

## *De Héroes y Villanos: Semantic and Lexical Borrowings from English into Spanish*

ISABEL DE LA CRUZ CABANILLAS, CRISTINA TEJEDOR MARTÍNEZ AND

ESPERANZA CERDÁ REDONDO

Universidad de Alcalá

isabel.cruz@uah.es, cristina.tejedorm@uah.es, esperanza.cerda@uah.es

The presence of English as a global language in the lexicon of the languages of Europe is undeniable, Spanish being no exception to this general trend. The increasing impact of English on the European Spanish word-stock is evidenced by semantic and lexical borrowings. The aim of the present article is to study such semantic and lexical borrowings from English into European Spanish. In order to carry out the research, examples were retrieved from the sub-corpora of tourism and fashion, both part of the ANGLICOR corpus and its associated database. Following identification, the examples were analyzed qualitatively following Gómez Capuz's classification (2004). The results of this analysis reveal, on the one hand, the fact that semantic borrowings may belong to the category of adjectives as well as the category of nouns. In the case of lexical borrowings, on the other hand, only nouns or noun groups, following various patterns, were recorded.

Keywords: anglicisms; semantic and lexical borrowings; Languages for Specific Purposes; corpus linguistics

...

### *De héroes y villanos. Préstamos semánticos y léxicos del inglés al español*

La presencia del inglés como lengua global es indiscutible en el léxico de las lenguas europeas. El español no es una excepción a esta tendencia general. El impacto creciente del inglés en el léxico del español europeo se pone de manifiesto en los préstamos semánticos y léxicos. El objetivo del presente artículo es el estudio de los préstamos semánticos y léxicos de inglés a

español europeo. Para ello se han extraído ejemplos de los sub-corpus de turismo y de moda dentro del corpus y la base de datos asociada, ANGLICOR. Posteriormente estos ejemplos se han analizado de forma cualitativa siguiendo la clasificación de Gómez Capuz (2004). El resultado del análisis de los ejemplos de nuestro corpus revela, por un lado, el hecho de que los préstamos semánticos se registran tanto en la categoría de sustantivo como de adjetivo. Por otro lado, en el caso de los préstamos léxicos, se documentan únicamente sustantivos o grupos nominales con diferentes patrones.

Palabras clave: anglicismos; préstamos semánticos y léxicos; lenguas de especialidad; lingüística de corpus

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The presence of English as a global language in the lexicon of the languages of Europe is undeniable, European Spanish being no exception to this general trend. The increasing impact of English on European Spanish word-stock is evidenced by semantic and lexical borrowings.

When the need for a new concept arises, language users may coin a new word, but they may also decide not to create a new lexical item. In the latter case, borrowing, by importation or translation, is a very common practice. The word can be taken directly from the foreign language, but the idea can also be transferred by other means, as happens in semantic and lexical borrowings. Often, the term *calque*, which was borrowed from the field of fine arts, meaning “copying a sketch or a drawing” (Katamba 2005, 137), is used to refer to this process.<sup>1</sup> In this sense, calquing can be explained thus as “a special kind of borrowing whereby a language adapts itself, via literal translation, to new concepts represented by foreign words without the need for it to adopt (actually borrow, transliterate) the word forms themselves. [...] [C]alques are cases of borrowed meanings clothed in native word forms” (Ali 2005, 114).

In contrast to previous studies carried out by the authors, where the focus was on several aspects regarding patent anglicisms, this article deals with the qualitative analysis of semantic and lexical borrowings from English into European Spanish as part of a corpus of Languages for Specific Purposes compiled by the authors themselves. The languages of tourism and fashion have been selected for the study. The data extracted from both sub-corpora will be discussed and analyzed according to a theoretical framework which closely follows Gómez Capuz’s (2004) classification of semantic and lexical borrowings.

---

<sup>1</sup> For the difference between *lexical* and *semantic* calque, see Gómez Capuz (2005, 55-56).

## 2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Unlike patent anglicisms, where the foreign character of the lexical unit is obvious, semantic and lexical borrowings are less conspicuous. The processes involve the addition of an extra meaning to an already existing word in the case of semantic borrowings and the copying of an English model rendered with words from the target language in lexical borrowings. Thus, these creations may be overlooked, since their foreign origin is not self-evident. Regarding hybrid combinations, which are made up of a Spanish word that translates the English concept and a patent anglicism, whatever the order of the elements is, the presence of the English word enables their recognition.

Accordingly, the identification of semantic and lexical borrowings poses several problems, which have already been noted by Lorenzo Criado (1996, 490; 560) and Rodríguez González (2005, 183). On the one hand, their foreign character is not easily recognizable and may subsequently be overlooked by scholars, who have shown little interest in compiling them (Rodríguez González 1999, 127). Indeed, calques are, as mentioned in the quotation above, “clothed in native word forms” (Ali 2005, 114), or as Rodríguez González and Knospe (2019, 234) explain, “they are camouflaged results of borrowing or transfer that do not stand out through formal markers of foreignness.” Their origin is hidden to the speaker, and even difficult to trace sometimes by scholars, since, in the case of lexical calques, the resulting terms are coined in the target language, thanks to a model, influence or stimulus from the English language. This process has become more common because of a language-in-contact phenomenon, which is the consequence of the position of English as a Global Language. For instance, nowadays many Spanish speakers learn English as a Second Language and, therefore, they can create connections between the knowledge of both languages.

Additionally, literal translations and a number of English-like expressions are used in broadcasting news, newspapers, films and TV series, etc. and Spanish speakers are therefore exposed to this influence. Semantic and lexical borrowings are coined and the public, even if they have not studied English, adopts these forms and continues using them and they thus enter the lexical repertoire of non-English speakers. Various linguistic and extra-linguistic reasons can be evidenced in the study of calquing, and each has an effect upon the degree of integration of semantic and lexical borrowings. In fact, the study of the reasons that lead speakers to create and use calques is an extremely complex task.<sup>2</sup>

As a consequence of the above-mentioned scenario of the adoption of English borrowings, calques have been integrated so quickly into the Spanish system that they are treated as polysemous words and whether the original word has undergone any semantic change is not questioned. Indeed, it is difficult to document their history because the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (see DLE 1992a; 2001a; 2021a) has included these new meanings in its latest online edition and there is no timeframe for the given senses.

---

<sup>2</sup> For a recent study of the factors promoting the formation of calques, see Rodríguez González and Knospe (2019).

A further puzzle is the fact that calques may be the product of polygenesis in different languages. Thus, some neologisms coincide in languages with a close affinity, like Italian and Spanish. In both, the anglicism *cicloturismo* (with a similar spelling form) is present, providing no clue about which one might have been the language of creation. The issue is how to establish a reliable method to determine in which language a term occurred first. All in all, previous scholars have dealt with the phenomenon of semantic and lexical borrowings in Contemporary European Spanish from different perspectives. One of the first authors to study English borrowings was Lorenzo Criado. Many of his publications appeared in newspapers or conference proceedings and were afterwards compiled in volumes including *El español y otras lenguas* (1980), *Anglicismos hispánicos* (1996) and *El español en la encrucijada* (1999b). In 1987 Lorenzo Criado set up a classification of borrowings where, among other types of anglicisms, he includes calques, such as *piel roja*, *perro caliente*, *trabajar duro* and *relaciones públicas* and semantic calques like *romance*, *concreto*, *habilidad*, *billón*, *audiencia* and *conferencia* (1987, 78). Before the publication of this classification article, he had written the prologue to Pratt's monograph on anglicisms, one of the most comprehensive studies on the topic. Depending on whether the lexical anglicism is made up of one or more words, Pratt (1980, 115-212) establishes the following taxonomy:

(A) One-word anglicism (*anglicismo univerbal*)

1. Patent anglicism (*anglicismo patente*)
2. Non-patent anglicism (*anglicismo no patente*)
  - Paronymic semantic anglicism (*anglicismo semántico paronímico*), where the English and Spanish signifiers are similar. For instance, he includes *agenda* and *agresivo* in this category (Pratt 1980, 161), which will be discussed below.
  - Semantic calque (*calco semántico*), which “consists of the translation of an English item when there is no direct etymological relationship between the English word and its Spanish translation” (Pratt 1980, 172).<sup>3</sup>
  - Neological vocabulary (*vocabulario neológico*), which includes items such as *misil* and *antideslizante*.

(B) Multi-word anglicism (*anglicismo multiverbal*): within this broad category, Pratt refers to compounds, collocations and other constructions (1980, 202). There are formations of two nouns, such as *ciencia ficción* and combinations that are written as one single word that is made up of either two nouns or a verb and a noun, like *exprimelimones* and *tocadiscos*.

---

<sup>3</sup> Authors' translation of “el anglicismo consiste en la traducción de un término inglés sin que haya relación etimológica directa entre la voz inglesa y su traducción española” (Pratt 1980, 172).

In turn, Rodríguez González (1994, 1996) mentions lexical-semantic calques that comprise several categories. The first kind of semantic calque is a paronym of its English model (1994, 194), which corresponds to *anglicismo semántico paronímico* in Pratt's terminology (1980), or *calco semántico* in Lorenzo Criado's (1987). Under this label, Rodríguez González includes items such as *adicto* and *adicción* (1994, 197). The second group, which corresponds to *calco semántico* in Pratt (1980), contains examples like *hierba* and *nieve* (1994, 198), although this type of anglicisms can also be made up of more than one word, as in the case of *drogas blandas*, *droga del amor* and *droga de la muerte* (1994, 197).

Other classifications of anglicisms either directly follow Pratt's taxonomy or adapt it. Thus, whereas Medina López includes Pratt's classification in his study (1996, 26-28), Gómez Capuz adapts it and puts forward the following categories (2004, 42-61):

- (A) Semantic borrowings, that is, paronyms like *agenda* for “orden del día” or *vegetales* for “verduras y legumbres” and homologues such as the use of *paloma* and *halcón*, which adopt the English meaning of *dove* and *hawk* to designate a politician who takes a soft or a hard line, respectively.
- (B) Lexical borrowings, which comprise:
- Patent anglicisms, in Pratt's terminology, which are recognizable by a native speaker, like *hippy*.
  - Hybrid combinations, which can be the result of an imported root plus a suffix as in *futbolista* or *liderazgo*, and other formations made up of a Spanish native element and an English word, whatever the order of the constituents is: *cine club* and *música country*.
  - Lexical calques, which involve the substitution of a compound or phrase in the source language with words in the target language that render the original idea and give rise to a new combination in the target language, such as *balonmano*, *guardacostas* or *efecto invernadero*.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

Our study of semantic and lexical borrowings 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*, which the authors have been compiling since 2003. Our plan was to build a corpus covering several specialized disciplines in order to study the influence of English on Languages for Specific Purposes in European Spanish, which is why the textual corpus includes documents from a number of these disciplines in different registers.

The corpus is made up of five sub-corpora whose main topics are computers, tourism, medicine and health issues, science and technology and fashion. It is made up of written printed and online texts. The timeline of the compilation of the corpus was as follows: a) firstly, we started with the computer language sub-corpus, which includes manuals on the history of the internet and computer magazines, such as *PC World* and *PC Actual*, among others; b) secondly, the tourism sub-corpus was compiled, currently the largest in size since it has been linked to two research projects that focused on the study of this Language for Specific Purposes. This sub-corpus is composed of leaflets, academic journals, websites, travel agency brochures, magazines distributed on airplanes and trains and tourism magazines such as *Outdoor*, *Turismo & Aventura*, *Viajeros*, *Grandes Espacios*, *Aire Libre* and *Top Viajes*, as explained by De la Cruz and Tejedor (2019); c) thirdly, the two sub-corpora of medicine and healthcare, and of science and technology were incorporated. The former contains specialized publications aimed at physicians, such as *Jano*, and other magazines whose target audience is the semi-expert or non-expert audience. The second sub-corpus comprises general magazines on the subject of science and technology, such as *Quo*, along with journals aimed at readers interested in these topics; and d) lastly, a sub-corpus with texts on fashion, which includes clothing, beauty products and accessories, was recently added comprising magazines like *Cosmopolitan*, *Vanity Fair*, *Vogue* and *Elle*, along with websites on the topic. The latter sub-corpus is the only one that does not contain texts from all levels of expertise: as yet it only contains non-expert or semi-expert texts, whereas the other four sub-corpora cover texts of all levels of expertise.

As mentioned above, the tourism sub-corpus is the largest of the five sub-corpora, and indeed accounts for 34% of the total. The next in terms of size is the sub-corpus on computers (20%) while the medicine and healthcare sub-corpus and the science and technology sub-corpus each account for 14%, whereas the sub-corpus on fashion represents 18%. The corpus is revised on an annual basis.

In order to carry out this study, we analyzed the part of the tourism sub-corpus on travel magazines and websites and the sub-corpus on fashion. The sub-corpus of tourism language contains many types of texts, ranging from general ones and others aimed at a specialized audience. In this study, only a part of this sub-corpus has been selected in order to compare it with the sub-corpus of fashion. Therefore, we have taken into account the specialization of the parts being compared. After a careful reading of the texts, the examples of semantic and lexical borrowings were extracted manually. As the research is qualitative, the number of cases in both sub-corpora are not quantified. The aim of our analysis was, rather, to examine the data in order to explain the main patterns with regard to calquing from the examples extracted from the two sub-corpora (see table 1) and not to provide information on the number of borrowings.

TABLE 1. Semantic and lexical borrowings

<b>Semantic borrowings</b>	Agresivo	Severo	Versátil
	Evento	Sofisticado	Vibración
	Orgánico	Tableta	
<b>Lexical borrowings: hybrid combinations</b>	Anti-aging	Efecto detox	Mapa foodie
	Acción micro-lifting	Efecto eye-catching	Mascarilla detox
	Aire vintage	Efecto flash	Muebles vintage
	Algodón tie-dye	Efecto glowy	Música country
	Armario vintage	Efecto lifting	Plan foodie
	Baño detox	Efecto peeling	Poder detox
	Bola zorb	Escapada foodie	Reglas detox
	Bolso bowling	Estética vintage	Sombrero mushroom
	Caldo detox	Estilo lady	Tabla SUP
	Camiseta tie dye	Estilo vintag	Tela vintage
	Caravana vintage	Filosofía slow	Tenis de mesa
	Cazadora denim	Fitness fashion	Tipo vintage
	Cazadora vaquera oversize	Fórmula detox	Toque fashion
	Cinturón vintage	Fútbol playa	Tul vintage
	Clave slow	Hockey sobre hielo	Turismo slow
	Collar vintage	Hockey sobre hierba	Vaqueros vintage
	Crema hidratante detox	Industria fashion	Versión vintage
	Cultura slow	Inspiración vintage	Vestido vintage
	Dieta detox	Joya fashion	Vida foodie
	<b>Lexical borrowings: lexical calques</b>	Acoso sexual	Deportes de aventura
Agencia de viajes		Desarrollo sostenible	Redes sociales
Barco inteligente		Estación de servicio	Saco de dormir
Base de datos		Formato digital	Tabla de snowboard
Cadena de joyerías		Forro polar	Tabla de SUP
Cadenas de supermercados		Herramientas digitales	Tabla de surf
Camiseta básica		Inteligencia artificial	Tarifa plana
Camiseta térmica		Luna de miel	Techo de cristal
Ciencia-ficción		Pantalla táctil	Teléfono móvil
Coche inteligente		Patines en línea	Vestido camisero
Comida preparada		Plataformas virtuales	Vestido lencero
Comida rápida		Punto de encuentro	Viajes a la carta

For the classification of the examples, we adapted Gómez Capuz's taxonomy (2004, 42-61) in the following way: a) firstly, we concentrate on semantic borrowings and lexical borrowings; b) secondly, in the group of lexical borrowings, we study cases of hybrid combinations and lexical calques, excluding patent anglicisms; c) thirdly, in the category of hybrids we disregard derivatives of patent anglicisms, such as *liderazgo*, *boxeador* and *consultoría* (Gómez Capuz 2004, 53) and pay attention to the coinage of new polymorphemic units where a part is in English and the other part has been substituted or calqued, as in *bus escuela* and *club nocturno*; and d) finally, we have checked the examples extracted in three versions of the DLE—two printed editions of the dictionary, one from 1992 and the other from 2001 and the online edition, mainly consulted in 2021—in order to be able to document any new meanings and the inclusion of the items in the different versions of the dictionary.

#### 4. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

##### 4.1. Semantic Borrowings

This process involves the adoption of a new meaning for a given word due to the influence of the semantic area covered by the English word. Thus, Pratt (1980, 160) had already mentioned its use in European Spanish, and Gómez Capuz (2004, 49) also refers to items that have widened their original meaning. For instance, Gómez Capuz (2004, 49) explains that *héroe* means an outstanding character, to which has been added the English meaning of the good guy in films. Likewise, *villano*, which used to mean rustic or rude, is now also used to mean the bad guy in films. This usage has been extended to other narrative accounts, such as comics<sup>4</sup> and, more recently, videogames.

Other semantic borrowings, which are clearly rooted in Spanish media are *agenda*<sup>5</sup> for *orden del día*, *cadena* for *cadena de tiendas*, *vegetales* for *verduras* or *legumbres*, *nominar*—from the film industry—meaning to appoint, select or propose someone and *doméstico*<sup>6</sup> to refer to issues relating to the country and not only to households.

Similarly, since the whole computer world was popularized in the late 1980s, the metaphors used to refer to this universe were introduced into English, adopting new meanings that have been exported to Spanish and permeate the general language. Thus, *archivo*, *carpeta*, *comando*, *herramientas*, *papelera*, *ratón*, *ventana* and *tableta*, as well as many other Spanish words, widened their original meanings to incorporate these new senses. For instance, the word *tablet* has been adding different meanings in English

<sup>4</sup> An example of the use of these calques can be found in the title of the Salvat publishing house collection, *Héroes y villanos*.

<sup>5</sup> López Zurita (2005, 98) explains that “this usage has already been included in the D.R.A.E. [Diccionario de la Real Academia Española] as an incorporated borrowing from English,” although there is no indication of this English influence of the new sense in the online version of the DLE.

<sup>6</sup> López Zurita (2005, 103) remarks that it “should be translated as ‘nacional’ or ‘interior’”. The direct calque implies a hyperonymic process that includes new and foreign senses which do not correspond to its meaning in Spanish.”



for centuries. Among several other senses, the *Oxford English Dictionary* records (OED 2021a): 1) “A smooth stiff sheet for writing on, usually one of two or more fastened together, originally made of clay or wax-covered wood, later of ivory, cardboard, etc.”; 2) “A small, flat and comparatively thin piece of stone, metal, wood, ivory, or other hard material, artificially shaped for some purpose”; 3) “A small, flat, or compressed piece of a solid substance, originally of rectangular form; *spec.* a measured quantity of a medicine or drug, compressed into a small disc or lozenge and designed to be swallowed whole”; 4) “A small portable computer in the form of a flat tablet, esp. one comprising a touchscreen display, operated via a stylus or fingertip rather than a keyboard or mouse.” In Spanish, meanings number three and four coincide in the DLE. In the data extracted from our corpus, numerous instances of the electronic device have been found recently:<sup>7</sup>

- (1) Compartimento acolchado para e-books o tabletas, organizador (ideal para cables, bolígrafos, etc.) y fijación para luz de bicicleta (*Aire Libre* 2018, 275).
- (2) Acostumbrados a móviles que parecen tabletas, el nuevo diseño de la marca surcoreana nos recuerda... (*Vogue* 2020, 386).

Likewise, *vibración*, usually in plural, is not only “cada movimiento vibratorio, o doble oscilación de las moléculas o del cuerpo vibrante” (DLE 1992b; 2001b; 2021b), but also a feeling, a sensation or what the OED (2021b) defines as “an intuitive signal about a person or thing,” especially when it is accompanied by evaluative adjectives, as in *buenas vibraciones* or *malas vibraciones*. Another example is *evento*, which has widened its meaning to “suceso importante y programado, de índole social, académica, artística o deportiva,” according to the online version of the DLE (DLE 2001c; 2021c). This meaning was included in the 2001 edition, although it was not recorded in its 1992 edition. Besides, the use of this sense has been generalized and is also frequent in European Spanish, as these examples from the corpus show:

- (3) Exposiciones, eventos y festivales (*Viajeros* 2015, 177).
- (4) Comunicación, Relaciones Públicas y Organización de Eventos de Lujo (*Vanity Fair* 2020, 141).
- (5) Sobre todo, si hay un evento a la vista y quieres lucir una piel perfecta (*Clara* 2020, 333).

---

<sup>7</sup> The translation of the examples can be consulted in annex 1.

- (6) Federico de Dinamarca, en una de las fotos con las que la casa real anuncia que se pospone la Royal Run 2020, uno de los eventos más populares del país (*Vanity Fair* 2020, 141).
- (7) El pasado noviembre se puso de largo ante la sociedad internacional en Le Bal, un evento organizado en el exclusivo hotel Shangri-La de París (*Vanity Fair* 2020, 141).

Unlike, in other kinds of borrowings, where there is an overwhelming introduction of nouns (De la Cruz and Tejedor 2019), semantic borrowings are often nouns, but a number of adjectives have been recorded as well. A clear example of a semantic borrowing in Spanish is the adjective *versátil* which has superseded the old word *polifacético* to mean a person who is capable of adapting easily to various fields, tasks, etc. Additionally, the adjective can be applied to objects that are easily adaptable to various situations. This meaning was missing in the DLE in its 1992 edition, but is included in the 2001 edition and, subsequently, in the online version (see DLE 2001d; 2021d). Thus, we find that some garments are *versátil* as in (8), but it also applies to places whose menu and space can cater for different necessities, as in (9) in the noun form *versatilidad*:

- (8) Este top puedes ponértelo también con unos vaqueros o con una falda larga. ¡Versátil! (*Cuore* 2020, 728).
- (9) Nominado por los Bar Awards 2018 como una de las mejores terrazas de Portugal, este local destaca por sus espectaculares vistas de la capital lusa y por la versatilidad de su carta y del espacio (*Top Viajes* 2018, 92).

New English meanings are being adopted on a regular basis in Spanish. For instance, although already mentioned by Pratt (1980, 160), *agresivo* denoting ‘dynamic’ is increasing its frequency among Spanish speakers. Therefore, it is registered in examples like (10), where it refers not to people, but to a car:

- (10) En 2017 fue renovado por completo con un Nuevo Nissan LEAF, presentando un diseño mucho más atractivo y agresivo. [...] La línea exterior del Nissan Leaf es totalmente inconfundible, con un frontal agresivo y deportivo (*Aire Libre* 2018, 272).

In a similar vein, the adjective *severo*, meaning ‘strict’ has now adopted the sense of ‘serious, of a hard condition, grievous’. Likewise, the adjective *sofisticado*, which used to denote ‘unnaturally refined’, has undergone amelioration and incorporated the English meaning of ‘employing advanced or refined methods; highly developed’:

- (11) La decisión fue tomada porque la contaminación por este tipo de residuos no solo es visual, sino que conlleva “un severo impacto ambiental afectando, principalmente, a las especies animales” (*Aire Libre* 2018, 272).
- (12) One Devonshire Gardens. El hotel es uno de los mayores ejemplos del lujo más sofisticado. En un ambiente puramente victoriano pero con las últimas tecnologías (*Viajeros* 2005, 125).
- (13) Un escote asimétrico crea un juego visual sobre nuestra piel que resulta muy sofisticado y evocador (*Clara* 2020, 333).

Recently, the adjective *orgánico* has incorporated the English sense, namely “of food: produced without the use of artificial fertilizers, pesticides, or other artificial chemicals” (OED 2021c), the meaning also having been extended to any product that is “simple, healthful and close to nature” (The Free Dictionary 2021a). This sense of the adjective is not even recorded in the online edition of the DLE. Below are some examples from our corpus that illustrate this type of English-inspired semantic borrowing:

- (14) Cuídalo con un champú orgánico (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (15) Lavado orgánico. El cabello dañado es más propicio al encrespamiento (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (16) Limpio, Puro, Natural y Orgánico (champú y acondicionador) (*Vanity Fair* 2020, 141).
- (17) La clave del look más orgánico está en la frescura de la individualidad (*Glamour* 2020, 211).

## 4.2. LEXICAL BORROWINGS

### 4.2.1. Hybrid Combinations

As mentioned above, these neologisms are coined in Spanish by combining an English word and a Spanish word which has usually acquired a new meaning. Within this category, our corpus records some formations mentioned by Gómez Capuz (2004, 53), such as *tenis de mesa*, *hockey sobre hielo*, *música country*, but also others not analyzed by previous scholars (Lorenzo Criado 1996; Gómez Capuz 2004; Rodríguez González 2005). Especially in the beauty industry, the word *efecto* is found with different post-modifying English items. Thus, we find *efecto detox*, *efecto eye-catching*, *efecto flash*, *efecto glowy*, *efecto lifting*, *efecto peeling*:

- (18) Iluminadora y con efecto “detox” (*ELLE* 2017, 365).
- (19) Sobre todo si conlleva un efecto *eye-catching* con lluvia de *likes* en Instagram incluida (*Vogue* 2017, 365).
- (20) Gel antiedad para el contorno de los ojos con efecto flash inmediato (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (21) El rostro se ve más jugoso pero sin brillos, un saludable efecto glowy (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (22) Logra al instante un efecto “lifting” sin cirugía (*Vogue* 2017, 365).
- (23) Su intensa acción tensora con extraordinario efecto lifting combate la temida flacidez y redefine el óvalo facial (*Natura Bissé* 2017).
- (24) Ricas en ácido glicólico, tienen un efecto peeling que aclara y unifica el tono del rostro (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (25) Vitamina C libre y pura de efecto peeling vitamínico (*SkinClinic* 2017).

Another lexical unit that is also found in this type of combination is *acción*, as in *acción anti-aging* and *acción micro-lifting*:

- (26) Un **sérum prodigioso de elevada concentración** que en cuestión de segundos, **ilumina las pieles fatigadas y opacas** gracias a su acción anti-aging (*SkinClinic* 2017).
- (27) El efecto revitalizante y reafirmante de sus activos, provoca una acción micro-lifting sobre la piel (*Natura Bissé* 2017).

Likewise, a productive hybrid combination has been found with the anglicism *detox*, which is recorded and explained in Rodríguez González (2017, 287-88) with the meaning “referido a un proceso de desintoxicación o purificación, especialmente a la eliminación de toxinas mediante zumos. El método se ha popularizado hoy entre los que cuidan de su salud por influencia de nutricionistas y dietistas,” as it is used in English. Besides, a semantic widening has taken place in both languages, as the term not only refers to medical procedures but also to beauty products that detoxify the skin. Examples of both meanings were found in our corpus:

- (28) Las nuevas reglas **détox** (*Clara* 2020, 333).

- (29) Dieta détox (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (30) Un buen caldo détox (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (31) Puedes usar una mascarilla de arcilla verde o détox en frente, nariz y barbilla para eliminar impurezas (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (32) Poder détox (mascarilla) (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (33) Mascarilla détox, Júlia (*Cosmopolitan* 2020, 355).
- (34) Baño détox con sales (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (35) Reductor de noche. Ideal tras un baño détox, actúa reduciendo la celulitis (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (36) Nueva **Fórmula detox iluminadora –bolsas y ojeras** (*Germaine de Capuccini* 2017).
- (37) Crema hidratante detox con color (*Natura Bissé* 2017).

Similarly, the adjective *slow* seems to be currently fashionable in Spanish to designate a way of life which promotes the enjoyment of life in a slow way. The adjective appears joined to different nouns, as in *clave slow*, *cultura slow*, *filosofía slow* and *turismo slow*:

- (38) Para duplicar el efecto relax de una siesta al aire libre en clave slow los huéspedes pueden poner en marcha un ritual pre-siesta (*Aire Libre* 2018, 276).
- (39) CiclaMadrid es un conjunto de rutas –más de 1.400 kilómetros– cicables en la Comunidad de Madrid, ideadas para distintos tipos de viajeros, desde los más deportivos hasta los amantes de la cultura slow, familias, grupos de amigos o amantes de la naturaleza (*Aire Libre* 2018, 272).
- (40) Esta propuesta nace de la fusión entre su filosofía slow y el ambiente calmado, sin aglomeraciones, que convierte el hotel en uno de los lugares para disfrutar en familia (*Aire Libre* 2018, 281).
- (41) Una experiencia completa de turismo activo en la naturaleza en clave de ecoturismo y de turismo slow, en un escenario poco conocido y sorprendente, disponible entre mayo y octubre (*Aire Libre* 2018, 272).

Publications dealing with tourism destinations are particularly fond of these hybrid combinations, though *Fundación del Español Urgente* (Fundéu) recommends replacing *slow* with the expression *con/por la calma*. In the tourism sector, the reader also finds different structures with a noun and the word *foodie* as in *escapada foodie*, *mapa foodie*, *plan foodie*, *vida foodie*:

- (42) ESCAPADAS FOODIE DE OTOÑO: TRADICIÓN E INNOVACIÓN EN LOS HOTELES MÁS DELICIOSOS DE LOGIES (*Aire Libre* 2018, 279).
- (43) Gourmet, actualizamos nuestro mapa “foodie” (*ELLE* 2017, 365).
- (44) Tras tu recorrido en bici, puedes optar por un plan foodie en un espacio de diseño (*Aire Libre* 2018, 276).
- (45) Vida ‘foodie’, desde ayudar a un apicultor a cuidar las abejas en el País Vasco francés hasta hacer de agricultora en un huerto en el sur de Francia (*Cosmopolitan* 2020, 355).

The word *foodie* is not recorded in the DLE and the Fundéu (2021a) explains that this is an informal anglicism used to refer to people who are fond of food, cooking and everything that revolves around the world of food and suggests that the alternative in Spanish is the term *comidista*.

Likewise, the fashion industry promotes the use of hybrid patterns that are deemed to be cooler thanks to the introduction of an anglicism in the Spanish noun phrase. In this vein, *cazadora denim*, as in “Cazadora “denim”” (*ELLE* 2017, 365) is found. *Denim* in English is a shortened form of *serge de Nim* or *serge de Nimes*, the manufacturing town of Southern France (OED 2021d). Thus, in *cazadora denim* the English for the fabric is used instead of *cazadora vaquera*, which relates to the original people who used to wear this material and seems to still be the prevailing noun combination in Spanish. Surprisingly enough, in one instance where the compound *cazadora vaquera* appears, another hybrid combination is used, namely “cazadora vaquera oversize de Stradivarius” (*Cuore* 2020, 728), reinforcing the use of the hybrid pattern in the fashion discourse. In fact, several examples were found in the corpus that follow a similar pattern, that is, noun in Spanish plus word (mainly a noun) in English, as in:

- (46) Confeccionados tanto en cuero (Salvatore Ferragamo, Givenchy), algodón tie-dye (Alberta Ferreti, Christian Dior) (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (47) Bolso ‘bowling’ Prada (*Glamour* 2020, 211).
- (48) Camiseta Tie Dye + bermuda de satén (*Glamour* 2020, 211).

(49) Elígela de tubo y largo midi para un estilo lady actualizado (*Clara* 2020, 333).

(50) Sombrero Mushroom, de ERNESTO NARANJO (*Vogue* 2020, 386).

Within the field of fashion, unsurprisingly, combinations with *fashion* are frequent, as in “decidió enfocarlo hacia las joyas y la industria *fashion*” (*ELLE* 2017, 365). In colloquial speech, *fashion* is also used as an adjective in “¡Qué fashion!” The expected form in English would be *fashionable*, but in Spanish *fashion* has undergone a shift in category resulting in the double possibility of being considered both as noun and adjective:

(51) El fitness es fashion (*Cuore* 2020, 728).

(52) Pilar Rubio y su familia han aprovechado para darle un toque fashion a algunas de las camisetas que tenían en el armario (*Cuore* 2020, 728).

Another interesting example is the term *vintage*, which is not recorded in the DLE, but can be found in other dictionaries, which indicate that the term comes from English and means “se aplica al objeto o la estética que no es nuevo pero está de moda por su diseño atractivo” (*Gran Diccionario de la Lengua Española* 2016a). As it is an anglicism, Fundéu (2021b) recommends the use of italics, but also indicates that the words “clásico, retro, de época”<sup>8</sup> could be used instead, although the word *retro* is not in fact recorded in the DLE with this meaning.<sup>9</sup> When analyzing the examples, the integration process of the borrowing can be described by checking the use of italics. The word *vintage* was documented in several publications, *Vogue*, *Clara*, *Glamour*, *Elle*, *Vanity Fair* and *Cosmopolitan*, but *Clara* is the only magazine where it does not appear in italics. This could either indicate the beginning of the integration process of the foreign word, or be due to the lack of knowledge of Fundéu’s (2021b) rule or be part of the journal’s editorial policy of not using any mark to indicate the foreign origin of terms. This word appears frequently in the hybrid combination patterns that we are describing, Spanish noun plus English word, in reference to clothes, fabrics, instruments and many different objects, even defining a style, as can be illustrated in the following examples:

(53) Puedes customizar tu cazadora con algunos broches, a nosotras nos encantan los de tipo vintage (*Clara* 2020, 333).

<sup>8</sup> It is indicated that “en este mundo de la moda hay términos extranjeros ya asentados en nuestra lengua, como *vintage* (ropa de hace más de veinte años o inspirada en ella), *prêt-à-porter* (ropa hecha en serie) y *outlet* (tienda de productos descatalogados y rebajados). Si se utilizan estas voces, lo adecuado es escribirlas en cursiva o, si no se dispone de ese tipo de letra, entrecomilladas” (Fundéu, 2021b; italics in the original).

<sup>9</sup> The word *retro* is recorded in the *Gran Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (2016b) with the meaning: “Que evoca o imita lo pasado.”

- (54) El estilo *vintage* arrasa cada temporada y las cinturas altas y el corte *retro* son el nuevo *must* del *street style* (*ELLE* 2017, 365).
- (55) El ante, el punto y la seda estampada se alzan como comodines estrella de esta estética *vintage* (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (56) Cualquier prenda moderna tiene su versión *vintage*; si lo que quieres es estilo, allí lo encontrarás (*Glamour* 2020, 211).
- (57) Falda de tul *vintage* (*Vogue* 2017, 365).
- (58) Vanessa Paradis cautivó con un vestido *vintage* de Chanel Alta Costura, en 2004 (*Glamour* 2020, 211).
- (59) Cinturón *vintage* de BEYOND RETRO y collar *vintage* (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (60) Las prendas de tejido denim adquieren un aire *vintage* inspirándose en décadas pasadas, como los setenta y los ochenta, para looks nostálgicos (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (61) Esta caravana *vintage* de los chicos de Food Nomads es el punto de referencia de todos los street food markets entre las golosas (*Cosmopolitan* 2020, 355).
- (62) Cambiar las cosas de sitio y alegrar los espacios con plantas y muebles *vintage* me pone de buen humor (*Cosmopolitan* 2020, 355).
- (63) ...y en la esquina se aprecia el sofá tapizado con tela *vintage* con telas de la colección de Prada (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (64) Un guiño hacia esa perenne química que existía entre ambas y que se extiende a un imponente armario *vintage* (*Vanity Fair* 2020, 141).
- (65) Inmediatez digital que se traduce en otros casos en jerséis de rayas multicolores, camisetas con mensaje friki, mulas joya, vaqueros *vintage* (*Vogue* 2017, 365).
- (66) Es el accesorio perfecto para alegrar un espacio de trabajo con un toque de color e inspiración *vintage* (*Vogue* 2020, 386).

Sports and outdoor leisure activities also appear to be a resourceful field in which to look for hybrid combinations. Thus, we registered *hockey sobre hierba* and *hockey sobre hielo*, as well as *bola zorb*, *fútbol playa*, *tabla SUP*. However, examples of this kind are



particularly unusual in Spanish because of the combination of the two nouns without any preposition linking them:

- (67) El *zorbing* es un divertido juego en el que nos introducimos en una esfera de plástico ligero (la *bola zorb* o *zorb ball*), manejada desde fuera por los monitores (NATURALISTE).
- (68) *Deportes de verano*: windsurf, kitesurf, voley playa, fútbol playa (VITÓNICA).
- (69) *Precios de los alquileres de tablas SUP* (*Multiaventura Buendía*).

#### 4.2.2. Lexical Calques

Probably the most striking pattern in Spanish is the calque where the noun phrase follows the English structure in a literal way or as a word-for-word translation. Unlike English noun phrases, Spanish nouns in a post-modifying position are introduced by a preposition after the head noun, as in *café con leche* or *casa de piedra*. Long ago a now classic combination of this type, such as *ciencia ficción*, was considered by Lorenzo Criado (1996, 571-72) to be a clumsy calque. Lorenzo Criado put forward the alternative neologism *ficción científica*, which never became successful. Despite the fact that the term has been present in the language for decades, the journalists working at one of our sources demonstrate the different practices in how it should be written—whether it is one unit joined by dashes turning it into some kind of compound or two separated words that comprise one single lexical unit:

- (70) Lo sucedido ahí con la sanidad sería ciencia-ficción si no fuera cierto (*Top Viajes* 2018, 88).
- (71) Un homenaje retro a la exploración espacial y las películas clásicas de ciencia ficción (*Top Viajes* 2020, 107).

More modern renderings of this kind are *fondo buitre* from *vulture fund*, *efecto invernadero* from *greenhouse effect* and *palabra clave* from *keyword*. Since the usual Spanish combination would make use of a preposition to link the head noun with its modifying noun in this post-modifying position, the structure N + *de* + N is also frequently recorded in the corpus:

- (72) Descenderemos mediante rapel hasta la misma orilla del río donde nos esperan las tablas de SUP para cruzar las cristalinas aguas del mismo y rodear un pequeño embalse (*Aire libre* 2018, 272).
- (73) Para practicar el snow sólo es necesario sustituir los esquís por una tabla de snowboard (*Turismo Activo y Deporte Andalucía*).

(74) Consiste en deslizarse sobre una tabla de surf propulsada por una gran vela o cometa que sujeta el deportista mediante unos cables de unos 30 metros de longitud, empleando la fuerza del viento para desplazarse y realizar espectaculares saltos (*Turismo Activo y Deporte Andalucía*).

(75) La Escalera, que queda cubierta cuando sube la marea, es el punto de encuentro de muchos lugareños (*Paisajes* 2009).

(76) Profesionales de todos los ámbitos del sector turístico (agencias de viajes, restauración y comercio, parques de ocio, hospitality, etc.) (*Aire Libre* 2020, 293).

(77) Para entrar en el sorteo es necesario apuntarse en la base de datos de Kempinski Hotel Bahía (*Top Viajes* 2018, 91).

(78) Día libre para disfrutar del sol y la playa, actividades acuáticas y deportes de aventura en régimen de todo incluido (*Marsans* 2008).

(79) Y una tercera, de propina, en una estación de servicio para hacer aguas (*Top Viajes* 2019, 102).

(80) Atenciones Luna de Miel: cesta de frutas y botella de vino (*Viajes el Corte Inglés* 2008).

(81) Lo más importante es un buen saco de dormir que utilizaremos sobre una colchoneta aislante de calidad (*Viajeros* 2015, 179).

(82) ¿Qué puede hacer una mujer cuando ya ha roto el techo de cristal con el que un día decidió acabar? (*Vogue* 2020, 386).

(83) Es verdad que a veces conseguimos mejores precios en grandes superficies o cadenas de supermercados, pero las tiendas de barrio que tienen una oferta diferenciada seguirán contando con nosotros (*Clara* 2020, 333).

(84) El imperio de propiedades que hoy dirige Sonia Cheng empezó siendo otra cosa: una cadena de joyerías que hoy cuenta con 2.700 tiendas (*Vogue* 2020, 386).

Other lexical calques use another preposition, as in *patines en línea*, translating *inline skates*, or *viajes a la carta* from *trips on demand*.

(85) Ya sean secciones de carrera a pie, bicicleta de montaña, kayak o canoa, patines en línea, etc. (*Outdoor* 2006, 7).

(86) VIAJES A LA CARTA. Propuestas de escapadas (*Viajeros* 2015, 177).

Very often the original English pattern is made up of a noun followed by an adjective. This structure is preserved in Spanish, which makes the calque invisible, as in some of the lexical calques that are an essential part of our lives, such as *teléfono móvil* or *tarifa plana* as a translation of *mobile phone* and *flat rate*. The adjective *smart* may appear in hybrid combinations, but is often translated as *inteligente* in formations with *barco* and *coche*, for instance:

(87) Un GPS, un teléfono móvil y un sonar son suficientes para surcar sin miedo las aguas del Alqueva y dar rienda suelta a nuestro espíritu aventurero (*Top Viajes* 2020, 111).

(88) Y la tarifa plana Glovo Prime de envíos gratis ilimitados (*Top Viajes* 2018, 94).

(89) Hay quien ya se ha apresurado a comparar la nueva máquina de VanMoof con los coches inteligentes de Tesla, en el sentido de que representan una auténtica revolución para este medio de transporte (*Aire Libre* 2018, 286).

(90) Se trata del crucero más grande construido en Italia, es el segundo barco inteligente de la generación Seaside y en su temporada inaugural navega por el Mediterráneo (*Top Viajes* 2018, 91).

Other combinations of noun plus adjective are of recent creation, such as *acoso sexual*, *camiseta térmica*, *camiseta básica*, *comida rápida*, *comida preparada*, *desarrollo sostenible*, *forro polar*, *vestido camisero* and *vestido lencero*. With the exception of *polar fleece*, which has been rendered as *forro polar* in an approximate translation, the other formations are word-for-word or literal translations of their English counterparts or have only slight adaptations; namely *sexual harassment*, *thermal T-shirt*, *basic T-shirt*, *fast food*, *ready-made food*, *sustainable development*, *shirt dress* and *lingerie dress*. A sample of the instances found in our corpus is the following:

(91) Juguetes rotos que conocieron la agresión y el acoso sexual cuando el *Me Too* era impensable (*Top Viajes* 2019, 106).

(92) Vestiremos por capas, es decir, camiseta térmica, forro polar y *gore-tex* o similar (*Viajeros* 2015, 179).

(93) Esta temporada una de las estrellas será la camiseta básica con súper hombreras (*Clara* 2020, 333).

- (94) Welthy es un servicio Premium de comidas preparadas que ofrecen un plan de alimentación con cinco comidas diarias contadas por calorías (*Cuore* 2020, 728).
- (95) Basándose en los objetivos de desarrollo sostenible de Naciones Unidas, así como en los del turismo sostenible de la Organización Mundial del Turismo, la campaña se irá construyendo a partir de la participación de todas aquellas personas concienciadas con el cuidado y el respeto hacia la isla (*Top Viajes* 2018, 88).
- (96) Es una chaqueta de forro polar cortavientos confeccionada con un tejido de alta impermeabilidad (*Grandes espacios* 2006, 5).
- (97) Y mi amiga Marta se casó con un vestido camisero corto (*Glamour* 2020, 211).
- (98) El vestido lencero será tu flechazo de esta primavera y de todas las que quedan por venir (*Glamour* 2020, 211).

This combination of noun plus adjective is found quite often in the technical discourse as well. For example, in *inteligencia artificial*, *plataformas virtuales*, *realidad virtual*, *redes sociales*, *pantalla táctil*, *herramientas digitales* and *formato digital*.

- (99) Refuerzo de cuero en la palma, dígitos ligeramente curvados y punteras compatibles con la pantalla táctil de un teléfono o tablet, muñeca elástica y puño girado para mayor comodidad y calidez (*Aire Libre* 2019, 291).
- (100) En los últimos años han surgido plataformas virtuales como la norteamericana Joor (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (101) Un estudio de la OCDE afirmaba que, debido a la inteligencia artificial, en España cerca de un 11% de los empleos se automatizarán en los próximos años (*Cosmopolitan* 2020, 355).
- (102) Prueba en directo todos sus tonos en la realidad virtual de loreal-paris.es (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (103) El continente asiático está a años luz del resto de la población occidental en cuanto al uso de las herramientas informáticas y redes sociales (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (104) En estas páginas, que tal vez estás disfrutando en formato digital (*Vogue* 2020, 386).

- (105) Todas cursarán un MBA online y recibirán un reciclaje en herramientas digitales  
(*Vogue* 2020, 386).

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

There is no doubt about the difficulty that the identification of semantic and lexical borrowings entails, since, with the exception of hybrid combinations, they are loanwords that have been coined in the target language in the case of lexical borrowings and native words that add a new meaning in the case of semantic borrowings. As a consequence, it is complex to trace when such lexical units were adopted. This fact notwithstanding, the current study is based on a corpus of said terms compiled from different sources to have a wide range of discourses from which we were able to analyze semantic and lexical borrowings and their use and adaptation into the Spanish language. In fact, we agree with the idea that “contemporary Spanish is, and has always been, quite open to calquing” (Rodríguez González and Knospe 2019, 269). There is a tendency for languages to use this borrowing process, as, in this way, the foreign term or influence is less obvious.

We can conclude that lexical borrowings, both hybrid combinations and lexical calques, abound in the specialized discourses studied here. Hybrid combinations like *efecto lifting* or *cazadora denim*, and the numerous combinations found with terms such as *vintage* or *detox* in the world of fashion, as well as lexical calques like *ciencia ficción* and *deportes de aventura* are examples of borrowings that have been transferred to the general language and are widely used. Regarding lexical calques, the main patterns found are made up of two nouns, a noun plus the preposition *de* followed by another noun, and a noun modified by an adjective. Semantic borrowings such as *versátil*, *agresivo* and *evento* have also been recorded and discussed. It is worth pointing out that both nouns and adjectives have been recorded in this kind of borrowing. Although new meanings are adopted on a regular basis in Spanish due to the influence of the English language, their identification is not always an easy task and thorough research is needed. Future investigation could be conducted to further widen our discourse resources including research on morphological borrowings, patent anglicism and syntactic and phraseological calques in order to come to a deeper understanding of the use of semantic and lexical borrowings and how meanings change when they are adopted in another language.

## WORKS CITED

- ALI, Abdul Sahib Mehdi. 2005. “Calquing: A Means of Terminological Enrichment.” *Trujuman* 14 (1): 113-35.
- DE LA CRUZ, Isabel and Cristina Tejedor. 2019. “Sport and Adventure Tourism Anglicisms in Spanish: *Esferatón* or Zorbing?” *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses* 32: 67-88.

- DICCIONARIO DE LA LENGUA ESPAÑOLA (DEL). 1992a, 2001a, 2021a. s. v. “Tablet.” [Accessed online on January 21, 2021].
- . 1992b, 2001b, 2021b. s. v. “Vibración.” [Accessed online on January 21, 2021].
- . 2001c, 2021c. s. v. “Evento.” [Accessed online on January 21, 2021].
- . 2001d, 2021d. s. v. “Polifacético.” [Accessed online on January 21, 2021].
- . 2001e. s. v. “Orgánico.” [Accessed online on January 21, 2021].
- FUERTES OLIVERA, Pedro, coord. 2005. *Lengua y sociedad. Investigaciones recientes en lingüística aplicada*. Valladolid: University of Valladolid.
- FUNDACIÓN DEL ESPAÑOL URGENTE (FUNDÉU). 2021a. s. v. “Foodie.” [Accessed online on June 4, 2021].
- . 2021b. s. v. “Vintage.” [Accessed online on June 4, 2021].
- GÓMEZ CAPUZ, Juan. 2004. *Préstamos del español. Lengua y sociedad*. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- . 2005. *La Inmigración Léxica*. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- GRAN DICCIONARIO DE LA LENGUA ESPAÑOLA. 2016a. s. v. “Vintage.” [Accessed online on May 11, 2021].
- . 2016b. s. v. “Retro.” [Accessed online on May 11, 2021].
- KATAMBA, Francis. 2005. *English Words: Structure, History, Usage*. London and New York: Routledge.
- LÓPEZ ZURITA, Paloma. 2005. “Economic Anglicisms: Adaptation to the Spanish Linguistic System.” *Ibérica* 10: 91-114.
- LORENZO CRIADO, Emilio. 1980. *El español y otras lenguas*. Madrid: SGEL.
- . 1987. “Anglicismos en la prensa.” In Real Academia Española 1987, 71-79.
- . 1996. *Anglicismos hispánicos*. Madrid: Gredos.
- . 1999a. “Anglicismos y traducciones. Lo superfluo, lo nocivo y lo necesario.” In Lorenzo-Criado 1999b, 159-71.
- . 1999b. *El español en la encrucijada*. Madrid: Espasa.
- MEDINA LÓPEZ, Javier 1996. *El anglicismo en el español actual*. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY ONLINE (OED). 2021a. s. v. “Tablet.” [Accessed online on January 21, 2021].
- . 2021b. s. v. “Vibration.” [Accessed online on January 21, 2021].
- . 2021c. s. v. “Organic.” [Accessed online on January 21, 2021].
- . 2021d. s. v. “Denim.” [Accessed online on January 21, 2021].
- PRATT, Chris. 1980. *El anglicismo en el español contemporáneo*. Madrid: Gredos.
- RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ, Félix. 1994. “Anglicismos en el argot de la droga.” *Atlantis* 16: 179-216.
- . 1996. “Functions of anglicisms in contemporary Spanish”. *Cahiers de lexicologie* 68: 107-128.
- . 1999. “Anglicisms in Contemporary Spanish: An Overview.” *Atlantis* 21: 103-39.
- . 2005. “Calcos y traducciones del inglés en el español actual.” In Fuertes Olivera 2005, 177-91.
- . 2017. *Gran diccionario de anglicismos*. Madrid: Arco Libros.

RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ, Félix and Sebastian Knospe. 2019. "The Variation of Calques in European Languages, with Particular Reference to Spanish and German: Main Patterns and Trends." *Folia Linguistica* 53 (1): 233-76.

REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA. 1987. *Primera Reunión de Academias de la Lengua Española sobre el lenguaje y los medios de comunicación*. Madrid: Real Academia Española.

THE FREE DICTIONARY. 2021a. s. v. "Orgánico." [Accessed online on April 28, 2021].

Received 11 November 2021

Revised version accepted 25 April 2022

Isabel de la Cruz Cabanillas is a Professor of English at Universidad de Alcalá. Her research interests are chiefly in the field of lexicology and semantics. She has contributed to international journals, such as *Cahiers de Lexicologie*, *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, *English Studies*, *English for Specific Purposes*, *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, *Studia Neophilologica* and *Moderna Språk*, among others. As an author, she has written monographs and coedited others. Likewise, she has published chapters in volumes edited by international publishing houses. She has also carried out research at the Universities of Glasgow, Sheffield, Berlin, Limerick and Oxford.

Cristina Tejedor Martínez is a Senior Lecturer at Universidad de Alcalá. She has edited several books, and published a number of articles and book chapters on lexicography, lexicology, semantics, English for Specific Purposes, English as a Second Language and contrastive linguistics. Her contribution to the compilation of two bilingual dictionaries (English-Spanish) is also worth mentioning. She has coordinated and collaborated in several research projects. Besides, she has been a member of the advisory board of several journals, such as *Resla*, *RAEL-Revista Electrónica de Lingüística Aplicada* and *International Computer Assisted Language Learning*.

Esperanza Cerdá Redondo is a Senior Lecturer at the Universidad de Alcalá. She currently teaches English and Contemporary North American Poetry in different graduate degree courses and Curriculum Design in postgraduate studies. Her main research fields are comparative linguistics, translation and North American literature. She has published several articles, edited two books and has participated in different research projects related to these fields. Her latest publication is Huguet, Montserrat and Cerdá, Esperanza (eds.). *Miradas encontradas. Sociedades y ciudadanías de España y Estados Unidos* (2019).

## ANNEX I

- (1) Padded compartment for e-books or tablets, organizer (ideal for cables, pens, etc.) and attachment for bicycle light (*Aire libre* 2018, 275).
- (2) Accustomed to mobiles that look like tablets, the new design of the South Korean brand reminds us... (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (3) Exhibitions, events and festivals (*Viajeros* 2015, 177).
- (4) Communication, Public Relations and Luxury Event Planning (*Vanity Fair* 2020, 141).
- (5) Specially, if there is an up-coming event and you want to flaunt a perfect skin (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (6) Frederick of Denmark, in one of the photos where the Royal Family announces the postponement of the 2020 Royal Run, one of the most popular events in the country (*Vanity Fair* 2020, 141).
- (7) Last November she debuted before the international society at Le Bal, an event organized at the exclusive Shangri-La hotel in Paris (*Vanity Fair* 2020, 141).
- (8) You can also wear this top with a pair of jeans or a long skirt. Versatile! (*Cuore* 2020, 728).
- (9) Nominated by the 2018 Bar Awards as one of the best terraces in Portugal, this place stands out for its spectacular views of the Portuguese capital and for the versatility of its menu and space (*Top Viajes* 2018, 92).
- (10) In 2017, it was completely renovated, with the New Nissan LEAF revealing a much more attractive and aggressive design. [...] The exterior of the Nissan Leaf is very distinctive, with an aggressive and sporty front (*Aire Libre* 2018, 272).
- (11) The decision was made because the contamination by this type of residue is not only visual, it also entails “a serious environmental impact mainly affecting animal species” (*Aire Libre* 2018, 272).
- (12) One Devonshire Gardens. The hotel is one of the greatest examples of the most sophisticated luxury. A unique Victorian atmosphere but with the latest technologies (*Viajeros* 2005, 125).
- (13) An asymmetric neckline creates a visual game on our skin that is very sophisticated and evocative (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (14) Protect it with an organic shampoo (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (15) Organic wash. Damaged hair is more prone to frizz (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (16) Clean, Pure, Natural and Organic (shampoo and conditioner; *Vanity Fair* 2020, 141).
- (17) The key to the most organic look is in the freshness of individuality (*Glamour* 2020, 211).
- (18) Highlighter and with a “detox” effect (*ELLE* 2017, 3).
- (19) Especially if it has an eye-catching effect and includes a downpour of likes on Instagram (*Vogue* 2017, 365).
- (20) Anti-aging eye contour gel with an immediate flash effect (*Clara* 2020, 333).



- (21) The face looks more hydrated but without shine, a healthy glow effect (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (22) Create an instant “lifting” effect without surgery (*Vogue* 2017, 365).
- (23) Its intense tensing action with extraordinary lifting effect combats the dreaded flaccidness and redefines facial contours (*Natura Bissé* 2017).
- (24) Rich in glycolic acid, it has a peeling effect that lightens and unifies the skin tone (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (25) Free and pure Vitamin C with vitamin peeling effect (*Skin Clinic* 2017).
- (26) An **extraordinary highly concentrated serum that illuminates dull and tired skin** in seconds thanks to its anti-aging action (*Skin Clinic* 2017).
- (27) The revitalizing and firming effect of its active ingredients causes a micro-lifting action on the skin (*Natura Bissé* 2017).
- (28) The new detox guidelines (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (29) Detox diet (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (30) A good detox broth (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (31) You can use a green clay mask or detox on your forehead, nose, and chin to remove impurities (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (32) Detox Power (mask) (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (33) Detox mask, Júlia (*Cosmopolitan* 2020, 355).
- (34) Detox bath with salts (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (35) Night reducer. Ideal after a detox bath, it works by reducing cellulite (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (36) New **illuminating detox formula—bags and dark circles** (*Germaine de Cappuccini* 2017).
- (37) **Moisturizing** detox cream with color (*Natura Bissé* 2017).
- (38) To duplicate the relaxing effect of an outdoor nap in slow key, guests can kickstart a pre-nap ritual (*Aire Libre* 2018, 276).
- (39) CiclaMadrid is a combination of cyclable routes—more than 1,400 kilometers—in the Community of Madrid, designed for different types of travelers, from the most athletic to slow culture lovers, families, groups of friends or nature lovers (*Aire Libre* 2018, 272).
- (40) This proposal stems from the fusion between its slow philosophy and quiet uncrowded atmosphere, which makes the hotel one of the places to enjoy with the family (*Aire Libre* 2018, 281).
- (41) An experience full of active nature tourism in terms of ecotourism and slow tourism, in a not very well known and surprising setting, available between May and October (*Aire Libre* 2018, 272).
- (42) AUTUMN FOODIE GETAWAYS: TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN THE MOST DELICIOUS LOGIES HOTELS (*Aire Libre* 2018, 279).
- (43) Gourmet, we updated our “foodie” map (*ELLE* 2017, 365).
- (44) After your bike ride, you can opt for a foodie plan in a designer space (*Aire Libre*

- 2018, 276).
- (45) 'Foodie' Life, from helping a beekeeper take care of bees in the French Basque Country to becoming a farmer in a garden in the south of France (*Cosmopolitan* 2020, 355).
  - (46) Made of leather (Salvatore Ferragamo, Givenchy), as well as tie-dye cotton (Alberta Ferreti, Christian Dior) (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
  - (47) Prada "bowling" bag (*Glamour* 2020, 211).
  - (48) Tie Dye T-shirt + satin bermudas (*Glamour* 2020, 211).
  - (49) Choose it straight or midi-length for an updated ladylike style (*Clara* 2020, 333).
  - (50) Mushroom hat, by ERNESTO NARANJO (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
  - (51) Fitness is fashion (*Cuore* 2020, 728).
  - (52) Pilar Rubio and her family have used the opportunity to give a fashion touch to some of the T-shirts they had in their closet (*Cuore* 2020, 728).
  - (53) You can customize your jacket with some brooches, we love the vintage type (*Clara* 2020, 333).
  - (54) Vintage style is a best seller every season and high waists and retro-cut are the new street style must have (*ELLE* 2017, 365).
  - (55) Suede, knitwear and printed silk are elevated to be the star wildcard of this vintage look (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
  - (56) Any modern garment has its vintage version; if what you want is style, you will find it there (*Glamour* 2020, 211).
  - (57) Tulle Vintage skirt (*Vogue* 2017, 365).
  - (58) In 2004, Vanessa Paradis charmed in a vintage Haute Couture Chanel dress (*Glamour* 2020, 211).
  - (59) BEYOND RETRO vintage belt and vintage necklace (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
  - (60) Denim garments take on a vintage look inspired by past decades, such as the 1970s and 1980s, for nostalgic looks (*Clara* 2020, 333).
  - (61) This vintage caravan from the Food Nomads people is the benchmark of all street food markets among gourmands (*Cosmopolitan* 2020, 355).
  - (62) Moving things around and brightening spaces with plants and vintage furniture puts me in a good mood (*Cosmopolitan* 2020, 355).
  - (63) And in the corner you can see a sofa with a vintage upholstered fabric from the Prada collection (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
  - (64) A nod to that perennial chemistry that existed between the two and that spreads to an impressive vintage wardrobe (*Vanity Fair* 2020, 141).
  - (65) Digital immediacy that translates in other cases into multicolored striped sweaters, t-shirts with a geeky message, jeweled mules, vintage jeans (*Vogue* 2017, 365).
  - (66) It's the perfect accessory to brighten up a workspace with a touch of color and vintage inspiration (*Vogue* 2020, 386).

- (67) Zorbing is a fun game where you go into a light plastic sphere (the *zorb ball*), which is maneuvered by the monitors from outside (*NATURALISTE*).
- (68) **Summer sports:** windsurf, kitesurf, beach volleyball, beach soccer (*VITÓNICA*).
- (69) **SUP board rental prices** (*Multiaventura Buendía*).
- (70) What happened there with the health care service could be science fiction if it were not true (*Top Viajes* 2018, 88).
- (71) A retro tribute to space investigation and classic sci-fi movies (*Top Viajes* 2020, 107).
- (72) We will descend by abseiling to the banks of the river where we will find SUP boards to cross its crystal clear waters and paddle around a small reservoir (*Aire Libre* 2018, 272).
- (73) To practice snowboarding you only need to replace the skis with a snowboard (*Turismo Activo y Deporte Andalucía*).
- (74) It consists of sliding on a surfboard propelled by a large sail or kite held on to by the athlete through cables about 30 meters long, using the strength of the wind to move and perform spectacular jumps (*Turismo Activo y Deporte Andalucía*).
- (75) The Escalerona, which gets covered when the tide rises, is the meeting point for many of the locals (*Paisajes* 2009).
- (76) Professionals from all areas of the tourism sector (travel agencies, restaurants and shops, leisure parks, hospitality, etc; *Aire Libre* 2020, 293).
- (77) It is necessary to register in the Kempinski Hotel Bahía database to enter the raffle (*Top Viajes* 2018, 91).
- (78) A free day to enjoy the sun and the beach, water activities and adventure sports on an all-inclusive package (*Marsans* 2008).
- (79) And a third, as a reward, at a service station for a comfort break (*Top Viajes* 2019, 102).
- (80) Honeymoon Services: fruit basket and bottle of wine (*Viajes el Corte Inglés* 2008).
- (81) The most important thing is a good sleeping bag that you will use on a good quality insulated mattress (*Viajeros* 2015, 179).
- (82) What can a woman do when she has already broken the glass ceiling that one day she decided to break? (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (83) It is true that sometimes we get better prices in department stores or supermarket chains, but neighborhood stores that have differentiated offers will continue to count on us (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (84) The Real Estate empire that Sonia Cheng runs began as something different: a jewelry chain store which today has 2,700 stores (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (85) Whether it be sections on running, mountain biking, kayaking or canoeing, rollerblading, etc. (*Outdoor* 2006, 7).
- (86) **CUSTOMIZED TRIPS.** Getaway suggestions (*Viajeros* 2015, 177).
- (87) A GPS, a mobile phone and a sonar are enough to cross the waters of the Alqueva without fear and unleash our adventurous spirit (*Top Viajes* 2020, 111).

- (88) And the Glovo Prime flat rate of unlimited free shipping (*Top Viajes* 2018, 94).
- (89) Some have already rushed to compare the new VanMoof machine with Tesla's smart cars, in the sense that they represent a true revolution for this form of transportation (*Aire Libre* 2018, 286).
- (90) We're talking about the largest cruise ship built in Italy, it is the second intelligent ship of the Seaside generation and in its inaugural season it sails through the Mediterranean (*Top Viajes* 2018, 91).
- (91) Broken toys that experienced sexual assault and harassment when *Me Too* was unthinkable (*Top Viajes* 2019, 106).
- (92) We will dress in layers, that is, a thermal T-shirt, fleece and gore-tex or similar (*Viajeros* 2015, 179).
- (93) This season one of the hot items will be the basic T-shirt with super shoulder pads (*Clara* 2020, 333).
- (94) Welthy is a premium cooked meals service that offers a nutritional plan with five daily meals based on calorie count (*Cuore* 2020, 728).
- (95) Based on the sustainable development objectives of the United Nations, as well as those of sustainable tourism of the World Tourism Organization, the campaign will be built from the participation of all those who are conscious of the care and respect the island requires (*Top Viajes* 2018, 88).
- (96) It is a windproof fleece jacket made with a highly waterproof fabric (*Grandes Espacios* 2006, 5).
- (97) And my friend Marta got married in a short shirt dress (*Glamour* 2020, 211).
- (98) You will fall in love with the slip dress this spring and all of those to come (*Glamour* 2020, 211).
- (99) Leather reinforcement on the palm, slightly curved digits and pointers compatible with the tactile screen of a phone or tablet, elastic wrist and rotating grip for more comfort and warmth (*Aire Libre* 2019, 291).
- (100) In recent years, virtual platforms such as the North American Joor have emerged (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (101) An OECD study stated that, due to artificial intelligence, close to 11% of jobs will be automated in the coming years in Spain (*Cosmopolitan* 2020, 355).
- (102) Try all of their shades live in loreal-paris.es virtual reality (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (103) The Asian continent is light years away from the rest of the Western population regarding the use of software tools and social networks (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (104) On these pages, which perhaps you may be enjoying in digital format (*Vogue* 2020, 386).
- (105) They will all study an online MBA and will receive a refresher course on digital tools (*Vogue* 2020, 386).