

COMMENTS ON ANGLICISMS IN SPANISH AND THEIR RECEPTION

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The article describes the influence of English on Spanish from a sociolinguistic perspective and gives a short taxonomy of Anglicisms in Spanish. Under the influence of World English, Anglicisms, particularly lexical ones, have become more prevalent than previously documented, as corpus-based examples show. Attitudes concerning their increasing use fall into three categories: refusing to accept Anglicisms and their use in Spanish (the purist view), warning against their use while emphasizing potential negative consequences for Spanish (the moderate view) and accepting the trend as an enrichment of a modern, living Spanish (the integrative view). Traditional views have been leaning towards the purist position, with the Royal Spanish Academy (RSA) as a leading institution to enforce a restrictive language policy. Public views have been both purist and moderate, while many linguists follow an integrative approach. It is argued that the Academy's increasingly problematic task is to strike a balance between preservation of the language character and the freedom for Spanish to adapt and develop in a global context.

KEYWORDS: world language, world English, criticism, Spain, Anglicism

Der Artikel beschreibt den Einfluss des Englischen auf das Spanische aus soziolinguistischer Perspektive und gibt eine Übersicht von Anglizismen im Spanischen sowie deren bisherige Einordnung in der Forschung. Unter dem Einfluss der Weltsprache Englisch sind besonders lexikalische Anglizismen weiter verbreitet als bisher dokumentiert, wie korpusbasierte Beispiele zeigen. Die Haltungen gegenüber dieser Entwicklung fallen in drei Kategorien: die Ablehnung von Anglizismen und ihres Gebrauchs im Spanischen (die puristische Sicht), die Warnung vor ihrem Gebrauch unter Betonung möglicher negativen Konsequenzen für das Spanische (die moderate Sicht) und das Akzeptieren dieses Trends als eine Bereicherung eines modernen, lebenden Spanisch (die integrative Sicht). Die traditionelle Sichtweise ist überwiegend puristisch geprägt, mit der Königlich Spanischen Akademie (KSA) als führender Institution, die eine restriktive Sprachpolitik betreibt. Es wird argumentiert, dass es die zunehmend problematische Aufgabe der Akademie ist, einen Ausgleich zu finden zwischen der Bewahrung des Charakters der Sprache und der Freiheit, sich in einem globalen Kontext anzupassen und weiterzuentwickeln.

SCHLAGWÖRTER: Lingua Franca, Weltsprache, Englisch, Kritik, Anglizismus

1 INTRODUCTION

In his book “*La Lengua Viva*” [*The Living Language*], the renowned Spanish sociologist Amando de Miguel (2005) collected several of the columns he published in the online newspaper Libertad Digital. In collaboration with his readers who sent him their opinions, he wrote about the Spanish language, publishing not only the comments of his readers, but his responses to them. Frequently recurring topics were the influence of English on Spanish and attitudes towards this development.

Language planning in Spain has a long tradition, and language change is closely monitored by the Royal Spanish Academy (RSA), which is an official organisation with the specific task of preserving “the character of the Spanish language” (“el genio propio de la lengua”, RSA Statutes, 1993). It follows a prescriptive approach and publishes guidelines for grammar and spelling as well as dictionaries such as the Dictionary of the Spanish Language (DLE) in its various editions that set mandatory standards for all official language use. Its policy towards words taken from other languages is demonstrably restrictive. Faced with the increasing influx of Anglicisms, the academy has reacted critically, an attitude that is widely supported by public opinion. On the other hand there is also a recognition that restricting their use might lead to a fossilization of the language. We will look both at the arguments that are used against the English influence and at the increasing discussion how a strongly protected language can stay vivid and keep up with the speed of globalisation.

In order to understand the role of English and the strong attitudes about its influence on Spanish, we need to first look at the history and development of the Spanish language and the language situation in Spain today. In this context, language contact and interference as defined by McCormick (2012) play an important role. We will then comment on the attitudes directed towards English on the basis of several corpus-based examples.

2 THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN SPAIN

Spanish has historically had influences from Latin and Arabic. Its actual roots lie in a colloquial variety of Latin which was used by people such as soldiers and traders who had contact with regions of the Iberian Peninsula. Before the Romanization of the peninsula during the first century AD, many different languages were spoken, such as Iberian and Celtic. These substrates influenced the predominant language, particularly in its lexis and morphology (Kabatek et al. 2009, Pharies 2007). Latin in Spain was also influenced to a great extent by local dialects, making the written language distinctly different from that in other parts of the Empire (Pharies 2007:252). In contrast, several waves of invasion of Germanic tribes did not have a strong influence on the language at that time.

The influence of Arabic due to occupation from 711 until 1492 can be found in modern everyday vocabulary such as *aceituna* ‘olive’, *albóndiga* ‘meatball’ or *rincón* ‘corner’ and specialized vocabulary such as *acimut* ‘azimuth’ or *alcohol*. After the ‘Reconquista’, the recapture of the Iberian Peninsula by Christian Spanish kingdoms, was completed with the fall of Granada in 1492, Castilian Spanish began to dominate. Reinforced by Queen Isabella I of Castile and Antonio de Nebrija’s (1492) *Grammar of the Castilian*

Language, ‘*Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*’ a standard was created. Nebrija dedicated his grammar to the Queen and stressed that a strong nation would always be linked to a language, and that they would rise and fall together, as one entity:

[...] una cosa hallo i saco por conclusión mui cierta: que siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio i de tal manera lo siguió que juntamente començaron, crecieron i florecieron i, después, junta fue la caída de entrambos (Nebrija 2011:3).

[...] and from my observation I draw the certain conclusion: that always the language accompanied the empire in such a manner that they always began together, grew and flourished, and afterwards, fell together as one entity [own translation].

With the spread of Castilian as a prestige language, significantly supported by Emperor Charles V, and the Castilianisation of the Canary Islands and a great part of Latin America, Castilian, mostly simply referred to as “the Spanish”, became one of the world’s leading languages. Today, it is an official language in Spain, twenty Latin American countries and Equatorial Guinea in Africa.

Apart from Castilian, there are three other official languages in Spain: Basque, Catalan and Galician. These are spoken in autonomous regions, such as the Basque Country, Catalonia, the Valencian Community and Galicia, and have the status of official languages in these regions. Apart from these dialects, Aragonese and Asturian, as well as Castilian varieties such as Andalusian and Canarian Spanish are also widely spoken.

The local language as part of a distinct cultural background is often used by the regions as an argument for a higher degree of autonomy from the central state of Spain. Catalonia in particular is very proud of its own language; Catalan is taught in schools and Catalonia requires government officials to learn the language. Catalonia’s government also systematically supports and enforces the use of Catalan in public life. This example of language planning seems to justify Nebrija’s remark on how strongly a nationality can be linked to one language.

The Madrid-based Royal Spanish Academy, founded in 1713, is an official Spanish institution, aiming at removing foreign influence, setting standards and determining correct language use, as well as giving the Spanish language ‘splendour’ (as in the RSA motto “limpia, fija y da esplendor”, RSA Statutes 1993). It is part of the Association of Spanish Language Academies, working closely with 21 partner academies to strengthen the status of Castilian. As 22 countries use Spanish as an official language, the standards vary from country to country. For centuries, the academies and institutions in these countries followed the standards of the RSA, but an increasing self-consciousness resulted in more independent academies and a gradual emancipation of independent standards, as the RSA itself emphasized in its preface to the *New Grammar of the Spanish Language* (2011):

La obra que ahora ve la luz es el resultado de este ambicioso proyecto. No es solo una obra colectiva, resultado de la colaboración de muchos, sino también una obra colegiada, el último exponente de la política lingüística panhispanica

que la Academia Española y sus veintiuna Academias hermanas vienen impulsando desde hace más de un decenio (Real Academia Española 2011: xl)

The work that now sees the light is the result of this ambitious project. It is not only a collective undertaking, the result of the collaboration of many, but also a collegial work, the latest example of the pan-hispanic linguistic policy that the Spanish Academy and its twenty-one sister academies have been pursuing for more than one decade [own translation].

Until recently, the RSA, a very conservative and restrictive institution, did not accept any deviation from the Iberian standard, prohibiting, for example, the use of the Mexican Spanish variant of *abajo de* 'below' instead of the standard *debajo de* (DLE 2001). This prescriptive attitude attracted increasing criticism. After many decades of language planning and politics as well as careful negotiations with the RSA, a slow but steady change can be observed in the publications since 2005. The pressure of the other language academies has led to an increasing number of Latin American linguistic features in the official Castilian grammar, released by the RSA. For the newest version of the New Grammar of the Spanish Language (2011), the language academies worked together on a version that describes the different varieties rather than using a prescriptive approach. The newest version of its Pan-Hispanic Dictionary of Doubts (*Diccionario panhispánico de dudas*, DPD, 2005), which discusses commonly confused words, now accepts both *debajo de* and *abajo de*, though it still cautions against using the latter variant. However, this descriptive approach is not followed where English influence is concerned, as the following section shows.

3 ANGLICISMS IN SPANISH

English is widely used as a lingua franca. Kachru (1992, cited by Seargeant et al. 2012) introduced the notion of the 'Three Circles of English', with the Inner Circle being the countries where English is used for all interaction in the public and private space as a first language: the UK, the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia. The Outer Circle consists of countries where English was introduced by colonisation and where it is used as a second language. In these countries, English usually serves as a language of administration, education and therefore also literature, but other languages dominate casual everyday interaction, as is the case in India. Most other countries belong to the Expanding Circle. In these countries, English is a foreign language, but it is important for education, commerce and travel and is taught at school. Spain and the other Spanish-speaking countries fall in this category. In Spain, English is very present in everyday interaction. Children learn English in school and there are additional private schools which offer afternoon classes. Mass media and the internet allow access to English sources, while more and more Anglicisms enter the Spanish language through language contact and interference in media, international politics, engineering and economy. The English influence is particularly noticeable in the natural sciences, because papers are increasingly written in English to be accessible to a far greater public. As a lingua franca, English is used especially in touristic areas in Spain and its

territories like the Canary Islands and the Balears to communicate with tourists, travel companies and suppliers from all over the world. Pharies (2007:174) notes that “[t]he current wave of Anglicisms flowing into the Spanish lexicon is concentrated in the facets of life most affected by the innovations of twentieth-century Anglo-American culture [...]” He refers to Juan Gómez Capuz, who determined “three waves of Anglo-American influence: 1820-1910, via translations of English romantic works; 1910-39, when Anglicisms begin to rival Gallicism; 1939 to present day [...]”. Already during the first two waves, Anglicisms were condemned in Spanish books and articles, for example by Sánchez (1901) in *Voces y frases viciosas* (“Erroneous voices and phrases”).

Interference as a language contact phenomenon describes the influence of two languages on each other. It either emerges when speakers of two languages come into contact with each other or when a speaker code-switches between two languages (Riehl 2004). Interference features the introduction, loss and replacement of linguistic elements from one of the contact languages. Riehl (2004) also makes a difference between transference, which she defines as a true transmission of linguistic features, and interference, which is a slight intrusion of another language. In practice, these two terms are difficult to separate, as even interference is commonly seen as an intrusion into the ‘weaker’ or target language that is influenced. In practice, both transference and interference are rarely considered to be a mere transfer of linguistic features but rather a clear danger to the target language. This is evident from the strong negative attitudes directed at instances of interference by English, particularly, the use of Anglicisms, by the speakers of the target language, in this instance Spanish.

The RSA defines an Anglicism as an English idiom or way of talking and English vocabulary or idioms applied to another language (DLE 2001). Pratt (1980) states that an Anglicism is a linguistic element or group of elements used in (modern peninsular Castilian) Spanish and which directly originates from a respective English model example. López Morales (1987) uses the term more broadly, including words which were brought from other languages into Spanish via English, such as *printear*, *wallet* (of French origin) or *manager* (of Italian origin). Pratt (1980) introduces the notion of immediate etymon (*étimo inmediato*) and ultimate etymon (*étimo último*) to describe the two roots an Anglicism can have, with English functioning as the immediate etymon. The German or Dutch *Eisberg* or *Ijsberg*, for example, was adapted via the English ‘iceberg’ into Castilian and is even spelt the English way. *Robot* is originally a Russian word, *fiordo* Norwegian, *champú*, *yoga* and *pijama* Indian and *kéetchup* Chinese (Riquelme 1998:95). All these are examples for ultimate etymons in other languages than English.

Researchers have presented several ways of categorizing lexical Anglicisms. Pratt (1980) provides the first such classification scheme (examples from Pratt 1980). He distinguishes ‘one-word’ (*univerbales*) and ‘multi-word’ (*multiverbales*) Anglicisms. One-word Anglicisms are subdivided according to their appearance as ‘obvious’ (*patentes*), which either show an unchanged English spelling (*hippy*, *ranking*) or orthographic adaptation (*boxear*, *boicot*), and ‘not obvious’ (*no patentes*). The latter type is divided into two additional categories, ‘traditional words’ (semantic Anglicisms, which are further subdivided into paronyms such as *audiencia* from *audience* and calques such as *vivo* from *live*), and neologisms (again subdivided into absolute neologisms such as *supermercado* and derived neologisms such as *coproducción*). Multi-word Anglicisms are subdivided into noun compounds (*bisubstantivales*) and those composed of several one-word Anglicisms.

Pratt's scheme has been criticised by later researchers because of its vague and impractical categorizations (for example by Medina Lopez 2004).

López Morales (1987) presents an alternative classification. He proposes to distinguish Anglicisms according to frequency of usage as regular, very common, less common, uncommon, and sporadically used Anglicisms. Medina López (2004) notes that the regular ones such as *béisbol*, *wisky* or *fútbol*, are those which have no correspondence in the Castilian lexicon, while the other categories include Anglicisms that usually have an existing Spanish term that expresses the concept, for example *díler* (Eng. 'dealer'), in Spanish *traficante de drogas*. López Morales (1987) also points out that regular Anglicisms are often adapted to the Spanish orthography. However, the DLE for example does not list the spelling *whisky*, but offers *güisqui* as an orthographically adapted and phonetically similar form. Consulting the *Pan-Hispanic Dictionary of Doubts* (DPD), the suggestion is again *güisqui*. The RSA explains in the entry that the original Anglicism *whisky* is still used more than its orthographic adaptation, but that *güisqui* will slowly become more popular and that term was adapted to prevent frequent misspellings, such as **wisqui*. Serrano (2005) does not find any instances in his analysis of Anglicisms where the spelling *güisqui* is used, but only its original English spelling. This raises the question whether orthographic adaptation is necessary or indeed advisable, particularly as the word *whisky* might be more difficult to recognize, even for a native Spanish speaker, in the recommended adaptation *güisqui*.

Dietrich and Geckeler (2000:191) list three main groups of Anglicisms in their introduction to Spanish linguistics: direct loanwords, which are used in the same way as their English antecedents (cf. *güisqui/whisky*), lexical calques, which are direct translations of English words and compounds (*rasgacielos*, 'tearing open the skies', from the English word 'skyscraper'), and semantic calques or loan words, where an already existing Spanish term takes over a second meaning from an English word (*estrella*, 'star', as a famous person in addition to the original meaning of celestial body).

Medina López (2004) adapted Lorenzo's (1996) division of the first group of direct loanwords into 'raw' Anglicisms, which are used in their original orthographic form, Anglicisms which in the process of being adapted, and fully adapted ones. His distinction is partly based on Pratt (1980), but he provides fewer and clearer structural categories.

While these studies are often cited, many of the examples used lack currency in modern corpora, such as the Corpus of Contemporary Spanish (*Corpus del Español Actual*, CCS, Subirats & Ortega 2012). As the example of *güisqui* shows, Anglicisms are constantly being adapted as part of natural language development, while language planning creates interference and influences this process. Anglicisms listed in the New Dictionary of Anglicisms (*Nuevo diccionario de anglicismos*, Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades 1997), such as the above mentioned *díler* (Eng. 'dealer'), can neither be found in the DRSA nor the DPD, which propose instead *traficante de drogas* ('drug trafficker'). In addition, researchers in the 1980s did not face today's situation of globalisation. Countries such as Spain and Germany have noticed a steadily increasing influence of English in all areas of life and while many Anglicisms remain and become part of the national language, others disappear and new ones enter the language reference.

Lopez (2004) focuses on syntactic Anglicisms and comments on the small number of studies in this field. He gives four reasons for this phenomenon:

- (1) There are more lexical Anglicisms than syntactic ones, which explains the greater number of studies.
- (2) Syntactic Anglicisms are more difficult to spot than lexical ones.
- (3) Anglicisms might be difficult to notice because of the flexibility of the Spanish sentence structure, since there might be occasions where the English sentence structure matches an alternative Spanish syntax, but both are grammatically correct (some examples are given below), in which case the English influence cannot be proven.
- (4) Grammar is more resistant to change than lexis. If the use of a syntactic Anglicism would lead to possible multiple interpretations of a sentence, this might prevent its use or would at least make it less likely to be adapted.

Grouping syntactic Anglicisms into word classes and their sentence functions provides a structural template, but does not take acceptance issues, and thus actual usage, into account. Nevertheless, the structural approach has been followed by most studies so far, starting with Pratt (1980), who distinguishes between the extension of use of an existing syntactic category and complete syntactic innovations. Medina López (2004) and Stavans (2008) observe similar patterns and add several subcategories: Verbs undergo changes in tense and mode: grammatically incorrect passive forms appear (Medina López 2004:74), for example in ‘I am being drawn by this extraordinary patriarchal culture’ being translated as **Estoy siendo atraído por esta extraordinaria cultura patriarcal* (García González 1997: 613). In translations from English to Spanish, García González (1997) found instances of the use of indicative forms instead of the subjunctive mode, which were motivated by the English original: ‘I doubt that the economic situation will change.’ **Dudo de que la situación económica mejorará* instead of *mejore* (García González 1997: 605). Prepositions are introduced via loan translations or completely disappear. For example, ‘they wanted to begin’ becomes **querían a comenzar* instead of *querían \emptyset comenzar*, (Stavans 2008:30), ‘to play tennis’ becomes **jugar \emptyset tenis* instead of *jugar al tenis* (Medina López 2004:77). In certain instances, English prepositions are directly translated and take over the position of another Spanish preposition: ‘Mr Clayman will come in twenty minutes’ becomes **El señor Clayman vendrá en 20 minutos* instead of *El señor Clayman vendrá dentro de veinte minutos*, and ‘to consist of’ becomes **consistir de* instead of *consistir en* (Medina López 2004:75-76). Articles are also affected: Abstract nouns, which do not need an article in English but require it in Spanish, lose their article, thus, ‘capitalism’ becomes ** \emptyset capitalismo* instead of *el capitalismo* (Stavans 2008:31). Similarly, Spanish verb-noun combinations are shortened, following the English example, as in **contactar* being used instead of the correct *ponerse en contacto* (Medina López 2004:78).

As said above, syntactic Anglicisms are much more difficult to find and categorise, which is why a large-scale corpus based approach has not been contemplated here. To illustrate the actual use of these syntactic Anglicisms, a sample corpus study was conducted. The corpus used was the Corpus of Contemporary Spanish (Subirats & Ortega 2012), a Spanish native-speaker corpus comprising 540 million words mostly from European Parliament proceedings and UN parallel texts between 1996 and 2010. The query looked for syntactic Anglicisms used as examples above and compared their frequency to the recommended form (if feasible). The following Anglicisms were found:

- (5) *siendo* + participle (12,169 uses)
- (6) *a comenzar* (928 uses) versus standard *comenzar* (23,545 uses)
and respectively
- (7) *jugar tenis* (15 uses) versus *jugar al tenis* (31 uses)
- (8) *en ... minutos* (839 uses) versus *dentro de ... minutos* (130 uses)
- (9) *consistir de* (1,633 uses) versus *consistir en* (76,476 uses)
- (10) *capitalismo* (86 uses) versus *el capitalismo* (537 uses)
- (11) *contactar* (2,045 uses) versus *ponerse en contacto* (7,821 uses)

These examples are not intended to quantify the proportion of Anglicisms in Spanish, but they illustrate that, although the forms above are not accepted by the RSA, anglicised structures are being used extensively in modern Spanish.

4 ATTITUDES TOWARDS ANGLICISMS IN SPANISH

English and its influence on Spanish has attracted extensive comments from linguists, sociologists, journalists, and played a part in general discourse.

Riquelme (1989) groups positive as well as negative attitudes into three groups: the purist, the moderate and the integrative position. He describes the purist position as the one which is typically found in newspapers. It is a traditional approach, which avoids Anglicisms whenever possible. Unlike the French Academy, supporters of the purist position do not suggest new vocabulary to prevent foreign words from entering the language. They instead differentiate between necessary and unnecessary Anglicisms. If there is no Spanish word for the concept, it is usually considered necessary, because it fills a gap in the Spanish language (as with *béisbol* 'baseball'). As a logical consequence, most syntactic Anglicisms cannot be seen as necessary by language purists, because there are already officially sanctioned grammatical structures that express the same meaning. In this context, the RSA also holds a purist position. To prevent the official language standards from changing, the RSA is both prescriptive and restrictive. They provide a standard through their own dictionaries and grammars, news bulletins on important language topics, and even an online language consulting service. To address the particularly visible register of news language, newspapers also publish style guidelines that journalists are supposed to follow, such as the Style Manual of the journal *El País*. Several sociologists also provide supporting arguments for the purist viewpoint. José Tortosa calls English a "contaminating language" (Riquelme 1989:49), and other sociologists such as Rodríguez Segura (1999) and Vaquero (1990) are strongly critical of language change (cf. Riquelme 1989, Serrano 2005). According to the purist position as summarized by Muhr et al. (2004) change is connected to a perceived loss of language quality and negatively connoted.

The moderate position views the English influence on Spanish as enriching or at least as non-threatening. The English influence is not just enriching by filling up gaps in Castilian, but also through bringing in new cultural concepts. Victor García de la Concha, the former director of the Royal Spanish Academy, relativizes the threat posed by English and notes that the danger should not be seen in the English language, but in poverty and the lack of education (Rodríguez Marcos 2010). Spain and the RSA now

have to face ‘other worries’, i.e. Spanish varieties in Latin America and the regional dialects in Spain, which have increased their pressure on Madrid for independence. Another moderate voice is provided by Amando de Miguel, who since 2000 has been writing columns on Spanish language issues and providing polemic (and often ironic) discussions. De Miguel repeatedly states that Anglicisms have to be accepted, if they add a nuance which does not exist as such in Spanish (Miguel 2013).

The last, integrative position neutrally describes language contact, as well as its phenomena and change. This position can often be found in linguistics books, journals and articles (Alvarez 2001, Buades and González 1997, Rodríguez Medina 2002, Segura 1999, to name just a few). It supports the statement that in addition to being a tool for communication, language is a product and expression of interacting cultures. As such, Anglicisms are to be documented, but not criticised or restricted, as Buades and González (1997) show in their purely descriptive dictionary of Anglicisms.

5 SPANISH AS A LIVING LANGUAGE?

With an increasing influence of English on Spanish, there are an increasing number of critics who ‘fight’ for their language. While journalists and sociologists often support the purist or the moderate position, many linguists now pursue an integrative approach. The evident increase in use of Anglicisms despite the restrictive policy of official institutions and the further increase in influence of English in all aspects of life suggests that the official purist language policy does not fulfil its aim in keeping Spanish free of the ‘detrimental’ influence of English. Whether they want to or not, the Academy will have to focus more on Anglicisms if they do not want to become irrelevant or disconnected from actual language use. While, admittedly, unnecessary lexical Anglicisms may be problematic because they may make language more complicated and thus reduce comprehensibility (this effect has been amply demonstrated with Anglicisms in German advertising, see for example Steiner, Strobel and Gao 2006), overzealous standardisation can also make an expression less comprehensible, as the example of *güisqui* shows. The increase in syntactic Anglicisms is much more subtle, since usually comprehensibility is not reduced, unless the sentence structure diverges too far from the standard form, which is currently not the case with the Anglicisms examined here.

Many opponents of Anglicisms argue that language change would lead to deterioration of standard Spanish, because new lexical items and syntactic structures might impede comprehension. They argue that free language development should be restricted in favour of comprehensibility. However, what is often forgotten is that a prestige language can also become incomprehensible if it differs too much from its colloquial form, as the case of Latin demonstrates (Pharies 2007:47). Referring back to Nebrija: Without a language that is easily accessible and comprehensible for everybody participating in society, it is very difficult for a nation to create unity among all members. Amando de Miguel (2005:8) briefly sums this up: “La lengua común une mucho”, ‘the common language unifies a lot’.

The question remains how independent the language of a nation should be. A possible answer to this might be a balance of comprehensibility on the one side and the freedom for the language to develop on the other side. Comprehensibility is necessary

to give everybody the opportunity to participate in the general discourse. Relative freedom allows the language to develop with the speed of globalisation. This, and the influence of other languages such as English, prevent Spanish from becoming either too chaotic to understand or too much of an artificial language that has no relation to reality. Critics and the Royal Spanish Academy have the task of maintaining this balance between both forces.

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