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An Exploratory Survey of Code-Switching in the Coachella Valley, CA

Allan K. Escobar

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

An Exploratory Survey of Code-Switching in the Coachella Valley, CA

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This thesis surveyed a group of second generation Mexican-American Spanish-English bilingual speakers in the Coachella Valley, California to determine common motives for code-switching in speech. In previous studies, motives or triggers to code-switching have been identified and recorded in major urban cities such as Los Angeles and New York, and this thesis seeks to identify this phenomenon in the rural and agricultural cities of the Coachella Valley, with focus on Indio and Coachella, CA. Furthermore, another goal of this study was to analyze research on code-switching in a sample of older adults ages 45-75 as compared to much of the research that tends to focus on young adults or children. This study also took into consideration the code-switching patterns between males and females.

This thesis analyzed 10 audio-recorded interviews of second generation Mexican-American Spanish-English bilingual speakers. The interviews were recorded in Indio, CA in 2015. The data collected were analyzed for naturally occurring code-switching pattern frequencies, code-switching differences found between genders, and code-switching differences found in age groupings.

The results showed similar findings to those found in previous studies on code-switching patterns, the greater code-switching frequency in women, and the stronger disapproval of code-switching in adults.

Keywords: Spanish, English, code-switching, bilingualism, language contact, Indio, Coachella, California

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
Introduction	1
Statement of the Problem.....	1
Purpose of the Study	3
Study Overview	4
Research Questions.....	4
Review of the Literature	5
Code-switching	5
Attitudes.....	7
Methods in Code-switching	8
Code-switching as Observed in Age and Gender	10
Code-switching Types	10
Emphasis	12
Anticipational Switching	13
Quotations.....	14
Proper Nouns	14
Preformulations.....	15
Change in topic or domain.....	15
Crutches	16

Methodology	18
Participants.....	18
Introduction to Participants.....	19
M1	19
M2	20
M3	20
M4	20
M5	20
F1	20
F2	21
F3	21
F4	21
F5	21
Interviews.....	22
Instruments.....	22
Data Analysis	24
Results	28
Types of Switches	28
Emphasis/ Clarification.....	29
Anticipatory Switches.....	32
Proper Noun	33
Culturally Bound.....	35
Discourse Markers/ Phatic Function.....	36

Symmetrical and Sequential Switches	38
High Frequency Item	40
Paraphrase/ Quotation.....	42
Remembering an Experience	44
Crutches	46
Preformulations/ Linguistic Routines	48
Idiosyncratic.....	50
Emotion.....	50
Parenthetical Remark	52
Tag Questions	54
Linguistic Economy	55
Avoidance of Taboo.....	56
Appeal or Control	57
Change in Domain or Topic.....	58
Gender.....	58
Age.....	60
Bilingual Language Proficiency Assessment.....	61
Discussion and Conclusion	62
Research Questions.....	62
Research question #1	62
Research question #2	63
Research question #3	64
Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research.....	65

Conclusion	66
APPENDIX A.....	68
APPENDIX B.....	71
APPENDIX C.....	74
REFERENCES	117

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1 Summary of Participants	19
Figure 3.2 Switches added by further research of the literature	25
Figure 3.3 Switches added by researcher’s observations.....	26
Chart 4.1 Switches Totals	28
Figure 4.2 Men.....	59
Figure 4.3 Women	59
Bilingual Language Proficiency Assessment.....	61

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Statement of the Problem

In the United States, the influx of immigration has increased in every state and as an inevitable result, languages and cultures are found in contact. This is evidenced in the increasingly multicultural and multilingual cities across the world, like Los Angeles, New York, and Toronto (Qadeer, 2016), to name a few. Regardless of the nation where these people originate, many parents desire that their children and future descendants maintain their mother tongue. While for others it may not be a main concern and would prefer their children to learn the majority language, which in the case of the U.S. is English (US Census Bureau, 2018). As a result, the topic of language maintenance and language mixing has become an interest for many. These phenomena can be observed in the language usage in immigrants, their children, grandchildren, and so forth.

In discussing immigrants and their language usage, Silva-Corvalán (1994) presents a generational model in which each generation or group is based on the length of time that the speakers' families have lived in the US. Therefore, speakers from group one or the first generation are those not born in the US but who have immigrated to the US after puberty (about age eleven). Speakers from group two or the second generation are those who were born in the US or who immigrated before puberty. Lastly, speakers from group three or the third generation are those who were born in the US and have at least one parent who responds to the definition of those of the second generation. Following this three-generation model, speakers of the first generation are those who typically have high fluency in the minority language, their mother tongue; and speakers of the second generation are those who typically have high fluency in both

the majority and minority language; and those from the third generation are those who have very little to no fluency in the minority language and are highly proficient in the majority language. Furthermore Lipski (2008) confirms that, “in the ontogenesis of semi-fluent speakers, there is usually a shift from the minority language and toward the national/majority language within a single generation or two, at most” (p. 56), meaning that people within the first and second generation of speakers tend to maintain the minority language whereas within the third generation of speakers, the minority language is usually lost. However, Silva-Corvalán (1994), supports that “the separation into three discrete groups does not correlate directly with three discrete groups in terms of Spanish oral language proficiency” (p. 15), and because of different social histories, speakers from groups two or three will have varying levels of language proficiency in Spanish. Therefore, typically those who are more likely to code-switch are those belonging to the second generation who are higher on birth order and have a transcultural identity resulting in higher contact with both the majority and minority languages.

In this study, I observe those of the second generation who, again, are those who are characteristically highly fluent in both languages. It has been shown that those highly fluent in two languages are likely to code-switch between both languages when in contact with people from a similar demographic. According to Gumperz (1982), a code-switch is “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (p. 59). De Houwer (1995) adds that code-switching, “involves the use of elements from two languages within one utterance, conversational turn, or longer stretch of discourse” (p.247). Furthermore, Grosjean (2008) describes it as a complete shift from one language to another language, occurring at a word, a phrase or a sentence boundary.

In the United States, of the reported population of 325 million people, it is estimated that about 40 million people speak Spanish in the home (Data Access and Dissemination Systems (DADS), 2010). Spanish is the second most spoken language in the country after English and consequently pockets of Spanish-English bilingual communities have risen throughout the years. As a result, in many of these communities switching between the two languages has become a more frequently observed communication pattern. Some of the first studies on Spanish-English code-switching in the United States can be found in studies from the 1960's and 70's by scholars such as Beltramo & Porcel (1975), Christian & Christian (1966), Lance (1970, 1975), and Pfaff (1979).

Purpose of the Study

For this study, I surveyed a group of second generation Mexican-American individuals in the Coachella Valley with focus on Indio and Coachella, California, a city located in the Colorado Desert region. According to its history, in the early 1900's Indio had become an agricultural region which allowed crops such as onions, cotton, grapes, citrus, and dates to thrive despite the arid climate of the area ("City of Indio History", 2019). Also, the U.S. Census estimates that today the city's population is about 67% Hispanic. The purpose of this exploratory survey is to observe the code-switching patterns in this historically rural, agricultural, and multicultural region of California, as compared to the urban, city centers where other similar studies have been conducted like New York City (Zentella,1997), San Antonio (García, 2009), and Los Angeles (Silva-Corvalán, 1994). Also, as far as I can tell, no studies have been conducted on this topic in the Coachella Valley.

Furthermore, the goal of this exploratory survey is to register and analyze research on common patterns in code-switching in older adults as compared to most of the research that

tends to focus on young adults or children. This research will also consider the code-switching patterns between male and female discourse.

Study Overview

This thesis analyzed 10 audio-recorded interviews of Mexican-American Spanish-English bilingual speakers living in the Coachella Valley with focus on Indio and Coachella, CA. The interviews were recorded in 2015. Five informants were male, and five informants were female. The interviews were conducted in the form of a casual conversation, while in homes, workplaces, or church meetinghouses. The interviews were conducted over the period of three days. The data collected were analyzed for naturally occurring code-switching pattern frequencies, code-switching differences found between genders, and code-switching differences found different in age groups.

Research Questions

The research questions that directed this exploratory survey are:

1. What common factors are observed in code-switching in rural cities in the Coachella Valley, CA compared to other similar studies in urban cities?
2. What attitudes towards code-switching can be observed in a sample of people 45 years old and older? Does this effect the code-switches in their conversations?
3. Can differences in code-switches be correlated to how men code-switch vs. how women code-switch?

CHAPTER 2

Review of the Literature

This section reviews studies on code-switching patterns that many bilinguals have adopted as a form of communication that represents an identity or responds to linguistic factors. For the purposes of my own research, I am focusing mostly on studies performed on Spanish-English bilingual communities. While this study is focused on the code-switching aspects of Spanish-English bilinguals, it is important to quickly note that terms, such as Spanglish or Tex-Mex, do not fully describe the reality of the language usage because apart from including the phenomenon of code-switching these terms also encompass language contact phenomena such as loanwords, lexical calques, and phrasal calques (Otheguy & Stern, 2011). To describe the characteristics of code-switching, this study is centered on first, explaining what group of people are likely to code-switch, why they code-switch, and their attitudes towards code-switching. Additionally, I will discuss the guidelines to acceptable code-switches. Moreover, I will reference and describe the studies that have been done on the various motives that trigger code-switches.

Code-switching

Bullock and Toribio (2009) add one element to the definition of code-switching stating that “code-switching is the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate *effortlessly* [emphasis added] between their two languages” (p. 1). The key word here is *effortlessly*, meaning that in code-switched conversations, the speakers do not need to pause and think about how or when they are going to switch, rather these switches are implemented and realized automatically. To perform this *effortlessly*, the speaker requires a high level of bilingual proficiency. To gauge the range of ability in bilinguals, Grosjean (1985) introduces the bilingual continuum in which one side is the ability of a monolingual and the other is of a proficient bilingual. Valdés (1997) adds

that “the bilingual continuum is a range of linguistic abilities and communicative strategies” (p. 30) and speakers of two languages will travel along the continuum in order to perform certain linguistic tasks. This means that bilinguals can perform tasks in certain “modes” depending on the situation (Grosjean, 2001). If there is a case where a bilingual is speaking to a monolingual, then the bilingual can use their linguistic abilities more towards the monolingual mode and speak in one language to that person. However, in the case where the bilingual is found in a situation where two languages are being spoken, following the continuum model, the bilingual will be closer to the bilingual mode and be able to use either language depending on the specific situation.

The continuum model can also be used to determine the level of proficiency of a bilingual in which those who know very little of one language will more closely relate to the monolingual side of the continuum, and those who feel more proficient in the two languages, more closely relate to the bilingual side. According to Bullock and Toribio (2009), balanced, true or symmetrical bilinguals are those who have strong a native-like control of two languages and are typically found near the end of the bilingual side of the continuum. However, they also mention that it is difficult to truly define what a balanced bilingual is due to reasons such as the accent, the non-target word selection, and the ability to converse about any subject. Therefore, the ability of a bilingual really depends on the life and language experience that an individual has had. Bullock and Toribio (2009) continue by stating that simultaneous or early bilinguals, “are those who have been exposed to two languages from birth or early childhood” (p. 7) having been exposed and/or immersed in two languages and that these individuals are those who most closely reflect a true bilingual.

Attitudes

Even though code-switching can be a trait of proficient bilinguals, the attitudes towards the phenomenon are varied. Previously, code-switching was seen as a disability or evidence of incompetence (Espinosa, 2010; Genessee et al., 2004). The negative attitudes seen towards heritage Spanish speakers were described by Fernández (1990) in the following quote:

A pesar de la frecuencia con que ocurre este fenómeno en los Estados Unidos, existen actitudes negativas hacia esta variante por asociarla principalmente con la forma de hablar de grupos minoritarios impopulares. El cambio de códigos o *code-switching*, sobre todo entre inglés y español, se interpreta como una deficiencia lingüística que revela la falta de proficiencia del hablante en ambas lenguas, la cual le obliga a recurrir a la segunda lengua cuando agota su repertorio en la primera (p. 52).

Additionally, there are those who have positive attitudes towards the phenomenon. In a study conducted by Anderson and Toribio (2007), the informants were asked to describe their attitudes towards texts that included contact phenomenon like borrowing and code-switching. Their findings show that those “who reported higher abilities in Spanish maintain a consistently positive attitude toward all texts types, regardless of the interlingual influence depicted, and those who declared lower abilities in Spanish viewed the monolingual guise most positively and greatly disfavored the code-switching guises” (p. 232-233). This shows that many of the language attitudes towards code-switching (and other contact phenomenon) depend on the language abilities of the bilingual. Although the study was conducted on language attitudes of written texts, I believe that the same can be concluded for the spoken language as well. Toribio (2002) also mentions that some come to accept code-switching as a means of maintaining and promoting the minority language. However, Toribio also mentions that some Hispanics choose

not to code-switch by their acceptance and internalization of the stigma attached to the behavior. Similarly, in a study on the Spanish-Galician community in London, Pena (2004) says that the first generation is likely to reject code-switching and admit to not participating in it. Whereas the second generation, ironically, may manifest negative attitudes toward code-switching although they do engage in it. Therefore, there are mixed attitudes about the use of code-switching that may depend simply on the speaker.

Methods in Code-switching

Poplack (1980) describes three main types of code-switches: lexical switches, intra-sentential switches, or inter-sentential switches. Lexical switches are single word switches as observed in (1). Intra-sentential switches are switches within sentences, collocations, or set phrases, as shown in example (2). Inter-sentential switches are those occurring frequently at sentence boundaries as shown in example (3).

- (1) “*Esto es un* microphone.” (Zentella, 1997, p. 103)
- (2) “You know they walk *que ellas se comen el aisle completo*.” (Zentella, 1997, p. 81)
- (3) “*Sí, pero le hablo en español*. When I don’t know something, I’ll talk to her in English.” (Zentella, 1997, p. 81)

Muysken (2000), further refines the ways in which code-switching can be realized and proposes three methods in alternation, insertion, and congruent lexicalization. An alternation is a switch in which the two languages remain relatively separated in an A-B configuration. Typically, the alternation is realized as either an intra- or inter-sentential switch. In the following example (4), Poplack (1980) uses the alternation at the phrase level and maintains the two languages relatively separated.

- (4) “Sometimes I’ll start a sentence in Spanish *y termino en español*.” (Poplack, 1980, title)

Second is insertion, which involves the embedding of a constituent—usually a word or phrase—in a nested A-B-A structure. The insertion is typically realized intra-sententially. In the following example, the insertion was implemented at the phrase level. The sentence begins in English, then the Spanish prepositional phrase was inserted, and then the sentence finishes again in English.

- (5) “I’m going with her *a la esquina* to meet our friends.” (Zentella, 1997, p. 97)

Third is congruent lexicalization in which two languages share a common grammatical structure that can be filled with lexical elements from either language. See example (6):

- (6) “Siempre está *promising* cosas.” (Poplack, 1980, p. 596)

In this case, the switch occurred in a spot where Spanish and English share a common grammatical structure and was constructed so that either language could fit and make sense in that spot, *promising* in this case shares the same grammatical structure as *prometiendo* both taking the spot of the present participle or progressive form –ing in English or –ndo in Spanish.

Furthermore, Myers-Scotton (1993) presents a model in which a matrix or base language plays a role in determining the lexical or functional items that are inserted from one language to another. She calls this the matrix language frame and treats one language as the matrix language and the other as the embedded language. In her study, it is assumed that the languages are not treated equally by the speakers. She conditions that features like system morphemes must come from the matrix language, while content morphemes, like lexical items, are those features coming from either the embedded language or the matrix language. This means that only lexical items can be embedded into the utterance of another language.

Code-switching as Observed in Age and Gender

Extralinguistic factors such as age, gender, education, group identity all play a role in determining whether speakers will code-switch (Timm, 1975). Poplack (1980) performed research on a Puerto Rican bilingual community to examine code-switching as evidence of bilingual competence or of deviant linguistic behavior. In this study, she took extralinguistic factors into consideration. Regarding gender, Poplack concluded that women are more likely to code-switch at much higher rates than men. Additionally, Silva-Corvalán (2001), proposes that speech patterns between genders should be expected because of the universal trait of gender stratification. Silva-Corvalán (2001) suggests that because men are often allowed more flexibility concerning obedience or disobedience to “rules” as compared to women, then this trait could apply to communication as well. This means that women are more likely expected to use standard forms of communication (Ladegaard & Bleses, 2003).

When comparing code-switching in adults and children, previous research shows that both bilingual adults and children switch the two languages they speak. Furthermore, both children and adults determine language choice by many factors such as characteristics of the interlocutor, the interlocutor’s role, languages known and used by the interlocutor, and other listeners in the environment (Micci, Scheffner Hammaer, & Rodríguez, 2009). However, in their study, Gardner-Chloros, McEntee-Atalianis, & Finnis (2005) found that younger informants were more likely to approve of code-switching, and found it more advantageous, than the older informants.

Code-switching Types

The different socio-pragmatic functions or triggers commonly seen in code-switched speech can be understood and will be described by the recurring themes in the literature. As

Montes Alcalá states, it is difficult to categorize all types of switches because there is much overlap between the different types and the list of types of switches could be endless. Therefore, this review of the literature is representative, and in the following sections, I describe the patterns of code-switches that arose in two or more instances while reviewing the literature on this topic.

First, I begin by summarizing three distinct attempts that have been done in categorizing code-switches, then I discuss the individual types of switches in depth. In her analysis of six audio tape recordings of about 2-4 speakers per tape (15 speakers total), Valdés made a list of principal code-switching patterns, along with their definitions (1976). Her list includes situational switches, contextual switches, triggered switches, switching of isolated items, identity markers, pre-formulations, discourse markers, proper nouns, quotations and paraphrases, sequential responses, and symmetrical switches. Valdés did not make any attempt to categorize the types of switches other than one simple list of switches.

Just two years later, Jacobson (1978) added his own list of switches based from an analysis of data gathered by five graduate students in which they propose a two-part system: semi code-switching (lexical) and true code-switching (syntactic). The semi-code-switching category was broken down into borrowing, terminology, calque, and access. These are considered “semi” switches due to the nature of these categories and how they really do not reflect an actual code-switch rather a manipulation of one language into another. The true code-switching category was divided into psychologically conditioned and sociologically conditioned factors. The psychologically conditioned category was defined by factors such as substratum, emotion, hesitation, false start, and preference. The sociologically conditioned category was defined by factors such as code, domain, culture, interpersonal relations, topic, and metaphor.

Furthermore, Zentella (1997) created her own list of switches while studying a group of

Puerto Rican girls in New York. The list consisted of about 22 conversational strategies divided into four categories: realignment, appeal and/or control, clarification and/or emphasis, and crutch-like code-mixing. The types of switches under realignment are topic shift, quotations (direct or indirect), declarative/question shift, future referent check and/or bracket, checking, role shift, rhetorical ask and answer, and narrative frame break. Under appeal and/or control are aggravating requests, mitigating requests, and attention attraction. The clarification and/or emphasis category includes switches for translations, amplifications, appositions, accounting for requests, and double subjects. Lastly in the crutch-like code-mixing category are crutching, filling in, recycling, triggers, parallelism, and taboos.

Montes-Alcalá (2005, 2007), contributed her take on the categorization of the reasons why people would code-switch. Her studies have focused on written texts such as emails, diaries, and blogs. However, she hypothesizes that written code-switches reflect similar social functions in oral code-switching. The categories that she proposes are code-switches for lexical items, triggered switches, quotes, elaboration, tags, emphatic switches, and free switches. In the following sections, the most recurring themes in the literature are discussed in detail with examples provided.

Emphasis. Emphatic switches occur when speakers choose to give emphasis, clarification, translation, elaboration/amplification, or contrast in speech. For monolingual speakers, it can be done by speaking slower, louder, and/or changing intonation, whereas for bilingual speakers it can be simply done by switching languages (Zentella, 1997; Montes-Alcalá, 2005).

- (7) “*Qué relación más rara, la de Vicky y Tere, ¡muy weird!*” (Montes-Alcalá, 2005, p. 177)

In example (7) it is demonstrated that the speaker made a lexical switch at the word *weird* to emphasize the statement of what was previously mentioned about the relationship as *rara*. These types of switches are also known as metaphorical switches that also include humor and parenthetical remarks as reasons for code-switching (Valdes, 1976; Jacobson, 1978). Lipski refers to these switches as stylistic switches and adds that these types of switches provide an affective twist to utterances (1982) or according to Montes-Alcalá, it adds color or flavor to what bilinguals have to say (2005).

On a similar note, Jacobson (1978) made mention that a speaker may switch between languages to express emotion. I think this is what is parodied in much of the media's portrayal of bilinguals (e.g. Richy Ricardo in "I Love Lucy"). Consider example (8):

(8) I lost my temper. *Es que me da mucho coraje...*" (Jacobson, 1978, p. 17)

This example clearly shows the how the speaker was involved in an event that caused a reaction in him. In retelling the events, the reaction or emotion consequently resulted in a code-switch.

Anticipational Switching. Clyne (1967) first observed anticipational switching (anticipational triggering as he called it) in German immigrants in Australia. These instances of switches occurred as speakers, consciously or unconsciously, thought ahead to what they were about to say, sometimes to a word in an overlapping area between the two languages. Such anticipation sometimes triggered a switch to occur before the trigger word at the phrase level. Consider example (9):

(9) "Dann wird dem andern Mann / der kann / dann / he can bat." (Clyne, 1967, p. 86)

In this example, the speaker is probably speaking about cricket, a sport commonly played in Australia that utilizes bats. As the speaker anticipates the use of the word *bat* it triggers the switch before the word and the speaker also switches the words *he can*, which he certainly

knows in German. Functioning in the same manner, these switches may also be known as triggered switches (Valdes, 1976). In 2005, Montes-Alcalá also makes mention of *cambios provocados* (provoked switches). These switches were a result due to lexical need, which she further adds and says within that same grouping are *descargas anticipadas* (anticipatory triggering) which provoke a switch to occur before the part that changes. This supports Clyne's original thoughts on the anticipatory trigger theory.

Quotations. Lance (1970) made the one of the first introductions to code-switching as a means of quoting. In his observations, Lance notes that usually when the conversation was in English the introduction and quote would also be in English, however, if the conversation was in Spanish then the speakers would use Spanish introductions to English (or the language spoken) quotations. Although there were no instances of it in the study, it can be hypothesized that this find can also similarly be applied for English introductions to Spanish quotes. Consider the following:

- (10) *Y una vez me dijo mi chamaca, dijo, "Mami, you go there, order me a hamburger basket deluxe."* (Lance, 1970, p. 348)

In example (10), the speaker sets the scene in Spanish and then gives the English quote of what was exactly said to her. The potential to code-switch for quotations also includes paraphrases (Valdés, 1976) which can be contextual or non-contextual. Zentella (1997) and Montes-Alcalá (2005) also mention this find in their studies. Montes-Alcalá adds that these types of quotation switches may include direct or indirect quotes.

Proper Nouns. Clyne (1967), Lance (1970), Valdés (1976), list proper nouns as reasons for code-switching. Lance further defines proper nouns as technical terms, brand names, place names, personal names (1969). These types of words are those that have no equivalent term in

English or vice versa and would cause a speaker to refer to the language where the noun came from.

- (11) “*Aquí en State dicen que es co-ed. Not exactly though. Porque como Garcia Hall, one section is all girls and then all guys.*” (Valdés, 1976, p. 82)

In example (11), the use of *State* (as in the university’s nickname, e.g. Utah State University, Arizona State University, etc.) is switched because translating the word into *estado* would lose meaning of the State University (system). Similarly, with Garcia Hall, the people in the area would most likely be more familiar with the noun in English and it would not make sense to stay in the same language.

Preformulations. Preformulations or linguistic routines are those conversations that are done as cut and paste “scripts” frequently used in bilingual speech. Montes-Alcalá (2005) makes mention that these are those switches that show the bicultural reality and show that some expressions may serve better in one cultural context over others. Zentella further adds that “a code-switch ‘says it better’” (1997, p. 101). Consider the following:

- (12) “*Pues, believe it or not, yo tengo preso a F.R.*” (Montes-Alcalá, 2005, p. 179)

In this example (12), the highly used *believe it or not* is a very common phrase used among English speakers and was implemented as a code-switch. It is important to note that preformulations are learned as chunks and thus can be done for both Spanish and English commonly used idioms or routinely used phrases.

Change in topic or domain. Switches that deal with change in topic or domain occur when talking about one subject then changing to another topic could cause a switch between languages. Similarly, this can occur with a change of interlocutors and settings (Jacobson, 1982; Lipski, 1982).

(13) [*Ha ido a México. ¿Qué diferencias ve?*] Yeah, *bastante diferente, hay cosas muy diferentes, pero en México* my father had money. He had properties. I'm real poor right now compared to what my father used to be in Mexico you see. (Escobar, 2019, p. 58)

In example (13), as the informant speaks about the differences seen in Mexico, she switches to talk about the money and properties her father used to have. The change in topic motivated her switch.

Crutches. There are many subcategories that fall under this general category of crutches. Zentella (1997) describes these switches as crutches because “like a person with impaired use of one leg who depends on a crutch to keep walking, a bilingual who is stumped in one language can keep on speaking by depending on a translated synonym as a stand-in” (p. 98). Lipski (1982) “mentions that most contemporary investigators would concede that lack of familiarity with a term in each language (as opposed to the lack of existence of a technologically or culturally related term) is one sufficient cause of language switching, although it is not a necessary cause” (p. 196-197). One form of crutching was found in Clyne’s studies on German immigrants in Australia (1967), he found that a reason for these people to switch between the two languages was to express caution or embarrassment and implement words such as *well, anyway, you know, I mean*, and so forth. Lipski (1982) continues by mentioning that these cases of hesitation may indicate a speaker's need or groping for words. Montes-Alcalá adds to the discussion that the need for words may be due to the difficulty of translating the words and therefore should not be interpreted as a lack of competence, but rather a demonstration of the strong bicultural and bilingual abilities of the speakers. These crutches also include foreign concepts (Lipski 1982) and switches for lexical need (Montes-Alcalá, 2005). These types of switches occur because of a lack of experience with or a lapse in memory for certain words. Consider example (14):

- (14) “You shouldn’t take that out because you’re gonna stay *mellá*¹.” (Zentella, 1997, p.97)

False starts or recycling (Jacobson, 1978; Zentella, 1997) are also included to fix an error in speech as the switch was produced.

- (15) “*Tú* don’t go. ¿*Tú no te vas?*” (Zentella, 1997, p. 97)

Overlapping words (Lipski, 1982) or triggers (Zentella, 1997) are those that occur because of an overlapping word that is similar in structure as seen in example (16).

- (16) “My name *es Paca*.” (Zentella, 1997, p. 97)

Avoidance of taboo words is using a code-switch to soften the blow of a word or words that in monolingual speech may be offensive or taboo to mention.

- (17) “They should blow an ash can [firecracker] up his *huevos*.” (Zentella, 1997, p. 97)

As previously mentioned, Montes-Alcalá says it is difficult to categorize all types of switches because there is much overlap between the different types and the list of switches could be endless. This was very much evident after this literature review and taken into consideration as I observed code-switching among the Spanish-English bilinguals of the Coachella Valley, CA.

¹ “Stay mellá” is a calque (Otheguy et al. 1989) of *quedarse mellada* “end up (literally ‘stay’) toothless.” (Zentella, 1997, p.294)

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

The purpose of this study, by way of an exploratory survey, was to describe the types of code-switches that Spanish-English bilinguals of Coachella or Indio, CA demonstrate in spontaneous speech. This is not a statistical study, but rather a descriptive analysis to draw attention to how the code-switching speech patterns in Coachella and Indio, CA are similar to what has been proposed in previous studies in other parts of the U.S.

The methodology to this thesis was based on the free speech in code-switch mode (Gullberg, Indefrey, & Muysken, 2009). This research technique is as simple as asking a speaker to speak in either language or to specifically code-switch. “The assumption is that the procedure will yield ‘natural’ switches” (p.34). Furthermore, in order to produce natural and spontaneous speech it is suggested the speech can be free or unrestricted (Blot et al, 2003), consist of storytelling (Grosjean and Miller, 1994), or spoken summaries of texts (Kolers, 1966).

Participants

This research project included ten Mexican-American informants gathered through my own or my father’s personal social network. Of the ten individuals, five of them were males and five females. All of the informants were 45 years old or older at the time of the interview.

Following the three-generation model proposed by Lipski (2008), most of the informants belong to the second generation, that is, U.S. born children of immigrant parents or immigrant children arriving to the United States before the critical period of language acquisition. One of the informants arrived a couple years after the critical period at the age of 17. However, due to the amount of continuous years she has in the U.S. and her social history with both English and Spanish, it was decided that she would be a good candidate to interview. The informants were found and contacted through personal relationships and outreach to any acquaintances of the

previously contacted people. I decided to employ codes for anonymity (e.g. M1 for male 1, F1 for female 1 and so forth). A summary of all participants can be found in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 Summary of Participants

Participant ID	Age/ Sex	Place of birth	Age arriving to the US, if applicable
M1	64/ M	Indio, CA	
M2	52/ M	Phoenix, AZ	.
M3	46/ M	Mexicali, Baja California, MX	9 years old to Indio, CA
M4	46/ M	Mexicali, Baja California, MX	9 years old to Indio, CA
M5	69/ M	Coachella, CA	
F1	69/ F	Douglas, AZ	
F2	75/ F	Matehuala, San Luis Potosí, MX	17 years old (to Edinburg, TX)
F3	62/ F	Indio, CA	
F4	53/ F	Indio, CA	
F5	46/ F	Indio, CA	

Introduction to Participants

The following paragraphs provide brief introductions to each participant with their age at the time of the interview and perceptions of the participant post interview.

M1. M1 is a 64-year-old male. He was born in Indio, CA. M1 is married to a woman originally from Texas. According to him, she switches between the two languages a lot more frequently than he does. He is a friend of my father and from my own previous experiences he code-switches a lot more than he says he does. Nevertheless, during his interview, he seemed to have gone into “interview mode” in which he did not switch as freely as I previously had perceived him to switch and spoke mostly in the language that was spoken to him. M1 is retired.

M2. M2 is a 52-year-old male. He was born in Phoenix, AZ but he moved to the Coachella Valley when he was three months old. He is F2's son-in-law, he married her youngest daughter. Throughout the interview M2 seemed a little uncomfortable and a bit timid about answering questions.

M3. M3 is a 46-year-old male. He was born in Mexicali, Baja California, MX and he moved to the Coachella Valley at 9 years of age. He is M4's twin brother. A couple of years after high school he got married and moved back to Mexicali, Mexico for about 10 years. He moved back to the Valley with his wife and children. He speaks both languages well and can communicate freely in either, however, it seemed as if he felt more comfortable speaking Spanish.

M4. M4 is a 46-year-old male. He also was born in Mexicali, Baja California, MX and moved to the Coachella Valley at nine years of age. As previously mentioned, he is M3's twin brother. They lived similar lives until M3 moved back to Mexico but M4 stayed in California. He is married to his high school sweetheart F5. M4 seemed to feel very comfortable speaking in any language. He is a very charismatic, outspoken person.

M5. M5 is a 69-year-old male. He was born in Coachella, CA. M5 was contacted through my father at the gym they both attend regularly. M5 is retired and is living with and dating a woman from Mexico. He uses both Spanish and English in his everyday activities and feels comfortable doing so.

F1. F1 is a 69-year-old female. She was born in Douglas, AZ but moved to the Coachella Valley at about a year old. She is an acquaintance of my parents through attendance at the same church congregation. She mentions that her Spanish is not as good as it used to be, and her

hesitation may come out at times in Spanish, but I perceived her to be able to communicate well in either language.

F2. F2 is a 75-year-old female. She was born in Matehuala, San Luis Potosí, MX. Of the group she came to the United States at an older age of 17 years old when she and her husband moved to Edinburg, TX. Most, if not all, of F2's family speaks mostly English, so she is used to speaking with people in English, especially younger people around the same age as her grandchildren. At times, I felt that she spoke a lot of English to us because I was present, and she might have presumed I prefer English. Perhaps her narrative is rehearsed. In other words, she might say things previously said to her children or grandchildren and others in English, who would not understand all of what she tells if she were to say it only in Spanish.

F3. F3 is a 62-year-old female from Indio, CA. She was raised out on a farm on the outskirts of the city where her father worked and employed many people. Much of who she is today is largely due to the way her father raised her and taught her about hard work, integrity, and charity. My observation of her was that she spoke very well in both languages.

F4. F4 is a 53-year-old female and she is from Indio, CA. F4 is co-workers and sister-in-law to F3. She was raised by her mother and stepfather, who was a pachuco. She learned a lot of pachuco words and phrases from him. She is very bilingual, although I perceived that she preferred to speak English.

F5. F5 is a 46-year-old female from Indio, CA. She was raised by her grandmother who was born in CA but raised in Mexico. She has been bilingual for as long as she can remember. In the analysis of her interview, I designated her the "chain switcher" in that she code-switches a lot in her speech and sometimes it seemed not to follow any of the socio-pragmatic functions. She would, as it seemed, just switch to switch because that is what she does. She is married to M4.

Interviews

The interviews for this study were conducted over three days through previously arranged appointments with informants contacted through my own social network or my parents' social network. The interviews took place in a predetermined location such as my parents' home, the informant's home, the informant's workplace, or at the local church meeting place. Each interview lasted between 25-35 minutes and was conducted by me along with my mother or father; this was done due to many of the informants being their acquaintances and ultimately leading to a more familiar setting and allowing for more spontaneous conversation and a possible retelling of stories that may have been previously shared with my parents. Before the interviews, a brief introduction was given to the informants, explaining to them that the goal of the interview is to gain a better perspective on Mexican-American life in the Coachella Valley and I also told the informants that I wanted them to share stories about life experiences in the Coachella Valley. The decision not to mention that the study is about language usage was made in order to elicit spontaneous speech and to avoid interviewees feeling self-conscious about their language habits. In order to create spontaneous conversation, my parents and I took turns asking questions from the question bank. While the majority of the interview questions were in English with code-switches into Spanish, in the case that the interview seemed to not produce samples of code-switched speech, my parents or I would shift gears by initiating questions in Spanish.

Instruments

In this study, there were four instruments used to record the interviews: a Tascam DR-40 digital audio recorder with a lavalier microphone, a list of interview questions, a language dominance bilingual proficiency test, and a list of possible types of code-switches for post-interview analysis.

The interviews were recorded using a Tascam DR-40 digital audio recorder and a lavalier microphone that was connected to the interviewees' shirts or blouses. In order to elicit code-switching in the interviews, prior to the interviews a list of various questions was created using code-switching within the questions, anticipating that the interviewees would follow suit. These questions were created by me, and later revised and approved by my thesis committee members to verify the authenticity and validity of the usage of code-switching. Two pilot interviews were performed prior to traveling to California to test that the questions elicited code-switches within a conversation. There are two sets of questions: questions in which Spanish is the base language and has English code-switches and questions with English as the base language with Spanish code-switches. The questions touch on how the interviewees grew up (e.g. traditions, holidays, meals, etc.), the work culture in the valley (e.g. agriculture, construction, education, business, etc.), and living in the Coachella Valley (e.g. special festivals and/or activities specific to the region). The questions were used mostly as a guide to initiate code-switched conversation and if at any point the informant began to talk about or show interest in a different topic, the conversation followed suit to keep a natural rhythm to the conversation. A sample of the questions are attached as Appendix A.

To measure where interviewees stand along the bilingual language proficiency continuum, a short assessment, called the Bilingual Language Profile (BLP), provided by the University of Texas at Austin (<https://sites.la.utexas.edu/bilingual/>) was administered after the interviews. The questions in the assessment discuss various topics including the amount of time each language has been spoken in different settings, and self-analysis on language abilities. The purpose of the language profile is to gauge personal perception of one's language history, use, proficiency and attitudes in both languages. The Bilingual Language Profile website states that to

obtain the language dominance index, subtract one language total from the other to render a dominance score that ranges from -218 to +218. Again, a score near zero indicates balanced bilingualism. More positive scores reflect English dominance while more negative scores reflect Spanish dominance.

Although this assessment is meant to be given electronically, the decision was made to give this assessment orally to continue the conversation and possibly record more spontaneous code-switching, which in some cases gave results. The questions in the bilingual proficiency assessment are also attached as Appendix B.

After the interviews were conducted, a list of possible motives and triggers to switches was created for the analysis of each interview. It was then revised and refined by the committee chair and concluded with a list divided into three groups: socio-culturally conditioned switches, psychologically conditioned switches, and discursive/stylistic factors.

Data Analysis

Each of these recorded interviews was analyzed, focusing on the socio-pragmatic functions that were previously described in the review of the literature. First, the interviews were transcribed by me using the FTW Transcriber software and a transcribing pedal. To save time and to not have to transcribe the whole interview, the transcriptions only highlight the sections of the interviews that include language usage pertinent to the study, in this case, code-switched speech.

Afterwards, an Excel spreadsheet was used to perform a qualitative and quantitative study for each interview where the following items were taken into consideration: number of switches within an interview and the types of switches (i.e. triggers, motives, syntactic insertions or alternations, etc.). Measuring the occurrence of these switches provided a means to gauge

what types of switches were more frequent. The categories were non-exclusive to single categories, therefore there were some switches that were coded into more than one category.

After careful consideration, I proposed that there are other types of switches that can be added to the list that would offer better understanding of the trends in code-switching pertinent to this thesis. These other types of switches were discovered through further study of the literature and were considered relevant to the study, but did not come up more than once in the literature. A description of those types of switches are included in the Figure 3.2. The examples given are taken from the interviews I conducted for this thesis.

Figure 3.2 Switches added by further research of the literature

Type of Switch	Description	Example
Symmetrical/ sequential switches (Valdes, 1976)	Switches are those that occur because of an interaction with another speaker. The speaker will match the code-switched speech pattern or follow suit as a way of speech accommodation.	The desert, <i>aunque está caliente, pero está uno dispuesto a su desierto</i> , [The quietness.] The quietness yeah, <i>y te vas allá y es</i> , oh my gosh, too much smoke, too much people.
Parenthetical remarks (Jacobson, 1982)	A switch that occurs in the middle of an utterance to explain or mention something apart from what is being said.	<i>Todo el tiempo ha sido</i> , I like to play because I'm a sport guy, baseball, I mean I used to play baseball <i>en Mexicali</i> and boxing all that stuff <i>pero todo el tiempo fui al práctico [sic] todo el tiempo</i> .
Appeal/ control (Zentella, 1997)	Switching in these situations allows for a reasoning behind commands.	<i>Está estudiando</i> uh, how do you call when you talk with your hands for different? [Sign language.] Aha! Yeah and he is taking something else. <i>Deme esa foto hermano ahí está arriba del television. Ese es Michael</i> .

After beginning to categorize the switches, I found that the reoccurring switches described in the previous sections and the switches from the previous table were insufficient in coding the switches from my own research, therefore the following Figure 3.3 is a list of additional switches that were developed from my own observations and collaboration with my thesis advisor. The examples given are also taken from the interviews conducted for this thesis.

Figure 3.3 Switches added by researcher’s observations

Type of switch	Description	Example
Culturally bound	Words or phrases that are bound to the base language culture such as music, foods, traditions, traditional clothing, etc. This occurs when there is no translation equivalent. Trying to translate the words or phrases would result in a loss or change of meaning.	And then my mom was a real good cook like you know for the... <i>enchiladas</i> , and the <i>chiles rellenos</i> and all that. But my dad would do all of the meats. And <i>guisos</i> , mhm. So, it was together. It was together, they made a team, you know, and my mom just accepted everything that my dad you know for the love of people and that’s how we were raised.
Remembering an experience	This may lead speakers back to childhood and recalling how things were said or done. It may lead to memories of a time when speakers were Spanish was more prevalent in the home.	[Tell me a little more about childhood. Maybe a memory that you have.] Well, I was always outspoken. I still am outspoken <i>y era muy brincona</i> and I was always into everything.
High frequency items	Words or phrases that are common in English, or the majority language or culture such as words like high school, principal, etc. Similar to culturally bound words, a diagnosis for this is that there is no translation equivalent. Trying to translate these words or phrases would result in a loss or change of meaning.	<i>Si, entonces esta gente de Estados Unidos le pagó a México, Social Security, todo lo que era de ellos entonces le pagó. Y México se perdió con todo. México perdió todo, el gobierno. Entonces muchos de los trabajadores, lo llevaban a un lugar que se llamaba Las Palmas, en México, ahí los contrataban.</i>

Idiosyncratic	Switches that are uncommon and perceived as mistakes made by the speaker. However, in all cases there is no access to the speaker's mind.	[Were there any special traditions that the high school had?] Um, yeah back then, <i>había</i> that tradition that if you were a senior, you could get away with a lot of things, kind of like that.
Phatic function	A means to keep channels of communication open with words like you know, so, I mean, etc. Many times, these appear as a discourse marker.	[Did they say anything else to you?] “ <i>Ándale, ándale</i> , you know, <i>tenemos que apurarle porque nos pagan por las cajas es más mejor [sic] que la hora. Sáquenlas, saquen.</i> ” It was interesting.

CHAPTER 4

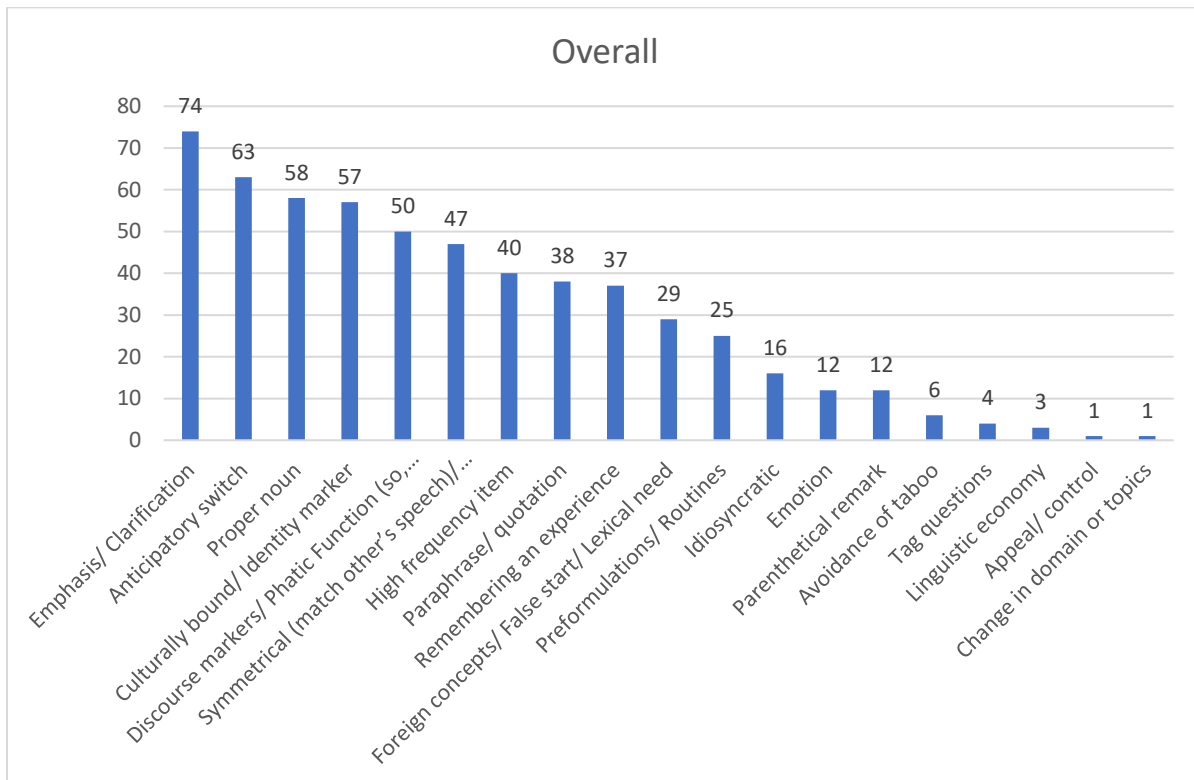
Results

The data were first analyzed observing the overall trends among the ten-people interviewed. Afterwards the data were described by the age of the participants by separating the group into two, with group one be those younger than 55 years of age and group two older than 55. The data were also studied by gender to observe the trends between men and women.

Types of Switches

Since it was difficult to categorize each instance of code-switching into one single type of code-switch, it was decided to include up to two potential types of switches for each switch recorded. In total there were 573 switches collected. A full accounting of all the switches and the amount recorded can be found in Figure 4.1.

Chart 4.1 Switches Totals



Emphasis/ Clarification. The most frequent type of switch is for emphasis or clarification accounting for 12.9% of the switch. These occur to add stress or importance to an utterance, or to simply clear up an ambiguity. This category of switches also accounts for switches for amplification, translation, elaboration or other similar factors. Refer to examples 1-6 for additional detail.

In example (1), M3 talked about coming to the United States and being in elementary school. I asked him about the things he did and played at school.

- (1) [*¿Y qué tipo de cosas jugaban en la escuela?*] *En la escuela, en aquel entonces, se jugaba mucho básquetbol. El primer juego básico básquetbol y voleibol, en la escuela, es lo que se jugaba. Mira, yo, todos los dos deportes. En aquel entonces todavía el fútbol, el fútbol soccer, no se usaba mucho.*

This is an example where a switch was used for amplification. M3 went through a list of sports they used to play in school and then he brought up *fútbol*, which could be confused with the popular American football. In this case, he uses a code-switch to distinguish which type of *fútbol* they were not playing at the time, soccer.

Next, in example (2), F3 talked about how she still spoke in Spanish to her mom, who still lived with her then.

- (2) [*Todavía hablan español con tu mamá?*] Oh yeah, my mom when she had her first stroke, five years ago, um her first language became Spanish again, so *le hablamos mucho español*. And then yeah, she remembers English and she'll go to English, but usually it's Spanish right now.

I considered this a switch for amplification or clarification because I see it as a way to prove to people that the language skills are still there. It is a way to provide any clarification of

doubt of any language ability issues. F3 was asked if she still spoke Spanish to her mother, and she responds with the switch in Spanish. This was common in many of the interviews, in which I noted that a person switched into Spanish if asked about Spanish or switched into English when asked about English.

In example (3), F1 told us about an experience she had in Catholic school. The teacher was a strict nun and F1 was just starting to learn English. She relates wanting to go to the restroom, but not being able to ask in English for permission to go.

- (3) So, I raised my hand to tell the sister I needed to go the bathroom. And of course, my English was very broken, and I had an accent. And I told the nun that I needed to go to the bathroom, but I said, I says, “*Hermana*,” ah no I said, “*madrecita, madrecita*, sister, sister,” I says, “I need to go to the bathroom. *Tengo que hacer chi*.” and I said it in Spanish.

Here were two examples of switching by means of translation for clarification when she says “*madrecita, madrecita*, sister, sister.” While this is not a direct translation, she switched to explain who she was dealing with. It was not her own mother and by switching using a translation it is understood that this was one of the nuns. She also later switched and translated what she said to clarify that she was indeed speaking in Spanish at the time of the incident.

Now in example (4) from F2, she also used translation for clarification. She talked about the different types of jobs she has had in her lifetime.

- (4) *Ahí en la high school trabajé como unos tres años en la cocina. [Y dijo que también trabajó en México.] En México en la botica, en el drugstore.*

As previously mentioned, F2 is used to talking to people younger than she is and that do not understand much Spanish. Her children and grandchildren do not speak much Spanish, so she

is used to accommodate their lack of understanding. Here F2 talks about working in a *botica* and then says *en el* drugstore. I believe this was a method for her to allow understanding as the term *botica* is a less common word for drugstores in the United States and *farmacia* would not have fit in the description either. Therefore, the best option was to translate.

Lastly there were a couple of code-switches for emphasis. Next, in example (5), F2 continued to talk about the different jobs she had had and continued in detail about working as a lunch lady at the high school cafeteria.

- (5) Yeah, I worked in Indio High School, but I worked in the kitchen. We fixed lunch. In my line I had forty kids sometimes. And you put all your food, and you gotta be real [sic] quick, because they had only certain time to eat lunch. So, you had to give the food, prepare all your food and your money, your change. And then they pay you with the five dollars or with one dollar you gotta give them the right change and *rápido* ‘cuz they gotta go eat and go back to school.

Here F2 went through the process of serving lunch to the students and collecting lunch money. Her tone sounded urgent with the speed of her speech, but what adds even more emphasis is her switch to say “and *rápido* cuz they gotta go back to school.” This shows the emphasis on how quickly she had to do her job.

One more example for switches for emphasis comes from F4 in example (6). She talked to us about how close she was to her grandma and how she loved visiting her regularly down in Mexico until her grandmother died in 1979 and she began to visit Mexico less.

- (6) *Y en el ‘79 mi abuelita murió y yo ya no quise regresar porque ella era como mi mamá, verdadera mamá. Y ya no regresé, pero sí visito a los que están aquí en*

Ensenada porque es más cercano y luego el problema de las drogas en México, en Sinaloa más. Um no, no me siento a gusto ir, pero sí quiero regresar ya, I'm over it.

Apart from her grandma dying, F4 also mentioned other reasons for her not visiting Mexico, like the drug problem for example. However, despite her grandmother's death and other issues in Mexico she had desires to go back and she switches to say, "I'm over it." This shows the emphasis she put in her own life to move on from the things of the past and continue to enjoy the things she loves, like her Mexican culture.

Anticipatory Switches. Anticipatory switches are switches that occur as speakers, consciously or unconsciously, think ahead to what they were about to say. In this study, anticipatory switches accounted for 11.6% of the switches and is the second most frequent type of switch. The following examples 7-9 are of anticipatory switches from the data gathered.

In example (7), I asked M1 about his wife, who is from Texas, and he quickly commented on the Tejano culture.

(7) They [the *Tejanos*] talk mainly about music. They love a lot of music, you know, that's one the things about *los tejanos*, *les gusta la música tejana*, you know. To them, it's everything.

Here the words *música tejana* triggered a switch in that M1 felt the need to use Spanish. It is interesting that he had previously mentioned *tejanos* and music in the conversation, but when it came to *música tejana* he treated it like how the people know this Mexican-American music from Texas. This music culture is a large part of southern Texas culture where there are large Mexican-American and Spanish speaking communities, especially among the border towns.

In example (8), M2 was asked about the types of foods his family or friends would prepare around the Christmas holiday season.

- (8) [What kind of food did you guys eat, you know, like during Christmas?] Oh, the tamales, I'd go to all my friends' house that was Spanish and *hacían tamales, menudo, pozole pero todos los tamales, las familias las hacían diferentes, de diferentes lugares*. Yeah, good stuff.

Here the culturally bound food words such as *tamales*, *menudo*, and *pozole* triggered his switch to speak in Spanish and not only to make a lexical switch. As he anticipated these words, he switches at the word *hacían* to begin his phrase and talk about where he would have these foods. He went back to English to describe his delight.

Example (9) demonstrates an anticipatory switch that occurred when F2 was asked if her children currently speak Spanish.

- (9) [¿Todos sus hijos hablan español?] *Entienden hermano, entienden, no hablan. No, no hablan. Jared lo habla un poquito más, Jared. Pero lo entienden, todo lo entienden porque* when Dolores was working over here, in the American Bank, she was working in a bank. They were all Americans and sometimes they had Mexican customers, so they called Dolores “come and help us here with Spanish.”

I believe that this is an anticipatory switch triggered by the proper noun American Bank (although she was probably referring to the Bank of America.). Referring to the word as *el Banco de América* could have possibly made the interlocutors think of a bank in Mexico therefore keeping the words in English and switching the dialogue into English allowed for the context to remain consistent.

Proper Noun. When switching for proper nouns, a speaker switches to refer to the language where the proper noun came from because there is no equivalent word, name, or term

in the other language (Lance, 1970). This includes names of people, buildings, cities, institutions, etc. This accounted for 10.1% of the switches recorded. See examples 10-11.

In example (10), when asked about his schooling when he first arrived in California, M3, mentions the names of the schools he attended, and the cities they are in. Translating the names of these places would or could lead to confusion with the person he is talking to.

- (10) [*Cuando vino, me imagino que fue a la escuela.*] *Fui a la escuela. fui a la Westside. Mi primer año que fue el grado sexto, sixth grade, fui a Westside que está en Thermal, California /kælə'fɔrnjə/. Al siguiente año que fue mi sexto grado fui a la Thomas Jefferson School que se encuentra en el 111 en la ciudad de Indio /'iŋ.djo/ ahí estuve hasta al octavo grado.*

Next, in example (11), M5 shared about how frequently he spoke either English or Spanish. His response elicited a memory to a place where he spoke a lot of Spanish.

- (11) [How many years have you spent at a job where English is spoken?] Oh maybe 20 years or so. [What about Spanish?] The rest of my life. About half and half, I guess because in the mine, 'cuz I worked in a mine, and I worked in a department store, many years that was Spanish and English because you know *te acuerdas de la Beast² en Coachella, en Indio*. There was a lot of Spanish people over there, so you had to speak Spanish.

Here M5 again used a switch to refer to a place that he frequented in Coachella. If M5 had chosen to say *la Bestia*, it probably would not have triggered images of the local hang out in Coachella. In many cases for code-switches for proper nouns, it seems that it was almost needed to keep people on the same page in the conversation.

² La Beast was probably a local hang out at the time of the memory.

Culturally Bound. Code-switching for culturally bound words occurs when there is a word that appears frequently in home or family culture, or Mexican culture in these situations. Speakers would have to use circumlocution for many of these words if choosing to speak solely in English. This accounted for 9.9% of the switches. See examples 12-14.

In example (12), when talking about traditional foods around Christmas time, F1 was asked what she believes is the secret to good tamales.

- (12) [What's the secret to a really good *tamal*?] The *masa*, how you prepare the *masa* and that has to be just, so that when you drop a little bit of it in water, it rises, and you know that the *masa* is done.

Here F1 talked about the *masa* or dough used to wrap the filling. In this case, there probably is not another English word that would help to describe the important ingredient. Even my own description referring to it as dough may lead people to think about meat pies, or something similar but not tamales.

In example (13), I asked F4 about her childhood and what it was like. She went on explaining to us what her mother and neighborhood were like.

- (13) My mom was very, very strict growing up and she had to be. We understand now because we're mothers now. You know, we're parents so we understand why our mother... we would have totally ran [sic] over her if she wouldn't have, yeah and because of the area we grew up in was really crazy. A lot of *cholos* back then, you know, the *pachucos* that they used to call. And um, so my mom was very, very strict.

Here F4 switched into Spanish when talking about *cholos* and *pachucos*, a frequent topic within the Mexican-American culture. The term pachuco comes from the 1930's and 40's in which Mexican-American gangs had a culture of zoot suits, gangs, and nightlife. Cholo is a

similar reference to a Mexican-American gang member associated with the 1980's and 90's. Cholo culture is still common today. When speaking English, she could have mentioned gangsters or thugs, but those words could lead people to think about other types of gang groups. When talking about cholos or pachuchos, one can easily refer to the Mexican-American gangsters.

When asked about her childhood, F5 talked about being raised by her grandmother and all the foods she used to prepare in example (14). Although her grandmother was also born in California, she remained true to her Mexican heritage.

- (14) [What about food?] Food? *Uf, tamales, pozole, menudo, buñuelos, everything. Todo eso. Sí todo lo que es la tradición mexicana, pues era la, aunque ella nació aquí, pero como ella vivió muchos años en México, porque allá conoció a mi abuelito, entonces dijo que ella agarró toda esa tradición de allá.*

Again, this is an example of switching for food words. Although, English has borrowed many of these food items into the language it seems that it may be important to say the words for what they truly are and not their borrowed, phonologically altered equivalents. It is a matter between referent and emotional attachment or connotation and denotation.

Discourse Markers/ Phatic Function. Discourse markers accounted for 8.7% of the switches. Discourse markers are words that are used to organize discourse into segments and work very similarly to words used for phatic function as their role is to maintain the channels of communication open and can be seen in examples 15-17. In example (15), M3 responded to the topic of “Spanglish.” He mentioned what he felt about the phenomenon and how he wished his children handled it.

- (15) [*¿Qué siente sobre el spanglish?*] *¿Qué siento? Eh, pienso que es bueno cuando lo*

hablas con otra persona que te lo pueda entender. Y yo les enseño a mis hijos que es una falta de respeto hablar, como yo cuando voy a México, que tenemos familiares en Mexicali o en México, mis hijos tienen prohibido hablar inglés delante de otra persona que no hable el idioma. Porque yo les enseño que es una falta de respeto. Y aparte se van a, se van a ser ver como que son creídos. Y debemos respetar a las otras personas, so tenemos igualdad de responsabilidad, igualdad de personalidad. So si Dios nos dio el talento de tener más de un lenguaje, usarlo cuando realmente se requiere. So eso es lo que yo les enseño a mis hijos.

First, it is interesting that he seems a little hesitant about mixing the languages and teaches his children that it is a lack of respect when doing so, however in this example, he very freely implements so-insertion into his Spanish. According to Lipski (2008) these types of insertions in otherwise all-Spanish discourse are very common and those who do it deny the use of Anglicisms in their Spanish. Lipski mentions the difficulty in defining this as a code-switch or borrowing, and he mentions that it is defined by rank and phonological integration as for distinguishing between the code-switch and borrowing. For this study, I categorized so-insertions as code-switches as M3 does it, as it seems, without a conscious effort.

Next, in example (16), M4 was asked about life growing up in the valley and he talked to us about his after-school job going out picking in the fields.

- (16) *A mi edad que yo tenía, I mean, era difícil. Salíamos de la escuela, salíamos de la escuela y salíamos pa' vacaciones y era para pizcar uvas. Y no, no más eso terminábamos la uva aquí en el valle Coachella y nos íbamos pa' Irvine a piscar uva también allá. Hasta que se terminaba. Y era difícil.*

I believe this is another example of discourse marker insertion that occurs

subconsciously. In some cases, the use of *I mean* could be used as a correction to a false start, however, in this case he uses it to introduce an explanation, the hard work of harvesting.

Switching into English allows for that language discourse marker to be implemented. He could have used a Spanish equivalent, possibly *o sea*, but it may not have had the same function as *I mean* in this situation.

Another example about working out in the fields from M2 is found in example (17). He mentioned the different things that he remembered being told while he worked.

- (17) [What did they say to you, other than *vete a recoger las cajas*. Did they say anything else to you?] “*Ándale, ándale*, you know, *tenemos que apurarle porque nos pagan por las cajas es más mejor [sic] que la hora. Sáquenlas, saquen.*” It was interesting.

In this case, M2 implemented the use of *you know* as a discourse marker while speaking Spanish. This is a highly used discourse marker and M2 uses it with phatic function, it maintains the channels of communication open and in a way also keeps the listener engaged in the conversation.

Symmetrical and Sequential Switches. Symmetrical or sequential switches account for 8.2% of the switches recorded. The speaker accommodates to the conversation and matches the other speaker’s code-switching pattern or follows suit. Refer to examples 18-20.

In example (18), M2 was describing an event in which he accidentally slept on the job while working out in the fields.

- (18) Yeah, one time when they were looking for when we took a break, the guy used to say, “*Ya tómanse [sic] su quebrada, tómanse [sic] tu break*”. So, I got the box and turned it over, I was underneath the vines, right there. I ate my tacos and I laid there, I guess they went back to work, I was still asleep under there. [And they were like, ¿Y

el M2?] *Sí, “el M2 ¿dónde está M2?”*

In example (18), as I spoke to M2, I decided to predict as to how his coworkers would have reacted. My initial thought was that they reacted in Spanish triggering my “¿Y *el M2?*” M2 in this instance follows suit and switches into Spanish to go along with my last utterance.

Next is example (19) from M3. I asked him about what it was like to work out in the fields harvesting crops and what type of people he worked with.

- (19) [Were there ever *pochos*³ that worked out in the field with you?] Not really, well not with me. I never, no, no. Well, the big bosses, that’s the only *pochos* are right there. [Oí que su papá y mamá trabajaban ahí] *Trabajaban con nosotros* [¿Trabajaban en *el field?*] *en el field*.

In this example, M3 matched the switches in the questions he was asked. I first asked him about *pochos*, and he responded in English and switching at *pochos* also. Later my dad asked about his parents “*trabajando en el field*” and he matched the switch and said “*en el field*.”

In example (20), F5 talked about what it is like in Los Angeles compared to her hometown of Indio, out in the California desert.

- (20) I don't know what they think but I personally don't like it. I think it's too much smoke. Yeah too much, *ay no sé, no me gusta. Es* too much people and I don't like that I'm used to like the more, [The hot.] yeah, the desert *aunque está caliente, pero está uno dispuesto a su desierto*, [The quietness.] The quietness yeah, *y te vas allá y es*, oh my gosh, too much smoke, too much people.

Here F5 was speaking and her husband was feeding her reasons as to why she likes living in the desert. She mentions “*uno está dispuesto a su desierto*” and her husband suggests “the

³ Pocho is a term used to describe children born in the U.S. to Mexican immigrants.

quietness” and she follows suit, then goes back to talking in Spanish.

High Frequency Item. High frequency item switches accounted for 6.9% of the switches. I decided to categorize high frequency items switches for those that occur for words or phrases that are common in the majority language or culture, which is English in this study. See examples 21-23

In example (21), M3 talked about his dad’s coming to the United States to work as a migrant worker. He mentioned the process that his father had to go through to work legally in the States, and the process to receive legal status for the rest of the family.

- (21) *Sí, mi papá, mi papá, él estuvo viniendo a este país desde que tenía como 25 años. Yeah... Pero era de esos braceros que llamaban, que venían y después agarraban sus papeles y venían y hacían sus corridas. Se venían por unos dos, tres meses y juntaban el dinero que podían y se regresaban a su México. Pero después cuando él nos arregló papeles a nosotros, cuando consiguió papeles, inmigración empezó a exigir que teníamos que vivir en este lado. Porque la green card dice, para vivir en EE. UU. y trabajar en EE. UU.*

Here M3, talks about the process of receiving legal status and having to come to California. He speaks Spanish up until he says *green card*. This is a high frequency item that is probably heard a lot, especially among the immigrant population. He could have said *la tarjeta verde*, but it probably would not have been understood immediately as the card that gives you legal residence status.

Next, is example (22) from M5. Since he had previously mentioned to me that he did not feel like he spoke Spanish very well growing up, I asked him how he learned Spanish so well. He talked to me about having to learn while working in construction.

(22) So, you have to learn how to speak Spanish, especially in construction, because you don't want to say something stupid because it makes you look bad. And working with construction they don't let you get away with it. So, you have to you know, *porque*, you know they, *mucha gente era de México. Imagínese de laborers y todo eso, cementeros⁴ también. So tienes que hablar en español.* [M5]

Here M5 begins talking to us in English and is explaining why you must learn Spanish while working in construction. He then in turn switches when talking about *laborers*. In this case, this is a high used term for those people, usually Latinos/Spanish speakers, looking for work and are willing to work for little pay, standing on street corners, or waiting at home improvement stores waiting for someone to pick them up for jobs.

Next is example (23) from M3 as he described to me what it was like moving from Mexico and starting elementary school as a young boy. He mentions some of the difficulties he confronted as he began.

(23) *Pues sí es difícil porque había mucha discriminación en la forma, aun siendo latinos y los poquitos americanos que había, había mucha discriminación porque no hablaba uno el idioma aun la misma raza de uno le hacía bullying por decir como se dice hoy en día porque no hablaba uno el idioma y te hacían pasar vergüenza. Te hacían sentir mal, te hacían sentir mal, pero uno tenía que seguir adelante no tenía otra opción.*

The only word he chose to switch at in this example was for bullying. Bullying is such a high frequency word, especially today when incidents of bullying and cyberbullying are being dealt with all the time, and all over the world. The use of this English word may lead to give a

⁴ *Cementero* refers to a cement layer or a cement worker.

little more feeling behind the word and make people understand the severity of the issue. It probably was not just a matter of *molestando* or *acoso escolar*, which could have been a word sufficient enough for completing the meaning but in this case, bullying gives a deeper understanding of the issue.

Paraphrase/ Quotation. Paraphrasing and quoting is a method for speakers to implement exactly what they remember hearing in the language they remember hearing it in or at least a paraphrase of it. This made up 6.6% of the switches. See examples 24-26.

In example (24), M1 was asked what it was like working out in the fields with the braceros. Specifically, I asked him about what he felt about how the immigrant workers treated him about being a child of Mexicans born in the United States.

(24) [Going back about the braceros, what was their reaction to you, like no *eres de acá pero tampoco eres de allá.*] Well they, you know when I met people like that, I mean to me, I was green. I mean, I didn't even know Spanish they would laugh about the way I would talk "*este pocho*" *me decían "este pocho no sabe hablar nada, este 'ta bien loco*" you know?

Here is a perfect example of code-switching for quotations. When M1 switches it almost takes you back to that time out in field. It gives the discourse a little bit more of reality or authenticity because of the switch. The switch gives us a little more understanding of M1's feeling of being overwhelmed with the job, the culture, the language.

In example (25), M2 shared an experience about working. I originally asked him about his first jobs in the valley and if he ever worked out in the fields. He first said he had not and then remembered that he used to go picking with his friends from his school.

(25) I guess I did lie a little bit, I worked in the grapes for one summer, with them. Well

not picking but uhm, ‘cuz I was too slow and they guy’s mom said “Nope, *tú no más vas a sacar las cajas de allá y tráelas*” and I says “ok”. They got you picking the wrong ones, you gotta know which ones that, I didn’t know.

Again, this is another experience of an American-born Mexican working out in the fields. The difference from this switch and the previous example from M1 is that with the last example, a code-switch was solicited for quotation whereas in this example with M2, he felt inclined to say exactly what he remembers hearing. It seems like many people felt like those Mexican-American youths were not made for these types of jobs.

Next, example (26) comes from F3. I asked her if she went to her senior prom and she told us that she did not. In explaining her reason for not going, this brought up a memory of what it was like at home. She goes on to talk about her family, especially her father who was a kind and generous man.

(26) My dad was the type of person if he saw somebody walking along the road and you know dirty and you know hungry, you could see that they’d be walking for days, he’d bring them home. And in the beginning, you know, we’d go “*Papá, ¿qué haces? No conocemos a la gente.*” He goes, “*mija, necesita ayuda.*” So, I knew the girls that weren’t going to prom, you know, *los [sic] más mexicanas*, you know, I go “*voy a tener fiesta en mi casa, ¿no vienen?*” So, we had you know at my house.

Here F3 code-switches at the point where she remembers what she told her father and what he responded. This is probably a special memory for her because it seems it helped shape her into the woman she is today, however, her switching into the language she spoke with her father adds to the intimacy of the memory.

Remembering an Experience. Switching for a remembered experience or memory is one of those types that came up during the post literature review analysis. I felt that it was important to include a type of switch that accounted for words and phrases that were implemented because that is how people remembered they were said when Spanish was more prevalent in the home, and that is how they continue to say it because of their memory. Switches for memory accounted for 6.4% of the switches.

In example (27), I asked M5 about how he learned Spanish as well as he did. He concludes that working in construction is what helped him.

(27) [I'm curious, you said, *este*, that in school, they didn't let you speak Spanish, but you speak Spanish well. How did you uh?] Construction. Construction, you have to learn how to speak Spanish. Most people were from Mexico, *¿verdad? Y ah*, you know if you say something wrong, or you know, the truth, *de pendejo no te bajaban*. You know.

M5 was concerned about not knowing Spanish and felt the necessity to speak it and speak it well. Although this example could also be categorized as a paraphrase, this is an example of remembering an experience because it is a way that M5 remembered the experience when this was probably first said to him. This phrase means that if you make a mistake it will be hard to be forgiven of it. In a way, once you're labeled *pendejo*, you'll never lose that title. Whenever he talks about learning Spanish or speaking Spanish on the job, the memory of this event may very well come up every time and the words, *de pendejo no te bajaban*, is what he remembers about how to cope with those that are harsh critics to those who do not speak Spanish perfectly. It is important to note that *pendejo* is a taboo word.

Next, is example (28) from F2. She responded to a question about the things her children

did when they were young. This sparked a memory of one of their Christmases a long time ago.

- (28) [*¿Qué jugaban sus hijos, qué tipos de juegos tenían?*] *Ah jugaban béisbol, básquetbol y carabinas, juguetes que les comprábamos. Una Crisma le compramos a José un rifle, it shoot little pellets. So, then he was in the room, in a big bedroom and he was playing with his gun and then he saw a cat that was passing by and he shoot the cat.*

Here F2 switched at the word rifle, which in turn also causes an anticipatory switch because she continues to describe that event. This is a switch for remembering an experience because her son probably did not ask for a *pistola*, or even a *rifle*, but he asked for a rifle. When sharing this experience, she remembers what he said.

Next, is example (29) from F3. She talked to us more about her dad and the type of business owner he was. He was a ranch owner and hired many employees to come and work for him on that family ranch.

- (29) My dad, people, you know, all the workers, really good people. All of ‘em, all of ‘em and he had *cuadrillas* you know. Altogether, maybe, you know, like, back then it was about 500, 600 people. My dad did payroll for all of them and you know just but they were all great, great.... Yeah, they were. Faithful, faithful. And then if they would go sick my dad would send them home and, you know, he would insist on them going home. [*¿Y se pagaba su día a ellos?*] Yes, my dad would. Mhm, yeah. If they were sick, *si venían con una cruda, no*. He would send them home.

F3 was very close to her father. From the sounds of it she was around him a lot and learned how to deal with people and treat others with kindness. When asked if her dad would pay

employees for sick days, a memory was revisited and the word *cruda*⁵ was recalled. When these people would arrive hung over to work, it is not their being hung over that she remembers but rather them *viniedo con una cruda*. This could also be interpreted as an anticipatory switch with, again, *cruda* provoking that switch.

Crutches. This next type of switch can be categorized into one umbrella of a category, and I like how Zentella (1997) describes them as crutches, where these help the speaker in cases where they find themselves fixing mistakes in the language or at a momentary loss of words for foreign concepts, lexical needs and/or corrections of false starts. This accounted for 5% of the switches. View examples 30-32.

In example (30), I asked M2 what his favorite type of tamales were, and this was his response.

(30) [*Y ¿qué tipo de tamales are your favorite?*] *Los que hace mi amigo de Sinaloa, tienen papa, jalapeño, green olives with the seed in it. Y los amarran de los dos lados y en el medio.*

I saw this as a switch for a foreign concept because according my observations about his Spanish vocabulary, I do not think M2 might have known the word for green olives and so therefore he switched into English for this word. He probably confided in my bilingual ability to understand him in the switch.

Next, in example (31), I asked M4 about the family or cultural traditions he has around the Christmas holiday. I asked him about foods, and other things of that sort.

(31) *Lo mismo, tamales, buñuelos, y eso y lo otro. Es tradicional en México. I mean, todo el tiempo, en aquel tiempo nosotros nos íbamos pa' Mexicali. Donde vivíamos*

⁵ *Tener una cruda* is a common Mexican phrase for having a hangover.

porque, I mean, we have, *tenemos una casa allá. Y navidad era pa'llá y era diferente la tradición.*

Here M4 was talking about foods and going to Mexico for Christmas. He then switches for phatic function when he says, *I mean*. This could have provoked him to continue in English and start with *we have*, however he quickly returns to Spanish with *tenemos*, to correct his false start.

Lastly, F1 shared a story about her dying father in example (32). She asked him to help her with recipes he would make for her in order to retain those memories with her.

- (32) And so, when my father was dying of cancer I asked him for his recipes of different things. And he says “oh well, a little of this, and a little of that, you know a cup. And I says, “No, no, no, daddy,” I says, “I need to really know the exact,” “or just get your hand and put it *haz un, una copita así* and that’s all you need.” And I said, “No, no, no, daddy. I have to, I want to know the exact.” So, I said, “I’m going to bring a 5-pound bag of sugar and I’m going to put a sheet over you and then if you tell me, *en una copita*, I’m going to fill it up, your hand and then put the measuring cup.” And he says, “Oh no G.D. *me vas a tener toda*,” he says, “*la cama*,” he says, “*sucia de azúcar y me van a comer las... uh... los...* the [The ants.] there you go! The ants.

Here F1 was talking to her father, he gets bothered by the thought of having sugar all over his bed. She used code-switching for quotations as she remembered what her father said to her that day, however, she is at a momentary loss of words. She probably could not remember the word *hormigas*, then she says *the...* and although it is not shown, she physically started to signal to us to help her find that word. I respond with ants, and she then goes on and finishes her story. Although this is an example of switch for lexical need, this could also be a sequential

switch because she switched as a response to my switch.

Preformulations/ Linguistic Routines. Preformulations or linguistic routines are those learned and memorized idioms or frequently used phrases that are placed as chunks into the conversation as learned dialogues or scripts. This type of switch accounted for 4.3% of the switches. View examples 33-35.

In example (33), M1 talked about a huge migration of Tejanos to California. He talked about how different Tejanos were than the Californian Mexican-Americans.

- (33) *La cosa es que pos ellos tienen su forma de hablar y luego ya los tejanos se comenzaron a venir pa' cá después de lo que los braceros vivieron aquí, los tejanos se comenzaron a venir pa' cá si no estoy equivocado se me hace que fue en the late sixties or early seventies se vinieron acá los tejanos y aquí era pura raza de los tejanos.*

In this example, M1 said everything in Spanish until he mentions the timeframe when there was a migration of Tejanos to California. He very well could have named the decades in Spanish, but he did it in English because it is probably an automatic script that he uses when talking about time.

Next, is example (34) from F1 in which she shared an experience she had in elementary school. She attended a Catholic school where her teachers, the nuns, required the students to speak to them in English. In this story, she shared about an embarrassing experience where she urinated on herself because she was unable to ask for permission to use the restroom in English.

- (34) *And y yo de caprichuda⁶ también I sat down on my desk and of course I was all wet. And before I sat down, and I put up my hands, and I can remember, now in, back, in*

⁶ In Mexico, *caprichuda* is a word that describes spoiled, stubborn, or misbehaving children.

retrospect of my thinking, I was a radical back then in third grade or second grade. And I raised my hand up and said, “you wait and see *cabrones*” and I said it like that, “next year, next year I will speak better English than you. You just wait and see.” and *dicho y hecho*. I would watch TV, back then the TV’s were really small, and I would listen to the news, J.R. Mural. And I would listen to the news and listen. I would pay attention to how they would pronounce words or how they said things.

Here F1 included a couple of switches for culturally bound words at the beginning however when it comes to *dicho y hecho*, she decides to switch into Spanish. This is one of those things that she may have memorized as a child and it fits perfectly into the discourse. I think this also embodies what Zentella (1998) says when switching “says it better.” The code-switch is a way to prove to us that being a Latina she could meet her goal of learning English.

Next, is example (35) from F2. Every year in Indio there is an annual date festival celebrating that Indio is one of the largest producers of dates in the world. In this excerpt, F2 talked to us about how she participates in the annual fair.

(35) Oh, the Date Festival. Yeah. It’s here in Indio too. [*Ud. participó en el Date...*] *En el Date Festival. No hermano, no. Yo voy aquí a la fiesta que hacen aquí en la fair, every fair. I go there every year. Yeah, [¿Cómo se llama el fair?] the “date festival”. Yo voy ahí cada año. [¿Qué es lo que se hace?] Pos allí venden muchas cosas y tienen ah... Oh, wait a minute! I partake in the festival with my favorite clothes and my blankets. I make beautiful blankets.*

F2 first mentioned that she does not participate in the festival, however, as she continued to explain the different events that go on around the festival, she remembered that she does participate and switched into English saying, “oh, wait a minute!” Here she used this

preformulated script and places it in the conversation as an interjection. This results in her talking in English to us about her sewing projects she displays.

Idiosyncratic. Idiosyncratic switches made up 2.7% of the switches. These switches were those that I simply had no idea as to why the informants would have switched or I realized that it could have been a mistake. These switches were likely unintentional errors made by the speaker and likely would not be repeated. See examples 36-37.

In example (36), I asked F1 about what parts of her Mexican culture she tried to pass along to her children and how she did it.

(36) [¿Y con sus hijos trató de mantener la cultura mexicana o los crió, así como...?]

Well, *cocinando todo Mexican. Y hablando, hablábamos español* but then when they started going to school they came the home speaking English.

Here it is uncertain why F2 would switch when saying “*cocinando todo Mexican.*” She could have easily said *mexicano* but switched for no clear reason.

Next, in example (37), F3 discussed the religion that her parents participated in.

(37) [¿Tus papás eran católicos?] *No, oh mi papá sí de nacimiento, pero ya llegando aquí de 17 años él conoció a un señor que era de aquí de la iglesia apostólica and él es el primero que le dio la mano, extendió la mano y entonces my dad just you know, se... le dio el trabajo y my dad attended church with him and he, my dad loved it.*

Again, here F3 switched when talking about her dad, it is unsure why this switch occurs because she talks about her dad in other portions of the interview as *papá*.

Emotion. The next category is code-switching to express emotion. Switching for emotion was accounted for 2% of the recorded switches. See examples 38-40.

In example (38), M1 talked about his mother and where she was from and he had a hard time remembering the exact name of that city where his parents met.

- (38) My mother was from New Mexico and they met in uh, I believe it was uh, uh, *este*, uh Wastonburg, uh, I'm trying to remember the name. I think it was uh, *este*, what was it, ¡*hombre!* I'm trying to remember the name. I have it right here, I just can't say it.

As M1 tried to recall the name of the city where his parents met. It was not coming easily to him. He was thinking hard and he just could not get it and then released a loud, ¡*hombre!* to express his emotion of frustration that he could not remember. This is probably a very frequent way for him to react and therefore it fit adequately in this situation.

In example (39), F3 talked about her experiences in high school including the type of people she hung out with and the type of things she did.

- (39) Um, I had my friends like when I was first a freshman, but I always seemed to go with the sophomores or juniors, you know, I don't know why. And my friends would always say, hey how come you're hanging out with them but because I just did. You know, and they were Hispanics and not to be judgmental or anything but *el mexicano* um, *expresa más el cariño* you know, and you feel it, and I know, you know *llama, el cariño llama la atención*. [*Es lo que le dije a él. Si me muevo de esta área, voy a extrañar mucho a F3.*] Yeah and you feel that *cariño* towards one another. And my friends, a lot of them were Caucasian and so *me llamaba más la atención el mexicano* you know the ones that wouldn't be talked to.

F3 talked about always leaning towards having Hispanic friends. She mentioned that she feels something different about being around and socializing with Hispanics and then switches to say, “*el mexicano, um, expresa más el cariño.*” She goes on and continues to switch back and

forth when talking about *cariño*. This is her way of expressing that emotion and showing that *cariño* is something important to her. This may also contribute to the thought that the *cariño* that Hispanics share is different than Caucasian affection.

Next, in example (40), F5 began to tell her perception of Los Angeles and its people. She gave some reasons as to why she does not like to go out to the big city.

- (40) [Did you ever go out to L.A.?] Not as much but I did [What do you think people think about living in L.A.?] In L.A.? I don't know what they think but I personally don't like it. I think it's too much smoke. Yeah too much, *ay no sé, no me gusta. Es* too much [sic] people and I don't like that I'm used to like the more.

I learned very quickly that F5 does not like to go out to L.A. She is a desert girl, born and raised; and when she begins to talk about the things she does not like about the city she lets out a switch and says, “*ay no sé, no me gusta.*” This in a way highlights her emotion of dislike towards being in the city. She is comfortable in the desert.

Parenthetical Remark. Switches for parenthetical remarks also make up 2% of the switches. These switches occur when a person uses a different language to explain or mention something apart from what is being said. Switching in this case would allow the speaker to keep his thoughts separated. See examples 41-43.

In example (41), M4 talked about the sports he used to play when he was younger.

- (41) *Todo el tiempo ha sido*, I like to play because I'm a sport guy, baseball, I mean I used to play baseball *en Mexicali* and boxing all that stuff *pero todo el tiempo fui al práctico* [sic] *todo el tiempo.*

Here M4 talked about the sports that he used to play and then switched to mention that he would always go to practice which has little to do with what types of sports he played, but the

conversation could have continued without knowing that he always went to practice.

Nevertheless, switching for that utterance allowed the dialogue to continue without confusion.

The next example is (42) from M5. He responded to the question about what he feels about the word *pocho*.

- (42) [*Pochos* right, how do you feel about that?] It's doesn't bother me. [*Porque a mí me dicen pocho* and I get a little offended.] That's just you're American. I think *pocho* is better than Mexican-American. We're not, like they can say, you're a *pocho* but they can't say you're like your dad you know what I mean. So they put you in a *pocho*. *Pero muchos, sí así dicen. Este, en los sesentas, en Tejas hubo unos este, se heló todo, una helada, así se perdió mucho en los files⁷. Y se llenó aquí de Tejas.*

M5 explained why the word *pocho* does not bother him and then switched to talk about the freeze that occurred in Texas. While this may pertain to the rest of the story, it really was a way for him to mention something that is separate, but pertinent, to his story.

In this last example, F3 talked about her dad and the religion that her parents practiced.

- (43) [*¿Tus papás eran católicos?*] *No, oh mi papá sí de nacimiento, pero ya llegando aquí de 17 años él conoció a un señor que era de aquí de la iglesia apostólica* and *él es el primero que le dio la mano, extendió la mano y entonces* my dad just you know, *se... le dio el trabajo* and my dad attended church with him and he, my dad loved it. And that's the way he was raised from 17 years on, *también* with my mom. My mom was going there too so. Yeah so yeah. *Pero no.*

Here F3 began to describe her father's experience with religion and how at the age of 17 he decided to switch religions. He met a man who introduced him to the *iglesia apostólica*. This

⁷ The word field in this case is used as a loanword and not a code-switch, therefore, taking on the Spanish pluralization rules.

man was also the man who gave him a job. To mention this as an aside with switches provides that separation of thoughts nicely.

Tag Questions. Code-switching for tag questions accounts for 0.6% and included affirmative words or phrases converted into interrogatives through change in intonation. See examples 44-46.

In example (44), M5 responded about how he learned Spanish so well.

- (44) [I'm curious, you said, *este*, that in school, they didn't let you speak Spanish, but you speak Spanish well. How did you uh?] Construction. Construction, you have to learn how to speak Spanish. Most people were from Mexico, ¿*verdad?*

M5 attributed his ability to speak Spanish from working in construction. He talked about how many of the people who work in that field are from Mexico and then switches to ask ¿*verdad?* It is interesting to note that he looked over at my dad to ask *verdad* to acknowledge that he would know the answer to his question.

Next, in example (45), while sharing pictures of families with each other, F2 was surprised when I showed her a picture of my twin nieces.

- (45) [*Estas son mis sobrinas.*] *Sobrinas. ¡Oh mire! Ajá, ¿son cuates? Parecen cuates ohhhh y ¿qué edad tienen ahorita? [Cinco meses.] Ohh wow ...Su hermana? Oh, she is busy. She is real busy taking care of, ¿dos mujeres?*

In this example, F2 switched when inquiring if the twins she saw were two females. In this case the switch for the tag switch could be a means of gaining attention to the question.

Next in example (46), F5 talked a little bit about her cultural traditions and goes into detail about having had a quinceañera.

- (46) [What about *quinceañera?*] *También quinceañera. I did. [Did you have any funny*

stories about your *quinceañera*?] No, not funny but it was, *pues* back then, well it's still, *¿verdad?* it's still, *todo es* tradition *ahorita*. *Pero* back then it was like *la quinceañera era algo*, you know, you look forward to, *¿verdad?* 'cuz *el vestido grande*.

In this example, F5 used the tag questions *¿verdad?* frequently in a way to use phatic function and maintain the conversation flowing. It allowed for the speaker to keep the listener engaged and participating in the conversation.

Linguistic Economy. Switching for linguistic economy is essentially switching because using the other language would result in a longer word or phrase and therefore to save on words you use the shorter route, the other language. Economy accounted for 0.5% of the switches. See examples 47-48.

First, M5 who received a call from his wife in the middle of the interview said the following in example (47).

(47) *Ya voy pa' la casa estoy en el gym. Gym. Me vine tarde al gym.*

In this case, the gym, is used in place of *gimnasio*. This could have also been a result of a high frequency item.

Next in example (48), F4 described the things that she used to do in high school with her friends.

(48) *Los weekends nos íbamos con, en veces me iba con mi amiga y hacíamos bailes en su casa porque la música era muy bonita en ese tiempo. Muy movida, you know so, so sí mucho baile. Y en la casa también.*

Example (48) shows the usage of weekends as an economic decision because saying *los fines de semana* is not as short. However, in this case, this could also be a result of switching for a high frequency item.

Avoidance of Taboo. Switches for avoiding taboos made up 1% of the switches. These are those switches in which a person switches into the second language to “soften the blow” of the otherwise offense word or phrase. See examples 49-51.

First, F1 shared an experience she had at her kindergarten school performance where she and her classmates reenacted the Jack and Jill nursery rhyme. She related her experience being Jill and her classmate being Jack in example (49).

- (49) We had a little skit when I was in kindergarten. and I was Jill... and this little boy, he was a little *gordito*, you know, and I guess they put him with me because I was, you know, rough and tough.

In describing her classmate, F1 described him as a “little *gordito*” in English it is taboo to call someone fat, so switching into Spanish allows for that description to be less harsh. She even adds in the Spanish diminutive to soften it even more.

Next, in example (50), F1 talked about a Christmas she remembers in which her mother decided to purchase tamales instead of making them at home as they traditionally had done it in the past.

- (50) Oh, we had tamales. One-time mother went to have the tamales made. Ah, they were the worst tamales. Oh, this lady, *Señora Nusty*, and they became LDS in their later years, they were *ya viejitos, ancianos*, but these tamales were so, so, so, so hot.

The lady that the tamales were bought from was *Señora Nusty*. F1, of course switches for the proper noun, however, when it came to describe the Nusties she does not say they were old

but rather *viejitos*, *ancianos*. This has again allowed her to make the description less taboo.

In example (51), F1 described her high school Homecoming dance. She talked about the self-imposed segregation at the dance where the different ethnic groups only danced among their own groups.

(51) [So, going back to the Homecoming dances. Did you end up going to the dance?]

Yes, I'd go to the Homecoming dances, but you know what? *Los mexicanos* were on one side of the auditorium, of the gymnasium, and then *los negros*, *de color*. I'm sorry I don't mean to say, the African-Americans were on one side, and then the Filipinos were on another side. And then *los gabachos*, you see I didn't say *gringos*.

When it comes to talking about race and ethnic groups, people can be so touchy about how you label these groups. To be safe, F1 switches into Spanish to talk about the *negros*, and even uses, *de color*, to further play it safe. Then, out of caution ends up going back to English to say African-Americans. Later she says *gabachos*⁸, in place of white people and even acknowledges not saying *gringos* as that might also be taboo for some people. She is a very cautious speaker when it comes to taboos.

Appeal or Control. The category for appeal or control switches deals with switching to make someone do something or to call someone's attention. Appeal or control made up 0.1% of the switches.

In example (52), F2 described things her grandson does and then requested help from my dad in the middle of her utterance.

(52) Michael, Michael is in BYU [*¿Qué está estudiando?*] *Está estudiando* uh, how do you call when you talk with your hands for different? [Sign language.] Aha! Yeah

⁸ *Gabachos* was a word originally used to describe the French living in Spain.

and he is taking something else. *Deme esa foto hermano ahí está arriba del* television. Ese es Michael.

Here F2 used a switch to request help in retrieving a picture that was placed high on an entertainment center. Due to this request being a code-switch it allowed for a quick response and she had the photo handed to her.

Change in Domain or Topic. This category is self-explanatory, one switches because of a change in topic or domain. This also made up 0.1% of the switches.

In example (53), F2 was asked about the differences she feels every time she goes back to Mexico.

(53) [*Ha ido a México. ¿Qué diferencias ve?*] Yeah, *bastante diferente, hay cosas muy diferentes, pero en México* my father had money. He had properties. I'm real poor right now compared to what my father used to be in Mexico you see.

Here F2 tried to remember the differences she had experienced then she remembers her father having money and properties, which causes a change in topic and a switch in codes. She does not talk about the differences between Mexico before and Mexico now, but she goes on to talk about the difference between her father then and her now.

Gender

After a general accounting of all the switches made, this study then focused on the frequency of types of switches between genders. The following Figure 4.2 shows the distribution among men and Figure 4.3 shows the distribution among women.

Figure 4.2 Men

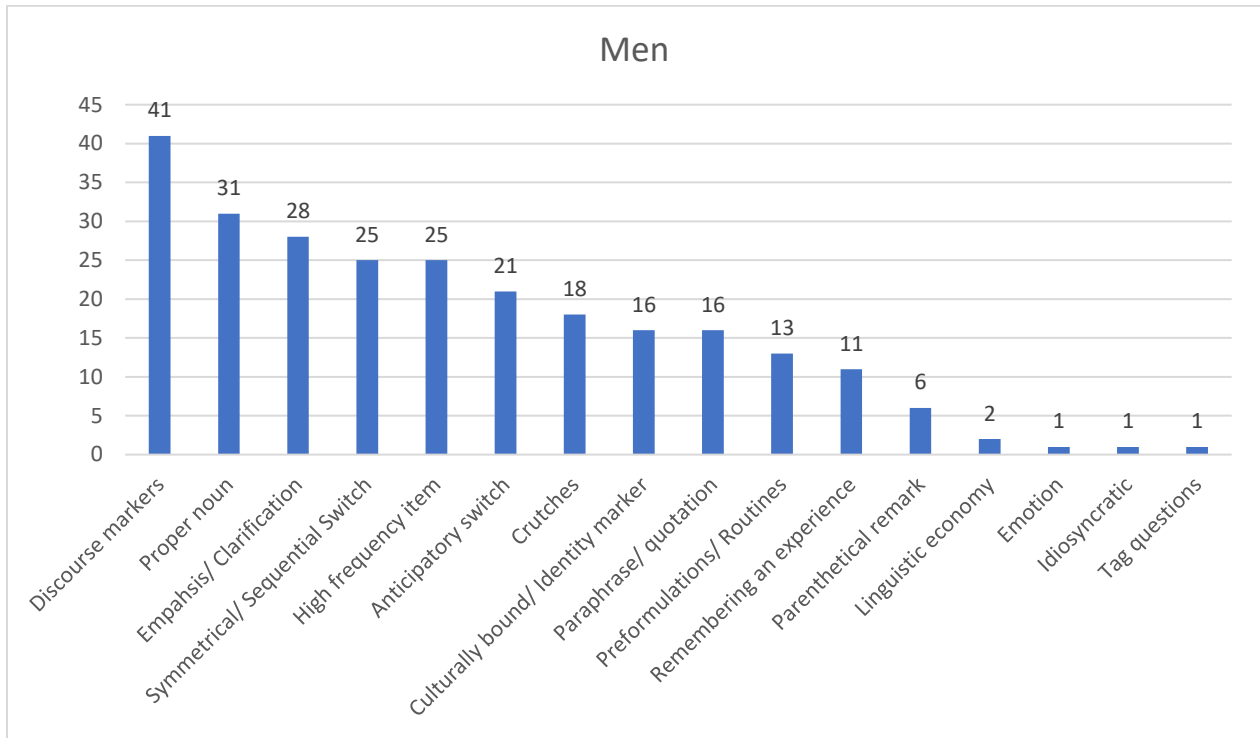
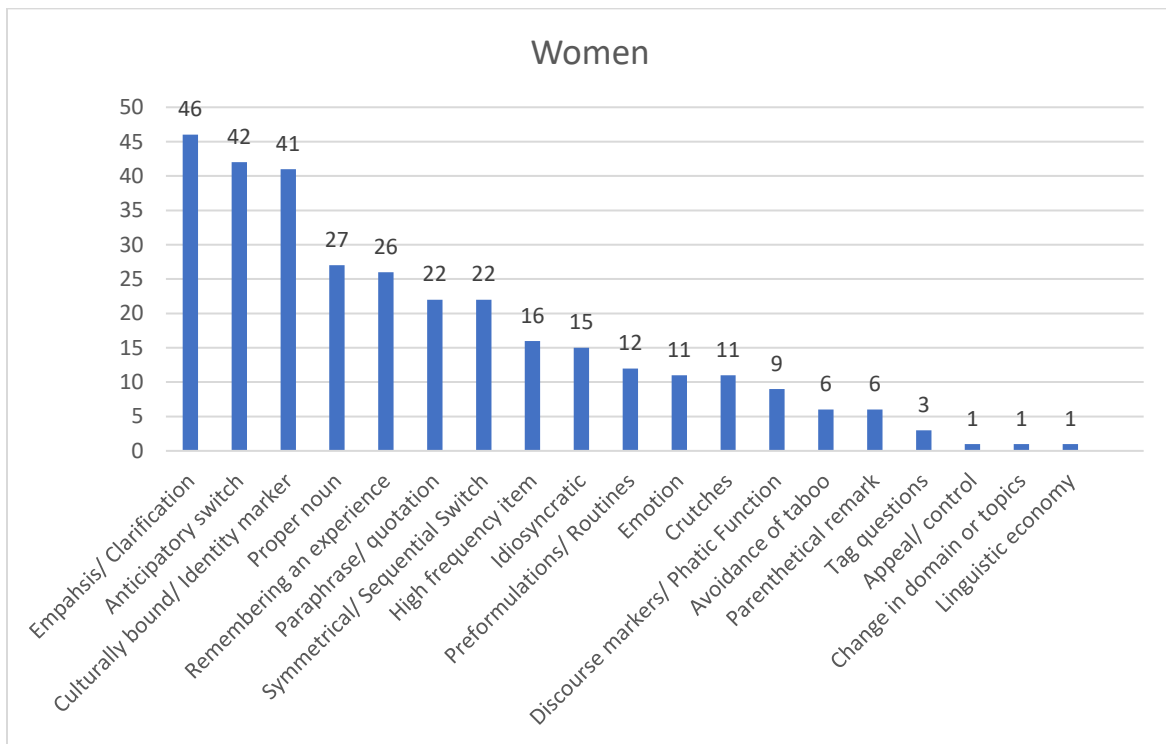


Figure 4.3 Women



When comparing the switches between genders, switches produced by women accounted for 55.4% of the total compared to the 44.6% of the switches made by men. There were three categories that were only found in switches made by women. These were avoidance of taboos, change in domain or topics, and switches for appeal or control.

Age

In observing code-switching attitudes in the age group of 45 years old and older, it was noted that many relate code-switching to negative behavior. Noticeably, all of the ten informants code-switched, however, many did express their negative feelings towards it while others showed their approval of it as well. See examples 54-56.

- (54) [¿Qué siente sobre el spanglish?] ¿Qué siento? Eh, pienso que es bueno cuando lo hablas con otra persona que te lo pueda entender. Y yo les enseño a mis hijos que es una falta de respeto hablar, como yo cuando voy a México, que tenemos familiares en Mexicali o en México, mis hijos tienen prohibido hablar inglés delante de otra persona que no hable el idioma.

In example (54), M3 talks about his negative feelings towards code-switching and speaking English in front of monolingual Spanish speakers. He specifically teaches his children that it is not right to do so.

- (55) But then they're talking to you, *te están hablando en español y luego de repente*, "sí, *fíjate que fuimos pa Tejas el otro día.*" Y luego, "oh ya, we went to Texas man, but we didn't do this or do that, or I like this, I like that, but they're talking to you in Spanish and then all of a sudden they change it into English. But that's their tradition, that's the way they were raised.

In example (55), M1 is talking about the Tejanos that he grew up seeing as they moved to California. He also ends up marrying someone from Texas. However, although it was not explicitly expressed, his tone voiced an “us vs. them” feeling towards code-switching in that in California this was not done or accepted as it was in Texas.

(56) [Do you think it’s formal to only talk to people in English?] I tried to mix them like both like, *si sé que habla español pues le hablo español si sé que habla, depende cómo se sienta más* comfortable the person, I guess I kinda go that route.

Lastly, in example (56) F5 shows her approval of the thought of mixing her two languages, although she does make an effort to respect those that are monolingual.

Bilingual Language Proficiency Assessment

Finally, as mentioned previously, post-interview the BLP assessment was administered and the results can be found in the following Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4 BLP Assessment Results

Participant ID	English	Spanish	Dominance
M1	172.7	110.6	62.1
M2	177.0	68.6	108.5
M3	109.2	189.9	-80.7
M4	153.2	187.8	-34.6
M5	177.4	159.9	17.5
F1	189.3	148.9	40.4
F2	136.7	178.8	-42.0
F3	199.2	154.9	44.3
F4	208.7	124.1	84.6
F5	178.5	172.4	6.1

CHAPTER 5

Discussion and Conclusion

Research Questions

In the following sections, I will discuss the questions and pertinent information that helped guide this study.

Research question #1. The first question that led this study was, “What common factors are observed in code-switching in cities in the Coachella Valley, CA compared to other similar studies?” One of the main goals of this research was to highlight an area that has been underrepresented in the literature on code-switching. Indio, CA served as the representative for that and showed that the types of switches that occur in rural areas are indeed similar to those found in research (e.g. emphasis, anticipatory switches, proper nouns, quotations, culturally bound, discourse markers, etc.) like Zentella (1997), Montes-Alcalá (2007).

One distinction I made in the coding of the switches was to divide culturally bound words from high frequency items and create two separate entities that although very similar in nature provide a different denotation in context. For me, this was important to see how culturally bound Spanish words or high frequency English items affected the code-switching patterns of the informants. Since overall the culturally bound words were the fourth most frequent type of switch, I believe that it might be inferred that English has a lesser influence on many of the word choices speakers use out in this rural area of California.

Similarly, in the recorded histories, there was much talk about working out in the fields harvesting fruits and vegetables where many of the employees were Mexican immigrants. This continual contact with members of the first generation allowed for higher exposure to the minority language and as a result, high bilingual proficiency. However, I also decided to add the switch for remembering an experience. I did this to separate these items or phrases from

preformulations or proper nouns because of the factor that memory relocates the discourse to a specific time, place, or event that would cause a code-switch. I do, however, take into consideration that in doing this, it does not help the fact that there is already a long list of socio-pragmatic functions in code-switches. Adding another one simply makes it more difficult to code every example.

Research question #2. The second question that led this study was, “What attitudes towards code-switching can be observed in a sample of people 45 years old and older? Does this effect the code-switches in their conversations?” This was very interesting to me in that many of the studies of code-switching have not been on a sample in the same age range as the informants of this study. However, much of the research shows negative attitudes from similar age groups about the use of code-switching in speech. This is consistent with many of the attitudes of the informants in this study, however, this study itself shows that this group does indeed code-switch despite the negative attitudes towards the phenomenon.

The oldest informant of the group was 75 at the time of the interview. She was not a part the second generation however, her score of -42 on the BLP was higher than others who did identify with the second generation (e.g. 108 for M2, and 84.6 for F4). This supports the research from Silva-Corvalán (1994) that language proficiency largely depends on social and language histories.

Also, since it has been shown that those who are highly fluent in two languages are likely to code-switch between both languages, the decision to include the BLP in this study was to relate the ability of the informants to code-switch with their higher levels of bilingual ability. The results support the notion that those who showed more balanced bilingualism were indeed those that code-switched more despite their attitudes on code-switching. An example of this was F5

who scored a dominance of 6.1 on the BLP and she was what I considered the “chain switcher” and produced 74 switches total. Comparatively, M2 scored a 108.5 and only produced 27 switches in his interview.

Research question #3. The third question that led this study was, “Are there any differences in how men code-switch vs. how women code-switch? The results confirm Poplack’s (1980) proposal that women are more likely to code-switch at much higher rates. In this study, the code-switches produced by women accounted for about 9% more of the total switches.

An interesting observation was on the proposal from Ladegaard and Bleses (2003) that women are likely expected to use more standard forms of communication. Although this may be true for the majority of the female informants, it was interesting to me how frequently informant F5 switched in her interview and sometimes with switches that could be considered unacceptable.

Additionally, two of the informants, M3 and M4, were male identical twins and had lived their lives similarly until their early twenties when one decided to move to Mexico with his family for ten years, while the other stayed in Indio to start his own family. It is interesting that these two men, having had identical upbringings had distinct results on the BLP (i.e. M3: -80.7 and M4: -34.6) and very different attitudes and abilities in code-switching. This again supports Silva-Corvalán (1994) in that language proficiency largely depends on social and language histories. Therefore, while general observations about males and females, bilingual proficiency and code-switching ability are ultimately dependent on the individual’s social history.

Regarding avoidance of taboos being a feature that only women produced, it could be hypothesized that women are more careful with what they say while they speak as compared to

the men. Therefore, the avoidance of the taboo allows the words to be softened by the code-switch.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

The main limitation was the small sample of informants. At the beginning of this study, there was a list of people that had agreed to be interviewed, but many of those contacts ended up falling through. Ideally, it would have been best to include more than ten participants, but time constraints and limited resources did not allow me to do so.

Also, originally there was a certain age group that I was targeting, but as I began finding people to interview it was decided to expand the age requirements and seek out first and second-generation respondents who met other criteria and were willing to participate. This could lead to further research on code-switch focusing on groups that respond to other extra-linguistic factors such as education, social class, and time spent in the U.S. or Mexico.

Another limitation that was encountered was the observer's paradox (Labov, 1972) in which participants began to speak with "interview speech." I believe that as soon as the microphones were turned on, a few of the participants initially felt nervous or that they had to provide eloquent speech, but in fact I was seeking spontaneous and everyday conversations. It would have been good to do maybe two or three interviews per person instead of one. This may have allowed the participants to get used to the process. Perhaps referring to the recordings as recorded social conversations or personal and family histories would have been better terms to use instead of the word interview. This may have eased the stress over being observed and recorded.

Since there have been no studies done in this area of California, this study may act as a beginning point for future research in the Coachella Valley or even other rural parts of the United

States where there is a large Latino community. Due to this study's being only an exploratory survey, future researchers may want to tackle the statistics behind the differences between gender groups, age groups, social class, education, or other extra-linguistic factors. For this to be successfully accomplished, a much larger group of participants would have to be involved and the study would likely take a greater amount of time. This may also lead to larger and more thorough individual studies on these groupings. For example, to expand on the studies between genders there would need to be more interviews done with the participants: one with an interviewer of their same gender, another with one of the opposite genders, and maybe even an interview with two interviewers, one of the same genders and one of opposite gender. A similar task would have to be done for the age groups and any other group that future researchers would decide to pursue.

Additionally, a topic that can be further researched with this data is the idea of “translanguaging”, which is argued to be a better theory for describing how bilinguals speak than code-switching (MacSwan, 2017). The term translanguaging was first coined in the study of bilingual education and the basic idea is that there is no separation of languages in the brain—languages are just invented labels that are learned—and all language resources are lumped together (Williams, 2002). Speakers draw on different resources based on context, purposes, etc. Lastly, the recordings from these interviews may be used to conduct phonological, syntactic, or any other linguistic study.

Conclusion

This thesis shed new light on the underrepresented geographical area of the Coachella Valley, CA specifically on the topic of code-switching. Through the research performed, studies on code-switching types were reinforced by examples provided from this sample group namely

code-switches for emphasis, proper nouns, discourse markers, emotion, and quotations.

Furthermore, further analysis and discussion provided greater insight into new types of switches like switches for remembering experiences and the separation of culturally bound words from high frequency items. Additionally, the implementation of the BLP allowed for support of the notion that highly fluent bilinguals are those that code-switch. This provided better insight into how often bilinguals code-switch despite their age, gender, and attitudes on the topic.

APPENDIX A

Interview Questions*

Most questions provided have an English and Spanish equivalent. Code-switches are in italics.

Traditions (holidays, meals, language, etc.)

1. Growing up how did you celebrate Christmas? Did you hold festivities on Christmas Day or on *Nochebuena*, the 24th of December? Did you believe in Santa? Did you have *la tradición de Los Reyes Magos (rosca, etc.)*?
2. *De niño, ¿cómo celebraban Christmas? ¿Lo celebraban el mismo 25 de diciembre o el día de Nochebuena, the 24th of December? ¿Creías en Santa Claus? ¿Tenían la tradición de los reyes magos (rosca, etc.)?*
3. Did you grow up celebrating *el grito de independencia el 16 de septiembre*? How about the 4th of July? Did you ever feel *más de allá que de aquí* or vice versa?
4. *¿Se criaron celebrando el grito de independencia el 16 de septiembre? How about the 4th of July? Did you ever feel más de aquí que de allá o viceversa?*
5. *¿Qué comían* when you were kids? Did you have any favorite foods *que tu abuela* or mom made? What type of relationship did you have with your *abuelos*?
6. *What would you eat* cuando eran niños? *¿Tenían algunas comidas favoritas que tu abuela or mom would make?*
7. Did you grow up speaking Spanish? How do you feel about mixing the two languages?
¿Y qué tal tus padres?
8. *¿Te criaste hablando español? ¿Cómo te sientes en cuanto a mezclar los idiomas? What about your parents?*
9. How do you feel about English? *¿Cómo te sientes hacia el español?*

10. ¿Cómo te sientes hacia el inglés? How do you feel about Spanish?

11. Do you feel it informal or formal when bilinguals speak only English, only Spanish, or mix the two? Why?

(Questions 4-6 will most likely be asked towards the end of the interview)

The work culture (e.g. agriculture, construction, school administration, etc.)

12. I know there is a big agricultural community here, did you or a family member ever work in the fields?

13. Aquí existe una cultura agrícola, ¿tienes algunos *family members* que trabajaron *in the fields*?

14. What type of job did your parents have? What types of jobs did you have growing up and who did you work with?

15. ¿Qué tipo de trabajo tenían tus papás? *What types of jobs did you have growing up* y ¿con quién trabajabas?

16. What is your current employment situation?

17. ¿En qué trabaja ahora?

Living in the Coachella Valley (festivals, high school, etc.)

18. Did your high school have homecoming? Are there any special traditions your high school did?

19. ¿En la *high school* tuvieron *homecoming*? ¿Qué tradiciones especiales tenía tu *high school*?

20. What type of music did you listen to growing up? ¿Escuchabas *banda, rancheras, hip hop, pop, etc.*?

21. ¿Qué tipo de música escuchabas de joven? *Would you listen to* banda, rancheras, *hip hop, pop, etc.?*
22. What is the date (or tamale, or Coachella Music) festival? We're you ever involved or participate in that festival? What did you have to do to prepare or participate in that festival?
23. En diciembre/abril/febrero existe una celebración especial aquí en la ciudad, *could you tell me more about it?* ¿Qué se celebra y cómo?
24. Did you travel out to Los Angeles very often? ¿Qué pensaban de la gente de *the city?* What about to Mexicali in Mexico?
25. ¿Viajaban mucho a Los Ángeles? *What did you think about* la gente de la ciudad? ¿Qué tal a Mexicali? ¿Qué piensan de la gente de México?
26. Do you still have family in Mexico? *Cuando van, how long do you stay? ¿Qué hacen cuando están allá?*
27. ¿Todavía tienen familia en México? Cuando van, *how long do you stay?* ¿Qué hacen cuando están allá?
28. ¿Cómo reaccionaste when you found out that Selena had been killed 1995?
29. ¿Cómo reaccionaste cuando te enteraste que *someone had murdered Selena in 1995?*
30. What do you know about Cesar Chavez? Did the effects of *la huelga* come through Indio/Coachella?
31. ¿Qué sabes de Cesar Chavez? Se sintieron los efectos de la protesta o “la huelga” a Indio/Coachella?

*All of the questions can be supplemented with the question “Do you have any memories or stories about X topic?”

APPENDIX B

The Bilingual Language Profile

This questionnaire developed at the University of Texas at Austin takes into consideration a speaker's language history, use, proficiency, and attitudes in his or her two languages.

1. First Name
2. Last Name
3. Age
4. Sex
5. Current place of residence: City/State
6. Current place of residence: Country
7. Highest level of formal education
8. At what age did you start learning ENGLISH?
At what age did you start learning SPANISH?
9. At what age did you start to feel comfortable using ENGLISH?
At what age did you start to feel comfortable using SPANISH?
10. How many years of classes (grammar, history, math, etc.) have you had in ENGLISH
(primary school through university)?
How many years of classes (grammar, history, math, etc.) have you had in SPANISH
(primary school through university)?
11. How many years have you spent in a country/region where ENGLISH is spoken?
How many years have you spent in a country/region where SPANISH is spoken?
12. How many years have you spent in a family where ENGLISH is spoken?
How many years have you spent in a family where SPANISH is spoken?

13. How many years have you spent in a work environment where ENGLISH is spoken?
How many years have you spent in a work environment where SPANISH is spoken?
14. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use ENGLISH with friends?
In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use SPANISH with friends?
In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use OTHER LANGUAGES with friends?
15. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use ENGLISH with family?
In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use SPANISH with family?
In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use OTHER LANGUAGES with family?
16. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use ENGLISH at school/work?
In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use SPANISH at school/work?
In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use OTHER LANGUAGES at school/work?
17. When you talk to yourself, how often do you talk to yourself in ENGLISH?
When you talk to yourself, how often do you talk to yourself in SPANISH?
When you talk to yourself, how often do you talk to yourself in OTHER LANGUAGES?
18. When you count, how often do you count in ENGLISH?
When you count, how often do you count in SPANISH?
When you count, how often do you count in OTHER LANGUAGES?
19. How well do you speak ENGLISH?
How well do you speak SPANISH?
20. How well do you understand ENGLISH?

How well do you understand SPANISH?

21. How well do you read ENGLISH?

How well do you read SPANISH?

22. How well do you write ENGLISH?

How well do you write SPANISH?

23. I feel like myself when I speak ENGLISH.

I feel like myself when I speak SPANISH.

24. I identify with an ENGLISH-speaking culture.

I identify with a SPANISH-speaking culture.

25. It is important to me to use (or eventually use) ENGLISH like a native speaker.

It is important to me to use (or eventually use) SPANISH like a native speaker.

26. I want others to think I am a native speaker of ENGLISH.

I want others to think I am a native speaker of SPANISH.

APPENDIX C

Transcribed Interviews

M1

Time	Transcription	Motive/ Type of switch
1:10	<p>My dad worked as a laborer here in the Coachella Valley for uh like 25 years and he raised us all here. He was born in Colorado. He was raised there, he used to work in the mines in the silver mines. My mother was from New Mexico and they met in uh, I believe it was uh, uh, <i>este</i>¹, uh Wastonburg, uh, I'm trying to remember the name. I think it was uh, <i>este</i>¹, what was it, <i>¡hombre</i>²! I'm trying to remember the name. I have it right here, I just can't say it.</p>	<p>1. Phatic Function 2. Emotion</p>
5:26	<p>[What type of people were you working with? Were the majority of people from here also?] Well the majority of people I started working with when I was young was uh illegal immigrants because they didn't have, well see wait a minute let me go back a little bit more there were <i>braceros</i>³ are that time. The <i>braceros</i>³ they had their cabs where they work for companies that they would bring them in every summer, they would work for them, and then you get in the they would, they called them <i>mojados</i>⁴ it wasn't <i>braceros</i>³ anymore and then, so we started working meeting a lot of people in the fields and that's how I got to make a lot of friends I have today. That you know they are older, but I appreciate them because I know they were hard workers.</p>	<p>3. Proper noun *Note: Braceros are workers who came from Mexico into the Bracero program, a farm laborer agreement with Mexico implemented in the U.S. in the 1940's. 4. Proper noun/ culturally bound</p>
9:28	<p>[Going back about the braceros, what was their reaction to you, like <i>no eres de acá pero tampoco eres de allá.</i>] Well they, you know when I met people like that, I mean to me, I was green. I mean, I didn't even know Spanish they would laugh about the way I would talk "<i>este pocho</i>" <i>me decían "este pocho no sabe hablar nada, este 'ta bien loco</i>"⁵" you know? They would start telling me, my last name is <i>Archuleta</i>, and they would call me <i>Chuletas</i>^{*6} and I didn't know what <i>chuletas</i> was and I would go along with it you know, and I would. <i>Estos</i>⁷ they would always laugh, ah <i>este Chuleta y que este Chuleta</i>⁸ and I realized, after a while I started realizing they were making fun of me you know, and they would laugh all the time.</p>	<p>5. Quotations 6. Remembering an experience/ Proper noun *Note: Nickname 7. Linguistic Economy 8. Paraphrase</p>
12:03	<p>[I have a question for you about traditions, growing up did you feel like you were more <i>mexicano</i> or uh...] Yeah I finally realized that my heritage was Hispanic and I started speaking my language with different people and finally realized that I needed to speak my language, 'cuz in my house my dad and my mom always spoke their language which was you know Spanish. They didn't</p>	

	<p>speak English and then, but my dad knew how to speak English very well and my mother. And uh what I liked about it was when I started learning I started communicating with <i>la raza</i> ⁹ I realized that I was doing it wrong by not knowing my own language.</p>	<p>9. Identity marker</p>
15:15	<p>I could talk to my brother-in-law, for example, he's from Texas. We're talking and all of a sudden, he'll change into... Well, they go like, for example, and they have a different accent too. You know, like, in <i>Tejas</i> ¹⁰ they talk, "hey <i>¿qué pasó vato? Oh que allá en Tejas y que esto y el otro.</i>" ¹¹ They talk mainly about music. They love a lot of music, you know, that's one the thing about <i>los tejanos, les gusta la música tejana</i> ¹², you know. To them, it's everything. But then they're talking to you, <i>te están hablando en español y luego de repente, "sí, fijate que fuimos pa Tejas el otro día.</i>" ¹³ "Y luego, "oh ya, we went to Texas man, but we didn't do this or do that, or I like this, I like that, but they're talking to you in Spanish and then all of a sudden they change it into English. But that's their tradition, that's the way they were raised. But then you go to different countries, or you talk to different people, from different parts of the world, and they don't do that, see? <i>Pero otros</i> ¹⁴, everyone has traditions, I don't care where they're from. It can be from a different country, it can be even 100 miles away from here. You can go into <i>Mexicali</i> ¹⁵, and to little villages, there, where people they speak to you in different ways.</p>	<p>10. Proper noun 11. Paraphrase 12. Proper noun/ Anticipatory switch 13. Paraphrase 14. Emphasis 15. Proper noun</p>
18:25	<p>We all uhh, we all uh, <i>este</i> ¹⁶ have our ways but we need to know how to respect each other, no matter who it is.</p>	<p>16. Phatic function</p>
19:12	<p>[For your children and your grandchildren, do you expect them to grow up with <i>las mismas tradiciones</i> that you grew up with?] Why not? You gotta teach them, like I tell my grandsons, why don't, you guys go learn how to speak Spanish, <i>mijo</i> ¹⁷ it's your language. You know this is one thing I like about Oriental people. They will not let their kids speak any other language but their own language in their home. Whatever they're learning in the outside, and you know it's funny because they send their kids, since they're little, to school to learn English, Spanish, all that. But, in their home, all these speakers, in their language, that's it. They don't let, they don't speak English or Spanish, or whatever, <i>pero</i> ¹⁸ if you go to businesses, like you can go to Coachella right now, in those indoor swap meets you talk to them in Spanish and they'll answer you in Spanish. They talk to them in English, and they'll talk to you in English. But you try to talk to them back in their language and there's no way to do it because we're brought up where we don't learn any other languages. And it's very important to learn that, you know, 'cuz it's communication, <i>pues</i> ¹⁹, you know?</p>	<p>17. Identity marker/ Culturally bound 18. Discourse markers 19. Discourse markers</p>

21:09	<p><i>[Is it alright if I ask you a couple of questions in Spanish? Growing up, criándote, qué tipo de música escuchabas?] Ah cuando yo estaba chico escuchaba pura música inglés yo no sabía otra idioma,* otra música, pero cuando me casé con mi señora, ella es de Tejas es de McAllen, Texas, de Weslaco, Texas, I meant to say ²⁰. Yo me, comencé a oír música mexicana que yo decía que era mexicana, pero era tejana. Y entonces yo comencé a oír y yo estaba chico iba a, mi mamá me llevaba al teatro aquí en Indio se llamaba el Deseret Theater ²¹. Ahí conocí yo a Claudiazo, Resortes, a Piporro, a este, a la Tongalele, a la India María, a Pedro Infante, a este a como se llama a Claudiazo, Resortes, todos los miré en persona. Yo estaba chico, yo ni sabía quién eran. Yo no más me quedaba mirándolo ahí andaba cantando y llegaban mariachis. Y yo pos pa mi, pero yo cuando comencé a crecer yo dije ¿sabes qué? Dije yo, me tocó suerte de mirar a toda esta gente porque, you know. ²² Hoy en días son gente famosa pero la mayoría están muertos. You know, y son gente que murieron hace muchos años, pero lo bonito de todo es que me tocó mirarlos. Y yo no llegué a comprender hasta que tenía 16, 17 años que comencé a hablar con la gente en su idioma, en nuestra idioma, que yo comprendí que you know yo tenía mucha, me tocó mucha suerte de mirar esta clase de gente en persona.</i></p>	<p>*Note: Part of the Mexican-American Spanish dialect.</p> <p>20. Ling. routine</p> <p>21. Proper nouns</p> <p>22. Phatic function</p>
22:50	<p><i>Yo me acuerdo que dijeron que se había muerto Pedro Infante en un avión que se había chocado, y luego a Javier Solís, todos esos los miré yo en persona. No, no más de cantar o oír su música en un disco, yo los miré en persona. Pero yo no entendí estas cosas hasta que ya tenía como unos 18, 19 años. [So your mother exposed you to this culture.] Oh yes ²³, uh huh, yeah, ibas al Desert Theater ²⁴, y en ese tiempo pues la raza pues no sabían* otra cosa más de ir al show mexicano porque no teníamos otro theater, teatro ²⁵ pa' la gente, para la raza. Pero lo bonito es que ahí llegaban todos los cantantes.</i></p>	<p>23. Sequential switch</p> <p>24. Proper noun</p> <p>*Note: Part of the Mexican-American Spanish dialect</p> <p>25. False start/ translation</p>
24:03	<p><i>[Antes en ese tiempo qué tipo de música escuchabas?] Escuchaba mucha música de inglés este como Smokey Robinson ²⁶, a este uh, you know ²⁷ como en los sesenta comenzaron que los Beatles ²⁴ y que esto y me crié con esta clase de música pues y yo pensaba que pues era una música que uy a mí me encantaba. Yo me agarraba cantando los Beatles ²⁴ ahí que you know ²⁵, que, canciones que sacaron ellos que me gustaban.</i></p>	<p>26. Proper noun</p> <p>27. Phatic function</p>
25:28	<p><i>Yo fui a, conocí a la familia de mi señora fuimos pa McAllen, pa Corpus Christi ²⁸, fuimos pa Weslaco, Tejas, este, muy linda gente todos. La cosa es que pos ellos tienen su forma de hablar y luego ya los tejanos se comenzaron a venir pa' cá después de lo que los braceros vivieron aquí, los tejanos se comenzaron a venir pa acá sino estoy equivocado se me hace que fue en the late sixties or early seventies ²⁹ se vinieron acá los tejanos y aquí era pura raza</i></p>	<p>28. Proper nouns</p>

	<i>de los tejanos.</i>	29. High frequency item/ preformulation
27:51	<i>Si me comparo con muchos amigos míos que fueron a la escuela conmigo, me da pena con ellos porque los miro y muchos tenían, tenían, este, graduado de la escuela. Pero no siguieron la vida que querían tener. No sé si por qué razón les fue mal en la vida, o malas decisiones, pero muchos se metieron en drogas y eso que a mí me dio pena con ellos porque yo, en la construcción, me tocó ver unos que jugaron, por ejemplo, football ³⁰, I mean estos agarraron que, todo el tiempo traían su college jacket ³¹, y sus metales*, y todo. Y yo jugué football ³² en la escuela, pero no más jugué por un año, yo no tenía mucho interés en esas cosas. Pero yo miré a muchos con buena educación, yo por eso yo les digo a mis nietos que puedes tener, tú puedes ser una persona bien educada en la vida, pero si tú no usas lo que le nombran common sense ³³ en inglés no te va a servir de nada.</i>	30. High frequency item 31. High frequency item *Note: Meant to say medallas, or medals in English. 32. High frequency item 33. High frequency item
30:31	And then in the later years, I started running into people, that were my teachers, even friends in school that they were learning how to speak Spanish because they knew it was opportunity knocking on their door to get a job and learn how to speak both languages. So, <i>eso es lo bonito ¿vistes?, algo así que cuando tú te enseñas a comunicar con gente en diferentes idiomas, aunque sea poquito tiene mucho que ver</i> ³² [What about if you're with bilingual people, is it informal or formal to speak only Spanish?] <i>No</i> , I believe that everybody should speak in the language that they feel better, they feel more comfortable.	32. Amplification

M2

Time	Transcription	Motive/type of switch
7:26	<i>[De joven, cuando escuchabas música, ¿qué tipo de música escuchabas?] Me gustaban los oldies ¹ [¿Bailabas también o sólo escuchabas?] Sí, sí. [En high school cuando ibas a los bailes, ¿qué tipo de música escuchaban allá?] Música era cómo le digo old school or pop²... música limpy*.</i>	1. High frequency item 2. High frequency item/ Lexical need *Note: Possibly referring to some type of music he listened to.
8:00	<i>[¿Alguna vez viviste o viajaste a México?] Viajé pa' México, pa Sinaloa por un mes a un ranchito que se llamaba Ondo. No había electricidad, agua, no más un riito ahí. Ahí te bañabas, agarraban agua del lado. [¿Cómo sentiste esa experiencia de vivir en México después de vivir aquí?] Muy diferente ahí porque como son la gente, y la gente más, you know ³, mejor, más cómo se... hablaban</i>	

	<i>mejor con Ud. porque los pobres no tenían nada, pero contentos. Mirabas eso y cómo pueden estar, you know</i> ⁴ .	3. Discourse marker/ phatic function 4. Discourse marker/ phatic function
9:37	[What kind of food did you guys eat, you know, like during Christmas?] Oh, the tamales, I'd go to all my friends' house that was Spanish and <i>hacían tamales, menudo, pozole pero todos los tamales, las familias las hacían diferentes, de diferentes lugares.</i> ⁵ Yeah, good stuff ⁶ [<i>Y ¿qué tipo de tamales are your favorite?</i>] <i>Los que hace mi amigo de Sinaloa, tienen papa, jalapeño, green olives with the seed in it</i> ⁷ . <i>Y los amarran de los dos lados y en el medio</i> ⁸ /What kind of plátano leaf or.../ Just regular, corn husk tamales. ⁹	5. Anticipatory switch 6. Amplification 7. Lexical need/ anticipatory switch 8. Remembering an experience 9. Sequential switch
10:34	[Did you guys have any other traditions for <i>Navidad, celebraban Reyes, Día de los Reyes?</i>] My parents because they're Catholic, they do that <i>posada</i> ¹⁰ , or, they do that walk all the time. [Oh, the <i>Guadalupe</i> walk? Oh, that's a hard thing.] Yeah, they did all that. And I remember going to the end, at the labor camp over there, and they would have their breads and their chocolate*, whatever, after. [<i>¿Alguna vez hiciste la posada con ellos?</i>] No, we would, <i>nos quedábamos en la casa, pero nos levantaban ya que llegaban</i> ¹¹ .	10. Proper noun/ Culturally bound *Note: Syntactic anglicism. appears to be translating in Spanish. does not follow normal English syntax and morphology 11. False start/ sequential switch
12:13	[Who would you say taught you the most Spanish?] Well the family that I went to Sinaloa with. They lived downstairs from me and I conveniently moved in and they were all Spanish speakers. And I befriended them so that's basically I think... [So <i>estando en Sinaloa</i> , that's where you really...] Well I learned it a lot more over there, but uhm they, they, <i>me lo enseñaron aquí</i> ¹² , when I came. I was good friends with them, the brother and the sister. And I ended up going for a month with them all. I guess I did lie a little bit, I worked in the grapes for one summer, with them. Well not picking but uhm, 'cuz I was too slow, and the guys mom said " <i>Nope, tú no más vas a sacar las cajas de allá y tráelas</i> ¹³ " and I says "ok". They got you picking the wrong ones, you gotta know which ones that, I didn't know.	12. False start 13. Quotation
13:11	[What did they say to you, other than <i>vete a recoger las cajas</i> . Did they say anything else to you?] " <i>Ándale, ándale, you know</i> ¹⁴ , <i>tenemos que apurarle porque nos pagan por las cajas es más mejor que la hora. Sáquenlas, saquen</i> ¹⁵ ." It was interesting [Did you like it?] I liked it. The people were, they were nice, I guess they had, they called it a <i>cinco</i> * ¹⁶ . They had a group of people	14. Discourse marker/ phatic function 15. Paraphrasing 16. Culturally bound

	working. They were hard workers and always happy.... And the tacos were good.	*Note: Probably meant they were working on teams of five.
14:00	[Do you have a favorite memory, anything funny, something that you remember?] Yeah, one time when they were looking for when we took a break, the guy used to say, “ <i>Ya tómanse su quebrada, tómanse tu break</i> ¹⁷ ”. So, I got the box and turned it over, I was underneath the vines, right there. I ate my tacos and I laid there, I guess they went back to work, I was still asleep under there. [And they were like, <i>¿Y el M2?</i>] <i>Sí, “el M2, dónde está M2</i> ¹⁸ ”	17. Translation, Quotation 18. Sequential switch, quotation

M3

Time	Transcription	Type of switch/motive
1:45	[Cuando vino, me imagino que fue a la escuela.] Fui a la escuela. fui a la <i>Westside</i> ¹ . Mi primer año que fue el grado sexto, <i>sixth grade</i> ² , fui a <i>Westside</i> que está en <i>Thermal, California</i> ³ . al siguiente año que fue mi sexto grado fui a la <i>Thomas Jefferson School</i> ⁴ que se encuentra en el 111 en la ciudad de Indio ahí estuve hasta al octavo grado. Me gradué de allí de la <i>Thomas Jefferson</i> y de ahí pasé a la <i>Indio High School</i> ⁵ hasta mi once grado*, onceavo grado y de ahí regresé a Mexicali a radicar por diez años más o menos después me casé y tuve en Mexicali, bueno aquí en Indio tuve dos hijos más, bueno en total fueron cuatro hijos.	1. Proper noun 2. Translation 3. Proper noun 4. Proper noun 5. High frequency item *Note: Syntactical anglicism.
3:13	[¿Cómo fue su experiencia, su primer día en la escuela después de vivir tantos años en México?] Bueno, fue muy difícil porque vine a un país donde no se habla, no hablo el idioma, no hablaba nada de inglés. Llegaba uno a la escuela donde había muchos hispanos, yo creo que el noventa por ciento era de latinos, pero obviamente ya hablando el lenguaje de inglés. Entonces llega uno de nuevo, y llegaban, me he dado cuenta que llegaban muchos niños de mi edad, de México, en el transcurso del año llegaban muchos niños igual que yo había unas clases bilingües que era lo que me ayudaba sentirme un poquito más cómodo. Pues sí es difícil porque había mucha discriminación en la forma, aun siendo latinos y los poquitos americanos que había, había mucho discriminación porque no hablaba uno el idioma aun la misma raza de uno le hacía <i>bullying</i> ⁶ por decir como se dice hoy en día porque no hablaba uno el idioma y te hacían pasar vergüenza. Te hacían sentir mal, te hacían sentir mal, pero uno tenía que seguir adelante no tenía otra opción. Y como me fue pasando el tiempo fui aprendiendo un poco más de inglés y fue un poco diferente, el primer año fue difícil.	6. High frequency item

4:25	<p>Había momentos en que llegan los primeros días y no sabes ni a cuál baño entrar porque no entiendes ni cuál es el baño. Muchas veces no más dice <i>women</i> o <i>boys</i> ⁷ y uno ni esa palabra la sabia en inglés <i>so</i> ⁸ decías a cuál entro si me entiendes <i>so</i> era difícil, era difícil. Es difícil cuando vienes de un país donde tú naciste y vienes a otro país donde no se hable tu idioma.</p>	<p>7. Remembering an experience 8. Discourse marker</p>
5:00	<p>[¿Y qué tipo de cosas jugaban en la escuela?] En la escuela, en aquel entonces, se jugaba mucho básquetbol. El primer juego básico basquetbol y voleibol, en la escuela, es lo que se jugaba. Mira, yo todos los dos deportes. En aquel entonces todavía el fútbol, el fútbol <i>soccer</i> ⁹, no se usaba mucho. En <i>P.E.</i> ¹⁰, lo jugábamos, pero la gente no sabía. No más era el chiste pegarle a la pelota... Yeah. [¿Tenía muchos amigos que hablaban inglés?] No, los primeros años buscaba amigos que hablaban español porque aun en los primeros años, es difícil, te da vergüenza. El primer año aun lo poquito que vas hablando, te da vergüenza hablarlo porque no sabes si lo estás hablando correctamente y a veces cuando dices una palabra por otra porque como cuando yo decía mujer o dices <i>he</i>* ¹¹ o te equivocas y se ríen de ti. Yeah, eso es común. <i>So</i> ¹² fue difícil, fue difícil perder miedo. Con el tiempo saber, asegurarte de que, sentirte seguro de que lo que estás diciendo es de la manera correcta <i>so</i>, no es fácil.</p>	<p>9. Translation/ Clarification 10. Proper noun/ high frequency item 11. Remembering an experience *Note: Typical mistake for ESL students. 12. Discourse marker</p>
10:20	<p>[Were they people from other countries?] No, you know most of the people are Mexican people. Those kind of jobs, the Mexican people are the ones that they do. [¿De qué hablaban entre Uds.?] Hablábamos, pues la verdad ¹³, hablábamos de nuestros países porque siempre nos recordábamos. “¿De dónde es Ud.? Y de dónde es Ud.” “No pues yo soy de Oaxaca, yo soy de Chiapas, o yo soy del D.F.” “O, y Ud. ¿de dónde es?” “No, de Mexicali” “No pues, Ud. está cerquita de su casa.” Yeah, pero de eso hablábamos. Y intercambiábamos comida. Hablábamos de lonche*, intercambiábamos las comidas. Aunque son del mismo país pero son diferentes sazones. [What kind of food did you guys eat?] What kind of what? ¹⁴ [Food.] Well, my best food, that’s <i>carne asada tacos</i>* ¹⁵, you know? That’s my best food, <i>carne asada tacos</i> or those kind of... o <i>quesadillas</i> with carne ¹⁶.</p>	<p>13. Sequential switch *Note: Lonche is a loanword from the English word lunch. 14. Sequential switch 15. Culturally bound *Note: Does not use standard Spanish verb-adjective rules. 16. Idiosyncratic?</p>

11:20	<p>[Were there ever <i>pochos</i> that worked out in the field with you?] Not really, well not with me. I never, no, no. Well, the big bosses, that's the only <i>pochos</i>¹⁷ are right there. [Oí que su papá y mamá trabajaban ahí] Trabajaban con nosotros¹⁸ [¿Trabajaban en el <i>field</i>?] en el <i>field</i>¹⁹. [¿Ellos vinieron antes?] Sí, mi papá, mi papá, él estuvo viniendo a este país desde que tenía como 25 años. <i>Yeah...</i> Pero era de esos braceros que llamaban, que venían y después agarraban sus papeles y venían y hacían sus corridas. Se venían por unos dos, tres meses y juntaban el dinero que podían y se regresaban a su México. Pero después cuando él nos arregló papeles a nosotros, cuando consiguió papeles, inmigración empezó a exigir que teníamos que vivir en este lado. Porque la <i>green card</i>²⁰ dice, para vivir en EE. UU. y trabajar en EE. UU. <i>So</i> fue por eso que empecé, a la edad de 10 años, le dieron un ultimátum a mi papá y a mi mamá como éramos menores de edad teníamos que vivir de este lado. <i>Yeah, yeah</i>²¹. Y por eso fue que nos vinimos.</p>	<p>17. Symmetrical switch/ culturally bound 18. Sequential switch 19. Symmetrical switch 20. High frequency item 21. Discourse marker</p>
12:36	<p>[¿Qué tipo de música le gustaba escuchar?] Eh bueno, siempre me ha gustado más la música mexicana. Corridos, música romántica, lo típico. Me gustaba <i>Bob Marley</i>²², siempre me ha gustado. Siempre, no sé, me ha gustado ese tipo de música. Lo que es en inglés, ese tipo de música. Música <i>oldies</i>²³, siempre me ha gustado. Y lo demás es lo típico, cumbias, música mexicana. Es lo que más escucho. Y en este valle en ese entonces cuando yo viví aquí, este valle era un valle desolado. No sé si, desolado es que, vivía muy poquita gente y había muy pocas fuentes de empleos porque no había tanta construcción como ahorita en el 2015.</p>	<p>22. Proper noun 23. High frequency item</p>
14:18	<p>[¿Alguna vez hicieron Uds. la corrida?] Sí. [Eran <i>migrant workers</i> entonces.] <i>Yeah</i>,²⁴ era trabajador migrante²⁵. [¿Cómo hacían para la escuela?] Usualmente la corrida se acababa en junio. Y en los, a veces lo que hacían mis papás, nos sacaban dos semanas antes y como que íbamos ir pa' México, pero no, nos íbamos a Bakersfield que es, son cuatro horas de aquí y empezábamos la uva allá, seguimos con la uva allá. Vivíamos en los carros o en algunos campos que el patrón nos proveía, pero con lo más indispensable. Y a veces nos teníamos que bañar en, cuando no conseguimos, que ya estaban llenos los campos, dormíamos en los carros, comíamos comprando pollo o lo que sea, y nos bañábamos en un río o en un canal que encontrábamos con agua de riego. <i>Yeah, yeah so</i>²⁶ allá en</p>	<p>24. Sequential switch/ linguistic routine 25. Translation</p>

	Bakersfield nos íbamos de aquí, porque recién duraba la corrida cuatro semanas, pero llegó el tiempo en que ya fuimos creciendo y ya no quisimos seguir a nuestros papás.	26. Discourse marker
19:20	[¿Qué siente sobre el spanglish?] ¿Qué siento? Eh, pienso que es bueno cuando lo hablas con otra persona que te lo pueda entender. Y yo les enseño a mis hijos que es una falta de respeto hablar, como yo cuando voy a México, que tenemos familiares en Mexicali o en México, mis hijos tienen prohibido hablar inglés delante de otra persona que no hable el idioma. Porque yo les enseño que es una falta de respeto. Y aparte se van a, se van a ser ver como que son creídos. Y debemos respetar a las otras personas, <i>so</i> ²⁷ tenemos igualdad de responsabilidad, igualdad de personalidad. <i>So</i> ²⁸ si dios nos dio el talento de tener más de un lenguaje, usarlo cuando realmente se requiere. <i>So</i> ²⁹ eso es lo que yo les enseño a mis hijos.	27. Discourse marker 28. Discourse marker 29. Discourse marker
21:33	[¿Qué tipo de construcción hace?] Yo trabajo pa' una compañía que hacen albercas. Y soy chofer de la compañía, manejo troques* de como <i>dumpage</i> * ³⁰ , como <i>dumpage</i> , cemento.	30. High frequency item *Note: Troques is a loanword from the English truck. *Note: Probably describing a dump truck or a truck that dumps cement.
31:50	Well the boss, my boss is from <i>Jalisco</i> ³¹ , so he speaks English, but you know all his workers most of them they came from Mexico and you know that's a hard work so that's the people that they do that kind of work [Tengo una pregunta más] <i>A ver dígamela</i> ³² . [How often do you speak Spanish or English to yourself?] Well ³³ , let's say, well most of the time I think in Spanish, yeah let's say 90% in Spanish and 10% in English.	31. Proper noun 32. Sequential switch 33. Sequential switch

M4

Time	Transcription	Motive/Type of switch
2:07	<i>Todo el tiempo ha sido,</i> ¹ I like to play because I'm a sport guy, baseball, I mean I used to play baseball <i>en Mexicali</i> ² and boxing all that stuff <i>pero todo el tiempo fui al práctico todo el tiempo</i> ³ . [Baseball, soccer a veces?] <i>También, en Coachella también jugaba mucho tiempo soccer</i> ⁴ <i>me retiré porque a veces ya cuando estás más mayor suceden accidentes que la liga no responde como debe ser. Sí en la Indio High School</i> ⁵ . [¿Cómo fue high school?] High school ⁶ <i>pa' mí fue una experiencia que uh en aquel tiempo andaba rebelde yo. Y fue algo diferente para mí.</i>	1. False start 2. Proper noun 3. Parenthetical remark 4. Symmetrical switch 5. Proper noun 6. Symmetrical switch/ High frequency item

3:05	<p><i>Todo el tiempo me gustó la escuela, pero cuando te involucras en cosas malas, uh, no le ponía atención. Me gradué porque mi esposa me hizo que me graduara. [You met in high school?] We met on high school she was on CV ⁷ y yo iba a la high school ⁸ de Indio y yo me hacía ditch* ⁹ para ir a mirarla a la CV de Coachella. O sea, y pos como dicen cuando llega el amor, llega el amor. No me gradué de Indio High School ¹⁰ pero ella me hizo que agarrara el GED ¹⁰.</i></p>	<p>7. Sequential switch 8. High frequency item 9. Lexical need/ high frequency item *Note: hacer + infinitive is a common alternative to borrowing 10. Proper noun</p>
3:53	<p>Yeah, we used to go to the dances, I used to skip para ir a los ¹¹ dances ¹² de Coachella y si todo el tiempo estábamos we always trying to be together ¹³.</p>	<p>11. Linguistic routine/ Anticipatory switch. 12. High frequency item 13. False start</p>
4:10	<p><i>En aquel tiempo, como dicen, era Madonna ¹⁴, en aquel tiempo era cuando estaba el break dance ¹⁵. I used to break dance when I was like, I mean estamos hablando ¹⁶ long time ago. I used to know how to pop and all that stuff pero a veces uno lo usa para impresionar a la gente y ¹⁷ I used to do it ‘cuz when you are in love, you know, quieres impresionar a tu novia ¹⁸ so ¹⁹ ahí andaba haciendo el ridiculo. Yeah, I used to know how to flip my head and all that stuff pero estaba joven, ahorita me dice hacer eso ²⁰ y jeje...disability* ²¹.</i></p>	<p>14. Proper noun 15. High frequency item/ Remembering an experience 16. Ling. routine 17. Clarification 18. Amplification 19. Discourse marker 20. Amplification 21. High frequency item *Note: Probably referring to disability leave from work.</p>
5:45	<p><i>Mi primer trabajo aquí fue en las uvas y luego después ah trabajaba en las uvas y luego after that ²² mi papá cuando salíamos de la escuela nos llevaba a pizar cebolla en aquel tiempo we are talking about eighty eighties ²³ que todos los files de los setenta había pizca* de cebolla salíamos de la escuela y él nos estaba esperando para ir a piscar cebolla. Hasta que oscurecía y teníamos que salir de ahí y hacer la tarea.... A mi edad que yo tenía, I mean ²⁴, era difícil. Salíamos de la escuela, salíamos de la escuela y salíamos pa’ vacaciones y era para pizar uvas. Y no, no más eso terminábamos la uva aquí en el valle Coachella y nos íbamos pa Irvine a piscar uva también allá. Hasta que se terminaba. Y era difícil.</i></p>	<p>22. Discourse marker/translation 23. Anticipatory switch/ parenthetical remark *Note: Pizar is a Mexicanism used as a verb to pick or harvest crops. 24. Discourse marker</p>
7:20	<p><i>Que eran unos huevones, I mean ²⁵, o sea pa’ mi los pochos</i></p>	<p>25. Discourse marker</p>

	<p><i>eran los que se quedaban aquí y tranquilamente. Uno que viene de México es totalmente, la visión y la cultura es diferente a los papás de uno los miran como okay tienes que trabajar and we're gonna make money</i> ²⁶. <i>Y yo salí, a mí me daba un temor salir de la escuela porque yo sabía que, no antes de la escuela, que las tardes íbamos a pisar cebolla y luego de ahí terminamos la escuela nos íbamos a Irvine a pisar uva y o sea no había vacaciones pa, uno. [You guys were working like migrant workers?] Yeah like migrant workers</i> ²⁷.</p>	<p>26. Amplification/ anticipatory switch</p> <p>27. Sequential switch</p>
8:25	<p>Actually, you know what. Uhm, the way I see it is like, our tradition wasn't like Mexican 100% but at the same time it was good because there was <i>había mucha disciplina</i> ²⁸. If your dad told you "ey psh" ²⁹ it was like that. Now, now it's like whatever. Yeah, whatever. <i>En aquel tiempo</i> ³⁰, if my dad told me "you know hey" just with that. Hey, you know you're not supposed to do that. Not even, talking, like, I'm watching you. It was like, it was sick.</p>	<p>28. Remembering an experience/ anticipatory switch</p> <p>29. Quotation</p> <p>30. Linguistic routine</p>
9:25	<p><i>Lo mismo, tamales, buñuelos, y eso y lo otro. Es tradicional en México. I mean</i> ³¹, <i>todo el tiempo, en aquel tiempo nosotros nos íbamos pa Mexicali. Donde vivíamos porque, I mean</i> ³², we have ³³, <i>tenemos una casa allá. Y navidad era pa allá y era diferente la tradición. Allá era cohetes, tamales, toda la gente en la calle, I mean</i> ³⁴, <i>la gente no dormía, pero lo pasaban a la mañana the people still with their</i> ³⁵ <i>lumbrada</i> ³⁶ I mean ³⁷, <i>es lo que le digo</i> ³⁸, that's what I tell my wife, if I'm retiring I want to go back to Mexico cuz that's a different side. I mean, I know right here we got everything, I mean, nice houses or whatever, <i>pero la vida es diferente</i> ³⁹. Life is totally different, I mean, <i>allá toda la gente se conoce</i> ⁴⁰, you could go outside and "ey cómo estás" ⁴¹ or whatever you know. Right here.</p>	<p>31. Discourse marker</p> <p>32. Discourse marker</p> <p>33. False start</p> <p>34. Discourse marker</p> <p>35. Parenthetical remark</p> <p>36. Culturally bound</p> <p>37. Discourse marker</p> <p>38. False start</p> <p>39. Emphasis</p> <p>40. Amplification</p> <p>41. Paraphrase</p>
10:30	<p>What I'm saying is like the culture is totally different. Okay <i>allá</i> ⁴² is like a family thing. Right here is like a money thing. I mean, you're Mexican okay. Sometimes I feel like a Mexican, what are you doing over here? You know what I mean. Like <i>a la mejor anda vendiendo drogas</i> ⁴³ or whatever because you're right here in the gated community and I'm not like that. <i>Pero como te digo</i> ⁴⁴ the whole thing <i>es, en México</i> ⁴⁵ I mean, you know ⁴⁶ <i>abarrotos</i> ⁴⁷, the whole street they know you.</p>	<p>42. Clarification</p> <p>43. Paraphrase</p> <p>44. Linguistic routine</p> <p>45. Anticipatory switch</p> <p>46. Phatic function</p> <p>47. Culturally bound</p>
11:15	<p>[Unintelligible question] ¿Historias?, the best stories I know,</p>	

	<p><i>es en Mexicali</i> ⁴⁸. Like I said when we used to go, the whole family, before my mom passed away, I mean, we used to go all the time, like together in the house in <i>Mexicali</i>. I mean, we're talking about, I mean, all of it, all family <i>nietos, hijos</i> ⁴⁹, or whatever, everybody <i>tronando cohetes</i> ⁵⁰ or whatever, that was beautiful. After that, right here is like "I can't go. I got something to do." You know after my mom passed away it was totally different. Everything changed. My mom she was like, she was like okay. My mom said, "I'm going to <i>Mexicali</i> ⁵¹ and I'm gonna take goodies over there." Psh, <i>mira pa allá. Y desde que se murió ella, "Ey yo tengo cosas que hacer, I gotta go do something else or whatever</i> ⁵²." <i>Es diferente.</i></p>	<p>48. Anticipatory switch</p> <p>49. Culturally bound</p> <p>50. Remembering an experience/ anticipatory switch</p> <p>51. Proper noun</p> <p>52. Translation/emphasis</p>
12:24	<p><i>Toda la familia, toda la familia, ni una. Ni una porque, I mean, it's sad to say</i> ⁵³ <i>pero se muere el núcleo familiar y se pierde todo.</i> I mean ⁵⁴, <i>uno se arranca pa allá, y antes no. Mi mamá decía "me voy pa Mexicali" y todos arrancaban pa México. Y todos estábamos allá, todos. Hasta la media noche tronando cuetes y mis hijos, I mean</i> ⁵⁵, <i>todos. Y desde que se murió ella se perdió todo eso.</i></p>	<p>53. Linguistic routine</p> <p>54. Discourse marker</p> <p>55. Discourse marker</p>
13:34	<p><i>El date festival</i> ⁵⁶ <i>significa pues la feria del dátil. El dátil aquí es muy común la feria del dátil y todas las compañías hacen del dátil y pos es como una feria. Y traen a conjuntos y traen eventos y todo eso, es algo que tienen mucho aquí, pero.</i> [Do you participate in the festival?] Not really ⁵⁷, we just go and pay the entry and just go for it, <i>Pero</i> ⁵⁸ <i>it's fun. It is fun with the family and everything is fun.</i></p>	<p>56. Proper noun</p> <p>57. Sequential switch</p> <p>58. Discourse marker</p>
14:36	<p>You know what, actually I'm trying to raise my son ... I mean, he is already raised in our tradition. Like in our house we speak a hundred percent Spanish and the way I see it like, <i>igual que mi nieto</i> ⁵⁹, I mean ⁶⁰ <i>él ya habla inglés y español pero le hablamos todo el tiempo en español. Así como mi hijo, así como mi suegra le enseñó a ella. Uhm el inglés lo van a aprender aquí. Y, y, y the way I see is like</i> ⁶¹ <i>donde yo trabajo en la ciudad de Coachella, you get a dollar more if you are bilingual</i> ⁶² <i>okay. Entonces yo le digo a mi esposa como yo no voy enseñar a mi nieta que hable el español primer lenguaje.</i> I mean the way you do it ⁶³, <i>así como lo hacemos nosotros, es un dólar más.</i> <i>Allí en la ciudad de Coachella donde yo trabajo hay gabachos que se van a la escuela para agarrar ese dólar.</i> And you know what? ⁶⁴ It's kinda sad <i>que habiendo culturas mexicanas</i> ⁶⁵ <i>first, second or third tradition* que</i> ⁶⁶ <i>they don't even speak Spanish. You know what and that's sad. And I got family, I got family they don't... I mean... you talking about Gonzales y los abuelos no hablan inglés y los hijos no</i></p>	<p>59. Anticipatory switch</p> <p>60. Discourse marker</p> <p>61. Linguistic routine</p> <p>62. Anticipatory switch/ Remembering an experience</p> <p>63. False start</p> <p>64. Linguistic routine</p> <p>65. Anticipatory switch</p> <p>66. Discourse marker</p> <p>*Note: Probably meant generations.</p>

	<i>hablan español, no hablan en inglés</i> ⁶⁷ . You know that to me is like you know. And I like to keep that tradition <i>con mi hijo</i> ⁶⁸ . <i>Mi hijo habla bien español y te lo lee y te lo escribe y así quiero con mi nieta. [...]</i> También ella.	67. Paraphrase 68. Anticipatory switch (hijo, nieta)
16:50	<i>Pero fijate la ridiculez porque falta de comunicación porque luego lo llevan con los abuelos y le hablan puro inglés y los nietos hablan puro inglés... “¡papa!” I mean</i> ⁶⁹ <i>es una ridiculez cuando los abuelos no habla ni siquiera inglés. Y yo te lo digo porque en la familia existe eso y yo la miro y le digo a mi esposa que es una ridiculez para mí que venimos de México de una familia inmigrante. Para mí la prioridad que mi nieta hable español y lo demás que lo aprenda en el colegio.</i>	69. Discourse marker
17:50	<i>No más acepté la visita por la Angie eh, porque es mi sobrina, en el corazón. La Angie, lo que ella quiera... No pues me dijo la Angie “Tío, le digo... Habla con tu tía conmigo no hay problema. No para mí, la Angie pa mi es sol, mi sol. [What is your first name?] M4. [Y ¿cuántos años tienes?] Cuarenta y seis años voy a cumplir cuarenta y siete. [What is your highest level of education?] GED, a lot of training in the city of Coachella, pero eso no sirve</i> ⁷⁰ . [At what age did you come to the U.S.] Nine. [How old were you when you started learning Spanish?] Since I was born. [At what age did you start feeling comfortable speaking English?] Uhm you know what actually, to be honest when I got married with her ... because you know what because she was I mean <i>todo el tiempo ella me ha corregido mi</i> ⁷¹ <i>English thing and I’ve been learning a lot, también</i> ⁷² <i>at work pero ella me ha, she is been helping a lot</i> ⁷³ . (...)	70. Amplification 71. Amplification 72. Discourse marker 73. False start
20:05	Spanish? <i>Todo el tiempo</i> ⁷⁴ . You know what actually, at the city they call me once in a while to translate English to Spanish. Yeah cause I'm good I know how to put <i>puntos, comas</i> ⁷⁵ , and everything. Because <i>mire</i> ⁷⁶ , it's totally different when you go Spanish and whatever.	74. Clarification 75. Lexical need 76. Linguistic routine
21:24	Yeah (...) All the time ... I mean ...what do you mean? [Unintelligible question] <i>Oh Mexicali, nueve años</i> ⁷⁷ okay.	77. Sequential switch
21:54	Not much, <i>porque</i> ⁷⁸ I mean we speak Spanish all the time (...) you can say ten and ten.	78. Discourse marker
23:21	[What percentage of the time do you speak Spanish and English with family?] Like a hundred percent Spanish... Well <i>yo hablo</i> ⁷⁹ I mean, I mean, <i>como a veces...</i> let's say ninety and ten ⁸⁰ <i>porque cuando vienen los sobrinos, they speak English</i> ⁸¹ “Yeah, tío what’s up” you know <i>y entre en medio</i>	79. False start 80. Symmetrical switch 81. Anticipatory switch 82. Anticipatory switch

	<i>le meto el español yo</i> ⁸² , because I know they don't know how to speak Spanish so.	
23:49	At work fifty-fifty because you can talk to the secretary in Spanish <i>y aunque saben pero muchos</i> ⁸³ ... you know how it is.	83. Parenthetical remark

M5

Time code	Transcription	Type of switch/ motive
Track 1 0:06	Like a man singing like a man. ' <i>Ta bonito el show, 'ta bien bonito</i> ¹ , but it was kinda long.	1. Amplification
0:30	[How much was the ticket?] Well, my daughter she's the head of box office*. [Oh] So I get the Indian pass. [That's a good price.] So, I get the Indian pass, so I get there with the Indians. So, we get free popcorn, free Coke, free ice cream..., uh, candy, cookies, and all that you know for the Indians. And she's in charge, she's the manager of the box office so I get in there to see the shows. ' <i>Ta bien</i> ² you know. But sometimes the old lady doesn't wanna go with me you know. You know sometimes she gets "I don't wanna go." But I get to see <i>Luis Miguel, Pepe Aguilar</i> , you know, <i>El Buki</i> ³ .	*Note: His daughter was probably the manager of the box office. The Indian pass is probably a pass for discounted tickets available to the Native American people in the area. 2. Linguistic routine 3. Proper nouns
Track 2 2:35	[About customs, traditions, <i>qué hacían, por ejemplo, tamales...</i>] Yeah, basically, we grew up, I grew up in a <i>barrio</i> ⁴ okay. And we grew up, everybody was poor, everybody had very little. And I grew up in a <i>barrio</i> ^{5*} where, how do you say it, the generation ahead of us, they used to get in fights, our generation was a little more calmer. But yet we had the reputation of the other group, and the group that followed us was, you know. So, nobody really dealt with us because, you know, the group. So, they say "53*", oh my god." Cuz if it's Coachella you could forget about it. They sell drugs like anywhere else. But our tradition was basically, my dad was a butcher, so we always had beef. And my mom used to, we didn't have refrigerators, we had one, and you put a piece of ice on the top*. That was it, you know. Really! So, our meat, well what we didn't eat, we had to dry it. Then cure it. And then we'd eat it later on. You know.	4. Identity marker/Culturally bound 5. Identity marker/Culturally bound *Note: In Mexican-American culture the <i>barrio</i> is an ethnic neighborhood. *Note: Probably referring to the name of a group or area with a bad reputation. *Note: Also known as an ice box.
4:00	[Tell me a little bit more about that curing process. ¿Cómo se hacía?] I don't know how she put it. She'd put something on it then we had like a little room with	

	<p>like a chicken, real thin spring* that you put on the outside windows. And it was all covered and we just hang it. And let it dry out. And once it's dry, aged and everything else. It was like beef jerky, you know. And we had our own chickens. It was a <i>barrio</i> ⁶ so everybody had chickens, everybody had, basically, eggs you know. I was lucky, my dad used to have milk from cows. So, I was lucky that we always had fresh milk. And then my mom when we didn't drink milk she would make cheese out of it. <i>¿Cómo se llama ese amarillo que está aquí arriba de la crema? [Oh, la nata.] Nata</i> ⁷. And then my grandfather was a, her dad, was a chef so he used to make mayonnaise from the milk and everything else. So, we had basically everything. We grew up poor, but we grew up with, and back then people were, how do I say, they worked in the fields. And at the end of the fields, when they were picking you get a couple of bags and give it to all the rest. Fruits, you know, whatever, they used to bring into the house. So, we always had, you know, mostly fresh stuff.</p>	<p>*Note: On this self-correction, probably describing a chicken wire or a screen.</p> <p>6. Culturally bound</p> <p>7. Foreign concept/ Remembering an experience</p>
<p>Track 3 0:10</p>	<p>[Did you ever work in the fields?] During school, grapes, yeah, and then after that I started swamping – those are the ones that pick up the boxes. Because there was a lot fields back then and a lot of little ranchers. So, I got in with a company, it was called Nishomotos. They used to have the big trucks and they used to go to the fields and pick up the vegetables and everything. And then make a truck full load and then send it to LA for the market. So, my job was sometimes go with the truck drivers and we'd go to one little ranch and pick up all the boxes and give them a receipt and then go to another ranch until we would fill up the truck. So, we started like 3 o'clock in the afternoon and we didn't finish until about 11:00. Cuz it had to be there no later than 1 o'clock before the market opened. So you know I started going with the big trucks and then you get up and pretty soon they give you a little flat bed and you go pick up the small loads, that way the truck don't have to go over there so I went picking up one load, take it back to the yard, stack it, go to another farm, pick up their load and come stack it. And then wait for the big truck to come in and load it up so yeah. [<i>¿Sí saben español allá?</i>] <i>Sí, y todo en español, todo</i> ⁷. <i>Y toda la gente se ayudaba, y luego como iba yo y levantaba la fruta, la verdura, lo que fuera, me echaba las colas*</i>. Not the first class ⁸ <i>o muchas veces la caja no se llenaba, de las muy buenas y "llévate la caja" y me echaba la caja de</i></p>	<p>7. Sequential switch</p> <p>8. Remembering an experience</p>

	<i>pepino, de calabazas, de todas las verduras [So you always had fruit and vegetables.] Sí, todo el tiempo teníamos eso. Y trabajábamos después de la escuela. Salíamos y nos íbamos a trabajar. Como digo éramos pobres.</i>	*Note: Probably referring to the left overs.
2:14	<i>[¿Y con quién trabajabas?] Era una compañía que se llamaba Nishimotos ⁹. Eran unos japoneses que tenían troques. Y también tenían files* ellos. Antes habían muchos files chiquitos, de japoneses y todo, en todas partes. Y ellos pizcaban* calabazas, unos pizcaban okra ¹⁰, unos pizcaban cherry tomatoes ¹¹ y todo, imagina. Y unos empaques y cargábamos todo. Y lo mandaban pa Los Angeles, todos los días. [So, los dueños eran japoneses.] Unos japoneses, mexicanos, y todo había. [Y las personas que trabajaban en los fields.] Pura raza, puro mexicano. En ese tiempo había mucho mexicano aquí. Todo el tiempo ha habido. Pero en ese tiempo más. Y luego entraron los braceros. Los braceros entraron después. Y después, les daban casas, les daban donde vivir. Y les pagaban y les daban casa y todo. Lo malo que, lo que pasó ahí, que les pagaban tanto por semana y luego le aguantaba, le aguardaban lo demás. Y cuando se acababa el contrato ya los mandaban pa México. Pero muchos guys ¹²... [Oh that's the deal that they were trying to get their money back.] Sí, entonces esta gente de Estados Unidos le pagó a México, Social Security ¹³, todo lo que era de ellos entonces le pagó. Y México se perdió con todo. México perdió todo, el gobierno. Entonces muchos de los trabajadores, lo llevaban a un lugar que se llamaba Las Palmas, en México, ahí los contrataban. Los contrataban por seis meses.</i>	9. Proper noun *Note: Fil or files is an English loanword from the word field. *Note: Pizcar is a Mexicanism used as a verb to pick or harvest crops. 10. Foreign concept 11. Foreign concept/ high frequency item 12. High frequency item 13. High frequency item
4:55	[After high school, what did you do?] <i>Después ¹³, after I graduated. I didn't have to go to Vietnam. There was, Vietnam was you know.</i>	14. False start/ sequential switch.
4:23	<i>[¿Y tus padres hablaban español?] Mi jefe no. Mi mamá sí, mi mamá, she was born here in LA ¹⁶. [Oh tu papá hablaba español.] Sí mi papá era de Chihuahua. [Y tu mamá.] Era de Los Ángeles. [Tu mamá hablaba más inglés que español.] Oh sí, no más que mi abuelito, el papá de ella también era de Chihuahua. So ¹⁶ nosotros nos quedamos que esa mentalidad de Chihuahua, más nortño que... [You guys are big in Chihuahua. That's why you're so tall.] Yeah, you know ¹⁷, y ah, pos ahí hay mucho indio.</i>	15. Anticipatory switch 16. Discourse marker 17. Discourse marker/ sequential switch

Track 5 00:00	<i>Hay tarahumara, indio apache ahí en Chihuahua. Como quien dice, apache</i> because they were Americans, ¹⁸ but they used to cross the border to <i>Chihuahua</i> ¹⁹ and you know.	18. Anticipatory switch 19. Proper noun
1:00	[So, talk to me a little more about growing up. What did you guys do for like <i>Navidad</i> , or did you guys celebrate <i>los Reyes</i> ?] Not so much, <i>el* Reyes</i> ²⁰ , because you know, we were born here, so <i>Navidad</i> , Christmas ²¹ , yeah. [¿ <i>Qué hacían para Navidad</i> ?] Whatever you could get, you know, it was a little get together with family. <i>Para el mexicano la familia es muy importante</i> ²² . <i>Y para nosotros, en ese tiempo había respeto. Ya se acabó el respeto poquito. Para mí los papás de ahora quieren ser amigos de los hijos, y no es así. Uno es padre y es padre.</i>	20. Symmetrical switch *Note: Meant to say Día de los Reyes. 21. Symmetrical switch/ translation 22. Anticipatory switch/ Amplification
4:30	[Did you like going to school?] <i>Estaba bien</i> , it was good ²³ . School was good. [What did you like most about school?] Ahh little bit of everything. You know back then it was just mostly studying, and you have a chance to, you know, they teach you everything, except Spanish. Back then, you couldn't speak Spanish in school. You were punished for speaking Spanish in school. I mean, if they caught you speaking Spanish, you had to read, you know the blackboard, "I will not talk Spanish. I will not talk Spanish."	23. Translation/ Emphasis
Track 6 2:20	(Talking about granddaughter in dual immersion) They're doing that in Coachella, they're trying to bring the Spanish. Spanish now, you know. But my little grandson, he didn't want to go there so when we talk about him, he's my color. And my little granddaughter is a little lighter. <i>Y le digo yo ¿ey y El Morenazo</i> ²⁴ ? And he knows who <i>Morenazo</i> ^{*25} is. We start talking in Spanish and he's just like watching us you know. But he doesn't like Spanish you know.	24. Anticipatory switch/ proper noun 25. Proper noun *Note: Morenazo or El morenazo is a nickname given to his grandson.
Track 7 4:40	[I'm curious, you said, <i>este</i> , that in school, they didn't let you speak Spanish, but you speak Spanish well. How did you uh?] Construction. Construction, you have to learn how to speak Spanish. Most people were from Mexico, ¿ <i>verdad</i> ? ²⁶ [<i>Si</i>] <i>Y ah</i> ²⁷ , you know if you say something wrong, or you know, the truth, <i>de pendejo no te bajaban</i> ²⁸ . You know.	26. Tag question 27. Discourse marker 28. Remembering an experience/ preformulation

<p>Track 8 0:00</p>	<p><i>“Pendejo, no se dice así”²⁹.</i> And pretty soon you start picking it up, picking it up more and more. And like I said my wife was from Texas. So, you have to learn how to speak Spanish, especially in construction, because you don't want to say something stupid because it makes you look bad. And working with construction they don't let you get away with it. So, you have to you know, <i>porque</i>, you know they, <i>mucha gente era de México</i>³⁰. <i>Imagínese de laborers</i>³¹ <i>y todo eso, cementeros también.</i> So³² <i>tienes que hablar en español. Y si no, olvídate, te... como te digo, como pendejo no te bajaban. Una vez se me hizo fácil y había un panal de enjambres, y “ahí hay un panal de enjambres.” Y yo como pendejo, “oh, sí, sí.” Y estaban diciendo que pues son abejas. Pero estaban diciendo que “hay enjambres.” Y yo mirando “¿dónde está el panal de enjambres?” Y ya me iba a meter. Y me estaban diciendo. Y la otra que me dijo, “pendejo ¿no miras las avispas?” Yo no sabía de qué estaban hablando. [Es que en México le dicen enjambre... al] Al panal, sí. Y aquí le dicen abejas.... Aprendí, pero como te digo así me enseñaban la raza. Porque la raza es muy, pues tú sabes, I mean³³, haces algo mal y te calbolean* y muchos eran pesados.</i></p>	<p>29. Quotation</p> <p>30. Anticipatory switch 31. High frequency item 32. Discourse marker</p> <p>33. Ling routine *Note: Probably means, knock you on the head for mistakes until leaving you hairless, calvo.</p>
<p>1:55</p>	<p><i>Una vez me recuerdo, estábamos ahí y luego no sé qué preguntamos y luego dijo el guy, fulano de tal</i>³⁴, <i>dijo. Un amigo mío, que en paz descanse, dijo “él gueldea*, él soldea, gueldea, es guedeador,” dijo. Y luego dijo el otro “no, es soldeador.” Y, “chale,” dice, el vato “no está soltero está casado.” Estábamos riendo. No sabía lo que era un soldeador. Él dijo, “oh es soldeador.” “Oh chale, el vato no está soltero está casado.” Y todos nos curábamos, Y él nunca agarró el español como yo. Y estábamos riéndonos. Una vez estábamos comiendo también, y el guy</i>³⁵ <i>le dijo que le diera un napkin</i>³⁶. <i>Así le dijo en español. Y luego le dijeron, encabronado “¿Qué quieres?” y le decía en español lo que quería, “pa’ un napkin”, y el guy decía “pa’ que me está diciendo napkin.” *</i></p>	<p>34. Translation/ Culturally bound *Note: Gueldear derives from weld, welder, sodder.</p> <p>35. High frequency item 36. Paraphrasing</p> <p>*Note: this is not a usual code-switch because the other guy was not proficient.</p>

Track 9 1:10	[How many years have you spent at a job where English is spoken?] Oh maybe 20 years or so. [What about Spanish?] The rest of my life. About half and half, I guess because in the mine, ‘cuz I worked in a mine, and I worked in a department store, many years that was Spanish and English because you know <i>te acuerdas de la Beast</i> * ³⁷ <i>en Coachella</i> ³⁸ , <i>en Indio</i> . There was a lot of Spanish people over there, so you had to speak Spanish.	37. Parenthetical remark *Note: Name of a location people used to frequent. 38. Proper noun
4:26	[Wife calls] <i>Ya voy pa’ la casa estoy en el gym. Gym. Me vine tarde al gym</i> ³⁹ .	39. Economy/ high frequency item
Track 10 3:20	[What about with the Spanish speaking culture?] Again, I’m pretty good. I mean, I feel comfortable with them you know. I feel like, as a matter of fact, a lot of times, we’ve gone to vacation and the man, on the tour, asked us where we were from and I said California, in Spanish. And he says, “ <i>Baja, norte o el sur</i> ⁴⁰ ” which is Baja is <i>Mexicali</i> and sur es <i>Tijuana</i> ⁴¹ . “¿ <i>Norte o sur?</i> ” “California.” “ <i>Sí, el norte o el sur</i> ”, ‘cuz you know <i>Mexicali</i> and the others, “ <i>no, no no, California, Estados Unidos</i> ” Oh, <i>y luego me dijo “pero hablas español”</i> . “ <i>Pues soy mexicano.</i> ” Pero, <i>dije “sí soy méxico-americano como quiera decir Ud. así soy. Oh méxico-americano como dicen en el DF. Oh pos aquí nos dicen pochos.</i> [Pochos right, how do you feel about that?] It’s doesn’t bother me ⁴² . [<i>Porque a mí me dicen pocho</i> and I get a little offended.] That’s just you’re American. I think pocho is better than Mexican-American. We’re not, like they can say, you’re a <i>pocho</i> * but they can’t say you’re like your dad you know what I mean. So they put you in a pocho. <i>Pero muchos, sí así dicen. Este, en los sesentas, en Tejas hubo unos este, se heló todo, una helada así se perdió mucho en los files. Y se llenó aquí de Tejas.</i> ⁴³	40. Paraphrasing 41. Proper noun 42. Sequential switch *Note: Pocho is a term used to describe children born in the U.S. to Mexican immigrants. 43. Parenthetical remark
Track 11 1:21	It’s such a shame you see people my color and you know they’re Mexicans and you talk to them in Spanish and, “ <i>No entiendo.</i> ” ⁴⁴	44. Quotation/ paraphrase

F1

Time	Transcription	Type of switch/Notes
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1:00	[Tell me your full name, and where you were born and where you live now.] My full name is <i>Fl. [...] es el nombre de mi matrimonio</i> ² . I was born in the state of Arizona in a little town, Douglas. We came to California, shortly after, maybe around a year or two. And so that's where my life begins here in the Coachella Valley.	1. Proper name 2. Anticipatory switch
1:35	[Did you come to Coachella or Indio?] To Coachella. We came to Coachella. <i>Vine contigo</i> ³ (speaking to her mother). Yeah <i>pero</i> ⁴ when we came, I came with you as a little baby.	3. Amplification 4. Idiosyncratic
1:58	[And your parents are both Mexican?] My mother is <i>mexicana</i> ⁵ . My <i>papá era judío mexicano</i> ⁶ . And so, you see I never really grew up knowing that daddy was <i>judío</i> ⁷ until later in my life when I started doing genealogy and then I found out. And so, you know, that's where it came. But I was raised, you know, as a <i>mexicana</i> ⁸ .	5. Identity marker 6. Anticipatory switch 7. Identity marker 8. Identity marker
3:16	[Tell me a little more about childhood. Maybe a memory that you have.] Well, I was always outspoken. I still am outspoken <i>y era muy brincona</i> ⁹ and I was always into everything.	9. Remembering an experience / Anticipatory switch
7:00	[I want you to tell them about Jack and Jill.] We had a little skit when I was in kindergarten. and I was Jill... and this little boy, he was a little <i>gordito</i> ¹⁰ , you know, and I guess they put him with me because I was, you know, rough and tough. And we were playing, the skit was Jack and Jill went up the hill to fetch a pail of water and you know Jack fell down and broke his crown and Jill came tumbling after. The little boy didn't fall down. And I said, "fall down, you're supposed to fall down." <i>Y no quería</i> ¹¹ . "I said fall down." <i>Y lo jalé</i> and I yanked him down ¹² , and I yanked him down and he started crying because you know, <i>lo jalé</i> ¹³ . And he, "I told you to fall down". So, he fell down.	10. Avoidance of taboo/ Remembering an experience 11. Amplification 12. Emphasis; translation 13. Amplification/Emphasis
8:45	[What was school like?] I remember one time I'm having to go to the bathroom and maybe this is inappropriate. I had to go to the bathroom, but you know, we, Hispanic people growing up, kids growing up, we learned words about, like um, "quiero un vaso de agua" "ah tengo" ¹⁴ . There was slangs put onto what we wanted or what we were doing. So, I raised my hand to tell the sister I needed to go the bathroom. And of course, my English was very broken, and I had an accent. And I told the nun that I needed to go to the bathroom, but I said, I says, " <i>Hermana,</i> " ah no I said <i>madrecita madrecita</i> sister	14. Quotation

	sister ¹⁵ ,” I says, “I need to go to the bathroom. <i>Tengo que hacer chi</i> ¹⁶ .” and I said it in Spanish. “ <i>Tengo que hacer chi</i> ¹⁶ ” and of course all of the kids laughed at me.	15. Quotation/ translation 16. Quotation/ translation/ anticipatory switch
9:40	And Sister Roberta said, “I’m not going to let you go F1 until you tell me in English what you need to do.” “But I can’t remember. I don’t know how. I gotta go. I gotta go.” And she said, “You need to tell me the right way.” Well the embarrassment of it all, and our uniforms were sky blue like the heavens, and uhm and so I peed all over my uniform, all over the floor. And the kids started laughing. And so, following with, my dad never said bad words. and I won’t repeat the, daddy’s bad words was GD, <i>o hijo de la chin</i> * and, or <i>cabrón</i> ¹⁷ but when you say <i>cabrón</i> it’s, you know, and I know that it’s not, depending on how you use it, it’s an animal and it’s not always intended to be a bad word. So here the kids were laughing at me and the sister said that I would have to pick up the, I would have to clean up the, my mess. And I told her that I wasn’t gonna do it. And <i>y yo de caprichuda también</i> ¹⁸ I sat down on my desk and of course I was all wet. And before I sat down, and I put up my hands, and I can remember, now in, back, in retrospect of my thinking, I was a radical back then in third grade or second grade. And I raised my hand up and said, “you wait and see <i>cabrones</i> ¹⁹ ” and I said it like that, “next year, next year I will speak better English than you. You just wait and see.” and <i>dicho y hecho</i> ²⁰ . I would watch T.V., back then the T.V.’s were really small, and I would listen to the news, J.R. Mural. And I would listen to the news and listen. I would pay attention to how they would pronounce words or how they said things.	* Euphemism for <i>Hijo de la chingada</i> 17. Remembering an experience/ Culturally bound 18. Anticipatory switch/ Culturally bound/ Remembering an experience 19. Quotation/ Culturally Bound 20. Linguistic routine
11: 40	And when I came back to Catholic school the following year I had still a little bit of an accent but now my accent is Spanish accent because I don’t, I speak Spanish well, but I don’t speak it like, ok like, your father or you and uh [Or me?] or you, yes. But I don’t have an accent. I don’t not have an English, you cannot tell when I’m speaking to you, if you did not, on the phone you would not know that I was <i>mexicana</i> . And when I say <i>mexicana</i> ²¹ that’s the way I was raised and that’s how I am.	21. Identity marker
13:45	[Tell me, what high school did you go to?] I went to Indio High school. [What was that like, what was Indio High like? What types of students were there?] Well there was the elite that you know and although I’m not going to brag, I was just as pretty as Diana Carter who was the homecoming queen and she was this and she was that. And she was very popular, but I could outrun her. I could do a	

	<p>lot of things better than she could but because I was <i>mexicana</i>²² I wasn't even looked at. [<i>Las mexicanas</i>, they didn't run for Homecoming Queen?] Oh, are you kidding? No, they would not have even gotten one or two votes, never, never. [¿Sí los dejaban, hermana?] Pardon? [Were they allowed to run?] They were allowed to run but they made it a lot harder for the Mexican young women because you had to have a 2.5 which is just a C average, but they made it harder on them. You had to have a B. <i>Por los mexicanos</i>,²³ you had to have a B.</p>	<p>22. Identity marker</p> <p>23. Clarification/ anticipatory switch</p>
15:35	<p>(Talking about her son's schooling.) He took the sciences, I would say to him when I was taking chemistry for the second time, I say, "<i>mijo</i>²⁴, I can't figure out this problem, and, just as a simple problem, I can't figure it out. I know that 2.5 is this, but I can't figure it out to, how do I make it down to a fourth, and from that fourth to another half." So, he'd say, "Ok, read me the problem." And I'd read him the problem and he would count with his fingers and do this or just bounce on it and say, "this is the answer mom." And so, in his head, you know. And because my children looked <i>gringos</i>²⁵, there was never a problem. With some yes, because they knew that their mother wasn't a <i>gringa</i>,²⁶ but they knew that their father was so, being that it was alright, but it was very tough.</p>	<p>24. Culturally bound</p> <p>25. Avoidance of taboo/ Culturally bound</p> <p>26. Avoidance of taboo/ Culturally bound</p>
16: 40	<p>[So, going back to the Homecoming dances. Did you end up going to the dance?] Yes, I'd go to the Homecoming dances, but you know what? <i>Los mexicanos</i>²⁷ were on one side of the auditorium, of the gymnasium, and then <i>los negros, de color</i>,²⁸ I'm sorry I don't mean to say, the African-Americans were on one side, and then the Filipinos were on another side. And then <i>los gabachos</i>*²⁹, you see I didn't say <i>gringos</i>²⁸. <i>Los gabachos</i> were on the other side. And a <i>gabacho</i> did not dance with a <i>mexicana</i>. Unless you were talking about like [*], and [*], who were <i>mexicanos</i> but were, had, [*] had an Anglo-Saxon surname. And so, she always portrayed herself as being a <i>gringa</i>.... and she was. She was a halfie like my kids are. Half <i>mexicanos</i> y half <i>gabachos</i>.</p>	<p>27. Identity marker</p> <p>28. Avoidance of taboo</p> <p>29. Remembering an experience / Avoidance of taboo/ *Gabachos another word for foreigners; whitey; reference to French in Spain. *Names removed for anonymity.</p>
18:47	<p>[Y en la casa, ¿qué música?] Well, a lot of Mexican music, you know, <i>mariachi</i>³⁰ type music. The only type of Mexican music I don't like, and I'm sorry if you guys like it, is <i>taca-taca</i>*³¹. I do not like <i>banda</i>³². I do not like <i>banda</i>.</p>	<p>30. Culturally bound</p> <p>31. Remembering an experience</p> <p>32. Culturally bound</p> <p>*Taca-taca is probably a reference to how Mexican regional music sounds like.</p>

24:20	[¿ <i>Qué comidas recuerda, comían comida mexicana en la casa?</i>] Yeah, we would eat, we would have <i>frijoles y arroz</i> ³³ , ok <i>y una carne</i> . But I remember our Sunday dinners, and this was like about every Sunday, mother would make a roast, you know beef roast. But it wasn't, you know, and I stop now to think it was a rump roast, and that's not a good piece of roast but to us, we were having roast. And we had <i>arroz y frijoles</i> and a salad. We always had salad and of course our milk. And we would all sit at the table. It was never, I'm gonna sit here or I'm gonna go watch, go sit in front of the TV and watch TV. We all sat on the table. I don't really remember saying grace. But we did do it for Christmas, we would do it for Thanksgiving. We would all go around the table and we would each say what we were thankful for.	33. Remembering an experience
25: 29	[What about for Christmas?] Oh, we had tamales. One-time mother went to have the tamales made. Ah, they were the worst tamales. Oh, this lady, <i>Señora Nusty</i> ³⁴ , and they became LDS in their later years, they were <i>ya viejitos, ancianos</i> ³⁵ , but these tamales were so, so, so, so hot that even my dad, <i>que era chilero, le gustaba mucho el chile</i> ³⁶ , could not eat the tamales. We wound up having to, and the dog wouldn't eat it. Really. I mean, the dog took a bite of one and swallowed it and the dog was licking and licking its mouth and. [And their nationality was...] They were <i>italianos</i> ³⁷ .	34. Proper noun 35. Avoidance of taboo/ parenthetical remark 36. Anticipatory switch/ amplification 37. Identity marker
26:55	[What's the secret to a really good <i>tamal</i> ?] The <i>masa</i> ³⁸ , how you prepare the <i>masa</i> and that has to be just, so that when you drop a little bit of it in water, it rises, and you know that the <i>masa</i> is done. And instead of putting, you could put salt but then you put, instead of putting water you put the liquid of the meat after you strain it <i>pa' que no quede el desecho de la carne</i> ³⁹ , you know the white cloud. You, you put it through a sieve, sieve, sieve*, a strainer and then you use that. And I really don't know where I learned how to make tamales. And maybe just from different families as a child, looking around and doing it and the same with the tortillas. Oh no, I think mother used to make tortillas, but you know I would just, flour tortillas. But really some of the good food that I remember was from my father, my father was a chef.	38. Culturally bound 39. Remembering an experience/ paraphrasing *Vacillation in pronunciation
27:57	And so, my father could measure with his hands. He didn't need measuring spoons or measuring cups, you know. He'd say, "just wet your finger, get the salt, if you need a pinch. And then after that that's going to be the pinch. And then just get that off with a knife and that's your pinch of	

	<p>salt. And so little things like that. And so, when my father was dying of cancer I asked him for his recipes of different things. And he says “oh well, a little of this, and a little of that, you know a cup. And I says, “No, no, no, daddy,” I says, “I need to really know the exact,” “or just get your hand and put it <i>haz un, una copita asi</i>⁴⁰ and that’s all you need.” And I said, “No, no, no, daddy. I have to, I want to know the exact.” So, I said, “I’m going to bring a 5-pound bag of sugar and I’m going to put a sheet over you and then if you tell me, <i>en una copita</i>⁴¹, I’m going to fill it up, your hand and then put the measuring cup.” And he says, “Oh no G.D.* <i>me vas a tener toda</i>,” he says, “<i>la cama</i>,” he says, “<i>sucia de azúcar y me van a comer las... uh... los...</i> the [The ants.] there you go! The ants⁴².”</p>	<p>40. Paraphrase/ Remembering an experience</p> <p>41. Quotation</p> <p>*G.D. probably euphemism for god dammit</p> <p>42. False start</p>
31:30	<p>[Did you speak a lot of Spanish at home?] Yeah, no, yeah, we spoke Spanish and English. Spanish was my first language and when I was going go to kindergarten I didn’t want to speak English. My mother would say, “F1 I’m going to teach you how to speak English because you’re going to go to school next year. And so, when you want something I’m going to tell you how to say it in English and then you’re going to tell me the same thing.” And I’d say, “<i>Mama quiero un vaso de agua</i>⁴³.” She says ask me in English. “I want a glass of water, but you know what I want.” I’d tell her in Spanish. And she says I want you to tell me in English. I want a glass of water. Mama I’m too busy. But I, in one summer I learned English. But we weren’t allowed to speak Spanish because they’d say they didn’t know whether we were talking about them.</p>	<p>43. Quotation</p>
32:40	<p>[Did you teach your kids Spanish?] Um some words, ok. I was married to an Englishman and my husband said that he didn’t want his children learning Spanish. And I said one of these days the kids are going to come back to me and ask me, “why did you not teach me Spanish?”* And my husband always said, “well this is United States, this is America they need to learn English first.” And I said one of these days they’re going to ask me why they don’t speak Spanish and I’m going to tell him ask your father. <i>Y dicho y hecho</i>⁴⁴. The kids speak some Spanish but nothing like they should. They should be fluently bilingual and they’re not.</p>	<p>*Projected quote from her children.</p> <p>44. Preformulations</p>

Time	Transcription	Type of switch/ motive
0:07	[Tell me your full name and where you were born.] F2 <i>pero mi nombre cuando nací fue F2.</i> ¹ [*] because of my father and [*] because of my mom.	1. Anticipatory switch *Names removed for anonymity.
1:35	[¿Cuándo se vinieron para Indio o Coachella?] <i>Para acá para Indio...wait</i> ² , [*] was born in ninety sixty-six. Ah for a long time <i>hermano</i> ³ , in Indio. But first we went to San Mateo. We lived in San Mateo, California. And then we lived in Palo Alto, California. And then from there we moved to McAllen because I missed my parents. I made my husband move there to McAllen. And I had [*], he was born in McAllen. Yeah, he was born in McAllen. And [*] was born in Edinburg, and [*] was born here. [So, you have three children?] Yeah, I have five, I have five and [*] was born in San Jose, San Mateo, yeah.	2. Parenthetical remark 3. Identity marker *Names removed for anonymity
4:06	[<i>So cuando vivían en Matehuala ¿qué tradiciones tenían?</i>] <i>¿Cómo, hermano?</i> [What traditions did you have in <i>Matehuala</i> ?] <i>En Matehuala</i> ⁴ , well my father had properties. He always had properties.	4. Symmetrical switch/ proper noun
6:37	[<i>Y hermana, ¿su papá hablaba inglés?</i>] <i>¡No, hermano! Yo no sé cómo se entendía, pero se entendía con ellos y lo quisieron mucho hermano, lo querían mucho los americanos.</i> When the company moved to Laredo, Texas, they begged him, “Come with us José, come with us ⁵ . We fix passport* for you and your wife if you come with us. But then he went to talk with my mom and my mom said no. She said no.	5. Anticipatory switch *Note: Syntactic Anglicism
7:14	[<i>Cuando Ud. y su esposo vinieron, ¿qué tipo de trabajo tuvo su esposo?</i>] <i>Mecánico</i> ⁶ , right away. <i>Mecánico</i> he was a mechanic. ⁷ He had a mechanic shop in <i>Reynosa</i> ⁸ . And his brother and his father used to work with him in the mechanic shop. But then he sold the mechanic shop but continued to be a mechanic. He was a good mechanic.	6. Remembering experience 7. Translation/ emphasis 8. Proper noun
7:42	[<i>¿Y Ud. en ese tiempo tuvo trabajo?</i>] <i>¿Yo? No, housewife</i> ⁹ . Housewife, yeah... I used to work when I was single, a lot. In drugstores but after I marry, he wouldn't let me work. I had José right away, I had José, and then I had Jared and then I had Dolores... [Todos sus hijos nacieron acá en EEUU.] <i>Todos, hermano, todos</i> ¹⁰ , yeah	9. High frequency item 10. Sequential switch
8:13	[Y con sus hijos trató de mantener la cultura mexicana o los crió, así como...] Well, <i>cocinando todo Mexican</i> ¹¹ . Y	

	<i>hablando, hablábamos español</i> but then when they started going to school they came the home speaking English. ¹² So I started talking English to them and they taught me, you know they were teaching me from school, because they went to school.	11. Idiosyncratic switch 12. Anticipatory switch
8:43	[Entonces aprendió inglés con sus hijos.] Yeah, <i>con mis hijos</i> ¹³ . [<i>¿Nunca fue a high school?</i>] No, no... in Mexico I had had some, but it was just something like “table” “chair” “flowers” you know. Words a lot of words, but conversation, no. Here. I learned it here.	13. Sequential switch
9:11	[<i>¿Todos sus hijos hablan español?</i>] <i>Entienden hermano, entienden, no hablan. No, no, hablan. [*] lo habla un poquito más. Pero lo entienden, todo lo entienden porque</i> when [*] was working over here in the American bank ¹⁴ , she was working in a bank. They were all Americans and sometimes they had Mexican customers, so they called [*] “come and help us here with Spanish.” Yeah [*] used to work in the Bank of America. [She knows.] Yeah, yeah, they understand it, <i>hermano</i> ¹⁵ . They understand it.	14. Anticipatory switch 15. Identity marker *Names removed for anonymity.
10:07	[<i>¿Qué jugaban sus hijos, qué tipos de juegos tenían?</i>] <i>Ah jugaban béisbol, básquetbol y carabinas, juguetes que les comprábamos. Una Crisma le compramos a José un rifle</i> ¹⁶ , it shoot little pellets. So, then he was in the room, in a big bedroom and he was playing with his gun and then he saw a cat that was passing by and he shoot the cat and he broke the window... because he was shooting with his gun and he saw a cat passing by and he shoot it. Yeah. Bicycle, you know bicycle, riding bicycle with the neighbors, <i>acá por los neighbors</i> , ¹⁷ you know.	16. High frequency item/ Remembering an experience. 17. Idiosyncratic switch
11:08	[<i>Ud. mencionó algo de Christmas? Qué tradiciones tenían...</i>] <i>Ah bueno ponemos un árbol de Navidad, ponemos un árbol de Navidad y eh este hacíamos lo que hice ayer buñuelos, ayer hice. Ayer hice buñuelos. Hacíamos buñuelos y cookies de Christmas</i> ¹⁸ , yeah y luego les comprábamos regalos.	18. High frequency item
11:34	[<i>¿Tenían algunas comidas tradicionales?</i>] <i>No pos no más en Christmas ¿qué hacíamos? Lo mismo, hermano, lo mismo, galletas de Christmas</i> ¹⁹ . Yeah, and in Mexico when I was little we used to get a shoe, an empty shoe. And we wrote a note, “I want a doll, I want a car, I want	19. Anticipatory switch

	<p>that” and then we put it in the shoe and then we put it outside the bedroom. So, Santa Claus supposed to come and pick up the note. And I was real sad when I find out that it was my father. I really thought in Santa Claus you know, and I wrote him a letter and all of us put the letter in the shoe and then we put our shoes outside the bedroom and Santa Claus came and picked it up. But he bought me a beautiful doll. He bought me a beautiful doll about this big. <i>Y a los demás, otras cosas, carros, o algo así</i>²⁰.</p>	<p>20. Remembering an experience/ anticipatory switch</p>
13:30	<p>[Allan: <i>En febrero hay un festival...</i>] [Cesar: Oh, the date festival!] Oh, the Date Festival. Yeah. It’s here in Indio too²¹. [Ud. participó en el Date...] <i>En el Date Festival</i>²². <i>No hermano, no. Yo voy aquí a la fiesta que hacen aquí en la fair</i>²³, every fair. I go there every year. [F2 goes there every year.] Yeah, [<i>¿Cómo se llama el fair?</i>] the “date festival”. <i>Yo voy ahí cada año. [¿Qué es lo que se hace?] Pos allí venden muchas cosas y tienen ah</i>, oh wait a minute!²⁴ I partake in the festival with my favorite clothes and my blankets. I make beautiful blankets. So, I don’t donate them I lend them so that they can exhibit. Beautiful baby blankets and tablecloths <i>porque</i>²⁵ there’s a department where they exhibit all these things that women make. You know, so I donated them, I show them things that I did. [<i>¿Y en alguna vez ganó un premio?</i>] <i>No, no más me dieron una cosita un papelito dorado muy bonito y me dieron gracias por haber donado esas cosas, enseñado esas cosas</i>²⁶.</p>	<p>21. Sequential switch 22. Proper noun 23. High frequency item/ anticipatory switch</p> <p>24. Linguistic routine/ parenthetical remark</p> <p>25. Idiosyncratic?</p> <p>26. Sequential switch</p>
15:15	<p>[<i>Hermana, cuando estaban sus hijos pequeños, ¿Ud. les hablaba en español?</i>] <i>Sí hermano, sí les hablaba, pero me contestaban en inglés.</i> So that’s how I learned English, but they understood I talk to them²⁷. That’s the only language I knew. I knew English but not that much.</p>	<p>27. Anticipatory switch/ amplification</p>
18:13	<p>[<i>¿Ud. fue a la high school?</i>] <i>No hermano, no. [¿Acá en EE. UU. o en México?] Mi educación es in Mexico</i>²⁸ because <i>allá tuve primaria, secundaria y academia</i>²⁹. <i>En México</i> [So you have high school in Mexico] Yeah, <i>en México fui a la academia</i>³⁰. <i>Allá aprendí typing and English</i>³¹ but like I said I couldn’t finish I went to work in the drugstore because my father said “choose, choose <i>mija</i>³² if you want to go to the college, I’ll pay for it. If you want to go to work, whatever you want it.” But I liked the pharmacy. I liked the pharmacy and I made my</p>	<p>28. Idiosyncratic 29. Remembering an experience/ Culturally bound</p> <p>30. Culturally bound 31. High frequency item/ anticipatory switch 32. Paraphrase/ identity marker</p>

	<p>money. And then my father said don't give me your money, if you buy your shoes, your clothes, you are helping me. He said, "if you buy shoes, or clothes for you, you're helping me." And then medicines, that I bought on special price for my father was in the store you know like alcohol, <i>aspirinas, agua oxigenada</i> ³³ I bought from the store with special price. For my father's store.</p>	33. Remembering an experience
19:30	<p>[¿Cuántos años tenía cuando empezó a aprender inglés?] ¿Inglés? Como catorce, quince. [¿Y a los cuántos años empezó a sentirse cómoda hablando inglés?] Aquí yeah in the United States ³⁴. [¿Y a los cuántos años empezó a sentirse cómoda hablando español?] ¿Español? Pues todo el tiempo...</p>	34. Anticipatory switch
20:48	<p>[¿Cuántos años vivió en México, antes de venirse acá?] <i>Toda mi vida</i> since I was born, ³⁵ until I got married. [Como veinte?] Yeah, well I was 17 when I got married. So all my life in Mexico [Y de ahí se casaron y ¿se vinieron rapidito?] <i>Sí nos vinimos como a los 6 meses porque mi esposo quiso arreglar pasaporte. Y yo dije, "uf pa' cuando lo arreglemos." Pero rápido nos hablaron rápido</i> and my parents were real sad because we leave them you know, my parents. ³⁶</p>	35. Emphasis/ translation 36. Emotion
21:39	<p>[Y nunca regresaron a México?] <i>Cuando estábamos</i> in Edinburg, Texas we went every week ³⁷. Every Saturday, or every Sunday to Reynosa to eat with my mom or with my <i>madrina</i> ³⁸. But then we moved to <i>San Mateo o Palo Alto</i> ³⁹ and that's far away. So, we stayed over there. I didn't see my parents no more, you know. We used to come and see them every two years because I told my husband I gotta go see my people and you gotta go see your people. Sometimes he didn't want it because he said, "I'm working" [I don't care, vámonos.] <i>¡No, no, no! Yo le decía: "We gotta go</i> ⁴⁰. We gotta go see my parents and your parents"</p>	37. Anticipatory switch 38. Culturally bound 39. Proper noun 40. Sequential switch/ Paraphrasing
22:33	<p>[Y su hijo mayor, ¿cuántos años tiene ahora?] José? Well he was born in 1954, José [Y con él siempre habló inglés.] Uh José, yeah. When they went to school. [¿Pero antes de la escuela?] <i>Antes de la escuela</i> ⁴¹, Spanish, yeah, Spanish.</p>	41. Symmetrical switch
23:10	<p>[¿Nunca tuvo un trabajo donde tuvo que hablar en inglés?] Aquí no. [Indio High School, ¿no?] Oh, I worked in Indio High School. Yeah, I worked in Indio High School, but I worked in the kitchen we fixed lunch. In my line I had forty kids sometimes. And you put all your</p>	

	<p>food, and you gotta be real quick because they had only certain time to eat lunch. So, you had to give the food, prepare all your food and your money, your change. And then they pay you with the five dollars or with one dollar you gotta give them the right change and <i>rápido</i>⁴² ‘cuz they gotta go eat and go back to school. And then we cleaned up the whole kitchen, we cleaned the stove, we cleaned the kitchen, everything for the next day. You see, so I worked there in Indio High School.</p>	42. Emphasis
24:01	<p>[¿Y qué cosas preparaban?] <i>Ah bueno nos traían todo hecho, nosotros no más lo preparábamos, ¿no? Acomodábamos y luego lo vendíamos. Los chicos todos traían dinero and my son was going to high school at that time, but he was ashamed</i>⁴³. He didn’t want me working in the kitchen, so he came to the other line. You know when he came to my line? When he had no money. When he had no money: “Mom”. He thought that the job was not too good.</p>	43. Remembering an experience
24:55	<p>[Y tenía que hablar en inglés?] Oh yeah hermano, [¿Cuántos años trabajó ahí?] <i>Ahí en la high school</i>⁴⁴ <i>trabajé como unos tres años en la cocina.</i> [Y dijo que también trabajó en México.] <i>En México en la botica, en el drugstore</i>⁴⁵. [Y cuántos años trabajó ahí?] <i>Ahí en la botica trabajé como unos cinco años yo creo, ¿sabe por qué hermano? Porque de esa botica surtíamos las boticas chiquitas, era una sucursal.</i> So⁴⁶, <i>de esa botica surtíamos las boticas chiquitas. Era sucursal grande, era sucursal grande. Aquí tengo un picture</i>⁴⁷ <i>hermano déjeme enseñárselo. Cuidado con esto, deme esa picture</i>⁴⁸ <i>que está ahí en medio de las mujeres, ese es. Mire estaba la botica. Y esas eran unas cuantas de mis compañeras de trabajo. Era una botica grande.</i></p>	<p>44. High frequency item 45. Translation 46. Discourse marker 47. High frequency item/ idiosyncratic? 48. High frequency item/ idiosyncratic?</p>
26:30	<p><i>Y teníamos contrato, teníamos contrato with the PEMEX</i>⁴⁹, <i>surtíamos a PEMEX.</i> [Your daughter looks like you.] Yeah, yeah, <i>dicen.</i></p>	49. Idiosyncratic switch/ false start
27:50	<p>[Cuando estaba trabajando, ¿cuánto inglés cree que usaba en el trabajo?] <i>¿En el trabajo? En la botica casi nada. La farmacia era en español todo.</i> [Y en la high school?] <i>En la high school</i>⁵⁰? Yeah! English and Spanish in high school.</p>	50. Symmetrical switch
28:52	<p>[Cuando piensa ¿en qué idioma piensa?] <i>En español. Y en inglés. [Pero más español que inglés o más inglés que español.] Más español, pero cuando vienen mis</i></p>	51. Clarification

	<i>chamacos pues le I switch you know</i> ⁵¹ <i>jaja porque F2 no entiende, no habla nada. No más Jared.</i>	
35:02	<i>[Ha ido a México. ¿Qué diferencias ve?] Yeah, bastante diferente, hay cosas muy diferentes, pero en México my father had money he had properties.</i> ⁵² <i>I'm real poor right now compared to what my father used to be in Mexico you see. So, they still have the properties, they still got the properties. But my father passed away, you see, and my mother passed away. So, my sisters, my father gave my sisters a house to each, [*], [*], [*], [*] y yo</i> ⁵³ <i>[You have a house in Mexico.] I sold it, and [*] sold it. And [*] still got it, [*] still got it, [*] sold it because we were in United States. The three of us were in United States. So, we sold the properties and [*] got so mad. Oh, she was so mad. No, she still got her house. [She didn't come to the United States?] ¿Mande</i> ⁵⁴ <i>[She didn't come to the United States?] No, [*] and [*] they don't come to the United States.</i>	52. Change in topic 53. Anticipatory switch/ proper noun *Names removed for anonymity. 54. Linguistic routine
Track 2 0:00	Michael, Michael is in BYU [<i>¿Qué está estudiando?</i>] <i>Está estudiando</i> ⁵⁵ <i>uh, how do you call when you talk with your hands for different</i> ⁵⁶ <i>[Sign language.] Aha! Yeah and he is taking something else. Deme</i> ⁵⁷ <i>esa foto hermano ahí está arriba del television</i> ⁵⁸ <i>. Ese es Michael, [¿Ese es su hijo?] Ese es my,</i> ⁵⁹ <i>mi nieto, hermano. Mi nieto el hijo de F2 and he's in BYU right now</i> ⁶⁰ <i>. Right now, he is working in a big restaurant, he's working in a big restaurant. He only, he doesn't clean the table nothing he just takes the food, and somebody comes and cleans the table.</i>	55. Symmetrical switch 56. Foreign concept 57. Appeal/ control 58. Idiosyncratic/high frequency item 59. Correction of false start 60. Anticipatory switch
1:26	<i>Oh yeah, tengo a Cynthia y a la Cristina. Cristina y Cynthia. Cynthia is married to a sheriff</i> ⁶¹ <i>, American sheriff, and Tina is divorced. Tina just got a divorced.</i>	61. Proper nouns/ anticipatory switch
3:15	<i>[Estas son mis sobrinas.] Sobrinas. ¡Oh mire! Ajá, ¿son cuates? Parecen cuates ohhhh y ¿qué edad tienen ahorita? [Cinco meses.] Ohh wow ...Su hermana? Oh, she is busy.</i> ⁶² <i>She is real busy taking care of, ¿dos mujeres</i> ⁶³ <i>?... Hermano, fijese. No más esos tiene?</i>	62. Emotion 63. Tag questions

F3

Time code	Transcription	Type of switches/ Notes
1:46	Well I was born into a family of farmer, farming in the Coachella Valley. My grandfather was a farmer, then my	

	dad. And agriculture has been part of my life, part of my brother's now, I have three sisters and three brothers and just one brother stayed in it. And he's the management of a large company here in the Coachella Valley and traditional-wise like every Christmas you have your <i>tamales</i> ¹ and traditional is the National Date Festival.	1. Culturally bound
4:42	[¿Nunca ha ido al <i>Coachella Fest</i> ?] No. Uh uh it doesn't interest me. [¿Y qué tal el <i>Tamal Festival</i> ? ¿ <i>Si iban como familia</i> ?] Oh yeah, we used to, <i>oh sí</i> ² , and then I worked at the Christian school, we would get first place in the pork and then the green chile cheese. Yeah, that's a tradition also, the tamale festival [¿ <i>Cuándo empezó ese Date Fes, digo de Tamale</i> ?] <i>No sé, de tamal no me acuerdo</i> ³ . Yeah...Oh yeah, that's a big must. I mean they have all kinds of tamales now. It's not just like the pork, the beef, the chicken, and the chili cheese. They have pineapple. They have, even with raspberries, strawberries, everything you could think of, they have it. <i>Hasta de chivo</i> [¿ <i>De chivo</i> ?] Yeah, <i>la birria en un tamal</i> ⁴ . How's that ⁵ ? Haha.	2. Emphasis/ sequential switch 3. Sequential switch 4. Anticipatory switch 5. Linguistic routine
6:09	[We're your parents born in Indio?] No, my mother was. My mom was born here, my dad was in <i>Jalisco, México</i> ⁶ . And he came at the age of 17, started working out in the fields, you know, and that's where he met my mom because he was working for my grandfather. Aha, and so my mom was, you know, 8 years younger and she was going to school while he was working, and he told her, you know, he goes, I wanna wait for you, he goes, I'm gonna wait for you. And she thought... <i>este menso, ¿qué se cree</i> ⁷ ? You know she didn't even know who he was. And he would start telling her, you know, everytime he'd see her, I'm gonna wait for you.	6. Proper noun 7. Paraphrase
7:30	[Were you ever able to go out to the fields <i>con tu papá</i> ?] Oh yeah. [¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacen allá?] <i>Pizcando rábanos, cebolla, elote</i> ⁸ it was all kinds, any kinds of vegetables. And I would just go and look and when I saw some friends at school that they were picking <i>rabanito</i> ⁹ , you know, I told my dad, "dad, is it alright if I get down and go be with them" and he goes " <i>mija</i> ¹⁰ the work is really hard. And I go, "Oh I can do it". It looked easy enough, you know. Are you kidding me? The first ten minutes I was like ready to go get in the truck, but my dad left me. He wanted me to learn what my friends were going through. So, I stayed out there three hours, are you kidding? I was dying. You know it looks like oh it's easy, but it's not. Field work is very hard.	8. Remembering an experience 9. Remembering an experience 10. Paraphrase/ Identity marker
8:24	[What time did you start working in those days? At 5 o'clock in the morning?] My dad was out there at 4 AM because they would get there at 5 and if it was during the winter months	

	<p>he would put a big ol' <i>tambo de lumbre para que se calentaran</i>¹¹ every time they'd come in, you know, go in, when they'd come out warm up and then go back in. Uhum, yeah.</p>	11. Anticipatory switch
9:30	<p>[The people, <i>los que no tenían papeles</i>, how would they interact with you, you being born here?] Oh, at first, they didn't think I knew Spanish. I don't think they knew I was my dad's daughter. Mhm, and <i>no más era la gringuita</i>¹². You know, and they would start talking in Spanish and I was like "<i>No, no es cierto</i>" and then they'd turn around and "<i>ay sabes español</i>" and I was like "yes". Mhm, <i>parezco americana</i>, you know, <i>americana, pero soy mexicana. Mi papá es de Jalisco. Y dijo, "¿quién es su papá?", "pues [*]"</i>¹³. And then afterwards when I'd be at the store people would come up and they'd go, you know, they'd be like whispering, and I'd be like ok they think I'm white and then they'd come up to me and go "<i>Ud. es la hija de Don José Perez</i>" and I'd go "¡Sí!" And he goes "<i>tienes la misma cara no más le falta el sombrero</i>¹⁴." You know. Mhm. [That's awesome.] But it was. My dad, people, you know, all the workers, really good people. All of 'em, all of 'em and he had <i>cuadrillas</i>¹⁵ you know. Altogether, maybe, you know, like, back then it was about 500, 600 people. My dad did payroll for all of them and you know just but they were all great, great.... Yeah, they were. Faithful, faithful. And then if they would go sick my dad would send them home and, you know, he would insist on them going home.</p>	<p>12. Anticipatory switch/ remembering an experience/ paraphrasing/ 13. Paraphrasing *Name removed for anonymity.</p> <p>14. Paraphrasing 15. Remembering an experience</p>
10:50	<p>[¿Y se pagaba su día a ellos?] Yes, my dad would. Mhm, yeah. If they were sick, <i>si venían con una cruda, no</i>¹⁶. He would send them home, you know, <i>no estás haciendo trabajo, mejor vete, descansa y mañana te vienes y no tomes</i>¹⁷. My dad was always giving a testimony about why you don't mix that with work.</p>	<p>16. Anticipatory switch 17. Paraphrasing</p>
11:20	<p>[Talk to me a little more about high school.] I went to Indio High [How was that?] I loved it. Um, I had my friends like when I was first a freshman, but I always seemed to go with the sophomores or juniors, you know, I don't know why. And my friends would always say, hey how come you're hanging out with them but because I just did. You know, and they were Hispanics and not to be judgmental or anything but <i>el mexicano</i> um, <i>expresa más el cariño</i>¹⁸ you know, and you feel it, and I know, you know <i>llama, el cariño llama la atención</i>.¹⁹ [<i>Es lo que le dije a él. Si me muevo de esta área, voy a extrañar mucho a F3.</i>] Yeah and you feel that <i>cariño</i>²⁰ towards one another. And my friends, a lot of them were Caucasian and so <i>me llamaba más la atención el mexicano</i>²¹ you know the one's that wouldn't be talked to.</p>	<p>18. Anticipatory switch 19. Anticipatory switch 20. Emphasis/ emotion</p>

		21. Anticipatory switch
13:50	<p>[Did you guys have traditions in high school <i>como, no sé</i> homecoming, o <i>ese Prom?</i>] I didn't go to my prom. Um my mom tried to get me to go, you know, she said she wanted me to experience prom, but I didn't feel like I wanted to. So instead what I did was, you know, I stayed home, and we had friends over. Some of them didn't go to the prom, they came over. We always had people over. Always, always, always. My dad was the type of person if he saw somebody walking along the road and you know dirty and you know hungry, you could see that they'd be walking for days, he'd bring them home. And in the beginning, you know, we'd go "Papá, ¿qué haces? No conocemos a la gente." He goes, "mija necesita ayuda." ²² So I knew the girls that weren't going to prom, you know, <i>los más mexicanas</i> ²³, you know, I go "voy a tener fiesta en mi casa, ¿no vienen?" ²⁴ So we had you know at my house. My dad was always thinking about <i>el prójimo</i> ²⁵? [Sí.] Yeah, and so he would bring home everything, strays, you know, and people that were walking and going to L.A. for a better future, <i>y puros de México. Encontraba, como vivíamos en rancho</i> ²⁶ they would go on the outskirts of Indio because they didn't want the police or immigration to pick them up. So, we lived out in the ranch and we had a lot of people go by there. And my dad would feed them all, bathe them all, clothe them, give 'em money, put them on the bus and <i>vámonos</i> ²⁷. [Yes, it's hard.] Yeah you know my dad was a good man. He saw a lot which I didn't see back then I would just say dad you know... yeah! <i>Y mija caliente el comal luego, luego</i> ²⁸, you know, and I knew that meant that we were gonna cook. Yeah so right away we would feed them.</p>	<p>22. Quotation 23. Anticipatory switch 24. Quotation 25. Remembering an experience 26. Anticipatory switch 27. Linguistic routine/ remembering an experience 28. Paraphrasing</p>
15:50	<p>[¿Quién concinaba? ¿Tu papá o tu mamá, o juntos?] <i>Juntos</i> ²⁹. My dad was real good at <i>cocinando</i> * ³⁰. He loved to bake, yeah, my dad. He would bake all of the cakes you know with us, but he showed us really how to do it. I don't know how he learned but yeah. And then my mom was a real good cook like you know for the... <i>enchiladas</i> ³¹, and the <i>chiles relenos</i> ³² and all that. But my dad would do all of the meats. And <i>guisos</i> ³³, mhm. So, it was together. It was together, they made a team, you know, and my mom just accepted everything that my dad you know for the love of people and that's how we were raised. Yeah, I love my upbringing. I was happy.</p>	<p>29. Sequential switch 30. Symmetrical switch *Note: Utilizes Spanish -ndo form in place of the English gerund. 31. Culturally bound 32. Culturally bound 33. Culturally bound</p>

17:20	<p>[¿Tienes hijos F3?] I never married. No... I have my wedding dress in the closet, but I never married, and it was the best thing I could have done for myself, was not to marry, cause now I see you know who they are where they're at and I am happy to be home with my mom. After once my dad died, you know I did what I felt was right and that was take care of my mom. That was my mom, and even now I don't take vacations, she can't fly no more she has an aneurysm and they said that they pressure of the plane would affect her and we probably wouldn't have her. So, we haven't had vacations in six years but that's okay, I have my mom. When my time is here then I'll take a vacation but right now... Hispanic again you take care of the mom and the dad. <i>Es lo que hace el mexicano</i>³⁴, you know, and I truly believe it and I feel it in my heart, so I don't regret my life at all, of not being married or having children. I think that God was always looking out for me.</p>	34. Anticipatory/paraphrasing
19:30	<p>[<i>El catolicismo ha sido el más dominante aquí en el área?</i>] Yes. [¿Tus papás eran católicos?] No, oh³⁵ mi papá sí de nacimiento, pero ya llegando aquí de 17 años él conoció a un señor que era de aquí de la iglesia apostólica and³⁶ él es el primero que le dio la mano, extendió la mano y entonces my dad just³⁷ you know, se... le dio el trabajo³⁸ y my dad attended church with him and he, my dad loved it. And that's the way he was raised from 17 years on, también³⁹ with my mom. My mom was going there too so. Yeah so yeah. Pero no⁴⁰.</p>	<p>35. Sequential switch</p> <p>36. Discourse marker/ idiosyncratic</p> <p>37. High frequency item</p> <p>38. Parenthetical remark</p> <p>39. Idiosyncratic?</p> <p>40. Sequential switch</p>
24:32	<p>[Todavía hablan español con tu mamá F3?] Oh yeah, my mom when she had her first stroke, five years ago, um her first language became Spanish again, so <i>le hablamos mucho español</i>⁴¹. And then yeah, she remembers English and she'll go to English but usually it's Spanish right now.</p>	41. Clarification
26:30	<p>[Okay this question is kinda funny. How about when you talk to yourself, like, when you think to yourself.] Oh, how funny you would ask that because there's times where I think of what I'm thinking, and it would be in Spanish sometimes and I'm all like, how do I say that in English. There's, there's, in Spanish, I don't know, there's words where they come out more [<i>Tienen más sabor.</i>] Yeah <i>más sabor.</i>⁴² Yeah, it's true, it's true and then when you try to relate it in English it doesn't sound as good, it doesn't portray what you're trying to make them understand what you thinking you know what to say it.</p>	42. Symmetrical switch
28:10	<p>[How well do you understand English from 1-6?] I would say six, yeah. [What about Spanish?] Ah, five. I'd go five</p>	

	because there's some words in Spanish where I'm like well ¿qué qué? ⁴³	43. Linguistic routine
30:00	[And is that, I guess, <i>esa parte de la cultura</i> , do you think it's important to teach like, do you have nieces and nephews?] Oh yeah, they are my children. [Exactly. That's how I feel about my <i>tías</i> too. They're like another mom for me. Do you feel like it's important for them to learn Spanish and more of the <i>cultura</i> ?] Totally, oh yeah because that's our culture, that's who we are. We're born and raised. And that's who we are first because we're all from my dad. My dad was from <i>México</i> ⁴⁴ , even though my mom was from here, my dad, my grandpa was from <i>México</i> , her father, my grandfather so that's who we are. We're Hispanics first.	44. Proper noun

F4

Time code	Transcription	Type of switch/ motive
2:20	[Where are your parents from?] I never met my father. My mom had me out of wedlock. All I know is he's from <i>Sinaloa</i> ¹ , Mexico and that's where my mother grew up. I believe she was from <i>Durango</i> , ² but they traveled around <i>Durango</i> , <i>Chihuahua</i> , and <i>Sinaloa</i> ³ and they ended up migrating and in <i>Sinaloa</i> like the rest, everyone left. Everyone got married and left. So that's where my grandparents are from.	1. Proper noun 2. Proper noun 3. Proper noun
4:30	Where were we, where were we? Remind me, oh my God I forget everything. Oh, traditions. Ok, traditions, yeah so, we weren't like your typical Mexican family I would say, you know. [How did you feel about that?] I just didn't know any different. Really, we didn't feel, you know, we would grow up in the <i>barrio</i> ⁴ in Coachella. The worst <i>barrio</i> you can, you know, um live in. We were in school, the kids were all, "Where do you live?" "Uh, Sierra Vista" "Oh, that's the drags. Oh my God. You know" And I'm all like "yeah, I know." But we really didn't hang out with a lot of the kids because my mom was really strict.	4. Identity marker
5:42	[¿La gente jugaba La Lotería allá fuera?] No, no and we had neighbors that were from <i>Sinaloa</i> ⁵ too and they were, all the kids were born in Mexico and they didn't. They went a lot to the <i>charreadas</i> , ⁶ but my mom wouldn't allow us to go. She was very strict. My mom was very, very strict growing up and she had to be. We understand now because we're mothers now. You know, we're parents so we understand why our mother. We	5. Proper noun 6. Culturally bound

	would have totally ran over her if she wouldn't have, yeah and because of the area we grew up in was really crazy. A lot of <i>cholos</i> ⁷ back then, you know, the <i>pachucos</i> ⁸ that they used to call. And um, so my mom was very, very strict. [<i>¿Cuántos hijos tienes, F4?</i>] <i>¿Hijos?</i> I have four. [<i>¿Les hablas en español a tus hijos?</i>] Um, just when I get mad. No, you know, when my kids were growing up, when we had our kids, we did speak to them. They all spoke Spanish until they started going to school and then they all forgot it.	7. Identity marker/ Culturally bound 8. Identity marker/ Culturally bound 9. Sequential switch
7:16	[I have a question going back to what you were saying <i>sobre los pachucos</i> . Did you have <i>pachuco</i> friends?] I had a <i>pachuco</i> ¹⁰ father, a stepfather because I never really met my biological father. Yes, and he, well my father was a <i>pachuco</i> , a 100% <i>pachuco</i> but he was also a drug addict, but he was a very loving man. He wasn't a mean <i>pachuco</i> . Like I said he just had a really uh, a disease that he never overcame.	10. Identity marker/ sequential switch
8:04	[<i>¿Y él les hablaba en español?</i>] Oh yeah, he always spoke Spanish to us. [Was he from here?] He was from <i>Tijuana</i> ¹¹ , <i>era de Tijuana él</i> ¹² . But he was very, he had a lot of humor and he spoke a language that no one else understood but us because it was all <i>pachuco</i> ¹³ talk. And what's that, " <i>Mija, traeme los tramos.</i> " "Well what's", the kids, " <i>what's a tramo</i> ¹⁴ ?" I go "his pants". " <i>Traeme unos tubos</i> ", his shoes, no, no, his socks were <i>tubos</i> , " <i>y los calcos, mija</i> ", were his shoes and <i>vamos a, vamos a rolar</i> ¹⁴ . That means let's go, you know, let's go to sleep. And his car was the <i>ranfla</i> ¹⁵ . And so, when he passed away on the back of his obituary we had all the words that he, that he would say and the translation to each word. And we put our father was a real <i>pachuco</i> * and so we have a picture of him and then all the words that we could think of, you know, we just came up with so many words. And each meaning of each word [What did you say the word for <i>carro</i> was?] Uh, <i>ranfla, era una ranfla</i> ¹⁶ . And <i>balas</i> were <i>frijoles</i> , <i>chanate</i> was coffee ¹⁷ . He had a name for everything. Yeah, he was a good, he had a good heart.	11. Proper noun 12. False start/ Anticipatory switch 13. Culturally bound 14. Paraphrasing 15. Translation *Note: Pachuco is a name for gang members of Mexican-American heritage during the 1940's and 50's. 16. Anticipatory switch 17. Translation
09:27	[What was your first job?] My first job, I was probably 12 years old and I went picking, actually transplanting onion with my neighbors because my neighbors always, they were, I thought they were poor, but they always had nice clothes. And so, I would tell my friend, " <i>Ay</i> ¹⁸ you always wear such nice clothes." She goes, "I buy it myself." I go, "How?" She goes, "Well, I go on the weekends with my dad to pick whatever, you know,	18. Quotation/ Emotion

	<p>produce”. She goes, “you wanna come with us?” And I’m all, “heck yeah I wanna go with you.” So, on Saturdays I would jump in the back of their truck and we would go all the way out to Oasis, by Salton Sea, and we would transplant. I started transplanting onion with them, so I could get money for myself. And when I got it, it wasn’t even for me I would buy my brothers and sisters, you know. [<i>¿Y a ellos les hablabas en español o inglés?</i>] More Spanish, yeah because they were from <i>México</i>,¹⁹ but I spoke English to them too but a lot of Spanish [So the people you were working with were from <i>México</i>?] They were from <i>México</i> and they actually were migrant workers. They followed the <i>pizca</i>²⁰ all the way up to Delano, and you know Bakersfield, Fresno, everything. They would leave and follow the <i>pizca</i>* [<i>¿Y la extrañabas a tu amiga?</i>] Oh yeah, yeah. Because I became really good friends with two of the girls that were my age but I had other friends in school. I had a lot of friends, but they were my closests friends. So yeah, I missed them [So you would transplant <i>cebollitas</i>?] <i>Cebollitas</i>²¹, that was my first job. I transplanted <i>cebollitas</i> and then I worked in the grapes, I picked lettuce, I picked asparagus. This is all like though probably up to high school. Then in high school I got a job at a store called TG&Y in Coachella that was my first like real job.</p>	<p>19. Proper noun</p> <p>20. Culturally bound *Note: Pizcar is a Mexicanism used as a verb to pick or harvest crops.</p> <p>21. Symmetrical switch/ Remembering an experience</p>
12:13	<p>[What did the people that you worked with in the fields, what did they think about you? Or how did you feel?] They thought that I was a <i>pocha</i>²² ‘cuz I just spoke a lot of English and I didn’t know what I was doing half of the time. So <i>me regañaban</i>²³, you know but, [<i>¿Qué te decían?</i>] but no just, <i>esta no sabe pizcar y qué está haciendo aquí esta chamaca</i>²⁴, you know. And then the girls were like “F4 you can’t, you have to do it like this, you know. These girls were born doing that. I didn’t know anything, you know? And you know so but there was, you know, during, like when I started becoming like a teenager, the men were a little disrespectful. They were. They would kinda, you know, tell you things they shouldn’t, improper, that were not proper.</p>	<p>22. Identity marker</p> <p>23. Remembering an experience</p> <p>24. Paraphrasing</p>
13:35	<p>[<i>Cuando estabas en la high school, tenían algunas tradiciones o bailes que...</i>]Oooo, oh yes in high school. Um do I have to answer in Spanish? [Yes.] Oh, I do? En la <i>high school</i>²⁵, me encantaba bailar porque era en una época donde la música era, música como te diré um, [<i>¿mexicana o de los Bee Gees?</i>] no, era música <i>disco</i>²⁶. <i>So</i>²⁷ yo y mi hermana nos metimos en un <i>club</i> que se llamaba el <i>Disco Club</i>²⁸ para que nos enseñaran cómo</p>	<p>25. Symmetrical switch</p> <p>26. Proper noun</p> <p>27. Discourse marker</p> <p>28. Proper noun</p> <p>29. Parenthetical remark</p>

	<p>bailar <i>disco</i>. <i>Opps, it's ok, it didn't break</i>²⁹. Y, este, íbamos a los, durante lonche, íbamos a los bailes que se llamaban <i>sock hop dances</i>³⁰, y nos quitamos todos los zapatos y bailamos en los calcetines, pero pura música <i>disco</i> y <i>funk</i>³¹ y <i>you know so</i>³² a nosotros nos encantaban. Los <i>weekends</i>³³ nos íbamos con, en veces* me iba con mi amiga y hacíamos bailes en su casa porque la música era muy bonita en ese tiempo. Muy movida, <i>you know so</i>³⁴, so sí mucho baile. Y en la casa también. [¿<i>También bailaban música banda?</i>] No, no me gustaba la música mexicana cuando estaba chiquita. Se nos hacía, no sé, oh no, a mí no me gusta esa música. Pero mi mamá la ponía mucho. Nos acordamos de todo, muchas de las canciones porque mi mamá oía en la casa de nosotros oíamos mucha música porque no teníamos tele. <i>So</i>, poníamos música y ¿qué hacíamos? Pues, bailar. Y, pero no más en la casa, pero fuera de la casa era pura, pura música <i>disco</i> y <i>funk</i>, <i>rock</i>, <i>country</i>³⁵ [¿<i>Country también?</i> Interesting.] Oh sí.</p>	<p>30. Proper nouns/ High frequency item 31. Proper noun 32. Discourse marker 33. Economy/ High frequency item *Note: Weekends could be foregrounding to Anglo activities. *Note: "En veces" is a popular variable of "a veces". 34. Discourse markers 35. Proper noun</p>
15:24	<p>[En aquel entonces era mucho...] Era mucha variedad de estilos de música en ese tiempo. [La <i>Kim Carnes?</i>] Uhm, [¿De quién más te acuerdas?] oh los <i>Bee Gees</i>, um <i>Earth, Wind and Fire</i> era mi favorito grupo*. <i>Um the Commodores, Lionel Richie, the Cars, Queen, Led Zeppelin, Boston, The Eagles, Chicago, oh my gosh, America, Average White Band</i>³⁶. <i>Oh my gosh</i>, mucho, mucho música, muy bonita³⁷. Y a toda mi familia le gustaba bailar. Todos nosotros. Nos encantaba el baile.</p>	<p>*Note: Syntactic Anglicism. 36. Proper nouns 37. Emotion</p>
16:20	<p>[¿Todavía tienen familia en México?] Sí, mucha, mucha familia todavía. [Y ¿los visitas todavía?] Cuando se murió, porque yo nací aquí pero mi abuelita me crió. Y yo estaba muy engreída con ella y cuando me vine para acá tenía cinco años y ya iba a empezar el kínder. Y yo iba cada, pues mi mamá nos llevaba cada verano a Sinaloa y ahí nos quedábamos por tres meses. Y en el '79 mi abuelita murió y yo ya no quise regresar porque ella era como mi mamá, verdadera mamá. Y ya no regresé, pero sí visito a los que están aquí en Ensenada porque es más cercano y luego el problema de las drogas en México, en Sinaloa más. Um no, no me siento a gusto ir, pero si quiero regresar ya <i>I'm over it</i>³⁸. <i>So</i>, ya quiero ir a ver la tumba de mi abuelita y de mi abuelito porque ellos fueron los que me criaron. Pero yo ya no quise regresar porque iba para verla a ella. Yeah, yeah y luego a los seis meses se murió <i>my</i>³⁹ abuelito <i>so, yeah</i>.</p>	<p>38. Emphasis</p>

		39. Idiosyncratic
17:44	[¿Y qué canciones te sabes en español?] Ay pues muchas. Ahorita me encanta la banda de Maná, pero no sé los títulos <i>or titles is that how you say</i> ⁴⁰ títulos? Or los nombres de las canciones. No, no me gusta mucho la banda. Me encanta, me encanta el mariachi. Y el baile folklórico. Ay me toca el corazón.	40. Translation/ Lexical need
18:22	[I was in a <i>mariachi juvenil. Puros niños</i> , we were all little kids] Wow, how awesome. You know what, you know who has an awesome <i>folklórico</i> ⁴¹ and I need to let you know ‘cuz I know you like to go to little things like that. Desert Mirage High School. Oh my gosh, they’re amazing. They’re amazing. My sister Lucy was the assistant principal out there and she really pushed for this <i>folklórico</i> ⁴² group. So, I went the first year and they were good. They’re like “you know they’re high school, they’re learning” [Is she still the assistant principal there?] <i>No, no ya no. Hace tres años que salió</i> ⁴³ . So, then the second and third year, it was, they were amazing. They’re like professional.	41. Culturally bound 42. Culturally bound 43. Parenthetical remark
24:00	[How well do you speak English?] I would say a six [And Spanish?] I would say a five. Yeah, I do. <i>Me atoro</i> in some words <i>me atoro</i> ⁴⁴ . I’m like oh my God how do I say this? <i>¡Tu sabes!</i> ⁴⁵	44. Remembering an experience 45. Emotion
26:15	[Is it important for you for your kids to have learned <i>un poco de eso de la cultura</i> , the language <i>y las tradiciones</i> and those types of things. Was that important for raising your kids?] Yeah, yeah, it is! And you know my kids they love, especially my youngest daughter, she loves the Mexican culture. She likes to read a lot about; my great grandmother was a Tarahumara Indian and so she learned how to weave like the Tarahumaras. And you know how they’re very well known for their running and for their weaving and so she’s um you know learned how to do that. And she’s always just interested in Mexico and what you know, ask me how I grew up and what was my grandmother like, and what kind of Indian was she and what kind of, where did they come from? So, she’s really interested. I think she’s really intrigued with the culture and my other kids they love it too and um we don’t have like a lot, I can’t say that we have a lot of Mexican traditions because we weren’t raised that way either. It was so different. And you know, I look back and I’m like you know my mom never [<i>Tus vecinos no hacían posadas, piñatas en Navidad.</i>] No, no. I don’t think they	

	were here. I think they were in Mexico when those times came around. But we kept a lot to ourselves. My mom made sure that we were like always, we weren't <i>vagos</i> ⁴⁶ . <i>No éramos vagos</i> ⁴⁷ 'cuz we knew we'd get it if we didn't. Yeah.	46. Remembering an experience/ Culturally bound 47. Anticipatory switch
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F5

Time	Transcription	Motive/Type of switch
0:43	[<i>Háblame un poco más de tu elementary school. ¿A qué escuela fuiste?</i>] Para elementary school ¹ fui a la Palmview School ² en Coachella y después de ahí brinqué a la Dayland School, which was a middle school ³ . Y después de ahí a CV High School.	1. High frequency item/ symmetrical switch 2. Proper noun 3. Proper noun/ anticipatory switch
1:15	[Were there any special traditions that the high school had?] Um, yeah back then, <i>había</i> ⁴ that tradition that if you were a senior, you could get away with a lot of things, kind of like that. A little bit, I don't know if it's still the same.	4. Idiosyncratic
1:35	[The people that went to high school, where were they from?] Here, my friends were from here. [Not your best friend] Well, not my best friend, she was, <i>era de Guadalajara ella, pero que se vino para acá.</i> ⁵ [<i>Entonces todos mexicanos.</i>] Sí, todos mexicanos... [Do you remember your first day of high school?] Kinda, <i>sí, un poquito</i> ⁶ . [What was it like?] A little bit scary.	5. Anticipatory switch 6. Translation/ emphasis
2:32	[Talk to me a little bit about home. What what it like for you?] Home was really good actually. I had a really good childhood. [Where are your parents from?] My parents, well my original mother is from Mexico, but I was raised with my grandma, and my grandma was from here. [So your grandma is from <i>Indio</i> ?] <i>Era, she, nació en Colton</i> ⁷ , <i>pero, [y de ahí tuvo a tu mamá] en México.</i> Yeah, I don't know how that happened ⁸ .	7. Correct a false start/ proper noun 8. Emotion
4:18	[Do you remember the first prom you went to?] I went to the Homecoming, I didn't go to the Prom [How was it?] It was really nice, it was really nice. <i>Siento que</i> ⁹ back then*, it was more, I don't know how to, <i>más inocente</i> ¹⁰ than today. <i>Siento que ha cambiado mucho la cultura en ese aspecto. Como es ahora.</i>	9. Idiosyncratic/ emotion 10. Emphasis *Note: "Back then" seems to be a trigger for her.
4:50	[As far as traditions go, what kind of traditions did you have?] In what sense? [Like Christmas...] <i>Todo</i> , Christmas, Easter ¹¹ . [What did you do?] <i>Pues hacíamos</i> like ¹² <i>fiestas</i> , like food, family. It was a lot of family gathering, a lot. <i>Toda la familia se juntaba</i> ¹³ . <i>Especialmente en Navidad ella les regalaba a todos. Primos,</i>	11. Proper noun/ high frequency items 12. Phatic function 13. Amplification

	<i>nietos, bisnietos. Ella regalaba, so¹⁴ todos llegaban a la casa porque allí saben que ahí hay un regalo para ellos. She was, así era ella¹⁵. [What about food?] Food? Uf, tamales, pozole, menudo, buñuelos¹⁶, everything. Todo eso¹⁷. Sí todo lo que es la tradición mexicana, pues era la, aunque ella nació aquí, pero como ella vivió muchos años en México, porque allá conoció a mi abuelito, entonces dijo que ella agarró toda esa tradición de allá.</i>	14. Discourse marker 15. Correction of false start 16. Culturally bound 17. Emphasis, translation
5:40	[So what language did you guys use?] Both [So you went back and forth?] <i>Pues, en la casa hablábamos español, pero ella sabía perfectamente English¹⁸ * so ella me enseñó los dos.</i>	18. Preformulation *Note: Made a mistake. She might have wanted to say “hablaba perfect English” or “sabía inglés perfectamente.”
6:20	[So, did you work when you were in high school?] No. [So how old were you when you got your first job?] I got married and then I started working. I, <i>nunca tuve que trabajar¹⁹</i> , you know ²⁰ , <i>gracias a Dios²¹ que nunca tuve la necesidad, se puede decir</i> , you know like, but then when I got married, you know, things changed. ²² So I think I was about like twenty when I started working. At a medical center. Receptionist [What types of people came to the clinic?] Low income people, <i>de, gente del campo,²³ casi la mayoría de gente que trabajaba en los campos, que no tenían recursos esos eran la tipa de clientes que teníamos.</i>	19. Correction of false start 20. Phatic function 21. Linguistic routine/ anticipatory switch 22. Amplification 23. Anticipatory switch/ amplification
7:54	[What did they think about you <i>que eres una mexicana that was born here.</i>] <i>Pues, no, I mean, back then²⁴ no era tan, no sé, creo que en el tiempo de atrás era más, se me fue*, que era más difícil, más fácil que ahora.</i>	24. Linguistic routine *Note: Lost train of thought for a second.
8:22	[How do you feel about that word, pocho?] <i>Pues, not really much²⁵, no más es que pocho quiere decir que nacistes aquí pero que sabes español ¿no? I mean, algo así, porque pocho es como cuando no puedes hablar bien el español y lo hablas muy como cortado.</i>	25. Linguistic routine
9:33	[Were you able to speak Spanish to your peers or was that something that was not allowed?] Oh no, back then they did allow it more than now actually, I think. Like to speak Spanish. [And now not so much.] They do <i>pero como que²⁶</i> I feel like it’s like if you speak Spanish in front of people that don’t speak Spanish, that’s kind of offensive cause that happens to me a work a lot. We have to be very careful.	26. Linguistic routine
10:08	[When you were in school what type of music did you listen to?] Uf I liked Madonna, the eighties, yeah Prince. [You liked the Bukis too] <i>Ay pues sí, pero esas son en español [¿También escuchabas música mexicana?] Sí, los Bukis, los Johnnys, Ramón Ayala.²⁷</i>	27. Anticipatory switch

11:50	[Do you remember Selena? What did you feel that day she died?] Mmmm. [Were you a big fan?] I really wasn't a big fan of hers I mean <i>me gustaba su música y todo pero, no era como que</i> ²⁸ like ohhhh, [Was it shocking to hear that she died?] Uh, kinda but not so much because, I mean, things happen like every day.	28. Anticipatory switch
12:32	[Going back to holidays. Did you guys celebrate things like <i>Día de los Reyes?</i>] Like with my grandma, when I was young? No, not really, we just celebrated Christmas like <i>los más grandes eran</i> ²⁹ Christmas and Thanksgiving and Easter, and that was, <i>el día de las Madres</i> ³⁰ of course, pero yeah [<i>¿Y qué hacían para Thanksgiving?</i>] <i>Si es un dinner</i> ³¹ <i>hacen pavo y todo lo que va incluido en el pavo</i> it's like a get together, like family. ³²	29. Emphasis 30. Proper noun 31. High frequency item 32. Amplification
13:02	[What about <i>quinceañera?</i>] <i>También quinceañera</i> ³³ . I did. [Did you have any funny stories about your quinceañera?] No, not funny but it was, <i>pues</i> ³⁴ back then, well it's still, <i>¿verdad?</i> ³⁵ , it's still, <i>todo es tradición ahorita.</i> ³⁶ <i>Pero</i> back then it was like <i>la quinceañera</i> ³⁷ <i>era algo</i> , you know, you look forward to, <i>¿verdad?</i> ³⁸ , 'cuz <i>el vestido grande</i> ³⁹ . <i>Ya ahora no se usa tan blanco ahora se hacen de puros colores era</i> , back then ⁴⁰ , <i>era puro blanco que se usaba</i> cuz it was a <i>supuestamente</i> ⁴¹ purity, <i>pero ahorita ya no</i> ⁴¹ . <i>Todo se ha ido acabando pues ya ahora usan cualquier color.</i> [Did you have <i>damas</i> and <i>chambelanes?</i>] No, I didn't, I just had my, <i>no más un chambelán</i> ⁴² , he was a cousin [I know nowadays they do the surprise dance] <i>Oh ¡sí!</i> ⁴³ [Did you guys do that?] We just did the dance but everyone I had like, <i>se me hace mucho</i> ⁴⁴ , too much work, <i>mucho lío</i> ⁴⁴ and too expensive too.	33. Symmetrical switch/ culturally bound 34. Phatic function 35. Tag question 36. Idiosyncratic 37. Culturally bound 38. Tag question 39. Culturally bound/ Remembering an experience 40. Amplification 41. Emphasis 42. Culturally bound 43. Emotion 44. Emphasis
14:47	[Do you think it's formal to only talk to people in English?] I tried to mix them like both like, <i>si sé que habla español pues le hablo español si sé que habla</i> ⁴⁵ , <i>depende cómo se sienta más comfortable</i> ⁴⁶ the person, I guess I kinda go that route.	45. Culturally bound word 46. Anticipatory switch
15:28	[Did you go to Mexico, at one point in time when you were a child?] Me? I lived, no, I've always, <i>aquí siempre viví y aquí nací y todo.</i> ⁴⁷ <i>Pero me fui pa México a vivir como tres años cuando me casé con él. Y eso fue un cambio grande porque yo no estaba impuesta a vivir en México y toda la gente decía "cómo se fue pa' México"</i> like they couldn't believe ⁴⁸ <i>que yo andaba viviendo en México, pero</i> I did it, you know ⁴⁹ . [How did you find that experience?] It wasn't hard for me for me particularly, <i>no estaba difícil.</i> ⁵⁰ I mean, <i>estaba muy joven a la mejor no sé.</i> [Do you think you learned something, to appreciate more living in the United States?] <i>Sí, ve uno la diferencia, el vivir en México, el vivir aquí. La diferencia que tiene uno es más bendición estar aquí obviamente porque tiene más beneficios uno de todos los</i>	47. Correction of false start 48. Emphasis 49. Emphasis/ Clarification 50. Emphasis, translation

	<i>aspectos. Mira esa gente que anda en la calle, viejitos que no tienen ayuda y aquí hay mucha ayuda de esa, so it's</i> ⁵¹ , <i>es algo muy diferente. Aprende uno a valorar Estados Unidos.</i>	51. Correction of false start
16:42	[Did you ever go out to L.A.?] Not as much but I did [What do you think people think about living in L.A.?] In L.A? I don't know what they think but I personally don't like it. I think it's too much smoke. Yeah too much, <i>ay no sé, no me gusta</i> ⁵² . <i>Es</i> ⁵³ too much people and I don't like that I'm used to like the more, [The hot.] yeah, the desert <i>aunque está caliente pero está uno dispuesto a su desierto</i> ⁵⁴ , [The quietness.] The quietness yeah ⁵⁵ , <i>y te vas allá y es</i> , oh my gosh, too much smoke, too much people. Oh my God, the cars, it's crazy ⁵⁶ .	52. Emotion 53. Idiosyncratic 54. Anticipatory switch/ culturally bound 55. Sequential switch 56. Emotion/ Amplification
18:44	[At what age did you start learning English?] At what age? I think I was about two. [And Spanish?] Same, yeah. 'Cuz my grandma teach me the both*. So, she raised me since I was less than a year, so <i>ella me enseñaba los dos idiomas porque ella los sabia los dos</i> ⁵⁴ .	*Note: Weird structures in English. Syntactic Anglicism. 54. Clarification/ Emphasis
23:34	[How well do you read in English?] Six. [And Spanish?] I would say maybe four and a half. I do, <i>sí lo sé leer, pero a veces se me dificulta un poco.</i> ⁵⁵	55. Clarification/ emphasis

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