

STATUS & SOLIDARITY THROUGH CODESWITCHING:
THREE PLAYS BY DOLORES PRIDA

A Thesis

by

SHERI ANDERSON

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

May 2004

Major Subject: Modern Languages

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ABSTRACT

Status & Solidarity through Codeswitching:

Three Plays by Dolores Prida. (May 2004)

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This analysis employs the sociolinguistic framework of status and solidarity (Holmes, 2001) to examine the use of codeswitching on the relational development between the characters in three plays by Cuban-American playwright Dolores Prida. The three plays discussed are *Beautiful Señoritas* (1978), *Coser y cantar* (1981) and *Botánica* (1991). Linguistic scholars recognize the lack of linguistic analysis of literary texts; specifically, codeswitching at present is not fully explored as a linguistic phenomenon in written contexts. Furthermore, Prida's works have never before been appraised using linguistic methodology. Hence, this work aims to add to scholarly research in the fields of codeswitching, discourse analysis, and literary linguistics, using the status and solidarity framework to examine the codeswitching in Dolores Prida's plays.

Dolores Prida is a feminist and Hispanic dramatist whose central theme is the search for identity of Hispanic immigrants, specifically women, in the United States today. Due to her ideological stance, it is expected that a strong emphasis on solidarity rather than status and the use of affective rather than referential speech functions are present in the relationships in her plays.

Accordingly, the analysis of *Botánica* reveals that indeed codeswitching between the characters does affect their relational development in maintaining solidarity and intimacy. However, the relationships found in *Beautiful Señoritas* and *Coser y cantar* do not offer such conclusions, due to the variable nature of the relationships identified. Further analysis of these and other literary works will more accurately determine benefits of the status and solidarity framework as applied to the codeswitching research.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION & METHODOLOGY

Objectives & Hypothesis

The aim of this thesis project is to analyze the effects of the phenomenon of codeswitching on relational development through the sociolinguistic paradigm of status and solidarity as found in three plays by the well-known Cuban American play-writer Dolores Prida. The three plays discussed are *Beautiful Señoritas* (1978), *Coser y cantar* (1981) and *Botánica* (1991). In order to compare the prevalence of issues of status versus solidarity in the three theatrical pieces, each text is analyzed for occurrences of codeswitching and each switch is examined using the status and solidarity framework as outlined by Janet Holmes (Holmes, 2001). In this thesis, codeswitching (CS) is defined as the use of two or more different languages within the same passage, sentence, or word in spoken and written communication. The framework employed in this analysis reveals details regarding the linguistic nature of the discourse, to examine how CS affects the relational development of the characters, and to demonstrate how status and solidarity influence interactions between the characters. This analysis considers each text individually, and then compares the three works to reveal patterns in Prida's works pertaining to codeswitching, status and solidarity.

The hypothesis is that the codeswitching present in Prida's works is crucial in the relational development of the characters. This assumption is based on the fact that the majority of her reviewers (Feliciano, 1994, 1995; Sandoval, 1989; Watson, 1991; Weiss, 1991) mention and even highlight the switching between Spanish and English in her

This thesis follows the format of the *American Psychologist*.

works. Furthermore, when analyzed using the status and solidarity framework, an emphasis on the solidarity or intimacy between characters rather than on the status of the relationships is expected. When the functionality scales are applied to each codeswitching interaction, it is further hypothesized that a higher occurrence of affective rather than referential speech functions will be found in the codeswitches.

Preface

Early codeswitching researchers (Keller, 1979; Lipski, 1985) claimed that literature as a text is not a constructive corpora for the linguistic analysis of codeswitching due to its lack of interactive spontaneity and the fact that texts are edited and molded to fit the purposes of the audience. Nevertheless, in recent years sociolinguists, literary critics, and scholars of pedagogy are beginning to see the significant value in the application of linguistic methodology to the analysis of literary texts. Increasingly, publications are found which apply linguistic concepts and methodology to literary documents (Canonica-de Rochemonteix, 1991; Diller, 1998; Fennell and Bennett, 1991; Jordan, 1999; Sialm-Bossard, 1981; Talib, 1996; Wilhelmi, 1994). For instance, in 2002 Laura Callahan, from the University of California Berkley, published her doctoral dissertation entitled “Spanish/English Codeswitching in Fiction: A Grammatical and Discourse Function Analysis.” In addition, the paper Longxing Wei’s paper “Obscurity and Image beyond Language: A Stylistic Analysis of ‘The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock’” was presented at the third Conference of the International Association of Literary Semantics at the University of Birmingham, UK.

To date, inadequate scholarly research is found on codeswitching in literature, and even less on codeswitching observed in drama. Furthermore, the sociolinguistic paradigm of status and solidarity as yet has not been applied to the genre of drama. While some scholarly publications exist on power, status, and solidarity in literary texts (Diaz and Fco, 1999; Jaworski, 1998; S'hiri, 1992), few, if any works deal specifically with theatre and no sources are found regarding the analysis of codeswitching through this framework. The genre of theatre is therefore selected for this undertaking for two purposes; first, to consider how codeswitching is presented and perceived in theatre, and second, to analyze what sociolinguistic observations are made using the status and solidarity framework model. While the genre of theatre does encompass pre-determined texts and does not allow for the analysis of spontaneous speech, theatre is dialogue since the characters speak to one another, and is by nature designed to mimic the linguistic behaviors of individuals in authentic situations. Overall, this thesis adds to the growing scholarly research in the fields of codeswitching and discourse analysis through the blending of linguistic methodology and analysis of these three plays by Dolores Prida.

Dolores Prida is a feminist and Hispanic writer well known for the mixing of languages in her works. By using codeswitching techniques in her plays, she attempts to penetrate the social realities of Hispanic-American life and allows the audience or reader to have a better understanding of the experiences and struggles her characters portray. *Beautiful Señoritas*, *Coser y cantar*, and *Botánica* are specifically chosen as texts for analysis since they contain numerous examples of codeswitching and deal with unique themes associated with status and solidarity. Wilma Feliciano points out, “Prida’s

characters, even those born here, suffer the multiple conflicts of the immigrant. Uprooted from their native lands, they search their cultural history to define themselves as individuals and as Latinos. All her characters are bilingual, but instead of linguistic reconciliation, their *Spanglish* reveals physical and psychological displacement” (Feliciano, 1994, p. 125).

The themes found in Dolores Prida’s plays are personal to her life experiences yet reach out to minority populations such as women and Hispanic Americans, and most often deal with the search for identity. The focus of the first play, *Beautiful Señoritas*, is the image of the female body and female roles in the Latino cultures. Set up as a satirical beauty pageant, each of the characters in *Beautiful Señoritas* represents one aspect of the female stereotype forced upon women in the Hispanic society as they search for meaning and purpose in their pursuit for beauty. The second play, *Coser y cantar*, also deals with issues of female identity as the two characters ELLA and SHE, who are two sides of the same woman, act out this bilingual monologue between and within themselves. In an interview with Dolores Prida in the fall of 1995, Wilma Feliciano asked,

Your assertion that *Coser* ‘must never be performed in just one language’ suggests that it is an intensely personal play, intended strictly for bilingual audiences. Was that your intention?” She answered, “No, not at all. Language is the third character. If you do this play only in one language, it doesn’t work (Feliciano, 1995, p. 115).

Finally, *Botánica* explores the struggles of immigrant families and their children as they try to find their place between the old and new cultures. This Puerto Rican inner city

melodrama touches on themes of immigrant identity technologically advancement of the modern era, globalization, and gentrification as well.

In all three of these works, codeswitching plays a major role in the development of the characters, as well as in the overall portrayal of the aforementioned themes to the audience. To date, no linguistic analysis of Dolores Prida's plays exists, specifically related to issues of either codeswitching or to the status and solidarity found therein.

Methodology

Prida's three works and the relationship between codeswitching and the status and solidarity found there are best analyzed using a systematic approach. First, each codeswitch is recognized and highlighted in the text, and each turn taking is numbered (called the line number) for reference and quick identification of each switch. An occurrence of codeswitching is identified when a specific speaker switches from one language to another within his or her own turn. For example, in *Beautiful Señoritas* in line 7 Don José says, "A girl! [¡No puede ser! ¡Imposible!] What do you mean a girl!..." ([] indicates codeswitch).

For each occurrence, the act, line number, speaker and who is spoken to are recorded (See Table 1.1). Next, each codeswitch is labeled and identified by the language that was switched from and to (Spanish to English or English to Spanish), whether the occurrence is intrasentential (CS within a sentence or phrase) or intersentential (CS between whole sentences), and thirdly, by the relationship that exists between the participants of the occurrence, (i.e. family, friends, spiritual, professional).

Table 1.1: Database Record Sample

Act	Line	Speaker	Speaking To	Language	CS	Relationship
I	42	Ruben	Pepe	E-S	intrasentential	Friends

The sociolinguistic paradigm of status and solidarity, as outlined by Janet Holmes (2001), facilitates the evaluation of each codeswitch and appropriately determines its nature regarding status and solidarity. In discourse analysis and gender studies, this paradigm is often referred to as the paradigm of ‘power and solidarity’ (Brown and Gilman, 1960; Brown and Levinson, 1987; Friedrich, 1972; Tannen, 1990, 1993, 1996; Tannen & Kakava, 1992). However, for the purposes of this study the term ‘status’ instead of ‘power’ is used since the personal power of one character over another is not discussed, but rather the equal or unequal status of each relationship is determined. According to Brown and Gilman (1960), “one person may be said to have power over another to the degree that he is able to control the behavior of the other. Power is a relationship between at least two persons, and it is non-reciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behavior” (Brown and Gilman, 1960, p. 255). Status, on the other hand, deals with the relationship between the participants as they and society position them in relation to one another (Holmes, 2001).

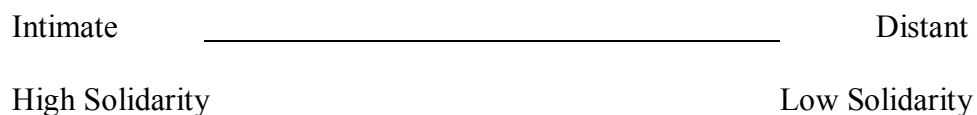
Thus, in order to best examine and evaluate each codeswitch on these terms, four key dimensions categorize each switch and determine its placement within the status and solidarity framework.

The four key dimensions are (Holmes, 2001, p. 9-10):

1. A social distance (solidarity) scale concerned with participant relationships;
2. A status scale concerned with participant relationships;
3. A formality scale relating to the setting or type of interaction;
4. Functional scales (referential/affective) relating to the purposes or topic of interaction.

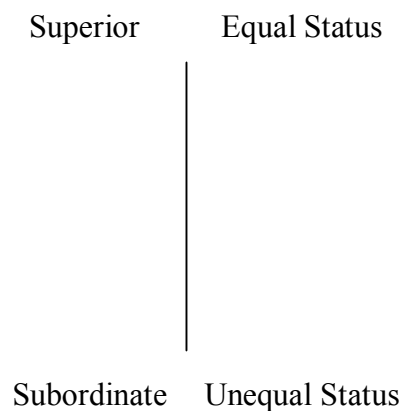
First, dimension one consists of the social distance scale, which allows for an understanding of the intimacy of a relationship (see Figure 1.1). For example, family members share a higher degree of intimacy and solidarity than people in a professional relationship who are more distant in their interactions. A relationship is defined in each play when two characters interact through oral dialogue; if two characters are in the same scene but do not speak to each other it is not considered a relationship for the purposes of this study. Likewise, any given interaction can be either high or low in solidarity content. For this analysis, the solidarity scale categorizes each of the codeswitches as high or low in solidarity depending on the content of the interaction and allows for appropriate placement within the framework.

Figure 1.1: Solidarity Scale



The status scale is the second dimension used, and it indicates the degree of social significance given to one person over another in a specific relationship (see Figure 1.2). In society, relationships are either equal or unequal in nature due to the socially determined classification system of status; thus, for the relationships discovered in Prida's plays, each is determined to be equal or unequal in nature based on the specific classification system within each play. For example, in *Beautiful Señoritas*, status differs by age, gender, and social standing; however, in *Botánica*, status relies on age, education, and wisdom. On the status scale, an equal relationship falls lower and an unequal relationship falls higher as shown below (see Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2: Status Scale

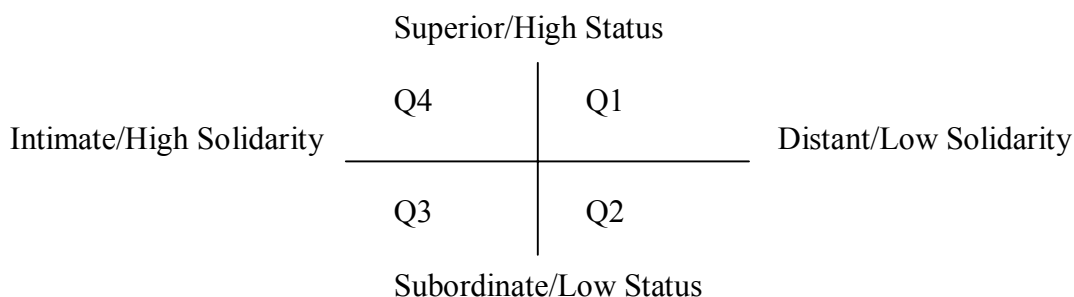


In adding to the power and solidarity framework for this project, when the status and solidarity scales are placed together, each of the four areas can be labeled counter

clockwise 1-4 (see Figure 1.3), to create four quadrants; each of the quadrants labels specific characteristics of a speech occurrence by generalizing those relationships that fall into each class. After determining the solidarity and status of each codeswitching occurrence, each switch is then accordingly placed within the appropriate quadrant for further analysis. Quadrant one (Q1) characterizes relationships that are unequal in status or power and maintain little solidarity or intimacy. For example, an interaction between a police officer and an adolescent on the streets, or a store clerk and a customer fall into Q1. Quadrant two (Q2) is similar in that it also deals with relationships comprised of little solidarity, yet these interactions are between individuals who are of equal status or power in society. For instance, two professors of linguistics who meet at a social gathering or two mothers who meet in a park while playing with their children are of equal status. However, since the individuals are not close friends and did not meet before the occasion, they maintain less solidarity than other types of relationships.

Quadrant three (Q3) classifies individuals in intimate relationships that maintain high solidarity as well as have equal status or power. Best friends and siblings are examples of relationships that fall into Q3. In these relationships, which are equal in status, the participants share close familiarity, intimacy and hence solidarity. Finally, quadrant four (Q4) characterizes relationships that maintain high solidarity but are unequal in status. For instance, some relationships classified as Q4 could be: in-laws, grandparents and grandchildren, or family members who work in the same company and must interact within the hierarchy of the company.

Figure 1.3: Status & Solidarity Quadrants



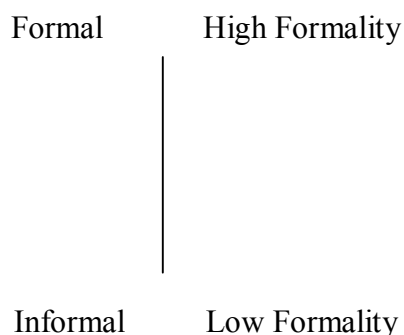
In addition, it is important to note that higher or lower status between individuals in a given relationship is a socially relative concept and can only be determined within the social context of a relationship. For instance, in some cultures, age is a key determinant in social status (Pozzetta, 1991); those who are older may be considered to have more wisdom, thus deserving more respect and higher social status (as common in Hispanic and Asian cultures). However, in other cultures those who are younger and appear more physically attractive may be deemed to have higher social status (as in the United States). Overall, those who do not meet the culturally determined qualifiers for higher status in a given relationship are classified as having lower social status. When determining the status of the relationships found in Prida's plays the norms and general patterns present in Hispanic communities are taken into consideration to label each relationship appropriately.¹

Thirdly, the formality scale labels the setting of each situation as being formal or informal in nature (see Figure 1.4). Holmes says,

This scale is useful in assessing the influence of the social setting or type of interaction on language choice....Often degrees of formality are largely determined by solidarity and status relationships. But not always. A very formal setting, such as a law court, will influence language choice regardless of the personal relationships between the speakers (Holmes, 2001, p. 10).

When looking at the codeswitching in Prida's plays it is expected that the majority of instances will occur in settings that are more informal. As researchers have suggested (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Jacobson, 1978) codeswitching most often occurs in more relaxed, casual or intimate settings where people are comfortable and do not consciously think about their language use, as they may in formal settings. The formality scale allows for a better understanding of the codeswitching context and gives a more accurate picture of the switches as they are placed on the functionality scales within the framework.

Figure 1.4: Formality Scale



Finally, the fourth dimension includes the functionality scales; both the referential and affective scales (see Figures 1.5 and 1.6). These scales are useful in recognizing what type of speech functions occur in specific instances, how the participants use codeswitching in discourse, and what effect the speech function has on the codeswitching occurrence. The referentiality of a switch is determined by the amount of information offered. For example, in *Coser y cantar* when SHE asks “¿Qué pasa?” this is considered low referentiality because her character does not offer any information; while ELLA’s statement “No haber roto ni un plato. That’s regret for sure” is high in referentiality because it makes an informative statement of fact (Prida, 1991, p. 173, 53).

Figure 1.5: Referentiality Scale

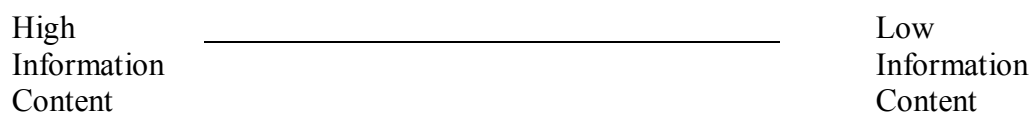
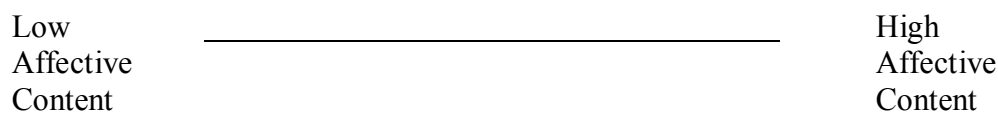


Figure 1.6: Affectiveness Scale



On the other hand, the amount of emotional or sentimental messages relayed through the speech function determines the affectiveness of a switch. Thus, in *Botánica*

when San Lázaro says to Millie “...Business is business” (id., p. 70) there is little emotion or emotive content and is therefore, categorized as low affectiveness. However, in the next line when Millie exclaims “What do you mean ‘business is business’...” (id., p. 71) this is highly emotive and categorized as high affectiveness.

In addition to the above categories, the types of functions of speech are identified for each codeswitch as one of the following: aesthetic (or poetic, focuses on aesthetic features of language), expressive (expresses speaker’s feelings), directive (gets someone to do something), metalinguistic (comments on language), phatic (expresses solidarity and empathy with others), question (poses a question), or referential (provides information), (Holmes, 2001, p. 259).² The identification of the types of functions of speech gives a complete picture of the purpose and use for the codeswitch and appropriately places the switch into the status and solidarity framework. The categorization of each switch is based on the words used, the nature of the relationship and the outcome of each switch.

In the end, each relationship falls into one of the four quadrants depending upon the circumstances, the solidarity, and the social status asserted by each individual. The perceptions relayed through these four quadrants are culturally relative and only understandable within the cultural context of any given relationship. When applied to Prida’s three plays, this project uses the status and solidarity framework and the four quadrants to determine the role of codeswitching in her works and to establish how codeswitching effects the relationships developed in the plays. (See Appendix I for a listing of the comparative results.)

CHAPTER II
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND:
CODESWITCHING, POWER & SOLIDARITY

Codeswitching: Definitions

But I used to eat the bofe, the brain. And then they stopped selling it because tenía este, le encontraron que tenía worms. I used to make some bofe! Después yo hacía uno d'esos concoctions: the garlic con cebolla, y hacía un mojo, y yo dejaba que se curara eso for a couple of hours....(Poplack 1980, p. 597)

This quote, recorded from natural speech by Shana Poplack, demonstrates how individuals use switching between languages in order to express the deepest significance and importance of meaning in everyday situations. Bilingual speakers employ codeswitching for a variety of social, psychological, and linguistic reasons; and although codeswitching took place across cultures and throughout history, it is only recently, within the last sixty years, that the field of sociolinguistics has considered CS as a respectable field of research. In the United States, codeswitching between Spanish and English is one of the most commonly studied combinations as Hispanic immigrants are among the largest group and consist of 13.3% of the country's population according to the latest census (Ramirez & Cruz, 2003).

A variety of names and labels describe codeswitching (CS) and the related events, which occur during CS. Currently 'codeswitching' is the most commonly accepted form in both spelling and meaning of the term. However, as Erica J. Benson

(2001) states, “In addition to ‘codeswitching,’ alternately written as two words ‘code switching’ and with a hyphen ‘code-switching,’ various other terms have been used to label the phenomenon including; ‘codemixing,’ ‘codeshifiting,’ ‘language alternation,’ ‘language mixture,’ and ‘language switching’” (Benson, 2001, p. 24).

Scholars and sociolinguistics around the world continue to question the definition of CS and often dispute and redefine this term as new studies take place. Poplack (1980) looked at codeswitching in terms of the points in the syntactic structure where a switch can occur and be defined by two constraints: the ‘free morpheme’ and the ‘equivalence.’

The ‘free morpheme constraint’ is that the speaker may not switch language between a word and its inflection unless the word is pronounced as if it were in the language of ending; hence it is possible to have an English/Spanish switch *flipeando* (English *flip* + Spanish *ando*), as flip is possible in Spanish, but not *runeando* as run is impossible. The ‘equivalence constraint,’ [on the other hand,] is that the switch-point must not violate grammar of either language; so it is possible to have the English/French switch *J’ai acheté un American car* as it preserves the grammar of both languages but not to have *a car americaine* as this would violate English word order (original emphasis, Aronoff & Rees-Miller (Eds.), 2001, p. 506-507).

Later the government model of codeswitching (DiSciullo et al. 1986) proposed that codeswitching cannot come within a lexical head of a phrase; “...for example, the head *see* governs the object Noun Phrase in *see the book* and so keeps the rest of the phrase *the book* in English” (original emphasis, Aronoff & Rees-Miller (Eds.), 2001, p. 507).

Currently the most widely accepted theory is the Matrix Language Framework Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993), which holds that in codeswitching there is a Matrix Language (ML) and an Embedded Language (EL). The ML dictates the grammatical structure of an utterance when a codeswitch occurs; although specific words come from the EL the phrase must conform or at least match the ML structure.

Codeswitching vs. Borrowing

When languages come into contact, there is usually an interchange of ideas, cultural norms and linguistic forms. Speakers, both monolingual and multi-lingual, borrow words from other languages into their own and use the borrowed words as new and independent lexical items. For example, most monolingual English speakers regularly use the Spanish words ‘enchilada’ ‘casa’ ‘adios’ or ‘san’ in proper nouns such as San Diego, San Antonio and San Francisco in the same manner as native Spanish speakers, and may not even identify these words as being Spanish when they are used in free speech. Likewise, monolingual Spanish speakers borrow the words ‘computer’ ‘cellular telephone’ ‘truck’ and ‘ticket’ into their cultural lexicon. This phenomenon of borrowing is distinct from codeswitching. When speakers use words from another language in this way they do not codeswitch, but rather borrow specific words into their own language. A speaker must be bilingual in order to truly codeswitch between two distinct languages.

The disparity between codeswitching and borrowing is resolved for most linguists, though scholars continue to revisit this topic on occasion. Gumperz defines borrowing as “the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from

one language into another” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66). Additionally, Kamwangamalu identifies borrowing as “the end product rather than the process....it is integrated phonologically, morphologically and syntactically into the grammatical system of the borrowing language” (Kamwangamalu, 1999, p. 60).

Myers-Scotton (1992) argues that borrowing and codeswitching fall on a continuum, and depending upon the speaker and the language switching situation, a word may be borrowed, indicate codeswitching, or be between the two phenomenon. Myers-Scotton says,

The constraints on [codeswitching and borrowing] occurrences are different. This is a reflection of the fact that B[orrowed] forms have become part of the M[atrix] L[anguage] mental lexicon; whereas CS forms remain as E[mbedded] L[anguage] material which only occurs in the ML morphosyntactic frames during codeswitching discourse. Accordingly, the constraints on the occurrences of CS forms are specially related to those governing multiword codeswitching materials (Myers-Scotton, 1992, p. 21).

While some scholars attempt to define borrowing more specifically (Poplack, 1978, 1980; Sankoff, Poplack & Vanniarajan, 1990), these definitions and concepts of borrowing as opposed to codeswitching remain accepted today and will be used in this work.

Historical Background of Spanish-English CS Research

In order to understand the historical development of codeswitching research, it is important to first look at the history of sociolinguistics itself as a field of study. Despite

the fact that codeswitching has been, and continues to be, studied under many different linguistic umbrellas, including those in psychology, anthropology, communication, and others, codeswitching research truly came into its own through the field of sociolinguistics. In 1962 sociolinguistics became an accepted field of study as a result of publications presented by the linguistic anthropologist Hymes (1962) on the 'ethnography of speaking' and continued to grow with William Labov's (1966) work on the correlation of dialectal variation in a speech community with sociological variables in 1966. Joshua Fishman's work (1964, 1968, 1972) and Gumperz & Hyme's reader (1972) further raised awareness regarding the field of sociolinguistics by including it as a sub-field within linguistics and encouraging readers to see the important social motivations behind language and speech patterns. These publications were fundamental in creating public and academic awareness to the emerging study of society and social life within the realms of sociology, anthropology and linguistics. They further created a space for codeswitching and brought it to the forefront of linguistic studies during the 1970's and 80's. While discussing the historical development of the social significance of codeswitching the sociolinguist Christopher Stroud says:

The assumption that members of bilingual speech communities attach different rights, identities and obligations to each of their languages is at the heart of the sociolinguistics accounts that Myers-Scotton, Heller, and McConvell give for conversational code-switching. For these authors, speakers who code-switch are seen as appealing to the rights, obligations and identities associated with each

language. In this way, code-switching is socially meaningful (as cited in Auer, 1998).

Before the 1950's very few works mentioned or recorded detailed descriptions of the codeswitching phenomenon. Scholars in psychology, sociology, anthropology, history, and even linguistics considered CS to be an anomaly or accident of bilingual speech, where the bilingual speaker showed an inability to speak correctly in both languages. Bilingual speakers who participated in CS during conversations were considered inept in completing a thought in the primary language being used by both parties. Espinosa (1917) conducted the first known study of CS based on Spanish-English CS in the United States. According to Espinosa, "CS was just a random mixture of the languages available to a bilingual speaker" (Espinosa, 1917, p. 408). Later, Uriel Weinreich (1953) dismissed CS in his classic work on language contact phenomena. He said, "The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation, but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence" (cited in Myers-Scotton, 1993a). Hence, as the common thought on CS prevailed in the early part of the twentieth century, few researchers considered CS a legitimate topic of research or study.

In addition, it seems there was an academic bias against such studies. When Espinosa began his work on descriptions of Spanish-English bilingualism, little acknowledgement was given to the languages of the American Southwest and then only to the languages of the Native Americans, not to Spanish. Any CS behaviors Espinosa recorded were brushed off as unimportant since the population with which he chose to

work was considered irrelevant. This confusion of CS as a speech phenomenon of its own and the bias by academia against languages in contact led to the dismissal of CS for decades; and it was not until the 1970's, when Blom and Gumperz's publication regarding CS in Norway which made CS a recognized phenomenon worthy of study.

Although the term 'switching code' was used commonly in communication circles before the 1950's, Hagen (1953) coined the term 'codeswitching' as it is used in linguistics today. Hagen (1956) defined 'switching' as "a clean break between the use of one language and the other, [and went on to say] it would not include, then, the code switching which occurs when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech" (as cited in Benson, 2001, p. 25). The next year Vogt (1954a) published a review of *Languages in Contact* by Weinreich where he employed the term 'codeswitching.' He wrote, "...the author [Weinreich] has already made perfectly clear, that in speech everything can happen, and that there is no limit to the erratic code-switching that can occur in individual cases under specific condition" (as cited in Benson, 2001, p. 25). Due to these authors, who inaugurated the use of the term in their writings, CS began to be noticed as a specific speech event within linguistic communities and specifically bilingual communication.

Prior to 1950, two sources of references to codeswitching exist: 1) language diaries of bilingual children and 2) anthropological-linguistic investigations of bilingual communities (Ingram, 1989). The language diaries were records by parents, usually those with linguistic backgrounds, of the developmental stages of language acquisition of their children. In addition to language diaries, some of the early anthropological-

linguistic studies done in the United States, mostly in the Southwest regions, greatly resemble the CS studies of today. The majority of anthropological-linguistic studies focused on synchronic language use, differentiating codeswitching from borrowing, as well as the social motivators for CS use.

One of the earliest and best-known studies was done by George Barker (1947) in Tucson, Arizona. In this study, Barker attempted to determine the relationship between social and linguistic behaviors of Hispanic Americans in the region. The principal question Barker set out to research was, “How does it happen, for example, that among bilinguals, the ancestral language will be used on one occasion and English on another, and that on certain occasions bilinguals will alternate, without apparent cause, from one language to another?” (Barker, 1972, p. #). While Barker did not explicitly use the term ‘codeswitching’, he clearly began to study the phenomenon of CS on the population and was one of the first to notice the social consequence of CS behavior. In the end, Barker and his colleagues paved the road for later sociologists, linguists, and sociolinguists that would delve into CS research and answer the questions Barker wished to explore.

After Espinosa, Barker and others, CS was deemed a more legitimate bilingual experience worth studying and references to codeswitching or language alternations continued to appear in linguistic publications, but were often discussed as part of a larger issue or as an occurrence within other studies. Stewart (1968) published an outstanding example of CS in his analysis of diglossia in Haiti. Stewart documented numerous instances of CS use among his subjects, which are still cited today as classic CS examples; however, his paper was primarily on diglossia, not codeswitching. Similarly,

one of the most famous and widely written authors on the subject of codeswitching, Carol Myers-Scotton, admits that “even though I was doing field work intermittently from 1964 to 1973...I never recognized CS as a special phenomenon until 1972” (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p. 48). She goes on to say that, she simply was not looking for occurrences of CS behavior and often found them to be a “hindrance” to her work. As a consequence of the lack of intellectual and academic support of the subject, codeswitching was continually overlooked throughout the beginning half of the twentieth century and was not given any importance in the field of linguistics until much later.

In the 1970's Joshua Fishman (1971) led a new wave of research in Spanish-English codeswitching in New York City where his team began to study the Puerto Rican population and their attitudes towards language. Fishman with his colleagues in their now classic work, *Bilingualism in the Barrio* (1971) made great strides in developing new methodology in sociological research, specifically in the areas of languages in contact, codeswitching, and bilingualism. Others used Fishman's ideas and began to apply them in Spanish-English research across the country. From Texas to Arizona, New Mexico and California, codeswitching became the hot topic of study in sociology as well as sociolinguistics. Some of the key researchers were Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1971), who did one of the first precursor studies on Spanish-English codeswitching in the United States. Guadalupe Valdes-Fallis (1976) is extensively known for her works on Spanish-English codeswitching in the American Southwest. Similarly, Rodolfo Jacobson (1978a/b) and Donald Lance (1969, 1970, 1975a/b) did

research on Spanish-English CS in the Southwestern states. Duran (1981) published several works on Spanish-English CS of Puerto Ricans in New York City. And Lipski (1985) did “an appraisal of the major research strategies affecting the linguistic study of Spanish-English codeswitching” in order to determine the state of codeswitching study to date and evaluate what areas needed further study at the time (Lipski 1985, p. 1). In recent years, Torres (1989, 1992, 1997, 2002) continues to publish on codeswitching in the Puerto Rican population of New York City and is broadening our understanding of codeswitching in this community since Fishman’s work in the 1980’s.

From Espinosa’s work with Spanish and English in the American Southwest in 1917, to Fishman’s work in the 1970’s, to Carol Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Framework Model of the 1990’s, linguists and field researchers continually observed and recorded occurrences of CS behaviors across the United States. They identified how bilingual speakers often mix words, phrases, sentences, and whole paragraphs of conversation with two or more languages, especially in more casual and intimate settings among other bilingual speakers. Despite age, race, or combination of languages, this mixing occurred consistently with no apparent cause or rule and seemed to hinder what researchers considered pure investigation. According to Myers-Scotton, “Preferences for studying switching between languages rather than between dialects is not really surprising, since the utterances contributed by each member are generally easily distinguished in CS between languages, therefore making the data more accessible” (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p. 46). While the early linguists, especially the early sociolinguists, did not have a specific name or method to categorize this behavior, they

knew that while they attempted to explain borrowing, dialect-switching and other phenomena in bilingual speech patterns, something deeper took place between the speakers as they switched languages.

Codeswitching Research in Literary Texts

Throughout the 1970's and 80's little research was done on codeswitching in literary texts as it did not truly represent spontaneous speech and therefore, according to CS scholars, could not be analyzed using the same linguistic methodology or criteria as spoken speech. For instance, John Lipski said:

...because of the fact that written documents—particularly those classed as literary—involve not only conscious reflection but also the inherent correction, editing and rewriting process that accompanies acts of writing, such texts may not be used as specimens of naïve, spontaneous linguistic production. Writing involves a clear self-consciousness, comparable to the linguistic self-consciousness found in stressful situations...and therefore does not represent the uncontaminated output of the speaker's internal linguistic mechanisms.
(Lipski, 1985, p. 73)

What CS research did take place in a literary context was primarily isolated to Spanish-English codeswitching in poetry, specifically Newyorican and Chicano poetry of the era, which emerged in light of the growing Chicano movement across the United States (Bassnett, 1986; de Dwyer, 1977; Flores, 1987; Keller, 1976, 1979; Lauro, 1987; Trujillo, 1978; Valdés-Fallis, 1976, 1977). Even less research was done regarding other literary genres of prose, drama, short stories or popular publications. In 1987 Lauro

Flores noted, “the critical attention that code-switching in Chicano poetry, or more broadly yet, in Chicano literature, has received in past years is amazingly scant. This is especially noticeable when compared with the abundant research that other (unrelated) literary topics have received” (Flores, 1987, p. 136). Repeatedly CS scholars, linguistics, and literary critics called for more attention to be paid to this phenomenon in a literary context as codeswitching became a well-established field of study.

Not until the late 1980’s and early 1990’s did any serious published work emerge involving codeswitching in a literary milieu. Celia Alvarez (1988) was one of the first to publish a dissertation on this topic entitled *The social significance of code-switching in narrative performance*. She continued to publish on this topic (1990, 1991) and is now considered a benchmark scholar in literary linguistics. Likewise, Sally Ann Otton (1988) published a thesis entitled *Cambio de código en el teatro chicano*.

Furthermore, Fennell and Bennett (1991) published a general call for additional research in the area of literary analysis using all types of sociolinguistic methodology including studies of: codeswitching, diglossia, politeness, dialectology, pidgins, creoles, prestige, power and solidarity, etc. They say, “that sociolinguistic theory has much to offer literary analysis would indeed seem still to be a well-kept secret. Far too few researchers have taken advantage of the fundamental tools of sociolinguistics for the direct analysis of individual texts (Fennell and Bennett, 1991, p. 372). Nigel Fabb (1997) applies linguistic analysis to literary texts and discusses the need for further work this area.

While in recent years, research on codeswitching in corpora has been growing (Callahan, 2002; Diller, 1998), this area is still open for further research. The aforementioned authors began the slow movement towards the acceptance of linguistic analysis of codeswitching within literary texts over the past decade however more work remains to be done. One aim of this thesis project is to add to the literature regarding codeswitching, in hopes that scholars will continue working on the issue of codeswitching manifest in literary texts.

Power & Solidarity Framework

In the field of sociolinguistics, Brown and Gilman's (1960) established the now well-known paradigm of power and solidarity with their study on pronouns of address. Other researchers (Friedrich, 1972; Brown and Levinson, 1978/1987) built on their work to establish the paradigm of power and solidarity as one of the keystones in sociolinguistic research today. In light of their work, historically much of the research done using this paradigm has remained in the field of pragmatics through the discussion of pronouns and terms of address (i.e. Blas Arroyo, 1995; Fontanella de Weinberg, 1993; Hook, 1984; Keller, 1974; McGivney, 1993; Sohn, 1981; Stewart, 2001). However, in the last ten years, the fields of discourse analysis, gender studies, and cultural and ethnic studies have all taken a greater interest in this paradigm and adapted its application to the investigation of relevant topics within their fields. Deborah Tannen (1990, 1993, 1996, Tannen & Kakava, 1992) is a leading *Figure* in the development of the power and solidarity framework and its applications in gender and discourse studies. Her book *Gender and Discourse* (1996) made remarkable strides in broadening the use of this

paradigm and encouraged others to rethink its relevance outside the realm of semantics. Numerous scholars (i.e. Blas Arroyo, 1995; Fontanella de Weinberg, 1993; Hook, 1984; Keller, 1974; McGivney, 1993; Sohn, 1981; Stewart, 2001) are now researching and publishing using the power and solidarity paradigm.

According to Brown and Gilman, power is defined by a non-reciprocal relationship where both participants cannot have equal power at the same time. “There are many bases of power—physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army or within the family” (found in Giglioli, Brown & Gilman, 1960, p. 255). They further state that solidarity is a symmetrical or reciprocal relationship in which the participants’ relationship is equal in nature (id., p. 256).

These dynamics are represented in the following manner (id., p. 259):

Figure 2.1: The two-dimensional semantic

Superior and solidarity	Superior and not solidarity
Equal and solidarity ↔	Equal and not solidarity ↔
Inferior and solidarity	Inferior and not solidarity

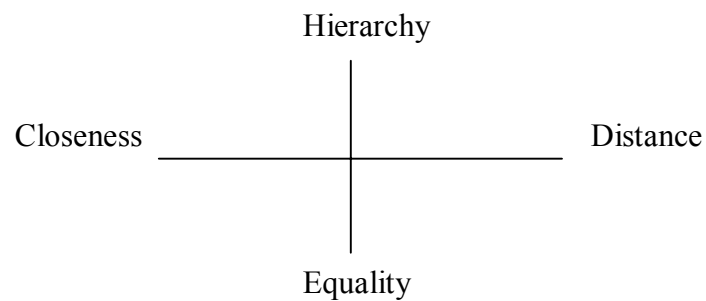
Tannen on the other hand, sees power and solidarity to be paradoxical. She says:

Although power and solidarity, closeness and distance, seem at first to be opposites, each also entails the other. Any show of solidarity necessarily entails power, in that the requirement of similarity and closeness limits freedom and

independence. At the same time, any show of power entails solidarity by involving participants in relation to each other. (Tannen, 1996, p. 22-23)

She therefore represents this dynamic on a spectrum in the following way (id., p. 203):

Figure 2.2: Multidimensional model



When examining specific speech functions and relationships, one must appropriately establish where the participants fall in terms of both power and solidarity in order to accurately determine the nature of a relationship and, hence, the outcomes of an interaction. Likewise, the social context of an interaction must be taken into consideration to understand fully the dynamics of a specific incident of communication. Hence, Tannen's model, as adapted by Janet Holmes (Holmes, 2001), is employed in this project in order to fully grasp the relationships found in Dolores Prida's plays and to establish the nature of the codeswitching interactions.

Theories Applied

This thesis project brings together sociolinguistic theory from the fields of codeswitching research and the power and solidarity paradigm in a unique and innovative way. By applying the status and solidarity framework model to the texts selected for this project, it is hoped that insight will be gained into the nature of the relationships and the discourse presented; as well as into the nature of the codeswitching itself as a linguistic technique to develop and maintain relationships in a bilingual setting. While this is only a small sampling of the application of this paradigm to codeswitching, it is hoped that further work can be done in this area regarding how codeswitching is affected by and how it affects the dynamics of power and solidarity in speech.

CHAPTER III

BIOGRAPHY & WORKS OF DOLORES PRIDA

Biography of Dolores Prida

The now famous and well-known Cuban play-write, poet, editor and director Dolores Prida came from humble roots in the Caribbean. She was born on September 5, 1943 to Manuel Prida and Dolores Prieta in Caibairén, Cuba. In 1959, at the age of seventeen, she immigrated to the United States with her family as Castro rose to power and waves of exiles fled the island. As a young girl, she wrote poems and short stories, however it was in the United States that Prida developed her passion and skills for drama and the arts. She attests to have never seen a play or theatrical performance in her life until she immigrated to New York City; nor did she have any formal training in theatre or theatrical writing (Public interview, 2003b).

In the 1960's Prida was first exposed to literature and formal writing, specifically Hispanic and feminist literature, at Hunter College in New York City. She studied Spanish literature for four years, but did not complete the requirements to attain a degree. While she was at Hunter, Prida worked as Schraffs Restaurants company magazine editor and published her first work entitled *Treinta y un poemas* in 1967 (Meier et al., 1997). In 1987, she received the Excellence in the Arts Award from the Manhattan Borough president for her work. Two years later, in 1989, the self-made Prida received an Honorary Doctorate from Mt. Holyoke College in Massachusetts for her writing and achievements.

Over the years, Prida has worked as a journalist, editor and manager for a variety of companies, magazines, journals, theatre groups and publishing firms. In 1969, she was a foreign correspondent for one year with Collier-MacMillan International as she began to practice and perfect her writing skills. Prida then held numerous short-term appointments as she developed her career and began to publish, including with: Simon and Schuster's International Dictionary (1970-1971), Services for the National Puerto Rican Forum (1971-1973), Spanish Language Daily El Tiempo (1973-1974), London and New York's *Visión* (1975-1976), *Maestro* magazine (1977-80), and International Arts Relations (INTAR) (1980-1983). In 1983, she accepted the position to be director of publications for the Association of Hispanic Arts (Meier et al., 1977). Today, she is Senior Editor of *Latina*, a unique bilingual popular magazine for the female Hispanic-American audience.

Throughout her career, Dolores Prida earned numerous fellowships, grants and awards; she is best known for winning the Cintas Fellowship award for literature in 1977, which she used to publish and produce her first play *Beautiful Señoritas* at the Duo theatre, with overwhelming success. She is also the recipient of the CAPS Playwriting Fellowship and several INTAR fellowships. Prida also taught playwriting for various educational groups, organizations, and companies around New York, and was a play-write in residence for INTAR.

In order to attempt to heal the relations between Fidel Castro and the exiled Cubans living in the United States, Prida made several trips to Havana to speak and took part in talks with government officials. Her trips in 1978 and 1979 led to social and

political reforms, which allowed exiles to return to Cuba to visit their relatives. Her plays, especially *Beautiful Señoritas*, have been produced internationally in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic. Unfortunately, Prida's international acclaim is not without criticism or objection. Due to the strong feminist and Hispanic identity views, which she expresses through her works, her plays, were boycotted and even canceled in light of protests and rallies outside several performance halls. In 1986 in Miami advertised performances canceled because of negative pressure by protesters; and she has even received death threats from extreme right-winged Cuban refugees (Meier et al., 1997).

Despite the negative attention her theatrical works have received, Dolores Prida is one of the prominent Hispanic, female play-writes and authors of the last century. Her plays are frequently included in Hispanic anthologies, literary texts, and compilations of Hispanic American classic works. According to Roberta Fernández, “Dolores Prida is ranked among the most important playwrights of the contemporary Latino theater in the United States. Together with the highly talented María Irene Fornés and Ana María Simó, Prida has helped to develop contemporary Cuban theater in this country” (Fernández, 1994, p. 507).

The Major Works of Dolores Prida

In all, Prida has published over ten works of theatre as well as poetry, scholarly and popular articles and documentary film scripts. Throughout her works, she is known for her humor and irony, which she uses to help the audience question serious social and personal issues. She also incorporates music into her works, which reaches out to

audiences of all backgrounds and interest. Prida strongly expresses in her plays her passion of her Cuban heritage and the Caribbean and African music that is so much a part of the Island's past. For example, *Coser y cantar* blends lyric poetry, boleros, and popular songs to share the bicultural importance of music and *Beautiful Señoritas* incorporates numerous musical numbers into the show. Overall, "the theatricality of Prida's works is most frequently accomplished through an integration of elements of popular culture (songs, proverbs, Santería, or mass culture – beauty pageants, soap operas) with a more conventional naturalism characteristic of the new Latino drama and, of course, of the Latin American drama with the most popular appeal, from comedy to melodrama" (Weiss, 1991, p. 13-14).

During the preparations for a recent production of *Beautiful Señoritas* at the 2003 Latina Letter's Conference in San Antonio, TX, neither Prida nor the director, Marisela Barrera, was able to locate the original music for the play. Hence, they contracted the Chicano band Olínn, from east Los Angeles, California, to recreate the music for this original performance. The group performed the music for a month-long run of the show in collaboration with the Guadalupe Center for the Arts of San Antonio beginning in May 2003 with great success. At the last performance in July at the Latina Letter's Conference where Dolores Prida was present, she commented that she was very pleased with their innovativeness and ingenious musical interpretations for the production. She shared how vital the musical messages are to the production in order to express the meaning and impact intended by her work.

In addition to Prida's style and technique, she is recognized for her overarching feminist and specifically Hispanic female themes, which thread her works together. She speaks about body image and Hispanic female stereotypes; and her works often deal with issues of self-, national-, and sexual-identity. Moreover, they question the modern ideas of the American dream and the immigrant experience. Prida's plays touch on themes of class-consciousness, race and transculturalism, gender, sexuality, modern ambiguity, prejudice, and injustice. Over three decades of writing, Prida has questioned, analyzed, and inquired into the state of the Latino experience in the United States. While she has not offered any simple answers to these difficult issues, "she has not tired, either, of airing the problems with humor, a dash of the cliché, and unfailing compassion" (Weiss, 1991, p. 10). Throughout her career, Dolores Prida has made a mark in Latina and feminist theatre; and she continues to question and learn as Latinos and Latinas search for identity in the United States today.

Prida is most celebrated for her bilingual linguistic competence and her incorporation of both Spanish and English into her works. In Prida's repertoire, her monolingual works include *Pantallas* (1986) that is exclusively in Spanish, and *Savings* (1985), which is entirely in English. However, the majority of her works is bilingual and continually switches between the two languages. Most articles and references to Prida's work mention her mixture of languages and the constant codeswitching of the characters. *Coser y cantar*, for example, is a one-act bilingual fantasy for two women, and is unique because it is a bilingual monologue presented by two female characters but who are in fact two cultural selves of the same woman. The American 'SHE' only speaks in English

and the Cuban 'ELLA' speaks only in Spanish. In her plays, some characters speak solely in Spanish or English, but often the main characters codeswitch as they attempt to discover and define themselves in the bicultural and bilingual world they find themselves attempting to survive. In all three of the plays used for the analysis in this project, codeswitching plays a major role in the development of the characters, as well as in the overall portrayal of the themes to the audience.

Three of Dolores Prida's works are chosen for this project, *Beautiful Señoritas*, *Coser y cantar* and *Botánica* since they contain numerous examples of codeswitching and deal with unique themes which are associated to power and solidarity. As Wilma Feliciano points out, "Prida's characters, even those born here, suffer the multiple conflicts of the immigrant. Uprooted from their native lands, they search their cultural history to define themselves as individuals and as Latinos. All her characters are bilingual, but instead of linguistic reconciliation, their Spanglish [and codeswitching] reveals physical and psychological displacement" (Feliciano, 1994, p. 125).

Prida's themes are personal to her life experience and reach out to minority populations such as women and Hispanic Americans who often deal with personal searching for identity. Describing this play Judith Weiss, in the introduction to Prida's book *Beautiful Señoritas & Other Plays* (1991) says, "...it is the North American feminist rather than a culture-bound Latina who sets up the satire of *Beautiful Señoritas*, but only as a Latina could. The insider's knowledge of the music empowers her to turn it into a weapon against the dominant ideology, and Prida's response to attitudes about women's roles has a first-hand emotional familiarity about it" (id., p. 14).

Beautiful Señoritas

The production of *Beautiful Señoritas* only requires five female actors, one female child actor, and one male actor; nevertheless, each actor portrays a multitude of personalities and stereotypes throughout the show in order to relay the central message of the negativity of Hispanic female stereotyping to the audience. The four *Beautiful Señoritas* who partake in the fictitious beauty pageant are ironically named: Miss Little Havana, Miss Chili Tamale, Miss Conchita Banana and Miss Commonwealth. These actors also play the ‘catch women,’ (who teach the girl how to woo men), the martyrs, the guerilleras, mothers, daughters, and women of all stages of life. The fifth female actor takes on a narrative role as well as other personalities such as, a midwife, a nun, a mother, and a Peace Corp researcher. Her characters represent the moral and traditional role of women as child bearers, housekeepers and male supporters.

A young female actor plays the final female part in this production. The ‘Girl’ is the recipient of all the advice and teachings of the other female characters as they try to show her how to find identity and self worth among the confusion of growing up in a bicultural world. In each scene, the girl receives a physical piece of proof of their teaching, such as a crown, make-up, a scarf, dance moves, and a veil. In the end, she represents the utter confusion and uncertainty that many Hispanic females feel as they grow-up between conflicting cultural norms, expectations and role models. After receiving all the female paraphernalia, the other women are horrified at the mess and bewilderment they have created for the girl. The show ends with a touching song *Don’t*

Deny Us the Music, which talks about women finding the music, self-identity and worth within themselves, not from the inherited stereotyped roles of society.

The sole male actor in the play principally plays the MC of the beauty pageant, however, in order to maintain an symmetry in the show, he portrays numerous other Hispanic male stereotypes, including, Don José, a priest, a husband, a brother, a son, a Mexican campesino, and a man to be caught by the ‘catch women.’ All the roles represented in *Beautiful Señoritas* are largely stereotypes and ironically humorous, even so, each *Figure* reveals the truth about societal expectations of Latina women across the United States, and the effect these stereotypes have on young Latina women as they grow up, especially as occurred during the 1970’s and 80’s.

After the closing of a production of *Beautiful Señoritas* in San Antonio, Texas, at the 2003 Latina Letter’s, Dolores Prida addressed the audience and accepted questions regarding the play and her other works. One audience member asked, “As the play is twenty five years old this year, is there anything you would change or add to make this production more modern and up-to-date? How would you represent the current problems of Latina women and do you think that there are any roles that you would change or add?” Prida promptly responded, “Yes, the show is missing the Latina business woman, the corporate woman, the working woman who works forty hours a week and is still expected to raise children and keep the house.” She expressed her sadness that although her play is twenty-five years old, the themes and stereotypes still function and hold true for Latina women today. She shared how she wishes times had changed enough to make her work irrelevant and not pertinent to today’s society; unfortunately, the truth remains

that Latina women continue to suffer from negative stereotypes and expectations placed on them by both the Hispanic cultures as well as by popular American culture.

Linguistically *Beautiful Señoritas* is witty and ingenious as the characters speak and sing in both Spanish and English throughout the play. They express their Latin selves through Spanish and reach out to explain their roots to themselves and the audience. Phrases such as ‘hija mía’ or ‘mija,’ ‘Dios mío,’ ‘Mami’ and ‘Papi,’ and ‘ven acá’ are repeated to communicate Hispanic cultural identity. On the other hand, English expresses, often with a heavily stereotyped Hispanic accent, the questioning and exploration of Hispanic female identity and discourse within American society. While the main dialogue is in English, frequent switches to Spanish occur in speech and in song. The MC speaks solely in English, which also signifies the dominant status of English in society and Prida’s message that male dominance and linguistic dominance are equally harmful to the Hispanic female search for self-understanding and fulfillment.

Coser y cantar

Coser y cantar, like *Beautiful Señoritas*, addresses issues of female identity, Hispanic female self-acceptance, and the immigrant struggle to redefine one’s self in the midst of conflicting past and present. However, *Coser y cantar* focuses on more than just society’s view of Latina women, this play also “deals with how to be a bilingual, bicultural woman in Manhattan and keep your sanity” (Prida, 1989).

Language is the key element in this drama, which Prida uses to articulate the conflict between Hispanic and American values, which many Latina women face daily. The battle between the languages is used in the play to express the struggle Latina

women feel inside them as they search for identity in a bicultural and bilingual life, both their heritage and their immediate realities pulling at opposites sides of their hearts and minds for dominance and peace. As Prida repeatedly comments, it is in the moments “when ELLA speaks in English and SHE in Spanish, they really become one person. Language ceases to be a barrier. The switch masks a change in their relationship, a tender moment” (Feliciano, 1995, p. 115; personal communication, 2003).

The introduction to the script for *Coser y cantar* contains a revealing note from the author, she says:

This piece is really one long monologue. The two women are one and are playing a verbal, emotional game of ping-pong. Throughout the action, except the final confrontation, ELLA and SHE never look at each other, acting independently, pretending the other one does not really exist, although each continuously trespasses on each other’s thoughts, feelings and behavior. This play must NEVER be performed in just one language (Original emphasis, Prida, 1991, p. 49).

Some say that SHE is the main character in this bilingual play as she represents the dominant culture. However, Alberto Sandoval argues that ELLA is the true protagonist of the work; he says,

Prida’s play is but the re-presentation of Latina subjectivity in process: always in movement, in flux, and oscillating in the dialectics of a bi-cultural identity in the U.S. The conflict of the dramatis persona, ELLA, is how to synthesize both cultures, how to survive and come to terms with the dilemma of a dual selfhood

that is demeaned, marginalized, and silenced by monolingual-ethnocentric-white-Anglo-American systems of power (Sandoval, 1989, p. 203).

Because she is the one who has moved from her birthplace to a new land and is displaced from all that was familiar, safe and valued, ELLA is the true persona of this woman and it is SHE who is the self that must be accepted and reconciled. In the end, both selves must acknowledge the existence, including the strengths and weaknesses, of the other and it is only in their union and cooperation that understanding of their identity transpires.

Another unique symbol in this play is the map that the women continually seek throughout the show. The principal story line of the drama is the search for self-identity, thus, the map symbolizes the outside world and the knowledge of which direction their lives should take. Each woman is searching for herself, truth and a place to belong in her own way; yet, because they are connected they can only find this path together in the end. ELLA says, “¿Dónde habré puesto el mapa?,” and later, “Tengo que encontrar ese mapa” (Prida, 1991, 53, 61). Finally, SHE concludes the play with the significant question “Where’s the map?” (id, 67). Regarding the map Prida says, “The search defines the play. Once they find the map, SHE/ELLA will know where to go but simply finding it would be a sit-com solution. *Coser* is about the process of searching, being, and living; not about easy solutions. SHE/ELLA must find common ground inside before they can venture outside” (Feliciano, 1995, p. 116).

In addition to the search within, *Coser y cantar* deals with the hostile realities of the outside world, and the fear the women have of life beyond their one-room existence.

“The sirens and shootings [heard through the windows] are outside forces that transgress the particular order of things ...The strife of the small world of the state is echoed, punctuated, and repeated by the cacophony of gunshots and sirens. There is a vague anxiety that the outside forces may gain access to the room and kill the inhabitants” (Watson, 1991, p. 191). It is their fear of the unknown and the external world, which brings the women together and helps them to realize their need for each other’s perspectives and strengths to survive.

However, Coser does not offer any solution to the women’s’ dilemma nor does it give definition to Latina women and the lives they lead. “...This woman never achieves a sense of identity. Instead of reveling in her biculturalism and choosing values from both modalities, each half battle to erase the other....To confront communal problems like crime and pollution, the woman must first resolve her spatial-temporal conflicts. Once her personality achieves wholeness...she can relate to her community. Culture is part of identity, too” (Feliciano, 1995, p. 132).

Botánica

This humorous parody takes place in New York City in a botánica, or medicinal herb shop, where the matriarchal grandmother Doña Geno brews love potions, passes out fortunes, and sells other Santería spiritual cures. Her granddaughter Mille/Milagros feels caught between her grandmother’s world of spiritualism and her new interests in banking, finances, and technology. After obtaining a university degree in business administration, Mille is unable to settle for the life her mother and grandmother wish for her, to learn the ancient secrets of Santería and folk medicine and to take over the

running of the herbal shop in the barrio for the family. She desires to work for Chase Manhattan Bank in the international department and wishes to move away from the barrio and from her family. "...the play attempts to reconcile two languages, two cultures and two visions of the world into a cohesive whole" (Feliciano, 1994, p. 132).

Millie's mother, Anamú, is a mild person. She is divorced and does what is needed out of duty and lives life with little passion or purpose. She "embodies the complacency of passive women" (Feliciano, 1994, p. 133). Another important character is Rubén, who is Millie's childhood friend from the barrio and who works at the community development center near his home. He was born and raised in New York City. Moreover, the whole community wishes for Rubén to court and marry Millie. The other characters in the story are Pepe el Indio, Carmen and Luisa who play minor roles, yet help to set the scenes and give perspective on life in the Puerto Rican barrio. These characters personify the characteristics and reactions of many Puerto Rican immigrants as they experience the American influences that affect their daily lives, and portray the struggles immigrants from all backgrounds must face. Pepe el Indio especially represents those who are not able to assimilate or adjust to the new life in America, specifically in New York City, and it is through his eccentric philosophy that Rubén and Millie begin to understand one another in the end.

As in *Beautiful Señoritas* and *Coser y cantar*, *Botánica* expresses themes related to the search for personal and ethnic identity, to seeking for a sense of belonging, and to trying to find meaning in the duality of the second-generation immigrant experience. However, *Botánica* goes beyond Prida's other works to explore humanistic themes of

family, the generation gap, modernization and the use of technology, gentrification, and even globalization. At the conclusion of the show, Millie finds a compromise between the values of her American education and her family heritage by choosing to remain in the barrio and run the botánica. However, her terms are to change and improve the shop through modernizing the enterprise and storing all the herbal remedies electronically.

Linguistically *Botánica* is one of Prida's more complex and intriguing plays. The prime language of the work is Spanish; however, some of the characters do codeswitch to English on numerous occasions to express their American reality and the diaspora life. Millie and Rubén are the most frequent codeswitchers, especially when speaking to one another. Codeswitching is a sign of their friendship and solidarity since they were both born in the barrio, are of the same generation, and share common ideals influenced by both Puerto Rican and American values. However, both Rubén and Millie speak primarily Spanish to other family and barrio members. Millie in particular uses many English linguistic constructions when speaking Spanish. For example, "Spanish does not express subject pronouns except for emphasis or clarification; English requires them. Her repeated use of 'yo' and 'tú' betrays the incursion of English grammar into her speech. Also, she translates the American concept of 'baggage' as personal history literally into Spanish 'equipaje' (Feliciano, 1994, p. 134).

Rubén also takes part in this game as he easily switches between Spanish and English to speak with different people, and as he desires to express unique cultural references in either language. Throughout the play, "characters break into Spanish when describing things that are of emotional importance to them. Older people speak only in

Spanish, providing an aspect of reality to the work. Many times the same lines will be repeated in Spanish or English, adding a different perspective to what has been said and, the case of Prida's works, a satirical touch" (Watson, 1991, p. 195).

The Santería religion is a key idea used by Prida throughout *Botánica* to express the message and depict Puerto Rican life in New York City. Santería is a syncretistic religion taking pieces of belief from African and Catholic religions and has developed in a unique way in New York City. Cuban immigrants brought this religion to the United States in the 1960's and 70's when they fled political oppression and came in mass numbers to the United States, specifically to Florida and New York City (Brandon, 1997; Murphy, 1993). "Puerto Rican Santería is one of such syncretic belief systems whose external manifestations is the parallelism creates between the diverse images drawn from the Catholic cult and the representational deities of an African group...known to ethnologists as the Yoruba" (Dalmau, 1978, p. 6). "Interestingly, "...no evidence of a tradition of Yoruba-Catholic practice akin to Santería ever exist[ed] in Puerto Rico" (Brandon, 1997, p. 108). It is only in New York City where Cuban and Puerto Rican immigrants encountered one another and interacted for the first time that this religion is accepted and practiced by Puerto Ricans.

Saints therefore are used and petitioned as Catholic saints, yet have a unique role in the Santería religion. George Brandon (1997), one authority on Santería says:

The major inroads of Santería into Puerto Rican Espiritismo seem to be in the form of ideological referents. The espiritista distinguishes between guías (spirit guides who readily manifest in mediumistic trance, frequently presenting

themselves as ethnic stereotypes and belonging to the class of 'good' spirits) and saints, who are 'pure' spirits, more remote and less accessible than spirit guides are. Some people have saints as protectors and ritually treat these saints in the Catholic mode with prayer, candles, and requests. They do not expect the saints to communicate with them or to reveal themselves in any way. Still others, however, have identified the saints with the Yoruba deities and see them in trance as if they were spirit guides (Brandon, 1997, p. 108-109).

Overall, the three plays by Dolores Prida, which span three decades of experience and writing, share the essence of who Prida is and what she wishes to share with the world, as a Latina, as a Cuban-American, and as a woman. Repeatedly she sheds light on the struggles of Latina women and through wit, humor, satire and music she challenges the stereotypes and preconceived notions of what 'Latina' means. She encourages Latinas and all immigrants to search for identity in different aspects of their lives and to overcome the confusion of living in a bicultural and bilingual world. She expressed this sentiment pointedly when she said, "Latinos walk a tightrope; we have to balance polarities to prevent falling to one side or the other. That balance differs with each individual. Biculturalism is a positive energy....In fact; we are the truest Americans because we combine the two Americas" (Feliciano, 1995, p. 116).

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS & RESULTS

Beautiful Señoritas

While discussing *Beautiful Señoritas*, Dolores Prida expressed that the work she created takes place in an unreal plane of existence; this mock beauty pageant enlightens the audience to realities of human existence through stereotyping and exaggerating archetypal characters, but does not portray true people or real life events (personal communication; 2003a). However, in so acting, the characters use authentic linguistic techniques in order to make a connection with the audience and communicate the message of the show. Prida articulated her belief that, “in theatre, speech is all you have to develop character” (personal communication, 2003a), thus, the relationships developed in the show are revealed through the mimicking of linguistic routines and daily speech patterns in Spanish-English bilingual communities around the United States. (See Appendix II for complete results from *Beautiful Señoritas*.)

All the main characters depicted in *Beautiful Señoritas* codeswitch on numerous occasions throughout the performance, with the exception of the Girl who plays a minor role and speaks only once. Exactly sixty-seven occurrences of codeswitching are found in *Beautiful Señoritas*; sixty-one occurrences switched from English to Spanish and only six from Spanish to English. This is consistent with Meyer-Scotton’s Matrix Language Framework model, which states, “CS is envisioned as taking place within the constraints of a conceptual frame; the frame is largely set by semantic and morphosyntactic procedures dictated by only one of the two (or more) languages participating in CS, the

Matrix Language (ML). The other language is called the Embedded Language (EL) (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p. 75). Both *Beautiful Señoritas* and *Botánica* maintain a majority of switches from the ML to the EL, despite the fact that English is the ML of *Beautiful Señoritas* and Spanish is the ML of *Botánica*. The switches that do occur from the EL to the ML are most often a second switch within the same line of speech or contained in the same dialog between two characters. For instance, in lines 33 and 58 from *Beautiful Señoritas*, directly after the señoritas finish singing a song in Spanish, the MC speaks in Spanish, and then almost immediately switches back to English, the ML language, as he continues to narrate the story. He says, “Oye, chica, what’s your name?” and “¡Que sabor! Tell us your name, beautiful jibarita...” (id. 25, 28).

In *Beautiful Señoritas*, 60% of the switches are intersentential while only 40% are intrasentential. This is significant for the viewers in that they need to have some understanding of Spanish or be bilingual in order to grasp the full meaning and humor of the play. Dolores Prida stated that her plays are intended primarily for bilingual audiences, yet wishes for speakers of both Spanish and English to be able to understand the discourse in order to hear the message of her works (Public interview, 2003b). One can comprehend the main action and story line of the play without a full knowledge of Spanish; however, many nuances of culture, meaning, and depth are lost without a command of both languages. Often intrasentential switches can be understood through context or by cognate reference, yet, with so many intersentential switches which include longer passages, more complex and regional lexicon, as well as culturally

relevant inflection, it may be difficult for a spectator to fully grasp the significance of specific interactions and more importantly the entire production.

Since *Beautiful Señoritas* is a musical and many of the messages are relayed through song, it is equally important for the audience to understand the words in those songs; many of which are predominantly in Spanish. Without a thorough knowledge of the language, an audience member may miss key transitions and ideas. For example, in act II the Martyrs sing, “Si Adelita se fuera con otro, la seguiría por tierra y por mar, si por mar en un buque de guerra, si por tierra en un tren militar” (Prida, 1991, p. 43). Through physical actions, costuming, and rhythmical music it is apparent that the martyrs are pseudo-military feminists singing for the cause of women’s rights. However, the references to an immigrant woman traveling over land and sea and the cultural revolutionary references to ‘un buque de guerra’ (a military boat) and ‘un tren militar’ (a military train) possibly will be lost without the appropriate linguistic and cultural knowledge. Thus, the high frequency of intersentential codeswitching use amplifies the need for audience members to have a proficient working knowledge of Spanish, despite the fact that the principal language of narration is English.

While codeswitching is predominant throughout the play, a variety of words are also borrowed into the discourse of the text to add cultural and historical authenticity to the play. Specifically proper names i.e. Juanito (id., p. 7), colloquial titles i.e. Los Hijos Ausentes Club, Reina de la Alcapurria, Señorita Turismo de Staten Island (id., p. 19), and culturally borrowed words i.e. poncho, sombrero (id., p. 50) are used in this manner. As Myers-Scotton asserts, the “... [Borrowed] forms have become part of the ML

mental lexicon; whereas CS forms remain as EL material which only occurs in ML morphosyntactic frames during the codeswitching discourse” (Myers-Scotton, 1992, p. 21). These borrowed lexical items are not included in this analysis.

There are six relationship categories established throughout the play between the characters: acquaintance, friendship, inter-contextual, a potential lover, professional, and spiritual. The categories of acquaintance, friendship and potential lover describe relationships that are identified in the context of the play as such. For example, when Beauty Queen enters the dressing room in the second scene of *Beautiful Señoritas* she says, “María La O, you are still here. I thought everyone was gone. You always run out after the show” (Prida, 1991, p. 22). In this way, she expresses their friendship and familiarity with one another. Then after the conversation, María La O says, “...Wait, wait for me! ¡Espérame! I’ll go with you to the beauty contest!” (id., p. 23), reasserting the friendship which exists between the two woman.

An inter-contextual relationship is an interaction within the theatrical context of the work, therefore including the audience. As this play take place in a surreal plane of existence, the audience also becomes an active participant through the intellectual relationship offered to each audience member by the characters. Characters routinely speak directly to the audience and interact with the spectators as they attempt to include the viewers in the action of the play. Nineteen times this direct interaction with the audience includes codeswitching in the dialogue.

A professional relationship is defined here as a relationship in which one or both characters fulfill the duties of an assigned role. For example, when the midwife

announces the sex of a newborn child, the priest gives confession, or the MC announces and judges the beauty pageant contestants, the relationships and interactions that take place are professional. Finally, a spiritual relationship is defined as an interaction or connection with a higher being or god *Figure*; this occurs only once in the course of the play.

Based on the above identifications and using the culturally accepted ideas of status in Hispanic society, status, either equal or unequal, is assigned to each relationship in the play (see Table 4.1 below³). Friendship and equal professional status are the two types of relationships in equal status; thus, the four *Beautiful Señoritas* and the nun and priest are the only characters considered to have equal status with one another. All the other relationships identified are unequal based on age, gender, the expected social role of the characters, education or due to the theatrical context of the work. The interactions and relationships developed with the audience are likewise considered unequal because the audience exists in reality and has potentiality for change, while the characters of the play have no true life or ability to change their actions or words. In the end, 74.63% of the relationships are unequal and only 25.37% of the relationships are equal in nature. These findings lead to unexpected results when the switches are placed and analyzed using the status and solidarity framework as shown below.

In order to place each relationship and interaction appropriately within the status and solidarity framework, the solidarity or intimacy of each codeswitching occurrence is labeled as being high or low.

Table 4.1: Equal and Unequal Status in *Beautiful Señoritas*

	Miss Havana	Miss Chili	Miss CW	Miss Banana	Midwife	Nun	Peace Worker	Girl	MC	Catch Man	Priest
Miss Havana		EQ	EQ	EQ		UE -social role		UE-age	UE-gender	UE-gender	UE -social role
Miss Chili	EQ		EQ	EQ		UE -social role		UE-age	UE-gender	UE-gender	UE -social role
Miss CW⁴	EQ	EQ		EQ		UE -social role		UE-age	UE-gender	UE-gender	UE -social role
Miss Banana	EQ	EQ	EQ			UE -social role		UE-age	UE-gender	UE-gender	UE -social role
Nun	UE -social role	UE -social role	UE -social role	UE -social role				UE -social role			EQ
Girl	UE-age	UE-age	UE-age	UE-age		UE-social role			UE-age/gender	UE-gender	UE -social role
MC	UE-gender	UE-gender	UE-gender	UE-gender				UE-age/gender			
Don Jose					UE-gender						
Catch Man	UE-gender	UE-gender	UE-gender	UE-gender							
Mexican Man					UE-education						
Audience	UE-context	UE-context	UE-context	UE-context	UE-context	UE-social role	UE-education	UE-context	UE-context	UE-context	UE-context

For example, in lines 16-18 when María la O and Beauty Queen discuss the benefits of living life on the stage, María la O says "...Estoy muerta m'ija" (Prida, 1991, p. 16). Two lines later she says, "Don't you get tired of that, mujer!" (id., p. 18). The terms of endearment [m'ija] and [mujer] show the strong connection between the woman and expresses high solidarity in the interaction. Conversely, in act II when a Peace Corps worker interviews a Mexican man, she says in broken Spanish, "Excuse me señor...buenas tardes. Me llamo Miss Smith...." (id., p. 51), his response is "Bueno" (id., p. 52). This interaction is formal and creates a professional relationship between the worker and the man. Thus, both occurrences are labeled low solidarity.

Contrary to the hypothesis of this project, which expected far more occurrences of high solidarity, *Beautiful Señoritas* maintains an equal number of switches identified as high and low in solidarity. Out of sixty-seven occurrences of codeswitching, thirty-three are high solidarity and thirty-four low in solidarity. One reason for this balance is the fantastic or contrived nature of the play; because the characters are archetypes and meant to represent stereotypes they do not solicit or attempt to sustain relationships with one another in the play, as do typical dramatic characters, rather, the actors change roles to express universal themes and messages to the audience.

Furthermore, true solidarity is not obtainable between the actors and the audience, through neither codeswitching nor other linguistic means, since the audience exists in the plane of reality and the characters do not. Of the sixty-seven codeswitching occurrence 32.8% are directed to the audience and of those, 90.1% are low in solidarity. Moreover, 31.3% of the switches took place between characters in professional

relationships and 70% of those occurrences are classified low in solidarity. In the end, the unexpectedly high rate of inter-contextual and professional relationships involved in the discourse of *Beautiful Señoritas* yields fewer instances of solidarity forming speech functions and causes the comparable number of high and low solidarity switches.

Thus, due to both the higher number of unequal relationships and the unexpectedly equal occurrences of high and low solidarity interactions, the codeswitches fall predominantly in quadrant 1 (see Figure 4.1 below for quadrant percentages). All other interactions situate in quadrants 3 and 4, which shows an equally strong tendency for the characters to express higher solidarity as lower solidarity, despite the status of the relationship.

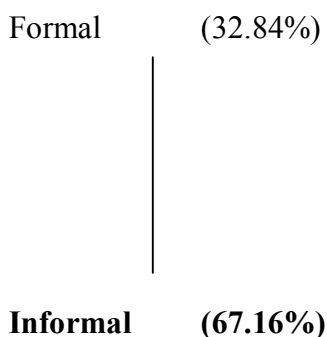
Figure 4.1: Status and Solidarity Quadrant Percentages in *Beautiful Señoritas*

	Superior/High Status	
Intimate/High Solidarity	23.88% (16)	50.75% (34)
	25.37% (17)	0.00%
	Subordinate/Low Status	
		Distant/Low Solidarity

When looking at the formality of switches in *Beautiful Señoritas*, a vast majority of switches are informal in nature, (see *Figure 4.2*). This confirms the scholarly belief that codeswitching is more likely to occur in an informal setting (Blom & Gumperz; 1972, Jacobson 1978). Prida's play, through its wit, humor, and satire, creates more

informal settings for the characters, thus establishing the necessary conditions for codeswitching to occur more frequently. Overall, only 32.84% of the switches occur in more formal settings, while 67.16% of the switches take place during informal interactions. The majority of the codeswitches (41%) which do occur in formal settings include interactions between the MC and the audience.

Figure 4.2: Formality of Codeswitches in *Beautiful Señoritas*



One formal interaction, which does not include the MC, is the scene in which the Nun and the Girl interact for the first time. The scene conjures very formal images of infamously strict Catholic preparatory schools, with Nuns who severely punish children for their behavioral infractions. The set directions say, “The Nun enters carrying a bouquet of roses cradled in her arms. She stands in the back and looks up bathed in a sacred light. Her lips move as if praying. She lowers her eyes and sees the Girl imitating more sexy moves. The Nun’s eyes widen in disbelief” (Prida, 1991, p. 30). As the Girl continues to mimic the moves taught to her by the Catch Women, the nun shouts,

“¡Arrodíllate! Kneel down on these roses! Let your blood erase your sinful thoughts! You may still be saved. Pray, pray!” (id., p. 31). The codeswitching in this scene is a directive and more formal in nature, hence, it does not increase solidarity but rather distance between the two characters.

On the other hand, many more instances of informal interaction produce codeswitching between the characters. For example, at the end of act I when the Catch Women attempt to teach the Girl how to catch a man, codeswitching is used by the Catch women to flirt and tease, to play and to taunt the man. Catch Woman 4 says in line 69 to the Girl and then to the Man,

Make him suffer. Make him jealous....Hi Johnny!...They like it. It gives them a good excuse to get drunk. Tease him. Find out what he likes....Un masajito, papi? I'll make you a burrito de machaca con huevo, sí?...Keep him in suspense....I love you. I don't love you. Te quiero. No te quiero. I love you. I don't love you.... (Prida, 1991, p. 29).

Here it is easy to identify the fact that the informality of the situation increases the codeswitching use and is used as a linguistic tactic to create solidarity between the woman and the man.

The codeswitches found in *Beautiful Señoritas* are equally distributed between high and low referentiality. However, the characters tend to use high affective speech functions to relay the central theme of the play. While 53.73% of the switches are categorized low in referentiality and 46.27% as high; in contrast, only 16.42% of the switches are low in affectiveness and 82.09% are high (see Figures 4.3 and 4.4).

Figure 4.3: Referentiality of Codeswitches in *Beautiful Señoritas*Figure 4.4: Affectiveness of Codeswitches in *Beautiful Señoritas*

One key example is found in Act I, lines 76-98. Prida plays off the historical and socially expected norms in Hispanic culture as the *Beautiful Señoritas* all go to a priest to confess their sexual sins and fantasies. Due to the era of publication, principally during the 1970's feminist movement, *Beautiful Señoritas* questions the sexual stereotypes of the Hispanic culture and addresses the dilemmas many immigrant women face as they come to the United States and find new ideas about femininity and sexuality.

Historically, the Catholic Church played a major role in the development of social norms, expectations, and values in Hispanic culture regarding sex, sexuality, and gender roles (Curran & McCormick, 1993; Dealy, 1992; Isherwood, 2000; Lawler, Boyle & May, 1998; Twinam, 1999). Specifically the priests who represented this institution, and who held great power and position in society, promoted the ideals of chastity, virginity and the utmost symbol of purity, Mary the virgin mother. At the same

time, the priests and society created social stigma of women who did not live up to these images of purity through promiscuous behavior, loss of virginity before marriage, or having lovers other than a husband. Even an accusation that a woman partook in these unacceptable behaviors was castigated by Hispanic society.

Thus, after hearing the confession of the first señoritas, the priest prays “Ave María Purísima sin pecado concebida...” (Prida, 1991, p. 87); then following the second confession he cries “Socorro espiritual, Dios mío. Help these lost souls!” (id., p. 89). Finally, after the fourth señorita confesses that she “...really really sinned. I did it, I did it! All the way I did it!” (id., p. 92), the other three señoritas cry out “She’s done it, Dios mío, she’s done it! Santísima Virgen, she’s done it!” (id., p. 93). These highly emotional outbursts model how the characters in *Beautiful Señoritas* often use affective means to communicate between themselves on stage and with the audience.

On the other hand, the MC of the show often speaks using referential means with the intention of informing the audience rather than touching them emotionally. While introducing the *Beautiful Señoritas* he says, “As you can see, ladies and gentlemen, Fina es muy fina. Really fine...” (id., p. 35) and later, “...Now ladies and gentlemen, the dream girl of every American male, the most beautiful señorita of all. Created by Madison Avenue exclusively please welcome Miss Conchita Banana!” (id., p. 46). While witty, humorous, and animated, the speech function itself is not emotionally charged; rather, his statement intends to introduce and inform the audience of each girl’s physical assets communicated through referential methods. The MC uses referential

speech functions consistently throughout the play to relate and communicate with the audience and other characters.

The most frequent speech functions recorded in the discourse of *Beautiful Señoritas* are referential, 37.65%, and expressive, 23.53%. Aesthetic speech functions account for 10.59% while directives only for 5.88%; 11.76% of the codeswitches are phatic speech functions, and 10.59% are questions (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Speech Function Distribution in *Beautiful Señoritas*⁵

Speech Function	Percentage
Aesthetic	10.59%
Expressive	23.53%
Directive	5.88%
Metalinguistic	0.00%
Phatic	11.76%
Question	10.59%
Referential	37.65%

Overall, contrary to the expectations in the beginning, *Beautiful Señoritas* does not provide an example of codeswitching used as the predominant linguistic technique to increase solidarity and intimacy between characters. Instead, Prida employs a variety of techniques, including status, solidarity, referential and affective speech functions in this

play to communicate her message to the audience and contribute to the development of the relationships between the characters. An equal number of high and low solidarity speech functions are found in *Beautiful Señoritas*, which is a result of the high percentage of unequal relationships, the inability of the characters to form true relationships of solidarity with the audience, and the high percentage of professional relationships in the play. However, when looking at the functionality scales, the projected results do emerge in regards to affectiveness of the play; a majority percentage of high affective codeswitches are identified. Although a balance exists between the numbers of high and low referential codeswitches, a much higher use of affective speech functions by the characters is noted as predicted at the outset of the project.

Coser y cantar

Since this play is bilingual, each character maintains a discrete matrix language (ML); SHE speaks primarily in English and codeswitches to Spanish while ELLA speaks predominantly in Spanish and switches to English. Only when a speaker switches to her respective embedded language (EL) is a speech function considered codeswitching. Only eighteen occurrences of codeswitching, by this definition, are present in the text. Thirteen of the occurrences are intrasentential and five intersentential. This shows a strong tendency for each character to switch completely into her EL or remain in her ML for the duration of speech.

On the other hand, numerous examples of borrowing occur. For instance, in line 33 ELLA says, “Pero nunca me perdí en el subway...” and later, SHE makes reference

to a Hispanic rock group saying, "...How about, La Pasionaria and her Passionate Punk Rockers!" (Prida, 1991, p. 104). However, these occurrences of borrowing do not constitute CS and cannot be used for the study.

As the two characters in the play are the alter egos of one woman, all interactions fall into the same categories and quadrants when placed in the status and solidarity framework (see Figure 4.5). The relationship between the two characters is defined as introspective self-talk, especially given that the two egos play verbal ping-pong, both linguistically and culturally throughout the play. Moreover, because both characters are in actuality the same woman, there is high solidarity and equal status in all the interactions and occurrences of codeswitching. In the end, all eighteen speech functions fall into quadrant 3.

Figure 4.5: Status and Solidarity Quadrant Percentages in *Coser y cantar*

	Superior/High Status	
	0.00%	0.00%
Intimate/High Solidarity	100.00% (18)	Distant/Low Solidarity
	0.00%	
	Subordinate/Low Status	

Coser y cantar is an entirely informal production since the action of the play takes place exclusively in the bedroom of SHE and ELLA and is a monologue or internal

dialogue between the two alter egos of this woman. The introduction to the play gives a detailed description of the relaxed and informal setting and emphasizes the cultural props, which epitomize the personality of each woman. It says, “Stage right is ELLA’s area. Stage left is SHE’s. Piles of books, magazines and newspapers surround SHE’s area. A pair of ice skates and a tennis racket are visible somewhere....ELLA’s area is somewhat untidy. Copies of *Cosmopolitan*, *Vanidades* and *TV Guías* are seen around her bed. ELLA’s table is crowded with cosmetics, a figurine of the *Virgen de la Caridad* and a candle...” (Prida, 1991, p. 49)

Three types of speech functions are identified in *Coser y cantar*: expressive, questions, and referential. Expressive speech functions account for 18.18% of the CS occurrences, 9.09% are questions, and by far the most represented are referential speech functions with 68.18% of the switches falling in this category. The CS occurrences therefore position mainly to the right of the functionality scales⁶ (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Speech Function Distribution in *Coser y cantar*

Speech Function	Percentage
Expressive	18.18%
Question	9.09%
Referential	68.18%

Interestingly, all four expressive speech functions occur simultaneously as referential speech functions. For example, in line 82 SHE says, “I think I’m going crazy. Talking to myself all day.” ELLA then responds in English saying, “It must be. It’s too soon for menopause” (Prida, 1991, p. 57). This is a referential speech function since it relays information regarding the physiological state of SHE; equally, this statement is an expressive speech function because ELLA communicates her continual conflict of identity as a bilingual and bicultural woman through her sarcasm.

Differing from *Beautiful Señoritas*, on the referentiality scale, 83.33% of the CS occurrences are high in referentiality and only 16.67% are low. Likewise, on the affectiveness scale, 94.44% of the occurrences are high in and only 5.56% are low (see Figures 4.6 and 4.7). The women use both high referential and affective speech functions to converse and meditate between her two identities in *Coser y cantar*.

Figure 4.6: Referentiality of Codeswitches in *Coser y cantar*



Figure 4.7: Affectiveness of Codeswitches in *Coser y cantar*



Overall, while *Coser y cantar* is a linguistically, culturally, and personally intriguing play, it does not provide much data on the use of codeswitching to create status or solidarity in relationships. Due to the fact that the two characters in reality represent one person, all the occurrences of codeswitching fall into the same categories, quadrant 3 on the status and solidarity scales. While this play did not reveal great insight into codeswitching or the status and solidarity framework, interesting conclusions may be drawn regarding bilingual speech in this play through further linguistic study of the characters, themes, and speech functions found therein.

One final observation regarding *Coser y cantar* comes from the author herself. In a personal interview with Prida when asked about the codeswitching in this play she was amazed to hear that the women switch at all throughout the show, as she fully intended each character to remain in the same ML throughout the performance. It is not until the end, Prida commented, that the women begin to communicate on better terms, to understand one another and to switch to the others' perspective and hence language. In the last scene, the two women completely exchange languages and finally begin to meld into a cohesive consciousness, which allows her, as one woman, to define herself as both Hispanic and American. In the interview, Prida said:

Cantar y Coser is my most personal play. It deals with Latina identity of how the two parts of this woman can come together and live in peace as one whole individual. The moment of a switch is when the two are drawing closer to being one. For example, the search for the map draws the two women closer because they are searching together and both need direction. How the parts come together

is different for each individual, what is important is the process and the fight for supremacy between the two halves, who will win out? (Personal communication, 2003a).

Botánica

Botánica is by far the most instructive and beneficial text analyzed in this project since it represents a variety of natural relationships, and because it is written to portray real life by depicting true linguistic practices of the New York City Puerto Rican community. This play specifically offers a unique perspective on codeswitching as the ML is Spanish and the EL is English, differing from both *Beautiful Señoritas* and *Coser y cantar*. Furthermore, sociolinguistically this play is distinct since English is portrayed as the more socially prestigious language through Millie and Ruben's relationship, due to their higher education levels and the solidarity built between them through the use of English. The most fascinating relationship to analyze in this play is that between Millie and Rubén because their codeswitching primarily establishes and maintains their relationship throughout the play.

Interesting results emerge by applying the status and solidarity framework to examine the codeswitches and the relationships found in *Botánica*. Unlike *Beautiful Señoritas* and *Coser y cantar*, there is a clear tendency for the codeswitches to fall into quadrants 3 and 4 due to the equal nature of the relationships. Furthermore, there are numerous occurrences of high affectiveness throughout the play.

Eighty-five codeswitches are identified in *Botánica*; eighty-one of the switches are from Spanish to English and only four are from English to Spanish. Spanish is

undoubtedly the Matrix Language of the play. Nevertheless, Millie, as the primary codeswitcher, often switches completely into English and thus English becomes her ML as she changes back to Spanish. For Millie, English is her preferred language and she maintains two distinct registers, not because she is unable to speak Spanish, but because at times she desires to express her identity through her English self rather than her Spanish self. Of the four switches from Spanish-English, Millie performs two and Rubén two. For example, in act I, line 87 Rubén attempts to gain attention by saying “Hey, people.” He then immediately switches to Spanish in order to deliver his message, as the majority of listeners are Spanish monolinguals; he says “Now podemos sentir orgullosos aquí mismo. ¿No es verdad...?” (Prida, 1991, p. 150). Then later, when speaking to Rubén, Millie says, “Rubén, if you think I got a degree in business administration to run a botánica, you’re out of your mind. Yo tengo otros planes” (id., p. 151).

Another distinction from *Beautiful Señoritas* and *Coser y cantar*, is the almost equal number of intersentential vs. intrasentential switches; 51.14% are intersentential and 48.86% are intrasentential. In this way *Botánica* is a better codeswitching work for the analysis as it presents a more complete sampling of the multiple types of switches that occur in natural speech (see Appendix IV for complete results from *Botánica*).

The play establishes five major relationship categories between the characters: barrio friends, childhood friends, family, professional, and spiritual. When combined, friendship relationships, both barrio and childhood, are by far the most represented and equal: 48.48% of the relationships found in the codeswitching occurrences. Family relationships also represent a high percentage, 30.53% are familiar in nature.

Professional and spiritual associations account for only 20% of the relationships identified in the switches. This high rate of intimate and close relationships in the play explains the significant percentage of solidarity speech functions in the play. The status between the characters seems to be well established in *Botánica*, however the durability and intimacy of the relationships is what is at stake; the participants therefore use codeswitching, affective speech functions, and other linguistic methods to develop and maintain the continued solidarity in their relationships.

The relationship of ‘barrio friends’ is defined as two individuals who live in the same geographical area, principally the Puerto Rican barrio of New York City, interact on a regular basis, and maintain their relationship due to a common background and heritage. Furthermore, barrio friends are generally of the same age group and often share the same gender. One example from the text is the relationship between Carmen and Luisa who are both clients of the botánica, and who share many common experiences and beliefs by living as Puerto Ricans in New York City (Newyoricans). The relationship of ‘childhood friends’ on the other hand is defined as two individuals who grew-up together in the barrio, share the same age and maintain similar generational values and ideals. Millie and Rubén are childhood friends in this analysis since they fulfill all these criteria. Family relations are naturally defined as those individuals who are biologically related such as Geno and Anamú, and Anamú and Millie.

The definition of a ‘professional relationship’ is identical to that in *Beautiful Señoritas*: an interaction in which both parties fulfill their socially ascribed roles. Geno and Luisa are considered barrio friends in some interactions since they know each other

well and interact on a regular basis in social situations. However, in several instances they are in a professional relationship due to the nature of the interaction and the roles they portray. For example, in the first scene of *Botánica* Luisa enters the *Botánica* shop to purchase a love potion and seek advice from Doña Geno. This interaction is professional because Luisa's role is that of client and Geno is the proprietor of the shop; each woman fulfills her given social role in the business transaction and therefore the relationship is of a professional nature (Prida, 1991, p.145-146).

Finally, a spiritual relationship here is an interaction or involvement with a celestial being. In this play, several saints are cast as characters and directly interact with Millie as she bargains with them for the improvement of her grandmother's health. For instance, in act II Millie beseeches the aid of Santa Bárbara, "...Excuse me...I...I've forgotten how to do this...I don't know what to say, but...Saint Barbara...I'll go straight to the point: please make my grandma well." Santa Bárbara promptly responds, "No falla. Nada más que se acuerdan de mí cuando truena. Y mira, chiquitica, yo no spika inglés" (Prida, 1991, p. 166). Since Santa Barbara is a saint and not an earthly being, this interaction and the relationship built is spiritual in nature.

After defining the status of the interaction for each codeswitch, the status and solidarity framework establishes the equality or inequality of each switch (see Table 4.4). In *Botánica*, 90% of the relationships are unequal in nature and only 20% are equal. The basis of inequality varies due to the following categories: age, wisdom, education, eccentricity, or celestial nature of a character. In Puerto Rican society, as in most Hispanic communities, age is as a sign of prominence and consequently, those who are

older deserve more respect and maintain higher status in the family, community, and society as a whole. Likewise, wisdom, whether it be from education, spiritual means or innate, is highly regarded in Puerto Rican society (Perez & Amado, 2000; Pozzetta, 1991).

In *Botánica*, Prida introduces several forms of wisdom through Santería practices, education, and spiritual knowledge, as well as innate wisdom. Furthermore, the quality or type of education a person possesses is an important social and status factor in this play. Millie specifically possesses higher status in several relationships due to the high quality of education she receives. For instance, while she attended a private school in New Hampshire and received a degree in business administration, Rubén went to a local community college in the barrio; other characters only earned a high school diploma or were educated in Puerto Rico. In Hispanic culture, private education is valued and bestows higher status on anyone who is able to gain this advantage. In general, education is highly regarded and those who have any type of education will gain higher social status than those who do not.

Another form of inequality is that of eccentricity, which specifically applies to Pepe el Indio. He is cast as a homeless man and his role is uncertain throughout the play. All that is known regarding his character is that he is marginalized from society and is considered to have less mental, emotional, or social ability than others do. Despite his lower status, he does seem to possess some innate wisdom and insight into the human condition, which he freely shares with anyone who will listen.

Table 4.4: Equal and Unequal Status in *Botánica*

	Doña Geno	Anamú	Millie	Rubén	Pepe el Indio	Carmen	Luisa
Doña Geno	UE-age/wisdom	UE-age/wisdom	UE-age/wisdom	UE-age/wisdom	UE-eccentricity	UE-age/wisdom	UE-age/wisdom
Anamú	UE-age/wisdom	UE-age	UE-age	UE-age	UE-eccentricity	EQ	EQ
Millie	UE-age/wisdom	UE-age		EQ	UE-eccentricity	UE-age/education	UE-age/education
Rubén	UE-age/wisdom	UE-age	EQ		UE-eccentricity	UE-age	UE-age
Pepe el Indio	UE-eccentricity	UE-eccentricity	UE-eccentricity	UE-eccentricity		UE-eccentricity	UE-eccentricity
Carmen	UE-age/wisdom	EQ	UE-age/education	UE-age	UE-eccentricity		EQ
Luisa	UE-age/wisdom	EQ	UE-age/education	UE-age	UE-eccentricity	EQ	
Santa Bárbara			UE-celestial nature				
Santa Lázaro			UE-celestial nature				

For this innate wisdom, Pepe el Indio is not completely disregarded and some characters, specifically Rubén, treat him with dignity and respect as an individual.

The play makes a distinction between earthly and celestial beings through the representation of saints in the play. As the drama incorporates several key aspects of Santería religious traditions, which many Puerto Rican immigrants practice, the saints represent a higher power and otherworldly form of knowledge and wisdom. It seems that in the play *Botánica*, using Brandon's definitions,⁷ the saints act more as spiritual guides, presenting themselves to Millie, assisting her and alleviating her anxiety. They therefore have a higher status in the relationships; they develop with Millie due to their supernatural abilities and deity-like characteristics. The use of Santería and references to these spiritual practices may have much to do with the author's cultural and ethnic heritage as well as her personal experience in New York City with the Puerto Rican community (personal communication, 2003a).

Therefore, according to the status scale in the framework, Doña Geno is unequal in status with all the other characters due to her age as well as her social position in the community. In the introduction to the play, Prida describes Geno as,

Doña Geno. Genoveva Domínguez. Sesenta y tanto años. Nació en Guayama, Puerto Rico. Vive en Nueva York hace más de 40 años. Viuda. Es la dueña y señora de la *Botánica* La Ceiba, localizada en el área de Manhattan (Nueva York) conocida como El Barrio (Prida, 1991, p. 143).

By naming her 'Doña Geno,' Prida alludes to Geno's higher status or position in the culture. Traditionally in Hispanic culture and in the Spanish language 'Doña' refers to a

woman of social standing either financially, politically or through her family's heritage and name. Doña Geno shares her wisdom and remedies with the community as an herbalist and thus is held in higher regard.

It is through her *Botánica* or shop 'La Ceiba' that Doña Geno's wisdom is disseminated to others.

[*Botánicas* are] specialty shops. These shops are very important as they also provide literature in the form of prayer books, and other materials such as candles, statues of saints, ointments and also because the shop owners are very knowledgeable about folk healing techniques and may serve to prescribe herbs or to refer patrons to local healers (Delgado, 1979, p. 4)...The role of the Santiguadores and Herbalists can be either fulfilled by a medium or a Santero, or by a senior member of the community (id., p. 7).

Finally, since Doña Geno owns her own business in el barrio, her family and friends consider her to be an active, working member of the society through her economic contribution, thus she has higher status in the community.

Her daughter Anamú, on the other hand, works for her mother in the *Botánica* and is not held with an equal esteem as her mother in the community. She is a quiet, reserved woman who does what needs doing. Prida describes her as "...mujer indecisa, algo hastiada de la vida" (Prida, 1991, p. 143). She does however have more status than Millie and Rubén due to her age and family position. As mentioned earlier, in Puerto Rican society Anamú's age is an important factor in determining the respect and status she is due in her relationships, specifically in family relationships. On the other hand,

Anamú is considered to be barrio friends with Carmen and Luisa as they are roughly the same age, live and work in the barrio together, and interact on a regular basis both professionally and socially. Equally, Carmen and Luisa are considered to be barrio friends of each other for the same reasons.

The character of Pepe el Indio is an anomaly in this play. Prida describes his character as “de edad y nacionalidad incierta.” Es un ‘homeless’ borracho y filósofo que deambula por el vecindario” (id., p. 143). Although his role in the play is small, his profound statements of ‘drunken philosophy’ affect the characters and the outcome of the performance. In the last lines of the play Millie repeats one of his favorite sayings “...I said no, ¡que mis búfalos no se venden!” (id., p. 180). His status is likewise ambiguous and uncertain. He is unequal in status with all the characters for this analysis due to his eccentricity of character and the marginalization placed upon him by society. The other characters are not unkind or treat Pepe badly, on the contrary, Rubén specifically befriends him and others listen to his philosophy as a sort of innate insight or wisdom; however, he is, in fact, separate and lives apart from the mainstream society.

Rubén and Millie maintain the most diverse set of relationships between all the characters in the play. Rubén and Millie themselves are equal in status for the majority of the play due to their common age, childhood bonds, and mutual friendship. At times Millie has higher status because of her socially valued education, as well as for her better command of English. Due to Millie and Rubén’s younger age, they are further classified as unequal in status with Doña Geno, Anamú, Luisa and Carmen.

Millie has higher status at times because of her level and quality of education, as well as her command of English. For example, when Millie advises Carmen to take English classes in order to improve her love life and social standing, Carmen takes her advice since she believes Millie to be an authority on English and its benefits. In act II, lines 216 and 223, Carmen reveals, “Sí, estoy cogiendo clases por la noche.... Millie [me aconsejó] cuando usted estaba en el hospital...Me cambié el peinado, conseguí trabajo, me compré ropa nueva, estoy yendo a la escuela por la noche...y, no lo va a creer...¡I have a boyfriend!” (Prida, 1991, p. 176).

As with all the characters, Millie and Rubén are unequal in status with Pepe el Indio, due to his unique role and the type of relationships he develops. Rubén does communicate most frequently with Pepe and they share a mutual liking and understanding for one another. In fact, Rubén transmits many of Pepe’s ideas to the rest of the characters, which ultimately has an impact on the outcome of the play.

After the status of each switch is established and a majority (68.24%) are found to be in unequal status, the switches are labeled by solidarity and placed in the appropriate quadrants. The results conform to the hypothesis as 75.29% of the switches are high in solidarity and only 24.71% are low in solidarity. Thus, 43.53% of the switches fall in quadrant 4, 32.94% fall in quadrant, 22.35% fall in quadrant 1 and only 1.18% fall in quadrant 2 (see Figure 4.8). These results are congruent with the expected results and strongly show how codeswitching is a linguistic technique used in *Botánica* to develop and maintain solidarity among the characters. The speakers have much

stronger tendencies to relate through solidarity and intimacy when they codeswitch, regardless of the equal or unequal nature of their relationship.

Figure 4.8: Status and Solidarity Quadrant Percentages in *Botánica*

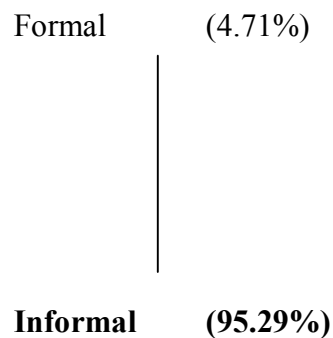
	Superior/High Status		
Intimate/High Solidarity	43.53% (37)	22.35% (19)	Distant/Low Solidarity
	32.94% (28)	1.18% (1)	
	Subordinate/Low Status		

As in *Beautiful Señoritas* and *Coser y cantar*, 95.29% of the switches found in *Botánica* are informal in nature, which is expected since codeswitching most often occurs when speakers are in informal situations and use informal registers. The formality scale appears as follows (see Figure 4.9). The few formal situations that occur all involve the Ahabi Realty Company, who is trying to buy the *Botánica* shop and represents an outside authoritative institution of the dominant society. Through the telephone conversations with the Ahabi agents, the characters form even stronger solidarity between themselves by not complying with the desires of the Company.

The dramatic conclusion of this conflict takes place at the ending of the play when Millie refuses to sell their property; she says, “Hello, Mr. Ahabi...yes...no, it won’t be necessary because...because I’ve changed my mind. No, it is not the

money...It's that...my buffaloes are not for sale! ¿No comprende? I said no!... [Geno responds,] ¡Un milagro! (Prida, 1991, p. 180). Here it is apparent that despite the formality of the situation, the key issue in this play is the solidarity between the family members not the status between. Millie codeswitches back to Spanish to distance herself from Mr. Ahabi and to identify more with her family and barrio friends through using Spanish.

Figure 4.9: Formality of Codeswitches in *Botánica*



Similar to *Coser y cantar*, on the functionality scales, the codeswitches are identified as both high in referentiality and affectiveness (see Figures 4.10 and 4.11). Of the eighty-five codeswitches found in *Botánica*, 62.35% are high in referentiality and 37.65% are low. Likewise, 70.59% are high in affectiveness and 29.41% are low. This reveals a tendency for the characters to use both linguistic functions in their speech when attempting to communicate.

While this does not comply with the expected results of the project, it is a reflection of natural speech and Holmes claims that, “language can convey objective information of a referential kind; and it can also express how someone is feeling” (Holmes, 2001, p. 10). For example, near the end of the play the client and barrio friend Carmen reveals that she has found a boyfriend after following the advice of Millie; she says, “...Me cambia el peinado, conseguí trabajo, me compré ropa nueva, estoy yendo a la escuela por la noche...y, no lo va a creer...¡I have a boyfriend! (Prida, 1991, p. 176). Carmen gives factual information about her life changes and experiences due to Millie’s advice, yet she also shares her great excitement and emotion at finally having a boyfriend and obtaining what she most desires. Her statements create solidarity between her and Millie, but also between Millie and her grandmother Geno, since it was Millie’s advice that Carmen followed instead of her grandmother’s.

Figure 4.10: Referentiality of Codeswitches in *Botánica*



Figure 4.11: Affectiveness of Codeswitches in *Botánica*



The types of speech functions in *Botánica* are not as diverse as in the other two plays; 51.11% of the switches are referential and all other speech function types account for less than 20% in any given category (see Table 4.5). When analyzed, only 3.33% are aesthetic speech functions, 11.11% are directives, 15.56% are expressive speech functions, only 1.11% of the switches are metalinguistic (one switch), 4.44% are phatic in nature, and 13.33% are questions. Although little variety is demonstrated through the types of speech functions used in the CS, it is revealing that the characters continue to build solidarity by using codeswitching throughout the play.

Table 4.5: Speech Function Distribution in *Botánica*⁸

Speech Function	Percentage
Aesthetic	3.33%
Expressive	15.56%
Directive	11.11%
Metalinguistic	1.11%
Phatic	4.44%
Question	13.33%
Referential	51.11%

To conclude, *Botánica* is the most valuable text for this project because it confirms the primary hypothesis for this project, and reveals important insights into codeswitching behavior as a linguistic technique to build and maintain intimate relationships. Specifically the relationship built between Millie and Rubén demonstrates how, through codeswitching into the socially prestigious language (English), they distinguish themselves and their relationship from others. Prida accurately portrays the reality that English is used by the younger generation to find identity and solidarity among themselves and to communicate the social realities of their worlds as bilingual and bicultural people in both languages. Furthermore, Prida expresses, through Carmen's romantic successes after taking English and conforming to the mainstream culture, the fact that through learning English one can improve in social status as well as professionally.

Furthermore, both referential and affective means are used to communicate and maintain relationships in the play. Whether using informative referential statements, directives, questions, emotive, or affective statements, the issues at stake in this play are not those of status or social standing, rather the intimacy and solidarity of the relationships. *Botánica* is a play with predetermined lines and inscribed codeswitching, yet, it proves to be a valuable reflection of daily bilingual practices and gives important insights as to the linguistics techniques used to develop and sustain intimate relationships in the uncertain and constantly changing environment of immigrants who walk the tightrope between the two linguistic worlds.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Framework

For the past twenty years linguistic, literary, and sociological scholars recognized the lack of linguistic, in particular sociolinguistic, analysis of literary texts, and they have called for the application of linguistic theory and methodology to literature in all genres and languages. Specifically, codeswitching (CS) at present is not fully explored in literature and much work needs to be done to analyze this phenomenon in written as well as oral contexts. The term ‘codeswitching’ here is defined classically as the use of two or more distinct languages within the same passage, sentence, or word in spoken and written communication. This does not include words that are borrowed into the lexicon of an individual or a culture.

The Cuban-American playwright, Dolores Prida, is especially well known in Hispanic literary circles for the codeswitching and mixing of languages in her works; nevertheless, neither her plays nor the codeswitching found therein have been fully analyzed. This project is therefore the first sociolinguistic analysis of three of Prida’s most recognized works, *Beautiful Señoritas* (1978), *Coser y cantar* (1981), and *Botánica* (1991). The theories and methodology employed for this project emanate from two sub-fields within sociolinguistics: codeswitching research, and discourse analysis through the application of the status and solidarity framework (Holmes, 2001).

To facilitate the understanding of the role of CS in the relational development between the characters in Prida’s plays, the status and solidarity framework evaluates

each occurrence of codeswitching using four key dimensional scales. These scales allow for appropriate classification and identification of the objective for each switch. The four scales are: 1) the solidarity scale, which reflects the intimacy or closeness of each relationship, 2) the status scale that identifies the socially equal or unequal nature of each relationship, 3) the formality scale, which describes the situation of each occurrence as formal or informal, and 4) the functionality scales, both the referential and affective scales, which establish the type of speech functions involved in the discourse and the purpose or outcome of each act.

Finally, after the four scales appropriately label each codeswitching occurrence, each switch is then placed in one of four quadrants in the status and solidarity framework for comparison and further assessment. Each quadrant allows for generalization through representing specific qualities of a codeswitch. Quadrant one (Q1) expresses that a relationship is unequal in status and maintains little solidarity. Quadrant two (Q2) corresponds with relationships that maintain little solidarity, yet are equal in status. Quadrant three (Q3) classifies intimate relationships, which are high in solidarity and equal in status. Finally, quadrant four (Q4) describes high solidarity relationships that are unequal in status.

Analysis

Due to the ideological nature of Prida's plays and to the thematic content, (i.e. the search for Hispanic female identity of immigrant women in the United States today), this project expected the characters to use linguistic techniques, such as codeswitching and affective speech functions, rather than focus on the social status of the participants.

Some of the hypotheses proved to be true, especially in the play *Botánica*. Nevertheless, mixed results emerged in the other two plays, due to the unrealistic nature of *Beautiful Señoritas* and the lack of codeswitching found in the bilingual discourse of *Coser y cantar*.

Beautiful Señoritas (1978) was Prida's first published dramatic piece and is still considered her most well-known work. This play is a mock beauty pageant, which attempts to illustrate the unjust expectations of Hispanic women to conform and define themselves by the physical stereotypes placed upon them by both the Hispanic and American societies. The codeswitching identified in *Beautiful Señoritas*, supports the Matrix Language Framework Model (MLF) as asserted by Carol Myers-Scotton (Myers-Scotton, 1993); which states that a codeswitch will occur within the conceptual linguistic constraints of the matrix language (ML) and will switch into the conceptual framework of the embedded language (EL) only at specific acceptable points of interchangeability.

Furthermore, *Beautiful Señoritas* coincides with the accepted understanding that codeswitching primarily occurs in informal and relaxed environments (Blom & Gumperz; 1972, Jacobson 1978). This additionally leads to differentiation between the intersentential and intrasentential codeswitching that occurs in the text (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). *Beautiful Señoritas* offers more instances of intersentential CS than intrasentential. Although the main language of narration (or ML) is English, in order to grasp fully the social, cultural and political messages of the play it is necessary that an audience member be proficient in both Spanish and English to follow the codeswitching that occurs.

To express the primary theme of the play, the actors do not represent true people, but are rather stereotypes and archetypal characters that symbolize and exaggerate social realities. *Beautiful Señoritas* therefore exists in an unreal plane because of the unique nature of the characters and the setting. This unusual setting does allow the actors, as characters, to interact with audience members and transform them into additional participants in the show. However, this interaction cannot create true relationships or fulfill the requirements for a complete analysis of many codeswitching interactions. As a result, the status and solidarity framework is only partially able to describe accurately the codeswitching in this play since much of the discourse involves the audience and no true relationships evolve.

In all, sixty-seven occurrences of codeswitching occur in *Beautiful Señoritas*, and six classifications of relationships are identified in this play, which are acquaintance, friendship, inter-contextual, potential lover, professional, and spiritual. An ‘inter-contextual’ relationship is one that involves the audience as an active participant and represents the intellectual connections offered to the audience members by the cast as the play proceeds. Surprisingly, the majority of relationships recognized in the play are unequal in nature due to a differentiation of gender, age, social roles, context or education.

Overall, contrary to the expectations of this study, which anticipated a majority percentage of high solidarity codeswitches primarily in quadrants 3 and 4 and more affective than referential speech functions, this play offers an almost equal number of high and low solidarity switches. However, more affective speech functions are indeed

found with an equal number of high and low referential speech functions used in the codeswitches. These findings are essentially a result of the high rate of inequality between the characters, and the various types of speech functions used to communicate while codeswitching. The balance and diversity of codeswitching types thus causes the codeswitches to fall primarily in quadrants 1 and 2 in the status and solidarity framework and does not lead to the conclusions expected.

Likewise, Prida's dramatic work *Coser y cantar* did not offer many revealing conclusions regarding codeswitching or the status and solidarity framework. Only eighteen occurrences of codeswitching, are identified in the play, and due to the nature of the relationship between the two characters, little data can be collected.

Prida admits that *Coser y cantar* is her most personal work as it directly represents the identity search and struggle she encountered as a young, immigrant woman in the United States (Public interview, 2003b). Moreover, this play is unique among Prida's dramatic works because it casts only two characters, SHE and ELLA who are in reality the culturally parallel alter egos of one woman. The discourse found in *Coser y cantar* is completely bilingual, SHE only speaks in English and ELLA only in Spanish; this verbal ping-pong battle is in actuality an internal monologue of the woman as she attempts to define herself as a bicultural and bilingual person. In this manner, each cultural self maintains her own matrix language throughout the show, SHE English and ELLA Spanish. Hence, an occurrence of codeswitching in *Coser y cantar* can only be identified when one woman switches from her ML to her respective EL within a speech function.

Since the two characters presented in this work are in fact one woman, when the status and solidarity framework is applied little diversification or conclusions are extracted. All eighteen codeswitching occurrences maintain high solidarity, equal status and take place in an informal setting. Thus, in the framework all the eighteen switches fall into quadrant 3.

Three types of speech functions are recorded in the codeswitches, expressive, question and referential. Yet, surprisingly the majority (15 out of 18) are referential in nature. This shows little need for the women to use codeswitching in order to maintain their internal relationship or to express themselves emotively in their EL. In the end, little convincing evidence is exposed regarding codeswitching through this analysis of *Coser y cantar*.

Botánica is the most useful and revealing text used in this project and realizes all the hypothesized results anticipated in its analysis. Indeed, the codeswitching identified in *Botánica* primarily falls into quadrants 3 and 4 within the status and solidarity framework; showing a strong correlation between the codeswitching and the extent to which solidarity is addressed in the discourse of the characters. Set in an herbal Santería shop in the Puerto Rican barrio of New York City, this play deals with issues of Hispanic immigrant identity in the family. However, Prida looks at the experiences of immigrant children as they struggle to define who they are and how they will incorporate both the old world and the new into their personal identity. Furthermore, issues of family, religion, technology and globalization are addressed in this play.

Altogether, eighty-five occurrences of codeswitching occur in *Botánica*, and although borrowing does occur, it is not addressed in this analysis. Interestingly, unlike *Beautiful Señoritas* and *Coser y cantar*, the vast majority of switches are from Spanish to English, as Spanish is the ML of this play, only four instances of switches from English to Spanish are found. The main character, Millie, who is the granddaughter of Doña Geno, maintains two ML registers, both Spanish and English, depending on who she speaks with and the topic of conversation. Also differing from the other plays, an almost even number of intersentential and intrasentential switches take place, which makes this text a much more valuable corpora as it has a wider range of codeswitches to be analyzed.

Five classifications of relationships are recognized in *Botánica*: barrio friends, childhood friends, family, professional, and spiritual relationships. The majority of relationships are unequal in status due to age, education, and perceived wisdom of individuals. Millie specifically has changeable status within the play, depending on specific relationships and situations, because of the private university education she received. As times, her education gives her higher social status, even above her family members and elders in the community, due to her strong command of English and the type of education she obtained.

The most interesting relationships in the play are those between Millie, Rubén and the other characters. Specifically, the relationship between Millie and Ruben is unique because they were both born as first generation Americans in the Puerto Rican barrio, they are childhood friends, and they primarily develop and maintain their

relationship through codeswitching into English throughout the play. The constant codeswitching between these two characters led to a high percentage of solidarity-associated switches in the analysis.

In the end, *Botánica* exposes notable patterns and tendencies for the characters to use linguistic techniques, specifically codeswitching, in their discourse to maintain closeness and intimacy in their relationships. The status between the characters in *Botánica* is static and is not questioned by the characters; however, as the individuals relate and interact, questions of intimacy, trust and solidarity often enter in the conversation and are expressed through codeswitching.

Further Research

This project revealed that the works of Prida analyzed herein should be further examined using the status and solidarity framework and other linguistic methodologies. Specifically, in *Beautiful Señoritas* the nature of the relationships in the play, especially that between the MC and the audience members, can be reevaluated. For this investigation the status of each relationship is identified in an objective manner depending upon the six categories of relationships identified. However, through a closer evaluation of each codeswitch it is possible that different results will emerge if the status is reevaluated based on the codeswitching content and the outcome of each codeswitch within the context of the play. Furthermore, it may be valuable to first evaluate and classify each relationship independently, placing each relationship in one of the four quadrants in the status and solidarity framework. Then, for each codeswitching occurrence, replace each relationship in one of the four quadrants based on the outcome

of the speech event and by what the participants say and how they say communicate with one another.

Furthermore, work can be done concerning bilingual speech patterns, registers, and cultural significance using *Coser y cantar* as a text, especially in light of the ever-growing Hispanic immigrant population in the United States. While the two characters in this play were considered equal in status for this study, it is possible to reevaluate their relationship using the status and solidarity framework considering them distant in status and vying for emotional and psychological solidarity between their two cultural selves. A closer linguistic analysis of the codeswitching may reveal how each of the switches creates solidarity vs. distance and equality vs. superiority between the alter egos. Likewise, a more rich analysis could include the borrowed lexical items in an analysis in addition to the occurrences of codeswitching as defined here.

Finally, in further examination of the play *Botánica*, a closer look can be given to the relationship between Millie and Rubén and how codeswitching affects their interactions with others. As in *Beautiful Señoritas*, the relationships can be classified objectively on an individual basis, but then reevaluated for every codeswitch to see how each relationship changes and is directly affected by the codeswitching. For example, as noted here Millie's status is changeable based on her education, which is reflected in her speech patterns and through her codeswitching.

In all three plays, and specifically in *Botánica*, alternative reasons for codeswitching could be included in the analysis to understand more fully the interactions between individuals as well as to grasp the significance of the codeswitching in the

relational development of the characters. For example: situational vs. metaphorical CS, the We vs. They code identity, the changing of topic in the conversation through codeswitching, the affective functions in the affective messages and rhetorical effects, community membership, etc.

As linguists, literary critics and other scholars of textual corpora continue to advance in the field of literary linguistics; more research needs to be done on drama. When specific linguistic phenomenon are discovered within a text, they should be explored using all the techniques and methodology available to researchers today and should encompass multiple disciplines in order to best understand what happens in the texts as well as in natural speech practices. The status and solidarity framework is a useful tool to apply to literary texts and more work needs to be done using this framework, specifically related to codeswitching, as well as other linguistic features found in speech such as register use, language prestige, politeness, gender specific use of language, and language attitudes.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ For reference to the cultural norms related to status in Hispanic culture and society see the references section. Specifically: *American diversity*, 1991; Briggs, 2002; Campa, 2002; Cuadrado & Lieberman, 2002; Diaz Soto, 1989; Fitzpatrick, 1971; González, 1997; Martín, & Pérez, 1998; Pérez, 1995; Perez & Amado, 2000; Portes, & Madelon, 2002; Pozzetta, 1991.
- ² This list is adapted from Janet Holmes list of speech functions in her explanation of functions of speech in her introduction to sociolinguistics text.
- ³ Only the relationships of individuals who interact in the play are recognized.
- ⁴ Miss CW stands for Miss Commonwealth.
- ⁵ Some speech functions fall into two categories and therefore, are counted twice in both respective categories. For *Beautiful Señoritas*, the total number of speech functions counted is 85.
- ⁶ As noted earlier, some speech functions fall into two categories and therefore, are counted twice in the respective categories. For *Coser y cantar*, the total number of speech functions counted is 22.
- ⁷ See the definitions offered by Brandon in Chapter III: *Botánica*, p. 42-43.
- ⁸ As in the other two plays, some speech functions fall into two categories, for *Botánica*, the total number of speech functions counted is 90.
- ⁹ Q – Status & Solidarity scale quadrants (1-4)

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APPENDIX I
COMPARATIVE RESULTS

Table A.I: Comparative Codeswitching Data Results

	<i>Beautiful Señoritas</i>	%	<i>Cocer y Cantar</i>	%	<i>Botánica</i>	%
Codeswitching Occurrences Matrix Language	67 English		18 Bilingual		85 Spanish	
Spanish-English switches	6	8.96%	9	50.00%	81	95.29%
English-Spanish switches	61	91.04%	9	50.00%	4	4.71%
Intersentential switches	43	62.32%	5	27.78%	45	52.94%
Intrasentential switches	26	37.68%	14	77.78%	44	51.76%
Relationships	Acquaintance (1) Family (6) Friend (13) Intercontextual (22) Professional (21) Potential Lover (3) Spiritual (1)	1.49% 8.96% 19.40% 32.84% 31.34% 4.48% 1.49%	Introspective/ Self talk (18)	100.00%	Barrio friends (21) Childhood friends (26) Family (29) Professional (11) Spiritual (8)	22.11% 27.37% 30.53% 11.58% 8.42%

Table B.1: Comparative Status & Solidarity Framework Results

	<i>Beautiful Señoritas</i>		<i>Cocer y Cantar</i>		<i>Botánica</i>	
		%		%		%
High Solidarity	33	49.25%	18	100.00%	64	75.29%
Low Solidarity	34	50.75%	0	0.00%	21	24.71%
Equal Status	17	25.37%	18	100.00%	27	31.76%
Unequal Status	50	74.63%	0	0.00%	58	68.24%
Q1	34	50.75%	0	0.00%	19	22.35%
Q2	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	1.18%
Q3	17	25.37%	18	1.00%	28	32.94%
Q4	16	23.88%	0	0.00%	37	43.53%
Formal Interaction	22	32.84%	0		4	4.71%
Informal interaction	45	67.16%	18	100.00%	81	95.29%
High Referentiality	31	46.27%	15	83.33%	53	62.35%
Low Referentiality	36	53.73%	3	16.67%	32	37.65%
High Affectiveness	56	83.58%	0	0.00%	60	70.59%
Low Affectiveness	11	16.42%	18	100.00%	25	29.41%

Table C.1: Comparative Speech Function Results

	<i>Beautiful Señoritas</i>		<i>Cocer y Cantar</i>		<i>Botánica</i>	
		%		%		%
Aesthetic	9	10.59%	0	0.00%	3	3.33%
Directive	5	5.88%	0	0.00%	10	11.11%
Expressive	20	23.53%	4	18.18%	14	15.56%
Metalinguistic	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	1.11%
Phatic	10	11.76%	0	0.00%	4	4.44%
Question	9	10.59%	2	9.09%	12	13.33%
Referential	32	37.65%	16	68.18%	46	51.11%

APENDIX II

BEAUTIFUL SEÑORITAS DATA SET

Table A.II: *Beautiful Señoritas* Codeswitching Data

Act	Line #	Speaker	Speaking To	Language	Codeswitch 1	Codeswitch 2	Relationship
I	3	Don Jose	Midwife	E-S	Intrasentential		Professional
I	7	Don Jose	Midwife	E-S	Intersentential		Professional
I	10, 11, 12	BS 2-4	Audience	E-S	Intrasentential		Intercontextual
I	13	BS Song	Audience	E-S	Intersentential	Intrasentential	Intercontextual
I	14	Maria la O	Audience/self	E-S	Intersentential		Intercontextual
I	16	Maria la O	Beauty Queen	E-S	Intrasentential		Friends
I	18	Maria la O	Beauty Queen	E-S	Intersentential		Friends
I	19	Beauty Queen	Maria la O	E-S	Intersentential		Friends
I	26	Maria la O	Beauty Queen	E-S	Intersentential		Friends
I	28	Maria la O	Beauty Queen	E-S	Intersentential	Intrasentential	Friends
I	30	Midwife	Audience	E-S	Intersentential		Intercontextual
I	31	MC	Audience	E-S	Intersentential		Intercontextual
I	32	Miss Havana	Audience	E-S	Intrasentential		Intercontextual
I	33	MC	Miss Havana	S-E	Intrasentential		Professional
I	34	Miss Havana	MC/Audience	E-S	Intersentential		Professional
I	35	MC	Audience	E-S	Intrasentential		Intercontextual
I	36	Miss Havana	Audience	E-S	Intersentential		Intercontextual
I	37, 38	MC	Audience	E-S	Intersentential		Intercontextual
I	39	Miss Chili	Audience	E-S	Intrasentential		Intercontextual
I	40	MC	Miss Chili	E-S	Intersentential		Professional

Table A.II: (Continued)

Act	Line #	Speaker	Speaking To	Language	Codeswitch 1	Codeswitch 2	Relationship
I	41	Miss Chili	MC/Audience	E-S	Intrasentential		Intercontextual
I	43	Miss Chili	MC/Audience	E-S	Intersentential		Intercontextual
I	44	MC	Miss Chili	E-S	Intersentential		Professional
I	45	Miss Chili	MC	E-S	Intersentential		Professional
I	46	MC	Audience	E-S	Intersentential		Intercontextual
I	48	MC	Miss Banana	E-S	Intersentential		Professional
I	52	MC	Audience	E-S	Intersentential		Intercontextual
I	56	MC	Audience	E-S	Intersentential		Intercontextual
I	57	Miss Com. wealth	Audience	S-E	Intersentential		Intercontextual
I	58	MC	Miss Commonwealth	S-E	Intrasentential		Professional
I	61	Miss Com. wealth	MC	E-S	Intrasentential		Professional
I	62	MC	Miss Commonwealth	E-S	Intrasentential		Professional
I	64	MC	Miss Commonwealth	E-S	Intersentential		Professional
I	68	CW 2	Girl/Man	E-S	Intersentential		Potential lover
I	69	CW 3	Man	E-S	Intrasentential		Potential lover
I	72	Man	CW/Audience	E-S	Intrasentential		Potential lover
I	73, 74, 75	CW 1, 3, 4	Girl	S-E	Intrasentential		Friends
I	76	Nun	Girl	E-S	Intersentential		Professional
I	77	Nun	Girl	E-S	Intersentential		Professional
I	79	Senorita 1	Priest	E-S	Intersentential		Professional
I	83	Priest	Senorita 1	E-S	Intersentential		Professional
I	87	Priest	Senorita 3	E-S	Intrasentential		Professional
I	88	Senorita 4	Priest	E-S	Intersentential		Professional
I	89	Priest	Senorita 4	S-E	Intrasentential		Professional

Table A.II: (Continued)

Act	Line #	Speaker	Speaking To	Language	Codeswitch 1	Codeswitch 2	Relationship
I	93	Senoritas 1, 3, 4	Senorita 2	E-S	Intersentential		Friends
I	95	Senorita 2	God	E-S	Intersentential		Spiritual
I	97	Senoritas 1, 3, 4	Audience	E-S	Intrasentential		Intercontextual
II	1	MC	Audience	E-S	Intersentential		Intercontextual
II	2	Woman 3	Audience	E-S	Intrasentential		Intercontextual
II	3	Senorita 2	Audience	E-S	Intersentential		Intercontextual
II	6	Marytr 1	Girl	E-S	Intrasentential		Friends
II	12	Marytr 3	Other martyrs	E-S	Intersentential		Friends
II	16	Marytr 1	Other martyrs	E-S	Intersentential		Friends
II	42, 43	All Martyrs	Each other	E-S	Intersentential	Intrasentential	Friends
II	47, 48, 49	Woman 1, 2, 3	Each other	E-S	Intrasentential		Friends
II	51	Researcher	Man	E-S	Intrasentential		Professional
II	65, 67	Researcher	Man	E-S	Intrasentential		Professional
II	68	Man	Researcher	S-E	Intrasentential		Acquaintance
II	69	MC	Audience	E-S	Intersentential		Intercontextual
II	70	Daughter	Mother	E-S	Intersentential		Family
II	71	Mother	Daughter	E-S	Intersentential		Family
II	72	Daughter	Father	E-S	Intersentential		Family
II	80	Mother	Daughter	E-S	Intersentential		Family
II	81	Brother	Sister	E-S	Intrasentential		Family
II	83	Mother	Son	E-S	Intersentential		Family
II	100	MC	Audience	E-S	Intersentential		Intercontextual
II	109, 112, 128	Woman 3	Girl	E-S	Intersentential		Friends

Table B.II: *Beautiful Señoritas* Status & Solidarity Framework Data

Act	Line #	Solidarity	Status	Q ⁹	Formality	Speech Act 1	Speech Act 2	Referential	Affective
I	3	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Question		Low	High
I	7	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Expressive		Low	High
I	10, 11, 12	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Expressive		Low	High
I	13	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential	Expressive	Low	High
I	14	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	16	High	Equal	3	Informal	Phatic		Low	High
I	18	High	Equal	3	Informal	Phatic		Low	High
I	19	High	Equal	3	Informal	Aesthetic		High	High
I	26	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	Low
I	28	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential	Expressive	High	High
I	30	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Aesthetic		Low	High
I	31	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential	Aesthetic	Low	High
I	32	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential	Expressive	High	High
I	33	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Phatic		Low	High
I	34	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential		High	Low
I	35	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential		Low	High
I	36	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Directive		High	High
I	37, 38	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Directive	Aesthetic	High	High
I	39	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential	Expressive	High	High
I	40	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Question		High	Low
I	41	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential		High	Low
I	43	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential	Expressive	High	High
I	44	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential	Expressive	High	High

Table B.II: (Continued)

Act	Line #	Solidarity	Status	Q	Formality	Speech Act 1	Speech Act 2	Referential	Affective
I	45	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential		Low	High
I	46	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential		Low	High
I	48	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential		High	Low
I	52	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Directive		High	Low
I	56	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential		Low	High
I	57	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential	Expressive	High	High
I	58	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Expressive	Question	High	High
I	61	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential		High	Low
I	62	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Aesthetic		Low	High
I	64	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Expressive		Low	High
I	68	High	Equal	3	Informal	Aesthetic		Low	High
I	69	High	Equal	3	Informal	Question		High	High
I	72	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential	Expressive	High	High
I	73, 74, 75	High	Equal	3	Informal	Expressive		Low	High
I	76	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	77	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Directive		High	High
I	79	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Expressive		Low	High
I	83	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Phatic		Low	Low
I	87	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Aesthetic		Low	High
I	88	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Aesthetic		Low	High
I	89	High	Unequal	4	Formal	Aesthetic		Low	High
I	93	High	Equal	3	Informal	Expressive		Low	High
I	95	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		Low	High
I	97	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Expressive		Low	High

Table B.II: (Continued)

Act	Line #	Solidarity	Status	Q	Formality	Speech Act 1	Speech Act 2	Referential	Affective
II	1	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential		Low	High
II	2	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential	Expressive	High	High
II	3	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	Low
II	6	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
II	12	High	Equal	3	Informal	Phatic		Low	High
II	16	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
II	42, 43	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential	Expressive	High	High
II	47, 48, 49	High	Equal	3	Informal	Expressive		High	High
II	51	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential		High	Low
II	65, 67	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential		Low	Low
II	68	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential		Low	High
II	69	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential		Low	High
II	70	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Phatic	Question	Low	High
II	71	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Phatic	Question	Low	High
II	72	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Phatic	Question	Low	High
II	80	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Phatic	Question	Low	High
II	81	High	Equal	3	Informal	Expressive		High	High
II	83	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Phatic	Question	Low	High
II	100	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential		Low	High
II	109, 112, 128	High	Equal	3	Informal	Directive		High	High

APENDIX III

COSER Y CANTAR DATA SET

Table A.III: *Coser y cantar* Codeswitching Data

Act	Line #	Speaker	Speaking To	Language	Codeswitch 1	Codeswitch 2	Relationship
I	53	Ella	She	S-E	Intrasentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	80	She	Ella	E-S	Intersentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	83	Ella	She	S-E	Intrasentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	93	Ella	She	S-E	Intersentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	104	She	Ella	E-S	Intersentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	129	Ella	She	S-E	Intrasentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	130	She	Ella	E-S	Intrasentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	131	Ella	She	S-E	Intrasentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	134	She	Ella	E-S	Intersentential	Intrasentential	Introspection/self-talk
I	147	Ella	She	S-E	Intrasentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	149	Ella	She	S-E	Intrasentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	173	She	Ella	E-S	Intersentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	192	Ella	She	S-E	Intrasentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	202-209	Ella & She	To each other	S	Intrasentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	215	She	Ella	E-S	Intersentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	220	Ella	She	S-E	Intrasentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	226	Ella	She	E-S	Intersentential		Introspection/self-talk
I	229	She	Ella	E-S	Intrasentential		Introspection/self-talk

Table B.III: *Coser y cantar* Status & Solidarity Framework Data

Act	Line #	Solidarity	Status	Q	Formality	Speech Act 1	Speech Act 2	Referential	Affective
I	53	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	80	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	83	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential	Expressive	Low	High
I	93	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential	Expressive	High	High
I	104	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	129	High	Equal	3	Informal	Question		High	High
I	130	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	131	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		Low	High
I	134	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	147	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		Low	High
I	149	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	Low
I	173	High	Equal	3	Informal	Question		High	High
I	192	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential	Expressive	High	High
I	202-								
I	209	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential	Expressive	High	High
I	215	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	220	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	226	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	229	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High

APENDIX IV

BOTÁNICA DATA SET

Table A.IV: *Botánica* Codeswitching Data

Act	Line #	Speaker	Speaking To	Language	Codeswitch 1	Codeswitch 2	Relationship 1	Relationship 2
I	42	Ruben	Pepe	E-S	Intrasentential		Barrio friends	
I	43	Anamú	Geno	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
I	52	Ruben	Geno	S-E	Intersentential		Barrio friends	
I	59	Anamú	Ruben	S-E	Intersentential		Barrio friends	
I	62	Ruben	Anamú	S-E	Intersentential		Barrio friends	
I	72	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intrasentential		Childhood friends	
I	87	Ruben	The family	E-S	Intrasentential		Barrio friends	
I	93	Millie	Ruben	S-E	Intersentential		Childhood friends	
I	95	Millie	Ruben	S-E	Intrasentential		Childhood friends	
I	99	Millie	Ruben	S-E	Intrasentential		Childhood friends	
I	101	Millie	Ruben	S-E	Intersentential		Childhood friends	
I	109	Millie	Ruben	E-S	Intrasentential		Childhood friends	
I	111	Millie	Ruben	S-E	Intersentential		Childhood friends	
I	116	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intersentential		Childhood friends	
I	119	Millie	Ruben	S-E	Intersentential		Childhood friends	
I	120	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intersentential		Childhood friends	
I	125	Millie	Ruben	S-E	Intersentential		Childhood friends	
I	126	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intrasentential		Childhood friends	
I	127	Millie	Ruben	S-E	Intersentential		Childhood friends	
I	129	Millie	Ruben	S-E	Intersentential	Intrasentential	Childhood friends	Childhood friends

Table A.IV: (Continued)

Act	Line #	Speaker	Speaking To	Language	Codeswitch 1	Codeswitch 2	Relationship 1	Relationship 2
I	130	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intersentential		Childhood friends	
I	131	Millie	Ruben	S-E	Intrasentential		Childhood friends	
I	139	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
I	141	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
I	143	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
I	174, 182	Geno	Pepe	S-E	Intersentential		Barrio friends	
I	186	Geno	Anamú	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
I	194	Millie	Ahabi Reality	S-E	Intrasentential		Professional	
I	238	Millie	Anamú	S-E	Intrasentential		Family	
I	243	Anamú	Millie	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
I	247	Anamú	Millie	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
I	271	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
I	273	Geno	Millie	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
II	10	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intersentential		Childhood friends	
II	14	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intrasentential		Childhood friends	
II	21	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intrasentential		Childhood friends	
II	27	Millie	Ruben	S-E	Intersentential		Childhood friends	
II	28	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intersentential		Childhood friends	
II	30	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intersentential	Intrasentential	Childhood friends	
II	42	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intrasentential		Childhood friends	
II	44, 45	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intersentential		Childhood friends	
II	48	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intersentential	Intrasentential	Childhood friends	
II	59	Millie	St. Barbara	S-E	Intrasentential		Spiritual	
II	60	St. Barbara	Millie	S-E	Intrasentential		Spiritual	

Table A.IV: (Continued)

Act	Line #	Speaker	Speaking To	Language	Codeswitch 1	Codeswitch 2	Relationship 1	Relationship 2
II	63	Millie	Saints	S-E	Intrasentential		Spiritual	
II	66	St. Lázaro	Millie	S-E	Intrasentential		Spiritual	
II	70	St. Lázaro	Millie	S-E	Intrasentential		Spiritual	
II	71	Millie	St. Lázaro	E-S	Intrasentential		Spiritual	
II	73, 74	Millie	St. Lázaro	S-E	Intrasentential		Spiritual	
II	75	Millie	St. Lázaro	S-E	Intrasentential		Spiritual	
II	102	Geno	Anamú	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
II	107	Geno	Luisa	S-E	Intersentential		Barrio friends	Professional
II	130	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intrasentential		Family	
II	132	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
II	139	Geno	Millie	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
II	148	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
II	149	Geno	Millie	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
II	150	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intrasentential		Family	
II	152	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intrasentential		Family	
II	162	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intersentential	Intrasentential	Family	
II	166	Ruben	Pepe	S-E	Intersentential		Barrio friends	
II	172	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intrasentential		Family	
II	191	Geno	Pepe	S-E	Intersentential		Barrio friends	
II	192	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intrasentential		Family	
II	214	Carmen	Everyone	S-E	Intrasentential		Barrio friends	Professional
II	219	Carmen	Geno	S-E	Intrasentential		Barrio friends	Professional
II	223	Carmen	Geno	S-E	Intrasentential		Barrio friends	Professional
II	225	Ruben	Pepe	S-E	Intersentential		Barrio friends	

Table A.IV: (Continued)

Act	Line #	Speaker	Speaking To	Language	Codeswitch 1	Codeswitch 2	Relationship 1	Relationship 2
II	244	Carmen	Geno	S-E	Intersentential		Barrio friends	Professional
II	250	Carmen	Luisa	S-E	Intrasentential		Barrio friends	
II	261	Carmen	Millie	S-E	Intrasentential		Barrio friends	Professional
II	266	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
II	268	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intrasentential		Family	
II	271	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
II	277	Millie	Everyone	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
II	279	Ruben	Everyone	S-E	Intersentential		Barrio friends	
II	295	Ruben	Millie	S-E	Intrasentential		Childhood friends	
II	301	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intrasentential		Family	
II	303	Carmen	Millie	S-E	Intrasentential		Barrio friends	Professional
II	306	Millie	Geno	S-E	Intersentential		Family	
II	313	Carmen	Millie	S-E	Intrasentential		Barrio friends	Professional
II	316	Millie	Everyone	S-E	Intrasentential		Barrio friends	Family
II	322	Carmen	Ahabi Reality	S-E	Intrasentential		Professional	
II	323	Geno	Everyone	S-E	Intersentential		Barrio friends	Family
II	324	Millie	Ahabi Reality	S-E	Intrasentential		Professional	

Table B.IV: *Botánica* Status & Solidarity Framework Data

Act	Line #	Solidarity	Status	Q	Formality	Speech Act 1	Speech Act 2	Referential	Affective
I	42	High	Unequal	3	Informal	Directive		High	Low
I	43	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	Low
I	52	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential		Low	Low
I	59	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential		High	Low
I	62	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	72	High	Equal	3	Informal	Question		High	High
I	87	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Expressive		High	High
I	93	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	95	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	99	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	101	High	Equal	3	Informal	Expressive		High	High
I	109	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		Low	High
I	111	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	116	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		Low	High
I	119	High	Equal	3	Informal	Expressive		Low	High
I	120	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	125	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	126	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		Low	High
I	127	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		Low	High
I	129	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
I	130	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	Low
I	131	High	Equal	3	Informal	Expressive		Low	High
I	139	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	Low

Table B.IV: (Continued)

Act	Line #	Solidarity	Status	Q	Formality	Speech Act 1	Speech Act 2	Referential	Affective
I	143	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	Low
I	174, 182	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Phatic		Low	Low
I	186	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	Low
I	194	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential	Question	High	Low
I	238	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		Low	High
I	243	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Expressive		High	High
I	247	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		Low	High
I	271	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Expressive		High	High
I	273	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		Low	High
II	10	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	Low
II	14	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
II	21	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		Low	High
II	27	High	Equal	3	Informal	Question		Low	High
II	28	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		Low	High
II	30	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential	Question	High	High
II	42	High	Equal	3	Informal	Directive		Low	High
II	44, 45	High	Equal	3	Informal	Question		Low	High
II	48	High	Equal	3	Informal	Referential		High	High
II	59	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Directive	Expressive	Low	High
II	60	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Metalinguistic		High	High
II	63	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		Low	High
II	66	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Aesthetic		High	High
II	70	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Aesthetic		Low	High
II	71	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Question		High	High

Table B.IV: (Continued)

Act	Line #	Solidarity	Status	Q	Formality	Speech Act 1	Speech Act 2	Referential	Affective
II	73, 74	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	High
II	75	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Expressive		High	High
II	102	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	Low
II	107	Low	Unequal	3	Informal	Referential		High	Low
II	130	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	High
II	132	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Question		High	High
II	139	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Expressive		High	High
II	148	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Aesthetic		Low	Low
II	149	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		Low	High
II	150	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	High
II	152	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	High
II	162	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	High
II	166	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Phatic		Low	Low
II	172	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Expressive		High	High
II	191	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Phatic		Low	Low
II	192	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	High
II	214	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Question		Low	High
II	219	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Question		Low	High
II	223	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Expressive		High	High
II	225	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Phatic		Low	Low
II	244	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Question	Expressive	High	High
II	250	Low	Equal	2	Informal	Directive		High	Low
II	261	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Directive		High	Low
II	266	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Directive		Low	High

Table B.IV: (Continued)

Act	Line #	Solidarity	Status	Q	Formality	Speech Act 1	Speech Act 2	Referential	Affective
II	268	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Directive		Low	High
II	271	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Directive		Low	High
II	277	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Expressive		Low	High
II	279	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential		High	Low
II	295	High	Equal	3	Informal	Question		Low	High
II	301	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Directive		Low	High
II	303	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential		High	Low
II	306	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	Low
II	313	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Referential		High	Low
II	316	Low	Unequal	1	Informal	Directive		High	High
II	322	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Question		High	Low
II	323	High	Unequal	4	Informal	Referential		High	High
II	324	Low	Unequal	1	Formal	Referential	Expressive	High	High

APENDIX V

PERSONAL INTERVIEW WITH DOLORES PRIDA

July 17, 2003
 Latina Letters Conference
 St. Mary's College, San Antonio, TX

Questions by Sheri Anderson

Answers by Dolores Prida

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|--|---|
| <p>1. In your works, specifically, <i>Beautiful Señoritas</i>, <i>Cantar y Coser</i>, and <i>Botánica</i> what role did you wish codeswitching to play in the character development and relationships between the characters?</p> <p>2. In <i>Beautiful Señoritas</i>, why did you choose the MC to speak primarily in English? Did you have a specific message or image that you wanted to portray through his linguistic choices?</p> <p>3. How do you feel the codeswitching in <i>Beautiful Señoritas</i> deals with solidarity; between the characters and with the audience?</p> | <p>Codeswitching has two purposes, 1) You can't think of a word in the other language or 2) The Spanish or English is more precise, and they don't have the same meaning in both languages.</p> <p>In <i>Beautiful Señoritas</i>, codeswitching gives flavor to the characters and to the play. You have to be careful where to put it in or not, it makes a difference where it goes. For example if the play is in English and a specific character only speaks Spanish the person won't speak as much in the play. But if she or he switches between languages then the character will speak more often and can communicate with the audience.</p> <p><i>Beautiful Señoritas</i> happens on an unreal plane. It is not real life and speaks to the audience through stereotypes not through true characterization or representations of people. In theater, speech is all you have to develop character. In <i>Beautiful Señoritas</i> for example 'm'hija' is used as a term of endearment between the women to draw closer and create a sense of intimacy.</p> |
|--|---|

Questions by Sheri Anderson
Answers by Dolores Prida

4. Throughout *Cantar y Coser* Ella generally speaks in Spanish and She in English; however, there are instances when each girl switches to the other language; what goal or purpose do you see these switches serving in the play for each character and for the relationship between the characters?

Cantar y Coser is my most personal play. It deals with Latina identity of how the two parts of this woman can come together and live in peace as one whole individual. The moment of a switch is when the two are drawing closer to being one. For example, the search for the map draws the two women closer because they are searching together and both need direction. How the parts come together is different for each individual, what is important is the process and the fight for supremacy between the two halves, who will win out?

5. Do you see the codeswitching in *Coser y cantar* dealing more with issues of solidarity or power in the relationship between the girls? Why

When the switches occur there is a melding and both sides can speak both languages. It is similar to second language learning when you experience that 'click' and you suddenly can understand and speak in the second language. It is the same for the women in the end when they both switch to the other language; they have both finally clicked into the understanding of the other women, or rather the understanding of her own other self and accepted the reality of her coexistence.

6. ? In *Botánica*, why does Millie speak and make her pact with the saints in English instead of in Spanish as one would expect?

For Millie her interaction with the saints is business. She is not pleading or begging for assistance, but is making a deal. She does use the old ways to obtain her goals, but with new methods.

Questions by Sheri Anderson
Answers by Dolores Prida

6. (continued)

In *Botánica*, why does Millie speak and make her pact with the saints in English instead of in Spanish as one would expect?

In the Hispanic culture, people ask for favors from the saints, they don't usually do business. But for Millie, she lives in a new culture and must express herself in English to get what she needs. Phrases like 'Business is Business' and "Have I got a deal for you' are very American and are in English. They don't translate well into Spanish either in words or culturally. English is the language of business and therefore Millie makes her deal in English; it is an equalizer.

The relationship with Rubén is also important. They switch to English to connect. Often Millie acts uppity and he switches to English to speak on her level. However, Rubén solves his identity better than Millie does. The switching is used to create equal power between them but also to create solidarity. They have different levels of education but they can communicate better through English because of their age and experiences.

7. Did you intend to portray English as a more 'powerful' language in this play; meaning that a person who speaks English is given more social status than one who does not?

English is not more powerful, but more practical. Yes, there is more status in using English because it facilitates your life. You are able to communicate with more people and have more opportunities through the language.

8. When writing *Botánica*, did you study or try to portray specifically Puerto Rican codeswitching? Or did you rely on your own Cuban-American experience of codeswitching when writing?

Yes, I intended to use Puerto Rican codeswitching, which I experienced through living and working so closely with Puerto Ricans, I imitated their speech and wrote how I heard them speaking.

VITA

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