

# Spanglish code-switching in Latin pop music: functions of English and audience reception

*A corpus and questionnaire study*

Magdalena Jade Monteagudo



Master's thesis in English Language - ENG4191

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# Abstract

The concept of code-switching (the use of two languages in the same unit of discourse) has been studied in the context of music for a variety of language pairings. The majority of these studies have focused on the interaction between a local language and a non-local language. In this project, I propose an analysis of the mixture of two world languages (Spanish and English), which can be categorised as both local and non-local. I do this through the analysis of the enormously successful reggaeton genre, which is characterised by its use of Spanglish. I used two data types to inform my research: a corpus of code-switching instances in top 20 reggaeton songs, and a questionnaire on attitudes towards Spanglish in general and in music. I collected 200 answers to the questionnaire – half from American English-speakers, and the other half from Spanish-speaking Hispanics of various nationalities. This dual approach allowed me to learn about the functions of the English language in songs by Spanish-speaking artists, as well as the attitudes of Spanish- and English-speaking audiences towards such uses of English.

I found that English served symbolic and discursive functions rather than purely semantic functions in the lyrics of reggaeton songs, as opposed to Spanish. I also isolated several themes which were specific to English: bragging, artist/song introduction and filler/excitement building. I argue that these themes serve the purpose of identifying a song as belonging to certain genres – for instance, hip hop or pop. The use of English has such an effect because of the strong indexicalities it carries; certain words or phrases are stereotypical of the pop or rap context. Similarly, I also argue that the use of Spanglish is indexical of reggaeton music.

In terms of the questionnaire results, I found that the American participants were overall very positive towards Spanglish as a variety and the use of CS in music. The Hispanic participants, on the other hand, were much more negative towards the phenomenon. I posit that this difference in linguistic attitudes is due to the identity link between each group of speakers and their language. Spanish-speakers feel proud of their language, which they believe should be protected from the hegemony of English, whereas English-speakers find the use of another language exotic and exciting. I believe that these different perspectives are due to the position of complete power which the English language possesses: as the lingua franca of our globalised world, it has become the default language in every context, including that of music.

A full transcript of my corpus and questionnaire data is available in the Appendices.



# Acknowledgements

When I decided to write this thesis from the UK – and thus to leave the university and all the local support it would offer behind – I knew that I was signing up for a mostly solitary experience. That is not to say, however, that I did not receive help along the way. The first person I would like to thank is my supervisor, Jacob Thaisen. Despite the distance (we still have not met in person!), you were only ever one email away to answer any queries I might have. You struck the perfect balance between letting me work independently (something I value greatly) and still guiding me through the process – for instance by checking up on me when I had not updated you for slightly too long. You were of tremendous help with the statistics and offered tons of pertinent advice on how to better my text. I am extremely grateful for all your help. Thank you also to all my teachers at University of Oslo, for helping me refine my understanding of linguistics and teaching me how to conduct a research project – I was rather clueless when I arrived.

While writing my thesis, I was lucky to have the support of my classmate Vilde Haug Almestrand, who, through her kind words, belief in me, and practical help (sending me helpful references, for instance, and proofreading my text), made the process of writing this thesis much more enjoyable. You were always there to discuss anything that was on my mind (both thesis-related and not), and your almost-daily messages of support meant so much. You are the loveliest, most supportive friend I could have asked for! Thank you also to my flatmate and friend Joe Day for taking long walks with me when I was reaching the end of the project and needed to relieve stress from the pandemic. For your help proofreading my text, as well as all the other help you have given me through the years (emotional, financial and practical), thank you to my father, Antonio Monteagudo. Thank you also to my mother, Sophie Loiseau, for all her support and invaluable advice when I was unsure or anxious about something. Both of you have shaped my interest in languages and have always encouraged me to keep learning and seeking knowledge. I would not be submitting a Master's thesis in Linguistics if it weren't for you.

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# Table of Contents

<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>Acknowledgements.....</b>	<b>VII</b>
<b>Table of Contents.....</b>	<b>VIII</b>
<b>1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2 Theoretical background .....</b>	<b>3</b>
2.1 Definition of a key concept: code-switching.....	3
2.1.1 Code-switching: A hazy term.....	3
2.1.2 The genesis.....	3
2.1.3 The 1970s .....	5
2.1.4 The 1990s .....	7
2.1.5 The 2000s .....	8
2.1.6 Code-switching today.....	10
2.1.7 In summary: what is code-switching?.....	11
2.2 Main theoretical models of CS.....	13
2.2.1 Blom and Gumperz's (1972) situational and metaphorical switching.....	14
2.2.2 Gumperz's (1976) we-code/they-code model .....	15
2.2.3 Myers-Scotton's markedness model (1983,1993, 1998) and Matrix Language Frame model (1993).....	16
2.2.4 Muysken's (1997, 2000) typology of code-switching processes .....	20
2.2.5 Chosen theoretical framework.....	21
2.2.6 Definition of code-switching .....	22
2.2.7 Theoretical frame .....	22
<b>3 Literature Review .....</b>	<b>24</b>
3.1 Spanglish code-switching.....	24
3.1.1 What is Spanglish? .....	24
3.1.2 Spanglish code-switching: Constraints.....	27
3.2 Language and Identity .....	30
3.2.1 Language as central to identity .....	30
3.2.2 Spanglish as an identity.....	32
3.2.3 Code-switching in Music: the Literature .....	35
3.2.4 General overview of the field.....	35
3.2.5 The identity function of CS in music: Localisation .....	38



3.2.6	The identity function of CS in music: Globalisation .....	40
3.2.7	A third identity function? .....	42
3.2.8	Symbolic vs. Discourse functions of CS in music .....	46
3.2.9	My topic: Spanglish CS in popular mainstream music .....	49
<b>4</b>	<b>Methods .....</b>	<b>51</b>
4.1	Corpus.....	51
4.1.1	Compilation of the corpus.....	51
4.1.2	Analysis of the corpus .....	54
4.2	Questionnaire.....	60
4.2.1	Collection of the questionnaire data .....	60
4.2.2	Analysis of the questionnaire data .....	63
<b>5</b>	<b>Corpus Data: Description and Analysis .....</b>	<b>64</b>
5.1	Data Description .....	64
5.1.1	The four main themes: love, sex, heartbreak and party/dancing .....	64
5.1.2	Specific functions of English .....	67
5.1.3	Description of the data: summary .....	71
5.2	Data Analysis: English use in reggaeton: a growing trend? .....	71
5.3	Data Analysis: lyrical content of English and Spanish.....	72
5.3.1	English in reggaeton: a stereotypical use.....	73
5.3.2	Syntactic features of English in reggaeton .....	74
5.3.3	Semantic features of English in reggaeton.....	76
5.3.4	Thematic function of English: Summary .....	77
5.4	Data Analysis: specific functions of English .....	77
5.4.1	Language indexicalities: English as indexical of hip hop .....	78
5.4.2	Filler words: and aesthetic function .....	78
5.4.3	Specific functions of English: summary.....	79
5.5	Summary of the corpus findings .....	79
<b>6</b>	<b>Questionnaire Data: Description and Analysis .....</b>	<b>80</b>
6.1	Data Description: Participants.....	80
6.1.1	Gender and age .....	80
6.1.2	Country of origin and country of residence .....	80
6.1.3	Monolingualism and multilingualism.....	81
6.1.4	Languages spoken.....	82
6.2	Data Description: Quantitative Portion .....	83

6.2.1	Attitudes to CS and translation in music .....	83
6.2.2	Associations with Spanish and English .....	85
6.2.3	Associations with Spanglish .....	86
6.2.4	Associations with Spanish and English in music .....	87
6.2.5	Associations with Spanglish in music .....	88
6.3	Data Description: Qualitative Portion .....	89
6.3.1	Purposes of CS in music .....	89
6.3.2	Purposes of translation in music .....	91
6.3.3	Justifications for song version choice .....	93
6.3.4	Overview of optional open-ended questions .....	95
6.3.5	SSR's additional associations .....	96
6.3.6	ESR's additional associations .....	98
6.3.7	Summary of additional association findings .....	99
6.3.8	SSR and ESR's additional comments .....	99
6.3.9	Summary of the questionnaire results .....	102
6.4	Data Analysis .....	102
6.4.1	Reggaeton listening habits: why such results? .....	103
6.4.2	The home-language and foreign-language paradigm .....	103
6.4.3	Spanish-speakers and protective identity .....	104
6.4.4	English as the unmarked choice .....	106
6.4.5	The symbolic indexicalities of English and Spanish .....	107
6.4.6	Music as a transformative playground for linguistic attitudes .....	108
6.4.7	Summary of my analysis .....	109
6.5	Summary of Questionnaire Findings .....	110
<b>7</b>	<b>Discussion .....</b>	<b>111</b>
7.1	Answering my research questions .....	111
7.1.1	First research question .....	111
7.1.2	Second research question .....	112
7.2	Overall conclusions: the genre-defining feature of Spanglish CS .....	114
7.2.1	English in reggaeton: a meta-symbolic and meta-discursive function .....	114
7.2.2	Spanglish: a defining feature of reggaeton? .....	115
7.3	Overall conclusions: the localisation and globalisation function of Spanglish CS in music .....	115
7.3.1	Spanglish CS as a localising device .....	116
7.3.2	Spanglish CS as a globalising device .....	117

7.3.3	The localisation/globalisation middle-ground.....	118
7.4	Shortcomings .....	118
7.5	Future research .....	119
<b>8</b>	<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>121</b>
	<b>References .....</b>	<b>123</b>
	<b>Appendix 1: Corpus Data.....</b>	<b>132</b>
	A. Song list.....	132
	B. Isolated switches .....	136
	<b>Appendix 2: Questionnaires .....</b>	<b>159</b>
	B. Spanish questionnaire.....	166
	<b>Appendix 3: Questionnaire Data .....</b>	<b>174</b>
	A. ESR data .....	174
	B. SSR data .....	193



# 1 Introduction

In a 2018 article, Rolling Stone magazine – arguably the most influential publication on popular music – writes that “[o]ne of the most important narratives in contemporary pop has been the emergence of Latin music as a potent commercial force in the United States”. This sentiment is echoed by reggaeton superstar Nicky Jam, who, in an interview, is asked about the numbers achieved by one of his songs<sup>1</sup> and states: “not even English [language] music does that” (NBC News, 2018). The gargantuan success in the past few years of songs such as Despacito, which currently has the most viewed music video on YouTube with close to 7 billion views, have shown just how significant the Latin music movement has become. This type of mainstream pop music, mixed with hip hop and traditional Latin genres such as bachata or salsa, has taken the world by storm.

One interesting linguistic feature about the genre is its propensity for bilingualism: Spanish and English are often used within the same song. This linguistic mixture, frequently referred to as *Spanglish*, is often perceived in a negative manner. Many English- and Spanish-speakers consider it to be a bastardisation of both languages, which is a typical linguistic attitude to mixed varieties. What is surprising in the case of Spanglish is the enormous success which it has found in the music industry. The fact that a variety which is often associated with poor, uneducated immigrants has become one of the central features of an immensely lucrative music genre is cause for reflection – is language choice in music viewed differently than in conversation? This is not an entirely novel topic: since Trudgill’s (1997) article on British pop singers’ tendency to adopt American pronunciations in their songs, many sociolinguists have explored the subject of language choice in music. Because of the central role of music in the human experience, the different linguistic behaviours of artists and the varying attitudes of listeners towards these behaviours make for a fascinating research subject, which can teach us a lot about how and why we make certain linguistic choices. In parallel, the study of code-switching (the act of using two distinct languages within the same interaction) has been a well-researched area of sociolinguistics for decades.

To my knowledge, the two concepts of linguistic attitudes and code-switching have not been studied jointly in regard to language choice in music. I believe that such a dual approach is necessary to shed light on the complex topic that is the immense success of reggaeton, where both issues are at play. The study of this phenomenon has wide implications for our understanding of English as a lingua franca, as it shows the preponderance of the language in the entertainment industry – one of its strongholds in terms of soft-power. An exploration of its functions in foreign-language music, as

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<sup>1</sup> The song in question is the single “X”, featuring fellow superstar J Balvin, which achieved 200 million views on YouTube within a fortnight.

well as audiences' reception of it, can broaden our understanding of the dominion of English in our globalised society.

My aim with this study, thus, is to investigate the functions served by English in the context of Spanish-language music (specifically the reggaeton genre), as well as the attitudes displayed by Spanish- and English-speaking audiences towards the phenomenon. I have based my analysis on two data types: a corpus and an online questionnaire. This binary approach has allowed me to achieve a broader understanding of the use of English in mainstream Latino music, both in terms of the functions it serves and its perceptions by different speakers. I have linked these findings with several concepts from the sociolinguistic literature, such as the idea of language as identity, the concept of indexicality of language and the localisation/globalisation continuum of language choice.

My analysis is therefore split into two parts – the first dealing with the different uses of English in songs, and the second, with the different attitudes towards English code-switching and translation in songs. To guide my research, I have formulated two research questions. The structure of my analysis and the research questions guiding it are as follows:

#### Part 1: Functions of English in Spanish-Language Popular Mainstream Music

- (i) What symbolic and discourse functions does English (through CS or translation) serve in songs by Spanish-speaking artists?

#### Part 2: Attitudes towards Spanglish Code-Switching in Spanish-Language Popular Mainstream Music

- (ii) Do Spanish-speaking and English-speaking listeners have different attitudes towards the use of English in songs by Spanish-speaking artists, and what are these attitudes?

In order to answer these questions, I have used two different data sets: for the first part of my research, I have compiled a small corpus of Spanglish CS (as a result of translation or direct composition in the switched variety) in mainstream reggaeton. For the second part, I have collected 200 answers to an online questionnaire addressing attitudes to such CS: 100 were answered by Americans from the United States, and the other 100 were answered by Spanish-speaking Hispanics from various countries. I outline my methods and approach in more detail in chapter 4 – but first, chapters 2 and 3 present the theoretical background and literature review for the topics relevant to my study. The methodology section then follows. The fifth and sixth chapters are dedicated to the data description and data analysis of my corpus and questionnaire data, respectively. Chapter 7 provides a more general discussion of my findings in relation to the theory. Finally, I conclude my thesis in chapter 8.

## 2 Theoretical background

This chapter outlines the theoretical building blocks of this thesis by defining key concepts and describing the theoretical framework in which I am situating my research. I start by defining the central concept of *code-switching*, before moving on to a survey of the main theoretical models of the topic which have been proposed in the literature. Finally, I explain which definition and theoretical models I have chosen to use for my research, and why.

### 2.1 Definition of a key concept: code-switching

#### 2.1.1 Code-switching: A hazy term

The notion of *code-switching* is at the centre of this research project, and it is therefore important to lay a solid theoretical foundation by defining the term as accurately and specifically as possible from the start. However, rather unluckily, this term happens to be one of the most debated and hazily-defined terms in all of linguistics, with a myriad different uses of the word recorded in the literature. As tends to happen, this is because the concept of code-switching has spanned many different disciplines and areas of research since its genesis – and has taken on a number of different definitions through the years. Indeed, when talking about the history of the term, Alvarez-Caccamo (1998) states that

From its origins in the physical sciences (Fano 1950) until its current circulation in political anthropology (Gal 1987, 1995), the notion of 'code-switching' has experienced the characteristic multiplication, fragmentation and metamorphosis that a conceptually rich term is prone to experience. (Alvarez-Caccamo, 1998, p. 29).

In order to define code-switching (henceforth CS) in the most informed way possible, I will therefore outline a brief historical overview of the term and how it has been used throughout the years.

#### 2.1.2 The genesis

After Fano's (1950) coinage of the term, Jakobson (1961) introduces the concept of *code* within information theory, where it is conceptualised as a tool for the transmission of signals between different systems (Alvarez-Caccamo, 1998). In this sense, "switching code" refers to the change made by a speaker (whether monolingual or bilingual) in order to understand, or "decode", another speaker's linguistic system (or *code*) (Jakobson, 1961). In this view, the code serves to interpret or

generate speech, but it is not the speech itself; making it a very different concept than what we understand as *code* today. One of the first scholars to explicitly use the term “code-switching” is Vogt (1954), who writes that “[c]ode-switching in itself is perhaps not a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a psychological one, and its causes are obviously extra-linguistic” (1954, p. 368). Just two years later, Haugen follows suit and uses the term as well, but talks about “the code switching which occurs when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech” (1956, p. 40). This definition seems to be a lot closer to what we think of as CS today.

Nevertheless, the definition of the term is far from stable and unanimous at this early stage: some linguists such as Jakobson (1961) and Hockett (1987), for instance, use it to explain the phenomenon of “recoding”, through which “certain sounds or arrangements of sound in the alien dialect come to be coded automatically into the proper sounds or combinations of sounds in the listener's own dialect, and the intended word is recognised by assembling the latter” (Hockett, 1987, p. 43). This seems to entail that the listener doing the recoding only speaks one variety and simply interprets an “alien dialect”, rather than being proficient in two varieties at once, as we would define it today.

Two other names worth mentioning in the development of the concept of CS are Hymes and Gumperz. They are considered to be the founding fathers of contemporary sociolinguistics (and, more generally, of linguistic anthropology). The two linguists had somewhat different approaches: Hymes was interested in determining the wider objectives of sociolinguistic research, whereas Gumperz's focus was on showing concrete, real-life examples of the application of the sociolinguistic methodology (Sarangi, 2011).<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, they had one common goal: that of describing a universal model of language in relation to society which would offer an alternative to Chomsky's, and would focus more on social factors. In this sense, much of their (and specifically Hymes') early work – spanning the 1960s – was devoted to articulating “a programme for the study of language-in-society”, which “can be read in part as a response to the Chomskyan notion that language is an autonomous object” (Hymes, 2010, p. 570). Through this theoretical endeavour, the *interactional linguistics* approach came to be. The major change introduced by this new approach, other than its interdisciplinarity, was that it opened linguistic research and theory to spoken language, studied on its own instead of written language (Hymes, 2010).

One particular concept that came from this approach is that of *communicative competence*, once again described by Hymes. According to him, and in direct disagreement with the Chomskyan view, “[i]t cannot be assumed that the formal possibilities of a system and individual knowledge are identical”. *Competence* is thus understood as “the most general term for the capabilities of a person”

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<sup>2</sup> In other words, Hymes' goal was more theoretical, whereas Gumperz's was more empirical.



(1972, p. 282). With this, Hymes bridges the gap between *linguistic competence* and *linguistic performance* (two concepts originating from Saussure's *langue* and *parole*), a distinction which he finds inadequate in Chomsky's work.<sup>3</sup> He does so through the ethnographic investigation of communicative competence. His approach allows the linguist to explore both the form and the function of communication, in direct connection to one another (Leung, 2005). These advancements in sociolinguistics and in the study of speech are central to the development of the concept of CS, as they greatly contributed to the view that language use is linked to the individual as well as social factors, and, simultaneously, that spoken language is worthy of independent study.

In fact, for Alvarez-Caccamo (1998), Gumperz's social dialectology research in India was the turning point which moved the field in the direction of a functional and interactional perspective on CS: throughout these studies, Gumperz highlighted the importance of understanding the social functions of language alternation. In a 1962 publication, for instance, he "[related] the functions of specific 'codes' from an integrated societal 'code matrix' to specific 'communication roles' within a society's 'communication matrix'" (Alvarez-Caccamo, 1998, p. 34). Thus, the sociolinguistic concept of CS was born.

### 2.1.3 The 1970s

For this section of the chapter, I can start by mentioning another eminent name in the sociolinguistic tradition, Basil Bernstein. His contribution to the field with the construct of the *elaborated* and *restricted language codes* laid another important foundation for the conceptualisation of CS. The two codes, according to Bernstein, differ in that the former is explicit, "context-independent" and "universalistic", whereas the latter is implicit, "context-dependent" and "particularistic" (Bernstein, 1973, p. 110). In simpler terms, if an out-group person were to overhear speech in the *elaborative* code, they would be able to understand the meaning of the conversation, whereas, if they were to overhear an exchange in the *restrictive* code, they would miss many of the implied assumptions and references which contribute towards its meaning. Bernstein crucially argues that the configuration of the social relation and social structure directs each individual's orientation towards these codes (Bernstein, 1973). Thus, speakers may change code according to the social situation in which they find themselves: the switching of code relates to social factors. Bernstein (1973) used this idea to explain why school children from lower social backgrounds underperformed in language-related tasks, in comparison to middle- and upper-class students: he argued that, having never learned the

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<sup>3</sup> In Hymes' view, the theoretical system and the individual's actual production are joined in the middle-ground concept of communicative competence: individual knowledge comes into play and no linguistic system is absolute. This entails that each individual's formal system is different, and therefore that unexpected outputs (such as CS) are not necessarily errors, but a reflection of each individual's knowledge.

appropriate elaborative code at home, they were at a disadvantage.<sup>4</sup> This is because “the educational process requires, at least, an orientation to an elaborated code”, and “[c]hildren who already have this orientation are in a situation of symbolic development; those without it are in a situation of symbolic change” (Bernstein, 1973, p. 110). The impact of this theory on sociolinguistics is non-negligible, as its implications go well beyond the field of language acquisition: it centralises the role of social factors in the choice of linguistic codes.

With these advances in the sociolinguistic field and the conceptualisation of linguistic codes, scholars became more drawn to the topic of CS, and definitions of the term started to emerge. I can cite Myers-Scotton and Ury’s (1977) definition, for whom CS refers to “the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction” (p. 5). This is quite a simple and straightforward definition, in comparison to the specifications that will be made to the concept in the following decades, as we will see. Nevertheless, this definition already contrasts with that of Brown and Gilman (1968), an older one which Myers-Scotton and Ury (1977) cite in their paper as a basis of comparison to show what they will do differently in their analysis. They state that

Brown and Gilman tend to treat interactions as preexisting clusters of topics, participants, etc., to which a particular linguistic variety is allocated by societal norms. The metaphorical and situational classifications of code-switching imply the same. In contrast, the approach of this article stresses the way in which interactions evolve, rather than preexist, with code-switching as one mechanism employed. (Myers-Scotton & Ury, 1977, p. 9).

It is quite clear that these two pairs of linguists define CS differently: the former, as fixed and stable, the latter, as evolving and ever-changing in each separate interaction. These already represent two differing views of the concept, even this early in the history of the term.

A second article from the same year which I can cite as seminal is Gumperz’s (1977) paper on *conversational code-switching*. He defines CS as “the juxtaposition of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems, within the same exchange” (p. 1). This definition is essentially the same as Myers-Scotton and Ury’s. But Gumperz’s (1977) article is interesting in what he tells us in addition to his definition – the sociolinguist gives us a sort of “state of the art” view of CS studies in the late 70s in this paper. He writes:

In the linguistic literature on bilingualism, conversational code-switching tends to be treated primarily as a marginal or transitory phenomenon, a type of linguistic interference which accompanies the

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<sup>4</sup> Whereas their more affluent classmates, having learnt the code from a young age, presented an advantage.

learning of a new grammatical system.<sup>5</sup> Existing studies are for the most part concerned either with language change or second language acquisition and tend to concentrate on identification of the type of structures that can be exchanged and on the linguistic and extralinguistic factors that 'trigger' the switch (Haugen 1973). That code-switching serves to convey semantically significant information in verbal interaction has not been systematically considered. (Gumperz, 1977, p. 4).

As we can see, it seems that CS of the conversational type as described by Gumperz was not perceived as an independent topic of study by previous researchers. Perhaps it was not viewed as interesting enough on its own, or, as Gumperz suggests, it was assumed to be a form of "inter-state" between two stages of language learning – which did not make it a substantial enough research topic to be studied as a stand-alone. At this point in time, CS was therefore a much less researched phenomenon, without a unified community of linguists studying it.<sup>6</sup> As I will show, however, CS would generate much more literature in the following decades, leading to an entire field of research dedicated to the phenomenon.

#### 2.1.4 The 1990s

Twenty years later, Alvarez-Caccamo (1998) defines CS as "the alternate use of recognisably distinct speech varieties in discourse" (p. 29). The use of the word *recognisably* is interesting, as we can wonder what types of criteria might define two speech varieties as "recognisably distinct". Several linguists have developed theories on the topic, such as Thelander (1976), who created a tailored approach to the analysis of CS in communities where the two (or more) varieties used were hard to distinguish, based on a model of analysis initially proposed by Blom and Gumperz (1972). One of the aims of his article was to apply said model to a small community in Sweden which used mixed varieties (on a continuum from Standard Swedish to the community dialect, *burträskmål*) (Thelander, 1976). In order to do this, Thelander proposed "an index of dialect level which incorporates a model of discrete speech varieties into a spectrum of continuous variation" (Thelander, 1976, p. 104). The very development of such a system was to make possible the study of near undistinguishable mixed varieties. Alvarez-Caccamo's (1998) view on the topic is that the term *code-switching* has come to encompass several phenomena which might be unrelated to the original definition of the concept, whilst also excluding others which actually seem to correspond to the notion of CS. He suggests the following:

I thus propose that the scope of 'code-switching' be simultaneously (a) narrowed in order to exclude

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<sup>5</sup> As mentioned in footnote 3 (p. 5), this was the general view resulting from the Chomskyan competence-performance distinction: CS was perceived as an error at the production level – clashing with the formal system.

<sup>6</sup> This can at least partly explain the term's nebulous definition.

socially or interactionally meaningless variety-alternation, and (b) broadened in order to include phenomena of monolingual speech (such as prosody or the deployment of speech markers) which recontextualise talk by signalling the onset of emerging frames by virtue of the codes associated with them. (Alvarez-Caccamo, 1998, p. 42).

For Alvarez-Caccamo, therefore, just like for Thelander, CS is defined as encompassing more than just the use of two separate languages: monolinguals are also able to code-switch. However, he takes this idea further by suggesting that variables such as prosody can constitute CS.<sup>7</sup> For Thelander, on the other hand, CS must come from the use of two different linguistic varieties (which involves lexicon, syntax and phonology, but not anything like prosody). Yet again, these two approaches reveal the differing and sometimes contradictory definitions of CS: the notion is sometimes expanded to include ambiguously defined varieties of the same language or even stylistic or prosodic patterns in a monolingual's speech, and sometimes narrowed down only to very well-distinguished languages. This leads us to the question of what exactly constitutes a *bilingual*. This term, also the object of many debates, is nebulous and hard to define. What sort of proficiency must one reach in order to be considered bilingual?<sup>8</sup>

Just a year after Alvarez-Caccamo's definition, Auer (1999) defines CS as referring specifically to "those cases in which the juxtaposition of two codes (*languages*) is perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event *by participants*" (p. 310, my emphasis). Here, two aspects can be noted: firstly, codes are unequivocally equated to different languages, excluding different varieties of the same language. Secondly, a further criterion is added: participants (speakers) are given the power of deciding what constitutes a "locally meaningful event", and thus, what constitutes CS. This is an important aspect that I will come back to in Section 2.2.

Through this brief overview, we can see that, by the late 90s, linguists had narrowed down the term significantly in comparison to Gumperz's or Myers-Scotton and Ury's more rudimentary notion, but that several contradictory definitions were co-existing.

### 2.1.5 The 2000s

Moving into the new century, more theories attempting to explain CS continue to come to light – and to be debated. One major point of discussion in this decade regards the types of elements that are usually "code-switched" and what they entail: where does code-switching end and code-mixing<sup>9</sup> begin? One major view developed around this time is that CS exists within a continuum which ranges

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<sup>7</sup> Interestingly, this is also what the very first definitions of the term suggested.

<sup>8</sup> I will come back to this later in the chapter.

<sup>9</sup> Henceforth "CM".

from pragmatics to syntax, in which the switches taking place closer to the pragmatic pole are deemed to be CS, whereas the switches that involve more syntactic elements are considered instances of CM.<sup>10</sup> Thus, CS would be characterised by the switching of elements mostly on a lexical level, whereas the involvement of many syntactical elements in a switch might point to a creole or pidgin.<sup>11</sup> Not everyone agrees, however, and some argue that CS and CM are entirely separate phenomena. This latter position seems to have been less dominant in this period, however, so I am focusing on the former in this section.

We can use Muysken's (2007) definition as a starting point to exemplify this view of CS, as he is considered to be an influential voice in the CS literature – and thus his definition reflects the decade's most salient and widely-accepted lines of thought. The formal definition Muysken (2007) gives of CS is “a way of speaking which shows evidence of substantial amounts of morpho-syntactic and/or lexical material from at least two different languages” (p. 315). He further specifies that this definition excludes “many of the phenomena involved in pidgin and creole genesis [...] since [...] they do not necessarily involve lexical elements from different languages” (Muysken, 2007, p. 315). This definition, therefore, puts a definite emphasis on the importance of *lexical* material in CS – bringing a new restriction to the term in comparison to previous years. Auer (1999) is the first to propose the idea of a continuum between CS and CM, an idea which became more widespread in the 2000s. In his paper, he states that “codeswitching defines the *pragmatic* pole” (p. 310, my emphasis) of the continuum, according to which CS leads to mixed languages, which then lead to fused lects. In addition, for him, the closer a mixed variety gets to the end of this continuum (represented by fused lects), the more the *grammar* has been solidified. Indeed, he explains that “[t]he difference between mixing and fused lects is mainly a grammatical one” (Auer, 1999, p. 321), as opposed to CS.

Muysken (2007), too, discusses the difference between CS and CM and mostly seems to agree with Auer (1999). Indeed, in a paper targeted at those linguists who claim that CS and CM are entirely separate phenomena, Muysken cites Auer and uses similar points to deconstruct the opposing school's arguments. He argues for the idea that CM is in fact the *result* of the grammatical sedimentation of CS, specifically targeting contradicting claims made by Bakker (2003). However, Muysken seems to mistakenly inverse the process described by Auer (1999), stating that “Auer (1999) develops a complex transitional scenario in which code-switching leads to ‘fused lects’ and then on to ‘mixed languages’” (p. 331), whereas Auer (1999) explicitly states that language-mixing comes before fused lects, which is the extreme pole of the continuum.<sup>12</sup> Despite some confusion

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<sup>10</sup> CM, in this view, is thus defined as a more extreme or more entrenched version of CS.

<sup>11</sup> Although CS can involve syntactic elements, and CM can involve lexical elements – this is, again, a continuum.

<sup>12</sup> The title of the article itself shows this: “From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects” (p. 309).

with the order of the process, Muysken still shares Auer's main idea: CS may (but need not) lead to the sedimentation of grammar and the mixing (or fusing) of two varieties. He shows that, while the points made by Bakker demonstrate that there is a definite divide between CS and intertwined languages, they are insufficient in disproving the idea that such languages could be the result of the grammaticalization and regularisation of what was initially CS (Muysken, 2007).

This conceptualisation of CS was agreed upon by two of the most influential names in sociolinguistics (and CS research in particular), and we could therefore hazard to consider it as widely accepted. However, it was also the subject of criticism, as exemplified by Muysken's (2007) efforts to disprove other linguists' arguments for the opposing view. It is obvious, thus, that the term *code-switching* was still far from being unambiguously and unanimously defined in the early 2000s.

### 2.1.6 Code-switching today

To give us an idea of how the term is used nowadays, let us look at some studies of CS from the past three years.<sup>13</sup> The first interesting point that catches the reader's attention is that CS often goes undefined in recent papers dealing with the notion (see, for instance: Truscott & Sharwood Smith, 2017, Lopez, Alexiadou & Veenstra, 2017, & Green, 2018). Is this a sign of a tacit stabilisation of the term, with linguists accepting one and the same definition as the only valid one? Or is it, on the contrary, a case of linguists deciding to take a fantastically polysemic word and using it to describe the type of dual language use that they are interested in? If the latter is more accurate, this would appear to show a new trend whereby studies of CS are less concerned with the theoretical question of what CS is (and is not) and are rather interested in using this ready-made word in order to investigate other theoretical concepts. In other words, for such studies, the notion of CS would no longer be the end-goal, but a means to a different end.<sup>14</sup> It is worth noting that the papers I collected were all written by less established linguists than the ones mentioned in the earlier sections, which could partly explain the differences in their approach to the topic. Nevertheless, this difference in status can give us an insight into how "new" researchers approach the topic of CS after the decades of theory-building contributed by sociolinguistics' big names – and it would seem that this new approach involves much less back-and-forth when it comes to defining the concept before it is discussed. This at least holds for a significant portion of the literature I examined.

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<sup>13</sup> The studies were collected by searching for the term "code-switching" in Oria, the university's library database, and restricting it to publications from the past three years.

<sup>14</sup> In the literature I examined, for instance, the concept of CS was used to analyse a cognitive model of "the nature of representation and processing" (Truscott & Sharwood Smith, 2017, p. 903), to explore the idea that "code-switching should be studied using the same tools that we use for monolingual phenomena" through the "theoretical construct 'phase'" (Lopez, Alexiadou & Veenstra, 2017, p. 9), or to "extend the control process model [...] to cover a plausible neurocomputational basis for the construction and execution of utterance plans in code-switching" (Green, 2018, p. 883).

When the term is defined, it is sometimes done in a throwaway manner, for instance as a small clause in the middle of a sentence: “[s]till, code switching, *switching between two languages within a sentence*, has been shown to have an effect on persuasion” (Garcia Quintana & Nichols, 2016, p. 226, my emphasis), “[o]ne of the most studied forms of multilingual language use is code-switching, *the use of more than one language within a speech exchange*” (Harjunpää & Mäkilähde, 2016, p. 163, my emphasis). This further highlights the fact that the specificities of what exactly constitutes CS have been relegated to the background in several recent studies dealing with the concept. Interestingly, these definitions are somewhat similar to the ones proposed by Myers-Scotton & Ury (1977) and Gumperz (1977) at the beginning of CS research.

All four of these definitions emphasise two notions: first, that CS involves two (or more) codes (“two languages” and “more than one language” for Garcia Quintana & Nichols and Harjunpää & Mäkilähde; “linguistic varieties” and “two different grammatical systems or subsystems” for Myers-Scotton & Ury and Gumperz) and that the switching happens within a defined unit (“within a sentence” and “within a speech exchange” for the 2016 articles; within “the same conversation or interaction” and “within the same exchange” for the 1977 papers). The difference between both pairs, thus, lies in the narrower strand of CS defined by the modern authors, specifically Garcia Quintana and Nichols – for them, CS only happens between two languages and within a sentence, excluding inter-sentential switching, as opposed to Myers-Scotton & Ury’s and Gumperz’s definitions, which encompass more types. Overall, it is almost as if current research on CS has come full-circle and returned to its origins, with straight-forward and concise definitions. The difference lies in the fact that these recent studies seem to show no concerns for the theoretical intricacies of the term, after several decades of the opposite approach.

Another similar modern definition of the concept is given by Fairchild and Van Hell (2017), who define the term as “the act of switching between two or more languages within a single utterance”, and add that “[this] is a phenomenon quite prevalent in bilingual speech” (Fairchild & Van Hell, 2017, p. 150). Comparably, Garcia et al. (2018), state that “[c]ode-switching occurs when bilingual speakers switch languages within sentences, phrases, or between words” (Garcia et al., 2018, p. 2353). These definitions follow the exact format of the previous two, but add the bilingual speaker criterion which we have already discussed. Thus, whilst definitions of the term seem to have converged towards a very similar point, both in conciseness and content, there is still some variation between different researchers in terms of narrowness of the criteria.

### **2.1.7 In summary: what is code-switching?**

In sum, it appears I can conclude with some confidence that the notion of CS, after being the object of decades-long debates on its theoretical intricacies, has somewhat settled on an accepted definition which posits the two following criteria:

- a. Code-switching occurs when a speaker **alternates between two (or more) codes** – these are generally considered to be two separate languages by the majority consensus, although a minority of linguists also include switching between two varieties of the same language in the definition of code-switching.
- b. The switching **must happen within a defined unit**. This unit is usually a single speech exchange or interaction but can sometimes be restricted to a single sentence.

A third criterion is often added, but it is not as central as the other two as it does not appear in all definitions:

- c. The speakers partaking in code-switching **must be bilingual**.

The Oxford University Press's *Dictionary of Media and Communication* (Chandler & Munday, 2016) defines CS as follows:

1. (sociolinguistics) Bilingual speakers shifting from one language to another.
2. More rarely, monolingual speakers switching between discourse types. (Chandler & Munday, 2016).

This definition confirms the impression given by recent CS research that monolingual speakers switching between discourse types (or separate varieties) is more rarely considered to be CS. However, this dictionary entry seems to take my third (optional) criterion as an essential one: speakers *must* be bilingual to code-switch.

Nevertheless, the literature – even the most recent – shows too many instances of the bilingual criterion not being mentioned for it to be included in the main definition, in my view. Of course, one could argue that the bilingual criterion is unequivocally linked to that which stipulates that CS only happens between two separate languages. However, the definition of bilingualism itself is too unclear to draw such a direct conclusion, as the term can be used to refer to many different levels of proficiency. A linguist could use the term bilingual to mean “true bilingual”, that is, someone who is perfectly and equally competent in both languages – Weinrich (1953), for instance, described the “ideal bilingual” as a speaker who “switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutor, topics, etc.) but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence” (p. 73). From this perspective, intra-



sentential CS is therefore undoubtedly an *un-bilingual* practice to partake in. This goes completely against later discoveries that intra-sentential CS is in fact more complex than inter-sentential CS, and therefore requires a much better command of both languages (see for instance Poplack, 1980, and Bullock & Torribio, 2009). The impact of bilingualism on CS, thus, hinges on a term which is difficult to define, and could refer to a range of different levels of proficiency, the most extreme one being that of a “perfect” bilingual who is essentially “two monolinguals in one”, as Grosjean (1988) metaphorically described. This, however, would exclude CS in heritage-language situations, for instance, or in individuals who simply employ one language more than the other. Yet, few people would deny that the following example of young Moroccan speakers, taken from Davies and Bentahila (1995, p. 83), constitutes CS between Moroccan Arabic and French:

- (1) hadu *les cousins* djali žajjin men *la France* w ʕandhum [...]   
 ‘these (*the*) *cousins* of mine were coming from *France* and they had’ [...]

Nevertheless, Davies and Bentahila (1995) explain that the older speakers, who were more balanced bilinguals, used longer sequences in French than their younger counterparts, who would insert shorter lexical sections in French within a mainly Arabic frame, as is the case in example (1). Such differences in use reflect the proficiency of each age group in the two different languages. This is the type of case in which the word “bilingual” could become problematic if not preliminarily defined: the younger speakers clearly use French and include it in their daily communications, but they would likely struggle to have an entire exchange exclusively in French. On the other hand, they would have no issue communicating exclusively in Arabic. That certainly does not make them “perfect” or “balanced” bilinguals, but they certainly exhibit *some* form of bilingualism. This plurality of meanings when it comes to the term *bilingual* is why I would be cautious to make this criterion a central pillar of the definition of CS.

## 2.2 Main theoretical models of CS

Now that I have defined the notion of code-switching and given a brief outline of its history, let us turn to a description of the main theoretical models of CS. Once again, due to the popularity of the term and the myriad of attempts to theorise the concept in a definitive and universal way, there are much too many models of CS to create an exhaustive overview. I have thus decided to describe only five of these theoretical models, which are arguably the most important and the most influential. These five models have been theorised by Blom and Gumperz, Gumperz, Myers-Scotton,<sup>15</sup> and

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<sup>15</sup> Two of the five models have been proposed by Myers-Scotton.

Muysken respectively.

### 2.2.1 Blom and Gumperz's (1972) situational and metaphorical switching<sup>16</sup>

The first of the five main models of CS I have chosen to describe is Blom and Gumperz's, whose seminal 1972 paper laid the basis for many of the theoretical views of CS in the early years: Wei (1998) cites it as a perfect example of the general approach to CS in the 70s. In their influential study, Blom and Gumperz (1972) explored the functions of two dialects in a small village in northern Norway, Hemnesberget. The two authors described these two dialects, Bokmål and Ranamål, as distinct codes but not distinct languages. The two varieties were separated in terms of purely linguistic features (morphological, lexical and even phonological differences) but also in terms of the beliefs the speakers associated with each dialect. The authors wondered why this separation was maintained, despite the many close similarities between the varieties, and the speakers' command of both of them. They argued that "the most reasonable assumption is that the linguistic separateness between dialect and standard [...] is conditioned by social factors" (p. 417). Despite few differences in form, therefore, the social functions associated with one or the other variety restricted their use in a similar manner to semantic or syntactic constraints. In other words, social events, defined according to participants, setting, and topic, "restrict the selection of linguistic variables" (p. 421). One variety may thus be more or less appropriate in one particular social situation. This is where the two types of shifting introduced by Blom and Gumperz become relevant.

The first one, *situational switching*, refers to situations where a change in social setting is linked with a change in linguistic form.<sup>17</sup> For instance, in Hemnesberget, the teachers used Bokmål (the standard variety) to explain class material to their students, but men talking to each other in workshops used the local dialect (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). In this form of switching, then, the varieties (or languages) are kept quite separate, neither one encroaching on the other's domain – the standard is to be used in legal or educational settings, whereas the local variety is used at home and in other more informal settings. The second type of shifting as defined by Blom and Gumperz, *metaphorical switching*, is already different in the sense that the two varieties coexist within the same social setting or situation. The authors give the example of interactions amongst members of the community and clerks in the administration office, where the greetings are conducted in the local variety, but the speakers turn to the standard when discussing business. They state that it cannot be said that there is "any significant change in definition of participants' mutual rights and obligations"

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<sup>16</sup> I already briefly mentioned this model in section 2.1.4.

<sup>17</sup> This type of CS is typical of diglossic communities.

in such situations, yet the choice of either of the two dialects “generates meanings which are quite similar to those conveyed by the alternation between *ty* and *vy* in the examples from Russian literature cited by Friedrich (1972)”<sup>18</sup> (Blom and Gumperz, 1972, p. 425). This entails that

[a]n important distinction is made from situational and metaphorical code-switching. Situational switching is where alternation between varieties redefines a situation, being a change in governing norms. Metaphorical switching is when alternation enriches a situation, allowing for allusion to more than one social relationship within the situation. (Gumperz and Hymes, 1986).

Blom and Gumperz posit that the use of words or phrases in the local dialect within a conversation otherwise conducted in the standard variety is a way of referring back to other social events which the participants may have partaken in. This reference to a common experience would then lend a connoted meaning to the current event, for instance confidentiality, without modifying the topic or conversational goal (Blom and Gumperz, 1972). This description of the communicative function of CS and its extra-linguistic implications was enthusiastically embraced by many sociolinguists who made it a cornerstone of their exploration of the social meaning of CS, making Blom and Gumperz’s theoretical model central to the development of the field.

### 2.2.2 Gumperz’s (1976) *we-code/they-code* model

A second theoretical model of CS which has greatly influenced the field is Gumperz’s “*we-code/they-code*” dichotomy. First introduced in 1976, it distinguished between two “codes”: a more formal, official one; and a more informal, intimate one. In situations where a minority language coexists with a majority language, the more formal code would become associated with the majority language, and the more informal one with the minority language. This is because “[the] grammatical distinctions which mark the bilinguals’ two codes directly reflect or signal the contrasting cultural styles and standards of evaluation which they encounter in daily interaction” (Gumperz, 1977, p. 6). However, Gumperz emphasizes that the two codes are very rarely completely separate, and that they usually coexist to a certain extent. Indeed, there is no one-to-one link between certain linguistic features and a certain set of social situations: rather, there is a symbolic association between linguistic behaviours and group identity, which cannot predict actual linguistic use (Gumperz, 1977). Gumperz cites interactions with very young children or older monolinguals as the few situations where one code is used exclusively, as “[e]lsewhere a variety of options occur, and as with conversations in general, interpretation of messages is in large part a matter of discourse context, social presuppositions and speakers’ background knowledge” (1977, p. 6). It is natural, thus, that in

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<sup>18</sup> Another example would be the *tu* and *vous* alternation in French.

CS the *we-code* and the *they-code* would often be used within the same speech exchange.

Several linguists have criticised the model, however, arguing that it does not provide a tool for realistic language analysis. Indeed,

[f]rom an early stage, variations on the *we-code/they-code* dichotomy were reported. Singh (1983) wrote that, although the minority language is usually the *we-code*, this is not always the case. In India, for example, speakers with social aspirations may use English as their *we-code* and Hindi with ironic intent, to show themselves to be a different kind of minority, whose apartness is based on privilege. (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 105).

Sebba and Wootton (1998) similarly argue that the relationship between code and identity is not that conveniently straightforward, considering the fact that even in communities where two or three distinct codes co-occur, a myriad of different social identities can be enacted through them. Another context in which the *we-code/they-code* model does not hold is described by Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998). Their analysis of the speech of a Congolese community in Belgium showed that CS could constitute a variety in and of itself, with the same properties as standard language systems. This would make it very difficult to assign the two languages the labels of either *we-code* or *they-code*, considering that they are used together in so many different social contexts.

It seems, therefore, that because of CS's versatile nature and the wide variety of its iterations, it is very difficult to create a model that will accurately predict its outcomes. Proposing a theoretical model that is universally agreed upon is perhaps even harder still. However, as we noted earlier, Gumperz *did* nuance his model by insisting from the beginning that "[t]here is no one-to-one relationship between the occurrence of a particular set of linguistic forms and a certain extralinguistic context" (1977, p. 6), making it clear that his model could not be used as a universal rule which applies to any and all language situations. Moreover, this simple dichotomy proposed by Gumperz does have its advantages, and it has been adopted by many linguists over the years to explain CS in different social situations, making it an important advancement in the theorisation of CS.

### **2.2.3 Myers-Scotton's markedness model (1983,1993, 1998) and Matrix Language Frame model (1993)**

The third and fourth theoretical advancements I have identified as central to the concept of CS were both developed by Myers-Scotton. The first one is known as the *markedness* model. It is considered by most sociolinguists to be one of the most important models developed in CS theory. In fact, it is

“arguably the most influential theoretical model of the social and pragmatic aspects of code-switching that has been proposed since Gumperz’s situational versus metaphorical switching distinction” (Wei, 1998, p. 157). The model proposes that social meanings are indexed within CS, or, in other words, that CS is motivated by the social meanings a speaker wants to communicate through indexicality. Myers-Scotton’s goal is to explain the social motivations behind CS with a universally applicable model which has predictive validity.<sup>19</sup> And, going even further, her objective is to develop a theory which would be applicable to all linguistic choices, not just CS (Wei, 1998).

This ambitious model posits that the choice of a code rather than another is indexical of RO (Rights and Obligations) sets, which are defined as “an abstract construct, derived from situational factors” (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 85). These RO sets represent conventionalised appropriate social behaviours (which include linguistic behaviour) within a given community. The speakers have come to learn these expectations through all their previous interactions, and know which situation calls for which behaviour. These sets, which constitute appropriate conduct, are the *unmarked* RO sets – the ones which are normal and expected. On the other hand, individuals may choose *marked* behaviours: for instance, in the linguistic domain, they might use the majority language in a situation which usually correlates with the minority language (e.g.: during an intimate conversation with a family member). It is knowledge of these behaviours, and of the unmarked RO sets, which constitute a community’s indexicality repertoire (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Thus, indexicality is “a property of linguistic varieties” which “derives from the fact that the different linguistic varieties in a community’s repertoire are linked with particular types of relationships, because they are regularly used in conversations involving such types” (Myers-Scotton 1993, p. 85). With this model, Myers-Scotton argues that a choice of code is never disconnected from the larger social meanings it indexes. In this view, each and every speaker is aware of the conventionalised norms for speaking that are expected of them in different situations and can choose to either abide by these rules or subvert them, depending on what meanings they want to index. CS becomes a tool for the creation of meaning and identity in relation to the general community’s consensus.

A similarity between Myers-Scotton’s model and Gumperz & Blom’s is that both describe a monodirectional way of generating and interpreting the meaning of CS. This is one of the main criticisms which have been directed at Myers-Scotton’s proposal: it “places its emphasis on the analyst’s interpretation of bilingual conversation participants’ intention and explicitly rejects the idea of local creation of meaning of linguistic choices” (Wei, 1998, p. 157). Auer (1999) has similarly argued against this approach: for him, CS is defined as “those cases in which the juxtaposition of two

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<sup>19</sup> The same ambition which was criticised by the detractors of Gumperz’s *we-code/they-code* model.

codes (languages) is perceived and *interpreted as a locally meaningful event by participants*” (Auer, 1999, p. 310, my emphasis). In an earlier text, Auer called for an approach to CS which would be more similar to Conversation Analysis and focus on “members’ procedures to arrive at local interpretations” (1984, p. 3). From this perspective, Myers-Scotton’s approach is too rigid, leaving no space for locally created meaning – it assumes that all interactions within a community depend on the RO sets which have been created in previous interactions, and which are entirely the same for all members of the community. Linguists who argue for a more nuanced approach consider that every interaction is unique, every speaker has her own set of social indexes, and meaning is never fully predetermined, it is created through conversation between different individuals. In addition, Myers-Scotton’s framework dismisses the speaker’s interpretation of their own linguistic behaviour, instead placing the linguist in an all-knowing position.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, while Myers-Scotton’s notion of indexicality “may be a convenient tool for the analyst to predict code choice and assign some social value to particular instances of code-switching”, it is “hardly the way conversation participants themselves interpret each other’s linguistic choices and negotiate meaning” (Wei, 1998, p. 159). Social situations are rarely unambiguously defined, for instance, and speakers do not always have a similar precedent to inform their approach to every context of interaction. Therefore, similarly to Gumperz’s *we-code/they-code* model, Myers-Scotton’s *markedness* model has been disputed by several linguists and cannot be said to have reached its universally descriptive and predictive aim. Nevertheless, it does contribute a convenient tool to the analysis of CS, and it is considered to be a major model in the theory of the term.

The second model proposed by Myers-Scotton which I will describe here is the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model. The MLF model is based on the assumption that “[a] given constituent type in any language has a uniform abstract structure and the requirements of well-formedness for this constituent type must be observed whenever the constituent appears” (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2009, p. 337). When insertional CS<sup>21</sup> is taking place, Myers-Scotton argues that the bilingual speaker’s brain assigns one language the role of *matrix language* (the one which the speaker is mostly using) and the other the role of *embedded language* (the one which the speaker is inserting into a sentence in the matrix language). The difference between the two roles is based on three basic premises:

- (1.) Participating languages do not play equal roles in the bilingual clause.
- (2.) In bilingual constituents within this clause, not all morpheme types can come equally from the ML and EL.
- (3.) The SMP [System Morpheme Principle] limits the occurrence of system morphemes that build

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<sup>20</sup> Something which has also been heavily criticised.

<sup>21</sup> Where a code-switched element in one language is inserted into a sentence in the other language.

clausal structure of the ML. (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2009, p. 339).

Following these principles, the main role of the EL is to “[provide] either content morphemes in mixed constituents or EL phrase-level constituents (EL islands), or both” (p. 337). On the other hand, the ML provides the bulk of the syntactical frame. Myers-Scotton (1993) introduced two principles, the Morpheme Order Principle (MOP) and the System Morpheme Principle (SMP), which “specify the elements in a bilingual constituent that must come from only one participating language” and, “in effect, support of these principles identifies this language as the ML” (p. 338).

The process of choosing an ML is not at all random for the bilingual speaker, as what is and is not produced during CS depends on a principle of uniform structure (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2009). This is a largely unconscious process which naturally happens in the speaker. This is because certain rules need to be followed in order to produce a well-formed, grammatical utterance which includes the two languages. Myers-Scotton states that

[i]n bilingual speech, the structures of the Matrix Language (ML) are always preferred. Embedded Language (EL) islands (phrases from other varieties participating in the clause) are allowed if they meet EL well-formedness conditions, as well as those ML conditions applying to the clause as a whole (e.g. phrase placement). (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2009, p. 337).

Myers-Scotton identifies the asymmetry of the CS process – with one language being given a strongly dominant role over the other in the creation of the bilingual speech – as one of the key features of the model. This emphasises the grammatical constraints to CS with the need for a grammatically correct utterance in the EL island, and a general grammatical structure overall which obeys the rules of the ML. However, this process is not always straight-forward, and in some cases, the two languages are so intertwined and used in such a proportional manner that it is difficult to tell which one is the ML, and which one is the EL. Myers-Scotton (2002) thus offers a different structure: that of the *Composite Matrix Language*. This new variety of the ML emerges when “words or morphemes are combined in unexpected ways due to contact” (Backus and Dorleijn, 2009, p. 81). This entails some structural as well as lexical changes. For instance, in terms of lexical changes, “one or more aspects of a morpheme or a word, such as a shade of meaning, or the words or morphemes it can combine with, are replaced by those of its equivalent in the other language” (p. 81). This third option can thus cover cases where there is not such a clear divide between the roles of the two languages.

In terms of the model’s universality, Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009) specify that, while the model was always meant to target clearly separate (and non-mutually intelligible) varieties, a

potential unintended bonus may be that it applies to other varieties.<sup>22</sup> This model is a highly useful tool in describing CS and contributes a major theory of the bilingual processing and production generated by language contact (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2009). Moreover, as its author states, “[u]nlike most other approaches to CS, the MLF model enjoys widespread appeal among linguists and psycholinguists alike” (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2009, p. 336).

In summary, Myers-Scotton’s contribution to the field includes a model to explain the social motivations for CS with the *markedness* model, and a model to explain the linguistic constraints to CS with the *MLF* model. These two models are therefore complementary in their approaches to two different areas of study of the concept of CS.

## 2.2.4 Muysken’s (1997, 2000) typology of code-switching processes

The fifth and final model I shall be describing is Muysken’s *typology of CS processes*.<sup>23</sup> This model, which offers a classification of different types of CS, has been widely adopted in the field. Muysken (1997) proposes that “there are three separate patterns of codeswitching within sentences (intra-sentential code-switching, sometimes referred to as code-mixing)”. These three patterns are *alternation*, *insertion*, and *congruent lexicalization*. The first one can be exemplified by a sentence such as (2), taken from Peñalosa (1980):

(2) Andale pues *and do come again*.

“That’s alright then, and do come again.”

With alternation, thus, “there is a true switch from one language to the other, involving both grammar and lexicon” (Muysken, 1997, p. 361). In other words, it is “just a special case of codeswitching as it takes place between utterances in a turn or between turns” (p. 361). Insertion, on the other hand, entails embedding. Muysken states that it is “akin to (spontaneous) lexical borrowing, which also involves one lexical unit” (p. 361). The sentence in example (3), taken from Pfaff (1979), is representative of insertional CS.

(3) Yo anduve *in a state of shock* pa dos días.

“I walked in a state of shock for two days.”

Finally, the third type, congruent lexicalisation, “refers to a situation where the two languages share a grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either language” (p. 362). If we link this with Myers-Scotton’s MLF theory, this would mean that the EL

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<sup>22</sup> For instance, the very close varieties described by Thelander (1976).

<sup>23</sup> Being the only model of the five I have chosen to describe which addresses grammar and lexicon, it can be applied to CS in combination with any of the other four.



would be introduced into the ML frame with great ease, as the similarity in syntactical structure would not require much cognitive effort to produce a grammatical utterance. Muysken (1997) uses the following example to illustrate this type of CS:

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

“Well, in other words, the flight that leaves Chicago around three o'clock.”

He then analyses this instance of CS by stating that “[t]he mixing of English and Spanish could be interpreted as a combination of alternations and insertions, but the going back and forth suggests that there may be more going on”. He proposes that “the elements from the two languages are inserted, as constituents or as words, into a shared structure” (Muysken, 1997, p. 362). Moyer (2002) points out that the strategy of language mixing which is at work with congruent lexicalisation is completely different from that which guides insertion and alternation: the speaker is much more engaged cognitively, needing to find grammatical equivalences between the two languages even when such equivalences are not immediately obvious in the surface structure. Congruent lexicalisation is therefore slightly different from the other two types of CS, and it usually exists in specific language situations. For instance, it would be much rarer to find congruent lexicalisation in the mixing of, say, Basque and English, the syntactic differences between the two systems being too important (and thus making CS harder).

To conclude, this model of CS types gives the linguist a tool to classify different CS processes which all have differing effects, and occur in different linguistic situations. It has been widely well-received within the community of researchers, and is considered to have made a significant impact on the study of CS. Moyer (2002) states that Muysken’s model “makes an important contribution to the field of language contact”, and indeed that it is “an obligatory reference for those working in the field” (p. 624).

## 2.2.5 Chosen theoretical framework

As I have demonstrated in the first two sections of this chapter, the concept of code-switching encompasses a multitude of competing meanings and theories, and a consensus is still far from being reached on the topic. However, I will need to refer to CS as a concept throughout this thesis, so it is important that there is no confusion in terms of which definition I am referring to. In this section, I justify my choice of definition and outline the general theoretical frame within which I will be situating my research.

## 2.2.6 Definition of code-switching

In this thesis, I am using the term “code-switching” to refer to the use of two distinct languages within the same text.<sup>24</sup> This encompasses the use of two languages both in inter-sentential and intra-sentential contexts,<sup>25</sup> and begins with anything as small as a morpheme. Foreign words which have become integrated in the language, however, will not be considered as instances of CS. For example, the word *cool*, whilst originally an English slang term, is now being used in Spanish without direct reference to English, and would therefore not count as a code-switch.

I do not include the bilingual factor in my definition and consider any usage of a second language in a text which is otherwise in another language to constitute CS, whether the singer is bilingual or monolingual. This is especially inconsequential in my dataset as the singer of a particular song is not necessarily the person who composed the lyrics, making any link between the singer’s linguistic capabilities and their linguistic use in the song invalid.

## 2.2.7 Theoretical frame

In terms of the different theoretical models I have described, I will mostly be using the terminology from Myers-Scotton’s MLF model, although all five models have contributed to my understanding of CS and its socio-linguistic applications, and will thus influence my approach to my data. The reason I will mainly be using this particular model is because it is more relevant to my data than the other models, which mainly work with naturally occurring speech exchanges. For instance, it would be difficult to apply the *situational* vs. *metaphorical* distinction to song lyrics, and, even if it were possible, it might not be of the most interest. And whilst the *we-code/they-code* distinction is very useful in situations where there is a clear power dynamic between a more official language and one which is considered more informal, this is not fully the case with Spanish and English. Of course, there is a form of power imbalance between the two in the United States, with Hispanic immigrants being discriminated against for speaking their own language in an English-dominant society, but the implications in the music industry are different. First, not all the songs in my corpus come from the US, with several of the major Latino artists being from Spanish-speaking countries and having later found success in the American market. Secondly, Spanish enjoys more positive associations in the music world – fun, festive, exotic, romantic and sexy are some of them. Thus, the *we-code/they-code* dichotomy is not fully applicable to this context.

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<sup>24</sup> Specifically, within the lyrics of a single song.

<sup>25</sup> That is to say, both when the switch happens from one sentence to another and when it happens within a single sentence.

Furthermore, Davies and Bentahila, two authors who have contributed extensive research to the field of CS in music, warn us of the dangers of applying theoretical models of CS to CS in the context of music. Indeed, they argue that song lyrics are characterised by both a “lack of spontaneity” and a “lack of intimacy”, something that firmly differentiates them from conversational CS (on which most theories are based). They state that, because of this, “one should be extremely cautious in using codeswitching data drawn from songs to support claims made about conversational code-switching” (Davies & Bentahila, 2002, p. 192), and I believe that the opposite is also true. Davies and Bentahila offer a comparison in their warning: “[t]he self-conscious exploitation of switching by song writers can no more be taken as evidence for how ordinary speakers unconsciously switch in conversation than, say, the poetry of e. e. cummings can be used as a reference for studying English punctuation” (p. 193). Thus, I will be careful not to categorically assign roles taken from CS theory to my data, as it does remain significantly different from naturally occurring conversational CS. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to use these theories as tools to approach my data, and to uncover similarities and differences between the CS in song lyrics and conversational CS.

## 3 Literature Review

In the previous chapter, I laid the theoretical foundations on which my study will be based. Now that these more general concepts have been outlined, it is time to narrow in on the more specific topics I will be exploring in this thesis – and to offer an overview of what has been written about them in the literature. In this chapter, I start by describing Spanglish CS, before moving on to a survey of the literature written on the topic of identity in relation to language use. Finally, I outline the main studies and findings on the subject of CS in music.

### 3.1 Spanglish code-switching

This section of the chapter, dedicated to the topic of Spanglish CS, will start with a definition of Spanglish. In a second sub-section, I will discuss the constraints to Spanish-English CS as they have been described by prominent linguists.

#### 3.1.1 What is Spanglish?

The United States of America are known for the multicultural and multilingual nature of their population. The Latino (and, by extension, the Spanish-speaking) community is at the forefront of this diversity. Indeed, “[a]ccording to the 2000 census, 35.3 million Hispanics live in the United States”, and this number “comprises 12.5% of the overall population, rendering the Latino community the largest minority in the United States” (Rothman & Rell, 2005, p. 517). A decade and a half later, this number had increased exponentially, reaching 55.4 million (Casielles-Suárez, 2017, p. 149). This large and ever-growing Hispanic population has strong ties to Spanish as well as English, with a continuum of speakers ranging from Spanish monolinguals to English monolinguals, including Spanish- or English-dominant bilinguals in addition to fully bilingual speakers. One particular phenomenon which has emerged from this bilingual community is a code-switched variety mixing Spanish and English. In extreme cases, it can be considered to be CM more than CS.<sup>26</sup> Conveniently dubbed “Spanglish”, it has become a well-known phenomenon within linguistics as well as outside of it.

First coined in 1933 by Puerto Rican poet Salvador Tió, who introduced the term in Spanish as *Espanglish* (formed of the words “Español” and “English”), as well as the equivalent *Inglañol* (“Inglés” mixed with “Español”) (Lambert, 2018, p. 31), it has come to encompass many different

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<sup>26</sup> CM, here, is understood as the heavy alternation of the two languages, with many syntactical mixes as well as lexical switches – as opposed to CS, which, as described in 2.1.5, consists mostly of switches on the pragmatic and lexical level.

types of Spanish-English CS. Because it refers to many different contact phenomena, however, the term *Spanglish* has often been rejected by linguists, and many have entered into debates about its appropriateness (Casielles-Suárez, 2017, p. 149). Let us attempt to define it despite the lack of consensus regarding the term in the linguistic community, as it is prominent in the research on Spanish-English CS. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines the word as follows: “Spanish marked by numerous borrowings from English; *broadly*: any of various combinations of Spanish and English” (Merriam-Webster, 2019). Similarly, Ilan Stavans describes Spanglish as “the verbal encounter between Anglo and Hispano civilizations” (2003, p. 5).<sup>27</sup>

In more linguistic terms, Casielles-Suárez (2017) explains that the informal term *Spanglish* can refer to a mixture of distinct phenomena, including “the use of borrowings, calques, semantic extensions, nonce borrowings, code-switching and codemixing” as well as “words or phrases borrowed from English which are phonologically, and sometimes orthographically and morphologically, adapted to Spanish” (p. 151). Another definition offered by Rothman and Rell (2005, p. 520) introduces three subdivisions of Spanglish, which are outlined as follows:

- 1) the adaptation of lexical units or phrasal constituents from one language into the other on a phonological, morphological and/or morphophonological level;
- 2) the adaptation of some lexical elements or phrasal constituents from one language into another semantically;
- 3) the phenomenon of code-switching or a rule governed amalgamation of the two languages at the level of syntax. (Rothman & Rell, 2005, pp. 520-521).

These are similar definitions of the term which all show its breadth in features. Another two important characteristics of Spanglish, as described by sociolinguists, are its diversity and the central role that CS plays in it. Regarding the former, features of Spanglish such as the lexicon vary from region to region, allowing for a multitude of different dialects. Stavans (2003) argues to this effect that “there isn’t one Spanglish but many”, adding that “the lingo spoken by Cuban Americans is different from the so-called Dominicanish and Nuyorrican Spanglish” (p. 136). Differences aside, the many variants of Spanglish all coincide on one main feature: “the combination or mixture of the two languages” (Casielles-Suárez, 2017, p. 152). This “combination” of the two languages refers to CS,<sup>28</sup> and various authors have underlined its centrality in the phenomenon: for instance, Rothman and Rell (2005) insist that “code-switching is of paramount importance in Spanglish” (p. 523).

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<sup>27</sup> Stavans is one of the first scholars to find interest in the formal study of Spanglish and the author of a Spanglish translation of Cervantes’ *Don Quijote*.

<sup>28</sup> Both intra-sentential and inter-sentential.

Spanglish, thus, is an umbrella term referring to the CS or CM displayed by Hispanics living in the US. It can refer to many different dialects and varieties, but always has CS as a central feature. However, several linguists have rejected the term because, as I just described, it encompasses many different phenomena, making it a non-technical term. Otheguy and Stern (2011), for instance, criticise the term and advocate for the use of “Spanish in the United States” rather than *Spanglish*, arguing that “the term [Spanglish] is not only technically flawed, but it also contributes to closing the doors of personal and economic progress to speakers who would be better served by thinking of themselves as speakers of Spanish” (p. 98). Casielles-Suárez argues for the opposite, citing the fact that many linguistic terms are flawed – for instance, the term *code-switching*, which, as I demonstrated in Chapter 2, is far from perfectly theoretically sound. Furthermore, and most importantly, she argues that “many Latinos think that Spanglish is the best term to represent what they speak and who they are” (pp. 156-157). The use of the term, in fact, is a way for the community to find pride in their origins in what she terms a *counter-hegemonic language practice*: Latinos are fighting back against the notions set by the dominant class of what constitutes legitimate and appropriate language and what does not. Casielles-Suárez therefore argues the following:

Thus, it looks like although Spanglish may not be the technical term that linguists would choose to refer to the combination of phenomena [described by the term], if we take into account the non-linguistic factors surrounding this label, the cultural, social and political aspects that have been pointed out in other types of research mentioned above, Spanglish seems to perfectly capture this hybrid character of the discourse of Latinos and their in-between-ness. (Casielles-Suárez, 2017, p. 163).

She contends that we should not attempt to tell Latinos how they ought to refer to themselves and their linguistic variety, but rather recognise the political and sociocultural factors which the term Spanglish encompasses, beyond the purely linguistic aspect.

In summary, the term *Spanglish* is not without its flaws, as it refers to a plethora of different linguistic phenomena which also differ from region to region. This has led some linguists to reject the term, but no notable better alternatives have been proposed.<sup>29</sup> Because of this, *Spanglish* remains the most convenient term to refer to the linguistic phenomenon at hand. Casielles-Suárez (2017) makes, in addition, a convincing point that Spanglish speakers’ own identification with the term legitimises it in itself. Indeed, as we will see in section 3.2, the tight link between language and identity cannot be ignored.

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<sup>29</sup> Otheguy and Stern’s (2011) proposal of the term “Spanish in the United States”, for instance, is less than satisfactory, considering that it erases the central feature of CS and focuses only on one of the two languages used by Spanglish speakers. Moreover, many Latinos living in the USA use varieties of Spanish which are virtually identical to those spoken in Mexico, Cuba or any of the surrounding Spanish-speaking countries.

### 3.1.2 Spanglish code-switching: Constraints

Now that I have defined the term *Spanglish*, let us look at a more specific area of research within it: the grammatical constraints of Spanish-English CS. Despite the too-common opinion that CS is unstructured, messy and reflective of a lesser command of language, many linguists have demonstrated that it is in fact a complex and sophisticated system which is governed by clear constraints (Rothman & Rell, 2005). Spanish-English CS has been studied extensively, and many different authors have proposed different constraints for CS in this specific language pairing. Timm (1975) was one of the first linguists to systematically outline a number of syntactic environments where CS is ungrammatical and judged unacceptable by Spanish-English bilinguals. These restrictions were “ascertained by examining several code-switching texts representing natural talk among Mexican-American bilinguals [...] and by eliciting from three S-E bilinguals their reactions to a variety of test sentences” (p. 480). With this method, Timm was able to outline constraints such as the impossibility of switches between “pronominal subjects or objects (direct or indirect) and the finite verbs to which they belong” (p. 477), “finite verbs and their infinitive complements” and “auxiliaries and main verbs” within the same verb phrase (p. 478). These types of switches were judged categorically ungrammatical and anomalous, and did not occur in any of the natural data.

Other influential works, such as Gingràs (1974) and Gumperz (1976), also proposed grammatical rules to Spanish-English CS using the same acceptability judgement tests, whereby S-E bilinguals were asked to rate the grammaticality of an invented code-switch. However, in a seminal 1980 article, Poplar states that “[w]hile acceptability judgments provide a manageable way to tap community grammar norms, their use is questionable in the case of an overtly stigmatized sociolinguistic marker, as is the case of code-switching” (p. 585). She further argues that these proposed constraints are difficult to substantiate or generalise, as studies in different bilingual communities have often presented different, and sometimes even contradictory, categorical constraints. Poplack thus proposes, as an alternative to these constraints which she deems inadequate, two general rules. These are, according to her, “general enough to account for all instances of codeswitching” but also “restrictive enough not to generate instances of non-occurring code-switches” (Poplack, 1980, p. 585). She describes these two rules as follows:

*a. The free morpheme constraint.* Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme. This constraint holds true for all linguistic levels but the phonological. [...]

*b. The equivalence constraint.* Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other. According to this

simple constraint, a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by the other. (Poplack, 1980, pp. 585-586).

The equivalence constraint fits in with Myers-Scotton's MLF model, as it supports the idea that an overarching grammatical structure is at play within the bilingual's brain: the speaker is simultaneously trying to produce a grammatical Embedded-Language utterance and trying to make this EL utterance fit into the Matrix-Language grammar. This naturally entails that code-switches are more likely to occur in places where the two languages' structures overlap, making the process of producing a grammatical occurrence much smoother. Trying to code-switch in an environment which is more "dangerous" in terms of grammaticality would require more cognitive effort on the part of the speaker in order to create a structure which would be grammatical for both languages.

To test her hypothesis, Poplack analysed over 1800 switches within the speech of 20 Puerto-Rican members of a stable bilingual community. These informants displayed varying degrees of bilingualism. What was interesting about her data was that there were "virtually no ungrammatical combinations of L1 and L2 in the 1,835 switches studied, regardless of the bilingual ability of the speaker" (p. 613). However, all the speakers did not code-switch in the same manner: rather, different types of CS correlated with different levels of bilingualism. In fact, "[t]hree types of code-switching emerge in the speech performance studied, each characterized by switches of different levels of constituents, and each reflecting different degrees of bilingual ability" (p. 613). The speakers with the highest degree of bilingualism were the ones who took the most 'risks' by code-switching in areas that required more complex CS: "[m]ultivariate analysis of extra-linguistic factors confirms that those speakers [...] most favour intra-sentential code-switching, the type we had hypothesized to require most skill" (p. 613). On the other end of the spectrum, less balanced bilinguals with the lowest bilingual ability stuck to very simple switches such as single noun switches or tag phrases.<sup>30</sup> A middle-ground type of CS, used by bilinguals who might not be fully equally proficient in the two languages but still exhibited high command of both, constituted of longer, more difficult switched constituents than the tag or single noun switches. These speakers nevertheless still preferred inter-sentential switching rather than the more complex intra-sentential CS.

In summary, Poplack's findings show that no matter the degree of bilingualism of a speaker, they very rarely produce ungrammatical switches because each speaker adjusts their approach to CS according to their linguistic ability. More error-prone, complex switches will be inhibited in speakers who do not have sufficient command of the languages.

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<sup>30</sup> Tag phrases (such as "you know", "n shit"), are very easy to switch since they are "freely moveable constituents which may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical rule" (Poplack, 1980, p. 589).



However, Poplack's proposal of two rules that would define CS constraints has not been unanimously received. Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994), for instance, argue that the Free Morpheme and Equivalence Constraints are not sufficiently restrictive. More specifically, "[t]he Free Morpheme Constraint states that code switching is impossible between a bound morpheme and its host", but this "fails to explain why switching is impossible even between certain free morphemes" (p. 225). The sentence in (5), for instance, would be acceptable within the Free Morpheme Constraint, yet "switching is disallowed between the perfect auxiliary, a free morpheme, and its complement, the past participle" (p. 225).

- (5) \**Los estudiantes habían* seen the Italian movie.

"The students had seen the Italian movie."

The Equivalence Constraint also allows utterances which are in fact ungrammatical and would never occur in CS. For instance, "[i]n the case of Spanish-English code switching, switching should be possible at numerous junctures, including the one preceding the complement clause" such as in (6) or "preceding the past participle" in (7), considering that the grammatical structure and word order of the two languages is equivalent in these environments. However, "code switching is [in fact] disallowed at these locations" (p. 226).

- (6) \*The professor said that *el estudiante había recibido una A*.

"The professor said that the student had received an A."

- (7) \*The students had *visto la película italiana*.

"The students had seen the Italian movie."

Others have argued – in addition to these criticisms – that Poplack's two rules are also *too* restrictive, marking some utterances as ungrammatical when they are in fact grammatical. Winford (2003, p. 137) argued, for instance, that a sentence such as (8), where a Hindi postpositional phrase is switched with an English prepositional phrase, should be ungrammatical as the word order in the two languages does not match, yet this type of sentence does actually occur in English-Hindi CS.

- (8) John gave a book *ek larakii ko*.

John gave a book a girl to.

"John gave a book to a girl."

This led Winford to argue that Poplack's model serves the purpose of showing where switches are blocked, rather than explaining which constituents can be switched and why.

No conclusive model of constraints on CS has thus been developed as of yet. Despite

substantiated approaches by different linguists (using acceptability judgement tests or corpus data as a base for their models), no one has been able to universally and predictively describe rules to CS. Poplack's findings do nonetheless inform us about the extraordinary ability of bilinguals of different proficiencies to avoid ungrammatical productions. They also show us which types of CS are the easiest to achieve, and which ones require a higher degree of bilingualism, making Poplack's study an important part of the literature on Spanglish as well as CS.

## 3.2 Language and Identity

A second topic that is relevant to this thesis and warrants discussion is that of the link between language and identity. This tenet of the sociolinguistic approach to language considers that language is inescapably linked to concepts of identity, through notions such as national pride, in-group affiliations or rejections of the linguistic norm. In this section, I will describe the general theories on the topic, before focusing more specifically on the link between Spanglish and identity.

### 3.2.1 Language as central to identity

Sociolinguists aim to approach language in a way that is not isolated from its extra-linguistic factors, as opposed to the Chomskyan school of linguistics. They believe that social factors play a significant role in language use – and one of these factors is identity. Bullock and Toribio (2009) pinpoint identity as one of the extra-linguistic factors representative of the sociolinguistic approach, which they argue is the most appropriate and complete approach to the study of CS. They state that, “[o]f all of the approaches to the study of CS, the sociolinguistic is the most diverse, as it attends to a multiplicity of linguistic-external factors: age, class, gender, social networks, community norms, *identity*, and attitudes, among others” (p. 16, my emphasis). Gardner-Chloros' definition of the sociolinguistic approach to CS, which she also believes is the most pertinent to the study of the linguistic phenomenon, confirms the centrality of the topic of identity. She defines the sociolinguistic outlook as “a perspective where language behavior and use are related to speakers' (social) identity and characteristics, or to aspects of their social life in the broad sense” (p. 97). Language, therefore, has been studied as a marker of identity by many sociolinguists, for whom CS is a form of identity-building and identity-affirming language use. For instance, in their early work on the social functions of CS, Myers-Scotton and Ury (1977) define three social arenas in which CS takes place: the *identity arena*, the *power arena* and the *transactional arena*.<sup>31</sup> The factor of identity is thus defined as central

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<sup>31</sup> The authors define the identity arena as follows: “[i]nteractions within this arena depend on a degree of identity existing among participants. In terms of at least one factor, such as occupation or age grade, participants are members of the same

to the process of CS, and to the linguistic choices that speakers make. In fact, it is so important that, “at a given point, the identity-related purposes of this style may become more important than the discourse-related tasks codeswitching [serves]” (Auer, 1999, p. 318). This is because “[t]he adoption of CS may in itself be an ‘act of identity’” (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 106).

But how exactly does CS become an act of identity? Well, language use of any kind is part of someone’s identity profile, as it reflects things such as nationality and social background. A theory in psychology developed by Henri Tajfel, known as Social Identity Theory (or SIT), posits that “group memberships are part of a person’s self-concept and identity” (Bergman et al., 2008, p. 42). Thus, language and ethnicity, being important characteristics of individuals as well as groups, “signify group membership and form part of individuals’ identities” (p. 42). This of course entails that language use is influenced by identity. But what occurs when two languages (or more) are involved? Goffman (1963) argues that individuals manage their use of language in interactions in order to reflect the identity they wish to project to others. As such, bilinguals might choose among their languages depending on which facet of their identity they want to portray and, therefore, “individuals who identify with the Hispanic ethnicity and/or the Spanish language will be more likely to speak Spanish” (Bergman et al., 2008, p. 42). Akynova et al. (2014) summarise this idea by stating that “the choice of language is regarded as a social, cultural and linguistic ‘acts of identity’ by means of which identity is established, maintained and transformed” (p. 229). Chan (2009) similarly argues that “[i]n many bilingual or multilingual communities, [...] the relationship between language, culture, and identity is much more complex and dynamic” than in monolingual communities, as “[s]peakers use and switch languages in various ways to highlight aspects of their multi-faceted identities and personae” (p. 109).

There can indeed be many different identity goals linked to the linguistic choice of CS. Identifying oneself as belonging to an in-group or an out-group is a central one, which can be powerful – a specific linguistic choice can either include or exclude other individuals and create a marked or unmarked effect. Davies and Bentahila (2006) describe CS as a marker of identity specifically in the context of in-group communication.<sup>32</sup> Akande (2013) concurs, stating that “[s]ome of the reasons why people shift from one language to another include the need to accommodate or exclude other people in a conversation, as well as the need to express a group’s identity” (p. 42). The use of the mother tongue, which represents otherness, can have very strong implications, especially

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group. Many interactions between family members or of the same ethnic group fall into this arena” (Myers-Scotton and Ury, 1977, p. 9).

<sup>32</sup> That is to say, “communication between peers or intimates in relatively informal settings” (Davies and Bentahila, 2006, p. 367).

in situations where a community of speakers represents a minority in an environment which speaks another language. Indeed, language is so central to the concept of 'groupness' that the use of a mother tongue can become "the most prominent component in perceptions of 'own-groupness' versus 'other-groupness'" (Lencek, 1991, p. 28). Further than that, it is not just the use of a less dominant language which can signify identity, but rather the very act of code-switching: in some communities, CS is the unmarked and expected means of communication (Davies & Bentahila, 2006, p. 367). This entails that CS is not just a marker of identity through the "pragmatic inferences" it conveys "by virtue of the symbolic values of the two participating languages" (Chan, 2009, p. 108), but rather that it is its own linguistic entity with its own associations and values. Casielles-Suárez (2017) argues this, stating that CS can be used to create a hybrid identity which becomes a third option for the speaker – a new identity which allows them to challenge power relations. In sum, sociolinguists are widely in agreement that identity is central to language choice, and as such, central to the decision to code-switch.

### **3.2.2 Spanglish as an identity**

Let us now turn to Spanish-English bilinguals specifically and explore how their language use relates to their identity. Spanglish is much more than just a linguistic phenomenon: it encompasses social and identity issues faced by a community whose language use is accepted by neither of its two sides. Spanish monolinguals criticise Spanglish speakers' use of "non-pure" Spanish whilst English monolinguals reject their English as inferior to that of a monolingual, and even Spanish-English bilingual speakers themselves criticise them for their use of Spanglish (Casielles-Suárez, 2017). Author Richard Rodríguez, who became known for his books detailing his assimilation into American culture as the son of Mexican immigrants, describes the internal conflict he felt when learning English:

For my part, I felt I had somehow committed a sin of betrayal by learning English. But betrayal against whom? I felt that I had betrayed my immediate family... I came to feel guilty (this guilt defied logic). I felt that I had shattered the intimate bond that had once held the family close. (Rodríguez, 1988, p. 30).

Chastised by both cultures at once, some Latinos choose the way of complete assimilation, as Rodríguez did – earning himself degrees from the highest universities and becoming a well-known English-language author. But, as shown in a study conducted by Bergman et al. (2008) where participants were asked to discuss their use of Spanish and English in the workplace, many Latinos consider assimilation into the culture to endanger Spanish: "[p]articipants [...] noted that

acculturation – especially for children of immigrants – takes a toll on ethnic-cultural identity”, as, to them, it signified “assimilation and a loss of interest in native cultures and in Spanish use” (p. 51). The opposite reaction is thus conservatism,<sup>33</sup> which leads to Spanish being the only language spoken at home and, often, the older generations never learning to speak English fluently.

Some Latinos, however, choose a middle-ground: they are American, but they are also Hispanic. The use of Spanglish, for a big part of this latter group, is a way of displaying this dual identity. *Spanglish* thus becomes a word which, once reclaimed by the community itself, creates an identity for them to fit into, and allows them to recognise themselves and each other as belonging to an “other” group. Indeed, as I have shown, the selection of a mixed variety can in itself signal group identity (Auer, 1999). This is confirmed by Bergman et al.’s study, where the Latinos interviewed expressed a feeling of connection with other Spanish speakers – a “common bond” (p. 51). Their use of Spanish, thus, “contributed to a sense of self and a communion with others outside the hegemonic group” (p. 51), simultaneously placing Spanish speakers in an in-group (Spanish-speakers in the US), and an out-group (non-English-monolinguals). Torn between a desire to protect their traditions and linguistic identity and the wish to acculturate into the English-speaking culture of the US, many Latinos turn to Spanglish as the solution (Rothman & Rell, 2005). This does not mean, however, that Spanglish is widely well-received in the Hispanic community; in fact, this is far from being the case. Rothman & Rell (2005) describe the negative opinions on Spanglish within the community, such as the idea that Spanglish is endangering monolingual Spanish. “Even prolific Mexican icons such as Carlos Fuentes and Octavio Paz have weighed in on the subject”, in fact, and “Paz has commented that ‘[Spanglish is] neither good nor bad, but abominable’” (Rothman & Rell, 2005, p. 516). A number of academics seem to share this opinion, with early works such as Varo’s 1971 anthropologic study on Spanglish arguing that “English is the language of the invader exerting its influence on the Spanish of Puerto Ricans in New York, which results in a variant of Spanglish that should be considered una enfermedad crónica [‘a chronic illness’]” (Varo, 1971, p. 47, quoted in Rothman & Rell, 2005, p. 519).

Similarly, monolingual (motly white) Americans also have their own prejudices against Spanglish, and against the use of Spanish in general. Casielles-Suárez (2017) cites political scientist and academic Samuel Huntington, who “warns Americans of the danger of [a] new *reconquista* and of the cultural threat posed to American identity by Latino immigration”. He fears that the Latino community “could divide the United States into two peoples, two cultures and two languages” (2004, p. 256). This fear of Spanish by monolingual English speakers, coupled with their desire for hegemony, exerts a social pressure on Latinos. This goes back to Tajfel’s Social Identity Theory, which

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<sup>33</sup> Often displayed by those who arrived in the US at a later age.

I mentioned in the previous section, and what it entails: a “conceptualization of SIT, ethnocentrism, and discrimination” (Bergman et al., 2008, p. 42) which can be derived from this concept of identity is Social Dominance Theory (or SDT). It posits that “[s]tatus quo is maintained by restricting less powerful individuals’ resources, thus increasing availability for dominant groups”, something which can be accomplished through “dominant group members distancing themselves cognitively, interpersonally, and institutionally from individuals of lower groups” (p. 42). For language, this can be reflected in society’s expectations<sup>34</sup> for lower groups (such as Hispanic immigrants) to learn English rather than the reverse: the hegemonic group can retain its position of power and privilege through the rejection of Spanish and the validation of English as the dominant language. The use of Spanish, or of Spanish-accented English, will thus “activate in observers some of an array of low-status labels (e.g., immigrant, outsider, poor, uneducated)” (p. 43).

The negative opinions of Hispanic-Americans and Anglo-Americans notwithstanding, a significant and unignorable amount of Hispanics in the US *do* use Spanglish and identify with it. Rothman and Rell (2005) posit that the dual use of Spanish and English “serves as the creation of not only an individual identity but also a community identity”, and in fact that “[i]t is just this dual identity that the term ‘Spanglish’ itself encompasses” (p. 525). Going even further, they argue that CS becomes such a central tool for expressing identity that, for many Hispanics, Spanglish is the only linguistic variety which can accurately represent the realities of their experience living in the USA. In other words, their dual identity can only be validated when told in this mixture of their two languages. Despite all the criticisms levelled at Spanglish use,<sup>35</sup> thus, Spanglish has emerged as a strong marker of identity amongst the Latino community. This is visible in everyday exchanges within casual domestic environments, but by no means is the use of Spanglish limited to such informal settings. Indeed, newspapers, radio and TV channels have adopted Spanglish as a means of communication, where it “is employed with the explicit intent of identifying with or capturing the attention of a particular demographic” (Rothman & Rell, 2005, p. 531). It is clear, therefore, that the act of code-switching can play a huge role in affirming one’s identity, as I described in the previous section. This has been certainly proven to be very true for Hispanic-Americans. Spanglish has come to represent much more than just a mixture of two languages for many people, and the strong contradictory opinions it elicits among people from all backgrounds is proof of that. While we cannot define Spanglish as good or bad, we can at least recognise what it signifies for those who employ it: a dual identity behind which to rally.

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<sup>34</sup> Coming from the higher groups.

<sup>35</sup> Whether by monolingual English-speakers or other Hispanics.

### **3.2.3 Code-switching in Music: the Literature**

Before I turn to my own study, a survey of the literature on CS in music is necessary. This section of the chapter outlines the findings in this particular research field, starting with a general overview before delving into the different functions attributed by linguists to CS in music. First, the identity functions of localisation and globalisation are described, before moving on to the textual and symbolic functions of CS. In a final subsection, I come back to my specific area of interest – the use of Spanglish in popular mainstream music – and situate it within the theoretical framework and main literature findings that I have described.

### **3.2.4 General overview of the field**

I have shown that CS is intrinsically linked to identity for many bilingual communities, for instance the Latino community in the US, where it functions as an in-group marker. As I have mentioned, this linguistic phenomenon starts with oral discourse styles but is not limited to those, unlike what some linguists have claimed: it enters cultural and artistic domains with poetry, literature, theatre, television, and of course, music. The analysis of how these artistic domains make use of, represent and transform conversational CS is a fascinating area of research, and indeed it is nothing new – the concept of CS as a vessel for expression of identity in art has been explored in many areas of sociolinguistics. The application of this strand of research to the subject of music, however, is more recent. One of the first studies written on the topic was Trudgill's analysis of American pronunciation in British pop music throughout the 1960s and 1970s. He argued that British pop singers in the 60s were "attempting to modify their pronunciation in the direction of that of a particular group with which they wish[ed] to identify" (Trudgill, 1997, p. 253): they wanted to emulate the American artists they looked to for inspiration. Trudgill showed that punk rock singers of the 70s, however, went the opposite direction and adopted working-class British pronunciations, slang and grammatical features that were often not part of their own accents – clearly with the aim of aligning themselves with a different group. He concluded that popular music could be used to create and affirm identity through language use. Following this study, many more linguists have explored the topic of CS in music, and its links to identity.

But why is music, and in particular mainstream popular music, a worthy area of research? I would argue that the universal quality of music in the human experience makes it a central feature of human behaviour, and thus, of linguistic behaviour. This automatically makes it worthy of research from the sociolinguistic point of view: if it can teach us more about linguistic behaviour and its links to central topics such as identity, then it is automatically of interest. The omnipresence of music in

human society has the added bonus of making it very comparable: anywhere one chooses to go in the world, there will be music, and in many cases, it will include CS. After all, art emulates life, and most societies exhibit a certain degree of multilingualism. This means that one can compare the different functions CS achieves in music in widely different contexts and cultures, and perhaps uncover some universal linguistic traits, or determine the sociolinguistic causes of differences in use across cultures. Many studies have been conducted on traditional music genres,<sup>36</sup> and many such studies focus on a particular type of traditional music and its interaction with its specific cultural environment.

Whilst this can be fascinating in its own right, it can also present some limitations. Davies and Bentahila's studies on *rai* music and North-African rap, for instance, seek to go further than just the community producing the songs: they are interested, amongst other things, in the global audience that such music can reach with today's means of communication, and the implications of such a worldwide outreach. They point out that "[p]revious studies on bilingual lyrics tended to focus on a particular category of songs and on issues specific to this category" (2008a, p. 248), something that they wish to change. They want to "set the study of mixed language lyrics within the framework of research on code switching"; for instance through the "comparison between the code switching patterns in song lyrics and those in everyday conversation" or the study of CS as "an organizational and aesthetic device within lyrics" and "as a means of achieving both localization and globalization". Popular music is particularly suited to such research: according to Bilby (1999), a central characteristic of popular music is its ability "to communicate on multiple planes, and symbolically to encode and embody social identities" (p. 258). Similarly, Ferguson (2012) states that "[t]he popular genres of modern music create a multi-dimensional site of struggling/negotiating for cultural selves and identities" (p. 21). These two characteristics – communicative fertility and the ability to represent (and build) identities – makes it a promising study subject, and its wide outreach makes it ideal for analyses of the interaction between CS and the globalised world. Ferguson (2012) argues to this effect that popular music deserves academic attention because of its incredible capacity to cross borders. Davies and Bentahila summarise the stakes of studying CS in popular music, stating that many of the studies on the topic

raise questions about the links between language and identity, and about globalization and localization. The examination of bilingual songs can also be located within the much wider literature

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<sup>36</sup> See, for instance, the following studies: an analysis of the Peruvian Waynos, a type of folksong (Muysken, 1990); a study of the traditional songs used by a Danish-American community in Seattle to assert their ethnic identity (Stølen, 1992); several accounts of the Arabic *kharjas*, a genre which dates back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Stern, 1948; Armistead and Monroe, 1983; Thomas & Sayahi, 2012); a series of studies on the North African *rai* songs (Davies and Bentahila, 2002, 2006, 2008a, 2008b) and a paper on Kurdish folk songs (Öner, 2008) – to cite only a few.



on code switching in general, which has dealt with a number of relevant issues, such as structural constraints on switching and its rhetorical functions and social significance. (Davies & Bentahila, 2008a, p. 248-249).

Most of the studies in question deal with the adoption of genres such as hip-hop or mainstream pop, which originated from English-speaking (and often African-American) communities, by artists from different countries and linguistic backgrounds. This process often leads to the creation of new genres mixing Western music with traditional elements of the artists' culture: K-pop or Cantopop, the genres born of the mixture of Western pop music and Korean and Cantonese traditional music, are a good example of this. One interesting feature of these genres is the ubiquitous presence of CS, almost always involving English. A number of studies in this strand of research focuses specifically on the mixed languages that have resulted from rap reaching different countries of the world,<sup>37</sup> while other studies offer a more general overview of CS in different musical genres, such as an article by Picone (2002).

A typical example of studies on the social significance of CS in music is Moody's (2006) study on the use of English in Japanese J-pop songs, and its link to the evolving ethnolinguistic identity of the Japanese people. Just a few years later, Chan (2009) and Chik (2010) explore the use of English and the functions of CS in Hong Kong Cantopop, and Ferguson (2012) contributes an analysis of the music that Shan migrants at the Thai-Burma border play and listen to, showing the links between nationalistic/ethnic ambiguity and CS in popular music. Some more recent studies include Akande's (2013), who writes about CS in Nigerian hip-hop,<sup>38</sup> and Mugari (2014), who looks at the CS which takes place in Zimbabwean urban grooves music, arguing that it serves as both a music style and a linguistic style (and that they are tightly linked to the artiste's identity). As the most recent example, Rusli et al.'s (2018) study on CS in Modern Malay songs finds that such CS "is not just a random switch from one code to another but carries certain social functions that emphasize on the establishment of people's intimacy, solidarity and local identity" (p. 184).

In summary, the analysis of CS in art is a very fecund studying ground for sociolinguists, and music in particular has much to offer as an area of research. As central to human life, it is reflective of everyday linguistics behaviours whilst also allowing for creative licence, which can tell us a lot about what is associated with certain languages through indexicality. Popular music in particular, with its ability to reach completely disparate audiences, is rich in opportunities for researchers. Being a

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<sup>37</sup> See Fenn and Perullo (2000), Mitchell (2000), Sarker et al (2005), Davies and Bentahila (2006) and Sarker and Winer (2006).

<sup>38</sup> Where he observes that lyrics often include a mixture of several Nigerian languages such as Yoruba, Igbo and other local dialects, Nigerian Pidgin English and Standard English.

relatively recent field,<sup>39</sup> however, there is much left to be explored, making it an exciting field of research.

### 3.2.5 The identity function of CS in music: Localisation

Now that I have given a general survey of the field, let us go into more of the specifics: what sort of features and functions of CS in music have linguists isolated? As was apparent from my brief overview of the literature, much of the research has centred around the topic of identity. This is not surprising considering that, as I showed in section 3.2, language and identity are intimately linked.<sup>40</sup> The main overarching theory which has been described identifies CS as a tool for *localisation* or *globalisation*. This can be summarised as the use of CS to pinpoint a song or artist as belonging to a certain nationality, region or even city (localisation); or the adoption in CS of a language which is not the artist's L1 to portray a more global and international identity (globalisation). In this subsection, I will focus on the phenomenon of *localisation* through CS by describing the different related functions it can achieve: the inclusion or exclusion of certain listener groups, identification with a particular audience, the portrayal of an artist as authentic, an act of protest against English and a way of connecting with one's roots.

The power of CS to include or exclude different groups in conversation has been described by many linguists, and it is only natural that it would achieve the same effect in song lyrics. Davies and Bentahila (2008a) describe this function, explaining that the use of a language which is not known by the majority of the audience can create effects of alienation or exclusion. This localises the text by creating a strong contrast between the *we*-language and the *they*-language. Such an effect can be used in different ways, either to "add a note of exotic charm to the overall effect" (the foreign language evokes exotic images and associations), to provide "affirmations of identity" or to "add to the overall meaning" (p. 263). A function which naturally follows from CS's ability to include or exclude parts of an audience is that CS can help an artist to identify with a particular audience. In other words, a singer can portray themselves as "belonging" to a certain group rather than another. This can originate from several motivations: pride in one's background, a wish to represent a less-recognised group and give it a voice, the desire to target an audience for personal gain,<sup>41</sup> or even the desire to identify oneself with a group that the artist does not actually belong to (because that group is iconic of the genre they admire)<sup>42</sup>.

Mugari (2014) exemplifies the idea that CS can be used to identify with a particular group by

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<sup>39</sup> As apparent in the fact that the vast majority of the studies I have cited are from this century.

<sup>40</sup> And, in addition, identity is a central topic of interest in sociolinguistics.

<sup>41</sup> Because of its spending power, for instance, something that I will come back to later in the chapter.

<sup>42</sup> We can think of Trudgill's study on British singers emulating American accents, for instance.

describing Zimbabwean rapper Maskiri's use of the CS and slang which are typical of "ghetto lingo" in his lyrics. Indeed, he argues that "Maskiri uses the lingo as a style that identifies with his audience": it is a means of "forg[ing] a connection with his target audience" (p. 234). Davies and Bentahila (2002) use the example of French-Arabic CS to argue the same point, stating that "the use of French and Arabic within the same song marks it out as belonging within a very clear sociocultural background, that of Maghrebis with Arabic as a home language and French as a language of the outside world" (p. 205). This is a way for *rai* singers to mark themselves as belonging to this group and, in turn, to make listeners from this background feel included and represented in their songs. Davies and Bentahila (2002, p. 205) argue that "the language mixture in *rai* songs is a localising device, serving to symbolise the identity of a very specific ethnic or social group".

A related function of CS in music is that it can be used as a way of portraying oneself as authentic. If a singer wants to identify with a certain audience or a certain traditional genre, using the natural speaking style of the community is necessary. Davies and Bentahila's description of French-Arabic CS in *rai* music is a perfect example of this phenomenon. Another example is provided by Akande (2013), who states that "[b]y mixing languages in this way NHH [Nigerian Hip Hop] artistes, like hip-hop artistes in other multilingual settings, portray themselves as being authentic" (p. 54). Choosing to write lyrics in the same CS variety that one's community uses daily gives an aura of authenticity and truth to the song, making the lyrics seem like they could be a typical conversation with a friend. This can help make the artist seem closer to their audience. The question of whether this linguistic use and its resulting closeness are natural or manufactured, however, is another topic. Chan (2009) uses the concept of lexical gap to show why the naturalness of CS in songs can be put into question. He explains that whilst written CS gives its author "more time to formulate the message" this also gives them the opportunity to "translate these terms and avoid code-switching, often in compliance with the generally more formal style of writing" (p. 108). Davies and Bentahila (2006) argue for the same idea, stating that the planned nature of song lyrics, which have been written down and reflected on, means that the choice of CS must come from a conscious decision. As songwriters "may be aware of the possibility that their words may be received by people outside the bilingual peer group", it is likely that "their choice of code switching is a somewhat marked one, for which some motivation must be sought" (p. 367). This motivation, I would argue, is either of an expressive, creative or commercial nature: CS is used as a tool to express identity, for aesthetic purposes, or to reach certain audiences to maximise profit. I shall be coming back to the last two in the upcoming sections. In many cases, of course, two or all of these motivations might be mixed.

Another way in which localisation can be achieved through CS is as a protest against English.

This might seem quite paradoxical, considering that almost all the examples in the literature include English as one of the two languages used. Nevertheless, a case can be made for this argument: for genres which were originally exclusively in monolingual English, the partial use of a different, much more localised language or variety is already a big step towards fighting the overwhelmingly English-speaking music market. Akande (2013) argues this in his study of Nigerian Hip Hop, stating that “[t]he extensive use of Nigerian languages in NHH can be interpreted as a form of protest against English, which is borne out of the ideology of resistance” (p. 54). These songs, it is important to note, also use English (both Nigerian Pidgin English and Standard English). Yet, their use of local languages alongside English is a way of reclaiming a monolingual genre which originated from the United States and integrating it into their local culture and internal music market. This sort of reclaiming of a genre to make it more relevant to one’s culture through CS can even happen in situations where the artist lives, and has grown up in, the dominant language’s culture. In such cases, CS can be used to connect with one’s roots, sometimes even when the artist is not fluent in the language. Rutten (1996) proposes the examples of West Indian communities in the UK or immigrants from former French colonies, and their influence on British popular music and French rap. The singers and rappers coming from these communities are often second- or third-generation immigrants, having grown up in the new country and being dominant in its language. Davies and Bentahila (2002) describe a similar use of CS by *rai* musicians coming from such immigrant communities, for whom the use of Arabic – which they sometimes do not speak fluently, or even at all – is a “symbolic gesture: ‘*un retour aux sources, un acte de mémoire*’ (a return to one’s origins, an act of commemoration)” (Davies & Bentahila, 2002, p. 199). This is another example of how CS in music can be used to identify an artist as belonging to a certain community, and shows how powerful the use of a language can be even when one does not really speak it.

The use of CS in music can thus achieve a lot in terms of localising a song or artist: it can target a particular community as an audience, reproduce everyday conversational CS to identify with a community, help an artist come across as more authentic, be used to take a stand against the domination of English in the popular music market, or help an artist refer back to their roots. All these functions show how powerful a musician’s linguistic choices can be.

### 3.2.6 The identity function of CS in music: Globalisation

Having described the localising function of CS in music, it is time to turn to its opposite: the globalising function. Indeed, if CS can be used to portray an artist or song as belonging to a certain area or community, it can also be used for the reverse: to “internationalise” an artist or song. This

can help a singer to broaden their audience, often for commercial purposes. But what does this mean for identity? Many linguists have argued that such CS (almost always involving the adoption of English by non-native speakers) comes at a cost for the artist in terms of identity – an argument that I will be reviewing in this subsection, after a brief description of the globalising function of CS in music.

Just like an artist can target a certain audience through CS for localisation purposes, the same can be done with the aim of globalising a song. Indeed, using a certain language (often English, the international language) can open the song to a whole new market: listeners tend to be more likely to listen to a song if they can understand at least part of its lyrics. The use of a more global language in addition to an artist's mother-tongue can thus help them connect with an international audience, thereby gaining more listeners, and making more money. This type of CS can therefore seem less natural and more manufactured, its aims appearing to be more commercial than artistic, although this of course depends on the artist. In some cases, the aim might be something other than a marketing strategy, for instance the desire to broadcast a community's voice and culture further than its national and linguistic constraints. An example of this can be found in Akande's (2013) study on Nigerian Hip Hop: "one can argue that while Nigerian rappers use their indigenous languages for identification purposes [...] they use English to connect with the international world". For them, the use of NPE (Nigerian Pidgin English) is a way to reach unity despite the multitude of regional languages and dialects, and allows them to connect with audiences outside their own ethnic origin (Akande, 2013). The use of CS, thus, allows them to reach out to the English-speaking world where their genre originated, incorporating themselves into it, whilst still retaining their national identity with their use of Nigerian Pidgin English and local languages. Davies and Bentahila (2002, p. 205) describe a similar trend in *rai* music, and generalise it as a "much broader movement which we can plausibly term the globalisation of popular music, or indeed popular culture in general". This globalising effect is possible because "[s]ong lyrics have a special status in that their success may depend to a large extent on their musical characteristics rather than their linguistic content" (Davies & Bentahila, 2008a, p. 267). This characteristic means that listeners are much more open to "a fair degree of heterogeneity or unintelligibility", allowing for much more "innovative and unconventional uses of language" (p. 267).

As I mentioned earlier, however, this creative and international use of language in songs is not always received as a positive phenomenon. In fact, Melville (2000) wonders if we should see in it "the sign of worldwide unification or that of cultural imperialism" (p. 40, my translation). Chang (2000) similarly raises the question of whether the use of English by rappers of different third-world countries expresses "a mixed-race youth's revolt or its surrender to worldwide capitalism" (p. 23, my

translation). The alarm felt by these authors is understandable, as any linguist would always advocate for the conservation of local languages, and the overwhelming domination of English does seem to be replacing other languages in most musical domains. This could mean that the globalising function of CS in music comes at the cost of the artist's identity: they become just another singer or rapper in a unified worldwide genre which only offers small variants in terms of 'local flavours', all diluted in an American formula. In turn, this means that different countries and communities lose their identifying traits and traditions, all becoming part of a globalised mainstream genre. In extreme cases, this process can contribute to the death of minority languages – already relegated to informal settings, they also disappear from art and culture. Davies and Bentahila (2006) describe this fear of the "cannibal tendencies of Western styles" (p. 375), stating that

[t]here is clearly a feeling that the embracing of this 'global culture' by so many young people may endanger their own traditional musical heritages, and the spread of rap may be seen by some as one more manifestation of the syndrome of McDonaldisation – as an American import capable of displacing homegrown musical varieties just as Coca Cola has caused the disappearance of many local brands of soft drink. (Davies & Bentahila, 2006, p. 375).

Nevertheless, they argue that the effects of globalisation in music need not be perceived in such a grim light, explaining that the mixture of the two languages might be a positive way of reconciling what might appear as two paradoxical phenomena: localisation and globalisation. For them, "the expansion of international communication and global media seems to be making it easier for a group to assert their own unique, local identity and at the same time offer a universal message to the rest of the planet" (p. 206).

In summary, CS in music (especially involving English) can be used by an artist to connect with a worldwide audience as much as it can serve a localisation purpose. A certain uniformity in music styles has been born of this globalisation of music, a phenomenon which several linguists have described as dangerous for minorities' languages and identities. Others, such as Davies and Bentahila, argue that localisation and globalisation through CS are not mutually exclusive, and in fact that CS represents a valuable tool for expression of identity.

### **3.2.7 A third identity function?**

Davies and Bentahila's view that CS can simultaneously be a tool for localisation and globalisation leads me to wonder if there might be a third identity function of CS, one that does not place localisation and globalisation in a black-and-white dichotomy but rather in a continuum. In this subsection, I will argue that CS can be used as a tool for representing an artist's dual identity and for

creating a new identity, two examples of this more flexible vision of the localisation/globalisation issue.

The existence of a middle-ground between localisation and globalisation has been hinted at in the literature – in some of the examples we have already looked at, it is obvious how artists can be said to have a dual identity. Going back to Davies & Bentahila's example of *rai* music, this is very much the case: singers either use song French-Arabic CS to mimic their own everyday use, or to connect with family roots despite not speaking Arabic fluently (or at all). This is a clear instance of CS in music serving to display a musician's dual identity. Davies and Bentahila (2006, pp. 380-381) describe it as follows: "[t]he blocks of which the is constructed are separated, independently accessible, yet linked and complementary to one another, and this arrangement could be seen as representing the dual identity of the performers, the dual status of their music". I would, however, go even further than these straight-forward examples: I would argue that there is a hybrid function (mixing both localisation and globalisation) to a further extent than what has been described in the literature. In my view, as citizens of our globalised world, which allows more interaction between different populations than ever before, many artists can be torn between two (or more) identities, even without having a dual heritage. This all goes back to Trudgill's study on British pop singers' pronunciation, and his explanation that the singers were emulating the speech patterns of the group they associated with their chosen genre. He argued that LePage's theory of linguistic behaviour was the most adequate to explain this phenomenon. This theory was summarised by Trudgill as positing that "a general motive for speakers' linguistic behaviour" (1997, p. 253) could be found in their attempts to "resemble as closely as possible those of the group or groups with which from time to time [they] wish to identify" (LePage, 1975, cited in Trudgill, 1997, p. 253). Following this theory, one could argue that a German and a Chinese singer who consistently listened to American pop musicians and were inspired by them might end up producing similar music, both in terms of genre and pronunciation.<sup>43</sup> Naturally, they would keep some features of their own accents, but the overall singing *style* (which includes linguistic features) would be very close. According to this, I would argue that a dual identity would be at play in their performances: their national linguistic identity as German and Chinese, and their artistic linguistic identity as singers of mainstream Western music, which is dominated by (American) English. In such cases, the use of CS in music would fall somewhere in the middle of the localisation-globalisation continuum, depending on factors such as the proportion of each language used or the themes raised in the lyrics (the discussion of local social or political topics, for instance, would tend more towards localisation than a generic love song).

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<sup>43</sup> If they both chose to write lyrics in English, that is.

This middle-ground between identification with a more local community and with a globalised context can also be seen in artists who reside in the epicentre of the globalised market (the USA), yet have roots from a minority community (for instance, the Latino community). Interestingly, such artists can oftentimes be perceived as using their dual identity for commercial purposes: a sense of Anglo<sup>44</sup> domination persists in the music market, and the use of Spanish can sometimes be a tactical way of gaining sales. This is exemplified with the concept of ‘crossover’ artists – musicians who have ‘crossed over’ to the mainstream. This status is characterised by an interest from the general English-speaking public, proving that the artists have truly ‘made it’. It is clear, thus, that the white monolingual English-speakers are still in control of what is globally successful and what is not. This can lead us to wonder whether the kind of CS that appears in songs which are allowed to enter the popular music mainstream is truly reflective of real Spanglish CS, or whether it is a manufactured version of it, created by the often non-Spanglish speakers who dominate the industry. The latter could be argued through the example of the recent popular trend of translating songs,<sup>45</sup> or through the example of singers such as Christina Aguilera, who, despite not speaking a word of Spanish, was made to release an album in Spanish to cash in as a ‘Latina’ singer. This was “an aggressive campaign” launched by her record company, which, after the success of her debut album in English, aimed to “re-situate Aguilera within the U.S. market not as a phenotypically Anglo singer with an ambiguously ‘foreign-sounding’ last name, but rather as a teenaged U.S. Latina preparing to re-release a series of her previous hits plus some original tracks, recorded this time in her newly-acquired *español*” (Cepeda, 2000, p. 60). The reason for such a use of Spanish-English CS is that “Spanglish is a means of accessing and personalizing products for [a] particular consumer demographic [...] in the United States and shrewd companies take full advantage of this” (Rothman & Rell, 2005, p. 531). Indeed,

it seems apparent that the media as well as the economic interests that fund its existence have converged on the same conclusion as far as the Hispanic community and Spanglish is concerned. Not only are they aware that the Hispanic community is a crucial consumer group whose collective buying power rivals that of any other minority group, but they also realize that a key part of reaching and identifying with this community is through Spanglish itself. (Rothman & Rell, 2005, p. 532).

Because of its economic value, therefore, the Latino community in the US has unwittingly turned Spanglish into a money-making variety which companies – the majority of the time led by white monolingual Americans – use for monetary gain. This is one example where the authenticity of the use of CS in music, and thus, the veracity of its link with expression of identity, can be put into

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<sup>44</sup> Specifically, white Anglo-American.

<sup>45</sup> Where popular songs in Spanish are remade into English, still retaining some Spanish passages but opening up the songs to the mainstream English-speaking audiences.



question. Nevertheless, it is being used to display a dual identity, placing it halfway between localisation and globalisation.

A second example of an identity conveyed through CS which does not fit in with either localisation or globalisation, and shows that there might be a third option, is that of CS being used to build a new identity. Everything I have talked about until now revolves around heritage and pre-existing identities. Nevertheless, there are some cases where new identities are born through the use of CS in music. This can be observed in two examples found in the literature: Japanese-English CS in J-Pop and the multilingual CS which appears in Nigerian Hip Hop music. Starting with the former, Moody (2006) describes the “myth of Japanese linguistic uniqueness” prevalent in Japanese society, which is “related to the belief that the racial and ethnic group is also unique” (p. 210). Based on an underlying assumption that Japanese is inherently more difficult than any other language, this pervasive linguistic attitude creates an almost inseparable link between language and race: only Japanese people have the ability to speak the Japanese language, and thus, “one’s phenotypic make-up is inseparably intertwined with language” (Miller, 1986, p. 13, cited in Moody, 2006, p. 210). This leads into the fact that, as Moody shows, the Japanese tend to be reluctant to use their language to communicate with foreigners. Interestingly, music (and specifically J-Pop) seems to be the arena where such accepted social behaviours are questioned: when it comes to J-Pop music, “it seems that the use of English responds to a desire to question the domains of the Japanese language, and to extend the use of Japanese to inter-ethnic communication”. Moody underlines the fact that popular culture is always a reflection of the beliefs of some part of the population, showing that there is a divide between the chiefly unquestioned myth of uniqueness and the actual linguistic attitudes held by the individuals in society who consume such popular culture. In sum, the language use that appears in pop music (Japanese-English CS) seems to “express the desire for a more cosmopolitan and globally influential language” (p. 220). This is an example of the creation, through art, of a whole new identity: one where not only are young Japanese open to the rest of the world, wanting to communicate with it, but Japanese as a language becomes international itself and is no longer limited to a certain racial-national identity. It is also interesting to note that this new identity is in direct contradiction with the accepted language attitudes of the wider society, making it even more controversial. This is where the power of art (and music in this case) becomes apparent: such ideas could never be expressed in a socially acceptable manner through speech, yet when hinted at in a song, they become tolerable.

The second example of creation of a new identity through CS comes from Akande’s (2013) study of Nigerian Hip Hop. He quotes Omoniyi (2009) who observes that “NHH artistes facilitate

‘negotiation and construction of identity through language choice’” (p. 41). By using Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) mixed with Standard English and various local Nigerian languages, Nigerian rappers “set up what may be construed as a pan-Nigerian identity”. Nigeria, with its 400 to 500 languages (all spoken by different segments of its population) can thus access a common identity represented by the code-switched variety of NPE mixed with different local languages. Once again, just like with the example of J-Pop, the creation of a new identity is in direct contradiction with (and one could even say that it constitutes an act of rebellion against) the widely accepted social or political views of the country: it represents “an ideological departure from the kind of establishment identity we may associate with Nigeria’s ‘English-as-official language’ policy” (p. 41). This is therefore another example of how popular music, using CS, can be utilised by young people to go against the general consensus and create a new identity for themselves, both localised to their community and globalised to an international context with which they are in constant communication.

Thus, CS can be seen as a compromise between retaining one’s origins and opening up to other audiences – a middle-ground between the absolute functions of either localising or globalising. The motivations behind this use range from a genuine desire to connect with different parts of oneself to the commercial and economic desire to target a community as a potential audience. Some linguists argue that this phenomenon is negative, others that it is positive. Whether one agrees with one position or the other, the fact remains that this trend has many fascinating implications for the field of CS and sociolinguistics at large, and thus warrants analysis.

### **3.2.8 Symbolic vs. Discourse functions of CS in music**

Now that I have described the identity functions of CS in music, let us turn to the textual/discourse functions it can serve. Not only is it an interesting area of research, but it is also very relevant to my own investigation. I will start by briefly describing the two different overarching categories (symbolic functions and discourse functions), before going into more detail about each of them, showing what CS can achieve in different contexts.

As I described earlier, song lyrics enjoy a special status in terms of audience tolerance: because songs do not usually have communication as their main goal, but are rather concerned with aesthetics, listeners are more likely to accept a degree of unintelligibility or even ungrammaticality. CS can thus be used in an unconventional way without being too shocking to the listener. Its functions are very diverse, from the expression of different identities to more aesthetic and communicative purposes, which I will be delving into here. CS can indeed serve several discourse (or textual) functions, which are “closely related to the nature and properties of the pop song genre”:

pop song lyrics can be seen as “essentially written texts (although they are sung in the spoken medium) or planned discourse (vs. spontaneous conversation), as poetic texts, as media texts, and as a product of pop culture” (Chan, 2009, p. 111). That is to say, the written (planned) and poetic quality of music, coupled with the status of pop music in particular as being contained within a wider pop culture context, is what determines which functions CS serves in song lyrics. Chan argues that “the communicative effects of English in Cantopop are construed in a continuum of symbolic functions (i.e. the identities or cultural connotations of the English language) and/or discourse functions (i.e. functions of code-switching within the text of the lyrics)” (p. 111). We can extrapolate this to any CS involving English in pop music genres – and perhaps even to CS not including English. Following this idea, CS can contribute different elements to a song: emotions or images associated with a particular language (symbolic function) as well as lyric structure or aesthetic qualities (discourse function). The symbolic function of CS, thus, has more of a thematic or semantic function (it adds to the meaning of the song), whereas the discourse function of CS adds to the structure and appearance of the lyrics.

Starting with the symbolic function, we can explore an example: that of the use of CS to convey the attached symbolic values of different languages in order to create meaning. Many studies on the use of English in Asian contexts have shown that the language can “convey a sense of ‘Western-ness’, ‘globality’, ‘modernity’, ‘individuality’, ‘otherness’ and so forth” (Chan, 2009, p. 109).<sup>46</sup> In Korean pop, English allows “the expression of sexual desire and resistance to norms and mainstream values” (p. 109) as, while such ideas can be expressed in Korean, the resulting songs are censored and deemed “socially inappropriate” (Lee, 2004, p. 438). This is because the two languages are conceptualised as referring to two separate groups of symbolic values, which are attached to stereotypes of the two cultures (Chan, 2009): English represents a freer, perhaps more libertine world, whereas Korean is indissociable from traditional social and moral norms. CS can be used to represent both of these voices, sometimes simultaneously:

In some Korean pop lyrics, the juxtaposition of the two languages signals a dual stance of the singer towards either his cheating lover or his love affairs (Lee 2004: 438–42); that is, the Korean lines suggest a more introvert, tolerant, reserved attitude, whereas the English lines carry an assertive, acrimonious, or accusatory tone. Such “double-voicing” through code-switching (Rampton 1998) was taken as reflecting “South Korean youth’s battle with their unsettling identities” (Lee 2004:446). (Chan, 2009, p. 110).

A similar use has been documented in Japanese pop, where English can be used to “downplay the weight of feelings and emotions supposedly too intense to be expressed in Japanese” (Chan, 2009, p.

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<sup>46</sup> Whereas the use of the Asian languages can “convey a sense of ‘Eastern-ness’, ‘locality’, ‘conservatism’, ‘collectivism’, ‘us-ness’ and so forth”.

110). Chan cites the example of a song written entirely in English “in which a female singer explicitly proposes to her male lover, an act presumably too daring for a woman in Japanese culture” (p. 110). Here as well, thus, English seems to represent a less morally-constrained society with less taboos. This is an interesting example of how CS can add textual meaning through the use of symbolic language associations. Another way in which English can be used in East Asian pop songs is a bit more straightforward, and consists simply of conveying the idea of globality.<sup>47</sup>

Outside the Asian context, however, English might carry different associations. In European countries, for instance, the expression of sexual topics may not be so taboo, and the singers’ native language may be used instead. Nevertheless, English brings a sense of globality and Americanness which is often associated with ‘coolness’ and internationality: this adds a notion of covert prestige to the English varieties used in pop and hip hop music, which are often Low varieties (such as AAVE). On the other hand, the local language usually transmits a sense of emotion and authenticity – which lends its use to more personal topics. As we will see in my own research, Latin-American countries seem to have the same associations. Overall, thus, the use of English brings meaning to song lyrics through symbolic associations, although the values attached to English might vary from country to country.

Moving on to the discourse function of CS, it is important to note that it is the structure of songs (pop songs in particular) which allows CS to have such a strong effect on them. Indeed, “pop song lyrics appear to be a well-defined genre which, compared to spontaneous conversation, has a distinctive form (i.e. pop songs have a regular text structure which consists of stanzas and a chorus, and the lines fit into a rhyming scheme which matches the music)” (Chan, 2009, p. 109). Within this structure, CS can be used as a stylistic device, with strategies such as “using translation to either replace or reduplicate the source material, rewriting with varying degrees of divergence from the original, juxtaposing components from different languages, and composing directly in a code switching variety” (Davies & Bentahila, 2008a, p. 247). The use of translation and the direct composition of lyrics in a code-switched style are used to produce essentially the same effects (Davies & Bentahila, 2008a). A few of the different effects which CS and translation can achieve are rhyming, repetition, catching the attention of the listener, the creation of different points of view or character voices, elucidation, and much more. CS can “interact with the structural framework of the song” in several different ways; for instance, “switches may be made to coincide with or be interwoven with structural elements such as rhyme, line divisions, stanzas and refrains” (Davies & Bentahila, 2008b, p. 18). Such a change of language in significant places can emphasise which parts

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<sup>47</sup> For instance, in South Korea, the use of English “seems to render the songs appealing to audiences of other nationalities, in particular those in Japan and other Asian cities” (Chan, 2009, pp. 109-110).

are separate and which parts should be taken as a whole, helping to make the structure clearer.

CS may also be used to make the message of the song more effective: it may, for instance, “be exploited to allow the use of the specific diction associated with the genre, to separate out different components of the text or to link elements together, and finally to highlight aspects of meaning” through strategies such as repetition, opposition and parallelism. Repetition, for instance, serves to make the message clearer: singing tends to be harder to understand than spoken language, so repeating the same sentence several times and in different languages can give the listeners a better chance to comprehend the lyrics (Hodge, 1985). On the semantic level, CS may also contribute through the “incorporation of specific lexis or diction characteristic of the genre”, the “[placement of] emphasis on certain lexical items”, the highlighting of “semantic oppositions or similarities” (Davies & Bentahila, 2008b, p. 1), or through devices such as reformulation.<sup>48</sup>

CS has therefore been proven to serve symbolic and discourse functions in song lyrics, adding a new dimension to its varied purposes. I have described these different purposes in the past few sections, starting with the identity functions of localisation, globalisation, and a mixture of the two; before outlining the lyrical functions of symbolic and discourse CS.

### **3.2.9 My topic: Spanglish CS in popular mainstream music**

To round off Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 – two very theory-heavy chapters – I think it would be prudent to come back to my own topic and link it to everything I have talked about, whilst also giving a clearer overview of what I am trying to achieve with my research. The topic of this thesis is the use of English in music by non-native English speakers and the functions it serves, as well as the attitudes listeners have towards it, specifically within the context of Latino reggaeton music. As Androutsopoulos (2007) shows, bilingualism in different media types, and specifically music, has become more accepted: “popular music audiences seem more receptive to music using other languages than their counterparts of 20 years ago” (p. 207). I believe that nothing exemplifies this more than the reggaeton music trend of the past two decades, which is why I have chosen it as my subject of research.

My focus is on Spanglish CS (including Spanish-English translation) in popular mainstream songs; and I am interested in how, when and why Spanish-speaking artists switch to English. In order to explore these questions, I have analysed different aspects of the CS appearing in a corpus of songs,

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<sup>48</sup> This is just a brief survey of the many discourse functions that CS can serve, but many articles have been written on the topic and can offer more information: Davies & Bentahila (1983, 1991), Schendl (1997), Wong (1997), McClure (2000), Chan (2003), Fung (2003), Kachru (2006), Sarker & Winer (2006).

with a focus on the main recurrent themes which are addressed in Spanish and English, as well as the discourse functions English serves. This has allowed me to distinguish potential patterns in the use of English within these songs. In a second part of my research project, I have shifted my focus to the *reception* of such songs by different audiences – an American one (mostly native English-speakers) and a Hispanic one (mostly native Spanish-speakers). This has enabled me to explore attitudes to CS in songs, and the question of whether Spanish-speakers and English-speakers have different opinions on the topic. As a whole, this twofold project has given me an opportunity to explore the role of the English language in one aspect of its cultural soft power (music), as well as the way its use in songs by non-English speaking artists is perceived. Hopefully, the result is a compelling account of the symbolic indexicalities of English in our globalised world.

For a more specific idea of the bases of my study, section 2.3 describes where I situate my research in the theoretical framework I have described. In terms of where my research fits within the previous literature in the field, I will be relying on both the concept of language as identity<sup>49</sup> and that of the indexicality of language.<sup>50</sup> In particular, I will be discussing the concepts of the localisation/globalisation and symbolic/discourse functions of CS in music in relation to my own data. As was clear from my survey of the literature, there is a good amount of research on the topic of CS and translation in songs in the African (both North and West) and Asian contexts. However, projects on Spanglish CS specifically are scarce, and I could not find any on Spanglish in popular mainstream music or reggaeton music. Most research projects in the field seemed to focus on smaller, more localised phenomena. I posit that it could be very interesting to expand this to a more global stage, by analysing the immensely successful artists who use both Spanish and English in their songs: this might show us how pervasive the influence of English is in the cultural market. This specific research topic, indeed, has enabled me to explore the special status of English in our globalised world. Because English has many associations throughout the globe, especially in mainstream culture, it is a desirable language to sing in, particularly in genres where the allure of financial gain might take precedence over a desire to express one's identity. I therefore propose that CS and translation in music involving English can have very different aims than CS in more localised contexts: rather than simply a search for identity, marketing aims are at play. I also posit that there is an aesthetic component to the use of English in songs by non-native English speakers, where English serves discourse functions specific to the pop genre. My research project therefore explores a new dimension to previous research on CS and translation in music and provides an interesting account of the cultural and economic power of English in our globalised society.

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<sup>49</sup> Which I described in section 3.2, and is informed by the previous research on Spanglish and the use of CS in music.

<sup>50</sup> Which entails the symbolic function of CS described in 3.3.5

## 4 Methods

In this chapter, I outline the methods I have followed in my data collection as well as my data analysis and provide justifications for the different choices I have made throughout. Following the structure of my thesis, I start with the corpus data, before moving on to the questionnaire data.

### 4.1 Corpus

The first part of my analysis focuses on the different functions English can serve in songs by Spanish-speaking artists. I chose a corpus approach for this part of my research, as it seemed the most appropriate for what I wanted to achieve: compiling a small corpus was the easiest and most convenient way to access a searchable and comparable dataset. No such corpora existed – at least to my knowledge – and since I needed a very specific song profile, compiling my own corpus was the best way to collect the right amount of data, whilst also enabling me to look for themes and patterns in all the songs at once. First, I will describe the process of compiling my corpus data and present a few stats on the corpus, before outlining my analytical approach to the data in a second sub-section.

#### 4.1.1 Compilation of the corpus

The chief guideline I wanted to follow for the compilation of my corpus was systematicity, and I knew that I would need to try out different ideas to arrive at the best possible approach. Thus, I experimented with different ideas through the creation of a pilot corpus, which allowed me to test out different approaches and fine-tune my compilation process. This led me to the process I will be describing in this section.

First, I wanted to determine which songs would be included in my corpus. Considering my focus was on popular mainstream music, I wanted to study the top, most popular songs in the Latin pop music genre, or *reggaeton*.<sup>51</sup> Because of its dominance in the world of music, and specifically charts, I chose to use Billboard as my reference. I purchased a subscription to *Billboard Pro* in order to gain access to their professional content, which allowed me to search their chart database by date, something the free website does not allow. I focused on the “Hot Latin Songs” chart and decided on a range of 5 years: from 2015 to 2019.<sup>52</sup> However, because Billboard offers weekly charts, which would have been an enormous amount of songs to sift through, I needed to restrict the songs

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<sup>51</sup> I will be using both terms interchangeably.

<sup>52</sup> This range would allow me to look at the most recent songs in the genre, whilst also allowing me to see some evolution, especially considering the fast-paced nature of the music industry.

to a sample. I therefore only looked at the top 20 songs of the first week of January and July for each year. This gave me enough of a distance between the two sampled weeks to get different songs in the top 20, and the twice-yearly samples provided me with enough songs to compile a significant database of code-switches. There were 22 duplicates (songs appearing in two or more of the sampled weeks), leaving me with 178 individual songs. My next step was to look up the lyrics of each one of these 178 songs via LyricFind, a website for searching licensed lyrics.<sup>53</sup> I read through all the songs' lyrics to determine which ones used English, and which were composed in monolingual Spanish. I discarded all the songs which did not contain any English words and kept the ones which did. This left me with 103 usable songs, as only 75 songs were in monolingual Spanish – proving the ubiquity of Spanglish CS in Latin pop music. The composition stats of my corpus are summarised in table 4.1 below.<sup>54</sup>

Table 4.1. Number of songs included in the corpus per year and month, classified according to presence or absence of CS (N=178).

Year	Songs with CS	Songs without CS	Yearly total	
			CS	No CS
2015				
January	7	13	13	26
July	6	13		
2016				
January	8	10	14	22
July	6	12		
2017				
January	11	5	22	12
July	11	7		
2018				
January	15	2	29	5
July	14	3		
2019				
January	11	6	25	10
July	14	4		
TOTAL	103	75		178

Once I had established which songs would be included, I began the painstaking but necessary tasks that allowed my corpus to come together. I first copied and pasted the lyrics of each song into a document, before going through it in its entirety (a total of 50 166 words) to italicise any and all words or passages in English. Words in other languages, although scarce, were coded in bold. Anything in Spanish was left as plain text. Proper nouns were left as plain text as well but would not count towards either language.<sup>55</sup> My next step was to isolate all switches and copy them into a

<sup>53</sup> LyricFind is the service used by Google when one searches for song lyrics, making it an easily accessible tool.

<sup>54</sup> A full list of the songs included is available in Appendix 1A.

<sup>55</sup> I decided to follow this approach because some Latin-American singers cited Anglo names in their songs, but would pronounce them with Spanish phonology, and vice-versa. It would have been too complex to analyse them on a case-by-case basis, and I considered proper-nouns not to be a full-on case of CS either way – for instance, if a Hispanic singer



separate document.<sup>56</sup> I defined a switch as any cooccurrence of Spanish and English (whether intra-sentential or inter-sentential). Boundaries of a switch were determined as follows.

For shorter switches, the boundaries were decided according to the syntactical unit: if the switch was a single word, for instance, the whole clause would be taken, as in example (1) (translation provided in bold).

(1) Te ves bonita con tu *swing* salvaje

**You look beautiful with your wild swing**

For longer switches, which were usually inter-sentential, I followed the rule that the entirety of the passage in English had to be included, and that at least two entire lines in Spanish where the switch happened (either before or after the English passage) had to be included as well, as in example (2).

(2) *Yeah*

*Envy*

*Is a sign of admiration*

*Hate*

*Is the epitome of destruction*

Tal parece

Que mi amor crece y crece

**Yeah**

**Envy**

**Is a sign of admiration**

**Hate**

**Is the epitome of destruction**

**So it seems**

**That my love grows and grows**

If the two lines in Spanish contained an unfinished syntactical unit, the end (or start) of that unit would also be included. In some intra-sentential switches, several English words were sometimes used within a passage (thus going back and forth between Spanish and English), but I decided that they formed part of the same switch. This was because they were part of the same unit in some way: either because they were part of the same syntactic unit, because they were part of the same entity of meaning, or because they followed the same lyrical structure,<sup>57</sup> as demonstrated in examples (3a-c) respectively. Sometimes, two or more of these types would combine, such as in example (3c)

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mentioned “McDonald’s” or another American brand, that would not represent a true instance of CS, as the brand name has become integrated into Spanish-speaking culture as well.

<sup>56</sup> A full transcription of all the switches included in the corpus is available in Appendix 1B.

<sup>57</sup> Same rhyming structure for instance.

where the two English words are both part of the same syntactic unit and the same lyrical structure.

(3) a. Tú me dices que yo me dejo llevar

Será porque tienes un *flow*

Demasio' cri-criminal *baby*

**You tell me I let myself be carried along**

**It's because you have a flow**

**That's too cri-criminal baby**

b. *So now we dancing* un reggaetón lento

*Just get a little closer, baby, let go*

**So now we dancing a slow reggaeton**

**Just get a little closer, baby, let go**

c. La pasamos *romantic*

Sin piloto *automatic*

**We have a romantic time**

**Without autopilot**

Having isolated each instance of CS in a systematic way by following these rules, I ended up with 441 individual switches of varying lengths – some constituting half of a song, others a single line.

## 4.1.2 Analysis of the corpus

In terms of the analytical process, I had been very satisfied with the results I obtained when working on my pilot corpus, a much smaller dataset which only contained a total of 79 switches. My process for the analysis, thus, followed the categories I had gleaned from my pilot data, except for the addition of some new categories where needed, and the modification of a few existing ones. The first step was to enter every switch into FileMaker Pro by copying and pasting them individually, as well as creating several categories for the coding of the data, including two main types: metadata on the song and artist (matrix language of the song; native language of singer 1 and singer 2, if applicable; song type and intended audience) and information on the switch (position in song; grammatical type of CS; length of switch; intimacy; inter- or intra-sentential type and originality of language<sup>58</sup>). All but one of the categories were compulsory.<sup>59</sup> I also classified the categories according to whether they were absolute or cumulative – that is to say, whether only one option could be picked, or whether several options could be picked simultaneously. All this information, as well as an exhaustive list of all

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<sup>58</sup> Whether the English word or phrase used is stereotypical or not.

<sup>59</sup> The exception being “Singer 2’s native language”, as this only applied to switches which were performed by two different singers.

the options for each category, is summarised in table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Categories used to classify the switches in File Maker Pro.

	Category	Options	Classification
METADATA ON SONGS AND ARTISTS	Matrix language of the song	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Spanish</li> <li>English</li> <li>mixed</li> </ul>	Compulsory, absolute
	Singer 1's native language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Spanish</li> <li>English</li> <li>both</li> <li>other</li> </ul>	Compulsory, absolute
	Singer 2's native language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Spanish</li> <li>English</li> <li>both</li> <li>other</li> <li>N/A</li> </ul>	Optional, absolute
	Song type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>original</li> <li>translation</li> <li>stand-alone</li> </ul>	Compulsory, absolute
	Intended audience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>monolingual Spanish</li> <li>monolingual English</li> <li>bilingual Spanish/English</li> <li>all three</li> </ul>	Compulsory, cumulative
INFORMATION ON THE SWITCH	Position in song	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>intro</li> <li>verse</li> <li>chorus</li> <li>bridge</li> <li>outro</li> </ul>	Compulsory, absolute
	Grammatical type of CS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>NP</li> <li>VP</li> <li>other</li> <li>longer constituent</li> </ul>	Compulsory, cumulative
	Length of switch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>partial clause (one word)</li> <li>partial clause (more than one word)</li> <li>whole clause</li> <li>whole sentence</li> <li>more than one sentence</li> <li>whole paragraph</li> </ul>	Compulsory, cumulative
	Intimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>intimate topic</li> <li>non-intimate topic</li> <li>both</li> </ul>	Compulsory, absolute
	Inter- or intra-sentential type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>inter-sentential</li> <li>intra-sentential</li> </ul>	Compulsory, cumulative
	Originality of language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>stereotypical word</li> <li>non-stereotypical word</li> <li>stereotypical phrase</li> <li>original phrase</li> </ul>	Compulsory, cumulative

Most of the different category options are straight-forward, but a few of them might need some further explaining. For the “song type” category, the “original” option applies to songs which have an existing translation available, and the “translation” option applies to that second version. The “stand-alone” classification, on the other hand, applies to songs which only exist in one version. The different options for the “position in song” category were based on the traditional structure of

reggaeton songs.<sup>60</sup> For the category dealing with the grammatical type of the switches, I decided to only have the NP and VP options for shorter switches because of their prevalence in my pilot corpus study: Adjectival Phrases, Prepositional Phrases and other types were almost non-existent, making an “other” group seem more judicious. The longer switches, on the other hand, did not need to be fleshed out much more, as I was more interested in the frequency of NPs and VPs, and the longer switches were analysed in more detail in the “length of switch” category anyway. For this category, the options are more transparent, but a note should be made on what constituted “more than one sentence” as opposed to a “whole paragraph”. The former referred to two or three whole sentences in English. The latter, on the other hand, was applied to any switch containing more than three sentences fully in English. For the “intimacy” category, anything relating to emotions or sex was categorised as “intimate”, and anything else as “non-intimate”. The “both” option was added because many of the longer switches contained a mixture of intimate and non-intimate topics. Finally, for the “originality of language” category, stereotypical words or phrases were understood to be any words that are common either in pop music (such as “baby”), or simply words which even non-speakers of English would know (for instance, “yes”, “hello”, “goodbye”). This was not a strictly scientific category, as I was relying on my instincts about what is stereotypical English and what is not – a different person might have different opinions. Nevertheless, it was still an interesting category to have, in order to get a rough idea of how much of the English words used was original, and how much was perhaps more aesthetic than communicative in function. In terms of what the different options referred to, the “stereotypical word” and “non-stereotypical word” options were only applicable to switches which contained a single English word. Anything containing two words or more was qualified as a “phrase”.<sup>61</sup>

Once this was done, I carried out a manual analysis of the switches to glean recurring themes and functions in the use of English. In order to do this, I read over all the passages in English to determine which topics were most common. I already had a preliminary list from my pilot corpus analysis, but the much larger data sample provided by my final corpus led me to notice additional patterns and add several new categories. My final list consisted of the following: love, sex, heartbreak, party/dancing, bragging, artist introduction, song introduction, filler/excitement building and other. Most of these are self-explanatory, but the more opaque ones warrant an explanation. Firstly, the “bragging” category refers to passages where the singer or rapper boasts about themselves; usually how much money or material goods they possess, their success with women or their prominence in the reggaeton genre. Secondly, a switch is categorised as an instance of “artist

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<sup>60</sup> Which follows an intro/verse/chorus/verse/chorus/bridge/chorus/outro pattern.

<sup>61</sup> Thus, all the longer switches, for instance entire paragraphs in English, logically fall into the “original phrase category” as the longer the texts got, the more likely it was that they were not common sayings.

introduction” when the passage introduces the artist by name or by an alias they are known as (for instance, rapper Pitbull’s alias “Mr. Worldwide”), such as in examples (4a-c). Examples (4a) and (4b) give the artists’ names – “Farru” in (4a) is a shortened version of “Farruko”, the singer’s stage name. Example (4c), on the other hand, showcases the use of an alias: singer Maluma refers to himself as “pretty boy” in most of his songs in reference to his status as a heartthrob, and even has an album titled “Pretty Boy, Dirty Boy”. The words directly preceding or following the name are included in the categorisation, meaning that the words “man” and “baby” in examples (4a) and (4b) would be coded as instances of artist introduction. I decided on this because names were not coded as either Spanish or English, and the categorisation of the corpus focused only on English words and passages since the focus of my research project is specifically on the use of English in Latin music. This would have meant that switches such as these would not be coded as instances of artist introduction, whereas there was a consistent switch to English around this theme. In addition, I believe this use of the word “baby” in particular could be qualified as a *reflexive* hypocorism; that is to say, the singer is referring to himself rather than a separate person. This would link the hypocorism to the name of the singer, further justifying the consideration of both words as one entity.

(4) a. (*Ey yo man, Farru*)

b. *Y yo soy Maluma baby, oh no*

**And I am Maluma baby, oh no**

c. *El pretty boy*

**The pretty boy**

Similarly, the “song introduction” category refers to switches where some meta information about the song is given in the lyrics; for instance, announcing that it is a remix or giving the title of the album it is featured on, as shown in examples (5a) and (5b).

(5) a. *Tú y yo en esta noche besándonos (this is the remix)*

**You and I kissing tonight (this is the remix)**

b. *Odisea, the album*

Finally, the “filler/excitement building” category was used to describe English words or passages that did not add to the meaning of the song, nor performed the function of introducing the artist or song, but acted as fillers (such as the stereotypical “yeah” or “no” found in many pop songs) or as interjections to build excitement (such as “let’s go” or “come on”). Examples (6a-b) are instances of the former, and (6c-d) are instances of the latter.

(6) a. Esto no me gusta, *oh yeah, oh no*

**I don't like that, oh yeah, oh no**

b. La noche está para un reggaetón lento (*Yeah, hey*)

**The night calls for a slow reggaeton (Yeah, hey)**

c. 1, 2, 3

*Let's go*

d. Sin ti mi vida no conduce a nada.

*Come on*

**Without you my life doesn't lead to anything**

**Come on**

Having created all the categories I needed, I then classified each switch into all the different categories. This allowed me to search for specific combinations (i.e. “theme: artist introduction” and “position in song: verse”) and start noticing patterns as well as extract data for quantitative analysis.

Another way in which I extracted data for quantitative analysis was through content analysis, and specifically word-counting. Weber (1990, p. 9), defines content analysis as a “research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text”. Breuning (2011, p. 490) goes into more detail and explains that “[r]esearchers use content analysis to make statements about the meaning, impact, or producers of [...] communications” and that “analysts may focus on the literal content or seek to extract deeper (or latent) meanings”. In my case, I was interested in the *meaning* of the communications which I had collected (the song lyrics), and my focus was both on the literal content and deeper meanings: I looked for the literal themes English was used for in the songs, but also the deeper functions it served. In terms of concrete approaches, content analysis is mostly known for its quantitative method of counting words and frequencies (Breuning, 2011), which is the procedure I used. The first step was to separate all the English words from the Spanish words in all the song lyrics, and to create two separate documents: one for English lyrics, the other for Spanish lyrics. This was an arduous task, necessitating the examination of 50 000 words so I could copy and paste any English passages into a separate document. I also deleted any words in other languages, as well as proper nouns, leaving me with the “pure” data that could be analysed. The final documents were of strikingly different lengths: the Spanish data was comprised of 42 572 words, whereas the English data was only made up of 6099 words. This represents a respective proportion of 87.5% versus 12.5% of all the song lyrics – a salient dominance for Spanish-language lyrics.

Once this was done, I created lexical fields for four of the themes I had defined in my

preliminary coding of the data (love, sex, heartbreak and party/dancing) and looked for frequencies in both languages. For instance, for the “love” category, I looked for the words *love* and *amor*, but also for the words *heart* and *corazón*, *forever/eternal* and *por siempre/eterno*, the roots *feel\** (*feeling, feels*) and *sient\*/sent\** (*siento, sienta, sentimos, sentí, sentiste, sentir, sentimiento*), and the root *roman\** (*romance, romantic / romance, romántico*). The different lexical fields I explored are classified in table 4.3 below.<sup>62</sup>

Table 4.3. Lexical fields in English and Spanish for love, sex, heartbreak and party/dancing themes.

THEME	LEXICAL FIELD	
	English	Spanish
LOVE	• love	• amor/te quiero/me quieres/me quiere/nos queremos
	• heart	• corazón
	• feel*	• sient*/sent*
	• forever	• por siempre/eterno
	• roman*	• roman*
SEX	• sex	• sexo
	• booty/ass	• culo
	• hot	• caliente
	• kiss	• beso
	• body	• cuerpo
	• lips	• labios
	• desire	• deseo
	• touch	• toc*
HEARTBREAK	• hurt	• duel*/dol*
	• mov* on	N/A
	• without	• sin ti/sin mí/sin ella
	• forget	• olvid*
	• miss*	• extrañ*/extran*
	N/A	• sufr*
PARTY/DANCING	• danc*	• bail*
	• party	• fiesta
	• mov*	• muev*/muév*/mov*
	• drink*/drunk	• beb*/tom*/borrach*

The reason why I applied this technique to only four of my eight thematic categories,<sup>63</sup> and excluded the other four (bragging, artist introduction, song introduction and filler/excitement building) is that I decided a more in-depth analysis was warranted for these specific themes. Indeed, I undertook a case by case analysis for these themes, letting the data inform my analysis rather than the opposite. I did this because these categories are the most significant in my corpus data, showing a stark difference between both languages, as opposed to the previously-mentioned themes. My approach

<sup>62</sup> A brief note should be made on the two N/A entries in the “heartbreak” theme: these correspond to words which only appeared in one of the two languages but which I considered important to the theme because they appeared frequently. Since there was one such word for each language, I considered that they cancelled each other out and would not skew the data towards one language or the other.

<sup>63</sup> I exclude the “other” category, which naturally pertains to so many different topics that a lexical field could hardly be developed to analyse it.

for the analysis of these four themes was, therefore, a bit different: I went through the entirety of the Spanish lyrics and counted every instance of bragging, artist or song introduction (grouped as one category), and filler/excitement building. I then compared these numbers with those in File Maker Pro (through which I had coded all English language instances of these themes). Having thus quantified the appearance of eight different themes in both the Spanish and the English data, I was able to compare the proportions of each theme per language, as well as analyse differences and similarities in each language use. This allowed me to come to several conclusions about the functions of English in reggaeton music – conclusions which I will be presenting in Chapter 5.

## 4.2 Questionnaire

For the second part of my analysis, I wanted to study the different attitudes English-speaking Americans and Spanish-speaking Hispanics<sup>64</sup> harbour towards Spanglish CS in Latin pop. I chose to use an online questionnaire to gather my data because it enabled me to get a significant number of responses, which in turn allowed me to gauge the attitudes of different types of speakers on a larger scale than individual interviews would have permitted. Furthermore, it gave me easy access to the demographics I was interested in, something which would have been much harder without the help of the internet. Here again, I will start by describing my collection of the data, before outlining my approach for the analysis of this data.

### 4.2.1 Collection of the questionnaire data

Having in mind what I wanted to find out through the questionnaire,<sup>65</sup> I wrote down a few key questions that would get to the information I needed. I then searched for sociolinguistic studies that utilised questionnaires and used them as inspiration for how to phrase my questions, what type of answers to ask for (graded scales, yes or no answers, free answers, etc.) and the general formatting. Once I was satisfied with my questions, I translated them into Spanish, trying to keep both versions as similar to each other as possible.<sup>66</sup>

The questionnaires consisted of 23 questions. Out of these 23, five targeted the respondents' music-listening habits, out of which three were yes or no questions, one was a multiple-choice question, and one asked them to justify their answer to the previous question in a free-form answer. Two questions asked for their opinion on the use of CS in music and the use of translation in music

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<sup>64</sup> As the two main demographics that consume and produce reggaeton.

<sup>65</sup> That is, an answer to the two research questions I had formulated for this part of my project (see p. 2).

<sup>66</sup> A copy of both versions of the questionnaire is available in Appendix 2.



(with a graded scale from highly negative to highly positive) while another two asked them to enter any and all reasons they could think of which would motivate an artist to use CS or translation in a song. A group of 6 questions targeted the respondents' associations with the English and Spanish languages, as well as with Spanglish; and their associations with the use of these three varieties in music. For these questions, they were first asked to choose as many words as they wanted from a list. This list was the same for the two questions about the same language; that is to say, the options were the same for the questions "What do you associate with the English language?" and "What do you associate with the English language in songs?". This was so I would not skew their results and lead them to pick different answers for the two questions – I wanted to see whether the general associations with the language and the associations with the use of the language in music would be different.<sup>67</sup> I included both positive and negative words in the list, and always included a "dummy" antonym to counteract the terms I was specifically targeting. A second part to each of the six questions allowed the participants to add in any associations that I had not listed. I included this as I wanted to make sure that I was not guiding my results: I wanted to allow the respondents more freedom to express their opinion. Another question asking participants to add any additional comments they might have on the topic of the use of Spanglish in music was created for the same reason. Finally, the last seven questions targeted background information (gender, age, country of birth, country of residence, monolingual or multilingual, languages spoken and dominant language – if applicable).<sup>68</sup>

Having thus written all my questions, I used TypeForm, a website for the creation of online questionnaires, to format both versions of my survey. It allowed me to set some questions as compulsory, which meant the participants had no possibility to skip them. I used this setting for most of the questions, except for the six questions asking the respondents to add words if my suggestions had not corresponded to their opinion and the question about further comments on the topic. My questionnaires now fully ready, I used Amazon's crowdsourcing tool The Mechanical Turk to recruit participants.<sup>69</sup> I offered 0.60 USD for the completion of the questionnaire and was able to restrict the demographics of who would see my ad by country. I knew I wanted 200 responses overall to have a significant but manageable amount of data, which meant 100 answers per questionnaire. First, I requested 100 respondents located in the USA for my English questionnaire. This was the easy part, as the majority of the site's users are American. I reached 100 responses in just a few hours, but I then had to look through every submission to make sure they were filled in correctly or that they had

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<sup>67</sup> For instance, was Spanglish considered cool in music, but unintelligent in everyday life?

<sup>68</sup> These background questions were left to the very end so as not to create fatigue in the respondents at the beginning of the questionnaire.

<sup>69</sup> The ads for each version of the questionnaire were written in their respective languages.

not been submitted without being completed.<sup>70</sup> The majority were usable, but there were 27 responses which I had to discard. I thus reposted the ad and repeated the process until I had reached 100 usable responses.

For the Spanish questionnaire, the process was much more complicated. I had originally decided to create several ads targeted at different countries, according to the major Latino communities mentioned in the literature on Spanglish. I thus posted the questionnaire in three batches: one for Mexican residents, one for Cuban residents and finally one for Puerto Rican residents. However, after a week on the site, I had only received nine answers from Mexicans, and zero for the remaining two countries. I then realized that the service was either not available in those countries, or that the number of users was so low that I would never fulfill my requirements. In the meantime, I had posted the questionnaire for the Spanish users of the website, restricting it to 30 responses – I did not want to have only Spanish respondents, as, while it was interesting to have a sample, I wanted most of my responses to originate from Latin-America, where reggaeton is the most popular. I received these answers quickly but was still stuck when it came to Latin-American respondents. After searching, with no luck, for alternate Spanish-speaking websites where I could pay people to fill in my survey, I decided to try using Amazon Mechanical Turk in a different way: instead of restricting the respondents by location through the settings, I did so manually. I thus posted the ad again, this time for everyone to see, but specified in three places<sup>71</sup> that I would only be accepting (and thus paying for) responses from people who had been born and had grown up in a Latin-American country. Getting through all the answers was a slow process, as many people had ignored my specifications and filled in the questionnaire with nonsense (because they did not speak Spanish) or filled it in correctly but then entered “USA” or even “India” as their country of birth.

Nevertheless, my technique worked, and I ended up with the remaining usable questionnaires I needed. Several of them were from Brazilians, which I was not expecting, but most of them were from Spanish-speaking Latin-American countries. I decided to keep the Brazilian responses<sup>72</sup> as Brazil is also a big consumer of Latin pop, and I was intrigued to find out more about their attitudes towards the Spanglish CS which appears in the genre. With this, therefore, I had reached my goal of 100 responses. In addition, the outcome was perhaps even more desirable than my original plan: instead of having only three countries represented, I ended up with fourteen. The next step was to download all the responses in two Excel spreadsheets<sup>73</sup> (one for each version of the questionnaire) and start calculating statistics of the responses.

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<sup>70</sup> There are users who try to trick requesters so they can earn money without filling in the surveys.

<sup>71</sup> The title of the ad, the description of the ad and the first slide of the questionnaire.

<sup>72</sup> Only those who had filled in the questionnaire correctly and showed good command of the Spanish language.

<sup>73</sup> This is a convenient option offered by Typeform.

## 4.2.2 Analysis of the questionnaire data

My method for the analysis of the questionnaire was a mixed-methods approach, producing quantitative and qualitative analyses. The quantitative aspect consisted of statistics of the different quantifiable responses to the questionnaire, whereas the qualitative side focused on thematic groupings of the free answers I had collected. The quantitative analysis was quite straight-forward for the majority of the questions.<sup>74</sup> For the open-ended questions that I analysed qualitatively, on the other hand, my analysis was slightly more in-depth, as those were the questions that gave me the most material to work with: they were the ones which allowed the participants to express their attitudes without being guided at all. For these, I used thematic analysis. My approach for this qualitative method of analysis was very much data-informed: I approached every single answer individually, for a case-by-case analysis. My process started with the coding of each answer (by assigning it one or several themes), and the creation of groups: once all the answers to one question were coded, I grouped them into overarching categories as they emerged from my close analysis. These different categories could then be grouped into overarching categories themselves. I then went back to the individual answers to make sure they correctly fit into their newly assigned categories, introducing changes where needed. I alternated between these two steps until I was satisfied that my data had been optimally coded into coherent categories. The advantage of such an approach – made possible by the relatively small dataset I was using –<sup>75</sup> is that it eliminates bias: since all the categories are made from the data, rather than trying to fit the data into premade categories, the resulting classification is truly data-informed.

For each of the categories obtained through this method, I included, first, the English answers that corresponded to it, then the Spanish ones. I counted the amount of answers per theme and classified them from most to least common, both overall and for each of the languages. I also calculated percentages which enabled me to see the proportion of each theme in the Spanish and English answers. This highlighted the similarities and differences between the attitudes of these two groups, thus providing me with the data I needed to answer my first research question. With this double approach, I was able to analyse my data in depth: it allowed me to present scientific and quantifiable conclusions through the quantitative approach, but also to go further and deeper thanks to the close reading of the qualitative approach. I believe this mixed-methods perspective provided a holistic view of this part of my data, allowing me to reach valid and informed conclusions.

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<sup>74</sup> For instance, for those that required yes or no answers or where different choices were offered, TypeForm's built-in "summary" section showed me the amount of answers for each option, therefore almost no further work was required on my part.

<sup>75</sup> Only a minority of participants responded to the optional questions.

# 5 Corpus Data: Description and Analysis

This chapter presents the results and conclusions of my analysis of the corpus data. I start with a description of the data, before delving into my analysis of it – starting with a brief note on the composition of the corpus, and what it seems to show about the bilingual trend in reggaeton. I then provide a comparison of the usage of the main lyrical themes that emerged from my corpus in the two languages. In a second sub-section, I contrast the symbolic and discursive functions specific to English with the more semantic, content-building functions of Spanish. A final sub-section presents a summary of my findings.

## 5.1 Data Description

In this sub-section, I provide a description of my corpus data. First, I outline the four main themes which occur the most in the corpus (love, sex, heartbreak and party/dancing) and show that they are used in different proportions by the two languages. I then describe the three themes which seem to represent specific functions of English in the lyrics: bragging, artist/song introduction and filler/excitement building.

### 5.1.1 The four main themes: love, sex, heartbreak and party/dancing

As described in 4.1.2, my analysis of the corpus led me to isolate four main thematic categories in the data: love, sex, heartbreak and party/dancing. Through the establishment of lexical fields and a word-counting approach, I quantified the number of instances of each theme for the two languages. The results are represented in table 5.1 below. It is important to note that this acts more as a sample of the themes in question than as an exhaustive list, as I did not comb through the entirety of the 50 000+ words constituting my corpus. Instead, I looked for specific words. These numbers can nonetheless give us a reasonable idea of the representation of these four main themes in each language.

To be able to compare the proportion of each theme in the Spanish and English lyrics, I first needed to normalise them to the same standard. I did this by calculating the percentage of each theme per language.<sup>76</sup> What emerged was, at first glance, a rather similar result: the percentages for

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<sup>76</sup> For the “love” theme in Spanish, for instance, I calculated what percentage of 42 572 words (the overall amount of Spanish words in the data) 405 words represented. This gave me a percentage of 0.95% (rounded to the nearest tenth).

these four themes are all within similar ranges for both languages. Nevertheless, three out of the four themes do appear in slightly larger proportions in the English lyrics: love, sex and party/dancing (see figure 5.1). The theme of sex specifically seems more correlated with English use: it almost doubles in proportion in the English data, compared to the Spanish data. The only theme which appears more in Spanish than in English is that of heartbreak – the proportion for that theme is exactly double for Spanish compared to English.

Table 5.1. Spanish and English lexical instances of the love, sex, heartbreak and party/dancing themes.

Theme	Spanish	Instances	English	Instances
LOVE	amor/te quiero/me quieres/me quiere/nos queremos	221	Love	35
	corazón	59	heart	8
	sient*/sent*	113	feel*	21
	por siempre/eterno	9	forever	8
	roman*	3	roman*	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>405</b>		<b>73</b>
SEX	sexo	18	sex	5
	culo	5	booty/ass	14
	caliente	14	hot	10
	beso	69	kiss	1
	cuerpo	77	body	20
	labios	16	lips	3
	deseo	16	desire	1
	toc*	29	touch	5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>244</b>		<b>59</b>
HEARTBREAK	duel*/dol*	42	hurt	1
	N/A	N/A	mov* on	3
	sin ti/sin mí/sin ella	46	without	2
	olvid*	115	forget	5
	extrañ*/extran*	17	miss*	6
	sufr*	18	N/A	N/A
	<b>Total</b>	<b>238</b>		<b>17</b>
PARTY/ DANCING	bail*	283	danc*	19
	fiesta	17	party	22
	muev*/muév*/mov*	72	mov*	16
	beb*/tom*/borrach*	35	drink*/drunk	6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>407</b>		<b>63</b>

In order to ascertain the validity of these results, I applied a chi-square statistical significance test to each of the four themes, comparing their use in both languages and accounting for the difference in sample size. See table 5.2 below for an example of the data used for the “love” category. The reason why I chose to apply the test to each category individually, rather than the total, is because the latter approach would not adequately test what I am interested in. Because it is the only theme which favours Spanish rather than English, the “heartbreak” category would skew the data, throwing off the total. A chi-square test on the total for all categories would thus indicate that the results are not fully

statistically significant,<sup>77</sup> even though they individually are. This is because the chi-square test cannot account for the direction of the correlation (positive or negative) if this direction changes from one theme to another.

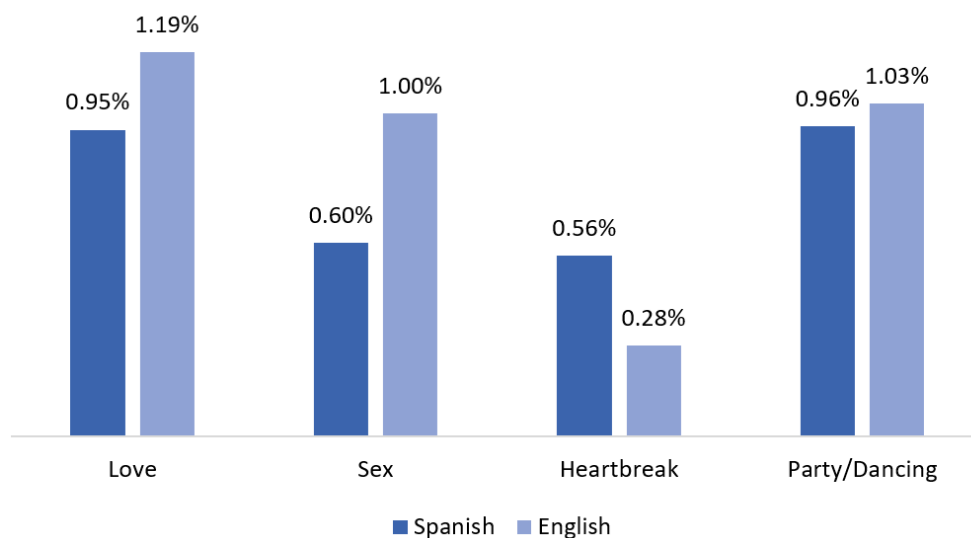


Figure 5.1. Percentage of love, sex, heartbreak and party/dancing themes per language.

Table 5.2. Data used in chi-square test for the “love” category.

Theme	Spanish	English
Love	405	73
All other themes	42167	6026
Total	42572	6099

The p values obtained for the love, sex and heartbreak themes were statistically significant, with  $p=0.0082$ ,  $p=0.0004$  and  $p=0.0061$  respectively. On the other hand, the party/dancing theme yielded a p value of  $p=0.6171$ , which is not statistically significant. This means that I can, with some confidence, discard the null hypothesis and argue for a significant correlation between the use of English and a higher occurrence of the love and sex themes; and between the use of Spanish and a higher occurrence of the theme of heartbreak. On the other hand, the link between English and the party/dancing theme is not significant and could be due to error.

In addition to these general themes, I believe I should include a brief description of the use of a word which appeared in almost every song in my corpus: *baby*. I counted the instances of the word both in Spanish and English, and the results are striking: *baby* appears 284 times in the data, whereas *bebé* (or *bebe*)<sup>78</sup> only appears 146 times. This translates into a proportion of 4.7% of all the English

<sup>77</sup> The result comes out at  $p=0.0719$ .

<sup>78</sup> The lyrics sometimes did not include accents in Spanish, so I searched for both versions of the word.

data for the word *baby*, whereas its Spanish correspondent only accounts for 0.3% of the Spanish data. *Baby* is thus the most frequent English word by a large margin – even function words such as definite article *the* and indefinite article *a* only appear 192 and 149 times respectively. In comparison, *el/la* and *un/una* appear much more than *bebé* in the Spanish lyrics: 2,223 and 636 times against 146 times. Figure 5.2 below shows a comparison of these numbers, translated into percentages per language.

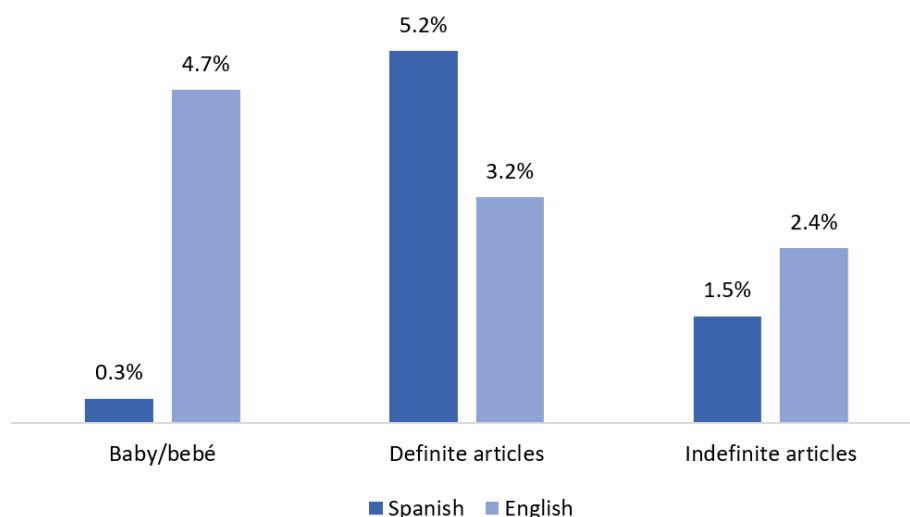


Figure 5.2. Percentage of *baby/bebé*, definite and indefinite articles per language.

I did not include this word in the theme of love, despite its obvious link to the topic, because it is not always clearly used as a hypocorism: I believe it mostly serves as a filler word, which is simply part of the linguistic repertoire of pop music. I will be describing this other function of English as a “filler” language in the next sub-section.

### 5.1.2 Specific functions of English

In addition to the thematic co-occurrence of English and the themes of love and sex, my analysis allowed me to isolate three themes specific to English: bragging, artist/song introduction and filler/excitement building. Indeed, the proportion of these themes in English vastly outdoes that of the Spanish data. Even without being normalised, two of the three categories count many more instances in English than in Spanish. These numbers are summarised in table 5.3.

The first theme I have identified as being specific to English is that of *bragging*. Smitherman (2003) describes the phenomenon, termed *braggadocio*, as a rap style in which the artist uses bragging and bravado to talk about themselves. Williams and Stroud (2014) describe this as a “ubiquitous practice”, which centres around topics such as the rapper’s “sexual exploits, physical

Table 5.3. Instances of bragging, artist/song introduction and filler/excitement building in the Spanish and English data.

Theme	Spanish	English
Bragging	31	25
Artist/song introduction	62	116
Filler/excitement building	32	110

attractiveness, accumulation of money, [...] ‘swagger’ (coolness)” and linguistic skills (p. 128). A few examples from my corpus are presented in (8):

(8) a. Te deseo lo mejor

Y el mejor soy yo

*The King*

**I wish you the best**

**And I am the best**

**The King**

b. *Off the head, yeah, I ain’t never wrote nothing (Facts)*

c. *I guess you can say she gon’ hit the jackpot*

*Yeah, yeah, yeah, this a jack move*

*Now the game mine, yeah, bitch, I’m that smooth*

This theme is the first of the three themes I have pinpointed as correlating with English use, and it is the one with the least difference between English and Spanish. Despite this, the difference in Spanish and English use for this theme is already much more noteworthy than that of the three ones mentioned in the previous section – which, as we saw, were already statistically significant. Indeed, once translated into percentages, the bragging theme represents 0.4% of the English data, but only 0.07% of the Spanish data. It is thus a much more common theme in English than in Spanish.

The next theme is that of artist and song introduction. I was unable to find any linguistic articles discussing this phenomenon, but it is extremely common in the world of mainstream music for singers and rappers to include their own names in their songs (what I have termed *artist introduction*), or information about the song (*song introduction*). This can be done in different ways. Some artists include their names in the lyrics, for instance singer Mohombi: in a song titled *In Your Head* (a remix of the classic song *Zombie* by The Cranberries), he answers the question “Who’s in your head?” by repeatedly singing his name to the melody of the chorus. A second example of the inclusion of an artist’s name in the lyrics is singer Maluma from my corpus, who prefaces his name with the words “y yo so” (“and I am”) (see example (6b), p. 57). Other artists sing their name



somewhere in the song without including it within the lyrics, such as pop and R&B singer Jason Derulo who often prefaces his songs by singing his name to a musical phrase, without linking it to the rest of the lyrics. Finally, some other artists simply speak (or shout) their names in their songs (usually at the beginning or end) without a melodic component, almost like an announcer before a TV performance. This last type is more prevalent in hip-hop, where rapping is more common than singing. It is also the most recurrent type in my corpus, as exemplified in (9a-c). As is visible in (9a), artists often mention their label's name as well.

(9) a. Sharo Torres

*From Miami*

*This is Carbon Fiber Music*

b. *Baby*

Chris Jeday (Chris Jeday)

Austin *man*

J Balvin *man*

Ozuna *baby*, (Ozuna)

c. El Rey

Zion *Baby*

**The King**

**Zion Baby**

Information on the song, on the other hand, is usually spoken rather than sung, and almost always appears in the intro or outro of the songs: 85.7% of the “song introduction” switches appear in these two places, the remaining 14.3% appearing in the verse and bridge – but never the chorus. This type of information, thus, is never included in the main message of the song, but rather as an extra. Below are a few examples from the corpus.

(9) d. La familia

*Remix baby*

*Remix baby*

**The family**

**Remix baby**

**Remix baby**

e. Welcome to the official remix

Na na na, eh

f. Que pa esta liga no se asomen

*One take*

**Don't even try to come into this league**

**One take**

Most instances of song introduction are about the “remix” status of a song, informing the listener that they are listening to a second version (either a translation or changed to include a new featured artist). Some others bring information on the recording of the song, such as example (9f), which informs the listener that the song has been recorded in a single take.

Overall, the artist and song introduction theme also presents a significant difference between Spanish and English, with a frequency of 1.9% in English, and only 0.15% in Spanish.

Finally, the last theme is by far the most notable in terms of the difference between Spanish and English use: it represents 1.8% of the English data, but only 0.07% of the Spanish data. The word “theme” might not be the most adequate to describe this group, however, as its switches do not share a common meaning. This category is made up of disparate lyrics, their common factor being that they are all meant to fill the rhythmic structure, rather than a semantic field. In English, fillers are words such as “yeah” or “alright”, and what I term *excitement building* phrases are exclamations such as “come on” or “turn up the music” – as shown in examples (10a-c) for the former, and (10d-f) for the latter. The Spanish data includes similar interjections: “sigue” (“continue”), “un, dos, tres” (“one, two, three”), “¡rumba!” (“dance!”), but they are much less frequent.

(10) a. La noche está para un reggaetón lento (*Yeah, hey*)

**The night calls for a slow reggaeton (Yeah, hey)**

b. Tú y yo solitos mami hasta el amanecer, *Ok!*

**You and I girl alone until dawn, Ok!**

c. Y lo hacemos otro rato (*alright, alright baby*)

**And we do it another time (alright, alright baby)**

e. *Ok, The Business*

*1, 2, 3*

*Let's go*

f. Oye! (*Turn up the riddim*)

**Hey! (Turn up the riddim)**

g. Ponle música pa' que esto no pare (*You ready?*)

### **Play music so this doesn't stop (You ready?)**

In English, this theme strongly correlates with stereotypical phrases from pop music: 107 out of 110 of the switches categorised as “filler/excitement building” instances are also classified as “stereotypical word” and “stereotypical phrase” (72 and 35 switches respectively).

The three specific functions of English I have described in this sub-section (bragging, artist/introduction and filler/excitement building) are obviously linked to English use, even from a glance. Nevertheless, I once again submitted my data to a chi-square test, in order to get a p value which could give me an even clearer view of the statistical significance of my findings. I applied the test to the total of all three functions for each language. Table 5.4 shows the data used in the test.

Table 5.4. Data used in chi-square test for the bragging, artist/song introduction and filler/excitement building themes.

Theme	Spanish	English
Bragging, artist/song introduction and filler/excitement building themes	125	251
All other themes	42447	5848
Total	42572	6099

The p value I obtained was  $p < 0.0001$  – making the link between the themes and English use statistically significant, as expected.

### **5.1.3 Description of the data: summary**

This overview of my corpus data shows that there is a definite divide between English and Spanish in terms of lyrical themes. English is used to talk about love and sex more than Spanish, and correlates even more with the topics of bragging, artist/song introduction and filler/excitement building. Spanish, on the other hand, is used to discuss heartbreak much more than English; the only of my main themes which correlates more with Spanish than English. These differences are intriguing, and I will be attempting to offer explanations for them in the analysis section which follows.

## **5.2 Data Analysis: English use in reggaeton: a growing trend?**

Having described the corpus data, it is time to delve into my analysis of it. Let us start the analysis portion of this chapter with a brief note on the composition of the corpus, as this data offers

compelling information. If we go back to table 4.1 (p. 52) and translate it into percentages,<sup>79</sup> a trend becomes noticeable: the proportion of reggaeton songs containing English (and thus, containing CS) has evolved rather strikingly over the corpus's five-year timespan. Figure 5.3 offers a visual representation of this evolution.

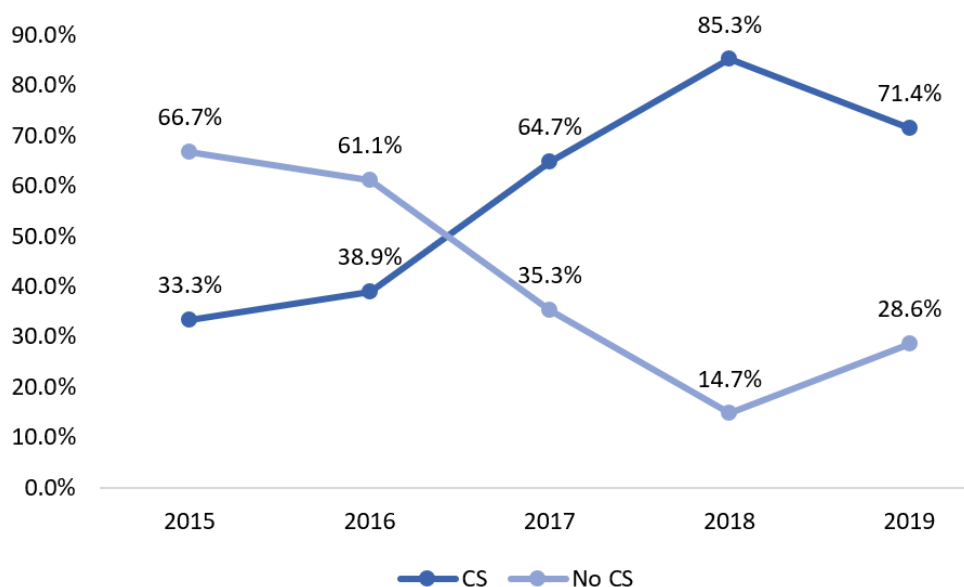


Figure 5.3. Evolution of the percentage of CS and non-CS songs in the corpus, by year (N=178).

As we can see, the amount of songs containing CS becomes significantly higher in 2017 with an inversion in composition, from most of the top 20 songs being in monolingual Spanish in the first two years, to the majority containing Spanglish in 2017. This trend continues to go up in the following years, with 2018 marking a peak in the amount of songs containing English. The proportion of these songs stays notably high in 2019, making the proportion of monolingual-Spanish songs in the top 20 drop to an average of only 21.6% for 2018 and 2019 combined. In comparison, they hold a comfortable majority in 2015 and 2016, representing 63.9% of the top 20 songs during these two years combined. These numbers seem to show that, at the very least, songs using English have become much more popular, or even that the use of Spanish-English CS has become a requirement of the genre. This trend would have to be confirmed by the charts of the next few years as well as a bigger sample size, but the pattern is striking so far. Further analysis of the phenomenon is certainly warranted.

## 5.3 Data Analysis: lyrical content of English and Spanish

<sup>79</sup> Rounded to the nearest tenth.

This section of the analysis of my data offers a comparison of the lyrical content of English and Spanish, starting with a description of the stereotypical use of English in the songs, as opposed to the much broader use of Spanish. I then outline the syntactic and semantic features of English use in reggaeton in the second and third sub-sections. Lastly, I summarise my conclusions regarding the thematic purposes served by English in my corpus.

### 5.3.1 English in reggaeton: a stereotypical use

As shown in 5.1.1, Spanish and English have different preferred themes. Here, I will provide a closer analysis of the language used in these themes. A striking feature of my data is that the use of English appears much more stereotypical than the use of Spanish. One example of this is the frequency of the word “baby” (see pp. 66-67): as one of the most used words in pop music, if not *the* most used word,<sup>80</sup> it has become iconic of the genre, leading to its use in songs that are entirely in another language. I would argue that it almost serves as a non-language-specific word, but rather as a *genre*-specific word. Ten songs in the corpus display this use of the word:<sup>81</sup> they are all entirely in Spanish except for occurrences of the word *baby*. I believe that *baby* carries more metainformation (about the genre of the song) than semantic content. Indeed, while it is at times used as a referent (i.e. “my baby”), it is very often used as an expletive outside of a sentence (i.e. “oh yeah, baby”), sometimes just so the singer can perform a melisma or fill in the rhythmic structure. It is because of this lack of semantic meaning that I did not include the word *baby/bebé* within the lexical field of love.

Another feature of my data which shows the stereotypical use of English, as opposed to Spanish, is the languages’ respective thematic correlations: English is associated with love and sex, whereas Spanish is linked to the heartbreak theme. This follows what has been described in the literature on English CS in music – the local language is often used for more personal or emotional topics, whereas English often serves the purpose of internationalising the song through the use of stereotypical words and phrases.<sup>82</sup> This globalising function often correlates with stereotypical pop music themes such as love, sex and partying, whereas the local language mostly co-occurs with more authentic, “from-the-heart” themes. As such, the lexical field of heartbreak is more easily accessed in the mother-tongue (which is Spanish for most of these singers)<sup>83</sup> whereas typical song topics can be accessed in both. This also explains why most of the main themes I identified are more correlated

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<sup>80</sup> In my data, even other stereotypical pop music words such as *yeah* and *no* come far behind *baby* in terms of frequency.

<sup>81</sup> “Sin Contrato” (Maluma), “Vacaciones” (Wisin), “Te Quiero Pa’ mí” (Don Omar & Zion & Lennox), “Escápate Conmigo” (Wisin Featuring Ozuna), “Qué Va” (Alex Sensation & Ozuna), “Única” (Ozuna), “El Clavo” (Prince Royce Featuring Maluma), “Culpables” (Karol G & Anuel AA), “Amanece” (Anuel AA & Haze), “Imposible” (Luis Fonsi & Ozuna).

<sup>82</sup> As happens in diglossic situations between Low and High varieties.

<sup>83</sup> 73.5% of all switches were performed by singers whose first language was Spanish, and a further 10.4% were bilingual (Spanish-English).

with English: since English offers a smaller range of themes in my data, it is natural that the three main ones (love, sex and party/dancing) are slightly overrepresented in comparison with the Spanish data, which deals with a much wider variety of topics.

### 5.3.2 Syntactic features of English in reggaeton

In addition to diverging thematic uses, my corpus also showed a difference in syntactic use between the two languages. I described on p. 67 a difference in the frequency of function words such as *a* and *the* in the two languages. This contrast can be explained by the difference in the syntactic make-up of English and Spanish passages. English passages are often limited to shorter units such as NPs, which are by far the most common category, representing 221 of the switches (or 50.1%).<sup>84</sup> In comparison, the second most common type, “other”, only accounts for 23.1% of the data, and the other two, “longer constituent” and “VP”, for 18.1% and 15.9% respectively. NPs often contain an English noun head with the determiner in Spanish, such as examples (7a-c) (determiners underlined). Thus, they rarely contribute any English function words.

(7) a. los dueños del *flow* verdadero

**the owners of the real flow**

b. Tú tienes un *booty booty* mami

**You have a booty booty girl**

c. El otro es medio loco, con veinte tatuajes y ese *swing* de calle

**The other one is half mad, with twenty tattoos and that street swing**

In addition, the “other” category includes grammatical units such as APs and PPs as well as expletives such as “yeah”, all of which also rarely include articles or other function words, and the VP category follows the same pattern.

English use, thus, is mostly limited to single nouns or short phrases inserted within Spanish grammatical structures. This fits within the equivalence constraint described by Poplack (see pp. 27-28): where the syntactic structures of the two languages overlap, words from either language can be inserted freely. NPs are the easiest constituents to switch because of the complementary syntaxes of Spanish and English – VPs, for instance, are more difficult to switch because Spanish has a much more complex inflection pattern than English – making them the most common type of switches in

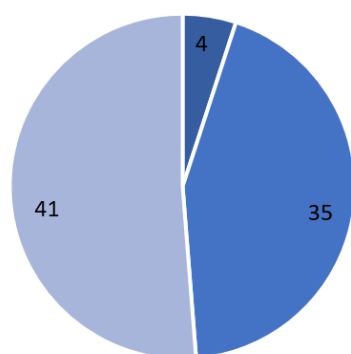
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<sup>84</sup> This category was cumulative, however, so a switch being classified as “NP” could also have contained a switch of a different grammatical type – this was the case for some intra-sentential switches, where the lyrics went back and forth between Spanish and English. There were only 29 such switches, however.

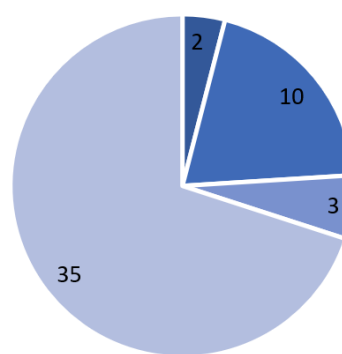
my corpus. In fact, only 18.1% of the switches in my corpus (those which are classified as “longer constituents”) do not fit this pattern. Interestingly, out of 80 switches constituting these 18.1%, 41 are classified as belonging to “stand-alone” songs (songs without a translation), 4 as coming from “original” songs (the original version of songs which do have a translation), and 35 as appearing in translated versions.

This is significant because, despite the majority of these switches appearing in stand-alone songs, the translation type is highly overrepresented: the vast majority of the songs in my corpus are stand-alones, accounting for 357 switches, or 80.9% of all switches. Most categories should therefore be made up of a similar majority of switches classified as this song type, yet the “longer constituent” category is only made up of 51.2% such switches. The rest of the switches are in large part classified as translations (43.7%), and these 35 “translation” switches represent 70% of *all* switches classified as belonging to a translated song. See figure 5.4 for a visual representation of these percentages.

"Longer constituent" switches



"Translation" switches



■ Original ■ Translation ■ Stand-alone

■ NP ■ VP ■ other ■ longer constituent

Figure 5.4. Composition of the “longer constituent” and “translation” categories in terms of song type and grammatical type, respectively (N=80; N=50).

In other words, the longer English passages which contain more words, and thus more semantic and syntactic content, were not composed directly in English. Rather, they were composed to fit an already-existing melody and lyrical theme,<sup>85</sup> and were originally written in Spanish. Even the small portion of switches which include more complex use of English (with longer grammatical units), therefore, were in large part not originally intended to be in English. This entails that English is rarely

<sup>85</sup> I say “lyrical theme” and not “lyrics” because the word *translation* should be taken as a loose term: most English versions of Spanish songs depart significantly from the original meaning of the song, following melodic structure rather than lyrics. This is a natural phenomenon when translating songs, as melody is much more essential than meaning – it is not like translating a book. See Low (2003) for a description of the difficulties of translating songs while respecting the original meaning, and an account of different strategies used in the field of music translation.

chosen to convey the central meaning of the lyrics, or to act as the grammatical matrix language. In fact, 83.2% of all switches are categorised as having Spanish as their matrix language, whereas only 8.6% have English as their matrix language.<sup>86</sup>

### 5.3.3 Semantic features of English in reggaeton

In terms of the semantic aspect, the “intimacy” category (which classifies switches according to the intimate or non-intimate nature of the topics it discusses) seems to confirm my claim that Spanish, as the matrix language, is used to convey emotional and personal meanings much more than English, the embedded language. Indeed, the majority of the switches studied fall into the “non-intimate topic” option: 275 out of 441, or 62.3%, with only 152 switches (34.5%) addressing intimate topics, as represented in figure 5.5.<sup>87</sup>

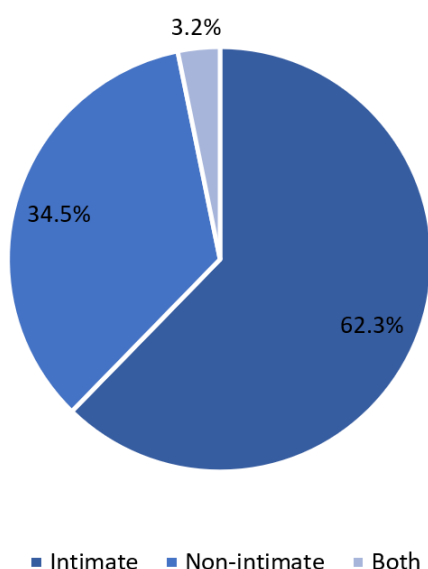


Figure 5.5. Percentage of intimate and non-intimate switches (N=441).

Even then, the label of “intimate topic” was assigned to all switches which used the word “baby” in a romantic context.<sup>88</sup> As I have shown, however, the word *baby* is the most recurring English word in my data, and one could argue that it is sometimes used in a way that is more aesthetic than truly semantic. Nevertheless, I classified it as “intimate” whenever the surrounding semantic context referred to emotions or sex. This is because, in such contexts, it was difficult to discern whether the use of the word truly carried the thematic meaning of love, or whether it was

<sup>86</sup> The remaining 8.2% have a mixed Spanish-English matrix language (or *composite matrix language*, in Myers-Scotton’s terms).

<sup>87</sup> The remaining 3.2% correspond to the 14 switches which were categorised as both intimate and non-intimate.

<sup>88</sup> That is, when used to refer to a lover, as opposed to the use which I have defined as a *reflexive hypocorism*, where the artists refer to themselves – for instance when singer Maluma introduces himself by saying “Maluma baby” (see p. 57).



used as a filler word – typical of the pop genre – and just happened to be used within a paragraph about love (love being, after all, the most common topic in the genre). Many of the switches classified as “intimate” could therefore reasonably be argued to carry less emotional meaning than the majority of the Spanish lyrics, and the percentage of English passages containing intimate themes could be even lower than 34.5%. Spanish, thus, seems to be used to build the actual meaning of the songs much more than English, which is logical considering how many more Spanish words appear in my data than English words. Because Spanish is often the matrix language and the first language of the singers, it is used for everything: to create both intimate and non-intimate meaning, to structure the song, to refer to a multitude of different themes and topics, etc. English, on the other hand, as the secondary language, is used much more sparingly and seems to serve very specific purposes.

### **5.3.4 Thematic function of English: Summary**

In conclusion, my analysis of the thematic function of English and Spanish revealed that the main lyrical themes in my data are not too different in proportion for the two languages, with the topics of love, sex, heartbreak and partying accounting for 3.5% of the English data and 3.0% of the Spanish data. A difference between Spanish and English thematic use emerged nonetheless: my analysis showed that English tends more towards two stereotypically pop themes (love and sex), and discusses them more than the Spanish lyrics, whereas Spanish has a much higher percentage of the “heartbreak” theme – twice that of English. In addition, there is a difference in syntactic and semantic types: Spanish contributes the bulk of the thematic meaning and the bulk of the syntactic structures through longer constituents, whereas English contributes stereotypical words (usually nouns and other content words) via smaller constituents.

## **5.4 Data Analysis: specific functions of English**

As I have shown in the previous section, the function of English in my corpus is not primarily semantic. This leads me to wonder what specific functions English serves in reggaeton songs. In 5.1.2, I isolated three themes specific to English (bragging, artist/song introduction and filler/excitement building). In this section of the chapter, I attempt to give explanations as to why these three themes are so strongly linked with English, and what functions they serve. I argue, first, that the bragging and artist/song introduction themes’ link with English can be explained through the concept of language indexicalities. In a second sub-section, I posit that the use of English filler words reflects the aesthetic component of music. I summarise my hypotheses about the functions of English in reggaeton music in a final sub-section.

### 5.4.1 Language indexicalities: English as indexical of hip hop

My explanation for the link between English and the bragging and artist/song introduction themes is the same: I argue that both themes are strongly associated with American hip-hop music, as both trends were started by US rappers. The *braggadocio* motif, for instance, is closely associated with American rap, as can be seen in scholars' descriptions of the phenomenon.<sup>89</sup> I propose that these two themes are also linked to the English language itself; more specifically, the acts of introducing an artist and bragging in a song are linked to the type of AAVE used in rap songs.

If we use Trudgill's idea that singers emulate the accents and lexicon of the groups they look up to, we could argue that singers also emulate the speech styles or *themes* addressed by the artists they are inspired by. Indeed, if we go back to the indexicality of language theory, it is possible to consider the use of English in pop music as being indexical of the US's cultural and social views. This is the case, for instance, of pop music in the Eastern Asian context, where English can be used to express sexual topics deemed too daring or even taboo in the local languages.<sup>90</sup> Following this idea, this could mean that, at an even closer level, English can be indexical of the themes of the pop genre – or in this case, the hip-hop genre – within the music industry. I posit that this use of English to bring meaning through indexicality is a type of discourse function: it classifies the text as belonging (at least partly) to the genre of hip-hop. I will develop this idea further in my discussion chapter.

### 5.4.2 Filler words: and aesthetic function

As I described on p. 71, filler/excitement building words strongly correlate with stereotypical English phrases in my corpus. This is unsurprising, as I would argue that this use of English is the one which carries the least meaning, serving much more of an aesthetic purpose than a semantic or even lyrical one. Whereas the two other themes (bragging and artist/song introduction) do convey meaning, although not necessarily lyrical meaning, this one serves different purposes. This lack of meaning is proven by the fact that filler/excitement building insertions are often at odds with the content of the surrounding lyrics, showing that their function is not semantic at all: see examples (11a-b).

(11) a. *Esto no me gusta*, oh yeah

**I don't like this, oh yeah**

b. *Sin ti mi vida no conduce a nada.*

*Come on*

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<sup>89</sup> See pp. 67-68.

<sup>90</sup> See pp. 47-48.

**Without you my life doesn't lead to anything**

**Come on**

The purposes served by such a use of English, thus, are very different from the semantic, thematic uses described in section 5.3. The three specific ones I have identified are as follows: creating an interactive impression for the listener (who can feel like the artist is talking to them); filling melodic gaps with words which do not carry any real semantic meaning; and creating a rhythm without a semantic goal. In the first function, the aim is to create excitement for the listener, in the other two, it is purely musical: the melody is put to the forefront and lyrics become a secondary objective.

### **5.4.3 Specific functions of English: summary**

In sum, I believe that English use in reggaeton songs is much more linked to a stereotypical and aesthetic function than a semantic one, as opposed to Spanish. This is achieved through the use of stereotypical motifs and stereotypical words which are associated with certain music genres – in the case of reggaeton, these genres are mainly pop and hip hop.

## **5.5 Summary of the corpus findings**

In conclusion, the analysis of my corpus shows that Spanish and English adopt very different functions in reggaeton songs. Spanish, as the matrix language in the overwhelming majority of songs, creates the semantic and syntactic structure of the songs, contributing the majority of the lyrical meaning. English, on the other hand, appears much more scarcely, and serves a more aesthetic purpose through five major themes – love, sex, bragging, artist/song introduction and filler/excitement building. All five themes' link to English is statistically significant, with the last three showing a particularly strong correlation with English. On the other hand, Spanish exhibits a stronger connection with the topic of emotion, with a statistically significant link to the theme of "heartbreak". This proves the divide between the local language (Spanish) and the globalising language (English): one is used widely and for many different themes, whereas the other is used much less and only for specific stereotypical themes.

# 6 Questionnaire Data: Description and Analysis

In this chapter, I summarise the results of my questionnaire data analysis. As with chapter 5, I start by describing the data, before delving into the conclusions of my analysis. The data description begins with a brief section on the participants, followed by a comparison of the results obtained from my Spanish and English respondents. This comparison is separated into two parts: one dedicated to the quantitatively analysed results, and another to the answers I analysed qualitatively. A short summary of the results concludes the description portion of the chapter. The analysis portion, on the other hand, is structured thematically: I propose several hypotheses to explain different aspects of the questionnaire results. To close the chapter, a final section provides a summary of my questionnaire findings.

## 6.1 Data Description: Participants

A brief description of my participants is in order. In this section, I give some stats on the respondents to my questionnaire – gender, age, country of origin/residence, monolingualism/multilingualism and languages spoken.

### 6.1.1 Gender and age

Starting with gender, both versions of the questionnaire elicited more male respondents than female respondents, with the Spanish version presenting a slightly bigger divide: 63% male participants and 37% female, as opposed to 54% and 46% for the English questionnaire. In terms of age, the Spanish-speaking respondents (henceforth SSR<sup>91</sup>) presented a mean age of 32.3, against 36.1 for the English-speaking respondents (henceforth ESR<sup>92</sup>). The English speakers were thus slightly older than their Spanish-speaking counterparts, although the median for both languages is quite close – 33 for the former, and 30 for the latter. The overall mean age (for all 200 participants) was 34.2, with a median of 31.5. The youngest and oldest participants were 18 and 76.<sup>93</sup>

### 6.1.2 Country of origin and country of residence

The country of origin of the participants was the USA for almost all ESR (91%), with another nine

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<sup>91</sup> Used interchangeably with “Hispanic respondents”.

<sup>92</sup> Used interchangeably with “American respondents”.

<sup>93</sup> The differences in gender and age are not statistically significant, but can add to the overview of my data.

countries represented. As for the SSR, there was a total of 14 countries of origin, and a much more distributed spread. I also asked participants for their current country of residence, as certain attitudes might be explained by their moving to a different country. All ESR resided in the USA (as expected, since I specifically restricted my ad to that country) whereas SSR were, again, spread over 14 countries (although not the same as the countries of origin). All this information is summarised in table 6.1.

Table 6.1. Country of origin and country of residence for Spanish-speaking and English-speaking participants (N=200).

	<b>Country of origin</b>		<b>Country of residence</b>	
<b>Spanish-speaking participants</b>	Spain	29	Spain	37
	Mexico	20	USA	27
	Colombia	11	Mexico	14
	Brazil	9	Brazil	8
	Argentina	7	Colombia	3
	Puerto Rico	7	Puerto Rico	2
	Venezuela	7	Venezuela	2
	Cuba	3	Canada	1
	Chile	2	Costa Rica	1
	Costa Rica	1	England	1
	Dominican R.	1	France	1
	Ecuador	1	Italy	1
	Honduras	1	Norway	1
	Uruguay	1	Peru	1
<b>English-speaking participants</b>	USA	91	USA	100
	Bahamas	1		
	China	1		
	Dominican R.	1		
	France	1		
	Israel	1		
	Korea	1		
	Nigeria	1		
	Philippines	1		
	Romania	1		

As is immediately visible, a large part of the SSR had moved to the USA (27%), which could impact their views of CS: living in a Hispanic-American community might have made them more familiar with Spanglish, whereas Latinos who had remained in their country of origin might have more of an outsider perspective.

### 6.1.3 Monolingualism and multilingualism

In terms of monolingualism and multilingualism, there was a clear divide: respondents to the English

version of the questionnaire were in majority monolingual (56%), whereas the opposite was true of the SSR – 93% of whom were multilingual. However, I believe it is important to note that the Spanish data is somewhat skewed: the fact that only 7% of the respondents were monolingual is not representative of the Spanish-speaking populations of the different countries represented in my data. Despite the range of ages, which was in fact quite broad, the majority were still rather young, as is reflected by the mean and median age. An older population would likely have less knowledge of English and other languages.<sup>94</sup> Secondly, one must remember that the individuals who found my ad were not only internet users (who, thus, might encounter English much more than those who do not use the internet) but more specifically users of Amazon Mechanical Turk – which, as I mentioned in the Methods chapter, is heavily US-dominated. This entails that most of the ads on the site are also in English, and thus that a majority of the users understand English.

### 6.1.4 Languages spoken

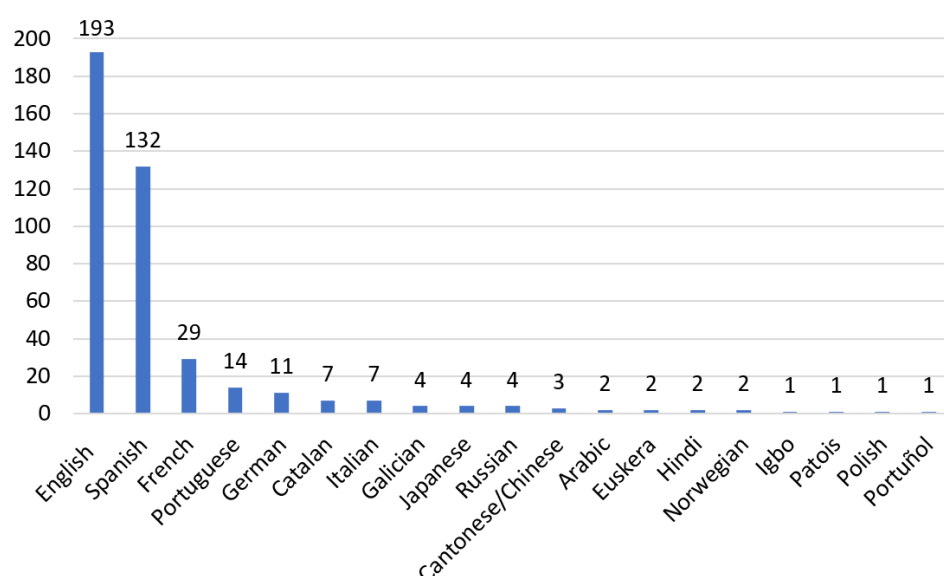


Figure 6.1. Languages spoken by the questionnaire participants, from most to least spoken (N=200).

A total of 19 languages is represented in my data, English being the most spoken, closely followed by Spanish. This is not surprising, considering that the vast majority of SSR were multilingual (all of them including English as one of their second languages), whereas the majority of ESR only spoke English. See figure 6.1 for a representation of all the languages spoken by the participants.<sup>95</sup> Of my 200 participants, only 34% did not speak any Spanish at all. Of the remaining 66% who did speak Spanish (132 participants), 3.8% indicated speaking “a bit” of Spanish, “some” Spanish or “broken” Spanish.

<sup>94</sup> See Escobar (2012).

<sup>95</sup> It is worth noting that this is self-reported data, so there is no way of knowing for certain how proficient the participants are in the languages that they report. It is probable that some of them over-represent their degree of bi- or multilingualism.

Another 19.7% reported speaking English and Spanish equally, and a further 27.3% cited Spanish as a second language.<sup>96</sup> For the rest (65 participants, or 49.2% of those who cited Spanish as a language they could speak), Spanish was indicated as the first and dominant language. Figure 6.2 offers a visual representation of this distribution.

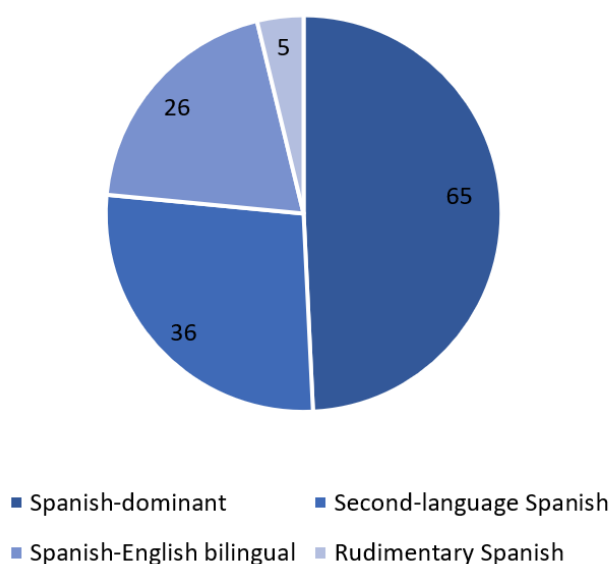


Figure 6.2. Level of Spanish proficiency for all participants indicating speaking Spanish.

## 6.2 Data Description: Quantitative Portion

I start my description of the results obtained with the Spanish and English questionnaires with the quantitative analysis portion, which focuses on the close-ended questions I asked the participants. I follow the structure of my questionnaire in this description, outlining the results for each of the relevant questions one by one.

### 6.2.1 Attitudes to CS and translation in music

As a first question, the participants were asked whether they regularly listened to reggaeton. A vast majority answered that they did for both groups, although the American respondents had a slightly larger percentage: 76% of the SSR answered yes, against 78% of the ESR. The next two questions targeted the participants' attitudes to CS and translation in music: first, they were asked to rate the use of English words in Spanish-language songs (by Spanish-speaking artists) from highly negative to highly positive. Then, they were asked to do the same in regard to the translation of Spanish-

<sup>96</sup> That is to say, they mentioned Spanish as one of their languages but indicated another language (most often English, but also Portuguese, Catalan or Galician) as their dominant language.

language songs into English. Their answers show that the SSR are much more negative than their American counterparts, especially when it comes to translation. See figures 6.3 and 6.4 below for a visual representation of both groups' answers. As we can see, the use of CS in music is mostly considered neutral by the SSR, whereas the most chosen option for the ESR is "positive". The latter group also has more "highly positive" ratings than the former, which has many more "negative" and "highly negative" ratings – this last option, in fact, is absent from the ESR's answers.

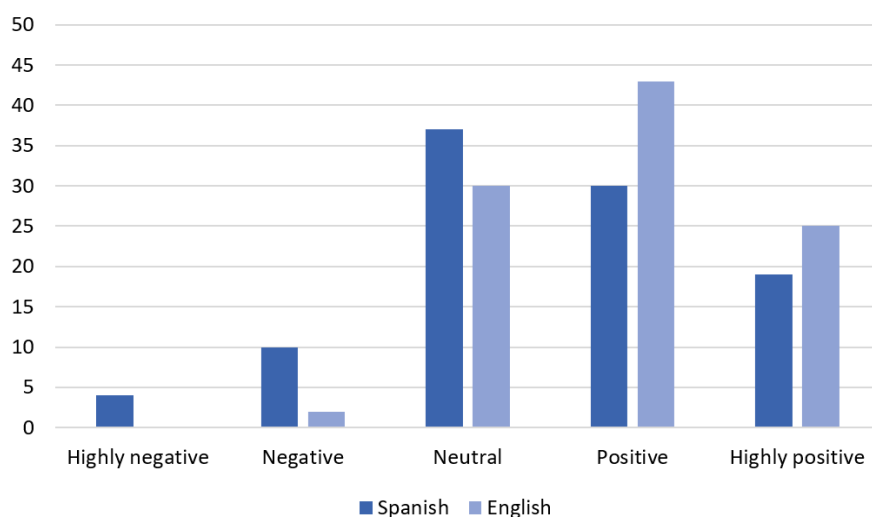


Figure 6.3. SSR and ESR ratings of the use of English in songs by Spanish-speaking artists (N=200).

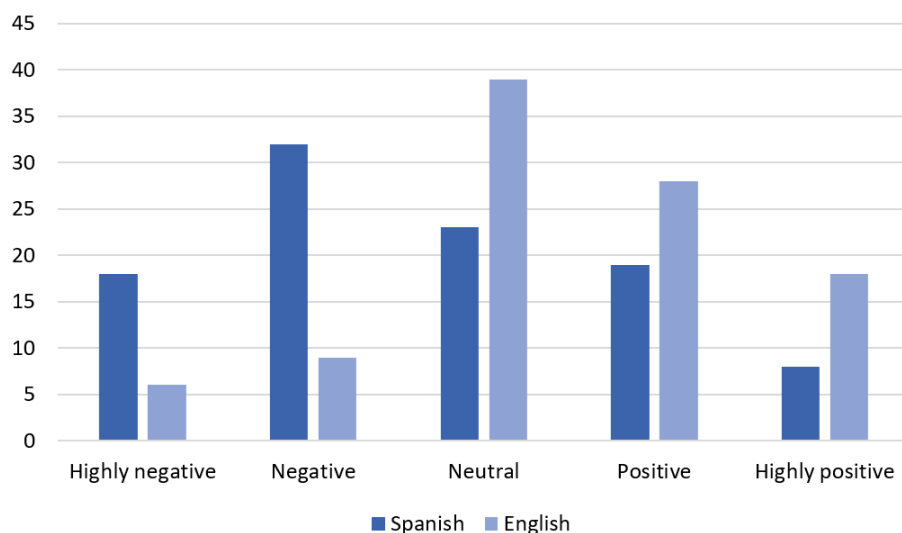


Figure 6.4. SSR and ESR ratings of the translation of Spanish-language songs into English(N=200).

The results for the translation topic, however, are the most divisive by far: figure 6.4 shows an almost symmetrical spread for the two groups. The SSR's most selected answer is "negative", whereas it is "neutral" for the ESR. On the other hand, the majority of the American participants chose "positive" or "highly positive". This is in direct contrast with the SSR, who, whilst more spread out over all five options, weigh much more on the negative side of the scale.



## 6.2.2 Associations with Spanish and English

The next questions which I analysed quantitatively can be grouped together, as they are the three questions which targeted the participants' general associations with Spanish, English and Spanglish. Starting with Spanish and English, see figures 6.5 and 6.6 for a summary of the nouns and adjectives associated with each language by the two groups of participants (the associations with the languages in the context of music will be discussed later).

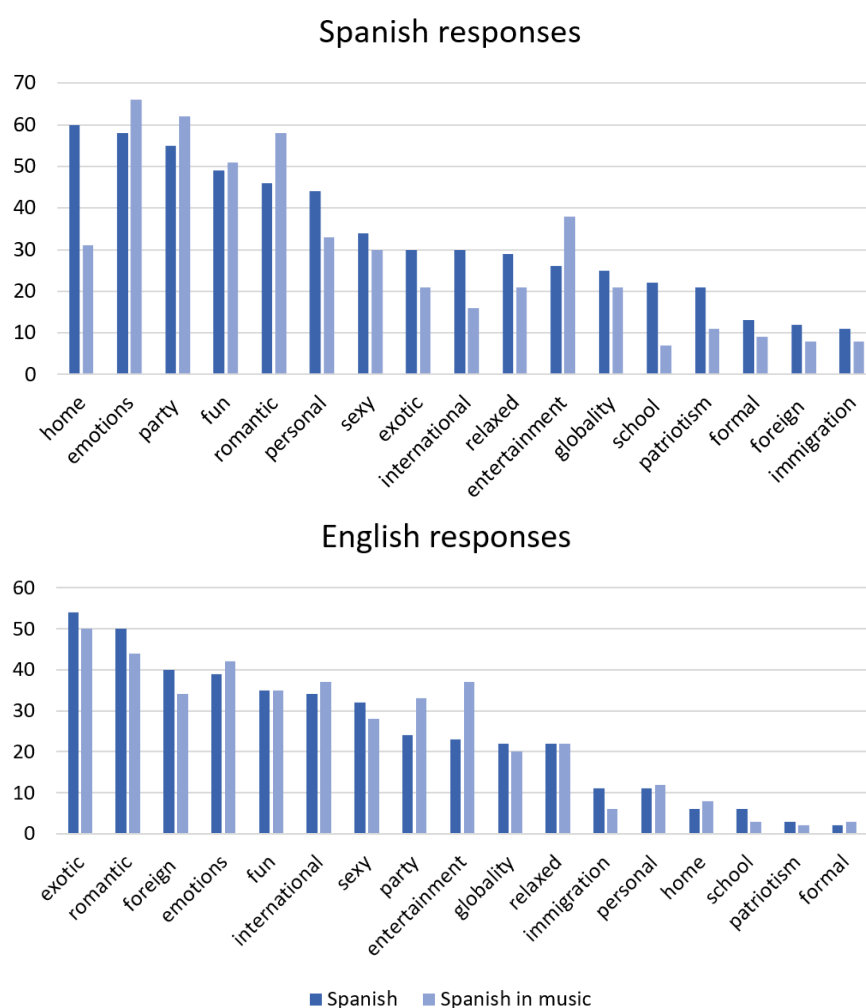


Figure 6.5. Associations with Spanish and Spanish in music for the SSR and ESR (N=200).

For the SSR, Spanish is associated with home and emotions, whereas English is associated with globality, the mainstream, and the entertainment industry. Likewise, for the ESR, English is associated with Americanness and home (although the “entertainment” and “mainstream” qualities of the language are also mentioned) whereas Spanish is seen as exotic, romantic and foreign. Where the data becomes interesting is where it does differ between each group of speakers: their answers allow us to see the differing associations – often symbolic – which each language carries for those

who do not speak it.<sup>97</sup> Spanish, according to the results of my English questionnaire, is mainly viewed by Americans as an “exotic”, “romantic”, “emotional” and “fun” language: these are the four most chosen words. On the other hand, English is viewed by Hispanics as “international”, “American”, “global” and “cool”.

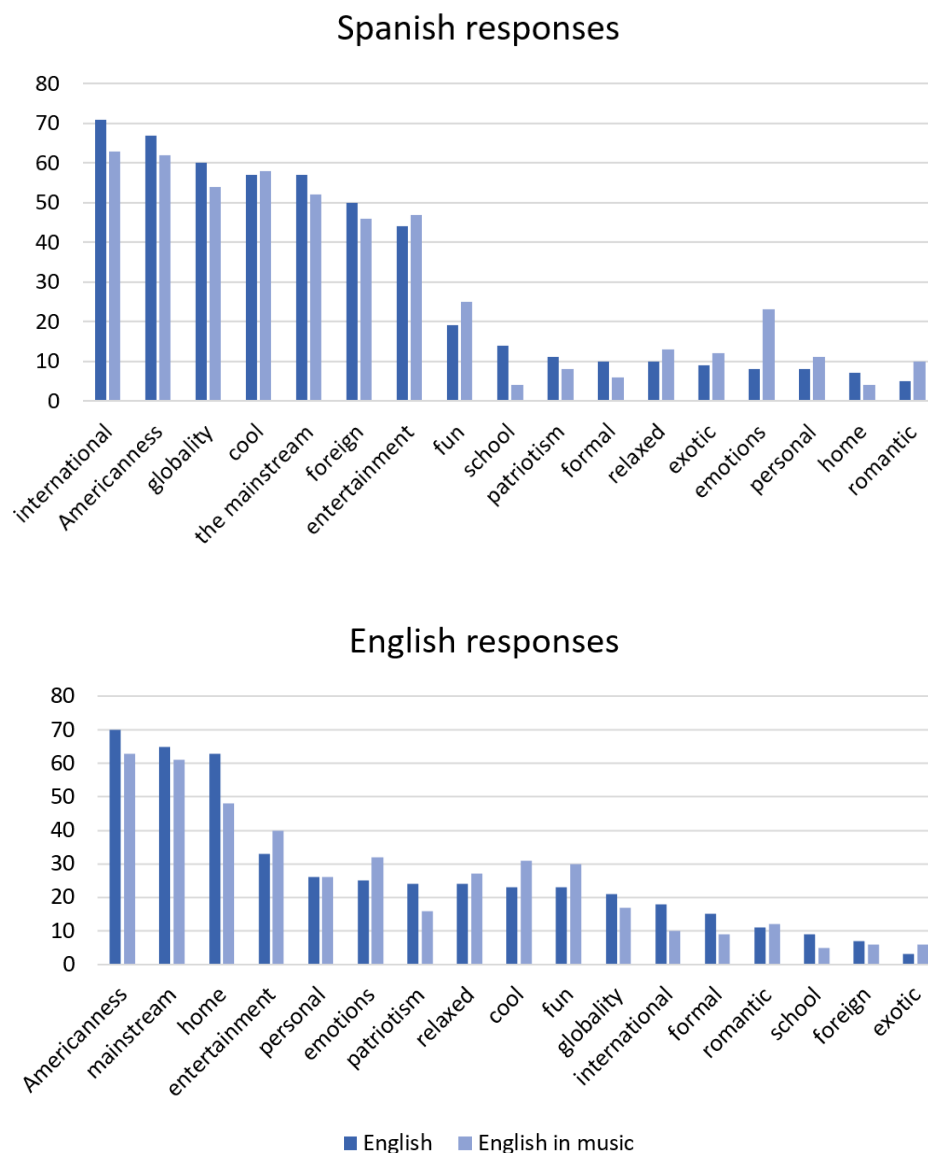


Figure 6.6. Associations with English and English in music for SSR and ESR (N=200).

### 6.2.3 Associations with Spanglish

Let us now turn to the associations of each group with Spanglish, as they are crucial to my analysis.

Figure 6.7 summarises the results.

<sup>97</sup> Or at least, those who do not speak it as a first language.

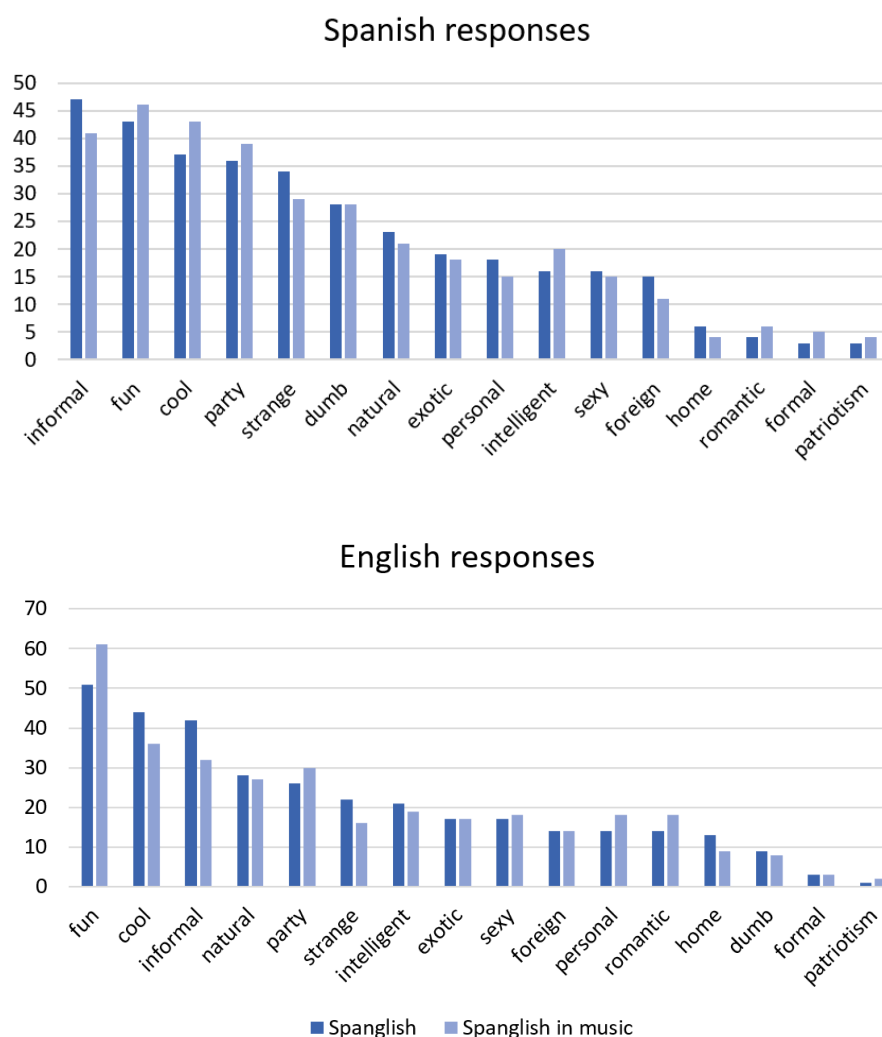


Figure 6.7. Associations with Spanglish and Spanglish in music for SSR and ESR (N=200).

The three top associations with Spanglish are the same for both groups: “informal”, “fun” and “cool”, although in different orders. They also both rank “party” and “strange” in similar places. However, the overall rankings are once again much more negative for the Spanish-speaking group than the English-speaking one. Indeed, the former has “dumb” as the sixth association, whereas it is much lower on the list for the latter (fourteenth, or second-to-last). On the contrary, the ESR have “intelligent” as the seventh association. The adjective “natural”, in addition, is classified as fourth for the Americans, whereas it only appears in seventh place for the Hispanics. This again shows a difference in perception of the code-switched variety, which is mostly described in positive or neutral terms by the ESR, as opposed to the SSR, who use pejorative words in larger proportions.

## 6.2.4 Associations with Spanish and English in music

The second group of questions targeting participants’ attitudes asked them to choose the words

which best described their associations with Spanish, English and Spanglish specifically within the context of music.<sup>98</sup> The language which presents the most difference between the general associations and the musical associations is Spanish, specifically for the SSR. Indeed, if we go back to figure 6.5, we can see that the top general association, “home”, falls by almost half (60% to 31%) and is replaced by “emotions”, which climbs up to 66% (from 58%).

Another interesting change that can be pointed out is that the spread is much less even: the top answer, which was picked by 60% of participants in the general associations question, now unites 66% of the respondents. All the top answers are similarly close to unanimous, with two words in the 60s (“emotions” and “party”) and another two in the 50s (“romantic” and “fun”), and several words in the single digits on the other end of the scale. On the other hand, the general associations had many mid-level words (in the 30 and 40 percents), and no words with less than 10% picks. Spanish in music, thus, seems to elicit a more unified perception, one which is characterised by an emotive and romantic side as well as a fun and party aspect. The ESR do not follow this pattern, however: their associations with Spanish in music barely deviate from their associations with the language in general. Only two words evolve from the first to the second question: “party” and “entertainment”.

Moving on to associations with English in music, there is not much to be said: both the American and Hispanic groups report very similar associations with English in general and in music. A few words such as “entertainment”, “fun”, “relaxed”, “emotions” and “romantic” increase slightly for both groups, whereas almost all other words decrease – words like “school”, “formal” and “home” slightly more than others.

## 6.2.5 Associations with Spanglish in music

Finally, let us examine the results for Spanglish. The Hispanics give overall very similar associations for Spanglish in music and Spanglish in general. Some adjectives such as “fun”, “cool” and “party” increase, which is unsurprising. More unexpected, however, are the decreased frequencies of the words “informal” and “strange”. One last change worth mentioning is the increase of percentage for the word “intelligent”: it climbs up to eighth place (from its original tenth), going from 16% to 20%. Thus, the Hispanic participants have a more positive opinion of Spanglish when it appears in songs than in everyday conversation.

On the other hand, the ESR picks of the word “intelligent” slightly decrease for Spanglish in music in comparison to Spanglish in general (19 against 21). This change is minimal, however, and

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<sup>98</sup> I asked this question in order to determine whether the participants had different associations according to context – are the speakers more tolerant or positive about a language/variety in a creative context?

could be due to fatigue, as this question is towards the end of the questionnaire. Nevertheless, a few of the words picked do increase: “fun”, “party”, “sexy”, “personal”, “romantic” and “patriotism”. The first five are easily explained as relating to song topics, but “patriotism” is quite surprising. I will propose a hypothesis for the rise of this word in 6.4.3.

## 6.3 Data Description: Qualitative Portion

I have now described the results of the close-ended questions of my questionnaire, which served as the base for my quantitative analysis. The rest of the questions were open-ended, some compulsory and some optional, and were analysed qualitatively. In this section, I will first describe the results of the compulsory open-ended questions, before delving into the optional ones.

### 6.3.1 Purposes of CS in music

The first two compulsory open-ended questions targeted the participants’ understanding of the purposes served by CS and translation in music. First, they were asked to write down all the reasons they considered relevant as to why a Spanish-speaking artist would use English words in an otherwise Spanish-language song. Then, they were asked the same question regarding the translation of a Spanish-language song into English. As described in 4.2.2, I used thematic analysis to group the answers together under a system of categories, all emerging from a close reading of the data. This allowed me to understand more about the perception of the two groups with regard to the use of CS and translation in music, in an unbiased way.

For the first question, there is a clear divide between the responses of the SSR and ESR: the former display a much more cynical view of CS, associating it to a higher degree with instrumental reasons such as reaching new markets, earning more money or gaining popularity as shown in (12a-c). On the other hand, the ESR mention more reasons which I have deemed “genuine/creative”, such as wanting people to understand the song’s lyrics, for the enjoyment of the artist, or because of a desire to connect with people, as shown in (13a-c). These reasons for using CS could be qualified as serving globalising purposes: they either reflect an already multilingual (and thus, global) artist, or a desire to internationalise a previously monolingual (and localised) body of work. See table 6.2 for a comprehensive list of the reasons mentioned, classified into categories.

- (12) a. Pienso que lo hacen para alcanzar un mayor publico [sic] de habla inglesa y así incrementar las ventas de sus discos.

**I think they do it to reach a larger English-speaking audience so as to increase their album sales.**

b. Mayor mercado, mayor ventas.

**Bigger market, bigger sales.**

c. Para introducirse en un mercado y un público diferentes y ganar popularidad.

**To incorporate themselves into a different market and audience and gain popularity.**

(13) a. *So others can understand them that don't speak Spanish.*

b. *Perhaps because they [...] enjoy trying to make music in more than one language.*

c. *[...] personally wanting to share their music with as many people as possible in a way others can connect.*

Table 6.2. Reasons for CS in music given by SSR and ESR (N=200).

CATEGORIES	SPANISH	ENGLISH
<b>Instrumental reasons</b>	122	102
To gain access to other markets	71	66
To make more money	23	17
To gain popularity/fans	21	13
To have a global appeal	2	2
To target the Latin community in the US	2	Ø
To make the songs more pop	1	Ø
To seem cooler	1	Ø
To follow a trend	1	Ø
To please their fans from other countries	Ø	1
To enter the mainstream	Ø	1
To earn more awards	Ø	1
To fit in with the genre	Ø	1
<b>Genuine/creative reasons</b>	12	31
For more people to understand/relate to the song	11	26
It makes the song more original/interesting	1	1
They enjoy making music in several languages	Ø	2
Genuine desire to connect with more people	Ø	1
To create a bridge between two cultures	Ø	1
<b>Identity reasons</b>	1	2
It's natural for them to mix the two languages	1	2
<b>Other</b>	2	0
Negative assessment	1	Ø
To learn a new language	1	Ø
<b>Unusable answers</b>	2	4
Misunderstood the question	2	4

Identity reasons are very rarely mentioned. Only two of the ESR mention identity when they raise the idea that singers switch languages in their songs because it is natural for them to do so: they speak that way, so they sing that way too. See (14a) for an example of such responses.

(14) a. *[...] They are bilingual.*

b. *[...] porque para algunos es muy comun entremezclar palabras en ambos idiomas.*

**Because for some it's very common to mix words in both languages.**

For the SSR, only one participant mentions that same idea (see (14b)), and none of the other participants bring up the concept of identity.

Only two respondents (both belonging to the SSR group) provide reasons which do not fit in either the instrumental, genuine/creative or identity categories.<sup>99</sup> This means that an almost unanimous consensus unites the participants' perception of CS: it is either a tool for financial and professional success, or a tool for creative and communicative expression. The former (instrumental reasons) carries more selfish, calculated and even disingenuous connotations;<sup>100</sup> whereas the latter (genuine reasons) is more positive about the phenomenon. Both groups mention instrumental reasons more than creative or identity reasons, but the ESR bring up more than twice as many genuine/creative and identity reasons as the SSR. This latter group, on the other hand, mentions instrumental reasons more than their counterparts. Thus, again, there is a much more negative and cynical view of the topic from the Hispanic perspective, as opposed to a more enthusiastic and positive attitude from the American respondents.

### 6.3.2 Purposes of translation in music

The answers to the translation question are slightly different (see table 6.3). The gap between instrumental and genuine/creative reasons given by the participants is much smaller than for CS – in fact, the ESR mention more genuine/creative reasons than instrumental reasons. Identity reasons are also brought up much more than for the previous question, and there are more “other” reasons raised. Coupled with the more even spread of answers between the three main categories, this seems to show a less unified consensus on the topic of translation than on the topic of CS, confirming a trend visible in the close-ended questions (see pp. 83-84). Here again, the SSR cite instrumental reasons more than the ESR, but both groups mention genuine/creative reasons in almost equal amounts (with a difference of only one participant). The SSR provide almost double the amount of identity reasons given by the ESR, however. The fact that the former have higher numbers than the latter in almost every category means that, in general, the SSR group tends to mention a larger number of reasons per answer than the ESR group.

Three SSR offer a negative assessment of the reasons for translation. These three answers are as follows:

(15) a. Ignorancia

**Ignorance**

b. Porque al paso del tiempo las culturas se van mezclando. Se vuelve cotidiano usar

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<sup>99</sup> An additional six participants provided answers which did not fit into any category because they had misunderstood the question – for instance, they gave their opinion on the phenomenon of CS.

<sup>100</sup> The singers are emulating a speaking style which might not be their own for self-gain rather than for sincere reasons.

frases del inglés y se pierde la riqueza de la lengua española.

**Because with the passing of time the cultures start mixing with each other.**

**Using English phrases becomes commonplace and the richness of the Spanish language is lost.**

c. realmente pienso que lo hacen por cuestion [sic] de moda, falta de conocimiento del idioma.

**truly I think they do it because it's a trend, a lack of knowledge of the language.**

Table 6.3. Reasons for translation in music given by SSR and ESR.

CATEGORIES	SPANISH	ENGLISH
<b>Instrumental reasons</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>49</b>
To appeal to/reach a bigger audience	11	25
It's trendy	10	2
To sound cool	9	2
To make the song more international	8	2
To enter other markets	5	Ø
For people to understand the lyrics better	3	8
To make more money	4	2
To please their English-speaking/Spanish-speaking fans (or both)	2	3
To attract young listeners	2	Ø
To make the song more popular	2	Ø
To target the Latin community in the US	1	Ø
To gain legitimacy/prestige	1	1
To gain more fans	1	1
To have more likes on social media	1	Ø
To become more mainstream	Ø	1
To become more famous	Ø	1
To collaborate more easily with non-Spanish-speaking artists	Ø	1
<b>Genuine/creative reasons</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>56</b>
It sounds good/better	14	11
Because of a lexical gap	5	12
To make it rhyme	4	4
Because they don't know the word in one of the languages	4	Ø
Because it's modern	4	Ø
To catch the listener's attention	4	2
Because it sounds fun	4	Ø
To diversify the lyrics	3	3
To better fit with the rhythm/structure of the song	3	8
It makes the song more interesting/dynamic/exciting	2	1
So the song can be remembered	2	Ø
To make the song catchy	2	1
Because it sounds pop	2	Ø
Because it's easier to understand	1	1
To convince the listener	1	Ø
To make the song more relatable to English speakers	Ø	8
To emphasise a point	Ø	2
To stand out	Ø	2
To show versatility	Ø	1
<b>Identity reasons</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>13</b>
Because that's how they speak	18	9
Because English words have become integrated in Spanish	5	Ø
To express a dual background	1	Ø
To reflect multiculturalism	1	Ø
To show their bilingualism	Ø	1
To express themselves better	Ø	3
<b>Other</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>
Negative assessment	3	1
Because of the influence of US singers	1	Ø
Because English is the lingua franca	1	3
So people get used to hearing words in English	1	Ø
To be more inclusive	Ø	2
Because English is an easy language	Ø	1
<b>Unusable answers</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>
Unclear answer	2	3



The ESR, on the other hand, do not offer any negative assessments of the reasons why Spanish-speaking singers might translate their songs. This, once again, fits with the general landscape of my close-ended and open-ended answers thus far: the ESR are much more tolerant and positive towards the phenomenon of CS and translation in music than the SSR.

### 6.3.3 Justifications for song version choice

The third and final compulsory open-ended question followed a question asking participants to choose which version of a song they would rather listen to (original Spanish version, translated English version or both). The vast majority of the SSR chose the original Spanish version (72%), whereas the ESR had a much more spread-out distribution: 37% chose the Spanish version, 32% the English version, and 31% both. The open-ended question asked them to justify their choice. The participants' responses are summarised in figure 6.4. The results show that the English-speaking group primarily use reasons of preference, quality, understanding and aesthetics to back up their choice – see examples of each in (16).

(16) a. *I prefer the originals, and like Spanish music even if I do not understand everything.*

b. *The original version of songs are typically more complex in their lyrics.*

(17) c. *My Spanish is really bad. I prefer English so that I can understand the song better.*

d. *I feel like the original language in which a song is written makes the song flow better and have smoother phrasing.*

The preference justification is used to explain all three choices, whereas the quality and aesthetic arguments are mostly used to justify choosing the Spanish version, and the understanding motivation is mainly used to justify choosing the English version. The SSR's results also show preference reasons as being the most common, although they are not as frequent as they are for the ESR. Quality is also mentioned often – more so than by the ESR, in fact. The second and third most common reasons mentioned by the SSR group, however, are different. The first category is identity reasons, and the second is a negative opinion on translations. See (17a-b) for examples of the former, and (17c-d) for examples of the latter.

(17) a. *Español y [sic] mi lengua madre y me siento orgullosa de hablarla y escucharla.*

**Spanish is my mother tongue and I feel proud to speak it and listen to it.**

b. *Soy hispano!!!*

**I'm Hispanic!!!**

Table 6.4. SSR's and ESR's reasons for choosing the Spanish or English version of a translated song, or both.

CATEGORIES	SPANISH	ENGLISH
<b>Preference reasons</b>	30	42
I prefer original versions	12	10
I like both	4	6
I have no preference	4	4
I like it more	2	Ø
It depends on the song	2	Ø
I prefer music in English	2	5
I prefer music in Spanish	1	2
It depends on my mood	1	1
I like how they sing with English accents	1	Ø
The language doesn't matter if I like the song	1	Ø
I love the Spanish language	Ø	2
I like hearing other languages	Ø	1
I like variety	Ø	2
I like comparing both	Ø	7
I prefer English	Ø	1
I prefer the English version to sing along	Ø	1
<b>Identity reasons</b>	23	7
Because it's my language	11	7
I speak both languages	4	Ø
I am proud of my language/culture	3	Ø
I can relate more	3	Ø
I want to defend my language	1	Ø
Spanish versions feel more personal	1	Ø
<b>Quality reasons</b>	21	17
Original versions are better	10	9
The original version is more authentic	4	4
The original version sounds more natural	2	Ø
I like listening to both if the translation is good	2	Ø
The lyrics are better in Spanish	1	Ø
The translated version might be better than the original	1	Ø
The Spanish version usually has better rhythm	1	1
Spanish sounds more romantic/emotional	Ø	2
The lyrics are more complex in the original language	Ø	1
<b>Negative opinion on translations</b>	19	9
Aspects of the song might get lost/alterd in translation	12	7
Translations are often bad	5	2
The translations don't make sense	2	Ø
<b>Aesthetic reasons</b>	10	12
It sounds better in the original language	3	5
Spanish sounds better	3	Ø
The English versions sound better	1	3
Spanish works better than English musically	1	Ø
English works better than Spanish musically	1	Ø
Spanish sounds sexier	1	Ø
The lyrics fit the music better in the original language	Ø	4
<b>Principle reasons</b>	6	5
I like listening to the artist's original intention	4	5
I prefer art in its original language	2	Ø
<b>Understanding reasons</b>	4	16
I want to understand the lyrics	4	16
<b>Other</b>	3	1
To find out if the translation is good	1	Ø
You can learn a new language through songs	1	Ø
Most lyrics originally come from English	1	Ø
Music is a universal language	Ø	1
<b>Unusable answers</b>	5	5
Unclear answer	3	1
Unfinished answer	1	Ø
Misunderstood the question	1	3
Didn't answer the question properly	Ø	1

c. Me parece que es mas autentica la version original, la traduccion a menudo traiciona la original.<sup>101</sup>

**The original version seems more authentic to me, the translation often betrays the original.**

d. Las traducciones [sic] suelen ser malas

**Translations tend to be bad**

The most frequently used argument within the “negative opinion on translation” category is that something of the original is often lost in translation: loss of meaning, essence, author’s intention, rhyme, rhythm, sound, quality of the lyrics and originality are all mentioned by the participants. There is thus a strong link between the artistic quality and integrity of a song and the language in which it was originally written. For the topic of identity, SSR report a stronger sense of pride and attachment to their language than ESR, who simply state that they prefer the English version because English is their language.

Overall, the SSR justify their overwhelming choice for Spanish versions of songs with the idea of preference, which is often rooted in assessments of artistic and linguistic quality (originals are better than translations), but also in a strong sense of linguistic and cultural pride – which emerges from a robust feeling of Hispanic identity. This contrasts with the ESR, who also prefer Spanish versions (although with a much less overwhelming majority), but justify their choices via more emotionally neutral arguments: wanting to understand a song, preferring the version that sounds best, thinking that the artistic quality of the original is superior, etc.

### 6.3.4 Overview of optional open-ended questions

Let us now move on to the optional open-ended answers. The first six of these questions follow the general and musical association questions from the quantitative analysis: the participants were offered the possibility, after each question, to add any and all associations which I had not included in my list of words. A minority of respondents answered these optional questions, with an average of 26 answers per question for the SSR and an even smaller 18 for the ESR (see table 6.5 for all the numbers).

Table 6.5. Number of responses per SSR and ESR for open-ended questions on associations.

Associations with...	SSR	ESR
Spanish	30	20
Spanish in music	21	15
English	27	23
English in music	21	16
Spanglish	33	22
Spanglish in music	23	14

<sup>101</sup> Accents missing in the original answer.

The SSR group was thus more willing to answer extra questions – whether because the options I provided were less accurate for this group, or simply because these participants were slightly more enthusiastic in their taking of the questionnaire than their American counterparts. Some of the answers given by both groups, however, were repetitions of words already included in my list, so these answers were discarded.<sup>102</sup> Several more were unusable; for instance, answers such as “no comment” or “N/A”. The remaining ones, nevertheless, are very interesting for my analysis. Again, I followed a thematic analysis procedure to classify my data into naturally-emerging categories, which I have summarised in tables 6.6 and 6.7 (respectively outlining the SSR and ESR results).

### 6.3.5 SSR’s additional associations

In keeping with the results of the previous questions, SSR bring up identity much more than ESR in relation to their language, as shown in table 6.6. See (18) for two examples of identity associations with the Spanish language:

(18) a. Para mí el español es como la bandera de mi país, es mi identidad.

**For me Spanish is like my country’s flag, it’s my identity.**

b. lengua materna

**mother tongue**

Emotions are also highly brought up in association with Spanish for SSR, even though they were already included in the list of words I offered. Some of the emotions mentioned by the participants are warmth, closeness and emotivity. The speakers’ positive view of their language is also apparent, since they give double the amount of positive associations for Spanish than for English. For Spanglish, surprisingly, they give as many positive associations as for Spanish. Where the difference lies is in the negative associations: a striking twelve respondents provide a negative association with Spanglish (against only two for the other two languages), the highest number of responses in any one category. See (19) for examples of these negative associations.

(19) a. Insuficiencia linguística [sic]

**Linguistic deficiency**

b. la mezcla de lenguajes es mostrar la falta de cultura al máximo [sic]

**to mix languages is to show a lack of culture to the extreme**

c. Invasión cultural, falta de personalidad

**Cultural invasion, lack of personality**

d. Absurdo

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<sup>102</sup> These invalid answers are not included in the figures of table 6.5.

### Absurd

e. No hace bien a ninguno de los 2 idiomas

**It doesn't do any good to either of the 2 languages**

Table 6.6. SSR's additional associations with Spanish, English and Spanglish in general and in the context of music.

Associations	Spanish	English	Spanglish	Sp. in music	Eng. in music	Spl. in music
Identity	8	2	—	—	—	—
Emotions	6	—	—	3	—	—
Positive	6	3	6	3	3	3
Familiarity	3	2	1	—	—	—
Negative	2	2	12	1	—	5
Universality/globality	2	9	—	—	6	—
Complexity	1	—	—	—	—	—
Culture	1	—	—	—	—	—
Communication	—	4	—	—	—	—
Simplicity	—	1	—	—	—	—
Music	—	3	1	4	2	—
Multiculturalism	—	—	4	—	—	6
Informal	—	—	2	—	—	2
Personal	—	—	—	5	—	—
The norm	—	—	—	—	3	—
Good for music	—	—	—	—	4	—
Natural	—	—	—	—	—	2
Other	3	13	7	9	5	3
Unusable answers	3	2	2	4	2	2

It seems, thus, that Spanish-speakers are particularly vocal about their distaste for the variety. The negative associations for Spanglish in music, however, are less than half the amount of the general associations: again, the variety seems to be more tolerated in the context of music. The idea of multiculturalism is also brought up a few times in relation to the variety, so not every association is negative.

The SSR's associations with English are unsurprising, simply following the trend of the close-ended questions: English is seen as global both generally and in music, and the language in general is associated with the music context (more than Spanish or Spanglish). There are nonetheless two new elements added by the participants which I had not foreseen (and thus not included in my list of words): English is perceived as "good for music", that is to say, as linguistically lending itself well to the musical context, and English in music is viewed as "the norm". Four participants mention the former, and three mention the latter – this is therefore a recurring perception. The examples below show a few of the answers given by participants regarding these two topics:

(20) a. El inglés es un idioma que se presta a la música popular.

**English is a language which lends itself well to popular music.**

b. Ritmico [sic]

**Rhythmic**

c. Generico [sic]

**Generic**

d. Comun. [sic]

**Common.**

In sum, the SSR's optional answers to the association questions broadly follow the trend of the quantitative analysis: the Spanish-speakers view their language positively and link it to their own identity as well as their emotions, and perceive English as global and musical – adding a dimension of the language as being suited for music and representing the unmarked choice in that context. Spanglish, also in accordance with the close-ended results, is viewed as multicultural but also overwhelmingly as negative.

### 6.3.6 ESR's additional associations

Let us now turn to the ESR's results, which are summarised in table 6.7 below.

Table 6.7. ESR's additional associations with Spanish, English and Spanglish in general and in the context of music.

Associations	Spanish	English	Spanglish	Sp. in music	Eng. in music	Spl. in music
Positive	8	3	9	3	2	4
Emotions	2	–	–	2	–	–
Rhythm	2	1	–	–	–	–
Familiarity	2	2	1	–	–	–
Complexity	1	–	–	–	–	–
Culture	1	–	–	1	–	–
Negative	–	3	3	–	2	3
Identity	–	2	–	–	1	–
Universality/globality	–	5	–	–	2	–
Communication	–	2	–	–	–	–
Simplicity	–	4	–	–	–	–
Music	–	1	1	2	2	–
Multiculturalism	–	–	3	–	–	3
Personal	–	–	–	–	1	–
The norm	–	–	–	–	4	–
Good for music	–	–	–	–	1	–
Natural	–	–	–	–	–	2
Other	3	6	7	6	3	3
Unusable answers	4	2	3	2	3	4

Their associations with each language are in line with what I have discussed so far, although perhaps even more pronounced: Spanglish is the variety which generates the most positive associations, closely followed by Spanish, which is the only language they associate with emotions. English, on the other hand, elicits very few positive assessments, and an equal amount of negative associations. Spanglish and Spanglish in music receive the same amount of negative associations as English (three), which is considerably less than the SSR numbers. The fact that Spanglish elicits three times more positive than negative comments from ESR shows, again, that it is generally well-accepted and perceived by them. The American participants are, overall, much less negative than the SSR, sticking to neutral or positive assessments for the most part – again, mirroring the previous findings.

In terms of the ESR's perception of their own language, they almost do not bring up identity, which is unsurprising as it follows the previous results. English is also associated with globality less than for the SSR, although that might be due to the smaller number of participants answering the optional questions. There is, however, a new idea associated with English which I had not offered in my list: simplicity. Four participants argue that English is a simple language, as opposed to Spanish, which is complex. See (21a-b) for examples of the former, and (21b-c) for examples of the latter:

(21) a. *Simple*

b. *boring; not having many options to convey emotion (like in spanish [sic], there are two forms of "love" amor and querer, which we don't have in english [sic])*

c. *Difficult to learn*

The new associations with English offered by the SSR (English as suited to music and as the norm) which I described earlier are also mentioned by the ESR, but less so.

### **6.3.7 Summary of additional association findings**

Overall, the two groups of respondents who answered the optional questions have almost symmetrically opposed visions of the three varieties. The broad trends described in the previous sections are visible, but are slightly more polarised, perhaps because the participants willing to answer optional questions are the most passionate about the topic, or the ones with stronger opinions. The general overview remains that the ESR have a more neutral vision of their own language than the SSR, and that they are more positive in their assessment of the other two varieties than their counterparts – Spanglish particularly.

### **6.3.8 SSR and ESR's additional comments**

Finally, the last optional question gave participants the opportunity to write down any additional comments they might have about the topic of Spanglish CS in music. Many participants answered this question with “no comment” or “N/A”, but once these non-answers were discarded, I was left with 40 answers for the SSR and 33 for the ESR – notably more than for the association questions. I once again classified these answers into over-arching categories (see table 6.8).

Table 6.8. SSR and ESR’s additional comments on the topic of CS in music.

Comments	SSR	ESR
Positive	12	22
Negative	9	2
Neutral	7	–
Conditional positive	7	3
Reasons why singers use CS	1	2
Negative preference	1	1
Other	3	3
Total	40	33

In keeping with the previous results, the answers were overwhelmingly positive for the ESR, whereas the most common type was “negative” for the SSR. (22) shows examples of the former, and (23) examples of the latter:

(22) a. *I like songs like this a lot.*

b. *I think it is highly creative. It’s awesome.*

c. *I love it. It is so diverse and interesting.*

(23) a. En general, por mi sensibilidad lingüística, el uso del spanglish me parece grotesco y me desagrada

**In general, due to my linguistic sensitivity, the use of Spanglish seems grotesque to me and I dislike it**

b. Creo que devalúa la cultura latina.

**I think it devalues Latino culture.**

c. Es innecesario y demuestra falta de creatividad.

**It’s unnecessary and demonstrates a lack of creativity.**

As we can see, where Americans see creativity, many Hispanic respondents see a lack of creativity (as shown in (22b) and (23c)). This highlights the diametrically opposed views of these two groups.

Two notable groups of SSR give neutral and what I have termed “conditional positive”<sup>103</sup> answers. This reflects the fact that most SSR are not necessarily negative about the phenomenon,

<sup>103</sup> Where a participant explains that they like the phenomenon if certain conditions are met, such as quality or aesthetics (“I like it if it sounds good”, for instance).



but are either neutral or cautiously positive – there is, however, a large and vocal minority with strong negative views on Spanglish. Some of the neutral answers include statements such as those in (24), and examples of conditional positives are shown in (25).

- (24) a. Es una música que ha ido creciendo en el lugar donde vivo (España) y es cada vez más frecuente oírla en la radio y en demás medios. En general veo que gusta y está bien aceptada.

**It's a music genre which has been growing where I live (Spain) and it is more and more frequent to hear it on the radio and other media. In general I see that people like it and it is well accepted.**

- b. Refleja la cultura mixta que hay entre las ciudades americanas y los latinos.

**It reflects the mixed culture which exists between American cities and Latinos.**

- (25) a. Me parece aceptable cuando la persona que canta en ingles [sic] es una persona que lo habla nativamente.

**I find it acceptable when the person who sings in English is a person who speaks it natively.**

- b. Si suena natural o no se siente que el cantante los [sic] hace para cojer [sic] mas atencion, me gusta mucho.<sup>104</sup>

**If it sounds natural or it doesn't feel like the singer does it to get more attention, I like it a lot.**

Finally, one SSR expresses a negative preference<sup>105</sup> and another outlines reasons why artists use CS (to become more famous). The three remaining answers do not fit into any of the categories mentioned until now, and are as follows:

- (26) a. Está muy asociado con el reguetón, que no es mi estilo favorito de música.

**It is strongly associated with reggaeton, which isn't my favourite music genre.**

- b. Es una moda pasajera.

**It's a passing fad.**

- c. Me gusto [sic] este studio

**I liked this study.**

The response in (26a) is of particular interest as it shows the strong link between Spanglish CS and reggaeton – this link is also mentioned another two times by the SSR in the association questions.

The Spanish-speaking participants are thus usually neutral or negative about Spanglish CS in

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<sup>104</sup> Accents missing in the original answer.

<sup>105</sup> That is to say, expresses that it is not their cup of tea without criticising the phenomenon.

music, with a few positive comments; many of those, however, depending on certain conditions. In addition, Spanglish is associated with the reggaeton genre. The ESR, on the other hand, give no neutral comments, and very few negative ones. The vast majority of their answers to this question are wholly positive, with a small minority of conditional positives. They also have three “other” comments which do not fit into any category – see (27).

(27) a. *I’m used to listening to mixed language music.*

b. *Interesting topic!*

c. *Americans need to be more educated in regard to languages*

While these three answers are not outright praising the phenomenon, they are positive in their implications: (27a) listens to mixed language frequently, which entails they enjoy it; (27b) find the concept interesting rather than disagreeable; and (27c) thinks Americans should be more linguistically knowledgeable, which we can presume means multilingualism is positive. The overall picture, therefore, once again highlights the strikingly positive reception of CS (and particularly Spanglish CS in music) by Americans, as opposed to the much more negative perception of the phenomenon by Hispanics.

### 6.3.9 Summary of the questionnaire results

The overall results of my questionnaire can be summarised as follows: the Hispanic participants tend to have much more negative attitudes towards CS and translation than their American counterparts – who display a rather positive stance. Following the same pattern, English-speakers are more tolerant and positive towards Spanglish, whereas Spanish-speakers have a more pejorative view of the mixed variety. On the other hand, both groups exhibit a similar perception of their language as opposed to the other, each associating their language with closeness and emotions<sup>106</sup> and associating the other with symbolic ideas. For Spanish, these are romanticism, emotivity, fun and partying; for English, globality, Americanness and coolness. English is also strongly associated with the music context. Spanglish seems to be perceived as more tolerable in music than in general by the SSR, whereas the ESR have a similarly positive perception of the language both in the music and everyday context.

## 6.4 Data Analysis

Now that I have described the results for my questionnaire, I can delve into my interpretation of

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<sup>106</sup> Although the SSR associate Spanish with emotions much more than the ESR with English.

them. This section of the chapter outlines several hypotheses which attempt to explain the results of the questionnaire. I start with a few potential reasons why the ESR group reported listening to reggaeton more than the SSR. The next three sub-sections are dedicated to hypotheses about the home-language/foreign-language divide, the strong identity link between Spanish and its speakers, and the “unmarked” nature of English. These are followed by two sub-sections: one dealing with the symbolic indexicalities of Spanish and English, and one exploring why the context of music is a transformative playground for linguistic attitudes. Finally, I summarise my analysis proposals.

#### **6.4.1 Reggaeton listening habits: why such results?**

The results to the very first question in the questionnaire showed that slightly more ESR frequently listen to reggaeton than SSR. This might be surprising to some, who might have expected Spanish-speakers to listen to reggaeton much more than English-speakers. One possible explanation for the contradicting results is that a notable portion of the ESR were Latinos: 27% indicated that they spoke Spanish fluently. This could skew the data somewhat, as reggaeton is very popular amongst Hispanic-Americans. In addition, the lower percentage of “yes” answers for the Spanish questionnaire might also be partly explained: 29% of the respondents were from Spain, where reggaeton is less popular than in Latin-American countries – although very much played on the radio, many Spaniards tend to have a negative view of the genre. In fact, 45% of the Spanish respondents answered that they did not listen to reggaeton. These 45% already constitute more than half of all the “no” answers for the 100 SSR (13 out of 24).

This could mean, in other words, that a sample of only Anglo-Americans and Latin-Americans might have produced different results, with a bigger percentage of the latter group answering that they regularly listen to reggaeton. Despite this, however, it is very clear that a vast majority of the people surveyed were frequent listeners of the genre, proving its mainstream popularity. It is also important to keep this in mind when analysing the data, as the participants’ fondness for the genre, as well as their being accustomed to it, might have impacted their answers to the rest of the questionnaire.

#### **6.4.2 The home-language and foreign-language paradigm**

One of the only similarities between the SSR and ESR groups in the questionnaire was their approach to their language as opposed to the foreign one: they both associated their language with words such as “home”, “emotions” and “personal”; whereas the other language carried symbolic connotations with a much more distant emotional link (such as “exotic”, “international” or “foreign”). I believe that

this similarity can be explained through a paradigm separating one's mother-tongue and a foreign language. Instead of using Gumperz's we-code/they-code terminology – which does not fit this specific context –<sup>107</sup> I propose the terms *home-language* and *foreign-language* to describe these language attitudes.

The home-language is characterised by strong and multi-faceted associations: the speaker has experienced many situations in the language, and thus has an image of the language which is rooted in real-life experiences, often including personal and emotional memories. The foreign-language, on the other hand, has only been experienced by the speaker from afar, and is thus associated with a much more restricted, and thus symbolic, set of ideas and situations. For instance, the sound of French to an American might conjure up images of the Eiffel tower, berets and cheese. Other culturally-rooted symbolism might include ideas of refinement, romanticism or rudeness. The sound of American English, on the other hand, would be associated with home, family, and much more personal emotions.

These differing attitudes are visible in the results of the association questions of the questionnaire: the home-language for both groups is associated with close and personal emotions, whereas the foreign language is highly symbolic in its associations. This feeling of closeness and the personal associations with one's home-language are what create a localisation effect, as opposed to the exotic symbolic associations provided by the foreign-language, which generate a globalisation effect.

### **6.4.3 Spanish-speakers and protective identity**

The next finding that I will attempt to explain is the negative perception by the SSR group of CS in music and Spanglish in both the everyday and musical contexts. I believe the explanation lies in the strong identity link with Spanish that the Hispanic respondents report – which is much stronger than that of the ESR with English. The identity category is, in fact, the one with the most answers for the associations with Spanish in the qualitative analysis (see table 6.6, p. 97): this concept of pride and personal link with the language is the most common association for the Hispanic respondents. I posit that the reason for such a heightened sense of linguistic identity is the dominant position of English, which has become so omnipresent in every industry that it has replaced Spanish in many domains, even in monolingual Hispanic countries. This causes a reactive identity effect in Spanish-speakers, who become proudly protective of their language; they begin to define Spanish *in opposition* to English. This is reflected in the results of the questionnaire (particularly the qualitative analysis),

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<sup>107</sup> Gumperz's model is used to describe situations of language contact within the same country or community, whereas in this situation, the two groups hail from separate countries.

which showed that the SSR reported a stronger sense of pride about their language than the ESR – for instance when justifying their preference for the Spanish version of a song. Spanish is perceived as a beautiful, complex language which needs to be defended and protected against the hegemony of the lingua franca of the world.

In the context of music specifically, Spanish-speakers can feel like the already ubiquitous English encroaches even on their own music genres. This can at least partly explain their negative stance: as I showed in the qualitative part of my analysis, many brought up the idea of Spanglish CS and translation as being a “threat” to the integrity of the Spanish language and cultural identity. Examples (22c) and (23b) (p. 100) demonstrate this view, which is in opposition with the American participants’ perception: the ESR generally perceive Spanglish as an instance of diversity, whereas a large portion of the SSR perceive it as a threat to their culture and language; another opportunity for English’s hegemony. But why was there such a difference between the SSR’s stance on CS and their opinion of the translation phenomenon?<sup>108</sup> I would argue that, because many of the Spanish-speaking participants are accustomed to Spanglish and might even use it themselves, their opinion of it is not fully negative. However, the translation of a song seems to convey the impression of the “essence” of the song being lost, which again ties in with a feeling of wanting to protect one’s language and culture against the hegemony of English-speaking music. In other words, these participants seem to advocate for a process of localisation rather than one of globalisation.

This is not to say, however, that Hispanics have a favourable view of Spanglish. As shown in my data, many of the SSR were highly prejudiced against the variety. This distaste for Spanglish can be explained with the same idea: English is perceived as a threat to Spanish, and Spanglish in particular is viewed as a bastardised version of Spanish which is detrimental to the language. Their perception of the variety seems to be less negative in the context of music, however. In fact, Spanglish even seems to take on an identity function when used in songs – the word “patriotism” rises in the ranks of associations when in the context of music, for instance. I hypothesise that this is because the use of Spanglish, having a strong link to Latino identity (see section 3.2.2), is perceived as an identity statement when used in music. In fact, many reggaeton artists mention the name of their countries in their songs, displaying a form of patriotism.<sup>109</sup> This is a perfect example of the localisation effect produced by the use of a certain language, in particular when highly localised words or place names are mentioned.

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<sup>108</sup> The SSR were much more negative towards the concept of translation than they were towards CS.

<sup>109</sup> There are several examples of this in my corpus, such as rapper Pitbull shouting “Cuba!” in *Hey Ma*.

#### 6.4.4 English as the unmarked choice

I posit that, whilst the Spanish-speakers' negative stance on Spanglish in music (and as a variety) can be explained by a protective identity link with their language, the English speakers' largely positive views can be explained through the idea that English represents an unmarked choice. Indeed, because English is the hegemonic "default" language of the world, I argue that it is simply perceived as "the norm" by its speakers. Whereas Spanish-speakers might construct their linguistic identity *in comparison* with that of English, (monolingual) English-speakers have no other standard with which to compare their identity. This means that they have a much more neutral vision of their language: it serves every purpose and is present in every domain. Thus, English does not need to define itself against another linguistic entity in any context.

I further argue that because English is by and large perceived as the norm, and is in many respects the "default", neutral language, its native speakers do not develop such an intense, personal relationship to the language as something special (as Spanish-speakers do). The fact that the ESR brought up few positive associations with their language, and as many negative associations (see p. 98), supports my argument that English is perceived very neutrally by its speakers: as opposed to Spanish for Spanish speakers, it is not often judged via an inherent value system, it just is. In other terms, English is the unmarked choice whereas any other language is perceived as a marked choice. English-speakers, thus, have a weaker emotional and identity bond with their language. In addition, English is in a position of power in everyday life (with its status as *lingua franca*) as well as in the music industry, which leads me to hypothesise that Americans feel less threatened by Spanish than the Hispanics by English. This would at least partly explain the difference in reactions to the CS phenomenon.

Another factor which could explain the ESR's much more positive attitudes to Spanglish CS is that the mixture of languages, here, *benefits* English-speakers: it is not the use of Spanish words in English discourse, but the opposite. Thus, they do not perceive the mixture of languages as a threat to their own, but rather as an inclusion – English-speakers have nothing to lose from their language being used in Spanish-language songs, whereas the same does not stand for Spanish-speakers. Additionally, the marked use of Spanish in music can appear much more exciting (and thus appealing) than the default, unmarked use of English, which my participants often referred to as "generic" and even "boring". The use of two languages, in comparison, is perceived as original and creative.

Nevertheless, I was surprised to see the amount of positive associations displayed by the English-speaking group, as much of the literature on Spanglish reports many depreciative attitudes by Anglos towards the mixed variety. A few possible explanations for the contradicting results would

be the younger age of my participants, the fact that a significant portion of them are multilingual, and the fact that the vast majority are frequent consumers of a genre which is full of CS. A larger scale study could be interesting, as it might inform us on broader trends.

### **6.4.5 The symbolic indexicalities of English and Spanish**

The symbolic indexicalities of Spanish and English were represented in a rather straight-forward manner in my results, but perhaps a brief analysis of them is in order. As I described, Spanish was mostly associated by ESR with the domains of love (romanticism, emotions) and partying. In other words, Spanish represented the “Latin lover” stereotype as well as the fun, party culture often associated with Latinos for my American respondents. This is unsurprising, as these two stereotypes are the two most pervasive ones in popular culture (whether in the lyrics of Latin songs<sup>110</sup> or in the portrayal of Latinos in films and TV shows). These associations became even stronger in the context of music, which is to be expected: even for the SSR, the symbolic indexicalities of Spanish in music were more uniform and more symbolic than for Spanish in general. Indeed, as shown on p. 88, the top associations for Spanish in music by the SSR had bigger numbers, thus creating more consensus. Such a change is to be expected, as music (just like any other form of art) is more prone to symbolism.

On the other hand, English carried the symbolic associations of Americanness, globality and coolness. This means that, for the Spanish-speaking group, English was strongly tied to US culture but also to the international use of the language, as well as a covert prestige which makes its speakers sound “cool”. These associations can, again, be traced back to popular culture: most non-English-speakers come in contact with English through its soft-power, which is mainly American in origin. The language is therefore associated with Hollywood blockbusters – with their impressive and “cool” characters – or with the globally famous singers and rappers of the USA’s music industry.

The symbolic associations for English in music stayed very similar to its general associations, however, as opposed to Spanish. I posit two different explanations for this lack of evolution, one for each group of speakers: for the SSR, I would argue that their general associations with English are already highly symbolic, and already tightly linked to the entertainment industry. The medium through which most non-English-speakers hear English is its pop culture: films, TV series, and music. Because of this, their general associations with English *are* their associations with English in the entertainment context, explaining the almost unchanged answers given by my participants. For the ESR, on the other hand, I go back to my hypothesis that English is the unmarked choice: because

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<sup>110</sup> As exemplified by the fact that the “love” and “party/dancing” themes were two of the most frequent in my corpus data.

English is present in every context, it is very uniform – its associations in everyday life are very similar to its associations in music.

Whether the linguistic indexicalities of English and Spanish evolved from the general context to the musical context or whether they did not, however, is of little importance. What did emerge from my analysis of the questionnaire is that linguistic symbolism is very potent, and that the indexicalities we associate with a language inform our linguistic attitudes – often without us even being aware of it.

#### **6.4.6 Music as a transformative playground for linguistic attitudes**

The final hypothesis that I will propose in this chapter addresses these linguistic attitudes. I posit that music is a transformative playground for linguistic attitudes: as described on p. 41, linguistic deviations from the norm are much more accepted in the context of music. This means that songs can become an experimentative playground; one which allows people to encounter and get familiar with frowned-upon linguistic features, in a positive light.

I believe that this is what reggaeton has done for Spanglish, specifically when it comes to Americans' perception of the variety. Many Anglo-Americans have disparaging views of Spanglish-speakers, associating them with often racist characteristics (see pp. 33-34). However, my questionnaire showed that the ESR had very positive opinions on Spanglish CS, specifically in music. One reason for this could be that the USA is known for having a “melting-pot” ideology, which tends to favour mixtures of cultures and languages. If this was the case for most Americans, however, the negative stereotypes associated with Spanglish described in the literature would not exist. I believe, thus, that the context of music has given Spanglish a positive connotation for many Americans: it becomes a display of clever lyrical play rather than linguistic deficiency. In fact, it might be *because* my participants are in vast majority frequent consumers of the reggaeton genre that they are so positive towards Spanglish – perhaps one can get accustomed to non-standard linguistic phenomena by hearing them used in art.

A concrete example of this increased tolerance for non-standard linguistic features in music can be found in my questionnaire: the words “informal” and “strange” went down in the association ranks for Spanglish in music, as opposed to Spanglish in general.<sup>111</sup> This change shows how Spanglish is considered more appropriate in the context of music than it is in everyday life, an impression which is reinforced by answers given by participants to the open-ended questions, where they

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<sup>111</sup> For both the SSR and the ESR.



expressed a tight link between reggaeton and Spanglish. Several respondents also mentioned that the mixed use of English and Spanish in music was ingenious and creative: again, a negative becomes a positive.

The main reason why music has this effect on listeners' linguistic tolerance is that its goal is aesthetic rather than communicative. To illustrate this point, let us look at the justifications used by the ESR to explain their choice of the English or Spanish versions of a translated song: reasons of understanding were used to explain choosing the English version, whereas reasons of quality were used to justify choosing the Spanish version. Since most Americans still opted for the Spanish version over the translation,<sup>112</sup> we can see that while understanding the lyrics is an important part of enjoying a song for most ESR, aesthetic and artistic quality concerns come first. This preference for quality over intelligibility proves that primary goal of music is aesthetic and artistic rather than communicative, which is what allows it to play with linguistic standards much more than conversational contexts.

Of course, this transformative quality of music is not all-powerful – as proven by the fact that many of the SSR still harboured strong negative associations, despite being listeners of the reggaeton genre. It is nonetheless an interesting feature of the art which can have very positive implications for the sociolinguistic standing of lower varieties.<sup>113</sup>

## **6.4.7 Summary of my analysis**

In this section of the chapter, I attempted to explain some of the more intriguing results obtained by my questionnaire. I posited that Spanish- and English- speakers have a similar approach to their mother-tongue and to foreign languages, whereby the home-language is associated with much more realistic, multi-faceted situations; whereas the foreign-language indexes symbolic ideas. I also argued that the contrasting attitudes displayed by the American and Hispanic respondents towards Spanglish CS can be explained by their differing link to their languages: Spanish-speakers have a strong emotional and identity attachment to their language, which they feel the need to protect against the hegemony of English. On the other hand, I hypothesised that English-speakers have a much more neutral relationship to their language because of its “unmarked”, normative status. Finally, I described the symbolic indexicalities of Spanish and English before arguing that music provides a much more tolerant environment which can help listeners to become more accepting of non-standard linguistic features.

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<sup>112</sup> Some opted for both, but a minority chose the English version on its own.

<sup>113</sup> As well as very positive financial implications for their speakers, as demonstrated by the highly lucrative market of reggaeton.

## 6.5 Summary of Questionnaire Findings

Before moving on to a discussion of my overall findings, I believe it is necessary to briefly summarise what has been said in this long chapter. The mixed-methods approach I employed allowed me to explore my data in several ways. First of all, it allowed me to test out ideas reported in the literature, such as the home-language/foreign-language distinction, the concept of symbolic indexicality of language, the strong identity factor in language choice and the positive or negative attitudes to different varieties, according to sociolinguistic background. This helped shape my questions and the options I offered the participants for close-ended questions. The open-ended questions, on the other hand, enabled me to discover new attitudes that I had not expected or read about in the literature, giving my respondents a better chance to voice their opinions.

My analysis of the questionnaire data allowed me to identify several differences in the SSR and ESR's view of CS and translation in music, as well as their linguistic attitudes to Spanish, English and Spanglish. Both the quantitative and qualitative analyses revealed more positive attitudes towards the phenomenon of Spanglish CS (both in general and in music) from the American participants, and more negative attitudes from the Hispanic participants. I explained this difference in attitude through the concept of language as identity. The symbolic indexicalities of Spanish and English were in line with what has been described in the literature, and seemed to become even starker in the environment of music. I argued that this was due to the particular features of the musical context, which I believe can contribute to a positive change in linguistic attitudes towards discriminated varieties or features. In sum, my quantitative and qualitative analyses show a coherent picture of the different attitudes of Spanish- and English-speakers towards the phenomenon of Spanglish CS and translation in music.

# 7 Discussion

Having outlined the results of both my corpus and questionnaire analyses in the two previous chapters, I turn to a more general discussion of these combined findings. I start by answering my two research questions, before resituating my research within the theoretical framework I established in Chapters 2 and 3 through the presentation of my overall conclusions. These are divided into two sections: the first dealing with the symbolic/discourse function paradigm and the second with the localisation/globalisation continuum as well as the concept of identity and language. Finally, a fourth section discusses the shortcomings of my study and a fifth offers avenues for future research.

## 7.1 Answering my research questions

Now that I have described my findings in detail, it is time to see to what extent I can answer my research questions. I will start with my first research question, which guided my corpus study; and in a second sub-section, I will answer the question which guided my questionnaire research.

### 7.1.1 First research question

My first research question was as follows:

- i. What symbolic and discourse functions does English (through CS or translation) serve in songs by Spanish-speaking artists?

Starting with the symbolic functions, the analysis of my corpus data allowed me to reach the conclusion that Spanish and English have very different connotations. Spanish carries emotional connotations in my corpus: it is symbolic of emotional openness and emotional vulnerability. It is also used to communicate a plethora of other topics, and is overwhelmingly used as the matrix language – providing the bulk of meaning. English, on the other hand, serves much more restricted purposes: it is used to discuss romantic and sexual themes, to introduce artists and features about the song, to perform the act of bragging, and as a way to build excitement or “popify” the song through stereotypical fillers. The main symbolic function of English, thus, is to situate a song within the pop music genre; the language is associated with stereotypical themes and words which are common in the genre. In fact, I argued that English is much more symbolic in its function than it is semantic.

In terms of the discourse functions of English, they are very structural in nature: by introducing the artist of a song in its intro, or by building up excitement before the chorus with filler

words, English CS contributes to formatting the discourse style of the song. Translation into English assumes the same purpose. In almost all cases in my corpus, translations were created when an English-speaking artist was featured in the remix of a song. One or more parts of the song were then rewritten into English to allow the new performer to join in. CS was thus almost always representative of a shift in artist, and sometimes a shift in point of view (two singers answering each other in the lyrics, for instance). Translating parts of a song was also often used as a way to reach a new demographic – the use of English served to signal the welcoming of a new interlocutor in the discourse of the song. These are all discourse functions that are dependent on the use of English CS or translation.

I can thus answer my first research question as follows: in my data, English use (through CS and translation) in songs by Spanish-speaking artists serves to construct meaning via the symbolic associations of love and sex, and to situate songs within the context of pop music through the symbolic connotations of stereotypical English words. It also serves discourse functions by helping to structure a song both aesthetically and in terms of meaning. Overall, English use in my corpus was very often intertextual, referring to the linguistic and artistic codes of an entire genre. The functions of English can also be qualified as meta: the language often served the purpose of bringing information from the “outside world” (the name of the artist or album the song is a part of, the fact that it is a remix, etc.) into the song, providing a pause from the “inside world” of the song (the story of its lyrics).<sup>114</sup>

To what extent can we generalise these findings? My corpus, with around 50 000 words, is too small to make any broad inferences. Nevertheless, it is representative of the linguistic landscape of the top reggaeton songs of the 2015 to 2019 period, and has good internal statistical validity. This leads me to state my findings with some confidence, although I recognise the limitations they also present – they are not necessarily generalisable to other bilingual music genres using English, or even to the reggaeton genre as a whole. However, my analysis provides interesting conclusions on the functions of English in this specific context, which further research (perhaps on a larger scale) could expand on.

## 7.1.2 Second research question

Let us now turn to my second research question, as shown below:

- ii. Do Spanish-speaking and English-speaking listeners have different attitudes towards the use of English in songs by Spanish-speaking artists, and what are these attitudes?

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<sup>114</sup> I develop this idea in section 7.2.1.

The analysis of my questionnaire has given me concrete proof that Spanish-speakers and English-speakers indeed have different attitudes to the use of English in songs by Spanish-speaking artists, which are linked to their attitudes to Spanglish. The concise answer to the first part of the question is thus simply the word “yes”. As for the second part of the question, which deals with *what* these attitudes are, the answer is a bit more complex. In general, I have shown the SSR’s attitudes to Spanglish and to the use of English in music to be neutral or negative, with a large vocal minority representing the latter. They also have a more cynical view of what the singers’ motivations for such linguistic choices might be. All these attitudes are deeply rooted in a strong identity link with the speakers’ mother tongue, Spanish, which they perceive to be in danger of being replaced by English<sup>115</sup> or “damaged”: many of my respondents perceive Spanglish-speakers as deficient in their command of both languages, particularly Spanish.

My analysis of the English-speakers who answered my questionnaire, on the other hand, showed a much more positive view of the phenomenon. For these speakers, the use of English in Spanish-language songs is an opportunity to understand the lyrics and thus to experience a different culture and music style (which are deemed exotic and romantic). CS is therefore seen as clever linguistic play and inclusive multiculturalism. The ESR’s perceived motivations for an artist’s use of CS and translation are also largely instrumental, but much more genuine and artistic reasons are mentioned than for the SS group. They believe that many artists decide to use CS because they genuinely want more people to understand and relate to their lyrics, or because they are expressing themselves naturally – whereas Spanish-speakers tend to see these linguistic choices as manufactured.

Again, I must ask myself the question of generalisability. My sample, comprised of 200 participants, is relatively small. It is certainly more open to being generalised than a sample of ten interviews, but it remains small-scale. I have also pointed out several flaws in its composition, which do not make it fully representative of the populations targeted (although complete representativity would be very hard to reach, considering the enormous scale of the Spanish- and English-speaking populations). One of these flaws is, for instance, the sample’s bias towards younger multilingual internet users: both the average American and the average Hispanic are older and speak less languages – most only speak one. The older members of these two populations are also less avid consumers of the reggaeton genre, which would impact their opinion of CS in music. In other words, a more representative sample (which would probably need to be bigger) would not elicit the same results. Nevertheless, my results are a reflection of the typical attitudes younger Americans and Hispanics have towards English use in music, and towards Spanglish in general.

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<sup>115</sup> Especially in the context of music.

## 7.2 Overall conclusions: the genre-defining feature of Spanglish CS

Now that I have answered my research questions, I will turn to my overall conclusions on the topic of CS in music. I will start with the idea of Spanglish CS as a genre-defining feature. I have hinted at this hypothesis before, but will be developing it more in this section. Indeed, the differences in functions which I have identified for Spanish and English in my corpus have led me to posit that English serves a very specific function in reggaeton. I describe this function in this section, starting with a description of what I term the meta-symbolic and meta-discursive function of English in popular music. In a second sub-section, I hone in on reggaeton specifically, and propose that Spanglish is a defining feature of the genre.

### 7.2.1 English in reggaeton: a meta-symbolic and meta-discursive function

I posit that all six of the English themes I have described in sections 5.2 and 5.3 (sex, love, party/dancing, bragging, artist/song introduction and filler/excitement building) are part of the more general function that English serves in reggaeton music, which mainly involves associative and aesthetic purposes. Some of these themes serve discursive functions: they help to structure the song, for instance by introducing the artists in the intro or outro of the song or through rhymes.<sup>116</sup> Some others are symbolic: they add meaning through the symbolic indexicalities of English, for instance with filler words such as *baby* or themes such as love and sex. All of them, however, serve the same overall function, one which I would define as *meta-discursive* and *meta-symbolic*: all six themes, whether adding to the structure or to the meaning, refer to the wider musical genre of the songs. Indeed, I advance that English serves to situate songs within a specific music genre. This genre can be pop, hip-hop, or even more specifically, reggaeton; in fact, these three genres are so intermixed that the use of English can signal appurtenance to all three at once.

Such a process is possible because of intertextuality: the artists intersperse genre-defining features such as the braggadocio theme, the introduction of the artist in the intro or outro of the song or the use of the word *yeah*, all typical of the genre they want to emulate, into their Spanish-language songs. Every song refers to the ones that came before it through these themes, thereby showing that it belongs to the same music genre. Artists keep these themes and words in their original English in the majority of cases, which shows the power of the universal symbolism of the

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<sup>116</sup> See example (3c) on p. 54.

English language, specifically in the world of popular music, which has been extensively Anglo-dominated for decades.

### **7.2.2 Spanglish: a defining feature of reggaeton?**

If we consider that the use of English in reggaeton is used to situate songs within a wider musical context through indexicality, I propose that the reverse is also possible. I believe that through the repeated use of English in Latin popular music, English CS has come to define the reggaeton genre. This was pointed out by the participants to my questionnaire, several of whom brought up the link between Spanglish and reggaeton. This seems to be a more recent development, considering the inversion in proportions of monolingual and bilingual songs in the past few years (see 5.1). It appears that, in order to reach the top 20 songs in the reggaeton charts, it has become a requirement of the genre to include some English CS in songs.

This change is at least partly motivated by the success of previous songs including CS. This is far from a recent phenomenon: one only has to look at the enormously successful 1999 song “Livin’ la vida loca”, which catapulted Ricky Martin to international fame. As described on p. 44, the Latino community in the US has been identified by music producers and marketers as disposing of a huge spending power. Because of the strong link between identity and Spanglish, as I described in 3.2.2, the use of Spanglish in music can be a fantastically useful tool to resonate with a vast demographic. In addition, as my questionnaire analysis showed, monolingual English-speakers are also susceptible to it: the language mixture provides them with a sense of exoticism whilst also inviting them in; they can understand some of the song and are not excluded from it. And for those who are still not convinced, translations of the most successful reggaeton songs are almost always produced. Thus, Spanglish has massive monetary value, which has undoubtedly led to its widespread use in reggaeton. Artistic and personal expression have certainly also played a part in this phenomenon – again, intertextuality and identity are at play in the linguistic choices made by artists. All of these factors have led to Spanish-English CS becoming a staple of the reggaeton genre, and it is now rarer to find a mainstream Latino pop song which does *not* include any English than the opposite.

## **7.3 Overall conclusions: the localisation and globalisation function of Spanglish CS in music**

The second topic that I believe warrants a section in this chapter is that of the localisation/globalisation continuum in relation to my data. I will start by describing the localising

function of Spanglish CS, before showing how it can also serve as a globalising device. A third and final subsection will link these conclusions with the concept of a middle-ground between the two extreme poles, as described in 3.3.4.

### **7.3.1 Spanglish CS as a localising device**

My findings have led me to the conclusion that Spanglish CS is often used as a localising device by Spanish-speakers: because mainstream popular music is so American-centric, the use of Spanish is a way to signify that one belongs to the Hispanic community (whether within the United States, or in a Spanish-speaking country). As described in my literature review (in particular in sections 3.3.1-4), the local language can be used as a way to appropriate Anglo-American genres, making them more relatable to the local population. This is what originally led to the creation of the reggaeton genre: not only was it a Spanish-language version of mainstream Anglo-American music genres, it was also mixed with Latino music elements. Reggaeton is a mixture of reggae (as its name indicates), a traditionally Jamaican-American music genre; hip hop, an Afro-American genre; and music styles such as bachata, merengue or salsa, all originating from Latin-America. Reggaeton thus originated as a Latino take on typically Anglo-American genres, mixed with features of local traditional music and culture.

As reggaeton has evolved and slowly become more and more intertwined with the American mainstream, so has the use of English in its songs increased: as I argued in the previous section, Spanglish CS has become a staple of the genre. This is what the more negative participants to my questionnaire lament – the loss of the indisputably Hispanic essence of reggaeton through the growing use of English. For many, reggaeton is deeply rooted within Latino culture, to the point that many have forgotten its origins in English-language music styles. The outrage that its return towards that language causes in many Spanish-speakers is proof of the strongly localising (and thus identity-linked) tool that it represents. However, for others who have become part of the mixed Hispanic-American culture, this very CS is their identity, and thus their localising device: the use of Spanglish in songs is an expression of their dual belonging to the two cultures.

I would therefore argue that Spanish and Spanglish both serve the same purposes, for two different populations. The former is perceived by monolingual Spanish-speakers from Hispanic countries as their cultural and linguistic flag, associating a song with their country or wider Latino community. Spanglish, for them, can be perceived as the threat to this unified Hispanic community, which Americanises even their own music genres. On the contrary, for bilingual speakers who use Spanish and English on a day-to-day basis, Spanglish *is* their flag and identity, which sets them apart



from the rest of the English-speaking world – but also from the monolingual Spanish-speaking community. Reggaeton songs also have localising features in the most literal, geographic of ways: as I mentioned on p. 105, it is common for artists (even those who were born in the United States) to mention the name of their country of origin in their songs.

In summary, language choice in music is often used by Spanish-speakers for localisation purposes. I believe this is because localisation and identity expression represent higher stakes for Hispanics than globalisation does: their language is the second most spoken language in the world<sup>117</sup>; it is already global. In addition, as I have argued throughout this thesis, many Spanish-speakers feel like their language has to compete with English, generating a strong desire to protect and affirm Spanish against the dominance of English. This all leads to a process of localisation rather than globalisation. This is not to say, however, that the latter does not exist – I will be describing it in the next subsection.

### **7.3.2 Spanglish CS as a globalising device**

Whereas Spanglish is often used for localisation purposes, as I just described, it can also serve globalisation purposes. Many Spanish-speaking artists make a point of using English words in their songs in order to open up their song to a more global audience and enter the mainstream, as perceived by many of my questionnaire participants. This is what I described in my literature review chapter when I discussed the concept of the “cross-over” artist, a famous non-English-language singer who manages to enter the Anglo-American market and find success in the mainstream. Enrique Iglesias is a good example of this: his first three albums were entirely in Spanish, before he decided to release an English-language album and gained an entirely new audience. Since then, he has released songs and albums in both languages, often releasing two versions of the same song, one in each language. In this sense, the use of English in songs can be a globalising tool, allowing the artist to reach a larger audience from all around the world.

The type of translations which are released by Latin pop artists are also a way of globalising the songs for their English-speaking listeners. In these translations, listeners are provided with partially English lyrics while some parts of the song are kept in Spanish. This is what creates the exotic and multicultural effect reported by my English-speaking participants, who were in general very receptive to it. Monolingual Americans, for whom English is the norm, view bilingual reggaeton songs as an opportunity to access a new culture: this is as much a globalising experience for them as the use of English can be for Spanish-speakers. It allows them to step out of the American-centric

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<sup>117</sup> In terms of native speakers.

world of entertainment, whilst still understanding the message of the song and being able to sing along. It is a safe way of leaving one's comfort zone, creating excitement but remaining familiar.

Thus, the use of Spanglish CS can also perform a globalising function, both for Spanish- and English-speakers. For the former, it creates an opportunity to reach a global audience of listeners, all united under the common knowledge of English. Because English is the language of popular music, additionally, its use in otherwise Spanish-language songs allows them to enter the mainstream. This gives the Hispanic community a voice around the globe, providing them with the opportunity to share their culture with the rest of the world. For English-speakers, the mixed use of English and Spanish is also a way to go outward, providing an exciting opportunity to exit the all-encompassing American media and experience something new.

### **7.3.3 The localisation/globalisation middle-ground**

In summary, the last two sub-sections have shown that the localisation/globalisation paradigm is indeed a continuum, and that no one situation can fall squarely on one side of it. The use of English in reggaeton serves both as a localising and globalising tool through its ability to expand a song's audience, include or exclude different groups of listeners, appeal to Latinos' fierce sense of linguistic and cultural identity, and evoke exoticism in non-Spanish speakers. This shows, again, the fantastic power of language choice, which can affect the reception of a song in myriad different ways. Because of this, I argue that Spanglish CS perfectly represents the middle-ground space between localisation and globalisation, simultaneously functioning as a tool for both. Artists, whether consciously or subconsciously, make use of this powerful device when composing bilingual lyrics – allowing them to target different audiences and communicate different linguistic indexicalities in their lyrics. Spanglish CS, thus, is both a creative and a marketing tool in music.

## **7.4 Shortcomings**

Before I turn to potential avenues for future research, I would like to briefly address some of the issues with my study, and the elements that could be improved upon. Firstly, there were some pragmatic shortcomings in my method for collecting the questionnaire data: I had not anticipated the issue of availability of the Mechanical Turk tool in the countries I was targeting. This forced me to collect the Spanish-speaking answers to the questionnaire in a rather convoluted manner in comparison to the American responses, which I believe has cost me some generalisability. Because of the English-speaking bias, as well as the North-American geographical bias of the site, many of my respondents ended up being Latinos who had moved to the USA – which is likely to have affected

their representativeness of Hispanics who have never left their Spanish-speaking country. The method of collection of the questionnaire would therefore have to be tweaked if this study were to be replicated, for instance by finding an alternative crowdsourcing website specific to Latin-America.

In terms of theoretical shortcomings, I believe a potential issue with my thesis is that the theoretical foundation might not have fully corresponded to my data: the definition of CS that I laid out in chapter 2 was very much based on conversational CS. As my study has shown, and as Davies and Bentahila warned (see p. 23), CS in music has very different applications and constraints than conversational CS. In this sense, my surprise at finding different attitudes towards Spanglish CS in music from my respondents (in comparison to what was described in the literature on Spanglish) might have been misguided: I was likely mistaken in attempting to predict attitudes towards CS in this context from what I knew about attitudes to CS in general. However, it would have been difficult to define the characteristics of CS in music, as not enough literature exists on the topic; my study hopefully adds to this growing body of research.

Another potential shortcoming with my theoretical foundation lies in the literature I reviewed in chapter 3. Most of the studies I described were based on language pairs where one language was much more local than the other (for instance, Moroccan Arabic and French, Cantonese and English). This conjecture is quite different from my own, as both Spanish and English are world languages, leading to my Spanish-speaking participants perceiving them as being in competition. Spanish and English, in my data, do not follow the pattern of a High and Low variety; which can mean that the concepts described in the literature review are less applicable to my topic. Here again, though, I can only hope that my study helps to fill this gap in the theory on CS, and shows the breadth of the phenomenon.

## 7.5 Future research

I am now reaching the end of my thesis, but before I conclude, I would like to point out some avenues for future research. The most obvious one, which I have already mentioned several times, would be a replication of both my corpus and questionnaire studies on a larger scale. This would allow us to verify that my findings hold for a more diverse group of participants and a bigger number of songs, thus making them more representative of the populations targeted. Also based on my findings, a potential diachronic research project could focus on the evolution of CS in reggaeton over a longer period than my five-year span: when did it first appear, and when did it become the norm? A comparative study of the linguistic attitudes towards Spanglish and CS in music in different age groups could also be very interesting. It would give us an overview of how these attitudes are

evolving through time, and provide us with an idea of how this phenomenon is likely to evolve. Another potential avenue for research is a replication of the questionnaire study, with a focus on comparing listeners and non-listeners of reggaeton – my own study was heavily biased towards the former. Such a project would inform us about the impact music has on linguistic attitudes: as a context which elicits much more tolerance to non-standard forms, could it potentially have an effect on people's everyday perception of the CS phenomenon? Another exciting study prospect would be to survey the artists who make use of CS and find out about their motivations first-hand. This could lead to an interesting comparison of the reasons for CS and translation as perceived by the audience, and the self-reported motivations given by artists.

Straying further from my topic, it could be fascinating to research different language pairings and music genres, as we could learn a lot about the different perceptions of CS throughout the world. The field of research on CS in music is still new and there is thus much left to explore, which will add towards our understanding of language in art as well as CS in general. Another interesting avenue of research is the comparison between conversational CS and CS in art – whether music, literature or film – which could also enrich our understanding of the different functions of CS, and how they evolve from one context to the next. Research on the topic could also be used in applied linguistics, for instance in education and second-language acquisition. The use of bilingual songs (or other types of art and entertainment) in the classroom could be a way to grab the learners' attention and provide them with material that they at least partially understand, helping them in learning their target language. This type of research could contribute to the growing body of work on interlanguage in L2 acquisition.

One thing is for sure: the topics of CS, language and identity, linguistic indexicality, language choice and language in music are all fecund research grounds which leave a lot to be explored for curious and innovative linguists, especially those who might want to investigate current and relatively uncharted topics.

## 8 Conclusion

At the start of this study, I set out to explore the role of English in Spanish-language music, specifically within the reggaeton genre. Through a dual approach, using both a corpus and a questionnaire, I explored the topic from two angles: that of the lyrical functions of English, and that of listeners' attitudes to CS in music. I analysed my data both quantitatively and qualitatively, providing me with what I believe is a holistic account of the subject: I based my analysis on the previous literature, but also let my data speak for itself. My findings revealed that while English is undoubtedly the language of pop music, a relatively new trend of bilingual (and even multilingual) music has been reaching the top of the charts. This new genre is extremely polarising, with many people displaying very strong opinions on the phenomenon, which are rooted in the tight link between language and identity.

Despite the ever-growing number of bilingual songs, nevertheless, English remains in a position of near-supremacy in the music industry: it is so deeply associated with the mainstream popular music genres that some of its words or phrases have gained a striking connotative power. These powerful associations mean that English is often needed to identify a song as belonging to a specific genre, even one which originated in a non-English-speaking country, as is the case with reggaeton. The association between English and popular music runs so deep that these genres are in fact hybrids of local, non-English music traditions and older Anglo-American genres. In other words, Latinos appropriated American music styles such as hip hop and made them their own through traditional Hispanic musical features and, most importantly, the use of Spanish; only for this newly "Latinised" genre to return to its roots, slowly incorporating more and more English in its lyrics. This process shows the unstoppable soft-power of the English language, which, not satisfied with its status as *lingua franca*, has also taken over the entertainment industry around the globe.

The role of English in music from non-English-speaking countries, however, remains restricted to very specific functions. These functions are highly symbolic and discursive in nature, rarely contributing to the semantic meaning of songs. This suggests that, as described in the literature, mother tongues remain the most comfortable medium for self-expression, and emotional topics are still best discussed in one's native language. In fact, English seems to lack emotional expressivity even to some of its speakers, for whom Spanish is indexically associated with romanticism and emotivity, in a way English cannot emulate. It appears that, for a notable proportion of Americans, English use in music has become so commonplace, stereotypical and predictable that the use of a foreign language adds an exciting new element to well-known genres.

This fact has not escaped the perspicacity of music managers and producers, who have increasingly been making use of the incredibly lucrative tool of CS over the past two decades. Whether this means that such bilingual songs are manufactured and thus less representative of the real phenomenon of CS, or whether they represent a positive turn towards the acceptance of often depreciated varieties, depends on who you ask. My questionnaire results indicate that listeners are generally well-aware of the monetary motivations for CS in music, but that Spanish-speakers are much more cynical about them than English-speakers – who believe in genuine artistic motivations to a much higher degree. One thing is for certain: despite the extreme opinions which Spanish-English CS in music elicits from both sides (whether positive or negative), the resulting songs are unquestionably successful. The number of worldwide listeners vastly surpasses the number of Spanglish speakers, proving that the mixed-language genre appeals to listeners of all linguistic backgrounds, even those who speak neither of the two languages.

It is the universality of this phenomenon which makes it such a fascinating and fruitful research topic: its global appeal makes it representative of the linguistic attitudes of the general population, as well as a perfect display of the functions of English in our current globalised world. I would summarise my contribution to the topic as a study which, with its unusual dual approach, provided an informed account of the sociolinguistic motivations and effects of the use of a mixed variety in mainstream music. Both the specific variety and the music genre studied were thus far largely unexplored in the field of CS in music, allowing me to fill a gap in the research. As I outlined in the previous section, there is much left to explore, and I hope I have made a convincing case for why further research on the subject would be needed. I believe this topic has far-reaching implications for sociolinguistics and even linguistics as a whole, and that it can teach us a lot about how we use and perceive language. After all, as the famous saying goes, “music is the universal language of mankind”.

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# Appendix 1: Corpus Data

## A. Song list

The songs are listed as they are on the Billboard charts, from 1<sup>st</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> place. The songs which include CS or translation are coded in [blue](#), those which do not are left in plain text. When a song appears twice or more, it is ~~crossed-out~~ (the song did not count for that month). For the songs which were included in the corpus, it is specified whether they contained CS (“CS”), translation (“T”) or both (“CS & T”).

### January 2015:

[Bailando \(Enrique Iglesias Featuring Descemer Bueno & Gente de Zona\)](#) – T

[Ay Vamos \(J Balvin\)](#) – CS

[Propuesta Indecente \(Romeo Santos\)](#) – CS

Travesuras (Nicky Jam)

[Eres Mia \(Romeo Santos\)](#) – CS

[6 AM \(J Balvin Featuring Farruko\)](#) – CS

Y Así Fue (Julion Alvarez y Su Norteno Banda)

Eres Una Nina (Gerardo Ortiz)

[Odio \(Romeo Santos Featuring Drake\)](#) – CS

No Me Pidas Perdón (Banda Sinaloense MS de Sergio Lizarraga)

[Yo También \(Romeo Santos Featuring Marc Anthony\)](#) – CS

Levantando Polvadera (Voz de Mando)

Que Tiene de Malo (Calibre 50 Featuring El Komander)

Que Suenen los Tambores (Victor Manuelle)

Javier el de los Llanos (Calibre 50)

Mi Princesa (Remmy Valenzuela)

Hasta Que Salga El Sol (Banda Los Recoditos)

Tus Besos (Juan Luis Guerra 440)

La Bala (Los Tigres del Norte)

El Karma (Ariel Camacho y los Plebes del Rancho)

### July 2015:

[El Perdón \(Nicky Jam & Enrique Iglesias\)](#) – T

~~[Propuesta Indecente \(Romeo Santos\)](#)~~

Fanática Sensual (Plan B)

El Amor de Su Vida (Julion Alvarez y Su Norteno Banda)

La Gozadera (Gente de Zona Featuring Marc Anthony)

[Nota de Amor \(Wisin + Carlos Vives Featuring Daddy Yankee\)](#) – CS

[Hilito \(Romeo Santos\)](#) – CS

Malditas Ganas (El Komander)

[Sígueme y Te Sigo \(Daddy Yankee\)](#) – CS

Háblame de Ti (Banda Sinaloense MS de Sergio Lizarraga)

Te Metiste (Ariel Camacho y los Plebes del Rancho)

Me Sobrabas Tu (Banda Los Recoditos)

Solita (Prince Royce)

Perdido En Tus Ojos (Don Omar Featuring Natti Natasha)

Contigo (Calibre 50)

Mi Vicio Mas Grande (Banda El Recodo de Cruz Lizarraga)

[Pierdo La Cabeza \(Zion & Lennox\)](#) – CS

Mi Verdad (Mana Featuring Shakira)

A Lo Mejor (Banda Sinaloense MS de Sergio Lizarraga)

[La Mordidita \(Ricky Martin Featuring Yotuel\)](#) – CS



### January 2016:

Ginza (J Balvin) – CS  
~~El Perdon (Nicky Jam & Enrique Iglesias)~~  
Borro Cassette (Maluma) – CS  
Solo Con Verte (Banda Sinaloense MS de Sergio Lizarraga)  
Después de Ti Quien (La Adictiva Banda San Jose de Mesillas)  
~~Te Metiste (Ariel Camacho y los Plebes del Rancho)~~  
Te Busco (Cosculluela // Nicky Jam) – CS  
Vaivén (Daddy Yankee) – CS  
Encantadora (Yandel) – CS  
Sunset (Farruko Featuring Shaggy & Nicky Jam) – CS  
Hablemos (Ariel Camacho y los Plebes del Rancho)  
Por Que Terminamos? (Gerardo Ortiz)  
Pongámonos de Acuerdo (Julián Álvarez y Su Norteno Banda)  
Piénsalo (Banda Sinaloense MS de Sergio Lizarraga)  
Pisteare (Banda Los Recoditos)  
Ya Te Perdí La Fe (La Arrolladora Banda el Limón de Rene Camacho)  
Por Que Me Ilusionaste? (Remmy Valenzuela)  
Se Va Muriendo Mi Alma (La Séptima Banda)  
Culpa Al Corazón (Prince Royce) – CS  
Choca (Plan B) – CS

### July 2016:

Bobo (J Balvin) – CS  
Hasta El Amanecer (Nicky Jam)  
Duele El Corazón (Enrique Iglesias Featuring Wisin) – CS & T  
La Bicicleta (Carlos Vives & Shakira)  
El Perdedor (Maluma Featuring Yandel) – CS  
~~Ginza (J Balvin)~~  
Me Vas A Extrañar (Banda Sinaloense MS de Sergio Lizarraga)  
~~Solo Con Verte (Banda Sinaloense MS de Sergio Lizarraga)~~  
Me Va A Pesar (La Arrolladora Banda el Limón de Rene Camacho)  
Cicatrices (Regulo Caro)  
Andas En Mi Cabeza (Chino & Nacho Featuring Daddy Yankee) – CS  
Hasta Que Se Seque El Malecón (Jacob Forever)  
Obsesionado (Farruko)  
Espero Con Ansias (Remmy Valenzuela)  
Si No Es Contigo (Banda El Recodo de Cruz Lizarraga)  
Picky (Joey Montana Featuring Akon & Mohombi) – CS & T  
Me Esta Gustando (Banda Los Recoditos)  
La Carretera (Prince Royce)  
Fuiste Mia (Gerardo Ortiz)  
Shaky Shaky (Daddy Yankee) – CS

### January 2017:

Chantaje (Shakira Featuring Maluma) – CS  
~~Shaky Shaky (Daddy Yankee)~~  
Safari (J Balvin Featuring Pharrell Williams, BIA & Sky) – CS  
~~Hasta El Amanecer (Nicky Jam)~~  
~~La Bicicleta (Carlos Vives & Shakira)~~  
Otra Vez (Zion & Lennox Featuring J Balvin)  
Tengo Que Colgar (Banda Sinaloense MS de Sergio Lizarraga)  
Chillax (Farruko Featuring Ky-Mani Marley) – CS  
Vente Pa' Ca (Ricky Martin Featuring Maluma) – CS  
~~Duele El Corazón (Enrique Iglesias Featuring Wisin)~~  
Dile Que Tu Me Quieres (Ozuna) – CS  
Sin Contrato (Maluma Featuring Fifth Harmony Or Don Omar & Wisin) – CS & T

Vacaciones (Wisin) – CS  
Afuera Esta Lloviendo (Juli3n Alvarez y Su Norteno Banda)  
Cuatro Babys (Maluma Featuring Bryant Myers, Noriel and Juhn) – CS  
Regresa Hermosa (Gerardo Ortiz)  
Reggaet3n Lento (Bailemos) (CNCO & Little Mix) – CS & T  
Te Quiero Pa'mi (Don Omar & Zion & Lennox) – CS  
Nunca Me Olvides (Yandel) – CS  
Amor del Bueno (Calibre 50)

#### July 2017:

Despacito (Luis Fonsi & Daddy Yankee Featuring Justin Bieber) – CS & T  
Felices los 4 (Maluma) – CS  
Esc3pate Conmigo (Wisin Featuring Ozuna) – CS  
Súbeme La Radio (Enrique Iglesias Featuring Descemer Bueno, Zion & Lennox) – T  
~~Chantaje (Shakira Featuring Maluma)~~  
El Amante (Nicky Jam)  
Me Enamore (Shakira)  
Ahora Dice (Chris Jeday, Anuel, Cardi B, Offset, J. Balvin, Ozuna & Arc3ngel) – CS  
Adi3s Amor (Christian Nodal)  
~~Reggaeton Lento (Bailemos) (CNCO & Little Mix)~~  
Deja Vu (Prince Royce & Shakira)  
Sigo Extrañ3ndote (J Balvin) – CS  
Tu Foto (Ozuna) – CS  
La Rompe Corazones (Daddy Yankee X Ozuna)  
Hey DJ (CNCO & Yandel) – CS  
Para Que Lastimarme (Gerardo Ortiz)  
Si Tu Novio Te Deja Sola (J Balvin Featuring Bad Bunny) – CS  
H3roe Favorito (Romeo Santos) – CS  
Las Ultras (Calibre 50)  
Hey Ma (Pitbull & J Balvin Featuring Camila Cabello) – CS & T

#### January 2018:

Mi Gente (J Balvin & Willy William Featuring Beyonce) – CS & T  
~~Despacito (Luis Fonsi & Daddy Yankee Featuring Justin Bieber)~~  
3chame La Culpa (Luis Fonsi & Demi Lovato) – CS  
Mayores (Becky G Featuring Bad Bunny) – CS  
Criminal (Natti Natasha x Ozuna) – CS  
Bella y Sensual (Romeo Santos Featuring Nicky Jam & Daddy Yankee) – CS  
~~Esc3pate Conmigo (Wisin Featuring Ozuna)~~  
Coraz3n (Maluma X Nego do Borel) – CS  
Krippy Kush (Farruko, Nicki Minaj, Bad Bunny, 21 Savage & Rvssian) – CS & T  
~~Felices los 4 (Maluma)~~  
Perro Fiel (Shakira Featuring Nicky Jam)  
Sensualidad (DJ Luian & Mambo Kingz Presentan: Bad Bunny, J Balvin & Prince Royce) – CS  
El Farsante (Ozuna & Romeo Santos) – CS  
Corrido de Juanito (Calibre 50) – CS  
Robarte Un Beso (Carlos Vives & Sebastian Yatra)  
Se Preparo (Ozuna) – CS  
Que Va (Alex Sensation + Ozuna) – CS  
Como Antes (Yandel Featuring Wisin) – CS  
Vuelve (Daddy Yankee & Bad Bunny) – CS  
Imitadora (Romeo Santos) – CS

#### July 2018:

Te Bote (Casper Magico, Nio Garcia, Darell, Nicky Jam, Ozuna & Bad Bunny) – CS  
~~Despacito (Luis Fonsi & Daddy Yankee Featuring Justin Bieber)~~  
Dura (Daddy Yankee) – CS

X (Nicky Jam x J Balvin) – CS  
~~Mi Gente (J Balvin & Willy William Featuring Beyoncé)~~  
Sin Pijama (Becky G + Natti Natasha) – CS  
~~El Farsante (Ozuna & Romeo Santos)~~  
Dame Tu Cosita (Pitbull x El Chombo x Karol G Featuring Cutty Ranks) – CS  
Me Niego (Reik Featuring Ozuna & Wisin)  
Oye Mujer (Raymix)  
Ambiente (J Balvin) – CS  
Única (Ozuna) – CS  
El Préstamo (Maluma) – CS  
Scooby Doo Pa Pa (DJ Kass) – CS  
La Player (Bandelora) (Zion & Lennox) – CS  
Tu Postura (Banda Sinaloense MS de Sergio Lizarraga)  
Mi Cama (Karol G & J Balvin Featuring Nicky Jam) – CS  
El Anillo (Jennifer Lopez) – CS  
Clandestino (Shakira & Maluma) – CS  
El Clavo (Prince Royce Featuring Maluma) – CS

### January 2019:

Taki Taki (DJ Snake Featuring Selena Gomez, Ozuna & Cardi B) – CS  
MIA (Bad Bunny Featuring Drake) – CS  
~~Despacito (Luis Fonsi & Daddy Yankee Featuring Justin Bieber)~~  
~~Te Bote (Casper Magico, Nio Garcia, Darell, Nicky Jam, Ozuna & Bad Bunny)~~  
Ella Quiere Beber (Anuel AA & Romeo Santos) – CS  
Solo De Mi (Bad Bunny)  
~~X (Nicky Jam x J Balvin)~~  
BEBE (6ix9ine Featuring Anuel AA) – CS  
Nunca Es Suficiente (Los Ángeles Azules Featuring Natalia LaFourcade)  
No Te Contaron Mal (Christian Nodal)  
Vaina Loca (Ozuna x Manuel Turizo) – CS  
A Través Del Vaso (Banda Los Sebastianes de Mazatlan, Sinaloa)  
Adictiva (Daddy Yankee & Anuel AA) – CS  
Culpables (Karol G & Anuel AA) – CS  
Amigos Con Derechos (Reik & Maluma)  
Ni Bien Ni Mal (Bad Bunny) – CS  
Amanece (Anuel AA x Haze) – CS  
Mala Mia (Maluma) – CS  
Imposible (Luis Fonsi + Ozuna) – CS  
Mejor Me Alejo (Banda Sinaloense MS de Sergio Lizarraga)

### July 2019:

Con Calma (Daddy Yankee & Katy Perry Featuring Snow) – CS & T  
Callaita (Bad Bunny & Tainy) – CS  
~~MIA (Bad Bunny Featuring Drake)~~  
Soltera (Lunay, Daddy Yankee & Bad Bunny) – CS  
Otro Trago (Sech, Darell, Nicky Jam, Ozuna & Anuel AA) – CS  
Calma (Pedro Capo X Farruko)  
~~Taki Taki (DJ Snake Featuring Selena Gomez, Ozuna & Cardi B)~~  
Baila Baila Baila (Ozuna x Daddy Yankee x J Balvin x Farruko x Anuel AA) – CS  
Te Robare (Nicky Jam X Ozuna) – CS  
No Me Conoce (Jhay Cortez, J Balvin & Bad Bunny)  
Aullando (Wisin & Yandel & Romeo Santos) – CS  
Runaway (Sebastián Yatra, Daddy Yankee, Jonas Brothers & Natti Natasha) – CS  
HP (Maluma) – CS  
Con Altura (ROSALÍA, J. Balvin, & El Guincho)  
Secreto (Anuel AA & Karol G) – CS  
Loco Contigo (DJ Snake, J Balvin & Tyga) – CS

Inmortal (Aventura) – CS  
Amor Genuino (Ozuna) – CS  
Contra La Pared (Sean Paul & J Balvin) – CS  
Simplemente Gracias (Calibre 50)

## B. Isolated switches

All the isolated switches in my corpus are included below – separated by line breaks. The English passages are coded in italics, the Spanish passages in plain text, and words in other languages in bold (as described on p. 52 of the Methods chapter). The line breaks between verses are indicated by two forward slashes (/). The switches are presented song by song, with the title of the track preceding all switches from that track (coded in bold).

### **Bailando (Enrique Iglesias Featuring Descemer Bueno & Gente de Zona):**

*Bless 'em when there ain't no stress//this one is straight For di girl 'em//Enrique Iglesias longside Gente de Zona//Get di girl them in a di zone//Dem a big man, Sean a Paul let me there yeah//What me tell 'em 'pon the zone//Like it just like that//Di girl 'em move 'pon track//Sean a Paul let me there yeah//Enrique, sing for dem//You look at me And girl you take me to another place//Got me feeling like I'm flying, like I'm outer space//Something 'bout your body says 'come and take me'//Got me begging, got me hoping that the night don't stop//Bailando, bailando, bailando, bailando//Tu cuerpo y el mio llenando el vacío*

*Girl you got nothing to lose//I can't wait no more//*(Ya no puedo más)

*(Ya no puedo más)//She a call a me for fit it//'Cause you nah say me not pretty//Me a tell you no for pit it//Ant time when me get it//Is gonna be alright, we take it full play//So we do this all night, baby girl (Rbam bam)*

*I wanna be contigo//And live contigo, and dance contigo//Para have contigo una noche loca//Y besar tu boca*

*I look at you and it feels like paradise (estoy en otra dimensión)*

*You got me spinning, got me crazy, got me hypnotized//I need your love, I need you closer//Keep me begging, keep me hoping that the night don't stop//Bailando, bailando, bailando, bailando//Tu cuerpo y el mio llenando el vacío*

### **Ay Vamos (J Balvin):**

*Que en la calle a nadie besé//*(Infinity Music, *let go*, Infinity)

*Estamos rompiendo o no estamos rompiendo muchachos?//Ok, The Business//1, 2, 3//Let's go*

### **Propuesta Indecente (Romeo Santos):**

*A ver, a ver//Permíteme apreciar tu desnudez//*(Take it off)

*Relájate//Que este Martini calmará tu timidez//*(Don't be shy)

*Poner en juego tu cuerpo//Si te parece prudente//Esta propuesta indecente//I'm back//It feels good to be king*

*Hey//Listen//I know what you like//How bout if you and I//Me and you//¿Bailamos bachata?*

*Y luego you and I//Me and you//¿Terminamo' en la cama?*

*¿Terminamo' en la cama?//*(Terminamos en la cama)//*How bout if you and I (You and I)//Me and you (Me and you)//You and I (You and I)//Me and you (You)//You and I (You and I)//Me and you//*(I'm a badboy)//*Me and you (You)*

**Eres Mia (Romeo Santos):**

Le digo a tu esposo con risas//Que solo es prestada//La mujer que ama//Porque sigues siendo mía//*You won't forget Romeo*

Te deseo lo mejor//Y el mejor soy yo//*The King//You know you heart is mine//And you love me forever//You know you heart is mine//And you love me forever//Baby Your heart is mine//And you love me forever//Baby your heart is mine//And you love me forever*

**6 AM (J Balvin Featuring Farruko):**

Oye! (*Turn up the riddim*)

Yo amanezco a lado tuyo, bebe (*gal*)//Yo no recuerdo, solo se que amaneció//Y que tenia un tatuaje que decía "*Peace & Love*"

**Odio (Romeo Santos Featuring Drake):**

*Yeah//Envy//Is a sign of admiration//Hate//Is the epitome of destruction//Tal parece//Que mi amor crece y crece*  
Escucha las palabras//*Yeah*

Él es tu sonrisa//(*Turn the lights on*)

*You were the one//You've been the one//From the moment I seen you//Sometimes I questioned//If this is all real//then I grab//On that ass and I firmly believe it//And you//Look like you drawn by an artist//No you//You look like Bernice & Yaris//But both put together//Those are some girls//That I know from back home//If you see 'em you'll get it//Look don't worry about it//Keep speaking Spanish//I'll get it translated//You know you my baby//Anything for you//Anything baby//I do not wanna be enemies baby//I would just much rather give you a baby//And buy you a house//So I live with you baby//Don't stay with this new guy//I really go crazy//I really go crazy//Y por ti//Vivo aniquilado en el despecho*

**Yo Tambien (Romeo Santos Featuring Marc Anthony):**

*Listen//Lo mío fue puro sentimiento*

(Yo también la amé)//*He's nasty*

**El Perdon (Nicky Jam & Enrique Iglesias):**

*I know you moved on//I heard you doing better without me//Girl this is driving me crazy//Can't you see what you doing to me//She let go//She killed me when she said it was over//Now I'm in the middle of nowhere//And got no space to breath//I'm missing you baby//Up all night going crazy//Now my angel can't save me//Oh no//I'm missing you baby//Up all night going crazy//Drinking my pain away//Girl I'm not with you//You're not with me//And I don't like the way it feels//Esto no me gusta//Esto no me gusta*

*Can't take the pain//Can't take the hurt//I wish that I could turn back time and say I love you//I'd do anything to make it work, ohh//Cause even through the times they try to hate on us//The only thing that mattered to me was our love//Never will I stop, I'll never get enough//I'm missing you baby//Up all night going crazy//Now my angel can't save me//Oh no//I'm missing you baby//Up all night going crazy//Drinking my pain away//Girl I'm not with you//You're not with me//And I don't like the way it feels//Esto no me gusta//Esto no me gusta*

*I know they say that you're moving on//But I'm begging you please don't go//No, I don't wanna let you go, oh no//Yeah you know that I want you back//Baby I love you to the max//From here to the moon and back//Girl I'm not with you//You're not with me//And I don't like the way this feels//Esto no me gusta//Esto no me gusta*

*Esto no me gusta, oh yeah, oh no*

**Nota de Amor (Wisn + Carlos Vives Featuring Daddy Yankee):**

Oh oh oh que me dure a la *forever*

**Hilito (Romeo Santos):**

Sin ti mi vida, no conduce a nada.//*Come on*

No valoré tu amor y me sentí Tarzán, (en un hilito)//Y todos los hombres lloran hasta super-man.//*I know babe, you know I do//Ill never find your love//I took you for granted and now I'm hanging from a row*

**Sigueme y Te Sigo (Daddy Yankee):**

Rumba//Oh oh//*DY*

*Baby*, hágame enloquecer

**Pierdo La Cabeza (Zion & Lennox):**

Tú y yo en esta noche besándonos (*this is the remix*)//*Baby* lo nuestro es como una aventura

Arca y de la Ghetto, *homie*//los dueños del *flow* verdadero//Nosotros somos los favoritos//*Urban rhyme*//La familia//*Remix baby*//*Remix baby*

**La Mordidita (Ricky Martin Featuring Yotuel):**

Vamo' a lo *low*, para sentir tu *flow*

**Ginza (J Balvin):**

Te ves bonita con tu *swing* salvaje

**Borro Cassette (Maluma):**

Y tú mami como dices que no te acuerdas//Como mi cuerpo te calienta//Ven dímelo en la cara y no mientas//Dejemos de jugar//*Yeah yo, yeah yo*//*Pretty Boy*//*Dirty Boy Baby*

Y yo soy Maluma *baby*, oh no

Que mi reina (*Pretty Boy*)

**Te Busco (Cosculluela // Nicky Jam):**

Ma' *babe*

**Vaiven (Daddy Yankee):**

*Shorty* con tu porte no hay quien te soporte

*Boom* vai vai vaivén ven ven

Sigue//*Go, go*

*Boom* va que *boom* vai

*Boom* va que *boom* vaivén ven ven

**Encantadora (Yandel):**

*Welcome to the official remix*//Na na na, eh//Yandel la Leyenda

Y me enamoré (*this is the Remix*)//(*Ey yo man*, Farru)

*Baby//Tienes algo que me encanta//Na na na, eh//Zion Baby*

*Tú eres encantadora bebé//Dangerous*

**Sunset (Farruko Featuring Shaggy & Nicky Jam):**

*Me want to see you when the sun a come down//Baby girl no bother walk, just run come//Say rum a drink, make have fun//I'll be there for you when it's all done//Girl me nah lie//Love how you shape the way you're design//When you a bubble and your waistline//You know Mr. lover lover//Nah waste time.//Viendo el sol y el atardecer//Sentados solos frente al mar*

*Sharo Torres//From Miami//This is Carbon Fiber Music*

**Culpa Al Corazon (Prince Royce):**

*Junto a ti, baby  
No me culpes a MI mami (oh baby)*

*No me culpes a mí (ay MI niña oh)//Yeah*

*Royce//(I got that good shit, girl you want that good shit)*

**Choca (Plan B):**

*Tú tienes un booty booty mami*

*Cuando te doy un poco de dicky no te quity*

*La combinación//En el Love and Sex//Pina Records*

**Bobo (J Balvin):**

*Que amores en la calle siempre hay demás//J Balvin man*

**Duele El Corazon (Enrique Iglesias Featuring Wisin):**

*Con él te duele el corazón//Y conmigo te duelen los pies (yeah)*

**Duele El Corazon (Enrique Iglesias Featuring Wisin):**

*One love, one love//I know that you want me//So why'd you turn away//Think of the perfect sex//You and I can make//You tell me you're a good girl//Baby I don't mind//Porque sé que sueñas//Con poderme ver//Mujer, que vas a hacer//Decídete pa' ver*

*Si te vas you know I'm gonna go*

*Si me das I'll take you on the low*

*Mi amor, I want you all to myself//I'll love you like no one else*

*Con él te duele el corazón//Y conmigo te duelen los pies//In the night I wake up//Wonder where you are//Thinking about your touch//Dreaming in the dark//He don't take me dancing//Not the way you do//I'm out of my mind for you//Cuz you're in my head//In every drop of sweat//You know I can't forget//I want you when I'm alone//I guess it's time to let you know*

*Con él te duele el corazón//Y conmigo te duelen los pies//Girl don't even think about it//You'll never find another like me//No comparison to a brother like me//The situation with you and you man//Mean u care//U can't a lover like me//Listen to I man//Visit the island//Satisfaction you want//Girl you get it from a yard man//So a me you fi call on//Girl you're the real blueprint//This is a new carbon*

Con él te duele el corazón//Y conmigo te duelen los pies//*I know that you want me//So why'd you turn away//Think of the perfect sex//You and I can make...*

**El Perdedor (Maluma Featuring Yandel):**

*This is the remix//¿Pa qué me estás llamando?//Maluma//You baby//El pretty boy*

Yo te hablo claro//*Remix*

Es el *pretty boy//Pretty boy baby*

Yo soy maluma *baby//This is the remix*

**Andas En Mi Cabeza (Chino & Nacho Featuring Daddy Yankee):**

Y por siempre te amé (*I love you, girl*)

Solo pide que, te de *my love//Que te de my love, que te de*

**Picky (Joey Montana Featuring Akon & Mohombi):**

*Another hot Joey//Hot hot//Another hot Joey//Joey Montana//Girl you better get all out and stop being so picky//Le digo hola*

Le digo hola y ella me dice *goodbye*

*Picky picky picky picky picky picky//Demasiado picky picky picky picky picky*

Dime que pasó, cual es tu rechazo//*Why*

Me ignoras y te das la vuelta sin siquiera hablarme//*Tell me why*

(Conmigo ella no quiere bailar)//*Ey Joey Montana//Yoo Predi*

*Back to the roots//Conmigo ella no quiere bailar*

**Picky (Joey Montana Featuring Akon & Mohombi):**

*Girl you better get out there and stop, being so picky//She got a hold on me//And got a way of making money fold on me//No matter what happen she can call on me//And when the world crashing she can fall on me//My baby so pickyyy, picky picky//She so treakyyy, treaky treaky//Thing it's a game tryna ball on me//Might let this pretty babe, buy 'Em all on me//My baby so pickyyy, picky picky//And so prettyyy, pretty pretty//Always find the way to get that money//And anything she want she can buy on me//Suena la música y lo que yo quiero//Es bailar contigo nena pero yo no puedo//No puedo me dice yo no quiero*

*Esperaré do ma thing and if think you got it body we dancing//Rich monday through the week, //i'm okay by the end of Sunday, i have no money she so//Picky picky picky picky picky//Conmigo ella no quiere bailar//Uh oh oh if you only knew the things I do for you//Baby girl let me show*

Mami *why so been so*

*Let me let me let me treat you good mami*

*Let me let me give everything you need//Let me know when you ready baby let's go//Let me know when you ready Baby//My baby so pickyyy, picky picky//She so treakyyy, treaky treaky//Thing it's a game tryna ball on me Might let this pretty babe, buy 'Em all on me//Suena la música y lo que yo quiero//Es bailar contigo nena pero yo no puedo*



**Shaky Shaky (Daddy Yankee):**

Tamo' en vivo//Sube sube sube el *mic mic*

Que vamo' pa' la jodedera a *full baby*

*Shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky//Shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky//Shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky//*Como é dame una vueltita otra vez

*Shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky//Shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky//Shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky, shaky//*Tú la ves, como hace lo suyo, tú la ves

Mucho piquete, mucho *flow flow* nos matamos

Con tu jean siempre alduri cuando le roza el *booty*

Que pa esta liga no se asomen//*One take*

**Chantaje (Shakira Featuring Maluma):**

Oye *baby* no seas mala

Nadie (nadie)//Eh eh eh eh//*Alright, alright baby*

*Pretty Boy*//Colombia

Colombia//*You feel me*//*Pretty boy*

**Safari (J Balvin Featuring Pharrell Williams, BIA & Sky):**

Mami mami con tu *body* (a mí me gusta)

Este *party* es un safari (a ella le gusta)

*Baby* así es lo que me gusta

*You know I like it when* tú estás fresco

A ella le gusta (*lego*)

**Chillax (Farruko Featuring Ky-Mani Marley):**

Tú *Chilling*, yo *Chilling*

Yo así mismo fue como yo lo soñé//*She is sassy*//*And I can tell by the look in her eyes that she wants me*

*She'll be drinking and be drunk now she callin' me papi*

Es que *Miss Señorita*//*I wanna explain* una cosita

*It's sweeter than the mala* dices *beggin'* through my speakers

*Tonight I'll be the student baby you can be my teacher*//Que tienes tú//Que me gusta a mi

Me hace sentir//Bien *chilling Baby*

Tú me tienes sumergido en un trance//Solo te pido un *chance*

**Vente Pa' Ca (Ricky Martin Featuring Maluma):**

Vente pa' 'ca ah//*All right, all right baby//Pretty boy, dirty boy, baby!*

Tu *booty* me arrebató, tu sonrisa me atrapa

**Dile Que Tu Me Quieres (Ozuna):**

*Baby*, dicen que//Los mejores sentimientos vienen//De quien tiene el corazón de piedra

Hay *music* hay *flow*

**Sin Contrato (Maluma Featuring Fifth Harmony Or Don Omar & Wisin):**

Original:

Y si no quieres solo dame un rato//*Baby* pero sin ningún contrato

Y si no quieres solo dame un rato//*Baby* pero sin ningún descanso

No tiene caso que sea tu amigo//Y si no quieres solo dame un rato *baby*

De todo todo quiero hacer contigo//Y si no quieres solo dame un rato *baby*

Translation:

No te importa no me importa que seamos amigos//*Boy I love how you take control//Ah ah ah//I can never get enough//Tell the DJ turn it up//We can dance all night long//If you wanna see where this goes//Ah ah ah//Then you gotta see me moving cause//Tonight you're turning me on*

Tú y yo solitos mami hasta el amanecer, *Ok!*

**Vacaciones (Wisin):**

*Baby*, usted anda conmigo así que tranquila

Me fascina, *baby* enséñame la rutina

**Cuatro Babys (Maluma Featuring Bryant Myers, Noriel and Juhn):**

Dos son casadas//Hay una soltera//La otra medio *psycho* y si no la llamo se desespera

Estoy enamorado de cuatro *babies*

Es que la *babies* están *bunny* ninguna las 4 se ha hecho completas

El *dirty* las va a entretener

En la casa gigante y un *party* en el yate que él quiere tener

*Dirty boy*, Maluma//*Versatility*, muchachos

Santana, *the golden boy*

Dimelo *star baby*

### **Reggaeton Lento (Bailemos) (CNCO & Little Mix):**

#### Original:

Ese trajecito corto le queda bien//Combinado con su *lipstick* color café

La noche está para un reggaetón lento//De esos que no se bailan hace tiempo//*I know you like it when I take you to the floor*

*I know you like this reggaetón lento*

*This ain't stoppin' baby 'til I say so//Come get come get some more*

Es imposible atrasar las horas//Cada minuto contigo es un sueño

#### Translation:

*Boy, I can see the way you dancing, move that body//I know it's crazy, but I feel like you could be//The one that I've been chasing in my dreams//Boy, I can see you're looking at me like you want it//{Oh, usually I'm like, "Whatever," but tonight//The way you moving got me, "Where am I?"}//It started when I looked in her eyes I got close and I'm like "Bailemos", hey*

La noche está para un reggaetón lento (*Yeah, hey*)

*So now we dancing un reggaetón lento//Just get a little closer, baby, let go*

*Excuse me baby boy, just had to dance with you now//See there's nobody in here that comes close to you, no//Your hands are on my waist, my lips you wanna taste//Come muévete, muévete, muévete*

*Our bodies on fire, with full of desire//If you feel what I feel, throw your hands up higher//And to all the ladies around the world//Go ahead and muévete, muévete, muévete*

*You know I like it when I take you to the floor (The floor)//I know you like this reggaetón lento (Lento)*

*Ohh, boy, I wish that this could last forever//'Cause every second by your side is heaven//Oh, come give me that, give me that boom, boom, boom, oh//I tell you, baby, you, baby, you get me hotter//Loving made me sick, made me sick, you my doctor//Don't you know you're playing with fire tonight//Can we get it right here one more time, yeah//It started when I looked in her eyes//I got close and I'm like "Bailemos", hey*

*Let's get a little closer, slow the tempo, ah//Muévete, muévete (Just dance with me now)//Drop it low, drop it low*

### **Te Quiero Pa'mi (Don Omar & Zion & Lennox):**

El Rey//Zion *Baby*

### **Nunca Me Olvides (Yandel):**

Nah, nah (*dangerous*)

### **Despacito (Luis Fonsi & Daddy Yankee Featuring Justin Bieber):**

#### Original:

Tengo que bailar contigo hoy (*DY*)

Solo con pensarlo se acelera el pulso (*Oh yeah*)

Tus lugares favoritos (favoritos, favoritos *baby*)

Translation:

*Comin' over in my direction//So thankful for that, it's such a blessin', yeah//Turn every situation into heaven, yeah//Oh-oh, you are//My sunrise on the darkest day//Got me feelin' some kind of way//Make me wanna savor every moment slowly, slowly//You fit me tailor-made, love how you put it on//Got the only key, know how to turn it on//The way you nibble on my ear, the only words I wanna hear//Baby, take it slow so we can last long//¡Oh! Tú, tú eres el imán y yo soy el metal//Me voy acercando y voy armando el plan*

*Despacito//This is how we do it down in Puerto Rico*

*I just wanna hear you screaming, "¡Ay, Bendito!"*

*I can move forever cuando esté contigo*

**Felices los 4 (Maluma):**

*Maluma baby//A penas sale el sol y tú te vas corriendo*

*Y lo hacemos otro rato (alright, alright baby)//Y lo hacemos otro rato*

*No importa el qué dirán, nos gusta así (Te agrandamos el cuarto, baby)//Y siempre que se va, regresa a mí (Y felices los 4)*

*El código secreto, baby//No importa el que dirán, somos tal para cual*

**Escapate Conmigo (Wisin Featuring Ozuna):**

*Mi super nova que una sonrisa me roba tremenda loba solo un beso y//calienta la alcoba se me pega y me soba no se//incómoda la baby es una pantera y yo soy su Casanova*

**Subeme La Radio (Enrique Iglesias Featuring Descemer Bueno, Zion & Lennox):**

*Súbeme la radio//Sunshine in the rain//In the mind is the pain//Tra-tráeme el alcohol//Deep on me heart like stain//(yeah, yeah)*

*Súbeme la radio que esta es mi canción//Siente el bajo que va subiendo//Time will heal it but now we feel it//Turn up the music and run pain away*

*I wanted you forever//Don't act like you don't feel it//I should have loved you better//But I still can't believe (remember that girl!)//It's killing me that you're gone//How the hell do I move on//I'm drinking from this bottle//Cause I can't take it no more//(Hear me, I tell you)//Alright then girl, yo//Light fall on my hallways, I feel awake//Baby girl, come and look me I see you face//Remember the days when we would blaze//And everything was amazing//Súbeme la radio que esta es mi canción//Siente el bajo que va subiendo*

*My body on your body (hey!)//My heart against your heart//But when I go to touch you//I just wake up in the dark (bdabang bang bang)//You gotta know that I miss you//I can never forget you//Girl I know I gotta let it go//But I wish that I was with you//Súbeme la radio que esta es mi canción//Siente el bajo que va subiendo*

*Time will heal it but now we feel it//Turn up the music and run pain away//Súbeme la radio que esta es mi canción//Siente el bajo que va subiendo*

*Tell you this//Make your body turn twist, make you reminisce//Baby girl cause you know so me never miss//Though ya gone from me life, me remember this//How me and you turn into enemies//Sunshine on me life*

*mia memories//To get you back into me life//I swear it is, I swear it is//Baby girl you drain all my energies//Yo no te miento//Todavía te espero*

**Ahora Dice (Chris Jeday, Anuel, Cardi B, Offset, J. Balvin, Ozuna & Arcangel):**

*Baby//Chris Jeday (Chris Jeday)//Austin baby//J Balvin man//Ozuna baby, (Ozuna)//No quiere saber na' de mí*

*Cómo en la cama nos matábamos (Let go, come on)*

*Cuando en la cama nos matábamos (J Balvin man)*

*Si sales de party me escuchas a mí, siempre te preguntan por mí baby//Dime qué se siente ser el fantasma que te atormenta a ti*

*J Balvin man//Ozuna//Ozuna man//Arca//Ozuna//Arca man//Austin baby//Así es como es*

**Sigo Extranandote (J Balvin):**

*Veo que subes Instagram no te importa el qué dirán baby//Con las fotos que tú subes yo muriéndome*

*Era envidiable lo de los dos yeah yeah//Es que esta noche volvería a tocarte*

*En todo momento//J Balvin man//Sky rompiendo el bajo*

*Sky rompiendo el bajo//Mo mo Mosty//Bull Nene//Fel//Lego//Infinity Music//Energía*

**Tu Foto (Ozuna):**

*Pa' yo poder hablarte, si me dejaras amarte, tratarte//Baby te lo juro vas a ser feliz*

*Dímelo Beat*

**Hey DJ (CNCO & Yandel):**

*Cnco baby//Soy yo, el que no para de llamarte*

*Y hay algo en ti que me arrebató, bata//Baby tú me tienes loco, loco*

*Dj ponme reggaeton, pero full pa' pasarla cool//Hay muchas en la discoteca pero solo me gustas tú*

**Si Tu Novio Te Deja Sola (J Balvin Featuring Bad Bunny):**

*J Balvin//Ba, Bad Bunny//Let go, Let go, Let go//Yo vivo día y noche pensando en ti*

*Dime dónde estás que yo te quiero ver//Yeah*

*Solo me bastarán un par de horas (Let go)//Y ese cabrón no va a recuperarte*

*Un culito así no se encuentra en eBay//Este bicho es tuyo, te lo tengo all night awake//Más ninguna tiene brake//Yo soy un pitcher pero a ti te vo'a hacer doble play (Yeah)*

*Dile a tu novio que ya se le venció el contrato//Conmigo son de wax los arrebató//Yeah*

*Con él siempre pierdes, conmigo win//Te pienso to' el día bien nasty//Miles de mujeres, miles en botellas, no hay chimba*

*Avísale (Avísale)//Que encontraste reemplazo//Y que espere pa' un rato// (Yeah)*

Solo me bastarán un par de horas (J Balvin *man*)

#### Heroe Favorito (Romeo Santos):

Y si alguien te pregunta por tu héroe favorito//Dile que soy yo//(*That's the golden touch right there//The king is back//I wanna be your super hero//Your paladin of love//You've got that baby?*)

#### Hey Ma (Pitbull & J Balvin Featuring Camila Cabello):

##### Original:

No perdamos el tiempo, pam pa pam pam//*I need you//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//I need you//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//Girl, it's getting hotter//I can't take much more//I need you//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//I need you*

Esto es un *party*, que siga, como sea

¿Cómo qué? Como tú quieras, a tu manera//*Are you single?*//Quítate las payamitas pa' que tú veas

No puedo respirar sin tu amor//*Baby, tu amor*

Dime lo que vas a hacer//Dime lo que vas a hacer, no, no, no, no, no, no, no//*I need you//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//I need you//Hey, mama, hey, mama, hey, mama, hey, ma'//Girl, it's getting hotter//I can't take much more//I need you//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//I need you//I need you, hey!*

Pa' mi gente latina, *stand up*//¡Cuba!//*I need you*

##### Translated version:

*I'm here like for one night//So we don't gotta waste time//I know that you feel it//My hands upon your waist land//So won't you, come closer//Let me know you're all mine (let me know)//Let me know you're all mine (let go)//*

*And I might stay tonight//But not for long//And I might say goodbye//Right now, baby, right now//(I need you)//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//(I need you)//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//Girl, it's getting hotter//I can't take much more//(I need you)//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//(I need you)//I am what they wanna be//Check the stacks//James Bond in the flesh, girl//That's a fact//I was raised by old g's//So I'm low key (uh huh)//How much you need?//And you like//"Baby believe me"//I'm a freak//That can eat, that can beat//That can treat you like that queen//That you was meant to be//{Oh yeah}//I'm the good, I'm that raw//Slick on the dong//With nothing to something//To had it all//Now, mami, just watch, learn and listen//I've got a feeling so good she stay switchin'//But before I banish//She spoke Spanish//She said: "Papito rico, te necesito"*

*I might stay tonight//But not for long//And I might say goodbye//But right now, yeah baby, right now//(I need you)//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//(I need you)//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//Girl, it's getting hotter//I can't take much more//(I need you)//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//(I need you)*

*I need you//If you touch me right//If you touch me right//I might stay the night//I might stay the night//{Oh, we can take our time}//We could take our time//I know we gotta say goodbye//No, no, no//I know we gotta say goodbye//No, no, no, no, no, no, no//(I need you)//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//(I need you)//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//Girl, it's getting hotter//I can't take much more//(I need you)//Hey mama, hey mama, hey mama, hey ma'//(I need you//I need you//I need you, hey!//Pa mi gente latina, stand up!//Cuba!)//I need you*

#### Mi Gente (J Balvin & Willy William Featuring Beyonce):

##### Original version:

Francia//Colombia//Me gusta (*Freeze*)

Los DJ's no mienten//Le gusta a mi gente//Eso se fue mundial (*Freeze*)

Y dónde está mi gente//*Say yeah, yeah, yeah* (Un, dos, tres)

*World wide*//Willy William//J Balvin, *man*//Ajá

Translated version:

Los DJ's no mienten, le gusta a mi gente//Y eso se fue mundial (*Freeze*)

¿Y dónde está mi gente?//**Mais fais bouger la tête**//Azul, *are you with me*//*Say yeah, yeah, yeah*//Un, dos, tres, *leggo*//(*Ay yeah, yeah, yeah*)

*He say my body stay wetter than the ocean//And he say that Creole in my body is like a potion//I can be a beast or I can give you emotion//But please don't question my devotion//I been giving birth on these haters 'cause I'm fertile//See these double Cs on this bag, murda//Want my double Ds in his bed, Serta//If you really love me make an album about me, word up//Soon as I walk in//Boys start they talkin//Right as that booty sway (Freeze)//Slay//Lift up your people//From Texas, Puerto Rico//Dem' islands to Mexico (Freeze)//¿Y dónde está mi gente? (Yeah, yeah, yeah)//**Mais fais bouger la tête** (Yeah, yeah, yeah)//¿Y dónde está mi gente? (Yeah, yeah, yeah)//*Say yeah, yeah, yeah*//Un, dos, tres, *leggo*//Esquina a esquina (esquina a esquina)//De ahí no' vamo' (de ahí no' vamo')*

**Echame La Culpa (Luis Fonsi & Demi Lovato):**

*Hey Fonsi//Oh no* (Qué pasa Demi)//*Hmm//Hey yeah*//Tengo en esta historia algo que confesar//Ya entendí muy bien qué fue lo que pasó

Es mejor olvidar y dejarlo así (así)//Échame la culpa//*Ok//I don't really, really wanna fight anymore//I don't really, really wanna fake it no more//Play me like The Beatles, baby, just let it be//So come and put the blame on me, yeah//I don't really, really wanna fight anymore//I don't really, really wanna fake it no more//Play me like The Beatles, baby, just let it be//So come and put the blame on me, yeah*

**Mayores (Becky G Featuring Bad Bunny):**

Como yo, ninguno//Un caballero con 21, *yeah*//Yo estoy puesto pa' todas tus locura'

Loca//Bad Bunny *baby baby*//Jeje

**Criminal (Natti Natasha x Ozuna):**

Tu estilo, tu *flow*, *baby* muy criminal

Tu estilo, tu *flow*, mami muy criminal

Tú me dices que yo me dejo llevar//Será porque tienes un *flow*//Demasio' de cri-criminal *baby*

Similar yo la he visto por ahí

**Bella y Sensual (Romeo Santos Featuring Nicky Jam & Daddy Yankee):**

Hola mi amor, vengo acompañado (*DY*)//*lemme holla at you for a second*

Uno de nosotros es de barrio fino, un tipo muy real (*The big boss*)//Nos jugó una apuesta, que ni te miremos que te va a robar (*Tamo' ready*)

El otro es medio loco, con veinte tatuajes y ese *swing* de calle (Dímelo papi)

Uno de nosotros te tiene que conquistar (*You know who it is baby*, Daddy)

Nicky vuela como un phoenix, Romeo es bachata *king*

*Baby* yo sé que está difícil la decisión

Uno de nosotros te tiene que conquistar//Daddy//N-I-C-K//*Golden combination*

#### **Corazon (Maluma X Nego do Borel):**

*Alright, alright baby*//Tú me partiste el corazón (Maluma, *baby*)

Ahora te digo *goodbye*//**Muito obrigado**, pa' ti ya no hay

Ahora te digo *goodbye*//**Muito obrigado**, pa' ti ya no hay (Maluma, *baby*)

*Pretty boy baby*//*Dirty boy baby*//Maluma *baby*

Tú me partiste el corazón (Maluma, *baby*)

#### **Krippy Kush (Farruko, Nicki Minaj, Bad Bunny, 21 Savage & Rvssian:**

##### Original:

To'a las *babys* quieren kush, kush, kush, kush, kush

*Yeah, yeah, yeah*//Aquí pasamos moñas por el TSA

Del celular traqueo con el *GPS*//Y el *shipping* se lo cobramo' al bobo de tu ex

Que le baje a la *movie*, que pa' acá no venga a frontear

Toa' las putas quieren kush//*Yeah yeah*//Bad Bunny, *baby baby*//Farru//Trapxficante//*Yeah yeah yeah*//Alex Killer

##### Translation:

Hola//Me llamo Onika//Wrist FRIO

*Make some room hoe, keep a hundred feet away*//Fifty trucks when I pull up we a fleet away//You ain't on my throne, ain't even a seat away//But thanks to Nicki, all these new bitches can see the way//I got the krippy, I ain't talking 'bout the gangs tho//Had all these bitches rocking pink hair and bangs tho//Now I got 'em rocking inches now//But I'll leave these bitches hanging like lynches now//Word play got 'em stepping up they pens's now//Still stick me for my flow like syringes, now//Still kicking closed doors off the hinges now//Shotgun and them '88 Benzes, now//With my plug, I call him Pancho//But I think he wants that chocha//Put this n\*gger in his boca//Make my niggas take his coca//Now I'm balling like I'm Sosa//In that Lamborghini rosa//Yelling viva Puerto Rico//All my bitches es hermosa

*Call baby girl up it's time to smoke something*' (21)//I know you heard I'm Slaughter Gang, I smoke something (*Yeah*)//Off the head, yeah, I ain't never wrote nothing (*Facts*)//Pretty face, ass fat, I'm tryna poke something//(*Yah Yah*)//*Yeah back it up baby, let me see you twerk* (21)//*Spillin' codeine on my Gucci shirt*//*Yeah whole lotta racks and krispy* (*Krispy*)//And she throw that ass back like Frisbee (*On God*)//Uh huh, smoking krippy kush (*krippy kush*)//Fill the backwoods up with the whole bush//I might pass her to the team cause she old news//Tryna make a hundred M's using Pro Tools//In a Maybach and I'm laid back (21)//Put a bullet hole yeah in ya wave cap (*On God*)//You better pay me now (*Now*)//I don't cut slack (*Nah*)//All these VVS's (21)//Make you upset (21 21 21)//Pero ahora estoy pal' krippy, krippy, krippy, krippy, krippy//También tenemos kush, kush,



kush, kush, kush//Lo' gansters quieren krippy, krippy, krippy, krippy, krippy

**Sensualidad (DJ Luian & Mambo Kingz Presentan: Bad Bunny, J Balvin & Prince Royce):**

Trap Kingz *baby*//Yeah eh//Yeah yeah yeah yeah//Uh woah oh//Ay *baby*, tu sensualidad

*Baby*, donde tú quieras yo paso a buscarte

La *baby* está dura y sin el cirujano

La temperatura está pa' calentarte (*yeah*)

Con su hoodie de vape, siempre ando en *backstage*

No me la toquen porque ella es una fiera//Yeah yeah (*yeah, yeah*) yeah yeah (*yeah yeah*)

Ella es tan bella, tal como la imaginé//Yeah yeah (*yeah, yeah*) yeah yeah (*yeah yeah*)

Es mi *baby*, solo yo la puedo tener

La temperatura está pa' calentarte//Yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah//Bad Bunny *baby* (Bad Bunny ba-ba-*baby*)

*Let go*//Prince Royce (Prince Royce)//J Balvin, *man*

Mambo Kingz//Yeah (Hear This Music)//Trap Kingz *baby*//Tiempo de Balvin//*Let go, let go*//Dímelo Brasa

**El Farsante (Ozuna & Romeo Santos):**

*This is a Golden Remix*//King//Calculan que relaciones que fracasan mayormente es por desengaño//Falsedad que contamina y hace daño

Yo sin ti no vuelvo a enamorarme, bebé//*How to do it*//Golden Remix//The King

**Corrido de Juanito (Calibre 50):**

De botitas y sombrero, me miran seguido por el *freeway*//Jardinero, cocinero, igual me la rifo dirán *anyways*

**Se Preparo (Ozuna):**

Porque su novio a ella la engañaba//Como si nada//uh oh oh//*Baby*//Ozuna

*Odisea, the album*

**Que Va (Alex Sensation + Ozuna):**

Viajo el mundo por si algún día la veo//Claro *baby*//Yo sé que te tuviste pa' mi

**Vuelve (Daddy Yankee & Bad Bunny):**

Dime *baby* si tú piensas volver, yeh eh

'Tas con el pero eres mía//Extraño la colección de *babydoll*//Como te quedan bebé

Dime sí como yo lo sabe hacer, eh eh eh//Yeah yeah Fumo, fumo y no me arrebato

Tus besos eran lip//*Baby* lo nuestro nunca tenga RIP

Súper imposible olvidarme de ti//Y de todo lo que hicimos en aquella *suite*

*Baby* tu eras de verdad

Cambiamos el oro por el cobre Daddy Yankee//*Dy//King//Daddy Yankee yo//Cartel Daddy Yankee yo*

Disco Duro *baby*

**Imitadora (Romeo Santos):**

Hey//*Who are you?*//Mi memoria ha conservado lo que se ha llevado el viento

Si en verdad eres la original, demuéstremelo//Tú no eras así cuando te conocí//*The king*

*Tell me where she's at?*//¿Quién es esta imitadora hoy en su lugar?//*Tell me where she's at?*//Yo la extraño ¿a dónde se me perdió?//*Tell me where she's at?*//Que regrese mi amada porque tú//No eres tú

**Te Bote (Casper Magico, Nio Garcia, Darell, Nicky Jam, Ozuna & Bad Bunny):**

No creo que lo nuestro se repita//Dale, prende un phillie, deja uno *ready* pa' ahorita (*yeah!*)

*Baby*, mejor que tú ahora tengo como diez

Pal' carajo te mandé, yo te mandé//Y a tu amiga me clavé, me la clavé//*Fuck you*, hijo 'e puta

Contigo yo obliga'o hoy yo me pongo el condón//Pero porque voy a media cancha, *baby*, como Rondo

Cierro los ojos y piensa en to' lo que hicimos, *baby*//Prendo pa' ver si me olvido

Cierro los ojos y piensa en to' lo que hicimos, *baby*

Me voy con las *babys* que quieran jugar

**Dura (Daddy Yankee):**

Tú tienes el *size*, otra com o tú mami no hay//Pégate, dale boom *bye bye*

Pégate, dale boom *bye bye, yep, yeah*

Dura, dura, dura (*DY*)

**X (Nicky Jam x J Balvin):**

Solo deja que yo te agarre, *baby*//Besos en el cuello pa' calmar la sed

Pero ve y cuéntales parte por parte//Cómo tenemos *sex* y te quito el estrés

Y no te voy a negar (ah, ah)//N.I.C.K//J Balvin *man*//Nicky, Nicky, Nicky Jam

Deja que el *beat* siga r-r-r-rompiendo//*Yeah*//Woah

**Sin Pijama (Becky G + Natti Natasha):**

*Baby*, hoy no vamo' a dormir (no)

La pasamos *romantic*//Sin piloto *automatic*

Espero tu *call*, vente dame el gol

Natti Nat, *yeah-yeah*//(No traje pijama//Porque no me dio la gana)

Becky G, *baby* (*Baby*, hoy no vamo' a dormir)

**Dame Tu Cosita (Pitbull x El Chombo x Karol G Featuring Cutty Ranks):**

Hah, bienvenidos a la cripta//*Mister Worldwide*//Todas las mujeres con las manos arriba

Dame tu cosita, ah, *baby*, *give it to me*

*Whippin' this on* casa campo, yo soy el diablo, Romeo es el santo//*Mister 305, Mister Worldwide*//*All my business partners they call me* Armando (Armando)

Vamos pa' Caleta, es la grasa, bailando, gozando, acabando//*Beauty schools around the world*//*Then if you got a question, ask* Fernando//Dale mamita, tú 'tá rica, dame tu cosita, mmm

To' el mundo anda pega'o bailando este *remix*//Karol G obviamente se pegó (ay)

**Ambiente (J Balvin):**

Como me hablas, me desespero (me desespero, *baby*)//Aq-aquí dañándome la mente

¿Tú estás *hot*? Yo también

**Unica (Ozuna):**

Tengo un par de *baby*', nunca se pone celosa

**El Prestamo (Maluma):**

Y prefiero hablarte claro (Maluma *baby*)

Lo más grande que tenía y no lo quieres devolver (Maluma, *baby*)

Te entregué todo mi amor y no lo quieres devolver (*alright, alright*)

Por qué no te buscas quién te ame y te enamoras (Maluma *baby*)

En el juego del amor mucho he perdido (*I'm sorry baby*)

Y prefiero hablarte claro (Maluma *baby*, mua)

Yo lo presté (*Alright, alright*)

Y no lo quieres devolver (Maluma *baby*)

**Scooby Doo Pa Pa (DJ Kass):**

*Mr. Worldwide* (jajaja)//To' el mundo en la discoteca con las manos pa' arriba

*I'm livin' Don Chino with the most winnin' women*//*It was all a dream, but now we just live it* (jaja)//*Playin' [?]*//*with my bro, Joe*//*Alley-oop, slam dunk, yeah, that's for sure* (jaja)//*Mix it then [?]*//*I guess you can say she gon' hit the jackpot*//*Yeah, yeah, yeah, this a jack move*//*Now the game mine, yeah, bitch, I'm that smooth*//*Damn, my life done changed*//*From hustlin' on the block to fallin' off a yacht (safe)*//*Damn, my life done changed*//*But I took a step out it and it's still off the chain (that's right)*//*Damn, my life done*

*changed//From sippin' on vodka to ownin' Voli (305)//Damn, my life done changed//From an AK, chop-chop to scooby doo pa-pa//Y la cosa suena, ¡ra!*

*Eenie, meeny, miny, moe//I licked it and hit it, now she want some more//I like them on all fours//I'm all for it, for sure//Armando el loquito, el querer a un besito en el ojo, carmelito*

*Tú 'tás pa' mí (I seen you looking that)//Yo 'toy pa' ti (You seen me looking that)//Tú 'tás pa' mí (I seen you looking that)//Yo 'toy pa' ti (¡wuh!)*

**La Player (Bandelora) (Zion & Lennox):**

Frente a frente, *baby*, ya está con fuego

La Z//Zion *baby*//Y la L

And Lennox//Dímelo Dy

**Mi Cama (Karol G & J Balvin Featuring Nicky Jam):**

Yo no sé por qué tu tienes la mejor cosecha//*Baby*, dime cuándo, solamente pon la fecha

Me dicen la reina del *flow* por mi actitud de hielo

Pa' que pienses en mí, *baby*, hasta cuando te duches

**El Anillo (Jennifer Lopez):**

¿Y el anillo pa' cuándo? (*Yeah, yeah*)//¿Y el anillo pa' cuándo?

Dale atrás, que así somos las del Bronx//*Don't stop*, muevete má'

Home run con tres en bases (*damn, baby*)

Nunca había sentido algo tan grande//(Mira, *yeah*)

**Clandestino (Shakira & Maluma):**

Yo no necesito a ningún otro Don Juan//Que me abra la puerta cuando llego a un *restaurant*

Tú calla'íto, *baby*, de to's los rumores

**El Clavo (Prince Royce Featuring Maluma):**

Hmmm no me digas//Que piensas en el *baby*

Y con lo mal que//Te fue, Maluma *baby*

Dile que tu no andas sola//Que yo soy el clavo, que saca ese clavo//Y dile que se joda, Maluma *baby*

(Dile que tu te vas conmigo por ahora *baby*)

**Taki Taki (DJ Snake Featuring Selena Gomez, Ozuna & Cardi B):**

¿Quieres un besito o un ñaqui?//*Booty* explota como Nagasaki

No le bajas, el *booty* sobresale de tu traje

*He say he wanna touch it, and tease it, and squeeze it//While my piggy bank is hungry, my nigga, you need to feed it//If the text ain't freaky, I don't wanna read it//And just so let you know, this punani is undefeated, ay//He say he really want to see me more//I said we should have a date, where? At the Lamborghini store//I'm kinda scary, hard to read, I'm like a Ouija board//But I'ma boss bitch, who you gonna leave me for?//You hoes got no class, you bitches is broke still//I'll be talkin' cash while I'm poppin' my gold grill (uh)//I'ma hoe, rich bitch and I work like I'm broke still (Cardi)//But they love me so fake, but they hate me so real (uh)//El booty sobresale de mi traje//No traje pantiesito pa' que el nene no trabaje*

*Taki taki, ¡rumba!//Wo-oh, oh-oh//DJ Snake//Careful when you come through my way//My body-ody know how to play//Work it, keep it tight everyday//And I, I, I know you need a taste//When I ooh, you're fallin' in love//Give a little ooh-ooh, get it well done//Dancing on my ooh, make your girl wanna run*

*We keep moving till the sun come up//Porque I am the party, yo soy fiesta//Blow out your candles, then have a siesta//You can try, pero no one can stop me//What my taki taki wants, ya, my taki taki gets, uh*

#### **MIA (Bad Bunny Featuring Drake):**

Bad Bunny, *baby*, bebé

Tú misma lo decías//Cuando yo te lo hacía//*(Yeah-yeah-yeah-yeah)*

Tus ojos me concentran como Aderall (*iwouh!*)//Contigo me sube el *overall* (*yeh*)

A estos bobos con la *forty* los espanto (*plo-plo*)

Dile que tú eres mía desde la *high* (desde la *high*, *yeh*)

Dile a estos bobos que dejen de darte *like* (de darte *like*)

#### **Ella Quiere Beber (Anuel AA & Romeo Santos):**

*Check, check (Remix)//I'mma show you why I'm the king of this shit//Uah*

(Kob, Real Hasta La Muerte, *baby*)

Si me pide como R Kelly yo la- (*Nasty*)

*Baby*, tú nunca me va' a olvidar (*Bebé*)

Dios mío, qué rico, *baby* (*baby*)

Real Hasta La Muerte, *baby*

El *Remix* más hijo de la gran puta

Estoy con el *king*, ¿oi'te bebé?

#### **BEBE (6ix9ine Featuring Anuel AA):**

Y tu novio te trata mal, él no te controla (no, no, no, no)//*He said*//Mi diablita (-blita)

Ella se pone pornográfica en la intimidad (*baby*)

Bebesita (mi *baby*, uah, uah)

Y cuando se esconde el sol, tú quieres beber, hija 'e Lucifer//*Baby*, con ra-ta-ta-ta-ta//*Baby*, yo soy tu criminal//*Baby* con ra-ta-ta-ta-ta//*Baby*, tu novio lo va a olvidar//*Baby*, con ra-ta-ta-ta-ta//*Baby*, conmigo te va'

a mudar//*Baby*, con ra-bang-bang-bang-bang//*Baby*, do' tiro', lo voa' matar (pa' afuera)

¿Pa' qué?, ¿Pa' qué?, ¿Pa' qué?//*Baby*, olvídate de él

**Vaina Loca (Ozuna x Manuel Turizo):**

Detrás de ti voy a seguir//Yo sé que lo bueno toma tiempo, *lady*

*Baby* tú eres lo que yo quiero

**Adictiva (Daddy Yankee & Anuel AA):**

DY//Dididiri Daddy

*Oh, yeah* (Wuh)//Sube

*Baby*, yo necesito tu sobredosis

Yo se que tú a mí no me amas//Pero mi cuerpo te llama (*Baby*)

Bótame la llave, *baby*

Real Hasta La Muerte, *baby* (Uh, *yeah*)//Real Hasta La Muerte, *baby*

El mejor de todos los tiempos, *baby* (Yeh, yeh, yeh)

**Culpables (Karol G & Anuel AA):**

*Baby*, tú tiene' marido y yo me enredé en tu piel (uah)//Y tú te enamoraste de mí, *baby*, yo ya lo sé (uah)

*Baby*, tú tienes tu novia y yo me enredé en tu piel//Y tú te enamoraste de mí, *baby*, yo ya lo sé

**Ni Bien Ni Mal (Bad Bunny):**

*Baby*, gracias por nada (¡Ey!)

Tu amiga dando *like*, si le meto, la grabo (Ey)

**Amanece (Anuel AA x Haze):**

Real hasta la muerte, *baby*

La casa del Haze, ¿oí'te *baby*? (Uah)

**Mala Mia (Maluma):**

Maluma *Baby, yeah*//Me besé a tu novia, mala mía

Esa vez en el *party* te encontré (au)

Me cagué en el *party*, mala mía

**Imposible (Luis Fonsi + Ozuna):**

Es imposible que te quiera como yo (*baby*, como-como)

Oh-oh-oh-oh, *baby*//Quisiera que esta noche no se acabe

**Con Calma (Daddy Yankee & Katy Perry Featuring Snow):**

*D-D-D-D-DY//Play N' Skillz//¡Run!*

¿Cómo te llamas, *baby*?

Dile a tus amigas que andamo' *ready*//Esto lo seguimo' en el *after party*

¿Cómo te llamas, *baby*? (Brr, brr)

Con calma, yo quiero ver como ella lo menea//Mueve ese *poom-poom*, *girl*

Es un asesina, cuando baila quiere que to' el mundo la vea//*I like your poom-poom*, *girl* (sube, sube)

La noche es de nosotros, tú lo sabe' (*you know*)

De guayarte mami, ese *ram-pam-pam*, *yeah*

Tienes *criminality*, pero te doy *fatality*//Vívete la película flotando en mi *gravity*

Te llaman a ti la reina del *party*//Mucha sandunga tiene ese *body*

*I like your poom-poom*, *girl* (¡Snow!)//*Come with a nice young lady* (*what?*)//*Intelligent*, yes she gentle and irie (¡fuego!)//*Everywhere me go me never lef' her at all-ie* (dile)//*Yes-a Daddy Snow me are the roam dance man-a* (Snow)//*Roam between-a dancin' in-a in-a nation-a* (pr-r-pr-r-pr-r)//*You never know say daddy me Snow me are the boom shakata* (¿qué-qué-qué-qué?)//*Me never lay-a down flat in-a one cardboard box-a* (¡sube, sube!)//*Yes-a Daddy Yankee me-a go reachin' out da top* (*what?*)

Con calma, ya' *no say daddy me Snow me I go blame*//*I like your poom-poom*, *girl*//*Tective man a say, say daddy me Snow me stop a girl down the lane*//*I love your poom-poom*, *girl*

**Callaita (Bad Bunny & Tainy):**

La *baby* llega y se siente la presión

En la gaveta dejo el temor//Pa' las envidiosas paz y amor//*Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah*

Bad Bunny *baby*, bebe//Ella es callaita

**Soltera (Lunay, Daddy Yankee & Bad Bunny):**

Ponte-ponte pa' la vuelta, que yo voy pa'l *party*//Si no nos vemo', mami, en el *after party*

Ponte-ponte pa' la vuelta//Ponte-ponte pa'l *party*-pa'l *party*, *pa-party*, el *party*

Ándale de-Ándale de-Ándale, déjate ver//*Yeah, yeah*

Chri-chri, Chri-Chri-Chris Jeday//*Yeah*//Gaby-gaby Music//Dímelo Nino//Magic Rhythms//*Yeah*//Lu-lu//Pr en la casa//*Ey, candy, candy*, dulce como *candy*//Lu-lu-lunay

**Otro Trago (Sech, Darell, Nicky Jam, Ozuna & Anuel AA):**

Por amigos que no son amigos en verda' (Verda'; Ice)//Porque sé que te van a escribir cuando él se va//(*Everybody go to the discotheque*)

Ahora hace lo que quiere, cuando quiere (Oh-oh)//Y si no quiere, serás otro que se jode también (*here we go*)

Y si no quiere, serás otro que se jode también//(*Stop that shit, nigga*)

Voy a que eso abajo se te moja (Se te moja; Ah)//Pa' que conmigo te sonroja' (*here we go*)

Tú 'tás linda con tu cuerpecito petite (Ah)//Y esa barriguita con más cuadrado que tretis//Mami, *what you look?*

Mañana, desayunamo' Fruity Loops (*Oh my god*)

Que yo vo' a castigarte por tu mala actitud (*Listen*)

#### **Baila Baila Baila (Ozuna x Daddy Yankee x J Balvin x Farruko x Anuel AA):**

Pero llamó a su amiga//Que se olvide, que esta es su canción (Oh-oh-oh)//¡*Remix!*

Ponle música pa' que esto no pare (*You ready?*)

Tengo que besarte ante' que se acabe (*What?*)

Sexy sube su videíto a IG//Entra al club, no le hace falta el ID

Su *flow* es natural, le gusta inventar

Ponle música, *baby*, no le baje'//Baila, baila, baila (*Yeah-yeah*)

(Real hasta la muerte, *baby*)

*This is the remix*//(Ozuna, uah; ¡Farru!)

#### **Te Robare (Nicky Jam X Ozuna):**

No te desesperes' que esta noche yo te robaré (Uoh, *yeah*)//Yo sé que tú quiere', tú tranquila, que te lo daré (*Baby*, eh)

Es entre nosotros', me lo tienes que jurar (*Yeah*)

N-I-C-K (Oh-oh, oh-oh)//Nicky-Nicky-Nicky Jam (*Yeah*)//Ozuna (*Baby*)//Dos leyenda' (*Baby*)//Chr-Chri-Chris Jeday//Gaby Music (Oh-oh, oh-oh)//La Industria Inc//N-I-C-K (Uoh-oh)//Nicky-Nicky-Nicky Jam (*Baby*)

#### **Aullando (Wisin & Yandel & Romeo Santos):**

¡Wisin y Yandel!//De regreso con el *King*

Por algo siempre acabamo' los do'//Comiéndono', *baby*

W, Yandel//*The King*, Romeo

#### **Runaway (Sebastian Yatra, Daddy Yankee, Jonas Brothers & Natti Natasha):**

Oh-uoh-uoh-uoh (*Yeah yeah*, mm, huh uh)//Siguittty-Daddy Yankee, yo (*Yeah eh*)

*If you run up we can runaway//I know you think about it everyday//I cannot say no to the pretty face//Baby, we can lean in it* (Natti, Natti)

Quiero estar contigo cada madrugada//Y que me despierte con un beso tu mirada//*Baby, let's runa-run-a-run-a-run-a-runaway now* (¡Wuh!)//*Runa-run-a-run-a-run-a-runaway now*//Con la luna llena (*Yeah*), solos en la arena (*Yeah*)//*Runa-run-a-run-a-run-a-runaway now* (Su-su-su, su-su-sue)//*Runa-run-a-run-a-run-a-runaway now* (Huh)//*Runa-run-a-run-a-run-a-runaway now* (Hue pew)//Con la luna llena, solos en la arena



*(You know me, babe)//Runa-runa-runa-runa-runa-runaway with you (Sikiri Daddy Yankee, let's go!)*

Cuando caminas, paras el *mall*//Culo grande, cinturita *small*

Rompe el *GPS*, dentro de ti me pierdo y navego (Prr, prr, prr)

Se vale, *maybe*, que el pelo te jale//Pa'l sex soy un loco demente que todo le sale

Será dominicana (Dime)//Colombiana (*A bit*)//Mi mexicana (*Oh yeah*)//Latinoamericana (Presente)

En un viaje sigue poniéndome *high* (Poniendo me da más)

Tú si me gustas, ahora te toca darme *like* (Fuego, prr, prr, ¡DY!)

Desde el polo norte hasta el polo sur (*That's right*)

Puedo darte lo que necesites (*Yeah*)

#### **HP (Maluma):**

Maluma, *baby*//Ella no está buscando novio

Quiere salir a joder (*Ey-yeah*)//Quiere olvidarse de ese bobo

Ella quiere un *man* que no la llame y que no joda

Quiere olvidarse de ese bobo (*Ey, yeah-yeah-yeah-yeah*)//Porque el cabrón le fue infiel (*Oh-no-no-no*)

No necesita ningún HP en el *party*, que la pare

Ella no está buscando novio (No busca novio, *no*)//Quiere salir a joder (*Ey-yeah*)//Quiere olvidarse de ese bobo (*Ey, yeah-yeah-yeah-yeah*)//Porque el cabrón le fue infiel (*Oh-no-no-no*)

Ella no está buscando novio (No busca novio, *no*)//Quiere salir a joder, *yeah-yeah, yeah-yeah*//Para olvidarte de ese bobo//Cuenta conmigo, mujer, *yeah-yeah, yeah-yeah*

#### **Secreto (Anuel AA & Karol G):**

*Baby*, yo siempre me vengo contigo

*Baby*, conmigo tú te sientes vivo

*Baby*, tarde o temprano (Temprano)

Y contigo me siento bie-e-en, *yeah-eh*

Bebecita, bebecita (*Baby*)

*Baby*, yo siempre me vengo contigo

Ey, ah, ah (Real hasta la muerte, *baby*)//Dale, dale, ey//*Baby* (Real hasta la muerte, *baby*)

#### **Loco Contigo (DJ Snake, J Balvin & Tyga):**

Yo trato y trato, pero *baby*, no te olvido (No te olvido)

Tú me tienes loco, loco contigo (*Come on*)//Yo trato y trato, pero *baby*, aquí yo sigo (*Okay, okay*)

Ma-, mam-, mami tú eres una *champion*//Ram-pa-pa-pam-pam con un *booty* fuera de lugar

Tú estás fuera de lo normal (*Yeah*)

*Oh I make it hot (hot), your body on top (top)//Kiss me up (up), wanna lip lock (lock)//Party won't stop (stop), and it's four o'clock (clock)//Iced out watch (ice), I can get you one, yeah//Tell your best friend, she get one too (she get one too)//Girls wanna have fun, I'm who they run to//Move, move, your body know you want to//One, two, baby I want you (ooh)//Cute face, lil' waist (yeah), move to the base (base)//That ass need to see (see), you consider me (ah)//That's my old girl, yeah, she an antique//You got that new body (yeah), you an art piece (ah)//You like salsa (yeah), I'm saucy (drip)//Caliente, muy caliente (Caliente, Caliente, aliente, ayy, ayy)//Caliente, muy caliente//Tú me tienes loco, loco contigo*

Tú pide lo que quieras, lo que quieras, lo que quieras (*Yeah, yeah, yeah*)

#### **Inmortal (Aventura):**

Te repito nadie me va a entender//*Your playboy*

Te repito nadie me va a entender//*Let's go// (It's like we never left)//Primo, pero dilo//Okay*

#### **Amor Genuino (Ozuna):**

Mi amor, te pido a gritos que le tengas piedad//*Ozuna (Yeah)*

Dímelo Vi//*Woah, oh oh//Yeah*

#### **Contra La Pared (Sean Paul & J Balvin):**

*SP 'longside//J Balvin, men//El negocio socio*

De día y de noche me llama (*Night and day, leggo', biri-bam-bam-bam*)//Que quiere de nuevo en mi cama (*Latino gang, Want inna me bed, biri-bam-bam*)//No fue suficiente una vez (Sean da' Paul, uh-yeah, bam-bam-bam)//Ahora de día y de noche reclama (*That was she said, biri-bam, iwuh!*)

*Well in come the ting dem call [?] we don't play games//Straight business, baby girl//Tainy pon the track//Hear what mi sayin'//Balvin, tell 'em again (Trá)//Cúcara, mácara, dique fue (Eh)//Ya me tiene' contra la pared (Contra la pare')*

Otra ve' llegamo' hasta die' (Sean Paul, yeah)

*Beacu' me set fire to the ting when mi give her one time//She lovin' it so much she have it 'pon speed dial//Ay, de mamita, me a gi' ya total//That's a when me start see di gyal a get wild//Three time me give her the wickedest wine//She lovin' that style and she love the profile (Wuh)*

*Fourth time, me give her that grind//Se vuelve loca, loosin' her mind (Come on)*

Fuego (Fuego, fuego)//*See the gyal a bawl fuego//Anytime she want me fi set it on//Fuego (Fuego, fuego)//See the gyal a bawl fuego//Gyal say she just can't forget it*

De día y de noche me llama (*Night and day, leggo'*)//Que quiere de nuevo en mi cama (*want inna me bed, ya lo sabe'*)//No fue suficiente una vez (*Na', na' uh-yeah*)//Ahora de día y de noche reclama (*That was she said, come on!*)

Se dio otro shot a la roca (Roca, roca)//*Sé que todo le provoca cuando se aloca (Tra)//She might as well be attached to me//Know she can't go a day without chat to me//Said she love the way me give her love naturally//And she can't stay away now, back to me//She grid locked to me*

# Appendix 2: Questionnaires

This appendix contains a full copy of the questionnaires, as the participants saw them (screengrabs).

## A. English questionnaire

1→ 1. Do you regularly listen to reggaeton/latino music? \*

☐ Y Yes

☐ N No

2→ 2. Do you think the use of English and Spanish in the same song is...? \*

1	2	3	4	5
Highly negative		Neutral		Highly positive

3→ 3. Do you think translating a song which was originally in Spanish into English (for instance, Despacito) is...? \*

1	2	3	4	5
Highly negative		Neutral		Highly positive

4→ 4. Why do you think Spanish-speaking singers release translated English versions of their songs? You can write as many reasons as you think are relevant. \*

Type your answer here...

5→ 5. Why do you think Spanish-speaking singers sometimes use English words or phrases in their otherwise Spanish-language songs? You can write as many reasons as you think are relevant. \*

Type your answer here...

6→ 6. For songs which have an original version in Spanish and a translated one in English, which one would you rather listen to? \*

☐ A Spanish version

☐ B English version

☐ C Both

7→ 7. Explain why you picked that answer for the previous question: \*

Type your answer here...

---

8→ 8. Would you listen to a song in a language you don't understand? \*

☐ Y Yes

☐ N No

9→ 9. Would you listen to a song in a language you don't understand if it had parts in a language that you do understand?

☐ Y Yes

☐ N No

“ For the next six questions (10-15), pick **any of the words that apply**, or **add your own** if the ones offered do not correspond to your opinion.

The first three will ask you about **what you associate with different languages** (what comes to mind when you think of a language) *in general*.

The last three will ask you about **what you associate with these languages in the context of music**. You might have similar answers for these two groups of questions, or they might be very different: simply **be honest** about your answers.

You MUST give an answer to each question (either by picking one or more of the words offered, or by writing your own). If you do not answer anything, your submission will be deleted.

**Continue** press Enter ↵

10→ 10. What do you associate with the Spanish language?

Pick all that apply, or skip to the next question to add your own words if none apply.

Choose as many as you like

☐ A exotic

☐ B home

☐ C emotions

☐ D foreign

☐ E romantic

☐ F entertainment

☐ G international

☐ H party

- ☐ I sexy
- ☐ J immigration
- ☐ K patriotism
- ☐ L formal
- ☐ M personal
- ☐ N relaxed
- ☐ O school
- ☐ P globality
- ☐ Q fun

11 → Here, write what you associate with the Spanish language if the options offered did not apply, or if you want to add something. Otherwise, skip to the next question by pressing Enter.

Type your answer here...

---

12 → 11. What do you associate with the English language?

Pick all that apply, or skip to the next question to add your own words if none apply.

Choose as many as you like

- ☐ A home
- ☐ B emotions
- ☐ C coolness
- ☐ D foreign
- ☐ E Americanness
- ☐ F mainstream
- ☐ G formal
- ☐ H personal
- ☐ I relaxed
- ☐ J international
- ☐ K school
- ☐ L romantic
- ☐ M globality
- ☐ N exotic
- ☐ O fun
- ☐ P patriotism
- ☐ Q entertainment

- 13 → Here, write what you associate with the English language if the options offered did not apply, or if you want to add something. Otherwise, skip to the next question by pressing Enter.

Type your answer here...

---

- 14 → 12. What do you associate with Spanglish (talking in a mixture of Spanish and English)?

Pick all that apply, or skip to the next question to add your own words if none apply.

Choose as many as you like

<input type="checkbox"/>	A	cool
<input type="checkbox"/>	B	natural
<input type="checkbox"/>	C	dumb
<input type="checkbox"/>	D	home
<input type="checkbox"/>	E	strange
<input type="checkbox"/>	F	fun
<input type="checkbox"/>	G	intelligent
<input type="checkbox"/>	H	personal
<input type="checkbox"/>	I	foreign
<input type="checkbox"/>	J	informal
<input type="checkbox"/>	K	sexy
<input type="checkbox"/>	L	romantic
<input type="checkbox"/>	M	formal
<input type="checkbox"/>	N	party
<input type="checkbox"/>	O	exotic
<input type="checkbox"/>	P	patriotism

- 15 → Here, write what you associate with Spanglish if the options offered did not apply, or if you want to add something. Otherwise, skip to the next question by pressing Enter.

Type your answer here...

---

- 16 → 13. What do you associate with the Spanish language in songs?

Pick all that apply, or skip to the next question to add your own words if none apply.

Choose as many as you like

<input type="checkbox"/>	A	exotic
<input type="checkbox"/>	B	home
<input type="checkbox"/>	C	emotions

- ☐ D foreign
- ☐ E romantic
- ☐ F entertainment
- ☐ G international
- ☐ H party
- ☐ I sexy
- ☐ J immigration
- ☐ K patriotism
- ☐ L formal
- ☐ M personal
- ☐ N relaxed
- ☐ O school
- ☐ P globality
- ☐ Q fun

17 → Here, write what you associate with the use of Spanish in songs if the options offered did not apply, or if you want to add something. Otherwise, skip to the next question by pressing Enter.

Type your answer here...

---

18 → 14. What do you associate with the English language in songs?

Pick all that apply, or skip to the next question to add your own words if none apply.

Choose as many as you like

- ☐ A home
- ☐ B emotions
- ☐ C coolness
- ☐ D foreign
- ☐ E Americanness
- ☐ F mainstream
- ☐ G formal
- ☐ H personal
- ☐ I relaxed
- ☐ J international
- ☐ K school
- ☐ L romantic
- ☐ M globality
- ☐ N exotic

- ☐ fun
- ☐ patriotism
- ☐ entertainment

19 → Here, write what you associate with the use of English in songs if the options offered did not apply, or if you want to add something. Otherwise, skip to the next question by pressing Enter.

Type your answer here...

---

20 → 15. What do you associate with the use of Spanglish in songs?

Pick all that apply, or skip to the next question to add your own words if none apply.

Choose as many as you like

- ☐ A cool
- ☐ B natural
- ☐ C dumb
- ☐ D home
- ☐ E strange
- ☐ F fun
- ☐ G intelligent
- ☐ H personal
- ☐ I foreign
- ☐ J informal
- ☐ K sexy
- ☐ L romantic
- ☐ M formal
- ☐ N party
- ☐ O exotic
- ☐ P patriotism

21 → Here, write what you associate with the use of English in songs if the options offered did not apply, or if you want to add something. Otherwise, skip to the next question by pressing Enter.

Type your answer here...

---



22 → 16. Comments: Are there any additional comments you want to add with regards to the mixed use of Spanish and English in music?

Type your answer here...

23 → 17. Gender: \*

☐ A male

☐ B female

24 → 18. Age: \*

Type your answer here...

25 → 19. Country of birth: \*

Type your answer here...

26 → 20. Country of residence: \*

Type your answer here...

27 → 21. You speak \*

☐ A One language

☐ B More than one language

28 → 22. Specify which language(s) you speak: \*

Type your answer here...

29 → 23. If you speak two or more, which one is your dominant language? (write "equal" if you speak these languages equally). Ignore this question if you only speak one language.

Type your answer here...

## B. Spanish questionnaire

“ ESTE CUESTIONARIO ES PARA PERSONAS QUE NACIERON Y CRECIERON EN UN PAIS LATINO-AMERICANO. Si esto no es su caso, no podremos aceptar sus respuestas y pagarle.

Continue

press Enter ↵

1→ 1. ¿Escucha regularmente reggaetón/música latina? \*

A Sí

B No

2→ 2. ¿Piensa que el uso del inglés y el español en la misma canción es...? \*

1

2

3

4

5

Muy negativo

Neutro

Muy positivo

3→ 3. ¿Piensa que traducir una canción originalmente en español hacia el inglés (por ejemplo, Despacito) es...? \*

1

2

3

4

5

Muy negativo

Neutro

Muy positivo

4→ 4. ¿Por qué piensa que cantantes hispanohablantes sacan versiones traducidas en inglés de sus canciones? Puede escribir todas las razones que considere pertinentes. \*

Type your answer here...

5→ 5. ¿Por qué piensa que cantantes hispanohablantes a veces incluyen palabras o expresiones en inglés en sus canciones en español? Puede escribir todas las razones que considere pertinentes. \*

Type your answer here...

6→ 6. ¿Para canciones que tengan una versión original en español y una versión traducida en inglés, cual preferiría escuchar? \*

☐ A La versión española

☐ B La versión inglesa

☐ C Las dos versiones

7→ 7. Justifique su respuesta a la pregunta anterior: \*

Type your answer here...

8→ 8. ¿Escucharía una canción en un idioma que no entiende? \*

☐ A Sí

☐ B No

9→ 9. ¿Escucharía una canción en un idioma que no entiende si tuviera partes en un idioma que sí entiende? \*

☐ A Sí

☐ B No

“ Para las seis preguntas siguientes (10-15), escoja **todas las palabras que sean pertinentes**, o **añada sus propias palabras** si las que le proponemos no corresponden con su opinión.

Las tres primeras preguntas le preguntarán **qué es lo que asocia con diferentes idiomas** (qué le viene a la mente al pensar en un idioma) **en general**.

Las tres últimas preguntas le preguntarán **qué es lo que asocia con estos idiomas en el contexto de la música**. Sus respuestas para estos dos grupos de preguntas pueden ser similares, o pueden ser muy diferentes: simplemente debe responder con **sinceridad**.

Es OBLIGATORIO dar una respuesta a cada pregunta (escogiendo una o varias de las palabras propuestas, o escribiendo sus propias palabras). Si no da ninguna respuesta, no aceptaremos su cuestionario.

Continue

press Enter ↵

10 → 10. ¿Qué asocia con la lengua española?

Escoja todas las palabras pertinentes, o pase a la pregunta siguiente para añadir sus propias palabras.

Choose as many as you like

- ☐ A exótico
- ☐ B hogar
- ☐ C emociones
- ☐ D extranjero
- ☐ E romántico
- ☐ F entretenimiento
- ☐ G internacional
- ☐ H fiesta
- ☐ I sexy
- ☐ J inmigración
- ☐ K patriotismo
- ☐ L formal
- ☐ M personal
- ☐ N relajado
- ☐ O escuela
- ☐ P globalidad
- ☐ Q divertido

11 → Aquí, escriba lo que asocia con la lengua española si las opciones propuestas no eran pertinentes, o si quiere añadir algo. Si no, pulse la tecla Entrada para pasar a la pregunta siguiente.

Type your answer here...

---

12 → 11. ¿Qué asocia con la lengua inglesa?

Escoja todas las palabras pertinentes, o pase a la pregunta siguiente para añadir sus propias palabras.

Choose as many as you like

- ☐ A hogar
- ☐ B emociones
- ☐ C cool
- ☐ D extranjero
- ☐ E americano

- ☐ F el mainstream
- ☐ G formal
- ☐ H personal
- ☐ I relajado
- ☐ J internacional
- ☐ K escuela
- ☐ L romántico
- ☐ M globalidad
- ☐ N exótico
- ☐ O divertido
- ☐ P patriotismo
- ☐ Q entretenimiento

13 → Aquí, escriba lo que asocia con la lengua inglesa si las opciones propuestas no eran pertinentes, o si quiere añadir algo. Si no, pulse la tecla Entrada para pasar a la pregunta siguiente.

Type your answer here...

---

14 → 12. ¿Qué asocia con el Espanglish (el hecho de hablar en una mezcla de español e inglés)?

Escoja todas las palabras pertinentes, o pase a la pregunta siguiente para añadir sus propias palabras.

Choose as many as you like

- ☐ A cool
- ☐ B natural
- ☐ C tonto
- ☐ D hogar
- ☐ E extraño
- ☐ F divertido
- ☐ G inteligente
- ☐ H personal
- ☐ I extranjero
- ☐ J informal
- ☐ K sexy
- ☐ L romántico
- ☐ M formal

☐ N fiesta

☐ O exótico

☐ P patriotismo

15 → Aquí, escriba lo que asocia con el Espanglish si las opciones propuestas no eran pertinentes, o si quiere añadir algo. Si no, pulse la tecla Entrada para pasar a la pregunta siguiente.

Type your answer here...

16 → 13. ¿Qué asocia con la lengua española en canciones?

Escoja todas las palabras pertinentes, o pase a la pregunta siguiente para añadir sus propias palabras.

Choose as many as you like

☐ A exótico

☐ B hogar

☐ C emociones

☐ D extranjero

☐ E romántico

☐ F entretenimiento

☐ G internacional

☐ H fiesta

☐ I sexy

☐ J inmigración

☐ K patriotismo

☐ L formal

☐ M personal

☐ N relajado

☐ O escuela

☐ P globalidad

☐ Q divertido

17 → Aquí, escriba lo que asocia con el uso del español en canciones si las opciones propuestas no eran pertinentes, o si quiere añadir algo. Si no, pulse la tecla Entrada para pasar a la pregunta siguiente.

Type your answer here...

18 → 14. ¿Qué asocia con la lengua inglesa en canciones?

Escoja todas las palabras pertinentes, o pase a la pregunta siguiente para añadir sus propias palabras.

Choose as many as you like

- ☐ A hogar
- ☐ B emociones
- ☐ C cool
- ☐ D extranjero
- ☐ E americano
- ☐ F el mainstream
- ☐ G formal
- ☐ H personal
- ☐ I relajado
- ☐ J internacional
- ☐ K escuela
- ☐ L romántico
- ☐ M globalidad
- ☐ N exótico
- ☐ O divertido
- ☐ P patriotismo
- ☐ Q entretenimiento

19 → Aquí, escriba lo que asocia con el uso del inglés en canciones si las opciones propuestas no eran pertinentes, o si quiere añadir algo. Si no, pulse la tecla Entrada para pasar a la pregunta siguiente.

Type your answer here...

---

20 → 15. ¿Qué asocia con el uso del Espanglish en canciones?

Escoja todas las palabras pertinentes, o pase a la pregunta siguiente para añadir sus propias palabras.

Choose as many as you like

- ☐ A cool
- ☐ B natural
- ☐ C tonto
- ☐ D hogar
- ☐ E extraño
- ☐ F divertido

- ☐ G inteligente
- ☐ H personal
- ☐ I extranjero
- ☐ J informal
- ☐ K sexy
- ☐ L romántico
- ☐ M formal
- ☐ N fiesta
- ☐ O exótico
- ☐ P patriotismo

21 → Aquí, escriba lo que asocia con el uso del Espanglish en canciones si las opciones propuestas no eran pertinentes, o si quiere añadir algo. Si no, pulse la tecla Entrada para pasar a la pregunta siguiente.

Type your answer here...

---

22 →

16. Comentarios: ¿Tiene algún comentario adicional que quiera añadir sobre el tema del uso mezclado del español y del inglés en la música?

Type your answer here...

---

23 → 17. Sexo: \*

- ☐ A masculino
- ☐ B femenino

24 → 18. Edad: \*

Type your answer here...

---

25 → 19. País de nacimiento: \*

Type your answer here...

---



26 → 20. País de residencia: \*

Type your answer here...

---

27 → 21. Habla: \*

<input type="radio"/>	A	Un idioma
<input type="radio"/>	B	Más de un idioma

28 → 22. Especifique que idioma(s) habla: \*

Type your answer here...

---

29 → 23. Si habla dos o más, ¿cuál es su idioma dominante? (escriba "igual" si los habla al mismo nivel). Pase a la pregunta siguiente si habla solo un idioma.

Type your answer here...

---

# Appendix 3: Questionnaire Data

This appendix contains all the raw data for my questionnaire responses. The questions are numbered from 1 to 23, following the numbering shown in Appendix 2. For questions 10 to 15, the second part of the questions (which allowed participants to enter any additional words) are coded as 10b-15b. When a participant did not enter an answer for a question, the null sign (Ø) is shown.

## A. ESR data

### Informant #1

1. YES 2. 3 3. 1 4. I think it's just to reach a bigger audience. But Spanish songs always sound SO much better in their native language. It doesn't flow right in English. 5. Just to be more approachable by the huge USA market. 6. Spanish version 7. The Spanish version is always best. The way it was written, the cadence and beat is set up for Spanish words, not English. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "romantic, fun" 10b. It's ust so much more emotional and expressive. It captures feelings so much better. 11. "Americanness, mainstream" 11b. It's just old and stuffy, very formal. It's not fun, it's very strict, so many rules. 12. "strange, informal" 12b. It's so weird to hear a sentence rambled off in Spanish then here an English word sticking out of it. 13. "sexy, relaxed, romantic" 13b. It is the desired language. It's so emotional and expressive. 14. "mainstream, Americanness" 14b. If anything it's clunky. English has no flow, it's not smooth. It's like rolling squares. 15. Informal 15b. It's just weird. Pick one language and stick to it for better or worse. 16. nope. 17. female 18. 29 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

### Informant #2

1. YES 2. 4 3. 4 4. to get more listeners 5. to appeal to the english consumers 6. English version 7. I like english music a little better. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "personal, relaxed, romantic" 10b. Ø 11. "home, mainstream, coolness, romantic" 11b. Ø 12. "strange, sexy" 12b. Ø 13. "romantic, foreign, sexy" 13b. Ø 14. mainstream 14b. Ø 15. "personal, natural, fun" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. male 18. 34 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. english (little of spanish) 23. Ø

### Informant # 3

1. YES 2. 3 3. 2 4. Broaden their fan base 5. spanglish is prevalent 6. English version 7. spanish is a sexier language 8. YES 9. YES 10. "exotic, romantic, fun, emotions" 10b. borracho 11. "emotions, Americanness, patriotism" 11b. beer 12. natural 12b. border town 13. "entertainment, international" 13b. mainstream 14. "patriotism, Americanness, entertainment" 14b. life 15. fun 15b. i like beer 16. Mellow Man Ace 17. Male 18. 40 19. USA 20. USA 21. More than one language 22. English and SPanish 23. English

### Informant # 4

1. YES 2. 3 3. 4 4. trying to become a more well known artist (e.g., achieve worldwide fame), personally wanting to share their music with as many people as possible in a way others can connect 5. lack of a better word to use (e.g., "fuck"), it fits the cadence with what they're saying or singing 6. Both 7. different versions of songs are like an artist releasing a recorded radio version and a live version - both have interesting nuances that are different 8. YES 9. YES 10. "sexy, foreign, exotic, relaxed, personal, fun, emotions, international" 10b. Ø 11. "international, home, fun, Americanness, mainstream, globality, patriotism, relaxed, school, entertainment" 11b. Ø 12. "romantic, informal, exotic, cool, fun" 12b. Ø 13. "personal, relaxed, romantic, exotic, foreign, fun,

entertainment, international, emotions, party" **13b.** Ø **14.** "Americanness, globality, emotions, relaxed, exotic, entertainment, fun, coolness, mainstream, personal" **14b.** Ø **15.** "romantic, personal, informal, party, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** nope **17.** male **18.** 31 **19.** USA **20.** USA **21.** One language **22.** English **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #5**

**1.** YES **2.** 3 **3.** 3 **4.** To reach a wider audience **5.** It works in the song. **6.** English version **7.** It's my language. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "foreign, exotic, international, party, sexy" **10b.** Ø **11.** "Americanness, mainstream, globality, patriotism" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, strange" **12b.** Ø **13.** "exotic, foreign, immigration, international, globality, party" **13b.** Ø **14.** "mainstream, patriotism, Americanness, home" **14b.** Ø **15.** "foreign, exotic, party" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** male **18.** 31 **19.** United States **20.** United States **21.** One language **22.** English **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #6**

**1.** YES **2.** 3 **3.** 3 **4.** To increase market share that their songs can capture to make more money **5.** Maybe to make it seem like their music is more legit or to gain street cred **6.** English version **7.** I speak english and not spanish **8.** NO **9.** NO **10.** "international, party, immigration, foreign" **10b.** Ø **11.** "patriotism, home, Americanness, mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, strange, dumb, foreign" **12b.** Ø **13.** "immigration, international, party, exotic" **13b.** Ø **14.** "mainstream, patriotism, Americanness, home" **14b.** Ø **15.** "dumb, informal, foreign" **15b.** Ø **16.** no **17.** male **18.** 39 **19.** USA **20.** USA **21.** One language **22.** English **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #7**

**1.** NO **2.** 3 **3.** 1 **4.** I think most songs should stay in the language they were originally made. My 1st language is french and I am always disappointed when a french song is translated into English. The lyrics can not always be translated with the right meaning to go with the music. **5.** Because nowadays everybody uses English words in everyday life. **6.** Spanish version **7.** As per my reply earlier I do not like ""translated"" songs **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "foreign, exotic, relaxed, romantic" **10b.** Flamenco **11.** "formal, foreign, international" **11b.** universal **12.** strange **12b.** unknown **13.** "romantic, emotions" **13b.** holidays **14.** "entertainment, mainstream, Americanness, relaxed" **14b.** everywhere **15.** dumb **15b.** everywhere **16.** no **17.** female **18.** 52 **19.** France **20.** USA **21.** More than one language **22.** French and English **23.** equal

#### **Informant #8**

**1.** YES **2.** 3 **3.** 3 **4.** From a business standpoint, probably to open up their work to a larger market of non-spanish speakers or people not interested in listening to songs not in their own language. To make more money. **5.** Probably again to be more relatable to people listening that maybe don't even speak Spanish, so they at least get a general idea of maybe some of the themes in the song. **6.** Spanish version **7.** I like to hear songs in the language they were originally written in, plus usually the translated version is awkward and can't be expressed the same in English, which changes the meaning naturally. If I want to hear a song in English i'll listen to a song that was written to be in English. Same for Spanish and other languages. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "party, entertainment, home, globality, romantic, fun, emotions, international" **10b.** Ø **11.** "entertainment, international, emotions, home, personal, Americanness, mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "strange, dumb" **12b.** forced **13.** "personal, romantic, home, fun, entertainment, international, emotions, globality, party" **13b.** Ø **14.** "international, globality, home, emotions, entertainment, mainstream, personal" **14b.** Ø **15.** "strange, dumb" **15b.** forced **16.** It's okay when it seems natural, like how they'd speak everyday, but sometimes it seems forced for the market/business to English speakers **17.** female **18.** 24 **19.** USA **20.** USA **21.** More than one language **22.** English, Japanese, some Spanish **23.** English

#### **Informant #9**

1. YES 2. 3 3. 1 4. To get more listeners. 5. To appeal to more listeners. 6. Spanish version 7. The Spanish version is much more romantic and full of emotion. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "romantic, emotions" 10b. 11. "entertainment, home, formal, patriotism" 11b. Ø 12. strange 12b. Ø 13. "personal, emotions" 13b. Ø 14. "exotic, coolness" 14b. Ø 15. "sexy, romantic, personal" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. female 18. 52 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #10

1. YES 2. 4 3. 3 4. one and only reason is the earn of money 5. I thing the songs lyric mingled on music and the meaning of the word 6. Both 7. both are learned very smoothly, so i was selected both 8. NO 9. YES 10. personal 10b. Ø 11. Americanness 11b. Ø 12. home 12b. Ø 13. party 13b. Ø 14. "emotions, coolness" 14b. Ø 15. natural 15b. Ø 16. Spanglish is better one , so , no comments 17. male 18. 29 19. USA 20. United states 21. More than one language 22. Spanish 23. both

#### Informant #11

1. YES 2. 5 3. 4 4. To appeal to a larger market. 5. To express their ideas better. 6. Spanish version 7. Lyrics likely to be a better fit to music. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "globality, foreign, exotic" 10b. Ø 11. "Americanness, mainstream, coolness, home" 11b. Ø 12. "informal, home, party" 12b. Ø 13. "exotic, relaxed" 13b. Ø 14. "fun, entertainment" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, fun, foreign" 15b. Ø 16. no 17. female 18. 38 19. us 20. us 21. More than one language 22. spanish 23. english

#### Informant #12

1. YES 2. 4 3. 4 4. So as to increase sales because people from English speaking countries would be able to relate better with it if its translated to english 5. So as to carry English speakers along 6. English version 7. Because i speak English 8. YES 9. YES 10. "entertainment, exotic" 10b. love 11. "home, fun, Americanness, globality, entertainment" 11b. Simplicity 12. "natural, fun" 12b. Cool 13. emotions 13b. passion 14. "emotions, fun" 14b. cool 15. "party, fun" 15b. passion 16. none 17. male 18. 25 19. United States of America 20. United States of America 21. One language 22. English 23. Ignore

#### Informant #13

1. YES 2. 4 3. 4 4. to expand their market 5. they're bilingual 6. Both 7. don't have a preference 8. YES 9. YES 10. foreign 10b. Ø 11. home 11b. Ø 12. "informal, natural" 12b. Ø 13. "exotic, international" 13b. Ø 14. "mainstream, Americanness" 14b. Ø 15. "exotic, natural, fun" 15b. Ø 16. no 17. male 18. 37 19. US 20. US 21. More than one language 22. English, Spanish 23. English

#### Informant #14

1. YES 2. 5 3. 5 4. To reach more audience 5. Versatility 6. Spanish version 7. The original most times sounds better 8. YES 9. YES 10. "exotic, globality, fun, international, immigration, entertainment, foreign" 10b. Ø 11. "home, personal, Americanness, mainstream, formal, globality, patriotism" 11b. Ø 12. "informal, cool, natural, intelligent" 12b. Ingenious 13. "foreign, entertainment, immigration, international, emotions, globality, school" 13b. Ø 14. "coolness, mainstream, patriotism, personal, international, Americanness, globality, home, emotions, formal" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, exotic, cool, natural, intelligent, fun" 15b. Creative 16. None 17. female 18. 25 19. Nigeria 20. United States 21. More than one language 22. English, Igbo, German 23. English

#### Informant #15

1. NO 2. 3 3. 3 4. I think they want to appeal to a larger audience and it just makes sense to make it in a language that they can understand. 5. Sometimes the word just might flow or rhyme better and fits with the music better. 6. Both 7. I would like to see which one sounds better first and then determine if I prefer one

version over the other. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "party, foreign, exotic" **10b.** Ø **11.** "mainstream, entertainment, fun, Americanness" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, cool, party" **12b.** Ø **13.** "party, relaxed, exotic, foreign, fun" **13b.** Ø **14.** "mainstream, patriotism, Americanness, home, fun" **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, cool, party, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** I think that it is an interesting to mix music and language together if it creates a better and more interesting sound. **17.** male **18.** 23 **19.** USA **20.** USA **21.** More than one language **22.** English, Polish, German **23.** English

#### **Informant #16**

**1.** YES **2.** 4 **3.** 4 **4.** To reach out to more potential fans that don't speak Spanish. **5.** Because it sounds better. **6.** Spanish version **7.** It just sounds better in the original language. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "sexy, exotic, romantic" **10b.** Ø **11.** "school, entertainment, international, home, personal, Americanness, mainstream, formal, globality, patriotism" **11b.** Ø **12.** "cool, fun, exotic" **12b.** Ø **13.** "sexy, romantic, exotic, fun, entertainment, emotions" **13b.** Ø **14.** "patriotism, Americanness, home, mainstream" **14b.** Ø **15.** "cool, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** male **18.** 25 **19.** USA **20.** USA **21.** One language **22.** English **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #17**

**1.** NO **2.** 3 **3.** 4 **4.** Wider audience to buy their music. **5.** To target a wider audience. **6.** English version **7.** I speak English so I prefer English. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "foreign, international" **10b.** Ø **11.** "Americanness, mainstream, international" **11b.** familiar **12.** "intelligent, foreign, strange" **12b.** Ø **13.** foreign **13b.** Ø **14.** "mainstream, Americanness, globality" **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, intelligent" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** male **18.** 44 **19.** United States **20.** **21.** United States **22.** One language **23.** English

#### **Informant #18**

**1.** YES **2.** 4 **3.** 4 **4.** To appeal to english speaking communities more **5.** To broaden their target audience **6.** English version **7.** I just prefer music in english **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "foreign, exotic, romantic" **10b.** Ø **11.** "emotions, home, Americanness, mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "home, cool, fun" **12b.** Ø **13.** "romantic, exotic, foreign" **13b.** Ø **14.** "coolness, mainstream, Americanness, home, emotions" **14b.** Ø **15.** "cool, intelligent, foreign" **15b.** Ø **16.** n/a **17.** male **18.** 43 **19.** Israel **20.** USA **21.** One language **22.** english **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #19**

**1.** YES **2.** 4 **3.** 3 **4.** To make them appeal to a wider audience - people want to understand the lyrics of a song **5.** maybe the idea is expressed more clearly through a certain phrase that doesnt translate as well - also maybe it rhymes better. Maybe to pique the interest of an english only listener **6.** Both **7.** I enjoy the song in its original language but also want to understand the lyrics **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "exotic, romantic, fun, emotions" **10b.** Ø **11.** "entertainment, home, personal, Americanness" **11b.** Ø **12.** "fun, foreign, exotic" **12b.** **13.** "relaxed, romantic, exotic, fun, international, emotions, sexy" **13b.** Ø **14.** "personal, Americanness, home, entertainment" **14b.** Ø **15.** "fun, foreign, romantic, cool" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** female **18.** 65 **19.** usa **20.** usa **21.** One language **22.** english **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #20**

**1.** NO **2.** 4 **3.** 4 **4.** So others can understand them that don't speak Spanish. **5.** To sound cool, probably. A lot of languages do this (for example, Japanese does it a LOT with English). **6.** English version **7.** I can understand English better, so I'd choose that one. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "globality, romantic, international, party, sexy, immigration, exotic" **10b.** Ø **11.** "Americanness, mainstream, coolness, patriotism, relaxed, entertainment, fun, home, personal" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, cool, party, strange, foreign" **12b.** Ø **13.** "exotic, foreign, immigration, international, globality, party, sexy, relaxed" **13b.** Ø **14.** "fun, coolness, patriotism, personal, Americanness, home, relaxed, entertainment" **14b.** Ø **15.** "romantic, personal, informal, exotic, cool, sexy, strange" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø none **17.** female **18.** 36 **19.** USA **20.** USA **21.** One language **22.** English **23.** Ø

#### Informant #21

1. YES 2. 5 3. 5 4. to reach their English speaking fans 5. using English words makes the song more attractive attractive to both their Spanish and English fans. 6. Both 7. listening to songs done in Spanish and English shows the level of creativity and versatility of a singer which i think is a plus for good music 8. YES 9. YES 10. "romantic, fun, emotions, party" 10b. Ø 11. "exotic, coolness, entertainment, international" 11b. Ø 12. "intelligent, sexy, romantic, exotic, cool, fun, party" 12b. Ø 13. "romantic, fun, emotions, party" 13b. Ø 14. "exotic, entertainment, coolness, international, globality" 14b. Ø 15. "romantic, party, fun" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. male 18. 33 19. USA 20. USA 21. More than one language 22. ENGLISH, FRENCH, SPANISH 23. Ø

#### Informant #22

1. YES 2. 3 3. 3 4. good 5. yes song your mind was relax 6. English version 7. English 8. YES 9. YES 10. exotic 10b. spanish 11. home 11b. good 12. cool 12b. s 13. exotic 13b. foreign 14. also 14b. natural 15. other 15b. music lot of feature 16. Ø 17. male 18. 27 19. america 20. Delaware 21. One language 22. English 23. no more

#### Informant #23

1. NO 2. 4 3. 3 4. To make it more marketable in English speaking countries. 5. Because sometimes words in different languages better convey what you want, they fit into the music better or to emphasize the point they are making. 6. Spanish version 7. The original version of songs are typically more complex in their lyrics. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "school, sexy, exotic, relaxed, romantic" 10b. Ø 11. "foreign, school, entertainment, Americanness, mainstream, coolness, formal" 11b. money, luxury, rustic 12. "cool, party, sexy, romantic" 12b. Ø 13. "sexy, school, relaxed, romantic, exotic, foreign, fun, entertainment, emotions, party" 13b. Ø 14. "international, foreign, entertainment, coolness, mainstream" 14b. Ø 15. "sexy, party, fun, foreign, romantic, exotic" 15b. Ø 16. I'm used to listening to mixed language music. 17. male 18. 26 19. Philippines 20. United States of America 21. More than one language 22. English, Japanese 23. English

#### Informant #24

1. YES 2. 3 3. 4 4. spread all over the world 5. English is a common language 6. Both 7. I like original and translated version 8. YES 9. YES 10. "personal, romantic, party, entertainment" 10b. Ø 11. "Americanness, coolness, globality, relaxed, foreign, entertainment, emotions, personal, fun" 11b. Ø 12. "cool, natural, fun, party, strange, intelligent, romantic" 12b. Mixing songs are like 13. "home, foreign, fun, entertainment, international, party, relaxed, romantic" 13b. Ø 14. "school, fun, coolness, personal, romantic, Americanness, globality, home, emotions, entertainment" 14b. Ø 15. "home, romantic, personal, cool, natural, intelligent, party, strange, fun" 15b. add music more 16. GOOD 17. male 18. 27 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #25

1. YES 2. 4 3. 4 4. So everyone can understand them 5. It's trendy? 6. Both 7. I enjoy both equally. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "romantic, international, foreign, exotic" 10b. Ø 11. "relaxed, home, personal" 11b. Ø 12. "informal, cool, fun, party, strange" 12b. Ø 13. "fun, entertainment, party" 13b. Ø 14. "fun, mainstream, Americanness, relaxed" 14b. Ø 15. dumb 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. female 18. 23 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #26

1. YES 2. 4 3. 4 4. To hit different markets overall and so they can greater connect with fanbases 5. It flows better or rhymes better. It is easier to convey the message. They speak with a mix so they sing with a mix too 6. Spanish version 7. It is the intended version and more often than not sounds better 8. YES 9. YES 10. "exotic, relaxed, romantic, emotions, international" 10b. Ø 11. "Americanness, mainstream, coolness, relaxed, home, personal" 11b. Ø 12. "informal, cool, natural, fun, personal" 12b. Ø 13. "exotic, foreign, entertainment" 13b. Ø

14. "fun, mainstream, personal, Americanness, home" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, cool, sexy, natural, fun" 15b. Ø 16. None 17. male 18. 23 19. United States 20. United States 21. More than one language 22. English, Spanish 23. English

#### Informant #27

1. YES 2. 4 3. 5 4. To allow non spanish speakers to understand spanish song lyrics 5. To communicate with other non spanish community 6. Both 7. It is interesting 8. YES 9. YES 10. "globality, romantic, school, sexy, immigration, entertainment" 10b. Ø 11. "exotic, mainstream, coolness, formal, globality, patriotism, relaxed, foreign, school, romantic, entertainment, international, emotions, home, personal, fun" 11b. Ø 12. "foreign, romantic, informal, exotic, home, cool, natural, fun, party, patriotism, intelligent, sexy, personal" 12b. Ø 13. "home, exotic, foreign, entertainment, emotions, globality, party, romantic" 13b. Ø 14. "fun, coolness, mainstream, personal, international, romantic, globality, emotions, home, relaxed, foreign, formal, exotic, entertainment" 14b. Ø 15. "home, romantic, exotic, cool, sexy, natural, party, intelligent, fun" 15b. Ø 16. I think both languages are quite lovely when they are mixed 17. male 18. 31 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #28

1. NO 2. 4 3. 3 4. They are probably interested in breaking through to the english speaking charts. many english speaking people do not also speak spanish and would not know what the song is about unless they looked it up. Putting out an English version may not be meant to replace the spanish version, but it could be seen as an introduction to the artist's work. 5. There are words in English that do not have a Spanish translation. 6. Both 7. I would want to compare them. First i would want to understand the song and would read the lyrics and hear it in english to see how it was presented, then i would want to hear the spanish version to see if the flow of the original is superior or if the translated version can stack up to the original. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "party, sexy, entertainment, exotic" 10b. Difficult to learn 11. "entertainment, international, emotions, home, personal, Americanness, mainstream, coolness, globality, relaxed, school" 11b. Simple, yet constantly evolving. 12. "natural, fun, foreign, informal, cool" 12b. "innovative, flexible, adaptive" 13. "sexy, relaxed, exotic, foreign, fun, entertainment, international, globality, party" 13b. facilitating a demographic 14. "personal, international, Americanness, globality, home, emotions, relaxed, entertainment, school, coolness, mainstream" 14b. natural 15. "party, fun, informal, exotic, cool, sexy" 15b. natural 16. I'm not so sure if these questions are in the correct order. The survey structure seemed a bit disjointed, but perhaps that was deliberate. Thank You. 17. female 18. 44 19. United States 20. United States 21. One language 22. English 23. n/a

#### Informant #29

1. YES 2. 4 3. 4 4. To draw more of a crowd and to get more possibilities for awards 5. To draw others to the music. To make themselves seem very different. To stand out 6. English version 7. It would make more sense to me in English. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "exotic, fun, emotions" 10b. Ø 11. "home, fun, mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "romantic, informal, cool" 12b. Ø 13. "exotic, foreign, sexy" 13b. Ø 14. "mainstream, Americanness, relaxed" 14b. Ø 15. "intelligent, foreign" 15b. Ø 16. I think it is very interesting and makes people more open to different things. 17. female 18. 41 19. US 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #30

1. NO 2. 5 3. 5 4. I would not understand why anyone would have a problem with it. Musicians want their music to be heard. 5. Cuz it sounds good. The musician writes from the heart. Only they can tell you exactly why they did something 6. Both 7. I don't feel like either one would be better than the other 8. YES 9. YES 10. "romantic, emotions" 10b. Ø 11. "entertainment, Americanness, mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "natural, fun, informal" 12b. Ø 13. "romantic, exotic" 13b. Ø 14. "mainstream, Americanness, coolness" 14b. Ø 15. "fun, personal" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. male 18. 32 19. United states 20. United states 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

### Informant #31

1. YES 2. 4 3. 4 4. so it can have more of a global appeal. 5. it could be to have more of a global appeal 6. Both 7. I like variety in my music 8. YES 9. YES 10. "foreign, exotic" 10b. Ø 11. "home, Americanness, mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "fun, intelligent" 12b. Ø 13. "exotic, emotions" 13b. Ø 14. "Americanness, globality, home" 14b. Ø 15. "fun, foreign, cool" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. male 18. 27 19. usa 20. usa 21. More than one language 22. english, spanish 23. english

### Informant #32

1. NO 2. 5 3. 5 4. I think they want to share they song to a wider audience that don't always speak the same language. 5. I think it's a word that is used universally, I've seen it in Asian sings like in K-Pop songs they will use english phrases or words as well. 6. Both 7. I enjoy the comparision between both songs and I also like to hear the original untranslated song to see the difference. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "school, party, immigration, entertainment, foreign, home, personal, globality, romantic, formal, emotions, international" 10b. Ø 11. "school, romantic, entertainment, emotions, home, personal, fun, Americanness, mainstream, formal, globality, patriotism, relaxed" 11b. Ø 12. "cool, natural, fun, party, intelligent, sexy, personal, foreign, romantic, exotic, home" 12b. Ø 13. "sexy, personal, relaxed, formal, romantic, exotic, foreign, fun, entertainment, international, emotions, globality, party" 13b. Ø 14. "personal, romantic, Americanness, home, emotions, relaxed, entertainment, fun, coolness, mainstream" 14b. Ø 15. "sexy, intelligent, party, fun, formal, foreign, home, romantic, personal, informal, exotic" 15b. Ø 16. I think music is open to interpreation and that we should be more open when it comes to diffrent languages. 17. female 18. 34 19. China 20. United States 21. More than one language 22. English, Cantonese 23. English, Cantonese

### Informant #33

1. YES 2. 4 3. 3 4. I think they do that so more people can understand the song. 5. I feel they try to include people who may not know what's being said, or just to highlight their speaking skills. 6. English version 7. I'm mostly a english speaker. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "sexy, exotic, relaxed, fun" 10b. Ø 11. "emotions, mainstream, coolness, patriotism" 11b. Ø 12. "romantic, exotic, natural, party" 12b. Ø 13. "exotic, immigration, international, sexy" 13b. Ø 14. "Americanness, home, emotions" 14b. Ø 15. "intelligent, strange, fun" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. male 18. 23 19. United States 20. United States 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

### Informant #34

1. YES 2. 5 3. 5 4. for other people to understand 5. to make the song sound great 6. English version 7. i dont understand spanish 8. NO 9. YES 10. "foreign, exotic, romantic" 10b. Ø 11. "home, personal, Americanness, coolness" 11b. Ø 12. "dumb, romantic, home, cool, natural, formal, strange" 12b. Ø 13. "fun, party, sexy" 13b. Ø 14. "emotions, home, coolness" 14b. Ø 15. "personal, natural, intelligent, strange, fun" 15b. Ø 16. no comment 17. female 18. 25 19. usa 20. usa 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

### Informant #35

1. YES 2. 4 3. 3 4. To understand for everyone 5. English is a easy language. 6. English version 7. It's a correct answer. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "sexy, immigration, romantic, emotions, international, patriotism" 10b. Moral 11. "international, Americanness, coolness, formal, relaxed, foreign" 11b. Love 12. "strange, dumb, foreign, home" 12b. effectiveness 13. "entertainment, international, emotions, sexy" 13b. earth 14. "Americanness, emotions, home, foreign, formal, school, coolness, mainstream, personal" 14b. Eco friendly 15. "fun, home, personal, informal" 15b. prison 16. none 17. male 18. 36 19. USA 20. Woodenville 21. More than one language 22. English 23. English

### Informant #36



1. YES 2. 5 3. 4 4. why this colavery 5. dora-pora 6. Spanish version 7. English 8. YES 9. YES 10. "home, romantic, school, party, sexy" 10b. skip 11. "emotions, formal, patriotism, relaxed, foreign" 11b. yes 12. "foreign, informal, exotic, formal, fun" 12b. no 13. "romantic, immigration, international, sexy, school, relaxed, formal" 13b. yes 14. "relaxed, foreign, exotic, entertainment" 14b. no idea 15. "formal, home, exotic, cool, sexy, natural, patriotism, fun" 15b. others 16. Ø 17. male 18. 26 19. america 20. new work 21. More than one language 22. english,french,hindi 23. Ø

#### Informant #37

1. YES 2. 5 3. 5 4. They want to be listened widely and sell widely 5. So as to bring hype in their music 6. English version 7. Having listened to the original version i Spanish makes me wanna hear the song in a language i understand 8. YES 9. YES 10. "exotic, relaxed, globality, romantic, emotions, international, sexy" 10b. Romance 11. "globality, coolness, relaxed, entertainment, emotions" 11b. Global 12. "exotic, cool, fun" 12b. indigenous 13. "romantic, exotic, international" 13b. romance 14. "mainstream, romantic, emotions" 14b. Global 15. "cool, natural, party" 15b. Global 16. none 17. female 18. 26 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #38

1. NO 2. 4 3. 5 4. So other people who do not speak spanish know what the song is about and can enjoy it more 5. A lot of people speak both languages, just more inclusive 6. Both 7. I like hearing other languages, so songs in other languages are very beautiful 8. YES 9. YES 10. "foreign, emotions, international" 10b. Ø 11. "home, Americanness, mainstream, international" 11b. Ø 12. "personal, informal, natural" 12b. Ø 13. "romantic, exotic, foreign, entertainment, international, personal" 13b. Ø 14. "entertainment, fun, mainstream, personal, romantic, Americanness, home, emotions, relaxed" 14b. Ø 15. "personal, informal, fun" 15b. Ø 16. Just that I enjoy listening to songs sung in other languages such as spanish 17. female 18. 61 19. usa 20. usa 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #39

1. YES 2. 2 3. 2 4. To appeal to a larger market 5. The word or phrase doesn't exist in Spanish 6. Spanish version 7. I want to hear the original version 8. YES 9. YES 10. "sexy, foreign, romantic" 10b. Ø 11. "home, personal, Americanness, relaxed" 11b. Ø 12. "strange, informal" 12b. Ø 13. "exotic, fun, party" 13b. Ø 14. "Americanness, mainstream" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, strange" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. male 18. 30 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #40

1. NO 2. 4 3. 3 4. To help capture a larger audience. To break into the American market. 5. To get the attention of English-speaking listeners. 6. Both 7. It depends on the song. Sometimes I enjoy hearing one version over the other. I took enough Spanish in school to understand some of the words and I like linguistics in general. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "sexy, foreign, exotic, fun" 10b. Interesting 11. "relaxed, personal, home, Americanness, mainstream" 11b. Easy, boring 12. "cool, fun, party, informal" 12b. Multicultural 13. "sexy, romantic, exotic, fun, entertainment" 13b. Dancing 14. "mainstream, Americanness, home" 14b. Ordinary 15. "informal, party, fun" 15b. Multicultural 16. I have heard several songs like this but I normally don't seek them out. 17. male 18. 48 19. United States 20. United States 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #41

1. YES 2. 4 3. 3 4. I think for crossover potential to reach a broader audience. Also the more people buy the music the more money they make. 5. To emphasize a point. 6. Both 7. I usually prefer the original but to sing along to I prefer tge English version. 8. YES 9. YES 10. emotions 10b. Rhythm 11. mainstream 11b. Sing along

12. fun 12b. Ø 13. Emotions 13b. Rhythm 14. fun 14b. Sing along 15. exotic 15b. Ø 16. I like both Spanish and English and a mixture of the two. 17. Female 18. 48 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #42

1. YES 2. 5 3. 5 4. "Salsa. Merengue. Bachata. Bachata is another Dominican sensation that's popular worldwide, and not just in Latin America and New York City—weirdly enough, this genre has a dedicated fanbase in Japan. ... Reggaeton. An error occurred. ... Rock." 5. "Listening to songs in Spanish can massively improve your vocabulary and grammar, because you'll have a context for the new words and sentences you're learning; you're far more likely to remember words if you learn them in a song rather than in a long vocabulary list. ... This simple song is tattooed in your memory." 6. English version 7. Because, I like English Songs more than Spanish songs. 8. YES 9. YES 10. entertainment 10b. Ø 11. Americanness 11b. Ø 12. natural 12b. Ø 13. fun 13b. Ø 14. Ø 14b. Ø 15. Ø 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. female 18. 27 19. U.S.A 20. U.S.A 21. One language 22. English 23. English only

#### Informant #43

1. YES 2. 4 3. 4 4. so that both cultures can enjoy the lyrics totally 5. so they can share their words with both 6. English version 7. i am not fluent in spanish 8. YES 9. YES 10. "party, exotic, relaxed, romantic, fun, emotions" 10b. Ø 11. "fun, home, Americanness, coolness, patriotism, relaxed" 11b. Ø 12. intelligent 12b. Ø 13. "romantic, exotic, fun, party" 13b. Ø 14. "personal, fun" 14b. Ø 15. "fun, romantic, sexy, party" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. female 18. 56 19. usa 20. usa 21. One language 22. n/a 23. Ø

#### Informant #44

1. NO 2. 3 3. 4 4. so people who do not speak that language will know the lyrics 5. to relate to their audience better 6. English version 7. so I know what the lyrics actually say 8. YES 9. YES 10. "exotic, fun, entertainment" 10b. Ø 11. "mainstream, entertainment, home, fun" 11b. Ø 12. informal 12b. Ø 13. "entertainment, party" 13b. Ø 14. "fun, personal, relaxed, entertainment" 14b. Ø 15. fun 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. female 18. 35 19. usa 20. usa 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #45

1. NO 2. 4 3. 4 4. I think that it's in order to help their english speaking fans engage with the song better. 5. To communicate a message to english speaking people. 6. Spanish version 7. I think it presents the song in it's purest essence. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "emotions, international, foreign, exotic, fun" 10b. Ø 11. "coolness, Americanness, mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "cool, fun, intelligent" 12b. Ø 13. "international, foreign" 13b. Ø 14. "mainstream, Americanness, entertainment" 14b. Ø 15. "cool, intelligent, foreign" 15b. Ø 16. No, nothing else comes to mind at the moment. 17. male 18. 38 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #46

1. YES 2. 5 3. 3 4. To increase the consumer market for your music, expand the audience 5. It seems to me that they are simply natural transitions of those who speak both languages. 6. Spanish version 7. I prefer to listen in the language in which it was originally conceived 8. YES 9. YES 10. "immigration, entertainment, foreign, exotic, globality, romantic, international" 10b. Ø 11. "home, personal, Americanness, mainstream" 11b. My mother tongue 12. "party, sexy, informal, exotic, cool, natural" 12b. I travel frequently to Miami 13. "fun, entertainment, globality, sexy" 13b. Ø 14. "romantic, home, emotions, entertainment, school, coolness" 14b. The music I listen to most of the time, my favorite songs. 15. "exotic, cool, natural, party" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. male 18. 34 19. Usa 20. Usa 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #47

1. YES 2. 5 3. 3 4. I think they want to be able to reach a broader audience. If they don't release translated versions, people may never experience something that is different from what they normally hear. 5. I think there's a lot of cross-cultural exchange, including vocabulary. 6. Both 7. Often the songs are slightly different and the variety is fun 8. YES 9. YES 10. "party, sexy, entertainment, exotic, relaxed, romantic, fun, emotions" 10b. Ø 11. "home, Americanness, mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "fun, party, sexy, informal, cool" 12b. Ø 13. "relaxed, fun, entertainment, emotions, globality" 13b. Ø 14. "Americanness, home, mainstream, patriotism" 14b. Ø 15. "fun, personal, informal, cool, sexy, natural, party" 15b. Ø 16. no 17. male 18. 29 19. USA 20. USA 21. More than one language 22. English, Spanish 23. English

#### Informant #48

1. NO 2. 3 3. 3 4. To reach a bigger/different audience. 5. Maybe they don't translate well. 6. Both 7. I would like to hear the original version and also would like to hear the what the song means. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "romantic, sexy" 10b. Ø 11. "home, mainstream, relaxed" 11b. Ø 12. "personal, informal" 12b. Ø 13. "romantic, emotions" 13b. Ø 14. "relaxed, personal" 14b. Ø 15. "romantic, personal" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. male 18. 56 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #49

1. YES 2. 5 3. 1 4. to let non Spanish listners understand the song 5. bigger audience 6. Spanish version 7. its the original 8. YES 9. YES 10. "romantic, foreign" 10b. Ø 11. Ø 11b. Ø 12. Ø 12b. Ø 13. Ø 13b. Ø 14. Ø 14b. Ø 15. Ø 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. male 18. 59 19. USA 20. USA 21. More than one language 22. ENGLISH SPANISH 23. ENGLISH

#### Informant #50

1. YES 2. 4 3. 4 4. 1) so people can understand the song better, 2) to appeal to a larger market, 3) to be understood as an artist, 4) to bridge two nations 5. 1) to appeal to English-speaking listeners, 2) to be understood, 3) to show commonalities among nations 6. English version 7. My Spanish is really bad. I prefer English so that I can understand the song better 8. YES 9. YES 10. "foreign, globality, international, entertainment" 10b. Ø 11. "home, Americanness, mainstream, entertainment" 11b. the USA and the UK 12. "strange, dumb" 12b. Ø 13. "foreign, international, globality" 13b. Ø 14. "entertainment, mainstream, Americanness, home" 14b. Ø 15. "dumb, strange, foreign" 15b. Ø 16. Americans need to be more educated in regard to languages 17. male 18. 59 19. USA 20. USA 21. More than one language 22. English and Broken Spanish 23. English

#### Informant #51

1. NO 2. 4 3. 3 4. Perhaps because they like to appeal to different listeners and enjoy trying to make music in more than one language. 5. Because it might match the rhythm of the song better to use an English word in a certain part of the song. 6. Both 7. I would like to hear both versions and see which one I enjoy more. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "emotions, fun" 10b. Ø 11. relaxed 11b. Ø 12. "personal, informal" 12b. Ø 13. "emotions, relaxed, fun" 13b. Ø 14. "personal, emotions, relaxed" 14b. Ø 15. "personal, fun" 15b. Ø 16. I like songs like this a lot. 17. female 18. 28 19. USA 20. United States 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #52

1. NO 2. 5 3. 5 4. Probably to reach a large range of people which results in more sales. I think some english words do not translate into spanish. 5. The song sounds better with english words sometimes 6. Both 7. I like both types of music depending on my mood. 8. NO 9. YES 10. "relaxed, fun, international, party" 10b. Ø 11. "home, Americanness, mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "informal, cool, fun, party" 12b. Ø 13. "foreign, entertainment, international, party" 13b. Ø 14. "Americanness, formal, mainstream" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, party" 15b. Ø 16. None 17. female 18. 33 19. United States 20. United States 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

### Informant #53

1. NO 2. 4 3. 5 4. More people speak english. 5. It reaches a wider range of people 6. English version 7. I'd rather have english 8. NO 9. YES 10. "romantic, sexy, entertainment" 10b. Ø 11. "Americanness, mainstream, globality, patriotism" 11b. Ø 12. "fun, intelligent" 12b. Ø 13. "personal, romantic" 13b. Ø 14. "coolness, Americanness, home" 14b. Ø 15. "strange, foreign" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. male 18. 22 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

### Informant #54

1. YES 2. 4 3. 3 4. Sales. 5. For more broad of an audience 6. English version 7. I prefer english 8. YES 9. YES 10. exotic 10b. The temo 11. "home, fun" 11b. Ø 12. "natural, intelligent" 12b. Ø 13. "romantic, exotic, entertainment" 13b. Really cool 14. "coolness, Americanness, foreign" 14b. Ø 15. "strange, fun, home" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. male 18. 35 19. United states 20. Usa 21. More than one language 22. Spanish 23. Ø

### Informant #55

1. YES 2. 4 3. 4 4. I feel like a good song should be appreciated by all languages so it is smart for artists to use translation. I feel like language should not be a barrier to good music. 5. Probably to make it more relatable or easy to decipher what the song is saying. Or perhaps the english is a better fit for the phrasing. 6. Spanish version 7. Even though I understand english best, I like the rhythm and smoothness of the spanish. It really gets me more in a good vibe. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "international, sexy, exotic, globality, romantic" 10b. "rhythmic, sensational" 11. "globality, patriotism, entertainment, Americanness, mainstream" 11b. Easy 12. cool 12b. interesting 13. "international, sexy, exotic, fun" 13b. Ø 14. "mainstream, patriotism, Americanness, home, entertainment" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, cool" 15b. Ø 16. I love it. It is so diverse and interesting. 17. female 18. 44 19. Bahamas 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

### Informant #56

1. YES 2. 4 3. 2 4. to reach a broader audience and sell more albums and make more money 5. to broaden the appeal, to add some distinction to their music, to collaborate more easily with non-spanish speaking singers 6. Spanish version 7. i do not think things get translated well and a lot of the meaning and flavor from the song 8. YES 9. YES 10. "romantic, emotions, party" 10b. Ø 11. "home, fun, mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "foreign, strange, dumb" 12b. Ø 13. "foreign, entertainment, formal" 13b. Ø 14. "fun, Americanness, emotions" 14b. Ø 15. "dumb, strange, foreign" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. female 18. 26 19. USA 20. USA 21. More than one language 22. spanish, english, french, italian, chinese 23. Ø

### Informant #57

1. YES 2. 4 3. 3 4. to try to appeal to a different audience 5. To be inclusive 6. Spanish version 7. I love Spanish music 8. YES 9. YES 10. "romantic, fun, international, party" 10b. Ø 11. "home, fun, Americanness, mainstream, relaxed, romantic, entertainment, emotions" 11b. Ø 12. "fun, party" 12b. Ø 13. "exotic, fun, entertainment, international, party" 13b. Ø 14. "relaxed, entertainment, fun, mainstream, Americanness, home, emotions" 14b. Ø 15. "party, fun" 15b. Ø 16. I really like it when they throw in a verse or words in Spanish in an English song. It adds to it! 17. female 18. 65 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

### Informant #58

1. YES 2. 5 3. 5 4. they want to gain fans 5. they may think it will attract english people 6. Spanish version 7. i like to hear the original version 8. YES 9. YES 10. "foreign, emotions" 10b. Ø 11. "home, Americanness, mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "cool, fun, foreign" 12b. Ø 13. "foreign, international, emotions" 13b. Ø 14. "mainstream, Americanness, home" 14b. Ø 15. "cool, fun" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. none 18. male 19. 22 20. usa 21. usa 22. One language 23. english

#### Informant #59

1. NO 2. 3 3. 2 4. Reach a wider audience. They are bilingual. 5. They are bilingual. English phrases may be commonly used in their country. 6. Spanish version 7. If it is the original version, I would think it is Yesr to the artist vision. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "international, school, foreign" 10b. Ø 11. home 11b. ordinary, familiar 12. Informal 12b. fusion, bilingual 13. "fun, foreign, party" 13b. Ø 14. "mainstream, personal, emotions" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, natural, fun" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. male 18. 42 19. Korea 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #60

1. YES 2. 3 3. 3 4. more audience 5. relatable 6. English version 7. sounds better 8. NO 9. NO 10. "entertainment, foreign, romantic" 10b. Ø 11. "foreign, Americanness" 11b. Ø 12. home 12b. Ø 13. romantic 13b. Ø 14. Ø 14b. Ø 15. strange 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. female 18. 27 19. usa 20. usa 21. More than one language 22. spanish english 23. Ø

#### Informant #61

1. YES 2. 4 3. 2 4. I think they might believe that it will give them a wider audience for their music. 5. It probably feels natural to them to do so. 6. Spanish version 7. It sounds more authentic and fits better with the music. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "globality, fun, international" 10b. Ø 11. "home, Americanness, entertainment" 11b. Ø 12. "informal, natural, fun" 12b. Ø 13. "romantic, fun, globality" 13b. Ø 14. "fun, Americanness, home" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, natural, fun" 15b. Ø 16. There is nothing I wish to add. 17. male 18. 76 19. United States 20. United States 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #62

1. YES 2. 4 3. 4 4. A lot of people like to sing along with a good song, but if you don't speak Spanish it might be hard to understand and sing the lyrics. Also, it might attract more listeners if it's translated. 5. It seems they want to attract more listeners and this would make a song more recognizable if you can understand some of the lyrics. 6. Spanish version 7. Some, if not most songs, that are translated to English from Spanish don't sound as good as the original. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "foreign, relaxed, fun, international" 10b. Ø 11. "fun, home, Americanness, mainstream, relaxed, entertainment" 11b. Ø 12. "informal, fun, party" 12b. Ø 13. "foreign, fun, entertainment, emotions, relaxed" 13b. Ø 14. "entertainment, fun, mainstream, personal, Americanness, home, emotions, relaxed" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, party, fun, foreign" 15b. Ø 16. I go to a restaurant that plays first the Spanish version and then again in English. It was strange at first but we got to liking it. 17. female 18. 61 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #63

1. YES 2. 5 3. 5 4. To share thier music for everyone to enjoy regardless of language 5. So people who speak English can understand some of it 6. English version 7. Understand it alot more and the English lyrics sound better 8. NO 9. YES 10. "emotions, sexy, exotic" 10b. Ø 11. "formal, relaxed, emotions, home, personal, fun, Americanness, mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "cool, fun, sexy, romantic, foreign" 12b. Ø 13. "emotions, sexy, romantic, exotic, entertainment" 13b. Ø 14. "personal, home, relaxed, entertainment, fun, coolness" 14b. Ø 15. "sexy, fun, romantic" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. male 18. 28 19. Usa 20. Usa 21. More than one language 22. English, Spanish 23. English

#### Informant #64

1. YES 2. 3 3. 3 4. Spanish and English are the most common languages in the world, but most commercial music is actually in English. 5. I suppose for variety. 6. Both 7. I'm indifferent. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "foreign, exotic" 10b. Ø 11. "Americanness, mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "cool, natural" 12b. Ø 13. "exotic, foreign" 13b. Ø 14.

"mainstream, Americanness" **14b.** Ø **15.** natural **15b.** Ø **16.** Nothing else. Have a nice day! **17.** male **18.** 25 **19.** US **20.** US **21.** More than one language **22.** English, some German, and some Spanish **23.** English

#### **Informant #65**

**1.** YES **2.** 3 **3.** 5 **4.** To have more followers and available listeners. **5.** To catch the attention of the people that don't speak Spanish. **6.** English version **7.** English is my native language so I understand every lyric and sometimes in Spanish I have to think about it. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "foreign, exotic, personal, relaxed, globality, romantic, fun, sexy" **10b.** Ø **11.** "home, fun, Americanness, mainstream, relaxed, school, romantic, entertainment" **11b.** Ø **12.** "sexy, personal, romantic, exotic, cool, fun, party, intelligent" **12b.** Ø **13.** "exotic, fun, foreign, entertainment, international, emotions, party, sexy, personal, relaxed" **13b.** Ø **14.** "relaxed, entertainment, school, fun, mainstream, personal, romantic, Americanness, emotions" **14b.** Ø **15.** "romantic, exotic, cool, sexy, intelligent, party, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** I think it's great to blend 2 different languages so many people can enjoy. **17.** male **18.** 25 **19.** USA **20.** USA **21.** One language **22.** English **23.** English and enough Spanish to get by

#### **Informant #66**

**1.** YES **2.** 4 **3.** 4 **4.** Money and audience **5.** Clout money international fame **6.** Spanish version **7.** Its the original **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "home, personal, globality, romantic, fun, international" **10b.** Ø **11.** "Americanness, mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "intelligent, sexy, home, cool" **12b.** Ø **13.** "home, international, globality" **13b.** Ø **14.** "Americanness, mainstream, patriotism" **14b.** Ø **15.** "fun, exotic, intelligent" **15b.** Ø **16.** Its cool **17.** female **18.** 25 **19.** Dominican Republic **20.** United States **21.** More than one language **22.** Spanish **23.** Equal

#### **Informant #67**

**1.** YES **2.** 3 **3.** 3 **4.** Because they have many fans there so they release their songs there. **5.** They are interest to release their song for the fans. For that reasons they use the song. **6.** English version **7.** I will listen English language songs. because I like to hear English version songs. **8.** NO **9.** NO **10.** "party, foreign, relaxed, globality, emotions" **10b.** Ø **11.** "romantic, emotions, home, personal, Americanness, mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "fun, strange, informal" **12b.** Ø **13.** "relaxed, patriotism, home, exotic, emotions" **13b.** Ø **14.** "romantic, Americanness, globality, emotions, formal, entertainment, fun, coolness, mainstream" **14b.** Ø **15.** "fun, formal, home, personal" **15b.** Ø **16.** No comments. **17.** female **18.** 29 **19.** United States **20.** United States **21.** More than one language **22.** English, French **23.** equal

#### **Informant #68**

**1.** YES **2.** 4 **3.** 5 **4.** To allow people who speak English to better understand the lyrics; to sell more songs **5.** Some words cannot be translated, so they use English; to connect with others who don't speak Spanish **6.** Both **7.** They are usually slightly different versions, which are both enjoyable **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "fun, international, exotic" **10b.** Ø **11.** "mainstream, entertainment, emotions" **11b.** Ø **12.** "natural, fun, intelligent" **12b.** Ø **13.** international **13b.** Ø **14.** "mainstream, entertainment" **14b.** Ø **15.** "natural, intelligent" **15b.** Ø **16.** Interesting topic! **17.** female **18.** 50 **19.** United States **20.** United States **21.** One language **22.** English **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #69**

**1.** YES **2.** 5 **3.** 5 **4.** English only speaking can enjoy it too, sell to larger audiences, make it sound unique, they like to talk in both languages. **5.** it's best said in English, they like their songs with some English words, there is no Spanish translation **6.** English version **7.** I understand English way better than Spanish. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "romantic, fun, entertainment" **10b.** Ø **11.** home **11b.** Ø **12.** home **12b.** Ø **13.** "romantic, fun, entertainment" **13b.** Ø **14.** "Americanness, home" **14b.** Ø **15.** fun **15b.** Ø **16.** none **17.** female **18.** 27 **19.** United States of America **20.** United States of America **21.** More than one language **22.** English, Spanish **23.** English

#### Informant #70

1. YES 2. 3 3. 3 4. I think they because a lot of people understand English compared to spanish 5. There are more English speaking listeners 6. Both 7. I enjoy the spanish version and i listen to the english version for better understanding 8. YES 9. YES 10. "foreign, exotic, romantic" 10b. Classic 11. "international, Americanness, mainstream, globality" 11b. Rhythm 12. "intelligent, exotic, natural" 12b. Creative 13. "romantic, exotic, entertainment" 13b. Cultural 14. "Americanness, emotions, entertainment, coolness, international" 14b. Understanding 15. "romantic, natural" 15b. Ø 16. None 17. male 18. 35 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #71

1. YES 2. 4 3. 4 4. to enlighten everyone 5. to enlighten everyone 6. Both 7. i enjoy both languages 8. YES 9. YES 10. "exotic, party" 10b. Ø 11. "emotions, personal, mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "cool, natural" 12b. Ø 13. "home, entertainment, party" 13b. Ø 14. "Americanness, home, coolness, mainstream" 14b. Ø 15. "natural, fun" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. female 18. 33 19. usa 20. usa 21. One language 22. english 23. Ø

#### Informant #72

1. YES 2. 4 3. 3 4. i think so certain people that dont understand spanish wil be able to understand what they are saying 5. to mix it up and for there english speaking fans 6. Spanish version 7. because i feel that the spanish version sounds better then it translated to english 8. YES 9. YES 10. "sexy, exotic, romantic, emotions" 10b. Ø 11. "emotions, Americanness, formal" 11b. Ø 12. "party, informal, home" 12b. Ø 13. "personal, romantic, exotic" 13b. Ø 14. "romantic, emotions" 14b. Ø 15. "cool, intelligent" 15b. Ø 16. they are both great languages 17. male 18. 34 19. usa 20. usa 21. One language 22. english 23. Ø

#### Informant #73

1. YES 2. 3 3. 3 4. to reach a different demographic and a bigger audience 5. i think because they speak both languages or the lyrics flow/sound better that way 6. Both 7. i would like to hear the original spanish version but at the same time i dont speak spanish 8. YES 9. YES 10. "fun, sexy, foreign, home" 10b. family, upbringing 11. "Americanness, mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "natural, personal" 12b. my husband 13. "entertainment, international, globality" 13b. Ø 14. home 14b. Ø 15. Natural 15b. Ø 16. they reach more demographics 17. female 18. 33 19. usa 20. usa 21. One language 22. english 23. Ø

#### Informant #74

1. YES 2. 5 3. 3 4. English is more common than spanish 5. because english is a highly accepted language 6. Spanish version 7. I love their language and I don't hear it often so it's something new to me and it's exciting 8. YES 9. YES 10. "party, sexy, exotic, romantic, fun, emotions" 10b. Ø 11. "relaxed, romantic, entertainment, emotions, home, mainstream, coolness, patriotism" 11b. Ø 12. "fun, party, intelligent, sexy, exotic" 12b. Ø 13. "party, sexy, romantic, exotic, fun, entertainment, emotions" 13b. Ø 14. "mainstream, Americanness, globality, home, emotions, entertainment, fun, coolness" 14b. Ø 15. "exotic, cool, sexy, patriotism, intelligent, party, fun" 15b. Ø 16. I think it is highly creative. It's awesome 17. female 18. 35 years 19. America 20. America 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #75

1. YES 2. 3 3. 3 4. so other people can enjoy the song as well 5. so non spanish speakers can feel apart of the song 6. Spanish version 7. because theres nothing like the original song 8. YES 9. YES 10. "exotic, romantic, international" 10b. sexuality 11. "romantic, emotions" 11b. Ø 12. "exotic, cool" 12b. Ø 13. "exotic, emotions" 13b. Ø 14. "personal, emotions" 14b. Ø 15. "romantic, cool" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. female 18. 23 19. usa 20. usa 21. More than one language 22. spanish, english 23. equal

#### Informant #76

1. YES 2. 5 3. 5 4. to help maximize their own profit 5. so they can simply infuse their intention with a more simpler word and that may come in any form 6. English version 7. it is easier for me to know all the lyrics 8. YES 9. YES 10. "foreign, exotic, romantic, fun, emotions, international" 10b. Ø 11. "emotions, fun, home, personal, coolness, formal" 11b. Ø 12. "cool, natural, fun, intelligent, personal" 12b. Ø 13. "romantic, foreign, international, emotions" 13b. Ø 14. "personal, formal, fun, coolness" 14b. Ø 15. "cool, natural, intelligent, fun, personal" 15b. Ø 16. no 17. male 18. 31 19. United State of America 20. US 21. More than one language 22. english, french 23. English

#### Informant #77

1. YES 2. 4 3. 2 4. I think they want to increase the reach and audience for their music and therefore make more money. 5. I think they want to better relate to American audiences. 6. Spanish version 7. I prefer the original song and find the English lyrics to sometimes not be as good. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "exotic, relaxed, globality, fun, party, entertainment" 10b. Ø 11. "home, Americanness, mainstream, entertainment" 11b. Ø 12. "strange, dumb" 12b. Ø 13. "fun, entertainment, relaxed" 13b. Ø 14. "entertainment, mainstream, Americanness, relaxed" 14b. Ø 15. "dumb, strange" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. female 18. 28 19. USA 20. USA 21. More than one language 22. English, Portuguese 23. English

#### Informant #78

1. NO 2. 5 3. 3 4. They believe that the major audience in musical industry are english speaking. 5. They believe that the major people listening to music are english speaking national. 6. Both 7. music is a universal language. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "romantic, entertainment, foreign" 10b. Ø 11. "home, fun, Americanness, exotic, mainstream, globality, school, romantic, emotions" 11b. world famous language 12. "foreign, romantic, cool" 12b. Ø 13. "romantic, home, exotic, emotions, party, sexy" 13b. uniqueness 14. "fun, patriotism, romantic, Americanness, globality, home, emotions, exotic" 14b. Ø 15. "romantic, cool, sexy, natural, party, fun" 15b. Ø 16. music as one language 17. male 18. 39 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #79

1. YES 2. 4 3. 1 4. To reach an audience as large as possible. 5. From snobbery. 6. Spanish version 7. Because a translation is never as good as an original. 8. NO 9. NO 10. "emotions, international, patriotism, entertainment, foreign" 10b. Ø 11. "globality, patriotism, romantic, entertainment, international, emotions, home, Americanness" 11b. Ø 12. "formal, strange, dumb" 12b. Ø 13. "international, emotions, patriotism, relaxed, romantic, exotic, foreign, entertainment" 13b. Ø 14. "patriotism, personal, romantic, Americanness, globality, home, emotions, relaxed, entertainment, coolness" 14b. Ø 15. Ø 15b. Ø 16. The use of English words in Spanish songs is a proof of poor inspiration. 17. male 18. 66 19. Romania 20. USA 21. More than one language 22. german, french, english 23. english

#### Informant #80

1. YES 2. 4 3. 3 4. They may think it reaches a wider audience or is more appealing for some people. 5. Do do something unexpected. Sounds good to change it up a bit. Maybe sounds better? After all it is always about the sound, right? 6. Spanish version 7. I like to hear songs in the original language, and I think that Spanish is a beautiful language. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "exotic, personal, relaxed, globality, romantic, emotions, international, sexy" 10b. Beautiful. Interesting. Compelling. Attractive. 11. "home, personal, Americanness, mainstream, entertainment" 11b. Direct. Country-cool. Assertive. 12. "intelligent, informal, cool, natural, fun" 12b. Different. Unexpected. Unique. 13. "romantic, exotic, international, emotions, globality, sexy, personal, relaxed" 13b. Attractive. 14. "Americanness, home, formal, entertainment, mainstream, patriotism" 14b.



Expected. Assertive. **15.** "informal, natural, intelligent, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** I think it's interesting. **17.** female **18.** 68 **19.** USA **20.** USA **21.** More than one language **22.** English. A little Spanish. **23.** English

#### **Informant #81**

**1.** YES **2.** 5 **3.** 3 **4.** Well to reach bigger markets. **5.** Because there are a lot of crossover fans **6.** Spanish version **7.** I like to listen at the artists natural intention even though I speak very little spanish **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "relaxed, globality, fun, emotions, party" **10b.** Warmth **11.** "Americanness, entertainment, personal" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, fun, party, strange" **12b.** Ø **13.** "exotic, fun, globality, party, relaxed, romantic" **13b.** Ø **14.** home **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, party, strange, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** None thanks! **17.** male **18.** 45 **19.** usa **20.** usa **21.** One language **22.** english **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #82**

**1.** YES **2.** 4 **3.** 4 **4.** reach larger audience **5.** those words express what they want or are lyrically better **6.** Both **7.** I like both versions usually **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "exotic, fun, emotions" **10b.** Ø **11.** "home, Americanness, mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, natural, fun" **12b.** Ø **13.** "exotic, fun, international" **13b.** Ø **14.** "Americanness, relaxed, mainstream" **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, exotic, natural, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** no **17.** female **18.** 36 **19.** USA **20.** USA **21.** One language **22.** english **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #83**

**1.** YES **2.** 2 **3.** 3 **4.** to appeal to an american audience **5.** so monetize the song for americans **6.** English version **7.** usually sound better **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "foreign, exotic, relaxed, romantic" **10b.** Ø **11.** "entertainment, home, Americanness, mainstream, coolness" **11b.** Ø **12.** "fun, party, sexy" **12b.** Ø **13.** "sexy, romantic, exotic, foreign" **13b.** Ø **14.** "mainstream, Americanness, home, entertainment, coolness" **14b.** Ø **15.** "cool, party, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** no **17.** male **18.** 38 **19.** America **20.** America **21.** More than one language **22.** English, Spanish **23.** English

#### **Informant #84**

**1.** NO **2.** 3 **3.** 2 **4.** To reach a larger audience **5.** The English words or phrase is probably going to common, and known to Spanish listeners **6.** English version **7.** I primarily speak English **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "exotic, relaxed, foreign" **10b.** Ø **11.** "personal, home, Americanness, patriotism" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, fun" **12b.** Ø **13.** "exotic, foreign, emotions, personal" **13b.** Ø **14.** "entertainment, mainstream, personal, Americanness, home" **14b.** Ø **15.** "personal, informal, natural, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** Not especially **17.** male **18.** 36 **19.** United States **20.** USA **21.** More than one language **22.** English, Spanish, hindi **23.** English

#### **Informant #85**

**1.** YES **2.** 5 **3.** 4 **4.** To give their fans the chance of really enjoying the music in their preferred language **5.** To rhyme **6.** Both **7.** I will like to contrast both version and know which sounds better **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "sexy, entertainment, exotic, relaxed, romantic, fun, emotions" **10b.** Ø **11.** "school, home, Americanness, mainstream, globality, coolness, formal" **11b.** Ø **12.** "cool, fun, intelligent, sexy" **12b.** Ø **13.** "sexy, romantic, entertainment, emotions, party" **13b.** Ø **14.** "home, relaxed, entertainment, fun, coolness, mainstream" **14b.** Ø **15.** "cool, intelligent, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** it usually goes well together **17.** male **18.** 24 **19.** America **20.** America **21.** More than one language **22.** spanish, some french **23.** English

#### **Informant #86**

**1.** YES **2.** 3 **3.** 3 **4.** They do this to reach a wider market, and to let English speaking people get into their music. **5.** I think they like the words and how they sound, and they work in the writing of the lyrics. **6.** English version **7.** Because I am better at speaking English, so I actually understand all the words. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "sexy, exotic, romantic, international" **10b.** Ø **11.** "international, emotions, home, personal, fun, Americanness, mainstream,

globality, coolness, patriotism, relaxed" **11b.** Ø **12.** "fun, strange, foreign, informal" **12b.** Ø **13.** "romantic, exotic, foreign, emotions, party" **13b.** Ø **14.** "patriotism, personal, international, Americanness, globality, home, relaxed, entertainment, fun, coolness, mainstream" **14b.** Ø **15.** "cool, strange, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** I think it works best in Rap music, but other styles can do it as well. With Rap, it just comes across the coolest. **17.** male **18.** 36 **19.** United States **20.** United States **21.** One language **22.** English. I only know a few Spanish words. **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #87**

**1.** NO **2.** 3 **3.** 3 **4.** There's nothing wrong with it and it can be appealing to people who don't understand Spanish **5.** Because English is a widely used language **6.** Spanish version **7.** It's the original version. A translation might alter the meaning or sound of the song. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "globality, international" **10b.** Ø **11.** "international, mainstream, globality, relaxed" **11b.** Ø **12.** "cool, fun, informal" **12b.** Ø **13.** globality **13b.** Ø **14.** "international, globality, relaxed, mainstream" **14b.** Ø **15.** "fun, informal" **15b.** Ø **16.** no **17.** female **18.** 25 **19.** US **20.** US **21.** More than one language **22.** English, Spanish, Japanese **23.** English

#### **Informant #88**

**1.** YES **2.** 4 **3.** 4 **4.** to become popular in America too and also so americans can understand what they are singing about **5.** to connect with american audiences too. **6.** English version **7.** I like to understand the words and meaning behind the song. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "fun, emotions, international, sexy" **10b.** Ø **11.** "mainstream, entertainment, home" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, fun, party" **12b.** Ø **13.** "international, emotions, romantic" **13b.** Ø **14.** "coolness, mainstream, relaxed, fun" **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, cool, party, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** no thank you **17.** female **18.** 45 **19.** united states of america **20.** united states of america **21.** One language **22.** english **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #89**

**1.** YES **2.** 4 **3.** 3 **4.** To reach a wider audience **5.** To reach a wider audience **6.** Spanish version **7.** I like to hear the original. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "immigration, foreign, international" **10b.** **11.** "international, home, Americanness, mainstream, globality" **11b.** **12.** "cool, fun" **12b.** **13.** "international, globality, party" **13b.** **14.** mainstream **14b.** **15.** "cool, party, fun" **15b.** **16.** **17.** female **18.** 23 **19.** United States **20.** United States **21.** More than one language **22.** English, Spanish **23.** English

#### **Informant #90**

**1.** YES **2.** 3 **3.** 3 **4.** so it appeals to a wider audience **5.** so more english speakers will listen **6.** Both **7.** i don't have a preference either way **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "immigration, foreign, personal" **10b.** Ø **11.** "formal, international, Americanness" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, fun, strange" **12b.** Ø **13.** "emotions, romantic, exotic" **13b.** Ø **14.** "mainstream, Americanness, emotions" **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, strange, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** male **18.** 26 **19.** USA **20.** USA **21.** One language **22.** english **23.** n/a

#### **Informant #91**

**1.** YES **2.** 5 **3.** 3 **4.** Publicity **5.** To get more fans **6.** Spanish version **7.** I prefer first idea of the song **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "emotions, party, exotic, relaxed" **10b.** Ø **11.** "home, personal, fun, Americanness" **11b.** Ø **12.** "cool, fun, sexy, exotic" **12b.** Ø **13.** "entertainment, emotions, party, exotic, fun" **13b.** Ø **14.** "personal, international, Americanness, home, emotions, entertainment" **14b.** Ø **15.** "exotic, cool, sexy, intelligent, party, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** female **18.** 30 **19.** Usa **20.** Usa **21.** More than one language **22.** English and spanish **23.** English

#### **Informant #92**

**1.** YES **2.** 4 **3.** 3 **4.** To gain a larger fan base. **5.** To have a catchy song, to gain a wider audience. **6.** English version **7.** I just like the English version of certain songs only. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "sexy, exotic, personal, relaxed" **10b.** Ø **11.** "coolness, formal, emotions, home, Americanness, mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "home, cool, fun,

intelligent, sexy, personal, romantic" **12b.** Ø **13.** fun **13b.** Ø **14.** "mainstream, formal" **14b.** Ø **15.** "cool, home" **15b.** Ø **16.** none **17.** male **18.** 23 **19.** america **20.** america **21.** More than one language **22.** english spanish **23.** equal

#### **Informant #93**

**1.** YES **2.** 5 **3.** 3 **4.** To appeal to a broader market **5.** To sound ""cool"", as English has a lot of cultural capital **6.** Spanish version **7.** I prefer the originals, and like Spanish music even if I do not understand everything. **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "globality, immigration" **10b.** Living in Texas, Spanish just makes me think of daily life **11.** "Americanness, coolness, globality, patriotism, international, home" **11b.** "lingua franca" of the world **12.** "informal, cool, natural, fun, personal **12b.** I think that language mixing (code switching) in general is very fascinating (I am a language nerd), and I am very interested in this phenomenon in English/Arabic **13.** "foreign, entertainment, emotions, globality, romantic" **13b.** Ø **14.** "coolness, mainstream, Americanness, globality, home" **14b.** The one negative association I would say is when English is used poorly/ungrammatically by nonnative speakers in songs, this gets to me. **15.** "informal, cool, natural, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** As I am not Hispanic/Latinx, I know that I am kind of an "outsider" to this culture, but personally I love language mixing and find it very interesting to think about how/why language is mixed when it is. **17.** female **18.** 30 **19.** USA **20.** USA **21.** More than one language **22.** English (native), Arabic (nonnative fluent), German (intermediate) **23.** English

#### **Informant #94**

**1.** YES **2.** 5 **3.** 3 **4.** I think the main reason is to reach a bigger audience. Not everyone speaks spanish, so it helps to have it in a language more people can understand. **5.** I think it's sort of a pop-culture thing, there may be a phrase that transcends language that the singer can relate with. **6.** Both **7.** I enjoy the authenticity of the Spanish version, but sometimes there are little changes in the English versions. I enjoy comparing the two **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "foreign, exotic, globality, romantic, fun, emotions, sexy" **10b.** Elegant **11.** "home, personal, Americanness, mainstream, globality, relaxed" **11b.** Native **12.** "informal, cool, fun, party" **12b.** Interesting **13.** "romantic, exotic, foreign, international, emotions" **13b.** Outlaws **14.** "Americanness, home, relaxed, entertainment, mainstream" **14b.** Ø **15.** "personal, cool, party, fun" **15b.** Ø **16.** I rather enjoy it, having spent most of my life living a few hours from the Mexican border, the culture has always been infused with American **17.** male **18.** 31 **19.** USA **20.** USA **21.** More than one language **22.** English, Spanish **23.** English

#### **Informant #95**

**1.** YES **2.** 3 **3.** 2 **4.** To sell more records internationally **5.** Some words don't translate well **6.** Both **7.** I like both versions usually **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "emotions, entertainment, exotic" **10b.** Ø **11.** "coolness, emotions, mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "sexy, personal, exotic" **12b.** Ø **13.** Ø **13b.** Ø **14.** "coolness, mainstream, Americanness" **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, exotic, sexy" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** male **18.** 30 **19.** United States **20.** United States **21.** One language **22.** English **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #96**

**1.** YES **2.** 5 **3.** 4 **4.** To enter mainstream pop culture, gain a larger audience, and sell more records **5.** Become more mainstream **6.** Spanish version **7.** It seems more authentic and emotional **8.** YES **9.** YES **10.** "exotic, globality, romantic, emotions, sexy" **10b.** Ø **11.** "home, Americanness, mainstream, international" **11b.** Comfortable **12.** "personal, cool, fun" **12b.** Combining cultures **13.** "exotic, emotions, globality, sexy, relaxed" **13b.** Ø **14.** "mainstream, Americanness, home" **14b.** Comfortable **15.** "romantic, cool, sexy" **15b.** Global **16.** No **17.** female **18.** 33 **19.** United States **20.** United states **21.** More than one language **22.** English and Spanish **23.** English

#### **Informant #97**

1. YES 2. 3 3. 1 4. to gain popularity with english speakers (who greatly outnumber spanish speakers) 5. they might rhyme better; they connect with english speakers; the phrase might not really translate into spanish 6. Spanish version 7. i prefer spanish music. i feel if the first version is spanish its more authentic. i feel like once theyre translated into english they sometimes lose their meaning a little 8. YES 9. YES 10. "party, sexy, immigration, entertainment, foreign, home, exotic, personal, relaxed, globality, romantic, formal, fun, emotions, international, patriotism, school" 10b. Ø 11. "Americanness, mainstream, patriotism" 11b. "boring; not having many options to convey emotion (like in spanish, there are two forms of ""love"" amor and querer, which we don't have in english" 12. "fun, party, intelligent, sexy, personal, romantic, informal, exotic, home, cool, natural" 12b. Ø 13. "personal, relaxed, romantic, home, exotic, foreign, fun, entertainment, international, emotions, globality, party, sexy" 13b. Ø 14. "Americanness, globality, entertainment, mainstream" 14b. Ø 15. "fun, home, romantic, personal, informal, cool, sexy, natural, party" 15b. Ø 16. no 17. female 18. 30 19. usa 20. usa 21. More than one language 22. english and spanish 23. english

#### Informant #98

1. NO 2. 3 3. 2 4. I think they feel it makes it understandable to.the English speaking listener. 5. I think they feel it makes the song more connected to their audience. 6. Spanish version 7. I think translating some songs makes it loose its meaning. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "romantic, fun, emotions, sexy" 10b. Ø 11. "home, fun, mainstream, patriotism, romantic, emotions" 11b. Ø 12. dumb 12b. Offensive 13. "romantic, fun, entertainment, emotions, party, sexy" 13b. Ø 14. "entertainment, fun, mainstream, romantic, emotions, relaxed" 14b. Ø 15. "dumb, strange" 15b. Ø 16. I do not like songs that are a mixture of 2 different languages. 17. female 18. 65 19. USA 20. USA 21. One language 22. English 23. Ø

#### Informant #99

1. YES 2. 3 3. 4 4. To reach a bigger audience. 5. Because the English word sounds better in the song. 6. English version 7. Because English is my preferred language even though I do listen to Spanish songs. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "exotic, emotions, international, party, entertainment, foreign" 10b. Ø 11. "home, personal, fun, Americanness, mainstream, patriotism, entertainment" 11b. Ø 12. "cool, fun, party" 12b. Ø 13. "exotic, foreign, international, emotions, sexy, personal" 13b. Ø 14. "entertainment, fun, patriotism, home, relaxed, formal" 14b. Ø 15. "cool, party, fun" 15b. Ø 16. no 17. male 18. 44 19. United States 20. United States 21. More than one language 22. English, Spanish 23. English

#### Informant #100

1. NO 2. 4 3. 5 4. To appeal to listeners who would not otherwise listen to their music; to appear more worldly 5. They like the sound of the words. 6. Spanish version 7. I feel like the original language in which a song is written makes the song flow better and have smoother phrasing. 8. YES 9. YES 10. "fun, emotions, party, sexy, entertainment" 10b. Ø 11. "Americanness, patriotism, entertainment, fun" 11b. Ø 12. "informal, natural, fun, party" 12b. Ø 13. "fun, international, emotions, party, sexy, romantic" 13b. Ø 14. "fun, mainstream, patriotism, Americanness, home" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, party, fun" 15b. Ø 16. I don't think it's anything new since Rico Suave was popular when I was in high school. I enjoy it. 17. female 18. 43 19. USA 20. USA 21. More than one language 22. English, Japanese 23. English

## B. SSR data

### Informant #101

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 2 4. Para generar más empatía con ese mercado objetivo. 5. Porque viven en países donde se habla muy constantemente ambos idiomas. 6. La versión española 7. Creo que siempre es mejor la canción para el idioma el cual fue creado. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "exótico, sexy, fiesta" 11. Misticismo 12. "entretenimiento, el mainstream, extranjero" 13. Mundial 14. "fiesta, informal, tonto" 15. Falta de cultura 16. "romántico, emociones, sexy" 17. Emociones 18. "globalidad, entretenimiento, cool" 19. Mayor alcance 20. informal 21. Se me hace muy torpe 22. Masculino 23. 35 24. México 25. México 26. Más de un idioma 27. Español e Inglés 28. Español

### Informant #102

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 4 4. Si es un gran éxito puede llevarse a cabo la traducción para tener aún más éxito 5. para hacerla más internacional 6. La versión española 7. la original siempre es mejor 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "exótico, relajado, hogar, sexy, divertido, globalidad, personal, entretenimiento, romántico, fiesta, emociones" 10b. Ø 11. "americano, internacional, el mainstream, globalidad, extranjero" 11b. Ø 12. "extranjero, fiesta, informal, extraño, divertido" 12b. Ø 13. "globalidad, entretenimiento, divertido, romántico, emociones, internacional, exótico, hogar, sexy, relajado, fiesta" 13b. Ø 14. "extranjero, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, divertido, americano, cool" 14b. Ø 15. "fiesta, informal, exótico, tonto, cool" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. masculino 18. 37 19. México 20. México 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, Ingles, Alemán 23. Español

### Informant #103

1. No 2. 2 3. 1 4. Porque consideran que de esa forma pueden penetrar mejor el mercado anglosajón 5. Porque son palabras que normalmente se incluyen en el vocabulario diario del hispanohablante, aunque no pertenezcan al idioma español. 6. La versión española 7. Así como los libros, las canciones me gustan en su idioma original. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "hogar, escuela, personal" 10b. Ø 11. "globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional" 11b. Ø 12. informal 12b. migración 13. "fiesta, divertido" 13b. Ø 14. "divertido, americano, cool, extranjero, globalidad, internacional" 14b. Ø 15. extraño 15b. Ø 16. no 17. femenino 18. 55 19. Argentina 20. México 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, inglés 23. Español

### Informant #104

1. No 2. 3 3. 4 4. Para vender en otros mercados. 5. Por moda y para entrar en otros mercados. 6. La versión española 7. Pues hablo español y me identifico mejor. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "internacional, fiesta, emociones, exótico, relajado, hogar, divertido, escuela, inmigración" 10b. Ø 11. "globalidad, extranjero, internacional, americano, relajado, entretenimiento, el mainstream, cool" 11b. Ø 12. "cool, exótico, fiesta, inteligente, informal, divertido" 12b. Ø 13. "sexy, relajado, fiesta, inmigración, personal, divertido, romántico, emociones" 13b. Ø 14. "divertido, americano, cool, relajado, emociones, extranjero, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream" 14b. Ø 15. "cool, fiesta, divertido, informal, exótico, inteligente" 15b. Ø 16. No 17. masculino 18. 41 19. México 20. México 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español e Inglés 23. Español

### Informant #105

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 4 4. Para que mas publico le entienda y disfrute de su musica, y por su puesto que vendan mas. 5. Porque combina bien en la cancion, o rima bien. 6. Las dos versiones 7. Soy bilingüe, y me gustan los dos idiomas. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "romántico, internacional, fiesta, relajado, sexy" 10b. Lengua madre, divertido. 11. "cool, globalidad, internacional, americano, el mainstream" 11b. Fraternidad. 12. "informal, divertido" 12b. emocionante. 13. "formal, internacional, hogar, sexy, fiesta, divertido" 13b. exotico 14. "globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, americano" 14b. Comun. 15. "natural, fiesta, divertido" 15b. Ø 16. Se escucha

muy bien. **17.** masculino **18.** 29 **19.** Mexico **20.** Mexico **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Ingles, Español, Frances. **23.** Español

#### **Informant #106**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 2 **4.** Pienso que lo hacen para alcanzar un mayor publico de habla inglesa y así incrementar las ventas de sus discos **5.** Puede ser por que algunas palabras se escuchan mejor o son mas sencillas de entender en otro idioma, o por que ellos mismos desconocen la palabra en otro idioma, o por que es mas sencillo para armar una rima. **6.** La versión española **7.** Es siempre mejor la version original, pues es como el artista originalmente la compuso. **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "inmigración, romántico, fiesta, patriotismo, exótico, relajado, hogar, sexy, divertido" **10b.** Ø **11.** "cool, divertido, patriotismo, globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "personal, divertido, cool, hogar, exótico, fiesta, informal" **12b.** Ø **13.** "emociones, sexy, relajado, personal, divertido, romántico" **13b.** Ø **14.** "globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, americano, personal, patriotismo, emociones, hogar" **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, inteligente, sexy, cool, fiesta, divertido" **15b.** Ø **16.** No es lo mejor para quienes solo conocen uno de los 2 idiomas, pero puede ser divertido. **17.** masculino **18.** 40 **19.** Mexico **20.** USA **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Ingles y español **23.** igual

#### **Informant #107**

**1.** Sí **2.** 3 **3.** 2 **4.** Para llegar al publico del habla ingles **5.** Para diversificar su canto. **6.** La versión española **7.** Para escuchar las letras como originalmente se planearon. **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "personal, patriotismo, hogar" **10b.** Ø **11.** "exótico, extranjero, americano, internacional" **11b.** Ø **12.** "tonto, extraño" **12b.** Ø **13.** "personal, hogar" **13b.** Ø **14.** "extranjero, globalidad, internacional, americano, exótico" **14b.** Ø **15.** "tonto, extraño" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** masculino **18.** 23 **19.** México **20.** México **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, Ingles **23.** Español

#### **Informant #108**

**1.** Sí **2.** 3 **3.** 2 **4.** Porque quieren generar más ingresos del mundo angloparlante **5.** Porque es la manera de hablar de muchos hispanohablantes **6.** La versión española **7.** Me gusta escuchar las canciones (y películas) en su idioma original, sea el que fuere **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "fiesta, hogar, escuela, personal" **10b.** Ø **11.** "globalidad, americano, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "natural, informal" **12b.** Ø **13.** "fiesta, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "el mainstream, americano, internacional, entretenimiento" **14b.** Ø **15.** "fiesta, natural" **15b.** Ø **16.** No **17.** masculino **18.** 36 **19.** México **20.** México **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, inglés y francés **23.** Español

#### **Informant #109**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 4 **4.** Para que más gente se relacione con la canción, para entrar otros mercados **5.** Para de un modo más internacional, más cool **6.** La versión inglesa **7.** Me gusta cuando cantan con acento inglés **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "sexy, divertido, entretenimiento, fiesta, emociones" **10b.** Ø **11.** "cool, globalidad, personal, internacional" **11b.** Ø **12.** "fiesta, natural, informal, personal, sexy, divertido, cool, extranjero, romántico" **12b.** Ø **13.** "entretenimiento, divertido, romántico, fiesta" **13b.** Ø **14.** "emociones, romántico, globalidad, internacional, cool, personal" **14b.** Ø **15.** "divertido, natural, informal, inteligente, cool, fiesta" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** femenino **18.** 32 **19.** España **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, Inglés, Ruso **23.** Español

#### **Informant #110**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 2 **4.** Las canciones en inglés tienen más éxito, se puede llegar a un público más amplio **5.** Para que se entiendan mejor sus letras, es más comercial y pueden llegar mejor al público que habla ingles **6.** La versión española **7.** Soy hispanohablante, y prefiero entender la cancion **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "fiesta, emociones, hogar, divertido, entretenimiento, romántico" **10b.** "Raza, sentimiento" **11.** "globalidad, extranjero, internacional, americano, cool" **11b.** Ø **12.** "cool, fiesta, informal, divertido" **12b.** Ø **13.** "hogar, fiesta, entretenimiento,

divertido, romántico, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "americano, cool, extranjero, globalidad, internacional" **14b.** Ø **15.** "cool, fiesta, divertido, informal" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** femenino **18.** 42 **19.** España **20.** España **21.** Un idioma **22.** Español **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #111**

**1.** Sí **2.** **3.** **4.** Es una forma de llegar a una enorme cantidad de público adicional sin apenas inversión, ni dinero ni tiempo ni recursos **5.** Es la forma que tienen de hablar habitualmente, creo que piensan que es más "cool" **6.** Las dos versiones **7.** Hay canciones q **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "emociones, hogar, escuela, personal" **10b.** Ø **11.** "cool, divertido, globalidad, extranjero, internacional, americano" **11b.** moderno **12.** "tonto, exótico" **12b.** Ø **13.** "hogar, personal" **13b.** cutre **14.** "globalidad, internacional, el mainstream, extranjero" **14b.** Ø **15.** "tonto, extraño" **15b.** Ø **16.** que no me gusta, como a la mayor parte de los españoles. En hispanoamérica tendrá más éxito seguro **17.** masculino **18.** 43 **19.** España **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, inglés **23.** Español

#### **Informant #112**

**1.** No **2.** **3.** **4.** Para ampliar su cota de mercado **5.** Porque está de moda, porque parece moderno; porque así llega al público latino de los EEUU **6.** La versión española **7.** Es la más cercana a mi lengua nativa, y además la original **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "personal, relajado, hogar" **10b.** Ø **11.** "el mainstream, globalidad, extranjero, internacional" **11b.** Ø **12.** "extraño, extranjero" **12b.** Snob **13.** "entretenimiento, divertido, relajado" **13b.** Ø **14.** "internacional, el mainstream" **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, extranjero" **15b.** Ø **16.** Está muy asociado con el reguetón, que no es mi estilo favorito de música **17.** femenino **18.** 39 **19.** España **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Castellano, gallego, inglés, italiano **23.** Castellano y gallego por igual

#### **Informant #113**

**1.** Sí **2.** **3.** **1.** **4.** genera mayor consumo y lo mas popular en el momento **5.** es comercial **6.** La versión española **7.** siempre va a sonar mejor en su idioma original **8.** Sí **9.** No **10.** "entretenimiento, relajado, hogar" **10b.** Ø **11.** "cool, extranjero" **11b.** Ø **12.** extraño **12b.** Ø **13.** "entretenimiento, romántico, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "extranjero, el mainstream, americano" **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, fiesta" **15b.** Ø **16.** no **17.** femenino **18.** 31 **19.** España **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** español, ingles **23.** Español

#### **Informant #114**

**1.** No **2.** **3.** **2.** **4.** Mayor mercado, mayores ventas. **5.** Guiños a otros mercados. **6.** Las dos versiones **7.** Idioma nativo primero **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "internacional, emociones, hogar, divertido, globalidad" **10b.** Cercanía, y expresividad **11.** "internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream" **11b.** Genérico, común **12.** "informal, tonto, extraño" **12b.** Absurdo **13.** "hogar, globalidad, divertido, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "globalidad, internacional, el mainstream" **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, tonto, extraño" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** masculino **18.** 41 **19.** España **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** English, **23.** Español

#### **Informant #115**

**1.** Sí **2.** **3.** **3.** **2.** **4.** Para llegar a un publico mas amplio y parecer mas guay **5.** Para parecer mas cool, mas a la moda **6.** La versión española **7.** Soy hispano parlante, me gusta y defiendo mu idioma **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "internacional, emociones, relajado, hogar, globalidad, escuela, personal" **10b.** Es un orgullo **11.** "globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional, escuela" **11b.** Cosmopolita **12.** tonto **12b.** Ridículo **13.** "relajado, personal, divertido, romántico" **13b.** Clasico **14.** "globalidad, internacional, americano, extranjero" **14b.** Ritmico **15.** tonto **15b.** Absurdo **16.** No **17.** masculino **18.** 45 **19.** España **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Ingles **23.** Español

#### **Informant #116**

1. No 2. 2 3. 1 4. Para llegar a una mayor audiencia y obtener mas seguidores 5. Por costumbre, o por falta de conocimiento de palabras en español 6. La versión española 7. Porque es la original y puede que al traducirlo hayan cambiado sus contenidos 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "extranjero, romántico, internacional, patriotismo, fiesta, emociones, relajado, exótico, hogar, divertido, formal, globalidad, escuela, personal, inmigración, entretenimiento" 10b. Ø 11. "el mainstream, cool" 11b. love, baby 12. cool 12b. nice, lunch, brunch, shopping, gym 13. "exótico, hogar, relajado, fiesta, inmigración, patriotismo, extranjero, globalidad, entretenimiento, personal, escuela, divertido, romántico, formal, emociones, internacional" 13b. Ø 14. "el mainstream, cool" 14b. Ø 15. cool 15b. Ø 16. Me parece aceptable cuando la persona que canta en ingles es una persona que lo habla nativamente 17. masculino 18. 23 19. Mexico 20. Mexico 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, Ingles, Frances, Ruso 23. Español

#### **Informant #117**

1. Sí 2. 5 3. 2 4. Es más fácil de popularizar su música en países anglosajones, es una manera de darse a conocer internacionalmente, la música en inglés mejor aceptada fuera de países hispanohablantes 5. El spanglish está de moda, suena bien, es una forma de hacer la música más internacional y popular, refleja el multiculturalismo y la mezcla cultural 6. Las dos versiones 7. Me gustan ambas; algunos estilos prefiero solo español otros, en cambio, como cierta música latina la mezcla inglés-español suena bien 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "personal, fiesta, emociones" 10b. Calidez, emotividad, costumbre 11. "entretenimiento, el mainstream, globalidad, internacional" 11b. Popular, multicultural, de moda 12. "fiesta, sexy, divertido, exótico" 12b. multicultural, jovial, ocurrente 13. "personal, romántico, hogar" 13b. familiar, entrañable 14. "extranjero, internacional, el mainstream" 14b. global, habitual, conocido, admirado 15. "divertido, informal, exótico, sexy, fiesta" 15b. multicultural, universal 16. Es una música que ha ido creciendo en el lugar donde vivo (España) y es cada vez más frecuente oírlo en la radio y en demás medios. En general veo que gusta y está bien aceptada. 17. masculino 18. 43 19. España 20. España 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, inglés, francés 23. Español

#### **Informant #118**

1. Sí 2. 5 3. 2 4. Ampliar mercado a gente que habla ingles. 5. Queda bien 6. La versión española 7. La mayoría de expresiones no tienen sentido en ingles. 8. No 9. No 10. "extranjero, fiesta, emociones, sexy" 10b. Ø 11. "cool, globalidad" 11b. Ø 12. tonto 12b. Ø 13. fiesta 13b. Ø 14. internacional 14b. Ø 15. extraño 15b. Ø 16. Es una moda pasajera. 17. masculino 18. 25 19. España 20. España 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, Ingles y Euskera 23. Español

#### **Informant #119**

1. No 2. 1 3. 3 4. Ignorancia 5. Ignorancia 6. La versión española 7. Originales siempre 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "romántico, fiesta" 10b. Ø 11. "entretenimiento, internacional" 11b. Ø 12. "tonto, extraño" 12b. Ø 13. "romántico, fiesta" 13b. Ø 14. "internacional, entretenimiento" 14b. Ø 15. "tonto, extraño" 15b. Ø 16. Es innecesario y demuestra falta de creatividad. 17. masculino 18. 35 19. España 20. España 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, Inglés, Francés 23. Español

#### **Informant #120**

1. No 2. 3 3. 3 4. Para introducirse en un mercado y un público diferentes y ganar popularidad. 5. No creo que lo hagan para que entiendan estas palabras los hablantes de lengua inglesa, sino porque en la cultura hispanohablante muchas veces usamos palabras prestadas del inglés por la creencia de que esto da más prestigio o gracia o aire moderno a lo que decimos. 6. Las dos versiones 7. Conozco bien los dos idiomas y disfruto escuchando y leyendo obras artísticas en las dos lenguas. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "escuela, personal, entretenimiento, fiesta, patriotismo, emociones, hogar, divertido, globalidad" 10b. Arte y cultura universales, poesía, las naciones y pueblos de América Latina. 11. "cool, divertido, globalidad, extranjero, internacional, americano, entretenimiento, escuela, el mainstream" 11b. La lengua franca para entenderse en el mundo



entero, la lengua de las ciencias **12**. "natural, tonto, divertido, extranjero, exótico, fiesta" **12b**. Invasión cultural, falta de personalidad **13**. "romántico, emociones, hogar, relajado, fiesta" **13b**. Ø **14**. "extranjero, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, americano, cool" **14b**. Ø **15**. "natural, exótico, tonto, extraño, fiesta" **15b**. Ø **16**. En general, por mi sensibilidad lingüística, el uso de spanglish me parece grotesco y me desagrada **17**. masculino **18**. 33 **19**. España **20**. España **21**. Más de un idioma **22**. Español, inglés **23**. Español

#### **Informant #121**

**1**. No **2**. 3 **3**. 3 **4**. Para atraer al público anglosajón y así vender más discos. **5**. Por influencia de los cantantes de USA y para, potencialmente, tener mejores ventas. **6**. Las dos versiones **7**. Si la canción me gusta no me importa el idioma en que esté cantada. **8**. Sí **9**. Sí **10**. "internacional, fiesta, globalidad, entretenimiento" **10b**. Ø **11**. "globalidad, americano, internacional, el mainstream" **11b**. Ø **12**. "divertido, informal, extraño" **12b**. Ø **13**. "fiesta, entretenimiento" **13b**. Ø **14**. "entretenimiento, el mainstream, americano" **14b**. Ø **15**. "fiesta, divertido, informal" **15b**. Ø **16**. No tengo nada que añadir. **17**. masculino **18**. 43 **19**. España **20**. España **21**. Más de un idioma **22**. Hablo Español, Catalan y Inglés **23**. Catalan

#### **Informant #122**

**1**. Sí **2**. 4 **3**. 2 **4**. Para poder llegar a más público, ya que el género le gusta a mucha gente. **5**. Muchas veces queda bien en canciones mezclar palabras en otro idioma. **6**. La versión inglesa **7**. Me gusta escuchar música en inglés, además te da la posibilidad de aprender otro idioma a través de sus líricas. **8**. Sí **9**. Sí **10**. "romántico, internacional, emociones, exótico, divertido, globalidad, escuela, personal, entretenimiento" **10b**. Ø **11**. "exótico, globalidad, personal, americano, internacional, entretenimiento, escuela, el mainstream, emociones, cool, divertido" **11b**. Ø **12**. "divertido, cool, inteligente, extraño" **12b**. Ø **13**. "relajado, globalidad, entretenimiento, personal, divertido, romántico, emociones, internacional" **13b**. Ø **14**. "entretenimiento, el mainstream, divertido, americano, cool, emociones, relajado, romántico, escuela, globalidad, internacional" **14b**. Ø **15**. "cool, extraño, fiesta, divertido, extranjero, romántico, inteligente" **15b**. Ø **16**. Ø **17**. masculino **18**. 28 **19**. Argentina **20**. España **21**. Más de un idioma **22**. Castellano, Catalán, Inglés. **23**. Castellano.

#### **Informant #123**

**1**. No **2**. 2 **3**. 1 **4**. Para hacerse famosos y ricos en Estados Unidos **5**. Para hacer su música mas internacional **6**. La versión española **7**. Las traducciones suelen ser malas **8**. Sí **9**. Sí **10**. "fiesta, emociones, divertido" **10b**. Ø **11**. "entretenimiento, cool, americano, internacional" **11b**. Ø **12**. tonto **12b**. desagradable **13**. "divertido, emociones, fiesta" **13b**. Ø **14**. "globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, cool" **14b**. Ø **15**. tonto **15b**. Ø **16**. Que se mezclen solo cuando los que cantan tienen un dominio de español e ingles como lengua materna **17**. masculino **18**. 36 **19**. Chile **20**. España **21**. Más de un idioma **22**. Español, Ingles, Aleman, Frances, Noruego, Ruso **23**. Español

#### **Informant #124**

**1**. No **2**. 3 **3**. 2 **4**. Para llegar a más público **5**. Porque queda mejor **6**. La versión española **7**. Suelo entender mejor las canciones en mi idioma **8**. Sí **9**. Sí **10**. "fiesta, emociones, romántico" **10b**. Ø **11**. "extranjero, americano, cool" **11b**. Ø **12**. "fiesta, informal, extraño" **12b**. Ø **13**. "fiesta, romántico, emociones" **13b**. Ø **14**. "americano, cool, extranjero" **14b**. Ø **15**. "extraño, informal, tonto" **15b**. Ø **16**. Ø **17**. masculino **18**. 25 **19**. España **20**. España **21**. Más de un idioma **22**. Español e inglés **23**. Español

#### **Informant #125**

**1**. Sí **2**. 3 **3**. 1 **4**. Porque creen que permitiendo que más personas entiendan la letra va a hacer que los escuchen más **5**. Porque son expresiones o palabras consideradas como anglicismos que usan regularmente **6**. La versión española **7**. Siempre prefiero las canciones en su versión original **8**. Sí **9**. Sí **10**. "fiesta, emociones,

exótico, relajado, sexy, divertido, globalidad, personal, entretenimiento, romántico" **10b.** Ø **11.** "americano, internacional, el mainstream, cool, patriotismo" **11b.** Ø **12.** globalizacion **12b.** Ø **13.** "sexy, fiesta, divertido, romántico, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "americano, patriotismo, emociones, extranjero, el mainstream" **14b.** Ø **15.** "natural, inteligente, formal" **15b.** Ø **16.** En latinoamérica, por su cercanía a USA, cada vez es más común **17.** femenino **18.** 29 **19.** Colombia **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, inglés, portugués, catalán **23.** Español

#### **Informant #126**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 4 **4.** Aumentar sus oyentes, fans, etc **5.** Para hacer que sus canciones tengan mas afinidad con el publico que no habla castellano **6.** La versión española **7.** desde el punto de vista musical, el castellano tiene una fonética que se integra más fácilmente con la música **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "personal, entretenimiento, romántico, fiesta, emociones, relajado, hogar, sexy, formal, escuela" **10b.** Ø **11.** "cool, globalidad, extranjero, internacional, el mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, divertido, fiesta" **12b.** Ø **13.** "divertido, emociones, fiesta, entretenimiento" **13b.** Ø **14.** "globalidad, internacional, extranjero" **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, tonto, divertido" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** masculino **18.** 45 **19.** española **20.** española **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** ingles, portugues, italiano **23.** igual

#### **Informant #127**

**1.** No **2.** 1 **3.** 2 **4.** No suele gustarme. **5.** Para llamar la atención. **6.** Las dos versiones **7.** Para saber si está bien traducida y si es buena. **8.** Sí **9.** No **10.** Personal **10b.** Ø **11.** divertido **11b.** Ø **12.** tonto **12b.** Ø **13.** entretenimiento **13b.** Ø **14.** entretenimiento **14b.** Ø **15.** tonto **15b.** Ø **16.** No. **17.** masculino **18.** 26 **19.** España **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Inglés, Español, Alemán. **23.** Español

#### **Informant #128**

**1.** Sí **2.** 5 **3.** 3 **4.** Para llegar a más público. **5.** Que otra gente entienda la letra. Porque les parece que queda más "guay". **6.** La versión española **7.** Es mi lengua materna, así que la entiendo mejor. **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "hogar, internacional" **10b.** Ø **11.** "extranjero, americano" **11b.** Ø **12.** "extraño, divertido" **12b.** Ø **13.** emociones **13b.** Ø **14.** globalidad **14b.** Ø **15.** fiesta **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** femenino **18.** 34 **19.** España **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, gallego, inglés y un poco de francés **23.** Español

#### **Informant #129**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 4 **4.** Para llegar a más público. **5.** Para llegar a más público y porque a veces suena mejor y más moderno. **6.** La versión española **7.** Prefiero la versión original. **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "entretenimiento, fiesta, emociones, hogar, sexy" **10b.** Ø **11.** "escuela, cool, formal, globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional" **11b.** Ø **12.** "tonto, extraño" **12b.** Ø **13.** "divertido, emociones, fiesta" **13b.** Ø **14.** "extranjero, internacional, divertido, cool" **14b.** Ø **15.** "cool, fiesta" **15b.** Ø **16.** No. **17.** femenino **18.** 20 **19.** España **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, inglés, francés. **23.** Español

#### **Informant #130**

**1.** Sí **2.** 3 **3.** 1 **4.** Por el mercado norteamericano **5.** Por el origen que estos tienen del idioma ingles **6.** La versión española **7.** Suena mas natural **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "globalidad, escuela, personal, patriotismo, fiesta, emociones, relajado, sexy, divertido" **10b.** original **11.** "entretenimiento, el mainstream, cool, globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional" **11b.** universalidad **12.** "tonto, divertido, cool, fiesta" **12b.** mal uso de los dos lenguajes **13.** "internacional, sexy, fiesta" **13b.** reggaeton **14.** "globalidad, el mainstream, americano, cool" **14b.** música country **15.** "sexy, extraño, fiesta, divertido" **15b.** canciones urbanas **16.** tiene su origen en Puerto Rico **17.** Venezuela **18.** España **19.** femenino **20.** 33 **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, ingles **23.** igual

#### **Informant #131**

1. Sí 2. 2 3. 3 4. atraer mas fans 5. Tener mas me gusta en las redes sociales 6. La versión española 7. Es mi lengua materna 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "personal, inmigración, entretenimiento, extranjero, internacional, hogar, divertido" 10b. Sabor 11. "el mainstream, cool, extranjero, americano, internacional, entretenimiento" 11b. Ø 12. "sexy, cool, formal" 12b. Ø 13. "divertido, romántico, emociones, exótico, fiesta" 13b. Ø 14. "americano, cool, exótico" 14b. Ø 15. "sexy, formal, cool, personal" 15b. Ø 16. incluirlo es un error y excluirlo seria una especie de racismo 17. masculino 18. 34 19. colombia 20. españa 21. Más de un idioma 22. español e ingles 23. español

#### Informant #132

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 3 4. Porque quieren ampliar su público objetivo a personas no hispanohablantes. 5. Porque provienen de un contexto bilingüe y es su forma habitual de expresión. 6. La versión española 7. Prefiero escuchar la versión original de la canción. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "escuela, personal, emociones, hogar" 10b. Familiaridad. 11. "cool, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento" 11b. Ø 12. "informal, extraño, divertido, exótico" 12b. Americano. 13. "emociones, hogar" 13b. "Familiaridad, recuerdos." 14. "extranjero, globalidad, internacional, cool, emociones" 14b. Atractivo. 15. "informal, exótico, divertido, extranjero" 15b. Globalización. 16. En general, estoy a favor de cualquier tipo de expresión artística; no me parece que la mezcla desvirtúe ninguna de las dos lenguas. 17. femenino 18. 28 19. España 20. España 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, inglés, alemán 23. Español

#### Informant #133

1. Sí 2. 4 3. 2 4. Para vender en el mercado ingles 5. Por moda 6. La versión española 7. Me gustan mas las originales 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. hogar 10b. Ø 11. "extranjero, americano" 11b. Ø 12. extranjero 12b. Ø 13. "hogar, fiesta" 13b. Ø 14. "extranjero, internacional" 14b. Ø 15. tonto 15b. Ø 16. No 17. femenino 18. 26 19. España 20. España 21. Más de un idioma 22. Castellano, Gallego, ingles yaleman 23. Castellano

#### Informant #134

1. No 2. 1 3. 2 4. Porque es lo que está de moda y es lo que más vende 5. Porque al hacerlo, atraen al público joven, que cubre la gran mayoría de los que lo escuchan 6. Las dos versiones 7. Preferiría escuchar las dos, ya que aunque una esté traducida, puede ser mejor que la original 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "formal, escuela" 10b. Ø 11. "cool, extranjero" 11b. Ø 12. tonto 12b. Ø 13. "entretenimiento, romántico, emociones" 13b. Ø 14. "extranjero, americano, emociones" 14b. Ø 15. tonto 15b. Ø 16. No 17. masculino 18. 18 19. España 20. España 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, inglés y chino 23. Español

#### Informant #135

1. Sí 2. 4 3. 1 4. para llamar la atención en otros países que dominen ese idioma 5. por que muchos de los cantante hablan ese idioma 6. Las dos versiones 7. como sentir la armonía de los instrumentos con la voz, ya que se ve muy marcada la diferencia 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "romántico, fiesta, patriotismo, emociones, hogar, sexy, divertido" 10b. Ø 11. "cool, exótico, globalidad, extranjero, relajado, entretenimiento" 11b. Ø 12. "extraño, divertido, cool, exótico, fiesta, informal" 12b. Ø 13. "exótico, sexy, fiesta, patriotismo, globalidad, divertido, romántico, emociones" 13b. Ø 14. "globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, divertido, cool, exótico, relajado, extranjero" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, exótico, cool, extraño, fiesta, divertido" 15b. Ø 16. inclusión de ambos géneros, ambas culturas. 17. masculino 18. 36 19. Colombia 20. España 21. Un idioma 22. Español 23. Ø

#### Informant #136

1. Sí 2. 5 3. 4 4. Para vender mas canciones, y si la cancion ha sido favorita de mucha gente dar una version diferente 5. hace la cancion mas dinamica 6. La versión española 7. prefiero las canciones originales 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "exótico, hogar, sexy, divertido, romántico, fiesta, patriotismo, emociones" 10b. Ø 11. "entretenimiento, el

mainstream, cool, divertido, patriotismo, globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional" **11b.** Ø **12.** "fiesta, inteligente, extraño, divertido, cool, extranjero" **12b.** Ø **13.** "patriotismo, entretenimiento, divertido, emociones, exótico, hogar, sexy, fiesta" **13b.** Ø **14.** "patriotismo, emociones, extranjero, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, divertido, americano, cool" **14b.** Ø **15.** "fiesta, extranjero, divertido, inteligente, cool, extraño" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** femenino **18.** 20 **19.** España **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, inglés, francés **23.** español

#### **Informant #137**

**1.** Sí **2.** 5 **3.** 5 **4.** así venden mas **5.** mas interesante **6.** La versión española **7.** es la original y lo prefiero **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** Ø **10b.** Ø **11.** Ø **11b.** Ø **12.** Ø **12b.** Ø **13.** Ø **13b.** Ø **14.** Ø **14b.** Ø **15.** Ø **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** masculino **18.** 20 **19.** España **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** español, inglés, francés **23.** Ø

#### **Informant #138**

**1.** Sí **2.** 5 **3.** 3 **4.** Para abrirse a un mayor público y así atraer audiencia. **5.** Para hacer que sus canciones suenen mas modernas **6.** La versión española **7.** Las canciones originales son mejores **8.** No **9.** Sí **10.** "internacional, patriotismo, hogar, formal, globalidad, personal" **10b.** Ø **11.** "extranjero, americano, internacional, escuela, el mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "extranjero, exótico, informal, tonto" **12b.** Ø **13.** "sexy, relajado, fiesta, extranjero, entretenimiento, divertido, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "internacional, el mainstream, divertido, americano, cool, relajado, globalidad" **14b.** Ø **15.** "fiesta, divertido, extranjero" **15b.** Ø **16.** No **17.** masculino **18.** 18 **19.** España **20.** Inglaterra **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, Vasco e Inglés **23.** Español

#### **Informant #139**

**1.** No **2.** 3 **3.** 2 **4.** Para que sean entendidas por seguidores angloparlantes. Para que lleguen a más gente y sean escuchadas por más gente **5.** Porque la traducción en español es muy larga o no "encaja/suena" bien con el estribillo o estrofa. **6.** La versión española **7.** Me gusta escuchar la versión original sea cual sea el idioma original **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "internacional, hogar, personal" **10b.** lengua materna **11.** "globalidad, internacional" **11b.** viajar **12.** "extraño, fiesta" **12b.** aprendiz de lengua española o inglesa **13.** "fiesta, romántico" **13b.** nada que añadir **14.** "globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, divertido, romántico" **14b.** nada que añadir **15.** "extraño, fiesta, divertido" **15b.** nada nuevo que añadir **16.** El uso del espanglish puede resultar "divertido" en ocasiones **17.** femenino **18.** 40 **19.** España **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** español, inglés **23.** español

#### **Informant #140**

**1.** Sí **2.** 3 **3.** 2 **4.** Para poder abrir su mercado en otras partes del mundo y poder tener ganancias en dólares **5.** Porque al paso del tiempo las culturas se van mezclando. Se vuelve cotidiano usar frases del inglés y se pierde la riqueza de la lengua española. **6.** Las dos versiones **7.** Realmente no me molesta escuchar canciones en una lengua u otra. **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "exótico, relajado, hogar, sexy, divertido, formal, globalidad, escuela, personal, inmigración, entretenimiento, extranjero, internacional, fiesta, emociones" **10b.** Ø **11.** "entretenimiento, escuela, el mainstream, cool, romántico, divertido, exótico, globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, extranjero" **12b.** Ø **13.** "patriotismo, globalidad, entretenimiento, personal, romántico, emociones, internacional, exótico, hogar, sexy, relajado, fiesta, inmigración" **13b.** Ø **14.** "exótico, emociones, romántico, extranjero, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, divertido, cool" **14b.** Ø **15.** fiesta **15b.** Ø **16.** No me gustaría que se perdería la riqueza de cada país, sus propias lenguas y canciones, pero a favor de la diversidad de lenguas. **17.** femenino **18.** 28 **19.** México. **20.** México. **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español e inglés **23.** Español

#### **Informant #141**

1. No 2. 4 3. 1 4. Para llegar a más público 5. Para que pueda ser recordada y cantada 6. La versión española 7. Las versiones originales suelen ser mejor 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "hogar, divertido, entretenimiento, emociones" 10b. Ø 11. "escuela, globalidad, extranjero, internacional" 11b. Ø 12. "informal, tonto, extraño" 12b. Ø 13. "emociones, sexy" 13b. Ø 14. "exótico, internacional, divertido" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, extraño" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. masculino 18. 26 19. España 20. España 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, inglés 23. Español

#### Informant #142

1. No 2. 3 3. 2 4. Para acercarse más a su público objetivo 5. Porque les da un aire más internacional 6. La versión española 7. Prefiero las versiones originales 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "internacional, relajado, hogar, escuela" 10b. Ø 11. "globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional, el mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "tonto, extraño" 12b. Ø 13. "hogar, personal" 13b. Ø 14. "el mainstream, americano, internacional" 14b. Ø 15. "tonto, extraño" 15b. Ø 16. No 17. masculino 18. 27 19. España 20. España 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español e Inglés 23. Español

#### Informant #143

1. No 2. 2 3. 2 4. Para llegar a un mayor público 5. Para sonar más Internacionales 6. La versión española 7. El idioma de una canción original, esta "pensada" para transmitir, en las traducciones puede perderse eso 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "romántico, emociones, relajado, hogar, divertido" 10b. Un idioma muy poético 11. "globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional, el mainstream" 11b. Practicamente universal 12. tonto 12b. No hace bien a ninguno de los 2 idiomas 13. "romántico, emociones" 13b. poetico 14. "el mainstream, americano, extranjero, globalidad, internacional" 14b. Universalidad 15. tonto 15b. No hace bien a ninguno de los dos idiomas 16. Ambos idiomas son suficientemente ricos como para mezclarlos 17. masculino 18. 36 19. España 20. España 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, Catalan, Ingles 23. igual

#### Informant #144

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 2 4. Para llegar a más publico de otros países 5. es una forma de persuadir al oyente 6. La versión inglesa 7. el origen de la letra de la mayoría de las canciones vienen del inglés 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "romántico, patriotismo, emociones" 10b. Ø 11. "internacional, el mainstream, cool" 11b. Ø 12. "divertido, informal" 12b. Ø 13. "patriotismo, romántico, emociones" 13b. Ø 14. "internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, cool" 14b. Ø 15. "inteligente, divertido" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. masculino 18. 30 19. españa 20. españa 21. Un idioma 22. español 23. Ø

#### Informant #145

1. Sí 2. 5 3. 4 4. quieren expandir su audiencia 5. para que combine mas con el ritmo 6. La versión española 7. la versión original de la canción usualmente suena mejor 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "romántico, emociones, hogar" 10b. Ø 11. "el mainstream, extranjero, americano" 11b. Ø 12. "informal, extraño, personal, divertido" 12b. Ø 13. "emociones, hogar, fiesta" 13b. Ø 14. "globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, americano" 14b. Ø 15. "cool, hogar, divertido" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. femenino 18. 27 19. venezuela 20. estados unidos 21. Más de un idioma 22. español e inglés 23. igual

#### Informant #146

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 5 4. para hacer entender las canciones mejor 5. porque hoy el inglés es lingua franca 6. Las dos versiones 7. hablo ingles y también espanol 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "romántico, fiesta, emociones, exótico, relajado, sexy, divertido, globalidad" 10b. entrada 11. "el mainstream, cool, formal, extranjero, personal, internacional, americano, relajado, entretenimiento" 11b. entrada 12. "informal, extraño, divertido, extranjero, exótico, inteligente" 12b. entrada 13. "entretenimiento, personal, romántico, emociones, exótico, sexy, relajado, fiesta, inmigración, globalidad" 13b. entrada 14. "extranjero, globalidad, entretenimiento, el mainstream, americano, personal, patriotismo, romántico" 14b. entrada 15. "informal, exótico, inteligente, sexy, cool, personal, fiesta,

divertido, romántico" **15b**. entrada **16**. no **17**. femenino **18**. 21 **19**. Costa Rica **20**. Costa Rica **21**. Más de un idioma **22**. ingles, italiano, espanol **23**. igual

#### **Informant #147**

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 1 4. Creo que es para que su música llegue a mas gente y para que los que hablan solo ingles puedan mas o menos entender 5. Creo que lo hacen por que la cultura es así y gente cree que es "cool" 6. La versión española 7. Creo que la original(canción en español) siempre suena mejor y más natural 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "romántico, fiesta, emociones, sexy, divertido" **10b**. Ø 11. "cool, patriotismo, americano, el mainstream" **11b**. Ø 12. "divertido, fiesta, informal, tonto" **12b**. Ø 13. "emociones, sexy, fiesta, divertido, romántico" **13b**. Ø 14. "entretenimiento, el mainstream, americano, cool" **14b**. Ø 15. "informal, tonto, fiesta, divertido" **15b**. Ø 16. No 17. masculino **18**. 22 **19**. Colombia **20**. USA **21**. Más de un idioma **22**. Español, inglés, francés **23**. Español

#### **Informant #148**

1. Sí 2. 4 3. 2 4. Porque saben que la mayoría de los americanos no saben español, porque quieren alcanzar una mayor audiencia, porque para algunos es muy común entremezclar palabras en ambos idiomas, 5. porque es común que muchos hispanos mezclen palabras en inglés, porque así la canción parece más "cool", porque de ese modo alcanzan mayor audiencia 6. La versión española 7. Porque mi lengua nativa es el español, en en las canciones, al igual que en la poesía, es muy difícil transmitir a travez de una traducción lo mismo que se intenta decir en la lengua nativa 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "inmigración, extranjero, fiesta, patriotismo, hogar, divertido, globalidad" **10b**. DISCRIMINACION 11. "formal, globalidad, americano, internacional, el mainstream" **11b**. Frialdad 12. "personal, divertido, fiesta, natural, informal" **12b**. Insuficiencia linguistica 13. "sexy, fiesta, globalidad, entretenimiento, personal, divertido, romántico, emociones" **13b**. sentimental 14. "globalidad, internacional, el mainstream, americano, extranjero" **14b**. mundial 15. "informal, hogar, personal, fiesta, divertido" **15b**. entretenido 16. a los adolescentes les encanta 17. femenino **18**. 58 **19**. ARGENTINA **20**. ESTADOS UNIDOS **21**. Más de un idioma **22**. Inglés, español **23**. español

#### **Informant #149**

1. Sí 2. 4 3. 4 4. Por mercadeo 5. Para llegar al público inglés 6. La versión española 7. porque es mi idioma 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "fiesta, emociones, exótico, hogar" **10b**. ALEGRÍA 11. "globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional" **11b**. Extranjero 12. "extraño, divertido, cool, exótico, fiesta" **12b**. Modernidad 13. "exótico, hogar, fiesta, personal, escuela, divertido" **13b**. Escuela 14. "globalidad, internacional, americano, extranjero" **14b**. Globalidad 15. "exótico, hogar, personal, divertido, natural" **15b**. "Exotico, cool" 16. diversión 17. masculino **18**. 35 **19**. Venezuela **20**. Venezuela **21**. Un idioma **22**. Español **23**. Español

#### **Informant #150**

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 2 4. El inglés es un idioma ampliamente hablado, por lo que para llegar a más personas y tener éxito, esta es una alternativa 5. Son la tendencia del momento 6. La versión española 7. Tengo mas identificacion 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "exótico, extranjero" **10b**. Ø 11. "globalidad, americano, internacional" **11b**. Ø 12. extranjero **12b**. Ø 13. "sexy, romántico" **13b**. Ø 14. "americano, cool, extranjero, globalidad, internacional" **14b**. Ø 15. extranjero **15b**. Ø 16. Ø 17. masculino **18**. 23 **19**. Brasil **20**. Brasil **21**. Más de un idioma **22**. Inglés, español y portugués **23**. portugués

#### **Informant #151**

1. No 2. 3 3. 1 4. pienso que sacan canciones traducidas para expandir el mercado en el que se presentan 5. realmente pienso que lo hacen por cuestion de moda, falta de conocimiento del idioma 6. La versión española 7. en realidad prefiero la versión original de la canción sea la original en inglés o en español 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "romántico, emociones, hogar, formal, globalidad, personal" **10b**. la lengua española es amplia que no tiene

nada que envidiarle al Ingles **11.** "divertido, hogar, formal, globalidad, personal, relajado, entretenimiento, emociones" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, tonto" **12b.** la mezcla de lenguajes es mostrar la falta de cultura al maximo **13.** "globalidad, personal, entretenimiento, romántico, formal, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "entretenimiento, formal, personal, emociones, relajado, romántico, hogar" **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, tonto" **15b.** y si hablamos de regaeton, es lo mas vulgar que existe **16.** ninguno **17.** masculino **18.** 38 **19.** Mexico **20.** Italia **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, Italiano e Inglés **23.** igual

#### **Informant #152**

**1.** Sí **2.** 2 **3.** 2 **4.** para llegar a más público **5.** porque lo encuentran genial y divertido **6.** La versión española **7.** me gusta más **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "sexy, romántico" **10b.** Ø **11.** "extranjero, internacional" **11b.** Ø **12.** divertido **12b.** Ø **13.** entretenimiento **13b.** Ø **14.** internacional **14b.** Ø **15.** divertido **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** femenino **18.** 29 **19.** Brasil **20.** Brasil **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Portugués, inglés y español **23.** Portugués

#### **Informant #153**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 3 **4.** Para poder atraer a los americanos con su musica **5.** puede ser que son criados hablando "spanglish", pero tambien atrae la atencion de americanos un poco mas **6.** La versión española **7.** Usualmente la version original sona mas autentica **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "romántico, internacional, fiesta, emociones, exótico, sexy, divertido, globalidad, personal" **10b.** Ø **11.** "hogar, formal, americano, escuela, el mainstream, patriotismo" **11b.** Ø **12.** "fiesta, natural, informal, personal" **12b.** Ø **13.** "exótico, sexy, fiesta, divertido, romántico" **13b.** Ø **14.** "entretenimiento, el mainstream, americano" **14b.** Ø **15.** "cool, personal, fiesta, divertido, natural, informal" **15b.** Ø **16.** Si suena natural o no se siente que el cantante los hace para cojer mas atencion, me gusta mucho **17.** masculino **18.** 20 **19.** Cuba **20.** E.E.U.U. **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Ingles y Espanol **23.** Igual

#### **Informant #154**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 3 **4.** Por que quieren incluir a audiencias diversas. **5.** Para expresar lo que sienten. Tal vez no hay palabra correcta para traducir que tenga el mismo significado. **6.** La versión española **7.** Español y mi lengua madre y me siento orgullosa de hablarla y escucharla **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "romántico, fiesta, hogar, divertido" **10b.** Ø **11.** "internacional, americano, entretenimiento, cool" **11b.** Ø **12.** "romántico, hogar, natural, personal" **12b.** Ø **13.** "exótico, hogar, fiesta, entretenimiento, personal, divertido, romántico" **13b.** Ø **14.** "americano, cool, personal" **14b.** Ø **15.** "tonto, natural" **15b.** Ø **16.** No **17.** femenino **18.** 29 **19.** Mexico **20.** Estados Unidos **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, Inglés **23.** Igual

#### **Informant #155**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 5 **4.** Para alcanzar un publico mayor, hacerse escuchar en otras lenguas, darse a conocer a personas de culturas diferentes **5.** algunas palabras pueden tener un significado que no existe en español, o no lo conocen o simplemente suena mejor el verso de la rima buscada **6.** La versión española **7.** Si la canción es escrita originalmente en español, el mensaje se puede entender mejor además de la rima original, al traducir muchas veces pierden o la rima o el significado **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "sexy, divertido, personal, romántico, emociones, exótico, relajado" **10b.** belleza, conexión **11.** "relajado, entretenimiento, cool, divertido, exótico, formal, americano, internacional" **11b.** swing **12.** "inteligente, tonto, sexy, patriotismo, divertido, cool, exótico" **12b.** perreo **13.** "entretenimiento, personal, divertido, romántico, emociones, hogar, sexy, relajado" **13b.** entendible, conexión **14.** "emociones, relajado, extranjero, internacional, entretenimiento, divertido, americano, cool" **14b.** perreo, swing **15.** "divertido, informal, exótico, sexy, tonto, cool" **15b.** dinámico, perreo **16.** En latinoamerica no es común mezclar español con el ingles, pero creo que ayuda a la divulgación de palabras y el aprendizaje. Planteándolo de la mejor manera puede llegar a ser educativo **17.** masculino **18.** 41 **19.** Venezuela **20.** Venezuela **21.** Un idioma **22.** Español **23.** Español, ingles no mucho hablado mejor escrito

#### **Informant #156**

1. Sí 2. 5 3. 5 4. para llegar a un publico de mayor habla y que sus canciones sean mas escuchadas o reproducidas, de esta manera aumentar sus ganancias o fama 5. por moda, por fusiones, por frases que ya estan de boca en boca en el mundo latino 6. Las dos versiones 7. para ver como se acoplan a la melodía y acordes 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "internacional, fiesta, patriotismo" 10b. que es un idioma mu hablado en el mundo, y la mayoría de los países de america tienen como lengua este dialecto 11. "el mainstream, cool" 11b. good bye, call, music, hello, baby 12. "cool, sexy" 12b. resetear, ir de shopping, no wey, chatear 13. "fiesta, divertido, romántico" 13b. rumbear, pasear, despacito, atrevida 14. "cool, internacional" 14b. party, baby, man, love 15. "sexy, cool" 15b. chequear, latíngrover, baby, guasiman 16. la mayoría de las veces se van popularizando mas frases que se añaden al vocabulario de ambas lenguas 17. masculino 18. 32 19. Venezuela 20. USA 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, Ingles 23. Español

#### Informant #157

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 3 4. Para el mercado de habla ingles. 5. Para darle mas variedad a la letra 6. La versión española 7. Para escucharla como se compuso originalmente 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "personal, patriotismo, emociones, relajado, hogar" 10b. Ø 11. "globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional, el mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. extraño 12b. Ø 13. "romántico, emociones, hogar, personal" 13b. Ø 14. "extranjero, globalidad, internacional, el mainstream, americano, cool, exótico, emociones" 14b. Ø 15. "tonto, extraño" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. masculino 18. 23 19. México 20. México 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español e ingles 23. Español

#### Informant #158

1. Sí 2. 4 3. 3 4. Para que tors personas de diferentes países puedan entenderlas 5. Es parte de su cultura 6. La versión española 7. Es mas autentica 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "internacional, fiesta, divertido, entretenimiento, romántico" 10b. Bonita 11. "americano, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, cool, divertido" 11b. Alta 12. "divertido, cool, romántico, exótico, fiesta, natural, sexy" 12b. Diferente 13. "fiesta, globalidad, divertido, romántico, emociones, internacional" 13b. Lenta 14. "el mainstream, americano, cool, exótico, emociones, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento" 14b. Natural 15. "cool, personal, divertido, exótico" 15b. Diferente 16. Ningun 17. femenino 18. 27 19. Puerto Rico 20. USA 21. Más de un idioma 22. Ingles, espanol 23. Igual

#### Informant #159

1. No 2. 3 3. 2 4. Para hacerse mas famosos, tambien para incrementar el numero de personas que le escuchan 5. porque son palabras populares que muchas personas en el mundo conocen 6. La versión española 7. se que estaria ecuchando la forma original en que fue escrita la cancion, debido a que pudo haber algun cambio cuando fue traducida al ingles 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "internacional, hogar, globalidad" 10b. hogar, familia, patriotismo 11. "globalidad, internacional, cool" 11b. globalidad, internacional 12. "informal, extraño" 12b. informal 13. "personal, emociones" 13b. personal, emociones 14. "americano, cool, entretenimiento" 14b. americano, entretenimiento 15. cool 15b. cool 16. realmente no 17. masculino 18. 38 19. Colombia 20. USA 21. Más de un idioma 22. Espanol, Ingles 23. Espanol

#### Informant #160

1. Sí 2. 4 3. 5 4. Para poder alcanzar más cuota de mercado y llegar a más gente 5. Para ser más internacionales y modernos 6. La versión española 7. Lo original siempre es mejor 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "hogar, divertido, fiesta, emociones" 10b. Ø 11. "entretenimiento, cool, globalidad, americano, internacional" 11b. Ø 12. "tonto, extraño" 12b. Ø 13. "divertido, emociones, fiesta" 13b. Ø 14. "exótico, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, americano, cool" 14b. Ø 15. "tonto, extraño" 15b. forzado y absurdo 16. no 17. masculino 18. 38 19. Colombia 20. España 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, inglés 23. Español

#### Informant #161



1. Sí 2. 2 3. 4 4. Porque internacionaliza las canciones y las hace parecer más pop 5. Porque las canciones se ven más modernas así 6. La versión española 7. Soy más nacionalista y me gusta ver que se valora la cultura latina 8. No 9. Sí 10. "emociones, exótico, sexy, divertido, romántico, fiesta, patriotismo" 10b. Ø 11. "globalidad, americano, internacional, el mainstream, cool" 11b. Ø 12. "cool, inteligente, informal" 12b. Ø 13. "fiesta, patriotismo, entretenimiento, divertido, emociones, exótico, sexy" 13b. Ø 14. "cool, extranjero, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, inteligente, cool" 15b. Ø 16. Creo que devalúa la cultura latina. 17. masculino 18. 22 19. Brazil 20. Brazil 21. Más de un idioma 22. Portuguese, Spanish, English 23. Portuguese

#### Informant #162

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 3 4. Para mejorar las ventas en los países / comunidades de habla inglesa 5. Por efecto de la moda. O por efecto de estilo 6. La versión española 7. Esta es la versión auténtica. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "globalidad, fiesta, emociones" 10b. Ø 11. "el mainstream, globalidad, americano, internacional" 11b. Ø 12. "extraño, personal" 12b. Ø 13. "globalidad, emociones, fiesta" 13b. Ø 14. "globalidad, internacional, el mainstream, americano" 14b. Ø 15. "personal, extraño" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. masculino 18. 42 19. México 20. USA 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, inglés, portugués, francés 23. inglés

#### Informant #163

1. Sí 2. 5 3. 5 4. To gain a larger audience. 5. To gain an English audience. 6. Las dos versiones 7. I like both versions depending on my mood. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "internacional, fiesta, emociones, exótico, relajado, sexy, personal, entretenimiento, romántico" 10b. Spanish music is from the heart and full of passion. 11. "globalidad, americano, internacional, relajado, entretenimiento, el mainstream, cool" 11b. English language makes the music relate-able for all. 12. "cool, informal, personal" 12b. espanglish is a great way to mold two languages and bring them together as one. 13. "sexy, relajado, fiesta, globalidad, entretenimiento, personal, romántico, emociones" 13b. Spanish song are beautiful and deep. 14. "americano, cool, personal, relajado, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream" 14b. English in song makes it easy for everyone to sing along. 15. "cool, personal, fiesta, natural, informal" 15b. Espanglish bonds people and makes them one. 16. I love all music. 17. femenino 18. 38 19. Cuba 20. USA 21. Más de un idioma 22. english and spanish 23. same

#### Informant #164

1. Sí 2. 4 3. 4 4. porque ven es son exitos en un idioma y piensan que van hacer exitos en otros idiomas 5. puede que ciertas palabras sean conosidas en ingles y quieren hacerkas hit.. 6. La versión española 7. cansiones pueden conosidas y quieren hacerkas famosas 8. No 9. No 10. "romántico, patriotismo, emociones, hogar" 10b. Ø 11. "cool, extranjero, americano, el mainstream" 11b. Ø 12. "extraño, divertido, cool, inteligente" 12b. Ø 13. "romántico, hogar, sexy, fiesta, entretenimiento" 13b. Ø 14. "entretenimiento, el mainstream, divertido, americano, cool, exótico, extranjero" 14b. Ø 15. "inteligente, sexy, cool, patriotismo, romántico" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. femenino 18. 29 19. mexico 20. mexico 21. Más de un idioma 22. espanol ingles 23. igual

#### Informant #165

1. Sí 2. 5 3. 5 4. To increase their fan base and make more money. 5. To increase their fan base and make more money. 6. Las dos versiones 7. I enjoy all kinds of music and always appreciate a new spin. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "entretenimiento, romántico, sexy" 10b. The Spanish language brings romance and emotion to music. 11. "cool, entretenimiento, el mainstream" 11b. English language bring current vibes and emotions to music that is loved by all. 12. "cool, hogar, fiesta, inteligente" 12b. Espanglish is all inclusive. 13. "emociones, sexy, entretenimiento, romántico" 13b. Spanish intensifies emotions in music. 14. "entretenimiento, el mainstream, americano, cool" 14b. English in songs make them cool, current, and trendy. 15. "inteligente, cool, fiesta, natural" 15b. espanglish is a very natural way to relate to two different cultures. 16. I appreciate the mixed use

because it bring cultures together. **17.** masculino **18.** 46 **19.** Puerto Rico **20.** Unites States **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Spanish, english, and french **23.** spanish

#### **Informant #166**

**1.** Sí **2.** 5 **3.** 1 **4.** Para ganar fanaticada en le mercado americano **5.** Por que foneticamente encajan mejor, y el sentido es mas cercano que la expresion en espanol **6.** La versión española **7.** Las versiones originales regularmente son las mejores **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "romántico, internacional, emociones, hogar, sexy, divertido, personal" **10b.** Ø **11.** "formal, globalidad, extranjero, americano, entretenimiento, el mainstream" **11b.** Ø diferente **12.** "divertido, cool, hogar, fiesta, inteligente, natural, informal, personal" **12b.** autentico **13.** "hogar, fiesta, entretenimiento, personal, divertido, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "entretenimiento, el mainstream, formal, americano, cool, extranjero, globalidad, internacional" **14b.** Ø **15.** "cool, personal, divertido, extranjero, natural, inteligente" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** femenino **18.** 33 **19.** Puerto Rico **20.** Estados Unidos **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Ingles y Espanol **23.** Espanol

#### **Informant #167**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 4 **4.** yo pienso que todo se hace por dinero, y el mercado de la música no se queda atrás. **5.** Hay palabras en inglés que suenan más musicales y muchas personas se acostumbran a usarlas, yo he trabajado con americanos que usaban palabras en español solamente por sonaban agradables para ellos y a veces ni siquiera conocían el significado. **6.** La versión española **7.** soy hispano!!! **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "fiesta, emociones, hogar, divertido, formal, escuela, personal, inmigración, romántico" **10b.** Ø **11.** "el mainstream, cool" **11b.** Ø **12.** "cool, natural, sexy" **12b.** Ø **13.** "fiesta, personal, divertido, romántico, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "cool, el mainstream" **14b.** Ø **15.** "cool, natural, sexy" **15b.** Ø **16.** no **17.** masculino **18.** 62 **19.** Uruguay **20.** USA **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español e Inglés **23.** Español

#### **Informant #168**

**1.** Sí **2.** 5 **3.** 2 **4.** Para acceder a un mayor mercado. **5.** Le agrega cierta musicalidad a las canciones. Suena bien. **6.** La versión española **7.** Prefiero la música original. **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "romántico, fiesta, exótico, formal" **10b.** Seca. **11.** "cool, divertido, globalidad, internacional, relajado, entretenimiento" **11b.** Simple **12.** "natural, informal, sexy, fiesta" **12b.** Informado **13.** "romántico, formal, patriotismo" **13b.** Estridente **14.** "entretenimiento, divertido, cool, emociones, relajado" **14b.** Armonioso **15.** "informal, extraño" **15b.** Raro **16.** Puede funcionar pero hasta ahora son muy pobres los intentos de los músicos pop. **17.** masculino **18.** 27 **19.** México **20.** México **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Inglés y español. **23.** Igual.

#### **Informant #169**

**1.** No **2.** 3 **3.** 3 **4.** Crea cierta originalidad y interés hacia el público que lo escucha. **5.** Es divertido. **6.** Las dos versiones **7.** No tengo preferencias en cuanto al lenguaje de la música, mientras me transmita algo positivo. **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "globalidad, entretenimiento, emociones, divertido" **10b.** Ø **11.** "el mainstream, emociones, cool, divertido, internacional" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, tonto, extraño, divertido, cool" **12b.** Ø **13.** "globalidad, entretenimiento, personal, emociones, internacional" **13b.** Ø **14.** "emociones, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, divertido, americano, cool" **14b.** Ø **15.** "informal, inteligente, tonto, cool, extraño, divertido" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** masculino **18.** 28 **19.** Argentina **20.** España **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, Inglés, Catalán y Francés. **23.** Español

#### **Informant #170**

**1.** Sí **2.** 1 **3.** 1 **4.** atraer más audiencia **5.** Llegar a más personas **6.** La versión española **7.** el significado es más original **8.** No **9.** No **10.** "internacional, fiesta, patriotismo, emociones, exótico, relajado, hogar, sexy, divertido, globalidad, formal, escuela, personal, inmigración, entretenimiento, extranjero, romántico" **10b.** Ø **11.** "formal,

globalidad, extranjero, personal, internacional, americano, relajado, entretenimiento, escuela, el mainstream, emociones, cool, romántico, divertido, patriotismo, hogar, exótico" **11b.** Ø **12.** "divertido, cool, extranjero, romántico, hogar, exótico, fiesta, inteligente, formal, natural, informal, tonto, extraño, personal, sexy, patriotismo" **12b.** Ø **13.** "hogar, sexy, relajado, fiesta, inmigración, patriotismo, extranjero, globalidad, entretenimiento, personal, escuela, divertido, formal, romántico, emociones, internacional, exótico" **13b.** Ø **14.** "el mainstream, formal, divertido, americano, cool, personal, exótico, patriotismo, relajado, romántico, emociones, hogar, extranjero, escuela, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento" **14b.** Ø **15.** "sexy, formal, tonto, cool, hogar, patriotismo, extraño, personal, fiesta, divertido, extranjero, romántico, natural, informal, exótico, inteligente" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** masculino **18.** 54 **19.** Brazil **20.** Brazil **21.** Un idioma **22.** português **23.** english

#### **Informant #171**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 3 **4.** para llegar a mas personas y obtener mas ganancias **5.** para captar la atencion del oyente. hacerla mas pegajosa **6.** La versión española **7.** las que he escuchado anteriormente se oyen mejor en español que ingles **8.** No **9.** Sí **10.** "romántico, fiesta, emociones, exótico, hogar, sexy, divertido" **10b.** Ø **11.** "extranjero, americano, el mainstream, cool" **11b.** Ø **12.** "cool, informal, tonto, extraño, personal" **12b.** Ø **13.** "exótico, hogar, sexy, fiesta, patriotismo, entretenimiento, personal, divertido, romántico, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "el mainstream, formal, americano, cool, extranjero, globalidad, internacional" **14b.** Ø **15.** "cool, extraño, personal, divertido" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** femenino **18.** 25 **19.** Puerto Rico **20.** Estados Unidos **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** español e ingles **23.** español

#### **Informant #172**

**1.** No **2.** 3 **3.** 3 **4.** Por el marketing. **5.** El ingles es naturalmente asociado con todas las cosas pop. **6.** Las dos versiones **7.** No son esas las cosas que hace una musica buena o mala. **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "romántico, emociones, relajado, hogar, sexy, divertido, personal" **10b.** Ø **11.** "divertido, globalidad, americano, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "sexy, divertido, cool, exótico, fiesta, informal" **12b.** Ø **13.** "sexy, relajado, fiesta, personal, divertido, romántico, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, divertido, americano, cool, extranjero" **14b.** Ø **15.** "exótico, informal, sexy, cool, extraño, fiesta, divertido" **15b.** Ø **16.** Es una cosa que trae posibilidades para nuevas colaboraciones. **17.** masculino **18.** 29 **19.** Brasil. **20.** Brasil. **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Espanol, Portugues, Galego, Ingles. **23.** Galego.

#### **Informant #173**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 1 **4.** Por la comunidad latina que esta en estados unidos. Acaparar mas mercado. **5.** Por que lo que dicen son cosas pegajosas. **6.** La versión inglesa **7.** Se escucha mejor algunas canciones en ingles. **8.** No **9.** No **10.** "fiesta, relajado, hogar, escuela, personal, inmigración, entretenimiento, romántico" **10b.** Ø **11.** "globalidad, americano, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, cool, patriotismo" **11b.** Ø **12.** "cool, fiesta, formal, natural, informal, sexy, divertido" **12b.** Ø **13.** "inmigración, divertido, romántico, exótico" **13b.** Ø **14.** "el mainstream, americano, cool, emociones, extranjero, globalidad" **14b.** Ø **15.** "tonto, cool, extraño, fiesta, informal" **15b.** Ø **16.** En algunas canciones si se escucha bien esa mezcla. En otras nada que ver con la combinación de ingles y español. **17.** masculino **18.** 30 **19.** Mexico **20.** USA **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español e Ingles. **23.** Español

#### **Informant #174**

**1.** No **2.** 2 **3.** 1 **4.** To reach a larger audience, and possible receive a different response from the change of language. **5.** To induce a "wake up" react;ion from the audience as it often unexpected. **6.** La versión española **7.** most of the time the translation from Spanish to English doesn't turn out well or does not have the same impact on me. **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "fiesta, exótico, relajado, hogar, divertido, romántico" **10b.** Ø **11.** "globalidad, americano, internacional, entretenimiento, escuela, el mainstream, patriotismo" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, tonto,

extraño" **12b.** Ø **13.** "fiesta, divertido, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "divertido, cool, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream" **14b.** Ø **15.** "fiesta, divertido, informal" **15b.** Ø **16.** it's fine to mix spanish and english, but the context in which they are used may be inappropriate or offensive to some. **17.** masculino **18.** 22 **19.** mexico **20.** estados unidos **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** spanish and english **23.** spanish

#### **Informant #175**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 3 **4.** Para aprender un nuevo idioma. **5.** Porque piensan que es guay. **6.** La versión inglesa **7.** Prefiero musicas en inglés. **8.** No **9.** No **10.** exótico **10b.** Ø **11.** cool **11b.** Ø **12.** natural **12b.** Ø **13.** extranjero **13b.** Ø **14.** emociones **14b.** Ø **15.** cool **15b.** Ø **16.** No **17.** masculino **18.** 27 **19.** Brasil **20.** Brasil **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Portugués, Español y Inglés **23.** Portugués

#### **Informant #176**

**1.** Sí **2.** 5 **3.** 2 **4.** Muchas de las veces la traducion no es la correcta. **5.** Por querer conquistar otro mercado **6.** La versión española **7.** prefiero musica en espanol **8.** No **9.** No **10.** "romántico, fiesta, hogar" **10b.** Ø **11.** "globalidad, internacional, cool" **11b.** Ø **12.** tonto **12b.** informal, relajo **13.** "hogar, fiesta, inmigración, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "americano, patriotismo" **14b.** Ø **15.** tonto **15b.** informal **16.** No gracias **17.** femenino **18.** 32 **19.** Mexico **20.** USA **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Espano, Ingles, Frances, Italiano **23.** espanol, ingles

#### **Informant #177**

**1.** Sí **2.** 3 **3.** 4 **4.** Para que las personas de otros países puedan entender lo que dicen o lo que significa la canción. **5.** Para ayudar a los países de habla inglesa a comprender sus canciones. **6.** La versión española **7.** Me gusta la versión original **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "romántico, internacional, fiesta, formal, personal" **10b.** Ø **11.** "extranjero, americano, escuela, el mainstream" **11b.** Ø **12.** "sexy, extranjero, fiesta, inteligente, extraño, personal" **12b.** Ø **13.** "fiesta, extranjero, escuela, entretenimiento" **13b.** Ø **14.** "internacional, el mainstream, cool, romántico, extranjero, escuela" **14b.** Ø **15.** "tonto, formal, personal, divertido, romántico, natural" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** masculino **18.** 26 **19.** Mexico **20.** U.S **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, ingles **23.** Español

#### **Informant #178**

**1.** Sí **2.** 3 **3.** 2 **4.** para llegar a un público más amplio **5.** para llegar a un público más amplio **6.** La versión española **7.** por identificación **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "divertido, extranjero, internacional, emociones, exótico, relajado, sexy" **10b.** Ø **11.** "entretenimiento, el mainstream, cool, extranjero, americano, internacional" **11b.** Ø **12.** "fiesta, divertido, cool, extranjero, exótico" **12b.** Ø **13.** "globalidad, entretenimiento, divertido, romántico, emociones, exótico, sexy, fiesta" **13b.** Ø **14.** "emociones, extranjero, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, divertido, americano, cool" **14b.** Ø **15.** "extranjero, divertido, informal, exótico, inteligente, cool, fiesta" **15b.** Ø **16.** no **17.** femenino **18.** 22 **19.** colombia **20.** Colombia **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** English, Spanish and Portuguese **23.** Portuguese

#### **Informant #179**

**1.** Sí **2.** 5 **3.** 3 **4.** Yo creo que es para tener mas audiencia y asi obtener mas ganancias alcanzando mas audiencia no solo de habla hispana sino tambien anglo **5.** A veces es para sonar mas cool, otras para hacer la cancion rimar y otras es para enganchar a los oyentes de habla inglesa **6.** Las dos versiones **7.** Me gustan ambos idiomas. Y como tengo amistades q solo hablan ingles, compartiria la version anglo con ellos y la version hispana con mis amigos latinos **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "fiesta, hogar, sexy, divertido" **10b.** Ø **11.** "globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional" **11b.** Ø **12.** "cool, fiesta, inteligente, sexy, divertido" **12b.** Ø **13.** "hogar, sexy, fiesta, entretenimiento, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "americano, extranjero, globalidad, internacional" **14b.** Ø **15.** "cool, fiesta, divertido, natural, inteligente, sexy" **15b.** Ø **16.** No **17.** femenino **18.** 32 **19.** Chile **20.** Canada **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Espanol e ingles **23.** Español

#### Informant #180

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 4 4. Para que las gente que no hablan español pueden entender la musica 5. Por que ellos también hablan inglés o por que tienen fanes que hablan las dos idiomas 6. La versión española 7. Musica que es originalmente latino por ejemplo reggaeton se escucha mejor en español, habeces ingles solo no se escucha bien 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "exótico, hogar, sexy, divertido, globalidad, romántico, internacional, fiesta" 10b. Ø 11. "americano, relajado, entretenimiento, el mainstream, cool, hogar" 11b. Ø 12. "cool, fiesta, informal, extraño, divertido" 12b. Ø 13. "fiesta, globalidad, divertido, romántico, internacional, sexy" 13b. Ø 14. "patriotismo, relajado, el mainstream, americano" 14b. Ø 15. "extraño, fiesta, divertido" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. femenino 18. 19 19. México 20. México 21. Más de un idioma 22. Inglés, español y poco de Français 23. Español y inglés igual

#### Informant #181

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 1 4. Para tener llegada a nuevos mercados o audiencias. Porque muchas veces se usan como expresiones incorporadas al lenguaje o no hay un equivalente que reemplaze las palabras al 100%. 5. Traducidas no tienen el mismo sentido. 6. La versión española 7. Siempre prefiero las versiones originales porque contienen intacta la intencion del autor y lo que quiere comunicar, al traducir es probable, por mas perfecta sea la taduccion, que se pierda el sentido o coherencia de lo que se quiere transmitir a traves de la letra de la cancion. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "hogar, personal, entretenimiento, emociones" 10b. Ø 11. "entretenimiento, el mainstream, globalidad, extranjero, internacional" 11b. Ø 12. "fiesta, informal, personal, divertido, exótico" 12b. Ø 13. "divertido, romántico, emociones, fiesta" 13b. Ø 14. "relajado, extranjero, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, divertido, cool" 14b. Ø 15. "divertido, informal" 15b. Ø 16. No, 17. masculino 18. 28 19. Argentina 20. Argentina 21. Más de un idioma 22. Ingles, Español, Arabe 23. Español

#### Informant #182

1. Sí 2. 5 3. 2 4. Porque así son capaces de llegar a más gente que solo en español 5. está bien. Suena divertido 6. La versión española 7. Normalmente la letra en español suele ser la original y generalmente es mejor 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "personal, emociones, hogar, divertido" 10b. Ø 11. "el mainstream, cool, globalidad, americano, internacional" 11b. Ø 12. fiesta 12b. Ø 13. "entretenimiento, personal, fiesta" 13b. Ø 14. cool 14b. Ø 15. divertido 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. femenino 18. 27 19. Colombia 20. Colombia 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español e Inglés 23. Español

#### Informant #183

1. No 2. 4 3. 4 4. para ganar una audiencia más amplia 5. para expresar sus culturas o para atraer a un público más amplio 6. Las dos versiones 7. para mí, ambos pueden ser divertidos 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "romántico, internacional, divertido" 10b. Ø 11. "cool, romántico, divertido, exótico, americano" 11b. Ø 12. natural 12b. Ø 13. "divertido, emociones, globalidad" 13b. Ø 14. "globalidad, americano" 14b. Ø 15. "natural, informal" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. femenino 18. 31 19. Brasil 20. Estados Unidos 21. Más de un idioma 22. Ingles, portugues, espanol, frances 23. portuguese

#### Informant #184

1. Sí 2. 4 3. 4 4. Porque es una forma de llegar a los no hispano hablantes o hijos de latinos que viven en USA 5. Hacen la cancion mas internacional, hace que se recuerde mas facilmente. 6. Las dos versiones 7. Si el trabajo de traduccion esta bien hecho, me gusta memorizar las 2 versiones 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "fiesta, emociones, exótico, hogar, divertido, globalidad, personal" 10b. Es una lengua hermosa 11. "cool, globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional, entretenimiento" 11b. Lengua de negocios 12. "cool, natural" 12b. Idioma casero 13. "romántico, exótico, fiesta" 13b. Ø 14. "el mainstream, americano, cool, extranjero" 14b. Generico 15. "cool, divertido" 15b. no oficial 16. Me gusto este estudio 17. masculino 18. 44 19. Argentina 20. USA 21. Más de un idioma 22. Espanol, Ingles 23. igual

#### Informant #185

1. Sí 2. 4 3. 2 4. Para globalizarse 5. Tiene un factor cool que le gusta a la juventud 6. La versión española 7. Los ritmos y prosas cuando se traducen pierden esencia 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "escuela, personal, inmigración, entretenimiento, extranjero, romántico, internacional, fiesta, patriotismo, emociones, exótico, relajado, hogar, sexy, divertido, formal, globalidad" 10b. Ø 11. "emociones, romántico, divertido, patriotismo, hogar, exótico, formal, globalidad, extranjero, personal, americano, internacional, relajado, entretenimiento, escuela" 11b. Ø 12. "sexy, cool" 12b. Ø 13. "divertido, romántico, formal, emociones, internacional, exótico, hogar, relajado, fiesta, inmigración, extranjero, globalidad, entretenimiento, personal, escuela" 13b. Ø 14. cool 14b. Ø 15. cool 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. masculino 18. 28 19. Republica Dominicana 20. Usa 21. Más de un idioma 22. Inglés, español, patua 23. Español

#### Informant #186

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 2 4. Para entrar en el mercado internacional donde no se habla español, sino inglés. 5. Muchas veces es por uso y costumbre o para expresarse mejor 6. La versión inglesa 7. Muchas veces la version en ingles tiene mejor musicalidad 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "hogar, sexy, divertido, personal" 10b. El espa 11. "americano, entretenimiento, el mainstream, cool, hogar, globalidad" 11b. Ø 12. "natural, informal, personal" 12b. Ø 13. "romántico, emociones, hogar" 13b. Ø 14. "extranjero, entretenimiento, el mainstream, formal, americano, cool" 14b. Ø 15. "fiesta, informal, exótico, cool" 15b. Ø 16. Refleja la cultura mixta que hay entre las ciudades americanas y los latinos. 17. masculino 18. 36 19. Puerto Rico 20. Puerto Rico 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, Inglés 23. Igual

#### Informant #187

1. Sí 2. 5 3. 1 4. para ganar una audiencia más grande 5. para los fanáticos bilingues 6. La versión española 7. tiene más sentido en el idioma original 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "patriotismo, relajado, hogar, personal" 10b. Ø 11. "globalidad, extranjero, internacional" 11b. Ø 12. "divertido, cool, informal" 12b. Ø 13. "relajado, divertido, romántico" 13b. Ø 14. "internacional, americano, cool" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, divertido, natural" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. femenino 18. 27 19. Ecuador 20. EEUU 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, inglés 23. igual

#### Informant #188

1. Sí 2. 4 3. 5 4. para llegar a más público, y para hacer la música más atractiva 5. para convertir la musica agradable entre inglés y españoles 6. La versión española 7. la música en español tiene más amotho, el ritmo también es mas contagioso 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "entretenimiento, romántico, emociones" 10b. Ø 11. "emociones, hogar, personal" 11b. Ø 12. "inteligente, personal, divertido" 12b. Ø 13. "romántico, emociones, fiesta" 13b. Ø 14. "emociones, extranjero, hogar" 14b. Ø 15. "divertido, inteligente, personal" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. masculino 18. 25 19. Brazil 20. Brazil 21. Más de un idioma 22. portugues, un poco de español y inglés 23. portugueses

#### Informant #189

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 2 4. Creo que el éxito de la música original motiva al artista a reproducir la traducción. 5. porque el idioma inglés es parte de la cultura de los países latinoamericanos, principalmente debido a la influencia de América del Norte 6. La versión española 7. Prefiero escuchar canciones en mi idioma nativo. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "sexy, escuela, fiesta, emociones" 10b. Ø 11. "entretenimiento, cool, patriotismo, globalidad, americano, internacional" 11b. Ø 12. "natural, tonto, extranjero" 12b. Ø 13. "escuela, romántico, emociones, relajado, fiesta" 13b. Ø 14. "personal, patriotismo, globalidad, entretenimiento, americano, cool" 14b. Ø 15. "extranjero, natural, sexy, formal, cool, patriotismo" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. masculino 18. 26 19. Argentina 20. USA 21. Más de un idioma 22. Castellano, English 23. Castellano

#### Informant #190

1. No 2. 5 3. 4 4. Para así conseguir una mayor exposición y ser conocidos en más lugares. 5. Porque hay veces que lo que queremos decir no tiene traducción exacta, así que es mejor decirlo tal cual. 6. La versión inglesa 7. me gusta más 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "hogar, divertido, entretenimiento" 10b. nativo 11. "personal, americano, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, cool, divertido" 11b. Ø 12. natural 12b. bilingüe 13. "hogar, personal" 13b. Ø 14. "divertido, cool, extranjero, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream" 14b. Ø 15. natural 15b. normal 16. es más inclusivo 17. femenino 18. 24 19. colombia 20. España 21. Más de un idioma 22. Alemán, Inglés, Francés, Castellano y Catalán 23. igual

#### Informant #191

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 1 4. para llegar a mayor publico 5. para llegar a mayor publico y tener mayores oyentes 6. La versión española 7. para mi suenan mejor 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "globalidad, personal, extranjero, internacional, fiesta, patriotismo, emociones, hogar" 10b. Ø 11. "entretenimiento, cool, exótico, globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional" 11b. Ø 12. "natural, informal, personal, patriotismo, divertido, cool, hogar, fiesta, inteligente" 12b. Ø 13. "entretenimiento, personal, divertido, formal, emociones, internacional, exótico, hogar, relajado, fiesta, patriotismo, extranjero, globalidad" 13b. Ø 14. "el mainstream, divertido, americano, personal" 14b. Ø 15. "natural, informal, cool, extraño, personal, fiesta, divertido" 15b. Ø 16. no 17. femenino 18. 27 19. puerto rico 20. puerto rico 21. Más de un idioma 22. español e ingles 23. español

#### Informant #192

1. Sí 2. 5 3. 3 4. El mercado Anglo es bien importante, es inmenso y hay mucho dinero! 5. El Inglés es parte de la vida cotidiana y el mercado de la música Latina está muy vinculado con el mercado Americano. 6. Las dos versiones 7. Básicamente me gustaría escuchar ambas versiones; que repita la experiencia depende de la calidad de la versión en Inglés. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "hogar, personal, entretenimiento, romántico, fiesta" 10b. Para mí el Español es como la bandera de mi país, es mi identidad. 11. "americano, internacional, el mainstream, emociones, cool, divertido, globalidad" 11b. Comunicación, globalidad 12. "exótico, fiesta, inteligente, natural, sexy, divertido, cool" 12b. Es divertido el poderse mover entre dos culturas! 13. "entretenimiento, personal, romántico, emociones" 13b. Ø 14. "personal, exótico, emociones, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, divertido, americano, cool" 14b. Ø 15. "fiesta, divertido, extranjero, natural, exótico, inteligente, sexy, cool, personal" 15b. Ø 16. Es pura diversión. 17. masculino 18. 29 19. Cuba 20. U.S. 21. Más de un idioma 22. Español, Inglés, Francés, Italiano & Portugués 23. Igual

#### Informant #193

1. Sí 2. 4 3. 2 4. Para poder alcanzar más culturas y poder hacer que muchos más escuchen su música. 5. Para poder mezclar los dos idiomas y que la gente se acostumbre a escuchar dichas palabras. 6. La versión española 7. Me gusta escuchar la canción original porque da más esencia o satisfacción escuchar dicha canción. Siento que al traducir la canción se pierde la originalidad de la canción. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "exótico, divertido, escuela, personal, romántico, fiesta, patriotismo, emociones" 10b. interesante 11. "entretenimiento, escuela, el mainstream, emociones, globalidad, americano" 11b. trabajo 12. "informal, extraño, personal" 12b. confuso 13. "patriotismo, entretenimiento, divertido, romántico, internacional, exótico, sexy, fiesta" 13b. recuerdos especiales 14. "emociones, relajado, romántico, escuela, entretenimiento, cool" 14b. Ø 15. "informal, tonto, patriotismo, extraño" 15b. multicultural 16. Creo que es mejor seleccionar sólo un idioma en la música. Mi razón es porque a veces no es posible traducir correctamente palabras de un idioma al otro. Esto puede dar lugar a otras interpretaciones. 17. femenino 18. 35 19. Honduras 20. Noruega 21. Más de un idioma 22. español, inglés y noruego 23. inglés y español

#### Informant #194

1. No 2. 4 3. 3 4. Porque les permite alcanzar un publico mas amplio. 5. Puede que vivan en paises bilingues como EE.UU o Puerto Rico, por lo qu es natural. 6. La versión española 7. Me parece que es mas autentica la

version original, la traduccion a menudo traiciona la original. **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "emociones, relajado, hogar, escuela, personal" **10b.** flexibilidad **11.** "globalidad, extranjero, internacional, el mainstream" **11b.** colonialismo cultural **12.** "divertido, cool, fiesta, natural, informal" **12b.** Ø **13.** "hogar, relajado, personal, emociones, internacional" **13b.** Ø **14.** "el mainstream, internacional" **14b.** El inglés es un idioma que se presta a la musica popular. **15.** "cool, fiesta, divertido, informal" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** masculino **18.** 57 **19.** Espana **20.** Francia **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Espanol, francés, inglés, ruso, catalan **23.** Espanol

#### **Informant #195**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 4 **4.** Para llegar o más público, para que otras personas que no entienden el español puedan entender las letras de sus canciones. Para abrir mercados nuevos **5.** para darle un cambio a sus canciones, o para usar expresiones muy conocidas mundialmente **6.** Las dos versiones **7.** Me gusta de ambas formas, pues ambos idiomas son muy usados en mi entorno **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "inmigración, entretenimiento, extranjero, romántico, internacional, fiesta, patriotismo, emociones, exótico, relajado, hogar, divertido, formal, globalidad, escuela, personal" **10b.** Ø **11.** cool **11b.** Ø **12.** sexy **12b.** Ø **13.** "internacional, exótico, sexy, relajado, fiesta, extranjero, globalidad, personal, escuela, divertido, romántico, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, el mainstream, americano" **14b.** Ø **15.** "sexy, cool" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** femenino **18.** 37 **19.** COLOMBIA **20.** COLOMBIA **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** INGLES **23.** ESPAÑOL

#### **Informant #196**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 2 **4.** para tener acceso al publico anglo **5.** para llamar la atencion **6.** La versión española **7.** Prefiero la cancion original **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "exótico, divertido, extranjero, internacional, fiesta" **10b.** Ø **11.** "entretenimiento, globalidad, extranjero, internacional, americano" **11b.** Ø **12.** "informal, extraño, divertido, cool" **12b.** Ø **13.** "divertido, formal, emociones, hogar" **13b.** Ø **14.** "extranjero, globalidad, internacional, americano" **14b.** Ø **15.** "divertido, informal, exótico, cool, extraño" **15b.** Ø **16.** no **17.** masculino **18.** 38 **19.** venezuela **20.** peru **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** ingles, frances **23.** español

#### **Informant #197**

**1.** Sí **2.** 5 **3.** 3 **4.** para ganar mas publico y ampliar sus horizontes **5.** por que riman mejor que otras palabras en espanol, por que quieren hacer un estilo diferente que una dos lenguas **6.** La versión española **7.** la primera version siempre es la mejor, generalmente en espanol, luego salen los remix que algunos son muy buenos pero otros no tanto **8.** Sí **9.** Sí **10.** "fiesta, emociones, exótico, sexy, divertido" **10b.** Ø **11.** "extranjero, americano, internacional, entretenimiento" **11b.** Ø **12.** "cool, exótico, fiesta, inteligente, informal, divertido" **12b.** Ø **13.** "fiesta, entretenimiento, divertido, romántico, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "americano, cool, relajado, extranjero, entretenimiento" **14b.** Ø **15.** "divertido, romántico, exótico, informal, inteligente, cool" **15b.** Ø **16.** Ø **17.** femenino **18.** 30 **19.** venezuela **20.** usa **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** espanol e ingles **23.** espanol

#### **Informant #198**

**1.** Sí **2.** 4 **3.** 3 **4.** Entiendo que los cantantes sacan estas versiones traducidas para poder ser escuchados por otros paises y asi ser más reconocidos por el mundo. **5.** Muchas de estas canciones incluyen palabras oexpresiones en inglés porque le añaden un tono más divertido y atraen a muchas otras personas hacia sus canciones. **6.** La versión española **7.** Prefiero la versión en español porque se va a entender mucho mejor. **8.** No **9.** No **10.** "relajado, hogar, sexy, personal, internacional, patriotismo" **10b.** Ø **11.** "el mainstream, cool, globalidad, extranjero, internacional, americano" **11b.** Ø **12.** "natural, informal, personal" **12b.** Ø **13.** "divertido, formal, romántico, emociones" **13b.** Ø **14.** "exótico, extranjero, globalidad, internacional, americano, cool" **14b.** Ø **15.** "fiesta, informal, inteligente" **15b.** Ø **16.** Pienso que el uso mezclado de ambos idiomas les abre puertas a los musicos para poder ser más famosos. **17.** femenino **18.** 38 **19.** Puerto Rico **20.** USA **21.** Más de un idioma **22.** Español, Inglés **23.** Mi idioma dominante es el español.



#### Informant #199

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 1 4. Para ganar mas dinero para entrar en mas mercados 5. es una forma de hablar de comun en los estados unidos 6. La versión española 7. Si la cancion es escrita en espanol es con un proposito al traducir la cancion a otro idioma pierde esencia 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "fiesta, emociones, exótico, relajado, hogar, divertido, personal, romántico" 10b. Es una lengua muy romantica y con muchas palabras con diferentes deficiniciones dependiendo de quien lo hable 11. "formal, globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional, entretenimiento, escuela, el mainstream, cool, romántico, divertido, patriotismo" 11b. Es una lengua universal y que es muy necesaria para vivir en los Estados Unidos. Una lengua muy elegante y distinguida. Tiene personalidad y funde respeto 12. "divertido, cool, extranjero, fiesta, natural" 12b. Es una forma de hablar mas no un idioma. Es un genero que se a hecho muy fuerte en la juventud Latino-americano 13. "fiesta, globalidad, entretenimiento, divertido, romántico, emociones, internacional, exótico" 13b. Un ritmo unico en todas sus expresiones 14. "el mainstream, formal, divertido, americano, cool, romántico, extranjero, globalidad, entretenimiento" 14b. Un idioma que rompe las barreras del idioma globalmente 15. "cool, fiesta, divertido" 15b. Divertido 16. no 17. masculino 18. 43 19. Colombia 20. Estados Unidos 21. Más de un idioma 22. Ingles Español 23. igual

#### Informant #200

1. Sí 2. 3 3. 3 4. Creo que esto es para tratar de llegar a nuevos mercados. 5. En este caso no puedo decir mucho, porque no es común hablar expresiones en inglés en nuestra vida cotidiana. Tal vez es un intento de exportar o vincular su canción a otras audiencias o simplemente porque lo encuentran agradable. 6. La versión española 7. Las versiones en español son mejores, porque tienden a estar más cerca de mí y porque la entonación colocada por el artista cambia a medida que se mueve entre idiomas, lo que lo hace menos cierto. 8. Sí 9. Sí 10. "formal, globalidad, romántico, internacional, emociones, sexy, divertido" 10b. Ø 11. "entretenimiento, el mainstream, globalidad, extranjero, americano, internacional" 11b. Ø 12. "informal, tonto, extraño, exótico" 12b. Ø 13. "personal, divertido, romántico, emociones, fiesta" 13b. Ø 14. "emociones, globalidad, internacional, entretenimiento, divertido, americano, cool, personal" 14b. Ø 15. "exótico, tonto, extraño" 15b. Ø 16. Ø 17. masculino 18. 24 19. Brazil 20. Brazil 21. Un idioma 22. Portuguese 23. Ø