

Orthographic Nativization of Hispanic Content Words in Waray Visayan

Robertgie L. Piañar

(Assistant Professor of English, Leyte Normal University, Tacloban City)

roblpianar@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This linguistic study investigates the orthographic nativization of Hispanic borrowed words in Waray Visayan written discourse. The textual source is a news article from Isumat News Portal written in Waray Visayan titled *COVID Laboratory ha EVRMC magtitikang na an operasyon*. Through a descriptive research method, the words are lexically analyzed as to content words, English equivalents, root words, Spanish equivalents, native affixes, and nativization processes. The analysis reveals that the Hispanic nouns, verbs, and adjectives borrowed by the Waray Visayan article are nativized through full lexical adoption, changing or replacement of letters, orthographic mutation, and adding of native prefixes and suffixes. Thus, the Spanish loanwords have been Filipinized in the Waray linguistic community where sociocultural, economic, and religious activities exist. This further shows that the Spanish words have found unique structure and expression in the Waray Visayan written discourse, not only in literary narratives like the study of Quebec (2021), but also in non-fiction, news article in particular. In effect, it is recommended to conduct the same study with a bigger number of corpora in both written and spoken discourses in Waray Visayan and across the Philippine languages to explore the reach of Hispanic word borrowing and nativization and to investigate other linguistic changes as they undergo nativization.

Keywords: Lexical analysis; word borrowing; nativization; Hispanic words; Waray Visayan language.

INTRODUCTION

The long period, more than three centuries, of Hispanic contact in the Philippines has resulted in social, cultural, and linguistic acculturation which is yet

observed in the Filipino practices until now. Within the long administration of the Spaniards in the country, the Spanish language, also known as Hispanic, has brought changes in Philippine languages, such as Tagalog, Cebuano, Waray, among others; one change is seen in Philippine lexica (Reid, 2018), solidified by different forms of borrowing and nativization.

Language borrowing is a result of language contact. When at least two languages come into contact, Thomason (2001) argues that at least one of the languages may influence over the other language/s. The phenomenon of language borrowing, Haugen (1950) claims, hugely involves “reproduction” of words from the “model” language, which is the original language, into its new word structuration based on the “imitation” needs of the non-native speakers. Linguistic borrowing may therefore result in linguistic nativization in the oral or written productions of the target language. This means that the non-native speakers bring the nativized words into their own speech community for linguistic consumption. Moreover, in the process, the linguistic structures—phonological, morphological, syntactic— of the exerting language are transferred to the borrowing, adapting, or target language (Clements, 2009; Prentice, 2016; Thomason, 2001).

In the Philippines, the Spanish colonization has left Hispanic influences on the country’s native languages. Among the languages which has been observed to be Spanish-influenced is the Waray or Waray Visayan language. Waray or Waray Visayan is an Austronesian language that is spoken by most of the inhabitants in Eastern Visayas. Being an Austronesian type of language, it is described to have a unique and distinctive linguistic system which could be traced from the many words borrowed from the Spanish language. Since it is Austronesian, the coherence and correspondence of its phonological and graphological constituents can be apparently observed, when it is written as it is spoken. Thus, the words that are loaned from the Spanish language are spelled in Waray Visayan as pronounced in Spanish. It must, however, be interestingly noted that the linguistic change occurs in the spelling of the borrowed words. These words then become nativized in the Waray Visayan context.

In the case of the present study, it is assumed that Spanish words have influenced the Waray Visayan writing system or orthography. Orthography, which pertains to the spelling system of a particular language, is seen as a factor of linguistic nativization in word borrowing or loanword adaptation (Vendelin & Peperkamp, 2006). Word borrowing can be a) imported or b) substituted (Haugen, 1950). On one hand, when a speech community borrows the entire word from the model language to their own language without any change, the process is said to be “imported”. On the other hand, when the language users reproduce the borrowed word with changes, in the form of addition, deletion, reduplication, etc., the process that takes place is “substituted”. Similarly, Seifart (2015) describes how words with affixes are borrowed and are nativized in two processes, which are a) indirect borrowing and b) direct borrowing. In the first case, the scenario involves borrowing of words with affixes and the act of borrowing is internalized in the native words, creating hybridized or nativized words. Meanwhile, in the second case, the recipient, having knowledge of the source language, directly borrows affixes which are used in the recipient language without changing the structure. Phuong (2021) has also explained a similar process in which the language borrowers use the loanwords for communicating with the speakers of the source language and in their own speech

community until reaching a moment that the loanwords are no longer foreign to the borrowers but are already part of their native language, thus nativization.

The nativization of Hispanic words in Visayan languages has been explored by some local scholars, such as Pitogo (2022), Rebamonte and Rebamonte (2021), and Quebec (2021). Pitogo (2022) linguistically analyzed the Hispanic borrowed words in Cebuano Visayan using an editorial in which the researcher has found twelve nouns, three verbs, and three adjectives which are nativized in the Cebuano Visayan spelling. Affixation is also seen to be a form of lexical nativization. For instance, in the word *mapublikar*, the prefix *ma-* is added before the borrowed word *publikar*. Moreover, the linguistic study of Rebamonte and Rebamonte (2021) revealed that the editorials in two Tagalog newspapers and the editorials in two other newspapers written in Sinugbuanong Binisaya (Cebuano Visayan) contained borrowed words from the Spanish language. Reportedly, it was noted that the Tagalog newspapers borrowed 464 Spanish words and 377 borrowed words were observed in the Cebuano Visayan newspaper. Based on their findings, the presence of Hispanic words in both Tagalog and Cebuano Visayan languages is evident. The studies of Pitogo (2022) and Rebamonte and Rebamonte (2021) proved the occurrence of orthographic nativization of Hispanic words in written discourses. Additionally, Pitogo (2020) pointed out that the borrowed words in Cebuano Visayan are culturally assimilated through spelling nativization which equates to the native sound since Cebuano Visayan is a phonetic language (spelled as pronounced).

Meanwhile, Quebec (2021) investigated the same study, focusing on the Waray Visayan documented oral narratives as the corpora. As revealed in the study, several Hispanic words are acculturated in the target language through orthographic nativization, corresponding to the Waray Visayan phonology since this language family is also phonetic (spelled as pronounced). It is also presented in the findings affixation as one form of nativization, such as *binisita* where the infix *-in-* is inserted in the root word *bisita*.

From the three studies situated in the context of Visayan languages, the study of Pitogo (2022) and Rebamonte and Rebamonte (2021) made use of editorials, which are non-fictive texts, written in Cebuano Visayan as corpora, while Quebec's (2021) study utilized published fictive oral narratives written in Waray Visayan. As observed, rarely are Waray Visayan news articles and editorials explored should they contain Hispanic words which are nativized by orthography. In fact, it is recommended by Quebec (2021) and Pesirla (2020) to conduct a parallel study on other Waray Visayan textualities other than literary narratives, such as news articles, editorials, communication documents, public signages, among others, to explore the reach of Hispanic word borrowing in the target language. Hence, this study is an exploratory linguistic investigation of the Hispanic words borrowed which are acculturated through the process of lexical nativization or indigenization in one published news article written in Waray Visayan. More particularly, the objectives of this study are to: a) identify the nativized Hispanic borrowed nouns, verbs, and adjectives; and b) analyze the orthographic nativization process of the Hispanic borrowed words in the news article.

This argument is supported by the theory of *phylogenetic change*, focusing on linguistic borrowing. Hockett (1958) opined that any language system may undergo changes as time goes by, which could allow linguistic borrowing and modification. This phenomenon happens when two idiolects come into contact; that is, one or both is altered or modified. The social interaction may lead for one speaker to imitate the

speech of the other speaker, probably the dominant, which in this case the Spanish language. If the interaction is indirect, such as reading or viewing, the influence could take a linear manner, from the source to the acquirer. The language features that are copied and nativized, as Hockett (1958) deemed it, come from the “model” language. Hence, the act of imitating the model language is in itself borrowing.

METHOD

In order to investigate the phenomenon of linguistic borrowing in Waray Visayan, which has been argued to have nativized the Hispanic borrowed words, the descriptive method of research is used. This type of research is adapted since the main goal of the present study is to lexically describe and analyze the orthographic nativization of the Hispanic nouns, verbs, and adjectives found in the news article. The textual source is a news article written in Waray Visayan titled *COVID Laboratory ha EVRMC magtitikang na an operasyon* which was published on Isumat News Portal on May 9, 2020 (see <http://isumat.com/covid-laboratory-ha-evrhc-magtitikang-na-an-operasyon/>). Moreover, the news article contains 336 words, spread in the eight paragraphs with one sentence each.

The lexical analysis is done in three phases. First, all Spanish-based words are identified with the help of a Spanish-English dictionary. Second, the identified borrowed words are classified according to word classification, i.e., noun, verb, adjective, etc. Finally, the nativization of the borrowed words is described and discussed. For reference, the Hispanic borrowed words are presented in a matrix, showing the content words, English equivalents (gloss), root words, Spanish equivalents, native affixes, and nativization, and are discussed after the tabled verbal data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As a result of the lexical analysis, there are nineteen (19) Hispanic nouns, seven (7) Hispanic verbs, and four (4) Hispanic adjectives borrowed by the Waray Visayan that can be gleaned in the sampled news article.

RESULTS

Orthographic Nativization of Hispanic Nouns in Waray Visayan

Table 1 presents the nativized Hispanic nouns that were found in the written corpus. In the news article, nineteen (19) Hispanic nouns have undergone the linguistic acculturation through orthographic nativization in Waray Visayan.

Table 1. Nativized Hispanic Borrowed Nouns in the Waray Visayan News Article

Noun	Gloss (English)	Root	Spanish	Native Affixes	Nativization
1. operasyon	operation	operayson	operación	-	-ció→syo
2. teleserye	television series	teleserye	serie	tele-	tele+rie→rye
3. resulta	result	resulta	resulta	-	original spelling is retained
4. opisyaes	officer	opisyal	oficial	-es	f→p; -cial→syal+es
5. ekipahes	baggage	ekipahe	equipaje	-s	-qui→ki; j-h

6. laboratoryo	laboratory	laboratoryo	laboratorio		i→y
7. personales	personnel	personal	personal	-es	original spelling +es
8. sektor	sector	sektor	sector	-	c→k
9. proyekto	project	proyekto	proyecto	-	c→k
10. detalye	detail	detalye	detalle	-	-lle→lye
11. proseso	process	proseso	proceso	-	c→s
12. milyones	million	milyones	millón	-es	-lló→lyo+es
13. ahensya	agency	ahensya	agencia	-	g→h; -cia→sya
14. ayuda	assistance	ayuda	ayuda	-	original spelling is retained
15. probinsya	province	probinsya	provincia	-	v→b; -cia→sya
16. resolusyon	resolution	resolusyon	resolución	-	-ció→syo
17. giya	guide	giya	guía	-	-uíā→iya
18. otoridad	authority	otoridad	autoridad	-	au→o
19. krisis	crisis	krisis	crisis	-	c→k

Based on the table, the Spanish words **operación** and **resolución** change their **cio** to **syo**, hence written as **operasyon** and **resolusyon** in the Waray Visayan spelling. Similar case of orthographic nativization is observed in the Spanish words **oficial**, **agencia**, **provincia** in which their **cia** changes in spelling to **sya**; in the Waray Visayan language, they are written as **opisyal**, **ahensya**, and **probinsya**. Besides this notable change in spelling, the Spanish word **oficial** changes its **f** to **p**, hence **opisyal**. **Agencia's** letter **g** is changed to **h**, now **ahensya**, while **provincia's** letter **v** is replaced with **b**, now spelled as **probinsya**.

Another notable changes of spelling from Spanish to Waray Visayan is the orthographic replacement of **c** to **k** and **c** to **s**. This is prevalent in the Spanish words **sector**, **proyecto**, and **crisis** which have been written in the Waray Visayan news article as **sektor**, **proyekto**, and **krisis**. Additionally, the Spanish word **proceso** changes its **c** to **s**, now spelled as **proseso**.

In the Spanish words **detalle** and **millón**, the letter **ll** is changed to **ly** plus the vowel letters (i.e., e and o); that is, **deta/lye** and **mi/lyon** in the Waray Visayan language.

In the word **teleserye**, the Spanish **serie** changes its **rie** to **rye**, hence **serye**, and a prefix **tele-**, which means done by phone, or on or for television, is added to the word which makes it a hybrid word **teleserye**. For the Spanish word **equipaje**, **qui** is changed to **ki** and **j** to **h**, having the word written as **ekipahe** in Waray Visayan. Moreover, the nativized **laboratoryo** replaces **i** of the Spanish **laboratorio** with **y**. Meanwhile, **guía** is nativized to **giya** by changing its **uia** to **iya**. The Spanish word **autoridad** is now spelled as **otoridad**, changing **au** to **o**.

It is also interesting to note how pluralization is formed along Hispanic borrowed words in the Waray Visayan spelling through adding the inflectional suffix **-es** or **-s**. For instance, an **-es** is added to the words **opisyal**, **personal**, and **milyon** to indicate a plural form of the lexica, hence **opisyales**, **personales**, and **milyones**. Similarly, the suffix **-s** is added to the word **ekipahe** to make it plural, now written as **ekipahes**.

On the other hand, **resulta**, **ayuda**, and **personal** are Spanish words that bear no change in the Waray Visayan spelling nativization. It means that the Spanish words have been fully adopted by orthography as written in the sampled news article.

Orthographic Nativization of Hispanic Verbs in Waray Visayan

Table 2 shows the nativized Hispanic verbs that are analyzed based on the news article. There are 7 (seven) verbs found to have been borrowed from the Spanish language in which two (2) of them retained the original spelling of the root word and the rest have changed their orthography. The verbs have been nativized by adding Waray Visayan affixes in the spelling.

Table 2. Nativized Hispanic Borrowed Verbs in the Waray Visayan News Article

Verb	Gloss (English)	Root	Spanish	Native Affixes	Nativization
1. iginpadara	was sent	dara	dara	iginpa-	iginpa+original spelling→iginpadara
2. nadepender	depending	depende	depende	na-	na+original spelling →nadepender
3. nakumpleto	completed	kumpleto	completar	na-	na+c→k+ar→o
4. aabrihan	will be opened	abri	abrir	a-; -han	a+deletion of 'r'→abri+han
5. nagkakantidad	amounting to	kantidad	cantidad	nag-; ka-	nag+ka+c→k
6. gingastusan	was funded	gastus	gasto	gin-; -san	gin+o→u+san
7. nag-eendorsar	endorsing	endorsar	endosar	nag-; e-	nag+e+addition of 'r'→endorsar

The first Waray Visayan verb **iginpadara** contains the Spanish word **dara**, the root word which spelling is originally retained. It is further nativized by adding the prefix **iginpa-** to the word **dara**, having a newly written word **iginpadara** which means “was sent”. Similar process happens in the second word **nadepender** which Spanish root word **depende** remains its spelling in the nativized verb. The prefix **na-** is added to the original spelling of the root word, forming the word **nadepender** which means “depending” (on something or someone).

Moreover, the word **nakumpleto** undergoes multiple orthographic changes. Its root word comes from the Spanish word **completar** which **c** is changed to **k**, **o** to **u**, and **ar** to **o**, forming a new root word **kumpleto**. Then, the prefix **na-** is added to the word **kumpleto**, resulting in a nativized verb **nakumpleto** which means “completed” (an action or event). In the word **aabrihan**, the initial syllable **a** is reduplicated in the Spanish word **abrir** while deleting the letter **r** and adding the suffix **-han**, hence **aabrihan** which means “will be opened” in English.

The fifth word **nagkakantidad**, which means “amounting to”, bears the Spanish root word **cantidad** which spelling is nativized by adding the prefix **na-**, changing **c** to **k**, and repeating the initial syllable **ka**. Meanwhile, **gingastusan**, the sixth borrowed verb found in the news article which means “was funded” (by

someone), contains the Spanish word **gasto** which letter **o** is replaced with letter **u** in the nativized spelling and the prefix **gin-** and the suffix **-san** are added to the root word. Finally, the verb **nag-eendorsar**, meaning (someone is) “endorsing”, adds the prefix **nag-**, reduplicates the letter **e**, and adds the letter **r** in between **endo** and **sar**, resulting in a nativized respelling of the Spanish word **endosar**.

Orthographic Nativization of Hispanic Adjectives in Waray Visayan

In Table 3, the nativized Hispanic adjectives are presented. There are only 4 (four) adjectives found to have been borrowed from the Spanish language in which one (1) of them retained the original spelling of the word and the rest have changed their orthography. Furthermore, no native Waray Visayan affixation has been observed in the borrowed words.

Table 3. Nativized Hispanic Borrowed Adjectives in the Waray Visayan News Article

Adjective	Gloss (English)	Root	Spanish	Native Affixes	Nativization
1. <i>sobra</i>	more than	<i>sobra</i>	<i>sobra</i>	-	original spelling is retained
2. <i>klaro</i>	clear	<i>klaro</i>	<i>claro</i>	-	c→k
3. <i>insakto</i>	exact	<i>insakto</i>	<i>exacto</i>	-	ex→ins; c→k
4. <i>apektado</i>	affected	<i>apektado</i>	<i>afectado</i>	-	f→p; c→k

The first adjective is **sobra** which Spanish spelling is fully acculturated in the Waray Visayan orthography. On the other hand, **claro** is rewritten as **klaro**, having changed **c** to **k** in the spelling. This change is also present in the Spanish adjectives **exacto** and **afectado** which are spelled as **insakto** and **apektado**.

Moreover, **exacto** changes **ex** to **ins** which becomes **insakto** in Waray Visayan, an orthographic mutation of the Spanish word **exacto**. Another notable change is observed in the Spanish word **afectado** in which its **f** is written as **p** in the Waray Visayan article, hence **apektado**.

DISCUSSION

In the nativization of Hispanic nouns in the Waray Visayan news article, spelling changes are observed. In **cio**→**syo**, **cia**→**sya**, and **rie**→**rye**, letter **i** is noticeable to have been replaced by letter **y**. Moreover, letter replacement in words is also seen in **f**→**p**, **g**→**h**, **v**→**b**, **c**→**k**, **c**→**s**, **j**→**h**, **q**→**k**, and **i**→**y**, likewise in **au**→**o** and **ll**→**ly**. In the case of **equipaje**, letter **u** is dropped in the Waray Visayan version **ekipahe**. It can be gleaned that the changes along Hispanic words when they are already written in Waray Visayan are a product of new word structures nativized by the Waray Visayan user (Haugen, 1950). On the other hand, there are Hispanic words that have been fully adopted by the Waray Visayan text which are **resulta**, **ayuda**, and **personal**. This means that the phenomenon of nativization is imported (Haugen, 1950) or direct (Seifart, 2015; Winford, 2005). The study of Quebec (2021) found the same observations in the orthographic nativization of nouns in Waray narratives where **c** is changed to **k**, **c**→**s**, **f**→**p**, among others. The

findings also revealed Hispanic words which do not change in spelling in the Waray narratives, like the words **domingo**, **bodega**, and **lugar**.

Meanwhile, the nativization of Hispanic verbs based on the findings shows affixation and letter replacements. Mostly, the type of affix that is added to the Spanish borrowed words is prefix, such as *iginpa-*, *na-*, *nag-*, and *gin-*. Reduplication and deletion are also observed in the nativization of words, like in the word **aabrihan** in which the initial syllable *a* is reduplicated in the Spanish word **abrir** while deleting the letter *r*. Letter replacements can also be found in the new spelling of a word, such as the Spanish word **completar** which *c* is changed to *k*, *o*→*u*, and *ar*→*o*, forming a new root word **kumpleto**. These multiple orthographic changes make the nativization of the borrowed words complex and hybridized (Seifart, 2015). Quebec (2021) noted native affixes which are added into the Hispanic borrowed verbs in the Waray narratives, like the infix **-ni-** in the word **bin/sita**.

Along Hispanic borrowed adjectives, the nativization takes place through full lexical acculturation, letter replacement, and spelling mutation. Only the Spanish word **sobra** is found to have been written in its model spelling. Others have undergone letter changes when they are written, such as *c*→*k*, *ex*→*ins*, and *f*→*p*. Further, **insakto** is a result of orthographic mutation in which *ex* in **exacto** changes to **ins**. Interestingly, Quebec's (2021) study showed that the spelling of the Hispanic borrowed adjectives in the Waray narratives is retained, hence full lexical nativization.

CONCLUSION

Through the lexical descriptions, the Hispanic content words, such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives, are found to be existing in the Waray Visayan sampled textual resource. The Hispanic borrowed words in the Waray Visayan news article are acculturated through the process of orthographic nativization. The nativization of these words in the Waray Visayan language is exemplified through full lexical adoption, changing or replacement of letters, orthographic mutation, and adding of native prefixes and suffixes.

Moreover, the loanwords underwent different orthographic nativization processes, so that they can be linguistically used by the Waray Visayan community. It is therefore implied that the Spanish loanwords have been Filipinized in the Waray Visayan linguistic community where sociocultural, economic, and religious activities exist. This further shows that the Spanish words have found unique structure and expression in the Waray Visayan written discourse, especially in news articles. In Baklanova's (2017) study, it was observed that the pervasive language borrowing by Filipinos showed how permeable Tagalog/Filipino is for foreign language influences.

On another note, the existence of Hispanic words in Waray Visayan, albeit nativized, is perspicuously postcolonial, rooted from the long-time Spanish invasion in the country. In a paper read in a research colloquium, Piañar (2022) asserted that hybrid cultures bear fragments of colonialism, which is seen in the Hispanization of Waray Visayan language.

In light of the findings and the conclusion, it is recommended to conduct the same study with a bigger number of corpora in both written and spoken discourses so that pedagogical Spanish-Waray dictionary and contextualized instructional materials can be made for the Waray Visayan people. Since it is one limitation of this

study, similar studies may investigate other linguistic changes—phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic—of the Hispanic borrowed words as they undergo nativization in Waray Visayan.

It is also recommended that a parallel lexical investigation be conducted in varied genres of mass media, public signages and posts, multimodal materials, poetic texts, and documents in Waray Visayan and across the Philippine languages to explore the reach of Hispanic word borrowing and nativization.

REFERENCES

- Baklanova, E. (2017). Types of borrowings in Tagalog/Filipino. *Kritika Kultura*, (28), 35-54. <https://doi.org/10.13185/KK2017.02803>
- Clements, J. C. (2009). *The linguistic legacy of Spanish and Portuguese: Colonial expansion and language change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haugen, E. (1950). The analysis of linguistic borrowing. *Language*, 26(2), 210-231.
- Hockett, C. F. (1958). *A course in modern linguistics*. New York: McMillan Company.
- Pesirla, A. (2020). *Nativized Hispanic borrowed words in Cebuano Visayan*. USJR Online Learning Material.
- Phuong, V. T. (2021). *Comparing French borrowed words in English and those in Vietnamese*. 18th International Conference of the Asia Association of Computer-Assisted Language Learning (AsiaCALL-2-2021) (pp. 325-337). Atlantis Press.
- Piañar, R. (2022, May 7). Enriching postcolonial reading and readership [Research Paper]. Webinar on Literary Theories, USJR Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Cebu City.
- Pitogo, J. M. (2022). Nativized Hispanic borrowed words in Cebuano Visayan editorial "Masanta Nang Badlungon": A lexical analysis. *Scholars International Journal of Linguistics and Literature*, 5(5): 191-194. DOI: 10.36348/sijll.2022.v05i05.007
- Prentice, K. (2016). *Anglicizing Spanish/a: Implications of statistical distribution and language experience on non-native pronunciation* (Doctoral dissertation, New York University).
- Quebec, J. C. (2021). Warpanish: A morphologic analysis of Hispanic borrowed words in Waray Visayan. *SABTON: Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, 1(1), 34-48. <https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2013.v9n19p%25p>

- Rebamonte, M. J. C, & Rebamonte, G. C. (2021). Dilang hiram: Mga salitang Espana naiba ang kahulugan sa Tagalog at Sugbuanong Binisaya. *Asia Pacific Journal of Management and Sustainable Development*, 9(1), 126-133.
- Reid, L. A. (2018). Modeling the linguistic situation in the Philippines. *Senri Ethnological Studies*, 98, 91-105. <http://doi.org/10.15021/00009006>
- Seifart, F. (2015). Direct and indirect affix borrowing. *Language*, 91(3), 511-532.
- Siosana, K. (9 May 2020). *COVID Laboratory ha EVRMC magtitikang na an operasyon*. Isumat Newsdesk. <http://isumat.com/covid-laboratory-ha-evrmc-magtitikang-na-an-operasyon/>
- Thomason, S. G. (2001). *Language contact. An introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Vendelin, I., & Peperkamp, S. (2006). The influence of orthography on loanword adaptations. *Lingua*, 116(7), 996-1007.
- Winford, D. (2005). Contact-induced changes: Classification and processes. *Diachronica*, 22(2), 373-427.