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Lexical Geography of U.S. Spanish. About Anglicism

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Francisco Moreno-Fernández

Topic: Linguistic and geographical analysis on large spreading anglicisms in the U.S. Spanish

Abstract: Linguistic geography of large spreading anglicisms from the data obtained from a survey to Hispanic respondents from all over the U.S.

Keywords: Anglicism, Spanish Language, Linguistic Geography, Lexicon

Introduction

Anglicism is undoubtedly one of the most significant elements of Spanish in the United States. The long coexistence of English and Spanish in the North American territory has led to a multiplicity of contacts with diverse consequences that have been manifesting throughout history, especially since 1848, and which have intensified in the last decades. Therefore, any characterization of the lexicon of U.S. Spanish must create a special and relevant place for the influence of the English language on the Spanish in all its manifestations.

As a complement to a line of research on Anglicisms in U.S. Spanish that integrates, for the time being, the writing of a specific dictionary (Moreno-Fernández 2015) and a study on the detection of new Anglicisms in *Twitter* messages (Moreno-Sandoval and Moreno-Fernández, *under review*), I decided to carry out a large-scale survey to determine the degree of acceptance or rejection of a series of widely used Anglicisms in the United States. However, before explaining the methodology and analysis related to the lexical study that concerns us, it is essential to explain minimally what is understood here by U.S. Spanish, what is understood by Anglicism and what is specifically understood by Anglicism of U.S. Spanish.

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Fundamental concepts

In relation to the concept of "U.S. Spanish," this study reveals both the existence of characteristic features of Spanish commonly used in the United States, and the acceptance of a variety of the Spanish language or characteristic of this territory. This Spanish of the United States, conceived in its generality, includes internal varieties or subvarieties, all of them in more or less intense contact with English, between which the two main groups can be distinguished: a) a subvariety that would be acquired through the family, but also in school, and would be used in broader and broader community contexts, in national labor communications and, although with orality predominance, also could be written manifestations, with a more or less pronounced influence of the English, to which we can give the name of general U.S. Spanish or Spanish; and (b) a subvariety, which would be acquired exclusively orally and would be used in local community contexts, in family communication, in work groups and predominantly in oral manifestations, where the influence of English would become more evident in the form of alternating languages, borrowings and calques used intensively, and that usually receives the label of *Spanglish* or *Espanglish*.

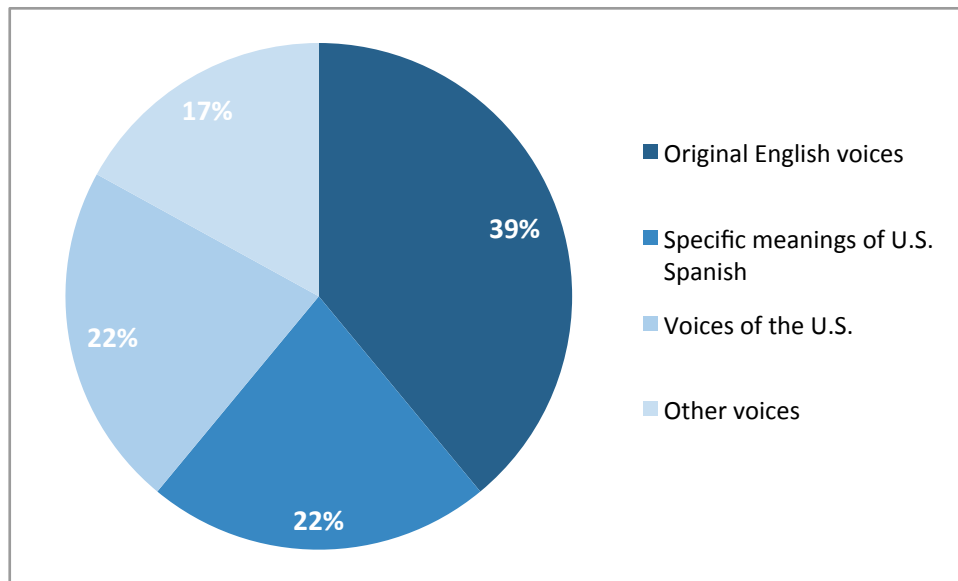
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U.S. Spanish as a whole would have the defining, but not exclusive, characteristics of the influence of English, the convergence or leveling between varieties of Spanish from different Hispanic territories and, finally, its regionalization, based on historical and sociological reasons (Moreno-Fernández

2017). As regards the nature of Anglicisms, an analysis of one hundred Anglicisms commonly used in Spanish in the United States reveals that one third are voices that maintain their original English form (eg. *downtown*, *high school*, *hoover*, *landlord*, *lease*, *teenager*, *transcript*, *yard sale*); one fifth are specific meanings of U.S. Spanish, although the voice is more generally used in Spanish (eg. *electivo* ‘elective,’ *felonía* ‘felony,’ *grado* ‘degree,’ *parada* ‘stop,’ *preservativo* ‘preservative,’ *relativo* ‘relative,’ *resignar* ‘resign,’ *soportar* ‘endure,’ *suburbio* ‘suburb,’ *término* ‘term’); and another fifth is characteristic voices of the United States, although some of them may appear in other Spanish-speaking countries (eg. *aplicar* ‘to apply,’ *barista*, *barténder* ‘bartender,’ *candi* ‘candy,’ *carpeta* ‘alfombra,’ *colector* ‘collector,’ *dil* ‘deal,’ *díler* ‘dealer,’ *enforzar* ‘to enforce,’ *flu*, *forma* ‘form,’ *frostin* ‘frosting,’ *gríncar* ‘green card,’ *insulación* ‘insulation,’ *mapear* ‘to mop,’ *míter* ‘meter,’ *paralegal*, *pícher* ‘pitcher,’ *registración* ‘registation,’ *remedial*). There are other voices of more popular, colloquial or familiar use (eg. *armi* ‘army,’ *janguear* ‘to hang,’ *liquear* ‘to leak,’ *troca* ‘truck’) (Moreno Fernández 2017) (Graph 1).

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Figure 1. Typology of Anglicism of U.S. Spanish.



The concept of Anglicism that we will be using here is rather lax, given that any influence of the English language on U.S. Spanish is accepted by this definition, whether it is of a phonetic and grammatical nature or semantic in nature (mainly "semantic extensions") or properly lexical. In terminology of the field of languages in contact, we take into account lexical and semantic transfers from English to Spanish used in the United States, whether the spelling of the included voices is adapted to Spanish, whether it is semi-adapted or not adapted at all. This notion of Anglicism excludes cases that can be understood more clearly as alternations of languages. Thus, there are times when the Spanish speaker incorporates into the Spanish conversational routines, connectors or particles of English, without this implying an abandonment of the Spanish in his competence: *anyway, so, all right, almost, hi, bye*. All these cases are understood as applications of the

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mechanism of code switching or language alternation and not as loans or transfers themselves. Also, we do not consider loans that could be derived from a lack of Spanish mastery, both by those who try, when they speak English, to use words from Spanish without knowing enough – including the manifestations of the so-called *Mock Spanish* (Hill 1993; Zentella 2003) – as well as those who, being of Hispanic origin, when speaking Spanish do not do it with sufficient security nor with usual resources in the natives: *síntaxis* ‘syntax,’ *accento* ‘accent,’ pronounced [‘ak.sen.to], *glasses* ‘glass’ or *miúsica* ‘music.’

Regarding the concept of "Anglicism of U.S. Spanish," as is apparent from this label, we consider as such those that appear especially in Spanish in the United States, not in other Spanish-English bilingual territories, although it is evident that the influence of English over Spanish – as on other languages – goes beyond the United States, and can be described as generalized. We are not interested now in the Anglicisms that appear in other geolinguistic varieties of Spanish, except some cases that could be used in territories bordering the United States, nor are we interested in those that arise in varieties of specialty, like the *cyberspanglish*, whose components are mainly of international scope. We are interested in Anglicisms that qualify as "Hispanic" because they use a term proposed by the North American Academy of the Spanish Language; Hispanic by origin, use, extension and identification, although some are not absolutely exclusive. From a sociodemographic perspective, the proposal of a study of Anglicism for the whole American geography gives solid presence to the Spanish-speaking population

throughout the Union, although this expansion and consolidation has occurred mainly in the last two decades as revealed by the sociodemographic reports we have (Martínez and Moreno-Fernández 2016).

Ultimately, the Anglicisms analyzed here are not voices taken from speakers who deliberately want to make a mixed use of Spanish and English, or those who do not use the Spanish language in everyday communication, but from those who are able to express themselves and in fact they do it daily in Spanish in the United States. This means accepting the existence of a popular Spanish characteristic of the United States, used in a multitude of contexts and with a diversity of styles, with sufficient geographic spread and social stability to be considered as one more variety of the Spanish language, with its shared elements and its specific components. That is why we speak specifically of Anglicisms in U.S. Spanish, where the Spanish language is conceived as an attribute of the U.S. territory as a whole, not of some areas, isolated or juxtaposed, so we deal with lexical forms of Spanish potentially used in any area of the Union, and not generalized Anglicisms by other Spanish-speaking areas.

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Research objectives

The lexical analysis approached seeks to obtain information on the geographical spread of a series of U.S. Anglicisms, as well as the social profile of its users. On the one hand, the information provided by this research could be important to

address a detailed analysis of the use of selected lexical units throughout the United States, as well as to present a first cartographic sample of Anglicisms. On the other hand, this information would be of great value as a complement to the *Diccionario de anglicismos del español estadounidense* 'Dictionary of Anglicisms of U.S. Spanish' (DAEE) mentioned above.

The specific objectives that this work proposes to face are the following:

- a) To observe how the use of 40 lexical forms, all of them Anglicisms of Spanish, are distributed geographically throughout the territory of the United States.
- b) To determine the degree of acceptance or rejection by the Spanish speakers of the analyzed Anglicisms.
- c) To discover what are the main lexical areas of U.S. Spanish, in relation to the analyzed Anglicisms.
- d) To establish which are the linguistic or extra-linguistic factors that can favor and disfavor the acceptance of the analyzed Anglicisms.

If these objectives are fulfilled satisfactorily enough, we will be able to do a deeper analysis of Anglicisms. The basis of this research has been a survey that, in addition to geolexical materials, will provide us with valuable social information about the speakers, which will also allow us to fine-tune the analysis on the distribution and acceptance or rejection of Anglicisms. If there has been an analysis of a convergence process between the different manifestations of

Spanish in the United States (Zentella 1990, Otheguy and Zentella 2012, Moreno-Fernández 2017), the socio-geographical study of the selected Anglicisms will contribute to the calibration of their level of leveling or lexical koinetization in the United States.

In addition to the previous objectives, it would be worth mentioning the applicability of the data provided by the lexical geography of the Anglicism to the scope of the standardization of the language. We start from the convenience and the need to face responsibly a standardization of U.S. Spanish, a process that would allow us to bring to schools and the media a form of Spanish language that is characteristic of the United States that the speakers recognized as such and with which they feel identified. Obviously, this study does not allow an integral standardization, of course, but only referred to as Anglicism. Determining the degree of acceptance or rejection of a particular Anglicism would constitute essential information for its treatment within a standardized reference of American English. Once the information from our study was analyzed in this context, it could also be decided which of the voices accepted as characteristics of U.S. Spanish would be translatable to a dictionary of Anglicisms, like the DAEE, to a dictionary of U.S. Spanish or even to a general dictionary of the Spanish language, especially the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* 'Dictionary of the Spanish Language' published by the Association of Academies of the Spanish Language (DLE, 23rd ed. 2013).

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Finally, the availability of a cartographic set, as microatlas of Anglicism, contributes in a relevant way to offer an image of U.S. Spanish that affects the country in all the extension of its geography and not only to the regions that have had a greater prominence in the birth and maintenance of the Spanish language within the current Union. Spanish as an instrument of social communication can no longer be considered a language restricted to the Southwest, Florida and New York, just as it is not appropriate to identify each of these large areas with a single Hispanic origin. The demographic evolution of the United States reveals simultaneously a diversification of the origin of Hispanics, even with the predominance of Mexicans, and an extension of the Hispanic population by all the great regions, even with the greater demographic weight of the Southwest.

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Anglicisms in U.S. Spanish

At the time of projecting the survey on Anglicisms of U.S. Spanish, according to the objectives set, the first key question was to select the Anglicisms that were to be the object of study. In order to carry out this selection, a pre-established lexical inventory was created: namely, the DAEE preliminary lemary. This lemary consisted in its time of about 900 words, all Anglicisms according to the concept explained above, gathered from various sources (previous lexical repertoires, written and spoken corpus of language, testimonies of electronic pages, annotations in context). The information gathered on the lemary was not only of a semantic nature, but included data of use in its geographical, social, pragmatic

and stylistic dimensions. Once the first information was collected as a dictionary draft, it was sent to experts from five important Spanish-speaking areas of the United States, so that the aspects of use that were considered most relevant from each region could be reviewed or added. All this allowed to elaborate a list of one hundred Anglicisms of use very extended or significant in the United States, a relation that served as base for the final selection of 40 voices destined to articulate the questionnaire. The number of voices surveyed was decided when looking for a questionnaire that could be completed in a reasonable time and with a relatively low dropout ratio.

The Anglicisms analyzed here, in alphabetical order, with their origin and their definition –or their semantic equivalence in other varieties– are the following:

accesar. To have access, to access.

aplicación. Application.

argumentar. To argument.

armi. Army.

balancear. To balance.

barista. Barista.

barténder. Bartender.

candi. Candy.

carpeta. Carpet.

colector. Collector.

dil. Deal.

díler. Dealer.
electivo. Elective.
enforzar. To enforce.
flu. Flu.
fluyente. Fluent.
forma. Form.
frostin. Frosting.
ganga. Gang.
gríncar. Green Card.
inconfortable. Uncomfortable.
insulación. Insulation.
janguear. To hang.
liquear. To leak.
locación. Location.
mandatorio. Mandatory.
mapear. To mop.
míter. Meter.
parada. Parade.
parti. Party.
precinto. Precinct.
récord. Record.
registración. Registration.
remedial. Remedial.

remover. To remove.

resignación. Resignation.

término. Term.

textear. To text.

troca. Truck.

vegetales. Vegetables.

Later, in the methodological section, I will explain the reasons that led to the selection of these forms. Meanwhile, it is now pertinent to describe at least some of their linguistic characters. Thus, 26 of the 40 selected voices are nouns, 9 are verbs and 5 are adjectives. Of the verbs, half are forms with the suffix *-ear*, a very productive suffix in Spanish, often with iterative value (*liquear* ‘to leak’) or habitual (*janguear* ‘to hang’). This suffix is usually more productive when it comes to named compounds, that is, with a noun as a base: between our words, *mapear* ‘to mop’ (from *mapa* ‘map’ / *mopa* ‘mop’) and *textear* ‘to text.’ Beyond its semantic and aspectual values (Pena, 1980; Martín García 2007), in these examples attention is drawn to the base form, which would not be a noun in Spanish, but a verb in English: to leak, to hang, to mop, or even to balance. From the point of view of use in context, three of these verbs (*liquear*, *janguear* and *mapear*) can be considered more frequent in familiar and spontaneous styles. Among the nouns, a group of abstract names stands out, which are the ones that show a morphology projected from English and, therefore, parallel to the equivalent voices of this language: *insulación* ‘insulation,’ *locación* ‘location,’

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registración 'registration,' *resignación* 'resignation.' Likewise, it can be highlighted that the spoken use of almost half of the related nouns is usually linked to their writing in context, usually appearing in documents or objects of community life in English (posters, signs, labels): Army, candy, form, Green Card, precinct.

Methodological issues

The system of surveys to gather the linguistic information explained before should have a general scope within the United States and ensure adequate representation of the entire U.S. territory and all social factors that may be relevant to the collection and interpretation of the information gathered. For this reason, the online survey service "Audience," linked to the company designer "SurveyMonkey," was chosen. The survey was launched between December 12–14, 2016 from the "Observatory of the Spanish Language and Hispanic Cultures of the United States," from the Instituto Cervantes at Harvard University. The time used by each respondent to complete the survey was less than five minutes and the number of completed questionnaires was 122. 63.81% of them were completed from desktops and the rest from smartphones or tablets.

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Of the 122 informants who completed the survey, 59% were women; as shown in Figures 2 and 3, the proportions between the age groups were relatively balanced (18–29: 24%, 30–49: 40%, 50+: 36%); and the educational level included mostly individuals with college education. This means, on the one hand, that a detailed

analysis allowed us to sufficiently understand the uses preferred by each age group; on the other hand, the uses that are reported mostly correspond to people with extensive training.

Figure 2. Age proportions.

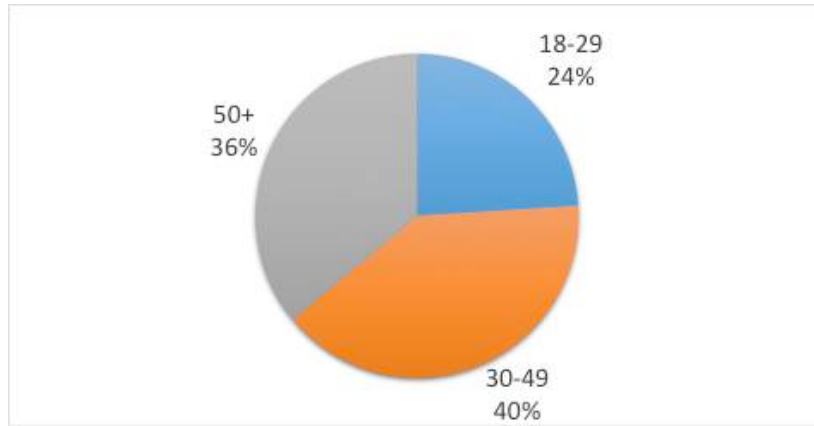
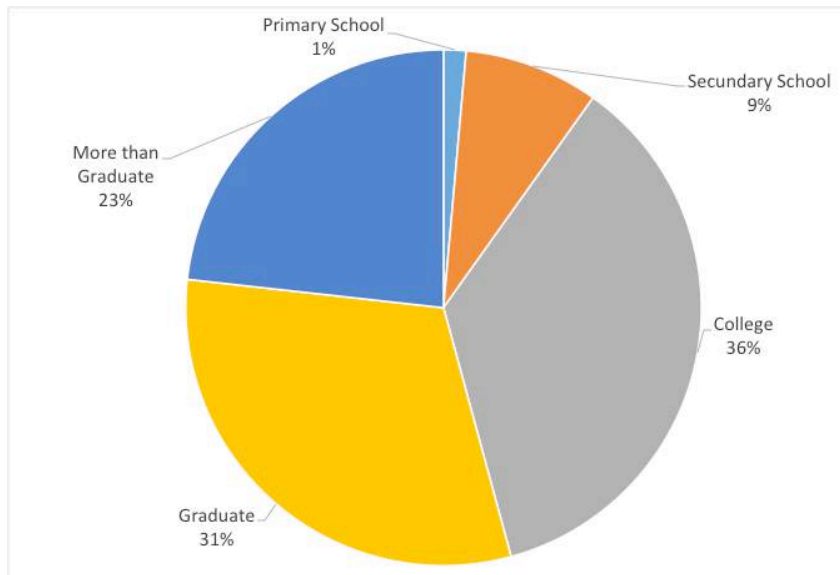


Figure 3. Educational level proportions.

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Regarding geography, the informants that make up the sample do not accurately reflect the proportions that the census dictates regarding the country or the Hispanic region of origin, although its order of quantitative importance does. In this way, the informants of Mexican origin are the most represented (35%), followed by those of Puerto Rican origin (16%); the following are those from South America and, most importantly, those born in the United States (11%). On the other hand, the regions of residence of the informants are not represented according to the proportion of Hispanics that live in them, but it does respect the relative weight of those with more Hispanic presence, with a greater proportion for the South, Southwest and Atlantic areas (Pacific: 23%, West South Central: 16%).

Figure 4. Hispanic country of origin.

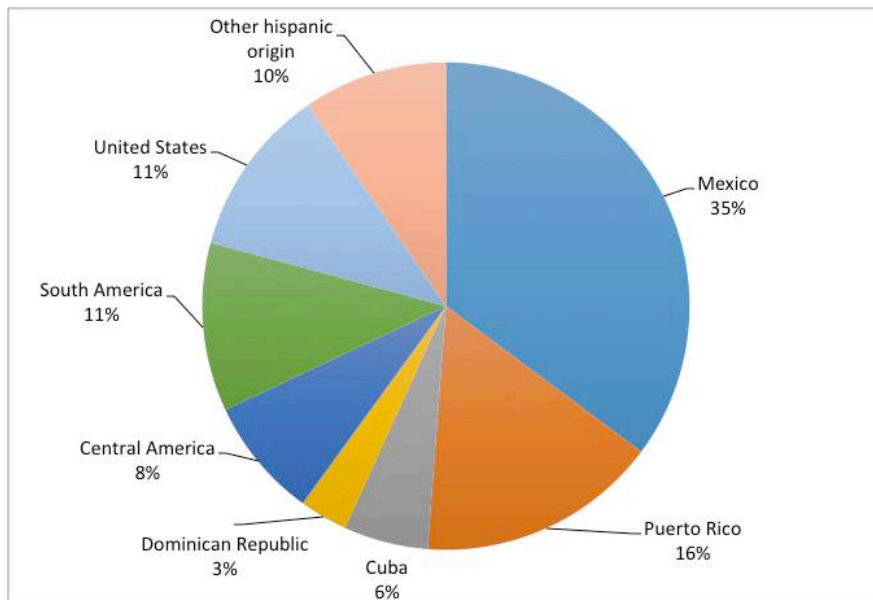
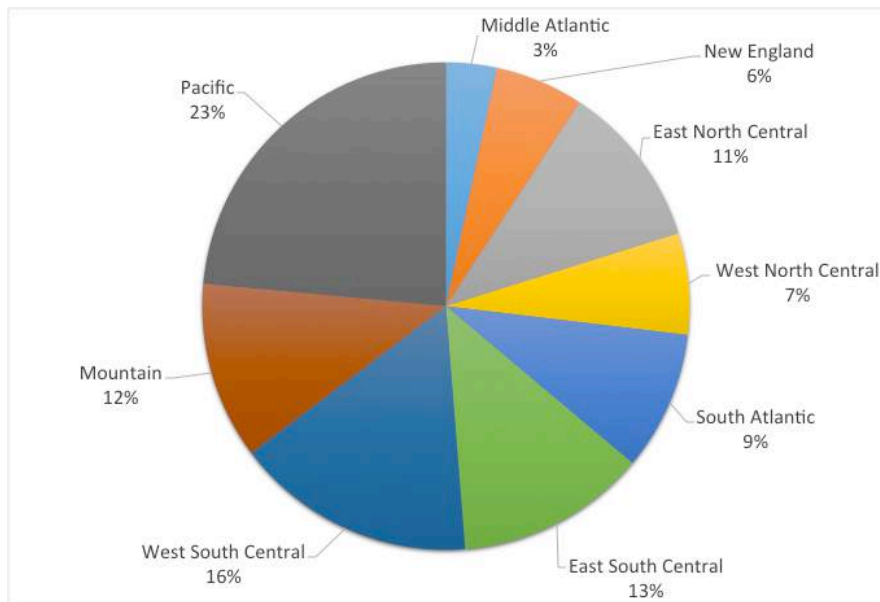


Figure 5. Area of residence.



The question of the regions considered in this study deserves a minimum of consideration, not only in terms of methodology, but also in what affects its adequacy to represent the geography of the Spanish language in the United States. The regions and geographical divisions that have been worked on here correspond to those of the U.S. Census Bureau, although this choice has not been deliberate, but rather responds to the only option provided by "Audience." Later we will have the opportunity to appreciate the goodness of this circumstance. The Census Bureau proposes four major regions for the United States, each consisting of divisions, which include several states (Map 1):

West: Pacific – Mountain

Midwest: North West Central – South West Central

Northeast: Central Northeast – New England – Middle Atlantic

South East: South East Central – South Atlantic

Map 1. Regions according U.S. Census Bureau.



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Within these geographical census divisions, the proportions of the population of Hispanic origin with respect to the total population reveal a greater weight of the Pacific region, as well as of the Central Southwest and the Atlantic. As of 2010 data, we are taking as a whole the number of Hispanics nationwide in order to know the weight of Hispanics in each area regarding the Hispanic community as a whole. In this sense, the proportions of Hispanics by area are those that are represented in Table 1.

Table 1. Proportion of Hispanics by census divisions regarding the total of Hispanics registered.

<i>West</i>
Pacific: 30%
Mountain: 10.3%
<i>Midwest</i>
North West Central: 1.8%
South West Central: 20.9%
<i>Northeast</i>
Central Northeast: 7%
New England: 2.5%
Middle Atlantic: 11.3%
<i>South East</i>
South East Central: 1.3%
South Atlantic: 14.5%

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When comparing these proportions of Hispanics with those reached by the informants distributed in these same areas, we could verify that our survey showed significant deviations in two of them: on the one hand, the Middle Atlantic, which is underrepresented (11.3% in the census / 3% in the survey); on the other hand, the South East Central, which is overrepresented (1.3% in the census / 13.3% in the survey). This is because the participation in the survey of each area has been random. In any case, it could be said that the sample as a whole is satisfactory enough, although it is always craving insufficient. The actual geographic distribution of the respondents who participated in the survey is shown in Map 2, which shows the highest concentrations of informants in the states of California, Texas, New York and Florida.

Map 2. Geographical location of informants



As for the questionnaire submitted to the informants, it offered a macrostructure organized in two parts: a first one referring to the personal, linguistic and social data of each informant (gender, age, region of residence in the United States, Spanish-speaking region of origin, educational level, knowledge of Spanish, education in Spanish); and a second that presented each of the lexical forms referred to, accompanied by their meaning and an example, and followed by three options, to mark one of them with respect to each Anglicism: *I use it; I could use it; I would never use it*. This structure was preceded by a preliminary question, which served as a filter and whose sentence was: *Would you feel comfortable continuing the survey in Spanish?* If the answer was "No," the survey was interrupted.

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With regard to the Anglicisms of the survey, it is necessary to point out that at no time was the U.S. Spanish presented as such or as foreign form. For this reason, as it can be seen in the list of voices, all the Anglicisms considered are presented with an orthography completely adapted to Spanish; that is, Hispanized. This is also true because, if the forms with English spelling had been presented, the language in question might have been confused, when interpreting the survey by the informants, and the manner in which the informants would have proceeded to the decoding, when interpreting the results of the investigation. When offering a Hispanized spelling, it was obvious that the uses for which it was asked were linked to Spanish language.

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Lexical mapping

The materials provided by the surveys were stored in databases where the answers appeared sorted by the lexical form referred to in each case and by the informants from whom they came, with their identified personal and social characteristics. That said, of all the information available on U.S. Anglicism, we are interested in the proportions of the answers given in each region of the United States in relation to each word (remember: *I use it; I could use it; I would never use it*). The absolute frequencies of these responses for each Anglicism in each reference region have been taken to pie charts. Finally, we have placed on a mute map of the country the pie charts corresponding to each of the regions, giving each circle a size proportional to the weight of the Hispanic population in

each region and a position closer to the area from which the Informants (Map 3). We have created a map for each analyzed Anglicism, so the final result of the work is a small lexical atlas of Anglicism in U.S. Spanish.

Map 3. Areas of origin of the informants according to the proportion of Hispanics in each region.



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Once the lexical maps have been prepared and collected, including the quantitative data on their use, it is possible to carry out the geolinguistic analysis and to verify the achievement of the objectives set out above. In this regard, it should be noted that the color and tones used in the graphs for the "I use it" and "I could use it" responses, although differentiated, are similar. This is because we interpreted that the recognition of the possibility of use is closer to a real use

than to its rejection. One might even think that acceptance of a possibility of use is due not so much to a withdrawal from the use itself as to a concealment of the possible reasons for such use. This means that there can be words as *aplicación* "application," of which there can be a clear double consciousness: on the one hand, an awareness of the social extension of its use, which is public and notorious; on the other hand, an awareness of the existence of an alternative from Spanish to such a form (*solicitud* "request"). The latter could well cause the speaker to accept the possibility of its use, without admitting it openly. Likewise, the choice of "I could use it" by those who do not use it well could reflect an attitude open to innovation, although not yet assumed by the speaker. In either case, the path seems open for greater social diffusion of these forms.

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Analysis of lexical materials

The lexical information gathered through the survey system offers, without doubt, many possibilities of analysis, with different degrees of detail, depending on the different extralinguistic variables considered. At this point, however, we will offer only an overall analysis, a general overview that allows us to know what are the most significant facts that this lexical geography of U.S. Spanish offers us and to what extent are both the factors involved in the analysis and the methodology used.

The scope of our overall analysis is guided by the objectives listed above. In this way, we will proceed to comment on the degree of acceptance or general rejection of each of the Anglicisms analyzed in each U.S. region and what are the causes that favor or disfavor the acceptance or rejection of these Anglicisms. Also, some slits will be made that help to know the scope of sociolinguistic information collected on each lexical form.

As for the degree of general acceptance of our Anglicisms, we next offer the list of voices, ordered from lowest to highest degree of rejection (*I would never use it*) (Table 2).

Table 2. Relationship of Anglicisms sorted by percentage of rejection (*I would never use it*).

vegetales 'vegetables'	15%	argumentar 'to argument'	31%	insulación 'insulation'	44%
aplicación 'application'	18%	resignación 'resignation'	31%	candi 'candy'	48%
electivo 'elective'	23%	flu 'flu'	32%	ganga 'gang'	48%
mandatorio 'mandatory'	23%	enforzar 'to enforce'	33%	armi 'Army'	49%
término 'term'	23%	fluente 'fluent'	35%	parada 'parade'	49%
balancear 'to balance'	24%	precinto 'precinct'	35%	míter 'meter'	52%
registración 'registration'	24%	accesar 'access'	36%	parti 'party'	55%
barista 'barista'	25%	remedial 'remedial'	36%	liquear 'to leak'	56%
forma 'form'	26%	locación 'location'	37%	frostin 'frosting'	57%
textear 'to text'	28%	remover 'to remove'	37%	incomfortable 'uncomfortable'	57%
barténder 'bartender'	29%	troca 'truck'	39%	díler 'dealer'	58%
récord 'record'	30%	carpeta 'carpet'	40%	janguear 'to hang'	61%
		mapear 'to mop'	41%	grínca 'Green Card'	65%
		colector 'collector'	43%	dil 'deal'	68%

As it can be seen, the Anglicisms that get a rejection lower than 30% among the sample of informants are a dozen. Among them, it clearly stands out the way *vegetales* 'vegetables,' which is accepted and acceptable to the vast majority of Hispanics. It is a voice that is not exclusive to the United States, since it is also

used in Puerto Rico, although it is not included in ASALE's Dictionary of Americanisms (2010). This fact may have facilitated the acceptance of the voice by the 16% of Puerto Ricans that are part of the sample, but still the percentage of acceptance is very high. Likewise, several terms linked to the domain of administration and bureaucracy are clearly accepted: *aplicación* 'application,' *electivo* 'elective,' *mandatorio* 'mandatory,' *término* 'term,' *registración* 'registration,' *forma* 'form,' *récord* 'record.' On the side of forms that experience a greater rejection (greater than 50%), it is possible to stand out practically all the voices whose standardized Spanish orthography makes them more difficult to recognize for the Hispanic speaker: *miter* 'meter,' *díler* 'dealer,' *grincar* 'Green Card' and *dil* 'deal,' especially the latter. On the other hand, when comparing the proportions of rejection with those of use recognition (Table 3), which should approach complementarity, we observe that this occurs generally, with exception is in the case of *candi* 'candy,' which presents exactly the same proportion of use as rejection (48%), which deserves further analysis.

Table 3. Relationship of Anglicisms ordered by percentage of use recognition (*I use it*)

<i>dil</i> 'deal'	16%
<i>grincar</i> 'Green Card'	20%
<i>janguear</i> 'to hang'	20%
<i>inconfortable</i> 'uncomfortable'	21%
<i>liquear</i> 'to leak'	23%
<i>miter</i> 'meter'	23%
<i>díler</i> 'dealer'	24%
<i>ganga</i> 'gang'	26%
<i>frostin</i> 'frosting'	27%
<i>parada</i> 'parade'	29%
<i>parti</i> 'party'	29%
<i>armi</i> 'Army'	30%
<i>accesar</i> 'access'	31%
<i>carpeta</i> 'carpet'	32%

<i>colector</i> 'collector'	32%
<i>locación</i> 'location'	35%
<i>remedial</i> 'remedial'	35%
<i>insulación</i> 'insulation'	36%
<i>mapear</i> 'to mop'	38%
<i>troca</i> 'truck'	38%
<i>enforzar</i> 'to enforce'	39%
<i>fluyente</i> 'fluent'	39%
<i>electivo</i> 'elective'	41%
<i>precinto</i> 'precinct'	41%
<i>barténder</i> 'bartender'	42%
<i>flu</i> 'flu'	42%
<i>argumentar</i> 'to argument'	43%
<i>forma</i> 'form'	44%

<i>resignación</i> 'resignation'	44%
<i>barista</i> 'barista'	45%
<i>remover</i> 'to remove'	45%
<i>mandatorio</i> 'mandatory'	47%
<i>candi</i> 'candy'	48%
<i>récord</i> 'record'	48%
<i>balancear</i> 'to balance'	49%
<i>registración</i> 'registration'	53%
<i>textear</i> 'to text'	53%
<i>término</i> 'term'	59%
<i>aplicación</i> 'application'	62%
<i>vegetales</i> 'vegetables'	65%

After this first approach to our lexical data, the question arises immediately regarding the causes that lead to the greater acceptance of some forms and the rejection of others. The analysis of the 40 proposed Anglicisms, being partial by its very conception, makes it possible, however, to identify factors or effects that favor acceptance and others that favor non-acceptance. The bias and limitation of the lexical sample forces us to present the incidence of these factors as a working hypothesis and to demand further checks, as the list of Anglicisms grows.

Among the factors that favor the acceptance of Anglicisms, we have appreciated the following: *invisibility*, *sociocultural particularity* and *regionality*. When we speak of "invisibility," we mean the condition that makes Anglicism invisible, that is what makes it not perceived –not "seen"– as such by the speaker. This happens when the form of Anglicism conforms strictly to the phono-morphology of Spanish and when its meaning is not interpreted as strange or aberrant from this language. Examples of invisible anglicisms, such as *vegetales* ‘vegetable’ and *balancear* ‘to balance’ are very explicit, both with a clearly Hispanized form and with a similar or close meaning that they have in other varieties of Spanish. This condition could also work with other words preexisting in Spanish, such as *argumentar* ‘to argue,’ *remover* ‘to remove,’ *término* ‘term’ or *resignación* ‘resignation,’ although in such cases its meaning in use is very far from the one presented in general Spanish. This invisibility can be seen in the same way in those Anglicisms that have undergone some grammatical adaptation to Spanish, what Hispanizes them in the eyes of the speakers, as in *liquear* ‘to leak’ or

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textear ‘to text.’ In any case, *vegetales* and *balancear* are often invisible Anglicism for most U.S. Hispanics.

The second factor that facilitates the acceptance of Anglicisms arises from the "sociocultural particularity" of the realities designated by them. And it is that there are forms so linked to objects, actions or processes characteristic of the American reality, of its socio-cultural peculiarity, in any of its dimensions, that, in the daily use, these cannot be denominated more than with the forms in English Corresponding or with Spanish words clearly related to them. Among these voices would be precinct, collector or barista. Thus, the speaker does not usually reflect or be aware of the English origin of the word –and, if it is, does not give importance– because it gives priority to the use of a voice that obviously suits the designated reality.

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Finally, by the condition of "regionality" the acceptance of Anglicism is favored when it is considered to be the proper voice or characteristic of a region or a variety, a perception that clearly prevails over being a word originating in another language. Thus, the word *troca* ‘truck’ –and its derivative *troquero* ‘truck driver’– can be perceived as typical of the Spanish of the South and the American Southwest. The same could be said of other voices not collected here, but which have a long tradition in Chicano Spanish: *baica* ‘bicycle,’ *raite* ‘trip,’ *ranfla* ‘automobile,’ *tolido* ‘restroom.’

As for the factors that favor the non-acceptance of Anglicisms, besides being more varied, they cannot always be clearly identified. Even so, it is possible to observe certain recurrences that lead us to identify the following: the *emblematic value*, *spelling*, *colloquialism*, the *semantic-pragmatic distance* and the *lexical multiplicity*. One can speak of the emblematic value as a factor that favors the non-acceptance of Anglicism when there is a clear awareness that a word has a foreign origin and that, therefore, has an alternative of Hispanic origin. There are words that have become emblems of the consequences of language contact, consequences that are considered negative from an ideology of the standard or from the pursuit of purported language purity (Milroy 2005). From Anne-Marie Houdebine-Gravaud's theory of linguistic imagery, such words would represent the transgression of the prescriptive subjective norm transmitted and supported by discourses of grammatical tradition and school prescriptions (Hudbedine-Gravaud 2002 , King 1972). It is precisely this representation or ideology that can prevent the conscious acceptance of certain forms, however widespread they may be in use; or precisely because of it. Among the ones analyzed here, words such as *aplicación* 'application' (and *aplicar* 'apply'), *parada* 'parade,' *remover* 'remove' or *liquear* 'to leak' can be considered as emblematic and living samples of the influence of English, for the Hispanic imaginary. In the case of *aplicación*, being one of the uses most incontestably recognized, their acceptance in the survey could have been even greater if there was no perception that the prescriptive rule of the Spanish is violated when using it. The same could be said of other Anglicisms not considered here, such as *vacunar* 'to vacuum,' *yarda*

'yard' or *para atrás* 'to return a call.' We expect that the normalization in its use will soften the emblematic nature of all of them.

Spelling is, of course, the factor that most strongly seems to act against the acceptance of a series of Anglicisms that enjoy the favor of the spoken language, but which are rejected in their written manifestation. It is often closely associated with writing for appearing in documents, advertising and public lettering, in which the English spelling is always used. Probably, this is why most forms of rejection are denied, such as *miter* 'meter,' *díler* 'dealer,' *dil* 'to deal,' *Armi* 'Army' or *grínca* 'Green Card;' and that is why *candi* 'candy' can be rejected, although its level of acceptance is more than appreciable, as we will have occasion to comment more closely.

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Another factor that causes non-acceptance of Anglicisms is, in our opinion, the semantic or pragmatic "distance" that can exist between the American form and the Hispanic voice, known or used by natives, even though its formal nature does not contravene the structures of Spanish. It would be the case of *argumentar* 'to argue,' *colector* 'collector' or *precinto* 'precinct.' On the other hand, the "lexical multiplicity" factor acts when a voice has other alternatives in U.S. Spanish or when there is awareness that a word (a certain Anglicism) is not the only available form to denominate a reality. Among the proposed Anglicisms, the clearest example of this effect is *ganga* 'gang,' with a modest percentage of recognition of use, as there is awareness that there are other lexical alternatives,

such as *mara*, often used in Mexico and Central America or as the general *pandilla*, besides minority variants as a *combo*, of Colombian origin. Finally, Anglicism may be limited to its acceptance if it is perceived as being linked exclusively to a register or to a social grouping, since in such a case the use of a more generic or less marked voice may be preferred. This could be the case with the voices *janguear* ‘to hang’ or *liquear* ‘to leak.’

As has been seen in the examples presented, the same forms can be affected by the factors favoring acceptance and by those that favor non-acceptance. There is no contradiction in this, but the manifestation of opposing forces among which the daily use of U.S. Spanish varies.

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The geography of Anglicism

In 2008, we had the opportunity to reflect on the dialectology of Spanish in the United States and to propose a map of the Hispanic varieties. This map was elaborated by associating the majority origin of the resident Hispanics in each zone of the United States with the linguistic peculiarities of their Spanish. From this perspective, a modality of Mexican base was proposed for most of the territory, a modality of Puerto Rican base for the Northeast and another Central American for the center East (Map 4).

Map 4. Hispanic varieties in the United States. Source: Moreno-Fernández (2008)



At that time, it was already noticed that this map could be misleading since there are states in which the majority Hispanic group is closely matched with the second group in demographic weight, as is the case of Mexicans and Central Americans in Virginia or Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in the Northeast. However, the lexical data that we now handle must lead us to a different cartography.

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The overall analysis of the 40 maps included in this analysis allows us to present some general proposals, also in the form of hypotheses that will be corrected in a timely manner as more data are gathered. This analysis has led us to observe that the territories that are most often shown as recognizable lexical areas, due to the homogeneity of their use are, on the one hand, the South (Central Southwest, Mountain and Southeast Central), sometimes including the Atlantic

South or the South Pacific and others not: see maps of *inconfortable* ‘uncomfortable,’ *mandatorio* ‘mandatory,’ *forma* ‘form,’ *resignación* ‘resignation,’ *barista* ‘barista,’ or the emblematic *troca* ‘truck,’ where this area shows the largest proportions of acceptance.

Apart from this large region, which marks its personality against more Northern and Eastern lands, we also find that the Pacific (especially California) forms a distinct area; for example, as to the majority acceptance of *elective* ‘elective.’ Something similar occurs on the Atlantic side (especially Florida), where *frostin* ‘frosting,’ *janguear* ‘to hang’ or *mapear* ‘to mop’ predominate, although the degree of acceptance given in the Southwest and Southeast sometimes coincides with voices such as *enforzar* ‘to enforce.’ In some maps, we can observe that the whole East Coast exhibits more acceptance in cases like *accesar* ‘access’ or *dil* ‘deal,’ which does not prevent that there are also Anglicisms that allow to recognize as area to the Northeast: *míter* ‘meter,’ *precinto* ‘precinct,’ *textear* ‘to text.’

We see, then, that the acceptance of the analyzed Anglicisms allows us to glimpse some lexical areas, but it would be necessary to work with much more data to propose a solid zoning of the U.S. Spanish lexicon. In addition, we face the difficulty of managing indices of acceptance instead of absolute uses, which, while projecting an image of the real dynamism that the lexical use is experiencing, prevents the identification of clear isoglosses. And to this must be

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added methodological considerations, since the representativity of the areas is unequal, with a notable weight for California that influences global average values.

In relation to the geography of Spanish, we might ask ourselves whether, in the light of this overall analysis, the regionalization that has been handled here is satisfactory enough: let us recall, the regions established by the U.S. Census Bureau. In theory, our impression is favorable in this regard. Moreover, if we take into account the sociolinguistic regions for the study of Spanish of the United States proposed by Anna María Escobar and Kim Potowski in their book *El español de los Estados Unidos* (2015) (Map 5), we believe that regionalization could result more satisfactory.

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Map 5. Sociolinguistic regions for the study of Spanish of the United States. Source: Escobar and Potowski (2015: 14)



In the proposal of Escobar and Potowski they try to recognize the importance of the historical regions of Spanish, as well as the proportions of the Hispanic population in each zone of the country. However, the distribution of Hispanics today does not have to correspond to its origin or to its remote history, given the mobility of the population and the importance of the different migratory waves known over the last decades. On the other hand, the inclusion in the same area of the South and Southwest areas, as Escobar and Potowski do, could blur the existence of some differences between them that, besides being historical, are also evident in our maps.

The social dimension of Anglicisms

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In 1990, Ana Celia Zentella analyzed the lexicon of Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Cubans and Colombians in New York City; her objective was to analyze how the lexical leveling mechanism worked among Spanish-speaking residents in the same community. She detected the incidence on the attitudes and on the linguistic use of social variables such as social class, race or education. One of the virtues of the survey system used for the geolinguistic analysis of Anglicism is the possibility of incorporating information of a social nature, which contributes to the knowledge of the dynamics of lexical uses and the conception of loans as "processes" and not as "products." For this reason, it is interesting to have a minimal analysis of sociolinguistics in two lexical forms: *candi* 'candy' and *janguear* 'to hang.' Each one has been chosen for a different reason. The first

requires further analysis because of the double simultaneous condition of rejection and acceptance in significant degrees. The second is one of the Anglicisms with the greatest rejection and it is interesting to know if there are social factors that provoke it with greater intensity.

In order to proceed to the sociolinguistic analysis of the acceptance or rejection of these forms, we have used the regression calculation, which indicates to us with which probability these voices are accepted or rejected, depending on the extralingual variables considered. The program used to calculate these probabilities is *Goldvarb Yosemite* (Sankoff, Tagliamonte, Smith 2015).

- a) *Candi*. Probabilistic analysis shows that the factors that most affect rejection in this way are age, level of Spanish studies and level of knowledge of the language, so that they are the oldest speakers, with graduate studies and with a greater dominion of Spanish those that most clearly reject the use of *candi*. As for Hispanic origin, speakers of Mexican and South American origin are the least accepted, especially if they are residents in the Northeast of the country (New England, Middle Atlantic). The calculated probabilities are given in Table 4.

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Table 4. *Candi* rejection probabilities, by extra-linguistic factors. (Regression Analysis. $p=0.000$)

Area of residence:	P: 0.458. WNC: 0.326. WSC: 0.381. Mo: 0.405. ENC: 0.315. ESC: 0.465. NE: 0.766. MAtl: 0.779. SAt: 0.560.
Hispanic Origin:	USA: 0.564. Mexico: 0.788. Puerto Rico: 0.582. Cuba: 0.320. Dominican Republic: 0.307. Centro America: 0.300. South America: 0.716. Other: 0.400.
Age:	40+: 0.621. -39: 0.379
Level of education:	Low: 0.402. High: 0.598
Spanish proficiency:	Good: 0.596. Limited: 0.404

Areas of residence: P (Pacific); WNC (Northwest Central); WSC (Southwest Central); Mo (Mountain); ENC (Central Northeast); ESC (South East Central); NE (New England); MAtl (Middle Atlantic); SAt (South Atlantic)

b) *Janguear*. This word shows one of the highest levels of rejection of the whole series of analyzed Anglicisms. Specifically, the overall probability of rejection is 0.600. However, the rejection is clearer among Hispanics of older age, of high educational level and with a level of knowledge of good or very good Spanish. By origin, it is significant that, among Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and Cubans, there is no rejection, but acceptance; not in vain *janguear* is form of use frequently in the Dominican Republic and documented in the lexicographic *Tesoro lexicográfico del español de Puerto Rico* ‘Lexicographic treasure of the Spanish of Puerto Rico’ (2005). As for geography, the odds of rejection are clearly lower among Hispanics living in the Southeast Central and especially in the South Atlantic, where the population of Cuban origin reaches greater proportions.

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Table 5. *Janguear* rejection probabilities, by extra-linguistic factors. (Regression Analysis. $p=0.000$)

Area of residence:	P: 0.649. WNC: 0.622. WSC: 0.706. Mo: 0.533. ENC: 0.437. ESC: 0.365. NE: 0.412. MAtl: 0.475. SAt: 0.299.
Hispanic Origin:	USA: 0.673. Mexico: 0.486. Puerto Rico: 0.156. Cuba: 0.237. Dominican Republic: 0.339. Central America: 0.804. South America: 0.547. Other: 0.779.
Age:	40+: 0.558. -39: 0.442
Level of education:	Low: 0.443. High: 0.557
Spanish proficiency:	Good: 0.658. Limited: 0.342

Areas of residence: P (Pacific); WNC (Northwest Central); WSC (Southwest Central); Mo (Mountain); ENC (Central Northeast); ESC (South East Central); NE (New England); MAtl (Middle Atlantic); SAt (South Atlantic)

As expected, the scope of the analysis of the extralinguistic factors can vary greatly depending on the form treated in each case. Sometimes geography will be determinant, as it can also be the Hispanic region of origin. The greater or lesser acceptance of a form will eventually follow the rhythm set by the different generations of speakers and their degree of access to more careful records of the language.

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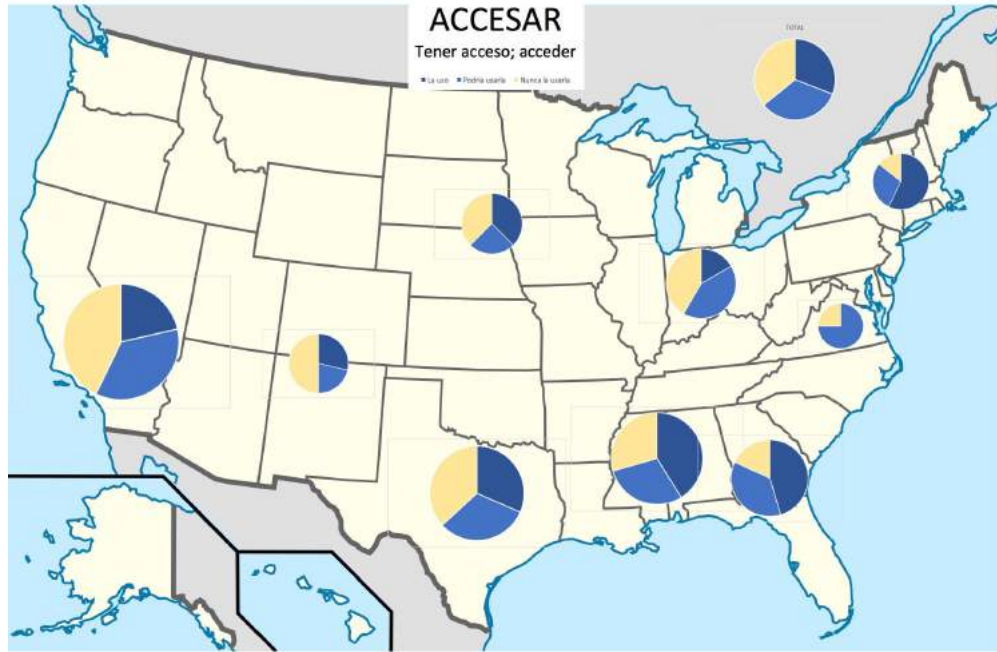
Conclusion

The study presented here offers information from the most extensive collection of lexical data to date on Spanish in the United States, since the territory covered includes all major regions of the Union. This information shows the geographic distribution of 40 Anglicisms of the American Spanish of which a dynamic image is offered. The maps of this small atlas do not draw, therefore, isoglosses that separate some regions from others by the exclusive use of this or that voice, but,

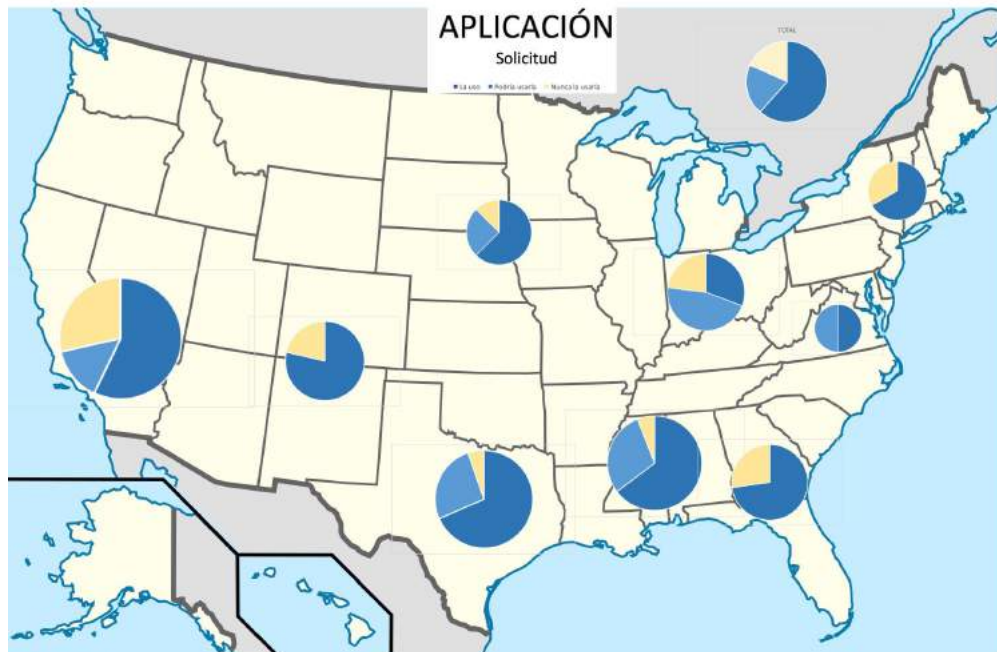
since they are words of very general use, a dynamic approach of use, where the variable Geographical is intertwined with other variables such as the origin of Hispanics, their age, their level of education or their mastery of Spanish.

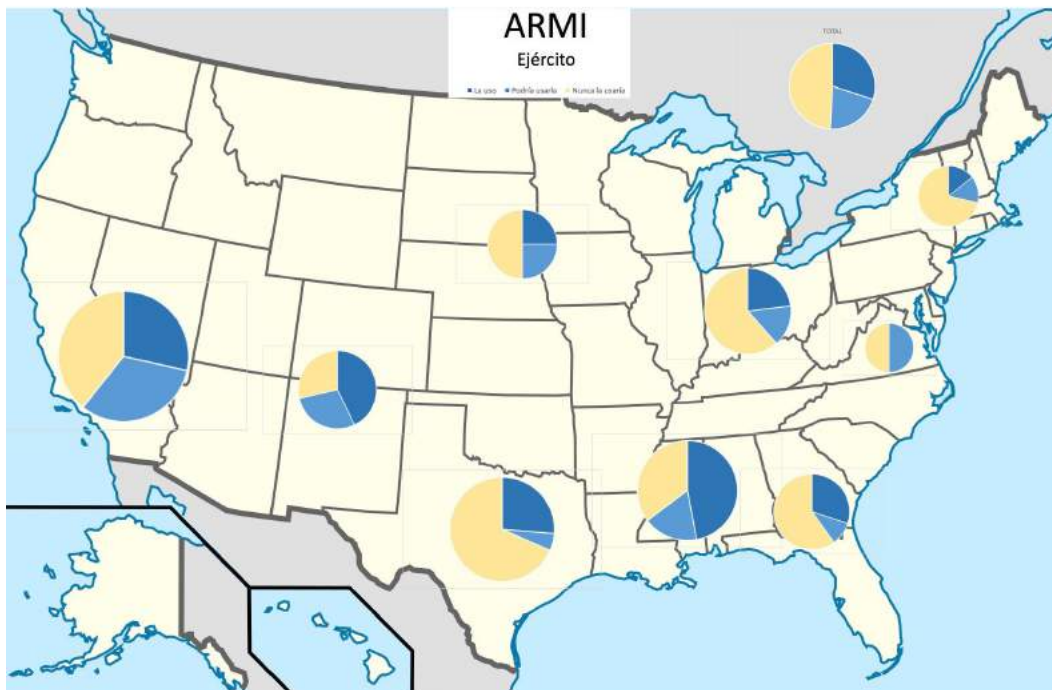
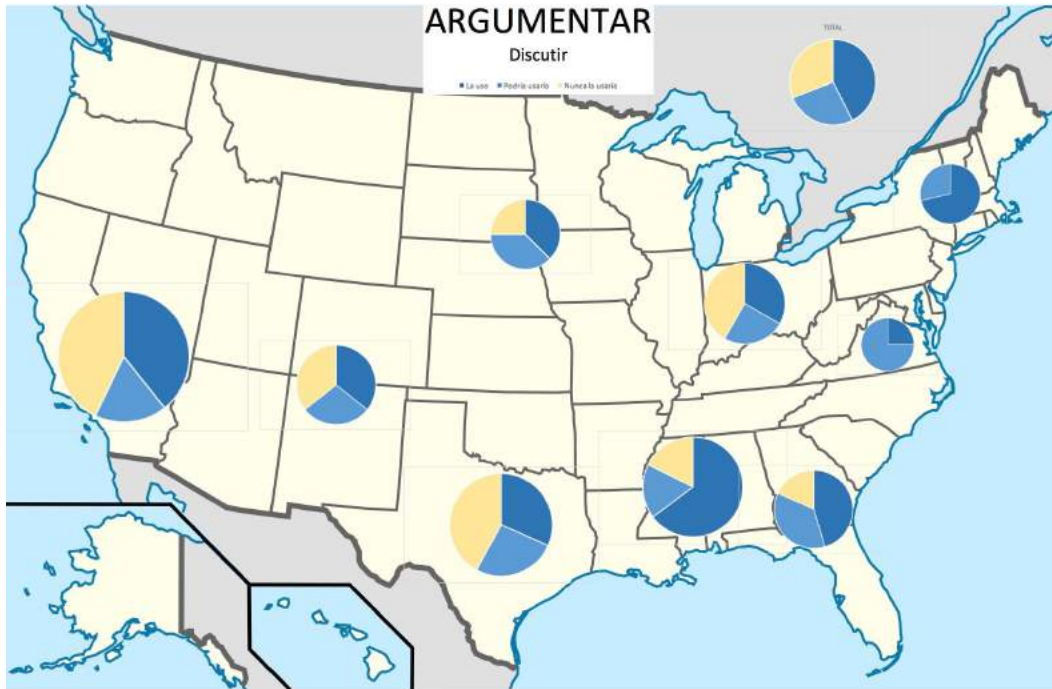
The analysis of the maps corresponding to the 40 Anglicisms considered allows us to deduce which type of factors are the ones that more clearly favor or disfavor the acceptance of a form of a given form. In this way, encouraging factors such as *invisibility*, *socio-cultural particularity* and *regionality* have been identified, as well as factors that are unfavorable to acceptance, such as the *emblem effect*, *spelling*, *semantic-pragmatic distance* or *lexical multiplicity*. In any case, the analysis has allowed us to sort by its acceptance index a few dozen Anglicisms, a result that may be of interest in facilitating the presence of more generally accepted terms in public social domains such as Education or the media Of social communication. It would be desirable to expand the number of voices analyzed, on the one hand, to provide a greater amount of useful data and, on the other, to reach a more complete knowledge of the lexicon of American Spanish. Finally, our study has also shown the importance of social factors, such as age or education, to really understand the lexical dynamics in Spanish if the United States.

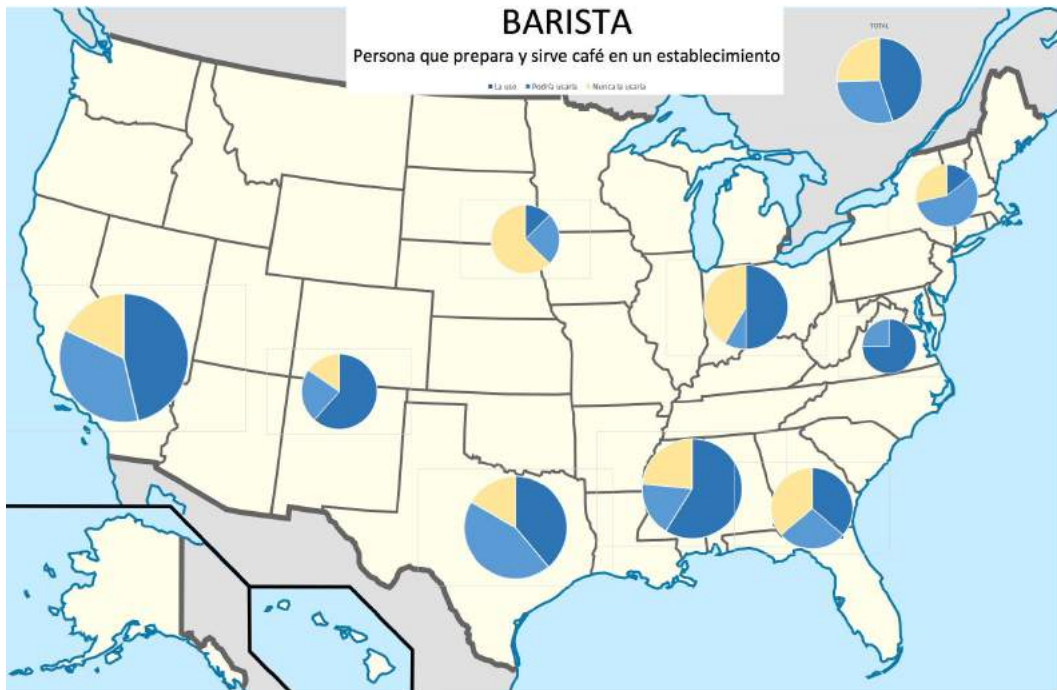
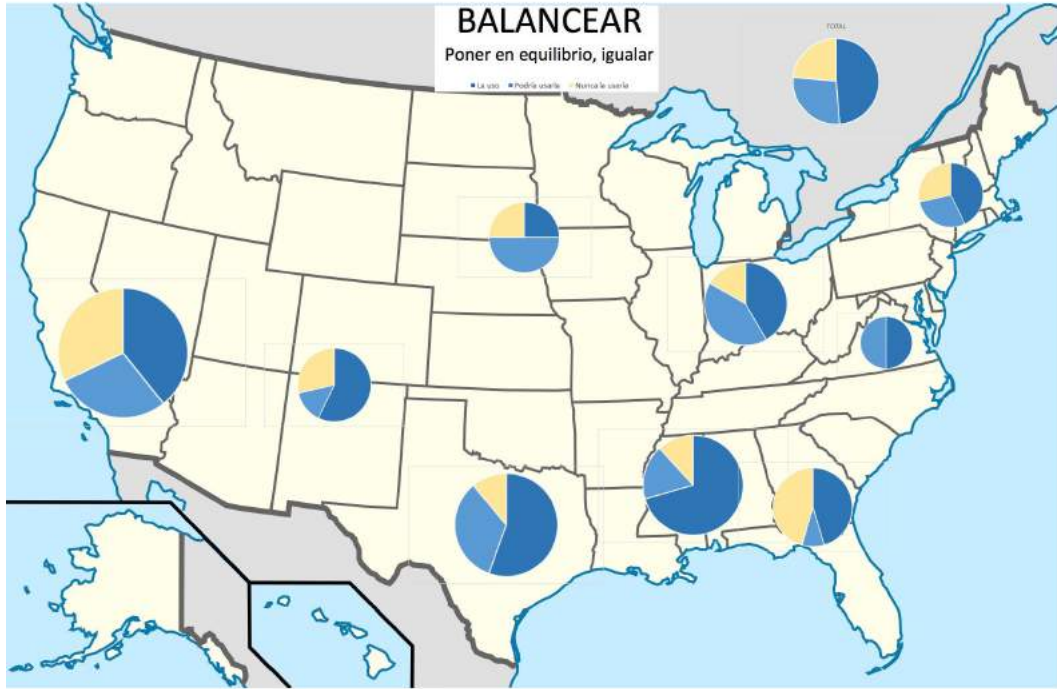
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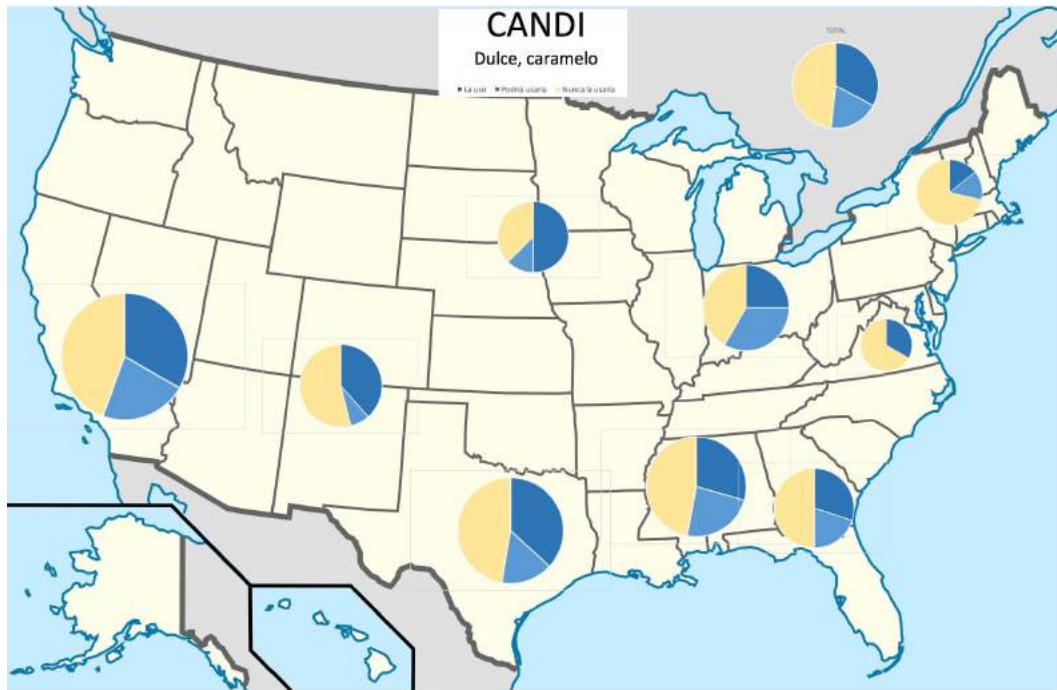
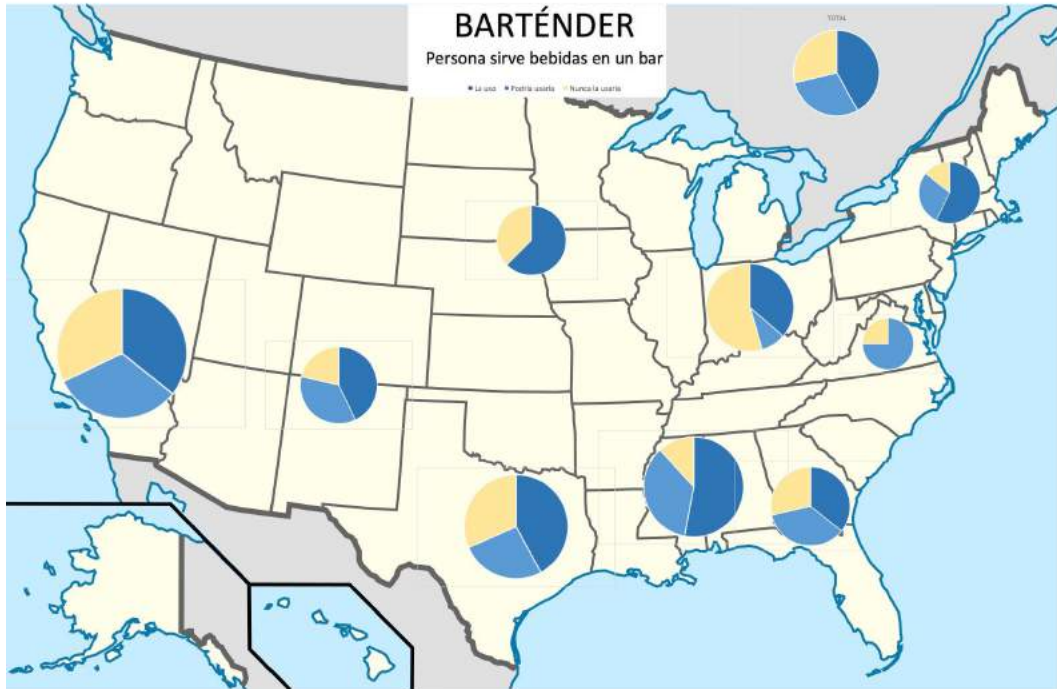


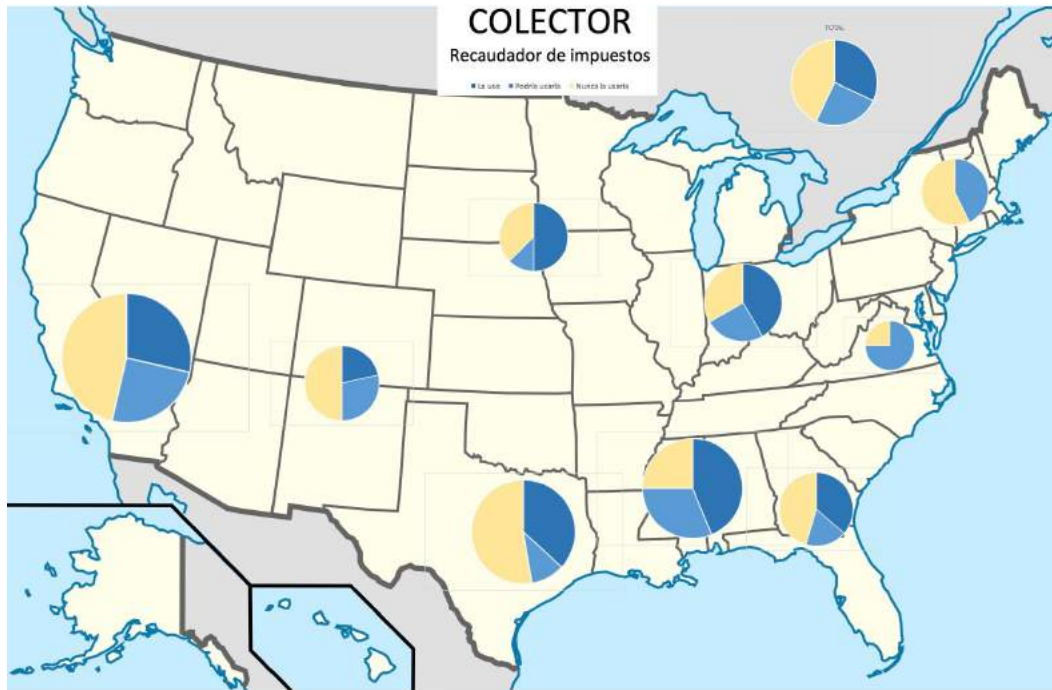
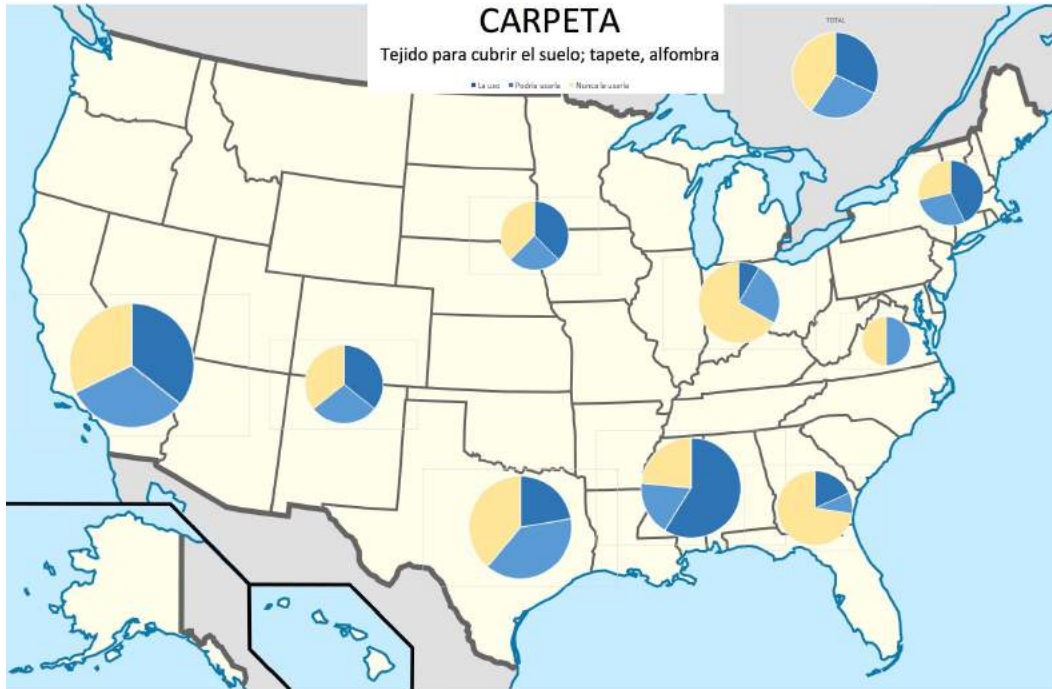
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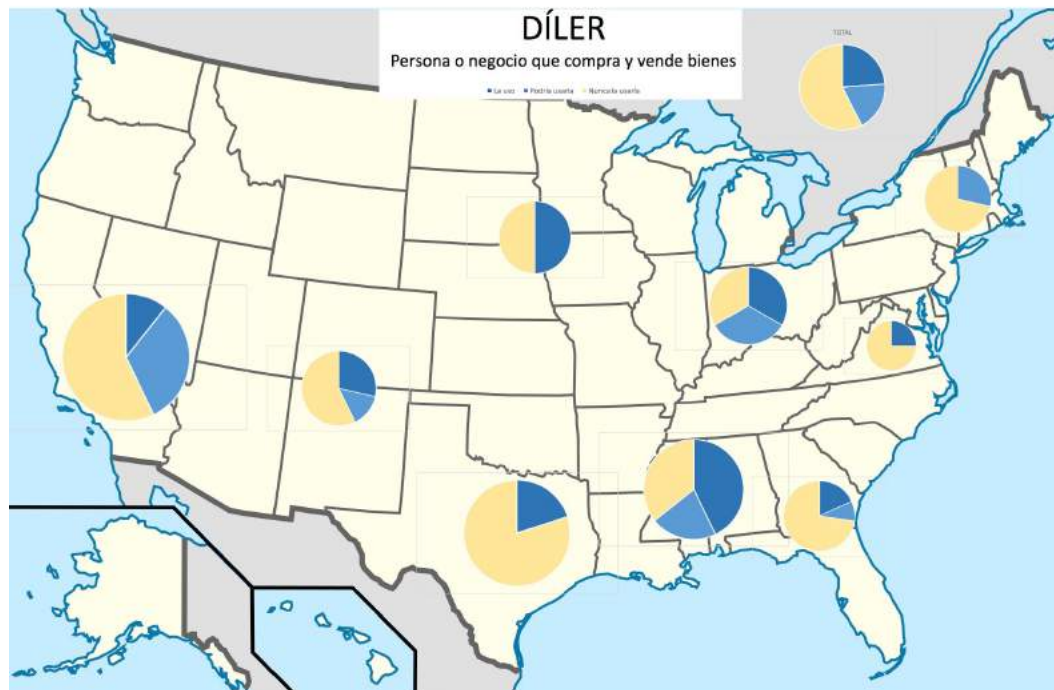
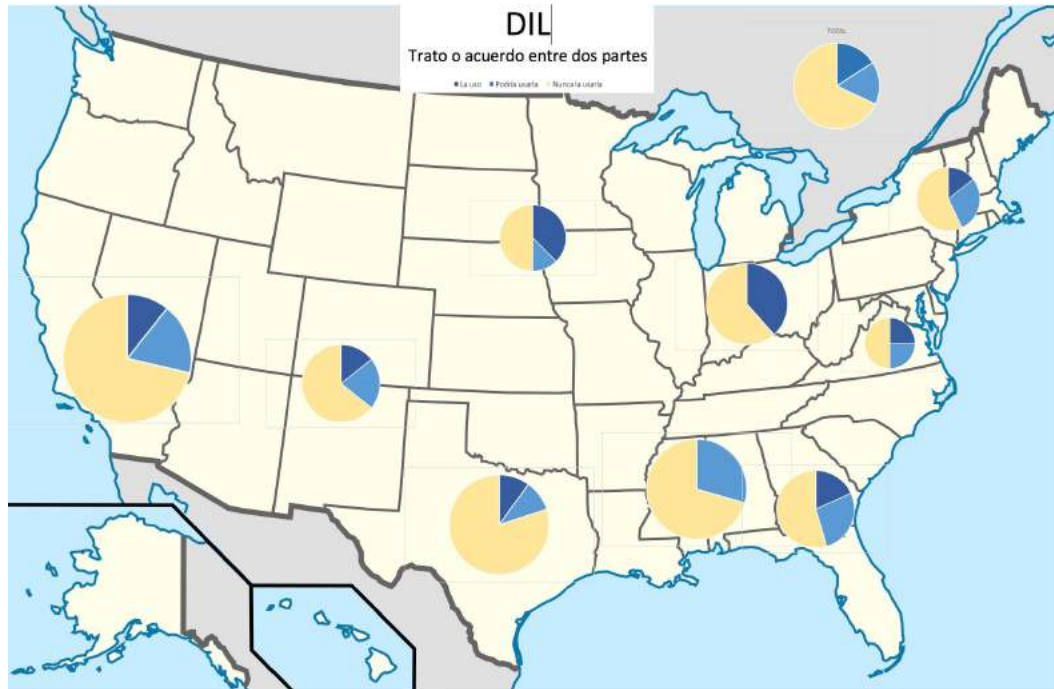


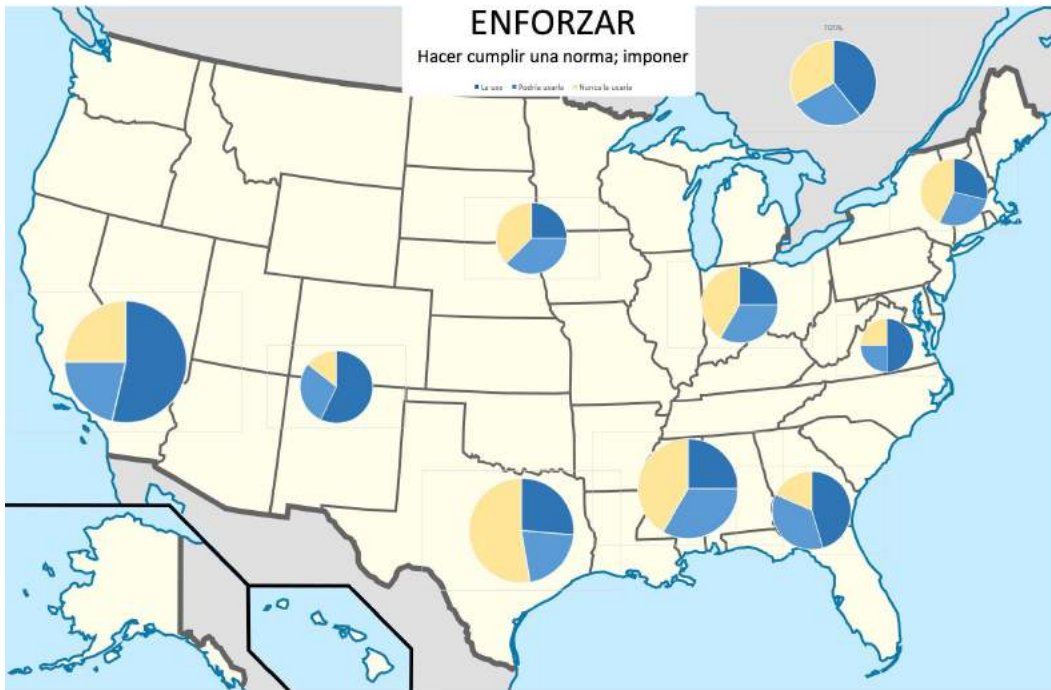
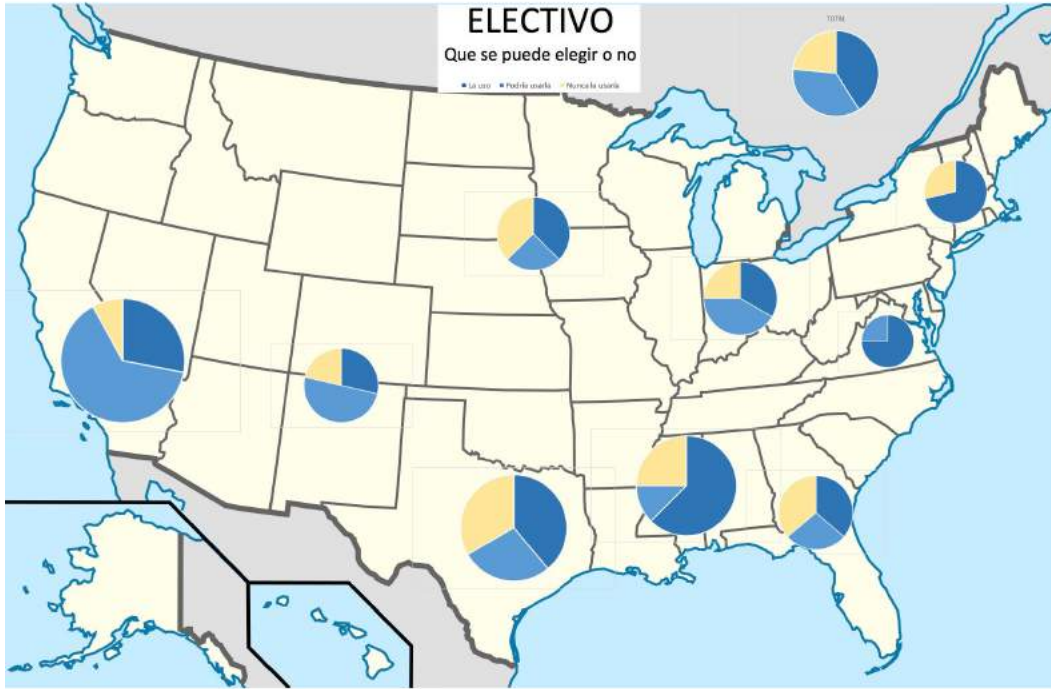


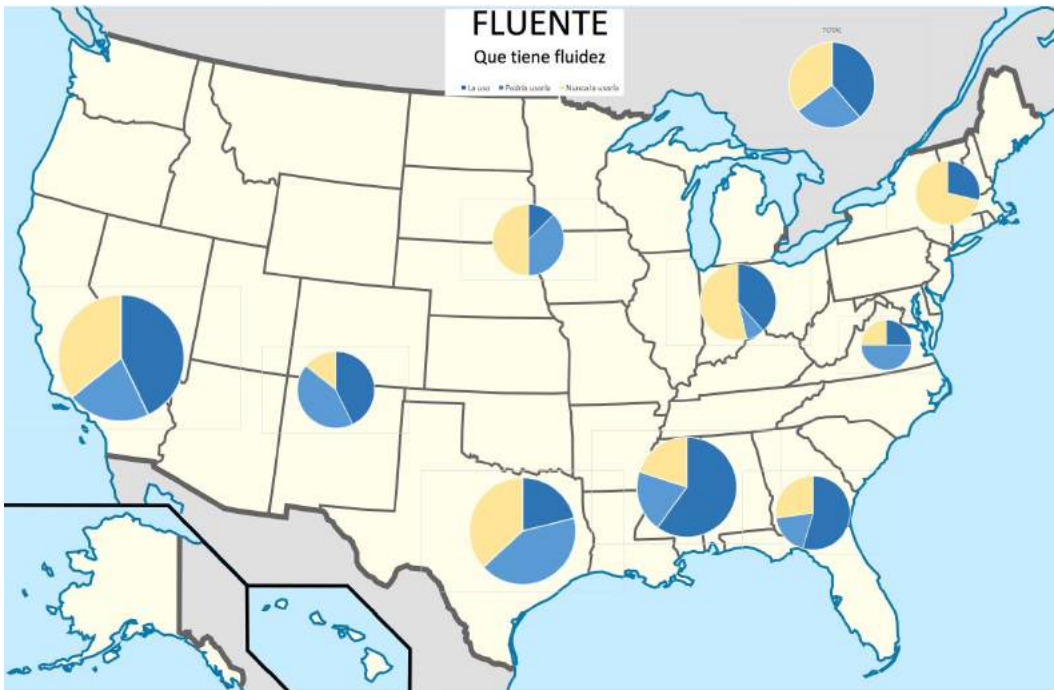
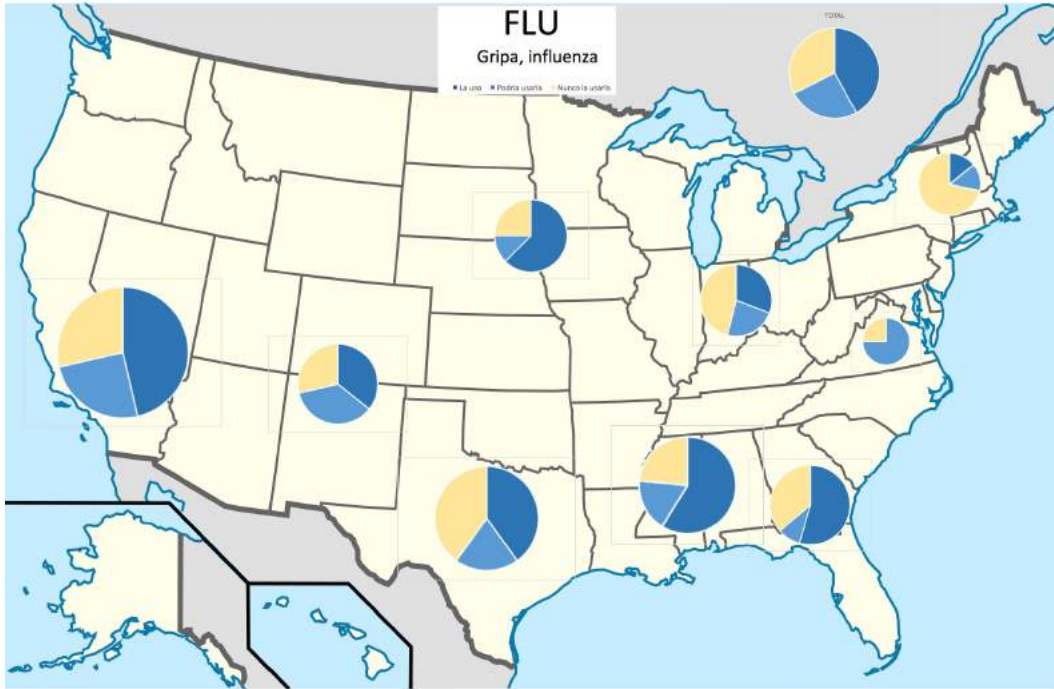


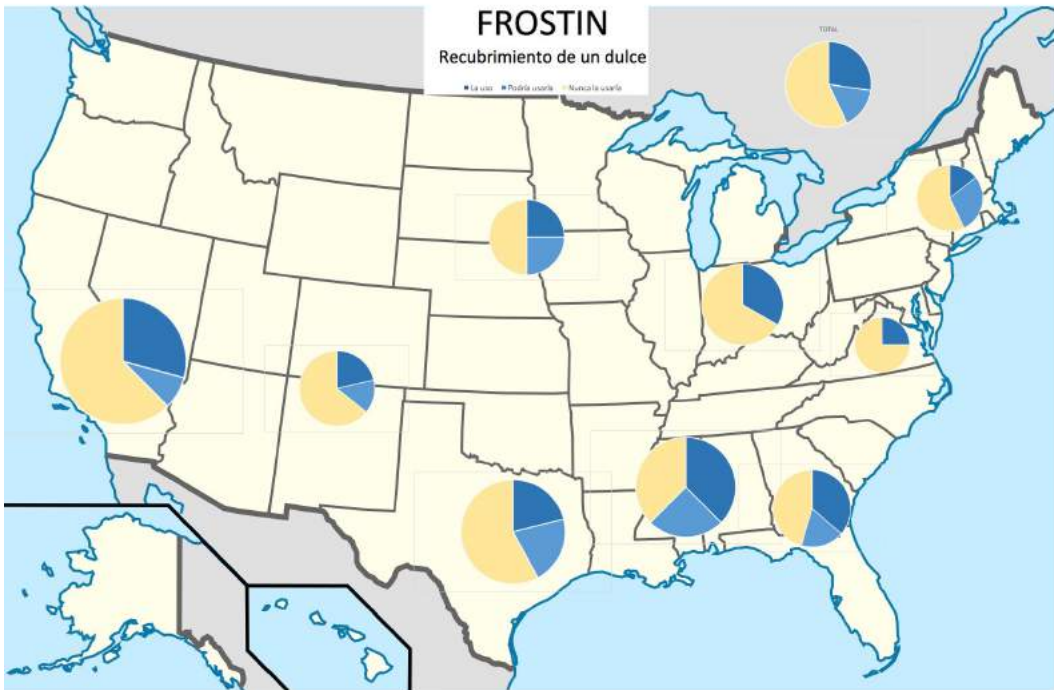
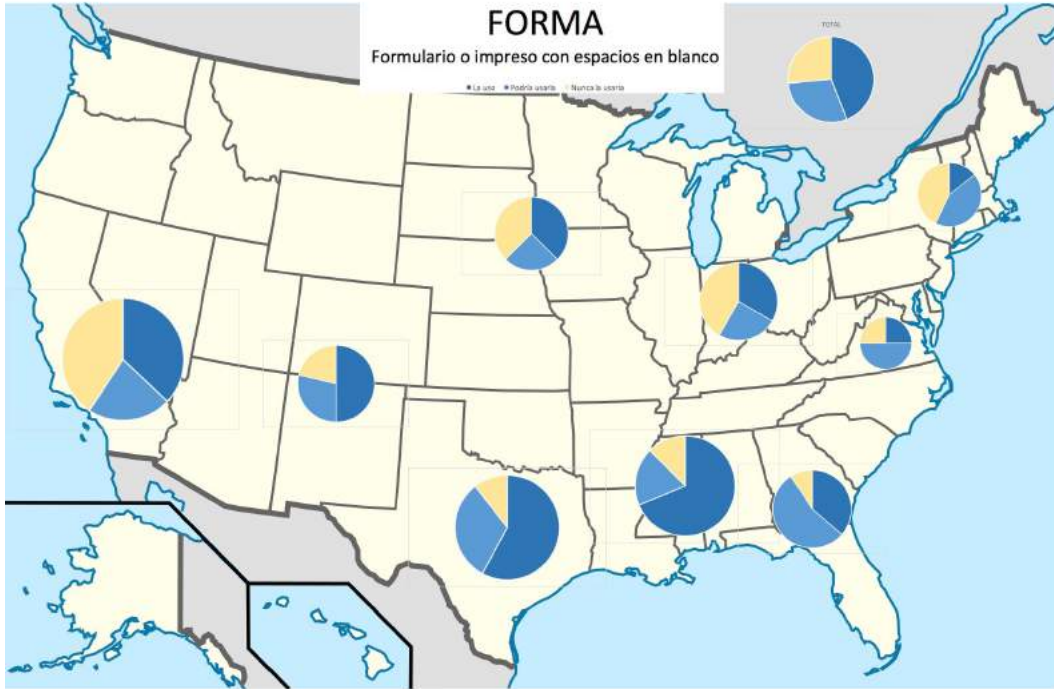


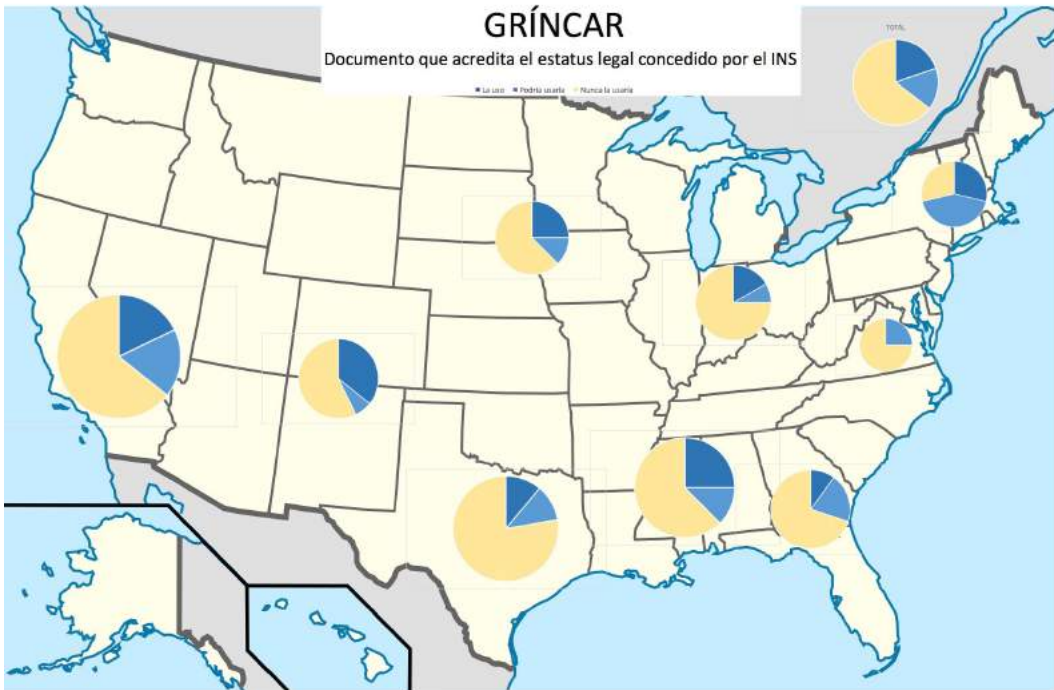
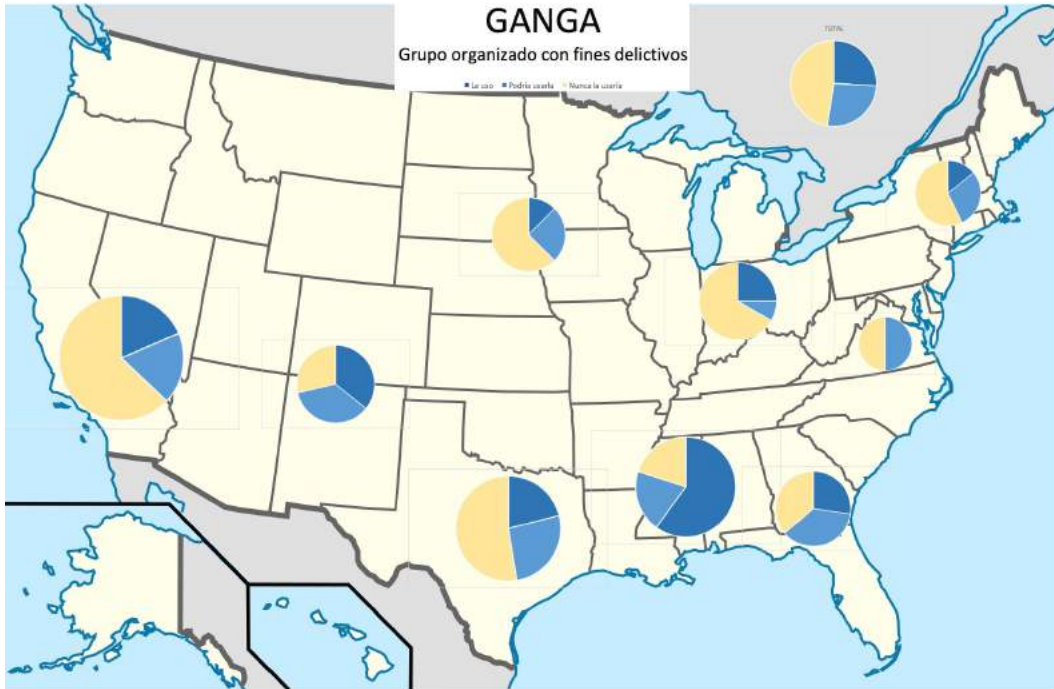


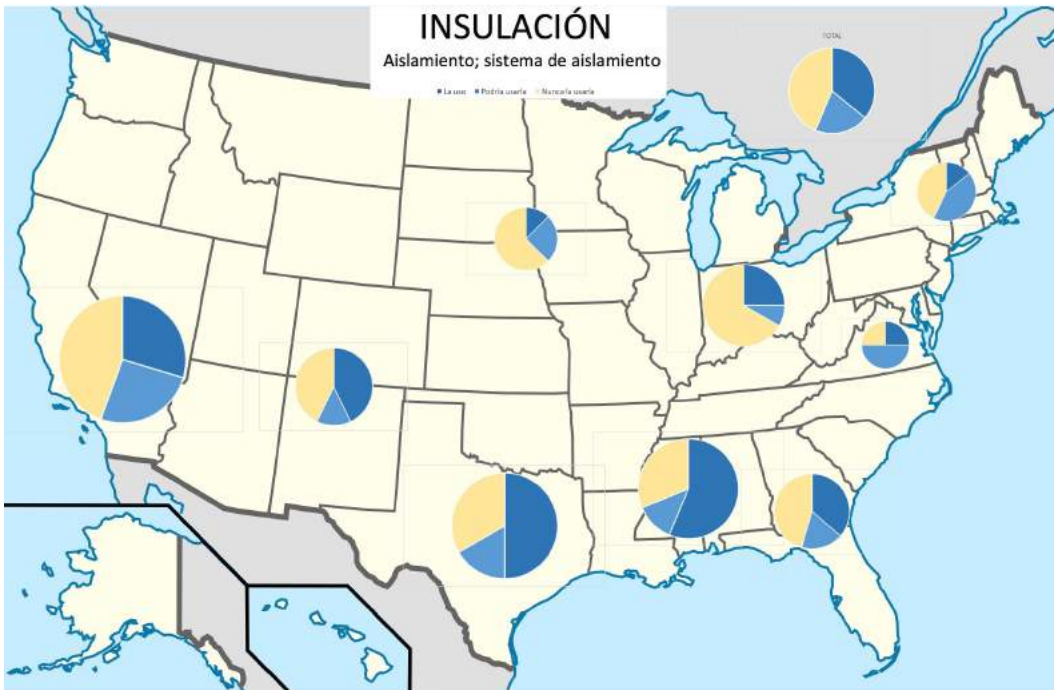
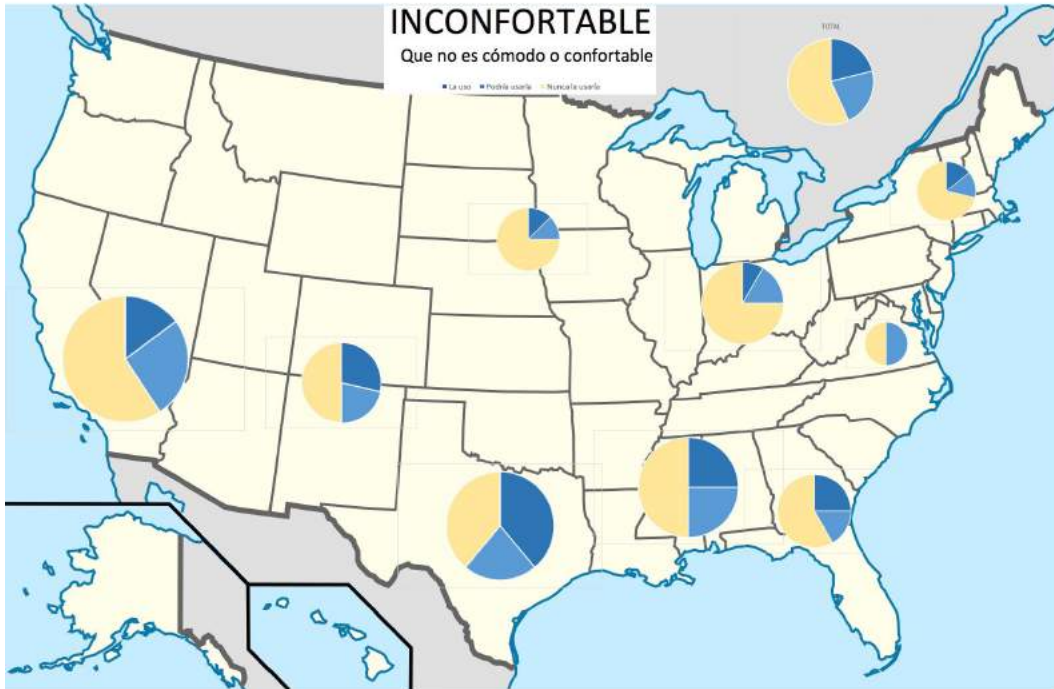


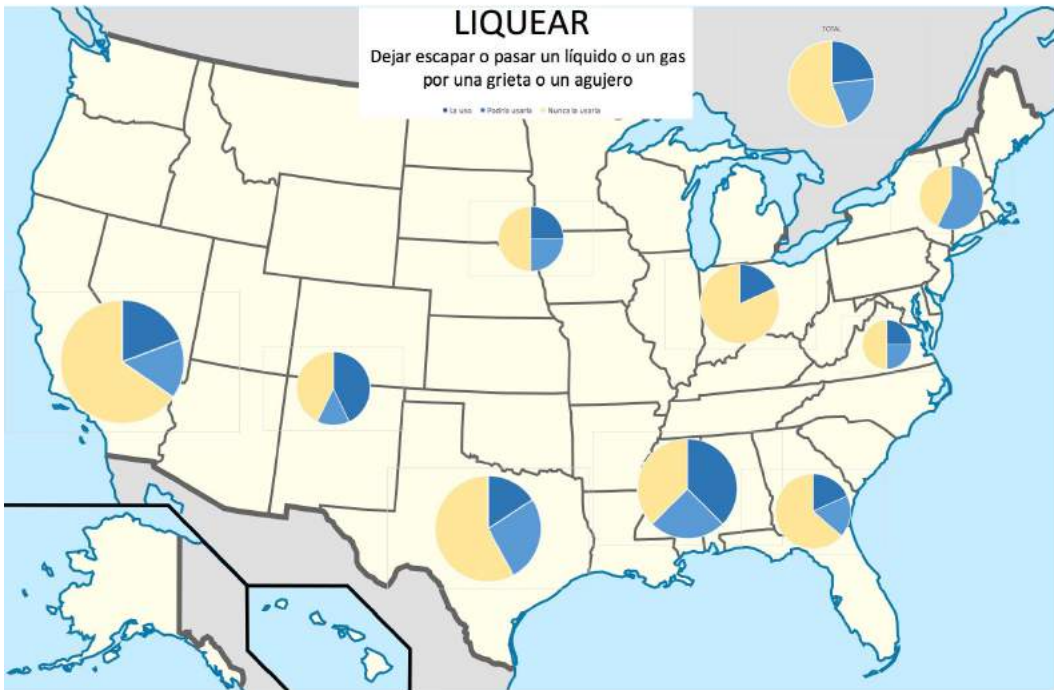
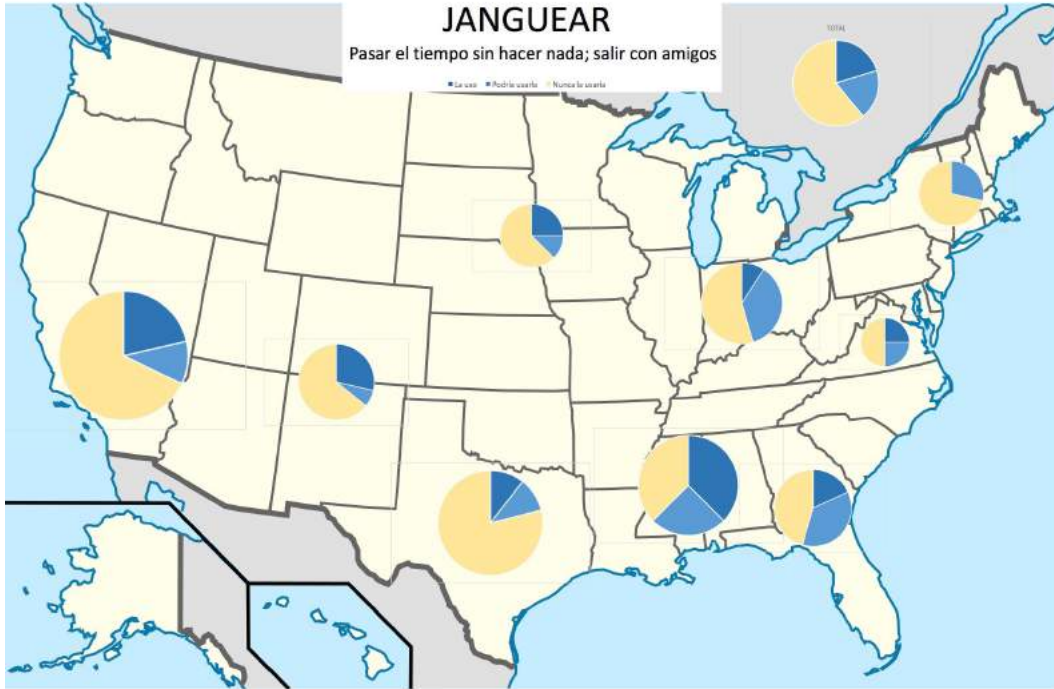


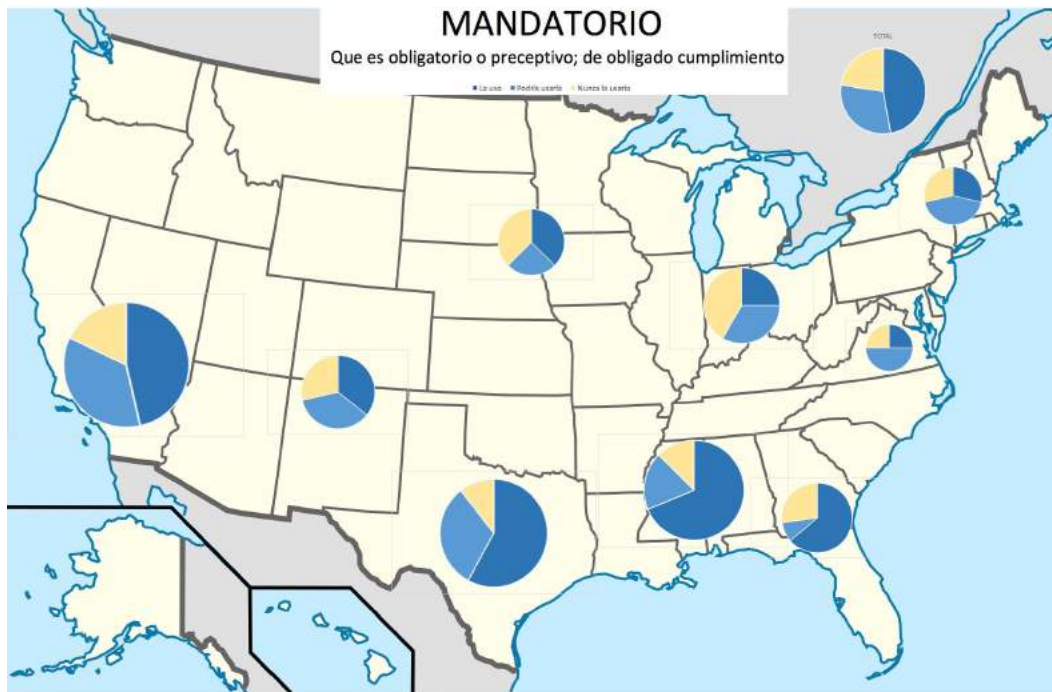
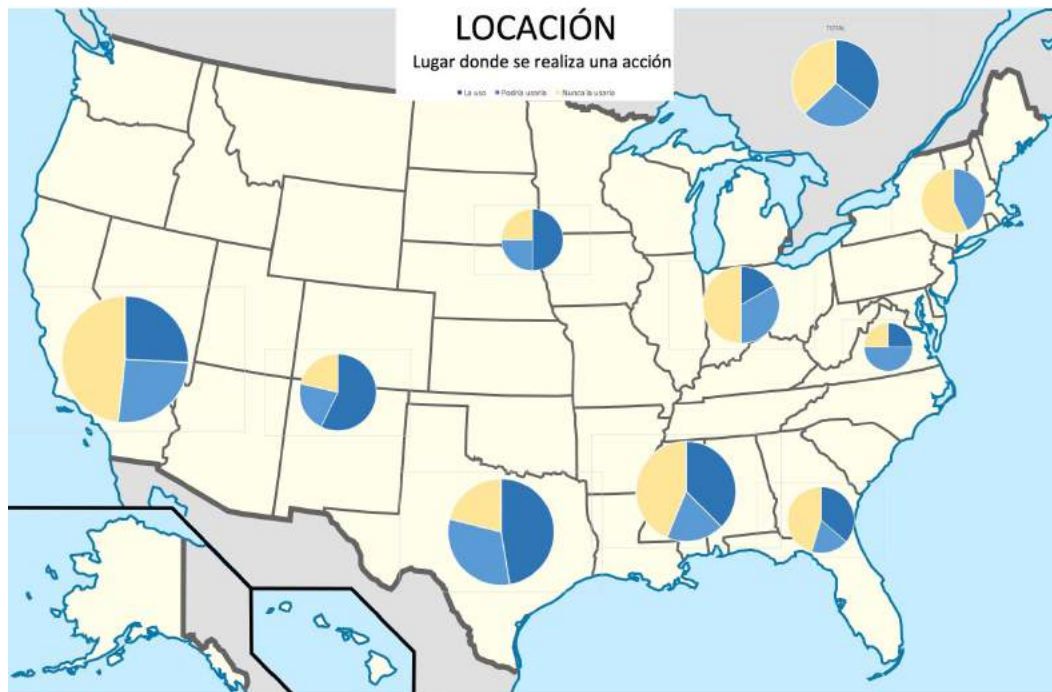


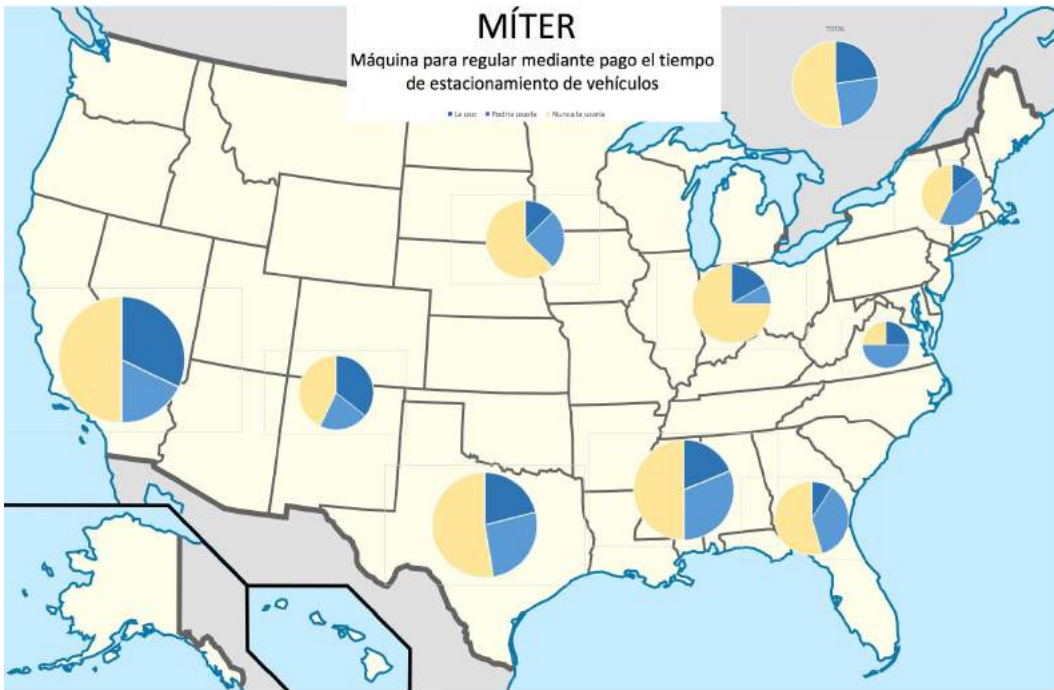
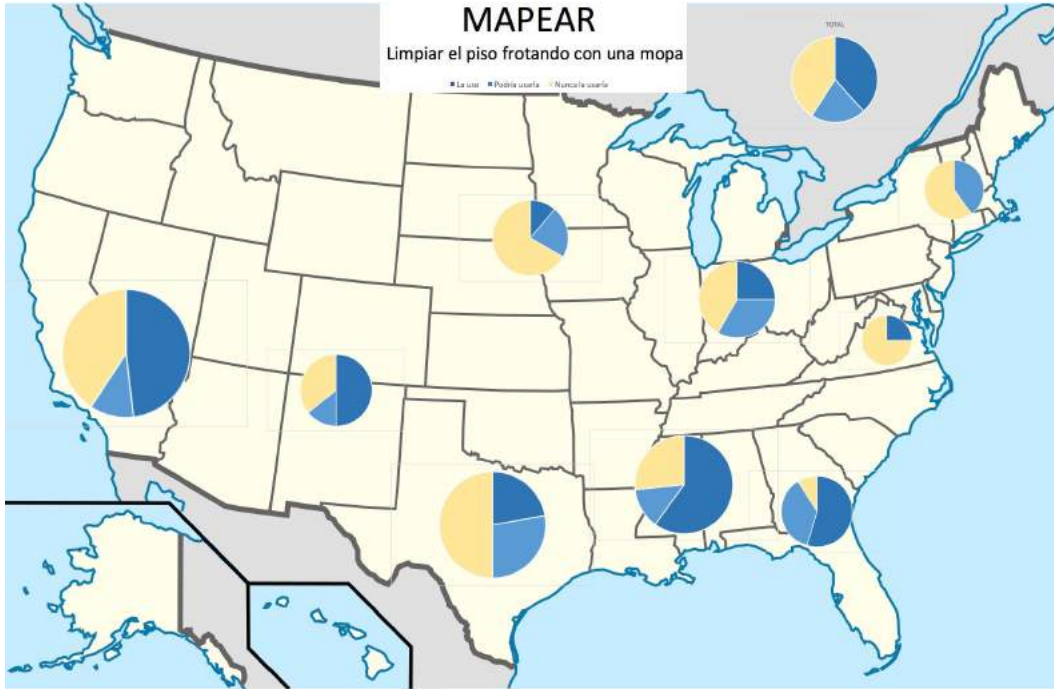


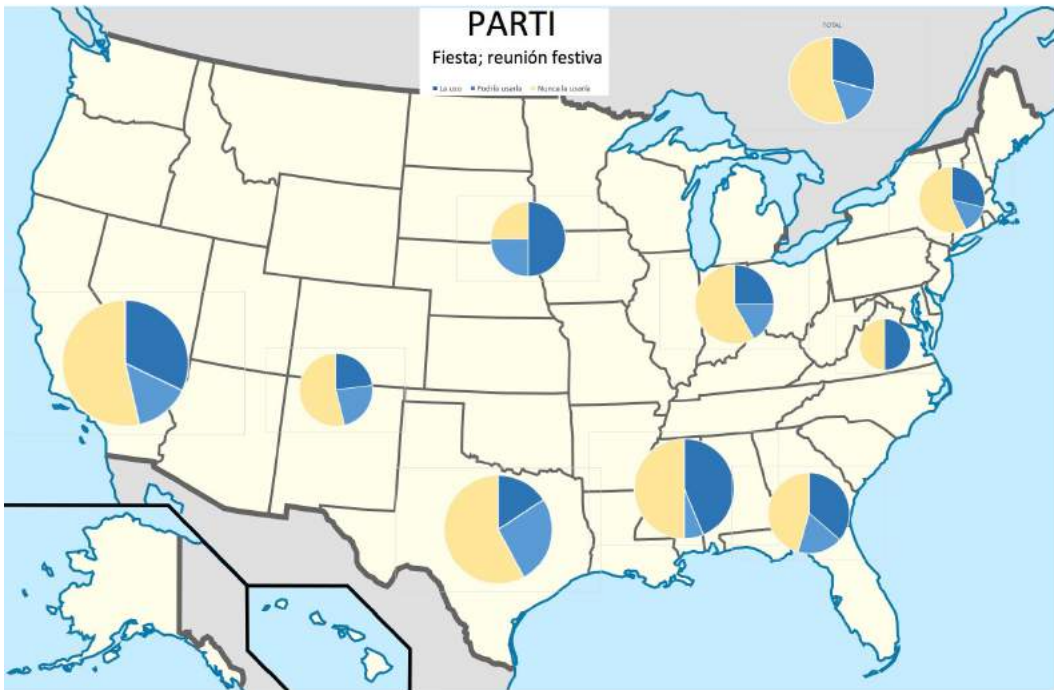
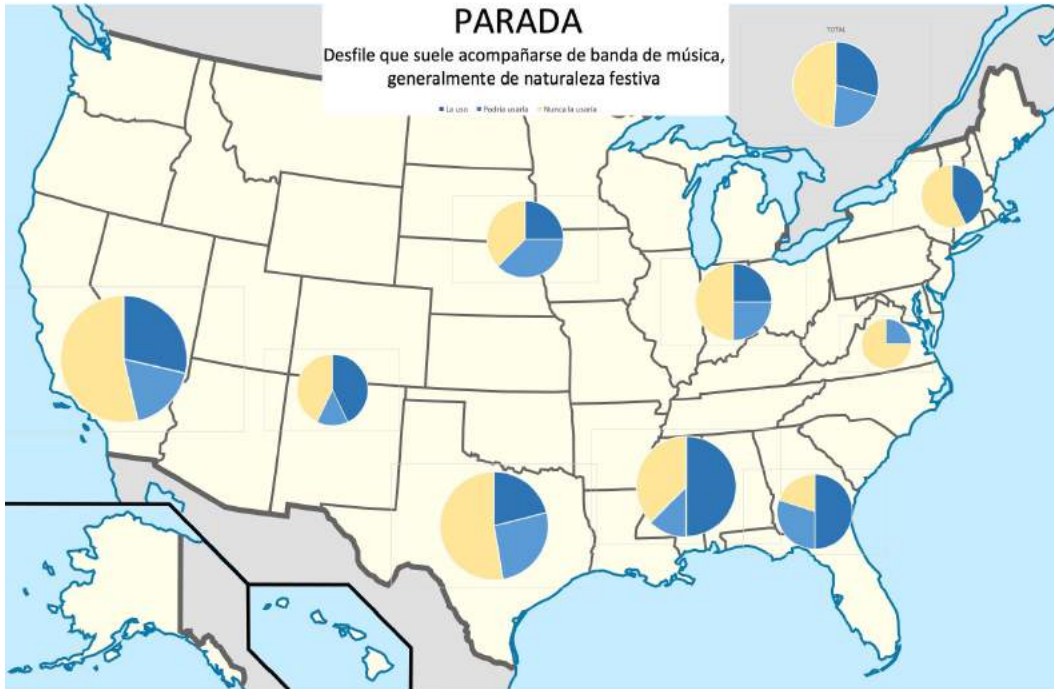


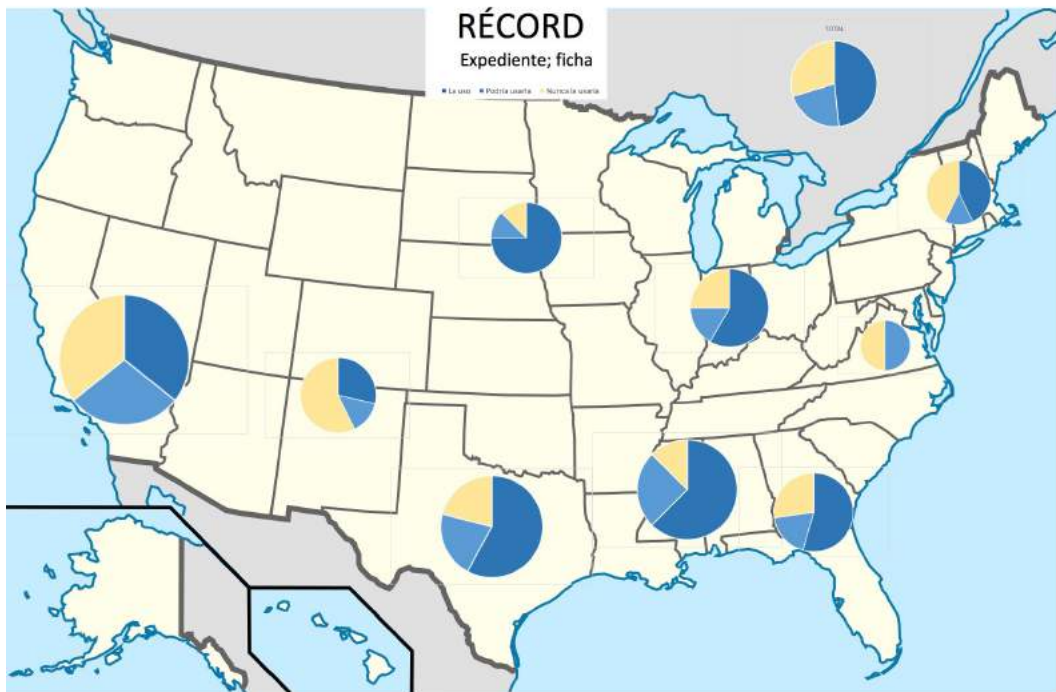
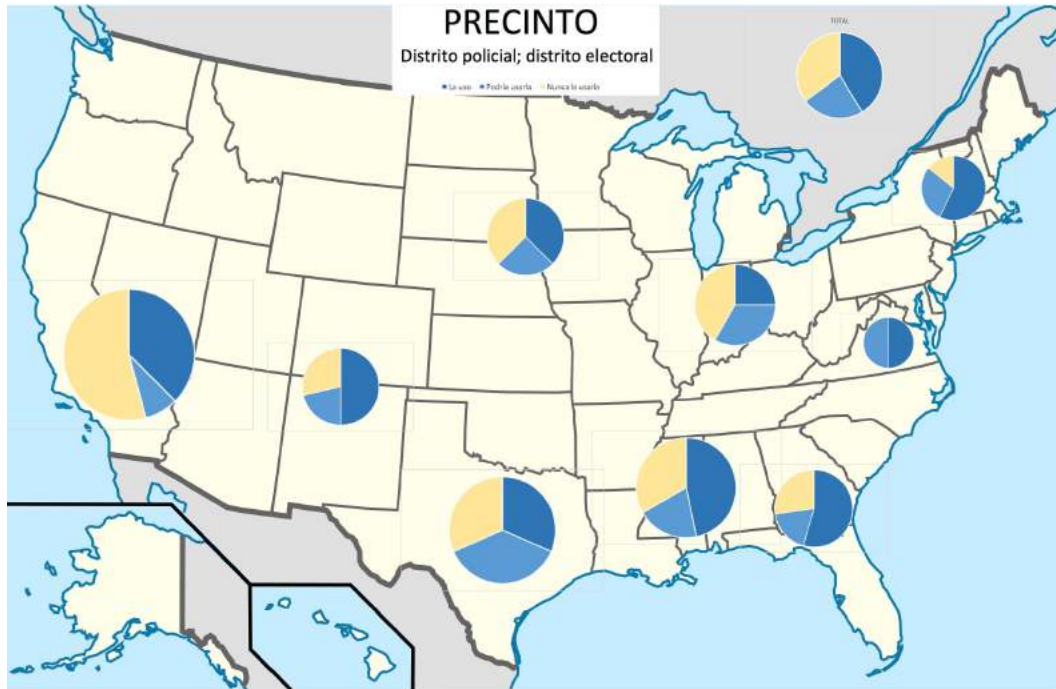


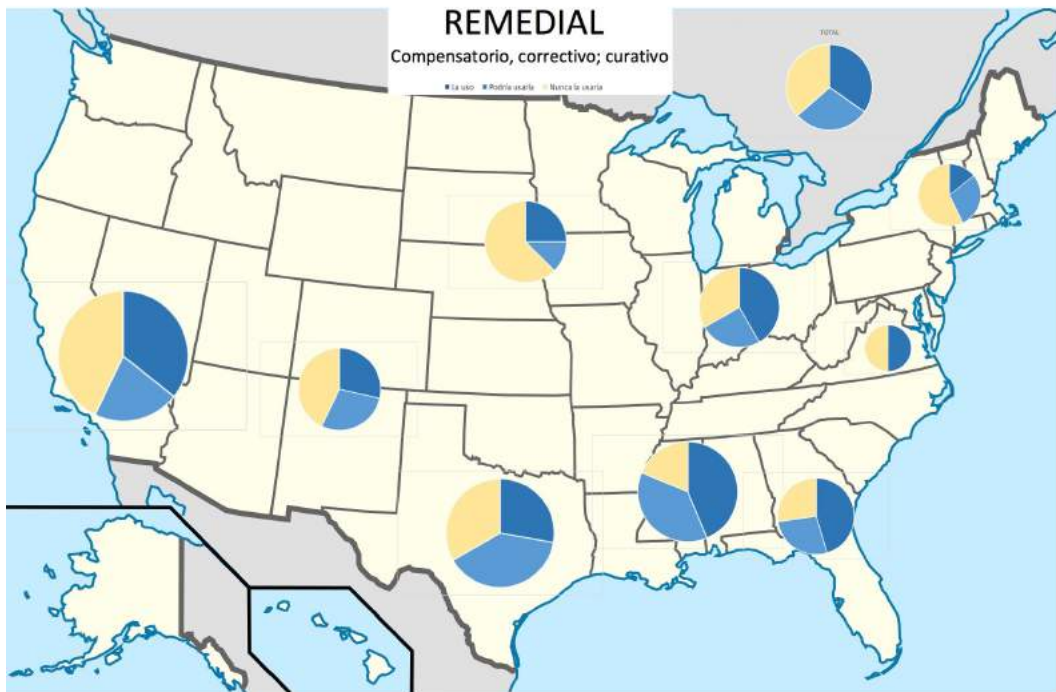
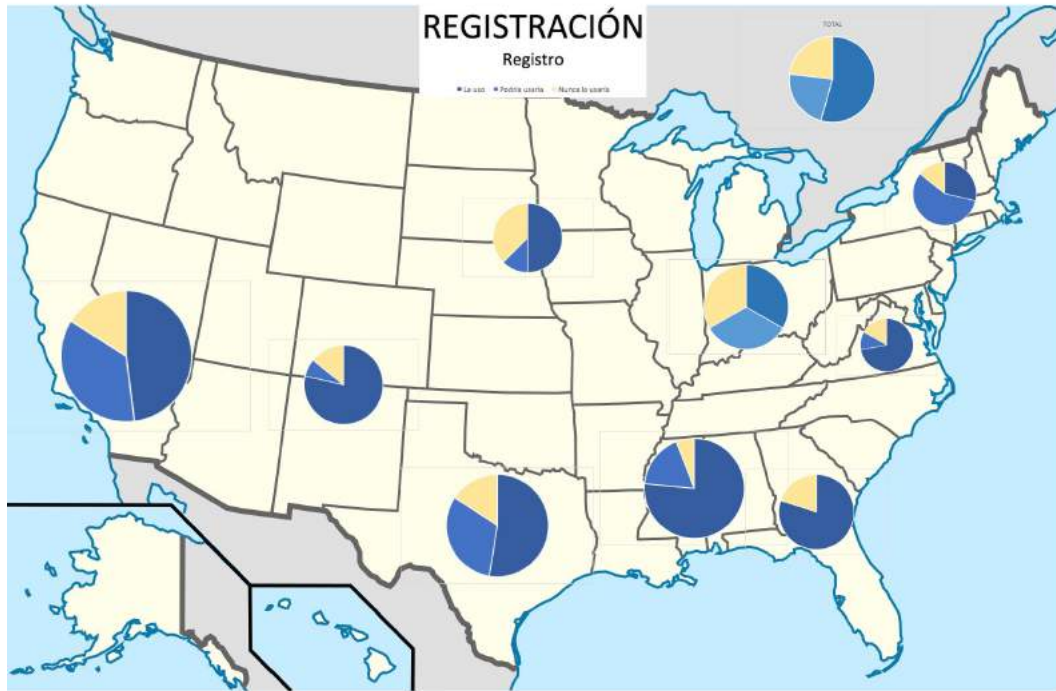


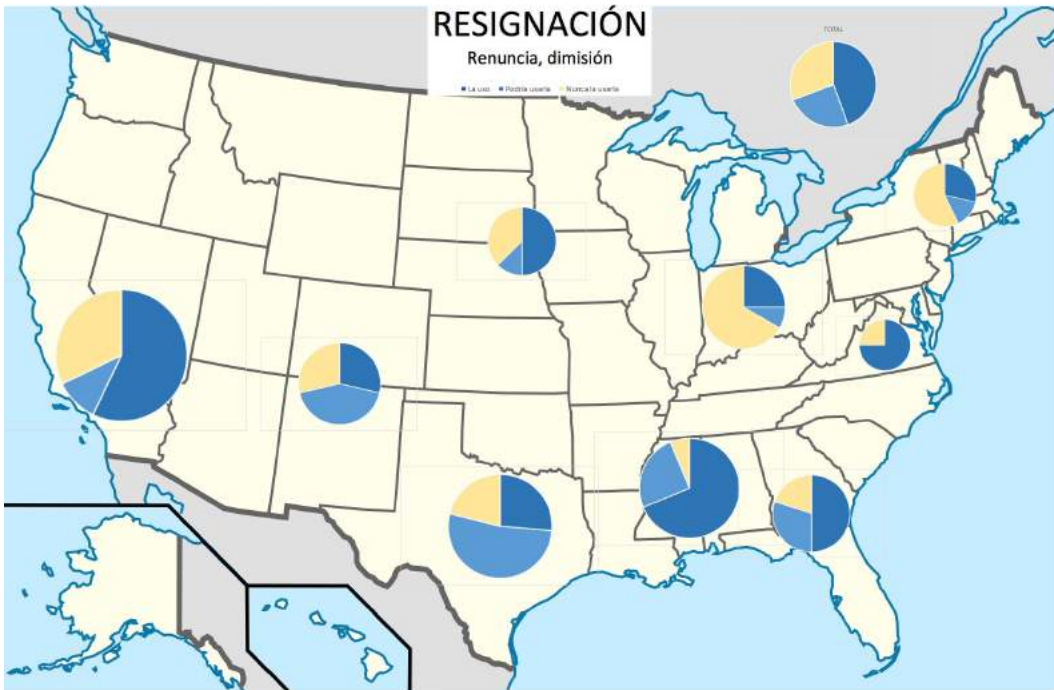
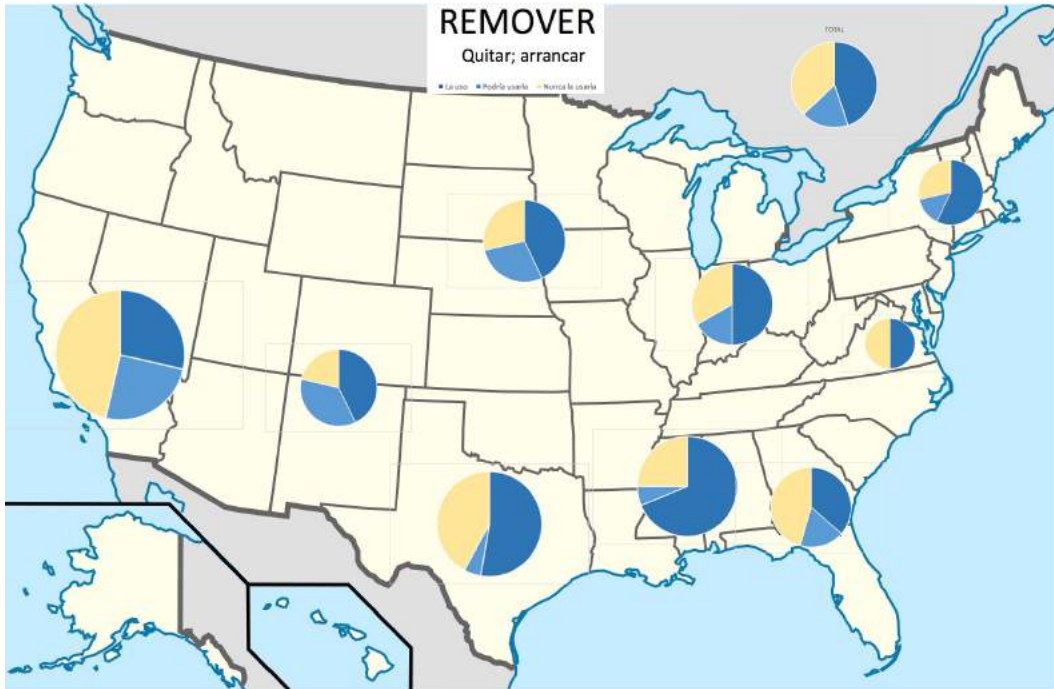


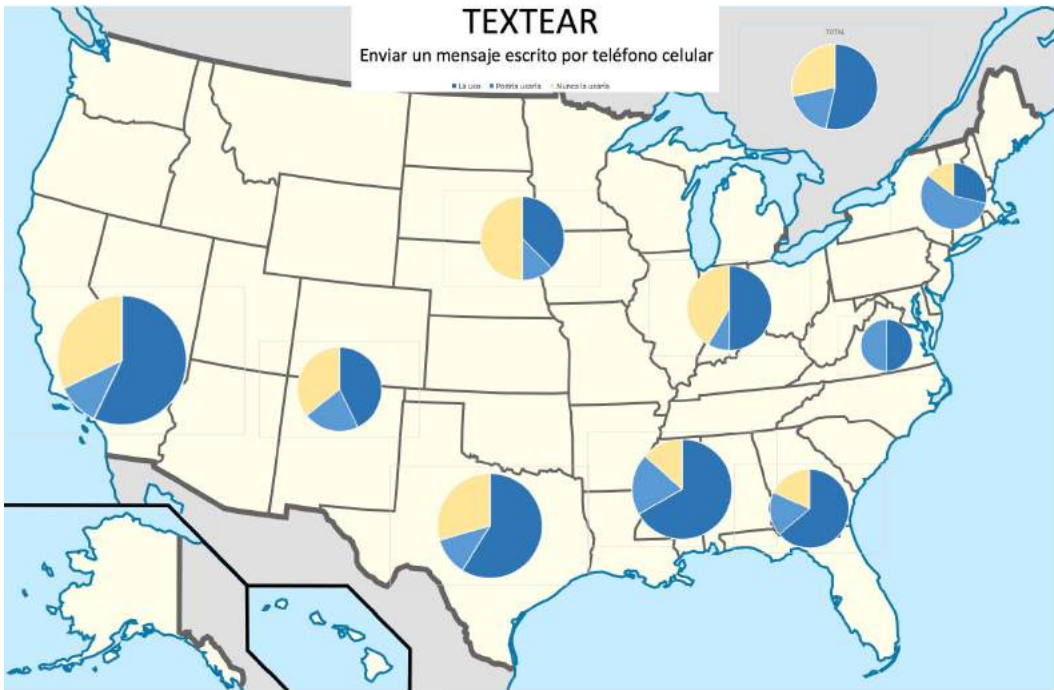
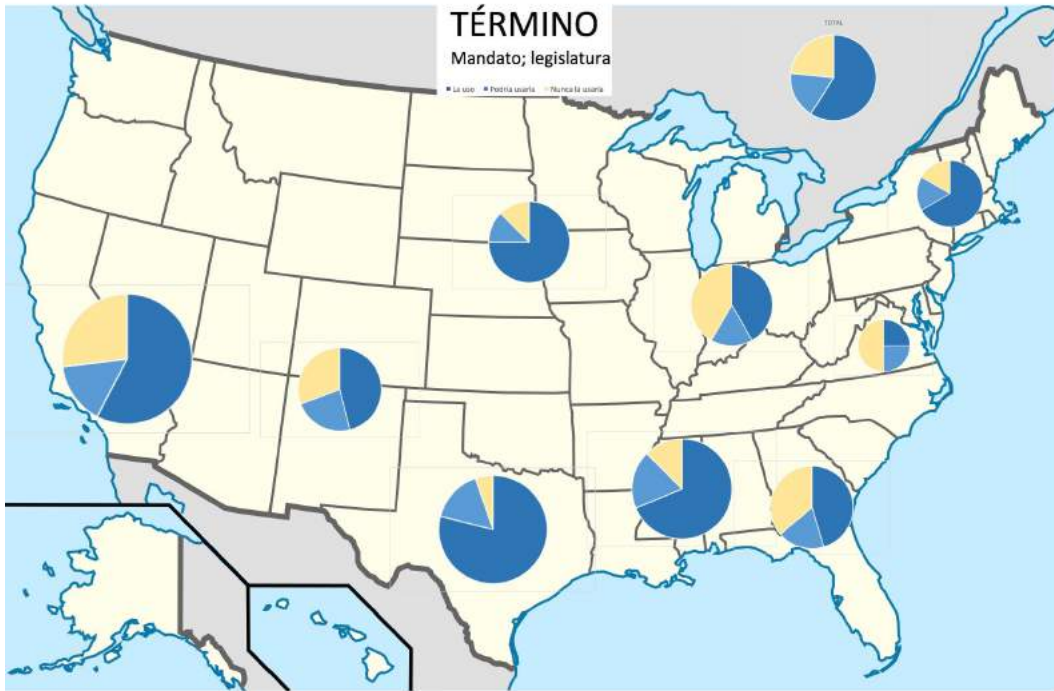


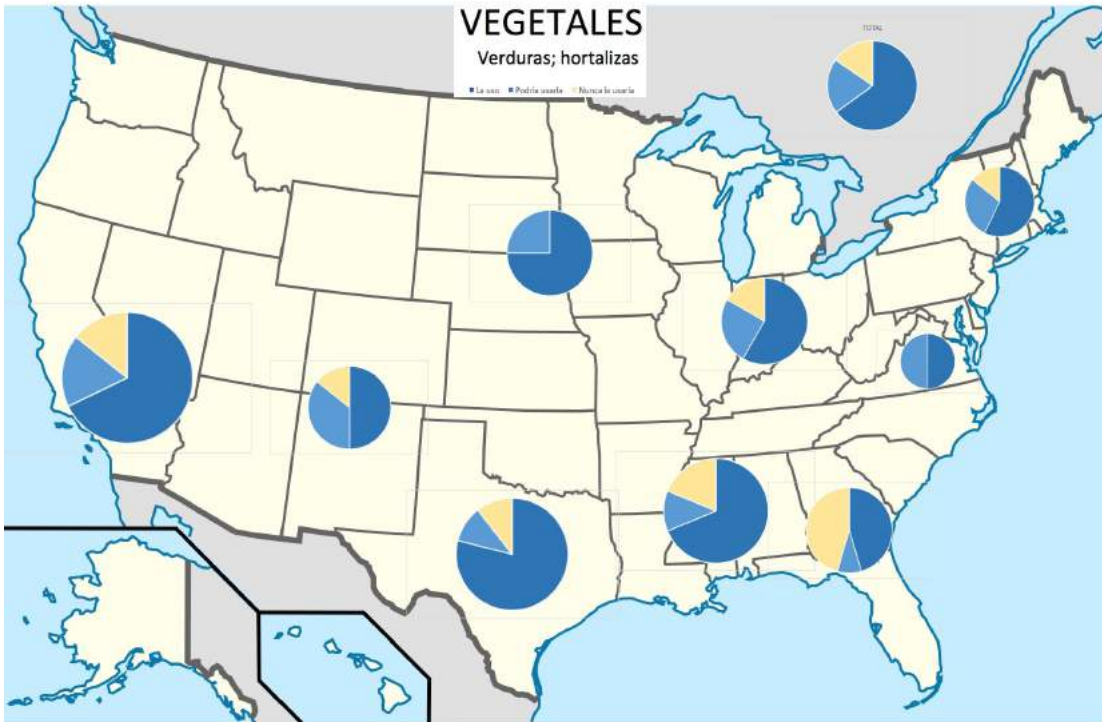
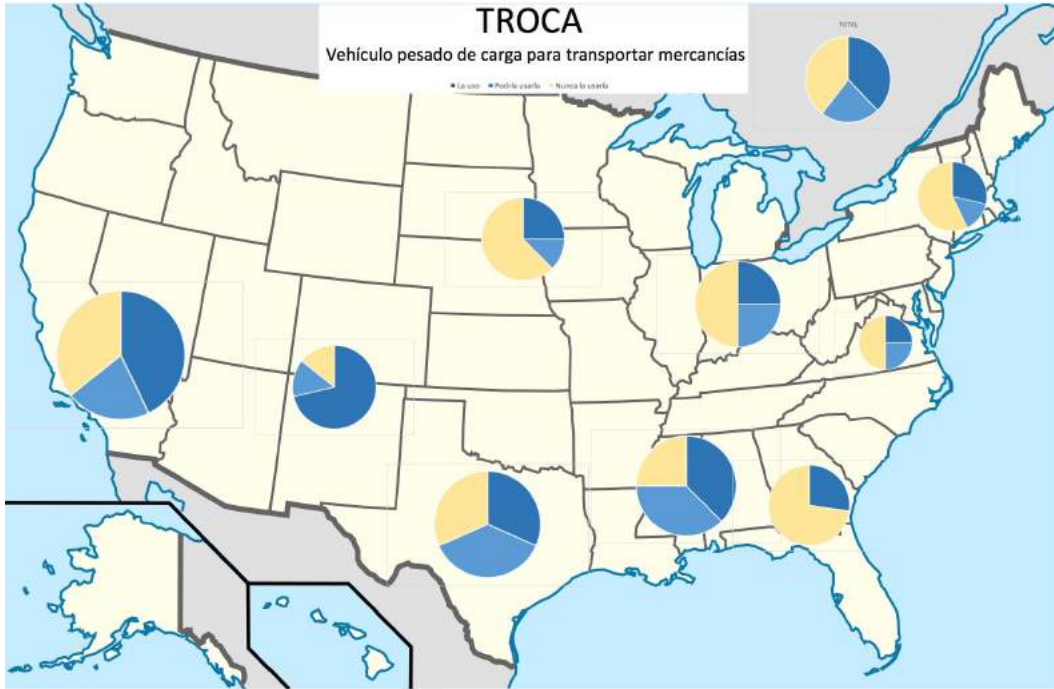












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Francisco Moreno-Fernández

Instituto Cervantes at Harvard University – Universidad de Alcalá