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Code-switching in the Hispanic Community of Bloomington, Illinois: A Case Study

by
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In fulfillment of a Research Honors Project for a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Hispanic Studies and French at Illinois Wesleyan University

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Introduction

One aspect of sociolinguistics that has become more prevalent in recent years is code-switching. Code-switching consists of a bilingual speaker alternating between their two languages. This alteration can be with single words or whole phrases and sometimes occurs between two speakers in the same conversation. However this field of study becomes more complex when considering various aspects: (1) the languages involved, (2) the different instances in which code-switching occurs within a given conversation and (3) the implications that this has for the speakers and their native language. It is also important to separate the notion of code-switching from that of borrowing, or the incorporation of different lexical elements from one language to that of another language. All borrowed or loan words in a language begin as a code-switch, but through time generalize into that language’s daily vocabulary. Borrowing has no social implications, but is simply a lexical tool that facilitates speech. Upon studying and analyzing the presence of code-switching, it is essential to make this distinction. Research has focused on various aspects of code-switching, including its correlation with different social networks (Milroy and Wei 1995), the political implications of code-switching (Heller 1995) and, more specifically, Spanish language mixing/code-switching, in the United States (Reyes 1982).

Code-switching, a relatively new field of study in sociolinguistics, has many implications for the speaker and their society. For instance, it has been assumed that the mixing of two languages in a speech sample signifies that the speaker knows neither adequately. Bloomfield (1927) maintained that aside from the “ideal” bilingual speaker, who is fully competent in both languages, all others were simply incompetent.
Furthermore, such ideas later led to the theory of semilingualism, developed by educational psychologists, in which a bilingual child was determined to know neither language adequately enough to “sustain cognitive process which enable them to benefit from mainstream education” (Milroy and Muysken 3). More contemporary research indicates a fairly different notion. According to Heller (1995), it is now thought that code-switching is in reality a resource for bilingual speakers to better express themselves. One example is the research carried out by Lance (1969) which includes the study of two Spanish and English bilingual women interacting in six different interviews. The interviews were analyzed for three general types of code-switching, including: single words, longer phrases and quotations. It was concluded that while code-switching was frequent in their dialogues, neither woman lacked strong vocabulary. Rather, it was found that certain words or phrases were simply more readily available for them in one language or the other (144). Another case study carried out by Valdes (1976) focused on the alternation between Spanish and English that took place in familiar settings, in which the informant was instructed to engage in ordinary conversation with other bilinguals. Similar conclusions to that of Lance’s (1969) study were drawn. These conclusions denote that although code-switching was prevalent in the participant’s discourse, it was not any indication of weak vocabulary skills or of deficiencies in language skills.

This present case study of code-switching is a quasi-replication of Valdés’ (1976) research on code-switching patterns, in which one individual is studied in various conversational situations. In the study carried out by Valdés, the focus was on the presence of code-switching patterns in different situations in order to determine the significance of one native speaker with various interlocutors. By realizing this study she
concluded the following: (1) the use of code-switching by the principal informant does not suggest a lack of language skills; (2) bilingual speakers take full advantage of rhetorical devices to dramatize their speech; (3) regularity of patterned switching evidences a bilingual vocabulary not identical to that of the other two languages; (4) code-switching patterns often depend on the other interlocutors; and (5) further investigation is required to determine Spanish or English language proficiency and its effect on specific switching patterns.

Therefore, there exists a contradiction in code-switching studies. Some researchers conclude that code-switching is an indicator of a lack of language skills, while others find that it serves as an additional resource for the bilingual speaker. The findings of the present study are important in that they add to the evidence that code-switching is a positive element in a bilingual speaker's linguistic repertoire.

To confirm this conclusion, I carried out a case study involving the presence of code-switching between Spanish and English in the speech of a sixteen year old Mexican adolescent of Bloomington, Illinois. Bloomington is part of the twin-cities Bloomington-Normal in McLean County, Illinois. These two cities together form the largest urban area in this predominantly rural county of Illinois. It has approximately 100,000 inhabitants out of a county of 145,477 (United States 1999 Census). In addition, 1.9% of McLean County's population is Hispanic and the majority reside in Bloomington-Normal (Census). Moreover, Bloomington's Hispanic population alone has tripled in the past sixteen years, according to the Director of Bloomington's Hispanic Outreach Program, Cristina Deustch. In this study, the Mexican adolescent was observed speaking with
various interlocutors, therefore providing a descriptive view of this individual’s code-switching patterns in different conversational settings.

**Research Questions**

The previously cited works address the counterpoints of why code-switching is employed. At this time, however, it is important to stress that one of these counterpoints holds more truth and that code-switching is not an indicator of a lack of language skill, but rather serves as a resource for bilingual speakers to better express themselves. This case study aims to show this by addressing the following questions: (1) What is the base language of each conversation that took place? Base language is the dominant language of a conversation, and it is often dependent on the interlocutors involved. In this instance, the base languages varied between Spanish and English. (2) What are the code-switching patterns that the principal informant uses in five different conversational settings with five different interlocutors? Certain interlocutors, due to their relationship with the principal informant or their own knowledge of Spanish and English, may affect the use of code-switching. (3) What is the informant’s reason for code-switching in each instance? These relationships are generally referred to as social networks. In this case study, the principal informant is specifically observed within his exchange network; this type of social network can be defined as close friends or family that have routine interaction with the informant, exchanging “direct aid, advice or criticism” and is often characterized as a “strong tie” between the persons involved (Milroy and Muysken 138-9). (4) What is this adolescent’s attitude about belonging to a Hispanic culture and speaking the Spanish language? This is also a factor in this study, since: “various aspects
of bilingualism can only be understood rightly if the (potential) language-ethnicity is taken into account” (Appel and Muysken 16). Language is directly related to one’s own concept of identity and code-switching may therefore be a manifestation of the informant’s concept of being Hispanic in United States society.

**Hypotheses**

Due to past experiences conversing with the informant and observing his speech, I expect to find that he will code-switch in all conversational settings with all interlocutors. I believe that the base language that will be established in conversations between Hugo and non-native Spanish speakers, such as his tutors, will be English and that it will change to Spanish with native speakers, such as his parents or siblings. I also predict that certain code-switching patterns will be present in his discourse. For instance, in several pilot studies conducted before the official recordings the informant recited his months of the year in Spanish, even when the base language in the dialogue was English. I suspect that he will demonstrate this in the recorded conversations. I am also aware that he is an above-average mathematics student, and that the majority of his education has been in the American school system. Therefore, I predict that the dialogues will demonstrate fluid English when discussing numbers and figures. Regarding these code-switching patterns, I believe Hugo’s purpose will be dependent on the conversational setting. Thus, he will most likely code-switch when talking about domestic issues, since his base language with his parents in pilot studies was generally Spanish. Therefore, topics such as food, television and even family will most likely show more code-switching. I anticipate that this mixing of languages will not prove that he cannot express himself in either language,
but rather that he was heavily influenced by both languages in his life. Finally, regarding Hugo's sentiments toward the Hispanic culture, I suspect that he will proudly display use of Spanish in his dialogues.

Data Collection

Language proficiency and background of the principal informant

The principal informant of this case study is Hugo, a sixteen year old Mexican who has been living in Bloomington, Illinois for the past six years. He arrived in 1995 and entered the American school system in the sixth grade. He has three brothers: Christian, age 12, Hiram, age 10 and Erik, age 7. He also has a younger sister named Ana who is 6 years old. He lives in a Habitat for Humanity home with his siblings and parents, Ana and José (Cuko). His parents do not speak English fluently, although his mother is currently learning and taking a class to complete her high school equivalency.

Hugo attends Bloomington High School where he has sophomore status. After spending five years taking English as a Second Language (ESL) classes at his public school, Hugo is considered bilingual in both Spanish and English and has been recently placed into a regular academic track. Hugo was raised speaking Spanish and was schooled in Mexico until moving to the U.S. His first exposure to the English language was upon his arrival and enrollment in the Bloomington public school system. His grades vary greatly, from As to Ds, depending on the subject matter. For instance, Hugo excels in science and math, but has problems passing his history classes. His schoolwork troubles the past few years are mostly due to his below average ability to read and write English. He does, however, have the capabilities to speak and understand English fluently. His knowledge
of the Spanish language is mostly oral as well, since his opportunities to read and write it are limited. His parents speak primarily Spanish to their children, since their English language level is somewhat low. Recently, though, Ana has been trying to learn English and speaks it in order to help her children with their homework from time to time. Cuko rarely attempts to speak English in the home setting.

**Research design**

Neither Hugo nor his parents were informed of the exact nature of this study, but were aware that they were participating in a university study. This study’s principal informant was chosen due to my previously established rapport with this family. Long before carrying out this study, I learned of Spanish-speaking families in need during my first year at Illinois Wesleyan University through the Spanish Club. In 1997, I began regularly visiting this particular family with a fellow university student. We helped Ana and Cuko read their mail and tutored Hugo and his younger brother, Christian, in their schoolwork on a voluntary basis. I have volunteered my time with this family for three of the past four years. My rapport with them is such that they are more than willing to help out in this study.

**Tape recordings**

Tape recordings of five domestic conversational settings, approximately 15-20 minutes in length, were completed in order to carry out this case study. In each instance, Hugo interacted with various interlocutors in various settings, as can be seen in Table 1.

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1 Habitat for Humanity is an organization that builds homes for economically troubled families.
These included conversations with his parents, his siblings and his English language tutors. These conversational settings are all considered domestic settings, taking place in Hugo's home. I used a standard cassette recorder and standard-sized audio tapes to record the conversations. The tape recorder was placed in plain view of Hugo and the interlocutors. The informants had previously been instructed to converse informally and were advised of the start and finish of the recording process. I was present at four of the five recordings to facilitate a smooth conversational flow and to control the length of each recording. All of these conversations were free flowing and the topics discussed in each were not controlled, but rather determined by the interlocutors. These domestic conversational settings were as follows: Hugo, Ana and Rachel (pilot study) (Tape A), Hugo and Rachel (Tape B), Hugo interacting with his younger brothers and sister (Tape C), Hugo, his parents and Rachel (Tape D) and Hugo and his tutor/mentor, Aaron (Tape E).
Pilot Tape A was carried out to observe how Hugo reacted to being recorded and to judge what kind of conversational topics worked best for the study. It took place in his living room, where his family interacts daily. It started as a conversation between Hugo and Rachel, with his mother, Ana, interacting from time to time. In this conversational setting, I used both Spanish and English with Hugo. Various subjects were discussed, such as driving, Hugo’s job, food and the news. The base language in this conversation was English, particularly when Hugo was speaking with me. Yet, his mother often interjected with Spanish and broken English. There are certain examples of Hugo’s code-switching in this conversation, in which he used a Spanish word to explain himself or mixes both Spanish and English when talking to his mother. Tape A also provides evidence of Hugo’s attitude toward English and Spanish, through his statements regarding his mother’s attempt at speaking English.

Tape B took place in the study room and was strictly a conversation between Hugo and me. The topics varied from his schooling to his work at a local restaurant. He also spoke of the trip to Mexico his family was planning for the following summer. In the beginning, Hugo seemed reluctant to speak and his dialogue was fairly short. As the conversation continued, however, he became more comfortable with the situation. The base language in this case was also English, with isolated examples of code-switching from English into Spanish.

Tape C was recorded in the children’s bedroom while they played video games. Hugo, Hiram, Erik, Ani and I were all present and told to simply play and talk. This conversation was particularly difficult to transcribe because the children frequently spoke simultaneously. They also spoke to one another in the context of the video game and
fluid conversation was not achieved. The base language of Tape C was English and contains the least amount of code-switching by the principal informant.

Tape D was recorded at dinnertime on a weeknight. I asked to sit in on a family dinner and that Hugo be present at the table and agree to participate in this setting. While I had previously assumed that this would be an ideal setting to record Hugo's interaction with his parents, Hugo later informed me that he does not usually sit with his parents at dinner and that he was uncomfortable being recorded. The conversation was sparse during the first fifteen minutes. Therefore, I let the tape record for a longer period of time in order to attain more data. The base language of the dinner conversation varied between English and Spanish. Hugo tended to speak Spanish to his parents and English to me. This tape provided the most examples of code-switching in this study. This conversation was difficult to transcribe, however. Hugo's mother often moved around the kitchen and consequently her speech was not clearly recorded. The father spoke with such rapidity that his words were not clearly enunciated. In this tape, Hugo tended to mumble, thus making transcription troublesome at times.

Finally, Tape E takes place between Hugo and Aaron, a male tutor and mentor who visits Hugo weekly. Aaron helps Hugo with his homework and also plays a mentoring role. While Aaron studies Spanish at the university and is a fluent speaker, he interacts with Hugo principally in English. Aaron agreed to aid in this case study and was informed of its purpose. He recorded a typical weekly visit between Hugo and him and English was the base language established in this conversation. Aaron chose to record longer than the set fifteen minutes, since he felt it took longer for Hugo to become comfortable speaking with him in front of the tape recorder. In Tape E there were many
examples of Hugo using numbers and discussing mathematical problems. Hugo code-switched from English to Spanish during this conversational setting.

**Analysis**

Upon finishing the data collection, each conversation was transcribed using a transcribing/dictating machine (See Appendixes A-E). Another fluent university Spanish speaker then proofed the transcriptions for accuracy and errors. Each conversation was then analyzed for its base language and the presence of the types of code-switching in Hugo’s speech. Certain symbols were used in the transcriptions to denote specific conversation characteristics. Inaudible words or phrases were indicated with “(unclear).” Pauses between words spoken by the interlocutor, or phrases that were incomplete are shown by three successive periods (….) or (pause). All phrases spoken in Spanish are in bold-face, and examples of Hugo’s code-switching are both in bold and underlined. His code-switching was classified according to the following criteria outlined in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Quasi-technical Terms</td>
<td>Words with specialized uses in American/Mexican culture or technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Switching of Isolated Terms</td>
<td>Possibly lexical need</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Metaphorical Switches</td>
<td>Obvious stylistic device – used for emphasis or contrast</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Preformulations</td>
<td>Linguistic routines</td>
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<td>5. Identity Markers</td>
<td>Stress in-group membership</td>
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<td>6. Discourse Markers</td>
<td>Filler words – for example: <em>y todo eso</em>, man, like</td>
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<td>7. Number Switches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Sequential Responses</td>
<td>Speaker uses language last used (following suit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Contextual Switches</td>
<td>Situation, topic, etc., are linked to the other language</td>
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</table>
While in some cases one specific pattern adequately describes a switch, at times several pattern classifications are needed to classify a code-switch. A final interview was also conducted between Hugo and me to collect pertinent information and create an adequate profile, including biographical information, as well as Hugo’s sentiments about being Hispanic. This was carried out in order to determine if such information was pertinent to his code-switching frequency and patterns.

**Tape Discussion**

Hugo’s recorded speech conversations contained examples of language mixing between Spanish and English. The following discussion presents transcribed samples that have been classified according to the patterns defined in Table 2. It also provides a discussion of the patterns, including the reasons that he code-switched in each instance.

**Quasi-technical Terminology**

Excerpt (1) below, from Tape A, is an example of a Quasi-technical term present in Hugo’s discourse with his interlocutor.

(1) Rachel: Do you have a checking account yet? Or a banking account?
   Hugo: Me? I told you I have a bank account.
   Rachel: You have one?
   Hugo: It’s still open.
   Rachel: Yeah, but did you put your money in it?
   Hugo: No, I have like a little *atanda* thingie going on.
   Rachel: A what?
   Hugo: *Atanda*. It’s like a...ok, say every two weeks, right, you give a hundred dollars, right?
   Rachel: Is it Spanish? *¿Atanda*?
   Hugo: *Atanda*. It’s Mexican.
   Rachel: *¿Qué es*?
   Hugo: It’s like a savings account, but the bank doesn’t do it. First it’s like you go and in May, *mayo*, in May, yeah, May twenty, twenty-eighth, I’m getting a thousand dollars.
According to Lance (1975), Quasi-technical Terms are characterized by words that have specialized uses in a specific culture or technology (138-9), in this case, the Mexican culture. Translations of Quasi-technical Terms often result in a loss of specificity (139). *Atanda* is a word used to describe a specific and rather complex way to handle money. Hugo took several minutes to describe the meaning of the word, comparing it to a savings account, but felt the need to further explain himself further.

Another example of code-switching found in Tape B could be considered a Quasi-technical Term. The dialogue was as follows:

(2) Hugo: Because when my Dad come over here, I turned bad. Bad in everything. I was like ten years old, my Dad came here, like six years ago. My mom was living with the kids and everything. I was up there, I mean, I was a *callejero*. You know what that means? I was going through the streets and stuff like that. Came to my house at like eleven, late.

Rachel: When you were here or in Mexico?

Hugo: No, Mexico.

Rachel: Oh.

Hugo: That’s what I’m trying to tell you. Like you said, what do you mean there’s no high school. There is gonna be a high school, but I mean, probably I will not be in a high school. You know what I’m saying? Now you get me, right?

Just like *atanda* from Tape A, Hugo used *callejero* to describe something that would not translate clearly into English with just one word. He had to further explain this concept to me in order to get his point across, since there is no other word in English, nor in the American culture, that conveys the same meaning.

**Switching of Isolated Terms**

Immediately after the Quasi-technical code-switch of *atanda* in Tape A, seen in excerpt (1), Hugo displayed an Isolated Switch using the Spanish equivalent for May, *mayo*. Two characteristics of this code-switch are important to note. First, Hugo displayed knowledge of the English equivalent for this month, by stating "May" before
and after the switch. Therefore this code-switch is not a lexical need for him. Secondly, Hugo said \textit{mayo} in a hushed manner, almost as if saying the word to himself rather than to the interlocutor. This suggests that this word was not meant for the interlocutor to hear, but rather a thought to himself, functioning as a self-correction aid. Tapes A-E contain several examples of this hushed Isolated Switch, a pattern that is very much a part of Hugo’s speech pattern.

One Isolated Switch is also found in the dialogue of Tape D. When Hugo was describing his future to me, he stated his desire to retire in Mexico: “Me? When I retire, I’m going to have a little \textit{casa} [house] up there.” Since Hugo demonstrated elsewhere in his recorded speech that he knew the word, house, in English, it can be assumed that this code-switch was not a lexical need. The word \textit{casa}, instead, might have been more readily available to him at this moment.

In the conversation from Tape E with Aaron, Hugo demonstrated another use of Isolated code-switching. But in this case, it showed a lexical need for the informant.

(3) Aaron: Where does he live? Does he live at his place, at the restaurant?
Hugo: He comes to the United States, (unclear) One of them had a visa. You know, PRI, they say, what’s Bush, you know, like \textit{partidos}, you know what \textit{partidos} is, right? Like Republican?
Aaron: Party?
Hugo: Yeah, what is Bush?
Aaron: Republican.
Hugo: Republican? Well, we got the \textit{PRI}, I mean we got (unclear)

The Isolated Switch of the word \textit{partidos} [political party] indicated a lexical need for Hugo. He said the word in Spanish and then gave an example of one in English so as to explain himself better. He also asked Aaron if he knew what that meant and waited for Aaron to say the word in English. It is interesting to note that Hugo did not assume that Aaron knew this word in Spanish. Although Hugo was aware Aaron spoke Spanish, this
conversation provides evidence that Hugo did not necessarily consider him a bilingual speaker.

**Metaphorical Switch**

In pilot conversation in Tape A between Hugo and me, Hugo’s mother, Ana, began talking in English about looking for work. Hugo displayed annoyance to his mother’s interruption and criticizes her attempted use of English. Finally, when Ana asked me where she could find work in the afternoons, Hugo said the following: “Uh, Mom, *dondequiera hay* [wherever you go there are] jobs, you just gotta look for something.” In this case Hugo used a Metaphorical Switch. This type of switch is strictly stylistic and used for emphasis. In this particular sentence Hugo’s pitch rose when speaking these Spanish words. By code-switching into Spanish, he stressed the fact that his mother could find a job wherever she may want to, and Hugo possibly wanted to indicate that they stop discussing the subject matter. From pilot studies and from Hugo’s observed reaction in the conversation, it is important to note that his mother’s attempt to speak English often displeased Hugo and caused him to become impatient. As stated by Valdés (1975), this code-switch “may be a result of [his] momentary frustration at not being able to get [his] meaning across” (215).

Another instance in which Hugo utilized code-switching of Spanish words and phrases to bring emphasis to his ideas was in Hugo’s conversation with his father in Tape D. Consider the following dialogue labeled excerpt (4):

(4) Hugo: “Exit Wounds.” I wanna see that one! I wanna see that one!
Rachel: Well, we’ll see. Can we bring you to an R movie?
Hugo: Yeah, if somebody here lets me go! [turned and addressed father] Yeah, you, you understand homes? See Pops? *Entiendes, man?* You don’t understand, do you? Once he told me ten forty-five and I came at eleven and he started all crying, “Where were you, where?”
Hugo once again demonstrated the use of Metaphorical Switches in this dinner conversation. After the meal was finished, Hugo and his father, Cuko, began arguing over various issues. Hugo informed me that his father might not let him see an R rated movie and began talking directly to his father, in English. However, he used Spanish to emphasize the fact he was talking directly to his father. He asked his father, "¿Entiendes?" [Do you understand?], followed by the English Discourse marker, "man." Hugo was aware that his father did not understand his English and most likely did not want him to. But including "¿Entiendes?" in his speech emphasized this fact and shows that Hugo was intentionally language mixing to create this effect.

Preformulation

Preformulation was apparent in the following excerpt (5) from a conversation in Tape B and also in later examples of Hugo’s speech.

(5) Hugo: Didn’t I tell you I have a savings? Like a savings? A hundred every two weeks.
Rachel: Oh yeah, and you get that when?
Hugo: Enero, febrero, marzo, abril, mayo. May. Twenty-eighth. I get money. In three weeks I get my two hundred. Then I’m gonna get a hundred and fifty from my, this place, (unclear) or something like that, cuz they have like a neighbor celebrity you know, they got a lot of money there, and my cousin, I call my cousin, man to figure out how much a necklace, gold necklace cost in Mexico. Like way cheaper up there, so I’m gonna get my money back.

Preformulation is a linguistic routine, meaning that the spoken phrase is used in a specific pattern. For instance, when Hugo was asked when he would receive the money from his atanda, he uttered the months January through May all in Spanish. Because one learns the months of the year in their specific order, it is routine to think them through in succession. Once again Hugo code-switched, this time in a whispered voice, as if not
intended for the interlocutor. However “May” in English is stated directly and confidently following the succession, proving that there was no lexical need. This supports evidence found by Milroy and Wei (1995), in which they state:

Researchers have frequently observed that code-switching can serve such functions as word-finding, self-editing (with or without discernible errors), repetition, emphasis, clarification, confirmation, and so forth. (151)

In Tape E Hugo once again displayed the linguistic routine of saying his months of the year consecutively in Spanish, seen in excerpt (6).

(6) Hugo: Something like that. (unclear) You know what I mean? I like a bunch of nice cars but they, like, they cost more than thirteen thousand dollars. But I want to, there’s this (unclear) thing, right? So maybe it’ll be twelve thousand. That’s what I’d get. I wanna get a new car for like two years, everything’s new. Cuz I mean for, like, new cars, I mean, you don’t...like, I’ve had this here for almost a year, since septiembre...enero, febrero, marzo, abril, mayo, four months that he would have for me. You don’t have to spend nothing.

(later in dialogue)
Hugo: I got a thousand dollars coming, man.
Aaron: Oh yeah, when do you get that?
Hugo: Enero, febrero, marzo, abril, mayo. May.

It is interesting to note that Hugo preformulated twice in one conversation with Aaron, the non-native male interviewer. Both times he recited these Spanish words to himself and stopped on the month of [mayo] May. The fact that this pattern was present three times in these six recordings evidences that this is a linguistic habit for Hugo. When asked a timeframe in months, he shows the need to start at January [enero] and talk through them in order, in Spanish. Elsewhere in the transcriptions, however, Hugo
displayed knowledge of the months of the year in English supporting the idea that Preformulation is not a lexical need for the informant.

**Identity Markers**

The pattern categorized as an Identity Marker best describes this next instance of code-switching, seen in example (7).

(7) Hugo: She's a monkey, she goes everywhere. *Changa.*
    Rachel: What did you call her?
    Hugo: *Changa.*
    Rachel: What's a *changa*?
    Hugo: A monkey. She climb over here, she climb over there, she went over there.

Hugo called his younger sister, Ani, a *changa*, which in English translates to monkey. However, this use of the word *changa* was used as a way to stress in-group membership, in this particular case the Hispanic culture, and more specifically, his family. In the Hispanic culture nicknames are often given to endeared friends and family. For instance, a friend might refer to another friend by *guapo* or *gordo* (literally translated handsome and fat, respectively). These nicknames, however, have no negative connotations and are simply characteristic of the culture. In this case, Hugo began by calling her a monkey as she climbed around on her bunk bed. But immediately following this he said *changa*, as if to define their membership to their family as brother and sister and their identity as Hispanics.

**Discourse Markers**

Discourse Markers are words commonly used to mark new ideas and as filler words in a dialogue. The following, excerpt (9) is a rather unique example, where the discourse marker was mixed in Spanish and in English, and also may have served as a Metaphorical Switch. In certain cases "yes" or "no" is often phrased "*que sí*" or "*que no*"
in Spanish. The following dialogue shows that Hugo mixed these two ideas when talking with his father.

(8) Cuko: ¿No lo vas a llenar, el papel?
Hugo: No, man! Que nope!
Cuko: ¿No lo vas a llenar?

In this example, the discussion between Hugo and his father had escalated into an argument. Hugo was in disagreement with his father and refused to comply with his orders. "Que nope!" is the code-switch used and follows two patterns. First, it is a Discourse Marker, just as "man" or "like" used elsewhere in his speech. In the context of an argument, Hugo also used "Que nope!" for emphasis, thus being a Metaphorical Switch.

Another example of a Discourse Marker that was strictly in Spanish, without mixing within the phrase itself, follows in excerpt (10):

(10) Hugo: Yeah, he has a house on water...pigs and stuff, chickens and stuff right? He has, like, the cows with, like, the things, you know, he has like fields. A couple of his fields they’re, like, putting houses for sale. You know, like houses on the water. And I mean, like, a big, let’s say it’s, like, this whole neighborhood, or a little bigger. Like, this and half, that’s how big these houses are y todo eso. (unclear) It’s really beautiful. Like, the stuff is over here, and they have a restaurant here. He has ok money, like, he used to work in the United States. (unclear) He had, like, people working for him.

As Hugo described his grandfather's house and town to Aaron, he used the Spanish Discourse Marker in order to complete an idea. Since this was such an isolated instance in which Hugo continued his descriptions without hesitation, it is probable that Hugo was not aware of this particular code-switch.
**Number Switches**

During the majority of Tape E’s conversation, Hugo demonstrated his ability to work through math problems in English. When figuring out how much his car payment would be if he bought a new one, Hugo used a calculator to complete various calculations. His numbers were almost all expressed in English. In two particular instances, however, Hugo showed Number Switches. Consider the following excerpt (11):

(11) Hugo: Say it’s like fifteen hundred. That’s fourteen thousand, five hundred, ok. Say, ok that’s it, right? That’s not interest. And you have twenty-five hundred dollars. It would be what? Fourteen times, entonces mil dolares, So twelve hundred dollars, right? That’s what I owe. Now let’s do that with interest.

(later in dialogue)
Hugo: It was three...four hundred and ninety-two dollars, my insurance every six months, so let’s say like fifty dollars, out of every paycheck. That’s it right there! See? A ver, seis meses, cinquenta por seis, So it would be like six times fifty. That’s three hundred dollars. I thought it was going to be like three hundred dollars.

Each time, Hugo began with discourse markers, such as entonces [then] or a ver [let’s see], and then said numbers in Spanish to himself. Following this process he confirmed the numbers in English with the other interlocutor, Aaron. This confirmation indicates that Number Switching is not a lexical need, but rather shows that his thought process in these instances was in Spanish.

**Sequential Response**

Excerpt (12) was taken from a recording during dinnertime and showed several examples of Sequential Responses.

(12) Ana: *Está bien de caliente o no sé como te gusta la comida, caliente*
Hugo: You gotta put some of that stuff on the meat.
Rachel: On the meat?
Hugo: Yeah, that’s good. Put a lot of it, though.
Ana: ¿Quieres frijoles?
Hugo: Poquito.
Rachel: Like that?
Hugo: Yeah, that’s good.
Rachel: Ok.

Sequential Responses signify that the principal informant uses the language last used in
the conversation by the other participant and can also be referred to as following suit.
When his mother, Ana, asked “¿Quieres frijoles?” [Do you want beans?], Hugo
responded sequentially in Spanish, “Poquito” [A little]. Since the base language in this
recorded conversation varied between Spanish and English, Sequential Responses were a
common code-switch for Hugo.

Contextual Switches

Contextual Switches are defined as code-switching caused by a specific situation
or topic that is linked to the bilingual speaker’s other language. In Hugo’s case this was
evident in the Sequential Response from Tape D. When Hugo uses the word casa
[house] in reference to his future in Mexico, this may be an association that he makes
between the topic of Mexico and his language use. Because Hugo’s sole experiences in
Mexico were in the Spanish language, when he talked about Mexico in this particular
instance, he reverted back to the language spoken there to describe it.

Other instances of Contextual Switches were noted in other parts of the
conversation as well. In the following example (13), the switch occurred in reference to a
specific situation, rather than topic, that the principal informant linked to Spanish.

(13) Rachel: ¿Qué tal las clases? ¿El GED?
Ana: Más o menos.
Hugo: She ain’t gonna make it.
Rachel: ¿Por qué?
Hugo: *Because, man.*
Ana: ¿*Qué, Hugo?*
Hugo: *Qué no, que no, que no, que no vas a pasarla.*
Ana: ¿*Qué no voy a aprender?*

Some of Hugo’s code-switching was due to the fact that he was speaking with his monolingual, Spanish-speaking parents. In order for them to understand him, when asked a question directed specifically at him he answered in Spanish. This tendency reflecting the particular language preference of the other speakers was even more clearly represented by the fact that, although I asked him a question in Spanish, Hugo answered me in English. This indicates that in this context Hugo associated me as a non-Spanish speaker and preferred to use English. When I asked Hugo “*¿Por qué?*” [Why?] for clarification of his statement, he responded to me, “Because man.” However, when his mother needed clarification in the same dialogue, he responded directly to her in Spanish. “*¿Qué, Hugo?*” [What, Hugo?], “*Qué no, que no, que no, que no vas a pasarla*” [You’re not, not, not, not gonna do it].

**General Discussion**

By studying the transcriptions as a whole, the reader may note some general tendencies of Hugo’s base language choice and code-switching patterns. His own personal sentiments on the Spanish language and the Hispanic culture also play a role in his linguistic repertoire.

Hugo’s base language with both Aaron and me was English. There are several reasons for this. First, Hugo knew both of us as his English language tutors, since we routinely help Hugo with his homework, with reading and with expressing his ideas
better in English. Therefore the principal informant was accustomed to establishing
English as a base language with his tutors. Also, since Aaron and I are American, non-
native speakers, it is probable that Hugo did not consider us to be Spanish speakers when
interacting with him one-on-one. In Appendix B, when Hugo used the Quasi-Technical
term *callejero*, he followed this with the question, “You know what that means?” This
type of question is a comprehension check. A similar phenomenon happened when
conversing with Aaron. In the Isolated Switch *partidos*, he asked if Aaron knew what the
word meant. In both cases he attempted to explain the meaning of the words as if we did
not know.

By not associating certain interlocutors as Spanish speakers, Hugo’s use of
English and Spanish is significant. In both conversations B and E, where Hugo had a
one-on-one conversation with his tutor, Hugo displayed a tremendous amount of English
dialogue and very little code-switching into Spanish. When he did code-switch, it was
often done in a whispered voice, as if the words were not intended for the interlocutor.
His code-switches in these cases were mostly classified as linguistic routines, such as
when he recited the months of the year in their proper order. Within his speech in these
two recordings, Hugo also tended to trail off with his ideas and not finish sentences. He
frequently used “la, la, la” to fill his ideas, when he was trying to describe a situation or
define a term. “La, la, la” was often preceded or followed by certain discourse markers,
such as “man” and “you know.” It is interesting to note that Hugo’s use of this filler
terminology was in place of code-switching. Instead of reverting to Spanish when he
could not complete his idea in English, he trailed off and attempted to better explain
himself in the next sentence, through description or by giving examples. Another
noteworthy aspect to his speech patterns is that "la, la, la" was seemingly a substitute for "blah, blah, blah." His choice of the common Spanish sound "la" could have implications as to what language he accessed when struggling to complete his ideas. Nonetheless Hugo made the effort to explain himself strictly in English when talking to his tutors.

Hugo's sentiments on language use were also evident in these transcriptions. On two different occasions, Hugo displayed frustration when his mother tried to speak English. At one point he told her she would not be able to pass the GED\(^2\) because of her lack of linguistic skills. In a final interview, Hugo mentioned that he speaks strictly Spanish with his parents. He also mentioned that he sometimes consciously uses English so that his parents will not understand him. Therefore, throughout his conversations with his parents he rarely code-switched. When he did mix the two languages, the code-switch was generally an English discourse marker that he habitually uses (such as "man" or "like) or it was used to stress his point.

It is important to note that Hugo's base language with his younger brothers and sister was English in the recorded conversation. This may be due to the fact that I was present and therefore an indicator to Hugo to speak English. But in the final interview Hugo mentioned that he usually spoke with them in both languages and mostly English. Thus, it is likely that Hugo would have code-switched more often when alone with them and that my presence affected the accuracy of this data.

\(^2\)General Educational Development, or GED, is the test taken to achieve high school equivalency.
Conclusions

These five recorded conversations provide a view of the switching patterns of the principal informant and contain tentative social implications for the speaker.

The base language was observed in order to determine whether the informant used a particular language in order to accommodate others interlocutors in the conversation. This observation is significant because it therefore outlines the reasons that code-switching occurs. In response to the first research question of this case study concerning the base language of conversational settings, it was determined to be mostly English, but varied in the presence of adult Spanish monolinguals. Also, language accommodation took precedence over this phenomenon. In other words, Hugo changed his speech patterns based on his perception of his interlocutors' level of knowledge of Spanish. With this perception in mind, Hugo chose the base language to match the language that he felt to be better understood by others.

The code-switching patterns mostly used by the principal informant, in order of frequency, are Quasi-Technical Terminology, Contextual Switches, Sequential Responses and Discourse Markers. He did not code-switch for lexical need, meaning that he did not demonstrate a lack of English fluency. Hugo's relationship with interlocutors affected the prevalence and the type of code-switching present in his speech. While he expressed strong ties to his heritage, his code-switching into Spanish was far more private than his use of code-switching in English.

In conclusion, this study shows the importance of understanding the complexity of code-switching as used by a bilingual speaker. The conclusions are relevant in clarifying past assumptions that the mixing of two languages in a speech sample signifies
that the speaker knows neither adequately. This study also showed that code-switching is a window to the social reality of bilingual speakers, varying in conversational settings in distinct exchange networks. In this case study, the code-switching patterns differed from each other depending on the proximity of the members of the exchange network. Therefore, this case study supports the fact that code switching is in reality a resource for bilingual speakers to better express themselves.
Appendix A

Tape A

Domestic Setting: Living room
Interlocutors: Hugo, Rachel and Ana

Rachel: Just leave it there and we'll talk. I'm gonna trip one of the kids, aren't I?
Hugo: They're not comin' until four something.
Rachel: Where are they? At school?
Hugo:Yep.
Rachel: So, what's going on?
Hugo: Nothing.
Rachel: Nothing? Tell me about driving.
Hugo: Driving?
Rachel: Are you driving yet? Do you have your license?
Hugo: I don't have a license, but I'm driving.
Rachel: Why don't you have your license?
Hugo: Cuz my dad, like, he doesn't, like, he doesn't have the time to take me.
Rachel: To take you where?
Hugo: To take me.
Rachel: To go get it?
Hugo: Cuz you know he has to take me up there. I cannot drive myself. So, you know, he has to go with me, you know. He has to wait til we come back and then...(unclear)...and they're closed Monday, Saturday and Sundays. So I mean we can't go then cuz I work, you know. And they close, what, what time do they close? Five, Seven thirty??
Rachel: Oh, ok. That stinks. So when are you going to get your license? As soon as you take that test?
Hugo: I already got everything. I already got the hours, blue slip, everything. All I need is the test.
Rachel: What's the hardest thing for you to do?
Hugo: What do you mean what's the hardest thing?
Rachel: Like, driving...you can do everything perfectly?
Hugo: I forget that parking up and down and whatever, you know up a hill and down, down hill parking. I don't remember that.
Rachel: So, do you have a girlfriend at school yet?
Hugo: No.
Rachel: No (unclear)
Ana: ¿Ya no vas con Cristina, Raquel?
Rachel: Eh?
Ana: ¿Ya no vas con Cristina?
Rachel: No, porque no tengo mucho tiempo durante el día, ¿sabes?
Ana: ¿Ni un día vas?
Rachel: Fui hoy. Pero, yo creo que voy a traducir en la corte.
Ana: Oh. O sea, ¿no vas a ir con Cristina?
Rachel: Para ayudarle, no. Porque hay otra chica que va a ayudarle. What's that?
Hugo: Kids.
Rachel: The kids are home? ¿Te gustan tus hermanos?
Hugo: Nope.
Rachel: ¿Por qué?
Hugo: Because I don't like my brothers.
Rachel: ¿Por qué?
Hugo: Too annoying.
Rachel: Too annoying?
Hugo: They are annoying.
Rachel: What time do you have to work?
Hugo: Five.
Rachel: Do you have to wear your uniform? Or do you get dressed there?
Hugo: I have to wear a uniform. That’s what I don’t like about the job, you know what I’m saying?
      Every like Friday when it gets to Friday we have to wash the uniforms and stuff, you know,
      (unclear). The managers don’t have to wear uniforms, I mean they have to tuck in and put like a
      little tie, but that’s it. But I always have to wear black pants and a white shirt.
Rachel: You look nice when you work.
Hugo: I don’t like it. I like working for the money, but I don’t like to wear that stuff.
Rachel: You like the money, huh?
Hugo: Everybody likes the money. You telling me you don’t like the money?
Rachel: I like money. You’re right.
Hugo: If you didn’t have money how could you pay your car?
Rachel: I have two jobs.
Hugo: No you don’t.
Rachel: Yeah I do.
Hugo: How many hours you work? Like forty?
Rachel: No, because I go to school.
Hugo: Aaron, doesn’t Aaron work like forty hours a week?
Rachel: No, probably like twenty-five.
Hugo: So how do you get the money for college?
Rachel: You have loans.
Hugo: Yeah, but when you gonna, [sic] when you gonna pay the loans?
Rachel: When I have a job.
Hugo: And what if you don’t get a job?
Rachel: Then I won’t pay them. And I’ll go to jail.
Hugo: See? I mean a lot of people think that they don’t need to work, you know? I’ll go to college.
      Sometimes they get jobs. Sometimes they don’t. Sometimes they supposed to get a better job,
      sometimes they don’t. You know what I’m saying? (unclear)...they were talking about the
      Americans and like, not crisis, but like the gas is going up and like...
Rachel: Um, gas prices are like...
Hugo: I heard they’ll be like three dollars this summer, a gallon. It’s gonna be like two times more. I’m
      not paying three dollars, I’m gonna ride my bike. Know what, we wanna go to Mexico this June
      so I don’t know how we’re gonna do it, it’s gonna be expensive.
Rachel: It’ll be very expensive. Almost twice or three times the price.
Hugo: Let’s say we spend like a hundred some dollars, right, to Mexico...I think it’ll be more.
Rachel: You think?
Hugo: I don’t know, my uncle said three dollars for everything, the gas, back and forth, it’s gonna be six
      hundred dollars. Where we gonna get six hundred dollars from? I mean, we save more money
      than the plane, the plane would be what? Like five hundred dollars a spot, six hundred dollars.
Rachel: Like six hundred dollars a piece.
Hugo: Say five hundred dollars, that would be seven, no, three, thirty-five hundred, three thousand, five
      hundred.
Rachel: How many people are going?
Hugo: Seven.
Rachel: So six times seven is how much?
Hugo: Forty-two. Better than six is five. Cuz when we went to Mexico this year, it was five hundred
      dollars for me to go (unclear)....five times seven. That’s a lot of money, though, man. I mean
      what, this is only six hundred dollars? Do you know what you can do with another, twenty,
      whatever, twenty-nine hundred? Two thousand, nine hundred dollars?
Rachel: What could you spend it on?
Hugo: You could have fun. I mean you still have to take money, you know, like when you go in the
      summer, right, I mean, us, we don’t really spend that much, just traveling, we don’t go to parties,
      just my grandpa’s house, that’s it. I only had two hundred dollars and that last me for like a
      month, man.
Rachel: Do you have a checking account yet? Or a banking account?
Hugo: Me? I told you I have a bank account.
Rachel: You have one?
Hugo: It's still open.
Rachel: Yeah, but did you put your money in it?
Hugo: No, I have like a little atanda thingie going on.
Rachel: A what?
Hugo: Atanda. It's like a...ok, say every two weeks, right, you give a hundred dollars, right?
Rachel: Is it Spanish? Atanda?
Rachel: ¿Qué es?
Hugo: It's like a savings account, but the bank doesn't do it. First it's like you go and in May, mayo, in May, yeah, May twenty, twenty-eighth, I'm getting a thousand dollars.
Rachel: For interest?
Hugo: No, because I already, ok, let's start like a (unclear) -- every two weeks you give a hundred dollars, so it would be two hundred dollars per month.
Rachel: Ok. So then May twent [sic]-- what is it?
Hugo: Twenty-eighth I get a thousand dollars. There's ten numbers, right? Every two weeks a person gives a hundred dollars and the person that had the first numb [sic], the first number, he gets a thousand. The first thousand dollars. And the person that has the second number, he gets the other next thousand, so you understand me? Every two weeks each person gets a thousand dollars. Like, I, I have the last number because my dad picked me as the last number, because you know, we go, like we're going to Mexico, right, I want to have like money saved, you know, because say I have the first number, right, I would have enough money with me, right, but I will have to still pay that hundred dollars until I got my thousand dollars. Like a savings account, but you don't have to pay any interest, you know what I'm saying?
Rachel: Yeah.
Hugo: And it's people that you trust, too. Cuz my parents don't believe...across the street, you know? That family.
Rachel: Miguelina?
Hugo: And I mean it's like trust (unclear). There's a lot of trust too, cuz you know they're running with your money. I don't trust banks.
Rachel: You don't trust a bank? I do. One hundred percent. Ana, what are you making?
Ana: Eh?
Rachel: What are you making?
Ana: Chile, salsa.
Hugo: Chile.
Ana: ¿Quieres frijoles con arroz, Raquel?
Rachel: No, está bien.
Ana: Vamos a comer frijoles con arroz y carne.
Rachel: Lo puedo probar, pero voy a comer en la universidad.
Ana: Ok, entonces un poquito ahora.
Rachel: Your mom is so nice.
Hugo: Yep. So what's this project about, then?
Rachel: This project? I can't tell you. It's a secret. I'll tell you at the end. Cuz like I have to do it, like to keep doing it and then, um in the end I can tell you.
Hugo: So, how many times you gonna come? I mean, I don't care, but I was just asking.
Rachel: I don't know. I have to, it's kinda like I do it as I go along. It's very special.
Hugo: How many points of work?
Rachel: How many what?
Hugo: Like what kind of grade? Like
Rachel: Oh, it's, it's for a conference.
Hugo: What's a conference?
Rachel: What's a conference? It's like when you speak in front of a group of people.
Hugo: Man, they're gonna hear my voice?
Rachel: No, no. They won't hear your voice.
Hugo: They don't know me though.
Rachel: They don’t know you. No te conocen.
Ana: Raquel...
Rachel: ¿Sí?
Ana: ¿Tú no sabes de un trabajo así de que voy a trabajar en la mañana?
Rachel: Sí.
Ana: ¿Sí sabes? Do you know...
Hugo: Oh, boy...
Ana: About a job where I [sic], I can work in the morning?
Rachel: Where you can work in the morning?
Ana: Yes, because I don’t like work [sic], to work ...
Rachel: At night.
Ana: In the afternoon.
Rachel: In the afternoon.
Hugo: (unclear)
Ana: Ok, I like this job, the people is nice. “Is” or “are” nice? The people...
Rachel: Are nice.
Ana: The people, the people are nice. But I want to work in the afternoon because on weekends I would like to work in the afternoon, too.
Rachel: Do you have a car?
Hugo: No.
Rachel: How would you get there?
Ana: No, in this case, no, in case you know about a job, I will try to learn maybe next week, I will try.
Rachel: Entiendes? ¿Estoy hablando bien o mal?
Hugo: Mal, muy mal.
Rachel: ¿Por qué lo dices?
Hugo: Because she’s like hmmmmhm (mumbles and mocks his mother)
Rachel: Pero ella está intentando...
Ana: ¿Estoy qué?
Rachel: Intentando...
Hugo: I’ve been here the same years as her and I know very good English.
Rachel: You know very good English?
Hugo: Except writing.
Rachel: Writing? Es lo más difícil.
Hugo: Oh, guess what, I’m doing good in my class, in my history class. I’m getting a B, no a C+
Ana: En español decimos, “prefiero trabajar en la mañana aunque limpie la casa o algo de comer en la tarde.” ¿Cómo se dice en inglés? I prefer...¿es igual?
Rachel: How would you say it, Hugo?
Hugo: I prefer to work in the morning than work in the night because I gotta do work. (unclear)
Rachel: Um, maybe you could work at like a grocery store?
Hugo: Ohhh, they speak no English.
Ana: What?
Rachel: A grocery store? ¿Supermercado?
Ana: Do you know about one?
Hugo: Uh, Mom, donde quiera hay jobs, you just gotta look for something.
Ana: No, pero ella decía, si yo quería ir de, en la cocina de la universidad, pues en la mañana, no? Pero lo mal es que entra muy temprano, verdad? Yo puedo por decir así...
Rachel: ¿A qué hora?
Ana: A las 9, mínimo de la mañana y hasta dos, tres de la tarde. Cuatro, cinco horas de trabajo, está bien.
Rachel: Puedo preguntar, ¿ok?
Ana: (Unclear) ...a preguntar esta, ¿cómo se llama? ¿A Carmela?
Rachel: ¿Carmela?
Ana: (unclear)
Hugo: Who’s Carmela?
Rachel: Tengo algunos amigos. Carmela is a Spanish professor.
Hugo: Oh, you got a Spanish professor. (laughs).
Rachel: What?
Ana: ¿Tienes que hablar mucho inglés allí?
Rachel: In the kitchen?
Hugo: Yes.
Ana: Sí.
Rachel: No muchísimo.
Ana: ¿Hay latinos trabajando?
Rachel: Sí.
Ana: ¿Y hablan en inglés?
Hugo: All Latinos, all Latinos. (unclear)
Rachel: ¿Qué?
Hugo: (Mumbles)
Rachel: All of them mal latinos?
Hugo: All of them.
Rachel: ¿Mal?
Hugo: (Unclear). Oh, Raquel.
Ana: (Singing)
Rachel: She’s singing.
Hugo: No she’s not... (unclear).
Rachel: Yeah, it’s Mexican, right?
Hugo: No, it’s Spanish.
Rachel: It’s Spanish?
Ana: ¿Qué?
Hugo: It’s Spanish. I don’t know if it’s Mexican or not. It could be Spanish, it could be Puerto Rican. I don’t know.
Rachel: Puerto Rican?
Hugo: They’re all the same language.
Rachel: Yeah, but different cultures.
Hugo: Yeah, but you know.
Ana: ¿Cuándo te vas a Chicago, Raquel?
Rachel: Mañana.
Hugo: You hear me?
Ana: No, pero ya así...
Rachel: Ah, mayo.
Hugo: You were kind of dissing me. Because you don’t gotta visit me.
Rachel: My what?
Hugo: You won’t come and visit me.
Rachel: busy?
Hugo: Visit!
Rachel: Visit!
Hugo: Visit.
Rachel: With a v.
Ana: ¿Hay mujeres trabajando allí, Raquel?
Rachel: Eh?
Ana: En la cocina, ¿hay mujeres trabajando?
Rachel: Sí, claro. Voy a preguntar a mi amigo, allí en la cocina a ver si hay trabajo, vale?
Hugo: No vale.
Rachel: Vale. You know what vale is?
Hugo: No.
Ana: ¿Es americano?
Rachel: Sí, pero trabajé con él mi primer año en la universidad.
Ana: ¿Así tú trabajabas?
Hugo: Oh, come on.
Rachel: Sí, claro, en la cocina.
Ana: ¿En la cocina?
Rachel: Sí.
Ana: Oh.
Hugo: You know how to cook?
Rachel: No, pero no sé cocinar. Eso fue el problema.
Hugo: I know how to cook. Eggs. And bacon.
Rachel: You can cook eggs?
Ana: Ahora ¿por qué no trabajas?
Rachel: What?
Ana: ¿Ahora por qué no trabajas?
Rachel: Sí trabajo, tengo dos trabajos. What?
(simultaneous)
Hugo: Sí trabaja.
Ana: No, ¿por qué no trabajas ya?
Hugo: Shhh...Si trabaja, pero no trabaja en la cocina, man. (unclear)
Rachel: Tell her where I work.
Hugo: What were we talking about?
Rachel: Tell her I work in the university as a Spanish tutor.
Hugo: Ay, you tutor? You don’t even speak Spanish. Ella trabaja en la tutora en español en la universidad.
Rachel: No, pero voy a hablar con mi amigo, ¿ok? What time do you have to get ready for work? It’s four fifteen.
Hugo: At five o’clock.
Rachel: What time do you leave for work?
Hugo: See, my mom would be leaving like around, I don’t know, we don’t get there til five fifteen. She starts like getting dressed at like four thirty (unclear).
Rachel: What is she making?
Hugo: Chile.
Rachel: What is chile?
Hugo: Chile is, you get like peppers, right? The little kind of peppers and you put them in water (makes swoosh noise) you crash them up and it’s a spice. That’s chile.
Rachel: It’s spicy. Is it good?
Hugo: Oooh, you have it with beans and taquitos con carne, and ooh, man that’s good. I’ll eat ‘em, man.
Rachel: Cool.
Hugo: Remember, er, remind Aaron that if I open my own restaurant he gotta work for me free.
Rachel: Oh yeah, he’s gonna be your lawyer, right?
Hugo: Yeah, free.
Ana: Ahorita está este Bush allí en México.
Hugo: Aaaah.
Ana: Comiendo chile (laughs)
Hugo: I hate Bush. I didn’t want him to win.
Ana: Tamales.
Rachel: Why not?
Hugo: I heard he’s racist.
Ana: Tamales. La comida típica. Hay de todo allá, pero es la comida típica [sic] típica
Rachel: ¿Dónde está? En el D.F.?
Ana: No, está cerca del DF, está en el estado de Guanajuato. Es uno de los estados más bonitos del estado. Deben estar todos. Es la tierra de todos.
Hugo: She talkin’ about homes. What’s up homes? That’s where I’m from, Mexico. All right?
Rachel: (unclear) What’d you say? I didn’t hear you.
Hugo: (laughs)
Rachel: Say it.
Hugo: I was talking to Fox.
Rachel: You like Vincent Fox.
Hugo: No.
Rachel: Why not?
Hugo: Because he not, he’s not Mexican.
Rachel: He's not?
Hugo: He's not Mexican.
Ana: Sí, sí es.
Hugo: No, he's not Mexican. I don't know how the people could elect a person that isn't Mexican.
Rachel: He is Mexican.
Hugo: I don't think he's Mexican.
Rachel: Why don't you think he's Mexican.
Hugo: Fox! C'mon, where's that name come from?
Rachel: He's German. His mom is German.
Ana: Some people says Fox is Spanish.
Hugo: Hey, he's not allowed to be Mexican president if he's from Spain.
Rachel: But he was born in Mexico.
Hugo: They don't know that.
Ana: Maybe your, uh, no maybe his ancestors, ¿cómo se dice? Ancestors?
Rachel: Ancestors.
Ana: Were Spanish.
Hugo: (Unclear) They got money from Mexico.

(End of recording)
Appendix B

Tape B

Domestic Setting: Study Room
Interlocutors: Hugo and Rachel

Rachel: All right? What, you're just gonna sit here now?
Hugo: No.
Rachel: So, is it ok if we do it with your mom, at dinner?
Hugo: Yeah, it's ok.
Rachel: You sure?
Hugo: But I ain't gonna talk that much. You know, I don't talk that much with them.
Rachel: Why not?
Hugo: I don't like them (laughs)
Rachel: You don't?
Hugo: I do like them but they give me, they get on my nerves, man. You know what I mean?
Rachel: Stop, please.
Hugo: Man, dude.
Rachel: Where'd you get that?
Hugo: I got this from Mexico.
Rachel: You did? When?
Hugo: When I went to Mexico.
Rachel: Oh, last summer.
Hugo: June. We're going to Mexico again.
Rachel: When?
Hugo: I'm gonna have some money with me though. I'm getting two hundred dollars from taxes, I'm getting one thousand dollars from them, gonna go be loaded.
Rachel: From whom are you getting money?
Hugo: Didn't I tell you I have a savings? Like a savings? A hundred every two weeks.
Rachel: Oh yeah, and you get that when?
Hugo: Enero, febrero, marzo, abril, mayo. May. Twenty-eighth. I get money. In three weeks I get my two hundred. Then I'm gonna get a hundred and fifty from my, this place, (unclear) or something like that, cuz they have like a neighbor celebrity you know, they got a lot of money there, and my cousin, I call my cousin, man to figure out how much a necklace, gold necklace cost in Mexico. Like way cheaper up there, so I'm gonna get my money back.
Rachel: So you're returning your necklace?
Hugo: No, it's on layaway. They don't give it to you until you finish paying.
Rachel: Oh, layaway.
Hugo: I got a receipt from them and so. (unclear)
Rachel: Gotcha. What else is going on? How's school?
Hugo: Oh, I already told you I passed History, didn't I?
Rachel: You did? What'd you get in History?
Hugo: I got a B and a C on my test. And I got a D on the final grade (laughs).
Rachel: So you passed it?
Hugo: Yeah.
Rachel: So now you don't ever have to take it again?
Hugo: No, yeah. Dude, that's just one quarter. I have to pass another quarter. (laughs)
Rachel: What about...
Hugo: I have to pass another semester, too.
Rachel: What about your other classes?
Hugo: Oh, I don't care about other classes. I always pass them.
Rachel: What are you taking?
Rachel: Science? What are you studying?
Hugo: What am I studying? What do you mean what am I studying?
Rachel: In science?
Hugo: Oh, I’m studying about the, uh, I forgot.
Rachel: What’s your favorite subject?
Hugo: Right now math because I get an A.
Rachel: Is it easy?
Hugo: Man, I, remember last time I told you, I flunked (unclear)
Rachel: What did you flunk?
Hugo: Pre-algebra.
Rachel: Oh yeah.
Hugo: They took me down. The teacher even told me I’m not supposed to be there, not supposed to be there, cuz I mean, I’m like that kid, because like, that’s the basic math and it’s a dumb, dumb class, man. I get As on my tests all the time, I never even study. I’m not supposed to be there, man. I didn’t want to go talk to my, how do you call them? Cou-cas (tries to pronounce the word) How do you call them? [sic] How do you call them?
Rachel: What?
Hugo: The people that, like, get your classes and stuff.
Rachel: Counselor?
Hugo: Counselor, I didn’t want to go talk her, so. I probably was in the wrong class, too.
Rachel: That’s too bad.
Hugo: Eh.
Rachel: How’s work?
Hugo: Not bad. I’m gonna get raise.
Rachel: You are?
Hugo: Fifty cents.
Rachel: That’s cool.
Hugo: Seven fifty and hour now.
Rachel: Seven dollars and fifty cents an hour? Do you know what minimum wage is?
Hugo: Five fifteen.
Rachel: You’re making a lot over minimum wage.
Hugo: That’s because I work hard, know what I’m saying? People, they don’t work. They don’t make no money.
Rachel: Do you want to be a waiter eventually?
Hugo: No. I mean, waiters who make good money, I mean, I mean I seen the big tips like ten dollars and la, la, like little tables, big tables like thirty some dollars, but see, I mean, they make a little mistake, the people start like, b...you know...b...you know, like start, how can I say it? Nobody’s going to hear this, right?
Rachel: No.
Hugo: They start bitching in there.
Rachel: Oh, ok. I understand.
Hugo: And then, then they go to the manager, then they start going to the manager, then that manager comes to them and la, la, la. Just that one little mistake, they start doing that stuff. I mean, there’s a lot of old, I mean, that’s not for old people, this is for like, old people are nice I mean, they’re like ok, don’t worry, don’t worry a lot of people make mistakes. You know. But other people are like, no, no no. And people like all the time, you know, like they get food, right, and they said it taste good, but I mean they left like little bit of food and then they’re like, we’re not paying for this. And they just ate the whole food, man. C’mon. And they’re not gonna pay for it? One person, one time, I took a pie to them right? And I guess they didn’t like it, but they told me like twenty minutes later and they were almost like halfway through the pie.
Rachel: Did they want their money back?
Hugo: It was no pie, it was a cake. Carrot cake.
Rachel: Carrot cake?
Hugo: Yeah. I mean, if you don’t like it you have to tell, like, you know, like what, two minutes later.
Rachel: Do you get free food?
Hugo: No.
Rachel: At work?
Hugo: Fifty percent off.
Rachel: Fifty percent off?
Hugo: But I mean if I’m working right there and the manager’s ok, cuz most of the managers are like, just go eat something, you know, la, la, la, they don’t care. Cuz all the managers get it free, so they don’t really care. And sometimes you go, like, you could, the upper managers, you know? Like, (unclear) they just push the numbers for me, and stuff. And I mean a lot of managers do that because, like the servers and stuff, right? They don’t really have to pay for nothing. But like the cooks and stuff have to pay for like the food. You know what I mean? Cuz servers, I mean ok, let’s say there’s no people, servers aren’t working. And when the servers aren’t working, they can like, they eat soup or a little something. They’re like in the back and it’s like, I’m out there. I have to go tell them, like, you got two on table la, la, la. I’m the one that cannot eat. Like, in place of the manager, you know what I’m saying? They have to be standing right there the whole time, like right there. (unclear). And there’s somebody working with me, I’m gonna talk to the manager and the manager should say if it’s ok with them, I can sit down and eat. Every time I have money I go to the manager, and I’m like, can I have some food? And he’s like ok. Some managers are very different. One of our managers quit, Jesse. And he’s opening his own restaurant too.

Rachel: What’s he... what kind of restaurant?
Hugo: Ah, something Café. I mean it’s already open, but he bought the business. So it’s something Café.

Rachel: What, like a coffee shop?
Hugo: No, it’s a restaurant. But it’s something café (unclear) Anyways he’s opening it today. The restaurant’s already open, you know what I’m saying? He didn’t buy the restaurant, all he bought was the business.

Rachel: Right.
Hugo: You know what I mean?
Rachel: Yes. All right, when are you doing your restaurant?
Hugo: A year from now, you know what I’m saying?
Rachel: What’s it gonna be? Tell me.
Hugo: “Hugo’s Mexican Restaurant.”
Rachel: “Hugo’s Mexican Restaurant”?
Hugo: Mexican food.
Rachel: And who’s gonna work for you?
Hugo: My parents. And they’re gonna get paid very, very low (laughs).
Rachel: What else? What’s it gonna look like? Where’s it gonna be?
Hugo: I don’t know. Man. Cities change, man. You never know. I heard, like a, you know because I got like bad friends, I heard there’s like new gangsters coming over here, la, la la. You know. From California. Cuz a long time ago, there were Latin Kings here before, like, the gangs, like, cuz three years ago, one of my friend’s uncles, he was in the gang, he got shot a couple times. (unclear). He’s not in a gang or anything right, but I mean, this is what happens, that’s what I’m talking about. That was three years ago. But I mean the gangs used to bad, that was a long time ago. But I mean it’s better, but it’s a little town. (unclear)

Rachel: It’s growing.
Hugo: It’s growing, that’s what I’m saying. And then, it grows, like Chicago. It’s a big town. And what’s over there? Crimes. Like here, if it grows, there’s gonna be like mobs.
Rachel: Like any city.
Hugo: Because people come, think they’re gonna make money, like selling drugs, that’s why the gangsters come, you know what I’m saying? That’s why the gangs came over here. Like in Chicago there’re a lot of gangs, a lot of shootings, why? There’re a lot of people. Why? Selling drugs or whatever, to make money. Who does that, gangs. For what? To get (unclear) la, la, la. You know what I’m saying?
Rachel: Is it like that at your school? Is it bad?
Hugo: Nah, people don’t do drugs up at school. I mean somebody does like sell drugs and stuff, over there. But...
Rachel: They do? Have you ever been offered?
Hugo: Yeah, but I don’t smoke weed, I don’t do drugs.

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Rachel: Well, that’s good.
Hugo: But I mean, I cannot say names or anything, because they’re gonna like, ok homes (unclear)
Rachel: Right, yeah. You need to be careful.
Hugo: Yeah. That’s why in our bathrooms, cause in the bathrooms you know? They bring like, Once like last semester, they bring a dog, like police officers bring a dog, you know? Because they found like marijuana on the floor of the bathrooms. Like marijuana, like a lot of it.
Rachel: Wow.
Hugo: I mean, and there’s a lot of people that come from jail, from right there. Like right now, the persons get out for three years from jail. (unclear). And what’s he doing in high school right now? They don’t come there. What’s he gonna be doing? Selling drugs and stuff, you know what I’m saying? A lot of people that I know, they have guns and stuff. I don’t think they’re gonna shoot nobody but.
Rachel: Wow. I don’t remember having that in my high school.
Hugo: Because you’re preppy.
Rachel: Yep.
Hugo: You went to a different school. You know what I’m saying? A rich school. This is like a government school.
Rachel: A government school? What does that mean?
Hugo: I mean this is like the...
Rachel: Public school?
Hugo: Public school.
Rachel: My school was public.
Hugo: Yeah, but I mean, there’s like more people from the other side coming, you know what I’m saying? Up there, there are only preppys. We got preppys here too, but I mean, we don’t got [sic], we got what (unclear). And they what do we got? Like half the school of gangsters, la, la, la. People that fight a lot.
Rachel: If you were in Mexico, what would high school be like?
Hugo: Wooo! There would be no high school for me over there.
Rachel: What would you be doing?
Hugo: In the streets maybe.
Rachel: Doing what?
Hugo: Not because of my parents. A lot of people sells drugs and stuff. When I went there were a lot of people like in the corners selling drugs and smoking weed and stuff. I mean, the country is poor...
Rachel: What?
Hugo: The country’s poor because there’s not a lot of money up there, a lot of jobs. I mean, right here for me, people think they just find a job like this (snaps fingers), I mean I find a job like this (snaps) and I’m making what, seven fifty, I mean, I’m just making two hundred, three hundred dollars every two weeks, but I’m not getting arrested, you know what I’m saying? Like other people just make a lot of money selling drugs and stuff. But they go to jail. La, la, la.
Rachel: So in Mexico there is no high school?
Hugo: There are high schools, but I mean, probably if I was up there I wouldn’t be in high school no more. I would have dropped out or something, you know.
Rachel: Why would you drop out?
Hugo: I, if I was still in Mexico, I bet you my Dad wasn’t there. If my Dad wasn’t there, I wouldn’t be in school, you know why? Cuz, I mean there’s nobody that can still keep me in line. My mom would (unclear) I mean she would have, I mean, you know what I’m saying? You get it? You know what I’m saying?
Rachel: Yeah, kind of.
Hugo: Because when my Dad come over here, I turned bad. Bad in everything. I was like ten years old, my Dad came here, like six years ago. My mom was living with the kids and everything. I was up there, I mean, I was a callejero. You know what that means? I was going through the streets and stuff like that. Came to my house at like eleven, late.
Rachel: When you were here or in Mexico?
Hugo: No, Mexico.
Rachel: Oh.
Hugo: That’s what I’m trying to tell you. Like you said, what do you mean there’s no high school. There is gonna be a high school, but I mean, probably I will not be in a high school. You know what I’m saying? Now you get me, right?

Rachel: Yeah.

Hugo: Cuz you know sometimes, like people right here, a lot of people are like, it’s because of divorce, right? Like, like when they stay over there, my dad wouldn’t have been over there to like, straighten me out and stuff. A lot of people do drugs over here in the United States, it’s because of divorce, you know what I’m saying?

Rachel: Because of divorce? Yeah maybe.

Hugo: Well, I mean, your parents aren’t divorced, you didn’t smoke no drugs or anything, do you?

Rachel: No.

Hugo: See, right there.

Rachel: I get ya. Wow, Hugo, you’re getting smart.

Hugo: No I’m not.

Rachel: You know that?

Hugo: I’m not that smart.

Rachel: Yeah, you are Hugo.

Hugo: In a couple years I’m gonna get me a car like this.

Rachel: Are you still thinking about going to college?

Hugo: Sure.

Rachel: Really?

Hugo: Yeah. I’m, I’m, I [sic]. I don’t think, did I tell you one time I would like to play like football and stuff (unclear).

Rachel: What’s that, football?

Hugo: Yeah. I’m gonna play football. But it’s not August, so, I don’t know.

Rachel: So when do you start, in August?

Hugo: See, if it is a lot of time though, I have to go to weights and stuff, I have to.

Rachel: But that would be fun, wouldn’t it?

Hugo: I don’t like weights. People think it’s because I’m lazy, I’m not lazy, I’m just... and then, you know, my job. You never know, I might have practice Friday nights. I work Friday nights, you know what I’m saying. I’m gonna have practice Saturday mornings, I work Saturday mornings.

Rachel: But, if you work a lot over the summer, you can...

Hugo: I still gonna need money, though, shoot.

Rachel: No, you can save your money over the summer

Hugo: Yeah, I could always work other days. Maybe at night, maybe not. Because my dad won’t let me work on Sunday night. I got school Monday.

Rachel: Right. What nights do you work now?

Hugo: Sun, I mean, Friday five to ten, Saturday, I get up at five o’clock because I gotta take a shower, wake up my dad, la, la, la. Then I drive to work, five-thirty. I don’t punch in until like six ten, six twenty. Because I have to punch in at like seven o’clock, right?

Rachel: Right.

Hugo: (Unclear) But I mean, I’m supposed to work seven to three, but I actually work like six to three, you know what I’m saying? Sometimes longer, six to three thirty, la, la, la. And that’s Saturday and Sunday. I wanna get more days. They were offering me Wed [sic], no Tuesdays and Thursdays, but my Dad wouldn’t let me. I don’t know why. Only five hours, man. I mean, every day I don’t go to work, I don’t go to sleep anyway until eleven o’clock, I mean, you know what I’m saying.

Rachel: Yeah, but it’s better to be at home doing your homework than at work.

Hugo: I don’t do my homework, that’s the point. (laughs)

Rachel: You don’t?

Hugo: I mean, I do my homework, but I mean, they don’t give me homework everyday.

Rachel: They don’t?

Hugo: No.

Rachel: How’s your English now that you’re not in ESL?

Hugo: I’m getting a D.

Rachel: You’re getting a D in English?
Hugo: Imperfect verbs and la, la la la, I don't understand that thing.
Rachel: Well, you should try to understand it because you'll do better at English don't you think?
Hugo: If I'm flunking, I'm going back to ESL. I'm going to talk to the teacher, I don't understand what I'm there for. Ok. She say because I'm only supposed to have ESL for three years, right? I mean, I don't think the teacher likes me, I mean, this is my point of view. Cuz there's a person right there, he been here, wooh, nine years? He been having ESL since he came here. That's what, four times than me. And he's still in ESL. Why does he get ESL and not me? I mean, she could have said I mean, I'm already ready to go to the next class, but I don't think I'm ready to go to the next class because I'm not passing that class. They don't study English. I mean, History... You might not understand me, but I know what I'm saying.
Rachel: Right, I see what you mean.
Hugo: I know what I'm saying.
Rachel: No, I believe you.
Hugo: Cause, I mean, if she say I only have to be three years in ESL, and I already what, like four years? She should move out that other kid, you know what I'm saying? He been over there more years than me!
Rachel: Where's he from?
Hugo: He's from Mexico. But he been here almost nine years, in the States.
Rachel: What, uh, what about Spanish?
Hugo: I'm getting an A.
Rachel: Is it easy?
Hugo: Math, Spanish and Bus... no, math, Spanish and science, I don't even have to study for that stuff. That stuff is just to (unclear).
Rachel: I'm gonna stop it.

(End of recording)
Appendix C

Tape C

Domestic Setting: Children’s Room
Interlocutors: Hugo, Rachel, Hiram, Erik and Ani

Rachel: What are you guys playing?
Hugo: Uh, Donkey
(simultaneous)
Hiram: Donkey, Donkey Kong
Hugo: Donkey Kong
Hiram: Hey, do you want to take that?
Hugo: Don’t sit on my pants, dude.
Hiram: (unclear)
Hugo: Do you want us to fight? We should fight.
Rachel: If you want.
Hiram: I pick turtle.
Rachel: Have you ever played this before?
Hugo: Yeah, but it’s for two player.
Hiram: No for four players, though.
Hugo: Danger.
Hiram: Sii. Two.
Hugo: I’m tired, are you tired?
Rachel: Yeah, long day. Long weekend.
Hiram: We are on an airplane!
Hugo: I didn’t have school on Monday. You didn’t get school off? You get school off?
Hiram: Yep, cuz it’s...
Hugo: (unclear)
Hiram: (unclear)
Hugo: Can I ask you a question?
Rachel: Yeah.
Hugo: What is this like, I mean, if you never hear it, what is the point of you like recording it?
Hiram: I know.
Rachel: For me to write a paper.
Hugo: So you’re gonna write a paper about us?
Rachel: Yeah.
Hugo: The Hugo Manriquez Family.
Hiram: No, it is (unclear)
Hugo: (unclear)
Hiram: I went to the bigger pole.
Hugo: So is Aaron coming Monday, I mean Tuesday?
Rachel: Wait, what day? Tuesday?
Hugo: I don’t got school Monday, so.
Rachel: I’ll tell him.
Hiram: Wrong way. Erick went to the wrong way.
Erick: Uh, uh.
Hiram: I’m in the final lap.
Rachel: Hi, Ani.
Hugo: She’s a monkey, she goes everywhere. Changa.
Rachel: What did you call her?
Hugo: Changa.
Rachel: What’s a changa?
Hugo: A monkey. She climb over here, she climb over there, she went over there.
(simultaneous)
Hiram: No, I’m first. Hiram is first.
Erick: No, I’m right here.
Hiram: I’m second, though.
Hugo: Oh, he’s got you bad.
Hiram: I’m almost the tiger.
Hugo: Let me play.
Hiram: Hugo is playing.
Hugo: You’re gonna go get (unclear)... I’m not a car, oh, I’m a plane... ok, don’t get all happy if you beat me.
Hiram: The plane can run much faster than the car.
Hugo: I know, watch this.
(unclear)
Hiram: See?
(unclear)
Hugo: You suck, where you at, man? You suck.
Hiram: Behind you.
Ani: Erick, Erick.
Hiram: The car sucks because it gets stuck.
Hugo: So when do you guys get, like Spring break?
Rachel: Two weeks.
Hugo: Two weeks?
Rachel: Yes.
Hugo: In two weeks, or two weeks off?
Rachel: We get one week.
Hugo: A week in two weeks.
Rachel: Yeah, in two weeks we get off.
Hugo: Is it the same for us, or do we get a better one?
Hiram: Final lap.
(unclear)
Hugo: Who won? Who won?
Erick: Now it’s my turn.
Hugo: You suck man. You guys suck. (unclear)
Hiram: I wanted to play.
Hugo: (unclear)
Rachel: So what’s the point of this game?
Hugo: The point of this game is to...
Hiram: Two players?
Rachel: Hiram, how do you play this game?
Hiram: Um, you need to race and I play races.
Hugo: If you win, you’re cool. If you don’t win, you suck.
Rachel: Erick, do you usually win?
Erick: No.
Hugo: Erick sucks.
Hiram: He usually loses.
Hugo: Nobody can beat me.
Erick: Yeah, yes somebody.
Hugo: What’s his name?
Hiram: What’s his name?... what’s his name?
Erick: Papi, mami.
Hiram: They don’t even know how to play.
Erick: Uh, huh. Jugaron conmigo una vez.
Hugo: When?
Hiram: Hey guys, play one player and you can get something like this. (unclear) Right?
Erick: No.
Hugo: Danger...
Hiram: Danger...my birdie isn't dangerous. Pterodactyl. It's a pterodactyl.
Hugo: Hey you're not even gonna catch me, Hiram. You suck. You're just like Erick. I'm gonna stop, ok?
Rachel: What?
Hugo: I'm gonna stop.
Hiram: He says he's gonna stop.
Rachel: Ani, what are you eating?
Ani: Paleso.
Rachel: What is it?
Hugo: Popsicle.
Rachel: Paleso?
Hugo: Yeah.
Hiram: See, you'll never beat me, Hugo.
Hugo: What do you mean I'll never beat you? You got second place, dummy. He's a dummy.
Hiram: You are...you are...you are...man, you tell me everything, that you aren't dumb (unclear).
Hugo: (unclear) Whoops, I gotta stop.
Rachel: Who won?
Hugo: Me.
Rachel: Do you always win?
Hugo: Yeah.
Erick: No.
Hugo: No.
Erick: No.
Hiram: No.
Erick: Hiram always wins.
Hugo: (unclear) You suck. What are you looking at, buddy.
Hiram: Jungle Frogs.
Hugo: (unclear) You go too far, man. You're up in the air. Oh, you're beating me. You're beating me. Not. (unclear)
Hiram: Yeah, I need to go way up there.
Hugo: (unclear) Man.
Rachel: When did you get this game? For Christmas?
Hugo: No.
Hiram: A friend.
(simultaneous)
Hugo: We stole it. We stole it.
Hiram: Hmm, mm.
Hugo: Erick, where are you man? Where are you?
Hiram: He's way behind you.
Hugo: Oh my God. (unclear)
Hiram: Wait, he's almost behind you, he's, he's behind you right now.
Hugo: (unclear)
Hiram: I want to go up there, in the secret spot. I ain't gonna...yes! He just went to the secret spot.
Hugo: (Unclear).
Hiram: There's another secret spot. Oh, too late.
Erick: Blast off!
(unclear)
Hiram: I can see him.
Hugo: Get out of my way, buddy.
Hiram: Shoot. Go up! Aaahh!
Hugo: Is this what you want, or what you want? This is fine, right? Talking like this...
Rachel: Yeah, it's fine. Thanks.
Hiram: (laughs) I went up there.
Rachel: Man, you kick butt every time, Hugo.
Hugo: Of course, man.
Hugo: (unclear)
Hiram: No, it was Erick.
Hugo: Who was the starter?
Hiram: It was you.
Hugo: No.
Hiram: Uh, huh.
Erick: No. It's too hard.
(simultaneous)
Hiram: (unclear)
Hugo: Well, you ain't playing so what you worried about?
Erick: Oh.
Hiram: Six people.
(simultaneous)
Erick: No.
Hugo: (unclear) Shut up, dude.
Hiram: (unclear)
Hugo: First player.
Kids: Vroom.
Rachel: Why don't you let Erick play?
Hiram: Cuz he lost.
Hugo: We play here that whoever wins, plays again.
Hiram: Yep.
Hugo: Whoever loses, don't play.
Hiram: Stop.
Hugo: I'm first place, man, you suck.
(simultaneous)
Hiram: We can have more players, but...
Hugo: But no, we're too poor, we cannot afford it.
Rachel: That's not nice.
Hugo: We are poor man, c'mon.
Kids: (Scream)
Rachel: Ok, whatever you say Hugo.
Hugo: We're poor.
Rachel: Hiram wants to play.
Hiram: Uh, uh.
Hugo: See? (laughs) (unclear)
Kids: (scream)
Hugo: (unclear)
Hiram: They will.
Hugo: (unclear)
Hiram: Not me.
Hugo: It's like...
Hiram: Did I win here?
Rachel: What's Ani doing?
Hugo: I don't know. She's a monkey... (unclear)
(simultaneous)
Hiram: Playin' like a monkey.
Rachel: Ani, are you eating your, what is it called?
Hugo: Popsicle.
Rachel: Popsicle.
Hugo: What is it?
Rachel: I don't get the point of this game. You go through tunnels?
Hiram: We need to race.
Hugo: It's a racing game, like a car game.
Rachel: Uh huh.
Hugo: It's like a racing game.
Hiram: Yeah, but...
Hugo: (Unclear)
Rachel: Wait, you fly?
Hugo: You can play airplanes, you can play with a boat, you can play with a car.
Hiram: Yup.
Rachel: You guys always play with planes?
Hiram: No.
Hugo: Planes is faster.
Hiram: We don't. So you pick whatever you want.
Hugo: (Unclear).
Hiram: Uh, uh.
Rachel: Do you guys ever play Super Mario Brothers?
Hugo: We don't got Super Mario Brothers, we too poor, we can't afford Super Mario Brothers.
(Kids laugh) (Scream).
Hiram: I'm running, I'm gonna burn.
Rachel: What other games do you have?
Hiram: I don't know. This is like...
Hugo: We're poor, we cannot afford games.
Erik: We got that one. (laughs)
Hiram: Now we got zero. What is that?
Hugo: We get no games, we poor. We got that from the mission market. (laughs)
Hiram: And we get this free because, um, it was junky.
Hugo: And we got that TV from the government. They can only give...(laughs) And we got this house from the government too.
Hiram: We got this house from somebody else.
(All laugh)
Hiram: Ani, ahh.
Hugo: Alright buddy.
Hiram: Get out of there. You are...oh, zero, two players.
Erik: That hit you.
Hiram: Don't worry. We've got blast off! Oh, I like that part.
Erik: Ah, don't hit me please, ahhh! (laughs)
Hiram: You need to go up there, it's hard.
Erik: No, it's easy.
Hiram: These are hard.
Erik: No, that's easy.
Hiram: You need to go, ahhh.
Hugo: Shut up! You guys talk to much, man. (unclear)
Hiram: Me, too.
Hugo: I'll beat you up.
Erik: Not me.
Hiram: Not me.
Hugo: I'll beat you well, I'll beat you to...
Erik: ¿A dónde vamos?
Rachel: What'd he say?
Hugo: Where we going? ¿Qué a dónde vamos? Where are we going?
Hiram: Ay, it's too choppy (laughs) It's too (unclear), see?
Hugo: The wind's too choppy? Choppy?
Hiram: This is so easy.
Rachel: You guys...
Hugo: They beat him bad, they beat him bad...
Rachel: Hiram, I think you're losing.
Hiram: No. He was losing too, because he's in fifth place. Yeah, baby!
Hugo: Erik, are you going to go out to (unclear)
Erik: No.
Hugo: Where you going?
Erik: Nowhere. I don't know.
Hiram: Are you in second place? No, Erik, you pass...I think you passed, um
Hugo: (unclear) It stinks.
Hiram: I think you need, um, the bathroom, because it smells like farting
Hugo: Is it ok we say that stuff?
Hiram: Thank you.
Hugo: You're dumb, you know what I mean. You ain't got no friends.
Hiram: Yes I do. I have thousands.
Hugo: Thousands? There's not even a thousand people at school.
(simultaneous)
Erik: I get millions.
Hiram: Well...
Ani: I get the last number.
(All laugh)
Hugo: (unclear) That's all you gotta do. "I get the last number."
Rachel: Who said that, Ani?
Hugo: Yeah.
(All laugh)
Hugo: Ani's not picky, she gets the last number of people.
(Phone ringing)
Hiram: (Unclear)
Hugo: Are you gonna answer the phone or what, man? They never answer the phone. Hey, go upstairs, Hiram, go upstairs and answer the phone. (unclear)
Erik: Ha, ha!
Hiram: (Unclear).
Hugo: Hiram, go up there and answer the phone. I don't speak English.
Hiram: Cálese.
Hugo: I'm telling you man.
Hiram: I'll see you, I'll see you.
Hugo: Yeah, dude! C'mon, hurry up. (pause) You having fun, homes?
Erik: Uh huh.
Hugo: You having fun?
Erik: Uh, huh.
Hugo: You having fun?
Erik: Uh, huh. Uh, huh. Hurry, hurry, hurry. (unclear)
Hugo: Hiram, I want that one.
Erik: Yeah.
Hugo: No.
Erik: Yeah.
Hugo: No.
Erik: Hurry!
(Scream)
Hugo: Who was it? Nobody answer the phone. If I don't answer it, nobody answers it.
Hiram: Yes, I know that.
Hugo: They never answer the phone.
Hiram: Cálese la boca. Cálese la boca! (singing)
(All laugh)
Hugo: (unclear)
(End of recording)
Appendix D

Tape D

Domestic Setting: Dinner table
Interlocutors: Hugo, Ana, Cuko and Rachel

Ana: Hugo…que venga a comer. Dile que venga a comer.
Hugo: What?
Ana: Aquí
Rachel: Sit here?
Ana: O sea, estás más cómoda allí.
Rachel: Oh.
Ana: (unclear) ¿Te gustan los frijoles negros?
Rachel: No sé.
Ana: ¿Sí?
Rachel: No sé.
Ana: Black beans.
Rachel: Sí, pero no sé. Nunca he probado esos.
Ana: Son frijoles.
Rachel: Sí.
Ana: Yes? Tú dime cuanto, este, un poquito.
Rachel: Un poquito para probar porque no sé. (pause) What is this?
Hugo: Es chile.
Ana: Voy a terminar con esto.
Rachel: Oh, thank you. So you think I’m a prep, huh?
Hugo: Yeah, whatever. This is not prep, this is like…
Rachel: If you tucked in your shirt, it would be prep.
Hugo: Yeah right. (unclear)
Rachel: Aaron tucks in his shirt.
Hugo: That is why he look like a prep.
Rachel: He is a prep. That car is nice that he’s got.
Hugo: But. (unclear)
Rachel: Do you know he pays insurance for a sports car? They consider that a sports car.
Hugo: That little thingie? That little… (simultaneous)
Rachel: It’s a nice car. It’s a Saab. You don’t (unclear) It’s old, but it’s a Saab.
Hugo: How much is it worth?
Rachel: Ok. It’s probably only worth like three thousand or two thousand dollars.
Hugo: That’s not a good car.
Rachel: A new car, a new Saab, that’s thirty thousand dollars.
Hugo: So? That’s like me having a Lincoln.
Rachel: Do you know how much money a Hyundai is?
Hugo: Thirteen to fifteen thousand.
Rachel: Yeah. Compared to a thirty thousand dollar car. Like, a Saab.
Hugo: (unclear) And he cannot afford it, you know what I’m saying.
Ana: A comer.
(simultaneous)
Rachel: He could if he had payments.
Hugo: That’s it. Like say I have a Lincoln, right? Like say I have an eighty-seven Lincoln right here, right? You know what I’m saying? You go and buy a new Lincoln, you know how much it costs? Forty-five to fifty thousand. It depends.
Rachel: I understand.
Hugo: And that’s a prep. I know a lot of people that have special cars. They use like…
Rachel: Yeah, whatever.
Hugo: My friend, he’s in high school.
Ana: Están feos pero están ricos. Mira.
Rachel: Ok.
Ana: (unclear)
Hugo: I don’t like when she talks, man. She gets on my nerves.
Ana: (unclear)
Hugo: You’d better eat all the food here, you know we don’t throw nothing away.
Rachel: No.
Hugo: (unclear)
Rachel: Freshman and Sophomore year, I was afraid to try the new food. Thank you so much.
Ana: Está bien de caliente o no sé como te gusta la comida, caliente
Hugo: You gotta put some of that stuff on the meat.
Rachel: On the meat?
Hugo: Yeah, that’s good. Put a lot of it, though.
Ana: ¿Quieres frijoles?
Hugo: Poquito.
Rachel: Like that?
Hugo: Yeah, that’s good.
Rachel: Ok.
Hugo: You know how you get tortilla and you can like put beans and like…I just usually, because I don’t like tortillas.
Rachel: You don’t like tortillas?
Hugo: No.
Rachel: I love tortillas.
Hugo: How long’s this gonna be?
Rachel: I’m just gonna leave it for the dinner.
Hugo: Cuz I mean, I eat so fast man.
Ana: Eso también está rico, pica pero está bien rico.
Rachel: ¿Eso pica también?
Ana: Y eso no pica tanto, bien están sabrosos.
Rachel: Stay a little longer today, because I’m here. So you have fun with Aaron? Aaron says he doesn’t help you with your homework anymore.

(simultaneous)
Hugo: Yeah he does.
Rachel: He just hangs out with you.
Hugo: Yeah he does.
Rachel: No he doesn’t.
Ana: Estamos hablando muy despacio, o...
Rachel: However you want, como quieras. No hay que cambiar tu manera de hablar por eso.
Hugo: Dáme un chuchillito

(simultaneous)
Ana: (unclear)
Hugo: Ok, give me a knife and a fork now.
Rachel: No hagas caso al grabador.
Hugo: Can I get a knife and a fork please? Yeah, man, a knife and a fork, a knife and a fork, a knife and a fork.

(Long pause)
Ana: (Unclear)
Rachel: Hmm, the ehyile is good.
Ana: (Unclear)
Rachel: What do you do with the tortilla? I mean, do you put the beans in?
Hugo: Whatever, beans...
Rachel: I talked to Rich the other day.
Hugo: Man, he didn’t come visit. Remember like a while ago he said he was gonna come visit?
Rachel: I know. Every time he says...
Hugo: He forgot about us!
Rachel: Yeah. He asks about you guys all the time.
Hugo: Yeah right.
Rachel: But he never comes.
Hugo: *(Unclear)*
Rachel: What did you say?
Hugo: What does he do?
Rachel: He goes to school and he’s working.
Hugo: What does he do for work? Working for what?
Rachel: Doing marketing.
Hugo: What, he’s a business man?
Rachel: Yeah, but only like twenty hours a week. Cuz he takes classes and he also teaches classes.
Hugo: *(unclear)* He can hook me up.
Ana: A comer hijos.
Rachel: If you wanted to work in Chicago, maybe.
*(Pause)*
Rachel: You don’t want to work in Chicago, do you? Do you think you’ll ever move back to Mexico when you’re older?
Hugo: Me? When I retire, I’m going to have a little casa up there.
Rachel: Really?
Hugo: I don’t like it here.
Rachel: Is it boring?
Hugo: I got some of my income tax. Every *(unclear)* you know they have enough money for us. And we get all that money held up for income.
Rachel: Oh, because of Social Security?
Hugo: Yeah. *(unclear)* for the old people right now, they took a lot of taxes from me.
Rachel: Oh, Aaron got a scholarship for law school.
Hugo: Fifty percent or how much?
Rachel: All right, the school costs…how much a year, would you guess? It’s law school.
Hugo: Thirty thousand.
Rachel: Twenty-five thousand. They gave him a scholarship for twenty thousand a year.
Hugo: So he has to only pay five thousand? He’s gonna pay less than he’s paying right now.
Rachel: Right. He just got the letter today. He’s so happy.
Hugo: He’s smart. I mean…
Rachel: He is really smart.
Hugo: *(unclear)*
Rachel: You should come down to graduation, Hugo. You could see us graduate.
Hugo: So you could throw the hats?
Ana: *(Unclear)*
Hugo: Who?
Rachel: Christian.
Hugo: Your friend’s downstairs Christian.
*(Pause)*
Rachel: It’s good.
Hugo: I don’t like it.
Rachel: You don’t like it?
Cuko: ¿Qué te creas? ¿Qué no te comiste?
Ana: *(unclear)*…¿es cierto que te guste?, dice qué no o qué no sabe lo que come
*(Pause)*
Cuko: Pepino.
Hugo: Pepino, ensalada.
Cuko: Un chile de estos, si quieres dos. También picositos.
Ana: Los pepinos de éste, *(unclear)*
Rachel: ¿Éste?
Hugo: *(unclear)* I don’t like it, I hate it. *(unclear)* I go to McDonald’s and I get my chicken sandwich. That’s what I like.
Rachel: ¿Te gusta McDonald’s? Eres ya americano.
Hugo: I don’t like the salad. (unclear)
Rachel: *Ya eres gringo.*
Hugo: Me?
Rachel: Sí. Es gringo, casi, casi, casi.
(Long pause)
Cuko: *¿Esta comida se come en España, Raquel?*
Rachel: *¿Si se come en España? No, pero no, las tortillas no.*
Cuko: Claro.
Rachel: *Y frijoles se llaman judías allí.*
Cuko: *¿Judías?*
Cuko: *A Hugo no le gusta la tortilla.*
Rachel: *¿No le gusta?*
Cuko: No.
Rachel: *¿Por qué, Hugo?*
Cuko: *Tampoco le gusta el bistec, tampoco le gusta (unclear) nada le gusta de la comida, casi.*
Hugo: That’s a joke. You know that’s a joke, right? (unclear)
(Long pause)
Cuko: *¿Y Aaron?*
Ana: *Decía que venía, ¿no?*
Rachel: *Sí?*
Ana: *Para la comida.*
Rachel: *No sabía. ¿Qué haces, Hugo?*
Hugo: Nada.
Ana: *¿No te quieres comer más?*
Rachel: *Creo que le da verguenza.*
Cuko: *“Ya me voy, ya me voy.”*
Rachel: *Le da verguenza hablar en español mucho, le da verguenza, yo creo. Además, hay mucha comida que no le gusta.*
Hugo: He doesn’t like steak?
Rachel: Steak, sí.
Ana: *Hablas de comida de México, o de cualquier país.*
Rachel: *No de cual [sic]...como queso, no le gusta el queso. No come queso.*
Hugo: (unclear).
Cuko: (unclear)
(Long pause)
Rachel: *Uds. comen mucho en el Bakers?*
Cuko: *Estamos, por ejemplo, yo, como pero cada ratito un poquito. No dejo de comer.*
Rachel: *Porque hay sopa, hay ensalada.*
Cuko: *Hay sopas, hay ensalada, pero (unclear)*
Hugo: *You’re asking what we eat at work, or what? That’s all I eat, that’s all I eat. (unclear)*
(Long pause)
Ana: *¿Está pico? ¿Parece pico?*
Cuko: *Éste.*
Ana: *Ah, ¿esto es pico? (unclear)*
Rachel: *¿Y a dónde van de compras, para comprar esta comida mexicana?*
Hugo: *Wal-mart.*
Rachel: *Wal-mart?*
Ana: *Allí hay comida mexicana.*
Rachel: *¿Sí? ¿Pero no hay una tienda?*
Hugo: *Chiquita.*
Rachel: *Huh?*
Hugo: *La Chiquita.*
Ana: *¿Te gustaron? ¿Nunca los habías comido?*
Rachel: *Sí, una vez.*
Cuko: *A mi me gustan mucho los frijoles.*
Ana: Eso es frijoles con cebolla, chile y salen buenos
Rachel: ¿Con tortilla?
Cuko: Sí, tortilla.
Rachel: Hugo, ¿cuando vas a cocinar aquí?
Hugo: Never.
Cuko: Dice que por eso tiene su mamá.
Hugo: Man, that's what restaurants are made for. You know?
Raquel: Sale caro, ¿no?
Hugo: It's the same thing.
Ana: ¿Caro para qué? ¿Comer en un restauran [sic]?
Hugo: If you don't have money like us, it is expensive. Like say you spend...
(Unclear)
Hugo: I'm almost done here. Now you know why I don't talk with my parents. I usually eat over there or downstairs.
Rachel: Really?
(Long pause)
Rachel: ¿Qué tal las clases? ¿El GED?
Ana: Más o menos.
Hugo: She ain't gonna make it.
Rachel: ¿Por qué?
Hugo: Because, man.
Ana: ¿Qué, Hugo?
Hugo: Que no, que no, que no, que no vas a pasarla.
Ana: ¿Qué no voy a aprender?
Hugo: El GED.
(Pause)

(Break in transcription)

Rachel: ¿Qué le gusta?
Hugo: Pizza, hamburgers, ¿que más?
Cuko: Comida china.
Ana: No le gustan los mariscos.
Cuko: No le gustan los mariscos, no le gusta la tortilla.

(Break in transcription)

Rachel: Pero, ¿se van a México, no? ¿Este verano?
Cuko: Si Dios quiere. Yo he pedido las vacaciones (unclear)
Rachel: ¿Quién va a conducir?
Cuko: Yo.
Rachel: Pero, ¿Hugo no?
Cuko: Un poco aquí.
Rachel: Para que duermas un poco.
Cuko: Aquí en los Estados Unidos, no en México, bueno depende porque en México hay muy buenas carreteras.
Rachel: Si? Están mejorando, ¿no?
Hugo: I wanna drive!
Rachel: Yeah? When are you getting your license?
Hugo: ¡Cuando mi papa me lleve! Cuando mi papa me llene todas las cosas, todos los papeles.
Cuko: Dile a Raquel que te ayude hacer eso.
Hugo: No, tú tienes que hacerlo.
Cuko: ¡Yo lo voy a firmar!
Hugo: ¡Tienes que escribir los días en que ibamos!
Cuko: ¡Por eso! ¡Ay!
Hugo: (unclear)
Cuko: ¿Es cierto?
Hugo:  (unclear)
Cuko: Hay que poner cada hora.
Hugo: Oh, man.
(Pause)
Hugo: Rachel, look! That's it right there. That's the movie I want to see.
Rachel: Oh, they’re gonna rate that R.
Hugo: “Exit Wounds.” I wanna see that one! I wanna see that one!
Rachel: Well, we’ll see. Can we bring you to an R movie?
Hugo: Yeah, if somebody here lets me go! Yeah, you, you understand homes? See Pops? Entiendes, man? You don’t understand, do you? Once he told me ten forty-five and I came at eleven and he started all crying, “Where were you, where?”
Rachel: Well, if he told you ten forty-five.
Hugo: The movie was still going at ten forty-five, how you gonna leave the movie?
Rachel: Find out how long the movie is. When you’re a prep, you have a curfew.
Hugo: I’m a prep. No, I’m a Mexican.
Cuko: ¿No lo vas a llenar el papel?
Hugo: No, man! Que nope!
Cuko: ¿No lo vas a llenar?
(Pause)
Hugo:  (unclear) You’re supposed to have it everyday, right? When you’re driving. He never signed it, he always forgot. He’s just too lazy to do it.
Cuko: Es muy bonita esa palabra.
Hugo: Lazy? (singing)
Cuko: Si quieres ahora misma, eso lo voy a firmar.
Hugo: Eh, que no, man, no puedo llenar todo esto.
Cuko: Lo vas a poner dia por dia, lo voy a firmar
Hugo: Pero no comprendes que tengo que poner los dias, los dias
Cuko: Todos. Sí, los días.
Hugo: ¿Cuándo empezamos?
Cuko: Es el día que sacaste la licencia que empezamos, Hugo.
Hugo: Pero de todos modos manejaba por ahí.
Cuko: Oh, pues, pone los días que quieras, Hugo. Pone los días que quieras.
Hugo: ¿Allí todo?
Cuko: Pone pues los días que fuimos.
Hugo: No me acuerdo.

(End of recording)
Appendix E

Tape E

Domestic Setting: Study room
Interlocutors: Hugo and Aaron

Aaron: So what's going on?
Hugo: Nothing.
Aaron: You forgot your business paper at school?
Hugo: Yeah, I forgot my business paper. Because see, I thought it this one, because I have a little one and a big one, and I thought I had on me. And oh man. Because...I have PE last, right? And I always take it easy and stuff because I gotta work. And you get out like five minutes earlier. And the teacher keep us early, you know, he forgot the time, you know? And we were running late, and the bus was running late. And I didn't show up to work until later.

Aaron: Oh, Hugo. So did he just give you a raise just because, because it was the time?
Hugo: What do you mean?
Aaron: Like, do you get a raise every six months or something?
Hugo: He told me to come to see him in six months, that's why I went. He said in two more months, come and see me. Do you know what I'm saying. I go to him one month, and he's like, I cannot give you a raise you know. I'm like, Hey man, c'mon. That's eight months we've been here. I've been talking to the manager and he's been telling me six months and the raise is fifty cents. I think I've been working too much, hard you know what I'm saying? And I ain't working hard, man. Even the other managers, because this is a manager thing, the other one, the Mexican, he came back, he told me no, man, you should have at least two other people with you doing your job. There should be three people in the front, and there's always two. Me by myself all the time. I'll be like, c'mon dude, I want a raise. And he said no, but I'll help you. Yeah right. When the cooks have problems, he has to go back there. When the servers have problems, he has to do their stuff. La, la la. They call him and check what he needs, like for needs and stuff and he's a manager, manager, and he has to keep a good (unclear). Like two months ago, right? I told him I have two friends wanting to work there. He said, they weren't hiring nobody. Like a week later, they hired two people. C'mon dude, I have a friend. And they were like teenagers, you know what I'm saying? (unclear) Dude, I have a couple of my friends, la, la, la. Maybe he thinks because they're my friends they won't care about that. A job is a job, dude. If he sees that he can always just fire, you know what I'm saying? He's always a manager, you know what I'm saying?

Aaron: Are you gonna remember that when you own your own restaurant? Are you going to give your employees raises?
Hugo: Yeah, dude!
Aaron: You going to give them fifty cents.
Hugo: Yeah, but I mean, (unclear) like I'm saying. I've been working hard forever, that's why I'm mad. I'm saying, I mean... If I were working, I mean, say there were two people with me and stuff like that. I wouldn't be that mad. But I'm always by myself up there in the front, like seating people. I mean, I can do it, but it's just too much work. Why at like nighttime they have like more than three, like three or four, they never have less than three. Like Friday night, Saturday night, and all that, they got a lot of people. And they don't even have people like to host, you know what I'm saying. (unclear) Ok, we have like one cashier and three out there, and there's the manager. That's about five. C'mon dude. You know what I'm saying? There are many jobs out there, dude. I mean...

Aaron: Where would you go? I mean, would you go to another restaurant?
Hugo: Taco Bell.
Aaron: Taco Bell?
Hugo: They pay seven dollars too.
Aaron: Really?
Hugo: Or I could go to Dunkin Donuts. They pay six fifty but you know what I'm saying? It's not that hard. My cousin, he works there. All he has to do is put out the donuts, take care of the register. People go there, they don't have to do any work, they just go get it, you want coffee, you go get it,
you want donuts, la, la, la. They pay six fifty, I mean, see they pay seven dollars starting because
it was harder and it stinks in the summer man. That's what I'm saying. I work for them a little
more, then I want a raise. Every six months I'm supposed to get a raise. There's other people
there with me making ten dollars, I mean, let's see you start at seven dollars too, right? Ok, in five
years, that would be fifty times five, that's what that?

Aaron: Fifty times five? Two fifty.
Hugo: Two fifty, plus seven, nine fifty right? They're making a little more than me (unclear). They're
making ten dollars. She gets fifty cents every (mumble). Cuz by now we got cooks that make
almost fourteen dollars. I mean, they have like a little (unclear), la, la, la. But I mean that's for
people that work a lot of time. You know what I'm saying. That's why I don't want to quit. You
know, because I would have been there six months.

Aaron: You gonna start over...

(simultaneous)

Hugo: And I have to go to another restaurant to start six more months. But see, I mean I cannot let them
play me like that, you know what I'm saying?

Aaron: You know sometimes you go to another restaurant, though, they see that you've worked six
months so you get, you start off making more money than like someone else who's never worked
before. You know what I mean? Like when I was at a job I made, my first job I made five
twenty-five...

Hugo: But see, that was what, six years ago?

Aaron: Yeah, but it's like the same, Like I make five twenty-five all right? And then when I move to this
new job they give me five seventy-five, even though most people that started made five twenty-
five. He was like, oh you've already worked before, we'll give you five seventy-five.

Hugo: Oh, for real? Cuz you already worked before, you got experience?

Aaron: Yeah.

Hugo: That's probably why. See, that's good.

Aaron: Yeah, since you already have six months of experience, and you want to get paid more

(simultaneous)

Hugo: They might give me more. I never thought about that. I'm gonna get a good car, a new car
homes.

Aaron: A new car?

Hugo: I already told you, didn't I? They cost like two thousand dollars.

Aaron: What happened?

Hugo: You get a brand new car.

Aaron: A brand new car?

Hugo: Yeah, and they give me a loaner.

Aaron: Oh yeah? What kind of car?

Hugo: He said not more than thirteen thousand dollars. I mean, I can get a thirteen thousand dollars,
that's three times so that would be like sixteen thousand dollars, I need twenty-five hundred for
like down payment, and a hundred for like insurance, but it won't be insured for like two weeks.
When we got this car the insurance didn't come for like two weeks, man. But he said maybe next
year, maybe I will have the responsibility, right, like pay the insurance on that car (unclear). It's a
Spacer, you know it's a ninety-five (unclear). That's a lot of money.

Aaron: Yeah.

Hugo: Well let's see...

Aaron: You know what happens? Used cars, there's more interest, new cars, it's like lower interest and
plus they say you're really young.

Hugo: They say, like, they say thirteen thousand dollars, ok so I got thirteen thousand dollars. Interest,
they said a .1, so it becomes .19. That's .19. So every single year for interest would be one
thousand, one hundred and seventy dollars. (unclear). That cannot be. Wait, I don't know. You
got thirteen thousand dollars, right? You wanna divide it by .19. Oh, ok I get it. It would be like
whole interest for the thirteen thousand. So I mean if I pay that for...

Aaron: For the year.

Hugo: No man, this is not for the year. Cuz I mean this one thousand, one hundred and seventy., that's
for the whole thirteen thousand Cuz see if I divide it by twelve, that's a year right? Ninety-seven
fifty or ninety-seven dollars. That's about a thousand dollars for a year.
Aaron: How are you doing the math, Hugo?
Hugo: You making fun of me now? (unclear). Fifty cents ain’t no money, man. They say thirteen thousand dollars divided by five years, and voila, two thousand, six hundred and one, divided by a year. Two hundred sixty dollars (unclear)
Aaron: Ninety-seven fifty.
Hugo: Plus Ninety-seven fifty. (unclear) I like this one because you don’t have to erase the stuff, you don’t have to write it over. We got thirteen thousand dollars divided by five, divided by twelve, I can get this for what the heck? Thirteen thousand divided by five, two hundred and sixty dollars (unclear).
Aaron: Ninety-seven fifty.
Hugo: Ninety-seven?
Aaron: Point five.
Hugo: And what now? A hundred and fourteen. I can totally afford that man. If, I make almost six hundred dollars a month. Right there. I’ll have my car. Gotta pay for the gas. I mean that’s not a lot of money man, I’ll be driving a nice car.
Aaron: Well, you’re gonna have a new car before I have a new car.
Hugo: But see, like I say, a new car’s cheap. I have to go buy twelve times five, the house will cost less than my car. You know how much the car will cost? Eighteen thousand, eight hundred and forty-nine dollars. Talk about interest man!
Aaron: Yep.
Hugo: That’s five years. Now let’s put it for four years. I think I can do it in four years too. I mean, it would be like four hundred a month, man. That would be less interest, right? And let’s say I have money there, like I said.
Aaron: Are you gonna get your car to cost thirteen thousand or are you gonna have a loan for thirteen thousand?
Hugo: A loan for thirteen thousand.
Aaron: So it’s gonna cost sixteen thousand?
Hugo: Something like that. (unclear) You know what I mean? I like a bunch of nice cars but they, like, they cost more than thirteen thousand dollars. But I want to, there’s this (unclear) thing, right? So maybe it’ll be twelve thousand. That’s what I’d get. I wanna get a new car for like two years, everything’s new. Cuz I mean for like new cars, I mean, you don’t...like I’ve had this here for almost a year, since septiembre...enero, febrero, marzo, abril, mayo, four months that he would have for me. You don’t have to spend nothing.
Aaron: You gonna drive it a lot?
Hugo: Yeah, every weekend. La, la, la.
Aaron: Is that what you’re taking to Mexico?
Hugo: That’s what we’re buying for. My dad wanted to buy a Cadillac. I mean, how we gonna fit seven people in there? We were looking at an Explorer...
Aaron: Ford Explorer?
Hugo: Ford Explorer. Like those big ones that fit eight people.
Aaron: Looks like a big truck, kind of?
Hugo: Yeah, but he didn’t like them because the kids weren’t (unclear) you know what I’m saying? My Dad pays like three hundred something for this van right here. (unclear) Ok, let’s say thirteen thousand, and see I’m putting in thirteen thousand, k, but I’m going to save two thousand dollars from them. Ok, say the car costs, the whole car is thirteen thousand dollars, right? Plus tax. What’s the tax percent when you buy a car?
Aaron: I don’t know.
Hugo: Say it’s like fifteen hundred. That’s fourteen thousand, five hundred, ok. Say, ok that’s it, right? That’s not interest. And you have twenty-five hundred dollars. It would be what? Fourteen times, entonces mil dolares, So twelve hundred dollars, right? That’s what I owe. Now let’s do that with interest.
Aaron: No what’s your interest? 10.9?
Hugo: No, this is a new car we’re talking about.
Aaron: Oh, a new car?
Hugo: It's .9, .8%. Dude, I don’t believe this but some cars have a 0, but that’s just for forty-eight months, but that’s forty-eight months, with zero percent interest, that’s a pretty good deal. And if the car’s like sixteen thousand dollars, though, man.

Aaron: Well wait if it’s sixteen thousand and there’s interest, you pay three thousand of it it’s the same thing

(simultaneous)
Hugo: That’s the same thing.

Aaron: But you can get a nicer car and then in four years you have it cheaper. Because you know what, like if you have it, especially if your car’s completely paid for and you want to buy a new one, you could trade it in.

Hugo: I know, I know.

Aaron: Then it’s yours. But if you have it for five years, you have to wait an extra year, you know?

Hugo: (unclear). See, it would be One thousand, eight dollars. See how much cheaper it is, man? That’s two hundred per year. Then divided by...it would be ninety. You’d save $8.00, $7.50. And if you got...$12 divided by four years, or five years?

Aaron: Four years.

Hugo: (unclear) Two hundred and fifty dollars.

Aaron: Plus eighty, plus ninety.

Hugo: Three hundred and forty! See? And that’s only four years!

Aaron: See? That’s a better deal.

Hugo: That’s a better deal. See, it’s because it depends how much money you lay down and it depends how much the car costs. And this is four years, and I’d have wheels.

Aaron: So how much money would you save? What’s three hundred and forty times twelve?

Hugo: Three hundred what?

Aaron: Your monthly payment would be three hundred and forty, right?

Hugo: yeah.

Aaron: So what’s that times twelve? Three hundred and forty times twelve.

Hugo: Three hundred and forty times twelve...times four, four thousand, eight dollars.

Aaron: See that’s how much you save.

Hugo: That’s how much I save?

Aaron: Didn’t you say...

Hugo: Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah.

Aaron: See, because you pay twelve months’ interest. That’d be four thousand dollars. That’s a lot of money.

(simultaneous)
Hugo: Cuz you save a year. I save all year. Do you know what I could do with four thousand dollars? I’d pay for another car and get girls. You go to college, you see man? If I went to college, that’s my car right there!

Aaron: Yep.

Hugo: If I went to Heartland, college would be very cheap, man.

Aaron: If you went to Heartland you could still work at Baker’s Square twenty hours a week.

Hugo: It’d be the same. See? And I would be making more, too. See, ok let’s say I stay in my job, right? Let’s say I stay in the job. Let’s say, ok, I got seven twenty-five an hour, in six months I get a raise of fifty cents. Every six months. We’re looking at about two years, I could get a lot. Some people are making seven, eight, nine twenty-five. If I go to college would they take taxes out on me too?

Aaron: Well, it doesn’t really matter. It doesn’t matter if you go to college or not.

Hugo: They still take it out the same?

Aaron: Yeah.

Hugo: But that can also help my dad, can’t it?

Aaron: Yeah.

Hugo: Cause let’s say my dad, he’s still paying for my college, right? Like, he’s helping me. They can also give some money back, can’t they?

Aaron: Yeah. For your dad’s taxes, he gets to fill out things that ask if you have kids in college and he puts yes, one, Hugo Manriquez. And they don’t take as much taxes, he gets a refund.
Hugo: Oh, Pops, I'm going to college! Ok, nine twenty-five times thirty-five hours a week, (unclear) one hundred and sixty dollars times two, I get paid eight hundred and thirty-two dollars a month, Three hundred, what was it?

Aaron: Three hundred and forty.

Hugo: It was three...four hundred and ninety-two dollars, my insurance every six months, so let's say like fifty dollars, out of every paycheck. That's it right there! See? A ver, seis meses, cincuenta por seis, So it would be like six times fifty. That's three hundred dollars. I thought it was going to be like three hundred dollars.

Aaron: Every six months.

Hugo: I thought that before. Let take that times a hundred, I pay three hundred and ninety-two myself.

Aaron: Yep.

Hugo: Three hundred and ninety-two, fifty. And I don't even go to school! I mean college.

Aaron: Yep.

Hugo: But Heartland will be cheaper for me, man.

Aaron: Yeah, it'll be really cheap.

(Pause)

Hugo: My grandpa has like a pig ranch right? He has like a...

Aaron: Who's this? Your grandpa?

Hugo: Yeah, he has a house on water...pigs and stuff, chickens and stuff right? He has like the cows with like the things, you know, he has like fields. A couple of his fields they're like putting houses for sale. You know, like houses on the water. And I mean like a big, let's say it's like this whole neighborhood, or a little bigger. Like this and half, that's how big these houses are y todo eso. (unclear) It's really beautiful. Like the stuff is over here, and they have a restaurant here. He has ok money, like he used to work in the United States. (unclear) He had like people working for him.

Aaron: Where does he live? Does he live at his place, at the restaurant?

Hugo: He comes to the United States, (unclear) One of them had a visa. You know, PRI, they say, what's Bush, you know, like partidos, you know what partidos is, right? Like Republican?

Aaron: Party?

Hugo: Yeah, what is Bush?

Aaron: Republican.

Hugo: Republican? Well, we got the PRI, I mean we got (mumbles) (Unclear)

Aaron: I'm sure, Hugo. And you're gonna buy a new car and have five hundred dollars left over each month.

Hugo: What, did you forget the college?

Aaron: Is that the kind of car you're gonna buy?

Hugo: Yeah, you wanna know how much a car like this costs?

Aaron: Twenty thousand?

Hugo: More. This is a sixty-seven Dodge. You know how much a sixty-seven Dodge is?

Aaron: They must be pretty expensive now.

(Pause)

Aaron: You gonna get a vanity license plate? Like a license plate where you can say what you want on it.

Hugo: yeah, on the back like this. That doesn't have the numbers. (unclear) All it's gonna HSUM, I'm probably gonna get a bra for it, you know like on old cars. I'd like to get (unclear) They're pretty expensive, like thirty thousand dollars. (unclear)

Aaron: You gonna put those on there too? You're probably gonna be able to do that?

Hugo: No, you know how much it costs? A thousand dollars.

Aaron: How much?

Hugo: One thousand dollars. Like, uh, (unclear) my new car.

Aaron: So, you're gonna get a brand new one, huh? You gonna put a new stereo in?

Hugo: Man, (unclear)

Aaron: When are you going to get your license? You gotta get that first, don't you?

Hugo: I'm talking about next year, man. (unclear)

Aaron: That's a lot of money.

Hugo: I got a thousand dollars coming, man.
Aaron: Oh yeah, when do you get that?
Hugo: Enero, febrero, marzo, abril, mayo. May.
Aaron: What about your dad, when does your dad get his?
Hugo: I'm not sure. I think he gets something every week. He does that because he has that because he needs the money right. He doesn't want to go to a bank cause that's where this stuff is from. Cause say, say you needed money very much, (unclear). Your first time you get a thousand dollars, but you gotta pay every week. Say you get a thousand dollars, I would have given number one, I would have to pay again in another two weeks, it's like borrowing except it's your own money and you don't have to pay interest. Like you say you don't trust but they're living here, and I don't think they're going to leave for a thousand dollars, you know what I'm saying. And their house is right there. All these people that live in apartments, they're right there, you know what I'm saying. They got their cars, they got family.

Aaron: What are you going to do with the money when you get it?
Hugo: Go to Mexico.
Aaron: When do you guys go? June? In the beginning or the end?
Hugo: Ninth.
Aaron: Ninth?
Hugo: That's what my parents are planning.
Aaron: When do you get out of school?
Hugo: I think the 1st.
Aaron: June first?
Hugo: Or the last of March, I mean May.
Aaron: May? I'm not going to be here next week, Hugo. I've got Spring Break.
Hugo: I know man, you're leaving me, homes. Where you going?
Aaron: I'm going to Florida.
Hugo: You are?
Aaron: Yep, we're leaving tomorrow.
Hugo: For one week?
Aaron: Yep.
(Pause)
Hugo: No way, that means next week we're gonna have Spring Break too.
Aaron: Next week you're on Spring Break?
Hugo: I gotta week. No wait, a week and two days. We get more days, man.
Aaron: You're on break next week?
Hugo: Tuesday, no wait. You're not going to be here next week?
Aaron: No, I leave on Friday.
Hugo: Oh, I gotta week to go. I got a week and two days. (unclear)
Aaron: No, I'll be in Florida.
Hugo: Are you coming the next Monday after that? When are you going to Florida?
Aaron: I'll leave this Friday and I'll come back a week from Saturday. That day.
Hugo: Are you guys flying?
Aaron: No driving.
Hugo: Driving? Who's car?
Aaron: Rachel's. Her's is nicer.
(Pause)
Aaron: Hugo, with all the money you're making, you could buy me a new car.
Hugo: What?
Aaron: You could buy me a new car for coming to help you all the time.
(unclear)
Hugo: You can have mine (unclear) It's only ten years old. It's a ninety-one, and we just don't want it. What year is your car, eighty-seven?
Aaron: Eighty-six.
Hugo: Yeah, yours is older than mine! Ha!
Aaron: My car is almost as old as you are. What year were you born?
Hugo: Eighty-four. What year were you born?
Aaron: Me? Seventy-nine?
Hugo: So you’re twenty-two?
Aaron: I’ll be twenty-two this year in June. When’s your birthday Hugo?
Hugo: September eighteenth.
Aaron: December eighteenth?
Hugo: No, September.
Aaron: Oh, September eighteenth.
Hugo: (unclear) Before you go.
Aaron: Hey, I might be going to St. Louis.
Hugo: For what? For college?
Aaron: Yeah, I got a, they gave me a scholarship. For twenty thousand dollars.
Hugo: Rachel told me. You’ll only be paying ten thousand dollars? She told me, she was so happy. I was like what are you happy about? And she’s like, oh Aaron…
Aaron: Yeah, so maybe I’ll be in St. Louis.
Hugo: Hey, that’s not that far away man. Only three hours.
Aaron: Yeah.
Hugo: I’ll go visit you sometime. When I have a ride.
Aaron: When you can drive you can come visit me, and stay in my apartment.
Hugo: That’s pretty cool. You get straight As don’t you?
Aaron: Yeah.
Hugo: That’s why man. I’m going to Heartland, and then what? Then what? Hey, a college is a college, man.
Aaron: Yep, that’s right.
Hugo: And you go and tell me, ok, you’re going to college, you don’t know what to do. Why are you spending thousands and thousands of dollars going to a college when you can go here.
Aaron: Yep.
Hugo: Ok, say you, ok say you go to that college three years, right? Say you were ready for another school, where do you go afterward? You go to a real college. La, la la. Why are you spending twenty thousand dollars or something like that when you could be spending two, three, four, five thousand. I mean, if you live here, it’s not that expensive because we don’t have to buy a home. (unclear)
Aaron: It’ll be really cheap.
Hugo: It’s very cheap. I mean, I don’t even know what I want to do. I wanna go into business, right, la, la, la. I don’t know what kind of business man.
Aaron: yeah, it’s dumb to spend all of that money if you don’t really know.
Hugo: What’s it like a couple hundred dollars a class?
Aaron: Yeah. Before I go we’ll drive up there and see what they have, we’ll get a book that lists every single class they have and how much it costs and we’ll look at it.
Hugo: We better go. Remember we said about that movie a long time ago and we haven’t gone to the movie yet.
Aaron: Oh, that’s right.
Hugo: I wanna see that movie, Rachel knows what movie I want to see.
Aaron: What movie?
Hugo: I forgot the name of it. Rachel knows the title. (unclear). I mean there’s no sex in it or anything, it’s just violence. It’s very violent. Because at first it say “This is not rated yet”. That means it was like, people said it was too violent. But I’m saying, people it leads to school shootings. That’s a big problem That’s dumb. I mean, people that do school shootings la, la, la, it’s not because of the movies and stuff, it’s cause they’re all (unclear) I mean c’mon. Cause his reason was that mean people and stuff. And I have this guy who used to pick on me, you don’t see me go and start shooting people, do you? Because he had a gun, I mean it’s really easy to get a gun. (unclear) It’s too easy to get a gun. I have like friends, la, la, la, la, there are people like sell guns and stuff, it’s really easy. Or even a night, right there, you just take a knife, just la, la, la. I mean there’s no reason, they’re stupid man. I mean, I watch movies, you know what I’m saying, body slams and stuff, people talk behind my back and stuff like that, you don’t see me acting out. You might get picked on when you were little too. I’m not saying you did, and stuff like that, you know, but you didn’t run up to the school and stab and kill somebody, did you? See, it’s because

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people are stupid, that's why. Or they have problems with their family and stuff, everyone has problems with their family. I have my brothers.

Aaron: That's different, though.

Hugo: I know man. That's what gotta think. *(unclear)* We have to do something about it. They don't like you and me, that's fine. You know what I'm saying? They pick on you, you pick on them back. Or if you get into a little fight, I mean, *(unclear)* You should never get into a fight *(makes gun noise)*. You know what I'm saying? I mean, that's gangster. You hear about 14 year olds, remember that little kid that shot in 1st grade, he killed, don't you remember that? I mean, c'mon dude. A little kid, c'mon. What's the world going to? You tell me everyone wanna have a gun now? I'm talking about kids. You see my little brother, you know, I mean he gets in fights sometimes, because the other kids was mean, I mean that's not good, that's not good. I mean they're kids. But what happens when that little kid *(unclear)*. Maybe his dad hit him and stuff like that. But he told his friends and la, la, la, you know. You never know. It depends on the family.

Aaron: Are there gang problems at school?

Hugo: Gang? That was probably a gang. But we got cops, we got the cops.

Aaron: Really?

Hugo: *(singing)* I don't think that should be all right *(unclear)* You never know.

*(End of recording)*
Works Cited


