False anglicisms in the Spanish language of fashion and beauty

Isabel Balteiro and Miguel Ángel Campos
Universidad de Alicante (Spain)
balteiro@ua.es & ma.campos@ua.es

Abstract

Many works have already dealt with anglicisms in Spanish, especially in science and information technologies. However, despite the high and growing number of English terms incorporated daily by the language of fashion, it has received comparative less attention in lexicographic and terminological studies than that of other areas, such as science or business. For several reasons, which include prestige or peer pressure, Spanish has not only adopted English words with new meanings and usage, but also contains other forms based on English patterns which users seem to consider more accurate or expressive. This paper concentrates on false anglicisms as indicators of some of the special relationships and influences between languages arising from the pervasive presence of English. We shall look at the Spanish language of fashion, which, in addition to genuine anglicisms, has for some time been using English words with different meanings, or even created items of its own (or imported them from other languages) with the appearance of English words. These false anglicisms, which have proven extremely popular in receiving languages (not only in Spanish) have frequently been disseminated by youth magazines and the new digital media, both in general spheres and in fashion-specific contexts.

Keywords: anglicisms, false anglicisms, language of fashion and beauty.

Resumen

Falsos anglicismos en el ámbito de la belleza y de la moda en español

Son numerosas las obras que tratan los anglicismos en español, sobre todo en las ciencias y las tecnologías de la información. Sin embargo, a pesar del alto e incesante número de términos ingleses llegados diariamente al lenguaje de la moda, este ha recibido comparativamente menos atención en estudios
terminológicos y lexicográficos que el de otras áreas, como la ciencia o los negocios. Por diversas razones, tales como prestigio o, en parte, presión del grupo, el español no sólo adopta palabras inglesas con nuevos usos y significados, sino también contiene otras formas basadas en patrones ingleses, que los usuarios parecen considerar más exactas o expresivas. Nuestro estudio se centra en los falsos anglicismos como indicadores de algunas de las especiales relaciones e influencias entre lenguas surgidas de la omnipresencia del inglés. Observaremos que el lenguaje de la moda en español, además de anglicismos genuinos, lleva ya tiempo utilizando palabras inglesas cambiando su significado, o incluso crea elementos propios (o los importa de otros idiomas) con apariencia inglesa. Estos falsos anglicismos, muy populares en las lenguas receptoras (no solo en español), han sido difundidos a menudo por revistas juveniles y los nuevos medios digitales, tanto en contextos generales como específicos relacionados con la moda y la belleza.

**Palabras clave:** anglicismos, falsos anglicismos, lenguaje de la belleza y la moda.

**False anglicisms: a review of the literature**

False anglicisms, that is, those words in languages other than English whose appearance would suggest that they are loanwords from English, but either do not exist as such or have different meanings in English, have been studied under a variety of labels, as already noted by Spence (1987). To name but a few, these words have usually been called “false anglicisms” (Lorenzo, 1996; Pratt, 1997; Furiassi, 2003), but also “pseudoanglicisms” (Alfaro, 1970; Carstensen, 1980; Filipović, 1985; Gómez Capuz, 1997-98; Görlach, 2002; Rodríguez González, 2002; Onysko, 2007), and “apparent Anglicisms” (Fanfani, 1991, amongst others). Even some authors have not applied the label “anglicisms”, but “borrowing of grammatical morphemes” (Heath, 1994: 383-384).

Apart from the existence of the different aforementioned labels, which has also been noted elsewhere (Furiassi, 2003 & 2010), research on false anglicisms is problematic due to other reasons, such as the fragmentation of lexicographical research in various languages, and the conflicting identification of some anglicisms – as we shall comment on later regarding “nightclubbing” and “infotainment”, the same item is labelled by some author as a “true” anglicism, whereas for others it is a false anglicism (see, for instance, “trapping” or “shaving” in French, as quoted by Spence, 1987:
This is particularly important, given the fact that both genuine and false anglicisms correspond to the same phenomenon, namely, the progressive Anglicization of European lexis.

One of the most remarkable features of the literature on false anglicisms is that, although they occur in many languages, some of them (at least apparently) have attracted more scholarly attention than others. Indeed, the comprehensive review provided by Furiassi (2010) is based mostly on Italian sources, but not because this author has neglected other sources, but because these particular elements also behave differently in different languages and, therefore, may require language-specific analysis. Furthermore, the contributions on this area are few and far between. Indeed, one of the problems with the scholarly study of false anglicisms is the dearth of works including various European languages, especially considering that (1) they are frequently present in different languages (usually with the same meaning), but also, (2) in many cases it has been one European language (that is, French), that has acted as the vehicle for dissemination of these items. For instance, the false anglicism footing (meaning “jogging”) was not coined in Spanish, but rather is a loanword from French. Similarly, in the Spanish language of fashion and beauty, it is very likely that some false anglicisms originated first in French and then were adopted by Spanish users, such as beauty case (“toilet kit”, “make-up kit”), which is never mentioned for Spanish by existing repertoires of anglicisms. However, although some recent works deal with these mutual influences (Anderman & Rogers, 2005; Fischer & Pułaczewska, 2008; Gnutzmann & Intemann, 2008; Rosenhouse & Kowner, 2008), much remains to be researched about this type of transmission. In fact, one of the few multilingual books dealing with English lexis in Europe, Manfred Görlach’s Dictionary of European Anglicisms (henceforth, DEA), does not always highlight the fact that the multiple occurrence of a false anglicism in various languages may be due to a common intermediate source; for instance, the transmission of smoking through French is mentioned, but regarding footing, a very similar case also imported via French (as explained above), such transmission is only mentioned for Italian.

As we shall see below, the relative lack of multilingual studies on anglicisms sometimes has a negative effect on the identification of elements, since the question of whether a word is a false anglicism or not might have been solved by comparing languages. Indeed, one of the findings of our study is that many of the items which, according to the DEA, exist in only some European languages, may also appear in others the DEA does not mention:
for instance, we have detected that _ladyshave_ can be often found in Spanish, frequently as a genericized trademark and not capitalized. Of course, this could be due to the fact that Görlach’s contributors may not always have been aware of the behaviour of false anglicisms in other European languages and their mutual influences, or simply because some false anglicisms may have been transferred to other European languages after the DEA was published.

Regarding the typology of false anglicisms, some attempts have been made at classifying this phenomenon, which are largely coincident in nature, but not in the names of the different categories. To date, the most detailed classification is that proposed by Furiassi (2010: 38 ff.), who lists a total of eight types: autonomous compounds (_recordman_), autonomous derivatives (_footing_), compound ellipses (_smoking_), clippings (_relax_), semantic shifts (_mister_), eponyms (_pullman_), toponyms (_sandwich_) and generic trademarks (_rimmel_). We would not put into question this classification, but, for practical purposes, we have re-grouped these categories into five, as will be discussed below: autonomous creations (which would include both compounds and derivatives), ellipsis of one or more original elements, generic trademarks, morphological changes and semantic shifts.

**Problems in the identification of false anglicisms: a few examples**

One of the most serious problems for the identification of false anglicisms is the lack of connection between languages in scholarly research. There are cases in which a word is identified as a false anglicism in one language, but it is also identified and commented in a different language and its nature is emphasized as a “true” anglicism, with the same meaning. Indeed, there are instances in which an author has found genuine usages of a word in English – for instance, Furiassi (2010) concerning “nightclubbing” and “infotainment”, which are marked by some Italian dictionaries (such as _Grande Dizionario Italiano dell’Uso_) as false anglicisms. In this study, we have found that, although the DEA considers that “shetland” does not occur in English with the meaning of “a kind of wool sweater”, the _Oxford English Dictionary_ (henceforth, OED) lists it with the meaning of “a Shetland shawl, sweater, etc.” and shows examples from 1979 (“Stout oxfords, ribbed wool stockings, itchy shetlands”). Similarly, Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades
(1997: 78) argue that the correct English form for the Spanish “blush” in English is “blusher”, and indeed such is the approach taken by the OED; however, the Merriam Webster’s online edition includes “blush” with the meaning of “a cosmetic applied to the face to give a usually pink color or to accent the cheekbones”. Conversely, there are plenty of dictionaries which record false anglicisms as if they were true English words, as has recently been pointed out by Balteiro (2011b), for cases like holding (which is not recorded in the OED; see below). For documentation purposes, it is true that the Internet may help to observe the evolution and authentic usage of words in different languages, although caution must be exercised in this case, given the controversy on the use of Internet for lexicographical research (see Grefenstette, 2002).

As with all other areas of Lexicology and Lexicography, although the Internet may support research on anglicisms in general and on false anglicisms in particular, the trouble is that, as with most of the information online, all that glitters is not gold. If research in pre-Internet times had to be wary of humorous, occasional uses which did not really represent the presence of a word in a given language, the World Wide Web has encouraged these uses and might lead to wrong conclusions simply because allegedly “genuine” occurrences may be found. Indeed, regarding anglicisms, sometimes one may find items which are really not used in other languages (due to careless translations or attempts at originality), or dubious uses of false anglicisms by people writing in English. Take, for instance, smoking, one of the paradigmatic examples of false anglicism according to all sources (from the archaic “smoking jacket”, now obsolete), which should be a “dinner jacket” in Britain and a “tuxedo” in the United States. However, a simple online search may show fragments like “I don’t have a smoking, but I have a couple of “dress” watches that I could wear with a smoking”, apparently by native speakers. Does this mean that this is nowadays a genuine, widespread usage of “smoking”, thus making it a well-integrated and accepted word in English?

In this case, this is clearly not so, at least if we consider the number of occurrences (most uses of “a smoking” found online are by non-native speakers), but there are other situations in which the boundary between an occasional usage and a genuinely expanding one is not so clear (for instance, one might find the odd example of “a camping”, as in “We had an address of a camping but to get there was something else”, in http://aussieclogs.com.au/Egypt.html). Besides, it is perfectly possible, on
the one hand, that a false anglicism used repeatedly by non-English speakers, especially in English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), may eventually gain its way into English; foreign users are almost invariably not aware that the word is not a genuine one, and therefore are very likely to use it, albeit wrongly, in their ELF speech. On the other, however, a false anglicism may be due to contamination in the speech of individual speakers having contact with either other languages or with non-native speakers of English, personally (through travel or social networks) or institutionally. For instance, although the example does not apply to English speakers, in our research we found several scattered occurrences of the Italian false anglicism *beauty farm* in Spanish. Some of them were obvious translations of Italian websites into Spanish (even with the domain name “.it”), but one called our attention, at www.hotelbienestar.com, which was apparently not a translation. Nevertheless, a little research showed that this firm is related to Hotelbenessere, an Italian group. In spite of all this, this should not be taken to mean that the Internet is not acceptable as evidence at all: it may provide valuable data about new usage (see Grefenstette, 2002). The OED mentions “bermuda shorts” and “bermudas” as an elliptical form, but not the singular, as in “She wore a bermuda”; however, the Internet is full of examples of this usage, not only in English as a Lingua Franca, but also in expanding-circle countries (India, Singapore), and therefore, one may not categorically say that singular occurrences in Italian (*Una bermuda in jeans che arriva a livello ginocchio*) or Spanish (*Llevaba una bermuda color beige y un cinturón color café*) are instances of false anglicisms.

Finally, in order to complicate matters further, there is the phenomenon of re-borrowing (Furiassi, 2010; also called “back-borrowing”, amongst others, by Benson, 1959; Temmerman, 1995; or Campos, 2011), whereby a false anglicism may be re-imported into English through usage in other languages. This process, which is by no means exclusive to English (it has been the case with “kimono”, whose present Japanese meaning has been re-exported from English), can be found in words like “mobbing” or “outlet”, now increasingly used in English with their “new” meanings (on this, see Campos 2011: 92). This is an increasing source of confusion for lexicographers, who often fail to see that purported “true” anglicisms are actually false ones: a usual case is *holding*, which many bilingual dictionaries consider a genuine English word (even the DEA does not mark it as a false anglicism), although the OED only lists the full, non-elided form “holding company” (as noted, for instance, by Balteiro, 2011b). Nevertheless, it might also happen that
dictionaries are based on corpora or recorded uses of items or terms which have not made their way into the OED yet. Therefore, the labelling of a word as a false anglicism should be under constant review, and it may very well happen that what we now consider a slip by a bilingual dictionary is rather an anticipation of what the situation might be in English in a not-so-distant future.

False anglicisms in the Spanish language of fashion and beauty

Globalization and the use of ELF have favoured the introduction of true anglicisms and even false anglicisms in other world languages. Spanish is one of those languages which have been particularly and even excessively keen, in the opinion of the Real Academia Española (see Pratt, 1997), to “adopt” English terms and English-like words – that is, false anglicisms – either in the general language or also in specific fields.

The language of fashion and beauty is one of those specialized languages in which it is nowadays impossible to deny the influence of English as well as of other languages, like (and especially) French, which have not only been sources of new and direct borrowings but also transmitters of English words or even false anglicisms. Many are the factors that justify the adoption and use of both true anglicisms and false anglicisms, namely:

(i) the fact that English is a trendsetter, especially in the language of fashion (as in “look militar” or “estilo navy”);

(ii) the existence of a lexical need in the recipient language (in cases of new pieces of clothing, accessories, etc., for example, such as a “clutch”, a special type of handbag), unable to adapt or create its own lexical resources as quickly as fashion trends do;

(iii) the preservation of language economy, which usually implies the use of a shorter form or expression, likely from the English language (“top” instead of camiseta corta, or “jeans” instead of pantalones vaqueros);

(iv) a taste for prestige or snobbery, provoking a certain reaction in the audience, as in the case of fashion magazines in Spanish (be these translations or original texts), which use expressions like “ir
“de shopping” (“go shopping”) or “bolsos oversize” (“oversize bags”);

(v) homogenization purposes, to facilitate international communication, mainly at a professional level but also for those who follow the latest trends (for instance, the word “coolhunter” itself, instead of cazatendencias).

Note also that while in other specialized languages and mainly in the general language, true anglicisms and false anglicisms are often considered as threats to the purity of the language (for instance, in Spanish or French), in the language of fashion, English words or English-like words provide a feeling of being updated, “cool”, attractive and also of being different from those speakers who are not “in fashion”. Consequently, the general tendency is not to adapt true English words into Spanish (though there are always some exceptions, for instance de tacón estraslim) but to adopt pure and unadapted anglicisms (Su original outfit compuesto por t-shirt con print de Minnie Mouse), to create words which look like English (braslip) and even to incorporate them through other European languages like French, as mentioned above (smoking).

From a sociolinguistic point of view, the development of false anglicisms is probably quite illustrative of the reasons that lead speakers of other languages to use English lexical material. In the case of genuine anglicisms, one could always argue that, if the English word prevails over the Spanish option, this could be due to sheer frequency, economic weight, or through careless translation (although sometimes the translator’s decision may be a conscious one). However, in the case of words which do not actually exist as such in English, it is clear that it is the prestige of the English language and its connotations of power, fashion, technology, etc. that lead speakers not only to accept English influences (see, for instance, Rodríguez González, 1996), but also to “imitate” them, either through autonomous creations, through modification of existing material, or through adoption of English-like lexical stock coming from elsewhere. For instance, in medical language, one may argue that if Spanish, French or Italian physicians use “flutter” for a heart disease instead of their native equivalents, it is not because of the prestige of English by itself, but because most international publications and international conferences are in English and they are accustomed to such use (to the extent that they may use these terms as a sort of terminological lingua franca). However, if a word appears in the language of fashion and beauty,
such as *peeling* or *lifting*, one cannot argue that its usage in Spanish is due to direct adoption or translation from English, since the genuine items in English are “bodypeel” and “facelift”, respectively. If such words are used, it is not because they *are* English, but because they “sound” or “look” English, and for many speakers this is more than enough justification.

**Methodology**

In our study, we have collected a sample of a total of 36 false anglicisms in the Spanish language of fashion and beauty. The choice of this content domain is due to the fact that, as pointed out in Balteiro (2011a), this type of language has received little attention not only in lexicographic studies, but in general, within the domain of languages for specific purposes. In the case of borrowings and influences among languages, since fashion and beauty constitute a trans-national realm in which trends and commodities know no borders, their lexis becomes an ideal field for the analysis of cross-language lexical transfers.

The sources for our search were, initially, the lexicographic works dealing with Spanish anglicisms, namely Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997) and Görlach (2001). In addition to these, we conducted an online search to check the use in Spanish of all the false anglicisms related to fashion and beauty which Görlach does not record in Spanish (such as *jockey* for “jockey cap”), and did the same with the repertoire given by Furiassi (2010), which yielded some further results (such as *beauty case*). Finally, we added some more examples from a sample collected for some previous studies that we conducted on the mutual influences between English and Spanish in the language of fashion, textiles and beauty (amongst others, Balteiro, 2009 & 2011a). In some cases, where appropriate, the existence of the same false anglicism in other European languages has been illustrated with additional examples drawn from online sources (see Appendix).

In view of the difficulties mentioned in the first sections, the main criterion adopted in order to discern a false anglicism from a “real” one was the presence or absence of a word in the latest online version of the OED (as of November 2010). We are aware that this might exclude some words that are also used in English and probably identify some genuine forms as false anglicisms. However, it was decided that any other criteria might provide misleading results or solutions, such as online occurrences which might be
due to nonce uses, ELF usage or even re-borrowing (which can only be confirmed beyond any doubt once it is formally recorded by lexicographers). Also discarded from this study (although probably interesting for other analyses) were hybrid compounds formed by a Spanish element and an English one, such as Guaywear, which are at times nonce formations of a transient nature created for humorous purposes, such as pijofashion or rastamugriento.

If we now attend to types of false anglicisms, the items in our sample may be classified as follows (see Appendix for the English equivalents, examples in Spanish and examples in other languages):

(a) Autonomous creations (10 items): antiage, beauty case, look maker, minipull, nude look, trend maker, braslip, k-way, ladyshave, lowxury. Compared with the eight-category typology proposed by Furiassi (2010), this group would include compounds and derivatives, but also brands, insofar as such brands are the result of compounding or derivation taking place in non-English-speaking countries;

(b) Ellipsis of one or more original elements (12 items): baby doll, barbie, body, clergyman, jockey, panty, pull, push-up, smoking, top, topless, trench. This category covers both compound ellipses and clipping, and thus avoids any confusion caused by whether the missing element is a word, a free or a bound form, and also includes those toponyms and eponyms that arise from the omission of the non-specific element (mackintosh is the reduced form of “mackintosh coat”, although we have not found any in our sample);

(c) Generic trademarks (2 items): rimmel, wonderbra. In our typology, we have restricted this category to those trademarks which are “not readily recognizable as English in form” (Furiassi, 2010: 52), or have been either created in English-speaking countries from English elements, but are not generic in English;

(d) Morphological changes (5 items): boxer, fashion, denim, dread, short. This category, which includes zero-derivation and changes of secondary word-class (on this, see Quirk et al., 1985; amongst others), is a controversial one, since it is accepted by some authors – “conversions of existing English words” (Gottlieb, 2005: 164) – but not by others (Furiassi, 2010);
(e) Semantic shifts (7 items): *baby, boogies, book, brushing, lifting, peeling, slip*. These are words whose meaning, for a variety of reasons, substantially differs from that of their counterparts in English.

**Autonomous creations**

These items have developed on the basis of English lexical material, but the creation process has taken place in a language other than English. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that sometimes these autonomous creations do not take place in Spanish, and therefore the word may morphologically look like an anglicism, but, as mentioned above, the creation process may have occurred in a mediating language from which it has been “exported” into Spanish. This is true, obviously, for the case of brands (except for *luxury*, none of the brands in our sample was created in Spanish-speaking countries), but also of items like *beauty case*, probably developed in French and then imported into Spain. Some would point out that, in these cases, the words are not anglicisms, but gallicisms. Nevertheless, we prefer to adopt a wider view, since whatever their origin, it is their “English appearance” that leads to their usage, and therefore they should be considered as anglicisms, at least from a sociolinguistic point of view.

The brand names in this category are considered “autonomous creations” because they correspond to brands created in non-English-speaking countries. Therefore, *K-way* and *Ladyshave* have been included as false anglicisms, since they are of French and Dutch origin, respectively, but not *wonderbra*, which was developed in Canada, and therefore comes under the category of general trademarks. Some of these are very recent, and therefore have not been recorded in existing repertoires of anglicisms, such as *luxury*, a label coined in 2009 by the Catalan designer Custo Dalmau by blending “low cost” and “luxury”, and which so far can only be found in Spanish. As with many false anglicisms (see *lifting* below), this term is becoming genericized beyond its domain, and expanded to food products (*La más novedosa tendencia en los supermercados es el Lowxury (low price y luxury), un concepto que combina productos de lujo a precios bajos*) and holiday accommodation (*La tecnología “LOWXURY” revoluciona el concepto de turismo rural*). The process seems to be in its initial stages, since the word is usually capitalized or written between inverted commas, although occasional uses start to appear without such markers (*El lowxury quiere acercar el lujo a todos los bolsillos*).
Within this category, special mention should be made of *braslip*, a slightly old-fashioned word for male briefs, and which at first sight might appear to derive from the English word (“a slip with a built-in bra” – that is, “bra+slip”), something striking because the item corresponds to female wear. However, the Spanish word is a blended form of *braga* (now “ladies’ briefs”, but in past times male underwear in Spanish) and *slip*, which, as we shall see below, has been subject to semantic changes compared to the English form. With the exception of other languages in the Spanish state (Galician, Catalan and Basque), *braslip* does not occur anywhere else, and might even have been a brand name coined by the Spanish distributors of such garment in the 1970s.

**Ellipsis of one or more original elements**

Interestingly enough, this category does not seem to contain as many items as the previous one, although most studies on false anglicisms (see above) appear to consider elliptical forms, alongside semantic shifts, as the typical example of false anglicism. However, it may also be said that some of the items in the previous categories might be re-interpreted as ellipsis: for example, “antiage” can be frequently found as a premodifier in British websites, both regarding lines of products (which we might discard, for Nivea®, the manufacturer, is a German company), but also in general, as in “What is an anti-age cream, if not a tiny little foreign diplomat trying to persuade us we need it’s [sic] services without going so far as to offend us?”

It may be observed that the items in this category tend to correspond to clothing, with the exceptions of *top* and *Barbie*. The latter, which could also be included under the category of generic trademarks, has been included in its pejorative sense of “attractive but superficial girl”, as in *Una modelo es una barbie frustrada*, and is even often used by football supporters as an insult questioning the masculinity to rival players (as is done, for instance, by Spanish supporters who call Cristiano Ronaldo a “barbie” or a “Barbie girl”). In the present study *barbie* has been considered an elliptical form because this usage corresponds to the well-documented form “barbie doll” in English, as in “This girl is a barbie doll. Big boobs, pretty as hell and down to earth”, but one can also find sporadically the same ellipsis in English, as in “My girlfriend and I are experimenting with sex but she has turned into a right Barbie”, which takes us back to the eternal debate on how long a false anglicism can be considered as such. In the case of *top* (which is also a genuine anglicism for a garment), Spanish uses it as an elliptical form of “top
model”, as in Las tops son profesionales y saben remontar el paso tras un incómodo tropezón, which we can also find in French (Les tops sont elles responsable du nombres de jeunes filles anorexiques?) or Italian (È tra le dieci top che calcano le passerelle dei più grandi).

As seen in these cases, most elliptical false anglicisms also occur in languages other than Spanish; baby doll (as in Al día siguiente en su cuarto buscando en su cajon un short (...) me encuentro un baby doll), had been documented by Furiassi (2010: 143) in Italian (Un seducente spacco sul davanti movimenta la linea del Baby Doll in raso), but can also be found in French (J’arrive chez vous avec un baby doll marbré dans une boîte en forme de cœur) and Portuguese (Posou usando uma baby doll cor de rosa). The same applies to body, as an abbreviated form of the English “body suit”, present in Spanish (La actriz llevaba un body gris con una larga falda de seda), but also in German (Endlich mal ein Body, der gut sitzt!) and French (Privilégiez le body noir classique qui pourra se porter avec un tregging ou avec une mini jupe en cuir).

Some of these false anglicisms are well-known in the literature and even recorded by dictionaries: the Spanish Real Academia dictionary (DRAE for short) includes, for instance, smoking (which appears as esmoquin), or panty (the Spanish form of “pantyhose”), as in Una marca que revolucionó el mundo de los panties. A recent arrival, however, is that of jockey for “jockey cap”, an item which is recorded in Görlich (2001: 170), but with no mention of the elliptical form, which can be occasionally found (Quiero un Jockey de color verde oscuro, y las letras que sean blancas). The word seems to have experienced also a semantic expansion, because it is no longer related to the original type of hat (“A peaked cap of the style worn by jockeys”, according to the OED) and has expanded to any type of cap, as in Llevaba un jockey de baseball negro, una chaqueta de cuero negra y jeans or Personaje gordo, con barba descuidada, de metro setenta, llevaba un jockey (con la visera curva, por lo cual no era rapero ni hip hopero).

**Generic trademarks**

As we said earlier, this category includes here only those generic trademarks which have been created in English-speaking countries, either from English elements or from eponyms. In our sample, rimmel is used as a generic item for “mascara” (Se me corrió el rimmel), like in other languages (French: Après l’épilation, les crèmes et masques de beauté, un jour ton homme voudra se mettre du rimmel; Portuguese: Um creme hidratante, um pouco de rimmel e um baton de brilho são suficientes para dar uma imagem cuidada). The case of “wonderbra” is a complicated one, since it may be in the process of becoming generic in
English, as shown by its inclusion in the OED (although marked as a proprietary name) or its frequent lowercase usage (“I was told under no circumstances to wear a wonderbra”); future studies may eventually exclude this word if it follows the path of other items, such as “hoover” or “xerox”.

Morphological changes

Within this category, two main types may be distinguished: changes of secondary word-class (similar to those defined by Quirk et al., 1985), and conversions. Regarding the former, the word-class changes we have found are all shifts from pluralia tantum to singular forms – that is, boxer, denim, dread and short are words which usually occur in English as plurals. It must be said that the most frequent occurrences of these are “true” anglicisms, in that they can often be found in Spanish as plurals, either in general, as in the case of dreads (Yo nunca me puse los dreads en la cabeza, me los puse en el alma), or summation plurals (Llevaba sólo unos boxer de color brillante). The singular uses, which might also be regarded as elliptical forms of “boxer shorts”, “denim jeans” or “short trousers”, are also remarkable because they add no morpheme to their plural form, for instance: Los mini boxer V-Tops están fabricados en un original patrón de rayas, Un abrigo para que lo lleves con unos denim, unos short que compre en verano; and can also be detected in other European languages (Portuguese: Os denim estão presentes em todas as coleções do estilista; German: Mit der Entscheidung für diese Denim aus; French: Les boxer sont labelisés et chaque colis est expédié avec sa facture; Italian: I boxer sono sicuramente più gradevoli da vedere, su un uomo; French: Les short sont associés à la pauvreté par les balinais, Italian: Gli short sono comodi, freschi).

The last case, fashion, is an interesting one, because its status as a false anglicism may be questioned. Furiassi (2010) does not consider conversions as false anglicisms, since this is a common process in English, and does not hinder comprehension. We might question the criterion of comprehension (for instance, this would mean that some generic false anglicisms are true anglicisms, since they are clearly understandable by a native speaker, as with rimmel). However, it is true that the conversion might happen at any time in English, and therefore the word would cease to be a false anglicism, or it might even have happened before it is borrowed by other languages, although it has not been documented enough. Nevertheless, until further evidence is found, it appears that the change from noun to adjective has occurred in Spanish (and in other languages, for instance, Italian: L’atmosfera invece è molto fashion; French: Les crocs, c’est très fashion) as a separate event,
because the usage of *fashion* as an adjective in Spanish started at least in the 1990s, whereas the English examples are very rare (“Camilla Skovgaard shoes. They are must-have shoes, totally. But still very fashion”, *Daily Mail*, 1 September 2008 URL: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1051115/The-insiders-hot-list-What-fashion-buyers-snapping-season.html), they appear to be very recent, and are certainly not recorded in the OED. In Spanish it may even be argued that *fashion* covers two false anglicisms: one meaning “fashionable”, as in *Todos estos maquillajes de uñas son muy fashion, pero hay que realizarlos paso a paso*, and another meaning “fashion-conscious”, as in *Ella es muy fashion y siempre que va de viaje se queja de no llevar todo a juego*. This presents classification problems because technically this could be seen as an elliptical form, and for lexicographical purposes the two types of “fashion” could be considered homonyms in Spanish.

**Semantic shifts**

Within this category, of course, there is the group of “-ing” forms, which are almost invariably mentioned in studies on false anglicisms (see, for instance, Filipović, 1985; Riquelme, 1998). However, although this suffix has been enthusiastically embraced by many European languages and leads to endless hybrid formations, both in advertising (*Schwepping*) and brand naming (*Vueling*), amongst others, we have only considered those words which do exist in English, but with different meanings: *brushing, peeling* and *lifting*. The latter, as in *Alguna famosa que vendía su “lifting” para aprovechar el estirón* (corresponding to the English “face lift”), has been metaphorically extended to all the other uses of the corresponding English word. Thus, in the same way one may read in English metaphors like “New North West ANC chairman vows to give province a facelift”, the same comparison may occur in Spanish with *lifting*, as in *Las líneas de bus sufrirán un ‘lifting’*, although it is not clear whether the metaphorical extension has occurred spontaneously in Spanish or through the influence of English.

The other four elements in this category, *baby, slip, book* and *boogies*, are also the result of specialization processes. *Slip* is described by the DRAE as an item of male underwear (“underpants”), for instance as in *Los hombres irán más cómodos con un slip deportivo debajo del bañador*, whereas in English it refers to a different garment worn by females (“an underskirt or petticoat dependent from the waist or the shoulders and having no sleeves”, OED). The false anglicism is also found in Italian and French, but, as Furiassi (2010) has also noted, it applies both to underwear and to bathing garments, for
both men and women (French: Justin Timberlake casse son image avec un slip, Miranda Kerr dévoile ses courbes avec un slip; Italian: Negli anni ’80 lo slip regnava sovranamente in abbigliamento intimo maschile, Un bikini a triangolo con uno slip). However, it may be interesting to note that although the DRAE considers it a male garment, there are plenty of instances of female use, as in Te hemos buscado los slips de mujer para que los veas todos juntos; the latter example also shows that, unlike the Italian item, Spanish may add a plural morpheme, which is not the case in Italian (Sono in commercio gli slip con fantasie divertenti e colorate).

*Baby* (usually spelled *babi*) refers to a garment worn by children at school in order to protect their clothing (“pinafore” or “smock” in English), and may derive from the English word “baby” (by metonymic extension, according to Rodríguez González, 2002), but could also be a diminutive from *babero* (“bib”), this being the hypothesis supported by the DRAE. If we look at the evidence from other neighbouring languages, and considering that most true anglicisms have a common development, it does not appear to come from English. The word does not occur in Italian or French, which has *grembiule/grembiulino* and *tablier*, but this is by no means conclusive, since there are cases of false anglicisms occurring in only one language (*electrosmog* in German, as recorded by Görlach, 2001: 103). However, assuming the validity of the *babero* hypothesis, it would still be worth emphasizing that, although the prevailing written form in Spanish is *babi* (as accepted by the DRAE), the spelling *baby* is very frequent, probably due to etymological reinterpretation by many speakers (also, for graphically adapted false anglicisms, see Furiassi, 2010).

Another case of semantic shift is *boogies*, which in Spanish refers to “crêpe-soled shoes” or “brothel creepers”, as in Para ser moderno había que calzarse unos boogies a tiempo. Although it might be regarded as a shortened form of “boogie shoes”, the type of shoe does not appear to be the same, and it rather seems that the shoes have acquired such a name in Spanish (although many users alternate with the “pure” anglicism “creepers”) through association with the specific type of music.

Finally, a few remarks may be made about *book*, which is used in Spanish modelling with the general meaning of “(a model’s) portfolio”, as in Se fue con el book a una agencia de modelos, an item that can also be detected, amongst others, in Italian (Mi sono iscritta e non vedo ancora il mio book pubblicato) or Portuguese (Adorei o meu book, ficou 1.000 vezes melhor do que eu imaginava).
first problem is whether it is actually a false Anglicism. Furiassi (2010) lists it as such, whereas Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997: 85) remark that “in English, the most common term outside fashion circles is portfolio” (our translation), which hints that in specialized circles “book” may indeed have this meaning in English. A simple online search seems to suggest that, if not by itself, “photo book” (“photobook”) may be found in English-speaking countries, although the meaning may slightly differ, i.e. it may be used because it is, literally speaking, a book containing photographs (“Shutterfly’s photo books are a beautiful and long-lasting way to print and preserve your favorite digital photo memories”). As a result of this, we have included it into this category, since it implies a specialization of a wider concept in English, although an ellipsis has also taken place through the disappearance of “photo”.

Conclusions

This overview of false anglicisms in the Spanish vocabulary of fashion has, in our opinion, aptly exemplified the most important phenomena taking place regarding the Anglicization of European lexis beyond the mere importation of English words as such. As some of the examples in this paper have shown, the prestige and attraction of English leads speakers to follow what they consider an acceptable trend not only in terms of what they have received from English, but also through parallel coinages; the only justification for which probably is their “Englishness” – that is, the iconic power of English as a trendsetter.

Also, some of the cases we have examined show that research on false anglicisms still leaves room for study. On the one hand, we have pointed out that, with the exception of Italian, there are still not enough contributions on false anglicisms as such, and there is a great need for studies on other European languages and on the mutual influences between them. On the other, it may be observed that there are new factors that come into play, all of them having to do with the increased contact between languages fostered by travel, multilingualism, cultural exchanges and the digital media. Perhaps the time is ripe for what Gottlieb (2005: 163) calls a “paradigm shift” in the study of anglicisms, the ultimate consequence of this would be a reconceptualization of the anglicism as any “individual or systemic feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English
models”, which might ultimately make the distinction between “true” and “false” anglicisms irrelevant. We would not go to such lengths, because we feel that false anglicisms are an endless source of information on morphological and semantic evolutions in language contact and on sociolinguistic factors for language borrowing, but the fact remains that the field may require a new, integrated approach, which is best viewed, as is the case here, as part of the Anglicization of European lexis.

References


Isabel Balteiro is a Lecturer in English at the University of Alicante (Spain). She has published two monographs on English word formation in Peter Lang and Waxmann, and has also written a number of articles and book chapters on English Lexicology and Word-Formation.

Miguel Ángel Campos is a Lecturer in Legal English and Translation at the University of Alicante (Spain), and is the author of various contributions on English-Spanish contrastive specialized lexicology, including dictionaries (Human Rights, Real Estate Language, Leisure, Marketing), and a monograph on American legal language for Spanish speakers.

NOTES

1 This work has been partially carried out with funding provided by the Spanish Ministry of Education, through the 2008-2011 R&D&I National Plan for Human Resources Mobility (Programa Nacional de Movilidad de Recursos Humanos del Plan Nacional de I-D+i 2008-2011).

2 For the purposes of this paper, “fashion and beauty” shall include terms related to the language of textiles and accessories, but also hairstyling and make-up; this largely coincides with one of the meanings for “fashion” in the OED – that is, “with regard to apparel or personal adornment”.
### False anglicisms in the sample

(The initials below correspond to the following repertoires: F = Furiassi 2010; G = Görlach 2001; R = Rodríguez González & Lillo Buades, 1997)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>False anglicism</th>
<th>English equivalent</th>
<th>Example in Spanish</th>
<th>Example in other languages (where applicable)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>antiage (F)</td>
<td>anti-aging, anti-age cream</td>
<td>A mi de los que había lo que más me interesaba era el desmaquillador y el contorno de ojos, así que me he comprado el anti-age... (<a href="http://foros.vogue.es/viewtopic.php?f=4&amp;t=64371&amp;start=175">http://foros.vogue.es/viewtopic.php?f=4&amp;t=64371&amp;start=175</a>)</td>
<td>English (as premodifier): What is an anti-age cream, if not a tiny little foreign diplomat trying to persuade us we need it’s [sic] services without going so far as to offend us (<a href="http://www.allword-news.co.uk/tag/beauty-and-the-brain-9-leaks-from-the-beauty-business/">http://www.allword-news.co.uk/tag/beauty-and-the-brain-9-leaks-from-the-beauty-business/</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby (G,R)</td>
<td>pinafore</td>
<td>Yo estoy indignada porque los bebés de guardería tengan que ir de uniforme, pese a llevar un baby encima todo el día (<a href="http://www.nuevosvecinos.com/blastablas/1569287_uniformes_de_collegios_las_tablas_y_sanchinarro.html">http://www.nuevosvecinos.com/blastablas/1569287_uniformes_de_collegios_las_tablas_y_sanchinarro.html</a>)</td>
<td>Not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barbie (F,R)</td>
<td>Barbie doll</td>
<td>Una modelo es una barbie frustrada (<a href="http://www.femmeblog.com.ar/2010/09/quiero-ser-una-barbie.html">http://www.femmeblog.com.ar/2010/09/quiero-ser-una-barbie.html</a>)</td>
<td>English (various uses): This girl is a barbie doll. Big boobs, pretty as hell and down to earth. (<a href="http://grouphug.us/node?page=28133">http://grouphug.us/node?page=28133</a>) My girlfriend and I are experimenting with sex but she has turned into a right Barbie (<a href="http://www.dailyreckless.co.uk/farquar/farquarexperiments.htm">http://www.dailyreckless.co.uk/farquar/farquarexperiments.htm</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False anglicism</td>
<td>English equivalent</td>
<td>Example in Spanish</td>
<td>Example in other languages (where applicable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boogies (F)</td>
<td>crêpe-soled shoes, “brothel creepers”</td>
<td>Para ser moderno había que calzarse unos boogies a tiempo (<a href="http://www.revisitaman.es/reportajes/articulos/los-7-clasicos-horteras-de-los-80">http://www.revisitaman.es/reportajes/articulos/los-7-clasicos-horteras-de-los-80</a>)</td>
<td>Italian: Mi sono iscritta e non vedo ancora il mio book pubblicato (<a href="http://www.bestmodels.it/faq_modelle.asp">http://www.bestmodels.it/faq_modelle.asp</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>braslip (R)</td>
<td>underpants</td>
<td>Se sigue vendiendo el clásico braslip Abanderado blanco (<a href="http://www.ciao.es/Opciones/Abanderado__139294/Start/30-">http://www.ciao.es/Opciones/Abanderado__139294/Start/30-</a> )</td>
<td>Not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False anglicism</td>
<td>English equivalent</td>
<td>Example in Spanish</td>
<td>Example in other languages (where applicable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clergyman</td>
<td>clergyman's suit</td>
<td>Los diáconos casados, vistiendo muchas veces un clergyman impecable y paseando del brazo de su mujer (<a href="http://www.vidanueva.es/2010/05/14/%C2%BFque-hacemos-con-los-diaconos-permanentes/">http://www.vidanueva.es/2010/05/14/%C2%BFque-hacemos-con-los-diaconos-permanentes/</a>)</td>
<td>Italian: Il clergyman è un abito come gli altri, anche se il gilet è più frequente che nella domanda laica. (<a href="http://www.noveporte.it/florilegio/maestriagi017_.htm">http://www.noveporte.it/florilegio/maestriagi017_.htm</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False anglicism</td>
<td>English equivalent</td>
<td>Example in Spanish</td>
<td>Example in other languages (where applicable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-way (F,G)</td>
<td>cagoule</td>
<td>Creyó que como todo el verano no había llovido, entonces podia ir a sus clases [...] bicicleta y no en autobús como de costumbre (sin llevar siquiera un K-way). (<a href="http://www.4lineas.com/NUA/Nua_05.html">http://www.4lineas.com/NUA/Nua_05.html</a>)</td>
<td>Italian: Il mio personal trainer mi ha consigliato di correre con della pellicola per alimenti intorno all’addome o con un k-way, per sudare di più. (<a href="http://www.nonsolofitness.it/fitness-answers/personal-trainer/correre-col-k-way-dimagrire-utile.html">http://www.nonsolofitness.it/fitness-answers/personal-trainer/correre-col-k-way-dimagrire-utile.html</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ladyshave (G)</td>
<td>woman’s electric saber</td>
<td>Mi método es al darme una ducha embajonarme todo el cuerpo y pasarme una ladyshave te aseguro la piel te deja muy suave amigas mias. (<a href="http://es.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20070823090437AA">http://es.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20070823090437AA</a> XOD5s)</td>
<td>Not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False anglicism</td>
<td>English equivalent</td>
<td>Example in Spanish</td>
<td>Example in other languages (where applicable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look maker (F)</td>
<td>image maker</td>
<td>El profesional se transforma en un look maker, ya que va a asesorar a la cliente con una fiabilidad del 100% (<a href="http://www.beautymarket.es/peluqueria/foros_respuestas.php?secforo=3&amp;numero=460095&amp;returnpage=23">http://www.beautymarket.es/peluqueria/foros_respuestas.php?secforo=3&amp;numero=460095&amp;returnpage=23</a>)</td>
<td>Italian: Fabio Staff oltre ad essere un parrucchiere molto bravo è anche un look-maker. (<a href="http://www.shoppingdonna.it/bellezza/parrucchieri/emilia_romagna/sassuolo/fabiostaffparrucchieri.html">http://www.shoppingdonna.it/bellezza/parrucchieri/emilia_romagna/sassuolo/fabiostaffparrucchieri.html</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lowxury</td>
<td>low cost + luxury</td>
<td>Contrapunto del outlet, por el que se entiende comprar marcas a precios más bajos, el lowxury quiere acercar el lujo a todos los bolsillos (<a href="http://www.harpersbazaar.es/actualidad/noticia/cool-corner-llega-lujo-asequible_141.html">http://www.harpersbazaar.es/actualidad/noticia/cool-corner-llega-lujo-asequible_141.html</a>)</td>
<td>Not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False anglicism</td>
<td>English equivalent</td>
<td>Example in Spanish</td>
<td>Example in other languages (where applicable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False anglicism</td>
<td>English equivalent</td>
<td>Example in Spanish</td>
<td>Example in other languages (where applicable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rimmel</td>
<td>mascara</td>
<td>Se me corrió el rimmel (<a href="http://www.20minutos.es/noticia/667844/258/cadaver/sesena/cristina/">http://www.20minutos.es/noticia/667844/258/cadaver/sesena/cristina/</a>)</td>
<td>French: Après l’épilation, les crèmes et masques de beauté, un jour ton homme voudra se mettre du rimmel (<a href="http://fr.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20110405110047AAlBiKN">http://fr.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20110405110047AAlBiKN</a>) Portuguese: Um creme hidratante, um pouco de rimmel e um baton de brilho são suficientes para dar uma imagem cuidada (<a href="http://canais.sapo.pt/educacao/1G483/">http://canais.sapo.pt/educacao/1G483/</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False anglicism</td>
<td>English equivalent</td>
<td>Example in Spanish</td>
<td>Example in other languages (where applicable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| slip (F,G,R)    | underpants, briefs| **Male:** Los hombres irán más cómodos con un slip deportivo debajo del bañador [http://www.oncowieb.net/doc.php?op=leer&id=531](http://www.oncowieb.net/doc.php?op=leer&id=531)  
| smoking (F,G,R)| dinner jacket     | Si el novio es alto de estatura, le quedará muy bien un smoking de dos botones [http://blog.webboda.es/estilos-de-trajes-paranovios/](http://blog.webboda.es/estilos-de-trajes-paranovios/) | **Italian:** Comme Jake Gyllenhaal, portez un smoking Ralph Lauren, un grand classique de la maison [http://www.gqmagazine.fr/mode/les-hommes-les-plus-styles/diaporama/anatomie-d-un-smoking/3952/image/349694](http://www.gqmagazine.fr/mode/les-hommes-les-plus-styles/diaporama/anatomie-d-un-smoking/3952/image/349694)  
**French:** Crocena romantica con cenetta al lume di candela, io indosserò un smoking bianco da crociera e te un vestito lungo nero sensualissimo [http://ffz.leonardo.it/lofi/ho-fatto-un-sogno/D9043401-1.html](http://ffz.leonardo.it/lofi/ho-fatto-un-sogno/D9043401-1.html) |  |
**Italian:** È tra le dieci top che calcano le passerelle dei più grandi [http://archivio.panorama.it/home/articolo/idA020001017679](http://archivio.panorama.it/home/articolo/idA020001017679) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>False anglicism</th>
<th>English equivalent</th>
<th>Example in Spanish</th>
<th>Example in other languages (where applicable)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| topless        | topless bathing suit| Heidi Klum sorprende con un topless (http://www.20minutos.es/noticia/268451/1/) | **Italian:** La Wilde si presenta con un topless coperto e i lunghi capelli che le coprono a malapena l’invidiabile décolleté (http://www.sologossip.it/2011/01/31/olivia-wilde-posa-in-topless-sulla-cover-di-fhm-francese-le-foto/)  
**French:** Adriana Lima cache un topless (http://www.legroom.fr/adriana-lima-cache-un-topless/) |
| trench         | raincoat, trench coat| Naty Abascal llevaba un trench de Mango de 200 euros. (http://www.larazon.es/blogs/list) | **French:** Savez-vous que le trench sera le vêtement à avoir absolument dès les beaux jours? (http://www.happyhousewife.fr/2011/03/un-trench-burberry-en-exclusivite.html)  
**Italian:** Si tratta di un trench corto in cotone beige doppiopetto con mostrine (http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2011/marzo/30/Sstile_trench_vm_0_110330034.shtml) |
| trend maker    | trend setter        | Un joven con carisma es visto como un trendmaker (http://www.ddda-elisava.com/ser-joven-es-cosa-de-viejos) | **Italian:** Se vuoi essere (o restare) un trendmaker come Toni & Guy, devi sperimentare (http://hailtalking.blogspot.com/2009_05_01_archive.html)  
**French:** De ces 50 dernières années Gucci est devenu un trendmaker dans le domaine des manufactures horlogères (http://fr.artikkelonline.com/Gucci-Watches-%C3%A9claration-de-style-ultime_34642/) |
| wonderbra      | push-up bra         | No le viene mal usar un wonderbra (http://www.abc.es/videocultura/20091005/dita-teese-dita-teese-491026675001.html) | **Italian:** Ecco un reggiseno molto sensuale: le coppe sono a forma di mani che sostengono tutto. Un wonderbra naturale? (www.magnaromagna.it/cartoline/accessori)  
**French:** Cette ère est malheureusement révolue, qu’on se le dise (et non ce n’est pas un wonderbra ou un push up qui fait grossir les seins!). (http://people.premiere.fr/Photos-people/PHOTOS-Paris-Hilton-elle-a-sorti-le-joli-decollette-pour-l-anniversaire-de-sa-maman-1-2247426/Joli-sac-a-main-assorti-I!)  
**English (not very usual as generic):** I was told under no circumstances to wear a wonderbra (http://forum.sofeminine.co.uk/forum/f52/__f13581_f52--cry-let-down-by-the-wonderbra.html) |