

# Spanish-influenced lexical phenomena in emerging Miami English

## Tracking production and perception

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This study considers the role of Spanish-to-English calques in a variety of English that has developed alongside Spanish in Miami (U.S.). Data were obtained from three sources: (1) a production experiment (translation task) conducted with two generations of Cuban Americans, (2) a perception experiment (acceptability task) conducted with Miami-based raters and raters from a national audience using Mechanical Turk, and (3) calques and related lexico-semantic phenomena culled from a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews conducted with Latinx college students. Results of the production task show that Spanish-dominant participants make robust use of calque expressions; second-generation participants use them less. Results of mixed linear effects regression analysis show that Miamians perceive of local expressions more favorably than national participants, though like national raters rank non-calque expressions more highly than calques. The approval of the Miami raters to the local expressions was driven primarily by six test items: (e.g. *get down from the car*).

**Keywords:** calques, language contact, Spanish, English, Miami

### 1. Introduction

Dialectologists and sociolinguists studying situations of sustained language contact in the North American context have long been interested in documenting and theorizing the putative substrate effects left by immigrant and Native American languages on regional varieties of English (e.g. Metcalf 1974; Godinez and Maddieson 1985; Leap 1993; Anderson 1999; Rankinen 2014; Thomas 2019). For the most part, this tradition of research has emphasized phonological aspects of regional varieties of English influenced by other languages, as this appears to be the area most susceptible to substrate influence due to sustained language con-

tact, though morphological and even syntactic structures have also been documented (Thomason and Kauffman 1988). The literature generally shows that some phonological and grammatical structures may be instantiated as durable dialect features in the process of new dialect formation, particularly, as Sankoff (2002: 645–646) notes, in situations in which immigrant or minority populations become the ethnolinguistic majority group over time. In these situations, cross-linguistic influence is more likely when the immigrant language is maintained for several generations and levels of bilingualism are high (Winford 2003).

With respect to the lexicon, word borrowings occur on the part of the speakers of the immigrant or minority language, who incorporate words from the language of dominant communication into their first language (Sankoff 2002). Here again, exceptions occur in situations in which speakers of the minority language become the local majority. In these cases, words from the immigrant language can be borrowed into the language of dominant communication in the speech of bilinguals, particularly as new arrivals acquire the dominant language. Whether or not these borrowed lexical items are passed down and eventually become a durable part of a local speech variety depends on factors related to population ecology, including size of the immigrant population *vis-à-vis* non-immigrant population, vehicular language of education, intensity of contact, levels of bilingualism, and the presence or absence of bilingual education, among others (Thomason 2001; Winford 2003). Excluding borrowings that are phonologically and morphologically adapted into the receiving language, it is generally accepted that other phenomena related to the lexicon fade over time, as ethnolinguistic and minority language groups assimilate with contiguous dialect groups.

In this article, we examine the role of the influence of Spanish on the lexicon of a variety of English emerging out of the unique contact situation taking place between Spanish and English in South Florida, as described by López (2015), Carter and Lynch (2015, 2018), and Carter, López Valdez, and Sims (2020). In particular, we describe a number of constructions that can loosely be classified as lexico-semantic calques (Silva-Corvalán 1994), where Spanish is the “source language” and English is the “target language.” As we will describe in the sections that follow, some of these constructions entail minor grammatical consequences, mostly involving constituent order and structure class words such as prepositions and personal object pronouns. We focus our attention on the lexicon for three reasons. First, we believe the Miami English lexicon to be unique in light of the remarkable situation of language contact to have developed in South Florida during the past 60 years, and therefore we believe it to be worthy of linguistic description. Second, although a few studies have examined phonetic and phonological features of English in Miami (e.g. MacDonald 1985, 1988, 1990; Doernberger and Cerny 2008; Cerny 2009), none has systematically studied the lexical dimension

of English in Miami, particularly as it pertains to contact with Spanish. The contemporary Miami English lexicon is thus, to our knowledge, formally unstudied. Finally, we hope to contribute a new source of data – English in Miami – to disciplinary conversations about the role of language contact in new dialect formation, as well as to conversations about the role of lexical innovation in bilingual speech communities and the semantic and grammatical consequences these innovations entail.

Although we work within the tradition of sociolinguistic inquiry of bilingual speech communities (Weinreich 1951; Ferguson and Gumperz 1960; Gumperz 1964), the object of our study can be elusive in the naturalistic speech collected during sociolinguistic interviews. As such, we have turned to experimental linguistics for methods that help us isolate the lexical phenomena we have observed informally. We use these methods to answer the following questions:

1. What is the nature of Spanish-English calques and related lexico-semantic phenomena in the variety of English to have emerged in contact with Spanish in Miami during the past half century?
2. Do calques and related lexico-semantic phenomena persist in the speech of children of immigrants, or are they limited to the immigrant generation?
3. How do speakers of Miami English perceive of local lexical expressions *vis-à-vis* non-local expressions, i.e. standard expressions not influenced by Spanish?
4. How do Miami English speakers' ratings of local expressions compare to English speakers from outside of South Florida?

The first two questions are about **production** and to answer these questions we used a Spanish-to-English translation task. Questions (3) and (4) are about **perception** and to answer these questions we used a grammaticality judgment task, which we conducted with two groups: (1) a local group, based in Miami, and (2) a national group, based outside of South Florida and accessed using Mechanical Turk (MTurk, <https://www.mturk.com>). We describe the methods and findings of the production task in Section 3 of the article, and the methods and findings of the perception task in Section 4 of the article. In Section 5, we briefly remark on calque expressions we found in a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews we have created with South Florida bilinguals, and in Section 6 we offer final discussion and conclusions. In Section 2, we provide an overview of the bilingual situation in Miami.

## 2. Sociolinguistic context

### 2.1 Historical development of Spanish / English bilingualism in Miami

In little more than a half century, Miami has been transformed from a city characterized by an English-speaking majority population to one characterized by largest bilingual situations in all of the Americas (Carter and Lynch 2015). This transformation is evident in the Census data from 1960 to 2010. Prior to the end of the Cuban Revolution, which ended with Fidel Castro's victory in 1959, five to six thousand Cuban nationals lived in Miami; this amounted to four percent of the population according to the 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau 1960). In the same year, 96 percent of Miami's population was non-Hispanic, 81 percent Anglo White, and 15 percent African American. Ten years later, the Hispanic population of Miami had grown to 24 percent and 36 percent by 1980. In the years after the Mariel Boatlift (1980) and political crisis in Nicaragua, Miami's Hispanic/Latinx population had grown to nearly half (49 percent) by 1990. The following decade, Miami's Hispanic/Latinx population expanded further still in the wake of the Cuban *balseo* ('rafter') crisis, and an influx of Colombians who fled guerrilla violence. In the 2000 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau 2000), Miami's population was 57 percent Hispanic/Latinx. In the wake of the election of Hugo Chavez, the Venezuelan population in Miami surged in the 2000s, along with large numbers of people from almost every Spanish-speaking country in the world following the global economic crisis of 2008. In the 2010 Census (U.S. Census Bureau 2010), the Latinx population of Miami-Dade County was 64.5 percent. Thus, although Cubans and Cuban Americans still comprise the largest national-origin group in Miami, their share has fallen to less than half of the overall Latinx population as Miami's majority Latinx population diversified in the second half of the 20th century and first decades of the 21st (Mahler 2018).

The demographic profile presented here is noteworthy for two reasons relevant to the language situation presented in this study. First, the immigrant population in Miami has become the local majority in a relatively short amount of time. It took forty years from the start of what Boswell (1994) has termed the "Cubanization" and "Hispanicization" of Miami for Spanish-speaking immigrants to reach 50 percent of the population, and 50 years to become the majority. In the largest municipalities in Miami-Dade County, the Hispanic/Latinx population tends to be higher than in the County: 94.7 percent in Hialeah, 81.1 percent in Miami Lakes, and 79.5 percent in Doral. Thus, the most populous parts of the county are also the most Hispanic/Latinx, and the most bilingual. Because children "learn the patterns of their peers" (Labov 1991; cf. Chambers 2003) rather than that of their parents, the children of immigrants do not generally acquire so-

called “non-native” dialect forms based on parental input (Labov 2008: 317) and, as a result, the transmission of these forms is interrupted before they affect change within the speech community. Sankoff notes that, although substrate influence tends to disappear after the immigrant generation, the “exceptions tend to be cases in which the immigrant group and its descendants have become the local majority population” (2002: 645–646). This is precisely the kind of population ecological situation we observe in Miami.

Second, the growth of Miami’s Spanish-speaking population did not happen all at once, but rather gradually over about six decades. This means that, even though language shift from Spanish to English may have always been under way from the beginning, new Spanish-speakers – and therefore new English learners – have always been arriving on the scene. This means that lexical influence from Spanish was not only possible at some distant point in the past, but also all throughout the development of English in Miami. Put differently, the acquisition of English in Miami always occurs against the backdrop of Spanish, even for the most English-dominant bilinguals.

## 2.2 Metalinguistic awareness of Contact Phenomena in Miami

Although the unique bilingual lexicon characteristic of Latinx residents has not been formally studied by linguists, locals are certainly attuned to their own ways of talking, and the topic has been the subject of at least two highly viewed pop cultural artifacts. The first is a pair of parody YouTube videos – together with over 3.4 million views – entitled “Shit Miami Girls Say... and Guys” (2012) and a follow-up named “Shit Miami Girls Say... and Guys Part 2” (2012). The video features a cast of Miami-based actors depicting ostensibly everyday young people in South Florida speaking in the everyday language of Miami, characterized by distinctive pronunciations and Spanish/English code-switching. The video is noteworthy for the current study not only because of its general, satirical depiction of language in Miami, but also for the way that it emphasizes lexical distinctiveness. The videos capture common Spanish borrowings in Miami English (*ay*, *dale*, *pata sucia*), and English words whose pronunciation are assumed to be modified in South Florida’s unique language scene (*salmon* [sæl-mən] for *salmon* [sæ-mən], *irregardless* for *regardless*, and *supposably* for *supposedly*). But the videos also include three calques, which form part of the study we describe here: *not for nothing*, based on the Spanish *no es por nada*, *eating shit*, based on the Cuban Spanish expression *comiendo mierda* (‘killing time’), and *super* used as an adverb, as in *super hungry* and *super bloated*. We explain these expressions in greater detail in Section 3 below.

The second cultural artifact is an article published in *The Miami New Times*, an independent newspaper, published in print and online, focusing on news and culture in Miami. The article is entitled “Miami Slang Glossary: Pero, like, it’s Super Definitive Bro” (Munzenrieder 2014) and includes 31 lexical entries with definitions and usage examples. Three of the entries are calqued expressions that we study formally in the production and perception experiments presented below. These include adverbial *super*, *get down from the car*, and *eating shit*. The circulation of these forms in popular cultural artifacts indicates that they may have risen to a level of overt conscious awareness among speakers, which in the Labovian typology of sociolinguistic variables, makes them “stereotypes” (Labov 1972).

### 3. Production task

#### 3.1 Instrument and methods

In order to answer our question about the nature and durability of Spanish-influenced expressions in the Miami English lexicon, we designed a production experiment that consisted of a translation task (see de Groot 1997) in which participants were asked to instantaneously translate thirteen statements containing fifteen test expressions, written in Spanish, into English. Although we observed certain of these expressions in our ongoing fieldwork, as we describe in Section 5 below, we decided to also study them experimentally in light of the fact that specific grammatical and lexico-semantic constructions can be notoriously difficult to capture in sociolinguistic fieldwork (Schilling 2013). An additional advantage of the translation task is that it allows us to focus narrowly on the use of these constructions in English outside of the context of Spanish, which often alternates seamlessly with English in both formal and informal settings in Miami (Castellanos 1990; Otheguy, Garcia, and Roca 2000).

We studied fifteen test expressions, described below, which were distributed across the thirteen test statements,<sup>1</sup> which included everyday language not related to the fifteen text expressions. Statements were constructed to elicit one or more of the local expressions we have observed either in our ongoing sociolinguistic fieldwork or impressionistically during the past five years of studying English in South Florida. Participants were asked to translate each statement aloud and each participant was recorded while completing the task. Recordings were used to tabulate quantitative results for each possible test expression. A total of 495 test expressions

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1. Eleven of the thirteen statements contained one test construction each, while two statements contained two test constructions each.

were analyzed. In the list of test expressions that follows, sentences are presented in triplets, with the original Spanish test sentence presented in a., an English translation with a possible local expression in b., and an English translation with a “standard” or non-local expression in c. Again, all of the constructions in b. are attested either impressionistically or in sociolinguistic fieldwork, and provide the rationale for the sentences constructed in a. The expression of interest is italicized and underlined in each sentence.

1. a. *Marco y yo fuimos a un bar y me invitó a una cerveza.*  
 b. Marco and I went to a bar and **he invited me** a beer.  
 c. Marco and I went to a bar and **he bought me** a beer.
2. a. *Marta me recomienda esta película.*  
 b. Marta **recommended me** this movie.  
 c. Marta **recommended** this move (**to me**).
3. a. *Estamos pensando en tener la fiesta en la playa e invitamos nuestros amigos.*  
 b. We are **thinking in** having a party in the beach and we will invite our friends.  
 c. We are **thinking about** having a party on the beach and we will invite our friends.
4. a. *Carmen se casó con Antonio y gracias a dios no llovió.*  
 b. Carmen **married with** Antonio and **thanks god** that it didn't rain.  
 c. Carmen **married** Antonio and **thank god** it didn't rain.
5. a. *Jorge le preguntó a Silva. ¿“Quieres comprar fruta?” “Sí. quiero”.*  
 b. Jorge asked Silva, “Do you want to buy fruit?” **“Yes, I want”**.  
 c. Jorge asked Silva, “Do you want to buy fruit?” **“Yes, I want to”**.
6. a. *Vamos a hacer una fiesta para mi amiga María.*  
 b. We are going to **make a party** for my friend Maria.  
 c. We are going to **throw a party** for my friend Maria.
7. a. *Bajamos del carro y entramos en el supermercado para comprar comida.*  
 b. We **got down from the car** and entered the supermarket **for (to) buy** food.  
 c. We **got out of the car** and entered the supermarket **to buy food**.
8. a. *José no podía ver nada y le dijo a Martín. ¡“Pon la luz. Martín”!*  
 b. Jose couldn't see anything and he told Martin, **“Put the light, Martín”!**  
 c. Jose couldn't see anything and he told Martin, **“Turn on the light. Martín”!**

9. a. *Jessica compró un vestido elegante. Tiramós una foto de ella y su vestido.*  
 b. Jessica bought an elegant dress. **We threw a photo** of her and her dress.  
 c. Jessica bought an elegant dress. **We took a picture** of her and her dress.
10. a. *María fue a una cafetería y compró un café y una empanada de carne.*  
 b. Maria went to a cafeteria and bought a coffee and a **meat empanada**.  
 c. Maria went to a cafeteria and bought a coffee and a **beef empanada**.
11. a. *¿Puedo ir a tu oficina mañana?*  
 b. Can I **go** to your office tomorrow?  
 c. Can I **come** to your office tomorrow?
12. a. *Era más una discoteca que un bar. porque era **super** grande con la música demasiado alta. no podíamos hablar.*  
 b. It was more a club than a bar, because it was **super** big with the music too loud; we couldn't talk.  
 c. It was more a club than a bar, because it was **really** big with the music too loud; we couldn't talk.
13. a. *Pedro gritó al conductor. "Dame un chance. por favor," cuando cruzaba la calle.*  
 b. Pedro shouted at the driver, "**Give me a chance**, please," as he crossed the street.  
 c. Pedro shouted at the driver, "**Let me cross**, please," as he crossed the street.

The test statements represent a range of grammatical, lexical, and semantic phenomena, which we refer to here collectively and in shorthand as "lexico-semantic constructions". In terms of actual usage, most of these constructions resist strict linguistic classification, but many of them can be described as "literal lexical calques", in which the words from the source language are literally translated into the target language (*hacer una fiesta* / *make a party*) or "semantic calques", in which meanings from the source language are transferred to the target language (*invitar una cerveza* / *invite a beer*). Since our primary interest in this study is descriptive, we are not concerned to rigidly name and taxonomize observed expressions or to enter into longstanding debates about nomenclature. In general, however, we work with the definition given by Silva-Corvalán (1994), who considers calques to involve the transfer of meaning from one language into a pre-existing lexical item in another. In this section we describe the way the test constructions work in Spanish and the ways in which they contrast with English outside of Miami.



- (1) *He invited me a beer*: The verb *invitar* ('to invite') has a wider semantic range in Spanish than in English. While it conveys the sense of *I invited him to a party*, the Spanish verb also has the sense of 'to treat', as in *I'll treat you to a beer*. We consider this a semantic calque with grammatical consequences, in that the local use of *invite* works as a ditransitive, taking both direct (*a beer*) and indirect (*me*) objects.
- (2) *Recommends me (the movie)* – In English, the verb *recommend* takes a direct object (*the movie*) and the indirect object forms part of a prepositional phrase (*to me*). In Spanish, the verb *recomendar* can take a direct and indirect object, as in *me la recomendó* ('s/he recommended it to me'). We have very often observed this type of construction with verbs such as *recommend* and *suggest*.
- (3) *Thinking in* – In Spanish, the verb *pensar* ('to think') takes the preposition *en* ('in') to express the sense of the English 'think about.'
- (4) *Married with* – In Spanish, the verb *casarse* ('to get married') requires the preposition *con* ('with').
- (5) *Thanks god* – We hypothesize that the form *thanks* is a type of phonological adaptation (Smead 1988: 115) from the Spanish *gracias*. *Thanks* may also be a morphological adaptation. While *thank* in the English expression *thank God* is a verb, *thanks* is a plural noun, as is *gracias* in Spanish.
- (6) *Yes. I want* – The system of *do*-support elaborated during the history of English grammar requires auxiliary-*do* in a range of grammatical contexts (Kroch 1989). One of the less discussed uses is as a pro-verb, in which the entire verb or verb phrase is replaced with *do*. This construction is common in declarative responses to yes/no interrogatives in the form of *do you want to buy fruit?*, for which a possible response may be *yes. I do* or *no. I don't*, in which the entire verb phrase is replaced by *do*. For similarly constructed interrogatives in Spanish, a response may be the repetition of the finite verb in the main verb phrase such that the answer to the question *¿quieres comprar fruta?* ('do you want to buy fruit?') may be *sí. quiero* ('yes, I want'). We also note another possible response to the question *do you want to buy fruit* is *yes. I want to*. In this case, the calque involves the elimination of the infinitive preposition *to*, which does not exist in Spanish.
- (7) *Make a party* – We consider *make a party* to be a literal phrasal calque (Smead 2000) of the Spanish *hacer una fiesta* ('to make a party').
- (8) *Get down from the car* – We also consider this expression to be a literal phrasal calque based on the Spanish expression *bajar del carro* ('get down from the car').

- (9) *For to buy food* – Spanish expresses the notion of *in order to* with the structure *para* + infinitive, in which the preposition *para* ('for') precedes an uninflected verb (e.g. *fue al mercado para comprar comida*; 's/he went to the market [in order] to buy food'). Unlike Spanish, where 'in order to' (*para*) is obligatory with infinitives to express intention, English only requires the infinitive (*s/he went to the market to buy food*). In Miami, we have regularly observed the construction *for* + infinitive.
- (10) *Put the light* – Rather than using the verbs *encender* or *prender* ('to turn on'), some Spanish speakers may use the verb *poner* ('to put') to express the sense of 'turn on', creating a colloquial expression along the lines of 'flip on the light' in English. In Miami, we have noticed the lexical calque *put the light*, which sometimes occurs with the object pronoun *me* (i.e. *put me the light*).
- (11) *Can I go to your office tomorrow?* – The pragmatics of the deictic motion verbs *to come* and *to go* in English have been the subject of debate in the pragmatics literature. Fillmore (1997) offers a person-based account, in which *come* is used for motion towards (a) a given location at either the time of the utterance, (b) the location at the event time, or c) the 'home base' of either the speaker or the addressee. In contrast, *go* is used for motion toward a location different from the speaker's location at the time of the utterance. Thus, the deictic center shifts from the speaker to the addressee in utterances such as *can I come to your office tomorrow?* Hockett (1990: 241) notes that this configuration differs from that of the Spanish verbs *ir* ('to go') and *venir* ('to come') such that in English, a knock on the door yields the response of *I'm coming* but, *Ya voy* in Spanish (using the verb *ir* 'to go').<sup>2</sup> In Miami we have observed a reversal of *come* and *go* that appears to follow the Spanish configuration. Figure 1 is an anonymized image of an invitation to a 16-year-old girl's birthday party in Miami. The image reads, "Go celebrate Jessica's birthday." Jessica is a second-generation, Miami-born Cuban American. Both of her parents (who presumably are responsible for the verbiage on the birthday invitation) are Cuban-born and came to Miami as adults. The expected verb for the invitation from the perspective of the Spanish system would be *venir* ('to come') since its deixis is directed to the speaker/writer. We suspect that the use of *go* indicates the writer's understanding that the use of *come/go* and *venir/ir* are often not coincident in the two languages.

2. The related verbs *take* and *bring* are described by Hockett (1990) as well as by Preston (1984). We have not noticed deictic shifts with these verbs in Miami.

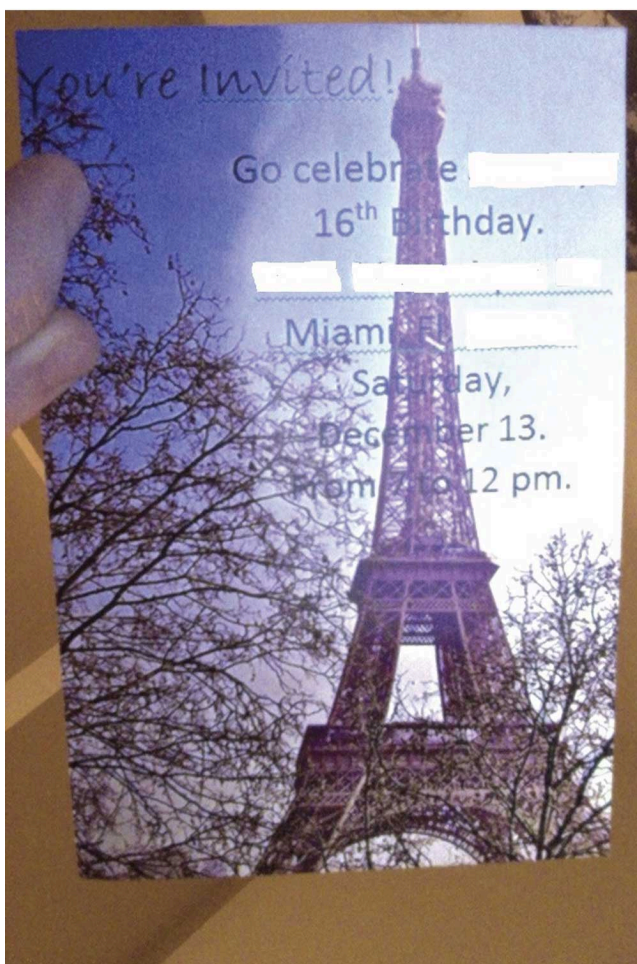


Figure 1. Birthday invitation with Miami go

- (12) *Throw a photo* – Most varieties of Spanish use either the verb *sacar* or *tomar* to express the action of ‘taking a photo’ (*sacar una foto*). In Cuban Spanish, the verb *tirar* (commonly translated as ‘to throw’) can also be used. We have observed the construction *throw a photo* in Miami, which we consider a literal lexical calque.
- (13) *Meat empanada* – In Miami, *empanadas*, pastries stuffed with meat, eggs, vegetables, or fruit that form part of Spanish and Latin American cuisine, are on the menu in restaurants citywide, as well as in grocery stores, gas stations, and bars. When ordering in Spanish, one may ask for *una empanada de carne* and receive a pastry stuffed with beef. In English, we have observed in both writing and speech the form *meat empanada* to refer to *beef*

*empanada*. This is likely due to the fact that in Spanish *carne* has a wider semantic range than *beef* does in English and can be translated as either *meat* or *beef* depending on context.<sup>3</sup> Figure 2 shows a pastry case located in a large pharmacy chain in suburban Miami-Dade County. Empanadas stuffed with beef are labeled *meat empanadas*.



Figure 2. Bake case featuring *meat empanadas*

- (14) *Super big* – While in most varieties of English, the use of *super* is restricted to adjectival contexts to mean ‘excellent’, ‘terrific’, or ‘outstanding’, we have observed *super* to be grammatically and semantically extended in Miami, such that it may be used as an intensifier along the lines of ‘really’, ‘very’, and ‘so.’ In Cuban Spanish, *súper*, borrowed from English (see Rodríguez Ponce 1999; Drange 2009 for origins of *súper* in Spanish), functions similarly.<sup>4</sup> It thus appears that *super* has been grammatically calqued back into English in Miami. As we note in the final section of the paper, a number of participants commented on the use of *super* in Miami during sociolinguistic interviews.<sup>5</sup>

3. Bloomfield (1933) gives the now oft-cited example of semantic shift in the history of English, in which *meat* narrowed from ‘food’ to ‘edible flesh of animals.’

4. Some accounts consider *súper* in Spanish to be a prefix rather than an adverb. See Martín García (1998).

- (15) *Give me a chance* – Like *super*, *chance* is a word borrowed into Spanish from English. The expression *give me a chance* also exists in English and means something like ‘take a chance on me’ or ‘give me an opportunity’. In Spanish, *dame un chance* means something similar, but we suspect there are subtle semantic differences. We have personally observed the expression *give me a chance* in which someone is crossing the street are asking for space to move through a crowd.

### 3.2 Participants

For the production experiment, we recruited thirty-three participants from three groups: fifteen first-generation Cuban Americans who were born in Cuba and immigrated to Miami, and twelve second-generation Cuban Americans born and raised in Miami. The third group consists of six non-Cuban Latinx people: four first-generation participants and two second-generation participants. In the non-Cuban group, two of the first-generation participants were from Venezuela, one from Costa Rica, and one from Ecuador. The second-generation non-Cuban participants are of Guatemalan and Venezuelan descent. We recruited participants in the third group in order to ascertain whether or not the lexico-semantic constructions we have observed informally is a phenomenon associated with Cuban American English, or if the phenomenon is more widespread. First-generation Cuban participants were recruited for participation in the production task during fieldwork visits to Little Havana, the heart of the Cuban immigrant community in Miami. Second-generation Cuban participants were recruited from local college campuses. All participants were given an informal language background survey to determine generation and fluency in Spanish and English. Because the production experiment involved a translation task, we did not include Spanish monolinguals or English monolinguals in this part of the study. Those who did not self-identify as bilingual in the questionnaire were excluded from participation. Data from those participants who self-identified as bilingual but later were unable to complete the translation task were not included for analysis. All thirty-three participants reported using English and Spanish on a daily basis. All second-generation participants (Cuban and non-Cuban) reported using English more than Spanish and reported using Spanish mostly with family members in the home. In addition, all second-generation participants reported experiencing

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5. We acknowledge that this feature may have wider geographical distribution in American English than Miami and that it is even included in dictionaries such as Merriam-Webster. We nevertheless included it in our study given the usage of *súper* in Spanish and the salience of the usage in metalinguistic commentary about English in Miami.

either more comfort in English than in Spanish or equal comfort in both languages. First-generation participants reported using Spanish in a wider range of social domains and for the most part reported greater comfort speaking Spanish than speaking English.

### 3.3 Production task results

Results from the translation task show that speakers from both generational groups – the immigrant generation (Gen<sub>1</sub>-C) and the first generation to be born in Miami (Gen<sub>2</sub>-C) – produce lexico-semantic constructions in English that differ from those we would expect to hear outside of Miami. Figure 3 shows the data for the fifteen test constructions for Gen<sub>1</sub>-C, the Cuban immigrant generation. Test statements are arranged along the *y*-axis and the number of participants producing a local expression is depicted on the *x*-axis.

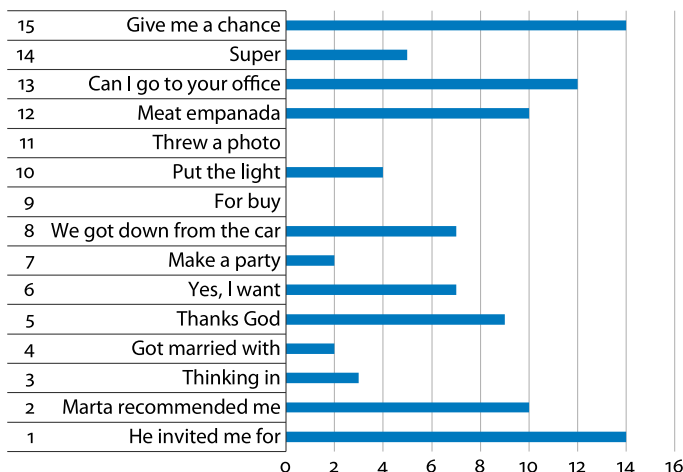


Figure 3. Production task results, Cuban Immigrant Generation

The graph shows that at least two participants translated the Spanish sentence into English using a local expression for all test constructions except for *tirar una foto* ('throw a photo') and *para comprar* ('for to buy'). Fourteen of the fifteen participants (93 percent) translated two of the constructions – *dame un chance* ('give me a chance') and *me invitó una cerveza* ('he invited me a beer') – using local expressions. Twelve participants (80 percent) translated *ir a tu oficina* with the English verb 'to go', ten participants (66 percent) translated *me recomienda* as 'recommends me' and *empanada de carne* as 'meat empanada', rather than 'beef empanada', and nine participants (60 percent) translated *gracias a dios* as 'thanks

God'. About half of the participants (47 percent) translated *bajar del carro* as 'get down from the car' and *sí, quiero* as 'yes, I want'. All other expressions – *put me the light*, *super*, *make a party*, and *think in* – were translated as such by less than half the participants in the immigrant generation. Figure 4 shows the results of the most recent part of the survey.

Figure 4 shows the translation task results for the same fifteen test expressions for Gen2-C, the second generation of Cuban Americans, and the first to be born and raised in Miami. Two results are especially noteworthy. First, we note a quantitative decrease in the use of local expressions for most of the test constructions in the second generation as compared to the first. Second, we note that although the second generation uses these expressions less in the translation task than the immigrant generation, local expressions bearing influence from Spanish have not entirely disappeared among the Miami-born, as at least one participant translated all test constructions but two (*married with* and *for to buy*) using the local forms.

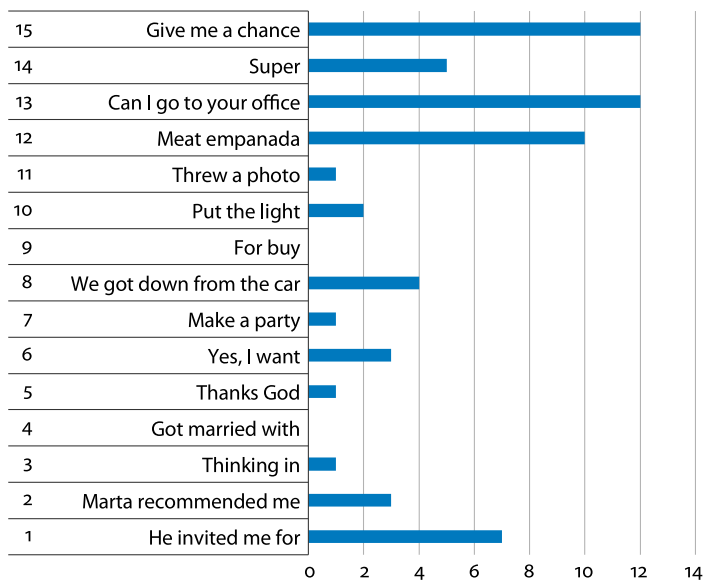


Figure 4. Production task results, Cuban generation two

This finding is especially remarkable considering that these speakers are native bilinguals who as a group report greater comfort speaking English than Spanish. All twelve of the participants in the second-generation group (100 percent) translated *dame un chance* as 'give me a chance' and *ir a tu oficina* as 'go to your office'. Ten participants (83 percent) translated *empanada de carne* as 'meat empanada', while seven participants (58 percent) translated *me invitó una cerveza*

as 'he invited me a beer'. Local expressions were used as translations by fewer than half of the participants for the remaining test expressions. However, we find it noteworthy expressions such as *get down from the car* (33 percent), *put the light* (17 percent), and *throw a photo* (7 percent) are used at all in the second generation. Two of the expressions (*go to your office* and *give me a chance*) were used with the same percentage in the second generation as in the immigrant generation, though this may be an effect of the task, as we discuss in the conclusions. For ease of comparison, the use of local, Spanish-influenced expressions for both groups, Gen1-C and Gen2-C, is provided in Figure 5. Data for the second generation is shown in blue bars, while data for the immigrant generation is shown in red bars.

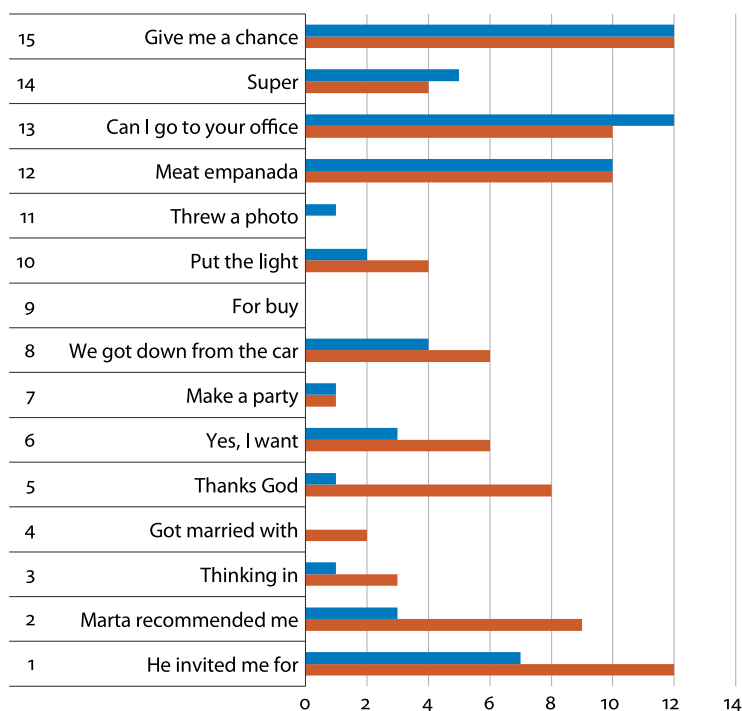


Figure 5. Production task results, all Cuban participants (2nd generation: Dark bars; immigrant group: Red bars)

Looking across the aggregate sample, we found that Gen1-C calqued 44 percent of translated expressions, while Gen2-C did so for 34 percent of expressions. We ran a  $\chi^2$  test of proportions in order to determine if the use of calque expressions in the translation task differed significantly between Gen1-C and Gen2-C participants. We found a marginally significant difference, where  $\chi^2 = 3.812468$  ( $d.f. = 1$ ) and  $p = 0.05$ .



Finally, Figure 6 depicts the results of the same production task conducted with a very small group of non-Cuban Latinos from two generations. In the non-Cuban immigrant group, four participants were from Costa Rica, two participants from Venezuela, and one from Ecuador. The non-Cuban second-generation group was comprised of two participants: one from Guatemala and one from Venezuela. Data from the immigrant group are presented with dark bars; data from the Miami-born are shown in red bars. Given the low number of non-Cuban participants in the production task, results should be interpreted with caution. Nevertheless, the data shown here are important in that they suggest that the phenomenon of Spanish-influenced expressions is not limited to the English of Cubans and Cuban Americans, but rather forms a part of the variety of English emerging across immigrant and Miami-born Latinos from diverse national-origin backgrounds. Although the non-Cuban participants did not use local expressions for four of the fifteen test constructions (*'throw a photo'*, *'for to buy'*, *'yes. I want'*, and *'marry with'*) all six of the participants in this group provided local expressions for three of the constructions (*'invite me'*, *'meat empanada'*, *'go to office'*, and *'give me a chance'*). In addition, at least one participant used a local expression for all other constructions tested. The expressions not used by the non-Cuban group were also the least used by the Cuban group.

#### 4. Perception task

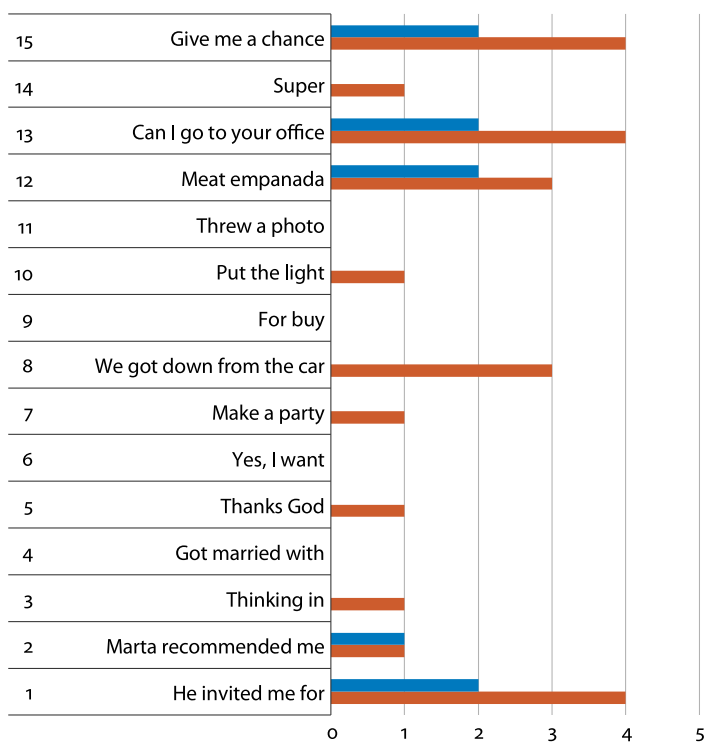
In this section we turn our attention to the second experimental task conducted in this study, a perceptual judgment task designed to test how local participants (Miami-based sample) and non-local participants (national sample, excluding South Florida) perceive of local variants *vis-à-vis* “standard” variants.

##### 4.1 Participants and methods

We designed this task to answer the questions:

1. How do speakers of Miami English perceive of local lexical expressions *vis-à-vis* non-local expressions, i.e. “standard” expressions not influenced by Spanish?
2. How do Miami English speakers' ratings of local expressions compare to English speakers from outside of South Florida?

The lexical judgment task was designed to test for acceptability in the tradition of grammaticality judgment tasks conducted with non-linguist participants using accepted experimental methods. These tasks are common in experimental syntax



**Figure 6.** Production task results, all non-Cuban participants (Immigrant group: Dark bars, Miami-born: Gray bars)

and psycholinguistics (Cowart 1997; Schütze and Sprouse 2013) but have also been used profitably by sociolinguists (e.g. Toribio 2001) for testing perceived acceptability of a range of grammatical and lexical phenomena.

The lexical acceptability experiment was programmed using Qualtrics (<https://www.qualtrics.com>), which allowed participants to take the survey online and allowed us to expand participant recruitment efforts beyond Miami. Upon initiating the study, participants read an introductory prompt, informing them that

[i]n this study, we are interested in your intuitions about sentences, specifically, how good or bad you think a sentence sounds. We are interested in your first reaction, so answer as quickly as possible. You will have 20 seconds to assess each sentence.

Participants were then informed that they would evaluate sentences on a four-point Likert scale, as follows:

1. Perfect. This sentence sounds perfectly fine.
2. Okay. This sentence is not completely perfect, but is fairly good.
3. Awkward. This sentence sounds strange.
4. Horrible. The sentence sounds terrible.

Participants rated 52 sentences, including 18 sentences containing local expressions (*get married with*), 18 sentences containing similar, non-local expressions (*get married to*), and 16 filler statements. Qualtrics was programmed to present all sentences in randomized order. The local expressions included fourteen of the fifteen of the test expressions from the production experiment, as well as four additional statements that we observed in Miami after conducting the production test. The four expressions not tested on the production task include:

1. *Eating shit* – To express the idea of *doing nothing* or *wasting time*, speakers of Cuban Spanish may use the colloquial expression *comer mierda* ('to eat shit'). We have observed *comer mierda* in Miami Cuban Spanish as well as the literal lexical calque *eating shit* in Miami English.
2. *\$ 44 with ten* – In commercial exchanges in which one party informs the other of a price, Spanish speakers use the construction Whole Unit (*dollars, euros, pesos*) + *con* ('with') + Partial Unit (*cents*). *Cuarenta y cuatro con diez* ('fourty-four with ten') means *forty-four dollars and ten cents*. In Miami, we have observed the Spanish-like construction in English commercial exchanges.
3. *Make the line* – In Spanish, the notion of *getting in line* or *waiting in line* is commonly expressed with the verb *hacer* ('to make'). In Miami, we have habitually observed the literal lexical calque *make the line*.
4. *It's not for anything* – Speakers of some dialects of Spanish may say *no es por nada* ('it's not for nothing') to express the English notion of *for no reason* or *not sure why*. We have observed this expression both impressionistically and in our sociolinguistic fieldwork.

Table 1 presents a full list of the 36 test expressions judged by listeners in the perception experiment. Local expressions are presented in the left column, non-local expressions in the right column.

Two groups of participants were recruited for the perception experiment. The first group was comprised of 58 college students from a university located in Miami, Florida. Reflecting the demographic profile of South Florida, the university is Hispanic-serving, with a Latinx student population over 60 percent of the total, and educates mostly local, Miami-born students. The second group was comprised of 187 participants from outside of South Florida, who were recruited

**Table 1.** List of 36 test expressions

Local	Non-local
Carmen got <b>married with</b> Antonio	Carmen got married to Antonio
Maria went to the office and bought a <b>meat empanada</b>	Maria went to the office and bought a beef empanada
<b>Thanks god</b> it didn't rain	Thank god
John <b>recommended me</b> this movie	John recommended this movie to me
Can I <b>go</b> to your office tomorrow?	Can I come to your office tomorrow?
We <b>threw a photo</b> of Jessica in her wedding dress	We took a photo of Jessica in her wedding dress
We went to the farmer's market <b>for to buy</b> food	We went to the farmer's market to buy food
We drove in the garage, <b>got down from the car.</b> and went inside.	We drove in the garage, got out of the car and went inside.
It was more a club than a bar, because it was <b>super</b> big with loud music	It was more a club than a bar, because it was really big with loud music
<b>Put me the light,</b> Martin.	Turn on the light, Martin.
Marco and I went to a bar and he <b>invited me a beer.</b>	Marco and I went to a bar and he treated me to a beer.
After I got my groceries, I <b>made the line</b> and paid	After I got my groceries, I waited in line and paid
<b>It's not for anything,</b> but my extended family doesn't talk a lot	For no particular reason, my extended family doesn't talk a lot
What did you do last night? Not much, sat around at home <b>eating shit.</b>	What did you do last night? Not much, sat around at home doing nothing
Doug yelled <b>give me a chance</b> when he crossed	Doug yelled "let me cross" when he crossed
The clerk told Rocco his total was <b>44 with 10</b>	The clerk told Rocco his total was 44.10
We are <b>thinking in</b> going to a bar tonight	We are thinking about going to a bar tonight
Do you want to buy some grapes? <b>Yes I want</b>	Do you want to buy some grapes? Yes, I do

using MTurk, an online platform created by Amazon that allows social scientists to collect survey data with a large participant pool. In order to balance the two participant groups as closely as possible in terms of educational background, we only collected data from currently enrolled college students on MTurk. Social scientists studying the efficacy of MTurk sampling (e.g. Buhrmester, Kwang, and Gosling 2011) have found that the data obtained using this source are at least

as reliable as data obtained using traditional social science research methods, and MTurk has been used profitably in the study of Spanish linguistics (Ortega Santos 2019). For both groups of participants, we collected standard demographic information, including data about ethnicity and knowledge of Spanish, since we hypothesized that these may work in concert with region (Miami vs non-Miami) to condition perceptions of acceptability of local expressions. This information is presented in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Demographic information for participants in perception experiment

	Miami	Non-Miami (MTurk)
Latina/o		
Yes	33 (57%)	13 (7%)
No	25 (43%)	174 (93%)
Spanish-speaking		
Yes	24 (41%)	8 (4%)
No	34 (59%)	179 (96%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>187</b>

## 4.2 Perception results

In this section, we present the results of the perception experiment by showing the data in two ways, first as average acceptability ratings for local expressions only, then perceptions of local expressions calibrated to national counterparts. For the latter analysis, we ran linear mixed model regression analysis using R (R Core Team, 2021) in order to test the interaction between perceptions of national expressions (*get out of the car*) vs. local expressions (*get down from the car*) and local raters (Miamians) vs. national raters (MTurk).

Figure 7 presents the mean ratings for each of the local, Spanish-influenced expressions for both groups of raters: Miami raters and national raters. Looking only at average ratings, several important findings are evident. First, Miami raters frequently found the local expressions to be more acceptable than the national raters, irrespective of the specific rating provided for a given expression (e.g. perfect, horrible). This was the case for 13 of the 18 (72 percent) expressions studied. Second, although Miami raters were frequently more favorable of local expressions than national raters, both groups were often in agreement on the unacceptability of some local expressions. For example, with average scores between 3 (awkward) and 4 (horrible) both groups rated *put me the light* negatively. That is, though the Miami group was frequently more favorable to local expressions

than the national group, the two groups did not differ wildly in their assessments of most local expressions, no matter where they fell on the range from “sounds horrible” to “sounds perfectly fine”. There are, however, some exceptions. National raters and Miami raters differed the greatest in their assessments of the local expression *make the line*, which was rated as awkward by the national group (3.11) and okay by Miamians (2.07). For the national raters, *get down from the car* approached awkward (2.65), while the Miami raters found it between perfect and okay (1.9). As expected, *eating shit* was awkward for the national raters (2.74) and between perfect and okay for the Miami group (1.83). Finally, *meat empanada* was okay for the national raters (2.08) and between perfect and okay for the Miami raters (1.55).

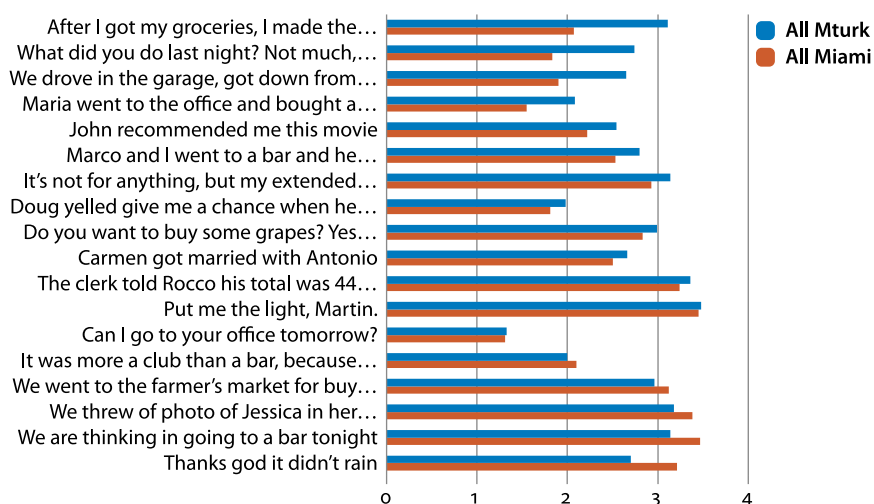


Figure 7. Mean ratings for local expressions, Miami and national raters

The mean ratings presented in Figure 7 show how local and national raters orient toward Miami expressions, but they do not show the relationship between perceptions of local and national expressions for either group. In order to understand how perceptions of the local expressions relate to the national ones, we ran linear mixed model regression analysis to test the interaction between perceptions of expressions for both groups of raters. Considering the aggregate sample (local and national expressions, local and national raters), the model shows that Miamians find local expressions significantly more favorable than national raters ( $p = 0.001$ ), thus confirming our primary hypothesis. We present these interactions in two ways, first in Figure 8 as difference measurements, for which we subtracted the average rating for a local expression from the average rating for a national expression for each group of participants, MTurk and Miami. Gray

bars correspond to the MTurk sample, blue bars to the Miami sample. Four important findings about the perception of Spanish-influenced expressions can be made. First, the overwhelming majority of the difference scores are negative, which means that the national expressions (*get out of the car*) are rated as more acceptable than the local expressions (*get down from the car*) almost across the board. This finding holds for both sample groups, national (MTurk) and local (Miami). Second, local, Spanish-influenced expressions are preferred to national expressions in only three cases, and only by Miami participants: *meat empanada* (n.s.,  $p = 0.15$ ), *give me a chance* ( $p = 0.02$ ), and adverbial *super* ( $p = 0.002$ ). No local expression was preferred to any national expression in the national (MTurk) sample. Third, although participants in both the local and national samples found the national expressions to be more acceptable than the local ones, Miami raters found local expressions to be less unacceptable than national raters across the board. The model found the difference in rating for locally preferred expressions by Miami raters to be significant for 6 test expressions: *recommends me the movie* ( $p = 0.031$ ), *get down from the car* ( $p < 0.001$ ), *invite me a beer* ( $p = 0.029$ ), *made the line* ( $p < 0.001$ ), *not for anything* ( $p = 0.018$ ), and *eating shit* ( $p < 0.001$ ). The model thus shows that not all local expressions have the same degree of acceptance, possibly pointing to the way that Miami English is changing over time, with some calque expressions falling out of use, and some becoming instantiated as durable over time.

Finally, the general pattern in which Miami raters found local, Spanish-influenced expressions less unacceptable than national raters is reversed in four cases, one of which is statistically significant: *thanks god* ( $p = 0.006$ ), *throw a photo* (n.s.,  $p = 0.097$ ), *for (to) buy* (n.s.,  $p = 0.366$ ), and *thinking in having a party* (n.s.,  $p = 0.096$ ). In these cases, Miami participants found local expressions less acceptable than the MTurk participants. Figure 9 presents a “difference of difference” measurement, which is calculated by subtracting the difference score of the Miami sample from the difference score of the MTurk sample. This figure orders the local expressions in terms of what the Miami sample like most (*made the line*) to what the Miami sample liked least (*thanks god*), as calibrated to the national expressions and MTurk raters, and shows the size of the gap between the acceptability ratings of Miami-based and national raters. While we need more information to understand why Miamians found the four expressions at the bottom of Figure 9 – *thanks god*, *thinking in*, *throw a photo*, and *for to buy* – to be less acceptable than other expressions, we suggest that these expressions are salient as non-native and/or ungrammatical speech in South Florida and are therefore stigmatized as such. They contrast, we suggest, with expressions like *make the line* and *invite me a drink* which are ubiquitous in English in Miami, not associated with non-native English, and do not cross the salience threshold.

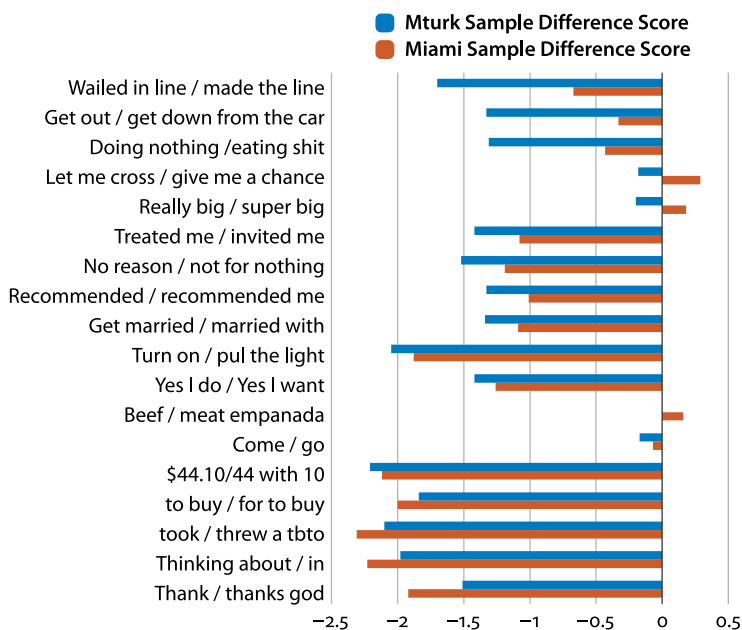


Figure 8. National expression rating – local expression rating, by group

In Sections 3 and 4, we have considered calque expressions through an experimental lens. In the following section, we turn to consider a number of calque expressions culled from a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews collected with Latinx college students in Miami.

## 5. Calque expressions in interview data

To complement the findings of the production and perception tasks, we analyzed a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews conducted with Latinx college students in Miami for two kinds of data, which we present here in order to round out the analysis of calques in Miami English. In this analysis we first noted all instances of Spanish-to-English calques and related expressions in the interviews. These data give insights into how these expressions are used in naturalistic speech. Second, we recorded answers to questions asked of each participant about language in Miami in which specific lexical phenomena were mentioned. Answers to these questions give us metalinguistic insights into what speakers know and think about lexical variation in Miami. We report on speech from three speakers, Maria, a first-generation Cuban American who came to the United States at the age of three, Alex MH, a second-generation Miamian who was raised in South Florida



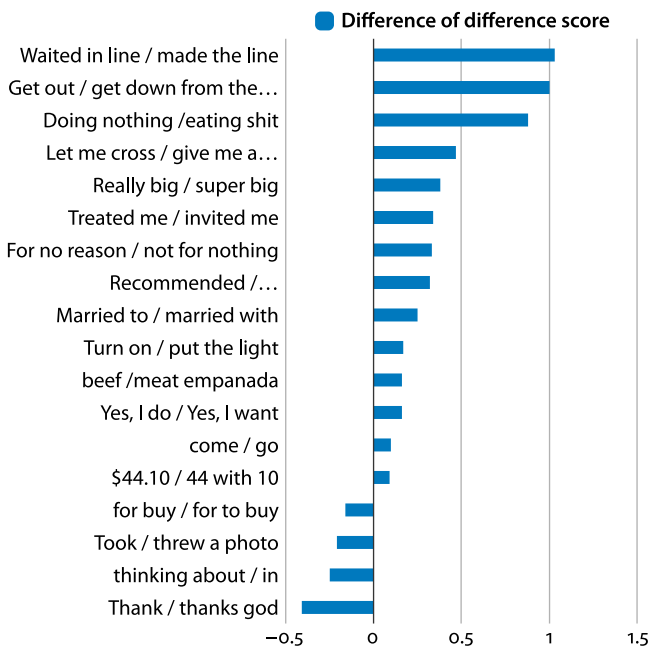


Figure 9. Difference of difference score results for lexical judgment task (National – Miami)

by Peruvian parents who moved to Miami before she was born, and SS, a second generation Cuban American. All speakers report being bilingual, but express greater comfort speaking English than Spanish.

In the sociolinguistic interview with Alex MH, we asked *Do you have any other family here?* She replied: [...] *yes but you know how family's distance. and it's not for anything. it's just that they live in [...]* explaining that she rarely gets to see them because of the part of town in which they live. In Spanish, the expression *no es por nada* ('it's not for nothing') can be used as a softener in discourse along the lines of *I mean nothing by it* or *I don't want to offend*. We therefore propose that MH's usage of *not for anything* is a calque based on the Spanish expression, and is used to mitigate the impact of asserting that the relatives live too far away to visit. The literal translation *not for nothing* is used in a similar semantic context in the parody YouTube video "Shit Miami Girls Say... and Guys Part 2" (2012), mentioned in Section 2 of the article.

When we asked Alex MH about her routines at home, she replied: [*e*] *very day that I'm home speaking with my parents. I learn how to communicate myself better*. We take note of the expression *communicate myself* and propose that it is calqued on the Spanish verb *comunicarse* ('to communicate', reflexive). The Spanish verb takes a reflexive pronoun (*me comunico, te comunicas, se comunica*, etc.),

whereas the standard English verb does not. Responding to a similar question, SS says: *but most of the time I spent myself in chorus*. In Spanish, ‘to spend time’ can be expressed with the verb *pasarse* as in expressions such as *se pasa el día yendo y viniendo* (‘he/she spends the day going and coming’; Diccionario de la lengua española 2014). We suggest that the use of *spent myself* is calqued on the Spanish. In speaking about her family, Maria remarked: [t]hey had a lot of luck with jobs and just with opportunities. The expression is of course not ungrammatical in English, but in English luck is usually expressed as an attribute of the grammatical subject and linked as such with the copula verb *to be*. We propose that Maria’s *they had a lot of luck* is based on the Spanish *tenían mucha suerte*.

In Section 3, we discussed *super* as having a unique grammatical usage in Miami. We find it attested in the YouTube parody video, and in sociolinguistic interviews in Miami. When we asked Maria about how language was distinctive in Miami, she pointed first to *super*, noting: [s]uper. *super is a Miami thing*. She is also a prolific user of adverbial *super*. Describing her high school experience, she said: *I was super smart but super cool at the same time [...]*. We consider the use of *super* as an adverb in place of *really/so/very* to be a semantic calque, in which the semantic and grammatical function is changed or widened from the source language (Spanish, though keeping in mind it was first a borrowing from English) to the target language (English in Miami).

## 6. Discussion

The data presented here indicate that Spanish-to-English calques constitute a unique and enduring aspect of English in Miami, and that Miamians in general perceive of these kinds of expressions differently from people who live outside of the region. Several conclusions can be drawn from these findings. First, the overall finding that Miamians use and perceive these structures differently from speakers from other regions lends further support to claims that a unique variety of English is emerging in South Florida among Miami-born Latinx speakers (Carter and Lynch 2015, 2018; Carter, López Valdez, and Sims 2020) and that this variety bears structural influence of Spanish in the domains of semantics, grammar, and the lexicon.

Regarding the perception of calqued expressions, we found that Miamians and outsiders alike ranked standard expressions more highly than local ones. However, our statistical model showed that Miamians rated local expressions significantly more favorably than a group of non-local participants recruited from outside of South Florida through the online platform MTurk. Miamians were especially favorable to expressions like *get down from the car* for *get out of the car*,

*eating shit* for *killing time*, and *make the line* for *waiting in line*. On the other hand, Miami-based participants reacted more negatively to expressions like *thanks god* than did the non-Miami participants. Expressions like that, along with *thinking in* and *for to buy*, which were also rated more negatively by Miamians than the national raters, were also less used by second generation speakers than first generation speakers. We suggest that the line separating what sounds “foreign” from what sounds native is significantly different in Miami as compared to other dialect regions, and that expressions like *make the line* and *get down from the car*, sound more-or-less acceptable, whereas they do not elsewhere. At the same time, because Miamians are at least generally aware of the unique language situation in South Florida and are mired in their own language ideologies, related as they are to questions of nation, race/ethnicity, and immigration status (Carter and Callesano 2018; Callesano and Carter 2019), perceptions of acceptability in Miami are still related to what sounds native and what does not. If this were not the case, there would be no outliers in our data set, and Miamians’ ratings of local expressions would have been higher across the board as compared to those of national raters. More research is needed to understand what drives this pattern.

With respect to production, we found evidence for the durability of calqued expressions in two kinds of data. In a production experiment involving a Spanish-to-English translation task, we found that participants in the immigrant group made prolific use of Spanish-origin calques. This alone is unsurprising. Though the language proficiencies of the speakers in this group varied, all were L1 speakers of Spanish, had acquired Spanish in Cuba, were immigrants to Miami, and were recruited from Little Havana, a heavily Spanish-speaking part of Miami. The use of calques in the translation task among this group does not indicate anything about the durability or ephemerality of these expressions in the variety of English emerging in Miami, other than that they are present in the immigrant generation. But we must not dismiss these data for their obviousness. Since a majority of Miami’s population is foreign-born (65 percent, 2010 Census, U.S. Census Bureau 2010), the expressions studied here are likely found in the speech of the largest English-speaking subgroup in the region: foreign-born L1 Spanish speakers. This is a population ecological factor that cannot be underestimated, because although this group’s children will not necessarily acquire these forms directly from their parents, the ubiquity of these forms in adult and child immigrant speech may well reinforce their use in subsequent generations, including among those born in Miami. Data from the production task suggest that this is not an unreasonable hypothesis. Data collected from the children of immigrants – what we called “generation two” in this study – shows an observable decrease in the use of calqued expressions, but not a total absence of them. This group – educated in Miami-Dade’s English medium school system – likely received different






inputs from their parents and at different frequencies, and as a consequence, they have for the most part abandoned expressions such as *thanks god*, *thinking in*, and *yes. I want* – constructions that may be markers of non-native English, and as such stigmatized in South Florida's complicated sociolinguistic milieu, where English still holds perceptual cache in spite of the ubiquity and prominence of Spanish in the region (Carter and Lynch 2014). At the same time, second-generation speakers continue to use expressions like *get down from the car*, and *invited me a drink*. Even if we were to assume that the calques in the production experiment are an artifact of the translation task, we still found numerous calqued expressions from the corpus of sociolinguistic interviews conducted with second-generation Latinx college students in Miami, including several studied in the production task. Though their actual usage of course varies in the speech community according to a range of sociolinguistic factors, we believe that certain of these expressions have already been instantiated in the speech of the Miami-born and will continue to constitute a unique aspect of English in Miami for the foreseeable future.

More work is needed to ascertain the extent to which these expressions pertain primarily to the speech of Cuban Americans, or are used more broadly, not only by other primarily Spanish-speaking national origin groups, but also by those who are not Latinx and not Spanish/English bilinguals. We lightly tested this question with the production experiment and found non-Cuban bilinguals to use these expressions much less than the Cuban group, though the low number of participants limits the value of this finding. Additional perceptual work is also needed with Miami-based participants unrelated to the university. We strongly suspect that we would find even higher favorability ratings for local expressions should we dig deeper into the community, and more still among L1 Spanish-speaking immigrants who comprise the largest English-speaking subgroup and Miami, and whose perceptions and language behavior will shape the development of English in Miami for generations to come.

## Acknowledgments

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