

Present-day Spanish fashion lexicon dresses up in English¹

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ABSTRACT

Lexical borrowings can be regarded as one of the clearest and most direct consequences of any language contact situation. However, not all the borrowings that enter a language are alike. Since their entrance in a given language is motivated by different reasons, two general kinds of borrowings must be distinguished: necessary borrowings which name ideas and concepts for which the recipient language does not have any equivalent term; and superfluous borrowings which, on the contrary, refer to realities for which the recipient language already has equivalent terms. This paper focuses on the latter type. Specifically, it presents a diachronic corpus-based analysis of 14 English fashion terms with a clear Spanish lexical counterpart —*blazer*/'chaqueta', *celebrity*/'famoso', *clutch*/'bolso de mano', *cool*/'de moda', *fashion*/'moda', *fashionable*/'de moda', *fashionista*/'adicto a la moda', *jeans*/'vaqueros', *nude*/'color carne', *photocall*/'sesión de fotos', *shorts*/'pantalones cortos', *sporty*/'deportivo', *trench*/'trinchera, gabardina', and *trendy*/'moderno'— in four Spanish corpora: the *Corpus del Español*, and the *CORDE*, *CREA* and *CORPES XXI* corpora. My objectives are twofold: firstly, to demonstrate to what extent these unnecessary Anglicisms are increasingly becoming part of the everyday contemporary Peninsular Spanish fashion lexicon; and secondly, to account for the three reasons that underlie their alleged constant entrance in twenty-first century Peninsular Spanish: (i) globalization and the impact of English on Spanish; (ii) the highly visible presence of English in the field of advertising; (iii) and the selling power of English.

Key words: anglicism, borrowing, advertising, Peninsular Spanish, diachronic corpus-based analysis



1. Introduction

One of the clearest and most direct consequences of any language contact situation is borrowings. These are a “natural” and “omnipresent” phenomenon, as García Morales et al. (2016: 33) and Gómez Cápuz (2004: 9), respectively, describe it, that is to be understood as the exchange of linguistic elements, usually lexical items, between two linguistic communities or two historical languages.

Therefore, as stated in Cronin (2003: 171), “the more we enquire into the particular circumstances of particular languages, the more we discover the multiple traces of borrowings, foreign contacts and wholesale appropriation”. Given, for instance, the historical, cultural, and socio-linguistic evolution of Spanish, as briefly suggested in the following quotation, we can understand why the Spanish language has always been so prone to adopting borrowings, if for different reasons:²

En este sentido, la lengua española, pese a su creciente importancia demográfica y cultural, ha sido tradicionalmente importadora de préstamos: en otras épocas como reflejo de una encrucijada de pueblos y culturas; en los dos últimos siglos, como reflejo de una dependencia técnica y científica de otras culturas occidentales más avanzadas, en especial la angloamericana. (Gómez Capuz, 2004: 9)

Due to the “worldliness of English”, as Pennycook (1994: 33) calls it, or in like terms, the privileged linguistic status that English has over the rest of the world languages as a result of the globalization process we are experiencing in the twenty-first century (cf. Edwards, 1994; Brennan, 1997; Pennycook, 2001; Hjarvard, 2004; Pulcini et al., 2012), English has changed the status of many of the world languages, among which Hjarvard (2004: 76), for example, places different European and Afro-Asian tongues of a very diverse linguistic origin —Germanic (German), Romance (French and Spanish), Slavic (Russian) and Semitic (Arabic):

Over the past two or three decades, English has come to occupy a singular position among languages. Previously only one among several dominant European languages, on a par with French or Spanish, it is today a *world language*, the language people use whenever they wish to communicate with others outside their own linguistic community. English has become the *lingua franca* of the global network [...] As English has moved toward paramouncy, the status of the other principal languages has changed. Even though they are spoken by more people today than ever before, they have been demoted, degraded in relation to English. Today, French, Spanish, Arabic, German, Russian, etc., more or less have the status of regional languages, national languages that can be used beyond their national frontiers. But, they are losing their currency as the language of international communication, formal and informal: both in political and commercial contexts and in intercultural exchanges, as bridges between people who cross cultural frontiers or who like to enrich their lives with media products from abroad.

Therefore, as a result of being the unanimously recognized contemporary *lingua franca* in international communication (cf. De Mooij, 1994: 5; Edwards, 1994:

41; Hjarvard, 2004: 76; Montes Fernández, 2006: 217; Schmidt and Diemer, 2015: 11), the frequent attestation of English in Spanish should not be considered an exceptional fact.

What may strike the reader as surprising, nevertheless, is that, although it is the most recent one, the Anglo-American influence in Spanish has been, as Gómez Capuz (2004: 24-25) describes it, the most “booming” and “overwhelming” foreign trace in the Spanish language since the eighteenth century onwards, pervading not only its lexicon, but also all the remaining linguistic levels: morphology, syntax, semantics and phraseology. In particular, its presence in the lexicon constitutes for Lorenzo (1996: 18), among others, a problem that is becoming worse with the passing of time due mainly to the extremely disproportionate number of English lexical borrowings —many of them unnecessary— attested in contemporary Spanish.³

[...] quedan por despejar bastantes problemas. Creo que el principal es cuantitativo y consiste en la abrumadora penetración, numéricamente sin precedentes, de términos ingleses discutiblemente necesarios.

It is precisely on superfluous Anglicisms that the present paper focuses. In order to validate the previous hypothesis, already set forth by Lorenzo (1996: 18) near the end of the twentieth century, the present paper seeks to demonstrate, first, to what extent gratuitous Anglicisms are more present in contemporary Spanish than they have ever been, and secondly, to explain the three main reasons that, in my view, account for their alleged incessant and striking entrance in present-day Peninsular Spanish. Specifically, it offers a diachronic corpus-based study, covering from the tenth to the twenty-first centuries —namely, up to 2015. With superfluous Anglicisms in view, the paper analyzes the actual use and frequency of occurrence of 14 English fashion terms in the different periods of this particular variety of Spanish. The terms are unnecessary, given that they all, except for *nude* ‘color carne’, have a clearly equivalent original Spanish term, according to the bilingual dictionaries checked: *blazer* ‘chaqueta (deportiva, de colegio)’, *celebrity* ‘famoso’, *clutch* ‘bolso de mano’, *cool* ‘de moda’, *fashion* ‘moda’, *fashionable* ‘de moda’, *fashionista* ‘adicto a la moda’, *jeans* ‘vaqueros’, *photocall* ‘sesión de fotos (para la prensa)’, *shorts* ‘pantalones cortos’, *sporty* ‘deportivo’, *trench* ‘trinchera, gabardina’ and *trendy* ‘moderno’.⁴ The corpora chosen to carry out my analysis are, on the other hand, the *Corpus del Español*, created by Davies (2002), and three of the Spanish Royal Academy corpora: (i) the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE); (ii) the annotated version of the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA); (iii) and the *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI* (CORPES XXI).

The paper is structured as follows. In addition to the introductory section (section 1), where the topic of my study, its objectives and the methodology used are outlined, it contains four sections essential to frame and contextualize the study. The first one (section 2) elucidates three of the main problems inherent to the complex phenomenon of lexical borrowings known as “Spanish Anglicisms”:⁵ namely, (i) the terminological confusion that exists around the term; (ii) the dubious or non-English origin of some Anglicisms; (iii) and finally, the well-known distinction between necessary and

superfluous Anglicisms. The second section (section 3) deals with the interconnection that exists between the current process of globalization, the different contemporary mass media, with special emphasis on advertising, and the English language. The third section in this part (section 4) focuses, in turn, on advertising language, which I firmly believe to be in large measure responsible for the widespread use of English in the rest of the world languages. Specifically, three of its distinguishing features will be accounted for: (i) its careful planning; (ii) its connotative load; (iii) and its lexical creativity and innovation. Finally, in section 5, the role that English plays in international advertising, due mainly to its selling power, will be described. Afterwards, in section 6 a detailed description of the data analyzed, the methodology employed, and the findings obtained in my corpus-based study is offered. Special emphasis will be given here, on the one hand, to the treatment —presence/absence— that each of the Anglicisms at issue has received in the lexicographical sources consulted and, on the other, to their frequency of occurrence in the different periods of Peninsular Spanish examined. The paper closes with a concluding section (section 7) where, first, the most significant issues raised are gathered together and, to finish, some suggestions for further research are also made.

2. On Linguistic Borrowings. The Case of Spanish Anglicisms

Despite having always attracted the attention of linguists and speakers, as Gómez Capuz (2004: 11) remarks, linguistic borrowings have never occupied a coherent and central position in the different linguistic subfields, being a marginal topic both in traditional branches like Dialectology and Historical Linguistics and in more modern ones like, for instance, Sociolinguistics. In any case, as pointed out earlier, of all the kinds of borrowings that enter a language, those concerning its lexicon have been undoubtedly the most widely researched. This is so because the lexical level, as Novotná (2007: 6) states, is the part of the language that changes most quickly, since new words appear constantly and, conversely, others fall into disuse or disappear completely.

Since lexical borrowings are necessarily adopted into a language when it lacks an original equivalent term to refer to the extralinguistic reality which the borrowing denotes (cf. Edwards, 1994: 76; Urrutia Cárdenas, 2001: 13; Schmidt and Diemer, 2015: 15), they have to be interpreted as the linguistic consequence of a sociocultural contact between different communities. Although on account of this reason Weinreich (1953) proposed a mixed and broad approach for their study, linguistic at the same time as sociocultural, until very recently the research on lexical borrowings has only been approached either linguistically or sociologically. It has been framed, in fact, in one of the two large and different “schools” or “traditions”, as Gómez Capuz (2004: 13) calls them, where the analysis of such a complex phenomenon originated: on the one hand, the North-American tradition (cf. Bloomfield, 1933; Haugen, 1950; Weinreich, 1953), which, socially oriented, is mainly interested in examining the influence of American English in the diverse European linguistic communities of immigrants located in USA; and on the other, the European school (cf. Betz, 1949; Deroy, 1956; Klajn, 1972),

which, being, in turn, more linguistically oriented, focuses on the phenomenon of lexical borrowings between European languages of a similar prestige and status, like, for instance, English, French, Italian, German and Spanish.

The existence of these two schools, with such diverse and distinct aims, objectives and orientation, has provided many and varied terms for the phenomenon at issue, creating some terminological confusion. Notice in this regard that, whereas the main representatives of the North-American tradition, Bloomfield (1933) and Weinreich (1953), among others, refer, respectively, to borrowings as “intimate borrowings” and “interference”, the term most commonly used within the adherents of the European School (cf. Betz, 1949; Deroy, 1956; Klajn, 1972) is that of “cultural borrowings”. There are, furthermore, some other labels to name borrowings, such as Crystal’s (1997: 22) “loan words” and Newmark’s (1988: 82) concept of “transference”, among others, which make the situation even more complex.⁶

In particular, in the Spanish linguistic tradition, most of the studies carried out on lexical borrowings concern foreign terms coming from English which, due to their linguistic origin, are called Anglicisms (cf. Alfaro, 1948; Fernández García, 1972; Pratt, 1980; Lorenzo, 1996; Medina López, 1996). Based on the most traditional formalist typologies of this particular sociolinguistic and cultural phenomenon, proposed mainly by Betz (1949), Deroy (1956) and Klajn (1972), among others, they usually distinguish, in general terms, though with different names, the three following categories of Spanish Anglicisms:

- (i) Those terms, known as “Patent Anglicisms” (cf. Pratt, 1980; Lorenzo, 1996), which are easily recognized as English, either because they maintain unchanged in Spanish their original English form, like, for example, *hippy* and *ranking* —“raw Anglicisms” (*Anglicismos crudos*) for Lorenzo (1996) and “foreign words” (*extranjerismos*) for Alfaro (1948)— or because, despite their adaptation to Spanish orthographic norms, as can be appreciated in *boicot* and *güisqui*, some clear English trace can be found in them. These are generally referred to as “assimilated Anglicisms” (*Anglicismos asimilados*) by Lorenzo (1996) and “barbarisms” (*barbarismos*) by Alfaro (1948).
- (ii) Those original Spanish terms in form, like, for instance, *romance*, that adopt a foreign meaning in their use: i.e. “amoríos”. Usually included in the general class of “semantic calques” (*calcos semánticos*), they belong to the class of “non-patent Anglicisms” (*Anglicismos no patentes*) in Pratt’s (1980) classification, and to that of “univerbal calques” (*calcos unimembres*) in Lorenzo’s (1996: 492) system.
- (iii) And finally, those lexical calques of English compound words, usually classified as multiverbal so as to be distinguished from those in the previous group, which as Lorenzo (1996: 559) and Gómez Capuz (2004: 40) observe, are literal word-by-word translations into Spanish of English compound terms, no matter their written form. Some examples of this kind, taken from Gómez Capuz (2004: 40), are *basketball* > *baloncesto*, *garden city* > *ciudad jardín*, and *welfare state* > *estado del bienestar*.

Despite their interesting and significant contribution to the study of the universal phenomenon of borrowing,⁷ these works on Spanish Anglicisms entail two main problems that deserve special attention here. On the one hand, the dubious or non-English origin that, according to Lorenzo (1996: 22-23; 29), some of the terms included in their classifications, like, for instance, *vermut*, *esquí*, and *déficit*, have, due mainly to the “omnivorous” capacity of English to “digest” and “assimilate” all the lexical material that can be taken advantage of, no matter its provenance.⁸ And on the other, the debate about the well-known dichotomy between necessary and superfluous Spanish Anglicisms (cf. Lorenzo, 1996: 18; Urrutia Cárdenas, 2001: 13; Schmidt and Diemer, 2015: 15; Rodríguez González, 2016: 8, among others).

Though it is true, as Lorenzo (1996: 22-23; 29) acknowledges, that many of the foreign terms classified as Anglicisms do not come directly from English, they cannot be disregarded and overlooked in any study on English borrowings owing to the crucial role that English plays as an intermediate language in their spread over the world languages. A good example here is López Morales (1987: 303) who, drawing on the frequent distinction established in the literature between direct and indirect borrowings to account for their different etymology (cf. Katamba, 2015: 136), includes both kinds in his broad definition of Anglicisms:⁹

[...] no sólo palabras que proceden del inglés, independientemente de que sean ya generales en el español y de que hayan sido aceptadas por la Academia, sino también aquellas que proceden de otras lenguas, pero que han entrado al español a través del inglés.

In addition, as regards the attitudes towards the entrance of Anglicisms into Spanish, three different positions —the so-called “purist”, “moderate”, and “integrative” points of view, following Schmidt and Diemer (2015: 15-16)— are to be identified. According to the purist position, necessary Anglicisms are a conscious linguistic and cultural enrichment because they comprise those English terms that are really needed in the recipient language, where no equivalent original terms exist to refer to the extralinguistic reality which they designate; usually cultural products, new “technological developments” and the results of “the reorganization of the global economic space” (Cronin, 2003: 121). Their use is, therefore, as Pennycook (1994: 9) states, “natural, neutral and beneficial”. Gratuitous Anglicisms, on the contrary, should be avoided or, at least, reconsidered since they can be replaced by original words of the lexical inventory of the recipient language. In Urrutia Cárdenas’s (2001: 13) view, their use is, therefore, motivated either by some kind of linguistic incompetence or cultural snobbery, which, for Rodríguez González (2016: 8), moreover, entails a sign of foreignness and modernity. From the purist point of view, consequently, not every single foreign word can be freely accepted in the language, as Urrutia Cárdenas (2001: 12) asserts, without thorough judgment and thought.¹⁰

For the “moderate” and “integrative” attitudes, however, such a radical distinction between necessary and unnecessary Anglicisms should be discarded. For the former, because the English influence in Spanish, by “filling up gaps in the lexicon” and

“bringing in new cultural concepts”, is always “enriching” or at least “non-threatening”; and for the latter, which “neutrally describes language contact, as well as its phenomena and change”, because Anglicisms are to be “documented, but not criticized or restricted” (Schmidt and Diemer, 2015: 15-16).

3. Globalization, the Media and English

As Geertz (1986: 121) remarks, we are living “in the midst of an enormous collage”, where, as stated in Cronin (2003: 169), “peoples, culinary and musical traditions, forms of dress, furnishings, and iconographies are all juxtaposed and thrown together”. There is no doubt, therefore, that we are living in a global world and era (cf. Silverstone, 1999: 106; Geertz, 1986: 121; Cronin, 2003: 169; Williams, 2011: 28). Nevertheless, understanding what globalization means is not easy because, on the one hand, there is little consensus about what it is (cf. Cronin, 2003; MacGillivray, 2006), and on the other, as put forward in Held et al. (1999: 436), because there is “no single coherent theory of globalization and the empirical data generated to assess the impact of global change is limited and contradictory”.

Be that as it may, with these two ideas in mind, globalization can be briefly and generally described, following Robertson (1992: 8), as “the compression of the world”. Therefore, since “English is in the world and the world is in English”, as Pennycook (2001: 78) observes, it is not surprising that over the last thirty years the English language has become the unanimously recognized global *lingua franca* (cf. De Mooij, 1994: 5; Edwards, 1994: 41; Hjarvard, 2004: 76; Montes Fernández, 2006: 217; Schmidt and Diemer, 2015: 11).

The mass media in the twenty-first century world has indeed greatly contributed to the promotion of English as the contemporary international language for several reasons:¹¹ first, because, since it is “assumed to have created a ‘global culture’”, as De Mooij (1994: 4) remarks, there is no globalization without media and communications (cf. Rantanen, 2002: 1; 2005: 4; Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 143); secondly, because the mass media pervades our lives to such a great extent that human beings have become highly dependent on it (cf. Silverstone, 1999: 1-2; Gripsrud, 2002: 3; Jaworski, 2007: 271); in the third place, because, connecting “us to the world outside” and reminding “us that we are members of a society and a world with [...] many places and levels”, in Gripsrud’s (2002: 4) words, the different mass media have such an enormous and powerful socio-cultural impact on our lives (cf. De Mooij, 1994: 121; Urrutia Cárdenas, 2001: 12; Jaworski, 2007: 271) that for Urrutia Cárdenas (2001: 12), in particular, it is even greater than that of educational action:

Los medios de comunicación social (radio, prensa, televisión e internet) son también un importantísimo vehículo de cultura y de formación lingüística. La influencia social de estos medios es extraordinaria. Sin duda, tienen mayor influencia que la acción escolar.

And finally, because the language of international mass media and communications is, undoubtedly, English.

Within the different contemporary mass media, advertising plays a pivotal role in the spread of English to the other languages of the world, since it is, without any doubt, the means of communication where the aforementioned features most clearly converge.¹² In fact, the role which advertising plays in the increasing globalization of the communications industries cannot be denied (cf. Englis 1994: vii; Lester, 1994: 4; De Mooij, 1994: 5; Montes Fernández, 2006). A simple look around us is, indeed, more than enough to perceive the globalized environment of contemporary worldwide advertising:

Take a look around you: you get up in the morning, put on your Italian shoes, get into your German car, go to your office where you use an American computer, and in the evening you watch your Japanese television set, eating a piece of Dutch cheese and drinking a glass of French wine or Scotch whisky. This is the environment of worldwide advertising: the integration of domestic, international, multinational and global or transnational business. (De Mooij, 1994: 5)

On the other hand, as Cook (2008a: 2) explains, its ubiquity and influence in our lives, not only reflecting but also creating culture (cf. Cook, 1992: 5; 2008b: 237; Lester, 1994: 7; Ferraz Martínez, 1995: 10; Fairclough, 2008: 219), are two other incontestable facts which cannot be questioned either:

The contemporary advertisement is everywhere in our lives, jumping out at us from inside the older genres it has come to dominate. It colonises our screens, interrupts our entertainments, punctuates our news, plasters our walls, lines our roadsides, mingles with public information and decorates almost every object we buy. [...] and it frames, represents—arguably even determines— both the broad social issues and the narrow personal agendas of our lives.

And finally, its adoption of English as *lingua franca*, as will be elucidated in section 5, also leaves no room for doubt (cf. De Mooij, 1994: 5; Bathia, 2008: 166).

4. The Language of Advertising

Smith (1982: 190) has described the language of advertising as a “functional dialect” since, as explained in Kelly-Holmes (2005: 8), it is used for a particular purpose. Thus, advertising language has to be understood as a specific linguistic variety, different from normal and everyday expression, which, following Leech (2008: 176), is characterized in terms of its attention value, readability (or ‘listenability’), memorability, and selling power. As stated in the vast and extensive literature on the language of advertising (cf. Vestegaard and Schroder, 1985; Block De Behar, 1992; Ferraz Martínez, 1995; Bartha, 1997; Crompton and McAlea, 2000; Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Robles Ávila, 2005; Bathia, 2008; Cook, 2008b; Dyer, 2008; Leech, 2008; McQuarrie and Mick, 2008; Rodríguez

Díaz, 2011; García Morales et al., 2016), the distinguishing traits that make it different from ordinary and regular language are the following:¹³

- (i) In opposition to everyday language, advertising language cannot be considered natural and spontaneous because it is, as any written genre, planned much in advance:

[...] language choices in advertising are not the result of a random process; they represent the attempt to use language to achieve a particular market-oriented goal, and the words present in the advertising texts are there because a very conscious decision has been taken to put them there and not to put other words there (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 36).

- (ii) Advertising language is more connotative than denotative (cf. Bonney and Wilson, 1990: 192; Ferraz Martínez, 1995: 10-11; Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 9; Robles Ávila, 2005: 129), thus being a clear example, for Leech (2008: 174) and Dyer (2008: 299), among others, of so-called “loaded language”. As Ferraz Martínez (1995: 10) explains, it is not the products themselves, but the connotations which they evoke, defined by Cook (1992: 45) as “a vague and indeterminate world of associations quite alien to any description with pretensions to scientific rigour”, that the consumer wants to get and buy. As Ferraz Martínez (1995: 11) goes on to say, what is more important is that all advertisements are always intended to connote the same thing; basically, the excellence of the products or the services promoted, thus making them the consumer’s immediate desire. Hence, what really matters in advertisements is not their content, as Dyer (2008: 300) observes, but their linguistic style:

[...] some ads rely more on the style of language than its actual content. In ads, for, say, a foreign product like French cheese, wine or cigarettes, the speech or writing might be in the French language. We are not really expected to understand the literal meaning of the words used nor to decipher the details of the sales message but merely to recognize that it is French —a sign in itself that signifies ‘Frenchness’—.

As a consequence, “products [...] become a badge of membership”, since “by buying the product you are adopting a certain way of life” (Goatly, 2008: 92; 95). Consumers, thus, become part of a social group, “connoted”, quoting Ferraz Martínez (1995: 10), “with specific qualities such as modernity, youth, luxury, etc”. This same idea is developed by Gripsrud (2002: 82), who considers that the goods and services promoted in ads are “signs of lifestyle” and “identity”, which “tell others who we are or, rather, who we want to be”. It is in this regard that Fairclough (2008: 21) explains that advertising works ideologically by building relations, images and even the consumer.

- (iii) In order to get the aforementioned connotative effects, advertising language becomes, in Gripsrud’s (2002: 33) words, “something with which we can play and experiment”, because “it may ‘create’ reality in the sense that it can make us

perceive the world differently”. Since language is used in advertising to take action and to engage with others in social life (cf. Halliday, 1970; Widdowson, 2008), “advertisement authors”, as Bathia (2008: 165) explains, “do not hesitate to sacrifice grammaticality to achieve some high-level socio- and psycholinguistic effects”. It is, nevertheless, in the varied and heterogeneous lexicon used in advertising that the creative and innovative power of language is most clearly perceived and exploited (cf. Ferraz Martínez, 1995). Being full, on the one hand, of technical terms, and, on the other, of foreign words, which, for Kelly-Holmes (2005: 17), “give a text an elitist flavor” and for Ting-Toomey (1999: 98) are “a signal of in-group intimacy or connection”, the advertising lexicon breaks the standard norms in order to gain the potential consumers’ attention (cf. Robles Ávila, 2005: 138; Cook, 2008a: 6; Rodríguez Díaz, 2011: 173; García Morales et al., 2016: 22). In sum, as Crystal (2008: 418) argues, “language play is part of the essence of advertising”.

5. The English Language in International Advertising. The Selling Power of English

According to Bathia (2008: 166), “[t]he investigation of the language used in advertising across cultures shows that language mixing is universal and not an exceptional phenomenon”. And here, there is no doubt that English is the most favored foreign language selected for global mixing, in order to satisfy the creative and innovative needs of the advertising industry (cf. Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 182-183; Bathia, 2008: 166).

This is so because the English language, as stated in Kelly-Holmes (2005: 104; 182-183) and Bathia (2008: 166), takes a number of different, always positive, “associations” and “fetishes” —among others, modernization, Westernization, internationalism, standardization, safety, protection, domesticity, independence, informality, efficiency, competence (including scientific, technological and academic), organization, sophistication, quality, utility, physical and mental fitness, tradition, innovation and futuristic trends— which, according to Lee (2006: 59), lead to the “linguistic constructions of modernity”. Or in simpler terms, just because, as Lorenzo (1996: 11), Baumgardner (2006: 252) and García Morales et al. (2016: 19) remark, “English sells”.

Due to its selling power, therefore, it should not strike the reader as surprising that advertising, defined as “[t]he promotion of goods and services for sale through impersonal media” (Cook, 2008b: 245), makes excessive and disproportionate use of English terms. This same line of thought is brought to light by Rodríguez González (2016: 9), who openly asserts that, as expected, “los publicistas son los primeros en hacer uso desmesurado del inglés, sobre todo en el campo de la moda”.

Spanish advertising is, obviously, no exception here since it is one of the linguistic codes where most foreign words are to be found in the twenty-first century. Within them, Anglicisms occupy, undoubtedly, a privileged position for they are, as previously

explained, the most numerous (cf. Gómez Capuz, 2004: 23; Rodríguez González, 2016: 7). In this regard, the report issued by the General Secretary of the Spanish Advertising Agency, Enrique Yarza (2016), in collaboration with the Complutense University of Madrid, is highly significant because it reveals that the number of English terms in Spanish advertising has remarkably increased in the last twelve years: whereas in 2003 there were around 30 brands, associated mainly with the automotion, beauty and fashion sectors, using Anglicisms, in 2015 the number has risen to 322 firms, including new fields such as leisure, transport, finance, culture, the home, etc., which resort to the English language to promote their products and services. So, together with traditional slogans like, for instance, Ford's "Go Further" and Skoda's "Simply clever", new ones, like Samsung's "Next is now" or "The Italian Sense of Beauty", used by Porcelanosa to promote the Scavolini brand of kitchen furniture, are attested nowadays. Moreover, Yarza (2016) observes that, apart from the prototypical channels used in advertising (radio, television and the written press), there are some others, newer and more modern, like walls, billboards and the shopwindows of any Spanish city, not to mention the Web, that are fostering an extreme and immoderate use of English to endorse goods and products. There, "Lunar Midnight Park" to advertise running shoes, "Must Have Vestidos Fiesta" and "Fresh and Tasty", among many others, can be found nowadays, thus becoming common mottos for any Spanish resident.¹⁴

Given the distinction between necessary and unnecessary Anglicisms previously accounted for, it should be noticed here that, although many of the English terms used in Spanish advertising are superfluous, they are not rejected by Spanish people, as Durán Martínez (2002: 44) observes, but, quite on the contrary, are widely permitted. According to García Morales et al. (2016: 23-27), the different reasons for the widespread use and acceptance of unnecessary Anglicisms in Spanish advertising can be summarized as follows:

- (i) In Spanish, English, as the official language of Anglo-American civilization, is considered to be the language of prestige. Because of this, as Lázaro Carreter (1987: 39) emphasizes, Anglicisms do not voluntarily "invade" us; we consciously "appeal" for them;
- (ii) For young people, the use of English implies linguistic snobbery (cf. Durán Martínez, 2002: 179);
- (iii) The musicality of English, together with the huge number of monosyllabic words it possesses, helps satisfy two of the basic properties of advertising language: its memorability (cf. Leech, 2008: 116) and its economy (cf. Rodríguez Díaz, 2011: 176).

In sum, I conclude, in complete agreement with Rodríguez González (2016: 12), that Anglicisms are so frequently used in Spanish advertising due to their noticeable expressive linguistic function.¹⁵

Puede decirse entonces que el empleo del Anglicismo es susceptible de adquirir una "función argótica", marcadamente expresiva. En el campo de la publicidad el Anglicismo,

como en el argot, es doblemente expresivo pues, además de servir como rasgo de estilo para introducir variación, como cualidad estilística, cumple funciones pragmáticas ligadas a la intencionalidad del mensaje. Por sí mismo connota modernidad pero ayuda también a resaltar un concepto y sorprender y captar la atención del lector u oyente.

6. A Diachronic Corpus-Based Study of Present-Day Spanish Fashion Lexicon. Methodology, Data and Results

As Bathia (2008: 159) observes, Spanish and Italian are two Romance languages placed “somewhere in the middle of the continuum of closed and open languages” which “are also receptive to English mixing”.¹⁶ This statement is, in fact, verified in Gómez Cápuz (2004: 23-24), where Anglicisms are indeed highly attested in many and varied semantic fields in contemporary Spanish; namely, (i) gastronomy; (ii) fashion, where items of clothing and cosmetics are included; (iii) leisure activities, places and gambling; (iv) professions typical of Anglo-American culture; (v) politics and economics; (vi) music and urban tribes; (vii) cinema, television and shows; (viii) health and fitness; (ix) housing; (x) the military field; (xi) means of transport and urban planning; (xii) mass media and communications; (xiii) the natural and physical sciences; (xiv) and technology.

Bathia (2008: 146-147), however, argues that English is “restricted to those discourse domains which are traditionally held by English”, like, for instance, science and technology, and consequently, that “English mixing is unlikely to make its way into those domains which are held by absorbing languages for a long time”. Therefore, for him, some of the aforementioned semantic fields —romance, sophistication and fashion, in particular— are resistant to English borrowings because they have been traditionally associated with French.

Although “the hegemony of English in the fastest-growing areas of technological development”, witnessed in an incessant terminological creation in this language, as Cronin (2003: 121; 146) remarks, does not leave room for any doubt, Bathia’s (2008) assumption is not completely right because, as the following text, extracted from an Internet blog published in 2013, shows, the contemporary Spanish fashion lexicon is full of English terms:

Esta temporada las *trendsetters* han dictado sentencia: se llevan los *prints tie dye*, combinados con unos buenos tacones *peep toe*, con *blazer* y *clutch* a juego. ¡El paraíso de todas las *fashionistas*!

Si tras leer esta frase te has quedado igual que si hubieras consultado un manual de chino mandarín, tenemos la solución para ti. Últimamente hemos adoptado tantos Anglicismos,

que comprender una revista de moda puede convertirse en una misión imposible, principalmente para las lectoras de a pie, que no tienen por qué conocer al dedillo la jerga del sector. (<http://www.enfemenino.com/tendencias/fashion-victim-diccionario-de-moda-d51442.html>) (Last access: April 2017)

This premise is also supported by Balteiro (2014: 160), for whom “sometimes the impression” one gets “when looking at the front page of a fashion magazine in Spanish [...] is that it is written in English, that it is a bilingual publication, or that it is mixing up both codes”.

What, for the purposes of this study, deserves special attention in the previous quotation is that the English fashion vocabulary used in it could have been replaced by Spanish original terms or expressions without great differences in meaning—a fact that seems to suggest, thus, that the prediction concerning the incessant entrance of unnecessary Anglicisms in present-day Spanish, initially formulated by Lorenzo (1996: 18), holds true. A *trendsetter* is, in fact, an ‘iniciador o pionero de la moda’, the *prints dye* above mentioned are simply ‘estampados’, the *tacones peep toe* refer to those ‘zapatos con la puntera abierta’, the traditional *blazer* denotes a ‘chaqueta’, the *clutch* alludes to a ‘bolso de mano’, and finally, *fashionistas* points to ‘gente adicta a la moda’.

6.1. Data and Methodology

In order to verify Lorenzo’s (1996: 18) hypothesis, I will analyze the frequency of occurrence that the following 14 superfluous “patent Anglicisms” (cf. Pratt, 1980; Lorenzo, 1996) have at different stages in the evolution of Peninsular Spanish: *blazer*, *celebrity*, *clutch*, *cool*, *fashion* and its derivatives *fashionable* and *fashionista*, *jeans*, *nude*, *photocall*, *shorts*, *sporty*, *trench* and *trendy*. With the exception of *fashionista*, which adds the Spanish suffix *-ista* to an English stem, all the others maintain unaltered in Spanish their English form, thus belonging to the group of Lorenzo’s (1996) “raw Anglicisms” (*Anglicismos crudos*) and to that of “foreign words” (*extranjerismos*) in Alfaro’s (1948) classification. As explained earlier, they are gratuitous Anglicisms because they have equivalent original Spanish terms or expressions to name the extra-linguistic reality they designate: ‘chaqueta (deportiva, de colegio)’, ‘famoso’, ‘bolso de mano’, ‘de moda’, ‘moda’, ‘moderno’, ‘persona adicta a la moda’, ‘vaqueros’, ‘color carne’, ‘sesión de fotos’, ‘pantalones cortos’, ‘deportivo’, ‘trinchera, gabardina’ and ‘moderno’.

Their selection, instead of that of others, is mainly motivated by their recurrent presence in Spanish shopwindows, websites and current fashion magazines, as illustrated in the following examples retrieved at one single mouse click from the *Hola Fashion* magazine website:

- (1) Cómo ser ‘cool’ con un uniforme deportivo. Te contamos como una biker de cuero o unas ‘sneakers’ de aire motero pueden transformar un ‘look’ ‘sporty’ desenfadado en sofisticado. (13/01/2017)

- (2) El **'blazer'**: Cómo lucirlo [...] Combínala con básicos de estética casual. Camiseta+**jeans**+sneakers, una combinación perfecta para restar seriedad a la prenda y conseguir un aire **cool**. (20/10/2016)
- (3) ¿Qué **'clutch'** se ha convertido en la 'pieza' imprescindible de todos los 'looks'? Este diseño, inspirado en las piezas de Lego, es uno de los favoritos de las **'celebrities'**. (29/10/2013)
- (4) 100% **'trendy'**, de la mañana a la noche. **Shorts** y sandalias planas para el día, cuñas altas para unos refrigerios afterwork, tacones y toques de brillo para un look de noche. (13/05/2014)
- (5) Esta temporada los estilos colegial y deportivo se han convertido en los hits de todas las colecciones: el estampado de cuadros y las sudaderas invaden los armarios de las **fashionistas y celebrities**. (18/11/2013)
- (6) **Photocalls**, alfombras rojas, front-rows... Espacios que se convierten en principales testigos de qué prendas y complementos llevan a la reina de la armada **fashion** neoyorquina a reutilizar sus prendas fetiche. (18/11/2014)
- (7) [...] el **trench** fue una de las piezas clave. [...] la diseñadora [...] le ha dado a esta prenda un toque más actual [...] aunque conservando su característico color **nude**. (11/09/2017)

Though the lexical inventory under study is clearly unbalanced in terms of the lexical category of its components, its disproportion is justified since it confirms the 'hierarchy of borrowability', described, among others, in Pulcini et al. (2012: 9) and MacKenzie (2012: 31), where foreign concrete nouns come first, closed-class words at the end, and adjectives, together with abstract nouns, verbs and adverbs, in the middle. Notice that it consists, specifically, of nine nouns, five of which denote different items of clothing —*blazer*, *clutch*, *jeans*, *shorts*, and *trench*— and four ones also highly frequent in the contemporary fashion world —*fashion*, *fashionista*, *celebrity*, and *photocall*—, along with five adjectives that, by qualifying different fashion styles —*cool*, *fashionable*, *sporty*, and *trendy*— or describing a particular color —*nude*— are, likewise, visible representatives of this particular lexical field. *Cool* and *trendy*, in particular, are included in the group of adjectives which MacKenzie (2012: 38) describes as "widely diffused in Scandinavia", as well as in some of the Spanish lexicographical sources examined, as will be detailed later.

As most of the chosen terms are nouns, they have been looked for in the corpora used in my analysis in the singular and plural. This double search has also been applied to the adjectival Anglicisms in my inventory because, although in Spanish they should be invariable in number, following their English morphological behaviour, their inflected pluralization is sometimes a common well-founded fact (cf. Rodríguez González, 2017: 327-328). Therefore, since some Anglicisms in the plural "give rise, especially in writing, to noticeable variation", as Rodríguez González (2017: 299-300) highlights, all the possible written plural forms in which the terms in my list can appear —both accepted and non-accepted in standard Peninsular Spanish by the Royal Academy— have been considered. In particular,

- (i) For the four Anglicisms whose singular form ends in a consonant different from *-ch* —*blazer, fashion, cool, and photocall*— two different plural orthographic forms have been examined: (i) the supposed accepted form which, after the English canonical rule of pluralization, adds an *-s* to this kind of words; (ii) and the non-accepted version ending in *-es*, wrongly applied to them by analogy with the Spanish plurals of the words that, like, for instance, *color, camión* and *farol*, finish in the same consonants as the foreign terms.
- (ii) Two plural forms have also been searched for the two nouns —*clutch* and *trench*— whose singular form ends in the affricate sound [tʃ], graphically represented with the spelling *-ch*: (i) their approved plural form in *-es*, also borrowed from English; (ii) and their wrong plural form in *-s*, which results from overgeneralizing the Spanish pluralization rule applied to those English terms, such as *pub* and *club*, among others, whose singular form ends in the plosive [b] sound.
- (iii) Although the plural of *jeans* and *shorts* is strongly consolidated in Spanish and thus far from being a problem, owing to the inexistence of their singular form in English, these two Anglicisms have also being analyzed in the singular because their Spanish counterparts do show number contrast: ‘pantalón(es) vaquero(s)/corto(s)’.
- (iv) Since the pluralization of those Anglicisms that finish in a vowel different from *-y* —*fashionable, fashionista* and *nude*— is not problematic, for them only one single form, the one that ends in *-s*, has been taken into consideration. However, for the three Anglicisms with a final *-y* vocalic sound —*celebrity, sporty, and trendy*—, four plural orthographic forms have been examined: (i) the original English plural in *-ies*; (ii) their accepted Spanish plural form in *-is*; (iii) and their two wrong plural versions which end, in turn, either in *-ys* or *-yes*.

In addition, the corpora where their real use and productivity have been looked for are the following ones: (i) the *Corpus del Español*, created by Professor Davies (2002), which contains more than 100 million written and spoken words compiled from different varieties of Spanish (approximately, 50% Peninsular Spanish and 50% Latin American Spanish), dating from the thirteenth up to the twentieth centuries; (ii) the *CORDE* corpus, which consists of 250 million Peninsular (74%) and Latin American (26%) Spanish forms extracted from texts of very different genres written during the period that goes from the very beginning of the language, dated in 950 in *Oncins-Martínez* (2012: 20), to 1974;¹⁷ (iii) the annotated version of the *CREA* corpus, first published in November 2015, with more than 126 million written words of Peninsular and Latin American Spanish (each variety accounting for 50%) produced in the period that goes from 1975 to 2000;¹⁸ (iv) and finally, the *CORPES XXI* corpus, which comprises 225 million written and oral forms from Peninsular (30%) and Latin American (70%) Spanish belonging to the period ranging from 2001 to 2015:

	Time span	Number of words	Number of words in	Registers
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			Peninsular Spanish	
<i>Corpus del Español</i>	13th c.-20th c.	+100 million words	+50 million words	written/spoken
<i>CORDE</i>	950-1974	250 million words	185 million words	written
<i>CREA (annotated)</i>	1975-2000	+126 million words	63 million words	written
<i>CORPES XXI</i>	2001-2015	225 million words	67,5 million words	written/spoken

Table 1: Periods, registers and number of words in the corpora

Although these four corpora provide an online interface, they are somehow different. For Oncins-Martínez (2012: 220), for instance, the one in the *CORDE* corpus “is not as user-friendly as those in other similar —if smaller— corpora (e.g. Davies’s *Corpus del Español*)” because in it relative frequencies must be “manually calculated using the figures given in the statistics section”. In the three other corpora, however, both the raw and normalized frequencies of the results obtained are offered. Another significant difference among these corpora concerns the search options available in them: time, types of texts and registers and varieties of Spanish. Specifically, this last variable, essential for the purposes of my work, is present in the three Spanish Royal Academy corpora, but absent from the *Corpus del Español*. Therefore, with this in mind, each of the attestations retrieved for each of the Anglicisms under study has been closely analyzed so as to exclude the following occurrences:

(i) Those instances in which the English term is a proper name:

(8) Por el **Portland Trail Blazers** volvió a destacar su bombardero blanco Kiki Vandeweghe [...]. (*CREA*, Prensa, 1986)

(9) **Jean Chalon** estalla con la risa jovial, inofensiva y contagiosa del chico mimado por la fortuna que mantiene intactas sus ambiciones juveniles. (*Corpus del Español*, Oral: interview *ABC*)

(ii) Those examples where the word examined appears in a context that is not Spanish:

(10) Deinceps per praedicationem qualis dicta est, populus qui est pronissimus ad suggestiones, curiositates et sortilegia credenda, reditur proclivior dum talia palam accipit in sermonibus, in quibus fides recta solido et **nude** praedicanda foret, et in ea populus nutriendus plus, quam in fabulis ancilibus. (*CORDE*, 1818)

(iii) Those ones in which the meaning of the Anglicism is not the one in which we are interested here, like *cool*, for instance, referring to jazz music in (11), or *clutch* in (12), denoting, in turn, ‘embrague’:

(11) En la actualidad todas las corrientes conviven y evolucionan en sus estilos (ragtime, blues, dixieland, big band, espirituales, bebop, **cool** jazz, freejazz, electric jazz, etc.) bajo el amplio paraguas del término jazz, [...]. (*CREA*, Miscelánea, 1998)

- (12) El primero [...] está formado por el volante del motor, un plato conductor que gira junto a éste y un disco conducido o de **clutch** situado entre ambos que está unido al eje primario o flecha de mando de la caja de cambios (*Corpus del Español*, http://es.encarta.msn.com/artcenter_/browse.html)
- (iv) And finally, also those instances from the *Corpus del Español* in which the English borrowings have been attested in a variety different from Peninsular Spanish:
- (13) Sepp Blatter se presentó en punto de las 10:30 de la mañana en un elegante **blazer** beige. (*Corpus del Español*, Mex: Yucatán: 97Jun28)
- (14) Visten por una moda importada; sus blue-**jeans** (bluyín) y sus florecitas son importadas de... Estados Unidos, de Miami o de Nueva York; (*Corpus del Español*. Habla Culta: Caracas: M1)

6.2. Results

The first significant inference that stands out from my diachronic corpus-based analysis is that all the Anglicisms examined, except for *fashionable* and *sporty*, exhibit a much higher frequency of occurrence in present-day Peninsular Spanish than in any of the other stages of its evolution, as manifest in Table 2, where both the raw and normalized frequencies per million words for each of them —abbreviated, respectively, as RF and NF— are indicated. Notice in this regard that the total number of 44 Anglicisms attested from the tenth to the twentieth centuries —16 found in Davies' *Corpus del Español* (a NF of 0,32) and the remaining 28 ones in the *CORDE* corpus (a NF of 0,141)— rises to 661, a figure fifteen times bigger, in the last quarter of the twentieth century and the first fifteen years of the twenty-first century; 95 Anglicisms have been found, in fact, in the annotated version of the *CREA* corpus (a NF of 1,46) and 566 in the *CORPES XXI* corpus (a NF of 8,25):

ANGLICISMS	<i>Corpus del Español</i> (13th c.-20th c.)		<i>CORDE</i> (950-1974)		<i>Annotated CREA</i> (1975-2000)		<i>CORPES XXI</i> (2001-2015)	
	RF	NF	RF	NF	RF	NF	RF	NF
<i>Blazer</i> (1880)	-	-	-	-	10	0.15	51	0.75
<i>Blazers</i>	-	-	-	-	6	0.09	10	0.14
<i>Blazeres</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Celebrity</i> (1831)	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	0.13
<i>Celebrities</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	0.62
<i>Celebritis</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.01
<i>Celebritys</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Celebrityes</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Clutch</i> (1950)	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	0.11
<i>Clutches</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.01
<i>Clutchs</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Cool</i> (1884)	-	-	-	-	12	0.19	174	2.57
<i>Cools</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Cooles</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Fashion</i> (1490)	2	0.04	1	0.005	-	-	113	1.67
<i>Fashions</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.02

<i>Fashiones</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Fashionable</i> (1630)	7	0.14	13	0.07	-	-	-	-
<i>Fashionables</i>	3	0.06	4	0.02	-	-	-	-
<i>Fashionista</i> (1992)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	0.10
<i>Fashionistas</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	0.05
<i>Jean</i> (1843)	-	-	-	-	1	0.01	-	-
<i>Jeans</i>	2	0.04	3	0.016	28	0.44	49	0.72
<i>Nude</i> (1922)	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	0.22
<i>Nudes</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Photocall</i> (1958)	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	0.14
<i>Photocalls</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.01
<i>Photocalles</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Short</i>	1	0.02	2	0.01	14	0.22	3	0.04
<i>Shorts</i> (1826)	1	0.02	5	0.02	22	0.34	35	0.51
<i>Sporty</i> (1895)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Sporties</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Sportis</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Sportys</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Sportyes</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Trench</i> (1917)	-	-	-	-	1	0.01	4	0.05
<i>Trenches</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Trenchs</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.01
<i>Trendy</i> (1962)	-	-	-	-	1	0.01	24	0.35
<i>Trendies</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.01
<i>Trendis</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Trendys</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.01
<i>Trendyes</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	16	0.32	28	0.141	95	1.46	566	8.25

Table 2: Raw and normalized frequencies of the Anglicisms studied

This initial result is, obviously, the expected one for *clutch*, *fashionista*, *nude*, *photocall*, *trench*, and *trendy* since, having entered English along the twentieth century, as indicated in the *OED* (2017) and illustrated between brackets next to them in Table 2, their presence in Peninsular Spanish can only be verified in the contemporary period. To my mind, this is also probably the reason why, with the exception of *trendy*—only registered in Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997)—none of the others has a place in the bibliography reviewed.

Fashionista, specifically, is a particular case to consider because, though a clear Anglicism coming from *fashionist* (an English term first attested probably in ?1624), it has become part of the English lexicon in 1992 as a “borrowing coming from Spanish” (*OED*, 2017). It is, thus, its recent entry date in English that explains why its use in Peninsular Spanish, (15-16), is only registered in the *OLD* (2017):

- (15) [...] éste fue publicado en Inglaterra bajo el transparente alias hembra de Danuta de Rhodes: una precoz **fashionista** que ya a sus doce años firmaba artículos en las mejores revistas de moda, [...] (*CORPES XXI*, Prensa, 2005)
- (16) Puede, pero dudo que las **fashionistas** vayan a agotar las existencias de esta colección algo ochentera y más bien sosa. (*CORPES XXI*, Internet, 2006)

What surprises, consequently, about *fashionista* is the attestation dates of the 11 singular and plural instances found with it, which, as shown in Table 3, occur much later in time in Peninsular Spanish, over a recent short span of eight years (2005-2012), than the Spanish borrowing in English:

	<i>Corpus del Español</i> (13th c.-20th c.)	<i>CORDE</i> (950-1974)	<i>Annotated CREA</i> (1975-2000)	<i>CORPES XXI</i> (2001-2015)
<i>Fashionista</i> (1992)	-	-	-	7 Books (1 instance) 2006 Press (4 instances) 2005 (2), 2009, 2010 Internet (2 instances) 2012 (2)
<i>Fashionistas</i>	-	-	-	4 Books (1 instance) 2008 Press (1 instance) 2008 Internet (2 instances) 2006, 2012

Table 3: Corpora distribution of *fashionista(s)* per year/register

The closest Anglicisms in time to *fashionista* of the ones in my inventory are *photocall* and *trendy*, which, according to the *OED* (2017), have entered English approximately thirty years earlier, after the mid-twentieth century; in 1958 and 1962, respectively. Despite a temporal interval of only five years between them, there are significant differences between the distribution and number of attestations obtained for each of these Anglicisms:

	<i>Corpus del Español</i> (13th c.-20th c.)	<i>CORDE</i> (950-1974)	<i>Annotated CREA</i> (1975-2000)	<i>CORPES XXI</i> (2001-2015)
<i>Photocall</i> (1958)	-	-	-	10 Books (2 instances) 2012 (2)

				Press (5 instances) 2009, 2012 (4) Internet (3 instances) 2011, 2012 (2)
<i>Photocalls</i>	-	-	-	1 Internet (1 instance) 2012
<i>Trendy</i> (1962)	-	-	1 Book (1 instance) 1997	24 Books (9 instances) 2008 (2), 2010, 2012 (5), 2013 Press (12 instances) 2002, 2003 (2), 2006 (3), 2008, 2009 (2), 2010 (2) 2012 Internet (3 instances) 2011 (2), 2012
<i>Trendys</i>	-	-	-	1 Internet (1 instance) 2010
<i>Trendies</i>	-	-	-	1 Press (1 instance) 2002

Table 4: Corpora distribution of *photocall* and *trendy* per year/register

Though documented earlier in English than *trendy*, *photocall* in my corpus search has yielded fewer instances: 11 versus 27. All of them are, furthermore, quite new and recent, being found, except for example (17), in the second decade of the twenty-first century:

- (17) Unas fotografías de la pareja paseando por la noche han puesto de nuevo a la canaria en primera línea del rostro más buscado para los ‘**photocall**’, [...]. (*CORPES XXI*, Prensa, 2009).

In my view, there are two reasons that account for the uneven results obtained for *photocall* and *trendy*: on the one hand, their different lexical categories; and on the other, the number of varying plural forms they may have. As a concrete noun, *photocall* just denotes a discrete entity —namely, “An occasion arranged to enable a celebrity or celebrities to pose for photographers” (*OED*, 2017)— and, consequently, has a very restricted usage. Conversely, as an adjective that means “Fashionable, up to date,

following the latest trend” (*OED*, 2017), *trendy* can modify a wide range of entities, as seen in (18-20), thus multiplying its possibilities of use:

- (18) En los albores del año 2000 se ha introducido el gusto por las opciones múltiples. No es posible siquiera ser **trendy**; adictos a la última moda; (*CREA*, Libro, 1997)
- (19) En resumen, que esta temporada, los chicos podéis estar cómodos y abrigaditos a la par que **trendys**, [...]. (*CORPES XXI*, Internet, 2010)
- (20) Sebastián Pila es el encargado de Doble A, una de las tiendas de moda mas **trendies** de Madrid. (*CORPES XXI*, Prensa, 2002)

Though both Anglicisms have been described before as problematic in terms of their pluralization in Spanish, not all of their possible plural forms have been attested in my study. As seen in the previous examples, for *trendy* only its English plural version, (20), and the unaccepted Spanish form in *-ys*, (19), out of the three potential ones, have been documented. As regards *photocall*, of its two probable alternatives, only its accepted plural form in standard Spanish has been obtained, (21):

- (21) [...] en los «saldillos de prensa» se venden las prendas que se han utilizado durante tres o cuatro meses en producciones de moda de revistas, o para vestir a famosos en los «**photocalls**». (*CORPES XXI*, Internet, 2012)

Less numerous are the instances obtained for *clutch* and *trench*, despite being older in English than the terms previously discussed. Specifically, nine attestations have been found with the former and six with the latter. With only one exception for *trench*, they all are located in the twenty-first century:

	<i>Corpus del Español</i> (13th c.-20th c.)	<i>CORDE</i> (950-1974)	<i>Annotated CREA</i> (1975-2000)	<i>CORPES XXI</i> (2001-2015)
<i>Clutch</i> (1950)	-	-	-	8 Books (1 instance) 2009 Internet (7 instances) 2011 (5), 2012 (2)
<i>Clutches</i>	-	-	-	1 Internet (1 instance) 2010
<i>Trench</i> (1917)	-	-	1 Book (1 instance) 1997	4 Books (3 instances) 2007, 2008, 2009 Internet (1 instance) 2010
<i>Trenches</i>	-	-	-	1 Press

				(1 instance) 2006
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Table 5: Corpora distribution of *clutch* and *trench* per year/register

What deserves special attention in relation to both Anglicisms is that they have entered Pensinsular Spanish as the shortened versions of *clutch bag* and *trench coat*, as seen in (22-23), which, curiously enough, however, are not registered as such in the English-Spanish bilingual lexicographical sources examined. In the *OED* (2017), in turn, their presence is confirmed but in reference to the aforementioned compound terms:

- (22) El **clutch** de volantes de Yves Saint Laurent. ¡Es París! (*CORPES XXI*, Libro, 2009)
 (23) Llevaba un **trench** de color verde jade que se quitó para entrar en el vehículo [...]. (*CORPES XXI*, Libro, 2008)

On the other hand, their plural forms, though just attested once with each Anglicism, are not homogeneous since, whereas the one found with *clutch* adopts the approved version in Spanish of the English plural, (24), the one with *trench* wrongly overgeneralizes the Spanish rule for some foreign plurals, thus becoming the non-accepted standard alternative, (25):

- (24) En su catálogo podemos encontrar shopping bags enormes, [...], o bandoleras en charol de lo más chic, pasando por algunas piezas más clásicas pero atemporales, como los **clutches** con forma de sobre en ante negro. (*CORPES XXI*, Internet, 2010)
 (25) Bombers revisados, faldas acolchadas y una gran variación de **trenchs** en un desfile en el que el tejido de gabardina fue muy especial [...] (*CORPES XXI*, Prensa, 2006)

The meaning of *nude* that refers to a particular colour is dated in English in 1922. However, it is not until 2003, as illustrated in Table 6, that it is attested in my corpus search, and this accounts for its complete absence in all the dictionaries consulted:

	<i>Corpus del Español</i> (13th c-20th c.)	<i>CORDE</i> (950-1974)	<i>Annotated CREA</i> (1975-2000)	<i>CORPES XXI</i> (2001-2015)
<i>Nude</i> (1922)	-	-	-	15 Books (1 instance) 2011 Press (3 instances) 2003, 2009, 2011 Internet (11 instances) 2010, 2011 (10)

Table 6: Corpora distribution of *nude* per year/register

It is interesting to highlight here that *nude* has been found with exactly the same form in the singular, (26), and plural, (27), thus following the morphological

invariability in terms of number of English adjectives. No single instance of its Spanish plural version in *-s* has been attested:

- (26) Combina después dos tonos de fondo: "El 030 sand [...]. Y el 020 **nude**, con el que se obtienen destellos luminosos en zonas claves del rostro: [...]. (*CORPES XXI*, Prensa, 2003)
- (27) [...] este modelo en color coral es perfecto para los looks bohemian chic. Combínalo con tonos **nude** e irás perfecta. (*CORPES XXI*, Internet, 2011)

In opposition to the former ones, almost all the Anglicisms in my inventory whose entry date in English is registered at some time in the nineteenth century—in chronological order, *shorts* (1826), *celebrity* (1831), *jeans* (1843), *blazer* (1880), *cool* (1884), and *sporty* (1895)—are commonly present in the bibliographical references on the topic, *celebrity* and *sporty* being the only exceptions in this regard.

The non-attestation of *sporty* in the bibliography on Spanish Anglicisms, despite the presence in it of its morphological root—*sport*—(cf. *CLAVE*, 1996; Lorenzo, 1996; Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades, 1997; *DNLE*, 1998; Gómez Capuz, 2004; *DUE*, 2007; *DRAE*, 2014), matches the results derived from my corpus-based study, where there is not a single trace neither of its singular nor of its three possible plural forms. The reason that, in my view, accounts for this particular fact is to be found in Lorenzo (1996: 416-418), who, drawing on the research on *sport* and its derivatives carried out by Fernández García (1972), concludes that “el adjetivo correspondiente, *sportivo*, *esportivo*, adaptado del inglés *sportive*, aparece en 1895, y está bien documentado hasta ir cediendo el puesto, desde 1918, a *deportivo*”. This same explanation could be extended to *sporty* since in contemporary Spanish *deportivo*, coming from *deporte*—an English calque from *sport* completely adapted to Spanish orthographic norms—has exactly the same meaning as the English term *sport*—this term being used, as stated in the *DRAE* (2014), as an adjective to refer to casual items of clothing. The complete absence of *sporty* in my corpus search seems, therefore, to suggest that if Spanish possesses an English term adapted to its spelling rules, this alternative will be preferred over its equivalent raw Anglicism.

With *celebrity*, however, something different occurs since 55 singular and plural instances of this particular Anglicism have been attested along the first fifteen years of the twenty-first century. Given that its earliest occurrence dates, as shown in Table 7, from 2006, its complete non-existence in the Spanish lexicographical sources consulted is justified:

	<i>Corpus del Español</i> (13th c.-20th c.)	<i>CORDE</i> (950-1974)	<i>Annotated CREA</i> (1975-2000)	<i>CORPES XXI</i> (2001-2015)
<i>Celebrity</i> (1831)	-	-	-	9 Books (1 instance) 2009 Press (5 instances) 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012 (2) Internet (3 instances) 2010, 2011, 2012
<i>Celebritis</i>	-	-	-	1 Press (1 instance) 2012
<i>Celebrities</i>	-	-	-	42 Books (12 instances) 2006 (5), 2007 (3), 2010 (2), 2011 (2) Press (12 instances) 2007 (2), 2008 (2), 2010 (3), 2011 (4), 2012 Internet (18 instances) 2006 (2), 2010 (3), 2011 (11), 2012 (2)

Table 7: Corpora distribution of *celebrity* per year/register

Moreover, *celebrity* stands out from the Spanish Anglicisms under study, together with *jeans*, in two significant ways: first, because it is the only one whose first attestation in Peninsular Spanish is found in the plural; and secondly, because more plural than singular forms have been obtained with it: specifically, 43 versus nine. As illustrated in (28-29), its plural presents two of the three possible orthographic forms it could have *a priori*: the English canonical plural in *-ies*, being the most recurrent, and the approved Spanish plural in *-is*:

- (28) [...] lo que a mí más me gustó, son los vestidos de noche. Eso y los botines-mocasines. En fin, de momento ha convencido a las **celebrities**, pero habrá que ver cómo funciona. (*CORPES XXI*, Internet, 2006)
- (29) [...] estará dedicada a las noticias más ligeras, vinculadas a aspectos sociales y relacionadas con las **celebritis**. (*CORPES XXI*, Prensa, 2012)

As regards *cool*, its only presence in Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997) and *DUE* (2007) has to be considered somewhat surprising for two reasons: first, because its first attestation in Peninsular Spanish dates from 1880; and secondly, because it is the most recurrent Anglicism of the ones examined, with 186 occurrences along the last quarter of the twentieth century and the first thirteen years of the twenty-first century:

	<i>Corpus del Español</i> (13th c.-20th c.)	<i>CORDE</i> (1950-1974)	<i>Annotated CREA</i> (1975-2000)	<i>CORPES XXI</i> (2001-2015)
<i>Cool</i> (1884)	-	-	12 Libros (4 instances) 1994, 1997, 1998, 2000 Press (8 instances) 1980 (2), 1981, 1994, 1995 (4)	174 Books (50 instances) 2001 (3), 2006 (5) 2007, 2008 (6) 2009 (11), 2010 (2) 2011 (13), 2012 (8) 2013 Press (93 instances) 2002 (2), 2003(8) 2004 (7), 2005 (16) 2006 (4), 2007 (6) 2008(12), 2009 (19) 2010 (6), 2011 (4) 2012 (9) Internet (31 instances) 2002, 2005 (3) 2006 (2), 2008 2009, 2010 (4) 2011 (15), 2012 (4)

Table 8: Corpora distribution of *cool* per year/register

To my mind, its increasingly extended use in contemporary Peninsular Spanish is to be accounted for on the basis of the following arguments: (i) first, its morphological

invariability in terms of number to cover, as any English adjective, both its singular and plural uses, (30-31); (ii) secondly, its familiar and colloquial tone, frequently highlighted in the bilingual lexicographical sources consulted, which helps foster its diffusion; (iii) and finally, its many positive connotations which, encoded in Spanish by means of different words (*fabuloso*, *chachi*, *guay*, *de aupa*, *de moda*, among others), make its use apt in a wide array of contexts to refer both to personal, (30) and nonpersonal, (31-33), referents, among which those related to the fashion lexicon are included, (33):

- (30) Salen del salón de Valentino, llevan abrigos de cachemir espectaculares y sus tarjetas de crédito tintinean. Pero no, no son «cool». (CORPES XXI, Prensa, 2005)
- (31) Es una bebida extravagante [...], que tiene su particular reino en Le Bar du Plaza Athennée, el bar más **cool** de París, [...], en el que se puede ver a Karl Lagerfeld tomando una copa con su amiga Carolina de Mónaco. (CORPES XXI, Libro, 2006)
- (32) Registrar dominios a nombre de un hijo recién nacido o de la pareja sentimental es el obsequio más **cool** en Estados Unidos. (CORPES XXI, Prensa, 2007)
- (33) [...] una sombrerería [...] en donde podréis encontrar sombreros tipo Borsalino, Boinas, Mayser, Stetson o Kangol. Este complemento te dará un look **cool** y debe de formar parte del estilismo veraniego. (CORPES XXI, Internet, 2010)

Despite being as superfluous as the other Anglicisms having entered English in the nineteenth century, *jean(s)*, *short(s)* and *blazer* are usually included, in opposition to these others, in most of the sources examined (cf. CLAVE, 1996; DUE, 1996; Lorenzo, 1996; Rodríguez González y Lillo Buade, 1997; DNLE, 1998; Gómez Capuz, 2004; DRAE, 2014; Yarza, 2016). Though their presence in present-day Peninsular Spanish can be considered somewhat alike in terms of quantity, as will be immediately shown, only *jeans* and *shorts* have been attested in the two corpora that cover the earlier periods of this Spanish variety, though with an extremely low frequency of occurrence. They are, furthermore, together with *fashion*, the only Anglicisms in my inventory which have been found in the oral registers of the language, (34-35):

- (34) [...] en ese momento llevaba un maletín con un cuchillo de cocina, un **short** de niña de color rosa con dos agujeros, que se ponía como mascara [...] (Corpus del Español, Oral: CNOT034A)
- (35) El escritor está vestido en su estilo casi juvenil: una gastada camisa roja, un buzo borravino, «**jeans**» y zapatones. (Corpus del Español, Oral, interview ABC)

As regards the first of the terms, *jeans*, Pratt (1980: 215) highlights its unpopularity and its consequent scarce use in Peninsular Spanish, which Lorenzo (1996: 256) attributes to the widespread usage of the general Spanish nouns *tejanos* y *vaqueros*. Though Pratt's (1980: 215) assumption holds true until the time of his publication, after that date, as illustrated in Table 9, the diffusion of *jean(s)* has undergone a noticeable growth; whereas up to the year 1980 only six attestations have been found, 77 instances have been retrieved for the period comprised between 1981 and 2012:

	<i>Corpus del Español</i> (13th c.-20th c.)	<i>CORDE</i> (1950-1974)	<i>Annotated CREA</i> (1975-2000)	<i>CORPES XXI</i> (2001-2015)
<i>Jean</i>	-	-	1 Press (1 instance) 1998	-
<i>Jeans</i> (1843)	2 Oral (2 instances)	3 Fiction (3 instances) 1966 (3)	28 Books (11 instances) 1981 (2), 1982 (2) 1989, 1991, 1992 (2), 1997 1998, 2000 Press (17 instances) 1980, 1986 1994 (4), 1995(3) 1996 (2), 1997(4) 1998 (2)	49 Books (25 instances) 2001 (12), 2004 2005, 2006, 2008 2009, 2010, 2011 2012 Press (7 instances) 2004, 2005, 2006 2007, 2008, 2010 Internet (16 instances) 2010, 2011 (15) Oral (1 instance) 2003

Table 9: Corpora distribution of *jean(s)* per year/register

In relation to *short(s)*, Lorenzo (1996: 396) remarks that its singular and plural forms have been registered apart, as two different entries, in Fernández García (1972); the former in 1931 to designate a ‘short film’ and the latter in 1934 to refer to ‘short trousers’. Though the occurrences of its plural form, except for the one retrieved from the *Corpus del Español*, whose exact date is not known, are indeed posterior to the time indicated (the first ones date from 1966), the singular attestations of this Anglicism, referring to ‘pantalón corto’, (36), reveal that their entrance in Pensinsular Spanish is earlier in time (1951) than that of the plural:

	<i>Corpus del Español</i> (13th c.-20th c.)	<i>CORDE</i> (1950-1974)	<i>Annotated CREA</i> (1975-2000)	<i>CORPES XXI</i> (2001-2015)
<i>Short</i>	1 Oral (1 instance)	2 Fiction (2 instances) 1951, 1953	14 Books (13 instance) 1976, 1989, 1991 1993, 1995 (9) Press (1 instance) 1996	3 Internet (3 instances) 2003 (2) 2004
<i>Shorts</i>	1 Fiction (1 instance)	5 Fiction (5 instances) 1966 (3) 1972 (2)	22 Books (11 instances) 1977, 1978 (2) 1981 (2), 1990 (2) 1991, 1999 (2) 2000 Press (11 instances) 1989 (2), 1990 1994, 1995 (2) 1996 (2), 1997 (3)	35 Books (11 instances) 2001 (2), 2004 2005 (2), 2006 2009, 2011 2012 (3) Press (10 instances) 2002, 2003 (3) 2005, 2006 2007, 2010 (2) 2012 Internet (14 instances) 2008, 2010 (4) 2011 (7) 2012 (2)

Table 10: Corpora distribution of *short(s)* per year/register

On the other hand, though both Anglicisms appear surprisingly in the singular in the *DRAE* (2014), if with a note that explains that they mean the same as in the plural, their plural form is the most recurrent one in Peninsular Spanish nowadays. With *short(s)*, in particular, 20 singular and 83 plural instances have been found; furthermore, excluding

the tokens retrieved from the *Corpus del Español*, whose exact attestation dates are not known, most of them have been documented in the period that goes from 1975 to our days (2015); specifically, 17 singular and 77 plural attestations. The two remaining singular forms, along with the five other plural ones, have been dated, in turn, at some point earlier in time. With *jean(s)*, however, the contrasts in number are even more pronounced since, against the one singular form documented in 1998, 82 plural instances have been obtained; in particular, 77 in the period that covers the last quarter of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century and only three, the two attestations from the *Corpus del Español* excluded, before that time interval.

Finally, as regards *blazer*, it should be highlighted that its diffusion in Peninsular Spanish has undergone a noticeable rise over time; whereas it was completely absent from 950 to 1988, the year in which its first occurrence is registered in the *CREA* corpus, its presence in the period that goes from 1994 to 2012 has been widely attested, with 76 singular and plural occurrences:

	<i>Corpus del Español</i> (13th c.-20th c.)	<i>CORDE</i> (950-1974)	<i>Annotated CREA</i> (1975-2000)	<i>CORPES XXI</i> (2001-2015)
<i>Blazer</i> (1880)	-	-	10 Books (2 instances) 1988, 1997 Press (8 instances) 1994, 1996, 1997 (4)	51 Books (42 instances) 2003, 2004, 2005 2006 (2), 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 (33), 2012 Press (3 instances) 2006, 2010 (2) Internet (6 instances) 2011 (4) 2012 (2)
<i>Blazers</i>	-	-	6 Books (5 instances) 1997 Press (1 instance) 1997	10 Books (7 instances) 2011 Internet (3 instances) 2011

Table 11: Corpora distribution of *blazer* per year/register

The reason which, I believe, explains this quantitative contrast is the progressive loss, as seen in (36-37), of some of the connotations usually ascribed to this Anglicism in the lexicographical sources over time: among others, the blue colour and the badge typical of the blazer of school uniforms (cf. Lorenzo, 1996: 128; *DUE*, 2007), and/or its sporty style (cf. *DUE*, 2007; *DRAE*, 2014):

- (36) Entraron en la tienda de Adolfo Domínguez. [...] Gaspar le metió en el vestidor tres prendas más. Un **blazer** blanco, una rebeca de verano, una faldita corta que Julia jamás se hubiera probado. (*CORPES XXI*, Libro, 2006)
- (37) Confío en que mi vestido de Mango [...] con el **blazer** (es una americana, pero se dice así porque es fashion) de color beige con etiqueta de Stella McCartney [...] lleven aire acondicionado. (*CORPES XXI*, Libro, 2010)

Finally, the two oldest Anglicisms in my list are *fashion* and *fashionable*, which according to the *OED* (2017) have entered English, respectively, in the fifteenth (1490) and seventeenth (1630) centuries. *Fashionable*, in particular, has undergone a progressive decline over time since, against the 27 singular and plural occurrences attested in the earliest stages of Peninsular Spanish examined (20 in the nineteenth century and only seven in the twentieth century), it is entirely absent in later periods of time, given the results derived from the *CREA* and the *CORPES XXI* corpora:

	<i>Corpus del Español</i> (13th c.-20th c.)	<i>CORDE</i> (950-1974)	<i>Annotated CREA</i> (1975-2000)	<i>CORPES XXI</i> (2001-2015)
<i>Fashionable</i> (1630)	7 Fiction (7 instances) 1836 (3), 1856 1864, 1961 (2)	13 Fiction (13 instances) 1832, 1846 1847-1857 1849, 1852 1869, 1872-1878 1876, 1897 1900, 1904 1912 (2)	-	-
<i>Fashionables</i>	3 Fiction (3 instances) 1823, 1836 (2)	4 Fiction (4 instances) 1835, 1849 1885 1944-1949	-	-

Table 12: Corpora distribution of *fashionable* per year/register

My results do, therefore, confirm Lorenzo's (1996: 209) observation that this Anglicism is an old-fashioned term in contemporary Spanish and in French. My results differ, however, in the registration dates of *fashionable* provided. For Lorenzo (1996: 209), its earliest attestation as a noun is found in Larra (1835) and as an adjective in Valera (1847). In my study, in turn, an earlier nominal instance of *fashionable*, and an adjectival one, have been found; as illustrated in (38-39), the former in Mesonero Romanos (1832) and the latter in Navarro Villoslada (1846):¹⁹

- (38) y sin haber salido de Zaragoza, afectaba ya los usos de un **fashionable** de Londres [...] (*CORDE*, 1832)

- (39) Hemos advertido ya la mezquina rivalidad **fashionable** que reinaba en punto a trajes entre españoles y franceses [...] (*CORDE*, 1846)

There are two clear reasons that, in my opinion, may explain the decrease in the use of *fashionable* in present-day Peninsular Spanish: first, the frequent adjectival use, illustrated in (40-41), which the English noun *fashion* has developed in this Spanish variety throughout time, attested, in fact, in 73 occurrences out of the 113 singular instances obtained with *fashion*:

- (40) [...] atracción por el rap, ese look negrata que viene ahora, que será trendy (de hecho Madonna va a sacar un disco de hiphop) y me apetece ser un poco visionaria. Eso sí lo veo **muy fashion**. (*CORPES XXI*, Press, 2003).
- (41) [...] la historia de un chico normal, de un robot bastante chatarrero y **poco fashion** que, gracias a su ingenio y a su tesón, logrará la fama, [...] (*CORPES XXI*, Press, 2005).

And secondly, the rising occurrence of *fashionista* over time, previously described, as well as that of *fashion*. As shown in Table 13, against the three singular occurrences of *fashion* found in the *Corpus del Español* and the *CORDE* corpus (two in the nineteenth century and one in the twentieth century), 115 singular and plural instances have been attested along the first thirteen years of the twenty-first century covered in the *CORPES XXI* corpus:

	<i>Corpus del Español</i> (13th c.-20th c.)	<i>CORDE</i> (1950-1974)	<i>Annotated CREA</i> (1975-2000)	<i>CORPES XXI</i> (2001-2015)
<i>Fashion</i> (1490)	<p>2</p> <p>Fiction (1 instance) 1864</p> <p>Oral (1 instance)</p>	<p>1</p> <p>Miscellaneous (1 instance) 1886</p>	-	<p>113</p> <p>Books (59 instances) 2001, 2002, 2003 2004 (3), 2005 (6) 2006 (10), 2007 (3) 2008 (3), 2009 (3) 2010 (10), 2011(14) 2012 (1), 2013 (3)</p> <p>Press (46 instances) 2001 (3), 2002 (4), 2003 (12), 2004 (2) 2005 (4), 2006 (3) 2007 (3), 2008 (10) 2009 (2), 2010 (2) 2011 (1)</p> <p>Internet (8 instances) 2006, 2007 (2) 2008, 2010 (2) 2011 (2)</p>
<i>Fashions</i>	-	-	-	<p>2</p> <p>Books (1 instance)</p>

				2004 Press (1 instance) 2008
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Table 13: Corpora distribution of *fashion* per year/register

7. Conclusions

As has been demonstrated throughout this study, the phenomenon of borrowing, understood as the linguistic consequence of a sociocultural contact between different communities, clearly shows that languages, as well as their users, are not static, but rather changeable. It is usually in their lexicons that these changes take place most quickly and are clearly seen; specifically, through language contact new foreign terms begin to be used and enter the language, sometimes making some of the original words in the recipient language fall into oblivion.

Nowadays, in our globalized world and era, the English language, unanimously recognized as the world *lingua franca*, is exerting an enormous lexical influence on many of the world languages. Furthermore, being associated with a wide array of positive connotations, English is providing contemporary Peninsular Spanish not only with terms that are really needed to name extra-linguistic realities for which Spanish as the recipient language lacks original words, but also with foreign terms which are, on the contrary, unnecessary, since the concepts and ideas they refer to can be encoded with Spanish words. As has been shown in this paper, the fashion lexicon is one particular Spanish field on which this English impact can be clearly appreciated.

The diachronic corpus-based analysis that underlies this study has revealed, in fact, that unnecessary Anglicisms in this particular field—a reflection of its advances, modernization and rapid evolution for Balteiro (2014: 159)—are becoming more recurrent in contemporary Peninsular Spanish than they have ever been. Notice, in fact, that the number of Anglicisms—44, specifically—attested in the eleven centuries that go from the tenth to the twentieth century has been much increased in the last forty-five years, from the last quarter of the twentieth century to the year 2015, totalling 661 Anglicisms.

The reasons which, I believe, are responsible for such a rise are the following ones: (i) the globalization of the world and, as a consequence, the status of *lingua franca* that English has nowadays; (ii) the highly visible presence of English, due to its selling power, in the field of advertising; (iii) and finally, the birth of new digital mass media, like the Internet, that, with their increasingly massive use as time passes, as shown in the different tables in this paper, is indeed favouring a quicker expansion of English throughout the world languages. The intermediary role that, according to Dauzat (1947: 108-111) and Pratt (1980: 224-225), among others, the different mass media—in this particular case, advertising and the Internet—play in the spread of Anglicisms to the rest of the world languages cannot, thus, be denied. It is certainly crucial to understand why the everyday contemporary Peninsular Spanish fashion lexicon is full of

superfluous Anglicisms, which one day started being used in the language as part of some specific codes.²⁰

Since I firmly foresee that the presence of English terms in present-day Peninsular Spanish is not going to stop growing in the following years, the research that underlies this study should be implemented in the future in several directions to prove this hypothesis: (i) first, with a similar analysis carried out after a period of time that would cover a future time span; (ii) secondly, with a comparative study that would contrast the frequency of occurrence of the unnecessary Anglicisms that conform my corpus of study and that of their equivalent original Spanish terms; (iii) and finally, with a diachronic corpus-based analysis of some other gratuitous Anglicisms belonging to different semantic fields.

Notes

1. I would like to give special thanks to Dr. Bronwen Thomas for having hosted me as a Visiting Scholar in the *Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture and Community* at Bournemouth University during the summers of 2015 and 2016. There, I have had access to the Sir Michael Cobham Library, where I have found and read many of the bibliographical references cited in the present paper. I would also like to express my gratitude to Ignacio Palacios, editor of the volume, and the two anonymous reviewers who have assessed the earlier version of the manuscript, for their valuable comments and suggestions. To finish, I would like to thank my colleague, Dr. Jefferey M. Simons, for having proofread both the initial draft of the paper and its final outcome. Any errors remain my own responsibility.

2. See Gómez Capuz (2004: 19-28) for an exhaustive list of the borrowings that he calls “historic” (*prestamos históricos*), as well as of the most recent cultural borrowings, that have entered Spanish over time.

3. See, as examples, Gómez Capuz (2004: 23-25) and García Morales et al. (2016: 51-124), where two complete catalogues, organized in semantic fields, of lexical Anglicisms in contemporary Spanish are offered.

4. The dictionaries consulted are the *Diccionario Oxford español-inglés, inglés-español (DO)* (1994), the *Diccionario Larousse Español-Inglés, Inglés-Español (DL)* (1996), the *Collins Spanish-English, English-Spanish Dictionary (CD)* (1997), and the *Oxford Living Dictionary English-Spanish Online (OLD)* (2017).

5. In this paper the term “Spanish Anglicisms” (*Anglicismos hispánicos*), taken from Lorenzo (1996), refers specifically to the English borrowings attested in Peninsular Spanish. In Lorenzo (1996: 36), however, this term, described as “very ambitious”, comprises the English borrowings found in the many and diverse demographic and geographic areas where Spanish is the first official language.

6. See Gómez Capuz (1998: 150-192; 2004: 14-16) for the most significant differences between both schools and also Pulcini et al. (2012: 10-13) for a more recent and thorough discussion of the terminological diversity that exists around the phenomenon of borrowing.

7. Notice here, on the one hand, that Alfaro’s (1948) work, despite not being free of criticism, is the earliest published study of Anglicisms in Spanish, and on the other, that Pratt’s (1980) analysis is the most original and complete study of Spanish Anglicisms published up to

now, thus being described by Mateescu (2006: 1) as “the decisive step towards the modern concept of Anglicisms”.

8. The classifications which Lorenzo (1996: 29) refers to are, specifically, the ones provided in Alfaro (1948), Fernández García (1972), and Pratt (1980).

9. Due to the terminological diversity previously pointed out, the distinction between direct and indirect borrowings may convey different meanings. Apart from the etymological contrasts referred to in the text which it entails, it may be used to distinguish two kinds of Anglicisms on the basis of their formal resemblance —total or partial— with the original English terms they come from (cf. Pulcini et al., 2012: 5-6).

10. The purist attitude towards necessary and gratuitous Anglicisms echoes the debate on the massive entrance of Latin terms, both required and superfluous, in the language during the Early Modern English period, known as the Inkhorn Controversy (cf. Crystal, 2004; Stehling, 2014, among others).

11. See Edwards (1994: 41) for some other reasons, apart from the mass media, that account for the worldwide spread and use of English.

12. As mentioned in Leech (2008: 174), there are many kinds of advertising: commercial advertising, trade advertising, retail advertising, prestige advertising, etc. However, since advertising refers in this study to the one “directed towards a mass audience with the aim of promoting sales of a commercial product or service” (Leech, 2008: 174), it has to be understood as “commercial consumer advertising”.

13. I am only focusing on the main traits of verbal advertising language. For the audiovisual language in ads, see Hecker and Stewart (1988), Cook (1992), Ting-Toomey (1999), Barthes (2008), and Forceville (2008), among others.

14. In my place of residence, Huelva, a small city in the southwest of Spain, for example, even short and not specifically commercial streets are full of shopwindow signs that read “Barber’s Shop”, “Fried Chicken”, “Women’s Time” and “Carrefour Market”, among others. This same tendency is also commented on by Edwards (1994: 76), but in relation to Eastern Europe.

15. For the different pragmatic functions of Anglicisms, see González Cruz and Rodríguez Medina (2011).

16. The distinction between open and closed languages is explained by Bathia (2008: 146) in terms of their reception or resistance to borrowings. Whereas the former have been “historically receptive to the phenomenon of linguistic borrowing/foreignism”, the latter “are viewed as guardians of linguistic purity”, for they “exhibit a history of resistance to linguistic borrowing”.

17. See Davies (2010: 140) for a discussion of the size of the *CORDE* corpus.

18. The annotated version of the *CREA* corpus differs from the original non-annotated version in three main respects: (i) the number of forms it consists of: more than 126 million forms versus more than 160 million words; (ii) the linguistic varieties taken into consideration: only written language versus both written and oral language; (iii) and finally, the period of time covered: 1975-2000 versus 1975-2004.

19. Although the *Corpus del Español* provides an earlier entry date for *fashionable*, 1823, I have not considered it because it corresponds to Larra’s example — “Los **fashionables** suben y bajan a los palcos”— which in the *CREA* corpus is dated, however, as well as in Lorenzo (1996), in 1835.

20. Notice also in this regard Pountain's (2006: 11) view, which explains syntactic borrowing as "a function of register in the sense that syntactic calques and transfers take place initially in well-defined circumscribed areas of a language".

Primary sources (dictionaries and corpora used)

- Alfaro, Ricardo J. (1948): *Diccionario de Anglicismos*. Madrid: Gredos.
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