Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences

Spanglish: An Anglicized Spanish Dialect

Alfredo Ardila

The online version of this article can be found at:

Published by:

$SAGE

Additional services and information for *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* can be found at:

Email Alerts: http://hjb.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts

Subscriptions: http://hjb.sagepub.com/subscriptions

Reprints: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav

Permissions: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav

Citations http://hjb.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/27/1/60

Spanglish: An Anglicized Spanish Dialect

Alfredo Ardila
Florida International University

The blend between Spanish and English found in Hispanic or Latino communities in the United States is usually known as "Spanglish." It is suggested that Spanglish represents the most important contemporary linguistic phenomenon in the United States that has barely been approached from a linguistic point of view. Spanglish may be interpreted in different ways: as a pidgin, a Creole language, an interlanguage, or an anglicized Spanish dialect. Regardless that Spanglish is spoken by millions of people, significant variations within the language are observed. To account for its development, two types of phenomena are proposed: superficial, including borrowing and code-switching; and deep, including lexical-semantic, grammatical, and the "equalization to English" phenomenon. An analysis of both superficial and deep Spanglish phenomena is presented. It is suggested that the future of Spanglish depends on two factors: (a) number of Spanish-speaking immigrants to the United States, and (b) U.S. policies concerning bilingualism.

Keywords: *Spanglish; Spanish-English bilingualism; Hispanics/Latinos*

Miami, Florida, represents a tremendously heterogeneous linguistic community. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2000) in Miami-Dade County, the population is 2,253,362, of which 1,291,737 (57.3%) are Hispanics. English and Spanish are spoken by a large percentage of the population, and there is also a significant percentage of people speaking an anglicized Spanish language. As a matter of fact, most Spanish speakers after some time begin to introduce English expressions when speaking Spanish. It is common to find native Spanish speakers saying,

---

© 2005 Sage Publications

60

(1) "¿Cómo le gusto la película?" (Spanglish [SG])
    "¿Cómo le pareció la película?" (Spanish [S])
    "How did you like the movie?"
(2) "Te llamo para atrás." (SG)
    "Te devuelvo la llamada." (S)
    "I will call you back."
(3) "Tan pronto como mañana." (SG)
    "Desde (a partir de) mañana." (S)
    "As soon as tomorrow."

Or talking about the

(4) "estatística" (SG)
    "estadística" (S)
    "statistics"

or

(5) "populaciones." (SG)
    "poblaciones." (S)
    "populations."

That is, English language progressively affects the way Spanish is spoken. The final results may be Spanglish, where there is a blend (at different degrees) between Spanish and English, which can have an anglicized Spanish dialect that sometimes may be difficult to understand by standard monolingual Spanish speakers. Some Spanish speakers attempt to keep talking a standard Spanish. Some others simply accept a progressive shift from Spanish to Spanglish. At the same time, some others keep Spanish and Spanglish in a separate way; that is, Spanish is spoken with some people (e.g., the family), but Spanglish is spoken with most of the Hispanic community. Living in the Miami Hispanic community (and surely in other Spanish-speaking communities in the United States) requires at least some knowledge of Spanglish:

(6) To go to the doctor, you need
    un referido. (SG)
    una nota de remisión. (S)
    a referral.
(7) Houses have
    yardas. (SG)
    patios. (S)
    yards.
(8) The kids create
    gangas. (SG)
    pandillas. (S)
    gangs.

The purpose of this article is to attract attention to Spanglish. From the American perspective, it represents the most important contemporary linguistic phenomenon in the United States. From the Spanish language perspective, Spanglish represents a dialect barely recognized in the Spanish-speaking world. It is probably the most extended Spanish dialect. Obviously, Spanglish should be analyzed in a systematic way, using standard linguistic procedures. The first step is, of course, to consider that Spanglish represents a significant linguistic phenomenon.

What Is Spanglish?

Spanish and English have been in close contact for several centuries. During colonial times, some of the current U.S. territories were Spanish territories (e.g., Florida). During the mid-19th century, the Mexican-American war resulted in ceding about half of the Mexican territory to the United States, but millions of Spanish speakers remained in close contact with the American English speakers. During the late 19th century and early 20th century, an important amount of Latin Americans and Spaniards migrated to the United States. This contact has significantly increased during recent decades, due to the increased flow of Latin American immigrants to the United States: Puerto Ricans augmented during the 1950s and 1960s; Cubans during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s; Central Americans during the 1980s; Colombians and Venezuelans during the 1990s; and Mexicans have continually migrated to the United States.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2000), the total Hispanic population of the United States is about 33 million people (12% of the total U.S. population). Of these Hispanics, 63.0% are of Mexican origin, 14.4% are of Central and South American origin, 10.6% are mainland Puerto Ricans (persons residing in the Associated State of Puerto Rico are not included in these statistics), 4.2% are of Cuban ancestry, and 7.4% are classified as being of "other origin." The distribution of the Hispanic population in the United States is quite uneven. Mexicans are concentrated in the southern states, especially in California and Texas. Most Puerto Ricans live in New York. In South Florida, it is estimated that about half of the Hispanic population is Cuban. As a matter of fact, the United States is the fifth largest Spanish-speaking country in the world, after Mexico, Colombia, Spain, and Argentina. Hence, there are more Spanish speakers in the United States than in Venezuela, Peru, Chile, or Guatemala.

Nonetheless, being Hispanic and being a Spanish speaker are not synonymous. Most Hispanics (about 90%) can speak some Spanish, but there is a

significant dispersion in the degree of mastery of the Spanish language within this group. Some are native Spanish speakers and can barely speak a bit of English. Others are quite balanced bilinguals. Others can understand some Spanish but speak with significant difficulties. Others can hardly understand and/or speak Spanish. As a matter of fact, all the potential combinations between Spanish and English are evident. The heterogeneity in the mastery and the use of the Spanish language partially accounts for the development of an interlanguage (or Spanish dialect) usually known as Spanglish. It is noteworthy that Spanglish is an interlanguage intrinsic to the Hispanic community. Most English speakers never realize that Spanglish exists. Only Hispanics are aware of this Spanish dialect.

The blend of Spanish and English usually known as Spanglish is observed in most U.S. areas where large concentrations of Spanish speakers are found. From time to time, the word *Englañol* has also been used, and even a distinction between Spanglish and Englañol has been proposed (Nash, 1971; see below). In this article, I will refer only to Spanglish. In some U.S. areas, Spanglish may be the preferred language of everyday communication. That is, many people feel most comfortable with it and communication becomes easier with a permanent mixture of both languages; frequent code-switchings are introduced. Recently, some books (e.g., Morales, 2002; Paz-Soldán & Fuguet, 2000; Stavans, 2001, 2003)[1] and Internet pages (e.g., www.el-castellano.com/spanglis.html) devoted to Spanglish have become available. It has even been suggested that Spanglish is becoming a new language (Stavans, 2003). Nevertheless, Spanglish is not a unified dialect and, because of this lack of uniformity, it is unlikely that it will ever become a language. The Spanglish spoken in Texas may differ from the Spanglish spoken in New York or Miami. The Spanglish found in Texas and California, where there is a very large Mexican population, is sometimes also known as Chicano (the term *Chicano* refers to a second-generation Mexican American). Some Chicano words and expressions would not be comprehensible to Florida Hispanics. As a matter of fact, Spanglish words are tailored according to specific social needs and circumstances, and a permanent creative process is observed. In this article, I will refer especially to the Spanglish spoken in South Florida.

The following statement is an example of Spanglish. A sign in a Miami-Dade County jail stated,

(9) "Los visitantes de esta facilidad deben ser todo el tiempo escortados por un official." (SG)
"Los visitantes de esta instalación deben estar todo el tiempo acompañados por un guardia." (S)

"Visitors to this facility must be escorted by an officer at all times."

There are many interlanguages (Crystal, 1987; Siguan, 2001). When two languages come in close contact (French and German, Spanish and Portuguese, etc.), an interlanguage may emerge. This situation is often observed in linguistic borders. A linguistic border is observed in the Mexican-American frontier, but not in Miami or New York. What is unique with Spanglish is that it is not spoken in a linguistic border. As a matter of fact, there is not an evident linguistic (and geographic) frontier. The "border" is everywhere in the United States. The two are interwoven.

Spanglish, however, has been barely approached from the linguistic point of view (Ardila, 2002). Reviewing the *Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts* (2004), the word *Spanglish* appears in 17 journal articles (Attinasi, 1975; Corces, 1999; Delgado, 1974; Eayrs, 2001; Friedman, 2001; Jongh, 1990; Kennedy, 1982; Levitt, 1997; Mackilligan, 1973; Montes-Alcala, 2001; Nash, 1970, 1971; Pamies-Beltrán, 1995; Ribes-Gil, 1998; Valikova, 2002; Varela, 2001; Zentella, 1982) and one book chapter (Soler, 1999). However, in only 7 cases the word is included in the title and in the rest it is simply mentioned within the article. Fourteen of these articles were published in English and 4 in Spanish, in a diversity of countries (mainly the United States, but also England, Holland, Argentina, Costa Rica, and the Czech Republic). It is interesting that a journal from the Czech Republic named *Etudes Romanes de Brno* produced, in the Spanish language, the most recent article dealing with Spangish titled, "Unos apuntes sobre el fenómeno llamado el 'Spanglish'" [Some Notes on the Phenomenon Called "Spanglish"] (Valikova, 2002).

Diverse studies have been devoted to the contact between Spanish and other languages (e.g., Roca & Jensen, 1996; Siguan, 2001; Silva-Corvalán, 1995; Zentella, 1997). Some of them have approached the contact between Spanish and English in the United States. Thus, Morales (1995) pointed out that the Spanish particle *se* (reflexive, indeterminate subject) has tended to disappear in Puerto Rican Spanish-English bilinguals, particularly in those who had their primary and secondary schooling in the United States and those who went to the United States to study or to live after completing their schooling in Puerto Rico. García (1995) refers to the use of the Spanish preposition *en* (in, on) in San Antonio, Texas, under the influence of English. Gutierrez (1995) analyzed the future tense in Spanish of the Southwest American states. He concluded that the morphological form is still used by the speakers to refer to future events in the monolingual variety, but in the bilingual variety, the temporal use of this form has been much reduced in favor of the extension of its modal use. Elías-Olivares (1995) observed in

Mexican-origin speakers who had resided in Chicago for more than a decade that, despite speakers' weak proficiency in English or their null knowledge of that language, they already exhibit certain phenomena representative of language contact situations, such as loanwords, calques, and semantic extensions. Smead and Clegg (1996) studied the English calques in Chicano Spanish. They concluded that the amount of lexical innovations in the Chicano lexicon directly attributable to English would probably be in the range of 7% to 9%.

Spanglish, in any one of its diverse variations, is spoken by millions of people. There is no question that it represents the most important contemporary linguistic phenomenon the United States has faced that has unfortunately been significantly understudied. Several reasons can potentially account for this lack of interest in Spanglish: (a) As a linguistic phenomenon, it is noticed only by the Spanish-speaking community. English-speaking linguists may barely know that Spanglish exists. Hispanics only use English and never Spanglish to talk with English speakers. (b) Spanglish has been related to and often associated with low-educated people and even with the underground world (Pamies-Beltrán, 1995). (c) Sometimes, Spanglish has been interpreted just as a deformed and corrupted Spanish (see Zentella, 1997). Siguan (2001), in his recent textbook *Bilingüismo y lenguas en contacto* [Bilingualism and languages in contact], states (referring to attitudes toward the language interference),

> In the opposite extreme are the Spanish speakers in the United States, who have not any inconvenience in accepting any type of interference from English, from the lexical borrowings to the real mixture of the two languages, that justifies the name of Spanglish. There are many reasons accounting for the relaxed attitude: it is an immigrating population interested in becoming integrated to the society where they have been established, they come from different countries, not only with different variations of Spanish but also with different cultural traditions, they do not have common political objectives, and most important, their low social and educational level. All these reasons together explain, even though the use of Spanish has continued extending in the United States, to speak it correctly and free of interference is neither regarded as a need nor represents a source of prestige. There are even attempts to systematize the interferences—the Spanglish, considering that it represents the origin of a new language. According to I. Stavans, author of the Spanglish dictionary (2001), "this dialect in process of formation is the price for the survival of Spanish in the United States." (p. 184; translated from Spanish)

At this point, a very important linguistic question becomes, "What is Spanglish from the linguistic point of view: an interlanguage, a Spanish dialect, a Creole language, or a pidgin language? An interlanguage is spoken in a

linguistic border. A pidgin is a communication system developed among people who do not share the same language but need to talk because of whatever reason. A Creole language is a pidgin that has become the native language of a community. Pidgin and Creole represent in consequence two steps in the same process (Crystal, 1987). A dialect refers to a variation (usually, but not only, geographical) in a language that is understandable by other speakers of the same language. It is not easy to decide, because Spanglish has some characteristics of an interlanguage where it partially represents the interlanguage of the Mexico-U.S. border. It can be labeled as a pidgin because many of the English borrowings are due to the need to have a common communication code; for instance, the English word *tag* or *carpet* is used in Spanglish to have a common communication code among Spanish speakers from different countries using different words to refer to tag or carpet. Nowadays, many second-generation Hispanic children are exposed primarily to Spanglish at home, making this their native language in which this dialect is mostly, but not totally, understandable by standard monolingual Spanish speakers, hence becoming a Creole Spanish. I will refer to Spanglish as an anglicized Spanish dialect, but I am aware that Spanglish can also be regarded as a Spanish-English interlanguage, a pidgin, or even a Creole Spanish. In a certain way, the relation between Spanish and Spanglish could be interpreted as a diglosia relationship (Fishman, 1972).

Spanglish Is Not a Unitary Dialect

Different subtypes of Spanglish have been proposed. Nash (1970) distinguished three subtypes of Spanglish. Type 1 is characterized by extensive use of English lexical items occurring in their original form in otherwise Spanish utterances: (a) international terms in science and technology; (b) simple substitutions of high-frequency English words that do have Spanish equivalents; (c) such cultural borrowings as English slang and English terms translatable only by long, awkward paraphrases; and (d) the vocabulary of American merchandising and advertising. In Type 2 Spanglish, English words' spelling and/or pronunciation are changed—they lose their non-Spanish identity and assume the morphological characteristics of Spanish words (some Type 2 words also undergo semantic expansion or restriction). Some Type 3 Spanglish reveals English syntactic influence, some involves literal translation of English loan phrases, and some involves not only a merging of Spanish and English but also a reflection of the unique Latin American way of life.

Ardila (2002) suggested two major subtypes of Spanglish. Spanglish Type I is observed in people who were born in the United States or arrived there early in life. Spanglish Type I speakers are early bilinguals and, as a

matter of fact, frequently act as native speakers of both languages. Nonetheless, they speak English better because it was their school language. They prefer to read in English and frequently have difficulties writing and reading in Spanish. When they speak, frequent code-switching between English and Spanish may be observed, although English predominates. Both grammatical and phonological systems are respected when speaking each language, although sporadic morphological and word-selection abnormalities can be observed. When a word is more accessible in the other language, code-switching is triggered. These people speak two languages and they alternate between both or simply use them as an extended language. Spanglish Type II is mostly found in native Spanish speakers who have been living in the United States for some time and may borrow a significant number of words from English. These borrowings are imperfect from the point of view of English phonology or are simply adapted to Spanish phonology. Under the influence of English, morphological abnormalities may be observed. When these people speak, their basic language is Spanish, but sometimes they present transient code-switching. Speakers are usually nonbalanced late bilinguals with compound bilingualism. In these people, both languages may be active, and the functional language is neither Spanish nor English but a mixture of both. As expected, interference is high.

Nash (1971) has proposed a further distinction. She suggested that the bilingual contact situation in Puerto Rico has produced two hybrid varieties of language that are widely used in the metropolitan areas of the island along with Standard Spanish and Standard English. English-influenced Spanish, commonly known as Spanglish, is characterized by extensive vocabulary borrowing and adaptation to Spanish norms of phonology, morphology, and orthography, with syntactic modification playing a minor role. Spanish-influenced English, the parallel hybrid, is as yet unrecognized as an independent dialect, although its users run well into the thousands. Unlike Spanglish, Englañol does not use borrowings of lexical items. There is, however, a great deal of syntactic transfer from Spanish, use of deceptive cognates in their non-English senses, hypercorrections in pronunciation and spelling, and false analogies within English. Englañol speakers are highly educated adult bilinguals, whereas Spanglish speakers tend to be less-educated monolinguals. Although Englañol differs from Standard English in significant ways, it is completely intelligible to persons who know Spanish and is therefore perfectly adequate as a linguistic system in Puerto Rico.

It is interesting to note that some native Spanish speakers who have lived in the United States for a long time and have been required to speak mostly English may finally come to prefer to speak English. Fluency in Spanish decreases, lexical impoverishment is observed, and grammar simplifies.

Their English, however, remains imperfect. The final result is that they have difficulties communicating in both English and Spanish.

Spanglish Characteristics: The Superficial Phenomena

I will refer to the mixture of the two languages as the superficial phenomena of Spanglish. That is, I will refer to what is overtly observed in conversational language. It includes borrowing and code-switching. Both borrowing and code-switching have been analyzed in Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States (e.g., D'Introno, 1996; Smead & Clegg, 1996; Toribio, 2001, 2002; Toribio & Rubin, 1996). I will later analyze the "deep phenomena" of Spanglish to refer to the changes observed in the Spanish language under the English influence.

Borrowing

The rules governing borrowing are not yet well defined. Why is a particular word borrowed and another one is not? Everyday observation makes it apparent that, in the majority of cases, the borrowed word is a noun; only sporadically is it an adjective or verb. Ardila (2002) hypothesized that in word borrowing, several principles are acting simultaneously:

1. In Spanish, there is no word corresponding exactly to the borrowed word (e.g., *driveway*).
2. The borrowed word presents some cultural salience in the new U.S. cultural context but not in the native one (e.g., *suit* as an appeal or legal case).
3. The borrowed word has a very exact referent, like a proper name (e.g., *income tax*, *mall*).
4. In Spanish, there are several potentially correct words, but none has the exact meaning (e.g., the word *ratio* corresponds in Spanish to relación, proporción, or razón).
5. There are Spanish regional variations with regard to that particular word (e.g., *tag* is placa, chapa, or tablilla; *balloon* is bomba or globo; *carpet* corresponds in Spanish to both tapete and alfombra). In different Spanish-speaking areas, one of those words may be preferred. Some mild variation with regard to the exact meaning may exist. So, *tapete* may denote a smaller carpet, *alfombra* may imply that it is woven, and so on. To avoid having to select between several alternative Spanish words, the English word is selected as kind of superordinate.
6. The borrowed word is compatible with Spanish phonology (i.e., it is quite unlikely that one would borrow a word whose phonology is extremely difficult for Spanish speakers, such as *girl*).

7. When the English word is phonologically simpler than the corresponding Spanish word, the English word may be borrowed (e.g., the English word *pin* is simpler than the Spanish word *alfiler*).

8. Very high frequency and, in consequence, overlearned words are not usually borrowed from the second language (e.g., words such as *casa* [house], *mano* [hand], etc. are never borrowed).

9. Technical words are often borrowed into other languages, becoming international words (e.g., *software*).

10. When a word is frequently used in everyday life in English (e.g., *lunch*, *brake*), it may be borrowed.

11. When a word has been learned in English first, the meaning is more directly accessible in English than in Spanish. This may be particularly true with some professional and academic terms (e.g., *randomized*).

The same principles may be assumed to apply in other similar linguistic contexts. The borrowed word is usually adapted to Spanish phonology. It is also adapted to Spanish morphology; otherwise, it would be considered as code-switching or code-mixing.

Under the influence of English semantics, the semantics of some Spanish words may be somewhat changed. This is a type of borrowing that entails a semantic transposition. This is observed when the words are lexically and phonologically close, although having different meanings. In Spanglish, the word loses the Spanish meaning in favor of the English one. The following are examples of how some Spanglish words have English meaning:

(10) pretend → pretender (English = to intend, to claim or profess; Spanish = to want to be, or to get something)

(11) actually → actualmente (English = in reality; Spanish = currently)

(12) eventually → eventualmente (English = something that can happen)

(13) plain → plano (English = basic or unadorned; Spanish = flat)

(14) regular → regular (English = fair; Spanish = uniform, average)

Sometimes, when people are speaking Spanish, two or more English words with a syntagmatic relationship may be used (e.g., "give me," "don't you think so?"). This phenomenon may be interpreted as borrowing or as a transient code-mixing.

There are some Spanish words that are routinely used in English and have actually been incorporated into English (e.g., *patio*). By the same token, there are English words that are routinely used in Spanish (e.g., *lobby*). These words, even originally borrowed from the other language, should not be considered as borrowings in a specific context. There are also Spanish words (e.g., *bravo*) and English words (e.g., OK) that have become kind of "universal words." Neither of these words should be considered as borrowings in Spanglish.

Code-Switching and Code-Mixing

Code-switching represents a relatively well described linguistic phenomenon in bilinguals (e.g., Angermeyer, 2002; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002; Toribio, 2001). Code-switching means that at a certain point, the speaker changes the language, and continues talking in another language. The switch is produced when beginning a new sentence, and usually a new topic. For instance,

(15) Yo no estoy de acuerdo con eso. But, anyhow, I think I will try again to get it. (SG)
Yo no estoy de acuerdo con eso. Pero de todas maneras creo que trataré de lograrlo. (S)
I disagree with that. But, anyhow, I think I will try again to get it.

Code-mixture (or code alternating) means that within a single sentence, two languages are mixed and may alternate. For instance,

(16) ¿Piensas que mañana we could go to the beach after returning from la casa de mi abuelita? (SG)
¿Piensas que mañana podríamos ir a la playa luego de regresar de la casa de mi abuelita? (S)
Do you think that tomorrow we could go to the beach after returning from my grandmother's house?

Several studies have specifically approached the code-switching and code-mixture in Spanish-English bilinguals (e.g., Callaham, 2002; Gumpertz, 1976; Toribio, 2002; Torres, 2002). For example, Gumpertz (1976) proposes to distinguish the following mixture of code situations: (a) phrases that are frequently used to attract attention, for example,

(17) Look, mira lo que te voy a dar. (SG)
Mira, mira lo que te voy a dar. (S)
Look, look what I am going to give you;

(b) verbatim repetitions of the other's utterances; (c) repeating the same in the other language:

(18) por favor, please (SG)
por favor (S)
please;

(d) emphasizing to whom the message is directed:

(19) es for you (SG)
es para usted (S)
(it) is for you;

(e) the main content of the message is presented in one language, and its justification in the other; and finally, (f) Gumpertz refers to a distinction between personalization and objectivization. The use of the one language is used to reinforce the personal character of some aspect of the message:

(20) I have lived in Miami for a long time, pero soy cubano. (SG)
     He vivido mucho tiempo en Miami, pero soy cubano. (S)
     I have lived in Miami for a long time, but I am Cuban.

Code-switching is the norm when speaking Spanish (resulting in a particular type of Spanglish—Spanglish Type I) but not in English, because it is supposed that Spanish speakers can understand at least some English, hence code-switching is acceptable, yet English speakers do not understand Spanish.

Spanglish Characteristics:
The Deep Phenomena in Spanglish

The organization of Spanish language has somehow changed in the United States under the influence of English. Changes are observed mainly at the lexical-semantic and grammatical level and, to a lesser degree, at the phonological level. I will refer to these changes as the "deep phenomena of Spanglish" because they are directly affecting the organization (lexical-semantic and grammatical) of Spanish. Finally, I will refer to what could be named the "equalization to English" phenomenon.

Lexical-Semantic

Spanglish includes a significant number of lexical changes and displacements in the word meanings due to the English influence. Different conditions can be recognized.

Hybrid words. A new word (neologism) is assembled using English and Spanish components. Frequently, the word is recognized as a deformed word by standard monolingual Spanish speakers:

(21) escortar (SG)
     escoltar (S)
     to escort.

However, this particular change also includes some semantic displacement; *escort* is really acompañar; *escoltar* is to accompany with the purpose of protection.

Anglization. The Spanish and English words are close in the phonological composition, but the Spanish word is deformed to become closer to the English one:

(22) bilingualismo (SG)
        bilingüismo (S)
        bilingualism.

Literal translations. A word (or even sentence) is translated, resulting in a grammatically acceptable utterance that, however, does not correspond to the one used in Spanish:

(23) oficinas de los doctores (SG)
        consultorios medicos (S)
        doctors' offices.

A synonym closer to the English form is selected. The two words are acceptable, but the one closer to the English form is preferred (e.g., urgencia → emergencia).

(24) sala de emergencies (SG)
        sala de urgencies (S)
        emergency room

Borrowing using the English phonological form.

(25) pin (SG)
        alfiler (S)
        pin

Borrowing using the Spanish phonological reading.

(26) aberaxe (SG)
        promedio (S)
        average

Spanishation. Using a Spanish word close to the English phonology but semantically distant:

(27) ganga (SG)
        pandilla (S)
        gang

Ganga in Spanish is a real word that means sale or bargain.

Semantic extensions of the Spanish word to get closer to the English form. For example, *desorder → desorden*:

(28) desórdenes mentales (SG)
        trastornos mentales (S)
        mental disorders.

Literal translations of words using a partial meaning.

(29) envie una letra (SG)
        envie una carta (S)
        I sent a letter.

The word *letter* means the written representation of a language sound (*letra* in Spanish) but also a written message (*carta* in Spanish).

Literal translations from English using the wrong meaning.

(30) Si usted quiere saber su equilibrio, oprima el #2. (SG)
        Si usted quiere saber su saldo, oprima el #2. (S)
        If you want to know your balance, press #2.

Balance means balance, saldo, and equilibrio; the correct word should be *saldo*. Balance may also be acceptable, but *equilibrio* has a completely different meaning (equilibrium).

Substitutions by phonological similarity and semantic closeness.

(31) librería (SG)
        biblioteca (S)
        library

Librería in Spanish means bookstore, not library.

Table 1 summarizes these changes.

Grammatical

Spanglish may have a mixed grammar, partially maintaining the original Spanish grammar but also partially changed to become closer to the English one (Poplack, 1980). Several conditions can be found.

Table 1.   Some Lexical-Semantic Spanglish Phenomena

	English	Spanish	Spanglish
Hybrid	escort	escoltar	escortar
Anglicization	population	población	populación
	bilingualism	bilingüismo	bilingualismo
Literal translation	doctors' office	consultorios médicos	oficinas de los doctores
Same semantics, but not the used word in Spanish	emergency	urgencia	emergencia
Borrowing using the English phonological form	pin	alfiler	pin
Borrowing without the English phonological form	average	promedio	aberahe
Spanish word with different semantic (similar phonology, different semantic)	yard	patio	yarda
	gang	pandilla	ganga
Semantic extension	disorder	trastorno	desorden
Literal translation, partial meaning	letter	carta (letra)	letra
Literal translation (equilibrio), wrong meaning	balance	saldo, balance (equilibrio)	
Phonological similarity, semantic closeness	library	biblioteca	libreria

Borrowing changing the number and/or gender.

(32) la data (SG)
　　　los datos (S)
　　　the data

Changing the Spanish preposition for the English preposition.

(33) esperar por mi esposa (SG)
　　　esperar a mi esposa (S)
　　　to wait for my wife

Changing the Spanish noun-adjective order.

(34) dispersas lluvias (SG)
　　　lluvias dispersas (S)
　　　scattered showers

Lexical English borrowing using a Spanish morphology.

(35) pincito (SG)
      alfilercito (S)
      little pin

Using a preposition in a position that is unacceptable in Spanish. For example, to place a preposition at the end of a sentence:

(36) para comenzar con (SG)
      para comenzar (S)
      to begin with.

Difficulties in understanding and the use of nonexisting English grammatical constructions are found. Those grammatical constructions existing in Spanish but not in English become particularly difficult to understand (e.g., Lo que golpeó al león fue un tigre; Ardila et al., 2000). Conversely, frequent English grammatical structures (e.g., passive sentences) may be overused in Spanglish.

Misuses in verbal forms.

(37) Ese avión esta supuesto a llegar a las 3 PM. (SG)
      Ese avión se supone que llega a las 3 PM. (S)
      That plane is supposed to arrive at 3 PM.

Table 2 summarizes these changes.

Equalization to English

In addition to the lexical and grammatical mixture between Spanish and English, many of the language changes observed in Spanglish simply tend to make Spanish utterances equivalent to the English way of speaking.

Expressing Time and Space

Time. Verb tenses in Spanish—as in all Latin languages—are relatively complex. The number of verb tenses in Spanish is notoriously higher than in English. Nonexisting English verb tenses tend to disappear when speaking

Table 2.   Some Grammatical Spanglish Phenomena

	English	Spanish	Spanglish
Changing the number and gender	the data	los datos	la data
Changing the preposition	depends on	depende de	depende en
English adjective-noun	scattered showers	lluvias aisladas	aisladas lluvias
Borrowing using the English phonological form but Spanish morphology	little pin	alfilercito	pincito
English grammar	to begin with	para comenzar con	para comenzar
English expressions	as soon as tomorrow	a partir (desde) mañana	tan pronto como mañana
	to give back	devolver	dar para atrás

Spanglish. Verb tenses are equated with English tenses. The following are several examples:

(38) aunque no vienes mañana (SG)
      aunque no vengas mañana (S)
      despite you do not come tomorrow

(39) Me da pesar que Colombia no irá al mundial de futbol. (SG)
      Me da pesar que Colombia no vaya al mundial de futbol. (S)
      I am sorry that Colombia will not go to the world (championship) of soccer.

Space. Spatial relations that do not exist in English tend to disappear when speaking Spanglish. Expressing spatial relations in Spanish is equated with the English system: (a) Place adverbs: four words in Spanish, two in English—acá, aquí, allí, allá (here, there). Acá and allí tend to disappear and are replaced by aquí and allá.

(40) para aquí o para llevar? (SG)
      para acá o para llevar? (S)
      for here or to go?

(b) Demonstrative pronouns: three in Spanish, two in English—este, ese, aquel (this one, that one). Aquel tends to be replaced by ese in Spanglish. (c) Spatial directions using English expressions:

(41) hacer una izquierda (SG)

voltear (girar) a la izquierda (S)
to make a left.

Some Linguistic Habits Taken From English

Some linguistic habits observed in English are frequently used in Spanglish. This results in a strange and unfamiliar Spanish for a standard monolingual Spanish speaker.

Saying the date. The date is usually expressed in English as "01/01/01"; in Spanish as "Enero 1ro de 2001" [January 1st, 2001], and written as "Enero 1/01" or "1-I-2001." For example, when asking a Spanglish speaker his or her date of birth, he or she may respond in the following way:

(42) Yo nací en cero ocho, doce, sesenta y dos. (SG)
        Nací el 12 de julio de mil novecientes sesenta y dos. (S)
        I was born on 8-12-62.

The week begins on Monday in Spanish but on Sunday in English. Under the English influence, a Spanish (Spanglish) speaker may begin to tell the days of the week beginning with Sunday.

Using numbers. Numbers are said and read as a whole in Spanish. In English, they may be partially or totally spelled.

(43) página dos cincuenta y cinco (SG)
        página doscientos cincuenta y cinco (S)
        page two fifty-five

Phone numbers are usually spelled in English; in Spanish, they are clustered (e.g., "My phone number is five hundred fifty-one, seventy-nine, seventy-five").

(44) Mi número telefónico es cinco, cinco, uno, siete, nueve, siete, cinco. (SG)
        Mi número telefónico es quinientos cincuenta y uno, setenta y nueve, setenta y cinco. (S)
        My phone number is five, five, five, one, seven, nine, seven, five.

Nonexistent in English, the Spanish letter "ñ" may disappear. The letter "ñ" may be omitted in writing and speaking.

(45) Fuí a ver al doctor Pena. (SG)
        Fuí a ver al doctor Peña. (S)
        I went to see Dr. Pena.

The word *billions* in English has the counterpart in Spanish as *billones*. But *billones* in Spanish refers to millions of millions and not thousands of millions as in English. In other words, billion in English means something plus 9 zeros, whereas in Spanish it refers to something plus 12 zeros. Spanglish speakers frequently use billones referring to thousands of millions.

There is a tendency to overuse the pronouns. In Spanish, the use of pronouns is not mandatory, as it is in English. Pronouns are usually included to make emphasis, but generally they are omitted.

(46) Yo he estado pensando. (SG)
       He estado pensando. (S)
       I have been thinking.

The Future of Spanglish in the United States

What will happen in the future with Spanglish? Three different scenarios could be conjectured: (a) It will disappear, (b) it will continue growing and eventually receive the status of a language, or (c) it will continue growing as a nonrecognized Spanish dialect.

The evolution and future of Spanglish is very significant contingent on two factors: (a) number of Spanish-speaking immigrants to the United States, and (b) U.S. policies concerning bilingualism. Current Latin American migratory flow to the United States and U.S. policies concerning bilingualism do not seem to tend to change, at least in the foreseeable future.

It is difficult to anticipate that Spanglish will become a language. In the United States, there is also a large Spanish-speaking community, represented mainly by the new immigrants. Spanish speakers move to Spanglish only after years of living in the country, or as a result of being exposed to both languages since birth (second generation). This means that it takes a lot of time and exposure to English for a Spanish speaker to assimilate Spanglish. In addition, Spanish speakers maintain significant links (family, commerce, etc.) with Latin America. Spanish language—not Spanglish—will continue representing the standard for speaking. There is also a second reason: Spanglish is not a unified dialect. Even though there are common characteristics in Spanglish (e.g., equalization to English), significant variations are also observed. To a significant extent, Spanglish is the result of the need for communication. In Miami, it is common to hear that what is important is to understand and to be understood, and not the way language is spoken. That is, Spanglish is the result of considerable difficulty with communication existing in some Spanish-speaking communities. Miami is also a model of lin-

guistic flexibility. There is no question that Miami is a city where communication may be extremely difficult, regardless of the language that one speaks.

It is my impression that Spanglish has extended with the increasing number of Spanish-speaking immigrants. There are no clear records of Spanglish from 10 or 20 years ago, and it is difficult to know if it has changed. My impression is that the Spanglish spoken 10 or 20 years ago was basically the same that is currently spoken, because the two departing languages—Spanish and English—are the same.

Most likely, Spanglish will continue growing as a nonrecognized anglicized Spanish dialect.

Note

1. The title of Paz-Soldán and Fuguet's (2000) book *Se Habla Español. Voces Latinas en USA*, is written in Spanglish. I do not know whether it was done to illustrate Spanglish or it was just an unwilling error.

References

Angermeyer, P. S. (2002). Lexical cohesion in multilingual conversation. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, *6*, 361-393.

Ardila, A. (2002). Spanish-English bilingualism in the United States of America. In F. Fabbro (Ed.), *Advances in the neurolinguistics of bilingualism. Essays in honor of Michel Paradis* (pp. 47-69). Udine, Italy: Forum.

Ardila, A., Rosselli, M., Ostrosky-Solis, F., Marcos, J., Granda, G., & Soto, M. (2000). Syntactic comprehension, verbal memory and calculation abilities in Spanish-English bilinguals. *Applied Neuropsychology*, *7*, 3-16.

Attinasi, J. J. (1975). Sociolinguistic aspects of assimilation: Puerto Rican English in New York City. *The Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingue*, *2*, 296-311.

Callaham, L. (2002). The matrix language frame model and Spanish/English codeswitching in fiction. *Language and Communication*, *22*, 1-16.

Corces, L. (1999). Re-evaluating Spanglish. *Geolinguistics*, *25*, 35-38.

Crystal, D. (1987). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Delgado, J. (1974). Los acronimos en el habla de Puerto Rico [Acronyms in Puerto Rican speech]. *Language Sciences*, *30*, 19-21.

D'Introno, F. (1996). Spanish-English code-switching: Conditions on movement. In A. Roca & B. J. Jensen (Eds.), *Spanish in contact: Issues in bilingualism* (pp. 187-202). Sommerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

Eayrs, M. (2001). Argentine English: For once, the language is losing ground. *Modern English Teacher*, *10*, 24-26.

Elías-Olivares, L. (1995). Discourse strategies of Mexican American Spanish. In C. Silva-Corvalán (Ed.), *Spanish in four continents. Studies on language contact and bilingualism* (pp. 227-240). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Fishman, J. (1972). *The sociology of language: An interdisciplinary social science approach to the study of language in society.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Friedman, R. (2001). Language purists dismayed by Spanglish. *Geolinguistics*, *27*, 195-196.

Gafaranga, J., & Torras, M. C. (2002). Interactional otherness: Towards a redefinition of code-switching. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, *6*, 1-22.

García, M. E. (1995). En los sábados, en la mañana, en veces: A look at *en* in the Spanish of San Antonio. In C. Silva-Corvalán (Ed.), *Spanish in four continents. Studies on language contact and bilingualism* (pp. 196-213). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Gumpertz, J. J. (1976). *The sociologic significance of code-switching.* Berkeley: University of California.

Gutierrez, M. J. (1995). On the future of the future tense in the Spanish of the Southwest. In C. Silva-Corvalán (Ed.), *Spanish in four continents. Studies on language contact and bilingualism* (pp. 214-226). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Jongh, E. M. (1990). Interpreting in Miami's federal courts: Code-switching and Spanglish. *Hispania*, *73*, 274-278.

Kennedy, J. E. (1982). Una terminologia de alto-standing? [A terminology of alto-standing?]. *The Incorporated Linguist*, *21*, 137-138.

Levitt, J. (1997). Language and ethnic briefs. *Geolinguistics*, *23*, 157-334.

Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts. (2004). Retrieved September 1, 2004, from http://www.csa.com/csa/factsheets/llba.shtml

Mackilligan, G. (1973). Se habla Spangles [Spanglish is spoken]. *The English Language Journal/Revista de la Lengua Inglesa*, *4*, 169-171.

Montes-Alcala, C. (2001). Two languages, one pen: Socio-pragmatic functions in written Spanish-English code switching. *Dissertation Abstracts International, A: The Humanities and Social Sciences*, *62*(3), 993A.

Morales, A. (1995). The loss of the Spanish impersonal particle *se* among bilinguals: A descriptive profile. In C. Silva-Corvalán (Ed.), *Spanish in four continents. Studies on language contact and bilingualism* (pp. 148-162). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Morales, E. (2002). *Living in Spanglish.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Nash, R. (1970). Spanglish: Language contact in Puerto Rico. *American Speech*, *45*, 223-233.

Nash, R. (1971). Englanol: More language contact in Puerto Rico. *American Speech*, *46*, 106-122.

Pamies-Beltrán, A. (1995). La jerga de la drogadicción [The slang of drug addiction]. *Sendebar*, *6*, 185-196.

Paz-Soldán, E., & Fuguet, A. (2000). *Se habla Español. Voces Latinas en USA*. Miami: Alfaguara.

Poplack, K. S. (1980). Sometimes I will start a sentence in Spanish y termino en Español. Towards a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics*, *18*, 581-618.

Ribes-Gil, B. (1998). Spanglish spoken. *Modern English Teacher*, *7*, 13-16.

Roca, A., & Jensen, B. J. (1996). *Spanish in contact: Issues in bilingualism.* Sommerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

Siguan, M. (2001). *Bilingüismo y lenguas en contacto* [Bilingualism and languages in contact]. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Silva-Corvalán, C. (Ed.). (1995). *Spanish in four continents. Studies on language contact and bilingualism.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Smead, R. N., & Clegg, J. H. (1996). English calques in Chicano Spanish. In A. Roca & B. J. Jensen (Eds.), *Spanish in contact: Issues in bilingualism* (pp. 123-130). Sommerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

Soler, N. P. (1999). Linguistic terrorism at the juncture of cultures: Code-switching in U.S. Latina self-narratives. In T. Hoenselaars & M. Buning (Eds.), *English literature and the other languages* (pp. 269-282). Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Stavans, I. (2001). *The sounds of Spanglish: An illustrated lexicon*. New York: Basic Books.

Stavans, I. (2003). *Spanglish: The making of a new language*. New York: HarperCollins.

Toribio, A. J. (2001). Accessing bilingual code-switching competence. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, *5*, 403-436.

Toribio, A. J. (2002). Spanish-English code-switching among US Latinos. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *158*, 89-119.

Toribio, A. J., & Rubin, E. J. (1996). Code-switching in generative grammar. In A. Roca & B. J. Jensen (Eds.), *Spanish in contact: Issues in bilingualism* (pp. 203-226). Sommerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

Torres, L. (2002). Bilingual discourse markers in Puerto Rican Spanish. *Language in Society*, *31*, 65-83.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). Retrieved September 1, 2004, from http://www.census.gov/main/www/cen2000.html

Valikova, H. (2002). Unos apuntes sobre el fenomeno llamado el "Spanglish" [Some notes on the phenomenon called "Spanglish"]. *Etudes Romanes de Brno*, *32*(L23), 55-60.

Varela, B. (2001). El Anglicismo en el Español de hoy [Anglicisms in today's Spanish]. *Kanina*, *25*, 93-96.

Zentella, A. C. (1982). Spanish and English in contact in the United States: The Puerto Rican experience. *Word*, *33*, 41-67.

Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Alfredo Ardila got a psychology degree from the National University of Colombia. He had his doctoral training at Moscow State University under the supervision of A. R. Luria. He has participated in the foundation of several neuropsychology societies in Latin America, such as the Colombian Association of Neuropsychology and the Latin American Association of Neuropsychology. He has been teaching in different countries, including Colombia, Mexico, Spain, Ecuador, and Chile. He has researched and published in the areas of aphasia, alexia, agraphia, acalculia, educational factors in cognitive test performance, cross-cultural neuropsychology, stuttering, dementia, and bilingualism. Currently, he is an associate professor at the Department of Communication Sciences and Disorders, Florida International University (Miami). When time permits, he is also interested in history and anthropology.