Radical Code-switching in
The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao

EUGENIA CASIELLES-SUÁREZ

Wayne State University

Abstract
This paper examines the use of Spanish in The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao (2007) by Junot Díaz in the context of Torres’ (2007) analysis of code-switching strategies by Hispanic authors. First, I consider the nature of the Spanish words that Díaz borrows from Spanish, which are not italicized or translated, and most of which would not be transparent to anglophones. Second, I examine his use of code-switching and point out how Díaz creates powerful bilingual images by flouting well-known constraints on intrasentential code-switching. Finally, using Muysken’s (2000) typology of code-switching, I show that in contrast to other texts, which are characterized by sustained alternation, and which Torres (2007) calls ‘Radical bilingualism’, the main mechanisms used here are insertion and congruent lexicalization, which result in a text where, rather than alternating with English, Spanish becomes part of English. I call this strategy ‘radical hybridism’.

In an interview quoted in Ch’ien (2004), Junot Díaz says:

For me allowing the Spanish to exist in my text without the benefit of italics or quotations marks a very important political move. Spanish is not a minority language. Not in this hemisphere, not in the United States, not in the world inside...
my head. So why treat it like one? Why 'other' it? Why de-normalize it? By keeping Spanish as normative in a predominantly English text, I wanted to remind readers of the mutability of languages. And to mark how steadily English is transforming Spanish and Spanish is transforming English. (Ch’ien 2004: 204)

This article considers the specific ways in which Díaz transforms English by focusing on his use of Spanish in The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao (2007) in the context of Torres’ (2007) study of code-switching strategies by Hispanic authors in the United States.

Torres (2007) analyses different strategies for the inclusion of Spanish in Latino/Latina literary texts written between 1990 and 2004, which result in different levels of accessibility.¹

The first strategy, which she describes as 'Easily accessed, transparent or cushioned Spanish', has an English monolingual reader in mind and uses Spanish infrequently and transparently. That is, the texts that use this strategy tend to include Spanish words whose meaning is obvious from the context, such as culturally recognizable items like food (taco, tortilla), places (casa, rancho, campo), familiar common nouns (mamá, hermano, hijo), etc. If the meaning of the words is not obvious, the Spanish words are followed by an English language translation and marked as foreign by the use of italics. According to Torres, although this strategy can make the text exotic, 'a reader does not have to leave the comfortable realm of his/her own complacent monolingualism. The monolingual is catered to and the bilingual reader must endure redundant references' (Torres 2007: 78). In (1) below, we have an example of this type of transparent or cushioned Spanish:

(1) Midday was the time when folks went home, showered, ate an abundant almuerzo and then took a long siesta. (Mohr 1997: 11)

A second strategy, which might challenge the monolingual reader, is to use Spanish terms with no translation and without italics or any other special marking. Torres calls this as the 'Gratifying the bilingual reader' strategy. In addition to the use of non-italicized, untranslated Spanish, she mentions that one way of gratifying the bilingual reader is to use calques, English translations of Spanish phrases. An example of a Spanish calque in English Torres gives is the use of Aunty White-skin in Cisneros’ novel Caramelo, translated from the Spanish Titi Blanca. According to Torres, through the use of calques such as this, Spanish is indirectly or covertly present in the English language. Writers who favour this second strategy, which might involve the use of non-italicized and untranslated Spanish and/or the use of calques from Spanish, prioritize the bilingual reader and may cause instances of discomfort or annoyance to the monolingual reader. In (2) we have an example which Torres offers from Díaz’s collection of short stories, Drown, where the Spanish word is not italicized and would be hard to understand even using a dictionary, since pato is a derogatory term in Caribbean slang for a homosexual.

¹ See Callahan (2004), Keller (1979) and Rudin (1996), among others, for previous analyses of the use of Spanish in US Latino novels; and Montes-Alcalá (2011) and Burrows (2010) for two recent studies.
(2) My mother tells me Beto is home, waits for me to say something ... He's a pato now but last year we were friends. (Díaz 1996: 91)

The third strategy, which Torres calls 'Radical bilingualism', is a completely bilingual text with sustained code-switching, which can only be successfully accessed by bilingual readers. As Torres points out, these texts are published by academic presses rather than mainstream ones. She specifically refers to Braschi's Yo-Yo Boing! and Chávez-Silverman's Killer Crónicas. In (3) we have an example from Killer Crónicas, which shows this type of sustained code-switching:

(3) These crónicas began as letters: cartas a amigos extrañados, love letters to cities, smells, people, voices and geographies I missed. O, por otra parte, comenzaron como cartas a un lugar, or to a situation that I was experiencing intensely, casi con demasiada intensidad and yet pleasurably as well, a sabiendas de que la vivencia acabaría demasiado pronto. (Chávez-Silverman 2004: xxi)

Torres (2007: 87) states that authors such as Braschi and Chávez-Silverman attempt more daring linguistic experiments than others such as Junot Díaz, Sandra Cisneros and Helena Viramontes, who, she says, experiment with language in more modest ways.

I would like to propose, however, that Díaz's use of Spanish in The Brief Wondrous Life ... goes beyond gratifying the bilingual reader and approaches radical bilingualism, although in a different way, which I will call 'radical hybridism'. Rather than include whole paragraphs in Spanish, which a monolingual reader could simply skip, or offer a neat kind of code alternation, as in (3), where the switch occurs at phrase boundaries, the quantity and quality of the Spanish words and phrases which are constantly inserted in English sentences create hybrid phrases with the result that rather than alternating with English, Spanish becomes part of English.4

The rest of this article is organized as follows. In the next part, I show the uncushioned nature of the Spanish used by Díaz, who borrows hundreds of Spanish words, which are not common to the lexicon of most anglophones, and inserts them in the English text without the use of italics and without a translation. In the following part of the article, I look at switches beyond the word level,

2 Cutter (2005) points out that the term 'radical bilingualism' is used by translation theorist Samia Mehrez, who borrows it from the Moroccan writer Khatibi. Cutter says: 'whereas a bilingual text would use only one language at a time, a radically bilingual text maintains a constant movement between different languages or even between different layers of the same language' (2005: 24). Mehrez (1992: 134) points out that such texts force the readers to become bilingual, as well as showing the presence of one language within another.

3 Lipski (1982) also offers a classification of different literary texts according to their use of Spanish. He distinguishes: Type I (monolingual texts with a handful of L2 words thrown in for flavour); Type II (texts with intersentential code switches); and Type III (texts with intrasentential code switches). Both intersentential and intrasentential switches are considered in the third part of this article.

4 Although I will be considering only the general use of Spanish in this text, it is worth pointing out that, as Díaz himself has commented, his text is not only bilingual but also multidialectal. In it we find general Spanish, Dominican Spanish, Standard English and colloquial English.
those involving phrases and sentences, and I provide examples of intersentential code-switching, where Spanish sentences alternate with English sentences, as well as intrasentential alternation, where halfway through the sentence one language is replaced by the other. I also point out the ways in which Díaz flouts constraints on intrasentential code-switching. In the final part, I use Muysken’s (2000) typology of code-switching (alteration, insertion and congruent lexicalization) to show that code alternation is not the only way to be radical and that insertion and congruent lexicalization, which result in radical hybridism, can be just as powerful.

Non-italicized, Untranslated and Uncushioned Spanish Lexical Items

As mentioned above, authors who want to gratify the bilingual reader and who value moments of unintelligibility, and are consciously trying not to ‘other’ Spanish, as Díaz is, do not translate or mark Spanish words in any way. In The Brief Wondrous Life ... there are very few examples of translated words, such as that in (4), where the Spanish word tesoro is immediately translated into English.\(^5\)

\begin{align*}
(4) &\quad \text{A Tesoro, I repeated. A treasure.}
\end{align*}

The text does contain some transparent words: cultural, kinship and food terms, which would be understood by a monolingual reader, such as those in (5)–(16), where we can see terms such as pueblo, chilenos, argentinos, dominicana, sancocho, etc.

\begin{align*}
(5) &\quad \text{insisting on absolute veneration from his pueblo} \\
(6) &\quad \text{the chilenos and the argentinos are still appealing} \\
(7) &\quad \text{she was the only old-school dominicana he knew who had dated a moreno} \\
(8) &\quad \text{the sancocho spilled all over the floor} \\
(9) &\quad \text{can’t you see the muchacho’s working?} \\
(10) &\quad \text{my paternal abuelo} \\
(11) &\quad \text{his tío’s car} \\
(12) &\quad \text{I was the perfect hija} \\
(13) &\quad \text{you don’t need to be around us viejos, Abuela says} \\
(14) &\quad \text{called him hombre} \\
(15) &\quad \text{while frying pastelitos} \\
(16) &\quad \text{the casa near empty}
\end{align*}

There are also a few instances of an indirect presence of Spanish. We find a hispanicized pronunciation of some words, as in (17)–(18):

\begin{align*}
(17) &\quad \text{Yunior, the movie is finis} \\
(18) &\quad \text{What did you know about Nueba Yol}
\end{align*}

In (17), finis appears as it is often pronounced by Hispanics and in (18) the name of the city of New York appears with non-standard spelling and even a specific

\(^{5}\) Although later I use bold to mark phrases in Spanish in order to help the reader visualize where the switch occurs, the examples in this first part of the article are shown as they appear in the novel, with no special marking of the Spanish words.
Caribbean pronunciation, where the final velar consonant is deleted and the [r] is lateralized, appearing as Yol.

There are also possible cases of a hispanicized syntax, such as those in (19)-(21), where focal elements appear sentence-initially in a structure called ‘focus preposing’, which is much more common in Spanish than in English. While the preposed elements are Spanish words in (19)-(20), this structure is also applied to English phrases, as in (21), where 'eighteen months' appears sentence-initially:

(19) Hija de Liborio she called you after you picked your tía's winning numbers for her
(20) My hermanita she called Beli
(21) Eighteen months she worked at the Palacio Peking

Most of the presence of Spanish in Díaz’s novel, however, is quite direct and overt, rather than indirect or subtle. Spanish words are treated as non-foreign and many of these words would not be transparent to a monolingual reader. In (22)-(27), we have some examples with words such as personaje, vergüenza, belleza, chanclas, correa, etc., which cannot be assumed to be familiar to monolingual readers.

(22) a personaje so outlandish
(23) without a speck of vergüenza
(24) out went the belleza
(25) with the chanclas and the correa
(26) and her stupid bata
(27) I was a fea ...

It is worth pointing out that in addition to the quotation at the beginning of this article, where Díaz defends his use of non-italicized Spanish, Díaz has specifically referred to his massive borrowing of Spanish words. In an interview quoted in Ch'ien (2004: 204), he says: 'When does a loan word become an English word? Is “hacienda” a word in Spanish or English? You know what I’m saying? The point is I’m pushing the dates on a lot of these words. I decided I don’t need a hundred years for the Oxford English Dictionary to tell me that it is okay to adopt this or that word as part of our normal vocabulary'.

Further, a big portion of the Spanish words used in this novel are high-impact terms, swear words and sexual allusions, which often serve as a kind of comical relief in the midst of the tragic events the book refers to. For the bilingual reader, these words jump out without any italics or bold type. In (28)-(33), we have some examples of these high-impact terms:

(28) can’t they see what that puta is up to?
(29) couldn’t keep my rabo in my pants
(30) She read the invite and swore a coño under her breath ...
(31) She could have been with my family in Cuba, but now you’re jodido
(32) You, stupid worthless no-good hijo-de-la-gran-puta, are going home
(33) ... that I never see your black cara de culo again

In these examples, Spanish words adapt to English syntax not only in structures common to both languages such as those in (28)-(31), but also in English
structures, such as those in (32)–(33), where the Spanish nouns appear after the adjectives, following the English word order. However, this kind of syntactic mismatch is taken to its highest degree in examples such as those in (34)–(36), maybe some of the most shocking insertions in the text:

(34) Where in coñazo do you think the so-called Curse ...
(35) What in carajo is the matter with you?
(36) What in carajo else could it be?

In these examples, the Spanish nouns coñazo and carajo appear instead of English nouns such as 'hell' or 'heaven's name', as in 'where in hell do you think ...' or 'what in heaven's name is the matter with you?' Notice that these structures would have been ungrammatical in Spanish, as shown in (37)–(38):

(37) *¿Dónde en coñazo crees ...
(38) *¿Qué en carajo te pasa? / *¿Qué en carajo más podría ser?

In all these instances, rather than switching codes, Díaz is massively borrowing Spanish lexical items and treating them as if they were English terms.

Similarly, in addition to the straightforward insertion of Spanish nouns in English NP slots, as we saw with examples (22)–(27), Díaz also makes a more intimate connection and uses Spanish nouns, adjectives, and even sentences as modifiers of English nouns, creating powerful, hybrid phrases, such as those in (39) through (45):

(39) her trigueña skin
(40) the most buenmoso man
(41) That was my big puta moment
(42) you've had bruja ways
(43) the bruja feeling
(44) at tal-and-tal time
(45) the family's resident métteselo expert

Although most of the Spanish words Díaz borrows are nouns, he also dares to borrow adverbs and verb phrases. We have additional examples in (46)–(50), where no, muy, sacó pies, acabar con and zafa are freely inserted in the English sentences.6

(46) No be a baby
(47) Manny was muy bald and ...
(48) The night that Fulgencio Batista sacó pies out of Havana
(49) Your own fucking neighbors could acabar con you just because ...
(50) There are people like my tío Miguel in the Bronx who still zafa everything

Finally, very often sentences contain multiple insertions, as we have seen in some of the previous examples and also in (51)–(52) below:

(51) Since negation, other adverbs, verbs and prepositions are less frequently borrowed, some of these cases could be considered to be single word switches. In the final part of this article we come back to some of these examples in the context of Muysken's (2000) concept of congruent lexicalization. Interestingly, discourse markers are often involved in code-switches. See Lipski (2005) and Torres and Potowski (2008), among others.
(51) In her twenties, sunny and amiable, whose cuerpo was all pipa and no culo, a 'mujer alegre' (in the parlance of the period)
(52) Dismissing her barrio as an 'infierno' and her neighbors as 'brutos' and 'cochinos'

In the final part of the article we come back to some of these cases of multiple insertions in the context of Muysken's typology of code-switching. Now we turn our attention to switches involving more than one constituent.

**Intersentential and intrasentential code-switching**

Although, as we have seen in the previous part of this article, massive borrowing of Spanish words is one of the key features in this novel, Díaz also uses code-switching. In (53)–(58) we have some examples, where the switch to Spanish involves more than one constituent:

(53) ... but here it was so alive, it was like it had never left: Oye, pariguayo, y qué pasó con esa esposa tuya? Gordo, no me digas que tú todavía tienes hambre?
(54) Watch out. Mom, Lola said, they probably think you're Haitian -La única haitiana aquí eres tú, mi amor, she retorted.
(55) She threw him to the floor. Dale un galletazo, she panted, then see if the little puta respects you.
(56) How about I buy you a drink? He said, and when she turned away como una ruda, he grabbed her arm, hard, and said, Where are you going morena? And that's all it took: a Beli le salió el lobo.
(57) Yo soy prieta, Yuni, she said, pero no soy bruta
(58) He didn't meet her on the street like he told you. His cousins, los idiotas, took him to a cabaret and that's where he first saw her. And that's where ella se metió por sus ojos.

Some of these switches are cases of intersentential code-switching, where the switch occurs between sentences. In (59) and (60) we have additional examples:

(59) The girls ... all purportedly fell for him. Ese muchacho está bueno!
(60) His cousin Pedro Pablo sucked his teeth with exaggerated disdain. Esto aquí es un maldito infierno

Many, however, are cases of the linguistically more interesting intrasentential code-switching, where the switch takes place within a sentence, as in (61)–(62).

(61) You ven aca
(62) Hijo de la gran puta, would you stop jodiéndome!

In some cases, the use of a Spanish word or phrase, such as *mi negrita* in (63), *culo* in (64) or *muchacha* in (65) seems to trigger the switch into Spanish:

(63) It looks like a painting of a ciclón and that's what you are *mi negrita*, una tormenta en la madrugada.
(64) A culo que jalaba más que una junta de buey
(65) His tío Rudolfo (only recently released from his last and final bid in the Justice and now living in their house on Main Street) was especially generous in his tutelage. Listen, palomo: you have to grab a *muchacha*, y metéselo.
Although some of the switches in this text could have happened in spontaneous conversation, many examples show switches which have been considered to be impossible in the literature on constraints on spontaneous, intrasentential code-switching. As has been pointed out in the literature (e.g. Lipski 1982), non-spontaneous uses of code-switching in literary texts are not ideal to test theories of constraints on intrasentential, conversational code-switching. In fact, rather than portraying naturally occurring code switches, it seems that Díaz is more interested in flouting the rules in order to create powerful, disjunctive, linguistic hybrids. Díaz himself might be giving us a clue in an interview quoted in Ch'ien (2004: 209–210). He says: 'When I learned English in the States, this was a violent enterprise. And by forcing Spanish back on English, forcing it to deal with the language it tried to exterminate in me, I've tried to represent a mirror-image of that violence on the page. Call it my revenge on English'. As we will see in more detail in the next part of this article, Díaz achieves this sort of linguistic violence by using insertion and congruent lexicalization rather than just code alternation.

Let us consider some of the ways in which Díaz creates powerful bilingual images (Keller 1979) by flouting well-known constraints on code-switching. Although we cannot review here the numerous proposals in the literature about grammatical and ungrammatical code-switches in spontaneous interactions, in general a grammatical switch does not violate the grammar of either language and tends to take place at points where the two languages involved share a particular structure with a similar word order. Further, switching between a subject pronoun and a verb phrase, as in (61), between a main verb and a gerund as in (62), and between a determiner and a NP, as in (64) and (65) is thought to be ungrammatical. By flouting the rules, however, Díaz forces Spanish onto English and creates the type of heterogeneous and partly unintelligible discourse he is interested in.

Two of the best-known constraints on intrasentential code-switching (The Free Morpheme Constraint and the Equivalent Constraint) were proposed by Poplack (1980). Other proposed constraints are the Government Constraint (Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh 1986) and the Functional Head Constraint (Belazi, Rubin and Toribio 1994). See MacSwan (2000, 2005) for more recent proposals and MacSwan (2009) for a recent summary of generative approaches to code-switching, which goes from Poplack's constraints to current minimalist approaches. Other works dedicated to code-switching are Auer (1998), Cashman (2001), and Jacobson (1990). See Gardner-Chloros (2009) for a recent survey of sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, grammatical and developmental aspects; and Bullock and Toribio (2009) and Isurin, Winford and de Bot (2009) for two recent collections of articles on different aspects of code-switching.

This paper is necessarily restricted in nature and focuses on a purely linguistic analysis of Díaz's narrative. As an anonymous reviewer rightly points out, it would be interesting to consider in further studies other issues such as the intended readership, a possible difference in the use of switches between dialogue and narrative, and a detailed analysis of the incidence of switching depending on the character or situation involved. Although a detailed analysis of these issues has not been carried out and would certainly be very useful, switches do not seem to correlate with a particular character or situation or with dialogue instead of narrative. Rather, the hybrid nature of the language used seems to be...
Given the constant movement between the languages that all these examples show, this text would qualify as 'radical bilingualism'. However, as we consider in more detail in the next part of this article using Muysken's typology of code-switching, Díaz's technique is very different from the type of sustained alternation used in other radical bilingual texts and it results in a highly hybrid text where there is a much more intimate connection between English and Spanish.

**Radical Bilingualism vs Radical Hybridism**

According to Muysken (2000), there are three types of code-mixing: alternation, insertion and congruent lexicalization. In alternation, which usually involves more than one constituent, one language is replaced by the other, as in (66):

(66) Andale pues *and do come again*  
(Gumperz and Hernández Chávez 1971: 118, quoted in Muysken 2000: 5)

Insertion, on the other hand, is restricted to one constituent and it is akin to spontaneous lexical borrowing or nonce borrowing. In (67), we have an example Muysken offers, where an English phrase is inserted into a Spanish sentence:

(67) Yo anduve *in a state of shock* por dos días  
(Pfaff 1979: 296, quoted in Muysken 2000: 5)

The third type is congruent lexicalization, as in (68):

(68) Bueno, in other words, el flight que sale de Chicago around three o'clock  

This type usually involves a shared structure, which can be lexicalized by elements from either language. As Muysken points out, this is not a rigid classification but more of a continuum.

In addition to the extensive borrowing of single words, which we examined in the second part of this article, in Díaz's novel we find all three types of code-switching. However, in contrast to other radical bilingual texts, such as the one in (3) from Chávez-Silverman, which makes use of sustained code alternation, and where the switch usually involves more than one constituent, what is striking about this text is the abundant use of insertion and congruent lexicalization.

In (69)–(70) we have some examples of code alternation where the switch involves more than one constituent.

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9 Since the main language in Díaz's novel is clearly English, it is here considered the matrix language. Thus, even in cases where the English elements are less numerous than the Spanish, as in examples like (64), rather than assuming that the English determiner has been inserted in a Spanish noun phrase, I analyse this as a switch to Spanish after the determiner triggered in this case by the insertion or borrowing of the noun culo. For the notion of matrix language and the problems of establishing one in cases of spontaneous, oral code-switching see Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002) and Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000, 2009).
(69) That special blend the Dominican government swears no existe
(70) You have to grab a muchacha y méteselo
Most of the examples, however, are cases of insertions of a single constituent,
such as those in (71)–(76). 10
(71) And since her mother was una maldita borracha
(72) called him gordo asqueroso
(73) she wasn’t una pendeja
(74) La primera was Gladys
(75) ... but she had the posture and speech (and arrogance) of una muchacha respe-
table
(76) La pobrecita can’t even write her own name

Finally, there are also cases of congruent lexicalization, where we have a shared
structure, which is freely lexicalized with Spanish words, as in examples (77)–
(82).

(77) Your own fucking neighbors could acabar con you just because ...
(78) There are people like my tío Miguel in the Bronx who still zafa everything
(79) Coje that fea y méteselo
(80) In her twenties, sunny and amiable, whose cuerpo was all pipa and no culo, a
‘mujer alegre’ (in the parlance of the period).
(81) within the week she’d be mamando his ripio like an old pro
(82) Muchacha, you wouldn’t believe el lío en que me metí anoche

Muysken points out that contact situations which show cases of congruent
lexicalization often have cases of intra-word switching, a switching banned by
some of the proposed constraints for conversational code-switching, such as the
Free Morpheme Constraint. In (83) through (85) we have some examples where
Díaz mixes the languages inside a word:

(83) northamericana
(84) ... while the Friends of the Dominican Republic were perejiling Haitians...
(85) A consummate culocrat to the end

As Treffers-Dalle (2009) points out, if we think of these three types of intra-
sentential code-switching in terms of language separation, the languages would
be the most separated in cases of alternation and the most mixed in cases of
congruent lexicalization, as the diagram in (86) shows.

(86) Intrasentential Code-switching and Language Separation
   Separation continuum
   Maximum Alternation Insertion Minimum Congruent lexicalization
   (Treffers-Daller 2009: 68)

From this perspective, sustained code alternation, as that found in other fully
bilingual works where Spanish paragraphs and/or sentences alternate with

10 Although I have chosen here insertions which involve more than one word, many of the
spontaneous borrowings considered in the second part of this article could be viewed as
cases of one-word insertions. For the view that borrowing and code-switching cannot be
fully differentiated see Myers-Scotton 1993 and Treffers-Daller 1991, among others.
English ones, might not be the only radical strategy to introduce Spanish in English texts or even the most radical. I think that sustained insertion leading to sustained congruent lexicalization of the type we have seen in Díaz's novel might be even more radical, in the sense that in this case there is a more intimate connection between the two languages, where Spanish does not so much alternate with English, but 'invades' English. Thus, if the term 'radical bilingualism' is used to refer to sustained alternation, I propose the term 'radical hybridism' to refer to the use of spontaneous loan words, and sustained insertion and congruent lexicalization à la Díaz, where rather than switching to Spanish for more than one phrase, what we find is massive borrowing of single words, and single and multiple insertions of Spanish phrases in shared structures.¹¹

Thus, in contrast with other radical bilingual texts such as Braschi's Yo-Yo Boing! and Chávez-Silverman's Killer Crónicas, where the alternation is often expanded outwards beyond the sentence level to include whole paragraphs and sections in Spanish, the strategies used in this text, which might be more subtle, but still powerful, go from the sentence and even the phrasal level inwards down to the word level, and even the morpheme level, with the result that rather than alternating with English, Spanish words, hundreds of Spanish words and phrases, blend in with English grammar and are treated as if they were English. This results in the kind of hybrid and partially unintelligible, heterogeneous text Díaz is interested in creating.

The distinction between radical bilingualism (use of sustained alternation) and radical hybridism (use of sustained insertion and congruent lexicalization) proposed here might be useful in future analyses of other bilingual texts and might help establish a typology of radical code-switching strategies, which result in bilingual or even hybrid texts.

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¹¹ As an anonymous reviewer points out, the term 'hybridism' might be problematic since it could be interpreted to mean a mixed language, such as the systematic kind of switching observed by Muysken (1997) in Media Lenga, which involves Spanish lexis and Quechua morphology/syntax, or what Auer (1999) has termed 'fused lects'. It should be clarified, then, that the term 'radical hybridism' does not refer to an established mixed language. It is meant to refer to the sustained use of borrowing, insertion and congruent lexicalization, which produces hybrid phrases in contrast to the sustained use of alternation, where switches occur at phrase boundaries.
Works Cited


