A multitude of "lishes"

The nomenclature of hybridity

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The present paper deals with portmanteau terms based on the word *English*, the bulk of which form a varied and extensive nomenclature used to describe hybrids of the English language with other languages. A citation database of over 3,500 entries was created containing 510 separate terms dating from the early 20th century to mid-2016. These figures indicate a widespread interest in the ways in which English hybridises with other languages and becomes localised in various parts of the globe. The results also show a trend of continuing increase in the coining of such terms to be expected in an increasingly globalised world. However, to date there has been no exhaustive examination of names for English-language hybrids. The present paper examines these portmanteau terms with regard to semantics, etymology, history, frequency, and pronunciation, and presents an alphabetical table of the complete set of terms in the Appendix.

Keywords: World Englishes, language hybridity, portmanteau terms, blends, "lishes", etymology, terminology

1. Introduction

Many scholars of World Englishes will have come across such terms as *Chinglish*, *Hinglish*, *Konglish*, and *Spanglish*, referring to hybrid forms based on English mixed with Chinese, Hindi, Korean, and Spanish, respectively. A limited number of these terms are quite widely known, are common in print media, and have even made their way into dictionaries. Beyond the most common terms, World Englishes scholars may also be familiar with some of the more esoteric terms, such as *Bislish* (English mixed with Visayan languages; Meierkord 2012: 209), *Danglish* (English mixed with Danish; Phillipson 2001: 4), and *Tamlish* (English mixed with Tamil; Mehrotra 1998: 14). McArthur is one of the few researchers to turn attention to the names for such hybrid forms of English. He originally labelled such terms "Anglo-hybrids" – a term that does not appear to have caught on – but later

referred to them as "lishes" (McArthur 1998: 14), now a common superordinate for such terms. More significantly, writing on this topic in 1995, McArthur noted that "[w]orldwide Anglo-hybridization is a subject that language scholars have yet to address in any detail" (1995: 2). Some two decades later, while the situation has improved in terms of the study of hybrid languages, there is still much work to be done regarding the terminology of such hybrids. This paper begins to address this gap in scholarship through an extensive analysis of these terms. Utilising conventional lexicographical collection methods, a database of over 3,500 citations taken from various sources has been amassed, which provides documentary evidence for the existence of the terms, their longevity of use, frequency, and various meanings.

A review of the literature pertaining to portmanteau words based on the word *English* reveals that there has been continuing, if haphazard, interest in cataloguing such formations from the 1990s onwards. The usual structure of many of the texts that treat these words is to discuss the notion of language hybridity briefly and offer some five or six of the most common terms as examples. There are also texts that present more lengthy lists of between ten and 30 examples, and in doing so include some less common terms. However, on the whole, there is at present a paucity of information about these terms.

First and foremost, there is currently lacking any single text which comes close to cataloguing the great variety of terms in use. McArthur (1995) lists 27 terms only (excluding *franglais*, as this is not strictly speaking a term based on the word *English*, but rather on the French *anglais*). On par with McArthur is Fraser (2009: 93) who lists 27 forms (sourced from Wikipedia 2008). Slightly better is Rowse (2011) who covers 34 terms, and better still is Barrett (2006), with 52 terms. Since 2004, Wikipedia has provided a list of such terms. This list has expanded from an original 11 terms to 52 (as of April 2016), about 30 of which had separate pages. However, this list will change over time as entries are continually edited. Wiktionary, as of April 2016, covered a different set of terms to Wikipedia, but only had 25 of the 50 most common terms found by the present research. Additionally, in Wiktionary, there is no table that brings all the terms together, but rather each has to be searched for individually. Urban Dictionary records at least 66 of the terms found by the present research, but as this dictionary liberally accepts words, definitions, and sample sentences based solely on the say-so of contributors, in the absence of corroboration from other sources the authenticity of some entries must remain dubious.

Professionally published dictionaries do not seem to have extended coverage beyond the most frequent and salient items. The latest edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), the online Third Edition, covers a mere seven terms for such hybrids (*Chinglish*, *Hinglish*, *Japlish*, *Singlish* [2 meanings], *Spanglish*, and *Yinglish*). The omission of the well-known term *Taglish* (referring to hybrids of Tagalog and

English), despite the recent expansion of coverage of Philippine English in the June 2015 update (see Salazar 2015), suggests a lack of will among the *OED* editors to record these terms. An assessment of a selection of regional, varietal, and slang dictionaries has also found that little lexicographical effort has been extended to these terms, with only the most common terms being recorded. Cummings and Wolf (2011) covers *Chinglish*, but not the well-attested terms *Honglish* and *Hongkonglish*; Kim (1998) records *Manglish* as a blend of Malay and English, but not the variant forms *Malenglish*, *Malglish*, or *Malish*; Higgleton and Ooi (1997), written for the Malaysian and Singaporean markets, records both *Manglish* and *Singlish*, but no other forms. The privately published Meyler (2007) records *Singlish*, for the mixing of Sinhala/Singhalese and English, and *Tamlish*, for the mixing of Tamil and English, but only these two. Dictionaries of Indian English appear to only cover *Hinglish* (e.g. Muthiah 1991), though the Lonely Planet booklet *Indian English: Language and Culture* (2008) covers also *Benglish* (Bengali and English) and *Tanglish* (Tamil and English). It should also be noted that most of the regional dictionaries surveyed are now out of print and difficult to locate.

A second area in which information is lacking is the historical perspective. In fact, information on when each of the terms first appeared in English and, if obsolete, how long they persisted is entirely absent in the literature. The only source which supplies any information on this type is the *OED*, though, as noted before, only for seven terms. Furthermore, while *OED* entries are generally regarded as a good indication of when terms were first used in English, for five of the seven terms the present study has been able to antedate the *OED*'s earliest attestations, usually by a decade or more. For example, the *OED*'s earliest evidence for *Chinglish* is 1957, yet this term has been in use since the 1930s (Gor 1936: 117). Beyond the *OED*'s seven terms, the data presented here regarding earliest attestations and the span of years for which terms are recorded is the first presentation of this type of information for essentially the entire set of terms.

A third area in which the literature to date lacks detailed description is the meaning of the terms. Generally, the texts that do treat these terms suffer from a dearth of detail, being mostly content with merely supplying the term itself followed by the two etymons that constitute the portmanteau word (e.g. McArthur 1992: 442; Campbell 1998: 119; Wolff 2010: 7; Javaherian 2010: 39). Also common are texts that simply supply the word **only**, leaving readers to discern the origin based on their own knowledge of potential hybrid forms of English (e.g. McArthur 1998: 14; Young 2009: 162). Indeed, the seminal list in McArthur (1995: 2) does not offer any explication of what the terms listed actually mean, either on the cover or in the accompanying text to the list, which is especially problematic for the terms *Manglish*, *Minglish*, and *Tinglish*, which may refer to any of a number of possible blends of English and languages beginning with <M> (Malay, Malayalam, Malagasy,

Marathi, Mongolian) or <T> (Thai, Telegu, Turkish, Twi, perhaps even Tartar). On the face of it, many such terms may be considered relatively transparent, such as *Arablish* or *Russlish*, which seem to indicate hybrids of Arabic and Russian with English, respectively. Yet, as we shall see, the situation is more complex.

Another major shortcoming of the current literature dealing with the nomenclature of hybrid forms of English is the scant attention paid to the question of frequency. For example, Rowse (2011: 198) gives both *Portuglish* and *Porglish* as hybrids of Portuguese and English, and Wolff (2010: 7) gives both *Rominglish* and *Romlish* as hybrids of Romanian and English, but there is no indication whether the synonyms are equally well-known or whether one is more common. To date, no information on this aspect has been presented. Similarly, little attention (if any) has been paid to the etymology of "lishes", including questions as to how the terms have been formed from their two base forms, or whether the terms were originally formed in English or other languages. Finally, apart from the few terms recorded in dictionaries, there has been no discussion of pronunciation.

The following sections of the present paper outline the methodology for collecting the data before moving onto discussions of the meaning, etymology (word formation), history, frequency, and, finally, pronunciation of the terms. An alphabetical table of the complete set of terms discovered is presented in the Appendix.

2.   Methodology

The present study belongs to a larger and more ambitious project to collect, detail, and define the names of all varieties of English around the globe and throughout history, which I have been working on for the past five years. Thus, the data represents a subset of the larger project's entire database. The data is in the form of citations: i.e. extracts (normally at least a sentence in length) containing the target term accompanied by bibliographic information of the source text. The process of data collection employed is one that is well-known to lexicographers, and constitutes the original research behind all important dictionaries, including the *OED* and its descendants, the *Middle English Dictionary* (Kurath et al. 1952–2001), the *Webster's Third* (Gove 1961), Australia's *Macquarie Dictionary* (1981), and all scholarly historical dictionaries (e.g. Lighter 1994–1997; Silva 1996; Winer 2009; Green 2010). Historically, target words were garnered through focused reading programs and citations were handwritten on slips of paper which were collated alphabetically and stored in drawers for ready access (much like old-fashioned library catalogues). Today, computer databases and corpora infinitely increase the ease of this type of research, but the collecting process essentially remains the same. The beginning dataset was the outcome of my personal reading in World Englishes

literature, which brought together a modest collection. Starting from this base list, a number of databases were systematically searched for terms, with special effort taken to discover the earliest attestation possible, but also with the aim of collecting enough citations to give an indication of the continued existence over the lifespan of the term until present. The major databases accessed were, in alphabetical order, Global Newsstream, Google (including Google Books and Google Groups), InfoTrac Newsstand, Jstor, LexisNexis Academic, the New York Times Archives, Trove, Urban Dictionary, and Wikipedia (see References). Google Books was used with caution, and citations were only taken when it was clear that the word had actually been used in the text and that an accurate publication date could be determined. For the lower frequency terms, all instances were collected; however, for the more common terms collecting every instance is impractical. In such cases at least one citation per decade was collected where possible.

Gradually, more and more terms were discovered, especially as there was a tendency to list a number of related terms together in the literature, thus allowing me to bootstrap new terms which were found to accompany those originally searched for. Further, when a new term was discovered, possible variant orthographical forms were sought. For instance, once *Czechlish* (a hybrid of Czech and English) was found, a search for *Czechglish*, *Czenglish* and *Czinglish* would be conducted. Some search runs would return a zero response in all databases, but frequently they were fruitful. The list was also increased by going through lists of major languages in areas where English was a potential contact language and searching for likely hybrid terms. Finally, I contacted a number of World Englishes and lexicography colleagues who were able to contribute terms and suggest further avenues of investigation. The resulting citation collection was databased and coded for meaning, etymon, and date range (earliest and latest occurrence found).

3.   Results and discussion

This research discovered 510 different terms. Of these, 164 (approximately 32 per cent) were hapax legomena (i.e. there was only one instance in the data), while 107 (approximately 21 per cent) were attested by ten or more citations (see the Appendix for a tabulation of term, etymon, date range, and number of citations). Most terms (371, approximately 73 per cent) were derived from the name of a language added to the word *English*. However, there were many terms derived from the names of countries or regions where English is used (e.g. *Aflish* for African English, *Amglish* for American English, *Auslish* and *Ozlish* for Australian English), while a modest number were based on (derogatory) slang items (e.g. *Krautlish* for German English, *Yanklish* for American English). The citational evidence included texts from the field

of linguistics, especially those discussing World Englishes or the global spread of English, as well as texts from the field of folk linguistics, such as discussions about language on forums, blogs and Usenet groups. Two specific places where "lishes" were commonly used were (a) complaints about English influenced by other languages found on menus and instructional leaflets accompanying products, and (b) in acknowledgement sections of theses and published books, where authors apologised for their heavily L1-influenced English and thanked those that had helped improve it.

Additionally, the present study collected a number of portmanteau words for hybrids of English or varieties of English that begin with the word *English*, such as *Engalog* (English and Tagalog), *Engbrew* (English and Hebrew), *Engolian* (English and Mongolian), and *Engleutsch* (English and Deutsch), but space did not permit a discussion of these here. Similarly, portmanteau words based on the word *English* but not specifically related to World Englishes were also omitted. These included such terms as *Geeklish*, *Nerdlish*, *Slanglish*, *Techlish*, *Twinglish* (the special language of twins), and even *Yodish* (the grammatically peculiar English of the *Star Wars* character Yoda).

3.1   Semantics

There are pertinent comments to be made about both denotation and connotation of these words. Regarding denotation, the terms were generally used to refer to a wide range of language contact varieties and features. Definitions provided by users fell into three main groups: (a) no definition – the words are left to speak for themselves; (b) a simple listing of the languages involved; and (c) a more detailed, yet still generally vague, description of the character of the hybridity, occasionally with examples. The following are examples of these three defining strategies:

a. Now English is merging even more quickly with other languages of the world, picking up not just individual words but developing new hybridised forms – Banglish, Chinglish, Punglish, Singhlish, Spanglish, Hinglish. (Young 2009: 162)
b. As examples, some forms of English are: Spanglish (Spanish English), Japlish (Japanese English), Hinglish (Hindu English), Fingilish (Farsi English), and Chinglish (Chinese English). (Javaherian 2010: 39)
c. Don't bother defining Runglish, simply let its rising bilingual tides of English-flavored Russian and Russian-flavored English wash over your eardrums – as thousands of speakers in a dozen societies already do. (*Moscow News* 11 Sept 2013)

Clearly the first two ways of defining the terms lack specificity as to the precise linguistic process taking place in the formation of the hybrids, and while this may be interpreted unfavourably as a lack of diligence on behalf of the definer, the lack

of specificity is not necessarily a downside. In fact, I would like to contend just the opposite. When two languages exist side-by-side and intersect and interact with one another, the flow between languages is two-way and highly complex, involving the adoption and adaptation of a range of linguistic features at all linguistic levels in order to serve diverse communicative goals as part of "the dynamics of mixed genres, styles, practices and discourses that make up the complex linguistic repertoires of people" (Rubdy and Alsagoff 2013: 8).

The third type of definition, category (c), are those that offer more than merely the etymons, and these provide insight into the complex nature of language hybridity and how that complexity is discerned by the users of the terms. For example, surveying the citations for the various terms for blends of Japanese and English (i.e. *Janglish*, *Jangrish*, *Japalish*, *Japanglish*, *Japanlish*, *Japenglish*, *Japglish*, *Japlish*, *Jenglish*, *Jinglish*, *Nihonglish*, and *Niplish*), we find the following diverse characterisations:

– poor English;
– a stilted Japanese version of English;
– English as spoken by Japanese;
– bastardised English;
– horribly bastardised style of English spoken by Japanese ESL dropouts;
– a mongrel product of English and Japanese;
– Japanese-coined English phrases;
– the Invasion of Japan by English Words;
– English loanwords that have been adopted into Japanese;
– weird translational malapropisms;
– badly and often hilariously translated text;
– translating Japanese into English in the Japanese word order;
– a hybrid grammar introducing English components to standard Japanese, or Japanese components to standard English;
– Japanese words spelled out in English; and
– English written in Katakana.

Leaving the abundance of negativity aside for the time being, in aggregate these attempts at definition speak to the multitude of linguistic phenomena characteristic of language hybridity in multilingual settings, albeit explained with differing emphases by different definers. Individually, some of these definitions fall into the common definitional trap of being overly precise (see Landau 1984: 148–151). Thus, while defining styles (a) and (b) suffer from a dearth of information about the referent, their tacit breadth of inclusiveness at least has the merit of avoiding the problem of overspecificity sometimes found in defining style (c). This overspecificity often takes the form of unilateral stipulations restricting the meanings of certain terms, as in the following examples:

1. I reserve the term Spanglish for English-influenced Spanish as a first language, distinguishing it from Spanish-influenced English spoken as a second language, which I call Englanol. (Nash 1970: 224)
2. As a result "two distinct dialects have developed which are causing havoc to businessmen and tourists alike from both countries." These are Japalish (Japanese English) and Enganese (English Japanese). (*English Today* 1988: 35)
3. Anglish (Anglicized Yiddish), which turns Yiddish words into colloquial English (as in shmo), and Yinglish (Yiddishized English), which gives English words and expressions the qualities of Yiddish syntax and intonation (as in "a Heifitz he isn't")[.] (Bluestein 1998: x)
4. There was also a reverse version of Hunglish that may be called "Engarian" (English Hungarian), which adjusted the primitive English to the ears of the immigrants. (Várdy and Szendrey 2016)

This is not to say that restrictions in meaning can never occur: Rüdiger (2014) convincingly showed that the term *Konglish* is used by South Korean English learners to refer only to "a lexical set of Koreanized English words in Korean", as opposed to learner's English, Korean English, or "mistakes made by Koreans when using English". However, we must remember that South Korean English learners are not the only people who use the term *Konglish*. Indeed, in the data, the majority of uses were at odds with Rüdiger's findings, suggesting that the word *Konglish* might have a different meaning in Korea than elsewhere.

The pinnacle of the effort to fix restrictive meanings to a set of terminology can be found in two papers published in *American Speech* by Feinsilver (1979, 1980). These debated the merits of various terms for Hebrew with interpolated English (*Engbrew* or *Englibrew*), Yiddish with interpolated English (*Engdish*, *Engliddish*, *Yiddiglish*, *Yidlish*), and English with interpolated Yiddish (*Yinglish*). Feinsilver rightfully spurned the term *Yidgin English* (based on *pidgin English*) but went on to note that "[a]lthough perhaps a bit awkward, *Engdish* seems more logical than *Yidlish* for the first-named category (Yiddish with interpolating English), since then the beginning of each classifier – *Engdish*, *Yinglish* – indicates the outside influence" (1979: 158). To be sure, this is at least logical. Yet, she later noted that a new coinage "*Engliddish* seems less awkward than my *Engdish*" (1980: 79), a claim less easy to justify. In any case, Feinsilver's nomenclatural suggestions and fine distinctions did not enjoy widespread adoption, perhaps partly for the reasons proposed by Gold (1985: 185):

> All the glottonyms suggested by Lillian Mermin Feinsilver […], Engliddish, Yidlish, Yinglish, Englibrew, Yidgin English, Engdish, and Yiddiglish, are infelicitous, unnecessary, and unwieldly. They are infelicitous in that they lack the sober and neutral tone which linguistic terms should have. […] Would anyone say with pride (or even sheepishly) "I speak Yidlish" or "I speak Yiddiglish"?

While everyone is perfectly free to use whatever terminology they see fit to indicate whatever meaning they specify, such distinctions rely on an underlying oversimplification of language contact and hybridity, a simplistic imagining of two discrete entities: language X in a matrix of language Y, and language Y in a matrix of language X, based on an assumption that some type of purity preceded the mixtures, and that the resulting mixtures exist separately from one another. In reality, the multidimensionality of language contact in multilingual environments ensures no such neat compartmentalisation (for an up-to-date overview of the range of language mixing involving the English language denoted by these terms, see Schneider 2016). Thus, as desirable as it might be to have rigid nomenclatural clarity, there are many factors that militate against the adoption of such restricted senses, not the least of which is the great variety of meaning in popular usage. Were such restricted senses to actually be adopted in the field of linguistics, these might then be at odds with wider usage, thus creating nomenclatural ambiguity.

Regarding connotation, an abundance of negativity was connected to the terms, expressed from the perspective of the native speaker viewing nonstandard varieties as nothing other than poor English, or else from the perspective of the language purist decrying the mixture and hence dilution of languages. For example, one commentator asked "[i]s Icelandic slowly turning into Icelanglish?", then answered "[b]y Óðinn, I hope not!" (*Iceland Review* 2012). Common adjectives describing language mixing were *awful*, *dreadful*, *horrible*, and *terrible*, and no less than 16 different sources used the term *bastard* or *bastardisation*. However, a disparaging or superior attitude was not universal; some texts made explicit that the terms were used "jokingly", while others professed positive attitudes and even "love" for the terms and the varieties they referred to:

- many Japanese proudly use Japlish items in their speech and writing as a mark of their modernity:
- Franglais and Japlish have taken their places alongside the world's great languages;
- I love "Germanglish";
- personally, I love Singlish;
- the Icelanglish he makes up is so original, I love it!;
- […] which I lovingly call Ugandlish;
- […] I've come to know and love as Uganglish.

Newspaper articles were also generally positive in tone, although a tendency towards sensationalism means that the spread of hybrid forms is occasionally touted as the universal language of the future (e.g. McCrum 2010).

Finally, the data revealed two meanings not previously discussed in the literature. First, certain "lishes" were used to refer to what are otherwise recognised as varieties of English, rather than hybrid forms. For example, *Auslish* and *Ozlish* refer

to Australian English, *Brenglish* and *Britglish* to British English, *Newzildish* to New Zealand English, and so on. Even *Indglish* and *Indlish*, referring to Indian English, do not denote a hybrid of *Indian* and *English*, as there is no language "Indian". Second, a number of "lishes" referred to the use of the Latin alphabet to write languages traditionally written in a non-Latin script, such as Greek, Arabic, and Persian. Of 22 citations for *Greeklish*, half referred to Greek written with the English alphabet, a practice necessitated in the early days of the internet when the capacity to type Greek letters was not supported by most software. Similarly, *Fingilish* usually refers to transliterated Farsi in chatrooms, text messages, and the like. Synonyms are *Fanglish*, *Farglish*, *Farslish*, *Penglish*, *Pingilish*, and *Pinglish* – though these terms can also refer to hybrids of Farsi and English.

3.2   Etymology

Blends, also known as portmanteau words, are not an original feature of English, i.e. none occur in Old or Middle English, nor even in Elizabethan English, with the earliest known example being the rare and now obsolete term *tomaxe*, a blend of *tomahawk* and *axe* (Johnson 1759: 17). More enduring has been *gerrymander*, coined in 1812 from the surname of Elbridge Gerry, governor of Massachusetts, and *salamander*, with two other early examples still with us today being *bodacious* (*bold* and *audacious*) from 1845 and *brunch* (*breakfast* and *lunch*) from 1896. Despite their slow beginnings, blends are a common form of word formation today, and their popularity appears to be on the increase. Blends are common in technical vocabulary (*camcorder*, *pixel*, *transistor*); computing (*digerati*, *emoticon*, *netiquette*, *sysop*, *webinar*); the arts (*biopic*, *bromance*, *rockumentary*, *sitcom*); marketing, (*advertorial*, *edutainment*, *infomerical*); politics (*Brexit*, *Reaganomics*, *stagflation*); as names for celebrity couples, (*Bennifer*, *Brangelina*); and a host of other arenas of modern life, (*botox*, *chillax*, *gaydar*, *labradoodle*, *mansplaining*, *moobs*, *staycation*). Clearly this type of word appeals to modern English users.

One reason for the popularity of portmanteau words in naming language hybrids may be the fact that the names themselves embody a type of hybridity. For many blends it is not possible to know where the first word ends and the second word begins. For instance, with *Spanglish* the internal letter <n> is shared by both original etymons, so that in the end product the origin of the medial <n> is essentially from both donor words (i.e. it is not *Span-* and *glish*, nor *Spa-* and *nglish*, but rather *Span-* and *nglish*). This overlapping is reflective of hybrid languages, where certain features (phonetic, orthographic, semantic, syntactic) are also difficult to disentangle.

There are a number of different levels to which the various "lishes" have been blended, based on whether there is any overlap of letters or phonemes, and whether

either or both of the words are truncated. First is full blending in which there is an overlap of letters from both etymons and truncation of both, such as:

Hinglish = Hi**n**(di) + (E)**n**glish (sharing the *n*)
Chinglish = Chi**n**(a) + (E)**n**glish (sharing the *n*)
Portuglish = Portu**g**(uese) + (En)**g**lish (sharing the *g*)
Hunglish = Hu**ng**(arian) + (E)**ng**lish (sharing the *ng*)

The second level involves overlap, but truncation of only one of the terms:

Nenglish = N**e**(pali) + **E**nglish (sharing the *e*)
Bengalish = Benga**li** + (Eng)**li**sh (sharing the *li*)

The next level has no overlap (i.e. no shared letters), but both etymons are truncated:

Neplish = Nep(ali) + (Eng)lish
Mexlish = Mex(ican) + (Eng)lish

The final level has no overlap and only one etymon is truncated:

Frenchlish = French + (Eng)lish
Thaiglish = Thai + (En)glish
Twinglish = Twi + (E)nglish
Brazenglish = Braz(ilian) + English

There are also instances of no overlap and no truncation, e.g. *Efikinglish* and *Ijawinglish*, from *Efik* and *inglish* (= English) and *Ijaw* and *inglish* (= English), respectively. While these are not technically portmanteau words, they were retained in the data as they are clearly attempts at creating hybrid terms.

Some etymons appear to have greater valency than others when it comes to the formation of portmanteau words. Table 1 lists the most valent:

Table 1. Number of variant names by etymon

Etymon	Names	Etymon	Names
Japanese	11	Yoruba	7
Malay	11	Croatian	6
Russian	11	Farsi	6
Chinese	10	French	6
German	9	Indian	6
American	8	Malayalam	6
Italian	8	Punjabi	6
Urdu	8	Swahili	6
Tamil	7	Yiddish	6
Thai	7	Persian	5

Although Japanese, Malay, and Russian top the list when analysed by etymon, hybrid German and English has the most names (15, with nine based on *German*, five on *Deutsch*, and one on the slang term *Kraut*), followed by hybrid Japanese and English (14, with 11 on *Japanese*, two on *Nippon*, and one on *Nihongo*), while adding hybrid terms based on *Farsi* and *Persian* totals 11 names. The most homonymous term is *Pinglish*, which can refer to Palestinian, Pakistani, Papua New Guinean, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, and Punjabi English.

One peculiarity of these "lishes" are forms that end in *inglish* but for which the first etymon has no corresponding /ɪ/ vowel, such as *Binglish* (Bengali English), *Dinglish* (Dutch English), *Gringlish* (Greek English), and *Portinglish* (Portuguese English). These forms result from a respelling of English to *Inglish*, because spelling them with the original <e> of English would not give the correct pronunciation (i.e. a blend of *Gr*[*eek*] and *English* would give *Grenglish*, which could be read as /ˈgrɛŋglɪʃ/). Thus, to retain the /-ɪŋglɪʃ/ ending, the spelling is altered to *Gringlish*, which can only be read as /ˈgrɪŋglɪʃ/. 45 cases of such adaptive respelling occurred in the data set (approximately nine per cent of the total).

Another variation in spelling occurs with those forms ending in *rish* rather than *lish*, such as *Chinrish* and *Chingrish* (Chinese English) or *Jangrish* and *Jingrish* (Japanese English). These are based on the respelling of *English* as *Engrish* to derisively denote varieties of Asian Englishes, in which a salient feature is the substitution of /l/ and /ɹ/. The form *Engrish*, as a (mis)pronunciation of *English*, dates back to at least 1946 (*Telegraph* 7 Sept 1946), but its use as a name for "defective" Asian English is more recent, dating back only to 1985 (*Sunday Mail* 1 Dec 1985).

The etymologies of some terms depend on terms that are neither language names nor regions. Examples include *Boglish* for Irish English, referring to slang terms for the Irish such as *Boglander* and *Bogtrotter*, *Gyplish* for Egyptian English, from slang *Gyppo* ('an Egyptian'), *Krautlish* for German English, from slang *Kraut* ('a German'), *Niplish* for Japanese English, from slang *Nip* ('a Japanese person'), and *Yanklish* for American English, from slang *Yank* ('an American'). Some of these require local knowledge, such as *Bonglish* for Bengali English, from Indian English slang *Bong* ('a Bengali'), *Mallish* for Malayalam English, from Indian English slang *Mallu* ('a Malayali'), and *Idlish* for southern Indian English, from *idli*, a type of steamed round bread commonly eaten for breakfast in south India. The Australian term *Woglish*, more commonly called *Wogspeak*, is based on a specific Australian English use of the derogatory term *wog* to mean Australians of Mediterranean or Middle Eastern background. *Panglish* (when not referring to a globalised pan-English) refers to the hybrid English and Japanese of '*pan-pan* girls', female sex workers of post-WWII occupied Japan. *Qinglish* is a variant spelling of *Chinglish* based on pinyin *q* = /tɕʰ/.

The etymology of the term *Japlish* is disputed and contentiously so. The two schools of thought are that (a) it is a full blend from *Jap*(*anese*) and (*Eng*)*lish*, or that (b) it is a half blend from the pejorative slang term *Jap* and (*Eng*)*lish*, and therefore racist and offensive. Chronologically, both etymologies are possible, since the term *Japlish* only dates back to 1960, whereas the slang shortening has been recorded since the 1850s (Green 2010). Furthermore, the latter formation has analogies with such terms as *Bonglish* and *Yanklish*, not to mention the clearly pejorative *Niplish*. In any case, it will do well to remember that using the term *Japlish* may cause offense.

The origin of some terms can present problems. The term *Sheng*, from Kenya, refers to a range of hybrids of primarily Swahili and English, but also includes various other local mother tongue languages. It dates back to 1965 (Wolverton 1965: 113), and although there is extensive literature devoted to it, I cannot find any discussion of the term's etymology except in a Wikipedia article which states that it is from *S*(*wa*)*h*(*ili*) and *Eng*(*lish*). This may be the case, but corroborating evidence is lacking. Certainly, it is not formed in the usual manner. Another case in point is the term *Yeshivish*, referring to the hybrid English used in yeshivas, Jewish religious schools, which may be from *yeshiva* and (*Engl*)*ish*, or merely an extension of the regularly formed adjective *yeshiva* and *ish*.

While in the minority, some terms appear to be badly formed, or are otherwise difficult to account for. For example, while *Italglish* is regularly formed from *Ital*(*ian*) and (*En*)*glish*, the variant form *Italgish* is missing the second <l>. The form *Khasilish*, for Kashmiri English, is perhaps a typing error, and the origin of the term *Rublish* for Russian English is not obvious; perhaps some play on the word *rubbish* and/or *rouble* is intended?

In terms of coinage by individuals, few definite cases of this occurred in the data. The term *Britglish* (for British English) appears to have been invented by author Anthony Burgess in 1973, but its companion term in his article, *Ameringlish* (American English), is found earlier, from 1969 onwards. The term *Janglish* (Japanese English) was coined by James Kirkup in 1966 as a disparaging title with an underlying pun on the word *jangle* ('to sound discordantly'). Caution needs to be exercised in regards to claims of coinage as the data contained a number of examples of writers professing the invention of a term that had actually been in existence for many years.

Finally, of note is the possibility that some terms may have originated in foreign languages and may then have been borrowed into English. This is almost certainly the case for *Denglish* and *Deutschlish* for German English, which also appear in English-language texts spelled *Denglisch* and *Deutschlisch* (as well as being well-attested in German texts). *Espanglish*, located in English contexts from 1986 to 2012, must be a loanword from Spanish, where it is recorded as early as 1954 (Tió). Similarly, *Danglish* appears in Danish texts, *Franglish* in French texts,

Poglish in Polish texts, and many of the Russian-English hybrid names are found in Russian (*Ruslish*/руслиш, *Russlish*/русслиш, *Runglish*/рунглиш), suggesting that these may have been coined there first, though I have not been able to confirm this.

3.3   History

Perhaps the earliest "lish" is *Amerenglish*, dating back to 1923. The *OED* does not consider this term a portmanteau term, but rather a use of the prefix *Amer-*, for which they cite other instances (*Amerasian*, *Amerindian*). However, as it also fits the derivational pattern of other "lishes", and forms a pair with *Ameringlish*, it has been treated as a blend for the purposes of this study. A further five "lishes" appear in the 1930s: *Spanglish* 1933, *Chinglish* 1936, *Germenglish* 1936, *Frenglish* 1937, and *Swenglish* 1938. There were rare examples of portmanteau words with the second element *English* prior to the 1930s, such as *Chinglish* from 1904 and 1908, and *Spinglish* from 1917, but these referred to peoples of mixed parentage or background, not to languages. An isolated instance of *Greeklish* from 1911 was from a limerick about an American college fraternity named Theta Delta and was not actually referring to hybrid languages.

The 1940s and 1950s combined saw only modest increase, adding another five terms, while the 1960s added 15 terms. The 1970s added 42 terms to the list and the 1980s a further 48, by which time the study of World Englishes was also gaining ground. It was not until the 1990s that large increases were seen, with 125 terms coined, and a further 152 terms coined in the 2000s. From 2010 to 2016 a further 88 terms appeared in the data. Thus, coinages from the 1990s onwards account for approximately 76 per cent of total terms. These figures are dependent on the sources surveyed. Had I access to large databases of scanned newspapers from the Philippines, Africa, or India, etc., we would expect to see a good percentage of antedatings of the current earliest instances, with a subsequent reconfiguration of the rate of neologisms for each decade, and potentially the addition of many more terms. However, it is doubtful whether the overall pattern of increase would change dramatically. One interesting point to note is that the hybrid term appears to be preceded by the ordinary two-word compound term, usually by many decades. For instance, the term *Chinese English* dates back to 1840, while *Chinglish* dates back only to 1936, *Australian English* to 1851, but *Auslish* to 1991, *Hungarian English* to 1897, but *Hunglish* to 1978, and *Global English* to 1962, but *Globish* to 1995. Finally, the data did not contain any examples of terms that had clearly died out. This is consistent with the increase in the popularity and frequency of these terms as time progresses.

3.4   Frequency

Assessing frequency is no simple task. One must be especially careful when using Google to determine frequency as there is a very real risk of fantastically overestimating the frequency and, consequently, importance of a term. A good example of the pitfall to be avoided is afforded by Stejskal (2008: 7), who states that a "Google search for *Globish* in August 2006 yields approximately 182,000 hits". While this might seem a plausible figure and an indexicalisation of the global importance of this term, the inflated number is not trustworthy, and the actual number would have been much lower. For example, a Google search done on 29 April 2016 returned "about 359,000 results" for the word *Globish*. However, this mighty figure is an estimate devised by a mathematical algorithm, not an exact count, and includes a vast number of cloned webpages. As one wades through all the results pages, the number is reduced, until Google finally admits that there are only 33 pages of results containing "328 results". Moreover, even this small number includes numerous duplications of the same text repeated on multiple webpages as well as over ten results pages of non-English-language sites. The other databases used generally provide more accurate numbers of hits than Google, but still duplication exists, resulting from syndicated news articles appearing in numerous newspapers. The Nexis database returned a high number of hits for many terms: for *Namlish* (Namibian English) 100 hits, *Swenglish* (Swedish English) 137 hits, *Taglish* (Tagalog English) 226, etc. Going through the results for *Namlish* reveals that 65 results were duplicates, reducing the actual total of instances to 35.

The duplication of a news or magazine article across a number of sources means that any term contained therein is spread to a much wider audience of readers. Indeed, five or ten citations from Google Groups, or from a range of different blog sites, may not reach as many people as a single usage of a word in the *New York Times* or the London *Guardian*. This leads to another problem in trying to determine frequency: do we consider a citation on the front page of, say, the *Times of India* to count as one example of a word in use, or, considering the paper has a print circulation of over a million plus an online version, does the citation constitute over a million examples? For the purposes of the present study, examples in newspapers and magazines were counted as single instances, and duplicates were ignored. For the most common terms it was not feasible to collect all citations available. Despite this, the frequency in the resulting data is a good indication of overall rate of frequency, as the same collection process was applied to all terms. Figure 1 displays the number of citations per term:
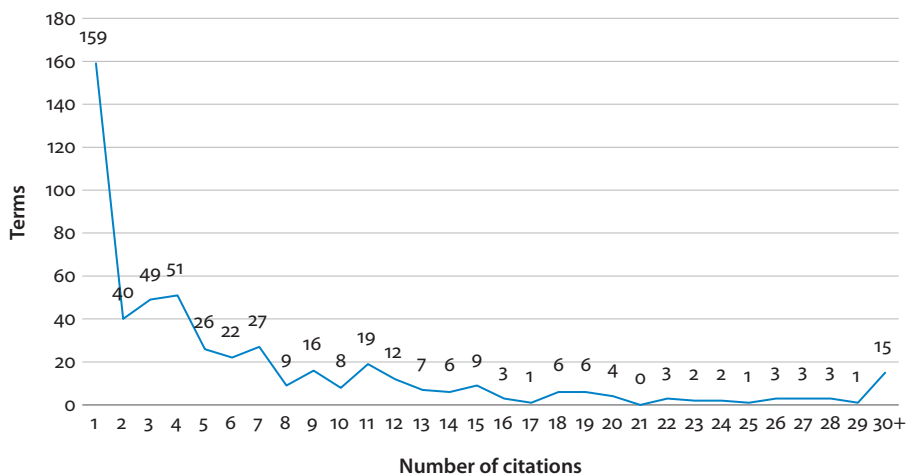
Figure 1. Citations per term

There were 159 terms (approximately 31 per cent) for which only one citation was found. The number drops steeply, with 40 terms represented by two citations, 49 by three citations, and 51 by four citations. At the other end of the scale, 15 terms were represented by 30 or more citations. Some of the single-citation terms appeared to be nonce formations, that is created for the occasion. For example, Foronda (1991) "arbitrarily" coined the terms "Mandenglish or Fukienglish or Cantenglish" for hybrids of English with Mandarin, Fukien, and Cantonese, respectively. The lack of further citations for these three terms seems to justify considering these nonce formations. Yet, access to more resources would undoubtedly uncover further corroborating evidence for many of the 159 hapax legomena in the data. Indeed, as the research progressed, many terms for which only a sole example existed were found to be well-attested once more databases and sources were investigated.

From the numbers displayed in the Appendix, it is possible to assess which term from a set of synonyms has been the most commonly used. For example, for hybrids of German and English, the terms *Gerglish*, *Gerlish*, and *Germlish* have 16 or more citations in the data, whereas *Genglish*, *Germanglish*, *Germenglish*, *Germinglish*, and *Gernglish* have eight or less. For hybrids of Italian and English, the terms *Italglish* and *Italish* significantly outweigh the competing forms *Itaglish*, *Italgish*, *Italianglish*, *Itanglish*, *Itinglish*, and *Itlish*. Further, while *Manglish* is clearly the most common form for Malay English, *Malenglish* was about half as common in the data, with other forms far behind these two frontrunners.

3.5   Pronunciation

The following discussion is not based on a corpus of spoken instances, for which access is not at present feasible. The majority of terms in the list are unfamiliar to myself, as they will be to many readers, but knowledge of the English spelling and pronunciation system can be invoked to make some pertinent comments. Many of the hybrid terms found pose no difficulties if the ordinary rules of English spelling/pronunciation correspondences are applied. For example, the orthographical form *Chinglish* can only reasonably map to the pronunciation /ˈtʃɪŋglɪʃ/, and the same goes for *Hinglish* /ˈhɪŋglɪʃ/, *Taglish* /ˈtæglɪʃ/, and *Yinglish* /ˈjɪŋglɪʃ/. However, the same cannot be said for many other "lishes". Take, for instance, *Russlish* and its alternative spelling *Ruslish*, based on the word *Russian*. Here, two pronunciation options vie, namely /ˈrʌslɪʃ/, based on the spelling, and /ˈrʌʃlɪʃ/, based on the first syllable of the pronunciation of the word *Russian* /ˈrʌʃən/. However, since these words are used in Russian as well, where they are spelled руслиш and русслиш, we can expect that Russian speakers of English might also pronounce *Ruslish* or *Russlish* with an initial /ru-/.

Another set of difficulties arises from the odd pronunciation of the English word *English*, which while spelt with an initial <E> is not pronounced with an initial /e/ or /ɛ/. Thus *Spenglish*, for hybrid Spanish and English, should presumably be pronounced /ˈspɪŋglɪʃ/ and not /ˈspɛŋglɪʃ/, though orthographically /ˈspɛŋglɪʃ/ would be consistent with all other English words beginning or containing the letters <spen> (e.g. *dispense*, *Spencer*, *suspend*). The alternative form *Spinglish* clearly indicates /ˈspɪŋglɪʃ/. A similar situation occurs with *Swenglish* and *Swinglish*, both referring to hybrids of Swedish and English. For *Swenglish*, McArthur (1998: 14) notes that the pronunciation is /ˈswɪŋglɪʃ/. Similarly, an alt.english.usage Usenet discussion stated that *Wenglish* (for Welsh English) was "usually" pronounced /ˈwɪŋglɪʃ/, which implies that /ˈwɛŋglɪʃ/ also occurs, which would make sense due to the initial /wɛ-/ of *Welsh*.

Portmanteau words based on the word *German* create a number of forms that on first sight might be pronounced with initial /gɜ(r)-/: *Gerglish*, *Gerlish*, *Gernglish*. These presumably should be (in non-rhotic dialects) /ˈdʒɜglɪʃ/, /ˈdʒɜlɪʃ/, and /ˈdʒɜŋglɪʃ/, respectively. Similarly, the synonymous *Genglish* and *Ginglish* analogically should be pronounced /ˈdʒɪŋglɪʃ/. The hedging here points to the necessity of study in this area.

4.   Conclusion

The research presented in this paper is the most comprehensive and up-to-date reckoning of an expanding set of portmanteau terms based on the word *English*. Back in 1995, McArthur wrote that "[s]uch mixes may be enjoyed, mocked, or denounced by teachers, linguists, the media, and others, but regardless of praise or blame they steamroller on: the daily usage of tens of millions of people" (McArthur 1995: 2). If one thing has been made abundantly clear in the present study, it appears that this is more so than ever. A total of 510 terms were found, for which earliest attestations were sought and the frequency of occurrence was estimated. The results indicate that many terms have been in use over a considerable period of time. Writing about the situation in India in 2007, John lamented that "[e]nough labels and tags have not been invented to describe the variations of English that are sprouting across the country" (John 2007: 4). Considering the results of the present study, today John may be buoyed at the clear trend of increasing numbers of new "lishes" for each successive decade since the 1950s, and the fact that nothing in the data suggests this trend is likely to falter. In terms of semantics, the data reveals that terms are used to refer to a wide variety of hybrid language types and features, notwithstanding the restrictive senses sometimes prescribed. A perspective that views language hybridity in a pejorative light is apparent in the data, yet alongside this, a more positive perspective is also found. Etymologically, the terms show an array of blending strategies, but for a small number of terms the origin presents difficulties. Further, there is a suggestion that some terms may have originated in other languages. The data is generally quiet on pronunciation, and the research did not investigate this aspect; however, it is evident that the pronunciation of many terms is not clear-cut, indicating that work in this area is needed.

A limitation of the present research is that novel forms that are not readily predictable from source etymons (e.g. the term *Hokaglish*) were not searched for, and the number of such terms is unknown. Another limitation is that the results are restricted to the texts of the corpora and databases used. Google Books, for example, while containing an incredible wealth of texts, still has a large hiatus for the decades between 1900 and 1960, and also has limited or zero preview for many texts it indexes. Further, all databases used are biased towards texts of Inner Circle Englishes, and provide comparatively limited coverage of texts from Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes (see Kachru 1992). One hopes that the future will bring greater access to such texts, and so the data presented here should be seen as a snapshot of the state of play in the first half of 2016. The author kindly welcomes notification of any terms overlooked, any antedatings of earliest attestations, and any untapped sources that may prove to be productive.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix

Name	Etymon	Year range	Count
Aflish	African	1975–2015	7
Afringlish	African	2007–2010	4
Algerlish	Algerian	2011	1
Amelish	American	2014	1
Amerglish	American	1940–2009	4
Amerilish	American	2011	1
Amerenglish	American	1923–2016	18
Ameringlish	American	1969–2012	10
Amerlish	American	2006–2001	2
Amglish	American	1989–2015	9
Amglish	Amharic	1998–1998	2
Amlish	American	1991–2012	9

(*continued*)

Name	Etymon	Year range	Count
Anglish	American	1997–1999	2
Arabish	Arabic	1994–2016	9
Arablish	Arabic	1984–2011	19
Argentenglish	Argentine	2010	1
Argentinglish	Argentine	2004–2010	2
Arglish	Arabic	2006	1
Armenglish	Armenian	2007–2016	5
Armlish	Armenian	2008	1
Assamlish	Assamese	2009	1
Asslish	Assamese	2003	1
Auslish	Australian	1991–2015	18
Ausslish	Australian	2005	1
Bahamglish	Bahamian	2006	1
Bahasaindlish	Bahasa Indonesia	1995	1
Bahasa Malayglish	Bahasa Malay	2009	1
Balenglish	Balinese	2014	1
Balinglish	Balinese	2007–2914	4
Banglish	Bengali	1975–2015	19
Belglish	Belgian	2005–2015	6
Bengalish	Bengali	1972–2012	4
Benglish	Bengali	1988–2016	27
Bhojlish	Bhojpuri	2004–2012	3
Bhutenglish	Bhutan	2015	1
Bicolglish	Bikol	2010	1
Bicolish	Bikol	2012	1
Bikoglish	Bikol	2012	1
Binglish	Bengali	1996–2015	7
Binglish	Bangalore	2010	1
Bisaglish	Visayan	2001–2015	7
Bisayish	Visayan	2005–2013	3
Bisaylish	Visayan	2005–2012	5
Bisglish	Visayan	2012	1
Bislish	Visayan	1999–2016	11
Blanglish	Black	2009	1
Blinglish	Black	1997–2016	19
Blingrish	Black ?Engrish	2010	1
Boglish	bog (Irish)	2010–2013	3
Bohoglish	Bohol	2012	1
Bonglish	Bengali	1995–2014	18
Brazenglish	Brazilian	1999–2015	6
Brazinglish	Brazilian	2006–2015	5
Brazlish	Brazilian	1988–2012	3
Brenglish	British	1993–2014	2
Brenglish	Brussels	1996	1

Name	Etymon	Year range	Count
Brilish	British	2011	1
Bringlish	British	1967–2001	4
Bringlish	Brussels	1996	1
Britglish	British	1973–2014	6
Britlish	British	1976–2010	4
Brulish	Brunei	2003–2016	11
Brunglish	Brunei	2007–2016	7
Brusslish	Brussels	2007–2009	2
Bulglish	Bulgarian	1986–2014	9
Burmenglish	Burmese	2011–2015	5
Cajunlish	Cajun	2007	1
Camglish	Cambodian	2008–2012	2
Canish	Canadian	2005	1
Cantenglish	Cantonese	1991	1
Cebglish	Cebuano	2010–2016	3
Cebuanish	Cebuano	2005–2015	5
Cebuglish	Cebuano	2001–2007	3
Chabacanolish	Chabacano	2001	1
Changlish	Chinese	2000–2012	7
Chenglish	Chinese	1979–2013	13
Chenglish	Czech	2005	1
Chinelish	Chinese	2006	1
Chinenglish	Chinese	1997–2015	5
Chinglish	Chinese	1936–2016	45
Chingrish	Chinese Engrish	1996–2014	7
Chinish	Chinese	1997	1
Chinlish	Chinese	1996–2014	4
Chinrish	Chinese Engrish	2008	1
Corsish	Corsican	2016	1
Croanglish	Croatian	2011	1
Croatlish	Croatian	1993	1
Croenglish	Croatian	1992–2016	2
Croglish	Croatian	2013–2016	4
Cronglish	Croatian	1999–2016	3
Cubanglish	Cuban	1983–2012	7
Czechglish	Czech	2005	1
Czechlish	Czech	1982–2015	10
Czenglish	Czech	1989–2016	11
Danglish	Danish	1990–2016	10
Denglisch	Deutsch (German)	1965–2016	17
Denglish	Deutsch (German)	1996–2016	22
Denglish	Danish	2006–2006	2
Denglish	Dutch	1983–2016	6

Name	Etymon	Year range	Count
Deutlish	Deutsch (German)	1977	1
Deutschlisch	Deutsch (German)	1970–2006	6
Deutschlish	Deutsch (German)	1979–2015	12
Dinglish	Deutsch (German)	1990–2016	11
Dinglish	Dutch	2003–2006	4
Dunglish	Dutch	1965–2016	13
Dutchlish	Dutch	1986–2006	9
Efikinglish	Efik	2010	1
Egyplish	Egypt	2009–2013	4
Espanglish	Spanish	1986–2012	9
Esperanglish	Esperanto	2002	1
Estlish	Estonian	2011	1
Eurish	European	1993–2015	4
Eurlish	European	2006–2011	2
Euroglobish	European	2014	1
Eurogrish	European ?Engrish	2002	1
Eurolish	European	1979–2012	9
Ewenglish	Ewe	2014	1
Fanglish	Fante	2004–2014	7
Fanglish	Farsi	1991–2008	2
Farglish	Farsi	2006–2015	3
Farslish	Farsi	1985–2012	7
Fenglish	Farsi	1993	1
Fillish	Filipino	2006–2008	2
Fingilish	Farsi	2005–2016	13
Finglish	Finnish	1943–2016	19
Finglish	Farsi	2003–2016	13
Finnglish	Finnish	1976–2014	12
Franglish	French	1967–2016	19
Frelish	French	2014	1
Frenchlish	French	1974–2016	12
Frenglish	French	1937–2015	34
Frenish	French	1997	1
Frimlish	Yiddish	2015	1
Fringlish	French	1982–2015	15
Fukienglish	Fukien	1991	1
Gamblish	Gambian	2012–2016	4
Ganglish	Gaelic	1990–2016	3
Ganglish	Ghanaian	2013–2014	3
Ganglish	Ga	2006	1
Genglish	German	1977–2016	8
Georglish	Georgian	2006–2016	4
Gerglish	German	1968–2015	16

Name	Etymon	Year range	Count
Gerlish	German	1976–2008	18
Germanglish	German	1967–2014	6
Germenglish	German	1936–2006	7
Germinglish	German	1996–2013	4
Germish	German	1972–2016	12
Germlish	German	1974–2016	20
Gernglish	German	1996–2006	7
Ghanenglish	Ghanaian	2006–2012	5
Ginglish	German	1989–2016	8
Ginglish	Gujarati	1996–2015	4
Globish	global	1995–2015	8
Globish	global (Nerrière's sense)	2004–2016	9
Globlish	global	2005–2014	7
Greeklish	Greek	1987–2016	22
Greenglish	Greek	2004–2010	3
Greenglish	Greenland	2010	1
Grenglish	Greek	1987–2016	16
Gringlish	Greek	1988–2016	15
Gringlish	gringo (Spanish)	1991–2011	7
Gujaratish	Gujarati	1972	1
Gujjish	Gujarati	1994	1
Gujlish	Gujarati	1999–2016	14
Gunglish	Gujarati	2010–2014	2
Guyanglish	Guyanese	2015–2016	2
Gyplish	Gyp (Egyptian)	2015	1
Hanglish	Hangul (Korean)	1995–2012	5
Hangulish	Hangul (Korean)	1995	1
Hausenglish	Hausa	2011–2012	2
Hausinglish	Hausa	2007–2015	3
Hebglish	Hebrew	1993–2011	2
Heblish	Hebrew	1979–2013	12
Hebrish	Hebrew	1989–2016	11
Henglish	Hebrew	1988–2016	3
Henglish	Hindi	1993	1
Hindish	Hindi	1972–2013	12
Hindlish	Hindi	1985–2015	26
Hinglish	Hindi	1967–2016	73
Hinglish	Hebrew	1980–2016	2
Hinlish	Hindi	2013	1
Hokaglish	Hokkien & Tagalog	2016	1
Hmonglish	Hmong	2003–2015	11
Hongkonglish	Hong Kong	1993–2015	11
Honglish	Hong Kong	1993–2015	11

Name	Etymon	Year range	Count
Hunglish	Hungarian	1978–2016	20
Ibibionglish	Ibibio	2010	1
Icelandlish	Icelandic	2009	1
Icelanglish	Icelandic	2004–2013	6
Idlish	idli (Southern Indian)	2006	1
Igblish	Igbo	2013–2015	4
Igbolish	Igbo	2002–2011	2
Ijawinglish	Ijaw	2010	1
Ilocanglish	Ilocano	2007–2010	3
Ilongish	Ilonggo	2012	1
Ilonglish	Ilonggo	2001–2012	3
Iluklish	Ilocano	2002	1
Indenglish	Indian	1979–2011	4
Indglish	Indian	1984–2015	11
Indianlish	Indian	2007	1
Indiigboglish	Indi Igbo	2007	1
Indinglish	Indian	1974–2007	2
Indish	Indian	1984–2008	14
Indlish	Indian	1962–2014	22
Indoglish	Indonesian	2006–2016	9
Indonglish	Indonesian	1991–2007	6
Indonlish	Indonesian	1995	1
Inglish	Indian	1985–2014	18
Inglish	Indonesian	2011	1
Iowish	Iowa	1983	1
Irglish	Irish	2000–2007	2
Islish	Israeli	2005	1
Israelish	Israeli	2006	1
Itaglish	Italian	1986–2010	6
Italgish	Italian	2000–2016	3
Italglish	Italian	1985–2011	14
Italianglish	Italian	2011–2014	2
Italish	Italian	1988–2011	12
Itanglish	Italian	1973	1
Itinglish	Italian	1997	1
Itlish	Italian	1993	1
Jamlish	Jamaican	2002–2006	4
Janglish	Japanese	1966–2013	27
Jangrish	Japanese Engrish	1998–2015	7
Japalish	Japanese	1971–2005	12
Japanglish	Japanese	1973–2016	24
Japanlish	Japanese	1997–2011	5
Japenglish	Japanese	1986–2015	12

Name	Etymon	Year range	Count
Japglish	Japanese	1990–2015	6
Japlish	Japanese	1960–2016	53
Jaunlish	Jaun-Jaun	2012	1
Javenglish	Javanese	2009–2015	4
Javlish	Javanese	2010–2011	3
Jenglish	Japanese	1988–2005	5
Jenglish	Jewish	1991	1
Jinglish	Japanese	1973–2013	30
Jinglish	Jewish	2006	1
Jingrish	Japanese Engrish	2005–2011	4
Jordenglish	Jordan	2015	1
Kamponlish	kampong Malay	1997	1
Kanglish	Kannada	1993–2015	27
Kanlish	Kannada	2009–2014	4
Kannadlish	Kannada	2006	1
Kannalish	Kannada	2000–2007	3
Kashinglish	Kashmiri	2003–2005	2
Kenglish	Kenya	1986–2015	3
Khasilish	Kashmiri	2004	1
Kinglish	Kiwi (NZ)	1998–2005	2
Kinglish	Korean	2000	1
Kinglish	Kannada English	2004–2015	3
Kiswanglish	Swahili	2006–2016	7
Kiwilish	Kiwi (NZ)	2005–2016	4
Kiwinglish	Kiwi (NZ)	2005–2015	4
Konglish	Korean	1975–2016	30
Konglish	Konkani	2004–2004	2
Konklish	Konkani	2011–2015	7
Korenglish	Korean	1992–2015	4
Korglish	Korean	2000	1
Korlish	Korean	1988–2010	3
Krautlish	Kraut (German)	2001–2010	4
Latvenglish	Latvia	2006–2016	5
Lebanglish	Lebanese	2013–2013	2
Lebenglish	Lebanese	2014	1
Libglish	Liberian	2015	1
Liblish	Liberian	2009	1
Lithuanglish	Lithuania	2010–2015	7
Lithuenglish	Lithuania	2011–2016	3
Macedonglish	Macedonian	2007	1
Malalish	Malay	2005	1
Malanglish	Malay	2013–2015	2
Malayalish	Malayalam	1995–2011	6

(*continued*)

Name	Etymon	Year range	Count
Malayanglish	Malay	1991	1
Malayglish	Malay	2005–2016	15
Malayish	Malay	2009	1
Malaylish	Malay	1992–2006	5
Malaylish	Malayalam	1996	1
Malaynylish	Malay	1989	1
Malenglish	Malay	1994–2014	13
Malenglish	Male	2007	1
Malglish	Malay	1997–2008	6
Malglish	Malayalam	2004–2007	3
Malglish	Maltese	2016	1
Malish	Malay	1992–2006	6
Mallish	Malayalam	2004–2007	2
Maltenglish	Maltese	2007–2016	6
Mandenglish	Mandarin	1991	1
Mandinglish	Mandingo	2006–2015	4
Manglish	Malay	1989–2016	27
Manglish	Malayalam	1992–2016	18
Manglish	Maltese	2016	1
Manglish	Mandarin	1995	1
Manxlish	Manx	2013–2015	4
Maralish	Marathi	2001	1
Maranish	Maranaoan	2012	1
Marathinglish	Marathi	2012–2015	4
Marathlish	Marathi	2014	1
Marlish	Marathi	2008–2014	4
Merklish	Merkin (American)	2001–2010	4
Mexiglish	Mexican	2006–2016	5
Mexlish	Mexican	1995–2000	3
Minglish	Marathi	1996–2015	5
Minglish	mingled	1985–2016	26
Minglish	Malay	2002	1
Minglish	Malayalam	2004–2013	3
Minglish	Manx	2006	1
Minglish	Maltese	2006–2014	3
Moldovlish	Moldovan	2010	1
Monglish	Mongolian	1974–2015	10
Monglish	Hmong	2006	1
Morglish	Morocco	2006	1
Namlish	Namibian	1991–2015	14
Navlish	Navajo	2009–2015	4
Nenglish	Nepali	1999–2016	8
Nepanglish	Nepali	2000–2011	6

Name	Etymon	Year range	Count
Neplish	Nepali	2002–2015	7
Newfoundlish	Newfoundland	1991–2016	3
Newzildish	New Zealand	1988–2016	6
Nigerenglish	Nigerian	2011	1
Nigerinplish	Nigerian	2010–2015	3
Nihonglish	Nihongo (Japanese)	1988–2011	8
Ninglish	Nigerian	2010–2013	2
Ninglish	Norwegian	2004	1
Niplish	Nip (Japanese)	1998–2008	5
Nipponglish	Nippon (Japanese)	2003–2013	5
Norweglish	Norwegian	1994–2016	3
Norwenglish	Norwegian	1980–2016	11
Odinglish	Odissa	2012–2015	3
Omanglish	Oman	2012	1
Orilish	Oriya	2014	1
Ozlish	Oz (Australian)	1997–2015	14
Paklish	Pakistani	1997–2016	6
Pampanglish	Pampangan	2010	1
Panamanglish	Panama	2011	1
Pangalish	Pangasinan	2012	1
Pangasinenglish	Pangasinan	2010	1
Panglish	pan-English	1987–2014	12
Panglish	pan-pan girls	1982–2013	5
Penglish	Persian	1993–2015	7
Perlish	Persian	2006–2015	4
Phinglish	Philippine	2008–2013	2
Piglish	Pilipino	1998–2005	4
Pingilish	Persian	2004–2014	4
Pingilishi	Persian	2006	1
Pinglish	Palestinian	1950–2013	6
Pinglish	Punjabi	1993–2012	15
Pinglish	Pakistani	1999–2010	6
Pinglish	Persian	1989–2016	16
Pinglish	Polish	1984–2000	4
Pinglish	PNG	1998	1
Pinglish	Portuguese	2004	1
Pinoyglish	Pinoy	2005–2007	3
Poglish	Polish	2006–2016	7
Polglish	Polish	1975–2016	15
Polilish	Polish	1997	1
Ponglish	Polish	2002–2016	11
Porglish	Portuguese	2006–2016	4
Portinglish	Portuguese	2001	1

(*continued*)

Name	Etymon	Year range	Count
Portlish	Portuguese	2005	1
Portuglish	Portuguese	1997–2013	8
Punglish	Punjabi	1984–2016	32
Punjabish	Punjabi	2010	1
Punjablish	Punjabi	2007–2013	3
Punjish	Punjabi	1994	1
Punjlish	Punjabi	1998–2014	13
Qinglish	Chinese	1997–2016	4
Ringlish	Russian	1996–2016	7
Romenglish	Romanian	2005–2012	6
Romglish	Romanian	1999–2016	5
Rominglish	Romanian	2005–2016	4
Romlish	Romanian	1984–2011	3
Rublish	Russian	2014	1
Ruglish	Russian	1993–2010	9
Runglish	Russian	1998–2016	28
Rusglish	Russian	1999–2013	9
Rusinglish	Russian	2015	1
Ruslish	Russian	1997–2012	4
Russenglish	Russian	2001	1
Russglish	Russian	1991–2014	11
Russilish	Russian	1997	1
Russlish	Russian	1971–2016	28
Rwanglish	Rwanda	2013–2015	2
Samoglish	Samoan	2006–2009	2
Sardish	Sardinian	2016	1
Scandlish	Scandinavian	2009–2016	3
Scanglish	Scandinavian	2005–2012	8
SEAnglish	South-East Asia	2010	1
Serblish	Serbian	2010–2016	3
Serbocroenglish	Serbo-Croatian	1998	1
Sheng	Swahili	1965–2016	15
Shenglish	Sheng	2011–2014	2
Shinglish	Singapore	2012	1
Shonglish	Shona	1995–2015	10
Siculish	Sicilian	2005–2016	2
Sindlish	Sindhi	2008–2014	3
Sinenglish	Singapore	2000–2009	2
Sinenglish	Sri Lankan	2000–2010	3
Singhlish	Singhalese	2005–2015	4
Singlish	Sri Lankan	1972–2016	12
Singlish	Singapore	1973–2016	47
Singlish	Sindhi	2008	1

Name	Etymon	Year range	Count
Slovaklish	Slovakia	2003–2016	3
Slovenglish	Slovenia	2012–2016	5
Southafringlish	South African	2007	1
Spanglish	Spanish	1933–2016	59
Spantaglish	Spanish/Tagalog	1995	1
Spenglish	Spanish	1967–2014	12
Spinglish	Spanish	1970–2008	6
Srilish	Sri Lankan	2005	1
Suidlish	South African	2005	1
Sundanglish	Sundanese	2009	1
Surobenglish	Surabaya	2009	1
Swaglish	Swahili	2010–2016	4
Swahilish	Swahili	2002–2015	4
Swahinglish	Swahili	1998–2014	7
Swalinglish	Swahili	2007–2010	3
Swanglish	Swahili	2004–2016	13
Swedlish	Swedish	1995–2013	6
Sweglish	Swedish	1996–2014	3
Swenglish	Swedish	1938–2016	23
Swinglish	Swedish	1957–2016	20
Swinglish	Swiss	1995–2016	4
Swisslish	Swiss	2005–2013	5
Taglish	Tagalog	1973–2016	34
Taiwanlish	Taiwan	2015	1
Taiwglish	Taiwan	2010	1
Tamglish	Tamil	1991–2015	10
Tamilish	Tamil	1972–2016	14
Tamlish	Tamil	1993–2015	31
Tanglish	Tamil	1991–2016	24
Tanglish	Tagalog	1999–2008	2
Tauglish	Tausug	2012	1
Telegish	Telugu	2014	1
Telenglish	Telugu	2010	1
Telish	Telugu	2014	1
Telugish	Telugu	1972–2012	5
Teluglish	Telugu	2000–2014	9
Tenglish	Telugu	2004–2016	8
Tenglish	Thai	2012	1
Texlish	Texas	1975–2004	4
Thaiglish	Thai	1992–2016	9
Thailish	Thai	1970–2016	12
Thainglish	Thai	1973–2013	7
Thanglish	Tamil	1997–2016	15

Name	Etymon	Year range	Count
Thenglish	Thai	2003–2013	3
Thinglish	Thai	1996–2016	10
Tibetlish	Tibetan	2011	1
Tinglish	Tamil	1974–2015	19
Tinglish	Thai	1994–2016	15
Tinglish	Taiwan	1993–2011	4
Tinglish	Telugu	2003–2015	4
Tinglish	Tamil/Telugu	2009	1
Tinglish	Tagalog	1994	1
Tonglish	Tongan	2002–2015	11
Tringlish	Trinidadian	1997–2015	7
Tululish	Tulu	2004	1
Tunlish	Tunisia	2011	1
Turklish	Turkish	1994–2016	11
Twanglish	twang (Southern US)	1979–2015	8
Twinglish	Twi	2000–2014	15
Ugandlish	Ugandan	2010–2014	6
Uganglish	Ugandan	2006–2015	5
Uglish	Ugandan	2012–2016	9
UKlish	UK	2002–2004	2
Ukrainglish	Ukrainian	2016	1
Ukrenglish	Ukrainian	2010	1
Urdenglish	Urdu	2000	1
Urdinglish	Urdu	1998	1
Urdish	Urdu	1983–2015	23
Urdlish	Urdu	1997–2012	7
Urduish	Urdu	1998–2015	5
Urdunglish	Urdu	2010	1
Urglish	Urdu	1995–2005	2
Urgulish	Urdu	2007	1
USlish	US	2003–2009	5
Venezglish	Venezuela	2010	1
Vietglish	Vietnamese	1992–2015	10
Vietlish	Vietnamese	1967–2013	11
Vietnaminglish	Vietnamese	2016	1
Vinglish	Vietnamese	2010–2015	7
Vinglish	(Indian) vernaculars	2015	1
Vinish	Vietnamese	2003–2016	4
Wanglish	white Manglish/Malay	2009	1
Warayglish	Waray	2008–2010	2
Waraylish	Waray	2008–2012	3
Wenglish	Welsh	1985–2016	20

Name	Etymon	Year range	Count
Whinglish	White	1997–2015	3
Windlish	West Indian	1999	1
Woglish	= wogspeak	2000–2009	3
Worldlish	world	1995–2015	9
Xhenglish	Xhosa	2012–2016	3
Xhonglish	Xhosa	2000–2016	10
Xhoslish	Xhosa	2010	1
Yanglish	American	1997–2014	3
Yanklish	American	1993–2011	11
Yenglish	Yiddish	2000–2010	4
Yeshivish	Yeshiva	1995–2016	12
Yiddiglish	Yiddish	1980–2005	3
Yidlish	Yiddish	1967–2011	11
Yinglish	Yiddish	1942–2016	25
Yorlish	Yoruba	2009–2010	3
Yorubanglish	Yoruba	1977–2015	6
Yorubenglish	Yoruba	2005–2013	4
Yorublish	Yoruba	2013	1
Yoruglish	Yoruba	2007	1
Yorunglish	Yoruba	1985–2010	2
Zamblish	Zambian	2007–2015	5
Zimblish	Zimbabwe	1999–2015	5
Zimglish	Zimbabwe	1998–2016	3
Zulish	Zulu	2013–2016	2
Zulunglish	Zulu	2010–2016	4

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