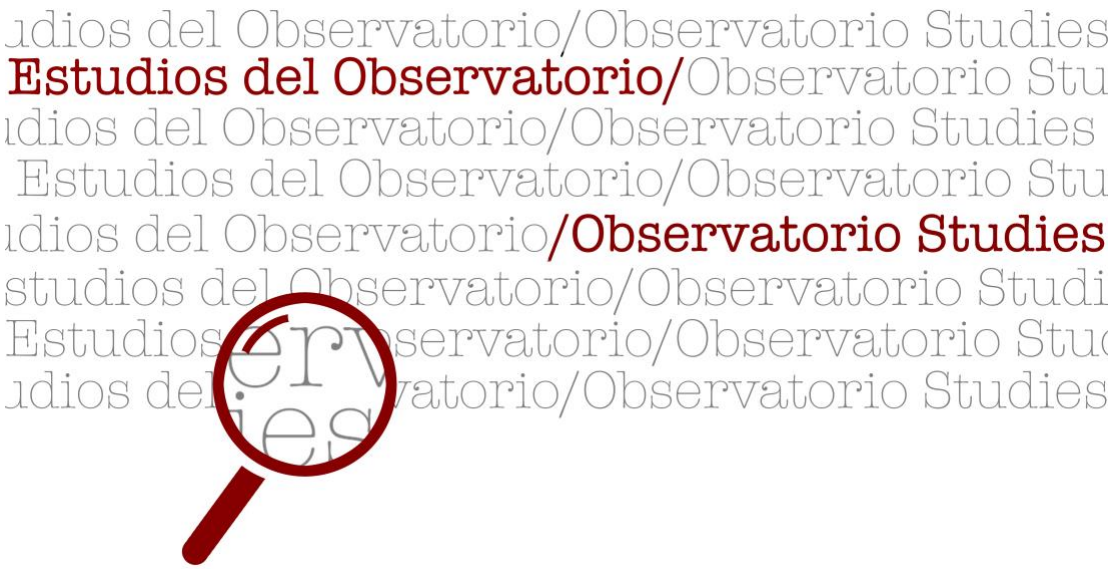

077-04/2022EN[1]

ISSN 2688-2949 (online)
ISSN 2688-2965 (print)

Multidisciplinary Reflections on Spanglish

Ángel López García-Molins
Universitat de València

Abstract: This volume brings together a series of texts —previously presented at conferences, tributes, lectures, and in some publications— on linguistic, socio-cultural, and political aspects of *Spanglish/espanglish*. After an introduction dealing with the issue of language contact and the evolution that it causes in languages, a series of chapters are presented on the linguistic categorization of Spanglish, the psycholinguistics of this phenomenon, and its social implications, as well as how it is practiced in the U.S. media, the ideological connotations that its recognition and use entail and, finally, its relationship with translation. Upon completing this multidisciplinary journey, the volume concludes that Spanglish, a *rara avis* of linguistics, should not be considered a language but a psychological dialect that manifests itself as a bilingual practice in permanent transformation.

Keywords: Spanglish, espanglish, language contact, U.S. Spanish, bilingualism, ideology.

[1] [Editors' note: Except for Chapter 3, originally in English, this text is an English translation, offered by the Observatorio, of the Spanish original submitted by the author. See study 077-04/2022SP.]

ISSN: 2688-2949 (online) 2688-2965 (print) doi: 10.15427/OR077-04/2022EN

How to cite this work:

López García-Molins, A. (2022). Multidisciplinary Reflexions on Spanglish. *Estudios del Observatorio / Observatorio Studies, 77*, pp. 1-96. https://cervantesobservatorio.fas.harvard.edu/es/informes

OBSERVATORIO de la lengua española y las culturas hispánicas en los Estados Unidos

Instituto Cervantes at FAS - Harvard University

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Introduction

Some time ago, Marta Mateo, the executive director of the *Observatory of the Spanish Language and Hispanic Cultures* in the United States, the Instituto Cervantes' research center at Harvard University, graciously accepted my suggestion to publish a book I had written on norms in U.S. Spanish. A print edition had been published previously by the North American Academy of the Spanish Language (Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española, or ANLE), of which I am a corresponding member, and which had agreed to make the text available for all scholars to freely consult on the Observatory's website.[2] I now find myself motivated to publish a series of papers together as one monograph, in the form of an issue of *Estudios del Observatorio/*Observatorio *Studies*, a task that has involved some reworking on my part, as the study that follows did not previously exist in its current form. In 2015, I published *Teoría del spanglish* (Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch), a book on neurolinguistics that was generally well-received, and which received several reviews. It is a highly technical book that is easily understood by specialists, but difficult for the lay reader. This would not be much of an issue were we not talking specifically about Spanglish, also known as *Espanglis*, or *Espanglish*. Even this disagreement over the language's name, inconceivable in strictly academic terms, demonstrates the degree of interest the subject arouses in people with no ties to the world of linguistics. And the topic is indeed very interesting. I realize now that the less technical issues — and those most intriguing to the general public — are those that I have been discussing in forums that, strangely enough, are not very accessible. Thus, with the Observatory's encouragement, I have collected them in a single volume

[2] That section of the Observatory's website also provides a link to three other papers from the ANLE's digital journal: *Glosas,* that address the same topic: *Glosas*, ANLE, 8-2, 2013, 2-19; *Glosas*, ANLE, 9-1, 2016, 17-40; and *Glosas*, ANLE, 9-10, 2021, 22-31.

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here. It includes works I presented as tributes, at conferences, or simply as lectures. After eliminating some repetitions and tweaking the expository style, they now form a single, coherent essay, with chapters that can be read either sequentially or on their own. Following an introduction to the subject (Chap. 1), in which I address the topic of language contact and the peculiar evolution this phenomenon provokes in languages, I tackle what we might call the categorization of Spanglish, that is, the question of what linguistic modality this speech form represents (Chap. 2). Contrary to what might be expected, this leads me to approach the question from a psycholinguistic perspective (Chap. 3), given that, although Spanglish has obvious social implications and is spoken more in some parts of the U.S. than others, its use ultimately remains a question of attitude — a diapsychic rather than diastratic or diatopic phenomenon. The strength and resilience of Spanglish, which a century ago was considered mere slang on the verge of disappearance, has led to its consolidation as a playful oral variant of the highly anglicized international Spanish spoken across major U.S. media outlets (Chap. 4). Its emergence, of course, is charged with ideological connotations, which I analyze in the following chapter (Chap. 5). I close out this series of collected works with a reflection (Chap. 6) on Spanglish and translation, or rather, on Spanglish and the impossibility of its translation, in which I posit my view that Spanglish both is and is not a language; that it is both languages, but also neither. My hope is that this publication will help us to better understand the many refracting facets of a topic that is much more complex than is often believed.

One last remark. A few colleagues have suggested that I add a brief overview of the current state of Spanglish studies. I realize, however, that such an endeavor would certainly go beyond what I set out to do in bringing these texts together. Curiously, as I write these lines in 2022, Spanglish is well on its way to no longer constituting a problem. I can only hope that my modest contributions toward an understanding of this remarkable language variety have helped make this the case,

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together with the contributions of many other scholars, of course. But in addition, there now seems to be, *hic et nunc*, a more uninhibited, less ideologically charged, and in many ways more normalized tone on the part of practitioners of Spanglish. Perhaps this is because the language is increasingly spoken by people of Hispanic origin who learn Spanish as a heritage language — a third generation, fully integrated into the U.S. and immersed in its English-speaking world, who therefore no longer need to claim Spanglish but can simply enjoy the playful practice of speech that swims *entre dos aguas*.

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1. Language contact as evolutionary inversion [3]

Language contact occurs when two languages, A and B, that had previously maintained parallel and noncommunicating trajectories, begin to converge as a result of certain exogenous factors. These factors occur at a moment in time 0, until the point that they begin interfering and exchanging elements with each other:

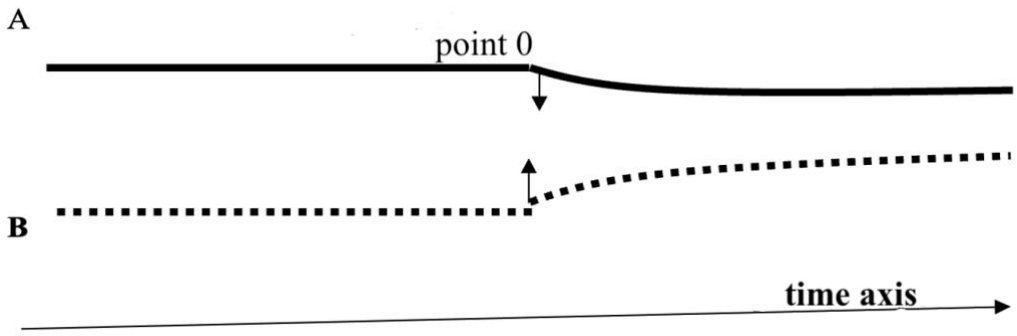

Figure 1: Language convergence

The aforementioned point 0 is a *terminus ad quem*. It can be an invasion, like the one that caused Spanish and Portuguese to encounter various Amerindian languages, or Arabic and the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula, but it can also be a period of emigration (a form of peaceful invasion, so to speak) like the one currently re-Hispanicizing the U.S., or re-Arabizing poor neighborhoods on the outskirts of French, Spanish, and Italian cities. It is also not uncommon for invasion and emigration to go hand in hand, as happened during the occupation of Siberia (sparsely populated by Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic peoples) by Slavic-speaking populations, migrating at first under orders from the Tsarist government, then later from the Soviet government.

[3] Paper presented at the *54th International Congress of Americanists* (Vienna, July 15-20, 2012).

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Curiously, while one might think that convergence should be the opposite of divergence—indeed this is true on a conceptual level—the history of languages does not actually understand it that way, but instead sees divergence as the norm and convergence as the exception. In contrast to the physical sciences, where processes are reversible (for example, the condensation/expansion of gases as defined by the Clapeyron equation), linguistics assumes that divergence is a gradual process, and that two dialects of a single language will separate imperceptibly over time until the moment they gain recognition as two distinct languages. Philologists explain this situation by way of the familiar observation that it is impossible to date the birth of the Romance languages:

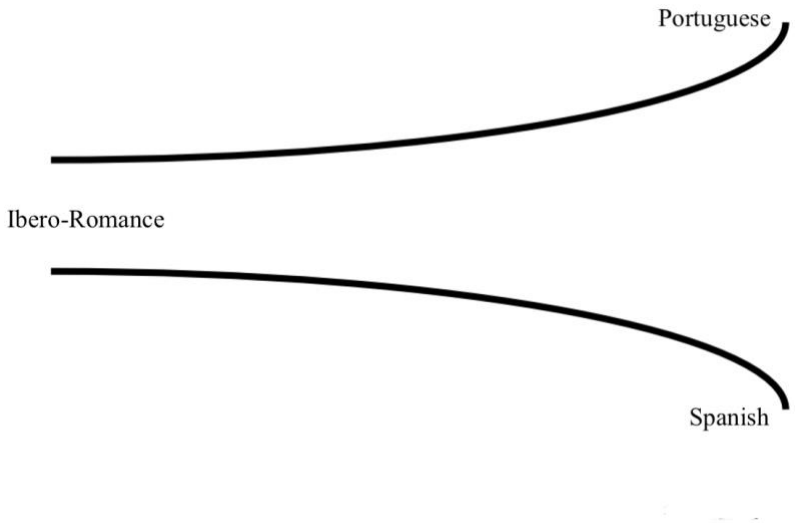

Figure 2: Linguistic evolution (macro view)

The situation depicted in figure 2 represents an idealization. In empirical terms, of course, varieties of a language will gradually transform into different languages. In fact, varieties of a monocentric language, dialects of a pluricentric language, and diverse languages of the same origin within a multilingual space all constitute successive phases of the same evolutionary process (López García-Molins, 2010a). In figure 3, the dotted lines separate zones, but do not really mark a precise boundary between them:

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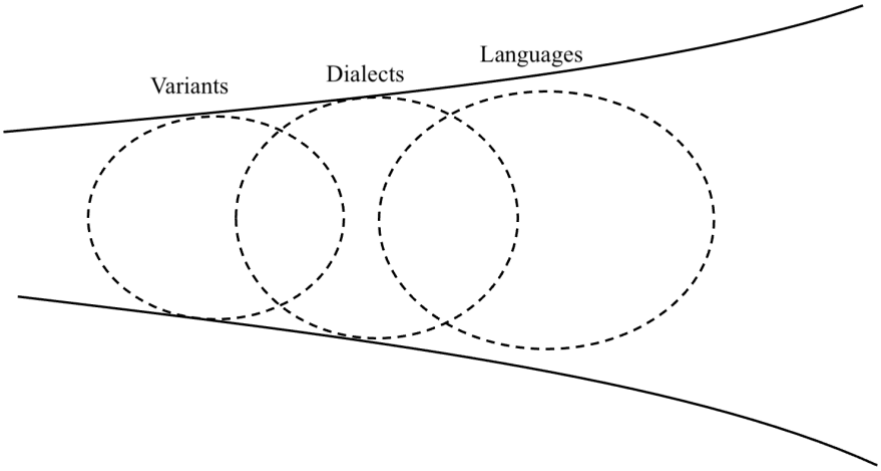

Figura 3: Lingustic evolution (micro view)

In terms of language awareness, however, this is not the case. There is always
10 a point at which speakers, represented by some prominent public figure, realize that the divergence has gone too far, and that "Spanish and Portuguese are no longer the same language," or that "Spanish is no longer Latin." This was the role performed by Dante with respect to Florentine in *De vulgari eloquentia* (c.1302-1305). It must be said that this recognition did not come quickly or easily, and that, from a modern perspective, it is in fact quite surprising that it took as long as it did. The difference between Spanish and Portuguese, for example, remained unclear well into the 16th century:

> There are four languages spoken today across all of Spain, each very different from the other [...] The fourth language is what I have come to call Spain's *Lengua Vulgar*, since it is generally spoken and understood everywhere in the country, and in particular in the kingdoms of Aragon, Murcia, Andalusia, New and Old Castile, Leon and Portugal; although the Portuguese language has so many and such varieties of words and pronunciations that it may well be called a language unto itself. (Balbín y Roldán, 1966, pp. 5-7)[4]

[4] [Editor's note: The Spanish originals of all quotations presented here in English translation can be consulted in the Spanish version of this study (077-04/2022SP).]

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This is why, metalinguistically, we can say that language divergence (figure 4) is a process that occurs in strict parallel with convergence (figure 1):

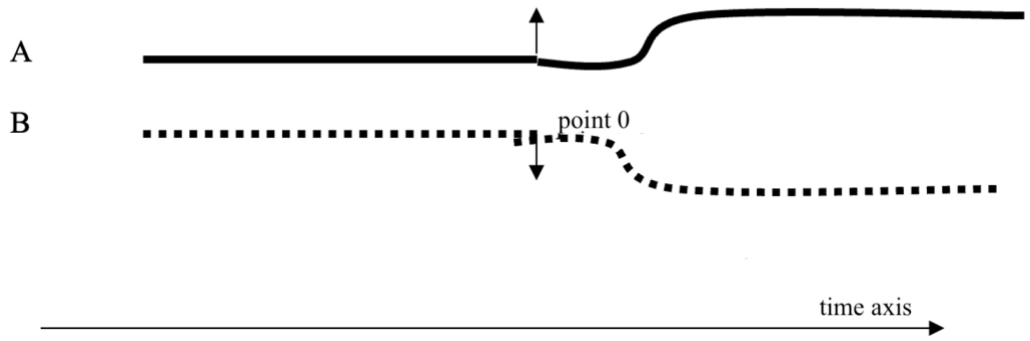

Figure 4: Language divergence

It may be worth studying both processes using the same parameters. In practice, however, there is considerable psychological resistance to doing so, despite it being theoretically easy to achieve. This can be attributed to a widely held conception that languages are achieved states. Hardly anyone would say that Spanish, Portuguese, Quechua, or Nahua have existed forever, yet few who speak these languages would be willing to accept that one day they will cease to exist. Even philologists, however much they might understand this fact, act as if they do not. How else to judge the sterile work of the academy, so determined to delay the passage of time? The reason, as I understand it, lies in the historical nature of human beings. Man has a past and he recreates it in his memory, but he is generally afraid of imagining a future where only old age and death reign. Languages reflect this reality with a rich inventory of past tenses but often just one future tense. This tense is frequently confused with the present and, moreover, is typically expressed by means of an obligatory or volitional form of periphrasis. The cognitive asymmetry of the PAST/future pair manifests itself in historical linguistics in the epistemological asymmetry of DIVERGENCE/convergence:

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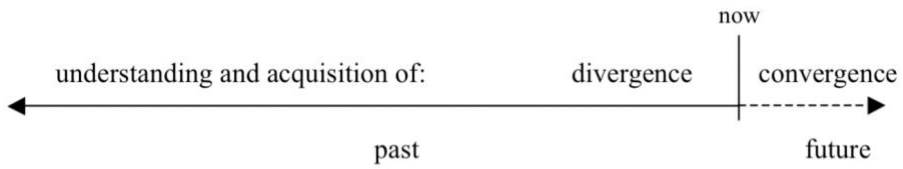

Figure 5: Temporal cognition

The concept of language contact is limited by the notion that languages exist in hermetically sealed containers: the assumption is that A exists, B exists, and that the two then interfere with each other's structures and exchange (or do not exchange) elements. This might be true in situations where we learn an L2 from an L1, were these in fact comparable phenomena (when we acquire an L1, however, we are simply learning to speak, not learning a language), but it is never true when two languages come to coexist in the same place. Language contact can only be properly analyzed from a combination of neurolinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. It is doubtful that languages A and B occupy different locations in the brain; it is much more likely that they each partially control the same neural networks (López García-Molins, 2009). In society, pluricentrism and plurilingualism are two possibilities existing along a single continuum (López García-Molins, 2010a), as we have just mentioned.

Thus, when the well-known distinction elaborated by Kloss (1985) between *Abstandsprachen* (distance languages) and *Ausbausprachen* (languages by building up) — which was established from a perspective in which varieties diverge — is applied to situations of language contact in a manner that assumes a perspective of convergence, we arrive at two correlative possibilities that do not recognize a language (*Sprache*) but rather a way of speaking (*Sprechen*):

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a) Mixed speech by proximity (*Annäherungmischsprechen*)

b) Mixed speech by decomposition (*Zergliederungmischsprechen*)

Mixed speech by proximity occurs when speakers become accustomed to alternating between languages, often speaking both within a single utterance. This is known as code-switching. Decomposition, as with building up, can be achieved in two ways:

b.1) Intensive decomposition (*corpus rehash)*, where the norms of minoritized varieties (the low variety in diglossic situations) begin to deteriorate in stages. In the Spanish-speaking domain, this manifests as the porosity that characterizes Spanglish or Yopará (López García-Molins, 2010, 7.2 y 7.4)

b.2) Extensive decomposition (*status rehash*), where the minoritized variety is gradually used in fewer and fewer spheres.

Some may find it surprising that I propose to treat code-switching as equivalent to the progressive divergence of dialects of the same language, but I would ask them to consider the following two texts. The first is taken from "Pollito Chicken," a Spanglish short story by Puerto Rican author Ana Lydia Vega:

> Todo lo cual nos pone en el aprieto de contarles el *surprise return* de S*uzie Bermiúdez* a su *native land* tras diez años de luchas incesantes. Lo que la decidió fue el *breathtaking poster* de Fomento que vio en la *travel agency* del *lobby* de su *building*. El *breathtaking poster* mentado representaba una pareja de *beatiful people holding hands* en el funicular del Hotel Conquistador. Los *beautiful people* se veían tan *deliriously happy* y el mar tan *strikingly blue* y la puesta de sol –no olvidemos la puesta de sol a la *Winston-tastes-good*–, la puesta de sol tan *shocking pink* en la distancia, que Susie *Bermiúdez* [...] abordó un 747 en raudo y *uninterrupted flight* hasta San Juan. (Vega, 1981, p. 74)

The second, from the Aguilar de Campó monastery (Castile), is much older, and describes an estate sale that occurred in the year 1186 (M. Pidal designates Latin words in italics and Romance words in standard roman type):

> *In dei nomine. Ego* Peidro Martínez *et* Lop Díaz *et* Ferran Roiz et Ordon Martínez, vendemos a vos *abbat* de Santa María de Aguilar et vuestros *fratres* el monesterio de *Sanct* Salvador de Enestares de Campó *cum* toda *sua hereditat, et* el solar de Ranosa ke fue de Ferran Garciaz la Pelega con los molinos et con toda *sua hereditad*. (Menéndez Pidal, 1966, p. 37)

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Both texts use code-switching: in the former, Spanish alternates with English; in the latter, Spanish (Castilian) alternates with Latin. Of course, this is not the same thing: Spanish is merely a cousin of English within the Indo-European branch, whereas it is a direct descendant of Latin. But this is a distinction for philologists that speakers are indifferent to. In both cases, the stereotypical formulas are in the prestige language: In English, *Winston-tastes-good*, in Latin, *in dei nominee*. In either case, some terms vacillate, most of all proper nouns: *Sanct* Salvador, but Santa María; *Suzie* alongside Susie. There is also no lack of semicultisms, that is, words that use the phonetic norms of two languages simultaneously: thus *Bermiúdez*, with a Hispanic interdental pronunciation [θ] of –z, next to an Anglo pronunciation [yú] of the vowel –u–; or *hereditad*, from hereditatem, with the first t preserved and the second romanized.

It is unlikely that language convergence by proximity — Kloss's *Abstandsprachen* — would result in the production of a new language, since code-mixing operates as an intense force in the minds of speakers. This is why code-switching is exclusively a speech practice (*Sprechen*), while *Annäherungmischsprechen* and its examples come from literature or notarial language. On the other hand, when such language proximity is left to the uncontrolled practices of its speakers, the norms of the less socially prestigious language will inevitably deteriorate, resulting in mixed speech by decomposition (*Zergliederungmischsprechen*). This is observed quite clearly in the case of Spanish-English contact, by comparing the language-by-building up in the Spanglish of Ana Lydia Vega, with recordings of working-class Spanglish speakers in the barrio:

> —¿Cómo tú estás, *brodel*?; -*I'm okey*, ¿y tú?; —Pues mira, *jangeando* un ratito. *What about you*?; —Caminito de un *ópenin* que queda aquí mismo. *Do you wanna come*?; —Lo siento, *brodel*, estoy sin una *quora*; —*Come on, man*, no seas chinero; —No, no, yo me quedo. Ve tú; —*Okey, pues te llamo p'atrás* y quedamos un día para *lonchar*; —*Okey*. ¡Suave!; —¡Suave!" (Cardenal, 2003)

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As we can see, this text also mixes Spanish and English, but in a different way, and with a considerable degradation of Spanish-language norms. English is no longer present in the form of typical expressions, but instead is used to replace terms from daily life, like *brodel* (for *brother), ópenin* (for *opening*), or *quora* (for *quarter*). Derivatives are also formed, such as *lonchear* (from *lunch*) or *jangeando* (from *hanging [out]*). And together with strict forms of code-switching — *do you wanna come?; – Lo siento– we see* syntactic calques such as *te llamo p'atrás* (*I'll call you back*), or hypercorrections like *¿cómo tú estás?* (as opposed to *how are you?*). These are examples of a phenomenon that reinforces the tendencies of simple code-switching, which I have come to call *porosity*. Porous dialects:

> are pseudo-languages that absorb other elements of speech as a porous stone absorbs liquids, trapping them in the hollow spaces of its form but never fully integrating them into its manifestly unstable structure. Spanglish is a Spanish that has absorbed elements of English to the point of irreversible saturation. Porous dialects do not represent a consolidated hybridization; as in the case of loanwords, they are unstable hybridizations. Linguistic sequences subject to situations of porosity do not eventually become independent dialects; they require the presence of the dominant language, which is incapable of engulfing them while at the same time not allowing them to consolidate. (López García-Molins, 2010b, p. 127)

In other words, proximity is achieved through the decomposition of the norms of the disadvantaged language. Another example of this would be Yopará, which requires prior proximity to Guaraní and Spanish, along with the code-switching mechanisms of so-called "colonial Guaraní." A similar instance of divergence occurs in the following example taken from the *Book of Coronations*, a text written under orders of Pedro III of Aragon (1353), in which two Romance dialects emerging out of the fragmentation of Latin — Castilian and Aragonese — struggle to coexist. We can already see, however, how the norms of the former prevail over those of the latter:

> Primerament, que la setmana antes *ques* corone el rey debe *deyunar* tres días, hies a saber, miercoles, viernes, sabado. E la *nueyt* antes de aquella que vaya *veylar*, debe se banyar el rey. E la *viespra* dela coronacion en la manyana debe se confessar el rey. Item que la *viespra* dela coronacion antes dela que vaya a *veylar* el rey, que se çarcene delos cabellos, en manera que toquen los unos con los otros *deyus* de la barba; e si ha barba, *ques la tire*. E quando esto haya *feyto* el rey, que se mude de vestiduras nuevas. (Menéndez Pidal, 1971, pp. 537-538)

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This happens to such an extent that we can only really speak of lexical Aragonisms (*de yus*, *feyto*, *viespra*…) insofar as they are inserted into a text that is fundamentally similar to those of the neighboring kingdom.

Nevertheless, mixed speech by intensive decomposition rarely stays in that stage. The degradation of norms often entails the degradation of social status. This is what happened with Spanglish, as R. Oteguy and N. Stern correctly point out:

> There are Latin Americans of all generations, including artists, professors, journalists and other opinion makers, who proudly proclaim that they speak Spanglish, according this term a level of covert prestige. Nevertheless, it is hard to see what advantages can derive for a person to conceive of himself as a speaker of Spanglish rather than as a speaker of Spanish. In our globalized world, no one can benefit by repudiating their own knowledge of a major world language. Latino leaders who refer to popular Spanish in the USA as Spanglish, with the clear implication that it is not Spanish, are connecting, sadly, to an old North American tradition of denigrating immigrants from the Spanish-speaking world. A strategy of scorn and contempt of Spanish speakers was established in the USA in the 1940s and in the 1950s in the wake of the early waves of Latin American immigration. Many academics and commentators of the time demeaned the Spanish of these immigrants because it was not Castilian Spanish. That what you speak, the immigrants were admonished, is not Spanish, because it does not reflect the norms of north-central Spain. This attitude, which had not existed in this form in Spain or Latin America but was largely a US-made product, held sway for many years, as a form of dismissal of the language of hundreds of thousands of Spanish speakers. […] Yesterday's strategy of depriving immigrants of their Spanish language because it was not Castilian has been transmuted, today, into the attempt to take it from them by labeling it as Spanglish. (Oteguy & Stern, 2010, p. 97)

The same occurred with the social status of Yopará, and we can reach similar conclusions when we examine the effects the decomposition of Aragonese norms had on the attitudes of speakers when the dialect began to mix with Castilian norms (Martínez Ferrer, 1995).

In short, language contact involves an inversion, through convergence, of normal evolutionary processes, both from a neurolinguistic as well as a sociolinguistic perspective. Neurolinguistically, divergence involves a bifurcation of the neural networks that support the cognitive grasp of a given language: Where we once had the variation TABULA ~ MENSA, we now have the alternative *tavola* (It.) / *mesa*

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(Sp.). Convergence, on the other hand, entails the merging of two networks — each corresponding to two elements of two different languages — into a single network that treats the languages as variational possibilities: where we once had *table* (Eng.) / mesa (Sp.), we now have TABLE ~ MESA:

DIVERGENCE: TABULA ~ MENSA [LATIN] → *TAVOLA* (IT.) / *MESA* (SP.).

CONVERGENCE: *TABLE* (ENG.) / *MESA* (SP.) → TABLE ~ MESA [SPANGLISH]

However, one should not confuse our task with splitting apart whole mental modules, nor with merging them together. The transition from one situation to another plays out in the strengthening/weakening of a simple nervous system connection, because languages have no independent neurological existence.

Sociolinguistically, the nuances are quite varied, but not because they emerge from a cognitive substrate that is distinct from a neurological one — how could they? They are varied because attitudes (toward Spanglish, toward Yopará, toward Aragonese) are mediated through two fundamental types of neural networks: metalinguistic awareness and emotional appraisal. These networks are located in distinct areas of the brain — in the left hemisphere and the limbic system, respectively (López García-Molins, 2007) — and examining them would involve going beyond the scope of this study.

In either case, the fact that divergence/convergence is at play in the mind as well as in the social system tells us that, given conditions of sufficiently intense social control, divergence can be delayed for centuries while convergence can be intensified until it produces a new language. Both these trajectories go against the respective tendencies of facilitating divergence and hindering convergence, which I allude to above. A good example of the first tendency is the reverential fear that exists among many Spanish speakers that their language may eventually splinter into several different American Romance languages. As we know, several years after the

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independence of the Argentine Republic (1837), Juan Bautista Alberdi proclaimed the linguistic disintegration of the colonial language as the patriotic duty of all Argentines (Guitarte, 1991, p. 78).

However, as we know, this tendency did not prevail, perhaps because the founding (first in Colombia, in 1871) of American academic institutions led to the rejection of divergence as a common endeavor, or because many American intellectuals (Rubén Darío, José Enrique Rodó, Octavio Paz, etc.) adopted a position antagonistic to it. Another possible explanation involves the dynamics of the global community simply encouraging a single, though not uniform, model of language (Ávila, 2006). Instead, we get the following evolutionary model:

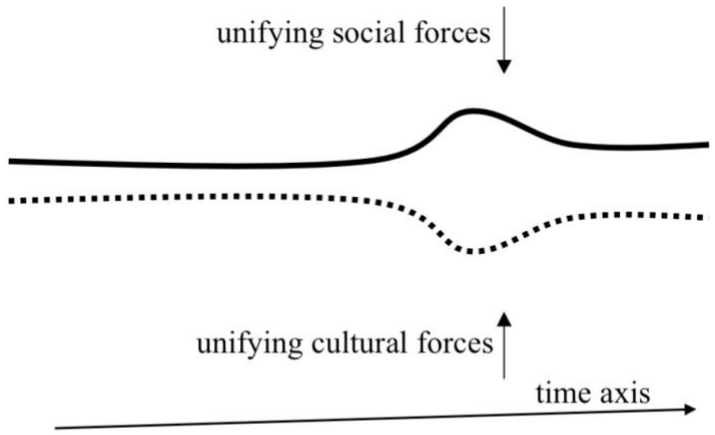

Figure 6: Restrained divergence

The opposite situation is when language contact results in a total convergence, which is to say, in a new language formed from two languages that are no longer independently recognizable. This is precisely what happens with creole languages, such as Palenquero in San Basilio (Colombia). It is often said that creoles are stages that follow the formation of a pidgin, and this is true, but pidgins are

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continuously being created — especially in the context of increased mass migratory movements caused by globalization — while at most, fifty creoles are currently spoken around the world. This is because pidgins are more or less ephemeral approximations of language, while creoles are approximations of language that have been forced, through exterior circumstances, to become consolidated codes. One such circumstance, regrettably, was slavery, an institution that created the conditions for the formation of Haitian and Jamaican Creole. The formation of creoles thus corresponds to the following model:

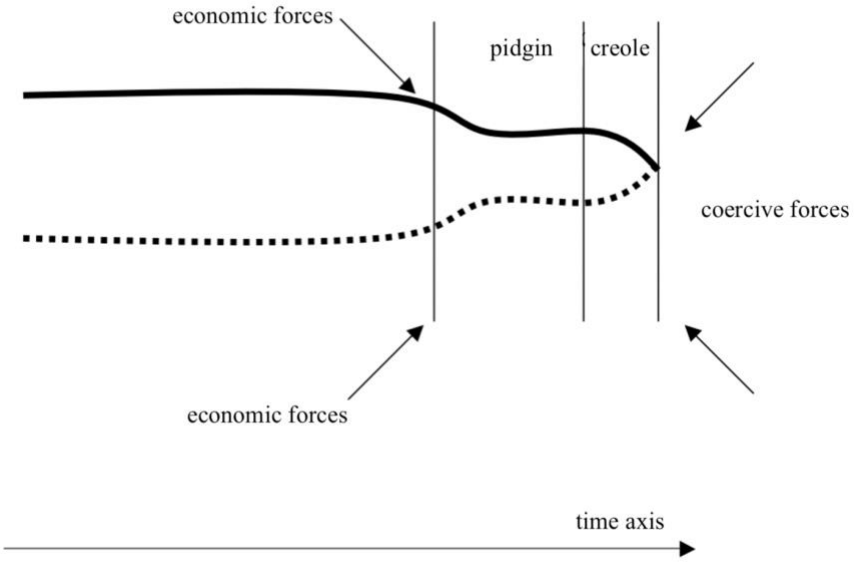

Figure 7: Forced convergence

This 'forced' nature, which results from the transformation of pidgins into creoles, does not, after some time has passed and conditions of subjugation have diminished, preclude the creole from becoming a symbol of identity for the subjugated population. After all, several generations after first contact, it is the only language they speak, and is, therefore, *their* language. Thus, creoles with French, English and Portuguese lexical foundations have become, respectively, the national

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languages of Haiti (*Créole*), Jamaica (*Creole*) and Cape Verde (*Crioulo*). One must be careful with these denominations, however: in France, the term *patois* refers to regional dialects in general, but many speakers of Jamaican still refer to the language as *patuá*, despite it being an English-based creole. Similarly, on the southern slopes of the central Pyrenees there is a variant of the Aragonese dialect, Benasqués, which is often called *Patués*.

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2. Spanglish: Pidgin, creole, or none of the above?[5]

Every time I present a paper on Spanglish at a conference, I sense the room becoming charged with tension. One can speak freely and at leisure about the subjunctive, about Gabriel García Márquez, or about the evolution of the fourth yod, and no one will bat an eye. But the moment someone mentions so-called Spanglish (the title, incidentally, of Ricardo Otheguy' and Nancy Stern's (2010) brilliant piece, *On so-called Spanglish*) one becomes immediately aware of having broached a taboo subject. *Vade retro*: Spanglish is not a respectable research topic. Who would have thought! Did he not know, people will ask in whispers, that among such company, the term *Spanglish* is forbidden? Well, this is exactly why we need to challenge and expose these taboos; they are counterproductive, and we must cease to perpetuate them through our silence. If you'll allow me a personal confession, I must admit that my background is not only in the humanities, but also in the physical sciences. And from the perspective of science, this kind of fear is utterly incomprehensible. Whether we like it or not, a lot of people are talking about Spanglish — just look at Domnita Dumitrescu's bibliography (2010) — and, as the saying goes, where there's smoke, there's fire. Some claim that Spanglish is a mixed language (Stavans, 2003), others that it is not (Otheguy & Stern, 2010); some argue that it reinforces the pride and identity of U.S. Latinos (Morales, 2002), others are appalled by such a claim (González Echevarría, 1997). If we were debating the chemical identity of a substance in a test tube to determine whether it was an acid or a base, we might simply insert a strip of litmus paper and arrive at our answer without any uncertainty, as an acid will turn the paper red and a base will turn it blue. I would like to attempt something similar here, within the confines of the humanities. I realize that your

[5] Paper presented at *The Hispanic and Spanish language presence in the United States: Unity in Diversity* (*La presencia hispana y el español de los Estados Unidos*: *Unidad en la diversidad)*, a conference hosted by ANLE, Washington, DC, June 6-8, 2014.

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response to such a proposal will be that this kind of test is not applicable, as in our case, the reagent is grammar+dictionary, and what it shows us is only that Spanglish is made up of elements of Spanish and elements of English; it is, in other words, not unlike Don Quixote's *baciyelmo.* Notice, however, that the question is not, "What are the elements that compose this substance?" but rather, "Is the substance an acid or a base?" In the case of Spanglish, the question is the same. We already know that Spanglish is made up of elements from both Spanish and English; what we are interested in, however, is determining whether it is a language, a dialect, a type of slang, or God knows what else.

Let us consider the strongest operational hypothesis: perhaps we are dealing with a language. If so, we are dealing with a mixed language. That's good news, because fortunately the humanities are not so different from the sciences in this respect: there are technical procedures for determining without a doubt whether a given linguistic modality is a creole language or not. The capacity of linguistics to solve such a problem is truly exceptional. Contrary to popular belief, we are often unable to differentiate between a *language* and a *dialect* — for example, scholars continue to discuss *ad nauseum* the question of whether Portuguese is the same language as Galician, or Pekingese the same as Cantonese, etc. — but, we have no problem determining whether or not a modality that mixes two languages constitutes a third, creole language.

In the following remarks, I will attempt not merely to suggest, but to demonstrate that Spanglish is not, in fact, a creole. I am aware that in the field of linguistics we typically formulate scientific hypotheses in the form of affirmative statements: "Spanish comes from Latin," "English has two numbers," "Russian is an inflected language," etc. Professional linguists would consider claims like "Spanish does not come from Malay," or "English does not have five nominative cases," as utterly outlandish. This is not the case, however, in other fields of scientific study: In

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2013, Peter Higgs was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physics for his discovery of the boson subatomic particle, which confirmed the old and counterintuitive belief among physicists that a "photon does not have mass" because it does not interact with the boson field. Well, the same applies in the case of Spanglish. Whenever two languages come into contact — given conditions in which one language, H, is dominant and the other language, L, is not — three things can happen:

1. Language L disappears and language H becomes the native tongue;
2. Language L survives by incorporating numerous loanwords from language H;
3. Language L yields and adapts to the dominance of language H, giving rise to a creole that essentially consists in language L employing certain simplified syntactic schemes to fill functional gaps using lexemes from language H (relexification).

The first outcome describes the fate of immigrant languages in the U.S.: German in Pennsylvania, Swedish in Minnesota, Chinese in California, etc. The second outcome is precisely what happened in Canada when the country incorporated the Province of Quebec in 1774, and French has survived there to this day, albeit in a highly anglicized form. The third outcome has played out a hundred times or more all across the globe, as in the case, for example, of Gullah in South Carolina, a Creole with an African grammatical base — the Ewe language of West Africa — that has been relexified by English.

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The above three outcomes can be represented as follows:

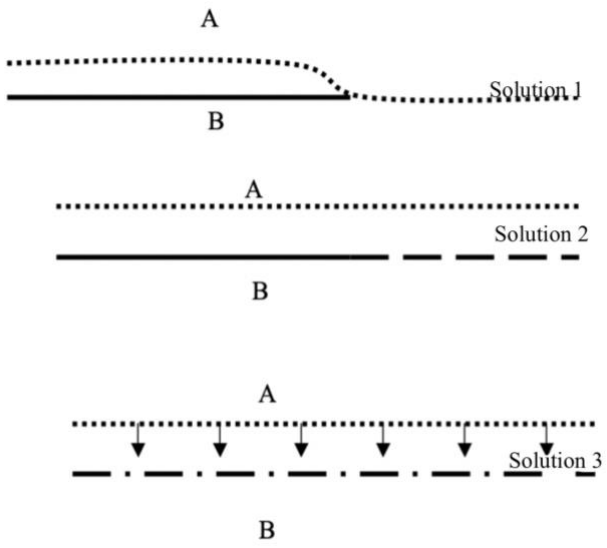

Figure 8: Evolutionary models

Needless to say, Hispanic Americans would jump at the opportunity for the second outcome to take hold in the U.S. They would be delighted if Spanish were to consolidate in the U.S. the way French has in Canada, though, of course, on an ethno-cultural basis more than a territorial one. Yet there is a widespread fear that the first outcome is the one that will win out — meaning that a drastic decrease in the flow of Hispanic immigrants will result in the extinction of the Spanish language in the U.S. Perhaps this is why the third outcome (the creole hypothesis) is more than just an interesting theoretical possibility: For some in the U.S., it represents the lesser evil, while for others, it would be an intolerable capitulation. This is why it is worth taking it seriously outside the cold confines of the laboratory. In any case, we need to recognize the fact that, at the end of the day, there are some in the Spanish-speaking world who are not afforded the luxury of rejecting the category of creole: What we typically call "Spanish Filipino," for example, is actually, with the exception of roughly a thousand upper-class elites nostalgic for the era of colonialism, a language called Chabacano, a Spanish-Tagalog creole of Zamboanga.

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Creoles are real languages, but they are born, out of necessity, from a previous stage, i.e., from pidgins, which are not languages, but rather primitive practices of communication. According to Sebba (1997, p. 54), pidgins tend to exhibit the following characteristics:

a. Absence of morphological complexity: no plural, gendered, or agreeing morphemes.

b. Absence of superficial syntactic complexity, a consequence of the previous characteristic (a): grammatical categories such as nominal case or verb tense are unmarked, word order is invariable regardless of whether the structure is declarative or interrogative, etc.

c. Reduced vocabulary: a very limited set of univocal words satisfies all lexical needs.

d. Semantic transparence: each morpheme directly describes the world (for example, the equivalent of *tears* might be *eye water*), which is also a consequence of the previous features.

In summary, pidgins manifest as follows:

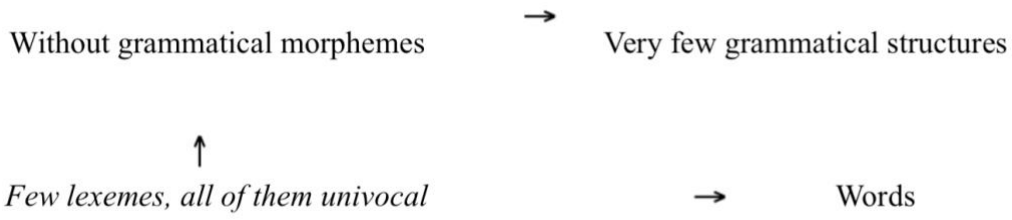

Figure 9: Characteristics of pidgins

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The vertical arrow suggests that pidgins have no grammatical morphemes, as according to Zipf's law there is a fixed ratio between the number of lexemes and morphemes in a given language. Thus, when lexemes are scarce, morphemes will likewise be reduced to a minimum. In either case, the point at which the process of pidginization begins, and from which all others follow, is "few lexemes, all of them univocal." A reduced inventory of lexemes places pidgins in the same category as other verbal manifestations with restricted production, such as baby language, second language learner sequences, or linguistic pathologies that affect vocabulary. Univocity, however, seems to be a characteristic unique to pidgins, as noted by Hjelmslev (1938) in his formulation of the principle of the paradigmatic univocity of pidgins.

Some have argued that the practices known as Spanglish are in fact instances of a kind of pidgin. And some go even further, extending this characterization to argue that the natural destiny of Spanglish is to eventually become a creole, which is to say, a new language. Let us address the argument one piece at a time. As for the pidginization hypothesis, I think Luis Fernando Lara, in his recent text on the history of Spanish, provides the best summary of the core issue:

> Contemporary journalism, with a business model based largely on sensationalism, along with certain university professors, who likewise seek to justify their salaries and see their names appear, if even for just one day, in the pages of newspapers and magazines, pronounce that *Spanglish* is a new language in the making — yet another pidgin that will one day become a creole. But for a pidgin, and then a creole, to truly take form, the people living that language experience cannot use any other language and must remain isolated. This is not the case in Spanish-speaking communities in the United States: their children speak English at school, to the point that many children of immigrants learn English so quickly they eventually abandon Spanish in adulthood. (Lara, 2013, p. 495)

This observation is crucial, and I get the impression that many often neglect to take it into account: What matters are not so much the verbal productions classified as Spanglish, which can exhibit qualities of a pidgin when spoken by recent immigrants whose only English language formation consists in a few words they picked up at work, but rather sociolinguistic expectations, which in no way favor the consolidation

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of Spanglish into a pidgin, much less a creole. We assume that a creole is the final stage in the development of a pidgin, even though such a stage is rarely achieved, and pidgins in fact tend to remain in their consolidated form. In any case, the conditions that produce Spanglish are not the same as the conditions on slave plantations in Haiti or Jamaica that produced pidgins, nor the conditions of the ephemeral bilingual contact that characterized zones of commerce in the South China Sea, which also produced pidgins. Only when external circumstances force children to use a pidgin as their first language does it transform into a creole. Here, it is important to differentiate between 'home language' (what is usually called 'native language' or 'mother tongue') and 'first language.' Many working-class Hispanic American children use a deteriorated form of Spanish, which some scholars refer to as Spanglish, as their home language, but because they live in a society where the dominant language is English, their first language is not a pidgin, and in any case, they will not develop a creole.

However, the emergence of Anglo-Hispanic pidgins in many parts of the U.S. during isolated periods of time has led many scholars to characterize such varieties, called Spanglish, as creoles. These pidgins emerged in particular among agricultural workers who remained socially isolated with very limited knowledge of English, and who were generally illiterate in their native Spanish. Nash described this phenomenon decades ago, in a text that offers the first attempt to characterize Spanglish from the point of view of linguistics. It was, he said, "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, p. 223). Dumitrescu summarizes Nash's position (1970) as follows:

> Nash attempted to describe as objectively as possible this "emerging language," which, in her view "retains the phonological, morphological and syntactic structures of Puerto Rican Spanish" (223) but undergoes "a gradual relexification .... through borrowings, adaptations, and innovations of the kind observable in every living language" (230). The author ended up

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> with the following typology of the phenomenon under consideration: Type I Spanglish, "characterized by the extensive use of English lexical items occurring in their original form in otherwise Spanish utterances" (225); Type II Spanglish, in which "English words lose their non-Spanish identity", insofar as they "assume the morphological characteristics and inflections of Spanish words", are pronounced "to conform to Spanish phonology" and "appear in written form spelled according to Spanish orthography" (226); and Type III Spanglish, which "includes such things as calques, syntactic idioms, and some original expressions that can be recognized as a distinctive new form of Spanish evolving under the influence of English, much as English itself was influenced by Norman French". (Dumitrescu, 2010, p. 228)

Studies of Spanglish tend to address only its formal features, to the point of forgetting, as Nash does, that there are no native speakers of this linguistic modality. This biased approach can easily lead to erroneous conclusions, considering, as Dumitrescu does, that Spanglish consists of Spanish grammatical structures that are then filled in with English words. But this curious combination of "formal structures from language X + lexemes from language Y" immediately calls to mind creole languages, which, according to Taylor (1956, 413), are like genetic orphans with two adoptive parents, one who provides the grammar and one who provides the lexicon.

It is true that Spanglish is often described as a mixed language — or, as I prefer to say, a speech form that mixes languages — but not as an inferior language, since nearly every major language in the world originated as a creole, including English (Bailey and Maroldt, 1977) and Spanish (López García-Molins, 1985). However, despite whatever connections we might draw between Spanglish and its illustrious predecessors, Spanish and English, I fear that its neutral characterization as a creole constitutes a *petitio principii* discredited by the sociolinguistic reality that Spanglish is often cast in a negative light, especially, though not only, in English-speaking environments. As a result, Spanglish has become a sign of ethnic identification. Because of this symbolic status, virtually any sequence that includes Spanish and English falls under the category of Spanglish — from a text in perfect Spanish that includes a handful of anglicisms, to a fully bilingual text using continuous code-switching, as exemplified in the writing of certain Chicano authors.

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Addressing the linguistic aspect requires examining examples of Spanglish in close detail — above all, examples from early phases of contact between Spanish and English. Unfortunately, such examples of initial contact are very rarely documented in their natural states; rather, when scholars collect samples of Spanglish, they are typically documenting instances of verbal play among people who are perfectly capable, at minimum, of speaking Spanish, and are very likely proficient in English as well. To know whether Spanglish originated as a pidgin, we would need a body of oral texts documenting early immigrant encounters with what, for them, would be *terra incognita*, i.e., English. This has not happened, nor is it likely to happen given that such a study would require audio- and video-recording subjects for months without their knowledge. The closest attempt, to my knowledge, is the classic study by Schumann (1978), who compared the L2 English-learning phases of five Spanish-speaking students, all highly motivated to learn the language, with the language learning phases of Alberto, a 33-year-old Costa Rican shoe-shiner. Schumann's conclusion was that Alberto's learning stages resembled those of a pidgin, but it bears emphasizing that what Alberto was in fact engaged in was a clumsy attempt to learn English as an L2. The reason for his clumsiness, according to Schumann, lies in the fact that Alberto always remained socially and psychologically distanced from his English-speaking host society, a condition typical in the development of pidgins. Schumann analyzed Alberto's scores on questions that required supplying the appropriate auxiliary for a given obligatory verbal context and concluded that he employed a reduced inventory of pidgin-style formants (Schumann, 1978, p. 65). Alberto's speech, according to Schumann, exhibited the following features: simple preverbal negation ("I no see"); no inversion ("Where the paper is?"); no auxiliaries ("She crying"); no Saxon genitive ("The king food"); no verbal inflection ("Yesterday, I talk with…"); and lack of subject pronouns ("No have holidays"). In short, Schumann concludes, Alberto's crude English was significantly influenced by his native Spanish and retained the structure of an early-stage pidgin. Note that some features of Alberto's speech share grammatical similarities with Spanish, while others do not. The sequences "I no see" or "No have holidays" are Spanish in origin. In contrast, the

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lack of auxiliaries or past-tense formants is not a quality of Spanish, but of pidgins, and should be ascribed to the process of simplification that produced it. There are even cases in which the structure of the pidgin contradicts the structures of both Spanish and English, as in "Where the paper is?".

Thus, we can now answer in the affirmative, though not without reservations, one of the two questions posed by this chapter's title: In certain unfavorable social circumstances, Spanish's initial encounters with English can indeed produce characteristics typical of a pidgin. But then what happens? One theoretical possibility worth considering is that the pidgin eventually becomes a creole. Given that creoles are often symbols of group identity and even national languages (as in the case of Jamaica), we should not dismiss Spanglish's status as an emblem of mestizo identity for certain U.S. Latino communities simply by virtue of its aforementioned potential classification as a creole, as many scholars have pointed out:

> In the case of the first generation, upon arrival to the United States, a new self begins to emerge which reflects the immigrant's dual-identity that is constantly re-forming. Most desperately want to retain at least part of their heritage, for nothing makes you feel more attached to your identity and nation of origin than leaving it. As one recent immigrant struggling with her identity proclaims, "I'm not turning my back on what I came from" (Alvarez, 1998, p. 487). However, most also want to assimilate to the country and culture they have joined. What results is a "mishmash [of] what Latino identity is about [and] the verbal mestizaje that results from a transient people" (Stavans, 2003b, p. 54). In the case of the second generation, many would contend that while their citizenship is American, they do not quite feel as American as their Caucasian counterparts or as Mexican as their first-generation parents [...] There is little doubt that Spanglish is here to stay and will continue to evolve in order to meet the needs of its speakers. In essence, "only dead languages are never changing" [...] With the significant increase in the Mexican-American community, in California in particular, Spanglish is far from dead and constantly transforming. Spanglish meets the needs of its speakers in that it allows for the expression of the dual-identity that is the essence of the immigrants' being. Scholars and politicians may find it repugnant but "language can not be legislated; it is the freest, most democratic form of expression of the human spirit" (Stavans, 2000a, p. 557). Linguists and anthropologists may find it enlightening, but Spanglish will elude us as well as it continues to expand the notion of language contact as never before. Language and identity are intrinsically related and, to this extent, we cannot deny the linguistic reality *de los hispanos*, a group whose population is expected to more than double by 2025. (Rothman and Rell, 2005, p. 527)

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The undeniable enthusiasm of these words aside, we should not cease to inquire whether this means that Spanglish, as Stavans argues, is really "a new American language" (Stavans 2003). The answer — cold, analytical, but nonetheless true — is a resounding no. In the first place, having a mixed language is not a prerequisite for designating mestizaje — in this case, Anglo-Hispanic mestizaje — as the guarantor of Latino identity: the very concept of the "melting pot" proudly welcomes people of all races into the home of the English language, and even earlier, Vasconcelos's theory of the "cosmic race" promised a similar social harmony, but through Spanish. The misunderstanding we should avoid is twofold: a new identity does not require a new language, and a new language does not automatically generate a new identity. For example, the pilgrims who arrived on the east coast of North America in the Mayflower created a new nation, yet they continued to speak the language of their forebears. Conversely, German speakers who settled along the Volga River beginning in the 18th century (Wolgadeutsche) lost their language, and by the end of World War II, spoke exclusively in Russian; nevertheless, they maintained their Germanic identity until they were relocated back to Germany in 1989 (Eisfeld und Herdt, 1996).

Of course, English and German are languages that already existed. But what happens when we are dealing with a new language? If a group of people creates a new language, can we deny them the status of their own national identity? Hence the importance, not merely academic, of granting Spanglish the status of a creole language, and the efforts, sometimes well-intentioned, other times opportunistic, to achieve this goal. Creole speakers are native speakers — their creole is their mother tongue and forms the legitimate basis of their mother country. This is the case in Haiti (French-based creole), in Jamaica (English-based creole), in Cape Verde (Portuguese-based creole), and in San Basilio, Colombia, where the community of people who speak Palanquero (Spanish-based creole) is too small to formally constitute a nation, but nevertheless exhibits strong group identity. And in the U.S.?

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Is there a creole called Spanglish that might form the basis of a new nation? Otheguy and Stern reject such a notion absolutely:

> We have rejected the term Spanglish because it cannot be justified on the basis of observation and analysis of actual linguistic usage. Outside this analytical perspective, however, we may also ponder the political and social ramifications of the word. We believe that the term contributes to the fiction that Latin Americans in the USA and their children speak a hybrid language that is fundamentally different from the Spanish found in other places, and that this view does not benefit the over 35 million Latinos of the USA. We believe that the idea that Spanish in the USA is qualitatively different from that of Spain and Latin America is actually harmful to the community of its speakers. (Otheguy & Stern, 2010, p. 96)

I agree with them completely, as you will see. Otheguy and Stern (2010) also refuse to describe Spanglish as "a way of speaking," for reasons that have more to do with political expediency than facts and reality:

> Some researchers who have accepted the term Spanglish have argued that the word is not intended as the name of a hybrid language, but rather, that it refers to a way of using the languages. In Zentella (1997) the term refers to conversational and communicative strategies of bilingual Puerto Rican New Yorkers, and more concretely, to the bilingual practice of inserting phrases and sentences in English into Spanish discourse, or vice versa. However, the very form of the word, and the way we usually think about languages, directly lead to a misunderstanding, as the word Spanglish is naturally interpreted as a reference to a linguistic hybrid. (Otheguy & Stern, 2010, p. 85)

I understand Otheguy and Stern's attempt to intervene, but I fear it will prove futile: whether we like it or not, the concept of Spanglish is deeply rooted in the U.S., as well as outside the country, and I doubt they will succeed in eradicating it. As I understand it, we attribute speech forms to a language — this, in fact, is the heart of the Saussurean formulation of *langue* and *parole*, or its Chomskyan variant, *competence* and *utterance* — such that languages are not simply localized neuronal realities but interrelated functional sets. Thus, if we are to arrive at a positive understanding of the thing we call Spanglish, we need to examine it from a neurolinguistic perspective, a task I take up elsewhere (López García-Molins, 2013). Here, I will simply attempt to address its negative characterization — to describe what it is not.

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Spanglish is not a hybrid language. Mülhäusler, in considering the pidgin/creole doublet, notes that it is in fact more of a continuum than a dichotomy:

> The pressure of standard lexifier languages can result, given the right social circumstances, in the development of a linguistic continuum. Such a continuum is called a *restructuring continuum* and it is characterized by the fact that the different varieties located on it are roughly of the same linguistic complexity. It thus contrasts with the *developmental continuum*, where differential complexity is encountered. This contrast can be depicted as follows:

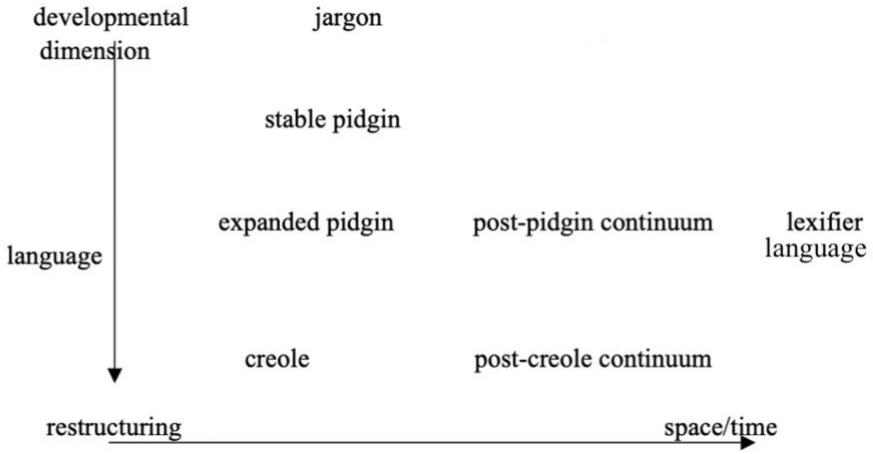

Figure 10: Steps of pidginization (Mülhäusler, 1986, p. 11)

Thus, there are two axes: restructuring, where the level of complexity remains the same, and developmental, where a more complex state is achieved. The latter traces the typical trajectory of a clumsy pidgin as it transforms into a new creole language, while the former describes a hybrid language that eventually dovetails with the relexified language. This is what happened, for example, in Hawaii, where indigenous inhabitants spoke a Polynesian language that was progressively anglicized until it simply became English. The problem is that we still cannot find Spanglish's place in this schema. The vertical axis clearly indicates that Spanglish does not constitute a creole, while the horizontal axis likewise lacks the complexity required of a distinct language. People who speak what we call Spanglish are full Spanish-speakers who, as first-generation speakers, exercise the language in its jargonic, pseudo-pidgin stage, and then sometimes, as second-generation speakers, may experience an

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evolution from jargon to stable pidgin, then finally to an extended pidgin that may even exhibit literary qualities. But members of this generation already speak perfect English and, being English speakers, never reach the post-pidgin continuum phase. One gets the impression that the extended pidgin is frozen in this stage, unable to break through to the next level:

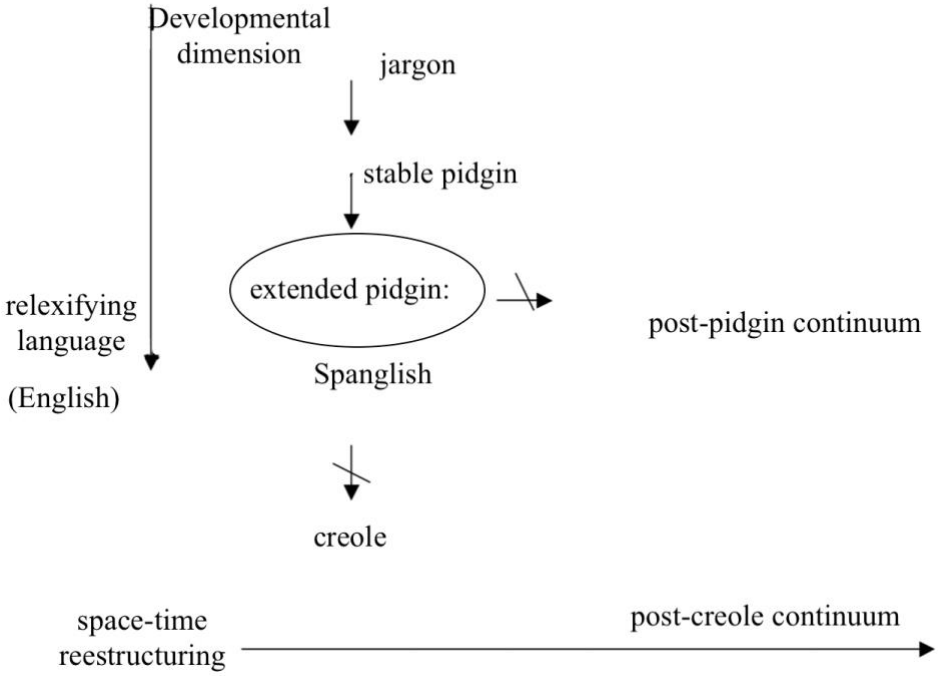

Figure 11: From pidgin to creole

Clearly, Spanglish has not reached either the 'creole' or the 'post-pidgin continuum' phase, as both require the same level of complexity as its mother languages, Spanish and English. Nor has it reached the "post-pidgin continuum" phase, since that would imply, in this case, that Spanglish is a type of hispanicized English — a dialect akin to the colonial English spoken by India's bourgeoisie, for example. But it is also not a creole. While it is true, as I mention above, that we can describe Spanglish as "Spanish syntactic schemes infused with English lexemes,"

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this is merely a necessary condition, not a sufficient one. Instead, we must resort to the litmus test. Typologists have established an inventory of grammatical properties of the world's languages that only occur in creoles and that result from the process of creolization. Bickerton highlights the following:

1. Focusing is always marked by putting the focalized element at the front of the sentence, never by means of other strategies such as stress, tone, or particles.
2. The article system is very simple, it consists of a definite article for presupposed-specific NPs, an indefinite article for asserted-specific NPs, and zero article for non-specific NPs.
3. The majority of creoles express verbal tenses, modes, and aspects by means of three preverbal free morphemes, which always occur in this order.
4. All realized complements are either unmarked or marked with a different complementizer from the one used with unrealized complements. For example, in the Mauritius creole sentence *li desid al met posoh ladah* ("she decided to put a fish in it") the speaker employs *al* since the action is realized, whereas in *li ti pe ale aswar pu al bril lakaz sa garsoh-la me lor sime ban dayin fin atake li* ("he would have gone that evening to burn the boy's house, but on the way he was attacked by witches") the speaker chooses *pu al* since the action is not realized.
5. Most creoles, unlike pidgins, have relative pronouns.
6. Non-definite subjects and VP constituents must be negated in addition to the verb. For example, in Guyana creole the sentence *no dog bit any cat* is translated as *non dag na bait non kyat*, with every lexical constituent negated.
7. The same marker is used to express existential and possessive. For example, in Haiti creole: *gê you fâm ki gê you petit-fi* ("there *is* a woman who *has* a daughter").
8. Copula is dropped.
9. As a consequence of 8), adjectives function as verbs.
10. Questions and statements are intonationally marked, not by means of word order.
11. Question words can be bimorphematic.
12. Passive constructions are rare. (Bickerton, 1981, pp. 44-73)

Other scholars (Taylor, 1974, p. 294) tack on the occasional lexical morpheme in support of the 'monogenetic hypothesis,' which posits that all creoles derive from a primitive Portuguese-based creole and other equally Lusitano syntactic structures. Monogenesis is no longer accepted as an explanation (creoles exist in places where the Portuguese never set foot), so I'll disregard it, but the grammatical

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properties cited by Taylor remain useful nonetheless: the third person plural pronoun is used as a nominal pluralizer; the conditional tense is expressed using a combination of past and future markers; the word 'give' is used instead of the preposition 'to' or 'for'; the demonstrative is placed at the head of the phrase, etc.

It is easy to see that Spanglish does not exhibit the traits enumerated by Bickerton, and thus does not satisfy the requirements necessary for its classification as a creole. Since it is a predominantly oral modality, we lack a wide-ranging corpus, but among the written examples that do exist, allow me to highlight the following sequences extracted from a collection of e-mails featured on the website of *La Vanguardia* newspaper (Betti, 2014):

> "*Mire Usted bro, el escusado se me atoro, y el bat, no workin JOSE, what you can do BRO?*".
>
> "*Oiga Utté, Míster Bilingüe, cuando telmine de serapear las mesas y mapear el piso podrás agarrar tu lonche; el mapo está en el closet. Mañana nos iremos a bilborear, que pagan buena lana con la chamba.*"

Note that in these two texts, Bickerton's traits are conspicuous by virtue of their absence: Focus is expressed through accent ("Jose," "Bro") rather than through anteposition in the sentence; articles are used as they are in general Spanish; the tense-mode-aspect system adapts to the Spanish paradigm ("*atoró*," "*telmine*" [*termine*], "*iremos*", "*pagan*"); there is no distinction between completed and incomplete complements ("*cuando telmine de serapear*"); the negation always precedes the verb, as it does in general Spanish ("*y el bat, no workin*"); the existential and the possessive are signified through different morphemes ("*podrás agarrar tu lonche", "el mapo está en el closet*"); the copula does not get dropped ("el mapo está en el closet"); and consequently, adjectives do no function as verbs ("pagan buena lana"); and there are no bimorphemic interrogatives. The only creoloid traits worth mentioning are the relative lack of both the passive voice, and the absence of obligatory inversion in interrogative expressions, but as is well known, those are both characteristics common to Spanish, which prefers the passive reflexive ("se me

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atoró") and marks questions through simple intonation ("¿María lo sabe?"). The traits indicated by Taylor are also absent, save for the conditional formation derived from a future infinitive and an imperfect preterite (amare habebam > amaría), but this is a common feature of Romance languages.

It short, Spanglish is not a creole by any stretch of the imagination and, as we all know, its literary manifestations are generally based on code-switching, which is more an exercise in bilingual virtuosity than anything else. Lipski (1985; 1993) highlights the existence of creoloid traits in the vestigial Spanish of people in the process of losing their heritage language: reduction of temporal and modal morphemes in verb construction; reduction of gender and number morphemes in noun construction; loss of articles and pronouns. I have no doubt he is correct, but note that these features do not appear in either Bickerton's or Taylor's inventories. Linguists have applied the term "creoloid" (quasi-creole) to languages as disparate as Afrikaans, Marathi, and even the Germanic languages and ancient Egyptian. All these languages emerged through language contact, but one wonders whether there exists any language on earth that has not been shaped through its mixing with others.

Given that the creole hypothesis does not hold, partisans of Spanglish-as-*langue* over Spanglish-as-*parole* may be tempted to turn their eyes toward the post-pidgin continuum hypothesis elaborated above. Mülhäusler, though, describes that phase as follows: "The pressure of standard lexifier languages can result, given the right social circumstances, in the development of a linguistic continuum. Such a continuum is called a *restructuring continuum* and it is characterized by *the fact that the different varieties located on it are roughly of the same linguistic complexity*" (1986, p. 11. [emphasis mine]).

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The examples we have from Spanglish, however, do not exhibit that level of complexity; on the contrary, as Lipski highlights, when we refer to *Spanglish*, we are speaking of something else entirely:

> The use of integrated Anglicisms in Spanish; The frequent and spontaneous use of non-assimilated Anglicisms (i.e. with English phonetics) in Spanish; The use of syntactic calques and loan translations from English in Spanish; Frequent and fluid code-switching, particularly intrasentential switches (within the same clause); Deviations from Standard Spanish grammar found among vestigial and transitional bilingual speakers, whose productive competence in Spanish falls below that of true native speakers, due to language shift or attrition; In some cases, the characteristics of Spanish written or spoken as a second language by millions of Americans of non-Hispanic background, who have learned Spanish for personal or professional motives; Finally the humorous, disrespectful, and derogatory use of pseudo-Spanish items in what anthropologist Jane Hill (1993) has called *junk spanish.* (Lipski, 2004, p. 8)

The word *Spanglish* — if we stubbornly insist on keeping it, against Otheguy's entreaty, which I find impractical, to cast it aside — can therefore only describe a variety of Spanish with a highly variable distribution of anglicisms. I completely agree with Garrido (2004) when he writes:

> Native speakers of Spanish in the U.S. do not speak Spanglish: they are not taking part in what Ilan Stavans (in the title of his 2003 book) calls "the making of a new American language." They are adapting, while still speaking Spanish, to a culture and a society where English prevails (see Otheguy, 2001; Garrido, 2003). Their Spanglish is actually adaptive bilingualism. It is not a style, something the speaker chooses, it is a sociolect, the way the speaker speaks in spite of himself. That is, the speaker does not choose between saying "te devuelvo" and "te doy para atrás." It is not a simplification bilingualism but an adaptative bilingualism. Speakers are adapting to the fact that they live in an English-speaking culture, but, as Otheguy argues, they are mostly adapting culturally. Spanish-language adaptation follows cultural and social integration. This Spanglish is a variety of Spanish, even if it is situated, as Francisco Moreno Fernández remarks, in its periphery. (Moreno Fernández, 2002, p. 1)

How, then, should we classify Spanglish? Certainly not as a hybrid language, but instead, I think, as a 'mixed form of speech' — or, in more technical terms, as a 'porous dialect.' Let us again turn to science: In chemistry, a mixture is not the same as a compound. In mixtures, two substances of variable proportions come together without losing their individual chemical identities. In a mixture of sulfur and iron filings, for example, the filings can be easily separated out with a magnet, and the

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sulfur with a solvent. In a compound, on the other hand, the substances are combined in fixed proportions and cease to be what they once were. Thus, FeS_2 is a compound of iron and sulfur that can no longer be separated using a magnet or a solvent. Similarly, when language contact produces new modalities, these can be either mixtures or compounds (hybrids):

Element A	*Element B*	COMPOUND	COMPOUND	*Language A*	*Language B*
Fe^{++}	$2S^{-}$	FeS_2	Jamaican Patois (creole)	English	Krio
Iron filings	Sulfur	Sulfur and iron filings	Spanglish	English	Spanish
Element A	*Element B*	MIXTURE	MIXTURE	*Language A*	*Language B*

Figure 12: Mixtures and compounds in linguistics and chemistry

A recent article by Lipski (2007), though focused on U.S. Spanish in general, describes the situation of Spanglish accurately and concisely in its title: "The evolving interface of U.S. Spanish: language mixing as hybrid vigor." This is precisely what Spanglish is: a variety of Spanish that mixes intensely with English but is not a hybrid language — which is to say, a creole — even if, culturally speaking, it corresponds to an intense process of Anglo-Hispanic hybridization. The mixture can contain substances A and B in variable proportions: a drink composed of coffee and milk can consist of 90% milk and 10% coffee, 70% milk and 30% coffee, half milk and half coffee, etc. This is not the case with Spanglish: even if in theory, any text in English that includes a few hispanisms could be considered an example of Spanglish, this is not how it works in practice. If it were, Spanglish would include, for example, the speeches of U.S. politicians who slip in a word or two of Spanish as a nod to Latino voters. When you make a *café con leche*, you are simply combining two liquids — but liquids don't have feelings. Verbal practices, on the other hand, are performed by human beings and thus always involve psychological attitudes. This means that Spanglish can never be neutral: it is practiced by Spanish speakers encountering and

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incorporating English, not the other way around, just as Yopará is practiced by Guaraní people encountering and incorporating Spanish, and not the other way around.

Dialectology lacks adequate methodological tools for explaining the phenomenon of Spanglish. Despite this, in previous work (López García, 2010c) I have compared its condition to that of Yopará in Paraguay and have called both "porous dialects." Allow me to briefly explain what I mean, by way of another metaphor: Sponges are objects that absorb whatever liquid they come in contact with, but only to a certain limit. This is because the liquid fills the pores of the sponge until they become fully saturated and cannot take on more. This is how Spanglish works (López García-Molins, 2010c), like a Spanish sponge immersed in an Anglo-Saxon cultural environment:

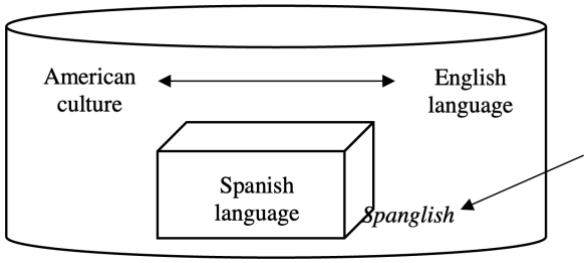

Figure 13: Spanglish is like sponge immersed in Anglo-Saxon culture.

Whether these lexical inlays consist of a few words inserted into isolated functional gaps, or complete lexical inventories corresponding to fixed semantic fields or even idioms — e.g., the famous (and false) *deliberamos groserías* for *we deliver groceries* — depends on the culture of the speaker, on their desire to play with both languages, on the context of the emission, and numerous other factors. In any case, speaking Spanglish is like speaking French-Provençal — it involves the mixing of languages, but does not result in the creation of a new language. Its description — which is not to say its typological explanation —can only be approached neurolinguistically, as I attempted elsewhere (López García-Molins, 2013b).

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3. The problem with Spanglish[6]

Spanglish is a versatile linguistic modality because it appeared in the mouths of 'illiterate' people, who had serious difficulties in speaking English, but at the same time it is nowadays regularly practiced by writers, academics, and people with a high cultural level. Yes indeed, the only thing they have in common is that they are of Hispanic descent and live in the U.S. The fact that Spanglish has been used in literary works of notable stylistic subtlety as well as in colloquial expressions at a popular level shows that it is not a diaphasia because these literary works do not simply intend to reflect it —as the costumbrista theater or novel would do with the language of the people—, but rather create from it. As Dumitrescu (2014) points out, the basis of these works is not only the change of code but the *fusion of codes*, which is related to *translanguaging* (Flores & García, 2013, p. 354). This has an obvious political implication, since it consists of reflecting the difficult identity of the bilingual through discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to either of the two languages and that involve competing in a linguistic market that claims to be bilingual. This transfers the problem to a different field of sociolinguistics: the field of psycholinguistics.

Lipski (2007) has expressed the situation of Spanglish nicely in the title of a recent paper, athough he is speaking of Spanish in the USA as a whole, not only of Spanglish: *The evolving interface of U. S. Spanish: language mixing as hybrid vigor*. This is Spanglish: a linguistic modality that mixes two languages, Spanish and English, but a modaliy that is not a new hybrid language, although it certainly exhibits a deep cultural degree of hybridization. Languages are spoken by humans, and

[6] This text is from "Spanglish, a twofold variety of Spanish," a lecture delivered in English at the *International Conference on Non-dominating Varieties of Pluricentric Languages*, Graz, 11-13 July 2011

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people have psychological attitudes to life, to the environment, to other people they are talking about. The difference between Spanglish and other linguistic modalities is that the mixture of languages on which it is based is carried out individually by each speaker in each speech act. In this sense we can say that it is an individual language that only becomes collective when it is understood by other people in a similar cultural situation.

There was a time when the speakers of Spanglish were Hispanic people who wished to integrate in the idiomatic mainstream of the USA (Marcos Marín, 2006), but that were not able to do so enough to succeed. In other words, Spanglish speakers wished to speak English proficiently, but could not help speaking Spanish. However, everything seems to indicate that this is no longer the case, that right now, in 2022, Spanglish is not born from a lack, but on the contrary, from an excess of idiomatic capacity that leads to managing between two languages with ease.

The time has come to consider the question from a psycholinguistic perspective. Unlike much of the work on Spanglish, which is based on contemporary data, the study of the psycholinguistics of Spanglish is necessarily confined to theoretical abstraction. We know *what* Spanglish speakers do, but we do not know *how* they do it, i.e., the underlying mechanisms. Neurolinguistics has certainly crossed the boundaries into experimental research and currently benefits from a lot of experimental techniques such as PET (Positron Emission Tomography), EEG (Electroencephalogram), or fMR (functional Magnetic Resonance). However, we cannot yet ask people to lie on a couch, put their head into a kind of helmet, to relax and begin to speak Spanglish fluently while a monitor registers the variation in blood flow in certain areas of the brain. This is due to the fact that Spanglish is totally dependent on the context of use, for it is not a new American language, but a new American way of speaking. You can ask some test subjects to associate a list of Spanish words or a list of English words to a prompt word, but to ask them when the

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list is of Spanglish words makes no sense because every word is prompted by its own external circumstance. This means that Spanglish is not a linguistic competence we store by heart in the brain, but a linguistic performance we develop occasionally in bilingual contexts in the USA (also in Gibraltar or anywhere else Spanish and English live side by side). Spanish and English are linguistic systems each with its own separate performance while Spanglish holds onto the linguistic systems of Spanish and English either simultaneously or alternatively:

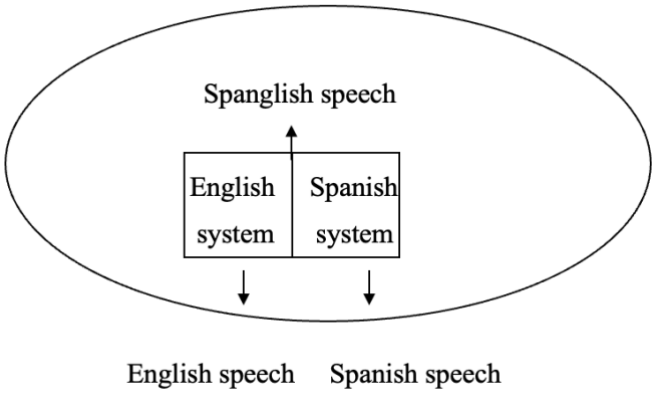

Figure 14: Bilingual substratum of Spanglish

Hispanic bilinguals in the USA have two separate linguistic codes, but perform three ways: in English, in Spanish or in Spanglish. It is by no means clear how the two coexisting linguistic systems represented by contiguous squares in the picture are organized in the bilingual brain. As it is known, Ervin and Osgood (1954) distinguished two possibilities, compound and coordinate bilingualism. When people acquire two languages in the same context they become compound bilinguals and have compound systems, i.e., systems in which two languages simply constitute two different ways of encoding the same set of referential meanings. When people acquire two languages in separate contexts, however, they become coordinate bilinguals and have coordinate systems i.e., systems in which the referential meanings encoded in the two languages differ to a considerable extent:

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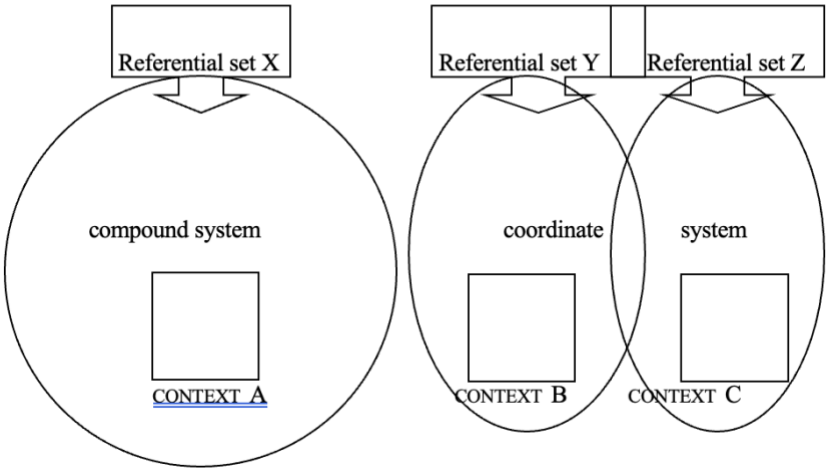

Figure 15. Two types of bilingualism

Compound bilingualism arises in a unique context A (for example in a bilingual family) and it is supported by a unique system: coordinate bilingualism is supported by two related systems, each being activated by a specific context (for example family / bussines). The distinction by Ervin and Osgood emphasized the acquisition settings, but did not explain what the respective minds of the bilinguals should look like. Since then many proposals have been made as to their conformation. Penfield and Roberts (1959) supported the *critical period hypothesis*, which establishes a sharp distinction between first language acquisition and second language acquisition, and states that after the crucial time in which children acquire their first language, they will never achieve a full command of a second language, as supported by many experimental findings and case studies (Genesee, 1982; Johnson & Newport, 1989; Birdsong & Molis, 2001). Accordingly, their first language ought to exhibit a mental organization which does not coincide with that of a second language. This topic is related to brain lateralization. It has been supposed that the differences between L1 and L2 are due to the brain hemisphere where each linguistic ability is rooted, L1 supposedly belonging to the dominant (generally the left) hemisphere, L2 to the dominated (usually the right) hemisphere (Albert & Obler, 1978). Some counterexamples

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challenged this hypothesis, for instance Proverbio & Mado (2011) showed that linguistic functions are less lateralized in polyglots than in monolinguals– and, anyway, the lateralization hypothesis does not allow us to discern the neural patterning of the coordinate brain vs. the neural patterning of the compound brain.

Thus, an amazing contradiction arises: compound bilinguals [call them "Spanglish speakers I"], who practice Spanglish by means of code-switching, are convinced they possess the two languages, English and Spanish, separately; on the contrary, coordinate bilinguals [call them "Spanglish speakers II"], who do not master the English language and who practice the filling of grammatical slots of one of the two languages with lexemes of the other, sometimes think they are speaking English and have a unique language in their brain any way. This contradiction is born because speakers have a metalinguistic awareness that does not necessarily fit their linguistic behaviour. The situation can be summarized as follows:

	Type of discourse	Metalinguistic awareness	Linguistic behavior
Compound bilinguals	Code-switching	Two languages	One neural network
Coordinate bilinguals	Language mixing	One language	Two neural networks

Figura 16: Properties of the two types of bilingualism

Lexical variation belongs to the linguistic consciousness of the speakers of a language but does not strongly affect their feeling of forming a unique speech community. In fact, they know how to choose lexical items in order to approach the linguistic consciousness of others. On the contrary, this seems rather difficult in syntactic variation because it would be necessary to change the entire paradigm. Hence, intralinguistic variation especially characterizes lexical relations, whereas syntactic relations apply rather to interlinguistic variation (López García-Molins, 2014b): people are not surprised that English 'table' is called *mesa* in Spanish, but are amazed when they learn that English 'to fall in love with someone' is translated

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into Spanish as ‘enamorarse de alguien’. Consequently, employing lexical anglicisms, as coordinate bilinguals of Spanglish do, is conceived of as a kind of variation that distinguishes the speakers of Spanish in the U.S. from Spanish-speaking people abroad, whereas employing alternative grammatical patterns, as compound bilinguals of Spanglish do, is considered to speak two separate languages. Consciousness, as argued by Blackmore (2003), is a delusion: in the case of Spanglish this delusion contradicts the empirical facts of linguistic behaviour.

I have recently pointed out (López García-Molins, 2012a) that, although grammatical paradigms are located in the limbic system and lexical networks in the cortex, the awareness of both, that is their metalinguistic knowledge, belongs to the cortex for this is the realm of consciousness:

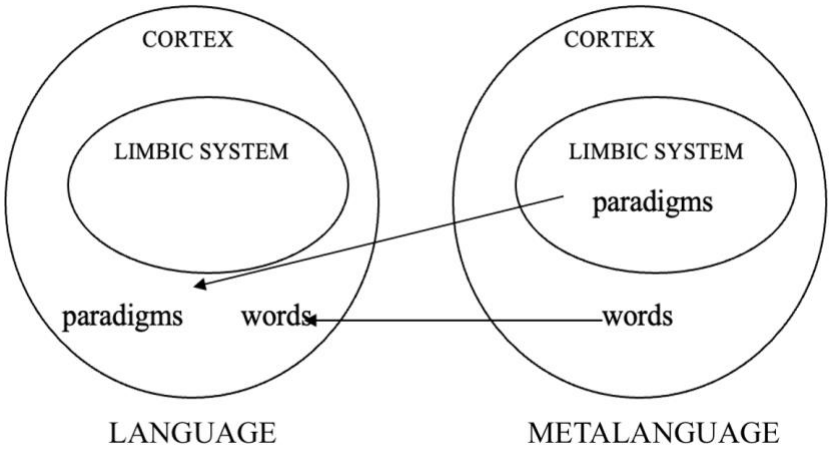

Figure 17: Localization of linguistic / metalinguistic abilities in the brain

This explains the contradiction I have emphasized above. Since the neural network of perceptions, cognitions and linguistic features does not distinguish languages from one another, the performance of Spanglish speakers I (compound bilinguals), who are fluent in English and in Spanish, switches constantly between both languages

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and by going from the cortex to the limbic system inside each of them. At the same time, however, this process is projected in the mirror of metalinguistic consciousness as a two-language system:

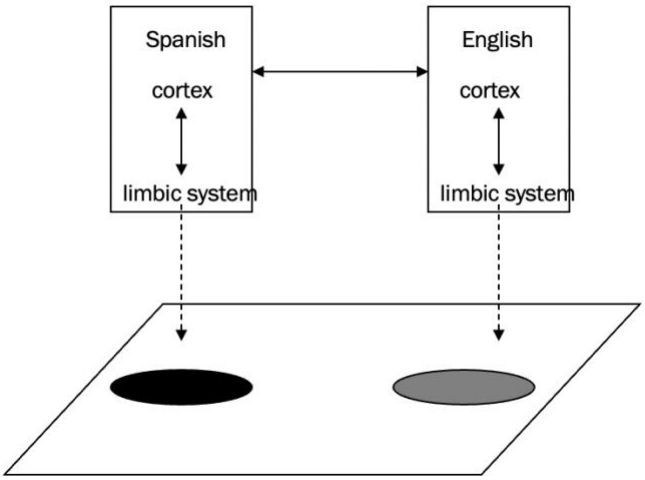

Figure 18: Metalinguistic consciousness of Spanglish compound bilinguals

On the contrary, Spanglish speakers II (coordinate bilinguals) simply insert pseudo-English lexical items into the slots of Spanish grammatical patterns or Spanish words into the slots of pseudo-English grammatical patterns, but project a single metalinguistic image, namely that there is only one language, Spanglish, no matter whether they consider it to be a dialect of Spanish, as it certainly is, or even of English:

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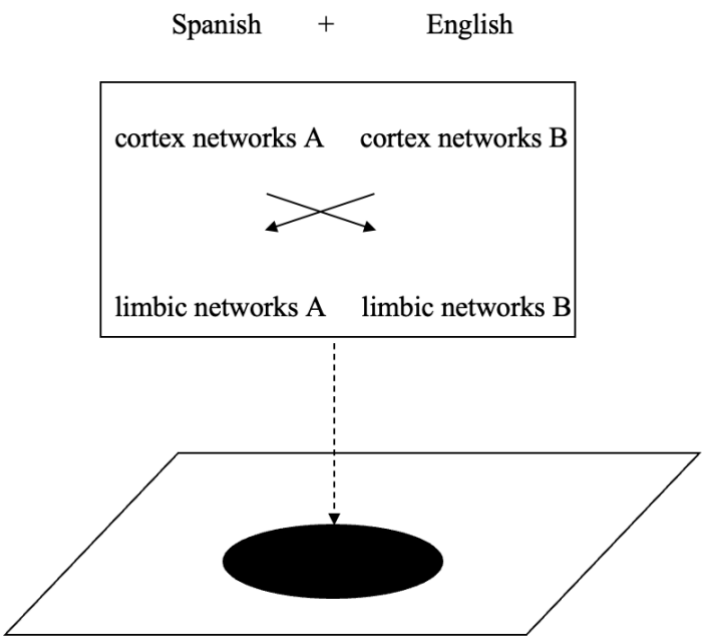

Figure 19: Metalinguistic consciousness of Spanglish coordinate bilinguals

Summarizing, it can be affirmed that Spanglish is a paradoxical linguistic variety, since the people who dominate it (compound bilinguals) are aware of the two codes that are at stake, that of English and that of Spanish, while those who do not dominate it (coordinated bilinguals) are only aware of a system that allows them to do so.

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ISSN: 2688-2949 (online) 2688-2965 (print) doi: 10.15427/OR077-04/2022EN

4. U.S. Spanish between Scylla and Charybdis: Spanglish or international Spanish [7]

Researchers disagree on the question of Spanglish's sociolinguistic value — some praise it while others criticize it — but no one can deny that it is a variety of language *practiced* by some 50 million people in the U.S., and a major source of symbolic value in Latino culture. It is no wonder, then, that Spanish speakers in the U.S. would reject the Royal Spanish Academy (Real Academia Española, or RAE)'s online dictionary entry that defined Spanglish as "a variety that mixes Spanish and English, thus deforming them both."

More surprising, I think, is that in addition to the aforementioned polemics, the topic of Spanglish has generated a considerable academic bibliography over the past quarter century, and has become a central theme in Spanish sociolinguistics and dialectology. This is in contrast to many other non-dominant language varieties, which are generally treated as marginal. In a recent conference held in Graz, Austria, on "non-dominant national varieties of pluricentric languages," these varieties were defined as "varieties that are small by the number of their speakers and their symbolic power, and are not the primary norm-setting centres of the language." It is clear that Spanglish is a non-dominant variety of Spanish, and for this reason, according to the definition above, we should not expect it to influence Spanish language norms, as it is merely a deviational dialect that lacks even national symbolic value. Surprisingly, however, none of this has turned out to be true.

[7] Article published in S. Betti and M. De Beni (Eds.) (2019), *Conversations on Spanish in the USA*, Axiara Editions, 2019, and previously appearing as a lecture I delivered at the Universitá degli Studi di Verona. I would like to thank the editors for their generosity in allowing me to partially reproduce the text here.

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4. 1. National?

A trait is *national* when it defines a nation, but it remains unclear if Hispanic Americans in the U.S., whether they practice Spanglish or not, constitute a nation: Recent arrivals to the country of Uncle Sam still feel like nationals of their respective countries of origin — a feeling that U.S. immigration agencies reinforce by systematically denying them work and residency permits. As for the children of these first-generation immigrants, not to mention their grandchildren, it is normal for them to feel at home as U.S. citizens, and to consider this country as their nation. Nevertheless, as the famously xenophobic professor Samuel Huntington never ceases to remind them, Spanish speakers in the U.S. only belong to the nation insofar as they are also (or rather, above all) English speakers: "Massive Hispanic immigration affects the United States in two significant ways: Important portions of the country become predominantly Hispanic in language and culture, and the nation as a whole becomes bilingual and bicultural" (Huntington 2004b, p. 40).

The idea that every nation is held together by a single language is a cliché in the discourse suffered not just in Europe (especially in Spain and the Balkans), but even, somewhat *urbi et orbi*, reaching into the imaginary of a country as hostile to the routines of the past as the United States. The "English Only movement" was created to defend this very position, and it is why H.R. 123, a bill presented before U.S. Congress by Rep. Bill Emerson on January 4, 1995, states that:

> Throughout the history of the Nation, the common thread binding those of differing backgrounds has been a common language; in order to preserve unity in diversity, and to prevent division along linguistic lines, the United States should maintain a language common to all people; English has historically been the common language and the language of opportunity in the United States.[8]

[8] The bill can be read by following this link: http://www.languagepolicy.net/archives/hr123b.htm

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This leaves Spanish speakers in the U.S. in a truly difficult situation (López García-Molins, 2015a), because while Spanish is the bond that unites them (even if they do not speak it), the melting pot theory presupposes that they must lose their original language as other immigrant minorities in the U.S. have. Cuban sociologist Carlos Alberto Montaner argues that the U.S. now constitutes a *Hispanic nation*:

> The first battle is fought over what to call them: Latinos or Hispanics? 'Hispanics' has prevailed.[9] This is not a racial definition but a cultural one, which encompasses everyone born within the vast territory that once fell under Spanish sovereign rule, excluding Filipinos. A Guatemalan Kaqchikel and an Argentinian of Italian descent, once established in the United States, both become 'Hispanics': they are united under a new and different classification. This is not to say that Hispanics are connected purely through language. Some Hispanics only speak Spanish, while many second and third generation immigrants only speak or understand English; others are bilingual, speaking both Spanish and English; and a growing number participate spontaneously and unconsciously in the development of a new language, *Spanglish*: a phenomenon similar to what happened with Central European Jews and *Yiddish*, which grew out of German and Polish and, thanks to the work of Isaac Bashevis Singer, reached the level of the Nobel Prize. That group of human beings, Hispanics, is now the largest minority in the country, at thirty-five million people. They are already a slightly larger demographic than the Black population, and have a higher economic status. (Montaner, 2002, pp. 51-53)

Montaner concludes, somewhat surprisingly, that true Hispanics are not to be found in Spain, Argentina, or Mexico, but in the U.S.:

> Hispanics, then, even though diluted among the larger population of the United States, constitute an Iberoamerican 'nation' richer than any ever established under the Spanish crown. In the great North American marketplace, this population represents an important consumer sector that requires special attention… However, it is also a kind of beautiful contradiction that the creation of the "Hispanic" has taken place on North American soil.

The reason for this, according to Montaner, is that the idea of Hispanic national identity never took shape in either the Iberian Peninsula or in Latin America. In Spain, the task of unification was entrusted to religion, with the attendant exclusion of Muslims and Jews. In the Americas, the Bolivarian dream fragmented into nations with a smaller reach, as we well know. Thus, it was necessary to wait until:

[9] It is worth pointing out, in any event, that things have changed a lot since 2002, and 'Latinos' is now the prevailing designation, both in and outside of academia, while we rarely hear the term 'Hispanic.'

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> Some decades later, when, without anyone realizing it, the Hispanic began to appear in the United States [...] What could not be achieved in Spain or in Latin America is now happening in the United States. It is there, in that ethnic niche artificially constructed as a lateral variant of the 'American dream,' where immigrants from Latin America and Spain continue to be welcomed. But, as is always the case in this great nation, and as was the case with the Italians, the Germans, or the Slavic Jews, this identity is a provisional one, and is taken up by people who are moving toward that highly flexible cultural profile embodied in the Anglo-Saxon identity that dominates the mainstream. Only now have we reached the expansion phase. In time — in this case a long time, many decades — Hispanic will be but a shade of U.S. American. One of the most important and enriching. In a way, it already is.

It is remarkable that a paper appearing in a non-academic journal should be so accurate in its assessment of the true meaning of U.S. Hispanic nationalism. There was a time when the 'Hispanic nation' in the U.S. referred to MEChA (Movimiento estudiantil chicano de Aztlán), a radical group of Mexican-born students in California who called for the secession of the former Mexican territories occupied by the U.S., whose pillage (disguised as a purchase) was sanctioned by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848. But history never retraces its steps, and Aztlán's irredentism, like that of so many others, was kept out of the realm of historical possibilities. For Montaner, the Hispanic nation in the U.S. — the only Hispanic nation *stricto sensu* — is provisional, and its identity is defined largely by its use of Spanglish. It is no surprise that Montaner, a well-known sociologist — but not a linguist — would think this. As Luis Fernando Lara reminds us in an article written for a general audience, articulating a commonly accepted point of view: people tend to think that every nation is based on a single language:

> One of the myths of the modern state is that every language corresponds to a nation. For centuries this has been taken for granted. From Spain's Isabella and Ferdinand in 1492, to France's Francis I in 1539, to Mexico in the 19th century (Andres Molina Enriquez, Alberto María Carreño, and Francisco Pimentel) and the United States of America in the 20th century (S. Hayakawa and the recent English Only movement), the idea that a language is the same as a nation has persisted (Lara, 1991, pp. 46-47).

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Hence the almost universal use of demonyms to designate languages. For example, in the RAE's Dictionary of the Spanish Language, we have: "1. alemán (s.v.). Natural de Alemania. U. t. c. s.. 2. adj. Perteneciente o relativo a este país de Europa. 3. m. Idioma alemán" [German (noun) 1. adj. Native of Germany. Also used as noun. 2. adj. Belonging or relating to this European country. 3. adj. The German language]. The problem, of course, is that if a nation is tied to a state, and almost all states in history are — or at one point were — multilingual, then they must also be considered plurinational. It is no wonder, then, that political analysts have explicitly dismissed the practice of identifying the nation with the state, instead assigning nationhood only to those human communities that share a common language. This, for example, was the Marxist attitude expressed concisely and solemnly by Stalin:

> What distinguishes a national community from a state community? The fact, among others, that a national community is inconceivable without a common language, while a state need not have a common language [...] Thus, *a common language* is one of the characteristic features of a nation. This, of course, does not mean that different nations always and everywhere speak different languages, or that all who speak one language necessarily constitute one nation. A *common* language for every nation, but not necessarily different languages for different nations! There is no nation which at one and the same time speaks several languages, but this does not mean that there cannot be two nations speaking the same language! [...] We have now exhausted the characteristic features of a nation [...] *A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.* (Stalin 2013)

In this way, Stalin breaks with the old essentialist idea that nations are endowed with an innate and immemorial character. Today, we understand that nations are historical constructs that endow them with economic, territorial, and cultural substrata, as articulated by various Marxist texts that seek to address the question of nationalism. The nation, as Hobsbawm would say, is a creation of nationalism, not the other way around: "Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent [...] political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes preexisting cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates preexisting cultures: that is a reality" (1997, p. 14). He goes on to develop three other key ideas:

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> 1. Official ideologies of states and movements are not guides to what it is in the minds of even the most loyal citizens or supporters.
> 2. We cannot assume that for most people national identification — when it exists — excludes or is always or ever superior to, the remainder of the set of identifications which constitute the social being.
> 3. National identification and what it is believed to imply, can change and shift in time, even in the course of quite short periods. (Hobsbawm, 1991, p. 15)

In other words, the nation is a mental construct, or, as Anderson would say, an imagined community:

> In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community - - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign [...] It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion [...] The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind ... It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm ... Finally, it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. (Anderson, 1991, pp. 5-7)

In any case, the question — returning to generally accepted opinion, as summarized above by Lara — is twofold: a) Whether the common language is essential, or more explicitly, whether it is a necessary condition for the existence of a nation; and b) whether it is also a sufficient condition? Gellner, another classic theorist of nationalism, does not think so, and distinguishes between a cultural definition and a voluntarist definition of the nation, ultimately opting for the latter:

> 1. Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating.
> 2. Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. In other words, nations make the man; nations are the artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities. A mere category of persons (say, occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language, for example) becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. (1983, pp. 6-7)

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Therefore, as Renan — the first to formulate the concept of the nation — knew well, a linguistic community *can* underpin a nation, but it does not *have to*:

> Language invites people to unite, but it does not force them to do so. The United States and England, Latin America and Spain, speak the same languages yet do not form single nations. Conversely, Switzerland, so well made, since she was made with the consent of her different parts, numbers three or four languages. There is something in man which is superior to language, namely, the will. The will of Switzerland to be united, in spite of the diversity of her dialects, is a fact of far greater importance than a similitude often obtained by various vexatious measures. (1882) [translated by Martin Thom].

4. 2. The Spanglish nation?

These general reflections — and others that might fall under the same theme — are of particular relevance in light of the problems posed by Spanglish. In a recent paper (López García-Molins, 2015a), I show how Spanglish is often identified as the practice that underpins a certain kind of Latino nationalism in the U.S.:

> Some people believe that Spanglish is an intermediate step in the process of acquiring a new language, while others see it as trap that ensnares those who try to climb the social pyramid. I hold a different point of view. I don't know what will become of Spanglish in the future. What I do know is that it plays a remarkably important role in the present. Rather than viewing it as an intermediate step or as a trap, I see it as a symptom of a new civilization of mestizos emerging before our very eyes — a civilization that is part Anglo Saxon, part Hispanic, but also neither of those. (Stavans 2004)

It is true that Stavans — who is, after all, a Mexican fully integrated into the U.S. establishment — speaks prudently of civilization (?) rather than nation. But the political implications of his approach have not escaped the lucid insights of Zamora Salamanca, who writes:

> The appearance in 2003 of the polemical book by Ilán Stavans, *Spanglish: The making of a new American language*, marks a new turn in the thinking around Spanglish: as makes clear through the provocative title fo the book, Spanglish is a new language, distinct from Spanish and English. Apart from enormous differences in time and historical circumstances, Stavans' book is reminiscent of Abeille's *Idioma nacional de los argentinos*, which I referenced earlier. According tp this argument, Spanglish could become, in the course of this century, the 'national language' of Hispanics (also called Latinos) in the United States. (Zamora Salamanca, 2008, p. 620)

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To summarize: For a nation to exist, it does not require a shared language — many Hispanics have lost their Spanish — but rather a shared desire to belong to an imagined community that is defined by that language. If there are also powerful economic interests involved in this project, coupled with an identifiable cultural base, we then begin to fulfill the requirements of strict nationalism as defined by Marxists. Under these conditions, the reticence with which Huntington, a known reactionary, welcomed the idea of a Hispanic nation in the U.S. and its assumed mode of expression, is perfectly understandable:

> The most important area where Hispanization is proceeding rapidly is, of course, the Southwest. As historian Kennedy argues, Mexican Americans in the Southwest will soon have "sufficient coherence and critical mass in a defined region so that, if they choose, they can preserve their distinctive culture indefinitely". They could also eventually undertake to do what no previous immigrant group could have dreamed of doing: challenge the existing cultural, political, legal, commercial, and educational systems to change fundamentally not only the language but also the very institutions in which they do business. (Huntington, 2004b, p. 40)

To Huntington — and now, to Donald Trump and his followers — the prospects of the American nation seem dire indeed:

> Continuation of this large immigration (without improved assimilation) could divide the United States into a country of two languages and two cultures. A few stable, prosperous democracies — such as Canada and Belgium — fit this pattern. The differences in culture within these countries, however, do not approximate those between the United States and Mexico, and even in these countries language differences persist. Not many Anglo-Canadians are equally fluent in English and French, and the Canadian government has had to impose penalties to get its top civil servants to achieve dual fluency. Much the same lack of dual competence is true of Walloons and Flemings in Belgium. The transformation of the United States into a country like these would not necessarily be the end of the world; it would, however, be the end of the America we have known for more than three centuries. Americans should not let that change happen unless they are convinced that this new nation would be a better one. (Huntington, 2004b, pp. 44-45)

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4. 3. Language or dialect?

This, however, is merely a projection of Huntington's conservative and rather xenophobic way of thinking. Spanglish is not a linguistic modality assumed by people who are incapable of learning English — quite the contrary: it is the practice of perfectly bilingual speakers who seek to demonstrate their mastery of both Spanish and English. Responding to Huntington, Valdés-Ugalde emphasizes how bilingualism is advancing, not receding, among U.S. Hispanics:

> Let me tell you that I also find substantial theoretical mistakes in it, above all with regard to the process of assimilation. It has been demonstrated, paradoxically in contradiction to what Huntington says, that the integration of Hispanics is greater today than it was in the past. Some studies show a decrease in non-assimilated Hispanics from 40 percent to 26 percent in the last 12 years. This means that today Hispanics are more easily assimilated, that they incorporate them selves more easily into U.S. society. Most Hispanics (around 63 percent) are bilingual or bicultural. Mexican Americans and Hispanics in general feel comfortable speaking both languages. That is why it seems to me to be an unpardonable error when Huntington makes language the central issue in his argument. (Valdés-Ugalde, 2004)

In any case, we are not dealing here with the English-Spanish bilingualism of U.S. Hispanics, but rather with Spanglish, which, let us not forget, is far from being a third language existing alongside two others (López García-Molins, 2014a), but is instead a linguistic *practice*, sometimes playful and sometimes insufficient, but always involving both languages, as Dumitrescu explains:

> Spanish that incorporates anglicisms or code-switching is commonly known as Spanglish… For many Spanish speakers outside the U.S., Spanglish is a Spanish plagued by crudely adopted anglicisms (cf. Ardila, 2005), such as *rufo, liquear, puchar* y *brecas*, as well as semantic and phraseological calques, like *escuela alta* and *correr para oficina*, or it is an incongruous mixture of words and phrases from both languages. In either of these cases it appears incomprehensible to the monolingual speaker. When Hispanic Americans, on the other hand, speak of Spanglish, the vast majority are in fact thinking about language alternation among bilingual speakers, more than anything else. (Dumitrescu, 2013a, pp. 11-12)

It is interesting that the perception of Spanglish would be different within the U.S. and outside it. There is no difference between exogenous and endogenous understandings of languages like English, Spanish, German or Russian, nor in other cases of linguistic interplay, like with the Portuñol of the Brazil-Uruguay border region,

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or the Franglais spoken in Quebec. The reason, as I see it, is that Spanglish is not understood as a merely linguistic phenomenon, but also as a practice imbued with symbolic value. I agree with Ricardo Otheguy and Nancy Stern when they argue that the term *Spanglish* is an unfortunate one, and fully subscribe to their assessment that:

> Using the word Spanglish is an unfortunate way of depriving the Latin American community of an important path to advancement: the potential to master formal spoken and written Spanish, an outcome that is far more likely if one conceives of one's own language as a local form of Spanish rather than as a different language called Spanglish … Whenever the term Spanglish is used to refer to the speech of Spanish speakers in the USA, it should be discarded. Academics and opinion makers should replace it by the plain and simple term Spanish or, if greater specificity is required, Spanish in the United States. (Otheguy and Stern, 2010, pp. 97-98)

However, the term *Spanish in the United States* lacks the symbolic weight of the term *Spanglish*, which expresses an unequivocal cultural intermediation. As a phenomenon, so-called Spanglish is clearly a popular U.S. version of Spanish. But as an expression of values, it suggests something more — it suggests a form of nationalism that derives from the "double-valence image activity, so to speak, that reinforces a sense of affiliation among members of the Spanish-speaking community in the U.S. — a community defined by its bilingualism and biculturalism — and, at the same time, distinguishing them from members of other communities, whether bilingual or monolingual, who coexist with them in the U.S., but who practice other cultures and hold other attitudes" (Dumitrescu, 2013b, 27).

4. 4. Symbolic value

Spanglish as a symbolic value may point toward the nation, but it will never arrive there, given that, as is commonly accepted, the practice ultimately reflects a desire among Hispanics to integrate into U.S. society. Their desired nation — the nation to which Spanish speakers in the U.S. feel connected — is the American nation, and despite what people like Huntington may like to assert, they do not harbor a sense of

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incipient separatism. At the same time, however, they do not wish to lose their Spanish, because it is the main symbol of Hispanic national identity; they are true Hispanics *stricto sensu*, i.e., the only ones who have *chosen* to assume this identity. How might we reconcile these two sensibilities, both of which we call 'national'?

Charles Sanders Peirce, the father of semiotics, suggests an answer when he identifies three classes of signs. In the first version of his famous "three categories," he writes:

> An *icon* is a sign that denotes its object by virtue of a quality which is shared by them but which the icon has irrespectively of the object [...] An *index* is a sign that denotes its object by virtue of an *actual connection* involving them, one that he also calls a *real relation* in virtue of its being irrespective of interpretation [...] A *symbol* is a sign that denotes its object solely by virtue of the fact that it will be interpreted to do so. (Edward C. Moore, 1984 [1867–1871] [W2.56])

And in the second version:

> It follows that there are three kinds of representations. 1st. Those whose relation to their objects is a mere community in some quality, and these representations may be termed *Likenesses*. 2nd. Those whose relation to their objects consists in a correspondence in fact, and these may be termed *Indices* or *Signs*. 3rd. Those the ground of whose relation to their objects is an imputed character, which are the same as *general signs*, and these may be termed *Symbols.* (Peirce, 1931–1935 [CP1.559])

As we can see, there are no substantial differences between the two versions, save for the fact that in the second, indices are considered signs, and symbols become general signs. Therein lies the answer. An icon, i.e., a painting or photograph, is the result of an individual effort at representation. With languages, translation involves converting a source text in language A to a target text in language B. None of this has to do with nations or groups, but the index already contains an element of socialization: smoke is a sign of fire, but not all smoke is interpreted the same — some may see it as a sign of cooking, some as a sign of a cigarette, others as a sign of a fire or a volcano. This is why Peirce says that an index is a sign, but its interpretation is not agreed on, it exists naturally. Ultimately, a symbol is a general sign, and it has an entirely arbitrary character: in the West, the color of mourning is

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black; in China, it is white. This, then, is how the two national categories of Hispanic Americans are configured: Spanish speakers in the U.S. are indices insofar as they are immersed in Anglo society and demonstrate their immersion through the practice of Spanglish; they are symbols insofar as their logic is the logic of all U.S. citizens: the logic of creed.

It seems that Hispanic Americans are part of two different national communities, one real (the U.S. nation-state), another imagined (the Hispanic nation). It is absurd to present this duality as a contradiction, since each type of affiliation operates in a distinct mental domain — the first in the rational domain, the second in the emotional domain. (If we were to describe it in neurolinguistic terms, we might say that the representations of the former are cortical, while those of the latter are limbic). Peirce would say that an index is a degenerate version of a symbol, where "degenerate" does not carry a pejorative connotation, but simply means that the symbol has a weaker truth-value than a pure assertion, since it mixes in subjective elements (Peirce, 1931–1935 [CP, 2.777]). Of course, for both national sentiments to be compatible, Hispanic Americans had to make certain adjustments: on the one hand, they had to forget the history of confrontation between Anglos and Hispanics; on the other, they had to relativize the importance of the Spanish language, valuing it not in and of itself, but as a sign of group affiliation. Thus, the adoption of Spanglish as a sign of identity: the very viability of this second-order national community depends on its ability to maintain creative play between two normatively stable languages, English and Spanish.

Spanglish is the index that distinguishes Hispanic Americans from the general U.S. population, which is to say, it is an emotive symbol of group affiliation. On the other hand, it remains unclear how many people in fact speak it. We know that U.S. Spanish is the fastest growing variety of Spanish in the 21st century, and that Spanish speakers currently make up around 15% of the U.S. population, with over 50

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million speakers, or 10% of all the Spanish speakers in the world. These statistics, however, are in reference to U.S. Spanish (a dialect which the Instituto Cervantes, in 2013, predicted would become the most widely spoken form of Spanish by 2050) not Spanglish. The problem is that Spanglish is a *speech form* that mixes Spanish and English, but it remains unclear whether it constitutes a dialect. One might object to this assertion by noting that all texts in U.S. Spanish, excluding a minority of academic or literary writings, also mix Spanish and English to varying degrees. But this is not the same thing: texts in U.S. Spanish, like texts from other parts of the Spanish-speaking world, might contain plenty of anglicisms, but that does not make them Spanglish — *Spanglish texts are a mixture of languages*, and would not be Spanglish without such anglicisms.

4. 5. A psychological dialect

The truth is that the usual criteria for dialectical characterization are difficult to apply to Spanglish. Are we dealing with a spacial dialect, a social dialect, or a register? Surprising as it may seem, none of these three labels quite fits. Spanglish is not *diatopic* (where difference is based on the geographic backgrounds of speakers) because it is spoken all over the U.S., and, if I may venture, in other parts of the world as well, such as Gibraltar (Levey, 2015). But it is also not *diastratic* (where difference is based on the socioeconomic strata of speakers) because it is not only practiced by disadvantaged social classes, even if this is where it undoubtedly emerged: today, Spanglish is frequently practiced by bilinguals who enjoy high social standing, and with a level of rhetorical complexity comparable to that required by normal language standards in school:

> What becomes immediately apparent upon considering the parallels described above is that, through their use of Spanglish to shift voices for different audiences and communicate subtle shades of meaning, the students in Ms. Ramírez's classroom were already displaying mastery of some of the very same skills that are outlined in California's sixth-grade English language arts standards. They were, in a sense, already doing what we wanted them to be able to do – and they were doing it quite well. (Martínez, 2010, p. 140)

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Moreover, the fact that Spanglish has found a place in works of literature with remarkable stylistic subtlety, as well as in popular colloquial speech, shows that it is not *diaphasic* (where difference is based on the varying registers of speakers) since these literary works do not merely seek to portray Spanglish — as the Costumbrista tradition portrays popular speech — but to create something out of it. As Dumitrescu (2014) emphasizes, these works are not based on code-switching, but on *code-fusion*, which he associates with *translanguaging* (López García-Molins, 2013, p. 354), a practice with obvious political implications, as it reflects the difficulties associated with bilingual identity through discursive practices that are not easily assigned to either of the two languages in question, and that attempt to compete in a linguistic marketplace that claims to be bilingual.

What type of dialect is Spanglish, then? The hypothesis that I want to propose here is that it is neither a spacial, social, nor pragmatic dialect, but a *psychological dialect*. In a previous study (López García-Molins, 2014a, pp. 104-105), I argued that U.S. Spanish is distinct in that it is practiced by *constitutive bilinguals*, by which I mean people with two versions of a given language element associated in a permanent synaptic network in the brain. These would be people who, in attempting to verbally represent the referent MANZANA, incorporate neither the synaptic network for *manzana*, which is linked to the signifier *apple* in a loop (in cases where secondary bilinguals learn English), nor two independent synaptic networks — one for *manzana* and one for *apple* (in the case of primary bilinguals) — but instead, have only one synaptic network for *manzana-apple.* This is true for Hispanic Americans who tend to practice a formal variety of Spanish, as well as with those who tend to practice a popular form of Spanish (so-called Spanglish, Otheguy and Stern, 2010). These two groups are distinguished by their speech practices, since the former simply employs lexical anglicisms (*contact Americanisms*, or *estadounidismos de contacto*: [López García-Molins, 2012]) while the latter mixes both languages at all levels of speech, even if both have a similar cortical mnemonic conformation.

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The conformation of neural networks in the brain is one thing; the *attitude* of the brain's outputs is another. We need to make a clear distinction here between language and linguistic consciousness, which I will call metalanguage. In truth, language is not an object of study that can be considered independent of its users, who have a conscious control over their language. This control translates as both the linguistic sensibility of native speakers, leading them to accept or reject certain sequences, as well as their capacity to create new and unprecedented combinations. Thus, Spanish-English bilinguals in the U.S., which is to say, Hispanic Americans, are all constitutive bilinguals as demonstrated by their linguistic creations, but they do not necessarily have the same attitudes toward these creations: some attempt to limit code-mixing, while others encourage it to the point that it becomes what Dumitrescu calls code-fusion. While people in the U.S. who prefer formal Spanish only speak Spanish (with anglicisms) or English, those who prefer Spanglish tend to mix both languages in a wide variety of ways. It is not clear where language and metalanguage are respectively located in the brains of bilinguals. Current data seem to suggest that language is located in the dominant hemisphere (normally the left one) while metalanguage is located in the dominated hemisphere (Wray, 1992), but some studies (Albert and Obler, 1978) suggest precisely the opposite. In either case, the difference between Spanglish and formal Spanish in the U.S. would be the following:

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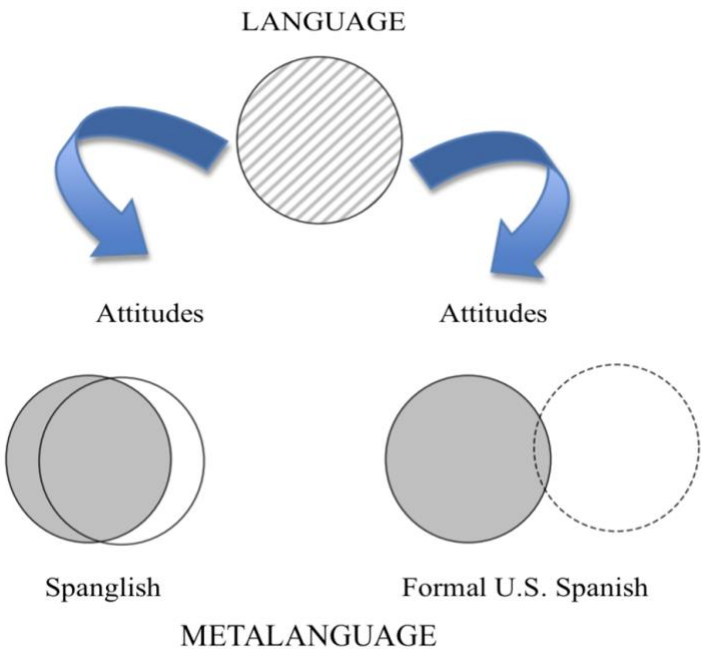

Figure 20: Metalinguistic attitudes on Spanglish and formal U.S. Spanish.

As can be seen, the top circle, which represents language, contains both Spanglish and formal U.S. Spanish, as both involve mixed neural networks formed from Spanish (gray stripes) and English (white stripes). Their metalinguistic consciousness, however, is not the same. Speakers of formal U.S. Spanish — represented by the bottom-right illustration — feel that when they speak Spanish, they move only within that language domain (gray circle, solid line), even while realizing that they sometimes use hispanicized anglicisms, represented by the small section of overlap. They may also speak English (white circle, dotted line), in which case, when speaking, they stay within that respective language domain, even if they let a hispanism slip out on occasion. On the other hand, for Spanglish speakers — represented by the bottom-left illustration — there is no difference between English fragments (white) and Spanish fragments (gray), since all speakers are included within the continuous line representing Spanish, even if sometimes they speak, and know that they are speaking, only in Spanish or only in English, as shown by the respective gray and white outer crescents.

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However, we can also define Spanglish in a different way. While high-quality Spanglish literary texts do exist, these represent an essentially oral variety of Spanish which, when compared to written examples of formal U.S. Spanish, is essentially a *porous dialect*. Elsewhere (López García-Molins, 2010, pp. 125-128), I have characterized various other dialects of Spanish (Yopará, for example) in this same way, and have shown how this kind of phenomenon formally implies two things: that it is only possible in relation to the unified whole of the two languages, and that it necessarily involves an imbalance, with infiltrations from one language but not from the other. Put another way: a porous dialect is like a sponge submerged in another language from which it absorbs a number of elements, not limitlessly, however, but rather only to a saturation point determined by its structural gaps (its pores). This is clearly shown by figure 20, in which the top circle features gray stripes over a white background, and not the other way around; it appears, in other words, like a figure-ground image in Gestalt psychology, in which Spanish (gray stripes) is imposed over English (white background) and never the other way around. Non-porous varieties present a different situation, where the contact language only 'wets the surface,' i.e., it only contributes elements in the form of loans, as with the case of written U.S. Spanish's incorporation of anglicisms: this is what I have called hybridization. *Spanglish, therefore, is a porous dialect, while written U.S. Spanish is a hybridized variety*:

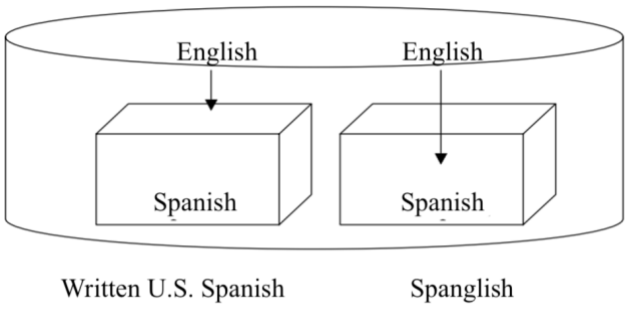

Figure 21: Lexical loans in written U.S. Spanish and in Spanglish

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4. 6. Spanish dialects and language norms

Although Spanglish is not a new language, and instead a porous dialect of Spanish, it is nevertheless true that as a diapsychic phenomenon (where difference is based on the psychological attitude of speakers) it represents a process of dialect leveling practiced by nearly every Spanish speaker in the U.S. to one degree or another. Because Hispanic Americans have enormous economic potential and represent a novel case of Hispanic mestizaje, we are confronted with the paradox of a peripheral variety that has not only created a language norm, but that has put this norm into practice as the basis of the norm for general Spanish, to the extent that the speech practices of major U.S. media networks like Univisión are now shaped by it. I completely agree with Francisco Moreno Fernández when he proposes the following ten pillars of Spanish:

> 1. Variety of bilingual mixing; 2. Spanish-English continuum; 3. Spanglish is Spanish; 4. Rigorous study; 5. False controversy; 6. The danger of prohibition; 7. The danger of indolence; 8. The outcomes of language contact are not deformities; 9. Everyone speaks in the best way they can; 10. The future of Spanglish depends on education and the media. (Moreno Fernández, 2006a, pp. 17-19)

I want to focus on the last point in particular: the future of Spanglish depends on education and the media. I am not an optimist with regard to the growing presence of Spanglish in U.S. classrooms. The monolingual obsession pervading the national imaginary is too strong, at least at present, even despite the increasing power of the Hispanic vote. That said, the spectacular growth of Spanish-language media in the U.S. has no doubt had a major impact on the preservation of Spanish in the country. In today's world, the media are the main showcase for linguistic prestige: to speak how news anchors and movie actors speak is to speak well, to write the way journalists write is to write well; everything else, even the most thoughtful academic discourse, is, for most people, superfluous. This, of course, does not contribute to the

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consolidation of Spanglish, but rather to the consolidation of what we now call *international Spanish* — the discursive modality corresponding to written U.S. Spanish. As Ana Carolina Walczuc highlights:

> The emphasis on Spanish by media executives and the willingness of Latinos to keep the language alive in a foreign land is understandable, once the Hispanic nation builds itself within the larger North American community. As Fox (1996, p. 39) recalls, the maintenance of Spanish represents, for the people, "the vehicle for achieving collective power" and visibility in the new land, and, for the media, a whole new market to be explored. There is, after all, the "need for generic constructions with which to emphasize unity and mutual recognition among the 'Hispanic nation's' countries and cultures" (Dávila, 2001, p. 91); hence, the common language propagated by the media, and especially by television, creates a linguistic bond among groups as diverse as Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans and others, newcomers or not. Therefore, the majority of Hispanic American media preach the use of a 'pure,' correct Spanish. This is something appreciated by Latinos willing to maintain their language alive, and take pride in it. Dávila (2001, pp. 192-195) affirms that Latinos interviewed by her wanted to find this 'pure' Spanish – that is, Spanish untainted by English – on Spanish-language media. For example, the majority of Latinos who consume these media agreed, when asked, that Spanglish must be ruled out on television, the appropriateness of Spanish being "[...] a central component of their Latino/Hispanic identity and a reason why they tuned in to the Spanish channels." According to the expectations of many Latinos, these media should assume an educational role regarding the use of language [...] Yet, for many Hispanic Americans it is natural to speak Spanglish – what is more, some of them were born into it. For this group, the Spanish propagated by the media will never correspond to the one spoken on the streets, at home and among friends. The untainted Spanish chosen by the two major television networks, therefore, does not reflect the real life of their audience ... Nonetheless, Hispanic American television networks keep carrying on the policy of 'true *Hispanidad*' and unspotted Spanish, so as to foster the idea of a homogeneous ethnic unity and, consequently, conquer a stable market through language. Indeed, it is much easier for these media to deal with what is 'known,' that is, with a language whose rules and lexicon are available at any time, than to adventure in the use of Spanglish, which is constantly being created by the people as a reflection of their experiences in the new land. (Walczuc Beltrão, 2008, pp. 198-199)

Indeed, Spanglish is one thing — the bilingual speech practice of Hispanics in the U.S. — and the normative language promoted by the media is another. Walczuc, in the conclusion to her study, seems to regret that Spanglish has almost no place in the media, and attributes this to the commercial desire of media companies to market their productions across the entire Spanish-speaking world. Perhaps, but the diglossia that Walczuc dislikes is the same as that which exists in any language with both a written and a spoken form. Argentina's C5TN does not broadcast in Lunfardo, just as the BBC does not broadcast in Cockney, or München TV in Bavarian, with the exception of popular comedy programs. This does not imply any contempt toward

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these spoken varieties of Spanish, English, or German, only that such languages always maintain a distinction between high and low varieties. Indeed, there was a time when *Spanglish* was synonymous with social marginalization, because it was spoken exclusively by undocumented and almost always illiterate immigrants who had illegally crossed the U.S.-Mexico border. This began to change some generations ago and is now no longer the case. Now, Spanglish is a bilingual linguistic practice that often exhibits remarkable linguistic virtuosity, but which remains tied to certain very specific use-contexts. For writing and public speaking, Hispanics use normative Spanish regardless of nationality. This is true in the U.S. as well.

The only difference lies in the fact that the Spanish of the U.S. media emerged from a process of dialect leveling, since the people who practice it are from different Hispanic countries, either directly or indirectly. In this sense, it is the true standard form of Spanish. Its relation to Spanglish is much simpler than the typical relation between the formal language norm and popular language varieties in other countries. The elaborated code of the dominant classes represents a purification and regularization of popular language varieties and constitutes the basis of the norm:

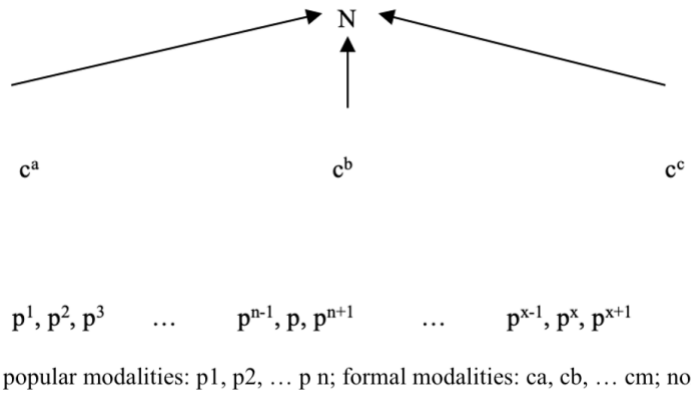

Figure 22: The elaborated code developed via dialect leveling of U.S. Spanish.

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In the case of U.S. Spanish, on the other hand, there is no specific elaborated oral code, but instead a direct transition from Spanglish — or rather, from continually changing Spanglishes (s^i, etc.) to general Spanish:

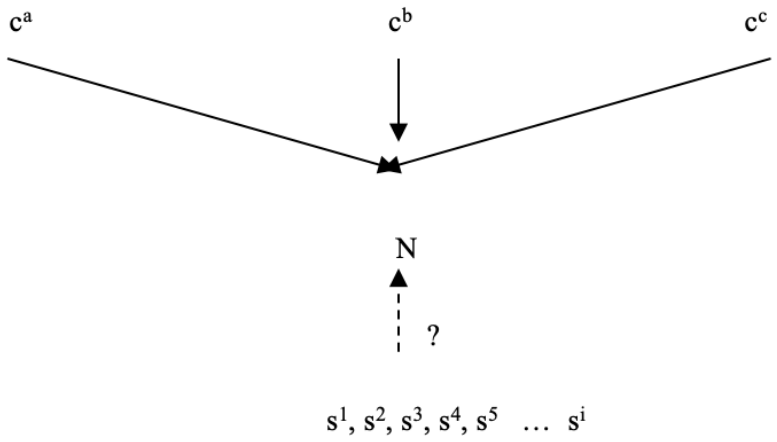

Figure 23: Unelaborated dialect leveling in Spanglish

This can create the impression that the general Spanish norm elaborated in the U.S. bears no relation to Spanglish. In fact, some advocates of Spanglish have criticized the norm promoted by institutions like ANLE (which have close ties to U.S. Spanish-language media). This was the subject of a debate between Gerardo Piña-Rosales, the director of ANLE, and Andrew Lynch and Kim Potowski (2014), concerning the book *Hablando bien se entiende la gente*, published by the Academy in 2010 (VV. AA, 2010). I would like to point out, however, that this is precisely the type of diglossia that Ferguson, who invented the term, used to exemplify the phenomenon, which he illustrated specifically with reference to the doublets classical Arabic / national dialects, French / Haitian Creole, Katharevousa / Demotiki, and Hochdeutsch / Schwytzertütsch:

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> DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation. (Ferguson, 1959, pp. 335-336)

Today, some of these examples are no longer accepted as instances of diglossia, including the Alemannic dialects of Switzerland (Rash, 1998). This is because the social valorization of the low variety (L), when compared to the high variety (H), is much greater than Ferguson had originally conceived: for example, in Greece, Demotiki is currently recognized as an official language, whereas in the Arab world and in German-speaking Switzerland, speakers are constantly code-switching between varieties. The case of U.S. Spanish may well resemble the case of German-speaking Switzerland: on the one hand, there is a formal norm H, with a discursive oral underpinning in other parts of the language domain, which no one uses in daily life because code-switching is so prevalent; on the other hand, the social esteem of variety L increases daily, as evidenced by the symbolic quality that Hispanic Americans ascribe to Spanglish.

The question with which I would like to end this chapter is the following: why is it that what is possible in Switzerland should not also be possible in the U.S.? Evidently, the Swiss — 67% of whom speak Schwytzertütsch (the rest are native speakers of French, Italian, or Romansh) — are proud of this modality and the national identity it confers, but have nevertheless decided to entrust most of their educational and cultural development to Hochdeutsch ("High German"), the variety that connects them to the Germanic world (i.e., to Germany and Austria). In a similar way, might Spanish speakers in the U.S. eventually use popular Spanish (also called Spanglish) in their daily lives, while the media (and someday, elements of the formal educational system) use international Spanish? This is not a utopian notion: in many ways, and with certain well-known limitations, it is exactly what is happening already.

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5. Spanglish as ideology [10]

When formalist treatments of language fail to account for social factors, they result in a biased understanding of linguistic phenomena. Spanglish is a good example of this. In the past, I have always approached this controversial and sensitive topic from a perspective of immanence, which is to say, I have analyzed it as an idiomatic modality in which two languages come into contact without one yielding to and being absorbed by the other (López García-Molins, 2013b). This approach, however, is incomplete if it does not consider Spanglish against the backdrop of the ideology that underpins it. In effect, there are two questions we should ask with regard to Spanglish:

a) Is it merely anecdotal, or is it in fact characteristic in some way of Hispanics in the U.S. — and is therefore becoming a symbol of that community?
b) Is it a new language, or simply a set of unsystematic outputs resulting from Spanish's contact with English?

I would say that in both cases, the second explanation is the correct one: Spanglish underpins a certain Latino community pride and, at the same time, it is not a language. Naturally, this suggests a contradiction: how can the growing sense of Hispanic community pride in the U.S. be based on something that lacks formal and normative substance? This contradiction sees its academic manifestation in the inevitable argument between sociolinguists and grammarians/lexicographers.

[10] In E. Hernández Sánchez y M. I. López Martínez (Eds.) (2015). *Sodalicia dona. Homenaje a D. Ricardo Escavy Zamora* (pp. 405-417). Murcia: Editum.

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In Chapter 2 of this volume, I indicated that Spanglish, as I understand it, begins genetically as a pidgin, which each Hispanic emigrant arriving in the United States develops in an individual and non-transferable way (López García-Molins, 2014a). This has caused some of my colleagues to throw their hands up in the air, I suppose because when they talk about pidgins, they are thinking only of situations of occasional contact, in which neither interlocutor knows the other's language — similar, say, to what we might experience if we tried to buy something at a bazaar in North Africa, from people who only speak Arabic, a language we do not know. They are not wrong, but this kind of scenario is not the only communicative situation that we might call a pidgin. A pidgin also developed in Hawaii (as has been studied by, among others, Derek Bickerton, 1981). This one was different from previous cases: the indigenous population, which spoke a language in the Polynesian group, became closer and closer to English, until eventually, as mentioned, specialists now identify not just one but a whole series of different Hawaiian pidgins, as they became progressively less Polynesian and more English. This situation is clearly reminiscent of Spanglish, which also begins as an asymmetrical pidgin: Spanish becomes progressively closer to English, rather than the other way around.

Even so, there is something that doesn't quite add up. Spanglish does not appear to be an intermediate stage in a complete shift from Spanish to English, as happened with the pidgins of Hawaii. In truth, Hispanic Americans don't speak Spanglish, they practice Spanglish. This is a crucial nuance, without which the reader might think that I share the view of, for example, Ardila (2005), who maintains that Spanglish is a pidgin on the verge of becoming a creole — what he calls an "anglicized dialect of Spanish." I do not see it this way at all, since *Spanglish does not exist, it is practiced.* If Hispanic Americans were to speak it as they speak English and Spanish, for better or worse, they would eventually become English speakers, as happened in Hawaii, or speakers of a new language, as happened in Jamaica.

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Pidgins, when they are consolidated by subsequent generations, become true languages, or what we call creoles. But such an evolution is not inevitable, as proven by Spanglish itself, which, as I argue in López García-Molins (2014 [Chapter 2 in this volume]), is not in fact a new creole language. Nor has a creole emerged in Hawaii, because Hawaiians did not remain isolated from U.S. culture — they became residents of a U.S. state, and their formal language eventually became English (with some indigenous loanwords). From this perspective, the situation of Hispanic Americans is peculiar. If Spanglish were to become a creole, its speakers would become isolated from rest of the citizenry, since Spanglish would become "their language" par excellence. I am not a U.S. citizen and do not have a say in the matter, but I get the impression that this is not something Hispanic Americans desire. If I am not mistaken, it seems to me that their aspiration is to be bilingual, with an even grasp of both English and Spanish — in North American English and U.S. Spanish. This is where ANLE, whose mission is to consolidate a formal norm (a bit of a redundancy, since norms, by definition, are formal) for U.S. Spanish, plays an important role. Such a norm would naturally include numerous loanwords from English ("Americanisms" or *estadounidismos*: López García-Molins, 2013a), in the same way that Paraguayan Spanish includes numerous loans from Guaraní. But U.S. Spanish is one thing and Spanglish is another.

If, in the end, Hispanic Americans will eventually end up speaking English, and at the same time hope to strengthen their Spanish, what then do they want with Spanglish? The two languages may exchange loanwords, and there may be similar cases of *code-switching*, but linguistically and sociolinguistically they are two different creations. Spanglish may be a perishable discursive creation, since its vitality appears to depend on the continual flow of non-English-speaking Hispanic emigrants to the U.S. The day that flow subsides, one of two things will happen: Spanglish will become a creole (with all the attendant political implications), or it will vanish and Spanish speakers in the U.S. will become English speakers. The objective common to all U.S. immigrant communities, that of making English their first language, is not

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actually at odds with their desire to conserve Spanish, the so-called *heritage language*. It is a risky gamble — who would deny it? — and it is also precisely why ANLE was created in 1973: to preserve Spanish in the U.S., in response to the fact that all other immigrant languages (German, Chinese, Russian, Polish, etc.) have long since dissolved into English. Unlike the comforting aspirations of its sister institution, the Association of Academies of the Spanish Language (*Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española*, or ASALE), ANLE does not seek to "cleanse, fix and grant splendor" upon the Spanish language, but rather sees its role as that of an emergency doctor — against all odds, it seeks to keep Spanish alive in the U.S. by turning it into *U.S. Spanish* (Dumitrescu and Piña-Rosales, 2013).

This is no easy task, as evidenced by the debates and controversies that have developed around Spanglish in recent decades. Among the varying views on the topic, a certain kind of pro-Spanglish advocacy features frequently in the media, one of the first examples of which appears in an article by Lizette Alvarez (1997) published in *The New York Times*:

> "I think Spanglish is the future," said Ms. Galan, 32, the president of Galan Entertainment, a Los Angeles television and film production company that focuses on the Latino market. "It's a phenomenon of being from two cultures. It's perfectly wonderful. I speak English perfectly. I speak Spanish perfectly, and I choose to speak both simultaneously. How cool is that?" Immigrants struggling to learn a new tongue have long relied on a verbal patchwork to communicate in their adopted land. But Spanglish today is far from the awkward pidgin of a newcomer. As millions of Hispanic-Americans, first, second and third generation, take on more prominent roles in business, media and the arts, Spanglish is traveling right along with them [...] Some Spanish-language purists still denounce Spanglish as a debasement of their native tongue. And many Latinos, wary of the Ebonics controversy that flared over the suggestion that Black English should be considered a separate language, are unsure just how far they want to push their own hybrid. Many see it as a purely colloquial form of communication best suited to popular culture, and there is little talk of introducing a Spanglish curriculum in schools or demanding that Spanglish be accepted in the workplace. (Álvarez, 1997 p.1)

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Not all Hispanic Americans — not even close to all — believe that Spanglish is the future. The position articulated by Alvarez was fiercely contested in another *New York Times* opinion piece by Yale University professor Roberto González Echevarría, who wrote:

> Spanglish, the composite language of Spanish and English that has crossed over from the street to Hispanic talk shows and advertising campaigns, poses a grave danger to Hispanic culture and to the advancement of Hispanics in mainstream America. Those who condone and even promote it as a harmless commingling do not realize that this is hardly a relationship based on equality. Spanglish is an invasion of Spanish by English. The sad reality is that Spanglish is primarily the language of poor Hispanics, many barely literate in either language. They incorporate English words and constructions into their daily speech because they they lack the vocabulary and education in Spanish to adapt to the changing culture around them. Educated Hispanics who do likewise have a different motivation: Some are embarrassed by their background and feel empowered by using English words and directly translated English idioms. Doing so, they think, is to claim membership in the mainstream. Politically, however, Spanglish is a capitulation; it indicates marginalization, not enfranchisement. (González Echevarría 1997)

We see a similar opposition emerge from other parts of the Hispanic cultural world. At the time, Leticia Molinero, a translator and editor at *Apuntes* magazine, and a current ANLE scholar, considered Spanglish as a sign of cultural subordination:

> The phenomenon of Spanglish raises other related issues. When a new term becomes fashionable, many start to view old terms with suspicion or cast them aside. It is as if we had a relationship of guilt with our own language. Why say *mundialización* or *universalización* when we could say *globalización*, like in English? (Keep in mind that English uses the term 'globalization' for reasons intrinsic to the language. The term 'world-wide' is too long and cumbersome to use regularly as an adjective; that is, English lacks a term as easy and fluid as 'mundial.' 'World-wid(e)ization' does not quite work, so English is forced to resort to 'globalization'). In this case, perhaps the loss of the term 'mundial' or 'mundialización' might not be such a big deal, and we may even be able to justify it, as Sherr says, by "associating it with the terrestrial sphere" — a possibility we have already considered in our original commentary (*Apuntes*, Winter 1997, *Glosas: Global/global*, by Jack Segura). In this way, we satisfy both God and the Devil.
>
> However, this penchant for justifying anglicisms is dangerous, given the speed and irrationality of the onslaught. There will be cases in which it is nearly impossible to translate, for example, a word as widespread as 'brunch,' which the international hotel industry (or should we say global hotel industry?) tends leave in English. This is understandable, given that the term, like the social phenomenon it describes, are specific to the United States. That is, 'brunch' is not the same as an appetizer before a weekend lunch, or a cold dinner, or any other meal. 'Brunch' is 'brunch,' and it is its natural right to be exported.

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> What we are trying to combat is the avalanche of unnecessary anglicisms like that which, years ago, engulfed the world of computer science, culminating in the ignominious 'Computer Spanglish' webpage and its equally ignominious glossary of nonsense terms like *delete*, *uplodear*, etc., justified under pretexts like "there is a lack of adequate terms in Spanish." We have addressed this issue several times in the pages of *Apuntes*, first in the Fall 1995 issue of the magazine (*Spanglish* y *If My Mother Knew, She Would Kill Me)*. Luckily, major software and hardware companies did not fall into this trap, and we now have Spanish glossaries that, while they include some unsatisfying solutions, at least reflect a conscious effort to uphold the integrity of the language.
>
> But the problem is not limited to computer science or to the extreme example of the 'computer Spanglish' dictionary; we see it as well in the mindless calque — that hasty and irresponsible creation of people who don't know how to translate, or who need their daily bread delivered to them pre-chewed (by people who do not speak their language). Even worse, Spanglish is often the product of the snobbery and irresponsibility of the media, which spread strange and gratuitous words like *esponsorización* (for *patrocinio*), *doméstico* (for *nacional*) and others of similar style.
>
> Spanglish has the insidious tendency to downgrade communication to the level of colloquial speech. It is a phenomenon that occurs in Spanish but not in English. While the English spoken by the media maintains its integrity and its status as proper speech (i.e., standard English), the unnecessary calques sprinkled throughout the Spanish language are a sign of cultural subordination. This dependency finds its extreme expression in the mouths of Spanish-language journalists in the United States, who view the proliferation of colloquialisms in everyday speech as amusing — a tendency that *Apuntes* addressed previously in *El espanglish y sus accidentes*, by Odón Betanzos Palacios (*Spring* 1997). (Molinero, 1998)

I have reproduced this long excerpt so that readers understand the level of passion and attention to concrete detail that the issue of Spanglish inspires. The controversy goes back decades, and it is no coincidence that the term *Spanglish* was first introduced by Salvador Tió — one of the most acclaimed advocates, not only of the Spanish language, but of Hispanidad as an ethnolinguistic community — in his column "Teoría del Espanglish," originally published in the newspaper *El Diario de Puerto Rico* on October 28, 1948. Tió explained that Spanglish represents the Spanishization of English, as happens, for example, in Puerto Rico. Years later, in the March 27, 1971 issue of the newspaper *El Mundo,* Tió published his theory of Inglañol, or Ingañol, a term he used to describe the phenomenon of giving Spanish words the meanings they have in English.

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But while people in the media championed Spanglish's acceptance on the one hand and academics and writers rejected it on the other, the situation never came to a head. What did ultimately cause a degree of social commotion in the Spanish-speaking world, and was interpreted as a kind of betrayal, was the pro-Spanglish position espoused by Ilan Stavans, a Sephardic university professor from Mexico, who argued in an interview published in the January-February 2004 issue of *The Barcelona Review* that Spanglish was a new language:

> Where does our attitude toward creoles like Franglais, Spanglish, or Portuñol, which are often described as mere linguistic 'corruptions,' come from? It was upon my return from London to the United States that I set out to analyze the phenomenon of Spanglish. This caused me to broaden my intellectual horizon: I realized, for example, that 13th-century Spanish was a modality quite similar to modern-day Spanglish [...] The diversification of [Spanglish] is astounding. In just the past decade, it has transformed from street slang with little esteem into a major cultural phenomenon. National variants are beginning to merge into the Spanglish of the media, which seems to be heading toward a kind of verbal standardization. There are TV programs in Spanglish, commercials, radio stations, women's magazines [...] (Stavans, 2004)

It is curious, to say the least, that Stavans compares Spanglish to the Spanish of the 13th century, the very century in which Alfonso X created the Castilian standard. He could just as easily have compared Spanglish to, say, 10th century Spanish, emphasizing how both emerged from the mixing of languages — though we should note that the same could also be said of English, which emerged as a kind of creole during the Anglo-Norman Period, a theme that appears to be of relatively little interest to the academic community (López García-Molins, 2010a). Stavans, who thinks that the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848) was merely the "sale" of two thirds of Mexico to the U.S., clearly believes that there is a dominant language, i.e., English, and a dominated language (and people), and that Spanglish is the explicit manifestation of this diglossic situation. It comes as no surprise, then, that he would consider Spanglish to be "a new American language," and that he would then translate the first chapter of *Don Quixote* into this 'language':

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> In un placete de La Mancha of which nombre no quiero remembrearme, vivía, not so long ago, uno de esos gentlemen who always tienen una lanza in the rack, una buckler antigua, a skinny caballo y un grayhound para el chase. A cazuela with más beef than mutón, carne choppeada para la dinner, un omelet pa los sábados, lentil pa los viernes, y algún pigeon como delicacy especial pa los domingos, consumían tres cuarers de su income. El resto lo employaba en una coat de broadcloth y en soketes de velvetín pa los holidays, with sus slippers pa combinar, while los otros días de la semana él cut a figura de los más finos cloths. Livin with él eran una housekeeper en sus forties, una sobrina not yet twenty y un ladino del field y la marketa que le saddleaba el caballo al gentleman y wieldeaba un hookete pa podear. (Stavans, 2003)

It is true that for many Hispanic Americans, Spanglish — though not necessarily of the peculiar sort excerpted above — is a sign of identity. Unfortunately, this identity has at times been linguistically associated with feelings of inferiority, as Gloria Anzaldúa emphasizes in *Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1999), where, with a clear sense of irony, she describes borderland Chicanos in these terms: "The U.S.-Mexican border es *una herida abierta* where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds. And before a scab forms it hemorrhages again, the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country — a border culture" (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 92). Anzaldúa compares Chicanos in the U.S. with orphans, stranded with no identity to call their own: "*Deslenguadas. Somos los del español deficiente*. We are your linguistic nightmare, your linguistic aberration, your linguistic *mestisaje* [sic], the subject of your *burla*. Because we speak tongues of fire we are culturally crucified. Racially, culturally and linguistically *somos huérfanos* — we speak an orphan tongue" (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 92).

As can be seen, this sort of biological metaphor, like the one I employed above, is a stylistic feature of the debates surrounding Spanglish. It would be a mistake, however, to consider the issue in purely linguistic terms, as though it were just an academic dispute between purists and innovators, as Francisco Moreno Fernández warns:

> As I have said already: it is a false controversy, if only because a wide spectrum of intermediate positions and opinions exists between the two extremes of the debate. The danger lies in thinking that the detractors of Spanglish are (all) recalcitrant purists who despise and go around wagging their fingers in disapproval of any expression that escapes

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> the confines of the academic canon, which, incidentally, is becoming increasingly more open and collaborative. It is also fallacious to think that the defenders of Spanglish are traitors, renegades, autistics, libertines, people with bad taste, or people who harbor a total disrespect for the accepted norms of the Spanish language. (Moreno Fernández, 2003)

Indeed, the problem is not linguistic — or at least not only linguistic — but has an unmistakable ideological dimension. For some, Spanglish represents an undeniable degradation of the Spanish language; for others, it as a sign of Hispanic American affirmation, and as such, a way to guarantee the preservation of Hispanic pride and culture in the U.S. Silvia Betti (2006) has compiled numerous testimonies on this topic, such as the following, from Ed Morales:

> To become Spanglish is to fuse the North American with the Latin American in a way that approaches the former with a healthy skepticism and takes care not to obliterate the essence of the latter. It is a sometimes violent, sometimes delicate rethreading of two parallel story lines of long-separated siblings and hated enemies. Becoming Spanglish is inextricably linked with history and issues of race and class. (Morales, 2002, p. 32)

Ana Celia Zentella offers another notable testimony:

> It seems to me that U.S. Spanish is not the same as popular Spanish in Mexico, or popular Spanish in Puerto Rico, since it ignores the linguistic oppression suffered by Spanish speakers in this country. Those loanwords and syntactic forms do not result from free-form language play so much as from the oppression experienced in a country where Spanish is not the dominant language, but the subordinate one, and where certain laws and practices shape the reality of those oppressed communities. The word Spanglish is itself a testament to this conflict and oppression. (Zentella, 2009)

How to address this "yes, but no" approach to Spanglish? Precisely because we are dealing with a sign of group identity, we must examine the issue in the context of the language-nation relationship, while also recognizing that those who proclaim the "U.S. Hispanic Nation" (exemplified by the Chicano movement's Plan de Aztlán) represent only a small minority of the total U.S. Hispanic population. The vast majority want full integration into U.S. society, albeit without giving up their identity. This, as Stavans writes, is because "for Latinos, Spanish is the connection to a collective past, while English is their ticket to the future" (Stavans, 2000b, p. 16).

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When we examine the language-nation doublet — fundamental to the history of 19th century Europe — two conflicting notions emerge:

1. The idea that the nation precedes language: NATION > language
2. The idea that language precedes the nation: LANGUAGE > nation.

France, and the Romance countries in general, represent the prototypical case of the first idea, while Germany, and the Anglo-Germanic countries in general, represent the second point of view. As is well known, the Jacobin position that emerged out of the French Revolution was based on the idea that an armed French people required their own means of linguistic expression, which then led the French to claim the l'Île de France Romance dialect as the national language, and to eradicate or temper the vitality of all other languages spoken in French territory (Lépinette, 2006). Nearly every other case of 19th century nationalist development in Europe's Romance-speaking countries followed the same path: invoking a single language as the language of the nation, despite the fact that often only a small minority of nationalists spoke it, and sometimes, as in the case of Italy, it would take a very long time for it to spread throughout the territory (Marazzini, 1999).

The case was the opposite in Germany, where the emergence of a national language long predated any unified sense of nationhood. While the German norm was a product of Luther's translation of the Bible in the 16th century, it was not until the 18th century that Johann Gottfried Herder would argue that the German language was the expression of the spirit of the German nation, which then led his disciple, Wilhelm von Humboldt, to remark, in 1821, that "different languages are the organs of the different ways of thinking and feeling of nations [...] Generations come and go, but language remains [...] In the end, language is the nation itself — the nation in the true sense of the term" (Humboldt, (1991 [1821]), p. 28). Other Germanic peoples also view the language-nation binomial from a position that prioritizes language,

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although through a less romantic lens. For example, the North American approach to the question has been the focus, in recent years, of the *English Only* movement, as reflected in the proposed bill HR 123 by Rep. Bill Emerson mentioned in section 4.1 of this study.

The stale formulation of Emerson stands in contrast to the linguicidal position of the Chairman of English Only, a Chilean (!) named Mauro E. Mujica, who introduces himself on the organization's website with the following message:

> English was not my first language then — but I am perfectly bilingual today. Learning English was never an option. It was required for success. Now I am chairman of U.S. ENGLISH, the nation's largest organization fighting to make our common language the official language of government at all levels. Why? Because English is under assault in our schools, in our courts and by bureaucrats and self-appointed leaders for immigrant groups. The whole notion of a melting pot society is threatened if new immigrants aren't encouraged to adopt the common language of this country. We're not suggesting that people shouldn't hold on to their native languages. *We just don't believe the government should spend money providing services in multiple languages when money could be better used teaching new immigrants English* [emphasis mine].

The ideological conception of Spanglish thus reveals itself as contradictory. By prioritizing language over nation (language > nation) — given that Spanish is the glue that holds the Hispanic American community together, regardless of nation — proponents of Spanglish as an ideology adopt a position similar to that of Anglo-Americans, whose North American culture they share. But because this approach excludes explicit normative interventions in the language — American English is not regulated by an academy (as President Adams unsuccessfully proposed) but is simply based on Noah Webster's dictionary — Spanish finds itself in the very weak position of lacking support from educational and other official institutions in a country whose conception of the *melting pot* demands that immigrants abandon their original language.

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Here, I would like to caution the reader against the misconception that Spanglish represents a situation that has never occurred before in the history of the Spanish language. In truth, it is a very old phenomenon, but one which has been obscured by the fact that the only discursive textual examples we have of it come from literature. Canonica (1996) has shown how literary plurilingualism — associated historically with the famous *descort* of French, Italian, Gascon, Galician and Provençal, as exemplified by the troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras — was quite common in the early centuries of Spanish literature: from the scene in the *Libro de Buen Amor* in which the painter Pitas Payas speaks in a mix of Catalan and Provençal, to the *teatro prelopesco*, in which the speeches of Juan del Enzina, Gil Vicente, and Torres Naharro exhibit a generous degree of language mixing. The most interesting aspect of Canonica's study, however, is the distinction he establishes between *horizontal polyglotism* and *vertical polyglotism*. The former assumes that each person speaks their own language and either understands the other language (what linguists call 'sesquilingualism') or understands the code-switching in a given speech, as exemplified, respectively, by Gil Vicente's *Auto da Fama* and Torres Naharro's Hispano-Italophone character, the Captain of the *Soldadesca*. Vertical polyglotism, on the other hand, implies that two languages are being used, but in a diglossic situation — in Juan Fernández de Heredia's *Coloquio de las damas valencianas*, for example, where the noblewomen speak popular Catalan to their Castilian-speaking maids.

Five centuries later, we again encounter the distinction between horizontal and vertical polyglotism, in what Dumitrescu (2013b) calls, respectively (and ironically), "Spanglish bueno" and "Spanglish malo." The former basically consists of code-switching that reveals a perfect mastery of both English and Spanish on the part of speakers and listeners. The latter, conversely, never ceases to be an expression of Spanish's subordination to English, a language from which it borrows a mountain of unnecessary terms and even, from time to time, a syntactic construction

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or two. Code-switching — what Hispanic Americans often call 'Espanglish' or 'Spanglish' — serves to build up the identity of individuals and groups of bilingual speakers, and represents a kind of facework, or image activity, but is in no way a sign of weakness on the part of bilingual speakers:

> At the level of global communication, it involves, I believe, an image activity of intra-group affiliation and, simultaneously, extra-group autonomy; while on the micro-level it is a matter of attenuating or intensifying politeness effects directed at the image of one or both interlocutors. On the whole, code-switching is an essential component of "translanguaging," by which we mean: considering the heteroglossia of the discursive practices of bilingual and multilingual speakers as a defining phenomenon of our global, postcolonial world. (Dumitrescu, 2014, pp. 3-4)

This does not mean that there are no cases of Spanglish that manifest a deterioration of the language — only that such examples come from speakers who are in the process of losing their Spanish and undergoing a rapid transition to English (Lipski, 2008). In all other cases, as Otheguy (2013) correctly points out, what we tend to call Spanglish is simply popular Spanish, conveyed through Anglo-American culture, but which, at its core, remains linguistically intact. This is why the modality has produced such a wide array of literary productions that use code-switching to redefine social reality (Callahan, 2004). Not everything is sunshine and roses, of course, and many Chicano authors embody the tension and struggle between Spanish and English in the American Southwest through code-switching (Sánchez, 1983).

The coming years will be a testament to the difficulties faced by Hispanic Americans attempting to preserve their Spanish without dumbing it down. ANLE will play an important role in this effort, provided it continues to encourage Spanglish as a playful game between two consolidated codes, while avoiding the trap of treating it as an undesirable speech form that requires eradication. After all, the U.S. is not a Hispanic country, but with a population of fifty million Hispanic Americans, it may indeed represent the future of the Spanish language — but only if we act wisely.

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6. Final reflections

At this point, perplexed readers may be asking themselves: so, is Spanglish a language — a *new American language*, as Stavans would have it — or not? There is a linguistic acid test that can help us answer this question — that can tell us in what category to place a given language variety — and it involves asking a simple question: what other languages can the variety be translated into? In regions of Spain where similar disputes take place, people ask: can the Spanish Constitution be translated into Catalan? Well, clearly it can. And into Valencian? Yes, that too, though it would turn out roughly the same, save for an isolated word or two. Thus, we end up concluding what, as philologists, we already knew: that Catalan and Valencian are two versions of the same language. Since Spanglish cannot, strictly speaking, be translated into Spanish, we must conclude that it is a dialect of the Spanish language — albeit a very special one.

Translation is the conversion of language form *a* of language A into language form *b* of language B. As the DRAE states: "action and effect of translating (=To express in one language what was written or expressed before in another)." It thus becomes apparent that Spanglish can be translated into English, but not so much into Spanish. Or, if you prefer: a Spanglish text can be translated 'horizontally' to English, French, or Russian, it's merely a matter of code-switching; but it can only be translated to Spanish 'vertically,' i.e., to another level within the language — in the same way one might 'vertically' translate an academic text into a popular, easy-to-read one, or vice versa.

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In a recent paper, I analyzed what we might call borderline categories of translation and, as regards Spanglish, defined the process of 'detranslation' as follows:

> As it is known, *translation* derives from the Latin *translatio*, which itself comes from *trans* ("across") and *latum* (the past participle of *FERO*, "to carry"). *Detranslation* is, then, the refusal to translate from A to B because of the assumption that both languages are compatible. Spanglish is not a new language which results of mixing two preceding languages. It is a linguistic behavior supported by the knowledge of two languages and the wish to put them together. Like translation, detranslation belongs to performance, not to competence. (López García-Molins, 2013b)

Spanglish is a linguistic practice used by Latinos in the U.S. to express group pride and cohesion. Precisely because their immersion in U.S. culture is so deep, and their progression toward total acculturation so rapid, they have fixed the maintenance of their cultural specificity to a resistance to English. This, however, is only part of the story. It is very difficult to live a full life in the U.S. — much less climb the social ladder — without speaking English. Latinos are well aware of this, which is precisely why they set out to learn English as soon as they set foot on U.S. soil, and are native speakers by the second or third generation. But they also want to preserve their Spanish. This is no easy task in a country that refuses to recognize the language rights of immigrants — a country in which the demographic growth of Latinos prompts obstructionist legislative initiatives like those pushed by the English Only movement, and which continues to be plagued by a catastrophist ideology based on an alleged loss of North American values, as articulated by Samuel P. Huntington (2004b) and elevated to the category of viable political alternative during the presidency of Donald Trump. Given these conditions, attempts to preserve Spanish have taken two paths — one academic, the other popular. The first involves efforts to strengthen and preserve a Spanish norm shared by all U.S. Latinos. This is the mission of ANLE, and is the impetus behind related efforts to develop a common language standard, i.e., U.S. Spanish, for major Latino media outlets in the U.S. The second is Spanglish: Unable to practice Spanish outside of an English-speaking environment, *Hispanounidenses* (as former ANLE director Gerardo Piña-Rosales calls Spanish speakers in the U.S.)

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opt for a perpetual game of "code-switching" that mixes the two languages and requires, of course, a total mastery of both. These speakers are not translating Spanish to English, nor are they weaving their speech into Spanish, which would, in fact, be a form of translation. On the contrary, they mix both languages by continually 'detranslating' from one to the other; that is, they demonstrate that both languages are compatible, while maintaining the identity of each — because what distinguishes Hispanic Americans is that they are culturally Latin American but linguistically Anglo-Hispanic bilingual, as Ricardo Otheguy (2013) emphasizes.

In conclusion, Spanglish is not a conventional dialect because it is continually being woven and unwoven. It could perhaps be defined as a psychological dialect that manifests as a bilingual practice in a state of permanent transformation. This would lead to both a double symbolic attribution (to both the United States and to the Latino community) and a double standard (of mixed speech and international Spanish), as well as a semiotic form characterized by a merging of signs. Ultimately, however, the real problem posed by Spanglish is epistemological. Spanglish has continually attracted the attention of linguists from all over the world, and the reason, in my opinion, is that it presents researchers with an epistemological challenge. Saussure, the father of (European) linguistics, said that that the science of language, in contrast to other sciences, is unique in that its object of study is not given, but is determined by the researcher. This is especially evident in the case of Spanglish, considering that we have no way of easily answering the following common questions: Is it a dialect? Of Spanish or English? Or is it a new language? And if not, is it merely a chaotic mix of Spanish and English, or something else?

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This is all to say that we are facing a serious problem of classification akin to that posed by the platypus in Umberto Eco's *Kant e il ornitorrinco* (2000 [1999]). This curious Australian animal, first encountered by Europeans at the end of 18th century, called into question Linnaeus's classification schemes, and presented a major gnoseological challenge for zoology:

> When we presume a subject that tries to understand what it experiences (and the object—that is to say, the Thing-in-Itself—becomes the *terminus a quo*), then, even before the formation of the chain of interpretations, there comes into play a process of interpreting the world that, especially in the case of novel of unknown objects (such as the platypus at the end of the eighteenth century), assumes an "auroral" form, made up through trial and error; but this is already semiosis in progress, which calls pre-established cultural systems into question. (Eco, 2000 [1999], p.4)

In the jungle of dialects that make up the linguistic map of planet earth, Spanglish represents another *rara avis*, which scientists of language such as myself find hard to classify and compare. Spanglish is a kind of (national?) symbol for Hispanics in the U.S., and yet they have never attempted to perfect its form; for them, the very fact of its existence is sufficient. Yo sugeriría that we leave them alone y ya saldrá el sol wherever it wants.

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