THE USE OF BILINGUAL DISCOURSE MARKERS: IDENTITY IN MEDIATED LEARNING

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This study looks at the placement of educational television, using Maya & Miguel (PBS), as an example of a tool for mediated learning. The animated children's program utilizes codeswitching between English and Spanish in a multicultural setting, with the claim of expanding viewers' exposure and acceptance of bilingualism and diverse cultural traditions. Using a corpus analysis of the dialogue, discourse markers are shown to be used by characters to form their social identity within the characters' relationships on the show.

INTRODUCTION

Multimedia is a constant presence in many people's lives: it is difficult to avoid even if one wants to shun it. Children in the United States ages 2-18 watch, on average, over 2 ½ hours of television a day, or over 19 hours per week (Kaiser Foundation, 1999). Many of them are multitasking, or playing on the computer while listening to the radio or the television (Kaiser, 2005). Within this multimedia world, 2-7 years olds spend an average of 3 ½ hours a day with some form of media, from television, radio, computer, watching movies, to playing video games. Children in the 8 – 18 year old age group spend even more time with an average of over 6 ¾ hours every day. While this seems like an excess of exposure to and use of media, it includes using media in school classrooms for educational and personal growth uses.

Educational television is one way of turning this use of media into a learning experience for viewers. Media literacy, or "the process of understanding and using the media in an assertive and non-passive way", includes "the intellectual processes of critical consumption or deconstruction of texts" (medialit.org), thus allowing viewers to select and learn from programs and software that is available to all. Numerous studies have shown the detrimental effects of interacting with multimedia such as video games and watching television, including programs and software with violence, sexual situations, and advertisements that exploit children (regarding selling food items and toys) (cf. www.medialiteracy.org for many links to research). However, there are also programs that have been created to provide exposure for viewers about other cultures and peoples. Such programs may help break down stereotypes that are too often found in the media.

In recent years, Hispanic television shows and characters have made their way to the public consciousness in the United States. Not only are there

the highly visible and popular networks that are broadcast in Spanish (e.g. Telemundo and Univision), but also programs, such as sitcoms with Hispanic families as the main characters (e.g. *George Lopez*), and award shows that are broadcast on typically English television networks (the *Latin Grammy Awards* first aired on CBS in 2000 with segments as well as advertisements that were spoken in Spanish). Other indications of the increased presence of Spanish in the North American media include the appearance of Spanish closed captioning, or the text that appears at the bottom of the television screen and which is translated from spoken English into written Spanish (c.f. many primetime shows on ABC use English on CC1 and Spanish on CC2), and the use of SAP (the dubbing of English into Spanish available as an option for some broadcast and cable programming).

Other examples of the increased presence of Spanish and Hispanic culture in the media include the current trend of Hispanic characters starring in animated children shows (Martinez, 2007). *Dora the Explorer* (*Nickelodeon*) has lead the commercialized wave of Latinas, with her own show, her own merchandising line, and even a spinoff (*Go, Diego, Go!)*. PBS (Public Broadcasting System) also has its own popular show that is centered on two Latino twins: *Maya & Miguel*. One of the differences between *Dora* and *Maya & Miguel* is the support system that has been developed for parents and teachers. While both of these popular shows have extensive websites that support the ideas and topics presented on the program, *Nickelodeon* is populated with advertisements on every page, including the pages that contain downloadable coloring activities for children. The PBS website, on the other hand, contains no advertisements, which therefore shows greater adherence to a philosophy of educational television programming as discussed above.

THE STUDY

This study looks at the integration of educational television programming as a mediational learning tool and the increasing presence of Hispanic voices in current media by focusing on one specific intersection: codeswitching between English and Spanish on a children's educational program. Since children spend increasingly large amounts of time with new media, including the internet as well as television, the premises of *Maya &Miguel* as an educational television show with the intent to present positive aspects about bilingualism shows promise as a mediational tool for learning. In a longitudinal study involving 570 adolescents, Anderson, Huston, Schmitt, Linebarger and Wright (2001) found implications that early viewing of educational television shows such as *Sesame Street* and *Mister Rogers* were related to higher grades and academic success in high school. Acknowledging the many variables involved in such a study, the authors include a model that "media use during the preschool years influences the academic skills, level of motivation, readiness to learn, and social behavior patterns with which children enter the years of formal schooling, when such behaviors become relatively consistent over time" (Anderson, et. al., 2001, p. 7). The children

who already have skills and exposure to the prerequisites of reading, for example, may be placed in a higher reading group; the fostering of positive attitudes about school and learning then leads to a trajectory of further success and positive attitudes about school in later grades. Correlations can be drawn between this content model of preschool media use indirectly affecting attitudes about school and the mediated learning presented in educational television shows with the specific premises to expose viewers to positive aspects of bilingualism and multiculturalism.

A current educational television show, *Maya & Miguel* first aired in 2004 and is still currently televised on PBS Kids. Supported by an educational philosophy, the program uses the bilingual knowledge and cultural heritage of its main characters to address issues of diversity and to show them in a positive light to its viewers, children between the ages of six and eleven. Since the main characters are bilingual, codeswitching between Spanish and English is frequent in the dialogue, as will be explained in a later section. However, such dialogues serve another goal of the program which is to focus on a specific set of vocabulary words in English and in Spanish which are supported by the accompanying website and that together aim to "foster a positive attitude toward knowing and learning more than one language" (Scholastic Entertainment, Inc, 2008b). In this study, a combination of a quantitative corpus analysis and a qualitative discourse analysis was conducted that was informed by theories about social identity and codeswitching. The dialogue from 17 episodes was collected and formed the corpus, from which the conversational units of the characters containing codeswitching were divided on a macro level into intersententional, intrasententional, and solitary use of language focusing on the use of Spanish lexical items (and corresponding grammar), which will be explained in the next section. The use of discourse markers within intrasententional codeswitches was then focused on as a discourse analysis of the dialogue. The following sections include a short synopsis of codeswitching and discourse markers as they pertain to this study, including the use of codeswitching as a literary tool to highlight characters linguistic and cultural identities. Once the characters social relationships are explained, examples of codeswitching and discourse marker use taken from the corpus of *Maya and Miguel* are then analyzed for their use as reflections of social identity. Finally, a return to the positive promotion in educational television of the use of social identity and bilingualism through language use is explored.

CODESWITCHING

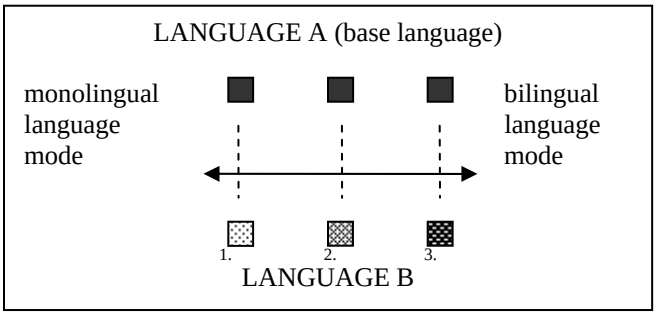
Many of the characters in *Maya & Miguel* employ codeswitching, to various degrees, in their conversations. Codeswitching itself is still somewhat of a controversial topic not only from a psycholinguistic perspective regarding syntax and bilingual lexicons, but also from a sociolinguistic perspective regarding whether codeswitching is valued or looked down upon by

community members and those outside bilingual communities (Torribio, 2002).

Bilingual codeswitching, in its most basic definition, is the use of more than one language in a conversation. Joshi, (1985), states that "speakers of certain bilingual communities systematically produce utterances in which they switch from one language to another possibly several times, in the course of an utterance, a phenomenon called *code switching*" (p. 190). The key aspects of this definition include the use of 'bilingual communities' and 'utterance'. Utterance is the makeup of the conversational unit, within a turn of a conversation, and is important in defining codeswitching from a psycholinguistic perspective. The concept of bilingual communities should also be stressed, as seen in a variationist approach to codeswitching in which social factors and identity are important to the occurrences of codeswitching.

One way to illustrate and explain the complexity and variability of bilingualism, and the relationship and use between the two languages, is to use a continuum and place the two languages in opposition and the speakers within the two according to use and/or proficiency. Grosjean (2001) places bilingualism on a continuum of a 'language mode', which is "the state of activation of the bilingual's languages and language processing mechanisms at a given point in time" (p. 3). There are several variables that Grosjean posits can affect the mode, and therefore the use of one language over the other, as explained below. The diagram below represents the activation levels of a speakers two languages (labeled A and B) compared to the language mode (the darkness of the squares represents the level of language activation).

Diagram 1. *Grosjean's language mode continuum.*



Those bilinguals near position 1 in language B are nearly monolingual (in language A) while those near position 3 in language B are highly active in their abilities in using both languages and the use of codeswitching between the two languages. Grosjean posits that language A, the base language, is active at all times and is the language that governs language processing (p. 4). Importantly, there are factors that help position the bilingual speaker along the continuum, such as the person being spoken to (eg. in which languages are the hearer proficient), the language mixing habits, attitudes and usual mode of

interaction, kinship relations, socioeconomic status, the situation in terms of physical location and presence of monolinguals, the form and content of the message, and the function of the language act (p.5). Whether the bilingual mode, monolingual mode, or a mode of codeswitching in between the two arises depends on these factors. For Grosjean, the language mode is one manner of conceptualizing how bilinguals process their two languages – whether separately or together. Important for this study is the placement of bilingual individuals along a continuum according not only to competence in languages, but also regarding the setting of the conversation and the social relationships between the speaker and the hearer, as shall be seen in a later section.

Another important concept related to codeswitching, and specifically to the use of codeswitching in this study's corpus, is the emphasis on choice: since this corpus is at the junction between spoken and written texts (the characters are *speaking* and following normal speech patterns yet the script is written before hand with the possibility of *editing*), choice in lexical selection as representation is a key issue. Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) discuss the Rational Choice (RC) model of codeswitching. They see codeswitching as part of the social message, a purposeful behavior, or how "utterances convey inferences about the speaker's negotiation of persona or other interpersonal relationships" (p. 2). The codeswitching that is apparent in the current set of data, therefore, is made deliberately as a choice; however, the choices are directed by the script writers based on the characters' identities as well as the educational premises of the show. Morever, the use of codeswitching follows patterns related to the social identities and relationships of the characters.

DISCOURSE MARKERS

Another feature of analysis in this study includes discourse markers, specifically those used in codeswitching in *Maya & Miguel*. First, I will briefly introduce the topic of discourse markers in theory and the relative difficulty in pinning down exactly what constitutes discourse markers. I will then introduce how they may be used as identity markers as well.

Discourse markers (DM) are expressions such as those in bold in the following sequences (Fraser, 1999, p. 931):

Example 1. *Discourse Markers in English*

a. A: I like him. B: *So*, you think you'll ask him out then.
b. John can't go. *And* Mary can't go either.
c. Will you go? *Furthermore*, will you represent the class there?

Discourse markers, also called pragmatic markers, comprise a group of forms which are difficult to place in a general word class. Examples include *ah, actually, and, just, like, now, you know, I think, I mean*. Tag questions are often included as pragmatic markers (Fraser, 1996). The markers may also be

multifunctional lacking a clear grammatical function (Anderson, 2001, p. 21). Anderson (2001) defines pragmatic markers as "a class of short, recurrent linguistics items that generally have little lexical import but serve significant pragmatic functions in conversation" (p. 39) while Schiffrin emphasizes the coherence factor of the markers, and that they "bracket units of talk" (p. 31). While the various definitions might not overlap completely, what they have in common is that DMs have a pragmatic function of some sort as well as a communicative function between the speaker and the hearer in a conversation.

For bilinguals, a possible switch between lexicons, and therefore the languages being used in a conversation, may be indicated by using discourse markers to signal to the hearer that a language alternation is eminent (Maschler, 2000). Shiffrin (1987) suggests that DMs do not easily fit into a linguistic class partly because paralinguistic features and non-verbal gestures are also possible DMs and so she emphasizes the cohesive nature of DMs and their use by speakers (Fraser, 1999, p. 933). In order to discuss the placement of DMs, regardless of which language they are from, Fraser (1999) uses a formula to represent the relation between sentences and the placement of a DM in which the canonical form of DMs is <S1. DM+S2>. This indicates that DMs are frequently used to relate a relationship between some aspect of the discourse segment to which they are a part of, (S2), and some aspect of a prior discourse segment (S1) (p. 938).

While Fraser excludes vocatives (such as in the example "*Sir*, I fear you are sadly mistaken") and interjections such as *Oh!*, others do include at least interjections (cf. Shiffrin, 1987; Montes, 1999). For example, in a longitudinal study by Montes (1999), she explores the development of discourse markers by a young speaker of Spanish and considers many of the uses of interjections as discourse markers when they have an integrative function (p. 1290), such as *ah, oh, uh, ay, oy,* and *uy***.** These particular DMs are speaker-based, and indicate that the speaker has undergone a change in his or her state of knowledge (p. 1292). The interjection **ay,** according to Montes, is one of the most frequent interjections (used by the mother and the child in her study) and is used to call attention to an action of event; it can be used to express a negative reaction in general and in a number of cases can be used to express pleasure or an explicitly approving attitude (p. 1307). Interjections used in codeswitching, such as those seen in Montes' study and as defined by Shiffrin, are a prominent feature in the corpus from *Maya & Miguel* and establish a bilingual Spanish/English identity for the show's characters.

Examples of DM in Spanish/English codeswitching

Torres (2002), in a study of Puerto Rican Spanish, narrows the issue to the borrowing or codeswitching use of a connector (*and*), markers of cause or result (*because* and *so*) and the expressions *y'know* and *I mean* (Torres, p. 69). She found, similar to other studies, the use of a codeswitched DM as a metalinguistic feature of participation.

***Example 2**. Use of* y'know *in Torres (2002) codeswitching samples*

(1) pero en ese hearing van ellos tienen un equipo muy bueno
(2) y entonces no pudimos tener ese hearing van
(3) hasta... cuando fue... mayo, y'know of 1989 or March
(4) y ya y'know it's almost the end
(5) casi es el final del, del año

In the above examples, the narrator twice signals a code-mixed sequence by using *y'know* (line 3 and 4) (p. 75). Whether it is used as a codeswitch or a borrowing is difficult to determine; Torres discusses the various classifications of DMs, including frequency of occurrence and community accessibility, with a partial conclusion that, at least in her data, since the speakers are aware that equivalents are available in Spanish it is an indication that this is indeed codeswitching (p. 78). Toribio (2004) indicates that "codeswitching is a conscious choice on the part of the speaker" (p. 135) and that "the …bilingual author … does not alternate her languages for lack of knowledge of structures or lexical items in her language systems, but in fulfilling 'a conscious desire to juxtapose the two codes to achieve some literary effect, an exercise of self-consciousness'" (Toribio, 2004, p. 136, citing Lipski, 1982, p. 191). Codeswitching then, according to these authors, is indeed a conscious use of the languages available, and does not indicate error in speech production. In fact, many bilinguals have an intuitive sense of linguistic well-formedness in their language use, including codeswitching, and are able to rely on unconscious grammatical principles in producing and evaluating codeswitched strings (Toribio, 2004, p. 138). The use of codeswitching, then, can be a deliberate choice that gives the speakers and hearers a forum for setting the context of a conversation and indicating the identity and background of the participants.

Discourse markers and codeswitching as identity markers

Codeswitching is not only an indication of identity in spoken language. Literary works often use languages, including discourse markers and codeswitching, to give flavor to their characters and the setting. Authors may highlight language use and variation, integrating dialects and nonstandard spelling in the written text to give indicators about the characters to help the readers construct images and interpretations of the story. American author Mark Twain is well known for his descriptive use of language for building and presenting his memorable characters to his audience. As an example of furthering the use of dialects to express characterization by integrating two languages, Barbara Kingsolver, a contemporary author, uses an alternation between languages to give the reader a taste of the setting, or place, of a novel. In *The Poisonwood Bible*, she emphasizes the two languages in the setting of

her novel and of her characters to explain how her American English speaking characters struggle not only with understanding a language, Kikongo, but also with the cultural meanings that support that language:

Example 3*: from* The Poisonwood Bible

> …Adah and I were trying to puzzle out how everything you thought you knew means something different in Africa. We worried over *nzolo* --- it means *dearly beloved*; or a white grub used for fish bait; or a special fetish against dysentery; or little potatoes. *Nzole* is the double-sized *pagne* that wraps around two people at once. Finally I see how these things are related. In a marriage ceremony, husband and wife stand tightly bound by their *nzole* and hold one another to be the most precious: *nzolani*. As precious as the first potatoes of the season… Precious as the fattest grubs turned up for the soil, which catch the largest fish. And the fetish most treasured by mothers, against dysentery, contains a particle of all the things invoked by the word *nzolo*: you must dig and dry the grub and potatoes, bind them with a thread from your wedding cloth, and have them blessed in a fire by the *nganga* doctor.

In the above example, the intertwined languages are highlighted by presenting the Kikongan words in *italics* and the English words in a standard font. The use of two languages in the same passage, in the same sentences, are used as markers of identity and as a literary tool to work with the setting and characters. Kingsolver uses this written form of codeswitching throughout the narrative to distinguish the characters in her story. Through the use of two languages, the father, who constantly used the Kikongan words incorrectly, is presented as culturally ethnocentric while the daughter who rejected African culture and rarely if ever used a Kinkongan word is presented as arrogant. These two are contrasted with the character narrating in example 3 who embraced the language and the people and shows her cultural understanding and social relationships through her use of the two languages and the intentional, purposeful word choices.

In example 4, below, Luis Alberto Urrea also uses written codeswitching to flavor the dialogue, although he does not italicize or otherwise mark the change between the two languages. Instead, he uses them seamlessly. Urrea's use of Spanish within the English novel, *The Hummingbird's Daughter*, is rarely translated for discourse markers such as *sí*, or *ay*, but may be for less common lexical items, such as in example 4 below, or not at all if the word is vulgar in nature. Rather Spanish is peppered throughout the text and the reader must read on if the words are not understood. While this type of codeswitching serves the same purpose as that of example 3, it does not make the meanings completely clear to a non-

Spanish speaker, rather it is used as an identity marker for the characters and the setting, which is in Mexico.

Example 4 *from* The Hummingbird's Daughter:

(1) "Who is it?"
"El Patudo." Bigfoot.
(2) Tomás dropped the reins and stood in the box and shouted, "Qué pasa aquí?"

In example 4.1, the Spanish word *patudo* has been translated in the following sentence, but in 4.2 the phrase has not been translated into English and it is up to the reader to either know or to gather from the context what is being said by the character Tomás. While the addition of the inclusion of codeswitching aids in the description of the setting and the characters, it does not make a complete switch between the written codes since the phrase in 4.2 does not begin with an inverted question mark, ¿, but without a written language marker as in English textual codes.

These illustrations of the use of codeswitching in literary works are important as a segue between verbal, spontaneous codeswitching, which is used for a variety of sociolinguistic markers, and the written, planned discourse used in a script intended for spoken dialogue, e.g. the characters in a television show. For a show, there is time to think about codeswitching, to write a script and re-write a script for the maximum effect upon the audience. As Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) said, "social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language" (p. 7), and indeed, when establishing a bilingual identity, codeswitching is deliberate and prominent indication and discourse markers are easily highlighted whether spontaneously spoken or intentionally planned.

It is the combination of these three language aspects: codeswitching, discourse markers, and the use of these markers as indicators of identity and culture that are found in the corpus of the dialogue of *Maya & Miguel*. After illustrating the occurrence of these markers in the corpus, the scripts and the pedagogical foundation are analyzed for their adherence to the principle of mediated learning[i], or the use of educational television programs in this case which seeks to inform viewers of the benefits of bilingualism and multiculturalism.

THE CORPUS

Maya & Migual is a PBS childrens' show funded in part by a *Ready To Learn Cooperative Agreement* from the US Department of Education through the Public Broadcasting Service and by The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). Targeted at children age 6-11, episodes began airing in October 2004, with the intention of 65 episodes eventually being produced. The website <http://pbskids.org/mayaandmiguel> states the goals and purpose

of the show and includes activities for children and parents along with lesson activities for teachers. The educational philosophy includes two points:

1. To encourage children to value, respect and better understand a variety of cultures, perspectives, traditions, languages and experiences, and

2. To support children in building their understanding of the English language, with a special emphasis on vocabulary.

Additional goals of *Maya & Miguel* are that it supports children in building their vocabulary and understanding of English by: 1) modeling a good use of language when the characters are speaking, singing and playing together; 2) focusing on particular vocabulary words in each episode; and 3) fostering a positive attitude about knowing and learning more than one language. The website is evidence of this goal: it is available in English and in español in order to "encourage children to apply their knowledge of their primary language while learning a second language" (Scholastic Entertainment, Inc, 2008b).

The characters and setting of Maya & Miguel

The social relationships and backgrounds of the characters are important, not only to show the multicultural facet of the program, but also in the differing language abilities of the individuals. On the website, the main characters, Maya Santos and her twin brother Miguel, are referred to as "Latino" children, whose mother, Rosa, is from Mexico and father, Santiago, is Puerto Rican. The grandmother, Abuela, is an important part of the children's lives and is one of the ways of connecting them with their cultural heritage. The Santos family is bilingual, including the cheeky parrot, Paco, who is often the source of comic relief. As a set, Maya and Miguel's friends serve as an example of rich cultural diversity. They have family backgrounds ranging from West African, Chinese, Latina, and Mexican. The Santos family lives in an apartment complex (it seems that all of the children live in apartments) above the family owned pet store. Maya is known for her desire to fix her friends' and neighbors' problems, with the telltale sign of "¡Eso es!" (That's it!) marking when she has one of her brilliant ideas, which unfortunately usually turns into a mess that is resolved by the end of the episode. Miguel and the gang (Andy, Theo, Chrissy, Maggie, cousin Tito, and the parrot Paco) end up going along with the crazy plans and adventure ensues.

Not all of the characters are bilingual in Spanish, which gives the show opportunities to codeswitch by explaining and rephrasing an utterance, and therefore introduce and reinforce vocabulary items to the audience. For example, in one episode in which the children are looking for a lost cat, Maggie (not a Spanish/English bilingual) mistakes 'pato' (duck) for 'gato' (cat) and the children end up with a crazy duck and still no cat. In another episode, Abuela Elena teaches a fellow English speaking baseball fan to say a

borrowed word 'jonron' instead of 'homerun'. While this study does not attend to borrowings or loan words, per se, they are evidence of the shows' writers' attempt to spread the idea that there is more than one way to think about people and cultures.[ii] The different types of codeswitching looked at will be addressed in the following section.

The characters of this show represent a continuum of proficiency in bilingualism in Spanish and English and could be placed in relation along Grosjean's language mode continuum. In the diagram 2 below, the use of codeswitching lexical items corresponds with the bilingual language abilities of the youngsters, while diagram 3 illustrates the relative amount of Spanish used in conversations by the family members.

Diagram 2*: Friends y amigos in* Maya & Miguel *placed along a bilingual continuum*

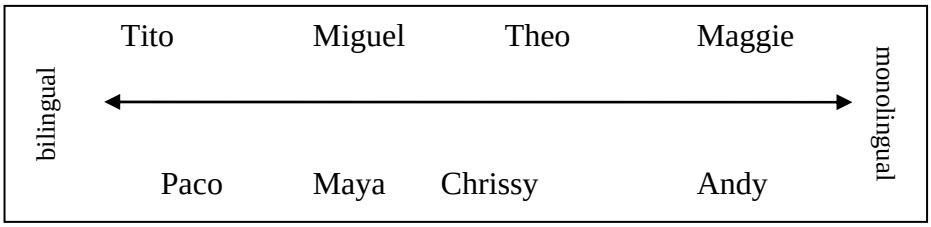
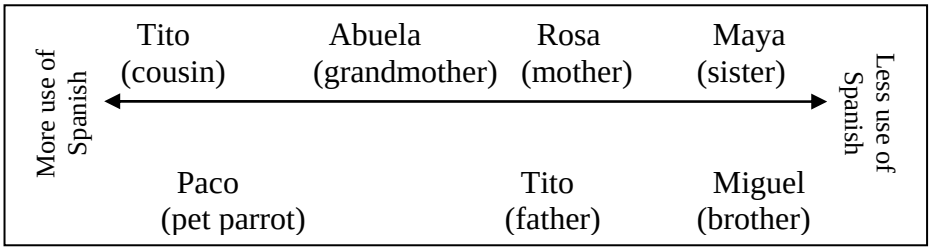


Diagram 3*: Family members of* Maya & Miguel, *placed along a bilingual use continuum*



The types and use of codeswitching has been divided into different categories in this study. Briefly, these include 1) intersententional codeswitching (or occurring between one sentence and the next, between sentences), 2) intra- (or within a sentence, usually at a phrasal boundary) and 3) in isolated words. Importantly, these styles are used differently by bilingual speakers of differing proficiency (keeping in mind that setting also plays a role in the use and style of codeswitching). For instance, Poplack (1980) observed that those bilinguals who reported being dominant in one language tended to codeswitch using tag-like phrases (e.g. …*sabes*/…you know? and …*verdad*?/…right?) while those

who reported and demonstrated higher levels of bilingual proficiency favored intrasentential switches (cited in Toribio, 2004). From a psycholinguistical viewpoint, a language learner assigns an appropriate set of features to a lexical item, however, a second language learner may encounter problems when many of the features assigned in the first language are no longer appropriate. For example, when a second language learner "inappropriately assigns phonological features of the first language to lexical items of the second language" the learner is oftentimes said to have an 'accent' (Toribio & Rubin, 1996, p. 15). Both of the above aspects, use and phonological features, are related to the proficiency levels of bilinguals are useful to place the characters of *Maya and Miguel* along a language mode continuum such as in the table below. The main characters, based on observations from nearly 20 episodes, are placed on a continuum from top to bottom illustrating the relationships between their use and type of codeswitching and their inter-lingual (between language) influence of phonetic features:

Table 1. Typical types of codeswitching (syntactic fluency) and phonetic influence of first language for Spanish speaking main characters of *Maya and Miguel*.

CHARACTER:	SYNTACTIC FLUENCY	PHONETIC INFLUENCE
Theo	switches tag phrases (DM)	does not have perceivable accent/ probably dominant in English
Chrissy	switches tag phrases (DM)	has very slight inter-lingual influence
Maya & Miguel	switch intrasententionally sometimes, more often intersententially & tag phrases	have very slight inter-lingual influence
Rosa & Santiago	switch intrasententionally sometimes, more often intersententially & tag phrases	have only a slight inter-lingual influence, stronger than the kids
Abuela	switches intrasententionally sometimes	has fairly strong inter-lingual influence
Paco	switches intrasententionally	has fairly strong inter-lingual influence
Tito	switches whole sentences	has strongest phonetic inter-lingual influence

Most likely, the characters of Theo and Chrissy are dominate in English, and not fully balanced bilinguals, as indicated by the lower frequency of

codeswitching, the type of codeswitching, and more 'standard' American English accents. Abuela and Paco are two characters who frequently codeswitch, oftentimes intersententionally, while Tito, the cousin and the character who most recently immigrated from Mexico, retains a stronger integration of Spanish phonological patterns with those of English and is the character who most often speaks complete utterances in Spanish. Rosa and Santiago, the parents, retain phonological attributes of Spanish, and frequently codeswitch, as do their children, Maya and Miguel. The Spanish used by the characters is everyday, colloquial Spanish (de Casanova, 2007) and periodically includes nonstandard Spanish and regionally marked Spanish. For example, Tito and Abuela's phonetic features display "a distinct Mexican accent and syntax" similar to some of the secondary characters from the neighborhood who make appearances in different episodes (p. 471).

As noted by de Casanova (2007), however, the Spanish used by many Latino/a television characters, including those on *Maya & Miguel*, fall into what Dávila has coined "Walter Cronkrite Spanish", or a wash in between different dialects of Spanish that is seen as having a greater broadcast appeal since there is no identifiable accent or regional marking (p. 470-1). de Casanova notes that although the parents, Rosa and Tito, are from Puerto Rico and Mexico respectively, they speak a "standard Spanish that is not especially regionally marked" and so are "generic Latinos", as are the twins, Maya and Miguel (p. 471). However, de Casanova also compares the Spanish used in *Maya & Miguel* with two other popular animated children's television shows, *Dora* and *Dragon Tales*, and promotes *Maya & Miguel* as including the most colloquialisms, proverbs, and use of non-standard Spanish (e.g. *mijitos* [affectrionate term meaning 'my children'] in place of *mi hijitos*).

The corpus, collected from Maya & Miguel

The synchronic corpus, consisting of 17 episodes of *Maya & Miguel*, was collected by downloading the closed captioning off of video recordings of each daily episode using an ATI card. The closed captioning text was then manually separated into lines by conversational turns, and all lexical items in Spanish were hypertext tagged in CAPITALS. In all, the corpus consists of 42,995 tokens, with approximately 4,444 types.

The freeware concordancer Antconc3.2.0w (by Lawrence Anthony) was used in order to obtain the frequency of type and token counts. For example, only five instances of 'esta' were found, and they all happened to be 'está', the 3rd person form of 'estar', rather than the demonstrative adjective (esta) or pronoun (ésta), (diacritics are generally not expressed in closed captioning[iii]).

The analysis of the corpus was limited to the type of codeswitching on a macro level: intersentential, intrasentential, and by solitary use. As a further definition, intersentential codeswitching includes conversational units in which the same speaker either uses two languages within one conversational turn and the two languages are not used simultaneously within an utterance, or

switches languages between separate utterances. Intrasentential codeswitching includes conversational units in which the same speaker uses both languages within the same utterance. Solitary use is defined here as the use of Spanish in a conversational turn without English in an adjacent utterance. Below are examples from the corpus of each type of code switching (from the episode "The autograph"):

Table 2. *Samples of types of codeswitching*

Type	Example
Solitary utterance in Spanish	Maya: ¡ESO ES!
Intersentential	Miguel: ¡Maya, YA BASTA! Just leave this alone, because whatever you dream up, it's only going to get us both in trouble.
Intrasentential	Maya: GRACIAS for the tickets, Abuelita.

Now that codeswitching and discourse markers have been briefly defined, and the setting of the corpus with character backgrounds have been given, the actual corpus is analyzed to illustrate the use of DM in codeswitching and their emblematic use as identity and social markers.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT: CODESWITCHING

In this section, examples from the corpus are reviewed regarding the different types of codeswitching used for analysis in this study. In the following section, examples of discourse markers used in codeswitching are examined.

Examples of intersentential codeswitching

There are many examples of codeswitching of intersentential as well as solitary utterances. In a way, for this corpus, they are related. One of the primary goals of this show is to present the audience with vocabulary. The intersentential codeswitch is one way of presenting a lexical item in two different languages by first using it in one language and then repeating it in the second language (1-4) (in the examples below the corresponding lexical items are underlined):

Example 5: *use of intersentential codeswitching as vocabulary building*

(1) MI CULPA, MI CULPA, MIGUELITO. It was my fault Paco flew into your room.
(2) MI HELADO? My ice cream?
(3) Hi Chrissy! Ooh! Your new cat! ¡UN GATO!

(4) Awk! ¡ANGELITOS! Angels?

Intersentential switching also occurs without the repetition of lexical items in both languages. In these cases, the phrases used are usually repetitive throughout the show and throughout the episodes.

Example 6: *Phrases and repetitively used common lexical items*

(5) ¡ESO ES!
(6) Man: Sure, go for it.
Maya: GRACIAS. You won't regret this.

But this is not always the case, as in (7) where there is a semantic relation between the lexical items in the two languages, but they do not correspond exactly and so they are different phrases, and in (8, 9) where the phrase used in Spanish does not correspond to the following phrase and is not frequently used in many of the episodes.

Example 7*:* *Non-identical phrasal information*

(7) ES HORA DE COMER. Come on. Let's eat. [*It's time to eat*]
(8) tsk, tsk, tsk. LO SIENTO, HERMANO. I can't do that. [*I'm sorry, brother*]
(9) Tito: ¡MI TIO SANTIAGO ME VA A DAR UN PEZ!
Maya: You're getting a fish? [*My uncle Santiago is going to give me fish!*]

Examples of solitary utterances in codeswitching

There are quite a few instances of what are labeled, in this paper, as a 'solitary utterance', or those cases in which codeswitching occurs as a response to a statement but is a solitary utterance as the turn in the conversation. The previous and/or the following conversational unit is in English.

Example 8: *Solitary utterances in codeswitching*

(10) ¡ADIOS!
(11) ¡MAYA! ¿DONDE ESTÁ MAYA?
(12) Awk! ¡GATO! ¡GATO!

Many of these utterances are repeated throughout the dialogues, and often are easily understood semantically from the context. Others are listed on the website's glossary in both Spanish and English.

Examples of intrasentential codeswitching

Intrasentential codeswitching occurs the least often in the corpus, compared to inter- and solitary utterances. Notice, based on Table 1 and using Grosjean's language mode continuum (Diagram 1), that the characters who are dominant in Spanish (over English) codeswitch lexical items intrasententionally the most often (Tito, Abuela and Paco).

Example 9: *examples of intrasentential codeswitching*

(13) Paco: Bad dog! Sit! Stop! Roll over! Play MUERTO!
(14) Abuela: Ha! Not a chance. They need OTRO slugger. Someone to hit some JONRONES. You know, home runs.
(15) Tito: I get UN HELADO, ABUELITA?
(16) Abuela: What is it, MIJA?
(17) Abuela: SI, go ahead.
(18) Miguel (narrating): SI, just another normal day with Maya…

In the above representative examples, it can be seen that the corpus from *Maya & Miguel* does indeed contain an amount of codeswitching that conforms to the underlying 'rules' of codeswitching used by speakers in a conversation.

DISCOURSE MARKERS IN CODESWITCHING

Looking at the use of discourse markers in codeswitching is a more interesting analysis: not only is there codeswitching, as seen in the above examples, but there is the additional use of DMs showing the audience an easily identifiable marker of identity. de Casanova (2007) considers this use of Spanish, or the use of codeswitching not to communicate but to express an ethnic marker, as "emblematic" codeswitching. Fraser (1999) takes a grammatical-pragmatic approach to DMs. Further categorizing DMs, he does not consider interjections or vocatives as discourse markers, but rather as commentary pragmatic markers (p. 942). However, there are other researchers who do consider these items as falling under the broad range of discourse markers (cf. for example: Shiffrin, 1987; Torres, 2002). In general, discourse markers are multifunctional at times, and contribute to the coherence of the discourse by signaling or marking a relationship across utterances. In these terms, Fraser's use of the canonical description of the coherence function of a DM as <S1. DM+S2> is a useful descriptive tool.

Use of interjections in codeswitching in the text

One classification of discourse markers includes interjections. Montes (1999) researched the use of interjections in Spanish conversations between a child and a mother. She places interjections within the realm of discourse markers as 'information management' markers, according to Shiffrin's definitions (1987), in that they are speaker based and indicate the

speaker has undergone a change in his or her state of knowledge. For example, *Ah* is generally used in Spanish as a neutral term used to indicate having noted the existence or the occurrence of something (p. 1296). She further places interjections into information management markers (e.g. *eh***,** which can also be used as an intensifier for the preceding act), projective (towards an object, e.g**.** *¡Oh, qué bonito!* [Oh, how pretty!]) and subjective (speaker's affectedness/reaction, e.g. *¡Ay, mira qué linda!* [ay, look how pretty] and *¡Ay, me asusta!* [Ay, it frightens me!]) (p. 1299).

In the corpus of *Maya and Miguel*, these interjections can be seen. The following table illustrates the use of interjections as DMs in seven episodes of *Maya and Miguel* (corpus of 14,295 tokens).

Table 3. *Detailed analysis of seven randomly picked episodes for contextual use of Spanish and English interjections used as DMs:* ah, ay, uh, oy, you know, so, *and* oh. *English context indicates the use of the DM in a sentential context of English, Spanish context indicates use contiguous with Spanish sentences.*

Discourse Marker	English context	Spanish context
ah	11	4
ay	31	14
uh	68	1
oy	0	1
you know	20	0
so	54	1
oh	123	3

While *oh* is more often heard in an English context, it is also used by the characters in a Spanish context, and while *ay* is also more often heard with English following it, it is also used as a discourse marker with Spanish following it. By using the discourse marker *ay* (more often considered a Spanish discourse marker) in an English context, the codeswitching presents the hearer of the conversation with an identity associated with Spanish, especially since it is also the most frequently used DM in a Spanish context. From the corpus, the DM *you know* is decidedly used by the speakers as a DM in English, while *ah* and *oh* are used in either context. The examples below illustrate these interjections as DMs, as well as a few others that are used by the characters.

In example 10 the discourse markers functions as <S1. S2+DM>, a non-canonical position for a lexical discourse marker but acceptable for an interjective used as an intensifier connecting the two utterances.

Example 10: *Interjective* eh *used as an intensifier for the preceding act (from "The autograph")*

(19) Man: Ah, PONCHADO.
Abuela !SI! !SI! !SI! !SI! Excellent pronunciation, *eh!*

Another interjective, ***ay,*** is used in a variety of expressions such as to call attention to an event or to express a negative reaction in general, such as affliction of pain (20, 21, 22), and to express pleasure or an explicitly approving attitude (23). In this corpus it was also used neutrally, as a discourse marker expressing sympathy or empathy (24, 25). Generally, these discourse markers are used as <S1. DM+S2>:

Example 11: *examples of Spanish interjectves in codeswitching (¡ay! and ¡oy!)*

(20) Carlos: SI, but I don't like that mascot. ¡*AY*! Moose, they make me nervous.
(21) Maya: It was the only way, mama.
Rosa: ¡*AY*, Maya, you're taking this too far.
(22) Abuela: ¡*AY*, that boy! ¡*AY!* Too much soccer, maybe.
(23) Gutierrez: ¡*AY!* Thank you for the delicious treat.
(24) Maya: It's no use. I'll never win.
Santiago: ¡*AY*, MI AMOR. You'll feel better after…
(25) Rosa: …this really funky smell. ¡*OY*! ¡APESTOSO!

The majority of the use of *ay* in this corpus was to express dismay or to call an attention to an event (e.g. *¡ay yi yi!* which could also be considered a formulaic sequence, or an idiomatic expression used to convey frustration).

Other uses of discourse markers in codeswitching in the text

Discourse markers (of the lexical type) are also used in the corpus as codeswitches, but not very often, at least not as often as interjectives or with other types of codeswitching. *Pero* (but) is used the most often (six times, see example 12), and *y* (and) is used once as a discourse marker (26). In order to analyze not only the use of certain lexical items but also their use in context, a concordancer was utilized, such as in example 12, as well as dialogue with multiple conversational turns, such as in example 13.

Example 12. *Concordance results for* 'pero'. *Spanish lexical items are in CAPS hypertext.* Concordances for *pero* = 6

```
1     have fun this weekend?   Mmm, SI, PERO...   but
what?   QUE PASA, HIJA?
2    d Isoka don't have any children.   PERO, MI REINA,
some families have child
```

3 ly gonna get us both in trouble. **PERO** Miguel? Maya! Maya! Maya! All ri
4 AZLO. Awk! HOLA, MI AMOR--¡AY! **PERO** QUE ES ESTO? It was the only way,
5 r food, get out there, and sell. **PERO**, SENORA? Woman: Get out there and
6 ally. They're just going to win. **PERO** since when is winning the only reas

Example 13. *Use of* y *as a discourse marker*

(26) Maya: I'm Maya!
Paco: Awk! ¡*Y* YO SOY PACO! [and I am Paco!]
Maya: Oh, and this is Paco. I hope it's ok that I brought him.

Interestingly, the discourse markers that are used as switches between the languages, in this corpus, are all used sentence initially. The use of codeswitching of discourse markers, such as those in the above examples, in the text of *Maya & Miguel* shows evidence of the use of Spanish and English to create a setting and identity placement of the characters for the viewers.

There were a few instances when an English DM preceded a Spanish utterance, such as those in example 14 below.

Example 14. *Instances of English DM preceding Spanish utterances in codeswitching (CS)*

Intrasentential CS with DM *oh*
(1) *Oh*, POBRECITA
(2) *Oh*, POBRE MIGUELITO
(3) *Oh*, DE NADA.
Intrasentential CS with DM *so*
(4) *so*...VAMONOS!

These are rare in the corpus, and a further indication that the speakers are placed in an English speaking setting with emblematic markers of Spanish.

Discourse Markers as bilingual and social relationship markers

Maya and Miguel often use codewsitching with each other. Not only is it one of the ways that the educational philosophy of the show is integrated into the storyline, but it also one of the ways that pragmatic markers show social relationships between the children. Example 15, below, gives a few

illustrations of the codeswitching and the repetition that the children use in the dialogue.

Example 15. *Illustrations of codeswitching between Maya and Miguel*.

(1) Miguel: Thanks for defending me.
Maya: oh, DE NADA.
(2) Maya: I don't have a plan. NO VAMOS A GANAR.
Miguel: Yep. We're definitely not going to win.
(3) Miguel: Take that, you--hey! My game!
Maya: ES HORA DE COMER. Come on. Let's eat.
Miguel: I was just about to beat Theo's high score.
Maya: Time for dinner. Anyway, you can go back and play after dinner.
Miguel: I can't go back and play because I didn't save my game before you killed it.
Maya: Oh, POBRE MIGUELITO.
Miguel: POBRE? Why?
Maya: The video world has taken over your life.
Miguel: That's not true. NO.
Maya: SI.
Miguel: NO ES VERDAD.
Maya: SI. ES VERDAD. Yes. It's true.

In Example 15 (1) Maya chooses to codeswitch *you're welcome* with *de nada*, a common choice and one that can be inferred by the listener (the viewing audience). In (2), codeswitching is again employed, but this time the equivalent phrase is repeated by the other character in the conversation. A similar situation occurs in (3) with *Si, es verdad* and *yes, it's true*, although not with a common phrase such as *pobre* and *pobre Miguelito*, which are commonly used Spanish words throughout the episodes (*poor*, and *poor little Miguel*). While *Es hora de comer* and *Let's eat* are not exact equivalents, nevertheless the semantic meaning is similar.

Even though Maya and Miguel's friends Chrissy and Theo speak some Spanish, albeit quite rarely, the friends and family members who are represented as bilingual Spanish/English speakers use Spanish in their conversations more often. For example, in the use of *ay*, Theo only uses it once (in the phrase *¡ay, yi, yi!*) out of the 45 tokens found in the corpus. Interestingly, although Abuela Elena has less screen time than the children, and therefore has less dialogue, she has just as many uses of the most common DM *¡ay!* as Maya, and more than Miguel (9, 9 and 8 uses respectively). She also uses it with her family, indicating the use of Spanish DM as a social marker. Example 16 below illustrates a few of the uses of *ay* by Abuela with other characters.

Example 16. *Abuela using DM* ¡ay! *with her family*

Abuela to grandchild (Maya)
(1) *AY*, MIJITA, I mean, that shortcut seemed…
(2) *AY*, Maya, that was a long time ago!
Abuela with family
(3) …come in the kitchen and try my BUNUELOS, *AY*?
Abuela about family
(4) *AY*, MI NIETA. she's so funny
(5) *AY*, that boy! ¡*AY*! Too much soccer, maybe.

The shows' characters, although all part of the same community, are presented to the audience as characters with variation in their use of Spanish and their use of Spanish discourse markers with each other. Diagrams 1 and 2 placed the characters on a continuum regarding their use of Spanish in the dialogues according to social groups of family and of friends, and table 1 addressed the codeswitching types for the friends and family members. Examples 15 and 16 above gave specific uses of a few of the characters and their use of Spanish and codeswitching with family members.

CONCLUSION

A number of topics have been presented in order to tie together the complexity of using mediated learning in the form of a television show to express goals such as those claimed by the creators of *Maya & Miguel*. Indeed, the first place to start is the context of the show: the setting of the community and the characters' backgrounds is created and the characters are presented via selected choices of semiotical meaning. Kramsch (1993) explains the construction of a speech event[iv] as "not only having a choice of grammatical and lexical features, but deciding which to choose from, depending on one's assessment of the whole situation of communication, and on the expectations raised in the speaker and the listener by that situation" (p. 35). Thus, in this creation of the context, or the preparation and production of a text (script) for presentation to a young audience, choices are made regarding the representation of the multicultural characters and the adherence to the philosophy of the television show (i.e. its educational goals of presenting multiculturalism and bilingualism in a positive light).

The use of codeswitching between Spanish and English is one way of creating that context in *Maya & Miguel*. More specifically, the

> characters use Spanish for a variety of reasons: to emphasize a particular point; define words or phrases; introduce certain topics; reinforce a request; clarify a point; communicate friendship; ease tension and inject humor; indicate a change of attitude; or explain a concept that has no equivalent in the culture of the other language.

(Richman, 2004, personal communication)

In the Spanish and English language choices by the different characters in the television show, we can see that the scripts reflect a social identity that is in part created through language. The choices change according to the interactional setting, or with whom the characters are speaking, indicating a type of membership categorization device (Cashman, 2005). Throughout the episodes, the twins use more Spanish lexical choices with their family, or the bilingual speakers, than they do with their friends, some of whom are not fluent Spanish speakers. Many of the Spanish word choices are either pragmatic markers, the majority of which have little or no effect on the overall semantic meaning of the utterance and need not be translated, or solitary vocabulary items that are intersententional and were later repeated in a translation.

While many heritage speakers of Spanish internalize the stigma attached to their speech forms, such as that of pronunciation and the use of intra-sentential codeswitching, and feel that it is a negative attribute (cf. Toribio, 2002), the television show *Maya & Miguel* instead celebrates linguistic diversity and multilingualism. The use of codeswitching is not presented as a flawed competence in a language, but rather it is indicative of shared knowledge. The generic, pan-Spanish presentation of its speakers is perhaps one aspect that falls short in *Maya & Miguel* as a potential symbol for its young audience, and the program would benefit from further exploration of the diversity of Latino/as and Hispanic cultures. Regardless, educational television is under-promoted: statistics show that children and adolescents use media in their daily activities, and media with promising and pedagogically based programming without the onslaught of manipulative advertisements should be further funded and promoted. Children are on the computer, on the internet, and talking with their friends: educational programs and websites are ideal places to plant the seeds of linguistic tolerance and diversity.

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[i]The term "mediated learning" is used (Feuerstein & Feuerstein, 1991) to refer to the use of some stimuli in a learning environment and attaches the uniqueness of the individual to the relative use of the stimuli. Included in the mediated learning environment is the sociocultural view that learning and identity emerge in a society, with interaction with a community. I am using the term in a similar manner, in that the use of a television program is perceived differently by different individuals, and that the stimuli, or the television program, may be used to learn since it is produced to be viewed and received in particular ways by an audience (whether or not it is viewed or received in the intended manner by different audiences is a separate matter). Another, more recent use of 'mediated' is in computer-mediated learning in which a computer is used to assist and focus a learner on a task, or a set of stimuli.

[ii] The writers are all bilingual speakers of Spanish and English and often draw upon their own life experiences when writing the scripts for the show (per personal correspondence with Beth Richman, Creative Executive of *Maya & Miguel*).

[iii] Closed Captioning is used for the hearing impaired and picked up and decoded from the transmission; as such, it is in English unless a word is spoken in another language. It is not subtitling, which is used on purchased videos and DVDs, and which can be in whichever language(s) the producers choose to support.

[iv] The speech event is a communicative event, or the interaction between a speaker and a hearer. In the context of a television program, the roles of the speaker and hearer are extended. The speaker may be constructed as those who write, produce and narrate the show while the hearer may be constructed as the viewing audiences.