

The ‘Glish is no Glitch: Spanish-English Contact Phenomena in Advertising Copy
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Potato, *potahto*, tomato, *tomahto*: some customers call their favorite cereal “Corn flakes,” while others reach for *los cornflais* (Ilan Stavans 2005: 102). Faced with language choices, advertisers might be calling the whole thing off. The fast food chain Chick-Fil-A combines English and Spanish in their caricatured cow-friendly calendar: “Chikin es mooney gud.” Fashion magazine *Ocean Drive Español* promises “lo más *fashion* para la playa (the most fashion for the beach),” and hosts headlines on the “hoteles con *star power* (hotels with star power)” (italics theirs). The cows are painting it. The fashionistas are styling it. “Spanglish,” according to the title of Ilan Stavans’ 2003 book on the topic, is “the new American language.” The present study examines competing definitions of “Spanglish.” After reviewing various English-Spanish contact phenomena, the presence of code-switching, calques, Spanglish neologisms, and bilingual translation in print advertising are examined. Qualitative analysis serves to assess the motivations, rules, and ramifications of meshing Spanish and English in the media. Such analysis reveals that the function of advertising language is often more symbolic than referential. Close readings of the ad also serve as an additional account of linguistic correlates of “Spanglish” in the hybrid communication between advertiser and consumer.

Preface

Upon every return to my native Atlanta, I serve a couple shifts as a waitress in a local soul food restaurant. The menu is traditionally Southern: barbecue beef brisket with black-eyed peas and turnip greens. The best fried-green tomatoes on this side of the Mississippi—claim the most consistent customers—and all the cornbread and yeast rolls you can eat. The business dishes up a one-dimensional image of the region, but the mishmash coming from the kitchen reflects more accurately the complexity of the diverse urban centers of the South. The dishwashers, cooks and store managers on the other side of the swinging doors share a cultural history different from that of their clientele. My coworkers of El Salvador and Mexico listen to merengue and mariachi in the mornings, until the lit “open” sign signals the switch to soft rock and North American pop.

Between the largely English-speaking waiters, the Spanish-speaking kitchen staff, and the bilingual management, a makeshift language emerges above the clang of plates and the conversation of customers. One is apt to hear an intermingling of Spanish and English:

- (1) Échame un sample de la sopa del día, por favor.
‘Serve me out a sample of the soup of the day, please.’
Échame una probada de la sopa del día, por favor.
- (2) The next time that somebody leaves their zapatos in the host stand I’m going to throw them en la basura.
‘The next time that somebody leaves their shoes in the host stand I’m going to throw them in the trash.’
La próxima vez que deje alguien sus zapatos en el armario de la anfitriona, se los voy a tirar a la basura.

- (3) I need un side de papas, dos side de macarrones, y un quarter wheeteh, pa' llevar.
'I need one side of fries, two sides of macaroni, and one quarter white
[chicken], to go.'
*Necesito una porción de papas, dos porciones de coditos y un cuarto de pollo,
blanco, para llevar.*

The waitress who asks for “un sample” knows its Spanish equivalent, “probada,” but chooses the word “sample” because the code of the kitchen demands she do so. The manager who deems shoes, “zapatos” and the trash, “la basura” does so with the expectation that his listeners sí comprenden: they hear his warning alongside the Spanish reminder of his salvadoreño roots. The cook who calls out orders renames “macaroni and cheese,” “macarrones,” and jokingly applies a Spanish reading to the English “white” to yield “wheeteh.” These exchanges, and the community rules that dictate them, were the impetus for my study of Spanglish in Miami. What followed was an examination of Spanglish in the city’s print advertising.

Advertising discourse in itself constitutes a functional dialect, meaning that its particular purpose bestows it with idiosyncratic qualities (Smith, 1982). Words in advertising texts are unlike those uttered by the average speaker in that each one costs money, such that “the text used in advertisements that have been printed, recorded, uploaded and so on and is there for a purpose, and because other words have been deemed unsuitable for this particular purpose” (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 8). The efficiency and intentionality of advertising texts make them fertile ground for linguistic scrutiny. To examine the function of Spanglish in the functional dialect of advertising, one must first appreciate the linguistic properties of Spanglish and the status it holds as a controversial but socially pertinent phenomenon. In the present study, qualitative analysis of Spanglish neologisms, calques, bilingual translation, and code-switching in copy serves to explore the rules, motivations and ramifications of meshing Spanish and English in advertising media. Such analysis is used to evidence the symbolic function of language, which accompanies or even overrides its informative or referential role. Additionally, samples of Spanglish in advertising serve as further accounts of bilingual contact phenomena. The ways in which these samples correlate with other descriptions and explanations of Spanish-English contact is examined.

Ilan Stavans (2008: vii) says of his “Library of Latino Civilization” that, “the purpose of this series is not to clarify but to complicate our understanding of Latinos.” In parallel, the present study might not yield definitive numbers or resolute rules describing language contact in the media. What it will do is identify patterns, crystallize competing points of view, and isolate language attitudes and code-switching constraints at play in bilingual communication between advertisers and consumers. In short, I intend to highlight, not simplify or reduce, the complexity surrounding Spanglish in advertising.

Spanglish: Some Cultural Significados

The fast food chain Chick-Fil-A combines English and Spanish in their caricatured cow-friendly calendar: “Chikin es moeey gud.” Fashion magazine *Ocean Drive Español* promises “lo más *fashion* para la playa (the most fashion for the beach),” and hosts headlines on the “hoteles con *star power* (hotels with star power)” (italics theirs).

The cows are painting it. The fashionistas are styling it. “Spanglish,” according to the title of Ilan Stavans’ 2003 book on the topic, is “the new American language.” In short, the term “Spanglish” refers to the mixture of Spanish and English typical in American cities with

significant immigrant populations. The coining of the term is credited to Puerto Rican journalist Salvador Tío's 1954 publishing of *Fuego Lento*, in which he forewarns readers of what he believes to be the loss of Spanish to a creole tongue: "This new language will be called 'Espanglish.' The etymology is clear. It comes from Spanish and English" (Barrett 2006: xxvi). Tío wrote columns in staunch opposition of Spanglish for more than fifty years (Lipski, 2004).

I will set aside for the time being Stavan's (2003) and Tío's (1954) respective designations of Spanglish as a new language, and instead focus on the telling amount of synonyms for the term. Other words for the phenomenon abound; among them are el "casteyanqui," "pachuco," "espanglés," and "espanglol." The name "casteyanqui" is pejorative: by combining the first two syllables of the Spanish word for Spanish: "castellano," with the disparaging "yankee," the label refers to an alleged misuse or erosion of Spanish by natives of—or immigrants to—the United States. "Pachuco" is similarly pejorative: in Mexico and the Southwestern United States, the term denotes delinquent or gangster slang (see Lipski, 2007 for an abbreviated history of the label). Other terms often interchanged with "Spanglish" refer to the speech of specific communities apt to speak some combination of Spanish and English, as in "Cubonics," "Dominicanish," "Chicano Spanish," and "Tex-Mex" (Stavans 2003: 12).

I choose to adopt the term "Spanglish" to describe English- and Spanish-contact phenomena because it is likely the most widely used and among the least derogatory of terms. While the word is considered by some to be slanderous (Nash: 1970), many speakers of Spanglish have appropriated the term as a symbol of pride and hybrid identity. Indeed, "Spanglish" has been "deliberately claimed as linguistic and cultural patrimony by Latinos seeking to turn lemons into *limonada*" (Lipski 2007: no page numbers). Furthermore, Lipski (2004:1) asserts that "nearly every Spanish speaker in the United States and throughout the world, as well as the majority of Anglo Americans recognize this word." Stavans (2003) speaks to the wide use of the term "Spanglish" when he points out that a Google search for the word yields approximately 3,000,000 hits.

Wide recognition of the word has not generated consensus on its meaning (Lipski, 2004: 1). Definitions of Spanglish vary widely, and coincide with debates about its use and legitimacy. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, Spanglish is "a type of Spanish contaminated by English words and forms of expression, spoken in Latin America" (Oxford English Dictionary 2008: online, no page numbers). By describing the influence of English on Spanish as "contamination," the above definition construes Spanglish as impure or illegitimate. This sentiment is echoed by Latin Americanist and literary critic Roberto González Echevarría, who asserts that Spanglish represents an "invasion of Spanish by English" (González Echevarría 1997: A29). While the Oxford definition states that Spanglish is spoken in Latin America and does not address its relatively greater prevalence in the United States, Echevarría attributes the source of Spanglish instead to "American Hispanics" and articulates the spread of Spanglish to the southern hemisphere as a dangerous possibility: "it would constitute the ultimate imperialistic takeover, the final imposition of a way of life that is economically dominant but not culturally superior in any sense" (González Echevarría, 1997: A29).

Preceding González Echevarría in his eschewal of Spanglish is a 1971 paper presented by Puerto Rican scholar Carlos Varo before the II Congreso Internacional de la Enseñanza del Español (II International Congress on the Teaching of Spanish). Specifically, Varo (1971) expresses opposition to the teaching of a Spanglish class at the New School for Social Research in New York. By couching the Spanglish debate in the context of Puerto Rico's campaign for political and cultural independence from the United States, Varo (1971) assigns great political

and anthropological significance to the school's legitimization and development of Spanglish. Varo prefaces his discussion of Spanglish with a critique of North Americans' use of Puerto Rico as a military fortress. After recounting Puerto Rico's conflicted history with the United States, Varo (1971:95) describes New York as a "drain" on the colonized island. The author goes on to address the state of Puerto Rican immigrants residing in New York, examining the disproportionate effect of unemployment on these immigrants and attributing to them a high rate of schizophrenia (Varo, 1971:103). The range of topics that Varo feels relevant to his discussion of Spanglish demonstrates the stakes which some Latin Americanists apply to the linguistic (but also cultural) phenomenon.

Similarly, Lipski (2007) invokes an abbreviated history of conflict between English-speaking and Spanish-speaking populations to explain what he understands to be a uniquely negative reaction to Spanglish. Lipski (2007) contrasts the disproportionately critical treatment of Spanglish with the relative (and even appreciative) acceptance of "Pennsylvania Dutch," Amish German, and Cajun French. Lipski overlooks here the strong reactions against "Pennsylvania Dutch" at the start of the 1900s, when hatred of the Germans fueled campaigns against bilingual programs (Wittke, C. 1936; Wiley, T.G. 1998). While he neglects or dismisses this example, the American public's treatment of "Pennsylvania Dutch" as a domestic locus for an international conflict only supports Lipski's overall argument that debates over Spanglish form a stage upon which other battles are fought. Lipski further notes that, "Languages such as Portuguese, Czech, Swedish, Polish, and Greek, all arriving in the United States in the form of a pastiche of vernacular and usually rural dialects, pass under the radar of metalinguistic commentary, although the immigrant groups in question have suffered their fair share of ethnic jokes and prejudicial treatment" (Lipski, 2007:2). Despite the stigmatization of Italian dialects accompanying Italians' influx into the United States in the 1900s, Lipski argues, neither Italy nor Italo-American intellectuals contributed commentary. Such nonchalance on the part of Italian officials and established Italian immigrants contrasts with opposing characterizations of Spanglish voiced by the Spanish Royal Academy of the Language, Latino linguists, and Latin Americanists (Stavans 2003: see especially 33-34; Lipski 2004). Stavans (in Sokol, 2004; 2007) as well as Valdés Bernal and Torada (2001) attribute to Spanish a staying power that differentiates communities of Spanish-speaking immigrants from their European counterparts. The unapologetic simulcasting of the 2008 Democratic National Convention in Spanish demonstrates the extent to which Spanish is visibly making a place next to English as the country's dominant language. Within the United States, the fact that Spanish speakers constitute the country's largest minority makes the language an obvious target of xenophobic sentiment (Lipski, 2007; Stavans, 2007). In addition to summarizing domestic conflicts between English speakers and Spanish speakers, Lipski (2007) gives a succinct history of external conflicts between English- and Spanish-speaking populations, and persuasively argues that such a history of combat and competition account for the contentious treatment of Spanglish on a global stage.

A footnote in Junot Díaz' 2007 Pulitzer-prize winning novel, *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*, provides a stimulating if not telltale example of a Spanglish neologism. "Parigüayo," according to the author, derives from the English "party watcher":

The word came into common usage during the First American Occupation of the DR, which ran from 1916 to 1924...During the First Occupation it was reported that members of the American Occupying Forces would often attend Dominican parties but instead of joining in the fun the Outlanders would simply stand at the edge of dances and *watch*...Thereafter, the Marines were *parigüayos*—a word that in contemporary usage describes anybody who

stands outside and watches other people scoop up girls. The kid who don't dance, who ain't got game, who lets people clown him—he's the parigüayo. (20-21).

Diccionariolibre.com similarly attributes the origin of “parigüayo” to American Marines' use of its English equivalent. The veracity of Díaz' account is irrelevant: he explains the word in a fictional piece with no obligation to fact. At a microcosmic level, the proposed etymology of the above neologism exemplifies some of the circumstances of Spanish-English contact that have contributed to academic and popular debate on the topic.

Neal Sokol (2004) transcribes an interview with proponent of Spanglish, (Ilan) Stavans. In the conversation, Stavans, like Varo (1971) and Lipski (2007), acknowledges that the controversy surrounding Spanglish is not strictly linguistic: “For some purists in Spain, the spread of Spanglish is the last episode in the Spanish-American War of 1898” (Sokol, 2004:134). Sokol (2004: 131) further cites Stavans as saying that Puerto Rico might be the “laboratory” from which Spanglish emerges. Ilan Stavans supports the use and study of Spanglish as strongly as Echevarría (1991) and Varo (1991) oppose it. Stavans (2003:5) discusses the challenges of defining Spanglish but ultimately deems it “The verbal encounter between Anglo and Hispano civilizations”. The reader will notice that, according to Stavans, Spanglish is neither a form of Spanish nor a form of English, but rather a product of the two parent languages in their cultural contexts. The independence of Spanglish from its Spanish parent has yet to be determined; Lipski (2007) takes to calling “Spanglish,” simply, “U.S. Spanish.” Still, Stavans' definition is preferable to that of the Oxford English Dictionary, first because it does not mistakenly reserve Spanglish to Latin America, but also because it does not assign value to language purity or impurity, but describes the phenomenon with an arguable degree of objectivity.

While Stavans, definition of Spanglish attempts to be neutral, he reveals elsewhere his strong partiality towards it. While calling it a “hodgepodge” (Stavans 2003:3), Stavans also identifies it as potentially “a frame of mind” (Stavans in Sokol, 2004:133) Stavans (2008) argues that Spanglish should be used in classrooms and wielded as political tool. In an act of “lexicographic activism” (Stavans 2008:ix), the author has compiled into a dictionary a list of six-thousand Spanglish words (Stavans, 2003). He has also completed the first half of a translation of *Don Quijote de la Mancha* into Spanglish. Stavans believes that Spanglish does not erode Spanish, but rather gives Latinos in the United States a way of expressing their “existential dilemma” (Sokol, 2004: 133).

Stavans walks in step with activist writers such as Gloria Anzaldúa (1987), who defend Spanglish as symbolic of a hybrid identity proper to Latinos living in the United States. She writes:

If you really want to hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity—I am my language...Until I can accept as legitimate Chicano Texas Spanish, Tex-Mex and all the other languages I speak, I cannot accept the legitimacy of myself. Until I am free to write bilingually and to switch codes without having always to translate, while I still have to speak English or Spanish when I would rather speak Spanglish...my tongue will be illegitimate. (Stavans 2008:124).

Anzaldúa's emotional prose is representative of a wave of bilingual writing that began in the late 1960s and continues to the present day. Other authors participating in this movement include Alurista, Tato Laviera, Roberto Fernández, and Rolando Hinojosa (Lipski, 2007). Lipski (2007) effectively cites Ed Morales (2003) as an influential figure who equates the Spanglish language with Latino identity:

There is no better metaphor for what a mixed-race culture means than a hybrid language, an informal code; the same sort of linguistic construction that defines different classes in a society can also come to define something outside it, a social construction with different rules. Spanglish is what we speak, but it is also who we Latinos are, and how we act, and how we perceive the world. It's also a way to avoid the sectarian nature of other labels that describe our condition, terms like Nuyorican, Chicano, Cuban American, Dominicanyork. It is an immediate declaration that translation is definition, that movement is status quo. (Morales, 2003: 3)

Specialist in Spanish linguistics, Almeida Jacqueline Toribio, presents both sides of the Spanglish story. In the 2000 study, Toribio interviews fifty Spanish-English bilinguals from Southern California about their language use and chooses four of them that exemplify a range of fluencies in English and Spanish, differences in code-switching competency, and distinct attitudes about Spanglish in their respective communities and social spheres. The study is in direct dialogue with defenders and opponents of Spanglish, as it attempts to assess “the linguistic import of code-switching as an intervening or catalytic variable in Spanish-language attrition or loss, and the social import of this communicative behavior as a reflection or reconfiguration of U.S. Latino identity” (Toribio 2000: 116). Toribio (2000) details the self-reported language profile of each participant. Through interviews and surveys, respondents discuss key contributors to language fluency, such as their use of each language in the home, the extent of their schooling in each language, and their current exposure to English- and Spanish-language media. Respondents also rated their agreement or disagreement with statements such as “It sounds pretty when speakers mix Spanish and English in conversation,” and “When I mix languages, I am more respected by my community.” Toribio’s respondents run the gamut in their answers to survey and interview questions about their use of Spanish, English, and combinations of the two in certain domains. For some participants in the study, communicating in Spanglish “becomes symptomatic of a linguistic or cultural ambivalence that they do not espouse or tolerate” (Reflexiones 2000: 136). Other subjects combine strengths of each language to create “a single, unifying, powerful voice” (Reflexiones 2000:136). Key factors shaping respondents’ stance on Spanglish were age, level of fluency in each language, socioeconomic status, and identification with or loyalty to language communities.

In addition to examining the function of Spanglish in identity politics, Toribio (2000) addresses the more strictly linguistic issue of language attrition. The study provides evidence that switching between Spanish and English in conversation does not contribute to a speaker’s language loss. Toribio invites respondents to read aloud two fairytales which incorporate code-switching into the text. The linguistic debate on the rules that constitute code-switching constraints is too extensive to review here, but there is significant evidence that syntactic limits apply: that there is a grammatical and a non-grammatical way to code-switch (Toribio 2000 cites a dozen studies). One of the two fairytales read by respondents violated what Toribio identifies as code-switching constraints. Such violations consisted of switching language at inappropriate boundaries: between an auxiliary verb and a main verb, between a noun and its modifying adjective, or between an object pronoun and a main verb (Toribio 2000: 119). The second story included switches considered more common in bilingual language use: those between subject and predicate, for instance, or between verb and object. When asked about their respective readings of each story, only fully bilingual respondents noted that the grammatically well-formed story was more “natural” or “flowed better.” In explaining this result, Toribio cites linguistic findings that fluency in both composite languages is required to correctly code-switch. Those speakers with inadequate mastery of English or Spanish might use one to supplement the other, but in doing so will not demonstrate “functionally well-formed” code-switching. Of pertinence is also Toribio’s reference to research by Adalberto Aguirre (1977) and Guadalupe Valdés (1976)

that determines that fluency in English and Spanish is necessary but not sufficient to code-switch. Rather, “contextualized practice” in a community where code-switching is present is a prerequisite to code-switching capacity (Toribio 2000:129). Not surprising, then, is the experience of one subject in Toribio’s study who demonstrates fluency in both English and Spanish but is unable to detect a difference in grammatical and ungrammatical code-switching. Such is the respondent’s sense of stigma and ideological opposition to code-switching that he can neither read the fairytales fluidly aloud nor produce a code-switched summary of the stories. Absent a community that sanctions and practices code-switching, the bilingual speaker has no basis for recognizing or applying its principles.

In the above literature, Spanglish is more than a purely linguistic phenomenon. It is bilingual practice, a form of negotiation, a “frame of mind.” Lipski (2004:1) appropriately equates the labyrinthine search for a definition of Spanglish to the pursuit of “family values,” “democracy,” and “national security.” Lipski (ibid) calls for scientific treatment of the problem when he asserts:

Since neither the term itself nor the notion of a ‘third language’ arising from the head-on collision between English and Spanish is likely to disappear anytime soon, it is imperative that serious empirical research complement the popular chaos that has embraced aspects of mass hysteria, conspiracy theories, and media feeding frenzy, while doing little to elucidate the actual linguistic situation of Latino bilinguals.

Stavans (in Sokol, 2004) similarly demands that academics move beyond the debate over “what is correct and what isn’t” (Sokol 2004:132) and into an analysis of the patterns and contexts of Spanglish. Having probed the strong feelings surrounding the phenomenon, the following section will attempt a purely technical approach to defining Spanglish.

Spanglish: Some Technical Terms

While some might subsume the term “Spanglish” under the concept of “code-switching,” the former term is used to encompass a larger range of linguistic phenomena than the term “code-switching” would suggest. Toribio (2000) equates Spanglish with switches between Spanish and English when she adopts the word in the title to her work on code-switching: “Spanglish? Bite Your Tongue!” She later identifies the term “Spanglish” as among the pejorative nomenclature used to describe code-switching (Toribio 2000: 131). Lipski (2007) further identifies linguists who equate Spanglish with code-switching, arguing that the work of Zentella (1997) in defining a Spanglish grammar is actually a description of grammatically-sanctioned code-switching. An alternative but somewhat ambiguous relationship between Spanglish and code-switching is proffered in Stavan’s assertion that Spanglish “springs out of code switching; thus, it is, at its core, an act of translation: immediate, instantaneous”(Noval 2004: 130). From Stavans’ assertion one might understand code-switching as the origin of Spanglish, but not its final form.

The reader will recall that both Tío (1954) and Stavans (2003) deem Spanglish a “new language.” Lipski (2004) argues that Tío’s description is based on a misunderstanding of the circumstances under which creoles are formed. Lipski therefore considers ill-based and uninformative Tío’s comparison of Spanglish to the Afro-Iberian creole Papiamentu. Stavans (2003) suggests in the title of his book that Spanglish is a new language, but does so in a manner that is slightly tongue-in-cheek. Elsewhere Stavans (in Sokol, 2004) states that the future of Spanglish as a language in its own right cannot yet be determined. He instead compares and contrasts Spanglish with Yiddish and Ebonics, and reminds readers that Spanish itself at one time evolved from Latin. In a 1970 article, Rose Nash calls Puerto Rican Spanglish “a hybrid

variety of language,” which “has at least one of the characteristics of an autonomous language: a substantial number of native speakers. The emerging language retains the phonological, morphological, and syntactic structure of Puerto Rican Spanish. However, much of its vocabulary is English-derived.” (Nash 1970: 223). In defining Spanglish, Nash excludes ungrammatical English utterances like the one below:

- (4) No speak very good the English.
‘I do not speak English very well.’
No hablo muy bien el inglés. (example from Nash 1970: 223)

These one-for-one translations, Nash explains, are produced by monolinguals. Though Nash does not elaborate on this point, one might understand the argument to be that monolinguals either are not privy to what she describes as the third, emergent language of Spanglish, or are not likely to demonstrate language-contact phenomena.

Having eliminated “language containing grammatical errors due to interference”, Nash (1970: 224) also advocates for the exclusion of “switching from one language into the other for a special effect, unless the switch takes place within an utterance in a natural way” (Nash 1970: 224). Nash gives two examples of deliberate code-switches in advertising. Nash does not provide justification for the exclusion of deliberate mixing from the definition of Spanglish. The extent to which switches between codes are conscious is the subject of much linguistic debate: Toribio (2000) contrasts the work of John Gumperz (1982) with that of Ana Celia Zentella (1981, 1997). The former argues that switches are always conscious, while the latter demonstrates in a 1997 study that “not every switch could be identified with a particular function, and every change in communicative function was not accomplished by a shift in language” (Zentella 1997: 99, but cited in Toribio 2000: 143). Nash (1970) does not make an argument for excluding deliberate switches; nor does she give the reader criteria for distinguishing intentional switches from “natural” ones. Because the language of advertising, and thereby the code-switches and Spanglish therein, is necessarily deliberate, I choose not to exclude code-switching from the definition of Spanglish when searching for Spanglish among advertising samples.

Nash (1970) goes on to categorize examples of Spanglish into three main types. “Type 1” of Spanglish consists of Spanish utterances that incorporate (but do not change the use or form of) English lexical items (Nash 1970: 225). This category is further divided into subgroups of English lexical items: international terms used in the domains of science and technology, commonly used English words with Spanish translations, and English idioms with no (or quite thorny) Spanish equivalents. Nash identifies advertisements as a significant source of Type 1 Spanglish (Nash 1970: 225-226). In Nash’s “Type 2” Spanglish, English words are assigned new spellings and pronounced according to Spanish phonology. One can identify such items in Stavan’s (2003: 172, 123, 237) Spanglish dictionary, among them “Mediquer” from the English “Medicare,” “filin” from the English “feeling,” and “Unaited Esteits,” in place of “United States.” Nash’s “Type 3” Spanglish consists of “calques, syntactic idioms, and some original expressions that can be recognized as a distinctive new form of Spanish evolving under the influence of English” (Nash 1970: 228). The most widely investigated of the examples is the use of the Spanish “para atrás,” literally meaning “behind,” or “in the back” in a way that models the English use of “back” in phrases like, “Bring it back to me,” and “call me back.” In Type 3 Spanglish, “Vuélveme a llamar (Call me back)” becomes “Llámame para atrás.” Similarly, the Spanish “Devuélvalo (Give it back)” is uttered as “Tráigalo para atrás” (Nash 1970: 229). Lisпки (1985, 1987) examines this borrowed construction extensively.

A fourth type of Spanglish, Nash claims, “goes beyond linguistic analysis because it reflects the life the speakers” (Nash 1970: 230). Nash argues that this fourth type most closely approximates a dialect, as it combines the three types of Spanglish with a “special Puerto Rican flavor” (ibid). Because the parameters of this fourth type are unclear, I will include a few of Nash’s examples of this fourth type:

Estás en algo. ‘You’re in!’

Estás hecho. ‘You have it made.’

Todavía está en el tingeo. ‘He still acts like a teenager.’

Quiero un jamón sandwich. ‘I want a ham sandwich.’ (Nash 1970: 230)

Nash does not specify what she deems unique about the above phrases. Given that Nash describes these phrases as uniquely Puerto Rican, even a Spanish speaker with native’s intuition can only trust that Nash’s translation of the phrases is true to their use in Puerto Rican society. “Estás hecho,” in other varieties of Latin American Spanish, is more likely to mean, “you’re spent,” or, “you’re exhausted.” Furthermore, the final example listed above, “Quiero un jamón sandwich,” challenges Nash’s initial assertion that Spanglish is a relexification of Spanish that leaves intact its syntactic structure. In the noun phrase “un jamon sandwich” the adjectival phrase that in Spanish would usually follow the noun in the form “de jamón” instead precedes it. In this way, Spanglish could disrupt Spanish syntax in a way that Nash (1970) overlooks.

The descriptions of Miami Spanglish in the work of Valdés Bernal and Torada (2001) represent a permutation of the definition of Spanglish offered by Nash (1970) and the synonymy between “Spanglish” and code-switching identified in Toribio (2000) and Zentella (1997). The account of Miami Spanglish includes both code-switching and the incorporation of new lexical items, in addition to symptoms of language erosion among young Cuban-Americans:

Another one of the aspects of Miami Cuban Spanish that has called the most attention is the lexicon. The direct and daily contact with English made it such that, little by little, Cubans began incorporating words and phrases in English into Spanish discourse. In a first phase these were words isolated within the discourse...Spanglish, as was to be expected, has made its appearance in Miami among the new generation of Cuban-Americans-the yacas (raftsmen)- who “mess around” speaking this variety of language ‘in part Anglo-saxonized Spanish, in part Hispanicized English, and in part syntactic turns, that both children and adults use, at times almost without realizing it’. But, it is not only the incorporation of words and the unconscious change from Spanish to English, rather, it also related to, as signaled by Castellanos (1990), the fact that a considerable number of Cuban-American youths are unfamiliar with the correct use of the pronouns *tú/usted*, due to the fact that in English there only exists the pronoun *you*, while in Spanish the use of the forms *tú/usted* depends on the degree of friendship between the speakers, the official/unofficial nature of the conversation; the relationship of equality, inequality, that is, the relationship between boss and subordinate, between professor and student, etcetera....(Valdés Bernal and Torada 2000: no page numbers, my translation).

The “Hispanicized English” to which Valdés Bernal and Torada refer likely describes the application of Spanish phonology to English words described by Nash (1970). It is hard to discern what the two linguists might mean by “syntactic turns.” Lipski (2007) translates this phrase as “syntactic combinations,” but an examination of the Real Academia Española and other dictionaries’ definitions of “giro,” together with my own intuition, lead me to identify this translation as unmerited, or, at best, problematic. The word used in the original Spanish text, “giro” can mean a flip, turn or choice of direction. The “turn” might indicate the switch between English and Spanish at appropriate syntactic boundaries, along those described by Toribio (2000). However, the characterization of switches as a “giro” seems to conflict with the single point of consensus summarized by Lipski (2007) in his review of code-switching literature: “The most general restriction on mixing languages within the same sentence is that no grammatical rule in either language be violated, and in particular that the point of transition be ‘smooth’ in the sense that the material from the second language is in some way as likely a combination as a

continuation in the first language” (Lipski 2007: 31). If the code-switching observed by Valdés Bernal and Torada were indeed to exhibit “smooth” points of transition and were preceded by phrases that permitted completion by either of the two languages, such switches would not constitute “syntactic turns.” One might therefore conclude that either Miami code-switching does not exhibit the quality described by Lipski (2007), or that code-switching is not the phenomenon to which Valdés Bernal and Torada refer when noting “syntactic turns.”

An alternative reading of “syntactic turns” might equate them with syntactic calques. Calques are sometimes referred to as “loan translations,” and describe phrases that are inappropriately translated word-for-word from one language to another, with no attention to the syntax of the second language. A “Spanglish” syntactic calque would be a sentence that uses Spanish words while abiding by English syntax. Lipski (2007) notes the informal reference to syntactic calques in the narrative of Stavans (2003): “But to keep up with these publications [Spanish-language newspapers in New York City in the 1980’s] was also to invite your tongue for a bumpy ride. The grammar and syntax used in them was never fully “normal,” e.g., it replicated, often unconsciously, English-language patterns” (Stavans 2003: 2, cited in Lipski 2007: 25). Spanglish phrases that combine Spanish vocabulary in English word order could well be identified as “syntactic turns.”

The above remarks by Valdés Bernal and Torada indicating that children and adults switch between English and Spanish “at times almost without realizing it,” and the description of the “change from Spanish to English” as “unconscious” demonstrates a concern with intentionality similar to that expressed by Nash (1970). The emphasis on the conscious or unconscious nature of Spanish-English code-switching observed in both Nash (1970) and Valdés Bernal and Torada (2001) suggests that unintentional switching brings the switched result one step closer to constituting its own, third variety of language. The suggestion seems to be that once speakers cease to make conscious, contained choices between two possible languages and start to shift among them without noticing, the mixed product constitutes more than code-switching. The autonomy with which the speaker mixes the two languages is inherited by the mixed product: the suggestion becomes that the mixed language, Spanglish is itself autonomous. The absence of any deliberation or notice in mixing the language might be closely identified with the “intuition” attributed to native speakers of a language. Lipski (2007), Toribio (2000) and Zentella (1997) would likely argue in response that the comfort with which bilinguals code-switch is merely indicative of their mastery of the morphosyntactic and pragmatic constraints on code-switching, as learned through contextualized practice.

The last element of Spanglish as defined by Valdés Bernal and Torada (2001) is language erosion in U.S.-born Cuban-Americans. The authors point to the use of the informal second-person pronoun “tú” alongside formal addresses such as “Mr. Mayor,” as evidence of the influence of English on Miami Spanish. Lipski (2007) argues that this example does not demonstrate a sustained change to the structure of Spanish, but rather is characteristic of shifts from dominance in Spanish among immigrants to dominance in English in their first-generation children. According to Lipski, the conflation of “tú” and “usted” is merely a common mistake made by English-dominant bilinguals demonstrating linguistic interference. This shift in language dominance affects all immigrant groups, Lipski argues, and is not the result of language contact. Nor does it, according to Lipski, suggest the emergence of a new variety of Spanish. However, Rosaura Sánchez (1994) includes linguistic interference as a quality of what she deems “Chicano Spanish.” The “mistake” of conflating “tú” and “usted,” when made enough times, might well constitute a new property of the Spanish language as spoken in the United States. In this way “Spanglish” might be used to describe properties of Spanish in the United States that reflect language erosion or linguistic interference induced by contact with English.

Lipski (2007) distinguishes language erosion from the structural changes to Spanish that have resulted from its contact with English in the United States. Lipski (2007) chooses to talk not of “Spanglish” but of “U.S. Spanish” to discuss sustained alterations to Spanish spoken with the United States. Similarly, Sánchez (1994) gives what is likely the most exhaustive examination of the idiosyncrasies of Chicano Spanish that distinguish it from “standard” Spanish. As explained

above, the term “Spanglish” is often extended to refer to Chicano Spanish and the consequences of contact with English reflected therein. In their respective reviews of Spanish in the United States, both authors cite as common the abandonment of certain verb tenses for those more prevalent in English.

The above definitions characterize as Spanglish utterances that incorporate neologisms, calques, and simultaneous translation between English and Spanish. Code-switching is also equated with Spanglish, as are properties of Spanish spoken within the United States that distinguish it from its Latin American and Iberian counterparts. The search for Spanglish in advertisements will include all of these interpretations of Spanglish.

Spanglish in Advertising: The Case According to Linguists and Literary Critics

Several authors find noteworthy the presence of Spanglish in advertising. Nash (1970) identifies “the vocabulary of American merchandising, the names of business establishments, and the slogans and mixed-up messages of advertising” as a key contributor to “Type 1” Spanglish—that which incorporates English vocabulary without “Hispanicizing” them. Nash asserts unpersuasively that, while advertising adds words to the Spanglish lexicon, the intentionality with which ads are crafted (and with which they code-switch) precludes them from actually employing the “variety of language” to which they contribute. As examples of the type of intentionally switched utterances to exclude from Spanglish, Nash (1970) lists the following two-language aural advertisements:

- (5) Buy your home in Levittown Lakes, *donde la buena vida comienza.*
'Buy your home in Levittown Lakes, where the good life begins.'
Cómprese su casa en los Lagos Levittown, donde la buena vida comienza.
- (6) Yo y mi Winston—*porque* Winstons taste good like a cigarette should.
'Me and my Winston—because Winstons taste good like a cigarette should.'
Mi Winston y yo—porque Winstons son ricos, como un cigarro debe ser. (or: saben bien, como un cigarro debería). (Nash 1970: 224; translations mine, italics in original phrases hers).

Nash (1970) does not make an argument as to why the switches in the above advertisements are deliberate, or in what way they create a “special effect” (Nash 1970: *ibid*). Moreover, she does not tell the reader why one should not classify intentional switching as belonging to Spanglish.

The ads that Nash (1970) isolates as examples of Type 1 Spanglish incorporate English terms into otherwise Spanish sentences. The first comes from a sign in a store:

- (7) Sears de Puerto Rico: Use nuestro plan de compra Lay-Away. Use el plan Easy Payment de Sears. Use el plan Revolving Charge de Sears.
'Sears of Puerto Rico: Use our Lay-Away purchase plan. Use Sear's Easy Payment plan. Use Sear's Revolving Charge plan.'
Sears de Puerto Rico: Use nuestro sistema de apartado/seña. Use el plan de Pago Fácil de Sears. Use el plan de Cargo Giratorio. (Nash 1970: 225; my translation).

An additional example is taken from a newspaper advertisement:

- (8) Marco Discount House: Cabecera con frame, 2 mesas de noche, 1 triple dresser con 2 espejos. Fibra lavable, 2 corner bed y ottoman en azul. Elegante sofacama.
'Marco Discount House: Headboard with frame, two nightstands, 1 triple dresser with 2 mirrors. Washable fiber, 2 corner bed and ottoman in blue. Elegant sofa-bed'.

La Casa de Descuento de Marco: Cabecera con marco de cama, 2 mesas de noche, 1 tocador triple con 2 espejos. Fibra lavable, 2 camas de esquina y otomana azul. Sofá-cama elegante.
(Nash 1970: *ibid*; my translation)

Nash (1970: *ibid*) states that English and Spanish have “converged” in this latter example. This last example, according to Nash, demonstrates “lexico-semantic fusion” between the English “bed” and its Spanish equivalent, “cama.” The author argues that both are present in the ad, though the two are identical in meaning. However, an attentive reader will notice that the English “bed” is used to describe a stand-alone bed, while the Spanish equivalent, “-cama” is used only when preceded by “sofa.” What Nash calls “lexico-semantic fusion” might actually be lexico-semantic differentiation. Many additional examples would be necessary to prove that “bed” and “cama” have attained separate uses, but it is similarly premature to assert that the two co-exist redundantly or have fused in function.

While Nash’s use of advertising samples provide useful examples of Type 1 Spanglish, her initial exclusion of intentional switching from the definition of “Spanglish” may have since discouraged linguists from looking to advertising for Spanglish data. While many writers identify the presence of Spanglish in the media and in merchandising, and other authors examine multilingual advertising in Europe, I have found a single linguist who examines Spanish-English contact phenomena in advertising copy. Because I found Erica McClure’s (1998) on written code-switching only after conducting my own analysis, the (1998) study will be examined in comparison with my own findings.

Ilan Stavans (2003) isolates the media as the only source of uniformity in Spanglish. Stavans uses an experiment at Amherst College as evidence of regional variation in Spanglish speech. As part of the informal study, Stavans invites a Cuban-American from Miami, a Mexican-American from San Antonio, a “Nuyorrican” from the Bronx, a Dominican-American from Washington, D.C., and an Ecuadorian-American from Chicago to congregate in one room and converse in Spanglish. Stavans soon observes that extensive clarifications are necessary for one speaker of Spanglish to understand a speaker from another region. The many regional varieties of Spanglish are well-attested to (Stavans, 2003; Sokol, 2004; Castro, 1996; Lipski, 2004: insofar as Spanglish is U.S. Spanish).

Stavans (in Sokol 2004: 137) argues that Spanish-language networks like Univisión contribute to an increasingly standardized Spanglish. He points out, for instance, that viewers of the network’s *Sabado Gigante* and *El show de Christina* outnumber readers of the canonical *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. The book, published in 1967, has yet to attract the audience attained in a single showing of either program (Sokol, 2004). Stavans goes on to discuss the influential language use of Jorge Ramos, anchor of Univisión’s news service, *Noticiero Univisión*. Stavans equates the figure with Peter Jennings of ABC news. Ramos, notes Stavans, never refers to a green card with its literal Spanish translation, “carta verde,” but instead adopts the Spanglish term, “grincar.” Stavans contends that viewers would not comprehend “carta verde.” The news anchor’s adoption of Spanglish terms at once reflects the speech of his audience and reinforces it.

Stavans (2008) elsewhere highlights the ubiquity of Spanglish in marketing when he notes, “It surely already serves a crucial role in advertising and the media. Hallmark Cards has a line in Spanglish. Taco Bell, Mountain Dew, and MTV have it in commercials. Even the U.S. Army, in magazine ads, employs it when seeking to reach a Latino audience” (Stavans, 2008: ix). The use of Spanglish in pop culture and Army ads signifies a departure from its earlier prominence in the classified ads of Spanish-language newspapers. In recounting his first acquaintance with Spanglish in the mid-eighties, Stavans (2003) remembers the ads of Spanish-

language newspapers like *El Diario/La Prensa* available on the streets of New York. He identifies the authors of such ads as North Americans with little connection to the Spanish language, and proceeds to give the reader a sampling:

- (9) Conviértase en inversor del Citibank.
‘Become an investor in Citibank.’
Hacerse inversionista del Citibank.
- (10) Para casos de divorcio y child support, llame a su advocate personal al (888) 745-1515.
‘For divorce and child support cases, call your personal advocate (attorney) at (888) 745-1515.’
Para casos de divorcio y manutención, llame a su abogado personal al (888) 745-1515.
- (11) Alerta!!! Carpinteros y window professionals. Deben tener 10 años de experience y traer tools.
‘Alert! Carpenters and window professionals. Must have 10 years of experience and bring tools.’
¡Alértese! Carpinteros y profesionales con conocimiento de ventanas. Deben tener 10 años de experiencia y traer herramientas.
- (12) Hoy más que nunca, tiempo is money.
‘Now more than ever, time is money.’
Ahora más que nunca, el tiempo vale como plata.
- (13) Apartments are selling like pan caliente and apartments de verdad.
‘Apartments are selling like hotcakes and apartments, really.’
Departamentos se van vendiendo como pan caliente, y departamentos de verdad.’

In the English-language texts from which the above examples have been extracted, Stavans (2003) and Nash (1970) do not provide Spanish or English translations of the Spanglish data, but instead rely on a bilingual reader to apply her knowledge of Spanish and English to decipher Spanglish. This choice might first be related to authors’ uncertainty about the relationship between Spanglish, Spanish, and English. For example, if one understands Spanglish to be a version of Spanish, a translation from Spanglish to Spanish might be inappropriate. Additionally, one might be hard-pressed to find consensus on Spanish translations of “Layaway plan” as in example (7) or “child support” as in example (10). When online dictionaries fall short in delivering a translation for such terms of art, users discuss the meaning of such phrases in reference forums. The variety of entries discussing translations of phrases like “layaway plan” show that no Pan-American word has been endorsed. One user from Mexico states that “here we call that apartado,” while an Argentine attests to having heard “seña.” The challenge of translating such phrases for the purpose of the present academic text (and the choice of Stavans (2003) and Nash (1970) to not translate) reflects the challenges English-speaking and Spanish-speaking advertisers alike face in choosing among varieties of English, Spanish, and Spanglish. It is not the case that translations for “layaway” and “child support” do not exist in Spanish, or that English here fills a need that Spanish does not meet. Not surprisingly, however, regional variations in words ranging from the more common “bathroom” to the more specialized “layaway” complicate the goal of the American advertisers aiming for a Latino audience; for better or for worse, such advertisers are looking to access a large group of people, with little or no discrimination between consumers from Puerto Rico, and those from Mexico or Argentina. Faced with copious choices and little consensus, some advertisers likely choose to employ a different common denominator: English. The challenge of translation observed here as a

consequence of lexical diversity among varieties of Spanish point to one motivation for advertisers' adoption of Spanglish.

A second challenge of translating the above advertisements arises not in selecting Spanish terms for English phrases, but from reflecting the overall intent of the advertisement in either Spanish or English. Stavans (2003) suggests that the advertisers who penned examples (9-13) are English speakers with limited knowledge of Spanish. Echevarría (1997) similarly identifies the sources of Spanglish ads as English monolinguals, and points to the presence of Spanglish in the media as evidence of infiltration of Spanish by the English-speaking world. He assigns a predatory quality to marketers when he describes "American companies hoping to cash in on the Hispanic market" (Echevarría 1997: A29):

I cringe when I hear a clerk ask, 'Cómo puedo ayudarlo?' (a literal transposition of the English 'How can I help you?'), rather than the proper 'Qué desea? [literally, what do you desire?]'. . . Ads on Spanish-language TV and on the New York Streets are full of howlers. I wonder if recent Latin American immigrants even can understand them. (Echevarría, 1997: A29)

By discussing literal transpositions from English into Spanish in a brief article entitled, "Is Spanglish a Language?" Echevarría suggests that such examples constitute Spanglish. One will recall that Nash (1970) excludes from "Spanglish" non-grammatical English by Spanish monolinguals. The same logic would leave out 'Cómo puedo ayudarlo?' from the discussion of Spanglish. Still, Echevarría's remark about the comprehensibility of Spanglish ads is valid. Example (12) commits the same crime as the aforementioned clerk who utters a literal Spanish transposition of English words rather than a conscious translation of the English meaning. Such a literal transposition yields a syntactic calque. Admittedly, my own translations of examples (10) and (13) require some degree of guesswork about the intent of the advertiser. While Stavans (2003) attributes the Spanglish in classifieds to English-speakers, the use of "advocate" in example (10) might indicate that the ad's author speaks Spanish as a first language. It is hard to ignore the word's resemblance to the Spanish word for attorney, "abogado." In translating "advocate personal" from Spanglish to English, one might select "personal advocate" as the English equivalent, but could just as likely opt for "personal attorney." In English, the latter names a job title while the former emphasizes a function and quality of the professional. In this way, an English word in a Spanglish sentence might be semantically differentiated from the same word in an English-only context. If example (10) inspires dilemmas in translation, example (13) is even less transparent in its comparison between the sale of apartments and "pan caliente." While "pan caliente," translates literally to "warm bread," the translator cannot help but to think that the author must be referring to "hotcakes." While English speakers often say that products "are selling like hotcakes," "warm bread" has no such reputation for quick sells. The comparison is lost on anyone unfamiliar with the English phrase. Even more confusing is the phrase, "apartments de verdad." It is unclear whether the phrase "de verdad," or "really," is meant to testify to the truth of the entire utterance or to the validity of the apartments. That is, are the apartments "truthfully" selling like hotcakes, or are the fast-selling apartments "truly" apartments?

Translating the above ads reveals both a motivation for and a consequence of Spanglish advertising. While advertisers might adopt Spanglish to simplify translation issues and reach a pan-Latino audience, the hybrid result might fall flat if it fails to be transparent to even a fully bilingual viewer.

While both Stavans and Echevarría recognize the prevalence of Spanglish in the media, few sources examine the phenomenon with scholarly rigor. In a recently released series of articles on Spanglish, Stavans (2008) dedicates a section to “The Media,” but this section includes only remarks on in-court interpretation for immigrants and an opinion piece on Spanish translation of the United States national anthem. The larger body of research on the topic comes from those trying to assess the effectiveness of different language choices in gaining the favor and spending money of Latino consumers.

Spanglish in Advertising: Readings from Consumer Research

Marketing researchers David Luna and Laura Perrachio (2001) adopt a psycholinguistic approach in a study that investigates the effect of the advertisement’s language use on bilingual consumers’ recall of the information therein. Subjects of the study were fluent Spanish/English bilinguals who completed questionnaires on their language proficiency before viewing a series of ads either in their most proficient (usually first) language (L1) or their less proficient (or acquired) language (L2). The study is framed as a test of the Revised Hierarchical Model (RHM) of bilingual concept representation. According to the model, a conceptual or meaning level occupies the base of a bilingual’s language system. This level is composed of semantic representations that can be accessed by either of the bilingual’s languages. A second level in the hierarchy is lexical in nature. At this level the two languages are divided. Word associations between a bilingual’s two languages occur at this level, and are deemed “lexical links” (discussion of Dufour and Kroll, cited in Luna and Perrachio 2001: 285). “Conceptual links” name the connections between each individual language and the shared semantic store. The model indicates that lexical links from L2 to L1 are stronger than those from L1 to L2, and that conceptual links are stronger between the semantic base and L1 than they are between the base level and L2. According to the model, the processing of information in L1 is more likely than its L2 counterpart to reach the conceptual level. Advertisers abiding by the RHM would therefore use Spanish and only Spanish in ads targeting consumers for whom Spanish is a first language and English a second.

Luna and Perrachio (2001) challenge the RHM by finding that visuals related to the ad’s verbal message allow for equal recall of the message, whether that message is in the consumer’s L1 or L2. If the visual message is unrelated to the copy content, the consumer’s more proficient language better facilitates recall. The finding shapes Luna’s (2006) advice for advertisers: as long as an ad’s visual information corresponds with its copy, English ads for audiences that speak English as a second language are retained as effectively as ads in Spanish. Luna and Perrachio (2001) clarify in a second study that determined consumers in need of the product in question, along with those who want badly to understand the verbal message in their second language, will remember ad content equally well in either of their two languages, regardless of congruity or incongruity between the ad’s images and its copy.

Studies like Luna and Perrachio (2001) motivate a move away from advertising that speaks to native Spanish speakers exclusively in Spanish. Luna and Perrachio (2005) take a step further by examining the effect of code-switching in advertising copy on the persuasion of bilingual consumers. The authors apply the Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model to describe the activation of language attitudes in code-switched slogans. According to the Markedness Model, a switch from one language to another marks the code-switched segment of speech as important or different from the surrounding segments. Given the salience of a marked segment, this segment will activate attitudes the consumer has about the language of the marked segment. These

attitudes will, in turn, influence the consumer's evaluation of the product being advertised. A little goes a long way, it seems, in eliciting a consumer's reaction to an ad. A single English word in a Spanish sentence will attract more attention than the string of words of which it is part.

As the debate over the use and development of Spanglish has shown, feelings about language use run deep and range widely. Scott Koslow, Prem Shamdasani, and Ellen Touchstone (1994) suggest that Spanish speakers respond positively to Spanish-language advertising as a perceived attempt to access and identify with Latino culture. Koslow et al argue that the Spanish usage by American advertisers constitutes linguistic accommodation. Speech accommodation theory is one element of accommodation theory, as described in Koslow et al's reading of Thakerar, Giles, and Chesire (1982):

[Accommodation theory] suggests that as person A becomes more similar to person B, the likelihood that B will like A increases. The desire of person A to become more similar to B is perceived by B as acknowledgement of the inherent worth of B's self- and cultural identity, which results in positive feelings toward A and often in reciprocal accommodating behavior. (Koslow et al, 576)

In congruence with this theory, Koslow et al (1994) predict that an advertiser's effort to use Spanish will be met with favor by the Spanish speaker as an accommodating attempt to close a communicative gap. Importantly, if the consumer perceives the advertiser's attempt at accommodation as manipulative, the gesture ceases to be validating and does not inspire the affect of "person B" (Koslow et al, 1994). As this clarification would predict, Echevarría (1997: A29) attributes American marketers' use of Spanish to the exploitative goal of "cash[ing] in on the Hispanic market," and as a consequence "cringes" at sales clerks' inapt Spanish. For the consumer evaluating the goals of a Spanish-speaking advertiser, it is the thought that counts. And the grammatical execution, too: Luna argues that grammatically unsound code-switching in an ad provokes consumers' dislike for the advertised product.

When perceived as a sincere shot at cultural convergence, the accommodating behavior of an advertiser should encourage equal and opposite reciprocation on the part of the consumer. Applying this prediction, Koslow et al (1994) argue that the more Spanish in an advertisement, the more accommodating it appears to the Spanish-speaking consumer. According to their argument, consumers perceive an ad written entirely in Spanish as a sacrifice on the part of the advertiser, as the ad's author forgoes a larger audience of English speakers in favor of reaching a linguistic minority. This line of argument indicates that usage of both Spanish and English might inspire less affect towards an ad, as the advertiser's catering to the Spanish-speaking consumer no longer comes at the cost of its English-speaking market. While this aspect of Koslow et al's argument might hold true of ads that print complete Spanish translations alongside English information, an alternative combination of Spanish and English—in the form of code-switching—might cater not to both English- and Spanish-speakers, but to a select group of bilinguals. If Spanish/English bilinguals perceive language-mixed ads as making an exclusive appeal to bilinguals, it might legitimize the hybrid identity or, in Stavan's words, "the existential dilemma" of Latino immigrants and their first generation children. For this reason, the present study is attentive to whether the use of Spanglish in Miami advertisements actually appeals exclusively to bilinguals. That is, to what extent do the ads require bilingual proficiency to be understood and appreciated?

Koslow et al's initial treatment of accommodation theory neglects a Latino population (represented by writers like Stavans and Anzaldúa) that might consider itself loyal to both Spanish and English and be pleased by bilingual ads' validation of this dual identity. The

authors, do, however, acknowledge accommodation theory's shortcomings in predicting the reactions of Latino bilinguals to Spanish-language and mixed-language ads. Accommodation theory's underlying assumption is that Latino consumers respond positively to the validation of their linguistic and cultural identity because this is an identity about which they themselves feel affect. Koslow et al (1994) and Luna and Perrachio (2005) agree that the incorporation of Spanish into print ads can trigger Latino consumers' insecurities about their association with the language. Koslow et al (1994: 577-8) attribute this negative reaction to Spanish usage to an alleged "Language-related Inferiority Complex" demonstrated by Spanish speakers. Luna and Perrachio adopt instead Francois Grosjean's (1982) terminology of "minority" and "majority" languages. The majority language of a country is that of the politically, culturally, and economically powerful (whether or not these speakers actually constitute a populational majority). Through their association with the country's hegemony, majority languages come to be evaluated more positively than minority languages:

A reason for this effect is that the negative attitudes of the majority group toward the group without power and prestige are adopted in part or in whole by this group and are often amplified to such extent that members of the minority group downgrade themselves even more than they are downgraded by the dominant group. Indeed, in extreme cases, the minority group's attitudes toward their language are sometimes less favorable than the majority's attitudes. (Luna and Peracchio 2005: 761)

Grosjean (1982) gives evidence of this trend in Israel, Switzerland, Singapore, Peru, Canada and the United States. German linguist Harald Haarmann (1986: 92) identifies a similar situation in France, where speakers of local languages demonstrate a "language-related inferiority complex" because "the local language is often considered by the speakers themselves to be an obstacle to social advance or even a stigma." Koslow et al (1994) summarize the findings of Platt and Weber (1994), who describe a similar feeling of insecurity among Singaporeans about their varieties of ethnic languages. According to the study, Singaporeans preferred communication in English over messages in their native tongue.

It goes almost without saying that English constitutes the "majority" language in the United States and Spanish the "minority." The above discussion of Lipski (2007) shows that Spanish is a target of xenophobic sentiment. The most visible anti-immigration and English-only campaigns share a nativist tone and many followers. Echevarría (1997: A29) identifies Spanish as a "minority" language in his assertion that educated Latinos are ashamed of using Spanish and feel empowered by using English: "Doing so [using English], they think, is to claim membership in the mainstream." Sanchez (1994, reprinted in Stavans, 2008) similarly discusses the stigmatized status of Spanish in her analysis of language choices of Latinos in the United States:

Occupation, salary, education, and years of residence are all interconnected factors affecting the language choices of Chicanos. Their status in society as primarily low-income working-class person explains the low status of Spanish in the United States, despite the presence of some middle-class Chicanos in professional, technical, and primary industry categories. It is not surprising, then, that education and the acquisition of English are seen to be the principle vehicles for social mobility and assimilation. (Sanchez, 1994 in Stavans, 2008: 5)

In the same way that Spanish is stigmatized, Spanglish represents to some an incomplete mastery of both Spanish and English. Stavans (2005) disagrees, asserting that Spanglish transcends class and social boundaries. What advertisers ultimately make of these competing explanations of bilingual consumers' behavior: the Revised Hierarchical Model, accommodation theory, markedness, and majority and minority languages, is revealed in the ads that make it to market.

Methodology

Samples of bilingual advertising in Miami were collected randomly, in neighborhoods ranging from Coconut Grove and Calle Ocho to Southland Mall, further south in Miami-Dade County. Some samples were extracted from newspapers, including *Diario las Américas* and *El Nuevo Herald*. Any public signs or billboards with both Spanish and English copy were noted and photographed. Additionally, any advertising media arriving through postal service to the researcher's address between Coconut Grove and Little Havana were examined for text combining Spanish and English.

Of the hundreds of ads initially collected and examined, a select few were randomly selected for qualitative analysis. Qualitative analysis consisted first of translating the ads. The exercise in translation served to reveal potential motivations or complications in forming the ad in Spanglish. Kelly-Holmes (2005: xi) conducts a similar analysis of multilingual ads in Europe, with two chief objectives:

...firstly, to examine how advertising and other market discourses use languages and exploit and hyperbolize linguistic difference in order to sell products and services; secondly, to explore how advertising responds to situations that are bi- or multilingual in nature, and to attempt to assess the effects of language choices made by advertisers and the producers of market discourses in general in these situations in order to sell products and services.

In line with Kelly-Holmes' objectives in analyzing European ads, contemporary literature from consumer research was applied to a reading of the advertisements. The correlations between observed contact phenomena and those already categorized in literature as "Spanglish" were noted. Finally, I remained attentive to other patterns in the sample set, including trends in domains of language use, age and gender of target audience, and position of first English word in the advertisement.

Kelly-Holmes (2005) does not include in her study the visual properties of advertisements. Though images are described, they are not provided in print and are not discussed. Among Kelly-Holmes' reasons for excluding images is that the study intends to focus on the texts, and not on the relationship between the text and the graphics, or the visual argument of each ad. Similarly, this study excludes consideration of visual aspects of the ad to concentrate instead on Spanglish copy.

Data Analysis

Ads are categorized according to the motivations for mixing English and Spanish in the ad. It was determined that ads often inserted English in otherwise Spanish ads to achieve the effect described by Luna and Perrachio (2005). Spanish was used jokingly in a single ad targeting English speakers, and in doing so exemplified the "lowest-common-denominator" effect as described by Helen Kelly-Holmes (2005:19). An additional category consisted of samples that introduced English words where Spanish words might have occupied more space or been less transparent to the Spanish-speaking consumer. Such introduction of English words into Spanish sentences constitute the "Type 1" Spanglish, or source of neologisms, described by Nash (1970).

(A) Symbolic Use of English, as per Luna.

The following ad was stenciled onto the sidewalk in various neighborhoods of Miami. Within a few paces of the U.S. Spanish (or Spanglish?) version of the ad, an English translation followed. The former ran as follows:

- (13) Lo in y lo out, lo encuentr-as en Terra.
The in(En) and the out(En) 3s find-2SG.PRS at Terra.
'What's in and what's out, you'll find it at Terra.'
Lo adentro y lo afuera, lo encontrarás en Terra.

"Terra" is a Spanish-language website that, like AOL or Yahoo, offers popular news, email and chat services. In line with the findings of Luna and Perrachio (2005), the company incorporates English words in an ad that sells access and information. The fact that only two of the nine words are in English affords markedness, or perceptual salience, to these two words. These two words trigger consumers to elaborate on their schemas about English, which they then apply to the product being offered. Interesting about this ad is the fact that the figurative "in" and "out" might be challenging for a monolingual Spanish speaker to understand. In English, what is "in" refers to that which is hip, popular, relevant, or up-to-date. What is "out" is expired, boring, or outgrown. While some Spanish monolingual consumers may not comprehend the idiomatic use of "in" and "out" in the ad, their language schema for English likely includes its importance for membership in the mainstream—the very determinant of what is "in" and what is "out." A consumer's conception of English likely includes the fact that English in the United States is the "majority language," and that speakers of this majority language often place a monopoly on the very information and membership the ad promises. It is not surprising, then, that Terra marketers use English to express, and on a separate level, symbolize—knowledge of what's popular or not. The fact that the English words in this ad are more symbolic than informative leads me to conclude that the ad does not require a bilingual reader to have the desire effect.

Helen Kelly-Holmes (2005: 22) attributes a large amount of multilingualism in European advertising to what she deems "linguistic fetishism." Kelly-Holmes (2005:22) borrows from Marxian analysis the concept of "fetishization," a process through which products (but in this case, words) gain a symbolic value beyond their inherent "use value." Though the paradigm usually describes the production of goods, Kelly-Holmes applies such analysis to the somewhat mystified, symbolic value of foreign language words. "Linguistic fetishism" describes instances in which the symbolic value of the second-language copy is greater than its referential or informational value. In certain instances, for example, the second-language text will not convey any referential meaning to a monolingual reader. In such cases the fact that the second-language text is not translated to the dominant language of the audience suggests that the information encoded is not crucial to the consumer. Rather, the use of the second language in itself is a symbol that communicates more than the literal meaning of the particular utterance; to use the language of Kelly-Holmes, the symbolic value of the second-language text becomes greater than its "use value." While some language is used strictly to communicate facts, other times language is used performatively to demonstrate identification with certain cultures and language communities. Kelly-Holmes discussion of words' function as more than referential corresponds to a debate in the philosophy of language, led by authors like J.L. Austin and David Lewis.

The translation of the ad from Spanglish into Spanish is revealing of some of the structural changes undergone by Spanish in a United States context. Sánchez (1994; in Stavans 2008: 17) describes Spanish spoken in the Southwestern United States and notes morphosyntactic ways in which it departs from varieties of Spanish spoken absent significant contact with English. She

argues that verb tenses shared by Spanish speakers have different functions in the United States than they do elsewhere, and as a result are used with different frequency. Lipski (2007: 29) notes an avoidance of irrealis modalities and less common verb forms by English-dominant bilinguals, and further argues that, “No non-Spanish [verb] structures emerge among fluent speakers; the ‘worst’ that can be detected is the reduced use of options within Spanish that do not coincide with similar constructions in English.” The “reduced use of options” is a quality of Spanglish, or U.S. Spanish, not specific to heritage speakers of Spanish. Regardless of the exact language history of the above ad’s author, one might observe the choice of the present indicative “encuentras” over the future indicative “encontrarás” as a result of the simplifying trend described by Sánchez and Lipski. Sánchez observes that the future tense is rarely retained. Speakers of Spanish in the United States instead favor the present tense (as seen here) or the periphrastic combination of the “to go” verb, “ir,” before the infinitive form. The present indicative form used here, “encuentras” might indicate to a Spanish speaker outside of the U.S. that the reader already makes a habit of consulting Terra for “what’s in and what’s out.” The future indicative form more clearly expresses the ad’s promise, or the likelihood that the consumer *will* find information on the website. Indeed, the English translation of the ad adopts the future indicative form to express this idea. The ad’s choice of “encuentras” over “encontrarás” testifies to the trend explained by Sánchez (1994) and Lipski (2007).

A second ad from the same company uses a single English word:

- (14) ¿Cuál es tu link?
 ¿Cuál es tu enlace?
 ‘What is your link?’

The interjection of a single English word near the end of the phrase corresponds with Luna and Perrachio’s advice for advertisers. Kelly-Holmes (2005: 10) would likely attribute the adoption of an English word in this case to the domain of language use:

...code-switching may be topic-related, where individuals are most at home discussing a particular topic in a different code or language. The use of English in an advertisement that is primarily in another language or directed at another language community may often be motivated by this, particularly where technical products are concerned.

English serves elsewhere (in other domains) as a stamp of authority. Kelly-Holmes (2005: 77) observes that, “many corporations and brands choose to give this reassurance, this sign of credibility, the symbol that they are a major player and that their brand needs no explanation, through the medium of the English language.” While Kelly-Holmes is talking about members of the automotive industry or multinational technology corporations, the same trend is observable in ads offering legal consultation to immigrants.

(B) Symbolic use of Spanish, as Laughing (Chicken) Stock

A second ad comes from the fast food company Chick-Fil-A, and was printed in its 2008 calendar. It should be noted that the calendar is circulated in all cities where Chick-Fil-A franchises are found. Therefore this particular ad is not necessarily representative of a linguistic situation unique to Miami.

- (15) Chikin es mooney gud.
 Chicken(En) to be.3s very good(En).
 ‘Chicken is very good.’

Es rico, el pollo.

This ad is likely directed to English speakers, as the Spanish used is highly accessible to non-bilinguals with minimal exposure to Spanish. Additionally, those who speak Spanish as a first language might not read the caricatured “mooney” as the Spanish “muy.” This ad is a good example of the lowest-common-denominator effect described by Kelly-Holmes (2005). The author notes that the commercial use of foreign words often relies on the most basic knowledge and second-language capacity of the consumer. By making a joke of the shared denominator, the ad glorifies the audience’s ignorance of Spanish and reinforces the audience’s identity as English speakers. The appropriation of Spanish for the purposes of a joke could of course be understood as “Mock Spanish” (Hill, 1995). The ad’s visual argument and caption support this characterization.

The ad features three cows dressed in mariachi attire. Their image is captioned “Living la chicken loca,” a reference to the popular Ricky Martin song. The 1999 single describes in Spanglish a girl who is “living la vida loca,” that is, “living the crazy life.” An array of magazine captions and spoofs borrow the song title. An msnbc.com article describes a talk show fan apparently “Livin’ la Vida Oprah.” A news blog on technology trends reports on “Living la vida Mac.” The subject of a feature article in *The Boston Phoenix* is “Living la vida republican.” Other cultural commentators give advice or criticism on living la vida “Lohan,” “Low Carb,” “Eco,” “Virtual,” “Wireless,” or even “Normal.” These uses of the phrase abide by the expectations set forth by the original lyric: they all exchange the adjective “loca” for an alternative way of living life. The Chick-Fil-A ad uses the phrase in a less common way, by substituting the noun “vida” rather than the adjective “loca.” Of note is that the English noun “chicken,” which would require a masculine article and modifier in Spanish, preserves the article “la” and the feminine adjective “loca,” as in the original song. In the song, “la” and “loca” are compatible with the feminine noun, “vida.” The authors of the ad do not adjust the gendered article and adjective to fit the new noun, “chicken,” the Spanish equivalent of which is masculine. Such gender simplification is one consequence of Spanish-English contact (Sanchez, 1994). The ad concludes that “everyone speaks the international language of chicken” (Consult Appendix for full text of this and other ads).

(C) A Common Call to el Castellano: Ads Exclusively in Spanish

One ad that avoids the introduction of English words comes from Bank of America. Except for the logo and the slogan, “bank of opportunity,” the ad consists only of Spanish. After inviting the costumer to visit their nearest Bank of America location and speak to a representative, the bottom of the sign reads in Spanish, “Although this information is provided to you in Spanish, it is possible that other materials are found only available in English. Member FDIC.” This use of Spanish throughout the sign, combined with the direct acknowledgement of its use in fine print seem to constitute an attempt by the marketer to gain the reader’s trust. Kelly-Holmes (2005) observes that European advertisements for insurance and financial services incorporate few or no foreign words, as the language of the target customer is more likely to inspire trust than a less familiar one. Funeral homes call for a similar trust, and these ads do not incorporate English. The following examples were extracted from *Diario las Américas* (July 23, 2008: 8A):

(16) Vista Funeraria Latina
14200 N.W, 57 Ave (4 Ave West) Hialeah

Abierta 24 Horas (305) 821-1421
'Vista Latino Funeral Home.
14200 N.W, 57 Ave (4 Ave West) Hialeah
Open 24 Hours (305) 821-1421'

- (17) Tratamos a nuestros clientes como que fuéramos vecinos, porque lo somos
Caballero Rivero Woodlawn
Funerarias, Cementerios & Crematorio
Sirviendo a la familia, hacemos la diferencia.
'We treat our clients like neighbors, because we are neighbors
Caballero River Woodlawn
Funeral Parlors, Cemeteries, and Crematorium
Serving the family, we make the difference.'

The above examples suggest that more formal calls for consumer attention require Spanish. In line with the analysis of Kelly-Holmes, the strategy of the ads appears to be to inspire trust by using Spanish. Additionally, the funeral home ads must make an appeal to an entire family, not just its youngest (first-generation, or most-likely-bilingual) members. An ad selling funeral services does not appeal to a drive for upper mobility or participation in the mainstream. Rather, funerals are a time to honor tradition and gather in solidarity. In this way the choice to use Spanish in this context is unsurprising. To push the viewer out of a linguistic comfort zone would be incompatible with the very service the ad promises.

Other ads that use only Spanish fall in step with accommodation theorists who argue that identification with and validation of a consumer's minority culture will provoke the consumer's affect towards the ad. An example of an ad series that abides by accommodation theories comes from The Home Depot, in bus-stop signs that market Behr paints.

- (18) Colores orígenes de Behr.
Pintura que te recuerda a tu tierra.
Mango Jugoso PPH O4 (text overlays a photo of a mango)
Puedes hacerlo.
Podemos ayudarte.
(Logo) The Home Depot
'Origin colors from Behr.
Paint that reminds you of your land.
Juicy Mango PPH 04
You can do it.
We can help you.
(Logo) The Home Depot'

The label of "Juicy Mango" denotes a paint color, and is accompanied by the code "PPH 04," seemingly a technical label identifying the paint's formula or location among other paints. A nearly identical ad includes a picture of a green popsicle instead of a mango, and this color is branded, "Paleta de Limón PPH 56," the English translation of which would be, "Lime Popsicle." What the English translation does not address, however, is the pun affected in the use of the Spanish "paleta." While in Mexican and Andean Spanish the word means "popsicle," it also means "palette," as in that of a painter (wordreference.com).

Puns aside, the use of Spanish in the Behr ad campaign is interesting in that it uses Spanish to limit its audience, and then conveys a specific message to the Spanish-speaking audience. That message is related to the consumer's experience as a Spanish speaker. By

assuring the potential customer that the paint colors will remind “you” of “your land,” the advertiser acts on the assumption that those reading the ad are in some way separated from “their” land, such that the reader requires reminder of a country they cannot see outside their window. Someone who speaks Spanish proficiently but does not self-identify as Latino or as an immigrant likely feels that the message is not intended for her—that her reading of the sign approximates eavesdropping between the marketer and a particular intended reader. The use of Spanish in the ad is not incidental; it is used to isolate a target audience. In just a few words, the ad manages to suggest that the author sympathizes with the immigrant experience. The ad further shows appreciation for the consumer’s home country, suggesting that its colors are unique from those in the United States and should be savored.

The use of Spanish shows accommodation on the part of the advertiser. Though not referring to this strategy as accommodationist, Kelly-Holmes (2005: xii) identifies accommodating techniques among those used by European marketers: “The use of minority languages, accents and dialects in advertising can be seen to be the result of advertisers attempting to speak to people ‘in their own language.’” The use of the informal second-person pronoun “tú,” heightens the accommodating effect of the advertiser’s choice to use Spanish. In example (17), the use of the second-person pronoun in the context of a Spanish sentence has a very specific message of “you, the Spanish speaker,” “you, the Latino reader,” or “you, the immigrant.” A similar effect can be observed in the name of a popular late-night television show, which appears on the sides of buses running through Miami:

- (19) Esta noche, tu night.
This night, your night(En)
‘Tonight, your night.’

The name of the show introduces a cross-linguistic pun. The Spanish “tu” before the English “night” sounds like the English “tonight.” In this way, the phrase understood as “Esta noche, tonight,” sounds like a Spanish phrase immediately followed by its English translation. Such “simultaneous translation” is one characteristic of Spanglish identified by Stavans (2006). Stavans (2005) incorporates this and other qualities of Spanglish into his academic writing on Spanglish in sentences like, “...I had crossed a dangerous line—una línea peligrosa,” and, “...what did I do? Nothing, absolutamente nada” (9). Such repetition is commonly used for emphasis in bilingual speech, and indicates that a Spanish sentence and its English counterpart each convey slightly different meaning. The name of the Spanish-language talk show abides by this expectation, and then makes a joke by betraying it: the “tu” that composes the first syllable of what sounds like “tonight” is simultaneously a second-person possessive pronoun. The “tu” in this ad seems to have a similar message as that in the Behr paint campaign. The “tu” refers exclusively to those who understand the ad. To those capable of reading the ad, this night (and by extension, the show) belongs to “you.” While the ad might be interpreted by a variety of readers in a variety of ways, its language choice can be seen as accommodating. To inspire the affect of potential viewers, the advertisement appears to act on their behalf to claim the evening and airtime. In this way the name of the show seems to allude to the minority position of its audience: the time of day and the television stage have to be procured, staked out, or reserved before a dominant group that might otherwise monopolize the media.

A final ad uses Spanish in an ad that calls on the consumer’s cultural pride. An ad for Corona Extra beer was photographed at a bus stop approximately ten blocks from Little Havana’s Calle Ocho. The sign read as follows:

- (20) Nuestro orgullo.
 Nuestra cerveza.
 (in fine print) Todo con medida.
 ‘Our pride.
 Our beer.
 Everything in measure.’

The beer ad, like that for “origin” paints and the Spanish-language talk show, uses Spanish to identify with the Spanish-speaking customer. Given that the ad is framed in Spanish, the meaning of “our” before “pride” and “beer” is evident. The same ad appearing in English would be confusing or require supporting visuals: whose beer? English speakers’ beer? The beer of the people who drive down this block? While it is unclear whether the ad addresses Mexican-American consumers (as the beer is widely understood to be imported from Mexico) or Spanish speakers as a whole, this ambiguity does not compare to the ambiguity inspired were the same ad to appear in English.

The examples in this section speak to the consumer exclusively in Spanish, but do so in a way that likely sidesteps the concern over language insecurities described by Koslow et al (1994). In their study revealing the activation of a language-related “inferiority complex,” Koslow and his colleagues show Spanish-speaking customers advertisements for an invented soft drink. While the study examines consumers’ reactions to varying degrees of Spanish language usage in the same advertisement, the simulated ad excludes any “culturally laden symbols,” in order to “ensure a neutral presentation in which only language carried any cultural meaning” (Koslow et al 1994: 579). Given the neutral nature of the product offered in the simulated ad, the study’s findings might not extend to products that claim a cultural connection with the consumer, such as beer, comedy, and paint colors. Examples (18-20) refer explicitly to areas of Latino culture or experience in which, the ads argue, Latinos should take pride. By doing so, the ads avoid inducing the type of insecurity over language usage as observed in the Koslow et al study. Though identifying with minority culture by adopting the minority language, the ads remind consumers of a specific facet of the culture with which to align themselves. Additionally, affect towards the beverage used in the Koslow et al study requires less commitment than weightier decisions like selecting financial or funeral services. In the latter examples, language is a more important factor in forming a relationship of trust between advertiser and consumer.

(C) New World, New Words? Neologisms and Lexical Borrowings

Nash (1970) identifies advertising as a source of “Type 1” Spanish. Attempts at translating Examples (7) and (8) show the challenge in choosing a single language to express certain concepts. In the examples below, advertisers incorporate English words into otherwise Spanish sentences. Attempts at translating are sometimes similarly revealing:

- (21) Scooters desde \$699.
Escúters desde \$699.
 ‘Scooters from \$699.’

The original advertisement use the English word “scooter” next to the Spanish preposition “desde.” While a popular online dictionary (wordreference.com) translates “scooter” into “escúter,” this word does not appear in the Dictionary of the Real Academia Española. It does,

however, debut in Stavan's (2005) Spanglish dictionary. The word, whether transcribed in a way consistent with Spanish phonology or written simply as "scooter," represents a neologism.

Legal ads often necessitate reference to English terminology:

- (22) The Department of Foreclosure Advisors, LLC
Detenga su foreclosure hoy mismo!!!
El Departamento de Asesores de Ejecución Hipotecaria, LLC
¡¡¡Detenga hoy mismo el cierre temprano de su casa!!!
'The Department of Foreclosure Advisors, LLC
Stop your foreclosure today!!!'

The same ad goes on to offer, "un grupo de realtors con más de 20 años de experiencia a su disposición," or, "a group of realtors with more than 20 years of experience at your disposal." While "realtors" and "foreclosure" have Spanish correlates, I did not find "agente inmobiliario" or "ejecución hipotecaria" in newspaper ads. An attorney's page in *El Abogado en Sus Manos* introduces into Spanish text the English acronym "DUI" and the Spanglish neologism, "felonías." Another attorney advises his potential client against paying a traffic ticket: "No pagues ese ticket!" These examples show the function of the English words: while some merely occupy less space than their Spanish counterparts, others are likely more familiar to a Spanish speaker living in the United States. The use of the word "ticket" in the legal ad is practical: within the United States. English dominates legal documents and court procedures. "Felonías" is a word used to classify crimes in the U.S. legal system. "Tickets" also belong to a specific system of traffic law in the United States. It is not surprising that the U.S. context requires new jargon to communicate laws and practices proper to the United States. The traffic system of "tickets" might have correlates elsewhere, but ways of referring to them likely range widely.

A similar example of a lexical loan recruited in place of its Spanish correlate comes from an ad in *Diario las Américas*. The advertisement asking readers of *Diario las Américas* to get a subscription uses a single English phrase: "Zip Code." Elsewhere the newspaper seems to be conservative in its language use. A weekly feature entitled, "Atentados Contra el Idioma," or, "Attacks Against the Language," clears up "doubts" about the proper use of the Spanish language (page 10A, July 23, 2008). The segment is borrowed from the 2004 *Diccionario de Atentados Contra el Idioma Espanol (Ediciones del Prado)*. A headline further serves as evidence of the paper's preference for Spanish over English: "Hudson y los Bravos hacen descender a los Marlins [Hudson and the Braves bring down the Marlins]." The replacement of the English proper noun, "the Braves," in favor of "los Bravos," seems to suggest that the paper will incorporate Spanish over English when possible. Surprising, then, is the incorporation of an English word into the paper's ad to potential subscribers:

- (23) No espere para Mañana...
Suscríbese HOY
Diario Las Américas
Reciba DIARIO LAS AMERICAS en su hogar por el tiempo que usted desee, de acuerdo a las siguientes tarifas:
Area Metropolitana
3 meses (\$18.46), 6 meses, (\$36.92), 1 año (\$168.00)
Simplemente llene este cupón con su nombre, teléfono, dirección y Zip Code, recórtelo y envíelo por correo junto con su cheque o giro bancario:
Departamento de circulación
Diario las Américas

Miami, FL 33152-0519- P.O. Box 520519
 ‘Don’t wait until Tomorrow...
 Subscribe TODAY
 Diario Las Américas
 Receive DIARIO LAS AMERICAS in your home for the time that you wish, in accordance with the following prices:
 Metropolitan Area
 3 months (\$18.46), 6 months, (\$36.92), 1 year (\$168.00)
 Simply fill out this coupon with your name, telephone, address, and Zip Code, cut it out and send it by mail with your check or credit transfer:
 Circulation Department
 Diario las Américas
 Miami, FL 33152-0519- P.O. Box 520519’

The coupon reads:

Sí! Deseo suscribirme a Diario Las Américas
 Adjunto mi cheque o giro bancario por \$ _____
 ___ 3 meses ___ 6 meses ___ 1 año
 Nombre _____ Tel: _____
 Dirección _____
 Ciudad ___ Estado ___ Zip Code _____

Yes! I want to subscribe to Diario Las Américas
 I’m attaching my cheque or credit transfer for \$ _____
 ___ 3 months ___ 6 months ___ 1 year
 Name _____ Tel: _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

“Zip Code” and “P.O. Box” are the only English phrases incorporated into the advertisement. “Zip Code” is used twice and is capitalized both times, as if a proper noun. According to a conversation between participants to Cubamania Cuba Forums, no one uses zip codes in Cuba (Cubamania Cuba Forums: March 2004). This piece of information suggests that “zip code,” to some Cuban immigrants, is more meaningful than its Spanish counterpart, “código postal.” The vocabulary is new in that it is required or exercised in a way it might not be in some Spanish-speaking countries.

The above examples confirm Nash’s observation that advertising is a rich source of Type 1 Spanglish. While these words supplement the Spanish lexicon in Miami advertising, it is not because these words don’t have Spanish counterparts. Kelly Holmes (2005:15) discusses an undesirable consequence of designating words as “untranslatable”: “The notion of the ‘unfindable’, ‘untranslatable’ word may in fact perpetuate misunderstanding and stereotype in intercultural communication, the idea that ‘our’ language is simple, while ‘their’ language is unnecessarily complicated, so much so that it cannot be translated.” For this reason it is important to remember that while these loan words supplement Spanish in the ads examined, they do not reveal lexical poverty in the Spanish language.

Conclusions

The above ads offer an account of English-Spanish contact phenomena in print advertising. Linguistic correlates of “Spanglish” were identified in these ads: among them code-switching, calques, Spanglish neologisms, and bilingual translation. The exercise of translating the bilingual ads into Spanish and English provides insight into the original motivations for employing Spanglish. Moreover, attention to marketing research and advertisers’ language choices reveals the extent to which language use is more symbolic than referential.

My findings in some ways coincide with those of McClure (1998). McClure examines written code-switching in Spain Mexico, and Bulgaria. The code-switching examined by

McClure occurs in the prose of magazine and newspaper articles, rather than in advertising copy. Among the reasons the author posits for Spanish-English code-switching are: lack of a good Spanish translation, lack of a set Spanish word or phrase, emphasis through repetition, simple quotation, and creation of a sophisticated tone (McClure 1998: 137-142). This list corresponds strongly to the patterns outlined above. It merits mention that my own findings were developed independently from my own corpus. The comparisons that can be made between my work and McClure's are all the more compelling for this fact.

J.L. Austin, in *How to Do Things with Words*, contests the common conception of language as exclusively conveying facts about the world. Austin identifies utterances that do not accurately or inaccurately represent the world, but rather constitute actions unto themselves. Describing language as a mathematical object adhering to rules proves to be, well, easier said than done.

Kelly-Holmes (2005) is similar to Austin in that she contrasts the referential or informative function of language with its symbolic function. She concludes that the connotation of advertising texts dominates over their denotations. The above samples of Spanglish advertising show the performative effect of advertising discourse. Samples show that English is employed for its positive association with upper mobility and membership in the mainstream. The Chick-Fil-A examples demonstrate one way in which multilingualism might reinforce rather than erode divisions between speakers of different languages. The category of ads that communicate with customers in Spanish do so in a display of language loyalty intended to instill trust and affect in the Latino consumer. Finally, translations of ads that introduce English words into otherwise Spanish text demonstrate one source of Spanglish neologisms and loan words.

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Appendix

The full text of the sample ads appears here. Ads which appear in their complete form in the text of the study are not included below.

(14) Chick-Fil-A calendar 2008:

One Hit Wonder Cows.

Even though their careers burned out, their pro-chicken message will never fade away. And while these washed-up bovines had different styles, there's one thing they all agreed on: 15 minutes of fame is better than 15 minutes of flame.

(above a picture of three cows in mariachi attire) Los Leches

(as the photo caption) Living la Chicken Loca

Burger consumption is a global problem, and these animated hombres did their part to put it to rest. They played only the best venues south of the border, but American promoters feared that their bilingual hit wouldn't translate in the States. So these mariachi musicians of the midway proved once again that everyone speaks the international language of chicken.

(15) Bank of America Ad, featured in Page 7A of *Diario las Américas* on Wednesday, July 3, 2008. Also featured as a large poster at bus stops in Coconut Grove, nearing Little Havana.

(underlay is a photo of a young Latino child on the shoulders of his father, reaching up and tossing a basketball into a basketball hoop.)

Con un poco de ayuda, todo es posible.

Bank of America te apoya para que alcances un mejor futuro financiero. Y un buen comienzo es abrir una cuenta de cheques con ahorros. Ven a la sucursal más cercana de Bank of America y habla con cualquiera de nuestros representantes. Con tu esfuerzo y nuestra ayuda, cualquier futuro es posible.

Bank of America

Bank of Opportunity

Bankofamerica.com/espanol

(in fine print) Aunque esta información se te proporciona en español, es posible que otros materiales se encuentren disponibles solo en inglés. Miembro FDIC. 2008 Bank of America Corporation.

'With a little bit of help, everything is possible.

Bank of America supports you so that you can reach a better financial future. And a good start is opening a checking account with savings. Come to the closest branch of Bank of America and speak with any one of our representatives. With your effort and our help, any future is possible.

Bank of America

Bank of Opportunity

Bankofamerica.com/Spanish

(in fine print) Although this information is provided to you in Spanish, it is possible that other materials are found only available in English. Member FDIC. 2008 Bank of America Corporation.'

(16) Ad for a late-night talk show, posted on the side of buses running through Miami. Also seen as signs at bus stops:

Esta noche tu night

Alexis Valdés

9 PM

Canal 22

La mega se pega

¡Suscríbete ya!

1-800-370-3532

'This night your night

Alexis Valdés

9 PM

Channel 22

The mega catches on

Subscribe now!

1-800-370-3532'

(22) Ad for legal aid, featured on Page 3A of *Diario las Américas* on Wednesday, July 23, 2008:

The Department of Foreclosure Advisors, LLC
Detenga su foreclosure hoy mismo!!!
Hasta 12 meses sin pagos de hipoteca.
Modificamos su deuda con el banco
Se quedaría en su casa por la mitad de lo que debe???
Tenemos una solución para cada problema
Expertos negociadores, un bufete de abogados
Y un grupo de realtors con más de 20 años
De experiencia a su disposición
Haga una cita con nuestros especialistas hoy mismo
Recuerde que el tiempo es su enemigo
Y tiempo es lo que le podemos ofrecer
'The Department of Foreclosure Advisors, LLC
Stop your foreclosure today!!!
Up to 12 months without mortgage payments.
We modify your debt with the bank
Would you stay in your house for half the time you should???
We have a solution for every problem
Expert negotiators, a firm of lawyers
And a group of realtors with more than 20 years
Of experience at your disposal
Make an appointment with our specialists today
Remember that time is your enemy
And time is what we can offer you'