Code - Switching: Linguistic Aspects of Chicano Discourse in the Southwestern United States

An Honors Thesis (HONRS 499)

by

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Abstract of Thesis

This study of the linguistic codes and styles found in the Southwestern United States focuses specifically on the discourse of Mexican-Americans, commonly known as Chicanos. The concentration is on the linguistic phenomenon of code-switching in communities with high concentrations of Chicanos. This thesis considers grammatical, sociolinguistic, and psychological aspects of Chicano speech, and considers the effects of such discourse with regard to linguistic prejudice and bilingual education.

The author of this thesis proposes that code-switching is a legitimate form of communication generally found in areas with large numbers of interlocutors from different languages. The phenomenon is especially prevalent when one or the other of the languages is viewed as insubordinate or is connected with other stereotypical and derogatory ideals. This is the case in the Southwestern United States because of the disproportionately high concentration of Mexican-Americans who live in a culture which rewards only the language and culture of the dominant Anglo society.
Many residents of the Southwestern United States are of Mexican origen. These Chicanos, as they are often called, speak a variety of "languages". The codes in which these speakers engage vary based on a multitude of factors, some of those being: topic of discourse, formality of the situation or topic discussed, solidarity or ethnicity markers, educational and socioeconomic level or ethnic background of the participants in the conversation, as well as many other influences. Because of the high concentration of Spanish language influences in the areas in which they live and the dominant Anglo culture surrounding them, many of these Chicanos have aspects of both Spanish and English at their disposal; as a result, they may speak either of the two idioms or any combination thereof. Logically, many bilingual speakers are concerned with the role of languages in their lives. According to Baetens Beardsmore, this concern is particularly significant because these bilinguals are considered to be part of a minority group that the dominant monolingual majority considers "abnormal" as a result of their bilingual abilities (153).

Mexican-Americans have discovered that in order to be accepted by the Anglo society, they must speak English. However, Spanish is still most often the language of communication within their homes and among their peers. Among all of the possible means of communication at their disposal, one that is particularly characteristic of Mexican-American speech is code-switching. The term may be defined in a host of manners; however, it is basically: a rule-governed mode of communication employed by bilingual speakers that is characterized by switches between languages within a single utterance or exchange (Anderson 19). For the phenomenon to occur within a conversation, "... all participants must be functionally bilingual in each of the languages to an extent that would permit
comprehension of bilingual utterances as well as monolingual sentences in each language" (Lipski 9).

The phenomenon is characteristic of many speakers of Southwest Spanish who function with varying degrees of proficiency in both Spanish and English. Code-switching is a means of communication that must be not only analyzed with reference to linguistic systems, but also with respect to the role it plays within the entire cultural experience of Chicanos. This study will focus on the causes and applications of code-switching as well as its affects on those who use it and others in society with whom its users interact. In addition, the role of children and bilingual education within this bilingual culture will be considered.

Code-switching may be deemed a legitimate means of communication between bilinguales, and one of a number of possible codes in which Chicano speakers may choose to express themselves. Other options include: standard English, formal or standard Spanish, informal or popular Spanish, and a familiar form of Spanish often used in urban areas called Caló (Sánchez 174).

As Sánchez claims, "In the Southwest the presence of contradictory social and economic factors (which account for the segregation of the Mexican-origin community and the concentration of its work force in low-wage categories as well as the occupational and social mobility of the population) and the use of English in all formal, technial domains . . . have created conditions propitious for code-switching and for language loss" (141). Therefore, whenever one finds social differences such as the ones that exist in the Southwest, linguistic variations are imminent.

According to Peñalosa: "changes in a people's social structure and culture can be expected to produce changes in grammar, lexicon, and language use" (194). Since this is a region undergoing transformation, it is to be expected that the language of
the region should change as well. Consequently, within the Chicano culture the need for alternate mediums of communication, such as code-switching becomes apparent.

Some members of the Anglo culture exhibit negative attitudes toward code-switching. One reason may be that when the bilingual speaker chooses to use elements from his entire repertoire of available linguistic elements to convey a thought, the monoglot interprets the infusion of elements from the two languages as "extraneous" (Baetens Beardsmore 75). While many speakers realize that their speech is undergoing metamorphosis, some are unaware that they have been code-switching. According to Lance (1975b:138):

The language switching does not occur simply because the speaker does not know a particular word in one language or the other; rather the word or phrase that is most easily available at the moment for some usually unexplainable reason is the one that comes out (Peñalosa 66).

The ability to use aspects of two languages freely is hardly indicative of some inadequacy, but rather demonstrative of an extraordinary ability. A speaker may change languages for stylistic or situational reasons, or to emphasize a particular point (Lipski 11). Sánchez claims that in code-switching, "the speaker makes the change consciously, and the proof is that if a person is asked if he speaks Spanish or English at home he generally answers 'Well, we speak the two mixed up, English and Spanish'" (71).

Many variables affect who will engage in this manner of communication. Some of them include: age, topic of discourse, education, careful or spontaneous speech, and degree of bilingualism (Peñalosa 69). Not everyone who code-switches
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is entirely fluent in each of the two languages. Therefore, it is sometimes reflective of the level of the speaker's bilingualism. For example, if a specific lexical item is unknown or if one is insecure about the exact pronunciation of a word, a person may switch, as in the following example from Sánchez:

Lloró porque lo pelis . . . pellis . . . he pinched him (151).

Although completely fluent bilingual speakers also engage in this type of behavior as well, Chicanos with lesser bilingual abilities usually participate in intersential switching, in which languages are shifted at sentence boundaries (Lipski 2). Another type of switch is intrasential switching, which involves a shift in languages within the sentence, "... often with no interruptions, hesitations, pauses, or other indicators of a major categorical shift. An example is provided by the title of Poplack's (1980) study: 'Sometimes I'll Start a Sentence in English y termino en español" (Lipski 2). This type of language shifting is characterized by a smooth flow between Spanish and English is common in most Chicano communities.

The most popular location for intrasential switches is single nouns. For example:

I want to put the tenedores on the table (Peñalosa 71).

Switches involving subject pronouns, adverbs and coordinating conjunctions are also popular. The most commonly switched adverb is usually then, and the most common coordinating conjunction to be switched is and, words which are used as "... narrative connectors in both monolingual and bilingual discourse" (Stephens 164). A final type of textual switch is the tag, which involves an
exclamation or a tag in a different language than the rest of the sentence. An example is "Oye" or "Mira" at the beginning of the text (Appel and Muysken 118). Such tag phrases give a bilingual flavor to an otherwise monolingual utterance.

Even though the people who engage in code-switching may not realize, it is a rule-governed occurrence with specific restrictions. In 1974, Gingras asked a group of thirty-eight young Mexican-Americans who had attended high schools where Chicanos were in a majority, which of the following sentences they found acceptable:

1. The man que vino ayer wants John to buy un carro nuevo.
2. El man que came ayer wants John comprar a car nuevo.
   "The man who came yesterday wants John to buy a new car."

Of the thirty-eight informants, thirty-five found sentence (1) acceptable, while all thirty-eight found (2) unacceptable (Peñalosa 65).

From this example, one can see that some regulations must exist in order for all of these people to agree. Timm (1975b: 479) cites five restrictions against switching:

1. Switching between pronominal subjects or objects (direct or indirect) and the finite verbs to which they belong, e.g. *yo went, *they daban, *mira him, *les said.
2. Switching between finite verbs and their infinitive complements, e.g., sentences like *I'm going a decidir or *Quieren come are unacceptable.
3. No switching between auxiliary and main verb, as in *I must esperar or *Estaba walking, although expressions
like They were chopeando (shopping), in which the main verb is an adapted English loanword, are acceptable.

4. A negating element must be of the same language as the verb undergoing negation; so that, e.g. *I don’t quiero are unacceptable.

5. Longer noun phrases containing an adjective are generally not switchable, e.g., *su favorito spot or *su spot favorito (Peñalosa 65).

In addition to grammatical rules, the act of switching is affected by those involved in the discussion. Many English - speakers connect the Spanish language with the low - income, poorly educated members of society. Obviously one should not stereotype an entire ethnic and linguistic group, but because Hispanics have suffered from years of such discrimination, many Chicanos experience "internal strife and self - hate" as a result (Sánchez 18). This negative self - image that many Chicanos experience results in mistrust of those in power who speak English. Consequently, many native Spanish - speakers feel intimidated by teachers, managers, and others in positions of authority. Thus the Spanish language is assigned an inferior status which forces it to be considered, whether consciously or unconsciously, insignificant and inadequate for "important" communication (Sánchez 181).

This exchange occurred during a Chicano workshop on language. The meeting was conducted primarily in Spanish, but in the following instance the speaker felt it necessary to switch to English:

What is happening is that the vast system is swallowing us up. Excuse me for not having expressed myself in Spanish, but this is an important thing (Sánchez 151).
This speaker felt that his comments were "important", so he chose to not express them in his native language. The message here, whether intended or not, is that "... the Spanish language is for non-serious discourse while English is the language for serious and important issues" (Sánchez 151).

Mexican-Americans are painfully aware of the necessity to learn English. Those Chicanos who accept and assimilate to the dominate culture are normally rewarded with higher paying occupations and reduced prejudice. Considerable numbers of second and third generation immigrants are shifting from Spanish to English as their primary language because they know that only by mastering the language can they achieve the social mobility they desire. Because of the contradictory positions in which these people must live, with an apparent requirement to speak English in their schools, places of work, and with those in authority while simultaneously continuing to converse with their family, friends, and community members in Spanish, an intermediate step before achieving fluency in English is often code-switching.

Thus, bilingualism is often the result of living in communities which reward certain linguistic behaviors based upon the contexts in which the discourse takes place. Although the majority of countries who consider themselves to be global leaders view bilingualism and even multilingualism as desirable, many citizens of the Southwest United States consider the ability a disadvantage. In fact, in some cases, use of standard Spanish, code-switching between Spanish and English, or any other combinations of the two languages are treated in very derogatory manners. Baetens Beardsmore considers linguistic prejudice the result of discrimination and other societal animosities: "The majority of problems encountered by bilinguals are societally determined" (152). Not only does he believe the resulting prejudice has its roots in societal bias, but the author also claims that
the phenomenon of bilingual speech itself is a manifestation of one's community; "The very fact that a person is bilingual is usually a reflection of the society in which he lives. . . " (Baetens Beardsmore 152).

In the Southwestern United States, for example, some believe that bilingualism has been brought about as a result of the injustices experienced by socially disadvantaged populations, namely members of the minority migrant populations from Mexico. These people suffer from a myriad of prejudices, discrimination, and hostilities. Baetens Beardsmore extends his view of prejudice toward Chicanos from one based solely on linguistic factors to one encompassing all aspects of discrimination, "Much of the hostility manifested towards the phenomenon of bilingualism appears to mask sentiments more akin to class-related or racialist prejudice conveniently hidden behind a rationale of unilingual superiority" (153).

Peñalosa introduces the term "languagism" to describe the "prejudice, discrimination, and oppression" experienced by people based on the way they speak (180). This linguistic prejudice or "languagism" may be manifested in a number of ways: the refusal to hire a prospective employee on the basis that he speaks "incorrect" or Spanish- accented English; purposefully not providing Spanish-speaking personnel in agencies frequented by large numbers of Spanish-speaking clientele; or the imposition of non-Chicano standards of speech in a class with a majority of students from Mexican descent taught by an English-dominant or English-only teacher; the examples are practically endless. . . (Peñalosa 181).

Spanish-dominant students learn at an early age that their native language is viewed as a language spoken by second-class citizens and that if they ever hope to achieve any level of success they must learn English. Students are faced with the
demand by their teachers to speak "correct" Spanish or English only. Such notions of language "purity" often result in Chicano children being placed in speech therapy classes or special education courses simply because they speak something other than the standard language their teachers expect to hear. Peñalosa believes this treatment is such an injustice that Chicano voters should treat it with utmost concern. "To identify and curb the activities of such ethnocentric languagist fuctionaries," according to Peñalosa, "ought to rank high among Chicano political priorities" (182).

If Chicano students can survive the scholastic discrimination long enough to graduate; they do so only to encounter even more negative treatment as they begin their search for satisfactory employment, especially in white-collar positions. Peñalosa claims that discrimination in white-collar jobs is more abundant than in the manual trades; however, upward mobility is limited regardless of the profession if the employee reveals a Spanish-dominant upbringing and loyalty (195).

A recent example of discrimination toward bilinguals is the renewed effort of many conservative politicians to render English the sole official language of the society. "As an expression of their opposition of the use of Spanish in the United States," claims Torres," policymakers continue to be successful in designating English as the only legitimate language of the country" (142). Even if they do not receive widespread support to suppress Spanish with their guerrilla tactics, these political leaders use their authority to coerce many minority citizens into a quiet acceptance of their unequal terms in subversive ways. Some tactics these ethnocentric policymakers use include, but are not limited to: convincing these ethnic minorities of their inferiority, recruiting members of the ethnic minority to become spokespersons for the dominant group's causes, and assuring the minority group members that their needs are being met. As Torres states, "Dominant group strategies are aimed at maintaining the legitimacy of an unequal situation" (150).
Even though they are faced with such seemingly insurmountable obstacles, Lantinos continue to challenge the present system. The changes are being made slowly and with much prompting, but as the number of Spanish speakers in the United States continues to increase; and with growing support of other cultural factions, including the Spanish language media and certain English-dominant "radicals", the hope is that the dominant culture will inevitably be required to either create new strategies to maintain and legitimize its "linguistic, political, and economic oppression" or abandon these actions altogether (Torres 151).

Although these lofty proposals are desirable, they do not appear to be taking shape any time in the near future. Consequently, Chicanos are faced with the reality that they must function in two worlds. These Mexican-Americans are well aware of the fact that each language has its value in terms of rewards and costs for the user and they must be able to recognize and react to situations they face using their linguistic skills appropriately. In some situations, use of standard grammar and vocabulary in one language or the other is called for while other more informal situations may allow for any of a variety of possible combinations of codes, code-switching included.

One would assume that the Anglo-society would appreciate the advantages inherent in bilingualism; such as: the opportunities for international mobility and marketing of American products; a greater multi-ethnic cultural understanding; and the fact that bilingualism enhances language development as it gives the speaker "...two cognitive systems with which to manipulate a language and two cultural perspectives with which to control the environment" (García 15).

However, American society as a whole has yet to do so. Therefore, Chicanos who are not completely fluent in English often practice code-switching as they are perfecting the necessary English skills that will afford them the opportunity for
improved living situations.

Even though most Chicanos may participate in code-switching behavior, its use and the attitudes toward its use may vary greatly. Children who live in Spanish-speaking barrios most often communicate in almost exclusively Spanish, while those who live in integrated neighborhoods will be constantly exposed to English and will undoubtedly incorporate each of the two languages into their linguistic repertoire.

Additionally, these same residents of the integrated neighborhoods are astute sociolinguistics themselves. They quickly decipher the dominant language and social identity of the person with whom they are speaking then proceed to carry on a conversation in the appropriate language. In Genishi's 1978 study of four bilingual Chicano kindergartners, it was discovered that each of the children switched to the perceived dominant language of their interlocutor (Peñalosa 72).

Chicanos, like all people, have beliefs and attitudes about the way that they and others do or should communicate with one another. The choices they make may be based on linguistic or sociolinguistic factors. Within a single conversation, a person might be concerned about any or all of the following: the "correctness" of his Spanish or English, which language to use, and other people's attitudes toward each of these (Peñalosa 180). Peñalosa extends this list of attitudinal concerns a person may have to include the following:

1. His attitudes toward his own speech.
2. Other Chicanos' attitudes toward his speech.
3. His attitudes toward other Chicanos' speech.
4. Anglos' attitudes toward Chicano speech in general.
5. Anglos' attitudes toward his speech.
6. His attitude toward the speech of Anglos.
7. His feelings about others' attitudes (Peñalosa 180).

From these concerns, one can limit the main areas for Chicano sociolinguistic research into attitudes regarding: Anglo attitudes toward Spanish - accented speech; Chicano attitudes toward "correct" Spanish speech; and Chicano attitudes toward various types of code mixture and code-switching (Peñalosa 181).

In the Southwestern United States, Spanish is primarily an informal, oral language which predominates in areas of strong Chicano concentration. The idiom is evaluated, in part, by the things it symbolizes for those who speak the language. "It is the most obvious sign of cultural adhesion," claims Sánchez, "the code to resort to in the presence of English speaking Others, the language of home, barrio, the inalienable possession" (59). It is usually associated with the home, friends, the church, leisure, and other favorable experiences. Because Spanish is generally used in areas of high concentrations of Mexican-Americans its use obviously precludes intense feelings of language and ethnic loyalty in these communities.

One of the most common areas to witness this "language loyalty" is along the Mexican-American border. The feeling of loyalty toward Spanish is very widespread among individuals of all social classes in this area, where this simple assertion is often heard: "I'm Mexican, and for this reason I speak and love Mexican Spanish" (Hidalgo 5).

Conversely, because the situations in which these exchanges normally take place are considered "subordinate" by members of the dominant Anglo culture, they also evaluate the language in a similar manner (Sánchez 59). However, the negative attitude toward Spanish is not only shared by many Anglos, but some Chicanos also give a low evaluation to Spanish. For example, in a survey of
students at the University of Texas at El Paso, "31 percent of the Chicanos and 51 percent of the Anglos characterized Southwest Spanish as 'border slang'" (Peñalosa 188). Thus, although it has its proponents, the language is viewed negatively by both Chicanos and Anglos. "Nevertheless", states Sánchez, "given the existing social and economic conditions the continued presence of the Spanish language in the Southwest stands as a sign of both cultural and class identity" (65).

In the Southwest Chicanos have been deprived of formal instruction in Spanish for many years. Not surprisingly then, some Chicanos lack the knowledge of the more technical and formal styles of standard Spanish. Similarly, some Mexican-Americans have greater proficiency in English both as a result of the relative nonexistence of appropriate formal programs in standard Spanish as well the perceived value of the English language. In a study of Mexican-Americans in San Antonio by Janet Sawyer, the conclusion was reached that "if you can't speak English, you can't get a good job" in response to the question: "Do you think that people without a Spanish accent can find better work?" (Thompson 504-5).

Such English-dominant Chicanos almost unanimously shift to English when faced with formal or technical situations, or when they are in the presence of speakers of standard varieties of Spanish for fear that they will be criticized for particular conjugations or word choices (Sánchez 150-1). Similarly, English is considered the language of choice in professional matters. "Conversations with teachers and public officials preferably take place in Spanish," claims Lipski, "even when all participants are bilingual and even though some may have greater proficiency in Spanish" (12).

English, then is obviously the more prestigious language. The desire for social mobility and economic gain is often connected to the learning and appropriate use of English. However, although many second- and third- generation ethnic
minorities accept the philosophy of the dominant group shift to English, they usually find that: "acculturation is not necessarily followed by incorporation into the mainstream economy and society as the myths would have the working-class minorities believe" (Torres 145).

Some Hispanic families hold so tightly to this belief of prosperity and its link with the Anglo language that English may be the only language spoken with their children, even in households wherein the parents themselves have limited proficiency in English. While these parents sacrifice their native language in hopes that their children will be better English speakers as a result, the opposite is often true; the children have stronger accents because of the heavily influenced English of the parents. Tovar concurs, "Chicanos concerned with achievement have traditionally made an affort to erase all traces of Spanish influence form their English, in the belief that one should speak 'American.' i.e., English without a stigmatized 'foreign accent'" (Peñalosa 191).

Because language and culture are so closely united, many Mexican-Americans fear the loss of their heritage and consider the need to preserve the Chicano society of utmost importance as they experience the anavoidable infusion of the Anglo culture. It is hoped that with the rise of the Chicano movement and its insistence on bilingualism and biculturism, the dilemma parents face concerning whether to teach their children English, thus contributing to their future success; or to teach them Spanish, instilling pride in their language and culture, but possibly causing deleterious effects on their English proficiency will no longer be of consequence (Peñalosa 192).

All of these contradictory demands would clearly cause confusion for anyone. One the one hand, speakers of standard English condemn anything that does not meet their prerequisites for unblemished pronunciation and orthography as
"subordinate" and often refer to this particular linguistic style with derogatory terms such as "Tex-Mex" or "Spanglish". On the other hand, many Chicanos and speakers of standard Spanish regard code-switching and any other mutation of the Spanish language as "strange" or "foreign" (Peñalosa 185). Some Chicanos, however, are cultivating the Spanish spoken in the border areas and code-switched terms as markers of their ethnic pride.

Mexicans who disregard code-switching as incorrect do so for a number of reasons: it is considered an obstacle to effective communication between Mexicans or Anglos and Mexican-Americans; it is a hinderance to the goals of either the Anglo or the Chicano cultural groups; and its use promotes connotations of lack of motivation and proper education. The following excerpt is from an interview with a Chicano student in California in which he reveals his perceptions of the linguistic varieties spoken in the Southwest United States:

Dicen que no es español, dicen que está muy americanizada que
it's too Americanized esta, esta lengua de nosotros, en las
palabras de muchos dicen que no pronunciamos bien, o que
no deletreamos bien. La cosa es que la deletreamos al estilo
de nosotros y al cambio de nosotros. . . . la cosa es que ni
sabemos el inglés bien, ni ellos saben el chicano bien
(Sánchez 179-80).

They say that it [the Chicano language] is not Spanish, they say
that it is very Americanized that it's too Americanized this, this
language of ours, in the words of many who say that we do not
pronounce [the words] well, or that we do not spell well. The
thing is that we neither know English well, nor do they know the Chicano language well. [translation mine]

The reaction of this student, who is both proud of his bilingualism and upset about the ways in which it is viewed is not uncommon. Many Chicano speakers who practice code-switching feel frustrated about their "language", for it is truly a language of its own account. Others use devices such as code-switching to enhance their bonds of solidarity with those in their communities. "Ramirez (1974) mentions camaraderie, group identification, and brotherhood as reasons for Chicanos using distinctly American styles of Spanish" (Peñalosa 190).

Code-switching may be viewed as a means of promoting and maintaining awareness in and appreciation for the Hispanic culture as well as a means to unite Mexican-Americans. "Language switching is frequently taken as a sign of ingroup solidarity," claims Lipski, "... and may be a deliberate strategy to exclude certain individuals from a conversation..." (10). For example, the use of code-switching is a common practice with bilingual parents who use their native language in front of their minimally bilingual children as a "secret code" (Lipski 10). As a result of such behavior, children soon develop competence in each of the linguistic codes.

Children continually exposed to more than one language learn to function in each of the languages at an early age, often as soon as the age of three (Peréz and Torres - Guzmán 23). At this point, children become aware of the differences in interlocutors and their base languages. They learn to separate the languages of those who speak to them and to differentiate the use of Spanish and English according to the speaker addressed, meaning "they begin to use Spanish with perceived Spanish speakers and English with perceived English speakers" (Pérez and Torres - Guzmán 23). It seems almost as if this knowledge is innate. In fact, McClure's study of
Hispanic children reveals that: "... inappropriate choice of language when addressing a monolingual is rare..." (Baetens Beardsmore 79). In most cases, a child is capable of perceiving the adult's base language almost immediately. The choice may be based on previous experience with this adult. "For example, a child might speak Spanish to an aunt that consistently addresses and responds to the child in Spanish" (Peréz and Torres - Guzmán 23). Additionally, claim Genishi (1976) and Fantini (1974), a child may associate the use of a particular language with a person if this person is perceived to be more fluent in that language (Peréz and Torres - Guzmán 23).

Although children will generally be able to address the speaker in the correct language, they will not always be sufficiently fluent in each of the languages to converse. In Huerta - Macías' (1983) study, a 3 1/2 year - old Chicano child, Christopher demonstrates his awareness of the two languages:

Parent:  
Quiero que usted me hable en español.

Child:  
OK. Casa, juguete, troca, carro.

Parent:  
Pero, platíqueme en español.

Child:  
I am! Troca. You see?!

At a later time, while looking at colors in a book, he asks:

Child:  
How do you call brown en español?

(Peréz and Torres - Guzmán 23)

Children who are exposed to more than one language at an early age face both advantages and disadvantages as a result of their abilities. The main disadvantage appears, linguistically, to be that they often have difficulty differentiating the
linguistic codes in their environment. Also, some minority children experience psychological problems as a result of the confusion created from being bilingual. Child's (1943) study found that some of these children suffer from anomy (or anomie), "in which a person feels a sense of personal disorientation, anxiety, and social isolation" (Baetons Beardsmore 153 - 4). Child found that many of these bilingual speakers became confused about their identities and experienced great stress as a result of the conflicting demands placed upon the bilingual individual by the opposing linguistic communities in which he lives (Baetens Beardsmore 154).

Another problem the bilingual child may face is if he is placed in a school whose main language of instruction is that of the weaker language of the student. There seem to be no difficulties with mathematical or mechanical subjects, but when students are required to read in their weaker language they often score lower simply because the act of reading in a weaker language takes longer than in the stronger (García 12).

The rewards outweigh the consequences, however, when the bilingual students compare their intelligence test scores on both verbal and nonverbal tests. The bilingual students have several advantages: "1) a language asset, 2) greater cognitive flexibility, and 3) a greater ability in concept formation than the monolingual. . . . The investigators concluded that the bilinguals appeared to have a more diversified set of mental abilities than the monolinguals" (García 13). It appears then, that the bilingual student is often, in actuality, more intelligent than his monolingual counterpart. Also, once the bilingual student enters the workforce, he will find that in other parts of the industrialized world, people who are fluent in more than one language are in high demand.

With all of these apparent advantages, why then is acceptable bilingual education so difficult to obtain? As we have seen, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic
differences have traditionally been equated with second-class citizenship in the United States. Beginning as early as the 1960's when Spanish was suppressed in the public schools of the Southwest and when Hispanic children who insisted upon speaking their native language were punished, the attitude has been that minority group children have had to assimilate into the Anglo culture "at the expense of learning how to be ashamed of their parents and of their cultural and historical heritage" (Carrillo 1).

This negative attitude toward bilingual education seems to be changing as adamant Anglos and persuasive Chicanos continue to increase pressure on their communities to adopt more bilingual - bicultural programs in their school systems. Although there has been an increase in bilingual education programs, bilingual legislation to date has only focused on "...transitional rather than maintenance programs; furthermore, school districts are only too willing to establish exit criteria to move students form bilingual classes through meaningless assessment procedures" (Sánchez 25).

With regard to linguistic performance in the school, bilingualism has not been reported to negatively affect the Mexican - American's language or sentence structure development. In fact, in a 1967 study by Peña, bilingual first graders were reported as having the necessary skills to utilize basic Spanish and English sentence patterns. ... the bilinguals had little or no difficulty generating transformations in Spanish and English" (García 14). The results of the study were that the bilinguals used all the basic patterns of standard English and were even considered native English speakers in the syntactic sense, "because they used syntactic patterns much like English speakers" (García 14). Bilingualism, therefore, is not detrimental to the intellectual or linguistic development of the Chicano student. The ability is in fact an advantage for many students and one that should be honed to allow for the
In conclusion, code-switching is a phenomenon that occurs for many different reasons. The people and events in one's community leads him to code-switch. The behavior may occur as a result of situational or stylistic factors; it may be used as a means of cultural solidarity. Chicanos in the Southwestern United States live in a contradictory and complex situation in which many factors affect not only the language they choose to use but also their treatment as individuals based solely upon their linguistic code. While bilingualism has many advantageous qualities, the language the bilingual chooses to use in his discourse can have detrimental effects when it is linked with other ethnic, racial, or cultural dimensions.

The motivations for code-switching are not easily definable as each person chooses to do so for individual reasons. Additionally, "we can neither always be sure of the motivation nor the predictability of code-switching. All that can be said is that there appear to be linguistic, social, and purely stylistic reasons for code-switching among Spanish-English speakers, and this conceptualization of language choice revolves around consideration of the speakers socio-verbal attitudes and motives" (Anderson 31).

The role of code-switching in the future is unclear. If the majority culture's interest in cultural pluralism and internationalization continues, then possibly bilingualism and all of its implications (code-switching, bilingual education, etc.) will be viewed as necessary ingredients to a truly successful global community, not only in the Southwestern United States but throughout the nation as a whole. If however, the conservative rightists who currently hold congressional power achieve their agenda, not only will Spanish not be considered the "other" national
language of the United States, but it may be suppressed to a point beyond salvation. It is hoped, then, that attempts will be made to delineate the need for individuals in this country who are familiar with more than simply the dominant majority culture and who offer potential to enhance the lives of all Americans with their marketability and value throughout the other multilingual communities in the world.
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