Brigham Young University
BYU ScholarsArchive

Theses and Dissertations

2023-08-14

Code Switching Use, Attitudes, and Identity: Differences Among Spanish-English Bilinguals in Canada, Mexico, and the United States

Ana Sofia Rubalcava Karmanov
Brigham Young University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd

Part of the Arts and Humanities Commons

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation
Rubalcava Karmanov, Ana Sofia, "Code Switching Use, Attitudes, and Identity: Differences Among Spanish-English Bilinguals in Canada, Mexico, and the United States" (2023). *Theses and Dissertations*. 10072.
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/10072

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.

Code-Switching Use, Attitudes, and Identity: Differences Among Spanish-English Bilinguals in Canada, Mexico, and the United States

Ana Sofia Rubalcava Karmanov

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Wendy Smemoe, Chair
Dan Dewey
Lisa Morgan Johnson

Department of Linguistics

Brigham Young University

Copyright © 2023 Ana Sofia Rubalcava Karmanov
All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

Code-Switching Use, Attitudes, and Identity: Differences Among Spanish-English Bilinguals in Canada, Mexico, and the United States

Ana Sofia Rubalcava Karmanov
Department of Linguistics, BYU
Master of Arts

Code-switching (CS) has been extensively studied for a variety of purposes and under many contexts. In recent years there has been a shift in CS literature to better understand the sociological forces that affect speakers' use of CS. While in earlier literature, CS was perceived negatively by both speakers and the general public (Milroy & Muysken, 1995; MacGregor-Mendoza, 2021; Anderson & Toribio, 2007; Fishman, 1967), it has since been shown that many bilinguals view CS positively. More recent research suggests that bilinguals perceive CS as an important part of their identity and use it to show they belong to particular groups (Yim & Clément, 2021; Rothman & Rell, 2005; Duff, 2012; Buchlotz & Hall, 2005; Bustamante-López, 2008; Torrez, 2013; Norton, 1997; Norton, 2013). These recent studies regarding CS and attitudes have largely focused on individual differences (Dewaele & Wei, 2014a; Gardner-Chloros, McEntee-Atalianis, & Finnis, 2005; Moses et al., 2021; Peña-Díaz, 2004; Urciuoli, 2014; Montes-Alcalá, 2009; Chappell & Faldis, 2007; Yim & Clément, 2021). In this research, I posit that the country in which bilinguals live influences their attitudes toward CS use due to differences in immigration policies in each country. Considering that the three countries have different attitudes toward immigrants (Brosseau & Dewing, 2018; Environics Institute of Survey Research; The Gallup Organization, 2022; Budiman, 2020; Sief & Clement, 2019), this could have an impact on how immigrants themselves use CS and their attitudes toward it. Spanish-English and English-Spanish bilinguals in three countries (Canada, the United States, and Mexico) took a survey that evaluated their attitudes toward CS, frequency of use, and if and how they used CS to form their identity. The results of the study suggest that there are differences in attitudes about CS between bilinguals in these three countries. Moreover, the results demonstrated that while Canadian bilinguals had more positive feelings overall toward CS, bilinguals in the U.S. used CS more often.

Keywords: code-switching, frequency, language attitudes, identity, bilingual, immigrants, translanguaging, language policy, Canada, Mexico, United States.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and express my gratitude to all the people that helped me write this thesis and make this research possible. Thank you to all of the participants that provided me with their responses and were willing to provide their thoughts and insights on code-switching. Thank you also to Qualtrics for making it possible to distribute my survey and questionnaire to all of the participants.

A massive thank you to the professors that mentored, taught, and supported me during my master's program: Dr. Smemoe, Dr. Johnson, and Dr. Dewey, you all inspired me in so many different ways and I am so grateful for the opportunity to have worked with you. Thank you for always showing kindness and sharing your knowledge. Likewise, thank you to all the professors at BYU and BYU-Idaho that contributed in so many ways in my path to linguistics: Dr. Ivers and Dr. Felt, you both inspired me to consider linguistics and graduate school, and your support and encouragement led me to where I am.

Lastly, thank you to my family–in the spirit of a little code-switching–a mis papás: gracias por su apoyo y amor, y por siempre fomentar un amor por la educación y el aprendizaje. Gracias a las experiencias de vida y de multiculturalismo y multilingüismo que pude tener, pude ser inspirada para estudiar algo que me apasiona. Спасибо Светлана и Андрей, также благодарю вас за то, что они всегда поддерживали и верили в меня. Y por supuesto, gracias a mi esposo, my sweetheart and husband, Vitali. Sin tu amor, paciencia, y motivación, no podría haber hecho esto sin tí. Gracias por siempre creer en mi potencial, y en lo que puedo hacer, я тебя люблю, очень очень сильно

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT i
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS i
TABLE OF CONTENTS iv
LIST OF TABLES vi
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction 1
CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review 7
Code-Switching & Spanglish 7
Language and Immigration Policy 12
Attitudes 19
Identity 27
CHAPTER THREE: Methodology 35
Participants 35
Distribution 35
Instruments: Survey Questionnaire 36
Personal and General CS Use 37
Identity 39
Community 39
Written Responses 39
Procedure 40
Analysis 40
CHAPTER FOUR: Results 43
Research Question 1 43
Research Question 2 44
Research Question 3 47
CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusion 57
Discussion 57
Limitations 64
Future Research 68
Conclusion 70
APPENDIX 72

Appendix A: Survey–English 72
Appendix B: Survey–Spanish 79
Appendix C: Codes for attitudes indexed in qualitative responses 86
Appendix D: Qualitative responses by code 92
Appendix E – Qualitative Responses by code and by positivity value 94
References 97

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Linguistic Diversity in Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. 15

Table 2: Immigrant Population in Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. 18

Table 3: Survey Participants by Gender and Country 35

Table 4: Participants by Country, Reported L1, and Mean L1 and L2 Proficiency 37

Table 5: Average Frequency of CS in Each Scenario per Country 44

Table 6: Average of Attitudes Toward CS per Country 46

Table 7: ANOVA for Identity Statements 48

Table 8: Postive, Negative, and Neutral Comments Made by Participants in Written Responses50

Table 9: Most Common Comments Made by Participants in Written Responses........................ 51

Table 10: Participants' Reported Experiences Regarding CS and Judgment 52

Table 11: Participant Comments About CS as a Part of Their Identity 55

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

Immigration, multiculturalism, and multilingualism are concepts and issues that have been relevant for much of the existence of modern North America; two of the major countries in North America even pride themselves on their nations having been founded by immigrants from a variety of backgrounds (Pew Research Center, 2020; Council on Foreign Relations, 2023). The United States and Canada are both well-known for how these issues affect each nation's population. While the U.S. has the highest number of immigrants, Canada is frequently praised for its ethnocultural diversity that–at least superficially–has less insistence on assimilation (Statistics Canada, 2022a; Elghawaby et al., 2021; Council on Foreign Relations, 2023; United Nations, 2020). Mexico, on the other hand, is often on the other side of this debate; less talked about in reference to its immigrants as opposed to its emigrants, as the nation has the second-highest number of emigrants worldwide (United Nations, 2020). Based on this initial view, it could be assumed that residents in these countries–immigrants and nonimmigrants, monolinguals and multilinguals–will likely have different attitudes to their own ethnolinguistic diversity as well as how they use this diversity (if at all) as part of their identity. The current research will examine how country of residence–Canada, Mexico, and the U.S.–influences how Spanish-English bilinguals use code-switching, perceive code-switching, and use code-switching as part of their identity.

In sociolinguistics, code-switching–the use of two languages or "codes" in the same utterance, sentence, turn, or discourse–has been a topic that has been studied in a variety of ways. Researchers have examined what code-switching (CS) is, who uses it, why it is used, how it affects language proficiency in an L2, how the L1 and L2 work together in the brain, and a myriad of other hypotheses and questions have been posited around CS (Poplack, 1980; Treffers-

Daller, 2009; Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros 1998; Gumperz, 1977; Myers-Scotton 1988; Wei, 2005; Poplack & Meechan, 1998; Dewaele & Wei 2014a; Dewaele & Wei 2014b; Yim & Clement 2019; Yim & Clement 2021). While there are many branches in CS, the purpose of this paper is to understand how the country in which speakers live affects not only their frequency of CS use, but also their attitudes toward CS, and how they use CS as part of constructing their identity. For the purpose of this study, CS will refer to the alternation between languages in one conversation–morphologically, lexically, and intersententially (Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Dewaele & Wei, 2014a, Montes-Alcalá, 2000; Peña Díaz, 2004; Poplack, 2012; Sankoff, Poplack, & Vanniarajan, 1990).

Language attitudes are perceptions that can exist at a conscious or subconscious level that cause people to feel a certain way and can include reactions to not only the language, but the speakers, ultimately affecting how speakers may be perceived or perceive themselves and others in their group (Despagne, 2010; Anderson & Toribio, 2007; Badiola et al., 2018). Many times, this can be positive, but it can also be negative and affect people's everyday lives more than we might realize as "people often judge our social status, group membership, intelligence, competence by the way we use language (Garrett, 2010 cited in Dewaele & Wei, 2014b). People hold attitudes to language at all its levels, e.g., accent, choice of words, speed of speech, grammar, language variety" (Dewaele & Wei 2014b, p. 235).

Such questions of identity and attitudes toward CS are recent investigations. Investigators such as Dewaele, Wei, and Gardner-Chloros have been among the leading researchers in attitudes toward CS by monolinguals, bilinguals, and multilinguals in more diverse communities, instead of just focusing on smaller, bilingual communities as was the norm in earlier CS research (Bustamante-López, 2008; Cervatiuc, 2009; Freynet & Clément, 2015;

Guardado, 2008; Myers-Scotton, 1988; Norton, 1997; Poplack, 1980; Rothman & Rell, 2005; Treffers-Daller, 2009). The current study builds on their previous research to examine how country of residence may affect attitudes toward CS and how CS in turn aligns with identity.

Researchers that have focused on CS attitudes have often noted that earlier existing CS research has been aimed at studying those attitudes in a context where one language is forbidden, or where CS in general is forbidden (Dewaele and Wei, 2014b; Gardner-Chloros, 2009). As mentioned earlier, the environment–a different way of saying context–will affect an individual's attitude toward a specific language phenomenon. Dewaele and Wei (2014a, 2014b) studied multilinguals' attitudes toward CS, as well as how multilinguals' frequency of CS was related to sociobiographical factors, including personality factors. Their findings suggested that participants who scored high on attributes such as tolerance for ambiguity, extroversion, cognitive empathy, and emotional stability had more positive attitudes toward CS. Additionally, the positive attitudes toward CS were not necessarily related to participants' degree of multilingualism, but participants who had ample life experience with multilinguals or cultural diversity tended to have positive attitudes toward CS. Some of the sociobiographical elements that were analyzed, such as gender and age, showed that CS was viewed more positively by females, middle-aged participants, and individuals with either high or low levels of education. This thesis will build on some of Dewaele and Wei's research by studying how attitudes depend not only on individual differences, but on the environment–in this case the country–in which they live and interact. Although biographical factors have been shown to affect both CS use and attitudes toward it, it is also possible that broader environments like the country in which speakers live and the governmental policies toward immigration and language, may also play a role. These policies can have ripple effects in speakers' identities and how speakers perceive themselves and others in the language community.

Lastly, the research on identity in bilinguals–including Spanish-English bilinguals–has also been somewhat limited. The research regarding Spanish-English in the United States has largely been centered on specific immigrant communities, narrowing down immigrants and immigrant descendants from Mexico, Cuba, or Puerto Rico and seeing their attitudes, CS use, or identity in specific locations such as the Southwestern U.S., Miami, and New York City, respectively (Bustamante-López, 2008; Rothman & Rell, 2005; Ardila, 2005; Badiola et al., 2016; Montes-Alcalá, 2009). Likewise, while studies on CS, immigrants, multilingualism, and identity have been prevalent in Canada, there has not been as much focus on Spanish-speakers in Canada, and instead the focus has been on Asian immigrants, French Canadians, or First Nations people (Urbiola et al., 2017; Norton, 1997; Freynet & Clément, 2015; Ricento, 2013; Edwards, 2010; Zhang & Guo, 2015). Attitudes about English in Mexico has also not been extensively studied, as much of the English-language related research in Mexico is regarding ESL/EFL education (Despagne, 2010; López-Gopar & Sughrua, 2014; Petrón, 2009; Borjia, 2015). Other research about multilingualism in Mexico is not common, even with movements toward preservation of indigenous languages, itself presenting some attitudes toward non-Spanish languages in Mexico (de León, 2016; Hamel, 2008). The present study, unlike many other studies in Spanish-English bilingualism, does not specifically look at country of origin as a factor, but rather at the country in which they live in now and how their current location may affect their CS attitudes, frequency, and its relationship with their identities.

Ultimately, this study will expand on research that has been done on the intersectionality between CS use, environment, attitudes, and identity. By using country of residence as a key point, the present research will answer the following questions:

1. How do bilinguals differ in CS frequency based on country of residence?
2. How do attitudes toward CS vary among Spanish-English bilinguals based on country of residence?
3. Are bilinguals' identities affected by CS frequency depending on the country of residence? If so, how?

Considering that earlier studies have seemed to suggest a pattern that speakers' attitudes and use of CS varies depending on the country in which the research was done, I hypothesize that speakers living in English-dominant countries (Canada and the U.S.) will be more likely to use CS more often than bilingual speakers living in Mexico. This hypothesis thus extends to attitudes and identity: participants that live in the U.S. and Canada will have more positive attitudes toward CS and will use CS as a part of their identity more so than their counterparts in Mexico. To test to what extent this hypothesis is true, this study used a survey distributed to Spanish-English and English-Spanish bilingual speakers in these countries, asking a variety of questions about their CS practices, attitudes, and how they use CS as part of their identity.

Language is intrinsically a tool to form connections; with many bilingual speakers being from minority populations or from immigrant backgrounds, the use of CS is often a way to form a community and gain solidarity–yet this is only possible if the speakers feel like the country in which they reside is conducive and accepting of using CS. By looking at the three largest countries in North America–Canada, the U.S., and Mexico–-we can begin to understand how the country in which speakers reside has an effect on CS use and ultimately, how it may cause speakers to perceive themselves and their linguistic identity.

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

The purpose of this study is to examine how context–specifically country of residents–affects CS use, attitudes toward CS, and its relationship to identity for Spanish-English bilinguals in Canada, Mexico, and the United States. The literature review will first define code-switching, how it has been studied by others in the field, and the relationship between CS and Spanglish. Following this section, I will discuss the current immigration policies and the demographic context of each country being examined in this study. This section will also discuss the attitudes toward bilingualism and immigration in each country. Next, I will review how CS research has been studied regarding frequency, attitudes, and relationship with identity.

Code-Switching & Spanglish

CS has been studied for several decades and the literature around CS is extensive and diverse. Despite not being a novel concept, there are still many areas which seem to lack consensus. One of the biggest issues is what CS is and what it involves (Milroy & Muysken, 1995, p. 12). Early studies on code-switching largely focused on defining the term and identifying the differences in which bilingual speakers used CS. Much of the literature involving CS at some point discusses the controversial naming of the language practice, as will be discussed in more detail below. Gardner-Chloros, in particular, has said the following regarding said ubiquitous debate: “We should observe the behaviour of the molecules, and the waves which they generate, without worrying about what either waves or molecules should be called” (Gardner-Chloros, 1995, p. 87). This paper uses a broad definition of CS to be the alternating use of two languages in one conversation. While most linguists can seem to agree that this is an accurate description of what CS is in a general sense, there has still been much debate around what “alternating use” exactly refers to. This has led to other terms to be used, depending on the specific purposes of each study. *Code-switching, code-mixing, language alternation, language transfer, code-alternation*, and *insertion* have all been terms used to describe bilinguals’ use of two languages: be that phonological, morphological, syntactical, or a combination of two (Milroy & Muysken, 1995). Further, in this paper, CS is also often used interchangeably with Spanglish, since one of the more salient aspects of Spanglish is CS.

It should be noted that in recent years, *translanguaging, dynamic bilingualism, holistic bilingualism,* and *hybrid language practice* have also entered the sociolinguistic “maze of terminology” (Lewis, Jones, and Baker, 2012) to refer to a similar language alternation that occurs in CS. There are differences in how translanguaging is defined and conceptualized, as translanguaging goes beyond just alternating between two language systems. García (2009) and Wei (2011) make a point of explaining that translanguaging exists to make meaning, share experiences, and bringing together identities and relationships, without the idea that a unitary, named language system only exists for a particular time and place (Wei, 2011; Lewis, Jones, and Baker, 2012).The theory of translanguaging also emphasizes speakers’ and users’ linguistic agency toward an ethnolinguistic repertoire, in which they can consciously select and enact different features of their language systems to make meaning and negotiate communication (Vogel & Garcia, 2017). García, who has provided a large amount of the framework and studies pertaining to translanguaging, also makes a point to specify that translanguaging has less negative connotations than other theories in bilingualism, and also challenges the use of translanguaging to destigmatize language ideologies that have “created and maintained linguistic, cultural, and racial hierarchies in society” (Vogel & Garcia, 2017, p. 1) and considers translanguaging as a “decolonizing project” (Wei & Garcia, 2021, p. 314). While translanguaging is generally more supportive of multilingualism and all-encompassing in terms of what language and communication really entails, much of the research in translanguaging is still centered in educational contexts for emerging bilinguals and bilingual students (García and Kleifgen, 2010; Garcia and Yin, 2017; Vogel and Garcia, 2017; Wei & Garcia, 2021; Moses, Hajdun, & Aguirre, 2021; García, 2021). Due to most of the research still being largely in the educational context, this paper will still use CS to refer to the language practice, but also considers and values the new terminology that attempts to be more inclusive of speakers' experience, and recognizes that translanguaging has many similarities with CS.

Early research on CS focused on its functionality as well as the rules that govern it. Said research (Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1988) demonstrated that CS was not a "seemingly random alternation of two languages, both between and within sentences" (Poplack, 1980, p. 581), but rather that there were specific constraints and frames that bilinguals were aware of and applied when they switched between codes (Poplack, 1980). Since this foundational work, research on CS has taken a more sociolinguistic turn. As sociolinguistics began to evolve and develop, there was a shift in interest in understanding CS from a macrolinguistic point of view. This is especially true when one draws on parallels between Labov's style-shifting for monolingual speakers, and code-switching among bilingual speakers studied by Gumperz (1977). A variety of studies have explored the use of CS in the language-learning classroom as well as increasing interest in CS in early bilinguals, circumstances under which CS is generally seen as negative or is discouraged (Bilgin, 2016; Moses et al., 2021; Dewaele & Wei, 2014b).

In a similar vein as CS is Spanglish. Spanglish is often thought to be different from CS as it involves not only lexical switches, but also exists on a morphological, phonological, and syntactical level. Essentially, it is "mixing" Spanish and English on all linguistic levels, whereas

CS limits its mixing inter- and intrasentially; where the switch happens at a lexical, phrase, sentence, or turn. Because many Spanish-English bilinguals consider Spanglish to be equivalent with CS (Montes-Alcalá, 2000; Ardila, 2005; Peña Díaz, 2004; Urciuoli, 2014), the discussion on CS and Spanglish will be seen as synonymous, and not as a separate phenomenon. Although CS and Spanglish can sometimes be perceived as at odds with each other, they can still coexist under a similar definition. Poplack, who produced much of the pioneering research on CS has since revised and revisited her work adding clarifications and updating her findings as CS has gained intense popularity (2015). Poplack (2012) and Sankoff, Poplack, & Vanniarajan (1990) refer to the Nonce Borrowing Hypothesis, which provides a loophole through which Spanglish (as popularly perceived), loan words, and CS can coexist as it "captures the empirical observation that speakers not only CS spontaneously, but may also *borrow* spontaneously, and these spontaneous borrowings assume the morphological and syntactic, and optionally, phonological identity of the recipient language *prior to* and *independently of* achieving the social characteristics of established loanwords (recurrence in the speech of the individual and diffusion across the community). … [N]once borrowings mirror the linguistic behavior not only of established loanwords (e.g., *upgrader* 'to upgrade'), but of native counterparts (e.g., *échouer* 'to fail')." (Poplack, 2015). While code-switching is arguably the more salient and recognizable attribute of Spanglish, the extensive research on Spanglish adds that there are other aspects to the variety. Urciuoli (2014) describes this dissonance, noting that the way that speakers use the term Spanglish and how it is used as an identifier and relies on lived experiences is largely dependent on CS folk theories, and not solely viewed by speakers as a linguistic act. Milán (1982, p. 203, cited in Montes-Alcalá, 2009) notes the discrepancy saying that Spanglish "gets caught up in misunderstandings of code-switched speech as a hopeless syncretism of the two languages, in which the speakers cannot separate them" (Montes-Alcalá, 2009, p. 103).

When Spanglish was first recorded in the 1940s, it was described very negatively and as a corruption of a language (Rothman & Rell, 2005). In later decades, Spanglish began to be viewed more positively, particularly in New York, but many negative attitudes still exist. Moreover, much of the research on Spanglish–as a positive and negative referent, as a linguistic act and as it relates to social factors–was centered in New York. Rothman and Rell (2005) point out that a lot of the early research on Spanglish was focused on speakers with Cuban or Puerto Rican heritage–in New York and in Miami. There has also been significant discourse in sociolinguistics that Spanglish is only spoken in the U.S. (Montes-Alcalá, 2009; Rangel et al., 2015; Rell, 2004; Sánchez-Muñoz, 2013; Price, 2010). In recent years, however, and especially with globalization and the widespread use of social media, Spanglish itself has been used by more and more populations within and outside the U.S (Lipski, 2004; Lipski, 2007; Bazán-Figueras & Figueras, 2014; Otheguy & Stern, 2010). This comes with the caveat that most monolingual English speakers that aren't in contact with the Spanish-speaking community often aren't aware of the existence of Spanglish the same way that much of the Latin community is–showing that Spanglish can and is used as a marker of identity and group belonging. Although Spanglish in literature has increased in the late 20th century and throughout the 21st century as diversity has become a major social topic, it appears to be that the general Latin population still holds a strong stigma against Spanglish and how it corrupts the Spanish language or is a marker of lack of proficiency, being described "as a deviant, macaronic form of Spanish, invaded with English and…full of barbarisms… as belonging to the uneducated and lower classes…Spanglish represents a real threat to the purity of the mother tongue, a sloppy version of bona fide Spanish, and people who use Spanglish are considered incapable of speaking either English or Spanish well" (Chappell and Faldis, 2007, p. 256).

Based on this discussion of Spanglish and CS, it is also important to see not only how Spanish-speakers view these language practices, but how other factors might affect how it is viewed, especially by those outside of the Spanish-speaking community. In the following section, I will look at how immigration and language policies in Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. could potentially have an effect on how Spanglish and CS is perceived both by those who use these language practices and those that don't.

Language and Immigration Policy

Canada, Mexico, and the United States are all similar in that they are well-known to some extent for immigration. Both Canada and the United States have a population that originated with European immigrants and continue to be major immigrant hot spots. As of 2020, the United States presently ranks as the country with the most immigrants (almost 51 million) globally, while Canada ranks eighth with around 8 million (United Nations, 2021). Mexico, which ranks 48th, is instead known for being the country with the second-most emigrants; with approximately 11 million emigrants, and nearly all of them emigrating to the United States (United Nations, 2021). These statistics are important in order to understand how bilingualism is perceived in each of the three countries. Below I discuss the differences among the countries in immigration policies and attitudes toward immigrants, as well as language diversity and language status in the countries.

In Canada, residents' language proficiency varies from monolingual to multilingual. On their census, Canadians are given multiple options on their place of birth, the ethnicity and race with which they identify, and the languages they speak, something that immediately stands out compared to the censuses in Mexico and the U.S. Canada has two official languages, French and English, and participants are given the option to note whether or not they are monolingual or bilingual in one of these official languages. However, the options do not stop there: they can also note other languages they speak and are thus given the option to select several spoken languages, both official and non-official. In this way, Canadians are not only reporting monolingualism or bilingualism, but it extends to multilingualism. Around 4% of Canada's population is at least bilingual–meaning that in the most recent census they reported using at least two languages. Canada reports that 82% of the population is monolingual in one of the nation's official languages (Statistics Canada, 2023; Statistics Canada, 2022b).

In Mexico's census, participants are given the option to state Spanish, indigenous languages, or bilingual in Spanish and an indigenous language, meaning that the reported bilinguals speak languages native to Mexico. The options that Mexican residents have about their language options are limited to these languages native to Mexico. Around 5% of the population is bilingual in Spanish and one of these indigenous languages. Further, the three most spoken languages are, in order, Spanish, Nahuatl, and Mayan Yucatec. These three languages are native to Mexico, but English comes in as the fourth most spoken language in Mexico (O'Neill, 2023). According to a 2015 report from *El Financiero*, around 5% of the Mexican population speaks English (around 6 million people at the time), compared to the current 7.3 million of Mexicans that speak an indigenous language, which is also roughly 5% of the current population (Becerril, 2015). It is also important to note that while Mexico does not have an official language (although Spanish is the *de facto* official language), Mexico reports that 93.9% of the population are Spanish-speaking monolinguals (Consejo Nacional de Población, 2022; O'Neill, 2023).

The United States differs slightly in how it collects certain census data in that it has two entities that perform similar tasks: the United States Census collects basic demographic and income data (ages, number of people in the household, household income, race, ethnicity), whereas the American Community Survey (ACS) collects other demographic information such as languages spoken in the home, country of birth, education, children, and disability status. Per the Census Bureau, "The American Community Survey provides information about the social and economic needs of your community every year. The census is conducted every ten years to provide an official count of the entire U.S. population to Congress" (United States Census Bureau, 2023). Because of these two different tools, I will detail the results of the most recent ACS from 2021 instead of the 2020 census. The U.S., like Mexico, does not have an official language, but English is the majority and *de facto* language. Of the three countries discussed in this paper, the U.S. has the highest percentage of bilingual speakers, with around 21.7% of the population stating that they speak a language other than English at home; 73% of census takers stated that they speak English at home (United States Census Bureau, n.d.). The most recent ACS reported 13.3% (41.3 million) reported speaking Spanish at home (United States Census Bureau, 2022).

Again, although the U.S. has no official language, there are several states that have enacted one-language only policies where all official state documents are given only in English and where only English is allowed in the workplace (116th Congress, 2019-2020; Mitchell, 2019). Essentially, this means that some states do have official languages, even if the nation as a whole does not. This is even more controversial in the context of education, where many states have banned bilingual education, though several states have repealed and amended these laws in the past few years. Twenty states currently do not have an English-only policy, but several states also give certain languages special status, or promote the learning of a second language (Mitchell, 2019; Rasmussen Reports, 2021). Some states that have high concentrations of Native Americans also include those languages as the state official languages. Utah is one of the few states that has amended its English-only status to instead be English-official. Most other states have made legislation the other way around, going from non-English only, to English-only (Colorado and Arizona). It is important to keep these statistics in consideration as the prevalence of languages and the immigration population are likely key indicators to how bilinguals perceive CS and "otherness" in general. These perceptions, in turn, can lead to whether speakers feel positively or negatively about their own linguistic and cultural identity. A full description of the linguistic diversity in Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1

Linguistic Diversity in Canada, Mexico, and the U.S.

	Total Population	**Monolingual**	**Percent Monolingual**	**Bilingual**	**Percent Bilingual**
Canada	36.9 M (2021)	23.4 M (Eng) 7 M (French) (2021)	63% (E) 18.9% (F)	1.5 M*	4%
Mexico	126 M (2020)	118.2 M (2020)	93.8%	6.3 M (Spanish and indigenous language)	5%
United States	333.3 M (2022)	241 M (2019) 245.5 M (2021)	73%	67.8 M (2019) 41.2 M Spanish (2020) (2,4955,072 speak English very well)	20.6% 12.5%

*In this case, bilingual includes all speakers who reported speaking more than one language, official and non-official alike. English-French bilinguals were reported at 230,955; English and non-official language bilinguals reported at 1,123,355; French and non-official language bilinguals 125,525; English, French, and non-official language trilinguals, 56,805; and those who reported speaking multiple non-official languages 26,705.

It is just as crucial to consider each country's official stance on immigration as it is to consider the linguistic diversity and language statuses, as this can also have a strong effect on how non-immigrants perceive immigrants, and thus how bilinguals and multilinguals are seen and how they see themselves. The United States' immigration policy can often be a topic that ignites controversy, yet is known, as mentioned, for being the country that hosts the highest number of immigrants (Klobucista, Cheatham, & Roy, 2022; Budiman, 2020; Budiman et al., 2020). Considering that the United States was established by immigrants from Europe, it would be expected to some degree that there would be more openness to immigration. The U.S. Constitution has often been cited with its promise of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which has become the creed and foundation for the American Dream that so many aspiring immigrants hope to achieve (Klobucista, Cheatham, & Roy, 2022). Depending on the administration, restrictions on immigration–legal and illegal–vary. Presently, the Biden Administration proposes making getting residency in the United States easier for immigrants that are attempting to enter the U.S. through legal means (Camarota & Zeigler, 2022; Krogstad & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2022). As of 2021, a poll found that while 75% of Americans considered immigration a positive to the United States, "the majority felt that illegal immigration was a significant threat to U.S. national security" (The Gallup Organization, 2022). In 2022, this number dropped to 70% of Americans considering immigration positive for the United States. A similar poll was given in 2023, with 40% of Americans dissatisfied with the level of immigration and wanting it to decrease, and 41% worrying a great deal about illegal immigration (The Gallup Organization, 2022; Budiman, 2020). As the United States has become more difficult to enter, or immigrants found it less desirable to enter due to the Trump Administration's restriction and vocality about immigration laws, immigrants turned to Canada (Klobucista, Cheatham, & Roy, 2022; Cheatham & Roy, 2023).

While the 19th and early 20th century saw a lot of racism and discrimination against immigrants, today Canada has become well-known for having a long history of immigration and internationalism (Cheatham & Roy, 2023). Not only do Canadians view immigrants favorably, they also don't see immigration as a threat or a problem (Government of Canada, n.d.; Environics Institute for Survey Research, 2022). In a survey from 2022, over 70% of Canadians didn't feel that immigration levels were too high. This same survey in general found that immigrants are an important part of Canadian culture, and that, if anything, Canada should probably continue to receive more immigrants and refugees. One of the questions in this survey asked if multiculturalism is an important symbol of Canadian identity, to which 92% participants over age 15 agreed (Environics Institute for Survey Research, 2022; Statistics Canada, 2022). This number has increased considerably since 1997. This is likely due to a policy enacted by the Canadian government promoting multicultural diversity. Having multiculturalism "as a Public Policy at the Federal Level" is probably crucial in how non-monolingual and non-native Canadians see themselves and see those that are different around them (Brosseau & Dewing, 2018).

Mexico is typically seen on the other side of the immigration and emigration discussion, with 11.1 million emigrants worldwide, second only to India; this means that around 8% of Mexico's population are emigrants (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2020). Considering the high number of emigrants, it comes as no surprise, then, that Mexico comes in at around 48th place globally for country with immigrants, hosting a meager 1.19 million, compared to the United States' 50.6 million, and Canada's 8 million. This lines up with

Mexico's 2020 census, which found 1.2 million non-Mexican born living in Mexico (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática, n.d.). Of these, 797,266 were from the U.S., with other immigrants from Guatemala, Japan, Spain, and France. Mexico's own immigration policy tends to be relatively lenient, especially as of recent with the current administration granting legal status to over thirteen thousand foreign nationals, as well as providing aid in finding employment (Foreign Ministry, 2019; Mexlaw, 2023). This has been largely with the goal to protect migrant rights as part of the UN Global Compact for Migration (Foreign Ministry, 2019). In 2019, a survey also recorded Mexicans' opinions on illegal immigration. Contrary to the survey conducted in Canada, only 7% of Mexicans believed Mexico should allow Central American immigrants residency, and 55% believed that these immigrants should be deported to their home countries (Sief & Clement, 2019). Table 2 (below) shows the immigrant population in the three countries.

Table 2

Immigrant Population in Canada, Mexico, and the U.S.

	Total Population	**Immigrant Population**	**Percent Immigrant**
Canada	36.9 M (2021)	8.4 M (2021)	22.7%
Mexico	126 M (2020)	1.2 M (2020)	0.95%
United States	333.3 M (2022)	47.9 M (2022) (87.7 M including US born children)	14.37% (26.3%)

From this discussion on language and immigration policies, it can thus be inferred that due to Mexico and the United States' stances on immigration and linguistic diversity and acceptance compared to Canada's, it is likely that Canadian residents might have a more positive view toward language practices such as CS and might be more willing and accepting of that linguistic diversity as part of their identity. This is further supported by Canada's own policies regarding multiculturalism as well as surveys to the Canadian people asserting the values they have concerning immigration (Government of Canada, n.d.). One would assume that because of the large number of emigrants from Mexico as well as Mexico's own more relaxed immigration policies, that the population would likewise be more accepting and view immigration and language diversity more positively. However, according to the census and surveys, this is not the case. Instead, Mexico is perhaps the most monolingual of the three countries, and survey participants seemed to be very against immigration to Mexico, despite many Mexicans emigrating from the country. This is similarly reflected in the United States, where, despite hosting the most immigrants, has the strictest immigration laws of the three countries, and the population generally seems to view immigration in a negative light.

By considering the current immigration and language policies in these three countries, one is better prepared to understand how a linguistic phenomenon like CS might be viewed differently. Despite the countries having degrees of bilingualism or multilingualism, this does not automatically create a hospitable environment for speakers to feel comfortable switching between languages.

Attitudes

It is also relevant to this research to note the specific attitudes that exist toward Spanish in Canada and the U.S. as well as how English is viewed in Mexico. By understanding how the individual languages are viewed in each country, it can also provide a baseline of how any sort of mixture between Spanish and English could be perceived in the country.

The study of language attitudes in sociolinguistics was pioneered largely by Lambert et al. (1960); Fishman (1967, 1972), LaTouche (1976), and Grosjean (1982) who later used this initial research and applied it in bilingual communities. Succinctly put, the study of language attitudes is mostly about understanding which underlying beliefs people have about the way people speak; broadly, it "refers to the way in which observers react toward language varieties and language use…the definition also includes the ways in which these observers react to the users of language varieties" (Anderson and Toribio, 2007, p. 224). Along with this is the idea that many of the judgments that are made about people–whether positive or negative–are in some way associated with speech patterns; evaluating these attitudes allows researchers to observe which speech patterns index which characteristics or qualities (MacGregor-Mendoza, 2020). Of the pioneering researchers listed above, Fishman is especially important especially in developing methodologies to study language attitudes in and toward bilinguals. He used several methodologies to evaluate attitudes, among them self-report language use measures, language attitude questionnaires, and interview guides. In contemporary language attitude studies among bilingual populations, his influence is evident. Ultimately, he found that certain varieties index to more positive or negative judgments. One of Fishman's major findings from his studies is that just because varieties of a language–or two languages–exist together in a community does not mean that they both hold equal value. He also explained that just because a language or variety may hold positive judgments (such as solidarity or loyalty, or connection to a culture) did not necessarily indicate that the language would be preserved in an individual or a community. Further, Fishman's conclusions about the effect that language attitudes can have on both small and large communities provides insight into how varieties and bilingual speakers continue or discontinue their language (Fishman 1967; MacGregor-Mendoza, 2020). While his observations were among a bilingual community and the use of a majority versus a minority language, a similar conclusion could be made about code-switching and Spanglish: “while positive attitudes toward a minority language are not sufficient to avoid its shift toward the majority language, negative attitudes are capable of repressing it” (MacGregor-Mendoza, 2020, p. 261). This comment is particularly relevant as it pertains to the present study, as one of the hypotheses is that the country in which speakers live will have an impact on how bilingual speakers (code-switching speakers) perceive CS, which will ultimately affect their frequency and the degree to which they choose to make CS (or even the minority language) part of their identity or part of their sense of belonging.

The attitudes that speakers have toward minority language or even minority races and ethnicities could possibly be dependent on the country in which they live. This is the principal tenet for this thesis. To support this, we can see how attitudes of each country have contributed to the degree to which immigrants are able to assimilate and become part of the new country. While this is closely associated with how they might perceive their identity (as it is related with belonging), how they are treated by the majority culture could also lead immigrants to develop a certain perception of their own language, race, and culture.

Canada

Starting with Canada, multiple studies have consistently shown that those who live in Canada have more positive valuations toward general “otherness.” For example, Urbiola, et al (2017) examined how diversity was valued, comparing Canada and Spain, with participants answering questions on prejudice, support for social policies, motivations for social change, and multicultural ideologies. Canadians were asked these questions in relation to First Nations people, while participants from Spain were asked these questions about Spanish Roma people.

What the researchers found was that while both countries were supportive of equality and policies being changed to support equality and diminish prejudice, the main difference between the two countries was how identity factored into these ideas and the reduction of prejudice. In Spain, there was an underlying theme of one common identity, while in Canada, there was more support for a dual identity. This idea is once again consistent with the cliché that Canada is a mosaic rather than the melting pot that the U.S. is commonly known for. Immigrants in the U.S. seem to believe that there is a need to assimilate to the U.S. and that is at odds with their desire to maintain their cultural heritage and language. In Canada, immigrants do not seem to find that there is a dichotomy and that both cultures–and hence both languages–can coexist peacefully. This could have something to do with the conditions under which Canadian immigrants move to Canada as opposed to the U.S.

Guardado explains that Latin American and Hispanic immigrants have been immigrating to Canada since the Spanish Civil War, and that South American political tensions in Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina also prompted large influxes of Spanish-speakers to Canada. This likely means that many Spanish speakers in Canada have had some sort of federal aid as they have been in Canada under federal programs as refugees. Further, Guardado also notes that many immigrants are "professionals," explaining that they are typically from higher social classes and higher educational backgrounds, though this is not always the case with other immigrants, especially those from Central America. Guardado interviewed several Spanish-speaking families in Canada about their language, identity, and cultural awareness. He found that many families and parents highly valued their heritage and cultural identity and explicitly made comments about not being ashamed about their roots, "this cultural awareness and validation [that is] often articulated in relation to the languages and cultures of other Canadians as well." (Guardado, 2008, p. 176). Further, he found that while many families found differences between their cultures and Canada's dominant culture, that "parents did not seem to reject the dominant culture in all its aspects, but rather felt the need to take what they saw as beneficial and leave out what they did not agree with, filling the gap with values imported with them from their original cultural milieus" (p. 177). This is consistent with other findings of research carried out in Canada, where the dichotomy that is often perceived by many immigrants is not present, and two identities–and thus two languages–can coexist (Yim & Clément, 2019). Based on these studies, it seems that the majority culture in Canada tends to have more positive valuations and attitudes of immigrants and immigrants' languages, thus possibly leading to more positive attitudes toward CS.

Mexico

Canada's attitudes of immigrants and the "other" differs from the complex relationship that Mexico has with English. This is largely in part because of the complex political, cultural, and economical relationship between the U.S. and Mexico (Despagne, 2010). In many ways, and as has been shown by many researchers, Mexicans view "ESL learning mandatory if Mexicans want to aspire to a better social and economic life…this contextual 'imposition' highly influences perceptions and attitudes Mexicans have toward the language" (Despagne, 2010, p. 55). This summarizes the relationship that Mexico has with English. While those who live in Mexico view English as a status symbol and as a way for social mobility, there is also a certain fear around the imposition of American culture in Mexico, and fear of contamination of Spanish because of English (López-Gopar & Sughrua, 2014; Despagne, 2010). While English has been valued, access to English language education is largely dependent on social and economic status. López-Gopar and Sughrua explain that even though there is a National English Program for

Basic Education in Mexico, English instruction begins in middle school or elementary school, but in states like Oaxaca, where 40% of the population does not even finish elementary school, even public-school English education would be largely associated as a status symbol. This is further perpetuated by English mostly being taught in the past at private schools–low socioeconomic status Mexicans would not be able to afford private schools, and thus would not have access to this education.

What further complicates the status of English in Mexico aside from lack of access and class discrimination, is English's connection to coloniality, and how it complicates Mexicans' relationship with English. Described by López-Gopar and Sughrua, coloniality is "the manner in which colonial power controls or dominates a community by imposing on that community certain Western or Eurocentric models of subjectivity, authority, economy, and knowledge" (Mignolo, 2009, cited in López-Gopar & Sughrua, 2014, p. 104). Mexico's colonial history, of course, is tied to Spanish colonists, which in turn had an effect on the class structure in Mexico largely focused on race and economic situation, with lighter skinned people being associated with higher socioeconomic status, higher education, and speaking Spanish or a "modern" language as opposed to an indigenous language. Recent increases in globalization led to a tighter relationship between Mexico and the U.S., but it also led to many Mexicans seeing the U.S. as another colonial power imposing itself in the country. In Despagne's 2010 study, she interviewed over 300 university students from Mexico and around 60% of them did not like or were not attracted to American culture, despite almost 90% of them believing that English is important and 58% believing that English will help them in "everything" (Despagne, 2010, p. 57). This was also consistent with some of the results that were found in this research, where there seems to be a conflict between wanting to learn English but not wanting to be part of the English-speaking culture and community. “English is a synonym of hope and a better way of life; however it ignites images of invasion and imperialism” (Kachru, 1986; McArthur, 1998; Chasan & Ryan, 1995, cited in Despagne, 2010, p. 65). This continues to be demonstrated by Despagne when she evaluated university students’ perceptions about English in Mexico and found that the positive perceptions were tied to professionalism and economic success, while negative perceptions were associated to racism, immigration problems, imperialism, and “too often used English words in Spanish” (p. 66). She further explains that even though colonialism from Spain happened over 200 years ago, it was very quickly followed by Revolution in Texas and the Mexican-American War. These conflicts caused Mexico to lose not only hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, but also a large portion of the territory and natural resources. Today, Mexico’s primary source of foreign investment comes from the U.S., and Mexico’s exports are mostly to the U.S. While this has led to some positive economic growth, it has also led to an increase in U.S.-based food and grocery chains instead of domestic stores (p. 64). Although in some ways the U.S. introduced the modern world to Mexico, this has also caused there to be a large rejection of U.S. culture and of English–since English becomes representative of a dominating culture that is imposing not only economic and political values, but begins to extend to cultural values as well. Despagne explains that “[u]nconsciously Mexicans are afraid to be colonized again. The English language represents the means by which imperialism is made possible… The language relationship in Mexican society is a clear expression of a class based society where English became the most important one, followed by Spanish and at last all the vernacular languages used only in intimacy, and only by indigenous people” (p. 69). This is true, and again contradictory.

While most bilinguals in Mexico speak Spanish and an indigenous language, indigenous languages have very little prestige in Mexico, even though there have been many federal programs for language preservation. Just as there is a lot of loyalty toward Spanish among Mexican immigrants in the United States, there is likewise an “attitude of loyalty to ancestral languages” among indigenous people in Mexico, often extending to rejection of mainstream Mexican culture (Hidalgo, 2006, p. 119). In public, it is much more common to hear English as opposed to an indigenous language. This continues to demonstrate that Mexico has a very conflicted relationship with otherness, especially as it relates to language: Mexicans want to learn English to have more economic opportunities, but Mexicans do not want to be colonized by English and want to maintain their cultural heritage (Casielles-Suárez, 2017; Olko, 2019). Again, however, because indigenous languages are seen as low-prestige, Mexicans feel shame of indigenous languages spoken by the people who founded the same cultural heritage they want to maintain. Nahua interviewees in Olko’s research (2019) described Nahuatl as having no value, since it does not allow speakers to have social mobility or participate in the labor market, “Spanish, in turn, remains linked to all basic dimensions of social life, as the unique language of education, politics, work, legal, and public services” (p. 15). While Spanish-speakers of Mexican descent seem to have a real crisis around their linguistic and cultural identity both in Mexico and the United States, it is curious to note that it is less prevalent in Canada, where having a dual-identity is acceptable and seen as a happy-medium.

U.S.

As previously mentioned, the immigration that occurs from Mexico to the US is one of the largest immigration corridors in the world. This has also led to there being a wealth of research in various areas as Mexican immigrants and their descendants have been affected by this migration. Spanish and English have been studied extensively in the U.S. because of the geographical proximity. The attitudes that exist in the U.S. around Spanish are then very linked around the Mexican American identity and attitudes of and toward Mexican Americans. It is interesting to consider, however, that there has been extensive research about language attitudes in the U.S. on varieties of English, especially since the U.S. has such a wide variety of dialects and varieties spoken in the country. From these studies, it can be seen that there are some varieties of English that are viewed with more or less prestige, and that people very often and somewhat easily make judgments solely based on a person's pronunciation and vocabulary that is regularly associated with not only a geographical area, but also social class, age, gender, group belonging, and other qualitative judgments (Meyerhoff, 2019). Just as speakers in the U.S. make judgments this easily on native speakers of English from an American background (or an Anglo background), so are judgments made about non-native speakers of English, or English speakers from a non-American background (Rangel, Loureiro-Rodríguez, & Moyna, 2015; Montes-Alcalá, 2009; Torrez, 2015; Valdés-Fallis et. al 2008).

Identity

The study of the relationship between identity and language likely began with Labov's 1961-1962 study at Martha's Vineyard. While his study had the intention of being variationist in nature, his results showed far more than only how sociodemographic factors affected people's speech. In what is now a foundational study in sociolinguistics, Labov found that participants that lived in Martha's Vineyard year-round were more likely to use certain variants (raised diphthongs) and had a closer tie to the fishing community, and were resisting social changes that were occurring (Labov, 1963). While Labov's study was in the early 1960s, it wasn't until the 1990s that the study of identity and how it relates to language became of more interest to researchers, corresponding with the onset of third-wave sociolinguistics (Eckert, 2012). As

Eckert has pointed out, the focus in third-wave sociolinguistics is speakers' agency–how speakers choose certain linguistic forms to construct their self in their community (2012).

While the term *identity* is also not without its complications, Norton, who has done extensive research on immigrant women's language learning and their identity construction, defines it the following way: "… how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton, 2000, p. 5, cited in Duff, 2012, p. 416). This echoes Bakhtin's perspective that the principal use of language is to use it strictly as a social tool (Duff, 2012). This could be extrapolated to the idea that it is a tool that we use to form who we are and to which communities we belong. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) provide a much wider definition, focusing on the idea that identity has more to do with sameness, as perceived by the insider or individual in the group, noting that it is not for outsiders to determine the identity of a person or people in a group to which the outsider does not belong (2005). Similarly, Duff emphasizes "one's connection or identification with a particular social group, the emotional ties one has with that group, and the meanings the connection has for an individual" (p. 415). Bucholtz and Hall also, however, consider that otherness is equally important as sameness, since the "perception of shared identity often requires as its foil a sense of alterity, of an Other who can be positioned against those socially constituted as the same" (p. 371). This considers that through speakers' choices to relate to an identity, they are also choosing not to relate to another identity. This presents linguists with two main factors that are linked together: the individual and the group; how do individuals link themselves through language processes with the group? Which factors do they use to identify themselves, and how do they respond to others' ways of identifying themselves? By knowing the answers to these questions, we can begin to understand if the country in which an individual lives can be a major factor in how individuals construct their identities and create meaning through their language choice.

Due to the post structural nature of identity and language, the language-identity link is sometimes difficult to evaluate, especially with regard to CS, as much of early research was focused on the structure and use of CS, and only recently have sociolinguistic factors begun to be considered as a factor for how and when it is used (Poplack & Myers-Scotton, 1995; Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Dewaele & Wei, 2014b). However, it has been argued–and continues to be asserted–that language is crucial to identity, especially when one views language as the main means of communicating who we are and to whom we belong. Rothman and Rell (2005) express this idea, that at "its most basic function, language expresses identity, for identity is language" (p. 525). They also tie the importance of language to ethnic identity specifically, quoting Soler, "Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity–I am my language" (p. 526). While this is taking identity studies to its most basic and at the same time most extreme expression, there have been several studies that have supported this idea, even across bilingual communities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Bustamante-López, 2008; Torrez, 2013; Sánchez-Muñoz, 2013; Yim & Clement, 2019; Rell, 2004; Norton, 1997). While there is consensus among many linguists and anthropologists that identity and language is a social act, more recently there has also been increasing discourse that speakers not only use language to form their identity, but that they can change and reconstruct their identity and language across time and space (Norton, 1997; Norton, 2013; Duff, 2012; Barkhuizen & de Klerk, 2006; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Cervatiuc, 2009).

Identity Among Bilinguals in Canada

In Canada, immigrants struggle with creating a sense of identity, and there are many comments made about Canada's success in encouraging a dual identity, as opposed to a push to create a common identity (Urbiola et al., 2017; Cohen, 2012). And despite the general positivity that exists around a dual identity or around multiple languages, there are still speakers where language choice elicits mixed emotions similar to the emotions that are indexed by Spanish speakers in the U.S. Yim and Clément (2019) explain that in a study looking at Cantonese-English bilinguals, mixing Cantonese and English is perceived as "weak Cantonese language skills," and speakers are indexed as *juksings,* not unlike the Mexican term *pocho* for being raised outside of the native country and resulting in a deauthentication of group membership (p. 479). However, it is noted that *juksing* is much more neutral than what *pocho* might be, which tends to be more derogatory. What's more, Cantonese immigrants and children of immigrants would voluntarily define themselves as such, so the term has connotations of solidarity (p. 488), more similar to *Chicano*. *Juksings* also don't feel like "full Canadians," but still embraced being part of two cultures, and did not view CS as negative. This differs from a lot of studies on acceptability of CS and attitudes toward Spanish in the U.S., as well as how bilingualism between Spanish and indigenous languages in Mexico is viewed, where speakers, while recognizing they are bicultural, are conflicted with seemingly having to choose one culture or language over another due to cultural loyalty or what is more "useful," thus falling back on negative perceptions of combining languages and language loss in any way (Barkhuizen & de

Klerk, 2006; Despagne, 2010; Hamel, 2008; Hidalgo, 2006; Torrez, 2015; Montes-Alcalá, 2000; Ardila, 2005).

Since there does seem to be some sort of difference in how minority languages and CS is viewed in all three countries, it would be likely that a country's immigration policy has a considerable influence on how these speakers, immigrants, and residents end up perceiving and choosing to identify themselves regarding their linguistic choices in CS.

Identity Among Spanish-English Bilinguals in the United States

Loyalty to Spanish is a major theme when looking at much of the identity in Spanish-English literature in the United States. In both writing and in discourse, there is a strong belief that although it is important to learn English in the United States, "pure" Spanish is perhaps even more highly valued (Guglani, 2016; Casielles-Suárez, 2017; MacGregor-Mendoza, 2020). Linguistic loyalty in Spanish-speaking communities is a comment that comes up often. While not all speakers hold the belief that one must speak Spanish (Guglani, 2016), Spanish-English bilinguals are often "criticized for mixing Spanish and English," (Casielles-Suárez, p. 147). Contrarily, mixing Spanish and English (either by CS or Spanglish) is within itself a way that Spanish-English bilinguals in the U.S. have created an identity for themselves, away from the stringent need for monolingualism. Thus, the identity crisis for many Spanish-English speakers in the U.S. is not just about a Spanish-speaking identity, but also an English-speaking identity. Speakers are discriminated against by their Spanish-speaking community for tainting the Spanish language, but their English is also seen as less superior. Among the Spanish-speaking community, there is a lot of pride in being true to one's heritage, and this largely leans on language. Anzaldúa, in her much-cited *How to Tame a Wild Tongue* (1987) describes the discrimination that can occur for not being Latino enough, especially as it pertains to language, yet also being required to speak English proficiently. She describes her mother telling her, "*todavía hablas inglés con un* 'accent'" mortified that I spoke English like a Mexican" (p. 54) while also describing how "[e]ven our own people, other Spanish speakers *nos quieren poner candados en la lengua.* They would hold us back with their bag of *reglas de academia*" (p.54). In these sentences, she talks about being scolded by her mother for having an accent in English, yet also being scolded by Spanish-speakers by not abiding by prescriptive rules in Spanish.

Further, Anzaldúa describes herself–and other Latinas–as being "of the deficient Spanish":

> *Deslenguadas. Somos los del español deficiente.* We are your linguistic nightmare, your linguistic aberration, your linguistic *mestisaje*, the subject of your *burla*. Because we speak with tongues of fire we are culturally crucified racially, culturally and linguistically *somos huérfanos* - we speak an orphan tongue…. [W]e're afraid the other will think we're *agringadas* because we don't speak Chicano Spanish. We oppress each other trying to out-Chicano each other, vying to be the "real" Chicanas, to speak like Chicanos. There is no one Chicano Language just as there is no one Chicano experience. (pp. 58-59)

This leads to a discussion into the importance of identity in Spanish-English bilinguals, immigrants, and descendants of immigrants in the United States. Again, much of the research on these populations in the U.S. is specific to Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and especially Mexicans since these are, and have been, the main Spanish-speaking populations. Ethnic identity becomes a complex topic when it comes to describing or self-describing as Hispanic, Latin/o/a/x, or Chicana/o as each term has its specific connotation. Within the Mexican population, *Chicano* came from a more derogatory term referring to lower-class people in Mexico, but was then reclaimed. Another derogatory term that is still relevant and is still used to describe someone that has forgotten or left behind their heritage is *pocho*, a word that is almost always used to describe how someone speaks–with an American accent in Spanish. Anzaldúa also describes some of the experiences she has had with *pocho*:

> Words distorted by English are known as anglicisms or *pochismos*. The *pocho* is an anglicized Mexican or American of Mexican origin who speaks Spanish with an accent characteristic of North Americans and who distorts and reconstructs the language according to the influence of English. Tex-Mex, or Spanglish, comes most naturally to me. I may switch back and forth from English to Spanish in the same sentence or in the same word. (p. 56).

While many Spanish-speakers still view *pochismos* with distaste, there are still many who have also accepted it as part of a new identity (Torrez, 2013; Ardila, 2005; Peña Díaz, 2004; Chappell & Faldis, 2007). Torrez (2013) describes interviewing three families of Mexican descent in Michigan and how they use language. She says that "it is clear that Spanish is both a linguistic and cultural marker of group membership and cultural identity" (p. 277) as the youth who speak less Spanish miss out on activities that are essential to maintaining cultural heritage: "youth have difficulties engaging in meaningful dialogue and cultural practices with the community, which precludes their participation in the process of transforming knowledge to connect their own experiences" (p. 282). Torrez describes in detail how important it was for these families to be able to pass on cultural knowledge intergenerationally through Spanish and not English as the knowledge was lost through translation; this in turn, led many younger generations to want to identify with older generations but still be able to redefine who they were in their reality.

While it is clear that there has been extensive research done on CS in a variety of contexts, from what can be understood in this literature review, there is still a gap in comparing how CS compares in different countries in terms of frequency, attitudes, and as it relates to identity. There is enough to show that in some communities CS has some effect on how speakers view themselves, and the research suggests that attitudes toward CS also varies among speakers. Seeing how the three sociolinguistic factors compare together and vary in different countries with different immigration and language policies will provide additional insight on CS.

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology

Participants

259 bilinguals that spoke Spanish and English participated in the study. Participants were aged 18-84, with participants having a mean age of 35-44. While participants were born in several countries, the participants all lived in Canada, Mexico, and the United States at the time the survey was taken. Education and ethnicity were also included in the initial demographic information that was collected from the participants. Being a speaker of both Spanish and English (proficiency not specified) adult 18 years old or older living in Canada, the U.S., or Mexico were the only inclusion criteria. Participants by gender and country can be seen in Table 3 below.

Table 3

Survey participants by gender and country

	Female	**Male**	**Total**
Canada	38	23	61
Mexico	33	51	84
United States	71	43	114
Total	**142**	**117**	**259**

Distribution

Participants were recruited three ways. First, I used Qualtrics to recruit participants in the three countries in an effort to gain a wider range of participants and especially to reach the Canadian audience. Participants who were recruited through Qualtrics were compensated through a point system that allows them to redeem for gift cards or be entered into giveaways. Second, the survey was distributed to Spanish speakers that were studying English at the BYU English Language Center, thus fitting into the parameters of being Spanish-English bilinguals that may have had experiences with code-switching both in the United States and in their native countries. Lastly, the survey was distributed through social media via snowball sampling so others could also take the survey.

Instruments: Survey Questionnaire

Participants completed a survey through Qualtrics that asked questions about their demographics, language background, and CS use, attitudes, and how it related to their identity. The following subsections will outline the questions within the survey, but the full survey can be seen in Appendix A (English) and Appendix B (Spanish). Participants were given the option to complete the survey in either Spanish or English, and were informed of their rights as a research participant prior to consenting to participation.

Demographics

Participants were asked about their gender, age, ethnicity, education, country of birth, and country of residence.

Language Background

Because the screening criteria required participants to speak Spanish and English, this was among the first questions asked. It was then asked where the participants learned their L2. Participants were then asked to self-report their language proficiency in both languages on a scale of 0-10 (0 = I don’t speak the language, 10 = I am fluent in the language). Participants were also asked if they spoke any other languages, and where they learned those languages. Table 4 (below) shows participants' reported L1, as well as the mean L1 and L2 proficiency by country.

Table 4

Participants by country, reported first language, and mean L1 and L2 proficiency

	English L1	**Spanish L1**	**Both**	**Total**	**Mean L1 Proficiency**	**Mean L2 Proficiency**
Canada	50	5	6	61	9.6	6.4
Mexico	0	80	4	84	9.8	7.4
United States	60	40	14	114	9.77	7.5
Total	**110**	**125**	**24**	**259**	**9.72**	**7.1**

Personal and General CS Use

Before asking questions about CS use, participants were given an explanation on what CS was with examples, as well as how CS differs from using loan words. Many CS studies that use questionnaires generally refer to CS as "language switching" or "switching between languages," or are shown excerpts of written CS or audio samples of CS for acceptability and attitude evaluation (Anderson & Toribio, 2007; Dewaele & Wei, 2014a, Dewaele & Zeckel, 2016; Montes-Alcalá, 2000; Rangel et al, 2015). To attempt to reach the nuances of CS and for participants to understand what was being asked of them, it was explained that CS can occur inter- or intra- sentential, as single words, phrases, or morphologically. After this description, participants were then provided questions asking about whether they CS, how often they do, which kind of CS is most common for them to use, and whether they CS more from Spanish to English or from English to Spanish. These same questions were then repeated, but regarding the people around them (i.e., friends, family, and coworkers). As Yim and Clément (2019) point out, there is no published, systematic, and comprehensive measurement for CS. Thus, much like other questionnaires that have been used, the questions used to measure CS were self-reported and relied on participants' experiences and perceptions. The majority of questions were on five-point Likert scales. In the latter part of the survey, participants were asked if they used CS under various contexts and situations.

Attitudes

The questions that followed the usage section were about attitudes and drew elements that were adapted from Dewaele & Wei (2014), Gardner-Chloros et al. (2005), and Trofimovich & Turuševa (2020). Much like the general and personal use questions, these were primarily asking participants to consider their own and others' use of CS, thus being self-reflective and self-reported. Dewaele & Wei's questions for attitude asked if CS was perceived as linguistically incompetent, annoying, part of a multicultural identity, arrogance and as a way to show solidarity toward a particular culture. These items were maintained and used as part of the survey (Dewaele & Wei, 2014b, p. 242). From Gardner-Chloros, et al., many of the language use questions were used for the present study's survey such as the contexts in which CS is used (having a serious discussion, calculations, at home, telling a story, with friends, at the workplace), but were adapted since their questions were for the use of Standard Modern Greek, Greek-Cypriot Dialect, and English in aforementioned domains (Gardner-Chloros, et al., 2005, pp. 63-64). From Trofimovich and Turuševa (2020), questions pertaining to social and ethnic belonging were used, specifically feeling proud and if it's important for personal identity (pp.15-16). Again, since this study was evaluating Latvian and Russian, questions were adapted to fit the research questions of this study.

Identity

Six identity statements were given to the participants, and they answered on a five-point Likert scale to express their agreement with each statement. These statements were linked to being proud of CS, how it makes them feel as a member of their community, how they are treated based on how they CS, if they feel intelligent, and if they feel more comfortable with other bilinguals for the purpose of CS. Participants then rated their agreement on a 5-point Likert scale.

Community

Participants were asked if they felt as though they were part of the Spanish-speaking community or the English-speaking community. They were also asked if they felt like they lost part of their L1 if they frequently used CS, and if they felt any shame when they used CS. Lastly, participants were asked where they believed CS was most acceptable: in countries with English as the main language, countries with Spanish as the main language, only in small communities, never, or always. Lastly, they were asked if it was more acceptable to use CS with (bilingual) friends, family, or coworkers.

Written Responses

The last question of the survey asked if participants would be interested in answering longer questions about CS. Many replied that they did, but when answering the questions, did not provide extended responses as was expected. There were still many longer responses that were given and will be discussed in the results. The qualitative questions were primarily directed at the connection between identity and CS. The following, open-responses questions were used:

1. What other thoughts do you have about your use (or lack of use) of code-switching?

2. Do you have a memory when you were judged (or you judged someone else) because of code-switching?
3. Can you describe a time when you saw that code-switching is a part of who you are, or a defining part of your community?
4. Was there a time when you code-switched and people around you responded in a way you did not expect?
5. Are there any other experiences with code-switching, language, identity, and your community that you would like to share?

Procedure

The study was completed online using Qualtrics as the survey platform. The survey was distributed in both English and Spanish, and participants could choose in which language to take the survey. Participants first read a consent form before agreeing to complete the questionnaire. After the first set of questions regarding demographic and language background, the participants were informed about code-switching and the ways in which it can be described and used. The questions about CS use, frequency, attitudes, and how it relates to identity followed. Participants were all given the same questionnaire with the questions in the same order. The survey was open and available to participants for two weeks.

Analysis

To evaluate whether country of residence was a significant factor in the frequency of CS, attitudes toward CS, and the use of CS as an important part of participants' identity, we performed a series of ANOVAs; Post-Hoc Tukey tests were also run to compare and find relationships among other factors.

In order to evaluate the qualitative responses in a more quantitative way, I went through the participants' responses and found repeating themes, and then coded each response with a number that corresponded with the type of comment they were making. Some responses only indexed one type of comment, while others indexed more than one. The codes and the indexed attitudes are explained below. After this, I also evaluated whether the type of comment was positive, negative, or neutral. For example, a participant could have made a comment about identity, but they could have said that it was a part of their identity or that it was not a part of their identity. In this case, if they did consider CS a part of their identity, it would be considered "positive" whereas if they did not associate CS with their identity, it would be considered "negative." Similarly, a participant could say that CS was professional and seen positively in the work environment, while another could say that the use of CS was unprofessional in the work environment. Both would be coded by the same number but were then separated based on whether it was positive or negative. Comments were identified as "neutral" if participants made a comment that mentioned something about CS "just happening" or if they said it wasn't really something they thought too much about.

The analysis of these questions was further evaluated in two different ways. As such, I also organized the data based on which comments were made during specific questions, and then in general. I did this because some of the answers to the questions were not pertinent for that specific question, but were pertinent about their attitudes toward or feelings of identity with CS. For both lists, all responses were divided by country to see if country of residence made a difference in the types of comments that were made. It should be noted that of the total participants, 158 chose to respond to the qualitative questions: 31 from Canada, 75 from Mexico, and 52 from the United States. Further, it should also be noted that participants from Canada often provided very minimal responses, thus not always providing sufficient information.

CHAPTER FOUR: Results

Research Question 1

The first research question of this study, "*Does the country in which participants live have an effect on the frequency of CS?*" was examined in two different ways: First, the participants self-reported how often they code-switched on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Definitely not) to 5 (Definitely yes). A non-parametric chi-square test with country as the independent variable and ratings of frequency as the dependent variable showed that country has a significant effect on how participants self-reported their frequency (χ^2 (8) = 17.3, p = 0.028). Further post-hoc analyses revealed that participants living in the United States ranked their CS use as "frequently" more often than participants living in other countries.

In a second analysis regarding this question, participants also rated the amount of time they used CS in different situations. The average frequency of use for each of these scenarios for each country is given in Table 5. A series of one-way ANOVAs were performed on each of the seven scenarios where CS could be used (telling a story, having a serious discussion, making calculations, telling a joke, with friends/colleagues, with family, in the workplace), for these scenarios, the p-value was adjusted using a Bonferroni procedure at .008. The results of the analyses demonstrated that among the countries there was significant difference for two situations: telling a story and having a serious discussion. While there didn't appear to be significantly different results between the U.S. and Mexico, there were statistically significant different results between the U.S. and Canada, as well as between Mexico and Canada.

Table 5

Average frequency of CS in each scenario per country

F-statistics, p-values, and effect sizes (provided in parentheses) indicate significant differences between the countries' ratings

	Canada	**Mexico**	**United States**	**F-statistic**	**P-value (effect sizes)**
1. Telling a story	2.75 (1.11)	2.04 (1.03)	2.46 (1.17)	8.33	<0.001** (.057)
2. Having a serious discussion	1.76 (1.07)	2.41 (1.19)	2.01 (1.14)	5.68	0.004*** (.044)
3. Making calculations	2.31 (1.30)	1.73 (1.05)	1.97 (1.15)	4.28	.016 (.035)
4. With family	2.79 (1.39)	2.32 (1.18)	2.60 (1.36)	2.34	.098 (.018)
5.with friends and/or colleagues	2.77 (1.16)	2.68 (1.21)	2.45 (1.05)	1.93	.147 (.015)
7. In the workplace	3.24 (1.13)	3.07 (1.06)	2.89 (1.06)	2.39	.096 (.019)
8. General personal perceived use	2.65	2.7	2.64	0.0795	0.924 (.001)
9. General perceived use of others	2.5 (.93)	2.3 (1.02)	2.7 (1.14)	2.64	0.074 (.020)

Research Question 2

The second research question for this study, "*How do attitudes toward CS vary among Spanish-English bilinguals based on country of residence?"* was examined by running a series of one-way ANOVAs on the statements given in Table 6. In the series of one-way ANOVAs, each of the statements was the dependent variable and country of residence (Canada, Mexico, and USA) was the independent variable. As was done in the analysis for Research Question 1, the results were also adjusted with a Bonferonni procedure, so the p-value was set at .007. This showed that p-values higher than .007 were not significant. Further, post-hoc Tukey tests were also applied to indicate the significant differences between the groups. Differences were found between the three groups for 8 of the 14 statements with a p-value of .007 and lower and for one other with a p-value of 0.005 or lower. Table 6 below shows the F-statistic, p-values, and effect sizes to indicate the differences between the countries' ratings for all statements above, thus showing that attitudes in Canada were more positive than attitudes in Mexico and the U.S. While the statements that had the most significant differences are detailed in the table below, there still seemed to be a general trend for Canadian participants to rate more positive attitudes toward CS than participants in Mexico and participants in the U.S.

Table 6

Average of attitudes toward CS per country

F-statistic, p-value, and effect sizes (in parentheses) indicate significant differences between the countries' ratings

	Canada	**Mexico**	**United States**	**F-statistic**	**P-value (effect sizes)**
General Perceived Attitude of Others Toward CS	3.37 (.928)	3.09 (.791)	3.22 (.703)	1.49	0.228 (.016)
General Personal Attitude Toward Others' Use of CS	3.43 (.763)	3.20 (1.00)	3.13 (.871)	2.18	0.115 (.017)
CS is Easy to Do	3.00 (.89)	2.83 (1.00)	2.87 (1.11)	0.502	0.606
CS is Effective for Communication	2.97 (.836)	2.38 (1.16)	2.47 (1.10)	10.7	0.005**(.045)
CS is Useful	3.26 (.728)	2.77 (1.05)	2.83 (1.02)	9.92	0.007**(.039)
CS Improves Clarity	2.80 (1.01)	2.26 (1.17)	2.50 (1.11)	7.96	0.019*(.032)
CS is Professional	2.00 (1.35)	1.32 (1.20)	1.35 (1.17)	11.1	0.004**(.051)
CS is Intelligent	2.59 (1.01)	2.07 (1.19)	1.94 (1.20)	11.5	0.003**(.048)
CS is Comfortable	3.00 (.89)	2.67 (1.15)	2.76 (1.03)	2.42	0.299 (.014)
CS is Good	2.75 (.88)	2.23 (1.14)	2.34 (1.09)	7.40	0.004**(.035)
CS is Part of Being in a Group	2.87 (.99)	2.19 (1.16)	2.28 (1.13)	15.1	<0.001**(.056)
CS is Lazy	1.87 (1.19)	2.08 (1.30)	1.69 (1.30)	2.41	0.095 (.018)
CS is Interesting	2.92 (.95)	2.02 (1.25)	2.31 (1.18)	19.9	<0.001**(.078)
CS is Arrogant	1.52 (1.41)	1.68 (1.25)	1.11 (1.16)	10.5	0.005**(.041)

Research Question 3

The third research question, "*How are bilinguals' identities affected by frequency or use of CS depending on the country in which they live?*" was evaluated both quantitatively and qualitatively. First, a similar series of one-way ANOVAs was run on Likert-scale statements provided in Table 7 relating to identity, but the written responses were analyzed in a different way. For each of the written responses, themes and patterns were found and coded with a number correlating to the specific quality that the response indexed. From here, responses were counted, and percentages were taken to provide a wider quantifiable picture of what the participants' responses portrayed. In this section, I will first explain the analyses on the quantitative statements that participants answered, and then provide further qualitative analysis on the written responses.

Likert Scale Statements

Similar analyses and similar Bonferroni procedures (p-value set at .007) to the previous two research questions were run on the data for the third research question. Four of the statements reached significance at the $p < .007$ level and three at $p < .05$, with all showing medium to large effect sizes (see Table 8). This is particularly notable for statements 11 and 12, which ask about belonging and statement 13, which pointedly asks about how much CS relates to the participants' identity.

Table 7

ANOVA for identity statements

Mean and standard deviations (in parentheses) of CS Identity Statements for each country. F-statistics, p-values, and effect sizes (in parentheses) indicate significant differences between the countries' ratings

	Canada	**Mexico**	**United States**	**F-statistic**	**P-value (effect size)**
CS is a Sign the Language is not Spoken Well	2.02 (1.31)	2.31 (1.14)	1.96 (1.39)	3.21	0.201 (.009)
CS Shows a Diverse Identity	3.98 (.806)	3.54 (1.13)	3.65 (1.09)	3.40	.035 (.026)*
CS Annoys me	2.66 (1.33)	2.94 (1.18)	2.54 (1.21)	2.61	0.075 (.02)
CS is a Sign of Arrogance	2.33 (1.35)	2.35 (1.12)	2.02 (1.16)	2.27	0.105 (.017)
CS Shows You Are Part of Particular Culture	3.62 (1.02)	3.14 (1.24)	3.44 (1.15)	3.30	0.039 (.025)*
People Have Treated Me Differently Because of CS	2.89 (1.30)	2.58 (1.13)	2.44 (1.20)	2.07	0.129 (.023)
CS Makes Me Feel I Don't Know the Language(s) Well	2.98 (1.42)	2.74 (1.32)	2.71 (1.34)	1.20	0.550 (.007)
I Feel Most Comfortable When I Can CS	3.87 (.94)	3.87 (.91)	3.70 (1.00)	.739	0.483 (.008)
CS Makes Me Feel Proud	3.98 (1.00)	3.42 (.929)	3.73 (.994)	4.16	0.01 (.045)*
CS Makes Me Feel Intelligent	3.57 (1.11)	3.15 (1.08)	2.80 (1.12)	7.07	<0.001 (.074)**
CS Makes Me Feel Part of the English-Speaking Community	4.26 (.81)	3.25 (1.16)	4.09 (1.03)	22.2	<0.001 (.148)**
CS Makes Me Feel Part of the Spanish-Speaking Community	4.00 (.965)	4.56 (.73)	3.91 (1.04)	12.5	<0.001 (.089)**
CS is an Important Part of My Identity	4.30 (.84)	3.51 (1.13)	3.84 (1.07)	7.40	<0.001 (.077)**
CS Shows You Are Losing the Language	2.92 (1.38)	2.26 (1.20)	2.49 (1.31)	4.59	0.01 (.035)*
I Feel Shame When I CS	2.38 (1.44)	2.50 (1.25)	2.19 (1.27)	1.35	0.260 (.011)

Race and Ethnicity, CS, and Identity

It is possible that race may have played a role in how much CS plays a role in identity. For this reason, we ran a series of two-way ANOVAs on the above statements to determine if there was any correlation between race, country of residence, and identity. Although participants were not asked to self-define themselves ethnically or racially in an open response question, the initial demographic questions asked participants to select their race and ethnicity. Race only showed to be a statistically significant factor for two statements: whether they felt they belonged to the English-speaking community and as part of the Spanish-speaking community. Further post-hoc analyses determined that those who identified themselves as white felt more a part of the English-speaking community and those that identified themselves as Hispanic/Latino felt more a part of the Spanish speaking community. Thus, these findings suggest that race did not play a major role in how participants responded to the identity questions.

Written Responses – Qualitative Data

The written responses also showed patterns on attitudes toward CS and participants' perception on how (and if) CS was an important part of their identity. Notably, participants from Canada were most likely to opt out of choosing to answer the qualitative questions. However, there were several participants that found CS to not be associated with their identity. There were some participants who very openly stated that CS was not a part of who they are. As explained in the description of the procedure and analysis in the previous section, the participants' written responses were coded, indexed, and evaluated as positive, negative, or neutral. Table 8 shows the distribution of comments made by participants' responses in each country. Again, it should be noted that participants from Canada (*n*= 31) provided the least number of written responses, while participants from Mexico and the U.S. provided more (*n*= 75, *n*= 52, respectively).

Overall Attitudes toward CS from Written Responses

Looking at the information provided by looking at the positive, negative, and neutral information in Table 8, it can be seen that, overall, participants made more negative comments, or comments with a negative undertone than positive comments. While Canadian participants had the highest percentage of positive comments, the U.S. had the highest percentage of negative responses. Further, it should also be noted that participants from Mexico had the highest percentage of neutral responses. This was not always the case, especially when looking at participant responses based on the attitude code, but overall, these results suggest that there is a difference in how participants view CS based on the country in which they live.

Table 8

Positive, negative, and neutral comments made by participants in written responses

	Positive	**Negative**	**Neutral**
Canada	61% (*n* = 54)	30% (*n* = 26)	9% (*n* = 8)
Mexico	49% (*n* = 148)	41% (*n* = 126)	10% (*n* = 31)
U.S.	44% (*n* = 105)	44% (*n* = 104)	12% (*n* = 28)
Total	***n* = 307**	***n* = 256**	***n* = 67**

In an effort to summarize the most relevant written responses, Table 9 shows the five most common comments, with 1 being the most common response. The labels correspond with the way the comments were coded (qualitative statements in the written responses). A full analysis of all the comments can be viewed in Appendix C and Appendix D. It should be noted that Table 9 shows an agglomeration of the comments, without any division of positive versus negative comments, compared to Table 8 that has comments divided by positive, negative, and neutral comments. Participants, for the most part, considered CS useful, helpful, and easy while at the same time considering it a sign of laziness and losing the language. This continues to support previous findings about loyalty to Spanish and the view that it is important for speakers to speak both languages equally well (Ardila, 2005; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Bustamante-Lopez, 2008; Casielle-Suárez, 2017; Diaz, 2004; Duff, 2012; Guardado, 2008; MacGregor-Mendoza, 2020; Rothman & Rell, 2005; Torrez, 2015; Valdés-Fallis, Fishman, Chávez, & Pérez, 2008). Further, participants from the US were the only ones that had identity as one of their most common comments, and Mexico was the only country that had work associated in their most common comments. Participants from Canada, while being the country that had the least number of participants that had written responses, followed the overall trend.

Table 9

Most common comments made by participants in written responses

(1 = Most common)

	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Canada	Judgment (29)	General Positive (9)	Friends and family (8)	Useful (7) Depends (7)	Laziness (4)
Mexico	Judgment (83)	Depends (33)	Friends and family (27)	Work (25)	Laziness (20)
US	Judgment (58)	General positive (19)	Depends (17)	Useful (15)	Friends and family (14) Identity (14)
Total Number of Comments	**Judgment (170)**	**Depends (57)**	**Friends and family (49)**	**General positive (39)**	**Useful (36)** **Laziness (36)**

Judgment (Attitudes) – Written Responses

Because one of the questions in the written responses was related to judgment, it is unsurprising that the majority of responses had some sort of comment about experiences judging, being judged, or seeing others be judged for their use of CS. That being said, participants also mentioned experiences regarding judgment in other questions other than when they were specifically asked about it. Since it was such a common theme, a further evaluation of these responses was done. In these results, Canadians showed minimal negative experiences– judging or being judged for CS use. However, those living in the US had both experiences judging others or being judged. Participants in Mexico had the highest percentage of being judged for their use in CS (18.2%) compared to the U.S. (15.8%). Although there was a question that explicitly asked about participants' experiences with CS and judgments, participants often replied with just "Yes" without providing further details. Further, in other questions, participants would elaborate and provide those experiences. For this reason, the following information is a result of accumulating not just the experiences in the question, but also other comments about judgments. These results can be seen in Table 10.

Table 10

Participants' reported experiences regarding CS and judgment

	No Experience	**Unspecified "Yes"**	**Judged Someone Else**	**Were Judged**	**Total Judgment Comments**
Canada	22	3	0	4	29
Mexico	46	8	6	23	83
US	27	6	4	21	58
Total	**95**	**17**	**10**	**48**	**170**

Below are some examples of the experiences participants have had with judgment (spelling and other formatting has not been changed):

- Yes there was a time when my Spanish grandmother judged me for codeswitching. (Canada)
- I do remember incidents with problematic family members that think it's annoying or arrogant, like i'm pretending to be someone else when i'm not. (Mexico)
- I served with missionaries that grew up in the US but had Hispanic homes and code switching was just natural to them. I came to understand then but I have to confess i still judged them for it. (Mexico)
- Por experienceia creo que depende mucho de quién cambie de códigos, voy a una escuela en donde van personas de clase alta en México y cambian código de español al inglés como una forma de sentirse superiores y demostrar dominio del inglés, sin embargo, esas mismas personas critican cuando alguien con menos recursos económicos y de piel más oscura/morena lo hace. (Mexico)
    - *From my experience I think it depends a lot on who is code switching. I go to a school where upper-class people from Mexico attend and they code switch from Spanish to English as a way to feel superior and show English proficiency, but those same people criticize lower-class people, or people with darker skin code-switch.*
- Of course, often I was judged in college and in academic institutions. I have had professors directly tell me that I had to fix my English or my accent to sound more educated or professional. (US)

- I have been judged alot for it. (US)

How participants have been judged or judged others for their use of CS could be a factor in how they choose or choose not to relate CS as a part of their identity. Considering how judgment may affect one's self-esteem, participants may be more or less inclined to associate CS as an important part of their identity–or consider it as something that allows them to belong to their community–depending on whether they have been judged positively or negatively because of it. Once again relating this to country of residence, it can be seen that participants living in a country where they are judged more frequently for CS–by other bilinguals or monolinguals–would be a considerable factor in this choice.

Identity and CS – Written Responses

While comments about identity were not the most common, it is still relevant to answering the third research question, and as such, I also evaluated these results more thoroughly. The written responses showed more insight to what extent the participants viewed the relationship between CS and identity. It is important to note that these results are slightly skewed, since there were only a total of 30 responses that made some mention of identity, and only two participants from Canada made some reference to identity (compared to 14 from Mexico and 14 from the U.S.). Participants living in the United States and Canada were more likely to use CS as part of their identity. Participants in Mexico still considered it an important part of their identity and their culture, but there were still more comments on how it was not a part of their identity than participants in the U.S. This is again consistent with other findings from this study.

Table 11

Participant comments made about CS as a part of their identity

	CS Part of Identity	**CS Not Part of Identity**	**Total**
Canada	2	0	2
Mexico	9	5	14
US	11	3	14
Total	**22**	**8**	**30**

Below are some of the comments that participants made regarding how CS relates to identity:

- Some friends who are fully fluent in both languages will sometimes code-switch even when they don't need to. This makes me feel like code-switching is an integral part of the community. (Canada)
- It's part of who I am since im bilingual. (Mexico)
- Hace algún tiempo me di cuenta que esto es parte importante de nuestra cultura e identidad nos permite comunicarnos mejor (Mexico)
    - *Some time ago I realized that this was an important part of our culture and identity and it allows us to communicate better.*
- Por supuesto que no define para nada tu identidad consider que la empeora aún mas (Mexico)
    - *Of course this does not define your identity at all, I would consider it even worsens it.*

- I think you start getting lazy and loose your identity the more you code switch. (U.S.)
- Is part of who i am. (U.S.)

Overall Conclusion for Qualitative Data

The written responses to the qualitative questions suggest that there is a difference in how CS is part of participants' identity depending on the country in which they live. Further, it also suggests how CS attitudes also vary depending on the country in which participants live. The written responses provide additional information that is not dissimilar from the quantitative data that was collected from the survey.

Based on the written responses and the quantitative data, we can conclude that participants from Canada tend to feel more positively toward CS, and that CS is an important part of participants' identity when living in Canada. Likewise, participants in the United States are more likely to use CS more frequently, but are less likely to associate it with their identity, and do not have as positive of attitudes toward it as participants in Canada. For participants in Mexico, participants were less likely to CS, and less likely to have it as part of their identity. While there were differences in the Mexican's attitudes, frequency, and identity versus participants in the United States, this was not a statistically significant difference. The cumulation of these results ultimately suggests that the country in which speakers live will have some effect on the attitudes toward and frequency of CS, as well as whether speakers will consider CS as an essential part of their identity.

CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusion

Discussion

Code-switching is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that is both influenced by many factors and influences other factors. This thesis has centered on how a country's immigration and language policies can have an effect on speakers' use of and attitudes toward CS, and in turn, the effect that this has on speakers' identity. It was expected that countries with stricter immigration and language policies would have bilingual speakers who used CS less often, had more negative attitudes toward CS, and did not associate the use of CS with their identity. Based on the results collected from the survey and written responses, the responses suggest that there is evidence that shows this relationship exists. Canada's immigration policy is more lenient and immigration in general is viewed in a more positive light than immigration policies in the U.S. and Mexico, where both countries also tend to have more negative views toward immigrants. The results of this study suggest that participants in Canada viewed CS more positively and as a more interesting phenomenon than participants in the U.S. and Mexico, where participants showed mixed perceptions of CS and how it relates to their identity. The results and implications of each research question will be discussed below.

Research Question 1: How do bilinguals differ in CS frequency based on country of residence?

Frequency of CS in both Canada and the U.S. has mostly been examined under specific circumstances, usually studying a community and different individual factors that affect the use CS (Badiola et al., 2016; Bustamante-Lopez, 2008; Cerviatuc, 2009; Gardner-Chloros, McEntee-Atalianis, & Finnis, 2005; Poplack, 1980; Urbiola et al. 2017; Valdés-Fallis, 1978; Yim &

Clement, 2019; Zhang & Guo, 2015). Dewaele & Wei (2014a, 2014b) and Dewaele & Zeckel (2016) studied the use of CS with larger populations, but still focused on how individual factors– such as fluency, psychological profiles, biographical information, education, and gender–were what could cause an effect on both the frequency of CS and attitudes toward CS. Further, CS (as it happens between Spanish and indigenous languages or between Spanish and English) in Mexico has been a phenomenon that has been studied much less frequently outside of border towns (Pfaff, 1979; Hidalgo, 1988; Curcó, 2005; De León, 2016; Hidalgo, 2006). Due to these limitations, it was possible that CS would be more frequent in Canada and the U.S., where many studies on bilingualism and CS have been performed. In the present study, however, the results show that the U.S. ranked their CS use as "frequently" more often than Canada or Mexico. This was particularly true as it pertained to specific scenarios such as telling a story and having a serious discussion. The general use of CS by participants themselves, or how often participants perceived others around them to CS was not significantly different among the countries.

The current study shows that participants in the U.S. rated that they used CS more often than participants in Mexico or Canada. Despite the existing immigration policies and general attitudes toward immigrants that were discussed in the literature review, the U.S. still receives a great number of immigrants, with the majority of them being from a Spanish-speaking country. Many of the bilinguals in the United States are from Mexican origin, which have stronger ties and sense of loyalty to keeping Spanish and English separate in an effort to maintain their home or heritage country's culture and language (Montes-Alcalá, 2009; Uricioli, 2013, Ardila, 2005; MacGregor-Mendoza, 2020). Much of the research about Spanish-English bilinguals in Canada, however, has focused on speakers of non-Mexican origin. Due to the close proximity with

Spanish-speaking countries that the U.S. has compared to Canada, this could be a reason for why CS is used more frequently, as well as the larger number of Spanish-speaking immigrants in general. This would be supported by the amount of research that has been done about CS in border towns and states with large Mexican communities such as those in Texas, California, or Arizona. Despite the frequency of CS in the U.S. compared to Canada and Mexico, however, this did not necessarily coincide with more positive attitudes toward CS, as will be further expanded in the following research questions.

Research Question 2: How do attitudes toward CS vary among Spanish-English bilinguals based on country of residence?

Based on previous research done in Canada, the U.S., and in Mexico, it appears that Spanish-English CS is seen more positively in Canada than it is in the U.S. and Mexico. In Mexico, while speakers view and understand English-speaking skills to be a way toward social mobility and economic success, there is still a strong discrimination against mixing English and Spanish in any way. In the U.S., attitudes are similar–English fluency is seen as a necessity for survival, but speakers that favor English over Spanish are discriminated and called derogatory names such as *pocho* for having lost their ancestral language or tainting it with English (Torrez, 2013; Olko, 2019; Montes-Alcalá, 2009, López-Gopar & Sughrua, 2014; Moses, Hajdun, & Aguirre, 2021; Guardado, 2008; Despagne, 2010; De León, 2016; Peña-Díaz, 2004). Although CS in Canada has not been as centered in Spanish-English CS, the attitudes toward CS in Canada still tend to be seen as slightly more positive than how it is viewed in Mexico and the U.S. Although some names are also used for immigrants who begin to CS (*juksing*), the baggage that is associated with the Spanish term (*pocho)* is not as strong (Yim & Clément, 2019; Rangel et al., 2015; Peña-Díaz, 2004; Montes-Alcalá, 2009; Torrez, 2013).

This research was supported by the present study as participants in Canada almost universally had more positive evaluations of CS than participants in the U.S. and in Mexico, thus supporting that country of residence can have an effect on speakers' attitudes toward CS. Based on the results of this study, this was specifically true of statements that considered CS useful, effective, intelligent, arrogant, professional, and interesting. Canadian participants rated CS more highly in the positive statements, but lower on the negative statements (such as arrogance), whereas the inverse was true for Mexico and the U.S. This being said, while there were differences in attitudes toward CS in Canada, the differences in attitudes toward CS in Mexico and the U.S. were not significantly different. This could be supported by the fact that both Mexico and the U.S. have stricter immigration policies, and thus immigrants and "otherness" may be viewed more negatively (The Gallup Organization, 2022; Sief & Clement, 2019). Canada, meanwhile, views immigrants very positively and considers immigration an important part of Canadian culture (Statistics Canada, 2022). This also explains why in many of the written responses, Canadian participants tended to consider CS as something "that just happens," or as something "interesting," in contrast to many Mexican and U.S. participants, whose responses tended to vary on both the negative and positive side of the spectrum.

Considering the research on attitudes toward CS and the present study that analyzed how attitudes varied among the three countries, it appears that the country of residence does influence speakers' attitudes toward CS. Immigration and language policies in these countries could possibly be the reason for these differences in perception.

Research Question 3: Are bilinguals' identities affected by CS frequency depending on the country of residence? If so, how?

Together with attitudes, this study also evaluated to what extent–if at all–bilinguals related CS to their identity, and if this differed based on the country in which they lived. Much of the research that exists supports the idea that Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States have a difficult time creating and negotiating their identity between their heritage country and the U.S., often feeling like they have to choose one identity over the other, at the cost of being disloyal to the Spanish-speaking country (Peña-Díaz, 2004; Montes-Alcalá, 2009; Torrez, 2013; Bustamante-Lopez, 2008). This differs from bilinguals in Canada, where bilinguals tend to be more comfortable with adopting a dual identity. Research that has been done in Canada on bilinguals, while not always specific to Spanish-English bilinguals, shows that speakers are more comfortable with CS, and also more comfortable claiming to have a multifaceted identity–not that one identity has to be chosen in isolation (Yim & Clement, 2019; Cohen, 2016; Freynet & Clement, 2015; Guardado, 2008; Ricento, 2013; Urbiola, et al. 2017; Edwards, 2010).

From my results, the use of CS as part of how identity is constructed also showed differences between countries. Participants in Canada and the U.S. seemed to consider the use of CS as an important part of their identity, while participants in Mexico did not. Further, the use of CS was also strongly associated with belonging to a community in the U.S. and Canada. This was not the case in Mexico, where, despite many participants noting the value of English, did not consider it a part of their identity. In the U.S. and Canada, many comments about CS being fun when speaking with friends and family as a way to show solidarity was more common, although the U.S. also had some participants that expressed shame for not being able to communicate with their family in the heritage language. We considered that since nearly all participants in Mexico identified as Hispanic/Latin, race could be an influencing factor, but as was previously discussed, race did not seem to be something that had an impact on attitudes or identity construction among the countries.

Again, these results are once again supported by the current research and the immigration policies and attitudes toward immigration that are in place in the three studied countries. Canada, having a more open immigration policy, seems to encourage speakers to partake in multiple identities the same way they can partake in multiple languages. This is less so the case in the U.S., where recent political debates around immigration have been points of controversy and led to an overall more negative perception toward immigration and immigrants, despite the U.S. being one of the major countries for immigrants (Klobucista, Cheathma, & Roy, 2022; The Gallup Organization, 2022). It would thus be reasonable for immigrants and children from immigrant families to have some apprehension to associating the use of multiple languages and multiple identities. This also further exacerbated by the fact that many Spanish-English bilinguals that have been studied in the U.S. are from Mexican origin, and based on past research, Mexican families seem to have a strongly rooted desire to maintain Spanish and English as separate, and the loss or mixing is a sign of disloyalty to Mexico and to Spanish (Peña-Díaz, 2004; Torrez, 2013). In Mexico, where immigrants and immigration is also viewed less-positively, speakers also have mixed feelings about CS and how it relates to identity. This applies to both CS between Spanish and indigenous languages–where Spanish is viewed as necessary to move forward in life and for economic success (Olko, 2019), but also between CS in Spanish and English–in which case English is viewed as necessary for economic mobility. In both cases, Mexicans seem to struggle once again with choosing an identity and a desire to not mix the languages or the cultures. The heritage language–whether an indigenous language or

Spanish–should be maintained and supported, but the dominant language (Spanish in Mexico, English in the United States) is also seen as necessary. This seems to be a reason for why many Mexican participants did not associate CS as an identity marker, but rather as a negative attribute which isolated them from their community.

In my research, participants were asked the country in which they were born, the country in which they live, and their race/ethnicity, but not necessarily the country of their or their family's origin. Based on some of the comments in the written responses, several U.S. participants mentioned family in Mexico, which could lead to an assumption that several of the participants were of Mexican origin. However, it does seem to be clear based on the country of origin from several of the respondents' survey responses that many were born in other countries in South and Central America. This again is particularly salient in participants from Canada, where there was only one participant that said they were born in Mexico. This could be further reason to research the influence that not only country of residence influences attitudes of CS, but also country of origin.

Based on existing research and the present study, it still seems to be supported that Canadian participants were the most likely to associate CS with their identity. Participants in the U.S. occasionally did, but the results were mixed, and participants in Mexico were the least likely to use CS as a part of their identity construction. The reasons for this once again seem to vary largely on the country in which the participants live and the immigration policies in place.

While there has been extensive research on CS under a variety of contexts and how it is affected by several individual factors, it appears that this study fits in a gap in which the country in which a speaker lives will have an effect on how speakers use, perceive, and identify themselves with CS. This study also opened several other questions and veins for future research to further understand how a country and its policies will have an impact on bilinguals, their linguistic behaviors, and how they relate their language practices to their identity and their community. By understanding that a country can have an impact on speakers, it can also be better understood why certain speakers are subject to certain judgments and judge others on certain linguistic factors. It should be noted that many of these judgments and negative attitudes result in speakers' self-esteem and own language abilities being undermined because of CS. Based on some of the results from this study, this is not always the case, as CS is often used to negotiate identity and CS is often a sign of stronger fluency in both languages (Treffers, et al., 2020). Unfortunately, while the linguistic community might be aware of this, speakers still do not accept this as a truth. Gardner-Chloros (2009) and Gal (1988) have both pointed out the importance of a government's support or stigmatization of a minority language, and that the use of minority language practices are a way to not only "reflect the socio-political situation, they help to shape it" (Gardner-Chloros, p. 100), further begging the question if it is indeed the socio-political situations that causes the stigmatization, or the minority language speakers themselves that create it. It would be hoped that by expanding research on CS and how it is viewed and used in different countries, there can be more strides made for speakers everywhere to accept CS as a valid language practice.

Limitations

Some of the shortcomings from this study that could be taken into consideration for future research are mostly associated with the types of questions that were given so as to achieve a better understanding of the intricacies of CS and how it relates to identity and attitudes.

One of the main issues is that the examples of CS that were given to the participants were mostly intrasentential, and did not include intersentential CS. There have been some studies on attitudes between inter and intrasentential CS, and it would have been beneficial to see how the attitudes of the participants in this study compared with earlier results (Pfaff, 1979; Montes-Alcalá, 2009; Anderson & Toribio, 2007; Dewaele & Wei, 2014a). Related to this, it would also have been interesting to see how participants viewed CS between speakers: if one speaker uses one code and the second speaker uses a different code. This seems to be something that is frequently seen in multigenerational immigrant families, where older adults are more fluent in the native language while youth and children are more fluent in the language of the country. This could also likely have an effect on how much speakers really view CS as part of their identity and as part of their community, since they are in contact with both languages, and communicating in both languages is an important part of their community, but how those languages are used is very different from native or fluent bilinguals.

It should also be noted that the majority of participants residing in Canada recorded English as their first language, leading to living in Canada possibly being conflated with being a primarily English speaker (around 10% learned both languages at the same time; 8% reported learning Spanish first), although not necessarily with being white (approximately 53% of Canadian participants identified with being white, 21% as Hispanic/Latino and other participants as Black, Asian, Native American, or Other). This likewise occurred in Mexico, where participants were largely Spanish L1 speakers (only 5% reported learning both languages at the same time, the remaining 95% reported Spanish as L1). While this study had a larger sample size of participants in general compared to other studies done on CS, it would have been better to have a more balanced proportion of L1 speakers and bilingual speakers. That being said, under the assumption that Spanish L1 speakers would be more likely to identify as Hispanic in the demographic section, and English L1 speakers more likely to identify as white, race and ethnicity was taken into consideration as an independent variable, and it did not seem to be statistically significant in how it affected CS use and attitudes toward CS.

Another issue that perhaps skewed the results a little bit was that there were questions that specifically asked about a certain attitude, and participants would repeat or provide a related comment under a different question. When coding the written responses, this means that there may have been more comments coded for judgment than there really might have been. However, with questions regarding identity and community, this effect did not occur. It could be that participants would have needed more prompting on what using CS looks like in identity construction.

Lastly, the questions on identity could also be improved to see how affiliated participants are with either culture. Other studies on identity and language have asked questions pertaining to participants' attendance to specific cultural events, cooking specific food, how they would identify themselves ethnically, who their friends are and if their friends are also part of their culture, etc. These questions could also provide deeper insight to how involved participants are in their community, assuming that the more involved they are, the more the participants associate the culture (and therefore language practices) with their identity.

Several studies also made note that many speakers find themselves feeling particularly loyal to the non-dominant language (Peña Díaz, 2004; Ardila, 2005; MacGregor-Mendoza, 2020; Torrez, 2013). This feeling of loyalty is therefore seen in their cultural and community practices. Learning the country's language, therefore, is seen simultaneously as a pathway for social mobility, but also as a step away from their heritage. Even in this study, there were some responses that said that mixing languages through CS leads to corrupting the non-dominant language. This negative attitude has been seen in several studies among different populations, leading to the conclusion that speakers believe in the importance of both languages, but fear the need to choose one, instead of accepting a multicultural and multilingual identity. Research from Canada has been particularly prevalent in showing that speakers are more comfortable with this idea, as opposed to speakers from Mexico and the United States, where it seems that one needs to be chosen over the other (Olko, 2019; Hidalgo, 2006; Guardado, 2008; Cohen, 2012). As mentioned earlier, this could not only be an issue of country of residence, but also country of origin. From what has been explained earlier in this paper, there seems to be a particular need from speakers of Mexican origin to maintain Spanish and English separate. This has been the case in most of the Spanish-English research in the United States, since most of the Spanish speaking population is of Mexican origin. When looking at Spanish-English speakers in Canada, however, speakers tend to be from other Spanish-speaking countries. It would thus be interesting to also consider the country of origin on how attitudes toward CS vary.

While there were many participants that responded to the extended response questions, it was clear that there were many that did not understand that it was required for them to give extended responses, rather than yes/no responses that many participants gave. Further, because the written responses were optional, there was not an even distribution across the three countries of participants who chose to answer those questions. This led to there being very few responses from Canada and even the U.S. compared to participants from Mexico. Given a clearer explanation to participants about the expectations, or making the extended responses obligatory could also be a possible improvement. On this same theme, it would also be helpful if interviews were performed, instead of just having written questions at the end of an on-line survey. By having an interview with participants, more attitudes, thoughts, and experiences could be elicited. At the same time, it could also be used to see if their self-reported CS lined up with how much CS is actually used within a conversation. The information that was gleaned from this study in the qualitative questions was useful in seeing how participants related CS to their identity–or how some didn't relate it to their identity–and it would be interesting to have a more extended dialogue with the participants about these experiences that have led them to see CS as part of their identity or not.

Future Research

Future research could largely focus on having interviews with Spanish-English bilinguals in these three countries. The lived experiences of these speakers could provide further insight on not only their views of CS, but also the specifics on how they use it, as well as why it is or is not relevant to their identity constructions. Future research could also continue and expand the research on CS by looking at other countries that have high immigrant rates and compare them to one another; the same could be done among countries that have lower immigrant rates. For example, considering that countries such as France, England, and Germany have been hotspots for immigration in recent years, looking at and comparing immigrants' CS use in these countries could prove to be insightful. Then, comparing how CS is used in Europe compared to Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. could continue to help understand how immigration policies influence language use and attitudes, which in turn have an effect on speakers' identities and their own self-perceptions.

On the same note of immigration and language policy, it could prove insightful to compare attitudes and identity of CS in the United States, but comparing states with official language policies compared to those without official languages. It's interesting to note that while Canada is the only country from this study that had an official language policy, it was the country in which speakers had the most positive attitudes toward CS. Mexico and the U.S., however, while they do not have official language policies, did not have as positive attitudes toward CS.

Research on attitudes, use, and CS relationship to identity could be further analyzed through the use of matched guises. While there were examples of CS given in this study before asking the participants questions about their use, attitudes, and relationship with their identity, it could be helpful to use a matched guise technique to evaluate participants' attitudes to different specific types of CS and Spanglish. With this, it might also be helpful to ask participants if they would consider certain guises as CS or Spanglish to see how they would differentiate and define the two terms compared to how they are described in academia. Matched guises would also allow researchers to see which types of guises elicit certain attitudes from participants, and how that might vary among bilinguals in different countries. There could be some differences in how intrasentential CS at the phrase level, for example, is viewed more positively in Canada, as opposed to the United States, where perhaps morphological transference might be more common but viewed more negatively. These are examples but having these different guises and seeing how participants view them might aid in evaluating attitudes toward CS in different countries in a more narrowed-down way than by just using a few written examples.

Considering Dewaele and Wei's research on personality and individual factors affecting attitudes toward CS, it would also be interesting to see if there is any correlation between personality traits and use of CS in identity construction. Dewaele and Wei concluded that certain personality traits tended to have more positive attitudes toward CS, so it could be assumed that if there are positive attitudes, speakers might be more likely to consider CS an important part of their identity and who they are.

Conclusion

The present study's results show that there are differences in how CS is used, perceived, and becomes an essential part of speakers' identities depending on the country in which they live. A major influence in this could be because of the country's immigration and language policies, since Canada, the country with the most lenient language policies, had the most positive perceptions of CS. What is important to recognize is that many times, when one makes linguistic judgments, these judgments are extended to personal qualities of the person. This was seen in the present study, where participants considered the use of CS as being lazy or arrogant. For many of the participants, it's not just the language practice that is lazy or arrogant, but the speaker themselves. This leads to an unfortunate effect of people having a lower self-esteem because of their language practices. Further, as has been shown by much of the CS research (Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 2017), CS is not a sign of not knowing the language, although it is often perceived as such. It is–aside from a way to demonstrate fluency in both languages–a way for many people to be able to negotiate their identity, show solidarity, and assert themselves in an increasingly multicultural world (Norton, 1997; Norton, 2013). Ultimately, CS is a language practice that bilinguals and multilinguals can use as part of their ethnolinguistic repertoire, actively choosing which codes to use to communicate and to interpret their experiences. The environment in which we live has an effect on how we view ourselves, how we view others, and how we view our language practices, all of which ultimately lead us to make active language choices in our daily lives, and the present study has further demonstrated the extent to which that can be true.

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Survey–English

Introduction and Consent Form

My name is Sofia Rubalcava, I am a graduate student at Brigham Young University, and I am conducting this research under the supervision of Professor Wendy Smemoe, from the Department of Linguistics. You are being invited to participate in this research study about attitudes on code-switching and Spanglish in North American bilingual communities. I am interested to learn more about how Spanish-English bilinguals use Spanglish as part of their identities and how their view of Spanglish might vary depending on where they live. Being in this study is option.

If you choose to be in this study, you will be asked to complete a survey that should take approximately 15 minutes of your time. You can skip questions that you do not want to answer or stop the survey at any time. If you do choose to stop the survey, please be aware that the responses received up to that point may still be recorded and used as data. The survey is anonymous, and no one will be able to link your answers back to you. Please do not include your name or other information that could be used to identify you in the survey responses.

Questions? Please contact Sofia Rubalcava at sofrubal@gmail.com. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, you can call the BYU Human Research Protections Program at 801-422-1461 or BYU.HRPP@byu.edu. If you want to participate in this study, click the "Agree" button to start the survey.

Agree
Disagree

Please confirm you are not a robot.

Demographic

1. What is your first language?
    a. English
    b. Spanish
    c. I learned English and Spanish at the same time
    d. Other
2. What is your second language?
    a. English
    b. Spanish
    c. I learned English and Spanish at the same time
    d. Other
3. What is your sex?
    a. Male

    b. Female
    c. Non-binary/third gender
    d. Prefer not to say
4. What is your age?
    a. Under 18
    b. 18-24
    c. 25-34
    d. 35-44
    e. 45-54
    f. 55-64
    g. 65-74
    h. 75-84
    i. 85 or older
5. What is your race/ethnicity? (Select all that apply)
    a. White
    b. Black or African American
    c. American Indian or Alaska Native
    d. Asian
    e. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
    f. Hispanic/Latino
    g. Other
6. What is the highest level of education completed?
    a. Primary School
    b. Secondary School
    c. Associate's Degree
    d. Bachelor's Degree
    e. Master's Degree
    f. Doctoral Degree
7. In which country were you born?
8. In which country do you currently reside?
    a. United States
        i. In which state do you currently reside?
    b. Canada
        i. In which province or territory do you currently reside?
    c. Mexico
        i. In which state do you currently reside?
    d. Other
9. How well do you speak your first language? (0= I don't speak the language at all, 10= I am fluent in the language)
10. How well do you speak your second language? (0= I don't speak the language at all, 10= I am fluent in the language)
11. Do you speak other languages?
    a. No
    b. Yes
12. How well do you speak those languages?
    a. I speak very well

   b. I have taken several classes
   c. I only know basic vocabulary

13. Where did you learn those languages?
    a. At home
    b. At school
    c. At a language institution
    d. Self-taught
    e. Immersion in the country

Personal Use

Code-switching, or switching between languages, can be defined as when a bilingual speaker switches between languages. This DOES NOT include foreign words that have no equivalent in one of the languages, like food items or place names.

The term "Spanglish" is often used to refer to code-switching.

Sometimes code-switching occurs in longer phrases. For example:

- *Bueno*, my sister was going to come, *pero quien sabe,* now she's not answering my texts.
- *Voy a ir al supermercado* to buy some milk and cheese, do you want to come?

Sometimes code-swtiching occurs for one word. For example:

- I don't want him to think I'm being *egoísta*, you know?
- My *primo* is coming to visit us for a few days.
- Déjame checar mi *schedule y te aviso.*
- La situación se puso muy *awkward*, y no sabíamos qué decir.

Code-switching can also be when you mix both languages to create new words. For example:

- Tengo que *updatear* mi computadora.
- Ya *submitteaste* la solicitud?

14. Based on the above definition and examples of code-switching, do you code-swtich?
    a. Definitely not
    b. Probably not
    c. Might or might not
    d. Probably yes
    e. Definitely yes
15. What type of code-switching do you do? Select all that apply.
    a. Code-switching in longer sentences or phrases (first definition)
    b. Code-swtiching in one word or short phrase (second definition)
    c. Combining both languages to create a new word (thrid-definition)
    d. I code-switch when I forget a word or phrase
    e. I code-switch in all the above ways
    f. I don't code-switch
16. Is there one type of code-swithcing you do more than others? If yes, which kind?
    a. Code-switching in longer sentences or phrases (first definition)

  b. Code-swtiching in one word or short phrase (second definition)
  c. Combining both languages to create a new word (thrid-definition)
  d. I code-switch when I forget a word or phrase
  e. I code-switch in all the above ways
  f. I don’t code-switch

17. How often do you think you code-switch?
    a. Never
    b. Sometimes
    c. About half the time
    d. Most of the time
    e. Always
18. Generally, do you code-switch more from English to Spanish, or from Spanish to English?
    a. Spanish to English
    b. English to Spanish
    c. Both, equally
    d. I don’t code-switch

For the following questions, code-switching will include all three definitions explained above.

19. Do other people around you code-switch? (Friends, family, coworkers)
    a. Never
    b. Sometimes
    c. About half the time
    d. Most of the time
    e. Always
20. How do you think people around you feel about your personal use of code-switching?
    a. Extremely negative
    b. Somewhat negative
    c. Neither positive nor negative
    d. Somewhat positive
    e. Extremely positive
21. How do you feel about other’s use of code-switching?
    a. Extremely negative
    b. Somewhat negative
    c. Neither positive nor negative
    d. Somewhat positive
    e. Extremely positive
22. How much do you agree with the following statements? I think code-switching is… (1-5; 1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)
    a. Easy to do
    b. Effective for communication
    c. Useful in different circumstances
    d. Helps improve clarity
    e. Professional
    f. Intelligent

    g. Comfortable
    h. Good
    i. A sign of being part of a group
    j. Lazy
    k. Interesting
    l. Arrogant
    m. A sign that the language(s) aren't spoken well

23. Select all that apply. People around me (friends, family, coworkers) believe that code-switching is…
    a. Professional
    b. Intelligent
    c. Good
    d. Appropriate
    e. Effective for communication
    f. Helps improve clarity
    g. A sign of being part of a group
    h. Useful in different circumstances
    i. A sign that the language(s) aren't spoken well
    j. Lazy
    k. Interesting
    l. Arrogant
24. Select all that apply. When you code-switch around others who are also bilingual, do you feel…
    a. Comfortable
    b. Intellgient
    c. Like you can express yourself better
    d. Understood
    e. Like it is appropriate
    f. Proud
    g. Like you can speak both languages well
    h. Like you can't speak one language well enough
25. How do you think other bilnguals feel when you code-switch with them?
    a. Comfortable
    b. Like it is appropriate
    c. Displeased
    d. They prefer I speak ONLY Spanish
    e. They prefer I speak ONLY English
    f. Like we are part of the same group
    g. They think that I don't speak one language well enough
    h. They think think I'm being lazy with how I speak
    i. They respect that I can manage both languages
    j. They think I am showing off
26. How do you feel when others around you code-switch?
    a. Comfortable
    b. Like it is appropriate
    c. Displeased

   d. I prefer others speak ONLY Spanish
   e. I prefer others speak ONLY English
   f. Like we are part of the same group
   g. Like they can't speak one language well enough
   h. They are being lazy with how they speak
   i. I respect that they can manage both languages
   j. I think they are showing off

Attitudes

27. How much do you agree with the following statements?
   (1-5; 1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)
   a. Code-swtiching is a sign of not knowing the language well enough.
   b. It annoys me when people code-switch with a language I don't know in front of me.
   c. Being able to code-switch is part of a diverse identity.
   d. Code-switching is a sign of arrogance.
   e. Code-switching shows that you're part of a particular culture.

Identity

28. How much do you agree with the following statements?
   (1-5; 1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)
   a. I am proud of being able to code-switch.
   b. Switching between languages with friends and family is an important part of how we communicate.
   c. Code-switching makes me feel like I don't speak either language well.
   d. I feel like my friends and family treat me differently when I code-switch.
   e. Code-switching makes me feel intelligent.
   f. I feel most comfortable with other bilinguals so I can code-switch between languages.

Community

29. How much do you agree with the following statements?
   (1-5; 1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)
   a. I feel like a part of my English-speaking community.
   b. I feel like a part of my Spanish-speaking community
   c. I feel like the more I code-switch, I lose part of my first language.
   d. I feel shame when code-switching.
30. What is this survey about?
   a. Health
   b. Code-switching
   c. Business
   d. Sports

Frequency

31. How often do you code-switch…
    (1 = Never, 5 = Always)
    a. With friends and/or colleagues
    b. With family
    c. When telling a story
    d. Making calculations
    e. Having a serious discussion
    f. In the workplace

32. Where do you believe code-switching is more acceptable?
    a. In a country with English as the main language.
    b. In a country with Spanish as the main language.
    c. Code-switching is only acceptable in small communities.
    d. Code-switching is acceptable everywhere.
    e. Code-switching is never acceptable.
33. In which situations is it more acceptable to switch between languages? Order the options from most acceptable to least acceptable.
    a. With bilingual friends.
    b. With bilingual family members.
    c. With bilingual coworkers or colleagues.

Qualitative Interview Questions (open-ended)

34. Would you be interested in answering longer questions about your personal experiences with code-switching?
    a. Yes
    b. No
35. What other thoughts do you have about your use (or lack of use) of code-switching?
36. Do you have a memory when you were judged (or you judged someone else) because of code-switching?
37. Can you describe a time when you saw that code-switching is a part of who you are, or a defining part of your community
38. Was there a time when you code-switched and people around you responded in a way you did not expect?
39. Are there any other experiences with code-switching, language, identity, and your community that you would like to share?

Appendix B: Survey–Spanish

Introducción

Mi nombre es Sofia Rubalcava, y estoy completando una maestría en Brigham Young University. Estoy conduciendo este estudio bajo la supervisión de la profesora Wendy Smemoe, del departamento de lingüística. Usted está siendo invitado para participar en este estudio sobre las actitudes en el cambio de código y el Spanglish en comunidades bilingües en Norteamérica. Estoy interesada en aprender más de cómo los bilingües usan el Spanglish como parte de sus identidades y como su percepción del Spanglish puede variar dependiendo de dónde viven. Participando en este estudio es opcional.

Esta participación va a requerir que complete esta encuesta (tomará aproximadamente 15 minutos), y al participar también esta consintiendo al uso de sus respuestas para este estudio. Aunque habrán preguntas demográficas, tal como su edad y género, sus respuestas serán anónimas y confidenciales y no se podrán rastrar las respuestas a usted de ninguna manera. Por favor no incluya datos personales.

Su participación es voluntaria, y si gusta retirarse a cualquier momento durante la encuesta, esta libre de hacerlo sin ninguna consecuencia. Por favor sepa que aunque no haya concluido la encuesta, la data que se coleccionado hasta ese punto aún podría ser utilizada para este estudio. Si tiene alguna pregunta, por favor contacte a Sofia Rubalcava sofrubal@gmail.com. Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante de una investigación, puede llamar el programa de protección en investigaciones humanas de BYU (BYU Human Research Protections Program) al 801-422-1461 o mandando un email a BYU.HRPP@byu.edu.

Si quiere participar en este estudio, haga clic en el botón que dice “Aceptar.”

- Aceptar
- Rechazar

Por favor confirme que usted no es un robot.

Demográfica

1. ¿Cuál es su primer idioma?
    a. Inglés
    b. Español
    c. Aprendí inglés y español al mismo tiempo
    d. Otro
2. ¿Cuál es su segundo idioma?
    a. Inglés
    b. Español
    c. Aprendí inglés y español al mismo tiempo
    d. Otro

3. ¿Cuál es su sexo?
    a. Masculino
    b. Femenino
    c. No-binario / tercer género
    d. Prefiero no decir
4. ¿Qué edad tiene?
    a. Menor de 18
    b. 18-24
    c. 25-34
    d. 35-44
    e. 45-54
    f. 55-64
    g. 65-74
    h. 75-84
    i. 85 o mayor
5. ¿Cuál es su raza/etnicidad? (Seleccione todos los que apliquen)
    a. Blanco/a
    b. Afroamericano/a
    c. Nativo americano/a o nativo/a de Alaska
    d. Asiático/a
    e. Hawaianos nativos o isleños
    f. Hispano/a o Latino/a
    g. Otro
6. ¿Cuál es el nivel de educación más alto que ha obtenido?
    a. Escuela primaria
    b. Escuela secundaria o preparatoria
    c. Tecnicatura o carrera de dos años
    d. Licenciatura
    e. Maestría
    f. Doctorado
7. ¿En qué país nació?
8. ¿En qué país vive?
    a. Estados Unidos
        i. ¿En qué estado vive?
    b. Canadá
        i. ¿En qué provincia o territorio vive?
    c. México
        i. ¿En qué estado vive?
    d. Otro
9. ¿Que tán bien habla su primer idioma?
    a. 1-10
10. ¿Qué tán bien habla su segundo idioma?
    a. 1-10
11. ¿Habla algún otro idioma?
    a. No
    b. Sí

12. ¿Qué tán bien habla ese idioma?
    a. Lo hablo muy bien
    b. He tomado varias clases
    c. Sólo hablo con vocabulario básico
13. ¿Dónde aprendió su segundo idioma?
    a. En la casa
    b. En la escuela
    c. En una escuela de idiomas
    d. Aprendí solo/a
    e. Inmersión en el país
14. ¿Dónde aprendió el otro idioma que habla?
    a. En la casa
    b. En la escuela
    c. En una escuela de idiomas
    d. Aprendí solo/a
    e. Inmersión en el país

Uso Personal

El cambio de código, o cambiar entre idiomas, puede ser definido como lo que pasa cuando una persona bilingüe cambia de un idioma al otro. Esto no incluye el uso de palabras extranjeras que no tienen equivalente en uno de los idiomas, como comidas o lugares.

Muchas veces, el cambio de código se refiere al Spanglish en términos comunes. Para esta encuesta, se usará el termino cambio de código.

A veces, el cambio de código ocurre en frases más largas, por ejemplo:

- *Bueno*, my sister was going to come, *pero quien sabe*, now she's not answering my texts.
- *Voy a ir al supermercado* to buy some milk and cheese, do you want to come?

A veces, el cambio de código ocurre para una palabra. Por ejemplo:

- I don't want him to think I'm being *egoísta*, you know?
- My *primo* is coming to visit us for a few days.
- Déjame checar mi *schedule* y te aviso.
- La situación se puso muy *awkward*, y no sabíamos qué decir.

El cambio de código también ocurre cuando se mezclan ambos idiomas para crear nuevas palabras. Por ejemplo:

- Tengo que *updatear* mi computadora.
- Ya *submitteaste* la solicitud?

15. Considerando las definiciones y los ejemplos de cambio de código, ¿usted hace esto?
    a. Definitivamente no

   b. Probablemente no
   c. Puede que si o puede que no
   d. Probablemente sí
   e. Definitivamente sí
16. ¿En qué manera cambia de código? Seleccione todas las opciones que le apliquen.
   a. Cambio de código en oraciones y frases más largas (la primera definición)
   b. Cambio de código para una palabra (la segunda definición)
   c. Cambio de código para crear una nueva palabra (la tercera definición)
   d. Cambio de código cuando se me olvida una palabra o frase
   e. Cambio de código en las tres maneras
   f. No cambio de código
17. ¿Hay algún tipo de cambio de código que utiliza más que otro? Si sí, ¿cuál?
   a. Cambio de código en oraciones y frases más largas (la primera definición)
   b. Cambio de código para una palabra (la segunda definición)
   c. Cambio de código para crear una nueva palabra (la tercera definición)
   d. Cambio de código cuando se me olvida una palabra o frase
   e. Cambio de código en las tres maneras
   f. No cambio de código
18. ¿Qué tán seguido cree que cambia de código?
   a. Nunca
   b. A veces
   c. La mitad del tiempo
   d. La mayoría del tiempo
   e. Siempre
19. Generalmente, ¿cambia de código más del inglés al español, o del español al inglés?
   a. Español a inglés
   b. Inglés a español
   c. Los dos, igualmente
   d. No cambio de código
20. ¿Personas a su alrededor cambian de código? (Amigos, familia, compañeros de trabajo)
   a. Nunca
   b. A veces
   c. La mitad del tiempo
   d. La mayoría del tiempo
   e. Siempre
21. ¿Cómo cree que las personas en su alrededor se sienten de cómo usted cambia de código?
   a. Muy negativo
   b. Un poco negativo
   c. Ni positivo ni negativo
   d. Un poco positivo
   e. Muy positivo
22. ¿Cómo se siente usted de cómo cambian de código otras personas?
   Yo creo que el cambiar de código es algo…
   (1 = Muy en desacuerdo; 2 = Un poco en desacuerdo; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Un poco de acuerdo; 5 = Muy de acuerdo)
   a. Muy negativo

- b. Un poco negativo
- c. Ni positivo ni negativo
- d. Un poco positivo
- e. Muy positivo

23. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está con las siguientes afirmaciones?
    - a. Facil de hacer
    - b. Efectivo para comunicar
    - c. Útil en diferentes situaciones
    - d. Que ayuda a mejorar la claridad
    - e. Profesional
    - f. Inteligente
    - g. Cómodo
    - h. Bueno
    - i. Que muestra pertenencia a un grupo
    - j. Flojo
    - k. Interesante
    - l. Arrogante
    - m. Que muestra que uno de los idiomas no se habla bien
24. Seleccione todas las opciones que apliquen. Las personas en mi alrededor (amigos, familia, compañeros de trabajo) creen que cambiar de código es algo…
    - a. Profesional
    - b. Inteligente
    - c. Bueno
    - d. Apropriado
    - e. Efectivo para la comunicación
    - f. Que ayuda a mejorar la claridad
    - g. Que muestra pertenencia a un grupo
    - h. Útil en diferentes situaciones
    - i. Que muestra que un idioma no se habla bien
    - j. Flojo
    - k. Interesante
    - l. Arrogante
25. Cuando usted cambia de código con otros que también son bilíngües, se siente…
    - a. Cómodo/a
    - b. Inteligente
    - c. Como si se puede expresar mejor
    - d. Entendido/a
    - e. Cómo que es algo apropiado
    - f. Orgulloso/a
    - g. Como si puede hablar ambos idiomas bien
    - h. Como si no puede hablar uno de los idiomas lo suficientemente bien
26. ¿Cómo cree que otras personas bilíngües se sienten cuando usted cambia de código con ellos?
    - a. Cómodos
    - b. Como que es algo apropiado
    - c. Ofendido/a

   d. Prefieren que hable SÓLO español
   e. Prefieren que hable SÓLO inglés
   f. Que somos parte del mismo grupo
   g. Creen que no hablo un idioma lo suficientemente bien
   h. Creen que estoy siendo flojo/a con cómo hablo
   i. Respetan que puedo usar ambos idiomas
   j. Creen que estoy presumiendo

27. ¿Cómo se siente cuando otros a su alrededor cambian de código?
    a. Cómodo/a
    b. Que es algo apropraido
    c. Ofendido/a
    d. Prefieren que hable SÓLO español
    e. Prefieren que hable SÓLO inglés
    f. Que somos parte del mismo grupo
    g. Que hablan un idioma lo suficientemente bien
    h. Que están siendo flojos con cómo hablan
    i. Respeto que pueden usar ambos idiomas
    j. Que están presumiendo

Actitudes

28. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está con las siguientes afirmaciones?
    a. Cambiar de código es algo que muestra falta de dominio del idioma.
    b. Me molesta cuando las personas cambian a un idioma que yo no entiendo.
    c. Cambiar de código es parte de una identidad diversa.
    d. Cambiar de código muestra arrogancia.
    e. Cambiar de código muestra que uno es parte de una cultura.

Identidad

29. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está con las siguientes afirmaciones?
    a. Siento orgullo de cambiar entre idiomas
    b. Cambiar de código con mis amigos y familia es una parte importante de cómo nos comunicamos
    c. Cambiar de código me hace sentir que no hablo los idiomas bien
    d. Siento que mis amigos y mi familia me tratan diferente cuando cambio entre idiomas.
    e. Me siento inteligente cuando cambio de código
    f. Me es más cómodo cambiar de código cuando estoy con otras personas bilingües

Comunidad

30. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está con las siguientes afirmaciones?
    a. Me siento parte de una comunidad que habla inglés
    b. Me siento parte de una comunidad que habla español
    c. Siento que, entre más cambio entre idiomas, más pierdo mi primer idioma

    d. Me siento avergonzado/a cuando cambio de código
31. ¿De qué se trata esta encuesta?
    a. Salud
    b. Cambio de códigos
    c. Negocios
    d. Deportes

Frecuencia

32. Qué tan seguido cambia de idiomas…
    a. Con los amigos y/o colegas
    b. Con la familia
    c. Cuando cuenta una historia
    d. Haciendo cálculos
    e. Teniendo una discusión seria
    f. En el trabajo
33. ¿Dónde cree que es más aceptable cambiar entre idiomas?
    a. En un país donde el inglés es el idioma principal
    b. En un país donde español es el idioma principal
    c. Cambiar entre idiomas sólo es aceptable en comunidades pequeñas
    d. Cambiar entre idiomas es aceptable en todos lados
    e. Cambiar entre idiomas nunca es aceptable
34. ¿En qué situaciones es más aceptable cambiar de código? Ordene las opciones de más aceptable (arriba) a menos aceptable (abajo).
    a. Con amigos que hablan ambos idiomas
    b. Con familia que habla ambos idiomas
    c. Con colegas o compañeros del trabajo que hablan ambos idiomas

Preguntas de Entrevista Cualitativa

35. ¿Estaría interesado en responder preguntas más largas sobre sus experiencias personales con el cambio de código?
    a. Sí
    b. No
36. ¿Qué otros comentarios tiene sobre como usted cambia (o no cambia) de código?
37. ¿Tiene algún recuerdo cuando fue juzgado (o cuando juzgo a alguien mas) por estar cambiando entre idiomas?
38. ¿Puede describir alguna vez que se dio cuenta que el cambiar entre idiomas es una parte de identidad, o una parte que define su comunidad?
39. ¿Hubo alguna ocasión que cambio entre idiomas y las personas a su alrededor respondieron en una forma que usted no esperaba?
40. ¿Hay alguna otra experiencia con el cambio de código, el idioma, su identidad, o su comunidad que le gustaría compartir?

Appendix C: Codes for attitudes indexed in qualitative responses

Code	Associated Attitude or Attribute	Example
1	Identity, community	*It's part of who I am since I'm bilingual.* *I think you start getting lazy and loose your identity the more you code switch.* *Me hace sentir especial y parte de la comunidad. [It makes me feel special and part of the community]*
2	Work, professionalism, education, academic	*En mi caso se usa poco el cambio de codigo solo en algunos terminos profesionales o tecnicismos. [In my case code switching is not used very often, only in some professional terms or technicalisms]* *Cuando covivo en el trabajo no se ve muy profesional cambiar de idiomas. When I interact at work, it is not seen as very professional to switch between languages.* *Es muy acceptable en un ámbito laboral bilíngüe. [It is very acceptable in a bilingual work environment]*
3	Laziness, lack of proficiency, losing language	*En lo personal se me hace muy poco inteligente el combinar ambos idiomas se escucha muy mal y destruye con el lenguaje natal ya sea inglés o español. [Personally combining languages seems like a very unintelligent thing, it sounds very wrong and it destroys the native language, be it English or Spanish.]* *No, its in no way self defining. Again, I feel it only proves lack of fluency.*
4	Arrogant, annoying, pretentious	*I know some people, mostly Spanish speakers that code switch in front of other people to try to impress those people. I think this is imbecilic.* *Sólo cuando el cambio de código es del idioma dominante a la segunda lengua, a la gente le parece arrogante. [Only that when the code switching is from the dominant language to the second language, people think it is arrogant]*

		Sometimes it's annoying and confusing.
5	Use with friends and family	*When I was at a family reunion and I was able to communicate with friends and family well.* *Si estaba brincando entre codigos y la persona se burlo de mi por hacerlo.* *[Yes I was jumping between codes and the person made fun of me for doing it]* *Its ok among family and friends.* *My family hates when I code switch, even if I used only one word in English when speaking Spanish.*
6	judgment	*Por experiencia creo que depende mucho de quién cambie de códigos, voy a una escuela en donde van personas de clase alta en México y cambian código de español al inglés como una forma de sentirse superiores y demostrar dominio del inglés, sin embargo, esas mismas personas critican cuando alguien con menos recursos económicos y de piel más oscura/morena lo hace.* *[In my experience it depends a lot on who is code switching, I go to a school in Mexico where there are a lot of upper-class people and the code-switch from Spanish to English as a way to feel more superior and show English proficiency, however those same people criticize people who code switch when they have lower socioeconomic status or darker skin.]* *Yes there was a time when my Spanish grandmother judged me for code switching.* *I served with missionaries that grew up in the US but had Hispanic homes and code-switching was just natural to them. I cam to understand then but I have to confess I still judged them for it.*
7	Disappointment	*I feel like I disappoint my parents and teachers since I cannot speak my first language well.*
8	Interesting	*People will sometimes become fascinated by how fast I can switch and translate between languages and it's mostly only happens with people who only speak 1 language and have never traveled abroad.* *I think it's awesome and unique but can come off as arrogant.*
9		

10	Self-consciousness, insecurity	*I get worried sometimes that people think I'm disrespectful.* *When I code-switch, I know I do it because I can't express myself well in one language or the other. So it makes me feel insecure. But when other people do it, or when I see it in movies, I feel proud and I really like it.* *I'm always conscious about code-switching and try to avoid it whenever possible.*
11	Useful, helpful, easy	*Es util segun la ocasion.* *[It's useful depending on the occasion]* *Very useful.* *Its easy to do* *I find it useful when I'm tired. I switch to Spanish because it's less cognitive load.*
12	Avoidance, trying not to use it	*I try my best not to do it.* *I fight it as much as possible, but I realize that sometimes it happens and it's almost unavoidable.* *It's very common by people who speak more than on language but in my opinion, it hurts the language and I personally avoid code-switching as much as possible.* *Me esfuerzo para no hacerlo.* *[I make an effort to not do it]*
13	Neutral, indifference	*No me molesta por cambiar de codigo.* *[I don't mind changing codes]* *I don't mind it.*
14	General positive	*Is good and convenient and easy to do.* *Pienso activamente en inglés y español, y muchas veces al hablar traduzco mis pensamientos del inglés al español así que me gustaría poder hablar en inglés espontáneamente.* *[I actively think in English and Spanish and many times as I am speaking I translate my thoughts from English to Spanish so I would like to speak English spontaneously]* *Code-switching is very acceptable.*
15	Fun	*Es divertido con la gente que sabe llevar este tipo de conversación.* *[It's fun with people that know how to have that kind of conversation]* *Es divertido incluso con mis amigos.*

		[It's fun even with my friends] *It's fun.*
16	Respect	*I get worried sometimes that people think I'm disrespectful.* *Mi familia me respeta.* *[My family respects me]* *My family praised me for my code-switching.*
17	Competence, showing you know both languages	I*t's a sign that you speak more than one language.* *It feels guilty but sometimes it is a show that you are battling with two different ways of thinking.* *Es una parte de nuestra cultura y muestra que tenemos dominio de ambos idiomas.* *[It's a part of our culture and shows that we have proficiency in both languages.]*
18	Depends on time/place/people, OK with friends/family from the US	*I feel comfortable but I only do it with certain people.* *Depende de la situacion.* *[Depends on the situation.]* *Que solo lo hago con gente muy cercana, en ingles nunca lo hago puede dar muchas vueltas e utilizar frases largas para dar la misma explicacion.* *[Only that I do it with people that are close to me, I never do it in English it can lead to going around and using long phrases to give the same explanation.]* *Tengo 2 amigas que viveron en USA, así que cuando estoy con ellas, esat práctica se volvía común y a moda.* *[I have two friends that lived in the US, so when I'm with them, this practice has become very common and trendy.]*
19	Only use when forgetting words or for expressions that exist in one language	*When I could not find the right word for what I was saying in one language, so I just used the direct translation of it in my own language.* *Hay palabras que en inglés no existen entonces hay que usar la palabra en español.* *[There are words that don't exist in English so I have to use the Spanish word.]* *Sometimes is unintentionally you hust dont remember the wors…* *Cuando olvido alguna palabra en español palabra o frase en inglés más específica a lo que quiero*

		comunicar. *[When I forget a word in Spanish or a phrase in English is more specific to what I want to communicate.]*
20	General negative	*Por supuesto que no define para nada tu identidad consider que la empeora aún más.* *[Of course it does not define your identity at all, I consider that it worsens it.]* *No. I detest it.* *Si, mi mama me regaño por cambiar de codigo.* *[Yes, my mom scolded me for code switching.]*
21	Guilt	*No exactamente, pero si me da pena usarlo a veces.* *[Not exactly, but I do feel ashamed to use it sometimes.]* *It feels guilty but it is a show that you are battling with two different ways of thinking.*
22	Comfortable	*I think it makes me comfy with the people i'm talking to.* *I feel very comfortable.* *I was hearing all my friends code switch so I felt comfortable enough to do it aswell.*
23	Confusing, causes misunderstandings, lack of understanding, miscommunication	*Es incómodo porque no me he dado a comprender con lo que digo. O quiero expresar.* *[It's uncomfortable because I haven't been able to make myself understood with what I say or what I want to express.]* *Confused not understanding what I was trying to say.*
24	Natural, something that just happens, common	*Es algo que se da natural.* *[It's something that happens naturally.]* *No lo hago de manera consciente, a veces pasa.* *[I don't do it consciously, it just happens sometimes.]* *Code switching for me is something I do mostly without thinking about it.* *It's a natural reaction when I try to express myself in specific situations. Expressions cannot be literally translated to any language, and because there is a need to learn how to express things correctly in each language, code switching is just a natural speech resource.*

25	Generational, more acceptable with kids, older people are upset by CS	*Es mejor hacerlo con personas jovenes.* *[It's better to do it with younger people.]* *Es parte de mi generación.* *[It's part of my generation.]*
26	Becoming more acceptable	*It is acceptable now since we are a diverse group and try to keep our main and secondary language in use and for future generations.* *Que hoy en día hay más tolerancia que antes en cambio de código.* *[Nowadays there is more tolerance than there was before toward code switching.]* *Si. Al momento que la diversidad del idioma es fundamental para el trabajo. Pero no solo es tambien se ha visto como va cambiando al mundo.* *[Yes. Right now, linguistic diversity is fundamental for the workplace. Not only that but it's clear to see how it's changing the world.]*

Appendix D: Qualitative responses by code

n = number of comments made, general

	Canada	**Mexico**	**U.S.**	**Total**
1	2	14	14	**30**
2	1	7	3	**11**
3	4	20	12	**36**
4	1	6	8	**15**
5	8	27	14	**49**
6	7	78	57	**142**
7	1	0	0	**1**
8	0	0	6	**6**
9	0	0	0	**0**
10	2	2	7	**11**
11	7	14	15	**36**
12	1	2	10	**13**
13	2	6	2	**10**
14	9	11	19	**39**
15	3	5	0	**8**
16	1	2	2	**5**
17	1	4	2	**7**
18	7	36	17	**60**
19	1	17	9	**27**
20	1	11	9	**21**
21	0	2	0	**2**
22	2	4	5	**11**
23	1	8	2	**11**
24	1	12	12	**25**
25	3	3	4	**10**
26	0	9	7	**16**

Total	**66**	**300**	**236**	**602**

Appendix E – Qualitative Responses by code and by positivity value

Code	Canada	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Mexico	Positive	Neutral	Negative	U.S.	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1	2	2	0	0	14	9	0	5	14	11	0	3
2	1	1	0	0	7	3	0	4	3	0	0	3
3	4	0	0	4	20	0	0	20	12	0	0	12
4	1	0	0	1	6	0	0	6	8	0	0	8
5	8	3	2	3	27	19	2	6	14	8	1	5
6	29	22	0	7	83	46	0	37	58	27	0	31
7	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	0	0
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	7	0	0	7
11	7	7	0	0	14	14	0	0	15	15	0	0
12	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	10	0	0	10
13	2	0	2	0	6	0	6	0	2	0	2	0
14	9	9	0	0	11	11	0	0	19	19	0	0
15	3	3	0	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	1	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	2	2	0	0
17	1	1	1	0	4	4	0	0	2	2	0	0
18	7	4	1	2	36	23	0	13	17	8	2	7
19	1	0	0	0	17	7	2	8	9	2	1	6
20	1	0	0	1	11	0	0	11	9	0	0	9
21	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
22	2	1	0	1	4	3	0	1	5	5	0	0

23	1	0	0	1	8	0	0	8	2	0	0	2
24	1	0	1	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0
25	3	1	1	1	3	2	0	1	4	0	3	1
26	0	0	0	0	9	0	9	0	7	0	7	0
Total	88	54	8	26	305	148	31	126	237	105	28	104

References

American Enterprise Institute. (2017). Welcome to America? Public Opinion on Immigration Issues. *Political Report 13*(2). https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Political-Report-February-2017.pdf

American Immigration Council. (2021, September 21). *Immigrants in the United States.* American Immigration Council. https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/immigrants_in_the_united_states_0.pdf

Anderson, T. K. & Toribio, A. J. (2007). Attitudes toward lexical borrowing and intra-sentential code-switching among Spanish-English bilinguals. *Spanish in Context, 4*(2), 217-240.

Anzaldúa, G. (1987). "How to Tame a Wild Tongue." *Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza.* San Francisco, CA. Aunt Lute Book Company.

Ardila, A. (2005). Spanglish: an anglicized Spanish dialect. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 27*(1), 60-81. DOI: 10.1177/0739986304272358.

Badiola, L., Delgado, R., Sande, A., & Stefanich, S. (2018). Code-switching attitudes and their effects on acceptability judgment tasks. *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism, 8*(1), 5-24. DOI: 10.1075/lab.16006.bad

Barkhuizen, G. & de Klerk, V. (2006). Imagined identities: Preimmigrants' narratives on language and identity. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 10*(3), 277-299. DOI: 10.1177/13670069060100030201.

Bazán-Figueras, P. & Figueras, S. J. (2014). The future of Spanglish: Global or tribal? *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology, 13,* 261-266. DOI: 10.1163/15691497-12341300.

Becerril, I. (2015, April 27). *En México sólo 5% de la población habla inglés: IMCO.* El Financiero. https://www.elfinanciero.com.mx/economia/en-mexico-solo-de-la-poblacion-habla-ingles-imco/

Bilgin, S.S. (2016). Code switching in English language teaching (ELT) teaching practice in Turkey: Student teacher practices, beliefs and identity. *Educational Research and Reviews, 11*(8), 686-702.

Borjia, A. (2015). Learning English in Mexico: Perspectives from Mexican teachers of English. *The CATESOL Journal, 27*(1), 163-174. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1111752.pdf

Brosseau, L. & Dewing, M. (2018, January 3). *Canadian Multiculturalism*. Library of Parliament. https://lop.parl.ca/staticfiles/PublicWebsite/Home/ResearchPublications/BackgroundPapers/PDF/2009-20-e.pdf

Bucholtz, M. & Hall, K. (2005). Language and Identity. In A. Duranti (Ed.). *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*. 369-394. Wiley.

Budiman, A. (2020, August 20). *Key findings about U.S. immigrants.* Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2020/08/20/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/

Budiman, A., Tamir, C., Mora, L., & Noe-Bustamante, L. (2020, August 20). *Facts on U.S. Immigrants, 2018.* Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2020/08/20/facts-on-u-s-immigrants-current-data/

Bustamante-Lopez, I. (2008). Constructing linguistic identity in Southern California. In Rothman, J., & Niño-Murcia, M. (Eds.). Bilingualism and Identity: Spanish at the Crossroads with Other Languages. John Benjamins Publishing Co. Retrieved from: https://eds-p-ebscohost-com.erl.lib.byu.edu/eds/ebookviewer/ebook?sid=b1a38d93-d4b2-451a-a8f6-7062c865244a%40redis&vid=0&format=EB

Camarota, S. A. & Zeigler, K. (2022, October 27). *Foreign-Born Population Hits Nearly 48 Million in September 2022.* Center for Immigration Studies. https://cis.org/Report/ForeignBorn-Population-Hits-Nearly-48-Million-September-2022

Casielles-Suárez, E. (2017). Spanglish: The hybrid voice of Latinos in the United States. *Atlantis: Journal of the Spanish Association for Anglo-American Studies, 39*(2), 147-168. DOI: 10.28914/Atlantis-2017-39.2.08.

Cervatiuc, A. (2009). Identity, good language learning, and adult immigrants in Canada. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 8*, 254-271. DOI: 10.1080/15348450903230439.

Chappell, S. & Faltis, C. (2007). Spanglish, bilingualism, culture and identity in Latino children's literature. *Children's Literature in Education, 38*(4), 253-262. DOI: 10.1007/s10583-006-9035-z.

Cheatham, A. & Roy, D. (2023). *What is Canada's immigration policy?* Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-canadas-immigration-policy

Chesire, J. & Gardner-Chloros, P. (1998). Code-switching and the sociolinguistic gender pattern. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 129*(1). DOI: 10.1515/ijsl.1998.129.5

Cohen, A. (2012, November 16). *Immigrants and Canadians, Maintaining Both Identities.* The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/11/15/how-immigrants-come-to-be-seen-as-americans/immigrants-and-canadians-maintaining-both-identities

Consejo Nacional de Población. (2022, September 1). *La situación demográfica de México 2022.* Consejo Nacional de Población. https://www.gob.mx/conapo/documentos/la-situacion-demografica-de-mexico-2022

Curcó, C. (2005). Code switching and identity in the discourse of Catal immigrants in Mexico. *Aila Review, 18*(1), 18-40. DOI: 10.1075/aila.18.04cur.

De León, L. (2016). Indigenous language policy and education in Mexico. In T.L. McCarty & S. May (Eds.), *Language Policy and Political issues in Education,* Encyclopedia of Language and Education, DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-02320-5_31-1.

Despagne, C. (2010). The difficulties of learning English: perceptions and attitudes in Mexico. *Canadian and International Education / Education canadienne et internationale, 39*(2), 55-74. Available at: http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cie-eci/vol39/iss2/5

Dewaele, J. M. & Wei, L. (2014a). Intra- and inter- individual variation in self-reported code-switching patterns of adult multilinguals. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 11*(2). DOI: 10.1080/14790718.2013.878347.

Dewaele, J. M. & Wei, L. (2014b). Attitudes toward code-switching among adult mono- and multilingual language users. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 35(3), 235-251. DOI: 10.1080/01434632.2013.859687.

Dewaele, J. M. & Zeckel, I. (2015). The psychological and linguistic profiles of self-reported code-switchers. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 20*(5), 594-610. DOI: 10.1177/1367006915575411.

Duff, P. A. (2012). Identity, agency, and second language acquisition. In S.M. Gass & A. Mackey (Eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Second Language Acquisition,* 410-426. Taylor & Francis Group.

Duffin, E. (2022, December 13). *English proficiency among Hispanics U.S. 2021.* Statista. https://www.statista.com/statistics/639745/us-hispanic-english-proficiency/#statisticContainer

Eckert, P. (2012). Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 41*(1), 87-100. DOI: 10.1146/annuerev-anthro-092611–145828.

Edwards, J. (2010). Monolingualism, bilingualism, multiculturalism and identity: Lessons and insights from recent Canadian experience. *Current Issues in Language and Society, 2*(1), 5-38. DOI: 10.1080/13520529509615433.

Elghawaby, A., Chorney-Booth, E. Wei, J., & Paradis, D. *Canadian multiculturalism: a work in progress.* (2021, December 6). The Walrus. https://thewalrus.ca/canadian-multiculturalism-a-work-in-progress/

The Environics Institute for Survey Research and Century Initiative. (2022, October 24). *Canadian public opinion about immigration and refugees.* The Environics Institute. https://www.environicsinstitute.org/docs/default-source/project-documents/focus-canada---fall-2022---immigration-refugees/focus-canada-fall-2022---canadian-public-opinion-about-immigration-refugees---final-report.pdf?sfvrsn=b31e22c9_2

Fishman, J. A. (1967). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; Diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues, 23,* 29-38.

Fishman, J. A. (1972). *Language in sociocultural change.* Vol. 6. Stanford University Press.

Foreign Ministry. (2019, March 3). *Mexico's Migration Policy Is Sovereign, Seeks to Protect Migrants' Rights* [Press release]. *https://www.gob.mx/sre/prensa/mexico-s-migration-policy-is-sovereign-seeks-to-protect-migrants-rights*

Freynet, N. & Clément, R. (2015). Bilingualism in minority settings in Canada: Integration or assimilation? *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 46,* 55-72. DOI: 10.10161/j.ijintrel.2015.03.023.

Gal, S. (1988). The political economy of code choice. In M. Heller, et. al (Eds.), *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 245-264). De Gruyter.

The Gallup Organization. (2022). *Immigration*. Gallup. https://news.gallup.com/poll/1660/immigration.aspx#:~:text=Trend%20on%20Americans'%20views%20of,believe%20they%20should%20be%20decreased.

García, O. (2009). Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the 21st century. In A. K. Mohanty, M. Panda, R. Phillipson, & T. Skutnabb-Kangas (Eds.), *Multilingual education for social justice: globalising the local* (pp. 128-145). Orient BlackSwan.

García, O. (2021). “Not a bad thing”: a commentary on translanguaging among Chinese bilinguals. *Applied Linguistics Review, 13*(3), 433-437. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2021-0023.

García, O. & Kleifgen, J. (2010). Bilingualism for equity and excellence in minority education. In K. Van den Branden, P. Van Avermaet, & M. Van Houtte (Eds.), *Equity and Excellence in Education: toward Maximal Learning Opportunities for All Students* (pp. 166-189). Routledge: Taylor & Francis. ISBN13: 978-0-203-83233-2.

García, O. & Lin, A. M. Y. (2017). *Translanguaging in Bilingual Education*. In O. García, et al. (eds.), *Bilingual and Bultilingual Education,* Encyclopedia of Language and Education (pp. 117-130). Springer: Springer Internatinal Publishing. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-02258-1_9.

Gardner-Chloros, P. (1995). Code-switching in community, regional, and national repertoires: The myth of the discreteness of linguistic systems. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching* (pp. 68-89). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.1017/CB09780511620867.004.

Gardner-Chloros, P. (2009). Sociolinguistic factors in code-switching. In B. E. Bullock & A. J. Toribio (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-Switching* (pp. 97-113). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Gardner-Chloros, P., McEntee-Atalianis, L., & Finnis, K. (2005). Language attitudes and use in a transplanted setting: Greek Cypriots in London. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 2*(1). 52-80. DOI: 10.1080/17501220508668376.

Government of Canada. (n.d.). *#ImmigrationMatters: Canada's immigration system.* Government of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/campaigns/immigration-matters/system.html

Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism.* Harvard University Press.

Guardado, M. (2008). Language, identity, and cultural awareness in Spanish-speaking families. *Canadian Ethnic Studies, 40*(3), 171-181. DOI: 10.1353/ces.2008/0000.

Guglani, L. (2016). American, Hispanic, Spanish-Speaking? Hispanic immigrants and the question of identity. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 15*(6), 344-360. DOI: 10.1080/15348458.2016.1217161.

Gumperz, J. (1977). The sociolinguistic significance of conversational code-switching. *RELC Journal 8*(2), 1-34. DOI: 10.1177/003368827700800201.

Hamel, R. E. (2008). Indigenous language policy and education in Mexico. In S. May & N.H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education, 2nd Edition, Volume 1,* pp. 301-313. Springer.

Hidalgo, M. (1988). Perception of Spanish-English code-switching in Juarez, Mexico. https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/laii_research/14.

Hidalgo, M. (2006). Socio-historical determinants in the survival of Mexican indigenous languages. In M. Hidalgo (Ed.), *Mexican Indigenous Languages at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century*, pp. 87-124. De Gruyter Mouton. DOI: 10.1515/9783110197679.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática. (n.d.). *Población total nacida en otro país residente en México por entidad federativa según sexo y países seleccionados, años censales de 2000, 2010 y 2020.* INEGI. https://www.inegi.org.mx/app/tabulados/interactivos/?pxq=Migracion_Migracion_03_793b2477-4037-43d4-9a60-90fb2592cdbc&idrt=130&opc=t

Klobucista, C., Cheatham, A., & Roy, D. (2022, August 3). *The U.S. Immigration Debate.* Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-immigration-debate-0

Korgstad, J. M. & Gonzalez-Barrera, A. (2022, January 11). *Key facts about U.S. immigration policies and Biden's proposed changes.* Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/01/11/key-facts-about-u-s-immigration-policies-and-bidens-proposed-changes/

Krogstad, J. M., Stepler, R., & Lopez, M. H. (2015, May 12). *English Proficiency on the Rise Among Latinos*. Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2015/05/12/english-proficiency-on-the-rise-among-latinos/

Labov, W. (1963). The social motivation of a sound change. *Word*, *19*(3), 273-309. DOI: 10.1080/00437956.1963.11659799.

Lambert, W. E., Hodgson, R. C., Gardner, R. C., & Fillenbaum, S. (1960). Evaluational reactions to spoken languages. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 60*(1), 44-51. DOI: 10.1037/h0044430.

LaTouche, P. (1976). English-Spanish bilingualism and bilingual attitudes. In M. Reyes Mazón (Ed.), *SWALLOW IV: Linguistics and education* (pp. 315-325). Institute for Cultural Pluralism.

Lewis, G., Jones, B., and Baker, C. (2012). Translanguaging: developing its conceptualisation and contextualisation. *Educational Research and Evaluation, 18*(7), 655-670. DOI: 10.1080/13803611.2012.718490.

Lipski, J. M. (2004). Is “Spanglish” the third language of the South?: Truth and fantasy about U.S. Spanish. *3rd Language Variation in the South (LAVIS III) conference, Tuscaloosa, AL* (Vol. 6). Retrieved from: http://lavis.as.ua.edu/handouts/lipski.pdf.

Lipski, J. M. (2007). Spanish, English, or Spanish? Truth and consequences of US Latino bilingualism. *Hispanic Issues, 34,* 197-218. Retrieved from: http://personal.psu.edu/faculty/j/m/jml34/spang.pdf.

López-Gopar, M. E. & Sughrua, W. (2014). Social class in English language education in Oaxaca, Mexico. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 13*(2), 104-110. DOI: 10.1080/15348458.2014.901822.

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (2020). The study of language attitudes: Our foundation, our future. In T. Bugle & Montes-Alcalá (Eds.) *New Approaches to Language Attitudes in a Lusophone World.* John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Mexlaw. (2023, February 27). *Immigration Law in Mexico.* Mexlaw. https://mexlaw.com/immigration-law-in-mexico-2/

Meyerhoff, M. (2019). Variation and language. In *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, pp. 18-20. Third Edition. Routeledge.

Milroy, L. & Muysken, P. (1995). Introduction: code-switching and bilingualism research. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.) *One speaker, two languages: Cross disciplinary perspectives on code-switching.* Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Mitchell, C. (2019, October 23). *‘English-Only’ Laws in Education on Verge of Extinction.* Education Week. https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/english-only-laws-in-education-on-verge-of-extinction/2019/10

Montes-Alcalá, C. (2000). Attitudes towards oral and written codeswitching in Spanish-English bilingual youths. In A. Roca (Ed.) *Research on Spanish in the U.S.* pp. 218-227. Cascadilla Press.

Montes-Alcalá, C. (2009). Hispanics in the United States: More than *Spanglish*. *Camino Real, (1)*, 97-115. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Cecilia-Montes-Alcala/publication/265120799_Hispanics_in_the_United_States_More_than_Spanglish/links/5567357b08aeab77721ea464/Hispanics-in-the-United-States-More-than-Spanglish.pdf

Montes-Alcalá, C. (2015). Code-switching in US Latino literature: The role of biculturalism. *Language and Literature: International Journal of Stylistics, 24*(3), 264-281. DOI: 10.1177/0963947015585224.

Moses, L., Hajdun, M., & Aguirre, A. A. (2021). Translanguaging together: Building bilingual identities con nuevos amigos. *The Reading Teacher*, 75(3), 291-304. DOI: 10.1002/trtr.2060.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1988). Code switching as indexical of social negotiation. In Heller, M. (Ed.) *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (pp. 151-186). Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton. DOI: 10.1515/9783110849615.151

Myers-Scotton, C. (2017). Code-switching. In The F. Coulmas (Eds.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. DOI: 10.1002/9781405166256.ch13. (add page numbers and publisher)

Natvisa Team. (2023, February 3). *Immigration Policy for Mexico.* Natvisa. https://www.natvisa.com/mexico-blog/immigration

Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, *31*(3), 409-429. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3587831.

Norton, B. (2013).Identity and Language Learning: Extending the Conversation. Multilingual Matters.

Olko, J. (2019). Language attitudes and educational opportunities: Challenging a history of oppression and assimilation among Indigenous communities in Mexico. *Sámi dutkansearvii journála, 1,* 1-37. https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/61531242/Sami_dutkansearvvi_Olko_2019_Language_attitudes20191216-119224-uw2blj-libre.pdf?1576519591=&response-content-disposition=inline%3B+filename%3DLanguage_attitudes_and_educational_oppor.pdf&Expires=1682378813&Signature=Wm05T1iBNA5Rk7~qutEuULj8wifgSVQTlgxqeGoUATtDoeftqnnU42kliw06JQf9si5uJGqQ8wMu0QAPQP9xtA0o62Hd39VuSGWDY0W0xF4TkZ0Mh79bu4inA9UuduyIE98MOxH0hw6ka9-Leg6t1QCRLSoZiEwY9rZAxjAGit74MME4JdjwNdHIoIa~vpbVQ0fLI~UqOryheOhJoQvlbIQQMfwjpQeJCMv5l627NrtPpau-W42Y9eMVvKaq7gyjXcz9iBQ~6UK4~m4OJc1~Y50chQJ1JPHpWTWB~GIbWuNk2FhbfliCmBoUWMjlaCxgoimilp6LmzqnXw9GaijjCA__&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA.

O'Neill, A. (2023, March 9). *Languages in Mexico 2020*. Statista. https://www.statista.com/statistics/275440/languages-in-mexico/

Otheguy, R. & Stern, N. (2010). On so-called Spanglish. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 15*(1), 85-100. DOI: 10.1177/1367006910379298.

Peña Díaz, C. (2004). What do bilinguals think about their code-switching? *Revista Electrónica de Lingüística Aplicada*, 146-157.

Petrón, M. (2009). Transnational teachers of English in Mexico. *The High School Journal, 92*(4), 115-128. https://jstor.org/stable/40364009.

Pfaff, C. W. (1979). Constraints on language mixing: Intrasentential code-switching and borrowing in Spanish/English. *Language, 55*(2), 291-318. https://www.jstor.org/stable/412586.

Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL: Toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics, 18*(7-8), 581-618. DOI: 10.1515/ling.1980.18.7-8.581.

Poplack, S. (2012). What does nonce borrowing hypothesis hypothesize? *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition, 15*(3), 644-648. DOI: 10.1017/S1366728911000496.

Poplack, S. (2015). Code switching: Linguistic. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences, 2*(3), 918-925. DOI: 10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.53004-9.

Poplack, S. & Meechan, M. (1998). How language fit together in codemixing. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 2*(2), 127-138. DOI: 10.1177/136700699800200201.

Price, T. (2010). What is Spanglish? The phenomenon of code-switching and its impact amongst US Latinos. *Début: the undergraduate journal of languages, linguistics and area studies, 1*(1), 25-33. www.llas.ac.uk/debut.

Rangel, N., Loureiro-Rodríguez, V., & Moyna, M. I. (2015). "Is this what I sound like when I speak?" Attitudes toward Spanish, English, and code-switching in two Texas border towns. *Spanish in Context, 12*(2), 177-198. DOI: 10.1075/sic.12.2.01ran.

Rasmussen Reports. (2021, April 14). *Americans Still Support English as Official Language.* Rasmussen Reports. https://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/politics/general_politics/april_2021/americans_still_support_english_as_official_language

Ricento, T. (2013). The consequences of official bilingualism on the status and perception of non-official languages in Canada. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 34*(5), 475-489. DOI: 10.1080/01434632.2013.783034.

Rell, A. (2004). An exploration of Mexican American Spanglish as a source of identity. *Mester, 33*(1), 143-157. DOI: 10.5070/M3331014610.

Rothaman, J. & Rell, A.B. (2005). A linguistic analysis of Spanglish: relating language to identity. *Linguistics and the Human Sciences 1*(3), 515-537. DOI: 10.1558/lhs.2005.1.3.515

Sánchez-Muñoz, A. (2013). Who soy yo? The creative use of "Spanglish" to express a hybrid identity in Chicana/o heritage language learners of Spanish. *Hispania, 96*(3), 440-441. https:jstor.org/stable/23608285.

Sankoff, D., Poplack, S., & Vanniarajan, S. The case of the nonce loan in Tamil. *Language Variation and Change, 2,* 71-101. Retrieved from: https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/46709355/SankoffPoplackVanniarajan1990-libre.pdf?1466612899=&response-content-disposition=inline%3B+filename%3DThe_case_of_the_nonce_loan_in_Tamil.pdf&Expires=1691385576&Signature=A3mIh8xeGjfjQCMYGmgxG9MBA1-pb2S5jUxZdoVuGEEPyWSEPPB6fJVl1u8BBHQEfw-KDUugytmhUhe5xcrfmo5KEwvLyd-ZPt~ngr6yXWf2aufwwzUCsaXiHUi8HJ2u0d63jc2RxWtcnY4iarGu7XMRZpRzPM4lgqnSBUliOqhsMTyewJcjEoyCkp5iEPbgOyb8kADsKi20GAkyvm2S3AWEe9BIo0b8l2K75EcVpcSmUQHHMT~c7Sm05apzc9lCnQapFofir7u-Lss6W-Xw1Ari7Q924GcL-HQ9EWdkP0UnO-XaikNaj3AqrZgDnq3Pbv~2syTQltm4ACRSg2486w__&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA

Sief, K. & Clement, S. (2019, July 16). *Unauthorized Immigrants Face Public Blacklash in Mexico Survey Finds.* The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/unauthorized-immigrants-face-public-backlash-in-mexico-survey-finds/2019/07/16/f7fc5d12-a75e-11e9-a3a6-ab670962db05_story.html

Statistics Canada. (2023). *Census Profile.* 2021 Census of Population. (table). Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X021001. Ottawa. Released March 29. 2023. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E (accessed April 22, 2023).

Statistics Canada. (2022a, October 26). *The Canadian census: A rich portrait of the country's religious and ethnocultural diversity.* The Daily. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/221026/dq221026b-eng.htm

Statistics Canada. (2022b, August 17). Table 98-10.0217.01 *Knoweldge of languages by age and gender: Canada, provinces and territories, census metropolitan areas and census agglomerations with parts.* DOI: 10.25318/9810021701-eng.

Torrez, E. (2015). *Somos Mexicanos y hablamos mexicano aquí*: Rural farmworker families struggle to maintain cultural and linguistic identity in Michigan. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 12*(4), 277-294. DOI: 10.10180/15348458.2013.81925.

Treffers-Daller, J. (2009). Code-switching and transfer: an exploration of similarities and differences. In B. E. Bullock & A. J. Toribio (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-Switching* (pp. 58-74). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Treffers-Daller, J., Ongun, Z., Hofweber, J., & Korenar, M. (2020). Explaining individual differences in executive functions performance in multilingual: The impact of code-switching and alternating between multicultural identity styles. Frontiers in Psychology, 11. DOI: 10.3389/fpsyg.2020.561088.

Trofimovich, P. & Turuseva, L. (2020). Language attitudes and ethnic identity: Examining listener perceptions of Latvian-Russian bilingual speakers. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 19*(1), 9-24: DOI: 10.1080/15348458.2019.1696682.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. (2020). *International Migration 2020 Highlights* (ST/ESA/SER.A/452).

United States Census Bureau. (2022). *American Community Survey Data.* U.S. Department of Commerce. https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/data.html

United States Census Bureau. (n.d.). *DP02 Language Spoken at Home.* U.S. Department of Commerce. Retrieved April 1, 2023 from https://data.census.gov/table?q=DP02&t=Language+Spoken+at+Home

United States Census Bureau. (n.d). *Why We Ask Questions About… Language Spoken at Home.* U.S. Department of Commerce. https://www.census.gov/acs/www/about/why-we-ask-each-question/language/

United States Census Bureau. (2023). *The Importance of the American Community Survey and the Decennial Census.* U.S. Department of Commerce. https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/about/acs-and-census.html#:~:text=The%20American%20Community%20Survey%20provides,entire%20U.S.%20population%20to%20Congress.

Urbiola, A., Willis, G. B., Ruiz-Romero, J., Moya, M. & Esses, V. (2017). Valuing diversity in Spain and Canada: The role of multicultural ideology in intergroup attitudes and intentions to reduce inequalities. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 56*, 25-38. DOI: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2016.10.006.

Urciuoli, B. (2014). Is Spanglish a bad terb? *Anthropology News, 54*(8), e44-e65. DOI: 10.1111/j.1556-3502.2013.54806.x.

Valdés-Fallis, G. (1978). Code-switching among bilingual Mexican-American women toward an understanding of sex-related language alternation. International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 1978(17), 65-72. DOI: 10.1515/ijsl.1978.17.65.

Valdés-Fallis, Fishman, J. A., Chávez, R., & Pérez, W. (2008). Maintaining Spanish in the United States: Steps toward the effective practice of heritage language re-acquisition development. *Hispania, 91*(1), 4-24. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20063620.

Vogel, S. & García, O. (2017). *Translanguaging* in Oxford Research Encycolpedia of Education. Oxford University Press USA. Retrieved from: https://academicworks.cuny.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1448&context=gc_pubs

Ward, N. & Batalova, J. *Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the United States.* Migration Policy Institute. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states.

Wei, L. (2005). "How can you tell?" *Journal of Pragmatics 37*(3), 375-389. DOI: 10.1016/j.pragma.2004.10.008.

Wei, L. (2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*(5), 1222-1235. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.07.035.

Wei. L, & García, O. (2021). Not a first language but one repertoire: Translanguaging as a decolonizing project. *RELC Journal, 53*(2), 313.324. DOI: 10.1177/00336882221092841.

Weston, D. & Gardner-Chloros, P. (2015). Mind the gap: What code-switching in literature can teach us about code-switching. *Language and Literature: International Journal of Stylistics, 24*(3), 194-212. DOI: 10.1177/0963947015585066.

Yim, O. & Clément, R. (2019). "You're a *Juksing*": Examining Cantonese-English code-switching as an index of identity. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 38*(4), 479-495. DOI: 10.1177/0261927X19865572.

Yim, O. & Clément, R. (2021). Acculturation and attitudes toward code-switching: A bidimensional framework. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 25*(5), 1369-1388. DOI: 10.1177/13670069211019466.

Zhang, Y. & Guo, Y. (2015). Becoming transnational: exploring multiple identities of students in a Mandarin-English bilingual programme in Canada. *Globalisation, Societies and Education 13*(2), 210-229. DOI: 10.1080/14767724.2014.934071.

116th Congress. (2019-2020). English Language Unity Act of 2019. (2019, March 22). https: //congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/997/text.