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Contact-induced pluricentricity?
The role of Anglicisms in forging a new variety of Spanish

Abstract

The field of education was well represented in the Spanish spoken in Utica, New York. Five Anglicisms were selected: high school, elementary school, university, kindergarten, and scholarship. The sets of denotational synonyms (terms that refer to the same concept) for each were determined for Utica, United States, Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish. This study seeks to determine whether the intense contact situation between English and Spanish is helping to form a new variety of Spanish in Utica and the United States. Quantitative measurements will be used to assess the impact of English and the uniformities and divergence among the varieties using sociometric methods.

1. Introduction

While loanwords have been the object of study in historical linguistics and in code-switching studies, Backus (2014) argues that their role in understanding language change has not been explored as much as it could be. He proposes a renewed approach to their study in the framework of cognitive sociolinguistics in order to advance linguistic theory. Augusto Soares Da Silva's (2013, 2014, 2016) work on European and Brazilian Portuguese investigates the influence of French and English on soccer and clothing vocabulary between European and Brazilian Portuguese, using a concept-based analysis of onomasiological variation. The study determined divergence in the two varieties; hence, it is a study on language change. Soares Da Silva argues that cognitive sociolinguistics provides a new framework to study the relationship among varieties of a pluricentric language, specifically how European and Brazilian Portuguese have diverged in clothing vocabulary and some grammar points over the last sixty years and how Brazilian Portuguese has changed more and shows more susceptibility to the influence of English (Soares Da Silva 2016). The present investigation applies Soares de Silva's methodology to U.S. Spanish.

While metropolitan areas have traditionally been home to the largest concentrations of Hispanics in the U.S., the Census of 2010 showed that Hispanics were increasingly populating rural areas and small cities. Therefore, it is useful to study smaller Hispanic communities in order to understand more completely how Spanish is used in the United States. Oneida County is a predominately rural county in upstate New York. Utica, the largest city in the county, registered 61.114 inhabitants in 2017 with a rapidly growing Hispanic population which made up 12.3% of the city (U.S. Census Bureau). The two largest groups are Puerto Ricans (60%) and Dominicans (11%). Studies done on the Spanish spoken in Utica have shown extensive use of Anglicisms (Thomas 2016, 2017, 2018).

There has been great controversy regarding the nature of single word other language items inserted in bilingual text (Blas Arroyo 2004:624). Are they single word code switches or borrowings? There were 441 lone English items in the spoken Spanish of sixteen Hispanics who lived and worked in Utica (Thomas 2017), but 150 terms, if counted only once. Ninety-three were labelled nonce (used once by only one speaker), 33 were idiosyncratic (used multiple times by one speaker) and 24 were frequent (used at least once by at least two speakers). The labels nonce, idiosyncratic and frequent were adapted from descriptions used by Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) and Poplack/Dion (2012).

Six Anglicisms were found in the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (DLE) and 27 in the *Diccionario de americanismos.* The low representation in the dictionaries suggested that the Anglicisms were unique to Utica. Did these words form part of Spanish used outside of Utica? An analysis of the *CREA* (*Corpus de referencia del español actual*) database showed that a 96 of the 150 Anglicisms found in Utica Spanish were present in other varieties of Spanish (Thomas 2018) and 26 were found to be most concentrated in quotes from the United States. Nevertheless, 54 of the 150 were not found in the database.

Anglicisms are a worldwide phenomenon in many languages. Given that the Spanish of the U.S. is in a more intense contact relationship with English than other varieties of Spanish, it is reasonable to suppose that U.S. Spanish has more Anglicisms. Thomas (2018) shows that many of the Anglicisms in Utica Spanish are not present in other varieties of Spanish. The same study shows that a high percentage of Anglicisms are used in monolingual varieties of Spanish. This present study wishes to throw more light on the divergence and convergence in four varieties of Spanish and try to determine the distinctiveness (or not) of the Spanish used in Utica and the U.S.

This study will compare the use of Anglicisms in four non-dominant varieties of Spanish (Utica, United States (U.S.), Puerto Rican (P.R.) and Dominican Spanish (D.R.)) by a socio-lectometrical analysis of onomasiological variation. Sociolectometry attempts to measure distances among lects (varieties of speech). Onomasiological variation studies the use of different terms that refer to the same concept. Five Anglicisms, used in Utica and representative of the field of education, were selected: HIGH SCHOOL, ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, UNIVERSITY, KINDERGARTEN and SCHOLARSHIP. Concepts and profiles are represented in upper case letters. The sets of denotational synonyms (terms that refer to the same concept) for each of these five concepts were determined for the four varieties of Spanish. The data for Utica Spanish comes from recordings of 16 Hispanics who lived and worked in Utica. The Corpus del español del siglo XXI (CORPES XXI, version 0.83) database, elaborated by the Royal Spanish Academy, provides the data for the three national varieties. This database consists of 237,678 documents with 225 million forms from written and oral texts produced between 2001 and 2012 throughout the Spanish-speaking world (70% the Americas and 30% Spain). The featural measure will assess the proportion of English influence in the varieties and uniformity measures will assess internal and external homo or heterogeneity within and among the four varieties. The latter will be used to help to study lexical convergence or divergence.

Does U.S. Spanish exist as an autonomous variety? Is it simply a collection of migrant varieties? By focusing on Utica Spanish, the objective of this comparison is to see if English impacts the use of Spanish in the city to a greater degree than the varieties of Spanish spoken in the homelands of the majority of Utica's Hispanics, namely Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic.

2. Methodology

The Utica College Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved this study for human subject research in 2009. Sixteen Hispanics, who lived and worked in Utica, were recruited non-randomly to give eight females and eight males, who also were eight first-generation and eight second-generation informants. A first generation participant and his parents were born outside the U.S. and arrived after 11 years of age. A second-generation participant was born outside the U.S. but brought to the country before 11 years of age, or born in the U.S. to parents born abroad. All lone English items were collected from the 10.5 hours of recordings. The semantic field of education was selected, since many informants addressed that topic. Five concepts were selected, KINDERGARTEN, ELEMENTARY

SCHOOL, HIGH SCHOOL, UNIVERSITY and SCHOLARSHIP, and denotational synonyms were identified.

Concept (feature factor)	Utica	U.S.	P.R.	D.R.
KINDERGARTEN				
kindergarten 0	0	41	5.9	0
kínder 0	50	27	35	25
jardín de infancia 0	0	14	35	0
kindergarden 1	0	9	0	0
preescolar 0	50	5	24	75
guardería infantil 0	0	5	0	0
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL				
escuela 0	96	86	90	96
escuela maternal 0	0	0	.39	0
elementary school 1	0	.32	0	0
primary school 1	0	.32	0	0
escuela elemental 0	0	8.3	6.5	.5
escuela primaria 0	4	5.1	2.8	3.5
HIGH SCHOOL				
high school 1	41	21	3.1	3.4
escuela secundaria 0	14	31	1.5	2.0
colegio 0	9.1	32	63	65
liceo 0	0	0.65	.65	27
instituto 0	4.5	3.9	.87	2.2
escuela superior 0	0	9.7	29	.56
escuela .1	32	2.6	2.0	.28
UNIVERSITY				
university 1	0	4.6	4.3	3.1
college .1	54	13	4.5	2.7
colegio .1	13	2	0	0
universidad 0	30	80	91	94
escuela .1	3.7	0	.076	.08
SCHOLARSHIP				
scholarship 1	50	10	0	7.7
beca 0	0	88	100	92.3
grants 1	50	2	0	0

Table 1 Concept Table: English Feature Factors and relative frequencies (%)

3. Results

Table 1 gives the feature factor which represents how faithful each term is to the phonetic shape of an English etymon along with the relative frequency (%) of each term within the concept. The concept is given in upper case letters, followed by the denotational synonyms in lower case letters. For example, *high school* is identical to its English etymon, so it receives a factor of one. Although words such as *colegio* and *escuela* retain their Spanish phonetic shape, they were

assigned factors of 0.1, because they are considered to be semantic calques from English when referring to university and college, respectively. Likewise, when *escuela* refers to high school, it is assigned a weight of 0.1. *Kínder* is a shortened version of kindergarten. Both are in the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (DLE) and considered loans from German, just as *kindergarten* is in English.

	Utica	U.S.	P.R.	D.R.
KINDERGARTEN	0/0	9.1/ .12	0/0	0/0
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	0/0	.64/.12	0/0	0/0
HIGH SCHOOL	44/9.2	21/1.9	3.3/.63	3.4/.53
UNIVERSITY	55/2.8	18/12	8.8/4.9	5.9/.54
SCHOLARSHIP	100/3.8	13/.30	0/0	7.7/.087
weighted English impact (A')	16	15	5.5	1.2

Table 2 The unweighted (A)/ weighted impact of English (A')

Table 2 summarizes the English impact on the five profiles studied here. The measurement is the sum of the relative frequencies, each multiplied by the English feature factor. The English impact is the greatest in the Utica and U.S. varieties. The English influence is not absent in the Puerto Rican and Dominican varieties but it is much less. The second figure in each cell is the weighted English impact, which is the impact multiplied by the relative frequency of the concept within the total set of the concepts in a given variety. Weighted measures are more significant than unweighted measures. The final row is the overall weighted English impact, that is, the sum of all impacts multiplied by the frequency of the concept within the total set of concepts. The weighted measurements show that the Utica and U.S. varieties are impacted by English at a very similar intensity. P.R. and D.R. varieties have significantly less English impact.

The internal uniformity measurement (see Table 3) is the sum of the squares of the relative frequency of each term in the onomasiological profile. The ELEMENTARY SCHOOL profile stands out with high internal uniformity as well as low English influence among all varieties. The U.S. has the lowest internal uniformity, but the highest English influence in that concept. The fewer the terms in the profile, the higher the internal uniformity will be; the greater the number the terms, the lower the internal uniformity. This measure does not necessarily have anything to do with English influence. For example, the Puerto Rican internal uniformity % for KINDERGARTEN is 31%, while its English influence was 0%. However, Anglicisms which compete with Spanish terms tend to decrease the overall uniformity measure. For example, high school is the most frequent term in

the Utica variety for the profile HIGH SCHOOL but since escuela secundaria, colegio, instituto and escuela are found at somewhat high frequencies (see Table 1), the internal uniformity is 30% and the English influence is 44%. HIGH SCHOOL, UNIVERSITY and SCHOLARSHIP have higher internal uniformity in P.R. and D.R. since those varieties have less competition from the Anglicisms. The last line in the table represents the weighted internal uniformity measurement (I'), which is the sum of the internal uniformities multiplied by the relative frequency of the concept within the total set of the concepts in a given variety. Nevertheless, in the data above, the trends showed by the weighted internal uniformities are qualitatively similar to the unweighted measurements.

	Utica	U.S.	P.R.	D.R.
KINDERGARTEN	50	27	31	63
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	92	75	82	92
HIGH SCHOOL	30	25	48	49
UNIVERSITY	39	72	83	89
SCHOLARSHIP	50	78	100	86
average I	52	55	69	76
Weighted I (I')	49	68	76	84

Table 3 The unweighted (I) and weighted (I') internal uniformity measurement

The external uniformity measurement (see Table 4) is the sum of the smallest relative frequencies of the term, which names the concept, among all varieties considered. The greater the difference between the varieties, the external uniformity will be smaller. The table shows three external uniformity measures for each concept: one figure with all four varieties, one for the Utica and U.S. data, and one that represents only the Puerto Rican and Dominican Republic varieties. The Utica and U.S. data show significantly lower values for HIGH SCHOOL, UNIVERSITY and SCHOLARSHIP. These are the three concepts, which also show high internal uniformity in P.R. and D.R. Spanish. The Utica variety shows the highest English influence in those three concepts, followed by the U.S. variety. The English influence on HIGH SCHOOL in the U.S. profile is higher than in P.R. and D.R. and Utica varieties, showing a lower internal uniformity and depressing the external uniformity.

Uniformity measurements considering the U.S. and Utica varieties show divergences in all terms with respect to the measurement considering only the Puerto Rican and Dominican varieties.

The U.S. and Utica varieties diverge from the island varieties. The last line in the table represents the weighted external uniformity measurement (U'), which

is the sum of the external uniformities multiplied by the relative frequency of the concept within the total set of the concepts in a given variety. As seen for the internal uniformity data, the trends showed by the weighted external uniformities are qualitatively similar to the unweighted measurements.

	External 4 varieties	External Utica and U.S.	External P.R. and D.R.
KINDERGARTEN	30/ .21	32/.43	49/.16
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	89/ 21	90/ 17	94/14
HIGH SCHOOL	15/2.3	50/ 5	70/9
UNIVERSITY	32/19	45/30	97/39
SCHOLARSHIP	30/.57	13/.31	92/1.2
average U	39	46	80
weighted U'	43	53	67

Table 4 The unweighted (U) /weighted (U') external uniformity

4. Discussion

Unlike the previous work on Anglicisms analyzed in a code-switching context (Thomas 2016, 2017, 2018), this study focuses on how the Anglicism fits in the language by taking into account other terms in the Spanish language which are available to the speakers to express a similar concept. For example, elementary school and primary school are both found in the CORPES database for U.S. Spanish. These expressions refer to the initial years of study after kindergarten. Nevertheless, they both appear at a frequency of one token or 0.32%. The most favored term in the profile is escuela at 86%. The presence of elementary and primary school at such low rates of usage helps to put into context the status of the Anglicism in the Spanish of the United States.

In Thomas 2016, 2017, 2018, high school was analyzed. This study, though, required a more thorough examination of the recordings in order to find equivalents used for the concept HIGH SCHOOL (escuela secundaria, colegio, instituto and escuela) as well as equivalents not necessarily used in Utica, but in the other three varieties included.

Most of the terms in Table 1, with a feature factor other than 0, are Anglicisms. Kindergarten is a loanword in English from German. Both kindergarten and kínder are collected in the DLE and the latter is recognized to be from German and the former is labeled a shortened version of the latter. Therefore, these words in Spanish are not Anglicisms, and the overall English impact is zero.

However, in the Puerto Rican data kindergarten and kínder figure at 6% and 35 %, respectively, and in the D.R. as 0% and 25%, respectively. The most used term in the Dominican variety is preescolar at 75%. In the Puerto Rican variety, kínder at 35% ties with jardín de infancia at 35%. Possibly the only true Anglicism in this onomasiological profile is kindergarden, which is an English phonetic adaptation of kindergarten and is only present in the U.S. variety. Nevertheless, the high use of kindergarten in U.S. Spanish (41%) may still be explained by the pressure from English. It is the dominant term in the U.S. Even though it is difficult to call it an Anglicism (its origin is German), its high frequency in the Spanish of the U.S. might be reinforced by its overwhelming use in English.

One of the concerns in sociometric measurements is to ensure that all of the terms are completely equivalent, that is, they are truly denotational synonyms. Kinder, kindergarten, and kindergarden are most likely denotational synonyms. One might ask, though, if preescolar, used in Utica and favored in the Dominican Republic is truly equivalent to KINDERGARTEN.

In general, this question of being true synonyms can only really be answered by comparing the educational systems in the countries studied. Speakers in Utica used kínder and preescolar (the only terms present) interchangeably. Even within the U.S., there is variation in the educational system. While kindergarten exists in the entire country, it can vary in number of sessions (full day versus half day, for example). Its prototypical meaning (a year of study before the formal start to elementary school) is a constant. The sociometric method does not work when we are working with cultural loanwords, which are imported along with a new cultural practice. The educational system is usually regulated by the government, and the latter, therefore, has the potential to influence at least the lexicon in the new language.

The vocabulary considered in this study, although common throughout the Spanish-speaking world, shows how customs, laws and tradition in a new country work to change the language, at least the lexicon of the language. In Utica Spanish high school is the most frequently used term to refer to the concept HIGH SCHOOL (41%) and it is the third most used in U.S. Spanish (21%). Its use is below 4% in both P.R. and D.R. varieties. It is not only direct Anglicisms that are modifying Spanish in the US, but semantic extensions of Spanish terms. For example, colegio is the term most frequently associated with HIGH SCHOOL in monolingual Spanish varieties, as attested even in this study's data for P.R. and D.R. varieties. Since its phonetic shape is similar to that of English's college, colegio is used at a frequency of 13% to refer to UNIVERSITY in Utica and at 2% in U.S. Spanish. In P.R. and D.R.

varieties, colegio is not used to refer to UNIVERSITY although the Anglicism college appears at 4% and 3%, respectively. The dominant term in the U.S., P.R. and D.R. is universidad.

This study had as a goal to determine whether U.S. Spanish was distinct, in part formed by the impact of Anglicisms, or whether U.S. Spanish was simply a collection of migrant varieties, and more specifically, whether Utica Spanish was a composite of Puerto Rican and Dominican varieties, since those two nationalities form the bulk of Utica's Hispanic community.

While five concepts and their associated profiles are only a small part of the Anglicisms in Utica, Table 5 showed the divergence in the external uniformity measurements between Utica and the U.S. and the island varieties. Not all concepts show the same behavior. The P.R. and D.R. varieties considered together showed greater convergence in all five terms.

HIGH SCHOOL is the concept that shows the most divergence when comparing all four varieties. The English impact in Utica and U.S. varieties was 44% and 21% respectively on HIGH SCHOOL, as compared to less than 4% in both the P.R. and D.R. varieties. Yet, considering the external uniformity value for all four, the index was 15% (the measurement for just the D.R. and P.R. together was 70%).

Hence English plays a strong effect on that profile, as it does in UNIVERSITY and SCHOLARSHIP, although to a lesser degree. KINDERGARTEN and ELEMENTARY SCHOOL show less divergence and less English impact than the other three concepts. Overall, this study does show the impact of English on Spanish in the U.S. and Utica varieties. The overall external uniformity measure (U=39% U'=43%) shows great divergence among all four varieties. External uniformity even between Utica and the U.S. is lower (U=46%, U'=53%) than the uniformity between P.R. and D.R. varieties (U=80%, U'=67%). Utica and U.S. varieties diverge with respect to the island varieties.

Even though Puerto Rican and Dominican origins form the bulk of Utica's Hispanic community, the five terms studied here are more influenced by Anglicisms than by the Puerto Rican and Dominican origins of the speakers.

One of the conclusions of the American Translator's Association meeting of 2009 was that English is a unifying factor in the Spanish of the United States (Betti 2017: 178). Lipski (2008: 240) commented that "fluent code-switching provides the best possible definition of U.S. Spanish in the sense of a broad bilingual community that spans the entire nation".

Anglicisms, just as code-switching, are another manifestation of language contact between Spanish and English. Although Anglicisms are capable of affecting all languages world-wide, this study has shown that their high frequency in the Spanish spoken in the U.S. impacts the lexicon in ways that help it diverge from monolingual varieties.

5. Conclusion

The five concepts related to education and picked out from the Spanish spoken in Utica showed quantitatively that Anglicisms are not only a part of Utica and U.S. Spanish, but also of Puerto Rican and Dominican varieties, although impact measurements show a much higher English influence in Utica and U.S. Spanish. The socio-cognitive and socio-metric approach allowed the Anglicisms to be studied in context with other synonyms available in Spanish. The internal uniformity measurements showed greater uniformity within the P.R. and D.R. varieties. External uniformity measurements showed divergence between Utica and U.S. together when compared to P.R. and D.R. together. D.R. and P.R. varieties (which are the home varieties of the majority of Utica's Hispanic community) have less of an impact on Utica Spanish than does English on the five concepts studied here.

Acknowledgement

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