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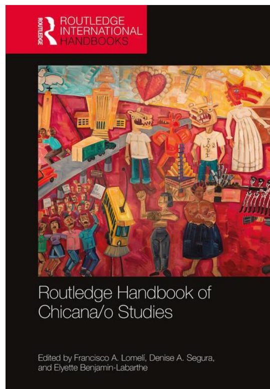

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Bilingualism and biculturalism

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24

Bilingualism and biculturalism

Spanish, English, Spanglish?

Cecilia Montes-Alcalá

> Spanglish is a strange thing. Like art (and some other stuff), you may not be able to describe it, but you know it when you see it.
>
> Cruz & Teck, *The Official Spanglish Dictionary*

Introduction

Demographics in the United States have rapidly changed in the last decade and so has the public perception and recognition of Latinas/os and their language, in particular "Spanglish, an informal hybrid of both languages, [that] is widely used among Hispanics ages 16 to 25" (Pew Research Center 2015) and spoken by millions "as their idioma, the language they speak on the streets and in their casas" (Artze 2001, p. 11). To give a few examples of the importance of this idiomatic form, Dominican American writer Junot Díaz was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 2008 for a novel written in Spanglish, Cuban American poet Richard Blanco was chosen for Barack Obama's second inauguration ceremony in 2013, for the first time two Latinas/os (Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz) ran as GOP presidential candidates in the 2016 election, and Juan Felipe Herrera became the first Chicana/o appointed as California Poet Laureate in 2012 and as U.S. Poet Laureate in 2016 (renewed for 2017).

The Latina/o population in 2014 comprised 17.3% of the total U.S. population (at 55.3 million), of which 64% (over 35 million) were of Mexican origin (Pew Research Center 2016). Moreover, it is estimated that by 2060 U.S. Hispanics will reach 119 million and constitute 28.6% of the nation's population. While English proficiency is rising in this group (68.4% speak only English at home, compared to 59% in 1980), Spanish was spoken at home by 73.3% of Hispanics in 2013 (U.S. Census 2015). For that same year, it was reported that about half of second-generation Hispanics were bilingual and, partly due to bilingualism, Spanish was – and still is – the most non-English language spoken in the United States, in many cases alongside Spanglish usage, which articulates distinctive expressions of Chicana/o and Latina/o identities.

The linguistic practices of Chicanas/os are complex and often misconstrued. Chicanas/os have progressively been reporting English as their first language for decades (Valdés 1988, p. 117), just like the rest of U.S. Latinas/os. In fact, the census projects an increase of English use and a decline of Spanish use among all Latinas/os in the next decade. Despite the quasi-inevitable

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language shift that occurs in all immigrant groups, where English ultimately displaces the native tongue in three or four generations at the most, Spanish and English thrive and coexist in the United States today, often in close contact with one another. When Chicanas/os use both English and Spanish words in the same phrase or sentence, this has led to what Peñalosa (1980, p. 181) calls "languagism": prejudice, discrimination, and oppression towards a group for the way they speak. Chicana/o bilingualism has been characterized as "natural" (as opposed to "elite" bilingualism) and typically shows a diglossic pattern where English is the formal language associated with school, work, and public spaces while Spanish is relegated to the home, family, and more intimate contexts (Silva Corvalán et al. 2008, p. 250).

Few other languages have spurred so much debate and turmoil among scholars, educators, and the general public alike as the coupling of Spanish and English in the United States. But what exactly is Spanglish? Is a new language being born? Will Spanish eventually disappear in the United States? These questions are not new. Over four decades ago, Troike pointed out that this label "is as misunderstood and misleading as the term 'Tex-Mex' in Texas" (as cited in Milán 1982, p. 203). Likewise, Acosta-Belén (1975, p. 151) noted that much of the controversy regarding language use among Latinas/os was due to the lack of understanding of the nature of Spanglish.

Questioning Spanglish

References to Spanglish can be found in dictionaries, printed press, Internet sources, and scholarly articles but they are occasionally vague and inaccurate. The lack of universal agreement on what Spanglish really is has triggered a great deal of discussion and controversy. Much of the confusion stems from the very hybridity of the word itself, which comprises part of the names of two languages, which suggests, in turn, that it must be the name of a language itself, a mix of both (Otheguy & Stern 2010, p. 96). Lipski (2004, p. 8), in his endeavor to sort through the chaos of definitions and mayhem from a linguistic standpoint, enumerates different modes of discourse stereotypically regarded as Spanglish containing grammar that deviates from heritage speakers and speakers of Spanish as a second language, and denigrated as so-called junk Spanish. We will briefly discuss them here, followed by their essential characteristics, some of the attitudes regarding Spanglish, and predictions for the future of this idiomatic form.

Definitions and misconceptions

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines Spanglish with a negative connotation as "a type of Spanish contaminated by English words and forms of expression, spoken in Latin America" while the *American Heritage Dictionary* uses a more neutral definition: "Spanish characterized by numerous borrowings from English." Both definitions imply that it is a type of Spanish language. Others, though, perceive it not as a language but as a hybrid lingo spoken by second- and third-generation Latinas/os (Maroney 1998) or a "fluid vernacular that crosses between English and Spanish" (Hernández 2004, p. 4).

Yet for other authors Spanglish has a cultural, ethnic, or even political meaning with covert prestige and is associated with distinctive Chicana/o or Latina/o identities. Jaimes (2001) suggests Spanglish is an ethnic identity marker for the new generation of Hispanics in Miami while Morales (2002, p. 7) claims that it is "a transitory (read transnational) state of in-between" so that when we speak Spanglish "we are expressing not ambivalence, but a new region of discourse that has the possibility of redefining ourselves and the mainstream, as well as negating the conventional wisdom of assimilation and American-ness" (2002, p. 95). Along similar lines, Stavans (2003, p. 5) defines it as "the verbal encounter between Anglo and Hispano civilizations."

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Research indicates that second- and third-generation (heritage) speakers of Spanish display some processes of language simplification and loss, often accelerated by contact with English-language speakers (Silva-Corvalán et al. 2008, pp. 267–269). Examples include the extension of the verb *estar* to typical *ser* contexts (e.g., *estoy inteligente* instead of *soy inteligente*). While both could be translated as "I am intelligent", the first form suggests intelligence can be a transitory feature, but instead, the second indicates an inherent quality. This example demonstrates simplification or loss of the subjunctive mood among other verb forms. This type of Spanish, however, characteristic of what Lipski (2004, p. 13) calls "transitional bilinguals," is not truly representative of Spanish-speaking communities in the United States nor is it a new hybrid language.

The concept of mock (or "junk") Spanish was developed by anthropologist Jane Hill (1995), who regarded it a subtle way of Anglo racism towards Spanish and its speakers. Examples of junk Spanish would include expressions like the excerpt from the movie *The Mexican* when the character played by actor Brad Pitt attempts to communicate in Spanish by saying: "I need a lift in your *el trucko* to the next *towno*!"

Hill (1995) discusses other examples such as *no problemo*, *hasta la vista*, baby, *el cheapo*, or *yo quiero Taco Bell*, all of which are part of the collective imaginary in the United States thanks to movies, popular culture, and commercials as well as comic strips, greeting cards, restaurant menus, and advertisements. Hill's conclusion is that this use (or misuse) of Spanish is effective precisely because of its subtlety and apparent innocence but in fact displays discriminatory humor that only reinforces negative stereotypes. This type of Spanish is usually produced by monolingual speakers of English and has little or no resemblance with the language of U.S. Latinas/os.

In a country where Spanish is the second *de facto* language and there are (or should be) plenty of qualified translators, far-fetched, incorrect, and misleading translations are mind-boggling. Sadly, they can be found in official documents, instruction manuals, inserts in utility bills, restaurant restrooms where it is common to see the sign, *Los empleados deben lavar manos* ("The employees should wash hands," which is a form of truncated Spanish if not used as a reflexive action), and in malls signs identifying *Teléphonos* for *teléfonos*, which was spotted in a New Orleans shopping mall. These so-called translations can be misleading and contribute to the notion that Chicanas/os and Latinas/os in the United States are not literate in either Spanish or English. It is no wonder that anyone encountering such aberrations would disparage Spanish and Spanglish, but it must not go unremarked that they do not exemplify the language spoken in bilingual communities.

Today, there are still plenty of disagreements and misconceptions about the term Spanglish. From rabid enthusiasts who find it amusing to harsh detractors who consider it a bastardized language and forecast the end of Spanish (and/or English), few remain indifferent. Moreover, several linguists such as Otheguy & Stern (2010, p. 86) are completely opposed to using this word, arguing that it misleading and unfortunate, so it should be either discarded or replaced by "popular Spanish in the United States."

In spite of the ever-increasing number of articles and stories published on the subject, only a handful actually explore and describe the phenomenon in depth.[1] Rather, most of the accounts of Spanglish forms and usage are anecdotal, hearsay, or humorous. As Lipski (2004, p. 15) notes, some stories have developed into urban legends (like the ubiquitous but extremely literal *deliveramos groserías* (We deliver groceries) sign[2] that allegedly show the deteriorated condition of Spanish spoken in the United States, thus hindering its serious study and "the determination of what – if anything – 'Spanglish' might actually be" (2004, p. 16). As a consequence, the reader is typically left with a fuzzy idea of what Spanglish is (or not) and a perception that the language used by U.S. Latinas/os is stigmatized and rather different from Spanish spoken in other parts of the world.

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Consider the following examples and the feelings, opinions, and attitudes each language-integrated phrase may evoke:[3]

1 *Le voy a mandar un* email *más tarde*. (I'll send him an email later.)
2 *Le robaron la troca con* everything. *Los* tires, *los rines*. (They stole the truck with everything. The tires, the rims.)
3 *Te llamo pa'trás luego*. (literally: Call you back soon.)
4 Everything is back to normal. *Ándele pues!* (Well, then!)
5 I need a lift in your *el trucko* to the next *towno*!
6 *Area dura del sombrero* (literal but bastardized translation for "Hard hat area")

Judgments regarding the acceptability of speech forms such as those in this list that include both Spanish and English and are used by many U.S. bilinguals and monolinguals might range from appropriate, even standard, to completely deplorable or aberrant speech. Some of these examples will be elaborated upon later. All of these examples may be labeled as Spanglish but, as seems obvious, each one displays different language contact phenomena that typically take place in bilingual settings such as those provided in the United States where Spanish speakers and English speakers (who may or may not be of Latina/o origin) work or reside close to one another. I turn now to offer an overview of such phenomena from a socio-linguistic perspective by presenting a dialogue between scholarly literature, including definitions and misconceptions of so-called Spanglish and real-life examples of this idiomatic aspect of Chicana/o and Latina/o identities. Within this discussion, important communicative strategies that bilingual speakers can accomplish by mixing their languages are illustrated. A deeper understanding of the choices available to bilingual and bicultural individuals will hopefully contribute to a better understanding of this topic among the general public and dissipate the stigma attached to Spanish spoken by Chicanas/os in particular, and U.S. Latinas/os in general.

Spanish in contact with English

When two or more languages are in a contact setting, several phenomena – such as borrowing and mixing – are bound to happen. Since the lexicon is one of the fundamental parts of language and perhaps the easiest to be manipulated by its users, it is likely the most susceptible to display interaction (also called transfer and interference) between languages. Not surprisingly, the most prominent feature typically attributed to so-called Spanglish is the overwhelming use of "loan words," as I explain later. However, linguistic convergence is not limited to lexical items and can also be reflected in the grammar, including its syntax, verb forms, use of prepositions, etc.

Otheguy (2011) has proposed that the two main causes of contact-induced language change are conceptual convergence and functional adaptation (simplification and regularization processes). Of particular interest to our discussion is the idea of conceptual convergence, which basically states that a bilingual speaker will adopt the conceptualization system of the donor language to express something in the receiving language. For example, when using the terms *secretario de estado* (secretary of state, which is more literal) instead of *ministro de relaciones exteriors* (minister of external relations, which is more common in Hispanic countries), *máquina de contestar* (answering machine) for *contestador automático*, or *lavarse el pelo* (to wash your hair) instead of *lavarse la cabeza* (to wash your head), the speaker is using English, rather than Spanish, conceptualization. Grammatical meaning can also show convergence in constructions such as *romper mi brazo* instead of *quebrarme el brazo* (to break my arm even though *romper* implies "to tear"); these examples demonstrate use of the English conceptual system of possessive adjectives (e.g., "my

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arm") with body parts, which is not common in Spanish (e.g., *el brazo*), where the possessive is understood but not verbalized.

Loan words

The use of loan words – also known as lexical borrowing – is, according to Otheguy (2011, p. 517), the most transparent illustration of conceptual convergence. It typically takes place when there is a gap in the lexicon of a language, often due to encountering a new reality, technology, or modernization, which advance faster than the ability of a language to create neologisms. In order to fill that lexical need, a loan word from the donor language is used. The Internet is a good example of a relatively new field that has caused a need to borrow terms, usually from English. One good example mentioned earlier is: *Le voy a mandar un* email *más tarde* (I'm going to send you an email later). This example illustrates a loan word "email" inserted in Spanish discourse. It is not uncommon to find expressions such as *hacer click* (to click), *escanear* (to scan), *chatear* (to chat), or even *airdropear* (to use AirDrop) in the speech of Spanish speakers around the world, not just in the United States.

Sometimes a loan word is required due to conceptual and/or cultural reasons. When immigrants encounter a new world and a new culture, it is only natural to have to adapt their vocabulary to the new environment and this linguistic adaptation has been common in all the immigrant groups arriving in the United States, not only Spanish-speakers. Acosta-Belén (1975, p. 153) gives excellent examples of words "made up" by Norwegian (*fiksar* for fixes), Dutch (*troebel* for trouble), Polish (*trok* for truck), Finnish (*stoori* for store), and Italian (*fornitura* for furniture) communities as well. A compelling example, offered by Valdés (1988, p. 123), is the distinction English makes between the verbs "to solder" and "to weld," which does not exist in Spanish (the verb *soldar* is used for both actions). What is a Spanish speaker supposed to do in order to express the concept of "welding" in Spanish? One option is to extend the meaning of *soldar* to mean "weld" (semantic extension, as we will see later). A second option is to simply use English (code-switching, as will be explained later) as in *Tengo que* weld (I have to weld). The third option is to borrow the term and adapt it to Spanish morphology, creating a new word while still speaking Spanish, as in *Tengo que weldear* (I have to weld).

It is critical to acknowledge that there are many culturally bound terms that have no direct translation from one language into another and thus require the use of a loan word. As pointed out by Lipski (2003, p. 237), the term *lonchera* or lunch pail has no cultural translation in Spanish, just as *lonche* (lunch) is a different concept from *almuerzo* or *comida* (either lunch or dinner) in the rest of the Spanish-speaking world. Other examples include Anglo cultural concepts like brunch, prom, or baby shower, or names of specific holidays such as Thanksgiving or Halloween, which can only be translated into Spanish by ways of a periphrasis or direct translation (*Día de Acción de Gracias* for Thanksgiving) without cultural reference.

Additionally, non-linguistic factors play an important role in the process of borrowing. One of them is the perceived prestige of the donor language, such as in the use of the French expression "hors d'oeuvres" instead of the less glamorous "finger food" in English. Similarly, since English is considered a desirable language, particularly in the United States, numerous loan words (like fashion, cupcake, casual, or low cost) are used in Spanish to project sophistication and cosmopolitanism or as a marketing strategy, even when there are equivalent translations available.[4] Another factor may be simply economic or, as has been referred to in the literature, efficiency (Shin 2010). Thus, English loan words are often used instead of the Spanish equivalent because they are shorter (when measured in syllable length) and represent a cost savings (e.g., cash vs. *efectivo*, roommate vs. *compañera de cuarto*, or way vs. *manera*).

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It is important to note that loan words can appear either unassimilated, retaining the original form, or assimilated into the morphology of the receiving language. The example provided earlier, *Le robaron la troca con* everything. *Los* tires, *los rines*, contains both assimilated *troca* for truck, and unassimilated (tires) loan words. In addition, Spanish-language use includes assigning gender to nouns as in *la troca* or *el troque* (truck) or *los rines* (rims) as well as morphological endings to verbs as in *weldear/weldeando* (to weld/welding). The three main criteria speakers employ to determine the gender of a loan word are:

a) *Analogical* (Weinreich 1953; Zamora 1975; Smead 2000; Stolz 2008, among others): the loan word receives the gender of the translation equivalent, as in *la* party (since *la fiesta* is feminine in Spanish).
b) *Phonological* (Correa-Zoli 1973; Otheguy & Lapidus 2003; Zamora 1975; Zamora-Munné & Béjar 1987, and others): the final sound of the loan word, especially when it is morphologically assimilated, predicts the gender it will receive, like in *la cuora* (the word quarter has a final sound similar to Spanish "a" in New York English).
c) *Biological* (Clegg 2006; DuBord 2004; Morin 2006; Otheguy & Lapidus 2003): if the word refers to an animate entity, the biological sex will determine the gender, like *la nurse* when referring to a female nurse.

The type of borrowing that is most frequently associated with Spanglish is the morphologically assimilated one. However, according to Lipski (2003, p. 237), expressions such as *me liquea el rufo* (my roof leaks) are infrequent and exaggerated and most of the borrowing that takes place in U.S. Spanish is less grotesque and abundant than people think. Moreover, Otheguy and Stern point out that many of these assimilated loan words (such as *bíldin* for building, *jáiscul* for high school, and *sóbbuey* for subway) are known and used by Spanish speakers throughout the United States (even by those who neither know nor speak English, and may not even realize that the words are of English origin) (2010, p. 88). The point these authors make is that the use of regional words in U.S. Spanish is a practice used in other Spanish-speaking countries (like *guagua* in Cuba for bus, or *chop* for a kind of beer – from German origin – in Uruguay, or *chaufa* in Perú to refer to Chinese rice) so it does not signal the existence of a new language.

Semantic extension or reassignment

This phenomenon, also typically ascribed to Spanglish, refers to cases where a lexical item already existing in the borrowing language expands its meaning to include that of another lexical item in the donor language. Such would be the case of using the verb *soldar* to mean *to weld*, as seen previously. It frequently occurs in pairs of false cognates, as exemplified in Milán's (1982) study of New York City Spanish: the use of *carpeta* (carpet) instead of *alfombra* or *moqueta*, *aplicación* (application) for *solicitud*, or *remover* (to remove) instead of *quitar*.

However, it is crucial to note that semantic reassignment is part of natural language evolution and not always a consequence of language contact. Thus, Milán (1982, p. 198) explains that Spanish words such as *juego*/game, *casa* (house), and *pierna* (leg) all have Latin roots with quite different meanings (scorn, hut, and ham) and their semantic reassignment happened spontaneously, without contact with any other languages. Moreover, Otheguy and Stern (2010, p. 90) remark that there are many local meanings in different Spanish-speaking countries (such as *bravo* or *enojado* for angry) or the different meanings of the verb *coger* for intercourse or to take), so this is not an exclusive feature of American Spanish.

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Calques

Calques – also pinpointed as key elements of Spanglish – are literal translations of words or expressions from the donor to the borrowing language, as can be seen in example: *Te llamo pa'trás luego*[5] for "call you back."

Other examples of calques are *está p'arriba de ti* (it's up to you) or *correr para gobernador* (to run for governor). Silva Corvalán et al. (2008, pp. 262–263) also include cases of conceptual and structural transfer such as *no son tus negocios* (it's none of your business) and *¿cómo te gustó la película*? (how did you like the movie?) A similar example from an advertisement in Madrid is cited by Otheguy and Stern (2010, pp. 91–92): *Tienes email en tiempo real con tarifa plana* (You have email in real time at a flat rate). All these cases show Spanish sentences, not a mix of English and Spanish, where the English conceptual system is employed. The point once again is that other varieties (not just U.S. Spanish) also use local vocabulary and expressions – sometimes from English origin – while maintaining the Spanish linguistic structure (grammar, syntax, morphology). Moreover, as pointed out by Lipski (2003, p. 239), if we did not know these calques originated in English we would simply treat them as interesting regionalisms such as the Colombian expression *¿te provoca*? as opposed to the standard *¿te apetece*? (both are expressions for "Do you feel like?") or the use of *ojalá* and its equivalent *si Dios quiere* (two forms of expression for God willing), a literal translation from Arabic.

To summarize, borrowing and using calques and semantic extensions are natural linguistic processes commonly attested in the (monolingual) evolution of any language. While it is true that language contact can accelerate these changes, it is not always the case. Most important, they are not idiosyncratic of the so-called Spanglish nor indicative of the emergence of a new language.

Spanish-English mixing: code-switching

The hybridity of the term Spanglish suggests a mix of languages is involved. Far from being an exclusive feature of Spanish and English, this mix is common in many bilingual settings worldwide for which similar labels have been coined, such as *portuñol* (mix of Spanish and Portuguese in the Brazil-Argentina border), *franglais* (mix of French and English in Canada), or *papiamento* (mixture of Dutch, English, Spanish, Portuguese in the Caribbean). Let us consider the following example: "Everything is back to normal. *Ándele pues*!"

In this example, the first sentence appears in English and the second in Spanish. The technical term linguists use to refer to this phenomenon is called code-switching (also found as code-mixing or code-shifting, with and without hyphens) and it consists of alternating both languages in the same discourse either at the level of the word being used, a clause, or a sentence. The example referred to at the beginning of the paragraph shows inter-sentential code-switching (between sentences) while intra-sentential code-switching refers to switches inside a sentence, as in these two examples:

Vamos para Nashville este weekend. (We're going to Nashville this weekend.)
La botella was his lover. (The bottle was his lover.)

There has been plenty of discussion about whether single word switches should be considered (morphologically unassimilated) loan words or code-switching. A third alternative is that there are no discrete boundaries and both phenomena are part of the same continuum.[6] Likewise, the debate regarding whether code-switching is the same as Spanglish or not remains

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heated and unresolved (see Otheguy 2008 and Otheguy & Stern 2010). While some researchers (Zentella 1997; 2008) argue that Spanglish is the informal label lay people use to refer to code-switching (the politically correct term) and take pride in it, others like Acosta-Belén (1975, p. 156) have maintained a strict division between both.

Code-switching is commonly found in bilingual communities, although not all bilingual individuals necessarily code-switch. Research on this topic has become a fundamental area in studies of bilingualism from assorted perspectives including formal linguistics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics. Social attitudes towards code-switching have typically been negative among monolinguals and bilinguals alike, both on the part of individual speakers and the speech community. This type of discourse has often been deemed a sign of lack of proficiency in one or both of the languages involved, a "hodgepodge," a haphazard or "lazy" mode of speaking.[7]

Fortunately, the results of decades of research are conclusive and at least two key conclusions have systematically emerged. First, code-switching does not happen randomly but is restricted by specific grammatical rules. Second, it fulfills a number of social and pragmatic functions.

The functions of code-switching

A typical dichotomy generally established is between *situational* (also known as language choice) and *metaphorical* (or conversational) code-switching. The former largely depends on the context, participants, place, and topic. An example would be switching languages when a new interlocutor who does not understand the language joins the conversation. The latter is of particular interest since research has shown that this type of language alternation serves important social, pragmatic, and communicative functions. Some of these include: direct and indirect quotes, emphasis, clarification or elaboration, focus/topic constructions, parenthetical comments, tags, contextual switches, lexical need, triggers, idiomatic expressions, and stylistic switches, among others.[8] Let us discuss some of these with examples taken from Chicana/o literature:

- *Clarification or elaboration*. Code-switching can be used to clarify or further elaborate on what is being said. For example: "Beige, just the tone. *Así como cafecito con leche, ¿no?*" (Just like coffee with milk, right?; from *Los vendidos* by Luis Valdez 1971).
- *Lexical and/or cultural need*. Rather than a language deficiency, as explained previously, switching may be due to a lack of an exact equivalent in the other language/culture or simply a higher frequency of exposure of an item in a specific language/culture. For example: "You see, there are many diseases that a *curandera* (healer) can cure with *yerbas* (herbs). For example, *empacho* (indigestión)" (from *Pánfila la curandera* [Pánfila, the Healer] by El Teatro de la Esperanza).
- *Emphatic/stylistic switches*. By switching languages, the speaker can highlight a word or an idea, sometimes repeating it in both languages. For example: "*Esto es algo especial.* Very special, *querido primo*." (This is something special. Very special, dear cousin; from *Mi querido Rafa* by Rolando Hinojosa 1981).
- *Idiomatic expressions and/or linguistic routines*. These elements are easily inserted in another language without disturbing the flow of the conversation and often it is done unconsciously. For example: "*Pos* we can't go back." (Well, we can't go back; from *Brujerías* [Witchcraft] by Rodrigo Duarte-Clark and El Teatro de la Esperanza 1973).
- *Quotes*. Switching languages to cite somebody's words in the original language is a classic function fulfilled by code-switching. For example: "*y quail parrotea* (parrots)...'he's my boss bush'" (from "Judas" by Alurista 1995).

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Although many bilingual speakers are unaware of their language mixing, it constitutes a rather complex and meaningful strategy that Zentella (1981) perceives as a larger expressive repertoire – as opposed to a lack of language proficiency. Part of the bilingual communicative competence includes knowing when and how to use either or both languages. Just like monolingual speakers alternate among different styles or registers depending on the situation, bilinguals have a choice of languages when they speak or write and they are, in fact, as Valdés-Fallis (1988, p. 125) suggested, "using a twelve-string guitar rather than limiting themselves to two six-string instruments."[9]

Attitudes, projections, and the future of Spanish

Perhaps the most notable admirer and promoter of Spanglish has been Ilán Stavans (2000b), who accused Antonio de Nebrija's grammar of being an imperial tool. More than a decade ago, he predicted a radical change in the Spanish language where Spanglish would standardize its syntax – *es la fuerza del destino* (it is the force of destiny; 2000a, p. 92) – claiming we should celebrate the birth of a new language in a world where so many languages die. Stavans earned plenty of criticism when, in his attempt to legitimate Spanglish, he compiled a Spanglish-English Dictionary and "translated" the first chapter of *Don Quixote de la Mancha* into Spanglish. This exercise was subsequently described as a joke by Garrido (as cited in Kong 2002, p. 2), as manipulation by Anzaldúa (2003), and as a grotesque creation by Lipski (2004, p. 12). The main source of criticism was that no true bilingual person would ever produce such a translation, which contained numerous violations of the aforementioned principles of code-switching, such as *employaba* (employed), *providiendo que* (providing that), or *acordando with* (agreeing with), among many others.

Critics of Spanglish abound among linguists, journalists, educators, and the general public. Even in its origins (mid-1940s) the term was born with a negative connotation. Salvador Tió, a Puerto Rican journalist, felt that Spanglish was "the deterioration of Spanish in Puerto Rico under the onslaught of English words" (as cited in Lipski 2004, p. 1). Language purists consider it an invasion of Spanish by English, a war between and a threat to both languages. Spanglish has been attributed to the poor, illiterate Hispanics (González Echevarría 1997) and described as a sign of linguistic and cultural subordination (Molinero 1998). As Morales (2002, p. 4) points out, to almost everyone, Spanglish is an ugly word referring to "a bastardized language, an orphan, a hybrid, a mule – in short a pathetic, clumsy creature incapable of producing viable offspring." In sum, the general tendency has been to use this word "to disparage Latinas/os in the U.S." (Otheguy & Stern 2010, p. 86).

Journalists have contributed to spreading strong negative opinions about Spanglish among the general population. "Teach [Latinas/os] Spanglish, and teach them to settle for substandard English and menial jobs," concluded a columnist in the *Miami Herald* (Artze 2001, p. 11). Another article in the *Houston Chronicle* (Osio 2002) claimed that Spanglish users are condemned to a "lifelong state of limbo," using terms such as "educational idiocy" and "language aberration" to refer to this mode of speaking. Li-Hua Shan (2002) reported a University of Texas sophomore asserting that "those who speak Spanglish expose how ignorant they are about both languages" while a graduate student in the same institution expressed her fears that "people won't be able to tell the difference between English and Spanish soon."

Fortunately, none of those apocalyptic expectations have come true. Salaberry (2002) predicted that Spanish would not suffer any more grammatical corruption due to Spanglish than it would without any contact with English. In fact, as of today, we have yet to see any drastic changes in Spanish due to the so-called Spanglish and most serious scholars seem to agree that

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Spanish and Spanglish are here to stay. Yes, there is language variation and, yes, there is language change. English is a global language that influences other languages worldwide, not just Spanish in the United States, but such influence has not caused regression in any language to date.

Concluding remarks

I have attempted to offer an overview and detailed discussion of the different linguistic phenomena that occur in Spanish-English bilingual and/or bicultural settings in the United States, including Chicana/o and Latina/o communities. I have argued that the lack of understanding about ordinary bilingual speech behavior and the motley crew of manifestations typically ascribed to the so-called Spanglish are possible roots of negative stereotypes attributed to the Spanish spoken by Chicanas/os (and U.S. Latinas/os in general).

As has been shown, the borrowing of lexical items, idiomatic expressions, and/or syntactic structures is a natural occurrence in any language. Albeit more pronounced in bilingual communities, borrowing is also available to monolingual speakers. These features have been purported to be fundamental characteristics of Spanglish but it is worth reinstating that none of them are new to Spanish, or to English, nor are they likely to threaten the integrity of either language in the foreseeable future. Since the Spanish language borrowed around 4,000 words from Arabic, it seems ironic that, as noted by Salaberry (2002, p. 7), language purists find themselves between a rock and a hard place when they attempt to substitute an Anglicism for "rent" (*renta*) with an Arabism (*alquiler*).

Code-switching has been studied in depth for decades and proven to be a rule-governed phenomenon commonly found in bilingual communities worldwide. Unlike borrowing, code-switching is only available to fluent bilingual speakers and it fulfills specific socio-pragmatic and communicative functions. In sharp contrast with the so-called Spanglish, typically described as a capricious and anarchic lingo, code-switching is systematic and adheres to grammatical restrictions. Code-switchers possess a strong command of both languages and are able to combine them without violating the rules of either grammar.

Lastly, following Lipski (2004), I have reviewed additional definitions and misconceptions about Spanglish, including poorly executed translations and what has been labeled mock (or junk) Spanish in mass media – created with a humorous, sometimes racist, purpose. As has been argued, neither grotesque translations nor mock Spanish are accurate representations of the Spanish spoken in bilingual communities but rather produced by monolingual English speakers.

Ignorance and fear of the unknown have disseminated pessimistic notions about the future – even the disappearance – of Spanish in the United States while suggesting the creation of a new language but, luckily, these prophecies have not come to fruition. As Lipski states, "knowing how to switch languages does not constitute knowing a third language, any more than being ambidextrous when playing, e.g. tennis constitutes playing a new sport" (2004, p. 17). Furthermore, in order to justify the existence of a distinct language

> one would have to demonstrate that there exists in the U.S. a community of speakers who have a new, and different, underlying linguistic system. . . . Rather, we find in the Spanish of the United States what we find elsewhere, namely the development of phrases in perfect Spanish that express new cultural elements.
>
> *(Otheguy & Stern 2010, p. 92)*

In sum, rather than the birth of Spanglish, what we are witnessing is the natural evolution of U.S. Spanish. Languages slowly evolve and change, and there is nothing that can be done to

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hinder (or accelerate) such courses. It is time to stop dreading Spanglish and instead continue to embrace the Spanish spoken in the United States with all of its idiosyncrasies just like any other variety of Spanish. Perhaps with a deeper understanding of the diverse processes involved in language contact situations, as well as in language variation and change, attitudes will start to shift and the language of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os in the United States will no longer be a source of shame and disgrace but rather a part of a distinct identity.

Notes

1 See, for instance, Milán 1982; Fairclough 2003; Toribio 2004; Lipski 2004 and 2008; Montes-Alcalá 2009; Otheguy 2008; Otheguy & Stern 2010 or Dumitrescu 2010.
2 Lipski (2004, p. 15) recounts that this expression has allegedly been seen in stores in Miami, Texas, California, and also by Nobel Prize author Camilo José Cela in the Northeastern United States. Although there are no actual eye witnesses to such a sign, it has turned into an urban legend as "proof" of Spanglish.
3 In these (and subsequent) examples I will use regular font for English and italics for Spanish.
4 For additional examples, see, for instance, http://smoda.elpais.com/placeres/por-que-lo-llaman-cookie-cuando-quieren-decir-galleta/, http://elpais.com/elpais/2015/09/12/icon/1442054838_765387.html, or http://cultura.elpais.com/cultura/2016/06/12/actualidad/1465733492_445691.html.
5 According to Lipski (2003; p. 238–239) the use of "para atrás" is the most criticized syntactic calque in the Spanish-speaking communities and also appears in bilingual communities in Gibraltar. See Lipski (1985 and 1987), Otheguy (1993 and 2011) and Silva-Corvalán (2008) for additional discussion on this calque.
6 It is outside the scope of this chapter to examine all the arguments but suffice it to say that the lines are fuzzy at best, although some scholars use several criteria in order to distinguish between both phenomena (see Bhatia and Ritchie 1996, for instance.)
7 A teacher of Puerto Rican kids complains: "These poor kids come to school speaking a hodgepodge. They are all mixed up and don't know any language well. As a result, they can't even think clearly. That's why they don't learn. It's our job to teach them language – to make up for their deficiency. And since their parents don't really know any language either, why should we waste time on Spanish? It is 'good' English which has to be the focus" (as cited in Walsh 1991, p. 106).
8 The reader is referred, among others, to Valdés-Fallis (1976); Poplack (1981); McClure (1981); and Gumperz (1982) for further discussion of these functions. Additionally, Zentella (1997) proposed three main communicative strategies accomplished by code-switching: footing, clarification, and crutch-like code mixes.
9 Although most of the research on code-switching has focused on the oral production of bilinguals, there is an increasing interest in written code-switching and, for the most part, studies have found socio-pragmatic functions similar to those attested in oral speech (see, for instance, Callahan 2004; Torres 2007; Montes-Alcalá 2012 and 2013).

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