

## An up-to-date review of the literature on Anglicisms in Spanish\*

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**RESUMEN:** La incorporación de elementos de origen inglés a la lengua española ha atraído la atención de numerosos investigadores durante las últimas décadas. En este artículo se lleva a cabo una revisión de la investigación publicada hasta el momento sobre la presencia de los anglicismos en español. En primer lugar, se abordará el concepto general de préstamo, para después estudiar los proyectos que se han puesto en marcha sobre estos y, en particular, acerca de los anglicismos. A continuación, se profundizará en la amplia influencia que el inglés ejerce en la sociedad española. Tras ello, se examinarán los trabajos que han estudiado el uso de palabras y expresiones inglesas en Latinoamérica, en España y en el español estadounidense. Posteriormente, se ahondará en la postura adoptada por el *DRAE* sobre la inclusión de anglicismos entre sus páginas. Más tarde se analizará la variación que caracteriza a estos elementos extranjeros, así como las áreas de especialidad en las que normalmente aparecen y las diferentes funciones que pueden cumplir en el discurso español. Además, se tratará la aplicación reciente de la lingüística de corpus al estudio del anglicismo y la adecuación de los medios de comunicación (especialmente la prensa) como fuente donde identificar y analizar vocablos extranjeros. Asimismo, se explorará el interesante fenómeno de los pseudo-anglicismos. Por último, se proporcionarán referencias de varios artículos que han emprendido revisiones de la bibliografía sobre el tema de los anglicismos con anterioridad.

**Palabras clave:** estado de la cuestión, préstamos, español, revisión bibliográfica, anglicismos.

**ABSTRACT:** The incorporation of English elements into the Spanish language has attracted the attention of a high number of scholars during recent decades. In this paper, a review of the research on the presence of Anglicisms in Spanish will be undertaken. To begin with, the general concept of borrowing will be covered, and projects on loanwords and, specifically, on Anglicisms, will be brought into focus. Afterwards, the broad influence exerted by English on Spanish society will be tackled. Later on, studies on English words and expressions in Latin American, European, and US Spanish will be commented upon, and then the stance of the *Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy (DRAE)* regarding the inclusion of Anglicisms will be discussed. The variation that characterises these foreign elements, the specialised fields in which they usually appear, and the different functions they can fulfil in Spanish discourse will be explored as well. Furthermore, the recent application of corpus linguistics to the study of Anglicisms, the appropriateness of the media (specifically, the press) as a source to identify and analyse foreign words, and the interesting phenomenon of pseudo-Anglicisms will be discussed. Finally, some references of previous reviews of the literature dealing with Anglicisms will be mentioned.

**Keywords:** state of the art, borrowing, loanwords, Spanish, literature review, Anglicisms.

### 1. THE CONCEPT OF *BORROWING*

In his landmark article “The analysis of linguistic borrowing”, Haugen (1950: 212) defines *borrowing* as “the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in

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another”<sup>1</sup>. Immediately, this author makes us notice the inaccuracy of this term<sup>2</sup> to refer to the adoption of a foreign element by a certain language: “[t]he metaphor implied is certainly absurd, since the borrowing takes place without the lender’s consent or even awareness, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan” (p. 211). In fact, as Gottlieb (2005) and Teruel Sáez (2006) state, the words are not given back to the languages from which they were “borrowed”. Even in the cases in which they return to their original tongues, as Lorenzo Criado (1996: 31) explains, their meanings have acquired new nuances in the other language and their functions have changed. Perhaps a better term to denote this phenomenon would be “imported words”. A very interesting point in relation to this issue is referred to in Pulcini, Furiassi, and Rodríguez González (2012: 11):

The terms *loanword*, or simply *loan*, and *borrowing* are normally used as synonyms, although *borrowing* can refer to both the process and the result<sup>3</sup>. German scholars point out that the English term *loanword* is itself a loan translation of the German term *Lehnwort*<sup>4</sup>. Other terms in use are *importation*, *import* or *import word*, *transfer*, *adoption* and *contact-induced innovation*. Whereas *importations* or *import words* have a clear one-way directionality, *i. e.* from the language exporting words to the language importing them, the synonymic triplet *loanword/loan/borrowing* is used in a way which makes it semantically awkward. In fact, the implied bidirectionality of non-linguistic borrowing is not realized, since no lexical borrowing is ever returned to its SL. On rare occasions, a word may transfer from one language to another and then return to the original donor language: this process is called *reborrowing*. An example of *reborrowing* is the radio signal *Mayday Mayday Mayday*, used by ships and aircraft to request emergency assistance, which was borrowed from the French expression *venez m’aider (come and help me)*. After being Anglicized, *Mayday* was returned not only to French but to all world languages as an international emergency call<sup>5</sup>.

Notwithstanding all this, the term *borrowing*<sup>6</sup> is so spread and has been employed for so long that now the most appropriate thing to do is to continue using it<sup>7</sup>.

As far as definitions of its Spanish equivalent (*i. e. préstamo*) are concerned, Teruel Sáez (2006: 298) provides us with several ones given by different authors. First, he comments upon the fact that “se viene llamando ‘préstamo’ a cualquier elemento, generalmente léxico, que una lengua toma de otro idioma y que asume como propio”. Second, he quotes Lázaro Carreter’s (1987) definition of this word: “[...] el elemento lingüístico (léxico de ordinario) que una lengua toma de otra, bien adoptándolo en su forma primitiva, bien imitándolo y transformándolo más o menos [...]”. Third, the author points out that, according to M. Alvar Ezquerro (1996), it consists, “según la caracterización de Josette Rey-Debove, en un proceso mediante el cual una lengua cuyo léxico es

<sup>1</sup> Five decades later, (López Zurita, 2005) states that the term *borrowing* refers to “the incorporation of a foreign word into a language either having had some phonetic alterations or not, whose foreign origin (at least in the first step of incorporation) is clear to a greater or lesser degree. A common example in this case is the word “fútbol”, an English borrowing whose Spanish spelling reflects the English phonetics”(p. 95). To deepen on this issue of orthography and phonetics, *vide* Rodríguez Segura (1998, chap. 5) and Makri-Morel (2010).

<sup>2</sup> The same happens to the Spanish *préstamo* and to the English *loanword*.

<sup>3</sup> Alejo and McGinity (1997) underline this distinction between borrowing as a process and as a result. To avoid this polysemy, we would suggest the use of the term *borrowing* to refer to the process (the *-ing* ending makes it suitable for this sense) and *loanword* to name the result or product (*i. e.* the word that has been loaned).

<sup>4</sup> Indeed, Cannon (2000: 328) explains that “[t]he term *loanword* is itself a loanword, naturalized from the German compound *Lehnwort* to fit English phonetic and graphemic patterns”.

<sup>5</sup> Gómez Capuz (2005: 60) assigns to this phenomenon the appropriate label *préstamos de ida y vuelta*: “préstamos que van de la lengua receptora a la lengua modelo y, al cabo de un largo período de tiempo, vuelven a la lengua receptora con ciertas alteraciones formales y semánticas”. However, an inaccuracy can be detected in this definition: it would be clearer if expressed the other way around: van de la lengua modelo (*i. e.* la lengua fuente o dadora) a la lengua receptora y, al cabo de un largo período de tiempo, vuelven a la lengua modelo con ciertas alteraciones formales y semánticas.

<sup>6</sup> This term is also employed in the area of translation. For instance, Mason (1994) deals with *borrowing* as a technique of translation, and defines it as a process consisting of “the conscious decision of translators to establish equivalence by transcribing items from ST to TT (with greater or lesser degrees of mediation)” (p. 66).

<sup>7</sup> Thus, we agree with Alejo González (2002 [1993]) when he states that, although the word *préstamo* is inaccurate, it is better to employ it in order to avoid misunderstandings.

finito y fijo en un momento dado toma de otra lengua (cuyo léxico es también finito y fijo en un momento dado) una voz (en su forma y contenido) que no poseía antes”. Teruel Sáez (2006: 297, note 1) also indicates that M. Alvar Ezquerro (1996) prefers the use of *voz ajena* to allude to the term *préstamo*.

Another interesting aspect concerning the phenomenon of borrowing is examined in Gómez Capuz (1998: 29) – a book that constitutes a highly valuable approach to linguistic borrowing, dealing with concepts, problems, and methods related to it. By quoting Payrató (1984), this author introduces the double perspective from which the concept of *préstamo* (in any field) can be approached: that of the donor and that of the recipient parts. This semantic differentiation is conveyed by two words in English (*borrowing/lending*), French (*emprunt/prêt*), or Catalan (*manlleu/préstec*), while other languages have only one word to refer to both points of view, such as Spanish (*préstamo*). In the linguistic field, though, it is only the term that represents the recipient perspective the one employed metalinguistically to refer to this phenomenon.

Additionally, in his insightful book *Préstamos del español: lengua y sociedad*, Gómez Capuz (2004) presents a comprehensive study of loanwords in the Spanish language, providing us with several classifications that have been proposed in various historical periods to create a frame in which this issue could be properly analysed.

To conclude this section it is worth mentioning that, with the exception of some restrictions depicted by few authors, it is generally accepted that borrowings are a type of neologism<sup>8</sup> (Alvar Ezquerro, 2005; Teruel Sáez, 2006; Romero Gualda, 2008; and a number of researchers mentioned in Rodríguez Díaz, 2011)<sup>9</sup>.

## 2. INTERNATIONAL PROJECTS ON BORROWING (IN GENERAL) AND ANGLICISMS (IN PARTICULAR)

Several international major works on linguistic borrowing have been developed during the last years. In the first place, a project involving different languages should be mentioned: Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009), adopting a comparative approach, arrive at relevant conclusions on the general tendencies of word exchange amongst languages. Taking a sample of 40 world-wide languages and counting on specialists on each of them, they have assembled a database of over 70,000 words, out of which 18,000 are loanwords. This book reflects the results of a systematic research, carried out by a group of coordinated scholars who follow the same methodological pattern<sup>10</sup>.

In the second place, the specific area of Anglicisms will be brought into focus. As the spreading of the English influence is a global issue, several researchers have shown a great interest in the study of this phenomenon in the languages of different countries. In 2001, the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* edited by Manfred Görlach was the first work in carrying out an exhaustive comparative analysis of the words of English origin adopted by 16 languages in Europe (a total of 4,000 vocables aprox.). Focusing mainly on the lexis imported after World War II, it reflects the situation of Anglicisms in different European languages in the early 1990s. By using a systematic methodology, this dictionary provides us with a comprehensive record of the lexical impact of

<sup>8</sup> According to some scholars, it is the most external kind of neologism.

<sup>9</sup> A very interesting project on neology, the OBNEO (Observatori de Neologia), is coordinated by the IULA (Institut Universitari de Lingüística Aplicada) at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra. A detailed analysis of its work would exceed the scope of this paper; therefore, for more on the methodology employed by this group to carry out a rigorous study on neologisms, *vide* Cabré Castellví *et al.* (2004).

<sup>10</sup> Martin Haspelmath presents some results from this research project in a book chapter entitled “Loanword typology: Steps toward a systematic cross-linguistic study of lexical borrowability” (Haspelmath, 2008).

English on 16 languages from different families: Germanic (Icelandic, Norwegian, Dutch, and German), Slavic (Russian, Polish, Croatian, and Bulgarian), Romance (French, Spanish, Italian and Romanian), and four other languages of different origins (Finnish, Hungarian, Albanian, and Greek). These groups “allow the analysis of a maximal number of contrasts –purist vs. open speech communities, Western vs. Eastern countries, regional comparisons (Scandinavia, the Balkans), and the impact of mediating languages (French and German in particular)” (Görlach, 2001: xv).

Along with the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* there are three other volumes that complement the data and analysis presented in it. They are: *An Annotated Bibliography of European Anglicisms* (2002), *English in Europe* (2002), and *English Words Abroad* (2003).

*An Annotated Bibliography of European Anglicisms* (Görlach, 2002a) contains a list of commented selected references of books and articles dealing with “General problems in language contact and studies of more than one language” (Part I), on the one hand, as well as “Studies devoted to Anglicisms in individual languages” (Part II), on the other hand.

*English in Europe* (Görlach, 2002b) presents a series of detailed and identically structured chapters, each covering a summary of the influence of English on a specific language out of the 16 that are studied. Thanks to the format in which they are arranged, having the same sections and subsections, it is possible to approach the situation in the different languages from a comparative point of view in relation to “the history and types of influence, attitudes, and structural conditions for borrowing between all languages represented” (p. 2).

The chapter on Spanish, by Félix Rodríguez González, provides us with a great amount of information about different aspects of the phenomenon of Anglicisms in this recipient language. First, he approaches the history of language contact, carrying out a review of the different periods of major influence, from the first English words that entered the Spanish language (“[t]he names of the cardinal points (norte, sud—a variant of sur—este and oeste) were probably the first English loans in Spanish, being attested between 1431 and 1607” (Rodríguez González, 2002: 128)), till the situation at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Second, he covers the areas of pronunciation and spelling, morphology, and meaning. Third, the author makes some comments on the usage of these foreign words. Afterwards, he presents a classification of the different forms of linguistic borrowing he has found in Spanish. Last, he ventures the probable future of Anglicisms, stating that “a further increase in the number of Anglicisms is to be expected” (p.148), he sums up the topics on which some research on Anglicisms in Spanish have been concentrated up to the current moment, and he provides a bibliographical list of the main references relating to this field.

Finally, *English Words Abroad* (Görlach, 2003) tackles the methods developed for the execution of the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms*. It aims “to provide a coherent account of the methodology and results” of the project that led to the publication of the Dictionary (Görlach, 2003: xii).

Following this Pan-European approach, Fischer and Pułaczewska (2008) edited a publication that included some of the papers read at a conference called *Anglicisms in Europe 2006*, held in Regensburg in September 2006. It highlights the role of English as a lingua franca in Europe nowadays, pointing to the advantages it involves in terms of communication and intelligibility, but also revealing the drawbacks that it entails, among which the fear a nation can feel of “being foreignized by means of the Anglophone culture represented by the English language” (Fischer, 2008: 1) should be mentioned. In accordance with the distinction made by Juliane House “between languages of communication and languages of identification” (House, 2005, quoted in Fischer, 2008: 4), in the Introduction to this volume the author proposes a perspective that would dispel this fear: “While English is seen as a foreign language, serving as a useful means of communication

with the outside world, the national language is used within one's own speech community" (Fischer, 2008: 12). Considering the articles included in this book, they are grouped into four parts: "Cognitive and Semantic Approaches to Anglicisms", "Attitudes towards the Influx of Anglicisms", "The Use of Anglicisms in Specialized Discourse", and "Anglicisms in Dictionaries".

Finally, our attention should be turned to a volume containing a series of selected papers presented at the seminar *The Creative Reshaping of Vocabulary: Pseudo-/False Borrowing from/into English*<sup>11</sup>, which was held in Istanbul in September, 2012. This book, entitled *Pseudo-English: Studies on False Anglicisms in Europe* (Furiassi and Gottlieb, 2015), "is the first ever to deal exclusively with false loans –also known as pseudo-loans– involving the English language" (p. 3). Its goal consists of evaluating different approaches to this phenomenon as well as comparing several methodologies in order to assess the issue of pseudo-borrowing within single languages and across languages too<sup>12</sup>.

### 3. THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE ON SPANISH SOCIETY

In addition to the presence of Anglicisms in different kinds of texts in Spain, the influence exerted by the English language nowadays pervades almost every aspect of Spanish society. This relevant issue is developed in-depth in Luján García (2012), who analyses a series of areas of Spaniards' daily life. After commenting upon the status of *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF) in Europe and mentioning Modiano (1996 and 2001) as "one of the first authors to consider the emergence of a European variety of English or 'Euro-English'" (p. 2), Luján García starts her "overview of the linguistic landscape of Spain" (p. 3) by explaining the evolution of the English situation in the Spanish educational system, from being studied by aprox. 5% of the students in the 1950s (vs. more than 90% who learnt French) –the author quotes Lorenzo (1996: 17) when providing this datum– to becoming the first foreign language studied by all pupils nowadays. As a matter of fact, children begin their English lessons at a very early age at present, there are bilingual programmes (Content and Language Integrated Learning –CLIC–) in many primary as well as secondary educational centres, a large number of cities offers the possibility of registering at an Official School of Languages, the Bologna Process in Higher Education binds students in all degrees to attend compulsory English instruction, and the international students mobility promoted by the ERASMUS programme encourages University pupils to acquire a good level of English to be able to study at a foreign institution. After this explanation, the author moves on to the analysis of different aspects that surround Spaniards' daily life. In every street we are exposed to shop-signs that very frequently include English words; people "see these kinds of shop signs on their way to school, work, and so on" (p. 9). Therefore, it is very common to come across "the name of a shop in English, with a mixture of English and Spanish, and with the use of inflected genitive construction" (p. 7). The mass media are another area to consider in relation to the topic dealt with in this article. Today, many television channels broadcast in English. Furthermore, in addition to the opportunity of watching English-speaking ones, technology allows us to select the original version of any English or American film. Indeed, it "is a further consequence of the processes of globalisation and increased interconnectedness" (p. 10). With respect to the Internet, Luján García describes English as "the most chosen language for the largest Spanish companies that want to advertise their products on-line to the rest of the world" (p. 11), a statement which is based on data obtained in 2010. As for the radio, most stations broadcast music in English. Furthermore, others

<sup>11</sup> This seminar was part of the 11<sup>th</sup> International Conference of The European Society for the Study of English (ESSE).

<sup>12</sup> To deepen into false borrowings, *vide infra*, section 13 in this article.

include different types of programmes exclusively in this foreign language. The music sphere is also very permeable to the English influence. Nowadays, a number of Spanish singers compose and sing in this language rather than in their mother tongue. These bands, that have English instead of Spanish names too, have mainly two reasons to do that: first, since English is perceived as trendy, they employ it to look ‘cool’ and fashionable; second, this language gives them the possibility of addressing a major audience. Finally, with regard to interpersonal communication, the author mentions the academic setting and the workplace as areas in which the English language is performing a more and more important role at present. In relation to the first one, English is the chosen communicative vehicle in the majority of the important academic journals and international conferences. Therefore, Spanish scholars need to have an acceptable level of English to read and produce in this language. As concerns the second one, an increasing number of companies in Spain demands from their candidates a proficient knowledge of English to be hired. Moreover, being Spain “a very tourist oriented country” (p. 14), English is necessary as the *lingua franca* to communicate with foreign visitors in jobs related to this sector (for instance, hotel receptionists).

In another article, Luján García (2010a) focuses on one specific aspect of those dealt with in the previously commented study (*vide supra*, Luján García, 2012): the presence of the English language in shop signs. Specifically, she concentrates on the two main commercial areas of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. In one of them, results show that 18.9% shop signs contain at least one English element, whilst in the other one the percentage reaches 18.4%. Since the two parts of the city scarcely differ in relation to the English presence, the author asserts that “un 19% de los rótulos publicitarios en las principales zonas comerciales de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria presentan algún término o mensaje en inglés, lo que implica una media de unos 4,5 carteles en inglés por calle” (p. 27). To be precise, four types of uses of the English language are observed: (i) only English words, (ii) Saxon genitive construction, (iii) English and Spanish words, and (iv) hybrid mixtures (Spanish root + English ending in the same word). Having regard to the kind of shops that more frequently employ English elements, fashion, cosmetics, restaurants, and telecommunications and new technologies are found to be the most permeable settings to the foreign influence.

In our Master’s dissertation (Núñez Nogueroles, 2011), we identified English elements and words in some shop’s names in advertisements appearing in the Granada edition of the daily IDEAL (November 2010-June 2011): *Fe’s Boutique*, *Mariano’s y Carol*, and *Virgo’s* (three cases included in a list of shops that participated in a “stock fuera” fair), as well as *Homefactory*, *Skilider*, or *JEYLA* are examples of this phenomenon. Although, from a strict point of view, they cannot be considered as Anglicisms since they are just proper names employed by shop owners rather than words that have entered the language, they clearly reflect the pervasive influence exerted by English on the Spanish society. Therefore, this search carried out in a newspaper from Granada corroborates what Luján García (2010a, *vide supra*) verifies by means of her *in situ* analysis of shop signs in Gran Canarian streets.

Another interesting area that reflects the introduction of the English language into the Spanish society is constituted by the titles of the films that are shown in Spanish cinemas. Luján García (2010b) looks into this topic by analysing some of the different strategies implemented by translators or distribution company’s commercial departments when selecting a title for an Anglo-American film that is going to be launched in Spain. Among the author’s conclusions, we would highlight that “el creciente empleo de la técnica de la transferencia o no traducción de los títulos filmicos, manteniéndolos en inglés, constituye un reclamo para el espectador. Vivimos en un mundo globalizado y la presencia del inglés en cada ámbito de nuestra vida diaria se ha convertido en algo natural. El cine y los títulos de las películas no son una excepción a esta tendencia” (p. 311).

To close this section, we will make reference to a couple of articles that give an account of the worldwide spread process undergone by the English language in the last centuries –Luján García (1999) and Luján García (2001), which provide a general overview of the penetration of English in different countries–, and also to a pair of works dealing with the past and present situation of the English influence on Spanish society: Rodríguez Medina (2003) and Luján García (2013).

#### 4. ANGLICISMS IN LATIN AMERICAN SPANISH

The first work to be mentioned in this section should be the *Diccionario de anglicismos* (Alfaro, 1950)<sup>13</sup>, since no other lexicographical project had covered this phenomenon in a specialised and comprehensive way before. In its preface, after dealing with the influence exerted on the Spanish language by French during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the author establishes eleven categories to catalogue the Anglicisms he has collected, and he also provides the reasons why these words of English origin have overtaken the gallicisms that entered previously:

El galicismo tenía el libro como vehículo casi único. El anglicismo tiene varios conductos de penetración por donde se cuela como corriente ora impetuosa, ora sutil, siempre efectiva. Las agencias noticiosas<sup>[14]</sup>, la prensa periódica, la industria, el comercio, las ciencias, el cinematógrafo, los deportes, los viajes, las mayores y más estrechas relaciones internacionales y sociales entre los países de habla española y los de habla inglesa, y por último, la enorme preponderancia económica, científica y política de los Estados anglosajones en el mundo contemporáneo, son las causas de que el inglés sea lengua con la cual es forzoso mantener un intenso contacto diario, ya directo ya indirecto. Repárese además que el inglés es la más difundida de todas las lenguas occidentales (p. 9).

A contrastive study on the impact of English on two different languages deserves attention. We refer to Danbolt Drange (2009), who carries out a comparison between the colloquial speech of Chilean and that of Norwegian young people<sup>15</sup> in relation to the use of Anglicisms. This way, the Spanish variety spoken in Chile is analysed in this author's PhD thesis, which makes use of technological developments in order to deep into language in use. The author engages in a very interesting topic; however, in relation to the methodology implemented, it should be underlined that, although the two corpora employed in the study are comparable in terms of size (both contain about 100,000 words –pp. 159, 165–), they do not fulfil the criterion of being comparable in relation to the dates, since they refer to two different synchronic moments (Norwegian samples were recorded between 1997 and 1998 while Chilean ones are dated between 2004 and 2005). Considering the bibliography consulted by the author, it should have included, from our point of view, two relevant articles on the area under study; namely, Diéguez Morales (2004) and Diéguez Morales (2005). Indeed, although both of them differ from her PhD dissertation in the fact that they deal with the phenomenon of Anglicisms in a specialised field (economics) and use written texts as sources to obtain the words of English origin, they share two key features with Danbolt Drange's piece of research: they implement a functional analysis of the loanwords (following Halliday's (1978) model) and they focus on the variant of the Spanish language that is spoken in Chile.

Seco (2000-2001) also faces the situation of Anglicisms in Chilean Spanish, comparing it in this case with the importation of English words in the variant spoken in Spain. On the grounds of his findings, he concludes that there is a fairly high level of coincidence between the two

<sup>13</sup> *Vide* Alfaro (1948) as well.

<sup>14</sup> For an interesting explanation on the history of news agencies, *vide* González Reigosa (2001).

<sup>15</sup> Fernández (2001) provides data on the Anglicisms employed by young informants in Salta (Argentina).

geographical areas, which is interpreted by him as a positive feature from the point of view of language unity.

Gerding Salas *et al.*'s (2014) contribution, a study on Anglicisms collected by the *Antena Chilena de Neología*<sup>16</sup> between 2006 and 2012, shows that Anglicisms “have a strong presence in today’s press in economics, computer science, sports, and culture” (p. 40). In relation to sports, but focusing on half a century before, Vázquez Amador, Lario, and López (2015) carry out an analysis of three newspapers, one of them from Mexico<sup>17</sup>, another one from Argentina, and the third of them edited in Spain, with the purpose of identifying Anglicisms belonging to the lexical field of sports and observing “the development they have suffered in the Spanish language spoken on both sides of the Atlantic” (p. 157).

Finally, on the use of Anglicisms in Venezuela, Millán Loreto (2004) presents a brief analysis about the aspects in which the treatment of foreign words in the Venezuelan press differs from that given to these elements in Spanish newspapers.

## 5. ANGLICISMS IN EUROPEAN SPANISH<sup>18</sup>

The first reference must be for Pratt (1980), because it constitutes a classic in this field. According to this author, Anglicisms are only those words whose “étimo inmediato” (*i. e.* the language from which they have been taken directly, no matter the languages in which it has been employed in its previous history; *cfr.* “étimo último”, the first and most remote language in which the word was coined, normally Latin or Greek) is the English language<sup>19</sup>. He presents a very well structured study, following a descriptive approach and providing a collection of relevant and very useful data on the subject matter. Moreover, he establishes a complex classification of the Anglicism in the Spanish language, which has been applied by many scholars in subsequent pieces of research. Therefore, this work constitutes an invaluable contribution to the study of Anglicisms in the Spanish language. However, his fierce criticism against Spanish etymologists can be considered as excessive. Pratt accuses them of, blinded by patriotism, deriving all the present-day words that contain classical elements directly from Latin or Greek<sup>20</sup>. He states that their purist attitude may be linked to a historical event: the idea at that moment was that accepting the loss of the last colonies of the Empire –something which happened in 1898 and which provoked a tremendous shock in Spain for a long time– was enough; they were not going to acknowledge a foreign influence because they saw that as a sign of subordination; another country was more powerful and had a more prestigious language which spread its vocabulary, so the Spanish language, once the colonizer, ran the risk of being colonized. Although this statement entails a reasonable analysis, the author’s opinion about the origin of the Spanish lexicon seems to be a little exaggerated: “La postura de los etimólogos españoles, quizá debida en alguna medida a reliquias de

<sup>16</sup> The project called *Antena Chilena de Neología* belongs to the international project *Antenas Neológicas*, which was developed by the OBNEO (Observatorio de Neología) in the Institut Universitari de Lingüística Aplicada (IULA) at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona). These *Antenas Neológicas* aim to detect, compile, and classify neologisms present in the written press from different varieties of the Spanish language in order to update lexicographic works as well as analyse the evolution of the Spanish language (Gerding Salas *et al.*, 2012).

<sup>17</sup> The influence of the English language as reflected in the Mexican press is also covered in Vázquez Amador (2015). This study deals with newspapers published in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>18</sup> We prefer the expression “European Spanish” rather than “peninsular Spanish” because the latter excludes, strictly speaking, the two archipelagos as well as the autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla.

<sup>19</sup> On the contrary, Lorenzo Criado (1996) collects words that come from English, directly or through other languages.

<sup>20</sup> According to Gómez Capuz (1992: 314–315), “resulta muy difícil demostrar que determinado neologismo grecolatino se debe a acuñación angloamericana y no francesa o española”.



actitudes defensivas originadas con la generación del 98, parece encaminada a obstaculizar la diseminación de la información lingüística, que *demuestra una total dependencia de lenguas extranjeras*” (1980: 48-49, my italics). Because of this as well as other commentaries found in Pratt (1980), Lorenzo Criado (1996) suggests that “el tono «enérgico, vehemente y a veces fanático» atribuido [por Pratt] a los comentarios del panameño [Alfaro] se filtra más de una vez y empaña las páginas, también apasionadas, de nuestro colega [Pratt]” (p. 26), and that

es posible que su deseo de amenizar el texto<sup>[21]</sup> sea el culpable de haber adoptado el mismo tono inclemente y belicoso que critica en sus predecesores o en sus nuevos conciudadanos; así ocurre que lo que el libro ha ganado en soltura y amenidad, acaso lo haya perdido en rigor y gravedad, aun siendo siempre, sin duda, el más sólido de los emprendidos hasta la fecha de su publicación (p. 28).

This quotation belongs to a book which constitutes another landmark in the study of Anglicisms in Spanish (Lorenzo Criado, 1996). Its author started looking into the phenomenon of the importation of English words as far back as the 1950s. This publication from 1996 compiles a lifetime of annotations, illustrated by numerous examples. After so many years investigating this issue, Lorenzo Criado is convinced of the fact that “los más dañinos y peligrosos efectos del anglicismo operan en la sintaxis y alteran constante pero imperceptiblemente la estructura de la oración. [...] se trata en estos casos de anglicismos de frecuencia”<sup>22</sup>. From his point of view, we should worry about the influence that the English language exerts over Spanish at a morphosyntactic level<sup>23</sup> and not about the inflow of new terms in our lexicon<sup>24</sup>. Briefly, he summarizes his position by quoting Unamuno: “Meter palabras nuevas... es meter nuevos matices de ideas”<sup>25</sup> (Lorenzo Criado, 1996: 18). Nevertheless, he clarifies that there are some problems surrounding the issue, the most important one being the overwhelming introduction of English words whose necessity is debatable (Lorenzo Criado, 1996).

The idea of unnecessary Anglicisms is studied by González Cruz (2003)<sup>26</sup>. She focuses on the use of these foreign terms by well-educated inhabitants of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. After carrying out a study in which a representative sample of men and women from three different generations are involved, she concludes that these two sociolinguistic variables (*i. e.* sex and age) have a bearing on the linguistic behavior of the informants regarding the knowledge and use of unnecessary English vocabulary.

<sup>21</sup> Lorenzo Criado (1996: 26) comments upon the fact that the book published by Pratt in 1980 constitutes an adaptation of his PhD thesis, and includes the following quotation about the author’s purpose (which appears in the work’s prologue): “amenizar tanto la redacción como el contenido, por entender que el estilo árido, casi aséptico, de una tesis doctoral, no es el apropiado de un trabajo... publicado...”.

<sup>22</sup> Lorenzo is not only against the influence exerted by the English language at a syntactic but also at a semantic level: “El peligro, si lo es (lo es para quien esto firma), estriba no tanto en el vocablo vestido de inglés que delata en el acto su filiación, sino en estos calcos sintácticos o semánticos donde las formas españolas se vacían en moldes insólitos que dislocan sus miembros o le dan otra configuración al significado” (Lorenzo Criado, 1999: 256). À propos of semantic Anglicisms, Gómez Capuz (1992: 311) warns us of “los peligrosos anglicismos semánticos que amenazan con desvirtuar el sentido de las voces españolas a las que afectan”, and afterwards he claims the following more general statement: “la verdadera amenaza para nuestro idioma radica en los tipos de anglicismos que no pasan por el nivel léxico, y que así pasan más desapercibidos al hablante medio: los ortógrafos, los semánticos y los sintácticos” (Gómez Capuz, 1992: 319).

<sup>23</sup> Talking of this phenomenon, Vázquez-Ayora (1977: 102) defends that “[l]os anglicismos sintácticos, queremos recalcar, son tan dañinos como los léxicos”.

<sup>24</sup> Vélez Barreiro (2003) also considers that the adoption of new words means language enrichment most of the times.

<sup>25</sup> Unamuno, M., “Sobre la lengua española”, *Ensayos*, I, Madrid, Aguilar, 1945, p. 322.

<sup>26</sup> According to her, an Anglicism is not necessary when there are one or more equivalent words in the Spanish language (González Cruz, 2003).

From a completely different point of view<sup>27</sup>, Pratt (1971) aims to establish the linguistic status of the lexical Anglicism in the Spanish language. In order to do that, he devises a survey, taking into account all the possible problems that can arise and trying to give them a solution. Sociolinguistic<sup>28</sup> criteria are also employed to select a sample of speakers as representative as possible. Finally, the author points out that this survey could be applied to syntactic and semantic Anglicisms as well.

Although the majority of studies on Anglicisms have focused on the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup>, since this is the period of time in which the influence exerted by the English language has been most outstanding (due to the economic, political, and social power enjoyed by the United States after World War II)<sup>29</sup>, a relevant research project on the incidence of this issue from 1891 to 1936 should not be forgotten: *Anglicismos en el español* (Fernández García, 1972) presents a complete analysis of the Anglicisms found in the numbers corresponding to this span of the Spanish weekly *Blanco y Negro*.

The final reference of this section will be for the *Nuevo diccionario de anglicismos* (Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades, 1997). According to its authors, this lexicographical work comes to fill an existing gap: it was necessary to count on “un diccionario general más comprensivo y actualizado que se hiciera eco especialmente, y desde una óptica descriptiva, de la multiplicidad de palabras y expresiones utilizadas en los últimos años en los medios de comunicación de nuestro país, sobre todo en la prensa escrita” (p. 10). This dictionary compiles a great number of Anglicisms employed in the Spanish language in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, it should be noted that it is confined only to overt lexical Anglicisms (those non-adapted as well as those adapted to the Spanish language, and even words derived from them, but whose form always betrays their foreign origin), while semantic Anglicisms and calques have been left aside.

## 6. ANGLICISMS IN US SPANISH

Today, the United States constitute the second country in terms of Spanish speakers worldwide (Moreno Fernández, 2013a: 3)<sup>30</sup>. Although, historically, “[e]n el actual territorio de ese país, el español ha tenido una presencia continuada desde el siglo XVI hasta nuestros días” (Moreno

<sup>27</sup> As can be read in the first paragraph of section 10 in the present article, Pratt does not agree with the division of Anglicisms into necessary and unnecessary.

<sup>28</sup> A sociolinguistic perspective is also adopted in Alejo González (2002 [1993]). In fact, he devotes half of his PhD dissertation to this approach, carrying out a sociolinguistic study on the extent to which linguistic opinions and attitudes that a sample of economists from Madrid holds can affect the introduction of a group of economic Anglicisms. The data were collected by means of a survey. In relation to a language other than Spanish, Moraru (2014) approaches the use of Anglicisms in Romanian from a sociolinguistic point of view: a questionnaire is filled in by, on the one hand, office workers (corporate employees) aged between 25 and 35 years old, and on the other hand, young students in the area of economics aged between 18 and 25 (whose aim is to belong to the previous group in the future). In order to analyse to what extent the use of Romanian verbs is modified or eliminated by the English influence, she delivers a survey consisting of 7 questions to the informants (the number of subjects involved in the study is not indicated). Interestingly, the author provides a series of pragmatic reasons why these social groups use Anglicisms (although the word “pragmatic” is not mentioned). Finally, the employment of words such as “invaded”, “outrageous” or “barbarically” shows the author’s attitude towards the introduction of Anglicisms.

<sup>29</sup> Before the 1950s, the main foreign influence affecting the Spanish language came from France. As Medina López (2004: 10) aptly indicates, “[e]l galicismo en la lengua española ocupa un lugar destacado al tratarse el francés de la primera gran lengua moderna de cultura con la que el español entra en contacto de forma importante desde el siglo XVIII, hasta que comenzó su retroceso a partir de la influencia norteamericana, ya después de la segunda guerra mundial”.

<sup>30</sup> For more on Hispanic demolinguistics, *vide* Steinmetz, González Tosat & Moreno Fernández (2015), Moreno Fernández (2013b), Lipski (2008), and Moreno Fernández & Otero Roth (2007).

Fernández, 2008: 179)<sup>31</sup>, it is in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries that, due to the continual surges of immigrants, the Hispanic population in the US has undergone an exponential growth<sup>32</sup>.

The fact that this territory is characterised by a situation of language contact (between English and Spanish) has an impressive impact in the Spanish spoken in the United States, and places this country in a particular setting which is radically different from the ones existing in Spain and Latin America<sup>33</sup>. This leads us to a polemic concept that has been widely tackled in the literature, namely, *Spanglish*<sup>34</sup>.

Indeed, the appropriateness of the term, the reality it refers to, and even whether there actually exists such a phenomenon that could be named *Spanglish* have been called into question<sup>35</sup>. First, there is a range of lemmas to name this complex issue. Some of them are *espanglish*, *spanglés*, *pocho*, *tex-mex*, and *angliparla* (Moreno Fernández, 2003). Second, the status of *Spanglish* is brought into focus by some scholars: whereas Betti (2015a: 21) states that “se trata de un fenómeno muy complejo, una *realidad lingüística* que no podemos definir como ‘lengua’” (original italics), Walczuk Beltrão (2008: 191) considers it as a “hybrid language”. Introducing an ideological nuance, Otheguy (2008: 242) asserts that insisting on the existence of *espanglish* has a negative consequence on US Latinos: “[se priva] a los hispanos norteamericanos de una importante vía de acceso al progreso personal, que es el potencial de dominio del español general y de su lectoescritura, punto al que se llega con mucha más facilidad si uno piensa que maneja una variante del español, no si se ha dejado convencer de otra cosa, de que lo que habla es *espanglish*” (original italics). Therefore, this author declares that “la lengua de los hispanos de los Estados Unidos es simplemente, una más de las variantes populares del español” (p. 243)<sup>36</sup>. At the other extreme, the Latino activist movement has adopted *Spanglish* as an identity sign one should be proud of. Ed Morales (2002: 3, quoted in Lipski, 2008: 49) claims that “Latinos are a mixed-race people [...] There is no better metaphor for what a mixed-race culture means than a hybrid language, an informal code”. Thus, as Lipski (2008: 49) puts it, “*Spanglish*, an originally derogatory term, has

<sup>31</sup> “No hay que olvidar que el español fue la primera lengua europea que resonó en el continente norteamericano hace 500 años, con el viaje de Ponce de León a la Florida, un siglo antes que el inglés traído en 1620 al continente por los peregrinos del Mayflower” (Dumitrescu, 2015: 27).

<sup>32</sup> Several pieces of research present the evolution of Latinos in the US from a historical and a sociolinguistic points of view. Among them, Lipski (2008), Moreno Fernández (2008a), and Moreno Fernández (2008b) can be highlighted. Three newspaper columns by Moreno Fernández (2005b, 2005c and 2005d) are also worth mentioning in relation to sociolinguistic aspects: “Perfil hispano de Chicago” (14-07-2005), “Perfil lingüístico de Miami” (01-12-2005), and “Perfil lingüístico de Nueva York” (20-10-2005), all of them published in *La Opinión Digital* (Los Ángeles, California).

<sup>33</sup> The bilingual context that frames the lives of Hispanos in the US is only comparable to that of “yanitos” in Gibraltar (Lipski, 2008).

<sup>34</sup> Another controversial issue concerns the suitability of referring to the Spanish spoken by Hispanos living in the US as “español de los Estados Unidos” rather than denominating it “español en los Estados Unidos” (vide Betti, 2015a and Molinero, 2011). The former is explained by Moreno Fernández (2015b: 45) as follows: “existe un español popular característico de los Estados Unidos, utilizado en multitud de contextos y con diversidad de estilos, con la suficiente difusión geográfica y estabilidad social como para ser considerado como una variedad más de la lengua española, con sus elementos compartidos y sus componentes específicos”. Dumitrescu (2015: 34), on the other hand, states that “[e]l hablar de un español de los Estados Unidos, como se empieza a hacer ahora (en vez de simplemente referirse al español en Estados Unidos, como era costumbre en el pasado) significa simplemente reconocer que hay una variante culta del idioma que se usa, particularmente en la traducción de los documentos oficiales, pero también en otros círculos, en la que los hablantes optan por ciertos préstamos adaptados de mucha circulación, o por ciertos calcos del inglés que NO violan las reglas sintácticas del español, y que son usados y entendidos por todos” (original capital letters).

<sup>35</sup> For details on the controversy originated by its definition in the 23<sup>rd</sup> edition of the *DRAE* (2014), vide Betti (2015b).

<sup>36</sup> Vide Otheguy and Stern (2010) as well.

been co-opted by its former victims as a badge of pride and courage”<sup>37</sup>. This idea is also put forward by Betti (2015a: 20), who explains that

[e]l *spanglish* se puede describir como *una forma de comunicación familiar*, [...] pero sobre todo es una señal de identidad [...] un fenómeno más complejo de lo que parece, [...] ese *tercer código* (Lipski 2004) [...] llega a ser no solamente un medio comunicacional eficaz en determinados contextos –por ejemplo, en ámbito informal, en familia, pero también en la publicidad o en el mundo laboral–, sino un signo de hibridación (o algo más), de una nueva identidad *in-between*, mestiza, y que en algunos casos y contextos podría facilitar la comunicación (original italics).

Leaving aside the advisability of using or avoiding the term Spanglish, we should wonder which features characterise the language spoken by Hispanos in the United States. Regarding this point, most authors agree that it shows, at least, the following two peculiarities: a “frequent use of unassimilated and assimilated borrowings and loan translations (calques)” and “fluent code-switching” (Lipski, 2008: 68). Provided that the present paper deals with the phenomenon of Anglicisms in the Spanish language, we will concentrate on those pieces of research that have covered the first of the two features mentioned above. The field of code-switching, indeed, falls outside the scope of this article.

Dumitrescu (2015: 33) offers an accurate description of the aforesaid borrowings and calques:

El otro fenómeno que se engloba bajo esta etiqueta elástica de Spanglish es la presencia de los típicos fenómenos de contacto entre dos lenguas habladas simultáneamente en cualquier comunidad bilingüe: los préstamos léxicos – “puros”<sup>[38]</sup> o “crudos” (o sea, no adaptados, como cuando uno dice *truck* en vez de “camioneta”) o adaptados de forma más o menos adecuada al sistema morfofonológico de la lengua receptora (como cuando uno dice *troca*, o *rufo*, o *suera*, o *brecas*, o *puchar*, o *liquear*, o *wachale*), los calcos fraseológicos (como *escuela alta*, *viaje redondo*, *correr para oficina*, o *tener un buen tiempo* en vez de “pasarlo/a bien”), los calcos semánticos (conocidos también como extensiones semánticas, como por ejemplo *introducir* a una persona, en vez de “presentarla”, o *mayor* en vez de “alcalde” y *principal* en vez de “director” de una escuela)<sup>[39]</sup> y, con menos frecuencia, algunos calcos sintácticos (como por ejemplo *abusar a alguien* en vez de “abusar de alguien”, *buscar por* en vez de simplemente “buscar”) y falta de concordancia entre el nombre y su adjetivo (*una blusa blanco*).

Several researchers have carried out studies on Anglicisms employed in different geographical areas of the United States. On the Spanish spoken in the State of New York, Thomas (2016) focuses on a rural city (Utica) whereas Otheguy, Zentella & Livert (2007) and Otheguy & Lapidus (2005) draw on the Spanish of New York City (NYC).

Thomas (2016) posits that, since previous research projects on US Spanish have approached varieties spoken in big cities (Los Ángeles, New York, Boston, etc.), “el estudio del español de una pequeña comunidad hispana de rápido crecimiento como Utica ayudará a tener un panorama más completo del español de los EE.UU.” (p. 42). By interviewing 16 informants, the author fulfils his goal: “El objetivo de este estudio es comparar las 150 palabras del inglés usadas en el español oral de Utica con las entradas tanto del *DLE [Diccionario de la Lengua Española, RAE, 2014]* como del *DAA [Diccionario de americanismos*<sup>40</sup>, RAE – ASALE, 2010]” (p.43).

Otheguy, Zentella & Livert (2007) focus on subject personal pronouns as employed by a sample of 142 speakers coming from different dialect regions (Caribbeans/Mainlanders) and

<sup>37</sup> For a debate on these two stances, represented by Ricardo Otheguy and Ana Celia Zentella respectively, *vide* Zentella (2009) in <http://potowski.org/>.

<sup>38</sup> In this case, the adjective “puro” does not refer to the supposedly purity of the language that should be maintained (by avoiding the entrance of foreign words); it simply acts as a synonym for “overt”, *i. e.* written in its original English form, non-adapted to the Spanish language. Actually, “puro” does not relate to how the recipient language must be; it just describes an element of the donor language.

<sup>39</sup> “False cognates might become true cognates in a language-contact environment (whence *aplicar* could mean “to apply for a job” and *registrar* “to register for a class”) (Lipski, 2008: 44 –original italics–).

<sup>40</sup> “El *Diccionario de americanismos* (DAA, RAE-ASALE 2010) incluye 800 entradas marcadas como ‘Estados Unidos’” (p.43).

belonging to more than one generation. The authors' findings prove that "grammar changes under contact" (p. 797). In fact, results show that English influences Spanish speakers from both geographical origin. Furthermore, "Caribbeans and Mainlanders are accommodating to one another" (p. 770). Thus, "[b]oth dialect and language contact are shaping Spanish in New York City and promoting, in the second generation<sup>41</sup>, the formation of a New York Spanish speech community" (p. 770).

As regards Otheguy & Lapidus (2005), the existing theory of simplification in relation to languages in contact is widened by the addition of the concept of adaptation. The authors establish a parallelism between biology and linguistics and take into consideration two parameters: first, the assumption that "la estructura es siempre, o en la mayoría de los casos, una respuesta a exigencias funcionales" (p. 147); second, the application of a "costos y beneficios" analysis (p. 147):

Los costos se refieren a la carga cognitiva del hablante. En el cambio simplificador, el ahorro cognitivo se obtiene eliminando, o automatizando y reduciendo a regla general, elementos que de otra forma obligarían al hablante a almacenarlos en su memoria. Los beneficios se refieren a la realización selectiva de ese ahorro, puesto que se buscan, para la reducción del gasto cognitivo, aquellas partes de la gramática donde la reducción estructural conlleva el menor entorpecimiento de la función comunicativa (p. 147).

After applying this theoretical framework to the analysis of gender assignment to nominal lexical Anglicisms in the Spanish spoken in NYC, the authors confirm that "contact-induced change is not only simplificatory but also adaptive" (p. 143).

Considering other geographical areas, Moreno Fernández (2007) concentrates on Anglicisms employed in Chicago, whereas Mendieta & Molina (2000) delve into the lexical characterisation of the Spanish spoken in Northwest Indiana.

Moreno Fernández (2007) carries out an interesting study which aims to find out the level at which English is present in the available lexicon<sup>42</sup> of Hispanic teenagers in Chicago, hypothesising that "el español de estos jóvenes puede acusar notablemente la influencia del inglés, llevando, por ejemplo, a un uso notable del préstamo léxico" (p. 41). Given that the informants are bilingual speakers living in an Anglo environment, the findings demonstrate that the presence of the English language when they use Spanish is low or very low.

Mendieta & Molina (2000) perform a series of interviews to obtain data on lexical items related to daily-life objects. Afterwards, the researchers classify the Anglicisms uttered by the speakers into different types. Overall, results show that "la inmensa mayoría de las voces recogidas (71%) pertenece al fondo común de la lengua o al llamado español internacional, mientras que un 14% son voces de origen inglés, y un 15% son dialectalismos del español" (p. 71).

After reviewing a range of articles dealing with Anglicisms in different geographical territories of the US, a step further will be taken. Teschner (1974) examines the connections between this country and other Spanish-speaking ones concerning the spread of Anglicisms. The analysis exposed by the author points out that

[...] large-scale immigration, lengthy residency, and frequent return to the homeland can only lead us to conclude that the Hispano himself may well be an important carrier of Anglicisms from the United States to his native land, given the fact that while Hispanos tend to retain their ethnic language longer than other immigrant groups, it is inevitable that English, as the language of the great majority of U.S. citizens, cannot help but make important inroads into the Spanish of United States Hispanos.

<sup>41</sup> Dumitrescu (2015) differentiates between two Hispanic-speaker categories: the "bilingües equilibrados", on the one hand, and "los hablantes de segunda o tercera generación, llamados bilingües "de transición" o "vestigiales", cuya competencia en español está disminuyendo drásticamente y que se apoyan en el inglés (su lengua "fuerte") para hacerse entender" (p. 35).

<sup>42</sup> "Se conoce como léxico disponible al conjunto de palabras que los hablantes tienen en el léxico mental y cuyo uso está condicionado por el tema concreto de la comunicación, a diferencia del léxico básico, formado por las palabras más frecuentes con independencia del tema tratado (López Morales 1979)" (Moreno Fernández, 2007: 41).

Therefore it is probably to the influence of the native speakers themselves, as much as to the business catalogues printed in English, the prestige or the high visibility of things “made in U.S.A.,” the slipshod translator, the careless radio announcer, etc., etc., that we owe the ever-increasing number of Anglicisms in present-day Spanish.

In relation to lexicography, a highly relevant proposal must be referred to. Having as a precedent the *Diccionario de americanismos* (ASALE, 2010), which contains more than 800 entries marked with the label “Estados Unidos”<sup>43</sup>, Moreno Fernández (2015b) presents a project on the elaboration of the *Diccionario de anglicismos del español estadounidense* (DAEE). It aims to be a descriptive dictionary that will compile Anglicisms employed in US Spanish, attempting to reflect the peculiarities of the language spoken in this land when compared with other territories in terms of the use of Anglicisms.

Finally, the role played by the Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española (ANLE), the youngest out of the 22 institutions that make up the ASALE<sup>44</sup> at present, should be addressed. Founded in 1973, it is in charge of creating “una norma culta del español estadounidense” (Dumitrescu, 2015: 34) as well as promoting “el uso del español en los Estados Unidos” (Lynch & Potowski, 2014: 32). According to Moreno Fernández (2015a), “para la incardinación de la norma estadounidense en la norma del español general es ineludible la aportación de la Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española”<sup>45</sup>. In order to establish this norm, the ANLE must take into account a kind of text that is of special relevance in US Spanish, namely, translations. As Molinero (2011) claims, “la traducción pauta y vertebrata al español de los Estados Unidos” (p. 1). Indeed, “un enorme volumen de información necesaria y vital para todo hispanounidense”<sup>46</sup> [...] es producto de traducción” (p. 8). The author refers specifically to information related to health services, security, labour relations, justice, education, finances, marketing, and the big information, entertainment, and marketing sector that is displayed in Spanish online, and which is unstoppably growing. Molinero stresses the need for establishing norms<sup>47</sup> that regulate “el español escrito de la información” (p. 10.) and also underlines the agreement signed by the General Services Administration (GSA) and the ANLE, whereby the Academia is acting as a Spanish-language adviser for the Government. As Gómez (2011) comments upon, this bond facilitates that the federal agencies be able to produce accurate texts in Spanish.

The efforts expended by the ANLE to normativise US Spanish have taken shape in the publications *Hablando bien se entiende la gente* (2010, 2014). The review of the first edition by Domnita Dumitrescu (2011) considers the book to be an enjoyable reading that helps Spanish speakers living in the United States to clarify doubts that emerge in bilingual contexts such as the one surrounding them. She outlines its structure, emphasizing the extremely useful thematic index the guide includes at the end. The graphic illustrations along with the informal tone and clarity of

<sup>43</sup> It should also be stated that the 23<sup>rd</sup> ed. of the *DRAE* has included five words with this tag too (Moreno Fernández, 2015b: 42). According to Dumitrescu (2015: 34), this geographical mark means an implicit acknowledgement of the existence of “estadounidismos”, and of their status as any other “-isms” attached to the various Spanish-speaking regions (for instance, Mexicanisms, Argentinisms, etc.). Note that, as Moreno Fernández (2015b: 44) indicates, the term “estadounidismo” covers not only those elements coming from English but also the ones that occur distinctively in the US and have originated in Spanish.

<sup>44</sup> Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española.

<sup>45</sup> Since this quotation has been extracted from a web page, no pagination is included.

<sup>46</sup> Dumitrescu (2015: 27) clarifies that the term “hispanounidense” refers to those “hispanos que viven en los EE.UU., según la terminología acuñada por Gerardo Piña-Rosales”.

<sup>47</sup> On the issue of fixing a linguistic norm for US Spanish, López García-Molins (2016: 17) “propone integrar normativamente el espanGLISH, que es fundamentalmente una práctica oral, como variedad baja de una situación diglósica cuya variedad alta está representada por el español internacional de los medios de comunicación de EE.UU.”.

expression, achieved by the avoidance of boring technical terminology, are assets of the book. Furthermore, Dumitrescu highlights the touch of humour introduced in the work, which makes it even more attractive. However, Lynch and Potowski (2014), who adopt a sociolinguistic perspective in approaching the analysis of the same book, evaluate these humoristic expressions (for instance, the allusion to Tarzán's speech) as counterproductive, since they can lower even more the little self-respect Spanish speakers feel about their language variety, which in turn can make them abandon its use completely and move towards the prevailing tongue, *i. e.* English. For the purposes the ANLE aims to achieve (the main one being promoting the use of the Spanish language in the US), these authors hold that a different stance should be adopted when elaborating materials addressed to US Spanish speakers. This way, Lynch and Potowski offer the following pair of suggestions:

[...] un libro práctico que animara a los hispanos bilingües a hablar la lengua con más frecuencia, a hablarla en la calle y con las amistades y los padres, estudiarla en la escuela y en la universidad, viajar a países de habla hispana para experimentar el uso de la lengua en un contexto monolingüe. O bien una guía que ofreciera a los padres y los abuelos consejos de cómo fomentar el uso del español en casa, que recalcará la importancia de la educación bilingüe y explicara por qué es tan valiosa y necesaria para los niños (p. 42).

To conclude this section, we will refer to the creation of the “Instituto Cervantes en la Facultad de Artes y Ciencias de la Universidad de Harvard” in 2013. This centre was not created for teaching purposes but as a space to observe and learn, to get to know what is really taking place in US Spanish. The *Observatorio de la lengua española y las culturas hispánicas en los Estados Unidos* emerged with the goal of studying and analysing the situation of the Spanish language and Hispanic culture in the US, both from a quantitative and a qualitative perspectives (Moreno Fernández, 2014).

## 7. ANGLICISMS IN THE RAE'S *DICCIONARIO DE LA LENGUA ESPAÑOLA*

Several works have dealt with the treatment of Anglicisms in the Academic Dictionary. Domínguez Mejías (2002) establishes a classification according to the thematic areas that are present in the 22<sup>nd</sup> ed. (2001), within which the dominant field is sports. After this one we find physics and chemistry, economy, the textile industry, gastronomy, enology, computer science, biomedicine, and transport. This author also comments upon the recommendations made by the RAE on the use of certain Anglicisms, gives some information about their etymology, and provides us with four types of adaptation to the Spanish language (phonetic, graphic, grammatical, and semantic assimilations). Then, she deals with the “préstamos”, which she defines as ‘palabras tomadas de otra lengua sin traducir’. Finally, after some considerations about the translation procedures and the ortotypographical criterion, she uncovers several incoherences she has observed in the Academic Dictionary<sup>48</sup>.

Chris Pratt (1997) is also supposed to tackle the considerations taken into account by the RAE when facing words of English origin, although more than a half of the article deals with an analysis of Emilio Lorenzo's *Anglicismos Hispánicos*. When finally Pratt arrives at the treatment of Anglicisms by the RAE, the author registers his disagreement with the guidelines established by Spanish Academics to decide on the inclusion of an Anglicism in the *Diccionario de la lengua española*; from this point of view, they implement “wildly inconsistent, inaccurate, and unreliable criteria of selection” (p. 292). Furthermore, “[t]his reactionary attitude guarantees that the *DRAE* will never be a serious work of reference containing every word that has ever been used by serious writers, which is what it should be” (p.292). He also criticises the inclusion of foreign words in the

<sup>48</sup> Vicente Mateu (2007-2008) also makes reference to the contradictions he detects in the 22<sup>nd</sup> ed. of the *DRAE* (2001).

DMILE (the manual dictionary) as a *waiting-room* till the final decision (either eliminating them definitely or incorporating them into the *DRAE*) is made<sup>49</sup>. Besides, Pratt condemns as a drawback the procrastination that has given as a result the waiting of some words “for literally more than 100 years!!” (p.291) to enter the Academic Dictionary, which entails the lack of official recording of a number of words at the real times when they are been employed. That is to say, sometimes they are finally accepted when they have already fallen into disuse, and in other cases they are incorporated into the *Dictionary* a long time after they have been attested in the speakers’ community. According to the author, this issue leads to enormous confusion for sociolinguistic researchers, who count on unreliable data when studying the dates of first documentation of Anglicisms in the Spanish language<sup>50</sup>.

From a totally different point of view, Sánchez-Martín (2011) covers the modifications undergone by the “voces inglesas” in the works carried out by the Real Academia Española when preparing the 23<sup>rd</sup> edition of its *Dictionary*. In this author’s opinion, “todas las remodelaciones examinadas, si bien a pequeña escala, evidencian la labor constante de actualización a la que está sometido el repertorio lexicográfico de la Academia, testigo de la evolución de nuestra lengua y garante de su norma en el mundo hispánico” (p. 159). He highlights that “las ‘Advertencias para el uso de este Diccionario’ precisan que se han ido incorporando a la nomenclatura del diccionario aquellos extranjerismos cuyo uso se ha extendido en nuestro idioma” (p. 144). Sánchez-Martín addresses all the different changes proposed by the RAE as advances on the 23<sup>rd</sup> edition. That is, the 22<sup>nd</sup> edition of the *Dictionary* (published first in 2001) went through several revisions (some of them approved up to June 2004 and some others modified from July 2010 onwards), resulting in the possibility of consulting online these proposed changes. The author compares the entries from the first print edition with those corresponding to the same words in the amended version, providing a detailed explanation of the adjustments<sup>51</sup>. However, looking back from the present moment, once the final version of the 23<sup>rd</sup> edition was already published (in 2014), we can observe a shift concerning one of the remarks made by Sánchez-Martín: considering the Anglicisms that are kept unaltered, which are all of them “anglicismos crudos”<sup>52</sup>, the author comments upon the fact that the abbreviation which indicates its linguistic origin has been developed (“Voz ingl.” > “Voz inglesa”) in order to homogenize their presentation, since some of them (such as *scooter*) already included it in the second print edition of the *DRAE* (2001) –p. 147, p. 156, p. 156 (note 17), p. 159–. Nevertheless, according to the published 23<sup>rd</sup> ed., the Academy seems to have finally decided to homogenize the data provided in the etymological part of the entries by using the abbreviated, instead of the developed, form in all of them (for example, in *scooter* –as well as in all the other words included in the pages 156 and 157 of Sánchez-Martín’s article– we read “Voz ingl.”)<sup>53</sup>.

The third chapter of Delia Rodríguez’s PhD dissertation (Rodríguez Segura, 1998) is devoted to the treatment given by the Real Academia Española to the Anglicisms that are employed in the Spanish language. In addition to analysing those Anglicisms that are recorded in

<sup>49</sup> For more on the use of the DMILE as a “bridge” towards the *DRAE* in relation to Anglicisms, *vide* Pedrero González (2008).

<sup>50</sup> Nowadays, the existence of corpora (such as *CORDE*, *CREA*, and *CORPES XXI*, by the Real Academia Española itself) minimises this problem.

<sup>51</sup> It is not really clear whether the comparative dates are 2001-2004, 2004-2010, or 2001-2010.

<sup>52</sup> Raw Anglicisms –my translation–, *i. e.* they maintain the original English graphic form (pp. 147 and 159).

<sup>53</sup> In the Preamble to the 23<sup>rd</sup> ed. of the *DRAE* it is stated that “[los] avances tenían un carácter provisional, no definitivo, lo que supone que no todos ellos se hayan visto necesariamente confirmados en la versión última que aquí se fija” (<http://dle.rae.es>).



the *DRAE* (in its 21<sup>st</sup> edition in this case, published in 1992), the author also points that there are many Anglicisms which are not included in the Academic Dictionary, mentioning a very interesting issue: the fact that many semantic Anglicisms (*i. e.* senses added –due to the English influence– to previously existing words in Spanish) go unnoticed for the RAE, which does not give an account of them:

Hay multitud de palabras que los que trabajan con el lenguaje identifican como anglicismos y otras muchas con acepciones nuevas por influencia del inglés y, sin embargo, este origen no viene reflejado en el *DRAE*. El MEU, Torrego 1995, Lázaro Carreter 1997, Lorenzo 1996 y otros nos recuerdan este origen o influencia del inglés, [...] Lorenzo 1996 [y] Lázaro Carreter 1997 demostrándolo por medio de datos lexicográficos fruto de haberle seguido la pista a las palabras hasta dar con la fecha de primera documentación en nuestra lengua<sup>[54]</sup>.

The only contradiction we have found in Rodríguez Segura's (1998) chapter is related to the word "adventista", which is first included in a glossary containing the Anglicisms collected in the *DRAE* (1992) –chapter III, point 3.2–, while few pages later it appears as well in a list of Anglicisms which are not recorded as such by this *Dictionary* –chapter III, point 3.6–.

Joaquín Segura (2003) faces the treatment of what he calls *unnecessary Anglicisms* in the 22<sup>nd</sup> edition of the *DRAE* (2001). He underlines a type of semantic borrowing which is not explicit but considerably damages the recipient language: "las nuevas acepciones (basadas en el latín, pero recogidas del inglés) que se dan a palabras españolas ya existentes, acepciones que no solo son innecesarias sino a menudo antónimas y anfibológicas respecto a significados actuales, y que además arrinconan a otras ya existentes" (p. 56). He provides several examples of this issue, such as "editar, por redactar, corregir, arreglar" (p. 56) or "regulación, por regla, reglamento" (p. 57).

In May 2016, the RAE along with the Academia de la Publicidad launched a campaign against the excessive use of Anglicisms in advertising spots in Spain. By means of it, they aimed to evidence that most of the target audience of these adverts actually do not understand the message they convey in English.

The most recent position held by the RAE about the phenomenon of Anglicisms is found in the last edition of its *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (23<sup>rd</sup> ed., October 2014). In the data on it that is included in <http://dle.rae.es>, some information about the treatment of foreign words in this lexicographic work is explained:

Siguiendo una práctica iniciada en la edición de 2001, aparecen en letra cursiva los extranjerismos crudos, es decir, los préstamos no adaptados a los patrones gráfico-fonológicos del español. En esos casos la información asimilable a la de índole etimológica suele indicar no que la palabra tiene su origen en tal o cual voz de otra lengua, sino que es una voz de la lengua de que se trate: «blues. (Voz ingl.)», «boîte. (Voz fr.)». Frente a ellos, los préstamos adaptados se consignan en redonda: «slogan. (Del ingl. *slogan*)»; también los lemas correspondientes a derivados españoles de palabras extranjeras, aunque presenten dificultades gráficas o de pronunciación: pizzería, flaubertiano.

Cuando se documentan suficientemente en el uso formas crudas y formas adaptadas de un mismo préstamo, se han registrado ambas en el Diccionario, definiendo en la cruda por remisión a la adaptada: «vedete. (Del fr. *vedette*). f. 1. Artista principal en un espectáculo de variedades. [...]»; «vedette. (Voz fr.). f. vedete». Asimismo se consignan como formas preferidas determinadas equivalencias léxicas de algunos extranjerismos crudos: «spam. (Voz ingl.). m. *Inform.* correo basura».

To conclude this section, we will refer to an interesting article that proposes a novel approach to the issue of borrowing. Adopting a comparative perspective, Muñoz-Basols and Salazar (2016)

<sup>54</sup> Unfortunately, Rodríguez Segura (1998) is not paginated; therefore, it is impossible to locate any quotation extracted from it beyond the chapter to which the fragment belongs.

analyse the cross-linguistic lexical influence<sup>55</sup> that has taken place between English and Spanish over the years. Taking into account the different attitudes and linguistic policies that characterise the two societies involved (probably due to the absence of an English Royal Academy that performs the functions developed by the RAE –and, more recently, by the ASALE–), the authors examine the presence of Anglicisms in the *DRAE* and Hispanicisms in the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, attesting that the 22<sup>nd</sup> edition (2001) of the Spanish Academic Dictionary registered 672 Anglicisms, whereas the *OED* in June 2015 recorded 1,743 borrowings from Spanish.

## 8. VARIATION IN THE USE OF ANGLICISMS. GENDER AND NUMBER ASSIGNMENT

“In the Romance languages [...] the great majority of Anglicisms belongs to the class of nouns (80% as calculated for French) so that morphological integration regards the attribution of gender and number” (Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodríguez González, 2012: 9). This statement reveals the relevant role that the assignment of gender<sup>56</sup> and the way of forming the plural number have in the process of adaptation of an Anglicism into the Spanish language<sup>57</sup>.

In relation to these two issues, Diéguez Morales (2004) sheds light into some of their most important aspects. First, the author remarks the fact that English gender has lost its function as a grammatical category, which only remains in the case of pronouns. Thus, since nouns, adjectives and articles do not present a specific gender in English, speakers/writers must assign them a certain gender when using them in Spanish texts (in the latter language concordances are compulsory). On the grounds that her findings provide, she offers the main criteria for assigning gender to Anglicisms<sup>58</sup>. With regard to the number, the author shows the most frequent ways of forming the plural of Anglicisms based on the instances found in her corpus. In view of these results, she claims that normally the plural of Anglicisms is formed by following the English rules; however, there are also cases in which the Spanish patterns are applied<sup>59</sup>.

Added to this, Pratt (1971) explores the topic of gender and number in Anglicisms too, but from a different perspective since he carries out a series of interviews to Spanish speakers, thus focusing on the oral aspect (pronunciation), whereas Diéguez Morales (2004 and 2005) tackles a corpus of written texts. This way, Pratt concentrates on issues such as the morphology of the plural in monosyllabic lexical Anglicisms that end in one or more consonants (including voiced plosives) due to the difficulty that these groups entail for those Spanish speakers who are not used to the English pronunciation.

Focusing on the field of computing, de la Cruz Cabanillas, Tejedor Martínez *et al.* (2007) arrive at interesting conclusions on gender as well as number assignments to Anglicisms. Based on the results obtained in their study, they prove that “most terms have no gender marking (67% of the English loanwords found). Of the gendered nouns, 81.84% are masculine and only 18.16% are

<sup>55</sup> The rationale behind this work is explained as follows: “The term ‘cross-linguistic influence’ has traditionally been used in second language acquisition to explain the effect that one’s native language has on the acquisition of another language [...] We propose to expand the meaning of the term to refer to the influence two or more languages may exert on one another –but outside of the realm of language acquisition. [...] we will be using the term ‘cross-linguistic lexical influence’ to reflect the impact that borrowed lexical units from one language may have on another language” (pp.82-83).

<sup>56</sup> A brief study on loanwords from non-gendered languages vs. loanwords from languages having grammatical gender is presented in Zamora Munné and Béjar (1987).

<sup>57</sup> *Vide* Rodríguez González (1999).

<sup>58</sup> For more data on gender assignment to Anglicisms in the Chilean variety of the Spanish language, *vide* Danbolt Drange (2009).

<sup>59</sup> *Vide* Diéguez Morales (2005) as well.

feminine, following the unmarkedness of the masculine gender in Spanish. The most productive criteria for gender assignment are semantic, phonological and the unmarked gender, in this order” (p. 65). As far as number is concerned, “most nouns appeared in the singular (85.61% of the total items). Plural formation clearly seems to be governed by the English pattern when readers consider the English loanwords as not assimilated” (p. 65).

Using as source of Anglicisms a corpus of Spanish touristic texts, de la Cruz Cabanillas *et al.* (2007-2008) carry out an analysis of the assimilation of English loanwords in terms of “the way in which speakers assign gender to foreign elements that lack grammatical gender in their original language” (p. 33). Their results point at a tendency towards the preference of the masculine (*i. e.* the unmarked gender in Spanish). Furthermore, the authors also delve into the plural formation process of these elements, showing that “the English pattern predominates over the Spanish one, although [...] the zero plural is gaining ground as well” (p. 34).

Approaching variation in a wider perspective, there are other types of variants which characterise Anglicisms in Spanish. Some of them are motivated by diatopic reasons, as those dealt with in Rainer and Schnitzer (2010), which can be illustrated by the case of *coste de (la) vida / costo de (la) vida* (cost-of-living –index–). Indeed, this example is geographically distributed as follows: while the first option is more frequently used in Spain, the second one commonly appears in Latin American countries. In this article the authors focus on the regional variation that exists in the Spanish terminology of economics.

Sánchez Ibáñez (2014) covers the formal variation that is observed in *on line / on-line / online*. He expounds that the presence or absence of typographical resources (such as inverted commas or italics) can be interpreted as marks of novelty or foreign character. In fact, they reveal to what extent the writer considers the word should be highlighted as foreign or not. This constitutes a relevant piece of information when tracing the evolution of an Anglicism by adopting a diachronic perspective. Considering his findings, he states that the most employed form (in the corpus he analyses, which spans from 2005 to 2012) is *on line*. Generally speaking, the use of the three options without typographical resources is higher than their marked version (although in the case of the variant *online* the tendency across the years is the opposite one), which leads the author to think that this word (in its three forms) is not perceived as a completely foreign element, thus being in a clear process of adaptation.

As far as variation in the morphology and spelling of Anglicisms is concerned, Rodríguez González (2008) carries out an analysis of different graphematic fluctuations found in Anglicisms as well as in some derivatives of Anglicisms, identifying trends and suggesting the linguistic (phonetic, morphological, stylistic) and sociolinguistic factors affecting them. The author defends that these two areas are closely interrelated: “Así, la adaptación gráfica está unida en primer lugar a la oralidad, la cual nos remite al carácter de argot, y éste a su vez a los niveles socioculturales bajos y/o a una actitud contracultural” (p. 271).

Focusing this time on Anglicisms in the area of sports, Rodríguez González (2012) covers several types of linguistic and sociolinguistic variation: (i) dialectal, (ii) lexical and morphological (iii) stylistic and semantic, the last one including: lexical, graphematic, orthographic, phonological, and morpho-phonological. Based on the analysis he carries out, the author concludes that

[...] la presión constante de las pautas del idioma debido a la incorporación de los anglicismos en la lengua oral, donde intervienen actores heterogéneos de muy diferente nivel sociocultural, unida a los condicionamientos de tipo textual que impone su uso en la escritura, explican la variabilidad detectada en sus distintos niveles lingüísticos. Existen textos donde alternan el anglicismo y el término adoptado en español como traducción por imperativos estilísticos, por lo que esperar la elección de una variante de manera «categórica» no sería recomendable ni realista. En algunos de estos casos el uso de dos o más variantes se asemeja a una «variación libre», muy en línea con los postulados generativistas, pero la mayoría

de las veces la elección de una de ellas responde a factores pragmáticos y sociolingüísticos que conviene tener en cuenta para una correcta evaluación del anglicismo en su camino hacia la integración en la lengua (p. 309).

To end this section, we will refer to Mateescu (2013), who analyses the “group-level adaptations that Anglicisms experience” (p. 64) in the Spanish language as they are reflected in the spelling the words show in different phases of their evolution. The author concludes by stating that the adaptation of an Anglicism to the Spanish orthographic system is a long-lasting process, and only its frequent, prolonged, and spread use would favor a change in its spelling for it to be eventually adopted by the recipient language.

## 9. ANGLICISMS IN SPECIALISED USES OF THE SPANISH LANGUAGE

In her article on specialised neology, Estopà (2014: 38) asserts that “el préstamo de la lengua inglesa es el mecanismo más utilizado en terminología para denominar los nuevos términos en las lenguas románicas”. Being Spanish one of them, we will now cover different pieces of research that concentrate on the presence of English in several specialised varieties of the language.

The main thematic area concerning Anglicisms in *DRAE*'s 22<sup>nd</sup> edition (*i. e.* sports, as Domínguez Mejías 2002 reveals –*vide supra*, section 7–) is dealt with in Fernández García (1971). Specifically, he focuses on the word *sport* and its compounds and derivatives: *sportsman*, *sportswoman*, *sportsmen*, *sportswomen*, *sportive*, and their Spanish equivalents or translations. Nevertheless, this piece of research includes other words belonging to this discursive field, such as *golf*, *tennis*, *hockey*, *basket-ball*, *lawn-tennis*, and *fútbol*.

Other authors also delve into the use of Anglicisms in the field of sports. Rodríguez Medina (2014), Rodríguez González (2012), Balteiro Fernández (2011), and Mayoral Asensio (1997) approach this area from different perspectives.

Rodríguez Medina (2014) explores the influence of the English language in the vocabulary related to the sport activities that are practised in Spanish gyms. It means an innovative topic since, as the author indicates, “the published literature has focused so far on the lexicon of other sports such as football”<sup>60</sup> (p. 401)<sup>61</sup>. With respect to Rodríguez González (2012), he reports on the linguistic as well as sociolinguistic variation that is present in Anglicisms belonging to the area of sports<sup>62</sup>. Balteiro Fernández (2011) carries out a contrastive analysis of the appearance of English forms in the *DRAE* (*Diccionario de la lengua española* by the RAE), the *Nuevo diccionario de anglicismos* (Rodríguez and Lillo, 1997), and the *CREA* (*Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*, by the RAE as well). Finally, Mayoral Asensio (1997) considers stylistic variation as a reason why Anglicisms survive in the vocabulary of sports (since there is a need to use a number of synonyms).

But it is not only in specialised journals where reflections on this issue can be found. Julián García Candau published, on 18<sup>th</sup> December 2001, an opinion article in the Spanish daily *La Razón* entitled “La Academia hace deporte” (García Candau, 2001), whose text is elaborated by using terms from the field of sports included in the Academic Dictionary, some of which are Anglicisms. Finally, it is worth mentioning two interesting articles on sports Anglicisms in the French language: Bernard-Béziade (2010) and Bernard-Béziade and Attali (2012).

<sup>60</sup> Bergh and Ohlander (2012) constitutes a good example for this comment.

<sup>61</sup> *Vide* Rodríguez Medina (2016) as well.

<sup>62</sup> An exposition of the principles shown in that article can be found in the previous section of the present work.

In relation to Anglicisms employed in the area of economics, there is a great amount of literature that deals with this topic<sup>63</sup>. Some of them are PhD theses, as Vélez Barreiro (2003) illustrates. Having as its main goal to study the origins of the meanings of economic terms that have entered Spanish from English, this author collects a corpus of newspaper texts extracted from the Spanish dailies *Expansión* and *El País* (economic section), 2001. When explaining the compilation of the corpus, Vélez Barreiro claims that

En la descripción de todo corpus es preciso definir una población, que es el conjunto de textos que juzgamos representativo del lenguaje que pretendemos estudiar. En nuestro caso, la población está integrada por todos los artículos publicados a lo largo de 2001 en la sección *Economía* de *El País* y en las secciones de *Expansión* que se publican en toda España (existen en *Expansión* secciones dedicadas a comunidades autónomas determinadas que sólo se publican en la edición de las mismas) (p. 64).

As we can see, the label “población” (population) is not very accurate for the reality the author is referring to in this paragraph. In fact, all the texts that are representative of the kind of language he aims to study would actually be the “population”, whereas the articles he has selected to compile the corpus form the “sample” he has employed in his research. In spite of this and other minor imprecisions, this work involves a highly valuable contribution to the study of economic Anglicisms in general and of the origin of their meaning in particular.

Alejo González (2002 [1993]) constitutes another example of a PhD thesis on this topic. He approaches the issue of Anglicisms in the economic field from two different perspectives, which complement rather than contradict each other: a lexicographic and a sociolinguistic points of view. Therefore, there is a distinction between big areas in this piece of research: lexicology and terminology, on the one hand, and sociolinguistics, on the other hand. Using an inductive method, he tackles the specific theoretical problem of loanwords in special varieties of the language (since Anglicisms are a kind of loanword and the language of economics is considered as a specialised one –or, in Alejo González’s words, it is fully integrated in what can be called “the languages of sciences”–). The connection between these two elements (namely, linguistic loanwords and specialised uses of the language) is reflected in the fact that a foreign word that is adopted in the framework of “the languages of sciences” is also a terminological element.

A third PhD thesis devoted to the study of Anglicisms in the field of economics, in this case focusing on the Chilean variety of Spanish, is Diéguez Morales (2003). Although it has been impossible to have access to this dissertation, we have consulted two articles by this scholar that examine the same issue. In the first of them (Diéguez Morales, 2004), she looks at lexical Anglicisms in the scientific informative economic discourse written in the Spanish spoken in Chile. The textual corpus for her study consists of a sample of articles from two economic informative journals, *Capital* and *Gestión* (time span: 1997-2001). Following an interdisciplinary theoretical approach (by using pragmatics, text linguistics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, and terminology), she carries out her research from a descriptive, a quantitative, and a qualitative points of view. The second article (Diéguez Morales, 2005) reports on a contrastive study of lexical Anglicisms in the economic discourse in Chile. In this case, in addition to the informative scientific articles involved in the previous work, another discursive modality is introduced: the semi-specialised scientific articles. Thus, these two groups of texts characterised by their different degree of specialisation are contrasted, and the results obtained allow the author to corroborate the general hypothesis posed at the beginning of her work: the employment of Anglicisms in semi-specialised scientific and informative discourses is a complex phenomenon which depends on several

<sup>63</sup> For a reconsideration on economic Anglicisms, *vide* Alejo González (2005).

functional, pragmatic, and communicative variables. Furthermore, their use is influenced by linguistic as well as extralinguistic factors.

In addition to these PhD theses, there is a series of articles that focuses on the use of Anglicisms in the field of economics. López Zurita (2005), after dealing with the adaptation of economic Anglicisms to the Spanish linguistic system, concludes that it is better to avoid Anglicisms when there is a Spanish equivalent. Nevertheless, she acknowledges that there are other cases in which the use of English words is necessary. In relation to the analysis of the economic terms she carries out, we must include some comments upon a couple of her explanations. First, when dealing with *atachar*, the author states that it is a phonologically adapted borrowing from the English *to attach* (p. 99). Although it is true that the ending /tʃ/ sounds strange for the Spanish language and is therefore difficult to pronounce, there is a clear morphological adaptation in this word as well: since all verbs in Spanish have to end in the verbal suffixes /-ar/, /-er/ or /-ir/, any foreign verb will undergo a morphological modification when entering this recipient language. To be precise, the ending /-ar/ will be added to them because it is virtually the only productive one nowadays<sup>64</sup>. Second, as far as the term “corporación” is concerned, López Zurita claims that, in examples such as “corporate card” (“calqued as ‘tarjeta empresaria’” [*sic.*]) and “corporate image” (“[calqued as] ‘imagen corporativa’ instead of ‘imagen institucional’”), it is revealed that this Anglicism is employed in the “cases where ‘corporative’ is considered a synonym of ‘empresario’”. However, we would say *empresarial* (adjective), since *corporative* is an adjective while *empresario* is a noun referring to a person (*DRAE*, 23<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Moreover, in these two examples presented by López Zurita, the collocation includes the word *corporate* in lieu of *corporative* (p. 101).

Orts Llopis and Almela Sánchez-Lafuente (2009) cover an analysis as well as a description of the many English loanwords that have entered the Spanish economic discourse during the Global Systemic Crisis<sup>65</sup>. They use technical bilingual glossaries in order to look for a series of terms in an *ad hoc* corpus extracted from several digital periodicals. Their aim is to provide translators with a useful piece of research to help them when dealing with words of English origin in Spanish financial texts. Later on, in Orts Llopis and Almela Sánchez-Lafuente (2012), the authors delve into the topic of their previous article, developing “a system of lexical selection that reunites, analyses and explains a representative group of real data” (p. 89).

With regard to the origin of neological terms in the area of economics<sup>66</sup>, Russo (2002) highlights that most of them are created in English, and Spanish specialists take them as loanwords or calque them<sup>67</sup>. In few cases, thus, solutions produced by using the internal word formation processes of the Spanish language do succeed. Six years later, the same author (Russo, 2008) presents a very interesting analysis on the use of the words *resilience* in English and *resiliencia* in Spanish within texts belonging to the economic field.

<sup>64</sup> “En la actualidad, la creación de nuevos verbos no concierne prácticamente más que a verbos de la primera conjugación” (Guerrero Ramos, 2010: 30).

<sup>65</sup> Gallardo San Salvador (2014) refers to loanwords as one of the creation processes of neologisms in the Spanish language within the context of the economic crisis. Kristiansen (2012) also focuses on the terminology of the financial crisis but concentrating on Norwegian.

<sup>66</sup> On neologisms in this specialised field, Ainciburu (2003: 186) states that “[e]l problema más obvio de la producción neológica es el de la invasión por préstamo de los anglicismos, problema que se puede observar en todos los sectores del idioma, pero que es fundamental en el lenguaje económico”.

<sup>67</sup> Suau Jiménez (2010) insists on the fact that business English lexicon (especially those words related to import and export) influences Spanish vocabulary by means of calques and loanwords.

Gómez de Enterría Sánchez (1992) covers the same object of study: neologisms in the economic lexicon. She aims to study the different procedures by means of which word formation and vocabulary extension are possible. The corpus she compiles for her research comes from the generalist information press: economic journals, on the one hand, and the most spreading daily newspapers, on the other hand. This way, the author shows the existing tension between the common words level and those specialised terms that fight for entering the common core of the language. Furthermore, Gómez de Enterría provides us with a useful glossary of neologisms from the area of economics.

Considering the legal discursive field, Orts Llopis (2005: 49) highlights that “in the areas of finance and mercantile law most of the coinages are actually in English”. According to Sánchez-Reyes Peñamaría and Durán Martínez (2002: 252), there are three particular areas in which Anglicisms are more commonly employed: “el Derecho Mercantil, el Derecho Internacional y el Derecho Económico”. Orts Llopis (2006) goes in depth into the first of these three branches, focusing on the import-export lexicon. She divides the vocabulary of this field into four lexical groups, relating to the following aspects: “Fenómenos mercantiles sobre estructura jurídico-mercantil” / “Producción y comercialización, o marketing” / “Distribución y transporte del producto” / “Medios de pago a la exportación” (pp. 556 and 558). On the grounds of her findings, she concludes that the second section is the one where Anglicisms penetrate more easily and frequently, whereas the first one is the most resistant to English origin incorporations.

Moving on to the language of advertising, van Hooft Comajuncosas (2006) deals with the Anglicisms found in the advertisements included in a magazine addressed to young and educated women: *Elle*. Focusing on its Spanish edition, the author finds that Anglicisms in the corpus he studies constitute 12% of the vocabulary, whereas in the newspaper *El País* they only reach 2%. In fact, most of the adverts studied in this research (83.5%) contains one or more Anglicisms. Using the *Elle* magazine as well, but considering this time the editions from four other Western European countries too (Belgium<sup>68</sup>, France, Germany, and the Netherlands), Gerritsen *et al.* (2010) selected three adverts “that ran simultaneously across the five countries” (p. 354). Two of them were completely written in English –Absolute Vodka (vodka) and Bulgari (perfume)– and “one was partly in English and partly in the local language” (p. 354) –Smart forfour (car)–. Having as purpose to check whether the same advertisement in English, on the one hand, and in the local language, on the other hand, performed a different effect on the target audience, “the research team worked together to produce equivalent test items in Dutch, French, German, and Spanish for the original English texts, and the translation and back-translation method was used to ensure as close a match as possible (Hoeken & Korzilius, 2003)” (pp. 354-355). However, they overlooked to consult the word *mobile* in the dictionary, giving as a result the following Spanish version: Absolutamente mobil [*sic.*] –p. 365–. We do not know the extent to which this spelling mistake can have affected the results of the experiment, but maybe the informants (educated women<sup>69</sup>) underwent a negative reaction when reading the word *móvil* without the graphic accent and having a ‘b’ instead of a ‘v’. Perhaps they considered this version as a hybrid –not completely English, not completely Spanish–. If that be the case, the results obtained for this specific item should not be taken into account. The article concludes by summarizing that “there seem to be advantages and disadvantages both to pursuing a language adaptation strategy and to pursuing a language standardization strategy using

<sup>68</sup> Dutch-speaking Belgium and French-speaking Belgium.

<sup>69</sup> “*Elle* is a glossy magazine for higher educated women, between the ages of 18 and 49, who belong to higher social classes” (p. 354).

English” (p. 360). Finally, the third related article (Gerritsen *et al.*, 2007) answers a series of detailed research questions on the use of Anglicisms in the adverts included in *Elle* magazine (Dutch-speaking Belgium, French-speaking Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain editions). In relation to the comparison of the various places, the authors conclude, among other things, that there were “no differences between the countries and the types of product advertised using English; in all the countries investigated, English was used to advertise products that could be associated with modernity” (p. 311). As a matter of fact, “it is probable that English is used deliberately by advertisers in order to associate a product with modernity in a consumer’s mind” (p. 311).

Durán Martínez (2000) explores the presence of the English language in Spanish commercial advertising using a corpus of 333 adverts appearing in five magazines that accompany different Spanish newspapers on Sundays: *El País Semanal*, *Blanco y Negro*, the *Magazine*, the *Semanal*, and the *Dominical*. He performs an analysis of the advertisements after grouping them in eight categories, depending on the kind of product (cosmetics, perfumes, watches, fashion, mobile phones and computing, drinks, and tobacco). Results show that 192 adverts (58%) include some English element whilst 141 (42%) do not resort to the foreign language. Finally, the former are classified according to the specific aspects that are affected by the English influence.

With respect to Anglicisms in TV advertisements, González Cruz (2015) carries out a study on “a corpus of commercials recorded from four Spanish TV channels with high audience shares between 2013 and 2015” (p. 339). These adverts are related to three leisure fields: technology, entertainment, and food and drinks. In light of her findings, the author confirms “the noticeable presence of English in this influential mass media” (p. 350), highlighting “the prestige and sense of modernity<sup>70</sup> associated to English and the important role this language seems to play for linguistic creativity and lexical innovation” (p. 350).

To end this subsection, we will comment upon García Morales *et al.* (2016), which examine the use of Anglicisms in Spanish TV advertisements between 2013 and 2015. They focus on the following six thematic fields and choose commercials related to them (broadcast in four different channels): mobile phone telephony, the Internet, and TICs; culture, leisure, and fun; fashion, cosmetics, hygiene and personal care products; refreshing products, foodstuffs and the restaurant industry; home and family products; and adverts addressed to children. Results show the high frequency of occurrence of pure or non-adapted Anglicisms in the corpus that has been analysed. These English words perform several functions in the advertising variety of the language, such as providing the product with an appearance of quality and modernity, and attracting the audience’s attention by means of its creativity.

The area of computing language has also been studied in terms of the use of Anglicisms. According to McDonald (2005), “science and technology are by far the most prolific sources of neologisms in recent times (Crystal 2002; Knowles & Elliot 1997; Van Dyke 1992; Gozzi 1990)” (p. 82)<sup>71</sup>. Cerdá Redondo *et al.* (2005) undertake a preliminary study on Anglicisms related to the area of computer science (establishing a series of methodological bases that will remain throughout the development of the planned project) which is later complemented by a more in-depth analysis presented in Díez Prados *et al.* (2007), where the authors deal with the process of integration that Anglicisms undergo after entering the Spanish computing lexicon. In order to do so, and following Alejo (1998), they group Anglicisms in three different categories

<sup>70</sup> *Vide supra*, Gerritsen *et al.* (2007).

<sup>71</sup> In Pérez Iglesias’ (2005) words, “[t]he language of science and technology is one of the most productive specialised languages” (p. 259).



depending on their degree of assimilation: integrated loans, non-integrated loans, and code-switches. This same typology is proposed in Gallench and Posteguillo Gómez (2001), which aims “to identify and describe the series of English borrowings and Spanish-into-English code-switches which take place in Spanish specialised discourse in the specific field of computer technology” (p. 243). To achieve this purpose, the authors carry out an analysis of 17 articles extracted from *Web, la revista de los usuarios de Internet*, an example of “Spanish computer specialised publications for professional and computer users in non-academic format and register” (p. 243), and conclude that “the systematic use of these English borrowings and code-switches is [...] a representative linguistic device of these non-academic written texts” (p. 251). In Posteguillo (2002), after providing some data on the technological level of the Internet variety of the language, the author moves on to the terminological layer, quoting Shortis (2001) to explain the two main terminological creation processes that take place in the English language, namely, morphological ones and semantic ones (being the latter related to metaphorical uses<sup>72</sup> or meaning extensions). Furthermore, Posteguillo explores the influence that the English Internet discourse exerts on Spanish.

Connecting the field of computer science with the vocabulary related to the labour market, Milanovic and Milanovic (2012) deal with Anglicisms in the names of professions mentioned in online adverts in order to identify the Anglicisms employed in “the register of job titles in the Serbian language” (pp. 182-183). Similarly, van Hooft Comajuncosas (2015) focuses on job advertisements published in *www.monster.es*. His goal is to quantify the English presence (non-adapted Anglicisms) in Spanish situations vacant and to check whether the degree of influence is dependent on three extralinguistic variables. In relation to the first of them, the economic sector to which the firm belongs, he finds a correlation based on the results obtained: the TIC area is the one with a higher significant use of Anglicisms (notice that English is normally the *lingua franca* in this field). With respect to the second one, the range of the vacancy, there is also a direct relationship since adverts for high positions employ more English loanwords than those for intermediate or low posts. In fact, due to the English level required for such jobs, by writing the advertisement in this language the firm is addressing only those people fulfilling this first requisite (*i. e.* being proficient in English), preselecting this way candidates from the very beginning. Regarding the third factor, the national or international character of the organization, the author also discovers a connection because international and multinational firms use more Anglicisms in their adverts than national ones do. In general, most job adverts in the corpus includes one or more English words and the percentage of offers containing English is significantly higher than that of those written only in Spanish. As these results are similar to those obtained by van Meurs *et al.* (2006) for Dutch, the author suggests that the medium (the Internet) and the textual genre (job adverts) can constitute determining factors that would explain the massive use of non-adapted Anglicisms, regardless of the recipient language.

Munday (2005) deals with *ciberspanglish*, which he defines as “hybrid Spanish/English terms in the new technologies” (p. 62). He illustrates this concept by means of several examples, some of which are included in the following table:

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<sup>72</sup> Cortés de los Ríos, de la Cruz Cabanillas, and Tejedor Martínez’s (2007) contribution constitutes an interesting short paper on metaphors in computing discourse.

Cyberspanglish	Established Spanish term	Literal translation of established Spanish term
attachar / attachear	adjuntar	to attach
downloadear	descargar	to unload
printear	imprimir	to print
resetear	volver a encender	to switch on again
taipear	escribir a máquina	to write by machine
chatear	charlar	to chat
forwardear	reenviar	to re-send

Tabla 1 - Adapted from Munday (2005: 62).

With respect to the lexicon employed by students of Translation vs. students of Computing concerning computer science, Bolaños-Medina and Luján-García (2010) carry out an empiric study on the frequency with which “anglicismos crudos” (raw Anglicisms) related to this area are used by pupils belonging to the Degree of Translation and Interpreting at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Spain). In addition, they compare the results obtained with those from a parallel survey in which the informants were students from the Degree of Computing, concluding that the latter employ much more “anglicismos crudos” (raw Anglicisms) than the former.

Alcalde and Gregorio Cano (2013), from a didactic point of view, defend that interdisciplinary work should be promoted to improve the development of Spanish technological terminology. This way, by means of collaborative teams formed by translators and software experts, we will manage not to resort so frequently to the English language in the area of computer science.

In her study on computing Anglicisms in the Spanish press (1990-2004), Andersson (2008) demonstrates, on the grounds of her results, that there is not a decrease in the use of overt Anglicisms in favour of their Spanish translations or of hybrid forms throughout the time span she analyses.

To conclude this sub-section on the specialised field of computing, we will refer to a commentary found in Morin (2006) that should make us reflect on how difficult it is to foretell the evolution that any given Anglicism will undergo in a recipient language. In p. 172, this author ventures the following prediction about Spanish: “Very technical terms like *wifi* or the initialisms and acronyms that refer to current technology, will most likely not become widespread, passing from use as old technology is eclipsed by new, before ever becoming widespread or achieving any kind of normative approval”. Four years later, Bolaños-Medina and Luján-García (2010) state that “[e]l término “wifi” (del inglés *Wireless Fidelity*), en minúsculas y sin guión, [ha sido] recientemente recomendado dada la extensión de su uso en nuestro idioma por la Fundación del español urgente (Fundéu BBVA 2010), que cuenta con el asesoramiento de la Real Academia Española” (p. 260).

Another area that has been approached in relation to the use of Anglicisms is fashion. With respect to this topic, Balteiro Fernández (2014) draws on the influence of English on the Spanish language of fashion, specifically on the relevant role played by *-ing* forms<sup>73</sup>. Diez-

<sup>73</sup> Several articles investigate the presence of the ending *-ing* in Spanish and also in other languages, as Mott (2015), Balteiro Fernández (2014), Witalisz (2014), Coll (2007), and Vigara Tauste (1999) illustrate.

Arroyo (2016) –*vide infra*, section 10– approaches the euphemistic value of Anglicisms in Spanish fashion magazines, which “regard stylistic choices as a persuasive strategy to reach and appeal to their wide readership. Journalists have found in Anglicisms the perfect elements to perform this rhetorical function” (p. 38).

As for the discursive field of drugs, Rodríguez González (1994) is concerned with the use of Anglicisms “in drug-related slang in contemporary Peninsular Spanish” (p. 179). The author deals with different aspects of this phenomenon, such as morphophonological, morphological, graphematic, semantic, and syntactic features, and examines the “social and cultural background” of these borrowings (p. 179).

Other areas that have been explored in relation to the presence of Anglicisms are: music (Vigara Tauste, 2007; Olivares Baños, 2009; Roig-Marín, 2016), health sciences (Gutiérrez Rodilla, 1997; Alcaraz Ariza, 1998; Navarro, 2002; Navarro, 2008), and the cinematographic language (Guzmán González, 1986; García Morales, 2009a)<sup>74</sup>.

Finally, we will bring up a couple of studies that do research into Anglicisms in more than one specialised field. Tejedor Martínez *et al.* (2006) concentrate on the areas of economics, computing, and tourism<sup>75</sup>. Considering the findings, the authors claim that

se observan ciertas similitudes entre los tres ámbitos del español para fines específicos examinados: pese a que la frecuencia absoluta de préstamos ingleses pudiera parecer elevada en las tres áreas, un análisis más detallado pone de manifiesto que, dado el volumen de los corpus analizados, la presencia de anglicismos no es alta (en ningún caso llega al 3%); asimismo, la tipología de los elementos no es tan variada como cabría suponer (p. 373).

Closing this section, we will refer to an interesting work on Anglicisms in the fields of computer science, medicine, tourism, and science and technology. Bearing in mind the idea of basing their analysis on a body of authentic texts, de la Cruz Cabanillas and Tejedor Martínez (2012) build a textual corpus covering several technical domains and including documents from different registers. Their “textual corpus of specialised disciplines stands at around 867,000 words” (p. 97). In addition, they design a database called ANGLICOR, where they store the following “data about every recorded item extracted from the corpus” (p. 98): definition, gender, number, etymology, presence or absence in Spanish dictionaries, source, graphic marks, semantic field, socio-pragmatic details, genre and topic. “The total number of items included in the database is 4,607” (p. 98). Unlike their previous results (*vide supra*, Tejedor Martínez *et al.*, 2006), the findings obtained in this piece of research allow the authors to declare that “the influence of English word-stock is pervasive, inasmuch as it extends into almost every field of Spanish vocabulary<sup>76</sup> [...]. Anglicisms are everywhere. Spanish is not immune to the growing phenomenon of English as a global language. It is, indeed, a tendency that will certainly continue in the future” (p. 112).

<sup>74</sup> Soler Costa (2009) concentrates on the fields of cinema and the automobile by analysing lexical loanwords in two corpora. The first one has been extracted from *Fotogramas*, while the second comes from *Maxi Tuning*. The author provides us with the definition of each Anglicism that can be found (if any) in *DRAE* (2001) and in *DEA* (1999), as well as with the type of borrowing the word is (although it is not really clear whether Soler follows Pratt’s (1980) or Lorenzo’s (1996) taxonomy).

<sup>75</sup> The use of Anglicisms in Spanish touristic texts has also been dealt with in works such as de la Cruz Cabanillas, Mancho Barés, and Tejedor Martínez (2009) and Rocamora Abellán (1999).

<sup>76</sup> The authors point out that, although their corpus comprises documents belonging to specialised fields, “these texts very often contain articles dealing with other topics and thus we have recorded terms from general language, as well” (p. 98).

## 10. THE FUNCTIONS OF ANGLICISMS

As opposed to those authors who establish a distinction between necessary / unnecessary or luxury Anglicisms<sup>77</sup>, Pratt (1980: 25) states that “tampoco encuentra cabida en este trabajo una clasificación «emotiva» que razone el uso del anglicismo refiriéndose a la «necesidad», o llamándolo «superfluo», «vicioso» u otro calificativo de la misma índole. Acepto como axioma que «todo anglicismo tiene una razón de ser suficiente y necesaria»; al lingüista le incumbe encontrarla”.

Some years later, Félix Rodríguez González found the *raison d'être* of those loanwords considered as unnecessary by many researchers, and presented it in his article “Functions of Anglicisms in Contemporary Spanish” (Rodríguez González, 1996). In this paper, the author approaches the stylistic motivations that give rise to the use of Anglicisms. In order to do so, he applies Halliday’s (1978) functions of language to the employment of English loanwords in Spanish. This way, the ideational or referential function is fulfilled by Anglicisms that denote concepts or objects for which the recipient language does not have a proper word. “Such borrowings fill an ‘ecological hole’ (Hope, Pratt) of the language, in the sense that there is no alternative expression when they first appear” (p. 110). That is the case of new inventions that have been designed in English-speaking countries and have entered Spanish along with their name. This group corresponds to the Anglicisms traditionally labelled as “necessary”. It also includes “concepts which are peculiar or idiosyncratic of Anglosaxon culture” (p. 111), such as *lord* or *lady*. These are referred to by the author as “culture-specific terms” (p. 111).

The two other functions are more interesting for the stylistic purposes of Rodríguez González’s article since, as its author states, quoting Leech (1983), they are “more pragmatic in conception” (p. 109). With respect to Halliday’s interpersonal or expressive function, the foreign nature of loanwords makes it possible for them to develop an expressive meaning easily, “*i. e.* a meaning that expresses feelings or attitudes on the part of the speaker: irony, contempt, snobbery or affectation (prestige), etc” (p. 111). In these cases there is a native equivalent, but “the English term is chosen because of a special connotation, usually positive” (p. 112).

Having regard to the textual function, the sub-functions in which it is divided should be mentioned: simplification, accuracy (*i. e.* precision), clarity of expression, and variation of expression. The preference for simple expressions (economy of language) is responsible for the selection of an English short term rather than a lengthy and complex native periphrasis. In relation to accuracy, the Anglicism is employed to avoid ambiguity when “there is not an unequivocal Spanish equivalent” (p. 116). A combination of synonyms or “translation couplet”, *i. e.* “the use of the native word beside its foreign equivalent” appears for the sake of clarity when a term which is unknown to the audience is employed for the first time. By means of this strategy, the meaning is made clearer and more emphatic. In order to avoid repetition, Anglicisms are used in alternation with their Spanish equivalents, “providing the text with elegance and greater cohesiveness” (p. 120) by achieving variation of expression<sup>78</sup>. In those cases in which the given expression is to be employed in the headline and also in the text of a newspaper article, there is a particular distribution: due to its shortness as well as “the novelty and other expressive

<sup>77</sup> Teruel Sáez (2006: 300) differentiates between “préstamos necesarios, por necesidad o denotativos”, on the one hand, and “préstamos innecesarios, de lujo o superfluos”, on the other hand.

<sup>78</sup> As England and Caramés Lage (1978: 88–89) indicate, “Hope también nos señala el valor de los sinónimos en una función o propósito estético. [...] Actualmente el escritor moderno tiene a su disposición muchos pares de palabras (no todas ellas sinónimos) y que le sirven para dar una precisión, variedad y riqueza más grandes a la lengua –*película/film; periodista/reportero; líder/jefe; liderar/encabezar; mitin/reunión*, etc.–. De esta manera, y en cierta forma paradójicamente, el inglés puede reforzar la aversión del castellano a la repetición verbal” (original italics).

connotations” (p. 122) it can add, the Anglicism appears in the headline whereas the Spanish alternative is resorted to in the body of the text. Finally, a foreign term can be introduced to contribute to the vividness, freshness, and authenticity of the text, enriching it by creating a foreign atmosphere. In this case, the loanword “sounds more truthful, more real, especially when its referent is a foreign reality” (p. 124).

Thus, in this paper Rodríguez González reveals the diversity of functions that loanwords can fulfil, reminding us that “what smacks of snobbery and prestige is often entwined with other factors of an expressive and textual type, not to mention the Anglicisms which should be considered necessary by all criteria” (p. 126).

González Cruz and Rodríguez Medina (2011a) underscore the lack of studies on the pragmatic role that Anglicisms can perform. Attempting to fill this gap, they present a case study on the use of English loanwords by a group of young speakers<sup>79</sup> from Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Spain). In their analysis, they focus on the “expressive or aesthetic function” (p. 257) that these words can fulfil in some communicative situations in which “they tend to mark oral discourse with humorous or ironic features” (p. 257). As they mention, other authors have referred to this function as “ludic” or “emphatic” (p. 257)<sup>80</sup>. Following Rodríguez González (1996), these researchers comment upon the interpersonal and the textual functions. On the former, they stress the fact that, on the one hand, “the foreign nature of the Anglicism contributes to soften or to hide the harshness of some concepts, performing a sort of euphemistic function, particularly in the case of those words related to the underworld (drugs, prostitution, organized crime, etc.)” (p. 259), whereas, on the other hand, in specialised uses of the language (for instance, advertising or computing), English loanwords tend to convey prestigious connotations. Considering the findings, González Cruz and Rodríguez Medina confirm the tendency of the young informants involved in the study to employ English words and idiomatic expressions with ironic, expressive, or humorous purposes, particularly in informal and colloquial situations. In addition to this conclusion, the authors point at a more profound influence exerted by the Anglo-American world into the Spanish society: they defend that “Anglicisms can be regarded as a sort of mechanism for transculturation” (p. 257). They finalise their paper by quoting Riquelme (1998) on this issue: “The phenomenon of Anglicisms is just the tip of the iceberg of a far deeper and more complex process: transculturation. It is a transforming process of changing daily routines; some of them are very intimate and others are rather collective and generalized. Our daily lives, thoughts and even feelings are transformed” (p. 271).

A surprising area in which Anglicisms can be used as euphemisms in Spanish is the field of fashion. Diez-Arroyo (2016) digs into the presence of English words in magazines devoted to the fashion world in order to unveil the reasons why they are so common in this kind of texts. Certainly, euphemistic expressions do normally substitute unsuitable ones related to taboo or embarrassing topics. Therefore, it is not likely that euphemisms be employed in the field of fashion *a priori*. However, if these words are considered as terms “whose goal is to keep up with the standards of elegance, quality, modernity, etc.” (p. 32), they can be used, when associated to the domain of fashion, to discard “those expressions that do not match these expectations” (p. 32). Thus, since this is connected to the notion of persuasion “through stylistic choices” (p. 32), Anglicisms turn into a persuasive strategy in Spanish fashion magazines. Among the examples enumerated by Diez-

<sup>79</sup> The authors remark that the use of Anglicisms serves to “marking speakers’s identity and their belonging to a group (Joseph 2004; Edwards 2009)”, therefore becoming an “identity feature” (p. 264).

<sup>80</sup> For more on the pragmatic function that Anglicisms can perform in the Spanish language, *vide* González Cruz and Rodríguez Medina (2011b).

Arroyo, we can mention the following ones: *after work*, *blazer*, *cool hunter*, *dress code*, *fifties*, *lady (style)*, *low cost*, *oversize*, *sixties*. The author concludes by stressing that, “thanks to their foreign nature and prestige, when they replace some native equivalents they are able to change the unwanted connotations that derive from the literal readings of these forms by an atmosphere of stylishness, innovation and glamour” (p. 38).

Finally, Rodríguez Medina (2004) explains the use of Anglicisms as a means of achieving irony and parody and for humorous purposes. The corpus she analyses has been extracted from television and radio programmes, so this author uses the media for her research. Several Anglicisms<sup>81</sup> and pseudo-Anglicisms<sup>82</sup> are commented on, and it is emphasized that the expressive force of these constructions has enabled them to jump into colloquial language, especially that of young people; thus, it will perhaps become a new lexicogenetic resource in the Spanish language.

## 11. THE USE OF CORPUS LINGUISTICS IN THE STUDY OF ANGLICISMS

A corpus is, in McEnery, Xiao, and Tono's (2006: 5) words, “a collection of (1) *machine-readable* (2) *authentic* texts (including transcripts of spoken data) which is (3) *sampled* to be (4) *representative* of a particular language or language variety” (original italics)<sup>83</sup>. In Sánchez Pérez (2005), a brief history of corpora studies is presented. According to this author, the first linguistic corpus of importance was compiled at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It consisted of eleven million words which were manually collected and analysed by more than 5,000 persons. In the 1930s, and later on, in the 1960s as well, lexical frequency lists were in vogue. In fact, in the latter decade the *Brown Corpus* (one million words) was created and computationally treated. Nevertheless, the key issue that made it possible for this kind of studies to undergo a huge development was the emergence of computers, since they allowed the automatic process of enormous amounts of data. In the 1980s, a second generation of corpus studies started with the *Cobuild* project, headed by J. Sinclair at the University of Birmingham (aprox. seven million words in its basic format). It was followed by the *Longman/Lancaster English Language Corpus*, a collection of over twenty million words. In more recent times, third generation corpora such as the *British National Corpus* (a hundred million words) provide users with advanced functionalities (for instance, it has been morphologically tagged). Sánchez Pérez (2005: 341) indicates that “[a]ctualmente es posible recopilar grandes cantidades de texto a bajo coste y en poco tiempo mediante la expansión de Internet”. Indeed, this possibility has been taken advantage of in the last years, and many scholars talk now about the *web as corpus* (Kilgarriff and Grefenstette, 2003; Ringlstetter, Schulz, and Mihov, 2006; Cortina-Pérez and Moreno Jaén, 2009; among others)<sup>84</sup>.

Several authors have proposed the compilation of corpora with the goal of analysing the use of Anglicisms in their texts. De la Cruz Cabanillas, Mancho Barés, and Tejedor Martínez (2009) focus on the presence of English words in the touristic sector and, in order to do so, they employ the

<sup>81</sup> For example: *Estocopsions* [*stock options*], *The Morancos chou* [*show*], *Jebi y Métal* [*heavy metal*], *An de güiner is* [*and the winner is*].

<sup>82</sup> For instance: *Manoleitor*, *Spantosing*, *Osealand*.

<sup>83</sup> As regards corpus design and typology, Torruella and Llisterra (1999) provide a detailed explanation on the different kinds of corpora, their extension, purpose, etc.

<sup>84</sup> As Andersen (2011) explains, “[s]ince the turn of the millennium it has become increasingly common to develop and explore web-based corpora, aka. ‘cybercorpora’ (Renouf 2007), resulting in a growing body of corpus-based studies using the web as its prime source of data (Kilgarriff and Grefenstette 2003; Hundt, Biewer & Nesselhauf 2007)” –this chapter is not paginated–.

touristic texts subcorpus that is included in the corpus of Spanish specialised-fields texts<sup>85</sup> collected by the aLiLex (Análisis Lingüístico del Léxico) research group. Rodríguez González (2003) also gives some guidelines on how to compile a corpus in order to study the Anglicisms appearing in its texts and with the purpose of elaborating a dictionary. Laursen and Moustén (2015) cover the use of specialised Anglicisms belonging to the financial jargon in Spanish and in Danish. On the grounds of the findings, they conclude that their “initial impression of randomness in connection with the choice between Anglicisms and local competitors has been documented by [the] corpus method approach”<sup>86</sup>.

In 2012, a volume containing a selection of papers delivered at a seminar on the occasion of the 10th International Conference of the European Society for the Study of English (ESSE), held in Turin (Italy) in 2010, was published under the title *The Anglicization of European Lexis* (Furiassi, Pulcini, and Rodríguez González, 2012). In these pieces of research, corpus linguistics is the tool applied to the study of the presence of Anglicisms in different languages. This methodology makes it possible to work with huge amounts of texts, thus obtaining a large number of instances of words of English origin. As a matter of fact, “[i]n the study of Anglicisms, corpora are indispensable because they offer up-to-date source material from which new Anglicisms or new meanings/senses of Anglicisms may be detected. Through corpus-based research it is possible to [...] obtain information about frequency, period of adoption, usage context and authentic examples” (Pulcini, Furiassi, and Rodríguez González, 2012: 18). Therefore, *The Anglicization of European Lexis* aims, among other purposes, to “compare approaches and methodologies (especially corpus-based) for assessing the lexical impact of the English language on a European scale” (Pulcini, Furiassi, and Rodríguez González, 2012: 1).

The chapter devoted to Anglicisms in Spanish within this volume, by José Luis Oncins-Martínez, makes use of the Corpus Diacrónico del Español –CORDE– (*Diachronic Corpus of Spanish*) and the Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual –CREA– (*Present-Day Spanish Reference Corpus*), both compiled by the Real Academia Española. They constitute extremely useful resources for the purpose of studying the introduction of Anglicisms in the Spanish language since they fill a gap highlighted by several authors, *i. e.* the lack of real and reliable data, of data “that is accurately dated and abundant enough” (Oncins-Martínez, 2012: 218). Indeed, these electronic materials “offer sounder [...] ways of exploring and characterising Anglicisms in Spanish” and they “can help us track down the occurrence of foreign usages more systematically and assess the extent of their presence in Spanish more accurately” (Oncins-Martínez, 2012: 217). By using them, the author uncovers that there are Spanish words nowadays employed more and more frequently with a sense taken from English than with their traditional Spanish meanings. However, these semantic Anglicisms go unnoticed by the RAE, which does not include their new senses in its Dictionary (22<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2001). Moreover, he deals with the calquing of several phraseological units that are proved to have been adopted from English into Spanish by means of a corpus-based analysis (of CORDE and CREA).

Oncins-Martínez has delved into the use of corpus linguistics to study the phenomenon of Anglicisms in other pieces of research. In his article “Towards a Corpus-Based Analysis of Anglicisms in Spanish: A Case Study” (Oncins-Martínez, 2009), he shows “some of the advantages of and the need for using corpora for exploring and assessing Anglicisms in contemporary

<sup>85</sup> Connected to this corpus, the aLiLex group has also developed a database in which they are classifying the Anglicisms they find in the specialised texts included in the corpus – *vide* de la Cruz Cabanillas and Tejedor Martínez (2009) and de la Cruz Cabanillas and Tejedor Martínez (2012).

<sup>86</sup> This paper is not paginated.

Spanish” (p. 115), demonstrating that “corpus data can give us a better informed view” (p. 129) of this linguistic issue. What is more, the case study dealt with in this article (“the adverb *dramáticamente*, as it is taking on the new sense ‘espectacularmente’ under the influence of English *dramatically*”, p. 115) uses “corpus evidence to support some of the suggestions made in the major studies on Anglicisms, and also to show how the influence of an English word can contribute to changes in the meaning of a cognate form in Spanish” (p. 128). In the paper “Why to ‘fill a niche’ in Spanish is not that bad anymore: A corpus-based look at Anglicisms in Spanish”, Oncins-Martínez (2009) uses *CORDE* and *CREA* as well as the British National Corpus (BNC) –the last one with comparative purposes–, aiming to examine semantic Anglicisms. The author presents various case studies in order to display the different ways in which Spanish words are being affected by the influence that their English cognates exert on them.

We will end this section by quoting the final remark stated by Andersen (2011), who describes the work-in-progress on the *Norwegian Newspaper Corpus* project, which attempts to automatically identify and analyse new loanwords from English:

Thanks to recent advances in corpus building and technology, word formation and neology can be studied in empirical quantitative detail. The monitor corpus<sup>[87]</sup> allows us to become less dependent on our intuitions and rely on statistical facts. The corpus-based approach is a valuable supplement to traditional lexicography/terminography, which involves manual extraction of words. It does not offer the full answer as to which forms to include and which forms to leave out, but it promises a systematic and empirically based proposal of where to start looking. This will hopefully lead to a significant reduction of manual work and a radical simplification of the task of looking for the needle in the linguistic hay-stack.

## 12. ANGLICISMS IN THE MEDIA

The presence of Anglicisms in the Spanish language at present is largely attested in mass media in general<sup>88</sup> and in the press in particular. This written medium is characterised by recording faithfully the state of the language a people possesses at a given moment and, at the same time, it spreads the current neologisms that have recently been coined (Marcos Pérez, 1971; Luján García, 1998; Medina López, 2004; del Pino Romero, 2013; Casado Velarde, 2015). In Rodríguez González’s (1996: 125) words, “the extent of [Anglicisms’] present-day use [...] has to do with the leading role played by the media in their circulation and also with their growing role as a language model or authority for readers and speakers”. This idea is also emphasised by Álvarez (2003: 778), who states that “la gran afluencia de extranjerismos [es un] aspecto que necesariamente va unido al poder de difusión de los medios de comunicación”<sup>89</sup>. Furthermore, Molina Martos (2003) and Gerding Salas *et al.* (2014) introduce an interesting point: many Anglicisms enter Spanish specialised fields in the first place, and they are then disseminated into the general public by means of mass media.

Esteban Asencio (2008) explains the use, origin and formation processes of neologisms in the Spanish press. In relation to loanwords (one of the types of new words she enumerates), she highlights that the English language is the origin of the majority of the borrowings that appears in the newspapers she analyses: “Parece que el español medio se ha habituado a manejar anglicismos

<sup>87</sup> As Torruella and Llisterri (1999: 54) depict, “los corpus monitor quieren tener un volumen textual constante pero en continua actualización. El conjunto de textos que lo componen se va renovando cada cierto tiempo de manera que siempre se van incluyendo nuevos textos al mismo tiempo que se van excluyendo otros [...] Normalmente la inclusión y exclusión de textos se hace siguiendo pautas temporales (se incluyen textos del último año y se excluyen los del primero) [...]”.

<sup>88</sup> To deepen into the study of the influence of the English language on Spanish mass media, *vide* Pratt (1972).

<sup>89</sup> González (2008: 407) refers to this spreading function characterising mass media when he declares that “[I]os medios de comunicación contribuyen a la aceptación de [las] traducciones literales al difundirlas al gran público”.



como parte de su vocabulario, evidentemente influido por los medios de comunicación, fundamentalmente por la prensa y la televisión [...]” (p. 8).

This way, the written press is an excellent source where the use of Anglicisms in a given language can be studied. Indeed, “[a]lthough Sinclair (1991: 18) maintains that ‘[...] the language of newspapers is just one variety [...] and not a reliable sample of the language [...]’” (Furiassi, 2006: 274, note 2), we agree with Giraldo Ortiz (2014: 6) when the author states that “la prensa escrita es un excelente observatorio para detectar, desde el punto de vista cronológico, la neología, ya sea respecto de su existencia efímera o de su “naturalización” en la lengua. La prensa escrita es un laboratorio excepcional para conocer las nuevas palabras que reflejan las nuevas realidades de una sociedad y, en suma, su propia historia”. What is more, in accordance with Gerding Salas *et al.* (2014: 50), “journalistic language usually shows the linguistic changes in a community at a given time by incorporating new relevant items, discarding unfashionable ones, emphasizing specific uses, creating units, or explaining terms. The press is thus one of the most effective sources of lexical renewal in Spanish and a means of accounting for the vitality of the language (Ortega, 2001)”.

As a matter of fact, several PhD theses have focused on the press when studying Anglicisms in Spanish-speaking countries<sup>90</sup> (Mowry Jr., 1974; Cabeza Cerrato, 1997; Gimeno Menéndez, 1997; Rodríguez Segura, 1998; Pirulli, 2003; Vélez Barreiro, 2003; Valozic Nenadic, 2010; and Vázquez Amador, 2012).

In relation to pseudo-Anglicisms<sup>91</sup>, Furiassi and Hofland (2007: 347) defend that, “[i]n order to find ‘new’ false Anglicisms, the language of newspapers is most suitable since it is representative of a wide range of registers and is highly receptive and open towards neologisms, loanwords and linguistic creativity in general”. In addition, they suggest that the positive connotative meaning associated to English or English-looking words (*i. e.* Anglicisms or pseudo-Anglicisms, respectively) “is perhaps the main reason why they are used in newspaper articles and especially in eye-catching headlines”<sup>92</sup> (p. 347).

In the preface to his *Diccionario de anglicismos*, Alfaro (1950) also comments upon a reason why so many Anglicisms slip through the pages of newspapers: the fact that journalists receive many pieces of news from English-speaking news agencies. “Envían ellas en inglés a los miles y miles de diarios y periódicos de la prensa hispánica los despachos que dan cuenta de los sucesos. Las más veces tienen que verter esos despachos al castellano traductores compelidos a ejecutar de prisa, sin meditar, sin pulir, sin cotejar, la difícilísima labor de traducir bien”(p. 10)<sup>93</sup>.

Gerding Salas *et al.* (2012: 286) suggest a couple of reasons that account for the use of English words in the press as well: “La tendencia de la prensa a preferir anglicismos obedece, por una parte, al predominio político, económico y cultural de Estados Unidos (Moreno de Alba, 1992) y a su influencia histórico-social y, por otra, a la urgencia de trasvasar al español mensajes originalmente redactados en inglés y la preferencia por emplear vocablos cortos, propia del estilo periodístico (Hagège, 1987)”.

<sup>90</sup> It has also been the source in Masters Dissertations, such as Berglund (2008).

<sup>91</sup> *Vide* section 13 in the present paper.

<sup>92</sup> For more on the use of Anglicisms in headlines, *vide* “Anglicismos en los titulares de la prensa canaria actual: un estudio comparativo” (Luján García 1998-1999).

<sup>93</sup> Marcos Pérez (1971) and García Platero (2006) introduce this idea too.

In order to palliate the effects of the recurrent entrance of Anglicisms in the press, newspapers' style books<sup>94</sup> usually contain prescriptive restrictions on the use of foreign words (Ceberio Galardi, 2001; Camps, 2008; Carriazo Ruiz, 2008; Gómez Torrego, 2008; Lavilla Uriol, 2008; Martínez Albertos, 2008; Pedrero González, 2008; Freixas and Alcoba, 2010). Indeed, they are intended for journalists<sup>95</sup> employed in the company to produce consistent texts across the pages of the newspaper, so these norms are considered as compulsory inner rules for the firm's staff.

A special mention should be made to the media in the United States, since in this country, as Dumitrescu (2015: 33) remarks,

[...] los medios de comunicación en español tienen una enorme responsabilidad social, que es la de contribuir a la difusión (a veces incluso a la alfabetización) y al mantenimiento del español entre las diversas generaciones de hispanohablantes, y por eso tienen el deber moral de ser modelos idiomáticos para toda la comunidad latina. Lo cual no quiere decir, obviamente, mostrar una actitud retrógrada y negarse a aceptar que el cambio lingüístico es inevitable, y que hay préstamos y calcos que se deben aceptar porque responden efectivamente a necesidades comunicativas idiosincrásicas.

As a matter of fact, López García-Molins (2015: 21) points out that “se está desarrollando una norma unificada específica en los medios de comunicación de los EE.UU”, which is characterised by encompassing much more Anglicisms than the ASALE's norm. Thus, “[e]n la medida en que ambas normas se sepan hacer compatibles, el español y todos los hispanohablantes saldremos ganando: he aquí la que a mi entender debería ser la principal misión de la ANLE” (p. 36).

In an article entitled “Manuales de estilo” and published in *La Opinión Digital* on 09-09-2005, Moreno Fernández (2005a) already mentioned a project promoted by Alberto Gómez Font (‘Fundación Español Urgente’, Agencia EFE), which consisted of the elaboration of a style manual, “hecho desde EU y pensado para atender las necesidades específicas de los periodistas estadounidenses cuando realizan su trabajo en español”<sup>96</sup>. Finally, this project crystallised in the publication of the *Manual de estilo de la Asociación Nacional de Periodistas Hispanos (NAHP)*.

In relation to the amount of media sources available in Spanish across the US territory, the *Hispanic Map of the United States 2015* presents the following overview: there are “321 print and electronic Spanish newspapers” (p. 65) as well as “over 500 Spanish language radio networks in the United States” (p. 74). As regards TV, on the one hand, “Univisión, which began in 1962 in San Antonio, Texas, is the largest Spanish-language media company in the US (Matsa 2015)” (p. 70) and enjoys high audience ratings; on the other hand, “Telemundo, a rival of Univisión, witnessed growth across its major programming in 2014, despite viewership numbers that are still much lower than those for Univisión” (p. 72). As Walczuk Beltrão (2008) reports, within the multicultural society that inhabited the US in the 1960-70s, two different strategies were carried out by media industry: the existing companies attempted “to address ethnic groups within their own content” (p. 194), and also new media were “created specifically to address such groups” (pp. 194-195).

Finally, a comparative study on three samples of newspapers (from the US, Latin America, and Spain), performed by Patzelt (2011), sheds light on the following remarkable issues: first, English is proved “to penetrate into the most common and fixed structures of Spanish” (p. 273); second, findings show that “journalists and news agencies tend to pay more attention to avoiding

<sup>94</sup> Quoting Martínez de Sousa (2007), Carriazo Ruiz (2008) notes an interesting difference between *style book* and *style manual*: “se suele reservar el nombre de *libro de estilo* para aquellos «de empleo en los periódicos y agencias de prensa para la unificación de criterios en el uso de la lengua», y el de *manual de estilo* para aquellas publicaciones que reúnen en sí aspectos «de los libros de estilo y se destinan, especialmente en las editoriales, sociedades y asociaciones científicas, a sentar las bases de la escritura científica de libros y revistas»” (p. 226).

<sup>95</sup> On journalists' responsibility in relation to the diffusion of Anglicisms, *vide* Martínez Albertos (2008) and Pergnier (1989: 155–157).

<sup>96</sup> <http://www.laopinion.com/columnist12/>

English interferences on the lexical-semantic than on the grammatical level” (p. 274); third, results evidence that “it is not the lexical, but rather the morphosyntactic anglicisms that set the Spanish used in US-newspapers apart from the daily press in Latin America and Spain” (p. 275); fourth, the analysis unveils that “[t]he cases of *morphological* anglicisms almost exclusively occur in the category of translated articles, [...] which show a particularly high concentration of morphological, syntactic and semantic anglicisms” (p. 277); and, fifth, although at first it seems striking that “articles produced by AP (Associated Press) also contain a high percentage of morphosyntactic anglicisms [...], whereas those distributed by EFE hardly contain any”, it has a *raison d’être*: “EFE has been sponsoring the Foundation for Urgent Spanish (Fundéu) since 2005, an institution that encourages the correct use of Spanish in the media. The success of its efforts is clearly visible” in the findings obtained by Patzelt (p. 277).

### 13. PSEUDO-ANGLICISMS

Pseudo-Anglicisms –or false Anglicisms<sup>97</sup>– are coinages made up in a language other than English but using English elements, or they can also be English forms which are employed with a radically different meaning from the one(s) they have in the English tongue. According to Rodríguez González (2013: 123), they are “voces y expresiones que cuentan con un formato o algún rasgo morfológico de origen inglés, pero que no son técnicamente anglicismos, en la medida en que su uso no se registra en ninguna de las variedades de la lengua inglesa”. They clearly reflect the profound influence exerted by English over other languages, since in these cases such words are not borrowed from English but creatively employed in the supposedly recipient languages because they *seem* or *look like* original English words. In Campos-Pardillos’ (2015: 162) words, “precisely the influence of English on other languages is best proved not in those cases in which the use of a word would be ‘logical’, *i. e.*, where the item borrowed is a genuine English word, but in those proposals the success of which is merely due to their English-like appearance”.

Pseudo-Anglicisms constitute a very complex phenomenon. Indeed, as Gottlieb and Furiassi (2015: 9, note 4) underline, it is sometimes really difficult “to select false Anglicisms –and false borrowing in general– and discriminate between ‘real’ and false borrowings”<sup>98</sup>. According to these authors, the criterion to differentiate between true and pseudo-Anglicisms is usually the impossibility for a native speaker of English to understand or recognise the given word<sup>99</sup>. The issue gets even more complicated in those cases in which, as Campos-Pardillos (2015: 159) recalls, “an alleged false Anglicism suddenly appears in English with the same meaning as in the other languages”. This author explains that it can be due to the fact that the word has been “re-borrowed by English (Furiassi, 2010, 70; Campos 2011, 92)” (p. 159), but there is also a possibility for it to have changed by itself within the English language through no foreign influence.

Interestingly enough, Campos-Pardillos (2015: 158) reflects upon the coinage of pseudo-Anglicisms, arguing that,

if a language is ready to use an English word because of prestige, conciseness or a desire to put on an appearance of expertness, or in other words, if it is willing to resort to “imported goods”, it might also feel inclined to “copy” or “imitate” the English language. This may be the case of the so-called “false Anglicisms”

<sup>97</sup> For a review on the terminology employed to refer to this phenomenon, *vide* Furiassi (2015).

<sup>98</sup> As a matter of fact, Campos Pardillos (2015: 161) highlights that “extreme caution must be exercised when considering a word a false Anglicism”.

<sup>99</sup> Renner and Fernández Domínguez (2015: 148), following Furiassi (2010), propose a different checking criterion: “to resort to an RL-into-English translation test [...]. The impossibility to keep the original Anglicism in the translation into English testifies to its status as a false Anglicism in the RL in question”.

whose success causes them not only to be accepted as if they were genuine items, but even to be re-exported into other languages, which welcome them because of their apparent English origin.

In fact, Spanish, for instance, has not only created pseudo-Anglicisms on its own but has also absorbed false Anglicisms from other languages in which the invention of the element has taken place. As it is the case with true Anglicisms as well, French frequently plays this mediating (or, on this occasion, false mediating) role. However, although the word has actually emerged in this creative language, it would not be accurate to classify the form as a Gallicism, since coming from the French language is not the reason behind its usage in Spanish. As Campos Pardillos (2015: 162) indicates, “the popularization of these lexical items may not be due to the fact that they sound English (which they are not), but to an *alleged* English origin, which is probably what makes them so attractive” (original italics).

Indeed, in their chapter on false anglicization in the Romance languages, Renner and Fernández Domínguez (2015: 147) comment upon the fact that “many false Anglicisms might be circulating somewhat freely from a language to another”. Very much along the same lines, Gottlieb and Furiassi (2015: 11) go a step further when they assure that “[s]ome false Anglicisms have even reached the status of internationalisms<sup>100</sup>, *i. e.* English-looking words which have the same form and the same meaning in many languages of different language families (Petralli 1992a: 121, 1992b: 74) [...] thus giving rise to ‘World-Wide Pseudo-English’ (Carstensen, 1986a: 831)”.

With regard to the classifications that have been proposed in relation to these “English-inspired” (Gottlieb and Furiassi, 2015: 3) items, Furiassi (2003: 138) notices that “the status of false Anglicisms may appear ambiguous”, warning of the fact that “in some cases items may not fit perfectly into rigid categories”. Nevertheless, this author thinks that a preliminary and clear definition, as well as a systematic taxonomy of this phenomenon, would be necessary in order to properly cover this issue. However, twelve years later, Gottlieb and Furiassi (2015: 3) state that “linguists may be able to spot these items but still fail to agree on how to label and define them”.

Out of the classifications that can be found in the literature on pseudo-Anglicisms, the one presented by Furiassi in his work *False Anglicisms in Italian* and quoted in Gottlieb and Furiassi (2015: 25-26) seems to be the most comprehensive one. According to it, pseudo-Anglicisms can be created in any of these ways:

- a) by joining two English free morphemes in order to form a compound that does not exist in English, *e. g.* *recordman* (*record* + *man*)
- b) by coining a new word based on an English free morpheme and an English suffix, *e. g.* *footing* (*foot* + *-ing*)
- c) by deleting the head of an English two-word compound, irrespective of the ellipsis rules of the English language, *e. g.* *basket* (from English *basketball*)
- d) by clipping a genuine English word, *e. g.* *happy end* (from English *happy ending*)
- e) by reusing an English word with a new meaning that is not found in English, *e. g.* *mister* (meaning in Italian ‘coach’ or ‘trainer’)<sup>101</sup>
- f) by employing English-looking proper names, *e. g.* *carter* (meaning in Italian ‘chain guard’ or ‘crank case’), place names, *e. g.* *new jersey* (meaning in Italian ‘median barrier’ or ‘traffic divider’), or trademarks, *e. g.* *ticket restaurant*, from genericized *Ticket Restaurant*® (meaning in Italian ‘meal ticket’), as common nouns.

In what follows we will deal with each of them in detail.

<sup>100</sup> For an in-depth analysis on internationalisms, *vide* Rodríguez Díaz (2011).

<sup>101</sup> The word *mister* is also used with this sense in Spanish.

- a) by joining two English free morphemes in order to form a compound that does not exist in English, *e. g. recordman* (*record* + *man*)

Furiassi (2003: 124) assigns the label “autonomous compounds” to the elements that result from this process. Referring to those employed in Italian (although this definition can be applied to any other language), he describes this type of pseudo-Anglicism as “a non-English compound formed with two elements that may be recorded in English dictionaries as separate entries but whose composite form is a truly Italian product, independent from any specific model and not to be found in English dictionaries”.

- b) by coining a new word based on an English free morpheme and an English suffix, *e. g. footing* (*foot* + *-ing*)

À propos of the example that illustrates this kind of false Anglicism, the productivity of the English suffix *-ing* in the creation of pseudo-Anglicisms must be underlined. For more on this issue, *vide* Navarro (2008), Balteiro Fernández (2014), and Mott (2015).

- c) by deleting the head of an English two-word compound, irrespective of the ellipsis rules of the English language, *e. g. basket* (from English *basketball*)<sup>102</sup>

This type of pseudo-Anglicism is called “compound ellipses” by Furiassi (2003), who, in page 124, defends (again focusing on Italian, but referring to a generalisable phenomenon) that “non-English compound ellipses draw their meanings from the entire English compounds, without paying attention to the fact that such compounds do not have the typical Romance structure with the head coming first followed by the modifying element. In Italian therefore, the right-hand element of a compound would normally be deleted”. This notion of “compound ellipses” is labelled as *truncated Anglicisms* by other authors. Rodríguez González (2013: 159) refers to “abreviaciones que técnica y propiamente son truncamientos (*voli, basket* o *basquet*) pero que en realidad se perciben como compuestos de dos palabras (*volleyball, basquetball*). De ahí la presencia en el habla de las dos formas, la elíptica pseudoanglicista, que no existe en inglés *con el mismo significado*, y las denominaciones completas” (my italics)<sup>103</sup>. Vélez Barreiro (2003: 43) considers the “anglicismos truncados” as a category outside pseudo-Anglicisms, and defines them as

el resultado de la importación incompleta de un término multiverbal anglosajón formado por dos sustantivos o por un sustantivo y un adjetivo (colocación). Por economía, se importa sólo una de las partes de los términos pluriverbales. Y como las estructuras del francés y del español, justamente al contrario que la inglesa, conceden más importancia siempre al primer elemento, se aplica este mismo criterio al término inglés. Como consecuencia se importa la parte del término menos significativa (el adjetivo) y se abandona en cambio la más importante (el sustantivo).

Alejo González (2002 [1993]) draws attention to the fact that those “non-adapted Anglicisms” ending in *-ing* he finds in his corpus “aparecen utilizados aisladamente (*e. g. ‘consulting’*) cuando en inglés suelen aparecer en compuestos (‘consulting company’)” (p. 227). Then, he indicates that Geneviève Mareschal considers this phenomenon as exclusively European and calls it “Anglicisme tronqué”. Finally, although adopting a slightly different perspective, Makri-Morel (2010: 213) also deals with “les troncations”.

- d) by clipping a genuine English word, *e. g. happy end* (from English *happy ending*)

This type of false Anglicism could be widened to become the category some authors have named “morphological changes”. This way, in addition to cases of clipping, this

<sup>102</sup> Campos Pardillos (2015) comprises this and the following type under the heading “abbreviations”.

<sup>103</sup> Rodríguez González (2013: 134-135) also includes *clippings* under the label “truncamientos”.

label would cover instances such as the one commented upon by Campos Pardillos (2015): “aerobic/aeróbic” instead of the original English form “Aerobics”. According to this author, “it appears that Spanish speakers have eliminated what they interpret as a plural form” (p. 167), since non-native speakers usually make the mistake of considering the *-s* in English nouns ending in *-ics* as a number morpheme.

- e) by reusing an English word with a new meaning that is not found in English, *e. g. mister* (meaning in Italian ‘coach’ or ‘trainer’)

This kind of pseudo-Anglicism is denominated in Furiassi (2003) with the term “semantic shift”. As this scholar asserts, they “recall the English model (*i. e.* the items have the same signifier) without actually referring to it (*i. e.* without having the same signified)” (p. 125). As Balteiro Fernández and Campos Pardillos (2012: 247) point out, words ending in *-ing* are also present within this group of pseudo-Anglicisms, as the item *lifting* (in English, *face lift*) exemplifies. This case appropriately illustrates the remark made by Furiassi (2003: 138): sometimes pseudo-Anglicisms do not fit perfectly into rigid categories (*vide supra*). As a matter of fact, words such as *lifting* or *footing* (*vide supra*, b), in addition to have been coined by adding an English suffix (the productive *-ing* ending) to an English free morpheme, they do exist in English, but their original meaning is different from the one assigned to them in the language in which they emerge as pseudo-Anglicisms.

- f) by employing English-looking proper names, *e. g. carter* (meaning in Italian ‘chain guard’ or ‘crank case’), place names, *e. g. new jersey* (meaning in Italian ‘median barrier’ or ‘traffic divider’), or trademarks, *e. g. ticket restaurant*, from genericized *Ticket Restaurant®* (meaning in Italian ‘meal ticket’), as common nouns.

These elements (among others) are dealt with in Furiassi (2003) and in Balteiro and Campos Pardillos (2012).

It should also be taken into account that some authors include hybrid formations (made up of two elements, being one of them English and the other one Spanish) as a type of false Anglicism.

Some pieces of research offer an insight into the use of pseudo-Anglicisms in specialised fields. Mayoral Asensio (1997), when delving into the study of Anglicisms in the vocabulary of sports, refers to “la reducción de los compuestos al adjetivo (*penalty, córner*)” (p. 212), although he does not classify this issue as an example of false Anglicism. Alejo González (2002 [1993]) highlights the presence of certain pseudo-Anglicisms in the areas of “*Empresa y Comercio*” (p. 227, original italics). Finally, Balteiro Fernández (2014) focuses on Spanish fashion terminology, whereas Balteiro Fernández and Campos Pardillos (2012) concentrate on the language of fashion and beauty.

A very interesting project dealing with the identification of false Anglicisms is explained in Furiassi and Hofland (2007). It consists of the building of a specialised corpus<sup>104</sup> of Italian<sup>105</sup> newspaper texts (collected from *La Stampa*, *La Repubblica*, and *Il Corriere della Sera*) and the development of “a computational technique to retrieve new false Anglicisms from it” (p. 347). Mirroring the computational system<sup>106</sup> employed in *The Norwegian Newspaper Corpus* (*vide*

<sup>104</sup> Quoting Bevitori (2002), Furiassi and Hofland (2007) recall that “[c]omputer corpora are extremely useful to study loanwords in general and more specifically false Anglicisms” (p. 348).

<sup>105</sup> Italian has been one of the most studied languages in terms of the use of pseudo-Anglicisms. In fact, it even counts on a dictionary of these items (the *Dictionary of False Anglicisms*, included in the book entitled *False Anglicisms in Italian* –Furiassi (2010)–). For more on this dictionary-making process, *vide* Furiassi (2006).

<sup>106</sup> *Vide* Hofland (2000) for further explanations on the technical details involved in this system.

*supra*), the corpus was daily updated (along a ten-month span: August 2003 – May 2004)<sup>107</sup> and a word list was obtained, which was refined by computer tools and techniques in order to generate a list of false Anglicisms candidates. Once this process was finished, manual scanning was needed to check the use of each of the 8,347 possible pseudo-Anglicisms found, with the purpose of isolating new pseudo-Anglicisms employed in Italian. As it is the case in searching true Anglicisms in a corpus, “the most common collocations for each false Anglicism help discriminate between alternative senses by highlighting the typical contexts of occurrence in which false Anglicisms tend to appear” (Furiassi and Hofland, 2007: 348). To conclude, the authors acknowledge that the approach presented in this article has proved to be suitable only for those cases of autonomous compounds written as single words.

We will close this section with a remark on the interesting nature of pseudo-Anglicisms, which makes their analysis an appealing object of study:

if the word was genuinely English, we might understand that its usage may be due to immediacy, careless translation, frequent exposure to English, etc. Nevertheless, the false Anglicism does not triumph because of translation or foreign exposure, since often there is no “authentic” English source from which the recipient language has copied its material. The reasons for the use of false Anglicisms are purely the attractiveness and prestige of the English language, due to its connotations of power, fashion, technology, etc., which make speakers “imitate” English models through autonomous creations, modification of existing English material, or the adoption of English-like lexis coming from other languages. For instance, in the case of sports, it could be said that, if Spanish sports commentators use *voleibol* instead of *balonvolea*, it may be due not to the prestige of English, but to the pressure of the use of *volleyball* by international federations and the media. However, if Spanish uses a word like *recordman* or *recordwoman*, this usage cannot be attributed to the influence of English terminology, since the original item is *record holder* (Campos Pardillos, 2015: 162).

#### 14. PREVIOUS REVIEWS OF THE LITERATURE

As a closing section to this paper, we would like to mention a series of articles that presents a *status quaestionis* on the area of Anglicisms up to the moment in which each of them was written. In chronological order, Teschner (1974), Gómez Capuz (1996), Rodríguez Medina (2000), and García Morales (2009b) provide us with useful reviews of the pieces of research that have delved into the phenomenon of Anglicisms in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup>.

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<sup>107</sup> Finally, the *HF Corpus* (it was named after the initials of its compilers’ surnames) consisted of “about 20 million tokens and approximately 230,000 types” (Furiassi and Hofland, 2007: 347).

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