THE EMERGENCE OF A CONTACT LANGUAGE: SPANGLISH IN THE UNITED STATES

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Abstract:
In this article, the nature of Spanglish as a Spanish-English contact language in the United States is explored. The common phonological, lexical, and morphosyntactic characteristics of different varieties of Spanglish are presented, and the case for understanding Spanglish as a distinctive and legitimate set of language varieties in the US context is offered. Finally, the role played by raciolinguistic ideologies in the marginalization of Spanglish in the United States will be discussed and critiqued.

Keywords: language contact, Spanish, English, Spanglish, raciolinguistics

1. Introduction

> *"¿how are you?*
> *¿como estas?*
> *i don't know if i'm coming*
> *or si me fui ya."* (Tato Laviera, quoted in Stavans, 2000: 556)

The United States is an extremely diverse country linguistically, one in which more than 375 languages are spoken (American Community Survey, 2015). Although the US does not technically have an official language,[1] English is clearly its *de facto* dominant language demographically, ideologically, and practically – but it is the native language of only about three-quarters of the country's total population. After English, by far the largest language in terms of the number of speakers in the US is Spanish, which is spoken by more than 40 million people, or more than 10% of the total population (Bond, 2018). Both the number of speakers of Spanish and the percentage of the total population of the US who are speakers of Spanish are

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growing far more rapidly than the overall population in the country (Pew Hispanic Center, 2016); the decade of the 2010s saw the general population increase by about 7%, while the Spanish-speaking population grew by nearly 25% (Passel *et al.*, 2022). This is a somewhat misleading picture, however, because Spanish speakers are concentrated in only some parts of the country. The situation is even more complex as a result of the emergence of a contact language that has been labelled "Spanglish." In this article, the nature and characteristics of this contact language will be discussed, and responses toward it – by speakers of both English and Spanish – will be explored, with a focus on the role of raciolinguistic ideologies in how it is represented and critiqued.

2. Spanish in the United States

There has been extensive and long-term contact between Spanish and English in the US (see Fuller & Leeman, 2020; Klee & Lynch, 2009). Spanish first reached the territory of what is today the United States in 1513, when Juan Ponce de León landed in Florida, but it was more than 50 years before a permanent Spanish settlement was established in St. Augustine in 1565. From the 16th century on, Spanish speakers arrived as part of the Spanish colonization process not only in Florida, but also in areas that are now part of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah (Potowski, 2014). The result was the establishment and maintenance of a strong Spanish language presence in much of what became the southwestern part of the United States, a presence which continued after the incorporation of these areas into the US in the first half of the 19th century (and continues to the present day). The acquisition of Puerto Rico in 1898 at the end of the Spanish-American War further strengthened this presence, as did ongoing immigration from México and the rest of Latin America.

It is common knowledge that Spanish is the second most commonly language spoken in the United States; what is perhaps less recognized is that the United States is also the second largest Spanish-speaking country in the world, following only México in terms of the total number of Spanish speakers. The situation is complicated by the fact that there are a number of different national and indigenous varieties of Spanish that are widely spoken in the US (Beaudrie & Fairclough, 2012; Escobar & Potowski, 2015; Lipski, 2012; López Morales, 2009) (see Table 1). Further muddying this picture, as Lipski notes, is that:

> *"Studying the demographics of Spanish speakers in the United States is confusing and torturous, because the population is ever-changing, return migration to countries of origin is a frequent occurrence, underrepresentation in census counts is the rule rather than the exception, and undocumented members of the Spanish-speaking population may elude any attempts to study them. Moreover, the data, both official and unofficial, embody apparent paradoxes. On one hand, the total number of Spanish speakers in the United States is steadily growing, particularly in urban areas of the Southwest, in New York City, and in southern Florida. On the other hand, in many communities, the retention of Spanish by US-born speakers is at an all-time low, and the shift from Spanish to English is often complete after only two generations."* (2008: 5)

Table 1: Varieties of Spanish Spoken in the US (Based on Lipski, 2008: 8-9)

Variety of Spanish	Number of Speakers in US[a]	Percentage of Total US Native Speakers of Spanish[b]	Number of US-Born Speakers in the US[a]
México	13,900,000	58.5%	8,900,000
Puerto Rico	2,650,000	9.6%	--
Cuba	1,050,000	3.5%	298,000
Dominican Republic	520,000	2.2%	153,000
El Salvador	565,000	1.9%	106,000
Colombia	379,000	1.3%	98,000
Guatemala	269,000	1.1%	53,000
Ecuador	191,000	.7%	50,000
Honduras	131,000	.6%	30,000
Panamá	92,000	.3%	30,000
Venezuela	48,000	.3%	13,000
Costa Rica	57,000	.2%	18,000

Note: [a]Based on 1990 US Census; [b]Based on the 2000 US Census.

3. Contextualizing Spanglish

The different varieties of Spanish spoken in the United States have been strongly influenced by their extensive contact with English (see Escobar & Potowski, 2015: 113-155). In the late 1940s, the Puerto Rican poet and writer Salvador Tió y Montes de Oca first coined the term *espanglish*,[2] which in English is universally translated *Spanglish*. The term was intended to be pejorative, a response to those who were in his view abandoning Spanish as a result of the increasing contact with English. While the term is still widely used in a pejorative sense, in recent years, Spanglish has become an increasingly contentious matter.

The controversy about the status of Spanglish is largely one of focus (see Fairclough, 2003). A number of linguists have argued that the term Spanglish is inappropriate, as is any discussion of it as a true contact language (see Lipski, 2004, 2007; Otheguy, 2009; Otheguy & Stern, 2011). This perspective is grounded in the historical tendency in linguistics in the US "*to isolate language from its contextual use, prioritizing the study of langue/competence over context*" (Chappell, 2017: 41). The alternative to such a position is those scholars who stress the label's sociolinguistic and sociocultural significance (see Ardila, 2005; Betti, 2011, 2017; Sánchez-Muñoz, 2013; Stavans, 2004, 2008b; Zentella, 1997, 2007). Criticisms of Spanglish go beyond the linguistic debate, however. As Stavans observes,

> "*The topic of Spanglish generates enormous controversy. Its army of critics uses an array of arguments against it: that it bastardizes standard English and/or Spanish; it delays the process of assimilation of Hispanics into the melting pot; it is proof of the way the American empire dismantles other competing cultures; it confuses children in the age of language acquisition; and it segregates an ethnic minority already ghettoized by economic factors.*" (2008a: ix)

At the same time, the term Spanglish is often used by *latinos* who wish to indicate that they do not speak Spanish well, or, paradoxically, by those who do not yet speak English fluently (see Escobar & Potowski, 2015; Morales, 2002; Otheguy & Stern, 2011). In both of these senses,

the term is used to suggest a linguistic deficit, in Spanish, English, or both. As Azevedo (1992: 394) once described it, Spanglish in these contexts is seen as nothing more than "*una mezcla agramatical de las lenguas.*" At the same time, the term Spanglish is widely used in *latino* communities in a positive manner, indicating the complex and mixed linguistic and cultural heritage of these communities, and can be used as a sign of pride in group membership (see Casielles-Suárez 2017; Stavans 2004; Zentella 2008). As Stavans (2008b: ix) argues, "*In response [to the criticisms of Spanglish], the supporters of Spanglish … celebrate this hybrid form of communication for its dynamism, creativity, and political savvy.*" Finally, the term is used by many linguists and other scholars in a more neutral and non-judgmental manner to describe what is identified as a collection of distinctive varieties of contact language (see Beaudrie & Fairclough, 2012; Fuller & Leeman, 2020). Indeed, as Ardila notes, "*Spanglish represents the most important contemporary linguistic phenomenon in the United States that has barely been approached from a linguistic point of view*" (2005: 60).

In reality, the status of Spanglish is not actually a linguistic matter at all, but rather is fundamentally extra-linguistic and non-linguistic in nature. At its heart, the debate has to do with what constitutes a "real" or "legitimate" language and what does not (see Reagan, 2016). The discourse about Spanglish is, in short, illustrative of the point made by Zuidema when she asserted that, "*Linguistic prejudice is one of the few 'acceptable' American prejudices. In polite society, we don't allow jokes that we consider racist or sexist, and we are careful not to disparage a person's religious beliefs. Language is another matter*" (2005: 686). Spanglish is a reality, and it is a reality that is widely recognized both by its own speakers and by others (see Artze, 2001) – and, perhaps more to the point, it is a form of linguistic expression that goes beyond similar (and related) phenomena, such as code-mixing and code-switching, although there are elements of both in Spanglish (see Díaz-Campos, 2014: 225-230).

3.1 Variation in Spanglish

Contact between English and Spanish in the United States has led to the emergence, not of a single Spanglish, but rather, a collection of varieties that are commonly grouped together under the broad label "Spanglish." As Tamasi and Antieau explain,

> "*Long-term contact between Spanish and English speakers in bilingual American communities has given rise to novel means of communication, with emergent language varieties often being used to identify speakers as members of these communities. These perfectly valid varieties have often been scorned by English and Spanish speakers alike as "Tex-Mex" or "Spanglish," although such terms have often merely become fodder for reclamation by the speakers of these varieties.*" (2015: 219-220)

These varieties are growing in visibility and numbers of speakers in the United States, and certainly present significant both educational challenges and opportunities (see Briceño *et al.*, 2018; Chappell & Faltis, 2007; Martínez, 2010, 2013).

Since Spanglish is a collection of related language varieties that share certain features but differ on many others, rather than a single language variety, it is obviously not possible to identify its linguistic features fully or completely. For instance, the Spanglish that is spoken in

the southwestern United States differs in significant ways from the Spanglish spoken by Puerto Ricans in New York City. Furthermore, although Spanglish is the result of the contact and interaction of different varieties of Spanish and English, and while it employs lexical and syntactic elements from both languages, it is *neither* Spanish *nor* English. Indeed, for the most part Spanglish is not easily (if at all) intelligible for monolingual native speakers of either Spanish or English, nor does bilingualism in standard Spanish and standard English ensure comprehension of Spanglish. The linguistic characteristics of Spanglish are not, though, in any sense random -- Spanglish is rule-governed, as of course are all languages.[3] As Rell observes,

"The argument that Spanglish is unstructured and haphazard is … of little value. The omnipresent code-switching seen in Spanglish is not only structured, but, more significantly, a mark of bilingual competence that enables a particular group of people to select one language or another to increase effective communication … This "selection" of dual-language use accompanied by lexical adaptations serves as the creation of not only an individual identity but also as a community identity. It is precisely this dual identity that the term "Spanglish" itself encompasses." (2004: 149)

Spanglish differs from varieties of Spanish in a number of important ways: phonologically, lexically and syntactically.[4]

3.1 The Phonology of Spanglish

With respect to its phonology, Spanglish demonstrates significant differences from Spanish. As Sánchez notes, Spanglish in the southwestern US is "*characterized by vowels so lax … that unaccented vowels are often lost. This vowel loss is especially common in initial position if the vowel is unstressed*" (2008: 12). Examples of this feature of Spanglish include *cabar* (for *acabar*, to finish), *cordar* (for *acordar*, to agree), *hora* (for *ahora*, now), *prender* (for *aprender*, to learn), and *yudar* (for *ayudar*, to help).

There are a number of other phonological features that have been documented in Spanglish, including the contraction of two vowels into a single vowel typically through diphtongization, the substitution of a diphthong with a simple vowel, the change of high vowels to mid-vowels and of unstressed mid-vowels to high vowels, the transposition of two vowels, and so on (see Sánchez, 2008: 13-14). Such phonological features are evident in such examples as *cencia* (for *ciencia*, science), *clas* (for *clase*, class), *defícil* (for *difícil*, difficult), *intender* (for *entender*, to understand), *lechi* (for *leche*, milk), *pa* (for *para*, for), *tiyo* (for *tío*, uncle), and *trai* (for *trae*, bring).

In terms of consonants, the distinctive consonantal characteristics of Spanglish in the southwestern US include the aspiration of the /s/ in all positions (as in *nosotros > nohotros*, *puertas > puertah*, *decir > dihir*, etc.), the aspiration of the voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ (as in *fuimos > juimos*, *fue > jue*, *fuerte > juerte*, etc.), the loss of voiced fricatives in intervocalic and final positions (as in *todavía > toavía*, *todos > toos*, *ella > ea*, *botella > botea*, etc.), the simplification of consonant clusters, including: *ct > t*, *mb > m*, *rr > r*, *rl > l*, and *nd > d* (as in *doctor > dotor*, *también > tamién*, *barrio > bario*, *pensarlo > pansalo*, etc.), the transposition of two or more contiguous phonemes (as in *problema > porblema*, *lengua > luenga*, *impresiones > impersiones*, and so on), and the appearance

of lateralization, such as *d > l, de >le,* and *n > l* (as in *advierto > alvierto, desde > desle, nos > los, nosotros > losotros,* and so on) (Sánchez, 2008: 12-16).

3.2 Lexical Borrowing in Spanglish

There are extensive instances of lexical borrowing from English into Spanglish,[5] both in terms of direct borrowings and with respect to semantic changes from standard Spanish meanings to English meanings (see López García-Molins, 2015, 2021). Loanwords from English into Spanglish are sometimes phonetically adjusted to meet Spanglish phonological norms, while others are imported with their English pronunciation intact. Examples of common loanwords in Spanglish include *biles* (bills, cf. standard Spanish *fracturas*), *chorcha* (church, cf. standard Spanish *iglesia*), *huayfa* (wife, cf. standard Spanish, *esposa*), *marqueta* (market, cf. standard Spanish *mercado*), *norsa* (nurse, cf. standard Spanish *enfermera*), and *troca* (truck, cf. standard Spanish *camión*).

Another type of lexical change that occurs in Spanglish is where the meaning of an existing word in Spanish is extended, typically turning what is a false cognate in English into a real cognate. Examples of such semantic expansions of meaning often result in the use of a recognizable word in a manner that a speaker of Spanish would find erroneous: *actualmente*, which means *currently* in standard Spanish, is used to mean *actually* (cf. standard Spanish *en realidad*), *carpeta*, which means *folder* in standard Spanish, is used for *carpet* (cf. standard Spanish *alfombra*), *librería*, which means *bookstore* in standard Spanish, is used in for *library* (cf. standard Spanish *biblioteca*), and *lectura*, which means *reading* in standard Spanish, is used in Spanglish for *lecture* (cf. standard Spanish *conferencia*).

Finally, many English verbs appear in Spanglish, usually as either *–ar* or *–ear* verbs, including *cuitear* (to quit, cf. standard Spanish *dejar* or *abandoner*), *laquear* (to lock, cf. standard Spanish *bloquear*), *lonchear* (to have lunch, cf. standard Spanish *almorzar*), and *rentar* (to rent, cf. standard Spanish *alquilar*).

3.3 The Morphology and Syntax of Spanglish

Syntactically, Spanglish is characterized by a number of differences from standard Spanish. We have already noted that many English verbs have been borrowed into Spanglish, typically as either *–ar* or *–ear* verbs, but this reflects a broader change in the Spanglish verbal system, which has largely reduced the three conjugations common in standard Spanish (*-ar, -er,* and *–ir*) into two (*-ar* and *–er*) (see Fuller & Leeman, 2020; Rodríguez-González & Parafita-Couto, 2012; Rothman & Rell, 2007; Sánchez, 2008; Zentella, 2008). The most obvious example of this process is in the first-person plural form of the present tense (which is the only form in which *–er* and *–ir* verbs would normally differ), as in *salimos* (we are leaving) being replaced by *salemos*. This process is often exacerbated by additional phonological changes, with mid-stem vowels becoming high vowels (*e > i, o > u*) (Sánchez, 2008: 22), as in *pidemos* (we ask, cf. standard Spanish *pedimos*), *sintemos* (we feel, cf. standard Spanish *sentimos*), *vinemos* (we come, cf. standard Spanish *venimos*), and *vistemos* (we wear, cf. standard Spanish *vestimos*).

One especially interesting change that is common in a number of different varieties of Spanglish is the increasing use of *estar* where *ser* would normally be used (Maienborn, 2005; Sakazar, 2007). Spanish, unlike English, has two distinct copular verbs. Although it is something

of an overgeneralization, basically in Spanish *ser* is normally used to describe conditions that are permanent in nature, while *estar* describes those which are more transitory in nature. As Maienborn (2005: 155) explains, "*the preference for interpreting estar predictions as noting temporary properties and ser predictions as denoting permanent properties follows from economy principles driving the pragmatic legitimation of estar's discourse dependence.*" This is the way in which the *ser/estar* distinction is typically taught in beginning Spanish foreign language classes, and it works most of the time as a general principle. It is a distinction that has long been one of considerable tension though, even in some varieties of standard Spanish. This change was observed more than half a century ago in some regional varieties of southwestern US Spanish; for instance:

> "*The present in Spanish …. of two copular verbs, both able to form constructions with the same adjectives and participles, has been the cause of competition for semantic space since the 12th century … Historically, the context of copula + adjective has been dominated by* ser, *but recent studies have shown an innovative use of* estar *that is a semantic extension into domains previously associated only with* ser." (Ornstein, 1951, quoted in Sakazar, 2007: 346)

If this is the case more generally, it is hardly surprising that the distinction is being less widely observed in many varieties of Spanglish, especially as these varieties increasing come into contact with English; indeed, the distinction between *ser* and *estar* is largely absent in some varieties of Spanglish.

Other differences between Spanish and different varieties of Spanglish are also well-documented. Both the simplification and regularization of verbal morphology are common, the personal pronoun system is often simplified, and there is a simplification in the established gender inflection system of standard Spanish as well (especially in cases where nouns derived from Greek roots which end in *–a* are masculine in standard Spanish, but become feminine in Spanglish).[6] The impact on gender is not limited to nouns; rather, at least in the Spanglish of some younger *latino* speakers, in oral speech, there is sometimes a lack of number and gender agreement. Examples of this phenomenon include *muchos cosas* (many things, cf. standard Spanish *muchas cosas*), *los escuelas* (the schools, cf. standard Spanish *las escuelas*), and *el televisor es vieja* (the television is old, cf. standard Spanish *el televisor es viejo*).

Unlike in English, with its two-word infinitive (*to go*, *to have*, *to like*, etc.), in standard Spanish the infinitive is a single word (*hablar*, *deber*, *decir*, etc.).[7] There is evidence of some speakers of Spanglish employing the *a* in exactly the same manner that it is used in English, as in *es díficil a leer* (it is difficult to read), *ofreció a prestárnolas* (offered to lend them to us), and *querían a comenzar* (they wanted to start).

Finally, it is important to repeat here that Spanglish is rule-governed. One can say *Lo hizo slowly*, but never *How lo hizo? *Con quién Peter go? cannot be used in place of *¿Con quién va Pedro?*, nor can *Cuándo is Mary coming? replace *¿Cuándo viene María?* Further, while an English noun may be preceded by a Spanish article (*el wedding, los officials, los munchies, una friend con benefits,* etc.), Spanish nouns cannot be preceded by English article (*the casa). As Sánchez observes, since "*both English and Spanish have underlying sentences of this type: S → noun phrase + auxiliary + verb + (noun phrases) … sentences initiated in Spanish, with Spanish auxiliaries, could be followed by English particles*" (2008: 39).

4. Spanglish and Raciolinguistic Ideologies

Race and language are not only closely related, but they are deeply intertwined in a host of ways. The relationship between them has been the focus of a great deal of scholarly work, especially that concerned with what is called raciolinguistics (see Alim *et al.,* 2016; Chaparro, 2019; Flores, 2019, 2020; Rosa, 2016a, 2016b, 2019; Rosa & Flores, 2017; Subtirelu, 2017). In essence, raciolinguistic ideologies are approaches and pedagogies that "*conceptualize standardized linguistic practices as an objective set of linguistic forms that are appropriate*" for institutional settings, such as educational institutions, the workplace, etc. (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 149). One especially egregious facet of raciolinguistics is what Rosa (2019) calls the "*ideology of languagelessness,*" which is the idea that some minority language speakers lack competence in *both* their native language *and* in English. This ideology of languagelessness is manifested in criticisms of both English-language use and of the use of the native language. Rosa describes the case of Yesi, a Puerto Rican college student enrolled in a university-level Spanish class:

> "*As a heritage user of Puerto Rican Spanish, Yesi was not perceived as producing spoken and written Spanish forms that corresponded to the standardized language and literacy practices that her professor required. In a particularly embarrassing incident, her professor excoriated her publicly for saying* troque *instead of* camión *(truck). He viewed* troque *as a problematic calque from English to Spanish … Yesi interpreted this incident as a public shaming. She explained, "it hurt a lot, I felt like he was calling me stupid" …. [In] Yesi's Spanish course in college … the biggest problems were essay assignments, for which Yesi regularly received failing grades. Her professor told her,* "Estás hacienda errores básicos" *(You are making basic mistakes) ... Her perceived inability to produce standardized spoken and written forms made her feel as though she did not know Spanish at all.*" (2019: 140-141)

This idea of languageness is one that is common in discussions of Spanglish (see, e.g., Zentella, 2007, 2014). Lippi-Green, responding to the idea of languagelessness,[8] argues that:

> "*When … Spanish-language [speakers are labelled] as* semi-lingual *or* alingual, *[what is being referred to is] code-switching, the orderly (grammatically structured) alternation between two or more languages, a subject of great interest to linguists and one which is widely studied. This complicates the picture of the Spanish-speaking universe considerably. We have distinct languages, each with its own stylistic repertoires: Spanish and English. To these we add more recently developed but distinct varieties of English, for example, Chicano English and Chicano Spanish as they are spoken in the Southwest and West. Now we have also the phenomenon of living and working with three languages, and switching among them as determined by language-internal (syntactic and morphological) rules as well as social ones. In comparison, style-switching may seem to an unsympathetic outsider nothing more than a language hodge-podge, one often labeled Spanglish.*" (2012: 261)

Indeed, in many school settings in the United States, different varieties of Spanglish are routinely denigrated as inadequate and inferior to both Spanish and English, and speakers of

Spanglish are perceived as speaking neither language adequately. In her study of second-generation Puerto Ricans in New York, Zentella (2008: 42) cites a poem by Sandra María Estéves, "Not neither," in which Estéves writes that she "not really *hablando bien*" – a common view conveyed to Spanglish-speaking students by both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking teachers. In fact, children who are speakers of Spanglish are all too often considered to be "language impaired" by many educationists. What is at stake is the fundamental legitimacy of the language that these children are speaking. Nor is this merely a semantic or theoretical issue. As Sayer comments,

> *"[E]ducators can put into practice the valorization of the vernacular and its use as a pedagogical resource … [The acceptance of Spanglish] provides a critical sociolinguistic orientation … [and empowers classroom teachers to] consider [] the ways that students' use of English, Spanish, and Spanglish [can] inform how educators see language use in the classroom. Finally, it considers the ramifications of embracing Spanglish as a social language …"* (2008: 94)

What is perhaps most interesting in this regard is that in some ways students appear to be ahead of many educators in understanding the nexus of language, race and ideology in educational settings. As Martínez suggests, studies have shown that:

> *"Students'* language ideologies *with respect to Spanish-English code-switching, a language practice that many of the students referred to as "Spanglish" … reveals that students articulated and embodied both* dominant *language ideologies that framed* Spanglish *in pejorative terms and* counter-hegemonic *language ideologies that valorized and normalized this bilingual language practice … this ideological variation and contradiction provide fertile ground for transformative dialog that could potentially help students cultivate* critical language awareness *and* critical literacy *more broadly."* (2013: 276, emphasis in original)

In fact, users of Spanglish are often able to also utilize both Spanish and English depending on the context and situation, and do so for a variety of reasons. Rothman and Rell, for instance, quote one Spanglish speaker, Miguel, who explains:

> *"Sometimes, if I attempt to speak Spanglish to non-Hispanics, even if they speak a high level of Spanish, they either react in confusion or they mock me, acting as if I didn't know the word whereas I switched only because it made more sense to me [and so in general I don't]. I also avoid Spanglish with non-Spanish speaking Hispanics, a.k.a. Hispanics who despise the "improper use" of Spanish."* (2007: 530)

As Lippi-Green observes, "*We do not, cannot under our laws, ask people to change the color of their skin, their religion, their gender, but we regularly demand of people that they suppress or deny the most effective way they have of situating themselves socially in the world*" (2012: 66). In short, the case of Spanglish, offers us a powerful example of the power of linguicism and the rule of raciolinguistic ideologies in education, while at the same time suggesting that users of the language varieties deemed non-legitimate by the dominant society may both accept and reject

this ideology simultaneously – a paradox, to be sure, but one definitely worthy of further exploration.

Notes

1) This is true at the federal level; the US Constitution makes no mention at all of an official language. However, in recent years, in response to conservative political efforts, most states have either passed legislation or amended their constitutions to recognize English as their official language.

2) Tió actually created two words to describe this phenomenon; the other, less known term, was *inglañol*. In contemporary Spanish, Spanglish is called *el espanglés* – a term that has the same negative connotations as its English equivalent.

3) Spanglish is also obviously different from what has been labelled "Mock Spanish," which is the arguably racist practice of adding *-o* endings to English words (e.g., *no problemo, el cheapo,* etc.) (see Escobar & Potowski, 2015: 149-152; Fuller & Leeman, 2020: 69-70; Leeman, 2012: 48; Montes-Alcalá, 2009: 107-109). Such "Mock Spanish" is similar to the so-called "Ebonics Satire" that surrounds African American English (see, e.g., Rickford, 1999; Ronkin & Karn, 1999; Scott, 1998).

4) Many of the linguistic features of Spanglish can also be found in other varieties of Spanish, most especially in non-standard rural varieties. While some of the characteristics of Spanglish are clearly the result of contact with English, others can be explained as the result of a number of other linguistic processes. Nevertheless, there are a number of developments in Spanglish which seem to be due solely and exclusively to the impact of the close contact of Spanish and English in the unique US context, and which are therefore unique to the specific case of Spanglish.

5) There are also, of course, a large number of English borrowings into standard Spanish (e.g., *el software*), as well as borrowings from Spanish into English. The borrowings discussed here, however, are those which would most likely not be accepted in any variety of standard Spanish, but which are found only in Spanglish.

6) This is true for terms like *la systma, la síntoma, la diploma*, and *la mediodía*, but not for words of high frequency such as *el día*, which retains its standard Spanish gender.

7) Some verbs of motion in Spanish, when followed by an infinitive, *do* require the insertion of the preposition *a* (for instance, *voy a ir*, "I am going to go"), but this is not typical, nor is the *a* part of the infinitive.

8) Both of these terms are problematic from a linguistic perspective. As Romaine (2000: 234) has noted, *"[In discussions of semilingualism] we see a number of basic misconceptions about the nature of language and about what constitutes competence in a language, as they have been applied specifically to bilinguals."*

Conflict of Interest Statement
The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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