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Spanglish, an identity-based discourse strategy of Latino community to respond to segregation through language

Alexis Barrios Pardo

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Spanglish, an identity-based discourse strategy of Latino community to respond to segregation through language

Alexis BARRIOS PARDO

Director of research: Gudrun LEDEGEN

June 07, 2021

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ABSTRACT

This research project aims to study the nature of Spanglish as an identity-based discourse strategy from Latino community to respond to segregation through language. To do so, we analyze three corpus, a literary translation, a book and a podcast, that use the Spanglish derived from Mexican and Puerto Rican varieties of Spanish (the equivalent of "Spanglish standard variety" if it were a language itself), in agreement with the historical, social and political background of Latin American immigrants in the United States. There is also an analysis of linguistic constraints and principles of codeswitching based on the criteria established by Shana Poplack (1981).

Although Spanglish is primarily based on oral communication, it should not be considered a patois or an argot. We found that it is indeed a discourse strategy chosen by Latino bilingual individuals that reveals both a hybrid cultural identity and a desire for differentiation. Far from being an interlanguage for recently arrived Hispanic immigrants wanting to learn English, Spanglish is an informal way of speaking marked by the deliberate and spontaneous mix of Spanish and English that implies a mark of resistance from a minority that assumes itself as bilingual and bicultural, for whom language mixing represents their sense of belonging to both cultures. It also turns out to be a vector of social cohesion that fosters cultural attachment and sense of identification within the Latino community throughout generations. On a linguistic level, Spanglish proves to be a particularly creative, sophisticated and coherent hybrid code, governed by the principles of lexical and morphosyntactic juxtaposition of both languages.

Keywords: Spanglish - Identity - Discourse Strategy – Latino Community - Linguistic Segregation – Resistance – Minority – Language Mixing - Codeswitching

RESUMEN

Este proyecto de investigación tiene como objetivo estudiar la naturaleza del espanglish como una estrategia discursiva basada en la identidad de la comunidad Latina en Estados Unidos para responder a la discriminación lingüística. Para ello, analizamos tres corpus, una traducción literaria, un libro y un podcast, que utilizan el spanglish derivado de las variedades mexicana y puertorriqueña del español (el equivalente a la "variedad estándar del espanglish" si éste fuera un idioma), en acuerdo con los antecedentes históricos, sociales y políticos de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en Estados Unidos. También se realiza un análisis de las limitaciones

lingüísticas y los principios de alternancia de códigos basado en los criterios establecidos por Shana Poplack (1981).

Aunque el espanglish se basa principalmente en la comunicación oral, no debe considerarse un patois o un argot. Descubrimos que en efecto es una estrategia discursiva elegida por individuos latinos bilingües que revela tanto una identidad cultural híbrida como un deseo de diferenciación. Lejos de ser una interlengua de inmigrantes hispanos recién llegados con ganas de aprender inglés, el espanglish es una forma de hablar informal marcada por la mezcla deliberada y espontánea de español e inglés que implica una marca de resistencia de una minoría que se asume como bilingüe y bicultural, para quienes la mezcla de idiomas representa su sentido de pertenencia a ambas culturas. También resulta ser un vehículo de cohesión social que fomenta el apego cultural y el sentido de identificación entre la comunidad latina de los Estados Unidos a lo largo de generaciones. A nivel lingüístico, el espanglish resulta ser un código híbrido particularmente creativo, sofisticado y coherente, regido por los principios de yuxtaposición léxica y morfosintáctica de ambas lenguas.

Palabras clave: Spanglish - Identity - Discourse Strategy – Latino Community - Linguistic Segregation – Resistance – Minority – Language Mixing - Codeswitching

RÉSUMÉ

Ce projet de recherche vise à étudier la nature du spanglish en tant que stratégie de discours identitaire de la communauté Latino aux États-Unis pour répondre à la discrimination linguistique. Pour ce faire, nous analysons trois corpus, une traduction littéraire, un livre et un podcast, qui utilisent le spanglish dérivé des variétés d’espagnol mexicain et portoricain (l'équivalent de la «variété standard » du spanglish s'il s'agissait d'une langue), en accord avec le contexte historique, social et politique des immigrants latino-américains aux États-Unis. Il existe également une analyse des contraintes linguistiques et des principes de l’alternance codique à partir des critères établis par Shana Poplack (1981).

Bien que le spanglish soit principalement basé sur la communication orale, il ne doit pas être considéré comme un patois ou un argot. Nous avons constaté qu'il s'agit bien d'une stratégie de discours choisie par des individus Latinos bilingues qui révèle à la fois une identité culturelle

hybride et une volonté de différenciation. Loin d'être une interlangue pour les immigrants hispaniques récemment arrivés souhaitant apprendre l'anglais, le spanglish est une manière informelle de parler marquée par le mélange délibéré et spontané de l'espagnol et de l'anglais qui implique une marque de résistance d'une minorité qui se veut bilingue et biculturelle, pour qui le mélange linguistique représente leur sentiment d'appartenance aux deux cultures. Il s'avère également être un vecteur de cohésion sociale qui favorise l'attachement culturel et le sentiment d'identification au sein de la communauté latino-américaine des Etats-Unis au fil des générations. Sur le plan linguistique, le spanglish se révèle être un code hybride particulièrement créatif, sophistiqué et cohérent, régi par les principes de juxtaposition lexicale et morphosyntaxique des deux langues.

Mots-clés: Spanglish - Identity - Discourse Strategy – Latino Community - Linguistic Segregation – Resistance – Minority – Language Mixing - Codeswitching

INTRODUCTION

The traditional conception of *melting pot* no longer fits in with the multicultural reality present in the United States from the mid-20th century. The emergence of countercultural expressions by minority groups during the 1960s and 1970s is a sample of a massive wave of community movements around the world to whom *resistance identity* was a common flag to defend themselves against homogenizing globalization (Castells, 1999), as is the case of the Latino community response to segregation through language.

The following sections are intended to put the reader in touch with current issues of Latinos and how their presence is reshaping the United States in a cultural and linguistic level. To do this, we will address the impact of immigration as an essential component of this nation and the use of bilingualism focused on the English literacy of immigrants as a measure to preserve national sovereignty. As a consequence of the latter, Latinos (as well as other US-based immigrant populations) tend to construct negative representations of their mother tongue, causing them to embrace the host language and pass it on their descendants.

However, we can trace the growing use of a mixed code between English and Spanish, commonly called Spanglish, which does not respond to a low command of these languages but is an alternative form of speech used in private contexts across generations. It is there where linguistic phenomena such as Spanglish become relevant, it is a sign of cultural hybridization that demonstrates the willingness of Latinos to accept American culture without abandoning their own, and in turn serves as an identity mark linked to their linguistic and cultural roots.

From this scenario, the present research seeks to provide answers to the following questions:

- What are the implications of communicating in a hybrid code like Spanglish in an English-speaking country like the United States?
- How to characterize Spanglish users?
- Where does the backlash to Spanglish and to cultural hybridization of the Latino community come from?
- To what extent can Spanglish be considered an identity marker chosen by the Latino community to respond segregation through language?
- Why should refer to Spanglish as a discourse strategy mainly oral in nature?

SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

I. The United States and their strong root of immigration

Today inhabited by 332 million people[1] , the United States has been a land made up by immigrants since their very early origins as a nation. The pursuit of freedom and a new life was the driving force for Pilgrims to occupy the North American territory, a feature still persistent in the American spirit and by extension, in the "American Dream", a fruit of their expansionism that keeps mobilizing those who aspire to build their (material) happiness on Earth.

Gauchon & Gervaise (2005) analyze the demographic impact of immigration in the United States since 19th century. A country traditionally dominated/regulated by the WASP elite (White Anglo Saxon Protestants), has nevertheless witnessed a gradual reconfiguration of their population by a modest wave of North Europeans (1800 – 1880), followed by a larger arrival of South and East Europeans before 1914, and boosted since the 1960s by a massive and constant wave of Asians and Latin Americans, not to mention the countless illegal immigration. As a result, immigrants have managed to dynamize population growth by both an increasing demographic flow (from approximately 150000 individuals per year in 19th century to more than a million during the early 21th century), and a birth rate higher than the U.S. average.

a. The pursuit of Happiness in the Land of Opportunity

The pursuit of Happiness is one of the three fundamental rights proclaimed in the U.S. Constitution, being also the one that justifies the tradition of immigration in the United States according to the same authors. It is the ideological mechanism behind the myth of "the self-made man" that impulses Americans to work restlessly for gaining upward mobility within a society made of equality of chances and inequality of conditions. This show of social Darwinism tests the desirable leadership and competitiveness to achieve progress or get into the "American Dream". As one can imagine, this undertaking becomes much harder for those who cannot afford it. There is still an encouraging lever, though: the 1965 *Affirmative Action*, a set of legal measures that aim to defend immigrants' rights, offer them an easier access to job market, and include their native language in administrative and educational contexts.

In a land which nationality lacks of ethnic roots, becoming an American is an act of choice. When following the "American Dream", every candidate to integrate the country assumes the

[1] 332,338, 661 by May 17, 2021 *US and World Population Clock*. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/popclock

implicit and absolute acceptance of American values, including of course their language. Americanization turns to be then an essential process in the formation of the national identity and the sense of belonging of U.S. citizens.

b. Episodes of rise of U.S. nationalism (mid-20th century to present)

To this point, it is important to see that the United States never held imperialism in the European style but as *a major power that claims some responsibility for the ordering of the world*[2]. For the purpose of this research, we are going to focus on the U.S. historical background from mid-20th century to present, where we find three episodes of nationalism:

- **1950s Imperial America,** when the post-WWII United States succeeded to position themselves as the New World by labeling communism as the new global enemy, resulting in the Cold War used as a leitmotif to enhance their foreign policy and rocket both mass production and war industry.
- **New economy (1995 - 2000),** the flourishing economic period linked to the development of TICs and services that managed to reduce drastically poverty and crime during Clinton Administration. It provided nonetheless a fertile ground to widen the gap of inequality due to the reduction of social aids in 1996[3], together with a rapidly installed trend of wealth concentration.
- **9/11,** the terrorist attack able to destabilize this superpower before the eyes of the world: by a sharp fall that evidenced not only the contradictions of their liberal economic model but the fragility of the "unshakable nation" discourse built for more than two centuries. In response to this, the U.S. set their unilateralism to intervene only to the extent that their own interests will be affected. Despite their worldwide military deployment (i.e. 2003 Iraq War), the U.S. refuses any intervention of international organizations or allies in their affairs while ensuring some strategic moves: restoration of diplomatic relations with Cuba (2015), completion of the Panama Canal expansion project (2016), and President Trump's declaration of both the longest U.S. border shutdown ever and a rising "trade war" with China since 2018.

[2] Heiss (2002:511)

[3] "Welfare state a second chance, not a way of living", said once the President Clinton. The decision to cover social aids was up to each State since the Federal government stopped financing them.

c. A decadent "melting pot": immigration reshapes the country

The term « melting pot », popularized in 1908 by the writer Ismael Zangwill, aims to describe the capacity of the U.S. to "melt together" peoples in a common culture to conform a unique population. A concept considered in crisis by Cazemajou & Martin (1983), since it stopped representing ethnic reality especially after the 1960s, an era when ethnic awakening raised to question and redefine immigrant influence in the U.S. territory, especially in two ways: by nourishing American popular culture in fields like gastronomy, music, art, and language "intrusions", and also by proving the country resistance to cultural hybridization.

In the third chapter, the authors point out a huge media visibility that made ethnicity quite invisible, invalidating the desire for integration of immigrants and their search of identity in the host country. They refer for instance the printing of History school textbooks around 1972 in which minorities were depicted in decontextualized and biased representations (forced to be revised two years after). In parallel, it lies a pronounced interest in immigrants as suitable manpower, even if job market is open to everyone since 1965, the workforce employed in non-qualified sectors is larger by far than the professionals captured by "brain drain"[4]. As if it were not enough, the internal displacement of the white upper classes towards the suburbs and certain northern states caused geographical and class segregation regarding work and education. Although ethnic mixing was implemented in all public schools in urban centers, not many white students were enrolled, resulting in their populations being made up primarily of working-class students from diverse local and foreign "minorities".

Conversely, the countercultural wave opened the door to Black studies programs as well as other minority studies such as Chicano (after Hispanic/Latin American studies), Asian, and Native American, taught in the Northeast region and California, even if permanently threatened by lack of teaching staff or insufficient State budget. Either having positive or negative consequences, the U.S. assimilationist view of ethnicity did not appear to relieve truly segregation.

More recently, since the 2010s, the United States has been going through an internal conflict of powers around nationalism. Obama's Administration approved the return to the Welfare State, as well as a greater social and political presence of minorities (African Americans, women, LGBT community, immigrants), as was the case of Sonia Sotomayor, the first Hispanic (and the third woman) elected in the Supreme Court in 2010. A few years later, liberalism and patriotism once

[4] Still greater after 1993 NAFTA US - Mexico industrial alliances in the automobile and the electronics sectors: headquarters, production and distribution are located in the United States while the assembly is made at Mexican factories.

again attained a major position when Republicans gained a majority in control of the U.S. House of Representatives, a change followed by the harsh anti-immigration oriented government of Donald Trump, particularly directed at Latino community.

II. Latino community in a nutshell

Latinos[5], a fast-growing population, is the United States' largest ethnic minority today. From 9.8 million in 2010 to 60.1 million in 2019[6], this fifth part of the nation's total population is mainly concentrated in the states of California and Texas. Regardless their nationality, Latin American immigrants land in this country for different economic, social and political reasons, but all seem to share the same strong attachment to their mother tongue, a remaining heritage even present in the third or upper generation of US-born individuals. As every immigrant brings back Spanish to the Latinos already installed, the language keeps flowing and manages to coexist with English, a condition that facilitates bilingualism and of course, communicative phenomena born of language contact.

For Nelson & Tienda (1997) modern Latino community in the United States has been historically integrated by three main profiles of average immigrants:

- **Mexicans:** With a declining segmentation line after WWII, this group is essentially a labor force with strong urban presence but also seasonal rural workers. Family networks and the pursuit of a better life often boost their immigration.
- **Puerto Ricans:** A group characterized by circular migration (quite significant since WWII) between the island population and mainstream community, which thrives their culture in both places and makes them "switch value systems with consequent ideological divisions" (14). They tend to be relegated to the lowest socioeconomic level within the U.S. compared to other Hispanic groups.

[5] It is essential to distinguish the term *Latino*, referring to the US-based Latin American people, from *Latin American*, any inhabitant of the Hispanic portion of the continent.
[6] Mainly Mexican (37, 4 million), followed in a lower proportion by Puerto Rican, Cubans, Central Americans, South Americans and other. This significant community counts with a strong presence in ten states: California, Texas, Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, New Jersey, New Mexico and New York (US Census Bureau, 2019)

- **Cubans:** This group receives a positive welcoming as they have been political refugees (the golden exiles in the 60's) and economic immigrants who mainly belong to highly educated and white-collar urban sectors. They tend to stand out by their language and professional skills, owning a third of Miami's businesses. However, there is a recent increasing flow of blue-collar working class attracted by the U.S. job market.

a. Language skills and sense of identity in numbers

Based on some findings in Pew Research Center's 2018 National Survey of Latinos[7], English proficiency appears to be a strong feature of this community, especially for U.S.-born individuals, who declared to have "very good" or "pretty good" communicative competences in more than 90% of the answers despite some generational fluctuations in English dominance, while their Spanish dominance does not even reach 10%. The following charts contrast the linguistic characteristics reported by the four groups of reference: Foreign-born – US-born (1st generation) – US-born (2nd generation) – US-born (3rd generation):

a. Language proficiency

Foreign-born (%)	
English dominant	6
Bilingual	39
Spanish dominant	56

US-born (2nd gen.)(%)	
English dominant	37
Bilingual	56
Spanish dominant	8

US-born (1st gen.) (%)	
English dominant	53
Bilingual	41
Spanish dominant	5

US-born (+3rd gen.) (%)	
English dominant	86
Bilingual	29
Spanish dominant	3

b. Communicative competences informed as "Very well / pretty well" by language

In Spanish**,** an interesting convergence shows up between foreign-born participants and US-born 2nd generation participants with percentages no lower than 75% in both groups:

[7] The survey collects the opinions of a sample of 1501 adults residing in the United States with +/- 3, 1% margin of error. Available at https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/dataset/2018-national-survey-of-latinos/

Speaking and Listening skills (%)	
Foreign-born	**90**
US-born (1st gen.)	66
US-born (2nd gen.)	**84**
US-born (+3rd gen.)	51

Reading comprehension (%)	
Foreign-born	**85**
US-born (1st gen.)	58
US-born (2nd gen.)	**75**
US-born (+3rd gen.)	40

While in English, the trend is dramatically reversed in favor of all US-born participants:

Speaking and Listening skills	
Foreign-born	38
US-born (1st gen.)	**93**
US-born (2nd gen.)	**91**
US-born (+3rd gen.)	**94**

Reading comprehension	
Foreign-born	39
US-born (1st gen.)	**93**
US-born (2nd gen.)	**92**
US-born (+3rd gen.)	**94**

Regarding the results of communicative competences in Spanish, it calls our attention the apparent mismatch of figures reported by US-born 2nd generation participants and US-born 1st generation participants. The second generation, split between bilingualism and English monolingualism, is in the middle of a first generation still attached to their mother tongue (Spanish) and a third generation much closer to English (Lemus, 2018:106). Although this explanation coincides with the expected results found for language proficiency of US-born 2nd generation participants, it may also clarify the atypical English monolingualism by suggesting significant interest towards Spanish language (and culture) among the bilingual individuals, who actually represent a larger proportion (56%) compared to monolingual (37%) of the same group.

In addition, language proficiency of US-born second-generation individuals is favored by greater access to education and language literacy, considering that they "are substantially better off than immigrants themselves on key measures of socioeconomic attainment (…) They have higher incomes; more are college graduates and homeowners; and fewer live in poverty. In all of these measures, their characteristics resemble those of the full U.S. adult population."[8]

[8] In: *Second-Generation Americans A Portrait of the Adult Children of Immigrants*. Pew Research Center (Feb.2013) Retrieved from https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/02/07/second-generation-americans/

c. Sense of identity

The 2018 survey let us know that U.S. Latino community has managed to balance integration to the U.S. culture and conservation of their ethnic roots in a sort of American[9] double identity. An average 97% of participants consider themselves "completely/mostly proud" of being Latino (-American) alongside with an 84% of "completely/mostly proud" of being (US) American.

This sort of double allegiance corresponds with the "in-between identity" referred by scholars like Betti (2016). The United States, as the Land of immigrants, is nowadays a country where Spanish is increasingly present in various fields and involves strong identity and cultural values. Latino residents likely give the impression of a solid community regardless their different origins since there is a common component of discrimination and oppression in their immigration experiences. However, it does not seem to be an immigrant community with poor command of English, quite the opposite according to the figures for English dominance and bilingualism in subsection 2a. The decreasing trend of Spanish monolingualism in US-born Latinos leads us to think that their desire to preserve their linguistic heritage is not synonymous with resistance to English or refusal to integrate into the host country, a fact that places their feeling of segregation in aspects other than language.

d. A potential threat to the United States sovereignty

Afro-Americans and Hispanics are the ethnic minorities with the largest presence in the US since the 1960s. Differently from the first ones, Latinos do not benefit from political representivity or recognition as inland-born individuals, their exclusion is rather "based on the principle of "foreign born". After the Mexican-American war, legal access to citizenship rights is possible but likely to be denied to "aliens" and bounced in and out according to economical needs (when landlords appealed their ownership of the lands, being the only non-whites to get the same rights and privileges reserved to the white ones)" (Oboler,1997:42)

Cazemajou & Martin (1983:54) explain that Latino immigrants (initially reduced by and large to the Puerto Rican element) reached an important arrival peak during the 1970s and 1980s[10] due to their search for better working and living conditions. Furthermore, Gauchon & Gervaise point to

[9] It is interesting to consider that the term "American" actually shows the assimilation present in English language by taking the name of a continent to coin a demonym. Other languages have more specific nouns, for instance "Estadounidense" (Spanish) or "États-unien" (French).

[10] The authors remark that in fact they accounted for 19% of New York population in the sixties.

mass immigration (predominantly from Latin American countries) seen as a factor that endangers the national interests of the United States as a whole, because true menaces come from the inside and social disbalance (2005:306). They refer to the analysis of the economist George Borjas to explain the general dissatisfaction with this situation, in particular after the 1990s: immigration brings less and less qualified workers causing a decrease in the income of local workers and greater spending on social investment. But above all, the biggest concern is the presence of a growing Hispanic community that is not willing to abandon their language and customs, able to manage to work and live in certain states where administrative issues can be arranged in a language other than English.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

III. Language, monolingualism and sovereignty in the United States

Le Bars (2007) claims that the United States have never been monolingual. Instead, plurilingualism has always been a reality either by immigration or by addition and integration of non-Anglophone peoples. Massive foreign occupation thus becomes a collateral effect of their original desire for expansionism that got out of hand, shaping throughout the years rather a kaleidoscope of cultural diversity than the intended “melting pot”.

Gadet & Varro recall to us that cultures attribute a high emotional component to language since it evokes loyalty and allegiance feelings comparable to what family, religion or politics make humans feel (2006:2). Diversity, as an inherent feature of languages, makes that their coexistence in the same territory entail an ideological tension. That is why any issue related to linguistic conflict within a nation acquires a political dimension and its subsequent struggle for control of power. Hence, the notion of “the official language” serves to support the structure of State-nation through the legitimacy of one language to ensure unity and sense of identity among citizens: “Through language, we send a clear but politically correct message to immigrants, that of a threefold approach: assimilation, americanization, anglicization (…) Linguistic affiliation becomes a handicap to be filled, not an asset to be cultivated, for the individual, but above all for the nation, because it is an obstacle to acculturation." (Le Bars, 2007:46)

Both to establish territorially the linguistic dominance of English and to regulate its coexistence with any other form of language (foreign languages like Spanish or linguistic phenomena like Spanglish), the U.S. government has promoted restrictive measures such as the institution of English as "the only official language in the U.S. Constitution", and the formulation of bilingual educational policies.

a. Implications of Americanization and the "Official English" movement

Since the early 1900s, the U.S. government has invested vast amounts of money and effort in structuring their English-based language education system, the core engine for achieving *the* Americanization that makes immigration "acceptable to Americans" in the words of Huntington (2004:134). Here we have a summary of key moments in U.S. bilingual education policies:

- 1880 – 1917 ("new migration"): adult targeted instruction responded to the need of assimilation of white ethnics coming from Europe to reconstruct "the mainstream".
- 1919: an extensive campaign against German immigrants motivated several states to ban foreign language instruction even in private and religious schools, i.e. *Nebraska Siman Act.*
- 1923: the Supreme Court declared English as "the only and compulsory language of instruction" in all elementary schools.
- 1960s-1970s, the rise of an inclusive perspective: the *Bilingual Education Act* (1968) and the *Ethnic Heritage Studies Act* (1973) allowed the State to allocate a budget intended for research, staff training and implementation of a bilingual education system that integrated students' mother tongues. After 1975, the Federal government approved an annual budget increase for bilingual education and bilingualism research projects (of which 80% in Spanish), as well as scholarships for foreign low-level EFL students.
- 1980s- 1990s English-only immersion programs that put an end to bilingual education: the *Educational Amendments Act* (1981) established the use of English for public communication while the other languages were reserved for the private use of each foreign community. Later, "Structured immersion" in the *California Proposition 227* (1998) reestablishes English as required language of instruction: it targets the LEP (Limited English Proficient) students who have just a 1-year-transition from mother tongue to "special classes" taught nearly all in English.

Although English has come to dominate "naturally" the U.S., it is hard to believe that there is no official language of the United States constitutionally promulgated to date since it may result in national origin discrimination or infringement on First Amendment free speech rights. This condition has not stopped the efforts to achieve linguistic uniformity, though. The country has adopted a number of initiatives, among them the wave of proposals of constitutional amendment led by the Official English movement since the mid-1980s, the enactment of laws declaring English as the official state language achieved by 27 states, the *Bill Emerson English Language Empowerment Act* of 1996 aiming to declare English as the official language of the U.S. Government (passed in 1999 but never enacted), and the recent introduction of the *English Language Unity Act* of 2019 in House of Representatives (not already passed or become law).

Then, to what extent are immigrants who learn English more likely to succeed in the United States? Many of them can manage to get a parallel and regular life in the United States without mastering the "official" language, but normally they pay the cost of having a disadvantaged social position. As the main language in the territory, English favors integration and opportunities for success of foreign communities, representing the element that allows them to approach their own origins and culture at school and get access to citizenship in the host country. Therefore, being welcome in the US implies accepting a conversion contract to use English permanently in return for maintaining one's own mother tongue in the private sphere.

b. From soft power to segregation through language

The will to establish English as the only official language is a significant first step of the United States to defend their sovereignty, yet insufficient to restrain the expansive wave of foreign languages like Spanish that gets more and more installed. Language subjugation proves to be then the power strategy to apply more frontal control measures on Latino immigrants, whether by "denying them the word" or by limiting access to official information.

Some academics report episodes of strong linguistic repression in educational spaces, led by some instructors (especially American or non-Spanish speakers) who penalize students for using their mother tongue "in the name of correct English" or even worse, for daring to speak a mixed language like Spanglish. *Chicana* writer Gloria Anzaldúa shares some personal school memories related to segregation through language between the late 1950s and 1960s:

> "I remember being caught speaking Spanish at recess – that was good for three licks on the knuckles with a sharp ruler-. I remember being sent to the corner of the classroom for "talking back" to

the Anglo teacher when all I was trying to do was tell her to pronounce my name. If you want to be American, speak "American". If you don't like, go back to Mexico where you belong (…) At Pan American University, I, and all Chicano students were required to take two speech classes. Their purpose: to get rid of our accents" (*Borderlands*, 1987, chapter V)

Antonio Gomez narrates the experience of a Latin American child in a U.S. school:

"This is where it starts, and school can be, for most young Chicanos, a terrifying experience (…) The "SPEAK ENGLISH" posters in all the corridors and passages, and the faithfulness shown by English teachers to destroy all traces of Spanish, as well as their desire to impose a new behavior, made me bluntly understand that I was not accepted " (I. B. Singer, *The Estate*, 1969)[11]

On the other hand, U.S. official websites provide a snapshot of their commitment to inclusion of the Hispanic community. In 2001 President Bush launched a Spanish-language translation feature on *WhiteHouse.gov* and the Twitter account *@lacasablanca* as a political gesture to approach Spanish speaking communities. But in 2017 the Trump Administration decided to suppress the Spanish editing committee, making *WhiteHouse.gov* only accessible in English and providing contents with an important load of English, serious translation errors and typos via Twitter[12], an attitude involving an open attack to official communication claimed by the journal *The Guardian*[13] that same year.

Conversely, the 2001 *Patriot Act* opens the way to strict measures to control immigration: the hardening of "speak-English-only" policies to access job and education opportunities (even if they are presumed unlawful), a sharp restriction and reduction of welfare benefits and student visas, not to mention the Federal policy on border security led by President Trump. In fact, the 2018 National Survey of Latinos mentioned above reveals that the perception of Latinos living in the country under this Administration is similar to or worse than in 2017, because they probably felt threatened by its policies.

c. Imaginaries towards English and Spanish

Henri Boyer (2003:33-35) recalls that language, as a human construction, is an object of mental representations. It implies acts of perception, appreciation, knowledge and recognition from individuals who show their interests and presuppositions. Therefore, every representation implies

11 In: Cazemajou & Martin, 1983:166.
12 The handle @LaCasaBlanca was reactivated in the actual Biden-Harris administration.
13 In the article, Helen Aguirre Ferre, The White House director of media affairs, declared: "there is no plan to hire a press officer solely dedicated to Spanish-language media at this time". (July 03, 2017).

an evaluation guided by the normative content of a society, which orients this representation either in the sense of valuation or in the sense of stigmatization. It is found that the linguistic phenomena related to language mixing like Spanglish tend to elicit reductive evaluations due to their hybrid nature, seen as a sort of contamination with respect to major languages, such as Spanish and English in our case. In *La crise des langues* (1985), Jacques Maurais allows us to point out some imaginaries towards the two languages that nourish Spanglish:

English appears as an instrument of social power to achieve economic success, and also as a sign of educational excellence. Seen worldwide as the window of access to educational or work opportunities, English has also positioned itself as the predominant language in the fields of knowledge and the media, seen as the window of access to educational or work opportunities. Unlike other modern linguistic communities, English speakers generally consider their language to be not particularly beautiful or expressive, and it is not linked to the dominant political ideology (Fishman et al., 1966; Marckwardt, 1958). While Spanish, widely spoken around the world, gives the impression of being fundamentally divided into a Castilian variety and a Latin-American variety and it is more likely to be associated with the specific stereotypes of each country. Despite having a fairly strict system of formal rules, there has been a progressive tendency to consider that Spanish is facing a regulatory crisis caused by the influence of English in the media, a situation that is considered rather as a source of invasion and linguistic degeneration.

It is worth understanding the effects of linguistic domination in the way Latino community members perceive both their own mother tongue and the foreign language. Some of them may experience linguistic insecurity towards Spanish and are more willing to adopt Americanization, while others opt for an intentional subjection to the game of “survival English” just if needed.

Similarly, individual dimension could impact the way Latinos take on English: young people are particularly sensitive to Anglicization while rural workers do not have a real need or chance of learning English; members of the medium class tend to be bilingual and their upward mobility may include some acculturation that detracts from their mother tongue; and bicultural marriages tend to foster the presence of English at home. In general, English is perceived as advantageous, linked to a better lifestyle and culture, becoming a desirable asset that some parents (both foreign-born and U.S.-born) want for their children.

d. Bilingualism and the distrust towards "double identities"

Immigration challenges the U.S. national identity because of the development of dual loyalties, nationalities and citizenship, taking place on many Americans' commitment to their nation. This condition tends to inspire distrust of "double identities", and by extension of bilingual people, individuals who seem to be potentially dangerous for the integrity of national identity.

In the fourth chapter of their book, Cazemajou & Martin (1983) explain that for neutralizing the "threat" that immigrants may represent, institutions appeal to mythification to reduce their diversity and the complexity of their situation in the country. For instance, the stereotype of aliens worthy of pity diffused by media, together with the extended figure of disadvantaged peoples prone to welfare dependency become common references that get installed in the collective imaginary, fueling the assumption that immigrants are incapable to seek and obtain social growth in the host country.

At the linguistic level, mythification of bilingual people arises from a purist perspective, rather by portraying individuals who possess two monolingualisms that coexist together or by imagining their brains as linguistic containers where the progress in one language gets installed at the expense of the other (Gadet & Varro, 2006). This simplification helps us understand why language mixing, commonly faced by bilinguals, tends to be viewed as an evidence of linguistic contamination and low language proficiency. As a result, speakers hide and restrict this type of linguistic practices, which indirectly hampers the interest of both society and research to address, study and measure emerging language transformations.

Then, the establishment of English/Spanish bilingualism in the United States would challenge their enduring isolation/expansion dynamic that has regulated their power and presence worldwide. The struggle with Latino immigrants nowadays reflects the ambivalence of a U.S. structure that once used to promote an attitude of openness and tolerance towards immigrant peoples. Juan Perea[14] reminds us that the administrative usage of English represents a step back from 19th century, where "America's cultural pluralism was more openly acknowledged in the law than today". Before 1879, when English was established as the official language through amendments, California had achieved a bilingual state for 30 years after the 1849 Constitution decreed that "all laws must be published in Spanish and English", an action that also made languages like German, French and Spanish be included in school instruction. Similarly,

[14] Cited in Le Bars (2001: 25)

bilingual constitutions (not only English/Spanish) and certain laws used to exist in Louisiana and some southwestern states.

In contrast, the young fierce defense of English instruction reveals a weakness in the current American bilingualism program: it is based on the English literacy of immigrants more than on a solid foreign language curriculum for all students (US-born and foreign-born). Samuel Huntington warns us of the key place of English/Spanish bilingualism as "increasingly important for success in key sectors", which is misplacing the historical prerequisite of fluency in English for any person to move ahead in the United States. A situation that may shift more and more the job market in favor of foreigners proficient in two or more languages, considering that "for the first time in American history, increasing numbers of Americans will not be able to get the jobs or the pay they would otherwise get because they can speak to their countrymen only in English" (2004:323).

e. Language as a resistance identity

Before a giant that intends to defend its own power and sovereignty, minorities react by taking positions of resistance like linguistic attachment. It turns out truly meaningful since the mother tongue holds primary identity, the set of symbolic representations and guidelines that allow individuals to understand their place in the world as well as the "parameters" to validate alterity.

In *The Power of Identity*, Manuel Castells argues that identity is not a discovery but a permanent construction that implies personal elaborations produced into a context framed by struggle for power. By extension, **resistance identity** emerges as a shelter to resist the oppressive power of identity homogenization, unbearable if faced by a sole individual. It leads to long-lasting formation of communities because it represents an alliance that arises from affinity, regardless of any historical, geographical or biological bonds (p.17).

The twentieth century has brought important ideological transformations in society, including a reformulated political character of Nationalism (that privileges the defense of an institutionalized culture rather than the defense of a state), and a massive wave of diverse social movements leading by common flag resistance identity to respond a standardizing globalization. In the case of immigrants such as the Latino community, struggle with the host country appears to stem from their desire to preserve their linguistic heritage. Commonly seen as rejection to integration, this reaction implies in fact a mark of resistance of a minority that assumes itself as bilingual and

bicultural, for whom language mixing may represent a way of expressing their sense of belonging to both cultures.

Up to this point, Spanglish can be interpreted as an identity-based strategy that aims to show the willingness of Latinos to mediate between the acceptance of the host culture and the preservation of their own, an exclusive construction that undoubtedly becomes subversive in the United States, especially for those who do not speak Spanish. As a novel use of the two most widely spoken languages in this country, Spanglish could demonstrate that "it is bilingualism as a political construction, as an identity marker what is contested, not the close concept of multilingualism that refers to the syndrome of the diverse and plural Nation of immigrants" (Le Bars, 2001:50).

IV. And then, Spanglish!

Generally speaking, Spanglish is the coined term to describe the language code that mixes Spanish and English associated to Latino communities living in the United States (especially in the south, in the Mexico-United States border area and in Puerto Rico). Nevertheless, Spanglish represents quite a controversial issue not only because of the extended debate over its name, but especially because of the hybrid character of its nature.

Aura Lemus (2018:110-111) explains that the name "U.S. Spanish" adopted by several scholars brings with it a comparison with other varieties of Spanish (regional, continental), currently out of consensus among Hispanic linguists in the United States. The term "Spanglish" is considered inclusive for some of them since it may suggest the anglicizing peculiarity of the variations present in the lexicon of the speakers. In contrast, others attribute to the name "Spanglish" a militant character necessary for the advancement of the cause of Hispanics in the United States.

The objective of this research is not to make a linguistic characterization of Spanglish. However, we consider relevant to understand and put in context the linguistic features of Spanglish as it is an existent manifestation of language mixing. In addition, this background will allow us to explore how it relates to identity and the reasons why it can represent a communicative strategy characteristic of a specific group of interlocutors such as Latino community.

a. Historical background of Spanglish

Spanglish is a long-lasting phenomenon as the emergence of "Theory of the Spanglish" by Tió in 1948 suggests. It must have been present since the first waves of Latin American immigrants to the United States, but unfortunately, no evidence of any kind is available as Spanglish is linked to orality.

In terms of traceability, it is preferable to talk about academic interest and visibility towards Spanglish since the early 2000s. The professors participating in the *Observatorio Cervantes 2016* at Harvard University point out that both the article "It is the Talk of Nueva York: The Hybrid Called Spanglish" (New York Times, 1997), and the impact of Ilan Stavans' book "Spanglish: The Making of a New American Language" (2003) attracted some international and national public opinion to this U.S. linguistic phenomenon. While it seems that "non-specialist" national and local audiences started to get interested from the spread of the Bill Santiago's work and his 2011 stand-up comedy show on news networks like CNN. A side product that could have drawn some attention to the term is "Spanglish" (2004), an Adam Sandler's blockbuster that is far from representing Spanglish itself or its linguistic reality.

Afterwards, there was a boom of diverse manifestations and publications regarding Spanglish particularly on the Internet: blogs, forums and groups on social networking, press articles (mainly referring to Ilan Stavans' Spanglish translations or a "novel" mix of Spanish and English in the U.S.), and a large amount of YouTube contents (including interviews, reports, academic events and YouTubers' channels). In general, two facts stand out in this multimodal wave of contents:

- A large number of websites are fully presented in English and they had a significant peak of emergence between 2010 and 2015. Most of them are no longer available or active after 2016, though.
- Few new contents started to emerge since 2018, being the YouTube podcast "Perdón por el espanglish" the most notable product with almost 19K subscribers. It is a series of weekly fully-spoken Spanglish episodes about current life situations conducted by two Mexican influencers.

b. A challenging linguistic conceptualization

Due to its unique nature, Spanglish is not yet widely understood as a linguistic phenomenon that implies academic seriousness or research intervention, a factor reflected in the limited number of academic sources, research studies and publications currently available. After an exhaustive and hybrid bibliographic research, we decide to group the divergent hypothesis formulated by some language specialists and the conceptions of two non-scholar writers (the artist Gloria Anzaldúa and the journalist Bill Santiago) in the chart below:

LINGUISTIC DEFINITION OF SPANGLISH	AUTHOR	MAIN POSTULATES
Language	Le Bars (2001)	A third language that mixes Spanish and English: « *On peut parler comme certains une troisième langue le Spanglish, qui mélange l'anglais et l'espagnol* » (50).
	Santiago (2008)	- Spanglish "*es un* all-American *idioma*." that "has to be fun" (6). It is a code of playful sound combinations that implies a free personal choice for bouncing languages according to the illocutionary force of a certain speech act. - "*No se trata de* codes, *sino de idiomas* and everything they embody: culture, heritage, emotional frequencies, ways of thinking and feeling. *El switcheo* is actually between co-dependent realities" (17). - Yet the author concludes that it is more convenient for Spanglish to remain a communicative spoken phenomenon than getting settled as a language.
		- "It is the most important verbal phenomenon of the last times"

	Stavans* (2011)	- Spanglish does not exist in a pure form, it has no grammar or syntax. It is the "marriage and divorce of English and Spanish, two languages which are very dysfunctional and steal each other", a hybrid language that meets the encounter and discounter of two cultures. - Its codeswitching feature is a consequence of Latinos' language acquisition process in the US. - The majority of Spanglish "speakers" inhabit Puerto Rico and the U.S. - Mexico border area.
	Breton & Tinchant-Benrahho (2018)	- "*Il s'agit au départ d' une langue de communication orale non standardisée, particulièrement créative, mouvante, fluctuante, et dévalorisée (régulièrement qualifiée de* bastard jargon)" (4) - Spanglish is a linguistic phenomenon based on the principle of lexical and morphosyntactic juxtaposition and/or hybridization of English and Latin American Spanish.
Psychological dialect	López García (2016)**	- It is a psychological dialect because it makes us wonder how comprehension is established among the different Latino Spanish speakers, both the ones that are losing their mother tongue and the "anglos" that learn Spanish. - "*Dialecto poroso del español con aportaciones del inglés*". Spanglish is a kind of hybrid dialect lacking of all criteria to be defined as a dialect, though. - Spanglish is rather practiced than spoken. - Spanglish is an unusual phenomenon due to its social and geographical characteristics, as well as its levels of individual performance. It transmits the identity struggle of Latinos as a minority, is linguistically closer to Mexican

		Spanish and shares with it a repertoire of anglicisms.
Spoken register	Hernández Sacristán (2016)**	- Spanglish is an expressive and syncretic spoken register linked to the emotional identity, able to create social cohesion among Latinos and reveal their discontentment as immigrants in the U.S. - "*Solución simbólica y retórica transfronteriza*" that does not intend to interfere against English or Spanish communicative styles, but to propose a probably temporary neutrality close to solidarity.
Linguistic strategy	Betti (2016)**	- Spanglish is neither the U.S. Spanish nor the Spanish spoken in the United States, but a private linguistic strategy of US-based Hispanic community. - "Spanglish is a political fact that reveals the Latino's emotional in-between identity."
Patois	Anzaldúa (1987)	- "A language which terms are neither *español ni inglés*, but both. We speak a patois, a forked language, a variation of two languages. (…) We needed a language which we could communicate with ourselves, a secret language" (55) - Spanglish works as a defensive strategy against "linguistic terrorism" which lets Latinos connect their identity and communicate "true realities and values" among themselves.

* *Spanglish: The Making of a New American Language* [Webinar] University of Maryland (2011)
***El "Spanglish" visto desde Europa.* [Webinar] Observatorio Cervantes at Harvard University (2016)

c. Main linguistic features of Spanglish

Breton & Tinchant-Benrahho (2018) claim that Spanglish comes from a spoken mixture of English and Spanish structurally based on the latter, and is governed by the principle of lexical and morphosyntactic juxtaposition and/or hybridization of both languages. This process takes place through a dynamic switch of languages in which interlocutors create not random but sophisticated constructions, and deliberately introduce language "bites" (like idioms, exclamations, proper names, etc.) from a language to another in line with their communicative intentions.

Mixed language phenomena like Spanglish involve the presence of codeswitching and language borrowing to express *marking*, the set of possibilities for negotiating social identities stressing the role of the interlocutor in the interaction rather than formal properties (Myers-Scotton, 1986:11). These two features do not signify poor or deficient command of the language but rather signs of linguistic creativity boosted by the willingness to make one's speech more meaningful, resulting in a resource for expressing non-existing concepts in the other language.

Poplack (1981) explains that switching languages has a connotation of identity marker. Associated to confidentiality and solidarity, it turns to be a kind of behavioral strategy to include and exclude members in a determined circle of communication. And so does codeswitching (CS). At the discourse level, when a speaker switches codes while participants and social setting remain constant, CS appears like a "community discourse norm" which occurrence depends on the speech situation, the bilingual ability and the group membership (ethnicity) of the interlocutors. From simple switches like tags, idioms or exchange of nouns to fluent and constant intrasentential switches, CS implies rather dexterity in both languages than illiteracy or poor linguistic competence, a quite common assumption carrying a stigma in some communities and/or contexts.[15] The more an individual is fluent in both languages, the more extensively he practices CS, being also capable to revert to monolingual speech outside the language contact situations.

Linguistically speaking, several scholars[16] including Poplack herself insist on the fact that further than random, CS turns to be rule-governed. Even if there is no current agreement on the precise nature of its rules, this phenomenon is constrained by extralinguistic and linguistic factors. This

[15] As signaled by Montes-Alcala (2016:24)
[16] Mainly Gumperz (1970, 1976), Timm (1975), Pfaff (1975) and Wentz (1977), cited at Poplack (1981: 174-175)

author defines two types of linguistic constraints existing in codeswitching (applied to Spanish/English switches):

The free morpheme constraint: is it possible to switch full sentences as well as any constituent within the sentences, provided that the constituent consists of at least one free morpheme.

SP *Llego directo del trabajo al apartamento*
CS ***Llego*** **straight** *del trabajo* ***para*** *el apartamento*
ENG I'll come straight to my place from work

SP *(Yo) le dije eso pa' que la trajera ligero*
CS I told him **that** ***pa'que*** *la trajera ligero*
ENG I told him that so that he would bring it fast

The equivalence constraint: It operates simultaneously with the first. Codes will tend to be switched at "favorable points" where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language. In the case of Spanglish, overlaps between surface structures of Spanish and English do not tend to occur when facing morphosyntactic differences, which limits the choice of switches and makes the mix sound logical and coherent for interlocutors no matter their degree of control of L2. As each speaker finds out instinctively his own "favorable switch points", patterns of CS turn difficult to be traced and categorized. No occurrences of this kind are likely to happen:

(They) want *a venir*, *quieren* to come
Voy to decide, I'm going *a decidir*
Told *le*, *le* told, *dije* him, him *dije*

In consequence, CS is "the complete lack of adaptation of patterns from one language to the patterns of the other" (170) that can result in several types of switching behavior structurally different. Poplack's study concludes that not all varieties of Latino CS are structurally equivalent, a fact apparently linked to the degree of control of the L2 (English) since "the less knowledge the speaker has of the other language, the less structurally integrated into the discourse will be his switches" (171). In addition, there is always a base language, either Spanish or English, which "codeswitchers" tend to claim that they "feel most comfortable in" depending on their origins, linguistic attitudes towards L1 and L2, and their personal background as immigrants.

Despite this particularity, the author describes some general types of CS in a situation of language contact (examples are ours):

a. **Full sentence:** *Y el tipo me dijo: "Venga mañana".* Such a waste of time!
b. **Conjoined sentence:** *Debemos comenzar pronto* and work hard on that.
c. **Interjection:** *¡Caramba!* Your uncle turned to be the brave one in the family.
d. **Between major phrase and verb phrase:** *Me enojé bastante y le dije que mi opinión merece* a little more respect.
e. **Between verb phrase and object noun phrase:** *Lo que no te deja avanzar es* your endless lazyness, *hombre*.
f. **Between verb phrase and prepositional phrase:** *El edificio estaba literalmente* on fire.
g. **Between verb and adverb:** *Carla se vistió* very nicely *para la cena.*
h. **Between noun and adjective:** ¿*Tiene* garlic *bien fresco?*
i. **Between determiner and noun:** *Se me perdieron las llaves y la* green card *saliendo del trabajo.*
j. **Between auxiliary and verb:** And they were *corriendo y haciendo todo de afán.*

CS and borrowing (BORR) are closely related in terms of integration between two codes, even considered a continuum[17] . BORR implies some degree of integration since it affects the morphosyntactic and even the phonetic aspect of the recipient language. Spanglish terms like *traca* (from "truck"), *furniturría/furnitura* (instead of "ebanistería"/"muebles"), or "conjugated words" transformed in Spanish-based verbs like *janguear* (from "hang out"), *kidnapear* (instead of "secuestrar"), challenge "the canonical shape of words". In addition, Myers-Scotton (2002: 239) makes a distinction between "cultural borrowings", words for new objects or concepts coming abruptly to language after massive use; and "core borrowings", words that may duplicate already existing words, either foreign terms or coined terms. Thus, both CS and BORR are provisional and determined mainly by pragmatic factors: it is at least in principle the result of a choice, as claimed by Manfredi et al. (2015:287)

CS is a less common phenomenon than BORR because it entails social and psychological values at least partially shared by a community of speakers, though. The same authors explain the necessity of a bilingual population (even if minimal) in order to witness this linguistic feature provided they can share the same codes. Regarding the emergency of BORR, even a slight degree of exposure to a foreign culture and its language — hardly qualifying as bilingualism — may

[17] By authors like Matras (2009) referred in Manfredi et al. (2015:284)

trigger a significant amount of cultural borrowing in a community of speakers without requiring them to have a high command of the second language.

d. A look from other language disciplines

Language is a political act that implies power relations and identity configuration. Given the component of marking that lies in the use of Spanglish, we consider that sociolinguistics and discourse analysis are two disciplines able to provide some theoretical highlights to account for its nature.

We start from a context where there is a majority language, English, officially promoted and holder of "legit" qualities such as prestige, allegiance to the Republic, or national identity, which connect with "the ideology of the standard". As claimed by Klinkenberg (2007), the official language transmits the cultural imposition of the core culture transforming the rest of resident communities in the country into captive cultures, smaller and dependent, through a constant dynamics of attraction and rejection/repulsion from the core culture. This factor makes minority practices of languages in contact such as Spanglish tend to be overlooked, and by extension its community of "speakers" may fall prey to glottophobia[18].

Spanglish is not something new or the only minor linguistic phenomenon existing in the United States considering their vast background of mass migrations. It is just one of several discourse strategies created in the spontaneity of informal language practices, governed by collective constitutive norms which are usually implicit and flexible, provided that "speakers create languages constantly: they invent linguistic means and new utterances to meet their needs for communication, relationships and changes in the social world" (Blanchet, 2016:37).

On the other hand, we seem to witness here an urban phenomenon. Considering that "the languages of immigration have gradually shaped the urban space" (Muñoz Carrobles, 2011:118), the city has being increasingly gaining a role as a center of cultural and linguistic assimilation, capable of fostering language contact and the emergence of various linguistic phenomena. However, the city tends to impose linguistic unification, which causes speakers of minority languages to give in to the pressure from dominant languages and stop transmitting to their children languages they consider unnecessary.

[18] Term coined by Philippe Blanchet (2016) to describe all manifestations of linguistic discrimination as a whole.

V. Spanglish: an identity-based discourse strategy from Latino community to respond to segregation through language

It is worth to mention that the scope of this research project is the major "variety" of Spanglish derived from Mexican and Puerto Rican varieties of Spanish (the equivalent of "Spanglish standard variety" if it were a language itself), in agreement with the historical, social and political background previously exposed. Despite some authors refer to multiple regional varieties in the same geographical area, they are less representative phenomena with little or no scientific and linguistic evidence to be taken as a research subject.

Breton & Tinchant-Benrahho (2018) offer the latest theoretical approach about Spanglish putting in evidence the maturity of the research of this topic. Thus, we adhere to their comprehensive definition as it explains sufficiently the nature of Spanglish as a linguistic phenomenon of the U.S. based Latino community:

"Spanglish refers mainly (but not exclusively) to populations of Hispanic American origins who have developed, due to their belonging to a double culture and their knowledge and current practice of two languages, a complex expression code that stirs up numerous debates today (both political and linguistic)" (…) "It is initially a non-standard, particularly creative, shifting, fluctuating and devaluated language of oral communication (normally qualified as bastard jargon), nourished by two languages in quite variable proportions. Codeswitching is sometimes dictated by the mood of the speaking subject, his will to establish a relationship of complicity with the receiver, by the "gaps", the lexical and syntactic "blanks" of the speaker, but also by cultural and emotional references, or by the suggestive capacity of a sign and the sound materiality of its signifier."

Moreover, our perspective intersects with some of the abovementioned authors. As Hernández Sacristán (2016), we find it pertinent to speak of the cross-border rhetoric of Spanglish as an original linguistic practice that generates social cohesion and that does not seek "to deform" any of its base languages. But we reject his categorization of Spanglish as a "register" given its temporary and non-generalized linguistic behavior as well as its unstable conditions of production. We agree with López García (2016) that Spanglish is a phenomenon of language that is not spoken but is practiced and transmits the struggle of Latino people as a minority in the United States. Similarly, codeswitching as a core component of Spanglish reflects the cultural

back and forth coming from the in-between identity of this bicultural and bilingual community, a rallying point for Anzaldúa (1987), Santiago (2008), Stavans (2011), and Betti (2016).

Although Spanglish is mainly based on oral communication, it should not be considered a patois as it does not describe a local variety of Spanish or English spoken in the United States, nor an argot since it is not a peculiar code specific to a professional field or social group. Instead, we find the term ***discourse strategy*** quite adequate to describe the particularities of Spanglish as a linguistic phenomenon:

> "The strategies are the work of a subject (individual or collective) who is led to choose (consciously or not) a certain number of language operations, it is only valid in relation to a framework of constraints, whether they are rules, standards or conventions. A strategy is developing around certain issues, in particular legitimation which aims to determine the position of authority of the subject and of capture which aims to bring the partner of the communicative exchange into the frame of thought of the speaking subject." (Maingueneau, 1984:549)

Then, for the purposes of this research, **Spanglish is understood as a discourse practice that reflects positioning[19] of the interlocutors (US-based Latino community) toward a concrete cultural identity.**

METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

VI. Linguistic landscape of Spanglish

Landry et Bourhis (1997:11) argue that the linguistic landscape of a city is modeled by the languages used in advertising and commercial signs, billboards on roads and public buildings, and other written texts in public space, that is, any written testimony visible in the street. By extension, the World Wide Web turns to be a new niche of human communication which seems to recreate the game rules and discursive scenarios of the "real world". Zillions of multimodal texts present in social media and websites account for the potential of linguistic creativity,

[19] According to Charadeau (1998:453), an original speech based on the identity that the interlocutor aims to show. This discursive production reflects the values that he defends consciously or unconsciously, which in turn characterize his social and ideological identity.

transforming virtual reality into a favorable setting where minority languages seem to find support and greater freedom and acceptance.

Whether on the streets or in the virtual world, Spanglish has managed to gain not inconsiderable visibility, despite of not being a language in the strict sense. As Muñoz Carrobles states, it is necessary to point out that for minority languages, and minority linguistic phenomena, the fact of becoming visible on the streets represents significant support (2011:121). Below we include a summary of the most representative manifestations of Spanglish in media and advertising since the end of the 20th century.

a. Impressions about Spanglish as a current phenomenon

As a time line, the following list[20] exposes diverse perspectives on Spanglish, letting us perceive the gradual elaboration of a fairly positive degree of visibility and acceptance of this communicative phenomenon:

- "*Un idioma ambivalente, una verdadera fusión, una síntesis creadora de los dos idiomas. Esta lengua que surge del choque de dos culturas es la única solución que existe al problema de las Américas, no nos entenderemos mientras no hablemos el mismo idioma, (...) un idioma apto para dos continentes*". (*Teoría del Espanglish*. Salvador Tió, 1948)

- "They don't know either correct Spanish or English," said a young bilingual teacher of Japanese descent in East Los Angeles. "In the inner city now you have generations that speak Spanglish, even the junior college level. They talk about eating *lonche*. What kind of word is *lonche*?" (*It's english, and it's spanish, and it's officially a problem.* The New York Times, August 02, 1983).

- "*Al* spanglish *hay que tomarlo en serio pero no para darle rienda suelta sino para evitar que acabe con el español, al menos el de Estados Unidos*" declared Mariano Lozano, head of Dialect Department at Instituto Caro y Cuervo, Bogota. (*Se habla Spanglish.* Revista Semana, September 09, 2003)

- "*Modalidad del habla de algunos grupos hispanos de los Estados Unidos, en la que se mezclan, deformándolos[21], elementos léxicos y gramaticales del español y del inglés".* (*Espanglish.* RAE Spanish Language Dictionnary, 2012).

[20] The extracts quoted above were taken from diverse media sources.

- "*El* spanglish *es una realidad que al menos en mi opinión enriquece nuestra cultura y refleja la riqueza de ambos idiomas. Un fenómeno cultural interesantísimo, y una nueva lengua que no se va a ir a ningún lado*". (*¿Es el Spanglish realmente un idioma?* Hipertextual [blog], February 18, 2015)

- Broadcaster: "*Espanglish o como prefieren llamarlo algunos lingüistas, Español de EEUU (…) esa manera popular de hablar aquí en los EE.UU. en el que se mezclan palabras y gramática del inglés y del español. Esta digamos promiscua mezcla ya forma parte de la cultura popular latina"*.
  Actress Jenny Lorenzo (interviewee): "It's like juggling. It's a beautiful art form of mixing words together and combining words to make one (…) it's like a fluid sentence especially when there's *chisme*, though". (*¿What the hell is el espanglish y cómo se habla?* [Video] BBC Mundo, November 25, 2019)

b. "Pardon my Spanglish", an informal Spanglish language manual

Written by Bill Santiago in 2008, this *booko* offers us a portrait of Spanglish from the point of view of an actual user who describes his "in-between" experience to put in context details of the Puerto Rico-U.S. relation, and to show how Spanglish works as a day-to-day way of speech. Proclaiming himself a "lifelong perpetrator of Spanglish", this Puerto Rican journalist and comedian aims to promote "The *Habla*" as a legitimate speech of the Latino population.

c. Ilan Stavans and his fight for Spanglish

Ilan Stavans is an unconventional intellectual. Currently professor of Latin and Latin American Culture at Amherst College (Massachusetts), he is also an essayist, lexicographer, author/editor of short stories, and cultural commentator on radio and television. Interested in studying Spanglish for several years, Stavans published "Spanglish: The Making of a New American Language" in 2003 as well as translations in Spanglish of two classics: "El Little Principe" (2016) and "Don Quixote de La Mancha First parte" (2018).

According to this author, any language in formation has gone through a status similar to Spanglish, and to trace linguistic evolution, we must observe what happens in the street. *"La fortaleza del espanglish está, ha estado y estará en la calle, y nosotros en las universidades*

[21] The word "*deformándolos*" (deforming them) was suppressed since 2014 edition.

debemos salir à la calle y tratar de entender lo que está pasando allá (…) El idioma es de la gente, no de los académicos"[22]. Additionally, Stavans indicates the presence of certain cultural products in Spanglish such as television soap operas, advertising, and some theatrical and comedy performances, which appear significant to estimate the impact of this linguistic phenomenon.

d. Spanglish in media and advertising

In order to reach a demanding audience, many Hispanic entertainment companies are launching a customized set of cultural products (television shows, podcasts, music, and advertising) through more selective media such as local radio stations/television chains, or social networking and YouTube channels. For example, CNN Money[23] describes a growing market led by large companies like Telemundo, Univisión, HBO Latino and Disney, whose range of productions increasingly include English and Spanish.

The identity component of Spanglish is also well-known by advertisers, who use it in their advantage to appeal to Latino consumers. Marketing coordinator Alissa Llort signals that advertisers should be thoughtful with the "tricky" use of Spanglish: brands do not want to offend or disconnect with their consumers given that Latino people are not "a one-size-fits-all" audience. Captura Group CSO Lee Vann agrees that "there is a third "language" that U.S. Hispanics connect with and marketers often overlook: Spanglish (…) the key word there is *authentic*. Mixing in a nuanced hybrid language can be dangerous if not done with truth and originality." After launching a social media campaign for the NGO League of Conservation Voters, his team found that the ads using Spanglish got significantly more attention and engagement than the all-Spanish or all-English ones. We present some examples below:

AT&T *#BetweenTwoWorlds* (social media marketing video campaign in 2014)

[22] Stated in the interview "Espanglish lengua en formación" (2015).
[23] *Spanglish: the new TV's language* (2015)

A NGO's successful institutional campaign via Facebook created by *Captura Group* (2014)

Chancla is a mother "parenting instrument" that evokes some hilarious situations and memories in Latin American people

The advertising campaign "Beerveza" of the traditional brewery Miller's in 2007

Official discourse also turns to Spanglish advertising (Recruitment U.S. Army campaign 2001 – 2005)

To conclude this overview of Spanglish, the reader will find a summary of the online media products and social media trends related to Spanglish to any degree. In general, we find two notable facts: a) a large number of them are designed fully in English, and b) there was a peak of high dynamism and visibility from around 2010 to 2015, even if many websites are no longer available or active since 2016. However, some new products have started to emerge after 2018:

- **News media:** The New York Times, BBC en español, CNN Business, El País (Spain), Revista Semana (Colombia), NBC, The Guardian. According to Ilan Stavans, some local radio stations in Tennessee, Virginia, Oklahoma, and Mississippi broadcast bilingual Spanish-English content.
- **Instagram:** *#spanglish* tags advertising for English courses/academies, language exchange clubs, as well as albums, photos and memes.
- **Facebook:** *Spanglish* and *espanglish* are present in advertising for English courses/academies, language exchange clubs, and even restaurants. "*No al Spanglish*" is the name of a group against the intrusion of anglicisms in Spanish.
- **Twitter:** *Spanglish* and *espanglish* tag, among others, an online radio Rock program, a collaborative forum in 2012 (currently inactive), a cultural management group, and the YouTube podcast channel "Perdon por el espanglish" (*@elespanglishpod)*
- **TEDTalks:** "Spanglish is a language too!" by Alondra Posada, and "Honoring Spanglish as resource" by Eric Johnson.

VII. Research process and characteristics

a. Description of the corpus

To better understand the nature, features and dynamics of Spanglish, we decided to study three different forms of speech with the aim of gaining a holistic view of Spanglish as an identity-based discourse strategy:

Corpus No.1: A survey based on the literary excerpt "Don Quixote de La Mancha First parte" (a translation of "Don Quixote" into Spanglish by Ilan Stavans, 2002) to explore the reception and linguistic attitudes of a group of participants towards Spanglish.

Corpus No.2: A selection of excerpts from the book "Pardon My Spanglish: One Man's Guide to Speaking the Habla", written in Spanglish by Bill Santiago. (Philadelphia: Quirk Books, 2008). This publication delves into the Puerto Rico-U.S. relation as well as the way how Spanglish works on a daily basis.

Corpus No.3: Three podcast episodes from the YouTube channel "Perdón por el espanglish" as a sample of real spoken Spanglish. Run since October 2019 by the Mexican influencers Sofiberta and Fa Orozco, this podcast let us witness how Spanglish springs up spontaneously in the conversations of two childhood friends.

b. Methodology and research instruments

For the present research work, we decided to carry out a qualitative analysis that integrates:

- **A descriptive approach to the linguistic features of Spanglish** present in the samples of speech according to the principles of codeswitching and linguistic constraints established by Shana Poplack (1981),

- **A social approach from the analysis of social representations.** The notion of representation is a cross-cutting concept of marked importance in sociolinguistics that comes from Emile Durkheim's Theory of Social Organization, and Serge Moscovici's studies in Social Psychology. Culture and language, being social conventions, are made up of representations, or collective constructions that reflect values, ideas, practices and opinions of a specific social group, such as the Latino community based in the United States.

The research instruments are also qualitative in nature. Corpus No.1 gathers the answers to **a questionnaire made up of multiple choice and open-ended questions** that also contains the literary excerpt "Don Quixote de La Mancha First parte". The eight participants of the study, aged 26 to 34, are either bilingual or multilingual, and also independent or proficient users of both English and Spanish. Secondly, we use the **case study** as a research strategy to work on the analysis of social representations and linguistic features of Spanglish in the content of corpus No.2 and corpus No.3.

Then, in each corpus we seek to analyze different aspects:

- The research study will help us to explore the reception of Spanglish by people of different origins, and to verify its value as a meaningful discourse strategy for Latinos or people familiar with Latino culture.
- The book will serve to contrast the presence of linguistic features of Spanglish listed on Chapter IV, as well as to grasp the attachment to Spanglish as a response against segregation through language.
- Finally, the podcast will permit us to approach linguistic creativity and the ludic dimension of codeswitching in "spoken Spanglish", and to determine the sense of identification it fosters not only between the hosts, but between them and their audience.

c. Limitations of our research work

In the present case, since it is an unconventional research topic, we find two main limitations to carry out our research:

<u>Difficulty to find Spanglish users willing to participate regularly in a short-term study:</u> The initial goal was to collect actual Spanglish linguistic evidence through free-writing fun activities via Twitter. Then, the idea was to look for and invite Spanglish users to complete a series of appealing prompts, modeled according to the parameters proposed by Ledegen & Simonin[24]: *"you know"* (awareness) + *"you're Spanglish"* (*a call for identity)* + *"when…"* (a condition).

To do this, the Twitter account "Chisme in Spanglish" was created in October 2020 (https://twitter.com/letsChisme), where an open tweet was left inviting to participate as well as inbox messages to Bill Santiago and the hosts of "*Perdón por el espanglish*" were sent.

[24] Their writing strategy is widely explained in the paper *« Tu sais que tu viens de la Réunion quand… ». L'urbanité langagière réunionnaise, un territoire sociolinguistique entre réseau et diaspora* (Ledegen & Simonin, 2009).

Our post got some likes and retweets but no effective answer from any Tweeter user. Regarding the messages, we managed to establish communication with Mr. Santiago in November 2020 to propose a brief interview via Zoom. Despite obtaining his positive response and a phone number, we lost track of him and there were no subsequent responses from his part. We associate this communication failure to two factors: proximity of the end of year festivities and geographical distance, his current residence is in New York and we are located in Rennes, France.

We also tried to find participants among students at a university in Florida in January 2021. A professor helped us to spread this online invitation but unfortunately nobody contacted us.

Si eres inmigrante latino o hijo de inmigrantes latinos living in the US, **¡esta misión es pa'ti!**

3-5 nice contributors needed to get a short interview via Zoom para mi trabajo de grado de Maestría (Universidad Rennes 2)

REWARD: no stars on the Walk of Fame but all my undying gratitude :)

Contáctame:

Alexis Barrios
alexisbpardo@gmail.com

Scarcity of bibliographic material on the study of Spanglish:

As mentioned above, Spanglish is not yet contemplated as a communicative phenomenon that implies academic seriousness or research intervention, which is reflected in the limited number of sources, research studies and bibliographic material. The book *Pardon my Spanglish*, discovered by chance after watching an online interview with its author, led us to explore several online media sources, from which social media and YouTube appeared to be a rich source of content related to this linguistic reality.

YouTube stands out for its multiplicity of contents: The webinar "El "Spanglish" visto desde Europa" from Harvard University provides an important theoretical approach. BBC Mundo, TEDTalks, and some private channels offer reports, interviews, conferences and other media products that provide a wider glimpse of the nature of Spanglish.

In view of the above, this research project aims to contribute to the scientific study of Spanglish from disciplines such as Sociolinguistics and Discourse Analysis, and consequently, characterize both the emergency and the nature of this linguistic phenomenon as an expression of resistance within a context of segregation through language towards Latino immigrants in the United States.

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

a. Approximation of language attitudes towards an unusual literary translation into Spanglish: "Don Quixote de la Mancha First parte", by Ilan Stavans

An act of resistance against segregation through language

As we mentioned in Chapter VI, Professor Ilan Stavans is known because of his strong belief in positioning Spanglish as a legitimate linguistic phenomenon. His interest in translating Don Quixote into Spanglish emerged during one of his radio shows in 2002. One listener told him that Spanglish could not be taken seriously until a capital work as Don Quixote were written, because just a language capable of producing such a complex novel would be worth appreciating. Once out, Stavans received a call from the newspaper *La Vanguardia* to offer him that particular translation and agreed to work on the first chapter. The day after its publication, his email was filled with messages, including many from some outraged critics against "such nonsense". Nevertheless, he does not stop believing in the value of his approach, as he declared in *La Razón*[25]: "(Translating Don Quixote) *es un desafío a los puristas y un acto de legitimación de un dialecto que va camino de convertirse en un nuevo idioma* ".

Then, "Don Quixote de la Mancha First parte" becomes important as it represents an ideological position in favor of the in-between identity attributed to the Latino community in the United States. Literature is a glottopolitical force because it shapes linguistic imaginaries and influences language productions. The writer emerges as the agent who highlights the dilemmas related to the choice of language and representation, that is, the tensions between the language and the "core" and "minority" culture. The same goes for the translator, who can even add tension when rewriting the text in a new language.

1-DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AND DATA ANALYSIS

The present research study was elaborated to explore the linguistic attitudes towards Spanglish, as well as the degree of acceptance of an excerpt from Don Quixote, entitled "Don Quixote de la Mancha First parte", translated into Spanglish in 2002 by Professor Ilan Stavans.

[25] In : *El filólogo mexicano Ilan Stavans reescribe 'El Quijote' en 'spanglish'* (El País, 2015)

As research instrument, we developed the questionnaire “Don Quixote in Spanglish” (see Annex 1), which consists of the excerpt “Don Quixote de la Mancha First parte” and seven questions, three close-ended questions and four open-ended questions. It is divided into two parts: *exploration of language knowledge and preferences* (questions No.1, 2 and 4), and *comments on the standardization of Spanglish after reading a translated excerpt from "Don Quixote"* (questions No.3, 6, 7 and 8). Knowing that the participants have quite diverse mother tongues, the questionnaire was written down in English to ensure optimal comprehension.

Characterization of participants

We worked with a sample of eight people from different backgrounds, aged 26 to 34. They are volunteer participants contacted through the Facebook groups “Latinos in New York” and “English / Spanish Language Group” between February and March 2020. Either bilingual or multilingual, the group is fluent in English and Spanish (independent or proficient users). We classify the participants in two sub-groups according to their familiarity with Spanish:

Latin Americans: Two of them live in New York with some degree of contact with Spanglish.

Name and age	**Nationality**	**Mother tongue**
Laura Bedoya, 26	Colombian	Spanish
Leydi Agudelo, 26	Venezuelan (US-based)	Spanish
Humberto Miyano, 27	Mexican	Spanish
María Gazca, 28	Mexican (US-based)	Spanish

Non-Latin Americans: All learned Spanish as a foreign language (L2 or L3) and two of them also learned English as a foreign language (L2).

Name and age	**Nationality**	**Mother tongue**
Olivier, 26	Canadian	English
Arne Thielenhaus, 34	German	German
Ioana Olaru, 33	Romanian	Romanian
Emma Mawer, 31	English	English

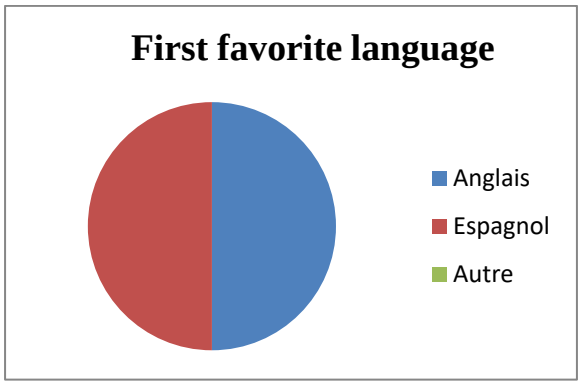
Data analysis

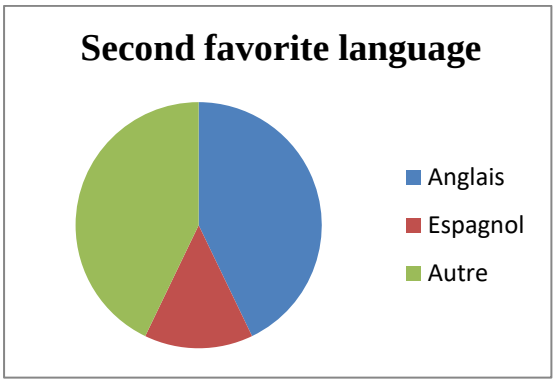
Exploration of language knowledge and preferences (questions No.1, 2 and 4)

The reader will find the whole of the responses of our study participants in Annex 2. Concerning their mother tongue (question No. 1), we find a predominance of Spanish, followed by English and others, namely German and Romanian:

Mother tongue	Number of participants
Spanish	4
English	2
Other	2

Our group ranked equally English and Spanish as their first favorite language for reading in the question No. 2. It is important to note that it was Latin Americans (three out of four) who declared Spanish as the first choice, followed by a non-Latin American.





Preference for English is significantly higher in here; the participants (including two non-English speaking people) rated it in the first and second position, a founding apparently aligned with the imaginary of English as an academic and professional language[26]. In contrast, Spanish shows a considerable fall: just one individual placed it in second position and two in third since not all participants signaled a third favorite reading language.

In the question No.4, five participants claim to have already read the whole or part of "Don Quixote" by Miguel de Cervantes.

[26] As presented by Jacques Maurais in *La crise des langues* (1985).

Comments on the standardization of Spanglish after reading a translated passage from "Don Quixote" (questions No.3, 6, 7 and 8)

Prior knowledge of Spanglish: If we compare the answers for question No. 3, all participants described Spanglish as a way of speaking that mixes Spanish and English, using the terms "spoken mixture", "subdialect" and "slang". One person mentioned the word "switch" to define Spanglish as an unintentional interference suffered by someone who speaks both languages, without referring to the specific dynamics of this phenomenon. Three participants state that Spanglish is spoken by U.S. Latin population.

Assessments on a potential standardization of Spanglish: Question No.6 seeks to collect ratings of three overall aspects of the translated Spanglish version, namely *clarity, coherence and seriousness*, typically attributed to written language. Each aspect can be rated on a scale of 1 (the lowest) to 10 (the highest). *Clarity* and *coherence* are rated with an average of 6 out of 10 while *seriousness* reveals a fairly negative trend, an average of 4 out of 10. The results of each estimate are as follows:

- *Clarity:* with an average score of 6 out of 10 (9 being the highest and 3 the lowest), the clarity of the text is considered logical enough despite a certain difficulty in reading caused by the mixed lexicon, words estimated as “ambiguous” or “unknown”, and by code switching. It calls our attention that two participants indicated their "low" command of Spanish limited understanding of the excerpt, while one who lives in New York commented that the Spanglish in the document is “not entirely authentic”.
- *Coherence:* with the same average score of 6 out of 10 (9 being the highest and 2 the lowest), participants found that the global coherence of the excerpt is not affected even if some declare trouble reading due to the mixture of languages. The person who gave the highest score claims that the text is appropriate for silent reading, while the one who gave the lowest score says it would be more readable if translated into a single language. One participant indicated the lack of resemblance with the original work to justify his score.
- *Seriousness:* here the overall trend is rather against. With an average score of 4 out of 10 (being 7 the highest and 1 the lowest), the entire group attributes a comic character to Spanglish, which "cannot be taken seriously." Participants use the terms "joke", "awkward" and "weird", even one of them commented that it is a register “with silly invented words". In contrast, another one remarked that Spanglish would not be appropriate since it is practiced in an informal context.

There are various insights around the reasons why the author decided to make this translation into Spanglish (question No.7), which converge towards two options: interested in the diffusion of Spanglish, the translator aims to target a specific audience and attract new readers; or he was driven by experimentation to find out if the grammar of the two languages can be put together, and to demonstrate how bilingual people are able to mix two languages.

The last question allows the group to take a stance on Spanglish as a valid standard register. The range of responses shows a general opposition, mainly attributed to the lack of formal rules and precise terminology of Spanglish. Below a summary of the most remarkable reasons listed by participants:

- This is a way of speaking that one never learns in school (Leidy Agudelo)
- Official domains require a fairly rigid language to avoid ambiguity (Ioana Olaru)
- Spanglish makes it difficult to have a shared lexicon for all speakers (Emma Mawer)
- You don't need a new register when each language (English and Spanish) already has its own standard register (Arne Thielenhaus)
- It is not necessary for professional or academic use, but some people could use Spanglish in legal matters to defend themselves in court or make statements (Olivier)
- Spanglish would not be easy-to-understand for a large number of people in addition to being perceived as a linguistic provocation (María Gazca)

In general, we see that participants recognize Spanglish as an informal way of speaking that alternates between English and Spanish despite not knowing the dynamics of this phenomenon. As political and cultural struggle resulting from the hegemony of English in the United States is not a known reality to all, the value of Stavans' work is not perceived by the group as a symbol of vindication of Latino identity.

Furthermore, the aesthetic value of classics such as "Don Quixote" makes people assume a flawless use of language regardless the register chosen by the writer. In our case, reading a masterpiece translated into a minor register stresses the power of Spanish as a legit language, even if "Don Quixote" is written down in an ancient (standard?) variety of Spanish. The great solemnity of classic literature may seem to condition the group to judge Spanglish negatively, some participants found the translation work as "a lack of seriousness", "weird" or "a stupid invention".

The contributions of the participants living in the U.S. provide a closer look at the real conditions of Spanglish, though. Their proximity to this phenomenon points out the importance of the context at the glottopolitical level:

"*I would not classify Spanglish as a language because it won't be understood by the people. Spanish people think so high of their own Castellano that mixing it with English would be a horror movie all along, it won't be understood. And then again, for Americans English is mostly their own language, some are interested, some don't care, they will deport you on the first sound of Spanish"* (María Gazca)

This answer brings us back to the statement of Spanglish as a discourse strategy, it has implicit rules and references known by "regular speakers" that are not evident, or even present, in a literary translation that aims to be rather approximate than descriptive. Thus, if Spanglish is understood as a rather localized and unstable way of speaking, this status still limits it to engage in a solid language planning process to achieve standardization.

To sum up, translating a canonical literary work into a non-official language variety like Spanglish certainly represents an admirable linguistic work and a gesture of protest against language purists. Regarding the author's effort to position Spanglish as a standard variety of language, we had better consider "Don Quixote de la Mancha First Parte" as an aesthetic production since this work turns out to be more a particular interpretation of Spanglish than a conventional translation that can represent Spanglish users as a whole.

2-COMMENTS ON LINGUISTIC FEATURES

Corpus

Don Quixote de La Mancha - Miguel de Cervantes
First Parte, Chapter Uno. Transladado al Spanglish por Ilan Stavans

In un placete de La Mancha of which nombre no quiero remembrearme, vivía, not so long ago, uno de esos gentlemen who always tienen una lanza in the rack, una buckler antigua, a skinny caballo y un grayhound para el chase. A cazuela with más beef than mutón, carne choppeada para la dinner, un omelet pa' los Sábados, lentil pa' los Viernes, y algún pigeon como delicacy especial pa' los Domingos, consumían tres cuarers de su income. El resto lo employaba en una coat de broadcloth y en soketes de velvetín pa' los holidays, with sus slippers pa' combinar, while los otros días de la semana él cut a figura de los más finos cloths. Livin with él eran una housekeeper en sus forties, una sobrina not yet twenty y un ladino del field y la marketa que le saddleaba el caballo al gentleman y wieldeaba un hookete pa' podear. El gentleman andaba por allí por los fifty. Era de complexión robusta pero un poco fresco en los bones y una cara leaneada

y gaunteada. La gente sabía that él era un early riser y que gustaba mucho huntear. La gente say que su apellido was Quijada or Quesada –hay diferencia de opinión entre aquellos que han escrito sobre el sujeto– but acordando with las muchas conjecturas se entiende que era really Quejada. But all this no tiene mucha importancia pa' nuestro cuento, providiendo que al cuentarlo no nos separemos pa' nada de las verdá.

It is known, pues, que el aformencionado gentleman, cuando se la pasaba bien, which era casi todo el año, tenía el hábito de leer libros de chivaldría with tanta pleasura y devoción as to leadearlo casi por completo a forgetear su vida de hunter y la administración de su estate. Tan great era su curiosidad e infatuación en este regarde que él even vendió muchos acres de tierra sembrable pa' comprar y leer los libros que amaba y carreaba a su casa as many as él podía obtuvir. Of todos los que devoreó, ninguno le plaseó más que los compuestos por el famoso Feliciano de Silva, who tenía una estylo lúcido y plotes intrincados that were tan preciados para él as pearlas; especialmente cuando readeaba esos cuentos de amor y challenges amorosos that se foundean por muchos placetes, por example un passage como this one: La rasón de mi unrasón que aflicta mi rasón, en such a manera weakenea mi rasón que yo with rasón lamento tu beauty. Y se sintió similarmente aflicteado cuando sus ojos cayeron en líneas como these ones: … el high Heaven de tu divinidad te fortifiquea with las estrellas y te rendea worthy de ese deserveo que tu greatness deserva.

Analysis of the principles of codeswitching and linguistic constraints

In relation to the types of codeswitching proposed by Poplack (1981), the most frequent ones are those that affect verb structures such as "Between major phrase and verb phrase", "Between verb phrase and object noun phrase" and "Between verb and adverb", followed by nominalization and transitions like "Between determiner and noun", "Between noun and adjective", and "Conjoined sentence". It draws our attention how the author displays linguistic creativity and sense of humor by using a large number of coined verbs (*remembrearme, wieldeaba, obtuvir),* adjectives (*launeada y ganteada, aformencionado, aflicteado*), and nouns (*placete, hookete, pleasura*), as well as some unusual morphosyntactic constructions like "<u>Livin with *él eran*</u> *una* housekeeper *en sus* forties*"* to say *"*X were living with them*"* or "*Los que vivían con él eran X*".

a. **Conjoined sentence:**

- It is known***, pues,*** *que el aformencionado* gentleman

- *se entiende que era* really Quejada. **But all this** *no tiene mucha importancia pa' nuestro cuento* The speech partially switches to English after a previous sentence mainly written down in Spanish.

- with *sus* slippers *pa' combinar*, **while** *los otros días de la semana él* cut *a figura de los más finos* cloths. There is no switch to English after the conjunction word. Like this one, various sentences in the excerpt just introduce a conjunction in English, without an effective switch to the speech into English.

b. **Between major phrase and verb phrase:**

- But **all this** ***no tiene mucha importancia*** *pa' nuestro cuento* (*tener importancia* = to be relevant).

- *tenía el hábito de leer libros de chivaldría* with *tanta* pleasura *y devoción* as **to** ***leadearlo casi por completo a forgetear*** *su vida de* hunter *y la administración de su* estate. In here we find a peculiar construction, "*to leaderlo*" is an invented word to say *hacer(le)*, which conforms a Spanish verb phrase equivalent to the causative verb "make + infinitive": "hacer + infinitive + complement", in here the sentence translates "make him almost completely forget his life as a hunter". Nevertheless, the use of the preposition "a" is not accurate in Spanish or English.

c. **Between verb phrase and object noun phrase:**

- *La gente sabía* **that** ***él era un*** **early riser** *y que gustaba mucho huntear.* ***La gente*** **say** ***que su apellido*** **was Quijada** or Quesada.

- *el aformencionado* gentleman, ***cuando se la pasaba bien,*** **which** ***era casi todo el año****, tenía el hábito de leer libros de chivaldría.*

- *plotes intrincados* **that were** ***tan preciados*** *para él* as *pearlas*.

d. **Between verb and adverb:**

- *uno de esos* gentlemen who **always** ***tienen*** *una lanza* in the rack
- *se entiende que* ***era*** **really** *Quejada*
- *él* **even** ***vendió*** *muchos acres de tierra sembrable*

e. **Between noun and adjective:**

- *una* buckler *antigua*

- a skinny *caballo*
- *una sobrina* not yet twenty
- *La gente sabía* that ***él*** *era* ***un*** **early riser**
- *Tan* **great** *era* ***su curiosidad e infatuación***

f. **Between determiner and noun:**

- ***una*** **buckler** *antigua*
- *y* ***algún*** **pigeon**
- ***una*** **coat** *de* broadcloth
- *a figura de* ***los*** *más finos* **cloths**. Livin with *él eran* ***una*** **housekeeper** *en sus forties*
- ***el*** **high Heaven** *de tu divinidad*

Although "Don Quixote de la Mancha First parte" reflects the hybridization of both languages, it may not be functional in speech situation since it does not fully comply with the linguistic constraints of free morpheme and equivalence. For example, constituents seem to be randomly arranged and most of CS does not match with elements like conjunctions, transition words, object complements or prepositional phrases: in "A *cazuela* with *más* beef than *mutón*" the adverb of comparison mixes up Spanish without following a logic point, or in "who *tenía una estylo lúcido y plotes intrincados* that were *tan preciados para él* as *pearlas*" the determiner is feminine while the adjective and noun (hybrid?) are masculine. Throughout the text, most cases tend to follow the patterns "Spanish word – English word - Spanish phrase", and "Spanish constituent - English word - Spanish word/sentence".

In general, syntax rules and morphosyntactic patterns turn to be difficult to trace in this sample of Spanglish. The translation does not seem quite rule-governed causing that the low integration between Spanish and English affects the local and global coherence of the text, as claimed by most of the participants, for whom the excerpt is not clear enough due to its unintelligibility, lack of fluency and spontaneity when switching languages.

b. “Pardon My Spanglish: One Man's Guide to Speaking the Habla” as a first and empirical descriptive Spanglish manual.

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE PUBLICATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

“Pardon my Spanglish”, written by Bill Santiago in 2008, can be taken as the first and empirical “descriptive manual” of Spanglish to the date. This Puerto Rican journalist and stand-up comedian describes himself as a “native Spanglish speaker” who felt curious to learn more about his current language practice, and dared to elaborate some outreach material about Spanglish in Spanglish, given the scarcity of documentation that he found during his personal research. In spite of not being a language scholar, his book does serious and in-depth analytical work that provides some precise highlights for understanding the linguistic nature of this phenomenon, in addition to having a good dose of humor.

In the Introduction, the author points out his motivations to write the book: to provide a better understanding of this phenomenon given the scarcity of resources and research material available, to promote Spanglish since it involves an act of resistance against linguistic segregation in the United States, and to offer an original and amusing material for Latinos and Latino-curious. Consisting of thirteen chapters, “Pardon my Spanglish” gives an account of the common references of Latino community regarding current life in the U.S., immigration issues, and the linguistic and cultural struggle while describing the linguistic, practical and cultural aspects of Spanglish as an increasingly present register in U.S. media and advertising.

The use of the first person and the humorous tone make Santiago’s work more authentic, taking into account his objective of providing an outreach material rather than a work of a scientific or investigative nature. Additionally, the linguistic knowledge and effective communication skills derived from his background as a journalist seem to help “Pardon my Spanglish” to target Latino and other Hispanic readership.

Main topics

For the present research, we selected some representative excerpts to illustrate the main topics, examples and references given by the author.

a. Spanglish and its features

Definition of Spanglish as a language

The Million-Dollar *Pregunta*

So let's stop beating around the *arbusto*. Is Spanglish a language?

Yes, *por supuesto*. Spanglish is one of the most innovative languages of our time, second only *quizás* to Klingon. And it requires much less *maquillaje*.

Why wouldn't you consider it a language? Because it's made up of other languages? *Pero, si no hay ningún idioma natural que se haya creado desde* scratch. *Resultan siempre* from intimate contact *entre otros idiomas*. There's no such thing

(p. 16)

Codeswitching and how it works

As a descriptive term, code-switching, *como se dice* . . . sucks. *No se trata de* codes, *sino de idiomas* and everything they embody: culture, heritage, emotional frequencies, ways of thinking and feeling. *El switcheo* is actually between co-dependent realities. *Así que* code-switching is obviously code for: *Estos chingados académicos* have no idea *de lo que están* talking about.

But *la verdad es que* Spanglish works best *cuando* you have no idea that you're doing it. Because *entonces* it doesn't sound forced or contrived, *tú sabes*. *Siempre* it's in that unaware flow *que el* Spanglish *logra alcanzar su* greatest justification *como un idioma* all its own, operating as an unconscious *modalidad bilingüe* in which English and Spanish *se están utilizando precisamente* as if they were one and the same outlaw *lengua*.

If you become too self-aware that you're speaking Spanglish, sometimes *de repente* you can't do it anymore. It can be like flying in a dream. *Tan pronto* you realize *que estás* flying, *¡olvídate!*, you fall out of the sky. *Y, en definitiva*, the most seasoned Spanglishistas *hablan* on autopilot, switching back and forth *sin darse cuenta*.

(p. 17, 19)

Part of the playfulness and humor of the language is facilitated by the freedom of it. "Twice the vocabulary and half the grammar," as I'm fond of pointing out, is a signature virtue of the *habla*, emancipating *nosotros los* Spanglishistas from official dos and don'ts. Ah, *pero* it's not so *fácil*. Below the surface, *operando a un nivel desapercibido*, there's a whole substrata of laws *dictando el* mix *para que cuadre perfectamente* every time.

An unfailing Spanglish ear allows us to integrate English and Spanish fluidly and organically. *A pesar de que todavía no haya una gramática oficialmente reconocida* for the *habla* yet, *sí existe una especie de* inner logic to it, innately possessed by native Spanglish speakers *y algunos gringo* savants.

(Chapter 2, p. 25)

The author claims that Spanglish is "one of the most innovative languages of our time" that comes from language contact, a natural source of languages. It is not a linguistic phenomenon exclusive from the United States, on the page 29 he mentions some "varieties" of Spanglish in Spanish and/or English speaking countries like Spain, Argentina, and Canada.

Codeswitching puts in evidence the encounter of co-dependent realities, given that it is not a matter of codes but of languages and everything they embody. Despite its significant dose of humor, Spanglish is not just a joke or a funny fad. It is claimed as an absolutely serious communication strategy that maintains ties of identity and community. Spontaneous by nature, Spanglish implies a free personal choice of bouncing languages according to the strength that each speaker wants to transmit, without previously taught or established grammatical rules: there is no limit to the amount of Spanish/English or limit of words or sentences to switch from one language to another.

a. "Twice the vocabulary and half the grammar": The rules of Spanglish

In the chapter 3, "*Los* rules of engagement", Santiago explains how linguistic creativity, neology and codeswitching shape Spanglish.

In practice, Spanglish can be innovative and fun, as its users explore and enjoy language mixing. This behavior meets the "ludic dimension" of codeswitching described by Canut & Caubet (2001:27), or the test of pleasure and creativity by creating a way of speaking. "We absolutely do not find this element of pleasure in people for whom the knowledge of both languages is unbalanced or who are in a learning situation", which according to the authors means that codeswitching rather occurs among bilingual individuals, capable of mastering both languages well enough to have fun using them.

The principle of lexical and morphosyntactic juxtaposition and hybridization (Breton & Tinchant-Benrahho, 2018) is called here "bastardization". It is an essential feature of Spanglish to ensure precise communication: "Words don't always mean the same thing even when they supposedly do. So make sure to switch languages whenever doing so facilitates accuracy" (p. 35). For example, Spanglish users say "furnitura*" (*"a Spanishized form of the English word "furniture") when there is the existent word *muebles.* This trend also happens with verbs as "likear" (instead of *gustar*), users say "me likea" as a hybrid between "I like" and "*me gusta*"; or English nouns that are modified and conjugated as Spanish verbs: "janguear" (from "hang out") to say "*pasarla bien*", or "kidnapear" (from "kidnapping") instead of "*secuestrar*". Below a rule list for readers to achieve accurate switches:

(a) The grammars ***de ambos idiomas*** have to be reconciled.

(b) ***Se tiene que efectuar un*** cross check ***de palabras prestadas*** against alternate language contexts ***para asegurar*** viability.

(c) ***Hay que elegir el*** Spanish-to-English ratio ***más apropiado.***

(d) Juxtapositional compatability ***en cada switcheo tiene que verificarse.***

(e) ***El mejor*** word order ***se tiene que negociar.***

(f) Lexical stems ***de un idioma*** have to be tricked out ***con los sufijos, los prefijos y las conjugaciones*** of another, to supply ***todas las palabritas*** brand new.

(g) ***Cada expresión tiene que someterse a un*** pre-screening ***riguroso,*** to filter for authenticity over gratuitous affectation, ***pero siempre con un*** waiver for clever exaggerations ***en son de broma.***

While for codeswitching, the author explains that junctures work as a revolving door into either language each time a word from the other language is included, what can make it unintelligible to those who do not understand both languages. It is essential to say that codeswitching would never work switching up mechanically one word after another, this is why "tweaking a sentence at either end with just one word of English or Spanish gives Spanglish speakers endless possibilities" (p.45).

EJEMPLO #2

***Yo nunca me pierdo porque* I mapquest everything.**
(practical trigger, switch prompted by decision to use tech-savvy lingo)*

EJEMPLO #3

That was last week. *No me hable de* last week.
(psychological trigger, switch prompted by desire to move on from the past/then a switch back prompted by inability to let go)

(Chapter 3, p. 52)

*Note: The switch into English here is made on the word "I" in anticipation of the internet term "mapquest," used here as a verb. This Spanglish speaker knew better than to say "*yo* mapquest everything" or "*yo mapquesteo* everything"—both of which would have sounded weird and much more unnatural. A good Spanglish ear won't permit this kind of *desgracia*. So the speaker switches in such a way to accommodate the target English term and facilitate natural conversational flow via a compatible grammatical route. I know you had no idea there was that much going on. *¡Es que nosotros* Spanglish speakers *somos muy complicados!*

Tweaking a sentence at either end with just one word of *inglés* or *español* gives Spanglish speakers endless *posibilidades*. Notice each group of examples below has an entirely different feel based on the placement of the one word that is, *como se decía en* Sesame Street, "not like the others."

SENTENCES IN SPANISH ENDING WITH AN ENGLISH WORD

Afuera está pouring.

¡Me quedé en shock!

Algunos doctores son medio clueless.

La verdad que fue un bummer.

Hay que aprender el tricky.

Then, a foreign word is able to shape and customize a whole phrase in Spanglish. When doing so, users highlight an emotional tone or a meaningful emphasis creating different effects: if the user adds a word in English, the receiver gets a surprise, and if it is a word in Spanish, there is a gentle reversal that suggests him a welcoming attitude.

SENTENCES IN ENGLISH ENDING WITH A SPANISH WORD

I'm here waiting for the damn bus *todavía.*

If you're not serious about divorce, don't get me all *entusiasmado.*

She is in incredibly good shape for a *cuarentona.*

Oh, he can jumpstart anything with a motor *fácilmente.*

I'm new at strip-dominoes, so take it easy *conmigo.*

SENTENCES IN ENGLISH STARTING WITH A SPANISH WORD

Ahora things are gonna get personal.

Son retarded looking.

Déjame page him again, OK?

Algo's not right with the President.

Regresaremos right after these messages.

SENTENCES IN SPANISH STARTING WITH ONE ENGLISH WORD

Stay *hasta que se vaya el chupacabras.*

Lately, *estoy soñando mucho con Shakira.*

Pray *que te pegues en la loto.*

Maybe *tenía una chilla por ahí.*

Shave *porque con esa barba sólo te besa el perro.*

(p. 45-46)

In the case of idiomatic expressions, introducing them properly requires advanced proficiency in both languages: for a Spanglish sentence like "*Estoy teniendo un* bad hair day", Santiago claims that "the savvy Spanglish speaker switched out of Spanish to accommodate an expression that exists only in English. You will never hear anyone in Spanish complaining about having "*un día de cabello malo*" (p. 50)

c. Spanglish as an identity-based discourse strategy to respond to linguistic segregation

Spanglish as an identity marker among Latino community

half of what you said!" So imagine *cómo de* funny *y emocionante debe de ser para* everybody who does understand it all. These are the folks who come up afterward *y me dicen*, "Oh my God, *¡así mismo es que habla mi familia!* Wow, *pero* seriously *te botaste! Estuvo* hilarious!"

That extra appreciation of the *habla* by native Spanglishistas, *quienes lo reconocen como* their own, is what makes it all worthwhile. And I've noticed

exist without each other. So that as pervasive and mainstream as Spanglish is *hoy en día*, for us it still serves as a sort of a sentimental inside joke. Only, *no estamos jokeando*. It communicates *nuestra verdadera* reality.

Si yo tuviera que escoger between English and Spanish, *sería un* tough choice. They each represent a distinct identity. But Spanglish speakers are not one or the other. *Somos* both. Spanglish lets me speak both, inhabit both, be both, *a la misma vez*.

The *habla* also preserves identity. Upwardly mobile Latinos often rely on Spanglish to counter the negative effects of assimilation, such as *volviéndose demasiado gringo*. Every word of *español* they can throw out into an English-speaking environment is a little victory for who they are on the inside. Even **(Chapter 2, p.28)**

Social prejudices towards Spanglish and its users

We Spanglishistas are often depicted somewhat less than charitably as a bunch of degenerate *incultos* who are at best functionally bi-illiterate and resort to Spanglish *sólo porque* we don't know English or Spanish very well. *Bueno*, OK, *a veces* that's a little true. But that doesn't explain my father, *un hombre muy educado* who worked very hard to keep a non-leaky *rufo* over our heads.

Mi queridísimo papi era un abogado, who graduated from Brooklyn Law School, and he spoke, read, and wrote both Spanish and English perfectly, with native fluency, *y a un nivel muy profesional*. He had neither a Spanish accent when he spoke in English *ni un acento americano cuando hablaba español*. And he went back and forth between the two, *como le daba la gana* or not. **(Chapter 2, p.20)**

In Chapter 2, the author refers to his audience's response as very gratifying. He talks about how some people express their appreciation and identification with his comedy show because they find his way of speaking authentic and familiar ("Oh my God, ¡*así es que habla mi familia*!). If we bring back the definition of Spanglish by Hernández Sacristán (2016): "an expressive and

syncretic spoken register linked to the emotional identity of Latino community that entails solidarity, closeness and authenticity", it is quite close to the explanation provided on page 28. For Santiago, Spanglish turns to be "a sort of sentimental internal joke" that represents a common construct to communicate true reality of Latinos and shows the in-between nature that U.S-based Latinos claim to have. He actually explains that choosing between Spanish and English may be difficult: "*Somos* (we are) both. Spanglish lets me speak both, inhabit both, be both, *a la misma vez* (at the same time)".

Spare Some Change?

Not only is Spanglish spoken across the socioeconomic spectrum by individuals of all educational levels, it doesn't even matter *de cual país* your people come from. All roads lead to Spanglish. *Ni siquiera importa si eres latino*. Gringos are very much on board with the *habla* too.

By the way, I want to give a shout out to all you *gringos* reading along here. I hope you're enjoying *el booko*.

Latinosapiens *acabaditos de llegar a los Estados Unidos* speak it as English-infused Spanish, and subsequent generations *tienden hacia* Spanish-infused English, as the pendulum of relative proficiencies swings naturally. *Los gringos*

But again, *para que estemos claro*, the opposition has two faces. On the Spanish side, *nuestro* beloved Spanglish *tiene cierta fama*, not as a lingua franca, but rather a lingua *fracasada*.

Spanglish drives defenders of "pure" Spanish nuts, *amenazando la sensibilidad de los más dogmáticos* because it disgusts them as a horribly deformed variation of *español*, totally *podrido de americanismos*, *anglicismos*, and *palabras sajonas*. They particularly resent English, *como el idioma que manda*, the bully of all languages, *mezclándose tan descaradamente* with their own precious *idioma* and culture.

Más aún, they love to ridicule Spanglish *como una forma inferior de comunicación*, and as virtual *analfabetismo*. Which strikes me as cluelessly cocky. It's

(Chapter 9, p. 136)

However, its hybrid nature firmly anchored in Latin American culture makes Spanglish seem like a sort of cryptic jargon, inaccessible to those who do not belong to this context even if they are bilingual. This may be one reason why Spanglish is surrounded by misconceptions, and its users face segregation through language. Spanglish is believed to be practiced by (poor) Latin

newcomers who struggle with English, or even illiterate people who do not manage to speak Spanish or English very well. On the other hand, Santiago suggests the appellation "lingua *fracasada*" (p. 136), as if Spanglish were understood as a way of speech linked to failure or as a deformation of a major language like Spanish. Consequently, the backlash against Spanglish seems to make its users develop the internal belief that they speak a poor Spanish and corrupt English at the same time.

Bill Santiago fiercely defends the existence of Spanglish as a genuine linguistic phenomenon of the Latino community, but at the same time he agrees that it is inconvenient for Spanglish to become an established language: "I actually hope que Spanglish never goes completamente legit: "For me, what it makes it so fun and irresistible *es el mero hecho de que* (the simple fact that) you're not supposed to do it" (p.138)

d. Some examples of "the habla"

Advertisers in the United States seem to be more and more aware of the attachment and identification that Spanglish promotes not only among Latino community but among Hispanics in general, which helps it gain greater visibility on the street and in the media as a side effect of higher sales. Santiago states that it is impossible to overestimate the reach of a trend that now includes Spanglish commercials advertising Spanglish products "for the average José".

TOP TEN SPANGLISH ADVERTISING SLOGANS

1. "MELTS *EN TU BOCA*, NOT *EN TUS MANOS.*"
2. "JUST *HAZLO.*"
3. "THE WHOLE *ENCHILDADA* FOR NEXT TO *NADA.*"
4. "*¿ADÓNDE ESTÁ LA* BEEF?"
5. "*¿*CAN YOU HEAR ME *AHORA?*"
6. "PLOP PLOP, FIZZ FIZZ, *¡AY QUÉ ALIVIO* IT IS*!*"
7. "HELP, I'VE FALLEN *Y NO ME PUEDO LEVANTAR!*"
8. "PLEASE, *NO LE HAGAS* SQUEEZE *AL* CHARMIN."
9. "*¡Y DE* COOLANT, *YO SÍ SÉ!*"
10. "*¡CADA PEDACITO DE POLLO FRITO ESTÁ* FINGER-LICKIN' *DELICIOSO!*"

(p. 160)

As discussed in our Chapter VI, U.S. American entertainment and advertising companies recognize a strong niche market in Latino community, resulting in an increasing number of advertisers daring to create massive campaigns using Spanglish. Santiago calls this trend "an assault of bilingual slogans", which inspire his Top Ten list of advertising slogans as a parody of the funny lines that have become references in popular speech. He refers to various examples coming from restaurants (KFC), beauty products (Frizz Ease), mobile companies (Cingular AT&T) and the campaign "Beerveza" of the famous brewery Miller's. Similarly, the author points out the "telemundization" of audiovisual contents (from the broadcasting company *Telemundo*, one of the most popular in the U.S. and Latin America), a term to describe the increasing launch of Spanish and bilingual TV shows mainly addressed to Latino community.

Below some real-life examples of random Spanglish users compiled by Santiago, and his translation into Spanglish of the song "I will survive":

DOWN

After I gained the weight back, *me sentí bien* down.

Mija, those diamonds were fake. *Son* 15 *dólares que se fueron* down the drain.

The guy *se ve muy amable, muy* down on earth, *¿no?*

So are we all going to Puerto Rico for Christmas? *Porque* I'm down!

We turned off the lights. *Entonces le di un beso en el* downtown.

COMPLAIN

Yo no me paso complaining *de nada.*

Mi único complain *es que* she snores like a horse.

OK, *tengo un* complain *para tí. ¿Por qué no estoy en tu* Top 8 *de* MySpace?

The concert sucked. *Mucha gente estaba* complaining about *el* lipsynching.

Sorry about your haircut. *Mételе un* complain *al* Better Business Bureau.

(p. 42)

POR DIOS DON'T JUST LEAVE IT THERE

"¡Búscate la pala y cepillo and clean up *este* mess *que hiciste! Que aquí tú no tienes ninguna* maid."

PERO NO SE LO DIGAS A CHILD PROTECTION

"Pues, mija, yo estoy aquí running after this monster of mine, *el* bipolar baby. I have a lot of patience, *pero él me agota mi* supply. *A veces* he drives me so crazy, *que me tomo unas cervezas* and just breast-feed him. *Te digo que* it knocks him right out."

BUT I JUST CHANGED YOU

"¡Ay fo! Hay que cambiarle los Pampers again."

NOT TO MENTION *LOS TRES MAGOS*

"Me cachó red-handed *poniendo los regalos* under the tree. Now he knows *que yo soy* Santa Claus."

(p. 100)

A proposed translation of an English song into Spanglish (p. 114- 115)

Here we present the lyrics in Spanglish of the song "I will survive". We add the original lyrics in black to contrast with the Spanglish version proposed by Santiago, in blue:

"I will survive" - Lyrics by F. Perron and D. Fekaris, recorded by Gloria Gaynor

At first I was afraid, I was petrified/ First I was afraid, *estuve* petrified

Kept thinkin' I could never live without you by my side/ Kept thinking *no podría vivir sin tenerte* by my side

But then I spent so many nights thinkin' how you did me wrong/ *Pero pasé* so many nights thinking *que eras un cabrón*

And I grew strong, and I learned how to get along/ *Me puse* strong, *aprendí cómo* to carry on

And so you're back, from outer space/ *Y pues* you're back, *desde el* outer space

I just walked in to find you here with that sad look upon your face/ *Entré y te encontré con ese* sad look upon your face

I should have changed that stupid lock/ *Debería haber* changed *mi* stupid lock

I should have made you leave your key/ *Y* las keys *hacerte devolver*

If I'd have known for just one second you'd be back to bother me/If I had known for just one second you'd be back *para joder*

Go on now, go, walk out the door/*Pues vete* go. *Ahí está la* door

Just turn around now, 'cause you're not welcome anymore/ Just turn around now, *aquí no estás* welcome anymore

Weren't you the one who tried to hurt me with goodbye?/*¿Tú no fuiste quien quería* hurt me *con* goodbye?

Did you think I'd crumble? Did you think I'd lay down and die?/ *¿Pensaste que* I'd crumble, ah? *¿Que me iba a lay down and die?*

Oh no, not I, I will survive/ *Jamás,* not I, *voy a* survive

Oh, as long as I know how to love, I know I'm still alive/ As long as *que yo sepa* how to love, *sé que voy a* stay alive

I've got all my life to live, and I've got all my love to give/ *Tengo* all my life to live, *todo mi corazón* to give

And I'll survive, I will survive, hey hey/ Y *voy a* survive, *voy a* survive

It took all the strength I had, not to fall apart/ *Dios mío, qué lucha era* not to fall apart

Just tryin' hard to mend the pieces of my broken heart/ *¿Cómo sanar los pedacitos de mi* broken heart?

And I spent oh so many nights just feeling sorry for myself/ And I spent oh so many nights, *pobrecita,* by myself.

I used to cry, but now I hold my head up high/ I used to cry, *y al fin me dije*: "Wait a second, *estás* high?"

And you see me, somebody new/ *Y tú me ves, soy alguien* new

I'm not that chained up little person still in love with you/ I'm not *la misma pendejita* still in love with you

And so you felt like droppin' in and just expect me to be free/ *¡Qué sinverguenza!* Dropping in, *esperando que yo estuviera* free

Well now I'm saving all my lovin' for someone who's lovin' me/ Well, I'm saving *mis caricias para mi nuevo* honey…

2-COMMENTS ON LINGUISTIC FEATURES

As previously mentioned, "Pardon my Spanglish" is completely written in Spanglish, which allows us to have a wide spectrum to analyze how the principles of lexical and morphological juxtaposition, codeswitching and language borrowing operate in practice, as well as to discover the existence of important variations with respect to the theoretical postulates and what are the most frequent types of codeswitching.

The work in its entirety is pleasant to read, it has a fluid and coherent discourse that allows the reader to learn about Spanglish as a linguistic phenomenon, understand its origins and various manifestations, as well as approach its cultural and ideological nuances. The Spanglish register is constant and it manages to keep a balanced load of Spanish and English throughout its pages; however, the speech tends to be more English-based probably due to commercial purposes: English is the predominant language in the fields of knowledge and the media.

In general, Spanish and English tend to be switched at "favorable points" where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language. It is not always the case of the equivalence constraint, though. The text contains some sentences where overlaps between auxiliary and verb violate the syntactic structure, for example in the translated version of "I will survive" (pages 114-5): ***Debería haber* changed** *mi* stupid lock *y las* keys *hacerte devolver*, ***Voy a* survive**, *Sé que* ***voy a* stay** alive. We consider two possible explanations: a) the constraints are not as strict as Poplack states and users may spontaneously alter syntax in their speech, or b) proficient bilingual users like Santiago deliberately break "logic rules" to add a comic effect.

In relation to the types of codeswitching proposed by Poplack, we can see that they all are globally present in the book, the most frequent being "Full sentence" and those that affect nominalization, namely "Between determiner and noun", "Between noun and adjective", and "Between verb phrase and object noun phrase". It also draws our attention the significant tendency to hybridize grammatical number and gender assignment from Spanish nouns to

English nouns, not only when using determiners but also adjectives, for example "*un* rip off", "*los* fat deposit*s*", "*la* Manhattan avenue", "*un mejor* understanding", "some language *puristas"*.

Below some excerpts taken from different chapters of Santiago's work to illustrate the different types of codeswitching:

a. **Full sentence**

Mi queridísimo papi era un abogado, who graduated from Brooklyn Law School, and he spoke, read, and wrote both Spanish and English perfectly (…) he had neither a Spanish accent when he spoke in English *ni un acento Americano cuando hablaba español*. (p.20)

¿Sabes qué? You're fired! (p.70)

If they're speaking in Spanish *y de repente se brincan al inglés* without meaning to, *quieren* report themselves to the language police, *de lo* guilty *que se sienten* (p.76)

Bueno, porque la verdad del caso es que you can't buy that kind of publicity. *Es más, yo mismo prendo el fósforo* (p. 136)

Ay, pero esta frase mágica tiene un sinfín de aplicaciones. It is the universal best answer to all mysteries of the universe (p.162)

b. **Conjoined sentence**

Por lo tanto, Spanglish always breaks the ice. It's ideal for social occasions (p. 24)

Do this ***aunque*** *estés hablando por teléfono* (p. 69)

Si *de* timeouts *se trata*, even the most progressive parents deben siempre *reserve the right to* repartir cocotazos (p.99)

Help, I've fallen ***y*** *no me puedo levantar*! (p. 160)

c. **Interjection**

They wanted me to correct their Spanglish. ***¡Imagínate!*** (p.26)

Oh my God, ¡así mismo es que habla mi familia! **Wow,** pero seriously te botaste! (p. 28)

And, ***te lo juro***, that's exactly what all that nonsense sounds like to me. ***¡No, hombre, no!*** I said to myself, *mejor* to start *desde* scratch (p.35)

Dios mío, *qué lucha era* not to fall apart (p.114)

¿Que me iba a lay down and die? ***¡Jamás!*** Not I, *voy a* survive (p.115)

d. **Between major phrase and verb phrase**

Ese término flojo **makes me cringe** (p.17)

Son 15 dólares que ***se fueron*** **down the drain** (p. 42)

Lo que goes around ***viene pa'trás***[27] **around** (p.80)

¡*Búscate la pala y cepillo* and **clean up *este* mess *que hiciste*!** *Que aquí no tienes ninguna* maid (p.100)

Spanish fraternizing with English *de cualquier manera* whatsoever, especially after 9/11, ***no se debe permitir*** (p. 137)

e. **Between verb phrase and object noun phrase**

And honestly, ***me cae muy bien la idea de*** **que my body is** 80 percent Spanglish (p.20)

You think ***lo que estás diciendo*** **is alarming** or *escandaloso* (p. 68)

What happened was *que nadie le dijo* *que* she was on the rebound (p.70)

Hay que **think** outside the taco (p. 80)

But **we the persecuted *tenemos*** *que ser firme* (p. 136)

f. **Between verb phrase and prepositional phrase**

Some language *puristas* will hit the ground *del desmayo que* ***sufrirán*** **after reading** it (p.6)

Resultan siempre **from intimate contact** *entre otros idiomas* (p. 16)

Anticipation of something Spanglish *al punto de zafarse de tu boca* **sets off an involuntary syntactical scramble** (p.25)

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[27] Apocope of *para atrás*, backwards in English. In the context of this phrase it means "move backwards"

Se los estoy ***advirtiendo*** **for the last time** (p.100)

g. **Between verb and adverb**

Although, in my mother's case, such warnings ***casi siempre*** **backfired** (p.22)

But the *habla* **has got** ***mucho*** funny already packed into it (p. 24)

So you see, Spanglish *no se* ***habla*** **willy-nilly** (p.26)

Where *connotaciones* **are** ***constantemente*** in flux, *y el* slang *abunda (*p. 144)

h. **Between noun and adjective**

Not surprisingly, I wanted ***un mejor*** **understanding** *del Spanglish* (p.5)

Se puede hablar igual de fluently *tanto por* ***hablantes que son*** **English dominant** ***como los que son*** **Spanish dominant** (p.17)

The **guy** *se ve muy* ***amable,*** *muy* **down on earth** (p.42)

Algunos ***doctores*** *son medio* **clueless** (p. 45)

This **all-purpose** ***palabra*** functions in an amazing number of ways (p.70)

i. **Between determiner and noun**

El *mejor* **word order** *se tiene que negociar/ Cada expresión tiene que someterse a* ***un*** **pre-screening** *riguroso* (p.25)

I'm thinking *que para* ***las Crismas*** **(Christmas)** *los voy a llevar a ver* "The Nutcracker" (p. 96)

Hay que cambiarle ***los*** **Pampers** again (p.100)

I suggest you curb **your** ***entusiasmo*** (…) *¿Cuál es* ***el*** **big issue**? (p. 137)

¿A dónde está ***la*** **beef**? (p. 160)

j. **Between auxiliary and verb**.

There's a whole substrata of laws ***dictando*** *el mix para que cuadre perfectamente* every time (p. 25)

***Utilízalo* to set up or tag** statements *de los cuales* one is supposed to be even *un poquito* shocked (p. 68)

Kids instinctually know that if *mami* or *papi* ***está* flying off the handle** *en español*, they must have really pushed a button (p. 97)

Pues mija, yo ***estoy aquí* running** after this monster of mine (p.100)

-***Debería haber* changed** *mi* stupid lock *y las* keys *hacerte devolver*/ ***Voy a* survive** (…) *Sé que* ***voy a* stay** alive (p.100)

b. "Perdón por el espanglish", the dynamics of Spanglish under real communication conditions

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE PODCAST AND DATA ANALYSIS

"Perdón por el espanglish" is a YouTube audiovisual broadcast hosted by the Mexican influencers Sofiberta and Fa Orozco[28]. Intimist and conversational in tone, this weekly podcast is the place where two childhood friends meet to discuss about their everyday life and various topics like Mexican traditions/holidays, current trends and mainstream entertainment.

It follows a co-hosted format, in which the hosts do not play specific roles. Despite following a script of topics, their conversation is rather organic, resulting in an entertaining and friendly environment that their audience find appealing. Run since October 9th 2019, the podcast is made up by 79 weekly episodes and has 18,6 K subscribers to date. It is also available in several audio streaming services such as Simplecast, Spotify, Podtail, Audible, Listennotes, and Apple Podcasts.

A customized Spanglish podcast

Both Sofiberta and Fa Orozco show strong rootedness in their mother tongue. Their desire to preserve Spanish is reflected in choices like the name of the podcast, names of the episodes and the language of communication used in media (YouTube, Instagram and Twitter profiles).

[28] URL: https://www.youtube.com/c/PerdónporelEspanglish

On the whole, “Perdón por el espanglish” proves to be a genuine speech sample. Although there is a list of topics to discuss on the air, both hosts maintain a fluid conversation throughout each episode. The podcast usually contains anecdotes and day-to-day life events that involve people from their close environment. The topics of the podcast can be easily understood, in general, even if the listener comes for the first time. However, one had better follow the episodes to be acquainted with their stories and references.

It is worth noting the sense of belonging that the hosts demonstrate throughout the episodes. There is an effort to improve the format in terms of production: creation of a jingle, better audio quality, and availability in more streaming services. Similarly, the style of the program manages to consolidate: we can see the progressive increase and stabilization of Spanglish as a language of communication, as well as an interest in connecting with the audience, the hosts greet their followers and read some of their comments regularly. In fact, they dedicate Episode 25 to select questions posted on their social media and answer them on the air.

According to the objectives of the present research, we selected three episodes that account for some cultural and identity aspects related to the practice of Spanglish, aiming to determine the sense of identification it fosters not only between the hosts, but between them and their audience.

a. **Episode 04: “En el que es Día de Muertos” (Nov 5th, 2019 – Total lenght: 1h15min) URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gmbsjv-N4Pc**

Here we find a podcast spoken mainly in Spanish with some English words and interjections. Codeswitching is not very frequent during the conversation and there are only a few short sentences in Spanglish. Since this is one of the first episodes of the podcast, we consider that the hosts were probably exploring the type of audience to target and the format of content to develop.

This episode contains personal anecdotes of the hosts in a Jonas Brothers' concert and in a family marriage, as well as impressions of some YouTubers and series they both like. The main topic is the Mexican holiday "Day of the Dead", celebrated on November 1st: its origins, its equivalences with Halloween, the typical food "*pan de muerto*" (a sweet homemade bread), and the tradition "*altar de muerto*" (a home altar to welcome dead family members). Similarly, the hosts narrate a popular story of the former president Porfirio Diaz, who promoted the cultural relevance of this holiday nationwide in the early 1900s.

b. Episode 25: "En el que respondemos sus preguntas" (March 31st 2020. Total lenght: 1h33min) URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H0xIFEqNi_Y

A few months later there are notable changes in the podcast: a new radio intro, a more solid and interactive format with the audience, and above all, a greater presence of Spanglish throughout the conversation. When listening to the episode, it gives the impression of attending a very natural conversation between two friends, for whom Spanglish is part of their way of speaking. Even if the presence of Spanish is still important, listeners can witness codeswitching in almost every line each broadcaster says.

As mentioned above, this episode is especially dedicated to answer their followers on the air, after a selection of questions posted on the podcast's social media profiles (Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube). The hosts start explaining that it has been prerecorded two weeks before due to the new sanitary conditions, expressing their concern regarding the subject. Then they answer the list of questions one by one, covering various topics: recommendations on trendy clothing stores and accessories, how the friendship between Fa and Sofiberta began, their dreams, best memories and goals, and their use of Spanglish.

Inadvertently, we managed to get a short but decisive answer about the hosts' language preferences:

(57:18) Fa Orozco: Ok, *sus conversaciones también suelen ser en espanglish, y si es así, ¿qué idioma suele predominar?* ¡Wow!

Sofiberta: *Sí, sí, es en espanglish,* this is why the podcast is called…

Fa Orozco: *Por eso se llama así, porque es algo que no podemos controlar. Y no sé, no sé qué idioma… depende. Creo que somos, yo diría, 70% español 30% inglés más o menos.*

First of all, they recognize Spanish as their predominant language and English as a second language according to Fa, "I don't know, I don't know what language… it depends. I guess we are 70% Spanish and 30% English more or less". She also explains their use of Spanglish as something that comes naturally to them, "That is why (the podcast) is called like that, because it is something that we cannot control". This information is revealing in terms of the in-between identity described by Betti (2016) and Santiago (2008): allegiance to Mexican culture does not necessarily mean feeling completely identified with it. In our case, it may be due to a geographical reason, Monterrey, the hosts' hometown, is an important commercial and industrial contact center with the United States located to the north; this fact would explain the impact of English on people's cultural identity and their way of communication, especially on the youngest who are closer to new technologies than their parents or grandparents.

This in turn brings an interesting consequence. The audience is likely made up of a significant number of young people who identify culturally and/or linguistically with the hosts, which creates a sense of community compatible to the identity-based component of Spanglish regardless of the criteria of segregation through language. Episode 25 raises a load of comments posted in Spanglish (see Annex 3), in which followers react showing their pride of this hybrid identity and their attachment to Spanglish. Some comments let us know how meaningful the podcast turns out to be, because this content gives recognition to Spanglish as a way of speaking, and listeners who practice Spanglish feel that they are not alone since the hosts speak "in their language".

c. **Episode 51: "En el que we were on a break" (total length: 1h40min) October 13th 2020. URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=npCFsU41zP8**

This episode is revealing by showing a moment of emotional breakdown for the hosts and the subsequent support of their followers on the comments. They explain to their audience that they decided to take a break because they are a little down due to the pandemic and also, because Sofiberta is facing the loss of her dog Coyo. The podcast format consequently changes, viewers find a split screen because of lockdown and episodes start being recorded each two weeks.

Moreover, we discover that this episode discusses issues related to hybrid identity linked to Latino community:

Spanglish is an intergenerational practice. The anecdote of Sofiberta and her father when Coyo dies includes fragments of their conversation in which codeswitching appears.

> **(08:57) Sofiberta:** *Tuve que hacerme unos estudios en el médico, y mi papá me marcó como: "Güey, Coyo* just died", like this minute, *y yo como: "¡Ay papá, no es cierto! No juegues" Pensé que era bromeando porque lo acababa de ver, y me dice: "Es que estaba ladre y ladre porque uno de los perros lo estaba molestando, le dije "Ya estuvo bueno, Coyo", y lo dejé ladrar. Luego me asomé y lo ví, se me hizo raro que tenía una mosca encima". Y yo:* "What? What do you mean?", (her father replies) *"Sí, todavía está calientito pero ya no le está latiendo el corazón".*

This finding suggests that Spanglish is not a restrictive practice for young people, but can also be a daily communication at home, illustrating what can happen to children and offspring of foreign-born or US-born Latinos, as may be the case with the second generation of Latinos who acquire, maintain and transmit Spanglish as an alternative way of speaking.

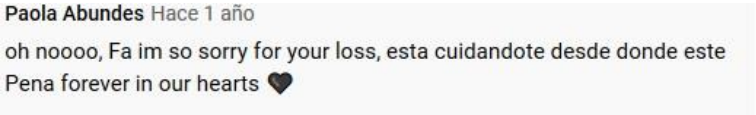
The price of the "American Dream": The hosts tell the story of Jacinta, an unfortunate woman who leaves Mexico looking for a better future and ends up living on the streets in the United States. The audience is given to understand that it is a taboo subject, the emphatic "*ya sabes*" (you know) suggests a wink to the listener to ask for complicity in the face of the illegal nature of the act or sarcastically evaluate this opportunity for a "better life".

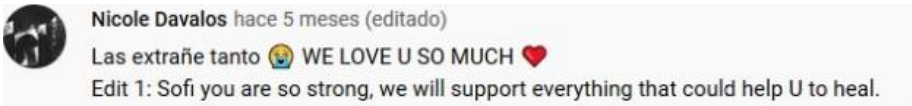
(32:02) Fa Orozco: She went to live on the streets… *Ah bueno, primero se fueron a vivir a otro país, YA SABES, a tratar de hacerla, pero regresaron porque* yes.

"Subirse el muerto", a Mexican superstition. By tradition, Mexico is a country with great respect for the dead, let's remember that one of their main celebrations is the "Day of The Dead." People know that there are certain jokes that should not be made to avoid offending the dead and suffering bad consequences such as "*subirse el muerto*" (getting on the dead), which means the manifestation of the dead person in a nightmare to come and punish those who make fun of his memory. Sofiberta explains to us that this is the magic explanation for the symptoms of sleep paralysis.

(57:38) Sofiberta: *Pues el sueño* was spooky, the real spooky thing has nothing to do with the dream, *le dijo* like: *"Deja de estar chingando, ¡se te va a subir el muerto! - Y eso que se te sube el muerto es la parálisis del sueño, cuando la parte consciente de tu cerebro está despierta.*

Finally, some followers show their empathy for Sofiberta's loss and offer her moral support:

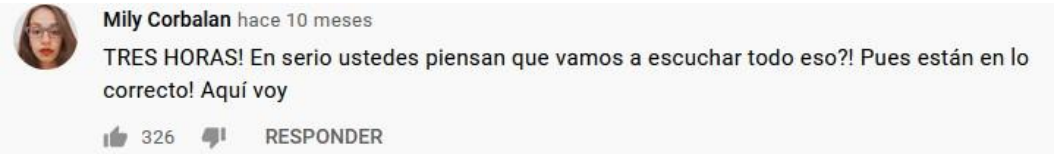




Cultural attachment and sense of identification

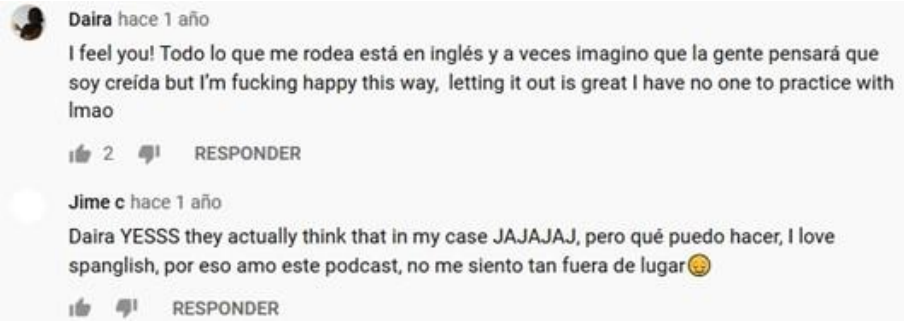
According to Henri Boyer (2003), social representations help us to act on the world and others. As a set of constructions of a common reality socially developed and shared, representations become relevant to understand the material or symbolic value that human actions transmit and to guide our production of sense. In the case of Spanglish, it is a discourse strategy that goes beyond the language as it involves sharing implicit common knowledge, that is, cultural references, values, social rules, memories or images specific to Latin American culture. In this way, Spanglish becomes an exclusive way of speech that reflects marking, used at will to show belonging to a specific community and, in turn, to communicatively exclude the interlocutors considered foreign to their context (social, cultural or identity).

Based on the reception of the episodes, we realize that "Perdón por el espanglish" fosters a sense of identification in its audience: the comments posted on YouTube are mostly written in Spanish but quite a few use Spanglish in whole or in part (see Annex 3). The followers show gratitude and affection in their messages; they recognize the program as a joyful content that they expect to hear every week because it is close, fun, genuine and motivating.



As discussed in the analysis of Episode 25, the podcast represents a familiar place where the audience can find appealing contents and especially, a positive view of their way of speech. Spanglish becomes both a distinctive mark that makes the podcast one of a kind, and the identity

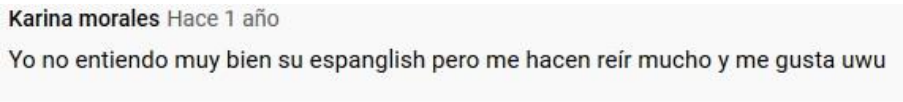
link that gathers US-based Latino people and other Latin Americans familiar with this discourse strategy.



On the other hand, there are followers from different Latin American countries who express convergences between references of the program (jokes, celebrations, traditions) and their cultures. It is interesting to find comments from Spanish followers expressing their admiration because they represent a public that has at the same time Spanish as a mother tongue and quite different cultural roots. This situation suggests that the podcast, even if it is not completely made in Spanish, also manages to raise cultural identification in the audience (Latin American culture), as well as interest from other people with different cultural background.

Examples taken from Episode 51. Similar comments are posted above other episodes.

And it strikes us to find that Spanglish does not represent a barrier for some listeners who are not fluent in both languages and yet like the hosts and follow their podcast:



It is worth highlighting the environment of empathy and complicity that the hosts establish with their audience. They both interact with them regularly by reacting to their comments and reading their messages on the air. In addition, a network of references coming from stories, current trends, pictures and multimedia contents shared on all their social media has been established throughout the podcast. These dynamics, also anchored in Mexican and Latin American culture, evoke loyalty and allegiance feelings as claimed by Gadet & Varro (2006), such as the sense of identification or the sense of community. However, this feature may potentially exclude or discourage new listeners that play an episode and get lost because they do not follow the episodes from the beginning or they are not familiar with that private background.

2-COMMENTS ON LINGUISTIC FEATURES

As mentioned earlier, "*Perdón por el espanglish*" shows the fluid and natural conversation between two childhood friends, the influencers Sofiberta and Fa Orozco. Even if the speech tends to be more Spanish-based (especially on the first episodes), there is a progressive increase and stabilization of Spanglish as a language of communication in the podcast. Sometimes they introduce a story in Spanish and switch to English for adding details or clarifying a forgotten term in L1, but also for adding comic effects like exaggerated reactions. Unlike Bill Santiago's book, this multimedia product made in Spanglish seems to respond more to recreational than to commercial purposes.

Differently from written speech, oral speech is more subject to errors because interlocutors have less time to reflect. However, the spontaneity in the podcast does not hinder the respect of the linguistic constraints and the principles of codeswitching proposed by Poplack, the hosts manage to make the juxtapositions in "favorable" parts of speech such as nouns, conjunctions and prepositions, mainly to express transitions and explanations. The most frequent types of codeswitching found are "Between determiner and noun", "Conjoined sentence", and "Full sentence". Although the linguistic repertoire here seems limited, we must bear in mind that in real communication conditions, speakers favor the use of the most practical resources to convey their messages effectively.

On the other hand, we see in Spanglish as in any language today the use of anglicisms. It has become a common phenomenon that permeates languages worldwide, and is increasingly present both in official register like the media and in everyday language. In the podcast conversations we

find loans in hybrid nouns like "*un* holding book", "*el* mood", "*dos* supers" (supermarkets), words that are already part of the repertoire and have been probably transformed into common names by convention.

Here is a selection of extracts from the three podcast episodes. This sample of "spoken Spanglish" will allow us to have a concrete approach with linguistic creativity, puns, turn-taking, and codeswitching as they occur in ordinary conversations, as well as with the ludic dimension present in Spanglish by reading how two "expert users" have fun mixing the two languages.

EPISODE 04

(00:24) Sofiberta: *Justo por ese tipo de cosas es que yo tengo copas de ¿cómo se llama?* ***Poliuretano*** **or something,** *ese plástico que parece cristal.*

Fa Orozco: *Ajá, y que se ven muy bonitas pero que son plástico porque* you´re gonna get drunk and you're gonna mess it up

Conjoined sentence - Between verb phrase and object noun phrase - Full sentence

(08:27) F: Wait! *A Coby, mi sobrino, ¡lo casó su mamá,* ***güey!***

S: *¿Con quién?*

F: *Con otra hija, con Natalia, creo.*

S: *¿Natalia?* **What the f*ck!**

F: *No, pues ya su relación está pasando por* ***un*** **brokey broke** *puesto que tienen siete años.*

Interjection - Between determiner and noun

(11:14) F: *Un dinosaurio así súper rudo todo rosa palo, rosa pastel* **y looks so cute!** ***Y*** *no lo pude sacar.*

(12:12) S: But ***bueno****, la señora dio* ***un*** **holding book**, *un lápiz y un botecito de plastilina, no* "Play Doh" *sino de la otra.*

Conjoined sentence - Full sentence - Between determiner and noun

(12:55) F: *Porque justo estamos grabando el uno de noviembre, un día antes del "Día de Muertos". Entonces estamos como en* ***el verdadero*** **mood**, ***o sea****, yo no creo tanto en* ***el*** **spookiness** *de Halloween* ***pero*** gimme all the day the best ***¿Sabes?*** *De cariño no le digo* "Day of the dead" *sino "*Day of the bread*" porque para mí "Día de Muertos" significa "pan de muerto", que es la cosa más hermosa de la vida para los que viven en el resto de Latinoamérica, hasta en España y todo,* let me tell you about this.

S: *Pero según yo sé…*

F: I did! (laughs) *¡Siempre lo he hecho!*

Between determiner and noun - Conjoined sentence - Full sentence – Interjection

(51:47) F: *¡Está súper padre! Me cae súper bien, se llama Chris,* ***el*** **reverend** *Chris, trae* ***su*** **collar** *y todo, y tiene por ejemplo, una de las cosas muy curiosas de todos estos videos que hacen, tiene un hermano gemelo, ah ha, idéntico, que es un soldado.* It's a major!

S: Major? **No way!**

F: *Entonces es el reverendo Chris y* ***el*** **Major** *Charles*

S: *Esto suena como la premisa para una película extraña, futurista... de qué va a pasar ahora y* ***el*** **reverend** *en acción…*

Between determiner and noun - Full sentence - Interjection

EPISODE 25

(00:21) S: *Espero que se hayan acordado de felicitar a Arturo el último jueves* **maybe**. I don't!

F: Wow! How are you keeping up with this? *No tengo idea, creo que el jueves anterior.*

S: *Sí, el jueves anterior. Sí, porque en el episodio pasado dije que su cumpleaños es el 26. Sí, el 26 y hoy es 31 ¡Último día de marzo!*

F: ***Güey***, can you believe this? So we are in April!

S: Sh*t ***güey*****!** I hope he's doing ok, I hope.

F: Wait! The world could be very different in this moment, so.

S: Ah ha, sorry.

F: So let us say, *déjennos decir esto desde el principio, esto está grabado con dos semanas de anticipación. Hoy es 20 de marzo y no sabemos cómo está el mundo ahorita.*

Full sentence – Between verb and adverb - Interjection

(03:17) F: ¡No! We've *ya* talked about this, ***pero*** please tell us: you had no idea…

S: I had no idea that we had Merge (an educational platform), **so once upon a time *en una ocasión*** *tuvimos la oportunidad de vacacionar en familia, fuimos a Nueva York*. For a couple of days it was like "bahh", ***pero*** a couple of days, ***y*** *había una tienda a la que mi hermanita quería ir.*

Conjoined sentence - Full sentence – Interjection

(05:58) F: *Entonces no teníamos* **like**…

S: Any idea…

F: Any idea *de que tú ya contabas con* Merge, **congrats!**

S: *Sí porque…*

F: That's an advanced army!

S: *Sí,* I hardly ever buy Merge ***porque*** is f*cking expensive.

F: F*cking expensive! *La verdad yo sí soy de comprar* Merge *de un tiempo para acá. Soy de comprar de un tiempo para acá porque he terminado de* ***entender*** **how significant it is**. *Entender cómo apoya, ayuda mucho a los creadores de contenido, gastar ese lanonón* (Lana= money. In here " A huge amount of money") *pero en* Merge. *Yo que* ***no soy muy*** **spender** *de salir a cenar, o sea, puedo invertir el dinero de unas salidas* **like**: "*Ok, me voy a comprar una camiseta que está un poquito cara" pero…*

S: *Yo creo que…*

F: I know what it means.

S: *Mi problema es más bien es que ni siquiera me gusta comprarme ropa. No porque no me guste, me encanta tener ropa y diferentes cosas, pero siempre es: "Ay! ¿Me lo voy a poner?", "¿Será que me queda bien?" De hecho fuiste tú quien* ***me empujó*** **to try it on.**

Conjoined sentence - Full sentence - Between major phrase and verb phrase - Between noun and adjective – Interjection

(09:10) F: *Sí, nos vamos a ir por la tangente* ***pero*** you know this show already, we don't need to explain you.

S: *Hace uno, dos o tres episodios, pero de que estás contando algo y que yo te digo:* "Wait! I just remember something", and then you remember something, and then I remember something and you say: *"Bueno, pero lo que estaba hablando era…". Y yo hago cara de: "¡Ah, sí, claro*!"

F: Yes, yes, yes. *Es que* **that's how**, *insisto, así funcionan las conversaciones*, **you know?** ***O sea****…*

Conjoined sentence - Full sentence - Interjection

(57:18) F: Ok, *sus conversaciones también suelen ser en espanglish, y si es así, ¿qué idioma suele predominar?* **¡Wow!**

S: *Sí, sí, es en espanglish,* **this is why** the podcast is called…

F: *Por eso se llama así, porque es algo que no podemos controlar. Y no sé, no sé qué idioma… depende. Creo que somos, yo diría, 70% español 30% inglés más o menos.*

S: That was good math!

F: Thank you! *Sí,* 7,8,9,10 (counts in Spanish), **phew!** (laughs)

Full sentence – Conjoined sentence - Interjection

EPISODE 51

(02:31) The hosts are talking about the special edition of a traditional Mexican drink

F: *Me compró* ***un*** **couple of them.**

S: *Creo que se llama "Mode" porque el dueño se llama Don Modesto.*

F: Oh, that's beautiful!

S: *Y empezó con una taquería y un puestito de frutas y ya. Se hizo como* ***dos*** **supers** *y unas taquerías. Que yo sepa, a la familia después de eso le fue muy bien* **and** that's beautiful and I'm so excited. We need to get that sponsor, ***güey,*** *antes de que me muera!*

Full sentence - Conjoined sentence - Between determiner and noun - Interjection

(08:57) S: *Entonces un día en la mañana lo vi, lo saludé y todo. Tuve que hacerme unos estudios en el médico, y mi papá me marcó como: "****Güey,*** *Coyo* (their dog) just died", like this minute, *y yo como: "¡Ay papá, no es cierto! No juegues". Pensé que era bromeando porque lo acababa de ver, y me dice: "Es que estaba ladre y ladre porque uno de los perros lo estaba molestando, le dije "Ya estuvo bueno, Coyo", y lo dejé ladrar. Luego me asomé y lo ví, se me hizo raro que tenía una mosca encima". Y yo:* "What? What do you mean?" *,"Sí, todavía está calientito pero ya no le está latiendo el corazón".*

Full sentence - Interjection

(25:46) F: *El Almendro es una pintura que está en zoom, esto si lo mencioné en el video: no la ves completa, no ves la base del árbol* ***ni*** **the top** ***ni los lados****. A mí me gusta creer en la interpretación que yo le doy,* which I repeat it is not right but is also not wrong, *es que Vincent no pudo pintar todo este árbol completo porque el pequeño Vincent, su sobrino,* was just being born, ***o sea****,* there's a world of possibilities *que el pequeño Vincent tenía que florecer y que crecer. Entonces lo que Vincent podía hacer es decir:* "Look! Your life, *tu vida va a ser tan hermosa como este cachito de este almendro*, you're gonna bloom, you're gonna grow, you're gonna have an incredible life, colorful. ***Pero*** *el resto de las ramas*, how big it's gonna be, how thin, how small, how whatever, is up to you. That's the little Vincent"

Full sentence - Conjoined sentence - Between major phrase and verb phrase

(32:02) F: She went to live on the streets… *Ah bueno, primero se fueron a vivir a otro país, ya sabes* (emphatic tone*), a tratar de hacerla, pero regresaron porque* yes. ***Y*** *entonces, total,* Jacinta was seventeen when she went to live on the streets.

Full sentence - Conjoined sentence

(57:38) S: *Pues* ***el sueño*** **was spooky**, the real spooky thing has nothing to do with the dream, ***le dijo*** **like**: *"Deja de estar chingando, ¡se te va a subir el muerto!* It happens. Let me sleep!"

F: ¡Oh, man! I hope it doesn't go badly

S: *Y mandó una foto justo, porque dice que, tengo la teoría de que fue mi bisabuela porque el papá de una amiga tiene la habilidad de ver fantasmas y esas cosas, este, las ha visto. En la fiesta del cumpleaños 50*

de mi papá dice haber visto a la señora. Una foto donde según se ve la señora atrás, I don't see it, *este, si quieres te la enseño pero* I don't see it.

F: I don't wanna see it!

S: *Pero la mejor parte de la foto es que le puso un perrito, un chiguagueño de esos que tiene pelito y tiene cara de cero actividad cerebral y le está cargando* (sign of loading with her fingers)… *El simbolito, es lo que tiene en la cabeza el papá (…) Y eso que se te sube el muerto es la parálisis del sueño, cuando la parte consciente de tu cerebro está despierta, pero el resto de tu cuerpo no y tienes que despertar o dormirte, una de dos.*

F: I have something to say about that ***y*** *es que a mí* ***me pasaba*** **every night** *por meses,* maybe a year, *me pasó todas las noches. Y todas las noches* ***es*** **as stressful as the first time!**

Full sentence - Conjoined sentence - Between verb and adverb - Between verb phrase and object noun phrase

CONCLUSIONS

1. Spanglish proves to be evidence that immigration reshapes the United States as argued by Cazemajou & Martin (1983). Its increasing inclusion in the media and in various mainstream products shows a process of cultural hybridization of a large immigrant community, characterized by the double desire to integrate into the host country and preserve their linguistic and cultural roots. It is important to highlight the impact of certain presidential terms that have favored this integration of immigrant populations, specifically in the 1970s and throughout the 2000s, with the exception of the Trump administration.

2. According to the data obtained in 2018, there is an increasing amount of Latinos fluent in both Spanish and English, from foreign-born to US-born second generation individuals, with the exception of the third generation that tends to English monolingualism. The especially high bilingual trend in US-born second generation individuals indicates the most important transition phase in the Latino community as explained by Lemus (2018): they best represent the characteristics of an "in-between identity", including the use of Spanglish, since they are between a Spanish-speaking generation and an English-speaking generation. What happens with Spanglish is just one example of the linguistic and cultural reconfiguration resulting from the settlement of immigrant groups in the United States, a reality present in the U.S. since their very early origins as a nation.

3. The ideology of the standard appears to be deeply rooted in U.S. American national identity, based more on an assumption (the prestige of English) than on a fact (there is no official language of the United States constitutionally promulgated to date). This imaginary helps to understand the fear of the nation towards a large hybrid and bilingual population that refuses to abandon its language and culture. However, the current U.S. bilingualism program implies an important basic weakness: privileging the English literacy of immigrants over solid foreign languages training for all students can shift the job market in favor of bilingual / multilingual foreigners in the long term, as Huntington recalls (2004: 323).

4. The analysis of the corpus shows that Spanglish does not come from a communicative need but is a discourse strategy chosen by Latino individuals wishing to establish an identity marker. It is practiced among individuals fluent in both Spanish and English, since this way of speaking requires dexterity in both languages to achieve a coherent hybrid code. The dynamics of codeswitching present in the corpus come naturally to the speech and can be used voluntarily by the users, do not affect the coherence and clarity of the discourse, and above all, respond to linguistic constraints and types of codeswitching (Poplack, 1981), especially those related to modification of nouns.

5. Based on the linguistic features found in the podcast and in Bill Santiago's book, we are persuaded of the oral character of Spanglish because it presents a greater range of linguistic creativity and morphosyntactic accuracy than when it is put in writing. In contrast to Ilan Stavans' text, the book accounts for the written transcription of the spoken Spanglish of a current user. Thus, the analysis of the Spanglish samples from the book and the podcast reveals a fluid speech and highly articulated linguistic transitions. Similarly, we found that Spanglish represents a discourse strategy for the Latino community taking into account the response of audiences, especially those who are familiar with the use of Spanglish. In both works, some people express their appreciation and identification with the hosts and the comedian because they find it rewarding to get appealing contents in a close language labeled as reprehensible in other contexts. Linguistic attitudes change when it comes to the reception of a literary translation into Spanglish, in which we found that few participants validate Spanglish as a linguistic reality while some of them qualify the text as "awkward", "ambiguous" or "not entirely authentic".

6. In the course of this research, we discovered that Spanglish is a complex and vast current topic that demands the scientific interest within language sciences and other disciplines such as Cultural Studies, Social Sciences or Behavioral Sciences.

ANNEXES

Annexe 1: Questionnaire "Don Quixote in Spanglish"

Name: _____ Age: ____ Nationality:_____

1. What is your mother tongue? (Write **X** in front or write down the language if other)

Spanish ☐ English ☐ Other:

2. In which language(s) do you usually read? (Rate from **1** to **3** according to the most to the least used language or **0** in case you do not use a language)

___ Spanish ___ English ___ Other (Which one?)

3. What do you know about Spanglish? If you are not familiar with this term, what does it suggest to you?

4. Have you ever read Miguel de Cervantes' "Don Quijote de la Mancha" ? (an excerpt/whole book)

Yes ☐ No ☐

5. Read attentively this excerpt:

Don Quijote de La Mancha - Miguel de Cervantes
First Parte, Chapter Uno. Transladado al Spanglish por Ilan Stavans

In un placete de La Mancha of which nombre no quiero remembrearme, vivía, not so long ago, uno de esos gentlemen who always tienen una lanza in the rack, una buckler antigua, a skinny caballo y un grayhound para el chase. A cazuela with más beef than mutón, carne choppeada para la dinner, un omelet pa' los Sábados, lentil pa' los Viernes, y algún pigeon como delicacy especial pa' los Domingos, consumían tres cuarers de su income. El resto lo employaba en una coat de broadcloth y en soketes de velvetín pa' los holidays, with sus slippers pa' combinar, while los otros días de la semana él cut a figura de los más finos cloths. Livin with él eran una housekeeper en sus forties, una sobrina not yet twenty y un ladino del field y la marketa que le saddleaba el caballo al gentleman y wieldeaba un hookete pa' podear. El gentleman andaba por allí por los fifty. Era de complexión robusta pero un poco fresco en los bones y una cara leaneada y gaunteada. La gente sabía that él era un early riser y que gustaba mucho huntear. La gente say que su apellido was Quijada or Quesada –hay diferencia de opinión entre aquellos que han escrito sobre el sujeto– but acordando with las muchas conjecturas se entiende que era

really Quejada. But all this no tiene mucha importancia pa' nuestro cuento, providiendo que al cuentarlo no nos separemos pa' nada de las verdá.

It is known, pues, que el aformencionado gentleman, cuando se la pasaba bien, which era casi todo el año, tenía el hábito de leer libros de chivaldría with tanta pleasura y devoción as to leadearlo casi por completo a forgetear su vida de hunter y la administración de su estate. Tan great era su curiosidad e infatuación en este regarde que él even vendió muchos acres de tierra sembrable pa' comprar y leer los libros que amaba y carreaba a su casa as many as él podía obtuvir. Of todos los que devoreó, ninguno le plaseó más que los compuestos por el famoso Feliciano de Silva, who tenía una estylo lúcido y plotes intrincados that were tan preciados para él as pearlas; especialmente cuando readeaba esos cuentos de amor y challenges amorosos that se foundean por muchos placetes, por example un passage como this one: La rasón de mi unrasón que aflicta mi rasón, en such a manera weakenea mi rasón que yo with rasón lamento tu beauty. Y se sintió similarmente aflicteado cuando sus ojos cayeron en líneas como these ones: … el high Heaven de tu divinidad te fortifiquea with las estrellas y te rendea worthy de ese deserveo que tu greatness deserva.

6. Given that "Don Quixote" is considered the most influential work of Spanish literature, rate the following aspects in the excerpt from **1** (the lowest) to **10** (the highest), explaining briefly your choice:

a. Clarity **1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10** Why?

b. Coherence **1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10** Why?

c. Seriousness **1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10** Why?

7. In your opinion, why the author carried out this translation of "Don Quixote" into Spanglish?

8. To what extent would you consider Spanglish as a standard language register (for official, professional and academic writing)? Why?

Thank you for participating!

Annex 2 – Responses from study participants - Questionnaire "Don Quixote in Spanglish"

Below we present the original questionnaires delivered by our study participants. For reasons of space, we omitted the excerpt in the question 5.

SPANGLISH – SURVEY

Name: Laura Bedoya Romero **Age:** 26 **Nationality:** Colombian

1. What is your mother tongue? (Write **X** in front or write down the language if other)

Spanish [X] English [ ] Other: _____

2. In which language(s) do you usually read? (Rate from **1** to **3** according to the most to the least used language or **0** in case you do not use a language)

_1_ Spanish _2_ English _3_ Other (Which one?) Portuguese

3. What do you know about Spanglish? If you are not familiar with this term, what does it suggest to you?

I guess is when someone who knows both languages switch between one or another without noticing it.

4. Have you ever read Miguel de Cervantes' "Don Quijote de la Mancha"? (a passage/whole book)

Yes [ ] No [x]

5. Read attentively this excerpt:

6. Given that "Don Quijote de la Mancha" is considered the most influential work of Spanish literature, rate the following aspects in the excerpt from **1** (the lowest) to **10** (the highest), explaining briefly your choice:

a. Clarity 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? Because both languages are already difficult. Either English or Spanish is confusing, obviously the mix of both is chaotic.

b. Coherence 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? The use of two languages at the same time makes difficult to understand the sequence.

c. Seriousness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? It seems a joke.

7. In your opinion, why the author carried out this translation of "Don Quijote" into Spanglish?

Maybe because it's for a specific public which is familiar with this way to write.

8. To what extent would you consider Spanglish as a standard language register (for official, professional and academic writing)? Why?

It depends on the standardized way to use Spanglish, I don't know if is possible to use the same words in English or in Spanish in Spanglish, what I mean is that is possible to consider a standard language if all people who knows Spanglish can understand.

SPANGLISH – SURVEY

Name: __*Maria Gazca*_____ **Age:** __*28*___ **Nationality:** ___*Mexican*_____

1. What is your mother tongue? (Write **X** in front or write down the language if other)

Spanish [X] English [ ] Other: _____

2. In which language(s) do you usually read? (Rate from **1** to **3** according to the most to the least used language or **0** in case you do not use a language)

_**1**__ Spanish __**2**_ English ___ Other (Which one?) _____

3. What do you know about Spanglish? If you are not familiar with this term, what does it suggest to you?

Spanglish means that the English and Spanish language is mix together at times and is used as one language at times.

4. Have you ever read Miguel de Cervantes' "Don Quijote de la Mancha"? (a passage/whole book)

Yes [x] No [ ]

5. Read attentively this excerpt:

6. Given that "Don Quijote de la Mancha" is considered the most influential work of Spanish literature, rate the following aspects in the excerpt from **1** (the lowest) to **10** (the highest), explaining briefly your choice:

a. Clarity 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? *the Spanglish is not that great*

b. Coherence 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? *follows up to a certain extent*

c. Seriousness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? *it doesn't help the text a lot and it doesn't give its value to what the context really is*

7. In your opinion, why the author carried out this translation of "Don Quijote" into Spanglish?

In my opinion the author followed up the translation in Spanglish because he thought it would be better understood and felt by his audience.

8. To what extent would you consider Spanglish as a standard language register (for official, professional and academic writing)? Why?

I would not extent Spanglish as any other language because it won't be understood by the people. Spanish people think so high of their own Castellano that mixing it with English would be a horror movie all along, it won't be understood. And then again Americans English is mostly their own language some are interested, some don't care, they will deport you on the first sound of Spanish.

SPANGLISH – SURVEY

Name: Olivier **Age:** 26 **Nationality:** Canadian

1. What is your mother tongue? (Write **X** in front or write down the language if other)

Spanish ☐ English ☐ Other: _____

2. In which language(s) do you usually read? (Rate from **1** to **3** according to the most to the least used language or **0** in case you do not use a language)

__0_ Spanish _1__ English _0__ Other (Which one?) _____

3. What do you know about Spanglish? If you are not familiar with this term, what does it suggest to you?

Spanglish is an increasingly widespread mix of English and Spanish spoken mostly in the US. Spanglish is gaining traction in Latin America as well.

4. Have you ever read Miguel de Cervantes' "Don Quijote de la Mancha"? (a passage/whole book)

Yes ☐ No ☐

5. Read attentively this excerpt:

6. Given that "Don Quijote de la Mancha" is considered the most influential work of Spanish literature, rate the following aspects in the excerpt from **1** (the lowest) to **10** (the highest), explaining briefly your choice:

a. Clarity 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? This passage was written so grammatically logical that any proficient reader of both Spanish and English can make out the meaning of each sentence._

b. Coherence 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? If I read this in silence, it's just slightly slower and more strenuous than reading the original but it remains coherent.

c. Seriousness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? It makes for awkward reading and it sounds jocular (unrasón, the 'un' negative prefix doesn't exist in Spanish) . I laughed throughout as I was reading it therefore I can't call it serious.

=) I'd give the seriousness of your academic research a solid 9 though. But Spanglish in and of itself doesn't sound serious.

7. In your opinion, why the author carried out this translation of "Don Quijote" into Spanglish?

To showcase the linguistic and logical process of mixing both languages. Written Spanglish provides much-needed material for analyzing how bilinguals mix both languages, sometimes within the same word.

8. To what extent would you consider Spanglish as a standard language register (for official, professional and academic writing)? Why?

I wouldn't for professional and academic writing. The phonetic gap makes for awkward pronunciation and word stress. Portuñol is a much more felicitous mix. I'd consider officializing Spanglish for legal reasons. For instance, second-gen latinos sometimes express themselves best in Spanglish. It would be fair for them to be allowed to testify in Spanglish before a court.

SPANGLISH – SURVEY

Name: Arne Thielenhaus **Age:** 34 **Nationality:** German

1. What is your mother tongue? (Write **X** in front or write down the language if other)

Spanish ☐ English ☐ Other: German

2. In which language(s) do you usually read? (Rate from **1** to **3** according to the most to the least used language or **0** in case you do not use a language)

_0__ Spanish __1_ English _2__ Other (Which one?) German

3. What do you know about Spanglish? If you are not familiar with this term, what does it suggest to you?
Speaking a mixture of English and Spanish

4. Have you ever read Miguel de Cervantes' "Don Quijote de la Mancha"? (a passage/whole book)

Yes ☐ No [X]

5. Read attentively this excerpt:

6. Given that "Don Quijote de la Mancha" is considered the most influential work of Spanish literature, rate the following aspects in the excerpt from **1** (the lowest) to **10** (the highest), explaining briefly your choice:

a. Clarity 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? The meaning of the first sentences is clear to me 50% of the time at the beginning, there are a number of words I do not recognize. The rest is much clearer.

b. Coherence 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? The first sentences seem coherent to me 50% of the time. I imagine there are some partially translated Spanish expressions I am not familiar with. The rest is fairly coherent.

c. Seriousness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? a number of words appear to be a product of the author's imagination and sound silly

7. In your opinion, why the author carried out this translation of "Don Quijote" into Spanglish?
to test whether readers would feel differently about it

8. To what extent would you consider Spanglish as a standard language register (for official, professional and academic writing)? Why?
Clarity and ability to write unambiguous texts is a crucial factor particularly in official, professional and academic writing. As long as Spanglish does not have clearly defined rules (and vocabulary) which reduce ambiguity and ensure clarity, it wouldn't be useful for these purposes. The question, however, would be if it's worth the trouble to devise all these new rules (grammar books, dictionaries…) when you can just use existing languages.

SPANGLISH – SURVEY

Name: Ioana Olaru **Age:** 33 **Nationality**: Romanian

1. What is your mother tongue? (Write **X** in front or write down the language if other)

Spanish ☐ English ☐ **X** Other: Romanian

2. In which language(s) do you usually read? (Rate from **1** to **3** according to the most to the least used language or **0** in case you do not use a language)

1 Spanish **3** English **2** Other (Which one?) Romanian

3. What do you know about Spanglish? If you are not familiar with this term, what does it suggest to you? I know it is slang for mixing Spanish and English words.

4. Have you ever read Miguel de Cervantes' "Don Quijote de la Mancha"? (a passage/whole book)

Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Read attentively this excerpt:

6. Given that "Don Quijote de la Mancha" is considered the most influential work of Spanish literature, rate the following aspects in the excerpt from **1** (the lowest) to **10** (the highest), explaining briefly your choice:

a. Clarity 1 2 **3** 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? I understand it, but gives me a headache. And irritates my eye from going back and forth. However, since my Spanish is not as good as my English, I probably understand the text better like this, compared to how it would be if it was only in Spanish.

b. Coherence 1 2 3 4 5 **6** 7 8 9 10 Why? It makes sense

c. Seriousness **1** 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? I can't take it seriously, for me Spanglish is slang.

7. In your opinion, why the author carried out this translation of "Don Quijote" into Spanglish?

For science? ☺ Leaving joke aside, it might be appealing for younger audiences (younger than me). As I said above, I would have issues understanding don Quijote in Spanish, but in Spanglish I had no issue. However, I think it would lose from the meaning and overall feeling of the original text, which is known for its particular use of Spanish.

8. To what extent would you consider Spanglish as a standard language register (for official, professional and academic writing)? Why?

Almost none. I think it might create confusion in areas where things should be quite rigid in terms of language. Official, professional and academic should stick to the norms, otherwise they might leave space for interpretation. In academic writing it should appear only if the research is on Spanglish itself.

SPANGLISH – SURVEY

Name: Leydi Agudelo **Age:** 26 **Nationality:** Venezuelan

1. What is your mother tongue? (Write **X** in front or write down the language if other)

Spanish [X] English [ ] Other: _____

2. In which language(s) do you usually read? (Rate from **1** to **3** according to the most to the least used language or **0** in case you do not use a language)
1 Spanish 2 English ___ Other (Which one?) _____no_____

3. What do you know about Spanglish? If you are not familiar with this term, what does it suggest to you?
Spanglish sounds to me like speaking with a mix of Spanish and English language.

4. Have you ever read Miguel de Cervantes' "Don Quijote de la Mancha"? (a passage/whole book)

Yes [ ] No. [X]

5. Read attentively this excerpt:

6. Given that "Don Quijote de la Mancha" is considered the most influential work of Spanish literature, rate the following aspects in the excerpt from **1** (the lowest) to **10** (the highest), explaining briefly your choice:

a. Clarity 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? This passage has confused me at some points. It is not clear at some points, maybe because I am not familiar with Spanglish. Or the mix from Spanish to English that way. However, it sounds funny and interesting.

b. Coherence 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? There is coherence but I have to make a lot of effort to read, for example go back and read the sentences again

c. Seriousness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Why? not so serious because it is weird.

7. In your opinion, why the author carried out this translation of "Don Quijote" into Spanglish?
For an experiment. Probably to see how fast our brain can pass from one to another. However, the spanglish used in this passage, I would say is not the appropriate. It sounds confusing, the propositions are not well located.

8. To what extent would you consider Spanglish as a standard language register (for official, professional and academic writing)? Why?
Spanglish is not serious, it is for speaking. I have friends that use it all time but they never write in that way. You never learn that in the school.

Annex 3- Comments in Spanglish from podcast "*Perdón por el espanglish*" listeners

Episode 4 "En el que es Día de Muertos" (Nov 5th, 2019)

Gabs s hace 1 año (editado)
Mi mamá sabe que me encanta el pan de muertos y me trae los que ponen en el altar de la escuela donde trabaja, I'm so sorry Frida Kahlo :(
73 RESPONDER

Kiki tv hace 1 año (editado)
Morí con "limpiate los zapatos y saluda a mi tío" 😂😂😂😂
91 RESPONDER

Eve Lynn hace 1 año
El próximo año las esperamos en Ecuador para el Día de Muertos ♥ Vengan por su colada morada y sus guaguas de pan... y mucho amors por supuesto.
RESPONDER

Anna Ceja hace 1 año
"Regresa" con Jaime Camil, es súuuper bonita🤩
5 RESPONDER

Paola Abundes hace 1 año
duuudes en Korean English man hay un video donde Tom y Benedict salen comiendo Kimbab y estaba en mis Playlist y i didn't knew it
RESPONDER

Episode 25 "En el que respondemos sus preguntas" (March 31st 2020)

Aylen Caceres hace 1 año
I know the jimin thing is a joke pero no puedo evitar sentirme medio sad ... poor baby
RESPONDER

KaryWilkins hace 1 año
I love como Sofi se pone toda Soft cuando habla de Jin xD That's true love!
RESPONDER

Karina morales Hace 1 año
Yo no entiendo muy bien su espanglish pero me hacen reír mucho y me gusta uwu

Jime c hace 1 año

"Aquí todo el mundo suelta inglés" THAT WOULD BE A PARADISE, soy del sur, and people bully me a lot porque hablo mucho en inglés 😔 pero es que tengo casi toooda mi social media en inglés y todo lo que consumo lo consumo en inglés entonces ya me acostumbré 😔

6 RESPONDER

Ocultar 2 respuestas

Daira hace 1 año

I feel you! Todo lo que me rodea está en inglés y a veces imagino que la gente pensará que soy creída but I'm fucking happy this way, letting it out is great I have no one to practice with lmao

2 RESPONDER

Jime c hace 1 año

Daira YESSS they actually think that in my case JAJAJAJ, pero qué puedo hacer, I love spanglish, por eso amo este podcast, no me siento tan fuera de lugar😔

RESPONDER

Angel Lopez hace 1 año

Ay no mamen yo amo su spanglish, me ayuda a practicar el ingles jsjdbf

9 RESPONDER

Mariana Nava hace 5 meses

A la madre mencionaron mi nombre bueno un diminutivo am I with someone? Yo no saber xd quede shocked to the bones 👀😊

Las tkm y gracias for the amazing comeback me alegran mi semana 💖💖✨

RESPONDER

Episode 51 "En el que we were on a break" (October 13th 2020)

Jul Alaguero hace 1 año

Gracias totales por mejorar el audio!! Las adoro bellas. Saludos desde Argentina

RESPONDER

Larita Dorna hace 1 año

Me lo paso superbien con sus videos, y me encanta que expliquéis cosas de la tradición de México para aprender de otros lugares. Me encantaron las calaveritas me recuerda a las cantigas de amigo que nos mandaban hacer en el cole , soy de Galicia (España) 😁😊

3 RESPONDER

Laura Luna hace 1 año

no me he perdido ninguno, amo esto ♡

RESPONDER

Marcela Cabrera hace 11 meses
no entiendo nada de lo que hablan las amo
RESPONDER

Señorita Rainbow hace 5 meses
Arturo ha de estar de que: this is my girlfriend Sofi and this is her girlfriend Fa
170 RESPONDER

Nicole Davalos hace 5 meses (editado)
Las extrañe tanto 😭 WE LOVE U SO MUCH ❤️
Edit 1: Sofi you are so strong, we will support everything that could help U to heal.
Edit 2: Podemos hablar de la hermosa interpretacion que hizo Fa del almendro? I'm soft.
...
Leer más
8 RESPONDER

Dani hace 5 meses (editado)
La funda de mi kindle tiene como diseño El almendro and it got it just because i thought it looked pretty but now estoy enamorada, qué bella historia e interpretación ❤️😐❤️
3 RESPONDER

Karla Navarro hace 5 meses
Petición para que cuando sofi empiece a contar las spooky stories diga "here it ghost"
13 RESPONDER

Malú Carrillo hace 5 meses
Fa: This with Gin
Mi mente: Of courseeee Jin would love to have a Topochico with you, that sounds like a lot of fun
14 RESPONDER

Cultural attachment and sense of identification (from various episodes)

Las tkm y gracias for the amazing comeback me alegran mi semana ❤️❤️✨
RESPONDER

Zoe Ric hace 1 año
Me encanta su podcasts porque la verdad yo quiero que una amistad tan bonita como la suya para que mi amiga me mande flores a la oficina jajajajaja ✨❤️❤️😄😄
86 RESPONDER

China Arellano Ortiz hace 1 año
Las escuché en Spotify pero ver el video es necesario 💙
Las amo, este podcast me da vida
4 RESPONDER

Mily Corbalan hace 10 meses

TRES HORAS! En serio ustedes piensan que vamos a escuchar todo eso?! Pues están en lo correcto! Aquí voy

326 RESPONDER

Bryan Fernandez hace 10 meses

En este episodio de "Perdón por el Espanglish" tenemos: risas, angry phases, philosophy , but most important, chisme

5 RESPONDER

Maria Jose Hernandez Zambrano hace 1 semana

Acababa de leer el tuit de Sofi diciendo que había llorado grabando los dos siguientes podcast, but no creí que fuese tan rápido. We loveu Sofi💔

5 RESPONDER

Macarena Pittau hace 1 semana

Cada vez que veo llorar a Sofi, yo también lloro 😭

Andrea Salazar hace 6 días

Besties, yo soy experta en hacer pastel imposible, pidan y les mando uno hasta los lejanos monterreys <3

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