

Master's Dissertation/ Trabajo Fin de Máster

# BLESS ME, ULTIMA: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC CHARACTERIZATION OF CODE SWITCHING.

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### Abstract

Code-switching between English and Spanish has represented the model of the mestizo identity of many citizens during the formative process in New Mexico, and thus has been embodied in much of its literary corpus. From the point of view of sociolinguistics, the main objective of this paper is to examine and identify which linguistic constructions and sociolinguistic functions of this phenomenon have been employed within *Bless Me, Ultima* by Rudolfo Anaya; the novel that established the canonical foundations of Chicano literature. To this end, a bibliographical review is made of models and studies that have analyzed the linguistic typologies and social functions of code switching in diverse communicative spheres. The close reading of this novel establishes that this phenomenon is employed with both pragmatic and communicative functions (quoting, emphasis, etc.) as well as purely social ones: that of showing identity and in-group membership. In short, the relevance of the study of code switching in Chicano literary creation lies in its motivated use as a discourse of social denunciation and resistance, as a symbolic expression of a community, its values and its history.

**Key words:** Code switching, Chicano Literature, Spanglish, Anaya, *Bless Me, Ultima*, Identity.

### Resumen

El cambio de código entre el inglés y el español ha representado el modelo de la identidad mestiza de muchos ciudadanos durante el proceso de formación en Nuevo Mexico, y así ha sido plasmado en gran parte de su cuerpo literario. From the point of view of sociolinguistics, el principal objetivo de este papel es el de examinar e identificar cuales son las construcciones lingüísticas y usos sociolingüísticos de este fenómeno que han sido empleadas dentro de *Bless Me, Ultima* by Rudolfo Anaya; la novela que estableció las bases canónicas de la literatura chicana. Para tal fin, se hace una revisión bibliográfica de modelos y estudios que han analizado las tipologías lingüísticas y funciones sociales del code switching en diversas esferas comunicativas. El close reading de esta novela establece que este fenómeno es empleado tanto con funciones pragmáticas y comunicativas (citación, énfasis, etc.), como puramente sociales: el de mostrar identidad y la pertenencia a un grupo. En definitiva, la relevancia del estudio del cambio de código dentro de la creación literaria chicana viene dada por su uso motivado como discurso de denuncia social y resistencia, como expresión simbólica de una comunidad, sus valores y su historia.

**Palabras clave:** Cambio de código, Literatura Chicana, Spanglish, Anaya, *Bless Me, Ultima*, Identidad, Comunicación, Lengua y Literatura.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

**BMU:** Bless Me, Ultima.

**CM:** Code mixing.

**CS:** Code switching.

TFM: Trabajo de Fin de Máster.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION.

This dissertation (Trabajo de Fin de Máster, TFM henceforth) has been developed within the area of 'English Studies'.

Of all the disciplines that try to scientifically describe this language, the first and arguably the most important of the subjects on which this TFM is based is 'Literature and Language', as particular attention is paid to the nuances of linguistic expression (i.e. code-switching) and its impact in the development of the identity of a minority community through the art of storytelling. Given the mostly unbreakable relation between Literature and the historical and social context in which each literary piece of work is developed, it has also been necessary to draw on 1) 'History' and the insights that this field of study offers, and 2) the discipline of 'Sociolinguistics', considering that code-switching (both written and spoken) is not a mere interchange of structures from different linguistic systems but also an integration of social and cultural ones. More specifically, I have also followed as a guide the knowledge imparted on each of the following modules taught in this Online Master of English Studies: 'Main Approaches in Linguistic and Literary Studies', 'Research Methodology and Academic English' and 'Language, Gender and Society'.

After two sections devoted to the justification and the objectives of my final project, section 2 of this TFM deals with the relevant frameworks that explain the phenomenon of code-switching (CS): the first focuses on CS from a linguistic point of view, while the latter approaches this term following the tenets of sociolinguistics, including the role it has played in Chicano literature as a whole. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, although code switching as a literary language is the main focus of this study, it is impossible to avoid linking it or even to stop considering it as a reflection of Chicano experiences situated between Mexican roots and a Euro-American reality. In order to better understand the relationship between the strategic use of code switching and the message it conveys within the Chicano works, section 3 provides an introduction of the history of this community and the emergence of its literary production as separate from the American (see section 3.1.), as well as the most relevant experiences of the biography of the author (see section 3.2.), and a brief summary of the work in which the CS will be analysed i.e. *Bless Me, Ultima* (see section 3.3.). Section 4, based on the classifications of the uses of CS presented in the theoretical section, aims to identify and analyse the strategies of this sociolinguistic phenomenon in

Rudolfo Anaya's novel and the role they play in portraying the history and identity of Chicanos as a minority community. The sections that follow and close this TFM contain general conclusions and a list of references.

### 1.1. Brief introduction to the topic and its relevance to the community.

The way speakers use language is not uniform, but varies according to history, society, and the function of communication in which speakers are involved: neither two speakers will ever employ the same linguistic forms to convey identical meanings, nor the same speaker will use the same forms in different contexts. The concept of language in relation with society could therefore be redefined as a "numerous and structured group of varieties, with multiple connections and interactions among them, corresponding, of course, with connections and interactions among speakers" (Guzmán, p.5, 2018). As a social construct in the literary field, it expresses and transmits the culture of the society to which it serves as a vehicle of communication and therefore, the language externalizes the general and particular feelings of the users.

Especially for Chicanos, as a largely bilingual community, the interleaved use of Spanish and English languages has proven to be a powerful weapon in their goal of enhancing visibility to the norms of a minority community, its culture and language. With regards to this, code switching is defined as a sociolinguistic phenomenon brought about by the situation of languages in contact, and consists of the alternation of two different linguistic (and therefore cultural) systems (Ohlson, 2018). The linguistic choices that speakers of this community make between both languages when addressing people are in fact charged with particular ideologies which trigger different implications in power and social relations (Ráez, 2022).

The language used by the Chicano community in all its spheres is characterized by the presence of this phenomenon; and although most of the research that has been done on 'Spanglish' focuses mainly on spoken discourse, more and more literary texts are showing a trend in its use (González, 2017). Chicano authors such as Rudolfo Anaya have been able to exploit the language as a creative resource to which they have consciously resorted not only to expand their linguistic, stylistic and expressive repertoire, but also to represent the social

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Defined by Collins English Dictionary as "a variety of English heavily influenced by Spanish, commonly spoken in US Hispanic communities" (2022).

characteristics of the Chicano community and to criticize the Anglocentric American system and the oppression it has exerted on them (Longo, 1981).

The result of the characterization, therefore, of sociolinguistic phenomena such as code switching in its literary use is expected to give contribution to:

- the discipline of sociolinguistics and its research on code switching, as it provides examples of the linguistic construction of this phenomenon and its social and pragmatic functions as used by bilingual communities.
- the field of literary studies, in as much as it can examines how CS has become a literary and expressive resource carefully and intentionally employed by authors to create specific literary effects.

### 1.2. Aim of the paper and methodology.

As a consequence of what has been stated in the Introduction above, the aim of this TFM is twofold: one, to examine the relevance given to the linguistic phenomenon of CS in Chicano literature; and two, through a close proofreading of the novel *Bless Me*, *Última*, to analyze its uses in building the plot and characterisation of the protagonists, commenting upon them in relation to the history and identity development of Chicanos.

The methodology followed will be a bibliographic search of the types and functions of CS studied in this field by the most significant authors and researchers with the aim of drawing conclusions about the presence and sociolinguistic functions of CS in this particular work. To these ends, therefore, it is essential first to provide an adequate theoretical framework of the phenomenon of code-switching from two different perspectives: that is, 1) its description in purely linguistic terms, and 2) sociolinguistically speaking, the role it plays in Chicano literature.

# 2. A DESCRIPTION OF THE TERM CODE SWITCHING AND ITS ROLE IN CHICANO LITERATURE.

### 2.1. A linguistic definition and typology of code-switching.

The term code-switching can be simply defined as "the occasional use, within a discourse in a given language, of some element belonging to another language or code" (Lastra, p.188, 1992). The elements that are employed within the discourse of a code include both "lexical elements and more complex discourse structures (e.g. proverbs or idioms) as well as phonic elements that do not exist within the primary conversational code or grammatical constructions e.g. morphemes, connectors..." (Cantero and De Arriba, p.1, 1996). It is relevant to mention that in this paper, code and language will be used as synonyms, because as Guzmán states, the concept of code is extended in this discipline to define not only a language as a whole, but also other codes or varieties that are found within it, such as dialects or registers (2018).

This linguistic phenomenon is motivated by multiple circumstances but has been mostly studied in bilingual communities, since it is in this kind of contexts that a coexistence between one or more languages naturally prevails (Zeromska, 2003). The situation of languages in contact is characterized by the interference, to a greater or lesser extent, of one language in the structure of another. The consequences of this contact imply, initially, "the coexistence of both codes in specific and particular contexts" (Zeromska, p.290, 2003).

For all these reasons, some authors have referred to CS as those situations in which "a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech" (Haugen, 1956: 40; as cited in González, p.337, 2017); for they naturally "integrate linguistic material from both of their languages within the same discourse segment" (Bonvillain, 2008: 320; as cited in González, p. 337, 2017).

The fact that these authors define bilingualism as a requirement to correctly combine elements from different languages is due to the fact that, despite the efforts of some linguists to interrelate CS with a confusion of languages in the mind of the speaker, it has been shown that the combination of elements by the code switching user requires, on the contrary, a great mastery of the grammatical systems of both languages (González Echevarría, 1997, as cited in Ohlson, 2018).

From the point of view of linguistics (as the science that studies the structure of languages in order to deduce the grammatical, morphological and syntactic laws that govern it), three types of CS have been distinguished in the literature according to their grammatical construction. This table summarizes and provides examples of each of them according to the categorizations proposed by Myers-Scotton (1992), Lastra (1992), and Appel and Muysken (2005):

CS TYPE	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE
Interoracional	Code switches arise outside the sentence level i.e. between sentences or syntagms.	The hot beans flavored with chicos and green chile were muy sabrosos (BMU, p.42, 1972).
Intraoracional	Code changes arise within the same sentences or syntagms.	The church bell tolled and drew to it the widows in black, the lonely, faithful women who came to pray for their men.  "Arrímense vivos y difuntos  Aquí estamos todos juntos" (BMU, p. 35, 1972).
Tag-switching (proposed by Appel and Muysken, 1987)	In this case, the speaker includes a crutch, exclamation, or interjection in his/her speech that is expressed in a different code than the one used in the rest of the speech.	"Get hold of yourself, hombre, tell me what has happened!" (BMU, p.16,1972). ¡Madre de Dios! Who? How? (BMU, p.16, 1972).

**Table 1:** CS linguistic typology.

Since the subject that concerns the paper is the use of CS within literary written texts, special mention should be made of the model proposed by Lipski (1982), who establishes three types of CS in this type of discourse. This table collects all of them and establishes a correspondence with the terminology of the ones outlined in Table 2:

Lipski model (1982)	Myers-Scotton (1992), Lastra (1992) and Appel and Muysken (1987)
Type I	Tag CS
Type II	Intersentential CS
Type III	Intrasentential CS

**Table 2:** Correspondence of CS linguistic typologies.

The first of these types contains examples that correspond to the tag switch proposed by Appel and Muysten (1987, as cited in Ohlson, 2008), in the sense that it mainly presents a monolingual text with a very small number of lexical items in the other language (as specified in Table 1, a exclamation, interjection...). This type of CS "does not require a high level of bilingual competence, but its use indicates that the user belongs to a bicultural identity" (Ohlson, p.52, 2008).

Type II would fit within the definition of CS at the intersentential level. This occurs, according to the linguist, when elements of another code are introduced between paragraphs or sentences, so that a complete sentence is presented in one language, and the next in another (Lipski, 1985). In other words, these texts are "produced mostly in a single language, with switches occurring at phrase/sentence boundaries" (Lipski, p.195, 1985). Although this type of CS does not show a purely bilingual competence of the writer, the fact that he/she is able to utter entire prepositions in another language shows that he is able to distinguish the two linguistic parameters and to differentiate between cultural elements (Ohlson, 2008).

On the contrary, code switching in type III, which Lipski called intrasentential (1985), occurs within the same sentence "from single-morpheme to clause level" (Myers-Scotton, p.4, 1992) and is governed by fairly strict rules. For this reason, the latter has been the most interesting in terms of study and analysis, as it requires a greater and balanced grammatical command of

the two languages by the speaker; and consequently, shows a greater degree of integration in the writer's bilingualism (Montés Alcalá, 2016).

Following the lines of these classifications, several authors have proposed different designations to define CS and all its different forms. In certain cases, the barrier that differentiates them has become blurred (Ohlson, 2008). It is therefore necessary to make a distinction between the terms code-switching (CS) and code-mixing (CM): some authors (Shidar and Shidar, 1980; as cited in Ohlson, 2008) associate the former with the intrasentential type, and code-mixing as a synonym for intersentential. However, CS and CM are for other authors two completely divergent terms, and this is how they will be considered in this work (Guzmán, 2018; Hamers and Blanc, 1989; McClure, 1981).

The former is a complete linguistic and functional change from one code to another. Languages, therefore, "are easily identifiable and distinguishable" (Hamers and Blanc, p.148, 1989). The second, however, is a change of code made by the individual in an unintentional fashion because at the moment of the emission of the message, he/she is "unaware of lexical elements or constructions of the base language and therefore resorts to the vocable of another language" (McClure, p.86, 1981). In other words, the user transfers elements from one code to another without any established rule.

The distinction between CS and borrowing is another problematic area in the study of language contact phenomena (Ohlson, 2008). The phenomenon of borrowing has been defined as isolated words or phrases from one language which have been integrated into the grammatical system of the other, in other words, "which have been adapted to the other language phonologically, morphologically and syntactically" (Gumperz, p.66, 1982).

This paper will use the term code switching to refer to changes in the use of more than one language in a communicative episode<sup>2</sup> at the intrasentential, intersentential and tag switching levels. In order to avoid discrepancies between the minimum instances that the CS may present, all instances uttered in another language that is not the primary will be considered CS; unless they are introduced unintentionally or without fulfilling a communicative purpose within the work

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the case of this paper, the communicative episode is a literary text, as it showcases the characteristics pertaining to communication: the author (sender) conveys a message to the reader (recipient).

As Guzmán states, in order for the intrusion of elements from a code other than the base language to be considered CS as such, they must not only obey specific grammatical rules, but must also fulfil a communicative function (2018). That is, this skilful manipulation of two language systems is used, in fact, "for fulfilling various communicative and social functions within discourse" (Bullock and Toribio, p.4, 2009). This is what will be discussed in the following section.

### 2.2. A sociolinguistic description of the term.

Linguistics has demonstrated the important link established between language and society. Indeed, the main objective of sociolinguistics is to examine the relationship between language and the context in which it is used. There is no doubt that analyzing the use made of languages in different social contexts provides a wealth of information on how language functions, the social relations that exist in these communities, and how aspects of identity are manifested through language (Guzmán, 2018). For the sociolinguist, therefore, CS is a social phenomenon: it has the capacity to manifest an identity, a proclamation of bonding in multilingual communities (Betty, 2017). In other words, the choice of code by bilinguals or multilinguals is not merely based on a linguistic reason; the role played by social and cultural factors in this process is also crucial. In Guzman's words, the reason for the shift lies in the effect that the speaker wishes to produce with the switch to another code as well as in the function of the language choice within the speech act involved (p.2, 2018).

In the same way as it was previously mentioned, although from a general point of view many have considered code-switching as something squared, stigmatized, and attributed to linguistic incompetence or illiteracy, "the forms that code-switching can take when placed in conjunction with history, culture, and politics make this multi-language application method dynamic much more complex than initially anticipated" (Berry, p.24, 2015). Thanks to sociolinguistics, it has been shown that it is not a chaotic phenomenon, but rather evidence of social and cultural variation (Longo, 1991; Aranda, 1992).

To date, there are numerous studies within the field of sociolinguistic analysis of this phenomenon, more specifically on the reasons why speakers switch languages and what is the function and effect they want to communicate to the receiver through the switch. Although there is a greater predominance of studies on CS at the oral level (Grosjean, 1982; Auer, 1984; Zentella, 1997 as cited in González, 2017), interest in CS in written texts has increased in

recent decades and it has been shown that "it is used for a variety of socio-pragmatic and stylistic purposes similar to those found in bilingual speech" (González, p.346, 2017).

In order to perform a close reading of the work *Bless Me, Ultima* in which the social and communicative functions of the use of CS are analysed, the categorizations of Aranda (1991), Ohlson (2008), González (2017), Adi (2018) have been taken as a model. Since occasionally there may be some overlapping between functions, for reasons of clarity and economy, those that move within the same field of use have been grouped. It has been the task of the following table to present and summarise the different typologies used by these authors, as they will guide the interpretation of code switching in the work.

ТҮРЕ	FUNCTION	EXAMPLE
Vocative function	To attract the listener's attention or to introduce to whom the utterance is addressed.	"¡Cabroncito! ¡Hijo de la bruja¡" the dark horseman cried and spurred his black horse upon me (BMU, p. 253, 1972).
Routine formulas and set phrases	Indicators of expression of cultural identity.	"Ave Maria Purisima," my mother said and slumped into a chair. "She will cure Lucas." (BMU, p. 85, 1972).
Quotes	To report the literal words of another character.	"Pero que dices, hombre?" my father exclaimed. He pulled Chavez into the hall and held up the farol. The light cast by the faro! revealed the wild, frightened eyes of Chavez (BMU, p.16, 1972).
Interjections	Characterization of a bilingual identity.	"¡Ay, sí!" the men exclaimed. It was true (BMU, p.133,1972).

Repetition or reiteration	To repeat in a different code what a character has first said in another for purposes of emphasis or clarification.	Then she asked my name. I told her I did not speak English.  "¿Cómo te llamas?" she asked (BMU, p.57,1972).
Referential function	To define a particular object or entity.	My mother had packed a small jar of hot beans and some good, green chile wrapped in tortillas. When the other children saw my lunch they laughed and pointed again (BMU, p.58, 1972).  "It is the way of the llano," he said, "and the wind is the voice of the llano. It speaks to us, it tells us something is not right." (BMU, p.191, 1972).

**Table 3:** Categorization of CS sociolinguistic and communicative functions.

As can be seen in the table, the first of the code-switching functions that the authors have identified is the vocative. The presentation of a sentence complement consisting of one or more words (such as nicknames, address terms and terms of endearment) in a language other than the one being spoken at first serves to attract the listener's attention or to introduce to whom the utterance is addressed (González, 2017; Aranda, 1991).

Phraseological units are also considered a recurrent strategy in code switching. Since they are often used in predictable social situations, and constitute a form of social interaction and serve specific functions within a culture e.g. greeting, farewell (Aranda, 1991). Closely related to these, idioms and idiomatic expressions are fixed expressions whose meaning cannot be deduced from the words of which they are composed and which are to be understood as authentic linguistic fossils. Their origin is popular and is linked to the culture of the language in which they are expressed, characterising the protagonists in relation to the social group to which they belong (González, 2017). Therefore, all of them could be defined as indicators of expression of cultural identity (Aranda, 1991;Ohlson, 2008; González, 2017; Adi, 2018).

Along the same lines, interjections are defined as words or expressions that, when pronounced in an exclamatory tone, express feelings or moods, and capture the listener's attention. Although they do not have much grammatical value, they do have an emotional and sentimental emphasis (González, 2017). Their use as a code-switching strategy in literary texts is due to the fact that they characterise the protagonists and attribute a personality to them linked to their bicultural identity (Adi, 2018).

Quotation is one of the most recurrent functions in code-switching at the literary level (Aranda, 1991;Ohlson, 2008; González, 2017; Adi, 2018). On some occasions the narrator or a character quotes the literal words that another character has spoken in the code in which he or she has uttered them, instead of rephrasing his or her speech into the base or primary language (Ohlson, 2008). In this way, the reader is able to attribute the quoted words to the character who has said them before and the social group to which he or she belongs in a more straightforward fashion.

In the case of the CS repetition strategy, a character reproduces in a different code what he/she has first said in another, e.g. utters in Spanish what he/she has said in English, or vice versa (Adi, 2018). According to this linguist, the intended aim of CS is simply to explain the meaning of the given elements in another language, thus clarifying and emphasizing the message, and reiterating what has been said.

Finally, authors agree on the use of the referential function. As defined by González, "can be identified whenever the narrator or any character resorts to a Spanish word to make reference to a particular object or entity" (p.353, 2017). In some cases, this CS is justified by the fact that there is no exact word in English that defines the word in question. For this reason, some authors have defined this CS function as a lexical and cultural need, because its use "highlights some specific cultural features which their English equivalents are felt to lack and a sense of authenticity, realism and local color that they subtly provide with all their connotations" (González, p.353, 2017).

The study of CS at the sociolinguistic level proved that this linguistic behavior has also increasingly manifested in literary productions (Longo, 1981). This seems logical, since, as mentioned earlier in this paper, literature has always functioned as a means of social expression that embodies the realities of a given community. All in all, the use of all these strategies enables the author to communicate to the reader the different sociolinguistic and

cultural profiles of each of the characters within the book, as well as the fictional bilingual contexts in which the plots are created.

### 2.3. The presence of code-switching in Chicano literature.

The increase in the number of authors writing in two languages has caused bilingual literature, especially in the United States, to be perceived as valid in canonical terms. Aparicio goes even further and states that "alternating languages in works has meant a postmodern and transcreative approach; validating code-switching as a positively creative innovation in literature, rather than a deficit" (p. 79, 1994 as cited in Montes-Alcalá, 2015).

It seems relevant to mention that the English learned and spoken by the sons and daughters of Spanish-speaking immigrants (mostly Mexicans throughout the American west and south west) is often neither English nor Spanish but something other: a hybrid which leans first to one then to the other of its source languages, never fully one or the other. Switches into Spanish, therefore, have progressively become a necessary literary strategy carefully employed by Chicano authors to write the discourse of the characters and the plot. This manner, they are able to reflect the bilingual interaction and linguistic realism and behavior of their community and capture that identity that goes beyond Anglophone exclusivism (Aranda, 1992). They address the potential readers through the essence of a cross-cultural message they want to originally convey: the identity of Americans is complex and plural (Junquera, 2018).

Authors such as Zeromska point out that there are "three expressive modalities in Chicano literature" according to the predominance of one language in the alteration of codes throughout the work. There are those works 1) that employ English as the main means of expression, 2) those that have a greater predominance of Spanish and 3) those that make equal use of both languages in the literary discourse (p.291, 2003). The work *Bless Me, Ultima* that will be analysed here falls into the first group, since it is written mainly in English but makes use of code switching strategies in Spanish to show not only the versatility of this phenomenon, but also how its manipulation enables authors to intentionally criticise and construct meanings at the narrative level. These interpretive meanings are based on the ideas promoted by the social movement that they themselves initiated to fight for their rights i.e. Chicanos' Right Movement, which as mentioned in section 3.1. of this work, questions, among many other issues, the dominance of an American culture that was based on the

Anglo-Saxon and monolingual and which had erased all traces of linguistic variety (Berry, 2015).

All in all, among the opinions that have been raised regarding the search for the Chicano essence and its use of code-switching, this paper will cite that of Gingerich, who states that "in a real sense, the much-touted search for identity in Chicano literature is the metaphor of a search for an authentic interlingual writing style" (1984 as cited in Aranda, p.8, 1992). This statement is necessary to understand when approaching most Chicano works where 1) the use of language and the alternation of English and Spanish codes has constituted an additional level of analysis on which political, geographic, linguistic, translation, and most relevantly, social meanings are elaborated and 2) refers to and accentuates cultural entities and discourses that have a special status within the Chicano community.

This would lead to the conclusion that studying code-switching from a sociolinguistic and literary point of view is necessary to establish the reasons and conditions that lead the Chicano community to use CS in their works.

### 3. AUTHOR'S BACKGROUND AND LITERARY PERIOD.

### 3.1. Chicano's identity and history.

Chicanos could be, all in all, considered the offspring of miscegenation; a historical, ethnic, political and social process that was completed in certain areas that were formerly Mexico and are now the US (Junquera, 2018). In most cases, the members of this community were born and raised in America and belonged to one of the numerous Native tribes inhabiting the country. Their first contacts and interracial relations with outsiders were established with the Spanish during the period of colonization imposed by Cortés in the 16th century; from the time he obtained the government of Mexico in 1522 until Mexico proclaimed its independence from Spain in 1821 (Aranda, 1992). From then on, the Americans began planting the seats to obtain Mexican territory, sitting their troops around the frontier and constantly threatening the Mexican army to start a war until the final invasion in 1845 that occupied all the territory up to the Nueces river (Aranda, 1992).

The birth of the Chicanos as a community arose, therefore, with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, which ended the war that had begun between Mexico and the United States (Cuesta, 2017). The treaty established that Mexico would cede more than half of its territory, including all of what are today the states of California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, Texas, part of Arizona, Colorado, Kansas and Oklahoma (Aranda, 1992). Following the virtues of this treaty, the border between the two nations was finally established at the Rio Grande River. At this time, these Mexican people who fall apart from the rest areas of Mexico were discriminated against citizens in a land that had formerly been theirs (Junquera, 2018). Americans called them pejoratively *tscanos* and treated them as foreigners, forcing them to abandon their customs, their culture, and therefore, their language; since it was completely different from theirs (even today). In this way, the appellant *Chicano* became, in the first place, a term to refer to the individuals who came from these territories ceded by Mexico, although successively it was applied to the subjects with Mexican ancestry. As Limeres states: "while in the first place the term predominated as a demonym, later it became an ethnonym" (p.4, 2019).

As a consequence of this treaty, Chicanos experienced cultural, economic and political processes that made the hegemonic group impose itself on the rest of the population: exploiting from the ideas of capitalism the Mexican American workers to develop the American economy, forcing them to abandon their culture, and habits to adapt to the culture of the new comers, and to their language. Guerra aptly defines this process of internal colonisation:

(...) we are a colony within the United States. That is to say, we are not an independent people but a people dependent on the gringo and his systems. History proves that this has been the case since the gringo took control of politics, the economy and our culture by force of arms. Since then our destiny is not ours (as cited in Limeres, p.4, 2019).

The characterization and recognition of Chicanos did not happen until the 1970s, when they started 'El Movimiento', and claimed for their civil rights and the empowerment of their race. This movement, which traces its origins to the mass strike of California farm workers in 1965, manifested itself in a series of events and changes at all social levels (Limeres, 2019). Its main mission was to prevent the assimilation and loss of cultural values, strongly threatened by the concept of the American "melting pot" (Sportuno, p.1, 2005). As a consequence of this

process, in 1968 a new discipline emerged in the universities of California that recognized the particularities of the Chicano community: Chicano Studies (Sportuno, 2005). From this moment on, there began to emerge an increasing need to create a body of Chicano literature that not only reflected the heritage and reality of these people and reacted to the discrimination, conquest, capitalism, acculturation and racism to which they were exposed, but also a parallel literature outside the literary canons of Euro-dependent textual homogeneity (Limeres, 2019).

This is where the nature of Chicano literature lies, in its originality in the thematic, linguistic and critical planes; for the elements that define it have to do with the history, society, culture and language of the Chicanos.

In relation to the latter, language in the literary production of this community plays a very important role as a cultural symbol (see section 2.3). Code-switching between English and Spanish is, in fact, present in many of their works and mainly determines whether or not a character is integrated into the new culture, and if that integration implies a rupture with his Mexican heritage (Junquera, 2018).

Spoturno (2005) identifies two main moments in the history and development of Chicano literature. In its beginnings, Chicano literature emerged as a product of this social movement and is characterised by its character of social protest and denunciation of the injustice and inequality faced by the Chicano in the midst of American society. The first recipients who talked about the reality of Chicanos in America were Tomas Rivera with Y no se lo tragó la Tierra, and Rudolfo Anaya with Bless me, Ultima. They placed the identification of an ethnic and cultural group different from the Anglo-American as the main task of their works. From the family nucleus in which the relationships among its members are always present and constitute a fundamental element of society, they showed the hardships of life for Chicanos and how it was like to grow up ethnic and bilingual (Junquera, 2018). In short, they represented a new paradigm: that of adapting to this new reality; and named themselves 'mestizos', a dual concept that would be of vital importance to understand the essence of Chicano literature. This mestizo race is also called 'La Raza' and, as they claim, it is the strongest and most resistant of all races, since it results from the mixture of all ethnicities that once inhabited America: Indigenous, African, European and Americans (Junquera, 2018). The second stage of this type of literature has left behind that image of social struggle, and has undergone a metamorphosis towards a more open artistic expression, addressed to a more

diverse and wider public, which can be seen in works by Sandra Cisneros or Gloria Andalzua (Sportuno, 2005).

The literary work of liberation *Bless Me, Ultima*, written by Rudolfo Anaya, is framed within all these literary and social parameters.

### 3.2. Rudolfo Anaya and the forging of Chicano's literature.

Rudolfo Anaya was born on October 30 in La Pastura, New Mexico. His father Martin Anaya came from a ranching family, while his mother Rafaelita's relatives were farmers. Anaya was the fifth of the couple's seven children. While still a child, they moved to Santa Rosa, a rural community where he was actually raised according to the old ways: a culture based in nature, hard work, and folk tales coming from an ancient oral tradition (Berry, 2015).

The family home was Spanish-speaking, so Anaya did not learn English until he began his formal studies. It can be said that Rudolfo Anaya grew up in an atmosphere where everything around him was communicated in Spanish. Therefore, for him, as he expressed in his biography written by Abelardo Baeza, "it was a struggle to learn English at school" (p.3, 2022).

In 1952, his entire family moved to the Barelas neighbourhood in Albuquerque. There, he reunited with his brothers who had emigrated due to their recruitment for the Second World War (Padilla, 2017). As a teenager, he suffered an accident that also played an important role in many of his works, especially in the novel to be discussed in this paper: while swimming with his friends in an irrigation canal, he dived into an irrigation ditch and broke two vertebrae. His spinal cord injury left him in instant paralysis and kept him hospitalised for two months in the town of Hot Springs. Anaya personally expressed the loneliness he suffered during this period. Turning inward brought out his interest in reading, and it was that enjoyment of literature that helped him recover and get back on his feet (Padilla, 2017).

In 1956, he graduated from high school in Albuquerque. Despite the difficulties Anaya had suffered as a child with language acquisition, he eventually learned to write, read, and speak English proficiently and formally; even to the point of transferring to the University of New Mexico, where he graduated in 1963 with a degree in English. Always accompanied by his

books and influenced by authors such as Walt Whitman and Thomas Wokfe, it was at University where he had his first attempts at literary creation (Padilla, p.3, 2017). He then worked as a teacher in a public school in Albuquerque between 1963 and 1970. During this period, he married Patricia Lawless, who would later also become his editor. According to the author, it was her who really motivated him to pursue his literary career (Soliño and Matarranz, 2022).

This stage of his life coincided with the rise of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement. The ideas promoted by political activists turned him into someone really concerned about the cultural heritage of his people and the feeling of losing their national identity they were suffering (Berry, 2015). This introduction to politics not only allowed Anaya to increase his knowledge of New Mexican history and understand his Indo-Hispanic heritage as a mix of Mexican, Spanish and Native American bloodlines, but consequently also inspired him to write huge amount of literary works focusing on the forging of the national character of the Chicanos (Junquera, 2018).

All these circumstances led him to complete and publish his first novel *Bless Me, Ultima* in 1972. Following the resounding success of the work, Anaya began to be recognized as a writer and, in 1974, the University of New Mexico offered him a position as an associate professor which he accepted; until in 1988, he eventually obtained a permanent position in the English Department (González and Morgan, 2000). Upon his retirement in 1993, he was named Professor Emeritus and considered by many critics the dean and founder of the contemporary canon of Chicano literature (Padilla, 2017; Soliño and Matarranz, 2022).

His books and translations into hundreds of languages have helped to better understand Hispanic writing in the U.S., always with "a foundation of multiculturalism and bilingualism" (Soliño and Matarranz, p.144, 2022). Throughout his life, Anaya experienced the challenges not only of learning a new language and expressing himself in two, but also of finding a balance between the borderlands, between being Mexican or American, in forging his Chicano identity. In his words to an interview for Padilla:

The heart of New Mexico is, for me, the people, la gente-los compadres, las comadres, los tíos, las tías, los vecinos,". "It's the connection and the understanding between my

Indo-Hispanic cultures. If people don't make that connection, they don't understand New Mexico (p.2, 2017).

This is what he wanted to and actually succeeded in expressing through his characters and plots, both plagued with anecdotes and revealing experiences to his own life; that is, the "composing of the Chicano worldview, the synthesis that shows the true mestizo identity, and clarifying it for his community and for himself" (as cited in National Portrait Gallery, 2016). Writing for Anaya, therefore, became a form of knowledge that illuminated his life and nourished his soul; for Anaya's first novel begins "through his own words, as he reflects on his life's work as an artist and as a Chicano from his literary work" (Padilla, p.3, 2017).

Within this festival of multiculturalism, and as mentioned throughout section 3.1., languages also play an important role in Anaya's literary career. Despite the difficult challenge of learning English, most of his literary works are written in this language, as the purely formal education he received played a great role in this choice. However, if there is something that really characterises this author's repertoire, it is his decision to use, combine and change within the same work the languages that marked his childhood and adolescence (i.e. English and Spanish). That is, his decision to employ code-switching. He effectively and successfully put to use this acquired bilingual ability with the aim of creating different levels of deep meanings within his work, capturing the history of his ancestors; making the reader live a full-fledged cultural experience.

Bless Me, Ultima is, all in all, embedded with all these autobiographical, multicultural and bilingual references.

### 3.3. The novel: Bless me, Ultima.

For many, with *Bless Me, Ultima*, "Anaya wrote New Mexico into literary history" (Padilla, p.1, 2017). This novel, the one analysed in this paper, won the 'Quinto Sol Prize' and is considered a classic of Chicano literature (Limeres, 2019). Years after the publication of *Bless Me, Ultima*, Anaya wanted to continue the story and published *Heart of Aztlán* (1978) and *Tortuga* (1979), completing a trilogy.

Briefly, the first novel of these three works narrates the events in the life of a boy named Antonio over a period of three years. More specifically, it focuses on his spiritual transformation as a Chicano in the midst of cultural and social changes occurring in the southwestern United States during the 1940s, in the midst of World War II (Junquera, 2018).

The story begins when the protagonist, Antonio, approaches the age of seven. Despite his young age, Antonio is smart and mature and seems curious about the environment that surrounds him: Guadalupe, a small village located in Las Pasturas (New Mexico) where he lives with his parents, his two sisters and three brothers; although they are rarely at home.

Due to his cultural heritage and the socio-historical context in which he lives, Antonio constantly finds himself in between two different cultures, which make him struggle with his religion, his family and his own identity (Junquera, 2018). These are the reasons why he feels lost: he does not really know who he is or who he wants to become. Rudolfo Anaya, in this sense, provides the reader with a deep exploration of the hardships that Antonio must endure during the process of reconciling very different cultural traditions.

The first obstacle that Antonio needs to overcome during the process of shaping his real identity is his own family. From a very early stage of his life, Antonio is pressured by his family to decide what kind of man he is going to be when he grows up. Antonio's parents have conflicting views about his future: on his father's side are the Márez (descendants of the sea), they are the restless cowboys who roam the plains and seek adventure. The Lunas, on his mother's side, are the moon people<sup>3</sup>, religious farmers whose destiny is to work the land. Each side of the family wants control of the newborn's future. Fortunately for Tony, his life changes the moment his family decides to host Ultima, an elderly curandera that ends up being Tony's spiritual guide in the process of finding his real identity. Ultima, known as 'La Grande' in the Márez household, embodies the wisdom of her ancestors and the powers of healing, confronting evil, the knowledge of how to use the power of nature and the ability to understand the relationship with the spirits (Berry, 2015).

The fact that the struggle for the consolidation of a destiny and an identity is projected in Antonio's development and learning throughout the novel, many critics define it as a Bildungsroman novel (Berry, 2015; Soliño and Matarranz, 2022), meaning that the focus is placed on the psychological and emotional evolution of the main character. In this kind of novels, the protagonists develop their personalities and find their real and/or national identities. As the greatest part of Bildungsroman narratives, the events taking place during the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Márez, as referred to 'mar' (sea in English) vs. Luna, as referred to 'luna' ('moon' in English).

story are "references to the past told from the perspective of a grown-up and mature adult" (Junquera, 2018). The fact that the narrator is a child makes the reader establish a strong contact with the protagonist, identifying with him and discovering the elements that were unknown to him of his environment and culture, leading him to his own search for cultural identity.

In this sense, Ultima plays a very much important role, since she teaches Antonio to disentangle, in a mild fashion, the binary oppositions that he encounters as a result of being part of two different cultures: Luna vs. Márez, myth vs. reality, reason vs. faith, life vs. death, good vs. evil; and what really concerns this paper: English vs. Spanish; thus acquiring control of his emotions and his powerful knowledge (Padilla, 2017; Junquera, 2018; Berry, 2015). These informed and poignant reflections that lead the protagonist to the search for his identity, also allow the author to carry out from the term double consciousness an analysis and critique of colonisation and the effect it had on the association of what is mainstream, dogmatic and Anglo-American (Stroud, 1998; Limeres, 2019).

All in all, through these characters and the plot of binary combinations, the author introduces in his work a description of the Chicanos through 1) a storytelling style, rooted in what Anaya considered characteristic of his place: the people and the stories they told, the belief in the oral tradition of his people, 2) the descriptions of the landscape of New Mexico, 3) numerous references to the popular culture of the area (i. e. La Malinche); and not least since it is what concerns this paper the most, 4) the use of CS between the Spanish and English languages as a resource to show the historical, social and cultural issues of the bilingual community (Longo, 1981).

In this respect, language is a crucial element in the construction of Antonio's identity. The child experiences this linguistic conflict at school where he is forced to learn English as Spanish was no longer the official language of the community after the exertion of power of the American nation over the Mexicans (Vraukó, 2018). At home, his mother is constantly speaking to him in Spanish, but when he gets to school, he has to learn how to speak English in order to be accepted. In fact, he is scolded everytime he uses the Spanish language, inasmuch as the school he attends favours a monolingual education, which prevents Antonio from showing his real identity. Although he learns to speak English fluently, he is constantly bullied and treated like a subsidiary for using his mother tongue. Due to the total assimilation

of American culture on the part of his peers, Antonio is marginalised for showing his Mexican cultural costumes and speaking Spanish (Junquera, 2018).

With the use of code-switching as a resource to create the narrator's discourse and stream of consciousness, Anaya defines what it really means to be Chicano: the understanding that there is no need to choose on a continuum between mainstream or majority and out of the ordinary or minority, because that is what being mestizo is all about: being and finding a balance between the two.

# 4. A CLOSE READING OF *BLESS ME*, *ULTIMA*: STRATEGIES AND PURPOSES OF CS.

The audience is a fundamental element in any communicative act, especially in literature, since the understanding and interpretation of the message of any work depends largely on them. The expression of the message for its correct interpretation becomes even more complicated for Anaya when 1) the text is addressed to a bilingual audience and 2) he/she decides to use two languages as a vehicle of social and cultural communication (Longo, 1981). This not only has to do with the choice of the form of expression, but with how the author is able to touch through language, characters and plot the experiences of a hybrid audience.

The objective to be achieved in this section is exactly that one: to analyse the use and strategies of code switching as a crucial element in setting the context in which the plot develops, and also in the construction of all the characters' identity within the novel, especially that of Antonio's. For this purpose, I have followed as a model the analyses of the novel carried out by Junquera (2018), Berry (2015) and Gingerich (1984). Although these authors do not explore or elaborate a typology as such of the sociolinguistic functions of code-switching; they do set the basis of its importance within the work in terms of literary meanings, characterization and setting of the plot.

As a starting point and as stated in section 2.3. above, Anaya's novel is within the works in which the English language predominates, with some words, expressions or brief phrases detailed in Spanish. Anaya, therefore, decides to introduce Spanish into his English work without apparent distinction with the other language, giving a touch of realism to the linguistic situation that Chicanos experience on a daily basis as a community of speakers.

The types of CS in linguistic terms to be found in the work, therefore, are mainly those of the intra-orational and tag switching types, with a few examples of tag intersentential:

"¡Ay!" I heard my mother cry and saw her cross her forehead.  La campana de la iglesia está doblando ***  The church bell tolled and drew to it the widows in black, the lonely, faithful women who came to pray for their men (BMU, p. 161, 1972).  "¿Qué pasa aquí?" his booming voice broke the tense silence. "Why are farmers out playing vigilantes when they should be home" (BMU, p.132, 1972).  Gabriel, they shouted, you have a fine son! He will make a fine vaquero! (BMU, p.5, 1972).  "Madre de Dios, but mind your manners!" (BMU, p.11, 1972)  "Papa," I asked after a while, "why is there evil in the world?" (BMU, p.248, 1972)  Would I ever race like a kid again, a wild cabrito rattling the pebbles on the goat path? (BMU, p.257)  The hot beans flavoured with chicos and green chile were muy sabrosos (BMU, p.35, 1972).  "You do not have the huevos!" Narciso shouted back (BMU, p.161, 1972)  The bell of the church began to ring, una mujer con un diente, que llama a toda	EXAMPLE	LINGUISTIC CS
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p.17, 1972).  "¡Ay!" I heard my mother cry and saw her cross her forehead.  La campana de la iglesia está doblando ***  The church bell tolled and drew to it the widows in black, the lonely, faithful women who came to pray for their men (BMU, p. 161, 1972).  "¿Qué pasa aquí?" his booming voice broke the tense silence. "Why are farmers out playing vigilantes when they should be home" (BMU, p.132, 1972).  Gabriel, they shouted, you have a fine son! He will make a fine vaquero! (BMU, p.5, 1972).  "Madre de Dios, but mind your manners!" (BMU, p.11, 1972)  "Papa," I asked after a while, "why is there evil in the world?" (BMU, p.248, 1972)  Would I ever race like a kid again, a wild cabrito rattling the pebbles on the goat path? (BMU, p.257)  The hot beans flavoured with chicos and green chile were muy sabrosos (BMU, p.35, 1972).  "You do not have the huevos!" Narciso shouted back (BMU, p.161, 1972)  The bell of the church began to ring, una mujer con un diente, que llama a toda	"¡Andale, hombre, andale!"Chavez cried pitifully. "Mataron a mi hermano-"-	
"¡Ay!" I heard my mother cry and saw her cross her forehead.  La campana de la iglesia está doblando ***  The church bell tolled and drew to it the widows in black, the lonely, faithful women who came to pray for their men (BMU, p. 161, 1972).  "¿Qué pasa aquí?" his booming voice broke the tense silence. "Why are farmers out playing vigilantes when they should be home" (BMU, p.132, 1972).  Gabriel, they shouted, you have a fine son! He will make a fine vaquero! (BMU, p.5, 1972).  "Madre de Dios, but mind your manners!" (BMU, p.11, 1972)  "Papa," I asked after a while, "why is there evil in the world?" (BMU, p.248, 1972)  Would I ever race like a kid again, a wild cabrito rattling the pebbles on the goat path? (BMU, p.257)  The hot beans flavoured with chicos and green chile were muy sabrosos (BMU, p.35, 1972).  "You do not have the huevos!" Narciso shouted back (BMU, p.161, 1972)  The bell of the church began to ring, una mujer con un diente, que llama a toda	"Ya vengo" My father opened the door and the frightened man burst in (BMU,	
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"Madre de Dios, but mind your manners!" (BMU, p.11, 1972)  "Papa," I asked after a while, "why is there evil in the world?" (BMU, p.248, 1972)  Would I ever race like a kid again, a wild cabrito rattling the pebbles on the goat path? (BMU, p.257)  The hot beans flavoured with chicos and green chile were muy sabrosos (BMU, p.35, 1972).  "You do not have the huevos!" Narciso shouted back (BMU, p.161, 1972)  The bell of the church began to ring, una mujer con un diente, que llama a toda	out playing vigilantes when they should be home" (BMU, p.132, 1972).	
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"Madre de Dios, but mind your manners!" (BMU, p.11, 1972)  "Papa," I asked after a while, "why is there evil in the world?" (BMU, p.248, 1972)  Would I ever race like a kid again, a wild cabrito rattling the pebbles on the goat path? (BMU, p.257)  The hot beans flavoured with chicos and green chile were muy sabrosos (BMU, p.35, 1972).  "You do not have the huevos!" Narciso shouted back (BMU, p.161, 1972)  The bell of the church began to ring, una mujer con un diente, que llama a toda	p.5, 1972).	
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"You do not have the <i>huevos</i> !" Narciso shouted back (BMU, p.161, 1972)  The bell of the church began to ring, <i>una mujer con un diente, que llama a toda</i>	The hot beans flavoured with <i>chicos</i> and green <i>chile</i> were <i>muy sabrosos</i> (BMU,	Intersentential
The bell of the church began to ring, una mujer con un diente, que llama a toda	p.35, 1972).	
The bell of the church began to ring, una mujer con un diente, que llama a toda		
	"You do not have the <i>huevos</i> !" Narciso shouted back (BMU, p.161, 1972)	
la gente (BMU, p.34, 1972).	The bell of the church began to ring, una mujer con un diente, que llama a toda	
	la gente (BMU, p.34, 1972).	

**Table 4:** examples of CS linguistic typology in the novel.

By employing the two types of CS that are simpler and require less bilingual competence to fully understand the message, the work is completely readable for all types of readers: those who are monolingual in the English language, those who have little idea of the Spanish language, or, conversely, those who are bilingual in both language (González, 2017).

In fact, Anaya begins the narrative in English so that these three types of audiences can be slowly introduced into the literary environment in which the work takes place. The first expression in Spanish appears in the following passage:

"Está sola," my father said, "ya no queda gente en el pueblito de Las Pasturas –"...'Qué lástima,' my mother answered" (BMU, p. 2, 1972).

This scene occurs at the beginning of the play when there has not yet appeared a complete description of the main characters i.e. Tony, Ultima or their parents María and Gabriel, nor has there been any reference to the presence of the Spanish language. The fact that the author introduces Spanish for the first time without prior warning and within a dialogue, as it is done throughout most of the play, emphasises the importance that the language will gain, especially in the characterization of protagonists with Hispanic background. The theme of this scene presented in Spanish retains also relevance in the subsequent development of the plot, as it establishes 1) the reason Antonio began writing this novel: the arrival of Ultima into his life as a starting point in his story, and 2) the foundation upon which Chicano culture is built: caring for one's own (Junquera, 2018). In other words, Anaya presents a discussion between characters that has to do with a moral problem anchored in Chicano roots; this is why it makes sense to narrate it in Spanish (Berry, 2015).

Focusing now on Spanish within the fictional context where the play is set as one of the points of analysis, it is worth mentioning the role and status each language plays as described by the kid. In the first chapter, Antonio reports that "all of the older people spoke only Spanish, and I myself understood only Spanish. It was only after one went to school that one learned English" (BMU, p.5, 1972). Anaya, therefore, 1) reveals that many of the characters in the novel are bilingual, while many others are not; and 2) establishes a barrier between the life Tony has at school and the life he has in his family home. All of this explains how the Chicano community moves between the use of two languages, preserving the Spanish language as a means of expression within their community, despite the imposition of the

mainstream language i.e. English in institutions that possess power within American society (Gingerich, 1984).

All of the above would lead the reader to believe that the dialogues established between Tony, his parents, Ultima and the rest of the older people belonging to the Chicano community would be uttered in Spanish. However, inconsistently, this is not the case in most of the communicative exchanges within the novel. Spanish, therefore, does not reflect the situations in which the characters are actually code-switching (Berry, 2015; Gingerich, 1984). In fact, the language is intentionally introduced by the author in key situations for stylistic, narrative and communicative purposes, which in most cases coincide with the typology of sociolinguistic functions described in section 2.2:

### 4.1. Vocative function.

CS as a use of vocative is present throughout the novel:

EXAMPLES	ATTITUDES ESTABLISHED BETWEEN PARTICIPANTS
1. "You will address her as <i>La Grande</i> ," my mother said flatly. [] "Buenos días le de Dios, <i>Grande</i> ," my mother cried. She smiled and hugged and kissed the old woman (BMU, p. 8, 1972).	Respect/Closeness
2."León, Eugenio," my father embraced them. "Jefe," they nodded and took his hand (BMU, p. 180, 1972).	Respect, love/Distance
3. "¡Cabroncito! ¡Hijo de la bruja!" the dark horseman cried and spurred his black horse upon me. It was Tenorio, drunk with whiskey and hate, and he meant to run me down! (BMU, p. 253, 1972).	Hate/ Distance
4. "¡Ay maldecido!" Tenorio grunted and hurled himself at Narciso (BMU, p. 161, 1972).	Anger/ Distance
5. "¡Antonito! ¡Antonito, mi hijito!" I heard my mother's frantic cries and I felt her arms around me and her hot tears	Love/Closeness

on my neck (BMU, p. 259, 1972).

**Table 5**: Examples of CS: vocative function.

As expressed in the examples above, the introduction of Spanish with a vocative function is not only, as González said, to specify who the addressee is among all the possible characters and help the reader to know to whom the communicative act is addressed (2017); but it also fulfils a triple function:

- characterises the protagonists within the social group to which they belong. As can be observed in the examples in italics, it is a constant to use attention getters (e.g. *cabroncito*, *maldecido*, *hijo de la bruja*), nicknames (e.g. *jefe*, *Antonito*), address terms (e.g. *León*, *Eugenio*) or terms of endearment (e.g. *mi hijito*) with a strong cultural content that indicate the Hispanic background of both characters, the speaker and the receiver (Ohlson, 2018).
- supports the speaker's attitude towards the receiver and the social distances established between characters (Junquera, 2018). Maria, for example, addresses her children from the closeness of a mother (ex.5), Gabriel and his children address each other from a more distant tone but still denoting trust and love (ex.2); and Ultima is addressed by all the members of the family from a respectful point of view (ex.1). Those characters, on the other hand, who experience disputes during the narrative name each other with vocatives that connote feelings of fury or anger (ex. 3 and 4).

### 4.2. Referential function.

One of the primary functions of CS in the novel is to introduce Spanish words that describe a particular element of the history, environment, and cultural customs of the Chicano community. By insisting on lexical words in Spanish, Anaya is 1) creating meanings that go beyond the plot, but rather explore and bring into understanding the issues of the Chicano community and its way of life; and 2) ascribing to the fictional work the connotations that each of the words convey (Gingerich, 1984).

It is relevant that the first two words that appear in Spanish are those that take on the most significance within the novel: the first, as a means to establish the context, the latter, to introduce the plot and essence of the story.

The first word that appears in Spanish within the novel, thus gaining repeated importance in relation to the fictional context, is *el llano*. The author is able to create in the reader's mind a complete and detailed description of the landscape where the plot unfolds (Berry, 2015):

The llano unfolded before my eyes, and the gurgling waters of the river sang to the hum of the turning earth [...] the raw, sunbaked llano, the green river valley, and the blue bowl which was the white sun's home [...] after the big rancheros and the tejanos came and fenced the beautiful llano, and those like him continued to work there...because only in that wide expanse of land and sky could they feel the freedom their spirits needed (BMU, p. 2-3, 1972).

Anaya attempts to successfully describe what the word *llano* means in English to the monolingual audience, but at no point does he intend to express its literal translation. Referring to the territory with its corresponding English word 'plains' would not fully describe what the word means in the original language to the Chicano community. Going a step further, by presenting the word *llano* in Spanish (as well as the use of other terms e.g. Las Pasturas, El Puerto, New Mexico...) to refer to the environment where this family lives, it could be said that Anaya creates a double layer of meaning that appeals to the Chicanos' resistance to maintain a territory that was once theirs, to keep their culture within the American borders. Language, therefore, is used as a tool of combat against Anglo-American attempts to define New Mexican territories with English-language names (Limeres, 2019).

In this description, Anaya also introduces loose Spanish words to refer to the old occupations that tilled this land, such as cowboys, Texans and ranchers. Here the author again criticises the occupation by Americans and reclaims a territory that, thanks to this working class, became part of the identity of Chicanos as a community (Junquera, 2018).

The second of the Spanish words that appears on the second page of this novel is the word *curandera*. In the same way that happened with the previous word, Tony's voice gives us a description without translation to the English term in an attempt to explain what this word means to them:

Ultima was a curandera, a woman who knew the herbs and remedies of the ancients, a miracle-worker who could heal the sick. And I had heard that Ultima could lift the curses laid by brujas, that she could exercise the evil the witches planted in people to make them sick. And because a curandera had this power she was misunderstood and often suspected of practising witchcraft herself. (BMU, p.4, 1972).

In this description, Anaya places emphasis on the terms *curandera* and *bruja*. Given their interchangeable use in American society, the author makes a clear distinction between the two for the audience, eliminating any kind of semantic confusion: the word *curandera* is associated with healing through natural remedies such as herbs; while the word *witch* is associated with the power of magic for evil purposes. A dichotomy is thus created between Ultima (good), who comes to save Antonio and his community; and Tenorio's daughters (evil), who are accused of witchcraft.

Moreover, the conversations that are established around the word *curandera* and Ultima are always carried out in Spanish, establishing a link between all these Chicano cultural elements: the Spanish language, the practice of *curanderismo* and the land from which they obtain their natural remedies (Berry, 2015). It is here that longer intrasentential phrases are also found:

**6.** "There isn't a family she did not help, "she continued," no road was too long for her to walk to its end to snatch some body from the jaws of death, and not even the blizzards of the llano could keep her from the appointed place where a baby was to be delivered-"

"Es verdad," my father nodded (BMU, p. 3, 1972).

7. "¡La curandera!" someone exclaimed. Some women bowed their heads, others made the sign of the cross. "Es una mujer que no ha pecado," another whispered. "Hechicera." "Bruja-"

"No!" one of my aunts contested the last word. She knelt by Ultima's path and touched the hem of her dress as she passed by.

"Es sin pecado," was the last I heard, then we were outside. My uncle Pedro led us to his truck (BMU, p.104, 1972).

 Table 6: Examples of CS: 'curandera' referential function.

It is during these exchanges that the positivism of some Chicano characters towards curanderismo as a practice they inherited from the Native Americans and that connects them both medically and spiritually with nature can be observed. In these descriptions in Spanish it is made clear that Ultima is the last survivor of the *Raza*: she is the personification of wisdom, respect for her ancestors, the preservation of life, and most importantly, the resistance of the Chicano people to the conquest and suppression of these natural practices for going against mainstream religion. In short, she is the figure that represents their way of life, their language, their history and culture.

The choice of the characters' names also plays an important role in their characterization; inasmuch they are always associated with a person 's identity. Although, as such, they are not proper CS cases, their etymology and origin are a reflection of their belonging to each of the cultures (Berry, 2017). In the analysis of the names that make up Tony's family, attention should be paid to:

- those that come from a Hispanic bloodline, such as Gabriel, María or León. In addition to their names, their customs and speech throughout the plot show that these characters are anchored in the Hispanic culture.
- those properly American i.e. Deborah and Theresa. These figures and their attitudes illustrate a mimicry with American culture i.e. both of them have completely assimilated to American and monolingual education. They speak English all the time and they call Antonio 'Tony' or 'Anthony' just to make it sound more American than Spanish.
- The two above lead to those who present both identities. One of Antonio's brothers who went to fight in World War II on the American side is named Eugene, although his mother, in the family, calls him Eugenio.

Especially important is also the versatility of Antonio's name. He is called differently depending on the environment where he finds himself and by whom he is addressed. At home he is called Antonio (except for his sisters), outside the home and at school, he is called Tony.

With this careful choice of code switching names, Anaya intends to give representation to multiculturalism, both Hispanic and American, and the mixture of both. Particularly for Tony, it is relevant that he can be called differently, because this is partly how he overcomes the

dichotomy between being Hispanic and American: understanding the sharing of cultures. Language, again, is again used as a cultural element to show the plurality of mestizos as opposed to the singularity and centeredness of the American.

If there is anything more culturally bound than names, that is gastronomy. Finding an English equivalent for these terms would be meaningless if they all have a traditional Mexican origin. Therefore, when Antonio describes family meals at home, as well as the meals his mother prepares for him to go to school, they are written in Spanish:

- **8.** When we had finished we went in to eat. The hot beans flavored with *chicos* and green *chile* were muy sabrosos. I was so hungry that I ate three whole *tortillas*. My mother was a good cook and we were happy as we ate. Ultima told her of the *orégano* we found and that pleased her (BMU, p.42, 1972).
- **9.** I sat across the table from Deborah and Theresa and ate my *atole* and the hot *tortilla* with butter (BMU, p.7, 1972).
- **10.** "And there is plenty of red *chile* for making *ristras*, and fruit, ay! The apples of the Lunas are known throughout the state!" (BMU, p.43, 1972).

**Table 7:** Examples of CS: referential function of gastronomic terms.

This is best exemplified by relating to the author's criticism of the gastronomic imposition by the mainstream groups. In chapter 6, Antonio is bullied and marginalised at school because he brings different food for lunch than that of his peers. They eat sandwiches with white bread for lunch, which is a sign of being part or having assimilated to the American culture. In an attempt to understand why the kids mock him, he actually expresses pride and finds strength in those tortillas by "banding with other kids who were like him, different in language and custom" (BMU, p.58, 1972).

Anaya, with the use of Spanish language for gastronomy, is also showing resistance to that American assimilation (Junquera, 2018).

### 4.3. Set phrases, routine formulas and interjections.

Along the same lines as the previous functions, the introduction of Spanish through interjections, routine formulas and set expressions by the characters indicates their belonging to Chicano culture. As presented in the theoretical framework, these culture bound terms are

introduced by characters with Hispanic background in order to show their emotions or reactions to a given situation (Gingerich, 1984):

EXAMPLE	ТҮРЕ	EMOTIONAL FUNCTION
11. "Ave Maria Purisima," my mother made the sign of the cross for my three brothers who were away at war (BMU, p.3, 1972).	Set expression.	Plea.
12. "Ay, Maria Luna," Ultima smiled, "buenos días te de Dios, a ti y a tu familia." (BMU, p.11, 1972).	Intejection/Routine formula.	Surprise/Greeting with blessing.
13. "Reynaldo has just brought the news, my brother is dead," [] "; Madre de Dios! Who? How?" (BMU, p.16, 1972)	Set expression.	Concern.
<b>14.</b> "¡Ay, gracias a Dios!" Tellez stood and embraced my father. (BMU, p.226, 1972).	Interjection/Set expression.	Happiness.
<b>15.</b> " <i>Perdón</i> ," Gene muttered (BMU, p.63, 1972).	Routine formula.	Forgiveness
16. I heard my mother's frantic cries and I felt her arms around me and her hot tears on my neck. "¡Ave Maria Purisima!" (BMU, p.259, 1972).	Set expression.	Preocupación, alivio.
17. "Adiós," my mother called, "¡Cuidado! ¡Saludos a papá, y a todos! ¡Adiós!" (BMU, p.90, 1972).	Routine formulas.	Farewell/Awareness/Greetings.
<b>18.</b> "Meerr, merrrrda,mierda!" Bones cried like a monkey. []. "¡Chingada!" the Horse said, working his teeth nervously. [] (BMU, p.158, 1972).	Swear words.	Anger, frustration.

19. I remained frozen against the wall, watching the fearful scene.  "¡Hijo de tu chingada-!"  "¡Pinche-!" (BMU, p.161, 1972).	Swear words.	Anger.
<b>20.</b> "I am going to kill that bastard!" Tenorio screamed. "You do not have the huevos!" Narciso shouted back. "You are only good for raising putas-". (BMU, p.161, 1972).	Set expressions.	Defiance.
21. "¡Jesús, María, y José!" she exclaimed. (BMU, p.180, 1972).	Set expression.	Surprise.

**Table 8:** Examples of CS: set phrases, interjections and routine formulas.

As can be seen in the table, most of these examples allude to religious expressions. Here arises another of the main themes found in the play: the power of Catholicism as a religion imposed by the colonists on the people of New Mexico (Junquera, 2018). Mary, Antonio's mother, lives immersed in religion not only because of the religious references in her name i.e. Virgin Mary, but because throughout the plot, she introduces these exclamations of prayer. It is a character that shows the traditions of Catholicism as upheld by Chicanos: she puts everything in God's hands, even the fate of her son Antonio, who she wants to become a priest.

The fact that these characters utter these kinds of expressions indicates that Spanish is embedded in and comes naturally to them. After all, it is in situations of emotional expression and impulsivity that individuals tend to speak from the subconscious, using the language with which they feel most comfortable. That is, their mother tongue.

### 4.4. Quotation function.

In the examples below, the narrator employs CS as a communication strategy within the discourse, resorting to the introduction of Spanish in order to quote interventions of other characters within the novel:

- **22.** "Está sola," my father said, "ya no queda gente en el pueblito de Las Pasturas-" He spoke in Spanish, and the village he mentioned was his home. [...] "Qué lástima," my mother answered (BMU, p.2, 1972).
- **23.** "; Te voy a matar, cabrón!" one of the men screamed, and I recognized the evil voice of Tenorio. My blood ran cold (BMU, p.160, 1972).
- **24.** "*Cabronas putas-*" Narciso mumbled and walked up the path. The snow quickly covered his footprints (BMU, p.163, 1972).
- **25.** "The hell with deputizing!" Chavez shouted. "He killed my brother! *¡Está loco!*" The men agreed with their silence (BMU, p.19, 1972).
- **26.** "Jason no está aquí," she said. All of the older people spoke only in Spanish, and I myself understood only Spanish (BMU, p.20, 1972).
- **27.** Then my mother came to give me her blessings. I knelt and she said, "te doy esta bendición en el nombre del Padre, del Hijo, y el Espíritu Santo." (BMU, p.245, 1972).

**Table 9:** Examples of CS: quotation function.

As the table shows, the segments introduced are identified mainly with quotes in the direct style. Antonio switches between the Spanish and English codes to maintain the authenticity of the conversation and emphasize the message (Ohlson, 2018). The quotations presented in Spanish are not difficult to understand for the monolingual reader, so it could be a strategy of the author to highlight the importance within the narrative of such messages.

As for the characterization of the protagonists, the fact that Antonio uses the CS with the function of quoting shows the reader the capacity for bilingualism that the child has acquired throughout his growing up journey (Junquera, 2018). In turn, by literally reproducing the voice of the characters in this language, he states the characters' belonging to the Chicano community; taking into account the presence that Spanish has in their daily lives when communicating.

# 4.5. Repetition with translation strategy.

As noted in section 4.3, there are Spanish terms in the narrative that are not translatable into English, since their correspondence in the other language would leave out

many of the connotations they have in their original language (González, 2017). Thus, examples such as 'llano' or 'curandera' appear in Spanish with a detailed description of their meaning in English. However, there are several cases of Spanish phrases that are literally translated into English by the characters. CS, in this case, fulfils a repetition function:

EXAMPLE	FUNCTION
<b>28.</b> Then I heard my father groan: "¡Ay Dios, otro dia!" Another day and more miles of that cursed highway to patch! (BMU, p.51, 1972).	Emphasis
<b>29.</b> Blessed St. Anthony, Holy San Martin, "ay Dios mio, gracias a San Cristóbal" She thanked every saint she knew for her sons' safe delivery from war (BMU, p.60, 1972).	Clarification
<b>30.</b> "Give us the <i>bruja</i> !" Tenorio shouted. He urged the men forward and they answered as a chorus, "Give us the witch!" "Give us the witch!" (BMU, p.131, 1972).	Clarification and emphasis.
<b>31.</b> "¿Quién? Who? Ah, Narciso, you!" (BMU, p.165, 1972).	Emphasis
32. Miss Maestas was a kind woman.[] I told her I did not speak English.  "¿Cómo te llamas?" she asked.  "Antonio Marez," I replied. []. She smiled. "Anthony Marez," she wrote in a book. (BMU, p.57-58, 1972).	Clarification

**Table 10:** Examples of CS: repetition and translation strategy.

With this translation strategy, Anaya makes use of both languages to 1) clarify to the monolingual reader what is the literal meaning of the Spanish expressions or offer a brief explanation of what has been uttered in Spanish, so that both languages function as explanatory tools to gain a better understanding of the words or phrases spoken by the characters (examples 29, 30 and 32), or 2) give emphasis to the message with the repetition of the information in both languages, as seen in examples 28, 30 and 31 (Ohlson, 2018). This code-switching scenario represents the possibility of coexistence of both languages for communication within this community.

## 4.6. Other functions: the stream of consciousness and in-group membership.

Having analysed the functions described in the theoretical framework, this paper proceeds to give the interpretation of an additional function found during the close reading of the novel.

# 4.6.1. In-group membership.

As a fundamental part of identity, languages are used as a means to connect people and show that they belong to a determined social or ethnic group (Ohlson, 2018), as it is the case in the following passage from the novel, when Antonio and his classmates are at school rehearing a play with their teacher:

"We could practice all morning," Miss Violet said. She looked at me. "I think it's a great idea," Red nodded his head vigorously. He always tried to help the teacher. "¡A la veca!" "What does that mean?" Miss Violet asked. "It means okay!" (BMU, p. 15, 1972).

These children, like Antonio, have grown up in a bilingual environment, so they speak Spanish and English. Here the reader can appreciate the duality and the purposes for which they use both languages: the first one is more familiar to them, that is why they feel comfortable making jokes; while the second they use it for more formal purposes, as it has been learned and imposed in institutions. The children play with this CS ability and provide the teacher with a mistranslation of the expression 'a la veca'. Miss Violet, who ironically should be the authority, the one who should teach; enters into a situation of confusion led by the little ones. They are the ones who show the power to handle the message and its meaning. This joke is only understood by those characters who are within the bilingual group and excludes any adresse who does not understand Spanish; hence a group membership is expressed.

This passage could also be confusing for the monolingual reader, however, Anaya presents it in such a way that the reader can intuit that the translation provided by the children is wrong, inasmuch as they have been exchanging opinions against the play earlier in the chapter (Berry, 2015).

In this altercation, Anaya 1) presents Spanish as a 'jargon<sup>4</sup>' that allows the students to feel comfortable, show their identity and feel part of a group, and 2) makes clear the power and advantages of knowing two languages and moving between two cultures, as opposed to those who only belong to one.

### 4.6.2. Stream of consciousness.

As mentioned in section 3.3, the novel is a *Bildungsroman* novel, in the sense that Anaya's narrative technique follows Antonio's stream of consciousness. That is, the protagonist, as an adult, describes in the flow of his inner thoughts and feelings the past experiences; so that the reader is able to understand the quest he undergoes at the end of the novel: that of developing his personality and finding his real national identity.

On numerous occasions the growth and learning that Antonio experiences is expressed through dreams that he attempts to share with the audience. Within the narrative, the subconscious is represented in italics (Berry, 2015):

You both know, she spoke to my father and my mother, that the sweet water of the moon which falls as rain is the same water that gathers into rivers and flows to fill the seas. Without the waters of the moon to replenish the oceans there would be no oceans.[...]. The waters are one, Antonio. I looked into her bright, clear eyes and understood her truth. You have been seeing only parts, she finished, and not looking beyond into the great cycle that binds us all.

Then there was peace in my dreams and I could rest (BMU, p.121, 1972).

However, there are also several phrases in italics that do not correspond to dreams of mystical and fantastic type, but are a reflection of the flow of thoughts and feelings coming from Antonio's mind. These occur in chapter 3, when the protagonist is alone or has tried to mentally escape after having witnessed the death of Lupito, a family friend:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Understood in this sentence with the meaning of " a language or dialect unknown to one so that it seems incomprehensible or outlandish" (Collins English Dictionary, 2022).

**33.** "Go feed the animals, my Toñito," she pushed me away, "it is almost time for mass-" I ran out and felt the fust cool touch of early autumn in the air. [...]. *Ya las campanas de Ia iglesia estan doblando*...I wanted not to think anymore of what I had seen last night (BMU, p.31, 1972).

**34.** "Por la sangre de Lupito, todos debemos de rogar,

Que Dios la saque de pena y la lleve a descansar..." (BMU, p. 32, 1972)

35. "Arrímense vivos y difuntos

Aquí estamos todos juntos..." (BMU, p.35, 1972)

Table 11: Examples of CS: stream of consciousness function.

In example 33, Antonio utters this sentence when his family sends him to take care of the animals before going to the mass in honour of Lupito. This thought comes to Antonio when he hears the funeral bells, and although he pretends not to think about his death, his inner subconscious speaks as something he was thinking to himself at that very moment. The child's mind functions in Spanish because it is the language of his bosom and family circle (Junquera, 2018). It is logical, therefore, that he would turn to it as a tool to escape and express emotionally from his subconscious such difficult moments as the presence of a murder or the loss of a loved one; facts, in turn, that he would not be able to pronounce out loud or speak about to anyone.

Similarly, examples 34 and 35 seem to be utterances expressed inside the narrator's mind. Their rhythmic pattern and content might indicate that they are a prayer uttered within the funeral service by a pastor. Since Tony attended mass regularly and his mother's education and schooling was based on a Catholic faith, it is possible that Tony knew these prayers by heart and retrieved them from his mind to express his inner thoughts (Gingerich, 1984). All of this highlights the link between the Spanish language and the Catholic faith being as much a part of Tony as the English language or the belief in 'curanderismo'. All in all, with the use of code-switching as a resource to signal the narrator's discourse and stream of consciousness, Anaya defines what it really means to be Chicano: the understanding that there is no need to

choose on a continuum between mainstream or the minority, because that is what being mestizo is all about, being and finding a balance between the two (Junquera, 2018).

#### 5. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION.

Throughout this dissertation I have intended to analyse the sociolinguistic phenomenon of CS as a resource that, pushing the frontiers of two different languages, aims to express and reflect the multicultural context and experiences of the characters within a particular literary work. As has been reported in previous sections, this discursive strategy has been present in most Chicano works. Its use has made the power of social and revolutionary critique embedded in their plots come, therefore, mostly given and influenced by their use of language. The book I have taken as the mainstay of my work reflects the uniqueness of the Chicano experience in the context of New Mexico's modernization and emphasises the importance of multilingualism.

In the latter sense, *Bless Me*, *Ultima* has also constituted a perfect example of the use of code switching with communicative and social functions. Every character, and especially Antonio as the narrator, uses code switching as a system of communication and identity. As members of a community living between two languages and cultures, they make use of this element that contributes to the coexistence between them and helps them to explore all the binary oppositions that are established in the work. With all this, Rudolfo Anaya makes possible the reflection of a culture and a way of life that involves everyone who reads.

Focusing now on the functions of CS within the literary work of *Bless me, Ultima* that have been analysed and identified, it can be concluded that code-switching is applied in a number of ways to fulfil the two main objectives of using a language:

- The first one is communication. Anaya applies CS in a number of ways to demonstrate the pragmatic possibilities of this phenomenon: that of directing the speech act towards a particular addressee, that of reproducing what somebody has previously uttered; or that of repeating specific given information with purposes of clarification or emphasis. Respectively, a vocative function, quotation function, and repetition/translating function.

- The second and probably the most relevant in accordance with the message Anaya wants to deliver, that of maintaining human and social relations, mainly through the expression of identity. The author, far from only presenting language and CS as a mere tool for employability and communication, is helping the audience to better understand the society that surrounds Chicanos, and to analyse their peculiar characteristics, their ways of behaving and their feelings with respect to their history.

Studying the linguistic change of this community means, for them, studying the Chicano language and, therefore, entering into the complicated world of cultural implications and equivalences. All this is achieved with reference functions to culture bound terms (i.e. names, gastronomy...) and set expressions. Through the use of a native language that camouflages itself among the language of the majority or mainstream i.e. English, the dominance of Anglo-American culture is challenged, in a certain way, to all types of audiences. This is because the monolingual reader is forced to know the meaning of the words in order to understand the message, thus realising the plurality of the American identity. In addition, the characters who code switch in the play, through the expression of the subconscious and in-group membership functions, open the door to the exploration of a Chicano culture that has either been constantly discriminated against, suppressed, or misrepresented according to the ideals on which Anglo-American society was established.

Indeed, by including Chicano within American society, the work questions an American construct that is still embedded in suppression, dominance, monoculturalism and monolingualism; and encourages a change of mentality towards a society where inclusion, equality, multiculturalism and multilingualism are present.

To conclude this paper and in accordance with the analysis of CS from a linguistic and social point of view, I would like to express that:

- further research proposals could be conducted to extend this study and gain a better understanding of the functioning of code switching as a sociolinguistic, creative and literary phenomenon. These could include studying and analysing CS in other works by Anaya, in other authors, or even in other literary genres that also play with code-switching between English and other languages. - CS between Spanish and English is a complex linguistic and identity reality, since it not only represents a form of communication between communities, but it is also a natural expressive strategy, a linguistic reality that joins the people who speak it, and it is above all, a sign of identity for societies. Moreover, CS is not exclusive to New Mexican contexts, but also appears in those communities where there is direct contact between speakers of different languages cohabiting in the same society. The beginning of the transfer, therefore, of this phenomenon to the literary world is of great relevance in the sense that 1) it is enclosed within a set of rules and normalised as a common practice among those who possess a bilingual competence, in order to convey its essence to those who do not share it or consider it stigmatised, and 2) it carries important linguistic, emotional, sociological, and historical implications for those communities that master it.

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