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Spanish-English Code-Switching in American Mainstream TV Series

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Spanish-English Code-Switching in American Mainstream TV Series

by

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A Thesis

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Abstract

This study examines how English-Spanish code-switching (CS) has evolved throughout time in American mainstream TV shows. More specifically, it looks at the frequency of CS in shows from the past, 20th century, versus shows from the present time, 21st century. Furthermore, it also investigates which gender (males or females) is employing CS more frequently in both time periods. The study focuses on four American TV shows that include English-Spanish bilingual speakers and that are representative of both the past and the present time. The purpose of this study is to observe if the presence of English-Spanish CS is growing or declining in American mainstream TV shows overtime and how gender is playing a role in CS frequency. Results indicated that on average, based on the shows observed only, CS usage has decreased in 21st century TV shows in comparison to their 20th century counterparts, and that males are employing CS more frequently than females on average. The first outcome could have been influenced by the number of shows observed being small, therefore, only serve as a representation of CS patterns overtime. Lastly, the second outcome could be attributed to the fact that research (e.g. Fischer 1958, Lavob 1966, Trudgill, 1972) has demonstrated that males tend to utilize more non-standard forms of language than females.

Keywords: Code-switching, American TV, Bilingualism, Latino culture

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Chapter I: Introduction

Rationale

The United States has long been claimed by some to be a homogenous and monolingual society, especially in more modern times. However, in reality, the United States has never been a homogenous society (e.g. an all “white”, English-only society), as American Indians have been occupying the US territory for thousands of years, and in the 1500’s Spanish colonies settled in places such as Florida before any arrival of immigrants from the United Kingdom (PBS, 2013). When people, their culture and language come together with others, inevitable linguistic and cultural events take place. For instance, one of these phenomenon is language contact. In the case of the United States, English and Spanish have been in contact for hundreds of years, more so in the past century due to mass immigrations. From language contact situations, sociolinguistic phenomena, such as bilingualism, have emerged. Following Grosjean (1982), I consider bilingualism to encompass “...all degrees of accomplishment, but it is understood here to begin at the point where the speaker of one language can produce *complete, meaningful* utterances in the other language” (p.232). In turn, from bilingualism stems the phenomena of interest in the research at hand known as *code-switching* (hereafter CS), “the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages” (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 1). Furthermore, it has to be noted that CS is exclusive to bilinguals and its significance is greatly misunderstood and underestimated (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). CS is not only present in face-to-face conversations, but it has also made its way into literature and mass media, such as television, to reflect the reality of language use by millions of men and women living a bicultural and bilingual life, and United States, is no exception.

Television has become part of the American way of life since its beginning, and has changed the way we look at the world and ourselves, as well as how we communicate and experience aspects of life that are out of our personal reach (Edgerton, 2009). Television continues to be a big part of everyday life; however, the content and the people appearing in the shows we watch have developed and changed over the years since its birth, not only because of ratings but also due to the ever-changing social and language landscape in the United States. One community that has stood out overtime and permeated into the American everyday life the most, and increasingly into mainstream media (e.g. TV), is the Latino community, along with the Spanish language presence in what used to be predominately English-only programming (Piñón & Rojas, 2011).

In many ways, television reflects what we value, who we are as a society, what we represent and stand for, and the sociolinguistic events (e.g. bilingualism, code-switching) happening around us at any given point in time. Furthermore, Rosenthal (1995) explains that many shows on TV are scripted to illustrate the reality behind the screen. For all these reasons and being a Spanish-English code-switcher myself, my interest in studying English-Spanish CS in American mainstream television series was born. CS has been well studied in academia, particularly among English-Spanish bilinguals in the United States. However, because almost zero CS research tackles scripted television shows (e.g. Dozier, 2016), I aim to contribute in filling this gap by researching CS in television series to see if scripted data emulates the results of research with naturally occurring data.

Based on the information presented and being part of the Latino community in the United States myself, the aim of this study is to investigate the frequency of English-Spanish CS overtime in American television series as well as analyze CS in relation to gender portrayed on

popular TV series from the 1950s to the 2010s.

Chapter II: Literature Review

This chapter provides a background on the literature related to the current study to be able to better understand the linguistic phenomenon being studied. The chapter will provide a brief introduction to the topic of CS, the type of bilinguals who employ it, as well as some factors that may influence its use. Subsequently, it continues with a discussion of the history of Spanish and English in the United States and its manifestations, such as bilingualism and then CS itself. Finally, research describing Latino culture and its influence in the media will be presented, as well as the portrayal of CS on American TV over the years.

Language Contact

There are many reasons for languages being in contact at any given point in time and place; however, some of the most notable are colonialism, immigration and geographical proximity (Thomason, 2001). Language contact can be defined as “contact situations in which at least some people use more than one language” and it doesn’t require “fluent bilingualism or multilingualism, but some communication between speakers of different languages is necessary” (Thomason, 2001, p.1). Language contact situations involve face-to-face interactions amongst individuals who speak more than one language and who are sharing a geographical location at the same point in time (Thomason, 2001, p.3). Nonetheless, it can be argued that in the modern world this is no longer the case. Different technologies throughout time have facilitated and simplified communication, thus, sharing the same geographical vicinity is no longer necessary for language contact situations to occur.

Language contact is everywhere, and although there are some language isolates, there is no clear evidence that language can thrive in complete isolation; but certainly, some language contact situations have been and are more intense in some places than in others at any given

point in time (Thomason, 2001, pg. 8-9). In addition, some contact situations are more stable than others, in that all languages involved are being maintained. For instance, in regions such as Florida and California, both English and Spanish are almost equally employed, primarily, because of their population demographics and migration patterns (high concentrations of Hispanic/Latino descent immigrants). The active usage of both of these languages, is the result of common three-generation immigrant linguistic patterns (first generation monolingual immigrants, second generation bilingual offspring and the third generation English monolingual); however, the number of Spanish speakers remains relatively constant due to the arrival of new immigrants (Thomason, 2001, p. 9).

What is Code Switching?

It wasn't until very recently that linguists have been interested in studying CS in detail (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 9). The most widely accepted definition of CS consider it as the switching between two or more languages. Muysken (2000) explains CS as the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event by bilingual people while maintaining their structural monolingual characteristics (p. 1). However, for the purpose of the current study, the definition of CS to be used is as follows: "A general term covering all outcomes of contact between two varieties, whether or not there is evidence of convergence" (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 13). The following, is the incontrovertible example of English-Spanish CS found in Poplack's (1980) seminal article title:

Spanish-English

(1) Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish **y termino en español**

"...and I finish in Spanish."

Nonetheless, it is vital to mention that CS is a misleading term. Bullock and Toribio

(2009) explain that despite research showing that CS is not the fragmentation of any languages but a skillful manipulation of two (p.4), this linguistic phenomenon is still commonly and erroneously assumed to be a random mixing of two languages. Frequently, CS is equated with terms such as *spanglish*, *franglais*, etc., which more often than not carry negative connotations towards such language varieties. One of these connotations is that CS is “nothing but a linguistic hodgepodge and that the speakers who use them are uneducated and incapable of expressing themselves in one or the other language” (p. 4).

Similarly, CS is frequently paralleled with the concepts of *lexical borrowing* and *loan translations*. In general, Bullock and Toribio (2009) describe lexical borrowing as “the morphological and phonological integration of a single lexeme” from another language and establishing it in another (p. 5). For instance, the English word ‘patio’ and ‘renegade’ were borrowed from the monolingual Spanish lexicon *patio* and *renegado* which mean courtyard and a deserter, respectively. Lastly, *loan translations* or *calques* are “the importation of foreign patterns or meanings with the retention of native-language morphemes” (p.5). For example, some Spanish speakers in the US employ the word *carpeta* to refer to carpet although the word “*carpeta*” literally means ‘folder’ in Spanish.

Types of CS. In general, CS can be categorized into two main types: *intra-sentential* CS (also referred to as *Classic CS* or *alternational CS*) and *inter-sentential* CS (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). As detailed in Zirker (2007), “inter-sentential CS consists of language switches at phrasal, sentences, or discourse boundaries, whereas intra-sentential CS involves a shift in language in the middle of a sentences, usually performed without pause, interruption or hesitation” as in (2) (pp. 10-11).

Spanish-English

(2) **Mi día estuvo pésimo y no me fue muy bien en la clase de biología.** So what's for dinner tonight?

“My day was awful and I did not do so well in my biology class today...”

On the other hand, intra-sentential CS can be illustrated with the following example:

Spanish-English

(3) **Pero los grades** are so bad **también, oiga.**

“But the grades... too, you know.” (Poplack, 2015, p.918)

Regardless of the type of CS, the speaker must have a high degree of fluency in both languages since they need to be aware of the grammatical rules in both English and Spanish separately (Zirker, 2007, p. 11). However, according to Zirker (2007), intra-sentential CS has a higher degree of difficulty than inter-sentential CS. The reason for this is that the speaker needs to be able to shift grammatical rules of each language in the middle of the sentence, therefore, it requires a high level of proficiency from the speaker (p.11).

Who code-switches? As previously mentioned, CS is not a random mixing of languages. In fact, CS requires the speaker to have a high level of proficiency in order to successfully alternate between languages. Additionally, the fact that someone may know two or more languages does not automatically imply that he/she code-switches or that he/she has enough linguistic competence to do so. Moreover, CS is under “the conscious control of the speaker,” and it has been observed that not all bilinguals employ CS in their discourse (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, pg.7). In general, the label “bilingual” is used very loosely and it does not convey any specifics about the speaker's level of proficiency. Grosjean (1982) states:

Bilingualism [...] may be of all degrees of accomplishment, but it is understood here to begin at the point where the speaker of one language can produce *complete, meaningful* utterances in the other language. From here it may proceed through all possible gradations up to the kind of skill that enables a person to pass as a native in more than one linguistic environment. (p.232)

Furthermore, Bullock & Toribio (2009) add:

‘Bilingual’ is a cover term that encompasses speakers who fall along a ‘bilingual range’, a continuum of linguistic abilities and communicative strategies. (p.7)

Therefore, we must take into account that being ‘bilingual’ does not equate to having the ability to code-switch or the desire to employ CS even if the speaker is capable of successfully doing it.

Types of bilinguals. According to Bullock & Toribio (2009), some classifications of bilinguals typically made to refer to the speaker’s language ability level which depend on factors such as age of second language acquisition, quality of input received, the language most used most often, etc. (pg.7). Some of these classifications include:

- a) *Simultaneous* or *early* bilinguals- Speakers who have been exposed to two languages from birth to early childhood. (p.7)
- b) *Second language acquirers* or *late* bilinguals- Speakers who have a linguistic system fully in place when their exposure to the second language begins. (p.9)
- b) *Naturalistic* or *folk* bilinguals- Speakers who learn a second language without formal instruction. (p.9)
- d) *Elite* bilinguals- Speaker whose language learning is primarily classroom-based. (p.9)

It is imperative to not generalize the previous definitions to attest to an individual’s

probability of being a successful code-switcher. However, since CS requires a higher mastery of linguistic structures (especially in intra-sentential CS), the type of bilingual that will most likely be effective in engaging in all types of CS is a *simultaneous* or *early* bilingual because she/he possesses advanced linguistic and communicative abilities in both languages and is able to deploy each as required (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 7).

Why do bilingual speakers code-switch? Just as CS comes in different forms, the same can be observed for the reasons why people decide to code-switch. As Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1975) explain, the relationship between language and social phenomena does exist in the majority of societies in which the speakers “control and regularly employ two or more speech varieties” and end up being associated with specific activities, social characteristics or even the speaker’s personality (p.154).

The social environment or phenomena around bilingual speakers does influence or motivate language use in daily life. Some of the social environment influences that impact an individual’s language choice can be categorized in four main factors according to Ervin Tripp (1968):

- 1) The setting and situation (time and place)
- 2) The participants in the interaction (who exactly is the speaker talking to)
- 3) The topic (work, sports, etc.)
- 4) The function of the interaction (i.e. making a request, offering help, apologizing, challenging etc.)

All of the factors mentioned above are also related to the more specific reasons as to why people employ CS in their daily lives. One reason that constantly is assumed about why people code-switch is because of “laziness.” However, the concept of laziness should be taken lightly as CS

can require more effort and linguistic competence than simply speaking in one language (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p.14).

Furthermore, Grosjean (1982) suggests the following reasons for code-switching:

- a) Filling a legitimate linguistic need for lexical item, set phrase, discourse marker or sentence marker (not to be necessarily equated with the concept of “laziness” as previously mentioned)
- b) Continuing the last language used
- c) To quote someone
- d) Specify addressee
- e) Amplify or emphasize a message
- f) Specify speaker involvement
- g) Mark and emphasize group identity
- h) Convey confidentiality, anger or annoyance
- i) Exclude someone from a conversation
- j) Change the role of the speaker (i.e. to show authority, status or expertise) (p.152)

As reported above, there is a wide range of factors that influence someone’s choice to code-switch notwithstanding a layperson’s rationale (“laziness” or lack of linguistic competence). However, it is true that sometimes, some speakers code-switch because it is an easy way out when they do not want to take the time to think of the words they need in a single language (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p.14).

Domains of language behavior: In what settings do bilinguals code-switch? The concept of domains of language use can be explained in short as the setting in which linguistic behavior takes place.

Fishman (1972) offers the following:

Domains are defined in terms of institutionalized contexts and their congruent behavioral co-occurrences. They attempt to summate the major clusters of interactions that occur in clusters of multilingual settings and involving clusters of interlocutors (p.441).

In regards to language choice in bilingual speakers and domains of language use, Fishman (1972b) adds:

Language choices cumulate into the processes of language maintenance or language shift. If many individuals (or sub-groups) tend to handle topic X in language X, this may well be because this topic pertains to a domain in which that language is ‘dominant’ for their society or for their sub-group. For Fasold (1984: 183), “[d]omains are taken to be constellations of factors such as location, topic and participants. ’Depending on the participants, the young and the old may choose different languages, and they therefore may need to code-switch in order to communicate. (M. K. David et al., p. 50)

The concept of *domains of language use* was formally studied in the pre-World-War II in the field of language maintenance research conducted in areas of Germany. The study focused on examining the linguistic consequences and the various kinds of sociocultural change of German settlers moving in areas where German was not spoken (Fishman, 1972, p. 440). Resulting from this study, nine domains of language were proposed: the family, the playground and street, the school, the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts, and the governmental administration (Fishman, 1972, p. 441). However, since this study, additional domains have been added (depending on the studies’ goals and results) such as the workplace.

Moreover, Fishman (1972) explains:

The appropriate designation and definition of domains of language behavior calls for considerable insight into sociocultural dynamics of particular multilingual speech communities at particular periods in their history. (p. 441)

Examining domains of language use is of great importance since it reveals linguistic and behavioral patterns in any given speech community which can be then related to sociocultural norms and expectations of a particular group of speakers (p. 441).

Spanish-English CS in the U.S.

Even though CS can appear in any place in the world, Spanish-English CS happening in the US is no coincidence. In fact, Spanish has been present in the United States for hundreds of years before any English speaking immigrants settled in the Americas in the early 1600's. In 1565, Saint Augustine introduced Catholicism and the Spanish language to Florida, making it the first European settlement in the United States. Not long after, in 1607, the colony of Jamestown was founded in Virginia (PBS).

Bilingualism and CS in the U.S. As Thomason (2001) states, “in all communities of all sizes, from the tiniest villages to the biggest nations, language contact (which is itself a result of social history) has social consequences” (p.5). One of these consequences is bilingualism (Grosjean, 1982, p. 1).

Coincidentally enough, a great example of a nation that has seen language contact situations (and continues to do so) and has housed bilingual people for several centuries is the United States. The United States, however, has been claimed to be a monolingual nation due to claims of national unity within its borders, but it only takes a few minutes to look at history and current times to realize how wrongful this idea is (Grosjean, 1982). In fact, the United States “has probably been the home of more bilingual speakers than any other country in the world”

especially of those of Spanish-speaking backgrounds (Grosjean, 1982, p. 43).

According to Camarota & Zeigler (2014), the 2013 census released data showing that the number of people who speak a language other than English at home reached 61.8 million, which was a 2.2 million increase from the previous report in 2010, having Spanish as the major player in this increase with 1.4 million speakers, and 38.4 million as a grand total. Moreover, based on population, the United States is the fourth largest Spanish speaking country in the world, only surpassed by Mexico, Spain, and Argentina (Beardsley, 1982, p.15). As history and current statistics show, Spanish is and has been one of the most important minority languages in the United States. These facts not only account for the importance and relevance of the Spanish language in this country, but also as influencing factors in sociolinguistic phenomena (e.g. bilingualism). Another example is the current study's focus: CS in the United States. Spanish-English CS in the United States not only represents a sophisticated "speech style" but also represents the identity of those who employ it in their daily lives.

Duran (1981) reported a study conducted in El Paso, Texas recording and observing a bilingual Chicano family's daily routines at home to provide a more extensive look at Spanish-English code-switching, their speech patterns and their attitudes towards it. The study revealed that approximately one-third of all speech produced by the entire family was performed by employing CS (p.155). Moreover, one of the participants expressed a positive attitude towards CS as she pointed that "it is quite convenient to be able to draw lexicon from two languages" (p. 157).

Furthermore, a study conducted with elite, educated Spanish-English bilingual Puerto Ricans regarding CS and their attitudes towards it found that participants see CS as a "normal part of their everyday interactions", "a natural way of communicating with friends and peers"

and that CS is not employed occasionally, but instead, it is a vital part of their communicative repertoire and “social personality” (Guzzardo Tamargo et. al. 2016, p. 43).

In addition, the study also adds that Puerto Ricans see CS as a result of cultural influences from the United States. On the other hand, not only have minorities been influenced by the dominant culture and language while living in the United States, but they have slowly permeated their way into and impacted what used to be an English-only American culture.

Latino Culture and CS in Mainstream American Television

Despite the negative connotations that CS may have had for some in the past, its stigma is slowly decreasing as CS is becoming more acceptable than ever not only in face-to-face conversations, but also in the digital space, national and global advertisement, and in television (Tuck, 2015). CS is not only important and of interest in academia but also in an ever increasing globalized world. In the case of the United States, the current use of Spanish-English CS in the media by artists such as Colombian actress Sofia Vergara in the American family comedy series *Modern Family* and on her personal media outlets have been popularized and well-received by young bilingual speakers (Tuck, 2015, p.3). This is very surprising as typically it is very difficult for another language to survive and be used by third generation speakers in the United States; however, Spanish “has a relatively high presence in the American society and seems to be stronger than other foreign languages” (Carra, 2009, p.52).

In the United States, there has been a growth of bilingual Latino TV shows that target English monolinguals and Spanish-English bilingual populations especially in the past two decades. Furthermore, while there has been an increase in bilingual Latino TV shows in prime time American television, television’s history has indicated otherwise. Montilla (2013) states:

The under-representation of Latina/o characters and culture on U.S. television outside of

series such as *Ugly Betty* is a cause for continued concern, however; while the proportion of Latina/os in the United States has continued to grow, television story worlds have not kept pace. (p.14)

Additionally, Davila (2000) states that U.S. Latinos have been invisible in both mainstream media as well as in the Latino-oriented media which are supposed to represent them (p. 80). Also, these mediums are not providing spaces for showcasing *Latinidad* (what it means to be a Latino), the differences, characteristics and identity struggles of a Latino from the US and a Latino from Latin America living in the United States (p.81). Thus, not providing space for showcasing *Latinidad*, becomes problematic and further contributes to the stereotyping and generalization of a culture that has significant differences within itself in this country.

Nonetheless, there has been a clear push for Latinas/os in prime time television as a result of the desire to take advantage of a growing Hispanic/Latino population and highlight the issue of Hispanic/Latino culture and language representation in the mainstream media marketing and television (Montilla, 2013).

While there is still a need for more Latinos to be represented in prime time television, the progress is undisputable. In fact, as Piñón & Rojas (2011) state, for the past twenty years the US Latino-oriented television industry has displayed a dramatic growth in the number of networks as well as the visibility of the Hispanic/Latino community in new media institutions targeting this particular community and others (pp. 129-130). More importantly, new Spanish-English language Latino television networks and shows have emerged. The interest in the Hispanic/Latino market has influenced the emergence of English-language Latino-oriented networks, resulting in the ever-growing interest of English language mainstream television networks to include this group in their programming (p. 130). As a result of this phenomenon,

the general structure of the Latino-oriented television industry has been divided into the following main categories: a) Spanish-language television networks, b) Latino-oriented English language and bilingual television networks, and c) Latino-oriented programming delivered by mainstream English-language media (p. 130). Piñón & Rojas (2011) further highlight:

Latina/os have different origins and modes of incorporation into US society and are at different state of assimilation to US culture, and this is reflected in the diverse linguistic and cultural nature of these populations (p.130).

One of these particular linguistic and identity descriptors within the Hispanic/Latino population living in the US is code-switching. CS has become a common and unique feature of English and Spanish contact in the US and is not only showing up as a topic of research but also in popular culture such as movies and television sitcoms (Valdeón, 2015, p. 317). Adding to this, “the presence of Spanish in everyday American life, which includes advertising, literature, authority, warnings, etc., can also be noticed in audiovisual products” (Carra, 2009, pp. 56-57). Cooper (2013) explains that young bilingual speakers are changing the way they perceive and see CS not only because TV shows and artists are displaying it, but also because it helps them to “bridge a gap between two groups and cope with their bicultural balancing act” (pp.221-222). However, with that being said, it has to be noted that it cannot be generalized that all Latinos living in the US do code-switch as CS is still considered to be of low-prestige in some Latino communities (Toribio, 2002, p.115). Thus, differences in roles and status of the two languages are influential in the individual’s switching patterns (Bentahila, 1995, p.77).

CS and Gender

According to Gardner-Chloros (2009), gender is considered one of the most important sociolinguistic categories, and has prominence in the study of CS (p. 82). However, it has to be

understood that “CS cannot be correlated in any direct way with gender, but intersects with a large number of intervening variables which are themselves connected with gender issues” (p. 82).

For instance, research conducted overtime has shown that women tend to use more of the standard form of language than men in monolingual settings (p. 82). Trudgill (1972) explains that a number of studies (e.g. Shuy, Wolfram & Riley 1967, Wolfran 1969, Fasold 1968, Lavob 1966) have encountered that women “consistently produce linguistic forms which more closely approach those of the standard language or have higher prestige than those produced by men” (p.180). Moreover, Fischer (1958) shows that males use a higher percentage of non-standard language forms than females (Trudgill, 1972, p.181). Trudgill (1972) explains that some of the possible factors for this linguistic pattern is that, generally, women are “more status-conscious than men, therefore, more aware of the social significance of linguistic variables” (p. 182). Furthermore, women have a less secure social position than that of men, therefore, it is extremely important for women to secure their social status by linguistically signaling it (p.182). Another study conducted by Shuy et al. in 1967 showed that the usage of multiple negation was used less often by women than by men in all four social classes studied (lower working, lower middle, upper working and upper middle class) (Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros, 1998, p.5)

On the other hand, Shuy et al. (1967) found a different language use pattern between the two genders but only in the Muslim community of Detroit. The study showed that men used more of the standard variants than women within the same social class (Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros, 1998, p.6). In regards to bilingual settings, research in CS of two bilingual groups in the United Kingdom, Greek Cypriots and Punjabis, showed that there were no significant differences between men and women’s CS patterns but instead, the types of CS and the total amount varied

significantly between the two sexes (Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros 1998, pp.23-27). However, in Haust (1995) it was found that men used double the amount of CS than women. These results further support the argument that gender “is not a fixed or stable category across cultures” and that even within a specific group of people, men and women do not necessarily act in uniformity (as cited in Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p.108). Furthermore, in regards to CS, Bullock and Toribio (2009) explain that “the strategies which are typical of women or of men in specific communities, and the particular types of discourse where CS is brought to bear, are often associated with different genders in a given community” (p.109).

The current study will contribute to research on the topic of CS in American TV shows in the past and present, as well as whether CS is employed more often by males or females in the shows. This will allow for exploration to determine if scripted CS employed by the two genders in these shows follow the patterns of naturally-occurred data as reported in previous research.

Research Questions

The research questions to be addressed in this study are as follows:

- Has the amount of Spanish-English CS changed over time in American mainstream TV series?
 - Is the use of CS more prevalent among women or men?

Chapter III: Methodology

Source of Data

This section provides a step-by-step description of how data sources were selected, collected and analyzed. Again, research questions addressed in this study are:

- Has the amount of Spanish-English CS changed overtime in American mainstream TV series?
 - Is the use of CS more prevalent among women or men?

Data gathered for this study came from a list of TV shows found through the researcher's personal knowledge as a viewer, informal conversations with Spanish-English bilingual speakers and by doing a search engine exploration of the oldest to the newest American shows that had any Spanish bilingual speakers in their cast. These shows had to be geared towards English monolingual and Spanish-English bilingual audiences only. Then, in a pilot test, the main characters (individuals who were in the top ten of the show's cast based on number of appearances) of each show were observed to see if they complied with the requirement of being proficient in both English and Spanish. When selecting the shows, if one given decade had more than one show available, the ones with more episodes/seasons available and with the highest critics' ratings were ultimately selected (ratings were based on IMDb). The data sources for this study are the following:

I Love Lucy (1951-1957) - Comedy, Family

Chico and the Man (1974-1978) – Comedy

Modern Family (2009- Now) - Comedy, Romance

One Day at a Time (2017- Now) – Comedy

Materials

The materials for this study were episodes from any given season for each show facilitated by subscription video on demand service providers: Netflix and Hulu (more details on episode selection are described in the 3.3 procedure section below). In addition to on demand services, the publicly available video streaming websites YouTube and Daily Motion were used. Moreover, a stopwatch was needed, as well as an Excel spreadsheet to keep track of data. Specific details are discussed in the 3.3 procedure section below.

Procedure

Shows were viewed from the newest to the oldest based on the year they were first released. Then, each episode viewed was selected based either on the title and/or the episode description provided by the service provider in which the appearance of X character was mentioned. In this way, it was assured that the character to be observed was present in the episode to save time throughout the data collection process. Moreover, the season in which the watching process started was randomly selected. Subsequently, each main character was observed separately, regardless of how many main characters there were in each show. If characters who were not considered main characters were present in the episodes watched but employed CS, they were also observed and counted as it was appropriate data to the study. For each main character, ten minutes worth of speech were collected. For some characters, whose appearances were brief or there was not enough video availability, only what was available to observe was counted.

During the viewing process, the stopwatch was started when the first instance of CS was articulated by the character being observed and was stopped every time the character was silent. The raw count of English to Spanish CS instances per character was tallied manually in a

recording notebook for ease while keeping track of the stopwatch and TV control. Then, to assure the accuracy, the episodes were re-watched a second time. Once the data was collected it was transferred over to an Excel spreadsheet to keep track of CS instances per character and the gender of the speaker (see Appendix A, table 1).

Data Analysis

In order to address the research questions, one data set was gathered and then analyzed in two different ways. For the first analysis, raw amount of CS employed by each character per episode in each show was analyzed, and an average percentage ratio was calculated to illustrate how often CS was employed per minute by each character in each show. This procedure showed how much CS was employed by all characters from shows in the past (from the 20th century) and the characters in shows in the present time (from the 21st century) respectively. Consequently, an average percentage ratio was calculated for each of the time periods by using each of the characters' individual average ratios. This operation gave a general overview of how CS has changed over time in American TV shows based solely on the collected data.

For the second analysis, an average percentage ratio was calculated based on the frequency of CS use among males and females in both groups all together and by time period (20th century vs. 21st century). By doing this, the data showed us the frequency of CS usage based solely on gender, and if the time period had any influence on their speech choices. Lastly, no statistical data analysis data was performed on this data set as the sample size of this study is too small to generalize any results.

Chapter IV: Research Findings

The purpose of this study was to observe how CS was utilized by bilingual speakers over a period of time in American TV shows, considering the 20th century as the past, and the 21st century as the present. In other words, the researcher kept track of how much CS was being employed by bilingual speakers in each selected show from two different time periods to find out if CS was more prevalent in the past or in the present time. I further examined if, given the bilingual speakers observed, males or females were employing CS more frequently in their speech. Out of the nine characters observed, five were identified as main characters, and four were identified as secondary characters. This was determined by the total number of episodes each character appears on each show.

CS by Character

After close examination and based on the average number of CS per minute by each character, shows that Manuel (9.1), Lydia (4.7) and Chico's client (4) are the individuals that code-switched more frequently per minute, in that order (see Table 1). Although, it has to be noted that this ranking is arbitrary as they did not have the same amount (minutes) of data collected as other characters did. Moreover, their average numbers represent the possible speech pattern they would have shown if ten minutes worth of data were collected. In contrast, the characters that code-switched the least per minute were Sonia (1.5), Gloria (1.6) and Penelope (1.8), respectively.

Table 1. Average number of CS per minute by character.

Name of character	Raw count of CS instances	Duration of time observed in minutes	Average number of CS per minute
Lydia (m)	47	10	4.7
Penelope (m)	18	10	1.8
Gloria (m)	16	10	1.6
Pilar	3	1.3	2.3
Sonia	1	0.67	1.5
Chico (m)	21	10	2.1
Chico's Client	2	0.5	4
Manuel	3	0.33	9.1
Ricardo (m)	36	10	3.6

(m)= main character

Furthermore, based on raw count instances of CS, the characters that code-switched more often were Lydia, Chico and Ricardo, respectively. However, these numbers cannot be translated into an accurate ranking of highest code-switchers based on raw counts of CS instances because this data is not standardized.

CS by Time Period

The data on table Table 2 shows that based on the total average of CS per minute by character, the characters in the present period code-switched 2.4 times per minute in comparison to the characters in the past time who code-switched 4.7 times per minute. These numbers show that characters in the past time were code-switching more than double the amount of those in the present time on average, despite shows having fewer characters in that time period. In addition, coincidentally all the characters in the present time were all female and those in the past were males, which will be further discussed in chapter five.

Table 2. Total average of CS per minute by time period.

Name of character	Show	Period of time	Average number of CS per minute	Raw count of CS instances	Total average of CS per minute	Total raw count CS instances
Lydia	1	*Present	4.7	47	2.380045924	85
Penelope	1	Present	1.8	18		
Gloria	2	Present	1.6	16		
Pilar	2	Present	2.307692308	3		
Sonia	2	Present	1.492537313	1		
Chico	3	**Past	2.1	21	4.697727273	62
Chico's Client	3	Past	4	2		
Manuel	3	Past	9.090909091	3		
Ricardo	4	Past	3.6	36		

*Present time- 21st century

**Past time- 20th century

Shows

1= One Day at a Time (2010's)
 2= Modern Family (2000's)
 3= Chico and the Man (1970's)
 4= I Love Lucy (1950's)

Nevertheless, it also has to be taken into consideration that characters in both groups did not have the exact amount worth of data in minutes, which means that the average numbers per period of time are only meant to be representational and not generalized, even within this study.

On the other hand, when taken the total raw count of CS instances per time period, it can be observed that in the present time characters were code-switching more than those in the past. But once again, these numbers cannot be translated into an accurate representation of each time period because this data is not standardized.

CS by Gender

The data on Table 3, illustrates that, on average, males were code-switching more than

women in the shows watched. Furthermore, coincidentally, just like in the time period analysis, female characters code-switched 2.4 times per minute and men code-switched 4.7 times per minute on average. Moreover, these numbers show that male characters were code-switching more than double the amount of female characters in these shows.

Table 3. Total average of CS by gender.

Name of character	Gender	Raw count of CS instances	Total raw count CS instances	Average number of CS per minute	Total average of CS per minute
Lydia	Female	47	85	4.7	2.4
Penelope	Female	18		1.8	
Gloria	Female	16		1.6	
Pilar	Female	3		2.3	
Sonia	Female	1		1.5	
Chico	Male	21	62	2.1	4.7
Chico's Client	Male	2		4	
Manuel	Male	3		9.1	
Ricardo	Male	36		3.6	

Conversely, when the total raw count of CS instances per time period are taken into account, it can be observed that female characters were code-switching more than male characters. Once again, these numbers cannot be translated into an accurate representation of each gender's performance because this data is not standardized.

Chapter V: Discussions

CS in American TV Shows in the Past and Present Times

In this study, research question one considered if the amount of Spanish-English CS has changed over time in American mainstream TV series. The results show that, within the shows observed, CS was employed more frequently in the past than in the present time on average. It was interesting to see that even though the number of characters that belonged to the past time were less than those in the present time, and despite the fact that there were more total instances of CS in the present (85 instances vs 62 instances in the past), it did not matter in the end result. This outcome contradicts what Tuck (2015) predicted about CS in the media in modern times:

Despite the negative connotations that CS has carried for years, its stigma is slowly decreasing as CS is becoming more acceptable than ever not only in face-to-face conversations, but also in the digital space, national and global advertisement, and in television.

However, as mentioned in the research findings chapter, this outcome has many limitations to be generalized in a broad continuum, and therefore, it can only be considered as representational, as well as a very specific result to a study that only focused on four particular shows in two different time periods. Furthermore, this finding challenges what the researcher had anticipated as I believed there was more code-switching being employed in more recent shows based on my personal experience as a viewer. However, some of the limitations that this research question faced, and the entire study as well, could have definitely affected the outcome and may have reflected a different story.

One the limitations that could have influenced the outcome for the first research question is that the sample size was very small. The study only focused on four shows due to time

constraints in the data collection process and overall time to complete the study, as well as the unavailability of some of the shows that could have been observed as well. Also, some characters did not have the same amount of speech observation time from which more accurate information regarding their CS speech patterns could have been examined and tracked.

For instance, the character named Manuel in the show *Chico and the Man*, had a CS average of 9.1 times per minute which was the highest out of all nine characters. So at first glance, it appeared that he was the highest code-switcher based solely on the averages per minute. Yet, Manuel was only observed for 0.33 minutes in which he code-switched three times. Though, it must be kept in mind that the 0.33 minutes only account for the active speech time of the character from the moment of his first instance of CS until the end of his appearance, as explained in the data collection procedure. Moreover, Manuel's diminutive data sample was due to him being only a supportive character who only appeared for a miniscule time fraction in one episode and visited Chico's boss's auto shop for one day. Furthermore, *Chico and the Man* mostly took place in an auto shop in Los Angeles, CA, and only had two main characters, Chico and his boss (the owner of the auto shop where Chico worked at), an English monolingual speaker. Thus, the set-up and structure of this particular show, could have affected the amount of CS possible in the show, and consequently, the overall amount in the past time period. The previous issue is due to the language ability differences between the two main characters, so Chico, was limited to code-switch for a longer period of time when other English-Spanish bilingual speakers were present, such as Manuel and the client.

On the other hand, there were characters such as Lydia from the show *One Day at a Time*, who was the second highest code-switcher with an average of 4.7 CS instances per minute in 10 minutes (which was the baseline for all characters) and a total amount of forty seven CS

instances. As explained in the research findings chapter, taking raw amounts of CS instances as the unit of measure in this case is completely arbitrary as not all characters were observed for the same amount of minutes, but Lydia is the highest code-switcher based on the total amount of CS instances. Furthermore, something that is intriguing is to know that had Manuel been a main character in his show and had the ten minutes worth of data, would he have had such high average of CS per minute? Obviously, this is pure speculation, but based on the averages of the rest of the characters, it is noteworthy to point out that it could have been likely that Manuel's average could have been lower (within the ten minute period). This is based on the fact that the rest of the characters' average differences vary within a few points and even decimals, whereas Manuel's almost doubles the amount of the second highest code-switcher (Lydia). This is something to be noted as Manuel's numbers could have largely affected the results of the overall average for the past time period as well as the overall CS usage by each gender.

It is possible that, if only main characters were to be examined in the study so each individual had the same amount worth of data time, the result of this study would have shown the same result of a higher prevalence of CS on average in the past. However, this would have amounted to only two characters examined in the past versus three in the present. Therefore, time period averages would have been also considered representational as the number of characters per time period would have been unequal and the sample size even smaller (three in the present and two in the past). In this hypothetical scenario, the highest code-switcher based on average and raw count of CS instances would have been Lydia from *One day at a Time*, instead of Manuel.

Lastly, this hypothetical scenario, as well as the study's actual scenario, show that (only within the shows examined) there are more bilingual characters being portrayed in the present

time, even if they are not employing as much CS on average as characters in the past. In other words, both scenarios show that the presence of English-Spanish bilinguals is higher than that of the past's but with a lower average of CS per minute per character.

CS: Gender and Age

The following section addresses the results regarding gender, more specifically, which gender code-switches more, as well as some observations concerning how age may have influence or not CS usage among characters. The results of this particular research study sheds more light and supports the pattern reported in literature: men code-switch more often than women. This result was based on the CS average per minute that each character received had as seen on Table 3. Despite the fact that these averages can only be treated as representational (due to sample size and some variations in speech data availability), the averages of each male character are considerably higher than their female counterparts as seen on Table 4.

Table 4. Males vs. Females

Name of character	Gender	Average number of CS per minute
Lydia	Female	4.7
Penelope	Female	1.8
Gloria	Female	1.6
Pilar	Female	2.3
Sonia	Female	1.5
Chico	Male	2.1
Chico's Client	Male	4
Manuel	Male	9.1
Ricardo	Male	3.6

Age and CS

Gardner-Chloros (2009) explicates that “in most communities where there is CS, there is a correlation between the speakers’ age and the type of CS which they use” (pp. 23-24). Moreover, Grosjean (1982) states that “age plays a key role in language choice”. In bilingual situations, research (eg. Gal 1979, Schweda 1980, Wald 1974) typically points out that the elderly tend to stick to their mother tongue, whereas the younger people mainly speak the native language of the country they live in (p.137).

However, in this particular study, there was one character that stood out greatly and overshadowed the rest because of her unforeseen behavior and the age group she belonged to, as the rest of the characters observed were young (between the age range of 20 to 40 years old approximately) and no surprising patterns arose in their behavior based on their age. Lydia, from *One Day at a Time*, behaved the complete opposite to what the research mentioned above described, breaking the typical elderly and first-generation speaker language behavior patterns. Based on natural speech occurring data research mentioned above, Lydia would be an exception, as there is no research based on scripted occurring data (TV shows) to say otherwise.

What made Lydia a special case to analyze is that not only was she the only elderly person, but as seen in the research findings chapter, she was the character with the most CS instances (47 total in 10 minutes), and had the second highest average of CS per minute (4.7) out of the nine characters observed. Lydia is an immigrant from Cuba who was forced to move to the USA escaping the Cuban Revolution in the 1950’s. She is a widow and a grandmother in the show who has one daughter (Penelope) and two grandchildren born in the USA with whom she has a strong bond and close relationship. Keeping her brief background in mind, Lydia’s behavior was very interesting to note as she did not prefer to speak more in one language or the

other (Spanish or English), spoke fluently in both but with a heavy Spanish accent (which seemed intentional), and only code-switched in specific settings and for different reasons, which will be discussed later. Furthermore, she appeared to be very gratified of being able to code-switch and speak in either of the two languages.

Some ways to explain Lydia's unconventional linguistic behavior and attitude towards her second language (English) could be attributed to a few factors. One of factors could be the nature of the show (geared towards English monolinguals and English-Spanish bilinguals) in which she appears, therefore, controlled by script writers and not the individual's real self. In addition, Lydia was an eighteen-year old girl when she emigrated from Cuba, therefore, English could have taken the level of another first language in her life instead of a second or foreign language. Based on these observations, Lydia who is supposed to be a first-generation migrant displayed more characteristics of a second-generation migrant, as Alfonzetti (2005) explains:

Second-generation migrants, on the contrary, develop a balanced bilingualism which allows a more frequent and fully functional type of CS to emerge, especially in peer group interaction, where very rapid CM is positively evaluated as a way to express an ethnically mixed, plural identity.

Moreover, Lydia could also be prioritizing family bonds over personal ideologies or needs in order to be part of her daughter and grandchildren's lives (as they all live together in the same home). M.K. David et al. (2009) explains:

Language is crucial as the foundation for close bonding among family members. Relationships in families are greatly strengthened when members communicate effectively. Furthermore, language also plays an important role in maintaining trust and

solidarity among family members. Indeed, purposive and meaningful communication has a significant role to play in strengthening the bonds within families. Such strengthening of relationships can be achieved using appropriate discourse norms that foster better understanding and trust. These discourse norms must also be couched in a language understandable by both the young and the elderly in a particular speech community.

The character Lydia demonstrated that exceptions to the rules do exist, and that, might start becoming more frequent as time passes by and how modern society keeps evolving, as well as elderly people possibly becoming more aware and giving priority to strengthening connections with all family members. Moreover, it was observed that level of education or professions among all bilingual speakers observed varied. This illustrates that no particular category such as no education, some education, or high degree of education could be used to describe the characters code-switching in these shows. Although, it appeared that all characters were part of the middle class, except for one (Gloria) whom was part of the upper-middle class through her husband's social status.

Domains of Language Use and Language Choice

In addition to the research questions at hand in this study, there were other aspects of CS that were interesting to observe and add to the discussion, such as domains of language use and reasons for CS among the characters in the shows selected. Note that these are only observations and examples that will need further examination in future research in order to generalize any of the current findings in this study.

In this study, it was found that out of the 147 total instances of CS from all characters observed, the home/family domain was the most dominant with a 78% as shown in Figure 1 and

table 5. This was then followed by the employment domain with 19 % and the outing domain with a 3%, approximately.

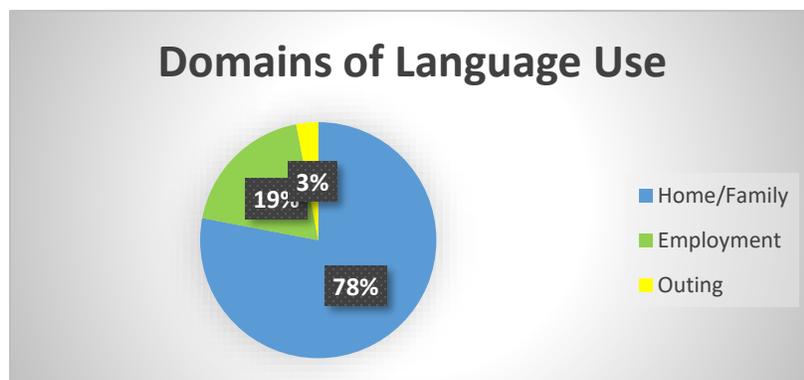


Figure 1. Domains of Language Usage Pie Chart

Table 5. Domains of Language Usage Results

Name	Show	Family/Home	Employment	Outing	Total
Lydia	1	47			47
Penelope	1	16	2		18
Gloria	2	13		3	16
Pilar	2	3			3
Sonia	2			1	1
Chico	3		21		21
Chico's Client	3		2		2
Manuel	3		3		3
Ricardo	4	36			36
TOTAL		115	28	4	147

Shows

1= One Day at a Time (2010's)

2= Modern Family (2000's)

3= Chico and the Man (1970's)

4= I Love Lucy (1950's)

Despite the fact that these findings mirror scripted language, they do correlate with some research based on natural occurring data. For instance, it can be argued that it is no surprise that the home/family domain was the highest as “the degree of intimacy between the speakers is very important” as well as the location of the interaction when making decisions regarding language choice (Grosjean, 1982, pp. 137-138). Rubin (1968) reports that Guarani-Spanish bilinguals in Paraguay, “use Spanish with strangers or mere acquaintances, whereas with friends (drinking tea, being angry, saying something intimate, joking) they switch to Spanish”, which is their second language (Grosjean, 1982, p. 138). Furthermore, Baker (1975) also reports that “in intimate or familial relations, Spanish is almost universally dominant in Tucson’s Mexican community” (Grosjean, 1982, p. 139).

The following generalizations may be based on that the results of this study regarding domains of language could be possibly influenced by the following factors:

- a) All shows, with the exception of *Chico and the Man*, are about immigrant families/characters living in the USA and whose interactions in the shows take place in the family/home setting mostly.
- b) As observed in Table 5 most of the male characters’ interactions took place in the employment domain, which can be attributed to the fact that the show in which they appeared took place in the past (20th century) where gender roles highly shaped the society of those times (e.g. males out working and females staying home with the kids).
- c) The only character that code-switched in the employment domain was Penelope, who is the only female character that had a job out of all observed.

Language Choice and Reasons for CS

One of the topics that was fascinating to observe and to include in this study was the exploration of why the characters made the decisions portrayed in their shows regarding their language choice for code-switching. Unfortunately, due to weakness in the initial data collection process procedures and time constraints, these results are only presented here to provide a broad overview and examples of what were the common reasons for CS in both time periods, the present and the past, as well as to inspire future research on this fascinating topic.

Furthermore, Grosjean (1982) adds:

In a bilingual setting involving two or more languages, we find that... not only can bilingual speakers choose among different varieties of a language but, when speaking to other bilinguals, they can also choose between two languages. Whereas a monolingual can only switch from one variety to another (colloquial to formal, for instance) in one language, a bilingual may change varieties in one language, change languages, or do both. (p. 128)

With this in mind, the exploration of reasons of CS among all the characters in the four shows examined started by keeping track of the next broad categories grounded on the framework presented by Grosjean (1982) and then, found in the speech patterns of the characters at hand: specify addressee, fill a linguistic need, amplify or emphasize, exclude someone from a conversation, and expressing feelings (p.152). However, not all instances of CS in these show fell under these categories, therefore, the researcher added more based on the nature of the CS instances such as telling a story, colloquial expressions, mothering and speech acts (as listed in table 6).

Table 6. Raw Count of Top Reasons for CS

Specify Addressee	Fill a Linguistic Need	Amplify or Emphasize	Story Telling	Colloquial Ex	Expressing Feeling				
					Anger	Disgust	Joy	Surprise	Trust
12	1	5			4				
5				2					
3	4	2			1				
					1				
4		2		1	2				2
1							1		
2	1	10	3	5	3			2	1
27	6	19	3	8	11	0	1	2	3
27	6	19	3	8	17				

Furthermore, as you will see on the tables where the raw count of reasons for CS were logged (see appendix A), some categories were broken down even more to be more specific when categorizing each instance. As listed in Table 7 below, the speech acts of stating and discussing had the highest mark of CS instances.

Table 7. Raw Count of Top Reasons for CS: Speech Acts

Speech Acts (SA)- Constatives		SA-Directives		SA- Commissives Insult	SA-Acknowledgments		
Stating	Discuss	Request	Order		Thanking	Greeting	Apology
3	10			1	1	5	3
	1		2	6	1	1	
	4					1	1
			1				
5		2				3	
					1		1
					1		
3	3					3	
11	18	3	4	11	6	8	3
29		7		11	17		

Within the category of the speech acts of stating and discussion, the topic of discussion revolved around family matters, as well as personal information. It was also found that a vast majority of the CS instances in the specific category of *stating*, speakers employed them intra-sententially as illustrated in example (1):

Stating

(1) Yo no entiendo como **these men and women all want to be the same.**

“I don’t understand how these men and women all want to be the same.”

(Lydia, *One Day at a Time*)

Furthermore, in the other category in which intra-sentential CS occurred was story telling as illustrated in example (2):

(2) Story Telling

Now. Once upon a time, había una muchachita muy bonita que le decían Caperucita Roja, porque siempre tenía un **red bonnet.**

“Now. Once upon a time, there was a very pretty girl called Red Riding Hood, because she always wore a red bonnet.”

(Ricardo, *I Love Lucy*)

Other than in these two categories, stating (speech act) and storytelling, intra-sentential CS was rarely used by the characters in the shows examined, although, their linguistic competence could have allowed them to do so. On the other hand, it can also be speculated that the lack of intra-sentential CS utilized by these characters could be due to the nature of the data, as well as intentional decisions by the script writers to keep English as the main language of the shows,

since they are geared towards English monolinguals. Lastly, in regards to intra-sentential CS, it appears that the characters only employed it when speaking to another bilingual who would be able to understand completely or passive bilinguals (characters who understand the second language but could not speak it), only with the exception of Ricardo telling a story to his infant child.

Specifying an addressee was the second highest category in CS instances and, overall, it seemed like the most used (as stating and discussion were combined into one category) by the majority of characters. Here are some examples:

Specify addressee

(3) **Papito, let's go! You know I got a bum shoulder. I need help over here.**

“Daddy, let's go! You know I got a bum shoulder.”

(Penelope, *One Day at a Time*)

(Note that the ending in the word *papito*, specifies the gender of the addressee in Spanish.

In this case, Penelope was talking to her son)

(4) **¡Mami! I told you this morning that I was gonna cook tonight.**

Mommy! I told you this morning that I was gonna cook tonight.

(Penelope, *One Day at a Time*)

When specifying the addressee it was observed that characters used terms of endearment in Spanish to specify the addressee very frequently, unless the characters were angry. If characters were angry or upset, they called the person by their first name in most cases.

It may or may not come as a surprise that insulting was one of the highest categories for which characters code-switched all the time, instead of insulting English. It is challenging to

speculate if characters preferred to insult in Spanish because they might see it as their first language, therefore, are more comfortable doing it due to longer exposure to the language. Of course, as with the rest of the data, this could have been an intentional decision by the script writers to keep swear words or insults in the language that, maybe, most people watching wouldn't understand in general. However, most of the insults used are not really considered swear words or cruel profanity in Spanish as seen in example (5) (6) (7), but with the exception of example (8):

Insulting

(5) **You need to do something about this little** sinvergüenza.

“You need to do something about this little bounder.”

(6) **Mrs. Doyle is in exam room three and I swear to God, if that** vieja **calls me Maria one more time...**

“Mrs. Doyle is in exam room three and I swear to God, if that old hag calls me Maria one more time...”

(7) **But I've actually got some good stuff to talk about today, so hopefully I can through it without being interrupted by Scott the freakin' bobo.**

“But I've actually got some good stuff to talk about today, so hopefully I can through it without being interrupted by Scott the freakin' bobo.”

(8) **I quit my job because I found out that comemierda Scott makes more than I do, and he's only been there one month.**

I quit my job because I found out that shit-eating asshole Scott makes more than I do, and he's only been there one month.

When insulting took place, I noticed that characters did not care if the interlocutor understood their insult or not. In other words, it did not matter if they were insulting someone directly or indirectly and if they understood the word or not. In addition, when some of the insults were conveyed, the characters were not mad but frustrated. Frustration was a common state of being when insults arose.

Additionally, there was a close observation as to how the characters behaved in the presence or absence of other bilinguals. For instance, the researcher was anticipating to hear bilinguals borrowing idiomatic expressions (which were not going to count for CS in this study) and then translating them into the language they were speaking (loanshift creations¹), but there was no record of any during the times that each characters were observed.

Even though this study was not focused on grammatical aspects of CS, some broad observations were also made during the data collection process. It was noticed that more than half of the total CS instances were either one or two-word switches (e.g. nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc.) such as in examples (9), (10) and (11).

(9) ...**Besides, your abuelo, God rest his soul, did not marry me for my mind.**

... Besides, your grandfather, God rest his soul, did not marry me for my mind.

(10) **I know mami, I let her do math, too. I'm a monster.**

I know mommy, I let her do math, too. I'm a monster.

(11) **¡Elena, ven aca! Come out here honey.**

Elena, come here! Come out here honey.

¹ Note: Loanshift creations are also known as calques or loan translations.

Lastly, longer switches were indeed used, but very rarely. The only cases when longer switches (e.g. noun, verb or prepositional phrases, clauses, etc.) were employed were during storytelling such as example (2) for instance.

Chapter VI: Conclusion

Based on this study it can be concluded that English- Spanish CS in American mainstream TV shows is certainly present now, although, the findings on the examination of the selected shows demonstrated that there was more CS presence in the past than in today's time on average. Nevertheless, there are more shows that portrayed bilingual speakers in today's time than there were in the past which could indicate the higher acceptance of the reality of millions of speakers that speak more than two languages in the United States. Linguistic phenomena such as CS is undoubtedly grabbing the attention of not only linguists and people in academia, but also script writers and others alike. In addition, it was found that males are employing more CS in their speech on average than females, following the patterns of research findings on language differences based on gender communicated throughout this study. However, these findings are to be taken with a grain of salt and understood as a representation of one small segment of available data from a much broader picture. It is important to add that it must be kept in mind that there are no research studies similar to the study at hand at this point in time to draw comparisons from, and therefore further research on these topics have to be conducted.

Limitations

As it was briefly mentioned in the discussion chapter, there were numerous limitations for the realization of this study. First of all, instead of looking at data differences between two periods of time (present vs past), the idea first planned was to look at and compare the growth of CS in American TV shows throughout time by decade, therefore, shows were selected to represent each decade. However, availability of shows that could have been watched, either via video subscription services or through access in the worldwide web, was non-existent. This reduced the amount of shows to be examined. Furthermore, while collecting data, one of the shows that was supposed to

be watched from the 1980's decade through free access in the web, became unavailable and only a couple of short clips were found through YouTube with very insignificant and inadequate amount content for this particular study. As a result, that decade was non-existent in the study. A similar case was the 1990's decade, as there were no shows found that portrayed true bilinguals in them, therefore, also non-existent among the data sources. Moreover, limitations were also faced in regards to finding an equal number of characters on each show so that analysis by decades could have been performed and be able to perform statistical tests to further enrich the study. Due to this, a different data analysis had to be taken to demonstrate and understand the data that the collection process gave in regards to the growth of CS throughout time in American TV shows.

Lastly, another limitation that this study faced was a weakness in the collection process procedure for collecting data regarding domains of language use. Initially, it was planned to research in which domains of language were characters in the selected shows code-switched the most. Because of lack of understanding of statistical procedures and time constraints, only raw counts of data were collected.

Future Directions

The following recommendations for future research aim to inspire the exploration of different aspects of English-Spanish CS in American mainstream TV shows as well as to expand and enrich the current study at hand. Therefore, the recommendations for future research are as follows:

- a. The sample size needs to be broadened to be able to generalize findings. This means, a much detailed search of shows needs to be conducted in order to have more comprehensive data sources.

- b. Include all shows found that meet all the requirements as data sources, without narrowing down or randomly selecting some to be studied as this will most likely provide similar findings as the current study at hand (not generalizable).
- c. Dedicate more time to conduct this type of study so that data collection procedures are not weakened because of time constraints.
- d. Expand the viewing time per character in order to have a more accurate presentation of their linguistic speech patterns, and not just a snapshot, especially if your sample size is very small.
- e. Create a data collection procedure for domains of language use in which data findings are standardized and can be used in statistical testing, and/or be used to answer a research questions related to this topic.
- f. Similar studies can look into grammatical aspects of English- Spanish CS in American TV shows, such as providing accurate information of what is most frequently used, one or two-word switches or longer switches (noun, verb, prepositional phrases, clauses, etc.). Furthermore, another aspect that can be looked at is what parts of speech are being frequently used when code-switching.

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Appendix A: Excel Spreadsheet

Name	Show	Gender	Duration in minutes	CS counts
Lydia	1	1	10	47
Penelope	1	1	10	18
Gloria	2	1	10	16
Pilar	2	1	1.3	3
Sonia	2	1	0.67	1
Chico	3	2	10	21
Chico's Client	3	2	0.5	2
Manuel	3	2	0.33	3
Ricardo	4	2	10	36

Initial Collection

Appendix B: Raw Count of Reasons for CS

Specify Addressee	Fill a Linguistic Need	Amplify or Emphasize	Story Telling	Exclude Someone from a Conversation	Colloquial Ex	Mothering
12	1	5		1		
5					2	
3	4	2				
						2
4		2			1	
1						
2	1	10	3		5	
27	6	19	3	1	8	2

Expressing feelings				
Anger	Disgust	Joy	Surprise	Trust
4				
1				
1				
2				2
		1		
3			2	1
11	0	1	2	3
17				

Speech Acts-Acknowledgments		
Thanking	Greeting	Apology
3		1
1	1	
	1	1
	3	
1		1
1		
	3	
6	8	3
17		

Speech Acts- Constatives		Speech Acts- Directives		Speech Acts -Commissives
Stating	Discuss	Request	Order	Insult
3	10	1	1	5
	1		2	6
	4			
			1	
5		2		
3	3			
11	18	3	4	11
29		7		11