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## Sports and Adventure Tourism Anglicisms in Spanish: *Esferatón* or Zorbing?\*

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### ABSTRACT

Active and adventure tourism are two types of tourism that take place outdoors in contact with nature. The present article discusses the language of sports and adventure tourism in Spanish focusing on the use of Anglicisms. We examine the different aspects related to the integration and adaptation of English words. The integration process is often attested through the change in the spelling of the word and its adaptation to the Spanish orthographic system. Furthermore, the influence of English upon Spanish pervades not only its lexicon, but also its morphology, syntax, semantics and phraseology. In this article, we analyse word morphology in terms of plural formation and gender assignment. In order to carry out the research, the data are retrieved from a corpus and an associated database, known as *Anglicor*, that the authors have been compiling since 2003 up to now. The corpus is made up of several subcorpora, whose main topics are computers, medicine and health issues, fashion, beauty, science and technology, and tourism. The tourism subcorpus is a collection of texts from airline magazines, brochures, academic journals, leaflets, websites and active tourism magazines. For this study, we have made use of recent texts from specialised websites and printed magazines. Thus, the explanations are illustrated with examples obtained from authentic sources, which will provide an up-to-date overview of the presence, use and significance of Anglicisms in the language of sports and adventure tourism in Spanish.

**Keywords:** Anglicisms, *Anglicor*, gender and number of Anglicisms, tourism discourse, sport and adventure tourism.



## 1. Introduction

Active and adventure tourism are two types of tourism that take place outdoors in contact with nature. The limits between them are not clearly cut, inasmuch as they can act as synonymic concepts or active tourism works as the hyperonymic expression. Thus, Araújo, Fraiz and Paül admit that active tourism, ecotourism, sports tourism and adventure tourism are denominations whose limits are blurry, since there is a continuous transgression of the borders between the concepts of leisure, sports, travel and adventure (2012: 60). Furthermore, they present a classification of activities according to the area of tourism they belong to. Within it, active tourism corresponds to the section where the most energetic activities are included. Clearly, the information in this section overlaps with Buckley's definition of adventure tourism "a broad term which encompasses all types of commercial outdoor tourism and recreation with a significant element of excitement" (2010: 4) and the activities proposed by him for adventure tourism (2010: 5):

abseiling, aerobatic aircraft flights, ballooning, black water rafting, bungee jumping, caving, cross-country skiing, diving, downhill skiing and snowboarding, expedition cruises, gliding, hang gliding, heliskiing and heli-boarding, hiking, horse riding, ice climbing, jet boating, kiteboarding, mountain biking, mountaineering, off-road 4WD driving, parapenting and paragliding, quad biking and ATV driving, rock climbing, sailboarding, sailing, sea kayaking, skydiving and parachuting, snowshoeing, surfing, whale watching, whitewater canoeing and kayaking, whitewater rafting, wildlife watching and zorbing.

Nonetheless, Estornel Pons (2013: 35) considers that active tourism is the hyperonym that encompasses adventure activities, but also sports and other leisure and nature-based activities, which do not necessarily involve some kind of risk or excitement, as stated in Buckley for adventure tourism (2010: 4). Thus, the nature-based activities described in the texts in our corpus include also several activities, such as angling, bird-watching, whale watching, and even leisure practices that would not be usually practiced outdoors, such as *futbolín* (*table football*).

In the present study we establish no distinction between the expressions: active tourism, sports tourism and adventure tourism, since the sources from where the data were extracted refer to the activities with any of the three denominations, although sports tourism is not so commonly found in them. Here, we analyse the introduction of English borrowings from active and adventure tourism texts into the Spanish language from a quantitative and qualitative perspective in terms of plural formation and gender assignment. Based on previous research by different scholars, the hypotheses we set up to test are the following: firstly, when assigning gender to English nouns the masculine will prevail over the feminine (Bull, 1965; Zamora, 1975; Smead, 2000; Morin, 2010); secondly, regarding plural formation, the zero plural will have the lowest frequency (Onysko, 2007; De la Cruz and Tejedor et.al, 2007–08; Rodríguez González, 2017).

Before starting having a look at the data, a preliminary issue is to determine what is understood by the term Anglicism. Furiassi, Pulcini and Rodríguez González (2012:

5) refer to Anglicism “as an umbrella label for any sign of interference – phonological, morphological, syntactic and phraseological (but also semantic, pragmatic, stylistic and cultural) – which may be ascribed to the influence of the English language”. Within the lexical sphere, these authors acknowledge two types of influence: indirect (calques and semantic loans) and direct (loanwords, false loans, hybrids) (2012: 6). On this occasion, we explore direct Anglicisms. We follow this categorisation regarding lexical Anglicisms very closely with only slight differences, as explained below. With Pratt (1980: 115) and López Morales (1987: 303), we understand an Anglicism to be a linguistic item whose ultimate etymon is an English lexical element. Thus, our criteria to classify a lexical item as an English loanword are as follows:

- Words that come directly from English. This would correspond to patent Anglicism in Pratt’s words, including items that are recognised by English speaking people as belonging to their mother tongue. In this section we find examples like *ranking* or *hippy* (Pratt, 1980: 116). In order to assure the provenance of the recorded entry, the etymological information provided by Spanish lexicographic references is checked. In past pieces of research (Tejedor and De la Cruz et al., 2005–06, 2007–08), we also relied on the information offered by other dictionaries, such as *Diccionario del Español Actual* and *Diccionario de Uso del Español*. Nevertheless, we have now based our selection of terms on the information given by *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* and *Gran Diccionario de Anglicismos*, since they are the latest updated publications. If the term is not present in any of these dictionaries, other British and American reference sources are consulted. For instance, the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*.

- English as language of transmission. Although English may not be the original language, it is often the vehicle to transmit terms such as *trekking* or *safari*. According to Pratt (1980: 48), it would be absurd to derive *té* from Chinese or *kayak* from the Skimo languages. Even if we live in a globalised world and contact with exotic languages is increasing in Western Europe, contact between certain given languages has been limited, inasmuch as the adoption of words such as *géiser*, *iceberg*, *jungla*, *pijama* or *caqui* (‘colour’ and ‘fabric’) cannot be considered the result of direct contact. On the contrary, the English language has mediated in the introduction of these lexical items into other languages.

- Hybrids or derivatives from English roots, whereby an English element is combined with a Spanish morpheme. It follows from here that, if *turismo* is an English borrowing, *turístico/a*, adjectives derived from it, are also included as Anglicisms. A similar example is *surfista* from *surf*.

- Pseudoanglicisms. Gómez Capuz (2005: 63–67) deals with the different kinds of pseudoanglicisms or false borrowings. Pseudoanglicisms are lexical units that do not exist as such in the English language. There is an alteration from the original English form. Thus, nouns like *parking* are used in Spanish for *parking lot* or the mingling of a Spanish etymon with an English suffix, as can be seen in *puenting*, from *puente* ‘bridge’ plus the *-ing* suffix, to designate the activity of jumping from a bridge as in *bungee jumping*.

## 2. Methodology

Unlike previous studies which are based on lexicographic works (e.g. Bull, 1965; Smead, 2000; Morin, 2010), our analysis is not of a purely dictionary nature, but relies on real updated data. In order to carry out the research, the data have been retrieved from a corpus and an associated database, known as *Anglicor*, that the authors have been compiling since 2003 up to now (De la Cruz and Tejedor, 2012, 2014). In fact, as Oncins (2009: 116) pointed out, corpora in general “have become an indispensable tool for research on English loanwords”. Our plan was to build a corpus covering several specialised disciplines in order to study the influence of English on languages for special purposes, which is why the textual corpus includes documents from a number of these disciplines and in different registers.

The corpus is made up of several subcorpora, whose main topics are: computers, medicine and health issues, fashion, beauty, science and technology, and tourism. The tourism subcorpus is a collection of texts from airline magazines, brochures, academic journals, leaflets, websites and active tourism magazines. In previous studies on the language of tourism (Tejedor and De la Cruz et al., 2005–06, 2007–08), the corpus included data from different issues of each of the five following magazines: *Outdoor*, *Turismo & Aventura*, *Viajeros*, *Grandes Espacios*, and *Aire Libre*. Nevertheless, the focus of the publications has not remained constant over the years. Thus, *Viajeros* used to include articles on different adventure sports, such as canyoning, canopy, rafting or surf, apart from the descriptions of holiday destinations. Nowadays, the latest issues of the magazine seem to be centered on the exploration of specific destinations, but not from the practice of adventure sports perspective. In turn, *Outdoor* merged with *Grandes Espacios* by the end of the year 2008 and *Turismo & Aventura* was only available to us until the year 2012, as it is no longer published. Subsequently, the only magazine which has retained its active tourism character over the years has been *Aire Libre*. This explains why we decided to concentrate on this magazine. Furthermore, we limited the search to the issues belonging to the year 2018 from January to December, given that sports and adventure tourism is a highly changeable field where activities are practiced over a time span according to novelty and fashion criteria. Thus, only the latest publications both in print and online would be suitable to offer a real picture of the tourism lexicon.

The magazine, *Aire Libre*, comprises different sections, but as our purpose was sports and adventure tourism, we selected articles covering this field. 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: mountain bikes, a trip to a given exotic destination, kayak, snow mountain activities and the advertising of different tourism products, such as rural homes, hotels excursions and trips, even if they are disguised in an informative article format. The amount of pages analysed is 171, which totals up to an estimated number of 105 000 words. We did not take into consideration those pages of the magazines where there were advertisement photographs for different brands or the information on the web pages that had nothing to do with the specific sport that was being described.

As for the web sites, we analysed different sources; all of them explain how to practice the sports and activities mentioned, where they can be practiced and sometimes, the equipment needed, even the story of the sports and some pieces of advice to practice them. Among the activities included here are: angling, blob jump, bodyboard, buggy routes, bumper ball, bungee jumping, bus-bob, canoraft, canyoning, caving, climbing, coastering, cycling, death slide jumping, flyboarding, four-wheel driving routes, hang gliding, heli-skiing, hidrospeed, hiking, horse riding, hovercraft driving, hunting, ice skating, kayaking, kitesurf, landsailing, laser combat, Mega SUP, monster bike, mountain bike, mushing, off-road driving, paddle surf, paintball, parachuting, paragliding, parascending, paratrike, power walking or smart walking, rafting, raid adventure, rambling, retro running, river tubing, rock climbing, rowing, running, scuba diving, ski bus, skibobbing, skin-diving, snorkel, snowboard, speedriding, speleology, Stand-up paddle, street luge, surf mountain, surf, Tibetan bridge crossing, tow-in surfing, trail running, trekking, tubing, wakeboard, windsurf and zorbing.

The articles, blogs, and sections on these topics analysed total up to 71 000 words approximately. In Table 1, a complete list of the sources that form part of the textual corpus used in our research is shown.

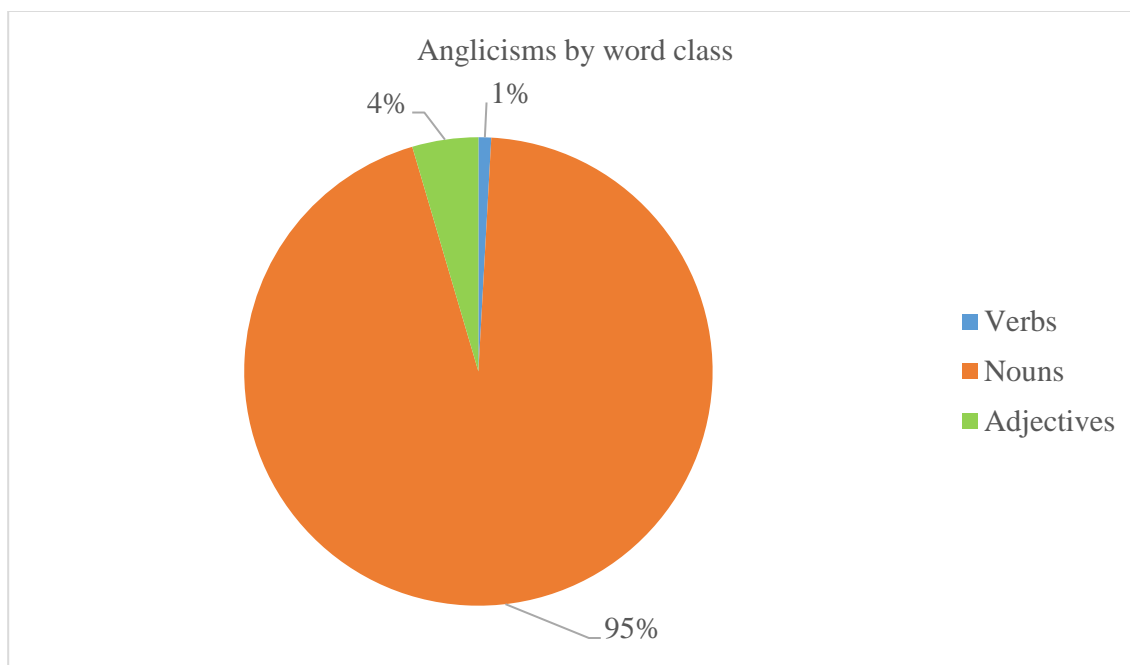
Magazines	Web sites
Aire Libre, January-February (issue 272)	Campo Activo, Aventura y naturaleza
Aire Libre, March (issue 273)	Deportes de Aventura para todos
Aire Libre, April (issue 274)	Karma Turismo Activo
Aire Libre, May (issue 275)	Multiaventura Buendía
Aire Libre, June (issue 276)	My protein
Aire Libre, July-August (issue 277)	Naturaliste
Aire Libre, September (issue 278)	Ocioaventura
Aire Libre, October (issue 279)	Revista Ibérica
Aire Libre, November (issue 280)	Turismo Activo
Aire Libre, December (issue 281)	Turismo activo y deporte Andalucía
	Vitónica
	Web Consultas
	Yumping
<b>Total:</b> approx. 105,000 words	<b>Total:</b> approx. 71,000 words

Table 1. Textual corpus

Apart from the textual corpus, our database, named *Anglicor*, stores data about every recorded item extracted from the corpus. In order to incorporate tokens from the corpus, the criteria used by Rodríguez González (2003) to compile a dictionary were taken into account (see De la Cruz and Tejedor, 2009, 2012, 2014 for further details on the compilation of the corpus and the implementation of the database).

### 3. Analysis

Similarly to what other studies pointed out, “in the Romance languages [...] the great majority of Anglicisms belong to the class of nouns (80% as calculated for French) so that morphological integration regards the attribution of gender and number” (Furiassi, Pulcini and Rodríguez González, 2012: 9). In fact, the results obtained from our corpus confirm this claim. There is a total number of 1 821 Anglicisms, out of which 1 722 (94.56%) are nouns and only 99 (5.44%) are adjectives and verbs. These outcomes include the repetition of given items, whose presence is salient. For instance, the word *windsurf* appears 29 times in the corpus, whereas *treetox* occurs just once. Later on, we will refer to the different types of items recorded. The distribution of the total occurrence of Anglicisms by word class can be seen in Graph 1, where percentages have been rounded off to the nearest number.



Graph 1. Anglicisms by word class

#### 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, as well as the reasons describing gender assignment. 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.



In Romance languages, gender tends to be inherited from Latin, although some items have shifted from masculine to feminine and vice versa, especially in the botany field. Thus, Latin *flos-floris* was masculine and is preserved as such in Italian (*il fiore*), but changes into feminine in French (*la fleur*) and Spanish (*la flor*). Similarly, Latin *arbos-arboris* was feminine but it is masculine in Spanish (*el árbol*), French (*l'arbre*) and Italian (*il albero*). All in all, these can be considered exceptions. Gender is an inherent grammatical feature of all nouns in Spanish, which means it is necessary to complete the gender assignment process in order to incorporate and assimilate English loanwords in the 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. In this sense, our study is in line with the investigation carried out by Onysko et al. (2013).

Dubord 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 States] is going through a process of simplification that could lead to random gender assignment or the overgeneralization 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. This claim was already present in Hock (1991: 401), who states that there is “a default class to which words are assigned if none of the other criteria provides a solution”. Subsequently, this involves that the masculine gender will prevail over the feminine in Spanish. 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”].

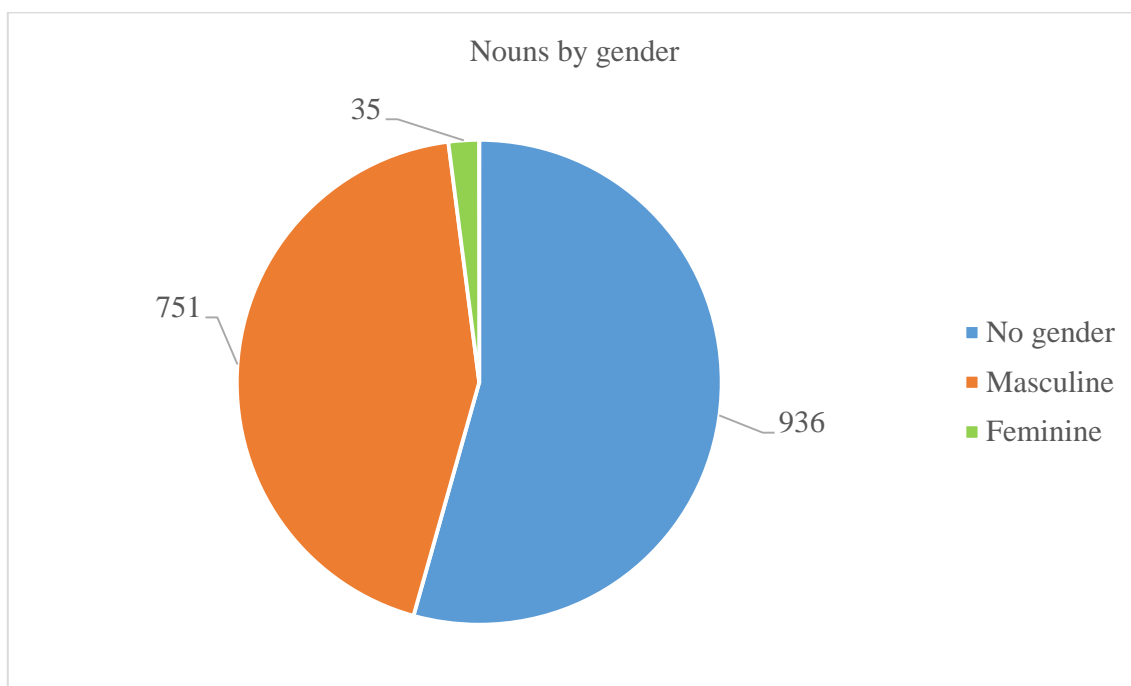
Dealing with the gender assigned to loanwords, Corbett (1991: 74) claims that “loanwords are assigned to a gender according to meaning or form, depending on the assignment system of the borrowing language”. On the contrary, Barkin (1980: 105) states that “the gender of an English loanword in Spanish cannot be predicted”. Nevertheless, a series of factors for assigning gender were pointed out by Arndt (1970; based on Aron, 1930). In turn, Fisiak (1975: 59–60) refined this classification adapting it to his analysis of Polish vocabulary.

We have consulted the taxonomies used by the above-mentioned scholars and others, such as Smead (2000), Onysko (2007) and Morin (2010), and adapted their

classifications in order to reflect the reality of English loanwords in tourism language in Spanish. Thus, when dealing with animate referents, the biological gender is the overriding consideration, but no instances are recorded in our corpus. In inanimate loanwords, gender assignment may be determined by a set of factors. As for the criteria operating in Spanish for the assignment of gender in the cases where there is an explicit gender marking, the gender assignment takes place following phonological, morphological and lexical-semantic criteria. Thus, for the study of our data we propose the following classification:

- Phonological criteria, based on the last phoneme as pronounced by Spanish speakers.
- Morphological criteria, which include the use of suffixes, the tendency to take on the unmarked gender and the generic gender.
- Lexical-semantic criteria that have to do with the gender of the Spanish hyperonym, of a synonym in Spanish, of a patronymic word, as well as the gender of the omitted word that usually accompanies the Anglicism.

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, as shown in Graph 2:



Graph 2. Results for gender

Out of the total 1 821 items analysed, 1 722 are nouns, while 83 are adjectives and 16 verbs. For the analysis of the assigned gender to Anglicisms, we have focused



exclusively on nouns. From this group of nouns, 936 show no gender (54.36%), whereas 786 (45.64%) are nouns with gender marking.

Thus, 786 are gendered nouns, out of which 35 (4.46%) are feminine and 751 (95.54%) 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. The fact that the masculine is the default gender and the one native speakers will choose overwhelmingly, when unsure, has been recognised by psychological experiments carried out by several scholars, who confirm that “mean reaction times during a lexical decision task were shorter for the masculine than for the feminine” (Beatty-Martínez & Dussias, 2019: 3). When reviewing the literature on the topic from a psychological perspective, the authors add that “children were more likely to assign masculine gender to nouns with irregular (i.e. ambiguous) phonological cues, suggesting a masculine default strategy in gender assignment” (Beatty-Martínez & Dussias, 2019: 3).

These findings make 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 *skatepark*, 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 (54.36%) presented no gender assignment; the rest of the terms, that is, those which were marked for gender, applied the aforementioned criteria with variable degrees of productivity. 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 Criteria

Very often 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’;
- ez*: *palidez* ‘paleness’;
- sis*: *crisis* ‘crisis’, *tesis* ‘thesis’, but *oasis* ‘oasis’ and *brindis* ‘toast’ are masculine;
- itis*: *otitis* ‘otitis’, *rinitis* ‘rhinitis’.

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;
- l: *papel* ‘paper’, *pincel* ‘brush’;
- n: *balón* ‘ball’, *jardín* ‘garden’;
- e: *parque* ‘park, playground’, *elefante* ‘elephant’. Noticeable exceptions include *leche* ‘milk’, *llave* ‘key’, *noche* ‘night’ and *sangre* ‘blood’;
- r: *dolor* ‘pain’, *sudor* ‘sweat’. However, *flor* ‘flower’ is feminine;
- s: *interés* ‘interest’, *mes* ‘month’.

When the word ends in *–ed*, it is mainly masculine as in *el césped* ‘the lawn’, but *la pared* ‘the wall’ is feminine. Likewise, 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. Even two different speakers might activate distinct mechanisms which are hard to determine. This means we cannot completely rule out the idea that “the masculine default strategy is, at least to some degree, driven by phonological factors” (Beatty-Martínez & Dussias, 2019: 5).

All in all, we have taken into account the ending of the word and following this, nouns are feminine if they end in *–a*, such as *adrenalina*, *gymkhana*, *ionosfera* and *jungla*. It is worth noting that in the case of *adrenalina*, whose origin is English, although based on Latin according to the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, it 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’.

Regarding the masculine nouns, they are masculine if their final ending is *–o*, like *neopreno* or *–s* as in *tenis*. Likewise, those terms ending in *–l* and *–n* are also masculine, such as *fútbol*, *paintball*; *tobogán* or *vagón*, whose ending can recall the gender of other masculine words in *–n*, like *avión* ‘plane’ or *camión* ‘lorry’.

Apart from the lexical units mentioned above, other masculine nouns within this group are those ending in /r/, especially in *–er*, like *freerider*, *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. 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 terms *slalom*, *solarium* and *tándem* also belong to this group. There are very few lexical items ending in <m> 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*, *harem*), from French (*álbum*). All of them have taken the masculine gender.

Finally, the explanation about *ponche* being a masculine is not so transparent, as nouns ending in *-e* are mainly masculine, but there are noticeable feminine nouns in *-e* as well. Finally, we consider that *freeride*, *freestyle*, *halfpipe* and *quarterpipe* 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> preceded by a consonant, as in *walkie talkie*, *buggys/bugis*, *canopy*, *jacuzzi* and *safari*. 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.

### 3.1.2. Morphological Criteria

Within the morphological criteria we have identified some suffixes which are similar in form in Spanish and English. The first one is the suffix *-ism*, whose Spanish equivalent is *-ismo*. The main use is in the word *turismo* and its derivative nouns, such as *agroturismo*, *astroturismo*, *cicloturismo*, *ecoturismo*, *enoturismo* and *oleoturismo*. Likewise, the suffix *-er* tends to be assimilated to *-ero*, as in *viajero-bloguero*.

Another relevant issue is the fact that, as 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*, *surf*, or those ending in *-ing*, like *camping*, *mushing*, *rafting*, *trekking*, *cross training*, *trailrunning*, *wave riding*, *zorbing*, etc. Examples of loanwords or native coinages (e.g. *puenting* and *goming* 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.

Additionally, apart from the patent Anglicisms, new words are coined to render English terms, such as *esferismo* and *esferatón* for *zorbing*, where both Spanish neologisms are masculine. The former is masculine because all nouns ending in suffix *-ismo* are masculine, while the latter *esferatón*, documented with or without stress, ends in *-n*, which is also a prototypical final phoneme for masculines in Spanish. This can be seen in the following examples:

(1) *La bola zorb, zorbing, zorb ball o esferismo* es un **divertido juego** que consiste en meterse dentro de una bola hinchable gigante y transparente [*Zorb ball, zorbing or zorb ball or esferismo* is a funny game that consists of getting into a huge transparent inflatable ball] (NATURISTE)

(2) ¿Crees que has probado todo tipo de aventuras? ¡Aún te falta disfrutar del esferatón! [Do you think you have tried every kind of adventure? You are still missing *esferatón!*] (Yumping.com)

Finally, when referring to human beings in general, the masculine gender works as the generic, as stated by the *Real Academia Española* (2010: 25): “En la designación de personas y animales, los sustantivos de género masculino se emplean para referirse a los individuos de ese sexo, pero también para designar a toda la especie, sin distinción de sexos, sea en singular o en plural” [When designating people and animals, masculine nouns are used to refer to individuals of that sex, but also to designate the species, regardless of their sex, whether in singular or in plural]. In our corpus, we have several instances of nouns ending in *-a*, such as *turista*, which could be either masculine or feminine. As it is a generic reference to tourists, in all the examples the assigned gender is masculine.

(3) Esta aventura comienza con el pago de un “peaje” obligatorio en el cual los turistas deben beber un chupito de un fuerte aguardiente antes de poder cruzar el puente [This adventure begins by paying the compulsory “toll” whereby tourists must drink a shot of a rich liquor before being allowed to cross over the bridge] (DEPORTES DE AVENTURA PARA TODOS).

The same applies to nouns like *cicloturista*, *kayakista* and *surfista*. We classified them in this group, 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. Likewise, *musher*, being the person in charge of the training and care of dogs, is always treated as masculine and so is *handler*, ‘the musher’s assistant’, because it is used as a generic reference for person.

### 3.1.3. Semantic Criteria

Lexical and semantic criteria could be responsible for the assignment of gender. In this group 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’. Likewise, when *web* means *el sitio web*, *el web* is masculine. The same logic applies to *transfer*. When it refers to the piece of a car engine, as in “es aconsejable un cambio de aceite del motor así como el de los diferenciales y de la transfer” [it is advisable to change the oil of the engine, as well as the differentials and the transfer], the word is feminine, since it refers to *caja de transferencia* ‘transfer box’, given that *caja* ‘box’ is feminine. Whereas in the

case of *transfer* to refer to a *bus transfer*, the word *transfer* is masculine, since it applies to the *bus*, which is a masculine noun in Spanish.

Besides, the Anglicism may take the gender of a superordinate or hyperonym. Thus, masculine in sports could be justified, as most sports in Spanish have this gender, with the exception of those denominations that clearly end in a feminine morpheme, such as *halterofilia* ‘weight-lifting’, *hípica* ‘equestrianism’ and *gimnasia* ‘gymnastics’. Subsequently, *fútbol*, *surf*, *tenis*, *windsurf*, etc. are all masculine. In this sense, it is not easy to discern whether the masculine assignment is due to the fact that the hyperonym is masculine, or because masculine is the default gender and the one the speaker will assign in case of doubt or even due to the fact that the final phoneme, if existing in Spanish in that position, corresponds to the masculine pattern.

Similarly, the borrowing takes the gender of its translation in Spanish. Thus, in Spanish, *empresa* is a feminine, making the *start-up* a feminine as well, as in “La start-up ofrece este nuevo paquete que incluye vuelos directos” [The start-up offers this new pack that includes direct flights] (*Aire Libre*, June, 2018: 37). This association also works in “comprar una slackline (cinta)”. Since *slackline* is equivalent to a feminine noun in Spanish *cinta*, the Anglicism is taken as a feminine. Nevertheless, in “el skyline de Madrid”, even if the compound contains the same second element (*line*), *skyline* is masculine due to its association with *horizonte*, ‘horizon’ in Spanish.

Another feminine noun is *mountain bike* and the initials *MTB*, because the speaker can easily associate it with the equivalent meaning in Spanish (*bicicleta*). Other feminine noun phrases are *Monster Bike Race* and *Open Race*, because *carrera* (‘race’) is a feminine and so is *academia* recalling *academy* in *Photo Academy*. The rest of the items are masculine, because the noun they recall in Spanish is also masculine. For instance, *el 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 *water men* as a plural form of *water man*, where the Spanish equivalent, ‘hombre’, is masculine; in fact, the words *man/men* are frequently used in some advertisements on TV.

Likewise, under this criterion paronyms, such as *interface* and *interfaz*, are documented. The term *interfaz* in our corpus is attested as a feminine noun, for instance, in “Una interfaz de pantalla táctil fácil de usar facilita a los invitados la impresión de sus propias fotos” [An interface with touch screen easy to use helps guests print their own photos] (*Aire Libre*, January/February, 2018: 48), although just as happens with other technical terms, the noun *interfaz* creates doubts as to its gender. Another item that presents variation regarding its gender is *wifi*, whose gender can be either masculine, as in “Wifi gratuito a bordo” [free wifi onboard] (*Aire Libre*, November, 2018: 42) or feminine. Even if these lexical units have been in the language for long, still speakers alternate between both genders.

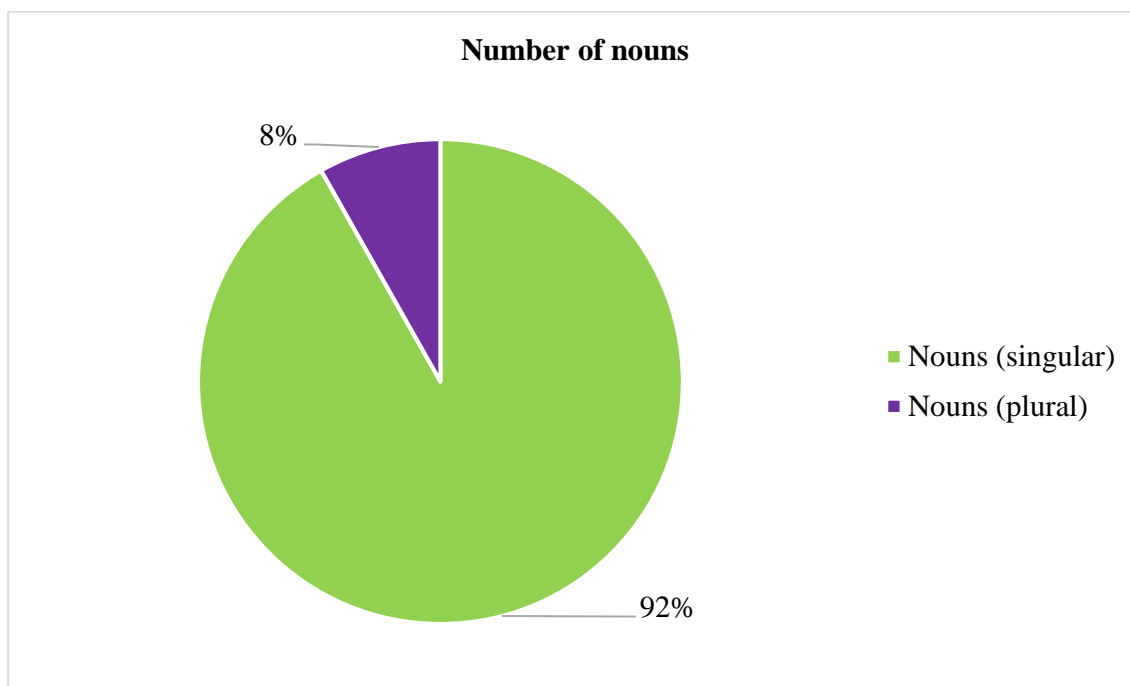
Finally, regarding the gender of initials and acronyms, Rodríguez González (1984: 311) states that it mainly depends on “los rasgos fonológicos del sistema siglar”



[our translation: “the phonological features of initialisms”], but also on the head of the subjacent noun phrase when translated into Spanish. The latter applies to the following acronyms that we have found: *fps* (feet per second) where *pies* (‘feet’) is masculine; likewise, the head of the noun phrase in *GPS* (*Global Positioning System*), *sistema* (‘system’) is masculine. However, in *laser* (*light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation*) *light* is feminine in Spanish but the final *-er* may induce the masculine gender.

### 3.2. The number of nouns

As it is shown in Graph 3, out of the 1 722 items that are nouns, 1 581 of them appear in the singular form, while just 141 are plural. This means that 91.81% are singular, while the rest (8.19%) are in the plural form.



Graph 3. Number of nouns<sup>2</sup>

The *Real Academia Española* has changed its approach towards the plural of foreign words over the years and reached an agreement with all *Academias* to establish several rules for plural assignment of foreign words. The rules were included in the *Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas* (2005: 505–508). Besides, in its grammar (2010: 43) it is noticed that in words of foreign origin, the plural ending *-s* has been generalised for some nouns that end in a consonant, e.g. *airbags*, *argots*, *blocs*, *chefs*, *esnobs*, *fagots*, *fracs*, *maillots*, *ninots*, *robots*, *tuaregs*, *vivacs*, *webs*, etc. Other authors mention the possibility of zero plural in words borrowed from other languages (Seco,



1972: 139; Lorenzo Criado, 1994: 200) and this is also explained in the *Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas* (2005: 505). The *Real Academia Española* (2010: 43) adds that this invariable plural is preferred when the word is stressed on the third syllable from the end, as in “*los cárdigan, los mánager, los trávelin*”. This group comprises those items that remain invariable, but whose plural character can be deduced from the determiners and adjectives accompanying them, as for example in our corpus, *hovercraft*. This also applies to acronyms, where the invariable plural is preferred, and the plural is evident in the words that accompany them.<sup>3</sup>

A qualitative study shows that those Anglicisms that are fully compatible with the Spanish morphological system or follow the specific rules established for those foreign words borrowed in Spanish made their plural according to the rules governing in this language. The examples from our corpus have been analysed following the rules to assign the plural suffixes from the *Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas* (2005: 505–508), although only those rules that apply to our examples are explained here:

- Nouns and adjectives ending in weak vowel or strong –e add –s, such as *cicloturistas, ecolodges, eslingas, hides, palés, buguis, kitesurfistas, neoprenos, singles surfistas, turistas, videos, walkie-talkies, windsurfistas*.
- Nouns and adjectives ending in –l, –r, –n, –d, –z, –j, not preceded by a consonant, add –es. Foreign words should follow the same rule, like in *bares, géiseres, iones, and toboganes*; but some examples have been found in our corpus that do not follow this rule for plural assignment. Those items are *bikers, fans, flippers, followers, freeriders, hikers, kites, narwhals, quads, riders, runnERs, snowboarders, transfers, wakeboarders*. Therefore, these examples keep the English plural ending.
- Foreign words ending in –y preceded by a consonant should be graphically adapted to Spanish changing –y by –i and add –s. Nevertheless, none of the examples found in the corpus follow this rule but keep the English plural ending, *buggys* and *smoothies*. In the second example, the –y changes but adds –es instead of –s as the rule establishes, consequently it follows the English plural assignment.
- Nouns and adjectives ending in consonants other than –l, –r, –n, –d, –z, –j, –s, –x, –ch, mainly words coming from other languages, add –s. One of the exceptions is the word *club*, as both plurals *clubs/clubes* are admitted by *Real Academia Española*. Some items found in our corpus are *bungalows, ebooks, footstraps, jeeps, kayaks, minibreaks, pick ups, pubs, spots, tickets, tops, treks, zodiacs*.
- Nouns and adjectives ending in a consonant cluster, they are foreign words, and add –s. The examples from the corpus are *bad lands, bike parks, icebergs, Mountain Walks, packs, parkings, rafts, snowparks, tracks*.

As can be seen in Table 2, out of the 141 instances of nouns in plural the 68 types documented in our corpus have been classified according to the rules previously explained:

<b>NUMBER OF NOUNS</b>		
<b>English plural rules</b>	<b>Spanish plural rules</b>	<b>Zero plural</b>
bikers (2)	Bad lands	ferry
buggys	bares (5)	hastag
ebooks	bike parks	hovercraft
ecolodges (2)	buguis	kartcross
fans (3)	bungalows (3)	paintball
flippers	cicloturistas	skimmer
followers	clubes (6)	zig-zag
freeriders	eslingas	
fps	footstraps (3)	
hikers	géiseres (2)	
kiters (2)	hides	
narwhals	icebergs (5)	
quads	iones	
riders (5)	jeeps	
runnERs	kayaks (4)	
smoothies	kitesurfistas (3)	
snowboarders (2)	minibreaks	
surfers	Mountain Walks	
transfers	neoprenos	
wakeboarders (2)	packs	
water men	palés	
	parkings	
	pick ups	
	pubs	
	rafts	
	resorts (4)	
	singles (4)	
	snowparks	
	spots (3)	
	suites	
	surfistas (11)	
	tickets	
	tops	
	tracks (2)	
	treks	
	toboganes (2)	
	turistas (10)	
	videos (7)	
	walkie-talkies	
	windsurfistas (4)	
	zodiacs	

Table 2. Classification of nouns in plural

Regarding the analysis of the results, we can establish three groups: Anglicisms following the Spanish rules for plural assignment (72.34%), Anglicisms following the English rules for plural assignment (22.70%) and those with zero plural (4.96%). Probably their inclusion in these groups 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. Although it is also possible that speakers are not aware of the Spanish rules for plural assignment in the case of borrowings and decide, therefore, to keep the original plural formation, as they may have some knowledge of the English language.

In the case of *fans*, other reasons should be taken into account, as explained by Rodríguez González (2017: 306). On the one hand, there are phonological conditioning factors, because “la –n, por su carácter de nasal alveolar, hace más fácil de articular el empleo del grupo consonántico –ns” [our translation: “–n, due to its alveolar nasal characteristics, makes it easier to articulate the use of the consonant group –ns”]; and, on the other hand, the frequency of use due to the international widespread use of this word in plural is relevant here.

A peculiar case is *surfers*, which appears with the English morpheme –s if used as a noun, but takes the Spanish ending –os/–as in *surferos* and *surferas* if employed as an adjective modifying a noun in the post-modifying position, as in “uno de los primeros asentamientos surferos” [one of the first surfer settlements] (*Revista Ibérica*) and “una de las zonas surferas más visitadas” [one of the most visited surfer areas] (Turismo-Activo.net).

As regards the zero group, there are seven instances of zero plural: *ferry*, *hastag*, *hovercraft*, *kartcross*, *paintball*, *skimmer* and *zigzag*. As can be seen in the examples, the plural mark is conveyed by the determiner in front of the nouns, mostly the masculine plural article *los* and on few occasions, the plural morpheme is attested in adjectives modifying the nouns, as in example (8):

(4) También podrás subirlas de forma gratuita a los ferry de la ciudad [You can also get them on board in the city ferries] (*Aire Libre*, June, 2018: 54).

(5) Con los hastag #estacionmerluza, #estacionfabes #estacioncalamar y #estacionpulpo, se impulsa una experiencia turística [With the hastags #hakeseason, #fabesseason and #octopusseason, a new touristic experience is boosted] (*Aire Libre*, January/February, 2018: 26).

(6) Una de las últimas novedades que se están probando en los hovercraft es la implementación de **alas** [one of the latest novelties that are being tested in hovercrafts is the implementation of wings] (DEPORTES DE AVENTURA PARA TODOS).

(7) Los skimmer pueden hacer trucos [the skimmers can play tricks] (Turismo-Activo.net)

(8) Para subir pendientes, a veces, resulta mejor ir haciendo pequeños zig-zag, mientras que para bajar podemos ir más directos [To climb slopes, sometimes going up in small zig-zags is better, whereas to descend we can go more straight] (OCIOAVENTURA).

(9) Somos un campo diferente, podemos presumir de ser uno de los **mejores paintball de España** [We are a different field, we can show off of being one of the best paintballs in Spain] (Campo activo, aventura y naturaleza).

Regarding the plural form of this group, some words have similar endings to items that follow the Spanish rules for borrowings. For example, *hastag* and *zig-zag* could add *-s*, as *icebergs* does. In fact, the *Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas* (2005) illustrates the rule with the example *zig-zags*. Similarly, the case of *hovercraft* could easily follow the rule for consonant cluster endings adding *-s* as in *resorts*. Rodríguez González (2017: 310) considers that three reasons could explain the use of zero plural: being a recent borrowing in the language; lack of awareness or doubt related to gender assignment can induce to disregard the plural affix; and finally, recognising it just as a mistake, taking into account that the examples recorded are extracted from written sources.

#### 4. Conclusions

In the previous pages we have discussed the integration of Anglicisms in Spanish in the field of active tourism, also known as sports and adventure tourism. The data were extracted from up-to-date sources to show the real picture of the linguistic situation in the Spanish tourism word stock. The compiled corpus let us carry out a quantitative analysis, but also a qualitative study in terms of gender assignment and plural formation.

In order to examine the integration of Anglicisms, a corpus of approximately 176 000 words was compiled and analysed, obtaining a total number of 1 821 instances of Anglicisms. These items were divided in nouns, 94.56%, and adjectives and verbs, 5.44%. As adjectives and verbs are not candidates for gender assignment and plural formation, only the nouns were analysed. Most nouns showed no gender (54.36%), and only 45.64% had gender marking. Besides, the great majority of nouns were masculine (95.54%), having found 4.46% of the nouns being feminine.

In fact, the study of gender assignment is one of the most interesting aspects of the analysis: the assimilation process of Anglicisms in Spanish is recorded in 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 previous research, which validates our first hypothesis: the masculine is the preferred gender in loanwords. This is so, either because the masculine is generally assigned to nontypical endings, or because it is the default or unmarked gender or due to the fact that it also serves a mark for the generic.

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 the

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. There is still space for future research in determining the factor that accounts for the so-called masculine tendency, since it is not easy to discern the mechanism that drives speakers' decision in gender assignment. What seems clear is the fact that it is a multifactorial issue motivated by the above-mentioned factors.

Finally, in terms of plural formation, out of the 1 722 items found in the corpus, 91.81% were in singular and 8.19% in plural. The *Real Academia Española* has regulated the plural of borrowings. The findings from our study show that the prevalent tendency is to follow the Spanish pattern with 72.34% of the total, whereas 22.70% of nouns will keep their original English plural form. The presence of the zero plural 4.96% is attested with very little frequency among all the nouns in plural the whole corpus. Thus, the second hypothesis that we set up regarding the low presence of zero plurals seem to have been validated.

There are other aspects that need further investigation and have not been dealt with in this article. One of the most interesting phenomena is the use of English nouns in postnominal position as in *bola zorb* rendering *zorb ball*. This formation in Spanish is rather atypical, since a preposition is needed between the head and the post-modifying noun. This process influenced by the English pattern will deserve a detailed study, which will be part of a different piece of research.

## Notes

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1. On the one hand, we have taken the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* 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 *Oxford English Dictionary* considers of Dutch, Swahili and Norwegian origin respectively. But we have included the first two items, since the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* labels 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*, *record* or *swell*, which we have included because they were found in those touristic texts that were analysed.

2. Percentages have been rounded off to the nearest number.

3. "Su plural solo se pone de manifiesto en las palabras que acompañan a la sigla: se recomienda usar, por tanto, *las ONG*, en lugar de *las ONGs*; *algunas FM*, en lugar de *algunas FMs*, etc. [Their plural is only revealed through the words that accompany them: Thus, it is advisable to use *las ONG*, instead of *las ONGs*, *some FM* instead of *some FMs*, etc.] *Real Academia Española* (2010: 41).

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