

BIBLID 1133-1127 (2008) p. 13-38

Anglicisms in Spain: Gender Assignment and Plural Formation in Touristic Texts

*Isabel de la Cruz Cabanillas**Cristina Tejedor Martínez**Esperanza Cerdá Redondo**María Rosa Cabellos Castilla**Mercedes Díez Prados**Universidad de Alcalá*

ABSTRACT

It is traditionally assumed that the influence of English upon Spanish is particularly pervasive in the area of languages for specific purposes. In the case of the language of tourism it is more complicated than in other areas, as it covers several subfields, for example economics, history of art, marketing, sports, law, etc. We have carried out previous research on the presence of loanwords in tourism and computer language showing the increasing influence of English. The present study analyses the frequency and usage of Anglicisms in the language of tourism in five different publications aimed at the general public, as well as web pages. Most of the articles and pages are related to adventure sports and rural tourism.

In our analysis we examine their adaptation to the system in terms of gender assignment and plural formation to determine whether English loanwords in Spanish are governed by usual criteria regarding gender assignment. We shall see whether the English pattern prevails over the Spanish one or if there is a mixture of both methods. Finally, we will focus on the type of coinage that is derived once the item has been introduced in Spanish; some of the terms remain as sporadic code-switches, but others can be regarded as real borrowings that

develop into derivatives or undergo other processes of word formation. This in mind, we have attempted to discover which seems to be the most common procedure to fully integrate the borrowing into the Spanish system providing not only a qualitative analysis but also quantitative evidence from corpus-based driven data.

Key words: anglicisms, touristic texts, inflectional morphology, borrowing integration.

RESUMEN

No hay duda de que la influencia de la lengua inglesa en el español es considerable y está especialmente generalizada en el campo de las lenguas para fines específicos. El caso del lenguaje del turismo es más complicado que el de otras áreas, dado que cubre diversas subáreas, como, por ejemplo, la economía, la historia del arte, el marketing, los deportes, la legislación, etc. Estudios anteriores que hemos realizado sobre la presencia de anglicismos en el lenguaje informático y en el del turismo mostraban la creciente influencia del inglés en el español. En este trabajo analizamos la frecuencia y el uso de anglicismos en el lenguaje del turismo en cinco publicaciones diferentes dirigidas al público general, así como varias páginas web. La mayoría de los artículos y páginas web están relacionados con los deportes de aventura y el turismo rural.

En el análisis se examina la adaptación de los anglicismos al sistema de la lengua en relación a la asignación de género y a la formación del plural para determinar si los préstamos ingleses se rigen en español por los criterios establecidos para dicha asignación. Trataremos de comprobar si el patrón inglés prevalece sobre el español o si ambos coexisten. Finalmente, nos centraremos en el tipo de formación una vez que el elemento se ha introducido en la lengua española; algunos permanecen como cambios de código esporádicos, pero otros se pueden considerar préstamos que producen formas derivadas o experimentan otros procesos de formación de palabras. Con estas premisas, hemos tratado de descubrir cuál es el procedimiento más frecuente para integrar plenamente el préstamo en la lengua española proporcionando no sólo un análisis cualitativo sino también cuantitativo del corpus recogido.

Palabras clave: anglicismos, textos turísticos, morfología flexiva, integración de préstamos.

1. Introduction

As a consequence of the contact with the English language, the number of anglicisms introduced into Spanish, as well as in many other languages, has increased significantly. Many researchers have studied the appearance and usage of such loanwords into their language in diverse fields —tourism, leisure, culture, sports, journalism and publicity, among many others— and most of these studies have been carried out from a linguistic or socio-cultural perspective.

There is no doubt that especially in the world of technology or of science, English becomes the reference language. This fact led us to begin our first research on the use of anglicisms in computer language due to the copious amount of loanwords that are continuously being incorporated into the language. Moreover, we must say that it is especially noticeable that the majority of loanwords introduced into Spanish come from languages for specific purposes. Consequently, our study developed through the incorporation of one more area: tourism.

Thus, we focused our research on the language of tourism, more specifically on the language of touristic texts in general first, and, later, on texts that dealt with adventure and active tourism in particular, because this field of tourism is in constant growth and change, and would allow us to investigate on its specific lexicon. As the sports and activities it deals with sometimes come from abroad, new loanwords are constantly being introduced into the language.

In the present study we will analyse the introduction of English borrowings from touristic texts into the Spanish language in a quantitative and qualitative

way in terms of gender assignment and plural formation, taking into account whether the plural is formed according to the Spanish or English model as well as the reasons why these nouns take a specific masculine or feminine gender. Based on our previous research and the observation of the data, the hypotheses we set up to test are the following: Firstly, when assigning gender to English nouns the masculine will prevail in Spanish; and, secondly, regarding plural formation, the English pattern will outnumber the Spanish one. Our corpus includes not only nouns, but verbs and adjectives as well.

2. Methodology

Since our analysis centred on the anglicisms used in tourism contexts, our first step was to gather data from different and varied sources in order to establish a corpus from which we could subsequently draw essential information that could enable us to further continue our study. Thus, we first collected data for our tourism corpus from nearly 60 touristic brochures from different publications of official institutions of Castilla-La Mancha¹ that dealt with general information as well as from articles from the academic publication *Cuadernos de Turismo*, also dealing with touristic issues. Since both sources showed a small amount of anglicisms, we decided to focus on other sources. Thus, we analysed diverse issues from magazines as well as web sites specialised in this type of adventure and active tourism², both directed to the general public and dealing with more informal contexts. The corpus so compiled contains similar amounts of words from the two different contexts studied. As can be seen in Table 1, we collected data for our corpus from two different issues from 2005-06 of each of the five following magazines: *Outdoor*, *Turismo & aventura*, *Viajeros*, *Grandes Espacios*, and *Aire Libre*.

¹ The present research is part of the project “Anglicisms in Tourism Language” (Ref. PAI – 05 – 004), funded by the Community of Castilla-La Mancha (Spain); thus, part of our study focuses on official publications and web pages dealing with tourism and adventure sports and activities around the area.

² See Tejedor *et al.* (2006).

MAGAZINE (ISSUES)	NUMBER OF PAGES	NUMBER OF WORDS
<i>Outdoor</i> (Autumn and Winter)	14 pages	7,179 words
<i>Turismo & aventura</i> (November and January)	19 pages	6,858 words
<i>Viajeros</i> (December/January and February/March)	14 pages	6,977 words
<i>Grandes Espacios</i> (October and January)	11 pages	7,052 words
<i>Aire Libre</i> (October and January)	19 pages	6,965 words
TOTAL	77 pages	35,031 words

Table 1. Magazines: total number of pages analysed

The articles dealt with many and varied themes, ranging from general information to more concrete and relevant data as to the practice of these sports and activities. From the issues of *Outdoor*, the articles dealt with mountain bikes, a trip to Morocco, kayak and mountain races, snow mountain activities, health issues while practising mountain races, and sports for the disabled. From *Turismo & aventura*, the articles were about travelling to Pallars Sobirà, a special article on snowboarding, Sabah, new sports equipment, and an interview with Rosa Fernández. The articles from *Viajeros* consisted of descriptions of Auvernia, Costa Rica, Sanabria, England and Wales, Scotland, Murcia as well as one on canyoning in Cuba. With regard to *Grandes Espacios*, the articles dealt with news and advice, mountain safety advice, a guide for active tourism, a section with information on new sports equipment, how to use crampons, equipment and clothing for mountain sports, and a guide for active tourism. Finally, the articles from *Aire Libre* dealt with Madeira, TURISPORT (an international fair of active tourism), short trips for the week-end, Murcia, advertisements of different touristic products, advertisements of rural homes, hotels excursions and trips, and a selection of rural hostels and activities around different areas. The total amount of words in all of the magazines is 35,031.

As for the web sites, we analysed three sources. The first nineteen pages of the section on active tourism of <http://www.toprural.com> consisted of 2,302 words in total that dealt with different sports and activities: trekking, routes for horse riding, mountain biking, mountain climbing, speleology, multiadventure,

paintball, bungee jumping, ski, canoeing, canyoning, diving, rafting, windsurf, sailing, sailing routes, water-skiing, kite surfing and surf. The analysis of the web site <http://turismoactivo.com> consisted of 49 pages, 21,756 words in total, dealing with fly surf, hydro speed, motor ski, fishing, submarine fishing, canoeing, rafting, rowing, ski bus, skin-diving, surf, sailing, windsurf, hang gliding, kite traction kiting, balloon riding, parachuting, paragliding, parasailing, ultra light flying, gliding, agrotourism, bike riding, mountain bike and cycle tourism, horse riding, canyoning, climbing, speleology, karts, mountaineering, motor-ski, bird-watching, observation of fauna and flora, orientation, paintball, Tibetan bridge crossing, bungee jumping, quads, rappel, snow rackets, rock climbing, four-wheel driving routes, trekking, snowboarding, trap shooting, archery, abseiling, and mushing. From the web site <http://turismoruralyaventura.com> we analysed 15 pages, 9,512 words in total from articles dealing with tourist destinations and activities: diving with whales, fly surf, balloon riding, trekking, flying the waves of Médano, rapids in two provinces, adventure routes in Calella, Costa Brava, La Caleta (Hermigua beach), Pollensa Bay, Acantilado de los Gigantes and in Torviscas Bay. The total amount of words on the web pages from these three sources is 33,570.

We did not take into consideration those pages of the magazines where there were many photographs and little text, or the information on the web pages that had nothing to do with the specific sport that was being described.

Regarding the distinction between borrowings and code switches, the limits seem to be clear-cut in theory, according to scholars like Poplack, Pousada and Sankoff (1982), but the truth is that some other linguists find problems trying to delimit the real boundaries (Myers-Scotton 2002 and Nurmi and Pahta 2004, among others). Therefore, we use anglicisms as a general term to refer to borrowings and code switches. Furthermore, we have considered as anglicisms those terms that are categorised as such by the DRAE dictionary (*Diccionario de la Lengua Española*), the DEA (*Diccionario del Español Actual*), and all those terms that are English and found in the OED (*Oxford English Dictionary*)³.

³ We have taken these Spanish dictionaries as the main source of incorporation of items in our corpus, even if some of the other dictionaries consulted did not agree with the ultimate origin of the word. This is the case of *trekking*, *safari* and *ski*, which the OED considers of

3. Discussion of results

3.1. The gender of nouns

We will firstly establish the various factors determining the gender assignment of loanwords to see whether the general tendency of using the masculine is observed; secondly, a classification of the gendered items of our corpus will be provided according to the established factors; and, finally, the reasons describing gender assignment will be explained. We would like to determine whether there is a hierarchy of dominance between different kinds of gender assignment criteria when dealing with anglicisms in Spanish touristic texts.

As gender is an inherent grammatical feature of all nouns in Spanish, it is necessary to complete the gender assignment process in order to incorporate and assimilate English loanwords. Therefore, it can also indicate assimilation of the item, as anglicisms coming into Spanish do not possess the category of gender in the original language but they are assigned one in the target language.

Several studies on gender assignment have been carried out in situations of language contact, especially in the United States (Zamora 1975; Barkin 1980; Poplack, Pousada and Sankoff 1982; Chaston 1996; García 1998; Smead 2000; Dubord 2004). The main differences between these pieces of work and our own research are that almost all of them are based on interviews and tests with lists of words and not on the analysis of written texts; and that the bilingual context in which the subjects live is different from the situation in Spain, though there is a considerable influence from the English language.

Dubord (2004) examines how anglicisms are incorporated into the grammatical structures of the Spanish language, mainly gender assignment, in a situation of language contact, and states that “Spanish in the Southwest [of the United

Dutch, Swahili and Norwegian origin respectively. But we have included the first two items since the DRAE considers them as anglicisms, whereas the third is of French origin. On the other hand, not all the items in our corpus come from touristic contexts; this is the case, for example, of *GPS*, *chip* or *cheddar*, which we have included because they were found in those touristic texts that were analysed.

States] is going through a process of simplification that could lead to random gender assignment or the over-generalization of one gender” (2004, 28). In fact, she concludes that there is a tendency to use the masculine when unsure of the assigned gender or a tendency to use the masculine with English words or new cognates.

Dealing with the gender assigned to loanwords, Corbett (1991, 74) claims that “loanwords are assigned to a gender according to meaning or form, depending on the assignment system of the borrowing language”. On the contrary, Barkin (1980, 105) states that “the gender of an English loanword in Spanish cannot be predicted”. Nevertheless, a series of factors for assigning gender were pointed out by Arndt (1970, based on Aron 1930):

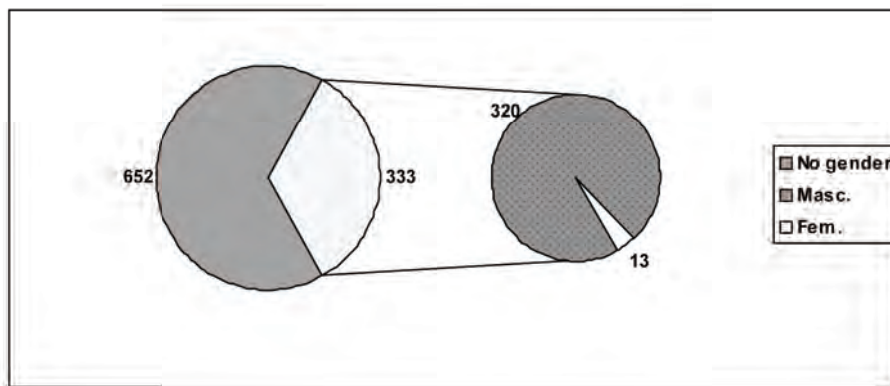
1. Sex.
2. The form of the word.
3. Semantic association with a displaced native equivalent.
4. Suffixal analogy.
5. Graphic analogy.
6. Homonymity.
7. Semantic categories.
8. Syllabicity.

This classification, with some of the recommendations proposed by Fisiak (1975), was adapted in our previous research in order to study the gender assignment of anglicisms in computer language in Spanish (De la Cruz *et al.* 2007). In the present study, some changes have been introduced in the classification. Thus, we have included *sex*, that is, *natural gender*, not considered in our previous work, as there are examples in the present corpus that indicate that this factor prevails when assigning gender to living creatures. We maintain the grouping of factors 3 and 7 (in Arndt’s classification) under *semantic criteria*, following Fisiak (1975, 59-60). For the present study, the factor *graphic analogy* has not been considered as not a single example of this kind has been found in our corpus.

Therefore, for the study of our data from Spanish touristic texts, we propose the following classification:

1. Phonological criterion.
2. Semantic criterion.
3. Tendency to take on the unmarked gender.
4. Suffixal analogy.
5. Natural gender.

After analysing the collected data, we can point out that the majority of the terms have no gender marking in the texts of the selected magazines and web pages (see Graph 1). It is often difficult to know the gender applied by the author to a given term because it lacks determiners or adjectives that modify it.

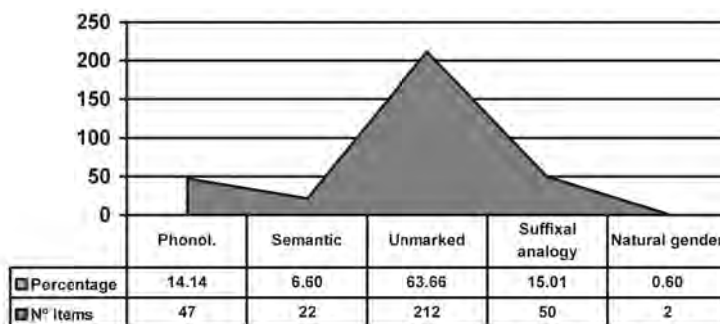


Graph 1. Results for gender

Of the total 1,037 items analysed, 985 are nouns. From this group of nouns, 652 show no gender (66.19%), while 333 (33.81%) are nouns with gender marking, out of which 13 are feminine and 320 are masculine. There is an obvious predominance of the masculine gender, since this is the unmarked gender in Spanish and, in case of doubt, the noun is marked as masculine. This fact makes it sometimes difficult to determine why the noun is masculine: because of the

influence of the phonological criterion, because of its association with its equivalent term in Spanish, or because it is the unmarked gender and, therefore, masculine by default. Likewise, it is impossible to confirm with certainty whether *snow park*, for example, is masculine through association with *parque* in Spanish, since it could also be explained as a case of unmarked gender, as final /k/ is not usually found at the end of words. The problem is to determine whether a speaker who has no knowledge of the English language is able to establish a semantic association between *park* and *parque*.

More than half of the total nouns analysed (66.19%) presented no gender assignment; the rest of the terms, that is, those which were marked for gender, applied the aforementioned criteria with the degree of productivity shown in Graph 2:



Graph 2. Gender assignment organised by criteria

The total number of tokens is presented in Graph 2, but if we just take into account the number of different types of words found, the most productive factor is the *unmarked gender criterion* with 61 different items (see the Appendix). There is a great difference with respect to the other groups: the second in number of different items is the *phonological criterion*, with 30 types, and the third one is the *semantic* one, which has 17 different units. There are hardly any entries in the last two groups: *suffixal analogy* only has 5 different types and *natural gender* has 2. Regarding the *suffixal analogy*, the most striking feature is that, in spite of having 50 units, just 5 types are found. This can be explained because of the fact that

the word *turismo* appears 40 times. The results clearly show a tendency to take as reference the masculine as unmarked gender, followed by the phonological criterion and the semantic criterion in the Spanish language when assigning gender to new terms.

While the classification by criteria of all the terms in the corpus can be consulted in the Appendix, the following sections include a more qualitative explanation of the use of each criterion for the assignment of gender according to the findings in our corpus.

3.1.1. Phonological criterion

Usually the gender in Spanish can be deduced by the ending of the word. Thus, nouns are feminine if they finish in: *-a*: *casa* ‘house’. Important exceptions are *día* ‘day’ and modern classic borrowings *tema* ‘topic’, *problema* ‘problem’ or *programa* ‘programme’. Some suffixal endings included within feminines are:

-dad, tad: *ciudad* ‘city’, *libertad* ‘freedom’.

-ión, ción: *reunión* ‘meeting’, *nación* ‘nation’.

-umbre: *cumbre* ‘summit’, *costumbre* ‘custom’.

A noun is masculine mainly if it ends in:

-o: *libro* ‘book’. Exceptions are *mano* ‘hand’ and clippings like *foto* ‘photo’, *moto* ‘motorbike’, among others.

-k: *papel* ‘paper’, *árbol* ‘tree’.

-n: *balón* ‘ball’, *jardín* ‘garden’.

-e: *parque* ‘park, playground’, *elefante* ‘elephant’. Exceptions include *llave* ‘key’ or *noche* ‘night’.

-r: *dolor* ‘pain’, *sudor* ‘sweat’. However, *flor* ‘flower’ is feminine.

-s: *interés* ‘interest’, *mes* ‘month’.

When the word ends in *-ed* it can take either the feminine gender, as in *la pared* ‘the wall’, or the masculine, as in *el césped* ‘the lawn’. Likewise, nouns ending

in $-\zeta$ tend to be feminine, although there are numerous exceptions like the case of *el lápiz*, clipping of *lapicero* ‘pencil’, and others like *barniz* ‘polish’. There are some other minor rules governing gender assignment, but no instances are found in our corpus.

Although many of the terms in our corpus are introduced in the language through written discourse, the occurrences analysed allow us to assert that if we follow the phonological criterion, gender assignment is determined by the pronunciation of the last segment of the word by a Spanish speaker. The difficulty lies in finding out how a Spanish speaker pronounces a certain ending, because the cognitive process underlying the gender assignment would be different depending on whether a specific item is assigned to the masculine because of its pronunciation or because it is the unmarked gender in Spanish.

Thus, we have taken into account the ending of the word and following this, nouns are masculine if their final ending is $-o$, like *gaélico*, *neopreno*, *poliestireno* or *polietileno*. Likewise, those terms ending in $-l$ and $-n$ are also masculine, such as *fútbol*, *paintball* or *ball*; *eslogan/slogan* or *glen*, whose ending can recall the gender of other masculine words in $-n$, like *pan* ‘bread’ or *andén* ‘platform’.

Apart from the lexical units mentioned above, other masculine nouns within this group are those ending in $/r/$, especially in $-er$, like *freerider*, *newsletter*, *poliéster*, *snowboarder* or *snurfer*. Although Barkin (1980, 107-108) states that “[...] English borrowings that end in $-er$ [...] are assigned to the feminine gender”, all the nouns ending in $-er$ in our corpus are masculine. Likewise, other anglicisms such as *spider*, *fólder*, and *burger* recorded in CLAVE dictionary take the masculine gender. In favour of this interpretation, Zamora (1975, 246) explains that “la mayoría de los sujetos aceptaron que *freezer* se pronunciaba [fríser] y asignaron la palabra al masculino, atendiendo al segmento final” [Our translation: “most subjects admitted [fríser] as the right pronunciation for *freezer* and assigned the word to the masculine gender, taking into account the final segment”].

The term *slalom* also belongs to this group, probably influenced by the model *álbum*. There are very few lexical items ending in $\langle m \rangle$ in Spanish. In fact, they tend to be borrowings adopted from several languages at different times; for example, from Latin (*fórum*, *quórum*, *réquiem*), from Arabic (*islam*, *barem*), from French (*álbum*). All of them have taken the masculine gender.

Finally, we consider that *freeride*, *freestyle*, *half-pipe*, *nose* and *pancakes* belong under this criterion because Spanish speakers would probably pronounce them with a final /e/, which complies with the criterion for masculine gender, just like other words ending in /e/. Very often the advertising world gives clues about the pronunciation of foreign words in Spain. Thus, brand names like *Scotch-brite*, *Colgate* and *Palmolive* are pronounced with a final /e/, while more recent ones, like *Dove*, try to reproduce the English sound.

We also have here some examples ending in <i/y> and <ie> as in *walkie talkie*, when preceded by a consonant. In this case, this ending in Spanish has a stressed <i> in native words, for instance, *albelí* ‘wallflower’, *jabalí* ‘wild boar’, *rubí* ‘ruby’, etc. This is even true of earlier borrowings like *esquí* ‘ski’. However, all the present occurrences have the stress on the syllable before the final one, e.g. *backcountry*, *canopy*, *jacuzzi*, *pasti*, *safari*, *wherry* and *whisky*. It is dubious that Spanish speakers may pronounce *canopy* as it is in English; they would certainly stress the second syllable, which is the most frequent pattern found in Spanish words.

Regarding the feminine nouns, we have found two instances: *adrenalina* and *yoal*. *Adrenalina*, whose origin is English, although based on Latin according to the *DRAE*, is perfectly understood as a feminine due to its ending in *-a*. However, it is striking that it does not follow the tendency of internationalisms, coined on classical etymons, where the *-a* ending stands for masculine as in *mapa* ‘map’ or *telegrama* ‘telegram’. The case of *yoal* is not transparent either; the only possible reason we can find to assign it a feminine gender is the fact that there is an allogram, *yola*, whose ending in *-a* will allocate it in this group.

3.1.2. *Semantic criterion*

Under this criterion we find all those cases that are ruled by the displaced word in Spanish, even if it is elided as in *la web*, instead of *la página web* ‘the webpage’.

Regarding the gender of initials and acronyms, Rodríguez González (1984, 311) states that it mainly depends on “los rasgos fonológicos del sistema siglar” [our translation: “the phonological features of initialisms”], but also on the head of the subjacent noun phrase. The latter applies to the following acronyms that

we have found: *NASA* (*National Aeronautics and Space Administration*), *PGA* (*Professional Golfers Association*) and *GPS* (*Global Positioning System*); the first two are feminine, since the head nouns *administración* ('administration') and *asociación* ('association') are feminine, while *sistema* ('system') is masculine in Spanish.

Another feminine noun is *mountain bike*, because the speaker can easily recognise *bici* (short form for *bicicleta*). The rest of the items are masculine, because the noun they recall in Spanish is also masculine. Thus, *el open* ('el abierto') is used for golf or tennis contests, *el reality show* ('el espectáculo'), *caboc*, *cheddar* and *dunlop* designating different kinds of cheese ('el queso'), *benji*, *big jump* and *bungee jump* referring to jump as a noun ('el salto'). Both *chipsystem* and *snow park* can be considered compounds; in Spanish the gender is provided by the second element, where both *system* ('el sistema') and *park* ('el parque') are masculine. Finally, any speaker who has a basic instruction in English would recognize *watermen* as a plural form of *waterman*, where the Spanish equivalent, 'hombre', is masculine; in fact, the words *man/men* are used in some advertisements on TV.

3.1.3. Tendency to take on the unmarked gender

As it happens in other Romance languages, the unmarked gender in Spanish is the masculine. This means that when doubting about which gender a foreign item should take, nouns tend to be assigned to the masculine one. Thus, this criterion is clearly applied to nouns ending in a consonant sound which is not frequent or documented in Spanish, like *bus-bob*, *club*, *kayac/kayak*, *chip*, *kit*, *look*, *surf*, or those ending in *-ing*, like *camping*, *camping-caravaning*, *hiking*, *mushing*, *rafting*, *runking*, *trekking*, *cross training*, *trail-training*, etc. Examples of loanwords or native coinage (e.g. *puenting* for *bungee jumping*) with the suffix *-ing* are numerous in Spanish and all of them take the masculine gender as mentioned by Lorenzo Criado (1996, 250-251), among others.

In Spanish, there are no native nouns ending in *-os*, like *skicross* and *motocross*. There are nouns ending in *-is*, which come mainly from Greek, like *crisis* or *tesis*, and are feminine with some exceptions like *análisis*. In our corpus, *haggis* is documented with a masculine form. However, it must be noted that the author bases his assignment on no phonological or semantic criterion, in our opinion, but on masculine being the unmarked gender. In fact, this word, like *loch*, *porridge*, *Roast*

Beef, *Shepherd's Pie* and *Steak and Kidney Pie*, is found in an article devoted to Scotland. These units, with the possible exception of *roast beef*, are completely unknown to Spanish speakers and are not registered in any other article or publication consulted for the present study. That is why following the English word there is either an explanation or a synonym in Spanish.

We have also included here words that can have a double gender. Some professional denominations like *policía* ('policyperson'), *guía* ('[tourist] guide'), *pianista* ('pianist'), *artista* ('artist') can be masculine or feminine just by using the masculine or feminine article in front of the word; for example, *el policía* 'policeman' versus *la policía* 'policewoman'. The same applies to nouns like *cicloturista*, *kayakista*, *turista*, *surfista*. We included them in the masculine because they are used as generic. Although some people would like to eradicate this usage, traditionally the masculine serves to designate not only males but also females when both sexes are present. The examples *cicloturista*, *turista(s)*, *kayakista* and *surfista(s)* are used as generic terms to refer to any tourist (*cicloturista* < *cycle*+*tourist* or *turista*) and any kayakist or surfer.

3.1.4. *Suffixal analogy*

We have identified two suffixes which are similar in form in Spanish and English. The first one is the suffix *-ics* in English, which usually takes the stress on the preceding syllable and tends to correspond to Spanish *-ística* with the stress on the third syllable from the end. Thus, *Logistics* corresponds to *logística*, in the same way *Linguistics* to *lingüística*. There are very few exceptions to this correspondence. One that is worth mentioning is the case of *athletics*, which in Spanish is formed with the suffix *-ismo* (*atletismo*) instead of *-ística*.

The second suffix is *-ism*, which is equivalent to the Spanish masculine suffix *-ismo*. The main uses described in the *Oxford English Dictionary* for the English suffix correspond to those assigned to the Spanish one by the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (DRAE):

1. "Forming a simple noun of action (...) naming the process, or the completed action, or its result (rarely concrete); as in *agonism*, *aphorism*, *baptism*, *criticism*,

emboлизм, exorcism, magnetism, mechanism, nepotism, organism, plagiarism, ostracism, syllogism, synchronism, volcanism” (OED).

All the nouns end in *-ismo* in Spanish in the previous cases.

2. “Forming the name of a system of theory or practice, religious, ecclesiastical, philosophical, political, social, etc., sometimes founded on the name of its subject or object, sometimes on that of its founder. Such are *Alexandrianism, Arianism, Arminianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Calvinism, Catholicism*” (OED).

Again there is an exact correspondence with the Spanish suffix.

3. “Forming a term denoting a peculiarity or characteristic, esp. of language, e.g. *Æolism, Americanism, Anglicism, Atticism, Devonshireism, Gallicism, Græcism, Hebraism, Hellenism, Latinism, Orientalism, Scotticism, Southernism, Westernism*, etc. Other words to add to these are: *archaism, classicism, colloquialism, modernism, newspaperism, solecism, sophism, witticism*” (OED).

In Spanish we would use nouns in *-ismo* on these occasions, as well as in other cases where the suffix is used to form “nouns with the sense ‘belief in the superiority of one over another’; as *racism, sexism*”. The only meaning recorded for the Spanish suffix which is not mentioned for the English one is that designating some sports, as in the above mentioned *atletismo* or *alpinismo* (‘climbing’), although an equivalent ending is present in *cyclism* (‘ciclismo’).

3.1.5. Natural gender

In our previous study on anglicisms⁴, we disregarded this criterion because there was not a single example of this kind in our corpus, as we were dealing with computer language and all the items had to do with inanimate beings (machines, applications, programmes, tools, etc.). Actually, in the case of *sex*, this factor prevails when assigning gender to living beings, so we have taken this criterion into consideration. In fact, we have two instances where nouns ending in

⁴ For further details on the criteria, analysis and results, see De la Cruz *et al.* (2007).

–a, which could be either masculine or feminine, show the biological sex of the person they are referring to. For instance, *turista* ‘tourist’ is feminine in “Una turista falleció el pasado puente de noviembre en la Vía Verde...” (*Grandes Espacios* Jan. 2006, 6) [Our translation: “a female tourist passed away on Vía Verde last November bank holiday...”]. The other case, *sherpa*, is masculine in “Le he prometido a Dawa, el sherpa que me acompañó al Everest, traerle a Asturias...” (*Turismo & aventura* Jan. 2006, 12) [Our translation: “I have promised Dawa, the sherpa that accompanied me to the Everest, to take him to Asturias...”].

3.2. The number of nouns

After analysing the data, three different ways of forming plural nouns can be found. Thus, according to this, we have grouped the elements in our corpus either as:

- a) *Spanish plural*: the usual rule for plural formation in Spanish is that nouns ending in a vowel add the –s morpheme, while those nouns ending in a consonant form the plural by means of –es.

However, in the case of foreign words this regular pattern is not followed. Even such prescriptive grammars as that of the Real Academia Española (1986, 182) notice that from the 19th century onwards and increasingly in words of French and English origin, the plural ending –s has been generalised for some nouns that end in a consonant. Beside these plurals, other authors mention the possibility of zero plural in words borrowed from other languages (Seco 1972, 139 and Lorenzo Criado 1994, 200).

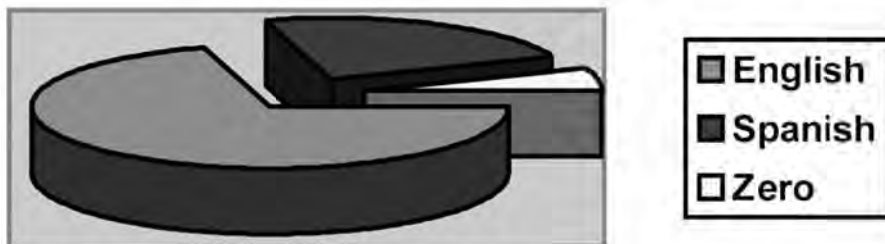
- b) *English plural*: it contains items observing the rules governing the plural formation in English even if it coincides with the Spanish one in the case of having a vowel followed by the morpheme –s.
- c) *Zero plural*: this group comprises those items that remain invariable, but whose plural character can be deduced from the determiners and adjectives accompanying them.

Out of the 985 items that are nouns, 873 of them appear in the singular form, while just 112 are plural. This means that 88.63% are singular, while the rest (11.37%) are in the plural form. The distribution of the plural nouns in our corpus can be consulted in the following table:

	<i>Aire Libre (AL)</i>	<i>Grandes Espacios (GE)</i>	<i>Outdoor (O)</i>	<i>Turismo & aventura (T&a)</i>	<i>Viajeros (V)</i>	<i>Web (www) pages</i>
-s/-es Spanish pattern		CLUBES (2) wattios	cicloturistas	bares	bares surfistas túneles turistas (3)	Agroturismos cicloturistas Clubes/clubes (5) Eslingas/eslingas (2) surfistas (5) windsurfistas
-s/-es English pattern	BUNGALOS/ WS/ bungalows (8) campings (2) kayaks links mobil-homes tickets trekkings Webs	Bungalows (6) movil-homes (2) Newsletters raids trekkings (3)	Freeriders kayaks pubs quads Raids/raids (8) snowboarders	half-pipes quads snowboarders	<i>bungalows</i> campings <i>pancakes</i> <i>quads</i>	Chokes footstraps (4) Karts/karts (6) kayaks (3) Quads/quads (2) scoops snowboarders SPOTS/spots (10) watermen winches
0				GPS snowpark	<i>glen loch pudding</i>	GPS kayak

Table 2. Plural formation

From the total number of plural forms, the prevailing pattern is the English one, with 79 occurrences which correspond to 23 different types; the second one is the Spanish pattern, with 26 instances of 10 types, and, finally, the zero plural is registered in 7 cases of 6 types. Statistically speaking, the English plural pattern is the most numerous one, which represents 70.54% of the total number of plural occurrences, while the percentage for the Spanish one is 23.21%, and 6.25% for the zero formation. Thus, a quantitative analysis clearly shows the pervasive use of the English pattern, which is three times that of the Spanish one, as can be seen in Graph 3.



Graph 3. Results for number

A qualitative study shows that only those anglicisms that are fully compatible with the Spanish morphological system are made plural according to the rules governing in this language, that is, either ending in *-a/-o* or in a consonant which is usually found at the end of words, like /r/ in *bares* or /l/ in *túneles*. The only exception would be *clubes*, whose last sound is not frequently documented in Spanish, as can be seen in *pubs*, whose foreign provenance is maintained even in the plural form. On the contrary, the English pattern is used when the last sound is not admitted in Spanish /k, t, ŋ, p/, as in *kayaks* or *links, tickets* or *spots, trekkings* or *campings*, and *footstraps* or *scoops*; other endings could be found in Spanish, such as final /r/ or final /d/, but probably their inclusion in this group gives a clue about the degree of assimilation of the word in the language. As Rodríguez González (2002, 159) points out, the speaker selects the plural allomorph that must be applied to an anglicism depending on the level of assimilation that the item has reached in the system. Most speakers would not understand these words out of context (for instance, *freeriders, snowboarders, quads, raids*, etc.), so the English plural formation is kept as an identity mark of their foreign character.

As regards the zero group, the nouns normally appear with articles or other determiners or adjectives that due to their patrimonial character display the corresponding plural morpheme (*-s/-es*), for example *todos los GPS, los snow park, los glen, los loch, los pudding, los kayak*. Most of these units, such as *snowpark, glen* or *pudding*, could also have been used according to the English pattern with final *-s* instead, but a special case is that of the acronyms. The Real Academia Española accepts two ways of forming the plural: Firstly, by adding *-s*, which could hardly be pronounced in Spanish in the case of *GPS*; and, secondly, zero plural formation,

which is the one chosen here⁵. One inconsistency is found in the case of *kayak*, which is also registered as *kayaks* on other texts from our corpus.

3.3. Other word classes

In our corpus, there are 52 items that do not belong to the noun word class. As the governing element of the noun phrase is the noun and past participles and adjectives must agree with the nouns they modify in terms of gender and number, we have not considered these items in the analysis. In this group, we have verbs and adjectives: three different types of verbs in infinitive and personal form (6 items), one type of past participle from one of the verbs found in the corpus (8 occurrences), and 10 different types of adjectives (38 items). The distribution of these lexical items in our corpus can be consulted in the following table:

	<i>Aire Libre</i> (AL)	<i>Grandes Espacios</i> (GE)	<i>Outdoor</i> (O)	<i>Turismo & aventura</i> (T&a)	<i>Viajeros</i> (V)	<i>Web pages</i> (www)
Verbs			surfea surfear	filmar		conecta surfear (2)
Past participles					conectada conectado	conectada conectado (3) conectados (2)
Adjectives	estándar on-line turística (2) Turístico (2)	líder turística (3) turísticas (4) turístico (4)	<i>non stop</i> surfero	surfeables (2)	cuáqueras cuáquero Esterlina (3) turística Turístico (2)	biodegradable conectada (2) estándar turística (2) turísticas (2)

Table 3. Other word classes

⁵ “El plural de las siglas se construye haciendo variar las palabras que las acompañan. Ejemplos: las ONG, dos TAC” (Real Academia Española 1999, 96) [Our translation: “The plural of initials/acronyms is made by changing the words that accompany them. E.g. las ONG, dos TAC”].

Although these items have not been analysed in terms of gender assignment and plural formation, it would be necessary to examine thoroughly the derivational processes of some of these items to find out how the Spanish language integrates anglicisms into its derivational system, for example *sufrero* from the borrowed word *surf* plus the derivational suffix *-ero*. Another interesting group of terms is that in which graphical assimilation has taken place, but, besides, a conversion process occurs in Spanish, for example, *líder*, borrowed originally as a noun and now used also as an adjective in examples like: *Compañía líder* ('leading company') in our corpus. Word formation processes influencing anglicisms need a detailed study. This will be part of a different research.

4. Conclusions

In our study of anglicisms in Spanish touristic texts, one of the most interesting aspects in the assimilation of anglicisms in Spanish is the way in which speakers assign gender to foreign elements that lack grammatical gender in their original language. That is the case of English borrowings adopted into Spanish. Our results are similar to those obtained in our previous research, which validates our first hypothesis: there seems to be a tendency to assign the unmarked gender in Spanish, masculine, in a number of English loanwords. This is also the conclusion reached by other scholars, for example, Zamora (1975, 243), who explains that “menos de una tercera parte de los nombres fueron asignados al femenino al incorporarse al español; parece evidente que el masculino resultaba el más productivo de los géneros” [Our translation: “less than a third of the nouns were assigned to the feminine when introduced into Spanish; it seems to be evident that the masculine turned out to be the most productive of the genders”].

By way of conclusion, it should be clarified that the present classification of terms is not definite but arguable in some respects. Our goal is to show tendencies in gender assignment of the anglicisms found in touristic texts; hence the fact that an isolated element could be inserted in one group or another does not drastically influence the final result.

Finally, in terms of plural formation, the English pattern predominates over the Spanish one, although it is also worth mentioning that the zero plural is gaining ground as well. Thus, the two hypotheses that we set up seem to have been validated.

WORKS CITED

- Arndt, W. W.** (1970). "Nonrandom Assignment of Loanwords: German Noun Gender." *Word* 26/2 : 244-253.
- Aron, A. W.** (1930). "The Gender of English Loan-words in Colloquial American German." *Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies*. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America: 11-28.
- Barkin, F.** (1980). "The role of loanword assimilation in gender assignment." *Bilingual Review* 7: 105-112.
- Chaston, J. M.** (1996). "Sociolinguistic analysis of gender agreement in article/noun combinations in Mexican American Spanish in Texas." *Bilingual Review/Revista bilingüe* 21/3: 195-203.
- Corbett, G.** (1991). *Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- De la Cruz Cabanillas, I., Tejedor Martínez, C., Díez Prados, M. y E. Cerdá Redondo.** (2007). "English Loanwords in Spanish Computer Language." *English for Specific Purposes* 26: 52-78.
- Dubord, E. M.** (2004). "Gender assignment to English words in the Spanish of Southern Arizona." *Divergencias. Revista de estudios lingüísticos y literarios* 2/2: 27-39.
- Fisiak, J.** (1975). "Some remarks concerning the noun gender assignment of loanwords." *Bulletin de la Société Polonaise de Linguistique* 32: 59-63.
- García, M. E.** (1998). "Gender marking in a dialect of Southwest Spanish." *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 17/1: 49-58.
- Lorenzo Criado, E.** (1994). *El español lengua en ebullición*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Lorenzo Criado, E.** (1996). *Anglicismos Hispánicos*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Maldonado Hernández, C. et al.** (2004). *Diccionario de Uso del Español Actual. CLAVE*. Madrid: Ediciones SM.
- Myers-Scotton, C.** (2004). *Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Nurmi, A. y P. Päivi.** (2004). "Social stratification and patterns of code-switching in Early English letters." *Multilingua* 23/4: 417-453.
- Oxford English Dictionary.** <http://dictionary.oed.com>.
- Poplack, S., Pousada A. y D. Sankoff.** (1982). "Competing influences on gender assignment: Variable process, stable outcome." *Lingua* 57: 1-28.
- Real Academia Española.** (1986). *Esbozo de una Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- Real Academia Española.** (1999). *Ortografía de la Lengua Española*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- Real Academia Española.** (2001). *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe. [http:// www.rae.es](http://www.rae.es).
- Rodríguez González, F.** (1984). "El género de las siglas." *Revista Española de Lingüística* 14/2: 311-366.
- Rodríguez González, F.** (2002). "Anglicismos y calcos en el español actual." *L'inglese e le altre lingue europe. Studi sull'interferenza lingüística*, San Vicente, F. (ed). Bologna: CLUEB: 149-169.
- Seco, M.** (1972). *Gramática esencial del español*. Madrid: Aguilar.
- Seco, M., O. Andrés Puente, y G. Ramos González.** (1999). *Diccionario del Español Actual*. Madrid: Aguilar.
- Smead, R. N.** (2000). "On the assignment of gender to Chicano anglicisms: Processes and results." *Bilingual Review/Revista bilingüe* 25/3: 277-297.
- Tejedor, C., Cabellos, M. R., de la Cruz, I., Díez, M. y E. Cerdá.** (2006). "La presencia de préstamos ingleses en las lenguas de especialidad" *Revista de Lenguas para Fines Específicos* 11-12: 347-381.
- Turell, M. T.** (2002). "Variation, Language Contact and Genre Specificity: Linguistic Traces of English in Present-Day Written Catalan." *L'inglese e le altre lingue europe. Studi sull'interferenza lingüística*, San Vicente, F. (ed.), Bologna: CLUEB: 237-256.
- Zamora, J. C.** (1975). "Morfología bilingüe: La asignación de género a los préstamos." *Bilingual Review/Revista bilingüe* 2/3: 239-247.

CORPUS

1. Magazines:

Aire Libre. Grupo ARTHAX, October 2005 and January 2006.

Grandes Espacios. Ediciones Desnivel, October 2005 and January 2006.

Outdoor. Ediciones Desnivel, Autumn and Winter 2005.

TURISMO & aventura. GRV Editores, November 2005 and January 2006.

Viajeros. SGEL, December 2005-January 2006 and February-March 2006.

2. Online Resources:

Top Rural. <http://www.toprural.com>.

Turismoactivo.com. <http://turismoactivo.com>.

Turismo Rural y Aventura. <http://turismoruralyaventura.com>.

Criterion	Aire Libre (AL)	Grandes Espacios (GE)	Outdoor (O)	Turismo & aventura (T&a)	Vijeros (V)	Web pages (www)
Phonological criterion	Jacuzzi	Newsletter walkie talkie	backcountry (7) freeride freerider(s) (2) freestyle fútbol neopreno poliestireno snowboarder(s) (2)	eslogan freeride half-pipes nose poliéster	Adrenalina canopy (3) güelco (2) hall pancakes pasy salfari slogan whisky	neopreno Paintball/paintball (4) polietileno slalom snurfer wherry yoal
Semantic criterion	PGA Open jet ski	web (2)	web mountain bike reality show	Chipsystem GPS snow park	caboc cheddar danlop	NASA (2) benji (2) big jump bungee jump watermen
Unmarked gender	aerobic box bungalows Camping/camping (2) camping-carving golf gym-jazz park (3) surf (2) windsurf	Club/club/CLUB (6) mushing rafting ranking trekking	cross training jogging kayak (3) "look" pubs Raid/raid (s) (24) snow (4) snowboard (3) test trail(-)running (2)	Clup bus-bob feedback golf hidrospeed kayak (4) motocross puenting rafting (3) relax skate skiroass snowy (5) Snowboard/snowboard (4) surf surfista windsurf	camping canyoning (2) golf haags hibing loch parking porridge pudding/pudin (2) rafting relax Roast Beef Shepherd's Pie Stoak & Kidney Pie surf surfistas trekking tunistas	body board Bus/bob/bus bob/bushob (3) Camping/camping (6) canyoning cicloturista Club/clubes (6) Flysurf/flysurf (4) footsraps hidrospeed kart(s) (3)/Karts (2) Kite surf kayac/kayaks (19) kayakista kit parascending parking (5) puening (2) quad (5) (2) raft (2) rafting (2) record scad diving speed spot(s) (11) surf (11) surfistas (3) Windsurf/windsurf (5)
Suffixal analogy	enoturismo TURISMO/Turismo/ turismo (11)	TURISMO/Turismo/ turismo (10)	logistica (4)	turismo (4)	TURISMO/Turismo/ Turismo/turismo (9)	Agroturismo(s)/agroturismo (4) cicloturismo enoturismo tursimo (6)
Natural gender		turista		sherpa		