PARTICULARITIES OF ROMANIAN AS ACQUIRED BY YOUNG BILINGUAL IMMIGRANTS IN SPAIN

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Abstract: Romanian immigration in Spain reached its peak towards the end of the 2000's, putting the Romanians on the first place among the immigrant communities in Spain. Several linguistic studies have already posited the existence of a new Romanian variety, the so-called *Rumañol*, strongly marked by linguistic interference phenomena. This paper uses a quantitative approach and compares the amounts of interference that can be observed in the speech of two distinct immigrant groups, early and late bilinguals, in order to reveal the particularities of the Romanian variety spoken by Romanian children born in or taken to Spain at early ages.

Keywords: language contact, bilingualism, linguistic interference, *Rumañol*

1. Introduction

There are approximately one million Romanian immigrants living in Spain. One of the aspects in which these people feel the cultural contact with the Spanish society most strongly is their day to day communication. This situation is, undoubtedly, due to the growth of Romanian immigration in Spain during the last twenty years. Following the political regime change in Romania and a series of immigrant friendly laws that were passed in Spain, Romanian immigration started to grow constantly during the second half of the 20th century and boomed at the beginning of the 21st century. The figures offered by the National Institute of Statistics in Spain are extremely relevant. Back in 1999 there were about 3,000 Romanians in Spain, which represented 0.4% of the total number of foreigners in the country; the Romanian community was not even among the first 30 ethnic minorities. At the beginning of 2008 the number of registered Romanian immigrants was 731,806 and the Romanian community became the largest in Spain (Viruela Martínez 2006: 159). Around those dates, when the effects of the economic crisis started to be felt in Spain as well, the rhythm of immigration slowed down and some of the immigrants even decided to move back to Romania (Tamames 2008: 69-79). Nevertheless, the overall number has continued to grow and has presently got to 925,140 which represent 16% of the total number of immigrants in Spain, according to the figures offered by the General Secretary for Immigration and Emigration, within the Ministry of Labour and Social Security in Spain[1].

The term *Rumañol* started to be used to designate the way in which Romanian immigrants speak in Spain in 2005, when the Spanish newspaper *El Mundo* published, in its Sunday supplement, an article written by the Spanish journalist of Romanian origin

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[1] The latest figures reflect the situation as of June 30, 2013 and can be consulted on the official webpage: Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social – http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/estadisticas/operaciones/con-certificado/index.html

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Alexandru Emil Petrescu, in which the author used this term to refer to the mix of Romanian and Spanish that he considered to be the jargon (*jerga* in Spanish) of the second generation of Romanian immigrants[2]. After that, the concept appeared several times in the media, mostly in newspapers, radio and TV programs in different versions: *romaniola, rumaniola, rumaniol* or *romañol*. In most of these cases, the linguistic reality designated by these terms was mostly perceived negatively and it was considered a badly spoken Romanian. It is also worth mentioning that in 2007 the Romanian government decided to implement a project in which classes of Romanian language, culture and civilization started to be taught in the schools where Romanian children were learning. However, there were also several attempts to legitimize the concept made by different Romanian associations in Spain, such as the organization in Torrelaguna of a debate on this topic, titled "Copilul tău în ce limbă visează?"[3], in July 2009, with the participation of the Romanian Cultural Institute. It was the first time when opinions about *Rumañol*, that had previously appeared only in the media, met the more cautious and more documented ideas of some scholars, some of them linguists who were working on the Romanian-Spanish language contact, such as Ofelia Mariana Uţă Burcea, PhD student at Universidad Complutense de Madrid or Diego Muñoz Carrobles, researcher at the same university.

In spite of these efforts to address the topic, there are not too many studies which deal with the Romanian-Spanish language contact. Those that do so use the concept with different meanings and do not manage to clarify what it refers to. Thus, Munteanu Colán (2011) refers to the speech of Romanian immigrants by calling it a new linguistic means marked by Spanish interferences which represent, in the author's opinion, "early signs, but very likely to continue to the extent that radical changes might take place in this variety, that can go as far as becoming another type of pidgin, the so-called rumañol, as it is jocularly and fondly referred to, distinct from the variety spoken in Romania" (Munteanu Colán 2011: 34). A more extended study, that of Ioana Jieanu, states that *Rumañol* is the sociolect of Romanian immigrants in Spain, characterized by cases of linguistic interference (Jieanu 2011: 191-199). Other studies adopt the same approach, presenting and classifying the interferences that can be identified in the Romanian oral (Roesler 2007, Schulte 2012, Brânză 2012) and written (Uţă Burcea 2011, Duţă 2012) discourse. However, most of them use the term *Rumañol* to name this linguistic reality without bringing into discussion any kind of quantitative data. It is important, in our opinion, to have such data in order to support the hypothesis that *Rumañol* exists and is, indeed, a new variety of Romanian.

This paper is based on such a quantitative research and its aim is to account for the amount of linguistic interference that can be observed in the speech of Romanian immigrants. It also analyses the differences that exist between two age groups in terms of types of interference.

[2] Petrescu, A. 2009. Rumanía de Castellon, *Crónica* 510, 25 July 2005, http://www.elmundo.es/suplementos/cronica/2005/510/1122156004.html.
[3] In what language does your kid dream?

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2. Theoretical and methodological aspects

In order to measure the extent to which Spanish influences the speech of the Romanian immigrants, we have to decide on the object of our measurement, that is the contact phenomena that we want to observe and measure. It is not an easy task as there is a fair amount of debate related to what could be considered a result of language contact. Some linguists approach this issue from a diachronic point of view and refer to linguistic realities such as language change, pidgins or creoles and language death (Thomason 2001: 60, Lobiuc 2004: 181). Others focus more on the dynamic side of the process as observed in synchrony and therefore consider phenomena such as code switching and linguistic interference.

The present paper has a synchronic approach. It looks at the contact phenomena that can be observed in the discourse of Romanian immigrants as they speak their native tongue, Romanian. Furthermore, we are only interested in those phenomena that might be considered typical of the supposedly new variety, in order to determine its existence. Jieanu (2012) argued that *Rumañol* is defined by both code switching and linguistic interference. However, if we want to prove the existence of a new variety, that is, of a new linguistic code, we cannot consider switching between two other codes as one of its characteristics. Therefore, we consider that the only phenomenon that can be regarded as a distinctive feature of *Rumañol* is linguistic interference, as defined by Weinreich in his classic study (Weinrech 1953: 1).

In classifying the different interference cases we use the distinction that Grosjean (1996) makes between idiosyncratic loans and established loans, which he also calls speech borrowings and language borrowings. The first ones appear in the speech of bilingual subjects and fit into a synchronic view of the phenomenon. The second ones are established elements of a language that can also appear in monolingual subjects and can only be perceived as borrowings from a diachronic point of view. In our analysis we are interested in the speech borrowings. At the same time, we realised that not all the interference cases that can be observed in the contact situation which we are analysing are borrowings. Therefore, we extended Grosjean's view to other phenomena, similar to what the diachronic studies would consider linguistic calques. We thus make the same distinction between established or language calques and idiosyncratic or speech calques. The first ones are elements that belong to a certain language but which formed in the past by following the structural patterns of another language, whereas the second ones are spontaneous constructions, mostly ungrammatical, that emerge in the speech of bilinguals due to their handling of more than one language. In order to distinguish between the different types of borrowings and calques we use the same typologies that are used in historical studies. We make the difference between adapted and undated borrowings (according to a formal criterion) and also between necessary and unnecessary borrowings (according to a motivation criterion). As far as calques are concerned, we distinguish between lexical calques (which can be semantic or structural), grammatical calques (syntactic and morphological) and phraseological calques (Hristea 1968).

The corpus we used consists of 16 guided conversations with informants from Madrid which were recorded in January 2013 and transcribed using an orthographical approach. All informants are older than 5 and they had all spent at least 2 years in Spain

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prior to the interview. We divided the informants in two groups: (i) the immigrants that arrived in Spain at an adult age and learned Spanish as a second language, becoming late bilinguals; (ii) their children, who were born in Spain or taken to Spain when they were very young. They are the early bilinguals[4] that configure the emergent second generation.

After identifying the cases of deviation from the norm due to Spanish influence, we calculated the amount of interference using the method presented by Mackey (1976: 411-412) and which can be summarized by the formula $a = \frac{\text{i x } 100}{T}$, where a is the amount of interference, i is the number of interference cases and T is the total linguistic production. We also analysed the distribution of the different types of interference in the two groups mentioned above.

One final remark needs to be made here: phonetic phenomena are out of the scope of this quantitative analysis. This is mainly due to the fact that there is a fundamental difference between the phonetic level and the other levels of a language (Martinet 1965: 22, Graur 1960: 270) and that does not allow measurements to be made using the same tools. The phenomena we analyse in this paper belong to what Martinet called the first articulation of a language, whereas the phonetic facts belong to the second articulation (Martinet 1965 23-24). Measuring phonetic interference in the speech of Romanian immigrants in Spain should lead to a distinct study and we hope that contributions in this area will appear soon.

3. Findings

3.1 Amount of interference

As a first step, we have calculated the amount of interference for each informant. By summing up the results, we were able to estimate the overall amount of interference for the whole corpus. This first analysis revealed some interesting data, which we present in Table 1.

The tendencies resulting from the data in Table 1 are obvious. The amount of interference in most of the cases is very small, under 1%, and therefore the average amount is also quite low, 1.49%. That means that the Romanian variety spoken in Spain is very close to the standard variety, at least at a group level, and that it deviates from the standard much less than the previous studies might have suggested. Therefore, it barely deserves a separate name such as *Rumañol*. However, we can notice that most of the cases in which the amount of interference is higher than 1% are early bilinguals, which tells us that the type of bilingualism is a variable that definitely influences this phenomenon. We decided to continue the analysis by splitting the data in these two groups. The amount of interference is almost five times higher in the case of early bilinguals (3.10%) (vs. 0.64% in the case of late bilinguals). Regardless of the fact that 3.10% is still a small amount of interference, this emerging second generation seems to be the one that might (arguably) justify the previous hypothesis according to which *Rumañol* is, indeed, a distinct variety.

[4] We are using the distinction made by Myers-Scotton (2006: 324).

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Table 1
Amount of interference by informant

Informant	Type of Bilingualism	No. of utterances	No. of interferences	%
I_01	Early	1616	11	0.68%
I_02	Early	351	4	1.14%
I_03	Early	316	4	1.27%
I_04	Early	1408	23	1.63%
I_05	Early	1484	113	7.61%
I_06	Early	355	28	7.89%
I_07	Early	510	16	3.14%
I_08	Late	3312	22	0.66%
I_10	Late	1551	8	0.52%
I_11	Late	2461	24	0.98%
I_13	Late	5132	32	0.62%
I_14	Late	587	3	0.51%
I_15	Early	510	4	0.78%
I_16	Late	397	6	1.51%
I_18	Late	1006	2	0.20%
I_19	Late	1712	7	0.41%
Total		**22708**	**307**	**1.35%**

Nevertheless, the fact that the speech of early bilinguals contains more cases of interference cannot be, by itself, a proof of the existence of *Rumañol*. That is why the next step of the analysis was to see if there is any difference between the two groups related to the type of interference they present. In other words, we want to see if there is any difference in terms of types of interference between these two varieties: one spoken by late bilinguals, which is practically pure Romanian with few influences here and there, and the other one spoken by early bilinguals, which seems to be more affected by the Spanish influence.

3.2 Types of linguistic interference

When looking at the different types of interference, we are now interested in the relative frequency of a certain type against the total number of interference cases, without taking into account the overall amount of interference. We make a first distinction between borrowings and linguistic calques (considered as speech phenomena, as explained in section 2). This first distinction does not reveal any important difference since, in both cases, as shown in Figure 1, we can observe the same tendency: there are

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only a few more cases of borrowings than calques and the difference is slightly more evident in the speech of early bilinguals.

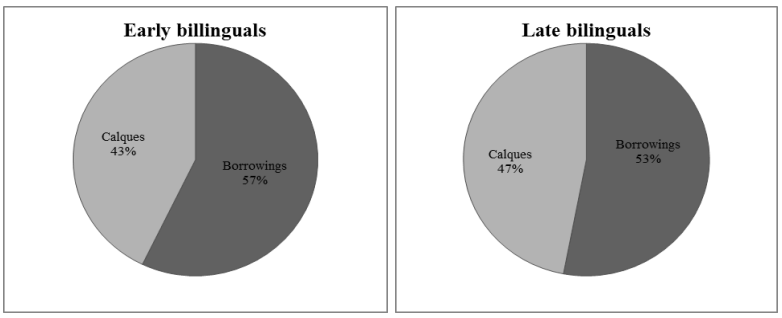


Fig. 1. Borrowings vs. calques in early and late bilinguals

This tendency might confirm some existing theories according to which the lexical level of a language is more vulnerable to interference than other levels (Sala 1997: 39). This is even more valid if we take into account the fact that, within the category of calques, some of the cases are lexical-syntactic calques, that is cases that also occur at a lexical level. We will look into the details of the two categories further on.

3.2.1 Types of borrowings: Adapted vs. unadapted

A first distinction within the category of borrowings is made using the formal criterion of adaptation of the borrowed elements to the Romanian system. Here the difference is more obvious. Late bilinguals tend to use more adapted borrowings whereas the tendency is inverse for early bilinguals, as seen in Figure 2:

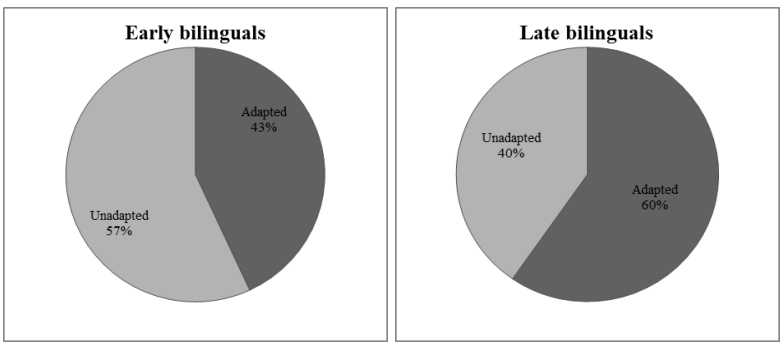


Fig. 2. Adapted vs. unadapted borrowings in the speech of early and late bilinguals

It is very probable that, in the case of late bilinguals, the Romanian grammar system has an important role and creates a certain pressure to adapt the elements that are borrowed from Spanish according to its own phonetic and morpho-syntactic rules, as in the following examples:

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(1) o lege care se dădea pentru făcutu actelor... **extranherii** care o venit. (I_11)
Sp. *los extranjeros* vs. Rom. *străinii*
'a law which they passed for getting papers... **the foreigners** who had come.'
(2) Nu găsăsc ş-am pus la **curicule** cred că mai mult de-o sută. (I_11)
Sp. *currículos* vs. Rom. *CV-uri*
'I cannot find one and I probably sent more than one hundred **CV-s**.'
(3) Ieri de exemplu nici n-am **desaiunat** ce supărată eram. (I_11)
Sp. *he desayunado / desayuné* vs. Rom. *am luat micul-dejun*
'Yesterday, for example, I didn't even **have breakfast**, I was that sad.'
(4) **hamonu**, nu l-am gustat. (I_08)
Sp. el *jamón* vs. Rom. *şunca*
'the ham, I haven't tried it.'
(5) **împatronamentu,** da... dovezi că tu locuiai aici. (I_10)
Sp. *empadronamiento* vs. Rom. *înscriere în registrul oficial / obţinerea vizei de flotant*
'**registration of residency**, yes… proofs that you lived there.'
(6) Deci, asta ce-i? **Mesclă** între românească şi engleză. (I_13)
Sp. *mezcla* vs. Rom. *amestec*
'So what is this? A **mix** between Romanian and English.'
(7) posibilităţi **laborale,** economice, culturale. (I_19)
Sp. *laborale* vs. Rom. *de muncă*
'work possibilities, economic and cultural.'

In some cases, Spanish nouns receive Romanian morphemes of number, as in (1) and (2), or determination, as in (4) and (5). Other cases are represented by verbs with specific Romanian endings, as in (3) where the verbal form *desaiunat* is obtained by adding the Romanian participle ending to a Spanish lexeme. There are also adjectives, like the one in (7), that also have Romanian plural forms.

On the other hand, early bilinguals seem to find it easier to just use Spanish forms without any kind of adaptation since Spanish is, alongside Romanian, a first language for them. Therefore, their speech is affected by more cases like the following:

(8) mai târziu intrăm la **comedor**. (I_02)
Sp. *comedor* vs. Rom. *cantina / cafeteria*[5]
'later on, we go to **lunch**.'
(9) **Sábado** doar stă pe dimineaţă. (I_05)
Sp. *sábado* vs. Rom. *sâmbătă*
'on **Saturday** she only stays in the morning.'
(10) La şcoala nu putem să vorbim în **rumano**. (I_05)
Sp. *rumano* vs. Rom. *română*
'At school we cannot speak **Romanian**.'

[5] These are not perfect translations since *comedor* is a necessary borrowing here, referring to a reality which does not exist in the Romanian educational system (see 3.2.2.).

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(11) Mai avem o parte di văzut de la o **película**. (I_04)
Sp. *película* vs. Rom. *film*
'We still have to see one part of a **movie**.'
(12) Trebuia să fiu în **quinto**. (I_07)
Sp. *quinto* vs. Rom. *a cincea*
'I'm supposed to be in **fifth grade**.'
(13) **Lengua**... vrei s-aduc un cuaderno să-l vezi? (I_07)
Sp. *lengua* vs. Rom. *limbă*
'**Language**… do you want me to bring a notebook for you to see it?'

Unlike the adapted borrowings, most of the elements that are used by early bilinguals are nouns. The example in (12) is a numeral but it is worth noticing that it also functions as an elliptical noun phrase: *quinto* < *quinto grado* 'fifth' < 'fifth grade'.

3.2.2 Types of borrowings: necessary vs. *in presentia*

Another criterion that can be used in differentiating types of borrowings is related to their necessity. Generally, it is considered that words are borrowed from another language when one's native language does not possess the concept needed to express a new reality or a new nuance (Grosjean, in Munteanu Colán 2011: 23). From this point of view, most of the borrowings one should encounter in a contact situation should be necessary. Nevertheless, Figure 3 shows that a very high percentage of *in presentia* borrowings can be found in the speech of both groups. Moreover, in the case of early bilinguals, the figures come close to 100%.

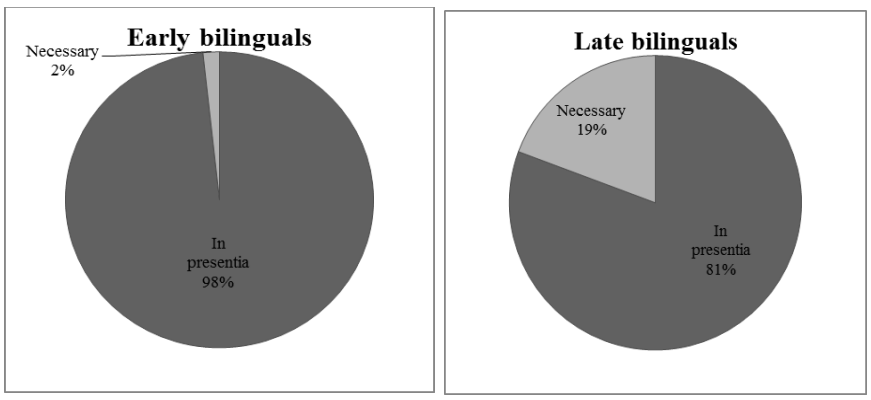


Fig. 3. Necessary and *in presentia* borrowings in early and late bilinguals

This trend according to which necessary borrowings are exceptional confirms some earlier findings (Munteanu Colán 2011) and confirms the fact that there are several factors involved in the contact situation. Below we offer a selection of borrowings which must have other explanations as none of them refer to realities that could not be expressed in Romanian:

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(14) Mă trezesc, ă... **desaiunez**... (I_06)
Sp. *desayuno* vs. Rom. *iau micul-dejun*
'I wake up, uh... **I have breakfast**.'
(15) după ce... fac **deberele**... (I_06)
Sp. *los deberes* vs. Rom. *temele*
'after which... I do my **homework**'
(16) Mama mea **me despertează**. (I_07).
Sp. *me despierta* vs. Rom. *mă trezeşte*
'My mother **wakes me up**.'
(17) ca să facem nişte **sumas, restas**. (I_04)
Sp. *sumas, restas* vs. Rom. *adunări, scăderi*
'in order for us to do **additions**, **substractions**.'
(18) Crede că ea îi **demoniu** negru. (I_04)
Sp. *demonio* vs. Rom. *demon*
'She thinks she is a black **demon**.'
(19) c-am **repetit** a doua. (I_07)
Sp. *he repetido* vs. Rom. *am repetat*
'because I **repeted** second grade.'
(20) că trăbă să **estudiez** mai mult. (I_05)
Sp. *estudiar* vs. Rom. *să studiez*
'because I have to **study** more.'
(21) Io merg cu... cu fata lu **padrino**. (I_07)
Sp. *padrino* vs. Rom. *naş*
'I go with… with my **godfather**'s daughter.'

The few cases of necessary borrowings used by early bilinguals refer to school life, as in example (8) and also in (22) below, where the Spanish word *comedor* refers to a special place where kids have lunch within the school hours. There is no equivalent in the Romanian educational system and, consequently, there is no term to refer to it.

(22) [unde ai vorbit ultima data limba spaniola?] În **comedor**. (I_02)
Sp. *comedor* vs. Rom. *cantina / cafeteria*
'[where have you spoken Spanish for the last time?] At **lunch**.

Late bilinguals use a wider array of necessary borrowings, probably due to the fact that adult immigrants have contact with more aspects of life than a child has. The cases that we could identify in our corpus reflect this variety of aspects. They are terms related to food (*hamonul*), administration (*împatronamentu*), work (*internă*; *ciapuse*) or education (*ADE*):

(23) **Hamonul**, nu l-am gustat. (I_08)
Sp. *jamón* vs. Rom. *şuncă (but not exactly the same type of ham)*
'**The ham**, I haven't tried it.'

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(24) Nu vroie să ne facă românii ăia unde stăteam în chirie **împatronamentu**. (I_11)
Sp. *empadronamiento* vs. Rom. *înscriere în registrul official*
'Those Romanians where we rented the house didn't want to do the **registration of residency** for us.'

(25) Încă eu eram **internă** tuma în Valencia şî soţu era aicea sîngur. (I_11)
Sp. *interna* Rom. *persoană care face curat în case*
'And I was **cleaning houses** in Valencia and my husband was here alone.'

(26) Acuma... cu **ciapuse** cu de estea, dacă mai iesă câte-o lucrare. (I_14)
Sp. *chapuzas* vs. Rom. *reparaţii / cârpeli*
'Now… **shoddy works**, things like this, if we are lucky to get any.'

(27) Sunt din nou la facultate studiez... **ADE**. (I_10)
Sp. *ADE* vs. Rom. *Administrarea Afacerilor*
'I'm attending university again, I study…**Business Administration**'

3.2.3 Types of calque

Besides words borrowed from Spanish, the speech of the Romanian immigrants is also marked by more subtle cases in which Romanian linguistic material is used but the undelying rules that govern that use is strongly influenced by the Spanish system. These cases are traditionally called linguistic calques. We use here, as mentioned before, this terminology to refer to a phenomenon occurring in the speech of the informants and we do not pretend that these cases we identified are consistently used as part of a supposedly new linguistic system. All the examples that will follow are idiosyncratic calques (speech calques).

We have seen at the beginning of section 2.2. that calques are slightly fewer than borrowings and that late bilinguals tend to present more calques than early bilinguals. We are trying to see now if there is also a difference between the two groups in terms of the types of calques that occur. Figure 4 shows the split between lexical, grammatical and phraseological calques:

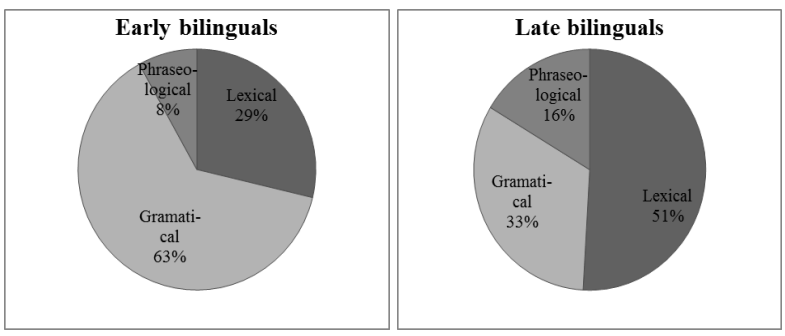


Fig. 4. Types of calque in early and late bilinguals

There is one general common trend and that is the fact that the smallest category is represented in both cases by phraseological calques like those in (28) where the Spanish phrase is translated literally:

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(28) Nu, numai că **mi să dă** un pic **rău**. (I_02)
sp. *se me de mal* vs. rom. *sunt slab la*
'No, it's just I'm not very good at.'

The low percentage of phraseological calques could probably be explained by the novelty of the contact situation. Phraseological units are linguistic elements that are typically acquired later in L2 so they will also be a source of interference in a later stage not from the very beginning. Another possible explanation is the fact that early bilinguals prefer to use certain phrases directly in Spanish, which is for them also a first language. In the same way in which they use more unadapted than adapted borrowings, they also use more emblematic code switching than phraseological calques, as in (29) and (30). That would also explain why late bilinguals use twice as many phraseological calques as early bilinguals do.

(29) [şi tu făceai desenele tuturor?] Da, hombre, si yo **no tenía más opción** (I_05)
Sp. *no tenía más opción* vs. Rom. *nu aveam de ales*
'[so you were doing the drawings for everybody] Yes, well, since I **had no choice**.'

(30) O făcut să… ca să nască bine şi **ya está**. (I_05)
Sp. *ya está* vs. Rom. *asta e / gata*
'They made it so that… she was born ok and **that's it**.'

The main differences that can be observed are related to the percentage of lexical and grammatical calques. Early bilinguals use fewer lexical semantic calques, 29% compared to 51% in late bilinguals. Due to their lower age, young bilinguals are still acquiring vocabulary. That means that they possess a smaller inventory of lexemes in general so the chances that some of them could favour interference at a semantic level are lower. On top of that, we have already mentioned that early bilinguals use many more Spanish words without any kind of adaptation so the possibility to use Romanian words with Spanish meanings is even lower. The few cases we could find in the corpus are mostly related to school life, as in (31), where the Romanian noun *clasă* is used with the meaning of school subject. The Spanish noun *clase* has this meaning which in Romanian would be expressed by the noun *oră* 'hour; class'.

(31) Ingleză vorbim noi când avem **clasă** de ingleză. (I_05)
Sp. *clase de ingles* vs. Rom. *oră de engleză*
'We speak English when we have English class.'

Finally, we can note that early bilinguals use almost twice as many grammatical calques as late bilinguals do (63% vs. 33%), and that makes this category be the main type of calques in their speech. Therefore, we decided to further detail the analysis of this category.

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3.2.4 Types of grammatical calque

The existence of grammatical calques proves that the linguistic contact goes beyond the "surface" phenomena reflected in the vocabulary. Due to the fact that early bilinguals acquire both Romanian and Spanish as L1, the contact is stronger in their case and that is reflected, as we have previously seen, in a higher percentage of grammatical calques. But, besides this quantitative difference between the two groups, there is also a qualitative one reflected in the type of calques that they display. Although both early and late bilinguals show a tendency to use more syntactic calques than morphological calques, there is a significant difference in the percentages. There is a significant 33% of cases affecting the morphology of late bilinguals and only 18% in the case of early bilinguals. These few cases are mostly verbs that change their grammatical category under the influence of Spanish equivalents, as in (32) and (33), where the Romanian reflexive verbs *a se juca* 'to play' and *a se naşte* 'to be born' are used non-reflexively under the influence of Spanish verbs *jugar* and *nacer*.

(32) După ce fac deberele pot să **joc**. (I_06)
Sp. *jugar* vs. Rom. *a se juca*
'After I do my homework I can **play**.'

(33) R la fel, când el **o născut**, i-o spus că R după ce de tres meses nu o să mai… nu o să mai vivească. (I_05)
Sp. *nacer* vs. Rom. *a se naşte*
'The same with R, when he **was born**, they told her that R, after three months, would not live any longer.'

With early bilinguals, syntactic calques represent over 80% of the grammatical calques. This is mainly due to the fact that Romanian and Spanish are typologically related languages. That, as stated before, makes it easier for Romanians to learn Spanish but, at the same time, it can be a trap because there are many formal similarities and functional differences between the prepositional systems of the two languages. Romanian and Spanish prepositions can have identical or very similar forms (Sp. and Rom *de*; Sp. *en* – Rom. *în*; Sp. *con* – Rom. *cu*; Sp. *a* – Rom. *la*) but they very often function differently. Here are some examples:

(34) Sábado doar stă **pe** dimineaţă (I_05)
Sp. *EN / POR la mañana* vs. Rom. *DE dimineaţă / Ø dimineaţa*
'On Saturday she only stays there **in** the morning.'

(35) [ce va jucati?] Păi, **la** pilla pilla, **la** escondite şi **la** ăstea. (I_05)
Sp. *jugar + A + Prep. Object*. vs. Rom. *a juca + Direct Object*
'[what do you play?] Well, tag, hide and seek and this kind of stuff.'

(36) Toată clasa-**i de** Barça (I_04)
Sp. *ser + DE* + team name vs. Rom. *a fi/a ţine + CU* + team name
'Everybody in the class **is a** Barça **supporter**.'

(37) Lucrăm cu produse **de** Johnson. (I_15)
Sp. *productos de Johnson* vs. Rom. *produse de la Johnson / produse Ø Johnson*
'We work with Johnson products.'

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3.3 Language level affected by interference

The terminology we have used so far (borrowings, calques) helped us describe the different cases of linguistic interference but it does not offer a general view on the way in which the variety spoken by the Romanian immigrants differs from the standard variety. Borrowings are a phenomenon related to vocabulary whereas calques are more eclectic. They can affect the vocabulary but also the morphology or the syntax. Therefore, a last aspect we wanted to check was the distribution of the interference by language level affected by this phenomenon. Figure 5 summarizes the results:

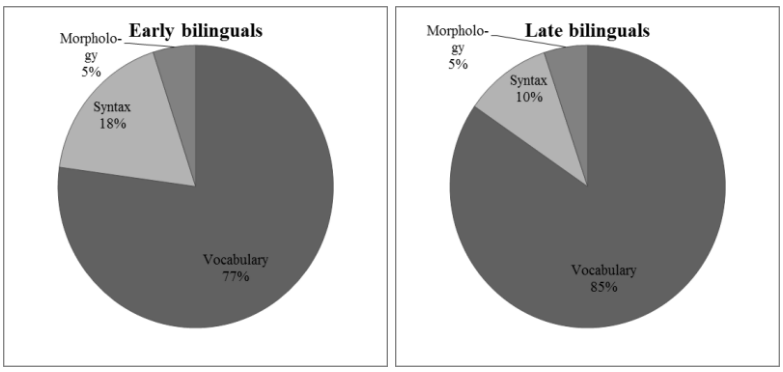


Fig. 5. Distribution of linguistic interference by language level

Just as in the previous analysis, one can notice a common general trend. Linguistic interference impacts mostly the vocabulary level with more than three quarters of the cases occurring here. The second most affected level is syntax, whereas morphology is the most stable one. These findings confirm the so-called law of unequal penetrability of the different levels of a language (Graur 1960: 264-275).

The differences between the two groups are quantitative in nature. We can notice that early bilinguals have the tendency to use almost twice more syntactic calques than late bilinguals, which is due to the fact that the contact situation is stronger in their case. We can, thus, make the following assumption: if these phenomena are to continue and to lead to the more important changes that some linguists predicted (Munteanu Colán 2011: 34), it is highly probable that it is in the speech of these early bilinguals where those changes are to be expected.

4. Conclusions

This paper has presented a quantitative analysis of the linguistic interference phenomenon that can be observed in the speech of Romanian immigrants in Spain and tried to reveal the particularities of the variety spoken by the early bilinguals in contrast with the one spoken by late bilinguals. After reviewing the results, we can conclude that the variety spoken by young Romanian bilinguals in Spain has the following characteristics.

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First of all, it displays a higher amount of interference. The amount of linguistic interference is almost five times higher than in the case of late bilinguals. This amount is, however, relatively low (3.10%) so it is still debatable if this variety deserves a separate name, such as *Rumañol*.

Secondly, there are more unadapted borrowings. Early bilinguals use more than half of the words they borrow from Spanish without any kind of adaptation. The situation is opposite in late bilinguals.

Thirdly, there are more instances of grammatical interference, mostly syntactic. The syntactic level seems to be more affected in early bilinguals, even if vocabulary is still the most penetrable level. This is a sign that any significant change that might occur in the future is to be found in this variety rather than in the one spoken by late bilinguals.

Finally, all these findings are just tendencies that need to be confirmed by extending this type of analysis to more linguistic data. Also, a quantitative analysis of the contact phenomena occurring at the phonetic level would also reveal important aspects of this language contact situation.

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