

Pidgin Traits in the Adaptation Process of Spanish Anglicisms

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to show the dynamics in the adaptation process of Spanish anglicisms and the parallel of such dynamics with processes operating in pidgin languages. Similarities are found in the areas of pronunciation and morphology. The mixing of linguistic features is less widespread in Spanish than in mixed languages. Differences of degree and non-comparable factors such as spelling and the proliferation or duplication of vocabulary items in Spanish are also apparent. In spite of the fact that resemblances are far from complete, pidgin languages behave in a similar manner as standard languages in a language-in-contact situation. (Keywords: Spanish anglicisms, English and Spanish vocabulary, pidgins and creoles, languages in contact).

RESUMEN

Este trabajo trata de la dinámica en la adaptación de anglicismos hispánicos y del paralelismo que existe entre dichos procesos y los que operan en lenguas pidgin. Se encuentran semejanzas en la pronunciación y la morfología. La mezcla de rasgos lingüísticos es menos extensa en castellano que en las lenguas mixtas. También resultan obvias las diferencias cuantitativas y factores no susceptibles de comparación como la ortografía y la multiplicación o duplicación de palabras en español. A pesar de que las semejanzas distan mucho de ser exactas, las lenguas pidgin se comportan de igual manera que las lenguas estándar en una situación de lenguas en contacto. (Palabras clave: Anglicismos en español, léxico inglés y español, lenguas pidgin y criollas, lenguas en contacto).

INTRODUCTION

The idea for writing this paper was conceived while I was engaged in research on linguistic and sociolinguistic features of Spanish anglicisms (Breva 1998). In the course of that investigation, I realized that the transfer of English words into Spanish involved a high degree of variation due to linguistic, sociolinguistic, and language-in-contact factors. I later observed

that this variation somewhat resembled a number of traits found in mixed languages such as pidgins and creoles. Pidgins are languages made up of a mixture of elements from two or more languages in contact. Typically, pidgins spring up in trading centers or in areas under industrialization. The economically dominant language in the contact situation is called the *superstrate* language. The various social groups use their native tongues as a basis for a rudimentary language, in which the vocabulary is often derived from the superstrate language. When children learn a pidgin as a first language, that language is called a creole. Creoles, adopted by communities as their native tongue, may become more fully-developed languages (creolization) or may be linguistically closer to the standard language on which they are based (decreolization)'.

This paper also focuses on the study of a mixed linguistic situation, although the contact situation here differs from the one described above in that English, a standard language endowed with an aura of prestige for political, economic, and cultural reasons, is shown exerting its influence on Spanish, another major standard language. In addition, the adaptation of anglicisms into Spanish is affected or contaminated, depending on one's biases, by local languages in bilingual areas such as Catalonia or the Valencian region.

In spite of some striking differences, common points emerge due to the fact that scores of linguistic processes in both cases stem from a language-in-contact situation. Such a situation causes a proliferation of forms, a proliferation which is visible not only in marginal languages but also in standard languages influenced by other standard languages. It is some of the similarities and some of the differences in this type of variation that are the principal concern of this paper, which falls into the following sections: 1) variation in spelling, 2) variation in sounds, 3) variation in morphology, 4) variation in word order, 5) creolization, and 6) decreolization.

I. VARIATION IN SPELLING

The spelling changes noticeable in the adaptation of Spanish anglicisms have little in common with the processes found in pidgins and creoles. Pidgins and creoles are generally marginal languages and, as such, do not have a fully-developed writing system. These languages are normally used for oral communication. When they have a writing system, this system consists of a simplified phonetic version of the spelling employed in the superstrate language. In the case under consideration here, two languages with fully-developed orthographies enter into contact in a non-reciprocal relationship. The variation in the spelling of Spanish anglicisms is due to the interference caused by the English graphemic system.

The need to adapt the spelling of foreign words into the system of the borrowing languages is one of the reasons for the hispanicization of English forms. Thus, *ticket* > *tiquet*; *diskette* > *disquet*; *water* > *váter*; *kiwi* > *kivi* or *quivi*; *khaki* > *kaki* or *caqui*; *to dribble* > *driblar*; *tennis* > *tenis*; *tunnel* > *túnel*; *penalty* > *penalti*; and *derby* > *derbi*. However, this hispanicization process is quite often interrupted or reversed. Indeed, except for the simplification of double consonants, which is quite general in Spanish, the original English spellings (*ticket*, *diskette*, *kiwi*, *penal-*, and *derby*) are still found in Spanish.

As we will see later in more detail, in pidgins and creoles the tendency to maintain, or to return to, the forms of the original language is called decreolization. This phenomenon is more widespread among the upper social classes in that among these social groups the aura

of prestige associated with English helps to delay the hispanicization of English spellings. Even if English final *-y* is replaced by *-i* practically everywhere in Spanish, as in *dandy/dandi* and *rugby/rugbi*, there are times when this choice is stylistically conditioned. For example, it would be unusual to see the spelling *rugbi* in the name of a rugby team. Likewise, the spelling *brandi* would be quite unlikely in the advertising slogans of this alcoholic beverage. Probably, for pragmatic reasons difficult to ascertain, the original *-y* in words such as *ferry*, *sexy*, and *city* (cf., however, *citi*, a synthetic drug) and *intercity* is retained. Finally, some words ending in *-y* also offer a variety of plural spellings: *penalty* becomes *penalties* (the English form), *penaltys* (a hybrid), and *penaltis* (the hispanicized form).

A number of Spanish anglicisms reveals spelling changes motivated by a desire on the part of Spanish speakers to represent English sounds in their own graphemic system. Examples of this phenomenon are observable in *sweater* > *suéter*; *shampoo* > *champú*; *football* > *fútbol*; *baseball* > *béisbol*; *yankee* > *yanki* or *vanqui*. The tendency to maintain the spellings of the original language is perceptible in the occasional occurrence of obsolete forms such as *football*, *baseball*, and *yankee*; the latter spellings may be found underlined, in quotation marks, or in special contexts.

Finally, the anglicism *whisky/whiskey* together with other half- or totally-hispanicized variants illustrate the multiplicity of spelling alternatives encountered in the adaptation of some words. The forms *whisky*, *whiskey*, *wisky*, and *güisqui* still coexist today, against other disfavored forms such as *huisky*, *huisqui*, and *uisqui*. Here *whisky* and *whiskey* may have remained anglicized for prestige or commercial reasons. The latter spellings are visible on the labels of bottles containing this liquor, thus indirectly reinforcing the use of the English spelling. The completely hispanicized form *güisqui* reflects the variation present in Spanish words beginning with the sound sequence [w + vowel] as in *huevo*: this sequence can be optionally realized as [w + vowel] or as [gw + vowel]. The form *güisqui* could have been included in the next section, devoted to the adaptation of English sounds.

II. VARIATION IN SOUNDS

Pidgins have small inventories of phonemes, but each phoneme may have many allophonic pronunciations. This situation is quite understandable in bilingual or multilingual areas in which speakers of the non-dominant language or languages have a higher economic or social motivation to learn the superstrate language, quite often missing the phonemes of the superstrate language or replacing them by neighboring sounds from their own native tongue. In Melanesian Pidgin English or Tok Pisin, a language spoken in Papua New Guinea, with 80 per cent of its lexical items derived from English, the English sound [S] in the word *machine* has three possible realizations [mašin], [masin], and [mačín]. Something similar happens in the Spanish adaptation of the English voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ], corresponding to the sound realization of the graphemic sequence *sh* in *sherry*, *show*, *sheriff*, and *Shakespeareano*. Here, the English sound [ʃ] is heard among some Spanish speakers with a knowledge of English and some Catalan speakers, in whose language this sound occurs in words like *aixo* [əʃo] 'that'. Many speakers of Spanish supplant the English sound by two sounds that are in the same articulatory neighborhood as the English counterpart, i.e., they use either the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate [č] or the voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. For instance, English *smash* is pronounced [esmaš, esmas, or esmač]. These sound modifications are

mirrored in the following Spanish spelling adjustments: *sheriff* > *chérifand sérif*, *pusher* > *púcher*, *show* > *chow* (an occasional humorous spelling), and *flash* > *flas*.

A similar type of variation appears in the Spanish realization of the English central vowel [ʌ] in words such as *lunch*. This sound may be pronounced as a high low central vowel [ʌ] and as the sounds [a], [o], or [u]. Spanish speakers with a good knowledge of English may reproduce the English vowel. However, in attempting to imitate the English sound, many Spanish speakers utter the Spanish vowels [a] or [o], two sounds in the same articulatory neighborhood as English [ʌ]. Thus, besides [lanč], both [lanč] and [lonč] are also heard. Furthermore, the spelling pronunciation [lunč] is not uncommon with sometimes a supporting final vowel [lunče] occurring in the latter case. The difficulty in the transfer of sound [ʌ] explains the parallel adaptations of *ponche* from *punch*, *ron* from *rum*, and more recently *yonqui* from *junkie*².

Local languages such as Catalan and Valencian, regional varieties such as Andalusian as well as popular Spanish, the latter spoken by the working classes, equally affect the pronunciation and the development of Spanish anglicisms. Influenced by their bilingualism, speakers of Catalan and Valencian retain final consonants and preserve a large number of consonant clusters in Spanish anglicisms'. However, Andalusians, speakers of popular Spanish, and many monolingual speakers of standard Spanish are likely to drop final consonants and to simplify consonant clusters. As a result of this linguistic situation, it is easily predictable that speakers of Catalan and Valencian as well as speakers familiar with English and educated monolingual speakers of Spanish (the latter hypercorrectly influenced by English spellings) have a tendency to pronounce final consonants in *club*, *pub*, *tiquet*, *donut*, and *album*. These final consonants may have slightly different sound realizations in the various speech communities.

Many monolingual speakers drop these final stops or modify them. The loss of final stops is quite unequivocal in Southern dialects in which phonetically resistant fricatives such as [s] are also lost in Spanish. This type of deletion is sometimes reflected in the spellings: *tique* (a standard form), *clú* (recorded in dictionaries of slang and popular Spanish'), *picú* (now the only standard form from English pick-up'). Scores of monolingual speakers replace final [m] by the phonetically resistant final [n] in such a way that the anglicism *album* is pronounced [albn]. The Spanish propensity to turn word final [d] into a fricative [d̪] and subsequently into a voiceless fricative [θ] (cf. *verdad*) has a parallel development in the word *airbag* sometimes pronounced [airbax], and in the term *pub* at times realized as [paf]: here the voiced dental, velar, and labial sounds are symmetrically replaced by easier to utter voiceless fricatives in the same articulatory neighborhood (see also note 6). Sometimes the difficulty in pronouncing these word-final consonants for Spanish speakers is resolved by the addition of a supporting vowel, which appears in the spellings *tiquet* > *tiquete*, *disquet* > *disquete*, and *club* > *clube*.

The simplification pattern of final consonant clusters in the transference process runs parallel to the one described for single consonants. Spanish has no consonant clusters in word-final position (see Alarcos 1974:178). Catalan and Valencian speakers have sequences of *r* or *s* sounds followed by stops (*verb*, *vers*, *verd*, *text*, *fort*, *llarg* [rk]), sequences which help speakers in those speech communities to retain similar English final consonant clusters. Likewise, Spanish speakers in contact with English and some monolingual speakers (hypercorrectly influenced by the written word) maintain those clusters. For example, *test* is realized as [test], *récord* as [record/t]⁶, *lord* as [lord], *estándard* as [standardit], *relax* as [relaks], and *folk* as [folk]. This deletion is readily perceived in the alternative spellings

estándar and in *lores* (the plural of *lord*) as well as in the derived form *estandarización*, which coexists with *estandardización*.

III. VARIATION AND SIMPLIFICATION OF PLURALS

In pidgins and non-developed creoles, there is an almost complete lack of inflection in nouns, pronouns, verbs, and adjectives. Nouns are not marked for gender and number. Pidgin traits are observable in the plurals of Spanish anglicisms. The loss of plural markers in some nouns is not infrequent, a loss which may be compensated for by the presence of the definite article. A surprisingly great deal of variation exists in Spanish on this point due to the language-in-contact situation.

When words undergo pluralization in English, the number of their final consonants increases for the simple reason that English plurals add an *-s* to the singular. In the process of adaptation into Spanish, these plurals show a proclivity towards the reduction of consonant clusters. For example, *clubs* is pronounced [clus], *pubs* [pafs] or [paf], *donuts* [donus], *tiquets* [tikes], *tests* [test] or [tes], and *standards* [standars] or [estandar]. At times, this simplification is reflected in the spelling, as in *clus*, *clúes* (in popular Spanish and slang), *tiques*, *los test* and *los estándar*. Speakers of Catalan and Valencian may pronounce [ps] and [ks], respectively, in both final English [ps] and [bz] as well as final [ks] and [gz], because in those speech communities final stops are normally devoiced (cf. Catalan and Valencian *corb* [kɔɾp] 'crow', plural *corbs* [kɔɾps]). Thus, *pubs*, *clubs*, and *airbags* may be realized as [paps], [klups], and [airbaks].

Variation increases when consonant clusters resulting from English plurals are avoided through the adoption of the Spanish plural *-es*, a suffix which occurs after nouns ending in a consonant. For instance, the terms *clubs*, *films*, *pubs*, and *pins* have the alternative plurals *clubes*, *filmes*, *pubes*, and *pines*. *Test* has a plural *teses*, not documented in written form but heard in my neighborhood driving schools. The addition of the Spanish plural *-es* to English nouns ending in consonants (i.e., hispanicization, although a parallel phenomenon in pidgins and creoles is called creolization [see below]) is more common in monolingual speaking areas. Among Catalan and Valencian speakers, plurals in *-s* are heard, not only in *clubs*, *films* and *pubs*, but also in *mitins*⁷ and *líders*; the latter plurals do not occur in monolingual areas since there the common forms are *mitines* and *líderes*, forms which reveal complete hispanicization.

Another group of English nouns with unstable plurals in Spanish includes not only the variant *-s* (English plural) or *-es* (Spanish plural) but also, as in pidgins and creoles, a variant with no marking for number. Examples of invariable plurals are *los oscar*, *los poster*, *los récord*, *los short*, *los junior*, *los play-off*, *los disquet*, *los jersey*, and *los escuner*. The tendency to keep certain plurals invariable is easily discernible in newspaper headlines such as *Empresas líder en alimentación* and *La bolsa sigue a niveles récord*, where both *líder* and *récord* remain unchanged. Marked plurals in *-s* (English plural) are observable in *los oscars*, *los posters*, *los récords*, *los juniors*, *los play-offs* (the latter especially in writing), *los jerseys*, *jerséis* or *jersés*, and *los escáners*. In Catalan and Valencian areas, such plurals in *-s* are even more common than in monolingual parts of Spain due to the influence of the local languages; this is the reason why *los revólvers* y *los suéters* are practically unheard of in monolingual areas. The plural in *-es* (Spanish plural) is found in *los jerseyes*, *los revólveres*, *los suéteres*, *los escáneres*, *los juniore*s (this example recorded in Pratt 1980) and *los chores* (in Venezuela for *los short*).

IV. VARIATION IN WORD ORDER

Morphemic distribution in the formation of Spanish compounds and word order in Spanish phrases are also influenced by English morphosyntactic structures. This influence coupled with the internal resourcefulness of Spanish structures produce a considerable amount of variation. In Spanish, as in pidgins and mixed varieties, English and Spanish types of compounds as well as English and Spanish types of phrases exist together side by side. For instance, English *drug addict* and *drug addiction* give both the English calques *drogadicto* and *drogadicción* as well as the Spanish phrases *adicto a las drogas* and *adicción a las drogas*: *airlines* becomes *aerolíneas* and *líneas aéreas*. English word order is also visible in the compounds *López Tours*, *Barceló Viajes*, *Pepe's Bar*, and *Aero Club*; here the Spanish word order is *Viajes López*, *Viajes Barceló*, *Bar Pepe*, and *Cluh Aéreo* (cf. Lorenzo 1996: 617).

Adjectival word order is another area in which English has an impact on Spanish. An overabundance of adjectives pre-modifying head nouns is observable in the speech and writing of Spanish speakers in contact with English. In translation courses, Spanish renderings of English texts in which all adjectives appear before their head nouns, are not infrequent, as in the sentence *Recibirán la obediencia de cien altos, erguidos y asesinos hombres de infantería*^x. Some journalists use adjectives before nouns in un-Spanish expressions such as *la entera música moderna* or *el entero pueblo americano* (*entero* connected to English *whole*, cf. Lorenzo 1966: 487). Both translation students and journalists break a Spanish syntactic rule when they place past participles, mistakenly used as adjectives, before nouns, as in *la cerrada puerta* and *sobre la perdida autonomía en la provincia*, respectively.

Soccer or Football is a sport that originated in Great Britain in the nineteenth century and then spread to other European countries. For this reason, the names of Spanish soccer or football clubs turn out to be excellent examples of the influence exerted by English on the word order of Spanish phrases and compounds. Since the time of the creation of the first football club in Spain, in 1872, word order in the names of football teams have followed English structural patterns. However, a gradual and still incomplete process of adaptation into Spanish has taken place. The basic order in the denominations of English soccer teams is:

name of town + Football + Club

while in Spanish the native pattern is:

Club de Fútbol + name of town

British and Scottish teams illustrate English word order: *Liverpool Football Club*, *Bristol City F.C.* and *Aberdeen F.C.* A number of early Spanish teams followed the English pattern *Madrid Foot Ball Club* (1902), *Valencia Football Club* (1919) and *Vizcaya Fútbol Cluh*. The first soccer team in Spain had an English designation: *Huelva Recreation Cluh* (1872): this team originally consisted of engineers and technicians associated with the Rio Tinto mines. Its name was hispanicized to *Real Cluh Recreativo de Huelva*, when Spanish players joined in later on (see *Enciclopedia Mundial del Fútbol* 1984, Vols. 1, 145-192 and Vol. 2).

The names of other teams underwent a similar process of hispanicization with the passage of time. Yet the original English structure is still found to this day, as in *Córdoba Fútbol Club* and *Sestao Sport Club*. Intermediate stages also developed and are still found

among us. Thus, *Valencia Football Club* has become *Valencia Club de Fútbol*. The Barcelona team has two intermediate word orders (*Fútbol Club Barcelona*, where *fútbol* precedes *club*, and *Barcelona Club de Fútbol*, in which *Barcelona* is the first element) as well as the completely hispanicized structure *Club de Fútbol Barcelona*. The various word orders of the Barcelona team name are presently found in the sports sections of Spanish newspapers. Other partially hispanicized names of teams are *Cádiz Club de Fútbol*, *Real Madrid Club de Fútbol*, *Real Zaragoza Club de Fútbol*, and *Xerez Club Deportivo*.

The adjective *Athletic*, encountered in the designations of English and Scottish teams, may also be seen in Spain. The main Bilbao soccer team goes by the name *Athletic Club de Bilbao* as well as by two other alternative structures *Athletic de Bilbao* and *el Bilbao Athletic*, the latter still quite anglicized.

Present-day designations with Spanish word order include *Real Club Celta de Vigo*, *Centro de Deportes Sabadell*, *Club Deportivo Logroñés*, *Real Club Deportivo Mallorca*, *Club Atlético de Madrid*, and *Club Atlético Osasuna*. Terms such as *Celtic*, *Sport*, *Sporting*, and *Athletic*, used in British teams, have been supplanted by the Spanish forms *Celta*, *Deportes*, *Deportivo*, and *Atlético*. Finally, in *Real Betis Balompié* and *Albacete Balompié* the word order is still English, although here *football* has been replaced by *balompié*, the corresponding Spanish loan translation.

The complex designations of Spanish soccer teams are striking examples of mixed language traits in Spanish. These pidgin traits are made of a mixture⁹ of elements from the two languages in contact. Word order may be totally English, partly English or partly Spanish, and completely hispanicized. Moreover, some elements in these complex designations may keep the English word or the corresponding Spanish equivalent. The sociolinguistic explanation for the simultaneous existence of all these mixed and pidgin traits could be ascribed to the fact that football as a sport originated in Britain, spreading later to other European countries. British football associations had an aura of prestige and consequently Spain and other European countries such as France and Italy (the same sociolinguistic phenomenon occurs in those two countries regarding this issue) sought to imitate the names and word order of British teams.

V. CREOLIZATION

Creolization is a process through which marginal and mixed languages such as pidgins and poorly developed creoles evolve into more complete languages, generally having more lexical items and a broader array of grammatical distinctions such as number, a tense system, and greater sentence complexity. At first sight, the concept of creolization is not applicable to Spanish, a fully-developed language, in that creolization implies the nativization or development of an autonomous linguistic system from the limited vocabulary and the few grammatical traits typical of mixed languages.

However, in a contact situation involving two standard languages, a low scale creolization takes place by virtue of the fact that items in the dominant language are gradually adapted into the native system of the non-dominant language. In other words, creolization and hispanicization are parallel processes. Creolization or nativization of foreign linguistic items may include spelling and sounds (mentioned before) as well as morphology. For this reason, in this section my main concern centers on morphology.

The addition of *-es* to English words ending in a consonant is a case of creolization or

adaptation of English words to Spanish pluralization rules. Thus, the foreign nouns *club* and *film* adapted into the Spanish grammatical system when the plurals *clubes* and *filmes* developed.

With regard to derivational morphology, many individual words take native derivational affixes after gaining wide currency. For example, *mitin* added new suffixes: *mitinear*, *mitinero*, and *mitinesco*; the nativized forms *liderar*, *liderato*, and *liderazgo* derived from *líder*. The word *container* [konteiner, kontainer] and *contéiner* originally had the English derivational suffix *-er*. With the passage of time, these two forms have practically been supplanted by *contenedor*, where the native suffix *-dor* (cf. *hablador*, *condensador*) has ousted the foreign suffix *-er*.

Anglicisms with a wide currency among the lower social classes, among marginal and countercultural groups, and sometimes among the Spanish speaking population as a whole, tend to undergo speedy and extensive transformations in Spanish. These words are transmitted orally and are generally used in colloquial Spanish. The word *business* has basically remained unchanged in formal styles, with no change in form, nor in meaning, and with no development of Spanish derivatives. However, among marginal groups associated with illicit trade, prostitution and drugs, this form has evolved considerably. In Central America, *bisnis* means 'prostitution customer'; its derivatives *bisne* and *bisnero* signify 'prostitution or black market' and 'pimp', respectively. In Spanish Cheli or Madrid slang, the words *bisne*, *bisni*, and *bisnis* are associated with the illegal sale of drugs; those terms have also developed derivatives such as *bisnear* and *bisneador* (cf. Lorenzo 1996, and Rodríguez & Lillo 1997). In a similar vein, the oral and slang nature as well as the frequency of use of the term *flipar* from English *to flip* has mushroomed into a vast array of new forms. Indeed, *flipar* is the source of the following native derivatives: *flipado*, *jlipe*, *jlipada*, *flipante*, *flipador*, *flipero*, *flipeta*, and *flipota* (consult Rodríguez 1994 for an informative paper on drugs and Spanish anglicisms).

It is obvious that some parallelism exists between creolization in mixed languages and the nativization of foreign linguistic systems in standard languages, although the degree and size of this phenomenon is much more limited and less perceptible in standard languages. Moreover, the speed of nativization depends on factors such as social class and the way in which these terms are transmitted.

VI. DECREOLIZATION

According to sociolinguists, decreolization arises when a society has two languages, a creolized *x* and a standard *i*, and the standard exerts a considerable influence over the creole. The implications of decreolization are extensible to the continuum English→Spanish, especially regarding Spanish speakers with a knowledge of English, the upper social classes and educated social groups. Such speakers make a conscious effort to keep Spanish anglicisms in their pristine form. This attitude contrasts with that seen in the previous section, where it was pointed out that lower social classes break the continuum English→Spanish, generally accelerating the hispanicization of English words.

Anglicisms used by educated social groups in their special registers (say, journalists, economists, and film critics) have a tendency to remain anglicized longer. Furthermore, these words generally keep the English spelling in written style and, likewise, in the spoken language the reproduction of such words is quite close to the English sounds. The following list of

words used by such educated speakers confirms the point made here: *lobby*, *new look* [niu luk], *best-seller* [bes(s)eler], *spot* [espot] (the spelling *espot* is infrequent), *outsider* [ausaider], *beatnik* [hitnik] (the spelling *bitnik* is infrequent), and *overbooking* [oberbukin] (the spelling *overbuquin* is infrequent).

Scores of words from the register of economics normally keep the original English forms for prestige or practical reasons. These anglicisms abound in the written style of Spanish financial newspapers such as *Expansión*. In this connection, one can cite *fixing* [fi(k)sin], *rating* [reitín], *leasing* [lisiin]¹⁰, *business* [bisnes. bisnis], *crash* [kraš. kras], *pool* [pul], *holding* [xoldín] (the spelling *joldín* is infrequent), and *marketing* or *márketing* (the spelling *márquetín* is infrequent). Dozens of these economics terms are widely used in European countries and are easily understood by economists, financiers, and businessmen around the world. For this sociolinguistic reason, the word *mercadotecnia* suggested for *marketing* by the Spanish Academy of the Language has little chance of making any headway (Real Academia Española 1992). Anglicisms found in the film industry are *thriller* [θriler], *remake* [rimeik, remeik], *rerun* [rirran, rerran] *road movie* [roud mubi, rod mubi], and *western* [(g)wester].

Decreolization can be found in quite a large number of registers: sports and advertising would furnish long lists of anglicisms in their primeval or quasi-primeval state. This trend is also visible in the use of grammatical morphemes such as pluralization. Indeed, many Spanish anglicisms keep English pluralization rules in the registers under consideration: the plural of *best-seller* is *best-sellers*; of *ranking* is *rankings*; of *holding* is *holdings*; of *jazzman* is *jazzmen*¹¹; and of *bluesman* is *bluesmen*. In this regard, the Spanish plurals *barmen*, *barmans*, and *bármanes* are good examples of the transfer adjustments made by three different communities. It is easily predictable that the form *barnzen* is used by people in contact with English, *barmans* by many Catalan and Valencian speakers, and *bármanes* by many monolingual speakers.

Many educated Spanish speakers in contact with English through their studies or profession and with an otherwise excellent mastery of their native language, unconsciously include erroneous and unacceptable adaptations of English words and expressions in their writings. Not only do beginning students of English make this type of blunder (one translated *three quarters* phonetically as 'tres cuatrerros'), but also journalists, such as a Washington correspondent of the Spanish News Agency EFE, who wrote *Lo que estamos haciendo es intentar recuperar el momento* [read English *momentum* here 'el deseo de negociar' or 'las esperanzas de llegar a un acuerdo'] *que se ha perdido en los últimos meses*. Spanish journalists also make excessive use of abstract terms ending in *-dad* (English *-ty*); these abstract terms are more frequent in English than in Spanish. Thus, the reiterative use of the word *adaptabilidad* in the translation of lines such as *There is a negative side to all this wonderful adaptability* and *This adaptability operates in every system of the body* sounds un-Spanish; better alternatives could be 'Hay un lado negativo en todos estos maravillosos procesos de adaptación' and 'El poder de adaptación actúa en todos los sistemas del cuerpo'. Likewise, *intencionalidad* appeared in a text in which *intención* would have been a better choice in Spanish.

Ph.D. students in English Departments, many with an excellent mastery of Spanish, are often so engaged in their research that they are unable to distance themselves from their English texts, i.e., they are unable to break the English→Spanish continuum. This is noticeable in the following words and expressions written by one such student: *respuestas actitudinales* (from English *attitudinal*), *teorías de los grafos* (from English *graphs*), *estilo casual* (from English *casual*), and *la rutinización infunde en los individuos...* (from English *routinization*).

Renderings more in accordance with Spanish would have been: *respuestas sobre actitudes*, *teoría de los gráficos*, *estilo familiar*, and *las rutinas infunden en los individuos*... respectively.

VII. CLOSING REMARKS

This paper has sought to delineate the dynamics present in the adaptation of Spanish anglicisms and the parallels of such dynamics with processes operating in pidgin languages. The corpus, collected from books, dictionaries, and informants, was drawn from speakers from various social groups, from monolingual communities, and from bilingual speakers in the Barcelona and Valencia regions. Some of the examples mentioned here would not be considered acceptable by the Spanish Academy of the Language. However, in this study we went beyond acceptable forms in order not to reduce its scope to a simple static presentation of Spanish anglicisms. To a large extent, this is a data-oriented paper with no statistical apparatus backing it. Such a statistical approach could be carried out in the future, although it is my firm belief that the findings of such a statistical approach would confirm many of the points outlined here.

In spite of the fact that resemblances are far from complete, my research suggests similarities between the dynamics of pidgins and creoles under the influence of a superstrate language and the processes operating in Spanish, a standard language, subjected to the influence of English, another standard language. The mixing of linguistic features is less widespread in standard languages than in pidgins for the simple reason that Spanish anglicisms are only a minor part of the Spanish vocabulary and of its phrasal structure. In the areas in which similarities occur, those similarities are quite striking. Excluding differences of degree and non-comparable factors such as spelling and the proliferation or duplication of vocabulary in standard language resulting from word borrowing, marginal and pidgin languages, on the one hand, and standard languages, on the other, behave in a parallel manner in a language-in-contact situation. Briefly stated, when the same processes are at work, both pidgins and standard languages develop in the same way. The differences stem from social and cultural factors: these are the ones that initiate diverging processes, prevent processes from developing, or even move them in different directions.

NOTES:

1. I am indebted to my friend and colleague Professor Peter Lavery. His useful suggestions helped to improve the final version of this paper. For information on pidgins and creoles, see Valdman (1977) and Valdman and Highfield (1980). Consult Bickerton (1975) for the dynamics of creole languages.

2. A comparable phenomenon takes place in West African English, a linguistic area with no central vowels. Here a word such as *color* [kʌləɹ] with two central vowels is manifested as [kɔləɹ], *but* [bʌt] as [bɔt], and *bird* [bɜ:d] as [bɛ:d].

3. For pronunciation features of Spanish, see Alarcos (1974) and *Diccionario del uso* (1985). For Catalan, consult Badía (1951), Mascaró (1978) and *Diccionari Everest* (1984). For a Valencian dictionary, consult *Vocabulari* (1972). The author of this paper is a native speaker of Valencian and has used his own knowledge of Valencian and Catalan for his research. He has also been helped by Valencian informants Carmen Brea Claraniote, Yolanda Forcadell Brea and other members of his immediate family.

4. For a Spanish dictionary of slang, consult Oliver (1985), which contains a number of anglicisms current in popular speech. For a study of anglicisms in colloquial Spanish, see Gómez (1997).

5. Cf., also, the alternative spellings *coñac/coñá* from French and *vermut/vermú* from German, as unmistakable evidence of the Spanish tendency to delete word final stops, stops which incidentally are quite alien to the Spanish phonotactical system.

6. Catalan and Valencian speakers devoice final stops. For this reason, *record* may be pronounced [rekɔrt]. Final *d* in *Madrid* and *Valladolid* is also realized as [t] by the same speakers. As mentioned earlier, final voiced stops tend to become fricative in Spanish. However, in this position, where the phonetic contrast occurs, partial or total devoicing of stops is also possible in Spanish. This devoicing, which is a language universal tendency, explains why the anglicisms *espid* and *espídico* have alternative forms in *t* such as *esput*, *espitoso*, and *esputar*, not only in the Barcelona area but also in Madrid (cf. Rodríguez 1994: 191-192). The devoicing in medial position is an analogical development from *espi*.

7. Catalan and Valencian speakers add native plurals in *-s* to nouns ending in a consonant, as in *veïns* 'neighbors' and *cançons* 'songs'.

8. The original English sentence was: *They were expected to earn obedience and respect from a hundred tall, cocky, murderous American infantrymen.*

9. The unnecessary duplication of lexical items for the same referent is also common in this mixed linguistic situation. Thus, *Foreign Office* is used to refer to the British *Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores* and the calque *secretario de Estado Norteamérica* (from *Secretary of State*) designates *lo ministra de Asuntos Exteriores estadounidense*. *Play-off* coexists with *fase eliminatoria* or *liguilla*; *los fans* or *fanes* with *partidarios*, *aficionados*, or *hinchas*; *larga distancia* (from *long distance*) with *conferencio*; *cross-country* with *campo a través*; *comics* with *historietas*, *tebeos*, or *tiras de viñetas*; *hall* with *vestíbulo* and *entrada*; and *guardameta* (from *goalkeeper*) with *portero*. The duplication of elements is a mixed language trait, although pidgins generally move in the opposite direction. Indeed, they usually have small vocabularies of no more than 1,500 items. To compensate for lack of lexical items, meanings are extended. Thus, [stik] refers not only to 'stick' but also to 'tree' in Cameroonian English. Paraphrasing is also common; for example, in Neo-Melanesian 'hair' is *grass belong tret*, 'beard' is *grass belong fes*, and 'moustache' is *grass belong maus*.

10. Pronunciations with a final velar *n* [ŋ] can be heard among people with a knowledge of English and speakers of Catalan and Valencian. For more details, see Brea (1998).

11. Incidentally, the word *jazz* has retained its non-Spanish spelling; the spellings *yaz* and *yaz* suggested by the Spanish Academy of the Language have made little progress.

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