

# Code-switching and Linguistic Evolution: The case of 'Hacer + V' in Orange Walk, Northern Belize

Osmer Balam

This paper provides an insight into the syntactic evolution of bilingual light verb constructions in Northern Belize Spanish/English/Kriol code-switching. Quantitative analyses of syntactic verb type and pronoun type were conducted to examine the cross-generational use of these hybrid structures in the spontaneous oral production of 62 bilingual/trilingual speakers from Northern Belize. Results revealed that participants in the younger age groups employed 'hacer + V' markedly more than the eldest consultants. Whereas bilingual light verb constructions amongst first generation speakers were attested only with transitive, intransitive and ditransitive verbs, there was an expansion of these constructions to other syntactic contexts in the discourse of second and third generation speakers. For pronoun type, the incorporation of clitic and pronominal forms was particularly attested among younger generations. The analysis discusses changes in the use of these syntactic innovations *vis-à-vis* Belize's sociohistorical milieu and highlights some features of 'hacer + V' which do not conform to mainstream views on what constitutes 'nonce borrowings'.

**Keywords:** Northern Belizean Spanish, bilingualism, code-switching, language change, syntactic evolution, bilingual light verb constructions.

*La alternancia de código y la evolución lingüística: el caso de 'Hacer + V' en Orange Walk, Belice.* Esta investigación examina la evolución sintáctica de las perífrasis verbales bilingües con el verbo *hacer* en la alternancia entre el español, el inglés y el criollo en el norte de Belice. Se llevó a cabo un análisis cuantitativo de la clase sintáctica del verbo y la clase de pronombre para analizar el uso intergeneracional de estas estructuras híbridas en la producción oral espontánea de 62 bilingües / trilingües del norte de Belice. Los resultados revelaron que los grupos de hablantes más jóvenes utilizan 'hacer + V' con mucha más frecuencia que los participantes más mayores. Entre los hablantes mayores, las construcciones híbridas con *hacer* apare-

cieron con verbos transitivos, ditransitivos e intransitivos; sin embargo, hubo una extensión de estas construcciones a otros contextos sintácticos en el discurso oral de hablantes más jóvenes. Para la clase de pronombre, se encontró la incorporación de clíticos y formas pronominales particularmente en el habla de la segunda y la tercera generación. En el análisis se desarrollan los cambios encontrados en el uso de estas innovaciones sintácticas en relación con el contexto socio-histórico de Belice y se reiteran algunos rasgos de ‘*hacer + V*’ que no coinciden con algunas perspectivas de lo que constituyen los prestamos lingüísticos.

**Palabras claves:** el español en el norte de Belice, bilingüismo, la alternancia de código, cambios lingüísticos, evolución sintáctica, perífrasis verbales bilingües con *hacer*.

## 1. Introduction

In this paper, I explore the linguistic evolution of bilingualism in Northern Belize, specifically by examining the cross-generational use of bilingual light verb constructions (henceforth BLVCs)<sup>1</sup>, otherwise known as ‘do-constructions’ (Myers-Scotton 2002; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2013), ‘bilingual compound verbs’ (Edwards and Gardner-Chloros 2007; Balam, Prada Pérez and Mayans 2014; Vergara Wilson and Dumont 2014) or ‘mixed compound verbs’ (Chan 2008) in the antecedent literature on code-switching (CS)<sup>2</sup>, broadly defined here as the seamless alternation between two or more languages.

As (1) exemplifies, in Spanish/English CS, BLVCs are hybrid syntactic structures where the fully inflected light verb *hacer* ‘do’ co-occurs with an English infinitive verb or past participle form, which provides the semantic content.

- (1) *Supuestamente dicen que él hace own un island*<sup>3</sup>  
 Supposedly say-3PL.PRS that he do-3SG.PRS own an island  
 ‘Supposedly, they say he owns an island.’

Although these constructions have been proposed as a universal property of CS (Edwards and Gardner-Chloros 2007), their low frequency in bilingual corpora has precluded scholars from thoroughly investigating and/or understanding them (e.g. Pfaff 1979, 3 tokens; Toribio, Bullock and Greaser 2012, 12 tokens). These syntactic innovations, however, are a distinctive feature of Spanish/English/Kriol CS in Northern Belize (Balam 2014: 86). In view of this fact, a pertinent ques-

tion that arises is whether these bilingual structures are productively used across different age groups, or whether their incorporation is restricted to a certain age group or generation.

To date, no previous study has examined the cross-generational use of BLVCs in Spanish/English CS. We do get valuable insights, however, from work conducted in other contact situations. For example, in his analysis of 156 BLVCs across three generations of Turkish/Dutch speakers, Backus (1996) examined the cross-generational differences in the use of BLVCs, particularly *vis-à-vis* the occurrence of the Turkish light verb *yap-* ‘do’ with different kinds of complements. Although Backus (1996: 231) observed that “generational differences [were] not striking,” noteworthy was that whereas the first generation used the light verb *yap-* with Turkish nominal elements, the second generation used it particularly with Dutch verbs, a pattern which suggested that BLVCs are not static. Instead, the Turkish/Dutch data indicated that these hybrid constructions undergo developmental progression across generations (Edwards and Gardner-Chloros 2007: 80; also, cf. Muysken 2000).

In light of Backus’ findings, I set out to examine whether (i) there were pronounced cross-generational differences in the frequency of use of BLVCs in the Northern Belize contact situation, and whether (ii) there were differences in the productivity of BLVCs in terms of syntactic verb type and pronoun type across four different age groups. Although previous studies on ‘*hacer + V*’ highlight the productivity of this structure (Balam *et al.* 2014; Vergara Wilson 2013; Vergara Wilson and Dumont 2014), our knowledge of the syntactic incorporation of BLVCs remains limited. In the case of Northern Belize, generally positive attitudes toward bilingual language practices have been found among younger generations (Balam 2013a). Thus, the possibility exists that with a positive predisposition toward CS and higher proficiency in English and Kriol, more prolific use of ‘*hacer + V*’ is to be found among the younger generations but not among older consultants who have more limited proficiency in English and/or Kriol.

## 2. Sociohistorical Background: Spanish in Belize

Arising from one of the most important revolts in 19<sup>th</sup> century Mesoamerica, the Caste War of Yucatan displaced thousands of Yucatec Maya and Mestizos who fled their homeland and settled in what today is Northern Belize. This wave of migration transformed the demographic landscape of modern-day Belize, and served as the impetus for a case of language contact in a linguistic and cultural frontier that for decades was

neglected in Hispanic linguistics. Only recently have the migratory experiences of the Yucatec Maya/Mestizos in Northern Belize (Church *et al.* 2011; Kray *et al.* Submitted) and their language varieties started to receive scholarly attention (Fuller Medina 2005; Balam 2013b; Balam *et al.* 2014).

Historically, the presence of Spanish in Northern Belize became prominent after the 1840's, when the Caste War of Yucatan led to the southward migration of thousands of Yucatec Maya and Mestizos (Church *et al.* 2011; Dobson 1973), who primarily settled in what today constitutes the Northern districts of Corozal and Orange Walk in Belize (see Figure 1). When the Caste War broke out in 1847 (Church *et al.* 2011; Dobson 1973; Hagerty 1996), more than 7,000 refugees fled their native communities, in search of a new home. By 1850, Reed (1964) estimates that more than 10,000 refugees from the Yucatan and Quintana Roo had settled in Northern Belize (cited in Hagerty 1979: 21). At around the same time when Belize was declared the colony of British Honduras in 1862, these refugees had already established communities such as Patchakan and Xaibe in Corozal (Bolland 2003: 114; Koenig 1975: 32), and San José Yalbac and San Estevan in Orange Walk (Bolland 2003; Church *et al.* 2011: 178; Kray *et al.* Submitted).



Figure 1. *The Yucatan Peninsula and Belize*  
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These Yucatec Maya and Mestizos brought with them several aspects of their rich culture. They were primarily *milperos* ‘cultivators’, and subsistence farming was still key to their everyday life. They cultivated sugar, corn, tobacco and other vegetables (Bolland 2003: 114). Upon their arrival, they even practiced bullfighting and cockfighting, but soon abandoned these sports as they were declared as unlawful by the Magistrate in 1865 (Koenig 1975: 43). Other elements of their culture, however, continued into the present. The *mestizada*, for instance, a grand festivity with traditional dances and abundant food for guests, has changed significantly in terms of how it is carried out, but similar celebrations are still practiced in Northern Belize villages.

In terms of language, the focus of the present paper, there have also been notable changes since the arrival of first generation refugees during the 1840’s and thereafter. Within the span of 150 years, there has been a transition from Maya/Spanish bilingualism to Spanish/English bilingualism, Spanish/Kriol bilingualism, and Spanish/English/Kriol trilingualism. From oral histories collected by Church *et al.* (2011) and Kray *et al.* (Submitted), we know that there were different levels of Maya/Spanish bilingualism among second/third generation descendants<sup>4</sup> (see Figure 2), whereas competence in English was limited. In contrast, more recent research on fifth and sixth generation descendants reveal a complete transition into Spanish/English bilingualism and Spanish/English/Kriol trilingualism (Balam 2013a; 2013b).



Figure 2. *Third generation descendants from San José Yalbac*  
Photo by Lázaro Balam

In the study of contact Spanish in Latin America, the case of Belize stands out, as it is the only Central American country where English is the official language. Crucially, although English has official status, it is not used on a quotidian basis in informal contexts. Spanish is the native language of the vast majority in Belize, whereas Belizean Kriol is the language that has important nationalistic value for the Belizean people (Balam 2013a; Ravindranath 2009: 15; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 220). Belize is also the youngest nation in Central America, having obtained its independence in 1981. This gives us the opportunity to study contact Spanish outcomes and language shift in a post-colonial context where bilingual/trilingual CS has evolved alongside creolization.

### 3. 'Hacer + V' in Spanish/English code-switching

To date, BLVCs in Spanish/English CS have only been attested in Belize (Fuller Medina 2005; Balam *et al.* 2014; Balam and Prada Pérez in press) and bilingual communities in the Southwestern U.S. (Jenkins 2003; Reyes 1982; Vergara Wilson 2013; Vergara Wilson and Dumont 2014). In earlier work, BLVCs were generally discussed in descriptive accounts of contact varieties of Spanish (for Belizean Spanish: Hagerty 1996; for Southwest U.S. Spanish: Jenkins 2003; Pfaff 1979; Reyes 1982). Scholarly interest in these innovations, however, has recently shifted to quantitative analyses that seek to better understand the use and incorporation of these constructions in bilingual discourse.

As it relates to Belize, Fuller Medina (2005) investigated whether verb frequency or stativity of the lexical verb constrained the use of BLVCs. Fuller Medina collected data via a picture description task from 21 Spanish/English bilinguals from different parts of Belize. Fuller Medina found that 90% of tokens belonged to the class of dynamic verbs, while only 10% were stative verbs. She also noted that participants markedly produced BLVCs with low frequency lexical verbs rather than high frequency verbs such as *eat*, *drink*, *get up*, etc. Consequently, Fuller Medina interpreted these results as evidence that BLVCs are restricted by stativity and verb frequency.

More recently, however, Balam *et al.* (2014) examined data from an acceptability judgment task and interviews with 38 speakers of Northern Belizean Spanish (NBS) and found that neither stativity nor verb frequency constrain the incorporation of BLVCs in NBS. The quantitative analysis of 553 canonical BLVCs revealed that '*hacer + V*' was in fact productive among verbs that appear more stative-like and

abstract (i.e. stative, psychological, etc.) rather than dynamic. The oral production data also showed that high frequency verbs accounted for 35.9% of the lexical verbs, considerably higher than the percentage reported by Fuller Medina (4.5%). Analysis of the judgment task data also provided compelling evidence that BLVCs are not constrained by stativity or frequency.

In subsequent work, Balam and Prada Pérez (in press) further analyzed the use of 553 BLVCs *vis-à-vis* clause type, syntactic verb type, pronoun type and number of syllables<sup>5</sup>. Crucially, in this analysis, the code-switched data were compared to monolingual data sets in order to understand how the use of BLVCs compared to the use of verbs in monolingual discourse. As it relates to the present study, there were a few salient findings. Across modes, BLVCs occurred with different types of argument structures but were found to be most frequent with transitive, ditransitive and intransitive verbs. For pronoun type, BLVCs occurred most frequently with accusative clitics and most infrequently with passive-*se* and impersonal-*se* forms. Notably, however, the potential similarities and/or differences between BLVCs produced by adolescent versus post-adolescent speakers were not analyzed in this study.

Thus, in an effort to understand the cross-generational use of ‘*hacer + V*’ in Northern Belize, I subsequently examined 1750 BLVCs extracted from interviews with 62 different speakers across four age groups from Northern Belize.

## 4. The Present Study

### 4.1. Research Purpose

The aim of the study was twofold. I examined whether there were marked differences in the frequency of use of ‘*hacer + V*’ across generations. Secondly, I investigated whether there were any generational similarities and/or differences in terms of productivity *vis-à-vis* syntactic verb type and pronoun type in BLVCs.

### 4.2. Participants

A total of 62 native consultants from Orange Walk, Northern Belize were recruited, via purposeful sampling, to participate in the study. Spontaneous, oral production data were collected via 25-50 minute interviews, conducted by the author, a native trilingual from Northern Belize. Following Tagliamonte (2006), in the interviews, participants were asked to elaborate on memorable childhood experiences, past or present school or job experiences, traditions in Northern Belize, food recipes, etc.

Information on participants' linguistic background were also collected via a language background questionnaire. This was used to divide participants according to different generations. Consultants were divided into three main groups, according to the domains of family, work, and education. The first generation (n = 10) comprised the eldest consultants (ages 50 – 99), which included only speakers whose daily conversations were mainly relegated to the home domain. The second generation (n = 27) included speakers (ages 21 – 40) who currently held a full-time job and whose daily interactions primarily took place in the sphere of work. Lastly, the third generation (n = 25) or the younger group (ages 14 – 20) included speakers whose interactions particularly occurred in the school domain, either at the secondary or (associate degree) college level. Although the associate degree group was small (n=7), the distinction between adolescents and post-adolescents was maintained as Balam (2013a) found in previous attitudinal work that there were some significant differences in Northern Belizean adolescents' and post-adolescents' perception of and predisposition toward the use of CS.

In terms of language use, on a Likert scale of 1 – 7 (where 1 indicated 'rarely' and 7 'very often'), the first generation unanimously reported using NBS the most (mean = 7). The second generation reported using NBS (mean = 6.5) and Spanish/English CS (mean = 5.8) the most. In contrast, the post-adolescent group in the third generation reported using Belizean Kriol (mean = 6.4) and Spanish/Kriol CS (mean = 6.0) the most. Lastly, the adolescent group in the third generation reported more frequent use of Spanish/English CS (mean = 6.1) and NBS (mean = 6.0). All age groups unanimously rated their proficiency in their native language the highest, with group means ranging from 5.9 for the second generation to 7.0 for the first generation.

### 4.3. Data

All sentential contexts where '*hacer + V*' occurred were orthographically transcribed for further analysis. Note that given the general paucity of research on BLVCs in Spanish/English CS, I decided to focus on the distributional patterns evinced in the bilingual data only.

A total of 1750 BLVCs were coded according to age group, syntactic verb type and pronoun type. Preliminary categories for linguistic factors were gleaned from previous studies (Balam and Prada Pérez in press; Jenkins 2003; Vergara Wilson 2013), and other categories were added during the analysis, which was guided by the extracted data. For syntactic verb type, tokens were coded using the categories in Table 1. Although there are differences between passives in Spanish (Bruhn de



Garavito and Valenzuela 2008), for the present analysis, I did not distinguish between stative and pseudo-passives. I also did not distinguish BLVCs with control structures where ‘*hacer + V*’ occurred only in the control verb (e.g. *hizo* try to find *el* key ‘she tried to find the key’) versus consecutively in the control verb and its complement infinitival phrase (e.g. *hizo* try *hacer* find *el* key ‘she tried to find the key’).

Category	Example
Transitive	Basically, <i>tienes de sabé cómo pa asé</i> dribble <i>tu</i> ball ‘Basically, you have to know how to dribble your ball.’
Ditransitive	<i>Te hace</i> explain <i>todo</i> , detail by detail. ‘She explains everything to you, detail by detail.’
Intransitive	<b>Noh reeli</b> <i>me gusta asé</i> travel <i>bastante</i> ‘I don’t really like to travel a lot.’
Copulative	<i>Ellos hacen</i> make fun of it ‘They make fun of it.’
Reverse psychological	<i>Todo del past... me hace</i> fascinate ‘Everything about history fascinates me!’
Control	<i>En</i> sixth form, <i>yo hago</i> plan <i>pa cambia en, en</i> , law ‘In junior college, I plan to switch to, um, Law.’
Passive	<i>Los accounts se hacen</i> handle <i>diferente</i> ‘The accounts are handled differently.’
Other	... <i>y me hice</i> graduate May 25. ...and I graduated May 25’

Table 1. *Syntactic verb type categories*

For pronoun type, I coded for the categories in Table 2. I was particularly interested in the type of object pronoun or pronominal form in switched verbal phrases containing ‘*hacer + V*’. To distinguish between the different types of *se*-constructions, I consulted previous syntactic work on these Spanish forms (Alcina and Blecua 1980; Maldonado 2008; Sánchez López 2002, *inter alia*). Lastly, given the study’s focus on syntactic aspects of ‘*hacer + V*’, I did not distinguish between English and Kriol lexical verbs (e.g. **ker** ‘get along’, **kech** ‘to catch’, **sain een** ‘to sign in’, etc.). Pertinent to point out, however, is that the vast majority of lexical verbs were English.

Although BLVCs were attested with 1392 different verb types, I considered all BLVCs as separate occurrences in the quantitative analysis. Given that every case of ‘*hacer + V*’ occurs in possible variation with a Spanish, Kriol or English verb or verbal equivalent, every BLVC evinces the use of the bilingual structure over one of the monolingual

variants. Cases where *hacer* co-occurred with nouns (e.g. lightning) were excluded from the quantitative analysis. There were a few examples, however, of Kriol verbs, which are derived from English nouns (e.g. **teef** 'to steal') that were included. Given that these English-derived nouns already function as verbs in Belizean Kriol, they were included in the analysis. BLVCs where the lexical verb was repeated more than three times for the purpose of emphasis (e.g. *Me paso en mi phone haciendo* text, text, text, text, text... 'I spend time on my cell phone texting, texting, texting, texting...') were only coded once.

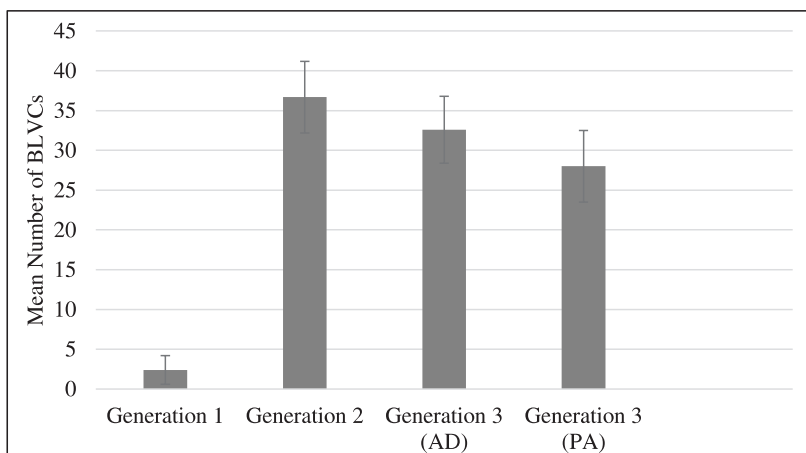
Category	Example
No pronoun	Well, <i>no he hecho</i> learn <i>asé</i> cook <i>nada</i> todavía 'Well, I haven't learnt how to cook anything yet.'
Accusative	I love them, so <i>los hago</i> forgive. 'I love them, so I forgive them.'
Dative	<i>Después le haces</i> add <i>unos</i> tomatoes 'Afterwards, you add some tomatoes (to the soup)'
Reflexive	<i>Y siempre se hacen</i> get <i>en</i> trouble 'And they always get themselves into trouble'
Reciprocal	<i>Estamos far, pero siempre nos hacemos</i> communicate 'We're far from each other, but we still keep in contact.'
Passive	<i>Se hizo</i> recite <i>por un niño de mi</i> class 'It (the poem) was recited by a child from my class.'
Middle	<i>Ella se hizo</i> fluster <i>en el</i> interview 'She got flustered during the interview.'
Double clitic	<i>Ellos te lo hacen</i> serve <i>como quieras</i> They serve it (the food) to you the way you want it.'

Table 2. *Pronoun type categories*

## 5. Results

### 5.1. Cross-generational Use of BLVCs

The data revealed that BLVCs were particularly employed by second and third generation speakers, suggesting that these innovations are more frequently used among bilinguals/trilinguals between the ages of 14 – 40, who have a higher proficiency in English and/or Kriol. Figure 3 illustrates that the production of BLVCs in the first generation (Mean = 2; Range = 0 – 18) is markedly lower than the number of BLVCs attested in the second (Mean = 37; Range = 6 – 124) and third generations (Adolescent Mean: 33, Range: 4 – 67; Post-adolescent Mean: 28, Range: 22 – 54).



\*AD = adolescent, PA = post-adolescent

Figure 3. *Production of BLVCs across three generations*

As Table 3 shows, among speakers of the first generation, only four out of ten speakers employed ‘*hacer + V*’, with 75% of tokens produced by a 56-year-old female consultant who was a retired primary school teacher. BLVCs were not attested in the speech of the eldest consultant in the present corpus, a 99-year-old female speaker. In contrast, among the second and third generations, all consultants used BLVCs in their switched discourse, suggesting that the use of these innovations is clearly more conventionalized among younger speakers.

	Speakers per generation		BLVCs per generation	
	N	%	N	%
1 <sup>st</sup>	4/10	40	24	1.4
2 <sup>nd</sup>	27/27	100	991	56.6
3 <sup>rd</sup> AD	18/18	100	507	29.0
3 <sup>rd</sup> PA	7/7	100	228	13.0
<i>Total</i>	62	100	1750	100

\*AD = adolescent, PA = post-adolescent

Table 3. *Number of BLVCs across three generations*

Importantly, although first generation speakers in this study had varying levels of proficiency in Yucatec Maya, none of them produced

Spanish/Maya BLVCs. Older speakers did report having heard other *Orangewalk* speakers use Spanish/Maya BLVCs (e.g. *hacer* chi-chís 'to sleep'), but these forms were not spontaneously produced in the interviews, suggesting that their use may have been infrequent in Spanish/Maya CS. Alternatively, it may also suggest that the more recent transition into Spanish/English and Spanish/English/Kriol trilingualism in Northern Belize has caused these Spanish/Maya light verb structures to fall into disuse even among older speakers themselves.

Noteworthy is that in terms of overall BLVCs produced, the difference between the first and second generation speakers was very marked. This difference, however, was specifically observed with *hacer* and verb complements. Whereas *hacer* did co-occur with a few English nouns (e.g. *Cuando hacía* lightning... 'When there was lightning'), such BLVCs were not frequent and/or salient. The change in the frequency of '*hacer + V*' observed in the Northern Belize CS data is strikingly abrupt, as the transition from one generation to the next shows a dramatic increase in the use of BLVCs. Although interviews with first generation speakers were generally longer, these speakers nonetheless produced the least BLVCs overall. In the ensuing section, we further explore this cross-generational change, endeavoring to determine whether marked changes in the incorporation of specific syntactic verb types and pronoun types are also attested in the data.

## 5.2. Syntactic verb type

The data revealed that '*hacer + V*' occurred in a wide variety of argument structures, replicating the results in Balam and Prada Pérez (in press). Crucially, whereas BLVCs were attested with seven different syntactic verb types among the younger groups, the eldest generation only produced these hybrid forms with transitive (e.g. *asé* recite *tu* poem 'to recite your poem')<sup>6</sup>, ditransitive (e.g. *le hago* slice *un tomate* 'I slice a tomato for the soup') and intransitive (e.g. *hice* retire 'I retired') lexical verbs. This suggests that it is only among younger speakers that '*hacer + V*' has expanded to other syntactic contexts such as copulatives (e.g. Juliet *hizo* play dead 'Juliet pretended to be dead') and passive forms (*sí, estaba hecho* accepted 'yes, it was accepted').

In terms of relative frequency of syntactic verb type across age groups, Table 4 shows that the most frequent lexical verbs included transitive, ditransitive and intransitive verbs. The same pattern was attested across the three generations (i.e. transitive > intransitive > ditransitive). For less frequent forms, a notable tendency was only attested in the production of passive BLVCs, which were more frequently produced by second generation speakers, who produced both

stative passive (e.g. *estaba hecho* centralized there ‘it was centralized there’) and pseudo-passive BLVCs (e.g. *se hizo* divide ‘it was divided’). It was also notable that for control structures, a switch in the control verb but not in the lexical verb was overall more common in the data (e.g. *hace* try to find solutions ‘he tries to find solutions’). In contrast, the use of ‘double *hacer*’ (e.g. *...que no haga* choose *asé* study business ‘that he/she doesn’t choose to study business’) was more infrequent. There were only four cases of ‘double *hacer*’, two produced by second generation speakers and two by third generation, post-adolescent speakers.

	Gen 1		Gen 2		Gen 3 (AD)		Gen 3 (PA)		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Transitive	12	50.0	529	53.4	250	49.3	121	53.1	912	52.1
Ditransitive	3	12.5	86	8.7	33	6.5	10	4.4	132	7.5
Intransitive	9	37.5	325	32.8	204	40.2	88	38.6	626	35.8
Copulative	0	0.0	15	1.5	5	1.0	3	1.3	23	1.3
Rev-Psych	0	0.0	5	0.5	5	1.0	3	1.3	13	0.7
Control	0	0.0	7	0.7	7	1.4	2	0.9	16	0.9
Passive	0	0.0	24	2.4	3	0.6	1	0.4	28	1.6
Total	24	100	991	100	507	100	228	100	1750	100

\*Rev-Psych = Reverse Psychological Predicates

Table 4. *Syntactic verb type productivity in BLVCs across three generations*

### 5.3. Pronoun Type

Results also revealed that there was a variety of pronouns and pronominal forms in switched verbal phrases containing BLVCs. Notably, the least productivity in terms of pronoun type was observed among the eldest speakers. The production of *se*-forms with reflexive, reciprocal and passive BLVCs was not attested among first generation speakers.

As Table 5 illustrates, the most frequent types of pronoun included direct object pronouns (e.g. *la hago* ignore ‘I ignore her’, *lo hacen* promote ‘they promote it’, *me hacen* encourage ‘they encourage me’) and indirect object pronouns (e.g. *te hacen* ask questions ‘they ask questions to you’, *le hizo* open *el* door ‘She opened the door for him’). On the other hand, the most infrequent pronoun/pronominal forms included reciprocal-*se*, passive, and double clitic forms.

	Gen 1		Gen 2		Gen 3 (AD)		Gen 3 (PA)		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No obj prn	14	58.3	656	566.2	367	72.4	149	65.4	1186	67.8
Accusative	6	25.0	176	17.8	79	15.6	53	23.2	314	17.9
Dative	3	12.5	78	7.9	24	4.7	9	3.9	114	6.5
Reflexive	0	0.0	20	2.0	11	2.2	2	0.9	33	1.9
Reciprocal	0	0.0	6	0.6	5	1.0	1	0.4	12	0.7
Passive	0	0.0	12	0.2	1	0.2	1	1.4	14	0.8
Mid voice	1	4.2	41	4.1	19	3.7	13	5.7	74	4.2
Double cl	0	0.0	2	0.2	1	0.2	0	0.0	3	0.2
Total	24	100	991	100	507	100	228	100	1750	100

\*Mid voice = middle voice, cl = clitic

Table 5. *Pronoun type productivity in BLVCs across three generations*

For the three most frequent pronoun forms, the same distributional pattern was found in three of the four age groups (accusative clitics > dative clitics > middle-*se*). Only in the case of third generation, post-adolescent speakers, the use of *se*-middle voice was more frequent than the use of indirect object pronoun forms in BLVCs. Overall, the data revealed that among younger speakers, the use of object pronouns and pronominal forms was clearly more productive than among first generation consultants.

It is important to point out, however, that Spanish pronominal features are not always incorporated with '*hacer + V*'. In fact, the data shows that at times, BLVCs are structurally more English-like rather than Spanish-like. While some speakers employed the reflexive *se-* for the verb register (e.g. *no puedes hacerte register/no puedes matricularte* 'You cannot register'), other speakers did not, as in (2). The variable use of *se-* was also attested with other verbs such as graduate (i.e. *hice graduate* versus *me hice graduate* 'I graduated'). In the case of (3), the speaker does not incorporate the use of reciprocal *se-* (i.e. *se hacen get along/se llevan bien* 'they get along well'). Balam & Prada Pérez (in press) report a similar phenomenon.

(2) *Voy a ir a asé register en ah mont*  
 Be-FUT go to do-INF register end of month  
 'I will go to register at the end of the month.'

(3) *Pues ellos hacen get along*  
 Well they do-3SG.PRS get along  
 'Well they get along.'

Overall, what stood out was that in their switched discourse, speakers skillfully encode BLVCs with Spanish pronominal features such as reflexivity, as in (4), where the speaker recounts a superstitious story of a woman who transforms herself into a pig. Speakers also encoded BLVCs with middle voice in an effort to emphasize a change in state undergone by an experiencer in a certain event, a pattern that is also attested in monolingual Spanish data (Maldonado 2008). In (5), the speaker indicates a change in her physical state, whereas in (6), there is an emphasis on a change in emotional state. In (7), an inanimate object undergoes a change of state.

(4) ...*que una mujer se hace* turn *un pig*  
 ...that a woman CL do-1SG.PRS turn a pig  
 ‘that a woman turns herself into a pig.’

(5) *Me hice* pass out *en el carro*  
 CL do-1SG.PRET pass out in the car  
 ‘I fainted in the car.’

(6) *Mis parents se hicieron* disappoint  
 My parents CL do-3PL.PRET disappoint  
 ‘My parents became disappointed.’

(7) *El hielo se hizo* crack  
 The ice CL do-3SG.PRET crack  
 ‘The ice cracked.’

Thus, the data showed that the use of Spanish pronouns and pronominal features is clearly more productive and advanced among speakers from younger age groups than among first generation speakers. In the first generation, only one speaker employed middle-*se* with one BLVC. In an effort to further understand the incorporation of pronouns in BLVCs, I subsequently examined the phrasal contexts in which BLVCs were attested in order to better understand their incorporation *vis-à-vis* clitic climbing.

### 5.3.1. Clitic climbing

Clitic climbing (henceforth CC) is a syntactic phenomenon whereby unstressed pronouns move from post-verbal to pre-verbal position (Davies 1995; Davies 1998). In the case of BLVCs, we see that this movement is also possible. In (8), the middle-*se* moves to pre-verbal position. While there is the possibility for it to attach to the verb *haber*

'have' (i.e. enclisis), it moves to pre-verbal position (i.e. proclisis), preceding *debía de* 'should'. Note that CC, however, does not always take place to pre-verbal position. In (9), the direct object pronoun remains in an intermediate position, attached to the light verb *hacer*. Note that given the structural differences between Spanish and English, and the lexical verb's primary function to provide meaning, only *hacer* is syntactically apt to host clitic pronouns.

(8) *Me<sub>i</sub> debía de haber<sub>i</sub> hecho* graduate *orita* en June  
 CL should have do-PASTPART graduate right now in June  
 'I should have graduated right now in June.'

(9) *Ella empieza a hacerlo* prepare...a *las tres de la tarde*  
 She starts to do-INF.DIROBJ prepare...at three o'clock  
 'She starts to prepare it at 3 p.m.'

Endeavoring to further understand the syntactic incorporation of pronouns and pronominal forms in the data, I examined the position of the pronoun and/or pronominal form (N = 563). I coded for cases where the pronoun or pronominal form obligatorily occurred in pre-verbal position, as in (4) to (7). I then coded for CC in pre-verbal position, as in (8), and in intermediate or post-verbal position, as in (9). Table 6 presents the results for clitic climbing patterns in the data.

	Gen 1		Gen 2		Gen 3 (AD)		Gen 3 (PA)		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
pre-verbal, no optional	7	77.8	231	69.0	97	69.3	66	83.5	401	71.2
pre-verbal, optional	1	11.1	70	20.9	34	24.3	10	12.7	115	20.4
pre-verbal	1	11.1	34	10.1	9	6.4	3	3.8	47	8.4
Total	9	100	335	100	140	100	79	100	563	100

Table 6. *Position of pronoun or pronominal form in switched verbal phrase*

Results revealed that pronouns and pronominal forms in obligatory, pre-verbal contexts were more frequent than CC in pre-verbal and intermediate positions. Across all age groups, CC in pre-verbal contexts was more frequent than in post-verbal contexts, a finding that is in line with Davies' (1995, 1998) contention that in the past 200-300 years, there has been a shift to CC in Modern Spanish monolingual varieties. The present findings strongly suggest that this diachronic trend may also extend to bilingual Spanish data. CC in pre-verbal position was



most frequent among third generation speakers, whereas CC is post-*hacer* position was most frequent among second generation speakers. Overall, verbs that particularly favored CC included *ir + a* ‘going to’ (e.g. You know *que siempre los vas a asé* miss ‘You know that you are still going to miss them’), *poder* ‘be able to’ (e.g. *No se pueden asé* concentrate *un* whole hour ‘They cannot concentrate for a whole hour’), *estar + progressive* ‘be + progressive’ (e.g. *Él me ‘taba haciendo* tickle ‘He was tickling me’) and *tener que/de* ‘have to’ (e.g. *En Infant, los tienes de asé* mold ‘At the Infant level, you have to mold them’).

## 6. Discussion

The present paper is the first of its kind to analyze a large number of BLVCs from naturalistic speech. It is also the first to provide a cross-generational analysis of syntactic verb type and pronoun type in an effort to further understand the syntactic incorporation of BLVCs in Spanish/English/Kriol CS. Overall, results revealed that the use of BLVCs is not restricted to certain generations. Striking differences were attested, however, in the way ‘*hacer + V*’ is used by the eldest and younger generations, suggesting that bilingual proficiency is a contributing factor in the use of BLVCs in this community. First and foremost, whereas the first generation employed BLVCs only with transitive, ditransitive and intransitive lexical verbs, in the younger generations, there is a drastic increase in the use of these three forms. There is also an expansion of ‘*hacer + V*’ to other syntactic contexts. In the case of pronoun type, the first generation primarily employed direct and indirect object pronouns with ‘*hacer + V*’. In the younger generations, however, there is a marked increase in the use of BLVCs with accusative and dative clitics, accompanied by an expansion to other pronominal forms. Thus, in the Northern Belize context, the cross-generational development of ‘*hacer + V*’ is evinced in a remarkable increase in the frequency of use of BLVCs and an expansion to novel syntactic contexts. In the ensuing sections, I discuss the implications of these findings.

### 6.1. Social factors and the evolution of ‘*hacer + V*’

What is interesting about the evolution of ‘*hacer + V*’ is that we cannot attribute its developmental progression to changes in exposure to and increased proficiency in English *tout court*. While an increase in English proficiency due to easier access to education in recent decades is clearly a contributing factor, the drastic increase in the use of BLVCs is also related to other concomitant social factors. Noteworthy is that although intense Spanish/English contact in New Mexico has been present for a longer

period of time, '*hacer + V*' has become more productive in the Northern Belize context (for relevant discussion, see Balam 2014). In New Mexico, '*hacer + V*' has only been attested with transitive, intransitive and reflexive verbs (Vergara Wilson 2013: 130). To date, however, no previous study on Spanish/English CS in the U.S. has reported '*hacer + V*' with passives and control structures. To my knowledge as well, no previous study has documented a drastic generational increase in the use of verbal innovations in a U.S. Spanish/English bilingual community.

Thus, there is 'something' that has caused Spanish/English/Kriol BLVCs to become highly productive in Northern Belize in a matter of four to five decades. I argue that this 'something' is a confluence of social factors which has created the right conditions for '*hacer + V*' to rapidly evolve in terms of frequency and productivity across generations. First and foremost, speakers in this context generally have a positive predisposition to CS (Balam 2013a). Importantly, in the younger generations, bilingual language practices constitute a vital marker of Northern Belize Mayan/Mestizo identity (Balam 2013a). In Belize, what distinguishes 'Belizean' Mestizos is their skillful ability to seamlessly switch between their different language varieties in everyday discourse, a practice generally not employed by Central American immigrants who speak monolingual varieties of Central American Spanish. Thus, CS serves the crucial function of allowing Northern Belize code-switchers to 'project' their national identity (in the sense of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) and to differentiate themselves from Central American Mestizos. In post-colonial societies, we know that linguistic varieties can often serve as symbols of emerging regional identities (for relevant discussion, see Siegel 2005: 151).

It is crucial to highlight that given the fact that Belize attained its independence more recently than other Central American countries, the search for a national identity still takes precedence among Belizeans. The younger generations' self-identification is in line with this view. When asked in the language background questionnaire to write down the different ways in which they identified themselves (Latino, Hispanic, Belizean, Mestizo, Mayan/Mestizo, Creole, Orangelwalkeño, Central American, Other), 65% of the younger participants (N = 34) concurred that the label 'Belizean' best identifies who they are. This was followed by 27% of speakers who gave the most importance to their 'Mestizo' (N = 12) or 'Mayan-Mestizo' (N = 2) identities. Only two speakers chose 'Hispanic', one chose 'Latino', and one chose 'Orangelwalkeño' as the label that best identifies who they are. Thus, this suggests that for the consultants in the present sample, their national and ethnic identities are symbolic and important to them, whereas labels used in the U.S. Hispanophone context such as *Latino* are not.

Low levels of linguistic prescriptivism at a societal level also allowed these innovations to thrive (Balam 2014). We know that high levels of purism “hinder extensive and intimate code-switching practices” (Muysken 2013: 714), whereas low levels of purism create the healthiest environment for CS to be exploited as a linguistic and sociocultural resource. In the interviews, the eldest consultants commented that their parents did not ban nor discourage CS. Given that their own parents and/or grandparents were Maya/Spanish bilinguals, who regularly switched, this hybrid language practice was simply a norm, not a linguistic aberration to look down upon or overtly discourage. The use of Maya/Spanish CS was attested in the oral histories provided by second/third generation descendants (Kray *et al.* Submitted).

Thus, when the Yucatec Maya and Mestizo refugees settled in Northern Belize in the 1840’s and thereafter, they also brought with them their bilingual language practices. If linguistic prescriptivism was low and CS had some form of covert prestige or acceptance amongst former generations, this would partly explain why among younger generations, BLVCs rapidly gained “currency” (in the sense of DeGraff 2009). Furthermore, once bilingual language practices acquired an identity function among this tight-knit community of code-switchers, the use of ‘*hacer + V*’ became highly productive and prevalent among speakers; hence, allowing them to fully exploit this structure in switched discourse. I concur with Myers-Scotton and Jake (2013) that BLVCs may be cross-linguistically attested in different CS varieties because the incorporation of nonfinite verbs carries less psycholinguistic cost than finite verbs in CS production (for relevant discussion, cf. Vergara Wilson and Dumont 2014). My view, however, is that social factors ultimately determine the prevalence and evolutionary path of BLVCs.

## 6.2. BLVCs as illustrative of code-switching with features of creolization

The data from the present study do not support the notion that ‘*hacer + V*’ is illustrative of a ‘nonce borrowing’ strategy. The Nonce Borrowing Hypothesis (Poplack 2012; Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan 1990) holds that if lone other-language items are nonce borrowings, then they should pattern with the equivalent structure in the recipient language and not the donor language. BLVCs cannot be classified as nonce borrowings, however, if the recipient language lacks a structural equivalent. Note that in certain contact situations, a light verb construction template is available to speakers in one of their monolingual grammars (e.g. monolingual Persian in Persian/English CS: Moinszadeh 1999). This, howev-

er, is not the case of Spanish in Spanish/English CS. Particularly in the case of 'double *hacer*' (e.g. *no he hecho* learn *asé* cook *nada*), there is no equivalent structure in Spanish (i.e. \**no he hecho aprender hacer cocinar nada*) and English (i.e. \*I have not did learn do cook anything). Hence, this structure could not have been incorporated as a 'nonce borrowing'. This reveals that code-switchers are able to employ linguistic creativity in an effort to create novel switch sites that were previously unattested among older generations.

Furthermore, the data showed that it is not the case that Spanish morphosyntactic structure is strictly followed in BLVCs. With certain intransitive English verbs such as *graduate*, *register*, and *give up* and transitive verbs such as *focus on*, Spanish pronominal features are optionally incorporated in BLVCs (see Section 5.3; for relevant discussion, also see Balam and Prada Pérez in press), suggesting that the Spanish pronominal features of lexical verb equivalents (e.g. *darse por vencido* 'give up', *enfocarse* 'focus on') are not always employed.

A similar phenomenon noteworthy of mentioning is the case of a *personal* 'accusative *a*', which is used in Spanish to indicate animacy of the direct object (e.g. *Él llamó a María* 'He called Mary'). Whereas the maintenance of '*a personal*' is attested in switched verbal phrases containing BLVCs (e.g. *asé* educate *a la gente* 'educate the people; *está haciendo* replace *a un* teacher 'she is replacing a teacher'), this is clearly not always the case (e.g. *hicieron* fire *la muchacha* 'they fired the girl', *puedes asé* identify the person 'you can identify the person', girls *están haciendo* ask out boys 'girls are asking boys out', etc.). The latter exemplars clearly show that '*a personal*' is not always used to indicate the animacy of the direct object, a pattern not congruent with normative Spanish morphosyntax. There were also cases where null subjects – a distinctive feature of pro-drop languages – occurred alongside the absence of '*a personal*' (e.g. *y Ø pienso que Ø debes de asé* choose *tu esposo* very wisely 'and I think you should choose your husband very wisely), attesting to the hybrid elements of these structures, which we cannot easily attribute to one component language or the other.

Additionally, there were many cases where the English verb that was incorporated had no semantic and/or structural equivalent in Spanish (e.g. *hacemos* get *el* point 'we understand'; *hace* face *bastante* hardships 'he faces many hardships'; *lo hacen pa asé* show off 'they do it to show off'; really *te hace* hit 'It really has a strong effect on you', *asé* take down *tus* own notes 'to take down your own notes', *hacemos* run jokes 'we share jokes'; *hacíamos* date 'we used to date', *se hacen* slip off 'they lose focus', certain things *hacen* slide 'certain things are allowed', *el chico le hizo* sell out *al hombre* 'the guy betrayed the man', etc.). Importantly, due to their idiomatic quality, many of these BLVCs

would be unintelligible to monolingual Spanish speakers or L1 Spanish-speaking learners of English with low levels of proficiency in English.

In previous work, several researchers have pointed out that one of the characteristics of borrowing is that speakers need not be proficient in the donor language. In fact, it has been contended that borrowing can be attested even among monolingual speakers who lack knowledge of the donor language (Lipski 2005: 13). In the case of BLVCs among skilled code-switchers, the opposite is true. For both production and comprehension, a certain level of bilingual proficiency seems to be required. The use of BLVCs is clearly more complex and sophisticated than previously thought. In (10), for instance, the speaker is subconsciously aware that the Spanish verb *gustar* cannot occur in a BLVC (\**no me hago* like cats). Thus, Northern Belize code-switchers do not just randomly incorporate verbal equivalents and/or pronominal features into BLVCs. There are underlying principles guiding the skillful incorporation of these innovations, which warrants further research.

- (10) ...*y* cats, *hago* dislike cats. *No me gustan*.  
 ...and cats do-1SG.PRS dislike cats. Not CL-IND like  
 ‘...and cats, I dislike cats. I don’t like them.’

Relevant to the foregoing discussion is that while I did not conduct a fine-grained analysis of adolescent speakers, there seemed to be a clear difference between freshman high school students versus junior and senior high school consultants. Whereas some of the participants in the former group produced less than 15 BLVCs, none of the members in the latter group did, suggesting that it is during high school that the use of BLVCs undergoes a drastic increase among certain bilingual/trilingual speakers. This is not surprising given that it is during this time that students, particularly those from rural areas, begin to gain higher proficiency in English. During this time, many adolescent Mestizos start learning Belizean Kriol as well (Balam 2013b). Note that in rural areas, although English is the official language of instruction, it is not used outside of the classroom. Thus, an increase in the use of BLVCs in high school may be reflective not only of speakers’ alignment with more general community language practices (i.e. the unmarked use of CS), but also of changes in students’ English and bilingual proficiencies. Findings reveal that only at higher levels of bilingual proficiency do speakers employ more innovative forms of ‘*hacer* + V’ (i.e. ‘double *hacer*’, passive BLVCs). Thus, while it has been posited in previous sociolinguistic work that innovations first appear in adolescent speech (Eckert 1997; Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002), results from this study suggest that innovative syntactic forms with ‘*hacer* + V’ first appear among

highly proficient post-adolescent and adult code-switchers rather than among adolescents.

The use of BLVCs in academic contexts warrants further investigation, especially as in the present sample, BLVCs were used by all second generation participants who were elementary and/or high school teachers (N = 17, 51% of second generation), the majority of whom were professionally trained. Notably, among first generation consultants, the speaker who produced 75% of BLVCs (N = 18) was a retired elementary school teacher. Thus, these results suggest that bilingual language practices are not marginalized from classroom instruction, and this may also contribute to the prevalence of '*hacer + V*' in Northern Belize.

Overall, the CS data from Northern Belize shows that speakers exploit not only resources from their linguistic systems, but they actually tap into more universal principles/processes available to them (for relevant discussion, cf. González-Vilbazo and López 2011: 846). Previous work has suggested that BLVCs show features of creolization<sup>7</sup> (Pfaff 1979; Edwards & Gardner-Chloros 2007; Balam *et al.* 2014). We must bear in mind that creolization is a process of linguistic creativity (Siegel 2005: 149; Baker 2000) where there is the creation and re-creation of novel productive morphosyntactic structures (DeGraff 2009) across generations (cf. Arends 1993; Mufwene 1999). Given that BLVCs have been cross-linguistically attested in Creole, monolingual and bilingual/multilingual contexts, this light verb strategy could well be a language universal, which can further inform our current understanding of speaker agency and linguistic creativity. In general, however, mainstream studies on CS have focused on differentiating CS from borrowing, whereas creolization and convergence as instantiations of contact, have been given less attention in the extant literature. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 188) remind us that “languages do not do things; people do things. Languages are abstractions from what people do”. Thus, the agency and innate ability of multilingual speakers to recreate language or linguistic structures must be given greater attention in the CS literature.

Only time will tell whether *hacer* will continue evolving in Belize. The fully grammaticalized status of *hacer* is evidenced in the fact that it occurs even with the lexical verbs 'make' and 'do'. Interestingly, *hacer* has a phonological variant. There were a few cases of *hicía* (e.g. *hicíamos* raffle *el* cake 'we use to raffle the cake'). It remains unclear whether such forms are more common among certain sub-groups of Northern Belize bilinguals/trilinguals.

## 7. Conclusion

Findings from the present study revealed that within the last 40 – 50 years, BLVCs have undergone a notable expansion in the frequency and syntactic contexts in which ‘*hacer + V*’ occurs in Northern Belize bilingual/trilingual CS. This study makes a notable contribution to the understanding of the cross-generational use of these syntactic innovations in situations of migrant bilingualism, intense language contact and language shift. In ongoing work, I am analyzing the use of BLVCs in relation to the use of monolingual verbs in monolingual stretches of Spanish, English and Kriol discourse. This analysis will yield further nuances as to the similarities and differences in the way, for example, Spanish features (e.g. clitics and ‘*a personal*’) are employed in stretches of monolingual Spanish versus bilingual discourse. Given the frequent use of BLVCs by participants who were professionally-trained teachers, future work could examine the use of BLVCs in classroom discourse, as it is imperative to further learn if and how ‘*hacer + V*’ is used in academic domains. The data from the present study suggest that in the Northern Belize context, multilingualism is the norm and as such CS is not excluded from classroom contexts. This calls for the examination of teachers’ translanguaging (García 2009), or bilingual language practices, and a closer understanding of how translanguaging is used in this context not only as an important ‘social and cultural practice’ (Pennycook 2010) but as a useful pedagogical resource in multilingual classrooms.

Osmer Balam  
Department of Spanish and Portuguese  
University of Florida  
32611 – Gainesville, FL – U.S.  
obalam@ufl.edu

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The term ‘bilingual compound verb’ may be misleading to some scholars, as it has been argued in the syntactic literature that these bilingual structures behave as non-compounds (for relevant discussion on Japanese/English and Korean/English CS, cf. Shim 2013: 95-96).
- <sup>2</sup> I subscribe to Gardner-Chloros’ (2009:31) view that loans and switches occur on a continuum. Loans begin their historical trajectory as spontaneous switches which then have the potential to generalize among speakers of the borrowing language. In the contact literature, several researchers reject the notion of a clear distinction between borrowings and CS (Myers-Scotton 2002; Treffers-Daller 1994). Thus, in Gardner-Chloros’ conceptualization of CS, there is the possibility that some cases of ‘*hacer + V*’

are instantiations of borrowing, but not as envisioned by Poplack and colleagues (i.e. nonce borrowing, see Section 6.2).

- <sup>3</sup> Key to glosses: 1SG, 2SG, 3SG = 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular; 1PL, 2PL, 3PL = 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural; CL = clitic; DIROBJ = direct object; FUT = future; IND = indicative; PRET = preterite; PASTPART = past participle; PRS = present; REFL = reflexive verb. English items are in normal font. Spanish items are italicized, whereas Kriol items are emboldened.
- <sup>4</sup> By second/third generation speakers, I refer to the descendants of the original Yucatec Maya/Mestizo refugees. In the present sample, only the eldest speaker is a second generation descendant, while the remaining nine older speakers are third/fourth generation descendants. Thus, diachronically, the first generation speakers in the present study are mostly third/fourth generation descendants, whereas the younger consultants are mostly fifth or sixth generation descendants.
- <sup>5</sup> The examination of these factors was conducted on the same oral production data analyzed in Balam *et al.* (2014).
- <sup>6</sup> In the Northern Belize context, the infinitive light verb *hacer* is typically pronounced as 'asé' (Balam *et al.* 2014: 260). In social networking sites such as Facebook, some speakers employ this spelling (e.g. 'Ta *asiendo* pose 'He is posing!')
- <sup>7</sup> Following DeGraff (2009: 890), I do not subscribe to exceptionalist views of Creole formation (i.e. Creoles can be distinguished based on a set of linguistic-theoretical criteria). I take creolization simply as 'another instance of language change' which sheds light on our current understanding of Universal Grammar.

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