

A FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF SPANISH/ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING IN SPANISH LANGUAGE TALK SHOWS

by

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(Under the Direction of Dr. Sarah E. Blackwell)

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the discourse functions of Spanish/English code-switching present in Spanish language talk shows. Code-switching is a linguistic phenomenon that involves the mixing of two or more languages in discourse by bilinguals. The alternation of languages is a communicative tool used by bilingual speakers to employ discourse/pragmatic strategies much in the same way as a variety of linguistic registers or styles are used by the monolingual speaker. This study provides a critical overview of the most influential studies of the structural and sociolinguistic dimensions of code-switching, and focuses on the major empirical works that have examined the discourse functions of code-switching in interaction. It then analyzes the discourse/pragmatic functions carried out by code-switching in the data obtained from the transcriptions of two talk shows in Spanish. The data reveal that code-switching carries out a wide range of discourse functions in conversation beyond that of supplying a forgotten word or filling a lexical gap. Finally, directions for future research are discussed, including examining pragmatic functions carried out by code-switching in other mediums where multilingual conversation takes place.

INDEX WORDS: Bilingualism; Code-switching; Conversation Analysis; Discourse Functions; Interaction

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study analyzes the discourse/pragmatic functions of Spanish-English code-switching in a multi-media setting, a Spanish language talk show in the United States. Code-switching is the term used to describe the mixing of two or more languages in discourse by bilinguals (Poplack 1980). This alternation of codes was initially thought to indicate mental confusion in the form of random language mixing, and according to Lipski (1985), was seen as a lack of linguistic skill evidenced by the inability of speakers to separate the two languages. Yet researchers (Gumperz 1982; Poplack 1980; Zentella 1990) have recently shown that code-switching, beyond that of replacing a forgotten word or phrase, carries out many social and discourse functions and actually indicates a complex interaction between the two languages, as evidenced by speakers' ability to switch at certain syntactic boundaries that maintain the grammatical integrity of both languages at the same time.

This study 1) identifies the ways in which code-switching has been examined following various approaches (socio-cultural, grammatical, discourse/pragmatic, etc.); 2) analyzes the specific discourse/pragmatic functions carried out by Spanish/English code-switching in the dialogue of Spanish language talk shows; 3) examines what the speakers accomplish in conversation by switching codes in order to bring about stylistic effects (attention attraction, emphasis, humor, mitigation, etc.); and 4) explores topics for further research on the functions of Spanish/English code-switching in other mediums (e.g. computer-mediated communication, radio shows, classrooms, etc.).

As the number of Hispanics living in the United States has grown and thus created greater contact between Spanish and English and increased the number of bilinguals, code-

switching has become one of the most salient characteristics among this speech community. Specifically, this linguistic manipulation of Spanish and English by Latinos in the United States can be at the same time revered and assailed, both for promoting the maintenance of the Spanish language in the context of English, and contributing to its demise, which causes language purists, according to Álvarez (1997:1), to “denounce the mixing of the two languages as evidence of a lack of linguistic knowledge and the product of laziness and ignorance.” This study, however, contends that code-switching is a common phenomenon in bilingual communities and that it carries out many socio-pragmatic functions, demonstrating motivations beyond the scope of just conveying untranslatable items and filling lexical gaps. Moreover, the approach to this analysis of language switching is born out of a desire to understand the way in which multilingual speakers make use of the languages at their disposal, and specifically in the case of this study, where the minority language (Spanish) of a country is used as the primary language of communication in a multi-media setting reaching a wide audience.

The alternation of languages is distinguished into different types of switching: intersentential, intrasentential, and single noun/tag switching, which oftentimes comes in the form of discourse markers (*so, you know, I mean, etc.*). Intersentential switching refers to the shifting of languages at sentence boundaries, which are oftentimes major discourse boundaries:

(1) It's time to go. *¿Dónde está tu hermana?* (Where is your sister?)

¿Qué pasa? (What's up/wrong?) Why aren't you ready?

By contrast, intrasentential switching is characterized by a more complex shifting of the first language to the second in the middle of a sentence, constituent, or even word (Lipski 1985):

(2) Why make Carol *sentarse atrás pa' que* (sit in the back so) everybody has to move *pa' que se salga* (for her to get out)?

He was sitting down *en la cama, mirándonos peleando*, y (in bed, watching us fight and) really, I don't remember *si él nos separó* (if he separated us) or whatever, you know (Poplack 1980: 589)

The final category of switching is comprised of single noun and tag switches. Poplack (1980) observes that the ease with which single nouns can be switched, as in (3) below, relate to the fact that of all grammatical categories, it has been observed to be the most frequently switched. Tag switches, according to Poplack (1980), are characterized as more freely moveable constituents that may appear in different locations in the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical rule.

(3) *Salían en sus carros y en sus* (they would go out in their cars and in their) snowmobiles (Poplack 1980:589)

Pues, el bate es un palo de madera (well, the bat is a stick of wood) you know?

Poplack (1980) points out that code-switching before the early seventies was negatively viewed and stigmatized as a grammarless debasement of language with no apparent linguistic structure. Weinrich (1953:73) noted that the ideal bilingual is one who “switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutor, topics, etc.) but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence.” A few decades later, several researchers (e.g. Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1980) observed code-switching as the norm rather than the exception in many bilingual speech communities and demonstrated the common occurrence of intra-sentential switching within a bilingual speaker's repertoire. Moreover, code-switching has been shown to be a rule-governed phenomenon in that on the structural level, studies have demonstrated it to be governed by linguistic constraints (Poplack 1980), and on the functional level, language alternation has been shown to carry out different functions in discourse and to be used as a communicative strategy (e.g. Gumperz 1982; Myers-

Scotton 1988; Nishimura 1995). Gumperz (1982) suggests the importance of viewing code-switching as a discourse mode, or communicative tool available to bilingual speakers much in the same way as a variety of linguistic registers or styles are available to the monolingual speaker. Bilinguals utilize two languages or codes to alternate between communicative registers as discourse/pragmatic strategies during conversation.

The functions of code-switching have been examined extensively (e.g. Auer 1984; Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1982; Sánchez 1983; Heller 1988; Romaine 1989; Myers-Scotton 1988; Nishimura 1995). Two major approaches have emerged in the studies that have sought to analyze the functions of code-switching: those that identify the symbolic effects that code-switching conveys, and those that examine the specific tasks that are accomplished through code-switching (Nishimura 1995). The symbolic-oriented studies assume that the two languages present in the speech community represent two separate groups, each with their own identities, attitudes, and values, and that by utilizing one variety or another, we can better explain the bilinguals' communicative behavior. The task-oriented studies seek to understand specifically what bilingual speakers do in interaction with the languages available to them in their speech community (Nishimura 1995).

Since code-switching is inherently multifunctional and complex, and switching behavior among bilingual speech communities is not monolithic, it is important to understand that no specific model or taxonomy can account for all the purposes served by instances of Spanish-English switching present in the dialogue of Spanish language talk shows. This study, then, will draw on a conversation analysis (CA) approach that focuses on discourse organization, particularly the way in which code-switching is utilized as a discursive/pragmatic tool, in an attempt to account for the data. Auer (1984) offers this useful framework, CA, to examine

language alternation in conversation. According to Auer (1984), the CA approach focuses on the switching of languages by participants in a conversation as a way to achieve interactional coherence and to show how bilingual speakers are oriented to the structure and organization of the conversation. In terms of bilingual interaction, Li Wei (2002:164) observes that when a participant chooses a certain language for an utterance which is part of a turn, the choice “changes some features of the situation, helps to maintain or reestablish others, and exerts influence on subsequent language choices.” In other words, code-switching should be analyzed in terms of its sequential development in interaction, focusing on language choices in the preceding and following turns and reconstructing the interaction as it unfolded in real time, rather than solely relying on a correlation between language choice and some externally determined values. Several researchers have used the CA framework in analyzing bilingual interaction in naturally occurring peer conversation (e.g. Auer 1984; Cashman 2002; Li Wei 2005), yet few (Cashman 2002; Mahootian 2005) have focused on language alternation in media discourse.

For the present study, a conversation analysis framework for bilingual interaction utilized by Auer (1984, 1995) and Li Wei (2002, 2005) is used in conjunction with a model of discursive functions of language alternation identified by Gumperz (1982). These approaches were chosen because they represent functional models of code-switching based on interaction, that is, they consider the functions carried out by language alternation within specific interactional episodes.

The data from the present study were taken from video-taped recordings of the Spanish language talk shows, *El Gordo y la Flaca* and *Cotorreando*. Five programs of each of these shows were recorded, and two were selected for transcription and data analysis based upon the variety of discourse and participants present. Both shows are unique in that, unlike most talk

shows, there is no studio audience present. The dialogue for the shows takes place between two hosts and several guests, mainly famous Latin pop stars and reporters interviewed by the hosts. On *El Gordo y la Flaca* both hosts are of Cuban descent, and the program *Cotorreando* is presented by one host from Mexico, while the other is of Puerto Rican descent.

A conversational approach to bilingual interaction, according to Auer (1984), requires a detailed transcription of naturally occurring interactions, including important verbal and non-verbal cues such as pauses, hesitations, fillers, backchannels, etc., focusing on the observable techniques and strategies which participants employ to make themselves understood and to display their understanding of their interlocutor's utterances. The utilization of video recordings allows for these non-verbal dialogue cues not readily identifiable in data compiled from audio taping. Specifically, the transcription for both television programs will be carried out following Psathas' (1995) transcription conventions for conversational exchange (see Appendix I).

According to Ilie (2001), the talk show as an institutionally structured speech event, generally follows a pre-established direction, and the discussion topics are mostly introduced and controlled by the host(s). Yet despite this seemingly high degree of topic predictability, the talk show can also display features inherent in conversational discourse. One of these is the spontaneous nature of casual conversation where the host or hosts can step out of their institutional role and deviate from a typical question-response pattern and carry out an informal dialogue with no planning whatsoever. The set-up of these two talk shows, in which two hosts informally converse and spontaneously comment on the topics presented, will serve as a rich source of data as the dialogue reveals characteristics of casual conversation.

Why study the language of talk shows? Several authors have examined the discourse found in talk shows, such as Carbaugh (1988), who observes talk shows in the United States, Ilie

(1999, 2001), who comments on the discursive features of the talk show and compares it to casual conversation, proposing a pragmatic framework for the discursive functions of questions that occur in talk shows, and Krause and Goering (1995), who compare the intercultural aspects of both the American and German talk show. Bell (1995:23) explains that “media discourse is important both for what it reveals about a society and for what it contributes to the character of society.” The emergence and importance of the media has come to play an ever increasing role in the Hispanic community in the United States. As more and more Spanish language shows are produced in the U.S, both for entertainment and news purposes, and reach an ever increasing audience, it becomes important to analyze the way in which the discourse both shapes and reflects aspects of culture, language, and social institutions present in this particular community. This study examines the functions of Spanish/English code-switching found in a specific type of media discourse and reflects upon how it relates to language alternation used in everyday interaction.

The talk show in nature is not an innovative concept. Carbaugh (1988) notes that throughout history there have existed settings designated specifically for groups of people to come together and discuss various topics, such as the Ancient Greek Assembly or the town hall in Colonial America. What has emerged in the last several decades, however, is a medium for the masses, the talk show, in which millions of individuals can come together on a daily basis to discuss, listen, or debate a variety of topics. Carbaugh (1988) identifies two different types of talk shows. The first is one that centers around a popular figure who, as the host, is billed as the star of the show as in such programs as in *Jay Leno* or *Larry King Live*. These types of shows involve an interview with a famous person or someone of noteworthy importance who talks about his or her work, life, or a specific topic. There may or may not be a live studio audience,

but as opposed to the second type of talk show, they are not directly involved in the discourse. The second type of talk show deals with current social topics carried out through a discussion that evolves through interaction between the host, the guests, and those in attendance in the audience. The talk shows that were analyzed for this study, *El Gordo y La Flaca* and *Cotorreando*, actually contain characteristics of both types in that they deal with current social issues, mainly the lives of famous people from Spain, Latin America, and the United States, and topics of interest to Hispanics living in the U.S. such as immigration, language, and culture, yet do not have a live studio audience, and therefore interaction takes place between two hosts and several guests that are interviewed throughout the program.

Ilie (2001) regards the talk show as a particular instance of media discourse and analyzes its discursive features, comparing them with those found in casual conversation on the one hand and institutional interaction on the other. This specific speech event is described as semi-institutional in nature in that it displays features both characteristic of those types of discourse mentioned above in terms of “discursive configuration and goal, participant role assignment, and role switching, talk and topic control” (Ilie 2001:209) The talk show is seen as a type of mixed discourse because it displays patterns of communication found in many different types of interaction. For example, Ilie (2001) notes that the introductory and closing parts of the talk show, designed to be humorous and easy-going, display features of an entertainment program. Yet at the same time the talk show can reveal discursive features of a news interview because of its recurring goal-oriented question-response sequences, or show characteristics of a debate program in that it encourages the exchange of ideas and confrontation of opinions. The talk show can also, according to Ilie (2001), fit into the frame of conversation, as evidenced by a considerable amount of time in each program dedicated to casual conversation and spontaneous

dialogue. The goal then for Ilie (2001) is to provide a pragmatic framework of analysis for the description and interpretation of the discursive and linguistic features found in the talk show and to examine to what extent this type of dialogue reflects current casual conversational patterns.

Discourse, according to van Dijk (1997:2), is regarded as “interaction and action in society,” or the language that speakers use to interact as individuals or as members of different social groups, professions, societies or cultures. The discourse present in talk shows can vacillate between a more institutional or more conversational character depending on the context in which it takes place and the discursive and linguistic features that shape it. Discourse in institutional settings can be described as dialogue taking place in an institutional encounter, which according to Ilie (2001), is a feature of the talk show; that is, it takes place in an institutional setting, the television studio, with an objective of reaching a multi-faceted audience: the guests invited to take part in the discussion on the show, the audience present in the studio, and the viewers at home watching the program on television. According to Ilie (2001), the talk show generally follows a pre-established direction and the discussion topics are mostly introduced and controlled by the host(s). Yet despite this seemingly high degree of topic predictability, the talk show can also display features inherent in conversational discourse. One of these, notes Ilie (2001), is the spontaneous nature of casual conversation where the host or hosts can step out of their institutional role and deviate from a typical question-response pattern and carry out an informal dialogue with no planning whatsoever. In commenting on the communicative interaction displayed in talk shows, Ilie (2001) notes that the authority of the show host is not absolute, in that at times the discourse may exhibit unpredictability in terms of turn-taking, topic initiation, and role-assumption if the guests on the show initiate conversation or topic shift without being prompted by the host.

Ilie (2001) concludes by stating that talk shows feature varying degrees of characteristics of both conversational and institutional discourse that depend on factors such as the personality of the host or hosts, the nature of the topic being discussed, and the general background and views of the participants. Both types of discourse, however, according to Ilie (2001), strive to pursue several interactional goals. The institutional and conversational aspects of the talk show carry out a socializing and educational function in the form of presenting, influencing, discussing, and challenging opinions on varying social topics through dialogue. Ilie's analysis of the discursive and linguistic features of the talk show has allowed me to better understand the mixed nature of this type of discourse as well as provided me a framework for my examination of code switching instances in Spanish language talk shows.

Based on the findings of previous research and the data collected for this study, this thesis attempts to explain how code-switching is used as a communicative strategy to fulfill various discourse/pragmatic functions in Spanish/English bilingual dialogue. As has been found in previous studies on code-switching by Spanish/English bilinguals in the United States (Poplack 1980; Zentella 1990), in this study I expect to find that identifiable functions of code-switching will emerge and that, specifically, 1) speakers will engage in a variety of switches (intersentential, intrasentential, tag/single noun) as well as utilize English discourse markers (*so, I mean, you know, etc.*) inserted into Spanish language discourse; 2) switches will carry out different discourse/pragmatic functions important to the interactional coherence of the conversation; 3) speakers will code-switch and utilize a word or expression in the embedded language that, on a semantic level, already exists in the first language, and each switch will be examined to understand the message that the speaker is trying to convey on a connotational level by not using a word in the first language that seemingly shares similar semantic properties as the

language used in the switch; and 4) speakers will freely switch between the first and second languages seemingly unaware of having altered codes, with switches characterized by smooth transitions and few hesitations or pauses.

This thesis is structured as follows. In the second chapter I discuss some of the most important and influential studies carried out on code-switching as a product of language contact and bilingual interaction, and explain their relevance and influence on the analysis and interpretation of the data for this study. In the third chapter I describe the participants involved and the methodology used in the transcription and in analyzing instances of code-switching found in the talk shows. In the final chapter I discuss the findings of the analysis and present my conclusions and possible implications for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The use of multiple languages in discourse has developed through different approaches, both structural and sociolinguistic. According to Boztepe (2001), a structural perspective deals with the grammatical aspects of language alternation, focusing on the syntactic and morphosyntactic constraints on the use of two or more languages in discourse. On the other hand, notes Boztepe (2001), a sociolinguistic approach seeks to understand how social meaning is created in code-switching and to analyze the discourse functions carried out by alternating codes in conversation. These two perspectives, however, are not isolated in their approach, as a sociolinguistic focus, which intends to explain the function and meaning of *why* bilingual speakers talk the way they do, builds upon the underlying grammatical patterns of code-switching identified by a structural perspective.

Given this framework, in this chapter I will present a critical overview of the ways in which code-switching has been examined in previous studies and the way in which perspectives on code-switching in bilingual communicative behavior have evolved from a more negative, stigmatized view, to one more descriptive in nature that approaches code-switching as a complex linguistic tool used in bilingual interaction. In surveying previous research on code-switching, both from a structural as well as a sociolinguistic perspective, I will focus on the theoretical framework, methodology employed, and the findings obtained, and will also explore the relevance to the topic of the present study.

The ways in which code-switching has been defined reveal the different approaches taken in examining this language contact phenomenon. Poplack (1980), for example, focusing on

structure, defines code-switching as the alternation of two or more languages within a single discourse, sentence, or constituent. In contrast, Auer (1984), emphasizing the functional roles of different codes, defines code-switching as the use of multiple languages in an interactional episode. Gumperz (1982), who also focuses on the functional aspect of code-switching, sees the mixing of languages as a discourse phenomenon capable of conversational inferences; that is, the choice of language can carry discursive/pragmatic meaning in addition to the basic semantic content of the message. This study uses code as a neutral term for language or language variety, and code-switching as the alternation of languages in discourse, focusing primarily on the interactional functions carried out by the switching of codes in conversation.

According to Benson (2001), only a few studies on code-switching (Barker 1947; Weinrich 1953) appeared before the 1970's, however Blom and Gumperz's (1972) seminal work on social events as related to situational/metaphorical switching in a small Norwegian town gave way to a series of works on language and social interaction and its influence on bilingual behavior. Gumperz (1982) followed up with his focus on code choice and identity in linguistic interaction, while Myers-Scotton's markedness model (1988, 1993b, 1998) seeks to define the psycho-social factors involved in motivating a bilingual speaker to choose one language over another. Heller's (1988) work on the economics of bilingualism and the use of code-switching as a political strategy in the workplace was influenced by Gumperz (1982) and Myers-Scotton (1988) in relation to its focus on rights and obligations. Several studies (e.g. Auer 1984; Li Wei 2002) have tried to examine the interactional functions of language alternation, describing the role of code-switching in the turn and sequence of conversation and its influence on the dialogue in a broader context. Another perspective focuses on the syntactic or morphosyntactic constraints on language alternation (e.g. Poplack 1980; Sankoff and Poplack 1981).

2.2 Early code-switching research

According to Benson (2001), a few foundational studies on bilingualism and languages in contact (Weinrich 1953; Ferguson 1959) can be characterized by their negative view of using two or more languages in discourse. Haugen (1953) suggested switching was an indicator of inadequate knowledge of a second language and used by individuals of minimal intelligence, while Weinrich (1953) described the alternation of languages in terms of “deviant language patterns” (Benson 2001:24). Most early research conducted on code-switching was concerned with interference between the two languages, specifically phonetic influence, lexical loans/borrowings from one language to another, and the consequences of languages in contact.

One of the earliest of these studies was George Barker’s (1947) analysis of language use among Mexican-Americans in Tucson, Arizona. Barker (1947), simplistically sought to explain how the ancestral language (Spanish) was used on one occasion, and English on another, and how bilinguals would alternate without apparent cause between them. Barker revealed a continuum between intimate, more informal, familiar relationships extending through to more formal interactions, especially those with English speakers in the community. He attempted to show the relationship between language use and social function, i.e. group membership, social status, and social networks. Specifically, the study finds that on one end of the continuum were those interactions among family members most likely conducted in Spanish, and on the other end were those more formal interactions with Anglo-Americans, most likely to take place in English. In analyzing varying points in between, Barker (1947) observed that the language choice was more flexible and depended greatly upon specific social situations and topics. Furthermore, Barker (1947) found that the younger Mexican-American bilingual speakers used Spanish as a marker of social identity, and that their speech was characterized by rapid shifting between both

English and Spanish varieties within a single interaction. Benson (2001) reveals that although more complex yet similar studies on language choice in specific social situations would come decades later, Barker (1947) lays the groundwork for research into the importance of code-switching and group/interpersonal relations and identity.

Similarly to Barker (1947), Espinosa (1911) was also interested in characteristics of Spanish-speaking communities in the American Southwest. In “The Spanish Language in New Mexico and Colorado” (Espinosa 1911), he documented switching between English and Spanish that cut across levels of education and socioeconomic status. While other scholars had disparaged code-switching as being a sign of lack of intelligence or an indicator of low mastery in English, Espinosa (1911) observed it to be a common aspect of the speech of linguistic communities in the Southwest, even in areas where English was widely spoken, as well as occurring in a wide variety of environments such as the workplace, stores, places of entertainment, and, of course, the home. Some of the examples of code-switching discourse presented in Espinosa (1911) could easily be found today on an internet blog, or during an informal conversation among friends:

(4) You bet, *sí*.
(You bet, yes.)

(5) *Vamos a ir al foot-ball game y después al baile a tener* the time of our lives.
(We’re going to the football game and later to the dance to have the time of our lives.)

(6) ¡*Qué* fine ice-cream!
(What fine ice-cream!) (Benson 2001: 30-31)

Even though Espinosa went on to focus his research on folklore studies in the American Southwest, his findings of code-switching as a linguistic phenomenon prevalent throughout all educational and socio-economic levels, differ from similar research at the time, and would serve

as a precursor to linguists' understanding of the alternation of languages as a linguistic skill rather than an indicator of low language mastery or confusion.

While Weinreich (1953) was also interested in languages in contact and looked to describe activities of bilingual speech communities, his approach differed from that of Barker (1947) and Espinosa (1911) in that the focus of his research was based on a basic presumption that using two or more languages in discourse was considered negative interference, and that the 'ideal' bilingual switches from one language to another only with changes in speech situations but never in an unchanged situation and, according to Weinreich (1953:73-74), "certainly not within a single sentence." Although Weinreich bases his assumptions about a bilingual speaker on idealized preconceived notions rather than empirical observation, his description of different language varieties used in different situations appears later in Blom and Gumperz (1972), who define 'situational switching' where a change in language variety represents a change in social setting.

While the early studies on code-switching are by no means numerous, they nevertheless were able to lay the groundwork for this linguistic phenomenon in terms of presenting the idea that social and political motivations are factors that influence bilingual speakers in choosing one language variety over another. In the second part of this literature review, I will further explore the social influences on language choice in bilingual discourse by presenting the most relevant studies that adopt a sociolinguistic perspective. However, first I will examine the most important research on code-switching using a structural approach (that is, studies that seek to determine the (morpho)syntactic constraints on using two or more languages in discourse), and present the mechanisms described by Poplack (1980) that allow for switching at certain sites and not others.

2.3 Structural approaches to code-switching

The most influential contribution to date using a structural approach is Poplack's (1980) analysis of the speech of 20 Puerto Rican residents in the United States of varying degrees of bilingual ability. The study reveals that both fluent and non-fluent bilinguals are able to code switch frequently and still maintain grammaticality in both languages, Spanish and English. The study also reveals a tendency of fluent bilinguals to display more intra-sentential switching, whereas non-fluent bilinguals favored more switching between sentences, which enabled them to code switch without fear of violating a grammatical rule of either language involved. Furthermore, the study reveals the ability of bilinguals to code switch in an area where both languages overlap, suggesting skilled bilingual ability rather than random behavior, lacking in linguistic skill.

Poplack (1980) distinguishes three different types of switching, intersentential, intrasentential, and single noun/tag switching, which oftentimes comes in the form of discourse markers (*so, you know, I mean, etc.*) Intersentential switching refers to the shifting of languages at sentence boundaries, oftentimes major discourse boundaries:

(7) It's time to go. *¿Dónde está tu hermana?* (Where is your sister?)

(8) *¿Qué pasa?* (What's up/wrong?) Why aren't you ready?

By contrast, intrasentential switching is characterized by a more complex shifting of the first language to the second in the middle of a sentence, constituent, or even word (Lipski 1985):

(9) Why make Carol *sentarse atrás pa' que* (sit in the back so) everybody has to move *pa' que se salga* (for her to get out)?

(10) He was sitting down *en la cama, mirándonos peleando*, y (in bed, watching us fight and) really, I don't remember *si él nos separó* (if he separated us) or whatever, you know. (Poplack 1980: 589)

The final category of switching is comprised of single noun and tag switches. Poplack (1980) observes that the ease with which single nouns can be switched, as in (3) below, relates to the fact that of all grammatical categories, it has been observed to be the most frequently switched. Tag switches are characterized as more freely moveable constituents that may appear in different locations in the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical rule.

(11) *Salían en sus carros y en sus* (they would go out in their cars and in their)
snowmobiles. (Poplack 1980:589)

(12) *Pues, el bate es un palo de madera* (well, the bat is a stick of wood) you
know?

In (11), the utterance appears almost entirely in Spanish, with a single noun switch to English at the end, demonstrating, according to Poplack (1980), the most frequent type of Spanish/English code-switching found in the data. In (12), the utterance appears, as well, almost entirely in Spanish with a tag switch at the end. This type of switch, according to Poplack (1980), often is used as a filler between utterances with ease throughout discourse.

In combining languages intra-sententially, various problems of incompatibility may arise, one of them being word order differences. Many studies have observed that code-switching is favored at the kinds of syntactic boundaries that occur in both languages (e.g. Poplack 1980; Lipski 1985; Muysken 2000), specifically where two utterances are ordered in the same way in both languages, ensuring the linear coherence of sentence structure without omitting or duplicating lexical content (Poplack 1980). The ‘free morpheme constraint’ (Poplack 1980) refers to the syntactic constraint whereby a code may be switched after any constituent in discourse as long as it is not a bound morpheme, such as in (13), which according to Poplack (1980), has not been found in any other study of code-switching and does not follow this constraint because the Spanish *-iendo* is a bound morpheme affixed to the English root *eat*.

- (13) Eat- *iendo*
eating (Poplack 1980:586)

The ‘equivalence constraint’ according to Poplack (1980), refers to the occurrence of code-switching at points in discourse where juxtaposition of elements in both languages does not violate a surface syntactic rule of either language. Thus, a switch is unable to occur within a constituent that generates a rule present in one language and not in the other. According to Poplack (1980), example (14) violates this constraint in that it applies an English infinitive complementizer rule, which is not shared by the other language, Spanish, to the verb phrase complement. Example (15), on the other hand, can be deemed an acceptable switch under this constraint because the elements in both languages map onto each other in that the verb in English ‘tell’ belongs to a class that requires an infinitive complementizer while in Spanish this same construction uses a subjunctive complementizer:

- (14) *El man que came ayer* wants John *comprar* a car *nuevo*.
 ‘The man who came yesterday wants John to buy a new car’.
- (15) Tell Larry *que se calle la boca*.
 ‘Tell Larry to shut his mouth’ (Poplack 1980: 587)

According to Poplack (1980), when both the free morpheme and the equivalence constraints operate together, only then can code-switching utterances be deemed grammatical in both the L1 and L2, signaling a high degree of competence in both languages. Although previous researchers have dismissed code-switching as evidence of the disintegration of one or both languages involved in the process, Poplack (1980) considers the mixing of languages to be the norm in specific speech situations which exist in stable bilingual communities. Furthermore,

Poplack (1980) observes specifically that members in the Puerto Rican community consider various bilingual behaviors to be defining features of their identity.

The free morpheme and equivalent constraints, mentioned previously, form the basis on which Poplack's (1980) study was carried out. An analysis of the switches used in the data revealed virtually no ungrammatical combinations between L1 and L2, regardless of the bilingual ability of the speaker. Both fluent and non-fluent bilinguals were able to display skillful code-switching behavior, using both intra-sentential and less complex switches, comprised of single-noun insertions and tag switches, demonstrating that code switching is not monolithic behavior (Poplack 1980). In her study, the types of switches that emerge in the data are dependent upon varying degrees of bilingual ability, with those speakers with the highest level of skill favoring more intra-sentential code-switching. Taking into consideration the equivalence constraint, the findings in this study seem to indicate that rather than a deficiency arising from lack of knowledge in one language or another, code-switching is, in fact, a "strong indicator of verbal skill and linguistic competence in more than one language" (Poplack 1980: 615). Furthermore, Poplack (1980) concludes that the switch types that have been traditionally considered most erratic and devoid of linguistic ability, those that occur within a single sentence, are the ones that require the most skill and are produced by the speakers with the highest degree of bilingual ability in the data.

Myers-Scotton (1993a:4) approaches the structural aspects of code-switching as well, and argues that language alternation is the "selection by bilinguals or monolinguals of forms from an embedded language in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation." This definition forms the basis of the *Matrix Language Frame Model*, which assumes that code-switching utterances have an identifiable matrix language, or dominant/first language of the

speaker, to which there is always an asymmetrical relationship between the matrix language (ML) and the embedded language (EL), and that the ML dominates a mixed clause. This explanation is summarized by the following principles:

The Morpheme Order Principle

In ML + EL constituents consisting of singly occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface syntactic relations) will be that of the ML.

The System Morpheme Principle

In ML + EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent will come from the ML.

(Myers-Scotton 1993a: 83)

Myers-Scotton (1993a), in presenting these two principles, distinguishes between *content* and *system* morphemes in order to identify the matrix language. According to Myers-Scotton, content morphemes (e.g., nouns, verbs, adjectives, and some prepositions), express semantic or pragmatic meanings and are pertinent in conveying messages in communication. System morphemes, on the other hand, are comprised of function words and interjections and are used in expressing the relation between the content morphemes and in building grammatical frames. Myers-Scotton (1993a) argues that in bilingual discourse, system morphemes are employed only from the matrix language, and content morphemes are taken from both the ML and the EL, as in (16):

(16) (Toyisha is pointing)

Kore wa cat ya (There is a cat.) (Myers-Scotton 1993a:84)

In this example the child inserted an EL (English) content morpheme into an ML (Japanese) frame consisting of both content and system morphemes. Myers-Scotton (1993a) suggests that the matrix language can be identified as that which contains more morphemes in a code switched utterance. Although, according to Nilep (2006), both the structural models and the syntactic

constraints proposed by Poplack (1980) and Myers-Scotton (1993a) for code-switching in bilingual discourse have come under slight scrutiny for their claims of universal validity in all languages, most researchers, nevertheless, agree on bilingual speakers' linguistic competence in the alternation of languages. Muysken (2000:177) adds that "it was found that code-switching is a quite normal and widespread form of bilingual interaction, requiring a great deal of bilingual competence."

A final consideration in looking at code-switching from a structural perspective is attempting to explain what constitutes switching and what constitutes lexical borrowing. Borrowing involves taking a lexical item from the L2 and changing it to fit the phonological or morpho-syntactical system of the L1, or simply using it in its original form. Lipski (2005) describes the process and characteristics of borrowing as utterances that become lexicalized, used constantly, and eventually the knowledge of its foreign origin disappears. Some examples of loan words in Spanish that are borrowed from English are *taipear* instead of *escribir a máquina* for 'to type' or one could say *el estín* for 'the steam'. The distinction between code-switching and lexical borrowing, however, is not absolute. Several researchers (Poplack 1980; Sankoff and Poplack 1981) argue that loan words and code switches are based on different mechanisms and propose three types of criteria to determine the status of non-native utterances in bilingual discourse. These include whether or not a single lexical item from the donor or second language in code-switched utterances are (1) phonologically, (2) morphologically, and (3) syntactically integrated into the first or main language (Poplack 1980). Table 1 displays four different combinations of integration of these three criteria. According to Poplack (1980), in instances where a lexical item shows (a) only syntactic integration, such as Type 2, (b) only phonological integration, such as Type 3, or (c) no integration at all, such as Type 4, it is

considered a code-switched utterance. On the other hand, an utterance can be considered a loan/borrowed item in cases where all three types of integration appear, such as in Type 1.

TABLE 1
Poplack's (1980: 584) Identification of Code-Switching According to the Type of Integration into the Base Language

Type	Levels of Integration Into Base Language			CS?	Example
	phon	morph	syn		
1	√	√	√	No	<i>Es posible que te mogueen.</i> (They might mug you.)
2	—	—	√	Yes	<i>Las palabras heavy-duty, bien grandes, se me han olvidado.</i> (I've forgotten the real big, heavy-duty words.)
3	√	—	—	Yes	That's what he said. [da 'wari se] (spoken in Puerto Rican Spanish phonology)
4	—	—	—	Yes	<i>No creo que son fifty-dollar suede ones.</i> (I don't think they're fifty-dollar suede ones.)

In contrast, Myers-Scotton (1993a) argues that assimilation may not always be the only defining criterion in identifying whether an utterance is borrowed or code switched, and proposes using frequency as a better criterion. Furthermore, Myers-Scotton (1993a) argues that not all borrowed lexical items from the donor language come about for the sole purpose of filling lexical gaps; that is, not all loan words that a bilingual speaker uses from the donor/second

language are due to an absence of an equivalent term in the first/main language. Myers-Scotton (1993a), then, disagrees with Poplack (1980) in that she does not see code-switching and borrowing as two distinct and separate processes. Eastman (1992:1), arguing the need to better understand the social and cultural processes involved in language alternation, notes that “efforts to distinguish codeswitching, codemixing and borrowing are doomed,” and that we must “free ourselves of the need to categorize any instance of seemingly non-native material in language as a borrowing or a switch.” For the purposes of this study, all instances of non-Spanish (English, in this case) utterances that appeared in the data were considered and analyzed in terms of their discursive/pragmatic functions in conversation.

2.4 Sociolinguistic approaches to code-switching

Poplack (1980), in analyzing the constraints on code-switching in discourse, shows that bilingual speakers are linguistically competent in both languages in their repertoire, as they are able to alternate between the two without sacrificing grammatical integrity. The next step, then, is to understand what specific discourse functions are carried out by code-switching in conversation, and observe the factors that influence a speaker’s choice of language variety. These questions are dealt with through a sociolinguistic approach to language alternation, which focuses on bilinguals’ social motivations for code choice in discourse. This perspective emphasizes the importance of analyzing bilingual speakers’ language use in terms of the rules that are shared by the members of the speech community to accomplish communicative functions. Auer (1984) further divides this perspective into sociolinguistic and interactional approaches. Sociolinguistic approaches seek to understand the role of language varieties and, furthermore, code-switching in a given speech community. According to Niley (2006), these types of studies (e.g. Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1982; Myers-Scotton 1983b; Heller

1988) often describe communities in which a varying degree of prestige or specific social function is assigned to each language variety. For example, one language can be characterized as more familiar or informal, utilized mostly between family members and friends, while another variety is used mainly in official contexts such as school, government, or the workplace. In contrast, according to Auer (1984), an interactional approach seeks to identify the social meaning carried out by conversational switches in discourse, observing specific code changes in context in order to interpret speakers' intent and the effect on the hearer.

Blom and Gumperz (1972), who were influenced by the emergent topic of linguistic form affected by setting, participants, and topic, describe the switching between the standard and non-standard language varieties in a small Norwegian town called Hemnesberget. They found that the alternation of codes among the town's inhabitants were both patterned and predictable. They sought to understand the functions of the separate codes and ultimately identified two different types of switching present in the discourse: *situational switching* and *metaphorical switching*. Blom and Gumperz (1972) characterized situational switching as a direct relationship between code choice and social situation, in that, a change in linguistic form represents a changed social setting. For example, they found that in a university class setting, lectures were delivered in the standard Bokmål, while a shift to the regional, more intimate Ranamål, was used to encourage open debate. Metaphorical switching, on the other hand, describes the use of two language varieties within a single social setting and looks to observe changes in topic rather than social setting. For example, Blom and Gumperz (1972) observed that conversational greetings between clerks and residents in the community took place in the local language variety, but business was transacted in the standard language variety.

According to Nilep (2006), some criticisms of the classifications set forth by Blom and Gumperz (1972) stem from the fact that their study does not provide actual transcribed dialogue, but rather relies upon short descriptions of specific situations, making it difficult to identify specific discourse functions for language switches. Gumperz (1982), in recognizing the imperfection of his description of situational and metaphorical switching, argues that a close analysis of language switching is necessary to better describe the functions of code choice in a conversational context. Gumperz (1982) suggests the importance of viewing code-switching as a discourse mode, or communicative tool available to bilingual speakers much in the same way as a variety of linguistic registers or styles are available to the monolingual speaker. Bilinguals utilize two or more linguistic codes to alternate between communicative registers as sociolinguistic strategies during conversation.

Gumperz (1982) presents a typology that identifies six basic discursive/pragmatic functions that have been observed in the code-switching discourse from three different language communities: Spanish-English, Slovenian-German, and Hindi-English. These are: 1) quotation, 2) addressee specification, 3) interjection, 4) reiteration, 5) message qualification, and 6) personalization versus objectivization. According to Gumperz (1982), quotation refers to a message that is a direct quotation or reported speech which is not always quoted in the language in which it was said, as in this conversation between two Chicano professionals. While referring to her babysitter, the speaker says the following:

(17) She doesn't speak English, so, *dice que la regañan*: “*Se les va a olvidar el idioma a las criaturas.*” (She does not speak English, so she says they would scold her: “The children are going to forget their language.”) (Gumperz 1982: 76)

In addressee specification, a code is switched to direct the message to one particular person among several addressees present in the immediate environment, as in (18) from a multilingual family speaking in English-**Kashmiri-Hindi**:

- (18) A: Hello, *how are you kaul Sahib?*
 B: vaaray mahraj
 (Well, sir).
 A: valiv bihiv
 (Come in, sit down).
 B:(to the servant) **zaraa caay laanaa bhaaii**. (to the visitor) I will be back in a minute.

(Kachru 1983: 63)

Interjections, in the case of bilingual discourse, are utterances used as sentence fillers and are composed of tag switches, fillers, and oftentimes, discourse markers:

- (19) A: Well, I'm glad I met you.
 B. *Ándale pues*, and do come again. Mm?
 (Okay, great, and do come again. Mm?) (Gumperz 1982: 77)

Reiteration occurs when a speaker repeats or clarifies a message in the other code. The message in one language is either repeated in the other language literally or with some modification to signify emphasis or clarification. The following examples illustrate the emphatic and clarificatory role of switching:

- (20) *English-Spanish*: Chicano professionals
 A: *The three old ones spoke nothing but Spanish*. No hablaban inglés.
 (They did not speak English.)
 (Gumperz 1982: 78)
- (21) *English-Hindi*: Father calling his small son while walking through a train compartment.
 Father: *Keep straight*. [louder] *siidhe jaao*
 (Keep straight. Go straight.) (Gumperz 1982: 78)

Message qualification is seen as an elaboration of the preceding utterance in the other code:

(22) Slovenian-*German*

Uzeymas ti kafe? *Oder te?*

(Will you take coffee? Or tea?)

(Gumperz 1982: 60)

Finally, personalization versus objectivization refers to switching as a tool that speakers employ to relate to the degree of involvement or distance from a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, and whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of a generally known fact. Language alternation, according to Gumperz (1982), can be seen as a contextual cue that provides a means to signal how utterances are to be interpreted and are negotiated by speakers and listeners in interaction.

Gumperz (1982) also explores the notion of identity in multilingual communities, referring to the two codes in switching as the *we-code* and the *they-code*. He argues that code-switching can serve as a symbol of group identity and solidarity, signaling that different aspects of identity become salient in different speech situations and thus affect the form of language used. The *we-code* often refers to the minority language, which could symbolize intimacy or informality in relation to in-group membership. The *they-code*, in contrast, is associated with power, formality, and a majority language that often serves as a communicative tool for out-group relations, mainly within the mainstream community. Grosjean (1982) notes that choosing a particular language or switching codes in a particular social context can signal group solidarity and outlines a comprehensive list of factors that could explain bilingual speakers' choice of the *we-code* or *they-code* (Table 2).

TABLE 2
List of Factors Influencing Language Choice Grosjean (1982: 136)

FACTORS INFLUENCING LANGUAGE CHOICE	
<i>Participants</i>	<i>Situation</i>
Language proficiency	Location/Setting
Language preference	Presence of monolinguals
Socioeconomic status	Degree of formality
Age	Degree of intimacy
Sex	
Occupation	<i>Content of Discourse</i>
Education	
Ethnic Background	Topic
History of speakers' linguistic interaction	Type of vocabulary
Kinship relation	
Intimacy	<i>Function of Interaction</i>
Power relation	To raise status
Attitude toward languages	To create social distance
Outside pressure	To exclude someone
	To request or demand

Most scenarios of we-code and they-code are typically associated with former colonial settings and communities in which linguistic and/or political repression occur. Although in the present study the notion of we-code/they-code does not necessarily describe the relationship between the two hosts of the Spanish language talk shows, the distinction is still relevant in that the use of the first language (Spanish) can serve as a marker of in-group membership and solidarity when contrasted with the majority language (English), when spoken in the U.S., where the television show takes place.

Goffman (1979) introduces the idea of 'frame' in terms of an activity or event that members of a speech community recognize as one entity. A frame, as described by Goffman, is structured with a set of rules, and the speakers' participation in the activity, as well as their interpretation of other members' behavior, are controlled by these rules. Some examples of frames include a dinner conversation, a group discussion, or smaller units like jokes or even

words (Nishimura 1995). Gumperz (1982), notes that frames can be set apart by both pragmatic and linguistic features such as intonation, lexical choice, or even discourse markers. According to Romaine (1989) bilingual speakers often switch languages in order to mark a shift in frames.

Nishimura (1995) examines the functional aspects of Japanese/English code-switching among Canadian Niseis, or second generation Japanese. Nishimura (1995) found that this particular speech community code-switched in Japanese and English when marking either the beginning or ending of a frame, such as in (23), where a new frame is marked by a language switch, and (24), where a speaker switches to English from Japanese to conclude a frame, or a specific dialogue:

(23) A: It's just she wants to know the different points of view, eh? *Dakara* (so), just ordinary conversation, she would pick it up, and put it together.

B: (to the author) *Hitori hitori yaru no?* (Are we going to be interviewed one by one?)

C: Author: No. I want to make a recording of the conversation.

A: *Pipi doko ga warukatta no?* (What was the problem with Pipi?) She's got a cold?

Nishimura (1995: 170)

(24) A: *Ushiro ni ita car ga ne. ikinari*, he just came right out. No signals or anything. (It's a car behind us.) (Suddenly) *Minaide kara, kowakatta yo. Gee. Konnan natte breeki kakechatta kara, konna. Natte karayo ne. Oh, Gee.* (Because I didn't see it, I was scared. I hit the brake like this, I was just...)

B: *Aa, moo*, those *ahoo ga irukara*, it's not your fault, eh? when you have an accident.

(Really, because those idiots are around, it's not your fault, eh? when you have an accident.)

Nishimura (1995: 172)

Nishimura (1995), in analyzing the functional aspects of Japanese/English code-switching between Canadian Niseis, distinguishes three different categories of functions carried

out by both intersentential and intrasentential language switches. The first category involves those functions that are related to interactional processes between interlocutors. Specifically, Nishimura (1995) found that speakers use sentence-final particles in Japanese (mostly ‘ne’ or ‘right’ in English) to call for confirmation or agreement from the hearer. These utterances serve to intensify the involvement of the interlocutors in the dialogue, as in (25):

(25) A: Aki says it’s Steve’s responsibility. No. It’s not his responsibility. She’s the one that borrowed it, *ne?* *Kariru hito ga harau beki desho*, you know. (The person who borrows it should pay back.)

B: *Sore dake* Steve ga agattara; you would be proud of Steven than the parents, *ne!*
(So, if Steve becomes famous, you would be prouder of Steve than his parents are, you know.)

A: Sure.

Nishimura (1995: 168)

The second category that Nishimura (1995) identifies deals with the organization of discourse. This function involves switching codes in order to control the topic of the conversation. Nishimura (1995), states that speakers alternate languages in order to either finish speaking about one topic or to introduce a new one. The switch in codes can signal to the other speaker(s) a desire to conclude the dialogue on a specific topic (for example a particular movie) and change direction to focus on another topic of interest. Finally are those functions of code-switching that carry stylistic effects, like quotations, also identified to be marked by language switches in previous works such as those by Gumperz (1982) and Romaine (1989), who observe that quotations are not always used in the language in which they were originally uttered, and that they often appear in switched codes in order to bring about a stylistic effect and to make the bilingual speech more lively, as in (26):

- (26) A: It's only after about five years now. *Yamashita-san no Kiyoshi-san*, its time to (For Kiyoshi from the Yamashita family,) understand the Canadian way of speaking the English language.

'Cause he said, '*Ima made, anoo, kiitemo wakaranakatta chuuno.*' Now, he says, (Before, I didn't understand anything I heard.) '*kite wakaru yoo ni natta.*' So his ears are now tuned to the language, you know. (I've come to understand what I hear.)

Nishimura (1995: 177)

Another study that observes the functional aspects of code-switching is one by Sánchez (1983), who observes how bilingual switches are related to speech acts and styles in the discourse of the Chicano community in the Southwestern United States. Her study reveals that switches in language are triggered by different speech acts (requests, agreement, challenges, etc.) and are utilized for inferring differences in connotation. For example,

- (27) A: ¿Dónde trabaja tu papá?

B: En el Hilton.

A: ¿Qué hace ahí?

B: Es un manager y un *bartender*.

Sánchez (1983: 163)

Sánchez (1983) compares the use of *bartender* in English with *cantinero* in Spanish noting that this kind of switching can be explained taking into account that the two utterances may share semantic properties in denotation but carry different connotations. Specifically, in this example, according to Sánchez (1983), the English and Spanish words represent different social status, and the word *cantinero* has no prestige in this particular speech community, while *bartender* represents social mobility, specifically, in this case, in reference to the Hilton. The word *cantinero* signifies working at the local Chicano bar. This example shows that language switches are oftentimes not mere translations, but rather carry additional connotations pertinent to values, ideas, and history between the interlocutors and in the speech community at large.

Sánchez (1983) also found that speakers would alternate codes when using commands, as speakers perceived a command given entirely in Spanish to carry a tone of formality as in (28) and (29):

- (28) *Ponlo en el refrigerador* so it won't spoil.
 (Put it in the)
 instead of:
Ponlo en el refrigerador para que no se eche a perder.
- (29) *Tenemos que list todos los* important points.
 (We have to) (all the)
 instead of:
Tenemos que enumerar los puntos principales.

Sánchez (1983: 164)

Studies such as those carried out by Gumperz (1982), Nishimura (1995), and Sánchez (1983), which attempt to provide a classification of pragmatic functions in bilingual discourse, helped establish a framework for the present study whereby I could identify patterns and interactional characteristics in the code choices present in the dialogue of Spanish language talk shows.

Hymes (1972), in offering an alternative to Chomsky's (1965) definition of a 'competent' speaker in terms of knowledge of grammaticality, argues that competent speakers possess a communicative competence, or knowledge about the appropriateness of an utterance in a given social context. Myers-Scotton (1993b) expands this notion of competency in speakers to include bilingual discourse, adding that competent interlocutors also have the ability to discern whether a linguistic choice is marked and how it is to be interpreted in the context in which it occurs. Myers-Scotton's (1993b) *markedness model* is based on the notion that in multilingual discourse, speakers have different language choices, and that those choices represent norms of society at large, and more specifically, function as negotiations of positions between the speakers. Code

choice, according to Myers-Scotton (1993b), is dependent upon the rights and obligations that exist between the participants. She identifies these choices as *unmarked* and *marked*. The unmarked language choice refers to that which is most expected, or the norm. The marked choice, on the other hand, is the language choice that is least expected, or a deviation from the norm. In the case of this study, Spanish would be the unmarked language used by the hosts in the talk show, and English would be the marked code choice. Myers-Scotton (1993b) argues that the markedness model posits the option that bilingual speakers possess in choosing an unmarked or marked code to convey information about identity and attitude. A marked language choice can be used in order to change one's position and status, that is, to negotiate a new set of rights and obligations. Myers-Scotton (1993b) offers empirical evidence to demonstrate how bilingual speakers understand that certain code choices are unmarked, or expected, and that the linguistic choices they make can implicate identity, solidarity, or social distance. In example (30), a bus driver in Nairobi, Kenya comments negatively on the use of English by a passenger on a crowded bus when Swahili is normally the unmarked choice for such an exchange:

(30) Conductor: (to a well-dressed man who is standing): *Umesha lipa nauli?*
(Have you already paid the fare?)

Man: Don't you see that I am in a position in which I can't take something from my pocket? *Ninyi mnachaza watu kwenye gari na hamna viti vya kutosha.* (You people fill the bus with people and you don't have enough seats.)

Conductor: *Hii ni mali ya mwenyewe au serikali. Si mali yako uifanyie huo mchezo Wako mbaya. Wako humu dani waliojua Kiingereza, lakini wanutuheshimu.* (This is the property of the owner or the government. It isn't your property so that you should make your bad comment. There are people within the bus who know English, but they show us respect.)

(Myers-Scotton 1993b:108)

Myers-Scotton (1993b) proposes four types of code-switching: 1) sequential unmarked CS, 2) CS as an unmarked choice, 3) CS as a marked choice, and 4) exploratory CS. In

sequential unmarked code-switching, the unmarked language changes when the situation, topic, or set of participants changes. Speakers only switch codes when a changing speech situation warrants a change. In the second type, code-switching is the unmarked choice, as in many Hispanic communities in the United States (Poplack 1980). Language alternation is the norm, and switches are characterized as smooth, with few if any hesitations or pauses. An example from Myers-Scotton's (1993b) work in Kenya between three trilingual middle-class Kenyans, illustrates such switching:

(31) A: (Swahili) *Bwana Isiaho, sema habari ya kushinda.*

(Mr. Isiaho, how did things go today?)

B: (Swahili) *Habari ya kushinda njema kwangu. Labda wewe una la kuniambia.* (Things went well for me. Maybe you've got something to tell me?)

A: (Swahili) *Sina bali ni kukugojea uniagizie chupa moja ya Tusker humu ndani.* (I've got nothing to say except that I'm waiting for you to order me a bottle of Tusker.)

B: (Swahili/English) Forget, *bwana*. (Luyia) INZI KHUNYOLI MUNU. (Forget it mister. I found you here, so you're the one to buy for me first.)

5 C: (Swahili) *Topoka, bwana.* (Luyia) NDULILAMU SHINDU KHALI INZI KHUZI KHUNYOLA ALURANZE BWANA KHULI IVI VAVA.

(Give out, mister. Buy something, even for me. We don't get our salaries in advance quickly as you do.)

A: You men, don't joke with life in Nairobi. Even if someone earns thousands, once you visit such a place with your thousands, they get finished within two weeks. I think you all have experienced *maisha ya town*. [Swahili: 'life of the town']. (Swahili) *Kila kitu kinahitaji pesa. Chakula pesa, taa za umene pesa, kuenda kazini pesa, mahali pa kulala pesa, hata kwenda chooni pesa.*

(Everything requires money. Food (requires) money, electricity, to go to work, a place to sleep, even going to the toilet.) You see what life in Nairobi town is like. (Luyia) MUHULIIA VUTSA VU MUNDU WAMENYA NAIROBI NU TOWN. (You just understand that someone lives in Nairobi town.)

(Myers-Scotton 1993b: 109)

In this exchange, argues Myers-Scotton (1993b), it is impossible to assign meaning to every switch, but rather more important to observe the patterns of code-switching in the context of the dialogue to understand how multilinguals establish or affirm multiple identities by using more

than one code. The third type of switching is comparable to Gumperz's (1982) metaphorical switching in that it refers to when the speakers choose to negotiate their rights and obligations in order to increase or decrease social distance; that is, they switch languages in order to change their footing with their interlocutor. Lastly, exploratory switching occurs when the unmarked choice is unclear in a specific situation, either because the setting is new or unknown to the speakers, or because the interlocutors themselves are unfamiliar with each others' language skills and preferences.

Myers Scotton's markedness model (1993b) emphasizes the relationship between code choices and social consequences. Multilingual speakers can choose codes to index social distance, proximity, authority or solidarity, as well as alternate languages depending on the setting, topic, or participants involved. Understanding which language is appropriate in a given setting, however, requires taking into consideration the abilities and desires of the interlocutor. Following Grice's (1975) cooperative principle that describes the conventions that speakers follow in order to make conversations successful, Myers-Scotton (1993b) offers two related maxims regulating language choice, *the deference maxim* and *the virtuosity maxim*. The deference maxim calls for a departure from the unmarked choice in a conventionalized exchange and should be used, according to Myers-Scotton (1993b:54), when speakers "wish to show deference in their language choice to those from whom they desire something." That is, speakers choose a marked choice when they ask for a favor, mitigate a face-threatening act, or communicate with a higher ranked or more powerful interlocutor. This type of maxim could be found in an interaction between an employer and employee, parent and child, or even in a student-professor relationship in a foreign language classroom. The virtuosity maxim is based on the relative linguistic ability and language preference of the speakers involved. This maxim

states that one should make a marked choice whenever the linguistic ability of either interlocutor makes the unmarked choice inopportune. This can occur when speakers are not fluent in the unmarked choice and must use the marked code choice, or when it is evident that an interlocutor cannot follow or reciprocate in the unmarked code.

One of the main criticisms of Myers-Scotton's (1993b) markedness model, according to Niley (2006), is that it relies too heavily on the analyst's interpretation and external knowledge about what speakers understand and believe as related to the speech situation. Auer (1995:10), referring to this model, argues that it is possible to account for code-switching behavior without considering "conversation-external knowledge about language use," that is, the model relies on the researcher to make assumptions about speakers' internal states, prior relationship, or shared judgments about rights and obligations. On the other hand, an analyst, through observation over time, can learn which languages are typically used in specific situations. It is also important to note that Myers-Scotton's (1993b) markedness model is not intended as a description of individual speakers in specific conversations, but rather as a model of social or structural norms, and despite these criticisms, it still remains one of the most influential and fully developed models for defining code-switching motivations.

While Myers-Scotton (1993b) proposes a general universal model on the processes of code-switching, Heller (1992) observes the social functions of code-switching from a socio-political perspective in a particular social and historic setting. In her study, language choice is viewed as a political strategy for ethnic mobilization. Heller (1992) emphasizes the importance of understanding the role and significance of code-switching in a given community in terms of how its use is tied to the way groups control both the distribution of access to valued resources (e.g., jobs, social mobility, etc.) and the way that value is assigned. She provides ethnographic

observations in a sociolinguistic study in Quebec and Ontario viewing code-switching as a political strategy. Her research was influenced by Gumperz (1982) and Myers-Scotton (1993b) in terms of rights and obligations.

For example, Heller (1988) presents the situation of Anglophones in Quebec that are able to achieve a position in francophone controlled corporate culture, yet are still able to maintain an anglophone identity. Heller (1988) unites Bourdieu's (1977) concept of symbolic capital with Gumperz's (1982) discussion of verbal repertoires to show that dominant groups rely on norms of language choice to maintain symbolic domination, while subordinate groups may use code-switching to resist or redefine the value of symbolic resources in the linguistic marketplace. Heller (1988) is not primarily interested in the motivation or 'cause' of code-switching, but rather what potential transformative effects it carries. This focus on locally situated practices allows her to not have to over generalize her findings. This description of code-switching focuses on the relationship between language and identity in economic or class terms, as opposed to focusing on language and ethnicity.

2.5 Interaction and code-switching

Conversation, according to Auer (1984), is regarded as the primary form of socialized interaction among humans, and has seen changes in the way it has been observed and analyzed throughout history. According to Ilie (2001), the art of conversation was historically viewed from a prescriptive perspective, as manuals were written on how to speak in different settings and on particular occasions. Today, however, the approach to examining conversation has become more descriptive in nature as is the case of conversation analysis, which according to Li Wei (2002), concerns itself with the various ways in which talk is structured and socially organized and focuses on the sequential development of interaction. This, according to Auer

(1984), makes conversation analysis a natural point of departure for a turn-by-turn analysis of language alternation. This approach to analyzing bilingual interaction follows an earlier dichotomy between an analysis of grammatical patterns present in bilingual data and a more sociolinguistic approach that dealt with how external factors affect language choice. According to Li Wei (2002), the CA approach to bilingual interaction tends to focus more attention on the way in which individuals use certain languages or codes available in their bilingual repertoires to achieve specific interactional goals.

Auer (1984), echoing previous works by Goffman (1974, 1979), describes conversational interaction in terms of continuously producing frames for subsequent activities, which in turn create new frames. In terms of bilingual interaction, according to Auer (1984:5), when a participant chooses a certain language for an utterance which is part of a turn, the choice “changes some features of the situation, helps to maintain or reestablish others, and exerts influence on subsequent language choices.” In other words, code-switching should be analyzed in terms of its sequential development in interaction, focusing on language choices in the preceding and following turns and reconstructing the interaction as it unfolded in real time, rather than solely relying on a correlation between language choice and some externally determined values (Li Wei 2002). A conversational approach to bilingual interaction, according to Auer (1984), requires a detailed transcription of naturally occurring interactions, including important verbal and non-verbal cues such as pauses, hesitations, fillers, backchannels, etc., focusing on the observable techniques and strategies that participants employ to make themselves understood and to display their understanding of their interlocutor’s utterances. Several examples, according to Nilep (2006), of the CA approach to bilingual interaction include Auer’s examination of Italian immigrants in Germany (1984), Sebba and Wooten’s (1998) study

of young Caribbean Londoners and Stroud's (1998) study of various groups of multilingual speakers in Papua New Guinea.

Many of those studies involving a CA approach have revealed that code-switching carries out different conversational functions such as enhancing turn-selection (Li Wei 1998), softening refusals (Li Wei 2005), accomplishing repair (Auer 1995), and displaying dispreference for a preceding utterance (Li Wei 2005). Li Wei (2005) contends that meaningful research on code-switching should focus on its place within specific conversational contexts, that is, it should analyze the language a participant chooses and the subsequent effect or influence on further language choices that another/other participants use within the conversation. As was observed previously in this chapter, Myers-Scotton (1983) puts forth the markedness model in which internal aspects of speakers' motivation in language choices are analyzed. In his cooperative principle, Grice (1975:45) states that participants expect that each will make a "conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange." Grice (1975) explains various kinds of language choices through this principle, emphasizing the ability of the speaker to behave rationally in order to choose certain linguistic codes based on a 'cost-benefit' analysis (Boztepe 2001). Li Wei (2005) provides an example of an exchange between a mother and son in Cantonese and English:

- (32) A: Finished homework?
 A: (2.0)
 A. Steven, *yi mo wan sue?*
 (Do you want to do your homework?)
 B. (1.5) I've finished (Li Wei 2002: 378).

According to Li Wei (2005), most approaches to analyzing the previous interaction, including Myers-Scotton's (1988) markedness model would provide a basic and accurate analysis that the mother and son employ different languages as their unmarked choices; the

mother's being Cantonese and the son's, English. Li Wei (2005) explains that the mother's initial choice, then, of English, is seen as unexpected or marked, and when she does not receive an adequate response to her question, she switches to Cantonese, thus switching when she is not successful in establishing her authority by speaking English. Li Wei (2005), however, using a CA approach, prefers to expand the analysis of this bilingual dialogue to focus not only on the switched utterance, but also on the entire interaction. He examines the long pause by the son that follows the request in English by the mother, asking if he had finished his homework. Li Wei (2005) categorizes the 'noticeable silence' as a dispreference marker which triggers the mother to switch to Cantonese to reiterate her question. The reiteration in a switched code, according to Li Wei, is understood by the son as an indirect request to do his homework. The son follows again with a pause, marking his turn with more dispreference, and ultimately, choosing to signal this by contrasting his language (English) with that of his mother (Cantonese).

Another example contrasting this slight difference in approach to bilingual discourse is illustrated in Li Wei's (1988) observation of several discourse episodes of Chinese adults in Tyneside. This study reveals a number of cases in which Chinese children address a parent in English only to be met with delays and requests for repair. Through these responses, the parents show, and also create the language preference noted in the earlier studies. Li Wei (2005) contrasts the strength of observations based on sequential analysis with those based on rational-choice models, such as the markedness model (Myers-Scotton 1988, 1993b) in the following example:

(33) B: *mama women keneng qu MetroCentre kan dianying*
(We'll probably go to the cinema at the MetroCentre.)

A: *xing, xing, xing*
(Fine, fine, fine.) (1.2)

5 B: *kan sheme [nimen zhedao ma youmeiyou hao kan de*
 [Jenny shuo ta xian da dianhuo wenwen
 (0.6)
 (Do you know what to see? Is there anything nice to see?)

A: can I have some money pleeeeeease

B: what for

A: *wo he Jenny qu MetroCentre kan dianying*
 (Jenny and I are going to the cinema at the MetroCentre.)

(Li Wei 2005: 383)

In this dialogue, a Cantonese-English bilingual mother and daughter have been discussing (in Cantonese) the daughter's plans for the weekend. At line seven, the daughter switches to English to ask for money, and she switches back to Cantonese at line nine to offer her reason for the request. An explanation based on the markedness model would suggest that the daughter assumes the marked code (English) as a means to mitigate the fact that she is making a request or demand on her mother. However, Li Wei emphasizes the importance of examining not only the instances of code-switching, but also the turns that precede and follow the alternation. In this case, according to Li Wei (2005), the entire episode up to the request can be seen as a pre-sequence to the request. The entire discourse reveals a number of turns that can be classified as indirect requests. When these indirect requests fail, the daughter makes her request directly, signaling a change in medium from the pre-sequence. When the direct request meets with an indirect refusal, the daughter again switches to Cantonese to provide reason for the request. Li-Wei points out that the rational-based markedness model may reveal that the daughter mitigates her request for money through a change in code, but it is the closer examination of sequential turns that give fuller evidence for this activity. Li Wei (2005) suggests complementing the

notion of rights and obligations present in the markedness model with close observation of the interactive work speakers do in conversation so as to not impose the analysts' interpretation without evidence and lend validity and reliability to analyses of the functions of language in conversation. In conclusion, Auer (1984) and Li Wei (2005), as conversation analysis proponents, suggest that observations about social roles and language norms be tied to close observation of discourse, rather than basing them solely on analysts' intuitions, and that focusing "on the interaction-external factors alone means ignoring the richness of the interactive work speakers do in conversation" (Li Wei 2005:387). Ultimately, according to Li Wei (2005), a close observation of the speakers' interaction in bilingual discourse can strengthen analyses and lead to greater reliability.

Researchers using a conversation analysis approach have rarely focused on media discourse, but instead have looked at naturally occurring dialogues. According to Cashman (2002), those few studies which have used CA to observe interaction in media discourse have tended to focus on the political news interview (Greatbatch 1998; Heritage 1995), the creation of a bilingual identity through language use in interaction (Cashman 2002), and the use of openings, footing, and turn-taking in peer conversation.

The present study takes a more comprehensive approach to analyzing the functions of Spanish/English code-switching in a Spanish language talk show, in that it does not focus solely on one aspect of language alternation to the exclusion of others. Rather, the analysis of these functions takes into account Gumperz's (1982) classification of discourse strategies in bilingual discourse, Nishimura's (1995) strategies that bilingual speakers' employ in code-switching conversation, as well as an analytical approach to conversation that emphasizes discourse organization. This expanded approach to code-switching in conversation should help establish a

framework for analyzing and explaining specific functions of code-switching in Spanish language talk show dialogue. This approach also enables us to examine how talk-in-interaction unfolds, by focusing not only on specific switched utterances, but also on the turns that precede and follow the altered code, and the bilingual interaction as a whole.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the methods used in collecting the data for the study, the participants involved, the number and type of television programs recorded, and a brief description of the type of topics discussed on these programs. Finally, the type of transcription used, how it was analyzed, and the role it plays in the process of examining code-switching in bilingual conversation are explored. Specifically, the analysis of data attempts to answer the following questions: 1) What types of discourse functions are carried out by code-switching in the bilingual discourse of these talk shows and how do they correspond with those found by previous researchers such as Gumperz (1982), Sánchez (1983), and Nishimura (1995)? 2) What do speakers accomplish in conversation by switching codes in order to bring about stylistic effects such as attention attraction, emphasis, humor, and mitigation? 3) How do speakers use connotational switching (as presented by Sánchez 1983) in that when words appear to offer similar semantic information yet carry additional connotations inherent in the ideas and values of the speech community and the relationship between the interlocutors? And 4), how can topics of further research on the functions of Spanish/English code-switching in other mediums (e.g. computer-mediated communication, radio shows, classrooms, etc.) be explored?

3.2. Data collection

The data from the present study was taken from video-taped recordings of the Spanish language talk shows, *El Gordo y la Flaca* and *Cotorreando*. Five programs of each of these shows were recorded and two of each were selected for transcription and data analysis based upon the variety of conversation, the participants present, and the occurrence of code-switching

observed in the discourse. Both shows mentioned above are unique in that, unlike most talk shows, there is no studio audience present. The dialogue for the shows takes place between two hosts and several guests, mainly famous Latin pop stars and reporters interviewed by the hosts. In the case of *El Gordo y la Flaca* both hosts are of Cuban descent, and the program *Cotorreando* is presented by two hosts of Mexican descent.

The transcription for both programs was carried out following Psathas' (1995) transcription notation for conversational exchanges and can be found in Appendix I. A conversational approach to bilingual interaction, according to Auer (1984), requires a detailed transcription of naturally occurring interactions, including important verbal and non-verbal cues such as pauses, hesitations, fillers, backchannels, etc., focusing on the observable techniques and strategies that participants employ to make themselves understood and to display their understanding of their interlocutor's utterances. The utilization of video recordings allows for these non-verbal dialogue cues not readily identifiable in data compiled from audio-taping.

3.3. Description of the talk shows and participants

According to Cashman (2002), Univision, as the most popular Spanish language network, was first introduced in the United States in 1962, when its most-watched affiliate to date in Los Angeles went on air. Over the next two decades, it began to expand its market to Florida, New York City, and Chicago, and currently broadcasts to most major cities in the United States. In addition to popular Latin American *telenovelas* and variety shows, in 1988 Univision began to introduce programs specifically with a national audience in mind, geared toward Hispanics living in the United States. These programs included magazine styled shows discussing topics for the Hispanic woman, current affairs, and political and community news.

Telemundo is the second largest Spanish-language television network in the U.S. As of late, according to Cashman (2002), it has looked to distinguish itself from Univision by airing many of its *telenovelas* in English via closed captioning. As well, beginning in 2004, Telemundo began to produce its own *telenovelas* in the United States, instead of solely airing those filmed in Latin American countries, mainly Mexico.

The Spanish language talk show, *El Gordo y la Flaca* (The Fat Man and the Thin Girl) first aired in 1998 and is hosted by Raúl De Molina and Lili Estefan. The show combines interviews with actors, musicians, and other celebrities with reports and commentary about what is happening in their lives and in the world of entertainment. It is filmed in Miami and appears weekdays on Univisión. *Cotorreando*, or informal talking or ‘chatting’ is a daily Spanish language gossip television show that has been run by Telemundo since 2000. *Cotorreando* was established to be in direct competition with Univision's *El Gordo y la Flaca* and also is filmed in Miami, Florida.

In the case of *Cotorreando*, the episode that I chose to transcribe and analyze, centers around a discussion on the arrest of a popular Mexican singer, Pablo Montero. In addition to the two hosts, two lawyers, one with expertise in criminal cases, and the other with advice about immigration issues, appear to discuss the topic and the repercussions of the arrest. Other topics that appear in this episode include a discussion about a famous Latin pop star, Cristián Castro, and his dispute with his equally famous mother, and commentary about the love life of Spanish singer, Alejandro Sanz. The final guest to appear on the show is an astrologist, who comments about the topics previously introduced and attempts to predict what will happen in the future. I chose this episode of *Cotorreando* for the more serious nature of the topics being discussed, and also because it contrasts with the episode of *El Gordo y La Flaca*, which treats much more

informal topics in comparison. In the episode I chose to transcribe of *El Gordo y La Flaca*, the two hosts spend the first fifteen minutes of the show with no apparent set topic to discuss. The speakers talk about their family and other events happening in their personal lives, and because of the informality and seemingly open discussion, I was able to observe numerous instances of code-switching with virtually no hesitations or pauses, and smooth transitions from Spanish to English and vice versa. The planned topics for the show included discussion of the Latin representation in the announcement of the Oscar nominations for the Academy Awards and an overview of a specific style of Latin dance. The only topic during the show that displayed tones of formality was the discussion of the death of the Spanish singer, Rocío Durcal.

3.4. Transcription

After recording the Spanish language talk shows *El Gordo y la Flaca* and *Cotorreando*, I transcribed them following the transcription conventions adapted from Psathas (1995) and listed in Appendix I. In presenting the different speakers, I chose to use the names of the hosts marked with the initial of the first name, e.g., Mauricio as (M), and the guests and reporters were presented with their title, e.g., the lawyer is indicated as ‘abogado’. As a conversation analysis approach stresses that utterances in code-switching dialogue are not just single events, but rather, connected through interaction, I felt it important to transcribe features of talk that likely serve as contextualization cues, that is, features that assist in providing understanding of the interaction. These included pauses, changes in intonation and volume, gestures, interruptions, overlapping speech, and laughter. Utterances that were not comprehensible after multiple listenings were rendered as three x’s in parentheses, e.g., (xxx). As well, passages that were slightly unclear but about which I could make a reasonable guess were marked by placing the assumed word in

parentheses, e.g., (almuerzo). Short pauses were indicated by a period in parentheses, e.g., (.), and even though they were very minimal, longer pauses were timed and indicated in parentheses as well, e.g., (2.0), or two seconds. The primary language used in these talk shows was Spanish, which I chose to transcribe using Spanish orthography. All instances of non-Spanish language use, in the case of this study, English, were underlined. In the data analysis section of this study where examples of code-switched utterances are presented and analyzed, I followed the same patterns above for distinguishing the two languages, and provided the English translation in italics below the original text in Spanish.

In the next chapter I will present an analysis of the discourse/pragmatic functions of the code-switching utterances found in the dialogue of these Spanish language talk shows. This analysis was carried out following Gumperz's (1982) typology of the functions of code-switching, Nishimura's (1995) strategies employed in code-switching conversation, and Auer's (1984) and Li Wei's (2005) conversation analysis approach to examining language alternation in interaction. In the second part of the chapter I summarize and discuss the importance of the findings, as well as ideas for further research on the functions of code-switching in other speech environments.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present a descriptive analysis of the functions of code-switching found in the data taken from the Spanish language talk shows *El Gordo y La Flaca* and *Cotorreando*. This analysis, in addressing the research questions presented previously, takes into consideration a general typology of discourse functions of code-switching identified by Gumperz (1982), which distinguishes situational and metaphorical code-switching, and includes specific functions carried out by language alternation in conversation such as 1) quotation, 2) addressee specification, 3) interjections, 4) reiteration, 5) message qualification, and 6) personalization versus objectivization. The code-switching data are also analyzed taking into account Nishimura's (1995) classification of discursive/pragmatic functions of language switching in conversation, specifically focusing on the use of code-switching in the organization of discourse carried out by frame-marking and topic introduction and conclusion. Next, I look to Sánchez's (1983) description of connotational switching in analyzing instances of code-switching that seek to convey a different connotational meaning depending on the language chosen by the bilingual speaker. Finally, a conversation analysis approach is taken into account in my examination of the discourse functions of code-switching, which according to Li Wei (2002) should focus on the sequential context in which the switching between languages takes place. This includes, in addition to specific instances of language alternation, attention to previous and subsequent turns in the discourse, as well as important communicative mechanisms speakers use such as pauses, gaps, stresses in language via pitch, and areas of overlapping speech.

4.2 Analysis of code-switches

According to Nilep (2006), much of the previous research on code-switching involved acceptability judgements of code switched utterances analyzed by bilingual speakers, hypothetical situations in which code-switching might take place, and prepared questions used to illicit responses that involved language alternation. The advantage of the current study, however, in which the television hosts were able to talk freely and informally on a variety of topics, is that it produces data characterized by natural, unprepared speech, more closely resembling discourse heard outside the television studio. Nevertheless, in examining the discourse functions carried out by the switching of languages, researchers (Poplack 1980; Auer 1984) have noted the difficulty in assigning a specific function to each of the switches found in code-switching data. Many examples from the present study, as well as examples from Auer's (1984) study, show that code-switching may represent multiple functions in a particular interaction. Though it takes into consideration the multifunctionality of the discourse functions of code-switching, this study is by no means exhaustive; but it seeks to observe and describe some of the socio-pragmatic patterns of code-switching used in Spanish/English discourse in television talk shows.

4.2.1. Topic change

Blom and Gumperz (1972) first introduced the idea of *situational switching*, or a change in codes that is signaled by an alternation in the setting, topic, or participants involved. While the setting of the television talk show for this particular study does not change, the topics and situations discussed indeed do. Specifically, I found that speakers would code-switch in order to signal a change in topic of conversation, either with the intent of introducing a new direction for the dialogue, or putting closure on a topic being presently discussed. In the first example (34), (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 190), the two hosts are talking about a friend they

haven't seen in a while. The conversation continues, yet the speaker who eventually code switches to change topics, indicates beforehand in line four that he doesn't want to talk about the person anymore. He eventually switches to English in line eight to change the direction of the conversation, and even explicitly states in Spanish that he is going to change the topic, and begins to talk about music from a specific region of Mexico:

- (34)
- | | | |
|---|----|---|
| 1 | L: | ¿A quién viste en el Mundial? |
| 2 | R: | No, no |
| 3 | L: | Ay::: (.) Doris Mar |
| 4 | R: | No, no menciones el nombre de ella |
| 5 | L: | Doris Mar (.) ya sé |
| 6 | R: | No sabemos nada de ella desde (2.0) desde el mundial de fútbol hace tiempo |
| 7 | L: | Ay Raúl |
| 8 | R: | <u>Okay everybody</u> ahora voy a cambiar el tema. A pesar del gran éxito que ha tenido la música duranguense, (.) hay alguien que asegura que muy pronto este movimiento musical va a desaparecer. |
-
- | | | |
|---|----|---|
| 1 | L: | <i>Who did you see at the World Cup?</i> |
| 2 | R: | <i>No, no</i> |
| 3 | L: | <i>Oh::: (.) Doris Mar</i> |
| 4 | R: | <i>No, don't mention her name</i> |
| 5 | L: | <i>Doris Mar (.) I know</i> |
| 6 | R: | <i>We haven't heard anything from her since (2.0) since the World Cup of Soccer a long time ago</i> |
| 7 | L: | <i>Oh Raúl</i> |
| 8 | R: | <i><u>Okay everybody</u> now I'm going to change the topic. In spite of the enormous popularity of music from Durango, (.) there is someone who assures that very soon this musical movement is going to disappear.</i> |

Another way in which code-switching was utilized in a change of topics was in introducing a hypothetical situation, such as in (35) (*Cotorreando*, Appendix III: turn 38), in which the hosts are talking with a lawyer about a famous Mexican singer who has been arrested for reckless driving and drug possession. In the first line, one of the hosts is inquiring about legal matters and what the possible outcomes are for this Latin star. The lawyer switches to English in line two to present a hypothetical situation in order to answer the question.

- (35) 1 R: ¿Por que él aceptó que la bolsa que llevaba en este carro(.) sí, era de él?
 2 Ab: Okay so vamos a empezar con la idea en que Pablo es inocente de los cargos que lo están acusando //de él
 3 R: Hasta que* se //compruebe
- 1 R: *Why did he accept that the bag that he was carrying in this car really was his?*
 2 Ab: Okay so we're going to start with the idea that Pablo is innocent of the charges that they are accusing// him of
 3 R: *Until* it's proven*

Several times a speaker chose to change from Spanish to English in order to introduce a new topic, followed by a question. In both (36) and (37), the speaker changes the direction of the dialogue by switching to English and then follows with a personal question in Spanish. In (36) (*Cotorreando*, Appendix III: turn 132), both hosts are talking about the singer previously mentioned. The male host code-switches to shift to a new topic and follows up with a personal statement and question to the female host in line five:

- (36) 1 M: Pero la verdad en estos momentos (.) no echarle leña al fuego
 2 R: Claro
 3 M: ¿Verdad que sí?
 4 R: Claro que no
 5 M: Alright (.) okay tú eres mamá. ¿Qué piensas de esta historia que vas a comentar?
- 1 M: *But the truth is in these moments (.) don't add fuel to the fire*
 2 R: *Of course*
 3 M: *Right?*
 4 R: *Of course not*
 5 M: *Alright* (.) *okay* you're a mom. *What do you think about this story that you're about to comment on?*

In (37) (*Cotorreando*, Appendix III: turn 282), both hosts are talking to a guest astrologer who is on the program to share his predictions about the future of some famous Latin stars. They each take turns asking the guest about different people, and when they finally want to stop

talking about famous people, and instead talk about themselves, they switch from Spanish to English to put the focus on a new question, and then continue in Spanish with several more questions:

- (37)
- 1 M: ¿Qué le ves a Bobby?
 - 2 D: Bueno (.) Bobby// Larios
 - 3 M: Okay* forget Bobby (.) ¿qué nos ves de nosotros?
 - 4 R: ¿Qué nos ves de nosotros?
 - 5 M: ¿Qué le ves al público?
-
- 1 M: *What do you see for Bobby?*
 - 2 D: *Well (.) Bobby// Larios*
 - 3 M: *Okay* forget Bobby (.) What do you see for us?*
 - 4 R: *What do you see for us?*
 - 5 M: *What do you see for the public?*

Gumperz (1982), in arguing the importance of close analysis of spoken exchanges, identifies and describes six basic discourse functions carried out by code-switching in conversation. As noted in Chapter 2, code-switching is a strategic device used by bilingual speakers in interaction, in the same way that lexical items, prosodic features, and even gestures are available to monolingual speakers. Bilinguals can switch languages in order to evoke a different mood or change their footing with respect to other speakers.

4.2.2. Quotation/reported speech

In bilingual data, speakers oftentimes report on utterances in the language in which they were spoken (Gumperz 1982). As a function of code-switching identified by Gumperz (1982), quotations are occurrences of switching where someone else's utterance is reported either as a direct quote or as reported speech. In this study, this function was carried out several times in both programs and was used to report on events in the past as well as to present hypothetical situations. In (38) (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 97) the female host is talking about a day at her children's school in which snow was brought in for the kids to play. She relates the

events and then, in line four, shares what her daughter said to her while playing, presumably switching to English since the event took place in a school in the United States:

- (38) 1 R: Me encanta la idea.
 2 L: Tenían nieve para todos los niños.
 3 R: Me encanta.
 4 L: Todos jugaron (.) o sea a las nueve de la mañana todos (.) oh no te imaginas. Mi niña estaba (.) mami I'm getting dirty (.) los guantes Eh, pero muy divertido la verdad (.) lo que pasa es que efectivamente duró -¿hasta qué hora? (.) once de la mañana.
- 1 R: *I love the idea*
 2 L: *They had snow for all the children*
 3 R: *I love it*
 4 L: *They all played (.) like at nine o'clock in the morning (.) you can't even imagine. My daughter was like (.) mommy I'm getting dirty (.) the gloves. Eh, but it was really fun (.) it's just that it lasted -until what time? (.) eleven in the morning.*

The female host uses the utterance *estaba* in Spanish to set-up a direct quote switched to English to describe what her daughter said to her during an event in which the children played in the snow. In addition to uttering the quote in English, the host also used a childish tone to directly copy the way in which the utterance was relayed by her daughter.

In another example (39) (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 122), the two hosts report on the Golden Globe Awards, in which the governor of California, Arnold Schwarzenegger, presents an award to Mexican director Alejandro González Iñárritu. The two hosts explain that the director, in receiving the award, makes a joke to the governor about having his legal papers to be in the United States. The female host switches to English to share the direct quote, and the male host follows up by repeating it in Spanish:

- (39) 1 R: que es filmada en casi el mundo entero (.) así que felicidades. Me acuerdo cuando el director estaba el otro día en los Golden Globes (1.0) eh que estaba Arnold Schwarzenegger allí cuando le llaman a él para recibir el premio=

- 2 L: =Sí (.) Don't worry I've got my papers. (hhh)
 3 R: Yo tengo los papeles en orden, (.) exactamente. Felicidades
- 1 R: *is filmed throughout almost the entire world (.) so congratulations. I remember when the director was on the Golden Globes the other day (1.0) eh and Arnold Schwarzenegger was there when they call him up to receive an award=*
- 2 L: =Yeah (.) Don't worry I've got my papers. (hhh)
 3 R: *I've got my papers in order (.) exactly. Congratulations*

The male host describes the scene in which this event takes place in Spanish. The female host interrupts him and switches to English to quote exactly what was said by the movie director. Nishimura (1995) found that bilingual speakers would code switch not only to report the original language used, but also to bring about a stylistic effect, specifically to make the discourse livelier. In (39), the switch to English is not only used to directly quote a previous utterance, but it is also one of many switches in the data that provides a stylistic effect of the type mentioned by Nishimura (1995). In the case of this specific example, the female host switches to provide a humorous effect, as evidenced by the laughter following the switched utterance.

Quotations were also used as a discourse function in the data to introduce a hypothetical situation, such as in (40) (*Cotorreando*, Appendix III: turn 150). In the following exchange, the lawyer that is on the show, comments on the police report that shows that a bag of cocaine was found in a famous Mexican singer's car, and how the star could legally proceed with his defense:

- (40) 1 Ab: Seguro que sí. Una cosa importante en este caso (.) -yo leí el reporte de la policía que es el primer reporte (.) so a lo mejor hay otro que enseña que él admitió que fue de él. Pero ninguna parte que yo leí decía que él estaba admitiendo que la cocaína que encontraron fue de él. Él puede hacer una defensa que yes the bag is mine //pero
 2 R: Pero es*//la posesión

- 1 Ab: *Of course. One important thing in this case (.) –I read the police report and that’s the first report (.) so maybe there’s another one that shows that he admitted that it was his. But no part that I read said that he was admitting that the cocaine that they found was his. He can make a defense that yes the bag is mine //but*
- 2 R: *But it’s*//the possession*

The lawyer in (40) uses Spanish to introduce a hypothetical legal situation for the singer who has been arrested. When he presents a quote for the defense the singer could use, he switches intrasententially to English, stating how the defense would presumably be uttered in a court in the United States. This alternation of codes carries out the simple function of quoting a hypothetical utterance in the language in which it would definitely be used, in this case, English for a legal situation in the United States.

The following example (41) (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 240), also illustrates the use of intrasentential code-switching to carry out the function of quoting or reporting, yet in this example the speech event happened in the past. In (41), the two hosts inquire about the name of a guest singer they are interviewing on the show. In the turns preceding the intrasentential code switched quotation, the hosts discover that the singer is from Los Angeles and attended high school there. The singer, then, goes on to describe how she was given her nickname and switches to English to elaborate on a specific situation that led the other students to give her the nickname ‘Kuky’:

- (41) 1 Kuky: Sí soy de Los Angeles
 2 R: ¿y te llamaban Kuky en High School?
 3 Kuky: Sí porque siempre he sido una persona muy sarcástica (.) y en la escuela la gente, (.) pues venía y me decía (.) oh I got an A or a 10 y no sé qué tanto y es que yo le decía, ¿y qué quieres una cookie?
 4 R: ah::
 5 L: una cookie

- 1 Kuky: *Yes I'm from Los Angeles*
- 2 R: *and they called you Kuky in High School?*
- 3 Kuky: *Yeah because I've always been a sarcastic person(.) and at school people, (.) well came up to me and said (.) oh I got an A or a 10 and I don't know what else and I said to them, what do you want a cookie?*
- 4 R: *ah:::*
- 5 L: *a cookie*

In this example, the guest constructs a dialogue to describe what someone would say to her in school when they did well on a test or in the class. She switches to English to directly quote what was said to her, presumably since the event took place in a school in the United States.

The quote, in addition to reporting on a previous speech event, was also uttered in an enthusiastic tone which Nishimura (1995) describes as a pragmatic function of quotation, carried out to have a more lively effect on the description of the event.

4.3.3. Addressee specification

Gumperz (1982) suggested the function 'addressee specification' to refer to those utterances that are code switched with the intention of including or excluding one or more listeners. Because both television programs featured mostly the dialogue between two hosts, this function did not occur often in the data. When the hosts, however, chose to address a guest or someone off stage, there were a few instances in the data of utilizing this linguistic strategy in order to get their attention. In example (42) (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 16), the two hosts converse about a man who has sent in a postcard wanting to break a record by lifting up the male host (*El Gordo*). The female host inquires about the name of the man first in Spanish, and then directs her question to a producer off stage in English. She switches back to Spanish to inquire once more about his name, and then clarifies the answer switching back to English again:

- (42) 1 L: Yo creo que for sure Raúl sería el objeto más pesado que esté señor, -
¿cómo se llama Frank? ¿Frank (.) what's his name? ¿cómo se llama?
What? (producer yells "Frank" from offstage)
- 2 L: Oh, he's Frank too? Él se llama Frank también, okay
- 1 L: *I think that for sure Raúl would be the heaviest object that this man, -*
What's his name Frank? ¿Frank (.) what's his name? What's his name?
What? (producer yells "Frank" from offstage)
- 2 L: Oh, he's Frank too? *His name is Frank too, okay*

In (43) (*Cotorreando*, Appendix III: turn 227), the two hosts are talking about a famous Mexican singer and his marital problems. The male host then introduces the guest astrologer to the show but pronounces his name wrong. The female host gives the correct pronunciation and the host switches to English to apologize for mispronouncing his name, followed by nervous laughter:

- (43) 1 M: Okay (.) para hablar a propósito (.) -más de todo lo que está pasando y seguirá pasando con Cristián y su esposa Valeria (.) además otras parejas de famosos tienen altos y bajos todo el tiempo (.) -tenemos aquí en el estudio con nosotros a David de Pabrilla (1.0) de Vabrilla
- 2 R: de Vabrilla (hhh)
- 3 M: I'm sorry (.) I'm so sorry (hhh)
- 4 D: No, no
- 1 M: *Okay (.) to talk in fact (.) –more than anything about what's happening and what will happen with Cristián and his wife Valeria (.) besides other famous couples have their highs and lows all the time (.) -we have here in the studio with us David de Pabrilla (1.0) de Vabrilla*
- 2 R: *de Vabrilla (hhh)*
- 3 M: *I'm sorry (.) I'm so sorry (hhh)*
- 4 D: *No, no*

Here, the male host mispronounces the guest's last name and switches to English to offer an apology. The alternation of languages in this example is specifically addressed to the guest, as all the interlocutors switch back to Spanish to continue the conversation. Sánchez (1984), in observing Chicano bilingual discourse in the American Southwest, found that certain speech acts such as requests, apologies, compliments, and refusals, would trigger a change in codes by the speakers in order to emphasize the sincerity and/or importance of the utterance. In example (43),

the host switches to English not only to perform the act of apologizing, but also to convey sincerity in the apology after mispronouncing the guest's name.

4.2.4. Interjection

Poplack (1980) finds that single noun/tag switching is the most prominent form of code-switching between Spanish/English bilinguals. In both programs, these tag switches and discourse markers in English were some of the most commonly occurring kinds of code-switching in the data, and these findings are similar to other studies that have examined the use of English discourse markers in Spanish dialogue (Grosjean 1995; Lipski 2005). From a structural perspective, Lipski (2005) contends that the appearance of these functional elements in English more readily appear in Spanish discourse because of their congruent lexicalization and collaborative interaction between the two grammars. The most frequently used discourse markers in the data were *okay*, *so*, *I mean*, *maybe*, *you know*, *for sure*, and *right*. The discourse functions that these markers carried out in the data, however, vary depending on the speaker, topic, and context, and will be discussed next.

One of the ways that a code switched interjection was used in the data was to mitigate a negative remark through humor. In (44) and (45) the two hosts and the guest singer discuss the origins of her name, 'Kuky', which pronounced in English is 'cookie'. In both examples, the guest makes a negative reference to the weight of the male host in Spanish, and follows the utterance with a discourse marker in English, followed by laughter, (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 245 and *El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 277):

- (44) 1 R: ah:: (.) a mí me gusta eso (.) ¿quieres una cookie? yo (.) sí quiero una
 cookie
 2 Kuky: Sí, en el caso de Raúl once maybe (hhh)

- 1 R: *ah::: (.) I like that (.) Do you want a cookie? Me (.) yeah I want a cookie*
 2 Kuky: *Yeah in Raul's case eleven maybe (hhh)*

In (45) the male host comments that the guest looks like a famous news reporter and gives her a compliment before joking again about the origin of her name. The guest once again makes reference to the male host's weight in Spanish and adds a switched tag marker in English to mitigate the negative remark, followed by laughter:

- (45) 1 R: No (.) pero luces muy bonita
 2 L: ¿quieres una cookie?
 3 R: Yo quiero una cookie. (hhh)
 4 K: El quiere una for sure (hhh)
- 1 R: *No (.) but you look very pretty*
 2 L: *Do you want a cookie?*
 3 R: *I want a cookie. (hhh)*
 4 K: *He wants one for sure (hhh)*

Here, the guest interjects her utterance in Spanish, only to switch to English by using *for sure* after sarcastically commenting on the male host's desire to eat a cookie. The switch is then followed by laughter which could serve the purpose of a humorous effect, as indicated by Nishimura (1995). Both switches (44) and (45), however, also follow a negative remark and could carry out a function of mitigating or 'lessening' the negativity involved in the previous utterances.

Another function carried out by these switched discourse elements was to introduce an explanation or an expansion on the previous utterance. In both (46) and (47) the female host is explaining a personal point of view and uses the English discourse marker *I mean* to set-up an expanded explanation. In (46) (*Cotorreando*, Appendix III: turn 10), the male host introduces the female host's new program dealing with women's issues and inquires if men can watch the

show as well. She first states that she doesn't object to men watching the program in Spanish, introduces a discourse marker in English, and then expands on her previous explanation:

- (46)
- 1 R: Así es (.) un besito para ustedes, gracias por invitarme
 - 2 M: Pero si un hombre quiere ver el programa, ¿tú no te opones?
 - 3 R: Pero claro que no (.) I mean los hombres están invitados para que sepan cómo pensamos nosotras, qué decisiones tomamos
-
- 1 R: *That's right (.) a kiss for all of you, thanks for inviting me*
 - 2 M: *But if a man wants to see the program, you don't object do you?*
 - 3 R: *Of course not (.) I mean men are invited so that they can know how we women think, what decisions we make*

The switch to English *I mean* can be seen as a connective link between the two utterances. The utterance after the switch carries out a function of expanding and clarifying the answer given in the previous utterance before the code change. According to Schwenter (1996:861), the use of these types of interjections and discourse markers is thus to “guide the hearer to the correct interpretation of this portion of the discourse and present instructions to the hearer for a better overall understanding.” In the case of bilingual discourse, and example (46) and (47), these interjections in English not only follow up a preceding answer with more information, but they also serve to grab the attention of other interlocutors and focus their attention on further information to be given.

Here in (47) (*Cotorreando*, Appendix III: turn 216) the two hosts are commenting on the positive and negative aspects of different types of weddings that famous people have. They express their opinion about some examples of weddings that were non-traditional, and in their opinion, only done as a spectacle without any true sentiment. In (14) the female host expresses her disgust with these types of weddings using the term *horrible* in Spanish, and expands on this sentiment switching to the English discourse marker *I mean* first, and then switching back to Spanish to express more of her views:

- (47) 1 R: es un show
 2 M: es un espectáculo
 3 R: qué horrible (.) y lo hacen tantas veces cuando es una decisión tan del corazón (.) I mean tan, tan íntima
- 1 R: *It's a show*
 2 M: *It's a spectacle*
 3 R: How horrible (.) *and they do it so many times when it's such an emotional decision (.) I mean so, so intimate*

The function of reiteration was one of the most represented in the data in both television programs. This kind of language alternation occurred when speakers chose to repeat or clarify an utterance or message in a different language, and specifically in this study, speakers chose to switch to English and then repeat the message in Spanish. In all instances of language alternation, this function was characterized by a smooth transition between switches without hesitations or pauses, a common characteristic, according to Poplack (1980), among Spanish/English bilingual speakers in the United States.

4.2.5. Reiteration/clarification

The way in which speakers reiterated switched utterances in the data varied depending on the topic, context, and speaker. In (48) (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 153), the switch to English carries out an emphatic function, and was uttered while the male host dramatically gestured the message that he was trying to convey. The two hosts were discussing the wardrobe selection by a famous Mexican singer, who chose to wear an unusual amount of clothing during an interview. The male host describes what the singer was wearing, and when he begins to gesture dramatically to illustrate his message, he switches to English. He then returns to Spanish to reiterate the utterance said in English:

- (48) 1 R: No entendí (.) fue con tanta ropa. Era un gorro, lo tenía todo up to here (.) hasta acá
 2 L: Raúl (.) había mucho frío.

- 3 R: *¿Tú sabes qué? Yo creo que Ninel Conde no debe de presentarse en ningún lugar donde haya frío.*
- 1 R: *I don't understand (.) she went with so much clothing. There was a cap, she had everything up to here (.) up to here*
- 2 L: *Raúl (.) it was really cold*
- 3 R: *You know what? I don't think that Ninel Conde should appear anywhere where it's cold.*

While the switch in (48) can be seen as carrying out a stylistic function in emphasizing the amount of clothing worn by a famous singer, the change in code also serves to reiterate in Spanish the same utterance previously spoken in English. Nishimura (1995) found that bilingual speakers used reiteration in an attempt to reach out to two types of speakers at the same time. In the case of these Spanish language talk shows, a bilingual community is the reality for its audience, who more than likely communicate in both Spanish and English in a variety of environments throughout the day. Nishimura (1995) comments that reiteration is often used in bilingual discourse as speakers take into account the linguistic abilities of their interlocutors through verbal or non-verbal cues. As it was impossible to transcribe the audience's comments and reactions to the dialogue, I do believe that reiteration was the function most carried out by the switching of the hosts because of the reality of a Spanish language program shown in the United States.

Another function carried out by a switched utterance that served the purpose of reiteration, deals mainly with the place in which an event took place. That is, oftentimes in the data, speakers would switch to English to convey a word or utterance that more closely describes an event or situation that took place in the United States, and then reiterate, or explain the meaning in Spanish. In (49) (*Cotorreando*, Appendix III: turn 19), the two hosts are discussing the arrest of a famous Mexican singer and interview a police spokesman for details about the

arrest. It is likely that the spokesman switched to English to describe the legal reason for the arrest since the event took place in Miami, Florida. After switching to English in line one, he switches back to Spanish to reiterate or explain the legal term in Spanish:

(49) 1 Policía: Fue arrestado por reckless driving, básicamente manejando
 2 sin tener cuidado. Se había llevado dos luces y casi casi
 3 hubo (.) hubo un choque con la persona tratando de evitar
 4 chocar con él.

1 Policía: *He was arrested for reckless driving, basically driving
 2 without being careful. He had passes through two lights
 3 and there (.) there almost almost was a crash with the
 4 person trying to avoid crashing into him.*

This type of switch was typical and found frequently in the data in which the speaker switched to English to introduce a legal term and then switched back to Spanish to explain the utterance in greater detail. I do not believe that this is an example of a lexical gap, a point which I will address later, but rather the use of English, in this case, reflects the reality of describing legal events that take place in the United States.

Other examples in the data involving reiteration carried out by code-switching, which also illustrate the legitimacy and seemingly unconscious alternation of languages by the speakers, are presented in (50) and (51). The first example (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 4) appears at the beginning of the program as the two hosts are greeting the viewing audience and themselves. The female host in line one switches to English to describe a *postcard* that the male host has received. She then returns to Spanish to say *tarjeta*. In line two, however, the male host confirms that he has received the postcard and uses the masculine form of the direct object pronoun *lo* to refer to *postcard* instead of *la* to refer to *tarjeta*, in Spanish.

(50) 1 L: Raúl ha recibido un postcard de Las Vegas (.) una tarjeta
 2 R: Verdad lo recibí hace media hora

- 1 L: *Raúl received a postcard from Las Vegas (.) a postcard*
 2 R: *That's right I received it a half an hour ago*

Here, the female host reiterates the word *postcard* in English with *tarjeta* in Spanish as a way to appeal to the linguistic abilities and the bilingual reality in the United States of all hearers in the audience.

Another example (51) (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 78) appears later in the program when the female host begins to describe the fake snow that was brought to her children's school for a day. In the first line she switches to English to share what the name of the event was called, and then switches back to Spanish to repeat the name. In line two, the male host asks how the snow was brought in, and instead of using the word in Spanish *nieve*, he switches to English to use the word *snow*:

- (51) 1 L: *Oye recuerda que mis hijos hicieron Snow Day, un día de nieve*
 2 R: *¿Y (.) cómo trajeron el snow?*
 1 L: *Listen remember that my kids did Snow Day, a day of snow*
 2 R: *and how did the bring in the snow?*

In (51), the female host switches to English to say the official name of an event that took place at a school in the United States. She uses reiteration by switching back to Spanish to explain the previous utterance. This switch also carries out a function of quotation as the speaker uses the exact name of the event in the language in which it appears.

4.2.6. Message qualification

When bilingual speakers code switch for message qualification, the main content is expressed in one language, followed by an elaboration or explanation in another. It is similar to reiteration in that it deals with the same topic, but differs slightly in that it adds extra information or includes an additional comment to the utterance that came before. This function of code-

switching, however, was observed infrequently in the data. In example (52) (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 249), the two hosts are speaking with the guest singer and discussing her collaboration with another group called ‘Akwid.’ In line four, the female host uses the discourse marker in Spanish *o sea* (in other words) to introduce a switched utterance in English, explaining the collaboration between the singer and the group:

- (52) 1 L: Entonces te quedaste con Kuky y te lanzaste ahora como Kuky pero por casualidad //tus padrinos son el grupo Akwid
 2 K: Como Kuky (1.0) sí se me quedó*
 3 R: aha:: Akwid
 4 L: o sea it's Kuky and Akwid
 5 K: Kuky y Akwid
- 1 L: *So you stayed with the name Kuky and you launched yourself now as Kuky but just out of curiosity//your partners are the group Akwid*
 2 K: *As Kuky (1.0) yeah it just stuck**
 3 R: *aha:: Akwid*
 4 L: *in other words it's Kuky and Akwid*
 5 K: *Kuky and Akwid*

In (52), the female host asks the guest about her collaboration with the group *Akwid*. The guest does not answer nor make reference to the host's question, so the host introduces the discourse marker *o sea* and switches to English to expand on the previous utterance describing the guest and the music group working together. Li Wei (1995), in his study of a Tyneside Chinese immigrant community in England, found that speakers would code switch if a question or remark was followed by hesitation or non-mention of the inquiry. Here, the female host uses *o sea* to introduce an expanded explanation and then switches to English to answer the question *it's Kuky and Akwid*, that was not answered by the guest previously.

4.2.7. Personalization/emotional comment

According to Gumperz's (1982) typology, bilingual speakers may code switch as a personalization or objectivization technique, that is, switch languages in order to make their

message more personal or objective. This alternation of languages serves as a way for speakers to either express personal emotional involvement with the content and the interlocutors, or to distance themselves from the subject matter being discussed. This functional use of code-switching was encountered a few times in the data, and oftentimes served as a tool to express humor, praise, and even disdain. In (53) (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 285), the male host is trying to guess the age of the guest singer on the program. In line one he is inquiring about different ages, and when there is no response he tells her in Spanish that it doesn't matter if he finds out her age or not, and then switches to English when he compliments her on her youthfulness. She responds in English that she is still young, yet doesn't give a specific age. The host in line three then switches back to Spanish to again guess her age:

- (53) 1 R: Ah (.) tienes más de 20 (.) 21 años (.) 22 por allí? Okay (.) no importa you still look really young
 2 K: Yeah (.) I'm still young
 3 R: ¿Pero más de 18 tienes?
 4 K: Yeah, yeah, yeah
 1 R: Ah (.) are you over 20 (.) 21 years old (.) 22 around there? Okay (.) it doesn't matter you still look really young
 2 K: Yeah (.) I'm still young
 3 R: But you're over 18?
 4 K: Yeah, yeah, yeah

Here, the host switches to English to personalize a compliment given to the guest singer. This switch also carries out the function of mitigating what could be perceived as a sensitive topic in talking about the singer's age. As the guest doesn't respond right away to the inquiry about her age, the host switches to English to compliment her on her youthful look. This switch can be seen, as mentioned previously by Nishimura (1995), as a way to personally involve the interlocutor in the discussion, since she does not specifically answer the question about her age.

Just as the preceding example illustrated the use of code-switching to express an opinion and to give praise, in the following one, a code switched utterance carries out the function of introducing a more negative view on a topic. In (54) (*Cotorreando*, Appendix III: turn 12), the two hosts are beginning a discussion on the latest news about a Mexican singer arrested for reckless driving and possession of cocaine. The male host introduces the topic and the female host responds by switching to English in line two to say ‘oh my,’ and to introduce a personal opinion on the subject matter, which is done after switching back to Spanish:

- (54) 1 M: A ver bienvenida. Bueno (.) tú estás al tanto, mi amor, de lo de Pablo
 2 R: Oh my::: eso me tiene tan disgustada.
- 1 M: Okay welcome. *So (.) you're informed, my love, about the thing with Pablo*
 2 R: Oh my::: *that has me so disgusted.*

This function of code-switching is used again in (55) (*Cotorreando*, Appendix III: turn 136) to express a personal opinion of sadness on a topic that the two hosts are discussing. The discussion revolves around the separation between a famous Mexican singer and his equally famous mother, who do not see or speak to one another. The female host gives her personal opinion that a mother should always be there for her child, and the male host responds by switching to English to express his personal sadness toward the situation as well:

- (55) 1 R: Lo que sea (.) no importa. Esa es mi opinión particular como madre. Respecto a quien piense de diferente pero realmente yo creo que uno como madre no tiene límites siempre tiene que estar allí.
 2 M: Wow esto es muy triste
- 1 R: *Whatever (.) it doesn't matter. That is my personal opinion as a mother. I respect whomever thinks differently but really I think that as a mother you can't have any limits, you always have to be there..*
 2 M: Wow *this is very sad*

Nishimura (1995:168) finds that bilingual speakers code switch certain particles to “reveal their emotional attitudes toward the content of the sentence.” She indicates that these utterances can express doubt, conviction, sadness, caution, inquiry, etc. In (54) and (55), the speaker switches to English before introducing a personal opinion about the topic being discussed. In (54) she expresses disgust toward the arrest of a popular Mexican singer, and in (55) the particle *wow* is used to express sadness over a broken relationship between mother and son.

4.2.8. Connotational switching

Sánchez (1983) introduces the idea that bilingual speakers are aware that a word or utterance in one language may share semantic properties in denotation with a word or utterance in another language, yet differ in connotation, depending on context or topic. Several examples are found in the data in which a word or utterance was used in English to convey a different connotation than the one its Spanish equivalent would have implied. In (56) (*Cotorreando*, Appendix III: turn 196) and (57) (*Cotorreando*, Appendix III: turn 182), the two hosts were sent a bucket of Kentucky Fried Chicken to promote on their show. Whenever they referred to the chicken they switched to English instead of saying *el pollo frito* in Spanish. In the data, there were a total number of five switches to English to say *fried chicken*. I believe this type of switch serves the purpose of conveying a different connotational meaning in that in using ‘el fried chicken’ the speaker might refer to chicken the way it is fried and prepared in the United States, and even specifically, the way it is served in a bucket for Kentucky Fried Chicken. The use of *el pollo frito* o *el chicarrón de pollo* by the bilingual speakers could convey a different way in which the chicken is prepared or served, or even where it is served or eaten. In (56) the male host switches to English in line one as he jokes that the producers told him that if they ate on camera they would lose their jobs:

- (56) 1 M: =No, nos dijeron que no podíamos comer (.) este el fried chicken que si comíamos en pantalla, nos echaban (1.0), perdíamos la chamba (hhh)
- 1 M: =*No, they told us that we couldn't eat (.) um the fried chicken that if we ate on camera, they would throw us out (1.0), we would lose our jobs (hhh)*

In (57), the switch to English again carries out a connotational function. In this example, the switch was most likely made to English as the speaker was referring specifically to fried chicken in a bucket:

- (57) 1 M: ¿Sabes qué? El Kentucky Fried Chicken está en todas partes del mundo=
 2 R: (hhh)
 3 M. =como las famosas hamburguesas de MacDonalds y otras compañías. Le mandamos una cubeta de fried chicken (1.5) a, a Tailandia.
- 1 M: *You know what? Kentucky Fried Chicken is everywhere around the world=*
 2 R: (hhh)
 3 M. =*like MacDonald's famous hamburgers and other companies. We send her a bucket of fried chicken (1.5) a, a Thailand.*

Another example in the data in which a code switched utterance carries out a function of connotational switching is (58) (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 31), in which the male host is showing a gift that he received for participating in a movie. The host switches to English to describe the little jewels that he is wearing on his shirt-sleeve. It is possible that he uses the word *jewels* in English instead of *joyas* in Spanish because he feels that *joyas* refers to jewelry that might be considered more feminine, or more apt to be worn by a woman. Once the host switches to English to refer to the gift as *jewels*, he switches and uses the word three more times in the data, without ever using the word in Spanish:

- (58) 1 R: Claro que estaba en la película (.) mira, ¿quiere dar por favor un close-up? Aquí se pueden ver los jewels. ¿Pueden, pueden? (.) estos jewels tan bonitos

- 1 R: *Of course I was in the movie (.) look, do you want to give a close-up? Here you can see the jewels. Can you, can you? (.) these really pretty jewels*

4.2.9. Lexical gaps

Many observers of code-switching incorrectly assume that bilingual speakers only alternate languages to fill a lexical gap. The examples presented above illustrate the multifunctionality of code-switching in that it can serve a purpose beyond that of just substituting a missing word from one language into another. The data, however, did reveal two instances in which the speaker did not, or could not remember a word in Spanish, and chose to switch to English to substitute an unknown or forgotten utterance. In (59) (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 255), the guest singer is explaining to the hosts how she became partners with another musical group, and how she used to write the songs in her car so that she could have privacy. In the first turn in the following sequence, the guest describes the car as the only place where she could write. She pauses and then repeats the utterance *donde tengo* before switching to the English word *privacy*, because she presumably did not know how to best convey the thought of privacy in Spanish. In attesting to the legitimacy and natural ease with which many Spanish/English bilinguals code switch in the United States, the two hosts do not even hesitate or correct the guest, but instead continue with the questions, and focus on the topic of writing music in her car:

- (59) 1 K: Exacto (.) right::: Entonces yo les dije sí sí claro yo te las escribo y te las traigo en tres días ¿no? Y yo me fui en mi carro porque es el único lugar donde tengo (.) donde tengo privacy.
 2 L: ¿En tu carro?
 3 K: En mi carro sí.

- 1 K: *Exactly (.) right::: So I said to them yes yes of course I'll write them for you and I'll bring them to you in three days, okay? And I went in my car because it's the only place where I have (.) where I have privacy.*
- 2 L: *In your car?*
- 3 K: *In my car yes.*

Similar to the results of this study, Poplack (1980) found that code-switching serving the purpose of conveying an untranslatable item, was infrequent in the data. The majority of the lexical gaps found in Poplack (1980:601) and this study were comprised of single noun switches, and unmarked by false starts, hesitations, or lengthy pauses.

Another example in which the speaker switched languages because of a lexical gap is in (60) (*Cotorreando*, Appendix III: turn 91), where the lawyer is explaining the legal options of the famous singer who has been arrested. In (60) he tries to explain that since this is the singer's first offense, he has the option of going through a rehabilitation program. The lawyer indicates that he has forgotten or does not know how to describe the term *first offender* in Spanish when he asks in the first line, *How do they say?* and then follows with a pause, and the hesitation marker *um*, before switching to English:

- (60) 1 Ab: *Él, ¿cómo dicen? (.) um, es first offender, él tiene oportunidades de ir a un tipo de tratamiento para ayudarse //porque*
- 1 Ab: *He, how do they say? (.) um, he's a first offender, he has opportunities to go to a type of treatment help himself //because*

Two linguistic phenomena present in the repertoire of many Spanish/English bilingual speakers in the United States are code-switching and borrowing. According to Poplack (1980), borrowing involves the adaptation of phonological and morphological elements from the borrowed language into the first language. Specifically in the case of this study, the data revealed several instances of utterances in English that were adapted to Spanish. Lipski (2005),

comments that oftentimes these borrowed utterances become lexicalized and even the knowledge of their origin from another language disappears. Some examples of these types of words seen frequently in the data were: *show*, *super*, *okay*, *jacuzzi*, and *bye*. Lipski (2005) observes that these words have become so lexicalized that they are even used freely in Spanish-only discourse by monolingual Spanish speakers in Latin America and Spain.

Example (61) (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 299) demonstrates two examples of English words that have been adapted phonologically and morphologically into Spanish. In line one the male host asks the guest singer if she has a website on the internet. The word *internet*, however is spoken with a high, front, tense /i/ vowel present in Spanish. In the second line, the guest responds affirmatively to the question and gives the audience a specific website. She uses the word *chequear* as a borrowed adaption of *check-out* in English, in which she changes the *k* to *qu* and adds the verb ending *ear* to become *chequear*:

- (61) 1 R: ¿y tienes página de internet?
 2 K: Sí (.) pueden ir (.) um (.) a chequear mi página de Myspace
- 1 R: ¿y tienes página de internet?
 2 K: Sí (.) pueden ir (.) um (.) a chequear mi página de Myspace

In example (62) (*El Gordo y La Flaca*, Appendix II: turn 197), a singer is commenting on a style of music from Durango, Mexico that is popular at the moment. The singer feels that this style of music is just a fad and explains that the reason behind its eminent failure is the fact that most of the songs are ‘covers’, or songs that have already been recorded and are re-released later with a different style. In (62) the singer takes the word *covers* in English and adds a Spanish plural marker *-es* at the end to become *cóveres*:

- (29) 1 Rep: Además, (.) este vocalista conversó con nosotros el motivo con el que cree que esta música desaparecerá.
- 2 Lupe: Porque un 97% son cóveres (1.5) son canciones ya regrabadas que muy bonito y que felicito a la gente que ha tenido éxito con esa música, pero
- 1 Rep: *Moreover, (.) this vocalist conversed with us about the reason why he thinks this type of music will disappear.*
- 2 Lupe: *Because 97% are covers (1.5) they are songs that are re-recorded that really nice and I congratulate people that have been successful with that music, but*

4.3 Discussion of findings

All of the types of functions identified by previous research were found in the current data. Specifically, the total number of instances of non-Spanish language use (including borrowing) was found to be 48 in *El Gordo y la Flaca*, and 42 in *Cotorreando* (see the table in Appendix IV). Although the total numbers for each program did not vary greatly, I believe the difference can be attributed to the fact that the two hosts for *El Gordo y la Flaca* had been working together for nine years, where as the hosts for *Cotorreando* had just started working together a few weeks prior to taping the show for this study. The two hosts for *El Gordo y la Flaca* spent a greater amount of time talking freely between themselves on a variety of informal topics. The other hosts, however, spent more time discussing topics more serious in nature, as well as listening to reporters from outside the studio.

The current data show the functions of reiteration and interjection to be the most represented in the sample in both programs. In *El Gordo y la Flaca*, these two functions comprised 41% of total switches, and in *Cotorreando* they constituted 45% of all switches found. I believe the use of these functions can be attributed to the nature of a Spanish language television program shown in the United States to an audience that speaks Spanish, yet lives and

works in an English dominant environment. In other words, to many of the viewing audience, a bilingual community is the norm, and the use of English discourse markers or two different ways (in Spanish and in English) to convey a thought is a reality in their everyday lives. Most of these types of switches involved single-noun and tag utterances, and were mainly comprised of common discourse markers in English (*so, you know, I mean, etc.*). According to Lipski (2005), these types of interjections are usually inserted unconsciously into Spanish discourse, and can occur across a wide variety of speakers, including fluent Spanish/English bilinguals, immigrants with limited English, and even English speakers who have acquired Spanish as a second language. Furthermore, the data revealed that speakers switched codes in order to carry out a variety of stylistic effects such as to emphasize a message, to clarify or expand on a previous explanation, to mitigate a negative or sarcastic remark, to attract the attention of one or more speakers, and to liven up the dialogue through humor. These findings go beyond that of earlier typologies of conversational functions of code-switching (Gumperz 1982; Garder-Chloros 1991) in that I attempt to explain what the speaker accomplishes through changing codes in discourse and how these functions impact the interaction between interlocutors.

Since both shows mainly consisted of dialogue between the two hosts, the function of addressee specification was not well represented in the data with only one instance of this type of switching found in both programs. Similarly, no instances of code-switching were found in the formal reports pre-recorded by reporters outside the studio. On the other hand, the hosts and/or guests tended to code switch more when they spoke freely about informal or personal topics, such as events that happened with their families or topics that had been discussed previously on the show. This contrasts with those topics that were more serious or formal in nature, such as a strained relationship between a singer and his mother and the arrest of a popular Mexican singer.

Just as not all Spanish/English bilingual communities in the United States are homogeneous, not all code-switching behavior is monolithic. The data for this study reveal the multi-functionality of language alteration in that it can carry out a variety of functions, from introducing or concluding a topic or emphasizing a point of view, to introducing a personal opinion, addressing a specific person, or presenting a past or future hypothetical quotation. Although a single function may be identified as serving a particular purpose in discourse, it is important to remember that code-switching is a linguistic tool that emerges through interaction. That is, the discourse function a switch carries out depends greatly on the speakers present, the topics being discussed, and the context in which the dialogue takes place. Therefore, it is difficult to make generalizations about code-switching behavior or particular discourse functions that can easily alter depending upon the speakers and their relationship, the setting in which the conversation takes place, and what, exactly, the speakers choose to talk about.

The main objective of this study was to observe patterns of code-switching and to analyze the functions that are carried out in the discourse of Spanish language talk shows. I took into consideration Gumperz's (1982) model, which is concerned with language use as a function of the dynamics of interaction in conversation. I also took into account Nishimura's (1995) ideas of language alternation as a tool for marking shifts in discourse, specifically as a way to introduce or conclude a topic of conversation. Finally, I considered Sánchez's (1983) notion of connotational switching, which involves choosing one language over another to convey a different connotational message. Although typologies of conversational functions can be useful in understanding the way in which code-switching can be used as a pragmatic tool in discourse, they are, nevertheless, sometimes problematic. One of the limitations of these types of models is that switching codes may carry out any number of functions in a particular interaction, as well as

present a challenge in trying to fit a single instance of code-switching into a pre-specified category. Another weakness of a categorization of functions is that it might not really explain exactly what the speaker accomplishes in switching languages in conversation. That is, the specific functions do not fully describe the impact that code-switching has on the discourse. While the study is by no means conclusive, it does show, however, that code-switching can have a variety of discursive/pragmatic functions in bilingual conversational discourse and that switching codes goes beyond that of just filling a lexical gap between the languages.

4.4 Conclusion

The rationale behind this study came from a desire to understand the seemingly randomness of code-switching, and to more closely analyze the discourse functions it carries out in bilingual discourse. Because a multilingual environment is a reality for many people around the world, it is important to understand that such linguistic communities do not always neatly separate languages, but rather for them, the use of two or more codes in discourse can be the norm.

Before beginning this study, I decided to write down all the instances of Spanish/English code-switching that I observed, heard, or saw in a day. In a print ad for Latin-themed gifts at Target I saw the slogan, “Say Something *Maravilloso*”. On television, there appeared an advertisement for a new Latin cooking show on the Food Network called, “Simply *Delicioso*”. In a news report on National Public Radio about ex-gang members opening up a bakery in Los Angeles, the mayor of the city, upon sampling one of the tacos, exclaimed, “I got me a taco *muy sabroso*”. In an internet blog that tracks the lives of famous Hispanic stars called “Elscoopcontodo.com”, I read this report about an actress:

Our eyes need *gotas* or something because we cannot believe Kate Del Castillo looks *hermosísima* in the cover of Ocean Drive Español! Kate is mostly known for her dykelicious wear, but *se llevó el veinte* in this cover! She needs to hire whoever did her up here- HERMOSA!

I heard the song “La llave de mi corazón” by Juan Luis Guerra on the radio:

Marqué 305 594 1185
 (three o five, five ninety-four, eleven eighty-five)
 Hey doc, le llamo por una amiga que conocí en un web site
 Le pido que, me de solución
 pues tiene la llave de mi corazón

Yo soy de Ciudad Nueva y ella es
 de San Pedro de Macorís, you know
 tierra de peloteros, where Sammy Sosa lives

Le gusta beber jugo de papaya con anís
 Y narrar telenovelas, her love is blind as you can see

These few examples illustrate the bilingual reality of many Hispanic communities in the United States. As opposed to early code-switching research when the two languages were thought to always be separated by formal and familiar environments, the co-existence of Spanish and English in this country now appears in a wide variety of environments, formal and informal, public and private.

Finally, I wish to use this study as a point of departure for topics of further research. As the data for this study was limited to discourse of Spanish language television talk shows, I believe that it is important to observe and analyze the functions of code-switching present in other mediums, such as the internet, a Spanish language radio program in the U.S., or even an informal dialogue between familiar interlocutors (i.e. friends, colleagues, family members, etc.). Another topic of interest could be to analyze the discourse functions carried out by code-switching in a classroom setting, comparing the ways in which native speaker instructors and second language learners utilize language alternation in interaction. The research should include

an expansion on previous taxonomies introduced, focusing on the specific pragmatic functions carried out by switching codes in conversation, what speakers accomplish in interaction, and what effects the specific functions have on the bilingual discourse.

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APPENDIX I
TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS
(Psathas 1995)

plain	original text
<u>und</u>	code switch
<i>ital</i>	English translations of original text
//	start of overlapping speech
*	end of overlapping speech
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
,	continuing intonation
sí:::	sound stretch
-	self-interruption
=	latched utterances (absolutely no pause, almost overlap)
[beginning of overlap
(.)	micropause (less than 0.5 seconds)
(1.0)	pause longer than 0.5 seconds (length indicated inside parentheses)
(xxx)	unintelligible speech
(xx)	best guess at almost unintelligible speech
((xx))	verbal description
(hhh)	laughter

APPENDIX II

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF *EL GORDO Y LA FLACA*

Date: Tuesday, January 23, 2007

(R) Raúl de Molina, (L) Lili Estefan, (M) Martika

- (1) L: Hello:::
- (2) R: Bienvenidos al Gordo y la Flaca (.) gracias muchísimas gracias por estar otra vez con nosotros
- (3) L: Gracias por acompañarnos
- (4) L: Raúl ha recibido un postcard de Las Vegas (.) una tarjeta
- (5) R: Verdad lo recibí hace media hora
- (6) L: hace media hora
- (7) R: Tengo que meterme en //algo ahora
- (8) L: con información* importante
- (9) R: ¿Cómo están chicas? ¿Cómo estás Martika?
- (10) M: Buena (.) encantada de la vida. Es como dice “di, di, di” cuando hay noticia de última hora
- (11) R: ¿Cuál es la noticia de última hora Martika?
- (12) L: que recibiste una tarjeta de Las Vegas (.) -un señor le manda saludos
- (13) R: Muchísimas gracias
- (14) L: No (.) pero me dijeron que el señor que carga (.) -que carga cosas pesadas
- (15) R: que me quiere cargar

- (16) L: Yo creo que for sure Raúl sería el objeto más pesado que esté señor, -
¿cómo se llama Frank? ¿Frank (.) what's his name? ¿cómo se llama?
What? (producer yells "Frank" from offstage)
- (17) L: Oh, he's Frank too? Él se llama Frank también, okay
- (18) R: Él carga (.) -tiene el, ¿qué es? El Guinness Book of World Records, el
record mundial de cargar cosas y quería cargarme a mí aparentemente
- (19) L: Así es
- (20) R: Bueno oye verdad me siento un poco triste en el día de hoy Lili (.) la
verdad que hoy no me levanté
- (21) L: Tú eres un hombre con suerte. Tú eres un hombre que no tiene ni un solo
motivo por cual estar triste.
- (22) R: Esta mañana vi las nominaciones (.) las nominaciones a los Oscars y me di
cuenta que la película espectacular que hice con Paris Hilton no ha sido
nominada en una sola categoría. Ahora está a la venta en DVD en
cualquier lugar donde yo y Eugenio Derbez tenemos una actuación junto a
Paris Hilton (2.0) -no ha sido nominada
- (23) Público: Para ser nominada tiene que salir al cine
- (24) L: Exacto (.) para ser nominada tiene que llegar al cine
- (25) R: Ya me explicaste una cosa y aparte lo peor (.) -lo peor que me ha pasado
en la vida es que ayer me dijeron que la película ésta en la cual (.) bueno
(.) en que yo salgo cuarenta segundos (.) que perdía y esto ayer me mató
me mató (.) //-que Papi Chulo
- (26) L: ¿cuál?*

- (27) R: Ya allí no sabía qué hacer
- (28) L: Raúl porque la gente no sabe que tú estás en la película
- (29) R: Creo que Gigli también le ganó
- (30) L: La gente no sabe (hhh)
- (31) R: Claro que estaba en la película (.) mira ¿quiere dar por favor un close-up?
Aquí se pueden ver los jewels. ¿Pueden, pueden? (.) estos jewels tan bonitos
- (32) L: ¿Te los //mandó?
- (33) R: Me los* (.) -no, me //los mandó
- (34) L: Ah::: ya sé*
- (35) R: -Me los mandó Paris Hilton de regalo. Ay mira a la productora (.) sigue con lo mismo. ¿Sabes lo que me ha gritado la productora ahora? Que no mencione más a Paris Hilton (.) que tiene apellido de hotel y no se puede mencionar el hotel aquí. ¿qué quieren (.) qué le cambie el apellido? Ya no sé qué hacer
- (36) L: Paris Westin (.) -ponle Paris Westin
- (37) R: La mujer se llama Paris Hilton (.) ¿qué quieren que yo haga?
- (38) R: Bueno (.) espérate aquí que tengo el nombre de la novela (.) -que estábamos hablando de los jewels.
- (39) R: Hoy salieron las nominaciones de GLAD (1.0) -¿cómo tú explicarías? - que hemos estado en la ceremonia (.) -¿cómo es GLAD?
- (40) L: es una organización que defiende los derechos de los homosexuales
- (41) R: //exactamente

- (42) L: en general*
- (43) R: Y tiene Univisión nueve nominaciones y esto tiene mucho sentido porque tenemos aquí a Cachita y a varias personas (1.5) no, no nos han nominado para nada este año
- (44) L: pero GLAD no nos han nominado
- (45) R: Hay una novela nominada aquí en Univisión (.) -¿cómo se llama la novela?
- (46) L: “Barrera de Amor” está nominada para los premios GLAD
- (47) R: Eso quiere //decir que
- (48) L: Don Francisco tiene* dos nominaciones para los premios GLAD
- (49) R: Dos nominaciones
- (50) L: Pero eso es algo bueno
- (51) R: Claro
- (52) L: Es que ha destacado (1.0) -//él ha destacado
- (53) R: El año pasado* creo que nos habían nominado para el programa cuando contamos la historia de Cachita (2.0) ¿te acuerdas? (1.0) -que vinieron a hacer la entrevista con Cachita.
- (54) L: esa fue nominada
- (55) R: esa fue nominada. No ganamos nada pero le saludamos a la gente de GLAD
- (56) L: Raúl piensa en algo que //podemos

- (57) R: Déjame decirte* una cosa (.) con los productores que tenemos en el programa que son parte de GLAD, (.) con Cachita en el programa (.) y con algunos de los camerógrafos, (.) yo no sé qué más necesitamos
- (58) L: (hhh)
- (59) R: ya aparte, (.) la manera en que Uds. dicen que cómo me visto, con este colorcito
- (60) L: (hhh)
- (61) R: ya no sé (.) ya no sé (.) (hhh)
- (62) L: ¿Sabes? (.) -¿qué fue lo que te dijeron?
- (63) R: Hoy no traje como //el color
- (64) L: el color oscuro* (.) pero la moda es que tienes que poner //así
- (65) R: el color normal* (2.0) No me inspiré en el día de hoy Lili
- (66) L: Okay (.) Raúl ¿tienes medias también de GLAD? (hhh)
- (67) R: No, no, no mentira. Eso es normal (.) eso es normal lo que se usa.
- (68) L: ¿Las medias así (.) eso es normal?
- (69) R: Pero hoy salieron las nominaciones a los premios GLAD que usualmente suceden en la ciudad de Miami Beach.
- (70) L: ¿Pero no son los premios Oscars?
- (71) R: No (.) los Oscars también salieron por otro lado y eso es lo que vamos a hablar ahora.
- (72) L: Me estás confundiendo (.) yo pensé que era un chiste lo que me estabas diciendo.

- (73) R: ¿No crees que la Paris Hilton merece ser nominada por algo
//aunque?
- (74) L: Raúl yo no* creo que (hhh)
- (75) R: mujer más usada, por ejemplo (.) no, no sé (.) no sé
- (76) L: ¿con menos talento? (2.0) ¿con poco talento?
- (77) R: A mí me parece que es talentosa.
- (78) L: Oye recuerda que mis hijos hicieron Snow Day, un día de nieve
- (79) R: ¿Y (.) cómo trajeron el snow?
- (80) L: Llevaron un camión (.) -¿tú necesitas un camión para que traiga
agua caliente para el jacuzzi?
- (81) R: Para el jacuzzi tenemos el problema –seguimos con el jacuzzi roto
(1.0) no han podido arreglar (.) -solucionar el problema con el
jacuzzi. No tiene manera de calentar el agua porque estamos en
el estudio (.) so es o meterse en el agua fría o conseguir un
camión que traiga agua caliente y nos pueda llenar el jacuzzi con
el agua caliente. Si alguien que nos está viendo tiene un camión
con agua caliente (.) estamos dispuestos a pagarle por venir aquí
y llenar lo del jacuzzi con el agua caliente. Esto no es un chiste.
- (82) L: pagar poquito
- (83) R: pagar poquito (.) no (.) ay sí (hhh) (.) la historia de los
productores de El Gordo y La Flaca.
- (84) L: Okay Raúl pero toda esta historia ha salido //porque
- (85) R: Si no (.) lo* pago yo

- (86) L: -todo ha salido porque hoy en la mañana ha llegado a la escuela de mis hijos un camión con snow, con nieve. Porque Raúl también pagas para que te traigan nieve. ¿Por qué no le echas nieve allí al jacuzzi?
- (87) R: ¿Te vas a meter tú? Yo no.
- (88) L: pero con la ropa que hay
- (89) R: La idea del jacuzzi, Lili, es poder tener poca ropa.
- (90) L: Ya sé (.) la idea del jacuzzi es tener poca ropa (.) pero bueno a lo mejor le echas nieve y entonces (1.5) no sé Raúl.
- (91) R: Okay (.) otra cosa si Vida Guerra nos está mirando (.) nos estamos tratando de poner en contacto con Vida porque hace tiempo que no la encontramos y queremos que Vida nos llame porque la necesitamos para el programa para una cosa personal.
- (92) R: Ahora cuéntame más de este Snow Day
- (93) L: Bueno echaron nieve, (.) -echaron nieve, (.) o sea que -y habían pedido por favor que vengan con gloves, guantes, con jacket (.) vengan con un gorro.
- (94) R: Me encanta la idea.
- (95) L: Tenían nieve para todos los niños.
- (96) R: Me encanta.

- (97) L: Todos jugaron (.) o sea a las nueve de la mañana todos (.) oh no te imaginas. Mi niña estaba (.) mami I'm getting dirty (.) los guantes Eh, pero muy divertido la verdad (.) lo que pasa es que efectivamente duró -¿hasta qué hora? once de la mañana.
- (98) R: ¿Y se divirtieron?
- (99) L: Ya pues se divirtieron (.) jugaron como nunca (.) fue tan cute (.) muy lindo
- (100) R: Pero vamos a comenzar con
- (101) L: Vamos a comenzar (.) vamos a comenzar con los premios. Miren la actriz Salma Hayek estuvo presente en el evento donde se dieron a conocer en el día de hoy las nominaciones para los premios Oscar y declaró que hoy en un gran día para los mexicanos y también para los latinos en general y verán por qué.
- (102) R: Definitivamente para todos los latinos incluyendo la Madre Patria en España donde hubo una gran nominada también para la película "Volver." Vamos a ver con nuestra reportera Jessica Maldonado quien estuvo allí y nos cuenta todo lo que pasó.
- (103) Rep: La actriz Salma Hayek fue una de las formales encargadas de anunciar a los nominados para la entrega de los Premios Oscar. Para esta edición se destaca de manera muy especial la presencia hispana dentro del competitivo mundo cinematográfico de Hollywood. Por ejemplo, mejor actriz se encuentra Penelope Cruz, (.) cosa que causó una eufórica reacción de Salma Hayek.

- (104) Salma: Ya, ya, ya sabes (.) estaba muy nerviosa y ya sabía que le iban a nominar y ella no sabía y ahora estoy muy contenta.
- (105) Rep: En la categoría de mejor actriz de reparto está la actriz mexicana Adriana Barraza y con un nudo en la garganta (.) Salma anunció la categoría de mejor director y entre los nominados está el mexicano Alejandro González Iñárritu por la película Babel.
- (106) Salma: Estoy emocionada (.) super y tú también estás llorando. Nosotros ensayamos justo (.) -justo antes de que los dejaran entrar a Uds. Entonces ya cuando empecé a ver todos los nombre empecé a llorar y llorar y ya me sacan y me arreglan el mauquillaje y entonces ya como que respiré y me tomé un café y me sentí como una (.) una tonta allí.
- (107) Rep: Otros mexicanos importantes y conocidos dentro de la industria están nominados por sus logros cinematográficos mientras que la película “Babel” se destaca con siete nominaciones.
- (108) Salma: Ya todavía no duermo porque estaba tan nerviosa y no dormí. Alejandro me hablaba y me amenazaba que si no decía su nombre (.) -no sé qué me iba a hacer. Me sorprendí que no han nominado a Pedro Almodóvar en “Volver.”
- (109) Rep: Definitivamente hoy es un dulce despertar a los latinos en el séptimo arte.
- (110) Salma: Cuando yo estaba nominada fue así pero nadie nos hizo caso (.) -éramos once nominados (.) -los mexicanos no tanto pero entre los

latinos (.) éramos muchos (.) y nadie dijo nada. Yo hablaba a las revistas (.) ¿ya se dieron cuenta todos los latinos nominados?

Nadie quiso escribir nada (.) pero así vamos ganando espacio.

(111) Rep: Y deseándoles suerte a los nuestros, (.) ahora regresamos al Gordo y la Flaca.

(112) L: Pero qué emocionada está Salma (.) no es para menos.

(113) R: Estaba muy emocionada. Aparte de todos los nominados que hay en este año (.) eh, de los latinos (.) hay que darle un fuerte aplauso a Salma Hayek porque se ha convertido en (.) en la figura más importante (.) -representante de los latinos en Hollywood (.) de verdad.

(114) L: Raúl (.) ella lucha duro y como dice ella cuando le tocó leer las nominaciones (.) ella levantó el teléfono, (.) llamó a revistas (.) -llamó a varios lugares y no hacen caso pero sigue luchando. Lo importante de Salma (2.0) es que no le importa seguir adelante (.) -ella es de la que nos gusta nosotros.

(115) R: //así que

(116) L: que siga adelante*

(117) R: así que la película “Babel” (.) -la película “Babel” del director mexicano Alejandro González Iñárritu ha sido todo un éxito. Tiene nominaciones en muchísimas categorías y puede ser que gane la mejor película del año.

(118) L: ¿Cuál es?

- (119) R: “Babel”
- (120) L: ay “Babel”
- (121) R: que es filmada en casi el mundo entero (.) así que felicidades. Me acuerdo cuando el director estaba el otro día en los Golden Globes (1.0) eh que estaba Arnold Schwarzenegger allí cuando le llaman a él para recibir el premio=
- (122) L: =Sí (.) Don't worry I've got my papers. (hhh)
- (123) R: Yo tengo los papeles en orden, (.) exactamente. Felicidades
- (124) L: Felicidades verdad que sí a todos los latinos y, (.) y, (.) y muy merecido.
- (125) R: Bueno (.) Ninel Conde (.) ¿cómo le dicen? El bombón asesino
- (126) L: Bueno espérate espérate (.) uno de los (.) -yo creo que lo mencionó Jessica pero queremos, eh, repetir. Una de las nominadas al Oscar para la mejor actriz de reparto fue la mexicana Adriana Barraza.
- (127) R: ay sí
- (128) L: Por cierto es de quien se ha hablado -quien Sergio Jiménez quien fallece recientemente, pues, ahora cuando él le deja a ella (.) o sea todo en el testamento (.) que le ha dejado poco a la hija que le dejó el seguro que tenía pero definitivamente lo que más dejó fue a ella.
- (129) R: //Pero
- (130) L: y ella* (.) -creo que es una de las novias de él desde hace muchos años o alguien con que tuvo amor hace mucho tiempo bueno ahora ella es nominada como mejor actriz de reparto.

- (131) R: Pero por cierto Adriana (.) creo que iba a compartir parte de la herencia con la hija (.) eh (.) de Sergio aunque con ella no le había tocado nada.
- (132) L: Sí Adriana ha dicho definitivamente (.) eh (.) yo quisiera compartir porque creo que le corresponde.
- (133) R: Pero cuando se abrió el testamento era todo para Adriana y para una escuela de actuación creo también
- (136) L: ¿Cuál escuela?
- (137) R: Una escuela de actores y actrices (1.0) creo que también le estaba dando parte de la herencia.
- (138) L: Para que dividieran ya el dinero, (.) sí (.) mira qué bien
- (139) R: Sí
- (140) R: Ahora vamos a hablar del bombón asesino (.) como le dicen. Y yo quisiera comerme ese bombón aunque me muriera. Ninel Conde dondequiera que se presente arma alboroto (.) y no es para menos con el cuerpo que tiene.
- (141) L: Bueno (.) nuestro reportero Hugo Garza conversó con ella en Houston, Tejas y miren de todo lo que se habló con el bombón asesino.
- (142) Rep: Estuvimos siguiendo los pasos de la guapa actriz y cantante Ninel Conde (.) quien estuvo de visita en la ciudad de Houston y fuimos testigos de que cuando camina (.) deja a más de uno con la boca abierta. El bombón asesino acompañó al locutor Raúl Brindis y

allí habló, entre otras cosas, de alguien que le acompaña en su vida privada.

(143) Ninel: Estoy muy contenta (.) me siento tranquila (.) me siento satisfecha con lo que estoy haciendo y estoy apoyada por una persona que me cuida y que se ha portado muy bien conmigo.

(144) Rep: La Conde, quien sabe muy bien que es un taco de ojo para sus admiradores, habló también sobre la clave perfecta para mantener una relación.

(145) Ninel: Es difícil pero la clave para (.) -una de las claves para tener una relación de pareja, este, existosa, es ir pensando en hacer feliz a tu pareja y no es pensando que (.) que te haga feliz a ti.

(146) Rep: ¿Le habrá ido tan mal a Ninel Conde con José Maneul Figueroa? O más bien, (.) ¿le habrá ido tan mal a Ninel Conde con sus anteriores relaciones?

(147) Ninel: Yo creo que el amor no te llena cuando el hombre es muy egoísta o cuando el hombre está pensando en satisfacer nada más sus necesidades.

(148) Rep: Pero al parecer (.) ya Ninel Conde está más conforme con su nueva relación amorosa y si creen que esto es por publicidad (.) escuchen Uds. mismos.

(149) Ninel: Se me antoja ahorita casarme ya y tener un bebé pero ahorita si tuviera un bebé sería muy difícil grabar mi disco que tengo planeado, (.) grabar un nuevo disco y viajar por muchas partes del

mundo y llevar mi disco (.) o sea es que con un bebé o embarazada va a estar complicado.

(150) Rep: Además Ninel, que tiene un plan de trabajo, mientras que varias gruperas como Ana Bárbara y Alicia Villareal están en maternidad.

(151) Ninel: Pues la Conde tiene que trabajar mientras que todos está allí con los chamacos.

(152) Rep: Y con nuestras imágenes de una Ninel muy alegre y muy comprometida con su público, (.) ahora regresamos con el Gordo y la Flaca.

(153) R: No entendí (.) fue con tanta ropa. Era un gorro, lo tenía todo up to here (.) hasta acá

(154) L: Raúl (.) había mucho frío.

(155) R: ¿Tú sabes qué? Yo creo que Ninel Conde no debe de presentarse en ningún lugar donde haya frío.

(156) L: ¿Por qué?

(157) R: Porque aparece vestida con esa cosa hasta aquí y con un sombrero (.) entonces no es la Ninel Conde que yo quiero ver.

(158) L: (hhh)

(159) R: Entonces los lugares donde haya frío que no se presente Ninel Conde.

(160) L: Ya no hay bombón asesino.

(161) R: Claro que no, (.) o sea ¿quién la quiere ver así con toda esa ropa?

(162) L: ¿qué sería? ¿el bombón abrigado?

- (163) R: Oye (.) en el estudio de Primer Impacto hay frío (.) tú has visto cómo Bárbara Bermudo se viste. Aunque hay frío (.) trae poca ropa.
- (164) L: ¿Estás comparando a Ninel Conde con Bárbara Bermudo?
- (165) R: No, perdóname (.) no estoy comparando a Ninel Conde con Bárbara Bermudo para nada. Yo he dicho que en el estudio de Primer Impacto hay frío y se viste no con mucha ropa.
- (166) L: Exacto (.) las dos están muy lindas pero lo que yo he dicho (1.0) yo no he visto a Bárbara
- (167) R: las dos son muy buenas personas (hhh)
- (168) L: No, (.) pero yo no he visto a Bárbara en bikini haciendo (1.0) Raúl
- (169) R: Pero estoy hablando de que se pudiera haber puesto un vestido normal donde ella estuviera (.) no esa cosita up to here (2.0) en lugares hay calefacción también.
- (170) R: Entonces de ahora en adelante (.) Ninel, si me estás oyendo, en lugar donde haya frío, no hay presentación. Sólo te puedes presentar en el verano.
- (171) L: en el verano (.) hot
- (172) R: en el verano en Chicago, Nueva York, no en el invierno
- (173) L: Me parece una cláusula para los contratos
- (174) R: Oye (.) aquí hay un frío tremendo
- (175) L: No (.) y si sales del estudio Raúl (.) los que están esperando ahora (.) hay mucho frío allí también.

- (176) R: Ahora me entro en la nostalgia del estudio cuando mencioné esto
(.) se me salió una lágrima.
- (177) L: Ay ¿por qué?
- (178) R: pensando en el frío y pensando cuando venía
- (179) L: ¿Cuándo venía quién Raúl?
- (180) R: ¿Te acuerdas? -que la volví a ver en el Mundial.
- (181) L: ¿Quién?
- (182) R: No, no vamos a hablar de ella.
- (183) L: ¿A quién viste en el Mundial?
- (184) R: No, no
- (185) L: Ay::: (.) Doris Mar
- (186) R: no, no menciones el nombre de ella
- (187) L: Doris Mar (.) ya sé
- (188) R: No sabemos nada de ella desde (2.0) desde el mundial de fútbol
hace tiempo
- (189) L: Ay Raúl
- (190) R: Okay everybody ahora voy a cambiar el tema. Apesar del gran
éxito que ha tenido la música duranguense, (.) hay alguien que
asegura que muy pronto este movimiento musical va a desaparecer.
- (191) L: ¿Y quién lo dice? No es ningún improvisado sino el mismísimo
Lupe Esparza, (.) vocalista de Gigantes de América. Nuestro
Reportero Gali Ferrar nos tiene esta historia que seguramente va a
desatar una gran controversia. Vamos a ver.

- (192) Rep: Lupe Esparza asegura que la estrella del duranguense se apagará en cualquier momento.
- (193) Lupe: Todo se pasará (.) como ha pasado la quebradita (.) como pasan muchos otros ritmos, este, difícilmente alguien con lo que (.) con esa música puede escribir una historia importante porque esa música es comercial pero también pasa a la historia muy pronto.
- (194) Rep: Tremenda bomba sin duda alguna ha estallado este músico con esta tremenda declaración. Y no sólo esto sino que todavía tiene más por decir.
- (195) Lupe: Es una moda (.) es (.) -es un ritmo que está de moda (.) y que ha entrado muy fuerte (.) eh pero no pasará de ser eso. Yo creo que las historias (.) eh (.) originales (.) solamente son las que se pueden quedar escritas dentro de la cultura musical de la música popular mexicana.
- (196) Rep: Además, (.) este vocalista conversó con nosotros el motivo con el que cree que esta música desaparecerá.
- (197) Lupe: Porque un 97% son cóveres (1.5) son canciones ya regrabadas que muy bonito y que felicito a la gente que ha tenido éxito con esa música, pero
- (198) Rep: Lupe Esparza sin pelos en la lengua declaró
- (199) Lupe: Yo soy de Durango (2.0) y yo no voy a seguir eso porque me gusta hacer mis propios pasos (.) pero también los aplaudo el éxito que ha tenido la música duranguense. Cada quien es libre de hacer lo

que quiera hacer (1.0) al rato va a surgir por allá el pasito

zacatecano (2.0) y vendrá muy bien y muy bonito también eso.

(200) Rep: Y esperando la respuesta del Pasito Duranguense con respecto a estas controversiales declaraciones, (.) ahora regresamos al Gordo y la Flaca.

(201) R: Quiero decir una cosa a Guadalupe Esparza. Me gusta el tiro éste porque con la cámara con el lente ancho así me hace lucir más flaco. Pero de todas maneras (.) (hhh) Now (.) ¿Uds.vieron quienes estuvieron aquí ayer? (.) los creadores del pasito duranguense (1.0) los ex de Montez de Durango (.) que dijeron que el pasito duranguense (.) -Lupe Esparza (.) yo creo que está de moda. (baila) Es así, así.

(202) L: Ay Raúl

(203) R: Suave, suave

(204) L: Eso es suave.

(205) R: Pero tiene que ser despacio, despacio (.) slow, slow (.) así mira

(206) L: Pero esto parece el pasito del elefante.

(207) R: Ya que la mesa aguantó (.) vamos a //tratar de

(208) L: Ya no la* maltrates (.) no la trates mal. ¿Raúl quieres?

(209) Público: Tírate (.) Tírate

(210) L: Cuando regresemos (.) la hija mayor de Rocío Dúrcal nos dice cómo se sintió la familia estas Navidades (.) la primera que pasan sin su mamá.

- (211) L: Ahora la hija mayor de Rocío Dúrcal hizo su primera aparición pública después de este año. Quisimos averiguar cómo ha estado la familia esta primera Navidad sin Rocío.
- (212) R: Ahora nuestro reportero Aurelio Manzano desde Madrid, España nos trae esta historia, (.) vamos a verla.
- (213) Rep: Será un año decisivo para la resignación de las hijas de Rocío Dúrcal. Carmen Morales, la hija mayor de la querida cantante, hizo su primera aparición pública en la capital española.
- (214) Carmen: Muy bien (.) estoy muy contenta, muy feliz, muy bien con mucha fuerza, mucha energía, mucha ilusión
- (215) Rep: Las pasadas Navidades fueron las primeras que esta familia pasó sin la querida Rocío (1.0) y quien mejor que su hija para hablarnos de este tema.
- (216) Carmen: Han sido unas Navidades un poquito duras (.) la verdad es que mi madre era el centro de la Navidad y es (.) pues (.) siempre son las fechas un poco extraños ¿no? (.) en las que echas a menos a alguien (1.0) pero en este caso ha sido bastante terrible. Pero bueno (.) hemos estado todos juntos que también es importante.
- (217) Rep: Para nadie es un misterio que el viudo de la Dúrcal, el querido Junior, empeoró de salud desde el momento en que perdió a Rocío. Ha estado enfermo y sus ánimos no han llegado a reponerse con el tiempo.

(218) Carmen: Mi padre está un poquito revolcado (.) pero está siendo muy valiente. Está intentado sacar fuerzas de donde puede para tirar para adelante (2.0) feliz está intentando mandar un poquito la situación. Nunca superas (.) pues (1.5) la ausencia de alguien ¿no? (1.0) intentas aprender a vivir una vida distinta.

(219) Rep: Como ves (.) el 2007 comienza para Carmen con trabajo y con amor (1.0) nosotros desde aquí (.) le deseamos a ella y a toda la familia Dúrcal-Morales el mejor año. Soy Aurelio Manzano (.) desde la calle Sagrado en Madrid (.) y ahora regresamos con el Gordo y la Flaca.

(220) R: Gracias Aurelio, (.) muchas gracias

(221) L: Qué lindo verla tratando de reponerse (.) tratando de seguir adelante y sobre todo ilusionada (.) que es una palabra muy importante //de verdad.

(222) R: muy importante* de verdad

(223) L: empezar siempre con mucha ilusión y (.) y hacer lo que mejor se pueda (.) pero saber que Junior no está bien Raúl (.) y que las hijas tienen que ocuparse de él. Qué triste

(224) R: Y ahora tenemos otra noticia triste (1.0) estamos hablando de (.) -del actor venezolano (.) Carlos Olivier que falleció (.) eh ayer en la capital de Venezuela, en Caracas, (.) víctima de un infarto. Él había terminado de cumplir con 55 años (1.0) era actor por vocación porque era también médico. Y lo recordamos

particularmente cuando protagonizó (.) el protagónico que hizo en “Leonela.” Esto fue a medios de los ochenta y “Lenonela” era una novela super popular.

- (225) L: Super pero super popular en su momento Raúl (.) “Leonela” fue. Allí conocí a Carlos cuando él estuvo en nuestra ciudad haciendo muchísima promoción firmando autógrafos (.) y (.) y qué triste //tan joven.
- (226) R: Su esposa por más* de treinta años (.) aparte tenía tres hijos (2.0) que descansa en paz
- (227) L: Así es (.) qué noticia triste ¿no? (.) para la familia (.) //-para
- (228) R: Bueno vamos* a una pausa y cuando regresemos hablamos con Kuky, (.) una artista que acaba de lanzar su primer disco (.) aquí en el estudio con nosotros (.) después de la pausa
- (229) R: Kuky (.) se llama Kuky (.) y está aquí con nosotros, (.) eh Lucero Rodríguez, (.) Kuky, (.) es la primera vez que está aquí en nuestro programa.
- (230) Kuky: Gracias
- (231) R: Está patrocinada (.) -es parte del famoso grupo Akwid
- (232) L: Le decimos Kuky todo el tiempo porque si te dijéramos Lucero ya es un nombre demasiado fuerte en el mundo del espectáculo.
- (233) Kuky: Sí (.) yeah
- (234) R: //¿tú eres?

- (235) L: ¿Te han dicho* Kuky desde niña o te pusiste Kuky para lanzar el disco?
- (236) Kuky: desde la prepa (.) que es high school ¿no?
- (237) R: high school ¿no? en Los Angeles (.) Tú eres de Los Angeles, (.) ¿no?
- (238) Kuky: Sí soy de Los Angeles
- (239) R: ¿y te llamaban Kuky en High School?
- (240) Kuky: Sí porque siempre he sido una persona muy sarcástica (.) y en la escuela la gente, (.) pues venía y me decía (.) oh I got an A or a 10 y no sé qué tanto y es que yo le decía ¿y qué quieres una cookie?
- (241) R: ah:::
- (242) L: una cookie
- (243) Kuky: y se me quedó el nombre de Kuky
- (244) R: ah::: (.) a mí me gusta eso ¿quieres una cookie? yo (.) sí quiero una cookie
- (245) Kuky: Sí, en el caso de Raúl once maybe (hhh)
- (246) L: Entonces te quedaste con Kuky y te lanzaste ahora como Kuky pero por casualidad //tus padrinos son el grupo Akwid
- (247) Kuky: Como Kuky (1.0) sí se me quedó*
- (248) R: aha::: Akwid
- (249) L: o sea it's Kuky and Akwid
- (250) Kuky: Kuky y Akwid
- (251) R: ¿Cómo, (.) cómo fueron los padrinos (.) -cómo se conocieron y cómo comenzaron?

- (252) Kuky: Pues (.) hace dos años, (.) hace como dos años (.) um (.) me lo present (.) -me los presentaron a ellos y ellos en ese entonces estaban buscando con quién trabajar y yo obviamente que me descubrieron ¿no? Y me preguntaron ¿sabes escribir (.) em (.) en inglés? Y yo yeah, sí ¿y en español? Les digo yeah of course (.) pero era pura mentira (1.5) yo nunca en mi vida había escrito //en español.
- (253) L: en español*
- (254) R: Claro porque ibas al colegio en Los Angeles
- (255) Kuky: Exacto (.) righ::: Entonces yo les dije sí sí claro yo te las escribo y te las traigo en tres días ¿no? Y yo me fui en mi carro porque es el único lugar donde tengo (.) donde tengo privacy.
- (256) L: ¿En tu carro?
- (257) Kuky: En mi carro sí. Escribí la primera canción que es el número dos en el cd (.) una que es “Mentiras.” Regresé como a la semana, (.) les canté la canción como acapella y pues
- (258) R: ¿les encantó?
- (259) Kuky: Sí (.) les gustó.
- (260) R: En este disco (1.0) ¿la canción está aquí?
- (261) Kuky: Sí
- (262) R: ¿Y este es el primer disco tuyo?
- (263) Kuky: Sí es mi primer disco.
- (264) R: Aquí tenemos el primer disco de Kuky que está lanzando ahora.

- (265) L: Corre en la sangre, (.) -corre en la sangre porque tu mamá, (.) o sea que tú creciste viendo a tu madre cantar con mariachis.
- (266) Kuky: viendo a mi mamá cantando con mariachi (.) ah cantaba en palenques (.) y mi papá siempre con los Bukis you know? Y teniendo a los dos (.) pues (.) me dio mucha influencia
- (267) R: Oye, viéndote bien así la cara aquí en el programa no en el video musical (.) pareces un poquitico a Maria Elena Salinas así
- (268) Kuky: A ver
- (269) L: Sí es verdad
- (270) R: ¿No? (1.5) te pareces un poquito
- (271) L: Verdad (.) sí::
- (272) Kuky: Gracias (.) that's a good thing
- (273) L: Claro (.) eso es algo muy bueno
- (274) R: No (.) pero luces muy bonita
- (275) L: ¿quieres una cookie?
- (276) R: Yo quiero una cookie. (hhh)
- (277) Kuky: El quiere una for sure (hhh)
- (278) L: Ahora (.) ¿qué es lo que te queda (.) promoción del disco? ¿tú terminaste el colegio ya?
- (279) Kuky: Sí (.) ya terminé la escuela y obviamente no pude seguir estudiando porque le quise echar todas las ganas al disco.
- (280) R: ¿Qué edad tienes?
- (281) L: ¿Se puede decir o no?

- (282) R: Claro (.) es muy joven puede decirlo
- (283) L: ¿Pero antes de los 20 o después de los 20?
- (284) Kuky: Después de los 20
- (285) R: Ah (.) tienes más de 20 (.) 21 años (.) 22 por allí. Okay (.) no importa you still look really young
- (286) Kuky: Yeah (.) I'm still young
- (287) R: ¿Pero más de 18 tienes?
- (288) Kuky: Yeah, yeah, yeah
- (289) R: Eso es importante
- (290) L: Okay (.) ¿y en el amor?
- (291) Kuky: No (.) ahorita estoy solita
- (292) L: Estás solita
- (293) R: Estás soltera
- (294) Kuky: Más o menos (.) tengo cinco (.) -no (.) no se crean. Sí sí estoy solita (2.0)
ahorita no se puede
- (295) R: ¿y tienes página de internet?
- (296) Kuky: Sí (.) pueden ir (.) um (.) a chequear mi página de Myspace
- (297) R: ¿de Myspace?
- (298) Kuky: Así es (.) todo está allí (.) mi cd, mis //conciertos
- (299) L: Pues* Kuky que te comas una cookie (.) que te vaya muy bien
- (300) R: y te deseamos todas las cookies del mundo (1.0) ahora se nos acaba el
tiempo (.) bye bye

APPENDIX III

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF *COTORREANDO*

Date: Tuesday, September 3, 2007

(M) Mauricio Zeilic and (R) Rashel Díaz

- (1) M: Buenísimas tardes, como siempre. Hoy estamos con una de las mujeres más talentosas y más bellas de la //televisión=
- (2) R: Muchas gracias* Mauricio
- (3) M: =En telemundo (1.0) Rashel Díaz.
- (4) R: Así es
- (5) M: Inmediatamente después de *Cotorreando* es Decisiones -*Decisiones*
- (6) R: Decisiones //de mujeres
- (7) M: de mujeres*
- (8) R: Así es (.) un besito para ustedes, gracias por invitarme
- (9) M: Pero si un hombre quiere ver el programa, ¿tú no te opones?
- (10) R: Pero claro que no (.) I mean los hombres están invitados para que sepan cómo pensamos nosotras, qué decisiones tomamos
- (11) M: A ver bienvenida. Bueno (.) tú estás al tanto, mi amor, de lo de Pablo
- (12) R: Oh my::: eso me tiene tan disgustada.
- (13) M: Estábamos discutiendo lo de Pablo Montero, mi amigo, que ha sido algo bastante serio, -bastante (.) triste porque es un muchacho que a lo mejor nos está viendo en este momento

- (14) R: Sí:::
- (15) M: y también que salga (.) -que salga todo como debe de salir (.) -que salga bien
- (16) R: Y estamos contigo porque es una bella persona
- (17) M: Efectivamente (.) y tal como le contamos ayer Pablito Montero fue arrestado ayer en la ciudad de Miami, aquí cerquita y una vez de que fue detenido le encontraron, pues (.) eh (.) miren (.) eh (.) -le encontraron una bolsita de cocaine, de cocaína y que tenemos todo en exclusivo para que se enteren exactamente lo que está pasando vamos a discutir con expertos, -con abogados que nos van a explicar exactamente lo que le puede pasar a Pablo Montero. Veamos.
- (18) Reportera:El cantante-actor mexicano, Oscar Daniel Hernández, mejor conocido como Pablo Montero fue detenido por la policía el viernes 31 de agosto a la una y media de la tarde en la ciudad de Miami Beach.
- (19) Policía: Fue arrestado por reckless driving, básicamente manejando sin tener cuidado. Se había llevado dos luces y casi casi hubo (.) hubo un choque con la persona tratando de evitar chocar con él.
- (20) Reportera:Sorpresivamente, además de no tener licencia válida para conducir los cargos también incluyeron posesión de cocaína, algo de lo que Pablo según el reporte policial, asumió toda responsabilidad.
- (21) Policía: El examen que tomamos en la escena era positivo para ser cocaína.

(22) Reportera: La travesía comenzó en la calle 16 de la playa donde el artista fue visto por la policía conduciendo agresivamente

(23) Policía: Él iba en un camión BMW (pronunciation in English), BMW (pronunciation in Spanish), eh (.) blanco, cuando lo vieron estaba pasando por todos los carros en el bike lane o sea, el área donde pasan las bicicletas. Se lleva la primera luz roja, sigue pa'el próximo cruce, que fue el 16 y Alton, se lleva la otra luz y le caen atrás. En la calle 13 y Alton Road fue donde por fin lo pudieron parar y gracias a Dios no hubo ningún choque. Él iba acompañado con pasajero. El pasajero desafortunadamente no tenía una licencia válida y no se pudo llevar el BMW.

(24) Reportera: Esta no es la primera vez que Pablo Montero tiene problemas con la ley. En el año 2005 fue arrestado en Monterrey tras una riña en una fiesta privada. En Miami, tuvo dos infracciones de tránsito ocurridas curiosamente el día de su cumpleaños, el 23 de agosto por conducir exceso de velocidad y no poseer una licencia válida. Esta reciente detención en Miami Beach fue muy corta, (.) estuvo apenas dos horas y media en la cárcel del condado y fue dejado al libertad tras pagar una fianza de cinco mil dólares. Sin embargo quedan aún pendientes los resultados del laboratorio para ver si manejaba bajo la influencia de narcóticos y de ser así sería posible que enfrentara aún más cargos.

- (24) Policía: La manera de que manejó era un crimen menor pero tener la posesión de la cocaína es una felonía y para él yo le recomiendo que se busque un abogado porque son serias las acusaciones que tiene contra él.
- (25) M: Sí. Lo que decía el oficial de la policía de Miami Beach son acusaciones serias pero no son tan graves como esta última. Lo otro puede pasar y contamos, a propósito, con la presencia del licenciado, Luíz Martínez, abogado, quien está aquí con nosotros para aclararnos en cuanto a las dudas. El fue fiscal, durante seis años en la ciudad de Chicago y también para el estado de Florida por más de cinco años. Bienvenido, Sr. Martínez.
- (26) R: Bienvenido, muchas gracias por estar con nosotros. Además nos va a aclarar muchas cosas que tenemos en duda y también que el público quiere saber sobre Pablo Montero qué va a ocurrir. Pero vamos primero a ir a la ciudad de Los Angeles donde nos acompaña la licenciada Alma Rosa Nieto quien es experta, es licenciada en inmigración. Muchísimas gracias, licenciada, por estar con nosotros, por acompañarnos porque así podemos discutir un poquito la parte de la inmigración con usted y con el Sr. Luíz Martínez, la parte criminal.
- (27) M: Sí, porque en este caso él no es ciudadano americano, es residente
(.) simplemente tenía una, //um (1.5)

- (28) R: visa*
- (29) M: un permiso de trabajo. Vamos a empezar, si no le importa, Sr. Martínez, con las damas.
- (30) Abogado: Seguro que sí.
- (31) R: Exactamente, (.) eh ¿cómo le puede, eh, afectar licenciada (.)esto que ha ocurrido con Pablo Montero con respecto a su permiso de trabajo, su estatus legal que tiene acá en los Estados Unidos?
- (32) Abogada: Rachel, muy buenos días. Le podría afectar de una manera gravísima. Para inmigración hay ciertos delitos que son considerados (.) eh, imperdonables, casi. Y uno de ellos es drogas. En este caso, va a necesitar, el Sr. Montero, un abogado especialista en derecho penal y también un abogado de inmigración, so para que en conjunto hablen y puedan dialogar los dos para hacer una defensa que convenga para propósitos de inmigración. Una persona que está aquí con tourist visa (1.5),
- (33) R: eh, //visa de...
- (34) Abogada: eh, visa de turista* o un permiso para trabajo temporal no es inmigrante y obviamente pueden negarle la renovación de esa visa y cuando quiera reingresar, si tiene una convicción, podrían negarle la entrada también, así es que aquí es importantísima la defensa criminal, quizás, ya cuando hable el abogado criminal te acepte un trato con el fiscal y con el abogado defensor para tratar de reducir y que no sea posesión de drogas.

- (35) M: Una pregunta licenciada, en caso de ser absuelto, entonces su cargo, su permiso de trabajo, su licencia para su permiso para entrar a Estados Unidos sería, en este caso, no //tendría ninguna?
- (36) Abogada: No creo*, podría obviamente tener problemas si algún día él desea inmigrar. Hay diferentes reglas, hay diferentes requisitos para una persona que pide una visa no inmigrante que es para trabajar y para inmigrar. Para inmigrar, con una sola admisión de posesión de drogas, lo podría ser ineligible para poder inmigrar sin posibilidades de perdón. Entonces, este, si este individuo algún día dese (.) -desea inmigrar, podría ser negado. Sin embargo para su visa de no inmigrante, quizás no le afecte.
- (37) R: Ahora, eh licenciado Martinez, estamos hablando, como vemos, que la parte más importante, como dice aquí la licenciada, es la parte criminal. ¿Qué posibilidades ve Ud. de Pablo, para Pablo, para poder salir de esta situación? ¿Cuál podría ser su defensa? ¿Cuál sería el mejor punto que él pueda aprovechar? Porque él aceptó que la bolsa que llevaba en este carro, sí, era de él.
- (38) Abogado: Okay so vamos a empezar con la idea en que Pablo es inocente de los cargos que lo están acusando de él.
- (39) R: Hasta que se //compruebe

- (40) Abogado: Sí.* El puede demandar un juicio, declararse no culpable,
demandar un juicio, sentarse allí en una mesa, tomarse un
cafecito
- (41) R: tranquilamente
- (42) M: //aha
- (43) Abogado: tranquilamente* y la responsabilidad solamente en este juicio es en
el fiscal probar que él es culpable de los cargos que lo están
haciendo contra él (.) so en este momento, él es inocente en los ojos de
la justicia de este país.
- (44) R: aha
- (45) M: Sí, bueno. También licenciado, él admitió que la bolsa es de él.
Quizás en este caso lo que podrían mirar, como que alguien que
estaba, el uso de las drogas que necesita...
- (46) R: //la rehabilitación
- (47) M: rehabilitación* (.) entonces podría ser, inclusive hacia //su ayuda
- (48) R: a favor*
- (49) M: hacia su favor
- (50) Abogado: Seguro que sí. Una cosa importante en este caso (.) -yo leí el
reporte de la policía que es el primer reporte (.) so a lo mejor
hay otro que enseña que él admitió que fue de él. Pero ninguna
parte que yo leí decía que él estaba admitiendo que la cocaína que
encontraron fue de él. El puede hacer una defensa que yes the bag
is mine //pero

- (51) R: Pero es*//la posesión...
- (52) Abogado: El fiscal tiene que probar*
- (53) M: Es el fiscal que tiene que probar
- (54) R: Okay
- (55) Abogado: enseñar las drogas, la cantidad
- (56) M: la cantidad también ayuda o perjudica
- (57) Abogado: Eso. Yo voy a pensar que esto es una cantidad chiquitica. El más grande oportunidad para él es (.) -él no admitió que las drogas fueron de él. El admitió que la bolsa fue de él.
- (58) M: Licenciada, allá en Los Angeles, una pregunta, el problema que tenemos hoy en día con, con los inmigrantes, el problema de inmigración, podría, en este caso, tener alguna influencia de que un juez diga, bueno es un caso muy muy visto a //su público=
- (59) R: aha*
- (60) M: =vamos a ir más fuerte con él (.) quizás que se absuelve y entonces
- (61) R: //porque es famoso
- (62) M: porque es una persona* famosa, tiene buenos abogados
- (63) Abogada: Bueno, por un lado u otro, depende del juez, el fiscal y el abogado defensor. Aquí mi recomendación es que hay que aprender algo de esta tragedia o de este caso para los que nos escuchan y no están legal en este país. Es que primero no se admite a nada, ni que el bolso es suyo ni que las drogas son tuyas (.) hasta tener la presencia de un abogado, porque aquí las admisiones le pueden

perjudicar porque se pueden usar después, obviamente, por inmigración (.) o el cónsul cuando quiera solicitar una visa. Así es que lo importante aquí es guardar silencio, tenemos ese derecho, bajo la constitución de este país, (.) siendo legales o estando ilegalmente en el país así es que lo primero es guardar silencio y después conseguir abogados que sean competentes tanto en el derecho criminal..

(64) M: //Eso fue exactamente

(65) Abogada: como en el derecho de inmigración* porque cualquier cosa que pase aquí en lo criminal va a afectar dramáticamente su estatus de inmigración.

(66) R: qué importante

(67) M: Eso fue lo que dice la doctora lo que nos decía (.) el //Sr. Martínez

(68) R: El Sr. Martínez*

(69) M: El tenía que haber tenido su abogado y no admitir nada hasta que el abogado (.) -eso lo tenía que ser por ley. Muchas gracias licenciada

(70) R: Muchas gracias licenciada por estar con nosotros

(71) Abogada: igualmente

(72) R: Pero quizás en eso que no hay criminal a la persona que estaba (.)

(73) M: //a la otra persona

(74) R: con él en el carro*

(75) M: pero tampoco sabes

- (76) R: claro
- (77) Abogado: lo que podría pasar es que él está allí con un policía y te dicen (.)
si tú hablas conmigo
- (78) R: claro
- (79) Abogado: se pone nervioso (.) //-la policía=
- (80) M: ¿y te invita* la policía a veces?
- (81) Abogado: =de (2.0) -puede ser pero también te dicen mentiras. Te dicen
okay, si tú me dices, um, what happened here (.) se va a salir mejor para ti
después, (.) um tienen derecho a decir eso y tú piensas en, en ese
momento, si yo doy información a la policía, a lo mejor después me van a
tratar mejor
- (82) R: mejor
- (83) Abogado: eso no es la verdad
- (84) M: ¿qué es lo mínimo y lo máximo?
- (85) Abogado: el máximo que él puede recibir porque es un delito felonía de tercer nivel,
(.) cinco años en la cárcel
- (86) R: eso es el máximo
- (87) Abogado: el máximo
- (88) M: cinco años
- (89) Abogado: y cinco mil dólares de multa. Ahora, estaban hablando de que él tiene
varios delitos chiquiticos de manejar. Eso no va a costar contra él.
- (90) M: No cuenta contra él

- (91) Abogado Él, ¿cómo dicen? (.) um, es first offender, él tiene oportunidades de ir a un tipo de tratamiento para ayudarse //porque
- (92) R: de rehabilitación*
- (93) Abogado: de rehabilitación, exactamente, //so
- (94) M: alright* muchísimas gracias por estar con nosotros
- (95) Abogado: gracias, igualmente
- (96) M: Así es exactamente, ¿verdad? Que aprendan, como decía la doctora. No hagan esas cosas, no lo hagan, inclusive con papeles=
- (97) R: aha
- (98) M: =estando dentro de la ley, mucho menos si usted no tiene papeles y usted no tiene derecho de estar en este país (2.0) desgraciadamente eso es lo que le puede pasar
- (99) R: mejor el silencio. Muchísimas gracias licenciado Martínez por acompañarnos
- (100) Abogado: de nada
- (101) R: Más adelante, los matrimonios más comentados y los que podrían terminar en manos de abogados
- (102) M: Y la titánica, perdón la titanic, modelo, ahora grupera quiere ser, ---quiere ser ¿qué?
- (103) R: I know (.) ella quiere ser como Niyurka (hhh)
- (104) M: Imagínese quiere ser Niyurka
- (105) R: Y nos visita Intocable, el grupo más sacado del momento. Aquí seguiremos en *Cotorreando*. Regresamos en seguida.

- (106) M: Bueno, ahora antes de seguir, tanto la Rashel como yo queremos hacer hincapié de que no estamos tratando de mejorar a //nadie ni
- (107) R: claro*
- (108) M. (1.0) mejorar quizás, pero el ejemplo de Pablo Montero tenemos que aprender (.) -tenemos que estar al tanto de que hay cosas que no se pueden hacer en los Estados Unidos, muchísimo menos si usted no tiene los papers. Si usted no es ciudadano esos papelitos, esa tarjetita, ese pasaporte (1.0) -es muy importante.
- (109) R: son muy importantes
- (110) M: muy importantes
- (111) M: Omar Fayad, esposo de la actriz Victoria Ruffo, que para mí es una de las mejores, no ha, no se ha quedado indiferente ante la detención de Pablo Montero por eso se ofreció para asesorarlo, porque él es policía y también es abogado y dice que lo que el cantante necesita es, -escuchen, a ver lo que dice.
- (112) Reportera:Pablo Montero ya tiene abogado defensor para el problema legal que enfrenta en Miami. Su gran amigo, Omar Fayad, esposo de Victoria Ruffo, a su carácter de abogado, le brinda apoyo.
- (113) Omar: En lo que yo le pueda ayudar, tendría toda mi solidaridad (.) y todo mi cariño y todo mi afecto, este, si él está enfrentando un problema en que sus amigos podamos ayudarlo, podamos estar con él, lo haríamos con(.) muchísimo (.) gusto, este, con él y con su familia.

(114) Reportera: Además, le envió un consejo después que la camioneta que conducía el cantante se quedó bajo la custodia de la policía y se encontró una bolsa con polvo que dio positivo con cocaína y que Pablo aceptó como propia.

(115) Omar: Por la gente que consume sustancias, drogas, pues, y las trae para su consumo porque quiere que se le trate, este, como enfermo, entonces debe de recibir la asesoría, la orientación, este, de vida.

(116) Reportera: El político mexicano, se expresa muy bien de Pablo.

(117) Omar: Sí lo conozco perfectamente bien. Es una persona a la que yo le tengo mucho afecto y mucho cariño y a quien yo conozco y no porque tenga un incidente lo voy a negar, al contrario. Es una gente muy afectuosa, muy cariñosa, muy sencilla, muy sensible, este, es un caute bueno, con el que, bueno, en el tiempo que yo llevo de conocerlo, en la amistad, este, conmigo, ha tenido gestos muy, muy eh (.) eh afectuosos.

(118) Reportera: Desde México, Karina Monroy, Telemundo

(119) M: Eso sí (.) en el momento en que uno está bajo, es cuando necesita de sus amigos

(120) R: aha:::

(121) R: así es y el otro que demuestra la verdadera amistad. Qué bueno que Omar Fayad haya hecho esas declaraciones.

(122) M: Exactamente

- (123) R: Esto es algo, Mauricio, que mucha gente en el medio del espectáculo y (.) de los amigos de él estarán pensando lo mismo porque errores cometemos todos y esto no significa, tú sabes, nada especial sobre Pablo. El tiene sus cosas, es una buena persona (.) la verdad lo poco que lo he conocido, me parecía excelente persona
- (124) M: Y más que va a ser papá (.) imagínese cómo se siente su //compañera
- (125) R: aha*
- (126) M: que no, no debe estar pasándola muy bien porque primera vez que va a ser padre (1.0) -definitivamente le deseamos lo mejor dentro de que se cumpla la ley
- (127) R: Claro
- (128) M: Pero la verdad en estos momentos (.) no echarle leña al fuego
- (129) R: Claro
- (130) M: ¿Verdad que sí?
- (131) R: Claro que no
- (132) M: Alright (.) okay tú eres mamá. ¿Qué piensas de esta historia que vas a comentar?
- (133) R: Mira, (.) te voy a decir (.) estábamos hablando, (.) bueno que el público sepa que estábamos hablando del caso de Verónica Castro y Cristián. Realmente yo creo (.) -I mean yo soy madre y, me parece, -con todo el respecto que se merece la Sra. Castro que uno como madre tiene que estar

al lado de los hijos, pase lo que pase, hagan lo que hagan, piensen lo que piensen y tengan al lado a quien tengan al lado.

(134) M: Inclusive a una nuera como esta

(135) R: Lo que sea (.) no importa. Esa es mi opinión particular como madre. Respecto a quien piense de diferente pero realmente yo creo que uno como madre no tiene límites siempre tiene que estar allí.

(136) M: Wow esto es muy triste

(137) R: //Muy triste

(138) M: Porque además* los quiere, -la gente los quiere porque él ha sido el niño, este, que nació de esta pareja tan querida sin papá, porque el papá estaba //pero no estaba

(139) R: Sí, sin padre*

(140) M: y Verónica ha sido madre y padre y la verdad que es triste

(141) R: y hablando precisamente como estábamos de(.) del momento en que los amigos de Verónica Castro, quien cuenta con muchas aliadas que dan la cara por ella ante el distanciamiento, este, que estábamos hablando que existe entre ellos. La cantante, Dulce, quien vivió muy de cerca cómo fue la llegada de Cristián a la vida de Verónica y cómo ésta lo crió.

(142) M: Vamos a ver.

(143) Reportera: La cantante Dulce conoce a Verónica y a su hijo Cristián desde que él nació y nos da su explicación de por qué cree que el cantante ha decidido ventilar sus problemas ante los medios de comunicación.

- (144) Dulce: Yo creo que Cristián es un muchacho bueno. Es un muchacho que también ha vivido cosas muy difíciles que la vida no ha sido fácil para él por las cosas que hemos leído. El éxito le viene muy fácil. Nació famoso con una mamá famosa y hermosa pero con problemas psicológicos que ahora están dando sus resultados. Bueno yo creo que tiene que asentar sus ideas, asentar sus emociones, poner en una mesa todos los valores que le dio su madre, todo, todo lo que piensa que ella le negó y sacar una conclusión sabia, madura.
- (145) Reportera: Asegura que Verónica debe ganarse el respecto de Cristián con buenos ejemplos
- (146) Dulce: El amor y el respeto se ganan. Y cuando uno quiere que los hijos lo amen y que lo respeten (.) uno tiene que dar un ejemplo, sobre todo feo que se hable todo esto al nivel público porque eso ocurre entre cuatro paredes. Es feo pero, pero además al público es espantoso. Yo creo que una madre está para perdonar y para corregir en todo caso (.) no para, -y hasta el último momento tienes que estar allí hablándole a tu hijo
- (147) Rep: La también actriz nos narra un episodio de cuando Cristián era bebé.
- (148) Dulce: Hay una cosa muy importante que, que, que a lo mejor necesita saber Cristián y todos los hijos. Eh (.) cuando somos padres nadie nos enseña a

ser perfectos. Yo lo que sí le digo a Cristián es que él es un niño que fue recibido con amor, que su madre siempre lo quiso

(149) M: Bueno, ¿estás de acuerdo? Yo no sé si usted tiene lavadora en su casa (1.0)
Si no la tiene, -¿cómo hacían antiguamente allí? ¿cómo se llama esa cosa con que lavaban?

(150) R: ah::: no sé

(151) M: La batella

(152) R: //Mira la batella

(153) M: Mira la batella*

(154) M: ¿Saben qué? Bueno (.) la ropa sucia (.) sí es verdad se lava en casa

(155) R: Pero es muy difícil para ellos, es muy difícil. Los dos son del público. Verónica es bien conocida, él también. Pero sabes que también pienso que igualmente ella debe estar a su lado como madre, él también como hijo porque yo también soy hija, pase lo que pase aunque la madre no venga, uno le puede llamar -mami, ven, come over, mami ven, ven a conocer a la nieta, te quiero mami

(156) M: Madre y padre no le dejen a nadie (.) -este es el momento de ustedes dos y tiene que pasar

(157) R: Right (.) así es

(158) M: Exactamente. Bueno, después de unos mensajes, el regalo que podría cambia la vida de Alejandro Sanz.

(159) R: uiii:::

(160) M: Oh my::: ¿Qué tiene por allí?

- (161) R: (hhh)
- (162) M: y llega el Intocable, uno de los grupos más queridos de nuestra audiencia (1.5) más adelante los esperamos
- (163) R: Yo pensé que no podríamos (.) -ay
- (164) M: No, no, no te preocupes que somos, somos tranquilos
- (165) R: Eso me gusta
- (166) M: ¿Te gusta el pollo? -No, (.) que me estaba diciendo que me encanta el fried chicken y que lo compro en casa
- (167) R: (hhh)
- (168) M: Mira (.) te tengo una piececita
- (169) R: Perfecto (.) eso me gusta
- (170) M: Mire señora (.) si usted quiere pasar más tiempo con su familia, deje que el Coronel Kentucky (.) pues cocine por usted. Lleve para su familia una cubeta de tierno y jugoso pollo que está dorado a la perfección y tiene la receta secreta de once hierbas y especias acompañado con pureé de papa, panecillo calentito y recién horneado y una ensalada deliciosa de col, coleslaw. Preparada a la hora de la cena nada se compara con Kentucky Fried Chicken
- (171) R: Um um (.) qué rico
- (172) M: Nos dijeron que comenzáramos después
- (173) R: aha:::
- (174) M: ¿Tú quieres probar?
- (175) R: Bueno, y al rato te toca a ti (.) yo podría empezar=

- (176) M: =Tú podrías, mira (1.0) ¿No tienen una cucharita para la señora? Sí porque fíjate si ella está en ese estado, le mandamos una cubeta, -una cubeta sí
- (177) R: Así es porque allí es donde más hambre le da
- (178) M: Allí es donde hay que comer mucho mucho mucho. Hay fuertes rumores de que Alejandro Sanz podría convertirse en padre por tercera ocasión. Esta vez la madre de su nuevo hijo o hija sería su actual pareja, Raquel Periera quien ha sido una de sus más cercanas colaboradoras (.) pero el cantante y su novia no han confirmado la información. Según se dice (.) la pareja se nota más enamorada que nunca Inclusive estarían pensando en casarse (.) donde allá en Tailandia.
- (179) R: En Tailandia.
- (180) M: ¿Sabes qué? El Kentucky Fried Chicken está en todas partes del mundo=
- (181) R: (hhh)
- (182) M: =como las famosas hamburguesas de MacDonalds y otras compañías. Le mandamos una cubeta de fried chicken (1.5) a, a Tailandia.
- (183) R: Así, así será bueno y fíjense Uds. la cantante Carmen Jara está comprobando que nunca se debe de desistir, nunca (.) pues después del divorcio del padre se su hija comentó que jamás querría volver a casarse pero fíjate, Mauricio, ahora Carmen está nuevamente enamorada y que se olvidó de esa promesa que se hizo hace unos años y ya en planes de boda con su nuevo amor. Aunque

todavía no ha querido dar muchos detalles, sabemos que Carmen pondrá todo de su parte para que esta vez las cosas funcionen (.) y ojalá así sea

(184) M: Yes así es y cierto lo dicho (.) cuenten hasta 18, 20, 30 o 100 nunca se apresuren a decir que sí o que no. ¿Okay?

(185) R: Eso es verdad

(186) M: La titánica con su nuevo look (.) dejó sin aliento a cientos y cientos amantes de la lucha, la lucha libre allá en Monterrey cuando sorprendió con sus encantos en pleno ring

(187) R: Vamos a ver

(188) Reportera: Con la boca abierta (.) así dejó la Titanic a todos los caballeros que se dieron cita en la Arena-Coliseo. Es que la argentina usó un modelito muy relevador que poco dejó a la imaginación. Y como sus antecesoras (.) la famosa Titanic no quiso dejarse atrás. Y la bandera, capa y espada a los buenos a pesar de que tuvo que mostrar Entre fotos, caricias y uno que otro golpe bajo, la Titanic consolaba a los luchadores y quien se moría de celos era su marido quien se quedó en el camerino después del tremendo escote

(189) Titanic: Pero sí están los celos típicos que cuando uno quiere, entonces, sí, ah, ¿no te podrías poner un poquito más grandecito el vestido? la faldita un poco más larga

(190) Reportera: Con celos o no, los más afortunados fueron los asistentes

(191) M: ¿Qué te parece?

- (192) R: aw::: qué cute (hhh) (.) hace cualquier cosa
- (193) M: cualquier cosa, oh my, qué va
- (194) M: Bueno (.) ¿ya comiste?
- (195) R: Bueno, que ya tengo que confesar que tenía una pregunta
¿pensabas que yo no soy de mucho comer, y como mucho, estoy
loquita=
- (196) M: =No, nos dijeron que no podíamos comer (.) este el fried chicken que si
comíamos en pantalla, nos echaban (1.0), perdíamos la chamba (hhh)
- (197) R: //exacto
- (198) M: a la salud ustedes*
- (199) R: ay Dios mío (.) al regresar la pareja que después de tantas reconciliaciones
podrían tener un final, pero no muy feliz=
- (200) M: =y está a punto de llegar Intocable su grupo favorito (.) no se vaya que ya
regresamos aquí en *Cotorreando*
- (201) M: Yo pienso que la vida (.) mis amigos (.) –si usted dice, cuando le
preguntan para toda la vida por qué, por qué se hacen tantas veces (.)
Elizabeth Taylor lo hizo ocho//=
- (202) R: =ocho*
- (203) M: =ocho (.) ocho matrimonios tiene. Por la exótica boda de Niurka Marcos
y por otro lado la simbólica ceremonia de su ex Bobby Larios demuestran
que las bodas de princesa entre los famosos se están pasando de moda.
Nuestro reportero, Luís Magalla, nos reporte, nos muestra el por qué.
- (204) R: por qué

(205) Reportero: El sueño de la boda perfecta, el matrimonio para siempre, solamente es una realidad en casos aislados en la farándula. Existieron fastuosos casamientos casi sacados de revistas pero por personajes de verdad. Famosas y famosos que tiraron la casa por la ventaja e hicieron brillar los acordes de la marcha nupcial a lo clásico. He allí Lucero, Thalía, Angélica Rivera, Victórica Ruffo, entre algunas otras. No obstante, (.) el tiempo de los amores de la telenovela terminó pronto. Bastó con que un primer famoso vendiera lo exclusivo de su enlace matrimonial y las eccentricidades se desataron. Ya no era necesaria la ceremonia religiosa tradicional (.) suficiente era una bendición. Hay otras tantas luminarias que ni se casan ni piensan hacerlo. He allí Maribel Guardia, Luís Miguel, Edith González, Ricky Martin y Verónica Castro. Tenemos todo en el menú de bodas (1.0) los clásicos como Juan Osorio y Ana Bárbara. Pero no se pueden olvidar también los controversiales (.) anotando allí a Paulina Rubio, Cristián Castro y Chantal Andrade. Hay las bodas alternativas que son válidas y noticiosas como la de Cristián Chávez y su novio B.J. Pero sin duda (.) lo de hoy (.) la moda está en una categoría que todavía causa asombro y entretenimiento (.) las bodas con rituales. Tenemos ejemplos como las de Cynthia Klitbo, Bobby Larios y Alejandra Guzmán. Los artistas ya se casan con show (.) hacen rituales espiritistas (.) con tal de llamar la atención. Esta semana Niurka se casó con singular estilo (.) ni vestido de novia usó (.) con tangas como las que solía usar en “Aventurera” (.) Así contrajo nupcias con Yanixan. La moda

- cambió (.) casarse ya no es un acto de amor (.) sino de espectáculo (.) por Telemundo (.) Luís Magalla
- (206) R: Qué triste decir eso
- (207) M: Estoy de acuerdo que (.) -vamos a decirle al público (.) si usted, ama de casa está celebrando veinte, treinta años de casados (.) un aplauso
- (208) R: Eso es (.) verdad que sí
- (209) M: Eso es bonito o cinco, seis (.) estar juntos toda una vida (.) bueno dicen que (.) eh la boda es el primer paso al divorcio.
- (210) R: (hhh) pero qué pena que se tenga que decir eso
- (211) M: mucha pena
- (212) R: que la boda ya no es por el amor sino por (.) -por fama
- (213) M: es un show
- (214) R: es un show
- (215) M: es un espectáculo
- (216) R: qué horrible (.) y lo hacen tantas veces cuando es una decisión tan del corazón (.) I mean tan tan íntima
- (217) M: el corazón se entrega (.) ojalá hubiese una musiquita así como//=
- (218) R: ay parece* una novela lo que estamos haciendo aquí
- (219) M: =como decisión romántica (.) ¿no hay una musiquita? No (.) sólo hay fried chicken del Kentucky (hhh)
- (220) R: que está muy rico
- (221) M: just fried chicken del Kentucky (hhh)

- (222) R: no (.) que está muy rico (1.5) Bueno (.) fíjate que casi como así de última hora hemos sabido que Cristián Castro les cerró la boca señores a todos los incrédulos que aún no creían en su reconciliación con su esposa y apareció del brazo de ella en Guadalajara, México. Como saben (.) Cristián lanzará oficialmente en esa ciudad su disco “Días Felices” en un concierto realizado en “Los Tres Potrillos” de Vicente Fernández. Lo que llamaba la atención es que al lanzamiento no invitó a los medios internacionales (.) ni siquiera nacionales (.) sino sólo fue invitada la prensa local de Guadalajara. Y muchos creen que para evitar, (.) por supuesto las preguntas relacionadas al reciente distanciamiento que se hizo a su esposa, Valeria, y su pésima relación (.) -que hemos estado hablando de eso en este programa (.) con su madre Verónica Castro
- (223) M: Sí pero imagínate acompañados por la prensa en Guadalajara que van a hacer las mismas preguntas que le haría la prensa nacional o la prensa internacional
- (224) R: Exactamente (.) además (.) un artista tiene que estar preparado para esas cosas
- (225) M: Tienes razón pero por favor yo espero lo de la madre es bien serio pero espero que esto no sea (.) -no sea (.) -que no aproveche este momento y volver una vez más a volverlo a empezar y aprovechar de toda esta prensa que lo está siguiendo porque sí llama la atención. Okay (.) para hablar a propósito (.) -más de todo lo que está pasando y seguirá pasando con Cristián y su esposa Valeria (.) además otras parejas de famosos tienen

- altos y bajos todo el tiempo (.) tenemos aquí en el estudio con nosotros a David de Pabrilla (1.0) de Vabrilla
- (226) R: de Vabrilla (hhh)
- (227) M: I'm sorry (.) I'm so sorry (hhh)
- (228) D: No, no
- (229) M: Has pasado mucho tiempo (.) pues, estudiando todo esto (.) ¿qué nos cuentas?
- (230) D: Bueno soy astrólogo
- (231) M: Bueno (.) cuenta y qué me dices
- (232) D: y con mucho gusto aquí estamos (.) bueno nada está (.) -pues en las noticias bastantes fuertes con el Cristián y=
- (233) R: =Sí comienza con ellos (.) con Cristián y Valeria
- (234) D: Sí pues //claro que sí
- (235) R: ¿qué (.) qué piensas?* ¿qué ves para ellos?
- (236) D: Bueno (.) en algún momento se dijo de que venía separación para ellos y cuando salió antes de la noticia en, este, en que saliera la magazine People de que se iban a reconciliar pues yo dije pues que no. De todas maneras sí va a venir una reconciliación pero posteriormente estoy viendo nuevamente una separación desgraciadamente
- (237) M: hoy en día
- (238) D: hoy en día
- (239) R: ¿que será definitivo o?=-

- (240) D: =sí (.) lo que yo veo allí -que se está esperando que nazca el bebé (.) -
practicamente el bebé está en camino (.) obviamente que acabamos de
esuchar que hay otro bebé//=
(241) R: sí*
(242) D: =en camino también (2.0) que tiene que ver con la música
(243) M: sí
(244) D: Eh (.) viene esto mucho (.) ah de que tiene que cuidar mucho por su
carrera (.) pero el destino está escrito en el mapa natal de Cristián Castro y
él es una de las personas que necesita hasta cierto punto su libertad. El ha
crecido libre (.) desde niño no ha tenido ningún op (.) opposite de ninguna
naturaleza. Siempre ha estado libre so cuando se casa ven estas
limitaciones y eso es lo que le empuja a que se libere de él mismo y él está
cansado de esa relación
(245) M: David (.) acabas de compartir en este momento música (1.0) has hecho un
dueto con Cristián Castro
(246) R: Era Cristián cantando y tú tratando de decir las cosas
(247) D: Imagínate
(248) M: ¿En qué tú te basas todo esto exactamente?
(249) D: Bueno, (.) la carta natal astrológica de cada ser humano es en realidad lo
que es la vida de uno (.) eh la carta de él es tan fuerte, tan impresionante
que de verdad dice muchas cosas (.) y por eso que cada predicción que
hago se va cumpliendo al tiempo pero existe la posibilidad de que cada
uno de nosotros podamos cambiar o mejorar esas situaciones

- (250) R: Ahora David que todos queremos y el público quiere saber si habrá reconciliación entre Cristián y Verónica porque todos, como que, estamos pendientes de eso
- (251) D: Esa es una noticia buena
- (252) R: ¿Ah sí really?
- (253) D: La noticia buena es que Cristián sí va a apoyar a sus hijos y va a haber un perdón (.) por supuesto que Cristián va a pedir un perdón y va a venir una reconciliación entre él y su madre
- (254) R: Ay qué bueno
- (255) D: Esa es la buena cosa
- (256) M: Una pregunta sin alejarnos del caso de Castro ¿tienen algún motivo significado todos los anillos que tienes en tus dedos? Porque parecen como los que usan los rappers, los rings grandes (hhh)
- (257) D: Sí
- (258) M: ¿Qué significan?
- (259) D: Sí son piedras (.) -son piedras que traen la armonía (.) -que traen la reconciliación, que traen la buena energía
- (260) R: Aha. Ahora hablando de buena energía (.) ¿Karen y Juanes? que se han reconciliado ¿tú crees que esto va a continuar o habrá ruptura de nuevo?
- (261) D: Ay (1.0) en realidad aquí hay (.) um (.) eh practicamente es un caso practicamente igual, igual ¿por qué? Porque (.) um (.) estamos viendo que también él está sacando o ha sacado un disco (.) y viene la reconciliación
- (262) M: No puede para sacar un disco. ¿Qué le ves a Niurka con Yanixan?

- (263) D: Bueno (.) la verdad que eso no va a ser el último matrimonio para Niurka
- (264) R: ¿No? Ella va a llevar ocho como //Elizabeth Taylor
- (265) M: como la Taylor*
- (266) D: (hhh) (.) no, no va a ser el último matrimonio para ella. O sea (.) vienen ocho matrimonios más. Allí sí va a ser el definitivo.
- (267) M: ¿Volvería con Juan Osorio?
- (268) D: No, (.) muy difícil //apesar que hay un hijo por del medio (.) yo veo que va a ser con otra persona
- (269) M: Muy difícil*
- (270) R: y ¿tendrá hijo ahora con el nuevo? Porque ella una vez de que se casa, bueno (.) -dijo con Bobby (.) -decía que quería tener hijos
- (271) D: No creo porque ella (.) creo que ya se ha hecho tratamiento para no tener hijos
- (272) R: Pero es posible igual
- (273) D: Bueno sí puede ser una posibilidad
- (274) M: ¿Ya se ha dicho o no?
- (275) D: No, no creo (.) I don't think so (hhh)
- (276) M: No se ha dicho pero básicamente ella sería buena mamá ¿no crees?
- (277) D: Imagínate (hhh)
- (278) R: //¿No es ya una mamá?
- (279) D: y mira -y Bobby Larios* que también se acaba de casar
- (280) M: ¿Qué le ves a Bobby?
- (281) D: Bueno (.) Bobby// Larios

- (282) M: Okay* forget Bobby (.) ¿qué nos ves de nosotros?
- (283) R: ¿Qué nos ves de nosotros?
- (284) M: ¿Qué le ves al público?
- (285) D: Hay mucha energía a pesar de los cambios drásticos que vienen en el mundo (.) a pesar de las tormentas, de los huracanes, de los temblores y de todo eso
- (286) M: Sí seguiremos aquí
- (287) D: Vamos a seguir aquí
- (288) R: Muchas gracias David por estar aquí con nosotros
- (289) M: Intocable (.) -que cuando regresemos está aquí Intocable
- (290) R: Han tenido un gran éxito el Intocable (.) que está aquí hoy con nosotros ¿verdad que sí Mauricio?
- (291) M: Oye la música grupera ha vendido más de 12 millones de discos y tiene el número uno en todas partes
- (292) Intocable: Así es (.) contentísimos y también estamos en plan de gira por acá en la Florida vamos a estar en cuatro ciudades por acá y que, que nos espere la gente contentísimos con el disco “Cruce de Caminos” y bueno con la rola que vamos a tocar ahorita
- (293) R: Después de 13 años, cruce de caminos, después de 13 años de carrera ¿cómo se sienten con el éxito?
- (294) Intocable: Pues (.) todavía muy contentos pues y con la respuesta del público y pues (.) esperamos que haya Intocable para el rato
- (295) M: y ¿se llevan bien los de adelante con los de atrás también?

(296) R: (hhh)

(297) Intocable: claro (.) perfecto

(298) M: Acá también se ríen (.) //todos se ríen

(299) R: ¿y el nombre Intocable?*

(300) Intocable: Nada más es puro nombre (.) no tiene nada que ver con que no se pueda tocar ni nada

(301) M: El tema que nos vienen a presentar se llama “Bastó”

(302) Intocable: “Bastó” (.) así es

(303) M: ¿y te lo dedicas a Rashel? (hhh)

(304) R: Ay espero que no digan nada malo (.) que sea algo bueno

(305) Intocable: No, no, no (.) es muy buena para dedicarle a una persona querida

(306) R: Bueno (.) adelante Intocable:::

APPENDIX IV

TABLE

TABLE I: NUMBER AND TYPES OF SWITCHES

Types of switches	# in <i>El Gordo y La Flaca</i>	# in <i>Cotorreando</i>
Quotation	4	3
Addressee Specification	1	1
Interjection	9	11
Reiteration	11	9
Message Qualification	1	0
Personalization/ Objectivization	1	3
Topic Initiation/Closing	5	3
Connotational Switching	6	5
Missing Word in L1	2	2
L2 Borrowing	8	5
Total	48	42