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Functions of anglicisms in contemporary Spanish

COMPTES RENDUS ET CHRONIQUE
FUNCTIONS OF ANGLICISMS IN CONTEMPORARY SPANISH

Cet article a pour objet l'étude des causes et des fonctions des anglicismes en espagnol (européen) contemporain. À cette fin, l'auteur passe en revue les approches traditionnelles structurelles dont les études lexicologiques se sont largement inspirées et aborde également les approches d'autres disciplines telles que la linguistique textuelle et la sociolinguistique. Le cadre terminologique de ce travail est emprunté principalement à la méthodologie fonctionnelle de M.A.K. HALLIDAY, telle qu'elle a été appliquée par J. RAKUSAN dans son étude sur le tchèque américain.

Les données à la base de cette étude proviennent de sources lexicographiques et surtout de journaux espagnols de référence tels que El País et El Mundo.

Introduction

The study of contact and mutual influences between languages has a long tradition in linguistics and constitutes a meeting point for researchers working in many different fields: lexicography, anthropology, sociolinguistics, education, and also language history. From a historical perspective, language is the legacy in which the history of foreign people is reflected. In the case of Spanish, on both sides of the Atlantic, in the last two centuries, and most particularly in the last two decades, there has been a tremendous influx of borrowings from English, as a result of the clear influence exerted by English-speaking countries, notably Britain and the United States. The elements borrowed occur on the phonological, syntactic and lexical levels, the borrowing of vocabulary items being by far the most common.

The importance of this influence is best reflected in the large bibliography on anglicisms. A good indication is a Ph.D. dissertation, by TESCHNER (1972), which

Cah. Lexicol. 68, 1996-1, p. 107-128
contains an annotated bibliography of all publications on the subject to that time, a
great part of which refers to South American Spanish. In Spain, the study of
anglicisms has given rise to a few extensive monographs (MARCOS, 1971;
FERNÁNDEZ GARCÍA, 1973; RUBIO, 1977; PRATT, 1980; LORENZO, forthcoming), among which figure several recent Ph.D. dissertations and Master's
theses on Spanish (GUZMÁN, 1984; GIL, 1986; CASTAÑÓN, 1987; GÓMEZ DE
ENTERRÍA, 1991; GÓMEZ, 1991; ALCARAZ, 1995) and Catalan (RECASENS, 1982;
PUJOL, 1993). On the whole, much of the research done on the subject is
lexicographic in outlook, as it is concerned with the cumulative recording of loans
in our language, but the general treatment of them is fairly incomplete and
methodologically insufficient. True, there has been great concern with tangible
aspects such as typology and morphology as well as etymological and cultural
aspects related to the adoption of anglicisms (as shown, in particular, by the studies
of PRATT and LORENZO), but significant issues like motivation and functions as
well as the problem of variation have been generally overlooked\(^1\). The aim of this
paper will be, precisely, the examination of the first of these issues.

In examining the motives and functions of anglicisms in contemporary
Peninsular Spanish I have reviewed not only lexicological studies but also
approaches from modern disciplines like text-linguistics and sociolinguistics. The
data for this study has been drawn from various sources: glossaries and dictionaries,
and especially from dailies and weeklies that provide general information, above all
quality newspapers of the type of \textit{El País} and \textit{El Mundo}. Some of these data are
utilized in the \textit{Nuevo diccionario de anglicismos} on which I am currently working,
with Antonio LILLO.

A large proportion of these words are simply media inventions and remain
media items, with occasional extension into trendy novels and the like, i.e. they
have no guarantee of durability and little chance of entering spoken language (other
than the journalese spoken by radio and TV) except as jokes. Notwithstanding this
fact, the influence of English is so pervasive that one can also notice a significant
and growing number of anglicisms being incorporated into general language.

Without losing sight of the different degrees of integration of Spanish
borrowings, given the nature of this article, I have avoided as much as possible the
controversial distinction between "foreign word" (also known as "alienism", "alien
word", "foreignism") and "loanword", thus including items belonging to the two
types for what they have in common, especially in their functional aspects.

\(^1\) With regard to phonological variation, LORENZO (1994) has published an interesting
study of the adaptation of English diphthongs to Spanish.
1. Functional properties of anglicisms

Examinations of the reasons for borrowing rarely include stylistic considerations. Notable exceptions are, however, some monographs on anglicisms in German (GALINSKY, 1962, 1963; Good, 1975; YANG, 1990: 118-135) and American Czech (RAKUSAN, 1985, 1988). In his studies on anglicisms in Spanish, PRATT (1980, 1986) briefly refers to this when considering the extralinguistic as well as linguistic causes of borrowings, a double scheme inspired by the theoretical work of HOPE (1971) and GODDARD (1980) and also implied in WEINREICH (1953).

Most studies on this subject have focused on the extralinguistic causes (prestige, cultural snobbery, etc.) or on the linguistic causes of the type called "extrinsic" by PRATT (i.e. the so-called "necessary" borrowings, prompted by the appearance of new objects or concepts), which are inevitable in a situation of language contact. But they have rarely examined in depth the internal or "intrinsic" causes which may be relevant from a stylistic viewpoint. In studying the functional properties of Spanish anglicisms in this article I will make special reference to them.

In addition to the scheme mentioned above and the taxonomy of GALINSKY (1962), for the terminological framework of this discussion I will mainly follow the functional methodology of HALLIDAY, as it is applied by RAKUSAN (1988), complementing it with other distinctions.

According to HALLIDAY (1978), there are three main functional components in the semantic system of a language: "ideational", "interpersonal" and "textual". Although in his view all functions should be given equal status in the linguistic system of the language (p. 50), for the purposes of this enquiry, I have found the second, and particularly the third, more interesting. There is no doubt that, as LEECH (1983: 58) argues, these two components are more pragmatic in conception. For this reason I will pay more attention to borrowings implementing such functions.

1.1. Ideational

The core of this function, also known as "referential" (JAKOBSON, HYMENES),

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2 Cf. also GUZMÁN (1986) for the anglicisms of the cinematographic field.
3 I have also been inspired by Good's (1975) valuable criticism of it.
4 Following a similar approach, I have also examined the functional properties of the converse phenomenon, i.e., of Spanish borrowings in the English language, in another essay (RODRIGUEZ, 1996).
5 HALLIDAY divides the ideational function into the "experiential" and the "logical" function, the former being the only one which is considered here. Other equivalent labels for this function are "representative" (BÜHLER), "transactional" (BROWN and
is reality outside language; it is «language as the expression of the processes and other phenomena of the external world, including the world of the speaker's own consciousness, the world of thoughts, feelings, and so on» (HALLIDAY, 1978: 48), or, in RAKUSAN's words, «a speaker's potential for expressing a content in terms of his/her experience and that of the speech community». In a purely grammatical sense, this function is the most important of the three since «it is basic to more or less all uses of language» (HALLIDAY, 1973: 38-9; cf. also LEECH, 1983: 57; RAKUSAN, 1988: 103).

The borrowings which best reflect this function are those integrated into the language at an early stage. When the people of one nation enter into contact with those of another, through invasion, conquest or simple cultural interchange, they soon find a series of phenomena or concepts not expressed in their language. Confronted with such deficiencies they are obliged to supply some terms and the most expeditious and efficient way is to merely borrow the extant words. Such borrowings fill an "ecological hole" (HOPE, PRATT) of the language, in the sense that there is no alternative expression when they first appear. Since many of those borrowings designate objects, the speaker tends to establish a strong bond between the name and its referent, often thinking that the foreign term is the real name, as if it were a trade-name (cf. BOOKLESS, 1982: 173).

Taking the semantic or referential content as a differentiating criterion to analyse English borrowings in Spanish, BOOKLESS (1982: 171), distinguishes two types: a) "unique loans", those lacking an alternative word or established longer expression in the host language which can replace them without altering the meaning of the utterance; and b) "synonymic loans", those for which there already exists a word and whose use will not change the referential meaning of the message, although the connotations may be different. Other labels that could be used to mark this distinction of semantic values are "denotative" or "referential", and "connotative", "expressive" or "stylistic".6

If we apply these categories to the English borrowings which occur in Spanish nowadays, to the first type would belong a great number of terms belonging to specialized fields (sports, fashion, technology, etc.). Take for instance caddie in golf, reality-show in show-business, dumping in economic jargon, to give just a few examples. Their translation into Spanish would require lengthy and complex paraphrases which are generally included in the text as accompanying explanations when the new terms first occur, but which turn out to be inadequate for co-referential purposes.

6 In his study of yiddishisms in American English, ORNSTEIN-GALICIA (1983) uses the term "affective" to allude to the second type of borrowings.
A small but significant number of anglicisms that occur in the press correspond to concepts which are peculiar or idiosyncratic of Anglosaxon culture: e.g. lord, lady, miss, speaker, etc. In many cases, as porridge or cricket would illustrate, they do not have nor can they be given a cultural equivalent translation, they are culture-specific terms which are sometimes called "foreignisms" in the literature.

Some concepts, however, are sometimes assimilated into Spanish culture and become part of everyday language, at the same time losing their previous idiosyncratic condition (CABRÉ, 1993: 184). Let us take for instance bacon and sandwich, two typical English culinary terms which have now been integrated into our common food habits. Bacon designates the salted or smoked meat from the back or sides of a pig, and therefore it is something similar to but slightly different from Sp. panceta or tocino, its near synonyms. As for sandwich, one might think that Sp. bocadillo is a perfect equivalent, but this equivalence is inexact. Strictly speaking, a bocadillo is a large sandwich referring rather to a piece of bread loaf or roll with embutido (chorizo and other type of sausages, ham), hard cheese or fish (anchovies, sardines), whereas a sandwich is two slices of bread with meat and other ingredients, some of which —like tomato, onions, chicken, etc.— are not characteristic of our food customs. For this concept Spanish created the term emparedado, which is the translation given by the Collins dictionary, for example. But the anglicism sandwich expresses the new (culinary) reality more unequivocally than does emparedado, which might bring about inappropriate associations (lit. 'walled in') and, besides, is rarely used. And according to WEINREICH (1953: 57): «relatively infrequent words of the vocabulary are [...] less stable, more subject to oblivion and replacement».

1.2. Interpersonal or expressive

In HALLIDAY's view of language, the "interpersonal" function is concerned with the use of linguistic units or structures that mark personal or social relations. This type of function is usually fulfilled by words and expressions that are stylistically marked and have an emotive connotation. Borrowings, especially when they have not been fully integrated or are not recognized as such, by virtue of their "foreign" nature are apt to develop an "expressive" meaning, i.e. a meaning that expresses feelings or attitudes on the part of the speaker: irony, contempt, snobbery or affectation (prestige), etc. Some clear instances of "expressiveness" are evaluative expressions such as gay for 'homosexual', in the sexual slang, and líder for 'jefe, guía', in the political field.

7 The term is BÖHLER's and is equivalent to HYMES's use of "socio-expressive" and "stylistic".
On account of the interchangeability of these anglicisms with their native counterparts, one could probably speak of "synonymic" or "stylistic" borrowings, following BOOKLESS's terminology, since they are not apparently so necessary. Some scholars go as far as to establish a division between "necessary" and "unnecessary" loans, but such a distinction is objectionable. In the first place, the stylistic functions of the so-called "unnecessary" loans are more complex than one would be tempted to think at first sight, as will become clear in the next section. And second, both categories are not watertight compartments since sometimes they are easily breached. In point of fact, connotations and stylistical markings of borrowings at times lead to specialized meanings, giving rise to a distribution of usages between the native and the foreign term. This is a diachronic process worthy of attention. As the cited examples clearly show, the English term is chosen because of a special connotation, usually positive.

The first example, gay, has been added to a series of appellatives to refer to the concept of homosexual. In Spanish the term invertido (sexual), which was directly translated from English (sexually) inverted and put into circulation in the 19th century within the scientific world, and also the traditional slangy term marica, turned out to be clearly pejorative. In such circumstances, homosexual eventually became the most adequate term, in Spain as well as in other countries, for the scientific and general language because of the asepsis and neutrality of its connotation and its descriptive character, in addition to the analogical force played by likewise unequivocal expressions like heterosexual, bisexual, etc. However, not even this term made homosexuals happy until in the seventies they found the term gay (pronounced [gei]), which in E. means 'happy' and carries positive and agreeable connotations (cf. PRATT, 1980: 157).

The second term, líder, bears an equally positive connotation. As I have mentioned elsewhere (RODRIGUEZ, 1991: 254; 1996: 68), in the political field the concept of 'leader', frequently leads to borrowings with negative nuances. Terms such as Italian Duce, German Führer, Rumanian Conducator (or Spanish Caudillo, in the case of English) have all taken on negative implications, by antonomasy, after having been used as the titles and nicknames of well-known figures of contemporary history. The general term jefe in Spanish, as it is used sometimes in English as an hispanicism, frequently had the pejorative connotations ('boss') associated with the autocratic rule ('bossism') of political mandatories. Thus líder provided a different nuance and, as a result, it was soon appropriated by political discourse, especially among the left; later the term would be used regardless of the ideology of the person involved, and extended to the general language.

Curiously enough, sometimes an anglicism may have a varying connotation, positive or negative, depending on the context. Thus boss, which also means
'patron, chief' (= Sp. 'jefe, amo'), gives prominence to this negative connotation when used in criminal slang (particularly in the drug business) with the meaning of 'capo'.

«Pero Giuliano no es ya un simple soldado de la Mafia. A los 17 años era el boss de todo un barrio de Messina.» (Pais Semanal, 14/2/1993, 31).
«Rifna le explicó que un hombre que abandona su mujer por su amante jamás podrá ser jefe de un clan y ahí comenzó el calvario para el "boss".» (El Mundo, 25/1/1993, 23).
«Nada de esto es imaginable al ver la apagada imagen y el aséptico discurso del incurablemente grisáceo Serra, siniestro especialista en esa cosita tan sucia de los dossiers y boss supremo del patético CESID.» (La Revista de El Mundo, 5/11/1995, 81).

Occasionally, however, the meaning is positive as when used in reference to the American rock singer Bruce SPRINGSTEEN, who is known by this nickname, or the Spanish actor Antonio BANDERAS.

«El rockero de New Jersey, más conocido como The Boss, da una serie de conciertos por España.» (Supertime, 1/5/1993, 6).
«Banderas ha abierto desde luego un camino que nos puede ayudar a los demás. Él es el "boss" y, desde luego, Hollywood está entre sus metas.» (Mundo Magazine, 13-14/2/1993, 38).

Similarly, the term business has a positive or neutral connotation in the air-travel jargon expression business class and the colloquial phrase business is business. By contrast, the negative sense is prominent in the slang of the underworld (e.g. drugs, prostitution) where it means 'illegal business'; thus in the drug users' slang it is used to refer to the trade, as a synonym of Sp. trapicheo, and in prostitution lingo it is attested as a synonym of alterne (VILLARÍN, 1980).

The positive / negative and varying associations behind the anglicisms so far examined in this section have to do with sociolect. In certain cases, like in crime and prostitution, the term may be negative because of the referent involved, but its foreign character helps soften or hide the crudity of the concept, thereby fulfilling a euphemistic and / or cryptic function. Thus, in the slang of Spanish drug users, terms like join (< E joint), esno (< E snow), horse, firquality (< E first quality drug) are often used as a cryptic code, i.e. with the intention of disguising the message (cf. RODRÍGUEZ, 1994). Likewise, in the prostitution and sex business, terms like sixynine, sexiboy, (masaje) body-body, gayline, spanking, bondage, fistfucking, etc., appear in the Spanish press, within the "contact ads" with similar purposes.
Outside these restricted and stigmatized fields of use, the "prestigious" connotation of English borrowings stands out most clearly in general as well as in specialized language (computer science, publicity, etc.). The omnipresent prestige motive is closely associated above all with the the hegemony of the United States in many fields (technological, economic, cultural, etc.) and the aura of the "American way of life".

The linguistic and ideological effects of this influence are so overwhelming that at times they trigger strong reactions from political or educational institutions and language-conscious individuals. Well-known are the attempts to resist anglicization by French official authorities. In Spain, in the past, we have also had isolated and futile attempts to replace some foreign terms, in cases like balompié for fútbol (from English football), jeriñac (a blending of Jerez and French cognac) for cognac, or more recently soporte lógico (or soporte informático) and soporte físico for the English terms software and hardware.

Such reactions are of little or no avail, because language is in a constant flux, growing or shrinking, in pace with the times, and planned directives and instructions are not great obstacles. In our times English is the "lingua franca" par excellence and that confers a prestige and a positive connotation to its borrowings that leads to substitute terms that were firmly established in daily use. The change of baloncesto and balonvolea to basketball and voleibol which is currently taking place in Spanish, spearheaded by the young, illustrate this point well.

The converse phenomenon, i.e., an already established English term being replaced by a Spanish term is rare, but there are a few cases in which the Spanish term is preferred to achieve a more literary or rhetorical effect. Thus marketing is the standard Spanish term in that field but there are texts in which mercadotecnia is preferred. Interesting in this regard is the choice of this word in a newspaper article written in the ABC journal on the occasion of the engagement of the Spanish princess Elena de BORBÓN and the aristocrat Jaime de MARÍCALAR, as indicated by SMITH (1995: 83), or in another one published in El País Semanal (21/5/1995, 8) in which the journalist Rosa MONTERO writes: «No sé a qué genio de la mercadotecnia se le habrá ocurrido tan explosiva idea».

This purist and chauvinist attitude on the part of some individuals at times has "ideological" and even anti-North American overtones. In this connection, it will be interesting, because of their psycholinguistic implications, to notice certain individual or ideolectal uses of native equivalents for already established expressions. Thus the often-mentioned phrase "American way of life" quoted above contrasts with the Spanish translation used by a journalist of the once critical Madrid newspaper El Independiente for the headline «Estados Unidos celebra "el modo de vida americano"»8. Given the left-wing, critical leanings of this newspaper and the

cultural background of its readers, one can postulate that the use of Spanish in this particular case may be considered fully intentional as a mark of irony and stylistic radicalism.

Similarly, an anglicism may be used to convey the same connotations. In an article published also in *El Independiente*, the former communist and radical economist R. TAMAMES, using clearly anti-American rhetoric casts an ironic colour on the English forms *Spain* and *USA*, in contrast with the rest of the article in which he systematically employs the Spanish abbreviation *EE.UU.*:

«Ahora, análogamente, en un escenario de longitud más mediocre, y también con un cierto velo de legalidad internacional, se ha propiciado la intervención de 29 países — entre ellos *Spain, USA* — sin ni siquiera haber experimentado las posibilidades últimas del embargo [...]» (Ramón TAMAMES, «¿Consummatum est?», *Independiente*, 28/2/1991, 17).

The use of anglicisms with an ironic intention sometimes becomes a feature of certain writers and journalists. Thus, the writer Francisco UMBRAL, although he advocates the feasibility of using a Spanish equivalent for any term of English origin (cf. below), at times resorts to various anglicisms in keeping with the typical ironic tinge of his newspaper columns:

«Un premier, que encima es un señorito sevillí, no puede seguir en el naipe canalla de los buñones chepuditos con acento tafallero, de los sisleros de la calle las Sierpes, de los *brokers* sentimentales que lavan su dinero por las noches y luego dicen a la *press* que el frotar se va a acabar [...]» («Felipe, dimisión», *El Mundo*, 2/5/1994, 60).

«No en el piano de Sam ni en el piano de Rick, en este caso, sino en el piano de Serra, que no es precisamente un Bogart, sino más bien un Woody Allen carnoso que, fenicio como el otro, va de loquitonto por la *life*, pero se insinúa que tenía su trama [...]» (F. UMBRAL, «Serra», *El Mundo*, 14/5/1994, 72).

«Aquí no se montó una democracia socialista y cuatrocaminera, sino un *gang* de intereses y *money* que va del horterón Juan Guerra al horteraza Luis Roldán, pasando por todo el mangue exquisito de la *biuti*.» («La orgía», *El Mundo*, 12/5/1994, 72).

Although snobbery is often mixed with other motives, like humor, there are

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9 For clarity's sake and easy reference, I have used bold-face type for the words and expressions which stand for anglicisms or their equivalents and do not appear italicized or emphasized in the text.
times in which one is perplexed at finding in the media words such as wonderful\textsuperscript{10} and yellow\textsuperscript{11}, pertaining to the most basic vocabulary of the language, which are apt to be regarded as the product of a puerile trendiness or sheer unthinking idiocy. On account of this and the "nonce" or "recurrent nonce" condition of their usage, such borrowings should not be worthy of recording by the lexicographer.

1.3. Textual

This function, which is not found in other descriptions of language, is «the function that language has of creating text, of relating itself to the context —to the situation and the preceding text» (HALLIDAY, 1978: 48). The textual component includes borrowed expressions that have a purely textual function together with borrowings that have ideational and interpersonal meanings. By including borrowings in his text, the author seems to be motivated by several tendencies which aim to obtain a high degree of information, clarity and precision in his expression (cf. RAKUSAN, 1988: 105).

1.3.1. In the first place, there is a tendency towards "SIMPLIFICATION": the borrowed element is frequently a short term which the speaker and, above all, the writer is inclined to adopt as he is prompted by a tendency towards economy of expression and the law of least effort. Very often English mono- and bilexematic descriptions are to be preferred to the equivalent native periphrases, especially when there are abundant references to such concepts within the text. Consider the contrast between E thriller / Sp. película de suspense, duty free / Sp. (establecimiento) libre de impuestos, E best seller / Sp. libro con gran éxito de ventas, E zapping / Sp. cambio de canal (televisivo), E. leasing / Sp. alquiler con opción a compra. In keeping with the structure of the English language, many terms are monosyllables; e.g.: bluff, box, gag, gay, in. off, pin, punk, set, stand, trip, etc. English monosyllables stand out as anglicisms because of the difficulty of pronouncing them in many cases (un-Spanish final consonants) and because of the problem of their plurals (-s and Ø allomorphs versus -es, which is the standard pattern in Spanish).

1.3.2. Economy of expression is not the only purpose that provokes the use of an anglicism. Often the employment of a new and shorter term also aims at "precision" and "clarity", if there is not an unequivocal Spanish equivalent. Consider for

\textsuperscript{10} «Como presidente electo, Bill CLINTON es una auténtica joya. Sabe combinar a la perfección la sonrisa y la lágrima, el negocio y el ocio. Así pasó cuatro días \textit{wonderfules} en Santa Bárbara, California». («Mister Muscle», Tribuna, 14/12/1993, 44)

\textsuperscript{11} «Los británicos, que no lograron ir de amarillo en Inglaterra, han colocado a Yates otra vez con el jersey "yellow" en la Francia que ayudaron a liberar hace 50 años. En toda la vida del Tour sólo Tom Simpson había logrado ser líder». (\textit{El Mundo}, 9/7/1994, 59)
example the above-mentioned examples box and stand. Box is attested in many specialized fields of Spanish (horse and car races, hospital, etc.) with the meaning of a compartment partitioned off, which derives from the basic meaning of box as a 'case or container usually made of wood or metal'. Thus, in hospital jargon box refers to the separate and often movable compartment made specifically for the treatment of the sick, as the one used in pediatrics and intensive care. It is not simply a 'room', una sala, although that would be its near-synonym. Likewise, a stand is used in Spanish as 'area or structure for the exhibition or selling of goods, etc.', and as such the translation equivalents that we can find would rise some objections. Caseta ('hut', 'kennel, doghouse') and barraca ('booth', 'stall', 'barracks', 'builder's yard') would be discarded because of their low-class connotation, in addition to the polysemic clash they might cause, a condition which would also be found in puesto ('stall', 'kiosk', 'post').

The wish to avoid a "polysemic clash" thereby making a message clearer may also, on occasion, prompt a writer to adopt an anglicism of a very different kind, namely, a Latin-origin polysyllabic term which is a cognate or paronym of the equivalent form one would expect to use in Spanish. Consider the following examples:

«Domingo por la tarde en cualquiera de las locations especialmente habilitadas en los bordes de las ciudades blancas, grandes o pequeñas, que necesitan trabajadores para sus fábricas.» (País Semanal, 27/3/1988, 48).

«Hoy tiene que controlar el traslado de los seguidores del CNA de Kwa Mashu que asistirán a la marcha pro elecciones prevista en Durban. Madalani permanece atento en la colina, desde donde se divisan los "hostels" (unos habitáculos inmundos donde residen trabajadores zulúes afectos a Inkatha).» (El Mundo, 26/3/1994, 64).

In both cases, polysemy occurs in the English terms because of the distinctive meaning they acquire in euphemistically naming two negative concepts of South African political reality. However, when used in Spanish, the English term is thought to be more adequate to express the unmarked or more atypical meaning rather than Spanish localidad and hostal.

These two English expressions appear to to be ideolectal, at least in the usage of the Spanish writer, even if they are borrowed from a foreign model. But they may reach a higher occurrence and a sociolectal use, as illustrated by the term controller. In the jargon of commerce the term is used to refer to 'a person who controls expenditure or accounts', and is translated as inspector de cuentas o finanzas. Now, in using the anglicism Spanish publicity intentionally avoids the polysemy and even the negative associations that its cognate controlador might evoke.
On occasion, the presence of the English term in a particular context may be felt completely necessary if a harmful ambiguity is otherwise bound to follow. Thus in the sentence «Sólo veo al star-autor hablando consigo mismo» (El Mundo, 16/4/94, Cinelandia 5), as used by Pilar MIRÓ in referring to Woody ALLEN, the two terms stand in apposition. Had she used instead the Spanish words *autor estrella, the meaning would have been clearly different, for estrella would have adopted a modifying function (with the meaning of 'main, principal', similar to Spanish phrases el tema estrella, el candidato estrella (cf. also la empresa líder, etc.).

1.3.3. The tendency to clarity may lead to the use of only the Spanish term. This procedure is known as "semantic borrowing" and the "calque" is one of its most typical classes. Examples of calques in Spanish are numerous and are frequently used in some specialized fields, such as football or soccer (guardameta < goal-keeper, fuera de juego < off-side, saque de esquina < corner-kick, falta < foul, área de castigo < penalty area); drug users' language (galería de tiro o galería de chute < shooting gallery, viaje < trip, nieve < snow), etc. In many of these cases variation occurs (Sp. falta and E. foul, etc.).

As I have explained elsewhere (RODRÍGUEZ, 1994), the use of these two main word-formational devices in technical nomenclature ("anglicism" or "calque") has to do with various linguistic and sociolinguistic conditioning factors which ultimately derive from the transparency of terminology and the need to decode the message (cf. RODRÍGUEZ, 1994, on this issue).

1.3.4. As noted above, in most cases the anglicism is to be preferred for economic reasons. "CLARITY" OF EXPRESSION, however, quite often also leads to "redundance" in the text. One manifestation of this tendency is the use of the native word beside its foreign equivalent ("translation couplet"), a convention which is often adopted when the concept is first mentioned, especially if it is not well-known. The separation between the two terms is usually effected with the aid of a parenthesis, but also through the conjunction "or".

A more stylistic use of this combination of synonyms is achieved through the "collocation" of the two terms, native and foreign. This may be done by simple accumulation, in juxtaposition, with the aid of a comma or a hyphen, and by forming tautological phrases through the conjunction and:

«Esa primicia, ese scoop, no puede perderse.» (Pilar URBANO, in El Mundo, 8/10/1993, 7).

«Luego, sin nadie que apriete por detrás a dos pilotos que se lo van a jugar sólo entre ellos, el raid-carrera se convierte en una carrera de persecución-seguimiento sin apenas opción de que cambien mucho las cosas.» (Mot, 18/1/1994, 3).

«Pero aún no sabía entonces Suárez todo lo que sabría apenas un año

«Tal como señaló el concejal de Deportes, Enrique Labrador, la búsqueda de *patrocinadores* y "sponsors" supone una fórmula efectiva [...]» («Deportes buscará "sponsors" ante el recorte previsto en su presupuesto», *Información* [Alicante], 7/11/1992, 23).

«La lucha contra el terrorismo exige una dedicación exclusiva y *full time* del titular de Interior.» (El Mundo, 23/12/1995, 3).

Or more strikingly, without any linking element or sign of punctuation, as in *teenagers / quinceañeros, happy / feliz:*

«El fenómeno se encuentra cada vez más en el objetivo de los analistas de *marketing*. Cerca de dos entre cada tres *teenagers quinceañeros* visitan el supermercado una o dos veces a la semana [...]» (El País, 19/6/1994, Domingo/14).

«A mí me hubiera gustado cerrar el capítulo con el *happy end feliz* de mi fiesta alejándome lentamente al amanecer recubierto de cierta neblina con una cálida voz acercándose a mi cuerpo y murmurando confusamente, suavemente a mi oído... passa pibe, recóstate junto a mí, no más, ché.» (Ubaldo de CASANOVA TODOLI, *Passa pibe*, Publ. de la Caja de Ahorros de Alicante y Murcia, Alicante 1983, p. 43-44).

In one instance, the two synonyms have been lexicalized as in the slangy idiomatic phrase "ser algo *demasiado tu mach*" ('to be excessive'), which has some variations (cf. *too-macht* [sic] de *demasié*):

«Y porque no tenía a mano la cuerda floja donde prenderme en una acrobacia arrogante y varonil, que me limité a mis números de a pie de *demasié de too-macht* de divergentes y, pero... ejem, bueno, que más bien parece que me he perdido en el relato [...]» (Ubaldo de CASANOVA TODOLI, *Passa pibe*, p. 38).

«Reconozco que fue una puñalada trapera que no merecía ser espetada contra mi personalidad, pero ya se sabe quel palo que produce tanto canapé y champanes te inserta un sarao al cuerpo que cuando mola es *too-macht de demasié.*» (ibid., p. 44).

In all these cases the function of such collocations is to make one's meaning clearer and more emphatic, as happens with synonyms in general (cf. E. *lord and master, last will and testament*, or Sp. *de modo y manera que*, etc.). These synonymic pairs within one language can also be anglicisms as the following text shows:
"El nuevo estereotipo de belleza está ligado al llamado dirty look or grunge, una moda que [...]" (El País, 4/4/1993, La cultura 27).

The emphasizing function is more evident when the term is given prominence through the pairing of two contraries as in the following quotations:

«Es decir, hay que pasar del "welfare" al "workfare", procurando especialmente el desarrollo de las asociaciones de inserción social, las empresas intermediarias y los contratos de trabajo solidarios.» (Laurent Fabius, in El Mundo, 20/2/1993).

«O'Donnell hablaba excepcionalmente on the record, es decir que podían publicarse sus afirmaciones, cuando en general se dirige a los periodistas off the record, lo que significa que sus comentarios son confidenciales y no pueden ser publicados.» (Información, 31/1/1993).

In the two cases the writer plays with an antonymic relation by resorting to an ad hoc or idiosyncratic English expression (workfare, on the record). This "ad hoc" creation achieves a more permanent status in Baby blue, as used in the economic press in parodying the well-known nickname of IBM, the Big Blue o 'Gigante azul':

«Después de que IBM perdiera 4.965 millones de dólares (unos 570.000 millones de pesetas) en 1992, el ya llamado Baby Blue se ha dado un plazo de noventa días para sustituir a su primer ejecutivo, John Akers, mientras se reduce el dividendo trimestral.» (Expansión, 27/1/1993, 10).

1.3.5. A fairly frequent pattern in the use of anglicisms is its combination with a Spanish equivalent at intervals and in alternation so as to achieve "VARIATION OF EXPRESSION". This variation is used as a co-referential device aimed at providing the text with elegance and greater cohesiveness. There are numerous examples of this kind:

«20.000 gays y lesbianas españoles piden la baja como creyentes en la iglesia Católica. (headline) La campaña de apostasía ha comenzado a dar sus frutos al llegar a 20.000 las peticiones de homosexuales y lesbianas [...] En estos momentos, los colectivos gais tan sólo han conseguido entrevistarse con el subdirector de Asuntos Religiosos, Fernando García Bañón, quien se ha comprometido formalmente a trasladar la preocupación de la comunidad homosexual al Gobierno [...]» (El Mundo, 2/5/1994, 48).

«El Ayuntamiento de Alicante promete ayuda si hay espónsor.
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[headline] ...La colaboración que, de forma económica, puede ofrecer el municipio llegará, en todo caso la próxima temporada, siempre y cuando se encuentre un patrocinador que siga esponsorizando al primer equipo [...]» (Información, 18/5/1992, 41).

«A partir de ahí, el afortunado público que el viernes pudo asistir al estreno de la última película de Woody Allen, se convirtió en "voyeur". Porque el decimotercer film de Allen parece una autobiografía.» (Mundo, 20/9/1992, 53).

«La agencia de calificación Moody's hizo público ayer un comunicado en el que señala que tiene en revisión a la baja la calificación AA2 para las emisiones en divisas del Reino de España. [...] recientemente Standard and Poor's había comunicado que mantenía el rating a España y Japan Bond le había otorgado su segunda mejor calificación, AA+.» (Diario 16, 1/10/1992, 51).

«[...] que acaba de fichar a la top española Judit Mascó. «No conozco a ninguna top model que no sea inteligente y fuerte física y moralmente...» «La inseguridad es la auténtica enfermedad de las modelos», declaró recientemente Cindy Crawford [...]» (País Semanal, 15/3/1992, 36).

«El duelo Cipollini-Baffi, dos de los mejores "sprinters" del mundo, se frustró nada más nacer, privándonos de la posibilidad del deleite de las llegadas puras. El catálogo de velocistas era notable, pero los abandonos, por circunstancias diversas y anómalas, de los dos italianos dejó a Jalabert, el tercero en feroz discordia, como amo del cotarro.» (El Mundo, 18/5/1994, 11).


This last example is interesting in so far as the native phrase and the loanword, while being interchangeable, have a hyponymic relation since the former is included in the latter. It is a "paraphrase", and therefore a more stylistically useful technique since the recurrence of content by using different forms adds more informativity to the text (cf. BEAUGRANDE and DRESSLER, 1981: 57). The conveying of more "specific description" to the referent represented by the anglicism may be done in progression by using parallel clauses, as illustrated in this passage:

«Todo ha quedado atrás. Ahora los reality-shows, el tráfico de sentimientos, la destrucción inmotivada de la intimidad, el llenar el salón (por sólo deleite insano, sin preguntas, sin cultura) de sangre, semen — presunto — y lodo, ha dejado en ramos de pálidas violetas a concursos chatos y telenovelas lacrimógenas...» (L.A. de VILLENA, in El Mundo, 19/3/1993, 2).
Occasionally we may find two English terms in alternation within a Spanish text. Thus in the following passage, the name of the multinational IBM co-occurs with its familiar nickname big blue mentioned above:

«La entrada de IBM en Ibermatica puede colmar las aspiraciones de ambas. La operación es coherente con la nueva y agresiva estrategia de alianzas de la multinacional americana, y además reforzaría su posición en el mercado español de servicios informáticos, uno de los objetivos estratégicos de la big blue ante la caída de las ventas y los márgenes en el mercado de equipos.» (Expansión, 28/12/1992, 7).

In the following the alternation between Spanish and English equivalents, in literal and figurative senses, is evident:

«[..] el plato fuerte del programa, al margen de la serie B de relleno, lo constituía el sonado reestreno de alguna película famosa [...] Y había ocasiones gloriosas, si ya la habíamos visto antes, en que la reposición podía llegar a ser una fiesta [...] Pues bien, ahora se nos anuncia un análogo remake: el deliberado reestreno de aquel sonoro acontecimiento que hace cinco años representó la huelga del 14-D. [...] Pero cabe dudar que un revival del 14-D tuviera virtualidades semejantes [...]» (Enrique Gil Calvo, in El País, 4/1/1994, 10).

1.3.6. The use of a Spanish and an English expression in alternation has a particular distribution when dealing with "headlines". In such a case the English term is chosen because of its shortness, but also because of the novelty and other expressive connotations it might have. Thus in the previous examples, gays and sponsors were used in newspaper headlines instead of their longer equivalents "homosexuales" and "patrocinadores" that were used in the text.

In an article in El Mundo (17/3/1993, 60) which explains the recession taking place in the electronic sector, under the title «El mercado electrónico español cayó un 17%, situándose a niveles de 1988», there is a much shorter expression for the title of the panel it contains: «El crack del chip». Likewise, in another article of El Mundo (28/10/1995, 14/Su dinero) the headline «La moda de hacer "trekking"» is followed by the subtitle «Andar por el monte no cuesta dinero [...]».

Also interesting is the letter of protest sent by a reader to the director of the journal Información à propos of a bus strike, under the heading «El busman contesta» (Información, 17/4/1993, 15). Reading the text one can observe that busman in fact stands for 'the (common) man who takes the bus' rather than 'the

12 «[..] alguien tendrá la culpa de estar perjudicando a los que por desgracia tenemos
bus driver' (Sp. 'conductor de autobús'), which is the meaning that the term has in English.

In «Remember, Sarajevo» the aim is rather to catch the attention, to startle the reader. In «Apoteosis now» (El País, 8/2/1993, 9) the effect is combined with the humour derived from evoking the title of the film «Apocalipsis now».

1.3.7. The use of a foreign term is a common device that a speaker or writer uses to enrich the text. Many tendencies contribute to this effect, but here I will refer more strictly to the clearest cases in which a term is borrowed because of its special connotations or its more specialized and restricted sense. Through the foreign term the writer often attempts to create a foreign atmosphere, while providing the text with a freshness, a vividness and greater authenticity. A case in point is the use of the term hooligans in sports reports when reference is to be made to English gamberros, thus emphasizing the disturbing and violent nature of their behaviour. Consider also the following passages from Filomeno, a mi pesar, a novel by Gonzalo TORRENTE BALLESTER:

«En alguna parte remota sonó un timbre insistente, y mister Smithson se dignó advertirme de que era la hora del lunch, y de que disponía de cuarenta y cinco minutos. Mister Pitt, algo más amable, me aconsejó un restaurante a la vuelta de la esquina [...] Fui a cenar al mismo sitio que el día anterior, y mientras cenaba, pensé en la cuestión del taxi. Probablemente no sería bien visto que un empleado de banco llegase en taxi todos los días a la City. [...] Me sentí tan contento, que para regresar tomé un cab (sabía lo que era un cab por las novelas policiacas) que me dejó frente a mi casa13.»

The use of lunch refers unequivocally, and therefore better than the Sp. equivalents comida or almuerzo, to the properties and social conditions of a midday meal (cf. RODRÍGUEZ, 1993 on this issue). The terms mister, City and cab are even more useful to evoke the British atmosphere. In the last example, Filomeno thinks of a taxi, as a general concept, but then he refers to the specific class known as cab, with a separate part for the driver, which is typical of London taxis.

The most simple and evident case of English words implementing this function occurs when quotations are used as if they meant to reproduce an expression in its original context. They appear to be used frequently in travel information but also in chronicles or news submitted by foreign correspondents. Often the words used simply to convey a local or regional colour are considered as "nonce

que coger un "autobús"». (p. 15)
13 Filomeno, a mi pesar: Memorias de un señorito descolocado, Barcelona, Planeta, 1988, p. 140, 141.
borrowings", and their difficulty in being understood by those who have little or no knowledge of the language leads to the frequent utilization of metalinguistic formulas (e.g. "known as", "or", etc.) or to the pairing of a native and a foreign term, as we have already noticed. The quotation and its purpose are more evident when it takes the form of a word sequence, and even entire passages used as code-switching.

The foreign term, whatever its form is, appears as strange to the isotopy of context. Its linguistic incompatibility moves the reader to intensify his efforts to deduce the meaning through the context. But in a way it sounds more truthful, more real, especially when its referent is a foreign reality. Having the linguistic code as an identical predicate, we can speak about similarity between sign and referent, and therefore, of iconicity. By triggering associated images, or connotations, the foreign term fulfills a role similar to metaphor (POPA-LISSEANU, 1990: 268).

Concluding remarks

In citing numerous examples in this article I aimed at examining the motives which underlie the different uses of anglicisms. Related to the question of their motivation is the perennial debate on whether and to what extent anglicisms should be adopted in our everyday language. This is a burning issue on which the opinions of grammarians and men of letters often diverge. But it would be difficult and even unpractical not to take sides.

Conservative and purist has been the traditional position taken in Spain, which explains the lack of interest in compiling a dictionary which would reflect actual usage. Interestingly enough, stylebooks could be seen to fulfill this function, because of the number of entries they contain, but their stand is purely normative, not descriptive. That is to say, they record a good number of anglicisms but their main attention is focused on suggesting native equivalents which are often out of use. This position of grammarians is combined with an ideological stand which may be found at both ends of the political spectrum. The attitude of some Spanish officials under the FRANCO régime was notorious. More recently, recalling the campaign against anglicisms instigated by the former French premier BALLADUR, the left radical writer Francisco UMBRAL commented with a touch of irony:

«Aquí los yuppies y los locutores que dicen cuatro cosas en inglés ("yuppi", como ahora yo mismo), son unos horteras ilustrados que siempre te explican «es que en español no hay palabras, hombre». Cómo que no hay palabra, tío, en español, en castellano de Castilla hay palabras para todo, porque es el idioma más extenso del mundo,
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More moderate and in a more linguistic vein, the writer J.A. de VILLENA has argued:

«Un idioma puro es un idioma pobre, porque las lenguas —como las culturas y las mejores sociedades humanas— se forman de olla podrida y melting pot. La lengua debe ser gobernada y ordenada (academias, gramática) para que no deje de ser vehículo de comunicación eficaz para muchos, pero ha de ser asimismo lanzada al aire, convertida en acrobacia y juego, florecida y enfangada, ensuciada de jerga y brillantada de gemas y piedras profundas y oscuras. En cuanto a los extranjerismos (que hoy son, sobre todo, anglicismos por la fuerza de los yanquis y por la facilidad que tuvo el propio inglés para asumir, en su escueta eficacia, todo lo foráneo) nada importan si la lengua que los recibe está viva, es fértil y produce. Porque siendo así los extrajerismos serán asumidos y adaptados para siempre... o rechazados cuando ya no hacen falta.» (El Semanario [supplement], La Verdad, Alicante, 20/3/1994, 12).

The examples collected here — many of them from general language — and the numerous items that could be cited from specialized fields, prove that anglicisms are bound to stay with us, whether we like it or not. Like acronyms, another type of morphologically exotic lexemes, anglicisms nowadays are an unavoidable part of our linguistic repertoire. In both cases, the extent of their present-day use, which many view only in terms of mania, abuse or invasion ("acronymmania", "anglomania"), 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. In the case of anglicisms, in addition, one should consider the greater level of alphabetization and mastery of foreign languages achieved over the last few decades, at a time in which English has come to occupy the place of privilege French had in the past.

As this paper has shown, it is not only the great number but also the diversity of functions found in anglicisms which are the best testimony of how deeply rooted the process of borrowing is within the total system of language. Many a time, the use of anglicisms is criticized for reflecting snobbery and affectation on the part of individual speakers, as a mark of prestige. But the search for prestige is one of the motivating forces that explain language change, as variationist sociolinguists have convincingly proved, and there are other native resources fulfilling similar aims, as euphemistic word-creativity clearly shows. In addition,
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. At this point, one cannot but invoke UNAMUNO (1945: 322-23) when he says: «meter palabras nuevas, haya o no otras que las reemplacen, es meter nuevos matices de ideas». Exaggerated as it might sound, it is a good reminder of the connotative values normally attached to borrowings on account of their foreignness.

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