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BACHELOR THESIS

ENGLISH AND SPANISH IN CONTACT: CODE-SWITCHING IN AMERICAN SPANGLISH

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INTRODUCTION

Language plays a crucial role in communication, and it is a fundamental aspect of one's identity. According to the Ethnologue, there are 7,151 languages spoken to this day in the whole world (Eberhard et al., 2022). Most likely, even more languages exist that we yet do not know about and that are still under the scope of investigation. However, some languages that are spoken on a daily basis do not even have an official status. One of these types of languages and a surprisingly increasing form of communication would be identified as Spanglish, or, to put in simpler terms a mix of English and Spanish languages. Such a phenomenon is caused by language contact which happens when two different languages interact and influence each other. The study of language contact dates back to the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.

When the theoretical framework of contact linguistics was first brought into the daylight and after a sudden wave of bilingual writing in the 1960s took place, multiple scholars in the language investigation field started paying attention to certain language contact situations, for instance, Ebonics, Yiddish, or Creole languages. However, none of these three could compete with Spanglish in terms of its validity and usage. Until this day, Spanglish has become a widely spoken language in the United States as a result of the language contact situation caused by a rapid growth in the number of Mexican immigrants. According to the 2021 census, 18.9% of the total population of the United States are Hispanics, who have not only affected the social status, but also influenced the linguistic situation of the whole country, establishing itself alongside English (U.S. Census Bureau). Most of the Spanglish language users are known to be raised in the United States by native Spanish speakers. While going to the American schools, they use the English language to communicate with teachers and their friends, but once they come home, they speak to their family in Spanish, which makes them prone and comfortable to mix these languages. Nevertheless, some believe that Hispanics are becoming one of the greatest challenges for highly monolingual American society and for trying to preserve the mother tongue. Moreover, Spanglish is sometimes perceived as a threat to the American society and to the English language itself and the term 'Spanglish' should not even be used and cannot be considered a real language as it stereotypes and marginalises its speakers perceiving them as unable to use standard Spanish or not to be educated enough. On the other hand, Spanglish could be a successful tool for creating meaning and identity in cross-cultural situations. It is quite often called a "bridge between two languages" (Curtis, 2012,

p. 31). However, it is not only a bridge between two languages, but also between two cultures. Spanglish allows people of different origin and culture who have distinct traditions and beliefs to communicate easier in an intercultural environment.

Since Spanglish is used quite often in daily conversations, even the media has noticed this phenomenon and was quick to take advantage of it. Various advertisements have been created to try to draw attention of the Hispanics and to include Spanglish in the learning field; however, for now there are no academic books or newspapers on Spanglish. On the other hand, Spanglish is used in the media not only to attract attention of the Hispanics and make them buy something, but many have used their voices to help overcome the intercultural problems that people living in the United States encounter, and prove that shared language is important, but not crucial in order to successfully communicate with one other.

As a result of increasing processes of Latino migration, Spanglish is gradually becoming one of the most generally used forms of communication among Hispanics, as well as the most discussed linguistic phenomenon in the United States. As both English and Spanish are two of the most spoken languages in the whole world, Spanglish is widely spoken by a great number of people and its importance is growing fast. This and many other reasons have encouraged the linguists to do various research of contact linguistics and particularly Spanglish phenomenon. However, it should be noted that there is not enough study about the usage of Spanglish, particularly in the American media. Therefore, this research is crucial, as Spanglish is slowly but strongly becoming one of the mostly used means of communication in the United States as not only a great tool for easing communication, but also a tool for establishing and delineating ethnic boundaries and identity.

The **hypothesis** of the thesis is that Spanglish is a rule-governed system, not an unorderedly mixture of languages.

The **subject** of the thesis is the usage of Spanglish in the American media.

The **aim** of the thesis is to analyse American media in order to determine whether American Spanglish is a consistent language or a disorderly mixture of two languages. In order to achieve the aim, the following **objectives** have been set:

1. to review the scientific literature on English and Spanish in contact;
2. to identify the most widely used formal principles regarding the usage of American Spanglish;

3. to determine possible deviations in terms of formal language rules as well as any of the most common principles in conversational American Spanglish;
4. to examine to what extent American Spanglish could be considered as a complex communicative, grammatical, or rule-governed language rather than an unstructured mix of two languages.

The outline of the paper. This Bachelor Thesis consists of seven parts. To begin with, the thesis provides an introduction that gives the general information about language, language contact and Spanglish phenomenon. In the same part, the subject, the aim, and the objectives of the research are presented. The second part of the thesis focuses on the scientific literature on English and Spanish languages in contact and the most common principles of the usage of American Spanglish determined by the scholars in this field. The next part is methodology, which describes where the data is found and how it is collected and analysed. Then, the empirical part deals with the analysis of the collected data. Finally, conclusions are made from the results obtained after the analysis of data is completed. This research also provides references, summaries in the English and Lithuanian languages and, in the very end, it provides the annex where all the data is presented.

I. LITERATURE OVERVIEW

1.1. Language contact and linguistic outcomes

Language contact is an inevitable phenomenon that occurs when two or more speakers of different languages interact and influence each other. In most cases, it happens as a result of migration or along national borders. Language contact is also considered to play the key role in language change. (Gramley, 2018). Many languages have been influenced by contact at one time or another. For instance, there is a great number of borrowings from French, Greek, Latin, and other languages in English. Recently, with the help of the internet which made it easy for people to connect with each other from different places in the world, many languages have been brought in contact and undoubtedly influenced each other.

Oksaar (1996, as cited in Darquennes et al., 2019, p. 2) states that language contact phenomena have been “perceived and discussed in their various applied aspects throughout the history of Europe” and far beyond. When diachronic study of European languages emerged in the West, in the 19th century scientists such as Whitney, Paul, Schuchardt, Hesseling et al. showed a huge interest in dialect contact, pidgin and creole formation (Clyne 1975, 1987). For some time, Muhvić-Dimanovski’s (2005, p. 2) idea “that most of the languages were what, at that time, they used to call “mixed languages”” was quite prevalent. However, in his work “Languages in Contact” one of the pioneers in this field, Weinreich (1979, p. 64-65), instead of 19th century mixing suggested that other extralinguistic factors such as speaker’s economic, social, and political aspects played an important role in linguistic outcomes of contact.

According to Sankoff (2001), linguistic influence could be measured on two main levels: the phonological and the lexical one. Lexical items called borrowings or nonce borrowings (Weinreich, 1979), naturally come into the language system throughout the years of continuous usage and “later adoption or integration” (Poplack & Sankoff, 1984, p. 109). The phonological system, its variations, and some essential adaptations are a result of subsequent changes that have an influence on morphology, syntax, and even semantics, and are caused by the use of loan-words in the recipient language (Sankoff, 2001). All of these changes therefore lead to the so-called “three-way division at the top level” of language contact (Thomason, 2001, p. 60) which results in the following hierarchical set of outcomes: language change as a result of a contact situation, language mixture and in the most extreme cases language death.

As language contact has constantly been studied by various language experts, there is no doubt that it “is part of the social fabric of everyday life for hundreds of millions of people the world over” (Sankoff, 2001, p. 1). Possible linguistic outcomes resulting from language contact situations could include only a few words borrowed, and in other cases totally new languages may be formed. There can be distinguished seven linguistic outcomes of language contact (Thomason, 2001):

1. Code-switching – probably the most common linguistic outcome that occurs when speakers alternate from one language or dialect to another.
2. Borrowing – another prevalent outcome that happens when a word taken from one language is often modified a little bit and brought into another language.
3. Adoption of other language features – when basic characteristics of different languages, for instance, morphology and grammar are being exchanged.
4. Language shift – the process of the whole speech community shifting to another language, which often happens after a longer period of time.
5. Stratal influence – after language shifts, when the replaced language (substratum) influences the replacing one (superstratum) and possibly creates a new variant of a language.
6. Pidgin – grammatically simplified form of a language which is mostly used among people that do not share the same language (for trading purposes).
7. Creole – a natural language which results in simplifying and mixing two or more already existing languages into one (Muysken, 2013).

These linguistic outcomes regarding language contact could be influenced by historical and contemporary processes such as social inequality, wars, conquests, slavery, migration, colonialism (Thomason, 2001), and other factors such as trade and urbanization. The conquests and wars play a big role in bringing languages into contact. Once the invaders enter another country, they try to make people renounce their mother tongue and start learning the invader’s language. In addition, another major social process that is present to this day is immigration. In order to communicate and find a job, people fleeing their native countries often need to adopt the official language of their new place.

To sum up, contact between speakers is crucial in shaping languages. Even though language contact has already gotten attention from various linguists, some language contact situations have not been extensively analysed or clearly defined. One of the most debatable and increasingly growing language contact situations has no doubt been that of English and Spanish in

the United States, which has led to the emergence of the so-called Spanglish phenomenon that will be presented in the following subchapter.

1.2. Concept of Spanglish

In Cambridge Dictionary, Spanglish is defined as a “combination of Spanish and English” languages (Cambridge Dictionary). The dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy has also recently approved the term “Espanglish” with a definition to be a mode of speech used in the United States which contains a mixture of grammatical and lexical elements of Spanish and English languages.

The term itself was first brought into the daylight as “Espanglish” by the Puerto Rican writer Salvador Tío in the late 1940s. Later on, it got its now well-known name, Spanglish. However, this phenomenon dates back to 1848 when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo between the United States and Mexico was found. From that moment the “juxtaposition of cultures was extensive” (Stavans, 2004, p. 39) resulting in a close contact not only between two cultures, but also between English and Spanish languages. These two languages have been influencing one other for quite a long time as for today some of the United States territories, for instance, Florida, Texas, California, etc., were colonized by Spain. The significant increase of this contact was also reinforced by Latin American immigrants from 1950s to 1980s.

According to the study published by the prestigious Instituto Cervantes, to this day the United States is the world’s second largest Spanish-speaking country after Mexico. Nevertheless, “being Hispanic and being a Spanish speaker are not synonymous” (Ardila, 2002, p. 62). About 90% of Hispanics speak some Spanish, some of them are native Spanish speakers and can barely speak English, others, on the other hand, are bilingual. Spanglish is observed mostly in the areas where more Spanish speakers can be found; therefore, English speakers do not even pay much attention to such phenomenon, but it is inherent to Hispanics. As Spanglish is spoken by millions of people, there is no doubt that “it represents the most important contemporary linguistic phenomenon the United States has faced that has unfortunately been significantly understudied” (Ardila, 2002, p. 65). There have been more studies dedicated to the analysis of Spanish in contact with other languages, but not English. For such a little interest in the Spanglish phenomenon Ardila (2005) blames several reasons: the fact that only Spanish speakers truly recognise the phenomenon of Spanglish; that Spanglish has often been related to low-educated people (Pamies-Beltrán, 1995, as cited in Ardila, 2005); that Spanglish has been perceived as a corrupted and distorted version of Spanish (Zentella, 1997, as cited in Ardila, 2005). Nevertheless, Stavans (2001) believes that

Spanglish is a phenomenon that could help the Spanish language survive in the United States, without the English language completely taking over it. However, the answer to the important question “what is Spanglish from the linguistic point of view?” remains unknown to this day. There are quite many opinions whether Spanglish could be a dialect, an interlanguage, a pidgin, or a Creole language. It would be difficult to draw conclusions and decide which one it is, as some characteristics of an interlanguage of the Mexico-US border are found in Spanglish. In addition to this, it could be referred to a pidgin language because of many English borrowings that emerged as a requirement to have a shared communication code among speakers from different countries. Also, it can be labelled as a Creole language as more and more Hispanic children from their first days hear their parents communicating in Spanglish making it more of their native language. Ardila (2002, p. 66) refers to Spanglish as “an anglicized Spanish dialect”, having in mind that all of the previously mentioned labels could possibly fit the Spanglish phenomenon.

Nash (1970, as cited in Ardila, 2002) distinguished three subtypes of Spanglish: the 1st type’s characteristic of frequent use of English lexical units that appear in their original form in Spanish expressions. It includes international scientific and technological terms, simpler forms of high-frequency English words, cultural borrowings and the lexicon of American marketing and advertising. To the 2nd type belong English words that go through phonological and/or orthographical changes making words adapt morphological characteristics of the Spanish language. The 3rd type of Spanglish reflects English syntactic influence, others feature direct translations of loanwords and yet others involve English and Spanish language mixing.

Ardila (2002), on the contrary, proposed just two subtypes of Spanglish: type 1 is reflected by the people of Spanish origin who were born in the United States or moved there at an early stage of life, who are fluent in both languages. And the type 2 is mainly observed in the native speakers of the Spanish language living in the United States, who undoubtedly borrow a variety of English words. These borrowings are simply adapted to the phonological rules of the Spanish language.

All things considered, Spanglish is constantly used by millions of people every day. And even though a great majority of linguists suggest different statuses and types of Spanglish, to this day they have not yet come to a definite conclusion about what Spanglish really is and whether it could be considered an official language.

1.3. Linguistic characteristics of Spanglish

Even though in a great majority of definitions Spanglish is not defined precisely and its characteristics are not very clearly distinguished, there are some structural aspects of this linguistic phenomenon. Rothman and Rell (2007) propose a structural frame for Spanglish:

1. The adaptation of lexical items or phrasal constituents that are taken from one language into another on the phonological and morphological level. Phonological adaptation happens when words of English or Spanish origin are borrowed from either language but are pronounced applying the phonological rules of another language. The example of phonological adaptation: “Cuando fuimo[h] al [super-marketa] la [babi-siter] e[h]taba en casa con la[h] niñas que jugaba[ŋ] a las [Barbie]” – “When [we] went to the supermarket the baby-sitter was home with the children who were playing Barbies.” (Rothman, 2002, as cited in Mantero, 2007, p. 239). This sentence was taken from a Salvadorian woman living in Los Angeles. Even though she has been living in Los Angeles for 25 years, some aspects of Salvadorian language such as velarized [ŋ] and aspirated [s] remained present in her speech. To add, she mentioned the English word “supermarket” adding an [a] at the end, and many other cases. Talking about morphological adaptations, a great example could be a process of creating new verbs in Spanglish. In Spanish, verbs in the infinitive end with either of these affixes: “-ar”, “-er”, “-ir”. The affix “-ar” that comprises all of the 1st conjugation verbs is the only one that could be added to English words in order to create new verbs. Let us take into consideration the English word “rent”. In Spanish this word would be “alquilar”, when we add the affix “-ar” to it, the English word “rentar” is made. This could be done with many other words, for instance, “google” – “googlear”, “lunch” – “lunchear”, etc.

2. The adaptation of lexical items or phrasal units from one language into another occur on the semantic and grammatical level. It could appear like literal translations. The most often cited examples would be: “tener un buen tiempo” instead of simply saying “pasarla bien” for the English phrase “to have a good time” (Llombart, 2003, as cited in Rothman & Rell, 2007, p. 521) and for a phrase “round trip”: “viaje Redondo” instead of “viaje de ida y Vuelta” (Sánchez, 2001, as cited in Rothman & Rell, 2007, p. 522). In addition to this, another type of semantic adaptation is called false cognates. For example, the word “realizar” in Spanglish means “to fulfil” and “to realize”. The latter meaning was taken from the English language, as in Spanish it is “darse cuenta”. These examples fall under the semantic loans category that will be explained later.

3. The process of code-switching – alternating between at least two languages that will be explained more in another chapter. In spite of this, critics view code-switching in Spanglish as an unstructured phenomenon while others argue that code-switching is “a highly complex and structured occurrence composed of sociolinguistic strategies which envelop a syntactical system with very real constraints” (Rothman & Rell, 2007, p. 523). According to Sankoff and Poplack (1980) code-switching only happens at specific junctures in discourse.

These three main levels of Spanglish help categorize some of the patterns exhibited in the speech of Spanish-English bilinguals. The first pattern would be that word borrowing, phonological and morphological modifications contribute to the surface-level changes that define Spanglish. At the structural level, other changes take place at a deeper extent. There could also appear changes in meaning, mostly seen by using certain words to show different cultures and relationships.

On the other hand, Ardila (2005) proposed a quite distinct classification of Spanglish characteristics, assigning borrowing, code-switching, and code-mixing to linguistic phenomenon, suggesting that language changes happen when two different languages mix are easily seen and could be predicted. Another change could directly affect the organization of a sentence. Despite the fact that motivation for lexical borrowing and code-switching is often the same, these two techniques are methodologically distinct: the first syntactically, phonologically, and morphologically adapts words (borrowings) while the second and the third suggest mixing between different codes of two languages on inter-sentential (at the sentence boundaries) and intra-sentential (in the middle of a sentence) levels (Betti, 2011). Not very thoroughly examined Spanglish which could be useful in analysing the changes that the Spanish language undergoes as a result of the English language influence, implies grammatical, usually equalizing utterances in Spanish to those in English, and lexical-semantic changes that function as, for example, false cognates and fake friends. Linguistic features within the frame of the mentioned level are presented in the Table 1:

Table 1. Lexical-Semantic Spanglish Phenomena (Cited from Ardila, 2005, p. 74)

	English	Spanish	Spanglish
Hybrid	Escort	Escoltar	Escortar
Anglicization	Population	Población	Populación
	Bilingualism	Bilingüismo	Bilingualismo
Literal translation	Doctor’s office	Consultorios médicos	Oficinas de los doctores

Same semantics, but not the used word in Spanish	Emergency	Urgencia	Emergencia
Borrowing using the English phonological form	Pin	Alfiler	Pin
Borrowing without the English phonological form	Average	Promedio	Aberahe
Spanish word with different semantic (similar phonology, different semantic)	Yard Gang	Patio Pandilla	Yarda Ganga
Semantic extension	Disorder	Trastorno	Desorden
Literal translation, partial meaning	Letter	Carta (letra)	Letra
Literal translation (equilibrio), wrong meaning	Balance	Saldo, balance (equilibrio)	
Phonological similarity, semantic closeness	Library	Biblioteca	Libreria

All in all, even though there are quite distinct classifications of Spanglish, it is obvious that for its successful usage it is crucial to stick to the basic Spanish language rules regarding pronunciation and spelling. Therefore, the further discussion of two of the most widely used strategies for the production of Spanglish: borrowing and code-switching may also imply that Spanglish is mostly a structure-driven and rule-governed process.

1.4. Borrowing

There is no doubt that every language borrows words from other languages, just some of them borrow more than others. One of the best features of the Spanglish phenomenon is the use of borrowings. In Merriam Webster Dictionary, borrowing, also known as lexical borrowing or loanword, is defined as “a word or a phrase adopted from one language into another” (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). According to Sapir (1921), this feature is one of the easiest ways to distinguish the influence of one language over another. Thomason and Kaufman (1988, p. 37) define borrowing more precisely as “the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the

addition of the incorporated features”. The word “borrowing” is a metaphor, as the donor language does not get the word back, that is why a term “transference” (Clyne, 2003) or “copying” (Johanson, 2002) is sometimes preferred. However, nowadays the term “borrowing” is extensively analysed and does not lead to misinterpretations. Therefore, linguists prefer using it instead of “transference” and “copying”.

Lexical borrowings could be divided into morphological (when only the signifier gets borrowed), semantic (when the borrowed word is the signified) and morphosemantic (when the signifier and the signified are both borrowed) (Paulin & Vince, 2009).

Furthermore, there are two different senses in which the word “borrowing” has always been used. The most frequent one is more general – a means of copying and transferring words. These processes work when native speakers adopt elements from other languages into their own, and the other way around, when non-native speakers try to impose elements from their own language into the recipient language. Another sense is a more restricted one and refers to a process when certain elements are being adopted in the speaker’s native language (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). Nevertheless, when there is a huge influence on the speakers of the recipient language from the ones of a donor language, even the sentence structure, phonological and syntactic elements might be borrowed.

The English language is rich in borrowings. According to Crystal (2010, p. 136), it is an “insatiable borrower”. As stated in the article on the website dictionary.com “Which Words Did English Take From Other Languages?”, about 350 languages have served as donor languages for English, and to this day loanwords make up 80% of English, 60% of which have Greek or Latin roots. However, English is also a great donor language considered to be a perfect source of borrowed words for other languages, and Spanish is not an exception. “Major-class content words such as nouns, verbs and adjectives are most likely to be borrowed” (Poplack and Meechan, 1998, p. 127). Spanglish could also be considered a great borrower by taking words and phrases in the following ways:

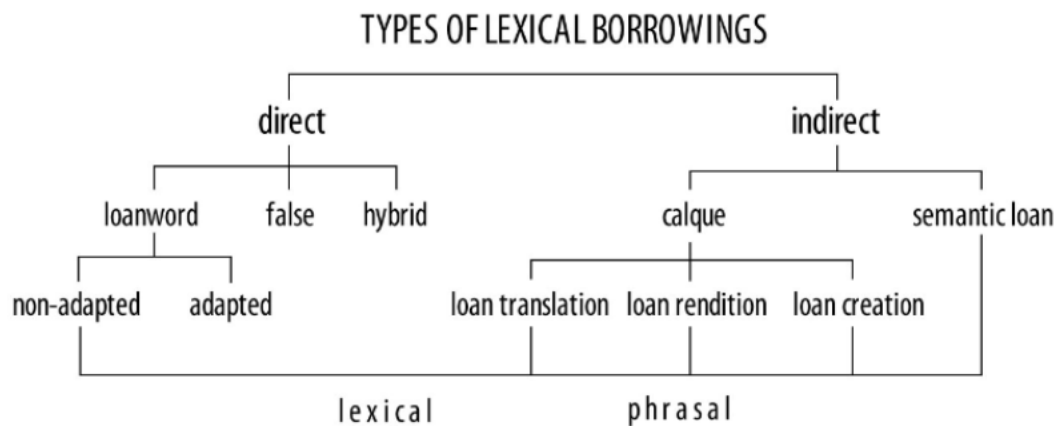
1. Adapting English lexical units to the Spanish word form by adding Spanish inflections to English verbs, therefore corresponding to the grammatical system. The most common way would be the addition of the Spanish inflection “-ar”, for instance, to the verbs “park”, “check” and “watch” that result in “parquear”, “chequear” and “watchear”.

2. The process of literal translation of phrases or entire sentences from English to Spanish, for example, “the group is working to finish the song” could be directly translated to Spanish “el grupo está trabajando para acabar la canción”.

3. Phonetically translating English words by adapting them to Spanish phonological rules and keeping orthographic and phonological system’s characteristic of Spanish intact (for example, “confleis” instead of “cornflakes”).

To continue, Furassia et al. (2012) present types of lexical borrowing (Scheme 1).

Scheme 1. Types of lexical borrowing



In this figure, lexical borrowings are divided into direct (from a donor language to a recipient language with elements characteristic to the donor language) and indirect (not easily detected, donor language models are made with the help of translation into the recipient language (calques) or by existing elements that obtain new meanings (semantic loans)). A semantic loan is a process when semantic meaning instead of lexical elements is borrowed from one language into another. Moreover, calque could be either a loan translation, a loan rendition, or a loan creation. Loan translation or calque happens when a word is translated from donor language into the recipient one. Loan rendition is a partial translation of a word into a recipient language. Loan creation is a totally new word in the recipient language that has no similarities to the word in a donor language.

According to this figure, direct loanwords could be divided into non-adapted or adapted depending on the degree to which the units are integrated in the recipient language. Non-adapted loanwords include words with or without minor formal and semantic integration that it persists

recognised as the donor language in the recipient language. An adapted loanword, on the other hand, adjusts to the system of the recipient language.

There are several ways to recognise a loanword. Loanword has a shape and meaning similar to the borrowed word shape and meaning from the donor language. However, it should be noted that some words might have a common ancestor meaning that neither language has borrowed the word. Only if the donor language and possible source word are both known for the speaker, it could be considered a loanword. Otherwise, it would be difficult to distinguish whether a word has been borrowed or not. In the World Loanword Database (WOLD), most of the given words are linked to the source words. For instance, the English word “alligator” was taken from Spanish “el lagarto” (the lizard) that was most likely taken from Latin “lacerta”. Sometimes even more possible source words appear as there might be several languages that have similar words. Such an example could be the word “chili (pepper)” in a recipient language (English). There could be two donor languages for this word, either Spanish (chile) or Nahuatl (chilli). There are several criteria for distinguishing which language has served as a donor and which acts as a recipient:

1. In a donor language a borrowed word could be morphologically analysed unlike in a recipient one.

2. If a word shows signs of phonological integration in a donor language, that means it comes from the recipient language.

3. If a word is affirmed in a sister language of a recipient language that was not influenced by the donor language, most likely it has come from a recipient language.

4. One more criterion that helps distinguish from which language the word originates is its meaning. For example, in Sanskrit the word “nakra” (crocodile) is possibly borrowed from Dravidian “negar”, because Indo-Aryans from northern India could not have brought a word crocodile with them (Burrow, 1946, as cited in Haspelmath, 2009).

However, if the words are very old and are found in several languages of different families, then these criteria could not be accurate.

To sum up, borrowing is a process when words from one language are brought into another as a result of contact between speakers of two or more different languages. Such processes help expand language vocabulary, develop existing languages, or even create new linguistic varieties, for instance Spanglish. Borrowing is one of the two most widely used outcomes of language contact. Another prevalent outcome – code-switching – will be presented in the next subchapter.

1.5. Code-switching: concept and its origin

In Encyclopedia Britannica, code-switching is defined as a “process of shifting from one linguistic code (a language or dialect) to another, depending on the social context or conversational setting”. Zentella (1997, p. 112), in terms of the investigation of code-switching refers to it as “a conversational activity via which speakers negotiate meaning”. Some of the criticism comes from Weinreich (1979), as he refers to code-switching as unstructured, deviant, and without any organisational principles, while some other scholars argue that it requires complicated and well-structured sociolinguistic methods that “envelop a syntactical system with very real constraints” (Rothman & Rell, 2007, p. 523). Despite various understandings of code-switching, it always involves mixing two or more languages because in order to code switch, one must be able to speak at least two languages.

The term “code-switching” was coined by the sociolinguist Einar Haugen in 1954, and two years later he documented in his work “Bilingualism in the Americas”. It was intended to depict people’s ability to alternate or mix at least two languages or dialects. The process of code-switching occurs “at any level of linguistic structure” (Poplack, 2001, p. 1) and only at specific junctures of speech, which suggests that awareness of rules governing the language, its syntax as well as knowledge of underlying grammatical limitations are essential to the successful production of Spanglish.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) categorised code-switching into two types: situational and metaphorical. A change of situation in a discourse influences situational code-switching. Metaphorical code-switching, on the other hand, is a conversational approach that can be used to support conversational acts such as an apology, complaint, request, or refusal.

Later on, Poplack (1980) identified three types of code-switching based on the juncture of switching:

1. Intra-sentential switching. It happens within the sentence or clause. Certain parts of clauses, lexical units or morphemes might be switched in the middle of a sentence. An example of intra-sentential switching could be a simple sentence: “Yesterday I was speak**ando** with him”. In this sentence Spanish morpheme “-ando” has been chosen over the English one “-ing”.

2. Inter-sentential switching. In this case switching occurs at the clause or sentence boundaries. After the clause in the first language another clause in the second language appears. The example of such case could be: “Tenía zapatos blancos, un poco, **they were off-white, you**

know” (Wibowo, Yuniasih & Nelfianti, 2017, p. 16). Here the first clause of a sentence is in Spanish and later the code is switched using the English clause.

3. Tag-switching. It happens when a single word or a tag phrase is taken from one language and placed into the other. For example, “Oh God, no puedo creer”. Here the phrase “**Oh God**” is taken from the English language and placed into the sentence in Spanish.

To add, six main functions of code-switching have been presented by Appel and Muysken (2006). These include referential, directive, expressive, phatic, metalinguistic, and poetic.

1. The first one, referential, involves speakers switching codes either because they lack knowledge in a language or the word in that language does not exist.

2. Directive function helps to exclude someone from a conversation by using foreign language or, on the contrary, include another person by using language known for them.

3. Expressive function is applied when a speaker uses two or more languages to express their feelings during a conversation.

4. Phatic function is used when a speaker changes their tone in order to emphasise significant things in a conversation.

5. Metalinguistic function happens when a speaker refers to one language of all the participating ones.

6. The last function is poetic which is used to entertain. When rhyme is created in different languages, then code-switching obtains its poetic function.

According to Holmes (2000, as cited in Eldin, 2014), the motive why people use code-switching could be explained by the following reasons: firstly, people code switch in order to fit into the community and feel like a part of it. Secondly, it is used for better communication or to exclude other people from private conversations they should not be involved in. Also, another one of the most common reasons is to fill lexical gaps once they cannot find a certain word in their language for what they want to say. In addition, Malik (1994) identified more reasons why people code-switch:

1. Lack of facility: when there are no words in one language, they might appear in the other.

2. Lack of registral competence: bilinguals might not be competent in both languages and find it difficult to come up with words for particular topics.

3. Mood of the speaker: code-switching could also happen depending on the speaker’s mood. For instance, if the speaker gets angry, they might choose the words that feel more natural and originate in their cultural or ethnic context.

4. To amplify and emphasise a point: speakers might code-switch certain parts of a conversation with an aim to highlight crucial information.

5. Habitual expressions: sometimes code-switching occurs in habitual phrases like apologies, greetings, requests, commands, and discourse markers. This often indicates warnings or threats.

6. Semantic significance: code-switching is used as a verbal strategy to share significant social and linguistic information.

7. To show identity with a group: when people want to share their values, traditions and culture, they code-switch adding certain words or phrases of their native language.

8. To address different audience: sometimes people want to transfer their message to various recipients, that is why distinct languages are used.

9. Pragmatic reasons: sometimes, code-switching depends on the context, members of a conversation, formality, and a place of a discourse. In this way, code-switching could depict a diverse level of speaker's participation in a conversation.

10. To attract attention: sometimes two or even more languages are used, especially in the media or advertisements, in order to draw attention of more people, as they pay attention to their familiar language.

To conclude, code-switching is a process of alternating between two or more languages in a single discourse and it is a valuable linguistic tool that helps people communicate easier and express themselves clearly. The linguistic study of code-switching has important implications for our understanding of language and its role in society.

1.5.1 Code-switching: Constraint-based and Matrix Language Frame Models

Code-switching is frequently used among bilinguals, especially those who alternate between English and Spanish languages. Poplack (1980) suggested a constraint-based model of code-switching for a production of Spanglish.

There are two constraints in the model:

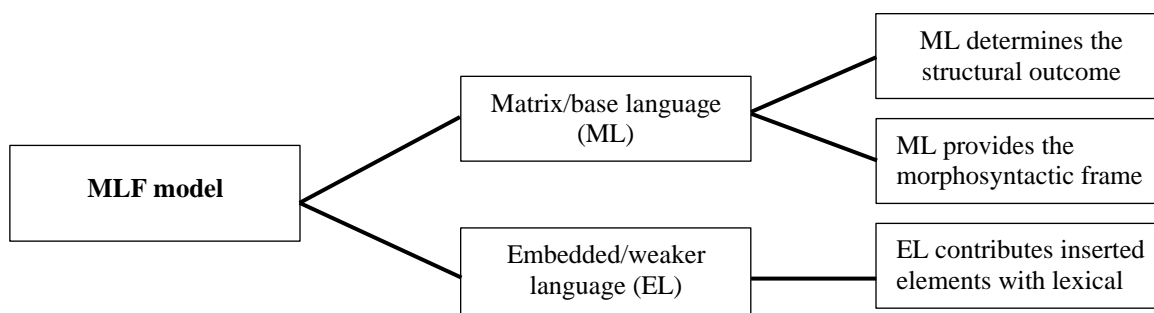
1. The free-morpheme constraint which states that code-switching cannot happen between content and system morphemes that according to Cambridge Dictionary are understood as “the smallest units of language that have their own meaning” (Cambridge Dictionary). Morphemes could be words or sometimes just certain parts of a word.

2. The equivalence or structure constraint which according to Poplack (1980), occurs only when syntactic rules of the first and the second languages are not violated. For example, the

sentence “I love singing porque música es mi vida” is correct as it does not violate syntactic rules of any of the languages used. On the contrary, the phrases: “the coche blue” or “the azul car” are not allowed as in both phrases syntactical rules of either one language are violated. In the first phrase, the syntactic pattern of English language (Det + Adj + N) is broken, as here adjective appears after the noun and in the second one the syntactical pattern of Spanish (Det + N + Adj) is violated because the adjective comes before the noun. However, this model received criticism as both types of constraints do not have strict enough rules and many exceptions can occur.

As Spanglish is considered to be a structured system of code-switching it is important to understand how it works in this particular linguistic phenomenon. Poplack (2001) and Orsi (2008) suggest defining the famous Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF) of constraints on code-switching (Scheme 2) as it plays a predominant role in code-switching speech.

Scheme 2. Matrix Language Frame Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993)



This model framed by Myers-Scotton (1993) suggests that in code-switching there are two main concepts: dominant language (matrix language) and subordinate language (embedded language). The matrix language (ML) could be recognised by certain characteristics. One of those is that ML is the native language of the speaker. Moreover, ML could be the language that is most frequently used in communication. Also, it could be the language that contributes more morphemes in at least a two-sentences discourse.

Let us consider two examples:

1. Mi amiga is going to cook something tasty.
2. ¿Por qué no quieres hablar with me?

In the example no. 1, the matrix language is English as it dominates in a sentence making Spanish the embedded language. On the contrary, in the example no. 2, the dominant language is Spanish as it consists of more morphemes and English is the embedded language.

As mentioned before, code-switching can be structurally divided into inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and tag-switching. Grammatical constraints do not play a big role on the inter-sentential switching. On the contrary, in intra-sentential switching grammatical constraints directly affect the languages involved (Myers-Scotton, 1993, as cited in Wakasa, 2004). The main feature of the Matrix Language Frame Model is the way it distinguishes how codeswitching constraints work on system and content morphemes. For this, it is crucial to know how these morphemes differ. A content morpheme, for example, a noun "book", has a lexical meaning which is independent of context or other morphemes. These are necessary to convey a message. System morphemes, for instance, determiners, have no thematic roles assigned and are meant to express the relationship between content morphemes.

To conclude, the process of code-switching in Spanglish does not result in a total deformation or replacement of elements of the English and Spanish grammar or lexicon, but it could suggest a linguistically justified shift of code. For this reason, the in-depth analysis of code-switching is crucial and has become one of the most interesting topics of scholars dealing with mixtures of two languages, in this case, Spanish and English.

II. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with data description and methodology. It focuses on the method that was used to analyse Spanglish in American Media.

2.1. Data description

In order to gather Spanglish examples, the famous Latino American podcast *Latinos Who Lunch* was studied. In order to achieve the aim of this research, 79 examples were collected and 40 of them were thoroughly analysed applying the rules of Spanish and English languages. The study included different episodes of the podcast; there were 201 in total. The length of each episode varied from 45 minutes to 3 hours. The podcast was taken from the world's most popular streaming and media services platform *Spotify*. The analysis was done by attentively listening to the podcast and writing down the sentences or certain extracts of the sentences where Spanglish was used.

Latinos Who Lunch is a famous culture-oriented podcast hosted by artist Justin Favela - FavyFav and art historian, professor at the university of Illinois at Chicago Emanuel Ortega – Babelito. Justin comes from Las Vegas, a city that has a population of over 660 000, from which more than a third is of Hispanic and Latino descent. As Justin is an artist who works with paintings, sculptures and other arts, some podcasts are dedicated to arts. Emanuel, on the other hand, devotes himself more to the history behind Mexican, Latin American, and Latinx (gender neutral) identities by examining the arts created before the invasion of Tenochtitlán, during the colonial period, around the waves of Independence from Europe, and into the contemporary world.

As *Latinos Who Lunch* podcast is directed towards the Hispanic community, the hosts use English and Spanish languages, sometimes mixing both which results in Spanglish. The title of the podcast reflects one of the most common topics – food, as they start each episode talking about it, what they ate that day or just giving recipes and explaining how to cook something, etc. Moreover, a lot of the episodes are dedicated to famous people such as American singer Beyoncé, Mexican artist Alma López, Mexican post-war & contemporary painter José Villalobos, another Mexican painter Frida Kahlo, American Tejano singer Selena Quintanilla Pérez and more. In addition to this, the hosts dive into the topics of pop culture, family, identity, gender, race, music, and history in a responsible and at the same time humorous way. During some episodes, they read their listeners letters that at times are about the problems Hispanics encounter just because of their race and cultural beliefs.

2.2. Methodology

The analysis of this research was done by using qualitative data analysis method.

Using the qualitative method, non-numerical data, in this case certain extracts of the colloquial speech, was collected and analysed. In this case, the earlier mentioned podcast *Latinos Who Lunch* was listened to on Spotify (<https://open.spotify.com>)¹. The data was collected and classified by the rules of two languages that were mixed, for instance, some syntactic rules like the word order, the position of adjectives or morphological rules such as verb conjugation, gender, etc.

Further in this research, the examples gathered by each category were presented in the tables of three columns. In the first column the original Spanglish phrase is given, in the second - Spanish translation of the phrase and in the third one - English translation. Such a model of data presentation with sentences translated to Spanish and English languages was chosen with an intention to prove that Spanglish does really follow the rules of the language it switches to. In order to understand the examples given, it is important to mention that two forward slashes (/ /), which appear in the tables, mark the place where the switch occurs. Also, the significant parts such as word endings, articles and other words are marked in **bold**.

In order to prove that Spanglish actually is a rule-governed language, Spanish and English language rules have been observed and applied to the collected examples. In some cases, the syntactic analysis was done to show that Spanglish general word order is the same as in the English and Spanish languages. Moreover, to get a better understanding of certain rules, some general examples such as Spanish verb conjugation and imperative mood formation have been presented before diving into the analysis of the obtained data.

¹ Favela, J. & Ortega, E. (Hosts). (2016–2021). Episodes 1-201 [Audio Podcast]. In *Latinos Who Lunch*. Spotify. Retrieved from <https://open.spotify.com>

III. THE GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS OF SPANGLISH IN THE AMERICAN PODCAST

3.1. Syntactic word order

One of the main similarities between Spanish and English languages is that in both of them simple, compound, and complex sentences can be formed.

Simple sentence

Table 2. Collected examples no. 1-2

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
1. [3:24 Episode 109: Viva Guatemala!] “I put a little bit of water with an onion, garlic, and // tomatillos con salsa.”	“Pongo un poco de agua con una cebolla, ajo y // tomatillos con salsa.”	“I put a little bit of water with an onion, garlic, and // tomatoes with sauce.”
2. [7:39 episode 190: No Tengo Dinero] “El // imposter syndrome // es real.”	“El // síndrome del impostor // es real.”	“The // imposter syndrome // is real.”

In simple sentences of both languages SVO (Subject + Verb + Object) is the typical word order. This is one of the main things that make Spanglish similar to these two languages as SVO is also the general word order in Spanglish simple sentences. A simple sentence has only one independent clause. A good example which implies that Spanglish is a rule-governed system would be:

S V DO

Lucy ate una manzana.

S V DO

Lucy ate an apple.

S V DO

Lucía comió una manzana.

Moreover, in the Spanglish variant of the example taken from the podcast (1) the sentence could be analysed as follows:

S V DO
I put a little bit of water with an onion, garlic, and tomatillos con salsa.

The exact analysis could be done for the same sentence in Spanish and English:

S V DO
(Yo) Pongo un poco de agua con una cebolla, ajo y tomatillos con salsa.

S V DO
I put a little bit of water with an onion, garlic, and tomatoes with sauce.

One more example (2) is also a simple sentence that has just one subject, one verb and is a complete thought. The structure of the Spanglish variant is the same as of English and Spanish, only in Spanish the word order of a subject (noun phrase) changes.

S V PP
El imposter syndrome es real.

S V PP
El síndrome del impostor es real.

S V PP
The imposter syndrome is real.

Compound sentence

Unlike simple sentences, compound ones have two or more independent clauses joined together by the coordinating conjunction. Let us have a look at two simple sentences in English and Spanish languages:

“Michael opened the door”; “Michael abrió la puerta”.

“He let his dog out”; “Él dejó salir a su perro”

We can add a coordinating conjunction and get one compound sentence out of the two simple sentences:

“Michael opened the door and he let his dog out”; “Michael abrió la puerta y dejó salir a su perro”.

Now let us analyse an example of compound sentence in Spanglish:

Table 3. Collected example no. 3

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
3. [16:32 episode 190: No Tengo Dinero] “You can just pick up the phone and call // a tu prometido // or whatever.”	“Puedes coger el teléfono y llamar // a tu prometido // o lo que sea.”	“You can just pick up the phone and call your fiancé or whatever.”

S V DO V OI

You can just pick up the phone and call a tu prometido or whatever.

S V DO V OI

(Tú) Puedes coger el teléfono y llamar a tu prometido o lo que sea.

S V DO V OI

You can just pick up the phone and call your fiancé or whatever.

In the example (3) there are two independent clauses that are connected by the coordinating conjunction “and” (“y”). In each clause there is a subject, a verb and either a direct or indirect object. From the syntactic analysis done above it can be seen that the word order is exactly the same in these three cases, just in Spanish the subject disappears as it can be foreseen with the help of the verb form “puedes”. However, just like in English and Spanish languages, Spanglish compound sentences also consist of two independent clauses (completed thoughts) that are joined with the coordinating conjunction. Moreover, in Spanish when referred to someone, the verb “llamar” always requires “a”, while in English the verb “to call” is not followed by any preposition.

Complex sentence

As we have just seen, compound sentences are composed of at least two independent clauses that are joined by the conjunction or comma. On the contrary, complex sentences usually have one independent and one or more dependent clauses (not completed thoughts), for example: “When she said the joke, everyone laughed”; “Cuando dijo el chiste, todos se rieron”. The independent clause is “everyone laughed” as it has a subject, a verb and is a completed thought.

Even though “when she said the joke” has a subject and a verb, it cannot stand on its own, therefore, it is a dependent clause. In some sentences, mostly simple ones, code-switching happens between single words or short phrases, not necessarily including a subject and a verb. Meanwhile, in complex sentences the switch happens between the clauses. In the examples below some of the complex sentences, that have not been analysed yet, are presented.

Table 4. Collected examples no. 4-5

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
4. [1:41 Episode 111: Roma Redux] “It is the weirdest feeling // porque te da cosquillas.”	“Es una sensación más extraña // porque te da cosquillas.”	“It is the weirdest feeling // because it gives you tickles.”
5. [40:35 Episode 192: Latine Anime] “It was so long ago // que no me acuerdo.”	“Fue hace tanto tiempo // que no me acuerdo.”	“It was so long ago // that I don’t remember.”

S V Atr. Conj S OI V DO
It is the weirdest feeling porque (eso) te da cosquillas.

S V Atr. Conj. S OI V DO
(Eso) Es una sensación más extraña // porque (eso) te da cosquillas.

S V DO Conj. S V OI DO
It is the weirdest feeling // because it gives you tickles.

This example (4) indicates that the composition of complex sentences in Spanglish is almost the same as in English and Spanish complex sentences. The dependent clause is “porque te da cosquillas” as it is not a completed thought, and “it’s the weirdest feeling” is an independent clause as it is complete and can perfectly stand on its own.

Another example (5) also indicates that Spanglish responds to certain rules of English and Spanish languages and cannot be a disorderly mixture of two languages. In this case the

independent clause “it was so long ago” and the dependent clause “que no me acuerdo” responds to the same structure of complex sentences and their word order in English and Spanish languages.

S V PP S V

It was so long ago que (yo) no me acuerdo.

V PP S V

Fue hace tanto tiempo // que (yo) no me acuerdo

S V PP S V

It was so long ago // that I don't remember.

With these examples that show syntactic similarities between Spanglish, English and Spanish languages I attempt to prove that Spanglish is not an unsystematic mixture of languages, but that it is actually used following the norms of the languages that are being mixed together.

3.2. Position of adjectives

One of the main differences in English and Spanish languages is the location of adjectives. It is not a secret that in Spanish adjectives go after nouns and in English it is the other way around. Let us take a look at the two examples of the position of adjectives in Spanglish:

Table 5. Collected examples no. 6-7

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
6. [9:04 Episode 118: Alma Lopez] “You know what I like? I like chili // verde // and red // chile.”	“Sabes qué me gusta? Me gusta chile // verde y chile // rojo.”	“You know what I like? I like // green // and red // chili.”
7. [41:13 Episode 190: No Tengo Dinero] “He recently lost his job // y ahora es un pobre hombre.”	“Hace poco perdió su trabajo // y ahora es un pobre hombre.”	“He recently lost his job // and now he is a poor guy.”

This case (6) is an indication of Spanglish being a rule-governed system as in this example the rules of English and Spanish languages are not violated at all. In the English language in most cases, not including the exceptions, the adjective comes after a noun, and we see here in the first part of this short sentence that the Spanish adjective “verde” (green) goes after the English noun

“chili”. If we change the places of these words, we will get “verde chili” which would be incorrect as this would break the syntactical order Noun + Adjective of the Spanish language. In the following combination of words “red chili” the opposite syntactical order Adjective + Noun is not violated also. The combination “chile red” would not be possible as it does not only sound bad, but also break the English rule which says that adjectives come after nouns, only certain cases are exceptional and this one does not fall into that category.

Another example (7) comes from the episode “No tengo dinero” and falls into the category of previously mentioned exceptions. At first sight “pobre hombre” seems to break the Spanish order Noun + Adjective as in this case the adjective comes before the noun. Here not only the syntactical order changes, but also the meaning of the entire phrase. For instance, if we used it in the general order “hombre pobre” this would mean that this person does not have enough money and is financially unstable. On the other hand, once we switch the positions of these two words, we get a different meaning that expresses the person being unhappy or unlucky. There are way more phrases like this one, for example, “un gran hombre” which means an amazing human being with a great personality and “un hombre grande” having in mind the person’s size.

In the English language, the change of word order would be hard to explain by these given examples as we can only say “Poor man” for both unlucky and not having money and the other one “Big man” for describing personality, same as physical appearance. However, in both languages the order of words is usually changed for poetic and archaic use too so as to make the language flow nicer and create a certain rhythm. In addition to this, in English, particularly, cases of postnominal adjectives occur not only in poetics, but the examples could also be found in everyday language: “Someone new”, “Anywhere nice” or even in history, for instance, “Ivan the Terrible” the well-known Tsar of Moscow who ruled in the XVI century.

3.3. Direct object and indirect object

Table 5. Collected examples no. 8-11

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
8. [34:05 Episode 62: Colorismo en Latin America] “¿Cómo se dice // the joke? ”	¿Cómo se dice // el chiste? ”	“How do you say // the joke? ”

V OI DO V DO

Ask Google what you can find in Mexico like Google it.

In the Spanish version, there is an indirect object pronoun “le” which helps avoid unessential repetition of the same word “Google”. On the other hand, we can see that the English version of the same sentence has no indirect object pronoun. Let us consider another example of English: “you have to buy me a present to me”; it would be incorrect as in English there is no need to use indirect object pronouns when the person that receives an action is clear. The correct way to produce such a sentence would be:

S V OI DO

You have to buy me a present.

As the example in Spanglish starts in Spanish, it is more likely to follow the rules of the Spanish language, therefore the indirect object pronoun “le” is present in the example. If the sentence would have started in English, the correct way to say this would have been: “Ask Google que puedes encontrar en México”. “Ask Google a Google...” or “askle Google a Google” would be an impossible combination of words as it apparently violates the rules of the English language. From these two examples it can be seen that in Spanglish, same as in English and Spanish languages, the indirect object pronoun is often placed before the verb. It should also be noted that Spanglish seems to take two of the word orders that are common for English and Spanish. One of those is SVO: Subject + Verb + Direct Object (la niña hace los deberes – the girl does the homework). The second one is SVDOPP: Subject + Verb + Direct Object + Prepositional Phrase (él compró un regalo a su novia – he bought a present for his girlfriend).

To round things up, in Spanglish the use of direct and indirect objects is very similar to English and Spanish. It evidently follows certain rules, some variations that violate the norms of either one language were not even used in the colloquial language of the hosts analysed. This fact could suggest that Spanglish is a well-organised structural system rather than just a blend of two widely used languages.

3.4. The use of a subject

Table 6. Collected examples no. 12-15

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
12. [18:29 Episode 62: Colorismo en Latin America] “I met my husband at work // y es un negro.”	“Conocí a mi marido en el trabajo // y es un negro.”	“I met my husband at work // and he is black.”
13. [14:57 Episode 103: La Virgen de Guadalupe] “It is very interesting, you mentioned that // son protestantes.”	“Es muy interesante, has mencionado que son protestantes.”	“It is very interesting, you mentioned that they are protestants.”
14. [1:41 Episode 111: Roma Redux] “It is the weirdest feeling // porque te da cosquillas.”	“Es una sensación más extraña // porque te da cosquillas.”	“It is the weirdest feeling // because it gives you tickles.”
15. [13:21 Episode 118: Alma Lopez] “Es que cuando estaba embarazada contigo // I was in // un mercado // and I heard somebody yelling it in the street.”	“Es que cuando estaba embarazada contigo // estaba en // un mercado // y oí a alguien gritarlo en la calle.”	“It's just that when I was pregnant with you // I was in // a market // and I heard somebody yelling it in the street.”

In the English language, all complete sentences, except imperative ones, require a subject and a verb, on the contrary, in Spanish the subject can disappear, for example: “It rains” – “Llueve”, “It snows” – “Nieva”. In Spanish we could perfectly say “Mira, nieva!”, but in English such a phrase “Look, snowing/snows!” would be grammatically incorrect as the subject “it” is missing. In the examples above the subject use differences in both languages could be seen.

In the example (12) we could see that the subject “I” is present in the English part of the sentence in Spanglish, but when the switch happens, the Spanish clause omits the subject “él”. And in Spanish it is normal as the subject is obvious and was mentioned before. However, when translating the sentence to English, we must add the pronoun. It would be grammatically incorrect to say: “I met my husband at work and is black”, therefore, “he” should be added.

If in the discussed example the reader or the listener could interpret the subject because it was mentioned earlier, in the following example (13) the translation “It’s very interesting, you mentioned that are protestants” would not make sense. Who are protestants? Assumably, “they”, but in order not to mislead the listener/reader, the subject is included in the English sentence.

In the example (14) when the clause is produced in English, we see the subject “It”, but when the switch happens, it is omitted in Spanish. The analogical example is (15) where the subject “yo” is omitted where it is in Spanish, and later when the switch to English occurs, the subject “I” is present in the sentence.

In Spanish the use of the subject is limited to avoid the repetition of the same word, for example: “Ayér **yo** jugué en el bosque y **yo** oí un ruido fuerte”. Now you could object that because it is what happens in English: “Yesterday **I** played in the forest, and **I** heard a strong noise”. Nevertheless, the main difference is made by the verbs. In this case the verbs “played” and “heard” do not show us anything else except the tense. These verbs cannot be conjugated differently for all of the pronouns: I, you, he, she, it, we, you, they played/heard. In Spanish, on the other hand, the verb form gives a lot of information: yo jugué, tú jugaste, él, ella, usted jugó, nosotros jugamos, vosotros jugasteis, ellos, ellas jugaron. It is obvious that each pronoun has a different verb form, as a result, in Spanish the subjects can be omitted in order to avoid irrelevant repetition of the same word.

All things considered, it can be perfectly seen that in all of the examples presented the speakers did not violate the rules of Spanish and English languages by any means.

3.5. Question structure

To start, the English and Spanish question structure slightly differs. In Spanish it is pretty simple as in order to turn a sentence into a question one can just simply put question marks, use pronouns after verbs as in “¿puedes **tú** hablar?” or interrogative pronouns at the beginning of a sentence “¿**qué** quieres?”. Conversely, English interrogative sentences require auxiliary verbs, for example, “do you want coffee?”.

Spanglish question structure is well constructed avoiding the violation of English and Spanish language norms. Below are the examples of interrogative sentences provided in Spanglish, Spanish and English:

Table 6. Collected examples no. 16-19

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
16. [34:05 Episode 62: Colorismo en Latin America] “¿Cómo se dice // the joke?”	“¿Cómo se dice // el chiste?”	“How do you tell // the joke?”
17. [16:47 BONUS Episode: Nostalgia] “Because // yo soy de aquí, // like I am from the United States, // sabes what I am saying?”	“Porque // yo soy de aquí, // soy de Estados Unidos, // sabes que estoy diciendo?”	Because // I am from here // like I am from the United States // you know what I am saying?”
18. [0:36 Mordida 13: Qué Show?] “¿Qué pasó? Why?”	“¿Qué pasó? ¿Por qué?”	“What happened? Why?”
19. [23:31 Episode 152: Immigrants Who Fly] “Is it because I can't relate to the struggles of an undocumented immigrant or is it because I was short, fat and had corte de hongo?”	“¿Es porque no puedo relacionarme con las luchas de un inmigrante indocumentado o es porque era bajito, gordo y tenía corte de hongo?”	“Is it because I can't relate to the struggles of an undocumented immigrant or is it because I was short, fat and had a bowl cut?”

In the sentence (16) we can see that the structure is exactly the same as in Spanish and English: “cómo” is an interrogative pronoun that stands for “how”, the verb “decir” for “tell” and at the end comes the direct object “the joke”. We can also notice that the Spanglish variant was not blindly produced using literal translation and saying “¿cómo tú dices el chiste?” as in this case it is used in a more general way, not particularly referring to the second person singular form “you”. Moreover, in the following example (17) another crucial fact should be highlighted. In this sentence we can see that there is no auxiliary verb that is used for making questions. As I have already mentioned in the English language, auxiliary verbs are necessary in the formation of interrogative sentences. Spanish versions of saying: “do you know that she is here?”, “did you like it?” would

be: “¿sabes que está aquí?” and “¿te gustó?”. There are no auxiliaries, instead, the conjugated verbs in different tenses and question marks are enough to make an interrogative clause. People who code-switch between these two languages have an ability to choose between making the questions with the help of auxiliary words or just simply using the conjugated verbs. However, I must emphasise that once decided to form questions without auxiliaries, only Spanish conjugated verbs can be used. For instance, one could never say “know qué me gusta?” meaning “do you know what I like?”. This happens because English verbs, in this case the verb “know” does not hold any information about who the question is aimed at as it cannot be conjugated as in Spanish. To add, if we tried to start the sentence with the auxiliary verb and then switch the code to Spanish as in the example: “do you sabes qué me gusta?”, it would also be incorrect. As previously mentioned, Spanish conjugated verb forms say much more than English verbs, in this case the main verb “sabes” is conjugated in second person singular, therefore, we know it stands for “you” and once the question mark is added, we surely get “do you?” for the question. Furthermore, we can see that two last examples (18, 19) are similar to the first one, the Spanglish version is structurally the same as the Spanish and English ones. When the questions include “what?”, “why?”, “where?”, “when?”, “which?” Spanish “qué?”, “porque?”, “dónde?”, “cuándo?”, “cuál?” must be used as these words hold the same meanings in both languages. That is why the two last examples of Spanglish almost appear to be translated word by word, but in reality, it is just how it is supposed to be in Spanish and English languages applying its rules.

To sum up, from the examples above it can be seen that Spanglish interrogative sentence construction greatly depends on the rules of both Spanish and English languages, which greatly contributes to the fact that Spanglish follows certain rules in the making of not only declarative, but also imperative clauses.

3.6. Literal translation

Literal translation is mostly used in order not to lose the original meaning of the phrase as sometimes certain things can be expressed in a better way in one’s native language. Also, it might be used for the emphasis on something important. Below two Spanglish examples of literal translation are presented:

Table 7. Collected examples no. 20-21

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
20. [15:50 Episode 62: Colorismo en Latin America] “Case closed // caso cerrado.”	“Caso cerrado.”	“Case closed.”
21. [19:42 BONUS Episode: Nostalgia] “Thank you very much, Nina, // muchísimas gracias.”	“Muchísimas gracias, Nina.”	“Thank you very much, Nina.”

From the podcast just two examples of word-by-word translation have been found. In the example (20) we can see the same phrase written in English and right after that in Spanish. In the sentence (21) everything, except the name of a woman is literally translated. Normally, literal translation is not efficient in long texts or complex sentences as it may not convey the original meaning, however, in this case as the examples are simple and short, the original content is preserved and easily understandable. As only a couple cases of literal translation appeared, it could be assumed that the hosts did not want to confuse their listeners, or maybe just emphasise the end of an important topic (20) and show their appreciation towards their listener (21). However, it should be noted that the presenters did not translate the phrases word by word as a reason for not knowing particular words in their second language.

3.7. Gender

Grammatical gender is one of the characteristics that not every language has. For example, English is a little bit easier when it comes to gender since it does not classify nouns as feminine or masculine. On the contrary, in Spanish it is a norm to categorize the words by its gender, for example, “the hand” – “la mano” or “the planet” – “el planeta” and so forth. In Spanish there are quite many articles that are used: indefinite (un, una, unos, unas) and definite (el, la, los, las). Conversely, English has only three: indefinite (a, an) and definite (the). Besides that, even though English does not have a grammatical gender, it is sometimes shown in other ways mostly when trying to refer to human beings or animals. Such examples would be: “actor” for male and “actress” for a female, “waiter” for a man or “waitress” for a woman etc. However, these are just certain

words that are also present in the Spanish language. Below there can be seen some of the gender-related examples taken from the podcast:

Table 8. Collected examples no. 22-24

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
22. [6:23 episode 152: Immigrants Who Fly] “You have to be careful // porque los camarones ya son salados porque son del mar, // so you don’t have to add a lot of salt.”	“Debes tener cuidado // porque los camarones ya son salados porque son del mar, // así que no hay que echar mucha sal.”	“You have to be careful // because the shrimps are already salted because it is from the sea, // so you don’t have to add a lot of salt.”
23. [2:38 Episode 192: Latine Anime] “My mom is obsessed // con las tortillas de aquí.”	“Mi madre está obsesionada con las tortillas de aquí.”	“My mom is obsessed // with the tortillas from here.”
24. [48:03 Episode 201: The Final Episode] “Try crispy onions, // las que venden ya en un paquetito.”	“Prueba las cebollas crujientes, // las que venden ya en un paquetito.”	“Try crispy onions, // which are already sold in a small package.”

As could be seen from the examples above, in Spanglish words also have a gender. In the example (22) the noun phrase “los camarones” has a masculine gender, which is indicated by the plural, masculine article “los”. In addition to this, the gender is also specified with the help of the following adjective “salados” because it has the inflectional ending “-os” that is normally used for Spanish masculine, plural nouns and adjectives. According to the translations, it is obvious that in this case Spanglish is more similar to Spanish as both languages specify the grammatical gender in the same way. In English it would be impossible to specify the gender of the noun phrase “the shrimps” or the adjective “salted” as these are both neutral. Moreover, in another example (23) we can also see that in Spanglish where the switch of code happens – right before the prepositional phrase, the feminine, plural article “las” is attached to the word “tortillas” and in English translation of this sentence there is only the same definite article “the” used as in the previous example.

Furthermore, the last example (24) slightly differs from the two mentioned earlier because in the first clause there is a noun that does not already have a gender itself (unlike mom from the previous example) and it still does not have an article that would specify the gender of the noun phrase. That is the result of Spanglish following the standard English rules as it is supposed to since the sentence starts in English. It is interesting that once the switch to Spanish occurs the feminine, plural article also appears. Such an article is used there because in Spanish the noun “onion” has a feminine gender “la cebolla”.

To sum up, the examples presented above suggest that Spanglish is not just a chaotic mix of languages as it follows the rules of both languages that are being mixed. If the switch to English happens, the rules of English are applied and if the code is switched to the Spanish language, it accordingly follows its rules.

3.8. Immediate future

Using the immediate future tense people state what is surely going to happen very soon. In English, the same as in Spanish, the immediate future is used to refer to something that has been already planned for some time. Future simple tense could not be used in such cases. Below a couple examples of immediate future are given in Spanglish:

Table 9. Collected examples no. 25-26

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
25. [3:06 episode 3: Beyonce Santísima] “We are going to talk // sobre esto especialmente.”	“ Vamos a hablar // sobre esto especialmente.”	“We are going to talk // about that especially.”
26. [11:29 Episode: 129: Latinos Who Catch Up (Part 1 of 2)] “La comida va a estar fría, // like your tacos are going to be cold.”	“La comida va a estar fría, // tus tacos van a estar fríos.”	“The food is going to be cold, // like your tacos are going to be cold”

In the example (25) the immediate future tense is given in English, right before the switch to Spanish. In English “going to + infinitive” is used to express something preplanned for the near future. Here some context must be also given: in this episode the hosts have been presented what they have prepared for their listeners, what topics to be more precise. As the script was already

planned and did not happen spontaneously, the structure “going to + infinitive” instead of “will + infinitive” was used.

In the following example (26) immediate future tense is given in Spanish and English languages. In English it is formed exactly the same as in the example (25), therefore, let us analyse the Spanish part of the sentence. Here, one of the hosts was talking about his dinner with a friend and quoted what has been said to him. In the Spanish language the immediate future has been used to refer to something that is evidentially going to happen; in this case, the food is going to get cold because the person who is supposed to eat it, cannot not stop talking. The Spanish formation of future immediate is similar to English, the word “ir” a (go to) + infinitive is used. Of course, unlike in English, Spanish verbs and adjectives have to correspond in number and gender. La comida (the food) is third person singular feminine, therefore, the third person singular feminine verb and singular feminine adjective has been chosen. Consider what would happen if the switch occurred in the second part of the sentence. “Tacos” is a third person plural masculine, and as a result, “van a estar frías” would be used.

All in all, Spanglish immediate future tense also corresponds to the rules of this tense in English and Spanish languages.

3.9. The use of ser/estar/to be

Spanish verbs “ser” and “estar” are equivalent to English “to be”. However, in Spanish the two verbs are used instead of one as a result of having different meanings. “Ser” is used when referring to permanent qualities and “estar” to temporary conditions, meanwhile in English “to be” stands for both. In the examples below the usage of these verbs in both languages are shown:

Table 10. Collected examples no. 27-29

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
27. [13:21 Episode 118: Alma Lopez] „Es que cuando estaba embarazada contigo // I was in // un mercado // and I heard somebody yelling it in the street.”	“ Es que cuando estaba embarazada contigo // estaba en // un mercado // y oí a alguien gritarlo en la calle.”	“The thing is that when I was pregnant with you // I was in // a market // and I heard somebody yelling it in the street.”

28. [16:47 BONUS Episode: Nostalgia] “Because // yo soy de aquí, // like I am from the United States, // sabes what I am saying?”	“Porque // yo soy de aquí, // soy de Estados Unidos, // sabes que estoy diciendo?”	Because // I am from here // like I am from the United States // you know what I am saying?”
29. [4:39 episode 152: Immigrants Who Fly] “I mean // conmigo somos siete, // you are absolutely right.”	“Quiero decir que // conmigo somos siete, // tienes toda la razón.”	“I mean // with me we are seven, // you are absolutely right.”

In the example (27) we can see three different verbs: es (ser), estaba (estar) and was (to be) used. Let us first analyse the usage of these verbs in the Spanglish language. The sentence starts in Spanish “es que” which translates to English as “the thing is that”. Here only the conjugated verb “ser” could be used because it gives the unchangeable information of how something happened, therefore, in this case “estar” could not be used. Later on, another verb appears, this time the imperfect tense of “estar” in the first-person singular is used. The word “embarazada” is a participle which describes a state of being, and in Spanish the verb “estar” is normally used with such words. To continue, when the switch to English happens the first person singular of the verb “to be” is used and there is not much to say about this verb as it is the only one that could be used following English language rules. If this part had still been in Spanish, the first person singular of the verb “estar” would have been used as shown in the “Spanish translation” column. This would have happened because one of the usages of this verb is stating the location, in this case the place of a market (mercado).

Furthermore, in the examples (28) and (29) just Spanish “ser” and English “to be” forms appear. In (27) the first person singular of the verb “ser” is used since in the Spanish language this verb is used when trying to refer to the person’s origin: “soy de aquí” – “I am from there”. Another similar example would be: “soy lituana” – “I am Lithuanian”. After this part the code is switched to English and the conjugated verb “to be” is used two times: “I am from” and “I am saying”. In Spanish for the latter, we would use “estar” as in “estoy diciendo” because it is happening at the moment and will not last forever. To carry on with the analysis of this example, we can see that in Spanish translation of the sentence “ser” is used two times showing the nationality of a person and

“estar” one time as in Spanish only this verb could be used with a gerund. Meanwhile in the English translation, the same verb is used in all of the situations mentioned.

The last example is again somewhat different as in Spanglish and English variants we can see two different forms of “to be” in both languages meanwhile in the Spanish version there is just one. To begin with, let us analyse the Spanglish sentence and here for the explanation of the usage of the first verb “somos” some background information is efficient. In this case “with me we are seven” only “ser” could be used as it refers to six people (noun) and is a predicate. Here the hosts of the podcast have been talking about the family dinner with only family members. In Spanish “ser” is not used with nouns as predicates. This example could not be interpreted differently as before this sentence, another host said: “how come in every episode you don’t even know how many people are in your house?” (4:25 episode 152: Immigrants Who Fly). To continue, after the switch to English unsurprisingly, “are” is used. For both of these situations English translation has the same verb “are”, another verb could never be used. On the contrary, in Spanish only one verb “somos” is used once as for saying “you are absolutely right” there is no need to even use the verb “ser” or “estar”. Instead, the verb “tener” in English “to have” is used, however, it does not literally translate to “you have a right”, but it means “you are right”. It is one of the characteristics of the universal Spanish verb “tener”. This word’s most basic form means “to have” but just like in this case it could be also used in phrases where one would normally use the forms of the verb “to be”. Some of the best examples within the previously analysed one would be: “tengo hambre” – “I am hungry”, “tienes miedo” – “you are scared”, “tiene sueño” – “he/she/it is sleepy”, etc.

After the analysis of the gathered examples regarding the usage of the verbs “ser”, “estar”, and “to be” it is evident that Spanglish is used keeping up with the same norms of both mixed languages. When the code is switched to the Spanish language, the different conjugated forms of Spanish verbs “ser” and “estar” are used applying the grammar rules of this language. Once the switch to English occurs, the conjugated forms of the verb “to be” are used even implying that in order to code-switch between English and Spanish languages the speaker has to master these both languages and apply its rules.

3.10. Verb conjugation

In English verb conjugation is almost effortless. Let us take an example of the word “walk”, in the present simple tense it stays the same for all of the pronouns, except he, she and it, then the inflectional ending “-s” must be added as in “he walks”. In the past simple tense instead

of an “-s”, the inflection “-ed” is added to all of the forms: “I,you, he... walked”. However, in this case irregular verbs appear that do not follow any rules, just must be memorised by heart. In the continuous tenses the inflection “-ing” is added which also applies to all of the forms with no exceptions: “I am walking”.

On the other hand, if we compare English and Spanish verb conjugation, it will become clear that the latter is more complex. In the Spanish language there are three categories of the regular verbs:

1. Ending in “-ar”: hablar, cantar, bailar, tomar...
2. Ending in “-er”: comer, beber, comprender...
3. Ending in “-ir”: escribir, vivir, decidir...

These verbs are conjugated as follows:

Table 11. The conjugation of the regular verbs in the present tense

	Hablar	Comer	Escribir
Yo	Hablo	Como	Escribo
Tú	Hablas	Comes	Escribes
El, ella, usted	Habla	Come	Escribe
Nosotros / as	Hablamos	Comemos	Escribimos
Vosotros / as	Hablais	Comeis	Escribis
Ellos, ellas, ustedes	Hablan	Comen	Escriben

Moreover, as in English continuous tenses the inflection “-ing” is added, in Spanish “-ando” and “-iendo” is added instead. Also, just like in English, there is a huge variety of irregular verbs in the Spanish language too. From the table 1 above it might seem that Spanish conjugation is not complicated at all, nevertheless, all of the verbs are conjugated differently in each verbal tense.

Let us now check if Spanglish also follows the same rules of both languages. Below I have listed some examples taken from the podcast:

Table 12. Collected examples no. 30-33

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
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<p>30. [31:45 Episode 152: immigrants Who Fly] “I have a couple // tios // that crossed over like that // y primos, // so I understand what he is talking about.”</p>	<p>“Tengo un par de // tíos // que cruzaron la frontera así // y primos, // así que entiendo de lo que habla.”</p>	<p>“I have a couple // uncles // that crossed over like that // and cousins, // so I understand what he is talking about.”</p>
<p>31. [47:58 Episode 152: immigrants Who Fly] “All of a sudden, she saw Laura León // saliendose de un coche.”</p>	<p>“De repente, vio a Laura León // saliendose de un coche.”</p>	<p>“All of a sudden, she saw Laura León // getting out of a car.”</p>
<p>32. [6:21 Episode 115: Ask LWL] “I was gonna ask was that a // tortuga, // because it sounded like a // tortuga // from Linda Michoacana.”</p>	<p>“Iba a preguntar si eso era una tortuga porque sonaba como una tortuga de Linda Michoacana.”</p>	<p>“I was gonna ask was that a // turtle // because it sounded like a // turtle // from Linda Michoacana.”</p>
<p>33. [6:26 Episode 45: Xochi and George] “Here we are, // otra vez, leyendo // and promoting.”</p>	<p>“Aquí estamos, // otra vez, leyendo // promoviendo.”</p>	<p>“Here we are // once again, reading // and promoting.”</p>

In the example (30), Spanish third person plural “tios” (uncles) and English verb “cross” is used. The first part of a sentence is in past simple tense, and we can see that in accordance with the tense, the required English inflection “-ed” has been added to the verb. In the Spanish translation we can see how the Spanish word “cruzar” (cross) has been conjugated in third person plural past tense.

Moving forward, the next example (31) brings us the case of a continuous form. After the first clause in the English language, the switch to Spanish is done and that is why the Spanish continuous form of the reflexive verb “salirse” is used. According to the grammar rules of the Spanish language, if the regular verb ends in “-ir” it has to be removed and another inflection “-iendo” has to be added. That is what happens in this example, just here the reflexive pronoun is also present, therefore, not only “-iendo”, but “-iendose” is added to the verb “salir”.

In addition to these examples, the (32) is very similar to the (30) as the verb is also used in English with the inflectional ending “-ed”. The ending is taken simply following the rules of English as this inflection goes with all the regular English verbs in past tense. If we look at the Spanish translation, we could see what would have happened if the code was switched to Spanish. English “sound” is equivalent to Spanish “sonar”, therefore, in order to make the past tense of this verb in Spanish, we would have to remove the inflection “-ar” and add the inflection corresponding to the tense, in this case, imperfect tense third person singular inflection “-aba”.

Furthermore, in the last example (33), both Spanish and English continuous forms appear. From this example, it is evident that Spanglish has stuck to the rules of both languages while forming the continuous tense. The ending “-er” has been removed from the Spanish verb “leer” and the required inflectional ending “-yendo” added. This ending was used instead of “-iendo” as after removing the end “-er” the rest of the word ended in a vowel “e”. Right after this word, the switch happened and the second word in its continuous form appeared in English simply adding the gerund to the verb “promote”.

To sum up, the examples presented are proof that in Spanglish the verbs are used in accordance with subjects, and correct inflections required are added to these verbs. The subject, as we just saw, might be in Spanish, but if the switch to English happens right after that, then the verb is adjusted according to the subject. If the subject comes in English and the switch to Spanish occurs before the verb, then it is formed according to the Spanish language criteria.

3.11. The imperative mood

In both English and Spanish languages, the imperative mood is generally used to give orders, suggestions, or commands to someone. There are two types of imperatives: affirmative and negative. In the examples below both types of imperative mood are given:

Table 13. Collected examples no. 34-37

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
34. [12:04 Episode 115: Ask LWL] „Oh my God, // cálmate ”	“Dios mío, // cálmate. ”	“Oh my God, // calm down. ”

35. [9:42 Episode 118: Alma Lopez] Y no se les olvide preguntar por su // discount // y cuando se lo den, // tip your waiter right.	Y no se les olvide preguntar por su // descuento // y cuando se lo den, // dele una buena propina a su camarero.”	“And don’t forget to ask for your discount // and once they give it to you, // tip your waiter right.”
36. [47:36 episode 190: No Tengo Dinero] “Hola, mis amigos, // I love your podcasts, // pero deja voy al grano.”	“Hola mis amigos, // me encantan sus podcasts, // pero deja voy al grano.”	“Hello, my Friends, // I love your podcasts, // but let me get straight to the point.”
37. [12:00 Episode 180: The Mexican Legacy of El Zorro] “ Come on , // el guerro.”	“ Vamos , el guerro.”	“ Come on , // warrior.”

In the example (34), the case of affirmative imperative by which the reader or the listener is ordered to calm down appears. We can see from the English translation of the examples that in English the imperative is easily formed, just by using the infinitive form of the verb and removing “to”. Conversely, when it comes to the formation of imperatives in Spanish, the process is more complex. As mentioned in the previous subchapter, in Spanish there are three standard verb categories ending in -ar, -er and -ir, and the affirmative form of imperative of these verbs is formed as follows:

Table 14. Affirmative imperative conjugation

	Calmar	Beber	Vivir
Tú	Calma	Bebe	Vive
Usted	Calme	Beba	Viva
Nosotros	Calmemos	Bebamos	Vivamos
Vosotros	Calmad	Bebed	Vivid
Ustedes	Calmen	Beban	Vivan

In the sentence (34) the verb ending in -ar is used and that is why according to table 2, -ar is removed and -a is added. As the order is directed to the second person singular, the pronoun “te”

for “tú” – “you” is added, once the pronoun is added, in this case the accent appears on the first syllable of the word. We can see that while code-switching, the same rule is applied.

In another example (35) not only the affirmative, but also a case of a negative imperative appears. In the Spanish language only the second person singular and the second person plural differ from the affirmative forms and also indirect pronoun appears before the reflexive verb:

Table 15. Negative imperative conjugation

	Calmar	Beber	Vivir
Tú	No te calmes	No bebas	No vivas
Usted	No se calme	No beba	No viva
Nosotros	No nos calmemos	No bebamos	No vivamos
Vosotros	No os calméis	No bebáis	No viváis
Ustedes	No se calmen	No beban	No vivan

In Spanglish same as in English and Spanish in the formation of a negative imperative a negation is added: in Spanish “no” and in English “not” is added to the bare infinitives. In the Spanglish example (35), the sentence starts in Spanish and the Spanish negative imperative rule is applied: “no” comes before the reflexive verb “olvidarse”. The command itself is directed and the command is directed at the third person singular. It is shown by the reflexive pronoun “se” which is moved to the after the negation and the verb form. Moreover, the ending -ar of the verb “olvidar” is removed and –“e” is added. In between an indirect object pronoun “les” appears which refers to the workers at the restaurant that the hosts were promoting in the beginning of their podcast.

The example (36) is also affirmative as (34), but this time it is directed to the second person singular. In this example the ending “-ar” of the verb “dejar” is removed and the required Spanish ending “-a” for the second person singular is added in order to form the imperative sentence following the rules of language to which the code has been switched.

Furthermore, in the last example (37) the part of a sentence where the imperative mood appears, starts in English, therefore, the English rule of taking a bare infinitive “come on” is applied in order to get an affirmative imperative mood.

All in all, even though Spanish and English rules regarding the imperative mood differ significantly, in none of the examples provided above Spanglish seems to violate the rules of either language.

3.12. Double negatives

A statement that uses two negative elements is called a double negative. This type of negation is formed by adding one negative element to the verb and another to the noun, adverb, adjective, etc., or just simply using the words that already have a negative meaning (nothing, none, nobody, etc). In standard English none of the cases of double negatives would be acceptable. Consider the examples: “I did not eat nothing” or “he did not see nobody”. As in English it is grammatically incorrect and even misleading to use double negations, if in a sentence there is already one negative element, then “nothing” must be replaced by “anything”, and “nobody” by “anybody”. If we decide to leave both negations, then it would be just like in Math, two negations would contradict each other and the statement would become positive, therefore, “I don’t know nothing” would mean that a person knows everything.

On the contrary, in the Spanish language, double negatives are common and not ungrammatical at all. Spanish also has a huge variety of words that have a negative meaning, for instance: “nunca” (never), tampoco (neither), “nadie” (nobody, no one), etc. I must note that when using double negatives in Spanish, the negative adverb “no” always has to go before the verb, however, if the word already bears a negative meaning, then “no” can only be used following a certain word order, for example, “no bailo nunca” could be used, but “nunca no bailo” would already be incorrect.

Now let us take a look at the examples of double negatives in Spanglish:

Table 16. Collected examples no. 38-40

Sentence in Spanglish	Spanish translation	English translation
38. [27:48 episode 190: No Tengo Dinero] “Si no me sé treinta canciones, // I don’t know any .”	“Si no me sé treinta canciones, // no me sé ninguna .”	“If I don’t know thirty songs, // I don’t know any .”

<p>39. [7:39 episode 190: No Tengo Dinero] El // money // del // government // no me dura nada.</p>	<p>El // dinero // del // gobierno // no me dura nada.</p>	<p>“The // money // of the // government // doesn’t last me any longer.”</p>
<p>40. [16:50 BONUS Episode: Nostalgia] “When people say: // “no soy ni de aquí ni de allá”, // it is like a way to other yourself.”</p>	<p>“Cuando la gente dice: // “no soy ni de aquí ni de allá”, // es como una forma de ser otro.”</p>	<p>“When people say: // “I am neither from here nor there”, // it is like a way to other yourself.”</p>

In the example (38) a double negative is avoided by using “any” instead of “none”. We can see here that the first clause starts in Spanish and the second is in English. If the languages were switched vice versa, then we would have a case of a double negative as shown in the Spanish translation column: “no me sé ninguna” (I don’t know none).

In two other sentences (39) and (40) double negatives appear as the switch to Spanish happens and the rules of this language are applied. In (39) the negative adverb “no” is situated before the pronoun “me” and the verb “dura”, after the verb comes another pronoun “nada” (nothing). And that is the example of how a double negative is formed in this case and in the Spanish language overall. In the example (40) two negative Spanish conjunctions “ni” that are analogous to English “neither/nor” appear. If we tried to literally translate this part to English, it would be incorrect and illogical: “I am not neither from here nor from there”. Note that Spanish “no” is not left out as the speaker could violate the Spanish language double negative rule and simply say: “soy ni de aquí ni de allá” which would translate to “I am neither from here, nor from there”. Nevertheless, the speaker decided not to exclude “no” and not violate the rules of the language to which the code has been switched.

To conclude, once again it can be seen from the examples that Spanglish speakers do not violate the rules of the languages they switch between. On the contrary, it seems that while code-switching, speakers try to do their best in order to produce a coherent and grammatically correct entity.

CONCLUSIONS

After having thoroughly analysed the data, the hypothesis that Spanglish is a rule-governed system, not a mixture of languages was confirmed and the following conclusions regarding code-switching in American Spanglish have been drawn:

1. In the theoretical part language in contact, more precisely, English and Spanish languages in contact have been presented as an inevitable phenomenon when two speakers of different languages interact. Previous research of the scholars in this field such as Oksaar, Sankoff, Poplack, Weinreich et al. have been used in order to understand how two languages affect each other while being in contact. We came to the conclusion that the contact of two languages causes the phonological and the lexical changes in the language. We have also identified seven main linguistic outcomes of language contact that sometimes consist of just a few words borrowed from the donor language into the recipient language, and other times forms new, independent languages. One of the most debatable and the most important in this paper language contact situation has been presented as Spanglish. After the theoretical analysis of Spanglish itself and its characteristics was done, we understood that Spanglish was used as a crucial instrument for communication by various people in the United States.

2. Two main principles regarding the usage of Spanglish have been identified: borrowing and code-switching. It could be assumed that speakers use these techniques to avoid misunderstandings and misinterpretations while communicating, for example, if one does not know how to express in non-native language what they truly mean without changing the meaning of the whole phrase. Code-switching was regarded as the most prevalent in the formation of Spanglish, therefore, the biggest focus was set on it.

3. After having conducted the research and analysing the data, it was surprising to notice that there were no deviations regarding the standard rules of English and Spanish languages. It was said before that in order to successfully code-switch one has to master the languages that are being switched in order not to violate the rules of neither one language. It could be wrong to say that Spanglish is a language full of strict rules after analysing the speech of two people as there are over forty million using Spanglish in their everyday lives. Also, it should be noted that the hosts of the chosen podcast are highly educated, and this could be a reason why Spanglish they use is very well structured. This leads us to a conclusion that people have an innate feeling and know how to use language as a tool made for communication.

4. The gathered data was classified in groups by standard rules of English and Spanish languages. Right after completing the analysis, it was shown that Spanglish simple, compound and even complex sentences were structurally analogous to English or Spanish variants of the same sentences. Moreover, the use of prepositions, gender and the formation of imperative mood also respond to the rules of the languages switched. This leads us to the conclusion that speakers apply the rules of the language they switch to: if the sentence starts in Spanish and the switch to English happens, the English rules are followed and if the code is switched to Spanish, then the standard rules of the Spanish language are applied.

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DATA SOURCES

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SUMMARY

The goal of this research is to determine whether Spanglish is a consistent, structured, and rule-governed language or just a disorderly mixture of Spanish and English languages.

In this paper we analyse Spanglish examples of code-switching taken from a famous American podcast *Latinos Who Lunch*.

In this thesis we firstly review the scientific literature on language contact in general, Spanglish itself and its characteristics. With the help of the scholars, we also define main formal principles regarding the usage of American Spanglish (borrowing and code-switching). As code-switching is one of the most common principles applied in the creation of Spanglish, the main focus is set on it. Secondly, we present the data and the methods that were used to analyse the examples of code-switching in American Spanglish. Lastly, we observe the examples from the chosen podcast by classifying them into different categories in accordance with grammatical rules of English and Spanish languages.

Based on the analysis of the examples, we have concluded that Spanglish truly follows the rules of either one or both languages at the same time which proves that it is a structured language system and suggests that people, regardless of their background, have an innate feeling for language and try to stick to the rules of both languages while code-switching.

Keywords: Spanglish, language rules, code-switching, language contact, borrowing.

SANTRAUKA

Šio darbo tikslas – išsiaiškinti, ar amerikiečių *Spanglish* yra nuosekli, struktūrizuota ir taisyklėmis pagrįsta kalba, ar tik neorganizuotas kalbų mišinys.

Šiame darbe analizuojami *Spanglish* kodų kaitos pavyzdžiai, paimti iš garsios amerikiečių tinklalaidės pavadinimu *Latinos Who Lunch*.

Galiausiai amerikiečių *Spanglish* kalba analizuojama kaip gramatinė, taisyklėmis grindžiama kalba.

Visų pirma šiame darbe atliekame mokslinės literatūros apžvalgą apie anglų ir ispanų kalbų sąlyti, pačią *Spanglish* kalbą ir jos bruožus. Taip pat, remdamiesi mokslininkų darbais, apibrėžiame pagrindinius bendruosius amerikiečių *Spanglish* kalbos vartojimo principus (skoliniai iš kitų kalbų, kodų kaita). Kadangi kodų kaita yra vienas iš labiausiai paplitusių procesų *Spanglish* formavime, didžiausias dėmesys sutelktas būtent į tai. Vėliau pateikiame pavyzdžius ir pristatome būdus naudotus analizuojant anglų ir ispanų kalbų kaitos atvejus. Galiausiai, tiriame pavyzdžius surinktus iš pasirinktos tinklalaidės ir klasifikuojame juos į skirtingas kategorijas pagal anglų ir ispanų kalbų bendrąsias taisykles.

Atlikus tyrimą paaiškėjo, kad *Spanglish* kalba iš tiesų laikosi vienos ar abiejų kalbų vartojimo taisyklių. Šis rezultatas įrodo, kad *Spanglish* neabejotinai yra struktūrizuota kalbos sistema, o žmonės, nepriklausomai nuo to, kokia jų kilmė, turi įgimtą kalbos jausmą ir stengiasi laikytis abiejų kalbų taisyklių kodų kaitymo metu.

Raktiniai žodžiai: *Spanglish* kalba, kalbos taisyklės, kodų kaita, tinklalaidė, skoliniai.

APPENDIX

1. We are going to talk sobre esto especialmente. (3:06 episode 3: Beyonce' Santísima)
2. Here we are, otra vez, leyendo and promoting. (6:26 Episode 45: Xochi and George)
3. Case closed, caso cerrado (15:50 Episode 62: Colorismo en Latin America)
4. When I was younger my mom, my tías, mi abuelita would always tell me and my cousins to marry un blanquito rubio con los ojos azules. (18:03 Episode 62: Colorismo en Latin America)
5. My mom was forever putting chemicals to my hair because a los blancos no les gustan los rizos? (18:13 Episode 62: Colorismo en Latin America)
6. I met my husband at work y es negro (18:29 Episode 62: Colorismo en Latin America)
7. ¿Cómo se dice the joke? (34:05 Episode 62: Colorismo en Latin America)
8. It is very interesting, you mentioned that son protestantes. (14:57 Episode 103: La Virgen de Guadalupe)
9. She wanted to get a rosario from the church. (37:23 Episode 103: La Virgen de Guadalupe)
10. And you know en Mexico they do la marcha. (23:28 episode 106: Radio Lonchea 2018)
11. Estaba on the phone doing some kind of negocio. (24:16 episode 106: Radio Lonchea 2018)
12. I am like so so, así, así (25:34 episode 106: Radio Lonchea 2018)
13. Right, así es. (27:38 episode 106: Radio Lonchea 2018)
14. Pero like for real. (27:40 episode 106: Radio Lonchea 2018)
15. Wow, qué boring. (1:52 Episode 109: Viva Guatemala!)
16. I put a little bit of water with an onion, garlic, and tomatillos con salsa. (3:24 Episode 109: Viva Guatemala!)
17. You add it all together to the pot with pork and papas. (3:42 Episode 109: Viva Guatemala!)
18. I feel like that happens to a lot of central Americanos. (9:34 Episode 109: Viva Guatemala!)
19. It is the weirdest feeling porque te da cosquillas (tickles). (1:41 Episode 111: Roma Redux)
20. She would chart everything incluso jalapeneos (Spanish pronunciation) (7:49 Episode 111: Roma Redux)
21. Normally it is with a pan tostado and they put like, como se llama, azucar glas - powder sugar. (8:14 Episode 114: Single, Bilingual and Dizque Ready to Mingle!)
22. Yesterday we had, como se llaman, waffles? (Spanish wuaaafles) (4:21 Episode 115: Ask LWL)
23. I was gonna ask was that a tortuga, because it sounded like a tortuga from Linda Michoacana (6:21 Episode 115: Ask LWL)
24. Oh my God, calmate (12:04 Episode 115: Ask LWL)

25. Awesome, saludos from everywhere. (1:54 Episode 118: Alma Lopez)
26. You know what I like? I like chili verde and red chile. (9:04 Episode 118: Alma Lopez)
27. Es que cuando estaba embarazada contigo I was in un mercado and I heard somebody yelling it in the street. (13:21 Episode 118: Alma Lopez)
28. Y no se les olvide preguntar por su discount y cuando se lo den, tip your waiter right. (9:42 Episode 118: Alma Lopez)
29. La comida va a estar fría, like your tacos are going to be cold. (11:29 Episode: 129: Latinos Who Catch Up (Part 1 of 2))
30. Es que to me it tastes like sugar (14:34 Episode: 129: Latinos Who Catch Up (Part 1 of 2))
31. Es decir, I am not a pan dulce person. (41:13 Episode 139: Christmas is Coming!)
32. I hope everybody is safe and sano in their house. (0:58 Episode 150: Problematic and Confused)
33. Everytime me toca edit the podcast, I am like God damn. (5:09 Episode 150: Problematic and Confused)
34. I mean conmigo somos siete, you are absolutely right. (4:39 episode 152: Immigrants Who Fly)
35. Le pone este zanaoria, le pone papa and then on the side she is boiling the lentils, she cooks cebolla, ajo y chile and then she adds it all to the soup. (6:23 episode 152: Immigrants Who Fly)
36. You have to be careful porque los camarones ya son salados porque son del mar, so you don't have to add a lot of salt. (8:02 episode 152: Immigrants Who Fly)
37. In 2010 I moved from Mexico to North Carolina at the age of quince. (22:08 episode 152: Immigrants Who Fly)
38. Is it because I can't relate to the struggles of an undocumented immigrant or is it because I was short, fat and had corte de hongo? (23:31 Episode 152: Immigrants Who Fly)
39. A ver, por donde empezamos guay, where do we start? (28:49 Episode 152: immigrants Who Fly)
40. I have a couple tios that crossed over like that y primos, so I understand what he is talking about. (31:45 Episode 152: immigrants Who Fly)
41. Ay, Dios mio, it's very complicated. (41:40 Episode 152: immigrants Who Fly)
42. Ay, no me acuerdo, guay, but it is almost like a taboo thing (46:17 Episode 152: immigrants Who Fly)
43. Es lo que hacen los gringos cuando van a Mexico, they wanna go to the dangerous areas. (46:22 Episode 152: immigrants Who Fly)

44. All of a sudden, she saw Laura Leon saliendo de un coche. (47:58 Episode 152: immigrants Who Fly)
45. Guilty Placeres. (title) (Episode 177)
46. De verdad, no me acuerdo who is Victoria. (26:50 Episode 177: Guilty Placeres)
47. Come on, el guerro. (12:00 Episode 180: The Mexican Legacy of El Zorro)
48. Preguntale a google qué puedes encontrar en México, like google it. (29:15 Episode 180: The Mexican Legacy of El Zorro)
49. El money del government no me dura nada. (7:39 episode 190: No Tengo Dinero)
50. ¿Cómo se llaman las onions que están en este plato? (8:40 episode 190: No Tengo Dinero)
51. You can just pick up the phone and call a tu prometido or whatever (16:32 episode 190: No Tengo Dinero)
52. Si no me sé treinta canciones, I don't know any. (27:48 episode 190: No Tengo Dinero)
53. I know it is like "Oh, pobrecito, like dream bigger" (33:59 episode 190: No Tengo Dinero)
54. Es que, it is very complicated, because there is no situation in which you or any of us could put ourselves in those shoes. (39:18 episode 190: No Tengo Dinero)
55. He recently lost his job y ahora es un pobre hombre. (41:13 Episode 190: No Tengo Dinero)
56. Hola, mis amigos, I love your podcasts, pero deja voy al grano. (47:36 episode 190: No Tengo Dinero)
57. I am raising my girls to speak Spanish y también comer frijoles y toda la comida rica. (47:50 episode 190: No Tengo Dinero)
58. Dios mío, it is out of control. (4:05 episode 180: The Mexican Legacy of El Zorro)
59. The cinnamon, the calabaza, todos a su casa. (7:50 episode 180: The Mexican Legacy of El Zorro)
60. Muchísimas gracias, we love you. (27:44 episode 180: The Mexican Legacy of El Zorro)
61. I guess this is gonna sound so gringo, pero like enchilada lasaña. (1:38 Episode 192: Latine Anime)
62. It is for the better, so she can stay with the rest of the viejitos en pueblo. (5:13 Episode 158: Las Vidas Negra Importan)
63. My mom is obsessed con las tortillas de aquí (2:38 Episode 192: Latine Anime)
64. It was so long ago que no me acuerdo. (40:35 Episode 192: Latine Anime)
65. El imposter syndrome es real. (título del podcast. Episode 200)
66. This is not barbaqua pero just cacheta con sal. (11:49 Episode 201: The Final Episode)

67. I remember eating arepas en Colombia. (10:30 Episode 201: The Final Episode)
68. Try crispy onions, las que venden ya en un paquetito. (48:03 Episode 201: The Final Episode)
69. Check it out y no se lo pierdan, it is some amazing stuff. (2:01 BONUS Episode: Nostalgia) (I hope you like this episode, see it, don't miss out?)
70. It focused on nostalgia, pero more specifically la nostalgia of immigrants in the United States (3:21 BONUS Episode: Nostalgia)
71. Because yo soy de aquí, like I am from the United States, sabes what I am saying? (16:50 BONUS Episode: Nostalgia)
72. When people say no soy ni de aquí ni de allá, it is a way to other yourself. (16:50 BONUS Episode: Nostalgia)
73. Thank you very much, Nina, muchísimas gracias. (19:42 BONUS Episode: Nostalgia)
74. And ay, Dios mío, qué chido. (20:30 BONUS Episode: Nostalgia)
75. Fabi and doctor (pronounced in Spanish) Babelito (21:14 BONUS Episode: Nostalgia)
76. You don't know how much cigarettes cost in NY? (11:24) Oh my God, como catorce dólares. (11:28 Episode 62: Colorismo en Latin America)
77. Qué rollo, Fabi, nice to see you again. (1:41 BONUS Episode: Contemporary Art of Nevada)
78. I am doing igual que tu (2:19 BONUS Episode: Contemporary Art of Nevada)
79. You can add different mermeladas like de piña o de mango. (6:05 Episode 107: Listener Letters V)