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# The role of Spanglish in the social and academic lives of second generation Latino students : students' and parents' perspectives

Araceli Osorio

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The University of San Francisco

THE ROLE OF SPANGLISH IN THE SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC LIVES OF  
SECOND GENERATION LATINO STUDENTS: STUDENTS' AND PARENTS'  
PERSPECTIVES

A Dissertation Presented  
to  
The Faculty of the School of Education  
International and Multicultural Education Department

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Education

by  
Araceli Osorio  
San Francisco, California  
May 2010

## ABSTRACT

Minimal attention has been afforded to the motivations and perspectives regarding the use of Spanglish in social and academic settings. The purpose of this study is to explore the motivations and applications that encourage linguistic connections between English and Spanish among second generation Latino students and their parents. Furthermore, this study strives to promote awareness and understanding among Spanish educators, researchers, and the Latino community of the situational appropriateness of the use of Spanglish.

As an ethnographic research, data was collected through individual and focus-group interviews in Spanish, observations in social and academic settings, and a language choice questionnaire was administered to 32 students. All data was tape recorded, transcribed, and translated from Spanish into English. The main participants were six Latino high school students and their parents from a small community in Northern California. Research questions: (1) what are the experiences of second generation Latino students and their parents with regards to their use of Spanglish? (2) what are the students' reflections on how their use of Spanglish affects their success in both social and academic situations? (3) what role does the family play in the use of Spanglish?

The results of this study include that students perceive Spanglish as a natural and necessary medium of communication in their daily lives in the United States. Moreover, the use of Spanglish provides participants with a sense of social identity in their community. The loss of their heritage language was not due to Spanglish but to English immersion in their school and at home. These participants expressed the need to include all language variations in the classroom. Although the participants in this study

recognized Spanglish as an informal form of communication, they acknowledged that people from all income and educational levels of society use Spanglish. Yet, participants were aware of distinguishing the situations in which the use of Spanglish was appropriate.

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

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## **SPECIAL DEDICATION**

I want to dedicate this dissertation to my dear and loving husband Santiago Ortega and to my beautiful and smart daughter Lenira A. Ortega. They have been very supportive and encouraging during the long educational journey towards this dissertation. I want to thank them from the bottom of my heart for being patient with me and for giving me the love and strength to achieve my dream.

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Finally, I hope that my parents (Ernestina Herrera and Noe Osorio) as well as my brothers and sisters (Irma Celia, Leopoldo, Evelia, Rosa Evelia, and Gilberto) are proud of me. I hope this dissertation serves as encouragement to future children in my family and in my Latino community. May they be inspired to pursue their own educational dreams.

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## PART I

### THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

#### Introduction

As an active member of my community in Northern California, I have noticed the increasing use of a form of communication identified as Spanglish. For example, on Sunday when I go to church, I notice that my daughter's friends address me in Spanish, "Buenos días señora Araceli" Then they greet my daughter, "Hi Leni; how are you?" Also, the priest frequently uses both English and Spanish in his sermons. For example when addressing the congregation the priest will recommend to also use the parking lot on the back of the church instead of parking on the street. "Usen también el parqueadero de atrás, en lugar de parquarse en la calle" (In standard Spanish *parqueadero* is *estacionamiento*). Spanglish is also very noticeable in the businesses where I shop. Many of the signs promote products using phrases like "Fresh pan and tortillas". Often customers speak about their day: "Tengo que ir al DMV" (I have to go to the DMV). In this example, "DMV" is pronounced in English.

In the article by Jorge Ramos, "El Futuro del Español en Estados Unidos" ("The Future of Spanish in the United States") (Cited in Roca, 2005), Ramos exemplifies the changes in daily communications within the Latino communities inside the United States. In the following excerpt, Ramos includes examples of Spanglish typically used among Latinos. In parenthesis, I will include the standard word in Spanish for those words that are in Spanglish.

El otro día llamé al *rufero* (techador) para que revisara el techo de mi casa porque había un *liqueo* (gotera). Toda la *carpeta* (alfombra) estaba empapada. Vino en su *troca* (camioneta) a *wachear* (revisar) la problema y quería saber si yo iba a pagar o la *aseguranza* (seguro). Después de contar cuántos *tiles* (tejas) tenía que

cambiar me dio un *estimado* (presupuesto). Yo le dije que me dejara el número de su *celfon* (celular/móvil) o de su *biper*(radiocalizador). Si nadie contesta, me advirtió, déjã un mensaje después del *bip* (timbre/tono) y yo te hablo *p'atrás*(there is not translation). The other day I called the roofer to examine the roof of my house because there was a leak. All the carpet was wet. He came in his truck to look at the problem. He wanted to know if the insurance was going to pay. After counting how many tiles he had to change he gave me an estimate. I asked him to give me his cell phone number or his beeper number. If no one answers the phone, he told me, leave a message after the beep and I'll call you back (Cited in Roca, 2005, p. 19).

These are all examples of a new form of communication that I was not aware of in Mexico, Spanglish. In Mexico, occasionally people use English words in their sentences to gain prestige because it shows they have knowledge of another language, but this practice is not acknowledged by a specific term.

When I came to the United States from Mexico City in 1987, there were only a small number of Latinos in the community where I lived in Santa Rosa, California. Over time, I noticed more and more Latinos in the churches, stores, as well as in the school system. According to Cordero-Guzman (2005) the number of Latinos has doubled between 1980 and 2000 in cities across the United States. As Cordero-Guzman states “The Latino/a population is large, growing, and relatively young” (p. 158). The average age for Latinos in the United States is 26.6 years. Furthermore, Latino children and teenagers are one of the fastest-growing populations in the United States.

Now as a full-time Spanish professor, I realize that Spanglish is a form of communication frequently and commonly used by US-born Latinos, first and second generation immigrants, and even by those who have arrived very recently. In my experience as a teacher of Spanish to heritage speakers, I have often noticed students using Spanglish. These same students have acquired Spanglish vocabulary and often

even argue that the words they are using are part of the standard Spanish language. Some students do not realize that they are speaking neither Spanish nor English but Spanglish. Due to the popularity of Spanglish, many definitions and categories have been created to explain this form of communication. Yet, Spanglish continues to defy any one acceptable definition. However, a definition commonly used to describe Spanglish would be the combination of English and Spanish in a conversation. López-Flores (2006) defines Spanglish in the following way:

The juxtaposing of Spanish and English terms to provide the listener with a word that is understandable. For example, “parquiar” means “to park a car,” “lonchar” = “lunch” + *almorzar*. Spanglish can also be done by semantic reassignment (i. e., the transference of meaning from a word in one language to a word in another language that originally had a different meaning of its own). For example, *carpet* in English refers to something used to cover the floor. The Spanish word “*carpeta*” is commonly used to refer to a small portfolio or loose-leaf binder. In contemporary Chicano and Latino speech, the word *carpeta* has assumed a new meaning: something used to cover floors; thus, it has become a true cognate of the corresponding English word” (López-Flores, 2006, p. 26).

This example shows the difficulty in defining Spanglish in a concise and definitive way. Some researchers see Spanglish as a dialect that is not recognized in Spanish-speaking countries because this form of communication is not commonly used (Ardila, 2005). Furthermore, Ardila states that because of its lack of uniformity, Spanglish is far from becoming an official language. He also states that Spanglish is used by Latinos who speak Spanish and English with different degrees of proficiency.

According to Augenbraum and Stavans (1993), there are two main reasons people mix two languages: (a) people have problems expressing personal experiences in their non-native language, and (b) they live in a different environment where another language is spoken.

In either situation, Spanglish is a practical form for effective communication. Yet even among researchers, Spanglish inspires controversy. Reyes (2004) speaks of the two sides of this controversy when she refers to a study of code-switching by school children. Instead of concluding that code-switching is the result of a lack of language proficiency, Reyes suggests that switching is used as a communication strategy for social interaction.

Chappell and Faltis (2006) summarize that Spanglish is a successful tool for creating meaning and identity in cross-cultural situations. They note, however, that studies (Acosta-Belén, 1975; González-Echeverría, 1997) indicate many Spanish speakers see Spanglish as an assault on the integrity of the Spanish language.

Researchers have identified Spanglish by its various forms: code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, and anglicizing. In both my private and professional life, I have been exposed to both of these variations of Spanglish and the controversy surrounding these language choices.

Initially, I was opposed to the use of Spanglish on the ground that it obscures the acquisition of standard Spanish. When I was a student of Dr. Koirala in her Participatory Research class, I studied the use of Spanglish among second generation Latino students. By engaging in dialogue with Latino youth, I gained some important insights. These experiences broadened my views and perspectives on language use. As a result, I now accept Spanglish as a valid tool of informal communication which is continually evolving in bilingual and multilingual societies. As a Spanish professor, I include a section on Spanglish to heighten students' awareness and acceptance of their language choices in appropriate social and academic settings.

### Statement of the Problem

Several studies of Spanglish have been conducted by researchers focusing on its definition (Ardila, 2005; Artze, 2001; Nash, 1970; Stavans, 2003; Varela, 2002), and various categories such as code switching (Callahan, 2002; Gonzales-Velasquez, 1995; Jacobson, 1990; Toribio, 2002), code mixing (Torres, 1989) , and several forms of borrowing and hybrid words (Alvarez, 1997; Ardila, 2005; Burciaga, 1996; Fought, 2003; López-Flores, 2006).

Minimal research attention has been given to the social and academic situations that trigger a bilingual response. There is also a need to examine the perspectives of second generation Latino students on how they utilize Spanish, English, and Spanglish in their daily communications.

Although it has not been determined exactly when and how Spanglish originated, it is a fact that this form of communication is very popular and its use is spreading rapidly in various cities in the United States like Los Angeles, San Francisco, and even in Santa Rosa, the city where I live. According to Stavans (2003), the media is responsible for the expansion of the use of Spanglish. He stated that Spanglish is inevitable since there are more Spanish radio stations in the United States than in Central America. In addition, the constant border crossing creates situations in which hybrid forms of a language are used. For example, in Sonoma County, California, the area of this study, there are five Spanish radio stations, and five Spanish TV channels. On a typical day when I listened to one of the stations from 10 am to 11am I noticed twenty incidences of the use of Spanglish. Another day, I watched a Spanish channel from 7 to 8 pm, and Spanglish was used 6



times. These examples show the frequent use of Spanglish throughout daily programming.

### Purpose of the Study

Currently, there is a general lack of research on the ways in which Spanglish is used in the social and academic domains of second generation Latino communities. The purpose of this study is to explore the motivations and applications that promote the interplay between English and Spanish in order to gain valuable insights on the usage of Spanglish.

By conducting research with a group of Latino youth and their parents, this study seeks to bring better understanding to teachers, researchers, and Spanish language professionals of the situational appropriateness of this language choice. A desired outcome of the study is to broaden the awareness about Spanglish and, explore the educational implications of this language variety.

### Research Questions

Through dialogues, observations, and focus group interviews, with second generation Latino students, this study will address the following questions:

1. What are the experiences of second generation Latino students and their parents with regards to their use of Spanglish?
2. What are the students' reflections on how their use of Spanglish affects their success in both social and academic situations?
3. What role does the family play in the use of Spanglish?

## Theoretical Framework

Spanglish is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that is increasingly used by Latino communities in the United States in general. Several researchers (Alvarez, 1997; Ardila, 2005; Artze, 2001; Burciaga, 1996; Callahan, 2002; Fought, 2003; Gonzales-Velasquez, 1995; Jacobson, 1990; López-Flores, 2006; Nash, 1970; Stavans, 2003; Toribio, 2002; Torres, 1989; Varela, 2002) have identified Spanglish using different definitions and categories. This sociolinguistic phenomenon has drawn both positive and negative responses in regard to the acquisition of dialects. Rather than focusing on the definitions and categories of Spanglish, this study focuses on Spanglish as a natural and informal medium of communication in Latino communities throughout the United States.

According to Sanchez (1983), code-switching is a natural linguistic outcome when a minority culture is immersed in a majority culture. Garcia (2005) also attests to the fact that in these minority communities, language mixing is inevitable and it is part of their daily conversation.

Garcia's theory on linguistic motivations provides the theoretical perspective for the examination of language choice among bilingual students. Garcia found that the motivations for code-switching include the following: (a) inadequate vocabulary in one language, (b) lack of equivalent words in both languages, (c) use of immediately accessible words and phrases, (d) exploration and imitations of new expressions in another language, (e) language choice that reflects accepted grammatical rules, and (f) language choice based on preference of younger family members.

Zentella (1997) affirms that the code-switching used in the Puerto Rican community (*El Bloque*) in New York, was a strategy for maintaining contact and identity with their two cultures, neither of which they should have to relinquish. Importantly, Zentella states:

Spanglish moved them to the center of their bilingual world, which they continued to create and define in every interaction. Every time they said something in one language when they might just as easily have said it in the other, they were re-connecting with people, occasions, settings, and power configurations from their history of past interactions, and imprinting their own “act of identity”

Questions remain on the levels of language proficiency among first and second generation Spanish speakers in the United States. In addition, Zentella’s study showed that the younger participants in *El Bloque* used a set of rules for switching that were accepted in various Latino communities. Zentella adds that code-switching is a creative tool by which speakers establish meaning in these everyday interactions. An unexamined aspect of language use among young members in Latino families is the loss of their heritage language. The reasons for this language loss remain open to further research.

Trudgill (2002) notes that some members of society who are adamant about using only the standard form of language: politicians, writers, and journalists. “They support the fallacy that appears everywhere in every generation that their own language, whatever it is, is in decline” (p. 112). Moreover, some researchers identify Spanglish as an “immigrant” dialect with all the negative connotations of an “immigrant”: ignorant, uneducated, vagrant, unclean, and criminal (González, 2001). These stereotypes regarding Spanglish speakers are open to investigation to clarify the actual usage of Spanglish by members of all social levels in America.

This study explores the perceptions of Spanglish as a natural and necessary linguistic phenomenon and as a practical dialect; Spanglish provides a convenient informal form of communication as well as a socially-binding activity.

### Scope and Delimitations

This study was focused on six participants and their families in a semi-rural area of Northern California. The main participants were all second generation Latino high school students and their mothers. The purpose of the study was to examine their language choices in social and academic settings over a period of six months. A limitation of this study was that the researcher interviewed only female participants.

### Significance of the Study

By observing the participants of this study in both social and academic setting, the researcher elucidated the role that Spanglish plays in everyday communications. Furthermore, this research will provide a forum for the voices of second generation Latino students.

Based on the findings of this study, educators may identify the various forms of verbal communication used by heritage speakers in different situations and settings. Moreover, this study could promote the destigmatization of the use of Spanglish. This study may also help teachers address issues related to the use of Spanglish and answer related questions or even clarify popular beliefs regarding Spanglish and its speakers.

By examining the responses of second generation Latino students to their usage of Spanglish, administrators, teachers, parents, and other Latinos can better understand their

thoughts about their everyday language choices. With this insight, researchers can better understand and value the bilingual communication skills of second generation Latino students. Since Spanglish is a living and growing form of communication, it is important to understand its use from the perspective of young speakers and their mothers. Also this study brings to light the complexities of language acquisition and use for second generation immigrant students.

PART II  
LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

For many years words and expressions that dealt with minority cultures in the United States, were used openly and freely in various media including literature. Now, for the most part, these words and phrases have become socially unacceptable:

Of the racial/ethnic terms that have survived the enhanced focus on civil rights and social conscience, only one refers simultaneously to language use and – by inference rather than by direct indication – to specific ethnic groups: Spanglish. An obvious blend of English and Spanish, this word has become the less transparent *Espanglish* in the Spanish-speaking world (Lipski, 2008, p. 38).

This literature review focuses on the use of Spanglish in present society. An overview of literature is presented to discuss and highlight past studies on language development in general, and in bilingual communities in particular. The second section discusses the permutations of Spanglish as it is used by second-generation Spanish speakers. These linguistic variations include code-switching, code-mixing, and various forms of borrowing. The third section presents literature on language use in social and academic contexts. It discusses the social aspects of language choice and competence of second generation speakers.

The literature review concludes with an examination of Chicano language choices as they occur in a predominately English-speaking society. Considerations for the practical use of Spanglish as a communication tool are explored through various studies. Furthermore, the review includes significant studies that point to the positive aspects of the use of Spanglish.

## Language Development and Variations in Bilingual Communities

Language development is an important step in human growth. According to Romaine (1994), there are about five thousand languages used in today's world. In addition, fifty percent of the world population is bilingual and bilingualism can be found in most countries. Historically, the language of the dominant culture is thrust upon the subservient culture. The verbal and non-verbal forms of language are used by different cultures as an expression of individual and community experiences.

The learning of language takes place within the political, economic, social, ideological, religious, and aesthetic web of relationships of each community whose members see themselves as belonging to a particular culture. (Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986, p. 146)

The stages of and capacity for language development are universal, regardless of country or culture. Language is integral to cognitive proficiency, and it allows children to understand and succeed in their environment. According to Pérez & Torres-Guzmán (1992), "Language is a product of culture and an instrument of thought" (p. 28).

Language is an outcome for the people who speak it. Moreover, language is used by a group of speakers who establish their own form of communication which maintains its unique flavor. Romaine (1994) calls this kind of group a "speech community" and their rules of communication "communicative competence". These concepts provide an insight into how social groups design their language patterns. In a speech community, people may speak different languages, but they follow a common set of linguistic rules. The divisions between different speech communities are based on social groups rather than language choices. According to Romaine (1994):

Terms such as “language” and “dialect” are, from a linguistic point of view, non-technical notions since there is no objective way to determine when two varieties will be seen by their speakers as sufficiently similar to warrant calling them the “same” language. Any attempt to count distinct languages will be an artifact of classificatory procedures rather than a reflection of communicative practices. (p. 22)

Romaine (1994), defines dialect as a secondary branch of a main language. This can include a regional dialect which is connected to a particular area. The more physical distance there is between speakers of a dialect, the more different their dialects will be. Romaine emphasizes the difficulty in identifying dialects even in countries with few multilingual communities. She concludes that “social dialects” reflect our personal identity, while “regional dialects” reflect our place of origin (p.2).

Agha (2007) says a “sociolect” (p.134-135) is a combination of linguistic aspects that reveal social standing of a speaker based on background information, such as class, profession, gender, and age. Agha further defines a dialect as a type of “sociolect” governed by geographic considerations such as place of birth.

According to Pérez and Torres-Guzmán (1992), the acquisition of language is based on the motivation to fulfill personal needs such as understanding one’s immediate environment, attainment of goals, and social interactions. These social interactions must include the exercise of high-level language skills in order to promote proficiency. Also, language choices are made according to the current forms of communication as well as social situations (Romaine, 1994).

According to Peñalosa (1980), *bilingualism* is identified by the speakers’ “linguistic characteristics”. He defines *diglossia* as the understanding and validation of various languages inside one society. Peñalosa uses Chicano community as an example and states that it is divided into social groups depending on specific actions, occasions, or



social practices. Romaine also defines diglossia as a non-dominant language used by a small segment of speakers within the context of a dominant language. This creates a bilingual situation in which language choice is intentional rather than accidental.

Romaine also states that language selections constitute “acts of identity” (p. 36) in which speakers select their social groups.

In some bilingual communities, there is an absence of diglossia due to social permutations. Romaine (1994) states that typical changes in a fluctuating language include the simplification of language forms. These typical changes can be caused by fewer language alternatives which in turn can cause the disappearance of linguistic choices. Some researchers have stated that bilingualism, diglossia, and code-switching are causes of the extinction of a language. However, Romaine believes that these same language factors, such as diglossia and code-switching, can help preserve bilingualism.

Moreover, Peñalosa (1980) and Romaine (1994) state that in communities with more than one variety of a language the term “polyglossia” applies. However, bilingualism does not necessarily lead to the presence of diglossia. Each can exist on its own.

Pérez and Torres-Guzmán (1992) state the need to examine the context in the daily use of language. They mention the need to understand *cultural referents* as a part of successful communication (p. 39). They provide an excellent example using the verb “estrenar”. In Spanish, it means “to handle, to use, or to do something for the first time” (p.39). The exact equivalent does not exist in the English language. Therefore, communication is dependent upon the successful transmission of speakers’ *referents*, social values, and thoughts as they appear similar or different to other speakers.

In the early stage of second language development, speakers use repetition as a learning device (Garcia, 2005). Valdes (2005) adds that the use of two languages is a bilingual solution to everyday effective communication. Romaine (1994) states: “The fact that learning to speak more than one language often involves putting together material from two languages. This is a part of the normal process of growing up bilingual and acquiring competence in more than one language.” (p. 56).

Another important factor in language development is the need to follow the established rules. Every language has its own set of rules which indicate how language is used. These rules cover phonology (rules for pronunciation), syntax (grammar), and semantics (interpretation) (Pérez & Torres-Guzmán, 1992; Sanchez, 1983). When looking at specific languages, it is easy to find examples of different applications of the rules due to regional differences. Pérez and Torres-Guzmán (1992) discuss an example in phonetic differences between two Spanish speaking cultures. For instance, in Puerto Rico, the “r” in “amor” (love) sounds like an “l” “amol”. In Mexico, the same word is pronounced with the “r” (“amor”) (p. 41).

Another significant rule is the application of syntax. In English and Spanish, word order helps create the meaning. For example, in Spanish the following sentence has two possible meanings based on the word order:

¡Qué dolores de piernas! (What leg pain!)  
 ¡Qué piernas de Dolores! (What legs Dolores has!) (p. 41)

Cultural background becomes very important in the application of semantics. Words gain their meaning from their use in a person’s social and cultural environment. For example, the word “lift” is understood differently in England and in the United

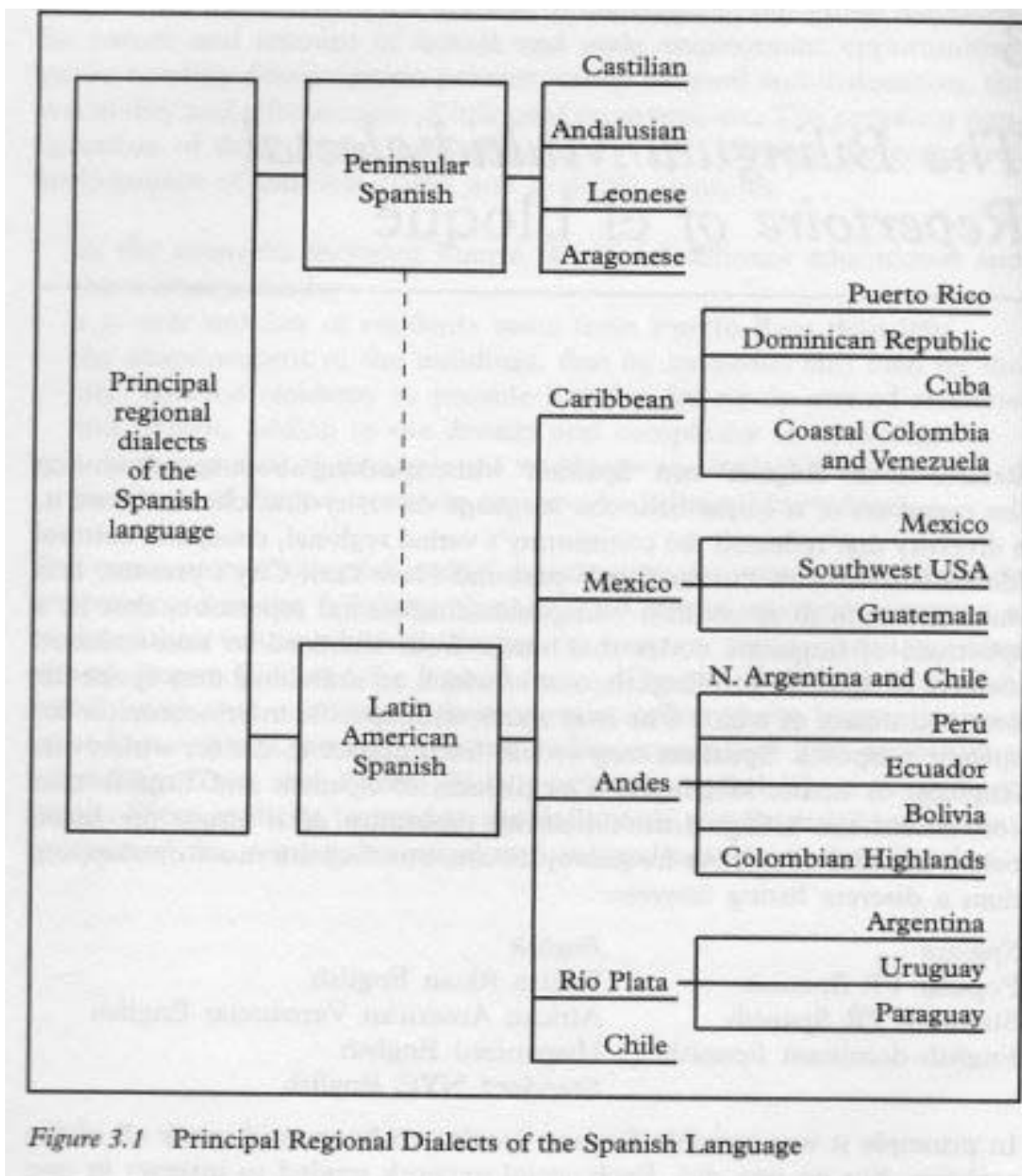
States. In England, the word refers to “elevator” whereas in the US, it can mean “a ride” or the action of moving something. In Uruguay, the word “guagua” means “boy”, but in Puerto Rico it means “a bus”. Pérez and Torres-Guzmán (1992) conclude that “differences in semantics go beyond differences in the terms used and include the cultural knowledge associated with the term” (p. 42).

This cultural knowledge can be applied to the skills necessary for effective communication. Children adapt to their local dialect learning colloquial phrases that can be easily understood by people using the standardized form. In England, “chap” refers to a man, while in America the common word for a man is “guy”. These terms can be understood in either culture (Valencia, 1972).

Pérez and Torres-Guzmán (1992) support the normalcy of language variation. They use the word “kite” as it appears in three different dialects: *chiringa*, *huila*, and *papalote*. People need to accept and embrace these cultural variations in language use. Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci (1998) state that speakers of a particular dialect do not necessarily share the same vocabulary. They believe that linguistic choices of most Mexican immigrants in the United States provide a basis for their language choices at home and in their communities.

Zentella (1997) establishes that within the Spanish speaking community, there are many language varieties based on region and social groups. In figure 1, she presents the connections between the numerous dialects in the Spanish language.

**Figure 1. Principal Regional Dialects of the Spanish Language**



Zentella divides these Spanish dialects into two main linguistic groups: Peninsular Spanish and Latin-American Spanish. The Peninsular Spanish includes dialects from different cultural regions in Spain. Zentella divides Latin-American Spanish into four

regions comprised of several Spanish countries. For example, in the figure the Caribbean region contains Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic Cuba, Colombia, and Venezuela. All the language varieties pictured in Figure 1 are in current and constant use in the United States. Each language variety comes with its own code of communication that distinguishes it from the others. Therefore, communicating in one common code becomes crucial for cross-regional conversations between the various ethnic groups in the United States.

According to Lipski (2008), starting with the 1990 Census, the number of Hispanic residents in the United States has continued to increase. Out of a total of 21.9 million Hispanics, 13.9 million were of Mexican origin, 2.65 million were of Puertorican origin, 1.05 million were of Cuban origin. Other statistics mentioned are smaller, but significant to the overview of the many Spanish speaking communities in the United States. These statistics list 565,000 Salvadorans; 520,000 Dominicans; 379,000 Nicaraguans; 191,000 Ecuadorians; 131,000 Hondurans; 92,000 Panamanians; 57,000 Costaricans; and 48,000 Venezuelans.

The 2000 Census recorded 35.3 million Latinos in the United States. Of this number, 28.1 million used Spanish at home, but there was no accounting of their language proficiency. Lipski (2008) states the most current estimate shows that the Hispanic population has expanded to 48.6 million out of 303.5 million people in the United States. The presence of all these cultural communities in close proximity reflects the difficulty in establishing one common language choice. "I am an unrepentant believer in the fundamental human right of self expression in the language of one's choice" (Lipski, 2008, p. xi).

These language variations encompass even words for common things like money. According to Blanco and Tocaimaza-Hatch (2007) in Cuba the term for “money” is “juaniquiqui”; in Chile it is “billullo”; in Argentina it is “plata”; in Puerto Rico it is “chavos”, and in Mexico it is “dinero” or “lana”. Another example of language variation can be found in the terminology to identify children. In Colombia the word for “child” is “pelado/a”; in Venezuela it is “chamo/a”; in Ecuador it is “guagua”; in Spain it is “chaval/a”; in Uruguay it is “botija”, and in Mexico it is “niño/a” or “chamaco/a” to name a few.

In some cases, words in one culture mean another thing in a different culture which can occasionally be humorous or offensive. For example, in Bolivia the word for “person” is “chango”. In Mexico, “chango” means “monkey”. Even more astonishing, the word for “friend” in Paraguay is “perro/a” which in Mexico means “dog”. In Cuba the word for friend is “asere”; in Venezuela it is “pana” which in Mexico pana means “corduroy”. However, in Peru, the word for friend is “pata” which in Mexico has two possible meanings: a female duck or the foot of an animal or object.

All the above variations indicate the individuality of vocabulary in Spanish speaking countries, and all these differences in languages are a reflection of the overall distinctions between Latino countries. These distinctions include each country’s history as well as their relationship to the United States. As pointed out by Pérez and Torres-Guzmán, Romaine (1994, p. 29) states, “We can conclude from these examples that no particular language has a privileged view of the world as it really is. The world is not simply the way it is, but what we make of it through language.” Romaine adds that there is no superior language but that language is subject to the variety of cultural backgrounds

and linguistic frameworks understood by its speakers. In addition, individuals are capable of several interpretations of an occurrence when utilizing “the ‘same’ language” (p. 30).

Valencia (1972) gives the example of Latin as an extinct language with many linguistic branches that have developed through bilingualism. For instance, the Romance languages are all based on Latin. Valencia discusses the combination of English and Spanish as a natural consequence for children immersed in the two languages.

#### Definitions and Categories of Spanglish: Historical Overview

The awareness of language rules and their variations enlightens the discussion of cultural context and literary proficiency. This proficiency is heightened by the daily variations in human contact, both on an individual and group basis (Pérez & Torres-Guzmán, 1992). “When two languages come in close contact (French and German, Spanish and Portuguese, etc.), an interlanguage may emerge” (Ardila, 2005, p. 64). Spanglish is one example of this linguistic blending. “Spanglish takes its place among a plethora of language-contact blends, including Taglish (Tagalog – English in Philippines), Hinglish (Hindi – English in India), Franglais (French and English), Portuñol/Portunhol (Portuguese and Spanish), Guarañol (Guarani – Spanish), and many others” (Lipski, 2008, p. 39).

Close interaction between languages is a common occurrence (Fasold, 1984; Fishman, 1971; Halcom, 1995; Zentella, 1997). Since 1492, the American Continent has been a center of “cross-racial and cross-verbal” exchange. The coming of the Spanish “conquistadores and misioneros” led to the rise of the mixed-raced “mestizo”. Due to the Mexican American war in 1848, two thirds of Mexico was taken over by the United

States, increasing the English and Spanish cultures (Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Pedraza & Rivera, 2005; Stavans, 2003; Sanchez, 1983).

Throughout history, the Spanish and English languages have been in close contact. In recent times the contact between the two languages has dramatically increased due to Latino migration to the United States (Ardila, 2005). Between 1980 and 2000, the Latino population doubled in major cities like Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and even in smaller U. S. towns and cities (Cordero-Guzman, 2005; Stavans, 2003). The U. S. Census Bureau in 2000 reported the total Latino population of the United States to be 35.3 millions. According to the 2007 U. S. Census report, Latinos comprise 22.6 percent of the population of Sonoma County, California, the area where this research took place. Currently, the United States is the fifth largest Spanish-speaking country in the world (Ardila, 2005, p. 62).

This interconnection of languages has led to the creation of a very controversial form of communication called Spanglish. Due to the popularity of Spanglish, many definitions and categories have been created to explain this form of communication. Yet, Spanglish continues to defy any one acceptable definition. Lipski (2008) agrees with the lack of a universal definition and provides a list of the different linguistic descriptions of Spanglish:

- The use of integrated Anglicisms in Spanish.
- The frequent and spontaneous use of nonassimilated Anglicisms (i.e., with English phonetics) in Spanish.
- The use of syntactic calques and loan translations from English in Spanish.
- Frequent and fluid con-switching, particularly intrasentential (i.e., within the same clause) switches.
- Deviations from standard Spanish grammar found among vestigial and transitional bilingual speakers whose productive competence in Spanish falls below that of true native speakers, as a result of language shift or attrition.



- The characteristics of Spanish written or spoken as a second language by millions of Americans of non-Hispanic background who have learned Spanish for personal or professional motives.
- The humorous, disrespectful, and derogatory use of pseudo-Spanish items in what anthropologist Jane Hill (1993a, 1993b, 1998) has called junk Spanish (Lipski, 2008, p.53).

Moreover, the following definitions by several authors provide valuable insights into the breadth of this unique form of communication:

- The verbal encounter between Anglo and Hispano civilizations (Stavans, 2003, p. 5)
- An encounter between cultures that is also a record of abundant past transactions (Stavans, 2003, p. 22)
- A 'quasi-known' language for English-dominated readers (Lang, 1992, p. 5)
- A variety of spoken Spanish that includes words and phrases appropriated from English, but not accepted as 'real' Spanish by educated native Spanish speakers (Chappell & Faltis, 2006, p. 254)
- English-influenced Spanish as a first language, distinguishing it from Spanish-influenced English spoken as a second language, which I call Englañol (Nash, 2007, p. 224)
- Etymologically, the term combines the words Spanish and English (Artze, 2001, p. 50)
- The alteration of the structure of Spanish or English, caused by the contact of the two languages (Fasold, 1993; Hallcom, 1985)
- A fusion of the two languages that gives rise to new patterns, words, and expressions (Fought, Romain, Stavans, as cited in López-Flores, 2006, p. 11-12)
- The blend between Spanish and English found in Hispanic or Latino communities in the United States (Ardila, 2005, p. 60)

This blend of languages is not contingent on a geographical border. Spanglish is increasingly spoken everywhere in the United States in everyday situations (Ardila, 2005; Nash, 2007) and it is thriving (Artze, 2001.) It is a practical language of choice especially for people who are not fluent in both languages (Nash, 2007; Toribio, 2004). Moreover, Spanglish can become a familiar and ongoing choice allowing facility of communication (Ardila, 2005). According to Artze (2001), Spanglish has become the language of choice for U. S. Hispanics in both public and private contexts. "Nearly 35

million U. S. Hispanics know it as their idioma, their language on the streets and in their casas (p. 50)”.

Spanglish is not an indication of class. It is used by politicians and radio and TV personalities on a daily basis and the users of Spanglish are constantly creating new vocabulary to meet their language needs. According to Stavans (2003):

Spanglish shows the characteristics of an internal tongue, at least in the United States: it is often used by Latinos to define their own turf. But it has many other uses too: it is a transitional stage of communication in the process of English-language acquisition; it is a fashion, too. (p.45)

Not all researchers appreciate this “fashion” of verbal expression. Spanglish has its detractors. However, most objections to Spanglish are not based on reliable research (Lipski, 2008). Spanglish has been labeled by some as a “third language” which combines Spanish and English. This “third language” is seen as taking over standard Spanish in the United States. This language shift is viewed as a detriment for United States Spanish speakers compared to Spanish speakers in other countries. For example, a distinction is made between European Spanish speakers and Spanish speakers from the Americas. “Rarely if ever does one hear Spanglish used in conjunction with expatriates from Spain or Southern Cone nations, whose population is perceived as “white”, thus suggesting an element of racism coupled with the xenophobia that deplores any sort of linguistic and cultural hybridity” (Lipski, 2008, p. 39).

Many researchers (Acosta-Belén, 1975; González-Echeverría, 1997) see Spanglish as a bastard form of Spanish. Primary used by the poor and the ignorant. Spanglish has also acquired different names relating to regional use. For example, “Tex-mex” is a term used by white people in the Southwestern in United States to indicate the

mix of English and Spanish. For some Latinos, “Pocho” is an alternate term to identify Spanglish.

Stavans (2003) says there are two groups of thought on the use of Spanglish. One group promotes the idea that Spanglish is a road block to the proper use of English and Spanish. The second group believes that Spanglish is a creative form of communication.

Spanglish was a positive manifestation of the Hispanic spirit, that to speak a “broken” language was, in the academic lingo, a construction. By definition, the lower class is always less educated than the middle and upper classes. And it is left to those above it to ridicule its speech. In the end, though, it is the lower class where the most spontaneous aspects of culture are to be found. Sooner or later, others steal away those aspects, turning them into highbrow items (2003, p. 17).

Stavans notes that some critics believe that Spanglish is used by speakers who are deficient in both Spanish and English. “Yes, it is the tongue of the uneducated. Yes, it is a hodgepodge.” (2003, p. 4).

Spanglish, the composite language of Spanish and English that has crossed over from the street to Hispanic talk shows and advertising campaigns, poses a grave danger to Hispanic culture and to the advancement of Hispanics in mainstream America. Those who condone and even promote it as a harmless commingling do not realize that this is hardly a relationship based on equality. Spanglish is an invasion of Spanish by English. The sad reality is that Spanglish is primarily the language of poor Hispanics, many barely literate in either language. They incorporate English words and constructions into their daily speech because they lack the vocabulary and education in Spanish to adapt to the changing culture around them. Educated Hispanics who do likewise have a different motivation: Some are embarrassed by their background and feel empowered by using English words and directly translated English idioms. Doing so, they think, is to claim membership in the mainstream. Politically, however, Spanglish is a capitulation; it indicates marginalization, not enfranchisement (González-Echeverría cited in Lipski, 2008, p. 46).

This negative attitude towards Spanglish has been formalized and promoted by its inclusion in standard texts. The American Heritage Dictionary defines Spanglish as: “Spanish characterized by numerous borrowings from English”. In the same vein, the Oxford English Dictionary defines Spanglish as: “A type of Spanish contaminated by

English words and forms of expressions, spoken in Latin America”. Lipski (2008) disagrees with these definitions of Spanglish. He claims that “we are confronted with the ever-shifting and potentially insidious manipulation of hybrid terms designed to undermine the credibility and human capital of internally colonized group” (p. 39).

Another Spanglish detractor has created his own term to identify the mixture of English and Spanish. Betanzos-Palacios (2001), calls this mixture Engliñol. He believes the use of English with Spanish leads to a “Hispanized” language. Betanzos-Palacios affirms that at best, this provides only a temporary solution to the “problem” of communication between the Latino communities. Moreover, Betanzos-Palacios believes that people, who teach Spanglish, are promoting a dialect that is incomprehensible in surrounding communities.

And, atención, Spanglish isn’t only a phenomenon that takes place en los Unaited Esteits: in some shape or form, with English as a merciless global force, it is spoken – and broken: no es solamente hablado sino quebrado – all across the Hispanic world, from Buenos Aires to Bogotá, from Barcelona to Santo Domingo. Beware: Se habla el espanglés everywhere these days! (Stavans, 2003, p. 5).

Although Spanglish is widely in use across the planet, there are several notable speech variations and forms in the use of Spanglish (Ardila, 2005; Nash, 2007; Peñalosa, 1980; Toribio, 2004). Most notably these variations can be found in second-generation speakers. This language variety needs to be studied according to its use by all members in society (Peñalosa, 1980). Ardila (2005) states:

To account for its development, two types of phenomena are proposed: superficial, including borrowing and code-switching; and deep, including lexical-semantic, grammatical, and the “equalization to English” phenomenon. (p. 60)

The use of English and Spanish by Latinos in the United States has increased the incidence of borrowing, Anglicism, and code-switching. These variations have been examined using various terminologies.

### Code-Switching and Code-Mixing

Code-switching and code-mixing are two common focus of Spanglish that have been studied separately. Code-switching is defined as the spontaneous use of proper Spanish and English sentences in a conversation that alternates between the two languages. On the other hand, code-mixing is the combination of two languages in a single sentence (Ardila, 2005). The use of code-switching enables speakers to broaden their ability to communicate and requires expressive skills in both languages (Artze, 2001; Reyes, 2004; Toribio, 2004). These skills are developed at an early age when acquiring language in a bilingual community. Toribio recognizes that fluent speakers know the rules and boundaries of code-switching.

Romaine (1994) delineates the rules for code-switching like “the equivalence constraints” (p. 58). Under this rule, the use of code-switching cannot break a syntactic rule of the languages in play. She adds that the more commonalities in the structure of the two languages, the more possibilities for using code-switching. In addition, Romaine emphasizes that code-switching in a bilingual community is similar to switching styles or dialects in a monolingual community. In either situation the switching aids communication and furthers comprehension.

In a qualitative and quantitative study, Zentella (1997) observed twenty families with thirty seven children for a period of ten years. The participants in her study live in a

mainly Puerto Rican community in New York City. For her study she called this community “El Bloque”. The purpose of her study was to analyze the various dialects, including Spanglish, used in that community. Part of the purpose of the study was to explore why and how the community of *El Bloque* used Spanglish. Zentella’s ethnographic and quantitative research showed that Spanglish “is a creative style of bilingual communication that accomplishes important cultural and conversational work” (p. 113). Furthermore, Zentella found that code-switching involves conversations on which the speakers must agree upon linguistic rules and meanings.

Participants of *El Bloque* used various strategies to communicate individual messages, styles, and social positions. Zentella affirms that the code-switching in this community, was a strategy for maintaining contact and identity with their two cultures, neither of which they should have to relinquish. Importantly, Zentella (1997) states:

Spanglish moved them to the center of their bilingual world, which they continued to create and define in every interaction. Every time they said something in one language when they might just as easily have said it in the other, they were re-connecting with people, occasions, settings, and power configurations from their history of past interactions, and imprinting their own “act of identity” (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) on that history (p. 114)

Another crucial aspect of her study was the analysis of the grammar of Spanglish. Zentella’s study showed that the younger participants in *El Bloque* used a set of rules for switching that were accepted in various Latino communities.

Zentella adds that code-switching is a creative tool by which speakers establish meaning in their conversation. Sometimes code-switching is used to create a special *effect* in the communication (Sanchez, 1983). Ardila (2005) provides common examples

of code-switching when using Spanglish (SG); the first part of the sentence is in Spanish (S), and the second is in English.

Yo no estoy de acuerdo con eso. But, anyhow, I think I will try again to get it.  
(SG)  
Yo no estoy de acuerdo con eso. Pero de todas maneras creo que trataré de lograrlo. (S)  
I disagree with that. But, anyhow, I think I will try again to get it  
(p. 70).

However, the order of languages spoken can be reversed. For example:

I have lived in Miami for a long time, pero soy cubano (SG)  
He vivido mucho tiempo en Miami, pero soy cubano (S)  
I have lived in Miami for a long time, but I am Cuban  
(p. 71).

According to Peñalosa (1980), the choice of language for a particular topic can depend upon the language in play when the event under discussion occurs. Code-switching also involves the metaphorical quality of the chosen language. Therefore, there are individual and metaphorical motivations for switching languages.

Young speakers experiment with language by repeating words they hear in a second language. He also discusses the reasons for language choice. For example, older children in a family will communicate in that language that the younger children are more fluent in. The consideration of fluency is a factor in all bilingual communications (Garcia, 2005).

The use of Spanglish can be a sign of fluency. Reyes (2004) conducted a study of code-switching among bilingual school children. The data collected demonstrated that older children employed more frequently, various kinds of code-switching. These findings supported the idea that code-switching is a successful language strategy that broadens the speaker's ability to communicate.

Code-switching can serve various purposes: for example, it is used for clarifying as well as changing the topic. Other uses include quoting another speaker and getting the listener's attention (Garcia, 2005; Pérez & Torres-Guzmán, 1992). Garcia and Zentella (1997) state that code-switching is used as a way of identifying membership in a group. Romaine (1994) suggests these reasons for code-switching: to "redefine" the interaction in terms of a different social context and to interpret an encounter in terms of the social context. Wei (1998) points to the value of a multi-layered analysis of code-switching:

The fact that a bilingual speaker has chosen to code-switch invites a more detailed, perhaps multi-layered analysis which can demonstrate that in addition to its capacity of highlighting the status of the on-going talk, code-switching as a contextualization cue has the capacity to "bring about" higher-level social meanings such as the speakers' language, attitudes, preferences, and community norms and values. (p. 173)

Code-switching occurs as a natural outcome (Garcia 2005) for bilingual communities and can be found among various populations: Swedish, Greek, Yiddish, German, Arab, Vietnamese, Japanese, Russian, Persian, and others (López-Flores, 2006, p.38) These blends of populations lead to a variety of linguistic combinations such as Franglais, Yinglish, Honglais (Nash, 2007), Japlish, and Chinglish (Zentella, 1997).

Motivations for code-switching include the following: (a) inadequate vocabulary in one language, (b) lack of equivalent words in both languages, (c) use of immediately accessible words and phrases, (d) exploration and imitations of new expressions in another language, (e) language choice that reflects accepted grammatical rules, (f) language choice based on preference of younger family members (Garcia, 2005). Romaine (1994) adds that code-switching may involve more than one meaning to a switch because switches can have numerous applications.



According to Sanchez (1983), code-switching is a natural linguistic outcome when a minority culture is immersed in a majority culture. Garcia (2005) also attests to the fact that in these communities, language mixing is inevitable and it is part of daily conversation. According to Pérez and Torres-Guzmán (1992):

There is an increasing tendency to separate languages as a strategy for the conservation and protection of Spanish, for ensuring equity, in language use, and for providing richer linguistic environments in both languages. However, there are viable instructional situations when switching between codes is a legitimate activity reflecting the student's speech community. The alternation of codes for instructional purposes should be explored and must be planned and grounded in community use (p. 39).

Although language separation is possible it is not a reality in everyday communication (Garcia, 2005). For most speakers code-switching is a normal and acceptable form of communication. Furthermore, the ability to use two languages provides the speakers with an opportunity to dialogue with a broader range of people. "Therefore, code-switching is a very complex skill, not a deficiency" (p. 29).

Romaine (1994) concludes that code-switching is a valuable tool of "neutrality" in that it allows speakers to choose the most appropriate code in each occasion. López-Flores (2006) says that code-switching serves as a "bridge" connecting the Latino community. The proximity of English and Spanish and the commitment of Latino immigrants to preserve their culture have led to the linguistic combination used by Chicanos today.

Peñalosa (1980) defines code-mixing as a conversational tool "in which a person more or less consciously and voluntarily mixes elements from the two languages, the better to communicate his thoughts and feelings" (p. 56).

Nash (2007) provides a range of examples of code-mixing:

¿Qué size es? “What size (tamaño) is it?”  
 Voy al shopping center. “I’m going to the shopping center (centro comercial).”  
 Mi prima es bien nice. “My cousin is very nice (muy agradable).”  
 Se me perdió el lipstick. “I lost my lipstick (lápiz labial).” (p. 225)

Ardila (2005) also states that the purpose of code-switching and code-mixing is to attract the listener’s attention and to emphasize the main point, for example:

Look, mira lo que te voy a dar. (SG)  
 Mira, mira lo que te voy a dar. (S)  
 Look, look what I am going to give you. (p. 70)

Sometimes code-switching or code-mixing occur when speakers desire shortcuts in communication. A short English word can often substitute for a longer Spanish one (Artze, 2001). Nash (2007) provides a good example of this:

El beisbol es mi hobby favorito. Baseball is my favorite hobby (p. 225). The word for *hobby* in Spanish is *pasatiempo*. Peñalosa (1980) states that the common use of code-mixing involves either single words or complete sentences. Wei (1998) summarizes that besides code-switching, there are other linguistic tools used by bilingual speakers.

### Borrowing and Loan Words

Sánchez (1983) and Peñalosa (1980) define borrowing as the adoption of a word or phrase from one language and its applications in the context of another language following the rules of grammar, syntax, phonology, and morphology. Referring back to Cornejo (1973), Peñalosa notes that there are specific types of borrowed words. The first category is based on phonology. For example, the word “crismas” in Spanish has been

adopted and is the same word as “Christmas” in English. In a similar fashion, the word “bisquete” in Spanish has been adopted to mean “biscuit” in English.

The second category is based on a combination of phonology and morphology. For example, “suimear” comes from the English verb “to swim”. However, in Spanish the verb for “to swim” is “nadar”. Zentella (1997) also another common example of this form: “biles” for “bills” instead of “recibos” in Spanish. Hybrid words are another form of Spanglish in which the first part of the word is in English and the second part is in Spanish. In some cases the first part keeps the sound as it is pronounced in English and the second part is in Spanish. But this is not English or Spanish and therefore both languages are in peril (Ardila, 2005).

The third category involves the use of a false cognate. According to Ardila (2005) there are not set linguistic rules for borrowing words even though there are several principles followed in the formation of Spanglish. This form of communication is the result of the use of part English and part Spanish in creating nouns and other words.

For example, in Spanish the word “librería” means “bookstore”. However, this word is applied in English to be “library”. Peñalosa gives as an example the phrase “tienda de grocerias” for “grocery store” in English. Yet, in Spanish that phrase would mean “store of swearing” (p. 12). Other examples are the following: “Carpeta” means “binder”, but in the United States, “carpeta” means “carpet”.

The formation of these Spanglish words is based on the interaction of semantics in the two languages in which words are changed. This occurs when two words are similar in sound and lexicon, but have different meanings. “In Spanglish, the word loses the Spanish meaning in favor of the English one” (Ardila, 2005, p. 69).

The fourth category involves literal translations from one language to another, in which the original meaning gets lost. For example, “he goes back” in Spanish is “él regresa”. Translated literally, this phrase would be “va p’atrás”. Another example is the phrase “to have a good time” or “tener un buen tiempo” which is a literal translation of “divertirse”.

In some cases a single word from one language may be inserted in a sentence of another language. This borrowing is governed by some rules (Peñalosa, 1980). For example, one cannot start a question with an English interrogative word, “How lo hizo” “How did he do it?” However, one can add a word from another language at the end of a sentence. For example, “I was talking about comociéndonos” for “I was talking about getting to know each other”.

Identifying words and phrases in the above categories can be difficult. Peñalosa explains that some borrowed language has been used so long that it has become part of standard Spanish. He gives the examples of words: “club”, “closet”, and “suéter” (p. 110). Peñalosa concludes that second generation Spanish speakers borrow English words and phrases because this practice has become an everyday part of successful communication in the United States.

### Language Use in Social and Academic Context

Socio-cultural theorists believe that the social lives of people have a major influence on their understanding of their environment. As that environment changes, people adapt to new forms. These forms build upon each other to create a new *reality* (Garcia, 2005). Sanchez (1993) concurs: “Communication as a social act is itself

connected to other social phenomena which affect it, modify it, and change its social meaning.” (p. 70). In the same way children acquire knowledge through social interaction. They immerse themselves in verbal information which helps them define their world. This adaptation to reality involves the skill of developing an *abstract* approach to the use of language (Garcia, 2005, p. 33). Peñalosa (1980) adds that language choices must be evaluated in actual conversations to understand the relevant social and psychological applications.

When confronted with a bilingual world, children learn at an early age to make linguistic adaptations to satisfy their social and verbal needs, including problem solving. Spanglish can be understood as a natural language development in light of the theory developed by Russian linguist Lev Vygotsky. Vygotsky saw an interactive relationship between language, thought, and social conditions:

While language and thought are distinct and develop independently, it is not until the two systems fuse with the development of inner speech that logical reasoning develops. Young children use language not only to communicate, but also to plan and guide their behavior in a self-regulatory manner within the context of their society. The interpretative rules of language use are acquired through social interaction at a very early age. (Cited in Pérez and Torres-Guzmán, 1992, p. 27)

This relationship between language and cognitive development can be effectively applied to education. In the case of second-generation speakers, educational approaches that overlook or denigrate their native language or culture may harm the students’ ability to learn (Garcia, 2005). According to Garcia, “Languages must not only be mastered in a structural sense and operate in conjunction with cognitive processes, they must be used as social instruments.” (p. 34)

Social relations have a direct impact on oral communication. Verbal expressions are a product of community relations including physical contact and distance.

Communication is also a reflection of personal control, in which the speaker may concur with or oppose another speaker's position. Therefore, communication is understood in the context of its purpose, which is dependent upon the rules governing the language in use (Garcia, 2005).

### Academic Context

Historically, Latinos' education has required continual attention by researchers, educators, and politicians. The Latino population continues to add a diversity of language and culture to the United States. This diversity brings ongoing language permutations and transformation affecting all communities (MacDonald & Monkman, 2005).

The use of Spanish has become more widespread in social life in the United States; academia was forced to include Spanish into the school curriculum. In a 2006 survey reported by Lipski (2008, p. 13), 59% of foreign language students were enrolled in Spanish classes. However, the instruction of Spanish involves the recognition of multiple Spanish variations including "phonetics, morphology, syntax, lexicon, and other dialects".

There are many factors that lead to language transformation. Some of these factors are immigration, social and linguistic interactions. The increasing use of Spanish in combination with English created the need for a regional dictionary called "Diccionario del Español Tejano" (Dictionary of Spanish from Texas) published in 1975 by Roberto Galván and Richard Teschner. Later, a second edition was published to include terminology from California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Florida

(Lipski, 2008, p. 27). So immigration increased in all parts of the United States, the need to recognize and deal with linguistic combinations became more crucial.

The 1970s marked the beginning of serious inquiry into the linguistic and social constraints on Spanish-English code switching, which had hitherto become regarded as a degenerate practice symptomatic of the undesirability of bilingualism and the confounding effects of language contact. It was during this time period that poetry and narratives incorporating code-switching appeared prominently, as U. S. Latino writers emerged as a new literary voice. Intertwined language was a defining characteristic of many U. S. writers, creating a third code in defiance of the colonialist literary canon that had held bilingual authors hostage to a single language or at best to the use of one language per work (Lipski, 2008, p. 28).

The media responded to this literary freedom of language with its own negative terminology like Spanglish, Pocho, and Tex-mex. Recent linguistic studies support a more positive view of language variations. “It is now possible to rebut ignorance and bigotry with solid research that has finally trickled out of the sterile academic laboratory and into the consciousness of the more enlightened sectors of the general public” (Lipski, 2008, p. 28).

A good example of a positive view of the use of two languages is revealed in the following studies. Becker’s study (2001) “Spanish-English Code-Switching in a Bilingual Academic Context” focused on sixty elementary Mexican-American students in a story recounting activity. The theoretical framework of the study was based on a syncretic model of code-switching developed by Zentella (1990). The main factors analyzed in the study included:

a) structural linguistic factors, “out of the mouth,” which stipulate that the “bilingual speaker’s two monolingual grammars must be structurally compatible in order for code-switching to occur” (p. 4), b) internal psycholinguistic factors, “in the head,” which concern shifting for stylistic meaning and communicative intentions, and c) external social factors, “on the spot,” which involve items such

as the respective social roles of the addresser and addressee, their language preferences and competencies, and the setting (Becker, 2001, p. 101).

Becker found a positive connection between code-switching and both verbal and literary ability. Becker concluded that the use of code-switching is not affected by grade level or overall language proficiency. Furthermore, she suggested that “by understanding students’ use of code switching in an academic context, we may be able to enhance their linguistic diversity and literacy development.” (p. 112).

Bilingual students can gain a higher level of reading comprehension by exercising their bilingual vocabulary. In conclusion, Becker suggested that academics regard code-switching as a *viable academic phenomenon* (p. 113) which can be used to increase verbal and reading skills.

Bilingual students are a growing segment in the educational system of the United States. In the year 2000, there was an increase of 4.5 million of Latino students in schools (Garcia, 2005). Garcia states that these bilingual students have one defining quality – bilingualism.

Admittedly, some of these students are more proficient/fluent than others in each language, but all attain the capability of utilizing two formally recognized language systems as a result of the education they are receiving. This is the case even if instruction in the student’s native language is ignored or even discouraged in the schooling process (p. 4).

In a study by Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci (1998), two groups of college students were compared in their language use in an academic setting. The two groups were comprised of second and third generation Chicano students and first generation Mexican students from working class background. This study concludes that the language used by Chicano students in bilingual communities in the US is an indication of the language used by their first generation family members. Some of the findings in this study included the



students' attempt to use a higher lexicon of language in academic settings. This study showed that at times, both groups unsuccessfully used terms they were not accustomed to. Researchers concluded that both groups were aware of acceptable English terminology for academic uses. However, they didn't show an awareness of similar qualities in language choices in Spanish. In some cases, students showed proficiency in academic Spanish as a preference over academic English.

The fact is that language and ethnic diversity in the United States is an advantage, not an obstacle. In addition, Garcia (2005) notes the importance of school versus non school contexts for verbal expression. There is a necessity to encourage comfortable transitions between social and academic communicative skills. Katz (1999) highlights the importance of an open-minded approach for both students and teachers in an educational arena: "In the teacher-student relationship, each actor must have faith that investment in the other will provide benefits" (p. 104). Garcia suggests that educators should focus on the assets bilingual students have to offer. These skills must first be valued and recognized by faculty. "The implication for schools is that we, as educators, have a duty to acquire knowledge about diverse texts, contexts, and identities that will allow us to better serve bilingual students" (Garcia, 2005, p. 160).

It is important for educational institutions to remove any discriminatory structures and practices in the classroom. Teachers need to hold equal expectations for all students regardless of ethnic backgrounds and include a culturally diverse curriculum (Yosso, 2006).

## Chicano English-Spanish Communication

The examination of Chicano bilingualism also becomes a study of the language patterns and culture of that community (Sanchez, 1983). Peñalosa (1980) points out the bilingual and bicultural nature of the Chicano community as the rationale for studying bilingualism in its social arena. He adds the need to examine the motivations for the various codes, as well as the social and educational implications of bilingualism.

Its lifestyles, traditions, and ethnic backgrounds are important in the formation of viable community. There is a need for open-mindedness in the identification of different members in a community (Garcia, 1984). Baugh (1984) addresses the need to identify different ethnicities in bilingual communities. “We must take care not to treat all Chicanos or Hispanics as if they have been stamped out of a single casting.” (p. 12).

Sanchez (1983) concurs that due to the high levels of mobility in the immigrant population it is almost impossible to locate “a homogeneous society that uses one single widespread form” (p. 99) of language in the United States. Penfield and Ornstein-Galicia (1985) agree that even though Chicanos have a homogenous identity in the United States, they come from a broad spectrum of ethnic communities. In each ethnic group, there are different social classes separated by education and social position. Multi-ethnic communities provide language learners with the opportunity to learn several standard and sub-standard forms of English and Spanish. Therefore, Chicanos have a daily choice of what language and what dialect to use.

In Peñalosa’s (1980) view, however, the primary language is putting pressure on “individual bilingualism” (p. 43) because a country cannot successfully use more than one language for functional activities. As the Chicano community is distinct linguistically

and culturally from the main society, so is its application of language. In the Chicano community, Spanish is rarely used in the home and outside the home. Furthermore, Peñalosa recognizes that the dialects available to Chicanos have not often been the focus of any linguistic study. He clarifies his use of the word “dialect” in the following quote: “Dialect is a purely neutral term, as the linguist uses it, and it has no connotations of inferiority” (p. 78). In addition, Peñalosa states that the perception of dialects as an inappropriate form of communication has repercussions in the social realm. On the other hand, within the Chicano community speakers may base their language choices on comfort and familiar patterns. These language choices lead to successful language interactions. In Peñalosa’s opinion, there is no superior language or dialect.

### Summary

This literature review presented studies on language acquisition and social and academic applications in bilingual communities. In particular, this review focuses on the variations and implications in the use of Spanglish. Romaine (1994), and Pérez and Torres-Guzmán (1992) state that language is a practical and unique tool by which people both fulfill their needs and identity with their social group. Moreover, a Romaine points out that language is mutable and tends towards the simplification of forms, like the development of Spanglish.

Context is an important issue in language acquisition and development. Growing up bilingual involves creative linguistic solutions which lead to language variations as well as language competence (Romaine, 1994; Zentella, 1997). Pérez and Torres-

Guzmán (1992) affirm the normalcy of language variation within a culturally diverse community and recommend the acceptance of these linguistic differences.

Zentella (1997) agrees that language variation is a natural and necessary aspect of human communication, even within a single linguistic community. In the Spanish speaking community alone there are multiple regional dialects, all of which are spoken in the United States. Therefore, Lipski (2008) concludes the impossibility of establishing one universal dialect. Instead, Lipski believes that speakers should have the freedom of choice in self-expression, as in the use of Spanglish. This particular dialect has been defined by several forms. These forms include code-switching (Callahan, 2002; Gonzales-Velasquez, 1995, Jacobson, 1990; Toribio, 2002; Zentella, 1997), code mixing (Torres, 1989), and borrowing and loan words (Alvarez, 1997; Ardila, 2005; Burciaga, 1996; Fought, 2003; López-Flores, 2006). No matter what form of Spanglish is used, language variation has become an acceptable and practical aspect of everyday communication in a bilingual setting (Peñalosa, 1980; Zentella, 1997; Toribio, 2004). However, among educators there is a view that “it is a chaos of words” which Mexican writer Octavio Paz finds “abominable” (Encyclopedia of Bilingual Education). Several researchers (Acosta-Belén, 1975; Betanzos-Palacios, 2001; González-Echeverría, 1997) view Spanglish as a negative influence on standard Spanish. These researchers criticize educators for promoting this form of communication which they believe, originates in lower class and uneducated communities. Lipski (2008) contradicts this stereotype of the average Spanglish speaker. He states that there is no factual research to support such a claim. Lipski contends there is no superior dialect. Furthermore, there is no hierarchy in

language choice – all forms of communication are equally valid (Peñalosa, 1980; Valdés, 2005; Romaine, 1994; Zentella, 1997).

Language choices are governed by their social contexts and children adapt to their linguistic surroundings (Garcia, 2005; Sanchez, 1993). This acquisition of verbal information helps them understand their world and how to navigate in their communities.

In a study of Puerto Rican children in New York, Zentella (1997) finds that code-switching is a conscious strategy used to bridge their two communities. Zentella asserts that “the code-switching of el bloque’s children proved they were not semi- or a-lingual hodge-podgers, but adept bilingual jugglers.” (p. 134). Her study shows that students shared a common system of rules, based on social context, for using code-switching. Zentella also found that bilingual children express more freedom from linguistic considerations as they mature. This leads, according to her, to *transculturación* (transculturation) in which a minority group transforms the culture and language used by the majority population.

This review also demonstrates the positive connection between code-switching and academic skills (Becker, 2001; Zentella, 1997). Becker adds that the use of code-switching is a “viable academic phenomenon” that can lead to higher verbal and reading proficiency. Due to the wide spread and often unconscious use of Spanglish there is a need to examine it closer in all of its forms and applications. “The mere act of acknowledging that bilingual speech forms are worthy of examination will cultivate an affective environment that will translate into greater engagement of the part of Spanish heritage students” (Toribio, 2004, p. 147).

Within a bilingual context like the Chicano community, it is important to identify the distinct and different cultures (Baugh, 1984; Penfield and Ornstein-Galicia, 1985). In multicultural communities speakers are exposed to many standard and sub-standard forms of language, thus allowing them a wide selection of dialects to choose from.

Romaine (1994) concludes that no language has the ultimate view of the world. Instead, reality is defined by the words we use in our chosen tongue. This view is especially applicable in examining linguistic preferences in minority communities. The following methodology will highlight the overlapping multilingual language choices of second generation speakers in social and academic settings.

PART III  
METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore how the use of Spanglish affects the social and academic lives of second generation Latino students. This focus includes an exploration of the motivations and applications relevant to the use of Spanglish. This section provides a description of the methodology, research design and setting used in this study. In addition, the researcher provided detailed profiles of the participants in order to increase the audience's understanding of the focus group. The researcher also included the research questions that guided the parameters for this study. Finally, this section outlines the process of data collection and data analysis.

Research Design and Methodology

For the purpose of this study, I used a qualitative research method. According to Creswell (2005), qualitative research is “a type of educational research in which the researcher relies on the views of participants, asks broad, general questions, collects data consisting largely of words (or text) from participants, describes and analyzes these words for themes, and conducts the inquiry in a subjective, biased manner” (p. 39). This method highlights the viewpoints of second generation Latino students regarding the use of Spanglish in social and academic settings. The insights gathered from this study provided a broader context for perceptions and applications of the choice of language use.

Based on the work of Wiersma (1995), this study qualifies as an ethnographic research in which a problem is studied from a cultural and ethnic point of view. “The

term ethnography refers both to a research process and the product of that process” (Wiersma, 1995, p. 249). According to Creswell (2005), ethnographic designs are “qualitative research procedures for describing, analyzing, and interpreting a culture-sharing group’s shared patterns of behavior, beliefs, and language that develop over time” (p. 436). This includes analysis of educational processes and outcomes in a bilingual context: “to understand the patterns of a culture-sharing group, the ethnographer typically spends considerable time ‘in the field’ interviewing, observing, and gathering documents about the group in order to understand their culture-sharing behaviors, beliefs and language” (Creswell, 2005, p. 436). Similar to anthropology, ethnography focuses on origins, social behavior, and cultural practices.

All interviews were conducted in a professional manner, honoring various viewpoints in the research. These interviews included open-ended questions allowing participants to fully express their individual and collective experiences and perspectives. In addition to the initial questions, other questions emerged in the interview process which provided a fuller understanding of the issues at hand. All interviews and dialogues were tape-recorded and transcribed word-for-word for analysis. (See appendix A, B, and C for more details on the participants’ answers to the research questions). Most of the interview responses were translated from Spanish to English by the researcher. In addition, the participants were observed in different social settings like in classrooms and socializing with peers that included large and small groups, as well as one-on-one conversations.

This study utilized the “phenomenological approach” (Wiersma, 1995, p. 250) in utilizing a natural setting for gathering meaningful data on students’ interactions. General



observations and interviews in social and academic situations provided a holistic view of the use of Spanglish. This research considered the role of cultural directives in both individual and group behaviors. These directives included shared beliefs, attitudes, and motivations that led to language choices.

Following the general schema for ethnographic research developed by Wiersma (1995, p. 255), the researcher developed a new diagram representing a multilingual culture of second generation Latino students.

**Figure 2. Conceptual schema of multilingual culture of second generation Latino students.**

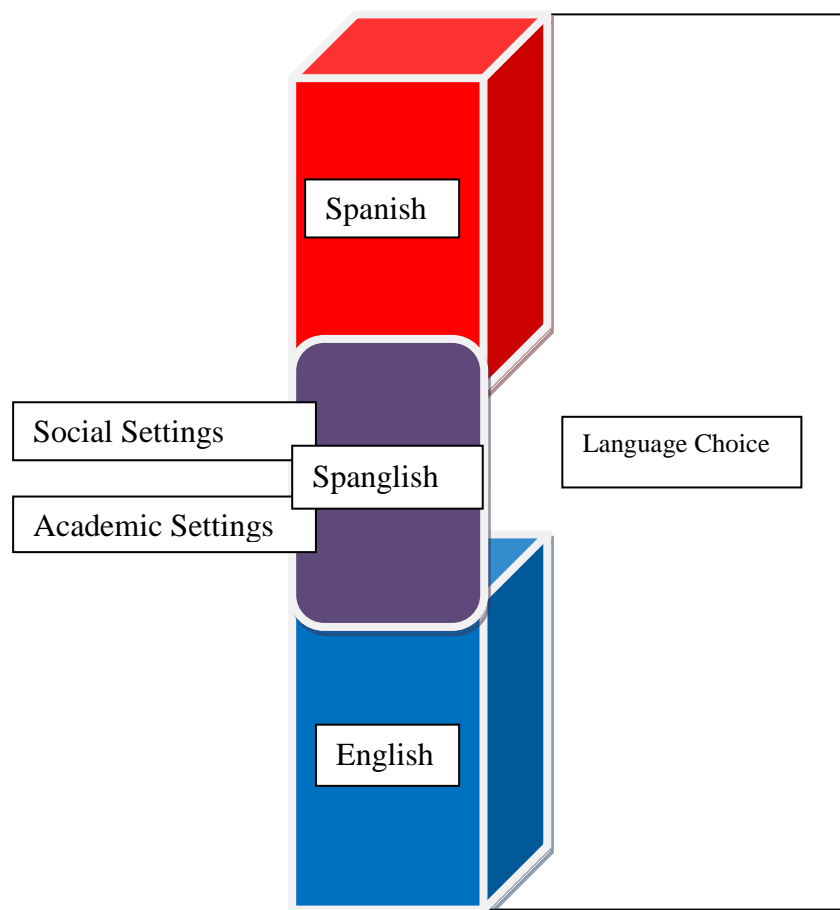


Figure 2. The conceptual schema of multilingual culture of second generation Latino students is a new diagram where colors are used to represent individual languages. The three primary colors – red, blue and yellow – are the foundations of all other colors. Spanish (red) and English (blue) as primary languages combine to create a secondary language, Spanglish (purple). All languages like all colors, whether primary or secondary, are recognized as valid forms of communication used in appropriate settings.

### Research Setting

This study included six second generation Latino high school students. Creswell (2005) stresses that in qualitative research maximum results are obtained from a small group of participants. Moreover, Creswell believes that significant perspectives are possible from the manageable details collected from a smaller group. The participants were selected from Graton, a small town of 1, 815 people (Census, 2000) in Northern California. Almost twenty percent of the total population of Graton is Latino, making this area a good site for this study.

All students attend a semi-rural high school in nearby Forestville, California where they are a significant minority in the student population. According to the School of Education Census for the 2005-2006 school years, Latinos in Sonoma County represent twelve percent of the total student body. All the participants attended the same high school. All of the second generation Latino participants are fluent in English but have different degrees of proficiency in Spanish.

All interviews, including the introduction to the research, took place in the researcher's home in Santa Rosa, California which is about fifteen miles from Graton. To

get a broad sample of the data, the observations occurred in various settings. Some of these settings included after school activities with their friends, in social events with their families, and in a classroom. Data was collected through individual and focus-group interviews and observations.

### Participants

All participants were selected from Graton, California. This research used a “purposeful sampling” (Creswell, 2005) of second generation Latino high school students in their natural academic and social settings. A homogeneous sampling contained second generation high school students with Mexican heritage. All participants were multilingual, and had siblings.

Prior to conducting the research, the participants were given a letter explaining the purpose and parameters of the study. This included their right to quit participating in the study at any time. The researcher assured the participants that they would be treated with fairness and confidentiality. The researcher obtained permission from participants and their parents. In addition, for on-site access to the high school, the researcher worked with a “gatekeeper” (Creswell, 2005, p. 209). A school teacher assisted the researcher in locating the target participants in this study.

### Participants’ Profiles

The following section provides an introductory view of the research participants. To guide the participants in the creation of a personal profile, the researcher presented them with a list of questions. To protect their privacy, the participants are listed by first

names only. From this list, they were asked to create a paragraph, using examples to support their answers.

- What is your name and age?
- Where were you born?
- Who do you live with?
- What language (s) do you speak with your parents and relatives? Give examples.
- What language (s) do you speak with your siblings? Give examples.
- What language (s) do you speak with your friends? Give examples.
- What language (s) do you speak with your teachers?
- What TV programs do you watch in your free time? Give examples.
- What kind of music do you listen to? Give examples.
- What books or magazines do you read for pleasure? Give examples.

#### Ana

My name is Ana and I'm eighteen years old. I was born in Santa Rosa, California. I live with both of my parents, my sister, and my brother. I speak to my parents and relatives all in English even when they talk to me in Spanish. With some of my relatives, I have to speak a little bit of Spanish so that they can understand me. I talk to my brothers, sister, friends, and teachers always in English. All of the TV shows and music I listen to are in English, but I also listen to music in Spanish. The books and magazines I read are all in English.

### Alondra

My name is Alondra and I am eighteen years old. I was born in Healdsburg, California. I live with my parents, sisters, and brothers. I speak mostly in Spanish with my parents and English with my siblings or a combination of English and Spanish, for example, “¿qué vamos a hacer today?” With my friends and teachers in high school it’s the same. I use a combination of both, even though some of my friends and teachers don’t speak Spanish. I sometimes end up talking to them in Spanish or add Spanish words in our conversations. For example, “hey, ¿cómo estás?” I enjoy reading magazines and books in English only. During my free time I usually watch both English and Spanish TV shows but I think I watch more telenovelas (soap operas) than anything else.

### Dulce

My name is Dulce and I am nineteen years old. I was born in Mexico. I live with both my parents and my younger sister and brother. I try to speak Spanish with my parents, but it is very difficult so I mostly speak English with them. With my siblings, I speak English only. With my friends, I generally speak English since I don’t feel comfortable speaking in Spanish. In my free time, I like to read magazines or I watch TV in English only but when I am with my parents we all watch old movies in Spanish. Finally, I listen to country music and pop country in English.

### Lola

My name is Lola and I am nineteen years old. I’ll be graduating from high school in July. I was born in Santa Rosa, California. Now, I live in Graton with my big and fun

family. I have three sisters and two brothers and the best parents ever. The language that I speak with my parents is mostly Spanish, but when I cannot say the word, I say it in English and hope that my mom and dad can understand what I am trying to say. With my brothers and sisters I speak mostly English. The first language that I learned was Spanish but when I started school in kinder garden, I learned how to read, speak, and write in English. So, I speak in English with my teachers. I don't read much, but when I do, I read magazines and books in both English and Spanish.

#### Lourdes

My name is Lourdes, but my friends call me Lulu. I am nineteen years old and was born in Santa Rosa, California. I live in a beautiful home with my mom and dad only, since I have no siblings. I always speak Spanish with my parents and relatives because that is the way my mother raised me and she highly disapproved of me speaking English with her or my father. I almost always speak English with my friends and always communicate in English with my teachers. The TV shows I watch are mostly in English but there are a few shows I tune into in Spanish. I evenly listen to music in both languages and I do the same for books I read.

#### Vera

My name is Vera and I am twenty years old. I was born in Mexico. I live by myself in a studio but visit my family often. My parents prefer that we speak Spanish but we actually speak both. Most of my friends speak English so that's what I mostly speak with them. Occasionally my friends like having me teach them Spanish so I speak it with

them. I love watching any police style TV show, I very rarely watch anything in Spanish, but if I do it is an occasional soap opera. I listen to country and almost everything in English not really anything in Spanish.

### Research Questions

In order to elicit responses concerning the use of Spanglish in social and academic situations, the following research questions were initially used to develop guiding questions.

1. What are the experiences of second generation Latino students in regards to their use of Spanglish?
2. What are the students' reflections on how their use of Spanglish affects their success in both social and academic situations?
3. What role does the family communication play in the use of Spanglish?

### Data Collection

The data of this study was immediately summarized to capture its maximum viability. As an "emerging process" (Creswell, 2005, p. 134) the main questions in the study evolved into "subquestions" (p. 138) that facilitated a more detailed perspective of social and academic considerations for the use of Spanglish. These subquestions were listed as they arose during the interviews.

1. What are the experiences of second generation Latino students in regards to their use of Spanglish?
  - What language do you use with your parents?

- What language do you use with your siblings (if any)?
  - What language do you use with your relatives?
  - Have you ever heard someone using two languages in a conversation?
  - Do you know what this mixture of two languages is called?
2. What are the students' reflections on how their use of Spanglish affects their success in both social and academic situations?
- Where did you go to High School?
  - What language was spoken?
  - Did you take a Spanish class?
  - When did you hear of the word Spanglish?
  - Do you know what it means?
  - Were you allowed to use Spanglish?
  - How has Spanglish affected your grade?
  - What TV programs do you watch in Spanish?
  - Do you read books, magazines, and newspapers in English or Spanish?
  - What role does the family communication play in the use of Spanglish?
  - Do your parents speak English or Spanish, or another language with relatives, friends, at work, etc.?

The data was organized into three categories: observations, interviews, and models of triangulation.

#### Observations

Observation is a process which allows the researcher to collect data during real life situations, thus capturing the participants in their natural patterns of behavior



(Creswell, 2005). As part of the observational process, the researcher was involved in various roles in the process. One role was as a participant observer. According to Creswell, this role involves the researcher's participation in the activities being observed. A second role was as a nonparticipant observer in which the researcher only observes and takes notes on the participants' activities. A third role involved changing observational roles in order to accommodate different situations. All of the observations were documented following Creswell's sample (p. 213). The data was recorded using the following format.

Date	Time	Length of Observation	Location	Event	Role of Observer

### Interviews

Under qualitative research interviews are based on open-ended questions which allow for open-ended responses. This process gives participants the opportunity to fully express themselves in their responses. Probes were often used to bring out more information and expand the scope of the discussion (Creswell, 2005). The researcher continually used the following guidelines from Creswell (p. 219) for interviewing the participants.

#### A Checklist for Interviewing:

- \_\_\_\_\_ Who participated in the interview?
- \_\_\_\_\_ What type of interviews were best to conduct?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Was the setting for the interview comfortable and quiet?
- \_\_\_\_\_ If you were audio-taping, did you prepared and tested the equipment?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Did you obtain consent from the participants to participate in the interview?

- \_\_\_\_\_ Did you listen more and talk less during the interview?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Did you probe during the interview? (ask to clarify and elaborate)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Did you avoid leading questions and ask open-ended questions?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Did you keep participants focused and ask for concrete details?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Did you withhold judgments and refrain from debating with participants about their views?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Were you courteous and did you thank the participants after concluding the interview?

Various types of interviews were used in this study to elicit more representative perspectives from the second generation Latino students in regards to the use of Spanglish. The first type of interview was the one-on-one. This kind of interview allows the participants to openly share their ideas and experiences about the topic. The second type was the focus group interviews. The six participants in the study were asked to discuss common issues regarding their use of Spanglish. Some focus group interviews included parents and siblings. All interviews were tape recorded for later transcription and translation using Creswell (2005, p. 222)'s protocol for interviewing.

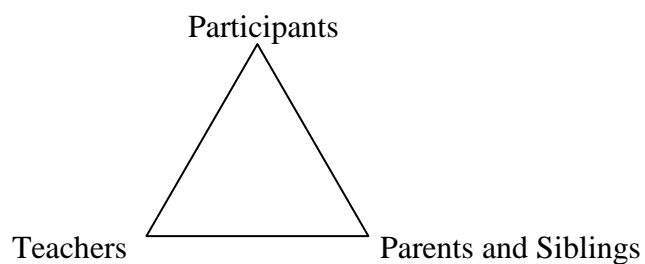
Date	Time	Location	Type of Interview	Interviewee	Interview Questions

### Triangulation

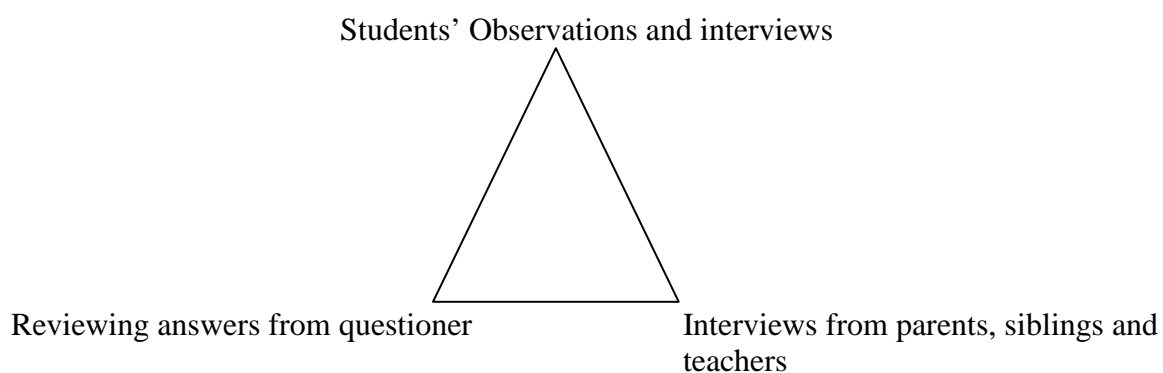
According to Wiersma (1995) triangulation is part of the qualitative research process. It allows for cross-checking of the validity and inclusiveness of both sources and data collecting techniques. Based on figures provided by Wiersma (p. 264), the

researcher developed two diagrams to represent the triangulation process for this study that highlights social interactions.

**Figure 3. Triangulation involving multiple data sources**



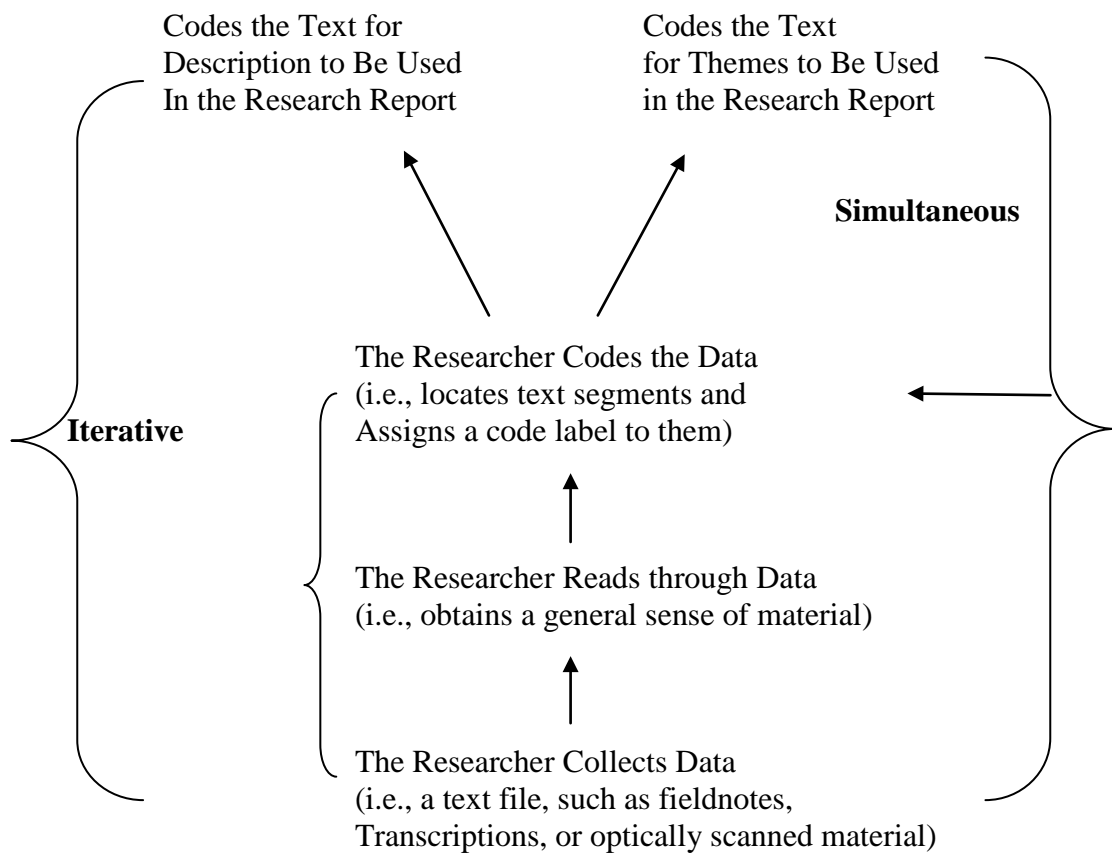
*Triangulation Involving Multiple Data Collection*



Data Analysis

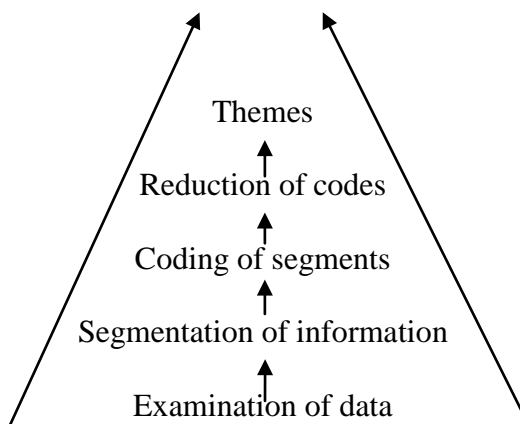
In order to properly analyze the data from this qualitative research, the researcher used the “bottom up approach” developed by Creswell (2005, p. 231). This approach is an inductive process in which detailed data lead to general themes to obtain a more integrated view of the topic.

**Figure 4. The qualitative process of data analysis**



These themes must be segmented using the process of coding to clarify the data collection. Coding information involves using a code word or a phrase to identify and categorize the prominent themes. Based on a model by Creswell (2005, p. 238), the researcher developed a diagram for the coding process used in this qualitative study. (See Figure 5).

**Figure 5. The coding process**



In Figure 5. The coding process, like codes, themes identify common concepts in the database; therefore, this process simplifies the organization and comprehension of the topics under investigation. According to Creswell, these topics or themes are developed through a consolidation of responses to the research questions. This consolidation rules out any possible redundancies and what emerges is a core set of themes which include “ordinary themes” as well as “unexpected themes” (p. 243).

Finally, to ensure the accuracy of the data collection and analysis, the researcher used the process of “triangulation” (Creswell, 2005, p. 252). This process involved gathering information from different sources (e.g., interviews and observations) in different settings (e. g., at home and at school) to maximize the authenticity of the findings.

#### Protection of Human Subjects

Before conducting the study, the researcher obtained signed consent forms from all participants. Furthermore, consent to participate included the freedom to leave the

study at any time. Participants were encouraged to explore all possible answers to the given questions. The researcher ensured the anonymity of the participants in this study; therefore, upon mutual agreement, the participants are identified by their first names only.

### Reliability and Validity

Reliability is an important ingredient in developing good research (Creswell, 2005). Consistent procedures and instruments provide the necessary reliability. The researcher was aware of the need to create a safe and harmonious atmosphere during all observations and interviews. Validity is another important element to ensure the accuracy of the research. In a qualitative research it depends on a logical approach to evaluating the results. Validity is gained through highly detailed data and “comprehensive description” (Wiersma, 1995, p. 223).

## PART IV

### FINDINGS

#### Introduction

This chapter describes the findings on language choices used by second generation Latino high school students. As mentioned in chapter one, several researchers have identified Spanglish by using terms such as code-switching (Callahan, 2002; Gonzales-Velasquez, 1995; Jacobson, 1990; Toribio, 2002), code-mixing (Torres, 1989), and several forms of borrowing and hybrid words (Alvarez, 1997; Ardila, 2005; Burciaga, 1996; Fought, 2003; López-Flores, 2006). Other researchers have focused on the definition of Spanglish (Ardila, 2005; Artze, 2001; Nash, 1970; Stavans, 2003; Varela, 2002). However, there were no studies that have focused on how second generation high school students acquire Spanglish and how these students use Spanglish in social and academic settings.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the motivations of second generation Latino high school students in using Spanglish in academic and social settings. In addition, this study may provide useful insights into the importance of acknowledging Spanglish as a viable form of language variation in the United States.

In this ethnographic study, six participants and their families were selected from a semi-rural community in Northern California. These participants answered the following research questions:

1. What are the experiences of second generation Latino students with regard to their use of Spanglish?

2. What are the students' reflections on how their use of Spanglish affects their success in both social and academic situations?
3. What role does family communication play in the use of Spanglish?

In order to collect meaningful data, the researcher observed the participants in social and academic settings. The first observation involved all participants in a casual setting in the researcher's house. The observations were recorded following Creswell's sample (2005). Table 1 represents how and when the data was collected. See Appendix A and B for questions and answers given in Spanish and translated into English by the researcher. The second observation included each participant with their families in their own homes.

Table 1

*Participant Observations.*

Date	Time	Length of Observation	Location	Event	Role of Observer
9/1/09	5 PM	1 hour	Researcher's house	Intro. to project	Part/observer
9/20/09	5 PM	2 hours	Participants' house	Candle light party	Observer
10/7/09	1 PM	1 hour	Local High School	College prep. class	Observer

The last observation took place in a College preparation class at the local high school attended by the participants. The main purpose of this visit was to administer a questionnaire to 36 students regarding their use of Spanglish in the academic setting. Part of this visit included observing the students socializing in class with their friends. See appendix D for a copy of the questionnaire used in the classroom.



Table 2

*Interviews with Participants.*

Date	Time	Location	Type of Interview	Interviewee	Interview Questions
9/1/09	6 PM	Researcher's house	Focus group	Participants	Appendix A
9/30/09	3 PM	Participants' house	One-on-one	Participants & parents	Appendix B & C

To gain valuable information on the use of Spanglish in various settings, the researcher conducted two main interviews: A focus group and one-on-one interviews. Both interviews were in Spanish and tape recorded for later translation. In order to provide authentic findings, the researcher chose to conduct the interviews solely in Spanish to elicit the use of both Spanish and Spanglish. In addition, the researcher translated the participants' responses as originally stated without correcting any grammar or vocabulary. Therefore, these translations indicate the participants Spanish skills. These interviews followed the protocol for interviews established by Creswell (2005, p. 222). See Appendix A and B for more details.

All the interviews and observations provided meaningful data not only to conduct this research but also provided insights for all participants regarding their use of Spanglish and their family's role in the acquisition of languages.

The findings in this section were organized in the discussion of six main themes. Under some of these themes, the motivations for code-switching (inadequate vocabulary in one language, lack of equivalent words in both languages, use of immediately accessible words and phrases, exploration and imitations of new expressions in another language, language choice that reflects accepted grammatical rules, and language choice

based on preference of younger family members) discussed by Garcia (2005) are examined:

- Development of Spanglish as a natural and necessary form of communication
- The loss of Spanish skills for young family members
- Spanglish as a shared language and identity
- Spanglish as an informal form of communication
- Spanglish does not affect language proficiency
- Further education in Spanish

*Development of Spanglish as a Natural and Necessary Form of Communication*

All participants in the focus group identified Spanglish as the use of a combination of Spanish and English in conversation. Lola, one of the participants, provided an example to clarify the definition of Spanglish: “Sí, por ejemplo, yesterday no fui al parque” (“Yeah, for example, yesterday I did not go to the park”). It is notable that in this sentence, the participant used correct syntax in both languages.

When participants were asked about the first time they heard the word Spanglish, all participants were assertive in their immediate responses and concurred that Spanglish was a natural part of their linguistic environment when first acquiring language skills. Furthermore, all were unaware of Spanglish as a separate form of communication. For example, Alondra stated that she has spoken a combination of English and Spanish since she was a little girl. Dulce affirmed that she also grew up speaking both languages. Ana made the distinction that when she was little, she spoke Spanish at home and English at school.

For Ana and the other participants, using both languages in different settings was a natural outcome of their upbringing. It wasn't until middle school that the participants learned they were speaking Spanglish: "Yo y nosotras cuando estábamos chiquitas como así pensábamos en mi casa así crecí porque en la escuela hablamos inglés y en la casa español". ("Me, and us when we were little, that's how we thought in my house. I grew up like that because at school we spoke English and at home, Spanish").

To gain a broader perspective on language choices made by 36 second generation Latino high school students, the researcher handed out a language usage questionnaire. The following table lists the results based on the model used by Zentella (1997, p. 57). Like Zentella, the researcher provided a written summation of the data acquired from the questionnaire. See Appendix D for a copy of the questionnaire.

TABLE 3

*Language Usage Questionnaire-Results*

What language do you use?

	English No	Spanish No	Spanglish No	Both:Eng/Span No
1. At school	8	1	5	19
2. With siblings	15	1	10	18
3. At home	0	8	3	22
4. With parents	0	25	2	7
5. With friends	4	4	9	17
6. In Mexico	0	28	0	4
7. With relatives	0	17	4	9
8. In public Business	18	1	2	7
9. At work	8	0	3	8
Total	53	85	36	111

Eng: English  
Span: Spanish  
No: Number

1. At school, most students use both English and Spanish.
2. With siblings, students speak predominately in English with some use of Spanglish.
3. At home, English and Spanish are the main languages used.
4. Most students report speaking mainly in Spanish with their parents.

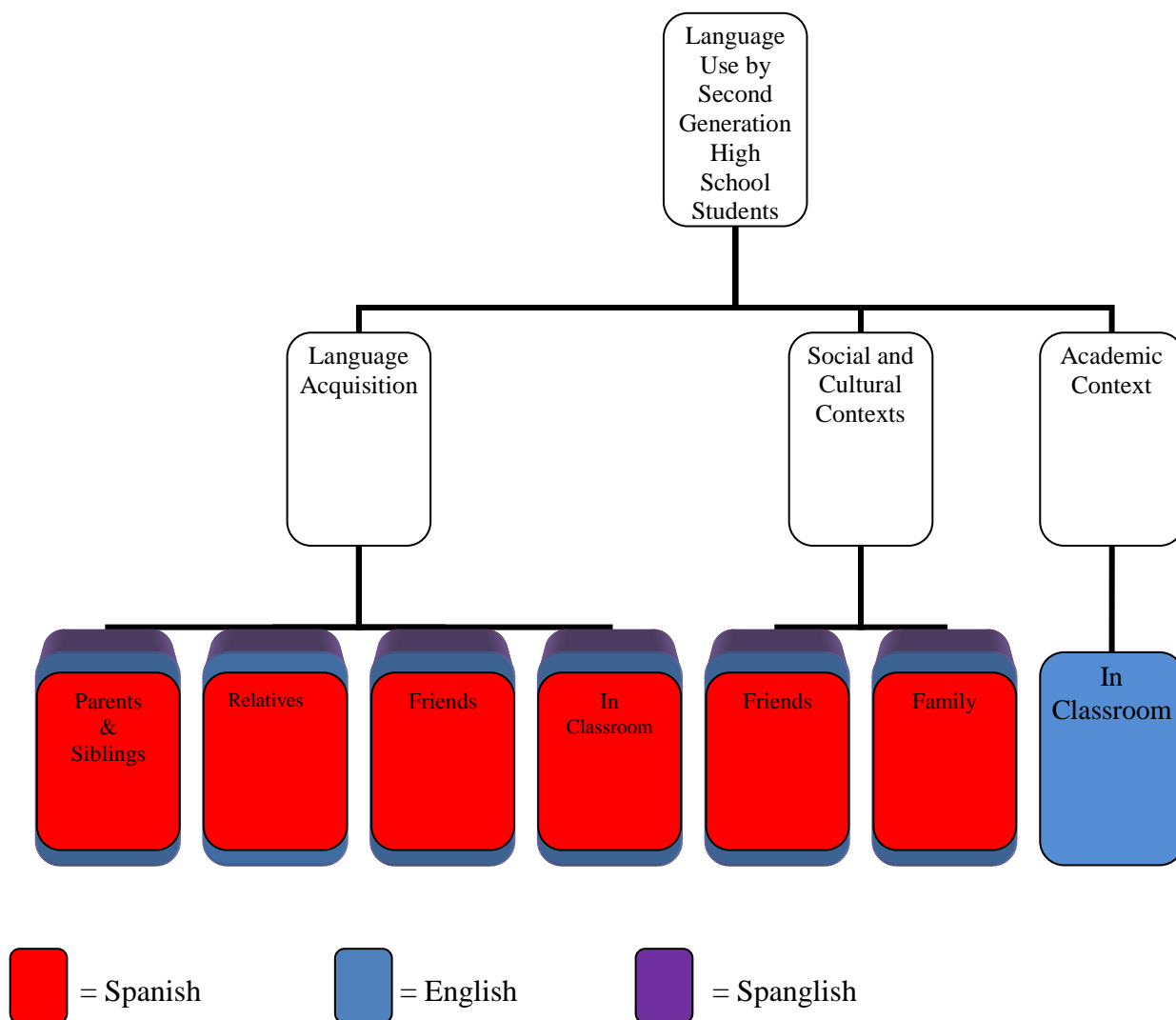
5. With their friends, most students use English and Spanish. Spanglish is a viable third choice.
6. When visiting in Mexico, students overwhelmingly use Spanish and occasionally, they use both English and Spanish.
7. With relatives in the United States, students report speaking mainly Spanish with older relatives, but English with younger members of the family.
8. In public businesses, English is the main language spoken. However, students report using Spanish and English in bilingual businesses.
9. Although half of the students do not have a job, the working students say they use English only or both English and Spanish.

As the results of the language usage questionnaire show, in most settings Spanglish is a usable form of communication. In fact, Spanglish use has become so habitual for the participants that they report using it subconsciously. However, Spanglish gets the lowest total usage in the questionnaire. A closer look at the data revealed that students predominately favor the use of both English and Spanish in their daily lives.

Alondra acknowledged that sometimes she starts a sentence in Spanish but if she knows a person is bilingual, she switches to English without thinking. Dulce mentions a similar occurrence when speaking with her parents. She said: “Hablando con mis papás yo a veces están mis amigos ahí y yo pienso que estoy hablando español y de repente estoy ya en inglés y ellos me dicen ‘oye ya estás hablando en inglés’ y digo OK”. (“Sometimes when I am speaking Spanish with my parents, I suddenly switch to English without knowing. My parents would laugh and say, ‘Hey, you are speaking English’”). To

provide clarity on the use of language by second generation Latino high school students, the researcher devised a graph to depict the languages addressed in this study.

**Figure 6. *Language Use by Second Generation High School Students***



By looking at Figure 6, it is clear that in only the academic area, the participants exclusively used English. This is a natural outcome of English-based education. Spanish is taught only as an elective class which many heritage speakers do not enroll in. Instead, they predominately learn Spanish from their friends, classmates, and family.

Furthermore, in the areas of language acquisition and social interaction, participants used Spanish, English, and Spanglish.

In every category except the academic, participants listed Spanglish as a part of their daily language communications. All participants in this study commented that Spanglish was a necessary addition to their language options. Sanchez (1983) and Garcia (2005) state that code-switching is a natural phenomenon that occurs when a minority language is influenced by a dominant language. Also, Sanchez and Garcia affirm that the combination of languages is destined to occur as part of the lives of bilingual. Moreover, adaptations allow the speakers to converse with a wider selection of people. This is true for both generations of participants. Nora, a native Spanish speaker and mother of two of the participants, recounted her personal view and experience with Spanglish:

Es más, ¿sabe qué? fíjese que el Spanglish fue necesario aquí en Estados Unidos, precisamente porque estamos de todas partes donde hablan español. Y sería más difícil comunicarnos y decir una palabra a uno que es de otro país y no nos va a entender – entonces el Spanglish es necesario aquí fíjese. Eso es lo que la gente usa aquí- eso es en Estados Unidos. Y se debe aceptar y respetar, ya que todas las palabras van evolucionando a como se van necesitando.  
(You know what? Spanglish was a necessary form of communication here in the United States, precisely because a lot of us are from different Spanish-speaking countries. It would be tremendously difficult to use a word that has different meanings in different regions of the Spanish-speaking world and have that word understood. Therefore, Spanglish is necessary here in the United States. Spanglish should be accepted and respected because all words in all languages are evolving as needed).

Vera and Dulce are Nora's daughters. As second generation speakers, they both identified the need to use Spanglish in their social interactions. Vera stated, "Ya ahora es muy normal comunicarse en los tres idiomas". ("Today it is very normal to communicate in the three languages") By using the word *language*, Vera is classifying Spanglish as an equal choice to English and Spanish.

Maria, a native Spanish-speaker and parent of one participant also agrees with Nora about the necessity and use of Spanglish:

En la comunidad donde vivo todos usan Spanglish. A veces cuando estoy viendo mis comedias pasan muchos comerciales donde usan el Spanglish. Yo lo uso siempre con mi familia y amigos. Ya ni tan siquiera noto que es Spanglish. (In my community, people use Spanglish all the time and everywhere. Even when I am watching my soap operas, the commercials will include Spanglish. I use it everyday with my kids and friends. I don't even notice the Spanglish anymore).

As a part of daily life, Spanglish provides a sense of belonging to the social bilingual network. María and Nora, two parent participants, stated that Spanglish is inescapable in all forms of Spanish media. By this constant inclusion of Spanglish in programming, the media as Stavans (2003) states is promoting the use of Spanglish. Part of this promotion includes the negative concept of Spanglish as a lower class choice of communication (Acosta-Belén, 1975; González-Echeverría, 1997; Stavans, 2003). However, new findings from this study indicated that a wide spectrum of educated people in various professions use Spanglish such as governors, senators, newscasters, educators, pastors, and business people. Nora, a parent participant, provided examples of Spanglish used on television.

Por ejemplo, en la televisión revuelven muchísimo el inglés y el español. Por ejemplo un día en un lapso de 2 horas estos comerciales y más pasaron en la tele. H & R Block “Inscríbete en el curso de preparación de taxes.” Direct TV – “Más canales en high definition.” Rigo’s Auto Sales – “Esta troquita se va conmigo. (For example, on TV they mix English and Spanish a lot. For example one day in a 2 hour time span these are the commercials that came on. H & R Block “Inscríbete en el curso de preparación de taxes.” Direct TV – “Más canales en high definition.” Rigo’s Auto Sales – “Esta troquita se va conmigo).

In order to examine the amount of exposure to Spanglish in all forms of media, the participants responded to the following social usage questionnaire.



TABLE 4

*Social Usage Questionnaire*


---

	English	Spanish	Both: Spanish & English
	No	No	No
1. Watch TV	4	0	29
2. Read Newspapers	22	4	6
3. Magazines	18	3	10
4. Books	17	4	10
5. Pay Bills	17	2	12
6. Government Documents	28	0	2
Total	106	13	69

---

1. Twenty-nine out of thirty-three students reported watching television in both languages (Spanish and English).
2. The majority of students read newspapers in English.
3. Students reported reading magazines primarily in English. Though, ten students read in both languages.
4. Very similar numbers were recorded for book reading. This reflects some personal choice to read in Spanish outside of homework assignments.
5. Most students pay their bills in English. However, many also use Spanish, reflecting a tendency to support businesses in their local Spanish-speaking community.

6. In the area of government documents, almost all students use English as the predominant language.

Based on the results of the social usage questionnaire, it becomes apparent that English is the first choice in most categories. Yet, what is surprising is that more than fifty percent of the participants use both English and Spanish in their everyday life. On the other hand, less than five percent reported exclusively using Spanish magazines, newspapers, and books. This statistic supports the findings of the interview with the main participants and their parents in regards to the ongoing loss of their native and heritage language.

#### *The Loss of Spanish Skills for Young Family Members*

Family communication plays a major role in forming language patterns. All participants stated that Spanglish is used equally by all members of the family. Nora reported that even when she addresses her children in Spanish, they respond in English. Another point she made is that her children use English when they talk to each other. This constant use of English is a reflection of their formal education. Lola, a student participant, said: “Yo hablo siempre en inglés con mis amigos y en la escuela porque todo nos lo enseñan en inglés”. (“I always talk in English with friends and at school because they teach us everything in English”).

Two factors have been identified in this study as leading to the loss of heritage language: English language immersion and the lack of parent involvement in the preservation of the heritage language. Maria, a parent participant, acknowledged the effect of English-only education. Beginning in elementary school, most children are

required to use only English in the classroom if the school provides no bilingual alternatives.

Por ejemplo, Ana habla solamente en inglés conmigo. Aunque ella entiende español, casi nunca lo habla. Pienso que mi hija empezó a perder su español cuando ella comenzó a ir a la primaria. Un día ya de repente, todo lo que empezó a hablar era inglés o spanglish. (For example, Ana, my youngest child hardly ever speaks to me in Spanish. Ana can understand Spanish, but she rarely uses it. I think Ana started to lose Spanish when she was in elementary school. All I remember is that one day she was only using English and Spanglish).

Maria's experience with language loss is not unusual. All participants in this study spoke of similar situations with their connections to their heritage and native language. Nora tells the story about how the frequency of speaking Spanish in her home changed over time.

Lo que yo observo en otras familias es que no tienen mucha comunicación. Por ejemplo, cuando mis hijos entraron a la escuela y eran chiquitas, nosotros hablábamos mucho en español y todo eso se empezó a revolver cuando ellas entraron a la "middle school". Nosotros sí teníamos mucha comunicación en español y también no podíamos hablar mucho inglés porque yo no les entendía y tenían que hablar nada más en español. En sus años primeros fue todo en español. (What I notice in my family and other families is the lack of communication between parents and children. For example, when my children started school, and they were little, we only communicated in Spanish. By *middle school*, my children started mixing English with Spanish. Since we, the parents, couldn't speak much English, the children were forced to use Spanish. In their first years everything was in Spanish).

However, Nora acknowledges that things have changed in her household in the realm of communication. "Hay muchísimas familias que empiezan a perder la comunicación con sus hijos porque empiezan a hablar puro inglés y los papás ya no hacen ningún esfuerzo de hablarles en español." ("Many families start losing communication with their kids because the kids are not forced to speak back to their parents in Spanish").

This loss of heritage language at school is carried over into language choice at home. Younger family members determine the language spoken in the home (Garcia, 2005). A new finding from this study was that the younger children in the family tend to use only English with older siblings, parents, and relatives. During the interview with Maria, she was taking care of her seven-year-old granddaughter. The researcher observed that in their conversations the granddaughter spoke only in English, while Maria responded to her in English or Spanglish.

Por ejemplo, con mis nietos yo les hablo sólo en español, pero ellos me contestan sólo en inglés y pues así es. Nos comunicamos como podemos porque ellos casi no hablan español, pero entienden mucho. Y les trato de hablar inglés cuando pienso que ellos no me entienden. Y así están mis vecinos, sus hijos no hablan casi español. (For example, with my grandchildren I only speak Spanish but they only answer me in English and well that's the way it is. We communicate how we can because they don't really speak Spanish, but understand a lot. I try to talk to them in English when I think that they don't understand. And that's the way my neighbors are, their kids barely speak Spanish).

The exclusive use of English is due to the lack of parental interest in promoting the use of Spanish at home. Lola, one of the student participants in this study, commented that when someone is forced to speak Spanish, then that person will learn Spanish. Lourdes, another student participant, provided a positive example of parental involvement in preserving the Spanish language at home.

Yo hablo muy bien los dos, así que me siento muy bien hablando el idioma que sea porque mis papás siempre me exigen que hable con ellos en español. (I speak very well in both, so I feel fine speaking either language because my parents always force me to speak Spanish back to them).

Lourdes is a good example of language preservation through parental encouragement. Even though Lourdes did not have many relatives in the United States to converse with her in Spanish, her family manage to uphold their Spanish language and

traditions. Furthermore, Lourdes's parents sent her every summer since she was 6 years old to stay in Mexico with her grandparents. These trips deepened her connections to the culture and the formal and informal variations of Spanish. Unlike Lourdes's mother, Nora, the mother of Vera and Dulce, did not require her children to speak in Spanish at home, due to her increasing ability to understand English:

Conforme ellos fueron creciendo y yo fui hablando más inglés, entonces ya fue más fácil para mí entenderles. Por eso, ahí es donde sentí que se empezó a mezclar. Cuando ya no le molesta a uno que no les esté entendiendo. Entonces ya en la cabeza de uno le entró lo que ellos dijeron. (I started speaking more English so it was easier to understand them. That's why that is when I felt it started to mix. When it doesn't bug you that they don't understand you. So then in one's head you understand what they said).

This example reflects the common tendency among the parents of second generation Latino students to relinquish their native language and traditions as a result of the immersion into the American culture. The loss of Spanish language skills, therefore, is due to the assimilation into the dominant culture, not to the use of alternative dialects like Spanglish.

A significant finding in this study was that the participants primarily used Spanish when addressing the researcher, who they identified as a "status-related person" (Popal, 1992, p. 108) as a professor of Spanish. During the interviews and based on the researcher's observations, the participants constantly used Spanish with the researcher and English with their friends and families. The following tables (5, 6, and 7) show the frequency of language switchings during the interviews.

Table 5

*Percentiles of Switching Between Languages – 90 Minute Interview*

Participants	Age	Total No of Words	Eng	Spang
			P	P
Ana	18	262	3	3
Alondra	18	563	1	1
Dulce	19	248	3	3
Lola	19	124	0	0
Lulú	19	80	0	0
Vera	20	324	2	2

Eng: English  
 Spang: Spanglish  
 No: Number  
 P: Percentile

Table 6

*Percentiles of Switching Between Languages – 60 Minute Interview*

Participants	Age	Total No of Words	Eng	Spang
			P	P
Dulce	18	328	3	3
Nora	45	1029	1	1
Vera	20	172	2	2

Eng: English  
 Spang: Spanglish  
 No: Number  
 P: Percentile

Table 7

*Percentiles of Switching Between Languages – 20 Minute Interview*

Participants	Age	Total No of Words	Eng	Spang
			P	P
Ana	18	82	4	4
María	50	171	2	2

Eng: English  
 Spang: Spanglish  
 No: Number  
 P: Percentile

As stated in tables 5, 6, and 7 the youngest participants used more code-switching than the older participants. Peñalosa (1980) and Garcia (2005) state that young speakers

imitate the language they hear in their surroundings. At home, the older siblings communicate with their younger siblings in the language in which the young ones have most fluency. Garcia says that this fluency is a fundamental aspect of all bilingual interactions. These code-switchings involved adequate grammar in Spanish and perfect grammar in English.

In a study conducted by Zentella (1997), data showed infrequent use of linguistic deviations occurred when participants were observed over a length of time. As shown in appendices A, B, and C the findings in this study support Zentella's findings. The transcription of participants' interviews displayed no drastic deviations from language rules in either English or Spanish. Zentella explains that language competence involves more than just grammar. This competence signals, among a linguistic group, their mutual backgrounds, traditions, and shared responsibilities that lead to verbal understanding and collaboration. Moreover, Zentella states that the use of Spanglish is a way for students to connect with their bilingual environment.

The majority of instances of code-switching occurred when participants were speaking among themselves or when speaking with their parents. At all times, the participants were conscious of the proper use of grammar and vocabulary and they tried to speak only in Spanish when addressing the interviewer. Alondra and Vera, as the oldest participants, used little or no code-switching. In addition, these same participants showed more proficiency in their Spanish skills.



*Spanglish as a Shared Form of Communication and Identity*

The use of two or more languages in a conversation is part of the everyday reality of second generation Latino Spanish speakers. The language choices that they make are adapted to the social situation and locale. Nora, as a native speaker of Spanish, is very aware of the permutations of Spanish in her community in the United States. She gives the example of new words frequently used only in the United States.

Si se fija la palabra “parqueadero” no es una palabra de México. Es una palabra nueva. También la palabra “carpeta” por alfombra es una palabra de aquí, de los Estados Unidos. Y así muchas palabritas, pero uno mismo las agarró de aquí mismo. (If you notice, the word “parqueadero” (parking lot) is not a word from Spanish used in Mexico. It is a new word. Also, the word “carpeta” for carpet is a word from here, from the United States. In the same way, there are many more words, but we have learned them here because we see them everywhere).

Nora believes that the mixture of languages is self perpetuating and impossible to avoid. Therefore, Spanglish is universally understood among Spanish speakers in the United States. However, in Mexico, the use of Spanglish indicates the speaker is from the United States. Alondra recounted her experience when going to Mexico to visit relatives. When she tried to communicate in Spanish, some people said she was all American, meaning she wasn't using the standard form. On the other hand, when Alondra uses English in the United States, she gets the same comments. These rejections have solidified her identification with the use of Spanglish. Nora stated that Spanglish is an extension of the Spanish language used to create a universal understanding since there are many regional Spanish variations.

Así que en el lugarcito donde uno está se usa Spanglish de una forma y tal vez en otro estado lo usan diferente.  
Por ejemplo, el inglés es diferente al de Inglaterra y con el español es lo mismo. Así que el Spanglish es una añadidura al español y aquí se dio el caso de encontrar una sola forma de usar el español, con el Spanglish. (Here in our community, Spanglish is used one way in one state and maybe another way in

another state. For example, American English is different than British English. Same thing happens with Spanish. Therefore, Spanglish is an addition to the Spanish. Here, in the United States, we had the necessity to find just one form of Spanish – Spanglish).

Nora recounted a story of living with her in-laws in a small town in Michoacan, Mexico. She said that in her native town, the use of “basket” is “huarito”. However, in her husband’s town, they use “petaca”. Then, later she learned that in other parts of Mexico, they use “canasta” for “basket”. With these examples, Nora concluded that with immigrants from different regions, it was important to establish a uniform language to facilitate communication within the Latino community.

Nora explained that a lot of the words used by immigrants in the United States are not used in the small towns in Mexico where they come from. These same immigrants have limited Spanish vocabulary due to their insufficient formal education. Therefore, when these immigrants come to the United States, they adapt to the dialect used in their new community.

These adaptations often occur at new job situations in which new equipment requires learning a new vocabulary. The terminology these immigrants learn is often worded in Spanglish. This lexicon in Spanglish is passed on to new immigrant employees. Another reason for using Spanglish is based on the exploration and imitations of new words (Garcia, 2005). These forays into linguistic experimentation are a natural part of social integration.

Nora noted that often Spanglish is the most direct language to express certain ideas without translating them word by word in Spanish. A lot of times when trying to translate from English to Spanish, the main idea loses clarity and validity. Often

communication is hampered by a lack of equivalent words in both languages (Garcia, 2005). Nora provided an example of miscommunication at workplace:

¿Sabe qué? que en el trabajo a nosotras se nos hace más difícil comunicarnos en inglés. También porque entre nosotras no sabemos todas las palabras correctas en español y si no sabemos una palabra, se corta la comunicación. Yo le expliqué a una enfermera que es ridículo porque no podemos comunicarnos y ahí es donde se corta la comunicación. (You know what? At work it's harder for us to communicate in English. Also because we don't know all the right words in Spanish and if we don't know one word we lose the communication. I explained to a nurse that this is ridiculous because we can't communicate and that's where the communication gets cut).

Based on the example Nora provided, Spanglish bridges the vocabulary gap for immigrants struggling to communicate between English and Spanish. A lot of times, these immigrants use Spanglish because of its flexibility and immediate accessibility (Garcia, 2005). Dulce gave a good example of this immediate accessibility: “En una situación cuando las personas quieren estar en el “shopping” hablan más inglés o más español que inglés”. (“In one case when people want to be in the ‘shopping’ they speak more English or more Spanish than English”).

Even though people have the correct vocabulary in Spanish, people use Spanglish because it is used everywhere in their community. “Aquí en Estados Unidos se entiende cuando uno dice vamos a “mapear” y todos lo entienden.” (Here in the United States everyone understands when you say “mapear”). Most of the participants concurred that Spanglish is a universal medium of communication among the Latino community in the United States.

*Spanglish as an Informal Form of Communication*

For bilingual students, multi-ethnic communities facilitate the acquisition of several standard and non-standard forms of English and Spanish. These bilingual or multi-lingual students can select the linguistic dialect for each appropriate setting (Penfield & Ornstein-Galicia, 1985). Common dialects are often considered a lower-class phenomenon and are mostly acknowledged in educational institutions. Yet, these dialects borrow from the media and standard languages as well as family communications (Mercado, 2005).

The participants in this study identified that Spanglish is used as an informal medium of communication with friends, family members, and in their local community. Lola stated the following: “Sí, toda la familia lo usa y se me hace como un ‘slang’”. (“Yes, all my family uses it and I consider it slang”).

Ana, another participant, made a distinction between the words used to designate a “truck”. She said that the word “camioneta” is the standard term for truck while the word “troca” is the non-standard term. These examples confirmed that participants were mostly aware of the difference between standard Spanish and Spanglish. During the interviews, the participants mainly spoke to the interviewer in standard Spanish with minimal grammatical errors. As mentioned in the research conducted by Popal (1992, p. 108), the participants’ language choices in the interview when speaking to the interviewer reflected their cultural respect for teachers and the “status-related” deference.

It is important to emphasize that even though the participants in this study recognized Spanglish as an informal dialect used in the United States, this use of Spanglish is not a sign of a stereotypical, under educated Mexican lower-class. In

response to this negative stereotype, Gonzáles, N., Moll, L., Tenery, M. F., Rivera, A., Rendón. P., Gonzales, R., & Amanti, C. (2005) assert that Mexican immigrants received a more advanced education in Mexico than their American counterparts in the United States.

This education is reflected in their grammatically correct applications of Spanglish. For example, the verb “mapear” (to mop) is conjugated as a standard verb ending in “ar”: yo mapeo, tú mapeas, usted, él, ella mapea, nosotros mapeamos, ustedes, ellos, ellas mapean. This is an example of language choice reflecting accepted grammatical rules (Garcia, 2005). Overall, the standard conjugations of this new verb are an indication that grammar skills remain intact in conversations involving Spanglish.

#### *Spanglish does not Affect Language Proficiency*

Academically, in all classes except Spanish, the participants spoke in English. One participant recounted that the teacher and the students in her Spanish class made no distinction between Spanish and Spanglish. Therefore, Spanglish terms were incorporated into standard Spanish. The questionnaire confirms that Spanglish has little to no effect on the students’ grades. Out of 28 participants, only 4 identified Spanglish as having a slight effect on their grades.

Another area where students had to choose between two languages was their academic environment. In general, all participants were educated in English. When one participant tried to improve her Spanish skills by taking a high school class, she noticed she was learning Spanish words from Spain and Chile. Lola added that teachers need to differentiate between the many Spanish variations that exist around the world. This

international Spanish vocabulary was completely different from the Mexican Spanish learned and used at home. Garcia (2005) notes that this linguistic diversity that students bring to the classroom is an educational asset, and some attention is required to facilitate comfortable transitions from the Spanish used at home to the Spanish taught in school. Garcia concludes that educators must research and apply a diverse curriculum to serve all bilingual students.

### *Further Education in Spanish*

Even though Spanglish fulfills a needed function in daily communication, participants also identified a need to learn standard Spanish. For example, Vera, another participant, mentioned the lack of Spanish classes designed for heritage speakers in her high school.

Even though the high school the participants attended has a large number of Latino students, the school does not offer any Spanish classes for heritage speakers. This lack of academic inclusion for Latino students can lead to diminished academic proficiency. According to Banks (2005), for maximum educational performance, it is essential that all students regardless of social class or ethnicity be given equal access to academic resources. It is the responsibility of educational institutions to offer all courses necessary to fulfill all students' needs:

A lack of educational resources does not justify our denial of a high quality educational experience to Latino immigrant students. A fragmented educational policy creates a fragmented learning experience for children. And that, in turn, contributes to fragmented identities in communities that make no legitimate or appropriate roles available to immigrant children. My research also shows that a miseducative experience creates psychic and emotional pain in the lives of children who have to live and learn in such a situation (Martinez, 2002, p. 165).

Even when these academic resources are present, the classes offered may not be appropriate for all Spanish speakers. For example Vera, a student participant, stated that she learned only Spanish from Spain when she took a Spanish class in middle school.

Furthermore, students remarked that Spanish teachers did not clearly distinguish between Spanish and Spanglish. Alondra provided the following example: “Como yo tengo unos maestros que usan Spanglish cuando no saben cómo decirlo en español. (“Like I have some teachers that use Spanglish when they don’t know how to say it in Spanish”).

This inclusion of Spanglish in academic settings reflects its inconsequential effect on students’ achievements and attitudes towards the acceptability of Spanglish in the classroom. In addition, the questionnaire on language usage (see appendix D) confirms that Spanglish has little to no effect on the students’ grades. Out of 28 participants, only 4 identified Spanglish as having a slight effect on their grades.

Although Spanglish did not negatively affect students’ grades, Lipski (2008) states that Spanish teachers need to acknowledge the multiple Spanish language variations, each with different phonetics, morphology, syntax, and lexicon. Becker (2001) adds that the awareness of Spanglish in the academic context helps students attain linguistic diversity and written skills. In general, all participants were fluent in English and, based on the interviews, they were able to communicate easily in English or Spanish.

## Summary

The following list provides an overview of the findings discussed in this section of the study:

- Spanglish as a natural language acquisition
- The necessity for a common language
- Spanglish as a social identity
- Heritage language loss
- An informal and universal dialect
- Spanglish not related with language proficiency
- The lack of adequate Spanish education

The findings in this study revealed that participants use Spanglish as an everyday form of communication which is acquired at an early age from their family, friends, and community. For these participants, Spanglish provides an essential tool for bridging Spanish language variations used in the United States. Moreover, speakers of Spanglish gain a sense of identity and membership in their social groups.

The participants did not identify Spanglish as a negative influence on their heritage language. Instead, they saw Spanglish as providing a means of social identity. However, the loss of the participants' heritage language was due to the pressure to use only English in school. In this study, parents of the participants agreed that their children stopped using Spanish when they began their formal education. Zentella (1997) speaks of "the linguistic insecurity" as an outcome of English-only education. Zentella states that schools and communities have failed to work together to solve this insecurity due to the predominance of negative stereotyping of alternate linguistic codes.



All the parent participants in this study noted that their children speak English with their friends and siblings. However, their children use more Spanglish when addressing their parents and relatives. These language choices were consistent among all the participants and all parents expressed that this linguistic pattern was repeated throughout their local community. This trend magnifies a linguistic divide in the families, with some parents still predominately speaking Spanish at home. In this divide is also lost a familiarity with heritage culture and traditions. These concerns were addressed by Norma, the main parent participant in this study who was sad to see the disappearance of her native language and traditions among her extended family in the United States.

Due to the disappearance of their native language, Latino high school students feel the need to find an alternate language and identity. Suárez-Orozco and Todorova (2003) state that identities for immigrant adolescents are formed in social groups of their own ethnic communities. Their inclusion into the American culture fractures their Mexican identity by requiring them to adapt to a multicultural society in the United States. Some participants in this study mentioned feeling out of place when visiting relatives in Mexico. These participants were criticized for their language use.

Cuando nosotras fuimos a México dijimos vamos a “catch up” pero nos decían “oh y te crees americana y quién sabe qué”. Yo siento que en ningún lugar estamos bien porque si hablamos inglés o “you talk slang, you don’t know how to talk proper English” y cuando hablamos español “así no se dice, no sé qué estás diciendo” so, en ningún lugar estamos bien, we made up our own, Spanglish. (When we went to Mexico we said we are going to catch up, but they said “oh you think you’re all American and all this stuff”. I feel that we’re not okay any where because if we speak English “oh you talk slang, you don’t know how to talk proper English” and when we speak Spanish “you’re saying it wrong, I can’t understand you” so, we don’t belong in either place, and we made up our own, Spanglish)

These same participants stated the necessity of creating and using Spanglish as a way of establishing their new identity. Also, participants realized that this identity is only relevant in casual situations. Therefore, they expressed the need for learning a more formal form of communication in Spanish.

A summary of Spanglish usage is provided in a brief overview of the literature review and the findings of this study:

- Second generation Latino students learn Spanglish as a natural form of Spanish.
- Spanglish is necessary as a universal code of communication for Spanish-speaking people in the United States.
- Spanish-speaking immigrants acquire Spanglish due to new working and living environments. For some of these immigrants the terminology use on the job is new. For other immigrants, the language imitations come from the local community. Some technical terms are always kept in English (e.g. internet, el email) because of international usage.
- Many words in Spanish cannot be directly translated into English. For example, the verb “estrenar” in English is translated “to use or to do something for the first time”.
- Social pressures lead many immigrants both educated and poorly educated, to adopt Spanglish as a way of belonging to the local community.
- Spanglish is increasingly popular due to its accessibility as a form of communication.
- Spanglish has permeated all forms of media in the United States.

- The loss of heritage language is due to lack of parental involvement in the family communication.
- Second generation Latino students are aware that Spanglish is an informal form of communication useful in appropriate settings.

In the following section, the researcher sets forth conclusions regarding the linguistic choices of second generation Latino High School students in social and academic settings. These conclusions summarize the recommendations and implications of the findings for educators, researchers, politicians, and Latino communities.

## PART V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the study of the use of Spanglish in social and academic settings. The chapter includes the following sections: (1) summary, (2) conclusions, (3) implications, (4) recommendations, and (5) researcher's comments.

#### Summary

The main focus of the study was to explore how Spanglish is used in the social and academic lives of second generation Latino students. A secondary focus was to identify the need for destigmatization and tolerance of the use of Spanglish in academic settings to give voice to second generation Latino students.

The literature review in this study reveals that in the natural process of language acquisition, speakers are motivated to learn and use the language that fulfills their needs. These needs arise in various contexts including the social environment and cultural influences. Bilingualism develops as a natural and necessary outcome of the proximity of two languages (Fasold, 1984; Fishman, 1971; Halcom, 1995; Valdes, 2005, Zentella, 1997).

It is also natural that when two languages interconnect, a new language is created (Ardila, 2005). This is the case of Spanglish (English and Spanish) as well as many other linguistic combinations like Taglish (Tagalog and English), Hinglish (Hindi and English), Franglais (French and English), and others (Lipski, 2008).

Furthermore, in a world of many Spanish dialects, Spanglish has become the common code of communication added to the native form of Spanish to allow comprehension between speakers from various parts of the Spanish-speaking world. Lipski (2008) believes that Spanglish is a “third language” which many critics state has had a harmful influence on standard Spanish, especially in the United States. Among the researchers, Chicano academics, and socio-linguists who criticize Spanglish, there has developed controversy regarding both the definition and the identification of Spanglish.

Some researchers define Spanglish as the linguistic interaction between Spanish and English cultures (Stavans, 2003). Some definitions take this concept into negative territory. Spanglish has been labeled as a “contaminated” form of Spanish (Oxford English Dictionary). It has also been called a “bastard” form of Spanish (Acosta-Belén, 1975, González-Echeverría, 1997). Some definitions of Spanglish have a racist tone in affirming that Spanglish is the language of the poor and uneducated (González-Echeverría, 1997, Stavans, 2003). Stavans (2003) concurs with this assessment; however, he admits that the use of Spanglish is in fashion worldwide. He also expresses an admiration for the creative aspect of Spanglish.

Although Spanglish is constantly evolving, there are some standard terms used to identify its many variations: code-switching (Callahan, 2002; Gonzales-Velasquez, 1995; Jacobson, 1990; Toribio, 2002), code mixing (Torres, 1989) , and several forms of borrowing and hybrid words (Alvarez, 1997; Ardila, 2005; Burciaga, 1996; Fought, 2003; López-Flores, 2006). Code-switching (a mixture of proper English and proper Spanish), has been identified as the most common and acceptable form of Spanglish. Zentella (1997) summarizes that the use of code-switching in bilingual communities,

allows for the preservation and identity of the two cultures in contact. In addition, Zentella identifies creative applications of code-switching for establishing clarity.

The literature also reveals that Spanglish, in any of its forms can be an indication of proficiency in two languages (Zentella, 1997). Additionally, most speakers use code-switching for positive reasons, including overcoming the lack of equivalent words in either language, and the exploration of new words and phrases of a new language (Garcia, 2005). As a part of everyday life, Spanglish in any of its forms is unavoidable and constantly adapted by its many Latino speakers in the United States.

An important aspect of social life is ones environment. New environments require new language and culture adaptations. “ Language is a powerful and transformative part of culture. Like culture, language is learned, it is shared, and it evolves and changes over time” (Banks & Banks, 2005, p. 289).

Garcia (2005) identifies these changes as leading to “a new reality” for linguistic choices and social styles. Vygotsky as well as Garcia (2005) envision a connection between language, life experiences, and concepts. Therefore, a language is used to direct personal choices and establish goals that fit within the framework of ones community.

Second generation Latino students live in a bilingual and often multilingual environment in which Spanglish has become a natural and common tool of their everyday communication. This communication is governed by a mutual understanding of linguistic rules (Garcia, 2005).

Standard Spanish comes with its own set of grammatical indications that are, however, subject to variation depending on country of origin. The instruction of Spanish entails the acceptance of many Spanish variations in phonology, syntax, and morphology.

In a multilingual society with many Spanish variations, language evolves and creates new styles and forms of communication. This constant language evolution has led to the creation of regional Spanish dictionaries like “Diccionario de Español Tejano” (Spanish-Texan Dictionary) created by Roberto Galván and Richard Teschner in 1975. Authors and the media promoted the use of Spanglish in literary publications, radio, and TV, thus highlighting a positive view of alternate language use (Lipski, 2008).

Becker (2001) believes that code-switching increases both verbal and writing skills. Furthermore, Becker affirms that there is no connection between code-switching and grade level or linguistic ability. She concludes that a more encompassing academic approach to code-switching may increase students’ linguistic variety and reading ability.

Moreover, Becker recommends that educators embrace code-switching as a “viable academic phenomenon” and Zentella (1997) demands that bilingual students not be prevented from using their various language abilities in the classroom. Otherwise, she warns that students may not only lose their heritage language but fail to acquire English.

Garcia (2005) agrees on the importance of the inclusion of all Spanish language variations in academic settings. Furthermore, Garcia states the importance of a smooth transition between social and educational communication skills. These skills should be recognized as beneficial for the educational process between students and faculty. Faculty should also recognize and respect the different ethnicities of their bilingual students and welcome the language and cultural diversity that these students bring to the classroom (Baugh, 1984; Garcia, 2005).

Garcia (2005) recognizes the positive challenge that linguistic diversity brings to communities. At the same time, Garcia acknowledges the necessity of English

proficiency for academic purposes. Garcia stresses the inappropriateness of trying to either legislate or control the use of language, especially in the social arena. Furthermore, Garcia believes that language diversity will prevail as it supports cultural identity and social functions that language users find fulfilling and worthwhile.

### Conclusion

The conclusion of this study is divided in two main sections to highlight the findings: (a) Language Development and Variations, and (b) Social and Academic Implications in the lives of second generation Latino students.

#### Language Development and Variations

The researcher found that second generation Latino students acquire and use Spanglish as part of their normal communication in their community. The participants in this study stated that Spanglish bridges the communication gap created by the many Spanish language variations. Therefore, Spanglish becomes the common code of communication added to their language of choice in any given situation.

For Zentella (1997), Spanglish provides access to the heart of bilingualism. Language, as a fluid interaction, creates its own path through repeated use, connecting the speaker with the past, present, and future of their linguistic and cultural identity. Romaine (1994) sees language variations in both monolingual and multilingual communities. Romaine concurs that language variation and choice provide inclusion in the speaker's social group.



The participants identified a lack of Spanish skills in younger siblings due to the dominance of English at school and often at home. Romaine finds that this loss of native language is common in communities surrounded by a larger and more dominant culture. In these situations, minority speakers become temporarily bilingual and eventually, these speakers lose proficiency in their native language. All the participants in this study mentioned that due to the increasing use of English, their younger siblings have less need to speak in Spanish with their family and their social groups. Furthermore, the participants also stated that their parents are not vigilant in the household language choice.

The findings also support the view found in the literature that Spanglish is a positive tool of communication. Garcia (2005) and Lipski (2008) encourage educators and the society at large to accept Spanglish as a viable form of communication in the United States. Moreover, Garcia and Lipski acknowledge the necessity of the use of Spanglish as a constantly evolving language. This necessity was also identified by the participants in this study.

The participants spoke of the many variations that can exist in just one region of a Spanish-speaking country. These variations are found in the United States, so the participants said that Spanglish provides a clear and uniform medium for communication.

These participants also stated that as they grew up, they learned Spanglish as part of their first language, and did not see Spanglish as a separate form of the Spanish language. They recalled seeing and hearing Spanglish words and phrases everywhere in their community. Therefore, for these participants Spanglish has become a normal and acceptable language choice.

Although these participants have been using Spanglish all their lives, they were able to differentiate words in Spanglish that are not used in other Spanish-speaking countries.

### Implications

The findings of this research include the following implications for researchers, Spanish educators, and Spanish-speaking parents who want to promote the preservation of the Spanish language and culture.

First, the findings point to the importance of recognizing local variations in the Spanish language based on diverse regional dialects. In the United States, students use many of these variations. As a consequence, teaching in one language like English to bilingual or multilingual students can be unrealistic and ineffective since each ethnic group of students has their own code of communication.

Ogbu and Matute (1986) state that understanding of language diversity is important to educators as well as the creators of textbooks and other academic materials, and that inclusion of the different regional samples of language variations that exist within the Latino communities is a key factor in successfully teaching and communicating with multilingual students.

Secondly, the findings also point to the need for more course offerings in standard Spanish for heritage speakers. These Spanish courses could reverse the loss of the Spanish language among second generation Latino students. However, the high school that serves the participants of this study, does not offer any Spanish course for

heritage speakers. The absence of available Spanish courses increases the difficulty for second generation students to maintain their native language.

Third, another finding indicates the parental obligation to consistently promote the use of Spanish at home. In many countries bilingualism is a prestigious advantage. For example, in Mexico knowing another language is referred to as “having a second career”. One of the participants, Lourdes, complemented her parents’ dedication to her knowledge of Spanish. Parents, who desire that their children learn their heritage language, need to direct the language choice at home, by becoming home educators. This responsibility carries over into educators in the academic world.

The fourth implication is the necessary recognition of Spanglish as providing a sense of identity to the second generation Latino students in the United States. Similar to the participants in this study, people in various regions around the world have their own identity established by the local culture and language. Spanglish provides a universal form of communication that expands many Latin American languages.

The last finding is the recommendation that the negative stereotypes of Spanglish be discouraged in educational situations as well as in society at large. This study confirms that Spanglish is used by people in all social and economic classes. The convenience of Spanglish should not be seen as an indication of insufficient education. Further research is needed to examine the demographics of Spanglish speakers in the United States.

### Recommendations for Future Research

This study focused on six participants and their parents in a small community in Northern California. Future research can be conducted using a larger sample of second generation Spanish-speakers in a larger urban area with substantial Latino communities.

Since this study was limited to only female participants, future studies should incorporate the perspectives of male voices in the Latino community. This inclusion may provide a broader perspective on the experiences of male speakers in regard to the use of Spanglish. Also, this study focused primarily on the social and academic perspectives of the acquisition and use of Spanglish by second generation Latino students.

A broader research focus ought to explore the language choices of a wider range of ages in Latino Spanish-speakers. This broader age range should include language development in beginning learners through college students in order to examine language ability and language choice at home and at school. An interesting question to investigate would be the standard age at which students begin using Spanglish.

To gain more insights of hybrid forms of languages, further studies should explore other ethnic groups surrounded by a majority or dominant language. An important question is how much influence a dominant language has over a secondary language.

In addition, further research ought to study the economic and educational backgrounds of Spanglish speakers to challenge the denigrating stereotypes of Spanglish speakers as poor and uneducated. More specifically, in this regard, future research needs to examine the economic and educational background of the parents of second generation Spanish speakers, as it may not be as class-oriented as some researchers believe.

As stated in the literature review, many researchers like Stavans (2003), Acosta-Belén (1975), González-Echeverría (1997), to mention a few, are of the opinion that Spanglish speakers are uneducated and lower class people. This stereotype persists among some educators and researchers today, in spite of the increasing popularity of Spanglish. As more research is conducted, the negative stereotypes about Spanglish-speakers will hopefully be dispelled and Spanglish will take its place as an alternate form of communication among Latinos in the United States.

The participants in this study as well as the researcher hope that educators in the United States will come to understand and accept Spanglish as a form of identity and viable code of communication that distinguishes American Latinos from Latinos in other countries.

#### Educational Applications and Alternatives

Spanish language educators may discover that the discussion of Spanglish in their courses will provide a sense of respect and awareness of the different language codes students use in their daily lives. As previous studies have revealed, the use of more than one language, including Spanglish, enhances the students' verbal and written abilities. This includes the recognition that the many language and cultural variations that Spanish-speaking students bring to the classroom are a great educational opportunity for teachers and linguists to appreciate not just other cultures but also the vision of two modern languages in transition.

As Zentella (1997) suggests, teachers need to teach from what these students already know, from their basic linguistic knowledge. This includes openness to linguistic

and cultural diversity as well as an abstinence from pre-judging “proper” linguistic influence. In addition, Zentella recommends that educators encourage more oral communication in the classroom, including various creative forms of expression. As one form of expression, “street speech” and Spanglish can provide a strong foundation for gaining significant cultural and linguistic insight.

Parents, educators, politicians, and the media could foster the use of home language programs to maintain and legitimate students’ native languages. Also, with current influx of immigrant populations school teachers must be prepared to teach with a variety of educational expressions and approaches.

#### Researcher’s Comments

When first being confronted with the use of Spanglish in my classroom, I was shocked. As a native Spanish speaker and a Spanish educator, I expected students to use standard Spanish. During research for this study, however, I found myself becoming more open-minded about “non-standard” codes in both academic and social situations, I discovered a whole new world of communication possibilities.

Conducting this research has given me the opportunity to know these wonderful student participants and their families. Working closely with these families exposed me to the prevalence of Spanglish throughout my local community. This exposure has allowed me to understand the motivations behind the students’ use of Spanglish. As I myself became more comfortable with Spanglish I started to notice it everywhere, even in my own vocabulary.

One thing I observed with most of the participants was the absence of parental motivations in teaching their children Spanish. It is sad to see the disappearance of the native language at such a young age. Many of my students were raised in similar situations – they understand spoken Spanish but cannot respond in Spanish. These students blame their parents for not teaching them when they were children. Parents need to understand that the Spanish they know, however limited, is valuable to their children. Parents should pass on this knowledge to their kids like a diamond that can be refined at school to increase its value.

In the meantime, it is important that educators acknowledge the use of Spanglish in appropriate social and academic settings. In my own classes, when students discuss the forms and uses of Spanglish, they express a new excitement and interest in the topic. By comparing the different dialects that exist in the Spanish-speaking communities, the students have gained knowledge and respect for the different linguistic codes used in various cultures. Moreover, students appreciate that there is no superior language code, and that each student's language represents their own culture and identity.

As a result of this research, I have developed three new Spanish courses designed for heritage and native speakers since most of the Latino students, in the college where I work, are from Mexico. These courses present the traditions and culture of Mexico. The goal is to foster an appreciation of their heritage as well as an opportunity to learn the language variations and dialects that exist just within one Spanish community.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A  
Interview with participants: Introduction to the research

<p><b>1. ¿Qué es Spanglish para ustedes?</b></p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Hablando con una persona en inglés y español combinados al mismo tiempo</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Sí, es una combinación de inglés y español juntos</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Hablando con una persona y echando palabras en español y inglés</p> <p><b>Lola:</b> Sí, Por ejemplo, “yesterday no fui al parque”</p>	<p><b>1. What is Spanglish to you?</b></p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Talking to a person in English and Spanish combined at the same time</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Yeah, it’s a combination of English and Spanish put together</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Talking with someone and putting in words in English and Spanish</p> <p><b>Lola:</b> Yeah, for example, “yesterday no fui al parque” (I did not go to the park)</p>
<p><b>2. ¿Cuándo fue la primera vez que lo escucharon?</b></p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Yo pienso que toda mi vida contestaba en inglés y español desde Chiquita lo usaba. Me acuerdo que hablaba así</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Sí, así crecimos</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Yo y nosotras cuando estábamos chiquitas como así pensábamos en mi casa así crecí porque en la escuela hablamos inglés y en la casa español</p>	<p><b>2. When was the first time you heard it?</b></p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> I think that all my life I’ve been talking with English and Spanish. Since I was little, I’ve used it. I remember I talked like that</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Yeah, that’s how we grew up</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> me, and us when we were little, that’s how we thought in my house, I grew up like that because at school we spoke English and at home, Spanish</p>

<p><b>3. ¿Se dan cuenta de cuándo usan Spanglish?</b></p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Yo a veces cuando no puedo pronunciar una palabra en español y sé que la persona habla inglés entonces hablo inglés y combino las dos cosas. A veces comienzo con el español y termino con el inglés y ni me doy cuenta <i>(todas se ríen)</i></p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Y hablando con mis papás yo a veces están mis amigos ahí y yo pienso que estoy hablando español y de repente estoy ya en inglés y ellos me dicen “oye ya estás hablando en inglés” y digo OK. <i>(todas se ríen)</i></p>	<p><b>3. Do you realize when you use Spanglish?</b></p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Sometimes when I can't say the word in Spanish and I know the person speaks English, I speak English and combine both. Sometimes I start with Spanish and end in English and don't even realize it <i>(everyone laughs)</i></p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> and talking with my parents I sometimes, my friends are there and I think that I am speaking Spanish and all of a sudden I am on English and they tell me “hey you're speaking English” and I say Okay <i>(everyone laughs)</i></p>
<p><b>4. ¿Entre ustedes, como hermanas, en qué idioma se comunican, en inglés o en español?</b></p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Depende</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> en una situación cuando las</p>	<p><b>4. Between you girls, as sisters, what language do you communicate in, English or Spanish?</b></p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Depends</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> In one case when people want to be</p>

<p>personas quieren estar en el “shopping” hablan más inglés o más español que inglés, pero cuando todos nos hablan inglés, pues inglés, pero cuando estamos solas hablamos inglés</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Pues, yo pienso que hablo más español que inglés pero a la misma vez hablo más inglés que español, hablo los dos idiomas. Siempre lo combino y no sé por qué. Y un señor una vez ....estaba así como ayudándole en una presentación y hablaba en español y terminaba con inglés y el señor se empezaba a reír y decía “you did it again, Spanglish” Oh my God, I’m sorry y a veces no me daba cuenta cuando cambiaba</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Yo en mi trabajo voy mucho de español a inglés y de inglés a español porque con los niños les he estado tratando de enseñar español y todo eso y a veces ellos me empiezan a hablar en inglés y así que como ellos no pueden cambiamos a inglés y todo eso</p>	<p>in the “shopping” they speak more English or more Spanish than English, but when everyone talks to us in English, then English. But when we are alone we speak English</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Well, I think I speak more Spanish than English but at the same time I speak more English than Spanish, I talk in both languages. I always mix them and I don’t know why. And a guy one time, .... I was like helping in a presentation and spoke in Spanish and ended with English, and the guy would start to laugh and said “you did it again, Spanglish” Oh my God, I’m sorry and sometimes I wouldn’t realize when I switched</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Me, at my job, I switch a lot from English to Spanish because with the kids I’ve been trying to teach them Spanish and everything and sometimes they start talking in English and since they like can’t, we switch to English and everything</p>
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<p><b>5. Y con sus padres, ¿cómo se comunican?</b></p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Yo sólo en español</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Yo a veces digo una palabra en inglés porque no la sé en español</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Pienso que como nacimos aquí nacimos con mucho inglés y yo creo que sabemos más inglés y preferimos decirlo en inglés porque sí sabemos la respuesta y en español no sabemos</p>	<p><b>5. And with your parents, how do you communicate?</b></p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Me, only in Spanish</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> I sometimes say one word in English because I don't know it in Spanish</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> I think that because we were born here we were born with a lot of English and I think we know more English and would rather saying it in English because we know the answer and in Spanish we don't know it</p>
<p><b>6. ¿Cómo se comunican con sus amigos y en la escuela?</b></p> <p><b>Lola:</b> Yo hablo siempre en inglés con mis amigos y en la escuela porque todo nos lo enseñan en inglés. Y con mi familia a veces en español y a veces en inglés</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Yo más en inglés, más bien hablo siempre inglés porque no me siento bien en español</p>	<p><b>6. How do you communicate with friends at school?</b></p> <p><b>Lola:</b> I always talk in English with friends and at school because they teach us everything in English. And with my family sometimes Spanish and sometimes in English</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> For me, English, well, actually always English because I don't feel good in Spanish.</p>

<p><b>7. ¿Qué idioma se les hace más fácil y por qué?</b></p> <p><b>Todas:</b> el inglés</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Porque yo aprendí en la escuela todo en inglés y nunca hemos tomado una clase en español</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Yo todo lo que sé lo aprendí de mis padres, pero yo me doy cuenta que hablan diferente en diferentes lugares de México y yo creo que me entiende mejor la gente cuando hablo inglés</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Yo creo que el español aunque sale natural, tenemos más experiencia en inglés</p>	<p><b>7. What language is easier and why?</b></p> <p><b>Everyone:</b> English</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Because I learned in school everything in English and we've never taken a class in Spanish</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> I know all I do from my parents, but I figured out that they speak different in different places in Mexico and I think I'm understood better by people when I speak English</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> I think that Spanish even though it comes natural, we have more experience in English</p>
<p><b>8. Cuando hablan con una persona que no habla nada de inglés, ¿cómo se comunican?</b></p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Bueno yo hablo el español porque mis papas me hablan en español pero no es muy bueno porque nunca he tomado una clase</p>	<p><b>8. When you talk to someone that speaks no English, how do you communicate?</b></p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Well, I talk in Spanish because my parents talk to me in Spanish but it's not very good because I've never taken a class before</p>

<p><b>Dulce:</b> Yo a veces comienzo en español y acabo hablando en inglés y no me doy cuenta</p> <p><b>Lulú:</b> Yo hablo muy bien los dos, así que me siento muy bien hablando el idioma que sea porque mis papás siempre me exigen que hable con ellos en español</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Yo a veces lo combino por ejemplo le digo a mis sobrinos “ven ponte tus shoes”</p> <p>Por ejemplo hay palabras como la palabra “troca” y “parqueadero” que son Spanglish words.</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Yo pensaba que era la palabra correcta <i>(todas se ríen)</i></p> <p><b>Lola:</b> Bueno es que por ejemplo nuestros padres también usan esas palabras entonces las aprendemos de ellos</p>	<p><b>Dulce:</b> I sometimes start speaking Spanish and end up talking in English and I don't even notice it</p> <p><b>Lourdes:</b> I speak very well in both, so I feel fine speaking either language because my parents always force me to speak Spanish back to them.</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> I sometimes for example I tell my nephews “ven ponte tus shoes” (come, put your shoes on). For example there are words like the word “troca” (Spanglish word for truck in English, and camioneta in Spanish) and “parqueadero” (Spanglish word for parking lot in English and estacionamiento in Spanish) that are Spanglish words</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> I thought it was the right word <i>(everyone laughs)</i></p> <p><b>Lola:</b> Well, it's because for example our parents also use these words so we learn from them</p>
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<p><b>LuLú:</b> Para mí es diferente porque mis papás nunca revuelven inglés con español. Siempre me han corregido ... desde que empecé a hablar. Sí ha habido ocasiones en que quiero mezclar los dos, pero mis papás siempre me corrigen y no me dejan mezclarlos.</p>	<p><b>Lulú:</b> For me is different because my parents never mix English with Spanish. They have always corrected me... since I started talking. There have been times that I want to mix them, but my parents don't allow me.</p>
<p><b>Alondra:</b> Yo por ejemplo cuando escucho a mi maestro que nos enseña palabras como “bolígrafo” en lugar de “pluma” pues eso aprendemos</p>	<p><b>Alondra:</b> When I for example hear my teacher who teaches us like “bolígrafo” instead of “pluma” then that's what we learn</p>
<p><b>Dulce:</b> Hasta mis papás hablan Spanglish</p>	<p><b>Dulce:</b> Even my parents talk in Spanglish</p>
<p><b>Vera:</b> A mí se me hace raro cuando una persona habla español y pronuncia las palabras con acento en inglés</p>	<p><b>Vera:</b> I think it's weird when a person talks in Spanish and pronounces the words with an accent in English</p>
<p><b>Dulce:</b> Yo por ejemplo cuando ordeno comida Mexicana yo pronuncio en español las cosas de comida y no puedo decirlo con acento Americano</p>	<p><b>Dulce:</b> For example when I order Mexican food I pronounce the words in Spanish for food but I can't say it with an American accent</p>
<p><i>(todas se ríen)</i></p>	<p><i>(everyone laughs)</i></p>

<p><b>9. ¿Cómo creen ustedes que pueden mejorar su español?</b></p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Yo creo que estando en un lugar donde no hablen inglés por ejemplo cuando mi hermana estuvo un tiempo en México, ella aprendió mucho</p> <p><b>Lola:</b> Sí porque estás obligada a hablar sólo español</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Yo estudié español en la escuela pero el español que aprendí es el español de España y otras palabras de Chile y son diferentes a las que usan nuestra familia</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Sí, nos enseñan muy diferente al español con el que nosotras nacimos y no nos dicen qué es español y qué es Spanglish.</p> <p><b>Lola:</b> Con mis hermanos hablamos más inglés pero con mis papás hablo más español</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Yo creo que lo que pasa a penas estamos aprendiendo inglés y aprendemos un poco más español, pero ya nuestros hermanos nos escuchan hablar inglés así</p>	<p><b>9. How do you think you can improve your Spanish?</b></p> <p><b>Ana:</b> I think that being in a place where they don't speak English, for example my sister went for a while to Mexico and she learned a lot</p> <p><b>Lola:</b> Yeah because you'll be forced to speak only in Spanish</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> I studied Spanish at school but it was Spanish from Spain and other words from Chile and they're different than what we use in our family</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Yeah, they teach us Spanish really different than the one we were born with, and teachers don't make any distinction between Spanish and Spanglish.</p> <p><b>Lola:</b> With my siblings we speak English but with my parents we talk in Spanish</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> I think that what's going on is we're learning English and learning a bit more Spanish, but now our siblings listen to us talk in English so with them we speak more English</p>
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<p>que con ellos hablamos más inglés</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Así soy yo. Mis hermanos mayores hablan español más mejor que yo. Yo soy la única que no habla mucho español porque cuando nací ellos me hablaban más en inglés que en español</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Yo soy la mayor y por eso yo hablo más español que mis hermanos y yo iba a la escuela y aprendí inglés. A mi hermanito se le hace más fácil hablar inglés porque sabe que yo hablo inglés y se le hace más fácil hablar con nosotras. Por ejemplo un vez mi mamá quería que mi hermanito dijera algo en español y mi hermanito le dijo “no mami, me vas a embarazar”</p> <p>(todas se ríen)</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Mi hermano más chiquito casi no sabe español</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Yo soy la más Chiquita y no hablo mucho español</p>	<p><b>Ana:</b> That’s the way I am, my older siblings talk a better Spanish than I. I’m the only one that doesn’t talk much Spanish because when I was born they spoke to me in English rather than Spanish</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> I’m the oldest and that’s why I speak more Spanish than my siblings and I went to school and learned English. For my little brother, it’s easier to speak English because he knows I speak English so it’s easier for him to speak to us. For example a time my mom wanted my brother to say some thing in Spanish and he said “no mami, me vas a embarazar” (you’re going to get me pregnant, instead of you’re going to embarrass me)</p> <p><i>(everyone laughs)</i></p> <p><b>Vera:</b> My little brother barely knows Spanish</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> I’m the youngest and I barely speak Spanish</p>
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<p><b>Alondra:</b> Como yo tengo unos maestros que usan Spanglish cuando no saben cómo decirlo en español</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Como mi maestro nos enseña palabras de otros países</p>	<p><b>Alondra:</b> Like I have some teachers that use Spanglish when they don't know how to say it in Spanish</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> My teacher teaches us words from other countries</p>
<p><b>10. ¿Esto mismo lo observan con otras familias?</b></p> <p><b>Lola:</b> Sí, toda mi familia lo usa y se me hace como un slang</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Yo no creo que sea bueno porque una nueva generación va a olvidar el español</p> <p><b>Lola:</b> Sí es verdad, yo creo que nosotros no estamos tan mal pero nuestros hermanos chiquitos sí van a olvidando el español</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> En Estados Unidos se habla sólo inglés. Aquí no tienes otra opción, si vives aquí tienes que hablar inglés</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Yo trato de hablar con mi hermanito en español, pero se le hace difícil pronunciar las palabras</p> <p><b>Araceli:</b> ¿Cuántos años tiene?</p>	<p><b>10. Do you observe this in other families?</b></p> <p><b>Lola:</b> Yes, my whole family uses it and I consider it slang</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> I don't think it's good because the new generation is going to forget Spanish</p> <p><b>Lola:</b> Yeah, that's true, I think that we aren't that bad but our younger siblings are forgetting Spanish</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> In the United States you only speak English. Here you don't have another choice, if you live here, you need to speak English</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> I try to speak Spanish with my little brother, but it's hard for him to pronounce the words</p> <p><b>Araceli:</b> How old is he?</p>

<p><b>Alondra:</b> tiene ocho, pero el español se le hace muy difícil</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Mi primo con su mamá casi no habla español y su mamá le grita y le dice que hable español, pero él ve mucha tele en inglés y casi no en español. Yo casi no veía español pero ahora que vivo con mi tía pues veo comedias en español</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Yo algunas veces no sé pronunciar en español. Un día mi hermana rentó la película “volver” y yo no sabía cómo decirlo</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> A mí también me pasó, un día vi en una camioneta que tenía la palabra “víbora” y no sabía cómo decirlo y mi tío me dijo que quería decir en español porque yo no sabía</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Yo algunas veces les contesto a mis papás en inglés y no en español</p>	<p><b>Alondra:</b> He’s eight, but Spanish is really hard for him</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> My cousin with his mom barely speaks Spanish and her mom yells at him and tells him to speak Spanish, but he watches a lot of TV in English and barely in Spanish. I didn’t really watch Spanish but now I live with my aunt so I watch soap operas in Spanish</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> I sometimes can’t pronounce stud in Spanish. One day my sister rented a movie called “Volver” and I didn’t know how to say it right</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> That happens to me too. One day I saw a truck that had the word “víbora” (snake in English) and I didn’t know how to say it so my friend told me what it meant in Spanish because I didn’t know</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> I sometimes answer my parents in English and not in Spanish</p>
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<p><b>Ana:</b> Sí yo también. Algunas veces cuando no quieres que las otras personas entiendan hablamos en español con mis amigas</p>	<p><b>Ana:</b> Me too, sometimes when I don't want other people to understand us we talk in Spanish with my friends</p>
<p><b>Alondra:</b> Sí pero a veces te sorprendes que hay muchos americanos que entienden español. Una vez le estaba diciendo a mi amiga “mira ese muchacho tiene los ojos bien bonitos” y de repente que me contesta él y me dice” gracias”.</p> <p><i>(todas se ríen)</i></p>	<p><b>Alondra:</b> Yeah but sometimes it's surprising that there are Americans that understand Spanish. One time I was telling my friend “look at that guy, he has really pretty eyes” and all of a sudden he answers “thank you”</p> <p><i>(everyone laughs)</i></p>
<p><b>Ana:</b> Es que con una palabra o dos que entiendan lo ponen junto y saben lo que dices</p>	<p><b>Ana:</b> With one or two words that they understand, they put it together and know what you say</p>
<p><b>Dulce:</b> Una vez en la escuela una niña me preguntó qué clase de música escuchaba y le dije música country y me dijo que era “white wash”</p>	<p><b>Dulce:</b> One time in school a girl asked me what kind of music I listen to and I said country music and she said that I was “white wash”</p>
<p><b>Vera:</b> Sí a veces cuando uno no sabe español unas personas que saben nos critican porque no sabemos</p>	<p><b>Vera:</b> Yeah sometimes when you don't know Spanish people that do criticize you because we don't know</p>
<p><b>Ana:</b> Sí sí una vez fui al doctor y me preguntó algo el doctor de “¿cómo se dice esto? y yo le dije que no sabía y me dijo</p>	<p><b>Ana:</b> Yeah, yeah one time I went to the doctor and he asked me “how do you say</p>

“eres Mexicana y no hablas español” y yo me sentí muy mal

**Dulce:** Sí y te critican mucho.

**Vera:** Lo que pasa que mis papás querían también aprender inglés y algunas cosas no las aprendimos en español. Yo me he fijado que a veces no han sido gente racistas, es más como personas que dicen no sabe hablar en español bien “oh my God!”

**Alondra:** Cuando nosotras fuimos a México dijimos vamos a “catch up” pero nos decían “oh y te crees americana y quién sabe qué”. Yo siento que en ningún lugar estamos bien porque si hablamos inglés o “you talk slang, you don’t know how to talk proper English” y cuando hablamos español “así no se dice, no sé qué estás diciendo” so, en ningún lugar estamos bien, we made up our own, Spanglish.

*(todas se ríen)*

this?” and I told him I didn’t know and he told me “you are Mexican and don’t know Spanish?” and I felt really bad

**Dulce:** Yeah, they criticize me a lot

**Vera:** What happens is that my parents also wanted to learn English so there are things we never learned in Spanish. I’ve noticed it’s not racist people, it’s more like people that say “she can’t speak Spanish?” Oh my God!

**Alondra:** When we went to Mexico we said we are going to catch up, but they said “oh you think you’re all American and all this stuff”. I fell that we’re not okay any where because if we speak English “oh you talk slang, you don’t know how to talk proper English” and when we speak Spanish “you’re saying it wrong, I can’t understand you” so, we don’t belong in either place, and we made up our own, Spanglish

*(everyone laughs)*

<p><b>Dulce:</b> Yo mi ingles es muy bueno y no tengo ningún problema, pero cuando hablo español me critican mucho, pero trato y trato de estudiarlo, pero “they are teaching us like kids like very simple things</p> <p><b>Todas:</b> sí, sí</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Sí es lo mismo en mi clase</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Pienso que necesitamos diferentes clases para aprender español correctamente</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Sí porque las clases que nos dan son muy fáciles y yo me aburro mucho.</p>	<p><b>Dulce:</b> My English is really good and I don’t have a problem, but when I speak Spanish I’m criticize a lot, but I try and I try to learn but they are teaching us like kids, like very simple things</p> <p><b>Everyone:</b> Yeah, yeah</p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Yeah, that happens in my class</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> I think we need different classes to learn Spanish correctly</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Yeah because the classes they give us are easy and boring.</p>
<p><b>11. ¿Si su escuela ofreciera clases de español para hispano-hablantes, ¿tomarían ustedes las clases?</b></p> <p><b>Todas:</b> Sí, sí claro que sí</p> <p><b>Lola:</b> Aprenderíamos más con una persona que lo hable bien y todo en español</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> Y que nos haga hablar cosas reales no como niños “yo como, tú comes” (<i>todas se ríen</i>)</p>	<p><b>11. If your school offered classes in Spanish for Spanish speakers, would you take them?</b></p> <p><b>Everyone:</b> Yes, yes of course</p> <p><b>Lola:</b> We would learn more with someone who speaks well and teaches everything in Spanish</p> <p><b>Alondra:</b> And someone that talks about real things, not like little kids “I eat, you eat” (<i>everyone laughs</i>)</p>

Appendix B  
Family Interview

<p><b>12. ¿Qué es Spanglish?</b></p> <p><b>Nora:</b> La revoltura del español y el inglés.</p>	<p><b>12. What is Spanglish?</b></p> <p><b>Nora:</b> The mixture of Spanish and English</p>
<p><b>13. ¿Dónde lo aprendiste?</b></p> <p><b>Nora:</b> Yo lo aprendí de la gente que vive aquí. Cuando yo llegué a vivir aquí, eso era lo que yo escuchaba con las personas que convivía.</p>	<p><b>13. Where did you learn it?</b></p> <p><b>Nora:</b> I learned from the people that live here. When I came to live here, that's all I would hear from the people I socialized with.</p>
<p><b>14. ¿Cómo se comunica con sus hijos?</b></p> <p><b>Nora:</b> Con mis hijos yo me comunico en español pero ellos me contestan siempre en inglés. Cuando mis hijos empezaron a ir a la “middle school”, ellas empezaron a hablar conmigo sólo en inglés porque cuando ellas estaban chiquitas, ellas siempre me hablaban en español.</p>	<p><b>14. How do you communicate with your children?</b></p> <p><b>Nora:</b> With my children I communicate in Spanish but they always answer me in English. When my kids started going to middle school they started talking to me in English only but when they were little they always talked to me in Spanish.</p>
<p><b>15. ¿Cómo se comunican sus hijos entre ellos?</b></p> <p><b>Nora:</b> Entre mis hijos, ellos sólo se comunican en inglés. Y ¿sabe qué pasó?</p>	<p><b>15. How do your kids communicate with each other?</b></p> <p><b>Nora:</b> within each other they communicate in English. And you know what happened?</p>

<p>que conforme ellos fueron creciendo y yo fui hablando más inglés, entonces ya fue más fácil para mí entenderles. Por eso, ahí es donde sentí que se empezó a mezclar. Cuando ya no le molesta a uno que no les esté entendiendo. Entonces ya en la cabeza de uno le entró lo que ellos dijeron, entonces por ejemplo de chiquitas no. Si se fija la palabra “parquero” no es una palabra de México. Es una palabra nueva. También la palabra “carpet” por alfombra es una palabra de aquí, de los Estados Unidos. Y así muchas palabritas, pero uno mismo las agarró de aquí mismo. Por ejemplo, en la televisión revuelven muchísimo el inglés y el español. Por ejemplo un día en un lapso de 2 horas estos comerciales y más pasaron en la tele. H &amp; R Block “Inscríbete en el curso de preparación de taxes.” Direct TV – “Más canales en high definition.” Rigo’s Auto Sales – “Esta troquita se va conmigo. En el radio no sé porque no tengo uno. Nunca me</p>	<p>That started growing up and I started speaking more English so it was easier to understand them. That’s why that is when I felt it started to mix. When it doesn’t bug you that they don’t understand you. So then in ones head you understand what they said but when they’re little you don’t. If you look at the word “parquero”, you’ll see it’s not a word from Mexico. It’s a new word. Also the word “carpet” for carpet is a word from here, the United States. And that’s the way there are a lot of little words but we ourselves got them from here. For example, on TV they mix English and Spanish a lot. For example one day in a 2 hour time span these are the commercials that came on. H &amp; R Block “Inscríbete en el curso de preparación de taxes.” Direct TV – “Más canales en high definition.” Rigo’s Auto Sales – “Esta troquita se va conmigo. On the radio I’m not sure because I don’t have one. I’ve never liked the radio. I like to read</p>
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<p>ha gustado el radio. A mí me gusta mucho leer de todo. Yo me voy a la “librería” de aquí de Santa Rosa y ahí casi no hay muchos libros. Ya casi me acabe de leer todos los que tienen en español y después empecé a leer en inglés.</p> <p>Observation:</p> <p>De repente llegó Vera, una de sus hijas, y saludó a su hermana y mamá en inglés y a mí en español.</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Hi, mama”</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Hi there!</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> ¿Quieren algo de tomar?</p> <p><b>Researcher:</b> No, gracias</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> I’m a guest too! And I want something to drink!</p> <p>(Todas se ríen)</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> La primera vez que yo escuché la palabra “Spanglish” fue en “middle school” porque otros estudiantes lo dijeron.</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> En la escuela mis compañeros me dijeron “hablas mucho Spanglish con tu</p>	<p>everything. I go read at the “librería” here in Santa Rosa and there aren’t many books there. I’m almost done reading the ones they have in Spanish so now I’ve started reading the ones in English.</p> <p>Observation:</p> <p>Vera, one of her daughters, suddenly walked in. She greeted her sister and mother in English and but me, in Spanish.</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Hi mama!</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Hi there!</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> would you like something to drink?</p> <p><b>Researcher:</b> no thank you</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> im a guest too! And I want something to drink!</p> <p>(everyone laughs)</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> the first time I heard the word “Spanglish” was in “middle school” because other students said it.</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> at school my classmates told me “you speak a lot of Spanglish with your</p>
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<p>mamá” (Todas se ríen)</p>	<p>mom” (everyone laughs)</p>
<p><b>16. ¿Cómo se sienten al usar Spanglish?</b></p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Yo pienso que ya es normal usarlo porque...</p> <p><b>Nora:</b> porque antes no había mucha población que hablaba español y cuando empezaron los programas de español en las escuelas, fue cuando empezaron a revolver todo.</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Ya ahora es muy normal comunicarse en los tres idiomas. Yo casi no tengo amigos que hablan español, así que tengo que hablar inglés.</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Yo siento que mi voz en español es más dulce que el inglés. Siento que me cambia cuando hablo español o inglés. (Toda se ríen)</p> <p>Mis amigos no hablan español o aunque lo hablan siempre nos comunicamos en inglés.</p> <p><b>Nora:</b> ¿Sabe qué? que en el trabajo a nosotras se nos hace más difícil</p>	<p><b>16. How do you feel speaking Spanglish?</b></p> <p><b>Vera:</b> I think it’s normal to use it because...</p> <p><b>Nora:</b> because before there weren’t many people that spoke Spanish and when there started being Spanish programs at the schools they started mixing everything.</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> and now it’s normal to communicate in the three languages. I don’t have many friends that speak Spanish so I have to speak English.</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> I feel that my voice in Spanish is sweeter than in English. I feel that it changes when im speaking Spanish or English. (everyone laughs)</p> <p>My friends don’t speak Spanish and even if they do we still communicate in English.</p> <p><b>Nora:</b> you know what? At work it’s harder</p>

<p>comunicarnos en inglés. También porque entre nosotras no sabemos todas las palabras correctas en español y si no sabemos una palabra, se corta la comunicación. Yo le expliqué a una enfermera que es ridículo porque no podemos comunicarnos y ahí es donde se corta la comunicación. Y eso, es lo que les pasa a ellas (her daughters).</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> La cosa mamá es que yo lo entiendo perfectamente pero no quiero decir algo porque no quiero sentirme como una tonta.</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Sí yo pienso que eso es el problema como dijo ella, uno sabiendo que no sabe todo todo en español, no quiere uno oírse tonta cuando está hablando.</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> En la escuela, nunca nos enseñaron una clase de español.</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Yo sí tomé una clase pero nunca le puse atención en la “high school”</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Yo después de que tomé francés, yo me estuve fijando como en past tense and future, como son diferentes pero antes de</p>	<p>for us to communicate in English. Also because we don’t know all the right words in Spanish and if we don’t know one word we lose the communication. I explained to a nurse that this is ridiculous because we can’t communicate and that’s where the communication gets cut. And that it what’s happening to them (her daughters).</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> the thing is mom, that I understand it perfectly but I don’t want to say anything because I don’t want to feel dumb.</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Yes, I think that, that is the problem like she said. Knowing that you don’t know everything, everything in Spanish, you don’t want to sound dumb when you’re talking.</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> at school, they never taught us a Spanish class.</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> I took a class but I never paid attention in “high school”</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> after I took French, I started noticing the past tense and future tense, and how they are different but before that I</p>
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<p>eso no noté nada.</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> Yo pienso que trabajando en la escuela, he podido comunicarme con los padres que no hablan inglés.</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> Los padres son muy pacientes con nosotros y nos tratan de ayudar cuando nos trabamos o algo. Yo tengo una compañera de trabajo y ella conoce español porque ella quiso aprender. Ella no es mexicana pero dice que es mexicana, pero así que ella habla el español pero ella es como alguien de español aprendiendo inglés. Así que con ella me siento bien hablando.</p> <p>(Todas se ríen)</p>	<p>didn't notice anything.</p> <p><b>Vera:</b> I think that working at the school, I've been able to communicate with the parents that don't speak English.</p> <p><b>Dulce:</b> the parents are very patient with us and try to help is when we get stuck or something. I have a co-worker that knows Spanish because she wanted to learn it. she's not Mexican but she says she is, so she speaks Spanish and is like someone in Spanish trying to learn English. So I feel fine speaking with her.</p> <p>(everyone laughs)</p>
<p><b>17. ¿Observan lo mismo con otras familias?</b></p> <p><b>Nora:</b> Lo que yo observo en otras familias es que no tienen mucha comunicación. Por ejemplo, cuando mis hijos entraron a la escuela y eran chiquitas, nosotros hablábamos mucho en español y todo eso se empezó a revolver cuando ellas entraron a la “middle school”. Nosotros sí teníamos</p>	<p><b>17. Do you notice the same thing in other families?</b></p> <p><b>Nora:</b> What I notice in other families is that they don't have much communication. For example, when my kids were little and started going to school, we would speak a lot of Spanish and all of that started mixing when they went to “middle school”. We had a lot of communication in Spanish and</p>

<p>mucha comunicación en español y también no podíamos hablar mucho inglés porque yo no les entendía y tenían que hablar nada más en español. En sus años primeros fue todo en español.</p>	<p>we couldn't speak much English because I didn't understand them so they had to talk to me more in Spanish. In their first years, everything was in Spanish.</p>
<p><b>Vera:</b> En la guardería, hay una niña que no habla mucho español pero como que a ella le da vergüenza hablar español. También, depende de la familia porque hay otra familia que acaba de llegar de México y ya hablan casi todo en inglés o en los dos, pero casi no tratan.</p>	<p><b>Vera:</b> At the daycare, there is a girl who doesn't speak a lot of Spanish but it seems as though she is embarrassed to speak Spanish. It also depends on the family because there is another family who just came here from Mexico and they already say everything in English or both but they don't really try.</p>
<p><b>Nora:</b> La mezcla se va sola, aunque quiera uno evitarlo ya no se puede.</p>	<p><b>Nora:</b> the mix happens alone, even if you want to help it, you can't.</p>
<p><b>Dulce:</b> yo el fin de semana fui a visitar mi familia y un primo. Su mamá le hablaba sólo en español y él sólo hablaba en inglés. Eso se me hizo muy triste.</p>	<p><b>Dulce:</b> over the weekend I went to visit my relatives and a cousin. His mom spoke to him in Spanish only and he only spoke English. That made me very sad.</p>
<p><b>Nora:</b> No sé si usted maestra, usted debe de fijarse que hay muchísimas familias que empiezan a perder la comunicación con sus hijos porque empiezan a hablar puro inglés y los papás ya no hacen ningún esfuerzo de</p>	<p><b>Nora:</b> I don't know if you, professor, you must notice that there are very many families that start to lose the communication with their kids because</p>

hablarles en español.

**Vera:** Bueno, I have to go!

**Nora:** Aquí en Estados Unidos se entiende cuando uno dice vamos a “mapear” y todos lo entienden. El otro día vi a una reportera que se estaba burlando de cómo se pronuncia una palabra, pero todos pronunciamos las palabras de diferente modo.

**Dulce:** También te quería decir que yo solamente hablo Spanglish cuando estoy hablando en español. Cuando yo estoy hablando en inglés no me salen las palabras en español porque con mi inglés yo lo hablo con confianza y lo hablo perfecto.

**Nora:** Hay muchas palabras que a la mejor no las ocupamos mucho cuando estamos en México y las ocupamos mucho aquí. Si usted se fija viene mucha mucha gente de provincia aquí y ellos no conocen muchas palabras que usan más para acá. Entonces pienso que para ellos fue mucho más fácil. Pienso que ellos fueron los que empezaron

they start to speak nothing but English and the parents don't make any kind of effort to speak to them in Spanish.

**Vera:** well, I have to go!

**Nora:** Here in the United States everyone understand when you say “mapear”. The other day I saw a reporter that was making fun of how a word was said but everyone says words in a different way.

**Dulce:** I also wanted to say that I only speak Spanglish when I'm talking in Spanish. When I'm talking in English, words in Spanish don't come out because I feel confident with my English since I know I speak it perfectly.

**Nora:** there are a lot of words that maybe we don't need when we're in Mexico but we need here. If you notice, a lot of people from small towns come here and they don't know a lot of words that are used here. So I think that for them it was easier. I think they were the ones who started talking like that.

a hablar así.

**Dulce:** Pues yo pienso que hay dos modos de Spanglish también porque hay personas que hablan el español mejor que el inglés y hay personas que hablan mejor el inglés que el español. Así que es diferente cuando se tratan de comunicar las faltas. Cómo se dice, ¿sabes? Para mí cuando yo hablo Spanglish y para mi mamá es cuando habla más bien el inglés y que dice las palabras en español y lo mezcla.

**Nora:** Yo en mi trabajo empezamos a utilizar términos que no usamos en español y esas nuevas cosas. Y ya le digo hace la primera frase en inglés y la última en español y se hace muy común. Si usted se fija es muy raro un hispano que diga estacionamiento – usan “parqueadero” y ya se usa como si fuera una palabra en español y no la es. Y la otra cosa es que somos de diferentes partes de México y cada quien le acomoda como ellos quieren. Por ejemplo, de donde es mi esposo y de

**Dulce:** well I think that there are two different ways to speak Spanglish because there are people who speak Spanish better than English and people who speak English better than Spanish. So it’s different when they trying to fix the flaws. How do you say it, you know? For me when I speak Spanglish and for my mom is when she speaks better English and says the words in Spanish and mixes it.

**Nora:** at my work we started to use terms that we don’t use in Spanish and that kind of new thing. And I’m telling you, you say the first phrase in English and the last in Spanish and it makes it common. If you notice, it’s very rare to hear an Hispanic person say “estacionamiento”-they use “parqueadero” (parking lot) and it’s used as if it were a word in Spanish when it’s not. And the other thing is we’re from different parts of Mexico and each person adjusts the way they can. For example,

<p>donde yo soy se hablan palabras diferentes. Así que en el lugarcito donde uno está se usa Spanglish de una forma y tal vez en otro estado lo usan diferente.</p> <p>Por ejemplo, el inglés es diferente al de Inglaterra y con el español es lo mismo. Así que el Spanglish es una añadidura al español y aquí se dio el caso de encontrar una sola forma de usar el español, con el Spanglish.</p> <p>Es más, ¿sabe qué? fíjese que el Spanglish fue necesario aquí en Estados Unidos, precisamente porque estamos de todas partes donde hablan español. Y sería más difícil comunicarnos y decir una palabra a uno que es de otro país y no nos va a entender – entonces el Spanglish es necesario aquí fíjese. Eso es lo que la gente usa aquí- eso es en Estados Unidos. Y se debe aceptar y respetar, ya que todas las palabras van evolucionando a como se van necesitando.</p> <p>Muchas veces no hace sentido traducir una</p>	<p>where my husband is from, and where I'm from, words are said differently. So maybe if you're in place where Spanglish is used in one way, in another state it can be used another way. For example, English from England is different than the English here and for Spanish it's the same. So Spanglish is an addition to Spanish and here, it turns out that Spanglish became the single way of speaking Spanish.</p> <p>Actually, you know what? Notice that Spanglish was needed here in the United States, precisely because we're from different regions where Spanish is spoken. And it would be harder to communicate and say a word to someone who is from another state and have them not understand- so Spanglish was needed here, you see. That is what people here use- that's in the Unites States. And it must be accepted and respected since all the words are evolving as necessary.</p> <p>Most of the time it doesn't make sense to</p>
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<p>palabra porque pierde su valor, y ya cuando salió al español ya no tiene el mismo sentido o el mismo significado.</p> <p>Por ejemplo en el pueblo de mi ... de donde es mi mamá... hay muchos tarahumaras que usan unas palabras que en el pueblo de mi esposo ni las conocen. Yo le decía: ¿dónde está el “huarito” y ellos no me entendían porque ellos le decían “petaca” y yo solamente los conocía como huarito porque así le dicen en el rancho de donde es mi mamá. Y aquí supe que otros les dicen “canastas”. Así que aquí en Estados Unidos tenía que surgir una forma más fácil de entenderse.</p>	<p>translate a word because it loses its meaning and when it comes out in Spanish it doesn't have the same meaning and sense. For example in the hometown of my...where my mother is from...there are people from an indigenous group called “tarahumaras” who use some words that in my husband's town are unheard of. I would say: “where is the “huarito” and they wouldn't understand me because they called it “petaca” and only I referred to it as “huarito” because that is what they say in the ranch my mother is from. Here I found out that others called them “canastas” (baskets). So here in the United States there had to be a new way that would be easier to understand.</p>
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Appendix C  
Family 2 Interview

<p><b>1. ¿Cómo se comunica con sus hijos?</b></p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Yo hablo más inglés y...</p> <p><b>María (mother):</b> Yo le hablo en español, pero ella siempre me contesta en inglés. Mi esposo es el que les habla mucho en inglés, pero yo no. Yo todo les hablo en español. Por ejemplo, con mis nietos yo les hablo sólo en español, pero ellos me contestan sólo en inglés y pues así es. Nos comunicamos como podemos porque ellos casi no hablan español, pero entienden mucho. Y les trato de hablar inglés cuando pienso que ellos no me entienden. Y así están mis vecinos, sus hijos no hablan casi español.</p>	<p><b>1. How do you communicate with your children?</b></p> <p><b>Ana:</b> I speak more English and...</p> <p><b>Maria (mother):</b> I speak to her in Spanish but she always answers me in English. My husband is the one who talks to them a lot in English, but not me. I tell them everything in Spanish. For example, with my grandchildren I only speak Spanish but they only answer me in English and well that's the way it is. We communicate how we can because they don't really speak Spanish, but understand a lot. I try to talk to them in English when I think that they don't understand. And that's the way my neighbors are, their kids barely speak Spanish.</p>
<p><b>2. ¿Cómo escuchó la palabra Spanglish?</b></p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Mi maestro cuando tomé una clase de español me explicó qué era Spanglish.</p>	<p><b>2. How have you heard of the word Spanglish?</b></p> <p><b>Ana:</b> My teacher when I took a Spanish class explained what Spanglish was.</p>

<p><b>María:</b> Yo sé que uno el español lo revuelve con el inglés, y eso lo aprendí aquí y así se le queda a uno y así habla uno. Por ejemplo, la palabra “parquear” o “parqueadero”</p>	<p><b>Maria:</b> I know that people mix Spanish with English, and I learned that here and it sticks with you so that’s how you end up talking. For example, the word “parquear” or “parqueadero”</p>
<p><b>3. ¿Cómo se sienten cuando usan Spanglish?</b></p> <p><b>Ana:</b> Siento natural cuando uso los dos. Yo me siento más cómoda con inglés porque casi no hablo español. Y si hablo español, tengo que pensar mucho las respuestas y si no les digo que no sé.</p> <p>(Todas se ríen)</p> <p>Yo pienso que el Spanglish es como la palabra tenedor y trinche, y las palabras camioneta y troca, tenedor es camioneta y la palabra trinche es como troca.</p> <p><b>María:</b> Sí, pues ya ve que a veces aunque sean mexicanos, en cada ranchito usan palabras diferentes. Y a la mejor ellos dicen que sus palabras son correctas porque así se dice. Aquí en Estados Unidos es normal hablar así con una combinación y así es con</p>	<p><b>3.How do you feel when you use Spanglish?</b></p> <p><b>Ana:</b> It feels natural when I use both. I feel more comfortable with English though because I don’t speak in Spanish that much. And if I speak Spanish I have to think about the answers a lot and if not, I tell them that I don’t know.</p> <p>(everyone laughs)</p> <p>I think that Spanglish is like the words “tenedor” and “trinche” and the words “camioneta” and “troca”, “tenedor” is “camioneta” and the word “trinche” is like “troca”.</p> <p><b>Maria:</b> Yes, well even if you’re Mexican in each little ranch people use different words. And maybe they say their words are</p>



<p>todos.</p> <p><b>Observation in Ana's home:</b></p> <p>In Ana's home: When I interviewed Ana in her home I noticed that her mom María would talk to Ana and her granddaughter in Spanish and they would answer her in English. But Ana would answer me in Spanish when I asked her a question related to the interview. María also switched from Spanish to English a few times using only a few words and incomplete sentences.</p>	<p>correct because that's how they say them.</p> <p>Here in the United States it's normal to talk like this using combinations and that's the way it is for everyone.</p>
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Appendix D  
Language Usage Questionnaire

Language Usage Questionnaire

Where did you go to High School?

What language was spoken?

Did you take a Spanish class?

Were you allowed to use Spanglish?

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What language do you use ..?	Language	give examples
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1. at school
2. with siblings
3. at home/
4. with parents
5. with friends
6. when you visit Mexico
7. with relatives
8. in public business
9. at work

How has Spanglish affected your grade?

Do your parents speak English or Spanish, or other language with.....?

1. friends
2. siblings
3. relatives
4. at work
5. at the hospital
6. at the bank
7. at the stores

How do you think is your Spanish?

Enough for most conversations  
good

Not very good

good

very

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What TV programs do you watch in Spanish?

Do you read ..... in English or Spanish?

1. newspapers
2. magazines
3. books
4. bills
5. government documents

Appendix E  
**PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT FORM**  
UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

January 17, 2009

Dear : \_\_\_\_\_

My name is Araceli Osorio and I am a graduate student in the School of Education at the University of San Francisco. This letter is an invitation to formally ask you and your child to participate in a study about Spanglish. I am performing this research as part of my doctoral degree in International and Multicultural Education from the University of San Francisco.

As I mentioned to you over the phone, I need you and your daughter's active and cooperative participation in this study. This participation includes dialogues asking your child and you different questions regarding Spanglish. I will also be giving you both questionnaires to complete. Your names in this study will be anonymous and all information recorded will be handled in a confidential and professional manner. In addition, you will not have any monetarily obligation to participate in this study, nor will you not be entitled to receive any economic compensation for their participation in this study.

If you have any questions about this study, you can contact me at (707) 575-4188. For further questions please contact the office in charge of the protection of volunteers in research projects called Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS) at the University of San Francisco at (415) 422-6091, by email at IRBPHS@usfca.edu., or by mail at Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton St., San Francisco, CA 94117-1080.

**Moreover, your participation in this study is voluntarily and you are free to decline to be in this study at any time you wish.**

I want to thank you in advance from the bottom of my heart for your participation in this study and giving me the opportunity to get to know you and work with you and your child.

Sincerely,

Araceli Osorio  
Doctoral Candidate  
University of San Francisco

Appendix F  
**Participant/Student and Parent Consent Form**  
University of San Francisco

January 17, 2009

**Purpose and Background**

Ms. Araceli Osorio, a graduate student at the School of Education at the University of San Francisco is doing a study on Spanglish with the tentative title: The Impact of Spanglish in the Social and Academic Lives of Second Generation Latino Students: Students' and Parents' Perspectives. I have been asked to participate because I fulfill the criteria for the purpose of this study.

**Procedures**

If I agree to participate in this study, I fully understand the following things will happen:

1. All conversations and interviews will be recorded and will take place at the researcher's house during the Spring of 2009.
2. All questions in the conversation and in the interviews will be in Spanish and related to the topic of this study. After the information is transcribed, I will have the opportunity to review, modify, and approve the data.

**Risks and/or Discomforts**

1. I may become tired during the conversations and interviews, if this happens the researcher will end the session.

**Benefits**

I am aware that there will not be any direct benefit to me from participating in this study. The main goal and purpose of conducting this study is to have a better understanding on the use of Spanglish in academic and social settings.

**Costs/Financial Consideration**

I will not have any monetary obligation to participate in this study.

**Payment/Reimbursement**

I will not be entitled to receive any economic compensation for my participation in this study.

**Questions**

I know and I understand all the procedures in this study and in case I have any questions, I can contact Ms. Osorio at (707) 475-4188. For further questions I may contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects office (IRBPHS) at the University of San Francisco at (415) 422-6091, by email at IRBPHS@usfca.edu., or by mail at Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton St., San Francisco, CA 94117-1080.

**Consent**

My participation in this study is by free will and exclusively for the purpose of this dissertation. I have the right to withdraw from this study at any time. I also understand my name in this study will be anonymous and all information recorded will be handled in a confidential and professional manner.

My signature below indicates my free willingness to participate in this study:

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone Number: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Parent signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date