



**UNIWERSYTET RZESZOWSKI**  
**WYDZIAŁ FILOLOGICZNY**  
**INSTYTUT FILOLOGII ANGIELSKIEJ**

**Judyta Pawliszko**

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF  
MEXICAN-AMERICAN BILINGUALISM:  
SPANGLISH AS A CULTURAL PHENOMENON**

**Socjolingwistyczna analiza bilingwizmu wśród społeczności  
meksykańsko-amerykańskiej: Spanglish jako zjawisko  
kulturowe**

Rozprawa doktorska  
napisana pod kierunkiem  
dr hab. prof. UR Agnieszki Uberman  
Promotor pomocniczy:  
dr Małgorzata Martynuska

**Rzeszów 2018**

*I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisors  
dr hab. prof. UR Agnieszka Uberman and dr Małgorzata Martynuska  
for the continuous support of my Ph.D study and research,  
for patience, motivation, enthusiasm, and immense knowledge.*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b> .....	1
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b> .....	3
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</b> .....	5
<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	6
<b>CHAPTER ONE: BILINGUALISM</b> .....	18
1.1 First/primary language – second/other language .....	20
1.2 The scholarly concept of bilingualism.....	22
1.3 Typology of bilingualism .....	25
1.3.1 Societal versus individual bilingualism .....	26
1.3.2 Balanced versus dominant bilingualism .....	31
1.3.3 Natural versus school bilingualism.....	33
1.3.4 Compound, co-ordinate versus subordinate bilingualism.....	34
1.3.5 Early versus late bilingualism.....	38
1.3.6 Additive versus recessive bilingualism .....	42
1.4 Diglossia and bilingualism .....	45
1.5 Research on bilingualism.....	48
1.6 Two languages – two worlds? .....	52
Summary.....	64
<b>CHAPTER TWO: BILINGUAL SPEECH CHARACTERISTICS</b> .....	65
2.1 Interference .....	65
2.2 Borrowings .....	70
2.3 Code-switching .....	76
Summary.....	87
<b>CHAPTER THREE: SPANGLISH DEVELOPMENT</b> .....	88
3.1 Assumptions behind Spanglish.....	88
3.2 Types of Spanglish .....	97
3.3 The linguistic features of Spanglish .....	101
3.4 Hybrid nature of Spanglish.....	109
3.5 Promoting Spanglish.....	112
Summary.....	118
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS IN LOS ANGELES</b> .....	119
4.1 Historical panorama of Mexican immigration to the USA.....	119

4.2 Geographical distribution .....	130
4.3 Characteristic of the surveyed diaspora.....	133
4.4 Linguistic situation of Mexicans in Los Angeles .....	139
4.5 Ethnic identity and cultural situation of Mexicans in Los Angeles .....	144
4.5.1 Research design .....	158
4.5.2 Data analysis.....	159
Summary.....	165
 <b>CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS .....</b>	 <b>166</b>
5.1 Social view of bilingualism and Spanglish.....	166
5.2 Individual bilingualism.....	179
5.2.1 Research design .....	179
5.2.2 Gabriela's bilingualism.....	180
5.2.3 María's bilingualism.....	183
5.2.4 José's bilingualism .....	186
5.2.5 Daniel's bilingualism.....	189
5.2.6 Alejandra's bilingualism.....	192
5.2.7 Ernesto's bilingualism .....	195
5.3 Mexican-American immigrants' speech characteristics .....	198
5.3.1 Interference.....	201
5.3.2 Borrowings .....	205
5.3.2.1 Thematic classification of borrowings.....	208
5.3.2.2 Quotations.....	214
5.3.2.3 Phonological adaptation .....	216
5.3.2.4 Morphological adaptation.....	218
5.3.3 Code-switching.....	220
Summary.....	233
 <b>CONCLUSIONS .....</b>	 <b>234</b>
<b>STRESZCZENIE.....</b>	<b>241</b>
<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>2653</b>
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>265</b>
Appendix 1. Questionnaire for monolingual and bilingual speakers.....	265
Appendix 2. Questionnaire for bilingual immigrants .....	269
Appendix 3. A set of questions used in the examination of a case study. ....	274
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>277</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1	Monolingualism-bilingualism continuum.....	28
FIGURE 2	BIMOLA – bilingual model of lexical access.....	37
FIGURE 3	Revised Hierarchical Model (RHM).....	38
FIGURE 4	Relationship between English competency score and the age of arrival according to Goldowsky and Newport’s research .....	40
FIGURE 5	The process of becoming a bilingual speaker .....	42
FIGURE 6	First and/or second language use in various domains of life of a bilingual .....	51
FIGURE 7	Mexican Immigration to the United States, 1940 to 1964 .....	123
FIGURE 8	Mexican Immigration to the United States, 1965 to 1997 .....	126
FIGURE 9	Top destination states of Mexican immigrants in the United States, 2008-2012....	131
FIGURE 10	Respondents’ age .....	134
FIGURE 11	Reasons for immigration to Los Angeles.....	137
FIGURE 12	Age of respondents at the time of immigration to Los Angeles.....	137
FIGURE 13	Time of residence in Los Angeles.....	138
FIGURE 14	Proficiency of English among respondents.....	139
FIGURE 15	The means of acquiring English language by respondents .....	140
FIGURE 16	Places and situations in which Mexican immigrants think in Spanish and English.....	141
FIGURE 17	Do you switch between languages within a conversation with certain people? .....	143
FIGURE 18	Linguistic code used by respondents for communication with other Mexican immigrants .....	144
FIGURE 19	A conceptual framework defining core domains of integration.....	147
FIGURE 20	Mexican immigrants’ identity .....	150
FIGURE 21	Social environment of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles .....	151
FIGURE 22	Mexican immigrants’ assessment of differences between the culture and living environment in Los Angeles and those of Mexico.....	151
FIGURE 23	The cultural hybrid structure of immigrants .....	153
FIGURE 24	A two-year-old child who starts talking to one parent in English and to another in Spanish.....	167
FIGURE 25	A four-year-old child whose native language is Bengali and uses English among his/her peers .....	167
FIGURE 26	An Italian student from an immigrant family, living in the United States, who is increasingly using English both at home and outside the home, but his/her older relatives would only speak to him/her in Italian .....	168

FIGURE 27	A Canadian child from Montreal who has spoken English since he/she was born and attends school in which all subjects are taught in French .....	168
FIGURE 28	A young graduate who has studied French for eleven years.....	169
FIGURE 29	A sixty-year-old who has spent a large part of his life working with manuscripts and documents in Latin.....	169
FIGURE 30	A technical translator .....	170
FIGURE 31	A private interpreter for an important public figure.....	170
FIGURE 32	A Portuguese apothecary who reads specialist literature (connected with his/her subject) written in English .....	171
FIGURE 33	A Japanese airline pilot who uses English during his/her work.....	171
FIGURE 34	A Turkish immigrant, working in Germany, speaking Turkish at home and among his/her friends as well as colleagues, who can also communicate in German with his/her superiors and the authorities, both in writing and speech .....	172
FIGURE 35	The wife of a Turkish worker who understands and speaks German but cannot write or read in this language .....	172
FIGURE 36	A Danish immigrant in New Zealand who has not had contact with the Danish language for forty years .....	173
FIGURE 37	A Belgian civil servant who lives in bilingual Brussels where his/her friends and relatives speak mainly Flemish; he/she works in an entirely French-speaking environment .....	173
FIGURE 38	A staunch Catalan who works at home and uses only the Catalan language but who knows Spanish from the media and from the local usage; he/she has no problems in communicating in Spanish .....	174
FIGURE 39	The meaning of Spanglish.....	175
FIGURE 40	Gabriela's sociocultural situation.....	182
FIGURE 41	María's sociocultural situation.....	186
FIGURE 42	José's sociocultural situation.....	189
FIGURE 43	Daniel's sociocultural situation.....	192
FIGURE 44	Alejandra's sociocultural situation.....	195
FIGURE 45	Ernesto's sociocultural situation .....	198
FIGURE 46	Language mode .....	200
FIGURE 47	Alternation .....	224
FIGURE 48	Insertion .....	227
FIGURE 49	Congruent lexicalisation .....	230

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1	Typology of bilingualism.....	29
TABLE 2	The relation between diglossia and bilingualism. ....	46
TABLE 3	Linguistic forces in Brussels. ....	47
TABLE 4	Top destination cities of Mexican immigrants in the United States, 2008-2012. ....	133
TABLE 5	Respondents' gender. ....	134
TABLE 6	Respondents' education level.....	135
TABLE 7	Number and share of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles.....	136
TABLE 8	Respondents' attitude towards Spanish language .....	140
TABLE 9	Respondents' attitude towards English language.....	141
TABLE 10	Language used in speaking. ....	142
TABLE 11	Language used in writing .....	142
TABLE 12	Language in which respondents prefer to read.....	142
TABLE 13	Bilingualism among respondents. ....	143
TABLE 14	Three models of integration, taking Germany as an example, according to Faist. ..	148
TABLE 15	Participants' continuum of bilingualism. ....	159
TABLE 16	Use of Spanglish in relation to the degree of familiarity of speakers. ....	160
TABLE 17	Language usage related to Gabriela's spheres of life.....	183
TABLE 18	Gabriela's language preference related to mass media. ....	181
TABLE 19	Gabriela's linguistic skills.....	182
TABLE 20	Language usage related to María's spheres of life.....	183
TABLE 21	María's language preference related to mass media. ....	183
TABLE 22	María's linguistic skills.....	184
TABLE 23	Language usage related to José's spheres of life. ....	186
TABLE 24	José's language preference related to mass media. ....	187
TABLE 25	José's linguistic skills.....	187
TABLE 26	Language usage related to Daniel's spheres of life.....	190
TABLE 27	Daniel's language preference related to mass media. ....	190
TABLE 28	Daniel's linguistic skills.....	190
TABLE 29	Language usage related to Alejandra's spheres of life.....	193
TABLE 30	Alejandra's language preference related to mass media. ....	194
TABLE 31	Alejandra's linguistic skills.....	194
TABLE 32	Language usage related to Ernesto's spheres of life. ....	196
TABLE 33	Ernesto's language preference related to mass media.....	196
TABLE 34	Ernesto's linguistic skills. ....	196
TABLE 35	Thematic division of Spanglish words.....	213

TABLE 36	Gender and number assignments to English nouns in Spanglish.....	219
TABLE 37	Examples of infinitives in Spanglish.....	220
TABLE 38	Number of switches in Skype/Facebook conversations.....	223

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

a.k.a.	also known as
cub.	Cubonics
CS	code-switching
e.g.	for example
EL	Embedded Language
eng.	English
i.e.	id est (that is)
ibid.	in the same place
L1	first/primary language
L2	second/other language
LRH	Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis
LW	Linguistic Worldview
MLF	Matrix Language Frame
pach.	Pachuto
qtd	quoted
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
span.	Spanish
spang.	Spanglish
tex.	Tex-Mex
UG	Universal Grammar
US	United States

# INTRODUCTION

## Rationale for the topic

In 1942 Spanish settlers first arrived on the South American mainland, in an area known nowadays as a part of the southern United States, and the first stable Spanish-English interactions also occurred in these regions. Currently, with upwards of 35 million native speakers, Spanish is the de facto second linguistic system of the United States. It is also the first language of many regions and thus the United States is on the verge of being the world's fourth-largest Spanish-speaking nation.

The fact that, apart from speaking Spanish and English, Mexicans residing in America typically exhibit a wide spectrum of language-contact phenomena, has led many observers, both locally and abroad, to postulate the rise of a new creation stemming from this sustained bilingual contact. Having been referred to by many expressions, the one name that is commonly recognised is Spanglish; a word whose very morphology connotes not only mixture, hybridity, but also, to the most cynical, illegitimate birth.

Yet, the above raises interesting questions: What exactly is Spanglish? Does it really exist? Can the thousands of speakers worldwide using the term with conviction, albeit with an extensive variety of connotations, describe a non-existent entity? Indeed, like the investigation of family values, democracy, and national security, the notion of Spanglish has become a deeply-rooted cultural concept. Undeniably, being highly charged with emotion, it eludes a widely accepted definition. Taking into consideration the fact that neither the word itself nor the concept of a *third language* resulting from the head-on collision between English and Spanish is likely to disappear anytime soon, it is crucial that thoughtful empirical research complement the popular chaos embracing facets of mass hysteria, conspiracy theories, and media feeding turmoil, while attempting not inefficiently to elucidate the actual linguistic situation of Hispanic bilinguals.

Abroad, the situation of the Spanish language in America is frequently entangled with anti-imperialistic political attitudes which assume as axiomatic that any linguistic system and culture incoming to the United States will be overwhelmed by Anglo-American values, and thus, denatured, deteriorated, contaminated, and eventually assimilated by the mainstream juggernaut. Yet, coming largely from the literacy circle as well as the political left, defenders of linguistic mixture and borrowings have expressed frustration in attempts to present their views to mainstream educators, journalists or community leaders. Although

nearly every Spanish speaker in America and throughout the world, together with the majority of Anglo-Americans, identify the word *Spanglish*, there is a lack of consensus on its linguistic and social correlates. However, one shared thread which runs through most accounts of Spanglish may be identified: it is the idea that most Latinos in America, Puerto Rico and border areas of Mexico use this *language* rather than *real* Spanish. Indeed, a questionnaire of current statements will display the diversity of explanations, perspectives, and approaches regarding the linguistic behaviour of the world's fourth-largest Spanish-speaking community.

To begin with, dictionary definitions, typically the most neutral, widely acknowledged, and carefully investigated, should be taken into consideration. Nonetheless, this first encounter yields dramatically inconsistent results. As stated in the Oxford English Dictionary (qtd in Gardner-Chloros 2009:23), Spanglish is "a type of Spanish contaminated by English words and forms of expression, spoken in Latin America". On the other hand, a very generic and neutral definition is stated in the American Heritage Dictionary (qtd in Gabryś-Barker 2007:66): "Spanish characterised by numerous borrowings from English".

The term Spanglish, or, as it is referred to in Spanish language, *Espanglish*, appears to have been coined by Salvador Tío, a journalist from Puerto Rico, in a newspaper column first published in 1952. Being considered in Latin America as the inventor of this word, Tío was concerned about the deterioration of the Spanish language in Puerto Rico under the onslaught of English words. Hence, the journalist waged a campaign of both polemical and satirical articles over more than half a century<sup>1</sup>. In one of them, the author stated his position unashamedly by writing that he does not believe in Latin or bilingualism and, as he further adds, Latin is a dead language while bilingualism itself, two dead languages.

By uncritically citing unrealistic parody along with legitimate instances of borrowings and calquing, Tío indisputably contributed to the false opinion of a *mongrel* language hovering on the brink of complete unintelligibility. Nash (1970:223-4) presents a somewhat contrary definition and a set of observations on Spanglish:

"In the metropolitan areas, where Hispanics play an influential role in the economic life of the island, there has arisen a hybrid variety of language, often given the slightly derogatory label of Spanglish, which coexists with less mixed forms of standard English and standard Spanish and has at least one of the characteristics of an autonomous language: a substantial number of

---

<sup>1</sup> As a point of fact, numerous examples given by Tío are legitimate borrowings from English, also in unassimilated form, which may be found in modern Puerto Rican speech. The majority of instances are connected to consumer products marketed in America or to aspects of popular youth culture. For further information see: Fishman (1968a).

native speakers. The emerging language retains the phonological, morphological, and syntactic structure of Spanish. However, much of its vocabulary is English-derived. That it is an autonomous language has been recognised not only by intellectuals, most of whom strongly disapprove of it [...] but also by the New York School of Social Research, which has offered a course in Spanglish for doctors, nurses, and social workers.”

The author further provides clarification by stating that “Spanglish as defined here is neither language containing grammatical errors due to interference nor intentionally mixed language”<sup>2</sup> (Nash 1970:225).

Grey and Woodrick (2005:145), in a survey of attitudes and inquiries about Spanish in America, initially define the term Spanglish innocently as “la mezcla del inglés y del español”<sup>3</sup>. The claim of the previous authors seems to be somewhat echoed by yet another researcher, Stavans (2003:6) a self-declared admirer and promoter of Spanglish. Certainly, the author’s extreme imitations and prolific popular opinions on Spanglish have made him a lightning rod for polemic. As Stavans (2003:7) cogently argues, Spanglish is “a verbal encounter between Anglo and Hispano civilisations”.

Nonetheless, several analysts have challenged Stavans on the grounds of Spanglish view. González Echeverría (qtd in Riehl 2005:1950), a distinguished literary critic, adopts an anti-imperialistic stance and considers Spanglish to consist primarily of the use of anglicisms by Spanish speakers. The author points out negative implications of Spanglish by stating:

“Spanglish, the language made up of Spanish and English off the streets and introduced into talk shows and advertising campaigns represents a grave danger for Latino culture and the progress of Latinos in mainstream America. Those who tolerate and even promote [Spanglish] as a harmless mixture don’t realise that this is not a relationship of equality. The sad truth is that Spanglish is basically the language of poor Latinos, many of whom are illiterate in both languages. They incorporate English words and constructions into their daily speech because they lack the vocabulary and training in Spanish to adapt to the culture that surrounds them. Educated Latinos who use this language have other motives: some are ashamed of their origins and try to blend in with everyone else by using English words and literally translating English idioms. They think that this will make them part of the mainstream. Politically, however, Spanglish represents a capitulation; it stands for marginalisation, not liberation.”

---

<sup>2</sup> A vast number of Nash’s examples present lexical borrowings found in situations of all bilingual integrations, although some of them have a relatively high number of anglicisms which are usually connected to either consumer products or popular culture.

<sup>3</sup> The mixture of English and Spanish.

This condemnation of Spanglish as a manifestation of defeat and submissiveness by Hispanic communities in the United States recalls Silva-Corvalán's (1994:45) lament, in another commentary on Spanglish, wherein the author comments on the problem of some Latinos in America, who have not had the opportunity to learn either Spanish or English. Another observation, which apparently refers to regional and social dialects, youth slang, and language contact phenomena, is offered by Joaquim Ibarz (qtd in Soler 1999:278). According to the author, speaking half in Spanish, half in English, is not nonsensical if cultural mixture, migrations, and other circumstances that have brought these two languages together are taken into consideration.

In the same vein, Riehl (2005:1945) expresses a similar appraisal by cogently arguing that Spanglish has its own logic and a logically clarified origin. It has been suggested also by Riehl that Spanglish serves a clear communicative function, but this applies only in a situation when one of the speakers lacks a vocabulary item: "When in doubt, to eliminate any obstacle to communication, one reverts to the English version, understood by both interlocutors, and communication takes place" (2005:1946). Thus, one may assume that the marginal status of Spanglish excludes Hispanics who do not understand English together with English speakers who do not understand Spanish. It is therefore restricted to minority speech communities.

In contrast to earlier findings, Brick, Challinor and Rosenblum (2011:5) present a more positive analysis. The researchers highlight the undeniable cultural fusion resulting from the presence of the Hispanic culture in the United States. The authors (2011:6-7) continue by stating that:

"A fundamental aspect of this fusion is the mixture of English and Spanish, giving rise to a complex phenomenon known as Spanglish [...]. The function of Spanglish is clearly communicative, and it arises when one dialog partner lacks vocabulary, thereby necessitating the adaptation of known words to fit new ideas. For this reason it is considered a sign of linguistic creativity, which because of its informal nature cannot be academically standardised."

Sergio Valdés Bernal and Nuria Gregori Tornada (qtd in Abalos 2007:240-246), both Cuban linguists, offer affirmation that Spanglish was used in 1898 only by Puerto Ricans in their New York neighbourhoods. Nonetheless, Spanglish, as might be expected, appeared in Miami among the new generation of Cuban-Americans. A combination of Anglicised Spanish, Hispanised English, and syntactic combinations is used unconsciously by children

and adults. It seems apparent that for these scholars, Spanglish is mainly code-switching, although sometimes involving linguistic erosion and language loss.

Thus far, a fair amount of opinion has been presented in support of defining Spanglish as an entity that is not quite English, not quite Spanish, but somewhere in between, or the language spoken by an English-speaking person when attempting to speak Spanish<sup>4</sup> (Doughty and Long 2003; Ferguson 1959; Burkitt 1991). In a few cases (Grey and Woodrick 2005; Beziers and Overbeke 1968; Bloomfield 1935) Spanglish is referred to as English with interference from Spanish, a phenomenon described by Nash (1970:224) as *Englañol*. Finally, Maduro (1987:1) has declared succinctly that Spanglish is not a language at all as its use is stigmatised as a deformation of English and Spanish.

To add yet another angle to the views presented, Costa-Belén (qtd in Montes 2003:34) observed that:

“Speakers of the non-defined mixture of Spanish and/or English are judged as ‘different’, or ‘sloppy’ speakers of Spanish and/or English, and are often labeled verbally deprived, alingual, or deficient bilinguals because supposedly they do not have the ability to speak either English or Spanish well.”

Given that, Milán (qtd in Montes 2003:35) specifically recommended that academics and scholars in Los Angeles refrain from using the designation Spanglish and instead operate with a neutral term such as Los Angeles City Spanish. Nevertheless, a more recent work by Zuniga and Ruben (2005:82) has demonstrated that the younger generation of Mexicans in Los Angeles and other cities of the United States are beginning to adopt the word Spanglish with pride, to refer explicitly to a creative style of bilingual communication which accomplishes significant cultural and conversational work.

More interestingly, Spanglish is also present in children’s literature, for example in a humorous didactic novel written by Montes (2003:45-47) in which a Puerto Rican girl is teased by her English-only peers. Drawing together literary, cultural, and political opinions, Morales (2002:3) adopts a politically-grounded stance, linking Spanglish with the notion that:

---

<sup>4</sup> In one case (Ager and Strang 2004:190-191) the term Spanglish refers simply to an elementary textbook. The book is written in the form of conversational Spanish presented in a bilingual *en face* format. Spanglish is defined by the authors as the combination of the words Spanish and English. Yet, Ager and Strang do not mention that the textbook contains either language mixing or interference. Still, the use of available cognates is encouraged throughout mixed-race culture. Thus, Spanglish is perceived as a hybrid language, an informal code.

“Latinos are a mixed-race people [...] there is a need for a way to say something more about this idea than the word ‘Latino’ expresses. So, for the moment, let’s consider a new term for the discussion of what this aspect of Latino means. Let us consider Spanglish. There is no better metaphor for what a mixed-race culture means than a hybrid language, an informal code; the same sort of linguistic construction that defines different classes in a society can also come to define something outside it, a social construction with different rules. Spanglish is what we speak, but it is also who we Latinos are, and how we act, and how we perceive the world. It’s also a way to avoid the sectarian nature of other labels that describe our condition, terms like Nuyorican, Chicano, Cuban American, Dominican, etc. It is an immediate declaration that translation is definition, that movement is status quo.”

While acknowledging that many researchers, particularly from other Spanish-speaking nations, perceive the notion of Spanglish as Spanish language under siege from an external invader, the vast majority of scholars continue to celebrate the emerging Hispanic language as an assertion of resistance and the creation of a powerful new identity. Hence, the remainder of Morales’s writings presents the Spanish-English interface in literary works, popular culture, and political discourse. Irrefutably, it embodies the most eloquent manifesto of Spanglish as an originally derogatory designation having been co-opted by its former victims as a badge of pride and bravery. While it is hoped that all the negative connotations of the term Spanglish will eventually be lost, less flattering opinions still prevail forming the basis for the ongoing polemic that persists across all sections of the following research.

### **Aims and scope**

The main purpose of the present study is to describe the two linguistic and cultural phenomena arising from mass emigration to Los Angeles. These phenomena are: (1) Spanish-English bilingualism of the youngest Mexican migration, (2) Spanglish, also known as mixed language code, that is gaining an increasing number of users in the area of Los Angeles. The sequence of the abovementioned concepts is not accidental, as Spanglish is understood here as a bilingual phenomenon. Therefore, a valid condition of this code is the occurrence of a bilingual situation.

While living in a new country of residence, Mexican immigrants are subjected to immense influence from the English language which results in the formation of a specific dialect to consolidate the members of the immigrant group. Among people living in this bilingual environment, the emergence of such a language mix as Spanglish seems almost inevitable: young immigrants living in the English-speaking world are eager to use the new

code, a mixture of Spanish and English words. In fact, this linguistic construct includes many words, phrases, and even syntactic constructions from English.

The choice of the subject and research scope of the following study was not accidental. The interest in Spanish-English bilingualism and Spanglish in general is directly related to numerous Spanish courses and personal contact with many students from California University that has been established in 2013 in Los Angeles. The course of the present study was also affected by 5-year online communication with Spanish-speaking friends and their families as well as teaching, observing and experiencing specific linguistic and cultural processes in 2014-2016.

The main thesis of this academic research conducted within the Los Angeles immigrant diaspora is the existence of a correlation between Spanish-English bilingualism and Spanglish. Erroneously perceived in public opinion as a blocker of linguistic advancement and degraded Spanish, the Spanish-English mixture is actually a way to enhance the linguistic system. The present research therefore not only contests the use of such terms, but argues that bilingualism is a much more complex and adequate term as well as an analytic framework for the study of bilingual productions. Spanglish should be perceived as a form of bilingualism; a hybrid that enriches the language.

Although these will be the primary objects of the analysis, also the contemporary cultural studies focus will be investigated as it accepts the idea of text as cultural practice. Throughout this project, then, the linguistic and identity ideologies in cultural productions created by Spanish-English bilingual immigrants will be analysed together with Spanglish definitions as degraded and border language which does not suffice the complexity of linguistic phenomena and ideologies that are at once conflictive and similar within Mexican communities and their US national setting. The analysis of the speakers' development will also demonstrate the necessity of including language within the list of factors that are used to examine Mexican-American identity creation, as Spanglish should be perceived as a form of bilingual identity.

The core knowledge that language is a cultural phenomenon, includes both systemic research (phonetics, morphology, semantics), as well as the cultural approach which forms the basis of language change and models of communication. The linguistic character of the present dissertation also includes socio-cultural arguments which are subordinated to the presented and analysed language material.

The present study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter, titled *Bilingualism*, presents the underlying conceptual framework behind the research study. It foregrounds the

study of bilingualism in order to present my central argument for the use of *bilingual* to describe Mexican-American linguistic productions and the identities they represent. This chapter brings together the various disciplines and fields of study that form the basis of the theoretical and methodological approach to the study of bilingualism from a sociolinguistic perspective. This introductory chapter also reviews the study of bilingualism organised by core inquiries of bilingualism research. Beginning with an overview of the complexity of defining the term *bilingualism* the conceptual terms used to identify and describe bilinguals are assessed. This leads to an outlining of the processes of bilingual development at the individual and community level, that is, when and how bilingualism develops, is enacted, and studied.

Following the establishment of bilingualism as the critical base for the conceptual framework, this chapter also asserts the importance of Linguistic Worldview and cultural studies in order to approach the often ignored but crucial relationship between language and identity in cultural analysis. It is argued that bilingualism must be incorporated into critical study of the representational work of Mexican-American cultural productions, which requires an intimate understanding of the ideologies at play in analysing relationships between language and identity, a focus all too often ignored by current scholarly trends in the study of historically multilingual individuals and communities.

Chapter Two represents a survey of the most significant characteristics of bilingual speech. Three core themes shall be analysed: interference, borrowing, and code-switching. These bilingual processes will be discussed on the basis of vivid examples either from literature or, as far as possible, from the author's own experience with bilingual speakers.

The third chapter focuses mainly on development of the Spanglish phenomenon within the Mexican-American diaspora in Los Angeles. This section begins with a discussion of the definition and description of Spanglish and its speakers in order to address the linguistic assumptions and expectations directed at Mexican-Americans as heritage speakers of Spanglish. This is followed by a review of the linguistic features of Spanglish, its hybridity and the resultant cultural ostracism as described by many authors. By asking how Mexican Americans choose to enact their identities as bilinguals, the social views on Spanglish are analysed to elucidate the multifarious quality of bilingual identity. A review of Spanglish contextualisation within American mass culture is addressed as well.

Chapter Four analyses the historical panorama of Mexican immigration to the United States and its influence on ethnocultural identity formation in the area of Los Angeles. The guiding question for this chapter, then, is where and how the Mexican immigrant diaspora is

distributed in America. By applying the conceptual framework described in Chapter One, the diversity of Mexican-American identity outcomes is highlighted by investigating the linguistic situation of Mexicans in Los Angeles. Focusing on the process of bilingual Mexican-American identity development within a group of 128 interviewees of Mexican origin, the diversity of bilingual identity outcomes is revealed. It is also argued that this diversity is prompted by, and not in spite of, shared linguistic and cultural contexts. The analysis of the speakers' development demonstrates the necessity of including language within the list of factors that are used to examine Mexican-American identity formation.

The final chapter consists of data analysis on the Spanglish-speaking community in Los Angeles. It presents a review of the factors contributing to language choice and use at the community level, and how patterns of choice and use develop and maintain language from a speaker's perspective. For bilingual individuals and their communities, the choices available for use within and between languages enhance their linguistic repertoires and therefore increase the sophistication of their abilities to represent their identities. Each subsection employs different modes of expressing and being bilingual that reveal the unequivocal importance of language choice and use in the maintenance of Mexican-American identities. This chapter also includes the analysis of the immigrants' speech characteristics.

The present dissertation is finalised with a summary in which generalisations and conclusions from the analysis of the linguistic and cultural situation of Mexican immigrants are presented. The final pages include an appendix containing the questionnaires which were used to determine the main linguistic characteristics of Spanglish.

### **Methodology and subjects**

Studies that approach bilingualism and language contact are usually addressed by researchers from various fields of the humanities, such as history, ethnology, sociology, linguistics, literary science, political science, etc. Thus, given the fact that creating a uniform model, pattern, or even homogeneous research methodology may cause difficulties, not only an interdisciplinary approach to language-related research is necessary, but also the socio-cultural background and psychological factors should be taken into account<sup>5</sup>.

What becomes immediately apparent upon considering the interdisciplinary nature of the phenomenon under consideration is that, through the use of Spanglish, speakers explore

---

<sup>5</sup> Compare: Weinreich (1974:4).

the social meaning and the use of linguistic system. Hence, the main and overarching method of my research is sociolinguistic methodology.

Sociolinguistics, which dates back to the 1960s, is a discipline that grows on the frontier of linguistics, sociology and other social sciences. Being the result of the mixture of research interests of linguists and sociologists, sociolinguistics perceives language in two ways: (1) as a social construct, i.e. a phenomenon in a social act; (2) as a means of communication and a way of interpreting reality<sup>6</sup>. The subject of social-linguistic research are all the factors of communication acts as well as the relationship between the linguistic and social acts. The basic questions associated with this discipline are:

- 1) Who speaks?
- 2) To whom?
- 3) In what situation?
- 4) Why?

Related to this body of research is the observation that each of these factors (sender, recipient, context, purpose of speech) may cause a change in the message. The current study builds on a substantial body of educational research that frames the relatively young discipline of sociolinguistics (Lubaś 1979; Bernstein 1971; Hymes 1972; Grabias 2003 and many others).

In the empirical research work, techniques and methods were used that derived from social sciences, such as survey, interview and observation. In the years 2014-2016 two surveys were conducted. The aim of the first survey was to examine respondents' understanding of the bilingualism phenomenon by assessing 15 different cases of bilingualism<sup>7</sup> (see: Appendix 1). Both bilingual and monolingual speakers participated in the survey for comparative purposes. The second questionnaire (see: Appendix 2) was directed exclusively at bilingual speakers and concerned only their linguistic and cultural situation. A total of 128 Mexican-American respondents residing in Los Angeles, the urban agglomeration with the largest concentration of Hispanic community, participated in the survey. The study included: respondents' personal data (gender, age, education, etc.), closed questions/statements suggesting answers that are most relevant in the respondents' opinions, open questions/statements that required self-formulation of responses.

---

<sup>6</sup> For further information see: Grabias (2003).

<sup>7</sup> See: Hoffmann (1991:16-17).

Six Mexican-American bilinguals who participated in the study took part in a number of sociological<sup>8</sup> and unstructured interviews<sup>9</sup>, as well as two types of observations via Skype, namely participant<sup>10</sup> and uncontrolled observation<sup>11</sup>. In a study of this type, the so-called *informed consent* refers to the consent of respondents to participate in the examination and use of information acquired in the research before the study began, after which they could participate in the study. In the following dissertation, only the first names of those participants were used, without any other data that could serve to identify the participants.

In the following research, linguistic tests were deliberately avoided assuming after Grosjean (2008:203) that this form of assessment is exclusively aimed at monolinguals as it does not take into account the different needs of bilinguals for both spoken languages and their societal functions. As for the social view of bilingualism (see: section 5.1 Social view of bilingualism and Spanglish), the self-assessment of respondents and the author's own observations formed the basis of analysis. During numerous interviews, respondents expressed their opinions and judgments on the cultural and linguistic values of Spanglish in Los Angeles. A set of 51 questions answered by each of the respondents is presented in Appendix 3. In addition, Spanish-English speakers provided 65 texts, which record their conversations through the use of Facebook and Whatsapp applications. Both the participants of the study and their friends communicating with them agreed to the use the conversation extracts in the research. Samples of the text are presented in Chapter Four and Five.

Due to the undeniable complexity of the phenomenon of bilingualism and its linguistic, social, psychological and cultural aspects, the present study also includes approaches from cultural linguistics and psycholinguistics (with particular emphasis on bilingualism). Within this broader body of scholarship, cultural linguists, such as von Humboldt, Sapir, Whorf, Weisberger, and many cognitivists have recognised the multiple resources and contributions of the relationship between language and its users (social group), their way of thinking and culture. Building on those pioneering studies, Anusiewicz (1999:10) explains that cultural linguistics is a study of the relationship between language and culture. Language is considered as its condition, constituent, reservoir, transmission belt, and interpreter

---

<sup>8</sup> The sociological interview is open, voluntary and usually individual (Kurcz 2005:19).

<sup>9</sup> Unstructured interviews are flexible since the conversation is not constrained by fixed questions. Thus, more valid information is generated, especially if the respondent can see that their input is valued. It also allows for probing of deeper meanings (Kurcz 2005:19).

<sup>10</sup> Participant observation refers to the method in which the observer himself participates in the group activities (Kurcz 2005:20).

<sup>11</sup> Uncontrolled observation is conducted in a natural setting without the influence of external or any control tools (Kurcz 2005:19).

containing the most essential content of culture. The basic task of cultural linguistics is to study a four-part relation: language – culture – human (society) – reality.

Nonetheless, it is also important to note that psycholinguistics, which explores the psychological processes allowing people to acquire language and use it, extends the research perspectives by also implementing bilingual studies. Researchers who have been dealing with the psychological aspect of bilingualism for years include, among others, Grosjean (1982, 1989, 2008) and Kurcz (2005). However, it has to be pointed out clearly that psycholinguistic theory serves only as a comparative background in the present research to investigate the linguistic and socio-cultural aspects of bilingualism.

Irrefutably, the theories and theoretical overview on bilingualism and Spanglish are reflected in the collected material. In order to provide comprehensive investigation, the study was also accompanied by a careful observation of the discussion forums of the most popular Spanglish portals in Los Angeles, including:

- 1) <http://www.biculturalfamilia.com>
- 2) <http://www.english-spanish-translator.org>
- 3) <http://www.english-spanish-translator.org/english-language-topics/1497-slang-vs-spanglish-2.html>

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **BILINGUALISM**

Studies into the scope of bilingualism followed the path of historical analysis of this phenomenon. Investigations conducted by many researchers revealed that, in all probability, no language group has ever existed in isolation from other language communities. What is more, linguistic history is replete with instances of interethnic or international cooperation leading to some forms of bilingualism.

A surge in the field of language contact studies has led to yet another interesting observation; namely, no precise statistics exist concerning the number and distribution of speakers of two or more languages throughout the nations of the world. While almost all contemporary encyclopaedias together with survey books list the main languages of the world, the number of people speaking them, and the places where they are spoken, there are no comparable figures on the use of two or more languages. The aforementioned issue may be partly accounted for by the fact that there is no widely accepted definition of the concept of bilingualism. As will be presented in the present chapter, the term has often been paired with such modifiers as early and late, receptive and productive, fluent and nonfluent, balanced, functional, and many others, since there is no universal definition of this linguistic phenomenon.

Yet, to the inquisitive researcher, bilingualism offers a fascinating and a varied set of patterns, as a group of people may become bilingual for a number of different reasons. Among these is the movement of the group due to a variety of factors, such as military, economic, educational, political, religious or a natural catastrophe; when the exiles make contact with speakers of a different language who already live in the area of migration, bilingualism develops. Indeed, whatever may be the reason for relocation, migration is one of the most important factors in the establishment of a bilingual community.

Furthering, trade and commerce are also central for bilingualism, even when they are not directly linked to the mass movement of people. Traders and business people who travel to areas where another language is spoken often become fluent in a lingua franca as well as their native language.

Another factor aiding the process of development of bilingualism is nationalism and political federalism. Even though it is only since the nineteenth century that linguistic and national identity have been conjoined, nationalism has had a great impact on the spread of

national languages and hence on the degree of bilingualism in many countries. In his book, Fishman (1972:24) quotes a number of scholars who defend the idea of a national language for each nation. Among these is Davies (2003:100), who states that, “a people without a language of its own is only half of a nation. A nation should guard its language more than its territories – ‘tis a surer barrier, a more important frontier than fortress or river”. This nationalistic attitude towards language often leads to the spread of a national language in preference to regional languages, and this, in turn, may be a source of bilingualism if some inhabitants speak a native language as well as the national language. It may also have the opposite effect, reducing bilingualism if regional languages are discouraged (i.e. Welsh and other Celtic languages in Britain).

Moreover, in the border areas between two language groups, such as between Spanish-speaking Mexico and English-speaking America, economic and commercial factors have led many people to use both languages on a regular basis. Bilingualism, hence, is present in specific areas of some countries where linguistic minorities are concentrated.

Interestingly, the phenomenon of bilingualism does not arouse wonder and is now widely accepted. In fact, for many years positive attitudes and increasing popularity of the phenomenon of bi- and multilingualism have been observed in the American society. The problem that undoubtedly exists, however, concerns an attempt to define the phenomenon in question. It is surprising that at a time when the command of at least two languages is extremely important and useful, when the knowledge of foreign languages may determine one's success in life and at work, bilingualism is still a phenomenon that has received relatively little scientific attention over the years<sup>12</sup>. Perhaps, the most persistent questions concerning bilingualism are as follows:

- 1) What is bilingualism and who is a bilingual speaker?
- 2) How does a bilingual person function in their social environment?
- 3) How does an individual become bilingual?
- 4) How is the transition from monolingualism to bilingualism made?
- 5) At what point does a speaker become bilingual?
- 6) How does the brain of a bilingual speaker operate?
- 7) What is the status of both languages?
- 8) When and where are the languages used?

Questions arise, yet, there are no satisfactory answers. It should be clearly noted that the enquiries connected with the issue of bilingualism are related to various scientific fields.

---

<sup>12</sup> See: Myers-Scotton (2006); Mikułowski-Pomorski (1999).

Grimes (2000:51) is one of the first authors who stipulated that the phenomenon of bilingualism cannot be tested only within the field of linguistics; in order to thoroughly examine this phenomenon, other scientific methods, beyond linguistics, should be applied.

Indeed, bilingualism is a cultural-linguistic phenomenon, which now occupies the researchers of different disciplines, including linguistics, sociology, psychology, political science, cultural studies, and glottodidactics. Each of these fields uses different methodologies in their studies, interprets the phenomenon in various ways and presents multiple definitions. In fact, it is very difficult to clearly define the concept of bilingualism. A more fundamental problem is to create a universal formula that would be consistent with the ideas of all the researchers and fully describe a phenomenon that is interdisciplinary, and which cannot be tested without developing a methodology combining different research perspectives.

### **1.1 First/primary language – second/other language**

While the majority of academic research on bilingual speech has been conducted on the assumption of the existence of two different language systems, Lipińska's (2003:9) position as a researcher and an educator is woven into the linguistic analysis of three pairs of terms referring to bilingualism: (1) mother tongue – foreign language, (2) first language – second language, (3) source language – target language. Many scientists consider terms *mother – first – source* as being equal, whereas *foreign – second – target* denote either different ways or diverse stages of mastering the language. As Lipińska cogently argues, in comparison to other languages, *mother language* is rarely examined and discussed in the linguistic literature. In fact, the terms that appear in dictionaries and encyclopaedias do not fully capture the essence of this issue. By citing and discussing current comments on *mother tongue* made by other researchers (Vieyetz and Javier 2001; Wei 2000), it may be contended that *mother tongue* is the first language known and experienced by an individual, which they use to communicate with their environment. It plays a significant role in exploring the world and in shaping their personality; causing the individual to identify with it and usually to think, dream, hope and pray in this language in adulthood.

In addition, Lipińska (2003:43) indicates two criteria which must be taken into account in defining the notion of the *mother tongue*; namely, the criterion of origin and internal identification. According to the author, the former condition is connected to the language(s) first acquired by the speaker. The latter refers to the language(s) perceived by an individual as the most significant for his/her ethnic identification.

Baker (2006:40-58) believes, however, that when defining the phenomenon of bilingualism, the term *mother tongue* should not be used. By pointing to the differences between the *state/political nation* such as the USA and *cultural nation* such as Italy or Poland, the author argues that the notion of *native language* and the American definition of *mother tongue* should not be compared. A similar line of thought runs through Grimes's (2000:12) writing, in which she explicitly considers the latter as an ideologically driven notion which maintains a clear relationship with the homeland, not the mother. The countries of Latin America as well as Poland are culturally determined nations where language and national identity are not equal to nationality. Given these binary tendencies, it is more adequate to use the notion of *primary language* instead of *mother language*. Indeed, in a considerable amount of research, great care has been taken to avoid mention of the latter term since, in many cases, it is irrelevant to consider a mother tongue in the widely accepted layman's understanding of the concept. To many, it often means the language which is best known; the one assumed to be the first learnt. Nonetheless, if one looks at the early infant bilingual there may have been more than one language from the outset so that neither is best known, whereas in other cases the language first learnt may, through force of circumstances, not be the one that the person is most proficient in later in life<sup>13</sup>. The ***primary language*** is the language that a child utilises better, like (or almost like) a native speaker, regardless of whether he/she considers or will consider this language as native language or not. By the same token, ***the second language*** is the language that the user actually masters (acquires/learns), also regardless of whether the speaker regards or will consider it as their mother tongue or not (Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:30-31).

Nonetheless, Lipińska (2003:44) makes a distinction and presents differences between the concepts of ***foreign*** and ***second languages***. According to the author, the former is learnt at school or during courses while the latter is acquired in a natural environment. On this basis, the term *bilingualism* can be distinguished from the concept of *knowledge of a foreign language*. Furthermore, ***target language*** may be perceived as equal to either *foreign* or *second language*. Undeniably, the mastering of this language is sought after without specifying any methods of its activation.

Analogous to Lipińska's research, Grimes (2000:27-28) provides a descriptive account of yet another type of bilingualism named *artificial bilingualisms*. As the name suggests, it emerges in artificial conditions, for instance at school or during language courses. This

---

<sup>13</sup> For an illustration of the potential confusion around the concept and usage of the term *mother tongue*, see: Skutnabb-Kangas (2012).

particular category of bilingualism does not distinguish between *second* and *foreign language*. Moreover, the manner of language activation allows for another distinction; namely: *natural bilingualism* – *artificial bilingualism* (for details see: section 1.3.3 Natural versus school bilingualism). It is not surprising, therefore, that knowledge of a foreign language can also provide some kind of bilingualism. What is also worth mentioning is the fact that natural conditions do not guarantee full mastery of a second language. Baker (2006:59), Grimes (2000:29) and Fishman (1972:53) echo this comment by pointing out that a person learning a foreign language in artificial conditions may acquire higher language skills than another person learning in natural circumstances. In fact, this view applies in particular to young people and adults who are learning a second language, where not only the desire to master another language, but also the attitude towards the new language system play an important role.

Undeniably, as stated by Skutnabb-Kangas (2012:127), the concept of bilingualism should be extended to reconcile its various stages, functions and forms. Thus, while examining the phenomenon the most appropriate terms are as follows: *first/primary language* (symbolised by L1) and *second/other language* (expressed by the symbol L2).

## **1.2 The scholarly concept of bilingualism**

The iconic location of bilinguals as well as their articulation into commodity culture is an inescapable affirmation of the escalating centrality of bilingualism to many cultures. Indeed, being bilingual is as much a topic of a heated debate as it has ever been in the period since the end of World War II, as globalisation and migration along with expanded and rapid circulation of information, keep the notion at the forefront of both scholarly and social debate.

Unquestionably, it is no easy task to begin any dispute on bilingualism by presenting a generally accepted definition of the linguistic phenomenon without meeting with some sort of criticism. Indeed, the multitude of formal descriptions of bilingualism as a concept, coupled with the numerous disciplines investigating it, indicate that it has open-ended semantics.

Still, an important insight emerging from the data collected is that those layered constructions present challenges for achieving a real sense of progress as the list of explanations extends. Bloomfield (qtd in Safont Jordà 2006:156) adds that:

“In [...] cases where [...] perfect foreign language learning is not accompanied by loss of the native language, it results in bilingualism, native-like control of the two languages. After early childhood few people have enough muscular and nervous freedom or enough opportunity and leisure to reach perfection in a foreign language; yet bilingualism of this kind is commoner than one might suppose, both in cases like those of our immigrants and as a result of travel, foreign study, or similar association. Of course one cannot define a degree of perfection at which a good foreign speaker becomes a bilingual: the distinction is relative.”

The above illustrates a contradiction between the first sentence, with reference to native-like control of two languages, and the final statement, in which relative degree of ability is acknowledged by the author. Similarly, more inadequacies immediately become apparent in the writings of yet other two major specialists in this branch of linguistics, who attempted to provide many definitions of bilingualism and raised many questions. Weinreich (qtd in Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:21), for instance, states:

“The practice of alternatively using two languages will be called here BILINGUALISM, and the persons involved BILINGUAL. Unless otherwise specified, all remarks about bilingualism apply as well to the multilingualism, the practice of using alternately three or more languages”.

The statement is parallel to that of Mackey (2003:51) who endorses the view that:

“It seems obvious that if we are to study the phenomenon of bilingualism we are forced to consider it as something entirely relative. We must moreover include the use not only of two languages, but of any number of languages. We shall therefore consider bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages.”

Additionally, another different, nonetheless not unique, example of a definition provides a contrast to the above. It refers to contiguous unilingual communities who are not necessarily bilingual speakers. As the psycholinguists note, “bilingualism is the condition in which two living languages exist side by side in a country, each spoken by one national group, representing a fairly large proportion of the people” (García and Beardsmore 2009:35).

What the above examples demonstrate is the potential confusion that may be provoked by inadequate definitions. Nevertheless, being not only the foundation of polemics and passion, but also the origin of extensive comment and enquiry, the notion of bilingualism is deeply-ingrained in the specialists’ and laymen’s mindset. Indeed, to some extent this linguistic concept is perceived in the same class as the elusive yet so familiar notion of the

*word*; despite the fact that it is well-established knowledge what a *word* is, still no-one can give a satisfactory, all-encompassing definition. In fact, in their studies, numerous researchers have employed the word as their basis for analysis; building up and understanding explanation of language on foundations more agreeable to definable study, and, in a way, this is a situation similar to the problems of addressing bilingualism. Although it is common knowledge what a *word* is, it is often inadequately defined; likewise, most people have an opinion as to what bilingualism is, although individual interpretations may differ considerably.

Unquestionably, a pragmatic search in the natural sciences is beset with analogous difficulties of precision in defining bilingualism. Nonetheless, this has in no way prevented academics from conducting investigations, creating theories, and debating both certain and elusive phenomena. Thus, treating the concept of bilingualism in the same manner is perfectly feasible while taking into consideration the fact that the field of examination is evident but not as precise as one might wish.

One argument that clarifies the difficulties in defining the field of bilingualism is the multidisciplinary nature of the aspects involved. In fact, the platform on which this phenomenon stands, that of the various disciplines, serves as the basis for analysis from linguistic, psychological, sociological and pedagogical points of view (Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:22). As Skutnabb-Kangas (2012:140) explains, by approaching bilingualism from particular vantage points, numerous disciplines lead at times to an appearance of confusion. Nonetheless, the term itself covers a diverse set of notions.

The data on bilingualism unquestionably support a valid argument for understanding the significance of yet another area of great difficulty which lies within the field of linguistics. To put it succinctly, the problem in embracing bilingualism is caused by the broad-spectrum state of flux in which linguistic philosophy finds itself. The majority of present and widely accepted concepts attempt to contend with the issue of understanding the functioning of a single language in the speaker's mind, taking structure as a prime end in itself, and minimising the importance of language use (Grimes 2000:59), although there are, of course, scholars with wider ranging ambitions. Be that as it may, the presence of at least two languages within one and the same speaker must be accounted for by the concept of bilingualism. The research would also suggest that (1) the ability in these two languages may or may not be equal, and (2) the way the two or more languages are used is of upmost prominence. Hence, a theoretical attitude towards bilingualism must of necessity have an

extensive and more comprehensive vision of speech behaviour than the one that concentrates specifically and solely on construction (García and Beardsmore 2009:36).

Indisputably, much of the very reputable research conducted by linguists into the purely structural aspects of the bilingual phenomena has resulted in a greater awareness of either bilingual speech or specific features in a bilingual's performance. Still, as Grosjean (1982:3) vigorously argues, this has not necessarily led to any clear consciousness of the fundamental difference between bilingualism and unilingualism, if it exists<sup>14</sup>.

As indicated above, the concept of bilingualism is not restricted to situations where only two languages are used; on the contrary, it frequently serves as a shorthand form for embracing cases of either multi- or *plurilingualism*<sup>15</sup>. There is no evidence suggesting differences between the central principles affecting language usage whether two, three or more languages are involved in the speech of one and the same speaker. In fact, the major enquiry is as follows: do they differ significantly from cases where only one linguistic system is used?

Rather than attempting to provide a definition of bilingualism, which in the present state of knowledge about language in general is likely to be insufficient, a fair number of linguists favour to operate within the framework of a typology of bilingualism which permits a clear demarcation of the particular area of examination within a wider field. Typologies, as descriptive labels, have the advantage of allowing the scholars to work within a clear frame of reference adapted to the immediate need and avoid the hazards of over-generalisation to cases that cannot easily be limited.

### **1.3 Typology of bilingualism**

Of central importance to bilingualism is the understanding that there are a number of elements that account for the complexity of this phenomenon. Hence, the main step of linguistic research, particularly sociolinguistic and language contact studies, is to classify bilinguals into different categories according to linguistic, cognitive, developmental, and social dimensions. Therefore, in the following sections attempts shall be made to recognise

---

<sup>14</sup> For a broad critical discussion see: Fishman (2000).

<sup>15</sup> *Plurilingualism* is defined as the attempt to use one's linguistic knowledge and abilities in communication with others in numerous situations. Furthermore, plurilingualism does not involve a perfect command of several language systems, but the ability to efficiently function within a multinational as well as multicultural society thanks to the sensitivity to linguistic as well as cultural similarities and differences. For further information see: Myers-Scotton (2006).

various types of bilinguals along with their main characteristics in order to obtain and apply an appropriate and precise methodology for the further research.

### **1.3.1 Societal versus individual bilingualism**

One of the most important distinctions to be made as the basis of any discussion in this field is that between *societal* and *individual bilingualism*, an area extensively studied by Hoffmann (1991:3) and Baker (2006:62). According to the authors, the difference between these two types of bilingualism is strictly connected to the extent of occurrence. Given that, bilingualism can be treated as a property of a speaker who typically forms larger social groups, hence bilingualism becomes the asset of the linguistic community. Attempts have already been made by Hamers and Blanc (2000:30) to classify the two types of bilingualism as *bilingualism*, the term referring to societal bilingualism, and *bilinguality*, which is connected to individual bilingualism. As Romaine (1995:23) emphasises, since there are too many points of convergence concerning these two types of bilingualism, a clear division is almost impossible. This is especially evident when microlinguistic case studies of how a person becomes bilingual are examined. Undeniably, the external factors that significantly affect the process of becoming and being bilingual cannot be ignored; bilinguals and monolinguals form and belong to bilingual communities, which, in turn, cannot exist without bilingual speakers.

The point where *societal* or *group bilingualism* studies diverge most from the investigation of individual bilingualism is in the cases where one is examining multilingual federations, societies or nations whose major component elements consist of unilingual individuals living in close proximity. Such multilingual states as Belgium, Switzerland or Canada are clear illustrations of societal bilingualism based on the principle of territorial unilingualism (Mackey 2003:54) where the majority of the inhabitants are monoglots; though a less obvious example are those situations where isolated groups of individuals do not speak the language of the majority in a given area, as it is often the case with immigrants.

By the same token, the degree of either bi- or multilingualism in individual countries varies considerably as indicated by Ardila (2007:6). Papua New Guinea is an extreme example of societal bilingualism: in this country, approximately 5 million people speak 820 different languages. Yet, even in multilingual societies of this nature, there are usually large numbers of individual bilinguals who function as linguistic mediators between the different groups present. It is these intermediaries who represent the connection between societal and individual bilingualism.

Moreover, two very valuable and highly refined forms of societal bilingualism have been described by Skowron-Nalborczyk (2003:40) who distinguishes between *official bilingualism*, present in countries authoritatively recognising the existence of two or more languages (e.g. Switzerland), and *actual bilingualism* (the already-mentioned Papua New Guinea). The author lists the historical and contemporary social reasons for bilingualism, such as military conquest, occupation, border change, federations, colonialism and neocolonialism, international migrations, state borders, the remains of settlements (so-called *language islands*) and internationalisation (2003:41). The study of social bilingualism may also be related not only to the existence and functioning of bilingual social communities, but also to the cultural and linguistic relations between different groups interacting with each other. Thus, the data mentioned indisputably present a valid argument for understanding the importance of examining bilingualism from a sociolinguistic perspective.

Turning to the notion of *individual bilingualism*, it can be noted that it is occasionally used in reference to an individual speaker, who knows and uses more than one linguistic code. Skutnabb-Kangas's (1981:75) list of bilingual types includes:

- 1) People who decided to become *elite bilinguals*<sup>16</sup>; this group includes speakers who choose to assimilate into a second/other language in order to improve their job or educational prospects abroad. This type of bilingualism is voluntary.
- 2) Those who learn a foreign language at school. These are speakers living in an environment where their first/primary language is usually used and it has a high social status. The second/other language is, however, usually mandatory in the educational process.
- 3) Speakers born in bilingual families or in multilingual countries. For them, bilingualism represents the norm of living.
- 4) People who have become bilingual as a result of their social, economic or political situation. In this case, it is the external factors and social pressure which force them to be bilingual. This group is represented mainly by immigrants who have become bilingual as a result of the migration process.

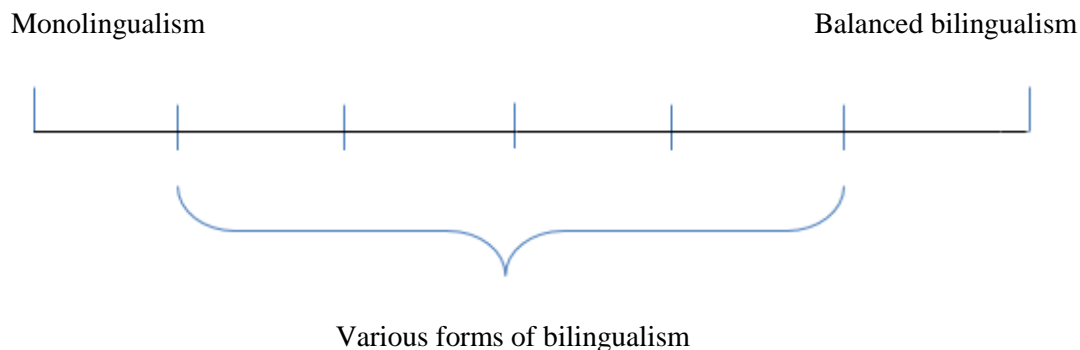
The debate over the critical determinants of the nature of individual bilingualism has long been developed around seven factors: linguistic competence, cognitive organisation, age, language acquisition, L2 community presence in the habitat, socio-cultural status and cultural identity (Hamers and Blanc 2000:31). However, Bee Chin and Wigglesworth

---

<sup>16</sup> Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:76) in opposition to *elite bilinguals* introduces the term *folk bilinguals*, referring to people who have been forced to assimilate the second language.

(2007:18) contradict the evidence put forward to support this view by narrowing this down to five main issues: the degree of linguistic competence, context, age, domain and social belonging. As the foregoing analysis of the authors indicates, social identity, attitudes towards society or social groups, demographic factors and the organisation of two languages in the speaker's mind all play prominent roles in individual bilingualism processes. In fact, these variables form the basis of inquiry on bilingualism. Still, in the course of research, other new factors may appear which, when taken into consideration, could lead to further typological classes of bilingualism.

Since there is no single agreed-upon definition of bilingualism, it is best regarded as occurring as a continuum. At one end of the continuum is a monolingual speaker, while at the other there is an individual who has acquired both languages in naturalistic contexts in childhood and who is best described as speaking L1 and L2 with equal and native-like fluency. This continuum between monolingualism and bilingualism means that between the extreme monolingualism and full bilingualism there are different forms of bilingual speech (Figure 1). Such ambi- or equilingualism is considered theoretically ideal (Weinreich 1953:6; Hoffmann 1991:4), but to be rare in practice (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:77).



**Figure 1.** Monolingualism-bilingualism continuum (own elaboration based on Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:36)

Some of the significant types of bilingualism, which commonly appear in the bilingual literature, are summarised in Table 1 below.

<b>Typology</b>	<b>Point of focus (Dimension)</b>	<b>Characteristics of SLA</b>	<b>Possible outcomes</b>	<b>Related issues and educational implications</b>
Balanced Dominant (Lambert & Peal 1962)	Relationship between proficiencies in two languages	Differences; related to age factor	Differences in proficiencies in L1 and L2, achieving equal level of proficiency in L2 with L1 (balanced); L2 proficiency varies but not the same as L1 (dominant)	Conceptualising and assessing one's language proficiency; Cummins's threshold hypothesis and interdependent hypothesis; semilingualism
Compound Coordinate Subordinate (Weinreich 1953)	Organisation of linguistic codes and meaning unit(s)	Functional differences; differences in form, meaning mapping	Differences in semantic representation and information processing for L1 and L2	Difficulties with operationalising distinctions and testing differences
Early Simultaneous Sequential Late (Spolsky 1984)	Age of acquisition	Maturation differences; schooling differences	Attainment of L2 proficiency varies by age of acquisition; L1 proficiency is not addressed	Neurolinguistic differences; critical period hypothesis
Incipient Receptive Productive	Functional ability	Functional and motivational differences	Different proficiencies in L1 and L2 in different domains	
Additive Subtractive (Lambert and Peal 1962)	Effects of L2 learning on the retention of L1	L2 enrichment with or without loss of L1; status of a language in a given context	L2 as enrichment without loss of L1 (additive); L1 is replaced by L2 (subtractive)	Social status of individual groups and the social value of their L1 greatly influences the retention of L1 support for literacy in L1 and L2 literacy development
Elite Folk (Fishman 1972) Circumstantial Elective (Valdes 2001)	Language status and learning environment; literacy support of first language	Differences in language status and value of bilinguals	No or little additive value of first language as a language minority status (folk); additive value of second language (elite)	Support for literacy in L1 and L2 literacy development
Bicultural L1 Monocultural L2 Accultural Deculturated (Altariba, Heredia 2008)	Cultural identity	Differences in acculturation process	Cultural identity shaped by two cultures (bicultural); identity in one culture; loss of first language culture	High bilingual competence does not necessarily coincide with dual identity

**Table 1.** Typology of bilingualism (own elaboration based on: Moradi 2014:110-111)

The array of data that come directly from the research discussed in the previous section prove the notion of bilingualism to be relatively easy to identify, yet almost impossible to capture in semantic compartments. Hence, many contemporary researchers conclude that research into bilingualism should proceed with the emphasis on the description of this phenomenon, not its definition, since the scholars' goal "is not necessarily to define this term, but to unpack all that comes with it [ ...]"<sup>17</sup> (Altarriba and Heredia 2008:4).

The factors that are involved in the process of becoming and being a bilingual person tend to be more significant than the very definition. These include social, cultural, cognitive, psychological and linguistic aspects, which allow better ability to acquire and use two different languages. Specifically, the most important criteria used to distinguish different types of bilingualism are as follows (Moradi 2014:120):

1) Competence:

**Balanced bilingualism:** competence L1 = competence L2

**Dominant bilingualism:** competence L1 < or > competence L2

2) Situational context of second/other language acquisition:

**Natural bilingualism:** L1 + L2 acquired and used in natural conditions

**Artificial bilingualism:** L1 – natural conditions, L2 – artificial conditions (e.g. school, language courses)

3) Language – thinking relation:

**Subordinate bilingualism:** word L1 = meaning L2 & word L2 = meaning L2

**Compound bilingualism:** word L1 and word L2 = meaning

4) Age:

**Early bilingualism:** L1 + L2 acquired from early childhood

**Late bilingualism:** L1 early childhood, L2 late childhood, adolescence or maturity

5) Development of bilingualism:

**Additive bilingualism:** full and harmonious development of L1 and L2

**Subtractive bilingualism:** L1/L2 enrichment with loss of L1/L2 competence

The main characteristics of the various types of bilingualism and its multi-dimensionality will be the major area of investigation in the following sections.

---

<sup>17</sup> Compare: Bee Chin and Wigglesworth (2007:20).

### 1.3.2 Balanced versus dominant bilingualism

The multitude of data coming directly from the contemporary experience of bilinguals together with studies on immigration trace the attempts to accurately classify bilinguals by the degree of fluency and competence in the languages spoken; their level of competence is investigated from maximalist and minimalist viewpoints. Bloomfield (1935:56) and Lipińska (2003:45) depict the characteristics of ***balanced bilingualism***<sup>18</sup> alternatively called *equilingualism*, *perfect*, *real*, *symmetrical bilingualism* or *ambilingualism*. This type of bilingual speech occurs when a speaker's mastery of two languages is roughly equivalent and where this ability may match that of monoglot speakers of the respective languages if looked at in broad terms of reference<sup>19</sup>. Nonetheless, even in these cases the concept of balanced bilingualism should be treated with circumspection for, as stated by Fishman (1972:50),

“[...] bilinguals who are equally fluent in both languages (as measured by their facility and correctness overall) are rarely equally fluent in both languages about ‘all possible topics’; this phenomenon is invariably a reflection of the fact that the societal allocation of function is normally imbalanced and in complementary distribution rather than redundant.”

Moreover, Hoffmann (1991:21) has shown how rare balanced bilingualism is once one looks beyond surface, impressionistic evaluations of ability in two languages, and that tension, fatigue, and emotional distresses will cause a hidden imbalance which might well be masked by good pronunciation and apparent accuracy under usual circumstances. Most frequently, however, bilingual speakers are more proficient and competent in one of the two languages. The difference relates to, among other things, lexical factors; vocabulary from different aspects of an individual's life has different dimensions in the respective languages. This phenomenon is called ***dominant bilingualism***<sup>20</sup>. Beardsmore (1986:97) and Baker (2006:69) have both written extensively on unbalanced bilingualism, in which one language is dominant. What the authors contend is the fact that in one of the languages the user has higher linguistic and communicative competence and he/she uses that language more frequently. An example may be a Spanish-American immigrant who uses Spanish most of the time, whereas while speaking about banking he/she uses English, since this language is

---

<sup>18</sup> Compare: Beardsmore (1986:90); Baker (2006:69).

<sup>19</sup> Compare: Fishman (1968b:142); Beardsmore (1986:91); Wei (2000:455); Davies (2003:102).

<sup>20</sup> Compare: Cummins (2006:183); Hamers and Blanc (2000:172); Wei (2000:495); Butler and Hakuta (2006:23).

connected to his/her profession. Usually, two different languages have diverse functions, they are used in different situations and to speak with different people. As the discussion about *ambilingualism* is careful to point out, the complete ambilingual speaker is probably a purely theoretical phenomenon that has no counterpart in the real world.

Although conceptualised by earlier researchers in this field, this notion of *semilingualism* has been cogently studied by Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:81). Currently, the concept of semilingualism has created a considerable controversy. Thus, it should be treated with great caution by anyone approaching bilingual studies. The term is used in reference to incomplete linguistic competence in the use of both languages. This applies primarily to people who, from childhood, have been in contact with two different linguistic codes without proper and adequate training in either of them (Paulston 1992:25). In other words, this phenomenon occurs when neither the first nor the second language are sufficiently controlled, which may lead to various difficulties. While other authors agree, in fact the term itself is debated in the work of linguists very infrequently since it has gained some pejorative connotations.

According to Cummins (2006:184), it is extremely inadequate to consider an individual as semilingual since it can cause negative effects, especially when children are concerned. Hence, the author has offered a more appropriate term: *limited bilingualism*. The work referred to above goes further to indicate that semilingualism most commonly occurs among children of immigrants who may suffer from language loss of L1 without compensatory gain in L2<sup>21</sup>.

In the same vein, the debate concerning semilingualism has long been developed around the claim that this phenomenon was formed in an environment that is not favourable for bilingualism. The scholars' arguments indicate that some of the most important issues to be borne in mind in discussing the source of semilingualism are sociological, economic and political factors (Spolsky 1984:41-43; Baker 2006:59). Indeed, this process can often be observed among children of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles in the first period of their stay in the country. Those exiles who emigrated to America, after achieving financial stabilisation, primarily choose to bring their families (spouse and/or children) to the new country of residence. At the beginning of their stay in Los Angeles, some children are ashamed to speak in their first/primary language, which is Spanish, and they also refuse to use their second/other language, English. Indisputably, for those who arrived without any knowledge of English the language barrier is impassable. In the process of preventing semilingualism, not only the role of the child's parents, but also the attitude of the society

---

<sup>21</sup> The present research does not address this issue further. For more information see: Cummins (2006).

and state authorities to bilingualism is crucial. The Spanish experience in the USA, resulting from linguistic contact, has also been widely documented in Paulston's (1992:25) research, in which the author asserts that America and its government clearly favour bilingual people, this in turn leads to a reduction of semilingualism in this country. Given that, the way in which the socialisation process affects Spanish-speaking immigrants coming to Los Angeles is particularly important. The data reveal how in these, somewhat unusual, circumstances successful bilingual proficiency can be achieved with the help of input from teachers and parents.

### 1.3.3 Natural versus school bilingualism

The extent to which functional specialisation is linked to linguistic conditioning can be illustrated by careful examination of the situational context accompanying the absorption of a second/other language. Indeed, the method of L2 acquisition is varied and individual; some speakers acquire another language at home, others at school, at university, at work, by travelling or migrating from their homeland to another country. Hence, it is important to note that every speaker may be given different linguistic experiences which influence the mastery of the second language. In their studies, Bee Chin and Wigglesworth (2007:10), by employing interviews with bilinguals, acknowledge two contexts of linguistic acquisition: primary and secondary, which lead to the notions of "natural/primary bilingualism and school/learnt/secondary bilingualism"<sup>22</sup>.

*Natural bilingualism* is related to an individual who has not undergone any specific training and who is often not in a position to translate or interpret with facility between his/her two languages. In other words, the term *natural bilingual* describes someone acquiring two language systems by force of circumstances, either at home as a child or by settling in a community in which the speaker is obliged to work with more than one language, but where no specific training for two languages has been provided.

By way of contrast, *school bilingualism* occurs when L2 has been added to a first language via instructions. Furthermore, it is the result of acquiring a foreign language at school and/or language courses (Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:40).

While the vast majority of academic research has been conducted on the two aforementioned types of bilingualism, Skutnabb-Kangas's (1981:95) own position as a researcher and an educator is woven into the linguistic analysis of yet another kind of

---

<sup>22</sup> Compare: Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:95); Hoffmann (1991:18-19); Bister-Broosen and Willemyns (1992:172).

bilingualism connected to the situational context; namely, *cultural bilingualism*. The author mentions describes as cultural bilingual an adult whose main motivation for learning their second/other language is either work-related, or connected to travel or residence in another country. This kind of bilingualism has a cultural value.

Błasiak-Tytuła (2011:40-41) highlights the fact that the voluntary and conscious choice or coercion bilingualism can be divided into *elective* and *circumstantial*. The first term denotes speakers who consciously and willingly choose to learn a second/other language and acquire it more usually in artificial conditions (e.g. at school, language courses). The author adds that the first/mother language in this case is dominant. Such a situation occurs mainly in monolingual environments. In contrast, *circumstantial bilingualism* refers to a situation when the second/other language learning process is the result of new conditions, such as migration or colonisation. Indisputably, these circumstances force speakers to assimilate and use L2. It is important to understand that this specific type of bilingualism applies in particular to multilingual communities, in which individuals have learnt their second/other language system in order to function effectively in their new environment. In this case, both languages usually complement each other and, depending on the situation, they are used interchangeably.

While studying bilingualism of individuals it is also vital to note different strategies for acquiring L1 and L2. As presented in contemporary studies conducted by Kurcz (2005:176), the most important tactics include:

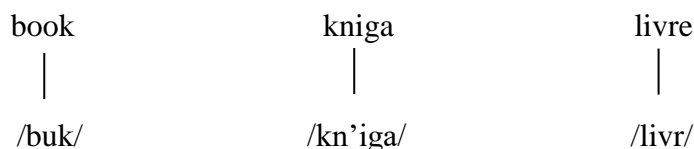
- 1) the strategy of a person: one speaker is talking to the child in L1, the other in L2 (e.g. L1 – mother, L2 – father);
- 2) the strategy of a place: in one place, an individual speaks in L1, in another in L2 (e.g. L1 – at home, L2 – at school);
- 3) the strategy of time: at certain points of the day all speakers from the environment are using L1, at other L2.

The extent to which the environmental factor is connected to language acquisition can be illustrated by looking at the example of Hispanic immigrants who settled in Los Angeles. Forced by the social situation, they begin to acquire or improve their second language skills in order to use L2 as an alternative to Spanish.

### **1.3.4 Compound, co-ordinate versus subordinate bilingualism**

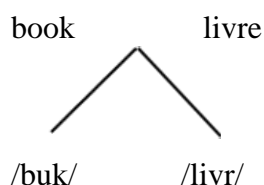
It was the work of Weinreich (qtd in Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:32) that extended the dimensionality of the distinction so as to embrace the relationship between signs and

meaning. The author distinguished three types of bilingualism. In type A, labelled as **co-ordinate bilingualism**, the signs of each language separately combine one unit of expression with one unit of content. An example of type A bilingualism is the following:



Weinreich (1953:112) also acknowledges that in this type of bilingualism communication difficulties do not occur. Both the transmitted message as well as the information received are always fully understood by the recipient and by the sender. A bilingual person in this situation actually refers to various concepts in both languages. The only problem that arises is the translation process from one language to another, since the speaker operates in two different linguistic realities.

In type B, called **compound bilingualism**, the signs combine as one single unit of content (signified) with two units of expression (signifiers) one for each language:



One consequence of such bilingualism may be a situation in which the person does not refer to the correct concept in two languages which results in a lack of understanding of the content.

In type C the meaning unit is that of the first language with its corresponding unit of expression and is the same for the equivalent unit of expression in the second language as depicted below:



Being a manifestation of **subordinate bilingualism**, type C illustrates the case of a bilingual speaker who exhibits interferences in his/her language usage by reducing the

patterns of the second language to those of the first (Paradis 1977:66-67). Data collected on Weinreich's original analysis combined types B and C into one class, with Osgood and Sebeok (1954:111) formulating a hypothesis whereby the original type A situation was perceived as *co-ordinate bilingualism* and types B and C together were presented as *compound bilingualism*. In fact, the aforementioned dichotomy has gained some anchorage in the later debates which is of central importance to bilingualism typology research.

Osgood and Sebeok's theory was based on the environmental or acquisition context in which the languages had been learnt. Simultaneously, supported by his research, Grosjean (1982:26) observes that for a co-ordinate bilingual, the two languages correspond to two independent meaning systems acquired by learning two languages in differentiated circumstances; for instance, one at home and the other outside, or where the second language was learnt in a different cultural environment from the first. By the same token, for a compound bilingual, as a result of having learnt a foreign language either in the traditional school situation via the intermediary of the first language or through the individual's childhood experience in an environment where two languages were spoken more or less interchangeably by the same people in the same situations, two sets of language signs are associated with the same set of representational mediation processes.

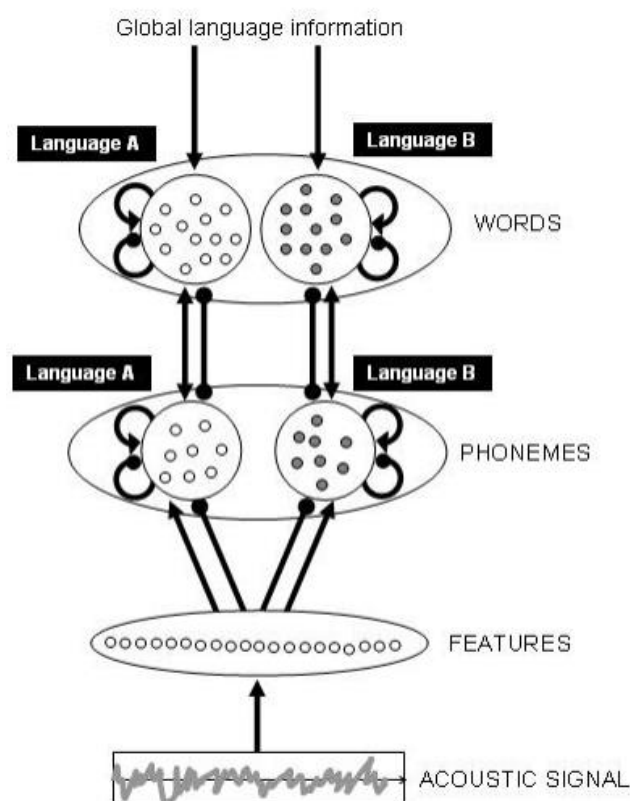
Błasiak-Tytuła (2011:43) relativises further between the subordinate, compound and co-ordinate types to explain the differences in the organisation of linguistic structures in the mind of bilinguals. As the author cogently argues, the co-ordinate (equal to monolingual) point of view of bilingualism presupposes the separate existence of two different linguistic structures in the bilingual's mind, which is the sum of two monolingual people. In contrast, the compound (equal to bilingual) attitude towards the phenomenon of bilingualism is connected with the co-existence of two linguistic systems in the mind of a bilingual speaker. As a result, the transfer occurs within a system including both languages rather than from one system to another.

Grosjean (1982:27) proposed a model of lexical access BIMOLA (*Bilingual Model of Lexical Access*), which is depicted in Figure 2. This model assumes the existence of three sets: feature, phoneme and word levels of junction.

Whereas the set of features is common to the two language systems, the collection of phonemes and words is divided into separate subsystems for each of the linguistic codes which are linked to each other<sup>23</sup>.

---

<sup>23</sup> The current study does not further address this issue. For more information see: Grosjean (2008).

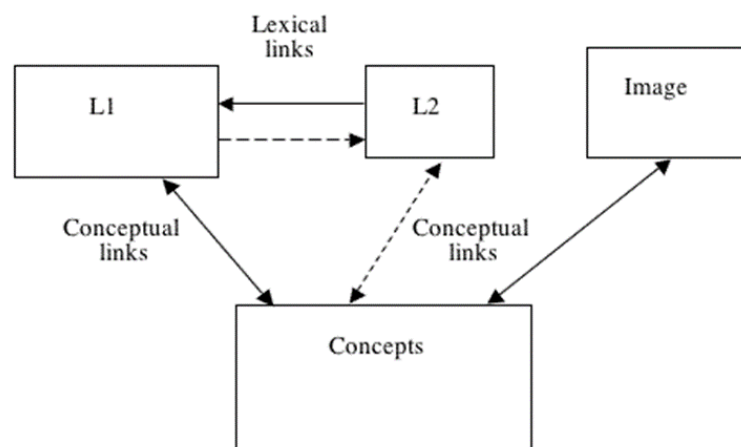


**Figure 2.** BIMOLA – bilingual model of lexical access (Grosjean 2008:204)

In fact, the majority of recent studies on compound and co-ordinate bilingualism have contributed to the growing controversy around Weinreich's theory. Consequently, being both accepted (Jakobovits 1968:31; Ardila 2007:8-9; Mackey 1968:555) and regarded as inadequate (Davies 2003:105; Fishman 1968b:143), the *compound-coordinate* distinction occupies a luminal space in scholarly research on bilingualism. Yet, the linguistic tensions surrounding the three types of the phenomenon present a challenge or at least an unsettling interjection in research discussions on bilingualism.

Additionally, recent studies are dominated by an unselective model assuming the existence of a conceptual system, which consists of meanings for words appearing in two language codes combined with two language structures (see: Figure 3).

Kurcz (2005:214) draws attention to the fact that these models relate to operations on mental lexicon, which, according to researchers of this phenomenon, is common to both linguistic codes. As the foregoing analysis of the author indicates, mental lexicon is perceived as the permanent collection of words in a speaker's memory. It is organised in a semantic network in which as one word (a.k.a. a node) is activated, semantically and lexically related words will also be activated.



**Figure 3.** Revised Hierarchical Model (RHM) (Kurcz 2005:213)

Moreover, the aforementioned conclusion that bilinguals have the same conceptual structure for both of their linguistic systems is consistent with many researchers' findings. Evidence provided by Dong, Gui, and Macwhinney (2005:223) has demonstrated the convergence of a new language into a pre-existing mental lexicon. Given that, when a speaker first learns a second language, the language has its own conceptual structure and is heavily dependent on the first language in order to achieve understanding and meaning of the new words. To exemplify, a Mexican immigrant who is learning the word *cat* will refer back to his/her original language to translate it into *gato* to gain the meaning, relation, and contextual information that are connected to that word. Nonetheless, as an individual becomes more proficient in acquiring a particular language, the two conceptual schemes eventually converge into one, where one language influences the other and vice versa.

### 1.3.5 Early versus late bilingualism

Another significant investigation into the typology of bilingualism is that conducted by Elizalde-Utnick (2007:508) into language development in children. According to the author, bilinguals can also be categorised on the basis of the age of exposure to two or more languages into early and late bilingualism.

**Early bilingualism**, also called *childhood bilingualism*, is defined as the acquisition of more than two languages in the pre-adolescent phase of life (Beardmore 1986:28)<sup>24</sup>. Furthermore, Moradi (2014:108) cogently argues that early bilingualism may be classified

<sup>24</sup> Compare: García (1983:40); Beardmore (1986:30-31); Myers-Scotton (2006:155-156).

into two types. The first, *simultaneous bilingualism*, occurs under specific circumstances: when a child learns two languages at the same time, he/she absorbs both languages either from the moment of birth<sup>25</sup> or before the age of three. Undeniably, this is often the source of strong bilingualism. The second type, *successive/sequential bilingualism*, refers to situations when a child who has already partially acquired a first/primary language then learns a second/other language early in childhood; for instance, when a child moves to another place where the dominant language is not his/her native language. This usually also results in the production of a strong bilingualism; however, the child needs time to learn the second language system (Moradi 2014:108). A further important insight emerging from yet another researcher, is that the term *successive/sequential bilingual* refers to children who started the process of acquiring a second language after the age of three. This age limit in early/childhood bilingualism was revealed by McLaughlin (qtd in Elizalde-Utnick 2007:509). As the author further acknowledges, one of the main issues discussed in connection with early bilingualism is the problem of its impact on overall cognitive development among children<sup>26</sup>.

*Late bilingualism* has been defined as the acquisition of one language before and the other after the age of eight. In other words, it occurs when the second language is acquired after the phase of early childhood, for instance, in the late childhood period, in adolescence or adulthood<sup>27</sup>. Moreover, Beardsmore (1986:28) defines the age of eleven as the limit of late bilingualism.

The basic problem in investigating the time of assimilation of a second language is the issue of *critical age*. Perhaps the most persistent question in bilingual research is whether there is some age limit beyond which a person is not able to attain native-like linguistic competence in both languages.

The *Critical Period Hypothesis*, formulated by Lenneberg (1967:112), stresses the fact that people in general have a strong ability to learn languages only at an early age since this ability disappears in adulthood. Gollan and Brown (2006:462) comment that it is “a biologically determined period of life when language can be acquired more easily and beyond which language is increasingly difficult to acquire”.

In fact, the greatest sensibility to language stimuli occurs from the first year, then it gradually fades (Kurcz 2005:198-199). Grosjean (1982:31) emphasises that at the age of

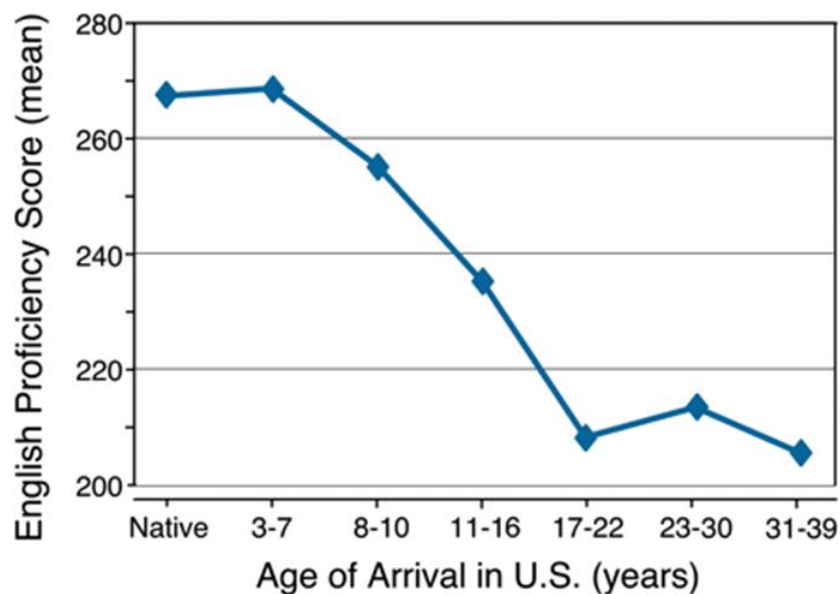
---

<sup>25</sup> Thus, it is often coined as *infant bilingualism* (Lipińska 2003:45).

<sup>26</sup> The current study does not further address this issue. For more information see: Katchan (2007); Lambert and Peal (1962).

<sup>27</sup> Compare: Beardsmore (1986:31); Myers-Scotton (2006:155).

twelve the process of hemisphere lateralisation ends. The aforementioned issue is examined even more profoundly by Lipińska (2003:46), who claims that the beginning of second language acquisition in early childhood guarantees complete achievement of L2 competence. Concentrating on the phonological system, Gollan and Brown (2006:464) contend that people who start the acquisition of a second language before the age of six also speak with a proper accent. Conversely, those who learn a foreign language after the age of twelve are not able to acquire correct pronunciation. Still, between the age of six and twelve there are various possibilities. The following schematic representation (Figure 4) clarifies the point:



**Figure 4.** Relationship between English competency score and the age of arrival according to Goldowsky and Newport's research (Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:47)

Comparing still further research, studies by Michońska-Stadnik (1994:104) do not support Lenneberg's theory concerning the existence of a critical age for second language acquisition. In fact, the author acknowledges that foreign language can be learnt at any age; sometimes this process will be slow, sometimes fast, and the final result will depend more on the student's language abilities and his/her motivation than on neurological conditions.

Other authors disagree. Highlighting the multi-dimensionality of bilingualism, many researchers assert that there is no evidence that better assimilation of a language and, in particular, the correct accent are age-related (Grinder, Otomo and Toyota 1962:463-469; Gollan and Brown 2006:465; Paradis 1977:100). An important contribution to critical age examination is the study conducted by Olson and Samuels, who have documented the pronunciation acquisition process in three groups of immigrant children of all ages

(elementary, junior high and college). The test results were as follows: “[...] both the junior high and college groups were superior to the elementary age group” (1973:263). This study is uniquely interesting on several counts, primarily in that older children exhibit better articulation than the younger ones. Particularly important here is the account given of the adults’ speaking competence, which was reported as poorer when compared with that of children. Furthermore, an incidental point of interest, though minor in the overall study, is the fact that speaking competence of immigrant children is not only affected by environmental, but also social factors. During the immigration process, adults usually settle in the vicinity of other immigrants who use the same native language. According to Olson and Samuels (1973:268), more frequent contacts with exiles from the same origin than with the citizens of the new country of residence are the cause of lower articulation in the second language. In contrast, by starting or continuing their education in schools, immigrant children are exposed to numerous and frequent interactions with native speakers of the second language (teachers, peers, students). As a result, they surpass their parents’ language competence.

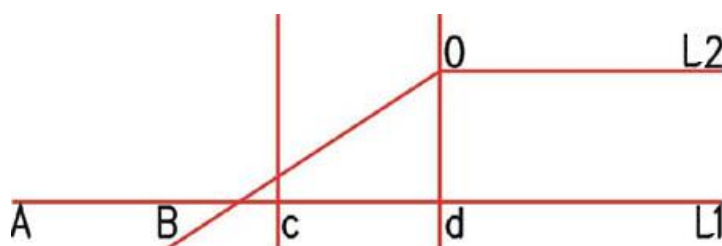
So far, many specialists have demonstrated that there is no age limit in the process of second language acquisition. Singleton (2002:31) points out that, “in the light of the foregoing, it is difficult not to infer that talking about an age factor may be misconceived, and that we should rather be thinking in terms of a range of age factors”. In addition, it is generally accepted that there are age restrictions concerning the attainment of a second language accent (Doughty and Long 2003:28; Lipińska 2003:81). When considering the most appropriate age to start learning a second language, Dźwierzyska (2002:4) notes that in deciding to teach a child a language, it is best to start at the age of 5-8, when the children have mastered their native language system and are ready to acquire a foreign language. At this age, the children have mastered the behavioural speaking patterns in their mother tongue and there are no major problems with *encoding* their thoughts in a new way. Attempts to start teaching children a foreign language in preschool, or even earlier, can be effective provided that the acquisition of language occurs in situations similar to those in which individuals acquire language in a natural language environment.

It is not surprising that children learn language freely and naturally through simply playing and enjoying themselves. For adults, the important stimuli are motivation, attitude and approach to the language (Lipińska 2003:81; Kurcz 2005:215). In general, scientists mostly agree that adults assimilate a second language less successfully than children. However, some educators believe that the source of the difficulty is not caused by the age

factor, but the way of assimilation, motivation and frequency of L2 use (Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:48; Ardila 2007:10; Mackey 1968:580).

### 1.3.6 Additive versus recessive bilingualism

In further studies, designed to explain and specify the typology of bilingualism, many modern-day educators agree that bilingualism is a process and not a permanent situation. Being a specific kind of continuum and depending on many different factors, bilingual competence varies among individuals. In fact, the types of bilingualism examined so far demonstrate not only the relative nature of the concept, but also the changing nature of bilingual patterns caused by the degree of language competence (Valdes 2001:37-38; Conture and Curlee 2007:50). Given that, the process of becoming bilingual may be illustrated in the following form (Figure 5):



**Figure 5** .The process of becoming a bilingual speaker (Lipińska 2003:115)

On the above chart, point A marks the beginning of native language acquisition (first/primary), point B – acquiring/learning the target language (second/other), the line from point B to point 0 represents the period of *pursuing* equivalent speaker competence of L2. According to Lipińska (2003:127), the proper process of becoming bilingual is located between points c and B. Point 0, on the other hand, symbolises the transition phase of a given unit from monolingualism to bilingualism. Acquiring/learning of a target language starts in point B. From that place an individual continues his or her development of native language, which is represented by line L1. What is more, this is also a place where the process of pursuing of equivalent speaker competence, that is L2, occurs. The process of becoming a bilingual is located somewhere between the letter c and d.

Yet, in reality, it is an elusive phase since the exact moment in human life in which the speaker becomes bilingual is difficult, if not impossible, to identify. Therefore, bilingualism is a highly relative phenomenon (Mackey 2003:55). A useful way of describing the pre-

bilingual state, presented by Błasiak-Tytuła (2011:49), is to talk of *incipient bilingualism*. The term describes the situation in the first moment of contact between the two languages. However, no exact explanation is provided by the author of what the required minimum is. Still, what some theorists contend is that in the case of incipient bilinguals one language code is well developed while the other remains in the early stages of development (Baker 2006:74).

Kurcz (2005:200) states that depending on how one's L2 influences the retention of one's L1, bilingualism may be also classified into *additive* and *recessive*. Speakers of two languages who can improve their second language without losing their first language proficiency are called additive bilinguals. By the same token, Kurcz (2005:200) endorses the assertion that *immersion* plays a central role in second language acquisition by a child. In fact, it is very popular in programmes about bilingual education in Canada and the United States<sup>28</sup>. Furthermore, as some theorists contend, additive bilingualism can be observed when both languages are useful and represent value (Edwards 2006:10; Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:49); in this case, the second language is not a threat for the first language system. Thus, the process in which both languages are treated equally is perceived as *symmetrical bilingualism* (Skowron-Naborczyk 2003:41).

The opposite situation arises with those speakers whose second language is acquired or learnt at the cost of losing their first language competence; they may be perceived as *recessive bilinguals*. Put it succinctly, the speaker who no longer uses one of his/her two languages for a period of time and begins to feel some difficulty in either understanding or expressing himself/herself with ease is in a position of recessive bilingualism. A similar line of thought runs through many scholars' writings (Beardsmore 1986:22; Baker 2006:75; Bee Chin and Wigglesworth 2007:7), who explicitly consider the replacement of L1 by L2. In this case, competence and mastery of the first language diminish whereas proficiency in the second language, which is usually the dominant one, augments. When one language has a higher status than the other, *asymmetrical bilingualism* occurs (Skowron-Naborczyk 2003:41).

In a similar manner, the interference of L1 by L2 resulting in the loss of L1 is known as *the submersion process* (Kurcz 2005:200). This can be seen particularly among children from ethnic minorities; their first language, not being the language of the majority in the country, is often the source of feelings of shame and embarrassment. When coupled with a

---

<sup>28</sup> See: Lipińska (2003:125).

lack of attention to the development of the first language by parents and school, these factors may be the cause of inevitable replacement of L1 by L2.

Contemporary studies conducted by Edwards (2006:11) investigate yet another form of bilingual type; specifically, *subtractive bilingualism* occurring when in a given society one language is more valued and dominates over the second language. This kind of bilingualism is often accompanied by immigration processes. Both Fishman (1972:53) and Lipińska (2003:126) specify four stages of acquiring English as a second language by a typical immigrant community:

- 1) First phase – immigrants learn English through their first language.
- 2) Second phase – since more exiles learn English they are able to talk to each other or communicate in their own language.
- 3) Third stage – immigrants operate in both languages with equal level of proficiency.
- 4) Fourth stage – the English language replaces the native language except public/private situations.

Indisputably, Mexican settlers in Los Angeles live in conditions where their first language is very different from that which most people use in the streets, at schools, in offices and shops. Hence, it is vital to note that this situation poses a major threat for the Spanish language since it may cause gradual loss of Spanish language skills replaced by the dominant language: English. On the other hand, it is clear that the iconic location of immigrants of diverse racial backgrounds as well as their articulation into commodity culture is an inescapable affirmation of the escalating centrality of ethnicity to US society. As a result of mass flow of Hispanic immigrants, the government began efforts to reduce the language barrier to a minimum.

In addition to the American policy, which is clearly favourable to the phenomenon of bilingualism and biculturalism<sup>29</sup>, the data on the Hispanic immigration process unquestionably present a valid argument for understanding the significance of yet another important aspect of bilingualism; namely, the attitude of bilinguals towards the use and mastery of two languages. As long as the first language is perceived as the one possessing the primary symbolic value to Hispanic exiles, the phenomenon of subtractive bilingualism will not occur.

---

<sup>29</sup> At this stage it should be emphasised that biculturalism should not necessarily be coupled with bilingualism, although most efficient bilingual educational programmes strive to make the two coincide. It is perfectly feasible to acquire foreign language skills without adapting aspects of the culture in which the language operates.

## 1.4 Diglossia and bilingualism

The data on different dialect varieties of a language exemplify the richness of the scholarly scale of differentiation which may lead to the point of mutually unintelligible dialects. Grosjean (1982:40) relates the situation in which once the mutual unintelligibility has been reached, the speaker is faced with the same conditions as related to bilingualism. In addition, the author acknowledges conditions under which speakers of a dialect which differs considerably from the national standard are obliged to learn this national standard for educational as well as wider communication purposes beyond the region. By way of example, in the German-speaking part of Switzerland while a regional form of German, *Schwyzertütsch*, is spoken, standard German is used in print, in mass media and schooling. Such instances of *bi-dialectalism* tend to be a one-way process in that the speaker of a standard variety of a national language rarely feels the need to learn the non-standard variation although the opposite is more frequent. In fact, bilingual communities are parallel in that usually only one of the groups in contact is keen on learning the language of the other. Considering this, it is rare to have stable two-way bilingualism in equal proportions across two language groups (Mackey 1976:30). Being more prevalent than is often imagined, the bi-dialectal situation has led to the notion of *diglossia* as put forward by Ferguson (1959:336):

“Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which in addition to the primary dialect of the language, which may include a standard or regional standard, there is a very divergent, highly codified, often grammatically more complex, super-posed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of literature, heir of an earlier period or another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.”

Diglossic situations exist worldwide, such as in the Arabic-speaking countries, where a *High form* of Arabic is used for religious purposes, education and formal communication, and a *Low form* for informal interactions and local usage. The former varies from region to region and may differ so considerably from the High form that it can become almost unintelligible to a speaker of a different Low form from another part of the Arab country. Likewise, in Greece the demotic form of Greek is used in High situations and the *katharevousa*<sup>30</sup> is reserved for Low situations, though the dichotomy is increasingly being

---

<sup>30</sup> *Katharevousa*, literally meaning *pure language*, is a form of the Modern Greek language used in the early 19th century as a compromise between Ancient Greek and the Demotic Greek of the time. Primarily, being

eroded. Yet another example may be found in Belgium, where either the Flemish or Walloon dialects function in Low situations and standard Dutch or French serve the speakers in High situations<sup>31</sup>.

The correlation of diglossia and bilingualism becomes apparent when the relationship between one language dialect and bilingualism in terms of the variability discussed earlier is examined. When two dialects of an umbrella language are mutually incomprehensible and vary considerably from the standard, the speaker clearly is in a state of diglossia and, theoretically at least, in a potential state of bilingualism. Fishman (1972:64) has revealed that “bilingualism is essentially a characteristic of individual linguistic behavior whereas diglossia is a characterisation of linguistic organisation at the sociocultural level” and the author has presented a theoretical framework for investigating situations in which either or both may co-occur in a specific sociocultural context. Therefore, situations of bilingualism with and without diglossia, and diglossia with and without bilingualism, may occur as depicted in Fishman’s graphical representation:

		<b>Diglossia</b>	
		+	—
<b>Bilingualism</b>	+	Both diglossia and bilingualism	Bilingualism without diglossia
	—	Diglossia without bilingualism	No diglossia No bilingualism

**Table 2.** The relation between diglossia and bilingualism (Fishman 1972:63)

Prior to analysing the diglossic component of the above Table, it is crucial to note a subdivision into High and Low forms, which is adequate for the bilingual component depending on whether the High language is genetically interrelated to the Low or not.

To demonstrate the possibilities envisaged in Table 2, the case of a complex urban area should be examined. By way of example, in Brussels two standard languages are present; namely, French and Dutch together with dialect variants of each of them, some indigenous to the city and some adapted due to Walloon and Flemish immigrants (Beardsmore 1986:110-112). The linguistic forces present in the city can be divided as in Table 3.

---

widely recognised both for literary and official purposes, it was rarely used in daily language. It increasingly served official and formal purposes in the 20th century until Demotic Greek became the official language of Greece in 1976 (Conture and Curlee 2007:54).

<sup>31</sup> Błasiak-Tytuła (2011:51) uses the terms *high* (H variant) and *low variety* (L variant) respectively.

Category of speaker	Diglossia	Bilingualism
1. Indigenous upper-level French monoglot	-	-
2. Indigenous lower-level French monoglot	(+)	-
3. Indigenous bilingual	+	+
4. Indigenous Dutch monoglot	-	-
5. Flemish immigrant	+	(+)
6. Walloon immigrant	(+)	-

**Table 3.** Linguistic forces in Brussels (Grosjean 1982:42)

Undoubtedly, the complex picture that emerges from the illustration above is that the indigenous monoglots, the upper-level French (category 1) together with Dutch speakers (category 4)<sup>32</sup>, share the features of no diglossia and no bilingualism. Nevertheless, the French monoglots tend to use a High, prestige form, whereas the Dutch monoglots, representing an ageing and diminishing sub-group, will probably adopt a Low, dialectal form of Dutch in their speech in everyday situations. Category 2, composed of the indigenous lower-level French monoglots, may be diglossic (thus the brackets) if they use a form of French marked by contact and interference features from Dutch in the more intimate aspects of their daily life, hence reserving the High form of French for official transactions. Alternatively, they may well only master the Low, regional variety of French productively and only use standard, High French receptively. Their nearest counterpart is the Walloon émigré to the city (category 6) who may or may not be a Walloon dialect speaker in Low circumstances, using High French elsewhere. In addition, the indigenous bilingual (category 3) in general speaks a Low form of a Dutch dialect in more intimate communication and some variety of French in High situations characterised by a certain degree of formality. As a final group of speakers, the Flemish exiles (category 5) usually master the dialect of their social behaviour; yet, they may also use French in High circumstances since this is the numerically dominant language in the city.

Despite the fact that this overview is somewhat simplistic<sup>33</sup>, it depicts the sophisticated intertwining of diglossia, societal and individual bilingualism in a small geographic area. The above may be useful within the field of definition and the applicability of diglossia to

<sup>32</sup> These belong to lower-level social groups due to the fact that the upper-level indigenous Dutch monoglots are a relatively rare occurrence in Brussels (Grosjean 1982:40).

<sup>33</sup> See: Beardsmore (1986:120-128)

specific societal contexts, particularly where Creoles and pidginised forms of language are in contact with other speech patterns<sup>34</sup>.

As a re-appraisal of the connection between diglossia and bilingualism, Lipińska (2003:128) adds two further dimensions to the general dispute. By acknowledging the fact that just as bilingualism is primarily concerned with individuals, so biculturalism is an individual asset or debit, the author is intrigued by the ethnocultural implications of the presence of the two languages in diglossic functioning. Culture, for Lipińska (2003:129), manifests norms connected to all of human behaviour, belief and valuation. On the societal level of diglossic functioning, which is determined by institutional factors, a potentiality for *di-ethnia* may occur, where ethnicity is to be comprehended as the more regulated set of forms of behaviour, beliefs as well as values linked to membership in a particular people. Undeniably, di-ethnia remains a rare phenomenon. Other authors agree: the ethnic values of, as a way of example, black African society and white western society, are difficult to reconcile, though Fishman (1968a:36) quotes the example of certain sectors of Moslem society, in which not only traditional behaviour, dress-code and diet, but also social values, dominate most of life, yet in which modern economic and technical roles require different dress, dietary regime and languages. Be that as it may, biculturalism may or may not accompany bilingualism, as indicated in the preceding discussion (see: section 1.3.6 Additive versus recessive bilingualism).

Thus far, the multifaceted picture emerging from any discussion of bilingualism, where individual language use is strictly inter-connected to social forces, echoes the assertion presented at the outset of this chapter: bilingualism being a relative concept has no clear cut-off points. Given that, bilingualism should be perceived as positioned somewhere along a cline ranging from non-diglossic monolinguals, through bi-dialectalism to the use of two distinct languages at varying levels of ability. To be sure, some of the phenomena traditionally considered as exclusive to bilingual behaviour may well manifest themselves amongst categories of speakers other than manipulators of two separate language systems.

## **1.5 Research on bilingualism**

This chapter provides an account of the classification and the features of various forms of bilingualism. Bilingual speakers were categorised according to distinctions between the degree of fluency and proficiency in the languages spoken, by the situational context and by

---

<sup>34</sup> For further investigation see particularly French scholarly debates in the reviews *La Linguistique* (1982) and *Langages* (1981).

age, by the manner of acquisition of the languages, and as based on the hypothesised processing mechanisms.

From the brief overview presented above, it may be concluded that the vast amount of research on bilingualism that has been conducted in recent years has led to a profound understanding of the properties and factors of this linguistic phenomenon. The continuous volatility of bilingualism forces the conclusion that it is appreciated as being a far more multifaceted process, having social, intellectual and many other dimensions based on which bilinguals are classified; both at the individual and social level.

Still, it is crucial to note that most of these dimensions are usually interwoven. To exemplify, one who is exposed to two linguistic systems from birth, so-called simultaneous bilingualism, may, in this case, have a better opportunity to become a balanced bilingual. It should also be added that another element of complexity exists. To be more specific, these dimensions of bilingualism are continuous yet not simply categorical constructs. Thus, specifying clear boundaries between different types of bilinguals within a given dimension may pose a considerable difficulty.

The recent research studies are focused mainly not on providing definitions, but on describing the bilingual process and its various aspects. These investigations undoubtedly have an interdisciplinary character; the representatives of numerous human sciences (psychology, sociology, anthropology, and many others) use different methods and criteria for the study of bilingualism since, as Hoffmann states (1991:17), it is a complex phenomenon, open to different interpretations.

The most prevailing view is that bilinguals are a product of the sociocultural environment. Thus, first and foremost, social, psychological and cultural aspects of bilingualism should be taken into account. By the same token, Altariba and Heredia (2008:4), in their equally authoritative opus, argue that rather than classifying bilingualism, researchers should focus on examining the social, cultural, educational, cognitive, evolutionary, biological, psychological and linguistic aspects of the phenomenon under consideration. These aspects help to understand how a speaker acquires a second language and how he/she uses it.

Along the same lines, Mackey (1962:51) asserts that “bilingualism is a behavioral pattern of mutually modifying linguistic practices varying in degree, function, alternation, and interference”. Hence, it is cogently described in terms of four questions to be asked prior to examining the aforementioned process:

- 1) To what extent has a bilingual person mastered the language?

- 2) What are the functions of languages which are used?
- 3) How does a bilingual person switch from one language to another?
- 4) How does one language influence the other?

Perhaps one of the most widely recognised concepts in this regard is the division between the monolingual (incomplete) and bilingual (overall) attitudes towards bilingualism. According to the monolingual viewpoint, a bilingual speaker has two separate language skills that correspond to the competence of a monolingual. Consequently, a bilingual person is the sum of two monolingual people. In other words, the language competence of such a person is measured by the use of monolingual competence; if the abilities of both speakers are equal, then he/she is perceived as *truly bilingual*, a.k.a. *the ideal, the true, the balanced, the perfect bilingual* (Blasiak-Tytuła 2011:54; Elizalde-Utnick 2007:510; Jakobovits 1968:32). Yet the counter evidence presented by Grosjean (2008:9) shows that this concept rests on both a simplified and erroneous view since the language abilities of bilinguals differ significantly from those of a monolingual's (although they use both languages in everyday life), thus such a person is considered as not fully bilingual<sup>35</sup>.

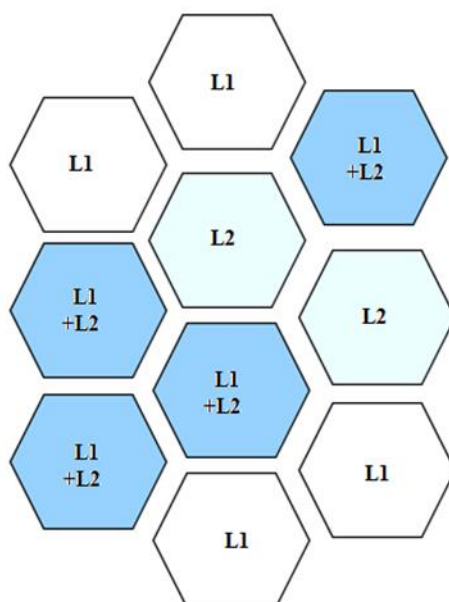
Furthermore, a considerable amount of research on bilinguals, succinctly reviewed by Simon (1980:30), has been conducted by the use of tests created for monolingual speakers. What the pioneer in this field noted is the fact that in the case of Spanish-English bilingualism, questions assessing Hispanics' linguistic competence in Spanish and Americans' in English are commonly used. As Grosjean rightly observes, these tests usually do not take into account various needs of bilinguals in relation to both languages and numerous social functions performed by these languages in everyday life. The results of such investigation frequently illustrate that the language competence of bilinguals is less developed compared to monolingual speakers of a given language. Therefore, Grosjean (2008:15) rejects these methods by claiming that they are "[...] traditional language tests that put more stress on the form of the language than on the speaker's ability to communicate in context [...]".

The notion just given of a bilingual as a combination of two monolingual speakers leads to another assumption; specifically, the contact between the two languages is rare. To put it succinctly, possible language systems are treated as autonomous, separate and independent. Nevertheless, in stark contrast with such a concept, others hail this view of bilingualism as misleading and inappropriate by commenting that "it is time that we accept the fact that

---

<sup>35</sup> In point of fact, the aforementioned linguistic skills are also known as *dominant, unbalanced, semilingual, alingual* (Beziers and Van Overbeke 1968:115; Baker 2006:114).

bilinguals are not two monolinguals in one person, but different, perfectly competent speaker-hearers in their own right” (Grosjean 2008:13). Hence, a bilingual point of view presents a bilingual speaker as a whole, which cannot be divided into two separate parts, therefore, “[...] he or she has a unique and specific linguistic configuration” (Grosjean 1989:6).



**Figure 6.** First and/or second language use in various domains of life of a bilingual (Grosjean 2008:23)

To be sure, a bilingual is competent in both languages (sometimes also in a third system, which is a combination of these two languages) sufficient for the proper functioning in the environment in which he/she lives. The degree of skills in the language used is appropriate to the needs of the individual. On the other hand, monolinguals use only one language in all domains of life, while for bilinguals two dissimilar language systems are available and each of them refers to different areas. Indeed, the data on bilingualism indicates that the bilingual person uses two languages (separately or together) in diverse situations, in conversations with different people and on heterogeneous subjects. Grosjean (2008:14) exposes the way in which both linguistic systems are adopted in various domains of a bilingual’s life. The author’s assertion may be presented by the graphical illustration (see: Figure 6 above).

According to Fishman (1972:55-56), the five most important areas of life for a bilingual are often: family, friends, religion, education, work. Dębski (2009:210) addresses the issue by suggesting yet another domain, being a new realm of bilingual interaction – cyberspace. Examining bilingual individuals, it can be immediately seen that, depending on the domain,

they will use L1 and/or L2. In addition to the method of assimilating the first/primary language and the second/other language, the factors that determine the use of language and its style are equally vital in the study of bilingualism. These aspects are mainly the abovementioned domains of life.

Likewise, it is well documented that the recipients of the message, place, context and channel of communication (oral or written) also are of central importance. A bilingual person, depending on the topic of conversation, place and his/her interlocutor, chooses one of the two languages. With some people the speaker will speak in L1, with others – L2. Still, the research would also suggest that new situations, new environments and new interlocutors are the cause of new linguistic needs in both languages. These factors alter the configuration of the language, although they do not change the communicative competence (Grosjean 2008:16).

Overall, a review of the research on bilingualism reveals binary tendencies in research studies; namely, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic. Psycholinguists are interested primarily in the assimilation and organisation of the two linguistic structures in the mind of one person<sup>36</sup>. Sociolinguists, on the other hand, focus primarily on the functions performed by the two languages in the daily life of bilingual speakers.

## **1.6 Two languages – two worlds?**

“The more languages you know, the more you are a person.”

(J. W. Goethe qtd in Ardila 2007:3)

In the following discussion we shall briefly address the most salient aspects of bilingual identity. As the primary goal of the study is to characterise the bilingual speech phenomenon, these issues should only be highlighted and not discussed in detail.

Stressing the intrinsic difficulty in trying to measure a concept as elusive as a correlation between language and worldview, the research into the cultural background in the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought together sociological and cultural studies, both crucial for understanding the core concept of language itself. Breal (qtd in Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:64) then wrote that “language is an interpretation of reality”. 20th century linguists, in turn, would rather perceive the linguistic system in terms of an autonomous phenomenon, that is culture, unrelated to these non-linguistic factors. The aforementioned thesis is typically attributed to

---

<sup>36</sup> See: Kurcz (2005).

Saussure (qtd in Maduro 1987:19), who disregards the importance of cultural considerations for the investigation of language:

“The language itself is a system which admits no other order than its own. This can be brought by comparison with the game of chess. In the case of chess, it is relatively easy to distinguish between what is external [non-systemic] and what is internal [systemic]. The fact that chess came from Persia to Europe is an external fact, whereas everything which concerns the system and its rules is internal. If pieces made of ivory are substituted for pieces made of wood, the change makes no difference to the system. But if the number of pieces is diminished or increased, that is a change which profoundly affects the ‘grammar’ of the game.”

As Bartmiński (2006:14-16) goes on to explain, in chess, the actual configuration of a given piece determines its value, exclusively by the actual configuration of all the pieces on the chessboard. What is irrelevant is the material of which that particular piece is made. In fact, its significance depends on how useful it appears to be in the overall strategy of the game. Hence, it is possible that an element, such as a pawn, may become absolutely central in a given configuration leading to the checkmating of the rival’s king. With regard to language, everything depends on the relation of a given component to the other elements at a given point in time. Irrespective of terminology, if the word *chair* is meaningful in English, it is because of the fact that the system of the English language has created the form *chair* for the individual user not only to give this word an arbitrary meaning but also to enable its use in a conventional way.

Thus, it is apparent that culture and language are directly interrelated. As the further investigation reveals, there also exists an open debate on whether or not linguists are prepared to admit to the following concept: language use is dependent on how people live, think and construct their culture.

All of this may now be acknowledged in one of the latest developments in the field of linguistics, known as cognitive linguistics, which is a branch of functional linguistics. Irrefutably, the names *functional* and *cognitive* highlight the assumption that language is formed by the functions ascribed to language by its users; the most important is the ability of language to express human cognition, experience, or, most generally, culture. As Langacker (2008:4) reveals:

“Language is shaped and constrained by the functions it serves. These include the semiological function of allowing conceptualisations to be symbolised by means of sounds and gestures, as well as a multifaceted interactive function involving communication, manipulation,

expressiveness, and social communication; [...] cognitive and functional linguistics find that virtually everything in language is motivated [...] even if very little is strictly predictable.”

In practice, the language used for communication is both, “in the form it has and in the substance it communicates” (Langacker 2008:4), sensitive to society and culture because as Narrog (2010:408) comments, language specific terminology and structure are the diachronic product of their users’ activities in specific cultures as well as societies.

As Błasiak-Tytuła (2011:45) claims after Bartmiński (2006:12), one idea which is perfectly compatible with both Narrog’s assertion and contemporary linguistics, oriented culturally and anthropologically, is the concept of the Linguistic Worldview (LW). Put succinctly, it assumes the view of reality through the prism of language. The author also acknowledges the basic assumptions of LW by claiming that languages are used to discover unknown truths, and their diversity is the variety of ways to view the world. This view is supported and elaborated by Weisberger (qtd in Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:65), who introduced the notion of an intermediate linguistic world between reality and its perception.

As is further argued by the authors, of central importance for LW was also the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis (LRH), also known as the Whorfian Hypothesis and the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. According to the two researchers of Native American languages, Edward Sapir and Benjamin L. Whorf, language not only influences a person’s way of thinking, but it also determines their perception of the surrounding reality<sup>37</sup>.

Authors who echo the significance of the LW theory within the field of Polish linguistics are among many others Grzegorzczkova (1999), Tokarski (2001), Anusiewicz (1999), Bartmiński (1994). According to Bartmiński (2006:12), the linguistic model of the world is a different verbalised interpretation of reality, which is included in the language. As the expert goes on to explain, this perception may be defined as a group of opinions about the world. Bartmiński (2006:15) further states that the LW concept, through the analysis of linguistic data, not only allows us to reach the individual’s perceptions and conceptualisation of the world, but it also enables definition of the psychosocial mechanisms of categorising phenomena.

The instructive approach, adopted by Tokarski (2001:42-43), focuses on the basic principles of linguistics studies which perceive the LW primarily as the vocabulary and

---

<sup>37</sup> However, it is important to note that the theory of linguistic relativity has been heavily criticised by many scholars, including Pinker (1994:82). The author rejects the assertion that the thinking process is shaped by language. According to Pinker, since the mental processes are continued regardless of any language, concepts like freedom and equality can be conceived even if the term itself does not exist in a given linguistic system.

grammar of the language, as well as encyclopaedic knowledge of the world<sup>38</sup>. Given that, in the present research, the specific construct of roles addresser-addressee, types of relationships between them and the situational context should be taken into account. Thus, Bartmiński (2006:89) proposes a six-point plan: WHO - WHERE – WHAT - WHEN - WHY - HOW, which allows us to specify both the values established in the language and the cultural factors influencing the formation of such a constructed idea of an entity.

An important insight emerging from this approach is that language is one of the most important elements of culture. According to Anusiewicz, Dąbrowska and Fleischer (2000:21), it is a phenomenon in which the cultural heritage of a given language community is encoded. These researchers argue that language reflects a hierarchy of values and a system of meanings; it provides access to the world and enables us to get to know it in an already pre-determined way: it contains a model of the world and language affects the way speakers shape their view of the world and influences its image (2000:20). Consequently, due to the social experience present in language one may either rule on or evaluate the reality that surrounds him/her (Tokarski 2001:343).

An additional implication of this framework presented by Wojtasiewicz (qtd in Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:171), are the differences between languages perceived as expressions of a different extratextual reality reflected by these languages. The dissimilarities are connected to the difference in (1) the geographical environment (including climate, flora and fauna), (2) the material culture of the speakers, (3) their customs and (4) their beliefs, since all these aspects are reflected in language.

Given that mental objects, in the whole richness of their characterisation, are entrenched in the linguistic worldview, as Bartmiński (2006:77) acknowledges, the most vivid contrasts between languages can be seen by comparing lexical resources. In addition to lexis, each language is characterised by a particular system of more or less extensive resources of grammatical rules, and finally, the rules of constructing sentences, i.e. syntax. There is no doubt that there is an explicit relation between the lexical resources of different languages and the social lives of their speakers. Hence, each language reflects the lifestyle of the community and its proper communicative way of thinking<sup>39</sup>.

In fact, people who use different language systems perceive the world differently. This hypothesis is stated even more profoundly by Sapir (1978:62), who observes that languages differ in terms of their vocabulary. Distinctions that seem to be necessary for one community

---

<sup>38</sup> Compare: Anusiewicz (1999:25).

<sup>39</sup> See: Wierzbicka (2007).

may be completely unfamiliar in a language that is a reflection of different type of culture, and vice versa. In this view, the changes concern vocabulary items such as types of weapons and, at the same time, they are also found in the world of mental creations.

Nevertheless, Wierzbicka (1990:71) disagrees with the previous author by pointing out that languages vary not only as systems of language, but also as cultural worlds; as a medium of ethnic identity. In fact, this relation between cognition and language coupled with their reciprocal influence have also sparked a long debate within the fields of psychology and applied linguistics. Here, the questions first addressed by Casasanto (2008:58), become an area of central importance; namely, do we “think in language”? and does language “shape a speaker’s thoughts”?

These enquiries are connected to linguistic relativity in which differences in linguistic features yield modifications in ones’ thoughts. The linguistic relativity principle manifests the notion that language shapes the speaker’s thought and cognition (Gumperz and Levinson 1996; Lucy 1992). Likewise, varied languages exhibit a wide range of variabilities in the speaker’s semantic classes, thus also in linguistic representations. Consequently, speakers of different languages vary in their perception of the world. Moreover, their conceptual structure of the world is constrained by the natural language involved (Gentner and Goldin-Meadow 2003:3-14).

By analysing the linguistic relativity hypothesis, Pae (2012:49) postulates that despite a link between language and cognition, neither unidirectionality nor causality from cognition to language is supported by linguistic relativity. Given that, linguistic relativity also does not share common features with *linguistic determinism* postulating that cognitive processes together with thoughts have a causal connotation with language construction. Furthermore, research conducted by Casasanto (2008:63) offers some evidence as to how linguistic relativity differs from linguistic determinism; specifically, it does not strictly determine the speaker’s thoughts.

Sapir (qtd in Tohidian 2009:65-66) provides even greater clarity towards understanding the premise of the LRH by studying English in comparison to Native American languages; the author claims that differences in linguistic aspects within languages yield differences in understanding, perception as well as interpretation of the world. Moreover, the above conclusion is consistent with Whorf’s (qtd in Tohidian 2009:65) findings that resulted in the theory referred to as the *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis* or as the *Whorfian hypothesis*<sup>40</sup>, which demonstrates the remarkable influence of Whorf as an educator on the theory building

---

<sup>40</sup> In the present thesis, the notion *LRH* and the *Whorfian hypothesis* are used interchangeably.

process. Later, the notion was followed and substantiated by scholars who proposed two versions of the LRH according to the degree of intensity; namely, *strong LRH* and *weak LRH* (Hunt and Agnoli 1991:377-380; Tohidian 2009:67). The strong LRH variety posits that both thought and perception are controlled and dictated by the linguistic system, whereas the weak LRH form postulates that language affects thought.

Yet, empirical evidence, alluded to by many researchers, had already raised doubts as to the adequacy of the strong variety of the LRH (Hunt and Agnoli 1991:381; Regier and Kay 2009:439), by raising questions regarding the direct translation from one language to another, the presence or absence of a particular form in a language, and the quality of evidence used in Whorf's statement. The weak form of the LRH has also been deemed as ambiguous and unprovable. Nonetheless, Hunter and Agnoli (1991:389) have acknowledged that the LRH hypothesis not only can be testable and measurable, but also falsifiable with regard to the impact of the syntactic, pragmatic, lexical, and semantic factors of language on cognition as well as thought.

Over the decades, awareness of the contradictory evidence surrounding the Whorfian hypothesis has led through ebbs and flows in the field. In the 1960s, when the predominant model in linguistics and anthropology emphasised the universal nature of human language and cognition processes, the notion of linguistic relativity ceased to exist within the research framework (Pinker 1994:23). Stemming from Chomsky's Universal Grammar (UG), the *linguistic universality hypothesis* maintains that the universal repertoire of thought as well as cognition precedes the linguistic constraints entailed in each language. The hypothesis surpassed the main tendency in the linguistic field, at the time causing a concomitant dismissal of Whorf's theory in psychological analysis. Still, it was the work of Hunt and Agnoli (1991:389) that extended the limitations of UG in the capacity of explaining cross-linguistic varieties, such as low intertranslation skill and the usage of borrowings. Hoffman (1989:115) addresses the issue by presenting a poignant investigation into the intertwined nature of language and perception of the world, since "a thought expressible in one language does not always map into an equivalency in another". As the author goes on to exemplify, the translation of the word *serendipity* into a single Korean word is impossible since it does not have any corresponding equivalent in this language. In fact, the English word *serendipity* can be only expressed by several words in a phrase. The scholar indicates that borrowings adapted by many linguistic systems may stem from either the translation barrier presented above or a lack of transparent equivalency from one language to another. Hunt and Agnoli (1991:378) add that "language differentially favors some thought processes over others, to

the point that a thought that is easily expressed in one language might virtually never be developed by speakers of another language”. Nevertheless, balanced bilingual speakers are able to maintain their competence to think differently in different language systems regarding the circumstantial demand by altering from one language to another.

Along the same lines, Casasanto (2008:62) implies that the anti-Whorfian school of thought is erroneous due to the conflation of two distinct enquiries: do we think in language? and does language shape thought? causing an artefact in the argument structure and the logical flow to which the anti-Whorfian UG researchers appealed. Through many observations, Pinker (1994:47) perceives the direct correlation between thought and language as a *conventional absurdity* since the categories of reality are not *in* the world but are determined by the speaker’s culture. The Whorfian hypothesis itself is considered by the author to be myth. Nonetheless, Garnham and Oakhill (1994:154) reject the idea by pointing out that the use of numerous, distinctively different words for *snow* used in Eskimo and English, to either support or debunk the relationship between language and cognition, is highly debatable. As the scholars contend, the contrast in the number of words in the two languages is not created by the central difference in thought but by the requirements of the environmental condition. The authors expose the way in which one group of Eskimos, while referring to *snow* uses a number of various words different from those used by English speakers. Indeed, there is a strong need for reframing the LRH investigation into the correlation between language, experience and concept by discrediting Pinker’s (1994:49) assumption against the Whorfian hypothesis; Casasanto (2008:65) points out that “language can shape the way people think even if they do not think in language”.

Adding another layer of complexity, the results of linguistic relativity were also stressed in the 1990s with empirical experimentations in the domains of number (e.g. Tohidian 2009; Pae 2012; Lucy 1992), spatial cognition (e.g. Li and Gleitman 2002; Hoffman 1989), colour (e.g. Wierzbicka 2006; Regier and Kay 2009; Pinker 1994) and also time perception (e.g. Boroditsky 2001). The studies have concluded with a focus on investigating ways in which language affects thought and on defining to what extent language influences cognition resulting in empirical evidence which supports the weak variety of the LRH. Given that, language may determine the way people think, due to the fact that, over time, speakers of different languages acquire unique conceptual collections through cognitive procedures (Casasanto 2008:70). In a similar vein, Regier and Kay (2009:440) take the view that perception of the world is filtered through the semantic class of the first/primary language.

Undoubtedly, language is a significant medium of thought, partly because it enables us to perceive the knowledge and beliefs of other people. The role of the linguistic system in the perception of abstract, social information and the amalgamation of spatial data into a meaningful unit is strongly supported by Gentner and Goldin-Meadow's (2003:3-14) study. The authors point out the fact that in spite of a gap between language and thought, structural changes in languages create various perceptions of the world. Gentner and Goldin-Meadow (2003:9) gathered numerous ontological debates on substances and objects together with hypothetically informed discussions over the LRH, concerning gender, mind, space, number, motion and thematic roles. These enquiries are connected to three categories of language function; namely, "language as lens, language as tool kit, and language as category maker". The notion of *language as lens* means that the perception of the world is shaped by the linguistic system spoken by people. The second representation, i.e. *language as tool kit* refers to the question of whether the language used increases the speaker's ability not only to present, but also to explain, both symbolic and belief systems. By being perceived as a *category maker*, language determines the way people create category distinctions, such as spatial relations as well as semantics, nonverbal arrangements, and object-substance ontological distinctions. Still, an important insight emerging from the data presented is that "language is a powerful mediator of cognition when we speak and much of our lives is spent in language-related activities" (Gentner and Goldin-Meadow 2003:11).

Altogether, it is apparent that, at least in the area of language-culture studies, the connection between the two is positive, undeniable, if not inalienable. To be sure, even Sapir himself appears to have been indecisive by stating that "language and our thought-grooves are inextricably interwoven [and] are, in a sense one and the same" (qtd in Łozowski 2008:10) and, on the other hand, he states that "it is possible to show that the form of a language has the slightest connection with national temperament" (ibid.), and "I [cannot] believe that culture and language are in any true sense casually related" (qtd in Bartmiński 2006:13).

Furthering the interest in the language-culture correlation, three basic relational possibilities are to be addressed, where LG stands for language and CL for culture (Bartmiński 2006:15-16):

- 1) LG and CL are analog (LG < > CL), the way in which language is used and the way the world is seen/experienced reflect each other;
- 2) LG is determinant of CL (LG > CL), language usage determines the way the world is seen/experienced;

- 3) LG is a derivative of CL (LG < CL); the way the world is seen/experienced determines the way in which language is used.

Certainly, each of the three mentioned relations can be expressed with an extensive array of shades and degrees; as a way of example, LG and CL can be analogous to each other (see: option one in the above) in different degrees in various cases. Given this, the speaker makes language and culture analogs already by mere virtue of his/her using a linguistic system in connection to common experience: what the speaker experiences in reality is what he/she refers to in language, and what is referred to in language is what is experienced in reality. Bartmiński (2006:18) provides even greater clarity towards this assumption by stating:

“In this sense spring, summer, autumn, winter respectively, the names we use in English for seasons of the year, reflect our culture which is either our experiential sense of time flow with regard to changing conditions in the natural environment or our current knowledge of the sun-earth configuration, or both. Similarly, as long as we have four mental idealisations of how the natural environment keeps on changing in time or of what radical configurations can be given to the sun-earth arrangement our experience goes hand in hand with our linguistic expressions.”

Yet, it should also be noted that at times this perfect mirror reflection is flawed. To clarify, the academic year in America is divided into just two halves, that is winter semester and summer semester. This in no way reflects these four idealisations of the seasons presented by Bartmiński. As a matter of fact, the winter semester is connected both with autumn and with winter (from October to March), and the summer semester is related to winter and spring as much as with summer (from mid-February to June).

Yet another vital insight emerging from the research is that asymmetrical methods of bridging language and culture together are far more frequently demonstrated in the literature. A very good example of one-sided influence of language upon culture emanates from Sapir (1978:67), who voices this idea as follows:

“The essential perfection [of language] is a prerequisite to the development of culture as a whole. No matter how sophisticated our modes of interpretation become, we never really get beyond the projection and continuous transfer of relations suggested by language.”

Without a doubt, Sapir could have provided numerous instances to present the validity and priority of linguistic considerations over the cultural ones<sup>41</sup>. According to Sapir

---

<sup>41</sup> This appears to be true even if we accepted the warning from Hymes (1972:260) that Sapir's view of the language-culture relation was continuously changing. Despite the fact that a lot could have been changed in his views over the years, indeed, Sapir did remain a formalist, and, as Vermeulen (2009:248) explains: “in this

(1978:68), this, in the first place, includes linguistic examination of experience, which may lead to the hypothesis that language is heuristic, empirical, and interpretative in relation to culture. Through abstraction coupled with generalisation, the linguistic system interprets what the speaker actually experiences in the world. To put it succinctly, without language, the speaker would not know what he/she hears, sees, or even touches.

Finally, the impact that the linguistic system may have upon culture goes as far as a comprehensive linguistic interpenetration of experience (see: number 3 in the list of relation possibilities above). Thus, languages, in fact, are verbal substitutions for experience<sup>42</sup>. Sapir (1978:69) finds further evidence for this claim by stating:

“Language may not only refer to experience or even mold, interpret and discover experience but [...] it also substitutes for it in the sense that [...] speech and action supplement each other and do each other’s work [...]. If one says to me ‘Lend me a dollar’, I may hand over the money without a word or I may give it with an accompanying ‘here it is’ or I may say ‘I haven’t got it. I’ll give it to you tomorrow.’ Each of these responses is structurally equivalent.”

Perhaps the most persistent enquiry is whether human experience is clearly constrained by language: is something possible only as far as it can be inferred from language? Drawing largely on many researchers’ view (i.e. Łozowski 2008; Langacker 2008; Narrog 2010), all that an individual is able to experience either exists already within linguistic structures or there is nothing a speaker may experience that is not a part of their linguistic system.

Despite how central the previously mentioned Sapir-Whorf theory is claimed to be in the process of inferencing, it proves secondary and relative to the language material of a given word/construction. Put succinctly, the language that invites cognitive tensions, or, for that matter, inferences, is central. Be that as it may, inferences would be subject to the speaker “perceiving resemblance, spotting correspondences, building parallels, and ultimately, translating one domain of human experience (i.e. space) into another (i.e. time) – instead of language shaping experience (and culture), we would have experience shaping

---

formal sense language is complete in itself”. What this means is that language is an autonomous, irreducible system which has its own self-regulating mechanism.

<sup>42</sup> Whorf argues that “language produces an organisation of experience” (qtd in Łozowski 2008:50) and “that the background linguistic system is itself the shaper of ideas”. Witherspoon (qtd in Vermeulen 2009:48) concludes that “language is not a mirror of reality; reality is a mirror of language”; and Lucy (qtd in Łozowski 2008:51) leaves no doubt as to the primacy of language over culture and mind, saying that “language provides the dominant medium for social interaction helping to enable the distinctive forms of organisation that we call cultures”. In the same vein, she further states that language also provides an important medium of psychological representation, which helps to constitute the distinctive forms of thought called mind, or in short, that “language patterns do affect cognitive performance”.

language”<sup>43</sup> Traugott and Dasher 2002:12).

Moreover, Malinowski (1926:34) presents yet another version of the asymmetrical way of depicting the language-culture interface; namely, with language being influenced by culture. Indeed, the author presents several reasons why the language-culture connection favours culture, rather than language, each of them being a logical consequence of Malinowski’s general stand on anthropology.

Given that, the prime reason seems to be Malinowski’s research inclinations that can be described as both radically functional and contextual. In the author’s assessment: “culture comes in response to human basic needs [...]. Rites, beliefs, and customs actually fill the biological, psychological and social needs”. Both Malinowski (1926:133) and Łozowski (2008:65) agree that language, in turn, specifically comes in response to the need for action, presenting language as not only a method of accomplishing tasks, a pragmatic way of doing things, but also, as Malinowski (1926:134) contends, “a mode of behaviour, an indispensable element of concerted human action. In general, in every type of civilisation, every custom, material object, idea and belief fulfills some vital function [and] has some task to accomplish” (Malinowski 1926:133). Therefore, there might always be a reason to be revealed, or an explanation to be acknowledged as to what a specific element of language is and why it means what it does.

In fact, Malinowski (1926:140) would position himself as a researcher further by stating that language and its usage connection has left its traces in linguistic structure. In the face of what the author reveals, the social heritage arbitrarily shapes its own pragmatic applications, and thus, leaves their imprints on the linguistic structure. In the same vein, Malinowski (1926:141) addresses his call for a new ethno-linguistic theory: “A theory which in linguistics would show us [...] how linguistic forms are influenced by physiological, mental, social, and other cultural elements; what is the real nature of meaning and form, and how they correspond”.

Based on the aforementioned statement, it is not the case that language structures culture but rather that culture influences language. Linguistic form and linguistic substance are in correspondence to each other, and the sources of the cultural grounding of language are as various and versatile as social organisation, human biology, or human ways of thinking.

Yet, probably the most vivid quote on the direction of the language-culture interface from Malinowski’s (1926:133) discourse is as follows:

---

<sup>43</sup> Interestingly enough, this is quite surprising as, after all, Traugott and Dasher (2002:11) perceive linguistic phenomena as so closely bound to both cognitive and social factors as not to be self-contained. For further information see: Łozowski (2008).

“Real categories there are, on which the grammatical divisions are based and molded. But these real categories are not derived from any primitive philosophical system, built up by contemplation of the surrounding world and by crude speculations [...]. Language in its structure mirrors the real categories derived from practical attitudes of the child and of primitive or natural man to the surrounding world. The grammatical categories with all their peculiarities, exceptions, and refractory insubordination to rule, are the reflection of the makeshift, unsystematic, practical outlook imposed by man’s struggle for existence in the widest sense of the word.”

This is where truly convincing evidence of Malinowski’s view on language as a derivative of a man’s cultural grounding can be found. As the author points out: language is based, it mirrors, it is molded, derived; linguistic categories are described as reflections. From the wealth of comments provided by the writer, the main theme is to be identified: the structure of a language and the values it represents are a direct consequence of a speaker’s way of thinking, that is attitude and outlook, which, in turn, is conditioned by experience, the struggle for existence. Given that, Malinowski’s zealous research appeal may be explained as follows: an individual person must be studied, including his/her intimate concerns, that is, the grip which life has on him/her. Thus, the following portrait of the language-culture interface may be obtained: whilst struggling for existence, an individual acquires a sense of the world, a set of experience.

In this context, it is worthwhile to consider that the above-presented culture-friendly attitude may create an impression of an unbalanced language-culture, with the latter being somehow in a superior position to language. Authors appear to be aware of this erroneous view and the easy possibility of misinterpretation. Thus, Bartmiński (2006:12) hastens to add that: “The relationship between them is not that of subordination because language may be treated as an aspect or repository of culture, something that embraces, expresses and gives breath to culture”.

Still, at face value, elements such as the relation of language and culture, the formation of the representation of the world on both linguistic and extralinguistic foundations, and the projection of experience, are inspiring realms for speakers. One may try to bring those closer on the basis of the expressive linguistic inventory of the users of the Spanglish language.

Furthermore, an important reflection on the observance of reality by a bilingual person is enclosed in the statement of Błasiak-Tytuła (2011:173), that bilingualism means having two tools for self-realisation, to create a free and individual identity and become a person in

two different communities. The knowledge of two languages may therefore help to escape from a one-sided picture of the world.

In this regard, the answer to the question as to the identity of this third element bringing language and culture together is exceptionally direct: it is the human element. Indeed, it is the mediatory conception of *homo loquens*, the experiencing and acting community as well as an individual person. They both form values which create the core of language.

Based on the research, one may assume that worldview is centred both upon the human individual and collective factor, since the ultimate aim has always been to arrive at the speaking subject, *homo loquens*, his perception and conceptualisation of the world, mentality and value system (Bartmiński 2006:10,11).

### **Summary**

The chapter provides an overview of the complexity in defining bilingualism. It also presents the processes of bilingual development at both the individual and community level: when and how is it developed, enacted and studied. Different types of bilingualism are discussed and the criteria for their classification are characterised. Moreover, Chapter One asserts the significance of Linguistic Worldview by highlighting the correlation between language and identity in cultural studies.

## CHAPTER TWO

### BILINGUAL SPEECH CHARACTERISTICS

Historically, the phenomenon of bilingualism has been a permanent and longstanding issue in the historical panorama of the United States. Despite visible opposition to linguistic code mixing, the characteristic features of bilingual speech have been at the centre of interest for some decades now as numerous linguists aim to discover the principles of language processing, the mental organisation of languages by bilingual speakers, as well as the manner in which the two languages interact.

The above raises interesting possibilities for examination of the bilingual concept. Perhaps, the most persistent questions related to this process are: How is bilingualism expressed within a society? What are the main features of bilingualism? Is code-switching the most characteristic process present during bilingual speech production?

Through enquiries such as these, the present chapter examines the most significant traits of bilingual speech. The research will focus mainly on three core themes: interference, borrowing, and code-switching, which will be presented with examples from the vast body of literature.

#### 2.1 Interference

The multitude of data elicited from the research conducted by Otheguy and Stern (2011:85-100) identify interference as one of the most important features of bilingual processes. According to the authors, there exist several attitudes in defining this concept.

Weinreich (1974:43) offers a definition by stating that interference includes “those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact”. It is therefore the impact of constructions, principles and elements from the source language on the formation of the target language or, to put succinctly, speakers’ use of patterns of the mother tongue in the second language sentences. Both linguistic systems must resemble each other. In a situation when they lack any connection, transfer is impossible<sup>44</sup> (Edwards 2006:12; Alvarez 1998:446).

---

<sup>44</sup> As a way of example, the interference process is highly unlikely to occur between German and Chinese, as their syntactical structures notably differ from each other (Ducar 2004:53).

Yet some authors disagree by referring to interference as a form of negative transfer which can be caused by four factors (Kroll and De Groot 2005:65-68):

- 1) Speaker's bilingual background – bilingualism is the main aspect of interference as the speaker is influenced by both linguistic systems, the source and the target language.
- 2) Disloyalty to the target language – according to the authors, it can cause negative attitude. This, in turn, leads to disobedience to target language structure and may force a bilingual person to use an uncontrolled structure of his/her first language elements during the use of target language in spoken and written form<sup>45</sup>.
- 3) Limited vocabulary – a learner who is willing to master another language will encounter problems with finding some native, cultural words in the target language<sup>46</sup>.
- 4) Style and prestige – using foreign words during communication aims at gaining pride and may even become a style of the user. Unfortunately, the speaker sometimes does not fully comprehend the real meaning of a given concept.

The above classification has frequently been severely criticised as there are instances of voluntary as well as involuntary occurrence of all these processes (Bister-Broosen and Willemyns 1992:164-166).

According to Niño-Murcia and Rothman (2008:258-259), interference is caused by three factors. The first one is called an *interlingual factor* or *interlingual transfer*. This concept, which derives from contrastive analysis of behaviouristic school of learning, points to the negative interference of a native language as the only source of errors (negative transfer of L1 rules to L2 system). Dulay (qtd in Otheguy and Stern 2011:56) also indicates that such errors are caused by the influence of learners' first language habits on second language production. The second reason of interference production is the *verextension of analogy*. Drawing further on the authors' research (Niño-Murcia and Rothman 2008:259) it can be contended that a learner's incorrect use of a vocabulary item may be caused by the similarity of the elements between the first and the second language, as it is in the case of cognate words (the same form of a word in two languages with different functions or meanings). The last factor that can cause interference is described by Niño-Murcia and

---

<sup>45</sup> An example can be a person whose language background is limited and thus he/she tends to use words in sentences in structure and sense of the first language: "So I must spirit" instead of correct version: "I must keep my spirit" (Kroll and De Groot 2005:67).

<sup>46</sup> For instance, when an Indonesian speaker wants to mention *rambutan* (Malayan fruit) or cultural words such as *Mitoni* or *Tahlilan* which do not have English equivalents (Kroll and De Groot 2005:67).

Rothman (2008:259) as a *transfer of structure*. As the authors explain, there are two types of transfer, that is positive and negative one. Negative transfer defines instances resulting in error because old habitual behaviour varies from the new behaviour being learnt by the speaker. In contrast, positive transfer occurs when the first language and second language share the same structure and a correct utterance is produced.

The work of researchers such as Bister-Broosen and Willemyns (1992:170) points to the existence of the following types of interference:

- 1) Phonological interference;
- 2) Grammatical interference;
- 3) Lexical interference;
- 4) Interference in spelling.

We shall briefly address these types in turn.

*Phonological Interference.* The first type of interference includes the transfer of the phonological system of the first language to the second linguistic system. It also involves the sound characteristics of the mother tongue, such as stress, pace, or intonation. What is more, phonological interference is likely to occur in a situation where either sound features of the two linguistic systems vary, or if a part of one language is not present in the other.

Mostly observed among older language learners, as the phonological system of their first language tends to impact their pronunciation of the foreign language, this process is based on neurological and physiological foundations. Indeed, adding new pronunciation practices to the existing ones may result in great difficulty (Hoffmann 1991:34-41).

To give an illustration of the above:

- 1) *th* sound represented as [ð], is a common feature of the English linguistic system, and speakers of other languages that do not contain this particular sound frequently are not able to produce it correctly. Thus, speakers tend to replace it with a seemingly equivalent sound of their first language. To be more precise, instead of [ð], [s] and [z] are used by German speakers while Arabic-origin communities pronounce it as [d] or [t]. What the aforementioned instances exemplify is the fact that phonological interference may easily be perceived as a foreign accent.
- 2) English and German languages consist of highly complex vowel systems including approximately 16-20 vowels and diphthongs. As a way of contrast, Greek and Italian languages use only 5 to 7 distinct vowel sounds. As a result, neither Italian nor Greek

speakers of English are able to differentiate between long and short vowels. Therefore, the words *sit* and *seat* are both pronounced as [sit].

- 3) The glottal stop is commonly ignored by French speakers of the German language. The reason is its rare usage in French. Hence, French speakers are commonly not able to distinguish between the words *vereisen* and *verreisen*.
- 4) In German, consonants which are positioned in the final place are devoiced. Therefore, *rad* and *rat* are pronounced in a similar way. Because of this speech habit of devoicing, German native speakers frequently fail to differentiate between *bag* – *back* or *and* – *ant*.

*Grammatical Interference.* The second type of interference is connected to syntactical features, such as sentence structure, word order, tense, pronouns, determiners and many others. To exemplify, unlike in German, word order, adverbs or adverbial clauses of time are in the English language typically located at the end of a sentence. As a result, speakers of German who attempt to speak English may formulate the following utterances: “I travelled three years ago to Mexico”, or “I ate yesterday a sandwich” (Hoffmann 1991:42).

Likewise, German or Polish speakers encounter major difficulties in using Present Perfect tense. As no equivalent to this form exists in those languages speakers are adopting the correct word order in English. Also, because of both the word order and sentence structure some speakers are prone to ask “Speak you German?” or create a sentence “They have hunger” which indicate either German or Spanish impact: “Sie haben Hunger” and “Ellos tienen hambre” respectively (Bister-Broosen and Willemyns 1992:167).

Another example of grammatical interference is the transfer of familiar negation patterns to English made by German speakers: “Seine Mutter ging nicht aufs College und sein Vater auch nicht” (His mother did not go to college and his father did not, too). Unlike in German, English has a distinct expression for the negation of *too*: “You go not swimming” – “You don’t go”.

Additionally, prepositions are very often subject to the interference from the first/primary language to the target language. As exemplified by Bister-Broosen and Willemyns (1992:168) children who are monolingual have a tendency to confuse them as in the following examples: “I’m good in maths” (at) – *gut sein in*, “this is typical for him (of)” – *typisch für*.

*Lexical Interference.* Within this process, one may differentiate two different levels of interference; that is, at the word and semantic levels. The first refers to the use of a word

from the native language while speaking the foreign one. It is commonly caused by linguistic deficiency; a situation in which a non-native speaker does not know a specific expression or word and the user replaces it with the corresponding lexical item in his/her mother tongue. This may lead to phonetical and/or morphological adaptation of a given borrowed word according to the rules of the second language (Hoffmann 1991:43-44). Gardner-Chloros (2009:24) presents an example, observed during her research, by describing a situation in which an English-Spanish bilingual child asks her father if he was going to wear a belt: “Te vas a poner *el belto*?”. In this case a child could not think of the Spanish equivalent for belt (*cinturón*). Lexical interferences may be also found in the following examples: “Pam, can you *desentie* this?” (untie) where the Spanish morpheme for *undoing* was used, *de la scula* for *school*, *lokar* from English *lock* and Spanish infinitive word ending, *sender* instead of *to send*, *the calf* meaning *das Kalf* (Hoffmann 1991:44).

The second type of lexical interference occurs on a semantic level when the meaning of a word or phrase from the source language is extended to the equivalent word in the foreign language. An example of this is provided by Saunders (qtd in Gardner-Chloros 2009:25), who describes a situation in which a 5-year-old German-English bilingual speaker tried to explain to his English mother that he and his father had purchased plane tickets for the summer holidays:

Boy: *Mum, we got the cards.*

Mother: *What cards?*

Boy: *The card so we could go to Grandma's.*

In the above situation, the meaning of the English word *card* is overextended to *ticket* since in German *Karte* may refer to *card*, *ticket* or *map*. Likewise, this type of interference may be found in idioms or idiomatic expressions such as “I’ll press my thumbs for you” instead of “I will keep my fingers crossed for you”. Yet more instances of interference within bilingual speech are the use of prepositions, articles and typical *false friends* derived from native language speech habits (Hoffmann 1991:44).

*Interference in spelling.* This process is connected with the transfer from one language to another of writing customs and conventions. It may occur when non-natives of a given language, not familiar with its orthography, apply the rules of spelling of their native language and/or follow their perception of the foreign language, such as *adresse* instead of *address* (Hoffmann 1991:45-46). The examples are as follows: *adresse* for *address*, *es felt mir schwer* which means *it is difficult to explain*, *korregieren* for *correct*. According to

Hoffmann (1991:45), it can also happen that the spelling may correspond to the perception as it is visible in the words *pilts* (build) and *Geschpräch* (conversation).

## 2.2 Borrowings

Often aligned with interference processes, borrowing is yet another characteristic of bilingual speech. According to Weinreich (qtd in Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:34-35), a clear distinction between interference and borrowing is impossible. Nonetheless, a substantial number of examples provided by the author prove that lexical interference would also fulfil the criteria for borrowing. Weinreich further acknowledges that lexical interference may be defined as a transfer of a sequence of phonemes into another language. In fact, Weinreich's assumption is perfectly in line with other researchers' understanding of borrowing. As Gardner-Chloros (2009:25) and Hoffman (1991:34-41) describe, loanwords are the incorporations from one linguistic system into another of a form with or without its related meaning which was previously absent in the source language.

Despite the theoretical need to clearly differentiate between transfers and borrowings, this appears to be barely possible in many cases. Numerous linguists try to separate these two notions by defining borrowing as an unpredictable *performance strategy* aimed at bridging gaps in the interlanguage, while transfer as belonging to the acquaintance process (Traugott and Dasher 2002:14-15).

Interestingly, the term *borrowing* itself can be misleading as, according to Kroll and De Groot (2005:67-68), "the borrowing language is not really adopting anything from the other language, the called *donor*, and nothing will be paid back". In fact, there has been a lot of interest in the field of linguistic borrowing over the years, particularly due to penetrating research studies on American Norwegian and Swedish varieties in the 1950s conducted by Haugen (1956:5-32) as well as the well-known examination of language contact presented by Weinreich (1953:203-207). Traditionally it has been argued that a borrowing is the use of either a word, structure or form in one language, for example in one's native language, that derives from a different linguistic contact or dialect. Haugen (1956:6) mentioned the word *chic*, meaning *fashionable* or *attractive*, as an example of a borrowing from French, and a German expression *Gesundheit!* (health) used when someone sneezed. After they had been incorporated into English, these words have become permanent members of the English language lexicon and can be found now in English dictionaries.

In their major study, Kroll and De Groot (2005:78-79) assert that a borrowing can be phonologically adapted to the English pronunciation rules and thus pronounced strictly

English. The authors not only describe word *chic* pronounced as *chick*, but they also further claim that adaptation can be somewhat done partly. To provide an example, San José, the name of a city in California, is neither pronounced in the same manner as it is in standard Mexican Spanish language /*san xosé*/ nor completely English /*san hoe zéy*/. In fact, its pronunciation is both approximation and compromise as some distinctive Spanish sounds are substituted by English ones. The *j* resembles an *h* sound in place of the Spanish *jota*, a velar fricative /x/, and at the same time the voiceless /s/ in José is changed into a voiced z sound coming from English.

The above findings apply to many English words that originate in Spanish, such as *frijoles* describing Mexican refried pinto beans, *tortilla* which is the round flat bread used for nearly every Mexican dish, and many others. It is also crucial to note that some expressions have been used with minimal adaptation, i.e. *taco*. In the work of Haugen (1956:14) many humorous examples of borrowings may be found as, according to the author:

“[...] most folks in Southern California have their own amusing examples of out-of-state English pronunciations of place names and common foods, even the name Los Angeles has many different pronunciations. It is sometimes good to remember that, when someone who comes from another country and speaks a language other than (California) English, they may pronounce words with an ‘accent’. This door swings both ways: when an English speaker tries to pronounce a word from Spanish, it may wind up sounding distorted and very non-Spanish.”

Haugen (1956:14-17) also drew attention to the city names of *La Jolla* and *San Juan Capistrano* which were pronounced entirely in English /*la jalə*/ and /*sæn juən kə-pí-strə-no*/.

In his further research study, the author (1956:14-17) presented a number of distinctions among different kinds of borrowings, focusing primarily on words.

*Lexical Borrowing.* This type of borrowing refers to the incorporation of lexical items from other languages. Historically, both Greek and Latin were the foundation of many borrowings into European languages; currently it is English which has become the prevailing source language.

As indicated by Hoffmann (1991:42), linguistic purists present a scenario in which two languages do not transfer words equally, thus the borrowing process occurs mainly in one direction: one linguistic system borrows items from the second language, while the former

adds folklore expressions and words restricted to a specific cultural setting and cannot be found outside<sup>47</sup>.

Arguments presented by linguistic purists also include the thesis that borrowed items impoverish language since they often substitute indigenous words and expressions. This process is labelled as *relexification*; the replacement of words in one language with those of another, whereas the original grammar is maintained as far as possible (Traugott and Dasher 2002:16).

Due to the classification of lexical borrowings, two processes can be recognised; namely, importation and substitution. The first denotes the transfer of a specific pattern, such as morphemes, into the language, while substitution refers to the replacement of a given item from another language with a native form. Both processes account for the following forms of borrowings at the lexical level (Hoffman 1991:41-46)<sup>48</sup>:

- 1) Loanwords – this is the most common type of borrowing process, which is created when morphemes are imported and substitution occurs on the phonemic level. Typical examples of loanwords transferred from German to English include words such as *kindergarten*, *sauerkraut* and from English to French *le parking*, *le weekend*.
- 2) Loanblends – not only importation but also morphemic substitution is involved in this process. A fragment of the foreign linguistic model is imported and another part of it is changed by an element which is already in the borrower linguistic system, for instance the Dutch *soft-ware huis* stemming from English *soft-ware house* and the German *Second-hand-Laden*. Interestingly, a morpheme from the recipient linguistic system is frequently added to the original word. Thus, such verbs as *lunchear*, *clickeyar*, were formed by attaching the Spanish suffix *-ar* which indicates the nominative ending.
- 3) Loanshifts – this type of borrowing is also referred to as loan translations as they are literal translations of words and expressions imported from the donor language, and at the same time, culture. Therefore, it may be defined as an importation of meaning during which substitution is not involved. A good example provided by Hoffman (1991:42-46) is *skyscraper* since it has been the source for loanshifts such as German *Wolkenkratzer*, French *gratte-ciel*, Spanish *rasca-cielos*, and Italian *grattacielo*. Loanshifts include *loan translations*, which are also referred to as *calques*. The example

---

<sup>47</sup> An example of such a folklore word is the German term *Abendbrot* as it cannot be translated easily due to its special associations and connotations closely related to German culture (Hoffmann 1991:42).

<sup>48</sup> It is also vital to note that borrowing terms from other linguistic systems is often accompanied by a change in meaning.

most often mentioned is the English word *superman*, an idea borrowed from the German compound *Übermensch*, yet represented in English by morphemes. Interestingly, loanshifts may also be represented by *semantic loans*, which are also known as *semantic extensions*, in which the form and meaning of a native word are extended to include a new, perhaps related concept. An example is the meaning associated with American Spanish word *grados*, literally translated as *degrees* in the sense of the temperature, which is expanded to include the meaning of *grades* as in English grades or marks received in school (Silva-Corvalán 1994:170).

*Grammatical Borrowing.* Muysken (2000:197-198) observes six linguistic processes that may account for grammatical borrowing:

- 1) Convergence – it is perceived as a structural similarity between the two languages in a given aspect of the grammar. Consequently, the interaction of two linguistic systems used within the same area and by the same speakers can merge if they have coexisted for a long period of time. Therefore, the interaction of two languages used in the same area and more or less by the same group of people can converge if these linguistic systems coexist for a long period of time. To be more precise, the process of convergence typically begins at the phonetic level when the sound features become similar, without favouring one direction (Boztepe 2003:24). This kind of phonological junction has occurred between Chinese and Tibetan languages, some dialects of Swedish and Norwegian as well as between Baltic languages. Convergence can also affect syntactical and grammatical approximation.
- 2) Cultural influence – it may frequently lead to lexical borrowing, often at either the idiosyncratic level or as a complete relexification (see: point 4).
- 3) Lexical borrowing (described in the previous paragraph *Lexical Borrowings*).
- 4) Relexification – it is also known as the second language learning or acquisition. Kroll and De Groot (2005:78) discuss the situation in which a considerable language change is caused by the emigrant group whose native language is taken to another region with different mother tongue system and people from that area use it as a second language. In such situation items of their mother tongue may have a substrate influence. In his analysis of bilingual speech characteristics, Muysken (2000:198) has attempted to draw fine distinctions between the Roman languages, which have all developed from Vulgar Latin. As the researcher identifies, these differences are caused by the impact

of a specific substrate, for instance, French has been influenced by Franconian and Celtic substrate languages, while Spanish has borrowed many elements from Basque.

- 5) Second-language learning or acquisition – a given linguistic system can change considerably in a situation in which a foreign language is brought by immigrants to another region and natives from that area learn the foreign language as a second one. As a result, linguistic items of their native language include a substrate influence (Muysken 2000:197).
- 6) Imitation of prestige language patterns – a linguistic system can borrow rules and constructions of a prestigious language as they can be simply adopted to the recipient language. Thus, according to Muysken (2000:199), this type of borrowing is limited to a superficial stage as highly complex patterns of a language cannot be assimilated into a contradictory language. As a way of example, numerous expressions of Latin origin considered as highly sophisticated were adopted by various European linguistic systems in the Renaissance<sup>49</sup>.

In general, the above findings are complemented by Kroll and De Groot's (2005:78) study, in which the authors maintain that borrowings can be broken down in yet another way into *additions* and *substitutions*. The first type provides labels for items and notions newly introduced to the culture, for instance words such as *delicatessen* from German, Italian word *pizza*, and *sushi* from Japan. The latter are much less common and refer to the words for which forms already exist in the recipient linguistic system. Kroll and De Groot (2005:79) offer examples by describing the term *wrap* used by many Californians. This word may be an English derived substitute for the Spanish derived *burrito*<sup>50</sup> meaning a type of sandwich or tortilla. Other instances in English can include such specialised concepts as the German word *Weltanschauung* referring to worldview which is used in philosophy as well as Italian musical terms like *lento* (slowly), *piano* (softly or quietly), and *fortissimo* (very loud), for which there are also English equivalents.

Muysken (2000:201-203) draws attention to the fact that substitutions are not typically directional, from dominant to non-dominant linguistic system, as is the case of both American Spanish and Modern Mexicano characterised by numerous borrowings from Spanish. Substitutions are frequently mentioned in articles regarding borrowings because there is a heated debate on why speakers of one language want to borrow a word from

---

<sup>49</sup> For further information see: Beardsmore (1986); Bloomfield (1935); Cohen (2007).

<sup>50</sup> However, it is important to point out that this borrowing does capture the essence of wrapping a filling in a piece of flatbread.

another linguistic system when they already have one of their own. Undeniably, there must be some kind of social benefit causing this situation, concludes Muysken (2000:203).

Muysken's view is supported by Fishman (1972:34) who points out that "borrowing is a one-way process, with the non-dominant or recessive language borrowing more words from the socially dominant language than the other way around, from recessive to dominant". Therefore, it may be argued that Spanish is not alone by any means: there are many languages in the America, not just Spanish, which adopt words and expression from English. In the United States, *the language of power* is obviously English; in sociolinguistic terms, it is even described as the *high variety* (Fishman 1972:35). In the same vein, there is no need to call English a national language as anyone who settles in America will know how imperative it is. In fact, English is central to almost every official sphere of communication, media, politics, education and government. Nonetheless, in contrast to Fishman, Kroll and De Groot (2005:78) hold the view that this does not mean that the Spanish language will not be dominant in some way in other contexts and situations. In fact, sometimes within Spanish-English bilingual community proficiency in standard forms of Spanish is perceived as prestigious, for instance in Spanish language media such as newspaper and television or when discussing particular topics like Mexican politics or cuisine.

Much of the available literature on lexical adaptations deals with the controversy around the term *dominance* as, in the context of linguistics, it can vary in meaning from place to place and from occasion to occasion. In Mexico since *the language of power* and prestige is Spanish numerous indigenous languages used by Mexican and other Latin American communities adapt words from Spanish. Nevertheless, it is crucial to emphasise that the dominant language can borrow a significant number of terms from a linguistic system that is recessive. Examples that can be presented come from California where terms for cultural items and additions were incorporated into English from several languages. To name only a few, those coming from Mexican Spanish include: *burrito*, *cantina*, *chili con carne*, *fajita*, *frijoles*, *quesadilla*, *salsa*, *taco*, *tortilla*, *tostada*. A *tortilla* in Mexico is used to describe an egg omelet, while a *burrito* refers to a small *burro* (male donkey). Nonetheless, most Californians distinguish these words and they use them whenever necessary (Fishman 1972:35-36).

In contrast, there is no comparison for English borrowings in local Spanish since there are hundreds of expressions and words enumerated in American Spanish dictionaries and current texts, such as *Spanglish* by Ilan Stavans (2000a). Undeniably, many of these constructs are used on a daily basis in the area of Los Angeles. There can be words for

relatively new concepts that do not even exist in the Spanish language as in the case of the word *babysitter* which represents a concept foreign to many non-Americans. That is why, it is borrowed relatively quickly.

As Fishman (1972:36) reminds us, borrowings can result from the frequency and the ubiquitous nature of English. More to the point, in Spanish there are numerous English words which are borrowed and adapted to Spanish phonology and morphology. Examples of substitutions include: *marketa* (market) is used instead of the Spanish form *mercado*; *parkearse* (to park) stands in the place of Spanish *estacionarse*; *puchar* (to push) substitutes for *empujar*, and *troca* (truck) is commonly used in the place of *camion*.

Together, the presented studies outline that many native speakers of American Spanish are unconscious of the fact that these words are not truly Spanish. They cannot be found in any Spanish dictionary used by the nations and cultures that consider Spanish as their mother tongue.

### **2.3 Code-switching**

Code-switching (or CS) is yet another bilingual speech feature that is somewhat parallel to borrowing. To comprehend the notion of code-switching, one must understand that it is based on the alternate use of two linguistic systems or varieties in either the same utterance or conversation. Furthermore, this process may occur across sentence and phrase boundaries as it is connected with single as well as complex lexical items (Franceschini 1998:52-53).

As Fishman (1972:40) observes, the code-switching phenomenon involves alternation between the two or more linguistic systems in contact. It may manifest itself in many different ways, for instance, one of the outcomes of diglossia and the compartmentalisation of languages is the more or less intentional alternation of varieties based on the speech situation. In other words, if one of the substantial elements of a speech event changes, the language variety will be also changed, e.g. when a new person joins the conversation or there is a change in the location. Significantly, the aspects determining which linguistic system or variety is used are primarily social. What it means is that the circumstances in which speakers find themselves typically govern which language is used by a bilingual.

On the other hand, the evidence presented by Kroll and De Groot (2005:67) suggests that for monolingual speakers of a language, there are various forms for different occasions, such as going to the doctor, speaking to a mechanic, or cheering at the children' football game. As the authors further outline, the registers of speech differ according to the circumstances. For the group of proficient bilingual speakers the choice of language, Spanish

or English, is equally unconscious and comparable to the process of choosing among individual registers. Together, the studies outline that Spanish is typically the linguistic system used in informal settings during which informal registers of Spanish are preferred, mostly among peers and other members of the bilingual society<sup>51</sup>.

Chicano-Latinos born in the United States often take the conversational code-switching as a norm. They demonstrate a high degree of personal involvement and, consequently, the linguistic variety of choice among *insiders*. They adopt the informal registers of either Spanish or English (Hoffmann 1991:46).

According to yet another scholar (Franceschini 1998:54), not only are speech situations dynamic, but they also change since people, places, and topics are in a continuous state of fluctuation. As a result, language use within a bilingual society may also be in a similar state of change: bilingual speakers will move seamlessly from one linguistic variety to another. Conversely, in a multilingual situation, during a personal contact with a variety of speakers using one or the other of languages (or both), one needs to adjust. Every time such an occurrence takes place, the situation will generally regulate both the language variety, namely Spanish, English, or both), and the register of each linguistic system, that is formal, informal, informational, personal involvement, and so on (Davies 2003:78).

As the analysis by Hoffmann (1991:47) indicates, code-switching is not directly related to the age or gender of the speaker since it may be observed within the speech of both children and adults of either sex. Yet, it is vital to note that a considerable level of linguistic proficiency in both languages is required from bilinguals to change codes in one sentence. Certainly, data collected by Garden-Chloros (2009:117) correspond to Franceschini's assertion: children do not code-switch until the achievement of in-depth knowledge and competence in their codes.

In several authors' research studies on bilingual speech features, various reasons for frequent code-switching by bilingual speakers are revealed. It is well documented that a foreign language learner in order to bridge his/her language gap and convey the meaning will shift between languages. Moreover, a similar line of thought runs through the writing of many authors and researchers who explicitly investigate this *referential function* of code-switching. In a situation of unfamiliarity with a language or in conversations which require specific vocabulary, one may also shift codes out of consideration for his/her interlocutor, who may not be familiar with the language (Fishman 1972:45; Davies 2003:78-79; Ducar

---

<sup>51</sup> According to Fishman (1972:89), an exception would be the students in college during formal and academic settings.

2004:47). What Garden-Chloros (2009:118) adds is that the shift serving the referential function is the most conscious example of code-switching as speakers are generally fully aware of the different languages they merge together. Surprisingly, it aids proficient bilinguals as a rhetorical device for emphasising, repeating or expressing information in a very emphatic way.

In addition, as yet another researcher notes, code-switching is employed in a situation when a speaker quotes another person (Edwards 2006:11-12). Likewise, bilinguals can also have a different language preference depending on environment, topic of conversation, and context. To exemplify, a specific expression in one of the languages can have unique associations and special meaning, thus this language is selected by a bilingual speaker. What the above example demonstrates is that the code-switching serves also a *phatic function* as it highlights a change in the tone of a conversation. Therefore, this process has also been referred to as *metaphorical switching* (Garden-Chloros 2009:119).

Furthermore, the scholars Grosjean (2008:154) and Hoffmann (1991:34) have both written extensively on additional rhetorical usage of code-switching, that is the poetic and directive function of language. As the authors explain, the first serves to create puns and jokes and reflect the playfulness of language<sup>52</sup>, while the latter is used consciously to include or exclude an individual in/from a conversation.

It is also crucial to note that extra-linguistic motivation may account for the code-switching of some bilingual speakers. To put it briefly, employing two linguistic systems in a conversation can emphasise a dual identity, a sense of belonging to two different nations and cultures. In fact, this process is also labelled as the *expressive function* (Grosjean 2008:155).

Code-switching in bilingual speech can be initiated by a trigger word, that is a lexeme adopted from another language which causes a shift to a given linguistic code (for examples see: section 5.5.5 Code-switching). This type of code shifting is also recognised as internally conditioned switching.

Hoffmann (1991:35) notes that in a situation when various languages are assigned to specific events, even a minor modification can change the language of choice, for instance, a complete shift from Spanish to English when a monolingual English speaker joins the conversation. Similarly, a change of the conversation topic may have a comparable effect, i.e. if the discussion alters from gossip about a friend to an academic topic such as linguistics. Specific topics can involve the need of using special terms or expressions, and the speakers

---

<sup>52</sup> As an example, a passage in Molière's *Malade imaginaire* consists of a mixture of Latin, Italian and French.

may know these concepts in only one linguistic system or the other. This situation is typical for bilingual people in diglossic situations when one variation of language is used at home and another at work or school.

A situation in which actual switch from one linguistic system to another occurs, in other words a conversation in language A and next a completely different conversation in language B, is named *intersentential code-switching*<sup>53</sup>. This type of code alternation goes beyond sentence boundaries and basically means that the shift from one linguistic system to another takes place as one utterance or sentence is completed and a new one begins in the other language (Muysken 2000:203).

The studies conducted by Kroll and De Groot (2005:91) provide illustrations of intersentential alterations. The first example is a bilingual Spanish-English shop assistant who can respond to a question in English with one customer and then turn to another and answer in Spanish. Similarly, a salesperson who is speaking English with a manager or co-worker will shift the language when approached by yet another person who he/she recognised, sometimes based on personal appearance or mannerisms, as a Spanish speaker. Such a change in the speech situation can create a shift from English to Spanish, however as a result, the speaker ends, perhaps only temporarily, the English sentence before beginning the next sentence in Spanish. Another instance of intersentential code-switching appears when a person uses one linguistic system in an informal way in a car while driving to a formal social event, and then he/she speaks a completely different language at the event itself.

In view of all that has been mentioned so far, one may suppose that the choice of language can be rather practical, too. For instance, relative proficiencies can be an important determiner among peers. If all people involved in discussion know English at the proficient level and, at the same time, if they do not speak Spanish so well, then the conversation can be switched to English, the language that all speakers know the best. The contrary situation is also possible: in the circumstances when all participants are highly proficient in Spanish, the discussion may be shifted to Spanish. Possibly, the group will gravitate to the least popular denominator, that is the linguistic system that the majority of them learnt, when proficiencies differ among participants (Kroll and De Groot 2005:97).

One unanticipated finding in Hoffmann's (1991:45) study of intersentential code-switching was that the symbolic nature of each linguistic system can also turn to be of the

---

<sup>53</sup> *Inter-* derives from Latin prefix meaning between or among and *sentential* refers to sentences (Muysken 2000:204).

uppermost importance. As the author emphasises, Spanish is traditionally described as the language of unity and ethnic pride among numerous Chicano-Latinos, while English symbolises the dominant culture, in some cases viewed in a positive way, sometimes not. There can also be temporary shifts from one language to the other in order to exploit the symbolism as well as to show identification with one culture or the other. This situation may occur when Chicano-Latinos want to distinguish themselves from a monolingual group of speakers of either Spanish or English. In other words, code-switching in general, as the ability to alter from one language to the other, can be symbolic and has its own social value (Hamberger 2009:56). The above finding is in agreement with Garden-Chloros' (2009:118) study, in which the author claims that intersentential CS has been of central interest for sociolinguists as a form of social behaviour since it demonstrates how languages, or registers of languages, may be assigned to specific social situations.

Nevertheless, another category of code-switching has gathered a much greater amount of attention expressed not only by sociolinguists; namely *intrasentential code-switching*<sup>54</sup>. This process happens when speakers switch mid-sentence and it is often referred to as *conversational code-switching* due to the fact that it looks and sounds like two linguistic systems are spoken at the same time (Garden-Chloros 2009:119).

According to Grosjean (2008:155), this type of code-switching may be also called *code-mixing* or *language mixing*<sup>55</sup>. In fact these two terms have received much attention from numerous scholars. For example, Kroll and De Groot (2005:97-98) assert that code-mixing and language mixing can be used differently by language contact specialists, mainly those who create fine distinctions among phenomena. In fact, the term *code* will not be used by everyone when referring to a variety of speech.

Likewise, the notion of *mixed language* has been in the centre of a heated debate for many years. It has been proclaimed by Muysken (2000:203) that since all linguistic systems are mixed to some extent, they are the outcomes of the language mixing process. Some linguists note blended, hybrid, intertwined, or split languages which seem to be the fusion of two linguistic systems (among others: Nash 1970; Lipski 2004; Parodi 1999; Gollan and Brown 2006).

Nonetheless, it is also important to highlight that there have been dissenters to the above view as some authors deny the existence of mixed languages at all and attribute foreign

---

<sup>54</sup> *Intra-* comes from Latin prefix meaning within, inside and *sentential* refers to sentence (Muysken 2000:204).

<sup>55</sup> The two terms can also refer to the ways native bilingual children mix their linguistic systems during Bilingual First Language Acquisition (BFLA). For further information see: Bister-Broosen and Willemyns (1992:168-180).

words and expressions in a recipient language to standard processes of borrowing. One of them, Müller (qtd in Muysken 2000:203) did not accept the possibility of a mixed language. The author supported the view presented by Whitney (qtd in Bister-Broosen and Willemyns 1992:181) who expressed his skepticism in the following words:

“Such a thing as the adoption on the part of one tongue, by a direct process, of any part or parts of the formal structure of another tongue has, so far as is known, not come under the notice of linguistic students during the recorded periods of language-history. So far as these are concerned, it appears to be everywhere the case that when the speakers of two languages, A and B, are brought together into one community, there takes place no amalgamation of their speech, into AB; but for a time the two maintain their own several identity, only as modified each by the admission of material from the other in accordance with the ordinary laws of mixture; we may call them A<sup>b</sup> and B<sup>a</sup>, and not AB [...]. We shall doubtless meet now and then with the claim that such and such a case presents peculiar conditions which separate it from the general class, and that some remote and difficult problem in language-history is to be solved by admitting promiscuous mixture. Any one advancing such a claim, however, does it at his peril; the burden of proof is upon him to show what the peculiar conditions might have been, and how they should have acted to produce the exceptional result; he will be challenged to bring forward some historically authenticated case of analogous results; and his solution, if not rejected altogether, will be looked upon with doubt and misgiving until he shall have complied with these reasonable requirements.”

The unprompted and spontaneous use of two linguistic systems during intrasentential CS does not necessarily lead to a mixed language, however it can become a factor. One author in Grosjean's (2008:154) monograph commented on a situation in which she heard her own voice recorded on a tape. The subject to the study expressed surprise at the speed of the monologue and how hard it was to understand. Yet, when she was changing the codes during conversation with her best friend who was also code-switching, she did not encounter any problems in understanding the conversation. As Grosjean (2008:155) comments “outside of the confines of the speech event, she had to try hard to understand what was said”. The participant also observed that her own switches included proportionately more English than Spanish, while, in contrast, her interlocutor's switches involved more Spanish than English and they apparently did not impact intelligibility for either participant during the conversation itself.

Furthermore, the combination of findings presented by Garden-Chloros (2009:123) provides some support for the conceptual premise that participants, setting, and topics of

conversation seem to have little or no bearing on the linguistic choice preference as there is a continuous stream of bilingual speech. In essence, intrasentential code-switching may become a detached *code* or *register* of speech. The authors also offer some evidence that fluent code-switching is not only acquired, but also skilled behaviour.

Interestingly, in the Spanish-English bilingual community, it is commonly observed that monolingual speakers of either linguistic system do not fully comprehend the conversational switching and certain kinds of additive bilinguals may not understand or be able to engage in it (Muysken 2000:204). This finding corroborates the idea proposed by Grosjean (2008:204) who suggests that even though one is fully bilingual in both Spanish and English, he/she will not necessarily understand fluent intrasentential CS.

In the same vein, Silva-Corvalán (1994:171) proposes the view that intrasentential code-switching is not dependent on any kind of change in the speech situation. Her view is complemented by Grosjean's (2008:205) study on code-switching in which the author asserts that the speakers will use either or both languages with the same people, regardless of the topic or physical setting for conversation. Comparable to informal registers of speech, intrasentential switches typically occur in informal situations when the change from one linguistic system to the other takes place within the utterance, not in between sentences or visibly marked boundaries.

Analogous to informal speech registers, this kind of switching frequently occurs in informal situations, for instance with siblings, friends, and colleagues from work, mostly during personal discussions and conversations on the phone. The shift between the languages has a completely different effect when compared to using a single linguistic variety in a normal, standard conversation. To put succinctly, it demonstrates not only commitment to the bilingual speech community, but also a close personal and social attachment among participants. They can relate to each other (Grosjean 2008:206).

Clearly, the code-switching phenomenon which occurs within the sentence boundaries is acquired in addition to the two respective linguistic systems through contact with other language users. It is learnt in the same manner as a full variety of registers are acquired by monolingual speakers. The data appear to suggest that it is shaped by older siblings together with other family and community members who are equally bilingual (Grosjean 2008:207; Muysken 2000:190).

Muysken (2000:191) also develops a claim that conversational code-switching is by no means a process limited to Spanish-English bilinguals. The author presents many instances of situations in which this type of CS receives a somewhat pejorative connotation. To

exemplify, in Southern California, except *Spanglish* there are terms used such as *Konglish* which denotes Korean-English intrasentential, conversational CS; *Japlish* for Japanese-English, and *Taglish* describing Tagalog-English. Also, the French-English code-switching used in Montreal, Canada, is referred to as *Franglais*. The negative assessments seem to originate from linguistic purists who want to see the respective languages preserved in their original forms, that is according to some standard variety. Bister-Broosen and Willemyns' (1992:180) findings lend support to the above claim. The authors observe that purists despise language mixing behaviours and perceive code-switching as the corruption of the ingredient languages. The widespread perception is that habitual code-switchers are not able to speak both languages proficiently enough. They appear to be losing their heritage language as they fail to learn English. Yet, it is crucial to emphasise that neither of these assumptions are warranted when looking at code-switching as a skilled behaviour.

For the present purposes, the terms *conversational* and *intrasentential* vary only in perspective as the first refers to the grammatical structure of the switching, while the latter to its usage. In fact, some specific groups of speakers seem to be particularly adept at this extraordinary linguistic phenomenon by "skillfully weaving their way from one language to another, in a natural, flowing conversational manner" (Grosjean 2008:155). Kroll and De Groot (2005:102) present an example by pointing to adolescent peer groups, siblings, close friends as well as co-workers who typically interact in very informal ways.

Indisputably, the processes of interference, borrowing and code-switching have been subject to a wide range of research as they are some of the most essential features for bilingual speech. From the multitude of data presented in this section, it is apparent that different approaches have shaped a variety of hypotheses and theories, some of them contradictory.

Many authors strongly believe that there is no visible distinction between these three linguistic notions. Weinreich (1953:98), for instance, did not make any distinction between lexical interference and borrowing. As a way of contrast, Corder (qtd in Muysken 2000:197-198) considers borrowing as a conscious performance method, while transfer is assumed to be in line with the acquisition of a second language. Other authors do not even equate transfer and interference. Clyne (qtd in Muysken 2000:198) perceives transfer as a mere descriptive notion identifying the phenomenon of language mixing, while interference is seen by the scholar as always suggesting its cause. By the same token, code-switching and interference frequently amalgamate and thus cannot always be clearly distinguished.

Interestingly, the linguistic processes which are involved in online code-switching and long-term borrowing can overlap to some extent. In his study, Muysken (2000:178) provides a number of important examples by explaining that during intrasentential code-switching, the clear change between/among linguistic systems seems to fade almost entirely, until there is a synchronised usage of both. Nonetheless, once again, a continuum is obvious regarding the outcomes of these processes. This is where the apparent resemblance between borrowing and code-switching is first encountered, that is at the level of individual words and phrases.

As Muysken (2000:179) further explains, the difference lies mainly in how bilingual speakers are operating with the linguistic systems. To be specific, during borrowing, only one language is actively used, even though it is drawing upon the resources of the second language. As a way of contrast, in different types of CS, both languages are clearly activated and used.

Even though conversational CS may be insertional, demonstrating at the same time a relatively strong dichotomy between matrix and embedded languages, the amount of embedded-language material can vary from a morpheme to a phrase or even a clause. Intersentential CS is more alternational meaning that it starts with one language and then changes to the other (Weinreich 1953:98).

Poplack (1980:3-4), in her typology of code-mixing, differentiates between the three processes of mixing. The author lists *insertional*, *alternational*, and *congruent lexicalization*, in which a single grammatical system is shared by words coming from different linguistic variations, possibly either as a consequence of convergence or in the case of dialects of a single language. What the scholar observes is that all three of these apparently dissimilar processes may happen within intrasentential code-switching. The process of language mixing is dependent on the linguistic systems together with language-specific restraints regarding mixing and also the individual bilingual contact situations as well as their circumstances.

Silva-Corvalán (1994:14) and Morales (2002:98) strongly argue that the most obvious example of alternational code-switching is intersentential CS. Furthermore, as commented by Morales (2002:99), intrasentential CS is similar to borrowing “with much smaller chunks of the embedded language tucked into the base language”.

Intrasentential code-switching offers occasional lexemes which are temporarily inserted into the conversation while one language is primarily used. Poplack (2015:36) prefers to define this word-level phenomenon as *nonceborrowing*, or *one-time borrowing*. As asserted by the author, the most common instances of nonce-borrowings are created by the nouns.

Along similar lines, Poplack (2015:36-37) further proposes that these nouns should be perceived as a borrowing, at least insipient (beginning) borrowing, and that sociolinguistic methodology is required to measure their integration degree into the target linguistic system. For instance, what needs to be verified is the popularity of a given word in the bilingual society via diffusion as well as the number of users that consider this previously borrowed word as a part of their language. In this viewpoint, borrowing begins as a one-time event, then it gradually diffuses out into the whole community. The author also reasons that word counts will prove how common a borrowed form is within the bilingual society and also that it is the only possible method to establish an exact time when a word has been borrowed (Poplack 2015:37).

Drawing on a psychological viewpoint, the possible scenario for insertion is based on a three-stage process (Silva-Corvalán 1994:15-16):

- 1) Stage one – a simultaneous activation of both linguistic systems takes place. During the use of one system, a given word is accessed from the other language. As a results, the linguistic system which is used automatically becomes the matrix into which language material from the second language can be embedded.
- 2) Stage two – the foreign non-matrix word is selected for use.
- 3) Stage three – the form is implemented into the stream of bilingual speech, specifically in the matrix or base language.

Poplack (2015:38) notes that in the case of alternation, at some point “one language is on, and then switches to the off position as the other language is activated”.

Based on the findings presented above, one can remain somewhat neutral or even sceptical in the debate whether or not insertional code-switching creates borrowing. Nevertheless, by definition, during the code-switching process the autonomy of language systems is maintained, while borrowing, when perceived in a correct way, can produce changes in the recipient language. Only in a situation when the nonce-borrowing word form, understood here as a one-time or insipient borrowing, is implemented in the vocabulary of the recipient system speaker, it may be termed a “full-fledged borrowed word” (Silva-Corvalán 1994:16).

The consensus view presented by Garden-Chloros (2009:120) seems to be that without the social processes such as adoption, acceptance, diffusion, spread, conventionalisation, and many others, it is not important if one perceives the form as a result of code-switching or borrowing. The data yielded by Silva-Corvalán (1994:17) provide convincing evidence for

the existence of a transitional period during which both the social as well as the linguistic processes of diffusion continue until completion or are stopped at a point prior to completion.

As the data gathered show there has been an inconclusive debate on the exact boundaries between borrowing and code-switching. Although there is still a point of contention among linguists, one may probably assume that there is some kind of continuum between these two phenomena. In fact, these blurred lines seem to move according to the viewpoint expressed by a given scholar. As a result, the two separate processes are frequently merged together and confused.

In the case of Spanish-English bilingual diaspora in Los Angeles, the blend of Spanish and English defined as Spanglish is the product of the two distinct processes existing separately and together (Garden-Chloros 2009:121). This local Spanish variety became interwoven with English in such a way that it is practically incomprehensible to native speakers of national standards. In addition, intrasentential code-switching with a clear Spanish matrix resembles Anglicised Spanish. In consequence, Spanglish seems to be connected to the two separate processes that to the non-native speakers can sound almost the same. Rothman and Rell (2005:520) together with Zentella (qtd in Hamberger 2009:52) propound yet another point of view by stating that Spanglish does not seem to be characterised easily as a product of one process or the other due to the fact that it displays clear signs of both, and undoubtedly presents ethnic identity.

To summarise, interference, borrowing and code-switching are some of the most central linguistic features of bilingual speech, and thus they have been subject to many different studies. Undoubtedly, various attitudes and viewpoints have shaped a variety of hypotheses and theories which often stand in opposition to each other. As it was discussed in the present chapter some researchers put forward the view that there is no clear boundary between these three phenomena, therefore they do not thoroughly separate them in their research. For instance, Weinreich (1953:112) for did not distinguish between lexical interference and borrowing.

Other researchers, however, consider borrowing and code-switching as separate notions and processes. The underlying argument in favour of this approach was presented by Corder (qtd in Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:114) who defined borrowing as a conscious performance strategy. The author also proposed the view that transfer accompanies the acquisition of a foreign language.

Yet another group of scholars argues that transfer and interference should not be equated. Clyne (qtd in Muysken 2000:197) perceives transfer as a mere descriptive term

related to the process of language mixing. Interference, as the author further claims, always indicates its source. Correspondingly, code-switching and interference frequently merge and thus cannot always be clearly distinguished.

Despite the fact that numerous studies were conducted on the phenomena in question, only few enquiries have been addressed satisfactorily. Thus, more studies need to be conducted in order to establish more definite categories or even other properties of bilingualism in speech production.

### **Summary**

Chapter Two investigates the three fundamental features of bilingual speech: language interference, borrowings and the phenomenon of code-switching. These bilingual processes are described based on numerous examples from the vast body of literature. Also, many diverse approaches and viewpoints to bilingual speech characteristic are investigated and discussed. Some researchers point out that there is no clear boundary between interference, borrowing and code-switching while others define language shifting and borrowings as separate processes.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **SPANGLISH DEVELOPMENT**

Unquestionably, the Mexican presence in the USA is obvious and so is Spanish speech. As the second most frequently spoken language of the United States, its alliance with English has created a very common scenario in a world shaped by words; namely, the amalgamation of two languages. The outcome of this relation is Spanglish.

The present section includes an analysis of this linguistic encounter phenomenon, yet it reaches further. Not only are the core linguistics elements of Spanglish examined, but the study also provides answers to the principal research questions involving Spanish-English amalgamation: What exactly is Spanglish? Does it have a hybrid character? While the aforementioned queries have somewhat convincing answers, the question of whether Spanglish is a triumph of globalisation, an evil by-product, or simply an abominable notion, is an emotionally charged issue and it is impossible to offer a satisfactory response.

Undeniably, in a society in which the lexicon either helps or hinders comprehension of reality, Spanglish is reviled as the jargon of poor, uneducated immigrants. According to many researchers, it is grouped under the derogatory umbrella as the bastard creation of verbal confusion “disowned by Father English and orphaned by Madre Español” (Maduro 1987:1). In stark contrast with such notions, others hail it as an absolutely “legitimate language in its early stages, the embryonic lingua franca of the future or the triumph of globalisation and multiculturalism” (Montes 2003:45; Parodi 1999:521; Walczuk-Beltrão 2008:192).

This chapter presents an analysis of the various incarnations of the Spanish-English variation and concludes with praise of realistic portrayals of language exchange in Los Angeles, whose only lasting legacy has been a contribution to an authenticity that deserves wider recognition.

#### **3.1 Assumptions behind Spanglish**

Beardsmore (1986:14) has put forward a fair amount of argumentation in support of the notion that the phenomenon under consideration is the amalgamation of two distinct languages. To be sure, the platform on which this notion stands, that of juxtaposition of cultures, serves as the basis for the discussion of why so many people oppose it. Indeed, within a multicultural society, the elusiveness of this socio-linguistic phenomenon has

always been a complex, emotionally laden issue that has carried a stigma among the general public (Abalos 2007:35) .

Prior to analysing the notion of Spanglish, it is crucial to note the widely ranging definitions found in the dictionaries, grammar sketches, references in popular culture and scholarly literature which aptly illustrate the elusiveness of this phenomenon. Indeed, in its most basic conception, Spanglish is perceived as a Spanish and English mixture, often described by authors as a *mestizaje*<sup>56</sup>, fusion, hybrid, collage and eclectic phenomenon.

In the following sections, three core themes will be analysed; namely, the terminology used to account for Spanish-English alternation, the nature of the study conducted within this field, and the challenges which still need to be addressed in investigating the complexity of the phenomenon.

The most traditional view is that Spanglish is solely a concern of the Spanish language. An example can be found in the *Oxford English Dictionary* which places the written attestation of this notion in a rather disapproving setting as “a type of Spanish contaminated by English words and forms of expression, spoken in Latin America” (Lipski 2007:201). Along the same lines, the term Spanglish has been defined by the “American Heritage Dictionary as Spanish characterised by numerous borrowings from” English (Otheguy and Stern 2011:90). Yet, the counter evidence presented in this dissertation will show that these definitions rest on both simplified and erroneous views that ignore the fact that Spanglish is *hybrid*, *mestizaje*, and a *collage* of English and Spanish.

Stavans, an internationally recognised forefather of scholarly investigation of Spanglish, describes this lingual conundrum as “the verbal encounter between Anglo and Hispano civilisations” (2000:3). What the author further contends is that “[...] it’s not that it is impossible to define, but that people simply refuse to do it. And yet, nobody has the slightest doubt that it has arrived, que ya llegó [...]”<sup>57</sup> (2000:4-5). By the same token, “Spanglish is a strange thing; like art [...] you may not be able to describe it, but you know it when you see it”, declares Paternostro (2004:1).

The Spanish experience in the USA, resulting from linguistic contact, has also been widely documented in Morales’s (2002:91) equally examined work *Living in Spanglish*, which asserts that “Spanglish is Spanish adapting the crazy rhythms of English, and English inheriting the multicultural content of Latin America”.

---

<sup>56</sup> Mixture.

<sup>57</sup> Already arrived.

Scholars' thought also challenges the hybridity aspect of Spanglish. The aforementioned issue is examined even more profoundly by Lipski (2012:2), who has provided a descriptive account of Spanglish as a hybrid lingo spoken by second- and third-generation Latinos, being "the fluid vernacular that crosses between English and Spanish".

Given these binary tendencies, between formal dictionary definitions of Spanglish, and informal, yet more insightful, scholarly classifications, one would expect the very crux of a comprehension of the phenomenon of Spanglish to exist in the realm of synergy, mutual approximation, as well as bilingual and bicultural interaction. Maduro (1987:1) contends:

"Instead of those at times vague classifications, the linguistic term Pidgin could be applied to Spanglish in the sense that it is [a contact] language usually created spontaneously out of a mixture of other languages as a means of communication between speakers of different languages, and is no-one's native language."

Adding another layer of complexity, data presented by Otheguy and Stern (2011:92-93) offer some abundant evidence as to how Spanglish is a culturally and an ethnically constructed category. Both authors address this issue by suggesting that "for the next generation of Hispanics [...] Spanglish is an ethnic marker that identifies them". A similar line of thought runs through Silva-Corvalán's (1994:15) and Morales's research (2002:99); they explicitly consider Spanglish as a notion stemming from the universal state of being<sup>58</sup>.

Moreover, by providing an in-depth analysis of the main linguistic features of Spanglish, code-switching has been defined to be a natural behaviour in any bilingual setting which is neither random, nor erratic. In addition, if Spanglish is taken to refer to borrowings, calques, and semantic extensions, then the Spanish-English variety in America is similar to any other variation of Spanish past and present. Given that linguistic encounters are natural processes, they are no different from other changes in the evolution of a language. Although all these features have been identified as idiosyncratic of Spanglish, and while it is true that bilingualism can either accelerate or encourage these changes, a threat to the integrity of both Spanish and English can be hardly observed.

Given the above, studies approaching Spanish-English language contact usually address two issues: (1) the lack of agreement on the subject of what type of linguistic phenomenon Spanish-English alternation constitutes, and (2) the linguistic classification of the mixed utterances. Nash's (1970:205) data also support the study of language contact situations by

---

<sup>58</sup> "It is a displacement from one place, home, to another place, home, in which one feels at home in both places, yet at home in neither place... The only choice you have left is to embrace the transitory (read the transnational) state of in-between" (Morales 2002:99).

providing a thorough description of the various phenomena observed, such as borrowings (labelled as Spanglish), calques, or syntactic idioms (also described as Spanglish).

Zentella (qtd in Hamberger 2009:32) continues research on the term Spanglish by referring to a range of Spanish-English language contact situations. According to the author, “disparaging labels reflect the despised mixture, e.g., Spanglish, Quechuanol, Catalanol, etc.”. Nonetheless, Zentella also admits that:

“Some bilinguals [...] do claim labels like 'Spanglish' that reflect their combinations of languages and cultures with pride and, with poets and other wordsmiths in the vanguard, they adopt new labels to reflect their blended identities, e.g., Nuyorican, Dominican York.”

Undoubtedly, the array of data that come directly from the research discussed in the previous sections prove the situation of Spanglish to be comparable to other language contact settings in unequal bilingualism contexts, for instance Dutch in Pennsylvania. The main discrepancy between Spanish and other languages in America is the high number of Spanish speakers. Certainly, labels the *Pidgin* and *Creole* used to refer to the result of Spanish-English contact are incorrect. Also, while analysing Spanglish it is vital to address issues in the categorisation of mixed utterances as corresponding to specific well-studied phenomena of language contact.

As a starting point, Holm (qtd in Rodríguez-González and Parafita-Couto 2012:461) explains Pidgin<sup>59</sup> as “a reduced language that results from extended contact between groups of people with no language in common; it evolves when they need some means of verbal communication”. Therefore, Spanish-English alternation may be considered as an example of Pidgin, as it is probable that its origin is found in the need for communication between speakers of two different linguistic systems. Yet, a considerable amount of research, succinctly overviewed by Romaine (1995:76), has been conducted on how highly proficient bilingual speakers are involved in language alternation practices. In addition, Pidgins are characterised by a series of features that are not found in Spanish-English alternations.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988:167) expose the way in which Pidgin is created by emphasizing a key aspect of the progression: “the process of linguistic negotiation by which members of the new contact community develop a common means of communication”. Related to the concept of negotiation, the need for an ecology-specific competition and selection attitude is underscored by both Paulston (1992:43) and Hoffmann (1991:198).

---

<sup>59</sup> In the present research study, the terms *Creole* and *Pidgin* will be capitalised as it is suggested in the literature (Romaine 1999; Hoffmann 1991; Paulston 1992).

Indeed, while encountering a situation of linguistic contact, usually the least powerful group is linguistically accommodating. Yet, it also needs to be stressed that the dominant group speakers incorporate changes in a given language in order to facilitate communication with the members of the other group. On the basis of the findings, one may assume that if the origin of Pidgins is compared to the visible linguistic situation in America, this negotiation process would not be observed, as generally native speakers of Spanish use a mixture of English and Spanish.

A further important insight is presented by Ardila (2007:63) who explains how Spanglish is an interlanguage essential to the Hispanic community despite the fact that most English speakers do not realise that Spanglish exists. According to the author, only Hispanics are aware of this language variety. Interestingly, one of the reasons why this negotiation does not take place is the habitual implementation of English as a *lingua franca*. Indeed, the study also confirms that this aspect is related to the fact that a particular type of contact situation causes Pidgin to arise, that is, when neither of the two languages may act as a vehicle for communication.

A further important insight emerging from another study is that although there is some degree of diversity within Pidgins and Creoles, these languages are caused by a specific contact situation. Winford (2001:268) posits that Pidgins “arose to facilitate communication between groups of different linguistic backgrounds in restricted contexts such as trade, forced labor, and other kind of marginal contact”. Nonetheless, Clements (qtd in Rodríguez-González and Parafita-Couto 2012:461) expresses a considerably different, holistic approach by stating that a vast array of either contexts or circumstances for Pidgin formation is dependent on attitudinal and social asymmetry aspects. The author further discourages the usage of too prescriptive accounts by demonstrating that pidginisation may occur in a variety of ways and, thus, it is better characterised by wider rather than narrower contexts of operation.

Interestingly, the English-Spanish in America is far from being similar to those situations in which Pidgins arise following Winford’s (2001:267) criterion. By investigating research on Pidgin carried out by yet another researcher (Romaine 1995:31-32), it may be contended that structurally one of the characteristic features attributable to Pidgins is the fact that they lack linguistic complexity. In fact, such a simplification suggests not only an increase in regularity, but also may be perceived as a strategy under the condition that it enables minimisation of the competence needed by the speaker to understand grammatical constructions. This interpretation is not different from that of Rodríguez-González and

Parafita-Couto (2012:461) who argue that Pidgins possess a derivative and more flexive reduced morphology than the languages from which they originate. Indeed, this increase in regularity is apparent on all linguistic levels and is emplied by a study of how plurals frequently appear marked solely based on the numeral: “that two piece (sic!) book” (Chinese-English Pidgin) would correspond to “those two books” (one of the original languages).

Taking into cosideration phonology, the system also seems to be simplified. By way of illustration, Almeida (qtd in Rodríguez-González and Parafita-Couto 2012:466) shows that the tone of many tonal languages was a trait that was not transferred into any known Pidgin. Finally, research conducted by Romaine (1995:42) reveals that the most obvious simplification occurs in the lexicon as there is a significant reduction in the number of units creating the lexicon of.

What the above examples demonstrate is the fact that in the processes of Spanish-English mixture, a certain level of simplification may be observed. As it will be cogently argued in the following section, loan words from English tend to adapt to the phonetic and morphological rules of Spanish. This is evident in the case of the English verb *to park* into the Spanish first person singular indicative (*yo*) *parqueo*. In this example both Spanish orthographical and morphological conventions are followed<sup>60</sup>.

Generally, many authors claim that an increase in regularity occurs in this process, which is exemplified in the work undertaken by Otheguy and Stern (2011:153-159). The authors explain how gender differences are maintained in Spanish vocabulary, while, at the same time, being lost when stemming from English<sup>61</sup>. This issue is further exemplified in their studies by expressions “un full size bed” or “un pool table pequeno”, in which *cama* and *mesa*, the corresponding Spanish nouns, would be feminine. This type of simplification is defined by Otheguy and Stern as *adaptation*, as in a language contact situation speakers tend to prefer structures which are similar in both languages. Therefore, in the examples offered by the authors, the masculine form of the determiner *un* is used because, while in English morphological masculine-feminine gender distinctions do not exist, the masculine is the default in Spanish.

Among many researchers, it is important to mention White (qtd in Rodríguez-González and Parafita-Couto 2012:476) who, while conducting a study on Spanish second language learners, found that masculine determiners were interpreted by participants as referring to

---

<sup>60</sup> See also: *troca* and *nursa* (section 5.3.2 Borrowings).

<sup>61</sup> See also: Dussias (2002).

feminine nouns in a comprehension task. Likewise, Dussias (2002:56) underlines the fact that masculine is the default gender for Spanish-English bilingual speakers. Still, feminine would be possible provided that the Spanish translation is feminine. As another example, Deuchar (qtd in Rodríguez-González and Parafita-Couto 2012:461), based on his naturalistic set of data, suggests that it is also possible to find processes of linguistic simplification in cases of interference, that is, in a situation when some English grammatical constructions are adopted in Spanish. The same kind of evidence has also been supported by yet another researcher, Ardila (2007:75-76), who lucidly describes situations in which the Spanish verbal system is reduced because of its greater complexity when compared to the English one. Indeed, English verb tenses that do not exist in Spanish tend to disappear when Spanglish is used. Another example of this type of simplification is the loss of the distinction between indicative and subjunctive, i.e. *para que no vienes manana* instead of *para que no vengas manana*.

Still, it should be pointed out that according to prescriptive grammar, the use of the indicative mood in which the subjunctive is necessary is also common within the Spanish-English bilingual community with some attrition in Spanish (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Lipski 2004; MacSwan 2000). Yet, when code-switching occurs, the norms that rule the construction of each of the languages involved are frequently maintained. As a result, one may conclude that despite the fact that some simplification is evident in the English-Spanish mixture, its degree is much lower than that observed in Pidgins.

In order to further distinguish the result of Spanish-English contact and Pidgins, the competence of a speaker in the two languages in contact should be taken into consideration. Broadly speaking, Pidgins are created in circumstances where as a result of the non-bilingual population, the formation of a new language becomes essential so that populations that use different languages can communicate. As a way of contrast, the majority of the speakers code-switching between English and Spanish linguistic systems are, to some degree, proficient in both languages.

As evidenced by the above discussion of the most significant characteristics of Pidgins, it may be concluded that the Spanish-English alternations cannot be defined as belonging to this category. Even though some of the processes of Spanish-English mixed utterances are somehow comparable to the linguistic changes that create Pidgins, users engaged in Spanish-English mixture are highly competent bilinguals (Romaine 1995; Winford 2001). Therefore, none of these phenomena regarding the outcome of Spanish-English contact have resulted

in an alternate and independent language adopted by the speakers to ease communication between English and Spanish monolinguals.

The majority of the research on contact linguistics has tended to define Creole languages as Pidgins adopted as the native language by a specific community. Indeed, the data yielded by Ardila's (2007:66) study on classification of Spanish-English contact as a Creole are based on the following characteristic:

“Nowadays, many second-generation Hispanic children are exposed primarily to Spanglish at home, making this their native language in which this dialect is mostly, but not totally, understandable by standard monolingual Spanish speakers, hence becoming a Creole Spanish.”

Still, there seems to be a compelling reason, as demonstrated for Pidgins, why in order to categorise the Spanish-English mixture as a Creole, other features found in this type of creole-hybrid languages should be taken into consideration. On the basis of the evidence currently available, it seems fair to suggest that one of the main differences between Pidgins and Creoles is that Pidgins go through a linguistic simplification process, whereas Creole usually experiences an increase in its structural complexity coupled with an expansion in the number of its speakers.

Additionally, Romaine (1995:41) refers to the process of formation of Creoles and Pidgins as two separate stages in the development of Creole languages. As the author points out: “The first involves rapid and drastic restructuring which produces a language variety which is reduced and simplified with respect to the base language. The second step consists of the elaboration of this variety as its functions expand and it becomes nativised”. If Romaine's arguments are to be accepted, then the Spanish-English mixture would not be perceived as Creole without having undergone a stage of pidginisation. Surprisingly enough, even if such a definition of Creole languages<sup>62</sup> is rejected, the social situation in which Spanish-English contact arises would be different from the social background presumed in the creation of Creoles.

The above is in line with Winford's (2001:304) premises. As reported by the author, Creole languages appeared in colonial settings. Since between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, European powers subjected African, Asian, and other populations to their rule, Creoles were created by slaves. These subordinated groups incorporated expressions and vocabulary from both the colonial and their native languages. In addition, Creoles not only

---

<sup>62</sup> In point of fact, the possibility of a sudden creation of Creoles, without the necessary existence of a previous Pidgin has also met heavy criticism expressed by many researchers. See: Bickerton (1981); Lefebvre (1993).

are relatively stable, fully developed languages, but they are also commonly used and enjoy social acceptance<sup>63</sup>.

Indisputably, the findings of our research seem quite convincing, and thus the following conclusion can be drawn: the changeability of Spanglish coupled with its negative social standing is not consistent with its classification as a Creole. To put it succinctly, the Spanish-English mixed utterances in America should not be defined a Creole language. Nonetheless, as Lipski (2004:17) indicates: “[...] outside of linguistics, ‘creole language’ is frequently used to refer loosely to the product of any language contact and mixing [...]; however, no creolisation in the strict sense has occurred”.

Additionally, the result of Spanish-English contact is also commonly labelled as a dialect. Yet prior to investigating the validity of this classification, one should bear in mind that notions such as *language* and *dialect* include ideologically charged connotations, also described as socio-political.

One author who expresses the ambiguity of the term *dialect* is Mouton (qtd in Rodríguez-González and Parafita-Couto 2012:461). The author contends that dialect is frequently used as a synonym of *non-autonomous variety*. In other words, it is usually described as a dependent variety of an independent language or system. To compare, drawing largely on popular concepts and other characteristics with which it is associated, dialect is perceived as a notion lacking in a standardised system of rules, and cultural diffusion. It is also referred to in terms of similarity with other variations belonging to the same linguistic system. In most cases, researchers appeal to various measures when it comes to distinguishing between a language and a dialect. By way of example, linguistic tests are commonly used together with speaker’s perceptions on language notions, standardisation, as well as sociopolitical aspects.

Set as criteria, the linguistic tests are mainly based on 1) divergence, 2) similarity in structure, or 3) mutual intelligibility depending on a variety of variables, such as the conversation topic, situational context, Spanglish speakers’ proficiency, and also the readiness of the monolingual Spanish speaker to negotiate meaning (Lipski 2004:20-23). Given that, the claims of Otheguy and Stern (2011:167) should be fully accepted: Spanglish is not used by Spanish native speakers as an independent language different from Spanish and English; instead, while speaking Spanish, they adapt themselves to a culture and a society dominated by English<sup>64</sup>.

---

<sup>63</sup> Both Belizean Creoles and Jamaican patois may serve as examples.

<sup>64</sup> This phenomenon is also referred to as adaptive bilingualism. For further information see: Lipski (2004); Lefebvre (1993).

Taking into consideration the above findings, the linguistic mixture produced by Mexican-American Spanglish users would not convey a style that is consciously chosen by them. Yet, Spanglish would constitute a reflection of a linguistic adaptation with its own roots on both cultural and social integration. Likewise, as is visible in Winford's (2001:305) research on bilingualism, the variability of Mexican-American interspeakers and their instability in the use of Spanish gender pronouns, poses a counterargument to the notion of *dialect*. However, the studies on speakers' attitudes during code-switching between English and Spanish are still lacking. Clearly, further research is required.

In addition, it is also critical to investigate the way speakers position themselves by sociolectal choice in the line of Bullock and Toribio's (qtd in Rodríguez-González and Paraíta-Couto 2012:471) examination of the Spanish-English code-switching phenomenon. In fact, sociolectal choice would serve here as a compelling instrument to connect and/or demarcate linguistic views within a social group. What is more, this choice can be self-monitored. It may be observed, then, how difficult it is to create fixed categories regarding different types of linguistic phenomena initiated in distinct scenarios of language contact, the final result of which may be neither Pidgin nor a Creole.

The array of topics that come directly from the research discussed above prove the notion of Spanglish to be relatively easy to identify, yet almost impossible to capture in semantic compartments. The reason for this is, undeniably, its adaptable nature.

### **3.2 Types of Spanglish**

In this context, it is also worthwhile to point out different varieties of Spanglish which not only depend on significant factors such as social class, nationality and age, but also differ in morphology, structure, phonology, and/or terminology. Put succinctly, there is not one standardised Spanglish but many. However, each of these Spanglishes displays its own inclination toward standardisation as all of them mingle with each other. Thanks to media such as radio, television, newspapers, and mainly the Internet, nothing spreads faster than Spanglish *en la Web*<sup>65</sup> as specific words and expressions are understood from coast to coast and beyond the borders (Stavans 2003:45).

As a way of example, the variant spoken by Cuban-Americans is labelled as Cubonics and varies from that spoken by the Chicanos, sometimes known as Pocho; the Nuyorican

---

<sup>65</sup> Through Web.

Spanglish spoken by Puerto Ricans in New York is not similar to Pachuco which is widely used by Mexicans in El Paso, or the Tex-Mex observed in Havana (Stavans 2000b:4).

To start with, Cubonics is a strange mix of Cuban idioms with the English language. In Bee Chin and Wigglesworth's (2007:34) analysis of the bilingual phenomenon, this variety is defined after a Miami Herald article (January 27th, 1997) as "a Cuban American twist on Ebonics".

Despite the fact that the term Cubonics is new, the phenomenon itself started when the first Cuban refugees arrived in America in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Abalos (2007:167) provides even greater clarity of Cubonics by offering some examples:

- 1) span. *No me importa un pito.*  
cub. *I don't care a whistle.*  
eng. I don't care at all.
- 2) span. *Me importa tres pepinos.*  
cub. *I care three cucumbers.*  
eng. I don't care at all.
- 3) span. *Me sacaron el kilo.*  
cub. *They took the penny out of me.*  
eng. I worked like a slave.

Another kind of Spanglish is further addressed by, among others, Bosswick and Heckmann (2006:34) and Faist (2006:56). According to the linguists, Pocho<sup>66</sup> is used by Mexicans, also in a pejorative way, to describe Chicanos and immigrants who have left their country of origin, Mexico<sup>67</sup>. In line with this stereotypical perception, Pochos are usually identified by their preference to communicate in English and they lack fluency in the Spanish language.

In fact, the experiences of Mexican immigrants in the United States confirm that a Pocho is characterised by:

- 1) code-switching: *Voy a ir shopping ahora en el supermarket.* (I am going shopping now at the supermarket.);
- 2) modified loanwords<sup>68</sup>: *mopear* for *trapear* (to mop), *parquear* for *estacionar* (to park), or *chequear* for *mirar* or *verificar* (to check, to inspect or to verify);

---

<sup>66</sup> Interestingly, a feminine version also exists: Pocha.

<sup>67</sup> The word itself derives from the Spanish word, *pocha*, which denotes rotten or discolored fruit.

<sup>68</sup> Referred to as *pochismos*.

- 3) the use of phrases popular in American culture translated into Spanish, sometimes literally: i.e. Clint Eastwood's well-known quote: *Make my day* has been increasingly used in Spanish as *Hacer mi día*.

However, Kallen (1998:23) disagrees with the above by developing the claim that a vast number of Mexican Americans use this term to display pride in having both a Mexican and an American heritage affirming their place in the diverse American culture.

Other Hispanic Americans on the East Coast primarily use an ethno-cultural dialect of the English language, that is Nuyorican<sup>69</sup>. This variety demonstrates substantial influence from both New York City English and African American Vernacular English, with some additional structures borrowed from Spanish (Ager and Strang 2004:54).

Having its roots in the Puerto Rican immigration to New York City after World War I, more currently, Nuyorican is the customary dialect of numerous Hispanics living in the United States which consist of diverse national heritages, not simply Puerto Ricans, in the New York metropolitan area and along the north-eastern coast of America.

The data on Hispanics in New York unquestionably present a valid argument for understanding some characteristic features of this variety. Some notable examples include (Ager and Strang 2004:54-55):

- 1) omission of the intervocalic *d* in the endings (*ado-ido-edo*): *hablao* instead of *hablado* (to speak), *vendío* rather than *vendido* (to sell), and *deo* instead of *dedo* (finger);
- 2) aspiration of post-vocalic consonants, especially the letter *s*: *lo do* instead of *los dos*;
- 3) common code-switching with the use of the word *so*: *Estoy tarde, so me voy* instead of Spanish *porque* in a different configuration *Me voy porque estoy tarde*. (I am leaving because I am late.);
- 4) articulation of *rr* with a *j* sound: *ajroj* for *arroz* (rice);
- 5) neutralisation of *r* and *l* at the end of a syllable: *dolol* rather than *dolor* (pain) or *amol* instead of *amor* (love);
- 6) aspiration of *s* at the end of a syllable: *ehcuela* instead of *escuela* (school);
- 7) pronominal redundancy and the use of the subject pronoun at the start of interrogative sentences: *¿cuántos años **tú** tienes?* rather than *¿cuántos años tienes **tú**?* (How old are you?).

Another example of a Spanglish variant, referring to an old school subculture of Chicanos and Mexican-Americans, associated with street gangs, zoot suits, nightlife, and flamboyant

---

<sup>69</sup> In the 1970's Nuyorican was more narrowly called (*New York City*) *Puerto Rican English* or *Nuyorican English*. Contemporarily it is widely referred to as *New York Latino English*, or *East Coast Latino English*.

public behaviour, is Pachuto. According to the first theory, the notion has its source in El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. As it moved north, it followed the migration of Mexican railroad workers, called *traqueros*, into Los Angeles. These immigrants became labelled as *pachucos*.

A second theory, which has also been strongly put forward, is that the word derives from *pocho*, which refers to a derogatory term for a Mexican born in America who has lost their bond with Mexican culture (Abalos 2007:168). The last hypothesis regarding the source of the term Pocho is postulated by Laura L. Cummings (qtd in Milroy and Muysken 1995:46), who presents a possible indigenous source of the term. That is, the founder of the Pachuco subculture was a film actor and comedian, German Valdés. Known also by his artistic name *Tin-Tan*, Valdés introduced the Pachuco style and slang throughout his Golden-age era films.

As a matter of fact, Pachucos refer to their slang as Caló or pachuquismo. As a unique argot, it is a mixture of the original Spanish Gypsy Caló, Mexican Spanish, the New Mexican dialect of Spanish, and American English. To a large extent, Caló became widely recognised and is one of the last surviving vestiges of Pachuco used in the lexicon of some urban Latinos in America to this day.

Being unique, Pachucos speech was of uppermost importance to their defined style. Consisting of creative phrases and some English words, it was indeed a very popular form of communication. Some exemplary instances of Pachuco speech are offered by the study conducted by Kallen (1998:90-91):

- 1) pach. *águila*  
eng. be alert
- 2) pach. *bolillo*  
eng. cracker, white boy
- 3) pach. *bola*  
eng. a dollar
- 4) pach. *bomba/bomb*  
eng. a lowrider car or truck from the 1930s - mid-1950s
- 5) pach. *borlo*  
eng. dance/party

Tex-Mex is another example of a Spanglish variety. Deriving from Texan and Mexican, it is a fusion of the American and Mexican experiences. This linguistic variety has spread from the border states, such as Texas and others in the south-western United

States, to the rest of the country and Canada. According to Bee Chin and Wigglesworth (2007:54), Tex-Mex is mostly used in the state of Texas.

Still, an important insight emerging from the numerous data is that Tex-Mex is an excellent example of an *outsider* variety which unfortunately carries bigotry and prejudice. As Faist (2006:98) proclaimed, being linguistically and culturally significant and sustainable, it is a variety of North American Spanish which should be taught, written in, as well as written about in ways that will empower those who speak it. Some notable examples of Tex-Mex Spanglish are as follows:

- 1) tex. *arroz*  
eng. rice
- 2) tex. *barbacoa*  
eng. Mexican pot roast that is made from a cow's head
- 3) tex. *bunuelos*  
eng. fried pastries that look like tortillas
- 4) tex. *frijoles*  
eng. pinto beans
- 5) tex. *pico de gallo*  
eng. dip

The available evidence seems to suggest that as with American and British English, varieties of Spanish exist, varying within different immigrant diasporas in the United States. By creating a colorful spectrum of language mixtures, Spanglish is influencing the manifestation of the language in the United States. This blend of distinct cultures may be distinguished not only by the type of Spanglish used but also by geographical location. However, it is critical to note that all the presented varieties may be characterised by the same linguistic features.

### **3.3 The linguistic features of Spanglish**

Having analysed the examples of Mexican-American language use, it is essential to provide a clearer definition of Spanglish based on its linguistic characteristics. Thus, this section presents the structure of the Spanish-English mixture in the following main areas:

- 1) the phenomenon of code-switching;
- 2) the adaptation of lexical elements, phrases on semantic, graphical, phonological, morphological and morphophonological levels;
- 3) lexical-semantic and grammatical changes.

Furthermore, since Spanglish is considered to be result of a merger of a Romance and a Germanic language, it becomes an arbitration, an oscillation between two linguistically disparate communication codes. Undoubtedly, the discrepancy is evident: Spanish is polysyllabic and vowel-centric; English is a consonant-oriented language and has shorter words.

Among educators, Spanish appears to be a relatively static language imbued with an aristocratic mindset. An example is the role of the governing body of Spanish, the Real Academia de la Lengua Española, which is an international body legislating the Spanish language according to its motto: “To clean, to fix and to give splendour”. By way of contrast, English is not only dynamic, but it is also flexible, original and autonomous. Moreover, it does not have an official legislative authority such as the Real Academia. Nevertheless, supported by their research, many scholars observe that Spanish is more nuanced, endowed with a palette of subtle, semantic shadings unparalleled by the more succinct and straightforward English; namely, a multifaceted conjugation system, with a wide-ranging use of the subjunctive mood, both gender and number inflections, and a multitude of similar traits (Silva-Corvalán 1994:35; Lipski 2004:3-10; Morrill 1918:6-7).

*Code-switching.* Prior to analysing the structure of Spanglish, it is critical to clearly define the most distinctive feature of Spanish-English bilingualism: code-switching. In its basic conception, the aforementioned linguistic phenomenon consists of a fluctuation between two or more languages in the middle of discourse, which can span from single word switches (85%), phrase switches (10%) to clause switches (6%) (Rothman and Rell 2005:520).

While many scholars consider the alternation between two languages to be an undesirable, haphazard phenomenon, code-switching occurs according to an internal rhythm, “a developed instinct by which the speaker knows when to shift languages, there are certain principles that apply to it” (Maduro 1987:5).

Other authors agree: universally, the multiplicity of ideas that come directly from historical and contemporary studies reveals that “code-switching is a highly complex and structured occurrence composed of sociolinguistic strategies, which envelop a syntactical system with very real constraints” (Rothman and Rell 2005:523).

Perhaps one of the most widely recognised concepts in this regard is the Equivalence Constraint, which stipulates that codes will switch at points where the morpho-syntactical

and phonetic integrity of either language is not altered<sup>70</sup>. In accordance with the Equivalence Constraint, the following alternation can be considered grammatical:

- (1) The student brought the homework *para la profesora*.
- (2) Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish *y termino en Español*<sup>71</sup>.

Building on previous works, Myers-Scotton (1993:35-46) and Poplack (1980:2) have offered yet another constraint: the Free Morpheme Constraint, which prohibits the intra-word mixing of morphemes. In fact, combining a bound morpheme and a lexical form is not allowed unless the lexical form has been integrated into the language of the bound morpheme. As the authors cogently argue, this constraint has indeed stood the test of time and it explains why sentences (3) and (4) are unacceptable:

- (3) *Estamos talk-and-o*.  
[We] are talking.
- (4) *Al llegar, me di cuenta que ellos estaban leave-iendo*.  
Upon arriving, I realised that they were already leaving.

The Functional Head Constraint, which states that a code-switch may not occur between a functional head and its complement, is yet another determinant of switching points. As presented in the following example, since the head of the relative pronoun is in Spanish while the rest of the phrase is in English, the following alternation is also deemed as not grammatical (Myers-Scotton 1993:50):

- (5) *Las razones por las que* we love to code-switch are many.
- (6) *Crei que* María always told the truth.

As in the case of most academic disciplines, much work remains to be done before achieving a unanimous consensus on the exact way to account for all acceptable code-switches. Nonetheless, a clear consent within the field is visible. Notably, the code-switching notion is an outcome of natural human language formation and it is controlled by universal constraints. It is not surprising, therefore, that the view of code-switching as a mutually

---

<sup>70</sup> Nonetheless, it should also be noted that this constraint is not without counter evidence. Despite conforming to the Equivalence Constraint, the following sentences are erroneous:

\**Las chicas han arrived early for class today*.

The girls have arrived early for class today.

See: Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988:48-49)

<sup>71</sup> Qtd in Poplack (1980:235).

destructive mechanism between two intersecting tongues is of little value. Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988:49-56) echo this sentiment by pointing out the speaker's ability to select the language in order to facilitate effective communication among bilinguals. In this view, code-switching is a mark of bilingual competence; a strategy that facilitates understanding among bilinguals. Likewise, Stavans (2000b:6) states that Spanglish is "not a haphazard jumble of words... [but]... it is fixing its own morphosyntax".

The data of Spanish-English bilingualism exemplify the richness of scholarly discourse on yet another distinctive feature of the subject matter; namely, lexical interaction which can be divided into three subdivisions.

*Borrowings.* Undeniably, the obvious front-running procedure in the creation of the Spanglish lexicon is the incorporation of borrowings into the language, which, according to Rothmann and Rell, are "the adaptation of lexical units or phrasal constituents from one language into the other on a phonological, morphological and/or morphophonological level" (2005:524). Specifically, for reasons of association, effect or emphasis, an English- or Spanish-origin word is employed at the moment of simultaneous speech. In the majority of cases, the borrowed word is a noun. Indeed, only sporadically it may be an adjective or a verb.

Given that, Morrill (1918:6-7) exemplifies expressions which can be found in Spanglish discourse:

<b>Spanish</b>	<b>Spanglish</b>	<b>English</b>
<i>hacer</i>	<i>clichacer click</i>	to click
<i>comer</i>	<i>el almuerzo luncheare</i>	to eat lunch
<i>ver la televisión</i>	<i>watchear</i>	to watch tv
<i>estacionar</i>	<i>parquear</i>	to park
<i>enviar un correo</i>	<i>mandar un e-mail electrónico</i>	to send an e-mail

Moreover, loan words can be either morphologically unassimilated, such as *sandwich* or *modem*, or assimilated into the morphology of the language. For instance:

<b>Spanish</b>	<b>Spanglish</b>	<b>English</b>
<i>escribir</i>	<i>taipear</i>	to type
<i>almorzar</i>	<i>lonchar/loncheare</i>	to have lunch

<i>el lider</i>	<i>lider</i>	leader
<i>camion</i>	<i>troca</i>	truck
<i>mercado</i>	<i>marqueta</i>	market
<i>dejar caer</i>	<i>dropear</i>	to drop
<i>billetes</i>	<i>biles</i>	bills

Furthermore, the multitude of data coming directly from the contemporary experience of ethnically mixed Mexican-American immigrants together with studies on bilingual speech trace several principles of borrowings (Ardila 2007:68-69):

- 1) in Spanish, a word corresponding exactly to the borrowed word does not exist (e.g. *driveway*);
- 2) in the new American cultural context, the borrowed word represents some cultural salience, which is not present in the native context (e.g. *suit* as an appeal or legal case);
- 3) the borrowing has a very exact referent, such as a proper name (e.g. *income tax*, *mall*);
- 4) in the Spanish linguistic system, several potentially correct words exist, yet none of them has the exact meaning (e.g. corresponding words to English *ratio* are: *relación*, *proporción*, or *razón*)<sup>72</sup>;
- 5) regarding that particular word, there exist regional variations in the Spanish language (e.g. *tag* corresponds to *placa*, *chapa*, or *tablilla*; *balloon* is understood as *bomba* or *globo*; *carpet* denotes *tapete* or *alfombra*)<sup>73</sup>;
- 6) the word which is borrowed is in line with Spanish phonology (e.g. a situation in which one would borrow a word with extremely difficult phonology, such as *girl*, is highly unlikely);
- 7) in a situation when a Spanish word is phonologically more difficult than the corresponding English word, it is probable that the English correspondent will be borrowed (e.g. the Spanish word *alfiler* is more difficult than the word *pin*);
- 8) very high frequency and over-learned words are not usually borrowed from the second linguistic system (e.g. words such as *casa*<sup>74</sup>, *mano*<sup>75</sup>);

<sup>72</sup> Correspondingly: relations, proportion, reason.

<sup>73</sup> Interestingly, in different areas where Spanish is spoken, a linguistic preference of one of those words may be observed. What can also be noticed are some mild variations connected to the exact meaning. To exemplify, *tapete* can imply a smaller carpet, and *alfombra* one that it is woven. Thus, in order to avoid the choice between numerous variants, the English word is chosen as a kind of superordinate.

<sup>74</sup> House.

<sup>75</sup> Hand.

- 9) technical words are usually adopted into other languages, hence becoming international words (e.g. *software*);
- 10) words commonly used in everyday life in English (e.g. *lunch*, *break* are likely to be borrowed);
- 11) in a situation when a word has been learnt first in English, its meaning is more directly accessible in English than in Spanish (e.g. professional and academic terms such as *randomised*).

*Lexical-semantic and grammatical changes.* Under the influence of the English language, the organisation of Spanish used by Mexican immigrants has somehow changed. These changes may be noticed mainly within lexical-semantic and grammatical structures and, to a lesser degree, on the phonological level. As the aforementioned changes are influencing the lexical-semantic and grammatical organisation of the Spanish language, they should be referred to as *deep phenomena* of Spanglish (Ardila 2007:70).

Furthermore, Spanglish consists of a vast number of lexical displacements and changes in word meanings caused by the impact of English. To exemplify, Spanglish can have a mixed grammar, which maintains, to some extent, the original Spanish grammar and, at the same time, it is closer to the English one (Poplack 2015:34). Indeed, in what follows Lipski (2004:10-74) provides even greater clarity towards understanding the changes that may be named the *equalisation to English* phenomenon.

- 1) False cognates. Lipski (2004:10-28) exposes the first way in which this linguistic encounter is manifested by defining the phenomenon of semantic extension, mainly apparent in pairs of false cognates.<sup>76</sup> Through many observations, the author explores the process which takes place when a lexical item, already existing in the first language, expands its meaning from another lexical item in the second language with either similar or not so similar meaning. Let us quote the following examples:

Spanish	Spanglish	English
<i>carpeta</i>	<i>moqueta/alfombra</i>	carpet
<i>aplicación</i>	<i>solicitud</i>	application
<i>rent</i>	<i>al quiler</i>	rent
<i>remove</i>	<i>quitar</i>	to remove

---

<sup>76</sup> However, it is significant to note that regardless of linguistic contact between two languages, semantic reassignment is likely to be part of natural language evolution. Hence, Spanish words such as *juego*, *casa*, *pierna* have Latin roots with distant meanings (accordingly: scorn, hut, leg). Such semantic change occurs spontaneously, that is, without the influence of any other languages (Lipski 2004:28).

- 2) Calques. In addition to lexical adaptations, Spanglish also includes calques, which are literal translations of either words or entire phrases from one language into another. These are one of the key components, along with the aforementioned loans and semantic reassignment, of the purport of *Spanglish*. Examples of syntactic calques in the speech of Hispanics are as follows (Montes-Alcalá 2009:97-115):

Spanish	Spanglish	English
<i>para volver a llamar</i>	<i>llamar pa'trás</i>	to call back
<i>depende de usted</i>	<i>está p'arriba de ti</i>	it's up to you
<i>candidato a gobernador</i>	<i>correr para gobernador</i>	to run for governor

- 3) Hybrid words. Neologisms, that is new words, are created by the use of both English and Spanish components. The words are usually perceived by monolingual Spanish speakers as deformed:

spang. *escortar*

span. *escoltar*

eng. to escort<sup>77</sup>

- 4) Anglisation. Despite the fact that Spanish and English lexemes are close in the phonological composition, the Spanish ones are deformed in order to become closer to the English counterpart:

spang. *bilingualismo*

span. *bilingüismo*

eng. bilingualism

- 5) Literal translations. This change occurs when either a word or a sentence is translated and the grammatically acceptable utterance that is created does not correspond to the one used in Spanish:

spang. *oficinas de los doctores*

span. *consultorios medicos*

eng. doctors' offices

- 6) A synonym closer to the English form is selected. Although both are acceptable, the word which is closer to the English form is preferred:

spang. *sala de emergencies*

---

<sup>77</sup> In point of fact, this specific change also includes semantic displacement: *escort* really means *acompañar*; *escoltar* denotes accompanying with the purpose of protection.

span. *sala de urgencias*

eng. emergency room

- 7) Spanishation. A Spanish word that is close to the English phonological system, yet semantically distant, is used:

spang. *ganga*<sup>78</sup>

span. *pandilla*

eng. gang

- 8) Semantic extensions of the Spanish word to get closer to the English form. An example of this change is as follows:

spang. *desórdenes mentales*

span. *trastornos mentales*

eng. mental disorders

- 9) Substitutions by phonological similarity and semantic closeness:

spang. *librería*<sup>79</sup>

span. *biblioteca*

eng. library

- 10) Changing the Spanish preposition for the English preposition:

spang. *esperar por mi esposa*

span. *esperar a mi esposa*

eng. to wait for my wife

- 11) Changing the Spanish noun-adjective order:

spang. *dispersas lluvias*

span. *lluvias dispersas*

eng. scattered showers

- 12) Using a preposition in a position that is unacceptable in Spanish. As a way of example, it is unacceptable in Spanish to place a preposition at the end of a sentence:

spang. *para comenzar con*

span. *para comenzar*

eng. to begin with

- 13) Misuses in verbal forms:

spang. *Ese avión esta supuesto a llegar a las 3 PM.*

span. *Ese avión se supone que llega a las 3 PM.*

---

<sup>78</sup> Surprisingly, *ganga* exists in Spanish as a real word which denotes *sale* or *bargain*.

<sup>79</sup> In fact, *librería* corresponds to bookstore in Spanish, not library.

eng. That plane is supposed to arrive at 3 PM.

- 14) Overusing pronouns. In Spanish, the use of pronouns is not obligatory, as it is in the case of the English linguistic system. Pronouns are frequently used for emphasis; however, generally they are omitted:

spang. *Yo he estado pensando.*

span. *He estado pensando.*

eng. I have been thinking.

### 3.4 Hybrid nature of Spanglish

As it was clearly indicated in the preceeding discussion (see: section 3.1 Assumptions behind Spanglish), Lipski (2004:29) exposes the way in which this language impass is manifested and negotiated in the contemporary society by quoting Tío, a Puerto Rican journalist, who described Spanglish as “the deterioration of Spanish in Puerto Rico under the onslaught of English words”.

Insights drawn from scholarly literature are supplemented with those from Stavans (2000b:3) who expresses the common assumption that Spanglish is a bastard jargon, partly Spanish and partly English, yet without clear identity. The author also adds that Spanglish is used by uneducated and intellectually unsophisticated people who are no longer fluent in their native language, that is Spanish, and have also failed to master English.

By the same token, in terms of cultural subordination, the author maintains that Spanglish speakers are condemned to “a lifelong state of limbo”, whereas López (1999:213-214) ascribes Spanglish to the illiterate and the marginality. Other scholars perceive it as an invasion of the Spanish language by English, a threat to both, a war between the two languages; terms such as *educational idiocy*, *language aberration*, *evil language* are commonly used (Walczuk-Beltrão 2008:200; Silva-Corvalán 1994:36; Parodi 1999:524-525; Lipski 2004:216). It is well documented in Myers-Scotton’s research reports that according to many interviewees, “people won’t be able to tell the difference between English and Spanish soon [...]” and “[...] those who speak Spanglish expose how ignorant they are about both languages” (1993:71).

However, Stavans (2000b:6-7) disagrees with the previous authors by considering Spanglish as part of a natural process of linguistic contact which also includes *Portuñol*, the amalgamation of Spanish and Portuguese on the Brazil-Argentina border; *Franglais*, the French-English blend in Canada, and *Cocoliche*, which is the combination of Italian and Spanish spoken in Argentina. Indeed, in line with Stavans’s assertion, Myers-Scotton

(1993:73) declares that Spanglish is a natural progression that is viewed as *cool slang* among the youth. Similarly, yet another nuance of this subject is revealed in Stavans's analysis of Spanglish, according to which the birth of a new language in a world where so many languages die should be celebrated<sup>80</sup>.

Another helpful conceptual tool in trying to measure a concept as elusive as Spanglish, is the term used by Gollan and Brown (2006:472) of *border* and *hyphenated* identities describing the Hispanic experience in America as being caught between two linguistic systems, different cultures and in continual translation. Zentella (qtd in Hamberger 2009:32) describes the idea of *borderlands* further by arguing that Hispanics "are stuck between two realities", that is, "the prestigious English monolingual world and the stigmatised Spanish monolingual world within the United States".

The above descriptions cover yet do not exhaust the possibilities of Spanglish since the basis for this verbal manifestation may be either English or Spanish, depending on the speakers' location and their background. As a way of example, if we limit the study to the United States area, a newly-arrived immigrant in El Paso, Texas, will focus on different aspect of language than someone from Portland, Oregon, born of parents who were themselves born there as well. In other words, the linguistic system of immigrants varies from that of the first, second or third generation Latinos in the country.

Nonetheless, despite the generation, Spanglish will be always considered as a hybrid language. Hence, it is not unique as there exist other hybrid languages, for example Portunhol (a mixture of Portuguese and Spanish), Franglais (being a linguistic blend of French and English), Chinglish (Chinese and English) and Aravrit (a mixture of both Hebrew and Arabic). Furthermore, this term is considered by Stavans (2014:304-305) as equivalent to border languages. Indeed, the previously mentioned linguistic blends apply to this definition, in the sense that they are active in areas marking boundaries between nations. Example can be Portunhol used on the borders between Venezuela and Brazil as well as between Spain and Portugal. In other words, border languages are characterised by specific geographical boundaries.

According to the author, hybrid languages and border languages are two different notions. Even though they share the same ties, they vary in their origin: the first are the result of two diverse traditions, whereas the latter are also hybrid, yet geographically restricted. That is why hybrid languages may emerge in territories other than borders. Unquestionably,

---

<sup>80</sup> Not only did Stavans compile a *Spanglish-English Dictionary*, but he also translated the first chapter of *Don Quixote de la Mancha* into Spanglish (Lipski 2004:4).

this distinction is the key for understanding the Spanglish phenomenon, which is both a hybrid language and a border language but can incur in the former but not the latter. As mentioned above, this language form may be found on the border between Mexico and the United States, though, it is also common in the area of Puerto Rico. This fact can only be considered a border on a metaphorical level, or in neighborhoods such as Spanish Harlem (New York), Eastlos (Los Angeles) and La Villita (Chicago).

The formation of a *hybrid language*, then, may be viewed as a way of stating that Mexican-Americans belong to two worlds and that both of them should be celebrated. In fact, it is of central importance to note that throughout the history of Spanish-speaking communities, this linguistic hybridity has been perceived as an undesirable as well as debilitating feature “undermining the purity of the language” (Boztepe 2003:23-24).

In contrast to English, the Spanish language is controlled by a regulatory body, the Real Academia Española, whose central role is to standardise and officially legislate the language used within the Spanish-speaking community in order to preserve its unity. Irrefutably, being such a prestigious enterprise, it perceives the fact that the Spanish linguistic system is mixed with its traditional enemy, the English language, as a substantial occurrence and to such linguistic purists the implications are mostly negative (Stavans 2003:124).

Nonetheless, a conflicting viewpoint is expressed by Blom and Gumperz (2000:408), who disagree with the previous assumption. In the first lines of their study, the linguists remind readers that since its development from Vulgar Latin, Phoenician, Greek, Iberian, Basque, and other lesser-known peninsula linguistic systems, Spanish had never begun to coalesce as a self-conscious language until the planning efforts of King Alfonso, the 13th century native speaker of a regional variety. Later, the Spanish lexicon was enhanced by English words coming first from Great Britain and later from the United States. To be precise, not only did it become a serious source of new lexical material, but also a subject over which there is continuing disagreement.

As the forgoing analysis by Blom and Gumperz (2000:409-410) indicates, numerous language analysts and academies were accepting only a minor fraction of the torrent of both neologisms and innovations used worldwide by Spanish speakers, and thus causing a nostalgic reincarnation of the Spanish-origin maxim that “todo tiempo pasado fue mejor”, which may be paraphrased into English language as “things ain’t what they used to be”.

Conclusively, detailed examination of language material coupled with research on Spanish-speaking communities demonstrate that even a cursory glance at the numerous commonly used Spanish words and constructions that are found neither in the Spanish Royal

Academy's official dictionary nor grammar books suffices to show what the Spanish language might be like if those *language meddlers*, as Blom and Gumperz (2000:413) refer to them, had been successful in their efforts to protect the purity of the language. To put it succinctly, Spanish would become an anachronism paralysed in time, not able to respond to the present and future, and devoid of a substantial part of its innovative potential.

The above hypothetical situation reflects the striking importance of hybridity as the natural order of the world. Hence, hybrid vigour, an established biological rule, should be applied to socially constructed phenomena such as language. In this sense, hybrid vigour is not just a metaphor, it acts as a fundamental reality which is supported by as much empirical confirmation as in the life sciences. The consensus view seems to be that if Spanglish is taken to refer to borrowings, calques, and semantic extensions, then the Spanish-English variety in America is similar to any other variation of Spanish past or present. Also, by providing an in-depth analysis of the main linguistic features of Spanglish, code-switching has been defined to be a natural behaviour in any bilingual setting which is neither random, nor erratic. Given that, linguistic encounters are natural processes, no different from other changes in the evolution of a language.

Nevertheless, just like other Spanish varieties, Spanglish withstood the pressures created by colonial and neo-colonial society and became a vehicle of national identity. As Mamzer's (2002:117) observations suggest, Spanglish has survived the many threats of its existence. Surprisingly, these experiences have injected even more vigour and elasticity into the Spanglish linguistic system. Gaining popularity in American mainstream, and no longer a border language, Spanglish and its varieties have created the usual immune response of linguistic purists, aided in their continuous efforts by the many biased viewpoints described previously (see: section 3.1 Assumptions behind Spanglish). On the contrary, Spanglish, due to its hybrid vigour, should be labelled as a linguistic promise, as Levis-Morales (qtd in Maduro 1987:9) does by stating:

"I am new. History made me. My first language was Spanglish.

I was born at the crossroads

and I am whole"

### **3.5 Promoting Spanglish**

The statistics on the demographics of the Hispanic population in America, together with a media search for new niche markets, have created the possibility of commercially

exploiting Spanglish within the young bilingual Mexican-American audience. Paradoxically, this commercialisation of the language variety has defied a long-established dichotomy within linguistic lines displayed by exclusively Spanish and English language mainstream media.

Data collected by U.S. Census Bureau (2013) show that a desirable media market is identified with 40% of Hispanics below 21 years of age, which has triggered the emergence and growth of new media networks. Obvious examples of these are TV channels, such as *Univisión*, *Galavisión* and *Telemundo*, as they position themselves in the developing area of American Latino television; bilingual magazines, such as *Cafe Spanglish*, *Latina* or *Generation N*; and numerous artists in the music industry and the fields of poetry and literature. By presenting an array of bicultural Hispanic identities which have been neglected and unexplored until recently, the new media constructs display a competing cultural and commercial hybridity.

First and foremost, the most demonstrative aspect of the Latino-oriented media growth and vitality is the appearance of the English-language and bilingual national TV channels. Not only do they challenge the hegemony of the Spanish-language focus but, simultaneously, they generate opportunities to expand themes and topics rooted in Mexican culture. Indeed, being based on demographic trends and market research, TV programmes must effectively appeal to the young Hispanic audience and, at the same time, produce a marketable space in the bicultural and bilingual community.

As a consequence, in numerous ways, one may assume that the increase of the bilingual networks follows these multifaceted new hybrid cultural processes (see: section 3.4 Hybrid nature of Spanglish). On the one hand, they relocalise young Hispanic immigrants born in the United States within the industry's new category of the bilingual audience as a market to be exploited, whereas, on the other hand, they implement a new television dictionary based on language hybridity, that is Spanglish, reflecting existing cultural dynamics and tensions within the various geographic, national and racial Hispanic groups and their identities. In fact, the new channels content, motivated by revenues, demographic tendencies, and shaped by their specific corporate structures and ownership, also mirror the multi-temporal heterogeneity; one where language and cultural variety are of central importance. To put it another way, cultural and linguistic assimilation should not be perceived as a linear process, but, as Alvarez notes (1998:434), "a discontinuous, multi-temporal and heterogeneous process across different Hispanic populations in America".

At present, there are at least six national TV channels that broadcast in Spanglish, including *Univisión*, *Galavisión* and *Telemundo*. In addition, there are many more local channels, such as *MTV's Tr3s* and *NBC's Mun2*, within major urban areas of the United States, in which Spanglish serves as a common second language and is employed with the explicit intent of identifying with or capturing the attention of a specific demographic, that is Mexican-American immigrants and their descendants. The unquestionable media and entertainment capital of the world, Los Angeles, commonly mirrors the dual identity that Spanglish encompasses. A greater insight towards understanding the media attitude towards Spanglish is offered by the president of the Los Angeles television and film company *Galan Entertainment*, Nely Galan, who explains that “Spanglish is the future” (qtd in Alvarez 1998:483).

Spanglish is also frequently used in the realm of television programmes, such as *Cristina and Sábado Gigante*. The latter is a satire of the popular variety show *Saturday Night Live*. First aired on March 6, 2004, the show performs a skit mimicking Spanglish. Another notable example is a regional Mexican music videos TV show called *Reventon*. The young host, Yarel Ramos, who is a second generation Mexican American, and her interviewees constantly switch from Spanish to English. “Aquí estamos con Francisco y Sergio, and I’m at Angel Station en el Dub Show. Guys, how’s it going?” greets Yarel, as she introduces guests at the beginning of her programme.

Accordingly, there are more Spanglish language radio stations in California than in the area of Central America (e.g. *SpanGlish Radio*, *KLOL-FM*, *WMGE-FM*). Rapidly becoming one of radio’s most widespread forms, Hispanic urban, in short *hurban*<sup>81</sup>, merges more traditional Hispanic tempos and the urban music which was quickly adopted by Hispanics of the second- and third-generations as their own. The personalities, such as the artists and DJs, lead the format consisting of everything from Latin-flavored hip-hop to reggaetón and beyond. They also speak Spanish with a generous sprinkling of English. “Recuérdales que hoy, esta tarde, vamos a estar en vivo in Dilliards, broadcasting live from 3 to 5, with your chance to win some cool KXTN prizes. Acompañen a sus amigos”<sup>82</sup>, encourages the disc jockey of *Radionomy*, a local radio station. Yet another notable example is *KLSX 97.1*, an Anglo-focused radio station in Los Angeles, which is the proud broadcaster of Los Angeles’ most popular Spanglish talk radio show *Reyes and Solís*. While both the callers and the radio hosts are encouraged to use any language they prefer, the most frequent vernacular heard is

---

<sup>81</sup> This is a relatively new radio format involving Spanish-language hip hop and reggaetón music.

<sup>82</sup> Just to remind you that today, this afternoon, we will be live in Dilliards, broadcasting live from 3 to 5, with your chance to win some cool KXTN prizes. Accompany your friends.

certainly Spanglish. In point of fact, the Spanglish embraced by local radio stations also serves the needs of the greater Mexican-American community on the English-language channels in the commercial as well as public service announcement format.

Apart from the discourse of the radio and TV hosts, the music which is broadcast also incorporates Spanglish. Mexican musicians, such as Latin Alianza, Tego Calderon, Chicano 2 Da Boné, Fast Joe, Don Omar, Latin Lingo, Dr. Loco's Rockin, Jalapeño Band and even Marc Anthony and Enrique Iglesias, compose music and lyrics stemming from the dialect of Spanglish. A noticable example of this is Iglesias' song *Bailando*<sup>83</sup> featuring Sean Paul, who sings using a mixture of both English and Spanish utterances:

“[...] I wanna be contigo  
And live contigo, and dance contigo  
Para have contigo una noche loca  
Y besar tu boca  
I wanna be contigo  
And live contigo, and dance contigo  
Para have contigo una noche loca  
Con tremenda loca [...]”

Likewise, the Spanglish identity of subscribers is reflected in the genres associated with printed press, newspapers and magazines. The publisher of *Latina* Spanglish magazine, Brett Wright, speaking on behalf of her magazine and others, such as *Generation N*, provides the explanation that: “We are the intersection of two and we reflect a life between two languages and two cultures that our readers live in” (qtd in Alvarez 1998:485). Finally, the more formal segment of *154 AMYRELL* media, the newspaper, has not escaped the influence of Spanglish, either. Currently there exist 173 different publications dedicated to Mexican-American culture and the use of the Spanglish language<sup>84</sup>. A few of the examples include: *Ahora News* (New Jersey), *Al Día* (South-eastern Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania), *La Opinión* (Los Angeles)<sup>85</sup>, *Amigo Newspaper* (Hot Springs, El Dorado and Nashville, Arkansas), *Antena 305* (Miami, Florida), *Atlanta Latino* (Norcorss, Georgia), *Azteca 21* (San Antonio,

---

<sup>83</sup> Source: <https://www.directlyrics.com/enrique-iglesias-bailando-lyrics.html>

<sup>84</sup> To see the full list visit: <http://www.onlinenewspapers.com/usstate/spanish-language-newspapers-usa.htm>

<sup>85</sup> Interestingly, the fact that the largest circulating Spanish newspaper in Los Angeles, which was founded in 1926, also incorporates Spanglish was commented on by Zaro Ruiz. The author dedicated an entire article to the use of Spanglish in *La Opinión*, entitled *Influencia dei inglés en el español del periódico La Opinión*.

Texas), *Bajo El Sol* (Yuma, Arizona), *The Bilingual News* (New York), *Bilingual Weekly* (San Joaquin, Stockton, Tracy, Lodi, Manteca, Lathrop and Modesto, California).

Apart from television and radio, poetry and literature also act as reflections of Spanglish outside of the speech circles within the immigrant community. To give a few examples we can list: Puerto Rican writer, Giannina Braschi, who wrote in 1998 the Spanglish comic novel titled *Yo-Yo Boing!*; Piri Thomas, a Nuyorican writer poet, famous for his memoir *Down These Mean Streets*; Sandra Cisneros, regarded as a key figure in Chicana literature; Pedro Pietri, a Nuyorican poet and playwright; Julia Alvarez, perceived by literary critics to be one of the most significant Latina writers who has achieved critical and commercial success on an international scale; Roberto G. Fernández, a Cuban-American novelist and short story writer. In the field of poetry, undeniably Tato Laviera's *La Carreta Made a U-Turn* (1997) should be recognised as the first major book of poetry that portrays a more accurate story of the Puerto Rican migrant. Yet another example of Spanglish poet are Miguel Algarin and Sandra Santiago, who both explicitly write about the experience of the immigrant diaspora and their cultural encounters.

Conclusive evidence drawn on the basis of the above insight into Spanglish media representation, is apparent: every medium of mass communication as well as economic interests have converged on the same conclusion in regard to the Mexican-American community. To be more specific, Hispanics constitute a key consumer group whose collective purchasing power rivals that of any other minority in the United States. Likewise, Spanglish is a crucial part of reaching and identifying with this community. Thus, the mediated world of the United States, starting from comedy and talk shows to serious news, from magazines and newspapers to movies and songs, appears to have no doubt: Spanglish is an essential vehicle of communication, a method to identify with a community which truly lives between two cultures.

At the beginning of the present overview, the difficulty in classifying Spanglish as a linguistic phenomenon was emphasised. Indeed, according to many researchers, Spanglish should be referred to as a Creole or Pidgin. Other authors state that Spanglish is a dialect, an interlanguage or even a jargon. Yet, the multitude of data elicited directly identify, both qualitatively and quantitatively, that the features of the contact situation between Spanish and English do not correspond to those offered by Pidgin or Creole.

Although the situation of the Spanish-English mixture in America may resemble other language contact settings of unequal bilingualism, its uniqueness is characterised by the vast number of Spanglish speakers. As can also be contended, Spanglish seems to result not only

from the need to have a new method of communication, but also from an attempt to form a new cultural identity.

The vast and still growing contemporary studies on the universal grammatical constraints of code-switching, and findings supporting their existence, have not yet been successful. Hence, the issues regarding the identification of grammar constraints on code-switching still remain to be properly investigated. Accordingly, cognitive experimental studies would also provide information on the processing of code-switches within the Spanish-English mixture. In order to develop production and processing models of code-switching, there is a need for more collaborative research between the experts in sociolinguistics, syntactics and psycholinguistics.

Despite the fact that the present chapter does not offer an exhaustive and concrete definition of the Spanish-English linguistic tapestry, it is aimed at providing information about the possible outcomes of assigning labels and making assumptions regarding Spanish-English alternation processes. Indisputably, what can be agreed on is the fact that Spanglish is really a phenomenon based on sociocultural grounds, which is demonstrated through Spanish-English linguistic alternations. While particular linguistic branches investigate code-switching from various perspectives and isolated standpoints, Spanglish, in reality, is a part of a broader perceived identity of Mexican-American community members.

The preliminary results also reveal that there is no single perspective or academic field that can comprehensively account for the various interwoven factors that create such a complex phenomenon. Certainly, only a truly multidisciplinary perspective encompassing the contributions of attitudes from sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, syntax and cognitive science may offer a precise and comprehensive definition. The objective of such an approach would be to capture the cognitive roots of language change, the connections between language proficiency, exposure and its usage, as well as the linguistic patterns that can emerge in specific sociolinguistic conditions.

The displayed data present a valid argument for performing different tasks in this kind of multidisciplinary research. The following exercises may help to avoid the potentially artificial results of experimental research in which respondents are likely to be asked to perform code-switching; namely, tasks involving unprompted and thus unconstrained data (e.g. corpora, see: Chapter 5) and exercises including controlled experimentally constrained data on an individual basis (e.g. naming, decision tasks, ratings, see: Appendices). That is why, while naturalistic records represent spontaneous speech, laboratory-focused data are valuable for emphasising both linguistic and syntactic patterns. Interestingly, the first authors

to echo the validity of various kinds of data in experimental studies of Spanglish are Muysken (2000:187) together with Bullock and Toribio (qtd in Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:112). In this regard, not only do the authors provide an excellent account of online techniques for the investigation of code-switching, but they also highlight the significance of multitask studies favouring the implementation of converging evidence from various techniques.

In fact, the experiences of Mexican-American immigrants and their descendants in the United States confirm the need for integrated studies which may combine bilingual processing from synchronic and diachronic angles together with multiple baselines in experimental examinations. In this context, it is crucial to note that the following external variables in psycholinguistic study are to be investigated in order to find correlated effects and their influence on experimental research (Rodríguez-González and Parafta-Couto 2012:475):

- 1) social factors, such as demographic, diglossia and language status;
- 2) interpersonal factors, that is setting, social network, approaches and topics;
- 3) individual factors, which include linguistic preference, language proficiency and identity.

It is evident from the above that any isolated attempt to describe the complexity of Spanish-English linguistic contact should be perceived as speculative and limited in nature since any approach adopted to investigate the properties and features of Spanish-English alternation should be characterised with an integrated attitude with all the factors interwoven.

To summarise, a more transparent relationship between theoretical and experimental linguistics, explanatory research and hypothesis-testing studies, should be implemented in the study of the phenomenon of Spanglish. Indeed, methodologies ought to be developed in order to combine theoretical and corpus information with experimental data in the quest for converging evidence. Thus, in what follows, the portrayal and experiences of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles are examined through a combination of both ethnographical and sociocultural variables together with naturalistic data including spontaneous speech.

## **Summary**

This chapter focuses mainly on the development of Spanglish phenomenon in Los Angeles. Moreover, different varieties of Spanglish are discussed and exemplified. This is followed by a review of the main linguistic features of Spanglish: interference, borrowings and code-switching. This part provides also answers to the crucial questions connected to Spanglish: what exactly is Spanglish, and does it have a hybrid nature?

## CHAPTER FOUR

### MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS IN LOS ANGELES

Irrefutably, immigration has been a permanent and long-standing issue throughout the history of the United States. In spite of visible opposition to immigration, the influx of new settlers has been steadily increasing over the past half century. Based on data from the US Census Bureau (2013), it may be estimated that as of 2013, approximately 54 million Latinos resided in the United States, comprising 17.1% of the total US population, up from 3.5% in 1960. According to the most recent prognoses, the Hispanic share of the US population is expected to reach 28.6% by 2060. More importantly, however, of all the ethnic groups included in these figures, the Mexican-origin Hispanic enclave accounts for 28 percent of the country's population, making it the largest minority in the United States.

By investigating the entire span of the US historical panorama, no Latino country has ever experienced as many of its residents immigrating to the United States as Mexico has in the past few decades. Thus, for better or worse, the characteristics of the Hispanic flow shape the contours of the present-day bilingualism debate.

#### 4.1 Historical panorama of Mexican immigration to the USA

Historically, Mexican immigration to the United States has been a continuous social process for more than a century. What Borjas (2007:70) advocates, is the role of the political and economic forces, “as the sensitive issue of immigration has often been at the centre of the relationship between the two countries”.

Due to the fact that the area that is contemporarily known as New Mexico, California, Texas, and Arizona were home to a Mexican-origin population, since the region had been part of Mexico until 1848, immigration from Mexico to the United States was low-scale. The first major wave began in the late 1880s and lasted until the early twentieth century and, as Gómez (2007:54-65) goes on to explain, it was propelled by two major factors. The first reason was the political and economic revolution under the Porfirio Díaz<sup>86</sup> regime, during which government policies were pursued in order to create an increase in private property. What is more, terrestrial ownership laws were altered and land was consolidated into large estates, *haciendas*. As entire villages lost their holdings, a massive displacement of small

---

<sup>86</sup> José de la Cruz Porfirio Díaz Mori was a Mexican general, president, politician as well as dictator of Mexico for 35 years. The period of his rule (1876-1911) is also referred to as *Porfiriato* (Gómez 2007:66).

farmers took place. As estimated by Borjas (2007:75), “nine out of ten rural families in 1910 became landless due to such changes”. The creation of the country’s railroad system connecting Mexico City to the Mexican American border was the second factor increasing the flow of émigrés from Mexico. By 1884 the railroads allowed Mexicans to travel economically to the North, from where their immigration to the United States might begin.

Simultaneously, the US Southwest, was also undergoing substantial changes. Completed in 1869, a transcontinental railroad connected the region to the rest of the nation, fueling a considerable increase in mining coupled with a growth in agriculture. Both developing industries were in need of non-skilled workers, which were recruited from Mexico by private labour contractors. Under the circumstances, whereas by 1890 only approximately 78,000 Mexicans had arrived in the United States, by 1920 the number had increased to 222,000. During the period 1880-1929, more than one million Mexicans crossed the US border (Pew Hispanic Centre 2013).

Primarily, the majority of Mexican-origin settlers worked in the US Southwest on the railroads performing the hard, poorly paid work of laying tracks. Many of them sought employment in mining, factories or agriculture, picking cotton in south Texas and California’s Imperial Valley, citrus fruits in southern California or Texas’s Lower Rio Grande Valley, and sugar beets in Colorado. Additionally, by the early twentieth century, labouring in packing houses, smelters, and car factories throughout the Midwest, émigrés from Mexico had moved far beyond the Southwest (Borjas 2007:81-83).

The second crucial influx of immigration, occurring prior to the Mexican Revolution, began in 1910. According to Brick, Challinor and Rosenblum (2011:10-11), most Mexicans who had migrated to the United States before this period consisted of either landless peasants or labourers from rural areas. Yet, as the revolution began, fleeing political and economic turmoil, hacienda owners, professionals, intellectuals and also Porfirio Díaz’s counterrevolutionary groups crossed the borders moving to San Antonio and Los Angeles.

World War I (1914-1918) coupled with constant prosperity in the Southwest ushered in yet another wave of Mexican immigration. This demand for the Mexican workforce was intensified even more by the passing of the Immigration Act of 1917, which limited immigration from Asia and south-eastern Europe, yet it did not restrict the influx from Mexico. Therefore, as Zuniga and Ruben (2005:40) succinctly note, “[...] there was plenty of work even for Mexicans immigrating illegally; [...] it was easy to cross the border”. What the authors further contend is the fact that “the U.S. Border Patrol was organised in 1924, but it had far too few employees to police the entire 2,000-mile (3,200-km) border

effectively”. The statistics show that by the 1920s approximately 49,000 Mexican immigrants per year were arriving in the United States (Pew Hispanic Centre 2013).

Brick, Challinor and Rosenblum (2011:14) further acknowledges that this vast migration flow was abruptly finished due to the Great Depression of the 1930s. Herbert Hoover, who was the American president (1929-1933) at a time of soaring unemployment, held Mexican immigrants responsible for the economic difficulties in the Southwest. As a result, local authorities implemented a repatriation programme in order to expel Mexicans from the United States. It is important to understand that although it was officially voluntary, in practice many immigrants were repatriated against their will since, as was estimated, 500,000 Mexicans were forcibly sent to their country of origin. Indisputably, the lack of political opposition, together with the absence of the demand for the Mexican workforce, caused this massive violation of civil rights to be a remarkably successful strategy.

A further important insight emerging from yet another research study is that the cause of one more significant immigration flow was partly a legacy of the US-Mexican programme. Gutierrez (1995:48) notes:

“In the wake of the Great Depression, the U.S. political economy was significantly restructured by President Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal<sup>87</sup> As in Mexico, the government came to assume a more central role in the management and organisation of economic life, enacting new laws to govern the banking and securities industries, regulate trade, and mediate labor relations.[...] With the entry of the United States into World War II in December 1941, the stage was set for a sustained economic boom that would last for decades.”

Thus, not only the mobilisation of American industry for the war, but also the enactment of military recruitment created a threat of serious labour shortages in American agriculture. As a consequence, an agreement was reached by the US and Mexican governments in 1942, referred to as the Bracero Programme<sup>88</sup>. Borjas (2007:83) explains that it was “a bilateral guest worker program initiated in the first few months of World War II, and extended until 1964”, which served as the main form of the Mexican flow to the United States from 1942 to the early 1960s. Drawing largely from Pew Hispanic Centre research (2013), it may be estimated that approximately 4.7 million Mexican immigrants worked under bracero

---

<sup>87</sup> The New Deal refers to a series of economic programmes enacted in the United States in response to the Great Depression from 1933 to 1936, which were focused on the 3 Rs: Relief for the unemployed and underprivileged; Recovery of the economy to normal levels; and Reform of the financial system to prevent a repeat depression (Gómez 2007:68).

<sup>88</sup> The word derived from the Spanish form *brazo*, meaning arm. It may be translated loosely as *farmhand* (Gutierrez 1995:47).

contracts. Indisputably, the Bracero Programme fostered the culture and economy of emigration within Mexican communities, deepened the reliance on a low-wage workforce, especially in the case of American agribusiness, and created a transnational system of labour recruiters connecting both countries. Nevertheless, as was pointed out by Borjas (2007:90-102), being contracted for seasonal agricultural work, not only were Mexican immigrants restricted from joining unions, but they were also allowed to reside in the United States for only six months.

In fact, it is well documented in Gómez's (2007:70-78) research reports that even though demographic, economic, as well as social conditions in Mexico encouraged the rapid growth of the working-age population under the Bracero Program, these years were characterised not only by uneven employment growth, but also

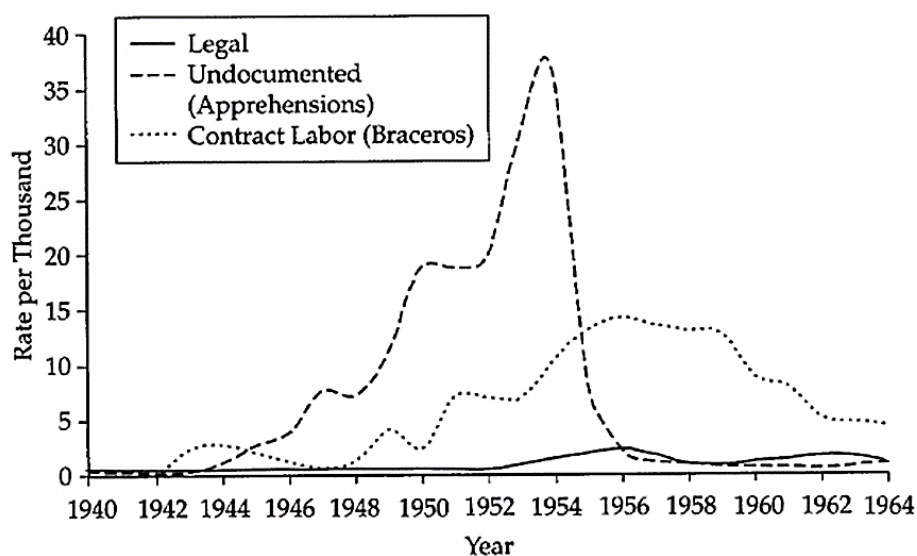
“[...] substantial economic uncertainty associated with the oil shocks of the 1970s, Mexico's sovereign debt default in 1982, and repeated currency devaluations as the country made a rocky transition from inward-looking state-led development during the 1950s and 60s to more competitive markets and trade-oriented growth beginning in the 1990s.”

Gómez's assumption corresponds to Gutierrez's (1995:48), which states that Lázaro Cárdenas's<sup>89</sup> presidency in the 1930s was marked by excessive structural transformation as well as societal changes in Mexico. The author notices that the period 1940-1970 came to be known as the *Mexican economic miracle* since the actual rate of economic growth averaged around 6 percent per year. Nonetheless, Borjas (2007:102) disagrees with the previous authors by considering that despite the impressive economic expansion, the level of labour demand in urban areas was far too low for Mexico's escalating rural population. Thus, the revival of workforce recruitment in the United States began at an opportune time in Mexican economic history.

Scholars' thought also challenges the fact that despite numerous year-to-year extensions of the Bracero Program in the late 1940s, the total number of the Mexican workforce was insufficient to meet the demand created by the growing post-war economy. The aforementioned issue is examined even more deeply by Gutierrez (1995:48), who has provided a descriptive account of the aforementioned regional *push factors*. According to the author, the consequence was an increasing proportion of unauthorised Mexicans in America as the agricultural growers literally *took matters into their own hands* by hiring undocumented workers.

---

<sup>89</sup> President of Mexico in the years 1934-1940 (Gutierrez 1995:48).



**Figure 7.** Mexican Immigration to the United States, 1940 to 1964 (Pew Hispanic Centre 2013)

In the above illustration (see: Figure 7), which provides data on the direct switch from illegal to bracero immigration, fluctuations can be observed in the rate of outmigration from Mexico in the period between 1940 and 1964. In addition, during the first two years of the 1940s there was practically no migration of any kind from Mexico to the United States. The figure also reveals that since late 1942 bracero recruitment and the number of contract workers began to surge. What is more, in 1944, unauthorised immigration, encouraged by the employment of braceros, also increased due to the reduction of bracero visas in the post-war period.

Similarly, Dockterman (qtd in Pew Hispanic Centre 2013) also notes the subsequent expansion of contract employment from 1948 to 1949. Furthering the notion, in 1950, the reduction in bracero recruitment created yet another rise in the rate of illegal employees. The author emphasises a definitive growth of the bracero influx during the period 1955-1960 coupled with the initial growth of legal immigration. What the statistics also show is that whereas the level of apprehension remained at approximately 37 per 1,000 in 1954, within two years it had been reduced to circa 1 per 1,000, equalling the rate of officially permitted immigration, and it remained at this level until the early 1960s<sup>90</sup>.

Ramírez and De la Cruz (2002:12-25) further acknowledge that, after the end of the war, Mexican arrival was sanctioned under the so-called *legal permanent resident programme*

<sup>90</sup> Source: Pew Hispanic Centre (2013).

created by United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)<sup>91</sup>. In addition, in order to reduce unauthorised immigration, the US Congress established the Border Patrol in 1924, whose work, as described by Zuniga and Ruben (2005:44), “gradually turned toward deportation, of the returning of undocumented immigrants to their country of origin”.

Further, the scholars provide a descriptive account of the statistics in the period 1940-1960: circa 360,000 Mexican-origin immigrants resided in the United States permanently and legally because of the Bracero Program, admitted primarily due to their family ties with a relative who was already a legal American resident or citizen.

Thus far, many specialists have demonstrated the positive aspects of the Bracero Program. Yet, Massey, Durand and Parrado’s (1999) analysis of the issue echoes the flaws of the aforementioned programme. The authors summarise the arguments against it by asserting that “as the civil rights era progressed, the Bracero Program came to be seen as an exploitative and discriminatory system detrimental to the socioeconomic well-being of Mexican Americans” (1999:519). According to Horwedel (2005:210), by the mid-1960s growers had become heavily dependent on Mexican workers. Due to the fact that wages were increasing and working conditions improving, cultivators could have drawn native labourers back into agriculture.

Nevertheless, another aspect of the discussion concerning the programme has been studied by yet another group of researchers, i.e. Brick, Challinor and Rosenblum (2011:14), who claim that the Bracero Programme would not only have induced structural inflation, but also it would have increased prices and the workers would have been at a competitive disadvantage in the highly competitive food industry. Horwedel (2005:212) continues the previous authors’ argument by advancing that even if farmers had offered higher wages, another difficulty would have occurred; namely, after twenty-two years of a near-monopoly by the Mexican workforce, agricultural work throughout the United States had begun to be seen by society as *foreign* and thus not accepted, or even seen as improper, by American citizens.

Hence, a coalition of unions and religious groups together with civil rights organisations persuaded the government to curtail the annual number of bracero visas, causing their reduction from 438,000 in 1959 to 178,000 in 1964. In 1965, the *bracero* era finally came to an end.

---

<sup>91</sup> The service was established in the 1933 as an agency of the Department of Labor since the immigration law had become increasingly complicated. The programme controlled the arrival of foreign-born citizens in the United States at various ports of entry, the most important being Ellis Island (Ramírez and De la Cruz 2002:13).

For the time being, in Mexico, the vaunted economic miracle began to unravel: in downtown Mexico City in late 1968 a massacre of student demonstrators alarmed and threatened the political establishment and thus the stability on which economic growth in Mexico was based. By the same token, an immense growth in the size of the state coupled with a surge in deficit expenditure in the course of Luis Echeverría Álvarez's<sup>92</sup> presidency caused not only political instability and the flight of capital, but also a devaluation of the peso in 1976. Even despite the discovery of new petroleum reserves, which, as Parado (1999:519) describes it, "bought Mexico a few years of additional time", by 1982 world oil prices had been reduced significantly, resulting in the collapse of the Mexican economy (Brick, Challinor, Rosenblum 2011:14-18).

Even in the face of what the experts refer to as "the end of the economic miracle" (Horwedel 2005:229; Brick, Challinor and Rosenblum 2011:18; Zuniga and Ruben 2005:48) the number of unauthorised Mexican immigrants would probably not have risen after the demise of the Bracero Program, had it not been followed immediately by new restrictions on the legal influx of Mexican workers. Due to the fact that they could enter the United States without numerical limits, approximately 386,000 Mexicans received visas of permanent residence, a 43 percent increase over the short window of time from 1950 through 1958. Whereas officially Mexican immigration remained at 23,000 newcomers per year in 1959, data collected by Horwedel confirm that the number had doubled to more than 55,000 in 1963.

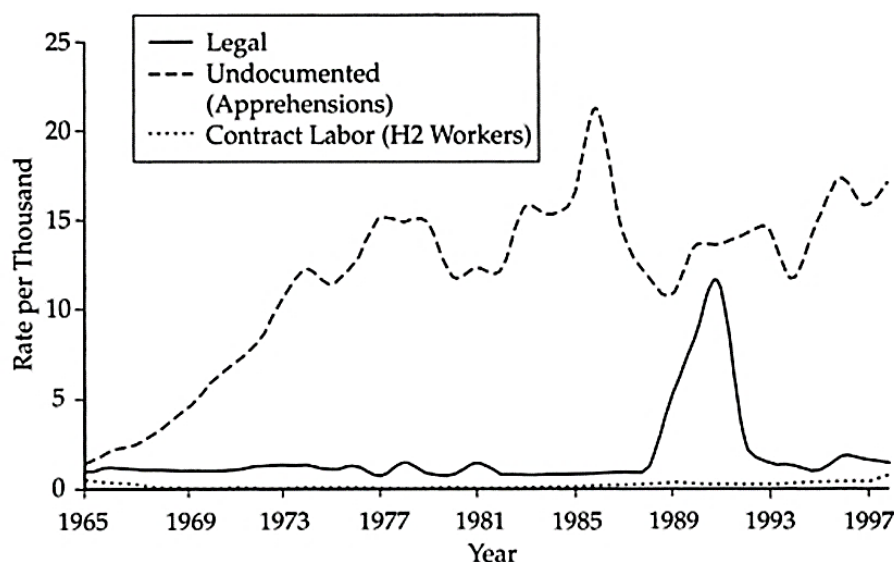
Zuniga and Ruben (2002:50-52) further address the issue of immigration restrictions and their results by acknowledging a correlation between the drastic reduction in the availability of authorised visas, the period of substantial population growth, and the declining economic situation in Mexico. "Given this combination and the accumulation of so much migration-related human and social capital during the 'bracero' era, only one outcome was possible: an explosion of undocumented migration", assert the authors (2002:52).

Data on the out-migration rate to the United States in the period 1965-1997, collected by the Pew Hispanic Centre (2013), support Zuniga and Ruben's statement. As is evident in Figure 8, characterised by some minor and one notable exception, the level of legal Mexican-origin immigrants has remained at circa 1.0 per 1,000 since 1965. After decreasing slightly during 1977 due to the inclusion of Mexico in the country quotas, the rate grew to 1.4 per 1,000 from 1978 to 1981, apparently caused by the Silva programme, which temporarily prolonged Mexican access to US visas during 1977-1981. Nonetheless, the above figures

---

<sup>92</sup> Mexican president during the period 1970-1976 (Gutierrez 1995:51).

show minor deviations from a fairly flat trend line persisting throughout the early 1980s. Hence, the US policy succeeded in the restriction of Mexican immigrants' access to legal visas.



**Figure 8.** Mexican Immigration to the United States, 1965 to 1997 (Pew Hispanic Centre 2013)

As the foregoing analysis indicates, compared with 1.3 million legitimately permitted immigrants and a mere 46,000 contract labourers, roughly 28.0 million Mexicans crossed the US border illegally from 1965 to 1997. In total, the net number of Mexican immigrants in the period 1965-1986 was, in all probability, in the order of 5.7 million, of whom 81 percent were unauthorised (Massey, Durand and Malone 2002:44-47).

Conceivably the most persistent query in this history of Mexican-American immigrants is why the border enforcement was incapable of preventing this illegal flow of immigrants. In Gómez's (2007:81) analysis the answer to this question is provided by the statement that "while border enforcement served an important symbolic purpose by signaling that the nation was being defended, it did not really deter Mexicans from attempting an undocumented border crossing".

As a matter of fact, during the 1965-1986 immigration regime, the career interests of Border Patrol officers, in the first place, were best served by carrying out a large number of arrests, and then processing them promptly. Hence, as the interests of the immigrants were to avoid apprehension if possible, but when arrested, return to Mexico and try to cross the border again, the bureaucratic procedure that was developed to institutionalise these complementary interests was termed the *voluntary departure order* (Horwedel 2005:241-

243). To put it succinctly, even if caught and expelled to their country of origin, Mexicans tried again until they succeeded, forming a bureaucratic copying strategy that Borjas (2007:93) has labelled *repeated trial model*, also known as *a game of cat-and-mouse* (Brick, Challinor and Rosenblum 2011:150) or *a revolving door* (Abalos 2007:230; Massey, Durand and Malone 2002:47). Thus, after two decades of unlawful passages and numerous apprehensions, the social encounter between the Border Police and Mexican immigrants became highly ritualised. Perhaps, the most accurate conclusion is endorsed in a 1976 report, in which the comptroller general of the United States comments: “Presently the border is a revolving door [...]; we repatriate undocumented workers on a massive scale [and] the illegals cooperate by agreeing to voluntarily depart, and significant numbers promptly re-enter” (qtd in Horwedel 2005:243).

Such a policy began to unravel even more as the spiral of apprehensions continued to escalate each year, ultimately, for both lawmakers and the public, serving less to justify the need for more enforcement resources than to prove that the border was yet again spiralling out of control. Simultaneously, whereas such growth of illegal immigrants of Mexican origin became increasingly noticeable, the United States reached a stage of both substantial economic and political chaos, due to which the general public was left with a prevailing feeling of insecurity. As Borjas (2007:93-98) goes on to explain, expanding illegal immigration coupled with profound social and economic concerns created a situation in which providing a solution to the problem of unauthorised immigration was of uppermost importance. Consequently, during the first half of the 1980s, numerous bills were introduced in order to tighten border enforcement, most of which, due to the conflicts inherent in the immigration debate, were withdrawn. The Immigration Reform and Control Act<sup>93</sup>, signed into law by President Reagan in 1986 began a historic compromise carefully balancing the interests of farmers, immigrants, free traders, nativists, and employers.

Conversely, and perhaps more surprisingly, what Massey, Durand and Parrado (1999:530) note is that “U.S. concerns about Mexico and Mexican immigration did not stop at the border, nor were they all addressed by IRCA”. Owing to the fact that hyperinflation, national insolvency and default on international loans were yet again brought about by the collapse of the Mexican peso in 1982, Mexico was pressured by the American government

---

<sup>93</sup> The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) as a federal law controlled the employment of foreign workers; it specified which employees may be hired legally and provided data on how to verify the legality of workers. The act also prohibited discrimination against job applicants and workers due to national origin or citizenship (Abalos 2007:230).

to (1) deregulate its economy, (2) undertake monetary and fiscal reform, (3) downsize the state, and also (4) liberalise trade<sup>94</sup>.

In the meantime, a new group of US technocrats in Mexico, controlled by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari<sup>95</sup>, were brought to power prior to the economic crisis. Having expertise in market economics and being committed to dismantling import substitution as well as industrialisation of the political economy which had existed since the 1930s, they operated constantly during the late 1980s and early 1990s in order to carry out privatisation of the economy; to eliminate controls on ownership and investment; to withdraw subsidies; to deregulate markets; to reduce tariffs; and finally, to dismantle trade barriers (Massey, Durand and Malone 2002:47-51). Horwedel's study unambiguously reveals that being perceived with great favour, these changes were strongly supported by free-marketers of both the Reagan and Bush administrations. Thus, since President Salinas aimed at institutionalising the reforms and making them permanent, "U.S. officials eagerly embraced the vehicle he chose: the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)" (2005:248). In these circumstances, on January 1, 1994, the agreement went into effect.

Abalos (2007:232) responds to this integration of the Mexico-US economy, by stating that:

"[...] even as it moved progressively toward more restrictive immigration policies, the United States simultaneously committed itself to a broader process of economic integration with Mexico, ensuring that the new age of Mexico-U.S. migration would be one of profound ambivalence."

Even despite the obvious fact that the agreement created elaborate and efficient transportation along with a communication network between the two countries and forged a broader network of professional contacts and social ties through growing tourist business, cultural and scientific interactions, a common refrain prevailed: the Mexican-American economic integration would allow Mexico "to export goods not people" (Gómez 2007:82-88).

The data on the Mexican population in the United States unquestionably present a valid argument for understanding yet another important issue observed in Mexican-US relations; specifically, in spite of the growth in border control and the enforcement of employer sanctions, legalisation of 2.3 million formerly unauthorised Mexican émigrés occurred,

---

<sup>94</sup> It is also vital to note that most of the Mexican national debt was owed to US banks.

<sup>95</sup> President of Mexico from 1988 to 1994 (Gutierrez 1995:58).

hugely increasing the level of legal immigration. Given these points, processing from 1988 through 1992, the rate of legal entries at the border was increased to around 11.00 per 1,000 in 1991, exceeding even the high rates reported during the 1920s (Pew Hispanic Centre 2013).

Zuniga and Ruben (2005:56) provide even greater clarity towards understanding these data by pointing out that as in the earlier *bracero era*, the statistics imply an exchange between officially recognised and unauthorised migration. “Once the legalisation programs were announced in late 1986, millions of undocumented migrants chose to remain in the United States and begin the process of applying for a visa”, assert the authors (Zuniga and Ruben 2005:56). Consequently, as shown in Figure 8, the scale of apprehension decreased immediately from circa 22.0 per 1,000 in 1986 to just 11.0 per 1,000 in 1988. Yet, despite the legalisation programme, unauthorised immigration increased once again, with a rate of apprehension at 17.0 per 1,000 in 1996<sup>96</sup>.

Indisputably, the array of historical data discussed in this section demonstrates that since the late nineteenth century the political economy in Mexico has undergone three structural transformations; specifically, as Zuniga and Ruben (2005:57) succinctly note:

“(1) the liberal revolution of Porfirio Díaz, which by attracting foreign investment to build an industrial base, created a national market, and linked Mexico, via new ports and railroads, to the global trading system, (2) the Mexican Revolution, which created a powerful corporatist state that assumed a central role in planning, organizing, and financing economic growth, and finally (3) the neoliberal revolution of the 1980s that privatised state-owned industries, dramatically downsized government, limited subsidies, and opened Mexico to global trade and foreign investment.”

It seems apparent that the waves of migration from Mexico to the United States, with the exception of a brief break throughout the 1930s, have continued since the dawn of the twentieth century. Indeed, according to Thomson Reuters’s (2012) report, more than 12 million Mexican-origin immigrants have crossed the US border since 1970, more than half of them with authorisation. Still, statistics reveal major changes in the long-term tendency: whereas approximately 2.9 million exiles from Mexico settled in the United States in the period 1995-2000, one decade later, from 2005 to 2010, however, only 1.37 million Mexicans emigrated to the United States (Ramírez and De la Cruz 2002:25).

---

<sup>96</sup> Source: Pew Hispanic Centre (2013).

Acknowledging the entire historical scene of the Mexico-US immigration process, what has been changed over time is not the fact or size of arrival, but the auspices under which it took place. Undoubtedly, it is a misconception to assume that immigration from Mexico to the United States was caused either by aspiration to relocate permanently north of the border for economic reasons, or simply by cost-benefit choices made by individuals. Whatever the motive, the truth remains uniform: both social and economic aspects strongly influenced the stimuli for international immigration.

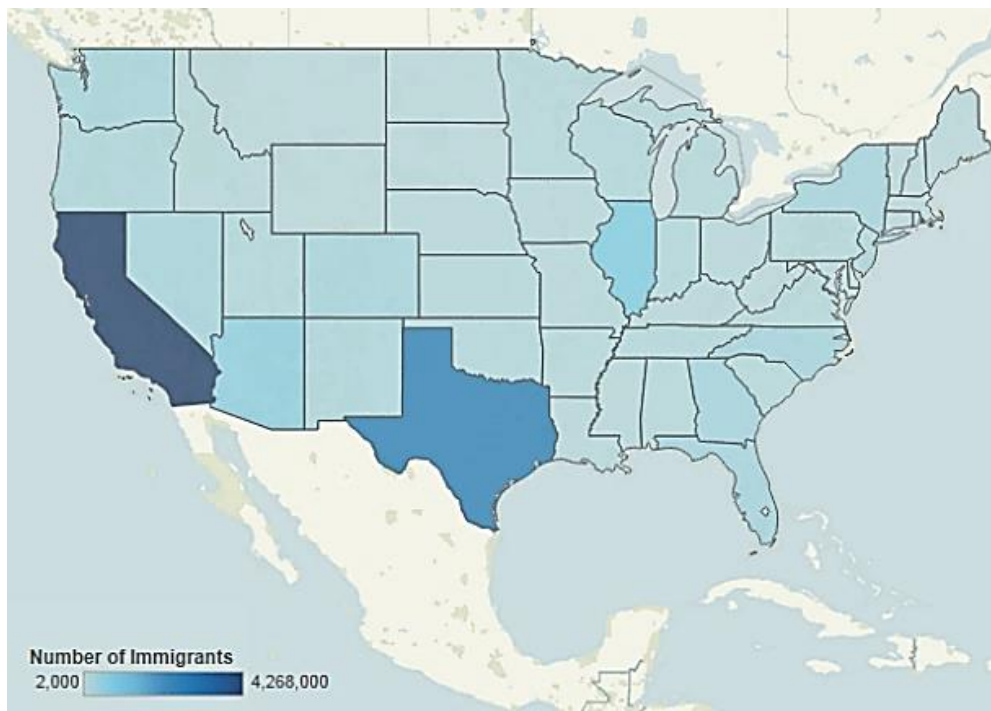
## **4.2 Geographical distribution**

Undeniably, many of the arguments presented in the preceding discussion (see: section 4.1 Historical panorama of Mexican immigration to the USA) concerning the Mexican diaspora emphasise one the most enduring tropes surrounding the process of immigration: not only has the Mexican population in the United States increased, but it has also begun to spread widely across the American nation. Therefore, it is not surprising to notice a significant change in the main settlement patterns for Mexicans since the late 1990s. While throughout history the major settlement areas such as Texas, California, Illinois, and Arizona, have continued to attract newcomers, new destinations have also emerged.

Data collected by Flores and Treviño (2010:51-54) correspond to the above assertion. The authors provide a graphic outline of the Mexican geographical distribution in the United States, which helps to identify the specific areas absorbing immigrants from Mexico. Based on this visualisation of human movement, it can be noticed that the share of Mexican newcomers residing in the top four states plummeted significantly from 89 percent in 1990 to 72 percent in 2002, whereas the number living in these states increased by 87 percent from 3.8 million, reaching 7.1 million.

By the same token, Brick, Challinor and Rosenblum (2011:15-16) acknowledge that the rate of new Hispanics of Mexican origin who have decided to settle in *non-traditional* settlement areas has grown significantly due to the fact that they moved to two main regions; specifically, (1) the south-eastern part of the country: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee; and (2) the upper Midwest: Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, Wisconsin. What is more, in the period 1990-2000, a rapid increase of Mexican settlers was reported in two additional states, Delaware and Maryland, along with the western regions of Colorado and Utah. Overall, the Mexican diaspora outside the four largest states has grown more than five-fold, starting from 500,000 Mexicans in 1990 and reaching 2.7 million in 2002 (Brick 2011:11-14; Abalos 2007:235).

It is also of crucial importance to understand that by continuing to experience migration processes, these US regions undergo the starkest transitions in educational, political, and economic infrastructure caused by changes in their share of migration activity. The first authors who echo the significance of such transitions are Flores and Treviño (2010:54), who explicitly consider the increased level of immigrants from Mexico in the south-eastern and north-eastern regions of the United States as the greatest transformation post-1995. Yet, the above conclusion is inconsistent with Grey and Woodrick’s study. As the authors reveal, “[...] the movement of Spanish-speaking migrants into the Northeast is not a new phenomenon since for some time this region has had a Spanish-speaking immigrant population that includes Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and some South American groups” (2005:133). Be that as it may, New York, New Jersey and Connecticut are other regions familiar with Spanish-speaking diasporas both in the educational and political realms, yet, they have never before experienced such a noticeable wave of Mexican immigrants. Thus, not only their educational and political structure, but also their economic performance, is still adjusting to “this rupture in the traditional racial dichotomy” (Flores and Treviño 2010:58).



**Figure 9.** Top destination states of Mexican immigrants in the United States, 2008-2012  
(Migration Policy Institute 2014)

Looking at a specific period of time (2008-2012) and detailing the place of residence of census respondents in the United States, the geographical distribution of Mexican émigrés by region can be evaluated. As depicted in Figure 9, the top two areas with the largest Mexican-origin population are California (37 percent) and Texas (21 percent); in other words, states that have historically experienced not only the major wave of newcomers, but also the highest number of US-born Mexicans. Furthermore, the top four counties where immigrants from Mexico have chosen to settle are Los Angeles County in California, Harris County (Houston) in Texas, Cook County (Chicago) in Illinois, and Orange County in California. Altogether, the areas mentioned accounted for nearly 25 percent of the total Mexican population in the United States.

Abalos (2007:237) continues research on the proportions of Mexican and non-Mexican immigrants living throughout the regions of the United States. According to the author's reports, the West is the most affected by immigration, being home to nearly 63 percent of Mexican immigrants. Unquestionably, data collected by Abalos provide greater clarity towards the understanding that immigrants from countries other than Mexico are substantially less concentrated. What Horwedel (2005:332) further acknowledges is that:

“[...] the West, South, and Northeast each account for roughly 30 percent of the nation's non-Mexican immigrant population. The Mexican population is even more concentrated than some figures suggests [...]. Almost 48.2 percent, or 3.8 million of all Mexican immigrants live in just one state: California. Of non-Mexican immigrants, 24.3 percent live in California.”

Further analysis of US immigration processes has revealed that Texas accounts for another 18.5 percent, or 1.5 million, of all Mexican immigrants residing in the United States. Additionally, Texas, California, and the two other border states of Arizona and New Mexico account for 72.7 percent of Mexicans (Abalos 2007:237-238).

By examining Table 4 below, it may be concluded that in the period 2008-2012, the US cities with the highest rate of Mexican immigrants were the Los Angeles, Chicago, and Houston metropolitan areas, which together accounted for approximately 26 percent of Mexicans in the country. According to the statistics, in 2011, 12 percent, or 1.4 million, of all Mexicans settled in the metropolitan area of Los Angeles, California. An additional half a million (5 percent) resided in the Riverside-San Bernardino metropolitan area, whereas approximately 300,000 of all Mexican-origin newcomers, lived in each of the metropolitan areas of Orange County and San Diego. Additionally, 6 percent of the whole Mexican immigrant population resided in the metropolitan area of Chicago, Illinois while

approximately 13 percent of all Mexican émigrés lived in three Texas areas; namely, Houston (5 percent), Dallas (4 percent) and McAllen (2 percent).

<b>Metropolitan areas</b>	<b>Immigrant population from Mexico</b>	<b>% of metropolitan area population</b>
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	1,5751,000	13.6
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WX	677,000	7.2
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	599,000	10.1
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	587,000	9.2
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	555,000	13.1
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	353,000	8.4
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	332,000	10.7
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NU-PA	316,000	1.7
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	257,000	5.9
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	213,000	13.5

**Table 4.** Top destination cities of Mexican immigrants in the United States, 2008-2012  
(Migration Policy Institute)

Undeniably, the data presented for Mexican immigrants in the United States reveal the importance of adjustments that these states were obliged to undertake in order to accommodate the new migration exodus from Mexico. Flores and Treviño (2010:71) summarise that “it quantitatively confirms once again that in addition to the rapid increase in numbers, Mexican immigration in the United States is highly concentrated”.

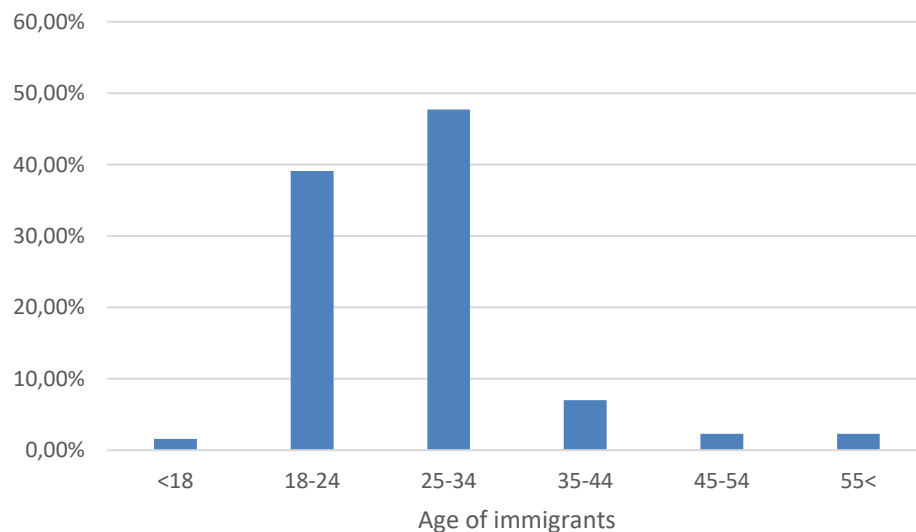
#### **4.3 Characteristic of the surveyed diaspora**

The 2014-2016 research contained a battery of questions about both the linguistic and cultural situations of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles. The study involved 128 individuals, 77 females and 51 males (Table 5), who were asked to complete an anonymous web questionnaire. The survey also permitted the gathering of information on bilingual Mexicans living in Los Angeles and on the Spanish-English dialect, which was perceived as an expression of bilingualism. The multitude of data that came directly from these surveys depict a vivid portrayal of Spanish-English bilinguals’ experience.

Gender	Number	%
Female	77	60.2
Male	51	39.8
Overall	128	100.0

**Table 5.** Respondents' gender (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

Based on the collected data, it may be observed that the research group was clearly dominated by immigrants aged between 18 and 34. As Figure 10 indicates, the largest group of respondents is represented by individuals aged 25 to 34 (47.7%). Those aged between 18 and 24 make up a smaller group (39.1%). Undeniably, respondents aged 35-44 make up a minority of the sample, constituting only 7%, whereas Mexicans aged between 45 and 54 as well as older account for 2.3% of the respondents. As can also be seen, Mexicans under 18 years of age constitute only 1.6% of the total sample.



**Figure 10.** Respondents' age (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

Table 6, which provides information on the respondents' education level, describes the pattern of the immigrant diaspora in Los Angeles, which is dominated by individuals with a higher educational level; specifically, 46% of all those questioned are university graduates, while Mexicans with incomplete higher education account for 13.3%. The second largest group of respondents 37.5% consists of people with secondary education. Yet, it is worth mentioning that 32 individuals, out of 48 with high school education, are respondents who

were university students during the period of conducting the survey<sup>97</sup>. What is more, the research confirms that contemporary population movements are characterised by international migration of educated people<sup>98</sup>.

Education level	Number	%
Elementary school	-	-
Secondary School	2	1.6
Technical Institute	2	1.6
High School	48	37.5
Incomplete higher education	17	13.3
Higher education	59	46.0
<b>Overall</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 6.** Respondents' education level (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

The analysis of the prime source regions of immigration to Los Angeles included in Table 7, proves that more than half of the immigrant population from Mexico has its origin in the West (34.3%). As the data reveal, the second largest area of origin is Southwest Mexico, constituting 25% of the group. Furthermore, 11.7% of new residents come from the North-Central Mexico, whereas 10.9% and 7% of them originated in the Southwest and the Northeast respectively. Those who come from the South-Central account for 3.9% of the total immigrant population.

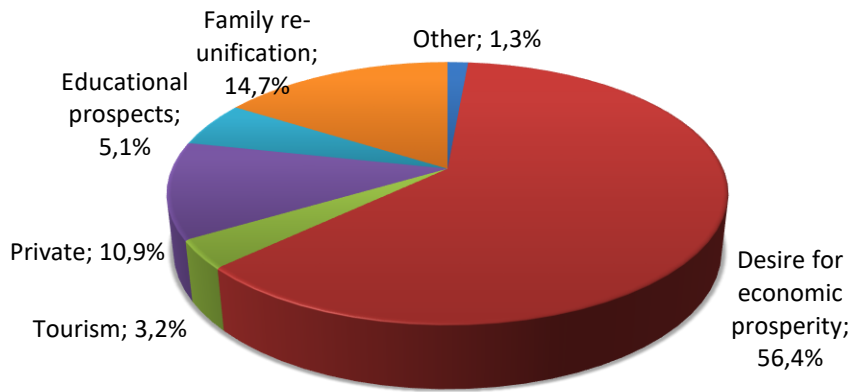
Similarly, yet another nuance of the research appears when the Mexican-American diaspora is conflated with the reasons for emigration (Figure 11). As the foregoing analysis indicates, the most common motive for departure from Mexico is connected to financial benefits (56.4). In the same vein, 14.7% of all respondents pointed to family reunion, whereas 10.9% had left Mexico for personal reasons. What can also be observed is that 5.1% of immigrants came to Los Angeles because of educational prospects and only 3.2% of those questioned specified tourism as the main immigration inducement. 1.3% of respondents indicated 5 other reasons for emigration which were not listed in the survey.

<sup>97</sup> In 2015, 32 students of the second and third year in English Philology from the University of California, Los Angeles participated in the research.

<sup>98</sup> See: Brick, Challinor and Rosenblum (2011).

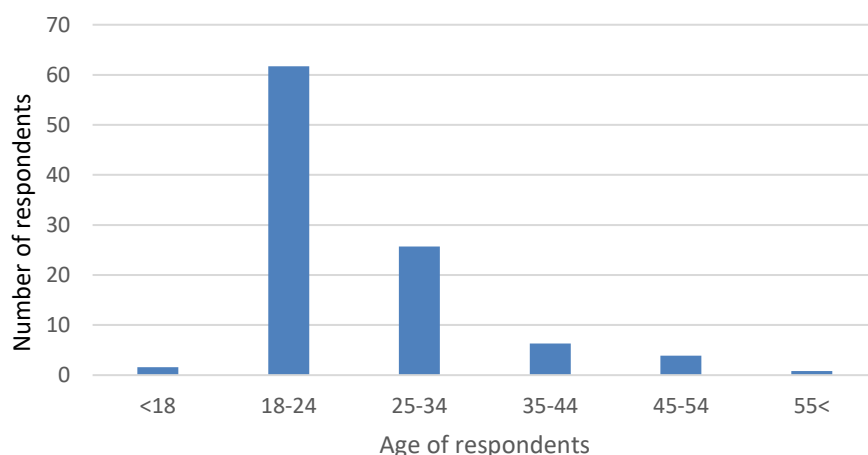
<b>Region of Mexico</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Jalisco	35	27.3
Chiapas	22	17.18
Guanajuato	9	7.0
Michoacán	9	7.0
México	5	3.9
Puebla	5	3.9
Guerrero	5	3.9
Oaxaca	5	3.9
Chihuahua	4	3.1
Durango	4	3.1
Sinaloa	4	3.1
Coahuila	4	3.1
Tamaulipas	4	3.1
Zacatecas	4	3.1
Veracruz	4	3.1
Sonora	2	1.6
Nuevo León	1	0.8
Aguascalientes	1	0.8
San Luis Potosí	1	0.8
Baja California	-	-
Baja California Sur	-	-
Querétaro	-	-
Federal District	-	-
Morelos	-	-
Colima	-	-
Nayarit	-	-
Hidalgo	-	-
Tlaxcala	-	-
Campeche	-	-
Quintana Roo	-	-
Tabasco	-	-
Yucatán	-	-
<b>Overall</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 7.** Number and share of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)



**Figure 11.** Reasons for immigration to Los Angeles (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

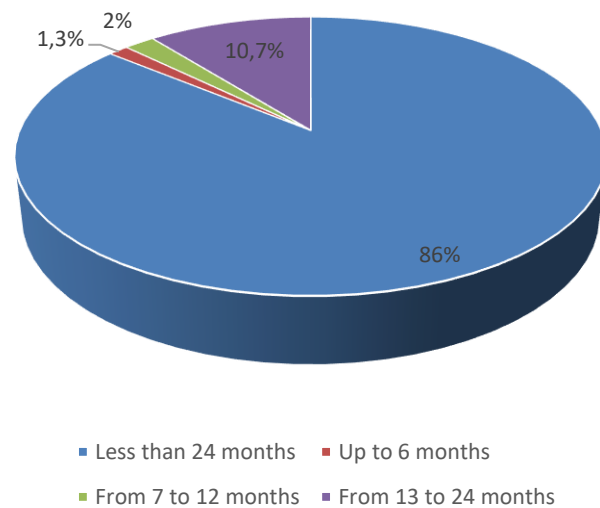
The data presented in Figure 12 also indicate that more than half of respondents (61.7%) left the country of origin and moved to Los Angeles after reaching the age of 18 and before 25. The age group between 18 and 24 is formed of those who have completed high school education or obtained a university certificate (bachelor's/master's degree). Since these individuals constitute the largest group of the total sample, one can presume that after completion of the relevant stage of education young people often choose Los Angeles as the starting point for their career and the place where first work experience can be gained. Further analysis of the data collected shows that 25.7% of respondents emigrated between the ages of 25 and 34. Those who had left their homeland between 35-44 and between 45-54 contribute correspondingly 6.3% and 3.9% of the total sample. Only 1.6% under the age of 18 and 0.8% over the age of 55 decided to leave Mexico and settle in Los Angeles.



**Figure 12.** Age of respondents at the time of immigration to Los Angeles (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

According to the research study, the vast majority of respondents, i.e. 86%, had resided in Los Angeles for more than 24 months. 10.9% of Mexican immigrants had resided in Los Angeles from 13 to 24 months, whereas 2.3% of the them had lived in the area under consideration from 7 to 12 months. Only one of those questioned (0.8%) at the time of the survey had stayed in Los Angeles no longer than 6 months.

Based on Kłos's (2006:2) division of immigration into *short-term* (under 12 months) and *long-term* (over 12 months), it can be concluded that the test group of Mexicans in Los Angeles is characterised by long-term migration. In fact, 96.9% of all respondents had lived in Los Angeles at least one year. In the same vein, the vast majority of them (86%) had resided in the city for more than 2 years (Figure 13).

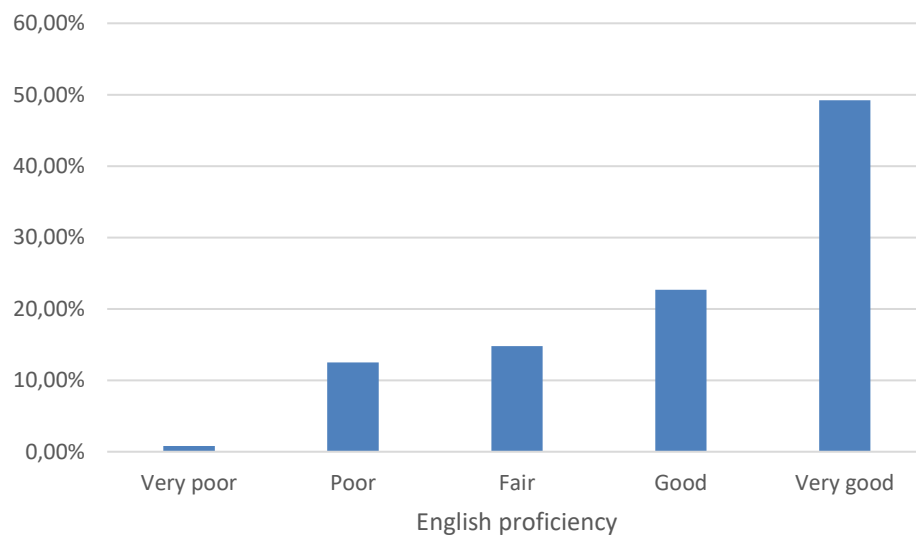


**Figure 13.** Time of residence in Los Angeles (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

The above analysis of the Mexican residents in Los Angeles, coupled with the investigation of the main motives for immigration, demonstrate that the characteristics of the sample Mexican émigré community in Los Angeles is consistent with the one presented by experts on contemporary migration. As a result of the economic situation in Mexico as well as better financial prospects in the United States, the majority of exiles consist of young and well-educated individuals. First and foremost, it was the ability to change their financial situation and living conditions that prompted the surveyed group of Mexicans to leave their homeland.

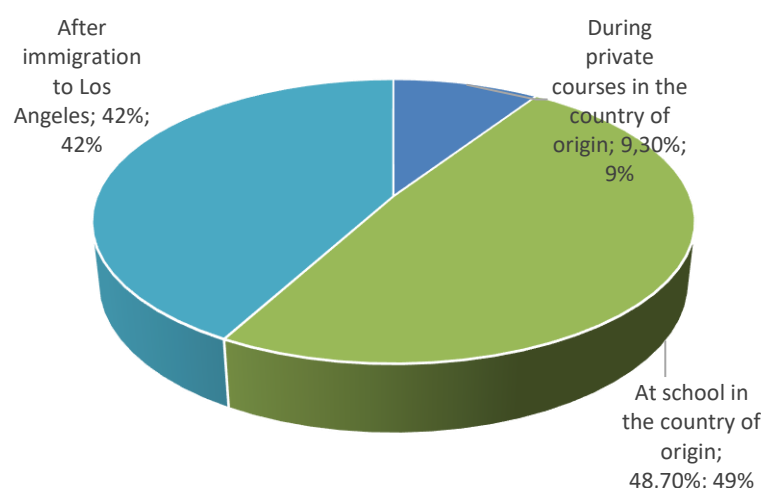
#### 4.4 Linguistic situation of Mexicans in Los Angeles

According to our data (Figure 14), more than 80% of the Mexican immigrants have no major communication problems in the new country of settlement since they know English at a basic level or better. Almost half of the respondents (49.2%) speak English very well. 22.7% declare good knowledge of English, while 14.8% describe their English proficiency as fair. Poor knowledge of English is noted among 12.5% of respondents, while only 0.8% express very poor knowledge of the language.



**Figure 14.** Proficiency of English among respondents (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

When asked to designate the manner and conditions under which they acquired their English language skills 48.7% of respondents pointed to their education in Mexico. In contrast, 9.3% of migrants attended private language courses in their country of origin. 42% of Mexicans declare that they have mastered English in natural conditions (see: section 1.3.3 Natural versus school bilingualism). It is also vital to note that some of those surveyed chose two means of learning English; namely, in Mexican school and during migration in Los Angeles. Thus, it can be presumed that most Mexican immigrants started learning English in Mexico, mastering it to some extent, nonetheless after arriving in the United States they wanted to develop their English communication and language skills.



**Figure 15.** The means of acquiring English language by respondents (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

Drawing on the data on Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles it can also be identified that many immigrant respondents began to learn English between the ages of 11 and 20. More than 30% of all respondents started English learning at school before the age of 10. In contrast, less than 20% of those surveyed began acquiring English after the age of 20.

The web questionnaires also allowed to investigate the attitudes<sup>99</sup> of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles towards two linguistic systems: Spanish and English. Irrefutably, for the vast majority of respondents both languages present value; they are both considered precious and desirable. The respondents also declare that they improve their knowledge of both language systems. Almost 90% of the Mexicans living in Los Angeles believe that they constantly improve their English language skills. 25.8% of the respondents have a neutral attitude to Spanish, while only 10.2% to English. None of the respondents indicate a lack of attention to learning English, and only one individual comments that he does not care about his native language (Table 8 and 9).

Attitude towards Spanish language	Number	%
Emotional – I am constantly improving my Spanish language skills	94	73.4
Indifferent	33	25.8
I do not care about my native language	1	0.8
<b>Overall</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 8.** Respondents' attitude towards Spanish language (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

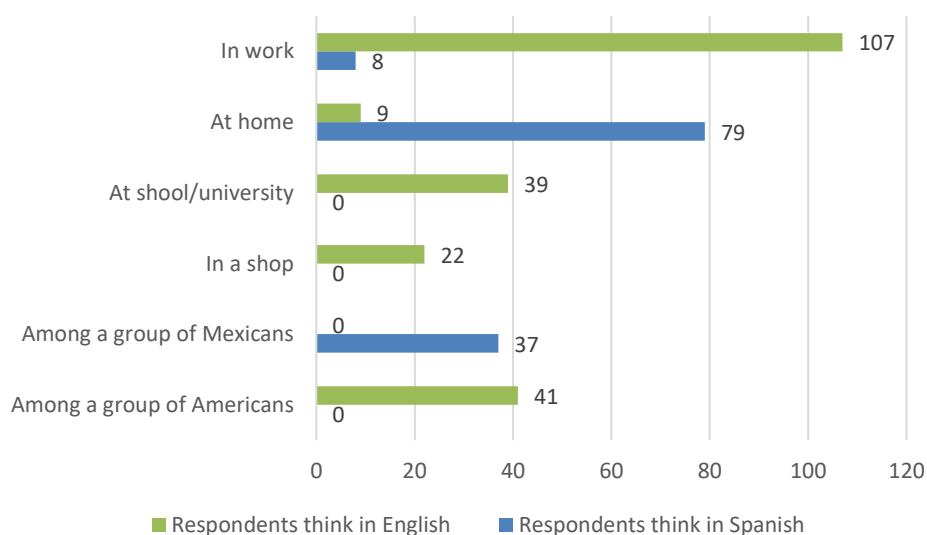
<sup>99</sup> See also: Hudson (1980); Fasold (1983).

Attitude towards English language	Number	%
Emotional – I am constantly improving my English language skills	115	89.8
Indifferent	18	10.2
I do not care about learning the English language	0	0
<b>Overall</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 9.** Respondents' attitude towards English language (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

Furthermore, 87% of the Mexican émigrés claim that they think in English, whereas 13% deny using English for mental processes. Figure 16, which provides information on the share of respondents who operate in two linguistic realities, Spanish and English, indicates that the Mexican migrants think in a given language in the following situations:

- 1) in Spanish: most often at home (79 respondents) and among a group of Mexicans (37 respondents);
- 2) in English: most often at work (107 respondents), among a group of Americans (41 respondents), at school/university (39 respondents), while shopping (22 respondents).



**Figure 16.** Places and situations in which Mexican immigrants think in Spanish and English (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

By far the most common feature within the group of Mexican immigrants is dominant bilingualism due to the fact that Spanish is the language system that the Mexican immigrants speak much better than English. 84.4% of respondents reveal that they feel more proficient

in Spanish while speaking and writing. The Mexicans who speak and write well in both languages account for 13.3%, whereas 2.3% are not able to assess their speaking and writing skills in both languages. As can also be seen, none of the respondents admitted to having greater linguistic competence in English (Table 10 and 11).

<b>I speak better</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Spanish	108	84.4
English	-	-
Both languages equally	17	13.3
It is difficult to assess	3	2.3
<b>Overall</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 10.** Language used in speaking (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

<b>I write better</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
In Spanish	108	84.4
In English	-	-
In both languages equally	17	13.3
It is difficult to assess	3	2.3
<b>Overall</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 11.** Language used in writing (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

There is no significant difference between the results of previous research and the answers to the question about the language in which respondents prefer to read. 60.9% of the Mexican immigrants admit that they prefer to read in their first/primary language – Spanish. 33.6% of those surveyed state that their reading comprehension is equal in both languages, while 5.5% prefer to read in English (Table 12).

<b>I prefer to read</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
In Spanish	78	60.9
In English	7	5.5
In both languages equally	43	33.6
<b>Overall</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 12.** Language in which respondents prefer to read (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

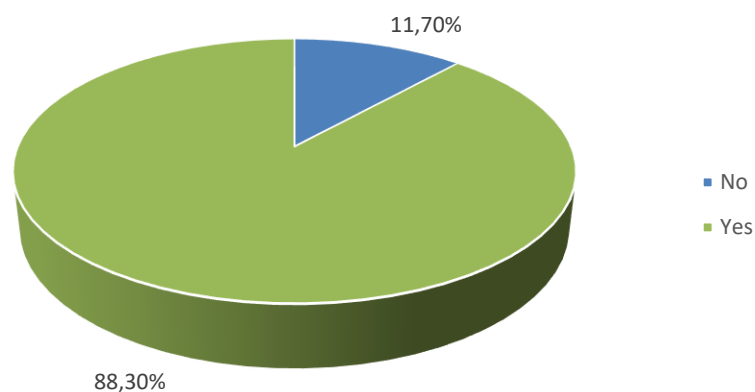
None of the respondents believe that knowledge of two languages would in any way interfere with the acquisition of knowledge. On the contrary, 79.7% of the Mexicans state

that bilingualism facilitates learning. 20.3% of them cannot clearly determine whether this ability is helpful or not (Table 13).

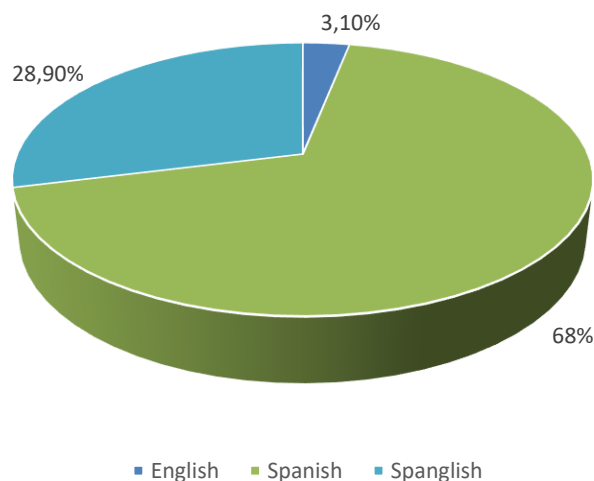
<b>Writing and speaking skills in two languages</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Inhibit acquiring knowledge	-	-
Facilitate learning	102	79.7
It is difficult to assess	26	20.3
<b>Overall</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 13.** Bilingualism among respondents (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

Moreover, the research results presented in Figure 17 reveal that as many as 88.3% of immigrants use both English and Spanish interchangeably in everyday communication. According to the Mexicans residing in Los Angeles, Spanish is commonly used with their compatriots (68%), while 28.9% of those questioned comment that they use the language code called Spanglish while communicating. Among the respondents there are also individuals who state that they use English in a conversation with other Mexican settlers in the new country, but they constitute only 3.1% (Figure 18).



**Figure 17.** Do you switch between languages within a conversation with certain people? (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)



**Figure 18.** Linguistic code used by respondents for communication with other Mexican immigrants (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

To sum up, an important insight emerging from the presented data is that the Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles are bilinguals whose first/primary language is Spanish, while their second/other language is English. The acquisition of English began at the stage of school or early childhood in a monolingual environment (Mexico) in artificial conditions. The circumstances and manner of acquiring the English language have changed as a result of emigration to Los Angeles. The Mexican immigrants every day improve their language skills and communication abilities in natural conditions (both at work and among Americans). Although they use Spanish and English interchangeably, their bilingualism is dominant due to respondents' higher proficiency in Spanish. Only a minority of the immigrants admitted to the use of Spanish-English dialect known as Spanglish in conversation with other Mexicans in Los Angeles.

#### 4.5 Ethnic identity and cultural situation of Mexicans in Los Angeles

“Men may change their clothes, their politics,  
 their wives, their religions, their philosophies,  
 to a greater or lesser extent:  
 they cannot change their grandfathers”  
 (H. M. Kallen 1998:114)

A surge in the field of studies on both the sociological and cultural aspects of bilingualism has led to in-depth analysis of the migration process, which is the temporary or

permanent leaving of the place of residence and settlement in a new social environment. Certainly, one arena in which ethnic identity is keenly experienced is in bilinguals' sense that immigration is connected with far-reaching changes in terms of self-perception: vision and self-definition. Indeed, migration, even short-term, is a new stage in the life of an individual who has become involved in the social life of a new country of residence.

The above raises yet another obstacle for immigrants; finding themselves in the surrounding non-native reality, they must learn basic concepts and explore their new environment from the very beginning, which may result in confusion and chaos. This in turn can lead to a crisis of identity of the migrant, who again must define himself/herself.

Thus, an initial step in this scholarly attempt is to expound the concept of identity. The notion is defined by Nikitorowicz (2008:15) as: a dynamic and constantly developing phenomenon, open to continual creation; a phenomenon of complex and variable construct; a multidimensional notion connecting elements of personal system of an individual with the central values of the culture of the group to which the individual belongs; and finally, conscious participation in the values of timeless global culture.

The process of building identity therefore includes the creation of the following concepts (Mamzer 2002:115):

- 1) social identity (based on the information provided by the social group);
- 2) unit identity (which reflects a commitment to diversity and individuation);
- 3) cultural identity (which is a self-built complex with elements of the cultural identities of other groups).

The identity of the individual is formed primarily by social interaction. Thus, the factors that influence the identity include not only self-perception and perception of an individual by others, but also the identification with the group. A migrant who once belonged to the dominant group in his/her country of origin, due to spatial mobility has become a member of a minority group. Hence, the conflict in the situation of migration creates a clash of what is known, trusted and safe (here: Mexican reality), with what is new, uncertain and unknown (here: American reality). A further explanation is provided by Cieszyńska (2006:101) who cogently argues that adults who choose to live in a new country usually do not realise the psychological consequences of such a step. In addition to learning a new language or using, in a natural environment, a foreign language already learnt, the immigrant faces the necessity of shaping a new cultural identity. The mentioned need for creating a new cultural-oriented self compatible with the new conditions is determined by the fact that the traditional value system functioning in the country of origin is literally falling apart in the new conditions. As

Cieszyńska (2006:102-103) further reveals, this decomposition is caused primarily by the highly sensed separation of the role and the person. In fact, the immigrant is still a Mexican with a specific way of perceiving the world and reacting to different situations brought from his/her homeland; however, the individual begins to play new roles such as employee, neighbour, citizen, and many others in the new country of residence.

Prior to analysing the cultural identity alteration, it is crucial to note that a migrant, as a result of contact with diverse society, confronts the need to reconcile the contradictions (here: Mexican with American). On the one hand, he/she seeks to assimilate the new environment and different culture, which involves understanding, respect and acceptance of the host society's standards and values. Nonetheless, it should be strongly emphasised that immigrants usually do not want to reject their native traditions and inherited culture. Perhaps one of the most recognised trends in this regard is that the first period staying in and experiencing another society is often a *culture shock*<sup>100</sup>, which is a response to the changing environment.

The process of integration of a person with the culture of the host society, other than acquired in the course of socialisation, is called *acculturation*<sup>101</sup>. The term is used, therefore, in relation to the cultural changes relating to individuals or societies, which are formed by the action of a different culture and contacts between their representatives<sup>102</sup>. What can be added to this approach is that migrants acquire the linguistic skills, communication abilities and values of the new country of settlement; they accept the norms and principles applicable in the host society<sup>103</sup>.

Interestingly, yet another nuance of this issue is revealed by Grzymała-Kazłowska (2008:36); specifically, the process of growing into the unit in a new culture can take many forms. One type of acculturation or, as the author endorses, acculturation attitudes, is *integration*, defined as the inclusion of a new social group into the existing system, resulting in a change in both the system and the included element. Also, the author presents a valid argument for understanding that, despite the change, the incorporated social group preserves its distinctive features<sup>104</sup>. Integration is therefore a bilateral relationship, not necessarily fully

---

<sup>100</sup> The creator of the theory of culture shock is the anthropologist Kalvero Oberg (1960). The author defined this phenomenon as psychosomatic functioning disorder caused by the contact with a different and unknown culture.

<sup>101</sup> The authors who first defined acculturation are, among others, Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936).

<sup>102</sup> Prior to analysing the notion of acculturation, it is crucial to note the widely recognised opposite process: *inculturation*. According to Grzymała-Kazłowska (2008:41), this is gradual acquisition of the characteristics and norms of a culture or group by a person. Compare: Sztopmka (2005).

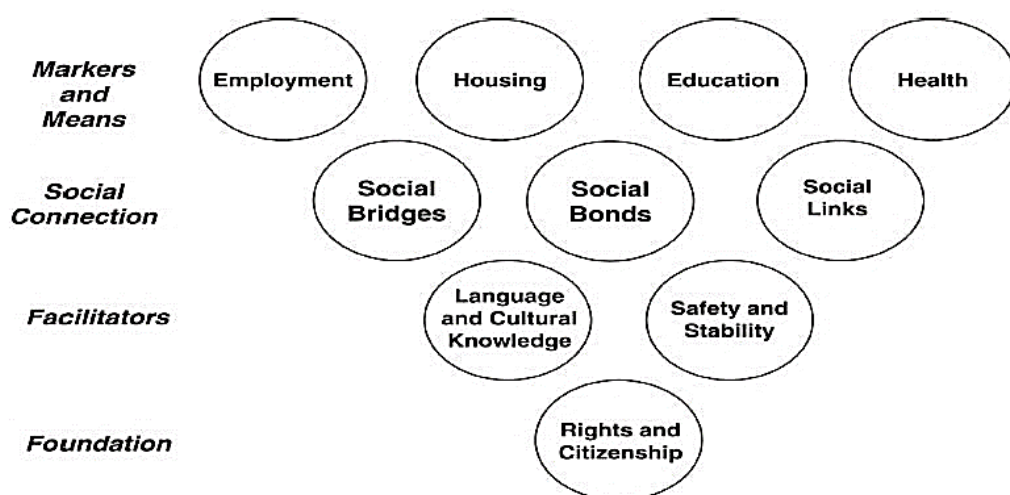
<sup>103</sup> Compare: Eisenstadt (1953).

<sup>104</sup> Compare: Bernard (1967).

symmetrical, between the immigrant and the host country, based on their simultaneous rights and obligations (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2008:36).

Drawing largely from an interdisciplinary perspective endorsed by numerous scholars (Sztompka 2005; Ager and Strang 2004; Biernath 2008), the successful integration of immigrants in the foreign environment provides, first and foremost, knowledge of the host country, which allows understanding of the culture of the community<sup>105</sup>. In fact, mastering the language of the host society is the first step in the process of acculturation; linguistic abilities and communication skills open the door to further integration (social and political) of immigrants with the host society<sup>106</sup>.

Furthermore, the preliminary investigation of Ager and Strang (2004) exhibit the existence of 10 core areas of immigrants' integration presented in the following graphic form:



**Figure 19.** A conceptual framework defining core domains of integration (Ager and Strang 2004:3)

Integration, as opposed to assimilation<sup>107</sup>, does not lead to loss of cultural identity of individuals/society. Immigrants, coming into contact with the host community, acquire cultural competence and identify themselves with the new culture, without losing, however, their native identity. In fact, integration presupposes organisation and fusion of the various

<sup>105</sup> Compare: Biernath (2008).

<sup>106</sup> Compare: Hamberger (2009); Chiswick, Liang and Miller (2006).

<sup>107</sup> The opposite of integration is the process of assimilation, which involves absorption of the individual/group by the host society. Assimilation of migrants causes their rejection of their existing cultural identity and assimilation into the society of the new country of settlement. Compare: Grzymała-Kozłowska (2008).

elements of social communities<sup>108</sup>. According to Bosswick and Heckmann (2006:10), cultural integration is the cause of biculturalism and bilingualism.

In the 1990s, a new migration theory was created, known as *the theory of transnationalism*. As revealed by numerous scholars (e.g. Blanc-Szanton, Glick, Schiller and Basch 1994), transnationalism assumes an innovative approach to the concept of integration. Kindler (2008:51) further addresses this issue by pointing out that the transnational character of migration flows is connected to diversity between countries, which results from the bonds created by immigrants with people both in the country of migration and the country of origin.

Moreover, Faist (2006:27) and Kindler (2008:55), who introduced three models of integration (Table 14 below), believe that due to the interpenetration of cultures and exchanges within the *transnational social spaces* cultural syncretism may occur.

	Transnational practices			Integration-related practices
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	-
<b>Political practices</b>	Membership and participation in the non-resident country or transnational political organisations; Extraterritorial voting	Cooperation with parties or organisations abroad as a member of resident country-based (migrant) organisations	Interest in the politics and policies of other countries or transnational political actors and institutions	Political participation or functions related to migration, integration or intercultural relations
<b>Economic practices</b>	Transnational entrepreneurship or occupational functions based on cross-border exchange of goods, capital, services, knowledge or labour	Occasional occupational involvement in cross-border exchange of goods, capital, services, knowledge or labour	Use of certain transnational skills or resources for occupational activities	Ethnic entrepreneurship; Occupational use of ethnic skills or opportunities without relations to other countries
<b>Sociocultural practices</b>	Membership and participation in the non-resident country or transnational political organisations; Continuous participation in organized forms of cross-border help and support	Occasional participation in organisations abroad or transnational networks; Continuous informal cross-border help and support activities (including transnational family care)	Participation in migrant organisations which occasionally cooperate with organisations in other countries; Sporadic informal cross-border help and support activities (including transnational family care)	Individual or organized initiatives to support migrant and interethnic relations (including family care)

**Table 14.** Three models of integration, taking Germany as an example, according to Faist (Kindler 2008:54)

<sup>108</sup> For further information see: Chiswick, Liang and Miller (2006); Hamberger (2009).

According to the theory of transnationalism, migrants belong to different social networks. They form “a bridge between the sending and host community” (Kindler 2008:53). Thus, transculturation, in opposition to inculturation and acculturation, leads to social and cultural hybridisation, resulting not in the combination of different cultures into one new whole, but in the creation of a synthesis of two different axio-normative systems (Paleczny 2007:101). Paleczny (2007:51) notes that transculturation is not equal to assimilation or inculturation, which is the absorption of one group by another, neither to acculturation, the merging of heritage elements of cultures; but it is a cross-border formation, located on the verge between different systems, an axio-normative hybrid.

Highlighting the multi-dimensionality of cultural identity, Glick Schiller (2005:448) suggests that transnational processes are societal, economic or political activities of units/groups in several places. Hence, by belonging to different social networks transmigrants create so-called transnational social fields that can be defined as “configurations of social practices, artifacts and symbol systems that span different geographic spaces in at least two nation-states without constituting a new ‘deterritorialised’ nation-state” (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004:1002)<sup>109</sup>.

Undoubtedly, America is defined as a *melting pot* with numerous cultures and different social groups. That is why Vertovec (2007:1025) proposes the concept of *super-diversity*. Defined as international mobility resulting from various factors, such as migrants’ country of origin, legal status, access to employment, transnationality, and many others, super-diversity is manifested throughout the American nation. Therefore, a lot of attention is drawn to the category of social cohesion, which is the combination of different groups in a conflict-free society. As clarified by Grzymała-Kazłowska (2008:47), such a society should be based on respect for the diversity of its members and also it ought to provide them with certain rights.

Irrefutably, Mexican culture differs from the American one. Yet, as a result of the interaction of different cultural communities, Mexicans in the United States are subject to cultural changes. Consequently, acquisition of the new cultural context by migrants from Mexico provides them with effective integration and prevents their marginalisation. Moreover, interaction of various elements of Mexican and American culture leads to the creation of cultural hybrids<sup>110</sup>.

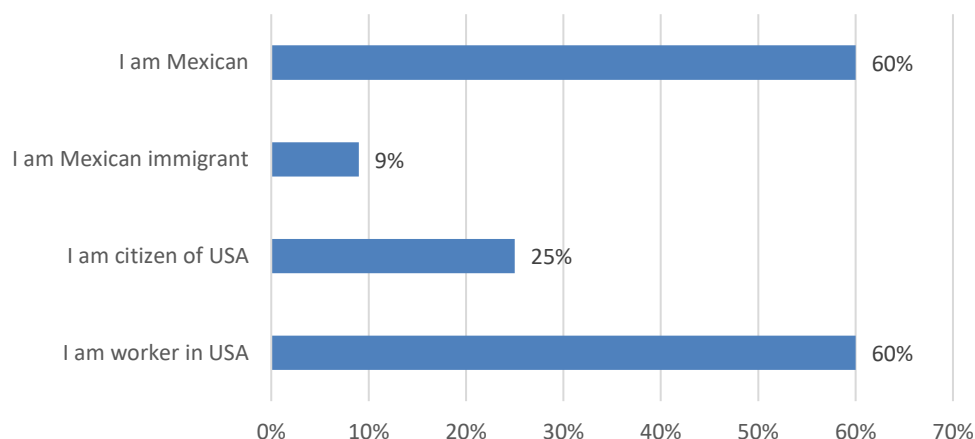
---

<sup>109</sup> For more information see also: Kindler (2008).

<sup>110</sup> In point of fact, many researchers perceive this as the phenomenon as creolisation, which is building a culture based on diversity. For further information see: Paleczny (2007); Faist (2006); Hamberger (2009).

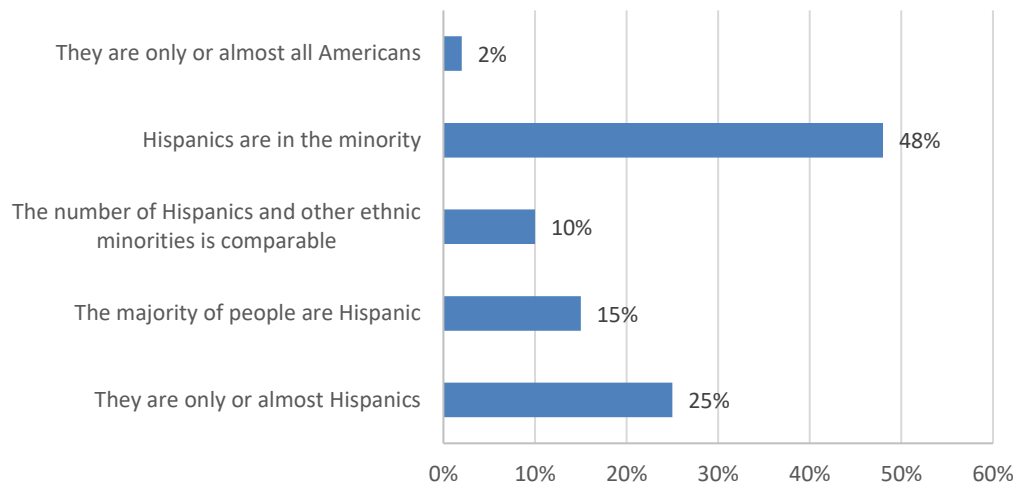
The data collected through the surveys conducted among the Mexican-American community in Los Angeles enabled the author of the thesis to obtain general information on the identity of Mexican immigrants and their cultural situation in the city of settlement. The questions and answers given by the respondents to the survey, however, do not exhaust the issue. The problems and themes covered in the survey do not, of course, exhaust all the aspects of the rapidly expanding immigration trends. Hence, the material has been supplemented with data from in-depth interviews and observation of Mexican immigrants including the six respondents mentioned in Chapter Five; namely: Gabriela, María José, Daniel, Alejandra and Ernesto.

As indicated by the survey, Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles clearly declare their Mexican identity. 60% of respondents when asked the question “Who are you?” answered: “I am a Mexican”. Every fourth respondent perceived himself/herself as a citizen of the United States, while 9% of all participants considered themselves to be Mexican immigrant. 6% of Mexican immigrants described themselves as employees in the USA (Figure 20).



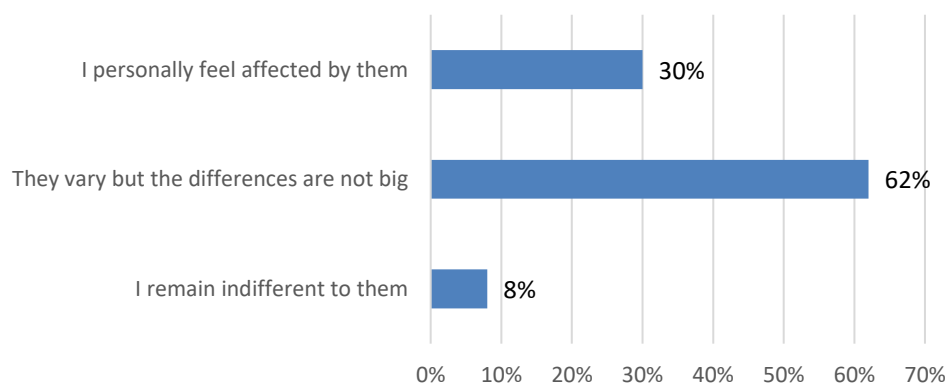
**Figure 20.** Mexican immigrants’ identity (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

Without a doubt, Mexicans in Los Angeles are eager to integrate with the American community. 48% of respondents claimed that in their close environment, such as home, work, and neighbourhood, Mexicans are in a minority. Every fourth respondent answered that in his/her surroundings there are no, or almost no, Americans. 10% of all participants in the study asserted that the number of Mexicans in their immediate environment is equal. 15% of respondents spend most of their time among their compatriots, while only 2% of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles live and work with only Americans on a daily basis (Figure 21).



**Figure 21.** Social environment of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles by operating every day in two different cultures, the culture of the American and Mexican nations, create a phenomenon called *biculturalism*. Most of the Mexicans demonstrate the knowledge and ability to use cultural codes applicable in America. According to the survey, without any obstacles, they have acquired the new host country's cultural competence. At the same time, respondents do not deny their Mexican origin; they feel a strong bond with their native culture. More than half of the Mexicans (62%) who participated in the survey admit that the American culture and general living environment in America are different from their native Mexican, but these differences do not seem to be noteworthy. 30% of the migrants surveyed said that the two cultures are close and valuable for them. 8% of respondents reveal that both cultures present what is for them an alien value (Figure 22).



**Figure 22.** Mexican immigrants' assessment of differences between the culture and living environment in Los Angeles and those of Mexico (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

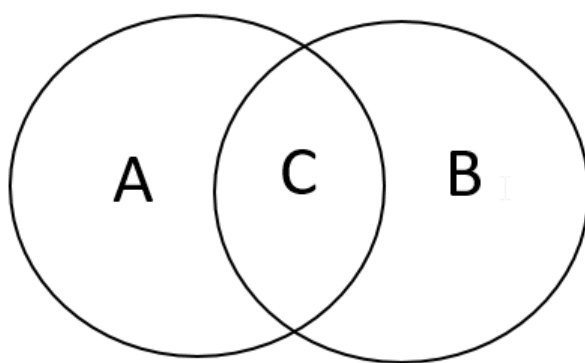
Each of six individuals who took part in an in-depth study investigating the sociolinguistic situation of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles was asked to define his/her situation as a person using two different languages and living in two dissimilar cultures. As section 5.2 presents, the responses of all six people have been indicated by the corresponding point on the scale as a representation of their linguistic and cultural situation. Surprisingly enough, each of these people located himself/herself between Mexican and American culture. The fact that respondents illustrated their situation on the border between different axio-normative systems suggests the existence of a *cross-border identity hybrid*. One of the participants, Daniel, further explains: “I am Mexican and I love my country. I also love American pubs, barbeques, and Bull team. I am visiting Mexico very often - sometimes I call on the weekend to meet friends and have a party”.

Alejandra, yet another informer echoes this attitude by stating:

“I still feel Mexican but in a slightly different meaning. I am more like Mexican-American mixture. Now here is my home, although I admit that I often visit Mexico. [...] I am a little bit between. [...] I do not feel some terrible longing for Mexico. My friend, Anna, goes every now and then to Mexico to her fiancé, so in my fridge there are always Antojitos, corn and chilli peppers; [...] and next to them Twinkies. And I love these Mexican chilli peppers and these American chips.”

Ties, mainly economic but also emotional, created both with America as a new country of settlement and with the country of origin, present a valid argument for the transnational nature of migration.

Furthermore, Babiński (1997:45) together with Biernath (2008:197) state that biculturalism may result in so-called *dual-identity* or in the formation of a new identity that is different from the source identity. This view is consistent with the results of an analysis presented by Mostwin (1985:14). The author refers to the identity of migrants caused by the confrontation of two different cultures as *the third value*. Yet, in the case of Mexican migration in Los Angeles one may deal with the second mentioned effect of biculturalism: migrants report that their identity is created by the contact of two different cultures – Mexican and American. The cultural hybrid structure, resulting from the overlapping of two different axio-normative systems, can be presented in the following graphical form:



**Figure 23.** The cultural hybrid structure of immigrants (own elaboration)

The graphical symbol A represents the Mexican culture system, whereas B is the system of American culture. C presents the cultural hybrid of the migrant community, hence it is a frontier, or place of contact, of the two cultures. Nikitorowicz (2008:11) contends that the borderland is usually associated with the area between centers; between what is on the borders and what can belong to both centers, overlapping with each other. Leaving the center, which is usually rigid and closed, an individual enters the area of differences, otherness and metamorphosis, where reality can be compared and discovered; one may show surprise, negotiate or do research.

The research would suggest that immigrants in Los Angeles of Mexican origin identify themselves with various groups; not only with the Mexican community but also through a selection of cultural elements, with the American community. Undeniably, this identification leads to changes in self-perception, redefinition of their own identity and creation of a new frontier of human identity. Still, an important insight emerging from the data presented is that, in the case of Mexican immigrants, the *core* or *pillar* of the new identity is Mexican culture, which has been enriched with part of the American ethos.

Furthermore, the multitude of data coming directly from the contemporary experience of Mexican-American bilinguals, together with studies on Spanglish discourse, serves as the basis for the debate regarding whether Spanglish is connected to identity. In fact, the scholars Rothman and Rell (2005:525-529) have written extensively on the most basic function of Spanglish, which is the expression of identity. What the authors assert is the idea that people cannot truly identify themselves as French without speaking French, or Mexican without speaking Spanish. The Yiddish language, comparable to Spanglish due to its origin and progress<sup>111</sup>, is an instance of the stringent bond between the language in question and the

<sup>111</sup> See: Stavans (2000:555-559).

identity of the speakers. In fact, the notion *Yiddish* is translated as *Jewish*, hence not only does it create a strict link between the language spoken and the ethnic group among which it is used, but also the name of the language itself embraces the identity of the speakers.

It is apparent, therefore, that it is for just this reason that languages overtly mark the location where they are spoken within their name. Hence, the identity of a nation – understood as an ethnic group – has as a fundamental attribute, without a doubt, the language that is used (Ávila 2003:40). Yet, scholars' thought challenges the terminology difficulties when a language is spoken in a country or region which it is not named after. The aforementioned issue is examined even more profoundly by Rothman and Rell (2005:524), who have provided a descriptive account of the term *Spanish*, which may represent an individual from Spain, Mexico, Venezuela, Paraguay, or a number of other countries including the United States<sup>112</sup>.

Thus, it is feasible that *Spanglish* is the concept most frequently adapted to refer to the speakers of this specific language variant. In fact, by incorporating two languages, and therefore two cultures, Spanglish is perceived as identity. "It is the reality under which more than 25 million Mexican-Americans in California find themselves living" (Rothman and Rell 2005:526). Other authors agree: Stavans, an internationally recognised forefather of the scholarly investigation of Spanglish, describes this lingual conundrum as the verbal encounter between Anglo and Hispano civilisation (2000:3). What is further succinctly noted is the fact that the Spanish-English separation no longer accounts for the new identity under which the author was living as a Mexican in the United States. Stavans (2003:130) declares that "expression came with a price [...], I felt inhabited by another self, another identity". This *other self*, by all means, is Spanglish. It is for the same reason that Morales' titles his equally authoritative opus<sup>113</sup> depicting the identity of Spanish speakers living in the United States. Both scholars found themselves literally between two worlds.

Rothman and Rell (2005:527) continue Stavans' argument by advancing that not only social, but also psychoanalytic concepts have been based on the hypothesis that an "individual's self-identity is its own non-unitary object while communication is directed not only to others but also to the individual himself". It is not surprising, therefore, that in their search for self-identity, bilinguals frequently feel, as Burkitt (1991:1) puts it, "divided within

---

<sup>112</sup> In point of fact, the United States Census Bureau has constantly been forced to modify the terminology determining the race of Spanish speakers in America, ranging from a period where the term *Latino* was adopted, to more recent options including *Hispanic*, *Chicano*, *Puerto Rican*, *Mexican*, *Cuban*, or even such expressions as *other Hispanic* or *Latino*.

<sup>113</sup> See: *Living in Spanglish* (2003).

themselves”. Consequently, building on the author’s assertion, speakers living within two cultures, as in the case of Mexican immigrants in the United States, are prone to encounter even more division within themselves since they aim at finding an identity exemplifying their bicultural existence.

In a similar vein, Soler has indicated “that this new identity, [a] source of cultural strength and survival, needs a new language” (1999:275) and, thus, Spanglish is the outcome. Furthermore, the multitude of research based directly on the contemporary experience of bilinguals, together with sociological and anthropological studies, trace the core status of Mexican-Americans as subjects of *transnationalism*. In arguing for the centrality of the aforementioned notion to the bilingual processes, it is vital to provide linguistic examination of the two root lexemes: *trans* may be understood as *across* or *between*, whereas *nationalism* refers to a nation. The term succinctly depicts the situation of émigrés from Mexico as well as subsequent Mexican-American generations engaging two cultures, and as a result, using two languages. Hence, the vibrant Mexican identity, either brought in the course of immigration, or, as for the second generation, taught by their immigrant parents and present in their language usage, has mirrored their *cultural reality* (Rothman and Rell 2005:527), being also a *manifestation of culture* (Llombart 2003:4). Even without awareness of the sociological, linguistic or anthropological fields, it might be easily predicted that the contact of two cultures, if wide-ranging and sustained, will, in all probability, result in language variation.

In the case of the first generation, since their arrival in America, a new self has emerged, representing the settlers’ constantly re-formed dual-identity. The majority of immigrants desperately aim at retaining at least part of their legacy, “for nothing makes you feel more attached to your identity and nation of origin than leaving it”, as Rothman and Rell (2005:528) vehemently maintain. Indeed, to exemplify, one Mexican émigré addresses his struggle with identity by proclaiming: “I’m not turning my back on what I came from” (qtd in Alvarez 1998:487). The contemporary state of knowledge, however, indicates that most Mexican-Americans also seek to assimilate into the country and culture, resulting in “a mishmash [of] what Latino identity is about [and] the verbal ‘mestizaje’<sup>114</sup> that results from a transient people” (Stavans 2003:54).

As for the second generation, numerous immigrants of Mexican origin would take the view that despite their American citizenship, they would neither describe themselves as

---

<sup>114</sup> Taking as its root *mestizo* or *mixed*, the term is the Spanish word for the process of mixing ancestries. In English, the notion refers to *miscegenation* (Alvarez 1998:487).

American, like their Caucasian counterparts, nor as Mexican, like their parents from the first generation. Given that, terms such as *Chicano* or *Mexican-American* no longer symbolise their ancestry, but the realm in which they live; that is, not being Mexican or American enough to be truthfully either.

A further surge in the concept of *dual-identity* alluded to by Soler (1999:276) has led to in-depth analysis of yet another process; namely, the expression of identity conflict reflected in code-switching<sup>115</sup>. The author explicitly considers the fact that Mexican-Americans continuously adopt a linguistic model that will precisely correspond to their experiences. What is more, according to Soler (1999:271), the common experience of the Mexican diaspora in Los Angeles is validated by Spanglish since the language itself integrates the amalgamation of languages and “a sense of rootlessness under which transnationals and their kin must survive”. Soler (1999:273) stresses the fact that:

“Chicana identity is the result of a synergy of cultures. Chicanas or Mexican-American women live in the borderlands, at the crossroads of different and often contradictory cultures. They are considered neither white nor black nor fully Indian; they are not viewed as Spanish or Latin Americans, and they are definitely not ‘real’ Americans. They suffer from a painful struggle of identities.”

Irrefutably, this interaction of cultures coupled with dual-identity conflict is constantly manifested in language usage: the outcome of this process being a Spanish-English merger. Hence, it seems apparent that the Mexican-American experience in the United States may be linguistically validated only by Spanglish.

Furthermore, in the realm of poetry, the bilingual dilemma due to immigration processes is also reflected by Laviera’s poem (qtd in Rothman and Rell 2005:528):

“i think in Spanish  
i write in English  
i want to go back to puerto rico,  
but I wonder if my kin could live  
in ponce, mayaguez and Carolina  
tengo las venas aculturadas  
escribo en spanglish  
abraham en espanol  
abraham in English

---

<sup>115</sup> For more information on code-switching see: section 2.3 Code switching.

tato in Spanish  
'taro' in English  
tonto in both languages  
how are you?  
??como estas?  
i don't know if I'm coming  
or si me fui ya"

Aparicio (1988:157) comments on the above sentiment by distinguishing Spanglish as the linguistic code adapted while marking both the confusion and bilingual nature of Laviera's dual-identity as it offers "a solution to this linguistic dilemma [with] a reconciliation in [the writer's] acceptance of Spanglish as his tool of expression and as an identity marker" (ibid.). In fact, prior to the incorporation of Spanglish and poetic liberty, the absence of accents and capital forms of certain words may be perceived as an effort to convey more fully the author's identity struggle. This, in turn, can frequently result in not only an incomplete, but also a diverged, self that may only be truly manifested by Spanglish.

Thus far, the profound analysis of the bilingualism phenomena has led to the assumption of Spanglish being the linguistic embodiment of the juxtaposition of two different cultures, which encounter each other, intertwine, merge and finally appear as a unique identity for a specific group of people. Nevertheless, it has yet to be discussed how this assertion is translated into the conscious thought process of Mexican-Americans: How is Spanglish viewed by them? How and why is the linguistic variation used?

Hence, the underlying vision of this section is grounded in the attempt to expound the above enquiries via research on bilingual speakers. The following section not only puts forward the Mexican-Americans' views on bilingualism, but it also discusses the author's own investigation drawing on 128 participants' responses to interviews devoted to Spanglish.

The method of research enabled us to obtain a wealth of data, among which, three main themes are to be identified: linguistic dominance, different emotional responses to the contextual situations and distinctive features of linguistic preference. Returning to reflection on Spanglish, vivid quotes from the respondents add a vibrant human dimension to this account, illustrating the inevitable continuum between sociolinguistic and cultural factors.

#### **4.5.1 Research design**

*Objective.* The purpose of the present research is to investigate the views of Spanglish expressed in narratives elicited from 128 Mexican-American bilingual participants by examining similarities and differences between the language of choice in a given theoretical situation.

*Subjects.* 128 Mexican-American bilinguals (76 females, 52 males), aged between 15-56, participated in the study. All were residents of Los Angeles, USA. All respondents had learnt the English language either in Mexico or America through ESL classes, public or private school attendance, and naturalistic exposure. By the time of the study they had been interacting both in Spanish and English language on a daily basis. According to the background questionnaires, they continuously used Spanish with their relatives and in Spanish-speaking communities, and English with English-speaking friends as well as for educational and everyday interaction purposes.

*Method.* The internal validity of the Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q) was established on the basis of self-reported data from participants. The present research analyses also evidence obtained through an online questionnaire which contained 28 questions (see: Appendix 2). The survey was sent to the participants in the form of a link. The online system gathered data for 2 years and after this period the data were extracted and analysed. The following socio-biographical information was collected from the participants: gender, age, level of education, languages known, dominant language(s), chronological order of language acquisition, context of acquisition, frequency/context of use, typical interlocutors, and self-rated proficiency scores for speaking, comprehending, reading and writing in the languages in question. Language choice was determined for self- and other-directed speech as well as for emotional and non-emotional speech. Two types of answers were analysed in the study; the first type involved answers to closed questions regarding the frequency with which the participants use their languages in general. The second category of enquiries required responses to open-ended questions connected to: Spanglish as a social phenomenon; bilinguals' linguistic preferences for specific situations; the emotional significance of their languages; and the ease or difficulty of discussing emotional topics in the second language.

*Period.* September 2014 – April 2016

#### 4.5.2 Data analysis

What is demonstrated by the questionnaire results is that, when probed, average Mexican immigrants not only are systematic, but also consciously knowledgeable in characterising Spanglish as a linguistic phenomenon and understanding its importance in everyday communication. Additionally, the data on bilinguals reveal with whom they most naturally use Spanglish, why the speakers use a Spanish-English mixture in particular contexts as well as in what ways it is attributable to the self-identity of speakers.

The preliminary results of the analysis reflect that Spanglish is used by the interviewees on a regular basis as a pervasive form of communication. Given the overwhelming conformity present in the participants' responses, the foregoing analysis will be described primarily in the form of direct quotations from the respondents as well as any deviations from the group norm.

Of interest to the present analysis is the level of bilingualism of each individual speaker, along with their individual representation of Spanglish. A question regarding language preferences and competence was raised in each of the interviews; hence, what follows is a self-estimation of each respondent's skills in both Spanish and English. In addition, each immigrant reported on his/her language preferences; a consensus with the self-description was maintained in each case (Table 15).

	<b>Monolingual: Spanish</b>	<b>Dominant: Spanish</b>	<b>Bilingual</b>	<b>Dominant: English</b>
<b>Male</b>	6	16	10	20
<b>Female</b>	18	0	35	23

**Table 15.** Participants' continuum of bilingualism (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

Out of 128, 16 Mexican immigrants referred to themselves as Spanish dominant, Mexican natives residing in the United States for at least 20 years, 45 speakers claimed to be truly bilingual and 43 respondents labelled themselves as being English dominant. More interestingly, all subjects present a similar definition of the Spanglish phenomenon, involving in their characteristics Spanish and English mixing in discourse.

Context	Friends	Acquaintances	Student/Teacher	First meeting
Male	35	11	6	0
Female	36	20	12	8

**Table 16.** Use of Spanglish in relation to the degree of familiarity of speakers (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

Additionally, the data analysed according to the reported use of Spanglish reveal that the interviewees adopt Spanglish most commonly during intimate relations with family, close friends and others who employ Spanglish in conversation (see: Table 16). More to the point, all respondents stated that they would not feel at ease employing Spanglish in conversation with non-Hispanics. As a way of example, 20-year-old Vidal claims:

“I use Spanglish in the sense that I change language. For example, I switch from sentence to sentence or for specific words that can’t be better said in one language than the other, but I only use this form of Spanglish with my sister and brothers and some of my close friends who are bilingual.”

Another Mexican-American female, 20-year-old Angela, calls such use of Spanglish *forced* and *unnatural*. The Mexican émigré maintains that she would not feel comfortable speaking to a non-Hispanic in Spanglish:

“From time to time, if I try to speak Spanglish to non-Hispanics, even if they speak a good level of Spanish, their reaction is confusion or they mock me, acting as if I didn’t know the word while I switched only because it made more sense to me [and so in general I don’t]. I also avoid Spanglish with non-Spanglish speaking Hispanics, because they tend to look down on the ‘improper use’ of Spanish.”

By the same token, a male interviewee, Pasadena (aged 36), notes that “Spanglish is spoken to describe cultural things which are impossible to identify with by non-Hispanics”. Also, all respondents ascertain that they would never speak Spanglish in Mexico while visiting either friends or relatives. To the enquiry as to whether or not he would adopt Spanglish in Mexico, Vidal replies: “No way! I would never live through the ridicule they’d put me through”. When asked the same question, Angela responds: “Rather not, I would avoid it. I only speak Spanglish with my very close friends and relatives who I know feel comfortable with it and they are like me. I feel ridiculed when I [re]vert to Spanglish with strangers”.

In order to further distinguish the discourse context in which Spanglish is used, subjects were asked whether they would choose to use Spanglish with a Hispanic from another country, other than Mexico, during the first meeting. Unanimously, all of the interviewees responded negatively. Miguel, a 19-year-old student, describes Spanglish as *very touchy and personal*. What he adds is that “you have to trust them to be able to switch”. Yet another Spanish-English bilingual, Lucio, replies that he “would not want to offend them, that’s why I would just speak in Spanish”.

Thus far, in analysing the interview data, evidence emerges as to why Spanglish may be perceived as an identity marker. Indeed, the array of direct quotes demonstrate the natural ease employed by the speakers of Spanglish with people who they identify as being *like them*. Likewise, when asked whether they believe that Spanglish aids in defining Mexican-American identity, all the respondents were very precise in how and why this is true. Pasadena acknowledges: “Spanglish is a cultural symbol representing *la mezcla*<sup>116</sup> which is California culture [...]. I enjoy speaking it because it displays my diverse identity. I’m not just a Hispanic and I’m not just an Anglo-American – I’m mixed and Spanglish presents that identity”.

Angela continues Pasadena’s argument by vehemently maintaining that Spanglish captures her identity as it reflects *a hybridity of cultures*. In this context, Angela concludes with the statement that “Spanglish has become an essential point for Mexican-Americans: too Mexican to become American and too American to become Mexican”.

Altogether, it seems clear that the role of identity implicit in language and the conversion of cultures through language is not at all a clandestine one. That is, the Mexican-American Spanglish speakers, when asked why they resort to Spanglish, are lucid regarding its usage. As Vidal puts it, “[...] I think that Spanglish, it’s a way of saying ‘Look, I can do both’. [...] what I reckon is that here in Los Angeles particularmente, it’s not necessary to use just Spanish or English. No puedes describir la vida aqui<sup>117</sup> without using both”, adds the interviewee.

In the course of further consideration, one can accept the assumption that a bilingual person, who adopts two different language systems on a daily basis, leads a *double life*. Indeed, much academic writing surrounding the LW hypothesis is steeped in Wierzbicka’s (1990:71-80) research, in which it is vehemently argued that by living in two cultures, immigrants experience life through two different languages. According to the author, the

---

<sup>116</sup> Mixture.

<sup>117</sup> You can’t describe life here.

culture of a society is reflected in its language, this in turn causes the bilingual speaker to live in two completely different worlds. Wierzbicka (1990:130) asserts that living every day in two different languages means to live in two different socio-semantic spaces. Switching from one language to the other and vice versa is similar to travelling between two different worlds.

Spanish and English are not only divided by lexical resources, but also by grammatical forms and language etiquette. Consequently, the diversity of language systems causes a bilingual to perceive not one, but two realities (here: Mexican and American). It seems that this may be the confirmation of the words of one of the respondents, Duenas (aged 41). When asked why in a conversation with other Hispanics in Los Angeles he constantly uses the Spanglish word *el shopping* and not *el centro comercial*, he goes on to explain:

“*El shopping* is different than *el centro comercial*. The latter means shopping center, which here in USA is a collection of stores with their own entrances which usually share parking. The individual stores may be separate buildings or share side walls; [...] a shopping mall, *el shopping*, is a collection of stores around what might be called a courtyard or gallery which is usually covered and often completely enclosed [...] and air-conditioned. The stores face each other, for example away from the parking lot.”

Another respondent, Octavio (aged 36), when asked the same question, also claims that the two lexemes correspond to two different concepts. The interviewee states: “No, this is not the same, but I don’t know, maybe it is a matter of size, or it has more shops here. Or, is that just as it’s called. I don’t know, I just don’t say *el centro comercial* just *el shopping*”.

Acknowledging previous respondents’ statements, Pasadena observes that, “[...] generally, I never thought about it. But I guess they are just two different things. *El shopping* and *el centro commercial*. As I think about my previous job in Mexico, I say that every month I got *nóminas*, and now, here in Los Angeles, I get *weekly payslips*”.

Overall, the contemporary studies investigating the bilingual perception of reality imply that coordinate bilingualism is one of the most enduring tropes surrounding bilingual speech. Indeed, what is indicated by the interviews with Mexican-Americans is their ability to combine two lexemes with two different meanings. Yet, the linguistic tensions, already mentioned in section 3.1 surrounding this type of bilingualism present an emancipatory challenge or at least an unsettling intervention to Grosjean (2008:24). According to the author, it was a monolingual point of view that has reified the bilingual person as a combination of two monolinguals. Such assumptions, in turn, exclude frequent contact of

two languages. Chapter 5, in which characteristics of bilingual speech, such as linguistic interferences, borrowing and code-switching, are discussed, confirms the presence of frequent contact at all levels of the linguistic structure of both languages. What is more, for a profound analysis of bilingualism, what is perceived as crucial is the theory of LW: without a doubt, the respondents participating in the study corroborate the thesis of the bilingual person referring in such cases to specific terms in both languages. The problem for the informants, often encountered in everyday life, is the difficulty in translating from one language to another. Specifically, the subjects of the study claim that the translation of certain words or phrases is often impossible since they reflect a different reality.

Still, an important reflection on the observance of reality by a bilingual person is the one expressed by Błasiak-Tytuła (2011:173) for whom bilingualism means having two tools for self-realisation, to create a free and individual identity and become a person in two different communities. The knowledge of two languages may therefore help to escape from a one-sided picture of the world.

Many of the statistics presented in this chapter emphasise one of the most enduring tropes surrounding the Mexican diaspora to Los Angeles: not only social, but also economic, motives strongly influenced the stimuli for immigration. The study also proves the Los Angeles Mexican diaspora to be dominated by individuals who left the country of origin before reaching the age of 25. In the same vein, the majority of respondents in the study are characterised by long-term migration.

According to the study on the linguistic situation of the Los Angeles Mexican diaspora, 80% of the respondents did not encounter any issues with communication upon their arrival in the United States, almost half of the participants in the study express high proficiency in the English language. Moreover, the research results reveal that a vast number of the immigrants use both English and Spanish interchangeably in everyday communication.

Undeniably, the array of topics that come directly from the research discussed above also prove a close relation between identity and the linguistic system that is used. The language or languages adopted for communication form a substantial part of who we are. Our languages influence our identity, in particular ethnic and social identity.

In an investigation of bilingual immigrants, language is a key element associated with identity that assists individual speakers in balancing the various roles and aspects of their identities. Furthermore, the preliminary results demonstrate the existence of two core themes related to bilingualism. The first is the fact that language acts as a fundamental aspect of identity; however, it is also an aspect that differs for every individual. This reflects the

observation expressed by Sapir (1978:151) that group membership varies for every individual.

Thus, it can be concluded that an individual person has a two-sided relation to his or her identification with both languages; namely, bilingual and bicultural. Put succinctly, bilingual individuals position themselves between two linguistic systems and two cultures resulting in incorporation of these languages and cultures into the bilinguals' sense of who they are.

What the above clearly indicates is the individual choice and power to choose an identity position along a continuum between two languages. Nevertheless, in addition to this individual choice and agency, each bilingual speaker exists within a context which also influences individual identity.

As further analysis indicates, a bilingual's perception of ethnicity and identity 1) cannot be purely comprehended from the way in which he/she displays it, and 2) cannot be isolated from either the context in which it has been created or the opinions and attitudes in the society surrounding a bilingual person. It is this point that brings to the fore the significance of the impact of language socialisation on bilingual identity perception. During this process members of a community or culture teach and assist new immigrants to become more accomplished in linguistic and cultural customs through language use and practices.

In the case of the present study, the central contexts to consider are also the immigrants' home, work and school linguistic contexts within the broader national setting. Nonetheless, the language-identity relation, as well as the negotiation involved, is not a simple process as all of these identities are negotiated, of course, with the dominant demands and language ideologies of the social environment. Yet, the current research shows this elucidation to be far from adequate. In fact, it is extremely difficult to find adequate explanations for the enquiry into how the extraordinary relationship of language and identity is performed in the multi-ethnic space of Los Angeles.

The process of identification of the Mexican immigrant diaspora in Los Angeles in this study operates within the perception of identity as being the common ground negotiated between who an individual sees him/herself to be and who others see that individual to be, with the understanding that this is a complex process that is difficult to describe. Yet, the emotional bond of Mexican immigrants with their bilingualism is a reality that deserves to be recognised. It is this reality that highlights the importance of Spanglish as a new form to express cultural identity.

## **Summary**

Chapter Four presents the historical overview of Mexican immigration to America and its impact on ethnocultural identity creation within immigrant diaspora. Also, statistics on the geographical distribution of Mexican immigrants are presented and analysed. By focusing on the process of bilingual identity development, this chapter provides an account of the sociolinguistic situation of Mexican immigrants in the area of Los Angeles. Indisputably, the analysis of the Spanglish speakers' development mirrors the importance of language in the identity formation processes.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DATA ANALYSIS

According to research, all linguistic systems incorporate borrowings from other languages. Likewise, the code-switching phenomenon demonstrated by the Mexican-American speakers in Los Angeles is a natural part of language contact and evolution. The specific context, historical overview and communities involved in American everyday life appear to be pointing towards a distinctive phenomenon as well as a transformation beyond the purely linguistic perspective. Thus, the polemic notion of Spanglish seems to be a figurehead for a much broader sociocultural change in a land historically fundamental to the fusion and formation of new cultures. In fact, it may even be claimed that Spanglish, for the Mexican-American community, not only signifies liberation from the immigrant dichotomy of tradition and assimilation, but it could also be perceived as a new cultural identity.

In what follows, the experiences of Mexican-American immigrants in Los Angeles are examined based on in-depth, open-ended interviews conducted in the years 2014-2016. Vivid description of language contact adds value to this account by depicting the inevitable continuum between social and linguistic factors.

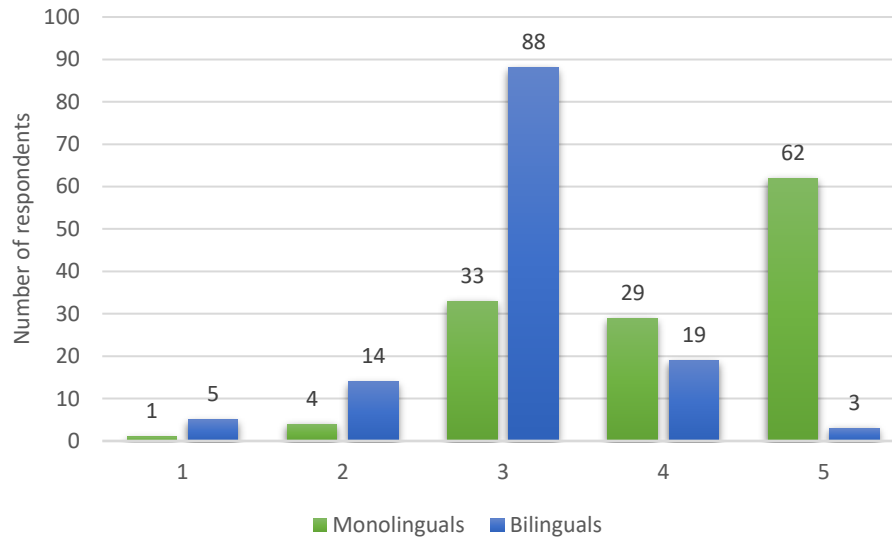
#### 5.1 Social view of bilingualism and Spanglish

A surge in the multi-ethnic nature of US culture has led Kandolf (qtd in Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:120) to the profound analysis of 15 different representations of bilingualism. Nevertheless, even though many professionals would consider all of these cases as bilingual, the majority of public opinion would not agree with them. Indeed, in some cases, in spite of being familiar with two different linguistic systems, an individual may not adopt both of them for everyday communication. There are also examples of individuals who use two different languages (some proportion being immigrants) and their language competence in one of these languages is either limited or low.

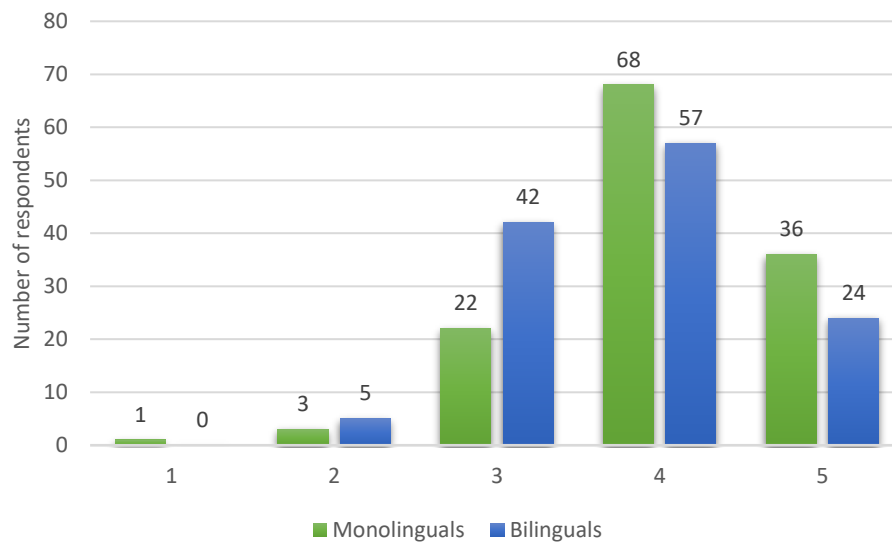
The above instances raise interesting possibilities for explorations of the concept of bilingualism. Perhaps the most persistent enquiries are: Which of these 15 cases of speakers can be defined as bilingual: users, or speakers, of two languages?

In order to confirm Kandolf's thesis a survey of public opinion, presenting 15 cases of bilingualism, was conducted (see: Appendix 1). On a scale of 1 to 5 respondents marked their opinion as to whether a particular person is *definitely not bilingual* (1) or *definitely*

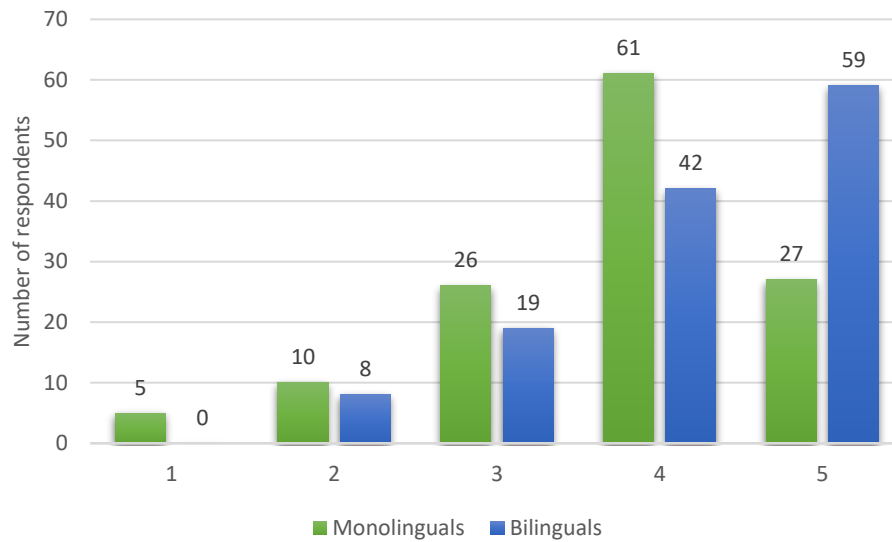
*bilingual* (5). The survey was conducted among monolingual Mexicans living in Mexico (130) and bilinguals living in Los Angeles (130) for comparison purposes. The results of the study were reported in the form of 15 charts:



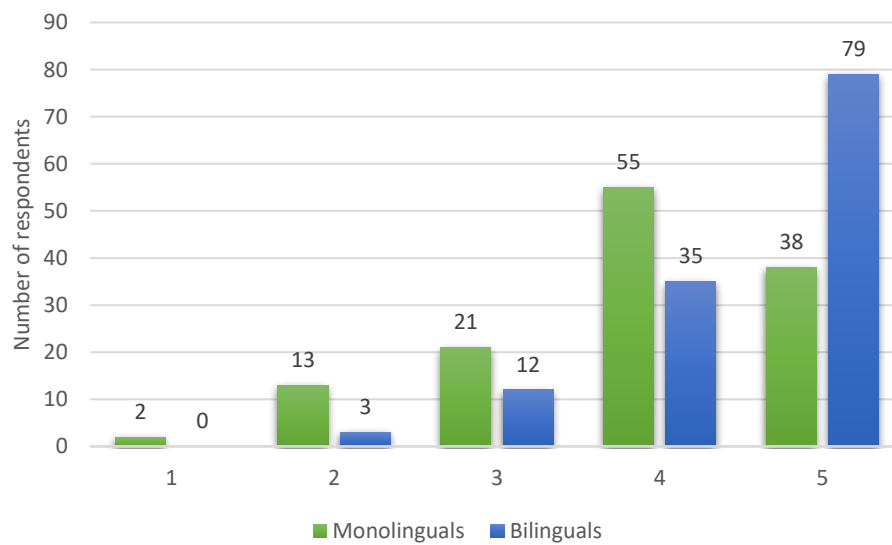
**Figure 24.** A two-year-old child who starts talking to one parent in English and to another in Spanish



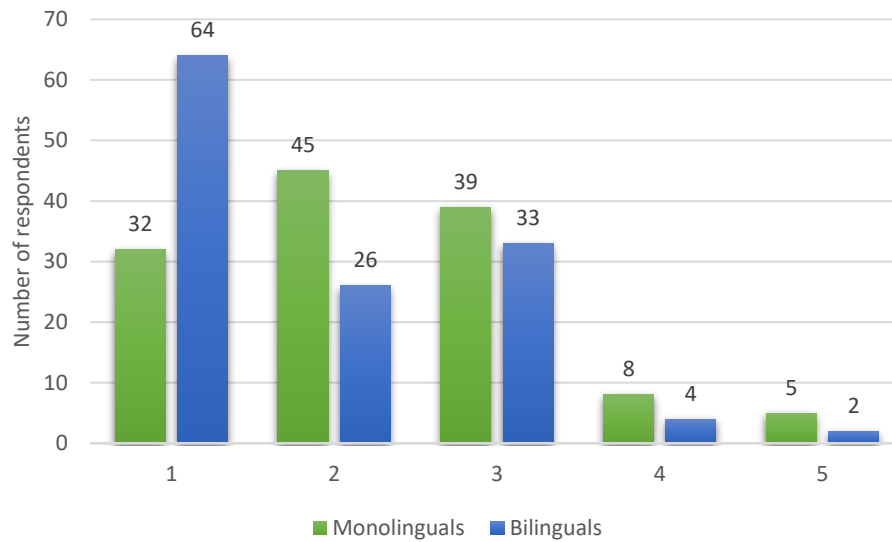
**Figure 25.** A four-year-old child whose native language is Bengali and uses English among his/her peers



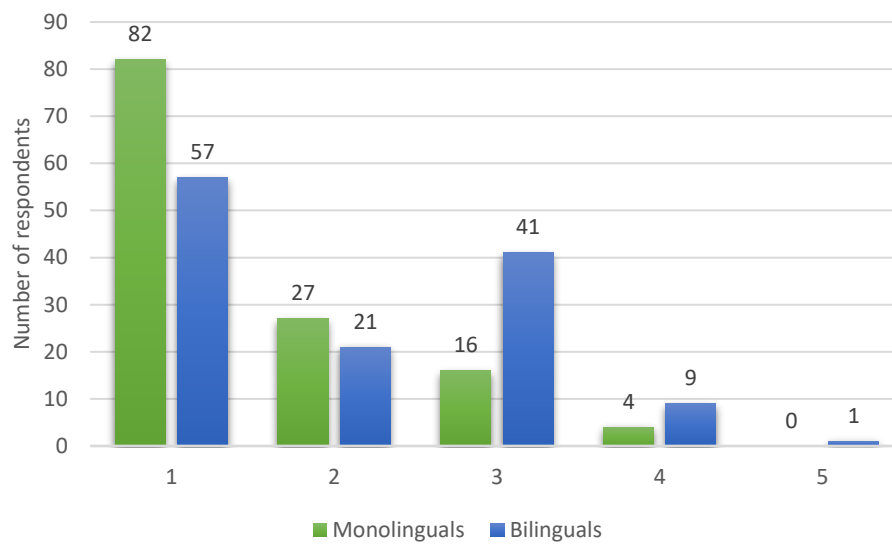
**Figure 26.** An Italian student from an immigrant family, living in the United States, who is increasingly using English both at home and outside the home, but his/her older relatives would only speak to him/her in Italian



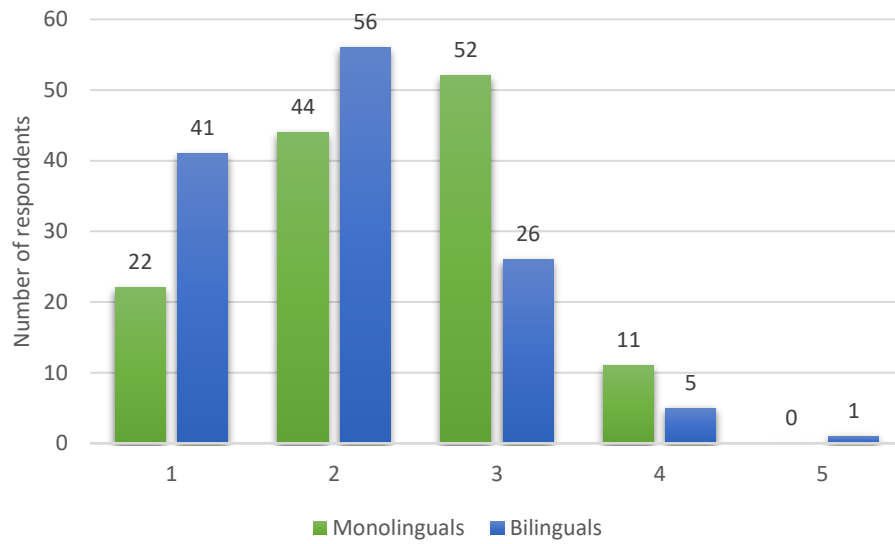
**Figure 27.** A Canadian child from Montreal who has spoken English since he/she was born and attends school in which all subjects are taught in French



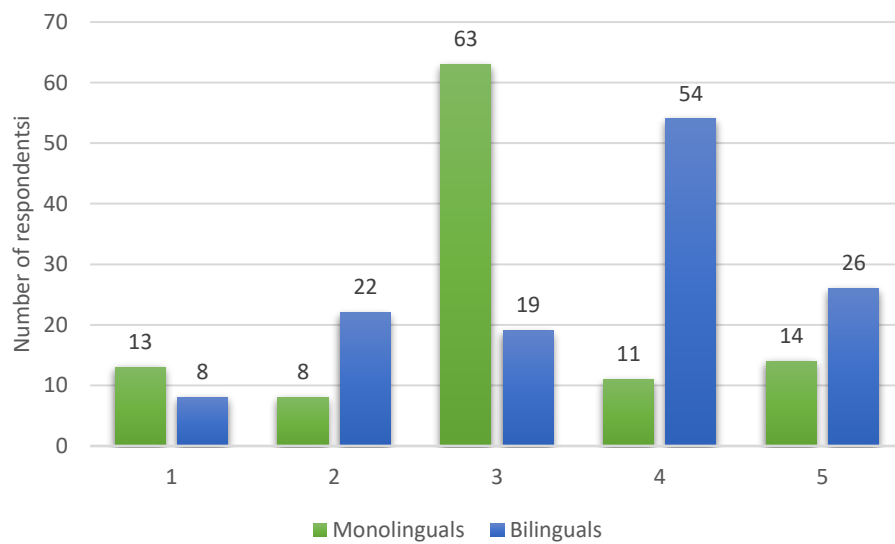
**Figure 28.** A young graduate who has studied French for eleven years



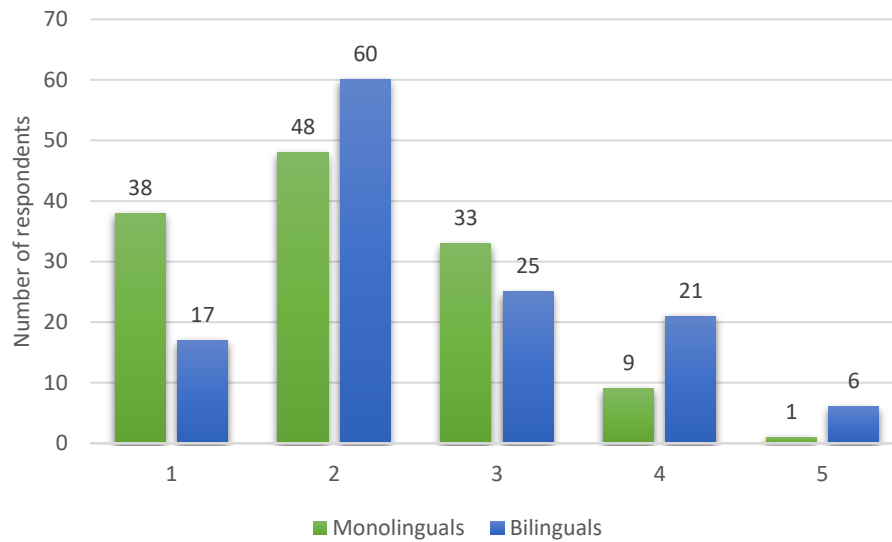
**Figure 29.** A sixty-year-old who has spent a large part of his life working with manuscripts and documents in Latin



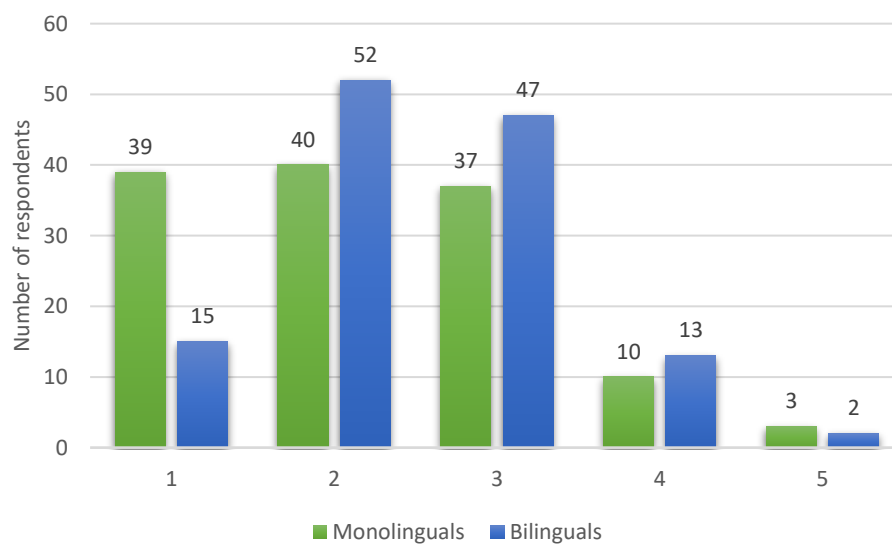
**Figure 30.** A technical translator



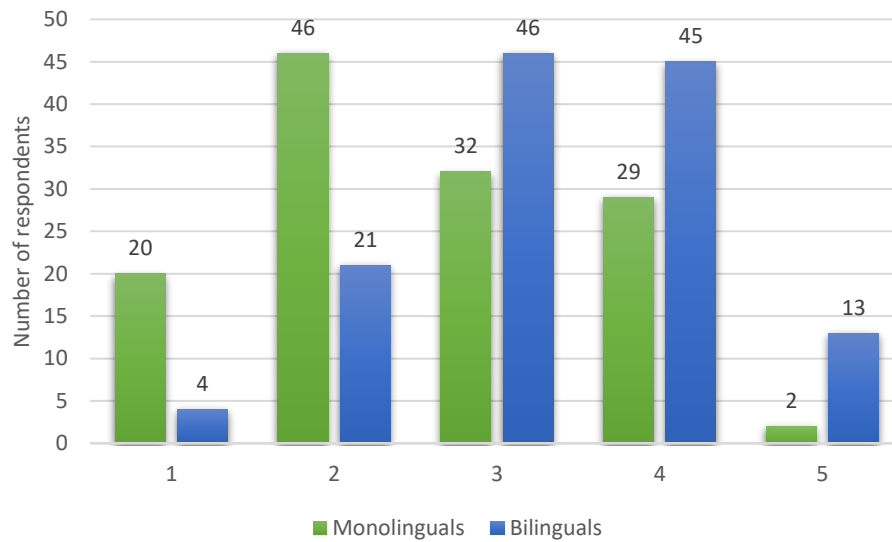
**Figure 31.** A private interpreter for an important public figure



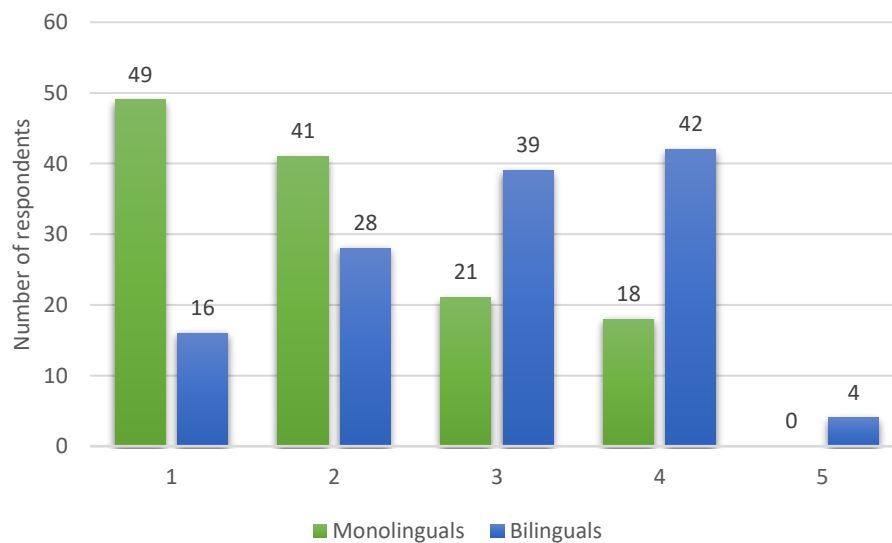
**Figure 32.** A Portuguese apothecary who reads specialist literature (connected with his/her subject) written in English



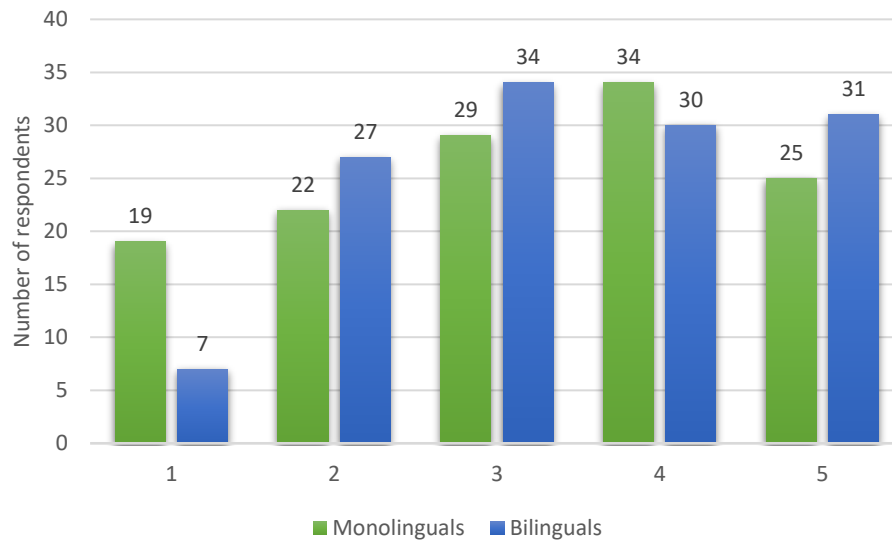
**Figure 33.** A Japanese airline pilot who uses English during his/her work



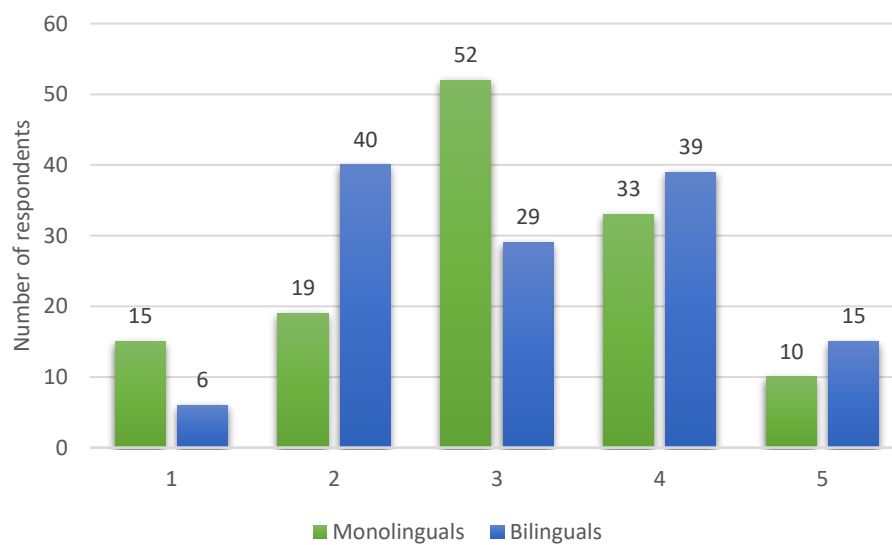
**Figure 34.** A Turkish immigrant, working in Germany, speaking Turkish at home and among his/her friends as well as colleagues, who can also communicate in German with his/her superiors and the authorities, both in writing and speech



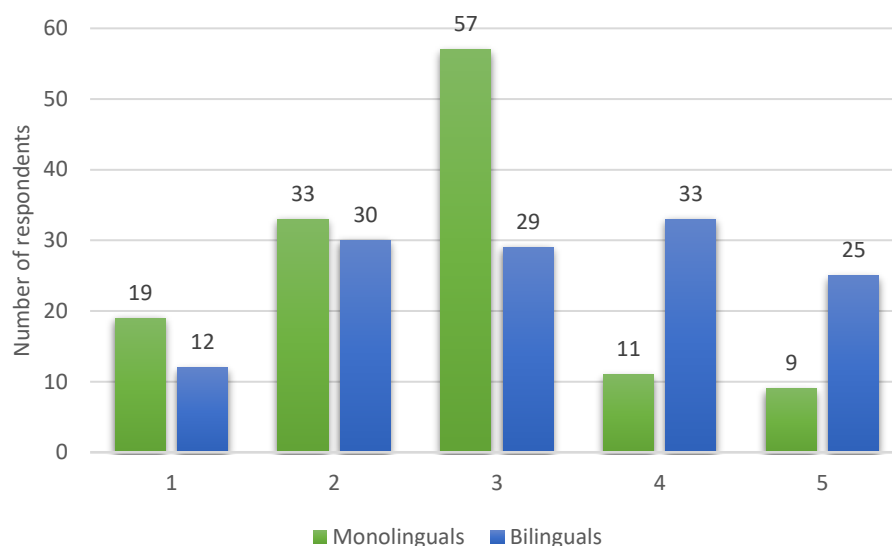
**Figure 35.** The wife of a Turkish worker who understands and speaks German but cannot write or read in this language



**Figure 36.** A Danish immigrant in New Zealand who has not had contact with the Danish language for forty years



**Figure 37.** A Belgian civil servant who lives in bilingual Brussels where his/her friends and relatives speak mainly Flemish; he/she works in an entirely French-speaking environment



**Figure 38.** A staunch Catalan who works at home and uses only the Catalan language but who knows Spanish from the media and from the local usage; he/she has no problems in communicating in Spanish

Indisputably, the analysis of the questionnaire responses indicates a lack of unanimity in defining the phenomenon of bilingualism. Not only are opinions concerning each situation extremely varied, but also in every case all possible evaluations were marked on the scale by somebody.

The research suggests that most monolingual respondents considered a two-year-old child (Figure 24) to be definitely bilingual, yet there was one person in the focus group who marked this situation as definitely not bilingual. On the other hand, bilinguals mostly marked the case as 3 on the scale. Similarly, a sixty-year-old who has devoted a significant part of his life to working with Latin documents and manuscripts (Figure 29) was not considered bilingual by the majority of both monolingual and bilingual respondents. It is surprising that a child whose language competence in both languages is low was perceived as bilingual, whereas an elderly person who has a fully developed language competence in both languages, along with undoubtedly wider lexical resources than any two-year-old, is not considered to be a bilingual.

Still, given this evidence it may be inferred that each example depicts a divergent opinion not only among monolingual and bilingual respondents, but also within these groups. Given these binary tendencies, Bee Chin and Wigglesworth (2007:3) offer some explanation as to why the term bilingualism is difficult to define. According to the authors,

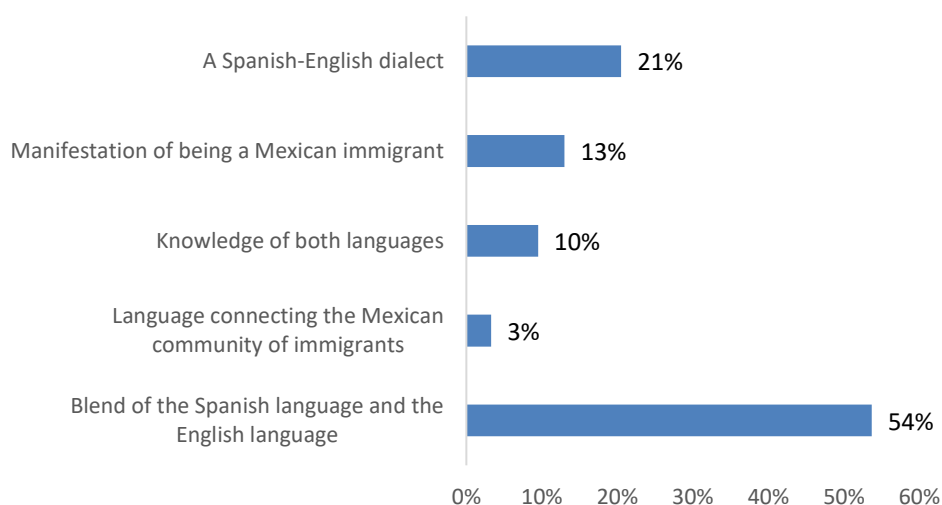
“[...] the term bilingualism may mean different things to different people as there is no one definition of bilingualism”.

Various and divergent views are not only common to the concept of bilingualism. The representational tensions surrounding the concept of Spanglish also present a challenge to social discourse.

Indisputably, this diversity of opinions was prompted by one of the enquiries in Questionnaire 2, i.e. the question concerned the meaning of the term Spanglish. Respondents were given the opportunity to choose more than one of the possible answers. Interestingly, the definitions of Spanglish that were listed, did not contradict each other, and, in fact, created an exhaustive definition of Spanglish as a linguistic phenomenon.

As the data presented in Figure 39 reveal, Mexican-American respondents understand Spanglish as a blend of two languages (53.7%). Other immigrants notice that it is a Spanish-English dialect (20.5%), while one in four respondents considered Spanglish to be the demonstration of being a Mexican immigrant in the United States (13%). 9.5% of respondents believe that the term Spanglish refers to the knowledge of both languages, and for 3.3% of them Spanglish is the bond connecting the Mexican society in Los Angeles.

As has already been mentioned, only some of the Mexican immigrants admitted to the use of Spanglish in daily communication with their compatriots in Los Angeles. According to the study participants, this linguistic reluctance may be caused by the following factors: (1) lack of awareness of Spanish language evolution caused by contact with English; (2) pejorative attitude in relation to the phenomenon of Spanglish or (3) negative assessment expressed by either the media or compatriots in the country. Consequently, Spanglish can be a source of embarrassment and even shame experienced by Mexican migrants.



**Figure 39.** The meaning of Spanglish (own elaboration based on Questionnaire 2)

From the wealth of comments provided by the Mexican users of Internet forums<sup>118</sup>, a main theme can be identified; namely: different emotional responses to the distinctive features of Spanglish. Returning to the reflection on the Spanish-English hybrid, vivid quotes from Mexicans living in Los Angeles add a negative dimension to this account. Highlighting the purist attitude and stressing the need to care for the purity and linguistic correctness, the respondents provide numerous comments<sup>119</sup>:

“[...] I think that it’s important for children to learn the proper language, grammar, spelling and all, whether that be (sic!) English or Spanish as opposed to the hybrid of Spanglish. Also, I think it’s harder to correct for proper usage of English or Spanish, if you learn Spanglish first [...]. So, until Spanglish becomes more mainstream, I agree with you that it’s better [to] stick with English and Spanish – they’re more recognised languages. What drives me crazy is how Americans with some Hispanic heritage like to combine English phrases with Spanish words, and assume that everyone will understand. I am pretty sure most people in the USA do not speak Spanish, yet they insist on using Spanish words that are not understood by most people. It is disrespectful to others.”

(Username: La Güera Pecos)

“[...] I think the Spanglish is bad because it messes [up] the communication and the language itself. For example, I live in Los Angeles and here we have that, and as result of this there are many Mexicans that don’t know how to actually speak or write in their own native language – Spanish.”

(Username: Vincente)

“I don’t like Spanglish at all; I personally think it sounds very annoying. I prefer to speak in pure Spanish, and I will never speak Spanglish.”

(Username: Angeline M.)

“It’s a bad habit to get into. When you go to Mexico they speak Spanish, not Spanglish. They look down on people who don’t speak correct Spanish.”

(Username: PIM)

“I personally don’t like it. Also they are TOO DIFFERENT to be combined together.”

(Username: Sarab)

---

<sup>118</sup> The forum users gave permission for their comments to be included in the present study.

<sup>119</sup> For more examples, see: English Language Topics – Forum, Slang vs. Spanglish – Forum.

“I have a coworker who is 2nd generation American. His grandfather was Mexican and sometimes he speaks spanglish to me (I don’t use the capital here, because this is not a language). I can tell you he does this because he is NOT fluent in Spanish and not because he wants to speak this way. I’m sure he would love to speak real Spanish.”

(Username: Awax1217)

Yet, a closer analysis reveals that such negative attitudes are expressed most frequently by non-immigrant Mexicans residing in their country of origin. In fact, they accuse immigrants from Mexico of carelessness towards the native language, claiming that the reason for this is their lack of English language education and ignorance. Some of the forum users claim that popularisation of Spanglish leads to language attrition<sup>120</sup>.

Nonetheless, based on the conducted questionnaires coupled with observations of the linguistic behaviour of Mexicans living in Los Angeles, it seems that Spanglish is used mainly by people with high linguistic competence; specifically, bilinguals who speak English fluently. In fact, the number of people who display a low level of English competence and speak Spanglish is relatively low.

Spanglish-speaking Mexicans tend to perceive the above statements as erroneous. They disagree with the negative portrayal of the Spanish-English hybrid by stating as follows:

“There’s no stopping Spanglish. It’s out there and no one is going to be able to stop it. We might as well embrace it as yet another way that living languages grow. Speakers of English and Spanish and all languages definitely deserve a good education including knowledge about how the languages they speak are put together, but if that could be accomplished (not likely) it still wouldn’t erase Spanglish or stop its development.”

(Mariana, 36)

“I prefer to embrace the change, and try to understand it. Languages are fascinating because they live and grow and change and intermingle.”

(Joaquin, 38)

“I don’t understand the fears that some people have about Spanglish. It is not going to destroy Spanish in Spain or Argentina or Cuba or Mexico and it is certainly not going to destroy English. It’s all about communication and if it helps facilitate understanding then what’s wrong with it?”

(Daniel, 31)

---

<sup>120</sup> The process of decay that a language experiences due to lack of use. For further information see: Köpcke (2007); Lipińska (2003).

“I like the logic in meshing two languages when necessary. I also just think Spanglish is fun. However, I have to admit, when I hear hilarious grammar or English words spoken with a heavy Spanish speaking accent, I tend to laugh and think back to my textbooks, wondering what went wrong.”

(Maria Fernanda, 25)

“I grew up in Mexico [...] and went to a Mexican school in Guadalajara for a year where I finally learned Spanish ‘all the way’. Spanglish cracks me up. But I think both languages should be learned properly for trips across the border, either way, and being able to communicate with the locals. My husband and I flow smoothly between Spanish and English as the mood and conversation goes. We use Spanglish when we’re joking around.”

(Sara, 28)

Only 8 out of 128 respondents assessed Spanglish negatively. The remaining part of the respondents, that is 120, believe that Spanglish is either positive or they remain neutral. The vast majority of Mexican migrants highlight the usefulness and usability of Spanish-English speech in Los Angeles, also claiming that it is a completely natural occurrence. According to the respondents, the phenomenon of mixing two languages is almost inevitable in a bilingual and multilingual environment. They also perceive Spanglish as a result of both the linguistic and the cultural contact.

Accordingly, it is crucial to note that in addition to the previously cited negative statements about Spanglish on the Internet, one may find those that defend the Spanish-English linguistic hybrid. Perhaps the most common approach to the phenomenon of Spanglish is the one that perceives the severe criticism as unfair. Mexican Internet users frequently advocate that Spanglish is a language code that is a social product resulting from communicative and socio-creative motives. Not only does it perform the essential function of unifying, but it also facilitates the identification of young migrants with the Mexican diaspora in Los Angeles. In addition, Spanglish also allows for easier and faster adaptation to the unfamiliar and the unknown, yet existing, American reality. Other bilinguals agree: Spanglish fulfils a significant function: it allows Mexicans residing in the United States, people living on the border of two different cultures<sup>121</sup> to mark their individuality and uniqueness.

---

<sup>121</sup> See: section: 1.6 Two languages – two worlds?

## **5.2 Individual bilingualism**

In addition to research on social bilingualism, in the years 2014-2016 an analysis was also carried out on individual bilingualism among Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles. Six people took part in this part of the study: Gabriela, María, José, Daniel, Alejandra and Ernesto. All these people emigrated from the country to Los Angeles in the 1980s. These individuals were chosen based on their high proficiency in both Spanish and English which allowed them to fully express their linguistic encounters in Los Angeles. To be sure, those respondents represent truly bilingual examples of a Spanglish speaker: with higher level of education and the ability to speak fluently in both languages. Participants' responsiveness and willingness to share bilingual experience during interviews created a valid source of information on individual bilingualism.

The reported data formed the basis for conclusions that were supported by two-year observation and interviews. The method of data gathering is described in detail in the following section. The case study also allowed us to gather information regarding the social situations in which Mexican-Americans use two different languages, attitudes of respondents towards the following notions: their first/primary language, second/other language, the phenomenon of bilingualism, and towards the mixture of languages, that is Spanglish.

### **5.2.1 Research design**

*Objective.* The purpose of the present analysis was to determine a wide spectrum of factors related to individual bilingualism. Data on language dominance, interlocutors' linguistic proficiency, as well as social contexts of use elicited from 6 Mexican-American bilingual participants, enabled the examination of parallel points along with dissimilarities between accounts of the emotional states expressed in both languages.

*Subjects.* 6 Mexican-American bilinguals aged between 26-45, including 3 females and 3 males respondents, participated in the study. The sample included both students at the University of California in Los Angeles, and graduates. A survey of the number of languages spoken by each individual revealed that the sample consists of 4 bilinguals, 1 trilingual and one speaker of four languages. Together, the multilinguals in the sample spoke 4 languages: Spanish, English, Greek and Arabic, and the quantitative analysis of responses identifies Spanish (60%) and English (40%) as the first language.

*Method.* During the research, data was obtained mainly by individual interviews conducted via Skype (see: Appendix 3). Additionally, online correspondence via Facebook and Twitter enabled us to gather the language material in written form. The respondents were asked for self-assessment of their four linguistic skills: listening, reading, speaking and writing, in both languages. Each person was asked to assess their own language capabilities on a scale that defines six levels of language proficiency (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2) in terms of listening, reading, speech production and writing.

*Period.* October 2014 – June 2016

### **5.2.2 Gabriela's bilingualism**

Gabriela, the first informant, aged 26, is a Mexican who emigrated to Los Angeles for financial reasons in 2006. She graduated from Universidad Autónoma del Carmen and afterwards she settled in the United States working as a website graphic designer.

Drawing largely from the results of the interviews, the respondent's first/primary language is Spanish, while her second/other is English. After arrival in Los Angeles Gabriela had problems adapting to the new environment. In fact, before leaving Mexico she had been convinced that she knew English sufficiently for fluent communication. As she comments, "[...] at first I did not understand Americans because of their native accent and they were speaking so fast". Thus, it took her a whole year to adapt to the new environment and become familiar with her second/other language used on the territory of the United States.

Currently, Gabriela perceives herself as a bilingual, and *bilingualism* is understood by her as the ability to use two languages in daily communication. The respondent is also seen as a bilingual person by her environment; the majority of Mexicans with whom Gabriela maintains contact in Los Angeles are also bilingual.

Gabriela started learning English at the age of 8 in, so-called, artificial conditions; specifically, in the primary school in Puebla. After constant English practice at college, she mastered English at an advanced level during her time in America. Indeed, Gabriela became proficient in reading, speaking and listening but less so in writing. Depending on the different sphere of life, she uses either one or two linguistic codes (Table 17).

<b>Sphere of life</b>	<b>Linguistic preference</b>
Work	English
Family	Spanish
School/university	Not applicable
Friends	Spanish/English
Church	Spanish
Neighbours	English

**Table 17.** Language usage related to Gabriela's spheres of life

As the respondent mentions, she has contact with both languages in varying degrees through the mass media and other means of communication (Table 18).

<b>Mass media</b>	<b>Linguistic preference</b>
Radio	English
Television	Spanish
Cinema	English
Press	English
Internet	English/Spanish
Text messages	English/Spanish
E-mail	English/Spanish

**Table 18.** Gabriela's language preference related to mass media

Furthermore, knowledge of two languages does not cause major problems for the respondent. The research also indicates that Gabriela perceives situations in which she mixes the two language systems as troublesome: "In some situations, I am adopting bad code; for example, when I was on vacation in Mexico, I asked the shop assistant in English". While staying in her hometown, Gabriela uses English unconsciously.

Interestingly, the phenomenon of Spanglish, at the beginning was judged pejoratively by the respondent. After some years, however, she realised that this is the norm, and she often borrows and adds Americanisms<sup>122</sup> during a conversation with compatriots in Los Angeles. When asked if her English is becoming poorer as a result of code-switching, Gabriela answers: "Probably not. Both Spanish and English are of a great value for me" (Table 19).

<sup>122</sup> "A word, phrase, or other language feature that is especially characteristic of the English language as spoken or written in the United States" (Stavans 2000:556).

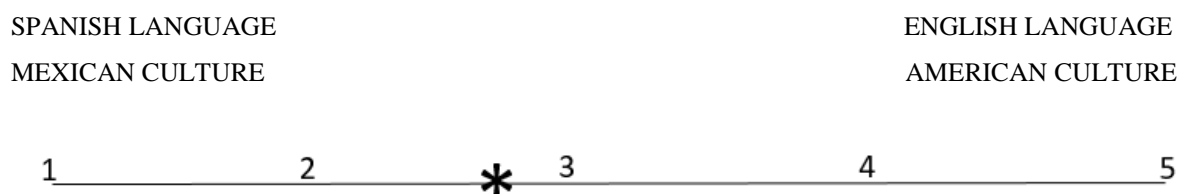
<b>Linguistic competence in Spanish Language</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>
Listening	C2
Reading	C2
Speaking	C2
Writing	C2
<b>Linguistic competence in English Language</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>
Listening	C2
Reading	C2
Speaking	C2
Writing	B2

**Table 19.** Gabriela's linguistic skills (self-assessment)

Gabriela declared that in the future, when she has children, she will ensure that they are bilingual. The respondent also states that she would prefer her children to know a third language. This situation, according to Gabriela, will provide them with improved living conditions.

Accordingly, it is crucial to note that the informant declares herself to be bicultural, although she feels more Mexican than American. In fact, Gabriela strongly believes that Americans, as compared with Mexicans, have a different approach to life and completely different behaviour patterns. These dissimilarities can be seen particularly during the celebration of Christmas Eve and Easter. In spite of this, Gabriela's attitude towards Americans and her new place of settlement is positive: she is very happy with her work, which gives her not only financial satisfaction, but also high self-esteem. The respondent describes herself as a Mexican living in the United States. Gabriela mentions that she does not intend to return to her country of origin.

When asked to define her situation as a person using two different languages and living in two different cultures, the respondent indicated her state on the proposed scale (by the use of the symbol \*) as illustrated in Figure 40:



**Figure 40.** Gabriela's sociocultural situation (self-assessment)

Overall, Gabriela may be perceived as a fully bilingual person who uses both languages to the same degree. Yet, lower proficiency in her second/other language, in this case English, causes numerous communication issues for the speaker. Despite the fact that Gabriela prefers to use English in her daily life, she perceives herself as being culturally more attached to Mexican tradition.

### 5.2.3 María's bilingualism

María (38) emigrated to Los Angeles in 2004 for personal and economic reasons. She currently works as a nurse at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center.

Her first/primary language is Spanish, while her second/other language is English. The respondent started her English language education at the age of 10 in secondary school in Zacatecas, Mexico. Currently, María not only works in an English-speaking environment, but she also attends a post-graduate course in English Philology at California University. Her friends, with whom she spends her spare time, are of either American or Mexican origin. She adopts either one or both linguistic codes according to different spheres of life (Table 20). Additionally, the respondent has contact with English and Spanish language via mass media and other social communication networks (Table 21).

Sphere of life	Linguistic preference
Work	English
Family	Spanish
School/university	English
Friends	Spanish/English
Church	Spanish
Neighbours	English

**Table 20.** Language usage related to María's spheres of life

Mass media	Linguistic preference
Radio	English
Television	English/Spanish
Cinema	English
Press	English
Internet	English/Spanish
Text messages	English/Spanish
E-mail	English/Spanish

**Table 21.** María's language preference related to mass media

María considers herself to be a bilingual, and she is perceived in the same manner by her environment. According to the respondent, *bilingualism* is an ability to communicate in two languages and, as she claims, the majority of her friends who are Mexican immigrants, are also bilingual.

Despite being proficient in both languages, Spanish dominates María's speech (Table 22). She has never had any issues regarding communication with American citizens. Whereas most of the immigrants claim that despite their high proficiency in the English language they are not able to eliminate their Mexican accent, María denies having any problems regarding her second language pronunciation. Indeed, in her monologue via Skype, there are hardly any linguistic interferences.

<b>Linguistic competence in Spanish Language</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>
Listening	C2
Reading	C2
Speaking	C2
Writing	C2
<b>Linguistic competence in English Language</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>
Listening	C2
Reading	C1
Speaking	C2
Writing	C1

**Table 22.** María's linguistic skills (self-assessment)

Nevertheless, a specific feature of María's speech is the frequent change of language code within both longer expressions and individual syntactic structures, also known as the code-switching phenomenon (see: section 5.3.3 Code-switching). When asked to fill in the questionnaire, she answered: "I will fill it today, *prometon*" (I promise). Likewise, it is well documented that María often alternates and uses changed forms of Spanish expressions and words when talking with compatriots in Los Angeles; she openly admits to using Spanglish, which is according to María: "[...] a combination of two languages, Spanish and English used in the statements [sic]. I see this as something quite normal among people residing abroad and who speak both languages every day".

As the respondent further acknowledges, there is nothing erroneous in the process of borrowing Americanisms: “It’s hard to translate some Spanish expressions, words. Often it is easier to use the English equivalent” Likewise, when asked if she always translates Americanisms into Spanish, she replies: “No. You are not always able to portray American reality with the use of Spanish language”.

Based on the respondent’s ratings of the impact of bilingualism on her life, María perceives it as an advantage. She does not believe that knowledge of two languages may interfere or create issues. Also, the Mexican-American immigrant admits that she often consciously mixes two the linguistic systems, since it is a natural phenomenon for bilingual speakers. When asked about the personal value of both languages, she responds: “Both [linguistic systems] are equally important and both I greatly respect. Spanish is my native language and it will be always the most significant for me. English, on the other hand, allows me for better understanding of the world”.

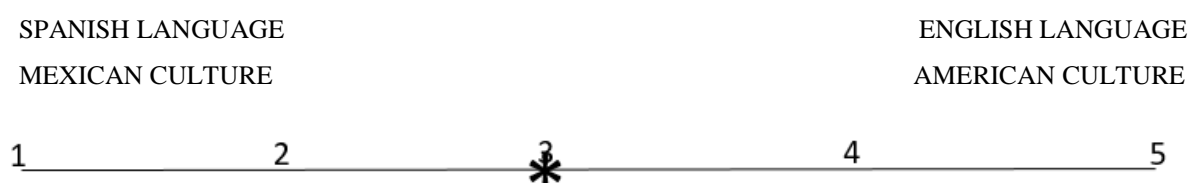
In the future, when María has children, she wants them also to be bilingual since “it will help in realisation of their dreams and goals in life”. She also believes that all Mexican parents who have emigrated should ensure the bilingual linguistic education of their children.

The informant claims that bilingualism makes life easier. She asserts: “Knowledge of foreign languages is a prerequisite in today’s world, both in reference to personal success as well as in everyday life”. She also claims:

“Knowledge of the language has a very large impact on our self-esteem and developing self-esteem; it helps in better understanding of other cultures and nationalities, teaches tolerance and openness. It also has a significant influence on mental and personality development; it enriches the vision of the world; it facilitates cooperation between people and between nations. It allows you to see the world in many ways.”

Obviously, María defines herself not only as a bilingual person, but also bicultural. The notion of *biculturalism* is understood by the respondent as belonging to two cultures. According to the respondent, the Mexican and American lifestyles, although they share some characteristics, are in many respects radically different. Indeed, the dissimilarities relate primarily to the means of spending free time with family and to celebrations. Americans also differ from Mexicans in their manners and approach to the world since, as she points out: “[...] Americans are known for their excessive exuberance, different sense of humor and the fact that they use very informal way of greetings. They excessively use 'How are you, honey?' in almost every situation”.

These and similar responses suggest that María neither feels inferior as an immigrant nor experiences any discrimination by Americans. On the contrary, according to the interviewee, immigration presents an opportunity to secure a better future and to learn about another culture and language. The disadvantage of emigration is, however, homesickness and longing for family. Despite these potential difficulties, María has not suffered any great crisis caused by emigration. When asked to define her situation as a person using two different languages and living in two different cultures, the respondent indicated (by the use of the symbol \*) the midpoint on the scale (Figure 41).



**Figure 41.** María's sociocultural situation (self-assessment)

To sum up, María is an example of both a bicultural person and a bicultural immigrant. She views herself as emotionally attached to both languages and cultures. Although the respondent's linguistic preference related to mass media is English, she uses both languages in her daily life communication.

#### 5.2.4 José's bilingualism

José, who is 29 years old, emigrated to America due to economic reasons in 2005. After graduating from high school in Mexico, he found a job in the United States. At the beginning of his settlement in Los Angeles, he experienced a language barrier, mainly due to his foreign accent and vocabulary specific to the region of south-west Mexico.

Sphere of life	Linguistic preference
Work	English
Family	Spanish
School/university	English
Friends	Spanish
Church	Spanish
Neighbours	Spanish

**Table 23.** Language usage related to José's spheres of life

Mass media	Linguistic preference
Radio	English
Television	English
Cinema	English
Press	English/Spanish
Internet	English/Spanish
Text messages	English/Spanish
E-mail	English/Spanish

**Table 24.** José's language preference related to mass media

Linguistic competence in Spanish Language	Proficiency level
Listening	C2
Reading	C1
Speaking	C1
Writing	B1
Linguistic competence in English Language	Proficiency level
Listening	B2
Reading	B1
Speaking	B2
Writing	B1

**Table 25.** José's linguistic skills (self-assessment)

Moreover, building on closer analysis of José's personal experience narratives, his first/primary language is Spanish while his second/other is English. The respondent started to learn English at the age of 7 through private tutoring in Mexico. He developed his English skills in primary school and during high school education. As a student in postgraduate study he still studies English at the University. Currently José uses the skills of both languages to different degrees: depending on various spheres of life he uses either one or two linguistic codes (Table 23). In addition, José has contact both with Spanish and English through mass media and other means of communication as illustrated in Table 24.

Delving further into the field of bilingual mechanisms shows that the speaker's overall competence in English and Spanish allow us to label him as a bilingual person in spite of his rather weak self-assessment in English proficiency. At the same time, he defines *bilingualism* as "the ability to use two languages every day". José claims that people from

his neighbourhood also perceive him as a bilingual person. Despite his ability in both languages, the respondent acknowledges he can use Spanish more proficiently than English (Table 25). Yet, the analysis of data collected during numerous interviews present a valid argument for reporting speech-related problems that arise when José uses English.

Being bilingual does not cause any problems or difficulties in José's everyday life. The respondent admits that there are communication situations in which he mixes both languages. The research would also suggest that José's Spanish is not impoverished: "I do not feel a lack of words in Spanish". Although both languages are important to him, José further admits: "In English I cannot express the depth of thought that I am able to communicate in Spanish".

The respondent is familiar with the linguistic and cultural phenomenon of Spanglish. He addresses this issue by pointing out that Spanglish is the result of colloquial usage of Spanish and English. This Mexican-American immigrant also admits that he often uses Americanisms generally accepted by immigrants: "I do not see the point in translating each word as the greater part of them are more suited to the realities of American life than their Spanish counterparts". Given that, according to José, not all Americanisms can be literally translated into Spanish.

The informant declares that if he has children in the future, he will ensure that they are bilingual, because it will facilitate their education and "bilingual parents should take care of the education of their kids in terms of both languages". In the same vein, José recognises himself as both bilingual and bicultural.

Highlighting the intrinsic difficulty in trying to measure differences between two cultures, the respondent characterises the American nation by mentioning unlimited personal freedom, religiousness and worldview. He has a positive attitude to Americans and American culture, although when asked more detailed questions, he admits that the Spanish culture is *at a much higher level* and is significantly different from traditions within the American nation.

From the wealth of data provided, two core themes about José's bilingualism can be identified: he is proud of his Mexican origin and he has the feeling of acceptance as an immigrant in the United States. Indeed, according to the interviewee, the biggest advantage of being a migrant in America is the opportunity to begin a new life. On the other hand, the disadvantage is separation from family, friends and homeland. José is satisfied with his work; although it is manual and hard, he admits that his earnings compensate for the

occasional moments of dissatisfaction. The respondent also declares a desire to return to the country of origin and to his family.

When asked to define his sociocultural status, José indicated (by the use of the symbol \*) the following position on the scale (Figure 42):



**Figure 42.** José's sociocultural situation (self-assessment)

José's linguistic situation can be described as bilingual, yet the sociocultural sphere of his life is dominated by Spanish language and Mexican culture. The speaker uses both languages on a daily basis, yet he prefers to speak Spanish in more intimate situations (in church, with family and friends). In contrast to Gabriela's situation, his linguistic preference is connected to his low proficiency in English.

### **5.2.5 Daniel's bilingualism**

Daniel (31), the fourth respondent, immigrated from Mexico in 2004. The Mexican-American left his homeland because, as he reveals, he had not found employment in the Mexican labour market.

Both the quantitative and qualitative analyses of Daniel's linguistic preferences reveal that his first/primary language is Spanish and second/other is English. The interviewee started learning English at the age of 14 (late bilingualism; see: section 1.3.5 Early versus late bilingualism) and then continued in high school in Mexico (artificial bilingualism; see: section 1.3.3 Natural versus school bilingualism). The respondent admits that at the beginning of his stay in the new place, he encountered numerous communication problems. The main issue concerned the comprehension of Americans' speech. He comments that, to a large extent, this American accent was the cause of the poor communication that he encountered.

Currently, Daniel uses Spanish and English fluently: he speaks, writes and reads in both languages. Given the significance of dominance in a number of domains, it is also vital to note that the use of two languages by the respondent is conditioned by the specific spheres of life presented in Table 26. Daniel also has contact with both linguistic systems to a varying degree through mass media and other means of communication (Table 27).

<b>Sphere of life</b>	<b>Linguistic preference</b>
Work	English
Family	Spanish
School/university	Not applicable
Friends	Spanish/English
Church	Not applicable
Neighbours	English

**Table 26.** Language usage related to Daniel's spheres of life

<b>Mass media</b>	<b>Linguistic preference</b>
Radio	English
Television	English
Cinema	English
Press	English
Internet	English/Spanish
Text messages	English/Spanish
E-mail	English/Spanish

**Table 27.** Daniel's language preference related to mass media

For Daniel, the term *bilingualism* is related to the proficient use of two languages. He perceives himself as a bilingual person. The further interview process reveals that friends of the respondent also identify him as a bilingual. Accordingly, when language ability is conflated with emotionality, although proficient in both languages, Daniel admits that his speech is dominated by Spanish (Table 28).

<b>Linguistic competence in Spanish Language</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>
Listening	C2
Reading	C2
Speaking	C2
Writing	C2
<b>Linguistic competence in English Language</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>
Listening	C1
Reading	C1
Speaking	C1
Writing	C1

**Table 28.** Daniel's linguistic skills (self-assessment)

As is further pointed out by the informant: “Knowledge and the use of second language open new horizons, we are better in understanding the culture of a society”. When asked about the personal value of both languages, Daniel responds: “Both languages are very important to me. Spanish is my native language; [...] English, in turn, is the mother tongue of people in the country where I live now”.

What the research study also reveals is that the mastering of both languages seems to enhance socialisation experiences. In fact, this advantage of bilingualism has been noticed by Daniel who advocates that “[...] the knowledge of Spanish and English does not create any problems in my everyday life. It helped me to communicate with American society”. Yet, highlighting the intrinsic difficulty in shifting between two linguistic codes, he also admits that sometimes English and Spanish are mixed during his conversation with Americans. Furthermore, Daniel has the impression that he forgets some words in Spanish, replacing them with their English counterparts. Indeed, after a fascinating glimpse into Daniel’s bilingual experience, one may presume that it is natural that a person living in a foreign country for a long period of time will at some point have difficulty finding the right words in his/her native language. Supported by their research, many scholars acknowledge that the most common reason is the lack of use of the word over a long period of time<sup>123</sup>.

These and similar responses suggest that the notion of Spanglish is not alien to the respondent. On the contrary, when asked to define this linguistic phenomenon, Daniel acknowledges: “Spanglish is a mixture of English and Spanish language. I try not to code-switch and mix the languages; I pay attention to what I say. Especially when I speak to my family from Mexico; [...] I try not to commit such linguistic faux pas”. Yet, ironically, even though Daniel is against borrowings, he used the French expression in his statement. When asked to comment on that, he confessed that it was done unintentionally.

At the same time, building on closer analysis of the participant’s personal experience, it can also be presumed that he is both bilingual and bicultural. Along with English, Daniel has acquired the linguistic expressions and properties connected to American culture. In fact, these findings are compatible with his statement that there are more similarities than differences between the culture of the Mexican and the American population. In fact, the respondent has a very positive attitude towards the American nation.

Daniel defines himself *as a citizen of the world* and does not connect his future plans with Los Angeles; neither does he consider returning to Mexico. As a Mexican residing in a

---

<sup>123</sup> See: Rothman and Rell (2005); Mackey (1962); Llombart (2003); Olson and Samuels (1973).

foreign country, he has never encountered discrimination expressed by Americans. What the respondent further notices is that migration has only positive effects. Among the main advantages of being an immigrant he lists:

- 1) Ease of finding a well-paid job for someone who has mastered the language of the country of settlement;
- 2) The ability to acquire the language of the host country;
- 3) The ability to know the culture of the inhabitants of the country of residence.

When asked to define his situation as a person using two different languages and living in two different cultures, the respondent indicated his sociocultural status by pointing to (by the use of the symbol \*) the following place on the scale (Figure 43):



**Figure 43.** Daniel's sociocultural situation (self-assessment)

To summarise, Daniel's linguistic situation may be described as English dominant. Not only does Daniel speak English at work, but he also uses his second/other language in daily life communication. The only situation when Spanish is used by the speaker is when he speaks to a family member and some friends. Although the respondent's English proficiency is slightly lower than Spanish, he perceives himself as English dominant speaker. His linguistic preference is in line with his sociocultural situation as Daniel expresses stronger attachment to American culture.

### **5.2.6 Alejandra's bilingualism**

Alejandra (45), who describes herself as "a happy mom with a head full of ideas, a sociable and family-centred person", emigrated to Los Angeles in June 2008, where she is currently working as a receptionist. After graduating from high school in Mexico, she went to the United States as a tourist to visit the country.

As in the case of the aforementioned respondents, Alejandra's first/primary language is also Spanish while her second/other is English. As revealed by numerous interviews, Alejandra has been studying English since she was 10 and she states that at the moment, after some years, she uses English every day without any communication problems.

Additionally, drawing largely from her experiences as a bilingual, the interviewee states that in Los Angeles she continues to improve all four language skills (speaking, listening, writing and reading) in natural conditions due to working in an exclusively English-speaking environment. Despite her everyday use of the two linguistic codes, Alejandra declares that Spanish is definitely a language that dominates her life.

As seen in the tables below, not only is Alejandra's communication on a daily basis affected by various spheres of life (Table 29), but also by the mass media and other means of communication (Table 30).

Furthermore, the respondent defines herself as being bilingual, while she considers *bilingualism* as the ability to use two languages on a daily basis. In fact, her friends also perceive Alejandra as a truly bilingual person. She claims that she knows English on a very high level, as illustrated in Table 31. What is more, the preliminary results demonstrate that the knowledge of two languages does not create any issues for Alejandra in her everyday life as an immigrant. The respondent also notices no major changes in her native language, although there are situations in which she cannot find proper words in English. Surprisingly, Alejandra recognises English as having instrumental value thus being more important than Spanish. The reason is the clear prestige of the English language.

Nevertheless, Alejandra's emotional bond with her first language is a reality that deserves to be recognised. Being a mother of a two-year-old daughter who was born in Los Angeles, she wants her child to be bilingual since "the knowledge of two languages makes life easier". She further declares: "I will take care of both Spanish and English of my daughter". Indeed, Alejandra's statement is consistent with Davies' (2003:101) research suggesting the primacy of bilingual education in America<sup>124</sup>.

Sphere of life	Linguistic preference
Work	English
Family	Spanish
School/university	Not applicable
Friends	Spanish/English
Church	Spanish
Neighbours	English

**Table 29.** Language usage related to Alejandra's spheres of life

<sup>124</sup> The present research does not further address this issue. For more information see: Davies (2003); Wei (2000).

<b>Mass media</b>	<b>Linguistic preference</b>
Radio	English
Television	English/Spanish
Cinema	English
Press	English
Internet	English/Spanish
Text messages	English/Spanish
E-mail	English/Spanish

**Table 30.** Alejandra's language preference related to mass media

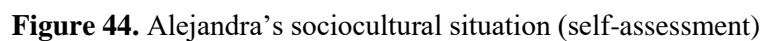
<b>Linguistic competence in Spanish Language</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>
Listening	C2
Reading	C2
Speaking	C2
Writing	C2
<b>Linguistic competence in English Language</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>
Listening	C1
Reading	C1
Speaking	C2
Writing	C2

**Table 31.** Alejandra's linguistic skills (self-assessment)

Yet another nuance of the respondent's bilingualism occurs when the use of both languages is conflated with everyday life. Drawing from the collected data, it is evident that in conversation with her Mexican friends she speaks Spanglish. Additionally, when communicating in Spanish, she frequently substitutes English words with Spanish ones. The Mexican-American immigrant addresses this issue by pointing out that such changes are used by her for fun while talking to loved ones who know English. Sometimes, as Alejandra comments, she may have problems with the translation of English to Spanish and vice versa. Yet, she disagrees with the concept that all words must be translated into Spanish since, according to the respondent, some of them sound better in the original language and better reflect the reality.

“Mexicans are more diligent, however, in my opinion, fellow countrymen are less polite. I am not ashamed of being Mexican; I have never experienced any unpleasantness because of this reason. The only disadvantage of living in a foreign land, here in Los Angeles, is large distance from my family and my friends.”

Alejandra defines her cultural and linguistic situation (by the use of the symbol\*) on the following scale (Figure 44):



### 5.2.7 Ernesto's bilingualism

As in the previously described examples, Ernesto's first/primary language is also Spanish and his second/other, English. He started to learn English as a foreign language when he was 10 years old, in primary school in Mexico in so-called artificial circumstances. Currently, as the research suggests, the respondent reads and writes in English at an advanced

level. What is more, the multitude of data elicited during interviews identify Ernesto as a bilingual. Like in the case of Daniel, the English language is clearly dominant across most spheres of life. Currently the respondent uses almost exclusively English for everyday communication (Table 32 and 33).

<b>Sphere of life</b>	<b>Linguistic preference</b>
Work	English
Family	Spanish
Friends	English
Church	English
Neighbours	English

**Table 32.** Language usage related to Ernesto's spheres of life

<b>Mass media</b>	<b>Linguistic preference</b>
Radio	English
Television	English
Cinema	English
Press	English
Internet	English
Text messages	English
E-mail	English

**Table 33.** Ernesto's language preference related to mass media

<b>Linguistic competence in Spanish Language</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>
Listening	C2
Reading	C2
Speaking	C2
Writing	C2
<b>Linguistic competence in English Language</b>	<b>Proficiency level</b>
Listening	C2
Reading	C1
Speaking	C2
Writing	C1

**Table 34.** Ernesto's linguistic skills (self-assessment)

Linguistic dominance together with an English-speaking environment irrefutably exert a highly substantial influence on Ernesto's linguistic preference. Indeed, the respondent claims to be a bilingual person although, as he reveals, it is easier for him to express his thoughts using Spanish (Table 34). This means that he has higher language and communication skills in his first/primary language. As Ernesto claims, he occasionally uses Spanish, most often during telephone conversations with his family in Mexico and during holidays at his family home in Mexico.

Drawing from the collected data, it is evident that Ernesto highly values both Spanish and English. The respondent notes that "Spanish is of the symbolic value, while English has instrumental value". He also admits that sometimes he forgets words in his first/primary language and he willingly adopts English expressions while talking with Mexican immigrants. Yet another important insight emerging from the data presented is the presence of significant mixing of elements of Spanish language and English syntax in Ernesto's speech. Surprisingly, further investigation reveals that the informant is not familiar with the concept of Spanglish; he does not know what this term means. Probably, this may be caused by the fact that the Mexican-American respondent resides in an exclusively English-speaking environment.

Ernesto also encounters problems with the translation of English to Spanish and vice versa. These issues arise while travelling with his wife to Mexico: the respondent acts as an interpreter because his wife does not speak Spanish and his family in Mexico do not speak English. In such situations, Ernesto realises that words and phrases that cannot be easily translated exist in each of these languages. These linguistic elements are specific for a given language code and culture.

Perhaps the most persistent question regarding bilingualism is that of the advantages of being a bilingual speaker. Ernesto provides an answer to the above by stating that there is a significant difference in the social status connected to bilingualism. Hence, he declares that the children that he plans to have in the near future will also be bilingual. This, according to him, will help them to have greater opportunities than are available to those who are monolingual. Therefore, he intends to place equal emphasis on the teaching of both languages.

In the same vein, Ernesto identifies himself as bicultural. According to him, the American culture differs significantly from Mexican customs. The informant nostalgically acknowledges that when he arrived in Los Angeles, he felt these differences very clearly;

the American culture was unfamiliar to him and thus, not attractive. Yet, as Ernesto further describes, he quickly became used to a different mentality from the Mexican, with a diverse approach to life and work. Today, Ernesto feels partly American and partly Mexican. In response to the question: Who are you? How would you describe yourself? He answers without hesitation: “One of them [Americans] in America, Mexican in Mexico”.

In fact, as an immigrant, Ernesto has never experienced discrimination. The only drawback of immigration is his longing for family in Mexico. In addition, the respondent believes that the trip to Los Angeles was one of the best decisions he has made in his life. He is satisfied with his life in the new country. When asked whether he intends to return to Mexico, he gives a negative answer.

Ernesto was asked to define his sociocultural situation as a person using two different languages and living in two diverse cultures. He indicated the following place (by the use of the symbol \*) on the proposed scale (Figure 45):



**Figure 45.** Ernesto’s sociocultural situation (self-assessment)

In stark contrast to the previous interviewees, Ernesto expresses strong attachment to American customs and traditions. He perceives himself to be a bicultural person, yet his American culture preference is visible on the scale above. Moreover, the mass media used by Ernesto are dominated by his second/other language.

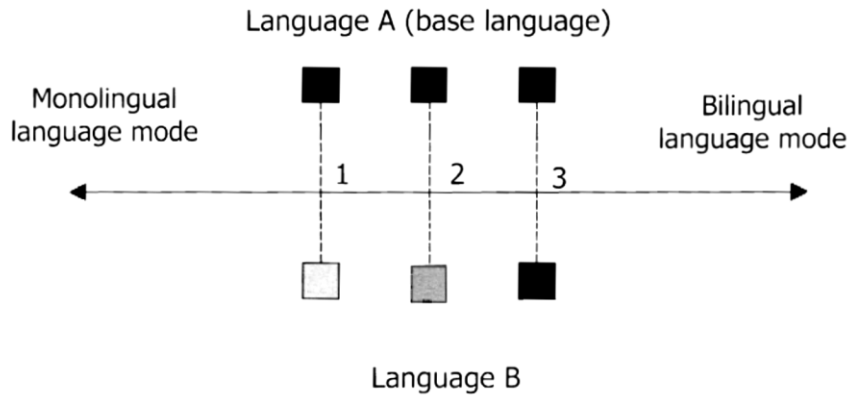
### **5.3 Mexican-American immigrants’ speech characteristics**

When it comes to language contact, which, according to Weinreich (1974:45-47), triggers the process of bilingualism, the two languages mutually determine each other. Thus, the result of the phenomenon of bilingualism and bilingual speech will be, first of all, many kinds of linguistic interferences, borrowings and so-called code-switching. In fact, an important insight emerging from the data collected during interviews (see: section 5.1 Social view of bilingualism and section 5.2 Individual bilingualism) is that depending on the interlocutor, the bilinguals change the manner of speaking. Weinreich (1974:51) further addresses this issue by pointing out that during conversation with a monolingual speaker, a bilingual person reduces interference. In contrast, while interacting with a bilingual

interlocutor, the same bilingual speaker's speech may be characterised by numerous interferences. By the same token, this statement is confirmed by Beardsmore (1986:79), who proves that the bilingual person feels greater freedom in the use of two linguistic systems in conversation with other bilinguals. Consequently, depending on the interlocutor, a bilingual decides which language to choose in this specific verbal exchange. What can be added is that, in addition to the recipient, the topic of conversation also influences the level of activation of a second language.

Accordingly, the scholars Grosjean (2008:38) and Mamzer (2002:141) have both written extensively on the degree of activation of different language systems and mechanisms of their transformation in the speech of bilingual individuals. The abovementioned processes have been named by Grosjean as *language mode* (LM). In fact, the term has replaced the earlier concept of *speech mode*. The LM hypothesis assumes the existence of various forms of activation and the production of two (or more) language systems. Furthermore, based on the LM concept, there are two models of bilingual communication, that is: the monolingual and bilingual models.

During the interaction of the former type, the bilingual person deactivates one language (though not completely). If the process of communication follows the bilingual model, the bilingual participant in the communication process activates both linguistic systems, language A and language B. Nonetheless, when language A is the foundation, or base (either the first/primary or second/other language), language B may sometimes be manifested in the form of borrowing or change in the linguistic code. In such a case, the bilingual person borrows a word or a short phrase from the less activated language and either adapts it to the base language or he/she changes the code by switching entirely to the second language. In contrast, the degree of activation of language B is different; it is a kind of continuum that extends from a lack of activation to complete activation.



**Figure 46.** Language mode (Grosjean 2008:40)

Grosjean (2008:40-41) elucidates the language mode with reference to the representation above (Figure 46) as follows:

“Language mode is the state of activation of the bilingual’s languages and language processing mechanisms at a given point in time. Given that activation is a continuous variable ranging from no activation to total activation and that two languages are concerned; language mode is best visualised in a two-dimensional representation such as that in figure [Figure 46]. The bilingual’s languages (A and B) are depicted on the vertical axis by a square located at the top and bottom parts of the figure, their level of activation is represented by the degree of darkness of the square (black for a highly active language and white for a deactivated language) and the ensuing language mode is depicted by the position of the two squares (linked by a discontinuous line) on the horizontal axis which ranges from a monolingual mode to a bilingual mode. Three hypothetical positions are presented in the figure, numbered 1 to 3. In all positions it is language A that is the most active (it is the base language, i.e. the main language being produced or perceived at a particular point in time) and it is language B that is activated to lesser degrees.”

What can be noted is the fact that in all three locations, the base language (language A) is fully active since it is the linguistic system that governs the processing of language. As an example, according to Grosjean (2008:43), a French-English bilingual speaking to a monolingual French person would be in monolingual French mode. Hence, their English language would be correspondingly deactivated. As a way of contrast, in a monolingual English communication circumstance, the same bilingual person would have French deactivated and English activated.

Undeniably, many arguments presented previously concerning language triggering apply to the statement that linguistic activation depends more on the current situation and less on the language acquisition mode (L1, L2). Nevertheless, as Jekat and Ehrensberger-

Dow (2008:88-104) assert, dynamic interferences may still occur, that is *speaker-specific deviations* from the language that is being spoken.

Elaborating further on Figure 46, there are many reasons influencing the degree and mode of language B activation, which may also have different linguistic forms: most often interferences, borrowings, and the phenomenon of code-switching. Irrefutably, Grosjean's LM hypothesis enables to distinguish of these three linguistic phenomena. The main difference is that so-called language mixing, which includes the phenomenon of code-switching and borrowing, does not occur in the monolingual model of communication (although there are some exceptions). Thus, the term interlanguage refers to the phenomenon of borrowing and code-switching. On the other hand, language interference is present on every level of language structure. This means that a bilingual speaker in conversation with monolingual interlocutors usually controls his speech and tries to avoid borrowing and the phenomenon of code-switching. Most often, however, *unconscious linguistic interference* takes place (Jekat and Ehrensberger-Dow 2008:88). Interferences are also bilingual models of communication, although they are perceived as more difficult to distinguish from borrowings and code-switching (Grosjean 2008:44). Each of these three qualities of bilingual speech will be further discussed in the following sections.

### 5.3.1 Interference

The multitude of data elicited directly, both quantitatively and qualitatively, identify the *interference* phenomenon as any deviation from the linguistic norm that occurs in a bilingual's speech. Likewise, as emphasised by Weinreich (1974:1), interferences are

“[...] those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, for example as a result of language contact, will be referred to as interference phenomenon.”

Thus, the interference process is the result of both language contact and the overlapping of one system's structures on another. According to Weinreich (1974:1), this contact is located in the language of users, that is, units. By the same token, the term *interference* means the conversion of existing patterns of language, caused by the introduction of elements of a second language/other linguistic system to more structured domains of language (to the phonemic, morphological or syntax systems, or to certain areas of vocabulary structure). Thus, it is generally considered that interference is a type of negative transfer. Nonetheless, it is crucial not to equate the concept of interference with the notion

of transfer<sup>125</sup>. The concept of transfer derives from psychology and, in the case of second/other language acquisition, is referred to by Lipińska (2003:143) as facilitation (positive transfer) or blocking (negative transfer) of learning activities through prior learning.

Contemporary studies conducted by Komorowska (1980), Szulc (1994) and Lipińska (2003) most often distinguish two types of transfer; namely, positive and negative<sup>126</sup>. Positive transfer may aid in the production of the correct statements in the second/other language which, in turn, accelerates and facilitates the learning process. The results of negative transfer are linguistic mistakes that inhibit the process of acquiring a second/other language.

Dubisz (2013:10-12) argues that when two languages come into contact, the first phase of interference in the vocabulary and grammatical structure is the occurrence of deviations from the norm, appearing either in spoken or written forms of language. It is generally believed that interference causes the production of mistakes in the second/other linguistic system by overlapping with the structure of the first/primary language. Yet, it is of uppermost importance to note the fact that this phenomenon may also take the opposite direction; this means that while assimilating a second/other language, some new linguistic habits are copied to the first/primary language system. As Weinreich (1974:1) points out, the greater the difference between the systems of languages, the greater the problem of simultaneous assimilation and, as a result, the greater the area of interference.

An important insight emerging from the above statements is that an overall representation of interference in the situation of language contacts, for instance its spread, persistence and disappearance, can be obtained only by taking into account non-linguistic factors. Such aspects include, among others, bilingual people's ease of verbal expression and their ability to consistently separate the two languages; their relative proficiency in each of them, the ability to use the languages depending on the themes and interlocutors; the way the linguistic systems are absorbed and attitudes towards these languages (Weinreich 1953:3).

Similarly, Bugajski's (1993:87) analysis represents a focus on interference phenomena by dividing interference into intralingual and interlingual. According to the author, the former refers to any deviations from the standard language of the system which are influenced by the rules of the language. One example is the impact of environmental and

---

<sup>125</sup> Compare: Lipińska 2003.

<sup>126</sup> In point of fact, Komorowska (1980:30) describes a third type called *zero transfer*; a situation that occurs when knowing one linguistic system has no effect on performance in learning another linguistic system.

occupational linguistic variations on the Spanish language. The latter is created according to the rules of another language system. Bugajski (1993:89) also states that interference itself would not be a desirable phenomenon from the point of view of the standard language of the system, yet its consequences are one of the major reasons for the development of language.

A further significant insight that emerges from another author's research (Dubisz 2013:5-6) is that the processes of interference may be presented in the six following formulas:

- 1) language A  $\longleftrightarrow$  language B
- 2) language A  $\longleftrightarrow$  dialect B
- 3) dialect A  $\longleftrightarrow$  dialect B
- 4) language A  $\longleftrightarrow$  idiolect B
- 5) dialect A  $\longleftrightarrow$  idiolect B
- 6) idiolect A  $\longleftrightarrow$  idiolect B

As the linguist notes, the processes of interference in multi-ethnic societies are intense and run parallel in all of the above-mentioned six forms. In turn, both this multidimensional nature and the intensity of the interference creates a variety of languages and dialects in the Mexican immigrant community.

Overall, linguistic interference is understood as an unconscious as well as involuntary influence of one language on another (Grosjean 1982:299). Interferences occur in all subsystems of acquired language. The most common and most visible interference takes place in the phonological, lexical and grammatical systems<sup>127</sup>. During phonological interference, most often transfer occurs from the phonological system of the first/primary language to the second/other linguistic system. This phenomenon may be observed mainly in the accent (also in intonation) and it is most recognisable for the layperson. Furthermore, such interference involves adaptation of the sound of lexemes from the first/primary to the phonetic system of the second/other language.

Sękowska (2008:35) exposes the way in which, as a result of language contact and bilingualism, immigrants copy new phonetic experiences from English into their native language. According to the author, the new habits which are acquired stem from the different vocalic and consonant resources of a language that is characterised by another articulation base. Indeed, as revealed during the individual interviews, by using alternatively two languages, the Spanglish speakers perform substitution of sounds: they make the articulation of English sounds simpler as they are in the articulation of Spanish. Other participants, while

---

<sup>127</sup> Compare: Weinreich (1974); Hoffmann (1991).

using Spanish sounds or speaking Spanish, use English sounds in the place of their native ones.

In fact, interference can often lead to comical situations. Here are two such examples presented by the Mexican immigrants who participated in the study.

The first example is expressed by the émigré who reminisces about a request that he made to his American co-worker: “Can you give me a sheet?”, in which the word sheet /ʃi:t/, meaning a thin flat piece of paper, was articulated in the same way as the word shit /ʃit/, meaning solid waste from a person’s or animal’s body.

Another example is provided by a Mexican woman living in Los Angeles while referring to her recent trip: “Once I was in UK. They have there great pubs”, in which the expression of pubs /pʌb/, meaning a place where people go to drink alcohol, was articulated as paps /paepe/, meaning nipples.

Likewise, the bilinguals’ comments suggest that lexical interference occurs equally often. This phenomenon involves, among other things, the introduction of a lexical element from the first/primary language during the use of second/other linguistic system or transfer of the meaning of the word in the first/primary language to its equivalent in the second/other language. One example of an incorrect use of a lexeme is a statement made by a Mexican woman while describing her current situation: “I prefer living in the center of Los Angeles because when I was in the suburbs, I could not even buy a *fire machine* [...] when it was needed”. *Fire machine* stands for a Spanish expression *máquina de fuego* describing a lighter.

Irrefutably, the array of topics that come directly from the research discussed above show the notion of language interference as a process of overlapping between the two language systems. The research would also suggest that linguistic interference can be seen primarily in the statements of young Mexican immigrants as well as older ones who began second language acquisition in their late adolescence.

Furthermore, the preliminary results demonstrate that the fully mastered system of the first/primary language will almost always (especially in the early stages of second/other language acquisition) become a reference system for bilingual speakers. Therefore, the already heavily developed mechanisms of the first/primary language will have a negative impact on the absorption of a second/other language. In fact, habits transferred from one system to another language are the cause of numerous linguistic errors, which can even lead to communication failure.

As Grosjean (2008:55) rightly observes, interference, especially lexical, is very difficult to distinguish from other forms of mixing languages, especially from borrowings.

### 5.3.2 Borrowings

Borrowings are undoubtedly another characteristic feature of bilingual speech. As Grosjean (2008:18) points out, the linguistic aspect of borrowing has been examined in some depth; however, still little is known about the process of borrowing. Haugen's (1950) research in the field of both the sociological and linguistic aspects of bilingualism has led to in-depth analysis. In fact, the author was one of the first researchers who wrote explicitly on borrowings and their classification. Haugen (1950:212) defines borrowings as "[...] the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another".

This was an initial step in the scholarly attempt to expound the classification of borrowings, which are defined by many researchers as a part of language, such as words, phrases, types of derivatives, lexical forms, syntactic constructions and collocations, that are taken from one language to another. Additionally, borrowings are adopted in the spoken language or through the visual medium. Haugen (1950:214) identified three types of borrowings:

- 1) loanwords or so-called proper borrowings – the form and meaning of a word is transferred from one language to another;
- 2) loanblend – combination of L1/L2 elements;
- 3) loanshift – with accurate representation of the L2 structures.

However, many contemporary researchers disagree with the previous author (Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:130; Morales 2002:131; Li and Gleitman 2002:295) by presenting different criteria for classification:

- 1) the criterion of the subject of borrowings (proper borrowings, structural borrowings, semantic borrowings, artificial borrowings);
- 2) the criterion of the degree of assimilation (quotations, partially assimilated borrowings, total borrowings);
- 3) the criterion of origin (e.g. anglicisms, latinisms, etc.).

The research would also suggest that whether television programmes, cinematic texts or colloquial speech are examined, the unmistakable presence of two extreme positions on the process of borrowing of foreign elements is difficult to ignore: that is, *cosmopolitanism* and *linguistic purism*. While cosmopolitanism is based on uncritical acceptance of any elements of foreign origin merged into the native language, the purist position condemns anything

foreign in an attempt to protect the purity of the first/primary language. Yet, these binary tendencies are considered as being too extreme, since borrowings and any linguistic innovation should be perceived primarily in terms of their usefulness and sometimes even necessity.

Borrowings are influenced by both by intra- and interlinguistic factors. Nonetheless, the most common reasons for the borrowing process of foreign elements include, among others, the need to designate new phenomena, things, people or places, a low frequency of some words, or second language prestige<sup>128</sup>. Hence, due to the various reasons for the borrowing of foreign lexemes, the following classification may be distinguished: *necessary* and *unnecessary* borrowings (Haugen 1950:213-214). Undoubtedly, alien elements introduced into the language by bilinguals may, on the one hand, deplete it or, on the other hand, enrich it<sup>129</sup>. That is why language should be treated as a living creature that is constantly evolving.

There is rich literature, both in Poland and abroad, regarding the complex phenomenon of borrowings. Some of the Polish researchers who discussed them include: Fisiak (1986), Walczak (1987), Zabawa (2004), Sękowska (2008), Dubisz (2013) and Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1992; 2008). At this point of research, the difference between two types of borrowings should be emphasised: standard borrowings, which are used by Mexicans in their home country, and borrowings in the Spanish dialect that is used by Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles.

The foregoing analysis of the collected material indicates that among Mexicans living in Los Angeles there is a significant portion of borrowings, which generally function in the Spanglish dialect, but are not used by Mexicans living in the country of origin. A significant part of the research material constitutes of borrowings motivated externally, which are associated with the *need-filling motive* (Hockett 1958:405). Within the process of borrowing, one may expect to find yet another theme, that is, the prestige language motive<sup>130</sup>, resulting in lexical-semantic surplus.

Sękowska (2008:28), in her study of language communities of immigrants in English-speaking countries, points out that it is important to find, on the basis of material collected, often from different sources and many informants, certain regularities that determine the content and scope of borrowings. According to the author, such regularities include, among

---

<sup>128</sup> Compare: Weinreich (1974); Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1992).

<sup>129</sup> For further information see: Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1992:15).

<sup>130</sup> In sociolinguistics, prestige is the level of respect given to a specific linguistic system or dialect within a particular speech community. Overall, a language or dialect associated with a higher class has positive prestige, while one associated with a lower class has a negative one (Ralph 1990:34).

other things, the impact of civilisation and the necessity of adopting foreign names, which is caused by acknowledging certain things and concepts. Be that as it may, English-Spanish language contact creates many different kinds of borrowings, such as semantic, syntactic, lexical as well as phraseology replicas<sup>131</sup>. The most extensive group is the one containing lexical borrowings within which the most visible linguistic phenomena take place.

While discussing borrowings attention should also be paid to the problem of determining a clear boundary between the phenomenon of interference and the process of borrowing. Grosjean (2008:55) addresses this issue by stating that:

“When interferences occur in the bilingual mode, which they also do, they are very difficult to separate from other forms of language mixing, especially borrowings. What might appear to be an interference could also be a guest element or structure produced by the speaker who is aware that his or her interlocutor can understand mixed language.”

In fact, from the cognitive point of view, the boundaries between linguistic phenomena are blurred. One of the concepts of cognitive linguistics is the theory of categorisation, which discusses the so-called prototype effects in the organisation of categories. Some of the categorisation elements are in the center of a given category while some of them are on the periphery or outside the category. Therefore, the borderlines of a category, which have a radial structure (Lakoff 1987:83), are fuzzy and overlap on peripheral areas of adjacent categories<sup>132</sup>. Interestingly, the boundaries between the three characteristic features of bilingual speech: interference, borrowings and the phenomenon of code-switching, are also not clearly defined (more on this in the next section). Nonetheless, some clearly defined and obvious differences between these linguistic phenomena should be given significant attention.

In Sękowska's (2008:35) research, the term *borrowings* is used to determine foreign lexical items that have been permanently adopted into the linguistic dialect. At the same time, *interference* is perceived by the author as the phenomenon of the entering of foreign elements at various levels into another language system. Therefore, interference is considered to be an isolated and individual fact existing only at the level of *parole*, while borrowings are socially used foreign linguistic elements which exist at the level of *langue*<sup>133</sup> (Kalisz 2001:91).

---

<sup>131</sup> Compare: Dubisz (2013); Sękowska (2008).

<sup>132</sup> For more information see: Kalisz (2001); Tabakowska (2001).

<sup>133</sup> Compare: Mackey (1968:569).

Furthermore, linguistic interference is primarily connected to the speech acts of individual speakers, while borrowings apply to larger social groups. In addition, interferences occur in the speech of either a bilingual or multilingual, yet they do not exist in the speech of a monolingual. Borrowings, in turn, are also absorbed and used by monolinguals. Moreover, borrowed anglicisms, after some time, become the standard in the language of the recipient (the language into which foreign elements are borrowed) as opposed to interferences, which will always remain elements incompatible with the standard language.

While examining the process of assimilation of anglicisms, Hoffman (1989:3) accurately states that this process is continuous and difficult to record. Thus, in the accumulated linguistic material derived from Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles, it is assumed that the borrowings are all elements that come from the English language, showing a large frequency of usage.

Therefore, it may be assumed that these elements are widely used by the larger social group represented by Mexican immigration. In this context, borrowings are part of the lexical dialect of Spanish, that is Spanglish, the dialect spoken by the youngest generation of migration in Los Angeles. Hence, English borrowings are a socially fixed linguistic phenomenon.

Our surveys and interviews conducted with Mexicans enabled us to gather 91 linguistic elements of English origin, which are generally known and frequently used by Mexican immigrants living in Los Angeles. In the study, those anglicisms that occurred in the speech of all six respondents, and were confirmed by the questionnaires, were perceived as borrowings. Some of the language elements presented in the research are adopted due to the influence of the first/primary language, that is Spanish. It should also be noted that the lexical elements listed in the following section are borrowings that do not exist in standard Spanish and they are not used by Mexicans in the country of origin.

#### **5.3.2.1 Thematic classification of borrowings**

Borrowings used by the Mexican community in Los Angeles can be divided into specific thematic groups. Borrowed nouns were extracted from the collected material and then grouped according to the semantic criterion. The contextual meaning of a given noun was the main point of reference for assignment to a specific group. To emphasise the processes of adaptation of borrowings, all graphical variants of the words are listed, the first being the

most commonly used. Also, each example is presented together with its English source<sup>134</sup>.

The ten thematic centers are as follows:

- 1) Fashion and lifestyle
- 2) Sport
- 3) Computers and technology
- 4) Food and drink
- 5) Society
- 6) Music
- 7) Locations
- 8) Entertainment
- 9) Work
- 10) Health

#### FASHION AND LIFESTYLE

spang. *panty/panti*, eng. tights

spang. *smoking/esmoquin*, eng. tuxedo

spang. *nylon/nailon*, eng. stockings

spang. *el top*, eng. T-shirt

spang. *piercing*, eng. perforation

#### SPORT

spang. *fútbol*, eng. soccer

spang. *básquetbol*, eng. basketball

spang. *tenis*, eng. tennis

spang. *hockey*, eng. hockey

spang. *rugby*, eng. rugby

spang. *waterpolo*, eng. water polo

spang. *golf*, eng. golf

spang. *surf*, eng. surfing

spang. *footing*, eng. jogging

spang. *spinning*, eng. cycling

spang. *gol*, eng. goal

---

<sup>134</sup> The methodology used is adopted from Sękowska (2008:15-12); Miodunka (1980).

spang. *crol*, eng. crawl  
spang. *jonrón*, eng. home run

## COMPUTERS AND TECHNOLOGY

spang. *estadística*, eng. statistics  
spang. *email*, eng. email  
spang. *post*, eng. post  
spang. *chat*, eng. online chatrooms  
spang. *clic*, eng. click  
spang. *link*, eng. connection/chain/online link  
spang. *Internet*, eng. Internet  
spang. *webcam*, eng. webcam  
spang. *DVD*, eng. DVD  
spang. *CD*, eng. CD<sup>135</sup>  
spang. *GPS*, eng. global positioning system  
spang. *PC*, eng. personal computer  
spang. *FAQ*, eng. frequently asked questions  
spang. *el mouse/el mause*, eng. mouse  
spang. *rauter*, eng. router  
spang. *fon*, eng. phone  
spang. *cel*, eng. cell phone

## FOOD AND DRINK

spang. *jamberger*, eng. hamburger  
spang. *catering*, eng. caterers  
spang. *whiskey/güisqui*, eng. whiskey  
spang. *gin-tonic*, eng. gin and tonic  
spang. *bloody Mary*, eng. bloody Mary drink  
spang. *cocktail /cóctel*, eng. cocktail/mixed drink  
spang. *sandwich/sanduche*, eng. sandwich  
spang. *beicon/béicon/bacon*, eng. bacon  
spang. *picnic/pícnic*, eng. outdoor meal  
spang. *bol*, eng. bowl

---

<sup>135</sup> Spanish: *disco compacto*; clearly the abbreviation is derived from English, otherwise it would be *DC*.

spang. *lonche*, eng. lunch

spang. *frizer*, eng. freezer

## SOCIETY

spang. *Yankee/Yanqui*, eng. an American<sup>136</sup>

spang. *snob/esnob*, eng. snob

spang. *gangster*, eng. gangster

spang. *hooligan*, eng. trouble-making child/student

spang. *hippy*, eng. hippy

spang. *hacker*, eng. hacker

spang. *populaciones*, eng. population

spang. *rocker/rockero*, eng. rock musician/fan

spang. *boyfriend*, eng. boyfriend

spang. *gangas*, eng. gangs

spang. *bilingualismo*, eng. bilingualism

## MUSIC

spang. *jazz*, eng. jazz

spang. *funk*, eng. funk

spang. *blues*, eng. style of music: blues

spang. *pop*, eng. style of music: pop

spang. *punk*, eng. style of music: punk/person

spang. *house*, eng. style of music: house

spang. *heavy*, eng. heavy metal music

spang. *breakdance/breikdans*, eng. breakdance

## LOCATIONS

spang. *bar*, eng. bar/pub

spang. *club*, eng. golf club/yacht club/nightclub

spang. *pub*, eng. pub

spang. *camping*, eng. campground/campsite/camping

spang. *parking*, eng. parking lot

spang. *roofo/rufo*, eng. roof

spang. *traila*, eng. trailer

---

<sup>136</sup> Pejorative meaning.

spang. *marqueta*, eng. supermarket  
spang. *shopin/el shopping*, eng. shopping mall  
spang. *mol*, eng. mall

## ENTERTAINMENT

spang. *bestseller*, eng. popular book  
spang. *comic*, eng. comic strip/comic book  
spang. *hobby*, eng. hobby  
spang. *zapping*, eng. channel surfing  
spang. *el ticket*, eng. ticket  
spang. *parti*, eng. party  
spang. *librería*, eng. library  
spang. *baica/baika*, eng. Bike

## WORK

spang. *tax credit*, eng. tax credit  
spang. *tax sheet*, eng. tax sheet  
spang. *boicot*, eng. boycott  
spang. *overbooking*, eng. overbooking  
spang. *marketing*, eng. marketing  
spang. *el locker*, eng. locker  
spang. *barman*, eng. bartender  
spang. *bank holiday*, eng. bank holiday/national holiday  
spang. *bonus*, eng. bonus  
spang. *boss*, eng. boss/employer  
spang. *staff*, eng. staff/personnel  
spang. *team*, eng. team/group  
spang. *team leader*, eng. team leader/supervisor  
spang. *work*, eng. work/job  
spang. *worker*, eng. worker/employee  
spang. *workplace*, eng. workplace  
spang. *promotion*, eng. promotion  
spang. *sale*, eng. sale  
spang. *voucher*, eng. voucher

spang. *letra*, eng. letter  
 spang. *balance*, eng. balance  
 spang. *la data*, eng. data  
 spang. *pincito*, eng. little pin (a thin piece on metal)  
 spang. *deiof*, eng. day off

## HEALTH

spang. *bypass/by-pass*, eng. heart bypass  
 spang. *GP*, eng. General Practitioner  
 spang. *hospital*, eng. hospital  
 spang. *pill*, eng. pill/tablet  
 spang. *un referido*, eng. referral  
 spang. *oficinas de los doctors*, eng. doctors' offices  
 spang. *sala de emergencias*, emergency room  
 spang. *desórdenes mentales*, mental disorders

Thematic centre	Number of lexical items	%
Fashion and lifestyle	5	4%
Sport	13	11%
Computers and technology	17	15%
Food and drink	12	10%
Society	11	9%
Music	8	7%
Locations	10	9%
Entertainment	8	7%
Work	24	21%
Health	8	7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 35.** Thematic division of Spanglish words

The analysis of the language material demonstrates that the most common English vocabulary that is borrowed concerns the sphere of the workplace. Undeniably, work is considered by Mexican émigrés as the main reason for immigration (see: section 4.3 Characteristic of the surveyed diaspora). Borrowed elements of the language relate to this area of life: employers, occupations and all work activities. Table 35 presents the figures and

percentages related to the ten thematic groups of English loanwords in the dialect of Spanglish.

The research would also suggest that the anglicisms adopted by the Mexicans in Los Angeles satisfy primarily nominative needs. As a result of mass immigration of Mexicans to the US, immigrants came to live in new, unfamiliar conditions. The settlers were unacquainted with many phenomena which were an integral part of the American reality. Hence, while learning new things and processes, Mexicans adopted the English names in their native language. In addition to the nominative need, the expansion of anglicisms is also due to other factors: the prestige of the English language, the frequency of use and the fact that anglicisms better reflect the reality of the place of residence. Snobbery is also one of the reasons that should not be excluded. It seems, however, that such motivation is rarely found among Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles.

#### 5.3.2.2 Quotations

The first stage of the impact of one language on another is called *quotation*<sup>137</sup>. Mexicans borrow elements from the English language in their original version as quotations, trying to recreate the English model as closely as possible. Quotes are words and phrases that Americans use both orally and in writing in the original English form. As reproductive processes, they are characterised by a lack of grammatical determinants of adaptation. Both Sękowska (2008:26-28) and Błasiak-Tytuła (2011:143) mention three types of quotes:

- 1) quotes motivated by designation; these stem from the need to name a new phenomenon that does not have a counterpart in the Spanish language reality. This group also includes names (institutions, companies, offices, shops, schools, etc.);
- 2) quotes motivated by culture; these allow the sender to express his/her attitude to the content, they reflect the reality of the country of settlement, its uniqueness and specificity;
- 3) quotes motivated by stylistics (lyrically); including interjections, particles, well-worn expressions.

Selected examples of quotes derived from the linguistic material are as follows:

- 1) designation motivated quotes:

spang. *bank holiday*, example: *No compre cualquier cosa es bank holiday*. (eng. You will not buy anything because it is a bank holiday.)

---

<sup>137</sup> Compare: Doroszewski (1938).

spang. *GP*<sup>138</sup>, example: *Arreglé con GP.* (eng. I made an appointment with the GP.)  
 spang. *time sheet*, example: *Debe rellenar la hoja de time sheet.* (eng. You must fill in the time sheet.)  
 spang. *tax credit*, example: *Yo pago tax credit durante tres años.* (eng. I have paid tax credit for 3 years.)  
 spang. *payslip*, example: *Muéstrame tu payslip.* (eng. Show me your payslip).

## 2) culturally motivated quotes:

spang. *fish*, example: *Me siento como fish.* (eng. I feel like eating fish.)  
 spang. *discount*, example: *¿Tiene algún discount para estudiantes?* (eng. Do you have any students' discounts?)  
 spang. *tea*, example: *Voy a tomar el tea e ir.* (eng. I will drink tea and go.)  
 spang. *price*, example: *Te voy a dar un buen price si quieres.* (eng. I will give you a good price if you want.)  
 spang. *home*, example: *Me quedo en home.* (eng. I am staying home.)  
 spang. *hospital*, example: *Ella trabaja en un hospital.* (eng. She works in hospital.)

## 3) stylistically motivated quotes:

spang. *whatever*, example: *Whatever, cosa que diga va a estar bien, tengo hambre.* (eng. Whatever, just order something, I am starving.)  
 spang. *you know*, example: *No encuentro trabajo me van a dar el beneficio, you know.* (eng. If I don't find a job, they will give me dole, you know.)  
 spang. *OMG*<sup>139</sup>, example: *OMG! Este vestido es tan caro.* (eng. OMG! This dress is so expensive.)  
 spang. *never mind*, example: *Never mind, no quiera ir con usted.* (eng. Never mind, I do not want to go with you.)  
 spang. *maybe*, example: *No sé si voy a ir, maybe.* (eng. I am not sure I will go with you, maybe.)  
 spang. *BTW*<sup>140</sup>, example: *By the way, has oído hablar de esta nueva película?* (eng. By the way, did you hear about this new movie?)  
 spang. *ASAP*<sup>141</sup>, example: *Necesito esto ASAP.* (eng. I need this ASAP.)

<sup>138</sup> GP – acronym: general practitioner.

<sup>139</sup> OMG – acronym: oh my God.

<sup>140</sup> BTW – acronym: by the way.

<sup>141</sup> ASAP – acronym: as soon as possible.

The examples presented in the conducted research, faithfully imitating the English originals, consist only a part of the collected linguistic material. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that all of the adjectives presented in the study have been adopted as quotations and retained the original English spelling; they have not been subject to morphological adaptation. As is visible in the examples presented below, all of them are also culturally motivated quotations:

spang. *Mi novio habló con ella. Estoy **jealous**!* (eng. My boyfriend talked with her. I am so jealous!)

spang. *No quiero hablar. Estoy **tired**.* (eng. I do not want to speak. I am tired.)

spang. *¿Qué estamos haciendo esta noche? He terminado el trabajo que (...). Estoy **free**!* (eng. What are we doing in the evening? I finished my work (...). I'm free!)

spang. *¿Qué estás haciendo? ¿estás **crazy**?* (eng. What are you doing? Are you crazy?)

As indicated by Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1992:16), after quotes the next stage of language contact is the process of adaptation of borrowings. Sękowska divides adopted words into simple (nouns, verbs, adjectives) and complex (expressions). In what follows two types of adaptation will be discussed: phonological and morphological.

### 5.3.2.3 Phonological adaptation

Both Haugen (1950:3) and Orsi (2008:45) list three certain stages of linguistic adaptation:

- 1) The first stage: a bilingual speaker pronounces a newly borrowed word, in the form closest to the original;
- 2) The second stage: other users of language pronounce the word in a way that is adapted to the phonological system of the first/primary language;
- 3) The third stage: the word is commonly used by monolingual speakers; due to its systematised use in all aspects of life it receives a full status as part of the lexicon.

From the wealth of data gained during the research study, one core theme can be identified: the second stage, during which phonological adaptation occurs, is most often the last stage (the third stage is not reached). Hence, most of the anglicisms are used only by Mexican immigrants: not being incorporated into the standard language, they are also non-existent in monolingual speech.

According to Orsi (2008:45), in Spanglish, English words and expressions may lose their non-Spanish identity. In fact, the way in which they are pronounced is changed; they more noticeably conform to Spanish phonology, and words frequently appear in written form spelt in accordance with Spanish orthography. Among the most frequent forms of phonological and orthographic adaptations are the following:

1) Addition of a final vowel:

spang. *bosa*, eng. boss

spang. *rufo*, eng. roof

spang. *caucho*, eng. couch

spang. *norsa*, eng. nurse

spang. *ganga*, eng. gang

2) Addition of a final vowel and shift of stress to the penultimate syllable:

spang. *marqueta* [malkkta], eng. market

spang. *furnitura* [fulnit~ira], eng. furniture

spang. *carpeta* [kalpkta], eng. carpet

3) Change of /r/ to [l] in syllable final position:

spang. *norsa* [nolsa], eng. nurse

spang. *frizer* [frisel], eng. freezer

spang. *army* [almi], eng. army

spang. *foreman* [folman], eng. foreman

spang. *mister* [mihtel], eng. mister

4) Change of [m] to [g] in final position:

spang. *overtime* [obeltayg], eng. overtime

spang. *room* [rug], eng. room

5) Reduction of clusters or omission of a final consonant:

spang. *lipstick* [lihti], eng. lipstick

spang. *saibo* [saybol], eng. sideboard

spang. *department store* [deparmenehtol], eng. department store

spang. *sweater*, [suera]<sup>142</sup>, eng. sweater

6) Epenthesis:

---

<sup>142</sup> Interestingly, the attested spelling [suera] stems from articulatory similarities between Spanish /r/, which is a single-tap voiced alveolar, and the English voiced variant of /t/ in intervocalic position, which is voiced alveolar stop. Thus, as Orsi (2008:46) and Nash (1970:224) cogently argue, an English-speaking person with voiced /t/ may make no distinction between *latter* and *ladder*. In such cases, the speaker of Spanglish hears /r/, and as a result he/she uses the *r* grapheme.

spang. *gauchiman*, eng. watchman

7) Interpretation of *ge* as [he]:

spang. *tinager* [tinahel], eng. teenager

The examples listed above are the most common variants of pronunciation. Nonetheless, it is crucial to note that in some cases Mexican immigrants may pronounce the adopted words differently.

#### **5.3.2.4 Morphological adaptation**

Based on the respondents' vivid quotes and comments, many of the Spanglish-related expressions are related to morphological, a.k.a. grammatical, adaptation closely linked to both graphical and phonological ones. This issue is profoundly examined by Sękowska (2008:23), who has provided a descriptive account of the morphological processes resulting in incorporation of a borrowed form into the syntax schema of a language. According to the author's estimates, adaptation is performed by substituting the grammatical particles present in the foreign words with grammatical particles (suffixes and inflections) transferred from the native language. That is why one may assume that the purpose and function of morphological adaptation (flectional and formative) is to modify the forms of foreign words, so that they occur in the contexts of the native language. To put it succinctly, the aforementioned process is connected to grammatical adaptation.

Data collected by Mańczuk-Wohlfeld (2008:114-116) correspond to Sękowska's assertion that morphological adaptation may be divided into inflectional and word formative. As both researchers contend, the process that occurs first is inflectional adaptation and latter formative – not vice versa. Furthermore, nouns, not verbs, are most frequently the subject of morphological adaptation. Indeed, as many linguists emphasise, the majority of borrowings are nouns (Mamzer 2002; Hoffmann 1991; Błasiak-Tytuła 2011). In fact, this assertion is consistent with the lexical material gathered among Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles. As many as 65% of borrowings constitute nouns, 19% verbs, 11% consist of adjectives, and 5% of other parts of speech. As illustrated above, adjectives constitute a very small proportion of the accumulated material.

Drawing further from the collected data, it is evident that nouns and verbs in Spanglish adopt the morphological characteristics and inflections of Spanish words. Perhaps the most persistent example is the use of both the feminine articles *la* and *las* and the masculine articles *el* and *los* by Spanglish speakers. In fact, not only do those articles agree in number

and gender with their nouns, but also some of them adopt the gender of the Spanish words they replace (*el rufo*<sup>143</sup> instead of *el techo*)<sup>144</sup>.

Singular masculine	Plural masculine	Singular feminine	Plural feminine	English	Spanish
-	-	la troka	las trokas	the truck	la camioneta
-	-	la jaiwei	las jaiweis	the highway	la autopista
el rufo	los rufos	-	-	the roofs	los techos
el lonche	los noches	-	-	the lunch	el almuerzo

**Table 36.** Gender and number assignments to English nouns in Spanglish (own elaboration based on the Skype interviews)

Furthermore, numerous nouns appear in both masculine and feminine forms, following the pattern of gender marking in such pairs as *la hermana* (sister) and *el hermano* (brother), for instance *la bossa* and *el bos* (boss) (Table 36 above).

Going back to the Mexican immigrants' comments, as illustrated in Table 37, it seems that verbs in Spanglish are created by addition to the productive infinitive of the suffixes *-ar*, *-ear*, and *-iar*, a.k.a. infinitive markers. Irrefutably, new verbal forms reflect the everyday life activities that are the primary source of Spanglish vocabulary. If used in written form, these new formations may adopt various spellings, depending on either the speaker's familiarity with the English form or the frequency of adaptation occurrence. Indeed, numerous common expressions, as well as words, for example *parquear* (to park), have a well-established orthographic format, which is visible within all social classes. Others are in a state of flux with regard to spelling, but not pronunciation.

According to the interviewees, at home, one hears *bakear* (to bake), *mopear* (to mop), *heatear* (to heat), *freezear* (to freeze), *vacuunear* (to vacuum); in the office: *taipear* (to type), *chequear* (to check); and in sports, *pitchear* (to pitch), *catchear* (to catch), *hitear* (to hit), *trainear* (to train), *bowlear* (to bowl). One may also hear *loncheat* (to eat lunch), *flirtear* (to flirt), and many other new creations appearing each day with no loss of intelligibility.

Surprisingly, as depicted in the table below, the most frequent ending to mark the infinitive in Spanglish is not *-ar* using an English root verb but rather *-ear*. Apparently, Spanglish was subject to adaptation by adding <e> to the *-ar* infinitive marker.

<sup>143</sup> Eng. roof.

<sup>144</sup> Exceptions include: *la marqueta* (also *la marketa*), which replaced *el mercado*, and *el window*, replacing *la ventana* (Nash 1970:226-227).

Spanglish	English	Spanish
Liquear	to leak	Perder
Chatear	to chat	Charlar
Bakear	to bake	Cocci3n
Formatear	to format	dar forma
Nerdear	to do things nerds do	actuar como un <i>nerd</i>

**Table 37.** Examples of infinitives in Spanglish

Moreover, among the six informants, the affix *[-eando]* was used in a similar way to English *-ing* while creating the progressive forms of verbs. For example, this correspondence was visible in one of the participants comments: “Yo estoy chateando con mi madre [...]” (eng. I am chatting with my mom [...]).

The conclusions regarding the processes of adaptation of the English lexemes by Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles presented in this section do not fully cover the adaptation phenomenon but rather indicate some selected issues. Undeniably, borrowings are one of the features of Mexican bilingual speech which are spontaneously absorbed and adopted into the Spanglish dialect. As a result of the described adaptation processes occurring at various levels of language, borrowings become Spanglish lexemes.

### 5.3.3 Code-switching

Prior to analysing the structure of Spanglish, it is critical to clearly define the most distinctive feature of Spanish-English bilingualism: code-switching (CS) (see: section 2.3 Code-switching). Quantitative analysis of code-transversion discourse among bilinguals has revealed different scholarly classifications of code-switching. Indeed, the multi-faceted nature of this phenomenon, coupled with the numerous disciplines investigating it, have made a single definition all but impossible. Nevertheless, the current study follows Poplack’s (2015:1) classification of code-switching, which refers to “the mixing, by bilinguals, or multilinguals, of two or more languages in discourse, often with no change of interlocutor or topic”.

The author further acknowledges that such mixing may be present at any level of linguistic structure, yet it is its occurrence within the confines of a single sentence, constituent, or even word, that has attracted most linguistic attention.

Other linguists agree: one area in which bilingualism concomitants of language are keenly expressed is in the bilingual’s sense that there is no greater significance than the one related

to the speakers' usage of linguistic and communication skills creating *hybrid competence*, which occurs when the speaker uses two or more languages in a single conversation (Gonzalez 2008:80). This phenomenon is also described by Polish researchers as *code-switching* (Gabryś-Barker 2007:15; Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:159; Skowron-Nalborczyk 2003:42).

Accordingly, Hoffmann (1991:110) has also written extensively on the code transition processes. The author contends that "the most general description of code-switching is that it involves the alternate use of two languages or linguistic varieties within the same utterance or during the same conversation".

One of the first authors who wrote about CS was Vogt (qtd in in Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:160), who in 1954 perceived this process not as a linguistic but more a psychological phenomenon. However, according to Haugen (1956:40), this presumption rests on a rather peculiar, erroneous view, and the author defines code-switching in terms of linguistics by pointing out that it "[...] occurs when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech".

Contemporary studies conducted by Costa (2003 and Meuter (2005) investigate code-switching in terms of the mechanisms causing the changes. Furthering this notion, many scholars focus not only on the choice of language and structure, but also on access to the lexical vocabulary of bilingual speakers (Riehl 2005; Tabouret-Keller 1995; Ducar 2004; Franceschini 1998).

There are various reasons for changing the language code during communication. It is changed due to different motives and on various levels of expression (discourse, sentence, word or morpheme). Skowron-Nalborczyk (2003:42) lists the following factors determining the change of code: interlocutor, social role, domain (the context of use), subject, place, channel of communication, type of interaction, phatic function<sup>145</sup>.

Gumperz and Hernandez (1969:2) further argue that the phenomenon of CS occurs each time that the language of a minority group interacts with the language of the majority as a result of rapid change in the social situation. A similar line of thought runs through the writing of many other scholars, who by adopting the sociolinguistic point of view in the study of CS, distinguish *situational* and *metaphorical* CS (Blom and Gumperz 2000:49).

---

<sup>145</sup> Phatic function is one of the six constitutive elements of verbal communication. The other functions being: referential, emotive, poetic, conative, and metalingual. According to Jakobson (1960:350), the phatic function "is the part of communication which keeps open the line of communication itself; it is the means by which two or more speakers reassure themselves that not only are they being listened to, but they are also being understood". Examples of this function during conversaton include such common phrases as "Are you with me? Do you know what I mean?" (Jakobson 1960:350-377).

According to the authors, situational CS refers to a case where a bilingual person, depending on the situation, selects the appropriate language code. Therefore, situational CS is related to the relationship between language and the social situation. Hence, the language code changes together with the change of social situation. One example would be the arrival of a new interlocutor: when an American person joins a conversation between two Mexican immigrants conducted either in Spanish or Spanglish, the Mexicans change the language code from Spanish/Spanglish to English.

Metaphorical CS concerns the use of two languages in one and the same social situation. It is related to, for example, a change of the topic of conversation. In other words, depending on the subject of the discussion, participants choose a proper language code. One example of metaphorical CS is a situation in which bilinguals use their L1 while talking about their families, yet they turn to L2 while talking about work. Indeed, the bilinguals' comments suggest that the topic of conversation very often influences their choice of language; during conversation about work-related issues Mexican immigrants change linguistic code from Spanish to English.

Research on the use of two or more linguistic codes in speech or writing can be divided into two directions: *structural* and *sociolinguistic* (Boztepe 2003:1-27). The structural line of research focuses on the aspect of grammatical CS, while according to sociolinguistic research CS appears primarily as a phenomenon of discourse that is focused on social factors in the use of two language codes. Therefore, since the change of linguistic code may occur both in a long conversation and in a short expression, binary tendencies are to be acknowledged within the literature devoted to CS: code-switching may be either inter-sentential or intra-sentential<sup>146</sup>.

Inter-sentential code-switching involves switches from one language to another between sentences, for instance: "I'm fine. ¿Tú como estás?". As illustrated by the example, a whole sentence, or more than one sentence, is produced entirely in one language before there is a switch to the other linguistic system. Intra-sentential code-switching occurs within the same sentence or fragment, for example: "I visit mi abuelo on the weekends" (Myers-Scotton 1993:210; Milroy and Muysken 1995:56).

Some researchers suggest yet another, third type of CS referred to as *tag-switching*, which involves insertion of common expression from another language: "No lo haré, no way!" eng. I will not do it, no way! (Romaine 1995:71).

---

<sup>146</sup> Compare: Romaine (1995); Dussias (2002).

Supported by his research, Muysken (2000:221) acknowledges three strategies of changing the language code:

- 1) *Alternation*: alternation between the structures of languages A and B. Structure A - B.
- 2) *Insertion*: insertion of elements (i.e. words) from one language to another. A single element of language B is incorporated into the structure of A. Structure A - B - A.
- 3) *Congruent lexicalisation*: grammatical structure is common to the languages A and B; elements from both languages appear with various frequency. Structure: A - B - A - B.

As far as bilingual writing is concerned, the underlying hypothesis of this research was that social media would display similar types of socio-pragmatic functions. The classification offered here groups switches into those three categories that will shortly be discussed. Table 38 summarises the number of switches present in each Skype and Facebook conversation analyzed for each category.

Alternation	Insertion	Congruent lexicalisation	Total
226	298	105	629

**Table 38.** Number of switches in Skype/Facebook conversations

Returning to reflection on code-switching, vivid quotes from the six Mexican respondents residing in Los Angeles, Gabriela, María, José, Daniel, Alejandra and Ernesto, add a vibrant human dimension to this account by illustrating the examples of all three types of strategies to change the code of language. It should be noted, however, that the most frequent processes used are alternation and insertion. Congruent lexicalisation was less commonly noted during the research.

*Alternation.* Supported by their research, many scholars investigating Spanish-English language alternation have adopted two different perspectives: social and linguistic. In fact, the vast part of the former body of study was focused on the social attitudes regarding the phenomenon of Spanish-English alternation as part of the construct of a multicultural identity. The notion most frequently addressed within this field of studies is the attitudes maintained by either Spanish or English speakers towards the use of mixed utterances.

Yet, another nuance of this subject occurs when Spanglish is contrasted with linguistic purity and thus marked as being a corruption of both English and Spanish; its use is associated with the lower social classes. As was described by the former president of the North American Academy of the Spanish Language, Odón Betanzos Palacios, Spanglish “is

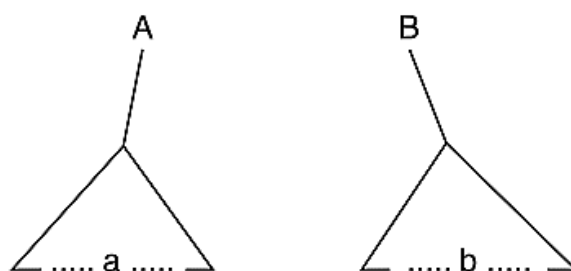
an unnecessary and ignorant creation that constitutes a temporary problem” (qtd in Ducar 2004:40). Running parallel and interrelated to Odón’s notion of Spanglish, Lipski (2004:32) argues that the stigma related to the negative assessments about Spanglish is aimed at ignoring language variation. What yet another researcher adds is that “explicitly negative assessments of U.S. varieties of Spanish are still shockingly frequent, with academia being one key site where the “sanitising of U.S. Spanish is carried out” (Ardila 2007:37).

Nonetheless, the majority of the authors who have approached this linguistic phenomenon in this century disagree with the critics by considering the use of Spanish-English language alternation as the construction of an original communication system for a new social group (Ducar 2004; Otheguy 2009; Martinez 2003). Drawing largely from the polemic writings presented by Stavans (2003:45), many authors not only endorse the use of Spanglish, but also emphasise the outcome of this linguistic manifestation, which is a new identity in the United States. Nevertheless, Stavans’ translation of Miguel de Cervantes’s *Don Quijote* has been confronted with strong criticism expressed by Lipski (2004:20):

“This grotesque creation not only contains numerous syntactic violations of code-switching, but also phonotactically unlikely combinations in either language [...], and phonetic imitation of popular or uneducated Spanish [...] reinforce the notion that only uneducated people speak Spanglish.”

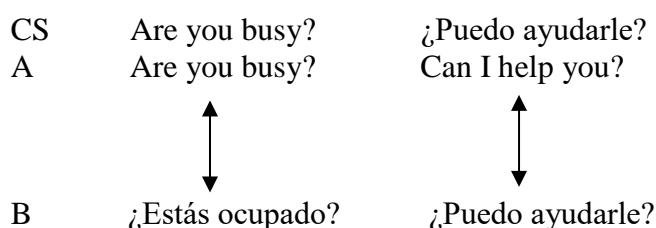
Perceiving Spanish-English language alternation from a sociological point of view suggests that the alternation mirrors attitude, context of use, as well as a strong degree of identity (community-based) (Ardila 2007; Lipski 2004; Nash 1970; Otheguy 2009; Poplack 2015).

While there is little consensus in the literature over which features of Spanish-English alternations should be under the label CS, Muysken (2000:7) offers the following graphical representation of alternation, in which *A/B* refers to languages, *a/b* are their linguistic elements (i.e. words):



**Figure 47.** Alternation (Muysken 2000:7)

An example of Spanish-English CS of A – B structure is as follows:



As indicated by Figure 47, a constituent from language *A*, with words from the same linguistic system, is followed by a constituent from language *B*, with words from that language. Thus, the language of the constituent dominating *A* and *B* remains unspecified.

Gabryś-Barker (2007:17) refers to this type of alternation as full-sentence, longer CS. However, this phenomenon is not based on insertion of a foreign lexeme but on the alternate occurrence of two different languages. Accordingly, this process is also commonly described as alternational CS (Muysken 2000:40) since during alternation, a complete change of language code takes place, which is applied to both the lexis and grammar. In fact, Gardner-Chloros (2009:104) provides even greater clarity towards understanding this process, by stating that “alternation occurs when there is compatibility of the two grammars, or at least equivalence at the point where the switch occurs”.

The research conducted on Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles reveals that alternation is a common strategy of mixing language codes. Irrefutably, building on closer analysis of the participants’ narratives about personal experience of Spanglish, it can also be presumed that the sociolinguistic aspect is of the uppermost importance. Mexican immigrants very often use Spanish and English alternation. Here are some fragments of conversation using social media, in which alternational CS was used:

### Example 1: Conversation between two friends:

Martina: *I was learning whole day!!!But enough already.*

Lucia: ***Ya basta.*** (Stop it) *It’s a Friday, it’s summer and I feel like dancing. O como dicen en México, es viernes y el cuerpo lo sabe.* (As they said in Mexico, it is Friday and the body knows it)

Martina: *Ya basta with the news. We need #PaisaZumba.*

Lucia: *Ok but where should we go???*

Martina: ***No lo sé.*** (I don’t know)

Lucia: *Maybe to the Paulo's disco? ¿Querías bailar conmigo?* (Will you dance with me?)

Martina: *:D Sure!*

### Example 2. Conversation between a girlfriend and her boyfriend:

Daniela: *¡Hola!* (Hi!) *How are you darling?*

Lucas: *¡Hola querida!* (Hi my darling!) *Bien gracias, and you?*

Daniela: *I'm OK. ☺ ¡Tanto tiempo sin verte!* (I didn't see you for such a long time!)

Lukas: *Maybe we will see this weekend? I will finish earlier. Maybe I will ask my boss for a day off ☺*

Daniela: *¡Buena suerte!* (Good luck!) *He will never let you go before Christmas ☺*

Lukas: *¡No se preocupe!* (Don't worry!) *We will figure something out ☺*

### Example 3. Conversation between friends:

Ernesto: *¿Qué tal?* (How are you?) *When do you have this biz trip?*

Anne: *Next week. But I still have a lot to do. Necesito ayuda ☺* (I need help)

Ernesto: *Will your boss come with you?*

Anne: *Nope, only Andre.*

Ernesto: *¿Quièn?* (Who?)

Anne: *He works in Legals [Legal Department]. Going out together to integrate with the pack today. Maybe you will join us?*

Ernesto: *I can't.*

Anne: *¿Por què?* (Why?)

Ernesto: *Seeing Anna today. ¡Diviértete!* (Have fun!) ☺

Anne: *You, too. Hasta luego.* (See you later)

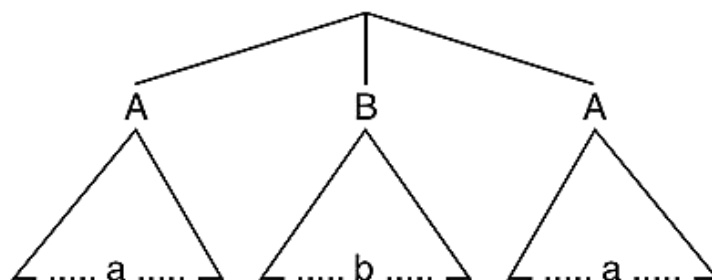
*Insertion.* The second strategy of code-switching is to add a second/other language element. Many researchers refer to this process as *insertional CS*, a.k.a. *classic CS*<sup>147</sup> (Muysken 2000:8; Gabrys-Barker 2007:290). In one additional study, Myers-Scotton's (2006:240-242) analysis of the classic type of CS has received scholarly attention since, as

---

<sup>147</sup> In point of fact, in her research, Gabrys-Barker (2007:290) also often refers to this type of CS as *inter-sentential*.

the author states, “codes witching includes elements from two (or more) language varieties in the same clause, but only one of these varieties is the source of the morphosyntactic frame for the clause” (2006:241).

Muysken (2000:7) further comments on the subject under discussion by offering the following graphical representation of the insertion process:



**Figure 48.** Insertion (Muysken 2000:7)

In this situation, a single constituent *B* (with words *b* from the same language) is inserted into a structure defined by language *A*, with words *a* from that language. Insertion can be found in the example presented below:

CS	I am	feliz	all the time.
A	I am	happy	all the time
	↑	↑	↑
	↓	↓	↓
B	Estoy	feliz	todo el tiempo.

For code-mixing of the insertional type a theoretical framework is created by Myers-Scotton’s (1993:3) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, in which the matrix language<sup>148</sup> constituent order and matrix language functional categories are assumed to dominate a clause. Furthermore, this model crucially combines the idea that there is an asymmetrical relation between the matrix and the embedded language in the code-switching situation. In point of fact, the content morpheme can be inserted into mixed constituents, when congruent with the matrix language categories, while the function morpheme cannot.

A further important insight emerging from Myers-Scotton’s MLF model is that there is no essential difference between mixing and borrowing at the level of morphosyntactic

<sup>148</sup> Matrix language is the dominant language into which elements from the embedded language are inserted (Gabrys-Barker 2007:296). Matrix language is also referred to as *base language* (Myers-Scotton 1993:20) or *host language* (Muysken 2000:7).

integration. Indeed, the model described above rests on the supposition that mixed sentences have an identifiable base, that is matrix language (ML), something that may or may not stand for separate bilingual corpora. Hence, as yet another author claims, there is always an asymmetry between the ML and the embedded language (EL) since these elements are grammatically and phonetically modified (Gabrys-Barker 2007:297). Other authors agree that the key concept of the MLF model is asymmetry (Meuter 2005:349; Alvarez 1998:440; Oberg 1960:142-146), which is based on the domination of the ML over the EL; the former determines the structure of the latter. As Myers-Scotton further explains (1993:3): “Code switching [...] is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation”.

Indeed, the multiplicity of ideas that come directly from historical and contemporary studies reveals that code-switching is a highly complex and structured occurrence composed of sociolinguistic strategies, which envelop a syntactical system with very real constraints (Rothman and Rell 2005:523). Perhaps one of the most widely recognised concepts in this regard is the *Equivalence Constraint*, which stipulates that codes will switch at points where the morpho-syntactical and phonetic integrity of either language is not altered. In accordance with the Equivalence Constraint, the following alternation can be considered grammatical:

- (1) *The student brought the homework **para la profesora**.*
- (2) *Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish **y termino en Español**.*

Building on previous works, Myers-Scotton (1993:35-46) and Poplack (1980:2) have offered yet another crucial constraint: the *Free Morpheme Constraint*, which prohibits the intra-word mixing of morphemes. In fact, combining a bound morpheme and a lexical form is not allowed unless the lexical form has been integrated into the language of the bound morpheme. As the authors argue, this constraint has stood the test of time and it explains why the sentences (3) and (4) are unacceptable:

- (3) *Estamos talk-ando.*  
[We] are talking.
- (4) *Al llegar, me di cuenta que ellos estaban leave-iendo.*  
Upon arriving, I realised that they were already leaving.

To sum up, insertion is a strategy that is adapted in order to change the linguistic code, which occurs in the speech of a bilingual person as often as alternation. The following

examples illustrate the classic type of CS reported during interviews with the Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles:

*Creo que estoy **in love**.*

(I think I am -//-).

*¿**Where** lo compraste?*

(-//- did you buy it?)

*Dame esas fotos porque las chicas **chasing me** desde la mañana.*

(Give me those photos because girls -//- me from the morning.)

*¡Te deseo **all the best**!*

(I wish you -//-!)

*Siempre están juntos - él es su alma **soulmate**.*

(They are always together, he is her -//-.)

The study of the Mexican immigrants also reveals that they often insert English lexicon into the structure of the Spanish language. The dominant language is by far Spanish: the matrix language is Spanish while English is the embedded language. Yet, in the linguistic material that was collected, three examples of reverse asymmetry were observed, where the dominant language is English:

*It was really nice to have gone and spent some time with **la familia**.*

(-//- with family)

*We had a kick-ass **pachanga** for Anna.*

(-//- dance -//-)

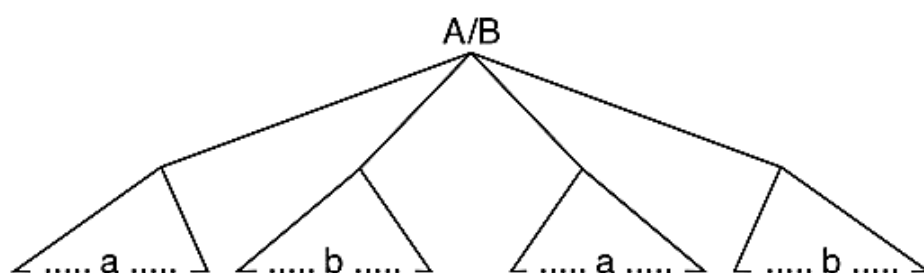
***Dios mío**, I don't have a job right now.*

(Oh God, -//-)

*Congruent lexicalisation.* As the analysis of Spanglish reveals, a large number of the dysfluent mixing examples coincide with instances of fluent code-switching characterised as *congruent lexicalisation*, in particular the notion of “words inserted more or less randomly” (Muysken 2000:8). From the wealth of data provided, two reasons for this apparent randomness of the linguistic blend can be identified: (1) shared structures between the two languages and (2) limited proficiency in the second language resulting in “filling in the gaps” by means of words from the speakers’ first language. In fact, this gap-filling

process occurs freely when there is also at least some shared knowledge of the speakers' first language. Surprisingly enough, the more or less random nature of language mixing is at least as apparent in the dysfluent cases investigated here as in any of the examples of fluent bilingual language mixing presented by scholars who have adopted congruent lexicalisation as a category of code-switching.

Such an approach has been subsequently problematised by many researchers creating interesting possibilities for enquiries in the field of bilingualism. Given that, Muysken (2000:8) provides the following graphical record of congruent lexicalisation:



**Figure 49.** Congruent lexicalisation (Muysken 2000:8)

As Figure 49 illustrates, the grammatical structure is shared by languages A and B, and words from both languages *a* and *b* are inserted more or less randomly. As Lipski (2004:2) cogently argues, such a process usually appears when the two languages that are in contact with each other are typologically similar. Thus, the more similar the languages are in terms of vocabulary, the more frequently congruent lexicalisation occurs. Nevertheless, this assumption does not mean that there is no possibility of congruent lexicalisation occurring during the contact of two typologically different linguistic systems. In such a case, the process is less common when compared to the previous two strategies, that is, alternation and insertion. Research on the Spanish-English speech of Mexican immigrants allowed us to note numerous examples of the phenomenon of congruent lexicalisation:

*Este **city** es un **big traffic** (sic!).*

(In the -//- is -//-)

*Fue **the best** vacaciones **ever** (sic!).*

(It was -//- holidays -//-)

*Usted y su **boyfriend** está **together** en el certificado.*

(You and your -//- are -//- on the certificate.)

While some academic research has been conducted on alternation, the majority of linguists' positions as researchers and educators is woven into articulation of the mechanisms of insertion and congruent lexicalisation. Perhaps one of the most widely recognised reasons in this regard is the resemblance of those phenomena to the process of borrowing, specifically to lexical borrowings. As a result, many authors are against distinguishing between these two linguistic processes, since, as some researchers argue, there is no clear boundary between CS and borrowings (Myers-Scotton 1993; Otheguy 2009). Nonetheless, Poplack (1980) disagrees with this view by advocating that there is, indeed, a clear difference between lexical borrowings and CS.

However, it is most often believed that lexical borrowings are elements of a given linguistic system that are conveyed and gradually adapted to a different language structure. CS, on the other hand, involves switching from one language to another in terms of different parts of speech during the conversation of interlocutors speaking both languages. In the same vein, borrowings occur in other contexts of communication than the phenomenon of code-switching. These include speakers who do not need to be bilingual to understand the message (Gabryś-Barker 2007:295). Analogously to the above statement Grosjean (2008:44) views code-switching as "a complete shift to the other language for a word, a phrase, or a sentence whereas a borrowing is a morpheme, word, or short expression taken from the less activated language and adapted morphosyntactically (and sometimes phonologically) to the base language". In the speech of Mexican bilingual immigrants in Los Angeles, borrowings are treated as a part of the linguistic system stemming from English; not only are they socially consolidated, but they also create a lexical resource in their Spanish dialect.

Yet another nuance of this subject occurs when CS is contrasted with interferences. Some authors unanimously agree that the phenomenon of code-mixing is a negative result of Spanish-English language contact. According to Lipińska (2003:127), the phenomenon is pejorative due to the fact that speakers pay less attention to linguistic and grammatical correctness. Moreover, as the author adds, interference is caused by an inadequate mastery of a second/other linguistic system. Along the same lines, code-switching, according to Gardner-Chloros (2009:110), may result from and reinforce a lack of words and phrases, especially when they are new and unknown. This is due to poor or inadequate knowledge of a second language and the inability to translate a specific phrase into the second/other linguistic system.

Still, as both Poplack (1980:614) and Błasiak-Tytuła (2011:169) point out people who are learning a second language abroad do not forget their first language even though it is less

frequently used. In fact, studies conducted on Spanish-speaking individuals acquiring English language in the USA have shown that during the acquisition of the second/other language words from the first/primary language may be suppressed so that recalling them while communicating will not hinder communication in the second language.

Undeniably, it is erroneous to claim that the ability to alternate the use of two linguistic codes is the result of lack of language competence in one or both linguistic codes. This phenomenon should be treated as a bilingual way of communication. CS is an ability that requires high proficiency in both languages, comments Poplack (1980:615). Bullock and Toribio (qtd in Błasiak-Tytuła 2011:169) agree: “[...] CS does not represent a breakdown in communication, but reflects the skillful manipulation of two language systems for various communicative functions”.

Irrefutably, many of the arguments presented based on the speech of the six Mexican immigrants (see: section 5.2 Individual bilingualism) have shown that they are proficient in both Spanish and English; however, a specific feature of their speech is the phenomenon of CS. In the process of communication with bilingual immigrants in Los Angeles, they often make changes in the language code, and their CS is sometimes highly diversified. Thus, the research presented does not confirm the thesis of low language competence of bilingual people in the process of changing the language code.

To conclude, an examination of the phenomenon of bilingual contact in the context of the Mexican-American diaspora in Los Angeles problematises some of the disputes and, at the same time, exposes the myths that oversimplify such a complex process, converting it into a stigmatised and denigrated practice.

What becomes immediately apparent upon investigating immigrants of Mexican origin in Los Angeles, is that Spanglish is spoken by immigrants from different social and educational background. A key component of the sociolinguistic modeling framework is that the economic and employment conditions of the Mexican-American community encourage strong protective bonds to their cultural and language practices. Nevertheless, the growing importance of English proficiency to this community must not be undervalued, as much for economic needs as for the new cultural prospects explored by the subsequent and younger generations.

Furthermore, the multitude of data coming directly from the analysis of Spanglish features presented above exhibits its characteristic aspects, such as the presence of local lexical items that are often of English origin, and whose morphologies and meanings are often unknown outside the local area. Spanglish also consists of both linguistic and

conceptual parts from the English-speaking world. While communicating, Mexican immigrants in the USA frequently switch between English and Spanish, following clear rules and well-studied bilingual speech patterns.

### **Summary**

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of linguistic material collected from Spanglish-speaking community in Los Angeles. It provides knowledge about three main characteristics of Spanglish bilingual speech: language interference, borrowings and code switching. These phenomena are systematised and the criteria for their classification are indicated. What is more, Chapter Five presents not only a review of the aspects which contribute to language choice at the community level, but it also discusses patterns of linguistic choice from the speakers' perspective.

## CONCLUSIONS

“Language is one of the most important aspects of culture.  
Without language we could not hope to live peacefully with other cultures.”  
(Kendall 2013:335)

In the context of Mexican assimilation in the structure of the Los Angeles community, cultural contacts and bilingualism are becoming a more and more intriguing issue for modern-day linguistic studies. Nevertheless, the data on Mexican-American bilingualism, as well as Spanglish use in Los Angeles, exemplify the dearth of research prevalent in contemporary scientific discourse. The lack of recent in-depth analysis of the Los Angeles Mexican diaspora coupled with the personal life experiences of the immigrant community influenced the particular interest of the present dissertation in this subject.

The approach adopted in the above study allowed for a multi-faceted, although not yet comprehensive and final, analysis of the phenomenon of bilingualism and its results in the form of code-mixing processes. Clearly, the investigation is limited in a number of ways due to both the complex and broad subject of the study. Thus, although analysis of the empirical material collected enabled verification of the research assumptions, the results allowed us only to formulate certain generalisations on a specific group of immigrants that may not be, however, decisive and conclusive for all Mexican-American bilinguals.

As a widespread linguistic contact phenomenon, any approach adopted to examine the features and aspects present in Spanglish must be based on an integrated attitude which takes into consideration many linguistic sub-fields. Indeed, research ought to be characterised by an interdisciplinary approach by taking into account social, ethnographical, linguistic, cultural and psycholinguistic variables. Empirical evidence should be presented through a combination of both naturalistic data, laboratory tasks, ethnographical and sociocultural factors. Only in this way can accurate description and explanations of the Spanish-English mixture be put forward to reflect the actual tapestry of Spanglish alternation.

Indisputably, the preliminary results, based largely on the diversity of scientific definitions of the phenomenon of bilingualism as well as its public assessment, described in the theoretical part, exhibit the existence of different and extreme interpretations of this common phenomenon.

More to the point, in defining bilingualism, two main criteria are to be distinguished, that is:

- (1) the criterion of competence;
- (2) the criterion of use.

However, none of the existing definitions offers an ultimate explanation of bilingualism, which in turn, results in a new trend discernible in contemporary linguistics: due to the intrinsic difficulty in trying to measure a concept as elusive as bilingualism, the phenomenon is described rather than defined.

Unquestionably, drawing largely from the research on the linguistic characteristics of both bilingualism and Spanglish, one may conclude that Spanglish, irrefutably, is a form of bilingualism and by acknowledging the fact that bilingualism is a process, not a permanent situation, it may be perceived as a continuum with different forms for different units. Those units are often characterised by varying degrees of linguistic and communicative competence in L1 and L2. It is also vital to emphasise the existence of not only various levels of bilingualism, but also its numerous types. Speakers who are bilingual can be classified according to their fluency and linguistic competence in both languages, the situational context, age, manner of acquisition, as well as based on the hypothesised processing mechanisms.

Likewise, it is important to understand that a truly bilingual person has competence in both linguistic codes (also often in a third language system which is a blend of these two languages, such as Spanglish) suitable for his/her needs and for proper functioning in the environment in which he/she lives. Such a person is able to use two different languages (or their varieties) and he/she uses them separately depending on the situational context, interlocutors or the topic of conversation. As a result, a bilingual individual is fully and equally competent in both languages only in rare situations.

In the case of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles, bilingualism is understood primarily as the use of two languages and their varieties in different areas of everyday life. The first/primary language of the émigrés is Spanish while the second/other is English. The vast majority of the participants in the study began learning the English language in school, in early childhood while in a monolingual environment (Mexico), in so-called artificial conditions (in school or language courses). What is perceived as the key result of migration to Los Angeles is the change of living conditions and the way the English language was acquired. To be more specific, the artificial conditions associated so far with the process of mastering the foreign language have been replaced by natural conditions, which not only provided an opportunity to use L2 in everyday life circumstances, but often created the necessity of use of this second/other language by the speaker. Put succinctly, learning a

foreign language in artificial conditions turned into acquiring the second/other linguistic system in natural circumstances with the possibility, or even the necessity, to use it every day at work, in the office etc. while speaking to Americans.

The research would also suggest that despite very good knowledge of English, bilingualism is dominant among Mexican immigrants due to their better linguistic and communicative skills in the Spanish language. Nonetheless, 96 per cent of the Mexican-origin interviewees declared that both languages and their varieties have high value for them and, therefore, they constantly improve their proficiency in both linguistic systems.

Additionally, in regard to everyday life, immigrants use different languages (their variations) depending on the situation. The observations of Mexicans in Los Angeles coupled with numerous interviews and conversations conducted during research have revealed that (1) the English language (its social or territorial variety) is used mainly in work, in shops, in local offices, among Mexicans; (2) the Spanish language (in a version similar to the standard Spanish language used in Mexico) is adopted primarily during immigrants' visits to their country of origin and in certain formal situations in Los Angeles where a monolingual model of communication is consciously chosen by the speaker; (3) Spanglish (a mixture of the two languages) is used by Mexicans in Los Angeles for everyday contacts when they choose the bilingual model of communication, resulting in numerous linguistic interferences such as borrowings and code-switching.

A further important insight emerging from the analysis is that only one out of four Mexicans living in the area of Los Angeles uses the Spanish-English mixture in conversation with compatriots. Being created in conditions of bilingualism, Spanglish is formed by numerous linguistic hybrids composed of elements from either standard Spanish, its stylistic/environmental variants or the English language and its variations. Spanglish, as a result of the Spanish-English linguistic-cultural contact, reflects the environmental crucible in which Mexican immigrants live.

Spanglish performs two functions of uppermost importance, that is the function of uniting, which consolidates Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles, and the function of separating, which enables a group of migrants to accept their own individuality. Hence, Spanglish is a crucial factor in identifying with a particular social group, in this case, the Mexican diaspora in Los Angeles. Being a social product, the Spanish-English linguistic mixture situates Mexican immigrants on the border between the two languages, against the background of cultural, ideological and economic differences. Yet, as was indicated previously, Spanglish is very often evaluated pejoratively, especially by linguistic purists.

Nonetheless, Spanish-English speech is a natural and inevitable phenomenon stemming from bilingualism. Thus, it is assessed either positively or neutrally by Mexicans who work and use both languages in Los Angeles, and who, at the same time, emphasise the usefulness of Spanglish in the new conditions of life in the foreign country.

On the basis of the findings, it can also be concluded that Mexican immigrants, who in terms of the theory of transnationalism belong to different social networks, bridge the community in Mexico and the host community in their new country of residence. It is also noteworthy that Mexicans living in Los Angeles identify themselves with the American culture through certain elements. This identification, in turn, is a direct cause of changes in immigrants' self-perception and redefinition of their own identity. This new individuality is a kind of cross-border identity hybrid created on the junction of two different cultures. In other words, Spanglish is a form of cultural identity within the Mexican-American diaspora in Los Angeles.

The study also confirmed that as a result of the economic crisis many young and well-educated Mexicans left their home country. Evidently, the prime reason was to change their financial situation and living conditions by choosing residence in urban areas of the US, which offer much greater prospects and job opportunities. Spanglish speakers can be found at many levels of the socio-economic scale and with various levels of education and income. Data gathered during the research describe a pattern of the immigrant diaspora which is dominated by individuals with a high educational and English proficiency level. Thus, the view that Spanglish is characteristic of an uneducated group of immigrants residing in the United States should be perceived as erroneous and misleading, as Spanglish upgrades both Spanish and English by merging certain linguistic elements.

There are three core mechanisms that may be found in Spanglish speech: linguistic interferences, borrowings and code-switching. Being a deviation from the standard form of language, linguistic interference is present in all subsystems of a given language. Furthermore, interference is the result of both unconscious and unintentional influence of one language upon another. Language borrowings, in turn, as linguistic elements adopted from one language to another, are subject to adaptive processes in all language subsystems. As a part of the lexical resources of Spanglish, borrowings are a linguistic phenomenon that are socially established. The third integral element of Mexican bilingual speech is code-switching, which refers to the changing of one language code to another during oral or written communication in a conscious way. The language code is changed by the use of three strategies: alternation, insertion and congruent lexicalisation.

As demonstrated by the present research, code-switching has been analysed in depth for decades and proven to be a natural process within bilingual communities. Interestingly, these users of language have a strong command of both grammars. Furthermore, they are able to combine the two linguistic systems without violating the rules of either of them. It is crucial to note that code-switching is only available to fluent bilinguals and it serves various socio-pragmatic purposes while following specific limits within grammar.

Yet another common process in any linguistic system, perhaps more noticeable in bilingual diasporas, is the borrowing of words, literal expressions and syntactic structures. This phenomenon is new neither to Spanish, nor to English, and it will hardly threaten the integrity of either of them. In contrast to the code-switching process, borrowing is available to monolingual speakers as well. A speaker needs to be a proficient and fluent bilingual to insert loan lexical items into his/her language. As proved by linguistic analysis of the respondents' speech, this aspect is probably very prominent in Spanish speech.

Since it has become apparent that the hybrid language is one of the few essentials that indeed unite and mirror the Hispanic minority, despite all criticism, the mediated world of the American nation seems to finally acknowledge the existence of a new culture of Hispanics residing in the United States, a new way of life, and its typical manifestations. Indeed, the cinematographic industry, newspapers, broadcast outlets and other media have been perceived as channels through which Hispanics have won visibility and political power in the United States. This increase of Spanglish language media is for many indicatives of Hispanics' achievement and enfranchisement and something to be proud of.

Nevertheless, the issues related to Mexican-American bilingualism in Los Angeles and Spanglish, profoundly discussed in the present study, do not cover fully the problematic aspects of bilingualism, thus making up merely a fragmentary representation. Due to the multitude of strategies and ways of investigating bilingual processes, the methodology and subjective view adopted in the present dissertation should not be perceived as definitive. Yet, as Tabakowska (2001:55) observes, even the elements of language are nothing but the result of a subjective interpretation of the surrounding world made by an individual person while the meaning that is attributed to them is equal to the conceptualisation, mental experience and creation of subjective conceptual structure which corresponds to our own vision of the world, thus making the conducted observances valid.

Stavans (2000a:556) asserts that only dead languages are never changing. Indeed, alongside the vast analytical research and literature involving aspects of bilingual discourse, it is crucial to note that languages change and develop to meet the needs of their users. Given

that, with the substantial increase in Mexican immigrants and their descendants in the United States, and the Los Angeles area in particular, Spanglish is far from dead; on the contrary, it is constantly changing and evolving.

Furthermore, given the data presented on the Spanglish-speaking community, it is apparent that Spanglish meets the needs of its speakers by allowing for the vivid demonstration of their dual identity, the core of the immigrants' self-being. Although many educators and analysts may describe it as a repugnant language which should not be legitimated, it is, in fact, an extremely unrestricted, democratic and varied form of displaying the human spirit. While linguists together with anthropologists may refer to it as enlightening, Spanglish will continue to exist in the United States as it continues to spread the concept of language contact as never before.

Due to the fact that language and identity are intrinsically bonded, the linguistic reality of Hispanics in the United States, a group whose population is expected to more than double in California by 2025, cannot be denied (Pew Hispanic Centre 2013). Whether Spanglish, including the variant spoken by Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles, will flourish and become a solidified linguistic system is yet to be seen. However, for the time being, acknowledgment of this linguistic diversity is unavoidable in order to understand the bi-national identity under which Mexican Americans thrive.

In conclusion, having briefly investigated processes involved in bilingual contact in the context of the Mexican-American community, it must be noted that this vast area of evolving exploration together with the size and scope of this dissertation has not permitted anything close to a comprehensive study of the issues in question. Nonetheless, the research study addresses some of the topics that the issue raises and thus expose some of the myths that oversimplify a multifaceted phenomenon, converting it into a stigmatised and degraded practice.

While it is possible to maintain that all of the languages in the world include lexical items borrowed from other languages, and that the code alternation experienced in Los Angeles is a natural part of language contact and even progress, the particular contextual circumstances, historical accounts and social groups involved in bilingualism research suggest a shift which is beyond the purely linguistic. Indeed, the controversial notion of Spanglish appears to act as a figurehead for a much larger cultural change in the American nation, which has historically been fundamental to the fusion and creation of new cultures. Thus, Spanglish, for the Hispanic community, becomes not only a symbol of liberation from the dichotomy

of tradition and cultural assimilation; it may also be perceived as a signpost pointing toward a new nationhood.

## STRESZCZENIE

Uzyskanie niepodległości przez Meksyk w 1821 oraz wyzwolenie się spod hiszpańskiego panowania zainicjowało długotrwały proces kreowania się tożsamości narodowej. Owa tożsamość została stworzona z mieszanki cech charakterystycznych dla kultury prekolumbijskiej rdzennej ludności z kulturą amerykańskich osadników. Proces ten dał początek pierwszym interakcjom hiszpańsko-amerykańskim, które miały miejsce w południowych regionach Stanów Zjednoczonych. Obecnie, z ponad 35 milionami użytkowników, hiszpański jest drugim systemem językowym na terenie Ameryki. Jest to także pierwszy język w wielu regionach.

Co więcej, mimo iż 78% meksykańskiej populacji zamieszkuje swój rodzimy kraj, duża diaspora sięgająca 22% osiedla się w Stanach Zjednoczonych w wyniku masowej emigracji o charakterze ekonomicznym. W związku z tym, w kontekście zmian zachodzących we współczesnych procesach migracji a także bieżącej teorii mobilności przestrzennej ludności, wyjątkowej wagi nabrała nowopowstała, odmienna koncepcja wszelkich zjawisk związanych z kontaktem na tle językowo-kulturowym.

Mówiącym po hiszpańsku i angielsku Meksykanom przebywającym w Ameryce zwykle towarzyszy szerokie spektrum zjawisk językowych. Fakt ten sprawił, że wielu obserwatorów, zarówno na szczeblu lokalnym, jak i zagranicznym, postuluje powstanie nowego zjawiska wynikającego z tego trwałego dwujęzycznego kontaktu: Spanglish. Jest to wyrażenie, którego sama morfologia kojarzy się nie tylko z mieszaniną, hybrydowością, ale także z kontrowersyjnym, bezprawnym narodzeniem.

Powyższe rodzi interesujące pytania: Czym dokładnie jest Spanglish? Czy to zjawisko naprawdę istnieje? Czy możliwym jest aby tysiące mówców na całym świecie używających terminu Spanglish z przekonaniem opisywało nieistniejący byt? Rzeczywiście, podobnie jak badanie wartości rodzinnych, demokracji i bezpieczeństwa narodowego, pojęcie Spanglish stało się głęboko zakorzenioną koncepcją kulturową. Niezaprzeczalnie, będąc kontrowersyjnym pojęciem wzbudzającym wiele emocji, Spanglish wymyka się powszechnie akceptowanej definicji.

Na wstępie należy wziąć pod uwagę definicje słownikowe, zazwyczaj najbardziej neutralne, powszechnie uznane i dokładnie zbadane. Niemniej jednak już pierwsza podjęta próba odnalezienia spójnej definicji daje dramatycznie niespójne wyniki. Jak stwierdzono w Oxford English Dictionary (cytat z Gardner-Chloros 2009:23), Spanglish jest rodzajem języka hiszpańskiego skażonego angielskimi słowami i formami wyrazu używanymi w

Ameryce Łacińskiej. Z drugiej strony bardzo ogólna i neutralna definicja znajduje się w American Heritage Dictionary (cytat z Gabryś-Barker 2007:66). Jak podaje źródło, hiszpański charakteryzuje się licznymi zapożyczeniami z języka angielskiego.

Sam termin Spanglish, lub, jak to się mówi w języku hiszpańskim, *Espanglish*, wydaje się być użyty pierwszy raz przez Salvadora Tío, dziennikarza z Puerto Rico, w pierwszej kolumnie artykułu opublikowanego w 1952 roku. Uważany w Ameryce Łacińskiej za pomysłodawcę owego słowa, Tío był zaniepokojony pogarszaniem się języka hiszpańskiego w Puerto Rico pod naporem angielskich słów. Dlatego też dziennikarz prowadził kampanię polemicznych i satyrycznych artykułów przez ponad pół wieku. W jednym z nich autor jasno potwierdził swoje stanowisko, pisząc, że nie wierzy w łacinę czy też dwujęzyczność, a ponadto, jak dodał, łacina jest martwym językiem, podczas gdy sama dwujęzyczność, dwoma martwymi językami.

Bezkrytycznie powołując się na nierealistyczną parodię wraz z uzasadnionymi przypadkami zapożyczeń oraz kalk językowych, Tío bezsprzecznie przyczynił się do fałszywej opinii języka *mieszanica* balansującego na krawędzi całkowitej niezrozumiałości. Nash (1970:223-4) przedstawia zupełnie inne spostrzeżenia na temat Spanglish pisząc, iż w obszarach metropolitalnych, gdzie Latynosi odgrywają znaczącą rolę w życiu gospodarczym, powstała hybrydowa odmiana języka, która współistnieje z mniej mieszanymi formami standardowego angielskiego i standardowego hiszpańskiego i ma co najmniej jedną z cech charakterystycznych języka autonomicznego: znaczną liczbę rodzimych użytkowników. Wyłaniający się język zachowuje strukturę fonologiczną, morfologiczną i składnię języka hiszpańskiego. Jednak większość słownictwa pochodzi z języka angielskiego. To, że jest to język autonomiczny, zostało uznane nie tylko przez intelektualistów, z których większość zdecydowanie go potępia, ale także przez New York School of Social Research, która zaoferowała kurs Spanglish dla lekarzy, pielęgniarek i pracowników socjalnych.

Autor w dalszej części stwierdza, iż Spanglish nie jest ani językiem zawierającym błędy gramatyczne z powodu interferencji, ani też celowo mieszanym językiem (Nash 1970:225).

Grey i Woodrick (2005:145) w badaniu postaw oraz zagadnień związanych z językiem hiszpańskim na terenie Ameryki, początkowo definiują termin Spanglish niewinnie jako mieszanekę językową hiszpańskiego i angielskiego. Sposób definiowania Spanglish przez autorów wydaje się być popierany przez kolejnego badacza, samozwańczego wielbiciela i promotora Spanglish, Stavans (2003:6). Z pewnością skrajne opinie autora oraz popularne

poglądy przyczyniły się do wzmożonej polemiki na temat zjawiska Spanglish. Jak dowodzi Stavans (2003:7), Spanglish jest *werbalnym spotkaniem dwóch cywilizacji*.

Niemniej jednak kilku językoznawców rzuciło wyzwanie Stavans'owi. González oraz Echeverría (cytat z Riehl 2005:1950), wybitny krytyk literacki, przyjmuje postawę antyimperialistyczną i uważa, iż Spanglish polega przede wszystkim na użyciu anglicyzmu przez osoby mówiące po hiszpańsku. Autor zwraca uwagę na negatywne implikacje zjawiska: Spanglish, język złożony z hiszpańskiego i angielskiego języka używanego na ulicach, wprowadzony do talk show i kampanii reklamowych stanowi poważne zagrożenie dla kultury latynoskiej i postępów Latynosów w Ameryce. Ci, którzy tolerują, a nawet promują, Spanglish jako nieszkodliwą mieszaninę językową, nie zdają sobie sprawy, że nie jest to zrównoważona relacja. Smutną prawdą jest, iż Spanglish jest w zasadzie językiem biednych Latynosów, z których wielu jest analfabetami w obu językach: hiszpańskim oraz angielskim. Użytkownicy Spanglish dodają angielskie słowa i konstrukcje w codziennej mowie, ponieważ brakuje im słownictwa i wiedzy w języku hiszpańskim pozwalającej na dostosowanie się do otaczającej ich kultury. Z drugiej zaś strony, wykształceni Latynosi używający tej mieszanki językowej kierowani są zgoła innymi motywami: niektórzy wstydzą się swojego pochodzenia i próbują wtopić się w tłum używając angielskich słów oraz dosłownie tłumacząc angielskie idiomy. Myślą, że dzięki temu staną się częścią społeczeństwa amerykańskiego. Autorzy podsumowują przedstawiając opinię, iż politycznie Spanglish reprezentuje kapitulację; oznacza marginalizację, a nie wyzwolenie.

To potępienie Spanglish jako przejawu klęski i uległości ze strony społeczności latynoskich w Stanach Zjednoczonych przypomina opinię Silva-Corvalán (1994:45) przedstawioną w komentarzu dotyczącym Spanglish, w którym to autor komentuje problem niektórych Latynosów w Ameryce, którzy nie mieli okazji uczyć się ani hiszpańskiego ani angielskiego. Kolejną obserwacją, która najwyraźniej odnosi się do regionalnych i społecznych dialektów, slangu młodzieżowego oraz kontaktu językowego, oferuje Joaquim Ibarz (cytat z Soler 1999:278). Według autora, mówienie w połowie po hiszpańsku, w połowie po angielsku, nie jest bezsensowne, jeśli bierze się pod uwagę mieszaną kulturę, migracje i inne okoliczności, które doprowadziły do połączenia tych dwóch języków.

Riehl (2005:1945) wyraża podobną opinię, przekonująco argumentując, iż Spanglish ma swoją własną logikę i logicznie wyjaśnione pochodzenie. Riehl zasugerował również, że Spanglish pełni wyraźną funkcję komunikacyjną, ale dotyczy to tylko sytuacji, w której jeden z partnerów dialogowych nie ma wystarczającego zasobu słownictwa. W razie wątpliwości, aby wyeliminować przeszkodę w komunikacji, powraca się do wersji

angielskiej rozumianej przez obydwu rozmówców. W ten sposób odbywa się komunikacja. Można więc założyć, że marginalny status Spanglish wyklucza Latynosów, którzy nie rozumieją angielskiego, a także Amerykanów, którzy nie rozumieją hiszpańskiego. W związku z tym ogranicza się do społeczności mniejszości językowych.

W przeciwieństwie do wcześniejszych odkryć, Brick, Challinor i Rosenblum (2011:5) przedstawiają nieco pozytywniejszą analizę zjawiska Spanglish. Badacz podkreśla niezaprzeczalną kulturową fuzję wynikającą z obecności społeczeństwa latynoskiego w Stanach Zjednoczonych. Autorzy (2011:6-7) kontynuują, stwierdzając, że funkcja Spanglish jest wyraźnie komunikatywna i powstaje, gdy jednemu z rozmówców brakuje słownictwa, co wymaga adaptacji znanych słów do nowych pojęć. Z tego powodu Spanglish jest uważany za oznakę twórczości językowej, która ze względu na swoją nieformalną naturę nie może być akademicko ustandaryzowana.

Sergio Valdés Bernal i Nuria Gregori Tornada (cytat z Abalos 2007:240-246), językoznawcy pochodzenia kubańskiego, twierdzą, iż Spanglish był używany w 1898 roku tylko przez Portorykańczyków w ich nowojorskich dzielnicach. Niemniej Spanglish pojawił się również w Miami wśród nowej generacji kubańskich Amerykanów. Kombinacja anglikalizowanych hiszpańskich wyrażen, hispanizowanych angielskich słów i syntaktycznych mieszanek językowych jest używana nieświadomie przez dzieci i dorosłych. Wydaje się oczywiste, że dla tych badaczy Spanglish polega głównie na przełączaniu kodów językowych, chociaż czasami wiąże się też z erozją językową oraz utratą języka.

Jak dotąd, zaprezentowano liczne poglądy na poparcie określenia Spanglish jako podmiotu, który nie jest dość angielski, nie całkiem hiszpański, ale gdzieś pomiędzy. Inaczej mówiąc jest to język używany przez osobę mówiącą po angielsku, gdy próbuje mówić po hiszpańsku (Doughty and Long 2003, Ferguson 1959, Burkitt 1991). W kilku przypadkach (Gray i Woodrick 2005, Beziers i Overbeke 1968, Bloomfield 1935) Spanglish przedstawia się jako angielski z ingerencją ze strony języka hiszpańskiego; zjawisko opisane przez Nash'a (1970: 224) jako *Englañol*. Wreszcie Maduro (1987:1) zwięźle oznajmił, że Spanglish nie jest żadnym językiem, ponieważ jego użycie jest piętnowane jako deformacja języka angielskiego i hiszpańskiego.

Z kolei Costa-Belén (cytat w: Montes 2003:34) zauważył, że mówcy nieokreślonej mieszaniny języka hiszpańskiego i/lub angielskiego są uznawani za *różnych* lub *niechlujnych* mówców języka hiszpańskiego i/lub angielskiego. Często określani są mianem pozbawionych werbalnych umiejętności, alingwalnych lub nieumiejętnych użytkowników języka z uwagi na problemy związane z komunikacją w języku angielskim i hiszpańskim.

Milán (cytat z Montes 2003:35) wyraźnie zalecił, aby językoznawcy i uczeni w Los Angeles powstrzymali się od używania pojęcia Spanglish i zamiast tego operowali neutralnym terminem, takim jak *Los Angeles City Spanish*. Niemniej jednak, nowsze prace Zunigi i Rubena (2005:82) ukazały młodsze pokolenie Meksykanów w Los Angeles i innych miastach na terenie Stanów Zjednoczonych, które zaczęło przyjmować słowo Spanglish z dumą, aby wyraźnie odnieść się do twórczego stylu dwujęzycznej komunikacji, która odgrywa ważną rolę w aspekcie kulturowym oraz komunikacyjnym.

Co ciekawe, Spanglish jest również obecny w literaturze dziecięcej, na przykład w humorystycznej powieści dydaktycznej napisanej przez Montes'a (2003:45-47), w której portorykańska dziewczyna drażni się z rówieśnikami z Ameryki. Łącząc opinie literackie, kulturalne i polityczne, Morales (2002:3) przyjmuje politycznie ugruntowane stanowisko, iż nie ma lepszej metafory tego, co oznacza kultura mieszana, niż hybrydowy, nieformalny kod; ten sam rodzaj konstrukcji językowej, która definiuje różne klasy w społeczeństwie, może również zdefiniować coś poza nim, konstrukcję społeczną z różnymi regułami. Spanglish jest tym, o czym mówimy, ale jest też tym, kim jesteśmy, jak działamy i jak odbieramy świat, przekonuje autor. Jest to również sposób na uniknięcie sekciarskiego charakteru innych etykiet opisujących sytuację społeczno-kulturową meksykańskich imigrantów, takich jak Nuyorican, Chicano, amerykański Kubańczyk i wiele innych.

Mimo iż wielu badaczy, zwłaszcza z innych krajów hiszpańskojęzycznych, postrzega pojęcie Spanglish jako języka hiszpańskiego obłożonego przez zewnętrznego najeźdźcę, większość uczonych nadal świętuje powstający język latynoski jako potwierdzeniu oporu i tworzenia potężnej nowej tożsamości. W związku z tym pozostałe artykuły Morales'a przedstawiają mieszkankę hiszpańskiego i angielskiego w dziełach literackich, kulturze popularnej i dyskursie politycznym. Bez wątplenia ucieleśniają one najbardziej wymowny manifest Spanglish jako pierwotnie obraźliwego określenia, który został przejęty przez jego dawne ofiary jako dowód dumy i odwagi. Podczas gdy większość badaczy wyraża gorącą nadzieję, że wszystkie negatywne konotacje terminu Spanglish zostaną ostatecznie utracone, wciąż przeważają mniej pochlebne opinie, stanowiące podstawę do trwającej polemiki, która utrzymuje się we wszystkich sekcjach prezentowanej pracy.

Zasadniczym celem niniejszej pracy doktorskiej jest opis dwóch zjawisk językowo-kulturowych, które zaistniały w wyniku masowej emigracji w celach zarobkowych z Meksyku do Stanów Zjednoczonych:

- (1) dwujęzyczności hiszpańsko-angielskiej wśród meksykańskiej diaspory;
- (2) mieszanego hiszpańsko-angielskiego kodu językowego zwanego Spanglish.

Warto podkreślić, iż kolejność powyższych zjawisk nie jest dziełem przypadku. Spanglish definiowany jest tu jako zjawisko formułowane na podłożu dwujęzyczności. Kod ten może zaistnieć jedynie w sytuacji bilingwalnej: imigranci pochodzenia meksykańskiego, którzy przebywają na terenie nowego kraju podlegają wpływom języka angielskiego, który dominuje życie amerykańskiego społeczeństwa. W wyniku zaistniałej sytuacji powstaje oryginalny dialekt, który konsoliduje oraz wiąże członków grupy wychodźczej. Tak więc, wśród społeczności przebywającej w środowisku dwujęzycznym powstanie mieszaniny językowej takiej jak Spanglish jest nieodzowne z uwagi na fakt, iż młodzi migranci przebywając w otoczeniu anglojęzycznym w sposób swobodny oraz chętny posługują się nowym kodem językowym stanowiącym mieszankę słów angielskich oraz hiszpańskich. Owa forma językowa posiada wiele wyrazów, zwrotów oraz konstrukcji składniowych, które swoje źródło mają w języku angielskim.

Główną tezę pracy doktorskiej usytuowanej w diasporze imigrantów z Los Angeles jest twierdzenie, iż istnienie korelacja pomiędzy hiszpańsko-angielską dwujęzycznością a Spanglish. Spanglish, błędnie postrzegany w opinii publicznej jako blokujący postęp językowy a także nazywany zdegradowanym językiem hiszpańskim, jest w rzeczywistości sposobem na wzmocnienie systemu językowego. Badania przedstawione w niniejszej pracy nie tylko kwestionują użycie negatywnych terminów, ale dowodzą, że dwujęzyczność jest dużo bardziej złożonym i adekwatnym sposobem pojmowania zjawiska Spanglish, który powinien być postrzegany jako forma dwujęzyczności, hybryda, która wzbogaca język.

Chociaż są to główne zagadnienia mojej analizy, niniejsza praca obejmuje również współczesne studia kulturowe, które akceptują ideę tekstu jako praktyki kulturowej. W całej pracy doktorskiej opiszę ideologie językowe i tożsamościowe w produkcjach kulturalnych stworzonych przez hiszpańsko-angielskich dwujęzycznych imigrantów. Moja analiza rozwoju mówców pokaże również konieczność włączenia języka do listy czynników używanych do badania tożsamości meksykańsko-amerykańskiej, ponieważ Spanglish powinien być postrzegany jako forma tożsamości dwujęzycznej.

Moje dociekania, które doprowadziły do podstawowego przekonania, że język jest zjawiskiem kulturowym, obejmują zarówno badania systemowe (fonetyka, morfologia, semantyka), jak i podejście kulturowe, które stanowi podstawę zmiany języka i modeli komunikacji. Językowy charakter niniejszej rozprawy obejmuje także argumenty społeczno-kulturowe, które są podporządkowane przedstawionemu i analizowanemu materiałowi językowemu.

Temat oraz zakres badawczy został wybrany przeze mnie w sposób nieprzypadkowy. Fascynacja pojęciami dwujęzyczności hiszpańsko-angielskiej oraz Spanglish związana jest bezpośrednio z doświadczeniami osobistymi. Podczas studiów licencjackich uczestniczyłam w wielu kursach językowych, podczas których poznałam kulturę oraz sposób wyrażania się społeczności posługujących się językiem hiszpańskich. Ponadto, odwiedzając rodzinę zamieszkującą Los Angeles poznałam wielu członków społeczności hiszpańsko-angielskiej oraz imigrantów z Meksyku. Przez ponad dwa lata uczestniczyłam w życiu meksykańskiej diaspory na uchodźstwie obserwując oraz doświadczając wyjątkowych procesów na tle językowo-kulturowym, co nie pozostało bez wpływu na prowadzone przeze mnie badania.

Pracę badawczą sytuuję w tradycji badań nad dwujęzycznością, a konkretnie w nurcie badań śledzących sytuację językowo-kulturową imigrantów. Analizę tą należy traktować jako odrębną dyscyplinę, która z kolei cechuje się interdyscyplinarnością. Co więcej, stanowi ona element rozważań nad stosunkiem oraz tożsamością etniczną. W czasach współczesnych istotne jest przyjęcie nieco różniącej się niż dotychczas perspektywy w badaniach nad językiem środowisk emigracyjnych. Taki stan rzeczy spowodowany jest przede wszystkim zmianą interpretacji samego zjawiska migracji, która uważana jest za źródło transformacji społecznej, ekonomicznej, kulturowej czy też politycznej. W owym ujęciu, międzynarodowa mobilność powodowana jest rozwojem ekonomicznym, nie zaś jego brakiem.

Niniejsza praca nie ma ambicji wyczerpania podjętego tematu oraz studium wszelkich możliwych kwestii. Celem analizy jest jednak zasygnalizowanie niektórych wybranych socjo-kulturowych oraz lingwistycznych zagadnień związanych ze zjawiskiem Spanglish oraz dwujęzycznością. Problematyka, która została podjęta oraz przeanalizowana wybrana została z uwagi na swoje walory: powinna ona stanowić wstępny etap do dalszych dociekań.

Struktura pracy doktorskiej tworzy układ spiralny, złożona jest bowiem z pięciu rozdziałów, które kolejno rozwijają wątki podjęte wcześniej poszerzając je o dodatkowe informacje. W badaniach wykorzystana została zasada *kontinuum kognitywnego* zakładająca wieloaspektowość w analizie zebranego materiału językowego. Zaadoptowanie owej zasady prowadzi do, w miarę możliwości, wielostronnego omówienia tematu.

Praca doktorska podzielona jest na pięć rozdziałów. Pierwszy rozdział przynosi rozważania dotyczące rozumienia pojęcia dwujęzyczności przez środowisko naukowe. Przedstawiony zostaje szeroki wachlarz definicji zjawiska bilingwizmu, jego złożoności – po to, aby ukazać jego bogactwo a zarazem uzmysłwić, ile trudności napotykają próby zdefiniowania tego zagadnienia. Zaprezentowane zostały anglojęzyczne artykuły oraz

literatura obca a także rodzima, która dotyczy bilingwizmu, najistotniejszych typów dwujęzyczności oraz dominującej współcześnie perspektywy badawczej. Rozdział ten łączy różne dyscypliny i kierunki studiów, które stanowią podstawę mojego teoretycznego i metodologicznego podejścia do badania dwujęzyczności z perspektywy socjolingwistycznej. We wstępnym rozdziale dokonany został również przegląd badań nad dwujęzycznością. Rozpoczynając od definicji pojęcia dwujęzyczność, oceniane są pojęcia stosowane do identyfikacji i opisu dwujęzyczności. Prowadzi to do zarysowania procesów dwujęzycznego rozwoju na poziomie indywidualnym i wspólnotowym, tj. kiedy i jak rozwija się dwujęzyczność. Zwracam tu również uwagę na różnice, które istnieją pomiędzy zjawiskiem dwujęzyczności a dyglosją.

Z przedstawionej analizy wynika, iż wzrost zainteresowania uczonych w dziedzinie badań nad kontaktami językowymi doprowadził do kolejnej interesującej obserwacji; mianowicie, termin ten często łączy się z takimi modyfikatorami, jak dwujęzyczność wczesna i późna, wzbogacająca i zubożająca, zrównoważona i dominująca. Co więcej, dla dociekliwego badacza dwujęzyczność oferuje fascynujący i różnorodny zestaw wzorców, gdyż grupa ludzi może stać się dwujęzyczna z wielu różnych powodów. Jednym z nich jest przemieszczanie się grupy z powodu różnych czynników, takich jak katastrofa wojskowa, gospodarcza, edukacyjna, polityczna, religijna lub naturalna; kiedy imigranci nawiązują kontakt z mówcami innego języka, którzy żyją w obszarze migracji, rozwija się dwujęzyczność. W istocie, niezależnie od tego, co może być przyczyną opuszczenia kraju, migracja jest jednym z najważniejszych czynników w tworzeniu się dwujęzycznej społeczności.

Ponadto, handel jest również kluczowy dla dwujęzyczności, nawet jeśli nie jest bezpośrednio związany z masową migracją ludności. Handlowcy i ludzie biznesu podróżujący do miejsc, w których mówi się innym językiem, często płynnie posługują się językiem *lingua franca*, a także językiem ojczystym.

Kolejnym czynnikiem wspomagającym proces rozwoju dwujęzyczności jest nacjonalizm i federalizm polityczny. Mimo że dopiero od XIX wieku łączono tożsamość językową i narodową, nacjonalizm wywarł wielki wpływ na rozprzestrzenianie się języków ojczystych, a tym samym na stopień dwujęzyczności w wielu krajach. W swojej książce Fishman (1972:24) cytuje uczonych, którzy bronią idei języka ojczystego dla każdego narodu. Wśród nich jest Davies (2003:100), który stwierdza, że ludzie bez własnego języka to tylko *połowa narodu*. Według autora, naród powinien chronić swój język bardziej niż swoje terytoria – jest to pewniejsza bariera, ważniejsza granica niż twierdza czy rzeka. Ta nacjonalistyczna

postawa wobec języka często prowadzi do rozprzestrzeniania się języka narodowego zamiast języków regionalnych, a to z kolei może być źródłem dwujęzyczności, jeśli niektórzy mieszkańcy mówią językiem ojczystym, a także językiem narodowym. Może to również mieć odwrotny skutek, zmniejszając stopień dwujęzyczności, jeżeli zniechęca się społeczność do używania języków regionalnych (przykładem może być walijski oraz inne języki celtyckie na terenie Wielkiej Brytanii).

Na obszarach przygranicznych między dwiema grupami językowymi, na przykład między hiszpańskojęzycznym Meksykiem i anglojęzyczną Ameryką, czynniki gospodarcze i handlowe spowodowały, że wiele osób regularnie korzysta z obu języków. W związku z tym dwujęzyczność występuje w określonych obszarach niektórych krajów koncentrujących mniejszości językowe.

Co ciekawe, zjawisko dwujęzyczności nie budzi zdziwienia i jest obecnie powszechnie akceptowane. W rzeczywistości przez wiele lat w amerykańskim społeczeństwie zaobserwowano pozytywne nastawienie i rosnącą popularność zjawiska dwu- i wielojęzyczności. Z pewnością najbardziej nurtujące pytania dotyczące dwujęzyczności to:

- 1) Czym jest dwujęzyczność i kto jest dwujęzycznym mówcą?
- 2) W jaki sposób dwujęzyczna osoba funkcjonuje w swoim środowisku społecznym?
- 3) W jaki sposób dana osoba staje się dwujęzyczna?
- 4) W jaki sposób osoba przechodzi od jednojęzyczności do dwujęzyczności?
- 5) W którym momencie mówca staje się dwujęzyczny?
- 6) Jak działa mózg dwujęzycznej osoby?
- 7) Jaki jest status obu języków?
- 8) Kiedy i gdzie są używane oba języki?

Należy wyraźnie zaznaczyć, iż pytania związane z kwestią dwujęzyczności są związane z różnymi dziedzinami naukowymi. Grimes (2000:51) jest jednym z pierwszych autorów, którzy stwierdzili, że zjawiska dwujęzyczności nie można testować tylko w dziedzinie językoznawstwa. W celu dokładnego zbadania tego zagadnienia należy zastosować inne metody naukowe, wykraczające poza ramy lingwistyki.

Rzeczywiście, dwujęzyczność jest zjawiskiem kulturowo-językowym, które obecnie badane jest przez naukowców z różnych dyscyplin, w tym lingwistyki, socjologii, psychologii, politologii, kulturoznawstwa oraz glottodydaktyki. Każda z tych dziedzin naukowych wykorzystuje różne metody w swoich badaniach, interpretuje je na różne sposoby i przedstawia wiele definicji. W rzeczywistości bardzo trudno jednoznacznie zdefiniować pojęcie dwujęzyczności. Bardziej podstawowym problemem jest stworzenie

uniwersalnej formuły, która byłaby spójna z ideami wszystkich badaczy i w pełni opisała zjawisko, które jest interdyscyplinarne i którego nie można przetestować bez opracowania metodologii łączącej różne perspektywy badawcze.

Po przyjęciu dwujęzyczności jako krytycznej podstawy dla moich ram konceptualnych, w tym rozdziale poświęcam uwagę również teorii językowego obrazu świata (JOS). Z pewnością teorię tą należy traktować jako jedną z możliwych perspektyw oraz ideologii badawczych, którymi można objąć wypowiedzi meksykańskich imigrantów zamieszkujących tereny Los Angeles. W rozdziale tym nie adoptuję jednak teorii językowego obrazu świata w szerszym zakresie tak, jak czynią to między innymi etnolingwiści, a sygnalizuję jedynie jej przydatność do analizy oraz badań nad obrazem rzeczywistości, który utrwalony jest w języku osób bilingwalnych.

Z przedstawionego powyżej krótkiego wywodu można wywnioskować, że ogromna ilość badań nad dwujęzycznością, które przeprowadzono w ostatnich latach, doprowadziła do zrozumienia właściwości i czynników tego zjawiska językowego. Ciągła niestabilność dwujęzyczności wymusza stwierdzenie, że jest ona postrzegana jako proces znacznie bardziej wieloaspektowy, mający wymiar społeczny, intelektualny i wiele innych, na podstawie których jest klasyfikowana zarówno na poziomie indywidualnym, jak i społecznym.

W dalszym ciągu jednak należy pamiętać, że większość tych wymiarów zwykle przenika się. Przykładowo, osoba, która od urodzenia jest wychowywana w środowisku, gdzie obecne są dwa systemy językowe (tak zwana dwujęzyczność współrzędna), może w tym przypadku mieć lepszą szansę, by stać się osobą charakteryzującą się dwujęzycznością zrównoważoną. Należy również dodać, że istnieje inny element złożoności. Mówiąc dokładniej, te wymiary dwujęzyczności są ciągłymi, a nie po prostu kategorycznymi konstrukcjami. W związku z tym określenie wyraźnych granic między różnymi typami dwujęzyczności w danym wymiarze może stanowić trudność.

Podsumowując, pierwszy rozdział zawiera jasne i dokładne omówienie klasyfikacji i cech różnych form dwujęzyczności. Osoby posługujące się językiem dwujęzycznym zostały skategoryzowane zgodnie z rozróżnieniem między stopniem płynności i biegłości w danym języku, wieku oraz sposobu nabycia obu języków.

Rozdział drugi poświęcony jest charakterystyce mowy bilingwalnej. W sytuacji, gdy dochodzi do kontaktu językowego, a więc rozpoczęcie się procesu dwujęzyczności, dwa systemy językowe wzajemnie się determinują. Zatem wynikiem procesu dwujęzyczności oraz cechą charakterystyczną mowy bilingwalnej będą głównie wszelkiego rodzaju

zapożyczenia, interferencje językowe oraz zjawisko przełączania kodów językowych (and. *code-switching*).

W rzeczy samej, dominuje powszechna opinia, iż osoby dwujęzyczne zmieniają swój sposób porozumiewania się w zależności od rozmówcy. Przykładem może być osoba bilingwalna, która ogranicza interferencje językowe w rozmowie z interlokutorem monolingwalnym, podczas gdy wchodząc w interakcję z inną osobą bilingwalną jej interferencje nie mają ograniczeń (Weinreich 1953:112).

Tego samego zdania jest Beardsmore (1986:45), który dowodzi, iż osoba dwujęzyczna odczuwa większą swobodę w użyciu dwóch systemów językowych w rozmowie z innymi osobami bilingwalnymi. W rezultacie, w zależności od rozmówcy osoba ta decyduje, który z języków wybrać w danym momencie konwersacji. Nie tylko adresat ma wpływ na poziom aktywacji drugiego języka ale również temat rozmowy.

Zaznaczyć należy, iż stopień aktywizacji różnych systemów językowych został nazwany przez Grosjean'a (2008:38) angielskim terminem *language mode* (LM), który odnosi się do istnienia trzech różnych form aktywacji oraz produkcji dwóch systemów językowych. Czynnikiem, które mają wpływ na sposób oraz stopień aktywacji drugiego języka jest wiele. Przykładem mogą być adresaci rozmowy, tematyka konwersacji czy też kontekst sytuacyjny. Wówczas aktywacja języka może przybrać różnorakie formy językowe takie jak: interferencja, zapożyczenie lub wcześniej wspomniane zjawisko *code-switchingu*. Każda z wymienionych trzech cech mowy bilingwalnej została dokładniej zaprezentowana w omawianym rozdziale.

Trzeci rozdział koncentruje się głównie na rozwoju zjawiska Spanglish w meksykańsko-amerykańskiej diasporze w Los Angeles. Rozdział ten zaczyna się od omówienia definicji i opisu zjawiska Spanglish. Następuje przegląd cech językowych Spanglish, jego hybrydowości oraz kulturowego ostracyzmu opisanego przez wielu autorów. Pytając, jak meksykańscy imigranci żyjący w Stanach Zjednoczonych decydują się na okazywanie swojej dwujęzycznej tożsamości, analizuję społeczne poglądy na temat Spanglish.

Bezspornie, w społeczeństwie, w którym leksykon pomaga albo przeszkadza w zrozumieniu rzeczywistości, Spanglish jest określany negatywnie jako żargon ludzi biednych, czy też niewykształconych imigrantów. Według wielu badaczy jest on sklasyfikowany jako obraźliwy twór, który wprowadził zamieszanie w świat językoznawstwa (Maduro 1987:1). Niemniej jednak znajdują się i tacy badacze, którzy uważają go za proces całkowicie zgodny z regułami języka, za *embrionalny lingua franca*

*przyszłości* lub *triumf globalizacji i wielokulturowości* (Montes 2003:45, Parodi 1999:521, Walczuk-Beltrão 2008:192).

W rozdziale trzecim podkreślona została również trudność w klasyfikowaniu Spanglish jako zjawiska językowego. Rzeczywiście, według wielu badaczy, Spanglish powinien być określany jako język kreolski lub Pidgin. Inni autorzy stwierdzają natomiast, że Spanglish jest dialektem, międzyjęzykiem, a nawet żargonem. Jednak badania wyraźnie wskazują, iż cechy kontaktu między językiem hiszpańskim i angielskim nie odpowiadają cechom charakterystycznym dla języka Pidgin lub kreolskiego.

Chociaż sytuacja hiszpańsko-angielskiej hybrydy językowej w Ameryce może przypominać inne konflikty wynikające z kontaktu językowego nie zrównoważonej dwujęzyczności, jej wyjątkowość charakteryzuje się ogromną liczbą użytkowników. Jak można się domyślić, Spanglish wydaje się powstawać nie tylko z konieczności posiadania nowej metody komunikacji, ale także z próby stworzenia nowej tożsamości kulturowej.

Mimo iż niniejsza część nie zawiera wyczerpującej i konkretnej definicji pojęcia Spanglish, ma ona na celu dostarczenie informacji na temat możliwych rezultatów przypisywania etykiet i przyjmowania założeń dotyczących procesów mieszania hiszpańsko-angielskich kodów językowych. Nie ulega wątpliwości, że Spanglish rzeczywiście jest zjawiskiem opartym na podstawach socjokulturowych, co przejawia się w hiszpańsko-angielskich przemianach językowych. Podczas gdy poszczególne działy lingwistyczne badają przełączanie kodów z różnych perspektyw i odizolowanych stanowisk, Spanglish w rzeczywistości jest częścią szerzej postrzeganej tożsamości meksykańsko-amerykańskich członków społeczności.

Wstępne wyniki pokazują również, że nie ma jednej perspektywy ani dziedziny akademickiej, która mogłaby w spójny sposób wyjaśnić różne przeplatające się czynniki, które tworzą tak złożone zjawisko. Z pewnością tylko prawdziwie interdyscyplinarna perspektywa obejmująca dziedziny socjolingwistyki, psycholingwistyki, syntaktyki i kognitywistyki może oferować precyzyjną i wszechstronną definicję. Celem takiego podejścia byłoby uchwycenie kognitywnych korzeni zmian językowych, powiązań pomiędzy biegłością językową, ekspozycją i jej wykorzystaniem, a także wzorcami językowymi, które mogą pojawić się w określonych warunkach socjolingwistycznych.

W rzeczywistości doświadczenia meksykańskich imigrantów w Stanach Zjednoczonych i ich potomków potwierdzają potrzebę zintegrowanych badań, które mogą łączyć przetwarzanie dwujęzyczne z podejściem synchronicznym i diachronicznym oraz z wieloma metodami badań eksperymentalnych. W tym kontekście należy zwrócić uwagę, na

potrzebę analizy zmiennych zewnętrznych w badaniu psycholingwistycznym (Rodríguez-González i Parafita-Couto 2012:475) takich jak:

- 1) czynniki społeczne, czyli demografia, dyglosja i status językowy;
- 2) czynniki interpersonalne, takie jak społeczność, rozmówcy i tematy rozmów;
- 3) indywidualne czynniki, w tym preferencje językowe, znajomość języka i tożsamość.

Z powyższego wynika, że każda wyizolowana próba opisanego złożoności hiszpańsko-angielskiego kontaktu językowego powinna być postrzegana jako spekulacyjna i ograniczona. Każde podejście przyjęte w celu zbadania właściwości i cech Spanglish powinno być scharakteryzowane na podstawie wszystkich wyżej wymienionych czynników, które się wzajemnie przeplatają.

Część trzecia niniejszej rozprawy zakończona jest analizą kontekstualizacji pojęcia Spanglish w amerykańskiej kulturze masowej. Statystyki dotyczące demografii ludności latynoskiej w Ameryce wraz z ciągłym poszukiwaniem przez media nowych nisz rynkowych, stworzyły możliwość komercyjnego wykorzystania zjawiska Spanglish wśród młodej dwujęzycznej meksykańsko-amerykańskiej publiczności.

Rozdział czwarty to analiza historycznej panoramy meksykańskiej imigracji do Stanów Zjednoczonych i jej wpływ na kształtowanie tożsamości etnicznej w rejonie Los Angeles. Przewodnym zagadnieniem dla tego rozdziału jest zatem geograficzna dystrybucja meksykańskiej diaspory w Ameryce. Wiele statystyk przedstawionych w tym rozdziale podkreśla jeden z najtrwalszych zagadnień związanych z meksykańską społecznością w Los Angeles: nie tylko społeczne, ale także ekonomiczne motywy silnie wpłynęły na bodźce do imigracji.

W rozdziale tym zaprezentowałam ogólną charakterystykę meksykańskiej imigracji na terenie Los Angeles na podstawie wniosków poczynionych w oparciu o analizę ankiet przeprowadzonych w latach 2014-2016. Nakreślony został tu przede wszystkim osobowo-językowy profil współczesnego imigranta zarobkowego. Zaprezentowana została analiza hiszpańsko-angielskiego bilingwizmu społecznego oraz ogólna sytuacja językowa Meksykanów zamieszkujących tereny Los Angeles. Omówiona na podstawie badań ankietowych dwujęzyczność grupowa ukazuje najogólniejsze prawidłowości tego procesu.

Rozdział ten stanowi również krótką syntezę ogólnej sytuacji kulturowej Meksykanów w Los Angeles oraz rozstrzyga tym samym kwestię dotyczącą tożsamości powstałej na styku dwóch odmiennych kultur. Omówiona więc została tu problematyka, która nie mogła zostać pominięta z uwagi na charakter pracy: teoretyczne rozważania na temat kryzysu tożsamości

migranta, szoku kulturowego jako reakcji na zmianę środowiska a także procesu integracji w nowym miejscu osiedlenia.

Badanie udowadnia również, że meksykańska diaspora w Los Angeles jest zdominowana przez osoby, które opuściły kraj pochodzenia przed ukończeniem 25. roku życia. Według badania dotyczącego sytuacji językowej meksykańskich imigrantów w Los Angeles, 80% respondentów nie napotkało żadnych problemów z komunikacją po przybyciu do Stanów Zjednoczonych, prawie połowa uczestników badania wyraziła zadowalającą znajomość języka angielskiego. Co więcej, analiza materiałów pokazuje, że ogromna liczba imigrantów używa języka angielskiego i hiszpańskiego zamiennie w codziennej komunikacji.

Skupiając się na procesie dwujęzycznego rozwoju tożsamości w grupie 128 osób meksykańskiego pochodzenia, pod koniec rozdziału przedstawiam wyniki badań dotyczące tożsamości meksykańskich imigrantów, ich bezpośredniego otoczenia, kultury oraz warunków socjalnych w nowym miejscu osiedlenia. Opisuję różnorodność tożsamości językowej oraz wysuwam tezę, iż ta różnorodność jest tworzona świadomie, nie tylko ze względu na wspólne środowiska językowe i kulturowe. Moja analiza rozwoju tożsamości językowej imigrantów ukazuje konieczność włączenia języka do listy czynników używanych do badania formacji tożsamości meksykańsko-amerykańskiej.

Niezaprzeczalnie, szereg konkluzji, które pochodzą bezpośrednio z badań omawianych powyżej, dowodzi również bliskiego związku między tożsamością a systemem językowym, który jest używany przez meksykańskich imigrantów. W rzeczy samej, język lub języki przyjęte do komunikacji stanowią znaczną część tego, kim jesteśmy. Nasze systemy językowe wpływają na naszą tożsamość, w szczególności na tożsamość etniczną i społeczną.

W związku z tym można jednoznacznie argumentować, że dana osoba ma bilateralny związek ze swoją identyfikacją z obydwojema językami; mianowicie dwujęzyczny i dwukulturowy. Mówiąc zwięźle, osoby dwujęzyczne sytuują się pomiędzy dwoma systemami językowymi i dwoma kulturami, co powoduje włączenie tych języków i kultur do czynników definiujących kim są.

Piąty, i zarazem ostatni rozdział, oparty jest na analizie materiału językowego. Rozpaczynam ten rozdział od przeglądu czynników wpływających na wybór języka i jego wykorzystanie na poziomie społecznym oraz w jaki sposób wzorce wyboru i użycia rozwijają i utrzymują język z perspektywy mówcy. Wybór w obrębie i pomiędzy językami wzmacnia repertuar językowy danej osoby, a tym samym zwiększa wyrafinowanie zdolności do reprezentowania swojej tożsamości. Każdy podrozdział przedstawia różne sposoby

wyrażania swojej dwujęzycznej tożsamości. Następnie kontynuuję analizę charakterystyki mowy imigrantów opierając się na przeprowadzonych ankietach.

Celem analizy jest zbadanie poglądów dotyczących Spanglish wyrażonych w narracjach 128 meksykańsko-amerykańskich dwujęzycznych uczestników. Nastąpiło podobieństw i różnic między wyborem języka w danej hipotetycznej sytuacji językowej. W badaniu brało udział 128 osób bilingwalnych (76 kobiet, 52 mężczyzn). Wszyscy uczestnicy byli mieszkańcami Los Angeles w USA. Respondenci nauczyli się języka angielskiego w Meksyku lub Ameryce poprzez zajęcia ESL, uczęszczanie do szkoły publicznej lub prywatnej.

Niniejsze badanie analizuje również dane uzyskane w ankiecie internetowej zawierającej 28 pytań (Ankieta nr 2). Kwestionariusz został wysłany do uczestników w postaci linku. System online gromadził dane przez 2 lata, tj. od września 2014 do kwietnia 2016. Po tym okresie dane zostały posegregowane oraz przeanalizowane. Zebrano od uczestników następujące informacje społeczno-biograficzne: płeć, wiek, poziom wykształcenia, znane języki, język dominujący, porządek chronologiczny przyswajania języka, kontekst nauki języka, częstotliwość/kontekst użycia, typowi rozmówcy i samoocena biegłości w zakresie mówienia, rozumienia, czytania i pisanie w obu językach. Wybór systemu językowego został określony dla mowy w sytuacji emocjonalnej i nie-emocjonalnej.

W badaniu analizowano dwa typy odpowiedzi: pierwszy typ obejmował odpowiedzi na pytania zamknięte dotyczące częstotliwości, z jaką uczestnicy używają swoich dwóch języków. Druga kategoria wymagała odpowiedzi na pięć otwartych pytań związanych z pojęciem Spanglish jako zjawiska społecznego, dwujęzycznymi preferencjami językowymi w określonych sytuacjach językowych, emocjonalnym znaczeniu obu języków, łatwością lub trudnością w dyskusji na tematy emocjonalne w drugim języku oraz tożsamością językową.

W dalszej części rozdziału zaprezentowałam oraz omówiłam trzy cechy mowy dwujęzycznej, tj. interferencję, zapożyczenia oraz zjawisko przełączania kodu w oparciu o zebrany materiał językowy. Z uwagi na fakt, iż w dotychczasowych badaniach nie zostały wyznaczone przejrzyste granice pomiędzy tymi trzema właściwościami mowy bilingwalnej, moim zamiarem było usystematyzowanie owych procesów oraz wskazanie kryteriów ich klasyfikacji.

O ile wiedza dotycząca interferencji oraz zapożyczeń obecnych zarówno w języku hiszpańskim na terenie Meksyku, jak i w dialektach społeczności imigranckich jest obszerna,

na temat trzeciej i ostatniej cechy mowy dwujęzycznej wiemy wciąż mało. Proces code-switchingu omówiony został w części rozdziału (5.3.3), w której to znajdują się również następujące dociekania: strukturalny oraz socjolingwistyczny kierunek badań procesów przełączania kodów językowych, przyczyny code-switchingu w trakcie komunikacji oraz trzy strategie zmiany kodu takie jak alternacja, wtrącenie oraz odpowiednia wymiana leksemów.

To, co staje się natychmiast widoczne po analizie wypowiedzi imigrantów pochodzenia meksykańskiego w Los Angeles, jest fakt, iż Spanglish jest używany przez osoby z różnych środowisk społecznych i edukacyjnych. Kluczowym elementem ram modelowania socjolingwistycznego jest to, że warunki ekonomiczne i warunki zatrudnienia społeczności meksykańsko-amerykańskiej zachęcają do tworzenia silnych więzi z ich praktykami kulturowymi i językowymi. Niemniej jednak rosnące znaczenie znajomości języka angielskiego dla tej społeczności nie może być niedoceniane, zarówno w odniesieniu do potrzeb gospodarczych, jak i nowych perspektyw kulturalnych adoptowanych przez kolejne młodsze pokolenia.

Ponadto informacje pochodzące bezpośrednio z analizy respondentów posługujących się Spanglish ukazują jego charakterystyczne aspekty, takie jak obecność lokalnych leksykalnych wyrażen, które mają angielskie pochodzenie, a ich morfologia i znaczenie są często nieznane poza obszarem lokalnym. Spanglish składa się również z części językowej i pojęciowej ze świata anglojęzycznego. Podczas komunikacji meksykańscy imigranci w Los Angeles często zmieniają język z angielskiego na hiszpański, kierując się jasnymi zasadami i dobrze przemyślanymi wzorcami mowy dwujęzycznej.

Niniejszą pracę doktorską wieńczy podsumowanie, w którym prezentuję uogólnienia i wnioski z przeprowadzonej analizy dotyczącej sytuacji językowej oraz kulturowej, w której znajdują się meksykańscy imigranci w Los Angeles. Całość rozprawy zamyka rozwiązanie skrótów, bibliografia oraz aneks, w którym zamieszczam wzory ankiet.

Wybrane świadomie dwa zjawiska o charakterze językowo-kulturowym, czyli hiszpańsko-angielska dwujęzyczność oraz Spanglish ściśle ze sobą współistnieją. Tak więc zamysłem prowadzonych w Los Angeles badań naukowych oraz ankiet online było przede wszystkim opisanie oraz ukazanie tej korelacji. Analiza dwujęzycznych imigrantów miała na celu głównie zrozumienie socjo-kulturowych aspektów ich bilingwizmu a także roli obu języków (hiszpańskiego i angielskiego) w ich kulturowej a także socjalnej identyfikacji. Moje badania, którym przyświecało podstawowe przekonanie o języku jako zjawisku kulturowym, obejmuje zarówno badania systemowe takie jak fonetyka, semantyka i

morfologia, jak i ogólnokulturowe, u których podstaw stoi zmiana w systemie języka i modelach komunikacji. Praca doktorska ma więc przede wszystkim charakter lingwistyczny, a wywody socjo-kulturowe zostają podporządkowane zaprezentowanemu oraz przeanalizowanemu materiałowi językowemu.

Należy zwrócić uwagę, iż badania nad bilingwalizmem prowadzą osoby z różnych nauk humanistycznych takich jak historia, etnologia, socjologia, językoznawstwo, literaturoznawstwo, politologia, oraz wiele innych. W związku z tym utrudnia to utworzenie jednolitego wzoru czy też modelu, a także homogenicznej metodologii badań. Tak więc, podejście interdyscyplinarne w badaniach nad kontekstem językowym wydaje się wręcz nieodzowne. Jak pisał Weinreich (1953:4) podejście to powinno uwzględniać tło społeczno-kulturowe oraz czynniki psychologiczne, ponieważ jedynie wówczas zostanie najpełniej ów kontakt zrozumiany.

Nie należy ignorować faktu, iż badania nad dialektem używanym poza granicami Meksyku oraz przenikanie się różnych systemów językowych, wreszcie zjawiska dwu- i wielojęzyczności powinny być oparte na metodach i technikach badawczych wywodzących się przede wszystkim z socjologii. Sękowska (2008:23-24) słusznie twierdzi, że wykorzystanie takich metod umożliwia wykrycie, poza samymi zmianami językowymi, również takich prawidłowości jak sytuacje, podczas których używa się języka ojczystego, chęć kultywowania jego znajomości, wskazanie instytucji do niego powołanych bądź ich odrzucenie.

W związku z powyższymi uwagami w niniejszej pracy, która ma charakter interdyscyplinarny, wykorzystałam, jako główną i nadrzędną metodologię socjolingwistyczną. Bada ona społeczne znaczenie i użycie systemu językowego. Sięgająca swoimi początkami lat 60 XX wieku, socjolingwistyka jest dziedziną powstałą na pograniczu lingwistyki, socjologii oraz innych nauk społecznych. Warto podkreślić również, że ta dziedzina jest rezultatem kontaminacji zainteresowań badawczych językoznawców i socjologów. Język pojmowany jest przez socjolingwistów w dwojaki sposób: jako twór społeczny, czyli zjawisko, które powstało w akcie społecznym oraz jako narzędzie służące do komunikacji i sposób interpretowania rzeczywistości (Grabias 2003:45). Przedmioty analiz socjolingwistycznych stanowią wszystkie czynniki aktu komunikacyjnego a także relacje, które zachodzą między faktami językowymi i społecznymi. Podstawowe pytania, które zadaje owa dyscyplina brzmi: Kto mówi? Do kogo? W jakiej sytuacji? W jakim celu?

Nie można pominąć kwestii, iż dziedzina socjolingwistyki uważa powyższe czynniki (nadawca, odbiorca, kontekst, cel wypowiedzi) jako mające wpływ na całokształt komunikatu. Istnieje bogata literatura na temat stosunkowo młodej dyscypliny, jaką jest socjolingwistyka. Wymienić można tu

kilku badaczy tego zjawiska takich jak Bernstein (1971), Lubaś (1979), Hymes (1972), Grabias (2003) oraz wielu innych.

W niniejszej pracy doktorskiej zostały wykorzystane techniki oraz metody wywodzące się z nauk społecznych, takich jak ankieta, wywiad czy też obserwacja. W latach 2014-2016 przeprowadzone zostały dwa badania ankietowe. Pierwsza z nich miała na celu przeanalizowanie rozumienia zjawiska dwujęzyczności przez opinię publiczną, przy pomocy dokonanej przez nich oceny 15 różnych przypadków bilingwalizmu przytoczonych przez Hoffmann (1991:16-17) (Aneks nr 1). W celach porównawczych w analizie dwujęzyczności wzięły udział osoby zarówno dwujęzyczne jak i jednojęzyczne.

Druga ankieta (Aneks nr 2) dedykowana była wyłącznie do osób dwujęzycznych, którzy stanowili źródło materiału językowego czyli Meksykanów żyjących w Los Angeles i dotyczyła wyłącznie ich sytuacji językowo-kulturowej. W badaniach ankietowych przeprowadzonych online wzięło udział 128 meksykańskich imigrantów, którzy zamieszkują aglomerację miejską z największym skupiskiem społeczności hiszpańskiej. Badanie ankietowe zawierało informacje takie jak dane dotyczące respondenta, np. płeć, wiek; poziom wykształcenia; pytania/stwierdzenia zamknięte, sugerujące wybór odpowiedzi, które są najbardziej trafne w opinii respondenta; pytania/stwierdzenia otwarte, wymagające samodzielnego sformułowania odpowiedzi.

Sześć meksykańskich imigrantów, którzy wzięli udział w badaniach uczestniczyło w czasie dwóch lat w licznych wywiadach socjologicznych, które charakteryzują się jawnością, mają charakter dobrowolny i zazwyczaj indywidualny (Aneks nr 3). Ten typ wywiadu polega na odbyciu rozmowy z osobą biorącą udział w badaniach celem uzyskania odpowiedzi na pewien zestaw pytań. Wywiad socjologiczny zorientowany jest na poznanie opinii oraz poglądów respondenta. Ankietowani wzięli udział również w wywiadach swobodnych, które polegają na luźnej i nieskrępowanej konwersacji z respondentem badanego zagadnienia. Nastąpiły obserwacje uczestniczące, które są metodą mającą miejsce wówczas gdy badacz prowadzi badania z pozycji uczestnika danej grupy społecznej oraz niekontrolowane prowadzone swobodnie bez narzędzi systematyzujących poprzez Skype.

Bez wątpienia w badaniach tego typu ważna jest tzw. *informed content* czyli świadoma zgoda uczestników na udział w badaniach oraz na wykorzystanie zdobytych informacji do celów naukowych. Sześciu imigrantów meksykańskiego pochodzenia przed rozpoczęciem badań zostało poinformowanych o zakresie pracy badawczej oraz celach analizy. Następnie osoby te podpisały zgodę na uczestnictwo w badaniach. W swojej pracy doktorskiej używam jedynie imion osób biorących udział w badaniach, nie podając pozostałych danych, które mogłyby służyć pełnej identyfikacji uczestników badań.

W niniejszej rozprawie świadomie nie zostały zastosowane testy językowe, które określają znajomość danego systemu językowego. Dla celów przedstawionej analizy przydatna jest postawa Grosjean'a (2008:54), według której testy te są wyłącznie dla osób jednojęzycznych

(monolingwalnych). W rezultacie nie są w nich brane pod uwagę ani odmienne potrzeby osób bilingwalnych w stosunku do obu używanych języków, ani też różnorodności społecznych funkcji, które pełnią. Przyjmując w swych badaniach dwujęzyczny punkt widzenia bilingwizmu, opierałam się wyłącznie na samoocenie osób ankietowanych a także własnych obserwacjach. Podczas licznych przeprowadzonych rozmów meksykańscy imigranci wyrażali własne opinie i osądy na temat sytuacji kulturowo-językowej w Los Angeles. Zestaw 51 pytań, na które odpowiedział każdy z respondentów znajduje się w aneksie (Aneks nr 3). Ponadto osoby biorące udział w badaniu udostępniły mi 65 tekstów, stanowiących zapis ich konwersacji za pomocą komunikatorów społecznych takich jak Skype, Facebook oraz Whatsapp. Osoby te oraz ich rozmówcy wyraziły zgodę na wykorzystanie tekstów rozmów w badaniach naukowych. Zwrócić należy również uwagę, że w opublikowanych w niniejszej pracy tekstach użyte zostały wyłącznie nicki.

Z uwagi na fakt, iż bilingwizm jest zjawiskiem złożonym i należy rozpatrywać ją w aspekcie lingwistycznym, społecznym, psychologicznym oraz kulturowym, w niniejszej pracy doktorskiej wykorzystałam nie tylko informacje z zakresu lingwistyki kulturowej, ale również psycholingwistyki ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem problematyki dwujęzyczności.

Warto podkreślić, że lingwistyka kulturowa analizuje przede wszystkim związki zachodzące pomiędzy językiem a człowiekiem oraz grupą społeczną, jego sposobem myślenia oraz kulturą. Za niewątpliwe źródło tej dziedziny językoznawstwa należy uznać m.in. poglądy von Humboldt'a, Sapir'a, Whorf'a, Weisberger'a a także sam kognitywizm. Anusiewicz (1994:10) formułuje definicję następująco:

”Lingwistyka kulturowa jest nauką badającą związki między językiem a kulturą. Język jest traktowany jako jej warunek, implikator, składnik, rezerwuuar, pas transmisyjny oraz interpretator i interpretant zawierający najistotniejsze treści kultury. Podstawowym zadaniem lingwistyki kulturowej jest badanie czterocłonowej relacji: język – kultura – człowiek (społeczeństwo) – rzeczywistość.”

Z kolei psycholingwistyka, która bada procesy psychiczne umożliwiające użytkownikom języka przyswajanie systemu językowego oraz jego użytkowanie, poszerza perspektywy badawcze w dociekaniach nad zjawiskiem bilingwizmu. Językoznawcy, którzy od lat zajmowali się psychologicznym aspektem dwujęzyczności, to m.in. Grosjean (1982, 1989, 2008), Weinreich (1953), Kurcz (2005). Należy jednak wyraźnie zaznaczyć, iż teoria psycholingwistyczna stanowi w przedstawionej pracy doktorskiej badającej lingwistyczny i socjo-kulturowy aspekt dwujęzyczności jedynie tło porównawcze.

Z pewnością zaprezentowane sądy oraz teoretyczne rozważania, które dotyczą zjawiska dwujęzyczności i Spanglish znajdują swoje odniesienie w zebranych materiale. W celu poparcia sądów, analizie bilingwizmu towarzyszyła również wnikliwa obserwacja forów dyskusyjnych

najpopularniejszych portali dotyczących zjawiska Spanglish mającego miejsce w Los Angeles, m.in.:

- 1) <http://www.biculturalfamilia.com>
- 2) <http://www.english-spanish-translator.org>
- 3) <http://www.english-spanish-translator.org/english-language-topics/1497-slang-vs-spanglish-2.html>

## ABSTRACT

The main purpose of the present dissertation is to describe the two linguistic-cultural phenomena arising from mass emigration of Mexicans to Los Angeles. These phenomena are as follows: (1) Spanish-English bilingualism of the youngest Mexican migration, (2) Spanglish, also known as mixed language code that is gaining an increasing number of users in the area of Los Angeles.

In the study some linguistic and socio-cultural issues connected to bilingualism and Spanglish were selected and analysed. The first, theoretical part of the dissertation brings reflections on the popular phenomenon in modern times, that is bilingualism, which in spite of its appearances is not an easy process to describe. The next, research and study part is devoted to bilingualism of Mexican-American immigrants residing in Los Angeles.

In America, immigrants of Mexican origin are subject to influence from the English language which results in the creation of a specific language variety to unite the members of the immigrant diaspora. Among people living in this multilingual environment, the emergence of such a language mixture as Spanglish seems almost unavoidable: young immigrants living in the English-speaking environment are eager to use the new linguistic code, a blend of Spanish and English. In fact, this linguistic construct includes numerous words, phrases, and even syntactic constructions taken from English language.

The main thesis of the present research conducted within the Los Angeles immigrant group is the correlation between Spanish-English bilingualism and Spanglish. As public opinion deemed Spanglish as a blocker for linguistic advancement or degraded Spanish, it is actually a method of enhancing the linguistic system. That is why, not only does the research contest the use of such terms, but it also argues that bilingualism is a much more complex and adequate term as well as an analytic framework for the study of bilingual productions. Spanglish should be understood as a form of bilingualism; a hybrid enriching the linguistic system.

Despite the fact that the above mentioned topics create the core of my research study, I also embrace the contemporary cultural research focus accepting the idea of text as cultural practice. Thus, created by Spanglish speakers linguistic and identity ideologies in cultural productions are also analysed in the present research study.

What is more, Spanglish definitions such as degraded, border language or mongrel do not suffice the complexity of linguistic process and ideologies. The research on the speakers' development of Spanglish also mirrors the necessity of taking the languages into account

while creating the list of factors used to examine Mexican-American identity creation since Spanglish should be seen as a form of bilingual identity.

Unquestionably, the present dissertation led to the basic belief that the linguistic system is a cultural phenomenon which consists both of systemic research such as phonetics, morphology, semantics, as well as the cultural approach forming the foundation of language change together with communication models. Furthermore, the linguistic character of the present analysis includes social and cultural arguments subordinated to the presented and analysed language material.

The study consists of five parts. The first chapter focuses on bilingualism and at the same time it reflects the underlying conceptual framework prompting my dissertation. It foregrounds the study of bilingualism in order to display the core argument for the use of bilingual speech to address Mexican-American linguistic productions and identities they represent. In addition, this part brings together the various fields of study that create the basis for my theoretical and methodological approach to the study of bilingualism from a sociolinguistic standpoint. What is more, this introductory part evaluates the study of bilingualism organised by core inquiries of bilingualism research. Starting from an overview of the difficulty in defining the term bilingualism the conceptual terms used to identify and describe bilinguals are assessed. This leads to an outlining of the processes of bilingual development at the individual and community level, that is, when and how bilingualism develops, is enacted, and studied.

After the confirmation of bilingualism as the critical basis for the conceptual framework of this research, I also posit the importance of Linguistic Worldview as well as cultural studies. The main aim is to approach the often ignored yet a significant relation between language and identity in cultural analysis. I assert that bilingualism should be incorporated into critical study of the representational work of Mexican-American cultural productions, which requires an intimate understanding of the ideologies at play in analysing relations between language and identity, a focus all too often ignored by current scholarly trends in the study of historically multilingual individuals and communities.

In chapter two a survey of the most important features of bilingual speech is presented. Within this part, three core elements are examined: interference, borrowing, and code-switching. These bilingual processes are analysed on the basis of vivid examples either from literature or, as far as possible, from individual speakers' experience.

The third part focuses mainly on Spanglish development within the Mexican immigrant community in Los Angeles. This chapter begins with a discussion on the definition and

description of the phenomenon of Spanglish and its speakers in order to situate the linguistic assumptions and expectations directed at Mexican-Americans as heritage speakers of Spanglish. Further, a review of the linguistic characteristics of Spanglish is presented, its hybrid nature and the resultant cultural ostracism as described by many authors. By analysing how Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles choose to enact their identities as bilinguals, I investigate the social views on Spanglish in order to elucidate the multifarious quality of bilingual identity. Chapter three is finalised by a review of Spanglish contextualisation within American mainstream culture.

Part four focuses mainly on the historical panorama of Mexican immigration flow to America and its influence on ethnocultural identity creation in the area of Los Angeles. The guiding inquiry for this chapter is: What is demographic distribution of Mexican immigrants in the United States? By adopting the conceptual framework presented in chapter one, the diversity of Mexican-American identity outcomes is highlighted by investigating the linguistic situation of Spanglish speakers in Los Angeles. Furthermore, by focusing on the process of bilingual Mexican-American identity development within a group of 128 interviewees of Mexican origin, the variety of bilingual identity outcomes is revealed. In fact, this diversity is prompted by, and not in spite of, shared linguistic and cultural contexts. The investigation into speakers' development displays the need of taking into consideration language as one of the factors that are used to analyse Mexican-American identity development.

The final chapter of the present dissertation includes data analysis on the Spanglish-speaking diaspora living in the area of Los Angeles. This part begins with a review of the factors which contribute to language choice and language use at the community level. The research further takes speakers' perspective on how patterns of choice and use develop and maintain language. For bilingual individuals and communities they live in, the choices available for use within and between languages enhance their linguistic repertoires. As a result, their abilities to represent identities are increased. Each subsection employs various modes of expressing and being bilingual that reveal the unequivocal importance of language choice and use in the maintenance of Mexican-American identities. Thus, I argue for critical recognition of the intricate work through which Mexican immigrants develop their identities by mining their rich linguistic repertoires as bilinguals. Furthering, I continue with my analysis of the immigrants' speech characteristics.

The present dissertation is completed with a summary including generalisations and conclusions drawn from the analysis of the linguistic and cultural situation of Mexican immigrants.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1. Questionnaire for monolingual and bilingual speakers<sup>149</sup>

.....

/DATE/

.....

/GENDER/

.....

/AGE/

.....

/LANGUAGES USED ON A DAILY BASIS/

.....

/COUNTRY/

I am monolingual / bilingual / multilingual (delete as appropriate)

Please select an appropriate number on the scale while answering the following questions:

Definitely not bilingual

Definitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(1) A two-year-old child who starts talking to one parent in English and to another in Spanish.

Definitely not bilingual

Definitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(2) A four-year-old child whose native language is Bengali and uses English among his/her peers.

Definitely not bilingual

Definitely bilingual

---

<sup>149</sup> Based on Błasiak-Tytuła (2011:198-200)

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(3) An Italian student from an immigrant family, living in the United States, who is increasingly using English both at home and outside the home, but his/her older relatives would only speak to him/her in Italian.

Definitely not bilingual

Definitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(4) A Canadian child from Montreal who has spoken English since he/she was born and attends school in which all subjects are taught in French.

Definitely not bilingual

Definitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(5) a young graduate who had studied French for eleven years.

Definitely not bilingual

Definitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(6) A sixty-year-old who has spent a large part of his life working with manuscripts and documents in Latin.

Definitely not bilingual

Definitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(7) A technical translator.

Definitely not bilingual

Definitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(8) A private interpreter for an important public figure.

Definitely not bilingual

Definitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(9) A Portuguese apothecary who reads specialist literature (connected with his/her subject) written in English.

Definitely not bilingualDefinitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(10) A Japanese airline pilot who uses English during his/her work.

Definitely not bilingualDefinitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(11) A Turkish immigrant, working in Germany, speaking Turkish at home and among his/her friends as well as colleagues, who can also communicate in German with his/her superiors and the authorities both in writing and speech.

Definitely not bilingualDefinitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(12) The wife of a Turkish worker who understands and speak German but cannot write or read in this language.

Definitely not bilingualDefinitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(13) A Danish immigrant in New Zealand who has not had contact with the Danish language for forty years.

Definitely not bilingualDefinitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(14) Belgian civil servant who lives in the bilingual Brussels where his/her friends and relatives speak mainly Flemish; he/she works in an entirely French-speaking environment

where his/her colleagues in the office (regardless of whether they are Flemish or not) use the French language to communicate.

Definitely not bilingual

Definitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

(15) A staunch Catalan who works at home and uses only the Catalan language but who knows Spanish from the media and from the local usage; he/she has no problems in communicating in Spanish.

Definitely not bilingual

Definitely bilingual

1\_\_\_\_\_2\_\_\_\_\_3\_\_\_\_\_4\_\_\_\_\_5

## Appendix 2. Questionnaire for bilingual immigrants<sup>150</sup>

**Dear Sir/Madam,**

In order to collect information on Spanish-English bilingual immigrants in United States, this questionnaire has been developed to gather feedback regarding your experiences with the concept of Spanglish. The author values your honest, spontaneous and detailed responses.

This survey is intended only for **Hispanics living in Los Angeles**. The questionnaire should take approximately 15 minutes to complete. Your responses are **strictly confidential**.

### **Background information**

(please mark appropriate responses)

#### **Gender**

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

#### **Age**

- ☐ < 18
- ☐ 18-24
- ☐ 25-34
- ☐ 35-44
- ☐ 45-54
- ☐ 55 <

#### **Education**

- ☐ Less than High School
- ☐ Masters
- ☐ High School
- ☐ College
- ☐ PhD/MD/JD
- ☐ Professional Training

---

<sup>150</sup> Based on Błasiak-Tytuła (2011:201-204)

☐ Graduate

1. What is your country of origin?

.....

2. Do you know/use any dialects? If yes, which?

.....

3. What was your reason of immigration to Los Angeles?

☐ Desire for economic prosperity

☐ Private

☐ Political issues

☐ Family re-unification

☐ Educational prospects

☐ Other

4. Age of arrival to US

☐ < 18

☐ 18-24

☐ 25-34

☐ 35-44

☐ 45-54

☐ 55 <

5. How long have you lived in Los Angeles?

☐ up to 6 months

☐ from 7 to 12 months

☐ from 13 to 24 months

☐ more than 24 months

6. How would you rate the culture and environment of life in Los Angeles?

☐ I remain indifferent to them

☐ They vary but the differences are not big

☐ I personally feel affected by them

7. In your immediate environment, for example among friends, in the place of residence and at work:

☐ They are only or almost all Hispanics

☐ The majority of people are Hispanic

- ☐ The number of Hispanics and other ethnic minorities is comparable
  - ☐ Hispanics are in the minority
  - ☐ They are only or almost all Americans
8. How would you grade your overall language ability in English?
- ☐ Very good
  - ☐ Good
  - ☐ Fair
  - ☐ Poor
  - ☐ Very poor
9. How did you acquire the English language?
- ☐ At school in the country of origin.
  - ☐ During private courses in the country of origin
  - ☐ After immigration to Los Angeles
10. At what age did you first begin to learn English?
- ☐ < 5
  - ☐ 6-10
  - ☐ 11-20
  - ☐ 21-30
  - ☐ 31-40
  - ☐ 40 <
11. Which language do you use to communicate with other Hispanics (in the place of residence and at work)?
- ☐ Spanish
  - ☐ English
  - ☐ Spanglish
12. What is your attitude to the Spanish language?
- ☐ Emotional – I am constantly improving my Spanish language skills
  - ☐ Indifferent
  - ☐ I do not care about my native language
13. What is your attitude to the English language?
- ☐ Emotional – I am constantly improving my English language skills
  - ☐ Indifferent
  - ☐ I do not care about learning English

14. Do you sometimes think in English?

☐ Yes

☐ No

15. When and in which situations do you think in English?

.....

16. When and in which situations do you think in Spanish?

.....

17. I speak better:

☐ Spanish

☐ English

☐ both languages equally

☐ I find it hard to assess

18. I write better:

☐ in Spanish

☐ in English

☐ in both languages equally

☐ I find it hard to assess

19. I prefer to read:

☐ in Spanish

☐ in English

☐ in both languages

20. Skills in two languages:

☐ inhibit acquiring knowledge

☐ facilitate learning

☐ I find it hard to assess

21. I am (tick only one most appropriate answer):

☐ Hispanic

☐ Spanish immigrant

☐ US citizen

☐ worker in US

22. Do you switch between languages within a conversation with certain people?

☐ Yes

☐ No

23. What does the term *Spanglish* mean to you (you can choose more than one answer):

- ☐ Spanish-English dialect
- ☐ Manifestation of being a Mexican immigrant in US
- ☐ Knowledge of both languages
- ☐ Language connecting the Mexican community of immigrants
- ☐ Blend of Spanish and English languages

24. Sentence in Spanglish that first comes to your mind:

.....

.....

.....

25. What is your opinion on *Spanglish*?

.....

.....

.....

26. Give examples of situations in which *Spanglish* can be used:

.....

.....

.....

27. What do you think about Hispanic immigration to the United States? Write associations that first come to your mind.

.....

.....

.....

28. Do you have any comments and/or suggestions for the author of this questionnaire?

.....

.....

.....

### Appendix 3. A set of questions used in the examination of a Case Study<sup>151</sup>

1. Name
  2. Age
  3. Education level
  4. Profession learnt
  5. Current profession
  6. What is the date of your immigration to Los Angeles?
  7. What is the reason of your immigration?
  8. Did you come across any problems after arriving to Los Angeles? If yes, what kind of difficulties did you experience?
  9. How did you imagine the US before immigration? Were your ideas confirmed?
  10. How many languages do you use while speaking? List the languages.
  11. How many languages do you use while reading and writing? List the languages.
  12. Which language do you select for communication:
    - a. at work?
    - b. at home / with family?
    - c. at school / university?
    - d. with friends?
    - e. in church?
    - f. with neighbours?
  13. Which language do you select for writing/listening/reading/watching:
    - a. radio?
    - b. television?
    - c. cinema?
    - d. press?
    - e. internet?
    - f. text message?
    - g. email?
- Attention: If both languages, please note how often.
14. What does it mean if a person is bilingual?
  15. Do you consider yourself as bilingual?
  16. What does *bilingualism* mean: *the knowledge of two languages* or *the ability to use*

---

<sup>151</sup> Based on Błasiak-Tytuła (2011:204-205)

*both languages on a daily basis?*

17. Do you know other bilingual people? How frequently do you have contact with them?
18. Do other people consider you bilingual?
19. Do you think that your level of both languages is proficient?
20. Which do you consider to be your dominant language?
21. At which age did you start learning English?
22. Where did you start learning English? Was acquisition naturalistic (outside of school), instructed (at school), or both?
23. How do you rate yourself in speaking, writing, reading and listening abilities? Do you have any difficulties in the skills mentioned?
24. Do you have any difficulties caused by the knowledge of two languages?
25. Do you mix up two languages while speaking?
26. How often do you use the Spanish language?
27. How often do you use the English language?
28. Do you read American press, watch American TV programmes, listen to US radio stations in English?
29. Do you have any difficulties in communication with Americans? How did your communication look at the beginning of immigration and how does it look now?
30. Have you noticed any differences in your proficiency in Spanish?
31. Do you feel that your Spanish language abilities have deteriorated? Are you sometimes lost for words?
32. What value do English and Spanish have for you? Which do you consider more important?
33. Have you ever come across the notion of *Spanglish*? What is it? What do you think about *Spanglish*?
34. Do you often use English words while speaking Spanish? How often do you mix two languages? Why?
35. Do you have any problems with translating English into the Spanish language and vice versa?
36. Should every anglicism be translated into Spanish? Justify your opinion.
37. Would you like your children to be bilingual? Justify your opinion.
38. Should immigrants who have children put more emphasis on learning the native language or English?

39. Does bilingualism make life easier or more difficult?
40. Do you consider yourself to be bicultural?
41. Do you understand American culture? How would you describe it in a few sentences?
42. Is Mexican culture similar to American? Are there more similarities or differences?
43. Are Mexican people similar to Americans (in terms of personality, behaviour, manner)?
44. What is your attitude towards Americans?
45. Do you feel inferior as an immigrant?
46. What does it mean to be an immigrant? List advantages and disadvantages.
47. Have you ever had a crisis of any sort while living in the USA?
48. What is your attitude towards your job? Are you satisfied?
49. Do you plan to come back to your country of origin? When and why?
50. How would you describe your situation as a bilingual person living in two different cultures? Select the appropriate place on the scale:

SPANISH LANGUAGE  
MEXICAN CULTURE

ENGLISH LANGUAGE  
AMERICAN CULTURE

1                                  2                                  3                                  4                                  5

---

## REFERENCES

- Abalos, D. T.** 2007. *Latinos in the United States: The Sacred and the Political*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Ager, A., Strang, A.** 2004. *Indicators of Integration: Final Report*. London: Home Office.
- Altariba, J., Heredia, R. R.** 2008. *An Introduction to Bilingualism. Principles and Processes*. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Alvarez, L.** 1998. "It's the talk of Nueva York: The hybrid called Spanglish." In: V. P. Clark, P. Escholz, A. Rosa (eds), *Language: Readings in Language and Culture*. New York: St. Martin's, pp. 440-490.
- Anusiewicz, J.** 1999. "Problematyka językowego obrazu świata w poglądach niektórych językoznawców i filozofów niemieckich XX wieku." In: J. Bartmiński (ed.), *Językowy obraz świata*. Lublin: UMCS, pp. 23-67.
- Anusiewicz, J., Dąbrowska, A., Fleischer, M.** 2000. "Językowy obraz świata i kultura: Projekt koncepcji badawczej." In: A. Dąbrowska and J. Anusiewicz (eds), *Językowy obraz świata i kultura, [Język a Kultura 13]*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, pp. 11-44.
- Aparicio, F. R.** 1988. "La vida es un Spanglish disparatero: Bilingualism in Nuyorcan poetry". In: G. Fabre (ed.), *European Perspectives on Hispanic Literature of the United States*. Houston: Arte Publico Press, pp. 147-160.
- Ardila, A.** 2007. "Bilingualism in the contemporary world". In: A. Ardila and R. Eliane (eds), *Speech and Language Disorders in Bilinguals*. Nova Science Publishers: New York, pp. 1-20.
- Ávila, R.** 2003. "Lenguas, medios, identidades: El español y su espacio en la aldea global." In: G. Perissinotto (ed.), *Ensayos de Lengua y Pedagogia*. Santa Barbara: University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute, pp. 39-50.
- Babiński, G.** 1997. *Pogranicze polsko-ukraińskie. Etniczność, zróżnicowanie religijne, tożsamość*. Kraków: Nomos.

**Baker, C.** 2006. *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

**Bartmiński, J.** 2006. *Językowe podstawy obrazu świata*. Lublin: UMCS.

**Beardsmore, B. H.** 1986. *Bilingualism: Basic Principles*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

**Bee Chin, N., Wigglesworth, G.** 2007. *Bilingualism: An Advanced Resource Book*. Oxon: Routledge.

**Bernard, W.** 1967. "The integration of immigrants in the United States." In: *International Migration Review*, Vol. 1 (22), pp. 22-33.

**Bernstein, B.** 1971. *Class, Codes and Control: Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language*. London: Routledge.

**Beziers, M., Van Overbeke, M.** 1968. *Le Bilinguisme*. Louvain: Librairie Universitaire.

**Bickerton, D.** 1981. *Roots of Language*. Ann Arbor, MI: Karoma Print.

**Biernath, M.** 2008. "Różnorodność integracji. Wymiary i mechanizmy procesu integracji." In: A. Grzymała-Kazłowska A., S. Łodziński (eds), *Problemy integracji imigrantów. Koncepcje, badania, polityki [Problems of immigrants' integration. Concepts, research, politics]*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, pp. 180-205.

**Bister-Broosen, H., Willemyns, R.** 1992. "Language status shift in the United States: A European perspective." In: A. Ulrich (ed.), *Status Change of Languages*. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 164-178.

**Blanc-Szanton, C., Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L.** 1994. "From immigrant to transmigrant. Theorizing transnational migration." In: *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 68 (1), pp. 48-63.

**Blasiak-Tytuła, M.** 2011. *Dwujęzyczność i ponglish: zjawiska językowo-kulturowe polskiej emigracji w Wielkiej Brytanii*. Kraków: Collegium Columbinum.

**Blom, J. P., Gumperz, J.** 2000. "Social meaning in linguistic structures: Code-switching in Norway." In: J. J. Gumperz, D. Hymes (eds), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, pp. 407-434.

**Bloomfield, L.** 1935. *Language*. London: Allen&Unwin.

**Borjas, G.** 2007. "A comparative analysis of the labor market impact of international migration: Canada, Mexico, and the United States." In: National Bureau of Economic Research Conference Report: *Mexican Immigration to the United States*. London: The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., pp. 70-125.

**Boroditsky, L.** 2001. "Does language shape thought? Mandarin and English speakers' conceptions of time." In: *Cognitive Psychology*, Vol. 43 (3), pp. 1-22.

**Bosswick, W., Heckmann, F.** 2006. *Integration of Migrants: Contribution of Local and Regional Authorities*. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

**Boztepe, E.** 2003. "Issues in code switching: Competing theories and models." In: *Teachers College*, Vol. 4 (5), pp. 1-27.

**Brick, K., Challinor, A. E., Rosenblum, M. R.** 2011. *Mexican and Central American Immigrants in the United States*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

**Bugajski, M.** 1993. *Językoznawstwo normatywne*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

**Burkitt, I.** 1991. *Social Selves: Theories of the Social Formation of Personality*. London: Sage Publications.

**Butler, Y. G., Hakuta, K.** 2006. "Cognitive factors in children's L1 and L2 reading." In: *Academic Exchange Quarterly*, Vol. 10 (1), pp. 23-27.

**Casasanto, D.** 2008. "Who's afraid of the big bad Whorf? Crosslinguistic differences in temporal language and thought." In: *Language Learning*, Vol. 58, pp. 63-79.

**Chiswick, B., Liang Lee, Y., Miller, P.** 2006. "Immigrants' language skills and visa category." In: *International Migration Review*, Vol. 40 (2), pp. 419-450.

**Cieszyńska, J.** 2006. *Dwujęzyczność, dwukulturowość- przekleństwo czy bogactwo?: o poszukiwaniu tożsamości Polaków w Austrii*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej.

- Cohen, R.** 2007. "Creolization and cultural globalization: the soft sounds of fugitive power." In: *Globalizations*, Vol. 4 (3). pp. 369–373.
- Conture, E. G., Curlee, R. F.** 2007. *Stuttering and Related Disorders of Fluency*. New York, NY: Thieme Medical Publishers Inc.
- Costa, D. J.** 2003. *The Miami-Illinois Language*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Cummins, J.** 2006. *Language, Power and Pedagogy – Bilingual Children in the Crossfire*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Davies, A.** 2003. *The Native Speaker: Myth and Reality*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Dębski, R.** 2009. *Dwujęzyczność angielsko-polska w Australii: Języki mniejszościowe w erze globalizacji i informatyzacji*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Dong, Y., Gui, S., and Macwhinney, B.** 2005. "Shared and separate meanings in the bilingual mental lexicon." In: *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, Vol. 8 (3), pp. 221-238.
- Doroszewski, W.** 1938. "Język polski w Stanach Zjednoczonych." In: *A. P. Prace Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego*, Vol. 1 (15), pp. 220-253.
- Doughty, C. Long, M. H.** 2003. *The Handbook of Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.
- Dubisz, S.** 2013. "Sytuacja języka polskiego w świecie." In: *Poradnik Językowy*, V. 5 (12), pp. 5-12.
- Ducar, C.** 2004. "Hablo tres idiomas: el español, el inglés y Spanglish. Diego, un informante del estudio." In: *Divergencias Revista de Estudios Lingüísticos y Literarios*, Vol. 2, pp. 51-62.
- Dussias, P. E.** 2002. "On the relationship between comprehension and production data in codeswitching." In: C. Wiltshire, J. Camps (eds.), *Romance Phonology and Variation*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 27-39.

**Dźwierzyńska, E.** 2002. "W poszukiwaniu optymalnego wieku rozpoczynania nauki języka obcego." In: *Języki Obce w Szkole*, Vol. 4, pp. 3-5.

**Edwards, V.** 2006. "Education and the development of early childhood bilingualism." In: D. O'Riagain (ed.), *Voces Diversae: Lesser-used Language Education in Europe. Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics*. Belfast: Queen's University, pp. 10-24.

**Eisenstadt, S.** 1953. "Analysis of patterns of immigration and absorption of immigrants." In: *Population Studies*, Vol. 7, pp. 167-180.

**Elizalde-Utnick, G.** 2007. "Young selectively mute English language learners: School-based intervention strategies." In: *Journal of Early Childhood and Infant Psychology*, Vol. 3, pp. 500-510.

**Faist, T.** 2006. *The Transnational Social Spaces of Migration*. Bielefeld: COMCAD.

**Fasold, R.** 1983. *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

**Ferguson, C. A.** 1959. "Diglossia." In: *Word*, Vol. 15, pp. 325-340.

**Fishman, J. A.** 1968a. "Bilingualism with and without diglossia; Diglossia with and without bilingualism." In: *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 23 (2), pp. 28-38.

**Fishman, J.A.** 1968b. *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. The Hague: Mouton.

**Fishman, J.A.** 1972. *Language in Sociocultural Change*. California: Stanford University Press.

**Fisiak, J.** 1986. "Papers and studies in Contrastive Analysis." In: *Collected Works – General*, Vol. 21 (1), pp. 1-206.

**Flores, S. M., Treviño, G.** 2010. "The swirl migration of Mexican-origin students: A cross-border analysis using the Mexican and U.S. Census". In: E.N. Cantu and M.E. Franquiz (eds), *Inside the Latin@ Experience: A Latin@ Studies Reader*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 51-71.

**Franceschini, R.** 1998. "Code-switching and the notion of code in linguistics: Proposals for a dual focus model." In: P. Auer (ed.). *Code-switching in Conversation. Language, Interaction and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 51-72.

- Gabryś-Barker, D.** 2007. *Aspects of Multilingual Storage*. Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press.
- García, E.** 1983. *Early Childhood Bilingualism*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- García, O., Beardsmore, H. B.** 2009. *Bilingual: Education in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. A Global Perspective*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Gardner-Chloros, P.** 2009. *Code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garnham, A., Oakhill, J.** 1994. *Thinking and Reasoning*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gentner, D., Goldin-Meadow, S.** 2003. "Whither Whorf". In: D. Gentner, S. Goldin-Meadow (eds), *Language in Mind: Advances in the Study of Language and Thought*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 3-14.
- Glick Schiller, N.** 2005. "Transnationality." In: D. Nugent and J. Vincent (eds), *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, pp. 448-467.
- Gollan, T. H., Brown, A. S.** 2006. "From tip-of-the-tongue (TOT) data to theoretical implications in two steps: When more TOTs mean better retrieval." In: *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, Vol. 135 (3), pp. 462 – 483.
- Gómez, L. E.** 2007. *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*. New York: New York University Press.
- Gonzalez, J.** 2008. *Encyclopedia of Bilingual Education*. Arizona: Arizona State University Press.
- Grabias, S.** 2003. *Język w zachowaniach społecznych*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.
- Grey, M. A., Woodrick, C. A.** 2005. "Latinos have revitalized our community: Mexican migration and Anglo responses in Marshalltown, Iowa". In: V. Zuniga and L. H. Ruben (eds), *New Destinations: Mexican Immigrants in the United States*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 133-154.
- Grimes, B.** 2000. *Ethnolanguage: Languages of the World*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

**Grinder, R. Otomo, A., and Toyota, W.** 1962. "Comparisons between second, third and fourth grade children in the audiolingual learning of Japanese as a second language." In: *The Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 56 (4), pp. 463-469.

**Grosjean, F.** 1982. *Life in Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

**Grosjean, F.** 1989. "Neurolinguists, beware! The bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person." In: *Brain and Language*, Vol. 36, pp. 3-15.

**Grosjean, F.** 2008. *Studying Bilinguals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Grzegorzczkova, R.** 1999. "Pojęcie językowego obrazu świata." In: J. Bartmiński (ed.), *Językowy obraz świata*. Lublin: UMCS, pp. 40-56.

**Grzymala-Kazłowska.** 2008. *Problemy integracji imigrantów. Koncepcje, badania, polityki*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

**Gumperz, J., Hernandez, E.** 1969. *Cognitive Aspects of Bilingual Communication*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

**Gumperz, J., Levinson, S. C.** 1996. *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

**Gutierrez, D.G.** 1995. *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity*. California: University of California Press.

**Hamberger, A.** 2009. "Immigrant integration: Acculturation and social integration." In: *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies*, Vol. 3 (2), pp. 30-46.

**Hamers, J. F., Blanc, M.** 2000. *Bilinguality & Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Haugen, E.** 1956. "The analysis of linguistic borrowing." In: *Language*, Vol 26 (2), pp. 1-210.

**Heller, M.** 1988. *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

**Hockett, C. F.** 1958. *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. New York: Macmillan.

- Hoffman, E.** 1989. *Lost in Translation: A Life in a New Language*. New York: Dutton.
- Hoffmann, C.** 1991. *An Introduction to Bilingualism*. London: Longman.
- Horwedel, D. M.** 2005. *Neither Enemies nor Friends: Latinos, Blacks, Afro-Latinos*. New York: New York University Press.
- Hudson, R. A.** 1980. "Languages". In: *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: CUP, pp. 30-38.
- Hunt, E., Agnoli, F.** 1991. "The Whorfian hypothesis: A cognitive psychology perspective." In: *Psychological Review*, Vol. 98, pp. 377-389.
- Hymes, D.** 1972. "On communicative competence". In: J. B. Pride and J. Holmes (eds), *Sociolinguistics*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, pp. 269-293.
- Michońska-Stadnik, A.** 1994. "Wiek, pamięć i uczenie się języka". In: *Języki Obce w Szkole*, Vol. 2 (1), pp. 103-108.
- Jakobovits, L. A.** 1968. "Dimensionality of compound-coordinate bilingualism." In: *Language Learning*, Vol. 3, pp. 29-49.
- Jakobson, R.** 1960. *Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics*. New York: New York Press.
- Jekat, S., Ehrensberger-Dow, S.** 2008. "Language separation in translators and interpreters." In: *Journal of Translation and Technical Communication Research*, Vol. 1 (1), pp. 88-104.
- Kalisz, R.** 2001. *Językoznawstwo kognitywne w świetle językoznawstwa funkcjonalnego*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.
- Kallen, H.M.** 1998. *Culture and Democracy in the United States*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Katchan, O.** 2007. "Wczesna dwujęzyczność – sprzymierzeniec czy nieprzyjaciół." In: I. Kurcz (ed.), *Psychologia języka i komunikacji*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Scholar, pp. 156-172.
- Kendall, T.** 2008. "On the history and future of sociolinguistic data." In: *Language and Linguistics Compass*, Vol. 2 (2), pp. 332-351.

- Kindler, M.** 2008. "Transnarodowość. Nowe teorie migracyjne a wyzwania integracji imigrantów." In: A. Grzymała-Kazłowska, S. Łodziński (eds), *Problemy integracji imigrantów. Koncepcje, badania, polityki [Problems of immigrants' integration. Concepts, research, politics]*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, pp. 51-71.
- Komorowska, H.** 1980. *Nauczanie gramatyki języka obcego a interferencja*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne.
- Kroll, J. F., De Groot, A. M. B.** 2005. *Handbook of Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic Approaches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kurcz, I.** 2005. *Psychologia języka i komunikacji*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Scholar.
- Lakoff, G.** 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lambert, W. E., Peal, E.** 1962. "The relation of bilingualism to intelligence." In: *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, Vol. 76 (27), pp. 1-23.
- Langacker, R.** 2008. *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction*. Oxford: University Press.
- Lefebvre, C.** 1993. "The role of relexification in Creole genesis: The case of functional categories." In: S. Mufwene (ed.), *Africanisms in Afro-American Language Varieties*. Athens: U of Georgia, pp. 254-279.
- Lenneberg, E. H.** 1967. *Biological Foundations of Language*. New York: Wiley.
- Levitt, P., Glick Schiller, N.** 2004, "Conceptualising simultaneity, a transnational social field perspective on society" In: *International Migration Review*, Vol. 38 (3), pp. 1002-1039.
- Li, P., Gleitman, L.** 2002. "Turning the tables: language and spatial reasoning." In: *Cognition*, Vol. 2 (200), pp. 265-294.
- Lipińska, E.** 2003. *Język ojczysty, język obcy, język drugi. Wstęp do badań dwujęzyczności*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Lipski, J.** 2004. "Is Spanglish the third language of the South? Truth and fantasy about U.S. Spanish." In: *Language Variation in the South*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama.

- Lipski, J.** 2007. "Spanish, English, or Spanglish?: Truth and consequences of U.S. Latino bilingualism." In: N. Echávez-Solano and K.C. Dworkin y Méndez (eds), *Spanish and Empire*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 197-218.
- Llombart, A.** 2003. "Do you habla Spanglish?" In: *Especulo*, Vol. 23 (1), pp. 1–6.
- López, D. E.** 1999. "Social and linguistic aspects of assimilation today." In: C. Hirschman (ed.), *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 212-222.
- Łozowski, P.** 2008. *Language as Symbol of Experience: King Alfred's cunnan, magan, and motan in a Panchronic Perspective*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.
- Lubaś, W.** 1979. *Społeczne uwarunkowania współczesnej polszczyzny: Szkice socjolingwistyczne*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
- Lucy, J. A.** 1992. *Grammatical Categories and Cognition: A Case Study of the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mackey, W. F.** 1962. "The description of bilingualism." In: *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, Vol. 7, pp. 51-85.
- Mackey, W. F.** 1968. "The description of bilingualism." In: Fishman, J. (ed.) *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 554-584.
- Mackey, W. F.** 1976. *Bilinguisme et Contact des Langues*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Mackey, W.F.** 2003. "A typology of bilingual education." In: *Foreign Language Annuals*, Vol. 3 (1), pp. 30-65.
- MacSwan, J.** 2000. "The architecture of the bilingual language faculty: Evidence from codeswitching." In: *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, Vol. 3 (1), pp. 37-54.
- Maduro, R.** 1987. "Spanglish and its influence on American English." In: *Language Lab*, pp. 1-9.
- Malinowski, B.** 1926. "The problem of meaning in primitive languages." In: C. K. Ogden, I. A. Richards (eds), *The Meaning of Meaning*. London: Kegan Paul, pp. 100-226.

**Mamzer, H.** 2002. "Intercultural dialog on trust." In: *Człowiek i społeczeństwo*, Vol. 20 (2), pp. 115-161.

**Mańczak-Wohlfeld, E.** 1992. "Analiza dekompozycyjna zapożyczeń angielskich w języku polskim." In: *Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace Językoznawcze*, Vol. 235, pp. 1-20.

**Mańczak-Wohlfeld, E.** 2008. "Morfologia zapożyczeń angielskich w językach europejskich." In: *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis*, Vol. 10, pp.113-120.

**Massey, D., Durand, J., Malone, N.J.** 2002. *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

**Massey, D., Durand, J., Parrado, E.** 1999. "The new era of Mexican migration to the United States." In: *Journal of American History* 86 (2), pp. 518-536.

**Meuter, R.** 2005. "Language selection in bilinguals: Mechanisms and processes." In: J. F. Kroll, A .M. B. de Groot (eds), *Handbook of Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic Approaches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 349-370.

**Mikulowski-Pomorski, J.** 1999. *Komunikacja międzykulturowa: wprowadzenie*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej.

**Milroy, L., Muysken, P.** 1995. *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

**Miodunka, W. T.** 1980. *Teoria pól wyrazowych. Społeczne i indywidualne ich uwarunkowania*. Kraków: PWN.

**Montes, M.** 2003. *Get Ready for Gab!! A Crazy Mixed-up Spanglish Day*. New York: Scholastic Press.

**Montes-Alcalá, C.** 2009. "Hispanics in the United States: More than Spanglish." In: *Camino Real*, Vol. 1, pp. 97-115.

**Moradi, H.** 2014. "An investigation through different types of bilinguals and bilingualism." In: *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Studies*, Vol. 1 (2), pp. 107-112.

**Morales, E.** 2002. *Living in Spanglish: The Search for Latino Identity in America*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

**Morrill, D. B.** 1918. "The Spanish language problem." In: *New Mexico Journal of Education*, Vol. 14, pp. 6-7.

**Mostwin, D.** 1985. *Trzecia wartość. Formowanie swojej nowej tożsamości polskiego emigranta w Ameryce*. Lublin: KUL.

**Muysken, P.** 2000. *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of Code-mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Myers-Scotton, C.** 1993. *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

**Myers-Scotton, C.** 2006. "Multiple voices: An introduction to bilingualism." In: *Applied Linguistics*, Vol. 28 (1), pp. 155-158.

**Narrog, H.** 2010. "(Inter)subjectification in the domain of modality and mood – Concepts and cross-linguistic realities." In: Davidse K., L. Vandelanote, H. Cuyckens (eds), *Subjectification, Intersubjectivication and Grammaticalization*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp. 10-45.

**Nash, R.** 1970. "Spanglish: language contact." In: *American Speech*, Vol. 45 (3/4), pp. 223-233.

**Nikitorowicz, J.** 2008. *Kreowanie tożsamości dziecka: [wyzwania edukacji międzykulturowej]*. Gdańsk: Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne.

**Oberg, K.** 1960. "Cultural shock: Adjustment to new cultural environments." In: E. Dutton (ed.), *Culture Shock and Multiculturalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 142-146.

**Olson, L., Samuels, S. J.** 1973. "The relationship between age and accuracy of foreign language pronunciation." In: *The Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 66 (6), pp. 263-268.

**Orsi, L.** 2008. *Spanglish: Identifying Some Motivations a Group of Bilingual Adolescents Had to Code-switch in Informal Social Interactions*. Saint Paul, Minnesota: Hamline University.

**Osgood, C. E., Sebeok, T. A.** 1954. *Psycholinguistics: A Survey of Theory and Research Problems, with a Survey of Psycholinguistic Research, 1954-1964, and the Psycholinguists*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

**Otheguy, R.** 2009. *El llamado espanglish. Enciclopedia del espanol en los Estados Unidos*, Coordinador: Humberto López-Morales. Madrid: Instituto Cervantes & Editorial Santillana.

**Otheguy, R., Stern. N.** 2011. "On so-called Spanglish." In: *International Journal of Bilingualism*, Vol. 15, pp. 85-100.

**Pae, H. K.** 2012. "Linguistic relativity revisited: The interaction between L1 and L2 in thinking, learning, and production." In: *Scientific Research*, Vol. 3 (1), pp. 49-56.

**Paleczny, T.** 2007. *Interpersonalne stosunki międzykulturowe*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

**Paradis, M.** 1977. "Bilingualism and aphasia." In: H. Whitaker and H.A. Whitaker (eds), *Studies in Neurolinguistics*. New York: Academic Press, pp. 65-121.

**Parodi, C.** 1999. "The agreement system of Los Angeles Spanish and the media." In: J. Gutiérrez-Rexach and F. Martínez-Gil (eds), *Advances in Hispanic Linguistics: Papers from the Second Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*. Somerville: Cascadilla Press, pp. 519–529.

**Paternostro, S.** 2004. "The Meaning of Spanglish. What happens when two languages become one?" In: *Newsweek*, Vol. 43 (2), pp. 20-23.

**Paulston, C. B.** 1992. *Linguistic and Communicative Competence*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

**Pinker, S.** 1994. *The Language Instinct*. New York, NY: William Morrow and Company.

**Poplack, S.** 1980. "Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español: toward a typology of code-switching.: In: *Linguistics*, Vol. 18 (7/8), pp. 581-618.

**Poplack, S.** 2015. *Code-switching (Linguistic)*. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa.

**Poplack, S., Sankoff, D., Miller, C.** 1988. "The social correlates and linguistic process of lexical borrowing and assimilation." In: *Linguistics*, Vol. 26, pp. 47-104.

**Ramírez, R.G., De la Cruz, P.** 2002. *The Hispanic Population in the United States: Current Population Reports*. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.

**Redfield, R., Linton L., Herskovits, M. J.** 1936. "Memorandum for the study of acculturation." In: *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 38 (1), pp. 149-152.

**Regier, T., Kay, P.** 2009. "Language, thought, and color: Whorf was half right." In: *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, Vol. 13, pp. 439-446.

**Riehl, C. M.** 2005. "Code-switching in bilinguals: Impacts of mental processes and language awareness." In: J. Cohen, K. T. McAlister, K. Rolstad, J. MacSwan (eds), *Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism*. Somerville, SA: Cascadilla Press, pp. 1945-1959.

**Rodríguez-González, E., Parafita-Couto, C. M.** 2012. "Calling for interdisciplinary approaches to the study of Spanglish and its linguistic manifestations." In: *Hispania*, Vol. 95 (3), pp. 461-480.

**Romaine, S.** 1995. *Bilingualism*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

**Rothman, J., Rell, A. M.** 2005. "A linguistic analysis of Spanglish: Relating language to identity." In: *Linguistic and the Human Sciences*, Vol. 1 (3), pp. 515-636.

**Safont Jordà, M. P.** 2006. *Third Language Learners. Pragmatic Production and Awareness*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

**Sapir, E.** 1978. *Culture, Language and Personality*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

**Sękowska, E.** 2008. "Badania języka polskiego poza granicami kraju - przegląd zagadnień." In: *Poradnik Językowy*, Vol. 7 (2), pp. 23-37.

- Silva-Corvalán, C.** 1994. *Language Contact and Change: Spanish in Los Angeles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Simon, P.** 1980. "The tongue-tied American: Confronting the foreign language crisis." In: *Language Association Journal*, Vol. 63, pp. 12-40.
- Singleton, D.** 2002. "Cross-linguistic interactions in the multilingual mental lexicon." In: M. Hooghiemstra and F. Leeuwarden (eds), *Proceeding of The Second International Conference on Third Language Acquisition*, (CD-ROM). Fryske Academy.
- Skowron-Nalborczyk, A.** 2003. "Europa z chustą na głowie." In: *WIEŻ*, Vol. 3, pp.40-58.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T.** 1981. *Bilingualism or Not: The Education of Minorities*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T.** 2012. "The role of mother tongues: educational goals and models, linguistic diversity, and language rights." In: K. Gya, A. Snively and E. Sperling (eds), *Minority Language in Today's Global Society*. New York: Trace Foundation, pp. 127-161.
- Soler, N. P.** 1999. "Linguistic terrorism at the juncture of cultures: code-switching in the U.S. Latina self-narratives." In T. Hoenselaars and M. Bunning (eds), *English Literature and the Other Languages*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 269–82.
- Spolsky, B.** 1984. "A note on the dangers of terminology innovation." In: C. Riviera (ed.), *Language Proficiency and Academic Achievement*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd., pp. 41-43.
- Stavans, I.** 2000a. "Spanglish: Tickling the tongue." In: *World Literature Today* Vol. 74 (3), pp. 555-559.
- Stavans, I.** 2000b. "The gravitas of Spanglish." In: *The Chronicle Review*, Vol. 13, pp. 1-121.
- Stavans, I.** 2003. *The Making of a New American Language*. New York: Harper-Collins Publishers.
- Stavans, I.** 2014. "Language and hybridization". In: J. Alonso (ed.), *The Future of Spanish in the United States: The Language of Hispanic Migrant Communities*. Madrid, Spain: Editorial Ariel, pp. 300-3015.

- Sztompka, P.** 2005. *Socjologia: analiza społeczeństwa*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak.
- Szulc, A.** 1994. *Słownik dydaktyki języków obcych*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Tabakowska, E.** 2001. *Język, kultura i znaczenie: semantyka międzykulturowa*. Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas.
- Tabouret-Keller, A.** 1995. "Conclusion: Code-switching research as a theoretical challenge." In: L. Milroy, P. Muysken (eds), *Once Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 344-355.
- Tohidian, I.** 2009. "Examining linguistic relativity hypothesis as one of the main views on the relationship between language and thought." In: *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, Vol. 38, pp. 65-74.
- Tokarski, R.** 2001. "Słownictwo jako interpretacja świata." In: J. Bartmiński (ed.), *Współczesny język polski*. Lublin: UMCS, pp. 301-344.
- Traugott, E., Dasher, R.,** 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vermeulen, J.** 2009. "Edward Sapir." In: G. Senft, J.O. Ostman and J. Verschueren (eds), *Culture and Language Use*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 234-247.
- Vertovec, S.** 2007. "Super-diversity and its implications." In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 30 (6), pp. 1024-1054.
- Vieytez, R., Javier, E.** 2001. "The protection of linguistic minorities: A historical approach." In: *MOST Journal of Multicultural Studies*, Vol. 3 (1), pp. 37-43.
- Walczak, B.** 1987. *Między snobizmem i modą a potrzebami języka. Czyli o wyrazach obcego pochodzenia w polszczyźnie*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie.
- Walczuk-Beltrão, A. C.** 2008. "Aquí no se habla Spanglish: The issue of language in US Hispanic media." In: *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses*, Vol. 21, pp. 191-202.
- Wei, L.** 2000. *The Bilingualism Reader*. London: Routledge.

**Weinreich, U.** 1953. *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. The Hague: Mouton.

**Wierzbicka, A.** 1990. "Podwójne życie człowieka dwujęzycznego." In: W. Miodunka (ed.), *Język Polski w Świecie*. Warszawa-Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, pp. 71-104.

**Wierzbicka, A.** 2006. "The semantics of colour: A new paradigm." In: N. J. Pitchford, C. P. Biggam (eds), *Progress in Colour Studies: Volume I. Language and Culture*, pp. 1-24.

**Wierzbicka, A.** 2007. *Moral Sense*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Winford, D.** 2001. "Intermediate Creoles and degrees of change in Creole formation: The case of Bajan." In: I. Neumann-Holzschuh and E.W. Schneider (eds), *Degrees of Restructuring in Creole Languages*. Amsterdam, Holland: John Benjamins, pp. 215-245.

**Zabawa, M.** 2004. "Nowe zapożyczenia semantyczne." In: *Poradnik Językowy*, Vol. 9 (24), pp. 59-68.

**Zuniga, V., Ruben, L. H.** 2005. *New Destinations: Mexican Immigration in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

#### **Online sources:**

**English Language Topics – Forum.** Retrieved June 20<sup>th</sup>, 2006.

<http://www.english-spanish-translator.org/english-language-topics/1497-slang-vs-spanglish-2.html>

**Migration Policy Institute:** *Mexicans Immigrants in the United States* by Zong, J., Betalova, J. (2014). Retrieved: August 13<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/mexican-immigrants-united-states>

**Pew Hispanic Centre:** *Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States* by Dockterman, D. (February 17, 2013). Retrieved: August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2015.

<http://www.pewhispanic.org/2016/04/19/2014-statistical-information-on-hispanics-in-united-states/>

**Slang vs. Spanglish – Forum.** Retrieved: June 20<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<http://www.biculturalfamilia.com/spanglish-right-or-wrong/>

**Thomson Reuters:** *Mexican Immigration to U.S. at a Standstill: Report* by Gaynor, T. (July, 2012). Retrieved: July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2015.

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/23/ususamexicoimmigratinstudyidUSBRE83M19320120423>

**US Census Bureau:** *American Community Survey* by American Fact Finder (2013). Retrieved: August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2015.

<http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF>