Documenting the presence of English in the expanding circle: Linguistic landscapes of Santiago, Chile

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Abstract

Chile is considered to be within 'the expanding circle' – countries where English has no official status, and is used for limited purposes. However, the learning of English has been promoted in Chilean public schools since 2004, and English words and phrases are now seen in the linguistic landscape of Chile – the language of public signage. The research reported in this paper focussed on the linguistic landscapes of major streets in three municipalities within greater Santiago, the capital city of Chile. The research aimed to photograph all public signs within the defined locations, to document the use of English, and to analyse how and where English is used, and by whom. As there have been no previous linguistic landscape studies carried out in Chile, the research is a contribution to the literature surrounding the spread and use of English, as well as language contact and language change.

Keywords: linguistic landscape, expanding circle, English, Chile, Santiago, anglicisms, loanwords, hybrid forms

1. Introduction - Aims

As a visitor to Santiago, Chile, in January 2013, I surmised that the use of English in the city was limited, after receiving only one positive response to requests for assistance in English. However, I noticed that most of the signs in the city's extensive rail system were written in both Spanish and English, including large 'entrance' and 'exit' signs, and small safety notices. I speculated that this might be to cater for English-speaking tourists. However, main shopping areas of the city frequented by tourists seemed to contain few English words in signs or advertisements. The current study thus began with the author's curiosity regarding the use of English in public areas of this city of approximately 6.5 million people (Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 2014).

This report begins with a summary of the broader context of the study – language contact and change, followed by an overview of the current status of English – as an international language, in South America, and in Chile. Next, an outline is provided of linguistic landscape research, in which the study is situated. Methodological issues in linguistic landscape research are summarized, and a description provided of how the current study resolved these. The findings of the study are presented, comprising an analysis of data that was collected from three linguistic landscapes within Santiago. Tentative conclusions

are drawn regarding the presence of English in these landscapes, limitations of the study are acknowledged and suggestions are made for further research.

The main aim of the current study was to begin documenting the extent to which English appeared in selected linguistic landscapes of Santiago, and by implication, the amount of English which ordinary inhabitants of the city might be exposed to in this way. The study contributes to the literature focusing on the spread of English around the globe, and fills a gap in that no previous linguistic landscape studies have been carried out in Chile.

2. Background to the research

2.1 Languages in contact and borrowing

Whenever and wherever two cultures have met, their languages have had an impact on each other. Historically, contact situations arose from geographical proximity and were largely face-to-face. However, in the late 20th and the 21st centuries opportunities for language contact have increased. Muysken (2010, p. 265) points to "the tremendous increase in the number of migrants" world-wide as a source of increased language contact, and Thomason (2010, p. 32) notes: "with novel means of worldwide travel and mass communication, many contacts now occur through the written language only." Winford (2003, pp. 30-31) refers to this as 'distant contact', citing foreign language instruction, and global mass communication avenues such as radio, television and the internet as examples. Advertising has also been identified as a common source of language contact, with Piller (2003, p. 170), asserting that English has been "appropriated by advertisers in non-English speaking countries".

Hickey (2010, p. 7) observes: "It would seem that language contact always induces change". A key indication that change has occurred is 'borrowing', and as Crystal (2011, p. 68) notes, "All languages have always borrowed words from other languages". However, Winford (2010, p. 170) asserts that there is "by no means any clear consensus on how borrowing should be defined". Some prefer a general definition of borrowing, as "the spread of individual language items from one language or speech community to another (Muysken, 2010, p. 272). Others prefer a narrower definition, as: "The transfer of linguistic materials from a Source Language (SL) into a Recipient Language (RL) via the agency of speakers for whom the latter is the linguistically dominant language" (Winford, 2010, p. 172). However, Haspelmuth (2009, p. 36) distinguishes between recipient-language agentivity in the process of borrowing (labeling this 'adoption'), and source-language agentivity (using the term 'imposition'). It would seem sensible to adopt a broader definition, incorporating "the two types of borrowing [i.e. adoption and imposition], depending on whether the borrowers are native speakers or non-native speakers" (Haspelmath, 2009, p. 36).

Words that have been 'borrowed' from other languages are usually referred to broadly as 'loanwords' (e.g. Crystal (2011), Winford (2010), Haspelmath, (2009), Thomason

(2010)). Winford (2010, p. 172) follows Haugen (1950) in identifying three major types of 'lexical borrowings'. The first of these is 'loanwords', defined as "imitation of the phonological shape and meaning of some lexical item in the SL [Source Language]"); this could include 'pure loanwords', where no change is made to the form of the original word, and 'loan blends', which involve a combination of elements from both languages to create a new word. However, Gries (2004, p. 641) clarifies that "Cases where full forms combine without overlap do not count as blends but rather as compounds". Ong, Ghesquiere & Serwe (2013, p. 19) also distinguish between compounds and blends, but label both as 'hybrid forms', 'coinages', and 'neologisms'. Similarly, Haspelmath (2009) asserts that "most hybrid-looking or foreign-looking expressions are in fact not borrowings at all, but loan-based creations" (p. 39).

Another major type of lexical borrowing is a 'loan shift', in which either the meaning of a word in a receiving language changes as a result of influence from a source language (also called a 'loan meaning extension' e.g. by Haspelmath (2009)), or a source language word or phrase is translated directly into the receiving language (also called a loan translation or a calque). As both types of loan shift may involve "the copying of syntactic, morphological, or semantic patterns", Haspelmath (2009, p. 39), suggests that these are 'structural borrowings', rather than lexical. Winford (2010) lists 'loan creations' as the third major type of lexical borrowing, encompassing situations when native, or a combination of native and foreign, expressions are used to express a foreign concept.

It is thought that a key reason for borrowing words is to "extend the referential potential of a language" (Haspelmuth, 2008, p. 7), for example when new objects or concepts are introduced into language. This has been called 'cultural borrowing' (e.g. Haspelmath, 2009, p. 46), and the 'lexical-gap hypothesis' (e.g. Friedrich, 2002). However, Crystal (2011, p. 69) states that "words for concepts which were already expressed by a perfectly satisfactory local word" are also borrowed. For example, Friedrich (2002) cites examples of English loanwords used in Brazil which "disprove that borrowing is motivated simply by a lack of an adequate term in the local language" (p. 24).

Lexical items that are borrowed for reasons other than 'need', have been labeled 'core borrowings' (e.g. Haspelmath, 2009, p. 48), and it is suggested that "speakers adopt new words in order to be associated with the prestige of the donor language" (Haspelmath, 2009, p. 48). Winford (2003, p. 38) claims that the spread of English words into many languages since the mid-twentieth century may be partly because of fashion or prestige, and Piller (2003) attributes the use of English in advertising to the perception that it has "become the language of modernity, progress, and globalization" (p. 170). Whatever the reason for their introduction, Crystal (2011, p. 68) suggests that loanwords "always add semantic value to a language, providing people with the opportunity to express their thoughts in a more nuanced way".

It is generally accepted that "the term *borrowing* refers to a completed language change" (Haspelmath, 2009, p. 38), and " a loanword is a word that can conventionally be used as

part of the language" (p. 40). However, it may be difficult to know whether a word is being used throughout a language community, or is only by individuals or groups within that community, for example by bilinguals, as a single-word switch. Crystal (2011, p. 69) asserts: "It usually takes a generation for loan-words to become integrated." Backus (2014, p. 22) notes that only a subset of the words, chunks, phrases or expressions introduced into a language will become "established loanwords" i.e. "loans that are frequent throughout the community and permanently established as part of [the receiving language's] vocabulary" (Winford, (2003, p. 40).

2.2 Which linguistic features are borrowed?

According to Matras (2010, p. 78), lexical items are more borrowable than non-lexical items, nouns are more borrowable than non-nouns, free morphemes are more borrowable than bound morphemes, and derivational morphology is more borrowable than inflectional morphology. One reason suggested for the greater borrowability of lexical items is that the lexicon is a "less stable" language domain, and hence more vulnerable to change (Winford (2010, p. 172). In addition, single words and phrases "do not require integration into the grammatical system of the borrowing language and can be accommodated without any degree of restructuring" (Hickey, 2010, p. 14).

The high degree of noun borrowing relative to other word classes is attested in the literature (e.g. Winford, 2003, 2010; Matras, 2020; Frawley, 2003), and the following hierarchy of lexical borrowing was proposed by Muysken (1981, as cited in Winford, 2010, p. 191): nouns > adjectives > verbs > prepositions > coordinating conjunctions > quantifiers > determiners > free pronouns > clitic pronouns > subordinating conjunctions.

Non-lexical (also called structural or grammatical) borrowing is acknowledged to be "somewhat rarer" than lexical borrowing (Winford, 2003, p. 12); however, it is "uncontroversial that overt structural elements, both phonological and morphological, can be transferred from one language into another" (Winford, 2010, p. 175). Winford notes that when structural borrowing does occur, it is mediated by lexical borrowing, and there are certain types of "free functional elements" such as conjunctions, prepositions, and pronouns that are more likely to be borrowed (p. 176).

Social as well as linguistic factors are acknowledged as important determinants of borrowing, with the following factors thought to be key: the presence or absence of imperfect learning of a language, the intensity of contact, including duration and the level of bilingualism, and speakers' attitudes (Thomason, 2010). Thomason and Kaufman (1988) have proposed a five-point scale of intensity of contact, and the lexical and structural elements that are likely to be borrowed at each level, as seen in Table 1 below. It is claimed that "in cases where linguistic and social factors point to different outcomes, the social factors will be more effective" (Thomason, 2010, p. 46). However, Thomason also observes: "for the vast majority of known linguistic changes, there is no adequate explanation."

Table 1: Intensity of language contact and linguistic elements borrowed
(adapted from Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, pp. 75-76)

Category	Type of contact	Linguistic elements likely to be borrowed.
1	Casual contact	Lexical borrowing only
2	Slightly more intense contact	Slight structural borrowing of minor phonological, syntactic, and lexical semantic features.
3	More intense contact	Slightly more structural borrowing.
4	Strong cultural pressure	Moderate structural borrowing
5	Very strong cultural pressure	Heavy structural borrowing

2.3 Contact between English and other languages: Anglicisms and Englishization

The spread of English around the globe has been studied since the 1980s, when "various branches of linguistics… began to recognize and describe the remarkable spread of English worldwide which was then in progress" (Bolton, 2006, p. 241). Kachru (1992) described this in terms of three concentric circles: the Inner Circle (English as a Native Language (ENL) societies), the Outer Circle (English as a Second Language (ESL) societies), and the Expanding Circle (English as a Foreign Language (EFL) societies). However, recent decades have seen an increase in the amount of English used in the 'expanding circle', as a result of several factors, including access to the World Wide Web and English language education, and the increased use of English in advertising globally. English is now the official language of 67 sovereign states and 27 non-sovereign entities (Wikipedia, 2015a), and it is claimed that English "has been adopted as the official language by all major international businesses" (MED, 2006). As McKay (2009, pp. 28-29) notes, English is now the most widely taught language in the world, and "is being considered by more and more individuals as a global language". Consequently, there has been a corresponding shift in the status of English in the expanding circle from 'foreign language' to 'international language', or even 'global language (Ke, 2009).

As a result of this apparent "stampede towards English" (Dor, 2004, p.108), many languages now include 'anglicisms', defined by Gottlieb (2005, p. 163) as "any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English…used in intralingual communication in a language other than English". Gottlieb uses this general term to embrace a multitude of cross-linguistic processes (pp. 164-165). The introduction of anglicisms into other languages has been described as the 'Englishization' of these languages (e.g. Friedrich, 2002; Dor, 2004; Bolton, 2006).

While increased access to English has created the conditions for Englishization, it does not wholly explain the widespread learning and use of English around the world. Various benefits are thought to result from knowing English - educational, economic, political, scientific, as well as increased social and intellectual mobility (McKay, 2009, p. 28). Kachru (1986) has claimed that "[k]nowing English is like possessing the fabled Aladdin's lamp, which permits one to open, as it were, the linguistic gates to international business, technology, science and travel. In short, English provides linguistic power" (as cited in McKay, 2009, p. 28).

Friedrich (2002, p. 22) asserts that there are many reasons for the incorporation of anglicisms into another language. For example, in Japan it is thought that "a desire for Westernization" is part of the reason, while in Germany it may be a preference for shorter words and "a search for precision in the naming of new objects". The various reasons are summarized as follows:

> "English seems to be in a unique position where it is capable of symbolising modernity, being accessible enough to be intelligible, having linguistic properties (such as the size of words) which make it attractive, having a connotation of Westernization, and providing extra linguistic material, to quench the creative thirst of advertisers and businesspeople all over the world" (Friedrich, 2002, p. 22)

2.4   English in South America

Of all the regions of the world, South America seems to be a part of the world "where English has traditionally had negligible influence". Crystal (2003, p. 21). McArthur (2003) concurs, stating: "If there is an area that has escaped the net of English, it is South America" (p. 244). The whole South American continent (apart from Guyana) belongs in the expanding circle, as English is not an official language in these countries, and "its usage is restricted to specific spheres and purposes" (Matear, 2008, p. 131). However, English is taught in schools throughout South America, and the increasing number of people learning English means that "English is today securely established as the continent's number one foreign language" (Rajagopalan, 2006, p. 153). Matear attributes this to the need for a lingua franca in the business environment, the desire of governments to facilitate access to education and employment (as knowledge of English "is often associated with enhanced employment opportunities and social mobility"(p. 133)), and the dominant role of English in the development of new technologies.

However, there seems to be an ambivalent attitude towards English in the region. While many South American governments are implementing English education in schools, English is seen by some as "an 'intruder', albeit a rather fashionable gate-crasher, in the sense that English is a relatively late arrival…and is not always warmly invited by all" (De Mejia, 2012, p. 252). A number of studies have investigated the relationship between English and Spanish in South America, and the impact of English on Spanish in specific South American contexts, for example, Brazil (Friedrich, 2002); Argentina (Nielsen

(2003); Ecuador (Castro, 2010); Colombia (De Meija, 2012); Chile (Salas, Morrison & Grabole, 2012; Sáez Godoy, 2005). In general, previous studies have found that English is has an increasing presence in South America.

2.5   English in Chile

English language and culture have had some historical influence in Chile, and it is estimated that over 700,000 Chileans have British origin, comprising about 4% of Chile's population (Wikipedia, 2015c). Although the population of over 17 million is almost exclusively Spanish-speaking, 10% are estimated to speak English (CIA, 2015). Valencia (2006, p. 318) states: "With current globalization, it [the Spanish spoken in Chile] is experiencing a notable increase in anglicisms." Bonnefoy (2010) claims that anglicisms are commonly used in everyday language, and that "Chile's posh business and academic elite pepper their conversations with terms in English that have perfectly good equivalents in Spanish" Saez Godoy (2005) and Salas et al (2012) also document numerous examples of 'anglicismos' common in Chilean Spanish.

A significant boost to the use of English in Chile occurred with the initiation of the 'English opens doors' (Inglés Abre Puertas) policy by the Ministry of Education in 2004, making English a compulsory subject starting from Grade 5. The policy's main aim is to "improve national economic competitiveness and promote equity by extending English language learning to all students in publicly funded schools " (Matear, 2008, p. 132). The programme has the support of the UNDP, the government, and businesses. Native speaker volunteers are recruited from Inner Circle countries to work alongside Chilean teachers. However, there have been some challenges, including the fact that English classes are taught for only 2-3 hours a week (Matear, 2008, p. 137), and the difficulty of ensuring that teachers have an adequate level of English (Abrahams & Farias, 2012). As a result, almost a decade after the introduction of the policy, there was still "A common concern at universities in Chile … that students entering the university were not learning English well in high school" (Baker, 2012).

Economic and political policies over the past few decades have meant that Chile currently has the highest per capita GDP in South America (Wikipedia, 2015b), is considered a 'high income' country by the World Bank (2015), and is the only member of the OECD in the South American continent. However, there is concern among the business sector that not enough Chileans speak English to cope with the demand for English-speaking employees from foreign firms investing in Chile (Barker, 2011). Confirming this concern is data from Education First (2014), which rates Chile as having 'Very low proficiency' in English. In this organization's EPI (English Proficiency Index), Chile is ranked 41st of 63 Non- English-Speaking countries – lower than many other Latin American countries, including Argentina (15th), Peru (34th), Ecuador (35th), Brazil (38th), Mexico (39th), and Uruguay (40th). This is despite the fact that the government has encouraged businesses to sponsor employees to attend English classes, providing tax credits to companies that do so (Rohter, 2004).

2.6 Linguistic landscape research

Although studies of languages in public spaces began some time ago (e.g. those cited in Spolsky, 2009, pp. 26-28), the term 'linguistic landscape' was first used and defined by Landry & Bourhis (1997), who proposed the following:

> "The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration" (p. 25).

Although the main focus of linguistic landscape studies has consistently been "the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs" (Landry & Bourhis, p. 23), previous research has pointed to other information that may be obtained from linguistic landscapes. For example, Gorter (2006) asserts that linguistic landscape research constitutes "a new approach to multilingualism", while Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara & Trumper-Hecht, (2006, p. 9) propose that it "may constitute an interesting way of uncovering social realities". Bolton (2012, p. 32) states that such research can delve into "…issues relating to demographic and institutional power, ethnic and racial relations, linguistic vitality, and language ideologies". Macalister (2012, p. 26) suggests that it can also reveal "…the extent to which de facto language policies – language practices – coincide with official language policy." Huebner (2009, p. 71) maintains that it is "… an overlooked source of data for the analysis of language in society, including multilingualism, social stratification and positioning, and language contact and change".

Previous studies of English in the linguistic landscape have been carried out in a range of countries, for example those reported in Gorter (2006), Shohamy & Gorter (2009), and Shohamy, Ben-Rafael & Barni (2010). The growing numbers of linguistic landscape studies from around the globe have also been collected on the web site 'Linguistic Landscape Bibliography' (2015).

The basic methodology used in linguistic landscape research is to photograph the signs in a defined area and then analyse them. However, there are some key methodological issues which arise, listed by Gorter (2006, pp. 2-3) as follows:

1) Sampling: Where do you take pictures and how many?
2) What constitutes the unit of analysis?
3) How should the signs be categorized?

Table 2 below summarizes methodological solutions arrived at by various researchers in the field of linguistic landscape studies.

Table 2: Solutions to methodological issues in linguistic landscape research

Issues	Solutions
Sampling	• Locations chosen to reflect representativeness of ethnocultural and national divisions of society (Ben-Rafael et al, 2006) • Areas surrounding a train station – the 'centre' of the city (Backhaus, 2006) • Central shopping districts (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006) • The main streets of 15 neighbourhoods of a city (Huebner, 2006)
Unit of analysis	• An entire store front or non-store front (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006) • Any piece of written text within a spatially defined frame (Backhaus, 2006) • Each sign photographed (Huebner, 2006)
Categorization	• Private or government actors (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) • Top-down (official/government) or bottom-up (private) actors, and then 'domains' and areas of activity (Ben-Rafael et al, 2006) • A continuum incorporating 'in vitro and in vivo' and 'official vs individual' (Macalister, 2012) • Source, languages used, dominant language (Huebner, 2006) • Semiotic, Macro-linguistic, and micro-linguistic analysis (Barni & Bagna, 2009)

It appears that there has been no consensus about these issues. Huebner (2009, p. 71) suggests that there is a "lack of an agreed upon, or even clearly identified, unit of analysis", in effect giving equal weight to a one-word sign and a large banner. Cenoz & Gorter (2006, p. 71) acknowledge that there is "a degree of arbitrariness" in the codification process, and Barni & Bagna (2009, p. 126) suggest that answering questions around the methodology of linguistic landscape studies would "ensure the comparability of the different data", and propose detailed semiotic, macro and micro-linguistic analysis of texts in linguistic landscapes.

3. The current study

3.1 Research questions

The key research questions were as follows:

1) What is the *extent* and *nature* of the use of English in selected linguistic landscapes of Santiago?
2) Who are the *actors* that have placed English in these linguistic landscapes?
3) In which *areas of activity* is English used?

3.2   Sampling

Greater Santiago is divided into 32 'comunas', or municipalities. Three neighbouring and central municipalities were chosen for the study, mainly for reasons of convenience and ease of sampling, and also because it was thought that English would be found in these locations, as they are relatively wealthy, although not the most wealthy, areas of the city. Figure 1 shows the three municipalities.
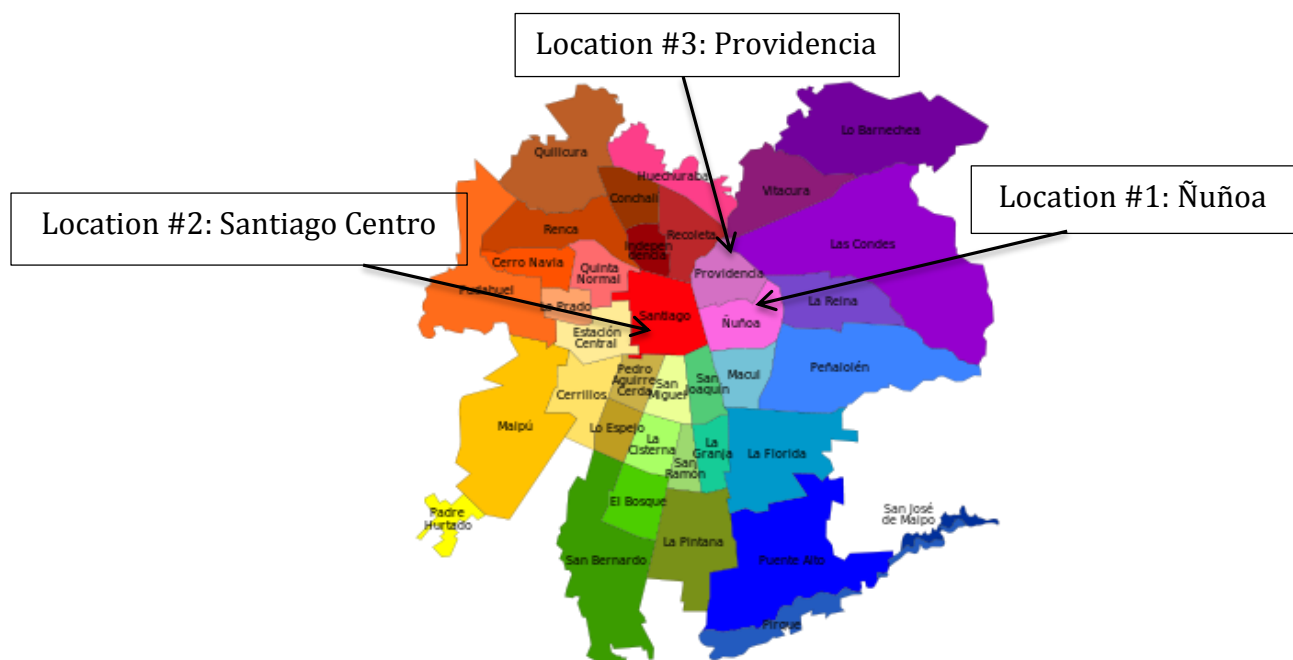

Figure 1: Location of sampling areas (Map: Wikimedia Commons, 2013).

Within each municipality the main shopping streets were sampled. The distances varied between 1 and 2 km, with locations #1 (Ñuñoa) and #2 (Providencia) consisting of a main street with shops on either side, and location #3 (Santiago Centro) consisting of several intersecting streets, constituting the main 'downtown' area for the municipality as well as for greater Santiago.

Following Cenoz & Gorter (2006, p. 70), the study aimed to photograph all public signage within the selected areas, i.e. obtain a "complete inventory of the linguistic landscape". This included commercial signs, such as shop front signs, as well as advertising or commercial signs separate from shops (e.g. on the street, on a banner, billboard, pole or other fixed location or used by street vendors). It also included non-commercial signs, including road, traffic or transport signs, signs on government buildings, and other texts placed by official bodies. Graffiti was excluded, as there was little seen in the selected locations. In total, 1434 signs were photographed.

Each photograph was examined for the presence of English words or phrases using English spelling. This decision was made mainly for ease of processing the data, which would have taken much longer if the signs had been examined for any words or phrases which may have been loan blends or loan translations. However, there was a possibility that hybrid forms and loan creations would be identified if English spellings were used.

A count was made of all English words in each sign and in each unit, and the total numbers were calculated for each of the three linguistic landscapes. The grammatical category of each English word was also identified. Where English words appeared as phrases, each word's grammatical category as used in the phrase was identified.

3.3   What was the unit of analysis?

It was decided that each 'actor' would be considered the unit of analysis, rather than individual signs. Actors are those "who concretely participate in the shaping of linguistic landscape by ordering from others or building by themselves linguistic landscape elements according to preferential tendencies, deliberate choices or policies" (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006, p. 27). This decision was made following Cenoz & Gorter (2006, p. 71), who argue that "all the signs in one establishment, even if they are in different languages, have been the result of the languages used by the same company to give an overall impression because each text belongs to a larger whole instead of being clearly separate". Where the same actor appeared more than once in any location, each occurrence was included, as this was the only way to be accurate about the total amount of English. In total, 700 units were identified.

3.4   How were the units categorized?

It was decided to categorise the units according to the type of actor who had placed a sign in the linguistic landscape. The two main types of actor identified in the literature are variously called either 'official' (or 'topdown') and 'nonoffical' or 'commercial' (or 'bottom-up') (e.g. Gorter, 2006; Backhaus, 2006). Ben-Rafael et al (2006, p. 10) define 'top-down' (official) actors as "institutional agencies which in one way or another act under the control of local or central policies", including religious, government, municipal, cultural, educational and public health institutions. In contrast, 'bottom-up' (nonofficial or commercial) actors are described as "individual, associative or corporative actors who enjoy autonomy of action within legal limits".

In the current study, there were relatively few 'top-down' actors seen, and the overwhelming majority of the bottom-up actors were commercial or 'corporative', so the the terms 'official' and 'commercial' were used to describe the actors found in the three locations. The commercial actors were further classified as local, national and international. Although the international actors were generally self-evident, it was sometimes difficult to classify a commercial activity as local or national. However, this

was not deemed crucial to the results of the study, as the presence of English in either local and national units would demonstrate a 'global' rather than a 'local' orientation.

4. Findings and Discussion

4.1 The extent and nature of English use

4.1.1 Occurrence of English words

Table 3 shows that overall, there were very few signs consisting of only English words. These were mostly shop names and larger one or two-word signs. However, there were clear differences between the three locations, with Providencia containing the highest proportion of English-only signs.

Table 3: No. of signs containing only English words (n=number of signs)

Ñuñoa (n=479)	Santiago Centro (n=605)	Providencia (n= 350)
14 (2.9%)	28 (4.6%)	46 (13.1%)

Table 4 shows that a reasonably high proportion of units in each location contained at least one English word, similar in all three locations, although slightly higher in Providencia.

Table 4: Number and percentage of units containing at least one English word (n=number of units)

Ñuñoa (n=225)	Santiago Centro (n=280)	Providencia (n=195)
91 (40.4%)	116 (41.4%)	84 (43.1%)

Tables 5 and 6 show the total and average number of English words found per unit, and per unit containing English, in each location. Overall, these are relatively low scores, confirming that Spanish was overwhelmingly the main language used in all three linguistic landscapes.

Table 5: Total and average number of English words by location (n= number of units)

	Ñuñoa (n=225)	Santiago Centro (n=280)	Providencia (n=195)
No. of English words	232	386	251
Average no. of English words /unit	1.03	1.38	1.29

Table 6: Total and average number of English words by location
(n=units containing English words)

	Ñuñoa (n=91)	Santiago Centro (n=116)	Providencia (n=84)
Total no. of English words	232	386	251
Average no. of English words/unit containing English	2.55	3.33	2.99

Table 7 shows that units containing English were most likely to contain one or two English words. Units containing three or four English words were the least frequently occurring, but units containing 5-10 words were seen more often. This was because whole English phrases and even short sentences, rather than several individual words, were used by a number of actors.

The figures in the tables above and below may reflect the nature of the different commercial centres. Ñuñoa, while a central municipality within the city, contains mainly local businesses, and has the highest proportion of units containing only one English word. The other two locations contain more international companies, and are also acknowledged as wealthier areas, as well as being more frequented by tourists. Santiago Centro has the highest proportion of signs containing 4 or more English words, and Providencia has a high proportion of signs containing 3 or more English words. This may be in response to a belief by the actors in these linguistic landscapes that people who shop, work or live in these neigbourhoods will be able to read and understand more English than just one or two words.

Table 7: Percentage of units containing designated numbers of English words in each location

No. of English words per unit	Ñuñoa (n=91)	Santiago Centro (n=116)	Providencia (n=84)
1	33(36.3%)*	30 (25.9%)	27 (32.1%)
2	26(28.6%)	41 (35.3%)*	18 (21.4%)
3	9 (9.9%)	6 (5.2%)	14 (16.6%)*
4	7 (7.7%)	15 (12.9%)*	3 (3.6%)
5-10	16 (17.6%)	18 (15.5%)	19 (22.6%)*
10-20	0	6 (5.2%)*	3 (3.6%)

* This figure is the highest of the three locations for this category.

Figures 2-6 below show examples of signs displaying different numbers of English words.

Figure 2: One English word (snacks)

Figure 3: Two English words (fish, chips)

Figure 4: Four English Words (world, famous, summer, sale)

Figure 5: Five English words (restaurant, grill, salad, salad, bar)

Figure 6: 13 English words (banana, split, milk, shake, caramel, split, split, splits, cheque, ticket, restaurant, check-in, shopping)

4.1.2   Grammatical categories of English words

As anticipated from what is known about the types of words that are likely to be transferred into another language, nouns were by far the largest grammatical category seen, in each location. These were followed by adjectives, also as expected, and all other categories were barely represented, as shown in Table 7.

Table 8: Numbers of English words in each location by grammatical category

	Ñuñoa	Santiago Centro	Providencia
Nouns	180	262	183
Adjectives	33	83	32
Verbs	8	10	8
Adverbs	5	11	9
Prepositions	1	9	8
Pronouns	2	4	5
Determiners	2	4	5
Conjunctions	1	3	1
Totals	232	386	251

4.1.3   Most frequently occurring words

The ten most frequently occurring words found in the three linguistic landscapes are shown in Table 9 below. The following words also appeared 3-5 times: one; up; to; jeans; lunch; bar; food; delivery; I; internet; security; coffee; drugstore; print; roll/s; combo/s; open; hotdog; shopping; burger; clothes. The most frequently occurring word, restaurant, has a very close Spanish equivalent, 'restaurante', which was also frequently seen, so it was clear that some actors had decided to use English rather than Spanish spelling. 'Restaurant' was also seen with the word 'ticket', which also appears on the list, in the phrase 'ticket restaurant', indicating a restaurant that accepts the meal 'tickets' or vouchers which are supplied to employees by many companies.

Some of the other most frequently occurring words can be explained by the season in which the photographs were taken i.e. 'summer', 'sale', and 'off' (e.g. 50% off). The Spanish equivalents of these words were also frequently seen. The word 'outlet' appeared among the ten most frequently occurring words as the main shopping area of Ñuñoa contains many outlet stores, and although there may be a Spanish equivalent, this was not seen.

Some of the most frequently occurring words were usually seen in isolation – 'outlet', and 'sale' were examples of this – while others were seen either paired with another English word (as with 'ticket restaurant') or with a Spanish word, or as part of an otherwise

Spanish phrase. An example of this was the word 'full', which appeared in a bank name (BCIFull) and in the phrase 'con tu combo full' (with your full combo). Another example of this was 'off', which was sometimes seen in the English phrase 'up to 50% off', and also in the dual-language phrase 'hasta 50% off'. Overall, the frequency of the words in Table 9 suggests that they would be familiar words to those who encounter them. The first two or three may be already competing with their Spanish equivalents.

Table 9: The ten most frequently occurring English words, across all locations

Frequency ranking	Word	Spanish equivalent	Frequency	Class
1	restaurant	restaurante	30	noun
2	sale	liquidacion	25	noun
3	express	expreso, rapido	17	adjective
4	happy	feliz	13	adjective
5	ticket	billete, boleto	12	noun
6	full	lleno; completa/o	11	adjective
7	outlet	tienda de descuentos (?)	11	noun
8	summer	verano	10	noun
9	off	descuento	8	adverb
10	the	el/la	7	determiner

4.1.4   Hybrid forms/Loan creations

English words were sometimes seen linked with Spanish words to create new compound words. Although these words are a combination of native and borrowed morphological material, the two parts do not overlap or change, so they are more accurately labeled 'hybrid forms', or 'loan creations' than 'loan blends'. The hybrid 'Spanish + English' forms seen in the current study are listed below, with an example in Figure 7.

salcobrand	fotosmile	sandwicheria
motosmart	feriamix	chilegay
babysec	tecnomarket	bigpollofull
scotiabank	schopdog	

Figure 7: Example of a hybrid word

In addition to 'Spanish + English' combinations, a number of 'English + English' compounds were seen which are not part of the English lexicon. These words are listed below, with an example in Figure 8. These, as well as the 'English + Spanish' creations above, were nearly all seen as part of or as whole commercial names.

multivisual	sportlife	sportpoint
rockline	happydays	citylook
photogift	moneygram	pinpass
happyshop	hydracool	microlab
superclean	outlet woman	happy rolls
potato chop		

Figure 8: Example of a hybrid word formed from English morphemes

Ong et al. (2013, p. 24) suggest that neologisms formed from a combination of both languages, or from the creative use of an introduced language, are intended to "stand out in the crowd of commercial signages" (p. 24), which may also be the case in Santiago. Certainly, the presence of these new hybrid forms is a further demonstration of the fact

that, "even though in Expanding Circle countries it is generally accepted that the language of the Inner Circle serves as a model, when it comes to people using language they will do so creatively, one way or another" (Friedrich, 2002, p. 22).

4.1.5   English – Spanish integration

Further instances of the creative use of English appeared in phrases integrating English and Spanish words. These were mainly noun phrases, with some preposition phrases, and in one case a complete sentence. However, in some of the two-word noun phrases, the traditional word order of Spanish was sometimes not used, with the English word order apparently preferred, as seen in Table 10, below. Although these examples were few, this could be evidence of 'slight structural borrowing', implying that the nature of contact between English and Spanish in these locations is 'slightly more intense contact', rather than 'casual contact'.

Table 10: Examples of Integration of Spanish and English (English words in bold)

Noun phrases retaining Spanish word order (noun + modifier)	Noun phrases using English word order (modifier + noun)
pagina **web**	**big** hamburguesa
casa **scarlet**	cabello **center**
fundas **notebooks**	gran tango **show**
menu **lunch**	frutilla **split**
un **dock** Sony	gran **palace**
pollo **crunch**	full **protección** UV
hot dog terraza/italiano/completo	más **internet**
el **mix** más refrescante	
depiladora **fresh extreme**	
Other examples of Spanish/English integration	
con tu combo **full**	hasta 50% **off**
snacks y más	un **mixer**
vuelvo al **cheesy burger**	haz **check-in** aqui

4.2   Actors in the linguistic landscape displaying English

There were few 'official' or non-commercial actors seen in the locations studied, as public (e.g. religious, government, cultural, educational, health) buildings in Santiago are not usually found in the same locations as commercial activity. Of the signs placed in the linguistic landscape by official actors, very few contained English, as Figure 9 shows. In contrast, all types of commercial actor used English in relatively high proportions. International actors displayed the highest percentage of English, with 100% of international actors in Providencia, and 81.4% in Santiago Centro doing so. These figures at least partly account for the higher proportion of English words seen in these two

locations. However, Figure 9 also shows that local and national commercial actors displayed English words in approximately 40-45% of units.
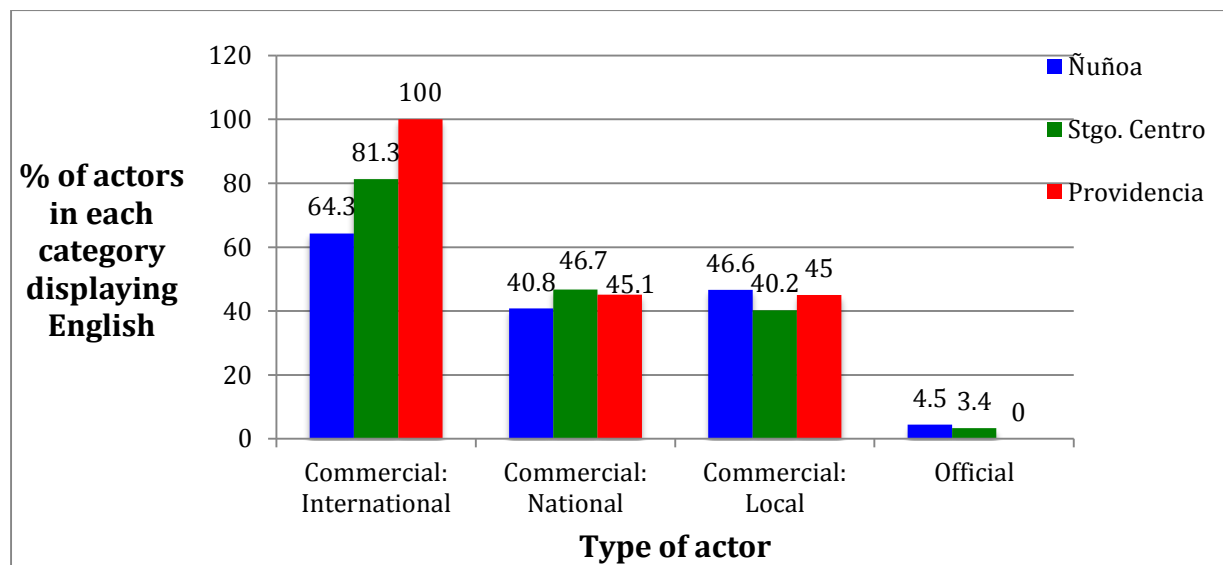

Figure 9: Percentage of different types of actors displaying English in each location

4.3 Commercial activities displaying English

Table 10 shows that 'food' was the area of activity containing the highest proportion of English words – this included cafes, bars, restaurants, other food vendors, and billboards. This was followed by 'technology', which included computer, photocopy, print, photo and telephone stores. A similar proportion of English was found in 'clothing/apparel' enterprises, including clothes, shoes and bags. These findings concur with those of previous linguistic landscape studies, (e.g. Friedrich (2002), as well as studies of the adoption of English words by Spanish speakers (e.g. Rollason, 2005). 'Health and beauty', including pharmacies, optometrists, medical equipment, and beauty salons, was a little lower, with home/department and specialist stores lower again. The areas of commercial activity using English the least were banks and other financial enterprises (mainly money exchanges), home/department stores, specialist shops, and street vendors.

Table 10: Types of commercial activity displaying English, across all locations

Commercial activity	% of units displaying English
Food	63.9
Technology	58.9
Clothing/Apparel	58.1
Health/Beauty	54.3
Home/Department Store.	38.1
Specialist/other	33.3
Bank/Financial	18.5
Street vendor	17.2

5. Summary and Conclusions

Overall, it is clear that English is making its presence felt in the linguistic landscapes of Santiago that were studied, with just over 40% of all units containing at least one English word. However, a relatively small number of English words and phrases have been introduced into these public spaces. Where English was used, there were slight differences between the three locations studied, which may reflect their socio-economic status. Although Santiago Centro, as the centre of greater Santiago, may be catering more for tourists than the other locations, the use of English in all locations suggests that it also has other purposes. As expected, nouns were by far the most frequently-occurring type of English word seen. However, the ten most frequently occurring words included five nouns, three adjectives, an adverb and a determiner.

The study found that commercial actors were responsible for virtually all English in the linguistic landscapes studied, with official actors playing an insignificant role. Of the commercial actors, international companies were by far the most likely to use English, with between 64% and 100% using English. However, close to half of the local and national commercial actors also used English. The study also found that commercial activities related to food, technology and clothing were those where English was most frequently seen.

An additional finding was the creative use of English and Spanish words, employing either a combination of English words, or a combination of the two languages, to form hybrid words that are not part of either the Spanish or English lexicon. These words, which may be called hybrid forms or loan creations, may be unique to the linguistic landscapes studied, or may extend to other locations in Santiago, or in South America. A further finding was the integration of Spanish and English words in phrases, sometimes using English rather than Spanish word order, suggesting slightly more intense contact between the two languages in this environment.

6. Limitations of the study

Some of the limitations of the research common to all linguistic landscape studies, derived from decisions that researchers make regarding the choice and boundaries of locations chosen for study. As Spolsky (2009, p. 32) notes, this can result in "problems for the reliability of counts". There were also decisions regarding the unit of analysis which may have been made differently by other researchers. A further limitation was the allocation of actors to various categories; with more time it would have been possible to ascertain with more certainty whether an actor was in fact 'local' or 'national'. A further limitation is that the study only identified words with English spelling; analysis of the photographs by a fluent bilingual may have revealed a higher influence of English, or may

have been able to eliminate lexical items which have been fully integrated into the Spanish spoken in Chile, i.e. they are established loanwords.

7. Further research

Further analysis of the data obtained could examine the relative importance of English words in the signs, including the font type and size used for English and Spanish words and phrases, and the relative amount of information given in each language. The degree of integration of English words into Spanish phrases could also be examined, including the extent to which English words appeared as separate words or phrases, or in an otherwise Spanish phrase. Analysis by a fluent bilingual may also reveal examples of other linguistic phenomena resulting from language contact, including loan blends, loan shifts and loan translations.

As Friedrich (2002, p. 27) notes: "More important than the number of occurrences of English words are the uses, the desired effects, and the motivations of such use." Spolsky (2009, p. 33) points out that one of the conditions which would usually guide an actor in creating a public sign is the "presumed reader's condition: prefer to write a sign in a language which can be read by the people you expect to read it". Questions could therefore be asked of those who typically view public signage in these locations about their understanding of the English found there, their opinion about the use of English, and whether the presence of English has any influence on their linguistic behavior.

Spolsky (2009) adds another condition which may guide actors in producing signs, which may modify or override the 'presumed reader's condition' – this is the "symbolic value condition: prefer to write a sign in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified" (p. 33). As Piller (2003, p.174) notes, "The audience can recognise that the message is in English and this activates values such as international orientation, future orientation, success, sophistication or fun". Questions therefore also need to be asked of those who have decided to display a sign containing English regarding their motivation for doing so.

Ongoing research into the linguistic landscape of Santiago could also include studies of municipalities further away from the city centre. Different types of linguistic landscape could be studied, for example, the public transport system, shopping malls, and locations where government and other official actors are found. Longitudinal studies would also contribute to our understanding of the rate and the nature of the spread of English in South America, and the ways in which speakers of other languages are adopting and adapting the English language for their own purposes.

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