



UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE PERNAMBUCO  
CENTRO DE ARTES E COMUNICAÇÃO  
DEPARTAMENTO DE LETRAS  
CURSO DE LICENCIATURA EM LÍNGUA INGLESA

MARIANA GOMES BARBOZA

**CODE-SWITCHING IN *HOW TO TAME A WILD TONGUE* AS A SYMBOL OF  
IDENTITY REFLECTION**

Recife  
2022

MARIANA GOMES BARBOZA

**CODE-SWITCHING IN *HOW TO TAME A WILD TONGUE* AS A SYMBOL OF  
IDENTITY REFLECTION**

Dissertation written as a requirement for the  
attainment of the degree bachelor in English  
Language Teaching.

Supervisor: Marcelo Augusto Mesquita da  
Costa

Recife

2022

Ficha de identificação da obra elaborada pelo autor,  
através do programa de geração automática do SIB/UFPE

Barboza, Mariana Gomes.

Code-switching in How to tame a wild tongue as a symbol of identity  
reflection / Mariana Gomes Barboza. - Recife, 22.  
35f, tab.

Orientador(a): Marcelo Augusto Mesquita da Costa  
Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso (Graduação) - Universidade Federal de  
Pernambuco, Centro de Artes e Comunicação, Letras Inglês - Licenciatura, 22.

1. Code-switching. 2. Hibridismo. 3. Identidade. I. Costa, Marcelo Augusto  
Mesquita da. (Orientação). II. Título.

400 CDD (22.ed.)

MARIANA GOMES BARBOZA

**CODE-SWITCHING IN *HOW TO TAME A WILD TONGUE* AS A SYMBOL OF  
IDENTITY REFLECTION**

Dissertation written as a requirement for the  
attainment of the degree bachelor in English  
Language Teaching.

Supervisor: Marcelo Augusto Mesquita da  
Costa

Approved on: 03/11/2022

**EXAMINATION BOARD**

---

Professor Marcelo Augusto Mesquita da Costa (Supervisor)  
Universidade Federal de Pernambuco

---

Professor Fatiha Dechicha Parahyba  
Universidade Federal de Pernambuco (Examiner)

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I would like to thank God for granting me spiritual peace. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to the following people:

To my parents and my sister, for all the encouragement to continue the present work and the emotional support. Furthermore, to Marco Aurélio, who always had to deal with my complaints and brings more joy to my days. To Binho, Catita, Damião, Stan, Vairy, Theo, and Gatinha, for all the cuteness they provide at home.

Also, to my supervisor for the help given throughout the work. To Fatiha Dechicha Parahyba due to the corrections made in this work and for the support given to my decisions during this term. And to professor Roland Walter for having discussed interesting books in his classes, some of them used in this work. Besides, to Ana Vitória and Ana Carolina, who were with me throughout the course in several group activities. Finally, I am grateful to myself, who managed to keep more relaxed with this dissertation than expected.

“She could not see his humanity, and Noa realized that this was what he wanted most of all: to be seen as human.” (LEE, 2017, p. 287).

## RESUMO

Esta é uma pesquisa bibliográfica que almeja analisar o code-switching que ocorre no capítulo *How to tame a wild tongue* de *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987), considerando a sua relação com o princípio de identity-reflective code-switching, em alguns trechos. Além de contextualizar as situações em que era possível observar essa alternância de línguas e os tipos de code-switching no texto. Por fim, foram também classificados os termos do code-switching intrasentential de acordo com categorização gramatical, buscando entender quais os elementos que mais eram utilizados pela Anzaldúa, autora do livro. O estudo teve condução qualitativa e quantitativa e foi baseado nas teorias de Poplack (1980) e Lo (2007). E, para a obtenção dos dados, foram analisados trechos nos quais a Anzaldúa alternava línguas, no capítulo em questão, e comparados às categorias que seriam analisadas. Os resultados mostraram que a autora usava o code-switching como uma ferramenta para demonstrar quem ela era e sua conexão com mais de uma língua, assim como a própria dizia não ter uma identidade única.

**Palavras-chave:** Code-switching, hibridismo, identidade.

## ABSTRACT

This work is a bibliographical research that aims to analyze code-switching in the chapter called *How to tame a wild tongue* from *Borderlands/La Frontera*, considering its relation with the principle of identity reflection, in some excerpts. Besides contextualizing the situations in which it was possible to observe this alternation of languages and the types of code-switching in the text. Finally, the terms of intrasentential code-switching were also categorized according to the parts of speech, trying to understand which elements were most used by Anzaldúa, the author of the book. The study was conducted qualitatively and quantitatively and was based on the theories of Poplack (1980) and Lo (2007). To obtain the data, excerpts in which Anzaldúa alternated languages in the chapter in question were analyzed and compared to the categories that would be analyzed. The results showed that the author used code-switching as a tool to demonstrate who she was and her connection to more than one language, just as she claimed not to have a single identity.

**Keywords:** Code-switching, hybridity, identity.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>1 INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>9</b>
1.1 Justification	10
1.2 Research problem	10
1.3 Research question	11
1.4 Objectives	11
<b>2 CODE-SWITCHING AND CHICANOS</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1 Being a crossroads	11
2.2 Code-switching and language learning	13
2.3 Chicano languages	14
<b>3 AN ANALYSIS OF CODE-SWITCHING IN <i>HOW TO TAME A WILD TONGUE</i></b>	<b>18</b>
3.1 Types of code-switching	18
3.2 Parts of speech - intrasentential switching	20
3.2.1 Pronouns	21
3.2.2 Verbs	21
3.2.3 Adjectives	22
3.2.4 Articles	22
3.2.5 Prepositions	23
3.2.6 Conjunctions	23
3.2.7 Adverb	23
3.2.8 Nouns	24
<b>3.3 Contextualized code-switching</b>	<b>25</b>
3.3.1 To address value judgments	25
3.3.2 To refer to identity	26
3.3.3 Description	26
3.3.4 To mention food	27
3.4 Identity-reflective code-switching	27
<b>4 CONCLUSION</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>32</b>

## INTRODUCTION

The book entitled *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987) was written by a Chicana author named Gloria Anzaldúa, in which she portrays the situation of social inequality, prejudice, unfulfilled human rights, and identity issues about Chicanos. The term Chicano is now commonly used to refer to Mexican-Americans, but for a long time it was seen as a pejorative word that meant inferior and incapable. Carrillo (2020) mentions that the term began to be used by themselves as a symbol of who they are, linking it to their roots. After the 1960s, being a Chicano became related to the political struggle for the rights of Mexican-Americans, and the pride and awareness of being part of the community.

Regarding this subject, Anzaldúa (1987, p. 194) points out "That denying the Anglo inside you is as bad as having denied the Indian or Black." Before the Chicano Movement, the denial of the indigenous and black background was a common thing, and preference was given to the Spanish root (or European, in general) because of the hope that if Chicanos were perceived as white, they could have the same rights as whites in the United States. But Anzaldúa (1987) asserts that neither background should be denied, they need to be embraced.

And she uses more than one language to emphasize her various roots through a phenomenon called code-switching, in which speakers use more than one language in the same utterance or conversation (MIKAHAL, 2016). As stated by Mozzillo de Moura (1997a), code-switching always has a reason to happen, even if it occurs unconsciously. It may be for linguistic, cognitive, or emotional motivation, demonstration of power, preference for a language, or loyalty to a culture, among other factors.

In *Borderlands/La Frontera*, the main reason for the presence of code-switching is the representativeness - the author's acceptance of her roots. The use of the two languages is also part of who she is. In childhood, Anzaldúa was put in the corner of the room because she tried to explain to the teacher how to pronounce her name (Gloria Anzaldúa). Something that the teacher answered with: "If you want to be American, speak 'American'. If you don't like it, go back to Mexico where you belong" (1987, p. 53). And when she was already in college, she was required to take two speech classes to lose her accent.

These examples portray Mexican-Americans as cornered into choosing one of the parts that compose them and end up denying the other. There is also a video on TED Talk in which the speaker Michelle Navarro (2018), who is Mexican-American, says that her mother encouraged her to only speak in English. Because of the prejudice against having a Mexican heritage, it took her years to have contact with Mexican culture and an interest in learning

Spanish. Then, using English and Spanish is a cultural loyalty to what was imposed on Mexican-Americans, it is a form of resistance. A reflection through code-switching of what represents Chicano Spanish in the lives of Chicanos.

This study uses Lo's (2007) model regarding the motivation behind the author's use of code-switching, emphasizing the function of language as identity-reflective that Anzaldúa demonstrates in practice, and the types of code-switching proposed by Poplack (1980) that happened in the text, by selecting excerpts from chapter 5, *How to tame a wild tongue*.

### **1.1 Justification**

The present research is justified because of the relevance of the existing conflict between the United States and Mexico, which still causes political tensions between Mexican-Americans and Americans. In this sense, the proposal is to analyze how the use of two languages, English and Spanish, is reinforced by Mexican-Americans, something Anzaldúa (1987) does to show her American and Mexican roots, to express her origins and who she is.

This work aims to discuss identity issues related to the author's life as a Mexican-American and to emphasize the relationship between language and culture. Through literature and code-switching, it becomes possible to show the hybridism in Anzaldúa's work and even in her life. A sense of hybridity tied to the common feeling of not having a home, which is held by Mexican-Americans.

### **1.2 Research problem**

Code-switching was for a long time considered (and still is, sometimes) a performance flaw of speakers, but this work aims to emphasize its relation with speakers' identity. Thus, fragments of chapter 5 of the book *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987) and the alternation of languages used by the author will be analyzed. As literature can also represent the social issues present in the world, this study intends to describe the identity-reflective code-switching performed by Gloria Anzaldúa.

### 1.3 Research question

This work seeks to answer the following question: How is code-switching used throughout chapter 5 of *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* as a symbol of identity reflection?

### 1.4 Objectives

#### Main objective:

To analyze how Gloria Anzaldúa's code-switching in *How to tame a wild tongue* reflects Chicanos' identity by alternating between English and Spanish.

#### Specific objectives:

- To identify the types of code-switching in the text (intrasentential, intersentential, and extrasentential);
- To examine the parts of speech of intrasentential code-switching;
- To analyze code-switching in the text.

## 2 CODE-SWITCHING AND CHICANOS

### 2.1 Being a crossroads

In 1846, the Mexican-American War was taking place. It happened because the United States was trying to expand its areas into Mexican territory, having in 1845 started the process of annexing Texas (SULLIVAN, 2012). The following year, the Mexican government expressed that the country was in a "defensive war" against the United States.

This conflict ended in 1848 after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in which Mexico relinquished 55% of its territory to the United States. Portillo (2014) says that in exchange for all this territory Mexico received \$15 million US dollars. Then, the United States took areas of Arizona, California, New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, Nevada, and Utah.

The treaty stated that citizens who remained in the areas annexed to the United States would be American citizens if they did not leave the region within one year of signing it. A few thousand Mexicans made their way south to Mexico. Most of them stayed on because it was difficult for them to make the trip or not lose the land they already owned.

Furthermore, they were assured by the United States government that they would continue to have their properties and that their political rights would be respected, as well as

ensuring the preservation of their language, culture, and religion. But instead of respecting these pre-established conditions, the Americans treated Mexicans who became US citizens with disgust and contempt, in general, as Manoel de Andrade indicates for the *Revista electrónica de Los Hispanistas de Brasil* (2013).

Just as the Americans have been occupying the areas that once belonged to Mexico, conflicts began to arise in those places, with Texas being a land that even members of the United States army were afraid to enter. Thus, the conflict was marked by the blood of those involved since killing was not regarded as a crime by the people of both groups. On the contrary, it became an honor to kill someone from a group considered a rival (from the United States or Mexico).

The United States was not giving due importance to the death of Mexicans, who were also part of US citizens. In the newspapers, there were mentions that the killings had been naturalized, and it was demanded that those who killed Mexicans should be punished. As Manoel de Andrade (2013) points out: "The Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty, which had assured them equal rights with US citizens, was, in fact, their physical, legal, economic, and cultural death sentence." Even though they were officially part of the United States, they had no government to turn to.

In addition to all this chaos, Texas's landowners expelled a portion of Mexican-Americans from their farms by threatening to murder them if they returned to the area. In this way, they were deprived of their property, their language was also often forgotten in their families after a few generations, and so was their culture.

However, Mexican-Americans (also known as Chicanos) began to nurture a sense of group while fighting for their rights. Chicanos had in mind that they would not be accepted by Mexicans as Mexicans, nor even by Americans as Americans; they walked between these two groups. They are a mixture, as Anzaldúa (1987, p. 195) observed:

To survive the Borderlands  
you must live sin fronteras [without borders]  
be a crossroads.

The borders Anzaldúa addresses go beyond the wall constructed between Mexico and the United States, even if the physical barrier is something clear for the perception of the existing conflict between the two countries. Borders entail areas of separation and proximity between cultures, communities, races, and genders. And Anzaldúa (1987) carried with her the complexity of many different cultures, as did other Mexican-Americans. If someone lives in

the borderlands there is no way to have just one identity because there is always spatial confusion about which group people fit into, but that is already a place. The space of the one who walks between cultures, of the one who is in the middle.

## **2.2 Code-switching and language learning**

Code-switching occurs in discourse by mixing two or more languages by bilinguals or multilinguals (POPLACK, 2001). According to Myers-Scotton (1993), it was from the 1970s onward that scholars began to pay more attention to the topic, before that it was generally perceived as a flawed aspect, a performance error. However, Poplack (1980) explained that code-switching is a linguistic skill that demands strong competence in more than one language, not a lack of it.

Teeman and Pinnegar (2007) ponder that code-switching is usually not done randomly but with a particular purpose. Also, Cantone (2007) claims that bilinguals can choose which language they want to use. However, Hoffman (1991) indicates that bilingual behavior is more complex than that, as speakers can be natural bilinguals if they learned their second language at the same time as their first one in a natural environment. And there are also secondary bilinguals who learn their second language through school.

Further discussing bilingualism, Romaine (1995) summarizes the following types of child bilingualism:

1. One person one language: the parents have different native languages, but each has some competence in the language of the other. In this type of situation, the language of one parent is the dominant one in the community and each parent speaks his or her language with the child from birth.
2. Non-dominant home language: in this second scenario, the parents have different native languages, but both use the non-dominant language at home. Then the child's exposure to the dominant language occurs outside the home, mainly at school.
3. Non-dominant home language without community support: the parents speak the same language and use that language at home, but the dominant language is not theirs. In other words, the child is exposed to a new language.
4. Double non-dominant home language without community support: the parents have different native languages and the dominant language is not the one of either parent. In this situation, each parent uses their language to talk to the child.

5. Non-native parents: both parents speak the same language, which is the dominant one. However, one parent always uses a language that is not his or her native language to speak to the child.
6. Mixed languages: the parents are bilingual, as are the people and the community around the child. Then, parents use code-switching and mix languages to talk to their children.

In the case of Mexican-Americans, for example, they start by learning Spanish at home, and Rosas (2015) mentions that it is not often that they learn Spanish and English at home at the same time. Rumberguer (1998) points out that it is common for Mexican-Americans to have parents who cannot speak English, making it more complex for them to interact in English at home.

In the case of children who are learning a second language and who do not speak that language at home, they often switch between languages. Teeman and Pinnegar (2007) state that children may do this because of a lack of lexical access, as they know one term in one language but not another. In addition, they may also switch for emotional reasons or to emphasize a particular point, and these two points are in line with what the present work supports.

### 2.3 Chicano languages

Poplack (1980) claims that people who switched languages without difficulty were fairly proficient. In addition, she says that bilinguals who were more proficient used intrasentential switching more than intersentential switching, as language barriers were less apparent. Concerning this point of view, there are three types of code-switching - according to Poplack (1980) - and Koban (2013, p. 1175) describes them as:

- **Extrasentential**, in which tag elements are added in a monolingual speech. Example: “Porque estamos en huelga de gasolina, *right?*”
- In the case of **intersentential**, the code-switching happens outside the sentence or the clause level. Example: “Le dije que no quería comprar el carro. *He got really mad.*”
- Meanwhile, **intrasentential** code-switching happens at the clause, phrase, or word level. Example: “Abelardo tiene los *movie tickets*. ”

As for the code-switching in *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987), Anzaldúa sometimes alternates languages mid-sentence, as if she intended to give Spanish about as much importance as English in her production. Berry (2015) says that Anzaldúa challenges the idea of one language as the dominant one. It reflects who Anzaldúa is, a person who identified herself as being hybrid.

Thus, it is important to signal that code-switching can have the function of helping the author tell the story of a group of people, such as Latinos in the borderlands (SCHALL, 2012), being a natural and authentic way to situate the characters and the setting of the story. Schall (2012) also explains that code-switching in literature can express identity and group membership: "This is who I am. This is the language I use and value." Besides being culturally and linguistically related, code-switching can also create a connection and a sense of belonging, in which readers recognize themselves in the author's experience.

Regarding the expression of identity, Hall (2014) recalls three conceptions of cultural identity that have existed. In the first case, the Enlightenment subject refers to a centered and unified identity, endowed with abilities and reason, and that has always remained the same. In the second case, the sociological subject is based on the identity between the "I" and society, recognizing the subject as a part of a whole. Then, there is the postmodern subject, which does not have a single or permanent identity and is more fluid. In addition, the author also addresses that current societies are constantly changing, something that occurs quickly and permanently. Postmodern societies are characterized by differences, through different social divisions and antagonisms that generate a variety of identities. Therefore, changes in society go hand in hand with changes in identities.

In a study by Lo (2007), she proposed the importance of identity for language when she said that language has the functions of learning and communication, but also of identity reflection. In the same work she did a survey asking teachers and students which of these functions was the most important, and the majority answered that it is the communicative one, as people need it to express their thoughts and feelings. Next, the learning function was the most voted, while most considered identity-reflective as the least important one.

Despite that, the latter is also an important function of language. For example, there is the case of a student who told Lo (2007) that she used English at school but made "inside jokes" in Mandarin so that it would not make sense to other people and they would not know what was being said. Then, Lo (2007) discussed that some of the reasons why they are set for a person to choose to use a language in a group are:

1. Choose who can participate in the interaction;



2. To exclude those who are not wanted to participate in the interaction;
3. To keep secret what was discussed;
4. Create a high degree of coherence and dependence in the group;
5. Greater sense of belonging to an ethnic background;
6. Expressing meanings that are only possible to achieve in one language.

Analyzing the points proposed by Lo (2007) in *How to tame a wild tongue*, it can be said that Anzaldúa focuses on those who have some knowledge of both English and Spanish. The intention is not to make it easy for those who do not speak both languages, hence there is no translation in most of the times she alternates languages. She does not exclude other people from access to her work but makes a more direct type of conversation with those who go through the same situation as her.

Besides, there is no secret in what is said by her, but it is a personal report of the author. And it creates a sense of dependence on the Chicanos group and belonging to one or more ethnic backgrounds since Anzaldúa's text is relatable to Chicanos and other minorities to identify themselves in her discourse and fortify their origins.

According to Mozillo de Moura (1997b, p. 49), the stigmatization of minority language speakers can cause them to seek not to be recognized as part of a minority group but can also cause a sense of "loyalty, pride, and solidarity with their peers" to emerge. The author defines that the code-switching arising from cultural loyalty happens when language is employed as a form of necessity to express cultural traits. Something Anzaldúa strives to do, as she says she is also guided by the mixture of cultures, she tries to represent her various roots in her production:

So, if you want to really hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity - I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself. Until I can accept as legitimate Chicano Texas Spanish, Tex-Mex, and all the other languages I speak, I cannot accept the legitimacy of myself. (ANZALDÚA, 1987, p. 59).

In the paragraph above, the author explains the direct relation that Ethnic identity has with linguistic identity. To accept herself, Anzaldúa affirms that she would also have to accept her language. Thus, the fluidity that exists in her way of dealing with languages intertwines with understanding her fluidity between groups and her willingness to be free to perceive herself as an individual. Anzaldúa's identity intends to be open to change, to add a bit of the other, but also to keep its roots.

Berry (2015, p. 28) claims that Anzaldúa's work has the political message of implying that English and Spanish should coexist in American "culture" as a way of "destabilizing established power structures". In other words, code-switching is also a way to resist, to go against the hegemony of the majority and binarism. Concerning binarism, Bhabha (1994) says that it is the division between groups in a fixed way - as if things cannot be fluid.

This strict division generates the so-called linguistic terrorism, which Anzaldúa (1987) mentions as an attack on someone's native language - something done by the dominant culture. According to Bernius (2018), this concept can be linked to the censorship or silencing of cultural groups and people. The author further speaks that the linguistic terrorism in Anzaldúa's book is about oppression. In Anzaldúa's case, the conflict involves Spanish speakers, Latinos, and English speakers.

Since the ideas of standard Spanish and English strive for language to be grammatically correct and pure. Although there is no standard speaker, there is the notion of what deviates from that purity, such as the Spanish and English of the Chicanos. Furthermore, Mena (2021) states that Mexican-Americans have their languages considered deficient, as if both their Spanish and English are not sufficient or even academic enough, based on this standard that seeks to eliminate mixing and aims for purity.

Even Mexican-Americans can have this idea of a standard language. It led Chicanos to be denied a formal education in Spanish for many years, as English gained the status of an important element for social climbing since English was considered a key factor in people's chances of getting a good job.

On the other hand, most Mexican-American parents interviewed by Extra and Verhoeven (1994) expressed delight in the possibility of their children being able to speak more than one language. One of the reasons they said is that their children would have greater economic security both in the United States and in Mexico, because of the ability to interact and communicate with people outside their community.

In addition, the authors found that it was common among Mexican-American parents to fear that their children would lose their ability to speak Spanish, and emotional reactions to the topic were displayed. Thus, the parents interviewed revealed a commitment to their Mexican roots and even difficulty getting used to life in the United States in some cases. One example is that one of the mothers interviewed said that she was afraid that her children would not want to go back to Mexico and that they would not keep in contact with their family due to their lack of Spanish speaking skills.

### 3. AN ANALYSIS OF CODE-SWITCHING IN *HOW TO TAME A WILD TONGUE*

The present study is qualitative and quantitative bibliographical research regarding excerpts from *How to tame a wild tongue* from the book *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987) by Gloria Anzaldúa. More specifically, an analysis has been made on the role of code-switching in the text, keeping in mind reports from the author herself and the history of the Chicano movement, for a more contextualized assessment.

Regarding the focus of the analysis, it was chapter 5, as the author addresses more directly the relation between culture, language and identity. Making it easier to verify the idea that code-switching can also occur because of identity reflection, according to Lo (2007). In addition, the categories of analysis proposed by Poplack (1980) have been used as a basis for this work. Thus, to understand the structural issue of Anzaldúa's sentence construction, the types of alternation found in the chapter have been discussed, which can be considered intrasentential, intersentential, and extrasentential. Moreover, the grammatical categories of intrasentential code-switching and the contexts in which code-switching was applied in the text have been analyzed.

In the entire book and throughout chapter 5, Anzaldúa makes use of Spanish words, as well as full phrases, sentences, and stanzas in the language. Since the title of the book, English and Spanish are used to break the hegemony of English, making room for Spanish. Meaning the Spanish of the Chicanos, not the “standard” one.

#### 3.1 Types of code-switching

In the figures below the focus has been given to the categories proposed by Poplack (1980) regarding the types of code-switching in the chapter *How to tame a wild tongue*. As no examples of the extrasentential type have been found, the other two types - intrasentential and intersentential - have been analyzed.

Table 1 - Examples of intersentential code-switching

Intersentential
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. “Flies don’t enter a closed mouth” is a saying I kept hearing when I was a child;</li> <li>2. <i>Hocicona, repelona, chismosa;</i></li> <li>3. <i>Muchachitas bien criadas;</i></li> <li>4. <i>El Anglo con cara de inocente nos arrancó la lengua;</i></li> <li>5. <i>A veces no soy nada ni nadie. Pero basta cuando no lo soy, lo soy;</i></li> </ol>

6. My brothers and sister say the same;
7. “Soy mexicana”;
8. *tenémos que hacer la lucha*;
9. *un nuevo lenguaje*;
10. Chicano Spanish is not incorrect, it is a living language;
11. *evolución, enriquecimiento de palabras nuevas por invención o adopción*;
12. *Deslenguadas. Somos los del español deficiente*;
13. *Vámonos a las vistas*;
14. *bajo sexta*.

Source: The author (2022)

In general, the intersentential code-switching found in the text was marked by a period to delimit its end or a comma, which served as a common barrier to this type of code-switching. Regarding the number of occurrences, 14 examples of intersentential code-switching were spotted in the excerpts analyzed.

Table 2 - Intrasentential code-switching

#### Intrasentential

1. *Es una falta de respeto*;
2. *Ser habladora*;
3. *mal criada*;
4. *nosotras, nosotros*;
5. *nos quieren poner candados en la boca*;
6. *reglas de academia*;
7. *español ni inglés*;
8. *mexicanas y latinas*;
9. *agringadas*;
10. *Nosotros los*;
11. *nosotros los mexicanos*;
12. *and (x3)*;
13. *mexicanos del otro lado*;
14. *mexicanos de este lado*;
15. *“soy mexicana”*;
16. *“soy Chicana”*;
17. *o “soy tejana.”*;
18. *“Raza”*;
19. *“mexicana”*;
20. *and at others will say*;
21. *Raza*;
22. *tejanos*;
23. *Los Chicanos*;
24. *norteamericano*;
25. *humildes*;
26. *quietos*;
27. *nosotros los mexicanos*;

28. *mestizas*;
29. *mestizos*;
30. *mestisaje*;
31. *burla*;
32. *somos huérfanos* ;
33. have created variants of Chicano Spanish;
34. *bailes* - *noun*
35. *bolero* - *noun*
36. *norteño*
37. *conjuntos*
38. *corridos (x4)*
39. *corrido*
40. *cantinas*
41. *cantina*
42. *tortilla*
43. *panza*
44. *fajitas*
45. *chile colorado*
46. *tamales*
47. *menudo*

Source: The author (2022)

As for intrasentential code-switching, it was the most commonly found throughout the analyzed paragraphs, with 52 occurrences observed. The two types of alternation complement the ideas written by Anzaldúa regarding the notion of borders because intersentential code-switching has the role of borders present in life, even if sometimes not perceived, they are there. Regarding intrasentential code-switching, it corroborates Anzaldúa's goal of walking in a more fluid and mixed way between languages. It seems as if Anzaldúa is not only talking about borders but is also creating more borders and breaking them down as well, as she takes turns between languages throughout the text.

### 3.2 Parts of speech - intrasentential switching

Fragments of intrasentential code-switching performed by Anzaldúa have been analyzed to understand the recurrence of the elements she used when switching languages, especially Spanish. Then, the figures below are based on the so-called parts of speech, which have nine divisions: nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, articles/determiners, and interjections - no example of interjection was identified. It is important to mention that some words may have more than one classification, depending on the context.

### 3.2.1 Pronouns

They serve to replace nouns (directly or indirectly), to recall them, or refer to them. In the chapter, the most frequently encountered pronoun was "*nosotros*", which gave the idea that Anzaldúa was also part of those identity groups that were being addressed by her. And Anzaldúa displays this belonging when she resorts to personal language during her work, she does not act as if she is only observing the groups she is part of, but also sharing the same experiences. She tells her own story along with that of the Chicanos.

Table 3 - Pronouns

pronouns	
nosotras	nosotros (x5)
nos	otro
este	others

Source: The author (2022)

In one passage, Anzaldúa even discusses the pronoun "*nosotras*", which remained unrecognized by her for a long time until she heard the pronoun used in the feminine in a conversation between a woman from Puerto Rico and one from Cuba. This pronoun has been used by the author to address the topic of feminism issues for Chicanos, as it was an infrequent subject for them. And so it is throughout the text that the author uses parts of speech to raise agendas that involve the minority.

### 3.2.2 Verbs

Verbs are used to indicate actions ("read" or "study"), occurrences ("become" or "happen"), or states of being ("be" or "feel"). Thus, because they have a primordial function, it can be seen why verbs rank third among the terms that appear the most in the paragraphs analyzed, as Anzaldúa uses *soy* (or "*ser*" and "*somos*") several times.

Table 4 - Verbs

verbs	
ser	es
quieren	poner
soy (x3)	will

say	have
created	somos

Source: The author (2022)

### 3.2.3 Adjectives

Adjectives are words that describe, evaluate, or define the meaning or qualities of a noun or pronoun. In *How to tame a wild tongue*, the author uses adjectives related to ethnicity (as in the case of the term mexicanos), as she says, not just to talk about place. In addition, she makes use of adjectives to describe Chicanos.

Table 5 - Adjectives

adjectives	
habladora	criada
mexicanas (x2)	latinas
agringadas	mexicanos (x3)
americanos	tejana
raza (x2)	mexicana
mestizo	tejano
norteamericano	humildes
quietos	huérfanos
Spanish	norteño
colorado	

Source: The author (2022)

### 3.2.4 Articles

Articles are special modifiers that appear before nouns or noun phrases; like adjectives, they help clarify the meaning of the noun in the sentence. The most commonly encountered article in the text was "*los*", which referred to groups, for example, "los mexicanos".

Table 6 - Article

article
una
la

los (x5)
el

Source: The author (2022)

### 3.2.5 Prepositions

Prepositions are considered a "closed class" because they have few terms in their class. In contrast to nouns, adjectives, and verbs, which are always adding new words to their groups, the most recurrent preposition found in the text was *"de"*.

Table 7 - Prepositions

<b>prepositions</b>
de (x3)
en
at
of

Source: The author (2022)

### 3.2.6 Conjunctions

A conjunction is a part of speech that connects two words, phrases, sentences, or clauses. It helps to add variety to writing because it can create sentences with different styles and meanings; as the most common conjunction, "and" has been found. Something interesting is that most of the conjunctions were found in the English alternations, as Anzaldúa used the conjunction as a way to move from Spanish to English at times.

Table 8 - Conjunctions

<b>conjunctions</b>
ni
y
and (x3)

Source: The author (2022)

### 3.2.7 Adverb

Adverbs help to describe the things being said, in such a way as to convey emotions and feelings about the matters discussed. Furthermore, the adverb found was *"mal"*,



which was connected to "*criada*" to give the notion that daughters who went against some ideas of their parents were "*mal criadas*". A belief that was not from the author, but came from a third party.

Table 9 - Adverb

<b>adverb</b>
mal

Source: The author (2022)

### 3.2.8 Nouns

The noun refers to individuals, things, ideas, and different items on the planet, even though there were a couple of repeated terms, this category was composed of several words.

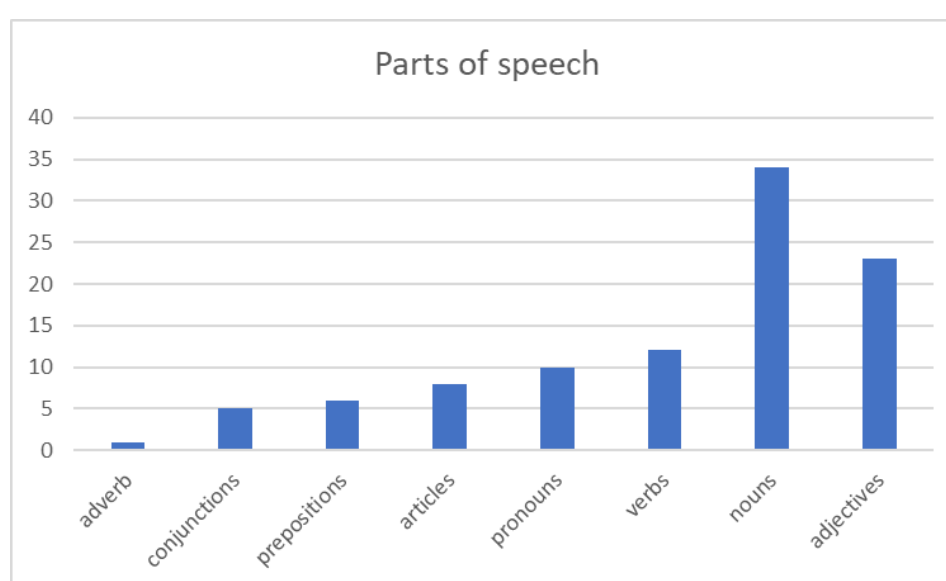
Table 10 - Nouns

<b>nouns</b>	
falta	respeto
accent	candados
boca	reglas
academia	español
inglés	lado (x2)
mexicanos-chicanos	mestizas
mestizos	sangre
variants	"mestisaje"
burla	bailes
bolero	conjuntos
corridos (x4)	corrido
cantinas	cantina
tortilla	panza
fajitas	chile
tamales	menudo

Source: The author (2022)

Below is a summary chart based on the parts of speech classified into eight categories. Most of the terms analyzed throughout the intrasentential code-switching conducted by Anzaldúa were nouns, followed by adjectives and verbs. Due to their characteristic of describing things, the adjectives were in second place in the graph since the author made constant reference to her group and its characteristics. Moreover, nouns and verbs emerge as fundamental parts in most sentence formations because they have a clear meaning - without being so dependent on other parts of speech to be meaningful.

Figure 1 - Distribution of terms linked to intrasentential switching



Source: The author (2022)

### 3.3 Contextualized code-switching

There are four classifications concerning the types of situations in which code-switching was present in the chapter.

#### 3.3.1 To address value judgments

Some of the situations in which the author used code-switching were when value judgments were mentioned. Usually, they were not signaled by quotation marks, but the context showed that these were not the author's thoughts. It was as if she was making use of other people's words. The first example is a saying which shows that it was a common belief.

- ***En boca cerrada no entran moscas.*** “Flies don’t enter a closed mouth” is a saying I kept hearing when I was a child.

- *Muchachitas bien criadas*, well-bred girls don't answer back
- *Hocicona, repelona, chismosa*, having a big mouth, questioning, carrying tales are all signs of being *mal criada*.
- *Es una falta de respeto* to talk back to one's mother or father.
- We're afraid the other will think we're *agringadas* because we don't speak Chicano Spanish.

In the following case, "accent" is in quotation marks, being a common topic for Chicanos due to the tendency people have to seek to conform to the standard.

- *Qué vale toda tu educación si todavía hablas inglés con un "accent"*.

### 3.3.2 To refer to identity

Most of the terms found in this category were related to the groups that the author was part of, and there was also the case of the term "norteamericano," which was not about her, but about the North American culture, in that context. Although the word could also be applied to who Anzaldúa was if it were used in another context, since she was also a North American.

- *"nosotras,"*;
- *nosotros*;
- *mexicanas y latinas*;
- *Nosotros los* Chicanos straddle the borderlands;
- Among ourselves we don't say *nosotros los americanos, o nosotros los españoles, o nosotros los hispanos*;
- We say *nosotros los mexicanos* (by mexicanos we do not mean citizens of Mexico; we do not mean a national identity, but a racial one);
- We distinguish between *mexicanos del otro lado* and *mexicanos de este lado*;
- *mestizo* when affirming both our Indian and Spanish (but we hardly ever own our Black ancestry);
- *Raza* when referring to Chicanos;
- *tejanos* when we are Chicanos from Texas;
- *Los Chicanos*, how patient we seem, how very patient;
- We know what it is to live under the hammer blow of the dominant *norteamericano* culture;
- *nosotros los mexicanos-Chicanos*;
- we, the *mestizas* and *mestizos*, will remain.

### 3.3.3 Description

The final category of words found were those that described who Chicanos were, being taken as a benchmark how Chicanos were seen from the point of view of others.

- *Humildes* yet proud, *quietos* yet wild
- *Deslenguadas. Somos los del español deficiente.*
- We are your linguistic nightmare, your linguistic aberration, your linguistic *mestisaje*, the subject of your *burla*.
- Racially, culturally and linguistically *somos huérfanos* - we speak an orphan tongue.

### 3.3.4 To mention food

Anzaldúa asserts that food and certain smells are connected with identity, having described some experiences she had with her family that involved food. In these situations, she would use the Spanish names of traditional Mexican foods without trying to find an English translation for them:

- My sister Hilda's hot, spicy *menudo*, *chile colorado* making it deep red, pieces of *panza* and hominy floating on top.
- My brother Carito barbequing *fajitas* in the backyard.
- I can see my mother spicing the ground beef, pork, and venison with *chile*. My mouth salivates at the thought of the hot steaming *tamales* I would be eating if I were home.

### 3.4 Identity-reflective code-switching

In this section will be discussed a few excerpts related to the identity-reflective character of the code-switching used by Anzaldúa. However, first, it is relevant to reiterate that in sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.4, some textual elements such as pronouns, adjectives, and even names of foods illustrate the identity issue. It also happens in the rest of the author's text, which continues to address identity matters, but in a more direct way regarding its relationship with language, as will be analyzed in the paragraphs below:

If a person, Chicana or Latina, has a low estimation of my native tongue, she also has a low estimation of me. Often with *mexicanas y latinas* we'll speak English as a neutral language. Even among Chicanas we tend to speak English at parties or conferences. Yet, at the same time, we're afraid the other will think we're *agringadas* because we don't speak Chicano Spanish. We oppress each other trying to out-Chicano each other, vying to be the "real" Chicanas, to speak like Chicanos. There is no one Chicano Language just as there is no one Chicano experience (p. 39).

The above paragraph addresses the idea that there is not just one Chicano language or experience, something that goes along with Anzaldúa's idea of making her book not defined.

Thus, mixing poems with narratives, and languages, and even constructing and deconstructing herself. It is evident the esteem and resistance the author had to make use of her native languages, of being able to express herself freely through them.

The use of code-switching in Anzaldúa's work proposes to de-marginalize the adopted language. Something that Schmidt (2011, p.45) corroborates by saying that Chicano literature sees Spanish as a way of "taking the community back", since Spanish is not placed as inferior to English. It is considered that both languages are important in the overall sense of the work. Anzaldúa even expresses in the preface to *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987) what her goal is with code-switching in her book, which is to reflect the mixture of languages that constitute her language. A language that is new and is from Borderlands.

*Nosotros los Chicanos* straddle the borderlands. On one side of us, we are constantly exposed to the Spanish of the Mexicans, on the other side we hear the Anglos' incessant clamoring so that we forget our language (p. 44).

It is noticeable above that there is a resistance not to put aside Spanish. Even though there is a request from part of American society to focus on English, Spanish is also exposed to Chicanos and is embedded in who they are. Anzaldúa (1987, p. 64) states that: "When other races have given up their tongue, we've kept ours. We know what it is to live under the hammer blow of the dominant *norteamericano* culture." Despite suffering attacks from people who feel prejudice against those who are not only part of the American group or those who use a non-standard language, the Chicanos resist by preserving their origins and their language.

But it comes at such a high level of attack on the way Chicanos talk that the Chicanos themselves become attached to the rules, to what is academically and socially accepted as correct:

Even our own people, other Spanish speakers *nos quieren poner candados en la boca*. They would hold us back with their bag of *reglas de academia* (p. 35).

It is also part of the reality of Chicanos to question whether they should change the way they speak, look for a different accent, or speak only in English. Something similar to the case of Northeasterners in Brazil, who are also influenced by the belief of a "neutral" accent

that is said to be the proper one. They often wonder if they should moderate their accent when, in reality, everyone has an accent.

Then, As they deal with cultural, racial, and linguistic attacks, people who grow up speaking Chicano Spanish may believe that their Spanish is bad:

*Deslenguadas. Somos los del español deficiente.* We are your linguistic nightmare, your linguistic aberration, your linguistic *mestisaje*, the subject of your *burla*. Because we speak with tongues of fire we are culturally crucified. Racially, culturally and linguistically *somos huérfanos* - we speak an orphan tongue (p. 38).

The fact that their language is associated with something bastardized and illegitimate makes Anzaldúa even claim that Chicanos use the differences in their language against each other. At the same time that they do not want to be called "agringadas" for not using Chicano Spanish, they sometimes conform to something said to be the standard language.

The passage below deals with Chicano Spanish and whether or not it is wrong, which Anzaldúa concludes it is not. But it is a language that has developed naturally and has been enriched by adopting terms from other languages or creating new words. Chicano Spanish, like its own people, has the characteristic of seeking to accept that it is mixed and not one:

But Chicano Spanish is a border tongue which developed naturally. Change, *evolución*, *enriquecimiento de palabras nuevas por invención o adopción* have created variants of Chicano Spanish, *un nuevo lenguaje. Un lenguaje que corresponde a un modo de vivir.* Chicano Spanish is not incorrect, it is a living language (p. 35).

Auer (1995) claims that the choices speakers make in a conversation express the identity they hope to convey to others. That is, the Chicanos and Anzaldúa use code-switching to express the fluidity of their social identities, as they are moving through a multidimensional sociolinguistic space.

Anzaldúa is arguing for the ways in which identity is intertwined with the way we speak and for the ways in which people can be made to feel ashamed of their own tongues. Keeping hers wild - ignoring the closing of linguistic borders- is Anzaldúa's way of asserting her identity (ANZALDÚA, 1987, p. 33).

Finally, the author not only uses code-switching to communicate with her readers, but she makes use of the identity-reflective function of code-switching in *How to tame a wild tongue*. As Hall (2015) addresses, identities are not just related to being but also to becoming.

They deal with constant transformation, transcending time and space. And Anzaldúa uses code-switching to ignore the strict linguistic borders and other boundaries in her life, following the idea of being open to change. Showing all the time how hybridity presents itself in her words and her life, she seeks to maintain herself as resistance to the use of Chicano Spanish and English and the acceptance of her roots.

## CONCLUSION

In summary, the majority of the code-switching that occurred in the analyzed excerpts in *How to tame a wild tongue* were of the intrasentential type, which supports Poplack's (1980) theory that this is the most common type of switching among native speakers of a language. In total, there were 14 intersentential and 52 intrasentential code-switching records.

In addition, the terms Anzaldúa used the most were verbs, adjectives, and nouns, which are meaningful parts by themselves, without needing as much from other parts of speech, in general. As for the adjectives, they collaborated so that Anzaldúa could give characteristics to the Chicanos, whether they were real to her or from the point of view of others. Usually, when people are talking about someone, adjectives will be used to characterize that person, and that is what she did with the Chicanos. Especially for a group that is considered so mixed, many adjectives to reinforce that mix were used.

Similarities were also found regarding the contexts in which code-switching was applied by Anzaldúa; she used the alternation to: address value judgments, refer to identity, describe Chicanos and to talk about food. This supports the theory that code-switching is not applied randomly, but usually with intent, as the author demonstrated she had these patterns to switch between one code and another.

In conclusion, the analysis indicated that the author used code-switching beyond the communicative purpose as a form of identity-reflective code-switching. She even claims how important her language is for her to be accepted as she is. Anzaldúa's fluidity when dealing with languages and her roots shows who she was as a person, which is this sense of being hybrid. As much as it sometimes hurts to walk between groups and not be accepted by any of them, she takes advantage of the possibility of knowing the differences to go on building herself as a human being and also to develop her languages.



## REFERENCES

- ANDRADE, Manoel. **Os Chicanos**. Hispanista, Mar. 2013.
- ANZALDÚA, Gloria et al. **Borderlands/La Frontera**. na, 1987.
- AUER, Peter. The Pragmatics of Code-switching: A Sequential Approach. In MILROY, Lesley; MUYSKEN, Pieter (eds.) *One Speaker, Two Languages: Crossdisciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 115-135.
- BERNIUS, Micaela. *Linguistic Terrorism in Borderlands, Comfort Woman, and The Handmaid's Tale*. 2018.
- BERRY, Alaina. **The Effects of Code-Switching: How Bless Me, Ultima Explores Chicano Culture and American Identity**. 2015. PhD Thesis. Ashland University.
- CANTONE, Katja F. **Code-switching in bilingual children**. Dordrecht: Springer, 2007.
- CARRILLO, Karen Juanita. How the Chicano Movement Championed Mexican-American Identity and Fought for Change: Chicano activists took on a name that had long been a racial slur—and wore it with pride.. *In: History stories*. [S. l.], 18 Sept. 2020. Available at: <https://www.history.com/news/chicano-movement>. Accessed: 3 Jul. 2022.
- EXTRA, Guus; VERHOEVEN, Ludo. *The cross-linguistic study of bilingual development*, 1994.
- HALL, Stuart. A identidade cultural na pós-modernidade. Tradução: Tomaz Tadeu da Silva & Guaciara Lopes Louro. Rio de Janeiro: Lamparina, 2014.
- HALL, Stuart. Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In: **Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory**. Routledge, 2015. p. 392-403.
- HOFFMANN, Charlotte. **Introduction to bilingualism**. London: Longman, 1991.
- HOMI, K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, Londres/Nueva York. 1994.
- KOBAN, Didem. Intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching in Turkish-English bilinguals in New York City, US. **Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences**, v. 70, p. 1174-1179, 2013.
- LEE, Min Jin. *Pachinko*. Grand Central Publishing, 2017.
- LO, Kwan Ngai Vivian. *Cultural identity and code-switching among Chinese immigrant students, parents and teachers*. 2007. Doctoral Thesis. Faculty of Education - Simon Fraser University.

MENA, Mike. LINGUISTIC Terrorism/"How to tame a wild tongue" by Gloria Anzaldúa (1987). [S. l.: s. n.], 2021. Youtube, 2021. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hn-S6Ky4eUU>. Accessed: 1 Jul. 2022.

MIKAHAL, Iyad Ahmad Hamdan. Code switching as a linguistic phenomenon among Palestinian English Arabic bilinguals with reference to translation. 2016. PhD Thesis.

NAVARRO, Michelle. Moving Beyond the Chicano Borderlands. Youtube, 2018. Available at: [https://www.ted.com/talks/michelle\\_navarro\\_moving\\_beyond\\_the\\_chicano\\_borderlands](https://www.ted.com/talks/michelle_navarro_moving_beyond_the_chicano_borderlands). Accessed 14 Feb. 2022.

MOZZILLO DE MOURA, I. Motivações para a alternância de código no discurso bilíngue. Trabalhos de Linguística Aplicada, Campinas, Jan/Jun de 1997a, p. 51-67.

MOZZILLO DE MOURA, Isabella. **Traição lingüística e lealdade cultural. A alternância de código no discurso bilíngüe**. 1997b. Doctoral Thesis. Master's Dissertation, UCPEL.

SCOTTON, Carol Myers. **Social motivations for codeswitching: Evidence from Africa**. Clarendon Press, 1993.

POPLACK, Shana. Sometimes I'll start a sentence in spanish y termino en espanol: toward a typology of code-switching1, 1980.

POPLACK, Shana. Code-switching (linguistic). **International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences**, v. 12, p. 2062-2065, 2001.

PORTILLO, Luis. Historia de los pueblos. In: Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo. [S. l.], 2014. Available at: <https://www.historiacultural.com/2014/10/tratado-de-guadalupe-hidalgo.html>. Accessed: 8 Jul. 2022.

ROMAINE, Suzanne. Bilingualism. 2. ed. Oxford: Blackwell. 1995.

ROSAS, Gabriela. Acquiring English as a Second Language for Mexican American Students. 2015.

RUMBERGER, Russell W.; LARSON, Katherine A. Toward explaining differences in educational achievement among Mexican American language-minority students. **Sociology of education**, p. 68-92, 1998.

SCHALL, Janine. Codeswitching: Why Do It?. In: Worlds of words. [S. l.], 15 maio 2012. Available at: <https://wowlit.org/blog/2012/05/15/codeswitching-why-do-it/>. Accessed: 2 Jul. 2022.

SCHMIDT, Margaret. The limitations of code switching in Chicano/a literature. **Young Scholars in Writing**, v. 8, p. 40-51, 2011.

SULLIVAN, Major Patrick. Manifest injustice: a critical analysis of the Mexican-American war. 2012. 93 p. Master's thesis (Master of Defence Studies) - Canadian Forces College, [S. l.], 2012. Available at: <https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/298/286/sullivan.pdf>. Accessed: 7 Jul. 2022.

TEEMANT, A. & Pinnegar, S. *Understanding Language Acquisition Instructional Guide*. Brigham Young University-Public School Partnership, 2007.