

# Codeswitching in the comedy of George Lopez

*Megan Wells, Northeastern Illinois University*

*This paper explores the intersectionality of language, culture and identity in the performance of a U.S.-born bilingual Spanish-English speaking comedian, George Lopez. Codeswitches in his comedy are examined through the speaker's relationship to the audience using Bell's (1984) theory of audience design. Two specific performances with two distinct audiences are compared using the following questions: How does a bilingual comedian, Lopez, use language mixing to underscore his Latino identity? How does he construct his audience through his choice of codes? How and when does he accommodate monolingual English speaking audiences? I conclude that Lopez intentionally matches his code choice to connect more deeply with his audience. In the first performance he codeswitches as a way to mark solidarity with his presumed bilingual/bicultural audience while in the second performance he consciously maintains his discourse in English to accommodate a perceived monolingual audience.*

*Keywords:* codeswitching, identity, audience design, Spanglish, Latino

## Introduction

*You could vote English the official language but it'll never work because we're always gonna speak Spanglish. It's too late! That's all we've talked in our house for years...*

*-George Lopez, America's Mexican*

The language or code choice of a bilingual or multilingual speaker reflects a range of variables. Indeed, the intersection of language, culture and identity manifests itself in the speaker's discourse and/or social interactions with others. The complex links between language and cultural identity for the bilingual speaker have been forged by many (see e.g. Fishman 1965; Blom & Gumperz 1972; Romaine 1995; Hamers & Blanc 2003; Mahootian 2005). As stated by Hamers and Blanc (2003: 203) "Language often becomes an important feature of

---

Corresponding author's email: [mwells2@gmail.com](mailto:mwells2@gmail.com)

ISSN: 1457-9863

Publisher: Centre for Applied Language Studies, University of Jyväskylä

© 2011: The author

<http://apples.jyu.fi>

cultural and ethnic identity in intercultural and interethnic encounters in which group status is often expressed”.

Codeswitching is defined here as “the systematic use of two or more languages or varieties of the same language during oral and written discourse” (Mahootian 2006). There are many available theories to describe the phenomenon of codeswitching (see e.g. Fishman 1965; Blom & Gumperz 1972; Myers-Scotton 1988), but for the purposes of the present paper which has a look at code switching by the bilingual Latino or Mexican-American comedian George Lopez, Mahootian’s (2005: 365) view of codeswitching as a marker of “cultural identity, unity and camaraderie” is particularly useful as it allows the investigation of codeswitching as an intentional code choice. In doing this, it is complemented by Bell’s (1984: 145) framework of language style as audience design - as speaker accommodation to their addressee.

The present study will show how as a performer with more than one code available within his linguistic repertoire, Lopez makes his code choice intentionally with his audience in mind. Lopez’s intentional code choice will also be shown to be a strategy for a number of functions such as ritualized events, expressing emotions and creating solidarity (Blom & Gumperz 1972; Mahootian 2005). Intentionality is discussed here in reference to “the messages conveyed by utterances” which may go beyond the word-level (Myers-Scotton 1998). One alters one’s speech according to the perceived role (as an insider/outsider) in a given speech community and according to the sense one has of “the quantitative limits to style shift as set by the extent of interspeaker differences within the community” (Bell 1984: 154).

The paper will also investigate how Lopez’s cultural identity as a Latino or Mexican-American merges with his social identity as a comedian and show how language plays a unique role. More specifically, two specific performances with two distinct audiences are compared with the help of the following questions: how does Lopez use language mixing to underscore his Latino identity? How does he construct his audience through his choice of codes? How and when does he accommodate monolingual English speaking audiences? In the sections to follow I propose that code choice in the comedy of George Lopez has a social meaning which is directly linked to the speaker’s identity and the perceived identity of his audiences. I will show that Lopez’s ideal speech community is much like him, bilingual and bicultural. However, this fact does not prevent the comedian from striving to reach audiences beyond his ethnolinguistic identity. As a speaker and performer, Lopez recognizes the differences in linguistic competencies and chooses the appropriate code or language in order to respond to these differences.

## **Background**

We are currently living in a highly charged time in regards to immigration in the United States. The “broken system” of U.S. immigration policy has been revealed to mainstream white America as the once invisible immigrant workforce becomes the main scapegoat in the economic blame game. Conservative media pundits are fuelling the fire as politicians from across the

political spectrum are scrambling to respond with new policies. Anti-immigrant groups, most notably the Minutemen, are taking the law into their own hands in order to “protect the border” by recruiting U.S. citizens to bring their guns and round up any undocumented immigrants who try to wind their way through a brutal desert terrain to the promise of a better life in the north. Post-911 actions on the federal and local level against undocumented immigrants have created a state of fear among many non-citizens, especially among those from Mexico (who have been bearing the brunt of the anti-immigrant backlash) despite the lack of any connection between terrorism and immigrants traveling from Mexico and other parts of Latin America. In 2007 alone there have been 13,000 arrests as part of the Department of Homeland Security’s move to increase deportations (Tourse 2007).

Despite the trying times for many immigrant families, Latinos are witnessing an increase in their star power. (The term ‘Latinos’ is used here to represent the wide diversity within the Latino community, while Chicano is used to distinguish specifically the Mexican-American community.) As one can infer by Lopez’s quote which begins section 3, the identifying term one prefers has both cultural and social meaning.) For example, George Lopez has sold out multiple stand-up performances across the nation. Furthermore, his television show, also called *George Lopez*, has gone into syndication. It was cancelled in 2007 after its fifth season. Lopez responded to the cancellation publicly by stating: “TV just became really, really white again” (Fernandez 2007). In addition, *George Lopez* is the second longest running sitcom starring a Latino (after *I Love Lucy*) (“George Lopez,” 2007). Both small and major media outlets have been courting Latino/Chicano audiences, slowly but surely since the 1980s (Escalante 2000). Latinos make up 12% of the general population, making this the largest minority group in the United States; however this growing population continues to be absent from much of mainstream television and film (Morales 2002).

The rise of Spanglish (Spanish/English codeswitching) in popular culture is also quite evident from the popularity of comedians such as Lopez and the bilingual marketing campaigns that surround most urban areas in the United States. It is suggested by Romaine (1995), for example, that the increase in codeswitching of a certain group indicates a rise in ethnic consciousness. This view is also voiced by Morales (2002: 21), the author of *Living In Spanglish*, who characterizes Spanglish as a celebration of the multiplicity of cultures which make up the Latino community but also as a “protective reflex exercised by Latinos, in a way parallel to the one pioneered by post-slavery African Americans, as a mode of survival in a hostile environment”. Indeed, codeswitching can be a powerful marker of solidarity especially in the context of the current U.S. debate on immigration.

## George Lopez: language and identity profile

*"I don't mind Mexican or Chicano, which is Mexican-American, but Hispanic I don't like. The U.S. Census Bureau came up with it, and who wants to be associated with a word that has panic in it? Of course, in a way it's progress: In the seventies, we used to be Other."*

-George Lopez in his autobiography, *Why You Crying?* (2004)

George Lopez, the subject of this study, was born and raised in the San Fernando Valley of Los Angeles, California, by his grandparents (Lopez & Keteyian 2004). The societal circumstances for Lopez's bilinguality are that he is a child of bilinguals (Romaine 1995). He strongly identifies with his Chicano roots as manifested in his choice of languages, music and even posture during his performances. Most notably, Lopez affirms his group membership and alliances by frequently codeswitching or invoking Spanglish during his stand up performances. He also expresses his bicultural identity through other aspects of the show. For example, War's 1976 song, *Low Rider*, which Lopez refers to as the "Chicano National anthem" plays before his performances (Finn 2007). It is also the theme song for his family sitcom, *George Lopez*, as well as for his official website [www.georgelopez.com](http://www.georgelopez.com). Throughout his latest stand-up performance in *America's Mexican*, Lopez cued Mariachi music, calling it "the heart and the soul of the Mexican people." When he enters the stage he often strikes poses reminiscent of the image of the *pachuco*, a subculture of Mexican youth in the 1930's and 1940's immortalized in Luis Valdez's Broadway play turned movie, *Zoot Suit*, nodding his head to the audience to recognize them without speaking. On his official MySpace web page he identifies himself as: "Latino/Legend/Veteran/Alternative" ("George Lopez," 2007). Importantly, the combination of these paralinguistic features found in Lopez's self-presentation and performance all demonstrate the artist's solidarity with the bilingual/bicultural community with which he strongly identifies.

As a bilingual and hyphenated American George Lopez uses everything in his linguistic repertoire as a performer: Spanish, English and codeswitching. However, he may be considered a dominant bilingual because he is more proficient in English than in Spanish (Wei 2006). One piece of evidence for the notion that Lopez is more proficient in English comes from one of his comic performances where he describes his grandparents yelling at him in Spanish and he would respond in English. Also, his autobiography *Why You Crying?* (2004) was first published in English in 2004 and a year later released in Spanish, *Por qué Lloras?* (2005). Accordingly, the majority of his performances are in English, whereas Spanish is usually reserved for impressions of older relatives or Mexicans living on the other side of the border. Within his stand-up performances especially, Lopez is known for speaking directly to the Mexican-American community through sharing his personal experiences. On these occasions, Spanglish is a common medium of his delivery. In addition, his autobiography, *Why You Crying?* (2004) includes a section on Spanglish composed of a glossary and description of frequent words used by the Chicano such as *buey* ("dumb ass"), *carbon* ("son of a bitch, or worse, depending on the inflection"), *más chignón* ("bad ass") and *vato* ("dude; guy; man") (Lopez & Keteyian 2004). His definitions also contain usage. For example, *vato* is defined

as “Dude; Guy; Man. ‘*Qué pasó, vato?*’ *Vato Loco* = ‘Crazy Dude’” (Lopez & Keteyian 2004).

For example, in Lopez’s 65 minute comedy special on HBO there were at least 83 switches, not counting switches solely phonetic in nature. However, codeswitching is not only a feature of his language use but it is also a theme in his material. As an illustration of this, example (1) shows George Lopez performing a mock Spanglish conversation in which codeswitching is particularly extreme or marked, for laughs. Here, as in the examples that follow, codeswitching is intentional as both an example of reported speech and as a result of the interlocutors (intended audience) being majority bilingual:

(1)

A: QUE PASO, TIA?

What happened aunt  
‘What’s up, aunt?’

B: I went to the store to buy the ZAPATOS that I like PERO ESTABAN gone.

I went to the store to buy the shoes that I like but (they) were gone.

‘I went to the store to buy the shoes that I like but they were gone.’

A: LOS shoes AMARILLOS?

The shoes yellow (plural)  
‘The yellow shoes?’

B: SI, ESTABAN all sold out...

Yes (they) were all sold out  
‘Yes they were all sold out.’

-George Lopez, *America’s Mexican* (2007)

In example (1) Lopez’s comedy could be interpreted by English monolinguals as funny, because it is a mix of sounds they know along with some they are unaccustomed to. On the other hand, this same discourse could be interpreted differently by the bilingual audience members who have the linguistic resources to interpret both the meaning and to respond to the humor of extreme codeswitching.

As these examples already show, Lopez identifies himself with the use of Spanglish in both his self-perception (autobiography) and public identity (performance). Spanglish is a part of the Chicano experience and identity and it has been for many Latinos a unique way to assimilate somewhat to life in the U.S. without losing oneself entirely (Morales 2002; Mahootian 2005).

## The data: one joke, two audiences

As an investigator I have a learned (not native) background in Spanish/Spanglish and I am indebted to a U.S.-born Spanish/English bilingual who identifies as Chicano and watched both data sets with me and served as my informant on the cultural and linguistic meaning. The two sets of data investigated here consist of the performance of four jokes that were performed within two different settings. The first set of data comes from Lopez's HBO special *America's Mexican* which aired live on February 24, 2007. The special was filmed at the Dodge Theater in Phoenix, Arizona. The location and setting of this comedy special is a salient feature of Lopez's audience design. One obvious reason for choosing Phoenix is because it is recognized for its large Latino population. Another, perhaps more subversive, reason to choose Arizona is because the land was originally Mexico before it was invaded and claimed by the United States. This region is also included in the area known as Aztlan among Chicano activists. Morales (2002) writes, "Aztlan is a place that allows Chicanos to claim their own territory—in their case within the U.S.—as well as allowing many Mexican Americans who are descended from indigenous people north of Mexico an ancestral homeland."

Presumably, as the writer and producer, Lopez could have chosen any of his many live performances for his special but, for the reasons mentioned above, it is significant that he chose Phoenix.

The second set of data comes from Lopez's appearance on the *Jimmy Kimmel Live (JKL)* late night show on ABC on January 2, 2007. Although the HBO special was filmed after this appearance on *JKL*, I consider the comedy special to be original material off of which Lopez works due to the artistic control exercised on the HBO special. *Jimmy Kimmel Live (JKL)* is filmed in Hollywood, California. The show's interview format places Kimmel, a white European-American, in the role of Addressee. The Speaker/Addressee relationship is defined by both interlocutors as fellow comedians. However, Kimmel does not share Lopez's Mexican-American heritage or linguistic repertoire of Spanish or Spanglish.

There are some important distinctions between both sets of data to discuss before further analysis. As mentioned above, George Lopez has a considerable amount of control over his image in his role as the writer and producer of the HBO special. This literal ownership of his material is important in determining the amount of cultural expression included in his delivery (Escalante 2000). The comedy special as a speech event is organized in typical stand up fashion with Lopez as the speaker and the live audience is made up of the participants who paid to see him. The late night talk show appearance is in an interview format with host, Kimmel, interacting with the comic. Jimmy Kimmel is the Addressee, in this case, while his studio audience is the indirect third person audience.

Besides the format, there is also a distinction in length of time and depth of the material. *America's Mexican* is over an hour long while Lopez's time on *JKL* is under ten minutes. Finally, there is a marked difference in the artistic freedom/censorship between the two performances. *America's Mexican*, while premiering on television, did so on a cable channel (HBO) which has fewer restrictions. The *JKL* show, on ABC, has stricter parameters for language and presentation. In fact, an interesting correlation could be made between censored and uncensored material by bilingual performers. It could be asked whether performing in front

of an audience uncensored affects the bilinguals' internal code choice. It could be argued that having fewer constraints on one's material where the expectation is to be more natural makes one feel more at liberty to codeswitch.

While taking all of these variations in setting and situation into account, George Lopez presents four similar themes or "bits" but performs them differently, depending on the audience. Here I will pay particular attention to his linguistic accommodation to the monolingual *Jimmy Kimmel Live* audience in comparison with his codeswitching in his comedy special to demonstrate that Lopez truly constructs his audience through his code choice.

### Audience design and code choice

All four of the recurring jokes or bits can be organized under the topic of immigration. This paper will mainly focus on one of the four jokes because it is the most salient to the discussion of audience design. However, all the four jokes are evidence of Lopez shifting his language to accommodate the *JKL* audience. For instance, the second joke involves an impersonation of a drunken (Spanish-speaking) uncle. His language is almost unintelligible unless one strains to hear (although one can determine that the "drunk" utterances are in Spanish). During the HBO special, the "drunk uncle" mutters in Spanish while on *JKL* the same character played by Lopez mumbles in English. The third joke, in which Lopez insinuates that Latino field workers in the U.S. purposefully tainted the green onions intended for a fast food giant, Taco Bell, as a strategic resistance to anti-immigrant sentiment in the U.S. included an impression of a field workers speaking Spanish during the HBO special. However, this impression was not included in the narrative-style retelling on *JKL*. The fourth and final joke in common with the two performances involves Lopez explaining how some U.S. government officials have proposed putting a moat with alligators at the U.S.-Mexico border in order to deter immigrant crossings. Lopez responds that within an hour of imposing such a deterrent, entrepreneurial Mexicans will turn those same dangerous alligators into handmade shoes and belts. On the HBO special he includes an impression of a bilingual Mexican salesman who uses Spanglish to sell his wares. This impression did not occur on *JKL*.

However, the first joke is the clearest example of Lopez code shifting from bilingual to monolingual to accommodate the *Jimmy Kimmel Live* audience. The bit involves Lopez attempting to take the heat off of Latinos when it comes to immigration by bringing attention to the acrobatic abilities of the Asian performers in *Cirque du Soleil* as suspect. In the following example 2(a) and 2(b), from *America's Mexican*, Lopez codeswitches one lexical item, the name for an ethnic group:

2 (a)

Those fucking **CHINOS** can get in a little ass box.

Those fucking Chinese can get in a little ass box

'Those fucking Asians can get in a little ass box.'

2 (b)

You're gonna go to McDonald's and order a happy meal and 11 **CHINOS** are gonna pop out.

You're gonna go to McDonald's and order a happy meal and 11 Chinese are gonna pop out.

'You're gonna go to McDonald's and order a happy meal and 11 Asians are gonna pop out.'

One should note that *Chino* though directly translated as “Chinese” is widely used by Mexican Spanish speakers to refer to those of Asian descent. In the examples of codeswitching above, Lopez is defining the ingroup of his audience design as those who are bilingual/bicultural. This ingroup is closer to his own speech community since Lopez is a bilingual adult living in southern California who identifies as Latino/Chicano/Mexican-American.

This same joke is retold on *Jimmy Kimmel Live* and, without missing a proverbial beat, Lopez replaces his codeswitching with a monolingual delivery in example 3(a) and 3(b):

3 (a)

Those **Asian acrobats** can fit in a little ass box, you know.

3 (b)

You open a happy meal and 12 **dudes** jump out.

In examples 3(a) and 3(b), the Spanish word, *chino*, is replaced by Asian acrobats and dudes respectively. This is a clear example of Lopez designing his style for his audience.

Why would this strongly Latino-identified comedian avoid codeswitching, a very important part of his identity as both an individual and a performer? In addition to audience design, the insights provided by Myers-Scotton's (1988) theory of markedness and social consequence can offer further clarification here: from their perspective it becomes clear that for Lopez to intentionally codeswitch without considering the audience's linguistic competence the resulting speech event and audience response (or lack thereof) could be socially detrimental to his career. Indeed, if Lopez codeswitched indiscriminately in front of Kimmel's largely monolingual audience, his assertion of his bilinguality would only serve to disrupt the desired communication. So, while one possibility for the code choice may be the artist's intentionality in delivery, the underlying reason for saying a joke in English is the performer's acknowledgement of the communicative competence of his given audience.

In other words, Lopez's code choice of monolingual English delivery accommodates to the perceived majority speech community represented by the late night talk show audience. In fact, the assumption that monolingual audiences will feel excluded from codeswitched performances was confirmed in one monolingual viewer's review of *America's Mexican*: “Admittedly, there was a portion of things he says in this special in Spanish that I didn't understand, but when he's speaking English, Lopez is hysterically funny” (Isaac5855 2007). Furthermore, an interesting cultural exchange has begun on online communities based around George Lopez projects such as his new late night TV show, *Lopez*



*Tonight*, which began in November of 2009. Non-Spanish-speaking fans and users of *Lopez Tonight's* online community have requested translations and cultural explanations for some of Lopez's common phrases and postures. For example, one user who identifies herself as "a white mid-western woman" asks the community to help her fully understand the show's content in her post "Translations Please!" (Reed 2009) Another user who identifies himself as a "non-latino" requests for something similar in his post "How about a glossary for us non-latinos?" (Snidjik 2009). Now that Lopez has his own 60 minute late night talk show he has brought codeswitching and his bilingual/bicultural references into the same format (2007 on the *Jimmy Kimmel Live* show).

This largely Anglo audience could be considered an outgroup to Lopez's typical codeswitching performances. However, instead of excluding the monolingual English audience members in this setting, Lopez chooses to use the language they all have in common: English. Thus, during this performance, Lopez prioritized reaching the live audience and extended TV audience as opposed to asserting his own ethnolinguistic identity (Hamers & Blanc 2003). Furthermore, in this choice, there may be an underlying notion of desire for acceptance from a more mainstream, Anglo audience. In fact, this interpretation is given support by Lopez himself: he stated in an interview that one way he measures his success is the number of white people in the front row of his comedy performances: "That's how you know you've made it: when you've got a whole row of *güeros* (fair-skinned persons)" (Saldaña 2006). Indeed, his choice of code is intentional and desired by himself.

This is not to say that Lopez completely ignores his own ethnolinguistic group on *JKL*. It should be mentioned that when he came on stage after Jimmy Kimmel's introduction he looked at the audience and said: "*Orale, Orale, vato!*" ('What's up? What's up, dude?'). This opening greeting allowed Lopez to assert his Chicano identity and also to create solidarity with other Latinos that may be in the audience. In other words, the majority English code choice is not a blanket accommodation. Performing the remainder of the show in English, Lopez participated in a subtle linguistic convergence (Hamers & Blanc 2003). The subtlety is important here because if the performer made too sharp of a style shift in either code or dialect it may be construed as insincere or even misleading by the audience (Bell 1984). While his language may have shifted towards monolingual English, the topics he talked about did not. Lopez still brought the immigration debate, such as in the joke outlined above, as well as cultural references to the largely monolingual English-speaking audience. Although one could argue that Lopez altered his delivery of these topics beyond the linguistic level. When he performed the same topics in his comedy special he included personal stories and anecdotes that may be more familiar with Latino audience members while for the largely Anglo audience he was a bit more distanced from his home community even joking about his individual position *vis-à-vis* the Border, "I'm on the side I belong on...Close it!" Thus, even though Lopez used primarily English during this performance he was still not shifting away from immigration and border issues and subsequently mainstreaming his humor.

Clearly, Lopez strongly identifies with his largely Latino fan base as shown through his choice of code and cultural references. For example, Lopez includes cultural references unique to Latinos such as *La Llorona* (the Mexican story of a woman who drowned her children and continues to haunt us looking for them),

*el cucui* (similar to the boogeyman) and *el chupacabra* (literally translates to “goat sucker” but can be used to describe aliens from outer space). In fact, during his appearance on *JKL* he joked that the reason why he had so many shows booked is that he wanted to reach as many Latinos before they have to go back to Mexico. Even within the interview banter one can see that Lopez is explicitly defining his ideal audience as Latino, and even more specifically, Mexican and Mexican-American.

How are Latino/Chicano audiences different from majority Anglo audiences? It is suggested by Rios (2000) that Chicano audience members negotiate meaning through their experiences as people of color and as members “of a proud yet disenfranchised culture in the context of the United States.” Seeing a comedian who recognizes similar experiences and shares sociocultural values can ease the usual critical gaze that a Chicano is accustomed to activating in dealing with the popular media (Rios 2000). The ethnolinguistic connection between performer and audience solidifies this relationship even more. Lopez confirms this with his titling of his special as, *America’s Mexican*, turning the hyphenated “Mexican-American” into a play on words which expresses the heavy influence of Mexican and Mexican-American culture and people on the United States.

## **Conclusion**

Lopez’s perception of his audience as either bilingual/bicultural or monolingual is validated when comparing the two performances in different settings. The audience at Dodge Theater in Phoenix, as described above, is probably as close to his ideal audience as he could have desired as a pro-Chicano artist. Their reactions and responses to his culturally-laced humor and codeswitching are evidence of this. This comic asserts both his Latino/Chicano and American identity in his code choice. Furthermore, he incorporates his cultural identity as a bilingual/bicultural person with his social identity as a comedian. Lopez alters his style according to the situation including but not limited by location, setting, audience make up and artistic control. Morales (2002: 128) poses the question: “What does it mean to be a Spanglish star?” and answers “most likely it means being misunderstood, mistaken for something else, or being an ever-popular chameleon”. While George Lopez, the performer, does not shy away from identifying as Mexican-American to both Latino and Anglo audiences he certainly uses a chameleon-like ability with his choice of language.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Carlos Ruiz for both introducing me to the comedy of George Lopez and informing this study using his bilingual/bicultural knowledge. I would also like to recognize Shahrzad Mahootian for her mentorship and support in this endeavor.

## References

- Bell, A. 1984. Language style as audience design. *Language in Society*, 13, 145–204.
- Blom, J.-P. & J. J. Gumperz. 1972. Social meaning in linguistic structure: code-switching in Norway. In J.J Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds) *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 407-34.
- Escalante, V. 2000. The Politics of Chicano Representation in the Media. In D. Maciel, I. Ortiz and M. Herrera-Sobek (eds.), *Chicano Renaissance: Contemporary Cultural Trends*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 131–168.
- Fernandez, M. E. (2007, May 14). TV just got a lot 'whiter' says a canceled George Lopez. *L.A. Times*. Retrieved from [http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/showtracker/2007/05/post\\_1.html](http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/showtracker/2007/05/post_1.html)
- Finn, N. (2007, June 5). A Babelicious night at the ALMA awards. *E-Online*. Retrieved [http://www.eonline.com/uberblog/b55324\\_A\\_\\_amp\\_lt\\_i\\_amp\\_gt\\_Babel\\_amp\\_lt\\_i\\_\\_amp\\_gt\\_icious\\_Night\\_at\\_the\\_ALMA\\_Awards.html](http://www.eonline.com/uberblog/b55324_A__amp_lt_i_amp_gt_Babel_amp_lt_i__amp_gt_icious_Night_at_the_ALMA_Awards.html)
- Fishman, J. A. 1965. Who speaks what language to whom and when? *La Linguistique* 2: 67-88.
- Hamers, J. & M. Blanc. 2003. *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Isaac5855. 2007, March 1. Lopez gets a long overdue HBO Special. [web comment] Retrieved November 30, 2007 from <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0975673/>
- George Lopez. (nd). Retrieved November 30, 2007 from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George\\_Lopez](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Lopez)
- George Lopez. (nd). Retrieved November 30, 2007 from [www.georgelopez.com](http://www.georgelopez.com)
- George Lopez. (nd). Retrieved November 30, 2007 from [www.myspace.com/georgelopez](http://www.myspace.com/georgelopez)
- Kimmel, Jimmy (Producer). (2007, January 2). *Jimmy Kimmel Live* [video]. Video retrieved November 30, 2007 from <http://vids.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=vids.individual&videoid=2011684525>
- Lopez, G. (Producer). 2007. *America's Mexican* [DVD]. United States: Encanto Enterprises.
- Snidjik, R. (2009, November 17). How about a glossary for us non-latinos? Message retrieved January 10, 2009 from <http://community.lopeztonight.com/forum/topics/how-about-a-glossary-for-us>
- Lopez, G. & A. Keteyian 2004. *Why You Crying: My Long Hard Look at Life, Love, and Laughter*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Mahootian, S. 2005. Linguistic change and social meaning: codeswitching in the media. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 9, 361–375.
- Mahootian, S. 2006. Code Switching and Mixing. In K. Brown (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*. Oxford: Elsevier, 511–527.
- Morales, E. 2002. *Living In Spanglish: The Search for Latino Identity in America*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- Myers-Scotton, C. 1988. Code-Switching as Indexical of Social Negotiations. In M. Heller (ed.) *Codeswitching*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 151-86.
- Myers-Scotton, C. 1998. Introduction. In C. Myers-Scotton (ed.), *Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties*. New York: Oxford University Press, 3–17.
- Reed, H. (2009, December 1). Translation Please! Message retrieved January 10, 2010 from <http://community.lopeztonight.com/forum/topics/translation-please>
- Rios, D. I. 2000. Chicana/o and Latina/o Gazing: Audiences of the Mass Media. In D. Maciel, I. Ortiz & M. Herrera-Sobek (eds.), *Chicano Renaissance: Contemporary Cultural Trends*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 169–190.
- Romaine, S. 1995. *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

- Saldaña, H. (2006, July 2). Comic Lopez, free of censors, cuts loose and hilarity ensues. *San Antonio Express-News*, 4B.
- Tourse, A. 2007. *No Comprehensive Reform, Raids do NOT equal a workable immigration policy*. [Press Release] Retrieved November 30, 2007 from [www.chirla.org](http://www.chirla.org).
- Wei, L. 2006. Dimensions of Bilingualism. In L. Wei (ed.), *The Bilingualism Reader*. London: Routledge, 3-22.

*Received 16 November, 2010*  
*Revision received 17 February, 2011*  
*Accepted 16 March, 2011*