

THE ANGLICIZATION OF CUBAN SPANISH: LEXICO-SEMANTIC VARIATIONS AND PATTERNS

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ABSTRACT. The impact of English on Cuban Spanish results from a profound process of acculturation which is due to the historical connections and spatial proximity of the island to the US. This empirical study is intended to examine the anglicization of Cuban Spanish by determining anglicizing patterns or strategies on the phonological, morphological, lexical and semantic levels. Thus, the article demonstrates the variability of word-building mechanisms and semantic transparency dia-synchronically. This analysis is also accompanied by brief contrastive commentaries on divergent and common aspects between Cuban Spanish and European Spanish, illustrated with examples extracted from prior corpora and dictionary revision. The research has shed more light on the universality of certain morpho-phonological patterns in Spanish, as well as the correlation between pragmatic or extralinguistic aspects with lexico-semantic variation, revealing significant changes in sociolects and attitudes.

Keywords. lexical borrowing; Cuban Spanish; anglicisms; language contact; lexical variations

RESUMEN. El impacto del inglés en el español de Cuba es el resultado de un profundo proceso de aculturación en la isla debido a las relaciones históricas y a la proximidad geográfica de la isla a los Estados Unidos. Este estudio empírico tiene como objetivo examinar la anglización del español cubano mediante el análisis de patrones y estrategias en los niveles fonológico, morfológico, léxico y semántico. De esta manera, el artículo podría demostrar la variabilidad de los mecanismos de formación de palabras y de transparencia semántica, diacrónica y sincrónicamente. Junto con este análisis, se han añadido algunos comentarios contrastivos sobre los aspectos divergentes y coincidentes entre las variedades del español cubano y del europeo, precisamente con ejemplos extraídos de materiales lexicográficos anteriores. Este estudio ha permitido demostrar la universalidad de algunos patrones morfo-fonológicos en el español actual, así como también la correlación entre los aspectos pragmáticos y extralingüísticos con el fenómeno de variación léxico-semántica, lo cual ha puesto de manifiesto la existencia de cambios en sociolectos y actitudes lingüísticas.

Palabras clave. préstamo léxico; español cubano; anglicismos; contacto lingüístico; variaciones léxicas

1. Introduction

Cuba, having been a long-standing Spanish colony and located just 90 miles away from the United States, represents the paradigm of anglicized manners, social standards, beliefs, and of course, language. The Cuban economic and political status depended on American infrastructure for over fifty years (1902-1959) and its linguistic and cultural impact has transcended up to the present day. Thus, the shifting socio-economic conditions on the island have resulted in an unprecedented display of sociolinguistic phenomena, especially in terms of semantic change and sociolects.

Traditionally, the presence of anglicisms in Cuba has been linked to the socio-political conditions on the island (Pérez 2008; Sánchez 2016b), ranging from a Neocolonial status

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in the first half of the 20th century to Fidel Castro's Revolution in 1959. This is evidently reflected in the sociopragmatic assimilation of loan words and the typological cues of such lexical units.

The coinage of anglicisms and calques in Cuban Spanish has been widely recognized (Pichardo 1875; Ortiz 1974; Cárdenas 1999; Valdés 1998, 2001a, 2001b, 2007; Fasla 2007-2008; Pérez 2008; López 1971, 1987, 2013). Nevertheless, little analysis has been attested to sociolinguistic and lexicographical features of English-induced loans. Therefore, this article is aimed at delving into the process of English-induced borrowing in Cuban Spanish (henceforth Cu.), and the influence of loanwords and calques on linguistic levels, by analyzing the process of assimilation of these units into the target language. The existence of recurrent *Anglicization* patterns may help us understand the phenomenon of English-induced linguistic borrowing more thoroughly, and contribute to a more detailed differentiating analysis with respect to European Spanish (henceforth Sp.).

Even though this description is intended to analyze linguistic levels separately, the process of borrowing may necessarily involve more than one level. Traditionally, anglicisms have been regarded as lexical units which have been directly borrowed from a source language, somehow implying the supremacy of lexical borrowing over other types (phonological, morpho-syntactic or semantic).

The productivity of specific types of loanwords leads to the establishment of linguistic patterning. The standardization of morphemes, phonemes, graphemes, etc. could denote a long-existing controversy on the assumption that lexical borrowing is the means of assimilation *par excellence*, understating that other linguistic levels are merely mainstreamed into a primary lexical process (Deroy 1956; Weinreich 1953).

This study is based on the collection of Cu. and Sp. anglicisms from three lexicographical works: *Nuevo diccionario de anglicismos* (Rodríguez & Lillo 1997), *A Dictionary of 1,000 English Loan Words in Cuban Spanish with Usages, Synonyms, and Etymologies* (Sánchez 2017) and *Gran diccionario de anglicismos* (Rodríguez 2017)¹. The compilation and categorization of these anglicized forms represent a necessary step to formulate what anglicizing strategies and variations characterize present-day Cuban Spanish.

By and large, this empirical study focuses on a descriptive, differentiating account of the extracted linguistic units, and their recognizable impact on the word-forming process of linguistic borrowing in the host language. The native-ness of some borrowed forms is formulated by studying and relating the levels involved, with clear contrastive references to Sp.

2. Phonological level and graphemic variations

Prior research does not exist on the phonological influence of English on Cuban Spanish, let alone a study on the phonological borrowing process. Thus, this section is intended to provide an empirical overview of those noticeable borrowing patterns extracted from Cu. The distinct Spanish and English pronunciation systems bring about a number of phonological adaptations, which are in some cases responsible for orthographic modifications. This process of assimilation, which “takes place when a

¹ The choice of these dictionaries lies in the fact that they constitute the largest database of European Spanish, i.e. *Nuevo diccionario de anglicismos* (Rodríguez & Lillo 1997) and *Gran diccionario de anglicismos* (Rodríguez 2017), whilst *A Dictionary of 1,000 English Loan Words in Cuban Spanish with Usages, Synonyms, and Etymologies* (Sánchez 2017) compiles differential or indigenous Cuban Spanish loan words. All these sources are based on both oral and written texts, which allows for a more detailed compilation of standard and slang words and phrases.

borrowed lexical item is not replaced by an indigenous term but rather is adapted in whole or part to the phonology/prosody, orthography and morphology of the host language” (Stewart 1999: 84), necessarily involves the variations coming about in pronunciation and/or spelling. As expected, the phonemic changes could have an impact on the graphemic level, which might be reflected in virtually unrecognizable words in the written language.

The following examples are then aimed at illustrating the relevant connections between the orthographic and phonemic levels in Cuban Spanish anglicisms, particularly those converging and dissimilar trends shared with the European variant of Spanish.

English fricative phoneme /ʃ/ is rendered in Cu., especially in the final position, and it co-exists with another fricative sound /tʃ/, as in *chapear* < *chop*, *chingala* < *shin-guard*, *cloche* < *clutch*. Occasionally, final and middle position fricatives are modified into /s/ as in *ras* < *rash*, *Hershey* (toponym). Like Sp., the opposition /z/ vs. /s/ is neutralized, being /z/ devoiced (*blazer*, *squeeze play*).

The final velar /ŋ/ is rarely found (*shopping*, *swing*), owing to an assimilation process of final /n/ and an idiolect tendency of disrupting final consonants (/ʃ/ʃópin/ŋ). Alternations of these doublets (/ʃ/ vs. /tʃ/; /n/ vs. /ŋ/) are mostly dependent on sociolinguistic categories: social class, age, education level, and unfamiliarity with the English language and sound (cf. Fasla 2007-2008).

The nearness of Cu. sounds, especially vowels, to English ones seems more palpable than Sp. ones, which does not necessarily imply the acquisition of new phonemes, but the adaptation of the existing ones. For instance, let us take the verbal base *cut* in *catao* < *cut-out* (Cu.) and *cúter* < *cutter* (Sp.), in which a more visible tendency of Cu. into phonemic assimilation as opposed to a grapheme-oriented disruption is observed. This differentiation is perceived in other similar cases: *iceberg* (/aisber/ in Cu., /iθebér/ in Sp.; *wifi* /waifai/ in Cu., /wifi/ in Sp.). Nevertheless, in Sp. “greater variation is found with letters representing vowels and vowel combinations” as in *funky* /fanki/, *bacon* /beikon/, etc. (Rodríguez 2002: 136).

The wide range of phonemic and graphemic vowel variations leads to an array of forms. In contrast to Spanish, English has a deep orthography with no simple letter-to-phoneme correspondences; accordingly, Cuban (and European) Spanish speakers often strive for more regular patterns and may also project Spanish rules on the English items borrowed. This, in turn, also affects the way they render vowels. In this respect, different mechanisms can be identified depending on whether the English term contains a monophthong or a diphthong (see Table 1).

Table 1. Vowel patterns in loanword graphemes and phonemes.

Spanish vowels (Cu.)	English vowels /diphthongs (AmE.)
/a/ <i>ampaya</i> , <i>bacha</i> , <i>babiney</i> , <i>fachar</i>	/ʌ/ <i>umpire</i> , /æ/ <i>batch</i> , /ɒ/ <i>bobbinet</i> , /e/ <i>fetch</i>
/e/ <i>cátcher</i> , <i>breaker</i>	/æ/ <i>cátcher</i> , /ei/ <i>breaker</i>
/o/ <i>bluff</i> , <i>frozen</i> , <i>noquear</i>	/ʌ/ <i>bluff</i> , /oʊ/ <i>frozen</i> , /ɒ/ <i>knock-out</i>

The alterations observed in diphthongs denote two main types: (1) Cuban Spanish speakers may apply the same monophthongal vowel phoneme to words that are pronounced and spelt differently in English (/ei/ as in *change* becomes /e/ as in *chenche*);

(2) one of the phonemes constituting the English diphthong is substituted (/ou/ as in *coach* becomes /oa/ as in *coachear/coachiar*). In other cases, diphthongs remain unchanged, as well as their corresponding graphemes: /au/ *bound*, /ei/ *display*. Occasionally, certain English graphemes are compliantly spelt out in Cu. in accordance with their phonemes: *bloomer* → *blúmer*, *coffeecake* → *cofikei/coficake/cofiquei*.

Cu. consonant clusters with initial *s-* (*sl-*, *sm-*, *sp-*, *st-*) occasionally develop into more adapted graphemic variations and in general, both forms are found in the system (*strapless/estrapless*; *stencil/estencil*). The insertion of a prothetic /e/ in both variants, Sp. and Cu., tends to overcome the lack of this type of cluster in Spanish.

Forms of pronunciation and spelling variations are observed in the /w/ and /gu/ sounds: *warandol/guarandol*; *warfarina/guarfarina* (< *warfarin*), *winche/güinche* (< *winch*). Nevertheless, unchanged English lexical units containing /w/ sound are equally kept: *watt*, *wild*, *welter*. The latter examples are English loanwords whose non-assimilated orthographical form ties in with their frequent use in specialized print media that may also feature technical expressions from fields such as electricity, baseball, and boxing.

The omission of final consonants produces on many occasions mockery and hilarity towards the pronunciation of unadapted² loanwords: *blue-plate* /blúplei/, *comeback* /kómba/, *spike* /espái/, *file* /fai/. At times, some monosyllabic words add final vowel sounds to make the resulting loanword more phonologically attainable, and resembling native words: *pack* → *paco*, *can* → *cana* ‘prison’. This phonological variation suggests a clear-cut source of homonymy and polysemy: *paco* is short for the given name *Francisco* and *cana* also means ‘grey hair’.

The choice of any of the Cu. phonological variant is sociolinguistically motivated. Whereas in Sp. the explanation relies on the consideration of “the age, the channel, the subject matter, and the education and socioeconomic status of the speaker and of the addressee” (Rodríguez 2002: 136), in Cu. there are other factors adding more complexity to this phenomenon: longer contact with American English through migration, tourism-related jobs, sociopolitical attitudes towards the use of anglicized language, terminological accuracy, etc. The last element is tightly linked to sports, especially baseball and boxing. As expected, these sports are fraught with anglicisms and calques (see section 7). Most of these units were imported in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century (cf. Pérez 2008), at a time in which most sports supporters were not necessarily familiar with English spelling. Alternatively, the current spelling of most of these lexical units resulted from the process of assimilation coming about in oral discourse: *ampaya* < *umpire*, *dogao* < *dugout*, *tubey* < *two-base hit*, *tribey* < *three-base hit*, *jonrón* < *home-run*.

In terms of graphemic integration, the most visible feature is the adaptation of certain loanwords to Spanish rules (see Table 2). Obviously, this comes about from an existing incompatibility of a number of unusual grapheme clusters or letter combinations, leading to pattern-like substitutions: earlier loans are more detectable because of their tendency to keep some of the foreign graphemes, e.g. *warandol*, *Wajay*, *keno*.

Table 2. General graphemic integration of loanwords in Cuban Spanish.

Cu. Loanword	English Etymon	Graphemic Variation
<i>noquear</i>	<i>knock out</i>	<i>qu</i> < <i>k</i>

² Also called ‘direct’, ‘pure’, ‘patent’ or ‘evident’. They are characterized by being imported without any formal change, as opposed to ‘adapted’, ‘integrated’ or ‘assimilated’ loan words, which might undergo orthographic, phonetic, morphological or semantic variations (Furiassi *et al.* 2012: 12).

<i>quiropedista</i>	<i>chiropracist</i>	<i>qu < ch</i>
<i>cuora</i>	<i>quarter</i>	<i>c < qu</i>
<i>ras</i>	<i>rash</i>	<i>s < sh</i>
<i>cotel</i>	<i>cocktail</i>	$\emptyset < ck$
<i>cachar</i>	<i>catch</i>	<i>ch < tch</i>
<i>chingala</i>	<i>shin-guard</i>	<i>ch < sh</i>
<i>jonrón</i>	<i>home-run</i>	<i>j < h</i>
<i>blúmer</i>	<i>bloomer</i>	<i>u < oo</i>
<i>fotingo</i>	<i>foot it and go</i>	<i>o < oo</i>
<i>cofiquei</i>	<i>coffeecake</i>	<i>i < ee</i>
<i>nailon</i>	<i>nylon</i>	<i>ai < y</i>
<i>guarfarina</i>	<i>warfarin</i>	<i>gu < w</i>
<i>gardear</i>	<i>guard</i>	<i>g < gu</i>
<i>yaqui</i>	<i>jacket</i>	<i>y < j</i>
<i>babiney</i>	<i>bobbinet</i>	<i>b < bb</i>
<i>güin</i>	<i>whin</i>	<i>gü < wh</i>

The adapted spelling of anglicisms in present-day print periodicals in Cuba is commonly characterized by the use of inverted commas and specifications in Spanish, particularly when non-adapted anglicisms are used. All in all, adapted anglicized units, especially those related to trade or professional jargon (sports, banking or industry) follow no specific rules in terms of mechanics and punctuation, and they are discernible indicators of the degree of assimilation displayed by these loanwords:

Cole en realidad estuvo todos los *innings* permitiendo al menos un cubano entrar en circulación y hubo entradas en donde logró salir de grandes apuros como en la tercera cuando Cuba conectó tres indiscutibles pero la misma defensa de Cole y un *bateo* para “*double play*” del cuarto hombre de Cuba, Alfredo Despaigne, lo hicieron escapar en el mismo. (“Decisivo *jonrón* de Despaigne y pitcheo de Miguel A. González dan sensacional triunfo a Cuba ante Team USA 4-3 en Mundial Universitario”, *baseballdecuba.com*, August 7, 2010)

As seen, although there are some similar phono-graphemic assimilation trends shared by Cu. and Sp. (the devoicing of /z/, the insertion of prothetic -e, the omission of velar /ŋ/), Cu. loan words show far more adapted vocalic sounds and graphemes than its European counterpart. The nearness of adapted Cu. vowels to English patterns is in line with the premise that English might have had a deeper impact on the phonology of Cuban Spanish. Evidently, this has been traditionally reflected in the number of orthographically adapted English-induced words on the island, which could as well lead to unrecognizable spelling by English speakers, e.g. *chingala*, *tribey*.

3. Morphological level

As expected, the majority of anglicisms in Cuban Spanish are nouns (cf. Cárdenas 1999). Adjectives tend to be scarcer whereas verbs are more prone to resulting from word-building processes like derivation, whereby a ‘native’ suffix is attached to a loan base (nominal or adjectival) as in *ampayar* < *umpire*, *pichear* < *pitch*, *bonchar* < *bunch*, *clarear* < *clear*.

3.1. Nouns

Gender assignment is a rather pattern-less phenomenon as per inanimate nouns. The grammatical gender of animate nouns usually follows the (biological) sex of their referents, so there should not exist irregularities, e.g. *una* blofera ‘bluffer’, *un* plomero ‘plumber’. Inanimate nouns, on the other hand, coexist with their ‘native’ Spanish counterpart by compliantly adopting the gender of the Spanish word with which they are

usually associated (*el lounge*, *un bunch*, *la barbecue*), or simply because a Spanish suffixed word requires it (*la reservación*); but at times the rule does not apply (*un dinner*, *el jacket*, as opposed to *la comida*, *la chaqueta*). Interestingly enough, new lexical units in the system are arbitrarily assigned with a phonological-induced gender: *el corduroy*, *el bridge*, *el keno*.

Like in Sp., the *-ing* form has been found to be almost invariably associated with the masculine paradigms (Rodríguez 2002: 139) as in *el dancing* ('a dancing club'), *el drinking* ('excessive way of drinking alcohol'), *el inning* ('an inning in a baseball game'), *el living* ('living-room set'), *el rolling* ('a rolling hit in baseball'), *el punching bag* (the gender here is also conditioned by Spanish *el bolso*). There is a shift of pattern in the case of *la shopping*³, which is in accordance with the already-mentioned associations with feminine concepts (*la tienda*).

Regarding number fluctuations and spelling modifications, the examples extracted from the corpus (cf. Sánchez 2017) show that the vast majority of anglicisms take regular plurality *-s* or *-es*, e.g. *managers*, *innings*, *laguers* < *lagers*, *ómnibuses*, *jonrones* < *homeruns*, etc. Some loans take zero inflexion due to the incompatible nature of some plural endings within Spanish: *los box*, *los big leaguer*, *los fielder*, etc. The loan *fielder* is not fully integrated in Cu. unlike its synonym *fildeador*, which takes a number inflectional suffix (*fildeadores*). This might explain the existence, especially in anglicized texts such as sports (e.g. baseball, boxing) of integrated/non-integrated doublets as in *center field/jardinero central*, *home-run/jonrón*, *catcher/receptor*. Some obsolete forms, still present in the vernacular, but not in print periodicals, show proper English inflexion, e.g. *parties*, *groceries*.

3.2. Adjectives

As indicated earlier, loan adjectives in Cu. are characterized by their scarcity in the system. The infrequent forms of suffixed loan adjectives, whose morphological structures clash with standard Spanish ones, reveal a general trend of either non-acceptance or coexistence. The setting of such 'coexisting' doublets imply the presence of sociolectal marks: *provisorio* (*provisional*) < *provisory*, *remarcable* < *remarkable*, *investigativo* (*investigador*) < *investigative*, *visionista* (*visionario*) < *visionist*. Interestingly, some 'pure' adjectival loans, e.g. *ok* (*oká*), *good*, *punch-drunk*, *ready*, *fit-doing* (pseudo-anglicism meaning 'ok'), denote negative prestige. These unadapted adjectives are most likely found in predicative form. Other attributive forms are generally found in compound units (*trabajo investigativo*, *boxeador light-weight*, *balance provisorio*) or apposition (*música filin*, *helado frozen*).

One significant feature of a group of adapted adjectives is their stress on the antepenultimate syllable (*boxístico*, *modélico*, *turístico*), which might result from the assimilation process involving the necessary attachment of native adjective-forming suffixes. Lorenzo (1996: 89) refers to the usage of some of these anglicized adjectives: "The curious aspect of these adjectives is not so much their being 'esdrújulos'⁴ and cult as their high dissemination, despite their cult origin and initial restricted usage, in a variety of communicative spheres (...)". The transition of some of these specialized adjectives and their subsequent adaptation into the vernacular denote a palpable standardization of restricted terminology.

The extended usage of the derivational suffix *-al* has been referred to as a highly productive form (Cárdenas 1999; Nández 1973) whose usage has been perceived in the media, the vernacular, and even political speeches, e.g. *procedural*, *congresional*,

³ In Puerto Rican Spanish, *shopping* is masculine.

⁴ Words stressed on their antepenultimate syllable.

televisual. The majority of these loanwords are direct borrowings, but some of them are derivatives composed of a native base and a borrowed suffix, e.g. *televisual*. This might shed some light on the process of morphological borrowing, which explains how certain morphemes might gain traits of productivity within a target language, and combine with native bases regardless of their combinability strength. As to the far-reaching usage of *-al* in Cu., the existence of adjectival doublets is perhaps one of the most prominent features: *educacional/educativo*, *opcional/optativo*, *operacional/operativo*, *nutricional/nutritivo*, *televisual/televisivo* (Cárdenas 1999: 52).

3.4. Adverbs

No cases of adverbial *-ly* suffixation was found in Cu. However, other adverbial phrases were found: *all right*, *yes*, *of course*, *cash* ‘payment by cash’, *de fly* ‘coincidentally’, *fifty-fifty*, *chenche por chenche* ‘by exchange’, *fitdoing*.

3.5. Verbs

The most general word-building pattern of verbs seems to involve denominal bases and verb-forming morphemes *-ar* and *-ear*, such as *ampayar* (*ampaya* < *umpire*), *bonchar* (*bonche* < *bunch*), *catchear* (*catcher*), *cranquear* (*cranque* < *crank*). In all these cases, the anglicized verb and its corresponding noun co-exist in the system. No English-structured verb has been found, i.e. all of them are derived words. Occasionally, some verbs are derived directly from their paronymic verbs, e.g. *guachinear* ‘to refuse to argue about politics’ < *to watch*, *machear* ‘to wear something coinciding with something else in color, size, etc.’ < *to match*, *reportar* < *to report*. The derivational morpheme *-ear* has two possible pronunciation forms: /iar/ and /ear/. The former corresponds to a lower sociolect. This suffix is by far the most productive in terms of verb formation processes (Cárdenas 1999: 52).

Alongside the suffixation mechanism these verbs undergo, at times they call for verb-forming prefixation: *enclochar* < *to clutch*, *embasar* ‘to be safe at a baseball base’ < *base*. Already-prefixed verbs are not frequent in the language: *desfibrar* ‘to cut sugar canes in small strips’ < *defiber*. Deadjectival verbs are not common, only one example has been found: *clarear* ‘to remove bushes in an uncultivated area’ < *clear*.

Other verb-forming suffixes (*-izar*, *-ificar*), though already existing in the language, have become more productive in Spanish (Cárdenas 1999: 52) partly due to their English counterparts (*-ize*, *-ify*), and the tendency of the latter to be assimilated through English verbs, in particular specialized ones (*clorificar* < *chlorify*, *vulcanizar* < *vulcanize*).

4. Word-building processes

4.1. Derivation

In addition to the derivational suffixes mentioned in previous sections, it is relevant to point out some derivational word-building productive patterns existing in Cu. As per agent nouns, Cuban Spanish animate anglicisms resort to few suffixes: (*-ero*, *-era*), *-ista*, *-ador*, as in *pitcher*, *catcher*, *fielder* (*fildeador*), *bateador* ‘batter’, *beisbolero* ‘baseballer’, *bisnero* ‘smuggler’, *güincherero* ‘winch technician’, *motorista* ‘motorist’, *monticulista* ‘pitcher’, *visionista* ‘visionist’, *yatista* ‘yacht sailor’. The suffixes *-er* and *-man* can be found in contemporary Cuban Spanish (*pitcher*, *big leaguer*, *clubman*, *barman*, *sportsman*, *cameraman*), but they are merely attached to the borrowed nouns. The level of synonymy is especially high due to the productivity of suffixed agent-forming doublets (*fielder/fildeador*; *beisbolero/beisbolista*; *motero/motorista*; *visionario/visionista*). Suffix *-ero(a)* appears to be highly productive in Cu. in terms of

agent word formation, especially when an anglicized base is involved: *pipero(a)* ‘pipe truck driver’ < *piper*, *maltero(a)* ‘malt salesperson’ < *malt*, *patrullero* ‘police on patrol’ < *patrol*, *plomero(a)* < *plumber*, *ponchador(a)* ‘person working in a tire repair shop’ < *punch*.

Likewise, a number of inanimate nouns keep the *-er* suffix unchanged (*breaker*, *freezer*, *láguer* ‘beer’ < *lager*). Others show a clearer level of integration by resorting to *-ero(a)* morpheme: *chequera* < *checkbook*, *piquera* ‘taxi rank’ < *to pick up*, *lonchera* ‘lunch box’ < *lunch*, *ponchadora* < *puncher*.

Unusual derivatives are also found: *championismo* ‘championship’ < *champion*, *babyto* < *baby*. The former implies a negative meaning as to ‘the act of being too competitive’, whereas the second one is an unproductive derivational process whereby a Spanish diminutive suffix is attached to an anglicized base. This is found in a limited group of derivatives, especially related to garments: *shorcito* < *shorts*, *pulovito* < *pull-over*, *blumito* < *bloomer*. They are usually associated with children’s clothing, which explains why fondness and endearment communicative functions are interconnected with this suffix.

4.2. Compounds and combining forms

Like in Sp., most compounds have been borrowed directly from English, “therefore their existence does not entail the previous use or later adoption of their constituent lexemes” (Rodríguez 2002: 142), as in *beamball*, *blueplate*, *comeback*, *dugout*, *marshmallow*, *bell boy*. Some others are made up of fully integrated composites, especially in baseball (*béisbol* < *baseball*, *chingala* < *shin-guard*, *jonrón* < *homerun*, *tribey* < *three-base hit*, *tubey* < *two-base hit*), clothing (*pulóver* < *pullover*, *chorpán* < *short-pants*) or food (*cofiquei* < *coffeecake*, *panqué* < *pancake*).

A number of English loanwords combine with native elements, leading to the formation of ‘hybrid borrowings’ (Furiassi *et al.* 2012: 7), i.e. multi-word units composed of an English element and Spanish elements or syntax: *utility de cuadro* < *utility infielder*, *traganíquel* ‘slot machine’ < *traga* + *nickel*, *robo de base* < *base steal*, *pipi-room* ‘toilet’, *oficial del floor* < *floor’s official*, *juego de living* < *living-room set*, *línea de foul* < *foul line*.

5. Semantic level

The most distinctive feature of Cu. anglicisms is the lack of polysemy. Loanwords and calques tend to be one-sense units, which is in accordance with the underlying purpose of lexical borrowing: the acquisition of a non-existent unit in the target language. Nevertheless, diachronically speaking, a few early-acquired borrowings have become polysemous or homonymous due to a metaphorical transfer or extension of meaning: *fotingo* < *foot in and go*, which initially meant ‘car’, evolved to ‘old car’, and it is also used to denote the ‘buttocks’.⁵ In some cases, the transfer of meaning is more obvious: *all around*, whose first sense refers to a gymnastics term used to denote a gymnast who can do various types of exercises; a second meaning is used in a broader sense: ‘being capable of doing different types of activities’, not necessarily related to sports. In the case of *güin* < *whin*, the features of the ‘long spiny stem’ (sense 1) are transferred into sense 2, ‘an extremely thin person’, proving that semantic re-assignment could involve actions and physical traits.

⁵ The word *fotingo* also rhymes with the word *fondillo*, which also means “bum” in Cuban Spanish. (Sánchez 2017). This might explain the origin of such semantic extension.

The transition undergone by *party* shows the complexity of the processes of semantic shifting and gender alteration pertaining to borrowing and calquing. In pre-1959 times, the word adopted the masculine gender whereas it is currently used with a feminine gender. This gender shift goes hand in hand with a semantic clash occurring after 1959, in which the latter was mostly used in lower class sociolect, depicting negative prestige. Neocolonial loanword *party* clearly conveys a meaning of refined gathering (positive prestige). *Party*, in sum, could be an accurate metaphor to describe the evolution of anglicisms in Cuban Spanish, and the tip of the iceberg of a significant semantic shifting occurring after 1959, pertaining to borrowing and calquing.

English homonyms are rarely found in Cuban anglicized borrowings. Instead, these forms are equally assimilated in the target language, and maintain their homonymous nature. For instance: *blooper* (sense 1) ‘an embarrassing public blunder’ and *blooper* (sense 2) ‘a fly ball hit barely beyond a baseball infield’; *panel* (sense 1) < *panel truck* and *panel* (sense 2) ‘a group of people with special knowledge, skill, or experience who give advice or make decisions’. The loan word *blooper* also has these two senses in English, which suggests a complete semantic correspondence between source and target languages. However, the word *panel* has only one sense (sense 2) directly borrowed from English whilst sense 1 results from the processes of borrowing and ellipsis (< *panel truck*).

Another feature of Cu. anglicisms is the extension/change of meaning due to the political shifting the language has been exposed to. The following may occur: *mitin* < *meeting* can have a more literal sense of ‘brief gathering at work to read or tell some information’, and a post-1959 ‘a recrimination speech in which someone else is being criticized by his/her acts’. The latter one clearly conveys a more politically biased meaning, whose pragmatic feature is completed by the collocation *de repudio*, as in *mitin de repudio* ‘street demonstrations’.

Semantically speaking, the referent could play an important role. In Cu., it is frequent to find a number of synonymous doublets (native and borrowed elements), which do not coincide fully in their denotation process: *enguatada/suéter* < *sweater*, *salchicha/hot dog*. For example, *suéter* refers to a knitted or crocheted sweater whilst *enguatada* could be a thin, long-sleeved cotton top. Both have in common that they are worn in winter, that they are long-sleeved, and presumably that seems enough semantic information to relate them synonymously.

Without doubt, it is baseball-related metaphors, and their adaptation to standard Spanish, that has represented a step forward in terms of the linguistic evolution of anglicisms in Cuban Spanish. These metaphorical phrases (*jugar en los files* ‘to be at the very back of a place’ < *to play in the fields*; *batear un jonrón* ‘to hit the dot’ < *to bat a home-run*) are linked to a growing popularization, and their transferred traits are not necessarily related to the original sense: in the case of *cuarto bate*, whose meaning is ‘someone who eats plenty of food’ and whose origin is the baseball phrase ‘fourth batter’ (or ‘cleanup batter’), there exists a semantic equivalence between the batter who is responsible for ‘cleaning’ the bases, and the person who ‘cleans’ the dishes.

The analysis of the assimilation degree of borrowings in a native context is easily perceived through a combination of factors. Cárdenas (1999: 53) has summarized some of these ‘indexes’ in Cuban Spanish: (1) the use of anglicized words in word-building processes (*pitcher/pitcheo/pitchear*); (2) the vernacular condition of some specific units, which undergo a shift from a specialized to more general usage (*manichear* ‘to manage’ was used for ‘managing businesses’ and now it is used with the meaning ‘to manipulate someone’); (3) the specialization of the meaning of some of the borrowed words (*bisne* < *business*, which is currently used to denote an illegal business); (4) the extension of

meaning through metaphorical variants of the loanword (*poncharse* < *to punch*, which is used metaphorically with the meaning ‘not to succeed in doing something’); (5) the existence of polysemy, as it has been explained and illustrated throughout all this section.

5.1. *Calques*

The process of calquing denotes a high degree of complexity as to word-building mechanisms. It involves a ‘camouflaging’ transition of loanwords into the state of native-ness. This process involves three general variants: ‘loan translation’ (*estar al bate* ‘baseball position’ < *to be at bat*, *arco del pie* < *arch of the foot*, *cortina de hierro* < *iron curtain*), ‘loan rendition’ (*bocadulce* < *sweet tooth*, *árbol del pan* < *breadfruit tree*), ‘loan creation’ (*apagafuegos* ‘type of baseball player’ < *fireman*, *field* ‘baseball position’ < *jardín*). ‘Loan creations’ are particularly productive in baseball where semantically-related paronyms are used. Apparently, post-1959 journals and periodicals are more liable to resort to this type of calques, especially in the domain of sports.

Cu., along with Sp., has a clear tendency to be more open to anglicized borrowings than to calquing, which is indisputably related to the complexity of the latter. Anglicisms, especially those unadapted ones (*background*, *backup*, *beamball*) undergo little morphological shifting. Phonological and semantic alterations denote a necessary process of adaptation. On the contrary, calques are more ‘elaborate’ units, in particular loan translations, implying an intrinsic need to find native equivalences to the lexical units acquired. The media, not surprisingly, plays a key role in this process of adaptation, which explains their functional aspect.

Therefore, the question of replacing anglicized items by native units is linked to a number of variables: the principle of least effort, the existing sociolinguistic traits of the language when the lexical unit is acquired, the degree of difficulty in the translation process, the acceptance (or not) of one of the coexisting synonyms (*baseball/béisbol/pelota*), etc. What seems most evident is that specialized terms are more prone to keeping borrowings unadapted, entailing a historical dichotomy between language (system) and speech such as *backup*, *dugout*, *gingham*, *jingle*, to name a few.

6. Sociolinguistic remarks

Loanwords in Cuban Spanish have been clearly exposed to a profound shifting with regards to sociolinguistic context. This may have had a significant influence on the words attested in dictionaries, but more importantly, on the attitude towards the use of anglicisms as far as social class and sociolect are concerned. In other words, sociolects are dependent on their own stylistic or diaphasic variations. Styles do not operate independently, but they are found to be associated with a specific social stratum, within the limits of a sociolect (cf. López 2013).

When tracking back the diachronic motivations of lexical and semantic borrowings, some pragmatically-driven factors are perceived: (a) ‘cultural loan’, which is linked to the concept of ‘intimate borrowing’ (Bloomfield 1994: 461) resulting from geographic and cultural proximity, or military, political and cultural dominance in conjunction with the fact that speakers who have contact with each other necessarily “resort to varying forms of mixture of elements from the languages involved” (Winford 2003: 2); (b) ‘social need’, which refers to science-oriented neologisms and the acceptance of specialized terms; (c) ‘institutionalization’, which implies words being ‘established in a language and incorporated in the permanent inventory of the lexicon’ (Stojičić 2004). What seems obvious is that social need seems to vary inasmuch as extralinguistic traits, and such a variation triggers new forms of word formation, extensions of meanings, unacceptance of existing lexical units, and sociolect choice. However, the borrowability of lexical units

should not be restricted to the aforementioned reasons, as it is difficult find models explaining “why some categories are borrowed more easily through shallow, casual contacts while others require prolonged and intense cultural pressure” (Matras 2009: 157).

One of the most evident signs of the impact of extralinguistic features on the borrowing process is the revision of written language, especially journalistic materials, and entries’ first-known use in dictionaries. Sometimes the latter could be misleading since “a word is often current for years in the spoken language before it appears in published texts” (Stubbs 2001: 174). Nevertheless, the study of print journals constitutes a satisfactory means of sociolinguistic analysis of loanwords.

The existence of a system of “orderly heterogeneity” within a speech community’s language (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968: 100) implies the non-random nature of sociolinguistic variations, constrained by multiple social factors. The ultimate challenge is to find quantitative and qualitative mechanisms for culling synchronic data sets, which “tell us much about how language change is embedded in social structures, i.e. the social mechanisms, motivations, and constraints on it” (Bayley 2007: 118). The empirical analysis of written texts⁶, especially journalistic materials, has been of great importance in identifying the contextual features of attested words, and to describe the sociolect these units belong to.

There are two major findings regarding the sociolinguistic motivations of anglicized lexical borrowing in Cuban Spanish:

- a. Neocolonial (1902-1959) upper sociolect: there exists a direct link between upper socioeconomic stratum and English-induced units as far as positive prestige is concerned. The thorough acceptance of these units into such a sociolect implies favorable conditions as to the anglicization of lexis (cf. Sánchez 2016b). The number of anglicisms found during this period exceeds the ones extracted from the other two periods (Colonial and Post-1959) combined: *party*, *cake*, *living* ‘living-room set’, *frigidaire* ‘fridge’, *cloche* ‘clutch’, *fielder* ‘baseball infield position’, etc. The majority of the loanwords assimilated, and accepted, by a high-class sociolect could result in fully-integrated, standard lexicon. Therefore, subsequent historical and political events won’t have any significant impact on the ‘foreignness’ connotation these units were once compelled with.

- b. Post-1959 sociolect: changes of earlier Cuban social classes, and a disruption of Cuban-American foreign policy marked the establishment of new connotative traits as far as prestige is concerned. Some authors have made reference to the use of English-induced loanwords and they have found that these forms “have nowadays a high index of frequency within a high sociolect” (Fasla 2007-2008: 86). It is unquestionable that in certain areas (sports, technology, economics, etc.), the adaptation of newly-coined units has continued. However, the compilation of Cu. anglicisms, calques, and adapted phrases has proved the existence of a significant group of borrowings linked to negative prestige, whose users are more likely related to low sociolect: *all right*, *ok*, *fifty-fifty*, *fit-doing*, *cigar*, *money*, *brother*, etc. Clearly, these units have not undergone such an integration process as their predecessors once did. There is a noticeable connection between sociolect dominance and borrowing integration and adaptation. Unfortunately, not much has been studied on the degree of acceptance of lexical borrowing in post-1959 Cu. Cuban-American migrants’

⁶ Most of these written materials have been retrieved from *A Dictionary of 1,000 English Loan Words in Cuban Spanish With Usages, Synonyms, and Etymologies* (cf. Sánchez 2017).

dialect, and in particular *Spanglish* in the south of Florida, has exerted a great influence on the assimilation of a number of loanwords: *estraples* < *strapless*, *cuora* < *quarter*, *parole*, *flip-flops*, etc. Not surprisingly, these coinages co-exist with native ones: *sin tirantes* (*estraples*), *peseta* (*cuora*), *chancleta* (*flip-flops*).

The existing dichotomy between anglicisms and native forms, especially those conveying a synonymous meaning, denotes the complexity of the sociolinguistic process of register and social stratification. Register, understood as “the necessary mediating concept that enables us to establish the continuity between a text and its socio-semiotic environment” (Halliday 2002: 58), relates to sociolinguistic factors (age, gender, education, socioeconomic stratum, etc.) and the corresponding sociolect.

In the case of Cu., most of the specialized anglicisms have a learned nature, i.e. they belong to a higher sociolect. Maybe the exception is sports, in particular baseball, whose terminology has varied from a ‘foreign’ status to a more native one, integrating into the vernacular as anglicized forms, calques or even metaphorical phrases: *files* < *fields*, *jardines*, *estar en los files* ‘to be at the very back of a place’.

The learned or specialized words are mostly found in written language, and they coexist with their equivalent speech forms. An example is *display/pantalla*: the former is jargon whereas the latter does occur as a metonymic form in speech. But occasionally, the difference of usage of two synonyms does not rely on the type of language but its purpose in the source language, as in *film/filme* and *película*. The former undergoes a ‘redistribution of functions’ (Cárdenas 1999: 53), i.e. its usage is mostly restricted to specialized spheres whereas the second one denotes ‘a film’ as we know it in the vernacular. This so-called redistribution might result from the co-text typology which the form was generally found in when the borrowing process takes place. It might explain why certain loanwords are more inclined to specialized fields than others.

Nevertheless, on some occasions the formality is independent of technicality. In print periodicals, it is frequent to find *camión cisterna* instead of the anglicized *pipa* < *pipe* to refer to a large truck of varying capacity used especially for storing water, beer, or refreshments; or *parada de taxi* ‘taxi rank’ instead of *piquera* < *pick-up*.

In general terms, the alternation of some of these doublets clearly relies on the choice of the speaker (or writer) and type of speech (or text) produced. Sociolinguistic traits (register, education level, technicality, etc.) are fundamental in the semantic construction of new coinages. They depict these fresher lexical units more thoroughly, and establish complex mechanisms of word choice, polysemy, synonymy, metonymy, etc.

7. Base-ball, baseball, béisbol, pelota: a necessary case study

The study of baseball-related words has fascinated linguists, and speakers in general. This is mainly due to the attested symbolism of *cubanía*⁷ they convey, and to the premise that the lexicon belonging to this sport is by far in everyone’s mouth, and it is a distinguishing element of their identity (Castro 2012). Baseball, or *la pelota*, as it is known in Cuba, has transcended historical periods, and has served as reference material and analysis for experts in lexicography, terminology and sociolinguistics. Besides, this sport has been strongly linked to a long-standing process of transculturation, which started in the nineteenth century, and which resulted in the assimilation of North-American lifestyles and pastimes. In sum, baseball is probably the semantic area that best reveals the evolution of anglicized lexicon in Cuban Spanish since most of the units have been borrowed or calqued from English (cf. Camacho 1998-1999).

⁷ Cuban-ness in Spanish.

Baseball acted as a catalyst during the sociolinguistic transition (Sánchez 2016a: 19), which implied that hundreds of phrases were adapted from the media and specialized commentaries into the vernacular. Thus, the assimilation of a number of borrowed phrases and words started at different levels (phonological, morpho-syntactic, semantic). Whilst at the end of the nineteenth century, some nationwide papers published glossaries, accompanying their sport chronicles, for those who were less familiar with the English language (Pérez 2008: 78), in the print press of the twentieth century these lexical units underwent phonetic and graphemic variations.

The graphemic variants are obviously related to the phonetic changes produced by Cuban speakers. Thus, these variations are still palpable: *chingala* < *shin-guard*, *filis* < *fields*, *esquedo* < *schedule*, *jonrón* < *home-run*, etc. Together with direct borrowings from English, calques (both literal and free) have added an important group of entries, which is why there exists a significant level of synonymy within baseball. Free calques and loan rendition (*field/jardín*, *hit/línea*) exceed in number the literal ones (*pitcher/lanzador*, *catcher/quécher/receptor*), entailing somehow the high metaphorical content of the resulting units, as opposed to the units formed through literal translation.

The coexistence of these synonyms in the language is one of the most relevant features of baseball-related words. Linguistic restriction was replaced by the semantic redefinition of loanwords: *base-ball*, as it was initially borrowed, was substituted by *béisbol* (an adapted form), which derived into *pelota*. *Béisbol* and *pelota* have permeated into contemporary Cuban Spanish, the former being preferred over by the media and specialized texts. Interestingly, an ever-increasing number of baseball-related terms have been *hispanicized*, which is by itself a pragmatic tendency (or stylistic preference) of present day Cuban print press: *fields* → *jardines*, *pitcher* → *lanzador*, *catcher* → *receptor*. An analogous process of ‘language depuration’⁸ has been described by López Morales (2013: 142) in reference to the news agency *CNN en Español*, whereby terms are carefully chosen and neologisms are *hispanicized*: *ethnic profile* → *singularización racial*, *soft money* → *contribuciones indirectas*.

No doubt, the integration of metaphorical baseball-related units into the vernacular has meant a step forward towards the linguistic adaptation of anglicized units in Cuban Spanish. These words and phrases have their belonging to a medium-low sociolect in common, and some of their semantic traits do not necessarily relate entirely to their original sense: *cuarto bate* < *fourth batter* (sense 1 ‘the fourth player at bat’, and sense 2 ‘someone who eats excessively’).

Another interesting feature of these metaphorical lexical units is that most of the phrases are composed by ‘indirect borrowing’ (Furiassi *et al.* 2012: 7), namely some of their elements are native, and Spanish syntax might be respected: *jugar en los files* < *fields*, *llevar el average* < *average*, *ser out por regla* < *out*. Metaphorical transfer of meaning is highly perceived in examples of free translation: *lanzarse de barriga* < *to slide onto the base*, but a necessary knowledge of baseball is required to understand the meaning that is being transferred.

In general, studying the influence of the *anglicization* and *transculturation* processes necessarily involves the analysis of baseball-related entries in Cuban Spanish. Their fundamental contribution has been to expose the evolution of English-induced borrowings within a specific language, and to show how most of these elements have been semantically redefined. Thus, synonymy, polysemy and homonymy are fostered greatly, entailing a deep-rooted native-ness process. The metaphorical usage of indirect borrowings or free translations clearly conveys the significance of the adaptation process.

⁸ Original in Spanish: *depuración idiomástica*.

8. Conclusions

The analysis of the influence of English on Cuban Spanish has shown well-defined anglicizing patterns, easily distinguishable from their European Spanish counterpart. As per the phonological level, there exists a nearness of Cu. vowels and diphthongs with those of English. The examples of *iceberg* and *wifi* reveal the existing contrastive pattern between both Spanish variants dia-synchronously. Three main anglicized Cu. vocalic phonemes have been identified: /a/, /e/, and /o/, as in *ampaya* < *umpire*, *catcher*, and *bluff* respectively. These vowels synthesize the *hispanization* of a wide variety of English phonemes, entailing a necessary process of phonemic assimilation. Additionally, the insertion of a prothetic /e/ in both variants, Sp. and Cu., facilitates the adaptation of consonant clusters with initial *s-* (*sl-*, *sm-*, *sp-*, *st-*).

As to word formation, the majority of the anglicisms compiled in the glossary are expectedly nouns. Adjectives are scarcer in number, and a recurring verb-forming process suggests the attachment of a native suffix to a loaned base (nominal or adjectival) as in *ampayar* < *umpire*, *clarear* < *clear*. Contrary to animate nouns, inanimate nouns have been found to adopt gender either arbitrarily or according to two main patterns: adopting the gender of the Spanish word with which a loan is associated (*la barbecue*), or complying with Spanish affixation (*la reservación*). In terms of plurality, one of the most visible findings indicates the existence of doublets, consisting of a direct borrowing and a loan translation, whereby translated constructs are affixed: *catcher/receptor* → *receptores*, *center/jardinero* → *jardineros*. This dichotomy proves a necessary complementation of two semantically identical forms, being their syntactic usage essential to explain the morphological variations undergone.

Loaned adjectives, though low in number, are relevant in terms of the word-building processes conveyed. Adjectives ending in *-al* denote the existence of systemic doublets: *educacional/educativo*, *televisual/televisivo*. This frequent adjective-forming pattern sheds some light on the processes of loaned affixes and morphological productivity. Thus, a loaned suffix might be productive enough to combine with native bases or roots.

Most compounds have been borrowed directly from English, and their existence does not imply a prior or later coinage of their constituent lexemes: *beamball*, *blueplate*, *comeback*. An attention-grabbing feature of these composites is their tendency to be fully adapted or integrated so their constituent units are not easily discernible: *chingala* < *shinguard*, *tribey* < *three-base*, *cofiquei* < *coffeecake*.

Like European Spanish, Cu. tends to be more open to anglicized borrowing than to calquing. Besides, specialized terms are visibly more prone to remaining unadapted: *backup*, *dugout*, *gingham*, *jingle*, whilst those loans assimilated into the vernacular undergo either phonemic/graphemic adaptation or calquing. As to semantics, and as opposed to European Spanish (cf. Rodríguez & Lillo 1997), English-induced units are not generally homonymic. Calques and anglicisms tend to be one-sense. From a diachronic or historical perspective, originally one-sense lemmas have undergone semantic extension or metaphorical transference, leading to polysemy, and at times, semantic calques.

A relevant feature of the normative and descriptive analysis of linguistic borrowing has been to establish a direct correlation of loanwords and calques with pragmatically-driven factors. Therefore, three diachronic motivations have been described: language contact, social need and institutionalization. The revision of periodicals and dictionaries has also suggested two turning points as far as semantic variations are concerned, mostly motivated by sociolinguistic impact. The first point is historically coincident with the start of the Neocolonial period, whereby a number of loanwords, especially unadapted ones,

were assimilated by higher class members, denoting positive prestige and acceptance. The second point corresponds to the triumph of the Revolution in 1959. The number of newly coined anglicized units dropped and a hefty part of them have been associated with low sociolect. The study of present day awareness of loanwords, both in the system and the vernacular, represents a riveting area of knowledge that is to be revised in further detail. This sociolinguistic process in Cuba might clarify how given attitudes towards anglicization might have influenced lexical frequency, productivity and semantic shifting.

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