

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN CHILDREN'S ANIMATED TV SHOWS

by

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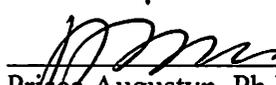
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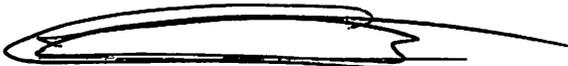
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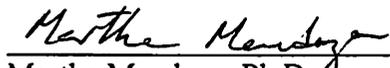
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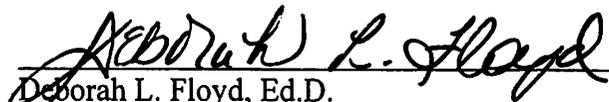

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ABSTRACT

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This study aims to analyze three popular U.S. children's TV shows – Dora the Explorer (Nickelodeon), Maya & Miguel (PBS) and Handy Manny (Disney Channel) – in terms of their incorporation of Spanish. Qualitative and quantitative measures were used to assess the frequency and types of codeswitching both in the context of bilingualism and language pedagogy. The study revealed different strategies of language choice and socio-cultural objectives for each show. A close analysis of language choice in the three children's TV programs revealed distinct approaches to TV writing in the name of raising awareness of ethnic diversity, developing cultural literacy, and brand marketing.

DEDICATION

The thesis is dedicated to my parents, Wolf und Sigrid Golitschek Edler von Elbwart, for their endless support and belief in me, their love and encouragement in good and bad times. Thank you for being wonderful parents.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Language, regarded in its real nature, is an enduring thing, and at every moment a transitory one. Even its maintenance by writing is always just an incomplete, mummy-like preservation, only needed again in attempting thereby to picture the living utterance. In itself it is no product (*Ergon*), but an activity (*Energeia*). Its true definition can therefore only be a genetic one. For it is the ever-present mental labour of making the articulated sound capable of expressing thought (Humboldt 1836).

The Humboldtian definition of language as an activity, an *Energeia*, coined in the 19th century, still stands ground against former perspectives on language as a closed fabric which does not interrelate with any other linguistic system. Characteristics of *Energeia* imply an ongoing change pointing at a language that is not a fixed and completed system, thus not an *Ergon* but a language which appears rather as producing mental labor done by human beings. Humboldt (1836) views language as an activity to express thought by producing sounds (p. 49). The antagonism of *enduring* and *transitory* indicates how difficult the concept of language is to grasp and might as well point at the difference between written, enduring, and oral speech, which is transitory (ibid.). Consequently, language is an ever-changing system which appears to be elusive in its oral form.

Indeed, language can rarely be regarded as a completed and fixed system in itself when looking at contact zones¹ and the mutual exchange of two or more languages or linguistic varieties². Within the framework of contact linguistics, various forms of contact emerge which influence each other to varying degrees. Consequently, linguistic varieties are hardly fixed and completed entities but always in constant change. Moreover, linguistic phenomena of borrowings, loans, and codeswitching occur at the micro-level and influence languages by making use of lexical, morphological, syntactical, and grammatical items.

As well as linguistic varieties cannot be regarded as fixed and isolated systems, so do cultures interact and intermingle during periods of continuing contact. According to Appel and Muysken (1987), bilingual and multilingual communities display at least two particular exchange situations. First, there is trading through language which may result in various new linguistic forms. Second, there is also a cultural exchange brought along with bilingual speech. This cultural contact is not only closely related to the linguistic dimension, but additionally reflects the very distinct lifestyles of each speech community. Here, Grosjean (1982) defines culture as a mirror of the community “including its rules of behavior; its economic, social, and political systems; its language; its religious beliefs; it’s laws [...] culture is acquired, socially transmitted, and communicated in large part by language” (p. 157). Again, the interplay between language and culture plays a crucial role in describing bilingual speech situations. In the same way linguistic competence needs to

¹ According to Pratt (1991) contact zones are areas in which two or more cultures clash and intermingle.

² Variety or speech variety will be used as a cover term and may refer to differences in accent, dialect, and language as well as it includes the standard variety itself (Meechan & Rees-Miller, 2005, p. 486).

be acquired, (inter)cultural competence is essential for effectively communicating with people of different cultures (Byram 1997; Kramsch 1993; 2001).

In the North American context, however, the government hardly saw a need for legislation to regulate language use, its standard policy was to have *no policy* on language (Crawford, 2000). However, with growing population of some immigrant groups, various conflicts evolved which led to policies promoting English as the official language of the U.S. Consequently, each state individually implemented language policies. According to recent U.S. census figures, English is the most commonly used language followed by Spanish and other European languages as the main immigrant languages (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010, p. 2). In a multilingual and multicultural country such as the United States of America, linguistic needs of the various groups are constantly challenged since language brings along the speakers' cultural and social identity. Thus, it is vital for its speakers to maintain the language associated with its linguistic and cultural identity.

The promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity is also taken up by the U.S.-American mass media which has started to launch various television programs reflecting America's cultural and linguistic diversity. Examples include *The Exes* (TV Land), *Community* (NBC), *Parks and Recreation* (NBC), and *Person of Interest* (CBS) with actors of diverse immigrant backgrounds in either main or supporting roles. Furthermore, Hispanic³ television networks, e.g., Univision, Telemundo, and MundoFox, have launched their successful *telenovelas* (e.g. *Recadora*, *El Talisman*, and *Eva Luna*) in the

³ Both Latino and Hispanic Americans refer to ethnic groups with origins in Latin America. Even though both terms differ with regard to the specific ethnic origin, they may be used interchangeably throughout the course of the study.

U.S., which were also adapted into English. While American TV programs have been on the decline, telenovelas have found a way to keep the number of viewers high (ABC News, 2013). A constant merging of the cultures and languages is apparent since Hispanic characters as well as aspects related to Hispanic culture seem to be appearing on many programs.

Within this context, the role of multimedia in general and television in particular, has to be taken seriously nowadays since it can be a constant presence in many people's lives. Especially the youngest viewers seem to enjoy the various programs on TV. Polls illustrate that children aged 2-18 watch over 19 hours per week (Kaiser Foundation, 1999) and the trend continues upward. Therefore, new children's animated shows have emerged throughout the last decade. Among these are various shows which deal with the increased presence of Spanish and Hispanic culture in the media by introducing bilingual Latino/a characters through fictional discourse. While *Dora the Explorer* (Nickelodeon) is the most popular show (first aired in 2000, season 7 just ended in February 2013), *Maya & Miguel* (PBS), *Dragon Tales* (PBS) and *Go, Diego, Go!* (Nickelodeon), a *Dora the Explorer* spin-off, have been broadcasted for several years, but new episodes are no longer produced. Currently, *Handy Manny* (Disney Channel) and his tools work their way into children's lives by operating a repair shop where they offer their handy services. These series are not a mere reflection of an increasing demand for Hispanic culture on TV, but might further evoke certain (mis)conceptions about Hispanics and what is meant to be Hispanic among both U.S.-Americans and Hispanics.

By analyzing these television shows it becomes evident that language along with cultural items plays a crucial role in creating the setting of the program. The Hispanic characters switch between the English and Spanish language throughout every episode while English remains the matrix and Spanish functions as the embedded language (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 6). Codeswitching, the alternation of two or more languages or linguistic varieties within a conversation (Auer 1998; Romaine 1995; Heller 1988), serves multiple purposes as a communicative function among bilinguals. According to Bullock and Toribio (2009, p. 99), codeswitching, hereafter CS, occurs whenever minority language groups come into close contact with majority groups, as may be seen in the United States where Spanish is the language of the minority and English belongs to the dominant group regardless of areas in which Spanish may be lingua franca (e.g. ‘Cuban Miami’).

The study at hand aims to analyze three popular U.S. children’s TV shows – *Dora the Explorer* (Nickelodeon), *Maya & Miguel* (PBS) and *Handy Manny* (Disney Channel) – in terms of their incorporation of different linguistic systems and how languages are alternated. In the following, I will argue that all three shows implement a different concept of how to approach Hispanic culture in mainstream television. The idea of Hispanic culture is then portrayed by frequent or infrequent bilingual discourse in the series. Whereas *Dora the Explorer* maintains a rather static view on categories like race and ethnicity, the series *Maya & Miguel* makes use of very fluid concepts toward cultural differences as illustrated by the frequent switches. On a continuum, *Handy Manny* may be assigned an in-between position between the former series in terms of an incorporation

of bilingual discourse. By looking at language choice in children's TV shows, it will be shown that there is a huge discrepancy between TV writing in the name of ethnic diversity on the one hand and TV production in the name of product selling on the other.

When talking about language alternation and CS in particular, theories on bilingual discourse need to be taken into consideration. To begin with, CS needs to be specified and defined for the purpose of this study. Secondly, different approaches to CS from a sociolinguistic perspective will be discussed since language behavior and language use are related to the speaker's (social) identity and characteristics ((Bullock & Almeida, 2009, p. 98). However, scripted discourse in bilingual children's programming cannot exclusively be analyzed from a sociolinguistic perspective since animated TV shows do not provide natural speech settings. Thus, strategies for language use within the framework of second language acquisition will be applied to each show as well. Within the scope of this paper three selected TV series will finally be analyzed for language choices and codeswitches in particular.

Additionally, motivations on the part of the TV productions will be considered since animated television displays scripted language which has been voluntarily implemented in these shows. Unlike in natural settings, dialogues in animated TV series are written in advance and free from interruptions, such as interjections, for example. While speech on TV is usually adjusted and standardized, it can further be analyzed in terms of its content. It needs to be questioned why television producers are interested in bilingual series and how the characters in the show reflect their interests linguistically. This may then reveal further implications on an economic, political and cultural level.

It is important to note that specifically current children's animated television shows seem to reflect American and Hispanic culture by incorporating linguistic phenomena of both cultures throughout the shows. Since bilinguals often switch to convey something beyond the superficial meaning (Gardner-Chloros, 2011, p. 4), the deeper meaning needs to be analyzed. With regard to scripted dialogues in animated children's programming, it is crucial to examine to which linguistic features children are exposed. Producers of these shows deliberately write dialogues the way they are shown on TV and convey their very own values and norms. Furthermore, possible changes within a community are best illustrated and reflected by changes in linguistic behavior.

2. STUDIES INVESTIGATING LANGUAGE CHOICE IN CHILDREN'S TV SHOWS

While the majority of studies attends to the (stereotypical) portrayal and associated misbeliefs about Hispanics, and Latinas in particular (Valdivia 2005; Chavéz-Silverman 1997), few researchers have focused their attention on linguistic phenomena occurring in Hispanic TV shows broadcasted in the U.S.

There are, however, several studies (De Casanova 2007; Gregori-Signes & Alcantud-Díaz 2012; Specker 2008) focusing on the use of Spanish in children's animated television programs.

The bottom line seems to be that Spanish in mainstream media serves an important function - one of them being the construction of ethnicity - and conveys certain images about the Hispanic culture.

Even though there has been research on CS in children's animated television shows, little attention has been paid to the different types of CS (e.g. inter- and intra-sentential switches) and to what extent they may help negotiating and conveying a specific image about Hispanics. In addition, language use strategies, such as repetition or translation, in children's media have not been linked to cultural representations on TV.

The three TV shows *Dora the Explorer*, *Maya & Miguel*, and *Handy Manny* have different approaches toward the Hispanic culture and make use of either more stable or very fluid concepts of ethnicity.

In her study, de Casanova (2007) tries to establish a clear link between the Spanish language and the construction of Latino ethnicity in *Dora the Explorer*, *Dragon Tales*, and *Maya & Miguel* by looking at the Spanish dialogue in general. Contrary, Specker (2008) examines the use of bilingual discourse markers as a tool for mediated learning in *Maya & Miguel*. De Casanova found that even though there are various ways of drawing attention to the relationship between Latino identity and Spanish, the majority incorporates the recurring image of what she calls the ‘generic Latino’, a visual and homogeneous representation of all Latinos regardless of origin (2007: 458). In addition, she argues that all three television programs make use of a different approach toward Latino ethnicity even though the characters and their ethnic identity are not specified by the particular language use (ibid., p. 473). Specker (2008), on the other hand, focuses her analysis on discourse markers in CS, such as the interjections *eh* and *ay*, as a salient instrument of identity (p. 112). Her results illustrate that, while other TV shows may lack a positive association with heterogeneity, *Maya & Miguel* celebrates linguistic diversity and multilingualism inasmuch as CS functions as an indicator for shared knowledge (ibid., p. 118).

Research on current children’s television shows was furthermore done by Gregori-Signes and Alcantud-Díaz (2012) who were interested in the didactic impact on teaching and learning English of the animated program *Handy Manny* when Spanish is

the L1. Within their study, Gregori-Signes and Alcantud-Díaz focus on the use of formulas or formulaic appraisals as a supporting tool in learning the target language (p. 62). Since the researchers looked at the Spanish version of *Handy Manny* (*Manny Manitas*), the potential of the series as a tool for teaching English in a context, where Spanish is the L1, was also investigated. They found that Handy Manny included a great number of L2 target words. Among these, the researches basically established formulaic expressions, such as greetings or apologies. They concluded that this exposure helps children to gain pragmatic competence in the target language. Most of the linguistic structures were presented either through codeswitching or translation from the L1.

This research will expand upon former studies dealing with language choices, and especially CS instances, in children's animated television shows. Furthermore, the portrayal of Hispanic cultures and a possible educational impact of the series are examined as well.

Current as well as older TV shows will be quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed for the different CS types and subsequently compared to see how they are set up and to what extent they claim to be of educational value for their viewers.

3. BILINGUALISM AND CODESWITCHING

The following chapter is dedicated to a thorough definition of bilingual phenomena and CS instances in particular. Whereas language alternation may be seen as an umbrella term for the use of more than one language within a conversation, CS concerns the “contextualization of communication” (Nilep, 2010, p. 1). The distinction between both concepts implies a clear definition of CS which includes its different types as well as setting the boundaries of CS. Contrasting CS from language alternation is then the next step toward an approach to language choices. Furthermore, the motivation on the side of the speaker and its functions on the side of the receiver need to be considered as well. Since various approaches toward language alternation and CS exist, I chose to focus on selected theories which seem to be relevant for the study.

3.1 LANGUAGE CONTACT IN THE UNITED STATES

Language contact in its broadest sense appears whenever two or more languages or linguistic varieties come together and “speakers of one language [interact with] speakers of another language or dialect” (O’Grady & Archibald, 2005, p. 641)

Contact phenomena among linguistic varieties may occur between two dialects of a single language as well as between two distinct languages and “include everything from the borrowing of words for concepts and objects new to the borrowing community [...] to changes in the morphosyntactic system of one of the languages” (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 4). Moreover, the mutual exchange between two languages, which will be the focus of this paper, simply requires some sort of contact between speakers of two languages. However, language contact is not dependent on full bi- or multilingualism (Thomason, 2001). In fact, alternation is regarded as a skillful tool which implies an overlap of two or more linguistic grammatical sections while at the same time these grammars are never violated (Wei, 2007). But when can we talk about a bilingual speaker who is able to effortlessly alter between the languages? Is there an ideal speaker-listener in bilingual contexts? There have been various attempts to grasp the concept of bilingualism by describing it in terms of categories. Most of these classifications aim at clear dichotomies, such as fully or partial bilingual, subtractive or additive bilingualism (Romaine, 1995, p. 11). However, these approaches fail to account for bilingual speakers who are in-between these two turning points; e.g. a speaker who is not fully bilingual, but at the same time has a passive, receptive command of another language. The minimalist definition of bilingualism includes some type of contact between two languages (Diebold,

1964). Following this definition, almost everyone, who is able to utter a few sentences in another language, can be considered bilingual. Since the degree of proficiency tends to play a crucial role in determining bilingualism, Mackey (1968) suggests to consider it simply as the alternate use of two languages (p. 555). As I will show throughout the paper, this definition of bilingualism goes hand in hand with approaches toward language alternation. Instead of following static categories, bilingualism is recently explained along a continuum so that it fits a variety of individual situations (cf. Grosjean, 2001). It thus defines bilinguals as “individuals or groups of people that result from interactions via language in which two or more linguistic codes (including dialects) are used for communication” (Butler & Hakuta 2006, p. 114). While bilingualism in individuals may also be called *bilinguality*, societal bilingualism refers to bilingual speech communities as a whole. In this paper, I focus on bilingualism in speech communities, since the focus of this paper is to analyze language choices in bilingual television shows. Therefore, the degree of bilingualism and the proficiency in the two languages at play do not need to be assessed.

However, there has been the issue of English as a monolithic language all over the world, which is the same in every country where the language is spoken. Since Indian English varies from British English, which again shows differences to American English, the concept of an ‘ideal English’ has to be abandoned (Field, 2011, p. 9). This view, however, has led to a conception of language in which it is regarded as a closed fabric, inviolable by extraneous influences. As we see later, CS in particular is faced with prejudices which are then attributed to the speakers. The old-fashioned conception of

language as a closed system may be one reason, why language alternation and CS still tend to be stigmatized and attached with negative reactions.

Nevertheless, processes of change have affected the English language and immigrant languages continue to influence English. In the United States it is de facto the national language of the country even though several varieties have evolved through linguistic contact (ibid.). Especially in the borderlands of the United States and Mexico and in metropolitan areas like Los Angeles have bilingual communities resulted from political and economic powers, huge immigration waves, and the inhabitation of previously owned land.

Even though English is the national language of the United States, many immigrant groups have brought their own language to the country. With growing dominance of these groups, they have been able to retain their linguistic needs in smaller communities within the broader American society. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, English is spoken by 80.2%, whereas Spanish is already spoken by 12.3% of the population (U.S. Census, 2010) and thus outnumbers all other minority languages such as Chinese or French. According to the census data, 19.7% claimed to speak another language than English at home (ibid.). Since less than 1.6% of the total American population stated that they are not able to speak English, it can be assumed that the majority of the 19.7% is bilingual. Although Spanish is on the rise, English remains the dominant, though not official, language in the United States.

There is rarely a community without social and linguistic contact phenomena. Every kind of contact involves a certain interaction among people. Subsequently, it is

inevitable that two linguistic systems, for example, influence each other to varying degrees. These language contact phenomena may happen on an individual or on a group level, e.g. one person may alternate the use of languages or a whole group aggregates a certain linguistic behavior (Field, 2011, p. 71). The latter may result in language change to the extent that complete linguistic systems are varied over time.

Beneficial consequences of language contact imply bi- and multilingualism at the individual level and the recognition of a language at a public level by assigning it official status. Whereas individual effects of bilingualism can either be obvious or hidden, overt or covert respectively, a language's official recognition will not pass unnoticed. Acknowledging a minority language, however, cannot completely assure minority-group stability saying that further steps need to be taken in order to establish a fully bilingual nation (Edwards, 2010, p. 30).

Interferences, mixing and combinations of two varieties are very common in bilingual speech. Most of these phenomena occur at the level of the individual as sporadic interferences in everyday interaction, yet may be cumulative and generate new forms different from monolingual speech. Both, interferences, which are mainly “a product of the bilingual individual's use of more than one language”, and switching or mixing, “the alternate use of two languages” (Romaine, 1995, p. 51), result in either positive or negative transfer depending on the areas of difference or similarity between the varieties (ibid.). Nevertheless, researchers are more concerned with negative transfer occurrences since they show unfavorable effects on the learning of a new language on various linguistic levels. In the 1940s and 1950s, negative transfer, or more sensibly

cross-linguistic interference, has been stigmatized and this “sub-standard use of language” has been viewed as a source of error or lack in speech production (Weinreich, 1967).

Similarly, CS and borrowing phenomena underwent a process of redefinition. The outcome may be seen in current research interests discussing CS as a positive and productive way of handling two linguistic varieties and implementing CS “as an additional resource through which a range of social and rhetorical meanings are expressed” (Milroy & Muysken, 1995, p. 9).

3.2 LANGUAGE ALTERNATION AND CODESWITCHING

In the following, I will provide both a definition of language alternation and CS by giving a broad overview of current approaches to these phenomena. Although the study of bilingual language use does not only imply socio-functional but even grammatical and psycholinguistic methods, the thesis will be limited to the former due to the focus on bilingual’s speech in television shows and its socio-cultural approach. These will provide the framework for further analyses of children’s animated television programming.. Finally, motivations for and functions of language alternation and CS will be discussed from a sociolinguistic standpoint.

While most people do not distinguish between language alternation and CS, a couple of theorists claim a difference between the two concepts. However, the status of language alternation in a given speech community “differs according to the local functions it serves in interaction” (Auer, 1984, p. 2). Thus, the meaning of both language alternation and CS are based on their ‘social meaning’ and can change over time. Niley

(2010) bases his work on Alvarez (2000) and thinks of CS and language alternation as two separate ways of language output. Whereas the former refers communicative functions, the latter relates to grammatical forms (p. 1). Consequently, Nilep defines language alternation as the “alternate use of two recognizable grammatical systems” (ibid.). These two grammatical systems are two discrete languages, for example French and English.

However, speakers may also switch to another register (code), which would then either be considered a CS. It is conceivable, at least in theory, that language alternation takes places without a change in context (Nilep, 2010, p. 2). This is what Myers-Scotton (1998) defines as unmarked language choices. The unmarked choice is the expected and usual language use, whereas a marked choice is the conscious bid for establishing their social position, for example (p. 22).

However, the word *code* already seems to evoke mixed conceptions about linguistic forms. Gardner-Chloros (2011) defines code as a “neutral umbrella term for languages, dialects, styles and registers” (p. 11) that could be as well replaced by the term *variety*. For the purpose of this study, code will be defined as a neutral synonym for language. Its advantage is that we do not need to clearly follow Nilep’s (2010) distinction between CS and language alternation. Furthermore, the animated TV shows, that are to be investigated, do switch between English and Spanish only. Thus, a further distinction regarding registers or dialects is not necessary.

Switching refers “to the alternation between the different varieties which people speak” (Gardner-Chloros 2011; Auer 1998; Heller 1988; Gumperz; 1982). In addition,

Myers-Scotton's systematical view on CS implies the bilingual speaker's conscious choice and a hierarchical order of the two languages involved: "Codeswitching is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation" (1997, p. 3). Here, the embedded language (EL) refers to the language playing a minor role whereas the matrix language (ML), on the other hand, functions as the main language in CS utterances (ibid.). This study regards CS occurrences in their broadest sense. This includes all phenomena of a switch from one language to another, e.g. whenever a speaker incorporates English and Spanish words in the same turn⁴ (De Casanova, 2007). Since the analyzed TV shows deal with English-Spanish switches, no further distinction between varieties or registers needs to be made and the CS instances can be the focus of attention here.

CS is referred to in literature as *code-switching*, *code-mixing* or *code-changing*⁵ depending on context and how scholars utilize the terms. All denote similar occurrences which are thematically related and only distinguish in minor aspects. While CS may be seen as a general term for all kinds of language switching, code-mixing is a brief insertion of a few words from one language into the other: *Voy a comprar PIZZA* – 'I'm going to buy pizza' (Zirker, 2007, p. 8). In addition, code-changing is defined according

⁴ A turn is defined as "a time during which a single participant speaks, within a typical, orderly arrangement in which participants speak with minimal overlap and gap between them" (Levinson, 1983, p. 295).

⁵ The spelling may vary from codeswitching, code-switching to code switching. My personal preference, however, is to spell codeswitching as one word indicating the melting of the two systems. Original spelling will be preserved in quotations and when paraphrasing scholars who routinely use an alternate form.

to quantitative criteria designating a longer clause imbedded in one language either before or after a clause in the other language (ibid.).

3.2.1 TYPES OF CS

Switches may be categorized according to their function within the specific conversation as well as to their location in an utterance, in other words when they occur in a sentence. While the former refers to the distinction between metaphorical and situational CS made by Blom and Gumperz (1972) and thus will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter, the latter points at the different types of CS indicating the degree of alternation between the languages.

Three different classes have been established: *tag-switching*, *inter-sentential*, and *intra-sentential* switches which are all integrated into the bilingual discourse to varying degrees (Poplack, 1980). Tag-switching, as its name implies, refers to a tag in one language within an utterance in the other language, e.g. *you know*, *I mean*, and so on. An example from an English/ Spanish discourse with Spanish being the ML and English the EL is: *Es difícil encontrar trabajo estos días, YOU KNOW?* – ‘It’s hard to find work these days, you know?’ (Romaine, 1995, p. 122). As can be seen from this example, tags are easy to implement since the speaker does not necessarily need to draw upon expanded proficiency in the two languages. Additionally, syntactic rules will not be violated (ibid.). Even though tag-switches usually consist of a few words only, they may serve as a trigger to start the following sentence in the respective language. Clyne (2003) and Broersma and de Bot (2006) have shown that this is especially true for cognates due to their common etymological origin.

Unlike tag-switches, intra- and inter-sentential types are considered to be more advanced. In order to switch either inside or outside sentence boundaries and adjust the utterance to both grammatical systems, the speaker requires a greater fluency in both languages. Whereas inter-sentential types alternate at a clause or sentence boundary (e.g. YO PIENSO QUE TODOS LOS ESTUDIANTES DEBEN APRENDER A TOCAR UN INSTRUMENTO. – ‘and I think that all students should learn to play an instrument.’ So did you see the football game last night? (Zirker, 2007, p. 10)), intra-sentential switches occur within the clause or sentence boundary. Two examples from an English/ Spanish conversation are: *Come, be good. Otherwise, USTED IRÁ A LA CÁRCEL.* – ‘Come, be good. Otherwise, you will go to jail.’ or the famous Poplackian example: Sometimes I’ll start a sentence in Spanish Y TÉRMINO EN ESPAÑOL. – ‘Sometimes I’ll start a sentence in Spanish and finish in Spanish.’ While Romaine mentions Poplack’s sentence as an example for an inter-sentential switch, it is widely accepted as an intra-sentential switch among linguists (Bullock & Toribio, 2007; Zirker, 2007).

Within the analyzed TV shows, codeswitches frequently occur throughout the episodes. An example for inter-sentential switching is “Help! Help! AYUDAME! AYUDAME!” (Dora the Explorer, Episode #1). Intra-sentential switching especially plays a role, when new words are introduced in *Dora the Explorer*, as in “Can LOS ESPERUELOS cut through the net? No, the sunglasses can’t cut through the net.” (Dora the Explorer, #1). In natural speech settings, bilinguals never violate the grammar of any of the language systems involved as well as they perform a switch without hesitation or interruption of the ongoing conversation. As will be shown in the analysis of the shows,

language choice in children's programming tries to follow these rules of bilingual speech production.

3.2.2 MOTIVATIONS AND EFFECTS FOR CODESWITCHING

After having approached a definition as well as established different types of CS and language alternation, it is now important to immerse into the social and discursive motivations behind switches within a conversation. The approaches presented here do not adequately reflect the whole field of research. However, they were chosen in order to highlight current directions toward social aspects of CS which are in turn crucial for an analysis of alternations based on the conversational construction of ethnicity and a fictional characters' personality. First, I point out some basic purposes of CS which may be applied to a majority of CS instances. Subsequently, several approaches are discussed in order to illustrate various points of departure.

Even though it became apparent that CS is not a straightforward and homogeneous matter, Baker (2006) thoroughly reports twelve overlapping motivations for CS. Among these, the negotiation of relationships and an expression of identity and ethnicity are the most relevant to this study. A constant negotiation of relationships among interlocutors is present during every conversation. Therefore, CS can support this role-taking/ role-assigning process, for example, when a switch happens into the other language (Baker, 2006, p. 112). Thus, the switch indicates a change of attitude or relationship between the speakers in creating either distance or proximity. CS serves to express identity and ethnicity, to communicate friendship or family bonding (Baker,

2006, p. 111). Moving from one variety to another may signal a shared identity and common values, yet also divergent beliefs and thus marks in-group or out-group status.

Isolated motivations for CS can only be viewed as an attempt toward a satisfactory and thorough understanding of CS (Nilep, 2006, p. 9). Indeed, it is assumed that a single CS instance rather serves multiple purposes instead of fulfilling just one communicative dimension. Nevertheless, records give an impression of how broad and widespread the field of language alternation and its motivations is defined. As well as CS attends to various functions, individuals may adopt multiple positions. In the following, I present selected approaches focusing on either the individual or the speech community as a whole.

3.2.3 THEORIES ON CS

Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1993)

Before looking at the Markedness Model more closely, a brief overview of Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language-Frame Theory is given below as this will help to set the general framework for the approach to marked and unmarked language choices. The Matrix Language-Frame Model (hereafter MLF model) focuses on intra-sentential constraints and tries to account for some general assumptions on how CS structures are governed.

Within the scope of the MLF model, Myers-Scotton takes on a structuralist approach in which she argues that one of the languages involved usually plays a more dominant role than the other (1993, p. 6). This points at a hierarchical relationship between the languages at play in which the superior, the Matrix Language (ML), provides

the structural and grammatical framework in an utterance for the inferior, the Embedded Language (EL). In all three TV shows, it is English which functions as the ML whereas Spanish is the embedded, less frequently used language. The underlying asymmetry is not only obvious in the roles of the languages involved, but is further reflected in the uneven distribution of morpheme types (Myers-Scotton, 1993). There exists a system vs. content morpheme hierarchy. Within this hierarchy, the ML typically carries content morphemes, such as noun and verb stems, whereas the EL usually supplies system morphemes, e.g. function words or affixes (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 235).

As well as the MLF model suggests a hierarchical relationship between languages in bilingual speech, the Markedness Model (hereinafter referred to as MM) asserts that each language in a community is associated with certain (social) roles. Speakers are familiar with the appropriate usage according to context and interlocutors. These roles can either be stigmatized, e.g. marked, or unmarked and language choice is made according to which code interlocutors wish to process. However, not all members of the community share the same linguistic background and not everyone uses the same variety as frequently as others. Yet, speakers need to share an innate competence (through, let's say, constant exposure to community discourse), a so-called *markedness evaluator* which allows them to distinguish marked from unmarked choices (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 22). In this regard, *markedness* is best defined as a “means to compare the effects associated with one particular linkage between the use of a linguistic variety with linkages associated with other varieties” (ibid.: p. 23). A marked choice would be a switch to Spanish during a discourse in which not all interlocutors understand Spanish. This switch

then is marked and unexpected and may reveal more about the speaker's intentions (for example, excluding an interlocutor from the discourse).

According to norms the speaker is familiar with, he decides whether to use the marked or unmarked code in order to negotiate interpersonal relationships and to establish social positions (Callahan, 2004, p. 19). CS is regarded as the negotiation over certain roles and does not necessarily involve marked choices only; in case it is marked, CS utterances may be used to include/ exclude interlocutors, to increase social distance, or for aesthetic effects (Callahan 2004; García 2008). An example is a sales assistant who begins the conversation with a customer in Standard English, the unmarked choice, and switches into African-American English throughout the conversation, the marked code, as it turns out that both interlocutors share the same ethnic background.

Although every person has in parts a contrasting understanding of marked and unmarked codes due to differences in social background, individuals are expected to make similar choices along the lines of a community-wide beliefs. This is attributed to prevalent social norms and an understanding of codes within a speech community. Thus, the unmarked choice is considered to be "the most expected", conventional form (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 26).

The MM has been criticized from various researchers for its systematization and the assumption that CS happens consciously and deliberately (Woolard 2004; Nilep 2006; Bloomaert and Meeuwis 1998). While Nilep (2006) contemplates that the MM too heavily relies on external knowledge gained through extensive exposure to the speech community and its norms, Auer (1998) argues that speakers actively create and influence

interactional conventions instead of passively drawing upon a fixed set. Furthermore, speakers need to make too many assumptions about the addressee's feelings and attitudes in order to accommodate their speech to the conversation by using the correct code.

Blom & Gumperz on Codeswitching (1972)

While the former approach focuses on a rather functional and grammatical perspective on CS, Blom and Gumperz (1972), whose seminal work on CS adds an expressive dimension to language alternation, provide a sociolinguistic framework on CS. That is, instances of CS serve pragmatic functions within discourse that go beyond rule-governed verbal behavior. Nevertheless, Blom and Gumperz found that language alternation in the industrial town of Hemnesberget, Norway, was indeed predictable and patterned. In concordance with Weinreich (1953) and Barker (1947), the authors state that bilinguals possess more than one linguistic code. This code is utilized according to the occasion and conveyed message. During their study in the Norwegian town of Hemnesberget they found that the distinct linguistic repertoires were adjusted to the relationship with other participants and further conditioned by social factors (Nilep 2006). Assuming that whenever speakers use two or more varieties, these varieties are most likely associated with certain characteristics, Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez (1970) propose that the alternation does indeed carry a deeper symbolic value.

In order to analyze the reasons for language alternation, Blom and Gumperz (1972) introduce two types of CS: *metaphorical* and *situational* CS. Whereas metaphorical, or non-situational, CS is employed to highlight certain elements, for

instance, to express solidarity or distance, situational switches indicate a change in, for example, the setting that allows the switch (Meechan & Rees-Miller 2005). Situational switching implies that specific contexts require certain linguistic realizations and violating the accepted norms may be found inappropriate (Blom & Gumperz 1972). Metaphorical CS, on the other hand, enriches the situation and may usually be triggered by changes in topic or to convey confidentiality, e.g. greetings take place in the low variety and business negotiations in the H, the high, variety.

On part of the addressee, the interpretation is largely dependent on discourse matter and the speakers' shared background knowledge (Bullock & Toribio 2007). Consequently, Gumperz (1982) suggests that a *we-* and *they-code* may equally occur within a conversation. While the *we-code* usually refers to in-group and informal activities conveying intimacy and personal involvement, the *they-code*, on the other hand, is used for formal and out-group settings characterizing authority and distance (Gardner-Chloros, 2011). In other words, the minority language is to be regarded as the *we-code*, whereas the majority language is rather to be seen as the *they-code*. In case the interlocutors switch from *we* to *they* and vice versa, a shift in relation between the speakers may be indicated (Callahan, 2004). Although it is an act of identity construction whenever speakers utilize the *we/they-code* distinction, there is no one-to-one relation between the used language and identity (Gardner-Chloros, 2011, p. 57) and it may be difficult at times to clearly distinguish the *we-* from the *they-code*.

3.2.4 CS IN CONTEXT

Looking at the approaches to CS just outlined, it becomes evident that a short summary of the main arguments and ideas behind CS theories is needed. Furthermore, relevant aspects for the consecutive analysis of language alternation in American TV shows are highlighted. Indeed, the context, in which CS is embedded, is crucial for a detailed examination of identity-related motives and consequences of CS.

I define CS occurrences and in their broadest sense. This includes all phenomena of a switch from one language to another, e.g. whenever a speaker incorporates English and Spanish words in the same turn⁶ (De Casanova, 2007).

In sum, the outlined theories play an important role even though they only partially reflect the broad field of CS concepts. While Blom & Gumperz (1972) take the sociolinguistic path by describing to what extent language alternation may be used to process symbolic domination and to mark belonging and ethnicity, Myers-Scotton adds the notion of markedness in bilingual speech. Both concepts will be used in order to describe language choice in children's TV shows.

As mentioned earlier, CS cannot be examined in isolation. Indeed, interlocutors usually adapt language to their communicative needs and the context they are exposed to while speaking. Additionally, as Garfaranga (2007) points out, basic to any conversation is the negotiation of meaning which does not necessarily come in linguistic forms.

⁶ A turn is defined as “a time during which a single participant speaks, within a typical, orderly arrangement in which participants speak with minimal overlap and gap between them” (Levinson, 1983, p. 295).

Nevertheless, as long as there is a choice, language alternation carries connotations.

Normally, this choice serves individual and community-wide norms and values. The speaker's way of perceiving the environment as well as transmitting cultural values is best conveyed through their identity, which is brought into every conversational setting

4. STRATEGIES FOR LANGUAGE USE IN CHILDREN'S TV

However, there is more to the discourse in children's animated programming than bilingual concepts which try to explain functional motivations behind CS instances. Particularly in the context of scripted language in TV shows, the process of active and creative writing needs to be examined. Thus, strategies behind a particular way of writing and implementing linguistic features may also reveal a certain approach to cultural and linguistic diversity. The TV programs for this study show different strategies of language use. While *Dora the Explorer* tends to translate and repeat numerous Spanish codeswitches, *Maya & Miguel* applies a more authentic strategy by going without extensive translations and repetitions in both languages. The show *Handy Manny* may be again assigned an in-between position with respect to its strategies of language use since it indeed uses repetition and translation strategies in bilingual discourse, but not as frequently as in *Dora the Explorer*.

In the following, I will elaborate on the concept of translation and repetition as two strategies to use language in bilingual discourse and two approaches within the field of second language acquisition.

4.1 TRANSLATION

Translation has always been a prominent strategy in second language acquisition and can be seen as a basic skill in bilinguals. It is one of the essential and widely spread tools which is used in a number of bi- and multilingual settings. After translation has been banned from foreign language teaching contexts for the past centuries, it is now valued as a legitimate pedagogical technique (Popovic 2001; Ellis 1997) to promote learning. It is often assumed that bilinguals possess the competence to translate regardless of their degree of proficiency in the languages concerned (Latowksa 2006; Lorscher 1991). Research, however, indicates that translation competency does not heavily rely on fluency. Even though translation techniques have been used in every age and proficiency group, it is assumed that they require an advanced knowledge and high level of proficiency which is usually found among older learners. Children's TV shows, usually targeted at preschoolers or young children, nevertheless use translation techniques to present meaning of words. It is then important to analyze whether translated words and phrases appear contextualized or tend to be isolated and thus draw attention to aspects that would go unnoticed otherwise (Popovic, 2001, p. 3).

Since translation production is treated as a natural process of bilingualism, it creates an opportunity for the acquisition and learning of a foreign language. Translation itself is defined as “using the first language as a base for understanding and/ or producing the second language” (Popovic, 2001, p. 4). It is especially vital for the foreign language classroom as it helps learners to understand utterances in the foreign language and thus

accounts for over 30 percent of strategy uses (ibid.). Furthermore, it is seen as a “method of furthering proficiency in the foreign language” (Cordero, 1984, p. 352).

Within the context of children’s animated TV programming translation strategies are used as a convenient means of verifying comprehension and accuracy (Cordero 1984). By translating single words and/ or phrases, it is assured that the viewer understands the utterance and follows the storyline so that no problems in comprehension might occur. Although translation is not limited to lexical items, children’s programs mainly use it to introduce their viewers to new vocabulary and facilitate comprehension. Especially the TV shows *Dora the Explorer* and *Handy Manny* aim at a thorough comprehension of Spanish dialogues and thus translate Spanish switches into the ML English, for example: “NO HAY PROBLEMA, Mr. Kumar. **No problem** at all.” (Handy Manny, #2).

Furthermore, the TV producers make sure that their viewers, who are usually young children, focus on the plot without losing attention and potentially switching to another program. Thus, it is vital that bilingual discourse in children’s programming is accompanied by learning strategies which facilitate comprehension. Additionally, television pictures, which back up the linguistic content, are another helpful tool to convey the message.

4.2 REPETITION

The technique of repetition is another popular method in foreign language learning which facilitates comprehension. As well as translation methods have repetitions been banned from language learning contexts due to the rejection of audiolingual drills and approaches (Duff 2000). Recently, repetitive structures have been seen as a beneficial way to provide learners greater access to a variety of linguistic forms. By repeating and reproducing words or phrases learners proceed “from highly controlled language use to more automatic or spontaneous production of internalized forms” (Duff, 2000, p. 109).

Scaffolding structures, such as repetition or simplification, provide support for learners within their zone of proximal development (Vygotsky 1962). These are mainly used among proficient speakers (Ariza & Hancock 2003, p. 3). As a conversational modification, repeated utterances may be used to gain understanding. Furthermore, repetition is utilized to provide cohesion and signal discourse topics while helping learners to attend to new vocabulary and grammar (Duff, 2000, p. 112). Since repeating is prevalent in language learning contexts, these structures are often attributed with a recognizable teacher’s talk (ibid.).

With regard to children’s television these features may help viewers to easily follow the bilingual discourse. By repeating and revoicing numerous utterances, understanding of new words is facilitated: “Okay, now put your arms out to the side and say **EMPUJEN, EMPUJEN, EMPUJEN!**” (Dora the Explorer, Episode #1). The command ‘to push’ is underlined by Dora and Boots, who ask their viewers to imitate their pushing. Throughout each of the three shows, certain new words are introduced and

repeatedly picked up during each episode. For example, in *Handy Manny's* episode “Manny Goes Solar” it is ‘the sun, EL SOL’ and ‘LIMONADA, lemonade’ to which the characters frequently refer. Especially in combination with other language use strategies, such as translation, understanding of Spanish utterances can be increased. Thus, comprehension of bilingual discourse in children’s programming is supported by certain language use strategies which help children to attend to new linguistic structures.

However, feedback on whether children respond to translation or repetition techniques can only be assumed by looking at the numbers of viewers and their television behavior. As well as input plays a crucial role in foreign language learning environments, output serves primary functions within interactionist contexts (Ariza & Hancock 2003; Lightbown & Spada 1999; Swain 1995). Further studies on the potential impact on L2 learning need to be conducted in order to assess comprehension and positive results. While approaching children’s TV shows in terms of their possible learning outcome, it needs to be mentioned that the programs at hand are no multimedia learning tools. Even though they claim to be of educational value, none of the shows at display explicitly aims at teaching another language and facilitating the learning process.

5. LANGUAGE CHOICE IN CHILDREN'S TV

'Hispanimation' – This was the headline of an article published in the San Antonio Current in June 2007. The blending of *Hispanic* and *animation* points at the growing presence of Hispanic animated shows broadcasted by various American networks. Recent reports confirm the increased Hispanic presence as well as an ongoing demand for ethnically diverse characters on TV (Nevaer 2004). Similarly, new TV programs dealing with diversity, and with Hispanic culture in particular, have drawn interest among scholars from various academic fields.

5.1 EMBLEMATIC USE OF LANGUAGE

The ethnic identification in a discourse is also labeled *emblematic/ etiquette switching* and usually “signals membership in and solidarity with other members of a community” (Callahan, 2004, p. 18). Emblematic switching is an important concept in scripted discourse as it functions as a strong ethnic marker, for example, the sentence VENDÍA ARROZ – ‘He sold rice’ - ‘*n shit* (ibid.). However, Poplack (2007) suggests that these emblematic switches do not imply any further consequences for the remaining sentence since no adjustment to both grammatical systems is to be made. Therefore, bilinguals with a low degree of bilingualism tend to prefer emblematic CS.

Emblematic CS can also be found in *Dora the Explorer*, *Maya & Miguel*, and *Handy Manny*. After Fought (2003), emblematic switches intend to highlight ethnic identity and symbolize group membership (p. 158). Addressing family members or friends by switching to Spanish is one example of emblematic switching: “Oh, PAPI, you look nice.” (Maya & Miguel, Episode #4). When Maya tells her father that the shirt suits him, she addresses him by using the Spanish equivalent to the English word ‘daddy’. Additionally, emblematic switches appear to introduce specific Hispanic cultural concepts to the shows, for example holidays (CINCO DE MAYO) or food (POLLO AL HORNO, CHILAQUILES).

In addition, the choice of using emblematic vs. intra-sentential switches depends on whether the speaker would like to be part of the group or not. According to Callahan (2004), in-group membership favors intra-sentential code-switching whereas out-group membership features emblematic switching. As a result, the more advanced the CS sequences, the more likely results a peer group membership. Intra-sentential instances mainly occur between members of the group (ibid.).

5.2 INTRODUCING THE SHOWS: PRODUCTION, CHARACTERS & SETTING

In the following, the three television shows *Dora the Explorer*, *Maya & Miguel*, and *Handy Manny* will be introduced to create the setting for the subsequent analysis on language choices used in the programs. In order to view these shows in an appropriate context, a brief overview of multimedia and television programming in the U.S. is given.

Furthermore, the producer's goals and motives for launching each of the shows is presented by relating these to the realization in the corresponding shows.

As the biggest minority group, the Hispanic population makes up 16 % of all Americans, that is about 50 million people according to recent U.S. census figures from 2010. Projections indicate that, up to the year 2050, figures will more than double and rise to over 110 million people of Hispanic origin residing in the U.S. (U.S. Census 2010). It is clearly recognizable that the southern continental part of America plays an increasing role in shaping the lives of both U.S.-Americans and Latinos living in the New World.

Consequently, a growing interest in Hispanic culture has evolved and new television programs dealing with and reinforcing concepts of *Latinidad* and *Hispanization* have emerged. Moreover, marketing companies wish to turn a profit by running advertisements on every channel.

With growing presence of Hispanics, American culture has experienced vast changes at the media level. Whereas about fourteen different Hispanic networks supplied the needs of the local Hispanics in 2002, today more than 100 cable networks operate in the U.S. Nevertheless, a true representation of Latinos on TV as an integral part of U.S.-American society is missing; in sum, Latino characters make up only 1% - 3% of the characters on prime time (Fuller, 2013, p. 64). Networks respond by either creating particular English-language programs for Hispanics or by offering dual language shows. However, current TV shows largely employ English as the ML while Spanish remains the EL.

Additionally, scripted dialogues, yet orally presented, rather focus on criteria of written speech. Toward a descriptive analysis of multimedia discourse, Koch and Oesterreicher (1985) utilize a continuum indicating language use through the distinction between *language of distance* (Sprache der Distanz) and *language of proximity* (Sprache der Nähe). Whereas the former usually is conceptually written (letters, essays, e-mails), the latter is to be conceptually oral (conversation, phone call).

However, since the two poles are arranged on a continuum, the language of distance, conceptually written, may as well occur in an oral medium, e.g. in a lecture. Here, the talk is presented orally, yet the lecturer reads his script, a written text, to the audience. An oral medium is presented as a conceptually written text. The opposite is the case for instant messaging or chats where language is transmitted as a written text, but conceptually oral since it follows the rules of oral speech, e.g. spontaneous and simultaneous planning, production, and reception (Koch & Oesterreicher, 1985, p. 19). Language which is conceptually written and presented in a written medium would be a letter or a legal text. A conversation among friends would signify oral conceptuality and language communicated in an oral medium (*ibid.*, p. 17).

Along these lines, fictional discourse on TV may be classified as conceptually written and orally presented. This results in a lack of spontaneous speech production, a missing assignment or variation of the speakers' roles as well as no free choice regarding the topic or interlocutors. On the other hand, it enables the series' producers to constantly play along the continuum of proximity and distance by making use of dimensions such as public vs. private, intimacy vs. withdrawal, and integration vs. exclusion (*ibid.*, p. 23). On

a critical remark, children who watch the series will not be presented with natural speech occurrences even though being exposed to authentic speech is important for the language learning process. It may be argued to what extent the series' educational goal of introducing their viewers to a new language is actually realized without utilizing authentic speech.

While language use in these animated shows, and emblematic switching in particular, needs to be regarded critically, the implementation of cultural stereotypes is either to be scrutinized. Against this backdrop, Hispanic as well as non-Hispanic children may construct particular ideas about what seems to be Hispanic and what is not. TV programs for children are likely to use the image of the generic Latino, "a visual representation of Latinos that glosses over national origin differences" (De Casanova, 2007, p. 162). Thus, the Hispanic prototype is not associated with any nationality in particular, but functions as an 'umbrella term' for all main characters fitting the description of dark hair and dark eyes but with light skin (ibid.).

This in-between Latino image appears in the same way it represents Hispanic origin: smooth-edged, speaks no regionally colored Spanish, but usually accented English – all in all, an overgeneralization and oversimplification of Hispanic people to approach a variety of viewers, to market products and to view Hispanics as a homogeneous group (De Casanova 2007; Rodriguez 2001). Through the constant homogenization at a media level, both Hispanics and non-Hispanics can identify with the generic Latino since he combines parts of both cultures.

In the following, the three television shows *Dora the Explorer*, *Maya & Miguel*, and *Handy Manny* will be introduced in order to create the setting for the subsequent analysis on language choices used in the programs. Furthermore, a brief overview of the network's goals and motives for launching the shows is given by relating these to the realization in the corresponding shows.

5.2.1 DORA THE EXPLORER (NICKELODEON)

Dora the Explorer is by far the most popular bilingual children's television program and has been among the top-rated preschool programs ever since it started. Accompanied by its popularity, various foreign as well as stage adaptations have been produced worldwide utilizing different languages. Similarly, Dora's offspring, *Go Diego Go!* (Nickelodeon), featuring Dora's eight year old cousin Diego, who rescues animals when they are in danger has been very successful. Also, *Dora and Friends: Into the City* (Nickelodeon), starring a growing-up Dora, who faces adventures in the big city, has been produced.

Additionally, *Dora's* merchandise is booming and ranges from books, video games, DVDs, cosmetics, toys, handbags to play kitchens and more. The show is aimed at preschoolers (3-7) and airs weekdays (Monday through Friday) on cable network Nickjr. Up to the present day, seven seasons have been broadcasted with in sum 157 episodes; season eight is currently being produced.

The series centers around Dora Marquez, a seven-year-old Latina girl, who encounters adventures with her friend Boots, a five-year-old monkey. Usually, these

adventures are related to problem-solving strategies and activities during which the team is supported by their Backpack, providing all necessary tools, and their Map, the useful helper for directions. In almost every episode, the fox Swiper occurs and tries to swipe an item belonging to either Dora or her friends. It is then Dora and her friends retrieving the lost item during the show. Through its interactive computer-style, viewers are asked to join Dora and help her solving the tasks. According to the producers, *Dora the Explorer* not only introduces new words but also encourages movement and ask the viewers to be confident in order to overcome the challenges (Nickjr.). Most episodes follow a similar pattern and start with the theme song after which Dora and Boots greet their viewers “HOLA, SOY Dora. And I’m Boots”. The opening scene is followed by a short introduction to the current situation or problem which needs to be overcome throughout the series. During their adventure, various new Spanish words are introduced and embedded in English dialogues by the characters. While among the recurring cast only Dora and the Backpack frequently use English and Spanish, all other characters either speak one of the two or understand both languages.

According to Nickelodeon (2014), the series’ network, the dual language aspect fosters fluency since a new language is introduced before the age of 6 or 7⁷. Furthermore, the creators of the series state that

the show might teach them a little Spanish and make them curious and interested in learning more, or simply make them aware of and comfortable with foreign languages. For Spanish-speaking preschool

⁷ In language acquisition, the *Critical Period Hypothesis* indicates an ideal time frame after which, usually around puberty, language acquisition becomes more and more difficult (Gass & Selinker 2006).

viewers, seeing Dora use Spanish might encourage them to take pride in being bilingual (Nickjr. 2014).

As De Casanova (2007) points out, this statement includes that the show is primarily oriented toward non-Spanish speakers. Spanish is not used to reinforce the home language, but to introduce a foreign tongue and to improve attitudes toward foreign languages (p. 463). Additionally, “encouraging viewers to take pride in being bilingual” implies that this pride has not been established before. Again, a negative image of cultural and linguistic diversity precedes a neutral representation of both cultures.

By operating in more than one language, both networks and companies benefit because they may address their commercials and programs to at least two different cultures in order to gain the maximum profit. For Nickelodeon, shows like *Dora the Explorer* are of great value and increase the channel’s Hispanic audience to 18% (Fong, 2010, p. 2). Specifically in the context of children’s programming, commercials and merchandising play a crucial role since children wish to be equipped with fan gear from their favorite TV shows. Yet, the distinct TV shows differ with respect to their excessive range of merchandise articles and their revenues. While customers’ expenditures rise to more than \$3 billion on *Dora the Explorer* items since 2001, the *Maya & Miguel* website of the PBS network does not even contain advertisements (Fong 2010; Jiménez 2005; Specker 2008). However, all networks do indeed profit from generous parents fulfilling their children’s dreams.

According to the network’s website, children’s animated programming serves an educational purpose inasmuch as it strengthens the awareness for culturally and

linguistically diverse backgrounds. By incorporating more than one language, children early become familiarized with bilingual speakers and may pick up their first Spanish words. Considering fictional discourse in animated series, it has to be questioned whether the dual language aspect simply follows educational values since language choice is made deliberately and in advance. Again, it can be assumed that marketing- and sales-driven principles cause producers to set up characters exactly like this (Specker, 2008, p. 103).

Furthermore, linguistic varieties may be used to add ‘flavor’ to the characters’ roles or distinguish from others without explicitly referring to certain characteristics (ibid., p. 104). As a result, we can hardly talk about instances of spontaneous language production when referring to animated series since dialogues are planned in advance.

As well as *Sesame Street*, the pioneer in children’s programming, *Dora the Explorer* and other shows for children have been scrutinized for their educational value. Whereas current research agrees that educational TV is possible and desired to provide audiovisual input (Anderson 1998), the commonly held view is that children are bound to the TV and passively being exposed to incomprehensible input and fast-changing pictures. Even though *Dora the Explorer* tries to implement an interactive approach to activate its viewers, the show has been criticized for its language choice (Boutwell 2011, Lennon 2010). By using long pauses and various repetitions, the show explicitly teaches “children not to listen or to think” (Boutwell 2011, p.1). Although new vocabulary is introduced in each show, it is limited to a few words only. Thus, the children’s lexicon does not expand and become enriched, but is stimulated with similar words in each

episode (ibid.). Language strategies, like translations and repetitions, are frequently used in English-Spanish discourse as well. It is argued, however, that repetitions, for example, make the viewers lose focus easily (ibid., p.2) instead of facilitating comprehension.

While language choice seems to be predictable since rarely new words are introduced, actions are either repeated throughout each episode. In order to ensure huge numbers of viewers, “producers play it safe” (ibid.) and rely on already familiar patterns, repeated actions and replication in each episode. *Dora the Explorer* becomes “a product exiting a piece of machinery” (ibid.), since they are not created for quality but for money.

This view is consistent with *Dora*’s merchandise which shows a wide range from video games, movies, and products such as clothing and school equipment. As Boutwell (2011) points out, television shows like *Dora the Explorer* are just the basis for a broader economic apparatus predominantly selling products (p. 2) and thus selling popular culture to us. In accommodating to as many viewers/ customers as possible, TV characters are smoothly-edged, speak without an accent and producers do not alter the patterns.

This view on children’s programming, and *Dora the Explorer* in particular, questions the show as a didactic tool and its educational value. Lennon (2010) argues that specifically the predetermined traits and the repeated structures in each show hinder the show to accomplish educative reality: “The structure and emulation that is preserved within the program presents a lack of educative interactions.” (p. 2). Even though audience members are encouraged to participate by either choosing items, dancing or singing along, this interaction is indeed manipulated and limited. It is just an illusion for an interactive and educative environment that is provided to the viewer (ibid.).

5.2.2 MAYA & MIGUEL (PBS)

“It’s Maya and Miguel. What they will do next you never can tell” (*Maya & Miguel*, every episode). The leading song is the opening for every episode on PBS featuring the 10-year-old Santos twins. Since the main characters have progressed to elementary school, the show is targeted at children aged 6 to 11 years old. As a consequence, both language and plot seem to be advanced and feature more complicated dialogues. The synopsis is based on the adventures of the Hispanic twins Maya and Miguel and their friends and family who are usually involved in Maya and Miguel’s activities. The twins live in a multi-generational household with their parents, grandmother, Abuela Elena, and Paco the parrot. Frequently, Maya and Miguel wish to improve current situations which results in even greater difficulties. The series originally aired from 2004-2007: a total of 4 seasons and 65 episodes is currently being repeated on several TV stations.

Though various licensed DVD sets and merchandise articles are available, they are not marked as aggressively as the products associated with Dora. Instead, the network’s “Educational Philosophy” illustrates the series’ goals and seems to be of greater importance. Following this philosophy, the show *Maya & Miguel* aims to encourage children to “value, respect and better understand a variety of cultures, perspectives, traditions, languages and experiences” (PBSkids). This is achieved by incorporating characters of diverse ethnic backgrounds, e.g. Maya’s and Miguel’s friend Maggie, a Chinese-American, or Theo, their African-American cousin. In addition, the show’s creators wish “to support children in building their understanding of the English

language, with a special emphasis on vocabulary” (ibid.). Since most of the characters speak both languages regardless of ethnic origin, the series fosters a productive attitude toward culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. The Spanish language is an essential part of the characters’ personalities and identities (De Casanova, 2007, p. 464). Based on the premise that people are different, *Maya & Miguel* naturally incorporates a culturally diverse society by valuing each other for not being alike.

The website promotes this impression and most features are available in English and Spanish. Because of this, the series is funded by various partners including the Cuban American National Council, the National Council of La Raza, or the National Latino Children’s Institute. All these agencies are non-profit organizations focusing on educational and societal improvement for immigrants (PBSkids).

The Cuban American National Council (CNC) works non-profit and provides services to people in need regardless of their ethnicity. For example, the CNC serves students and helps them succeeding academically. Additionally, the organization provides job opportunities with Hispanic businesses. Its headquarters are located in Miami, FL; an area which is itself characterized by ethnically diverse communities. Overall goal of CNC is to help individuals “become self-reliant and to build bridges among America’s diverse communities.” (CNC 2014). Among its sponsors, there are various companies belonging to the health department (AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals LP, Baptist Health South Florida, United States Department of Health & Human Services) and television broadcasters (NBC Miami, Telefutera 69, Univision, Univision 23).

Interestingly, most of the enterprises are American-based and located in the Greater Miami area.

In comparison to CNC's mission to foster relations between Americans and Hispanics, the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) aims to improve opportunities and life for Hispanics in the US and Puerto Rico. It is based in Washington, DC, and works as a private, non-profit organization to advocate civil rights. The Board of Directors consists of 21 elected members who represent all geographic regions in the US and all Hispanic subgroups (NCLR 2014). Whereas both the NCLR and the CNC provide services for all age groups, the National Latino Children's Institute (NLCI) is the only national Latino organization that focuses on children only. On its agenda is the healthy and complete development of Latino children and thus they value Latino children in a community by treating them with dignity and respect and encourage them to achieve their highest potential (NLCI 2014). Among its donors are American and Hispanic companies. Again, the television broadcast network Univision and Galavisión can be found on the list of sponsors (ibid.).

Even though the NCLR and the CNC both mention several educational programs to help Hispanic children succeed academically, it is only the NLCI that explicitly promotes bilingual education programs: "Children who speak languages other than English will have access to bilingual education programs." (NLCI 2014). Furthermore, the NLCI values cultural and linguistic heterogeneity and it "will be respected as an integral and necessary part of their identity and development." (ibid.).

5.2.3 HANDY MANNY (DISNEY CHANNEL)

Disney's animated *Handy Manny*, a recent contribution to the world of bilingual children's programming, revolves around Manny Manitas, who owns a repair shop, and his talking tools. Together, they provide the fictional town of Sheetrock Hills, which is probably located in the southern part of the U.S., with their handy services. Every tool has a special job to do and they all need to work together to accomplish the task.

A typical episode begins with Manny and his tools working in the shop, when suddenly Manny receives a call which he answers with: "HOLA, Handy Manny's repair shop. You break it" and the tools reply "and we fix it" (*Handy Manny*, every episode). Since the caller needs something to be repaired or fixed, Manny and the tools leave the store for the repair. Outside the shop, they normally meet Mr. Lopart, who owns the candy shop next door, but always refuses Manny's help.

Manny and his tools live in a very diverse fictional town in the desert. Whether it is Mr. Kumar owning a Chinese restaurant, the science teacher Señor Lopez, or Mrs. Portillo, Manny's neighbor, most of the recurring roles show diverse ethnic backgrounds. Consequently, English and Spanish are naturally utilized by the community including a few tools (Felipe, Flicker, Ticks and Totts) which speak Spanish and occasionally function as translators. Furthermore, viewers come to know Hispanic holidays and cultural artefacts, such as Piñata parties, Cinco de Mayo and Quinceañera celebrations.

In the same way Hispanic elements are incorporated in the show's plot, so are U.S.-American concepts, such as Valentine's Day, Halloween, basketball and sports events in general. They all refer to either typical American cultural items or national

celebrations. This balanced application of diverse cultural backgrounds results in a positive image and fruitful experience of ethnic diversity.

Unlike *Maya & Miguel*, the producers of *Handy Manny* extensively stress fan gear. Advertisements on the network's website lead to merchandise articles in the Disney Store varying from CDs, DVDs to plastic Manny figures and talking tool boxes. The series is aimed at preschoolers, aged 4 to 8, and features voice performances by famous actors, e.g. Wilmer Valderrama and Dee Bradley Baker. A total of 117 episodes has been produced so far, broadcasted in 3 seasons. As well as *Dora the Explorer* and the British equivalent *Bob the Builder* does Disney's show *Handy Manny* focus on merchandise and the products around the series. The show, which is broadcasted in over 135 countries and in 23 languages, is set in a multicultural community and follows a bilingual and problem-solving curriculum (Liu 2009).

Shown on Playhouse Disney, a daily programming block on Disney Channel in the US, the show *Handy Manny* encourages preschoolers to learn through the series (ibid.). By introducing the audience to a multicultural and –lingual setting, the broadcaster supports “thinking and creative skills as well as moral and ethical development through carefully constructed themes, storylines and endearing characters.” (ibid.). Because of this the show was nominated and received several awards including the Genesis Award, the Daytime Emmy Award, and the Environmental Media Award, USA. In 2009, *Handy Manny* also won an award from NAMIC, an organization promoting multi-ethnicity in communications.

These awards illustrate that even though the producers promote fan gear and merchandise around the show, they also incorporate valuable approaches to linguistic and cultural heterogeneity.

6. ANALYZING THE SHOWS

6.1 METHODOLOGY

For the present study I chose a mixture of qualitative and quantitative content analysis in order to analyze language alternations. As may be seen in other studies focusing on children's animated TV (De Casanova 2007, Gregori-Signes and Alcantud-Diaz 2012), content analysis is used to study cultural phenomena through the means of books, music, and television. Within the field of sociolinguistics, a combination of both approaches is useful for a small corpus (5 episodes per series). Furthermore, the combination helps to quantitatively limit the scope and code CS instances in general, while qualitative measures deeper insights into the strategies of representing bilingualism and biculturalism.

Thus, quantitative methods were used to address the occurrence of language alternation in general. As outlined earlier, any alternation was recorded as an instance of Spanish use in English dialogue.

Consequently, just as well as single-word insertions or repetitions "Uh, A SERPIENTE, a snake" (Handy Manny #1) were coded, so were longer inter-sentential codeswitches within a turn "Can you tell we are a woodpecker? ESO ES MUY BUENO! That's very good" (Handy Manny #1).

Emblematic switching, then, summarizes greetings, forms of addressing, and cultural concepts as in “AY, MIS CHILAQUILES.” (Maya & Miguel #4).

Basic descriptive statistics were used to determine the occurrences of CS. The average number of language alternation was calculated by adding up the figures for each episode and dividing the sum by five in order to calculate the mean value. Songs, which appear in each episode, were not coded. Furthermore, I used qualitative measures to assess the different types of CS and thus differentiated between instances of both inter- and intra-sentential switches in particular. By examining how the series’ characters use Spanish and English, we may be able to look at the construction of Hispanic culture in multicultural fictional settings.

Show (5 episodes each)	Average # of emblematic switching per episode	Average # of inter- sentential switches	Average # of intra-sentential switches
Dora the Explorer	21.4	10.0	3.6
Maya & Miguel	32.6	22.6	4.4
Handy Manny	14.2	5.2	2.8

Table 1 Spanish language use in comparison

6.2 DESCRIPTION

Five episodes of the selected programs, *Dora the Explorer*, *Maya & Miguel*, and *Handy Manny* were chosen. The titles and original air dates are listed in the appendix at the end of the paper. Due to the fact that the episodes were chosen neither according to topic coherence nor for proximate air dates, they give a broad overview of each series' variety. Episodes studied did not air consecutively, yet five episodes per show would represent one week of viewing.

In each series, English serves as the matrix and Spanish as the embedded language. Thus, the viewer would naturally expect a dialogue in English, the unmarked choice; including Spanish utterances in a dialogue is then the marked choice. This is especially true for dialogues in which the interlocutors do not share the same ethnic background. In *Handy Manny*, Manny and the tools switch to Spanish even though Mr. Kumar, of Indian heritage, does not speak Spanish. He, however, understands it (and Manny's repetition enforces his comprehension) and replies in English: "I have a sign for my store and I need you to put it up for me. You think you can do it, Manny? – "NO HAY PROBLEMA, Mr. Kumar. No problem at all." – "Oh, thank you, Manny. Thank you."

In order to see how language is utilized in the series, a transcript of one episode per series can be found in the appendix. Each instance of Spanish use was catalogued according to the numerical occurrences of CS, the type of CS (emblematic, inter- or intra-sentential switches) and the speakers. In order to become acquainted with the programs'

concepts and to gain general information about the series, I studied the websites, fanpages, and magazines, but also watched further episodes in an informal context.

6.3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The three shows *Dora the Explorer*, *Maya & Miguel* and *Handy Manny* were analyzed for the language choices employed and CS instances in particular. Table 1 illustrates the frequency of language alternation in each show classified according to the different types of CS. It appears that all three shows differ with regard to the quantitative implementation of CS. On average, *Maya & Miguel* shows the greatest use of Spanish in general (59.6), followed by *Dora the Explorer* (35.0) and *Handy Manny* (22.2) and thus mainly correspond to findings by De Casanova (2007: 461). In addition, the qualitative use of inter- and intra-sentential switches varies. Inter-sentential switching was mainly used in *Maya & Miguel* (22.6), but rarely utilized in *Handy Manny* (5.2) whereas intra-sentential CS ranges from 4.4 instances per episode in *Maya & Miguel* to 3.6 on average in *Dora the Explorer* and 2.8 in *Handy Manny*. Whereas inter-sentential switches indicate a broad range of CS use in the series, the numbers for intra-sentential switching are similar.

One reason for this may be the target group (children) and that language is related to less advanced and complicated dialogues and CS. While the shows *Handy Manny* and *Dora the Explorer* are aimed at preschoolers aged 3-7, *Maya & Miguel* targets children between the ages of 6 and 11. As a consequence, CS occurs more frequently and within more complicated sentence structures in *Maya & Miguel* than in the two other series. It is

specifically *Dora the Explorer* where an easier, slower speech and a more playful way of approaching a foreign language is recognizable. For example, various songs help the viewers to establish the show's patterns and help them understand the utterances: "Come on, VÁMONOS, everybody let's go. Come on, let's get to it. I know that we can do it." (Dora #1). This sequence is repeated four times throughout the show, including the alternations such as "Vamos, amigos!", "Come on!" (Dora #1).

In addition, all shows commonly implement translations and repetitions in both languages, usually carried out by one character of the show.

Dora the Explorer

Dora the Explorer is the show that uses language strategies most frequently. Almost every Spanish word or phrase is either repeated "MI CANGREJITO, MI CANGREJITO!" or repeated and translated "Help, help! AYUDAME, AYUDAME!" (Dora #1). Language choice is explicitly stressed by pointing at the target words. The high incidence of translations may be connected to the series' educational character as it is emphasized to perfectly understand the bilingual discourse (Meechan & Rees-Miller, 2005, p. 465). Thus, Spanish words are introduced and either repeated "EMPUJEN, EMPUJEN, EMPUJEN" (Dora #1) and accompanied by the corresponding gesture or the English equivalent is either mentioned "Can LOS ESPERUELOS cut through a net? No, sunglasses can't cut through a net" (Dora #1).

The show stresses the educational value of the program by familiarizing its viewers with numbers, colors, and grammatical chapters, e.g. comparison (#2, #4). *Dora the Explorer* typically introduces a few words and repeats them throughout the episode. These words are usually related to the episode's topic and can be either in English or Spanish. While Dora and her friends explicitly ask the viewers to repeat words several times "Say ESTRELLAS", *Handy Manny* interlaces target words without explicitly pointing at them. In sum, CS in *Dora the Explorer* is mainly used to introduce a new word or topic or to repeat and emphasize an aspect instead of actually processing Hispanic culture.

The language is kept simple and pure without any hesitations or many interjections. Emblematic switches occur frequently to either introduce a character "HOLA, SOY Dora.", to refer to a character "Do you see MAMI crab?" or to intersperse Spanish words, such as "OLÉ!" (Dora #1). They appear isolated in English sentences and the viewer can easily understand them. Furthermore, MAMI and PAPI may hint at Central American cultures since these words are mainly used there.

In the same way language is used, the series applies an emblematic approach to Hispanic ethnicity. As hypothesized at the beginning of the study, all shows have another perspective on culture which is reflected in the shows' setting as well as in the use of Spanish. *Dora the Explorer* features the second highest number of CS among the three shows analyzed. Yet, Dora creates the impression of a clear distinction between the Hispanic and American world due to an explicit way of using each language. Instead of letting Spanish utterances slip into the conversation, characters in *Dora the Explorer*

usually draw the viewer's attention to foreign language use "Now, let's say this in Spanish. LA BARCA."(Dora the Explorer #3). Two entities, the Hispanic world with new vocabulary per episode and Dora's English-based world, are created through a voluntary pointing at specific words in Spanish.

Since language use reveals much about ethnic identity, it can be assumed that categories such as identity and ethnicity are treated in the same way language is: as two separate systems. Apart from Dora being a Latina, a few cultural adaptations (e.g. quinceañera, fiestas, or the Mayan culture) and regional animals (monkeys, kinkajous), race and ethnicity are rarely stressed. One could argue that this is indeed the crucial point and ethnic categories do not need to be constantly highlighted. Yet, the show rather evokes the image of persistently trying to integrate Hispanic concepts even though the series' emphasis is not on cultural diversity. This evaluation corresponds not only to the producers' subtle motives namely the orientation toward a non-Hispanic audience (De Casanova, 2007, p. 462), but further to lower instances of inter- and intra-sentential switching pointing at a meagre mixing of two cultures.

Looking at the scenery, it can be said that Dora's show is placed in an artificial, mythical setting with talking animals, blue birds and pink horses. Only few things remind of the real world; the scenery is rather tropicalized by palm trees, tropical plants, and jungle animals, e.g. Boots the monkey. In this context, the concept of *Tropicalization* is used by the dominant culture (Anglo and European) to refer to Latin American and U.S. Latina/o identities as the exotic, foreign Other (Chávez-Silverman 1997). In the same way Said's notion of Orientalism imitates aspects of the East, tropicalizing Dora's world

attaches an essence to the Hispanic world, a character that can be depicted and analyzed (Chávez-Silverman 1997, Said 1978). This goes hand in hand with the use of language. By incorporating Spanish words and frequently repeating and translating them, the discourse is not oriented towards an authentic language use. Thus, Spanish become artificial and emblematic to constantly highlight Hispanic culture.

New characters, who are introduced during Dora's adventures, often speak English flavored with a Spanish accent, contrasting Dora and her friends from the outsiders. However, this Spanish accent is void of any regional hints and may represent all Latinos without excluding a group. In this case, the Hispanic background of both Dora and the newcomers functions as the binding item which is immediately cut by letting the outsiders speak with an accent (*Dora the Explorer* #1, #2, #3). Here, viewers connect a Spanish accent with something foreign and new, building a 'they' that is opposed to the familiar world of Dora's accent-free English and Spanish, the 'we'. Language serves the purpose of creating a distinction between 'we' and 'they' by consciously implementing the Spanish accent in bilingual speech. Surprisingly, neither Maya and Miguel Santos nor Manny Manitas speak with an accent as well, even though not only their names point at their shared Hispanic roots.

The emphasis of *Dora the Explorer* is rather on introducing the kids to counting, colors, new vocabulary and basic hearing skills than consciously creating an awareness for the culturally and linguistically different. This is why the show remains in stable and fixed thinking where neither the cultures nor the languages intermingle. Even though Hispanic cultural artefacts, such as specific dances, celebrations, or music, are

introduced, the viewer processes them as another step to solve the problem during Dora's daily adventures. Furthermore, inter- and intra-sentential switching appears whenever the task is solved or the solution is close. An example is "Do you see Pirate Island? SÍ, HAY ES! I see it! I see it!" with Pirate Island being the place where they receive help (Dora the Explorer #3). However, intra- and inter-sentential switches scarcely highlight the Hispanic culture since Dora is not associated with a true Hispanic. She mainly relates to the idea of the generic Latino (De Casanova 2007), the impeccable drawing of a Latina/o without any specifically regional or cultural markers.

Maya & Miguel

In contrast, *Maya & Miguel* constantly highlights and negotiates ethnicity through its very authentic language use. The show explicitly refers to teaching new words only at times. Both other shows, *Maya & Miguel* and *Handy Manny*, introduce new words and concepts in a rather natural way by using them in conversation during which they are occasionally repeated. Yet, some utterances are frequently said just once, because it is assumed that the viewer guesses the meaning from the context or the pictures. Thus, no interruptions of the speech flow occur and the shows transmit a more authentic image of bilingual language production. For example, when Maya tries to calm down her father she says: "NO TE PREOCCUPES. Our luck is going to change, PAPI." (M&M #4). Here, the Spanish utterance is neither translated nor repeated, but occurs contextualized

in the dialogue. Through the contextualization the viewer is able to guess the meaning. Again, language choice is oriented towards a more natural speech production.

Likewise, language is naturally embedded in this multicultural scenery. To start with, *Maya & Miguel* is the series with the highest instances of CS per episode (59.6). This may emerge from the slightly older target group and the more complicated dialogues. Further, the average number of inter- and intra-sentential switches is as well higher (22.6 for inter-sentential and 4.4 for intra-sentential switches) and clearly stands out against the other series. The large amount of CS highlights the Hispanic culture's significance in the show. By consistently allowing the characters to codeswitch, both ethnicities are rated high and the imbalance is diminished.

In comparison to *Dora the Explorer*, repetitions occur less frequently which results in a more natural speech production and reception without any interruptions. Even though Spanish CS sometimes marks outgroup status or excludes people, e.g. when Maya turns toward Miguel in Spanish to talk about Andy, because she is worried about him (*Maya & Miguel* #3), language alternation usually serves to embrace everyone and include all participants in the conversation "My wife is the best cook on the plant, but don't tell that to my mother in Puerto Rico. Ok. AH, MIGUEL E TITO, SEÑOR MALDONADO, DEJE ME A PRESENTARSE." (*Maya & Miguel* #4). In this example, Mr. Sanchez includes Miguel and Tito by introducing them in Spanish. The codeswitch highlights ethnicity and includes all participants.

Inter- and intra-sentential switches are also commonly embedded in the dialogues. This is especially the case when Maya has an idea and Miguel tries to prevent her from

carrying out her risky plans or when the current problem is solved. An example for the former occasion is the scene when Maya thinks that her grandmother feels lonely: “My eyes are fine. ES ABUELITAS CORAZÓN I’m worried about. She is only pretending to be happy” (*Maya & Miguel* #1). This serves as an introduction to the episode’s topic ‘matchmaking and finding a partner for Maya’s and Miguel’s grandmother’. In the next scene, Maya and Miguel sit together with their friends and discuss how to find ABUELITA Elena a new partner. Again, intra-sentential switching occurs “I love the idea” and Maya replies: “So romantic. So cheesy. That’s what I said five times to LAS TRES AMIGAS.” (*Maya & Miguel* #1). In combination with emblematic switching like ABUELITA, Hispanic culture is negotiated by referring to typical Hispanic nicknames. However, no geographical indication is marked, since “ABUELITA” may be used in many Spanish-speaking countries.

Since the show celebrates ethnic identity and cultural diversity, inter- and intra-sentential codeswitches are perceived in ethnic terms. This corresponds to a rethinking of language alternation which is now regarded as a positive and valuable way to communicate among bilinguals. Through the in-between state, in-between the Hispanic and Anglo-American world, the series processes ethnicity in terms of voluntarily chosen affiliations instead of fixed categories. Within this multilingual context, hybrid ways of speaking, CS between English and Spanish, negotiate the speaker’s identity and thus allow an in-between state instead of aligning oneself with one culture. Neologisms, such as FASHIONISTA, a mixing of the English word *fashion* and the Spanish suffix *-ista*, contribute to the linguistic and cultural hybridity and generate new linguistic forms

(*Maya & Miguel* #1, #2). It is seen, thus, that neither language nor culture can be analyzed in isolated terms, but that a constant mixing produced new forms.

In the same way language is naturally incorporated in the dialogues, so is Hispanic culture represented in the show. *Maya & Miguel* makes use of rather fluid concepts toward Hispanic ethnicity. The show's setting is a fictional town whose real location never becomes apparent. Apart from this fictional element, no talking animals (except the bilingual parrot) or mystical items occur. The scenery rather reminds the viewer of an authentic place. Maya and Miguel live in a multicultural neighborhood, their neighbors occasionally appear throughout the series, and the siblings visit the local school. The family setting exposes a typical multi-generational household with all members working and living together.

Additionally, the twins have a culturally diverse circle of friends gathered around them. According to the PBS website, Miguel's best friend Theo has African-American roots and Tito recently emigrated from Mexico while Maya's friends are Asian-American (Maggie) and Afro-Dominican (Chrissy). Furthermore, all regularly occurring characters are bilingual to varying degrees. This is surprising since Maggie, Chrissy and Theo are non-native speakers of Spanish. Nevertheless, Maya's and Miguel's American friends occasionally intersperse Spanish words as well, for example "HOLA, Maya. HOLA SEÑOR SANCHEZ." when Maggie enters the Sanchez' house (*Maya & Miguel* #4). It is this emblematic switching that helps negotiating cultural and linguistic diversity. However, since Maya's and Miguel's friends are non-native speakers of Spanish, no

switch to Spanish would be assumed. The marked language choice, then, points at the negotiation of ethnicity.

Apart from Maya and Miguel, almost every other character speaks with an accent, typically either Spanish or Chinese. These facts contribute to a rather genuine depiction of linguistic diversity within a community and embraces multiculturalism. By introducing the viewer to the Hispanic twins Maya and Miguel, who handle cultural diversity as a natural phenomenon, an authentic setting is presented helping both Hispanics to identify with and non-Hispanics to strengthen their awareness of multiculturalism.

The productive mixing of two cultures is further illustrated by attending to cultural artefacts of both worlds. *Maya & Miguel* not only introduces typical Hispanic celebrations, such as *Cinco de Mayo*, it further refers to typical concepts (e.g. *la Calavera Catrina*, *Don Quixote*) or Hispanic food which embraces the whole Spanish-speaking world. The grandmother, *Abuelita* Elena, is presented as an intensely superstitious old lady who holds on to traditional values and thus does not want “MALA SUERTE” in her house (*Maya & Miguel* #4). Throughout the development of the series, viewers are taught important values which are especially associated with Hispanic families like a strong bonding among family and friends. Additionally, typical items belonging to other ethnic groups are introduced as well, e.g. Feng Shui (*Maya & Miguel* #4). In the same way, Anglo-American culture is referenced. Whether it is a baseball game in a big American stadium with popcorn, hot dogs, a mascot and a marching band or American holidays such as Valentine’s Day or Halloween, U.S.-American culture is as frequently incorporated as any other. The show *Maya & Miguel* depicts the positive aspects of

affiliating with two cultures and thus portrays Hispanic identity. Language choice in this regard is a valuable and important tool to construct a hybrid Latina/o identity.

Handy Manny

The last children's program *Handy Manny* may be assigned an in-between position between the former series. Since the show is relatively new, I included it in my analysis in order to expose a possible change with regard to approaching ethnicity. *Handy Manny* features 14.2 instances of emblematic switches, 4.2 occurrences of inter-sentential and 2.8 of intra-sentential switching per episode and thus is the show with the lowest use of Spanish. Manny Manitas, the main character, typically introduces a few new words which are then repeated throughout the conversation "They are MUY ESPECIAL. LOS HUEVOS DE LAS TORTUGAS, baby turtle eggs" (*Handy Manny* #1) His talking tools do understand Spanish; yet only four of them speak Spanish, mainly with an accent, and contribute Spanish words or phrases to the dialogues.

As well as *Dora the Explorer* the show *Handy Manny* frequently uses repetitions and translation strategies to facilitate comprehension. Again, this may be connected to the young target group and a corresponding easier choice of words. However, repetitive and translated phrases do not appear as often throughout the show as in *Dora the Explorer*. For example, the utterance "DÓNDE? DÓNDE? Where? Where?" includes both repetitions and the translated words. Nevertheless, this is the only situation where the word is introduced and utilized. Unlike *Dora the Explorer*, this show does not constantly

repeat and translate each Spanish word or phrase. The viewer does not necessarily have the impression to be taught new words in each episode, but understands the words by looking at the context.

In contrast to *Maya & Miguel* does *Handy Manny* introduce new words in each show. These words appear at the beginning of the episode: “Boy, EL SOL is very strong today. – SÍ, Manny, the sun is very strong.” (*Handy Manny* #2) and are taken up at several points throughout each episode. All appearances of the target words are translated to foster and strengthen comprehension and finally to facilitate acquisition.

Looking at the language of the different characters it can be said that inhabitants of the fictional town Sheetrock Hills vary from monolinguals (Mr. Lopart) to fully bilinguals (Mrs. Portillo, Mayor Rosa). Furthermore, the use of accent differs as well. A few tools and friends speak with an accent (Mr. Kumar, Felipe), others, although clearly depicted as Hispanics, use accent-free English (Jackie). This again creates the image of a natural setting in which all participants differ in their linguistic skills. The talking tools, however, as well as the desert-like setting with snowfall around Christmas breach with this impression.

Whereas bilingual characters seem to balance the Hispanic and Anglo-American world, monolinguals side with one culture without completely ignoring the other. Thus, bilingual dialogues consisting of questions which are asked in either English or Spanish and answers that are given in the other language, respectively, appear: “HOLA, ALCADE ROSA; CÓMO ESTÁS? and Manny replies with “I’m good” (*Handy Manny* #5).

Even though the series features the lowest incidences of Spanish, it may be assigned an in-between position due to a productive dealing with Hispanic ethnicity. Basically, no one-to-one correspondence between the average number of CS instances and ethnic identity in *Handy Manny* can be found. Nevertheless, inter- and intra-sentential switches usually occur when Manny and the tools start working on the job. The example “Nope. TODO SE VE PERFECTO. ES VERDAD, Turner. Okay, your turn” (*Handy Manny* #4) refers to CS when Manny advises the tools to start repairing. In doing so they find a way together to fix the broken item. Ergo, teamwork is encouraged and good values are highlighted. It is especially teamwork, bonding among friends and helping each other which is stressed throughout each episode. Since these values are emphasized in correspondence with the Spanish language, the viewer may easily connect these virtues with Hispanic culture. Whenever something goes wrong, the tools cannot help at first, or the fixture will not hold, the English language is utilized.

In the same way, Mr. Lopart’s character works as an Anglo-American. He is Manny’s clumsy next-door neighbor, appears in every episode and refuses to accept Manny’s help. Since he speaks English only, misadventures may regularly be linked with Anglo-Americans. Additionally, the main character, Manny Manitas, is a craftsman; an attribute typically associated with Hispanic men. In this regard, *Handy Manny* utilizes a rather rigid concept toward processing Hispanic culture by referring to stereotypical images of the Hispanic world.

Conversely, the town’s mayor is a woman which does not conform to traditional Hispanic role models but points at a liberated Anglo-American perspective. Since these

stereotypes are positively incorporated into the show's setting as well as the series naturally communicates a balance between the two cultures, it does not make use of solely fixed concepts. Regarding linguistic realizations, all leading songs incorporate both English and Spanish. The town's setting and Manny's role within the community reminds the viewer of an authentic neighborhood which is accompanied by a culturally diverse population (Mr. Kumar is Indian, Mrs. Portillo and Mrs. Rosa are Latinas). Furthermore, the introduction of items related to Latinos, e.g. Mexican paper flowers or piñatas, underlines this impression. Manny's way of helping people is considered exemplary and thus encourages his viewers to create a positive attitude toward ethnic diversity. In the same way cultural heterogeneity is portrayed, so is linguistic diversity depicted as a regular language phenomenon in a bilingual community.

DISCUSSION

It was hypothesized that *Dora the Explorer* makes use of less frequent CS by maintaining a static view on Hispanic culture. In contrast, *Maya & Miguel* employs a very productive perspective and thus a frequent use of CS instances. *Handy Manny* may be situated in-between these two. The analysis of all series confirms this hypothesis.

Furthermore, CS instances were evaluated for their potential portrayal of Hispanic culture and whether TV writing happens in the name of ethnic diversity or product selling. Here, we find varying results. On the one hand, the frequency of CS instances does not correlate with a more favorable attitude towards Hispanic culture. However,

Maya & Miguel features the highest number of CS and follows a rather authentic approach in terms of incorporated CS. On the other hand, even though the average number of CS reveals the lowest incidences with *Handy Manny*, the show still incorporates multiculturalism and values ethnic diversity. Thus, iteration of CS cannot completely account for the negotiation of Hispanic culture.

Looking at the different types (inter- and intra-sentential switches) of CS, it can be said that these partly mirror the incorporation of Hispanic ethnicity. The analysis did not show a one-to-one correspondence between the mere frequency of inter- and intra-sentential switches and a certain (stereotypical) representation of Hispanic culture.

However, including the setting of each show, CS, and inter- and intra-sentential switching in particular, reveals how ethnic identity is approached and highlighted. While *Dora's* show explicitly stresses language alternation, both languages remain separated as two systems. As a consequence, inter- and intra-sentential switches indeed appear when a problem or task is solved, but are hardly related to any cultural conception of Hispanic ethnicity.

CS in *Dora the Explorer* often emphasizes a particular argument to highlight that *Dora* and her friends overcame the difficulties in solving the task. In the same way switches are incorporated in *Dora the Explorer*, *Handy Manny* and *Maya & Miguel* switch when the episode's topic is introduced, a task is solved, or a related idea is brought up. Again, motivations of CS include the emphasis of the episode's topic, the introduction of a new problem, or the invitation of a new participant to join the conversation. However, *Maya & Miguel* generates a productive dealing with cultural

heterogeneity resulting in a strong connection between language and culture. Here, inter- and intra-sentential switches indeed highlight ethnicity and the viewer automatically connects Spanish CS with Latino identity. Relationships are constantly negotiated by addressing interlocutors in Spanish or by switching into the other language when another character enters the scene. For example, Mr. Santos addresses his daughter in Spanish and then switches to English to talk to Maya and Maggie: “GRACIAS, NIÑA. Excuse me girls, I’ve gotta run.” The switch happens to include Maggie who does not speak Spanish.

Furthermore, as outlined earlier, in-group membership is typically marked by intra-sentential switches which can be seen when Maya refers to her new plan in order to solve the problem: “Everyone knows that an astropack needs to be made of titanium. In fact, TENGO UNA IDEA. I promise this will work” (*Maya & Miguel* #1) and her family tries to stop her. Intra-sentential switches mainly occur between members of the in-group, i.e. between Maya and Miguel and their family.

Handy Manny, then, follows similar approaches and Manny’s talking tools function as the in-group in this show. After Tajfel and his social identity theory (1974) the distinction between in-group and out-group marks the group to which a person feels attached and identifies as being a member. It is the tools in the show around which the whole series centers so that the viewer can easily identify with them. Through the dominance of this group, the producers underline their wish to mark in-group membership in a culturally diverse setting. Thus, it is during conversations between Manny and the tools where consequently most of the inter- and intra-sentential switches

appear. In addition, Spanish switches are used to negotiate these relationships and include/ exclude participants.

The negotiation of relationships, whether the characters are considered in-group members or not, is linguistically implemented by switching to Spanish. One example is Mr. Kumar (the Hindu owner of the China store) who is excluded from the conversation when Manny and the tools discuss how to repair Mr. Kumar's sign (*Handy Manny* #2) by frequently switching into the in-group language Spanish. Conversely, whenever the client's ethnic background is Hispanic, e.g. Jacky the Hispanic ranger or Mrs. Portillo, the grandmotherly inhabitant of Sheetrock Hills, Spanish CS may be used to include all participants in the conversation and both the customer and Manny switch between English and Spanish.

Contrary, emblematic switches favor out-group status saying that the speaker prefers not to be associated with the dominant group. In all shows, the ML is English and Spanish works as the EL, the less dominant language. Emblematic switching occurs in all series and plays a crucial part in defining Hispanic ethnicity. The incorporation of Spanish greetings, forms of addressing and cultural holidays (PAPI, ABUELITA, PAQUITO, BUENAS TARDES, LIMONADA to mention a few) makes the viewer believe that he is exposed to authentic English-Spanish dialogue. This is, however, only partly true. Even though bilinguals indeed use emblematic switches in their speech, they do not use it as frequently as shown in the shows.

Even though the portrayal of Hispanic culture plays a crucial role in all three series, the analysis has shown that no clear one-to-one correspondence between linguistic

alternations and ethnicity has been established. Yet, it has to be kept in mind that CS in fictional discourse is purposefully implemented since dialogues are written in advance and rather associated with written speech. Consequently, it can be assumed that all instances of Spanish serve a purpose.

One explanation can be found when looking ‘behind the scenes’ and asking for the reasons why a variety of TV shows introduce Hispanic characters nowadays. Due to growing numbers of Hispanics in the U.S., television networks see themselves confronted with a new and changing audience. In order to attract as many viewers as possible, their programming needs to be adjusted as well. By interspersing Spanish words in English dialogue, the Anglo-American culture is still dominant. In combining Hispanic and Anglo-American characters and cultural items in one show, demands of both ethnic groups are fulfilled and a variety of viewers is reached. Thus, dealing with heterogeneity may either fall short (*Dora the Explorer*) due to holding on to fixed categorical thinking and a rigid implementation of bilingual discourse, or may succeed (*Maya & Miguel*, *Handy Manny*), at least on the TV screen, when both cultures are equally treated with respect and cultural diversity is valued for its productivity and surplus value.

All shows claim to belong to the genre of ‘edutainment’, a blend of *education* and *entertainment*. On a critical remark, the educational value of all shows is debatable since children may indeed pick up a few Spanish words, but they rarely become bilingual speakers by simply watching all seasons of the shows. Since the viewers are not exposed to an authentic language environment, it may be questioned to what extent language learning through fictional discourse may be beneficial at all. Again, opinions differ

widely for the actual implementation of authentic material during the language learning process and at what age authentic language may be useful (Nunan 2004; Harmer 1991). Nevertheless, it is a necessary step to help children become acquainted with the ‘foreign’ and familiarized with different cultures and languages.

Language strategies, such as repetition and translation, are utilized in all shows to different extents. Whereas *Dora the Explorer* combines a codeswitch with either a translated word or repetitive structures, *Maya & Miguel* hardly employ these language strategies. Furthermore, *Dora*’ show not only repeats each word or phrase, but completely consists of repetitive structures which guide the viewer through each show. Even though single words are changed, the sentence patterns remains identical:

“Can LOS ESPERUELOS cut through the net? No, the sunglasses can’t cut through the net. Can EL BALDE cut through the net? No, a pail can’t cut through the net. Can LAS TIJERAS cut through the net? CORRECTO! Dora can use LAS TIJERAS to cut through the net.” (Dora the Explorer, #1).

In this example different Spanish words are used without changing the syntax. As a consequence, these repetitive structures are internalized and the viewer is guided through the show without much mental processing. Interestingly, it is the show *Dora the Explorer* which claims an interactive approach and asks the viewers to participate, which then in turn asks for minimal mental thinking by repeating a great amount of utterances in both English and Spanish.

It is said that language use strategies, such as repetition and translation, facilitate comprehension. Furthermore, these strategies are supposed to be beneficial for older and more advanced learners since these speakers have a high command of both linguistic systems. Nevertheless, strategies to facilitate understanding are implemented in all children's shows even though the audience is not expected to possess advanced skills in either language. From an SLA standpoint, it may be questionable whether these strategies are as effective with children as with elder learners. Additional studies dealing with the audience and to what extent language strategies in children's TV shows are beneficial would shed light onto this question.

The simple language in *Dora the Explorer*, for example, may be due to the different target group, since *Dora* is aimed at preschoolers, whereas *Maya & Miguel* aims at a slightly older audience (5-9). Resulting from an older audience, dialogues are written more advanced and with more complicated switches. The show *Handy Manny* features the same audience group as *Dora* and reveals an even smaller number of advanced inter- and intra-sentential switches (5.2 and 2.8 in *Handy Manny* in contrast to 10.0 and 3.6 in *Dora*). However, looking at the lexicon of *Handy Manny*, it can be said that the show incorporates a greater variety of vocabulary and more creative language use. Further research needs also to be conducted on the lexical items and its variation implemented in each show.

7. CONCLUSION

As we have seen in this study, not all linguistic theories could have been equally applied to each show. Furthermore, universal constraints which try to embrace every single instance of language alternation and CS cannot work either. Language in itself is an ever-changing system, changing in itself and changed by the influence of other languages. Even though several theories try to break down CS to its grammatical constraints (MacSwan 2006; Poplack 1988), they cannot fully grasp the wide range of CS occurrences and are limited to specific speech communities. Therefore, no universal rule on how CS functions has been established. Also, the motives behind each switch cannot account for language alternation in general. CS is rather to be seen and analyzed at an individual level which makes use of an interplay of various motives and functions instead of just one. It may indeed happen consciously and subconsciously without referring to any specific effect. This is especially true for scripted language, where language choice is motivated by the producer's intentions. TV writing in the name of ethnic diversity reveals a productive approach to heterogeneity and tries to incorporate authentic language use. On the other hand, TV writing in the name of product selling remains in static categories and language choice is rarely oriented toward authentic speech production. Merchandise and economic reasons dominate the series' motivations which has an impact on the shows' quality.

This can be seen on the use of language strategies, the qualitative and quantitative implementation of CS, the contextualization of Spanish utterances and the setting itself.

Consequently, the creative use of language in a variety of speech situations illustrates that no correspondence to existent patterns may be effective, neither with regard to linguistic phenomena nor to cultural classifications. The increasing contact between languages and an ongoing merging of different cultures thus demands a rethinking and a shift away from pre-existent categories and groups. In this context, today's multimedia, such as television, computers, and the internet, plays a crucial role inasmuch as it channels current beliefs, reinforces stereotypes, but also helps building networks and approaching new cultural contexts.

It is, thus, important that multimedia sensitively approach Hispanic ethnicity by implementing cultural items in their productions. The conscious dealing with stereotypical language behavior needs to be explicitly outlined so that stereotypes regarding cultures can be reduced. The producers do not explicitly need to define the shows' characters, but they can let them speak in a certain way to convey meaning beyond the actual TV picture. For example, a character with a heavy accent is attributed with certain (stereotypical) conceptions about his/ her origin, ethnicity and even with the level of education. Consequently, language behavior plays a crucial role in multimedia settings. Further studies on lexical items, learning theories, and the implementation of accents and dialects in children's animated TV shows need to be conducted.

Additionally, the side of the recipients has to be critically observed. While producers implement bilingual characters in their programs for a certain purpose, the viewers need to access these shows. This is especially true for children's television programming. As outlined at the beginning of this study, figures indicate that children spend up to 19 hours per week watching TV (Kaiser Foundation). Additionally, the growing use of the internet via computers or smartphones needs to be taken into consideration as well. Furthermore, it is debatable to what extent young viewers actually perceive cultural stereotypes and have a sense for ethnic diversity studies.

Educational websites need to be critically accessed for potential cultural stereotypes as well as they should shed a positive light on bilingualism. In concordance with an open-minded education at home and in schools, thinking in cultural categories by using a certain language can be diminished. Just as well as it helps to reduce cultural stereotypes, it helps to view language alternations as a positive tool to add meaning and process relationships in a bilingual conversation. By regarding CS as a productive means of communication, people may start valuing bilingual conversations and see their productive mixture of different languages and cultures. Instead of thinking in closed linguistic and cultural systems, this approach is a more realistic representation of modern societies.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

EPISODES STUDIED

Dora the Explorer (Nickelodeon)

Episode #1: "Baby Crab." Aired 06/25/07

Episode #2: "The Mixed-up Seasons." Aired 10/05/05

Episode #3: "Dora Saves the Mermaids." Aired 11/05/07

Episode #4: "Star Mountain." Aired 02/22/05

Episode #5: "Star Catcher." Aired 10/06/04

Maya & Miguel (PBS)

Episode #1: "The Matchmaker." Aired 10/12/04

Episode #2: "Teacher's Pet." Aired 10/20/04

Episode #3: "When Maya Met Andy." Aired 10/13/04

Episode #4: "Mala Suerte." Aired 10/11/04

Episode #5: "The Autograph." Aired 10/14/04

Handy Manny (Disney Channel)

Episode #1: "Saving the Turtles." Aired 08/01/09

Episode #2: "Manny Goes Solar." Aired 04/22/08

Episode #3: "Science Fair." Aired 05/31/08

Episode #4: "Light Work." Aired 11/10/07

Episode #5: "Bloomin' Tools." Aired 03/22/08

APPENDIX B

CODESWITCHING AND LANGUAGE ALTERNATION IN TOTAL NUMBERS PER EPISODE

Dora the Explorer

<u>Title of episode</u>	<u>∑ Inter-sentential switches</u>	<u>∑ Intra-sentential switches</u>	<u>∑ Emblematic switching</u>
#1 Baby Crab	18	5	34
#2 Mixed-Up Seasons	6	3	22
#3 Dora Saves the Mermaids	9	2	13
#4 Star Mountain	12	7	14
#5 Star Catcher	5	1	24
∑	50	18	107
̄	10.0	3.6	21.4

Handy Manny

<u>Title of episode</u>	<u>Σ Inter-sentential switches</u>	<u>Σ Intra-sentential switches</u>	<u>Σ Emblematic switching</u>
#1 Saving the Turtles	2	3	10
#2 Manny Goes Solar	9	6	17
#3 Light Work	8	2	7
#4 Bloomin' Tools	6	3	26
#5 Ups and Downs	1	0	11
Σ	26	14	71
\bar{x}	5.2	2.8	14.2

Maya & Miguel

<u>Title of episode</u>	<u>Σ Inter-sentential switches</u>	<u>Σ Intra-sentential switches</u>	<u>Σ Emblematic switching</u>
#1 The Matchmaker	20	7	28
#2 Teacher's Pet	12	3	23
#3 When Maya met Andy	14	3	24
#4 Mala Suerte	39	1	56
#5 The Autograph	28	8	32
Σ	113	22	163
$\bar{\sigma}$	22.6	4.4	32.6

APPENDIX C

TRANSCRIPTION OF ONE EPISODE PER SHOW

1) Dora the Explorer: #1 Baby Crab

LEADING SONG

Dora: “HOLA, SOY Dora”

Boots: “And I’m Boots”

Dora: “Boots and I are at the beach today.”

Baby Crab: “Help! Help! AYÚDAME! AYÚDAME!”

Boots: “Oh, oh. That sounds like someone is in trouble.”

Dora: “Do you see anyone who needs help? Where?”

Boots: “Here, Dora, look. It’s a baby crab. He got caught in a net.”

Dora: “I better have something in my backpack that can help us get the baby crab out of the net. Say backpack.”

Boots: “Say backpack, say backpack.”

Backpack: “Backpack, backpack...yeah. HOLA, Dora needs to find something we can use to cut through the net. Can LOS ESPERUELOS cut through the net? No, the sunglasses can’t cut through the net. Can EL BALDE cut through the net? No, a pail can’t cut through the net. Can LAS TIJERAS cut through the net? CORRECTO! Dora can use

LAS TIJERAS to cut through the net. MUY BIEN. MJAM, MJAM, MJAM, MJAM, MJAM, DELICIOSO.”

Dora: “I’m going to need your help to cut the net. Can you make scissors with your fingers? Make scissors with your fingers and snip, snip, snip, snip, snip, snip, snip, snip, snip.”

Baby Crab: “Ah, GRACIAS.”

Boots: “How did you get caught in the net?”

Baby Crab: “I was making the shell necklace for my MAMI, but then I got stuck in the net and I thought I’d never get out. I miss my MAMI.”

Dora: “Aw, don’t cry, Baby Crab.”

Boots: “Hey, Baby Crab, watch me. I’m a crab, see...”

Dora: “Boots, I think you’re starting to cheer him up. Will you help us cheer up Baby Crab? Great! Come on. Let’s all move like crabs. Put your hands in the air and snap your hands like a crab. Snap your hands and shake your body just like a crab. Shake your body, MENEATE, shake your body just like a crab (singing). It’s working.”

Boots: “Sing with us!”

All: “Shake your body, MENEATE shake your body just like a

crab. Shake your body, MENEATE, shake your body just like a crab.”

Dora: “One more time.”

All: “Shake your body, MENEATE, shake your body just like a crab.”

Baby Crab: “OLÉ!”

All: “OLÉ!”

Baby Crab: ”MUY BIEN. You are great at moving like a crab. Thanks, you cheered me up. Now I’m gonna find my MAMI and give her this necklace. Hey, I don’t know which way to go to find my MAMI.”

Dora: “Don’t worry, Baby Crab. We got a good friend who can help us. Who do we ask for help when we don’t know which way to go? The map, right. You have to say map.”

Boots & Baby Crab: “Louder!”

Map: ”Who is the guy you need to know when you’ve got a place to go? What’s my name?”

Singing Trio: “The map!”

Map: “Say it again!”

Singing Trio: “The map!”

Map: “Who can help you say ‘Hey I figured out the way’? What’s my name?”

Singing Trio: “The map!”

Map: “Say it again!”

Singing Trio: “The map!”

Map: “I’m the map, I’m the map.”

Singing Trio: “He’s the map. He’s the map.”

Map: ”I’m the map. We’ve got to help Baby Crab to get home to his MAMI.

Map: „Do you see MAMI crab?”

MAMI Crab: “Baby Crab, MI CANGREJITO, DÓNDE ESTÁ, MI CANGREJITO?”

Map: “MAMI Crab is on Crab Island. To get to Crab Island, first we have to go through the sandcastle. Shakey, shakey, boom, boom. Then we go over the snapping clamps. And that’s how we get to Crab Island so Baby Crab can be with his MAMI.

MAMI Crab: “Baby Crab, MI CANGREJITO.”

Map: “So remember, castle, clams, Crab Island. Say it with me, castle, clams, Crab Island. Castle, clams, Crab Island. castle, clams, Crab Island. So you tell Dora. First, we go through the castle...”

Dora: “Where do we go first? Castle! Right, the sandcastle! So first, we need to go to the sandcastle.”

Boots: “I can’t see it. These big rocks are in the way.”

Baby Crab: “Step aside. I can push the rocks out of the way.”

Boots: “You can?”

Baby Crab: “Sure. Crabs are very strong. But I am going to need your help.

Are you strong? Are you as strong as a crab? Let’s see. Make a muscle. Go on, make a muscle, woow. You are strong. Okay. Now put your arms out to your side and say EMPUJEN, EMPUJEN, EMPUJEN. Now, do you see the sandcastle?”

Boots: “Yeah, there it is!”

Dora: “SÍ AHÍ ESTÁ. Way to go, Baby Crab. Thanks for helping. Come on, VÁMONOS, let’s go to Crab Island.”

Baby Crab: “So I can see my MAMI.”

Dora: “Come on, say it with us. Castle, clamps, Crab Island. Castle, clamps, Crab Island. Castle, clamps, Crab Island.”

All: “Come on, VÁMONOS, everybody let’s go.”

Boots: “Come on, let’s get to it.”

Dora: “I know that we can do it. Now let’s snap our hands like a

crab. Come on, put your hands in the air and snap, snap, snap.”

All: “Snap, snap, snap. Snap, snap, snap. Snap, snap, snap.
Snap,
snap, snap.”

Boots: “Wow, look at the sandcastle.”

Baby Crab: “QUÉ GRANDE! Nice castle. I wonder who lives here.”

Squishy Squid: “Squishy, squishy, squishy, SOY YO, SOY YO, SOY YO.
Squishy, squishy, squishy, yes, I am the squishy squid.
Boom, boom, shaka, shaka. Boom, boom, shaka, shaka,
squish!”

Boots: “It’s the squishy squid!”

Squishy Squid: “You got that right, kid. So you want to go through my
castle, do you?”

All: “Yes!”

Squishy Squid: “Well, you can’t go through my castle unless you play my
music. And you have to play real squishy.”

Dora: “We can do it. We can play squishy music, right?”

Boots & Baby Crab: “Right!”

Dora: “Okay, Squishy Squid, we are ready to play.”

Squishy Squid: “Okay, you have to say what I say. Say boom, boom.”

All: "Boom, boom."

Squishy Squid: "Not bad. Okay, now say boom, boom, shaka, shaka."

All: "Boom boom, shaka, shaka."

Squishy Squid: "Mmh, you got it. But try this boom, boom, shaka, shaka, boom, boom."

All: "Boom, boom, shaka, shaka, boom, boom."

Squishy Squid: "Uhh, you're good. But let's see just how good you really are. Say boom, boom, shaka, shaka, boom, boom, squid."

All: "Boom, boom, shaka, shaka, boom, boom, squid."

Squishy Squid: "Wow, that was squishy. You guys can go through my sandcastle anytime."

All: "Yeah, GRACIAS, Mr. Squid."

All: "Boom, boom, shaka, shaka, boom, boom, squish. Boom, boom, shaka, shaka, boom, boom, squish."

Baby Crab: "Say OLÉ."

Dora & Boots: "OLÉ."

Dora: "We have to figure out where to go next. You have to say map."

Boots & Baby Crab: "Say it again."

Map: “Boom, boom, shaka, shaka, boom, boom, squish. Boo, you are getting closer to MAMI Crab.”

MAMI Crab: “Baby Crab, MI CANGREJITO, DÓNDE ESTÁ, MI CANGREJITO?”

Map: “Ughh, Baby Crab better hurry. We made it through the sandcastle, check. Where do we go next? Woho, the clamps, right, the snapping clamps. Uh, I hope we don’t get snapped. So you tell Dora next we go to the clamps.”

Dora: “Where do we go next? The clamps, right. The snapping clamps.”

Boots: “I see one, two, three mountains of clamps.”

Dora: “We need to figure out which one has snapping clamps.”

Baby Crab: “Snapping clamps sound like this.”

Dora: “Listen for the mountain with the snapping clamps. Which mountain has the snapping clams? Is it one the first path, the second path or the third path? The third path, right. AHÍ ESTÁ.”

Baby Crab: “VÁMONOS AMIGOS.”

Dora: “Let’s go to Crab Island...”

Baby Crab: “...so I can see my MAMI.”

Dora: “Come on, say it with us. Castle, clamps, Crab Island.
Castle, clamps, Crab Island. Castle, clamps, Crab Island.”

All: “Come on, VÁMONOS, everybody let’s go.”

Boots: “Come on, let’s get to it.”

Dora: “I know that we can do it. Now let’s snap our hands like a
crab. Come on, put your hands in the air and snap, snap,
snap.”

All: “Snap, snap, snap. Snap, snap, snap. Snap, snap, snap.
Snap,
snap, snap. Snap, snap, snap.”

Baby Crab: “Wait a minute. Did you hear that?”

Dora: “That sounds like Swiper the Fox.”

Boots: “That’s a sneaky fox who tried to swipe Baby Crab’s
necklace for his MAMI.”

Baby Crab: “Woah, that fox sure is sneaky. But I’ll keep an eye out for
him. Come on, help me look. And if you see Swiper, say
Swiper.”

Dora: “You see Swiper? Where? There he is.”

Swiper: “It’s too late. You never find the necklace now, haha.”

Baby Crab: “That necklace was for my MAMI.”

Dora: “Don’t worry baby crab. We’ll help you find your necklace.”

Baby Crab: “You will? Will you help me find the necklace for my MAMI? Great! Let’s look for the necklace. Is this the necklace? Ups, those are snails. Let’s keep looking. Is this the necklace? There it is. You found it. Thanks for helping me find the necklace for my MAMI.”

Dora & Boots: “Yaay.”

Dora: “Come on, let’s go.”

Boots: “Wow, check out those snapping clams.”

Dora: “They are big.”

Baby Crab: “And snappy.”

Boots: “How are we going to get over them without getting snapped?”

Dora: “When the clams snap, we have to jump.”

Baby Crab: “But how do we know when they are going to snap?”

Dora: “We have to count. Listen, one, two, three, four, five, jump. One, two, three, four, five, jump.”

Baby Crab: “So we have to count to five and then jump.”

Dora: “Right. Will you help us jump over the snapping clams? Great. You have to stand up to jump over the snapping

clamps. Stand up please.”

Boots: “LEVÁNTATE, stand up.”

Baby Crab: “You really have to get up.”

Dora: “Okay, get ready to count and jump. Here we go.”

All: “One, two, three, four, five, jump. One, two, three, four, five, jump.”

Dora: “Keep going. VAMOS, AMIGOS.”

All: “One, two, three, four, five, jump. One, two, three, four, five, jump.”

Dora: “Good jumping.”

Boots: “Woo, that was close.”

Dora: “We need to figure out where to go next.”

Boots & Baby Crab: “Say map!”

Map: “One, two, three, four, five, jump. We went through the sandcastle, check. We went over the snapping clamps, check. Where do we go next? Crab Island, right.”

MAMI Crab: “Baby Crab, MI CANGREJITO, DÓNDE ESTÁ, MI CANGREJITO?”

Map: “Quick, tell Dora next we go to Crab Island.”

Dora: “Where do we go next? Crab Island, right. We need to find Crab Island. Do you see Crab Island?”

Baby Crab: “Yeah, look, there’s my MAMI.”

MAMI Crab: “Baby Crab, MI CANGREJITO.”

Baby Crab: “I’m coming, MAMI, YA VOY.”

Dora: “SALVAVIDAS.”

Boots: “Life jackets.”

All: “So we can be safe.”

Boots: “Hey Dora, where are the oars?”

Dora: “Oh no, the oars are missing.”

Baby Crab: “I can help.”

Dora: “Look, Baby Crab is pulling the boat.”

Boots: “Wow, Baby Crab is pulling fast. He is getting tired.”

Dora: “Come on, we have to help Baby Crab pull. Put your hands out in front of you and pull, pull, pull, pull, pull, pull, pull.”

Baby Crab: “Wow, good pulling.”

MAMI Crab: “Baby Crab, MI CANGREJITO.”

Baby Crab: “MAMI, MAMI.”

MAMI Crab: “MI CANGREJITO. I’m so happy you are home.”

Baby Crab: “Oh, MAMI, I got stuck in a net, but I made some new friends. They helped me get home.”

MAMI Crab: “Oh, GRACIAS.”

Dora: “DE NADA.”

Baby Crab: “I brought you a present.”

MAMI Crab: “AY, QUÉ BONITO. I love it.”

Baby Crab: “It’s made out of shells. Here, try it on.”

Dora: “What a beautiful necklace.”

Boots: “That would snakes.”

Dora: “QUÉ BONITO.”

MAMI Crab: “SÍ, GRACIAS, Baby Crab.”

Baby Crab: Oh, MAMI, I have something else I want to show you. Dora and Boots taught me a new song. It’s about moving like a crab.”

MAMI Crab: “SÍ. Come on, I want to hear you sing it and I want to see you shake your body just like a crab.”

Baby Crab: “She knows the song.”

Dora: “Come on, let’s all sing and move like crabs.”

All: “Shake your body, MENEATE shake your body just like a crab.”

Baby Crab: “Everybody just sing and dance.”

All: “Shake your body, MENEATE, shake your body just like

a crab. Shake your body, MENEATE, shake your body
just like a crab.”

MAMI Crab: “Say OLÉ.”

All: “OLÉ.”

MAMI Crab: “One more time. Say OLÉ.”

All: “OLÉ.”

MAMI Crab: “You were great, CANGREJITO, you too. You know how
to shake your body just like a crab.”

Dora & Boots: “We did it.”

All: “We did it, we did it, we did it, yeah, LO HICIMOS, we
did it. We went through the castle, singing like the Squishy
Squid, we did it, we did it, we did it, hooray. Jumped over
the clamps, that’s exactly what we did, we did it, we did it,
we did it. Swiper tried to take Baby Crab’s necklace away
and you helped me find it and now everything’s ok, yaay.
VA A MOVERTE, yaay. We did it.”

Dora: “We had such an exciting beach trip today. What was your
favorite part of the trip? I liked that too.”

Boots: “My favorite part was shaking my body just like a crab.”

Dora: “My favorite part was when baby crab got back home to his
MAMI. We couldn’t have done it without you. Thanks for

helping.”

Boots: “OLÉ.”

2) Handy Manny: #2 Manny Goes Solar

LEADING SONG

Voice: „Manny goes solar.“

Felipe: „You’re in my way.”

Turner: „No, you’re in my way. I was here first.”

Felipe: “But I am here now.”

Turner: “No, I am.”

Felipe: “Say, is that a loose woodscrew over there?”

Turner: “DÓNDE, DÓNDE? Where, where? Hey...”

Rusty: “Hey, what about me? I need to cool down too.”

Stretch: “Mmh, according to my calculations, there is not enough room for all of us to stand in front of the fan at one time.”

Felipe: “Ah, that’s nice, huh?”

Manny: “It sure is hot out there.”

Squeeze: “It’s really hot in here too.”

Pat: “Excuse me, pardon me, let me through.”

Manny: “Take it easy, guys. You know there a lots of other ways to cool off on a hot day.”

Squeeze: "How?"

Manny: "Well, I was about to make some ice-cold LIMONADA."

Pat: "Oh, I love ice-cold LIM, LIM. LIM-ONADE, what'd you say?"

Manny: "Hahaha, LIMONADA, Pat, lemonade."

Pat: "Uh, I love lemonade."

Manny: "Great. Then you can help me squeeze the lemons."

Squeeze: "I wanna help. I wanna help."

Felipe: "Uh, well, at least there is more room now in front of the fan, right Turner? Turner?"

Turner: "Wh-What? Hey, come back here."

Manny: "HOLA, Handy Manny's repair shop. You break it..."

All tools: "...we fix it."

Manny: "This is Manny."

Mr. Kumar: "Hello Manny, this is Mr. Kumar from the china shop. I need your help."

Manny: "BUENAS TARDES, MR. Kumar. What can we do for you?"

Mr. Kumar: "I have a new sign for my store and I need you to put it up for me. You think you can do it, Manny?"

Manny: "NO HAY PROBLEMA, Mr. Kumar. No problem at all."

Mr. Kumar: "Oh, thank you, Manny. Thank you."

Manny: "Okay, tools. Mr. Kumar needs our help."

Manny & tools: "UNO, DOS, TRES, CUATRO, CINCO, SEIS, SIETE, OCHO! Hop, hop, jump in, come on let's go. Hop, hop, jump in, SÍ, VÁMONOS. Hop, hop, jump in, don't go to slow, keep up. Let's get to work, MUY RÁPIDO."

Manny: "Boy, EL SOL is very strong today."

Felipe: "SÍ, Manny, the sun is very strong."

Pat: "Strong like this?"

Manny: "Haha, no, Pat. I just mean it's very hot today, MUY CALIENTE."

Pat: "Oh."

Manny: "Can I give you a hand, Mr. Lopart?"

Mr. Lopart: "No thanks, Manny. This is exactly where I wanted it."

Dusty: "What are you gonna do with all that ice, Mr. Lopart?"

Mr. Lopart: "Oh, I'm gonna sell ice-cold fruit juice in front of my store and I will need plenty of ice."

Manny: "That sounds like an excellent idea, Mr. Lopart. Fruit juice can be very refreshing on a hot day."

Mr. Lopart: “And today is definitely a hot one. Oh, I almost forgot. Check out my brandnew sunglasses, Manny.”

Manny: “Ehm, these are pretty dark, Mr. Lopart.”

Mr. Lopart: “Well, you can’t be too careful with your eyes, Manny. Hey, hey, where did everybody go?”

Manny: “We’re right here, Mr. Lopart.”

Mr. Lopart: “Uh, there you are. Thought you deserted me. Well, I guess I gotta go get all that ice-cold fruit juice now. Stay cool, Manny, stay cool.”

Manny: “Oh, are you ok, Mr. Lopart?”

Mr. Lopart: “Fine, Manny, fine. Just staying cool.”

Manny: “Okay, we better get going.”

Mr. Lopart: “I’ll see you later, Manny. Call me if you need any ice-cold fruit juice. Well, this is one way to cool off. Oh, Fluffy.”

Mr. Kumar: “Hello, Manny. And hello to you too, tools.”

Manny: “BUENAS TARDES, SEÑOR Kumar.”

Tools: „Hello, Mr. Kumar. HOLA, Mr. Kumar.”

Mr. Kumar: “Thank you for coming on such a hot day.”

Squeeze: “EL SOL is very strong today.”

Manny: “Haha, that’s right, Squeeze. The sun is very strong today.

But we're always ready to help a friend no matter what the weather is, right, tools?"

Tools: "Right, Manny. ABSOLUTAMENTE!"

Mr. Kumar: "Manny, this is my new sign that I was telling you about."

Manny: "It's TERRÍFICO! Terrific."

Turner: "And very big."

Felipe: "SÍ, MUY GRANDE!"

Mr. Kumar: "I'm hoping you can hang it way up there above the store."

Manny: "NO HAY PROBLEMA, Mr. Kumar. We'll have it up in no time."

Squeeze: "What's that, Manny?"

Manny: "It's an electric motor."

Mr. Kumar: "That's right, Manny. The motor makes the cup go up and down on the saucer. I think a moving sign will help people notice my store more. Is there a problem?"

Manny: "Well, I don't see any electrical connections up there to power the electric motor."

Mr. Kumar: "Oh no! I guess, I won't be able to have a new sign after all."

Manny: "We can still hang the sign, Mr. Kumar. It just won't move

up and down.”

Mr. Kumar: “Well, I guess that will have to do. I’ve trust that you will do a fantastic job, Manny.”

Manny: “We will, Mr. Kumar. Don’t you worry.”

Mr. Kumar: “I better get that. Let me know if you need anything.”

Dusty: “Huh, it’s too bad that we can’t make Mr. Kumar’s sign move up and down.”

Manny: “I know, Dusty. But without electricity the motor just won’t work.”

Pat: “Uh, maybe Squeeze and I can make it move up and down?”

Squeeze: “Yeah, I can pull it up…”

Pat: “…and I can push it down.”

Manny: “Haha, that’s a nice idea, but I think you get pretty tired after a while. Okay, tools, we better go to Kelly’s so we can get all the supplies we need to hang Mr. Kumar’s sign.”

Manny: “HOLA, Kelly.”

Kelly: “HOLA, Manny, Hi tools.”

Tools: “HOLA, Kelly. Hi, Kelly.”

Kelly: “Oh, I’m glad you’re here, Manny. Maybe you can help me

hang this poster?”

Manny: “Sure, Kelly.”

Felipe: “That’s a picture of EL SOL! The sun.”

Kelly: “That’s right, Felipe. It’s to let all my customers know that I’m selling all the supplies they need to have solar power in their house.”

Dusty: “What’s solar power?”

Manny: “Well, Dusty, solar power is when you make electricity from sunlight.”

Kelly: “Manny’s right. The sun shines down on the solar panels and the panels turn the sunlight into electricity that you can use in your house.”

Rusty: “Oh, I get it. Wait, no I don’t.”

Pat: “I’ll explain, Rusty. No, I don’t get it either.”

Kelly: “Here, I’ll show you. This panel is called a solar panel. It gathers up the sunlight and it turns the sunlight into electricity.”

Stretch: “Wow.”

Dusty: “Can you power anything with solar electricity?”

Kelly: “Sure, lamps, fans, TVs...”

Dusty: “...electric motors?”

Kelly: “Jap, even electric motors.”

Manny: “Hey, that’s it, Stretch. Maybe we can use solar power to make Mr. Kumar’s sign go up and down.”

Stretch: “That is a great idea.”

Kelly: “What sign?”

Manny: “Mr. Kumar has a new sign for his store.”

Stretch: “It has a cup and saucer.”

Turner: “And it’s supposed to go up and down.”

Manny: “But there’s no electricity up where the sign needs to go. And without electricity the sign can’t move up and down. But now, thanks to solar power...”

Kelly: “...you can make it move.”

Tools: “Alright, yeah.”

Manny: “Mr. Kumar is going to be so happy.”

Kelly: “I think solar power is really going to brighten up Mr. Kumar’s day.”

Manny: “We’re back, Mr. Kumar and we have some great news.”

Mr. Kumar: “You do?”

Squeeze: “Jap.”

Dusty: “We gonna make your sign go up and down.”

Mr. Kumar: “Really? That is wonderful news. But what about electricity for the electric motor?”

Felipe: “We’re going to use the power of EL SOL, the sun.”

Pat: “Solar power!”

Mr. Kumar: “Oh!”

Manny: “Solar power is when you use the light from the sun to make electricity.”

Mr. Kumar: “Solar power? That’s wonderful! Thank you, Manny. I’m so very happy. And I’m also very hot. Please call me if you need anything.”

Manny: “Okay, tools, we’ve got work to do.”

Tools: “Let’s get going and fix it right, twist and turn, make it tight. TRABAJAMOS JUNTOS, we work together now. Cut and measure it, tap it flat. Bend and twist, just like that. Each of us has a special job, we work together, TODOS JUNTOS, we can fix it right.”

Manny: “Nice work, everyone. BIEN HECHO, well done.”

Mr. Kumar: “How is it going, Manny?”

Manny: “Take a look.”

Mr. Kumar: “It works. You did it.”

Manny: “Well, we had a little help.”

Stretch: “We did?”

Manny: “SÍ, from EL SOL, the sun.”

Felipe: “Solar power!”

Tools: “Yeah, EL SOL.”

Señor Ayala: “BUENAS TARDES, everyone.”

Manny: “BUENAS TARDES, SEÑOR Ayala.”

Señor Ayala: “I was just riding by and I noticed that amazing sign.”

Mr. Kumar: “Really? That’s wonderful.”

Señor Ayala: “It reminded me of a sign that used to hang in my town in ARGENTINA. That’s where I’m from. We have lots of signs in ARGENTINA. Big signs, little signs, signs that move... anyway, then it hit me. I need to buy some new teacups.”

Mr. Kumar: “Some new teacups? Wonderful, my friend. Please allow me to help you.”

Señor Ayala: “Say, Mr. Kumar, did I ever tell you about the time I rode my bike across ARGENTINA?”

Mr. Kumar: “No, I don’t believe you have. Thank you, Manny, and thank you, tools.”

Manny & tools: “You’re welcome, DE NADA.”

Manny: “It’s nice to be out of the sun.”

Turner: "I say you can melt metal out there."

Dusty: "But if it wasn't for the sun, we would never been able to power Mr. Kumar's sign."

Manny: "That's true, Dusty."

Stretch: "Maybe we can use solar power to roll the fan."

Squeeze: "And the TV."

Manny: "These are both good ideas. Maybe we see Kelly tomorrow and get some solar panels of our own. Now, Who's ready for some LIMONADA?"

Tools: "Me! Me! Me too! LIMONADA! For me please!"

Squeeze: "I have the cups."

Pat, Stretch & Dusty: "We've got the lemons."

Felipe & Turner: "We've got the ice."

Manny: "Oh, I need a spoon to stir with. Hey! Haha, what are you all doing?"

Felipe: "We got hot!"

Squeeze: "Come on in, Manny. It feels great, hahaha."

3) Maya & Miguel: #4 Mala Suerte

LEADING SONG

Maya: "I'm a lucky girl. In fact, I'm so lucky that my PAPI calls me his 'good luck charm'. And I guess I am, sort of."

Miguel: “Ugh, NO HAY TINTA! MAMÁ, there’s no more ink to print my book report.”

Maya: “There was this one morning, crazy as usual, everyone was doing ten things at once. Well, this one morning, things just got a little bit too crazy. TODO ESTÁ DE LOCOS!”

Miguel: “Oh, my book report!”

Maya: “Oh, my hair!”

Mrs. Santos: “TODO ESTÁ BIEN. It’s just a blown fuse. AY, MIS CHILAQUILES!”

Maya: “MAMÁ, look at my hair! It’s a disaster! Y AQUÍ?”

Mrs. Santos: “Maya, no!”

Maya: “It burns.”

Paco: “AYUDA!”

Maya: “Put the lid back on, MAMÁ.”

Mrs. Santos: “Oh, MI HIJITA.”

Maya: “AY, LOS CHILAQUILES. Poor PAQUITO.”

Paco: “Poor PAQUITO.”

Mrs. Santos: “I had such a nice breakfast planned too.”

Miguel: “MAMÁ, my book report is lost in cyber space. Uh, is this the CHILAQUILES?”

Mrs. Santos & Maya: “No!”

Maya: “Put the lid back on, Miguel.”

Miguel: “MÍRAME! I’m drenched.”

Maya: “Sorry.”

Mr. Santos: “BUENOS DÍAS, everybody.”

All: “No!”

Maya: “PAPI, no!”

Miguel: “The chair was wet.”

Mr. Santos: “Ah, GRACIAS, NIÑOS. What happened here?”

Mrs. Santos: “SE ME QUEMO LA COMIDA. Can you believe it? Your favorite Mexican breakfast burnt.”

Mr. Santos: “Ah, the oven must be broken.”

Abuela: “UY, UY, UY! This is very bad luck. MUY MALA SUERTE.”

Paco: “Bad luck.”

Abuela: “I feel like there is a dark cloud hanging over our heads.”

Mr. Santos: “But today I need good luck. I have my big meeting with Carlos Maldonado. The kitty litter king. EL REY DE GATOS. He sells enough cat litter in one week for a thousand cats...”

Mrs. Santos: “We get the picture, MI AMOR.”

Mr. Santos: “It would be great for the pet store if we could do some more business with him. But if we have ‘MALA SUERTE’...”

Mrs. Santos: “SANTIAGO, that’s just superstition. We blew a fuse, MAMÁ, and I forgot about LOS CHILAQUILES. ES TODO. Now hurry up, all of you, or you’ll be late.”

Maya: “That day in school, everything that could go wrong, did go wrong. Oh no!”

Miguel: “Okay, Maya, you were right.”

Maya: “ABUELITA, ESTÁS BIEN?”

Abuela: “I dropped a pot on my foot. I’ll be all right.”

Mrs. Santos: “Ah, BUENAS TARDES, everyone. How was your...AY!”

Maya: “PAPI! QUÉ PASÓ?”

Mr. Santos: “CUÁNDO? When I discovered a muse living in the cash register, or when the aquarium sprung a leak?”

Mrs. Santos: “OH, MI AMOR. But how did the meeting with SEÑOR MALDONADO go?”

Mr. Santos: “I had to reschedule. VIENE MAÑANA.”

Mrs. Santos: “Tomorrow? QUÉ BUENO.”

Mr. Santos: “And then he’s coming over for dinner!”

Abuela: “You invited him here? AQUÍ CON TODO LA MALA SUERTE.”

Paco: “MALA SUERTE, AY!”

Mr. Santos: “What could I say? He’s the kitty litter king. I wanted to offer him a home-cooked meal. I just hope our luck changes by then.”

Maya: “NO TE PREOCCUPES. Our luck is going to change, PAPI. I promise. Tomorrow we will have good luck.”

Paco: “Good luck. BUENA SUERTE.”

Miguel: “Looks like dinner’s ready,”

Maya: “So, unless we get rid of this bad luck, PAPI’s dinner will be ruined.”

Chrissie: “If it’s so important, Maya, maybe the best thing to do is to just stay out of it.”

Maya: “Haha, you’re funny, Chrissie. No, really, I need a plan. A Big plan. My notebook!”

Maggie: “What a great day. My sister lent me her favorite sweater, I got an ‘A’ on my math test, and the principal wants to put my artwork up in the hall.”

Maya: “Lucky you.”

Maggie: “It’s all because of feng shui.”

Chrissie: “What’s that?”

Maggie: “Well, feng shui is an ancient Chinese way of inviting chi,

or good energy, into your house and getting rid of sha, or bad energy.”

Maya: “ESO ES!”

Mayas friend: “ESO ES what?”

Maya: “We’ll feng sui our apartment.”

Mayas friend: “Maya, you don’t know the first thing about feng shui.”

Chrissie: “I do. My grandmother did it at our place. You just move the sofa to face a certain way or clear out the cupboards or hand chimes.”

Maya: “PERFECTO. We’ll do the whole place right after school. Oh, this will really help PAPI.”

Maggie: “You wanna rearrange your whole apartment this afternoon?”

Chrissie: “It’ll be so much fun! Oh, like those decorating shows on TV. My grandma can explain everything to us.”

Maya: “3:00 o’clock sharp, Maggie’s house. See ya there.”

Maya: “Look at this place. It’s like a mountain retreat.”

Maggie’s mother: “Thank you, Maya. It is my mother who deserves the credit, however, because she knows feng shui.”

Maya: “Jeepers, no wonder Maggie’s had such good luck lately.”

Maggie’s mother: “Feng shui is not really about luck, Maya. It is about

balance and harmony.”

Maya: “Well, whatever you got here, we need some.”

Maggie: “Is grandma here?”

Maggie’s mother: “She’s gone shopping in Chinatown.”

Maggie: “Oh no! Do you think she’d kind if we borrowed her books?”

Maggie’s mother: “No, just take care of them.”

Maggie: “Feng shui in a hundred easy steps.”

Maya: “LAS TRES AMIGAS to the rescue.”

Maggie: “A little air, a little light, I can already see the possibilities.”

Maya: “Oh, PAPI, you look nice.”

Mr. Santos: “GRACIAS, NIÑA. Excuse me, girls, I’ve gotta run.”

Maya: “Here. Let me fix your tie.”

Mr. Santos: “A little looser, please.”

Maya: “Don’t be late now.”

Mr. Santos: “No!”

Maya: “AY, MÍ. Sorry, PAPI.”

Mrs. Santos: “NIÑAS, if you need me, I’ll be across the hall using ABUELA’s oven to cook the POLLO AL HORNO just to make sure nothing goes wrong.”

Mr. Santos: “Be good.”

Maya: “Nice catch, PAPI.”

Mrs. Santos: “Maya, if you can pick up a little before dinner, I’d appreciate it.”

Maya: “MAMÁ, when we’re done with this place, you won’t even recognize it.”

Miguel: “Oh, my soccer ball. I wondered where it was.”

Maya: “Miguel, Tito, just in time!”

Miguel: “Just in time?”

Maggie: “Feng shui!”

Chrissie: “VAMOS A REDECORAR. We’re redecorating the entire apartment before dinner.”

Miguel: “That’s two hours from now.”

Maya: “Have you been lifting weights, Miguel?”

Miguel: “No, I’m just naturally strong like this.”

Maya: “Well, we’re gonna need that muscle to help us with the furniture. Oh, please, please, MIGUELITO.”

Tito: “Yeah, me too, me too.”

Maya: “POR SUPUESTO, Tito. VÁMONOS A LA COCINA. No time to waste.”

Maya: “BUENO. What does the book say?”

Miguel: “Feng shui is a powerful method of unlocking the basic energy of the cosmos. To fully understand the art of feng shui, read this book slowly and thoroughly.”

Maya: “I think we should just skip the beginning stuff and just read
the directions. Oh, that looks pretty!”

Paco: “MUY BONITO.”

Miguel: “Water is a favorable source for attracting wealth to your house.”

Maya: “SÍ! That’s more like it.”

Tito: “YO QUIERO AYUDAR!”

Maya: “Sure you can help.”

Miguel: “Uh, what are you doing, Maya?”

Maya: “If we put enough of these buckets around, PAPI gets more business with the kitty litter king. Good work, Tito.”

Chrissie: “Ah, here we go. Feng means wind. Proper circulation of
air
is essential to good feng shui.”

Maggie: “II know just the thing. Ta-da, wind!”

Chrissie: “Mh, where shall we put it?”

Maggie: “Wind, wind, wind. Here it is. A mild southerly breeze is very desirable. Which way is south?”

Chrissie: “Mh, that way?”

Maggie: “Excellent.”

Miguel: “Uh, Maya, it says the most important qualities of water are sound, speed and direction of flow. Our water’s just sitting in buckets.”

Maya: “Fountains!”

Miguel: “Fountains?”

Paco: “Fountains. FUENTES.”

Maya: “SÍ! We need fountains! We can do this in the bathroom too.”

Chrissie: “Why are we doing this again?”

Maggie: “Because how you arrange things is very important. Okay, Miguel, move the table here.”

Miguel: “Ah, LA MESA AQUÍ.”

Maggie: „What if we tried the sofa here?“

Miguel: “EL SOFÁ AQUÍ.”

Maya: “The chair here.”

Miguel: “LA SILLA AQUÍ.”

Maya: "And the table here."

Miguel: "LA MESA AQUÍ."

Maya: "Mh, still not right. Mm-mm, try the table here."

Miguel: "LA MESA AQUÍ."

Maya: "The sofa here."

Miguel: "EL SOFÁ AQUÍ."

Maya: "And the chair here."

Miguel: "LA SILLA AQUÍ."

Maggie: "We're getting there."

Miguel: "We won't be able to see the TV."

Maya: "It's okay. We'll move the TV too."

Maya: "Good vibes are right this way."

Maggie: "Bye-bye, negative energy."

Maya: "What else, Maggie?"

Maggie: "A change in color is a good way to improve harmony in a room."

Chrissie: "Color? POR SUPUESTO!"

Maya: "Hello? Oh, hi, Mrs. Lee. Oh, okay. Sure. Bye. Maggie, that was your mom saying you need to get home. How are we ever going to finish the feng shui without you?"

Maggie: “Sorry. Use the books and you’ll be fine. I feel the harmony already. Bye, guys.”

Maya: “Bye, thank you. Okay, where were we? Color, color, color.”

Maya: “Aha.”

Miguel: “Paint?”

Maya: “Color. See? AZUL.”

Miguel: “AZUL? How do we know blue is a lucky color?”

Maya: “How could it not be?”

Miguel: “What are we gonna do with it?”

Maya: “Follow me.”

Paco: “Ooh, AZUL. QUÉ BONITO.”

Maya: “Color’s essential. We’re just going to place these things all over to bring color and harmony to every inch of this apartment.”

Maya & Miguel: “Huh?”

Maya: “AY, Tito! Don’t move.”

Miguel: “Good Paco. Stay.”

Mrs. Santos: “Maya?”

Maya: “Uh-oh.”

Paco: "Ooh, AZUL. QUÉ BONITO."

Tito: "Blue, blue, blue bl..."

Mrs. Santos: "MI CIELO! What did you do?"

Maya: "You said to fix the place up."

Mrs. Santos: "No, I said to pick the place up."

Maya: "PERO LA MALA SUERTE. We're chasing out the bad luck."

Mrs. Santos: "PAPI will be here any minute with SEÑOR MALDONADO.
And I have three dishes cooking across the hall."

Maya: "POR FAVOR, MAMÁ. Don't worry. We'll fix everything...somehow."

Maya: "Guess it's not quite there yet, huh? We need more time.
Miguel, Tito, you go stall."

Miguel: "How are we gonna do that?"

Maya: "Surprise us. Think outside the box."

Miguel: "You got the plan?"

Tito: "POR SUPUESTO!"

Miguel & Tito: "Yeah!"

Mr. Santos: “My wife is the best cook on the planet. But don’t tell that to my mother in Puerto Rico.”

Mr. Maldonado: “Hahaha, okay.”

Mr. Santos: “Ah, Miguel, Tito. SEÑOR MALDONADO, DÉJEME PRESENTARLE.”

Miguel: “I really need to look at that boa constrictor, just for a minute. Please. POR FAVOR, PAPI. ES MI FAVORITO!”

Mr. Santos: “Please excuse my son. He is very passionate about the animals.”

Mr. Maldonado: “ESTÁ BIEN. A father can indulge his children from time to time.”

Mr. Santos: “Okay, Miguel, go ahead. AY, YI, YI.

Miguel: “DÓNDE ESTÁ, PAPI? He is not in here.”

Mr. Santos: “The snake is out of his tank? AY!”

Miguel: “I think I found him.”

Mr. Santos: “That’s a power cord, Miguel. I see him behind the counter. It’s a good thing that you asked to see him, or we would have left while he was out of his tank..”

Miguel: “SÍ, PAPI. BUENO!”

Mr. Santos: “Okay, VAMONOS.”

Mr. Maldonado: “AY, I forgot my bag. You know, SEÑOR SANTOS, I like working with family men.”

Mr. Santos: “GRACIAS, SEÑOR MALDONADO. I certainly am proud of my family. Even if they act a little...strange sometimes.”

Mr. Santos: “FAMILIA, I am h-home?”

Mrs. Santos: “HOLA. BUENAS NOCHES. You must be SEÑOR...This is not my house.”

Mr. Santos: “The apartment, it looks, ugh-“

Paco: “Beautiful.”

Mr. Santos: “SÍ, SÍ. POR SUPUESTO.”

Mrs. Santos: “Maya?”

Maya. “Good, huh? I cleaned up our junk like you asked, MAMÁ. And I made sure that everything was extra special for the big dinner with SEÑOR MALDONADO.”

Mrs. Santos: “But, Maya...”

Mr. Santos: “Well, you said to clean and she cleaned. Mother and daughter. What a team. SEÑOR MALDONADO, MI ESPOSA, Rosa. MI HIJA, Maya, and her friend Chrissy.”

Maya: “ES UN PLACER, SEÑOR MALDONADO.”

Chrissie: “Pleased to meet you. Excuse me, I have to get home. I’ll drop off Tito downstairs. VÁMONOS, Tito.”

Tito: "Good luck."

Chrissie: "BUENA SUERTE."

Paco: "BUENA SUERTE."

Mr. Santos: "Uh, please, please. We can...I'm so sorry. Nothing like a cool breeze on a hot day."

Miguel: "Paco, off the fan."

Mrs. Santos: "The bathroom is right hat way if you wanna wash up. AY!"

Mr. Santos: "Maya, Miguel, what is going on here?"

Maya: "We're getting rid of the bad luck."

Miguel: "Shh. Here he is."

Mr. Santos: "Ah, SEÑOR MALDONADO. TODO BIEN?"

Mr. Maldonado: "Are you aware you have a metal file cabinet in your bathroom?"

Mrs. Santos: "Well, dinner is ready. So let's make our way to the table."

Mr. Santos: "Um, let me lead the way."

Paco: "SERPIENTE!"

Mrs. Santos: "I'll get the salad, if I can find the kitchen."

Mr. Maldonado: "SEÑOR SANTOS, this is quite a place you have here. I

think something spilt.”

Mr. Santos: “AY, PERDÓN. Miguel, get the mop from the kitchen, please. Is everything okay?”

Mrs. Santos: “I’m just trying to find the table.”

Paco: “SERPIENTE!”

Miguel: “I’ve got a mop.”

Maya: “SERPIENTE!”

Mr. Maldonado: “I’m soaked.”

Mrs. Santos: “I’m so sorry.”

Mr. Santos: “Maya, POR FAVOR.”

Paco: “Oh. ES MÍO. It’s mine.”

Mr. Maldonado: „ES MÍO!“

Maya: “No, Paco! Here, SEÑOR MALDONADO, let me help you.”

Mr. Santos: “SEÑOR MALDONADO. I am very sorry. We owe you an explanation.”

Maya: “It’s all my fault. SEÑOR MALDONADO, please don’t be angry with PAPI. See, we were having terrible bad luck in our house.”

Miguel: “I lost my book report and MAMÁ burnt the CHILAQUILES.”

Maya: “So my friend Maggie said we could change our luck and bring harmony with a book about feng shui.”

Miguel: “But we unlocked the basic energy of, well, something.”

Maya: “But it was all because we wanted you to like our PAPI. We’re sorry.”

Miguel: “We’ve learned our lesson. Honest.”

Mr. Maldonado: “Well, anyone who can raise children so devoted to their father must be a good family man, right?”

Mr. Santos: “Oh, you are too kind. MUCHAS GRACIAS.”

Abuela: “LA SENA, POR FAVOR. I think you chased all the bad luck into my apartment.”

Mr. Maldonado: “Taco pizza. SOLAMENTE EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS.”

Maya: “So we ended up with harmony after all. I realized you can learn a lot from feng shui, but you may not learn it all in one afternoon. And when it comes to luck, sometimes you just have to take the bad with the good.”

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