Code-Switching in the Radio

by

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Álvaro Cerrón-Palomino, Chair Carmen García Fernández Barbara Lafford ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the Spanish (SPA) and English (ENG) code-switching

(CS) at Latino Vibe (LV), a bilingual radio station in Phoenix, Arizona from a

sociolinguistic perspective. Using Gumperz's (1982) Conversational Functions

of CS, Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model, and Bell's (1984) Audience

Design model, this thesis intends to evaluate which one of these sociolinguistic

models is the most accurate to explain the SPA-ENG CS at LV. In January

2009, the data were collected in a two week period of programming of the show

"José y Tina en la mañana" (José and Tina in the morning), and then

transcribed. This qualitative study consisted in analyzing the same subset of the

data, corresponding to ten days. The model with the greater predictably of the

types of CS and their causes would be considered the most appropriate for the

data studied. The results show that CS is common and that codeswitched

utterances are the most representative at LV. The conclusion also states that out

of the three models, Gumperz's accounts better for the data than the other two.

It explains more clearly the reasons why LV announcers code-switch in

particular social contexts, and the important role of these switches during their

interaction in this bilingual radio station.

KEYWORDS: Code-switching, bilingual radio, Spanish-English

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my father and to my bilingual family.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Because people travel and move from one country or region to another, there is constant contact with different groups of people in a natural setting, which brings about multilingualism (Walters, 2005). Even though most individuals practice the language they learn at home, a public area where several languages are spoken eventually becomes a place of multilingualism (Carder, 2007). In such areas, multilingualism raises issues, such as how people learn and practice two or more languages, as well as how those languages are cross-accessed for communication. Another issue of concern is how the use of two or more languages represents and shapes the cultural identity of every individual (Grosjean, 1982; Heller, 1998).

For the purpose of this thesis, code-switching (CS) as a distinctive characteristic of bilingual speech will be the focus of analysis. Muysken (2000, p.1) describes CS as "the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech sentence," for example: "you want to be the first winner *esta mañana*, you gotta *call seis, cero, dos, dos, sesenta*" ("you want to be the first winner this morning, you gotta call six, zero, two, two, sixty).

Studies on CS started with H.Schuchardt, who around 1884 centered his work on Romance languages from a historic viewpoint, and also brought attention to language contact and language mixing (Guus and Muysken, 1977). In addition, in 1917, A. Espinosa developed studies on linguistics and wrote folklore regarding the relationship between the rural Spanish speaking

communities and Anglo traditions in the Southwest (Meyer, 1996). U.Weinreich (1953, p.73) commented that bilinguals code switch "from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in speech situation," and adds that learners of a second language use the first language form as part of their process of learning the target language. The language spoken at home, with family and in religious events is considered to be the first language (L1), whereas the language used at school and work is considered to be the second language (L2) (Labov, 1972; Myers-Scotton, 1993).

The code switching phenomenon has attracted a lot of attention in fields such as anthropological linguistics, language teaching, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and grammatical properties on bilingual conversations, among many others (Boumans, 1998). This thesis quotes data from various studies on code-switching (CS), in particular in the Spanish (SPA) and English (ENG) language-pair. It provides a brief background from a historical point of view, as well as the reasons and motivations to code switch in the printed media, radio, and the Web. Given that more CS studies have focused on classroom settings and home situations, it would be of a great value to have research which focuses specifically on CS in the media. According to Ennaji, M. (1995), not enough researchers have studied the linguistic features of the radio, even though it is a popular and powerful instrument of instruction, information and entertainment.

In the following section, relevant information on topics related to CS will be presented. The first part focuses on theories of CS and describes the various types of CS. The second part focuses on the audience and its role in CS in the radio.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Theories on Code Switching

Several researchers have discussed CS using different terminology: code alternation, code change, code mixing, code shift, language mixture, among others. Boumans (1998) regarded the term Code Switching proposed by E. Haugen around 1950, as the most extended one. Ambert and Melendez (1985), Sanchez (1994), and Peñalosa (1980) indicated that in the United States, under the proclamation of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, not only were SPA speaking students with limited ENG abilities benefiting from the use of two languages, but all minority language speakers were as well. CS in SPA-ENG studies increased, as a means of understanding and overcoming the problem of poor educational achievements in certain ethnic groups (Labov, 1972; MacNamara, 1972). Del Risco (2001) and Sanchez (1994) commented that the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 inspired the study of CS as an additional type of bilingual competence that was both meaningful and constrained by grammatical rules.

According to (Callahan, 2004, Grosjean, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1997), CS occurs in informal communicative interactions, such as teasing, using humor, playing, and also within a conversation when beginning an interchange or changing the topic.

Grosjean (1982) and Savic (1994) noted that CS occurs when quoting another person's speech as a signal of authority, in order to distinguish between

personal and impersonal conversations, when using interjections, reiterations, to attract the addressee's attention, and to make emphasis or clarify aspects of an utterance.

Specifically, in the border state of Arizona, SPA and ENG are spoken interchangeably in the radio station Latino Vibe (LV) 95.1 FM which was selected for this thesis. Linguists (Lipski, 2008; Toribio, 2002; Zentella, 1990) stated that it is not clear whether SPA will increase or decrease its use against ENG. The growing SPA speaking population in this area may maintain its language by gaining access to public spheres, or it may reduce its domain of practice, favoring ENG monolingualism.

At the individual level, Grosjean (1982) reported that code switchers felt as if they had some type of double mentality, and language choice matched different personalities. However, similar studies by Hamers and Blanc (2000) indicated that whenever bilinguals code switch they use both languages following the semantic and syntactic norms of both languages in easy and fluent ways.

Another reason for CS is an identifying trademark or membership in a certain society (Ardila, 2005; Callahan, 2004; Gafaranga). This CS conveys US Latinos genuine means of characterizing their dual culture, by maintaining a high level of SPA and ENG. On the other hand, a different approach attested in Zentella's (1997) studies is that for a vast population of US Latinos CS is nothing else than a common way of communication.

Other groups of US Latinos make derogatory comments and question code switchers' social and linguistic abilities. For example, in Toribio (2002), some participants stated that SPA and ENG CS contributes to a subordinate language, as it contaminates SPA with the ENG dominant language and culture.

Moreover, they fear that by accepting the junction of both languages and traditions they are supporting the exclusion of SPA and its imminent loss.

Heller (1998) referred to ENG as the language of the dominant culture and therefore with a dominant effect when SPA-ENG CS takes place. Similarly, Mahootian (2005) stated that for some linguists, in CS one language is stronger because it provides the overall sentence structure, while the weaker language inserts elements in that same structure. These, among many other linguists (Gumperz, 1982; Labov, 1972; Muysken, 1995; Poplack 1980, Zentella 1990) have studied the differences of attitude towards CS in order to understand the speakers' language choice and their communicative strategies.

One of the difficulties in CS studies is the widely known fact that self-reported data is inaccurate (Callahan, 2004; Heller, 1998). In general, people are not aware of the linguistic forms they use, except for when they are clearly stereotyped (Hewitt, 1986). It is not surprising that when code-switchers have been asked the reason why they alternate languages in their utterances, the usual response is their unawareness of doing it. Others may feel uneasy by the question, since CS is not a socially prestigious linguistic behavior, sometimes attributed to inadequate knowledge of either language. Hamminck (2000) observed that the nature of CS behavior means that typical code switchers are

usually not aware of why they switch codes at certain points in discourse. Nonetheless, her data demonstrated that switching SPA into ENG and vice versa builds solidarity, establishes authority, and fulfills social objectives. Along these lines, Chung (2006) proposes that research into symbolic social messages and cultural value systems will provide further understanding of the dynamics of language contact and socio-expressive functions across a specific bicultural context. Societal influence seems to be one of the main reasons for bilinguals to code-switch (Auer & Wei 2007).

Grosjean (1982) and Labov (1972) also noted that choosing a particular language or opting to mix languages in a particular social context can signal group solidarity, or ethnic identity markers, and code choices are used to accomplish the speaker's communicative intention more so than for simply conveying referential meaning. Therefore, CS is viewed as a linguistic advantage of affiliation with a particular social group or communicating solidarity. A speaker's desire to belong to a group leads him/her to show solidarity by sharing conversation characteristics such as grammatical rules, syntax, slang, idioms, and codes, among other aspects Lightbown and Spada (2006). Zentella (1997) established that bilinguals not only code switch as part of their personal growth within a community engaging in difficult linguistic and social norms, but they also learn the how and the why of both languages, for the purpose of effective communication in either language. For example, a bilingual group of code switchers may show solidarity towards other bilinguals in the conversation as well as linguistic control and assertion over monolinguals. By

code-switching, the speaker may show solidarity and group identity "within the speech repertoire influenced by such socio-situational factors as physical context, what is happening, participants and topic" (Gibbons, 1987 p. 79).

However, Grosjean (1982, p. 198) perceived CS behavior in a different light, as a reflection of simple adaptation to the linguistic abilities of conversational partners. Under the "person-language bond" he explained that a bilingual child personalizes and makes the abstract qualities of language concrete by integrating them with the person he or she interacts with, rather than emphasizing a point, demonstrating ethnic identity, group solidarity, or, on the other hand, excluding individuals from the conversation. Based on extensive research, however, linguists and sociolinguists like Lipski (2008), and Muysken (2008), and Poplack (2004) consider CS as the result of social events, since some of the motives to code switch are "conversational topic, role of the speaker, setting of the interaction, familiarity of the two speakers, age, sex, race, ethnic, linguistic background, etc." (Butler & Cheng, 1989 p. 295). As stated before, one of the criticisms towards those who code switch implies they lack linguistic competence in one or both languages. However, according to Sánchez (1994), the assumption of a lack of linguistic competence is discarded by sociolinguistic studies that verify the importance of CS within social roles.

Types of Code Switching

CS can be classified into metaphorical code-switching, situational code-switching, tag-switching, code-changing, and code mixing (Cheng & Butler, 1989).

- 1. Metaphorical code-switching happens with the intention of stressing parts of a statement or inserting a specific meaning to what is been expressed when bilinguals want to stress which group they identify with in a specific event (Gumperz, 1986) as in (1).i
- (1) Feliz dos mil nueve que tengan mucha salud, amor y paz y mucho party, party, party, can you believe her?

"Happy two thousand nine I wish you good health, love and peace and a lot of party, party, can you believe her?

- 2. Situational code-switching occurs when, for example, in a conversation between SPA-ENG bilinguals who are talking among themselves in SPA, choose to switch and speak in ENG when an ENG monolingual speaker enters the conversation. This switch could happen also due to change of topics, settings, or register within a particular language (Ardila, 2005). For example the radio station LV announcers use standard SPA when referring to someone's death as in (2), but they switch to a more relaxed register (Gafaranga, 2002) when talking about a stress-free topic (3):
- (2) El chisme is coming up, vamos a estar hablando de John Travolta y de su hijito, pobrecito.

"The gossip is coming up, we are going to be talking about John Travolta and his poor little son"

- (3)
 Silvester? *mira eso super*, super cat.

 "Silvester? look at that, super, super cat"
- 3. Tag-switching, also known as fillers, takes place when the speaker inserts a tag utterance from one language into another one. English phrases

include: *I mean, you know what I mean, you know, no way,* etc, inserted in a SPA sentence structure (4):

- (4)Y yo tan feliz, you know, siendo papá."And I am so happy, you know, being a father"
- 4. *Code-changing* is described as a long phrase in one language before or after a phrase in the other language (Carder, 2007) as in (5):
- (5) We are Virgo we will know it all today *mañana no pero hoy sí* so if you need some help. "We are Virgo we will know it all today not tomorrow but today yes so if you need some help"
- 5. In code-mixing, there is a short introduction of a few words from either language into another as in:
- (6) *¡Qué* show *tenemos para ustedes!* "What a show we have for you!"

In addition to the above mentioned types of code-switching, it is important to note that there are two main switching categories, *inter-sentential* and *intra-sentential*, which refer to the position where the language change takes place (Toribio, 2002). *Inter-sentential* switching takes place in phases, sentences, or speech acts (Muysken, 1995) when the speaker finishes an idea in one language, and then starts another idea in another language. Contrary to code mixing, *inter-sentential* switching entails greater confidence and knowledge of both languages, given that speech must agree with the grammar rules of the matching language used at the moment (Sayer, 2008), as in (7):

(7)
You got two out of three, *quédate en la línea*, we are gonna play *cuando regresemos con* DJ Rocko *para los hombres es la batalla de los sexos*. "You got two out of three, stay on the line, we are gonna play when we come back with DJ Rocko for the men it is the battle of the sexes"

In contrast, intra-sentential switching happens within an utterance, typically without any pause or disruption. Probably one of the most well-known examples in this category is the title of an article by Poplack in 1980: "Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish *y termino en español* (and finish in SPA)." Grosjean (1982), Hughes (2006), and Poplack (1980) agreed on intrasentential as the most difficult of all the switches, since the speaker must be fluent in both languages to the extent that he or she can switch the rules of syntax of the other language within a sentence, as in (8):

(8)
She did know what a cruceta was.
"She did know what a crosshead was"

Another important distinction that should be made is the difference between CS and borrowing. Ardila (2005, p. 66) described borrowing as "the need to have a common communication code; for instance, the ENG word *tag* or *carpet* is used to have a common communication code among SPA speakers from different countries using different words to refer to tag or carpet." CS, on the other hand, "means that at a certain point, the speaker changes the language, and continues talking in another language. The switch is produced when beginning a new sentence, and usually a new topic" Ardila (2005, p. 70).

MacSwan (2006, p. 1) stated that "unlike borrowing, which involves the full

phonological and morphological integration of a word from one language (say, ENG type) into another (as SPA *typiar*), code-switching involves the mixing of phonologically distinctive elements into a single utterance." Walters (2005) pointed out that borrowing items are memorized and repeated unlike CS which is syntactic and productive.

Code Switching in the Media

Mahootian (2005) stated that despite the abundant studies in CS, very few are focused in bilingual radio, and Carder (2007) expressed that while many studies have analyzed spoken and written CS at school and at home, not too many researchers have attempted to look into CS in the radio, print media, and the Web. Ennaji (1995) also claimed that even though CS is practiced on the radio and in language-pairs such as Ukrainian-Russian, French-Spanish, Cantonese-English, and English-Philippine among many others around the world, there have been only a few studies done on the topic. Ennaji (1995), studying CS in Morocco, looked for simple, compound and complex sentences, structure influence by French, Arabic and English, semantic aspects in the news, languages, lexicon, and word borrowing. The study showed that the news reporters on the radio generally use the classical Arabic VSO; however, influenced by French and ENG they also use SVO in a high frequency of active sentences. In addition, the level of lexicon shows a strong use of cognates from a mixture of Arabic patterns or French/English loans adapted to the modern Arabic morphology, as well as the use of borrowed words (mainly technical

terms) for which there are no equivalent in modern Arabic, Ennaji (1995).

Example (9) shows what the radio station LV's Website presents daily:

(9)

February 17th, 2010

Rio Salado College and 95.1 Latino Vibe are teaming up so you can Re-Vibe Your Education!

Cada més (sic) Latino Vibe will select 2 winners de todos los participantes and they will be recognized for their outstanding accomplishments, community involvelment, academic achievements and desire to go to college. Estos ganadores serán reconocidos and awarded by 95.1 Latino Vibe. The public is encouraged to nominate themselves or someone they feel deserves to win today! http://www.951latinovibefm.com/revibe.html

Italics added

February 17th, 2010

"Rio Salado College and 95.1 Latino Vibe are teaming up so you can Re-Vibe Your Education! Every month Latino Vibe will select 2 winners out of all participants and they will be recognized for their outstanding accomplishments, community involvement, academic achievements and desire to go to college. The winners will be recognized and awarded by 95.1 Latino Vibe. The public is encouraged to nominate themselves or someone they feel deserves to win today!"

Among studies on print media, Mahootian (2005, p. 362) analyzes CS as "where language choice is made consciously: copy is written, proofread and approved by a number of people before it is set to print." Callahan's (2004) studies of CS in print media show that the SPA and ENG language-pairs in magazines, flyers and texts mark identity among SPA-ENG bilinguals, and consequently, CS is perceived with a distinct communicative function achieving some type of standard status. Following Heller (1998), in the printed media, the writer chooses what to switch and what not to, depending on cultural weight. In addition, Mahootian (2005, p. 364) showed in her study based on CS patterns found in the popular women's magazine, Latina that "Mujer easily conjures up

ethnic identity, the image of a woman of Latina, heritage, rather than an American or Americanized woman." However, there is not such a cultural weight or extralinguistic message in the use of SPA prepositions or any other random word Ghan (2003). Mahootian (2005) concluded in her study that no influential argument can be made in favor of these words holding any cultural meaning when delivered in one language against the other. She also concludes that intentional CS serves to emphasize and to promote an identity which falls somewhere between ethnic group and what Myers-Scotton (1993) described as a sociocultural unit which has developed above primarily local self-concepts, concerns, and integrative relationships.

Conversational Code Switching

Gumperz (1982, p. 59) described conversational code switching "as the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems." Speakers use a variety of communicative behaviors in order to prepare the audience in the conversation, and into its context. Bilinguals alternate languages and use code switching as one of their many linguistic resources, either to restate or to respond to a message, and according to Wei (2005, p. 375), "to be oriented to conversational structure aiming primarily at achieving coherence in the interactional task at hand."

Among the wide range of different contexts where code switching is used, Gumperz (1982, p. 75-81) proposed the following six common conversational functions:

1. Message qualification. A code-switched utterance elaborates what has been said:

(10)

T: *Tá muy fácil la diferencia entre los* juniors *y la ropa de uno de mujer* "It is very easy, the difference between juniors and misses clothing"

A: Okay. Uh juniors *es de* teenagers y uh *mujeres* is older woman.

"Okay. Uh juniors is for teenagers and uh women is older woman"

2. Interjections. Sometimes the switch emphasizes an interjection or a tagswitching or filler:

(11)

A: Empiezan el año trying to work out and ya después de la semana se cansan, I don't know.

"They begin the year trying to work out and after a week they get tired of it, I don't know"

C: Everybody is trying to lose weight *tú*, *dicen que* you know, they are trying to work out.

"everybody is trying to lose weight you they say that you know, they are trying to work out"

3. Personification versus objectivization. By switching a message, a bilingual entails a 'personal' or 'objective' tone; "the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge" Gumperz (1982, p. 80):

(12)

C: You know, vacaciones I am actually very happy to be back *estaba extrañando el trabajo* I am a little of workaholic *pero* T of course *estar con la familia es lo que uno necesita el doctor tiene que recetar*"

"You know vacation I am actually very happy to be back I was missing coming to work, I'm a little of workaholic but T of course to be with the family is what ones need, the doctor has to recommend"

- 4. Reiteration. A code switched utterance reiterates what has been said. In
- (13), C's utterance follows SPA syntax (the look sexy is pregnant):

(13)

- T: *Está embarazada*, she, *don F. y se le miraba una pancita*. "She is pregnant, she Mr. F. and she showed a tummy"
- C: Now watching this, *la pancita veo la foto*, el look sexy is pregnant. "Now watching this, the tummy in the picture, the look sexy is pregnant"
- 5. Addressee specification. "among several addressees in a conversation, the utterance is switched to express the message to a specific addressee" A Gumperz's (1982, p. 77) example was used in this thesis since none was found in the data.

(14)

- "A: [speaking to B] (it will not come, it will pass by).
- B: [speaking to A] (it is so overloaded with apples and the entire tree is bent already).
- B: [continues turning to C sitting apart] (it will rain it is so windy outside)"
- 6. Quotation. Bilinguals switch utterances that may be direct quotations or parts of the speech:

(15)

C: Congratulations, *pues de pronto me mira y me dice* uh, did you say I was pregnant? Oh, oh.

"Congratulations, and suddenly she looks at me and says uh, did you say I was pregnant? Oh, oh"

Audience Linguistic Behavior

As a linguistic phenomenon, the role of audience in the radio includes a wide range of frameworks and approaches, three of which will be used for the purpose of studying LV's audience.

The Audience Design model (AD) has been widely analyzed in sociolinguistic studies since 1984 when it was proposed by Allan Bell. Bell (1984, p. 159) expressed "that at all levels of language variability, people are responding primarily to other people. Speakers design their style for their

audience." This model also described the difference between listener and speaker, being the listener the dominant one in a speech situation.

Bell (1984) mentioned an early study by Selting (1983) where a German announcer uses Standard German while in the air, and shifts toward dialects when speaking on the phone with the audience that participates on the radio shows through phone calls. This example is somehow significant for this particular thesis which examines the performance of two LV announcers who code switch from SPA to ENG in the same utterance, and all throughout the show.

The AD describes Addressees as the group with the highest effect on the linguistic speaker's performance and for whom the speaker designs the speech. Bell and Garret (1998) mentioned that by finding the targeted audience's identity and its linguistic choices, a radio station (in this particular case, LV) could draw out the same linguistic performance, relate better and have a positive effect in the listener, even though the announcer is unaware of who is listening.

Along these lines, the audience-announcers relation can be set apart by the language choice in relation to attitudes and social structure as described by the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), (Giles, 1973). CAT searches for a way to understand the cognitive reasons for CS among other linguistic choices made, in order to better understand what the speakers want to accomplish in reference to their audience. This study shows that language choice, accent, and dialect are some of the choices people use in order to confirm social distance or group identity in order to emphasize or minimize the

features of the conversation.

Similarly, speakers' linguistic choices project his/her own persona in relation with others, as the Markedness Model (MM) (Myers-Scotton, 1993) describes. MM is seen as one of more inclusive theories in respect to motivations for CS. This model emphasizes how speakers make rational linguistic choices and mark positions, such as privileges and responsibilities. According to the norms and social meanings, the speakers interpret the choices of others and "rely on the notion of intentionality in human actions; actors intend their actions to reflect goals or attitudes, and observers attribute intentions to actions" (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai 2001, p. 12).

Following the before mentioned framework models, this thesis will try to address LV's radio announcers' linguistic choices in relation with the audience.

Roles in Audience Design

Bell's AD recognizes the connection between listeners and speakers and their roles in speech acts and provides an in-depth examination, in which there are five main actors: 1) Speaker or first person; 2) Addressees (whom the Speaker acknowledges and confirms); 3) Auditors (persons acknowledged and confirmed but not targeted); 4) Overhearers (participants the Speaker is unaware of and who are not expected); and, 5) Eavesdroppers (audience unknown by the Speaker). The categories mentioned above describe audience according to the announcer's expectations (Bell, 1984), even though they do not apply entirely in mass communication because two of the four roles, Addressees and Eavesdroppers, are easy to identify, unlike Auditors and Overhearers. The

speaker style is typically affected more so by Addresses than by Auditors.

Ladegaard (1995), based on Labov (1972) and Brown and Fraseer (1979),
commented on how the speaker shifts styles regarding certain topics, as if he/she
knew who the Addressees were, and with which topics and/or settings they were
associated. In other studies, Giles (1973) and Beebe and Giles (1984) argued
that speakers choose specific pronunciation, words, and speech patterns if they
want to gain social approval or wish to separate themselves from a group. Bell's
AD will be included in the discourse analysis of LV.

Radio talk

Latino Vibe 95.1 FM, the local radio station focused on this thesis, is described by its general manager, José Rodiles, as a "bilingual and bicultural radio station" aired in the Phoenix area since 1996, "dedicated to serving the Phoenix Latino community through unique local programming that entertains, informs and inspires." ⁱⁱ

Given the vast variety of code choices types and the fact that announcers at LV use all of them, the interest of this thesis is to learn about their linguistic behavior. Since the use of SPA and ENG in this mainstream station is well accepted by the audience, this thesis will test the taxonomies of Bell, Gumperz and Myers-Scotton in LV announcers' speech.

Justification of Study

Mass communication has been studied from every possible angle as well as the topics related to it, such as audience, identity, gender, ratings, sponsors, etc. CS has also been researched by countless linguists and sociolinguists

worldwide. However, there is little research on CS in the radio. It is necessary to research the rapidly growing number of radio stations that code switch in the United States, more specifically in the Southwest, where the present thesis takes place. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to address this gap regarding the relation between LV and its audience by addressing the following research question:

Research Question

1. Which sociolinguistic model can explain more accurately the CS taking place in LV, the Markedness model, the Conversational Functions of CS model, or the Audience Design model?

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

Participants

The participants will be two LV announcers whose nicknames are "José el cubanito" and "Tina." In this thesis C stands for *cubanito* (the masculine diminutive in SPA for Cuban, and T stands for Tina, which is not her real name, but a made out nickname taken from the last two syllabics of the SPA feminine pronoun *latina*, and A stands for audience. According to their comments in the radio about their personal lives, José was born in Florida from Cuban parents, and Tina was born in Arizona from Mexican parents.

Instruments and Procedure

On the surface, it seems as if all their dialogues are spontaneous, with a few scripted parts related to the weather, traffic and some information from the entertainment business. There are no fixed roles, and the announcers were unaware of this study. In this regard, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) states that "When the purpose of these methods is to gain access to information not ordinarily available to "outsiders," questions of privacy arise "iii But since the data collected for this thesis is from a radio station, and therefore the utterances are supposed to be aired to the public, there was no need for IRB approval. In January, 2009, the data were collected in a two week period of programming of the show "José y Tina en la mañana". This show was aired from Monday to Friday from 6:00 to 9:00 a.m., and the data were recorded on a compact disc, and directly from the radio station headquarters' office in Scottsdale, Arizona.

LV announcers' spontaneous speech was not influenced by any means or what Labov (1972, p. 61) called "the observer's paradox: That our goal is to observe the way people use language when they are not being observed." The data of two weeks of programming were transcribed, as mentioned above, and used for the thesis' analysis.

Data Analysis

The data will be analyzed addressing linguistic theories, and the sociolinguistic aspects of the CS performed will be the focus. More concretely, given the interest of this paper in relation to CS and audience, the data will be analysed based on The Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton (1993), Conversational Functions of CS by Gumperz (1982), and the Audience Design model by Bell (1984).

Limitations and Suggestions

Even though CS is practiced all throughout the Unites States and there is a large number of radio stations that code switch, this thesis will mainly establish information about LV's audience or announcers. Therefore, contextually, it would not be appropriate to apply these results to another area where other varieties of SPA and ENG are spoken on a daily basis. Due to the lack of similar studies carried out, the opportunity of comparing the results is not available.

Chapter 4

TESTING THE THEORIES AND DISCUSSION

In order to identify types of patterns of CS in the SPA-ENG language pair in LV's announcers' utterances, this thesis will test the Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton (1993), the Conversational Functions by Gumperz (1982), and the Audience Design model by Bell (1984).

4.1 The Markedness Model

In this section, the data will be analysed following The Markedness Model designed by Myers-Scotton in 1993, which is based on the Co-operative Principle, developed by Grice (1975) as a code of ethics and three maxims. "Choose the *form* of your conversational contribution such that it indexes the set of Rights and Obligations, (RO), which you wish to be enforced between the speaker and addressee for the current exchange" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 113, original italics). The three maxims that Myers-Scotton developed from this principle are: a) The 'unmarked-choice maxim' with its two auxiliary maxims: the 'virtuosity maxim' and the 'deference maxim', b) the 'marked-choice maxim,' and c) the 'exploratory-choice maxim.' In the following lines, I will use examples from the data in order to refer to these maxims in detail.

4.1.1. Code-switching as Unmarked Choice Maxim

The CS as an unmarked choice or expected choice depends "on the participants' attitudes-toward themselves and the social attributes" Myers-Scotton (1993, p.114).

The first of the two types of unmarked CS is the 'Sequential unmarked CS' which triggers the changes of the conversation according to the situational factors. Myers-Scotton states that these factors stay relatively the same within the course of a conversation unless the speaker changes its structure (e.g., a third party leaves or enters the conversation) or when changing the topic. In example (16) C and T code-switch in SPA and ENG to one another, but speak only in SPA to A. This example reflects one of the conditions stated by Myers-Scotton for unmarked CS to happen, that in order to keep the flow of the conversation speakers code-switch according to the situational factors. In (16), the two radio announcers probably sense or evaluate that A will feel more comfortable by carrying on the conversation in SPA. This example illustrates Grice's (1975) cooperative principle in which he stated that a conversation is an activity where all participants collaborate with the intention of understanding the meaning of the talk.

(16)

C: Bienvenidos a ustedes al show, we're going to do los horóscopos in just one minute

"Welcome to the show, we're going to do the horoscopes in just one minute"

T: Así es

"That's right"

C: Si quieren llamar ahora seis, cero, dos, dos, sesenta, cero, nueve, cinco, uno, uh to pick ¿a quién, con quién vamos a empezar esta mañana en los horóscopos? I love the horóscopos, todas las mañanitas a las seis y media ¿verdad?

"If you want to call now six zero two two sixty zero nine five one uh to pick to whom with whom we're going to start this morning in the horoscopes I love the horoscopes, every little morning at six thirty right?"

T: Bueno y queremos saber cómo nos va a ir en el día de hoy

"Fine, and we want to know how we'll do today"

C: Ah, claro que sí, ¿a quién tenemos aquí, aló?

"Uh, yes of course, who do we have here? Hello?"

A: *Jorge*

T: Jorge, Jorge, respira, buenos días, ¿estás haciendo ejercicio? ¿Qué estás haciendo?

"Jorge, Jorge, breathe, good morning, are you working out? What are you doing?"

A: Voy manejando para mi trabajo

"I am driving to my job"

C: Parece que tienes el carro Flintstone

"It seems as if you were driving the Flintstone's car"

A: Escucho el programa y hablé para que dijeran de mi signo, yo soy virgo "I listen to the show and I called to hear about my sign, I am Virgo"

Another characteristic of this first type of unmarked CS, as in the example above, is the frequent use of inter-sentential switching in a bilingual conversation, one is the matrix language and the other is the embedded language. However, the data for this thesis show more intra-sentential than inter-sentential switchings, an indication that the radio announcers' language skill in both ENG and SPA is relatively the same, along the lines of Muysken (2000:225), statement: "the more balanced the proficiency, the greater the incidence of intra-sentential switching."

The second type of unmarked CS is "CS itself as the unmarked choice" which generally is the expected choice used for many types of conversations in a bi/multilingual community. This type of unmarked CS does not indicate a specific situation or topic; instead, the conversation is governed by a general and continuous pattern where intra-sentential switches are frequent as well as the use of morphemes of two languages "within the same word" as Myers-Scotton stated (1993, p.117). On this regard, the Free Morpheme Constraint by Poplack (1980) disagreed with switches between a free and a bound morpheme, but some

linguist argue that it does not apply to different language pairs and/or switches within the same word. Gardner-Chloros (1991, p. 1436) expressed that one of the reasons why CS presents problems from the perspective of grammar is because "CS involves creative, innovate elements, often based on exploiting similarities between the two varieties" as shown in (17) to (19). Gardner-Chloros (1991) and Myers-Scotton (1993) agreed that CS within a word is interchangeable from borrowing, and consequently there is no reason to differentiate the two since they encounter similar processes for their realizations. Also, Budzhak-Jones (1998, p.2) stated that few linguists "discuss why their examples represent word-internal code-switching and not borrowings."

Nevertheless, this is a noticeable phenomenon on the data used in this thesis and therefore, it is worthy to acknowledge it.

In (17) C utters "biles" referring to "bills". 'Biles' is a word combination of two morphemes, the ENG one "bill" which in SPA sounds roughly like "beel" but looks like "bil", followed by the unaccented vowel *e*, and *s*. The SPA rule states that a word ending in a consonant, like "bil," should be added *es* to make it plural. "Biles" is a word commonly used by SPA-ENG bilinguals who are less proficient in ENG, i.e., Latinos whose second language is ENG.

According to Gumperz (1982, p.2), "understanding presupposes conversational involvement" built on familiar assumptions regarding context, common objectives and interpersonal relations in order to be able to decode the meaning of a situation, as seen in (17). In (17) the level of understanding between the two radio announcers is evident by the way in which they interact and cooperate

when uttering the word that conveys the meaning of what they want to share with the audience.

(17)

C: So, fui al banco a llorar, a ver cuánto habíamos gastado

"so, I went to the bank to cry, to see how much we had spent"

T: Ahá

C: Después de los biles

"After the bills"

In (18) C utters the word "textiar" which might fall into a combined category of loan words or recently invented SPA verbs used by LV, clearly influenced by the ENG verb "to text." On the relation between CS and loan words, Beardsmore (1986, p.50) affirmed that "terms borrowed from one of the languages may in such circumstances follow the standard monoglot norms, be re-aligned on patterns determined by the borrowing language or fall somewhere in between the two according to some community-based bilingual norm." Also, Hualde (2005) stated that around 90% of SPA verbs adopt the -ar ending in its infinitive form, and that it is the only category that accepts new verbs, then, it is not unexpected to hear C adding this ending to the Eng verb 'to text' when referring to a written message sent by phone, which is one of the ways LV's audience has to communicate with the radio station. The issue of code-switching and loan words offers interesting possibilities for future research given that the classification of such incorporated words can be difficult, and it is not the focus of this thesis.

(18)

C: *El número no ha cambiado, texto* is still the same four, nine, three, three, *o, cuatro, nueve, tres, tres, cero, uh, si lo quieres textiar ahí mismitico más rápido*

"The number has not changed text is still the same four, nine, three, three, ou, four, nine, three, three, zero, uh, if you want to text it right there faster"

When and where does unmarked CS occur?

Under the unmarked-choice maxim, Myers-Scotton (1993) indicated that four main conditions must be met for unmarked CS to happen:

- i. The bilingual speakers must be peers and share a common socio-economic status. Given the camaraderie among the LV announcers it might not be wrong to assume that they fit the description of this category.
- ii. Usually, during informal conversations participants code-switch as an indication of being a member of an in-group. As Beebe and Giles (1984) stated, the stigmatization of a group's language choice, ENG and SPA CS in the case of this thesis, might work on their benefit and reinforce the sense of belonging and unity of that group.
- iii. Proficiency in the languages that speakers use in CS is key, but more important, and for the benefit of their own identities, they must apply the right criteria to evaluate the meaning and purpose indicated by the switches.
- iv. Myers-Scotton stated that usually speakers who CS are fairly proficient in the languages used in the conversation. However, "the literature on CS to date does not give a clear answer" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 119) about the level of proficiency in the languages involved in the conversation.

Examples (19) and (20) show the four conditions described above. These conversations highly imply the in-group characteristics between C and T when describing their looks and the disc jockey's (DJ) look for their radio audience.

Also, this in-group identity marker as Muysken (2000) described, is seen in the way C and T switch languages without hesitation and without affecting the meaning and the purpose of their utterances. This particular radio speech exchange exhibits and sustains the identity and solidarity marker (Eckert & Rickford, 2001), LV might want to point out to its listeners. Besides meeting the four conditions for the Unmarked-choice maxim, (19) shows the ENG noun "look" with Eng phonology and rather common among the bilingual Phoenix community, inserted in a SPA structure "pues claro hasta tenemos fotos del nuevo look de Tina latina." Example (20) on the other hand, shows the SPA noun "fiesta" (party) also common among this community, inserted in an Eng structure "it's a fiesta party." The construction of the latter example is frequent in the data of this thesis, probably in order to sound appealing to all and each of the LV listeners of this bilingual radio station. However, research on this regard will be necessary before conclusions can be drawn.

(19)

C: *Pues claro, hasta tenemos fotos del nuevo* look *de* Tina Latina "of course we even have pictures of Tina Latina's new look"

C: A lot of us, DJ Rocko con el Mohawk

"A lot of us DJ Rocko with the Mohawk"

T: Let's call it Mister T

C: Mister T

T: I like that *apodo*

"I like that nickname"

C: Mister T mezcla, is better mezclar a las siete

"Mister T mix, is better to mix at seven"

T: Mister T ar (Mr. R) for Rocko

C: *Tina latina y José, el cubanito* I'm just putting on some *nuevas libras* that's right more pounds, after the vacations, give me a break

"Tina Latina and José, the Cuban I'm just putting on some new pounds that is right more pounds, after the vacations, give me a break"

T: Oye, you look great you look great, yo te miro y ni más pa'rriba ni más pa'bajo, te miro igualito

"Listen, you look great you look great, I see you no taller no shorter, I see you the same"

(20)

C: Let's say es una calle como aquí, vamos a decir como Central where everybody used to go cruising o algo así, es una calle que significa algo para ti "Let's say it is a street like here, we are going to say like Central where everybody used to go cruising or something like that, it is a street that means something to you"

T: It's a *fiesta* party

"It is a party party"

C: *Sí*, *pero* sometimes it turns out into Van Buren, and that's not good "yes, but sometimes it turns out into Van Buren, and that is not good"

Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 147) presented two noticeable violations "of the unmarked-choice maxim": the *deferential maxim* and the *virtuosity maxim*. The virtuosity maxim states that speakers want to accommodate to others, as shown in (21) where it looks as if the two announcers want to welcome and make the third party in the conversation feel comfortable by switching to ENG after he uttered an ENG sentence and SPA after he speaks in SPA.

(21)

A: Lo mismo me pasó a mí, I had a friend that I hadn't seen in years and I saw her and I was like

"The same happened to me I had a friend that I had not seen in years and I saw her and I was like"

C: Get closer to the mic why, ¿por qué tanta pena con las? él habla tanto, ¡pégate más al micrófono!

"Get closer to the mic why, why are you so shy with the? he talks so much, get closer to the microphone!"

A: Okay ¿me puedes oir?

"Okay can you hear me?"

T: Sí, te escuchamos

"Yes, we can hear you"

The second violation of the Unmarked-choice maxim presented by Myers-Scotton (1993) stated that the deference maxim is met when speakers want to

accommodate to others with the use of honorific titles. In the case of LV where good humor seems to be a key part of the radio station's success, C adds courtesy to his utterance, and calls the female announcer *señorita* (miss), even though LV audience knows she is married. C also uses a humorous intonation, and raises his voice. In this respect, Gumperz (1982) stated that some speakers use a humorous intonation or raise the tone of voice before presenting significant new information. In (22) C addresses T by the title *señorita* so as to get her attention before opening a new topic of conversation. This might also be supported by Heller (1998) who proposed that when the speakers are all bilingual, they code switch prompted by situational changes, or by whatever meaning the speaker wants to accomplish.

(22)

C: Now, you señorita, you went off to LV

"Now you miss, you went off to LV"

T: Oye una locura, de pronto se nos ocurrió uh un día antes me dice mi honey: hey let's go to Vegas!

"Listen how crazy, all of the sudden we decided, uh, a day before my honey tells me: hey let's go to Vegas!"

Even though the Unmarked-choice maxim is classified as "expected switching," Myers-Scotton's hypothesis predicts an exception in bilingual communities with intergroup tensions where language discrimination, stereotyping and prejudice decrease affability towards one another. That does not seem to be the case of the bilingual community in Phoenix; however, further research should be done before making this type of assumptions.

4.1.2 Code-switching as Marked Choice Maxim

After analyzing CS as an Unmarked choice maxim, the following section will address CS as a Marked choice maxim. Under this category, Myers-Scotton stated that speakers want the listener to "Put aside any presumptions you have based on societal norms for these circumstances. I want your view of me, or of our relationship, to be otherwise" (1993, p.131). In other words, the Marked choice is a negotiation to set up a new RO, and because this choice denies the legitimacy of the expected RO it usually motivates an emotional response from the listener.

Two main characteristics of this maxim are that speakers' switches are unexpected and that speakers choose the marked switch to negotiate social distance or stressing authority and degree of difference. Myers-Scotton (1993) stated that this maxim is common in all bi/multilingual communities, it is present at all linguistic levels, and the situations in which this maxim may be present are: a) To increase the social distance via authority/anger, b) As an ethnically-based exclusion strategy, c) When the message is the medium, d) For aesthetic effect."

a. "To increase the social distance via authority/anger" is the first situation described by Myers-Scotton (1993) in which the marked choice maxim may be present. The data for this thesis holds switches that illustrate the situations listed above. However, there are only a few examples showing authority with sense of humor rather than with anger, as in (23) where C may be expressing his authority by the means of the command ENG phrase: No, no more hints!

(23)

T: I'm gonna give you a hint

C: No, no more hints! ya ahí está, all right, otra pregunta para ti, ¿cómo se llama la crucecita esa que tienes para ajustar los bolts cuando tienes un flat or you wanna apretar los bolts para la llanta, ¿cómo se llama esa?

"No, no more hints, there you go, all right another question for you, what is the name of that tool, the one to adjust the bolts when you have a flat or you want to tighten up the bolts in the tire, what is the name of that?

b. Ethnically-based exclusion strategy is the second situation described by Myers-Scotton (1993) in which the marked choice maxim may be present. In this regard, Bell (1991) stated that people in general, audience and radio announcers in this case, recognize and express their interpretations of social identity and ethnicity through explicit linguistic features such as their word choice and pronunciation.

In (24) C and T are not speaking specifically to an LV listener but to the audience as a whole, therefore, they are not accommodating their comment during a conversation. At first glance, this example does not seem to be a strategy to negotiate social distance, as the Marked-choice maxim states, instead, LV announcers joke about how Latinos pronounce "you," probably as a method to show certain connection with the audience. T starts (25) by excluding herself from the Latinos with: "como dicen los Latinos" (as the Latinos say), and then she says: "estamos bien" (We are fine) including herself as a member of the Latino group. Consequently, it is not clear if C and T are intentionally associating or dissociating themselves (Beebe & Giles, 1984) from the specific segment of the audience who pronounce the ENG second-person personal pronoun "you" as "zju." It seems that T and C are distinguishing themselves

from Latinos that are less proficient in ENG, i.e., Latinos whose second language is ENG.

(24)

T: Good morning, good morning, how are zju? *Como dicen los Latinos* "Good morning, good morning, how are you? As the Latinos say it" C: How are zju? How are zju?

T: How are zju? *estamos bien*, two thousand nine fresh new year *comenzando nuevas metas* maybe *rebajar de peso*, *ganar un poquito más dinero*, *no gastar tanto dinero*...

"How are you? We are fine, two thousand nine fresh New Year starting new goals maybe to lose weight, earn a little more money, do not spend too much money...

c. "When the message is the medium" is the third situation described by Myers-Scotton (1993) in which the Marked choice maxim may be present. More than the words, the social message is what counts here, where the marked choice holds a double purpose: a) It negotiates the social message by using repetition, and b) There is no need to understand the referential message for the communicative intent to achieve the social purpose (Myers-Scotton,1993).

O'Keeffe's (2006) findings stated that it is the kind of message that is intended to put forward with the range of possibilities, what determines the way the message is processed; and for this, the speaker has to reach the right moment of interactivity in order for the message to be effective. In other words, the communication process as Chung (2006), Beebe & Giles (1984) expressed, basically does not shape the ways the message is going to be received; instead, the content of the message organizes the process of communication.

In (25), A mentions that he started the year being sick, to which C responds with an ENG noun –phrase with an insertion of the SPA feminine noun

"curandera" (folk healer or shaman). By the flow of the conversation, it might not be wrong to assume that A, the member of the audience, is from Hispanic origin, and that she knows what a "curandera" is. T also participates in the dialogue with an Eng noun-phrase, ending it with the SPA noun "mujer" (woman), used in this utterance as an emphatic social expression known by both speakers. A's response: "I know" indicates that the communicative intention of T succeeds and that this situation meets one of the two purposes of the Marked choice described by Myers-Scotton (1993).

In the last utterance in (25), C opens with the abbreviated SPA preposition "pa" (from "para") (a non-standard SPA pronunciation) and continues with a joke that could be misinterpreted, therefore, C decides to clarify by repetition which might imply an apology and a clarification in order to negotiate the social message. Myers-Scotton (1993, p.138) remarks that by repeating, the "message lies with the change in social distance which the marked choice is negotiating".

(25)

A: Yeah, I started the year real bad!

C: You should've had the *curandera* at the New Year's party

"You should've had the folk healer or shaman at the New Year's party

T: That's what you get for not wearing a jacket, mujer

"That is what you get for not wearing a jacket, woman"

A: I know!

C: Pa'acerte un huevito, but not that huevito loca, we're playing: ¿Qué tú sabes de eso? What's your name loquita?

"To cast a spell on you, but not that kind of spell you crazy girl! We are playing: What do you know about it? What is your name crazy little girl?"

d. "For aesthetic effect" is the fourth situation described by Myers-Scotton (1993) in which the Marked choice maxim may be present: It usually occurs in story-telling where creative marked choices are used to quote parts of the story

that could or could not have happened in the original situation. Following the description given for this sub-category, it might be correct to state that T's use of SPA during the story-telling indicates that the original story happened in SPA, and then, T and C switched back to CS, the characteristic speech choice for the announcers. In (26) C recognizes that T's first statement is actually the lead-in for a story that he and presumably LV's audience are expecting to help elicit, and that is exactly what C does. C openly acknowledges T's intention through two questions and one exclamation uttered with exaggerated intonation and insistence. Even though T does not share details of the event, she gives the main point of her story, and as Gumperz (1982) explains following Myers-Scotton's (1993) view on "aesthetic effect," the meaning is practically carried not by the amount of information but by the way she says it and the quotes she chooses to elaborate her story. It is also interesting how C summarizes T's anecdote with: "vo quiero machetear contigo para siempre" (closely translated as "to hammer away, to work hard, or to get married as in the context of 26). The expression "machetear contigo" is popular not only in the Cuban/Caribbean and Mexican dialect but also in other parts of Hispano-America, and might imply the common socio-cultural schemata or interpretative frame T and C share with the audience. Gumperz (1982) affirms that speakers and listeners "define the interaction in terms of a frame or scheme which is identifiable and familiar" where their utterances reflect information related to shared discourse situations. This information allows them to understand facts not detailed in the explicit matter of the message, as in the end of (26) with: "No, ¿qué pasó? No, what

happened? I'll tell you this much; because; and *Yo quiero machetear contigo* para siempre I want to marry you forever".

(26)

T: Bueno te lo voy a decir, cómo, cómo fue lo que pasó

"Right I am going to tell you, how, how it happened"

C: ¿Cómo fue? ¿Qué te dijo? ¡Oye, me quiero casar contigo!

"How did he tell you? Hey, I want to marry you"

T: ¡Que se declaró, que se declaró enfrente de toda la familia!

"He proposed, he proposed in front of the whole family!"

C: De toda la fa[sic] y se puso en las rodillas, no se puso, dijo, oye, ¿qué vamos a hacer?

"Of the whole fa and he kneel down, he did not, he said, listen, What are we going to do?"

T: ¡Oye, fueron tan, tan!

"Listen, they were so, so!"

C: No, ¿qué pasó?

"No, what happened?"

T: That was so special!

C: I know, and that's what I'm saying, so like he just kind of like said it

T: I'll tell you this much *me sorprendió* because I wasn't expecting it at all "I will tell you this much he surprised me because I was not expecting it at all"

C: Yo quiero machetear contigo para siempre

"I want to marry you forever"

Continuing with the "aesthetic effect," the marked choice maxim might occur in story-telling by quoting parts of what could or could not have happened in the original situation as Myers-Scotton (1993) stated. In (27) C rephrases the entire situation for the audience and from a local newspaper. C opens the story creating expectations in a familiar framework for the audience by asking: "Remember the rings? Then, C introduces the story in ENG and code-switches to SPA with the coordinating conjunction "y" (and) when paraphrasing what the character of the story might have said: "y me quiero casar con ella y ella dijo" (and I want to marry her and she said). When C tries to continue the narration,

T participates or rather cooperates in the conversation with an interjection or "black channel signals" as Gumperz (1982, p. 163) quotes on Yngve (1970); in other words, by uttering "yeah!," T is also contributing to the story. As Myers-Scotton (1993) indicates in this maxim, the participants in the conversation add information of their own as T does later in (27) with her exclamation: "and you are under age!" Given the characteristics of this story-telling example, in the second and last utterance by C, the bilingual audience could expect and appreciate the switching between lexicon and grammatical systems as in: "pues la policía dijo" (so the police said) and "babysitter" inserted into ENG and SPA structure respectively. Furthermore, the last utterance by C in (27) shows what Beardsmore (1986) and Muysken (2000) describe as congruence or similarity of two languages. By using extensive and consecutive switching, C's statements indicate that lexical elements from both ENG and SPA can be switched within a grammatical structure shared to both languages in the "aesthetic effect" entailing humor as in (27).

(27)

C: Those rings, remember the rings? Uh, the little boy was like, well, I love this girl *y me quiero casar con ella*, *y ella dijo*

[&]quot;Those rings, remember the rings? Uh, the little boy was like well, I love this girl and I want to marry her, and she said"

T: Yeah!

C: Well, we wanna get married and we wanna get married in Las Vegas because we've heard it's really fun, *pues la policía dijo*: fine, since you don't have money and you don't have a car...

[&]quot;Well, we wanna get married and we wanna get married in Las Vegas because we've heard it is really fun, so the police said: fine, since you do not have money and you do not have a car"

T: And you are under age!

C: How about if you take a ride *con nosotros? Pues se habían ido de la casa del* babysitter *los dos juntos en rumbo para Las Vegas para casarse.*

"How about if you take a ride with us? So they had left the babysitter's house together going to Las Vegas to get married.
T: What a crazy story!

Myers-Scotton (1993) presents two more examples of CS as a marked choice: Speakers as entrepreneurs and Structural flagging.

"Speakers as entrepreneurs" means that given that Marked choice CS is unexpected, speakers venture with their linguistic choices. Speakers analyze how and where they might have the opportunity to achieve a higher status or have a status high enough that allows them to take risks in personal or interpersonal negotiations through marked choices. Another characteristic about this specific category Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 141) remarks, is that "code choice presented here is more speaker-oriented than audience-oriented." Instead of thinking about their audience, speakers rather reflect on their own situation in the RO set. Speakers want their choices to achieve the impression they want to send across regardless the audience's response.

In (28) A asks the LV announcers which code would be appropriate in this conversation, to what C replies: "en inglés" (in ENG) and T exclaims: "como te salga, Spanglish!" (Whatever you say, Spanglish!). By Spanglish, T refers to the informal variety of SPA and ENG components, so common among the bilinguals in the Phoenix area. Spanglish generally refers to two things: 1. An USA Spanish variety with many English loans, or 2. Code-Switching between ENG and Spanish. In (28) A opens her answer with the ENG interjection: "Well" inserted into a SPA structure of two phrases.

(28)

A: ¿En inglés o español?

"In English or Spanish?"

C: En inglés

"In English"

T: Como te salga, Spanglish!

"Whatever you say, Spanglish"

A: Well, es una cruceta, que yo sepa es una cruceta

"Well, it is a crosshead, as far as I know it is a crosshead"

Structural flagging. In (29) both radio announcers' utterances meet the characteristics for the category in which Myers-Scotton states that repetition and higher pitch emphasize the connotation of the message. The audio segment used to study this category allows us to interpret the camaraderie marked through the louder and rhythmic declaratory mode of delivery, the sense of humor and the sarcasm carried in T's answers and comments. Despite the fact that T's utterances in (29) are all in SPA, the intonation, repetition and high pitch stress the meaning of the message. That motivates C to create laughter in the audience by responding with a question and a command to the DJ.

(29)

C: Esta primera semana al inicio del año, al inicio de enero, ¿qué hacen los hombres más que nada?

"This first week at the beginning of the year, at the beginning of January, what do men do more than anything else?"

T: Bueno ¿qué es lo que hacen? no hacer sus quehaceres, dejar la ropa tirada por el suelo

"Okay what is what they do? They do not do their chores; they leave the clothes on the floor"

C: Why, why does she have to trash us Rocko? Why is this?

T: Bueno

"Well"

C: No le toques nada

"Do not play anything for her"

T: Hay unos que sí limpian, sí recogen, pero hay muchos que no

"There are some men who clean around the house, they pick up the mess, but there are so many that do not"

After analyzing the CS as a marked choice, Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 142) describes the CS as an exploratory choice in which speakers "are not sure of the expected or optimal communicative intent."

Consequently, the Exploratory choice occurs when speakers are unaware of the appropriate social norms at a given situation and when relatives or friends meet at an unfamiliar setting. Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 142) also classified in this maxim the cases in which language policies change and the speakers "do not know which language is unmarked" or expected. Therefore, the data for this thesis does not present examples for the category described above.

Up to now these data might point out that CS does not necessarily communicate

a message but it is rather used as a symbol or a statement of this particular radio station, LV.

4.2 Conversational Functions of code-switching.

In the following lines, the data will be analyzed following Gumperz (1982) Conversational functions of code switching in which he states that the speech community forms the matrix of the language(s) or the linguistic competence of the individuals. In other words, individuals show not only categorical grammar rules but also a range of sociolinguistic characteristics typical of a particular group or community. Ardila (2005) stated that CS could be used to emphasize meaning using interjections, when describing the location of events, and when announcing a specific segment of the conversation. At the speculative level, CS might also be used by LV as a marker in order to broadcast a framework that

reflects the speech style of its bilingual audience, although, more research would be necessary before conclusions can be drawn in this regard.

In 1982, Gumperz pioneered the study of the pragmatic functions of CS. He dedicated a chapter of his book Discourse Strategies to classify "Conversational Functions of code switching" with the purpose of identifying the motivation for the occurrence of a particular code-switched utterance, and finally classify it under a fixed category. The following list provides a range of concepts useful for analyzing the data: 1. *Message qualification*, 2. *Interjection*, 3. *Personification vs. Objectivization*, 4. *Reiteration*, 5. *Addressee specification*, and 6. *Quotation*.

1. *Message qualification*: Gumperz (1982, p. 79) described this category as: "qualifying constructions such as sentence and verb complements or predicates following a copula." A code-switched utterance elaborates, distinguishes the topic and adds comments on a discourse. It also might be a useful strategy to enhance explanations of referential content for the benefit of the listener, in this case, LV's audience, as seen in (30) to (35).

In (30) T starts the utterance with "oye," originally a second-person singular (you) SPA command, which has been lexicalized into an attentiongetter, in this case uttered probably to create curiosity; and as an interjection, given that it expresses an isolated emotion by T, and it is placed at the beginning of the sentence. Then, T switches into the ENG copulative construction "you look great" and elaborates the details in two more utterances in SPA.

(30)

T: Oye, you look great! you look great! yo te miro y ni más pa'rriba ni más pa'bajo, te miro igualito

"Listen, you look great! You look great! I see you no taller no shorter, I see you the same"

In (31) T gives a statement mostly in SPA but using 'juniors' referring to clothing jargon, and B continues talking about clothing sizes, in SPA and ENG. Also, A uses Eng in the first sentence, and then, he switches to the SPA word 'mujeres' referring to the clothing size used in Eng 'women,' instead of "uh, women is older woman." It seems that one of the goals of C and T is to have a strong connection with the audience, and probably for that reason their words' choice is informal and humorous. Along these lines, it is worth noticing that T does not say 'está,' the conjugation of third person singular of the SPA verb 'estar,' instead she utters the colloquial 'tá'.

(31)

T: *Tá* (*sic*) *muy fácil la diferencia entre los* juniors *y la ropa de uno de mujer* "It is very easy, the difference between juniors clothing and misses clothing"

A: Okay. Uh juniors *es de* teenagers *y* uh *mujeres* is older woman. "Okay. Uh juniors is for teenagers and uh women is older woman"

In (32) T comments and elaborates on the current weather in both ENG and SPA even though when switching codes the information differs. T starts the informal report with the first-person plural present indicative form of the SPA verb *estar* (to be), then switches to ENG and switches back to SPA. After the SPA conjunction *así que* (so), the switch is headed by the conditional sentence *si llueve* (if it rains) and closes with a verb complement "carry an umbrella…"

(32)

T: Estamos en los high fifty seven, pero es que estamos como en los cuarenta y dicen que va a llover un poquito. Así que, si llueve carry an umbrella, carry a plastic bag, carry something!

"We are really in the high fifty seven, but we are around the forties and they say that it will rain a little bit. So, if it rains carry an umbrella, carry a plastic bag, carry something"

In (33) besides T's elaboration in SPA of her first statement in ENG, the example also shows the commonly confusing use of the SPA verbs *Ser* and *Estar* (to be) for non-native speakers of SPA. In this context, as T describes her current look, she should use the verb *Estar* because she is referring to a temporary situation; however, she utters *soy* the present indicative for the first person of the verb *Ser*, normally used to describe a permanent situation.

(33)

T: I'm surprised you didn't tell me I was pregnant!

C: No, no

T: Soy un poquito más gordita de lo normal

"I am a little fatter than normal"

In (34) C elaborates in SPA *mañana no pero hoy sí* what he said in ENG "we'll know it all today" in the second part of the sentence. Also, and probably because C's competence is not native-like in SPA, in the first sentence he utters: "yo y Tina." This word order breaks the cultural and social rule among SPA speakers who show courtesy and good manners when mentioning the other/s before him/herself, as in: "Tina y yo" or "Tina and I".

(34)

C: Nos llaman a nosotros, yo y Tina. We're Virgo, we'll know it all today, mañana no pero hoy sí

"They called us, I and Tina. We are Virgo, we will know it all today, tomorrow no but today yes"

In (35), the last example under "Message qualification" T elaborates her initial statement in ENG and switches into SPA giving more details about the movie. After "especially" as the linking word, T leads the predicate with the conditional "si" (if).

(35)

T: It is a great movie, and I got to watch it, and it's a great family movie especially *si te gustan los perritos*

"It is a great movie, and I got to watch it, and it is a great family movie especially if you like doggies"

2. *Interjection*: "In other cases the code switch serves to mark an interjection or sentence filler" Gumperz (1982, p. 77), which sometimes is expressed as a single word or non-sentence phrase. Along this statement, O'Keeffe (2006, p. 9) classifies the interjections under "response tokens" or common pragmatic features used in everyday conversational language as well as in intimate type of media interactions, probably an accurate description for the informal LV style. O'Keeffe added that among the functions of the interactions, speakers might utter them in order to organize, structure and monitor the conversation, as it is typical in the data analyzed in this thesis. Another characteristic of this data set is that it does not show a matrix or predominant language that pre-establishes a norm, and there is more of a balance between languages as expressed by Muysken (2000) and O'keeffe (2006). In (36) to (41) there are changes during the same interactions where words in either Eng or SPA work as interjections, following what Muysken (2000, p. 21) predicts: "elements such as tags, exclamations, interjections, and most adverbs can easily be switched." In (36) to (41) T and C utter several interjections such as: "I don't

know, you know, *oye* (listen), all right, man, like, so, and *mama* (sweetie), marking the conversation at the start of a story, when getting back to the point, at the beginning of a sentence, and, in order to change or end a topic, among other functions. The interjections in the examples for this category are underlined in order to simplify the reading.

In (36) the interjections "so and you know" are inserted in SPA structures.

(36)

C: <u>So, vamos a ver, you know, qué novelita nos va a pintar él ya después</u> "We will see, you know, what a soap opera he is going to tell us later"

In (37) the interjection "you know" is at the beginning and the end of the utterance. Inserted in the same utterance there is also the filler/discourse marker "like," and the rest of the sentence is given in ENG and SPA.

(37)

T: You know, and then you are <u>like</u>, God! ¿tomo más agüita o ya no tomo agüita? you know

"You know, and then you are like, God! Do I drink more water or do I not? You know"

In (38) there are two interjections, one in SPA *oye* (listen) and one in ENG (like) and the rest of the utterance is in ENG and SPA.

(38)

T: <u>Oye</u>, hasta los mismos fans yesterday pasamos por el, everyone was <u>like</u> wow! no puedo creer que ganamos

"Listen, even the fans yesterday we went by the, everyone was like wow! I cannot believe we won"

Two other frequent Eng interjections T and C uttered in the data for this thesis are the ones in (39) and (40) inserted into SPA structures.

(39)

T: De seis años tremendito, all right tremendo niño "Six years old, what a naughty, all right, what a naughty boy"

(40)

C: Tantas cosas buenas man con la familia "So many good things, man, with the family"

In (41) there is one interjection in ENG (so) said twice, at the beginning and at the end of the utterance which C expresses in ENG and SPA switchings.

(41)

C: <u>So fui al banco a llorar a ver cuánto habíamos gastado, so</u> I couldn't check my *mi, mi cuenta*

"So I went to the bank to cry, to see how much we had spent, so I could not check my account"

Another frequent interjection in the data is *mama* as in (42) which might be interpreted as 'sweetie'. This interjection shows the typical Cuban/Caribbean dialect uttered by C who describes himself as a Cuban descendant.

(42)

C: You were so close! But no, no <u>mama</u>, that is not it, <u>mama</u>, I am sorry! "You were so close! But no, no sweetie, I am sorry"

Also, the interjections "Ahá", "yes", and "wow" in (43) are addressed both to the studio audience and to the general audience. When expressing these interjections T becomes part of the general audience and motivates C to continue with the anecdote.

(43)

C: Estuvo de lo mejor con la familia, este, festejando

"It was great, celebrating with the family"

T: ¡Ahá!

"Yes"

C: Tantas cosas buenas <u>man</u>, con la familia, a lot of things que empezó a hacer Andrés.

"So many good things man, with the family, a lot of things that Andrés started doing"

T: Sí

"Yes"

C: Algo que caché a M. haciendo, we're going to talk about this el miércoles

"Something that I caught Andrés doing, we are going to talk about this on Wednesday.

T: Wow!

3. Personalization vs. Objectivization: By switching a message, a bilingual entails a personal or objective tone, as Gumperz (1982, p. 80) describes it: "the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge." In the data for this thesis, "personalization vs. objectivization" has a high occurrence, probably because the radio announcers in LV usually try to contrast their personal and objective messages to the radio audience. T and C indicate the degree of their interest in a message when, for example, they give the statement more character through CS. Since the announcers perform the show in a spontaneous way, it seems that they are entitled at liberty to express their opinions about the current news (at least that is the impression given), and to merge those news with personal anecdotes, or the like, on air.

In (44) after C switches two personal statements, one in ENG and the next in SPA respectively, he utters the ENG term: "workaholic" implying the negative sense characterized by a neglect of family and other social relations which he then describes in SPA.

(44)

T: Te ves muy relajado

"You look very relaxed"

C: You know, *vacaciones*. I am actually very happy to be back, *estaba extrañando el trabajo*, I am a little of workaholic, *pero* Tina of course, *estar con la familia es lo que uno necesita, el doctor tiene que recetar*.

"I am actually very happy to be back, I was missing coming to work, I am a little of workaholic but T of course to be with the family is what one needs, the doctor has to recommend"

In (45) C shares a personal anecdote on air in a typical intersentential CS style, with three utterances in SPA, the first one led by the neuter article *lo* (it), the second one with the conjunction *pero* and the third one with the possessive adjective *mi*; and with two utterances in ENG, the first one led by the personal pronoun "I" and the second one with the conjunction "so".

(45)

C: Now, lo que me pasó a mí en las vacaciones, I do online banking pero el Internet estuvo un poco malo

"Now, what happened to me during vacation, I do online banking but the Internet was not working"

T: Sí

"Yes"

C: So, I couldn't check my, mi, mi cuenta "So, I could not check my, my account"

In (46) T and C clearly show the degree of camaraderie they share on air by conveying a personal tone, as Gumperz (1982) describes this category. T's first utterance shows an intersentential structure, and the last utterance shows an intra-sentential structure.

(46)

T: That just wouldn't happened (sic) to us women, pero a mí no me hubiera pasado eso

"That just would not happened to us women, but that would not have happened to me"

C: Oye, qué? Or, why? Because, why?

"Listen, what? Or, why? Because, why?"

T: Because somos mujeres, somos inteligentes, sabemos cuándo.

"Because we are women, we are smart, we know when"

C: Oh God!

4. Reiteration or paraphrasing marks another function of CS (Gumperz, 1982) where the utterance expressed in one language is either repeated in the other language literally or with some modification to signify emphasis or clarification. Given that the data for this thesis is from a radio station that code switches, it might be correct to speculate that the switches are intended to address both, the ENG and SPA speaking audience. By this constant repetition from ENG to SPA and vice versa, LV might be acknowledging that there is a bilingual society and individual monolinguals, or unbalanced bilinguals that barely understand the other language, and that being taken in consideration, the program constantly repeats, so that they do not miss anybody. In other words, by repeating the message in both languages, LV targets bilinguals but also those who are either monolinguals or whose competence in both languages is very restricted. Examples (47) - (54) show reiteration or paraphrasing as an emphatic and clarificatory role of CS.

In (47) T emphasizes the message in SPA and ENG by informing the audience that she will ask "three questions," and then, C does the same when referring to the Arizona football team.

(47)

T: I'm gonna ask you *tres preguntas*, three questions, uh, and I'm gonna try to stamp you

"I'm gonna ask you three questions, three questions, uh, and I am gonna try to stamp you"

C: That's all I wanted to hear Cardinals *están ahí*, and you know what? I wasn't too big of a fan *de los cardenales*

"That is all I wanted to hear Cardinals they are there, and you know what? I was not too big of a fan of the Cardinals"

In (48) T paraphrases in SPA what she previously said in ENG. In this anecdote-like exchange, T utters "ladies room" twice, as a part of the predicate, and as a subject; and then she repeats it in SPA at the end of the statement.

(48)

T: All of the sudden you have to go to the ladies room, uh guess what? The ladies room is far, is not around, *o hay mucha gente que quiere entrar al baño*. "All of the sudden you have to go to the ladies room oh guess what the ladies room is far, is not around, or there are a lot of people that want to go to the bathroom"

In (49) C repeats "un hombre" (a man) inserted in an ENG sentence structure followed by an intersentential utterance where synonyms of "un hombre" are repeated emphasizing the message, and closing it with a third person informal command in SPA.

(49)

C: The ladies are on the line already we got, *un hombre*, we need a man, *un hombre*. If you are up for the challenge *hombres*, *compa*, *amigo*, *llama ahora!* "The ladies are on the line already we got, a man, we need a man, a man, if you are up for the challenge man, buddy, friend, call now!"

In (50) and (51) C repeats the message word for word from one language to another, stressing on the topic without paraphrasing, therefore, as suggested before, audience members of both languages would understand what has been said.

(50)

C: Es en La Mezcla seven o five right now, siete con cinco "It is in The Mix seven o five right now, seven with five

(51)

C: *Gracias* and thank you for calling "Thank you and thank you for calling"

5. Addressee specification: "among several addressees in a conversation, the utterance is switched to express the message to a specific addressee" (Gumperz, 1982, p.77). Given that the data for this thesis was collected with the participants being unaware of being recorded, nor was I present when they were on air; it is not possible to know to whom T or C were expressing the message. The closest example from the data that fits this category is (52). This example differs from the rest in this thesis by the use of square brackets and the information between them, in order to follow the format used by Gumperz (1982) in his book Discourse Strategies.

(52)

C: [speaking to A and T] women get, *mija*, you were so close but no, no *mama*, that is not, it mama, I am sorry, it's actually women do that more and that is another question women do that more *el principio del año*, this is men, we totally do the opposite and it has to do *con relaciones*, Okay?

"C: [speaking to A and T] women get, sweetie, you were so close but no, no, mama, women do that more the beginning of the year, this is men, we totally do the opposite and it has to do with relations Okay?"

T: [speaking to A and C] con el amor!

"T: [speaking to A and C] with love" C: [speaking to A and T] uh, Okay Okay!

6. *Quotations*: Gumperz (1982, p.75) affirms that in this category "code switched passages are clearly identifiable either as direct quotations or as reported speech." In the radio environment, Myers (2004) indicates, announcers utter direct and indirect reports taken mostly from other media sources. Some of T and C utterances are direct quotations in which they copy an author's words and use that exact wording. However, most of their utterances under this category are indirect or reported speeches. Therefore, T and C do not phrase the

original statements or questions; instead, they change and adapt them to the LV characteristic framework.

Given the informal dynamics of LV, T and C often create scenarios in which they use constructed quotations which do not correspond precisely to an original source. It seems that in general, T and C's quotations tend to occur within an embedded narrative designed to impact and entertain the audience rather than to give precise information as a regular news radio station might do (O'Keeffe, 2006). In corpus-based studies (Carder, 2007; Myers, 2004; O'keeffe, 2006) it has been found that quotations may be signaled, among others, by "like" (53) to (55), and some form of "says" (56); and discourse markers such as "God" (53) are often included in reported speech. In this thesis, the translations of all examples are in quotation marks, although, in order to facilitate the reading of the translation in examples (53) to (56), only the quotation (the name of this category) is in quotation marks. In (53) to (55) T and C elaborate personal stories related to the context they are covering in the radio show; and in (56) C uses a direct quotation.

In (53) T shares with the audience a personal anecdote from when she was walking along the Las Vegas Strip for New Year's Eve.

(53)

T: Yeah, you know, and then you are like: "God! tomo más agüita o ya no tomo agüita"

Yeah, you know, and then you are like "God! Do I drink more water or not"

In (54) T describes for the audience, the euphoria in the streets of Glendale, Arizona when the football team, the Cardinals, won the championship.

(54)

T: *Hasta los mismos* fans yesterday *pasamos por el*, everyone was like: "wow, *no puedo creer que ganamos*"

Even the fans yesterday we went by the, everyone was like, "wow, I cannot believe that we won"

In (55) C elaborates what a woman said to him in relation to her own look, and then, C also comments on his own look.

(55)

C: She's like: "llanta por aquí, llanta por allá" I got a llanta around my waist that I can't get rid of

She is like: "fat tire here, fat tire there" I got a tire around my waist that I can't get rid of

In (56) C relates what a female bank teller responded after he made a comment and congratulated her because he thought she was pregnant.

(56)

C: Congratulations, *pues de pronto me mira y me dice:* "uh, did you say I was pregnant?" Oh, oh.

Congratulations, and suddenly she looks at me and says: "uh, did you say I was pregnant?" Oh, oh

4.3 Audience Design

A different approach towards CS in the radio is the one taken by Bell in his Audience Design model (AD). Bell (1991, p. 105) indicates that usually a speaker switches style and language in order to relate to the audience, or "to redefine their relationship to their audience" either by responding or initiating a communicative strategy. Eckert (2003) and Schilling-Estes (2004) remark that AD is probably the most complete study on how people engage in response to

audience members because it is applicable to natural conversation interactions and it includes the fact that speakers respond to audience members in shaping their speech; or in Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernandez-Campoy's (2007, p. 2) words, AD "is probably the most complete study questioning the traditional attention to speech model."

ENG-SPA CS by LV announcers also seems to be due to the significance of transmitting information to most likely bilingual radio audience whose proficiency levels of ENG or SPA should not be taken for granted. Also, this alternation by LV might simply reflect demographic characteristics (setting, topic, familiarity, age, etc.) of audience members influencing the language choice of the announcers (Coupland, 2001; Schilling-Estes, 2004). Moreover, settings of media interaction in traditional participation structures, (Chung, 2006; Ennaji, 1995; O'Keeffe, 2006) indicate that speakers and audience members also make choices and use certain strategies about how they refer to themselves. By doing this, they establish a practical index of socio-cultural identity by the way they address each other. In the case of LV, the male announcer is called *cubanito* (the masculine diminutive for Cuban) and the female announcer is called Tina which is a nickname taken from the last two syllables of the SPA feminine noun *latina*. Along with this characteristic, LV's audience usually identify themselves by the first name and sometimes they also offer the last name. Especially in respect to how participants locate themselves socially (Mahootian, 2005; O'Keeffe, 2006) within a participation framework, it might be safe to state that by CS, LV makes a statement indicating the social

context at the bilingual audience they aim at reaching.

In LV the audience is addressed as if they were present in the radio station as seen in (60). This bilingual audience is represented partly by someone in the studio who at the same time happens to be the announcer, as in this case, by C, T, and sometimes by Rocko, the DJ. In other words, the three of them perform as audience and announcers in the same show. The three of them create and project a speaker individual and an interpersonal identity without neglecting the sociolinguistic characteristics of their radio audience. One of the most important speech features in C, T, the DJ, and LV audience is the constant use of CS as in all the examples in this segment.

In (60), C and T are addressing the audience directly, who are not present at the radio station, and informing them how to get in contact with LV in order to participate in the contest of the moment. In this example, and as indicated by the AD model, C and T, the speakers, use the communicative strategy of CS languages when announcing the phone numbers, probably aiming at being understood by both, the ENG and SPA audiences. Following the informal dynamic of the show, in the first two sentences in (60) C utters the first digits and T utters the last ones, in Spa. In the second sentence by C, he utters the numbers, first in ENG and then in SPA.

(60)

C: If you want to be the first winner *esta mañana* you gotta call *seis, cero, dos, dos, sesenta*

[&]quot;If you want to be the first winner this morning, you got to call six, zero, two, two, sixty"

T: Cero, nueve, cinco, uno "zero, nine, five, one"

C: El número no ha cambiado texto four, nine, three, three, o cuatro, nueve, tres, tres, cero, ah si lo quieres textiar ahí me comunico más rápido

"The number has not changed, text four, nine, three, three or four, nine, three, three, zero, uh, if you want to text there I can communicate faster"

4.4 Role Relations in Audience Design

The AD framework differentiates among several types of audiences based on if the listener is directly spoken to (addressed), the speaker acknowledges the presence of the listener in the speech context (ratified), or if the addressee is known to be part of a speech (known). The effect of audience members on the characteristics of the speaker is proportional to the degree to which the speaker recognizes and ratifies them. Given the characteristics of the data for this thesis and following Bell's audience types, it might be correct to describe LV bilingual listeners as follows:

1. *Addressee*: listeners who are known, ratified, and addressed, such as a guest being interviewed, in studio, or on the phone; or a co-host. In (61) T comments on some entertainment news and includes C, her co-host, by asking for his opinion on the subject. At the end of (61) when T connects C's answer with more news, T shows some uneasiness with the word-choice. Probably T is improvising her speech or she is having difficulty reading the script, assuming that there is one. Along these lines and given the style of LV, where entertainment news seem to play an important role, it might be correct to speculate that T and C use a script in a combination of what Bell (1991, p. 148) called "news stories and personal narratives." News stories are not aired in a

chronological order and they refer to other's stories whereas personal narratives refer to personal experiences or schemata, Bell (1991), Lavob (1972). In (61) T code-switches when introducing a news story originated in C's personal narrative. However, in the second statement by T in this example, CS occurs only when she utters the name of the record single, "Through that window" by the musical group Xtreme.

(61)

T: Wait a minute, *pues*, ¿qué vas a decir? You know, I mean, what can you say? "Wait a minute, well; what are you going to say? You know, I mean, what can you say?"

C: Tirarse la toalla como decimos los cubanos ¿no? "To throw in the towel, as we Cubans say, right?"

T: Oye y hablando de tirarse la toalla te quiero platicar que Xtreme sale, saque su, sale con su nuevo sencillo que se llama Through that window

"Listen and speaking of throwing the towel, I want to tell you that Xtreme releases, gets his, releases his new single called Through that window"

Example (62) is similar to (61) because C is the addressee and co-host of T. Also, in both examples, the announcers are sharing personal narratives that are familiar to the audience. Bell (1991, p. 234) states that "the audience write their script" because when they listen, to a radio station in this case, they bring their own cognitive schema or preceding knowledge based on their own experiences. In examples (61) and (62) that "script" described above leads the listeners to understand and to relate to new information presented here by T and C. In example (62) not only the co-host or addressee but also LV audience is filling out the new information based on their own schema. In (62) C opens his utterance with the interjection "you know," and switches to SPA to follow T's topic of conversation. Also, in this example C and T code-switch on the subject

of the Three Wise Men, with the difference that T utters the ungrammatical *el* reyes magos, whereas C utters los reyes magos.

(62)

T: ¿A ver qué me trajo el [sic] reyes magos? Pues, siempre me traía que un chicle, una cora, un dólar, y no but it was something so, gracias "Let's see what the Three Wise Men brought me, well, they always

brought me a chewing gum, a quarter, a dollar, and no, but it was something, so, thank you"

C: You know, y los reyes magos y los abuelitos siempre estaban contribuyendo, a funny story que me pasó a mí con los reyes magos

"You know, and the Three Wise Men and the grandparents were always contributing, a funny story that happened to me with the Three Wise Men"

2. *Auditor*: A listener who is not directly addressed, but is known and ratified, someone in the studio but not mentioned, such as a producer or agent of the guest. An auditor might also be any non-participant guest of either host, or an on-air guest present in studio, a non-participating colleague to whom the guest refers (third person), public relations representative, agent, or relative. If they are spoken about, it is in third person. If suddenly spoken to directly, it becomes a second person address, not a third person reference.

In (63) C speaks of Fanny Lú, an on-air guest present in the studio. In this example C's utterance is a clear example of intra-sentential CS, which according to Poplack (2004, p. 309) "increases in adult bilinguals as their competence in the two languages increases." Intra-sentential sentences are more commonly used by C and T.

(63)

C: Two minutes *para las y media*, we got Fanny Lú right now *y los horóscopos* are coming up next

"Two minutes to half hour, we got Fanny Lú right now and the horoscopes are coming up next"

3. Overhearer or non-ratified: A listener of whom the speaker is aware, such as a board operator or engineer (one who opens the microphones, and plays the commercials at the cue of the announcer or host). An overhearer or non-ratified will rarely be identified or ratified by the host, but the host would know they are in the studio. Bell (1991) adds that this classification could change if the announcer or host chooses to engage the overhearer or non-ratified in the conversation.

In (64) T and C invite Rocko to participate in the contest of the moment, and as Bell (1991) states, the hosts fill the role of a sidekick and play a supporting pivotal role. In this example C repeats the message in both, ENG and SPA. As stated before in this thesis, by repeating the message in both languages, LV targets bilinguals but also those who are either monolinguals or whose competence in one of the two languages is very restricted.

(64)

T: Yeah, representando Rocko

"Yeah, representing Rocko"

C: Are you ready man? *Tú le tienes que ganar a* T man, *tú le tienes que ganar aquí para los hombres* and you gotta bring *el título para los hombres*, you gotta bring the heavy weight

"Are you ready man? You will have to win man, you have to win for the men and you gotta bring the title for the men, you gotta bring the heavy weight"

A: yes, voy a ganar

"Yes, I am going to win"

In (65) C encourages DJ Rocko to feel more at ease in front of the microphone by CS to SPA to state that he should not be shy when speaking onair.

(65)

A: Lo mismo me pasó a mí, I had a friend that I hadn't seen in years and I saw her, and I was like

"The same happened to me, I had a friend that I hadn't seen in years and I saw her, and I was like"

C: Get closer to the mic, why por qué tanta pena con las, él habla tanto pégate más al micrófono

"Get closer to the mic, why, why so shy with the..., he speaks so much, get closer to the microphone"

A: Okay, me puedes oir?

"Okay, can you hear me?

In (66) DJ Rocko participates as an audience member and also, he is promoting his show "BoyLoco", aired at five in the afternoon. The name of the show "BoyLoco" is a fine representation of LV bilingual profile. First, for a bilingual audience "BoyLoco" (Loco: refers to a crazy male) would be interpreted as "Crazy Boy." Second, "BoyLoco," heard by the Spa speaking audience, would be interpreted as "VoyLoco" (Voy means I go) or "I go crazy." In SPA, the letter "V" is pronounced as "labial, plosive, voiced" unlike the "labial, fricative, voiced" ENG pronunciation. Either way, the name of the show promoted by DJ Rocko in (66) addresses LV bilingual audience.

(66)

C: DJ Rocko, Mister T Mohawk aquí wraping it up en La Mezcla. Gracias Rocko, oye Rocko

"DJ Rocko, Mister T Mohawk here wraping it up in The Mix. Thank you Rocko, listen Rocko"

T: Eeeehhh?

C: ¿Cuándo regresas hombre?

"When do you come back man?

A: En las tardes with BoyLoco

"In the afternoons with Boy*Loco*"

C: Con BoyLoco

"With BoyLoco"

4. Eavesdropper – non-ratified: A listener of whom the speaker is unaware. Bell (2001), states that this audience type might include someone who the host would not expect to be listening, and who might be listening for reasons other than the norm. Other linguists as Meyers (2004, p. 38), argue that radio audience should not be called eavesdroppers given that radio announcers are "aware of them" although the audience is not actually present. However, for the purpose of this thesis and along with Bell's (2001) statement, an eavesdropper might be someone who listens or records the show for any particular reason, like the case of this thesis. A potential sponsor might want to support financially an event, activity, person, or organization. Sponsors also might be looking for a block of advertising time in a bilingual radio station where listeners happen to be familiar with a product or might become potential buyers of a specific brand.

In the eavesdropper category it is difficult to state who T and C are actually communicating with. Although, and according to Bell (1991, p. 90), "ignorance of the audience is no barrier to formation of a stereotyped image." Then, in the case of LV, it might not be wrong to say that T and C's linguistic output is a reflection of their audience, and therefore LV is aware of the social and mostly bilingual group who listens to them. However, eavesdroppers are almost impossible to label, and probably the only way to learn about an eavesdropper would be if the listener identifies him or herself. The author of this thesis was an eavesdropper and learned about LV while searching for a radio station. I can only speculate that T and C incorporate specific brands in their dialogues, as in (67) and (68), because probably LV is paid to do that; and

pushing the limits of the theory, because LV is seeking eavesdroppers who like, are familiar with, and or recognize those brands.

In (67) T and C incorporate in their dialogue "Tostitos Fiesta Bowl," a college football bowl game sponsored by Tostitos, a brand of tortilla chips. C utters the brand name in ENG although in a different word-order. Then, he switches to Spa in a more casual speech informing that *nosotros* or we, probably meaning the audience and LV, will meet on the West side of town. T carries on with the topic and also opens the utterance in SPA and switches to ENG when naming the football teams.

(67)

C: Fiesta Tosticos Bowl is going down ahí mismitico con nosotros on the West side

"Fiesta Tostitos Bowl is going down right there with us on the West side" T: *Así es, es* the Longhorns versus Ohio State

"That is right, is the Longhorns versus Ohio State"

In (68) T informs the audience that Maricopa Community College supports the current traffic news. In the opening sentence T identifies herself with the audience when greeting them in colloquial SPA with a personalized *mi gente* or my people. Then, T's speech seems to come from a script, and she switches to ENG when informing about the traffic and naming the sponsor of this segment.

T: Muy buenos días mi gente este tráfico es traído por Maricopa Community College, si te encuentras en Glendale, stop traffic on highway one o one [sic] East bound between Fifty First Avenue and Thirty Fifth Avenue, de nuevo más tráfico por el rumbo por Buckeye

"Good morning my people, this traffic is brought by Maricopa Community College, if you are in Glendale, stop traffic on highway 101 East bound between Fifty First Avenue and Thirty Fifth Avenue, again more traffic going to Buckeye"

In (69) a potential eavesdropper might be one who dislikes T and C's comment on McCain and Obama. For instance, the eavesdropper might call LV announcers politically incorrect, and complain about their racist-like comments. C's first utterance in this example starts with an interjection and an expression in ENG. In the same sentence he switches to SPA with the command "imaginate eso" or "imagine that" and continues with a statement that does not follow the SPA grammar rules. C utters "creo los Obama..." instead of "creo que los Obama..." Incomplete subordinate clauses are introduced by que (that) and the statement of belief. C's other two utterances in this example are intra-sentential, whereas T's utterances are in ENG only and she carries on C's impromptu sense of humor.

(69)

C: Yeah! so that's pretty crazy, *imagínate eso*, *yo creo los* Obama *van a salir blancos*, *no mentiras*

"Yeah, so that is pretty crazy, imagine that, I think the Obamas will come out white, no, just kidding"

T: Oh no!

C: Well, del susto.

Well, out of fear!

T: It's crazy!

C: Van a decir ese es McCain, no es Obama.

"They will say this is McCain, it is not Obama"

T: You're bad, you're bad

Parallel to (69), T and C word-choice in (70) might create discomfort and or confusion to some members of the audience. In (70) T utters *moreno* (dark skinned) to describe the male twin, and C utters *güerita* to describe the female twin. The term *moreno* is probably used here as a euphemism, but *güerita*, a word used by Mexicans to refer to anyone fair-skinned, might be offensive to

some listeners. Also, T should utter the third-person of *Ser (es)*, used for physical descriptions, instead of *Estar (está)*, used for state of being, among other uses. C code-switches twice, both times opening with the ENG interjection Okay. In this example, C opens the last utterance in ENG with a generic response that works flawlessly in almost any story situation: "That is crazy" followed by the interjection "now," and he switches to with a statement on Michael Jackson that might upset someone in the audience.

(70)

T: Una pareja tuvo gemelitos, no cualquier gemelitos sino dos, uh, es diferentes colores, uno está moreno y otro está blanquito

"A couple had twins, no any twins but two, uh, is different colors, one is dark skinned and the other is white"

C: Okay so, *la historia es el hombre es moreno la muchacha es* "Okay, so the story is the man is dark skinned and the girl is"

T: Blanquita

"White"

C: Okay, güerita

"Okay, güerita"

C: That is crazy! Now, lo que sí está causando controversia es de que Michael Jackson los está tratando de comprar

"That is crazy! Now, what is being a controversy is that Michael Jackson is trying to buy them"

The Audience Design model attempts to enlighten the four types of audiences described by Bell (1991), which are Addressee, Auditor, Overhearer, and Eavesdropper. As seen in the examples for these categories, LV's announcers try to sound like their bilingual radio audience. In fact, C and T help to create characters, include original ideas, and design their speech as if it were a product to be sold; even if someone has written the script for them. However, the AD model is not completely suitable to analyze C and T radio speech. Not all the four categories of the model designed by Bell have necessary a

counterpart in C and T's speech.

Addressee is the first audience type. It describes listeners who are known, ratified, and addressed, such as a guest being interviewed, in studio, or on the phone; or a co-host. In this case the co-host is either C or T. Sometimes the co-host is Rocko, the DJ, or the audience on the phone calls. Therefore, the majority of examples from the data falls in this category and fit the description.

Auditor is the second audience type. It describes a listener who is not directly addressed, but is known and ratified; and if they are spoken about, it is in third person. In the data for this thesis, there is only one example that fit the description. In that short segment, C speaks briefly about a guest in the studio and it seems like he read the script and moves to the next topic of conversation.

The Overhearer or non-ratified is the third audience type. It describes a listener of whom the speaker is aware, but who will rarely be identified or ratified by the host. The few examples that fit in this category are the ones where C or T invites Rocko, the DJ, to participate in whichever contest or conversation they are having at the moment.

The Eavesdropper – non-ratified is the fourth audience type. It describes a listener of whom the speaker is unaware, and therefore, in this category it is almost impossible to label the audience. As stated before, it can only be speculated why T and C incorporate specific brands in their dialogues. This is with certainty the audience type in which the data for this thesis does not find a counterpart in Bell's AD model.

In most of the data used for this thesis, besides C, T and the DJ, there is no

interlocutor as such but somewhat a more general and abstract audience. Also, probably LV's announcers take advantage of their vernacular speech by codeswitching SPA and ENG with the idea of reaching a bilingual audience.

Discussion of results

This thesis investigated Spanish and English code-switching in the radio station "Latino Vibe 95.1." The speakers' codeswitched utterances were examined using Gumperz's (1982) Conversational Functions of CS, Myers-Scotton (1993) Markedness Model, and Bell's (1984) Audience Design model.

In this thesis, LV's speech was examined based on the following research question:

1. Which sociolinguistic model can explain more accurately the CS taking place in LV, the Markedness model, the Conversational Functions of CS, or the Audience Design model?

In this regard, the data showed that five out of the six Conversational functions of CS proposed by Gumperz (1982), (1. Message qualification, 2. Interjection, 3. Personification vs. Objectivization, 4. Reiteration, 5. Addressee specification, and 6. Quotation) were used consistently:

"Message qualification" and "Interjection," functions accounted for a vast portion of CS instances in the data, probably given the speakers' balanced SPA and ENG proficiency. In these two categories, the speakers uttered CS grammar constructions and interjections of common use in the two languages. As for the "Personification vs. Objectivization" function, plenty of instances were found in the data since LV announcers contrast their personal and objective messages to

their audience in a regular basis and in spontaneous manner. There were also ample of instances for the "Reiteration" or paraphrasing function, since based on the data, one of LV characteristics is to target bilinguals. Therefore, quite often, they repeated the message by CS in SPA and ENG possibly with the intention of reaching bilinguals or monolinguals whose competence in both languages is very restricted. As for the "Addressee specification" function, the data only showed one instance. Since the speakers did not establish to whom exactly they were expressing the message, as Gumperz (1982) stated, it was not possible to point out other instances for the "Addressee specification" function. On the contrary, for the last function, "Quotations," there were several instances to analyze from the data. However, the quotations found did not correspond to an original source; instead, the speakers did code-switch their utterances within an embedded narrative, possibly with the intention of entertaining the audience. Mainly, this model showed that speakers uttered definite grammar rules and typical sociolinguistic characteristics of a particular group or community, as stated by Gumperz (1982).

The next model used to analyze the data was Myers-Scotton's (1993)

Markedness Model and its three maxims: 1. Unmarked-choice maxim, 2.

Marked-choice maxim, and 3. Exploratory-choice maxim. The data that can be explained by the principles of Unmarked-choice maxim shows that in order to keep the flow of the conversation, the speakers at LV code-switch according to the situational factors. Equally important, the data show that in this radio station, a conversation is an activity where all participants carry on a sense of solidarity

and collaborate among themselves with the intention of understanding the meaning of the talk. The data that can be explained by the principles of Marked-choice maxim was somewhat limited. The Marked-choice maxim states that switches are unexpected and that speakers switch in order to negotiate social distance or to stress authority. Then, given the constant camaraderie all throughout the data, these conditions were not met often but only in a few instances tinted with lots of good sense of humor. As for Exploratory-choice maxim, there were no cases of CS that could be explained by these principles. For this last maxim, Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 142) stated that speakers "do not know which language is unmarked" or expected; contrary to the natural flow of CS at LV.

The third and last model used to analyze the data was Bell's (1984)

Audience Design. Contrary to my initial idea that Bell's (1984) Audience

Design was the best fitted model for this thesis; the data show that not all four

AD types of audiences (1. Addressee, 2. Auditor, 3. Overhearer, and 4.

Eavesdropper), have a necessary counterpart in LV's announcers and its audience's speech. Most of the data corresponds to the Addressee category given that it describes listeners who are known, ratified, and addressed, as described by Bell (1984). In this case, those listeners were the two announcers, the DJ and the two members of the audience on the phone.

However, for the other three categories, Auditor, Overhearer and

Eavesdropper, the data did not show an interlocutor as such but somewhat a

more general an abstract audience. Therefore, this somewhat monotonic nature

of the audience could not allow the model to correlate any specific type of CS with a particular type of audience.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Study

What do these various data state about CS in the radio? One of the advantages of using three taxonomies is that the data can be analyzed from different sociolinguistic perspectives and interpretations. After analyzing the data following these three sociolinguistic models, the results turned out to be fairly clear. Under the scope of Gumperz's (1982) Conversational Functions of CS, and Myers-Scotton (1993) Markedness model, the plenty of available data indicates that CS serves as a linguistic resource available to bilingual speakers involved in all kind of speech acts, power relationships and speakers' identities interactions. On the contrary, the insufficient available data under the scope of Bell's (1984) Audience Design, indicates that there is not enough number of audience's members in the data in order to fully apply AD's four categories. Then, in order to explain more accurately the CS taking place in LV, those results lead to rank the models from more to least precise as follows:

1. The data analyzed under Gumperz's (1982) model presented more clearcut instances for five of the Conversational functions of CS. But for the
Addressee category none of the instances fitted its description given that usually
the speakers at LV do not address their utterance to anyone in particular, but to
their audience as a whole. The data proved what Gumperz's (1982, p. 65) stated:
"communication affects the interpretation of what a speaker intends to
communicate and that there are others with different communicative

conventions and standards of evaluation that must not only be taken into account but that also be imitated or mimicked for special communicative effect."

- 2. The data analyzed under Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness model presented plenty of instances for the Unmarked-choice maxim. Along this maxim's description, LV speakers' speech choices are more expected given their SPA-ENG sharpness, their camaraderie, and other relevant situational factors. But for the Marked-choice maxim there were limited data. Since this maxim stands for choices of social distance and to stress authority, there were only a few examples that met this description but mostly with the intention of creating laughter. For the Exploratory-choice maxim there were no data available to meet its principles. This maxim states that the speakers do not know which language choices are expected. Therefore, there is uneasiness of CS use in the conversation; contrary to the continuous comic, high energy, and rapid CS dialogue.
- 3. The data analyzed under Bell's (1984) Audience Design model presented plenty of instances for the Addressee category because the immediate audience was known, ratified and addressed. Contrary to that, there were no data appropriate to study Auditor, Overhearer and Eavesdropper since there was not enough information to point out who was the audience for these categories. Therefore, it was not possible to prove or disprove Bell's (1984, p.161) statement that speech of radio announcers is directly influenced by their audience "They are in a real sense subject to their audience, dependent on its goodwill, responsive to audience response."

In conclusion, out of the three models, Gumperz's (1982) Conversational Functions of CS is the most accurate one to explain the CS at LV even though examples like (71-74) below show otherwise. Based on the patterns found in LV speech in relation to this model, it might be correct to conclude that intentional CS serves to emphasize and to promote an identity, in the Southwest, in this case. Also, as Gumperz's (1972, p. 208) stated, "Frequent code-switching on the part of a large number of individuals tends to reduce the language distance between codes. Linguistic overlap is greatest in those situations which favor intergroup contact."

The three models suggest that bilingual speakers in these apparent spontaneous interactional data use CS as a source to maintain or recapture their bilingual identity through their speech.

Although this thesis provides information about CS among SPA and ENG speakers in the radio, the conclusions described should be considered with care since the data involve a small number of speakers and a very restricted number of audience members. Clearly, this thesis has just covered the surface of a very complex issue; that is the use of CS in the radio, which goes against the mainstream media of monolingual standards.

Limitations

There were several limitations due mainly to the preliminary nature of this thesis. Since the number of participants was very limited, it was difficult to generalize the results, for which the findings here should be interpreted as relevant to this particular radio station. In addition, based on the data on LV's

speech, there were also disadvantages regarding the perspective presented by the three models. Next, the limitations of each model will be illustrated with examples from the data.

The Conversational Functions of CS model by Gumperz (1982) was an essential sociolinguistic framework to analyze most of the data on LV's speech, and yet, it was not possible to fully explain the switches in (71-74) below.

In (71), the ENG filler "I don't know" falls under the description of the "Interjection" category, whereas "maybe" cannot be explain under any function of CS presented by Gumperz's (1982). Also, this theory does not present any information on the function of one-word expressions, and therefore, (71-72) "tamales, codos" respectively cannot be explained here. In addition, the CS choices in these two examples did not fit the description of any of the six functions either.

(71)

T: Or maybe como dicen, muchas, I don't know, tamales

"Or maybe as they say, many, I do not know, tamales"

C: Maybe they got a turkey in the oven; I don't know *lo que es* "Maybe they got a turkey in the oven; I do not know what it is"

(72)

C: Las relaciones break up because la gente son tan baratas que no quieren comprar un regalito

"The relationships break up because people are so cheap that they do not want to buy a gift"

T: Codos, codos

"Stingy, stingy"

In examples (73-74) it is neither clear nor explained by Gumperz (1982) why even though the use of ENG proper names the speaker code switches, in this case to SPA. It is unknown what triggers T and C to continue in SPA if

names like "Obama", "John Travolta", and "Kawasaki Syndrome" might motivate an ENG context.

(73)

C: The Obama están en un hotel for the last remaining dos semanas y media antes de entrar a la presidencia

"The Obama are at a hotel for the last remaining two weeks and a half before taking office"

(74)

C: Oye, el chisme is coming up, vamos a estar hablando de John Travolta y su hijito

"Listen, the gossip is coming up, we are going to be talking of John Travolta and his poor little son"

T: De una enfermedad que se llama Kawasaki Syndrome, que inflama the blood vessels.

"About an illness called Kawasaki Syndrome, that inflames the blood vessels"

Second, despite Myers-Scotton's (1993, p. 73) claim that her model "would also offer ways to view the individual socially motivated uses of CS as part of more general, even universal, discourse strategies," is was challenging to interpret the data under the scope of the Unmarked choice maxim, the Marked choice maxim or unexpected choice, and the Exploratory choice maxim, as shown in (75-78). In these four examples there are no significant reasons, according to the three categories, that justify T and C's CS. Since these categories state that CS is "motivated" mainly to be understood by the listener, to welcome or to show social distance to the listener, and to be liked by the listener, then, what is the purpose of CS, by T and C, who are colleagues and are fluent in ENG and SPA?

(75)

T: Oh yo sé, es que es el dos mil nueve y you gotta change a lot of things about yourself *cubanito*

"Oh I know, it is that it is two thousand nine and you gotta change a lot of things about yourself little Cuban"

(76)

C: I am not gonna let you go for this Rocko, Rocko or Mister T en la casa wearing the new look everybory is wearing a new staff right ¿Qué tú sabes de eso? clásico aquí el juego famoso internacional aquí la pregunta imposible seis cero dos

"I am not gonna let you go for this Rocko, Rocko or Mister T at home wearing the new look everybody is wearing a new stuff right, What do you know about it? Classic here the international famous game, here the impossible question, six, zero, two"

(77)

C: Claro que sí we have not had a winner así que sigue llamando, seis, cero, dos, dos, sesenta, cero, nueve, cinco, uno, and I am truly excited to know what my horóscopo what my sign has to tell me today

"Of couse yes, we have not had a winner, so keep calling, six, zero, two, two, sixty, zero, nine, five, one, and I am truly excited to know what my horoscope, what my sign has to tell me today"

(78)

C: Oye, oye, hay que empezar a recolectar dinero aquí para el cable, aquí este uh D.J. Rocko mezclador y professional baby maker uh is going to be playing para los hombres y en el otro lado tenemos, aquí, vamos a ver, y aquí con nosotros en la línea las mujeres

"Listen, listen we must begin to collect money here for the cable, here it is, uh, D.J. Rocko, mixer and professional baby maker uh is going to be playing for the men, and on the other side we have here, let's see, and here with us on the line the women"

Third, Bell's (1984) AD model presented strong limitations even though its outline is focused on CS in the radio. Mainly, given the small audience in the studio and LV's abstract audience coverage, the model showed analytical restrictions for the data on this radio station. Specifically for the Eavesdroppernon ratified category the restrictions included the identification of to whom specifically T and C were addressing. As seen in (77) and now as (79) below, and in (80-81), it is not understood why C and T respectively, code switch given

that they are talking to the same person each time. If they open the utterance in one language, why is the need of CS? Here, the speakers violate AD's description by excess and default. In other words, they change codes when speaking to the same audience, and when the audience changes they do not change codes.

(79)

C: I'm not gonna let you go for this Rocko, Rocko or Mister T en la casa wearing the new look everybory is wearing a new staff right ¿Qué tú sabes de eso? clásico aquí el juego famoso internacional aquí la pregunta imposible seis cero dos

"I am not gonna let you go for this Rocko, Rocko or Mister T at home wearing the new look everybody is wearing a new stuff right, What do you know about it? Classic here the international famous game, here the impossible question, six, zero, two"

(80)

C: ¡Ay Dios mío, ay Dios mío Tina! you got two out of three, quédate en la línea we are gonna play cuando regresemos con D.J. Rocko para los hombres, es la batalla de los sexos

"Oh my God, oh my God Tina! You got two out of three, stay on the line, we are gonna play when we come back with D.J. Rocko for the men, it is the battle of the sexes"

(81)

T: *Ella te trasquiló*, Okay, question number three Rocko, let's see, uh, ¿*Cuál es la diferencia entre* juniors and misses clothing?

"She got you, Okay, question number three Rocko, let's see, uh, what is the difference between juniors and misses clothing?

Besides all the examples analyzed up to now, there are some one-word switches in the announcements that do not fall under any scope of the three models presented here. In (82-83) the only ENG material is the name of a brand, which most likely is due to a business agreement between LV and its sponsors.

(82)

T: *El chisme es traído por* Cricket *que es el grillo* "The gossip is brought by Cricket which is the cricket"

(83)

C: Los horóscopos fue traído [sic] for H&R Block "The horoscopes were brought by H&R Block"

Another particular aspect of LV is that scripted segments like "Los horóscopos" the horoscopes, are read only in SPA and therefore, there is no CS, as in (84-86).

(84)

T: Aries, es posible que tengas más presión que de costumbre pero esto no significa pasar por arriba de las personas pasa por al lado no por arriba "Aries, it is possible that you have more pressure than usual, but this does not mean to step over people, go by their side but no over them"

(85)

T: Taurito, relájate y disfruta de esta energía maravillosa que viene hacia ti, bueno, comenzando dos mil nueve

"Little Taurus, relax and enjoy this wonderful energy that comes towards you, well, starting two thousand nine"

(86)

T: Géminis, si has dejado para más adelante el pago de algunas cuentas o la firma de documentos, ya llegó el día bueno de empezar a firmar los documentos "Gemini, if you have postponed for later the payment of some bills, or signing documents, the good day has come to start signing the documents"

Moreover, the biggest limitation was, to my knowledge, the scarcity of studies of CS in the radio, and none specifically, in a SPA and ENG bilingual radio station. In order to collect information and investigate about this topic, it was necessary to use studies on monolingual radio stations, bilingual magazines, multilingual landscapes, on-line chatting in multilingual settings, and CS studies in general.

Future Research

A similar study to this one could be the comparison between two radio segments. One segment would collect data were the speakers are unaware that they are being recorded, and the other segment would collect data after telling the speakers that they would be recorded, and telling them also about the goals of the investigation. This comparison might be of great learning in the field of constructing and evaluating the Co-operative Principle developed by Grice (1975) and used by Myers-Scotton (1993) in the Markedness Model. This kind of comparison might also show light regarding the intergroup tensions where language discrimination, stereotyping and prejudice decrease affability towards one another. Even though this tension does not seem to be present in LV, it would be useful to research on the topic before making this type of assumptions.

If using the Audience Design model, more research should also involve a known audience, if possible present in the radio station settings, therefore, the four categories of this model could be analyzed more in-depth.

Further research could also focus on the CS grammar phenomenon in a bilingual radio station. Muysken (2000, p. 230) stated that "As to bilingual proficiency, it is noted that more fluent bilinguals tend to display congruent lexicalization and more complex insertional (intrasentential)." Although the types of CS structures were not quantified in this thesis, my impressionistic view is that intra-sentential switching is the most common and probably the most typical characteristic in communicative behavior by speakers in LV. However,

further investigation will be necessary before drawing any conclusions in this regard.

Also, LV's audience identity could be evaluated under the scope of the several Hispanic communities living in Phoenix. One should not assume or take for granted that T and C, or Latino Vibe's performance in general represent the broad and so diverse Spanish speaking community from Spain, the Caribbean, South and Central America.

Last but not least, more research studies should be conducted, if possible, involving more speakers, for example SPA and ENG speakers with different levels of education, age, and length of immigration.

Spanish-English CS in the radio is a rich area for future research, since in bicultural, bilingual communities the regular standards of what is considered proper, previously challenged in monolingual situations, are even more complicated. According to Mahootian (2005, p. 373) "For Spanish-English bilinguals, codeswitching reinforces their affiliation with two cultures, asserts their identity as bicultural bilinguals while allowing them to maintain strong ties with the home culture." Along these lines, the emergence of CS in the radio might be a firm confirmation that this diversity has been propagated and accepted, or at least it is opening a gap of bilingual acceptance.

This thesis, clearly exploratory in nature, can only express the urge for further research in order to answer some of the most basic questions in the field.

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ⁱ The examples given were taken from the transcription in the appendix. ⁱⁱ <u>http://www.hrjobs.org/video_details.asp?segment=4458&i=39379_iii http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/archive/irb/irb_chapter3.htm_</u>