



UNIVERSIDAD DE QUINTANA ROO

**División de Estudios Internacionales
y Humanidades**

**ENGLISH LEXICAL BORROWING AND CODE
SWITCHING IN SPANISH SPEAKERS LIVING IN
COROZAL TOWN, BELIZE**

TESIS RECEPCIONAL

Para obtener el grado de
Licenciado en Lengua Inglesa

PRESENTAN

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"But God confounded their tongue, so that they did not understand one another's speech and thus scattered them from that place into all lands, and they ceased to build the city"

(GENESIS II: 1-9)

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I dedicate my work to:

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Abstract

Language phenomena such as bilingualism, diglossia, language contact, code-switching and lexical borrowing have been the object of study in sociolinguistic research. In this particular case, the main objective of this thesis was to measure the frequency of English lexical borrowing and code switching in bilinguals' utterances. In other words, the study was mainly based on two different types of interference: borrowing and code switching. The subjects were bilinguals from Corozal town where English and Spanish are mostly spoken. Our sample was of eighteen bilinguals who were chosen according to three variables: gender, age, and educational level. The main instrument was a free interview, which gave us the frequency of interference that occurred in bilinguals' utterances. As this project is considered a descriptive and hypothesis testing study, it showed that English, as the official language in Belize, causes a significant amount of lexical borrowing and code switching in Spanish speakers living in Corozal. Possible causes of this interference occurring in Spanish lexicon are also described. Also a review of different theories and studies of second language acquisition is provided to account for such a phenomenon. Finally, the results showed a significant number of occurrences of English lexical borrowing and code switching in bilingual speakers from Corozal town. Although this study did not have a long scope, it aims to pave the way for further research on this discipline.

INTRODUCTION

Through the years, people made language evolved into all its aspects; however, they actually do not know where it emerged. Theological theories state that language is a God's gift; evolutionary and philosophical theories argue that language is something innate and acquired; biological and anthropological theories state that language was created from nature sounds by means of human imitations. However, if we resort to all research that have studied language, we will never find a specific answer to our question. That is why, researchers created a scientific field that focuses on language as a whole. This is linguistics, which together with its branches such as Sociolinguistics, Psycholinguistics and Neurolinguistics, tries to explain the wide development of language.

Another question that has not been answered is when the first language contact happened. Haugen relates an account of the Bible about the Babel's Tower, where people began to speak different languages as a punishment of their Lord. They were building a big city with a tower that reached the sky because they wanted to demonstrate themselves that they were the best of the world and they could create whatever they wanted. At that time they spoke the same language and they stayed in the same society. When their Lord saw their arrogance, he created several languages in order to show them that if they were able to do whatever they wanted with the same language they did the same with different languages. Since that time human beings realised that there is someone more powerful than they are and they had to learn other languages if they wanted to communicate among them. However, these theories and this account do not have reliable evidence that can prove that those facts are true. Hence, they cannot answer our questions completely.

Nowadays, some languages are used more than others are such as English and Spanish. On the one hand, English has overcome many obstacles to survive in countries very powerful. For example,

when the Norman conquerors arrived in England, they imposed French as the official language during their dominance. English was used in informal situation among people who belonged to low class. In this time English faced a difficult situation that people thought that French would replace it. However, few years later, English recovered its prestige thanks to some English writers such as Shakespeare who gave this language enough strength. Increasingly, English has spread English all over the world and has become the international language.

On the other hand, Spanish has gained strength in some countries such as the south of the United States and Paraguay among others. That is why this language is considered the second most spoken language around the world. During Spanish conquest, Spanish was the official language of many America countries. This language replaced many ethnic languages until some of them disappeared. However, Spanish has also faced situations where it can be replaced by other languages.

As we have seen, people have tried to keep their language as much as possible because it is part of their culture. However, when it is impossible to keep a language away, people agree to use a second language. This gives as a result bilingual communities, where people become bilinguals as well.

We know that in a bilingual situation, the native language systems acquire patterns from the second language systems or vice versa. These systems are grammar, syntax, morphology, phonology and lexicon. The first systems that suffer changes are lexicon and phonology.

The following project is focused on lexical system of a language, particularly in the variety of Spanish that is spoken in Corozal town. In other words, we describe English lexical borrowings and code-switching that occur in Spanish utterances. What is more, we chose this town due to the proximity of Mexico - Belize border and because of its sociocultural background.

Therefore, We aimed to measure the frequency of English lexical borrowings and code switching in Spanish speakers living in Corozal Town. We mean by lexical borrowings the English words that appear when a bilingual person is speaking Spanish. For instance, "*vamos a tomar el **Bus**.*" In the previous example, it is important to point out that although the speaker did not pronounce the word *bus* correctly, in this study we will consider it as a lexical borrowing. Code switching, on the other hand, can be defined as the alternative use of code when bilinguals are speaking. For instance, "*me gusta bailar, **you know**, es divertido para mi*".

Hypothesis

Our research is a descriptive study since we aimed to show how often and what English words are included in Spanish utterances made by bilinguals in Corozal. However, this project can also be considered as a hypothesis-testing study because we aim to show that *English, as the official language in Belize, causes a significant amount of lexical borrowing and code switching in Spanish speakers living in Corozal.*

Our interest in carrying out this study comes from many months ago when we were sociolinguistics students. We dealt with some language phenomena such as bilingualism and Belize attracted our attention as a good living example of this phenomenon. Spanish speakers who come from Belize have a particular vocabulary because most of the time they transfer the words from one language to another. They pronounce them with different stress or they just mix the languages. We present bilingualism as something totally alive, because it lets us see the interaction between two ethnolinguistic groups (Mexico-Belize).

As the presence of this phenomenon is relevant to any linguistic and social research we attempt to provide a wide explanation of language contact in chapter I, where we explain possible causes and

consequences that this phenomenon involves. Furthermore, the countries that face this linguistic situation in their daily lives. In chapter II we focus on Belize that is considered a bilingual country because it is influenced by the proximity with Mexico and other historical facts which made Belize has a wide diversity of languages. In chapter III we describe the setting, the subjects, and the instruments that helped us to carry out this study. In chapter IV we analyse our result as the main data to show that we have achieved our objective and tested our hypothesis.

CHAPTER I. LANGUAGE IN CONTACT

Through the years, language has evolved gradually in its physical way; that is, inside human culture. Different disciplines that have studied language in all its aspects consider that the study of its evolution is an essential feature. This study is essential because it could answer some questions that many specialists have made such as *How did language originate? When did the communicative system begin? Where did the language start? How was the language spread out?* etc. These questions will be there until any specialist in social field give them an answer supported by theories and hypotheses with tendencies in theological, evolutionary, biological, anthropological, philosophical and linguistic areas.

In this chapter, we will give a wide explanation about language contact, taking into account its causes, consequences, and the basic concepts that it involves. Besides, several points of views will be considered.

1.1. Meaning of Language Contact

Language is a symbolic element of identity of cultures. People are identified with their language because it is a manner of expressing which social group they belong to. Communication is essential to participate in any activity of their lives.

Language and culture definitely go together. When a society changes, its structure is modified too in different forms. In other words, language is affected in its systems such as grammar, lexicon, phonology, and syntax because of exchange of ideas, habits, customs, and knowledge from other languages.

The need for new vocabulary in some languages to communicate between two societies compels speakers to modify their native languages. People generally borrow vocabulary from other foreign systems to complement languages. Thus they can develop the society in which they live.

The meeting of two peoples causes language contact and, at the same time several sociolinguistic phenomena take place such as bilingualism, diglossia, pidginization, creolization, and language interference.

Language contact must have taken place for several reasons. The first one is when European colonialism spread around the world in order to have more dominated territories and power. The second one is when some wars started and people moved to other countries to be safe and they did not suffer the consequences of the wars. The third reason is migration that is seen as social problem because there are places more crowded than others, causing the resources to run out in a few years. The last reason is fashion and time because languages have evolved with new discoveries or creations. For example, computer language, mass media, Internet, etc.

All these facts were not always successful because there has been linguistic resistance among people. They were fearful of losing their roots and the dominant language extinguished their language. However, the fact that some languages are endangered is inevitable because languages in contact play different roles in a society's communication. As a matter of fact, a language is always going to be more dominant than the other one. That is merely what bilingualism involves. In the next topic bilingualism will be explained more widely, including the basic concepts used to describe this phenomenon.

1.2. Bilingualism

This phenomenon has been studied around the world by many researchers. Historically speaking, bilingualism began in Europe where people moved to different places to look for the best lands and find enough natural resources to survive. People founded new societies in the place where they arrived but when they met with other societies they had to share customs and most of the time languages in order to

be mutually intelligible each other. In other words, these societies are called bilingual communities and their members: bilinguals.

Weinreich (1968) defined the term bilingualism as the practice of using two languages alternately and the people involved in this process, bilinguals. Many authors took this definition to make it more understandable. In other words, linguists and sociolinguists redefined this concept in order to embrace all kinds of bilingualism. For example, Spolsky (1998) claims that when people have knowledge of some languages, different from their mothers tongues, and develop the ability to speak them, they are called bilinguals. Valdés, on the other hand, states that a bilingual is a person, who has more than one competence, he/she has receptive or productive skills to whatever degree. According to Haugen¹ a person will become bilingual since he/she starts to produce meaningful utterances whereas Diebold considers that a person becomes bilingual since he/she understands the second language, although she/he cannot produce utterances yet.

This phenomenon has carried both positive and negative effects. For instance, many years ago people thought that bilingualism was a handicap because bilinguals were not able to learn as fast as other people did. However, through the years psycholinguistic research proved that bilingualism was not a disability but an advantage because people could use two languages alternatively with different degrees of proficiency to cover the needs for communication between societies. Thus they had great ability to express themselves. Furthermore, neurolinguistic research has shown that bilingual uses both part of their brain, which develops better than monolinguals' brains. To sum up, being bilingual has become more an advantage than a disadvantage.

The loss of the first language has caused the vanishing of many languages. People who live in bilingual societies realise that they speak more one language than the other. When their first language passes

¹Cited by Spolsky, B. (1998). *Sociolinguistics*. Pp.97

from generation to generation, the native language is used with less frequency until it disappears. For example, the immigrants in the United States, when they use more English than Spanish, they start to lose their native language when there are new generations in the families. According to Fishman, immigrants will become bilinguals until the third generation because in the fourth one the second language will have displaced the mother tongue.²

Bilingual education was another effect of bilingualism. It started when children of immigrants came in to school with little knowledge of the official language. Teachers realise that those children failed the courses and they did not learn anything. That is why bilingualism was considered a handicap.

In 1951 the UNESCO³ met with some specialist to discuss the use of vernacular language in education. The arguments in favour of bilingual education can be summarised as follows:

- The first language must be used in the first stages of the school so as not to interrupt the academic progress.
- Children's cognitive knowledge will be retarded if the teachers do not use the mother tongue at the beginning of the teaching process.
- The personality of the children could be harmed because they feel out of context and they will not be accepted until they learn the official language.
- Children will overcome the cultural shock.
- The use of the first language to acquire successfully a second one is indispensable.

² Valdés G. "The Language Situation of Mexican Americans," in Lee McKay, S. & Sualing Wong, C. (eds.) (1988). *Language Diversity Problem or Resource?* Pág. 115

³ Appel & Muysken. (1987). *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. Pág. 60

These arguments supported the idea to approve bilingual education in places where it was required. However, there were arguments against this idea:

- It was considered a luxury.
- The cultural identity, the political unity, the social unity of a country will be promoted if everyone is educated with the same language.
- The linguistic situation is so complex than there are not enough resources to do a specific curriculum only for a few people.
- Many parents from minority groups are opposed because they will be treated as a stigmatised group.

The controversy of this phenomenon has created a wide field of study to several sciences such as linguistics (psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics, sociolinguistics), anthropology and sociology, which aim to understand and explain better the interaction between cultures and the problems of identity from different points of view. As this phenomenon has come up around the world it is important to review some theories that explain the process of acquiring a second language acquisition and the role that play the first language in the learning process.

1.2.1. Theories on Second Language Acquisition

Bilinguals face some linguistic phenomena -as borrowing, code-switching, code mixing- when they are in contact with one or more languages at the same time. Psycholinguists have resorted to first and second language acquisition researches in order to explain better these phenomena. The main theories that account for these phenomena are behaviourism and mentalism theories that were proposed by Skinner and Chomsky respectively. On the one hand, behaviourism theory states that knowledge is learned by a stimulus- response process, that is, language is based on habits. On the other hand, mentalism states that knowledge is acquired and learned, making a difference between

acquisition and learning. That is, language is rule-governed. However, what happened when learners speak other languages different from their native one and they transfer features from their first to second languages or vice versa?

Behaviourism theory states that learning a second language is as easy as learning the mother tongue because learners will transfer old habits to the new ones. This statement was based on Contrastive Analysis, which took learners' errors as samples to prevent future errors. According to Ellis (1994)⁴ transfer is performed as:

- Errors, which appear when the learners transfer mother tongue patterns to the target language, in this case the transfer, are considered negative.
- Facilitation is considered a positive transfer because learners transfer a similar feature from their mother tongue to the target language. The first language facilitates the understanding of new knowledge.
- Avoidance is applied in three different situations: a) when the learners know a rule or feature of the second language that they do not understand very well they anticipate and avoid it. b) When the learners know an item of the second language but they do not use it because it is difficult to apply it in some situations. c) The learners know what to say and how to say something but they avoid it because it could flout their own norms of behaviour.
- Over-use is when a rule from the first language is similar to one of the target language and the learners overgeneralise this rule. For example, when the learners add "ed" to irregular verbs "bited ". In other words, learners use transfer when they find differences and similarities between first and second language during the learning process.

⁴ Ellis, R. 1994. *The Study of Second Language Acquisition*. Pp. 301-306

This theory takes the first language transfer as communication strategy rather than learning strategy (Newmark, Reibel and Krashen)⁵ because the L1 will be used to receive messages or to produce output. Corder (1983)⁶ views this communication strategy as "borrowing" because it is a feature of language use. Moreover, he claims that transfer in communication is not only caused by learner's desire to understand or perform messages but it can lead to learning strategy, which will be explained by mentalism theory.

Mentalism theory takes hypothesis testing to explain that learning transfer is developed by hypotheses that learners produce to evaluate them. Hypothesis-testing is a form of explaining language acquisition by means of a trigger (language acquisition device) that Chomsky stated in innate *Universal Grammar* that humans have.

Selinker⁷, based on this theory, states that learners produce a kind of *Interlanguage* when they are acquiring a second language. This interlanguage is described as a structured system that learners build in the learning process and according to Nemser (1971), interlanguage is different from L1 to L2 systems.

According to Selinker⁸ Interlanguage attends to five processes that work in this stage. These are 1) language transfer, when the first language interfere; 2) Over-generalisation of target language rules; 3) transfer of training, when learners acquire rules into their system by means of instructions; 4) strategies of L2 learning; and 5) strategies of L2 communication. These five processes reduce the learning burden to learners in order that they limit the number of hypotheses and make a simplification of the new system.

Selinker states that learners do not reach the end of the target language because their interlanguage stop their learning when they use

⁵ Ellis, R. (1994). Op.cit. Pag. 314.

⁶ Ellis, R. (1994). Op.cit. Pp. 336, 337.

⁷ Cited by Ellis, R. (1985). *Understanding Second Language Acquisition*. Pag.47

⁸ Cited by Ellis, R. (1985). Op. Cit. Pag. 48

rules that do not belong to those of the target language, Selinker defines this process as *fossilisation*. This process can be correct when learners have assumed the same rules of the target language while fossilisation will be an error when learners assume rules different from the target language.

Although interlanguage is a system very different from the L1 and L2 systems, it has its own features. The first characteristic is that it is *permeable* because the rules created in this stage are flexible to be corrected during the learning process. The second one is that it is *dynamic* because it changes through the time, following a straight line without jumping any step. And the last one is that it is *systematic* because it supports its rules in an existing system created by itself.⁹

Krashen¹⁰ claims that the first language does not interfere in the acquisition of a second one. Learners resort to their first language in order to understand a rule of the target language. When they produce utterances from their first language, they integrate them into the target language, making small corrections with the help of what Krashen calls the Monitor. This monitor was defined as the device that learners use to correct their performance while they are acquiring knowledge.

In general, bilinguals' errors that appear in their performance are not always caused by interference of their first language but they are caused by other factors that are out of control of the learners. One of these factors can be the degrees of proficiency that they have in each language and the type of bilinguals that they are.

1.2.2. Degrees of Bilingualism

The degree of proficiency that bilinguals have is relative. In fact, there is no a specific test that can measure the exact proficiency that bilinguals have in each of their languages. In other words, bilinguals' skills in each language will be variable because of other factors that are

⁹ Selinker Cited by Ellis, R. (1985). Op. Cit. Pp. 50, 51.

¹⁰ Cited by Ellis, R. (1985). Op. Cit. Pag. 263.

involved in their proficiency. Those factors are the use of each language in specific functions (reading a newspaper, praying, counting) speakers' abilities to learn a language, specialisation in some specific topics, attitude towards each language, etc.

Some researchers talk slightly about this topic because of its relativity. However these authors make general classifications so as to have an idea how bilinguals' utterances could be measured. Grimes (1986)¹¹ identifies some degrees of bilingualism, which are the following:

1. *Elementary proficiency*. When the bilingual is able to manage travel needs and courtesy requirements.
2. *Limited working proficiency*. When the bilingual is able to use social routine vocabulary and limited work requirements.
3. *Professional proficiency*. When bilinguals are able to speak in formal and informal situations with sufficient structural accuracy and vocabulary.
4. *Distinguished proficiency*. When bilinguals speak very fluently and accurately in all professional needs.
5. *Native or bilingual proficiency*. When bilinguals are educated native speakers.

Spolsky¹² states that bilinguals' ability to use two languages may vary because of functions or domains that they have in each language, also because they master one language more than the other one or they only master one or two skills of each language. However, there can be balanced bilingualism when bilinguals have strong competence in both languages.

Moreover, the functions that a bilingual can develop are internal: counting, doing arithmetic, dreaming, cursing or praying silently. These

¹¹ Silzer, P.J. *Working with Language: an introduction to Language and Linguistics (1969)*. Department of TESOL and Applied Linguistics School of Intercultural Studies. Available: <http://people.biola.edu/faculty/petes/linguistics/www1.htm>

¹² Spolsky, B. (1998). *Op. Cit.* Pp. 45-47

functions can also be external such as reading a newspaper daily, carrying on an informal conversation, giving a lecture or having the ability to translate from one language to the other (this ability is not developed to all bilinguals). The domains are concepts that a bilingual can use in their speech. For example, Spolsky divides these domains in three parts:

LOCATION	ROLE-RELATIONSHIPS	TOPICS
Home	Mother, father, son, daughter, etc.	Domestic, personal, etc.
School	teacher, student, principal.	Social greetings, educational.

These domains will vary in bilinguals' languages because they likely want to use one language for a domain and the other language for a different domain. This author claims that these domains will be in conflict when the bilinguals have to choose what language to use in different situations. In other words, this fact will produce code switching, which we will talk about later on.

In contrast with Spolsky, Valdés¹³ argues that a bilingual cannot have the same proficiency in both languages because they would need to have similar experiences in both languages. She explains that bilinguals can be more dominant in one language than in the other, at the beginning, but during their lives their dominance will change because they can be using more the language that they did not often use before. She only points out that bilinguals can be *slightly* bilinguals or *very* bilinguals, having varied degrees of proficiency in both languages. As many other researchers claim, she also argues that bilinguals' degrees of proficiency is relative.

Apart from considering the different degrees of bilingualism, linguists also take into account its different types as a result of the circumstances in which this phenomenon takes place.

¹³ Ibidem. Pp. 114, 115.

1.2.3. Types of Bilingualism

Bilingualism is classified according to the way that bilinguals acquired the target language and the use that they give it within their social context. That is, the type is commonly determined by the language acquisition situation.

Weinreich, who was one of the first linguists in studying this phenomenon, classified bilinguals as *coordinative* and *subordinative*. Other authors such as Haugen and Grimes identify this second type – (subordinative) as compound bilingual. This can be summarised as follows:

- Co-ordinate bilinguals are those who learn L1 and L2 in separate environments and they keep them separately.
- Compound bilinguals are when they learn L1 and L2 in the same environment and they use them constantly.

Valdés¹⁴ also identifies the same types of Bilingualism but with different concepts:

- *Elite bilingualism* is given when people want to learn a second language by means of a formal way (instruction) or an informal way (conversations with native speakers of the target language).
- *Natural Bilingualism* takes place when people learn a second language because their native language is not enough for their communicative needs. For instance, immigrant groups are included in this type of bilingualism.

Lambert¹⁵ also defines the same types of bilingualism as:

¹⁴ Valdés, G. (1988). Op. Cit. Pp. 113, 114

¹⁵ Appel & Muysken. (1987). Op. Cit. Pag. 102

- *Additive Bilingualism* is when people add a second language because it gives them prestigious or simply because that language is often used in the society. This kind of bilingualism does not put the native language in danger of being extinguished.
- *Subtractive Bilingualism* takes place when immigrants have to learn the mainstream language of the community they live in. In this case, the skills of the first language are in danger of being lost due to the dominance of the target language.

As can be seen, researchers have been using different concepts to refer to the same phenomenon. That is, they have defined the same type of bilingualism but from different perspectives.

To identify what kind of bilingualism exists in a given society it is necessary to study the environment where it exists. Thus, bilingualism phenomenon will be understood as a whole thing and how it has been spread around the world.

1.2.4. Situations of bilingualism around the world.

Through the years, this phenomenon has been in different places where it has been accepted by many countries as a consequence of language contact. Although, there are countries where two languages are official, some people even reject the idea of using both languages because of discrimination of minority groups.

On the one hand, the European continent was the place where bilingualism was born because of the proximity of each country and the "free" borders that exist among them. For instance, in the Netherlands, the interaction between several languages have caused people to use two-or three languages such as French, Dutch, German, and other languages, giving as a result both a multilingual and multicultural community. Other cases of Bilingualism are given in African where several languages are spoken as English, French, and Dutch mainly and other languages because of the conquest of powerful countries. As

Africa was an important place to trade slaves and does business people became bilingual easily with the new languages.

On the other hand, in the Americas, bilingualism exists in many countries. For instance, Canada, the United States, Mexico, Belize, Paraguay, etc. As a matter of fact, the French firstly conquered Canada, after the English came to settle down their customs and their language. French and English formed communities called provinces separately to avoid conflicts between them. However, the rivalry led them to the appointment of a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963¹⁶. In 1965 ¹⁷Canada achieved its independence and in 1969 Bilingualism was established as an official policy. Although, Canada is a bilingual country officially, the tensions between English and French continued. This fact is noticed in the percentages of French spoken in Canada compared with English. The total population in Canada is approximately 28,528,125 inhabitants. 20,921,770 Canadians (73.4%) are English speakers and 6,890,880 (24.6%) form the French-speaking population ¹⁸

The United States is another country where this phenomenon has been present for many years. Although, English native speakers claim that this country is a monolingual community, many sociolinguists argue that it has never been. A wide variety of languages were in contact with the flow of immigrations such as Italians, Germans, French, Polishes, Yiddishes, Danishes, Vietnamese, etc. (Grosjean)¹⁹. Furthermore Chaika²⁰states that the number of languages spoken in the United States has widely increased since 1976. This is the case of Spanish. For example, in March 1985 there were 16.9 million speakers

¹⁶ Haugen, E. "Blessing of Babel: Bilingualism and Language Planning, Problems and Pleasures," in Fishman, J.A. (1987)(ed.).*Contributions to the Sociology of Language* Pag.14

¹⁷ Lastra, Y.1992. *Sociolingüística para hispanoamericanos: una introducción*. Pp.68,69.

¹⁸ Statistics Canada, 1996 Census, First Official Language Spoken as defined by official Languages Regulations. Available:www.ocol_clo.gc.ca/map_e.htm

¹⁹ Cited by Chaika, E.(1994) *Language: The Social Mirror*(3ra. De.). Pág.35

²⁰ Chaika, E. 1994. Op. Cit. Pag. 35

of Spanish origin in this country with 10.8 million of these people of Mexican origin.

There are several terms to describe the people who have Mexican roots but who live in the U.S.A. These are Mexican-Americans, Mexican, Mexicano, Chicano, Latino, Hispanic, and Spanish American. Actually, the states, where Mexicans live, belonged to Mexico before the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848. In other words, Mexicans have lived in their own land but under another government.

The linguistic situations in this country have caught the attention of many sociolinguists and linguists. Valdés classifies Mexican origin immigrants in three types to show that Spanish and English are used frequently because of the amount of immigrants that come to the U.S.A. Generally, few of them leave this country. These types are described as follows:

- *Permanent immigrants* are those who stay in the U.S.A. for a long time.
- *Short-term immigrants* are those who travel to this country for a short time (10-12 weeks approximately) and then return to Mexico.
- *Cyclical immigrants* are those who travel alone to this country and they return regularly because their families are in Mexico.

Thus, the use of Spanish in this country is inevitable because Mexican feel part of some states, which in the past belonged to Mexico and their history is buried there.

Mexico is another example of bilingualism phenomenon. Historically, there were several cultures with different languages such as Maya, Nahuatl, Otomi, Zapoteco, etc. Those languages, through the years, were less used because Spanish became the official language of Mexico.

At first, Spanish was taught to rich and important people. Afterwards, it began to spread out in each part of Mexico because education was led through one language -Spanish- whereas many indigenous languages were forbidden by antagonistic groups.

When president Cardenas was elected,²¹ the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia and the Department of Antropologia del Intituto Politécnico y el Instituto de Estudios Lingüísticos de la Universidad Nacional were founded in this period in order to defend the role of the indigenous languages in the Mexican society. However, when the president ended his administration, his sucesors did not continue with the project of teaching these languages.

In 1948, the Intituto Nacional Indigenista was created to establish the bilingual education system. The objective of this kind of education was to decrease the illiteracy between ethnic groups who did not speak Spanish. Nowadays, this goal has not been achieved yet. Some linguists state that these languages are only learned when the children interact in the social context of those languages whereas Spanish is learned mainly at school.

Paraguay experiences a similar situation, where the main languages spoken there are Guarani and Spanish, the former is considered the national language and the latter the official one.²² With the arrival of the Spanish conquerors, the mastery of the Spanish began to spread all over Paraguay, causing that education and the literature were in Spanish. The rivalry against Guarani was also showed in this country. According to Lastra bilingualism develops in people from 15 to 44 years old. Old people are more monolingual in Guarani and bilinguals are used to using this language after certain age.²³

In fact, when two languages or more are spoken in a bilingual society, the rivalry between them begins when people consider a language less valuable than the other one, giving as a result the death of languages. Optimistically speaking language contact also promotes

²¹ Lestrá, Y.(1992). Op. Cit. Pag. 99,100

²² Lastra, Y.(1992). Op. Cit. Pag.147

²³ Lastra, Y.(1992). Op. Cit. Pag. 152

mutual language enrichment. This aspect will be discussed in the following section.

1.3. Key issues on Language Contact

Language in Contact involves situations that have been defined by linguists as phenomena. Spolsky (1998) mentions that bilingualism is the first consequence of language in contact. The domains of two languages cause people to use both languages for different functions such as diglossia, pidginization and creolization. Meanwhile, when people have interference, they unintentionally produce semantic extension, borrowing, code switching, code mixing, and calque. All these consequences of language contact will be defined in the following topics.

1.3.1. Diglossia.

This term was taken from French, where France's situations were similar to those that Ferguson described in his work. He stated that *diglossia* exists when two varieties of a language are used side by side in a society with different roles. In other words, one variety is spoken in formal institutions and official duties whereas the other variety is spoken in informal activities between friends or family. The first variety is called **high**, whose grammar is more complex, and the second one is the **low** variety, whose grammar is simpler. As the **high** variety is used in literature and education is more stable and protected from change. This variety is found in more regions. By contrast, the **low** variety is changing constantly and it is not used in written text.

Based on Ferguson's concept, many authors have tried to explain better how the uses of two varieties are showed in bilingual communities. Fishman redefined this concept, adding that diglossia can involve two different languages. He makes a clear distinction between bilingualism and diglossia in order to understand how both phenomena interact in a society. He defines bilingualism as a characteristic of an individual who has the capacity of using two languages; and diglossia as

a characteristic of a society where two languages or varieties play different roles.

Fishman²⁴ provides a typology that shows how both phenomena are related in a society:

- *Diglossia and Bilingualism*. This situation is seen in large societies, where people speak two languages but each one with different functions. For example, the USA, India, Paraguay, Switzerland.
- *Diglossia without Bilingualism*. This situation is seen in colonised communities, where the use of a high variety or language was imposed by conquerors and the low variety or language is used by people who reject the idea of losing their language. For example, the linguistic situation of French at Germany.
- *Bilingualism without Diglossia*. This situation is experienced in communities where there is immigration and the two languages became indispensable for communication.
- *Neither bilingualism nor Diglossia*. This linguistic situation is rarely found because people need to be in contact with other countries and the mix of languages is inevitable. For example, the linguistic situation of Cuba.

Moreover, Spolsky²⁵ claims that in some countries where diglossia exists have become communities with three varieties or languages because of the globalisation of English.

Most of the time, languages have influence from others and when people do not understand some features of the new languages, they combine their native language with the foreign one. This causes the arising of a variety or a third language called pidgin and creole. However, some linguists reject the idea that these types of languages must not be called languages because they lack their own systems.

²⁴ Dittmar, N. *Sociolinguistics: a Critical Survey of Theory and Application*. Pp. 177, 178.

²⁵ Spolsky, B. (1998). Op. Cit. Pág.65

1.3.2. Pidginization and Creolization.

Sociolinguists have recently studied these phenomena which are also called language varieties or styles of speech in order to understand and explain why pidgins and creoles originated.

First of all, pidgin has been described as a variety used by different communities with the purpose of communicating between them. Most of the time, this term is associated with trade and slavery because the first places where this variety appeared were Africa and the Pacific Ocean. The main features are described as follows:

- The few systems that pidgins create are so simple and limited that anyone can learn it without difficulty.
- Its vocabulary is based on the dominant language.
- Most of the time, it lacks morphology.
- It does not have native speakers.
- It was not only formed in trade and slavery but it emerged in societies that have different linguistic background and they needed to communicate with each other to survive.
- People learn pidgins when they are in contact with those varieties.
- Most importantly, each pidgin is based on languages such as English, French, Portuguese and Dutch. For example, Nigeria Pidgin English, Vietnamese Pidgin French, New Guinea Pidgin German.

When a pidgin begins to have native speakers and their systems become more complex, this variety is called creole. According to Appel & Muysken, this variety is of more interest than pidgin for three reasons: 1) There are more speakers of creoles than pidgins; 2) Creoles mean the main sources of information of speakers' origins. That is to say that creoles are a symbol of identity; 3) There are minority groups such as West Indian immigrants in Britain whose members speak a type of creole.

On the other hand, researchers assume that creole languages could be described and analysed based on three assumptions:

- Creole languages are more *alike* other languages because they share some features. However, this similarity can be neither accidental nor because there is a similarity between languages of Western Europe.
- Creole languages are *simpler* than others are because their morphology, syntax and phonology are simpler.
- Creole languages have more *mixed* grammars than others have because they have mixture of African, European and in some cases Amerindian ancestry.

These assumptions have not been concluded as correct but they play a role in eight theories that have been proposed by several language experts, who try to determine where creoles come from. These theories are the following:

- 1. *The Semantic Transparency Theory.*** (Seuren, 1983; Seuren and Wekker, 1986). It assumes that creoles are alike because they reflect universal semantic structures and creoles are simpler because the semantic structures are mapped onto surface structures.
- 2. *The Imperfect Second-Language Learning Theory.*** (Valdman, 1981, Andersen, ed. 1983). It assumes that creoles are the crystallisation of some stage in the developmental sequence. In other words, creoles' structures are approaches of a system and they are simpler due to the simplification inherent in the second language learning process.
- 3. *The Baby-Talk Theory.*** (Naro, 1978). It assumes that creoles are frozen stages in the second language learning sequence. The simplification of creoles is due to speakers of European languages, who give a simplified model and the similarity is due to universal properties of the simplified input.
- 4. *The Afro-Genesis Model.*** (Alleyne, 1980). It takes into account languages spoken in the Atlantic region: West African and the Caribbean. This theory assumes that creoles emerge because of transformation of West African languages, which mixed with

characteristics of European languages. That is why creoles are similar.

5. **The Portuguese Mono-Genesis Model.** (*Whinnom, 1971*). It assumes that slaves learned a trade language with Portuguese words. The slaves spoke this language in plantations, making it no more than a *jargon*. The several creoles that exist are based in this jargon, which little by little have replaced the Portuguese words by words from European languages. The similarity between creoles is because they come from this jargon and the simplicity is because this jargon was simple.
6. **Bio-Programme.** (*Bickerton, 1981*). It claims that children who grew up in the new plantations created creoles. The children heard around them pidgin languages that were transformed to creoles when children began to use their own innate linguistic capacities. Creoles are similar because the innate linguistic capacity is universal and they are simple because they have the basic language structures.
7. **The Atlantic Mono-Source Hypothesis.** (*Hancock, 1986*). There was an English jargon or pidgin spoken along the coast of West African, where emerged several English – based creoles. That is why creoles are similar.
8. **The Common Social Context Theory.** (*Sankoff, 1980*). It assumes that creoles appeared because there were communicative requirements in the slave plantations, where the slaves began to speak languages more stables until they became creoles.

During the process of Creolization, there are three varieties that people used according to their education. For example, when people have a high level of education and social status, they speak an *acrolect*. But when people have a low level of education and low social status, they speak a *basilect*. And the third variety is the *mesolect*, which is seen between *acrolect* and *basilect*. Bickerton describes the creole of Guayana that he called pure creole *basilect*, the local version close to

Standard English acrolect and the varieties between them mesolect. All this process is called post-creole-continuum. Furthermore, when people use an acrolect and begin to learn the Standard language, they suffer decreolization. In fact, many people think that creole should be accepted in education because it is closer to a standard language. However, these varieties of languages -creole and pidgin- are not recognised as formal languages because some people consider them linguistic aberrations.

1.3.3. On Language Interference.

All languages have words or structures that come from other languages. People use foreign structures or words in their native languages while speaking, making this use a habit in their speech and in the process, in their languages. In other words, they combine two or more languages in their linguistic performance. This process is also known as *language interference*.

Regarding this matter, Weinreich²⁶ states that interference takes place when new patterns are rearranged into the structured domains of language. He claims that interference is in the speech as the sand that is carried by a stream and interference in language is as the sedimented sand that is at the bottom of a lake²⁷. That is to say, people suffer experience interference in their speech because they begin to know the foreign language. Therefore, they will have language interference because the new patterns become habitualized and established in their native language.

Many authors prefer not use the term interference because is too broad and confusing. Furthermore, interference involves many factors that cannot be measured. This results in some practical problems since many researchers cannot predict when and how speakers will experience language interference.

²⁶ Weinreich,U.(1968). *Language In Contact*. Pág. 1

²⁷ Weinreich,U.(1968). Op. Cit. Pág.11

In the following section we will describe some varieties of languages, which are, to some extent the result of interference such as code switching and borrowing.

Code switching

Most linguists and sociolinguists define code switching as the alternative use of two codes in a conversation. Code switching occurs in bilingual communities where people speak two languages at the same time. In other words, they exchange words, phrases and sentences from the new language to their native one or vice versa. This phenomenon cannot be studied as an isolated variety because it involves bilinguals' attitudes and proficiency in each language.

Thus, code switching is stratified in three broad types²⁸:

- a) *Tag switches*, which can be a tag, an exclamation or a parenthetical in another language than the rest of the sentence. For example, OYE, when do you leave?

This type is also called emblematic switching (Poplack) and *metaphorical code switching* (Blom & Gumperz²⁹, Spolsky³⁰) because it shows that the bilinguals belong to a specific group.

- b) *Intra-sentential* which happens when bilinguals change of code in the middle of the sentences. For example, I started acting real *CURIOSA*. This type is also called *code-mixing* and *conversational code switching* (Gumperz).³¹

- c) *Inter sentential*. As can be seen, this occurs between sentences.

As some code switching can be more than one type, researchers prefer to talk about this phenomenon as a general fact and not to classify the code switches that occur in bilingual societies.

Many experts have demonstrated that code switching is caused by interference but Krashen³² et al. do not consider code switching as

²⁸ Appel & Muysken (1987). Op. Cit. Pág.118

²⁹ Cited by Hudson, R.A.(1980). *Sociolinguistics*. Pág. 56

³⁰ Spolsky, B. (1998). Op. Cit. Pág. 50

³¹ Cited by Hudson, R.A (1980). Op. Cit. Pág.57

³² Dulay, H ; Burt, M.; Krashen, S. (1982). *Language Two*. Pág.118

either interference or an abnormal situation. In fact, he defines this phenomenon as a creative process where bilinguals use alternatively both languages in their speech acts.

According to Krashen³³ the main reason for switching codes in conversations is because it is a symbol of ethnic identification, e.g. using terms such as *ok, you know, and then, ándale pues, h́jole! digo, etc.* Another reason is that code switching symbolises those values that are associated with the community where the language are spoken

In addition to this discussion, Appel & Muysken³⁴ claim that this phenomenon has six main functions based on functional model of Jakobson and Halliday et al.³⁵

1. Code switching has a **referential function** because bilinguals do not know a word in one language and they change codes to complement the sentence, it happens when bilinguals do not have enough vocabulary or knowledge in one of the two languages.
2. Code switching has a **directive function** because people are directed at the hearer. In other words, bilinguals change codes to exclude or to include certain people in a conversation.
3. Code switching has an **expressive function** (Poplack) because people show that they belong to a mixed identity.
4. Code switching has **phatic function** because indicates a change of tone, using exclamation or tags such as metaphorical switching, which we described above.
5. Code switching has a **metalinguistic function** because bilinguals try to impress other people, showing them their linguistic skills such as performers, circus, directors, market salespeople, etc.
6. Code switching has **poetic function** because involves jokes, puns, etc.

³³ Dulay, H.; Burt, M.; Krashen, S. (1982). Op. Cit. Pp. 116,117

³⁴ Appel & Muysken. (1987). Op. Cit. Pp. 118-120

³⁵ Cited by Appel & Muysken. (1987). Op. Cit. Pp. 29-31

Generally speaking, bilinguals in several situations apply all these functions because the different code switches will change according to bilinguals' purposes.

Finally, Krashen³⁶ points out that bilinguals have high proficiency in both languages, otherwise, they would not be able to change codes very fast. Therefore, the alternations are not uncontrolled or meaningless changes but they happen in junctures such as relative clauses, before adverbial clauses, at the beginnings of verbs phrase, noun qualifiers, verb complements, parts of a noun phrase or the predicate portion of an equational sentence (Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez), etc. For example:

Examples	Part of the sentence	The original sentence
Those friends from Mexico <i>que tienen chamaquitos</i> (Gumperz and Hernández -Chávez, 1971).	Relative clause	Those are friends from Mexico who have little kids.
He is doing the best he can <i>pa' no quedarse atrás, pero lo van a fregar</i> (Espinosa, 1975)	Before adverbial clauses	He is doing the best he can in order not to be kept back, but they're going to mess him up.
The type of work he did <i>cuando trabajaba, he...what...that I remember, era regador</i> at one time (Gumperz and Hernández -Chávez, 1971).	At the beginnings of verb phrases	The type or work he did when he worked, he ...what...that I remember, he was an irrigator at one time.

However, there are alternations that are not allowed by proficient bilinguals because they are ungrammatical. For example:

<i>Que</i> have <i>chamaquitos</i>	Who have little kids?
He <i>era regador</i>	He was an irrigator
<i>Cuando</i> did you leave?	When did you leave?

When bilinguals use often code switching in their conversations, they begin to integrate words or structures into another language, giving as a result borrowing.

³⁶ Dulay, H.; Burt, M.; Krashen, S. (1982). Op. Cit. Pp.115,116

Borrowing

The incorporation of linguistic features from one language into another is called *borrowing*.³⁷ This phenomenon is so old that many researchers have enough examples to show how borrowing works in the linguistic repertoire of bilingual communities. However, there are still many questions that have not been answered about how borrowing process develops in bilinguals' brains.

Borrowing appears in all the linguistic systems such as lexicon, phonology, syntax, and sometimes in elements of inflectional morphology. The lexicon is the first system affected by this phenomenon because the words do not require widespread bilingualism to be introduced in another language³⁸ (this kind of borrowing will be explained in the next topic). In the meantime, the other systems take more time to integrate their structures into other languages because they are more complex.

Most of the time bilinguals accept borrowing because it gives them linguistic resources that are not in their native language. In that way bilinguals enrich their linguistic repertoire to express themselves with the elements they want. In contrast, some bilingual communities reject the linguistic change because they do not want their mother tongue to be replaced by the new structures or simply the linguistic resistance occurs because there are more differences between the languages than similarities.³⁹

Borrowing and code switching are phenomena that cannot be separated because both occur in a dialogue at the same time. However, they are not considered the same. Ferdinand de Saussure gave a little difference between them. Code switching is a phenomenon that occurs in the level of *parole* while borrowing only occurs in the *langue*.⁴⁰

³⁷ Dulay, H.; Burt, M.; Krashen, S. (1982). Op. Cit. Pág. 113

³⁸ Thomason, S. G. & Kaufman, T. (1988). *Language Contact: Creolization and Genetic Linguistic*. Pág.37.

³⁹ Weinreich, U. (1968). Op. Cit. Pág. 61.

⁴⁰ Cited by Appel & Muysken. (1987). Op. Cit. Pág. 121

Saussure described it as the system of a language, taking into account sounds and words which speakers know or simply those structures that speakers agree on their use. On the other hand people in speech or writing describe parole as the actual use of language.⁴¹

As borrowing has had a wide area of study in the lexical field, many linguists and sociolinguists have carried on long projects in order to explain why borrowing occurs more easily in the lexicon than in the other systems.

1.4. Lexical Borrowing

This kind of borrowing is focused on words or phrases that were taken from a foreign language. As we said before all languages have had influence from another structures because of social and cultural factors. In this section, several possible reasons will be mentioned to explain why people borrow words or phrases from foreign systems. Also, some types of the lexical borrowing will be described.

1.4.1. Main causes

Weinreich⁴² described seven reasons to understand why people borrow words or phrases in some time of their lives. The first reason is that people have *the need to designate new things*, which most of the time do not exist in the native language. Also, Weinreich stated that it is more economical to use the ready-made designations instead of describing the new things again. The second reason is *the low frequency of some words*, which are replaced by the new words that are more stable because of their frequency. The third reason is *the use of homonymy*, which are words written and pronounced equal but they have different meanings.⁴³ The fourth reason is *the use of affective words or the need for synonyms* because there can be better words to

⁴¹ Richards, J. & Platt, J. (1993). *Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*. Pág.206

⁴² Weinreich, U. (1968). Op. Cit. Pp.56-61

⁴³ Richards, J. & Platt, J. (1993). Op. Cit. Pág. 168.

say something if people resort to borrowing. The fifth reason is that *there is insufficient differentiation between words*. For instance, Italian dialect speakers in Switzerland have a single word "corona" to denote wreath and crown but when they were in contact with the German they borrowed the word "kranz" for wreath and corona for crown. The sixth reason is that there are social values, which can be positive or negative, in the foreign language. That is to say, some languages have their prestige and people borrow words from those languages to show that they have integrated successfully into the target culture. This term is described as a process where there are changes in language, culture and system of values of a group, which is caused by the interaction with another group with different backgrounds.⁴⁴ In contrast, there can be words that were borrowed to be used in slangy speech. The last reason is *the introduction of words (unconsciously)* because of the extensive bilingualism.

Appel & Muysken claim that the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 5th reason have to do with the referential function of language and the 4th and 6th ones with the expressive and directive functions. Those functions were already described in code switching.

In general, there are other reasons why people resort to borrowing, but sometimes they are difficult to identify because bilinguals have different purposes to borrow words. That is why there are different types of borrowing, which will be described in the next section.

1.4.2. Types of Borrowing

Typically, words are borrowed as a whole. That is to say, words are integrated with their sounds and meaning into the new languages. However, Haugen⁴⁵ distinguishes between *a substituted word* and *an*

⁴⁴ Richards, J. & Platt, J. (1993). Op. Cit. Pág.3

⁴⁵ Cited by Appel & Muysken. (1987). Op. Cit. Pág.:64, 165.

imported word. He says that a pattern is imported when it is taken with all its features and a pattern is substituted when it is replaced by another language with a native pattern. For instance:

*Dáme un **wheesky** (Give me a whisky)*

In this case the word *whisky* was imported from English to Spanish and the Spanish sound "ee" has been substituted by the English sound "i". Haugen made this difference in order to understand why some types of lexical borrowing are considered *substitution* or *importation*. According to Haugen this kind of borrowing can be divided in three types:

a) *Loanwords* are imported words without substitution in most of the cases because there have been substitution in the phonemic level.

Valdés⁴⁶, who has done research on the situation of Mexican Americans, argues that this type of borrowing is caused because some languages do not have available vocabulary to designate new items. For example, Spanish speakers use this vocabulary because there were terms to designate the lexical items of computing such as *software*, *mouse*, *diskette*, etc. This can be noticed in sports such as *futbol (football)*, *basketbol (basketball)*, *volibol (volleyball)*, etc. Although, there are words in Spanish to say those kind of sports, people use those terms very frequently.

b) *Loan blends* are imported and substituted words. Some linguists identify this type of words as creation of the bilinguals because they take foreign bases into their native structures, creating new words. Valdés⁴⁷ gives some examples about this:

Spanish	English
¡Ay te wacho!	I'll be seeing you!
¡Tengo que taipear!	I'll have to type this for the class!
¡Se esta liqueando!	The roof is leaking!

⁴⁶ Valdés, G. (1988). Op. Cit. Pág.124.

⁴⁷ Valdés, G. (1988). Op. Cit. Pág.122.

Most of the time these words *wacho*, *taipear*, and *liquear* are called *anglicismos* in Spanish because they are words derived from English patterns.

c) *Loan shifts* are imported words without substitution. That is to say, the meaning of the words is imported into other languages because the forms are native. For example, the word *skyscraper* in English, *rascacielos* in Spanish, *Wolkenkratzer* in German, *gratte ciel* in French, etc. Each language has a specific word to refer to the same thing.

Loan shifts are called too *loan translation* or *calque* when the foreign words are translated literally but some times bilinguals misunderstand the meaning such as the verb *controleren* in Dutch, which means "to check", but that verb has acquired the English meaning of *control* "to have power over". Furthermore, Valdés called this loan shift *semantic extension*. She provides the following example:

Voy a llevar a la niñera a su casa

*I'm going to take the babysitter home.*⁴⁸

The word "niñera" in Spanish means a person who looks after children but she lives with the family most of the time and a babysitter is a persons who takes care children by hours.

Finally, Valdés⁴⁹ in her research about the situation of Mexican Americans, claims that bilinguals in the United States create words or misunderstand their meaning because they are lazy to think about the equivalency or they are too ignorant to use the correct Spanish words.

We have made so far a wide review about what language contact involves and why it occurs. However, it is important to study how Belize has faced this phenomenon even though it is a relatively small country. In fact, Belize has kept its own identity, especially its language varieties.

⁴⁸ Ibidem Pág. 22.

⁴⁹ Ibidem. Pág. 123.

CHAPTER II. THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN BELIZE

2.1 Background

Belize is a small country in Central America. It lies on the Southeast coast of the Yucatan Peninsula. It borders Guatemala on the west, Mexico on the north and the Caribbean Sea on the east. Belize covers 8867 square miles (22965 square kilometres).⁵⁰ It has a population of about 238,500.⁵¹ It ranks as Central America most thinly populated country. **(See Appendix A)**. Belize, as a country of immigrants, shares many ethnic-cultural characteristics with Mexico, Guatemala, and other Caribbean countries. Besides, the cultural roots which came from Africa, Asia and Europe.

It is commonly argued that the name of Belize is uncertain. However, on the one hand, it is believed that the name had a native origin which came from "belix" that meant, "muddy waters". There were people, on the other hand, who thought that the name was a derivation of *belikin* meaning "land that looks toward the sea." There were others who think that this name came from a Spanish derivation of Wallace, which was the surname of a Scottish pirate who is believed to be the first who sailed around the reef. Another explanation about the name of Belize states that it has its origins from an African word bay-leeze.⁵²

Belize, regarded as a melting pot due to immigrations, is considered as a multicultural and multi-ethnic country. Its three main ethnic groups are Creoles (African descendent), mestizos (Spanish and Maya descendent) and Garifunas (Black Caribs). In this mixture of races and beliefs we can find too, some little groups of German Mennonites, as well as, Chinese, Arab, British, Salvadoran and Guatemalan people.

⁵⁰ World Book Encyclopedia, Vol. II, 1992, pp. 236-238.

⁵¹ Abstract of Statistics, 1999, Pág. 5

⁵² Barry, T. (1992) Belize, p. xiii

Belize appears in the 17th century as a refuge of pirates. In the early 17th century Peter Wallace a Scottish corsair and his crew were the first people who harboured the Belize River. This resulted in the first settlements along the river. Approximately in 1640 these settlers started to cut the logwood, activity that seemed more profitable than piracy. In 1670 because of the Treaty of Madrid, the piracy ended and these settlers (called the Baymen) made cutting logwood their living.

Although, at that time there were some conflicts between British and Spanish because of the rights to cut logwood. It was until 1673 with the Treaty of Paris that British got the rights to cut, load and carry away logwood.

During this time there were new agreements between Spain and England about the rights of the Baymen. In 1783, the Treaty of Versailles gave the British rights to cut only logwood. However, in 1786 another agreement was signed in which the Convention let the Baymen cut both logwood and mahogany trees.

Because of the hard work cutting logwood, and the lack of local labour, British woodcutters or Baymen began to look for people who could work for them. Thus they began to use the same labour force for sugar plantations of the Caribbean -slaves from Africa.

In Belize the slaves were used for logging. These slaves were brought directly from Africa or from the West Indies and the United States. It is said that in the late 18th African slaves were the majority of the population.

In the early nineteenth century another wave of immigrants resettled Belize, the Garifunas. They were descendants of the Carib Indian African and African slaves who had run away from British slavery and established in the southeastern area of Belize. Between 1847 and 1849 another wave of people, Mestizos and *Yucatecan* Maya, arrived at Belize as a result of the War of Castes.

Although the Act of the Abolition of Slaves was signed in June 1833, it was until 1838 when the slaves were really emancipated from the British Empire. Despite being a generous act, this one did not let slaves be the owners of the land, which was still under the British control. Between 1861 and 1891 after slavery was abolished, the need to get people in order to work in the British sugar plantations forced British Empire to engage new people. In this case, the slaves were Indians as well as the Chinese people. In 1862 Britain named the area of Belize as "*Honduras Britanicas*". It was in this year when the British Commonwealth officially recognised the area as part of British Empire.

2.2 Belize Today

After World War I ended, some independence movements started to appear. Black soldiers, who had gone to fight under the British Empire flag, experienced the discrimination of the crown. The first protest known as the Exservicemen's Riot 1919 was the first sign of the nonconformity of the Belizean black soldiers.

In the following years, from the 1920s and 1930s workers began to organise in Belize in order to create labour unions. However, these unions were not legalised until 1941. In 1949 the black middle class formed the People's Committee, a nationalist movement which one year later (1950), would evolve into People's United Party (PUP). Due to the PUP had no a definite ideology and the need to extend its base, this party took some allies from the General Workers Union (GWU).

When World War II finished many things around the world changed. The desirability of many countries to get its independence and to be self-sufficient in all fields made these dominated people fight against the oppressors, and Belize was not the exception.

Unlike many other countries that had bloody fights with the intention of getting its independence -Mexico, for instance-, Belize got it

pacifically. It was in the early 1960's that the British and the colonialism government accepted the desirability of Belizean independence. Therefore, in 1961 Great Britain announced that Belize would be granted independence. However, it took about a couple of decades to gain actual independence. All these years Belize had got self-government (1964); nevertheless, most of the political and economical decisions still depended on the British Empire.

From 1961 to 1981, Belize never gave up its attempt to get its autonomy and independence and the only reason why the country was still under the British Empire control was due to the pressure made by the Guatemalan government, which claimed this territory as its own. That was the reason why the Belizean people let the British army remain there.

It was until some attempts to try to get an agreement between Belize and Guatemala that finally, in March 11th 1981, Britain, Guatemala and Belize signed "The Heads of Agreement" document. Although there was no a final agreement. this stipulated the term of possible arrangements to be discussed in the future. It was until 21st September 1981 that Belize finally achieved its constitutional independence. However, with the arrival of this longed fact the struggles, which Belize would have to face would be more difficult.

2.2.1 Economical and Political Situation:

As commonly known, economy is the main support for any country. However, by the time Belize achieved its independence new problems cropped up. For example, two centuries ago, the economy of Belize depended on the needs of the Empire. This dependency not only was related to its imports but its exports too.

Due to the close relationship that the international markets have, many times countries of the third world generate an economic interdependence subordinated to the first world countries similar to that

of they had during the colonialism stage. Belize by this time did not have a stable economy. Hence, when looking for stability, the country opens its doors to other economies, such as USA capitals.

Despite this apparent dependency, Belize had its own economic structure divided in three sectors. The primary sector, which consists of agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining. The secondary, which consists in manufacturing or processing. And the tertiary, which involves services, for example, insurance, financing, hotel and restaurants industries among others. The number of profits have not been enough for the nation giving as a result the signature for new commercial trades or agreements, which put the country in a difficult position.

The economy of Belize, after the independence was affected because of the competence that existed among the world markets. Belize, as a third world country has had to maintain this relationship of interdependence with most developed countries. This situation has caused the country not to be able to continue its development as other countries of the first world.

In regard to the political situation in Belize we can mention that during all the time that Belize was a British colony its political situation depended upon the British Crown. Despite the Empire had given the Universal Adult Suffrage to the people of Belize in 1954, so that they could have a self-government to 1964, the Empire still had the control over foreign affairs, internal security and defence, situation which lasted at least seventeen years more.

In these years of self-government and after the three years of independence in the new nation, the People's United Party (PUP) was founded in 1950. Thus George Price its founder and the first Prime Minister were considered as synonymous of government in Belize.

Because of the British influence in the area for more than two centuries, Belize, unlike other countries in the Central America area has

a Parliamentary Democracy, which is based on the Westminster-Whitehall Model.

Thus three political powers are recognised:

- The executive power. Here we find the Prime Minister, his/her Cabinet and the Governor General. The Prime Minister is elected by popular vote and he/she decides on the composition of the Cabinet. He/she is the chairman of it and Head of Government. The Queen Elizabeth II is the constitutional Head of State, who is represented by a Governor General, who must be a Belizean. The functions performed by a Governor General as Head of State are most ceremonial and he/she works in accordance with the Cabinet. The Governor General is expected to be politically neutral. The functions of the Governor General are more related to external issues with other states such as accreditation of ambassadors or consuls.
- The second power is the Legislative, so-called the National Assembly. Its functions are to make laws in order to preserve peace, order and good government. It consists of two houses: The house of the representatives and the Senate.
- Finally, the third power is the Judiciary. Its function is independent of the executive and legislative powers. It is here where all the aspects related to the laws are discussed.

The administrative Head Office is located in Belmopan, capital of the country. The country is administratively divided into six Districts: Belize, Cayo, Corozal, Orange Walk, Stann Creek and Toledo. At present, there are two main political parties in Belize, The People's United Party (PUP) and The United Democratic Party (UDP). The government is led by the National Constitution.

As we said before the PUP is a party formed in the 1950s. In its early years this party made a coalition with the General Workers Union

(GWU), by this time the PUP was considered more as a popular movement than a political party.

The PUP is a central party with no defined ideological principles. It does not have any international affiliations. This party has been dedicated to the development of a stronger local capitalist class as well as an economy focused on the American investments.

The PUP policies have a social democratic attitude that calls for economic democracy and stimulating higher economic productivity.

On the other hand, the UDP is a party founded in 1973 with the union of the three main groups; National Independence Party (NIP), People's Development Movement (PDM), and the Liberal Party (LP). Its main representative and head of the party since 1976 has been Manuel Esquivel.

Since the UDP was created in 1973, the party has become more a national party, joining each time all classes and ethnic groups although the creole tendency remains in the party politics and policies.

Unlike the PUP, the UDP has a more structured bureaucracy. However, like the PUP, it lacks a ranking form and file membership and supporting basis.

2.2.2 Language Diversity

Language as an essential tool of communication does not only have affective links but also commercial ones too changes each time. This resulted in language diversity. Thus the diversity in Belize is seen as normal situation which started when the British arrived at this area during the colonial period.

Belize was born as a consequence of piracy. However, it would be the exploitation of its natural resources that produced the arrival of African slaves with their own languages who later would make this linguistic diversity.

During and after the colonial period Belize constantly received waves of immigrants who came from West Indians, Arabia, China, Germany, Mexico, Salvador, Guatemala and, of course Britain.

Despite the official language is English, Spanish and other languages as Maya, Garifuna etc. are spoken too. In 1991, according to the last population census, the speakers of the different languages in the country were described as follows: ⁵³

Language	Number of Speakers
Belize Creole English (Kriol, Creole)	158,000
Spanish (Español, Castellano)	80,477
English	55,000
Garifuna (Caribe, Central American Carib, Black Carib)	12,274
Kekchí (Ketchi, Quecchí, Cacché)	9,000
Mopán Maya (Maya, Mopán Mopane)	7,000 to 7,500
Maya (Yucateco):	5,800
Plautdietsch (Low German Mennonite German)	5,763

2.3 Bilingualism in Belize

Taking into account this matter, it is important to consider again Hauger's definition who states that bilingualism is referred to "as a person who knows two or more languages since all the linguistic phenomena such as interference, borrowing, code-switching etc., are present in this situation". Therefore, we are to say then, that this kind of sociolinguistic phenomenon has been present in Belize for many years. As stated before, this aspect can be traced back to colonial and slavery periods.

Bilingualism is a phenomenon that has been increasing as a result of immigration of people with different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. It is in this way that bilingualism in Belize is seen more as a norm than an exception.

⁵³ Ethnologue: Belize in Ethnologue, Grimes, B.F. (Ed.) 1996. Summer, Institute of Linguistics, Inc. Available: <http://lcweb2loc.gov/frd/cs/bztoc.html#bz0012>

In Belize there are some places where this phenomenon is seen more clearly, such as the case of the District of Orange Walk where the most spoken languages are Spanish (68%), English (15%) and Low German (13%). Another example is in the District of Cayo where 47% of the population speaks creole, 40 per cent speaks Spanish and the rest of the population, in the rural area mainly, speaks Maya or Low German.⁵⁴

2.3.1 Bilingualism in Corozal:

Corozal District is located 85 miles from Belize City, bordering Mexico on the shoreline of Chetumal Bay. Corozal Town [*our unit of study*] belongs to the District of the same name. This Town is 10 kilometres from the Mexican border.

The word *Corozal* was a derivation from the Spanish name for the *cohune* palm tree considered by ancient Mayas as a symbol of fertility.⁵⁵ The history of Corozal dates back many years ago. Thus, up to 1848 the main economic activity of the area was based on timber. Although the area was not settled down, there were few seasonal lumber camps.

William Blake was one of the landowners at that time. However, Thomas Schofield took over eventually the property in an absentee owner who lived in England.

The second biggest landowner of that area was the Belize Estate Company (formerly the British Honduras Company) which came into the area in 1858. In 1848, during the Caste War (1848-1855) in Yucatan and the fall of Bacalar, a large number of Mayas and Mestizos (Maya and Spanish descendant) arrived at this area fleeing from the supremacy and oppression of the Spanish people.

⁵⁴ Lastra, Y. Op. Cit. Pág.109

⁵⁵ The Belize Virtual Guide Corozal, District.(1992). Available:
www.travelbelize.org/guide/di/dico.html

At the beginning, these people settled Punta Consejo, but as Indian raids continued they moved southwards. William Blake was the one who encouraged these people to remain in Corozal District and plant sugar cane. They established the permanent settlement in Corozal, on the shallow of the Corozal Bay.

The arrival of refugees continued during all the time the Caste War lasted. Thus in 1858, the population of Corozal Town was about 4,500 (both Maya and Mestizos), and the district had a rural population of 8,000 dwellers.

Another group of immigrants that made the first settlements of the District was the East Indians. During the 1870's the government brought these people in order to work in both Toledo and Corozal District (Dobson, 1973). These people and their descendants settled four villages closed to Corozal, Ranchito, Calcutta, San Andrés and San Antonio. In 1880's Corozal was well established as the administrative seat and trade center for the district.

In 1955 when Hurricane Janet devastated the area of Corozal, Mr. Schofield sold his Corozal property to the government and also his property in the district. As a consequence of this natural phenomenon people said that Hurricane Janet made Corozal a Town.

During the rebuilding of the town a new group of immigrants arrived. They were Creoles and some Caribs. The main reason they had to go there was the job opportunities in the sugar mill. In the 1970's the population of Corozal Town had increased up to 4,724 inhabitants. However, in 1998 Corozal Town had a population of about 8,085 inhabitants.⁵⁶ According to the last census carried out in 1991, its main ethnic groups in the District of Corozal are described as follows.

⁵⁶ Abstract of Statistics. 1999 Pág. 5

Ethnic Group	Percentage
Mestizos	63.6%
Creoles	18.3%
East Indians	9.8%
Mayas	2.9%
Garifunas	2.2%
White	1.4%
Chinese	1.1%
Maya and Maya Mopan	0.2%
Syrian/Lebanese, Ketchi, Mennonite	0.1%

As a consequence of this ethnic diversity, religion has also suffered from diversity. Thus we can find that its main religious group is the Roman Catholic Church represented 62.2% of the population; followed by the Adventists with 8.1%, Mennonites with 5.0%, Pentecostals with 3.0%, Methodists with 1.9, Jehovah's Witnesses with 1.4%, and Baptists 0.9% respectively.

At the beginning bilingualism in Corozal was mainly Spanish-Maya, but later it expanded into Spanish-English. It is important to remark that although English is the official language, Spanish is still largely spoken by the bulk of the population. Besides, nowadays Corozal has been the area where new waves of immigrants have established their homes as well as their own shops and restaurants, such as the case of Chinese and Indian people. All this mixture of races has caused language contact to take place. As a result several linguistic phenomena such as bilingualism, code switching, code mixing and lexical borrowing can be perceived.

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

3.1. The setting of the study

As stated before this project can be categorised as a descriptive study since it will concentrate on the analysis of bilinguals' utterances from a lexical point of view. In addition, this study can also be considered as a hypothesis-testing one because it aims to evaluate a hypothesis following some sociolinguistic and statistical procedures.

This research was carried out in the Town of Corozal, which is closed to the Mexican border. Corozal Town is the name of the place of the District of the same name. It has about 8085 inhabitants.⁵⁷ The most spoken language here is Spanish and English respectively. However other languages are spoken such as Maya, Creole and Chinese.

The population in the Town has not increased considerably in the last 28 years (from 4,724 inhabitants in 1970, to 8,085 in 1998). However, we cannot say the same about the rest of the villages⁵⁸ that belong to this district where the population rate has been outstanding. In 1970 there were about 10,827 inhabitants whereas in 1998 the population was about 24,425.⁵⁹

Apart from the national government, a local government body rules Corozal. This body is governed by laws passed by the House of Representatives which issue the duties and powers. This local government is made up of seven members.

Concerning the economic activities, sugar cane is grown in this district, although this activity has been affected by the closing of the sugar mill in Libertad village. However, nowadays its natural resources have been exploited such as archaeological areas and the beautiful

⁵⁷ Abstract of Statistics. 1999. Pág.5

⁵⁸ Here the term village is used due to in Belize this is the term they use.

⁵⁹ Abstract of Statistics. 1999. Pág. 5

beaches. Moreover, people who live in this Town and in the rest of the same District have found their main economic sources in the free zone located on the border between Mexico and Belize.

3.2 The subjects:

As mentioned in the general introduction, the purpose of the present study was to find linguistic evidence that English, as an official language in Belize, causes a significant amount of lexical borrowing and code switching in the Spanish speakers living in Corozal Town, Belize. Hence, the methodology of the present study is described as follows:

As it is almost impossible for practical reasons to analyse linguistic data from more than sixty subjects, the number of informants in linguistic research is usually too small to claim true representativeness (Milroy, 1987). Therefore, Milroy suggests that "in view of the problems associated with strict representative sampling, it is more realistic for researchers to judge sample on the basis of specifiable and defensible principles, than to aim for true representativeness" (Milroy, 1987:28).⁶⁰ Based on this claim about all the problems that involves having a large sample, it was decided to analyse 18 subjects' speech. Although this sample does not represent the 10% of all the population in Corozal Town, it covers at least the three variables suggested in this research.

Due to the random sampling would have been impossible in this project and because of the variables and characteristics that people should have had, we chose a selective sample because it was easier for us to meet people with these kinds of characteristics. In order to carry out this research we asked initial contacts, such as friends who live there, to bring us into contacts with people who fulfilled these variables. People who did not have the characteristics required were left.

⁶⁰ French-Dutch languages mixture in Brussels. J. Treffers-Daller. Pág. 50.

As describe earlier, in this project 18 people were chosen whose first language is Spanish and the second one is English. That is, they are co-ordinate bilinguals. They were mixed up according to the three variables (gender, age and educational level). The reason for having chosen just 18 people was because a larger sample would have been impossible to control. Besides in linguistic fields, generally the samples are not too big because of the amount of work, time and monetary support that this would involve. This explains why in the linguistic field most of the time these samples are small. For example, in the case of the linguistic map designed for the Mexico, specifically in the state of Quintana Roo, where despite having a population of about 493,277 only 14 people were chosen to provide speech samples. Seven informants were from the municipality of Chetumal and seven were from the municipality of Felipe Carrillo Puerto which population by that time was about 172,563 and 47,234 respectively. **(See Appendix B)**

As explained before it was taken a sample of 18 people, who were grouped in the three variables. This number was in function of a simple mathematical operation: $1+1 \times 3 \times 3 = 18$ (see chart 1 below). From the 18 people, 9 were men and 9 were women. Afterwards, out the 9 men three were from 18 to 30 years old, three were from 31 to 50 years old and the last three were from 51 to older age. The same procedure was done with women. The last combination was according to the educational level: three men and three women who belonged to low level (from illiteracy to primary school). Three men and three women who belonged to middle level (from secondary school to college). And the last three men and three women who belonged to higher education level (up to bachelor degree).

CHART 1

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	GENDER		AGE
	MEN	WOMEN	
A	1	10	18-30
B	2	11	
C	3	12	
A	4	13	31-50
B	5	14	
C	6	15	
A	7	16	51-UP
B	8	17	
C	9	18	

A = from Illiterate to primary school.
 B = from secondary to high school.
 C = from college, technical or commercial career.

The variables in this research were chosen according to a logical thought. The gender variable was chosen because it is clear that the linguistic codes used by men and women are different to some extent. The same conception is valid for the age variable because younger people performance is not the same as that of middle age or older people. Finally, the educational level is another important factor since these levels can affect the performing linguistic level of the subjects. The reason why ages from 18 to up were chosen was because we thought that in this stage bilinguals have a wide vocabulary in both languages. In other words, bilinguals have a more stable lexicon.

3.3 The Instruments:

The methodology of this research was based on three instruments of research. piloting interview, free interview and identity card. These are described as follows:

- The piloting interview was chosen in order to provide evidence that the informants fulfilled all the requirements needed for the research.

- The free interview was chosen to make our selected interviewees feel free to express themselves without limiting their free speech, since we were measuring their lexical borrowing and code switching.
- The identity card was chosen to classify our interviewees and their respective recordings in an easier manner. **(See Appendix C).**

All the interviews lasted about 15 minutes as maximum. The first five minutes were not taken into account because they were considered as a warm-up. Topics dealt with in the interviews were varied and interesting. **(See Appendix D).**

There are other aspects to point out. First, the language used during the interviews was Spanish because of the objective of the project. Second, we followed a step-by-step process to carry out these interviews. It was necessary not to tell our informants the real topic of our research. This was in order to prevent the subjects to be predisposed to use the language more correctly. Therefore, we told them that our research was based on the life, customs and traditions in Corozal Town.

During the interviews we noticed that although we explained the "purposes" of our research people showed little confidence. And the same thing happened when we asked them if we could record their interviews. That was the case with one of our informants who did not want to be recorded until he indicated so. Finally, as can be seen, this study was fully described in order to take into account every detail that this process involved. This description must be understood clearly to analyse the results obtained in this research.

CHAPTER IV. DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The final results are presented in graphics in order to illustrate the lexical borrowing and code switching occurrences in this study. In fact in **appendix E** there is a list which includes those linguistic phenomena. The first graphic shows these phenomena from the total amount of our linguistic corpus. We also include the interview of the informant who had more interference in **appendix F** that shows these types of interference that occurred in the interview. The next graphics show lexical borrowing and code switching according to our three variables: gender, age, and educational level.

Our linguistic corpus consisted of 24,656 words, 89 words were categorised as lexical borrowings. For example:

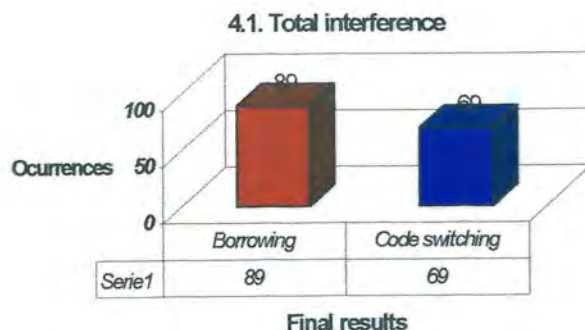
- *las juntas era para planear **jolrising (wholereasing)***
- *son equipos de **basketball** y **football** no que van a la competencia.*
- *van a tener que **checar** su inglés*

And 69 words were categorised as code switching, that is, situations in which code switching occurred. For example:

- *en Inglés le decimos **Royalty** a cobrar un derecho de impuesto*
- *Bueno los beliceños les gusta mucho la punta, **all right***
- *uniendo unos a otros les damos **part educative***

The linguistic corpus was approximately 270 minutes of recorded data, but we only took into account 180 minutes because of the five minutes that we left out in each interview. This was already explained in the methodology. As we can see in graphic 4.1 (below) linguistic change occurs significantly in bilingual communities. Most of the time, people seemed reluctant to change in order to maintain their native language pure but it is inevitable. As we said before, people interact daily with

new societies that do not always speak the same language. This causes that most of the time languages meet and they influence each other.



Graphics 4.2 and 4.3 show lexical borrowing and code-switching according to our first variable: *gender* (see chart 1). Graphic 4.2 shows the utterances of men. Among the nine men, the subject of interview number three had more interference in borrowing and code switching than the others. One possible reason is that he is often in contact with English because of his studies and he only uses Spanish at home. He resorts to some borrowed words because he often uses them in his job. He resorts to code switching as a referential function (*explained in chapter I*) because he did not know a word or simply he switched codes to complement what he was saying. For example:

- ...Corozal es puro diabetes, bastante, bastante diabéticos puede ser lo mismo por la dieta mucho **carbohydrate**.
- Ya habla pero no hace sus **sentences** bien, o sea habla pero no corrido.

Borrowing

-
- Sí yo me acostumbré a eso ya tengo desde **fourth form** hasta universidad...
- Yo a mi hijo mayor está yendo al **kinder** así que la mayoría del tiempo hay inglés y español...

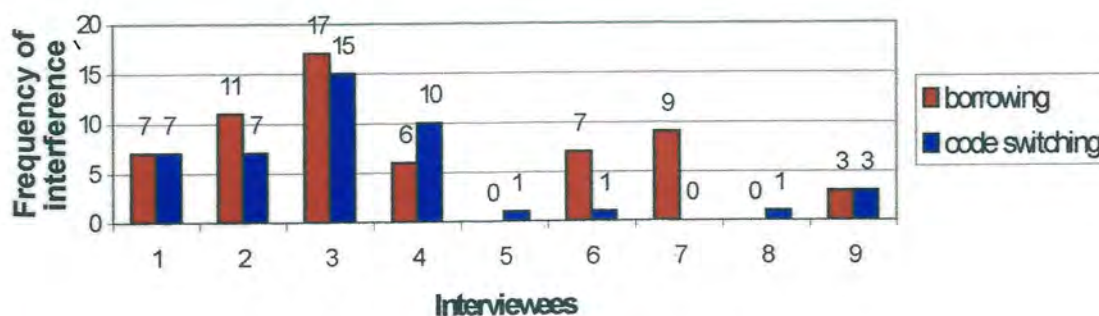
In interview number five and eight there was no lexical borrowing but a little code switching in their utterances. We suppose that both people are used to speaking in both languages because their jobs make them be in touch with Spanish speakers and English speakers at the same time. For example:

- *En la escuela de Paraíso el otro varón está estudiando aquí en la escuela **CCC (Corozal Comunal College)** por sus siglas en inglés...*
- *Al mismo tiempo tienen que organizar un emm... un emm... aquí le dicen **Bank Ungovernmentt Organization**, una organización no gubernamental sino que es una organización que, que maneja finanzas...*

Finally, the subject in interview number seven only had borrowing, maybe, because he uses more Spanish in his daily life and he only uses English with those people who do not speak Spanish. For example:

- *acá no hay diversión sólo en veces los domingos hay **baseball** pero no es nada...*
- *No, casi, la única diferencia es que el, nosotros hacemos acá es el **rice and beans** con su **salad**, pero igual que en Chetumal que hacen tostadas...*

4.2 Borrowing & Code switching in Men



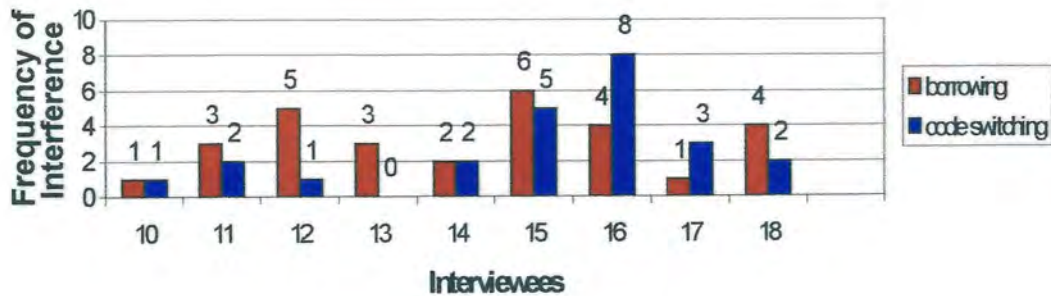
Graphic 4.3 shows the utterances of women. Among the nine women, the subjects of interview number twelve and fifteen had more lexical borrowing than in the others. Maybe they resorted to lexical borrowing because they are primary school teachers and they have to speak English in class. For example:

- *Mayormente solía tener una, por ejemplo, ahorita tengo a uno que es un niño, no es muy **hitman** pero estaba en tratamiento médico...*
- *Nosotros le decimos **standardise** ¿verdad? Que esas son las reglamentos que se usan, como ustedes los escriben, ay! No me acuerdo en español **the spell**.*

The subject of interview number sixteen had more code switching than the others, perhaps, because she learned English in informal situations and she never went to school. For example:

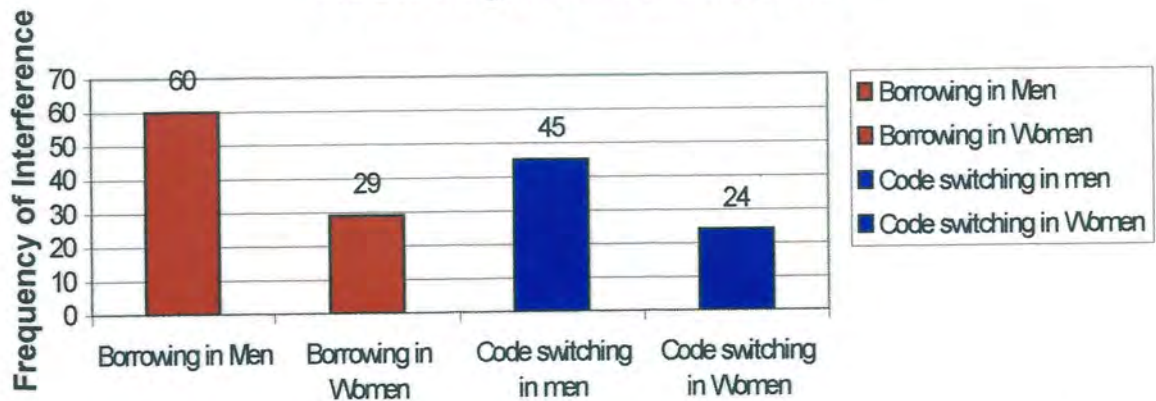
- *...muchas veces lo llevaban con el **Police** porque antes en la policía andaba y lo llevaban allá... con el policía González lo llevaban y se escondía allá bajo para no ir a la **State**, pero fíjense como son las cosas ahora él es un empresario atiende a dos, tiene baterías que él mismo, él mismo hizo y también él ahora está en el, en el **Quemical (chemical)** no..., Hace eso, esos para lavar trastes, para limpiar pisos...*
- The subject of interview number thirteen did not have code switching, maybe she speaks more Spanish than English, which she learned in conversations. She only had borrowings:
- *Pues **rice and beans** con el pollo, el **salad** y comemos relleno, chilmole, escabeche, pues comemos el enchiladas, salbutes, garnachas pero lo más es el **rice and beans** lo que se come más acá.*

4.3. Borrowing & Code-switching in Women



In graphic 4.4 we illustrate the total amount of borrowing and code switching that men and women had. As can be seen men showed more interference in borrowing and code switching than women, although the linguistic corpus was similar in men and women.

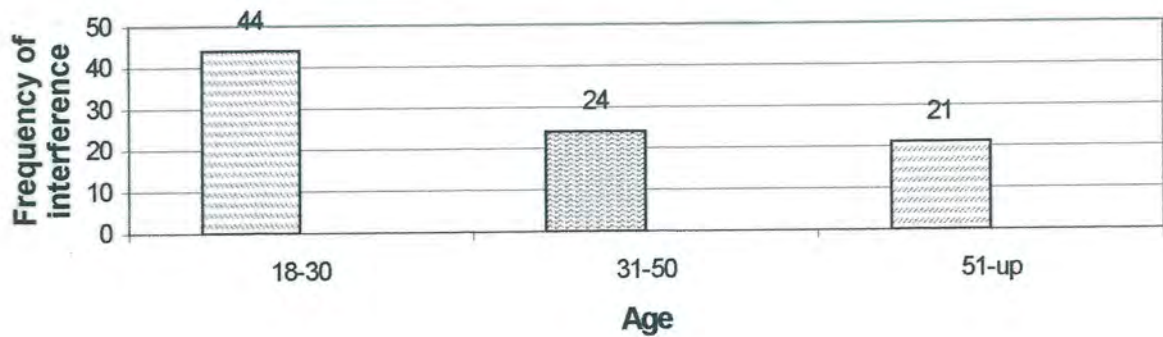
4.4. Borrowing and Code-switching in total



In the following two graphics, we present borrowing and code switching according to age. Graphic 4.5 shows that the younger bilinguals had more borrowing than the others had. We assume that they are in contact with other bilinguals who have a similar speech style.

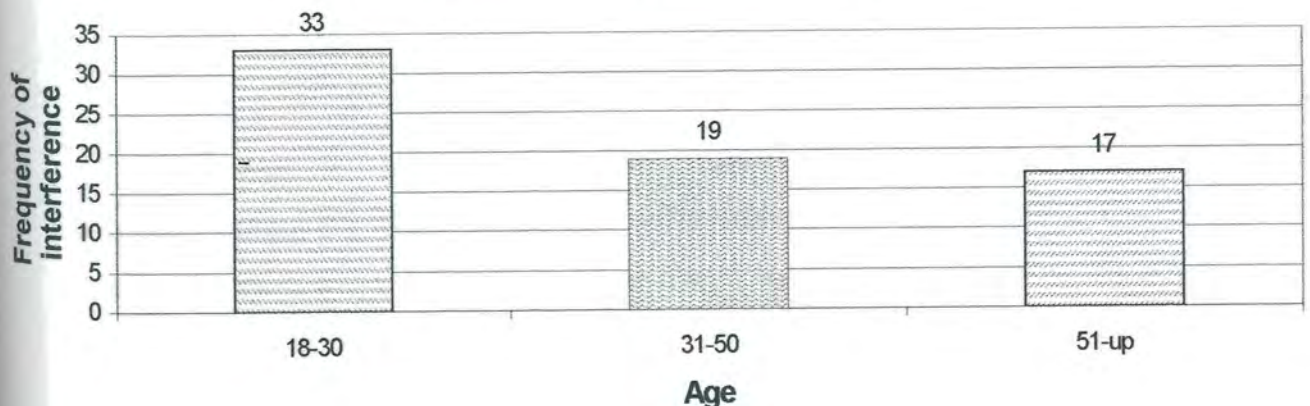
Maybe, they resorted to borrowing more than the other bilinguals, who are up to 31, because they do not know some words in Spanish or they are used to using the words which are more frequent in the bilinguals' speech.

4.5. Borrowing according to Age



In graphic 4.6 we depict code switching in bilinguals. This phenomenon appeared more in young bilinguals than in the others. In this case, the age of those bilinguals could have been a factor that has influence on bilinguals' interference. Probably, they wanted to identify their social group with this style of speech. Thus, they might include or exclude the new people that they meet as was explained in chapter I.

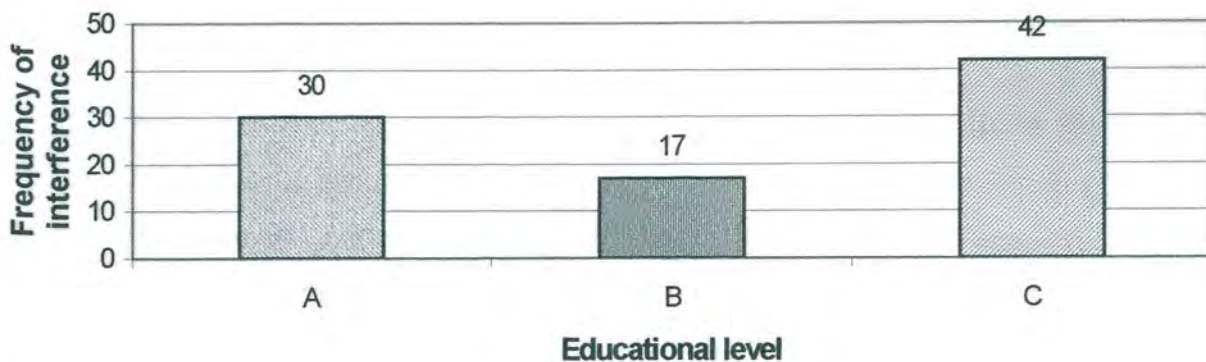
4.6. Code-switching according to Age



The last two graphics represent borrowing and code switching according to educational level. Technically, level A means from illiterate to primary school; level B means from secondary to college and level C means up to bachelor degree.

Graphic 4.7 shows that bilinguals, who belong to level C, resorted to lexical borrowing more than the others. Perhaps they are more in touch with formal situations, where the use of English is indispensable and official. Maybe they resorted to borrowed words because some terms cannot be translated or simply those terms do not exist in Spanish. Furthermore, the curricula of the schools in Corozal could require different aims from the Mexican schools because this town is considered a bilingual society where education must be bilingual too. Thus, when "corozaleños" use Spanish out of the school, they have influence from the official language.

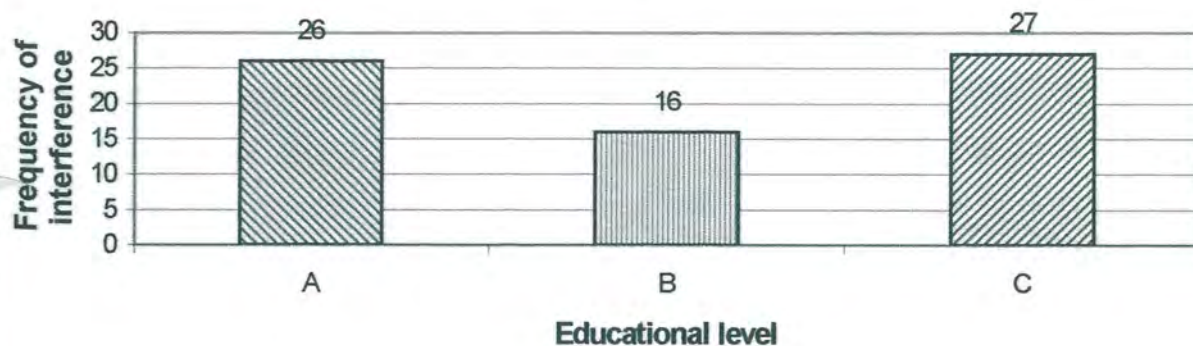
4.7. Borrowing according to Educational Level



However, in graphic 4.8 the results demonstrate that code-switching occurred more in people who belong to level A and C. One possible reason is that bilinguals are more in contact with English. What is more, bilinguals, who belong to level A, use this style of speech as a

symbol of identity because they wanted to feel part of the mainstream society where people are considered bilingual. As some of them did not have the opportunity to go to school, they learned English through television, newspapers, books or just by listening to the other people. Finally, bilinguals, who belong to level C, had education and the use of English was indispensable for professional career.

4.8. Code-switching according to Educational Level



In each graphic we have given some possible explanations for our results. We have based our study on our variables to justify there could have been some factors, which explain why people resorted to borrowing and code switching. Perhaps sociolinguists need to research more in these types of interference to describe their main causes. Thus, people could accept this phenomenon as a lifestyle from those who live close to the borders.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Doing this type of sociolinguistic research has proved to be an exciting experience since data is obtained from primary sources, the informants. Thus we have reached the following conclusions.

1. English, as the official language in Belize, causes a significant change in Spanish speakers who live in Corozal. Although the influence of English on Spanish is significant the linguistic change occurs in bilinguals' utterances.
2. The linguistic change is consequence of the type of bilingualism that Corozal has faced for many years. The geographical situation of this Town has given as a result that "Corozaleños" learn a second language in order to communicate with the neighbour country. Thus, the use of two languages originates the presence of sociolinguistic phenomena.
3. Interference occurs in any bilingual. However, the frequency of it will appear in bilinguals' utterances with different degree of interference. The variables played an important role in this research because they are possible causes of those types of interference
4. Most of the English lexical borrowing that occurred in Spanish speakers' utterances were permanent borrowing such as volleyball, football, hot dog, kinder, etc. And the code switching situations were nouns and statements (interjections) such as ¡right!, ¡Okay! ¡I mean! Police, biology, etc.
5. Our methodology helped us to obtain excellent results to prove the occurrence of interference in bilinguals' utterances and we could measure the frequency of it.
6. Although these kinds of projects are merely descriptive, the information obtained from these researches is useful to understand the factors that influence in bilinguals' interference. In fact, this

knowledge can help English teachers to prevent future errors in students' competence, learning a second language.

As research should be flexible and pliant, certainly our investigation needs some modifications for further research. Hence we provide some suggestions, which may help other projects to have good results.

- Researchers should have the linguistic competence to understand the terms that Sociolinguistics involves in order to analyse better sociolinguistic phenomena, which are often complex to study.
- The variables, which are taken into account, should be controlled as much as possible because the presence of a different variable, not considered, could affect the results.
- The use of a good methodology gives as a result reliable results, which can explain clearly the main causes of bilinguals' interference.
- As lexical borrowing and code switching situations are consequence of many factors, we suggest the use of small samples to classify the data more practically.

Finally, we would like to emphasise that this research allowed us to analyse more closely a phenomenon, which deserves a lot of attention on the part of both language teachers and researchers. We think that sociolinguistic knowledge is what all EFL teachers should have. Therefore, we expect teachers to find this sociolinguistic research useful to the extent that they may be willing to carry out similar projects.

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APPENDIX A



APPENDIX B

Inf.	Sexo	Edad	Nivel cult. ^a	Ocupación	Estado civil ^b	Estudios ⁷	Lenguas	Grado ⁸	Viajes ⁹	Residencias externas	Cónyuge oriundo de ^t	Ocupación cónyuge	Padre oriundo de ^t	Ocupación padre	Madre oriunda de ^t	Ocupación madre
LOCALIDAD 1. CHETUMAL, QUINTANA ROO Encuestas con cuestionario: Alcalá y Cantero																
1	M	25	A	Alijador	C	0			1		Valladolid, Yuc.		Balancán, Tab.		Campeche, Cam.	Hogar
2	F	20	SA	Hogar	S	0			1		Chetumal		Chetumal		Chetumal	Hogar
3	F	45	M	Maestra de primaria	C	8			2		Tekax, Yuc.	Maestro	Chetumal		Chetumal	
Grabaciones magnetofónicas. Encuesta: Alcalá y Cantero																
1	M	35	A	Mozo de restaurante	S	0	Inglés	2	3	EUA, bracero			Chetumal	Campesino	Chetumal	Hogar
2	F	18	SA	Estudiante	S	2	Inglés	1	1				Cozumel		Cozumel	Hogar
3	M	18	M	Estudiante secundaria	S	3	Inglés	1	1				Chetumal		Chetumal	
4	F	24	M	Estudiante y secretaria	S	3							Campeche, Cam.		Chetumal	
LOCALIDAD 2. FELIPE CARRILLO PUERTO, QUINTANA ROO Encuestas con cuestionario: Alcalá y Cantero																
1	F	30	A	Mesera	V	1	Maya	5	1		Valladolid, Yuc.		Valladolid, Yuc.	Campesino	F. Carrillo Puerto	Hogar
2	M	35	A	Campesino	C	1	Maya	5	1		Ticul, Yuc.	Hogar	F. Carrillo Puerto	Campesino	F. Carrillo Puerto	Hogar
3	M	52	SC	Maestro primaria	C	9			2	México, D.F. 3 años	Motul, Yuc.	Modista	Tecal de Venegas, Yuc.	Agricultor	Tecal de Venegas, Yuc.	Enfermera
Grabaciones magnetofónicas. Encuesta: Alcalá y Cantero																
1	F	33	A	Hogar	C	0	Maya	5			F. Carrillo Puerto	Albañil	F. Carrillo Puerto	Campesino	F. Carrillo Puerto	Campesina
2	M	20	SA	Campesino	D	1	Maya	5					T. Carrillo Puerto	Campesino	F. Carrillo Puerto	Campesina
3	F	21	SA	Empleada en un internado de niños	S	2	Maya	1	1					Campesino	F. Carrillo Puerto	Empleada
4	M	50	SC	Delegado municipal	C	4	Maya	5	1		F. Carrillo Puerto		F. Carrillo Puerto	Campesino	F. Carrillo Puerto	Campesina
LOCALIDAD 3. VALLADOLID, YUCATÁN Encuestas con cuestionario: García																
1	M	61	A	Empleado	C	1	Maya	5			Valladolid	Hogar	Valladolid	Campesino	Valladolid	Hogar
2	M	18	SA	Obrero	S	1	Maya	5					Valladolid	Campesino	Valladolid	Hogar
3	F	23	M	Maestra	S	8			2,3		Progreso	Empleado	Progreso	Comerciante	Valladolid	Maestra
4	F	51	C	Maestra	C	8	Maya	5	2,3,5		Progreso	S.O.P.	Valladolid	Comerciante y maestro	Valladolid	Maestra
Grabaciones magnetofónicas. Encuesta: Bravo y Valadez																
1	M	60	A	Campesino	C	1	Maya	5			Valladolid		Temozón	Campesino	Temozón	Campesino
2	F	43	A	Hogar	C	0	Maya	5			Valladolid	Campesino	Valladolid	Campesino	Valladolid	Campesino
3	F	40	M	Hogar	C						Valladolid	Chiclero	Valladolid	Comerciante	Valladolid	
4	M	32	C	Negociante	S		Inglés, Maya	3	3,5				Valladolid	Comerciante	Valladolid	
Grabaciones magnetofónicas. Encuesta: Alcalá y Cantero																
1	F	33	A	Hogar	C	1	Maya	2	1		Tizimin	Empleado hotel	Tizimin	Campesino	Tizimin	Campesina
2	M	41	SA	Agente de tránsito	C	2	Maya	5	1				Espita	Comerciante	Espita	
3	F	23	M	Hogar	S	4	Maya	2					Tizimin		Tizimin	
4	F	17	M	Empleado de restaurante	S								Tizimin		Tizimin	
LOCALIDAD 5. MÉRIDA, YUCATÁN Encuestas con cuestionario: García																
1	M	61	A	Empleado	C		Maya	5			Mérida	Hogar	Mérida	Campesino	Mérida	Hogar

Grabaciones magnetofónicas. Encuesta: Ávila y Gorovich

1	F	55	A	Empleada doméstica	V	0	Maya	5	Monterrey, N.L., 8 meses	Mérida	Empleado doméstico	Mérida	Empleada doméstica
2	F	28	SA	Cocinera en restaurante	C	1	Maya	2	1	Mérida	Chofer	León, Guanajuato	Hogar
3	M	25	M	Empleado hotel	S	6	Inglés	2	2	Mérida	Inspector escuela	Mérida	Maestra
4	M	35	SC	Empleado oficina	C	6	Inglés	4	2,3			Tizimin	Hogar

LOCALIDAD 6. TICUL, YUCATÁN
Encuestas con cuestionario: Alcalá y Cantero

1	M	55	A	Campechino	C	1	Maya	5	1	Ticul	Hogar	Ticul	Campechino	Ticul	Hogar
2	M	18	M	Estudiante y sastre	S	4	Maya, Inglés	5,2	1			Ticul	Mecánico	Ticul	Hogar
3	F	21	M	Maestra	S	4	Maya, Inglés	2,2	1			Ticul	Comerciante	Ticul	Hogar

Grabaciones magnetofónicas. Encuesta: Alcalá y Cantero

1	F	45	A	Hogar	C		Maya	5		Ticul	Campechino	Ticul	Campechino	Ticul	Campechina
2	M	19	SA	Estudiante	S	3			1			Ticul	Campechino	Ticul	Campechina
3	F	16	M	Estudiante	S		Maya, Inglés	2,2	1			Ticul		Ticul	Hogar
4	M	45	C	Profesor y agricultor	S		Maya, Inglés	1,4	2,3	EUA, 3 años		Mérida		Mérida	Hogar

LOCALIDAD 7. CAMPECHE, CAMPECHE
Encuestas con cuestionario: García

1	F	48	A	Empleada doméstica	C	0	Maya	2		Campeche	Campechino	Campeche	Campechino	Campeche	Hogar
2	M	22	SA	Camaronero	S	1			2			Campeche	Campeche	Campeche	Hogar
3	M	59	M	Comerciante	C	4			1	Campeche	Comerciante	Campeche	Comerciante	Campeche	Hogar
4	F	42	C	Maestra	S	8	Maya, Inglés, Francés	2,2,2				Campeche	Obrero	Campeche	Hogar

Grabaciones magnetofónicas. Encuesta: Ávila y Gorovich

1	M	25	SA	Estibador	C	2			2	Mérida, Yuc.	Hogar	Campeche	Carpintero	Campeche	Hogar
2	M	23	SA	Estibador	C	2				Campeche	Hogar	Campeche	Estibador	Campeche	Hogar
3	F	27	M	Empleada en fábrica	C				2	Mérida, Yuc.	Músico	Campeche	Comerciante	Campeche	Hogar
4	M	56	C	Rector del Instituto de Campeche	C	10	Maya, Inglés, Francés	4,4,4		Ciudad del Carmen	Hogar	Campeche		Campeche	Hogar

^a Los diferentes niveles socioculturales son: A = Analfabetos; SA = Semianalfabetos (personas de escasa instrucción); M = Personas de cultura media; SC = Informantes semicultos; C = Personas de cultura superior. (Cf. nota 26 de mi *Introducción al Atlas*).

^b Estado civil: S = Soltero; C = Casado; V = Viudo; D = Divorciado.

^c Estudios: 0 = Ninguno; 1 = Estudios incompletos de Primaria; 2 = Primaria; 3 = Secundaria incompleta; 4 = Secundaria; 5 = Academias secretariales, talleres manuales y similares; 6 = Escuelas técnicas; 7 = Preparatoria (Preuniversitario); 8 = Escuela Normal (Magisterio); 9 = Universidad; 10 = Estudios de posgrado o de especialización.

^d Grado de conocimiento de otros idiomas: 1 = Conocimiento rudimentario (naciones aisladas); 2 = Conocimientos

elementales (lectura); 3 = Conocimiento mediano; 4 = Conocimiento amplio (lectura, comprensión y escritura satisfactorias); 5 = Dominio absoluto (bilingüismo).

^e Viajes: 1 = Breves por la región a que pertenece la localidad de que es oriundo; 2 = Breves por diversas regiones del país; 3 = Breves a los Estados Unidos; 4 = Breves a Centro y Sudamérica; 5 = Breves a Europa; 6 = Breves a otros continentes (Residencias largas, en la siguiente columna).

^f Sólo se indica el estado a que pertenece cada población de que son oriundos el padre, la madre o el cónyuge, cuando aquél es diferente del estado a que pertenece la localidad de que es oriundo el informante.

APPENDIX C

This identity card was used to write the personal data of the subjects.

Identity card format

Interview number: _____	Date: _____.
Name: _____.	
Age: _____	Birth place: _____.
Sex: _____	Educational level: _____.
Languages: _____.	
Address: _____.	

APPENDIX D

These are the topics dealt in the interviews.

Title	Subtitles	Title	Subtitles
*Family	Ancestors Customs / habits Cooking Family members	*Clothes	Informal Formal
*Society	Neighbours Housing Public services Shops Schools- sports	*Body – health	
*Jobs	Money Responsibility Experience Unemployment		

APPENDIX E

This is the list of code switching and lexical borrowings that occurred in the interviews.

Lexical Borrowings	Code switching
Acceptance Amandala Baseball Basketball Belize Times Beltery Business Cachar Checar Columbus Day Common Wealth of Nation Creole Cultural feast FBI Feedback Flu Football Fourth form Green card Guardians Hitman Hot dogs Infant one Jeans Kinder Lookgrich Melinda's New York Times Pa'geant Pardon Party Picnics Ping-Pong Pop sea blood Población PUP(People's United Party) Restaurant Rice and beans Rock shots Salad Scorpions Sixth form Sophisticated Spanglish Sports Standardise Start one Stress Tequila Rock The torture Tylenol Typing Village Volleyball Wholereasing Yamborin	iAll right! iI mean! iLike! iOkay! iRight! iYeah! iYes! Alphabet Associate degree Bags Bank Ungovernment Organizations Biology Carbohydrates Chemical Educative Farmers Independent Infant division Ireland Is Indian Major Marine Part Past tense People Police Principal Private Research Royalty Scratch Security Self Government Sentences State The spell Third World Country Time out Typewriter White man Workshop

APPENDIX F

SAMPLE INTERVIEW

In this interview we show lexical borrowing in red and code switching in blue. As was explained in the methodology the first five minutes were omitted. The examples of lexical borrowing are *kinder*, *infant one*, *sixth*, *fourth form*, *cachar*, *pardon*, *start one*, *infant one*, *populacion*, *sixth form*, *business*, *rice and bean*. The words *cachar* and *populación* are considered borrowing because people created them from English words "to catch" and "Population". Although *populación* has not been an accepted word in Spanish, people often use this word to refer to "population" term. The words *start one*, *infant one*, and *fourth form* are considered borrowing because the terms used in Mexico to refer to educational level are different from Belize and when people talk about education they mention the level that they have. Thus, they resort to lexical borrowing because it is easier. The word *rice and beans* is considered lexical borrowing in that it is taken from English. This is the name of a typical dish from Belize. Although the term *pardon* is a French word the English lexicon includes this word as a permanent borrowing. In this case the bilinguals use this term because it is similar to Spanish word "perdón". The words *business* and *kinder* are lexical borrowings that have been used for many years. Finally, The words *cachar*, *populación* and *pardon* are *calques* as we mentioned in chapter I.

The examples of code-switching are: *carbohydrates*, *sentences*, *alphabet*, *major*, *associate degree*, *biology*, *marine researcher*, *farmers*, *scratch*, and the expressions *like and iyeh!* The words *carbohydrates*, *marine researcher*, *associate degree*, *scratch*, *major* and *sentences* are considered code-switching because in that moment he did not remember those words in Spanish. The words *alphabet*, *biology* and *farmers* are considered code-switching since he mentioned the correct

words afterwards. The expressions *like and iyeah!* are considered code switching as they express those values that are associated with the community where English is spoken. See chapter I.

It is important to remember that we took into account the times that a word was repeated because of our objective. For instance, the subject of this interview repeated three times the word *kinder*, we counted this word three times, even though it was the same item.

Interview number 3

R = Researcher [...] = Inaudible or no comments, silence.

I = Informant

R: ¿Qué nivel de licenciatura tienes?

I: Estoy yendo a la Universidad de Belize ahora estoy acabando mi inco meship

R: ¿Me podrías hablar de tu familia? ¿A qué se dedica?

I: Yo soy casado, tengo una familia, tengo dos hijos, cinco años y tres respectivamente. Mi esposa es ama de casa, que más...

R: ¿Tus niños es hombre y mujer?

I: Dos varones.

R: ¿No te gustaría tener una niña?

I: No, suficiente con el problema que hay ahorita.

R: ¿Sí? ¿Se te hace muy difícil ahora que están muy chicos?

I: No, no es eso, la cosa es que mientras más hijos tengas más gastos y menos les puedes dar a cada uno, es mejor darles más de a menos. Darles más a cada uno tienes más menos les das.

R: Me estabas contando que estabas ahorita en la Universidad, prácticamente estas fuera de tu casa todo el día.

I: Todos los días, solos los domingos generalmente estoy en la casa.

R: ¿Y no extrañas mucho a tus hijos?

I: Ya me acostumbré, eso desde que estoy con ellos, desde que me casé soy estudiando.

R: ¿Te falta mucho para terminar?

- I: No, sólo queda como three, tres semanas más ya estuvo.
- R: ¿En tres semanas y ya? ¿Qué carrera estás estudiando?
- I: Labtech, emm... Labtech, químico de laboratorio algo así le llaman en Chetumal.
- R: ¿Y te gusta la carrera?
- I: Sí, yo empecé a trabajar primero acá, después conseguí una beca y me fui a estudiar, hacer mi carrera.
- R: ¿Dónde estudias, en Belize la ciudad?
- I: En Belize.
- R: ¿Qué es lo que más te llamó la atención de la carrera?
- I: Lo que más... emm estando acá uno comprende y entiende a una persona, hay bastante gente en Corozal, de que sí hay pocos servicios de salud, sólo hay uno de acá en el hospital que es laboratorio y bastante persona lo necesitan el servicio mientras más personal haiga mejor servicio.
- R: Yo veo que allá en Chetumal hay bastante gente de Belize que va consultar los hospitales. ¿Cómo consideras el servicio de aquí de Corozal?
- I: [...]
- R: Con respecto a la vida en Corozal ¿Cómo es?
- I: ¿A qué se refiere más o menos?
- R: Que la gente, forma de vivir, fiestas tradicionales en Corozal.
- I: La mayoría de mi aldea son creyentes Maya-Yucateco pero la creencia de los mayas, pero allá la mayoría de los señores ya con edad ya se está acabando así que esas tradiciones se están acabando, es raro escuchar una tradición como el baile del marrano, fiesta pa' tal santo ya, ya raro se oye ¿no? Eso sería, cada rato este día pa' esto, este día pa' l'otro pero ahora ya no la gente se está quedando más educada, se está dejando las creencias, se va más a la ciencia.

(Five minutes so far)

- R: Tú como médico, ¿De qué forma previenes a la gente para que pueda llevar una vida más sana o qué le recomiendas? Por que me he dado cuenta de que la gente de aquí de Belize sobre todo se enferma mucho de lo que es el corazón, de lo que es el peso.
- I: Es su dieta. Es que acá en Belize no hay eso como en Chetumal que comen un poquito ahorita, un poco, diferente o se come lejos ¿no? Aquí no tienen desayuno, almuerzo y cena pero la cantidad que se come es la misma cantidad [...]

Yo por lo menos en la mañana voy a tener un buen desayuno al medio día una buena comida y a la noche otro bueno, otra buena cantidad así nosotros no

estamos viendo eso de mantener una dieta comer y alimentarse la mayoría de la gente así es.

R: ¿Tu das algunas recomendaciones a la gente?

I: Bueno sí mantener una buena una dieta para vivir un poco mejor un poco más largo porque como nosotros estamos llevando esa comida no nos preocupamos de quedar gordo, flaco o enfermar la cosa es que comamos pero si hay que recomendar de todo tomar un tiempo y analizar que estamos comiendo porque si creo que la mayoría de acá son el colesterol, triglicéridos, diabetes a veces, la mayoría diabetes Corozal es puro diabetes, bastante, bastante diabéticos puede ser lo mismo por la dieta mucho **carbohydrates**

R: ¿En tu casa que idioma hablas?

I: ¿Cómo?

R: En tu casa ¿Qué idioma hablas, lengua?

I: Español

R: Y a tus hijos ¿Qué idioma les enseñas?

I: Yo a mi hijo mayor está yendo al **kinder** así que la mayoría del tiempo hay inglés y español, los dos se tienen que ajustare al inglés allá en la escuela ahora están enseñando inglés así que ahora si entra en español va a estar perdido así que yo le hablo en los dos a veces depende el caso y le hablo en inglés.

R: ¿No se le hace difícil?

I: A veces sí, a veces no, te entiende pero con el tiempo que tu le hables tan repetidamente ya lo entiende ya no tienes que hacerle señas hasta ahora sólo le digo y, y.

R: ¿Y así aprendiste tú?

I: Yo así aprendí porque yo antes acá en la aldea enseñaban puro español desde **infant-one** hasta **sixth** cuando yo vine al colegio yo lo miré duro mi papá no hablaba inglés el es mexicano el hablaba puro español, mi mamá es de acá ella habla como es de la aldea puro español hablaban y maya así que yo puro español fui a la escuela maestros puro español pero ahora poco empezaron puro inglés que es algo que tenemos que hacerlo y cuando yo empecé el colegio lo miré un poco duro así que de esa manera aprendí tuve que aprender los dos.

R: ¿Cómo en cuanto tiempo aprendiste a hablar en inglés?

I: Yo no hablo el inglés bien, tengo problemas con el inglés así que no voy a decir que ya lo aprendí completo.

R: Pero ¿ya lo entiendes? ¿No?

I: Sí yo entiendo inglés bien y todo.

R: Sí porque ahorita vi que el señor te estaba hablando en inglés rápido y son cosas que yo no entiendo.

- I: Sí yo me acostumbré a eso ya tengo desde **fourth form** hasta universidad, estoy hablando todo eso enseñanza es en inglés hay que **cachar** lo que te dice el maestro rápido y pero para hablarlo yo tengo problema, yo le gano no tengo ese inglés corrido tengo que pensar dos veces para hacer fallo y volver a hacerlo.
- R: ¿Todos tus amigos hablan en inglés o en español?
- I: En el colegio, desde el colegio hasta ahora puro inglés raro el grupito de personas que van a hablar un poco de español generalmente es puro inglés.
- R: ¿Y a tu niño el más pequeño?
- I: El más pequeño, entiende inglés pero no tanto y el apenas empieza a hablar un poco más corrido que español.
- R: ¿Cuántos años me dijiste que tenía?
- I: Tres años.
- R: ¿Y apenitas está empezando a hablar?
- I: Ya habla pero no hace sus **sentences** bien, o sea habla pero no corrido.
- R: ¿Y tú cuando estás en tu casa a tu hijo de cinco años le enseñas algo de inglés, me refiero a que le escribes algo y digas que está mal escrito?
- I: Sí ese es mi meta, bueno sí esa es mi meta para mí, que él no tenga problemas con el inglés, allá si quieres pagas a una persona que te enseñe, hay uno que es maestra de **kinder** pero a la vez si le pagas a ella te agarra más tiempo en fin de semana y te ayuda así que los dos hay que usarlo.
- R: Y los maestros ¿imparten su clase en español?
- I: No, ahora Inglés, en las escuelas, en las aldeas inglés.
- R: ¿Hasta los de kinder?
- I: ¿**Pardon?** ¡**Yeah!** los de **kinder** no, es español e inglés sólo como el **alphabet**, el alfabeto es inglés unas palabras por ahí les ponen inglés pero ya en **Start-one, infant-one** siguiendo ya es puro inglés.
- R: Me habían comentado que está por entrar un programa en las escuelas donde se maneje una educación bilingüe, donde les den clases a los niños en español y a la vez también les den clases en inglés, no sé si sepas algo de eso, o ¿hay algunas escuelas que imparten o den clases en español?
- I: Depende no, depende la aldea hay, hay aldea acá que son puro inglés que hablan la **populacion (population)** es puro inglés así que ellos es puro inglés como ahora en, mi aldea es ya puro inglés aunque nosotros hablamos puro español, es una obligación y en el colegio es eso puro inglés pero hay una clase que es español, química es español desde el primero hasta el cuarto año de colegio así que siempre les dan español pero ya no es una cosa **mejor (major)** es algo sólo para mantener tu español.

- R: Lo que es la prepa para ustedes que vendría siendo el college ¿llevan una materia que es en español?
- I: **Sixth form**, la prepa, la prepa, **sixth form** no, no acá nuestro **sixth form** es diferente, no allá tu escoges que carrera vas a estudiar, si biología, matemáticas, español, porque hay una clase que es un **mejor (major)** en español.
- R: ¿Ah sí?
- I: Agarras español o química, física depende que carrera o negocio, administración de negocios de empresas, y depende que ramo quieres agarrar en eso te haces **mejor (major)** la verdad no, pero si quieres agarras, generalmente es para **sixth-form** nosotros tienes que agarrar dos clases tener dos materias yo tengo mi **associate degree** en biología y en matemáticas así que tiene que escoger dos, no puedes escoger más.
- R: ¿Tú por qué área te enfocaste?
- I: Yo soy para biología, yo agarré biología y matemáticas pero ahora mis estudios que yo estoy siguiendo son para **biology**, biología.
- R: ¿Biología? ¿Te gustan los animales?
- I: Realmente, no realmente.
- R: ¿Es muy caro tener un laboratorio?
- I: El señor le puede explicar, yo sólo trabajo aquí para él.
- R: ¿Y no se te hace difícil veces manejar muchos términos porque supongo que han de manejar muchos términos en biología en Inglés que son muy diferentes al español? ¿No se te hace difícil?
- I: No porque uno se graba, se familiariza con ellos ya no lo veo raro.
- R: ¿Qué tipo de práctica hacen ustedes?
- I: ¿Acá?
- R: En tu carrera en biología.
- I: Pues eso que estamos haciendo ahorita analizar, sacar sangre, analizar
- R: ¿No se van a lugares, al mar?
- I: No, no eso es diferente eso es para **like, marine, marine researcher** no es diferente es otra área de ésta, nosotros al ramo profesional ya, no estoy seguro pero pues, no, pero esa es otra área.
- R: ¿Tú nada más te enfocas digamos a lo que es médico? ¿no?
- I: No, médico sí.
- R: ¿Tu familia vive? ¿Tus papás viven todavía? ¿Cuántos hermanos tienes?

- I: Tengo cuatro hermanos y cinco hermanas.
- R: ¿Ya todos están casados?
- I: Tengo un hermanito que no está casado y tres hermanitas que no están casadas.
- R: ¿A qué se dedican ellas? ¿También son profesionales?
- I: Son estudiantes. Sólo mi hermanito trabaja en el monte.
- R: ¿Y ellas en qué áreas se están especializando?
- I: Una está agarrando académica que es para hacer académico, ciencia y la otra muchacha está agarrando **bussines**, todos se van a diferentes ramos.
- R: ¿Pero la mayoría de tus hermanos está estudiando?
- I: No realmente la mitad tengo dos, tres hermanos que son campesinos, **farmers** y mi otro hermanito trabaja también [...]
- R: ¿Qué cultivan?
- I: Caña.
- R: ¿Es fácil para un profesionista encontrar trabajo?
- I: Más o menos sí porque aquí en Belize casi no hay.
- R: ¿Tú como encontraste este trabajo?
- I: Como le digo yo empecé así, **scratch**.
- R: Pero ¿te recomendaron?
- I: No, no, no el señor, me dio la ayuda,
- R: ¿Tus hermanos, han encontrado trabajo así como tu que trabajas?
- I: No, no, yo tengo un hermanito que trabaja pero él está en Belmopán.
- R: Pero a los que estudian, me refiero.
- I: No, no los que están estudiando no están trabajando. Ellos tiene que buscar trabajo. Está duro buscarlo.
- R: ¿Cuáles son las comidas típicas de aquí?
- I: **Rice and beans, yeah!** Más o menos.
- R: ¿Cómo se divierten, a dónde van, a dónde sales con tus hijos?
- I: Realmente los domingos los paso en Chetumal, en el Palomar.

R: ¿Qué otros lugares has visitado allá en Chetumal?

I: Muchos lugares familiares, nada, nada especial.

R: ¿Has viajado a otros lugares?

I: Bacalar lo más lejos.

R: ¿Qué te parecen los mexicanos?

I: Unos amables y unos... no la mayoría amables. No la mayoría son amables, buena gente,

R: Me comentabas que tu papá era mexicano ¿de dónde era?

I: Era de un pueblo que se llamaba Puc-té.

R: ¿Conoces tú por allá?

I: No.

R: ¿Tu mamá habla inglés?

I: Ella entiende inglés, habla un poco de inglés no mucho.

R: ¿Y tus hermanos?

I: Medio, medio, el inglés casi no más es puro español, sólo en casos que tiene que hablar en inglés pues hablan inglés y no muy bien tampoco. ¿Sólo Corozal necesitan saber o ¿Hasta el sur?, Ella es del sur.