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Spanglish: A Corpus-based Analysis

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1. INTRODUCTION

If there is a topic so hot nowadays that is capable of uniting the discourses of linguists and those of sociologists in the same debate, besides its importance in the mundane world, is that of Spanglish. The existence of this term has been discussed since it was first coined by Salvador Tió in the twentieth century. Many scholars have followed the premises put forward by this Puerto Rican poet and writer and have carried out research on the matter with the aim of finding a possible denomination to this unknown and uncertain phenomenon. Not only will this be a piece of study in linguistics, but also in cultural studies, given that Spanglish is gaining importance in the ordinary world, as the Latino community is constantly growing in the US since the Hispanic population is present in more states. They are given voice in the media and in certain spaces which they use to denounce the injustices committed against their race and cultural traits. Because of this, Latinos in the US feel more empowered to reject the usage of only-English in their daily lives and, especially those who were born in this country, are embracing their mother tongue, mixing it with the language they are used to hear and read out of their homes, namely, English. Accordingly, the trend that the Latino culture has become nowadays as well as the increase of Latin public figures have given rise to this amalgam.

This study intends to provide a clear definition of Spanglish, considering different postures in the topic, showing the concordances and discrepancies between the authors, and portraying what the characteristics of this hybrid between English and Spanish should be. Its origins, the reasons behind its development and how it affects not only the US, but the whole world will be described. The materialisation of this analysis will be seen in an examination of texts transcribed from a conversation in Spanglish, given that it is a primarily spoken language. This way, the reader may be able to distinguish between an erroneous mix of English and Spanish within the same sentence and its correct usage, uttering therefore Spanglish phrases. Moreover, it might be worth considering the future of this language phenomenon, for it is now defined as a hybrid language, but since it is acquiring more prevalence and even a worldwide status, it might beat Spanish as the second most-spoken language in the US. This is a thought shared by those who consider it a language, since this is such a controversial topic.

The reasons behind the selection of Spanglish as a topic for my Degree Final Dissertation are that, since I am an undergraduate enrolled in a major in English Studies and a minor in Spanish Language and Literatures, I thought that it would be interesting

to deal with a phenomenon that is born from both English and Spanish and is, additionally, becoming widely popular. Moreover, the impact Latin music is having on the whole society stimulated my interest in learning about the topic.

The study is organised as follows. Section 2 deals with what is understood by Spanglish, with its origins and formal features. Section 3 provides information about the speakers of Spanglish and its geographical and political status. Section 4 briefly discusses research that has been carried out on Spanish, and Section 5 provides a pilot study of the linguistic features of Spanglish in real spoken texts.

2. WHAT IS SPANGLISH?

2.1. HOW TO DEFINE SPANGLISH

In order to understand the meaning of a word, the most reliable—and most frequently used—source is a dictionary. Even though there exists an enormously different variety of dictionaries—depending on the academy they belong to, or the scientific or linguistic approach they adopt—, they tend to agree on the definitions they provide. Nonetheless, if there is a term whose sense is uncertain, unsettled, and widely discussed, it clearly is “Spanglish.” The *Merriam Webster Dictionary* defines it as “Spanish marked by numerous borrowings from English; *broadly*: any of various combinations of Spanish and English” (“Spanglish,” n.d.). Contrarily, *Collins* defines the term as “a variety of English heavily influenced by Spanish, commonly spoken in US Hispanic communities” (“Spanglish,” n.d.). On the other hand, *Cambridge Dictionary* considers this notion is a “language that is a combination of Spanish and English” (“Spanglish,” n.d.); more similar to the definition offered by *Lexico* online dictionary as “a hybrid language combining words and idioms from both Spanish and English, especially Spanish speech that uses many English words and expressions” (“Spanglish,” n.d.). Finally, *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989, 105) describes Spanglish as “a type of Spanish contaminated by English words and forms of expression, spoken in Latin America.”

The variety of definitions shown above are a clear representation of the disagreement—or mere ignorance—existing in the different academic institutions about the real meaning of Spanglish. Not to mention the idea presented to common people about the term. Therefore, the first stage to elucidate what this word actually signifies is to grasp the nuances of these definitions and reconsider them so as to find whether they are correct or wrong, and in what proportions.

Puerto Rican writer Salvador Tió is said to be the first person who coined this term in the late 1940s. He named it *espanglish* and it was first meant to be a pejorative expression that explained the deterioration he found the Spanish in Puerto Rico was experiencing due to the heavy influence of the English language in the archipelago after becoming a US territory in 1898, despite Spanish being its official language. It was a response to the people who renounced to their mother tongue in order to learn English and migrate to non-Spanish-speaking countries. He considered it a danger for the Spanish language, which he thought that might disappear if the tendency continued (Lipski 2004, 1). However, the term has evolved, and it does no longer carry this negative connotation. Such has been the evolution of Spanglish that nowadays it is not only uniquely from Puerto Rico; it has expanded to different areas across the US, namely, New Mexico or Florida, as well as other big and crowded cities like New York.

One of the most prolific scholars in the subject is John M. Lipski. He has done extensive research on the topic and has published many articles which have influenced following works examined in this essay. He has upheld that there is no consensus regarding Spanglish and that it is extremely difficult to provide a universal definition of the term. Still, Lipski has defined Spanglish as a mixed language (Casielles-Suárez 2017, 153), for it contains aspects from both English and Spanish in an equal weight, not being one language above the other. This means that it is formed by a great variety of borrowings, loanwords, and it is characterised by language phenomena such as code-switching or code-mixing.

2.2. THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF SPANGLISH

The origins of Spanglish date back to the middle of the nineteenth century. More precisely, to the times when Mexico and the United States started their relationships, and their conflicts arose. The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe, followed by the 1854 Gadsden Purchase, highlights the strained connection between these two territories, as the also called Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits and Settlement between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic established that, because of losing the Mexican-American War, Mexico had to give the United States the territories now known as California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, Kansas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico. As a result, Spanish-speaking people who lived in Mexico suddenly became US citizens, although their mother tongue was still Spanish. Moreover, thanks to these treaties, the

United States owned the Rio Grande, then having the control of the boundaries between these two territories, and, therefore, of the connections between citizens, offering the US the possibility of building a transcontinental railroad. This event increased the mobility between residents from one part of the country to the opposite, thus fostering the contact between English and Spanish, consequently arising the first bilingual communities in the US. This encounter gave rise to the introduction of new vocabulary referring to objects and entities never seen or thought before by the speakers of the other tongue. Examples of it are the words ‘tortilla’, ‘tequila’, or even ‘tomato’ in English. Accordingly, Mexican Spanish added the words *dólar* (dollar), *nicle* (nickel), or *troca* (truck) (Villa 2014, 391-392).

However, this was not the only occasion for Spanish to spread around the US. Half a century later, the Mexican Revolution erupted and people living in the Mexican frontiers moved to the north to be safer. Furthermore, during the Second World War Mexican laborers were permitted to enter the US as workforce, for the country needed new soldiers; and most of them remained there being the war already over. Likewise, these laborers have been hitherto needed, especially in physical jobs. Hence, there has been an expansion of the Spanish-speaking communities all along the US, not being located solely in the southwest.

It is worth highlighting that the Spanish influence does not only come from Mexico, but from other regions, such as Puerto Rico. The key date is 1898, when the annexation of this land to the US took place. After winning the war against Spain, Puerto Rico became part of the United States. Thus, Puerto Ricans were able to move to and around the States freely, and most remained in the country and established themselves in Florida, which is the nearest state to Puerto Rico and is casually located in the east of the country. Therefore, the addition of this archipelago to the United States motivated the expansion as well of the Spanish language all around the country.

Since Spanglish is mainly considered a linguistic phenomenon, some scholars have addressed it as a street dialect. One of them is Roger Hernández, who explains that it has no more transcendancy whatsoever apart from being spoken in the streets, as it cannot be used in formal situations, such as a job interview or a university class. Therefore, according to Hernández, it cannot be given a high linguistic status. Nevertheless, its usage is nowadays quite common in the media—the most reliable means to analyse what kind of vocabulary is the order of the day, especially among young speakers. Angelica Guerra

Avalos agrees with Hernández in the impossibility of academically characterising Spanglish as a language, for its nature is conversational and it originated in the streets. Accordingly, Spanglish has been described as a hybrid of English and Spanish, or even as “more of a continuum of the mix” (Križanec Rodica 2009, 4) between these two tongues.

It is quite usual for non-native speakers of Spanish to confuse Spanglish with the Spanish spoken in the United States. As a matter of fact, this confusion is understandable, since the former is predominantly used by bilinguals living in the US. Nevertheless, Spanglish and Spanish are not equal, since as Križanec Rodica (2009, 5) argues:

the speech of a fully bilingual Spanish/English speaker in the USA who switches between Spanish and English phrases spontaneously in the middle of the sentence is very different from the speech of a Spanish monolingual in Puerto Rico who uses many words and expressions that come from English.

Therefore, a language can have multifarious varieties depending on their origins, roots, culture, and influences, which have their effects when speakers migrate as well. Hence, the Spanish spoken by a Mexican is completely different from the one spoken by an Argentinian, a Colombian, or a Puerto Rican; and this has its repercussion when moving to another countries, because the (ex-)inhabitants of a place tend to gather with others with whom they share origin or customs. Because of this, they continue speaking the language they have been using in their lives. This is why the Spanish spoken in the US, more than a variety itself, is a range of them. These varieties have their own vocabulary, their own distinctive aspects of grammar, as well as their own characteristic pronunciation. However, they must add the extremely frequent inclusion of English words in their speech. Lipski (2008, 68) analyses the distinctive aspects between Spanish and Spanglish and describes this situation in his book *Varieties of Spanish in the United States*, where he states that

no variety of Spanish that has absorbed a high number of lexical Anglicisms is any less Spanish than before [...] Knowing how to switch languages does not constitute knowing a third language [...] In the world as we know it, Spanish and English will remain separate and distinct, although they will borrow and lend from each other whenever and wherever they come into contact.

What happens with Spanglish then is that it is the resource speakers from the Latino community who do not identify themselves with neither English nor Spanish use to communicate in their daily lives. It is predominantly used by second-generation immigrants, those who have lived in the US most of their lives. Therefore, as Casielles-

Suárez (2017, 157) explains, “from this perspective, it might not be fair to expect Latinos to behave like Anglo Americans when they speak English and Latin Americans when they speak Spanish.” For most of them, Spanglish is more an act of revindication rather than just a mere language or language phenomenon. That “many Latinos think that Spanglish is the best term to represent what they speak and who they are” (2017, 157) is a paramount factor to understand the background behind this phenomenon, and how important history is in the development and treatment of languages.

2.3. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SPANGLISH

It has just been mentioned that Spanglish contains its own language phenomena that makes it have its own identity, rather than being a mixture of Spanish and English. Because of this, it has been first considered it could be a pidgin; namely, a primitive language that is used as a means of communication between speakers with different mother tongues. This argument can explain its origin. Nonetheless, Spanglish cannot be considered a pidgin, because, as it has been discussed in the last section, most users are bilingual (Križanec Rodica 2009, 3) and, in one way or another, native speakers of Spanglish. According to this, it could be argued that it is a creole; that is, the evolution of a pidgin, or a pidgin that has become the native language of its second-generation speakers. However, as argued by Križanec Rodica (2009, 3)

a small number of Spanglish speakers fall under this category since they cannot use English or Spanish, because they have a lack of training, but most Spanglish speakers are fluent in both English and Spanish, and are actually bilingual, so we cannot generalize that Spanglish is a Creole.

Some scholars have introduced the notion of ‘interlanguage’ to talk about Spanglish. Alfredo Ardila (2005, 64) explains that Spanglish consists of the result of two languages coming in close contact. However, making a meticulous consideration of this definition, it implies that the user of an interlanguage must be an L2 learner, since its main aim is to accept the learners’ errors and lapsus as something valid and as a positive aspect of the learning process. On that account, in Leah Mernaugh’s words (2017, 11), “to categorise Spanglish as an interlanguage is not only linguistically inaccurate, but also failure to acknowledge its social function,” for it has been said that Spanglish users are not learning it, as they are primarily native speakers of the language or, at least, of English and/or Spanish. Additionally, considering Spanglish an interlanguage may also invalidate the social factor of Spanglish being a sign of cultural identity and Latino representation.

With regards to this topic, Spanglish should not be considered a new language itself. Some have stated it may be a dialect—not only a street dialect, as Roger Hernández (2000) categorised it. Nonetheless, this attempt is quite pretentious. Spanglish derives from—or is said to be the mixture of—two different languages: English and Spanish, having each one its own status. Furthermore, Lipski (2004,18) states that “regional and social dialects of US Spanish continue to exist, representing the dialects of the countries of origin as well as the results of dialect-levelling in some urban areas.” From this statement, it can be inferred that Spanglish may be used in different forms, depending on the regional variety (of Spanish or English) a speaker may be using, and consequently, Spanglish might have its own varieties. Lipski (2004,18) further states that “neither the amount of Anglicisms nor the use of code-switching varies regionally or socially in correlation with US Spanish regional and social dialects.” Here he makes a clarification of his previous quote, where he explains that there are, notwithstanding, some patterns that almost every Spanglish user follows and gives it its own identity, so it is wrong to speak about ‘dialects’ of Spanglish even though its speakers might use a ‘dialect’ of the two tongues from which it derives. Then, focusing on the main question—if it is a dialect itself—it can also be said that it is not, indeed. As previously mentioned, it does not have a clear structure, since its users may have diverse origins, and the nature of a dialect is precisely that it starts by being spoken in a certain area and evolves with time into a dialect that can even become a proper language itself. However, because of the constant immigration of monolingual Spanish-speakers into the US that move to Spanglish after years of living in the country, “or as a result of being exposed to both languages since birth” (Ardila 2005, 78), Spanglish will not always be equal, and spontaneity is such a paramount characteristic of this language phenomenon in terms of the creation and addition of multifarious structures. For this reason, Spanglish cannot be considered a dialect, because there is not a common core which rules its usage.

In line with Lipski (2004), Mernaugh (2017, 14) argues that “Spanglish is no more than a set of borrowings, loans, and instances of fluent and rule-governed code-switching.” This last feature is quite common in Spanglish, given that it considers that speakers are bilingual, and their speech acts are built following the grammatical and lexical rules of English and Spanish. Code-switching occurs when someone is using a language and suddenly alternates and changes the language being used. An example showing this may be “Yo no estoy de acuerdo con eso. But, anyhow, I think I will try

again to get it.” Although it seems a spontaneous action, Spanglish speakers must follow some rules in order to use it correctly. For instance, according to Ardila (2005), the most common cases in which code-switching is produced happen when the anticipated presence of a proper noun in the other language can trigger a switch prior to the actual insertion of the L2 proper noun, especially between a main clause and a subordinate clause introduced by a relative pronoun or a complementizer; not to mention the presence of a coordinating conjunction (*y, o, pero, aunque*, etc.)—one of the main resources to continue the sentence in other language. By contrast, under no circumstance is code-switching permitted between a pronominal subject and a predicate, e.g., “*She viene mañana”; between a pronominal clitic and the verb, e.g., “*I’m bien”; between a sentence-initial interrogative word and the remainder of the sentence, e.g., “*Where está tu padre?”; between an auxiliary verb and the main verb “*Where have you estado todo este tiempo?”; and, accordingly, adverbs of negation are normally in the same language as the verbs they modify, e.g., “I will not go to the beach with you,” “*I will no go to the beach with you,” “*Yo not iré a la playa contigo” (Mernaugh 2017, 22). It is worth mentioning that this phenomenon is most likely to be used by Spanish-native speakers, for they well understand English, whereas English speakers rarely understand Spanish. Nonetheless, along with code-switching we can find code-mixing as a useful tool for speakers. Rather than being present at the end of sentences, code-mixing happens within the same sentence; an example of it being “¿Piensas que mañana we could go to the beach after returning from la casa de mi abuelita?” (Ardila 2005, 70). The difference is that, in Križanec Rodica’s (2009, 2) words, “code-mixing takes place when a speaker uses small components of one language while primarily speaking another.” This means that, despite being bilingual and using both languages, in every speaker’s mind one language prevails over the other. Because of historical reasons, the predominant one tends to be Spanish. The example above exemplifies this, as the most meaningful words of the sentence are uttered in Spanish. The speaker uses this language precisely at the beginning of the sentence as well as at the end, after a clause in English; specially to mention a relative. Another example of code-mixing can be “Dijo mi mamá que I have to study” (Križanec Rodica 2009, 2), where the speaker uses again Spanish at the beginning of the sentence—a clear mark that this person’s mind works in this language—as well as for mentioning a loved member of their family. Then, Spanglish is undeniably characterised by the usage of code-switching and code-mixing.

It is truly important to highlight that all these changes and introductions in language follow the Equivalence Constraint, which asserts that these phenomena can only happen if the changes are acceptable according to the structural constraints of the language. In other words, “code-switching between English and Spanish typically happens only where the grammatical structures of the two languages are similar enough to allow simple transfer” (Mernaugh 2009, 25).

Along with code-switching and mixing, some Spanglish words tend to be borrowings or loanwords, mainly from English into Spanish. This vocabulary is introduced from one language into the other, in most cases being adapted following the lexical rules of the target language trying to maintain the phonological sound of the original word as far as possible. Accordingly, some of these English words in Spanglish, as Ardila (2005, 69) states, modify their Spanish meaning in favour of the English one. Ardila provides the example of the word *pretender*, which derives from the English ‘pretend’, whose Spanish meaning is ‘to want to be’, but in Spanglish is understood with the English meaning ‘to intend’. Another case is *actualmente*, which in Spanish signifies ‘currently,’ but in English, and consequently, in Spanglish, ‘in reality.’ Some other examples include *plano*, from the English ‘plain’ (basic, unadorned), but Spanish ‘flat’. Also, the word *regular* does not derive its orthography in any of the aforementioned languages, but it changes the meaning from the Spanish ‘uniform or average,’ into the English ‘fair.’ Casielles-Suárez cites Sánchez and adds some other loanwords such as “troca,” referring to Spanish *camión*, from English ‘truck,’ or “yarda” (from English ‘yard’), referring to Spanish *patio* (2017, 151). Other common loanwords include “telefonar,” which means ‘to call using a telephone,’ or “lunchar,” ‘to eat lunch’; as well as “parquear,” ‘to park’; or “hanguear,” ‘to hang out.’ Sometimes, they are called ‘derivational blends,’ for they normally tend to derive from the English root to be added to a Spanish affix; these last examples are a great example, as they all have developed into verbs belonging to the first conjugation—the most likely to form calques and loanwords. Again, we can use Mernaugh’s (2009, 15) words to clarify this aspect, since she upheld that “the adoption of English loanwords changes the words to conform to not only the phonological patterns of Spanish, but also the morphological structures.”

According to this, it is worth mentioning that there is a phenomenon that is halfway between being a borrowing and an act of code-mixing. Sometimes when speaking in Spanish, speakers add two or more English words with a syntagmatic relationship often

said as a whole inside their Spanish discourse; normally at the end of the sentences, as shown above. Some examples are the tag question “don’t you think so?” or the highly used basic expression “give me” (Ardila 2005, 69).

Another characteristic feature of Spanglish is the presence of calques. They are loan translations, that is, literal translations of expressions from one language into the other. In Spanglish this happens most often with idioms or collocations. They are word-to-word translated from English even though there may exist a synonym in Spanish, and they do not normally follow Standard Spanish semantic and syntactic rules. Considering Ardila’s (2005) exemplification of Spanglish features, the most popular calqued expressions are those formed by a verb followed by the preposition ‘back.’ The most representative case is “llamar para atrás/ patrás” (‘to call back’ in English), or—with the same structure—“pagar para atrás/ patrás” (‘to pay back’). The Spanish equivalent of these phrases are *llamar de vuelta* and *pagar de vuelta*, respectively. Another example of a literal calque is “tener buen tiempo,” translated from the English ‘to have a good time,’ which in Spanish is translated as the expression *pasarlo bien*. The conversational phrase ‘it’s up to you’ has also its calque in Spanglish as “está p’arriba de ti.” More specifically, this last collocation has an especially different correspondence in Spanish for in this language its meaning is portrayed with an expression formed by different words that do not exactly follow the syntactic construction of the English language. The Spanish translation would be *es tu decision* (‘it’s your decision,’ literally). Hence, it could be said that this phenomenon is exceptionally important in Spanglish, given that it evidences how important the geopolitical situation is in terms of the usage of vocabulary and the addition of expressions. For instance, for a bilingual English and Spanish speaker who mostly uses Spanglish, because of living in the US, it is easier for them to rely on calques which are literal translations rather than diving themselves into the depths of the Spanish language. This is a clear reflection of how economy of language shapes our discourses.

2.3.1. THE FORMATION OF THE VOCABULARY OF SPANGLISH

The continuous evolution of Spanglish as well as its hybridity are key factors that help develop its own vocabulary according to different processes. To explain this, we will follow Ardila (2005) from which all examples in this section have been taken. Ardila (2005, 71) states that these constructions are primarily built following the organisation of Spanish. The resulting terms include hybrid words, such as “escortar”; the anglicisation of

Spanish words that produce terms like “bilingüismo” or “población”; as well as literal translations from English whose meaning is completely dissimilar from the one in Peninsular Spanish, for instance “oficina de los doctores.” Sometimes ‘spanishation’ happens when a Spanish word is used to refer to an English meaning, such as “ganga” meaning ‘gang’ in English, but *pandilla* in Spanish (the word *ganga* exists in Spanish, being the equivalent of ‘bargain’). Something similar occurs with terms that are translated or substituted by phonological similarity and semantic closeness with English, an example being “librería,” since the resulting word exists in Spanish but with a different meaning (it means ‘bookstore’ in this language), given that the Spanglish term preserves the meaning of the original English word (‘library’ in this case).

Along with these semantic phenomena, grammatical oddities can be highlighted. Some have slight changes whereas others modify the whole construction of Spanish. One of these characteristics is the replacement of the Spanish preposition with the one having the English meaning, e.g., “esperar por mi esposa.” Likewise, sometimes a verb is followed by a preposition that is not required—not to say erroneous—in Spanish, such as “para comenzar con.” The same happens with the logical order of constituents in the sentence; Spanglish noun-adjective order resembles the English, since it is more common to say “dispersas lluvias” rather than *lluvias dispersas* that would be said in Spanish, for it follows the characteristic adjective-noun order from English (‘scattered showers’). A peculiar feature of this phenomenon is that Spanglish contains lexical borrowings from English, like “pin” (Spanish *alfiler*) to which Spanish affixes are added; for instance, a diminutive suffix to form “pincito” (which would be ‘a little pin’, or in Spanish, *alfilercito*). In these borrowings their number or gender are often modified, being *la data* an example of it. In terms of verbal usage, Spanglish tends to follow the grammatical rules of English despite having a bigger presence of Spanish vocabulary. As a result, the translation or meaning of Spanglish verbal forms do not often correspond with their supposed equivalent in Spanish; an example of this phenomenon being the reflexive-passive sentence “ese avión está supuesto a llegar a las 3 PM.” Indeed, this construction sounds more English than Spanish, for this kind of sentences in the latter requires the presence of a reflexive pronoun in order to make it passive without the verb ‘to be’ (*ese avión se supone que llega a las 3 PM*), whereas in the former tongue the sentence is built literally like the Spanglish version (‘that plane is supposed to arrive at 3 PM’).

Having mentioned pronouns, it is important to highlight that, whereas in Spanish personal pronouns tend to be omitted, in Spanglish they always appear at the beginning of every sentence—like in English, i.e., “yo he estado pensando.” The influence of English is also present in the utterance of numbers, since in Spanish they are normally said and read as a whole or clustered when they are part of a big sequence; in Spanglish, nonetheless, they are spelled like in English: one-by-one or by pairs, namely, in page or telephone numbers, and even in dates. Finally, another manifestation of the considerable influence of English towards Spanglish is that Spanish exclusive letter ‘ñ’ has little or no presence in Spanglish, for instance the family name *Peña* would be said “Pena.”

3. WHO SPEAKS IT AND WHY

It has been previously mentioned that the emergence of Spanglish primarily happened in the northern-American continent because of the incorporation into the US of new territories that belonged to Spain as well as of the population that lived in the former areas and spoke their own language—which was precisely Spanish. Moreover, immigration movements that happened in the following years, and are still happening, are another crucial factor in the development of this language phenomenon. Nonetheless, the analysis of Spanglish is such an interesting and complex topic that it requires a more detailed explanation, since there are numerous reasons that explain its origins and serve as a tool to understand its current influence, and how Spanglish has been shaped into what it is today.

3.1. GEOGRAPHICAL REASONS

Even though the term Spanglish was not coined until the twentieth century, the language could be said to be born in the nineteenth century. As explained in section 2.2, it is thanks to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed after Mexico’s surrender, that nine territories were added to the United States. As a result, as Daniel J. Villa (2014, 391) explains, “Mexican citizens who remained in the new US lands automatically became US citizens, so a whole group of Spanish speakers was added to the US population.” Thus, whereas the rest of the country was fully inhabited by English-speaking population, the Southwest of the US was starting to be occupied by citizens whose first language was Spanish. These were the first contacts between Spanish and English in the country, and “bilingual communities came into creation” (Villa 2014, 391) because “new settlers began to learn Spanish, and the former Mexican citizens started to learn English” (Villa

2014, 391) in order to facilitate communication between them. Therefore, some concepts were introduced in both languages since immigration—either voluntary or forced, as in most cases—not only carried physical mobility but also the insertion of their cultural values into their new homeland.

Another turning point is the Mexican Revolution in 1910, for it compelled southwesterners to move to the northern parts of the country so as to avoid the conflictive environment in which they were involved. These people remained there with time, as there were jobs predominantly done by Mexicans (or Hispanic inhabitants), such as those which required manual labour. Because of this, every state had Spanish-speaking communities among their citizenries. Hence, it was not a rare experience to see inhabitants from New Mexico, Miami, or Texas to Florida or New York using both languages, and even mixing them, in their discourses. The Hispanic population of these states increased with the annexation of Puerto Rico to the US. This archipelago was a Spanish colony until the year 1898. Therefore, Puerto Ricans' mother tongue was Spanish. This resulted again in an increase of the Spanish-speaking population in the country, since Puerto Ricans became US citizens who were able to travel freely between the islands and the rest of the country (Villa 2014, 392). Because of proximity, they usually moved to Florida and nearby eastern states.

It can be concluded then that the convergence of English and Spanish in the US began in the states located in the South and the West, but since then it spread throughout the country until being present in virtually every state. However, the density of the Latino population is not the same in the whole country. According to research carried out by the Joint Economic Committee (JEC) in 2019, the Latino community has increased during the years until reaching 59 million of Hispanics living in the US in 2018. Nowadays, there may be more since the tendency has continued. Hispanics constitute then “the second largest ethno-racial group in the country” (JEC 2019, 5), being the main places of origin Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Dominican Republic, and San Salvador (JEC 2019, 5)

It is worth considering that, despite this increase, the Latino population is still located in specific areas of the country, given that

more than half of all Latinos live in just five states: California (26 percent), Texas (19 percent), Florida (9 percent), New York (6 percent) and Arizona (4 percent). These states also have a high share of Latinos based on the state population. In New Mexico, Texas, California, Arizona and Nevada, more than 30 percent of the population is Latino (45, 39, 39, 35 and 30 percent, respectively). In New York and Florida, Latinos comprise 17 and 26 percent of the population in each state. Other states with a high share of

Latinos include Rhode Island and Connecticut (18 and 16 percent, respectively). These states, in addition to Pennsylvania and Georgia, all have more than a million Latino residents (JEC 2019,8).

In other words, the Latino population is barely present in the central states. This happens indeed because of the possibilities for good communication between the US and their countries of origin and the proximity to the barriers. Furthermore, it is no coincidence that most of these states are contiguous to each other since this facilitates state-to-state migration due to family or work reasons. Likewise, these areas correspond to the most urban and metropolitan areas, while the northern and central states are mainly rural. In fact, “more than 90 percent of all Hispanics live in metropolitan areas” (JEC 2019, 1), where most workforce is needed. However, with the passage of time, migration tendencies are changing and nowadays, “the states with the fastest growth include states with relatively low Hispanic populations outside the South, including North Dakota (135 percent), South Dakota (75 percent), the District of Columbia (57 percent), Montana (55 percent) and New Hampshire (50 percent)” (JEC 2019, 9) because these rural places are now searching for cheap workforce, a labour sector increasingly present in the north and the hinterland of the US.

Along with the constant flow of Hispanic population across the country, language is permanently travelling. Therefore, in the territories with higher percentages of Latino population, English and Spanish have almost the same presence. This was the most crucial factor in the emergence of Spanglish. Accordingly, when Spanish-speaking population started to build their lives in the eastern states, they also brought with them the language. Hence, the intermingling of English and Spanish was frequent as well (not with the same intensity), so the appearance of Spanglish in these places was imminent. Likewise, the constant mobility of these people contributed to the expansion of Spanglish across the country. This way, this hybrid language could start a process of standardisation, so the Spanglish spoken in New York could be similar to the one used by Texans. Moreover, during the last years, it was practically spoken in every state thanks to the increase of the Hispanic population in northern states. Nonetheless, the density of speakers is tremendously different from one place to another; in the southern and southwestern states Spanglish is spoken by a tremendously high percentage of the population, while in the others, the amount of speakers, although being rising, is quite lower. In Texas, Spanglish is mostly the vehicular language whereas in North Dakota it may sound completely unfamiliar to a local. All in all, it can be concluded that Spanglish is present in the totality

of the US, but its development follows the course of history and of migrancy tendencies and, at this moment, it has a bigger presence in the states near South America and in those where the Latino communities are more prominent.

3.2. SOCIOPOLITICAL REASONS

The fact that Spanglish is spoken primarily by Latinos, and in certain specific areas of the country, is paramount to understand how it is perceived by only-English-speaking Americans. In “The evolving interface of U. S. Spanish: language mixing as hybrid vigor” (2007), Lispki (2007, 19) states that

in the usual circumstances, Spanglish is used derogatorily, to marginalize US Latino speakers and to create the impression—not supported by objective research—that varieties of Spanish used in or transplanted to the United States become so hopelessly entangled with English as to constitute a “third language” substantially different from Spanish and English

It is therefore evident that these communities are marginalised not only geographically or in terms of work, but also linguistically. Spanglish has not a standard definition and it is tremendously hard to grasp its meaning unless carrying out a thorough investigation. Yet, there is still some controversy behind its definition. It is common knowledge that Spanglish is a hybrid language that comes from Spanish and English. This is one of the reasons why Spanglish speakers are rejected since they are children. Due to the enormous—and growing—presence of Spanish speakers in the US, the latter has become the most spoken second language in the country. The transcendentalism this language has and is increasingly acquiring in the US makes it obvious that Spanish must be taught in schools as a foreign language. A positive aspect to achieve this is the creation of an Academy that regulates the usage of the language as well as gives it a standard status. Mariela Andrade (2019) agrees with this and upholds that “classrooms are an essential part of keeping the standard version in use” (2019, 21) and, because of this, “Spanglish has no place in it” (2019, 21). This means that in the classrooms, Spanglish is scarcely recognised, not to say unrecognised. Likewise, there is a sector in the Hispano community that has been born in the US and, for this reason, is more accustomed to seeing and hearing both English and Spanish at home and outside, and it is very common that these students would use their own variety of the language, and, as a result, they might even speak in Spanglish. Unfortunately, “it is not uncommon for people to refer in pejorative ways to the dialects of a language. For this reason, students could be treated as inferior for not using standard varieties or even for using accents and other variations”

(Andrade 2019, 24). Thus, Spanglish-speakers are not only marginalised because of their race or the place of origin of their ancestors, but also for the language they currently speak.

To understand the level of marginalisation speakers of Spanglish are subjected to, it is important to know that the whole Hispano community has been suffering from racism and xenophobia since the moment their territories were annexed to the US. Consequently, Spanish has been as well marginalised. It is important to remember that the language entered in the country because it was the language spoken by the residents of the territories that now conform the south-western states of the US. In Lipski's (2007, 23) words, it is well explained that Mexicans were undervalued by Anglo-Americans, and so their language as well as their ability to acquire English, since they were even thought to unlearn their own language with time. Spanish-speaking immigrants have been portrayed in the American imaginary as illiterate people and have been treated as such, being relegated to perform uniquely physical jobs whereas the Academy and the higher positions in firms were places for Anglo-Americans. In fact, according to data provided by the US Joint Economic Committee (2019, 12) "the Hispanic unemployment rate remains above the national rate," even though it is declining with time. This decline is due to the incipient rise of birth rates in the Latino community that, along with the massive immigration, internal migration, and the annexation of new states, such as Puerto Rico, have led to the scattering of Hispanics to urban centres. This new wave of Latinos arriving in the US has a special impact in the economic life of both their island of origin and the states where they travel the most, i.e., New York; and thanks to these intercultural changes,

there has arisen a hybrid variety of language, often given the slightly derogatory label of Spanglish, which coexists with less mixed forms of standard English and standard Spanish and has at least one of the characteristics of an autonomous language: a substantial number of native speakers (Nash 1970, cited in Lipski 2007, 25)

Spanglish has undergone different stages until becoming the phenomenon it is now in the US. "The sad reality is that Spanglish is primarily the language of poor Hispanics, many barely literate in either language" (González Echevarría 1997, 29, cited in Lipski 2007, 23), since they are thought to "incorporate English words and constructions into their daily speech because they lack the vocabulary and education to adapt to the changing culture around them" (Lipski 2004, 4). At first, some Latinos, especially those considered "educated" (Andrade 2019, 22) rejected Spanglish, and even Spanish, in favour of

English, for they felt that by using the official and most important language of the country they would not feel “embarrassed” or marginalised anymore, and instead, they would feel more “empowered” and accepted by the Anglo-Americans. Therefore, those early immigrants whose mother tongue was Spanish did not speak the latter language, at least in a public environment, for they were impoverished, and they felt they needed to be assimilated to their fellow citizens in order not to be scorned.

Nonetheless, the conditions under which they lived as well as their traditions meant high rates of birth and, therefore, there was a second generation of Latinos in the country: those born in the US and whose parents were immigrants. These people used to speak Spanish at home and, due to the diversity of their families, they used to gather and talk in Spanish. This way, the number of Spanish-speaking inhabitants in the US increased, especially in the areas with higher presence of Hispanics, namely the Southwest and urban areas of the Northeast, where they “created communities of practice” (Andrade 2019, 19), given that the word “Hispanic,” more that refer to an ethnicity, it is “a political term which at its centre includes a myriad of Spanish-speaking cultures that have different ways of enacting Spanish” (Andrade 2019, 19). Because of this increase, levels of Hispanophobia rose given that, in a country whose “mainstream language is English” (Andrade 2019, 20), “there is a big portion of the population that account for Spanish as their first language” (Andrade 2019, 20), and those who were the “norm” felt threatened by this new population. Likewise, Latinos continued feeling rejected, and even though they were growing in population, some were still mixing the Spanish and the English language. This practice was done especially by young people, who were native Spanish speakers born in an English-speaking country, so they were used to speaking in both languages and, because of this, English words and phrases with which they were more comfortable started to be introduced in their utterances.

This generation has reproduced and has given rise to the so-called ‘Third-generation Latinos.’ These are new-borns whose parents were Hispanics born in the US. Hence, they are bilingual in both languages, since at home they tend to communicate in Spanish with their grandparents and with their progenitors in a hybrid of English and Spanish with which both generations express themselves the better: Spanglish. Thus, it can be said that this third generation are native speakers of Spanglish. This is clarified by Lipski (2007), by saying that “although Spanglish has at times been used to refer to a wide variety of phenomena, in the vast majority of instances Spanglish targets the language usage of

Latinos born in or residing in the United States” (Lipski 2007, 19). This could be the literal definition.

Despite this objective definition, it could have been seen all throughout this thesis that ideologies have a lot to say in the depiction of this language phenomenon. Numerous authors have spoken about it and have agreed that it has been historically described as a language used by illiterates or by not-fully-American people. Hence, Lipski (2007) again stated that it meant “a capitulation,” since it indicated “marginalization, not enfranchisement” (Lipski 2007, 23). This is a view shared by many scholars and sociologists who have studied the demographics of Latinos in the United States and the behaviour of the American society as regards them.

However, with the passage of time and the empowerment of this community in the US, as well as their appreciation all across the globe, a wave of revaluation and reappraisal of their own roots has been produced, and “some US Latino political and social activists have even adopted Spanglish as a positive affirmation of ethnolinguistic identity” (Lipski 2007, 20). According to the statistics provided by the US Joint Economic Committee (2019, 7), Latinos are over-represented in younger age groups, while in the older ones, they are under-represented. This is another reason for the development of Spanglish and, in some way, the substitution of Spanglish towards Spanish, since these younger people have been surrounded by English and Spanish and it is easier for them to communicate using a hybrid of both. They use the English language to be understood by Anglos, and Spanish to reconnect with their roots. This third (and increasingly fourth) generation of Latinos might be thought to be prouder of their ancestors than their previous one, or it might be said either that they are not afraid anymore to show who they are, and Spanglish is just “a resource for self-construction of a Latino identity that is enacted by many representations, of which language is only one more” (Andrade 2019, 20) along with clothing, food, music, art, and even naming. Indeed, so important is for them where they come from that this generation is braver than ever to denounce the injustices that are committed against their origins, and thanks to them we can now understand terms such as ‘cultural appropriation’. This term has become mainstream because, due to the glorification Hispanics and Latinos practice in their daily lives, their culture is becoming trendy and even Anglo-Americans are embracing it and, sometimes, they blur the Latino identity and anglicise it. This is something this community completely rejects, since they feel Anglos are stealing something that belongs to them and that has been silent for a long

time. This is why Spanglish is now more present than ever in the United States; and even those who at first considered that mixing English and Spanish was a sign of illiteracy, are now embracing this hybrid language, as it creates a sense of community between speakers of Spanglish, given that, even though they may come from diverse and different countries, and they might be living in different states, the usage of this language serves as a mark of identity and siblinghood among this enormous community. Andrade (2019, 22) explains it with these words:

Language is one powerful resource for identity construction, and many times the use of Spanglish is not denoting a lack of education: instead, many educated Spanish speakers deliberately choose this non-standard variety because it means integration into the Hispanic community

4. PREVIOUS STUDIES ON SPANGLISH

Despite the somewhat early nature of this phenomenon, several scholars have studied Spanglish thoroughly in order to establish a precise definition of it. This hybrid language has been mainly considered an oral language, due to the characteristics of its users, who have been treated as illiterate for many years, and it has also been out of schools since it has not been officialised or given the status of an actual language yet. Nonetheless, in some of their works, some scholars have included parts where Spanish and English are mixed or have even been written in Spanglish and produced full-Spanglish pieces of literature. Hence, literature is one of the most important means in which a language can develop and be transmitted to the public and further generations, since the vocabulary and the grammar used by the general population is present there. Indeed, the revisiting and the examination of literary works is what have made us understand the evolution of English, Spanish, and virtually every language, until becoming what they are today. In fact, if someone reads now works like *Beowulf*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Harry Potter* independently, they might think they are written in three completely different languages, when, notwithstanding, the language used in the three books is the same, but in different spans of time; and time obviously affects the words, constructions, and even the pronunciation of a given language. This is something that is likely to happen with Spanglish as well. Therefore, scholars are sure that, in order to understand the peculiarities of this linguistic phenomenon and to identify the features most commonly appreciated by its speakers, analysing how writers use Spanglish is undoubtedly required.

What those writers have in common is that they spend most of their active lives being not only writers or producers, but they also have a role in activism and their works are enormously influential in Latin culture because the lives of most of their readers are perfectly portrayed in their works, since the sentiments of alienation, homesickness, and non-belonging are a nexus that unites almost every Latino living far from their hometowns—in this case, in the US. Some of the biggest names include Gloria Anzaldúa, Julia Alvarez, and Dolores Prida, to mention a few.

Molly Cimikoski (2014) is one of the scholars that relied on a literary corpus in order to provide a thorough definition of Spanglish. She paid special attention to Julia Alvarez's novel *In the Time of the Butterflies* (1994). In the paragraphs she analyses, she remarks the 'spanglisation' in the names of the characters; since Jaime is called "Jaimito" instead of his real name, because "in Spanish the *-ito* or *-ita* ending is used to display smallness and/or affection" (2014, 4). She also uses Spanish to express epithets or forms of address, such as "Doña," which is uttered to show respect, as well as familiarity with the mentioned woman (2014, 4). Some important characteristics of the characters are written in Spanish too, like "Miss Sonrisa" or the word "macho," which are used to describe a highly positive and remarkable feature of Dedé and a negative attribute of Jaime; with this usage of the language, Alvarez makes a contrast between the Latin and the mainstream culture, given that "this [being a *macho*] was generally considered to be a positive attribute in Latin American culture during this era, a theme that reoccurs frequently in Latin American literature" (2014, 4-5). In the next sample she analyses, "Spanglish is used to imply Latin American-specific cultural niceties" (2014, 5), since the characters use words that imply closeness or emotional attachment, with words or phrases like "compadre" or "un abrazo." Not only the usage of Spanish is related to positive things, but it also "brings the reader closer to relate directly to Patria during her time of suffering" (2014, 6). In the last paragraph she studies, the diminutive *-ito* appears again, "perhaps to showcase the singular source of comfort for Patria in this desperate time, her husband Pedro" (2014, 7). In Alvarez's work it is clear that the inclusion of Spanish words within an English discourse serves to reinforce the inner feelings of the speaker, who feels more comfortable using this language rather than English, since the former connects them with their roots.

Cimikoski (2014) also studies the art of the Panamanian Cristina Henríquez. In the short stories of her book *Come Together, Fall Apart: A Novella and Stories* (2006), this

author mixes English with Spanish in order to provide a “sociolinguistic undertone” (2014, 7) in her work, given that the story is set in Panama, and it also reflects the cultural situation of the family Henríquez is portraying. Another story is analysed, which not only alternates English and Spanish, but it also includes the “not-quite-English” (2014, 8) of the main character’s grandmother when both try to communicate. This usage of English is very common among first-generation Latinos, since they had to learn English at an advanced age and their way of learning it was mostly by listening to it, and, therefore, they tried to assimilate the way English-speakers talked but the result was not successful, in many occasions, and the words they uttered were not correct, although their sounding was similar; an example of it is “*oransh joose.*” Cimikoski (2014, 8-9) concludes the analysis of this excerpt upholding that

by writing the phonetic spellings of the grandmother’s experimentation with English, the reader can almost “hear” the conversation, as it would have naturally existed. Of all the examples of Spanglish referenced here, this one is exclusive in that there is an implied lack of comprehension amid the code-switching. One way in which Henríquez supplements the fraught communication is by including physical indicators of expression (i.e., the grandmother making a squeezing motion with her hands)

In the same paper, Cimikoski (2014) furthers her study by analysing the work of the Dominican writer Junot Díaz. She examines Díaz’s text describing the dictatorship of Trujillo, where the Spanish terms are implied to define the autocrat in pejorative ways. “Thus, the symbolism driven from Diaz’ use of Spanish in this context is crucial in that no other language or word could so specifically describe the experience of the Dominican people as well as their native tongue” (2014, 11). Likewise, Cimikokski (2014) analyses another work of this very same writer: *Drown* (1996), where he makes use of code-switching to express commands and the inner feelings of the main character in an internal monologue. Likewise, the repetition of pronouns is a familiar thing in English but rare in Spanish, and in this text the pronoun “you” is heavily repeated “for the reader’s benefit, to better understand the implications in the relationship between mother and daughter, because Beli [the protagonist of this story] does not speak English” (2014, 12). This is a common feature among Spanglish users that is even performed when they utter the pronouns in Spanglish; the subject is always present in the sentence, in very few occasions will it appear ellipted. In a third text, taken from the short-stories book *Drown*, Spanish words primarily refer to locations and to words related to family and the character’s infancy. Again, the most prominent use of Spanish words in Spanglish.

In a chapter from *Latino/a Literature in the Classroom: Twenty-first-century approaches to Teaching* (2015), Jennifer Carolina Gómez Menjívar explains how relying on literary works is an extremely useful tool for students to understand how language works, especially if it is a hybrid like Spanglish where words come from two other languages. Gómez Menjívar upholds that a good technique is to let pupils read excerpts from fiction works so as to find linguistic evidence concerning different aspects like how language can mirror the inner thoughts of the characters as well as show levels of affection and closeness. For instance, she uses the prolific and widely known work from Julia Álvarez *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents* (1991) to provide instances that “describe the relationships between four dyads: Mother-daughters, Father-daughters, Mother-Father, daughter-daughters in this witty novel” (Gómez Menjívar 2015, 44). This practice is a success, since it opens a deeply interesting debate about how language is affected by hierarchy and, especially, by hierarchical family relationships. Moreover, “it is also an opportune moment to discuss the implication of other linguistic concepts, such as conventional and conversational implicatures, on narrative voice” (2015, 44). The scholar not only uses these excerpts to seek these socio-linguistic features, but also to find properly-linguistic aspects that affect discourse, such as tag-switching—which consists of introducing a tag question in other language at the end of a sentence in one language; intersentential code-switching (applied between two independent, or subordinate sentences in the same utterance); and intra-sentential code-switching (in the same sentence). There are plenty of examples that show these peculiarities. Gloria Anzaldúa’s masterpiece *Borderlands/La Frontera* (1987) is also Gómez Menjívar’s object of study, since it shows how authors intermingles both languages in order to play with the images to convey feelings in the reader. There are words that mean the same in both languages but, because of the way they are written, the effect they cause into the reader is completely different. This effect is also maximised when writers play with the dissimilar phonetics of both languages. Gómez Menjívar (2015, 45) explains this phenomenon saying that

writers who work with both languages are fully aware of the aesthetics of sound and whether they use a Spanish or English base in their texts, they weave a rich tapestry with the features of the two languages they combine

At this point, it is worth remembering some of the aforementioned cited scholars that have studied the linguistic features of Spanglish. One of them is Eugenia Casielles-Suárez (2017), who argued that Spanglish is present in “all kinds of oral and written interaction and all types of artistic expression” (2017, 157). Hence, in her thesis, the

author analysed some literary and artistic texts where Spanglish is present in order to understand how they work and which features are the most prominent. Unlike the two authors already mentioned in this section, besides analysing excerpts from books, she also examines poems, parts of plays, and song lyrics, as well as advertisements or even blogs. The author has studied, as Gómez Menjívar (2015) and Cimikoski (2014) have done, works by G. Anzaldúa or J. Díaz, as well as excerpts from the famous Dolores Prida. Songs reflect that the usage of Spanglish is not only reduced to a small audience of erudite people, or of ‘literature lovers,’ but it can also be available to an enormous public who is more accessible to music than to literature. By doing this, she concludes that “Spanglish cannot be said to be restricted to casual oral registers” (Casielles-Suárez 2017, 160), as what it has been said throughout the years. Indeed, Casielles-Suárez adds that, having achieved this is because “many Latinos are reappropriating the name and using it with pride” (2017, 160), since “they are challenging the dominant class definition of what is a legitimate and illegitimate language and defending their hybrid, heteroglossic, and borderless language” (2017, 160). This is a conclusion of what Spanglish is and the effect it is currently having in the whole society.

5. CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS

This chapter provides an analysis of an ordinary conversation in which two girls from Miami talk in Spanglish (See the Appendix). In the analysis, I will discuss the main characteristics of Spanglish mentioned in the last sections. For convenience, the analysis is divided into five parts, each one corresponding to the page it occupies in the Appendix.

The first utterance in the conversation, “Hey Rosa! How are you?”, is in English. This is a clear reflection of the fact that English is the world’s *lingua franca*, and it is highly probable that, in the part of the world where the conversation is taking place, it is as well the vehicular language. In the second utterance, Rosa answers Josefina’s questions using English too, but then she poses a question to her in Spanish: “¿Cómo estás tú?” Josefina answers the question using the same language, as Rosa did with hers. In Josefina’s second intervention it can be observed how she manages herself perfectly in both languages, since her utterance can be divided into three parts marked by the use she makes of code-mixing, given that she puts forward a phrase in Spanish “bien”, afterwards she asks Rosa by using English, “Remember that translation?”—and, then, she explains

herself and verbalises her thoughts in the Spanish language again: “Lo que hicimos el otro di...”

As mentioned in Section 2, a characteristic feature of Spanglish is that idioms and collocations are mainly used in their English form, and Josefina’s third intervention is a clear example of it, since when she wants to express the sadness or negative thoughts about what Rosa asked her, she uses the English expression “what a pain,” that also follows a very common tagline that refers to the Christian deity by excellence, “God”, which serves as a mark to introduce this feeling. They also refer to “Jesus Christ” to show this sentiment. Additionally, during this same part of the dialogue, she uses the expressions “and to tell you the truth” and “You know?”, which are especially useful in oral language as discourse markers. The latter is also attested another time.

The fact that Rosa answers this last question using Spanish clearly shows that both are deeply involved in the conversation, and both are aware that the other person is a speaker of Spanglish, and they can talk in the way their brains respond the better in order to have the most fluent and easy-going conversation as possible. This comfort is present in this intervention when code-mixing is turning into code-switching; in this case inter-sentential, for both languages appear in two sentences united with a comma conforming a whole; the first part in Spanish, and after a comma what follows is an English sentence in the form of a slight explication. This code-switching remains intra-sentential when Josefina utters “Now we need to celebrate cuando nos pagan” where the sentence is formed by a main clause in English and a subordinate clause, headed by the temporal pronoun *cuando*, in Spanish. The inter- suddenly changes into intra-sentential code-switching in Josefina’s sixth intervention, when she says “a comprar unas cosas so cute to wear”, where the English clause of the phrase acts like a predicative of the noun *cosas* and, therefore, there is no need of a comma or a separator that makes it two different sentences. Rosa’s eighth intervention is mainly a whole example of intra-sentential code-switching where the second clause is introduced by the adversative conjunction *pero*.

Right before this last example there is a case of code-switching, but instead of mingling Spanish and English, the speakers form phrases in one language where only a word is in the other tongue (a verb in this first example). In this case, it consists of a verbal form in Spanish completed with an English gerund. The examples that show this phenomenon appear in Josefina’s (as already mentioned) sixth and eighth utterances: formed by the periphrasis “vamos a ir shopping” and the attributive sentence “está

freezing”. There is no coincidence that the non-personal form of the verb is in English, since the formation of verbs is way easier in English and, because of this, by people native in both languages, it will always be more practical to rely on English verbal forms, given that they would not need to think about how the desinence of the verbal action should be. In other words, it is a product of the environment of the speakers as well as of the previously mentioned economy of language.

Maybe the most characteristic aspect of Spanglish is the presence of borrowings and loanwords, which, in the text analysed here, are quite numerous. One of them is “frizada”, which derives from the English verb to freeze, but the speaker adds the suffix *-ada* in order to give the word a Spanish essence. Hence, the language of precedence of the resulting word is practically impossible to state, and this is why these words are considered part of the “proper” Spanglish vocabulary. Another example is the word “translation,” which appears in a full-Spanish part of a sentence. These people might be so used to hearing this word that they utter “translation” first rather than *traducción*, which is its direct equivalent. Nonetheless, “translation” can mean more things and can have multiple ways of being translated; maybe this is why Spanglish-speakers normally choose it, since by using this distended meaning of a word they can convey multiple more concrete meanings. The same happens with “dictionaries”. However, the contrary happens with “vacaciones”, a word that ends a sentence with words only in English; whose presence can be explained due to its similarity with the English word ‘vacances’, but Spanglish speakers rely more on the Spanish terms when referring to concepts related to holidays, summer, or beach, as it can be seen when Josefina uses “playita” instead of ‘beach,’ for instance. Another example of the preference of Spanish words is the presence of “computadora”, which means ‘computer’. The peculiarity of this term is that in Castilian Spanish it has an equivalent: *ordenador*. Nevertheless, the fact that Josefina uses this term is a clear sign of the fact that Spanglish derives directly from Latin American Spanish, and not the Peninsular.

A common feature of Latin-American Spanish is that speakers add suffixes to the words they use, especially to adverbs and adjectives. Because of historical and geographical reasons, most Spanglish users have come from Latin American countries and backgrounds. Hence, this feature has been also used in Spanglish. Thus, in this text it is not a coincidence that numerous words appear in their Spanish form and with a suffix that tends to be a diminutive, since they not only refer to small size or height, but it can

also express feelings of cheerfulness or love. Examples are “ahorita” or “playita”, extremely frequent in Latin American Spanish discourse, and “calentica”, whose diminutive may not be as normally seen as those ended in *-ita*; even though they are more used in Latin America than in Spain. Another reflection of how immigration and contact between nations are able to shape languages.

A fun fact of this phenomenon is that, along with the constant mixing of languages, when both speakers want to reiterate what the other person has said, they use the same language; an example of it can be when Rosa says “It’s horrible” and Josefina stresses it saying “It is horrible.” This way, the gravity of the situation is better portrayed.

In the second part of this conversation the influence of Latin American Spanish can also be observed when Rosa uses the word “diligencias,” which in English means ‘job’ or ‘errand’ and whose Castilian equivalent is *gestión* or *trámite*. Another influence of Latin American Spanish appears in the usage of diminutives, given that *-ico* is present in the word “ratico”, which appears on several occasions all throughout the conversation. In this part, it can be perfectly understood their way of speaking. It is also known that they are perfectly used to speaking in Spanglish –not to say they are native speakers, given that they verbalise (it is precisely Josefina who says it) that, despite being in Athens (GA), they come from Miami.

This instance is truly important since in this part of the conversation they talk about their experiences as speakers of Spanglish. They talk about the difficulty Josefina’s friend Amy may experience being with them since she is not used to mixing languages like that. Josefina states that it is even an obstacle to communicate with her husband, to whom she calls “esposo” (here it can be observed the familiar and emotional reason behind the usage of Spanish words), and that speaking with each other is the moment when they feel more attached to their roots. Indeed, when Josefina explains this feeling to Rosa, she uses the pronoun “contigo” to refer to her; maybe having chosen this pronoun is a way to reflect this and to show, like with “esposo”, that Spanish words portray a more familiar feeling and closeness with each other.

Reiterations are again present and highly used, since they appear several times, when the speakers feel like what they have said needs to be clarified or highlighted. Examples are “Tú sabes que tengo una amiga que se llama Amy. I got a friend named Amy” or the rhetoric question “¿O quién sabe who? Who knows who?” to which Rosa answers repeating “Quién sabe who?” to stress the importance of what Josefina said, or

in this case, it is a humorous repetition, since they are laughing at their own way of speaking.

Code-switching and code-mixing are again present. A recurrent word is “idioma” when they speak about how they speak mixing English and Spanish. Code-switching is attested when, within a Spanish sentence, the final word is “useful”, or, by contrast, in an English sentence, the word “clase” is used. The word “sale” replacing *rebajas*, is also repeated in sentences like “Tienen un sale?” or “se ponen en sale”; it appears as a collocation. An English word that is heavily used all along the conversation is “mall”, which appears in English interventions as well as in the middle of interventions in Spanish; another mark of how economy of language affects Spanglish, given that its equivalent should be *centro comercial*; and of the influence of English in terms of non-familiar concepts and those related to consumerism and capitalism, as it can be observed with the aforementioned “sale.” However, there is an exception to this thesis, since the Spanish word “precios” is uttered by Josefina, but its peculiarity lies in the fact that it follows the qualifying adjective “tremendos”, which is used with an emphatic aim; here Spanish is used to materialise the feelings of the speaker.

Additionally, there are some uses of repetition or code-mixing that seems to have no sense since its translation into one language sounds redundant. It is the case of “a couple of dos trajes,” uttered by Josefina; given that “a couple” is literally two things (*dos* in Spanish). This might seem an error or a feature of Spanish; a mark that sometimes the overusing of code-switching can be dangerous for the understanding of the conversation.

The third part in which I divided this conversation starts with a reiteration of equivalent words in English and Spanish, such as the duality “novio-fiancé” or, in the final part of this section, that one between “hijo-son.” These are used, again, to clarify what they have said and to provide a better understanding of their discourses. It is worth highlighting, as well, that the word ‘Spanglish’ appears in this conversation, and in the same sentence it is pronounced in the Spanish way, which would be written as *espanGLISH*, and in the English way. This is a meta-usage of the word.

According to this, Josefina complains about the difficulty of speaking it since “It’s not good because none of the languages are being spoken in the right way,” to which Rosa replies with “Es como un dialect... como una jerga, como un slang.” This dialogue is truly illuminating, for it shows the real depiction its actual speakers have of Spanglish. They sometimes feel completely misunderstood and taken apart from the rest of the population

as they feel they can only speak freely with someone who uses the language as them, and not with any other person. This is why they give it the attribute of slang or *jerga* ('jargon'), because only few people can use it, its main way of developing or using is by the oral language and, sometimes, it is treated as an inferior dialect and its users are pictured as illiterate.

The Spanish influence is again present with the diminutive *-ito* in the word "flaquito". This word is another sign of how Spanglish is formed by Latin American Spanish, given that the term *flaco* (the original word without diminutive) is primarily used in places like Mexico or Argentina, to mention a few, and, of course, in Miami. It also happens with the words "chévere" or "gringo", really difficult to be heard in Peninsular Spanglish, not to say impossible.

If there is something which is completely typical of Spanglish and a clear mark of this hybrid is the presence of calques or loanwords, and words that come from a language and are given the desinences of the other to form a new one. This is the case of the word "switchar," one of the main examples in corpuses. Likewise, the influence of English in the meaning of Spanish words is a deeply characteristic feature of Spanglish, for sometimes speakers utter Spanish terms whose meaning has nothing to do with the one in Spanish. An example of this is the verb "conducer" as it appears in the sentence "me conduzco en español." What this meaning tries to convey in Spanish is *manejar*, which in American Spanish can mean 'manage oneself' and 'drive.' The main equivalent in Spanish of this last word is, precisely, *conducir*. Hence, this translation might cause confusion because it is actually an amalgam of translations of the same word until reaching a new form that, although being understandable, has a meaning which is too far from its original one.

It is worth mentioning as well, the presence of taglines and collocations, both in English and Spanish, such as "to tell you the truth" in order to start a sentence, or the Spanish adverbial phrase "de repente" in the middle of a fully English sentence.

Code-mixing appears in Rosa's intervention when she says "Como que la mente... gets tired." She is precisely reflecting this with her words, for she makes a pause between the Spanish and the English parts of her sentence. What she is explaining here is that, for a person whose main medium of communication is Spanglish, it is extremely tough to use only one language in a whole conversation or speech, for their mind has to find the exact words in the given language when they would say it in the second, for their brain is

constantly working in both languages and there are several terms that are more likely to be used in one language instead of the other. Thus, this act of code-mixing reflects that it is natural for them to speak like that, and the pause may be a sign of the fact that Rosa might have been finding how would be “get tired” in Spanish but she was not able to find the translation spontaneously and, therefore, she ended up relying on its English equivalent, which was the term which was activated in her mind.

In the fourth part of the conversation there is again a repetition of the same sentence in both languages, such as Rosa’s utterance “he doesn’t like rice. No le gusta el arroz”, to which Josefina answers repeating the word “rice” in a sentence in Spanish. The reason behind using the word in English can be due to its sounding since this phoneme is easier to pronounce than Spanish *arroz*. Similarly, a cultural reason can be inferred from this usage, given that, they are talking also about “sushi” and, due to globalisation, it is more common to hear this concept in English than in Spanish, especially living in the US, for both come from Miami. Nevertheless, there is another term related to food which is, nonetheless, pronounced in Spanish. This is “la ensalada”. This type of food is not so prevalent in the US, but, instead, it is more likely to be eaten or prepared in Latin American countries. Moreover, Josefina refers to a dish from a Mexican restaurant, so it is normal that the food is enounced in Spanish.

It is also remarkable the frequency of Spanish in the diminutives: “cremita” and “panito”. All the diminutives in this conversation are in Spanish. Another mark of the Latin American Spanish is that the prepositions used are modified because of the Latin influence, since Josefina uses the apocopated version of *para*: “pa”, extremely common in Latin Spanish discourse, especially in Central American islands and the South of the US.

There is a grammatical error maybe produced because of the oral nature of the conversation—in Josefina’s third intervention in this page. She enunciates “they are planning doing”, which, even though it is completely understandable, is grammatically incorrect in proper English. There is a missing preposition, such as ‘on’ or ‘to’, but with the latter, the second verb should be uttered in its infinitive form ‘do’ rather than the gerund.

Code-switching and mixing can be appreciated when Josefina uses the qualifying adjective “impatient” in English in concordance with the Spanish verb “ser”. Likewise, there are some instances and expressions that are introduced in the sentences as they are

in the language of origin as a block, like the adverbial phrase “cada semana” or the collocation “all over you”. Accordingly, some phrases are formed by an adjective in English followed by a noun in Spanish (following the adjective-noun order of English), an example of it being “a specific major trabajo.”

In this final part of the conversation what can be observed are code-mixing between verbs. That is, a construction formed by one verb in one language accompanied by other verb in the other language. A phrase containing these characteristics is “keep mojándome”. Constructions like this one have been observed all throughout this conversation. The last two interventions of Josefina are full of code-mixing, for she links sentences in English and Spanish; some are subordinate sentences, but some others are coordinated, introduced by a conjunction. In Josefina’s penultimate utterance, there is an example of code-switching with the word “corte”, for it is present in a sentence fully in English. The last intervention is also a prolific example of code-mixing: “I think will. I’m not too sure, but ella dijo que she’s gonna email me and tell mi si había casos o no había casos so I have to wait a ver qué dice ella”. The first part of the sentence in Spanish is introduced by the adversative conjunction ‘but,’ which serves to show that there is another sentence. Then, she introduces another sentence in English, finishing the Spanish part with the relative *que*. After this English clause, another Spanish subordinate is introduced with the conjunction *si*. The connector ‘so’ serves to continue this discourse using the English language. Finally, Josefina ends this intervention with the Spanish phrase *a ver qué dice ella*.

6. CONCLUSION

It can be then concluded that the definition of Spanglish is that it is a hybrid language between English and Spanish. It has its own features that makes it distinguishable from other hybrids and from isolated attempts of code-switching in both Spanish and English. Me using an English word in a fully Spanish discourse is definitely not the same as a person speaking Spanglish properly.

Nonetheless, Spanglish is highly likely to become a language itself. The presence of the Latino population in the US is constantly increasing as time passes. Spanish is the second most-spoken language in the world, and its presence in the US is huge. Similarly, Spanglish becomes stronger as the presence of Spanish grows. Accordingly, the

reproduction of Latinos, besides their migration in the country, serves as a catalyst for the Spanglish domination against Spanish.

Some feared that Spanish would overcome English as the most spoken language in the US, but I truly believe that Spanish and English will someday become one, especially in the southern states of the country. Hence, Spanglish would surpass Spanish in number of speakers, given that it is easier for southwesterners to communicate in Spanglish, as it has been observed from this conversation. However, at this very moment, Spanglish cannot surpass Spanish since it has not the status of a language yet. Considering the evolution of languages, they normally develop the most through oral discourse and every language contains loanwords and calques from other languages that eventually become a natural word from the language. Thus, Spanglish accomplishes the requirements to become a proper language.

Likewise, thanks to the trend that the Latino culture has become, Spanglish is being increasingly known not only in the US and Latin America, but worldwide. Examples are artists like Bad Bunny or J Balvin topping the charts, or songs such as the internationally famous “Despacito (Remix)” by the Puerto Rican singer Luis Fonsi with the Canadian pop star Justin Bieber. Moreover, there are even collaborations from Latin with European artists, such as “Reggaeton Lento (Remix)” by CNCO with the British girl-group Little Mix. This is a clear sign of how music serves to give it an international status. Something that politicians have not done yet, for Spanglish does not have any legal status in the US.

The situation of Spanglish reminds me of the one Asturian is currently undergoing in Spain, for it has not been officialised yet. Moreover, it can be associated with the *amestáu* variant, which consists of mixing Spanish with Asturian words, sometimes its speakers being not even able to distinguish which words are Spanish and which are Asturian.

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8. APPENDIX

Conversation 5

- Josefina: Hey Rosa! How are you?
Rosa: I'm good. ¿Cómo estás tú?
Josefina: [incomprehensible] bien. Remember that translation? Lo que hicimos el otro di...
Rosa: Horrible.
Josefina: God, what a pain. Eso de verdad... con esa cantidad de cosas and to tell you the truth I don't know what they say. What's wrong with these people? You know?
Rosa: Sí, es insoportable en realidad la traducción. I don't think they even knew what they were talking about.
Josefina: I don't either. I mean I tell you. Una página es una cosa, the other one would say something else. It's kind of...
Rosa: Well, it contradicted itself, totalmente.
Josefina: I'm telling you. Now we need to celebrate cuando nos pagan, we're going to go party.
Rosa: Outlet Mall shopping.
Josefina: And we're going to go shopping. Vamos a ir a shopping y a comprar unas cosas so cute to wear.
Rosa: I know.
Josefina: I know.
Rosa: Ah este café lo necesito estoy muriendo de frío. It's so cold in here.
Josefina: Thank God. Está freezing. Está frizada aquí adentro en este sitio, it is amazing. But anyways that's good you know. This is a new thing you know they just created. Parece ser una mezcla de qué sé yo que vaya. Who know's what the heck is in.
Rosa: I don't know pero sabe caramelo.
Josefina: But it tastes good.
Rosa: Mmm hmm, it tastes like... caramelo.
Josefina: Es bueno cuando saben bueno y le dan a uno... they keep you calentica.
Rosa: Yeah.
Josefina: So what's up with the University? ¿Cómo están las cosas por allí?
Rosa: I don't know. Ahorita estoy tomando una clase pero es really laid back. Es... es por internet. Entonces la puedo hacer cuando quiera luego cuando quiera...
Josefina: So whenever you please you just va on-line, escribes three, four things, and then you go back to business and call Laura and then you go hit the sack.
Rosa: Exactly.
Josefina: Jesus Christ. I was thinking you know para la otra translation...
Rosa: Uh-huh.
Josefina: That we have to do perhaps va a ser mejor que nos juntemos unos días antes, we get together to see what's going on and plan ahead because that many pages I mean you have to be typing en la computadora y luego... we need to think about it first antes de empezar el trabajo.
Rosa: Sí hay que ver que tipo de... vocabulario.
Josefina: What kind of vocabulary para escoger los dictionaries.
Rosa: Mmhmm.
Josefina: Que tenemos que escoger. And that is before we go to Miami.
Rosa: Ah, ¿sí?
Josefina: Because estoy planning on taking vacaciones y a ver a gente porque is a long time que no veo a nadie.
Rosa: Ay que ridículo que allí hay de todo.
Josefina: Go to la playita, and have some fun and then who knows? Un poquito de color porque estoy blanca como una frog. I mean I have to do something about it.
Rosa: Sí con esta lluvia, con este tiempo aquí.
Josefina: I'm telling you, Jesus Christ.

- Rosa: It's horrible.
- Josefina: It is horrible. What are you going to do tomorrow?
- Rosa: Tomorrow? Ah, no sé. Creo que voy a dormir hasta bien tarde, hacer unas diligencias, si está [incomprehensible] tiempo, I'm gonna maybe sunbathe un ratico, I don't know.
- Josefina: Maybe you're gonna sunbathe?
- Rosa: Uh-huh.
- Josefina: Por un ratico.
- Rosa: mm hmm un ratico.
- Josefina: No mucho. Tú sabes que tengo una amiga que se llama Amy. I got a friend named Amy I'll tell you about y ella quiere que yo converse en... en.. tú sabes que we speak like that in Miami y tú dices tres palabras en un idioma y la otra y you can understand me porque puedes hablar las dos cosas pero otra gente that maybe won't be able to understand todas las cosas que tú está diciendo porque es complicado cambiar de un idioma pa otra.
- Rosa: Yeah.
- Josefina: Pero I hope she like lo que vamos a hacer.
- Rosa: Sí, ojalá que sea useful.
- Josefina: Ojalá que sea useful she can apply that as her clase y puede sacar de eso un buen provecho.
- Rosa: ¿Quién sabe qué otros idiomas ellos están haciendo, no?
- Josefina: I don't know if they are doing in another idioma, I'm not to sure about it, but at least we're gonna try for me it's kind of everyday activity hablar en that way.
- Rosa: yeah.
- Josefina: Not in here though no aquí. Aquí no tengo tiempo to speak both languages unless I am contigo o con otro de los intérpretes because if I speak like this a mi esposo he got no clue.
- Rosa: He wouldn't understand.
- Josefina: y es lo que está pasando porque es americano y no entiende, sabe just a few little words and he use them un ratico ahora y después. But I mean it's fun. Te acuerdas el otro día que te dije que vamos a ver si... si compramos cosas nuevas allá en el mall de Atlanta
- Rosa: mm hmm
- Josefina: To go shopping allá somebody told me that they have tremendos precios en el mall.
- Rosa: Tienen un sale?
- Josefina: Some kind of sale. Me gusta porque quiero comprar cosas más baratas, shoes y otro tipo de... you know como me encantan los suits. So if I can get a couple of dos trajes con zapatos que combine
- Rosa: Si epecialmente en esta época porque ya está en invierno los trajes se ponen en sale, you know?
- Josefina: Season is changing and when that happens you know what happens, not to mention that I have to watch for la talla nueva, estoy fuera de talla, tengo que comprar otra. At this moment I don't even know qué size soy. I don't know that any longer. ¿Cuál es tu size?
- Rosa: ¿Mi size? Bueno yo también estoy en un problema no sé que size soy no sé ni un size ni el otro size. Antes era entre uno y tres. Ahora estoy entre cuatro y quién sabe qué.
- Josefina: ¿O quién sabe who? Who knows who?
- Rosa: ¿Quién sabe who?
- Josefina: [laughter] that's funny. And I wonder how long Amy quiere que nosotros hablemos.
- Rosa: Sí. I'm wondering la misma cosa.
- Josefina: Estoy wondering about el tiempo que nosotros hablemos con esto. And to tell you the truth I believe que cuando alguien oye la conversación we are holding right now they are going to believe that we are totally out of the tree.
- Rosa: Sí yo creo.
- Josefina: It's so funny. But I hope que ella no diga a la gente quien somos nosotras.
- Rosa: No por favor, porque esto creo que lo pongan en su clase

- Josefina: Porque I can't believe que esa Josefina es dice que es intérprete te hablando half way in slang.
- Rosa: Le dijiste tu nombre.
- Josefina: Claro. Rosa también que trabaja en la compañía so we both get the blame for everything, but that's fun. Tú sabes que yo conozco a Jeff.
- Rosa: Ah sí ¿quién es?
- Josefina: Jeff es el novio de Amy. Él es el fiancé de Amy. He works on my computers. He's a brain. So smart.
- Rosa: Y él trabaja allí en legal aid
- Josefina: He's the one that trabaja en legal aid
- Rosa: Sí, me parece chévere lo conocí hoy.
- Josefina: He's un flaquito bonito. He's a dear friend of mine. He's the one who got me into this situation, doing this.
- Rosa: Oh it's all Jeff's ... es todo Jeff
- Josefina: But I'm doing it gladly porque yo quiero que ella saque a good grade en esta situación.
- Rosa: Claro que... Es su thesis. Creo que es su thesis.
- Josefina: To tell you the truth I believe it will be una de las cosas que ella have to present before she can teach these people or show these people what is...
- Rosa: In order to graduarse.
- Josefina: Como que se habla en espanglish and this is real Spanglish by somebody who practices Spanglish which is not recommended. Yo no recomiendo a nadie que hable en espanglish porque es el rompe de los dos idiomas. It's not good because none of the languages are being spoken in the right way.
- Rosa: Es como un dialecto... como una jerga, como un slang.
- Josefina: Some kind of dialect o jerga, you know. Some kind of slang but only a bilingual person would be able to entender por conversar asi cambiar... switcher de un idioma pa otro.
- Rosa: Switchar. [laughter]
- Josefina: It's a key thing, de repente, like if you are in Miami and you tell somebody "hey [incomprehensible] quieres tú comer pastelitos we can go to this such a place and then we're going to do this and that. It's an automatic thing it comes in your mind just like that.
- Rosa: You don't see that too much here in Athens.
- Josefina: No, you need to find somebody bilingual que está used to hacerlo porque si no está used to tampoco lo hace because it is something you have to get used to de acer.
- Rosa: A mucha gente no le gusta hacerlo.
- Josefina: A lot of people don't like it, but in many ways like I said it comes automatically. Estoy acostumbrada si estoy hablando a un gringo I talk to English... in English all the time. I switch if I am speaking with somebody que habla español y me conduzco en español nada más without switching to the other language. But when I'm with you, you know we do that all the time while we are working.
- Rosa: It's more fun this way.
- Josefina: It's fun in court. When I have to do it automatically not specifically Spanglish pero tengo que hablar a una persona en un idioma y otra persona en another one.
- Rosa: Oh tienes que switchar constantemente
- Josefina: I do that I switch automatically.
- Rosa: Algunas veces se confunde cuando está hablando en inglés y también en español
- Josefina: I did it to the judge a couple of times cause I was cansada empecé speaking in English and then I continued speaking in Spanish and then I ended up completely in English and everybody was expecting me to speak in español. So it was a total disaster.
- Rosa: Como que la mente... gets tired
- Josefina: La mente se cansa... La mente gets tired and then you automatically do it. Yeah but like I said it's just a practice and it's just for fun. Let's see ask me something about...
- Rosa: ¿y qué está haciendo Herb hoy? ¿Está trabajando?
- Josefina: I assume que él está en la oficina del hijo de él, in his son's office
- Rosa: Ah ellos trabajan together

- Josefina: I believe... yeah que están trabajando en some kind of inspection they have to do tomorrow in Marietta. Y ellos tienen que ir all the way over there in order to do that inspection. You know it's far away.
- Rosa: An inspection for...
- Josefina: It's about mold. Una inspección de mold que tienen que hacer para detectarlo en the house.
- Rosa: y no hace inspecciones aquí en Athens con la real estate business?
- Josefina: He does, I think he spoke with a friend of mine who's in real estate about that and they are planning doing something like that.
- Rosa: Seguro que está con bastante business con eso.
- Josefina: Probably que están con bastante business.
- Rosa: Claro mejor que están aquí y no tienen que ir a Atlanta.
- Josefina: That was a specific major trabajo que salió el [incomprehensible] and they took it because it's a lot of money que está envuelto no cuestión de esa manera and they're gonna make that money and... tienen que hacer los trips and we're talking about maybe six, eight thousand dollars cada semana.
- Rosa: That's worth...
- Josefina: So no voy a ser impatient because it's pretty good money so why not? And he have to do it, but that's what he's doing today. Voy estar con las cosas bastante calmadas. And I'm expecting que me lleve a comer a un lugar en the afternoon.
- Rosa: Dile que te lleve a sushi.
- Josefina: He doesn't like sushi. Tengo que convencerlo to go to another place cause sushi I mean he's not into sushi.
- Rosa: He's not into it?
- Josefina: No, you know I like it a lot.
- Rosa: Oh yeah he doesn't like rice. No le gusta el arroz
- Josefina: Él no come rice y no sushi tampoco.
- Rosa: Claro que no el sushi es puro rice casi
- Josefina: So I take him there and I'm totally screwed. I cannot take that out of him. But maybe I convince him to go to Rafferty's y comer una ensalada. I love la ensalada de Rafferty's porque tiene una cremita la más rica y un panito...y un panito con una cremita dulce arriba que it's really good.
- Rosa: Bien healthy también.
- Josefina: It's healthy also now that I'm in that diet state.
- Rosa: Y se nota
- Josefina: I'm trying to do dieta. La dieta de 'see-diet.' I eat everything I see. I have another diet I cannot talk about porque el nombre no es buena palabra. I'll tell you later though. Ese se trata de diet ese que tenga nuevo. Maybe you would like to put it onto practice who knows?
- Rosa: ¿Quién sabe? me tienes que contar.
- Josefina: Maybe I'll tell Amy, too, but later when I see her. I love Amy you know. She got me into this kind of craziness, but I mean she's a good friend of mine. I cannot even believe that I have to go back pa legal aid para esa interpretación con esa mujer ahora.
- Rosa: Pero es por teléfono, ¿no?
- Josefina: Es por teléfono but I still have to be there.
- Rosa: It's an interview?
- Josefina: I still have to be there for a few minutes then to go to the telephone to do the interview con la mujer que [incomprehensible]. It's still a pain you know where. But anyways it was a pretty good day today excepting that yo tenía en mi agenda on the schedule un deposition that never pasó. Llamé al abogado estaba out to lunch, space cadet. So he says "well, I forgot." "What do you mean I forgot? You had me on the schedule." "Well, but they change it. I'm sorry." Todos apologies, todo perdón y todas las cosas, but the fact remains the same I was screwed today going over there and for nothing. A pretty good day anyways. And on top of that it rained.
- Rosa: Y llovió encima all over you.

Josefina: I'm gonna shrink if I keep mojandome like that. I'm gonna shrink

Rosa: [laughter]

Josefina: I don't think I will be able to shrink any more. Si me encojo más me voy a poner...

Rosa: Invisible.

Josefina: Y si y demasiado eso. But other than that the day was pretty good no tuve que hacer nada en corte hoy. I didn't have to go to corte today, pero tomorrow perhaps tengo que volver a la corte to do something.

Rosa: ¿Tienes un caso?

Josefina: I think will. I'm not too sure, but ella dijo que she's gonna email me and tell me si había casos o no había casos so I have to wait a ver qué dice ella.