Dora	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No

Examples of the types of codeswitching produced by Bea and Ana are given in Tables 3 and 4. In all tables and the examples of conversation to follow, codeswitches will be highlighted in **bold**. Because tag expressions such as *I know, you know, o.k.* etc. occur with such regularity and have little conversational import, they have been noted in bold, but are not being considered as a true codeswitch. English translations are provided beneath each utterance.

Bea's codeswitching examples reveal that she uses Spanish determiners with English nouns. In addition, those feminine determiners occurring with *stroller, baby* and *babysitter* agree with Spanish translations of these lexical items, but the use of *los* with *cleaners* is not so straightforward. Spanish words for laundromats or dry cleaning establishments are gender-feminine (*la lavanderia; la tintoteria*). It is possible that Bea is referring to the Spanish word *limpiador(a)* which can take either gender, but refers to a 'person that cleans', and is not obvious from the context.

Example (1) in Table 3 displays that Bea codeswitches intrasententially to the point of hybridity in her bilingual production.

Example (1) in Table 4 shows that Ana codeswitched into English for the discourse marker *anyway.* Example (3) is interesting as Ana uses the noun *babysitter* as a verb. Examples (4) and (5) above show that Ana's codeswitches from English to Spanish to her son are restricted to the use of *pero* ('but') and the affectionate address term *mijito* ('my son').

Examining the transcripts also reveals that codeswitching is occurring for the purposes of emphasis and topic shift.

Table 3. Codeswitching Types – Bea
Lexical, Phrasal, Intrasentential, Expressions

1. Bea:	**she had to go to work** a la una y hiba a a ala reg-(.)
	la **stroller** de la **baby** y la ropita pide a
	la **babysitter**, eh eh va par trabajo. Vive-trab-al (.)
	Hollywood Park, **I mean** alli trabaja ella (.) en los
	cleaners, you know?
	(she had to go to work at one and was a a at the /reg??/ the baby's stroller and the baby clothes that the babysitter asked for, eh eh she goes to work. She lives-wor- at Hollywood Park, she works there (.) at the cleaners, you know?)
2. Bea:	Eh, es **beautiful I know** es still aqui poquito»esta todavia,
	(Eh, it's beautiful I know it's still here a little>> it's here still,)
	porqué acá paracá por la **west, you know**?
	(because here over here towards the west, you know?
Ana:	y (.) mes caminó los escallones de su casa, me ayudó
	(and(.)I climbed the stairs of his house, he helped me)
	hasta que me subí al carro y me comodo bien
	(until I got into the car and was settled in)
	entonces cerró la puert[a
	(and then he closed the door[)
3. Bea:	[Ay, que **cu:te**
	(Oh, how cute)

Table 4. Codeswitching Types: Ana
Lexical

Spanish/English	
1. Ana:	Ay hhh **Anyway** se caba de ir el Alvin **now.**
	(Anyway, Alvin as just finished leaving now.)
2. Ana:	Si pero bonito que saló el sol **early** en la mañana
	(yes, but it got nice when the sun came out early in the morning)
3. Ana:	A llevar la Josefina y allirse a **babysitter**.
	(to take Josefina [home] and go babysit.)
English/Spanish	
4. Ana:	Well (0.1) anyway I went once not to sleep in the hotel **pero** to hear Liberace play.
5. Ana:	Yeah. (.) well. Sounds good, **mijito**.

5.1 Emphasis

There are several examples where codeswitching occurs for the purposes of emphasis, with different communicative import. This first example is taken from the opening of a conversation between Ana and her son Cal, and displays how Ana switches from English to Spanish to show her anger. Cal has been lax in communicating with his mother to thank her for the birthday card and check that she had sent to him.

Example 1. Emphasis: Ana and Cal
01   (phone rings)
02 Ana: Hello?
03 Cal: Hi **mamá**

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04          (0.5)
05  Ana:    Si, qué pasó cabron!
            (Yes, what happened, you "s.o.b."!)
06  Cal:    hhh ha ha: ha [ha
07  Ana:                  [h- ye:ah (.) you laughin aboudit?
08  Cal:    hh[ha:
09  Ana:      [you think so it's cute?
10  Cal:    No no I don't think it's cute bu[t =
11  Ana:                                    [hh
12  Cal:    = I just think it's funny that for some reason I expected you to
13              get on my cas[e =
14  Ana:                    =[hh-why?
15  Cal:    For not calling you back sooner.
```

After Ana answers the phone, Cal replies with a greeting to his mother, switching to Spanish for *mamá* to address her. A pause at line 04 follows this indicating "trouble ahead". Ana does not return Cal's greeting in a timely manner, and switches to Spanish to deliver her own reply with its emphasis of displeasure. Cal responds with laughter, diffusing what seems like an angry response from Ana and also ultimately showing his understanding of the reason for her displeasure, as shown in lines 12, 13 and 15. This example also supports Cal's observations and comments in his interview when he said that he remembered that as a child his mother used Spanish when she was angry.

As well as switching from English to Spanish to show her anger, Ana also switched from Spanish to English. This occurred when her sister Dora called, and when she came to the phone, Ana began a conversation with her in English when she and her sister *know* that they normally speak in Spanish exclusively to each other, in order to make clear that she was unhappy with her sister.

Example 2. Emphasis: Ana and Dora

```
01  Ana:    Hello?
02  Dora:       Ay
03  Ana:    What happened to you?
04  Dora:       What happened to you? I wanna call you>>I gonna sing you
05              Happy Birthday [and you
06  Ana:                      [oh you don't have to,
07  Dora:       why not?
08          (0.5)
09  Ana:    Because if you wanted it you could've mailed me a little card.
10  Dora:       I se:nd you a ca:rd↑ Mina,
11  Ana:    Eh?
12  Dora:       I send↓ you a card.
13  Ana:    Well I don't hh I don't have it yet.
14  Dora:       We:ll↓ (.) it's not my fault.
15  Ana:    Yeah, well you di[dn't
16  Dora:                    [I ma:iled the card and got (.)
17              Sergio signed it too be[cause
18  Ana:                              [and why didn't you send it in December
19              that it would be here in my time
20  Dora: ➔    Heh Hhhe>> Anda por los doctores revuelta y revuelta paca y
21              para allá me espere no me espere…
                (I went to the doctor's back and forth, here and there, I waited, and I didn't wait...)
```

In this case, Ana's displeasure is displayed by her use of English, and again the use of laugh tokens by Dora in line 20 mitigates and diffuses the negative aspect of the conversation, at which point she switches back to Spanish. In fact, Dora changes the topic altogether and begins to tell Ana about her trip

to the doctor's office. The laugh tokens seem to address Ana's annoyance, and the remainder of their conversation has no reference to Ana's grievance expressed in English to her sister. In this example, Ana's choice of code is used to display her annoyance with her sister, who, after displaying her recognition of the problem, switches back to their 'default' code of Spanish to continue their conversation.

In the previous examples, it was shown how a complete switch of language was made to exhibit anger and displeasure. In the following examples, codeswitching for emphasis is made with a different purpose.

Here, Ana and Bea are discussing the problems experienced by Ana's eldest son.

Example 3. Emphasis: Ana and Bea
```
01  Ana :       Si, pero el podía a derecho (.) el David?
                (Yes, but he could've taken the right path (.) David, that is?)
02  Bea :    Of course, tubo el mismo opportunidad.
                (Of course, he had the same opportunities)
03  Ana:     ExactaME:nte.
                (Exactly.)
04  Bea :    Pero no quiso (.) no quiso,
                (But he didn't want to (.) he didn't want to,)
05  Ana:     No, el no quiso pues que-no-que todavia iba tener
                (No, he didn't want to well-that-no-that he still thinks he'll have
06              al todo mundo a sus pies.
                (the whole world at his feet.)
07  Bea:      Es que la drug lo agarró.
                (It's that the drugs got him.)
08  Ana :      Eh?
09  Bea :     La drug lo agarró muy muy de afuerte,
                (the drugs got hold of him very hard,)
```

In this conversation, Ana and Bea are discussing the problems that Ana's eldest son has in organizing and taking responsibility in his life, Bea mentioning in line 02 that David had the same opportunities as his siblings. In line 07, Bea offers a possible reason underlying David's difficulties, and switches to English, complete with phonological features to say *la **drug***. This is an interesting example, as the word for *drug* in Spanish is *la droga*, a similar enough cognate to have been used without switching. By using the English version, Bea emphasizes the negative aspect of the noun, and the bad influence that David's use of such has had on his behavior. Ana in line 8 responds with an other-initiated repair, showing that she either didn't hear or understand what Bea had said, but in either case requiring that Bea repeat herself, which she does using the English word *drug* again. In her second offering in line 09, Bea also makes this utterance even stronger with emphasis by saying that *la **drug** lo agarró muy muy afuert*e ("the drugs got hold of him very very hard").

In the next example, Ana and Bea are discussing the events that occurred when Ana's son, daughter-in-law and their two young sons had come to visit at her house. Ana's young grandsons had come to mischief during this visit by climbing up onto the roof of her house, and frightening the neighbors below who could see them.

Example 4. Emphasis: Ana and Bea
```
01  Ana:      Ellos(??) tomando tantos gritos (.) que anda los
                (They (??) were shouting a storm (.) that the
02              muchachitos amba del techo se van a caer pa mi
                (little boys were on the roof and were going to fall off my
03              cas[a
                (house)
04  Bea:         [y eso gente dondestan?=
                    (and those people, where were they?)
```

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05  Ana:        =No, y si van a caer pa su casa dellas,
             (=No, and they were going to fall on their house, so)
06           pue[s
07  Bea:         [si, pero ya no esta gente dormido que no se cuida=
              (yes, but surely they weren't so asleep that they weren't taking care)
08  Ana:    =Sí::-no- aquí estaba la mamá tambien!
             (yes-no- their mother was here, too!)
09  Bea:    Por favo:r /??/ estan dormidos, o.k.?
             (Please /??/ they're asleep, o.k.?)
10           Nunca deja los ojos (0.3) OFF (0.3) a little boy (.) Nu:nca
           (never take your eyes (0.3) OFF (0.3) a little boy (.) Never)
```

Again in this example it is Bea who switches into English intrasententially to express emphasis and consternation that the young boys were not being supervised carefully enough. The pauses that occur between the codeswitched *off,* and *little boy* serve to set off their emphatic import. This example is interesting as the construction of the sentence in line 10 is grammatically awkward in Spanish and could be analyzed as an English sentence 'built' in Spanish. In Spanish this might be said as "No quita los ojos de encina de un niño." The translation of the Spanish words of this sentence into English forms a perfectly grammatical English sentence. Whether this is a form of 'interference' from English into Bea's Spanish cannot be established with conviction without additional data of Bea's Spanish constructions. However, it does point to the hybridity of Bea's language use.

5.2 Topic Shift

Examples where codeswitching is used for topic shift were also found. In the first of these examples Ana and Bea are discussing the earthquake that they had both felt. Topic shifts are arrowed.

Example 5. Topic Shift: Ana and Bea

```
01  Ana:        Mmm Hmm
02  Bea:        I guess it was, y me levanté y [y
                (I guess it was, and I got up and  [and)
03  Ana:➔                                    [pero no sentiste el terremoto?
                                               (but didn't you feel the earthquake?)
04  Bea:        Si, pero un poquito del noche del otro vez, verdad?
                 (yes, but just a little the other night, another time, right?)
05  Ana:        Ye:ah
06  Bea:        (???) se movió el de you know, ese terremoto el de el del
                domingo en la mañana, si ere terremoto, estaba
               en la mañana, en el  domingo en la mañana (.)pero no
               hace un terremoto horita, pero no no no grande, you know?
                  (????) it moved the you know, that earthquake it of it on Sunday in the morning,
                   yes there
                   was an earthquake it was in the morning on Sunday in the morning (.) but there's no
                   earthquake now, but not big, you know?)
07  Ana:        No
08  Bea:        Y aquí en tu casa?
                (and here at your house?)
09  Ana:        También
                (also)
10  Bea:    o.k. oido a las dos y no dicho nada?
                (O.K. I heard from you at two and you didn't say anything?
```

11	Ana:	No porque, pa que>no le annuncio- que se tumba las casas no
		[mas
		(no, because, why should>they don't announce- only when houses fall down)
12	Bea:	[haha ese fué el jeuves (.)—**two** uh **one**
		(haha that was on Thursday two-uh-one)
13	Bea:	[**some**
14	Ana:	[pa que pa que van anunciar(.)no mas lo quieron
		(why why are they going to announce(.) they only want)
		anunciar cuando tumba las casas
		(to announce it when the houses collapse)
15	Bea:	**I know it.**
16	Ana: ➜	Ay hhh **Anyway** se caba de ir el Alvin **now.**
		(Anyway, Alvin as just finished leaving now.)
17	Bea:	a donde?
18	Ana:	A llevar la Josefina y allirse a **babysitter**
		(to take Josefina [home] and go babysit.)

In line 03 Ana introduces the topic of the earthquake with the use of *pero* as a discourse marker. She and Bea commence their discussion about the earthquake, and in line 16 Ana introduces another topic with the use of the English discourse marker *anyway*. In the following example, Bea switches to English entirely to proffer a new topic for conversation.

Example 6. Topic Shift: Ana and Bea

01	Bea:	Que pasó?
		(what's happened?)
02	Ana:	Nada
		(nothing)
03	Bea: ➜	Como esta»como esta»esta nublado, no?
		(how are you/how are you, it's cloudy, isn't it?)
04	Ana:	Sí pero bonito que saló el sol **early** en la mañana
		(yes, but it got nice when the sun came out early in the morning)
05	Bea:	Eh, es **beautiful I know** es still aqui poquito»esta todavia,
		(Eh, it's beautiful I know it's still here a little it's still here,)
06		porqué acá paracá por le **west, you know**?
		(because here over here towards the west, you know?)
07	Ana:	**Yeah**
08	Bea:	Todavia esta por un ratito..**Yea:h**
		(here still for a little while, yeah)
09	Ana:	Y y pacá también esta
		(and and over here it is also)
10	Bea : ➜	**Somebody call me this morning I don't whether uh (.)**
11		**who it was (0.1) uh nothing more n'about maybe (0.1)**
12		**m- eleven or twelve** y corrí a llevar el telefono al baño
		(and I ran to take the telephone to the bathroom)

In this example, after initial greetings are exchanged, Bea offers a topic discussing the weather and the fact that it is still cloudy. After a few turns on this topic, in line 10 Bea switches to English to proffer a new topic about a phone call she had received that morning. In line 12, intrasententially, Bea switches back to Spanish.

6. Summary

Examples of codeswitching described in the literature were found in the conversations between the four bilingual participants. These include lexical, tags, expressions, phrases, inter- as well as intrasentential; and the switches were found to be used as discourse features, i.e. for emphasis, change of topic, and for display of affect. Gender agreement (or non agreement) was found in the morphological switching made by Bea in her use of Spanish determiners with English nouns.

There were observed differences in the codeswitching engaged in by each of the participants. Cal, who grew up in a household that became less bilingual as he grew up, codeswitches the least. In fact, although he self-reports that he is a fluent bilingual, he does not switch to Spanish when speaking to his mother. The linguistic biography elicited from him reveals that he speaks English to his bilingual mother, and the few instances of Spanish that he does use are affectionate address terms. Ana and Dora, as sisters who moved to the United States when adults, and learned English at that time, do not codeswitch very much, but even to each other will use both English and Spanish, and it was shown that a switch to English was used to display affective displeasure. This type of switching also occurred when Ana wished to show her displeasure to her son Cal, when she switched from English, her normal language of interaction with him, to Spanish. The linguistic biographies elicited from Ana and Dora reveal that their attitudes towards being bilingual include the belief that mixing languages shows a lack of competence. These three participants, whose acquisition of their second languages came later in their lives, show by the construction and instigation of their codeswitching that as sequential bilinguals, their languages are kept more separate within their use.

Bea, as her biography reveals, began her life as a bilingual very young, and has used both languages throughout her life. She codeswitched the most of all the participants, and examples show that she, of all, codeswitched inter- and intrasententially, morphologically, and her Spanish showed evidence of underlying English structure. This points to a hybridity in her bilingual speech, and supports the view of Poplack (1980), and Zentella (1997), that native bilinguals will codeswitch freely in this way. In addition, her positive attitudes towards her bilingualism and towards "mixing" also support her use of codeswitching as a strategy for communication with other bilinguals.

By eliciting linguistic biographies from the participants, it was possible to examine the underlying factors that may drive their bilingual speech. This added another dimension to the analyses of the conversations collected between these four interlocutors. The nature of their acquired bilingualism, and their attitudes towards their language use help to explain the differences in the ways that they codeswitched in conversation.

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