Półrocznik Językoznawczy Tertium. Tertium Linguistic Journal 10 (2) (2025)
www.journal.tertium.edu.pl
https://doi.org/10.7592/Tertium.2024.10.2.343

Patricia Gubitosi and Michelle F. Ramos Pellicia (eds.), *Linguistic Landscape in the Spanish-speaking World,* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2021.

Òscar Rueda Pitarque
Polytechnic University of Valencia, Spain
osruepi@upv.es

Linguistic Landscape in the Spanish-speaking World represents a groundbreaking contribution to the field of sociolinguistics. While individual studies previously existed for specific locations (e.g. Franco Rodríguez, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2018; Pons Rodríguez, 2011, 2012; Lado, 2011; Comajoan, 2013; Castillo Lluch & Sáez Rivera, 2011; Weyers, 2018; García Marcos, 2019), this work constitutes the first collective effort to theorize and systematize the field from a sociolinguistic and pragmatic perspective applied exclusively to the Spanish-speaking world.

It successfully fills a research gap by highlighting the richness and complexity of how Spanish interacts with co-official, minority, indigenous, and immigrant languages across diverse settings in Europe, Latin America, and the U.S.

In their introduction, the editors Patricia Gubitosi and Michelle F. Ramos Pellicia present the Linguistic Landscape (LL) as a non-neutral territory in which language, culture and identity are inextricably intertwined. They frame the volume as a tool for social justice, seeking to amplify the voices of marginalized groups, such as the Nasa people in Colombia, victims of gender-based violence in Madrid, and immigrants in Milan, who utilize the LL to assert their visibility in the face of hegemonic ideologies.

The editors emphasize that public space is a symbolic construct that requires an understanding of social norms in order to interpret the displayed signs. Some of the studies show the expansion of the canonical LL definition beyond static written signs (as defined by Landry & Bourhis, 1997) to include a multisensory approach. By incorporating soundscapes, foodscapes, and smellscapes, the contributors provide a more holistic understanding of how language is experienced in different environments.

Methodologically, the volume integrates diverse frameworks such as geosemiotics (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), the grammar of visual design (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), and socio-

onomastics (Puzey, 2018) to decode the ideological complexities of public signage. This interdisciplinary lens allows the authors to analyse space not merely as a "result" of social interactions but as an active “producer” of them, registering the voices and attitudes of both residents and passers-by. LL serves as a mirror of social hierarchies and ideological conflicts, particularly when minority groups fight for visibility through graffiti, posters, or defiant clothing. In multi/translingual communities, these landscapes reveal whether a language is in danger of extinction or if it retains a high symbolic value for its speakers.

The volume is structured around three central axes: the relationship between LL and people’s identities (part I), the contestation of public space (part II), and the commodification of language (part III). These three axes serve as a bridge between linguistic scholars and the speakers who create their surrounding LL.

The studies collectively demonstrate that while the LL is an “imperfect mirror” of spoken reality, it remains an extraordinary instrument for understanding ethnolinguistic vitality and sociopolitical conflicts in superdiverse societies. Ultimately, this project seeks to uncover the voices of marginalized groups —such as immigrants, victims of gender violence, or indigenous communities— providing a theoretical and pragmatic instrument to build a fairer society where minorities can exercise their rights with autonomy.

Part I. Linguistic Landscape and People’s Identities

Chapter 1: Language use and identity negotiation in the linguistic landscape of Chipilo, Mexico

Lucia Sbrighi conducts the first study of the LL in Chipilo, a unique community of Italian origin that has preserved its Veneto dialect and ethnic identity for over six generations. The study utilizes an ethnographic approach to analyse how Spanish, Veneto, Italian, and English interact in a bilingual setting. While Spanish dominates formal and institutional environments, Veneto remains the primary language for family and informal interactions, representing a strong bond with ancestors.

The research highlights Chipilo as a multisensory landscape. The smell of hay and cow manure from livestock farming merges with the sounds of agricultural machinery and Italian songs in restaurants to create a unique ambience. These sensory markers act as boundaries that distinguish the community from the surrounding “Mexican” villages, reinforcing a sense of pride in their distinct ethnic heritage.

Sbrighi concludes that the LL in Chipilo is a tool for identity negotiation. Although Veneto is not as common on nonofficial signs as initially expected, there is an increasing effort to make it visible in civic and institutional arenas. This visibility is a strategy to challenge mainstream

Mexican culture and claim autonomy over their speech community through creative, multilingual signage.

Chapter 2: A changing landscape of *Voseo* in Medellín? The momentum of *voseo* as a marker of Paisa identity in the public signage of Valle de Aburrá, Colombia

Falcon Restrepo-Ramos examines the use of *voseo* in public signage in Valle de Aburrá, Colombia, as a marker of Paisa identity. Historically, *voseo* (including its 2PS pronominal form *vos* and its corresponding verbal forms) was common in oral speech but non-normative in written form; however, recent local government administrations (2016–2019) began using it in top-down billboards and banners. This study examines over 400 photographs to see if this trend has been adopted by other actors, such as private businesses.

The analysis shows that different forms of address fulfil specific social functions: *ustedeo* is reserved for regulatory and formal signs, while *tuteo* remains the primary vehicle for commercial information due to its perceived economic value. *Voseo* is utilized as a "familiarizer," appearing in prepositional phrases (e.g., *"Medellín, Cuenta con Vos"*) to create an intimate connection with citizens and consumers.

Surveys conducted with local *Paisas* (self-denomination for Antioquians) indicate a highly positive attitude toward the inclusion of *voseo* in signage, with women favouring its use more than men. Despite this support, the author warns that the future of *voseo* in official signs may depend on political cycles, as new administrations often change their rhetoric to differentiate themselves from their predecessors.

Chapter 3: Ethnolinguistic vitality and linguistic landscape: The status of Spanish in Dallas, TX

Alberto Pastor applies a quantitative approach to gauge the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish in Dallas, Texas, a city with a rapidly growing Hispanic population. The study focuses on neighbourhoods like Oak Cliff, where Spanish and Spanish-English bilingualism are prevalent. By analysing sign sections, Pastor seeks to understand how language ideologies and attitudes affect the prestige of local Spanish varieties.

The results reveal that Spanish is perceived as a language of high prestige and utility, appearing in 75% of main sections and 82% of informative sections of the analysed linguistic landscape signs. The study finds very little evidence of "junk Spanish" or internal linguistic discrimination in the LL, suggesting that the community values its local linguistic practices. Bilingualism is seen as a natural and dynamic asset rather than a fragmented or inferior state.

Pastor argues that the high vitality of Spanish in Dallas is bolstered by institutional support, particularly through widespread bilingual education programs in the local school district. This

contrast with other major US cities suggests that government support and intergenerational transmission are key factors in maintaining the vitality of a minority language in a dominant English-speaking environment.

Chapter 4: Ideologies in the linguistic landscape: The semiotic construction of the Puerto Rican identity

Alba Arias Álvarez and Patricia Gubitosi examine how the Puerto Rican flag and language choices in the LL serve as tools to decode ideological conflicts on the island. In a context defined by a century-old colonial relationship with the U.S., Puerto Ricans use semiotic resources to reinforce their identity and sense of belonging. The study combines documentation of signage with an island-wide survey of 108 participants.

The authors analyse the perceptions of different shades of blue in the flag: lighter blue (baby blue) often indexes resistance and independence, while navy blue is associated with statehood and allegiance to the U.S. Interestingly, over half of the participants preferred the restaurant displaying the lighter blue flag, viewing it as a symbol of "roots and homeland" rather than just a political marker.

The results show that despite deep political divisions, Puerto Ricans are unified in their belief that Spanish is essential to their identity. At the same time, most accept English as a practical necessity for daily life, demonstrating a sophisticated awareness of their status as a nation where two languages are in contact. The LL thus acts as an entangled part of the island's socio-political history.

Part II. Contesting the linguistic landscape of public space

Chapter 5: Urban discourse and civil resistance against gender-based violence in Madrid

Isabel Molina Martos analyses how the city of Madrid "speaks" through its LL to reflect the rise of a massive feminist movement. Using geosemiotics, the study documents the transformation of individual voices into a collective political discourse against gender violence. The research traces the movement from isolated graffiti to mass demonstrations on March 8th, where the city symbolically "adopted" the colour purple.

The participants used their "personal front" —clothing, body paint, and banners— to index a shared identity and belonging. Slogans such as "Sister, I do believe you" (*Hermana, yo sí te creo*) acted as powerful markers of solidarity that transcended material space to become viral in digital arenas. This process turned the urban centre into a space of civil resistance and transgression.

Molina Martos proposes that the LL is reconstructed through historical processes like the 15M movement and the "Manada" trial ("the Herd", the name to the events related to a case of sexual aggression in Pamplona in 2016). The analysis demonstrates that the semiotic aggregate of the Madrid protests is part of a dynamic, globalized narrative for women's rights. The city's LL thus provides a stratified image of political commitment and collective empowerment.

Chapter 6: Armed conflict and resistance in indigenous Colombia: The linguistic landscape of Toribío (Cauca)

Simone Ferrari explores the LL of Toribío, Cauca, as a testimony of the autonomous resistance of the Nasa people against the violence of the Colombian conflict. In a region affected by guerrillas, paramilitaries, and state inaction, the indigenous community uses writing on walls, rocks, and bridges to re-appropriate their territory. The study highlights the category of *palabrandar* ("walking the word"), where the word is a transformative action of the community.

The research documents a reactive dynamic where the community interferes with guerrilla graffiti (e.g., FARC or EPL) to delegitimize the armed actors' authority. By interweaving Spanish and Nasa Yuwe (the native language, traditionally limited to oral use) with ancestral symbols like the spiral and the *chumbe* (woven belt), the Nasa people claim their right to life and autonomy. The LL becomes a site where the "word of war" is challenged by the "language of ancestors."

Ferrari concludes that the Toribío LL functions as a living memory and an instrument to honour those violated by the conflict. The practices of naming and claiming the reservations allow the community to "re-exist" and maintain its cultural and territorial legacy. This study shows how the written word can be a powerful tool for autonomous resistance in contexts of extreme social tension.

Chapter 7: The Escondido swap meet: a place of covert resistance

Michelle F. Ramos Pellicia examines the Escondido World Marketplace in North County San Diego, California as a "safe space" for the Spanish-speaking community. This open-air market allows immigrants, mainly of Mexican and Central American descent, to become entrepreneurs and establish a common linguistic identity. The study argues that the prominent use of Spanish in signage is a form of covert resistance against linguistic racialization and social pressures to assimilate into English.

The LL of the swap meet reflects a linguistic capital that defies mainstream standards. Vendors often use handmade signage in regional Spanish varieties accompanied by photos of products like *pupusas* or *esquites*. These images serve as a strategic tool to accommodate

customers who may not be proficient in English or who speak different dialects, reinforcing authenticity and community bonds.

Ramos Pellicia concludes that the swap meet is a collective construction that shields its members from the hostile political climate outside, such as the threat of ICE checkpoints. "Languagelessness," as defined by Rosa (2016a, 2016b, 2016c), is an ideology that questions a speaker's language competence and their identity. By choosing Spanish, the vendors and customers exercise self-determination, rejecting the notion of "languagelessness" and affirming the prestige of their heritage language in a globalized marketplace.

Chapter 8: The linguistic landscape of the Raval: Language policy and contextualization

José Antonio Jódar-Sánchez analyses the mismatch between the Catalan Language Act (*Llei de Política Lingüística*) and the sociolinguistic reality of the Raval neighbourhood in Barcelona. While the policy mandates that business signage be "at least in Catalan," the Raval is home to a high population of immigrants, particularly from Pakistan and the Philippines. The study explores the clash between the official visual landscape and the informal auditory landscape.

The research reveals that although 53% of signs in the Raval are monolingual Catalan, the actual languages spoken in the shops are often Urdu, Bengali, Filipino, or English. This created a "fossilized" perception of Catalan, where the language is displayed on signs purely for legal compliance rather than as a communicative tool. This process is described as "delanguaging" (Garrido and Codó, 2017), as it silences the linguistic reality of the immigrant population.

Jódar-Sánchez suggests that language policies should be contextualized to reflect neighbourhood demographics rather than imposing a homogeneous regime. The study advocates for special regulations in areas like the Raval to favour linguistic justice and a more accurate representation of the social fabric. Ultimately, caring for urban spaces requires policies that accommodate everyone in a "glocalized" society.

Chapter 9: Reframing the question of correlation between the local linguistic population and urban signage: The case of Spanish in the Los Angeles linguistic landscape

Jhonni Carr re-examines the relationship between the local linguistic population and the languages displayed in urban signage. The study investigates three cities in Southeast Los Angeles (Huntington Park, Lynwood, and Paramount), comparing the percentage of Spanish speakers to the presence of Spanish in a corpus of 4,664 signs. Carr argues for a nuanced approach instead of a simple yes/no correlation.

The methodology analyses the dominant code of both the main and informative sections of signs. The findings indicate that while English dominates overall due to its prestige, the informative section (which contains smaller, more detailed text) is a significantly better reflection of the local Spanish-speaking population. As the use of oral Spanish increases, so does that of displayed. This part of the sign is where a minority language's public utility is most clearly reflected.

Carr concludes that the LL is an imperfect mirror because languages change faster than signs due to factors like migration and weather. However, the study provides evidence that a detailed analysis of signage can serve as an instrument for social justice and language planning. The work paves the way for future qualitative research that highlights community voices in the Southeast LA landscape.

Part III. Language commodification in the linguistic landscape

Chapter 10: Languages to buy and sell: business names and linguistic diversity in a central peninsular community

Miguel A. Aijón Oliva investigates how commercial prestige and linguistic diversity are distributed across three areas of Salamanca, Spain. The study identifies three metaphorical directions of language choice: outward, upward, and inward. These directions reflect how business owners strategically use languages like English, French, and Arabic to attract different clientele.

In the central Centro-San Juan area, an outward strategy dominates, where English and prestigious European languages index a cosmopolitan identity for tourists. In the middle-class Labradores-Alamedilla area, an upward trend is visible through the hybridization of Spanish and English (e.g., using the Saxon genitive *'s*), reflecting the population's aspirations for sophistication and mobility.

Conversely, the peripheral Garrido Sur-Garrido Norte area shows an inward trend, where Spanish nicknames and local references reinforce community solidarity. This area also features the emergence of Arabic and Latin American Spanish dialects, affirming the presence and cultural identity of recent immigrant groups. Aijón Oliva concludes that language commodification involves a creative bricolage that pointing to the past, present, and desired future of the city.

Chapter 11: An analysis of how business owners use Valencian and Spanish in the linguistic landscape

Francisco Martínez Ibarra examines the contact between Spanish and Valencian in Elche, Autonomous Community of Valencia, Spain. Elche is a city where Valencian is the vernacular

language from a diachronic point of view, though it is not widely used today. The recent arrival of monolingual Spanish-speaking workers from other regions of Spain reinforced a language shift in favour of Spanish among younger generations.

The study analysed data from interviews and questionnaires with 79 business owners. The findings suggest that potential customers are the main driving force behind language choice in LL, regardless of the owner's language proficiency. Unlike in Catalonia, the choice of language in commercial signage is free in Valencia. The research highlights the commodification (Rosa, 2016a) of Valencian, which is used in tourism and food-related sectors (e.g., restaurants) to convey trust and authenticity. While spoken Valencian may carry political baggage due to political conflicts with the neighbouring region of Catalonia, its written form on signs evokes positive attitudes and adds economic value to a business. Thus, the minority language is used strategically to monetize local culture.

Martínez Ibarra also identifies the concept of "bivalency" (Woolard, 1999), where business owners intentionally choose names that belong to both Spanish and Valencian lexicons to remain neutral and unmarked. This practice allows businesses to reach a wider market while avoiding social or political markers. Ultimately, the study shows that language choice in the LL is a complex negotiation driven by commercial interest and societal perception.

Chapter 12: Linguistic landscape in Otavalo: Kichwa, Spanish or English?

Christian Puma Ninacuri and Daniela Narváez analyse the multilingual and multicultural landscape of Otavalo, Ecuador, famous for its indigenous crafts market. The study examines signages and conducts informal interviews with business owners to understand the roles of Spanish, Kichwa, and English. Each language is found to serve a specific function within the touristic site.

Spanish and English mainly play informative roles for locals and foreigners, with English indexing modernity and globalization in clothing stores and high-end cafes. Kichwa, however, is often commodified as a commercial strategy to demonstrate authenticity. For indigenous owners, naming businesses in Kichwa is a way to "honour family" and keep their identity alive, while for tourists, it signals a "typical and handcrafted" experience.

The authors conclude that social meanings in Otavalo are dynamic and mobilized according to the social actors involved. The "Kichwization" of the urban space reflects the economic success and pride of the Otavalo people, but also the pressures of the globalized market to exploit indigenous traditions for tourism. The LL is thus anchored to the historical and economic processes of the city.

Chapter 13: *Donde su visión se hace realidad*: Landscaping the linguistics of Orlando's plazas

Natalie Amgott investigates the LL of business plazas in Orlando, Florida, following the massive influx of Puerto Rican migrants after 2017 hurricanes. Using a multimodal approach, the study identifies how language choice and semiotic resources index different populations along a six-mile stretch of Semoran Boulevard. The research finds that language choice is closely tied to gentrification.

The West side (near Baldwin Park) favours English-only minimalist signs to appeal to young professionals and "hipsters," while the East side (Latinx neighbourhoods) features more Spanish and bilingual signage. Businesses use disjoint bilingualism, providing more detailed information in Spanish regarding family plans, credit, or savings, catering to a working-class and translocal clientele.

Amgott highlights how flags, maps, and national colours (e.g., of Cuba, Mexico, or Puerto Rico) are used to index a translocal population that maintains ties with home countries. The study concludes that Orlando's LL is a "mosaic of discourses" where businesses use translanguaging (Gorter & Cenoz, 2015) to appeal to multiple audiences simultaneously. The plaza serves as a focal point reflecting Orlando's rapid demographic shifts and cultural diversity.

Chapter 14: The act of naming in the Hispanic linguistic landscape of Milan

Maria Vittoria Calvi explores the "Peruvian namescape" in Milan, Italy, where Peruvians are one of the city's largest immigrant groups. The study adopts a qualitative-ethnographic perspective to analyse the act of naming 22 Peruvian restaurants across different districts. Naming is seen as a bottom-up practice used to negotiate space and collective identities.

The results show that Spanish is used in all cases, regardless of the restaurant's class or location, signalling a shared identity within a "Latino" affiliation. Names often reference geographical entities (e.g., *El Chorrillano*), traditional food (e.g., *El Rocoto*), and lived experiences (e.g., *Aki Me Kedo*). These choices help immigrants maintain emotional bonds with their homeland while claiming visibility in the host society.

Calvi concludes that the act of naming is an essential step in the reterritorialization of diasporic communities. The LL of Milan reflects a "flexible multilingualism" where Peruvian entrepreneurs manage their identities by selecting symbolic words like *Latino, tierra,* or *encuentro*. The restaurants serve as meeting points where flavours, music, and language converge to trace the boundaries of a collective translocal identity.

References

Castillo Lluch, Monika, Daniel Moisés Sáez Rivera (2011) "Introducción al paisaje lingüístico de Madrid". *Lengua y Migración* 3(1); 73–88. http://hdl.handle.net/10017/10822

Comajoan, Llorenç (2013) "El paisaje lingüístico en Cataluña: Caracterización y percepciones del paisaje visual y auditivo en una avenida comercial de Barcelona". *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana* 11(1); 63–88. https://hdl.handle.net/10854/2714

Franco-Rodríguez, José M. (2005) "El español en el condado de Los Ángeles desde la señaléctica comercial y urbana". *Hispania* 88(4); 825-833. https://doi.org/10.2307/20063212

Franco-Rodríguez, José M. (2008) "El paisaje lingüístico del condado de Los Ángeles y del condado Miami-Dade: Propuesta metodológica". *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada a la Comunicación* 35(1); 3–43. https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/CLAC/article/view/88198

Franco-Rodríguez, José M. (2009) "Interpreting the Linguistic Traits of Linguistic Landscapes as Ethnolinguistic Vitality: Methodological Approach". *Revista Electrónica de Lingüística Aplicada* 8; 1–15. https://matrix.aesla.org.es/RAEL/article/view/146

Franco-Rodríguez, José M. (2011) "Linguistic Landscape and Linguistic Maintenance: The Case of Los Angeles and Miami-Dade Counties". In Michael Morris (Ed.), *Culture and Language: Multidisciplinary Case Studies* (pp. 69–119). Peter Lang. https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-653-00743-5

Franco-Rodríguez, José M. (2013) "An Alternative Reading of the Linguistic Landscape: The Case of Almería". *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana* 11(1); 109–134. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24364769

Franco Rodríguez, José M. (2018) "Spanish in the Linguistic Landscapes of the U.S". In Kim Potowski (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Spanish as a Heritage Language* (pp. 66–77). Routledge. https://www.routledge.com/The-Routledge-Handbook-of-Spanish-as-a-Heritage-Language/Potowski/p/book/9780367580698

García Marcos, F. (2019). "El lenguaje de las rotulaciones de establecimientos comerciales en las ciudades contemporáneas: Los casos de Almería, Łódz y Tarrasa". *Signa,* 28, 699–732. https://revistas.uned.es/index.php/signa/article/view/25075

Garrido, Maria Rosa, Eva Codó (2017) "Deskilling and Delanguaging African Immigrants in Barcelona: Pathways of Labour Market Incorporation and the Value of 'Global' English". *Globalisation, Societies, and Education,* 15(1), 29–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2014.944757

Gorter, Durk, Jasone Cenoz (2015) "Translanguaging and Linguistic Landscapes". *Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal,* 1(1/2), 54–74. https://doi.org/10.1075/ll.1.1-2.04gor

Kress, Gunther, Theo van Leeuwen (2020) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. Routledge. 3rd Edition (Originally published in 1996). https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003099857

Lado, Beatriz (2011) "Linguistic Landscape as a Reflection of the Linguistic and Ideological Conflict in the Valencian Community". *International Journal of Multilingualism,* 8(2), 135–150. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2010.550296

Landry, Rodrigue, Richard Y. Bourhis (1997). "Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study". *Journal of Language and Social Psychology,* 16(1), 23–49. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X970161002

Pons Rodríguez, Lola (2011). "Hispanoamérica en el paisaje lingüístico de Sevilla". *Itinerarios,* 12, 97–129. https://itinerarios.uw.edu.pl/article/154673/es

Pons Rodríguez, Lola (2012). *El paisaje lingüístico de Sevilla: Lenguas y variedades en el escenario urbano hispalense*. Diputación de Sevilla. http://lolapons.es/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Pons_Rodriguez_2012_Paisaje_Linguistico_Sevilla.pdf

Puzey, Guy (2018) "Linguistic Landscapes". In Carole Hough (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming* (pp. 395–411). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199656431.013.16

Rosa, Jonathan (2016a) "From Mock Spanish to Inverted Spanglish". In H. Samy Alim, John R. Rickford, and Arnetha F. Ball (eds.), *Raciolinguistics. How Language Shapes Our Ideas About Race* (pp. 65–80). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190625696.003.0004

Rosa, Jonathan (2016b) *Looking Like a Language, Sounding Like a Race. Raciolinguistic Ideologies and the Learning of Latinidad*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190634728.001.0001

Rosa, Jonathan (2016c) "Standardization, Racialization, Languagelessness: Raciolinguistic Ideologies across Communicative Contexts". *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology,* 26, 162–183. https://doi.org/10.1111/jola.12116

Scollon, Ron, Susie Wong Scollon (2003) *Discourses in Place: Language in the Material World*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203422724

Weyers, Joseph R. (2018) "Quechua in the Linguistic Landscape of Cusco, Peru: Showcasing Culture and Boosting Pride. *Southern Journal of Linguistics,* 42(2), 60-76. https://charleston.edu/spanish/faculty/weyers-joseph.php

Woolard, Kathryn A. (1999) "Simultaneity and Bivalency as Strategies in Bilingualism". *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology,* 8(1), 3–29. https://doi.org/10.1525/jlin.1998.8.1.3