ON ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN CANARIAN SPANISH: PAST AND PRESENT*

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ABSTRACT

This article offers an overview of the influence English has had and is still having on the variety of Spanish spoken in the Canary Islands, particularly at the level of vocabulary. Reference will be made to data obtained in several studies carried out by the authors, in order to prove the extent to which English loanwords did filter in the past and are still filtering now in our dialect. Although the written language is a good evidence of the phenomenon, suggestions about the need of further studies will also be made, especially to confirm the availability of these lexical items.

KEY WORDS: Lexis, sociolinguistics.

RESUMEN

Este artículo revisa la influencia que el inglés ha tenido y que aún continúa teniendo en la variedad de español que se habla en las Islas Canarias, especialmente en lo que respecta al vocabulario. Se aportan los datos obtenidos en varios estudios que las autoras han realizado, con el fin de demostrar hasta qué punto se han ido infiltrando en nuestro dialecto los préstamos del inglés. El artículo ofrece un corpus de todos estos anglicismos del español canario. Aunque las fuentes escritas dan buena cuenta del fenómeno en cuestión, se pone de manifiesto la necesidad de llevar a cabo otros estudios de carácter práctico que confirmen la disponibilidad léxica de estos términos.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Léxico, sociolingüística

1. INTRODUCTION

There is little disagreement today over the fact that English is the most widely taught, read and spoken language the world has ever known, as Kachru and Nelson (1996:71-72) have already stated. In the last decades the spread of English has been so persuasive that nearly all the areas in the everyday life of a large number of people in our planet have been invaded by anglicisms. The Canary Islands, one of Spain's most famous tourist resorts, are no exception to this rule; and it is precisely the influence English has had and is still having on Canarian Spanish that we want to deal with in this paper.

Several studies¹ have proved the impact of English on Castilian or continental Spanish, mainly at the level of vocabulary. Only a few authors² have made reference to the influence of English on the variety of Spanish spoken in the Canary Islands. In the following pages, we will trace the development of that influence by contrasting the results of two different researches, each of them focusing on a different period in the history of this Spanish archipelago: firstly, we will deal with the decades between 1880 and 1914, when part of the population was in close contact with the English language and culture, and, secondly, with the present time. This means that within the last 120 years or so, a considerable number of English words have come into use among Canarians,³ even though most of them have not gained dictionary-status yet.

We will not be concerned here with any of the controversial issues surrounding anglicisms, such as the definitions, causes and the several classifications that have been proposed for this phenomenon. Neither will we be dealing with the different attitudes it has generated among linguists throughout time. Our main aim is simply to stress and to contrast our findings as regards the usage of so many English words at different times, in an attempt to provide a corpus of the anglicisms that have been and are being now used in Canarian Spanish, as evidenced by their appearance in the local press. In turn, reference will also be made to the results of a questionnaire that reveals the extent to which contemporary Canarian citizens are familiar with those English words they find in the local press everyday.

2. SOME METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Our account of how English has made its presence felt on Canarian Spanish will be based on the study of those English words or anglicisms appearing in the local press⁴ published at the end of both the 19th and the 20th centuries. The

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¹ Cf. Alfaro, 1948, 1970; Gimeno and Gimeno 1990; Gómez Capuz, 2000; Lorenzo,1971, 1987, 1996; Medina López, 1996; Pratt, 1970-71, 1980, 1986; Quilis, 1984; Riquelme, 1998; Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades, 1997; Rodríguez Medina, 2000; Rodríguez Segura, 1999, among others.

² Cf. Almeida Suárez and Díaz Alayón, 1988; Castillo, 1991; Corbella, 1991-92; González Cruz, 1993, 1995; Medina López, 1991, 1994; Medina and Corbella, eds. 1996; Marrero Pulido, 1999; Morera, 1990.

³ Guerra (1977) collected several Canarian anglicisms in his compilation of the lexicon of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria popular speech. Likewise, in their compilation of the lexicon of educated speech in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Samper et al. (1998) registered a number of anglicisms in some of the twelve domains that were investigated.

⁴ The following newspapers were used as primary sources: *El Liberal* (issues published between 1883-1893), *Diario de Las Palmas* (1893-1912), *El Atlántico* (1903), *El Imparcial* (1903),

reason why we have chosen this method is that the press tends to reflect the language of the moment. In newspapers we can generally find the least conservative type of written language as it normally includes the present-day uses. Of course we are aware of some of the drawbacks too: first of all, it is difficult to establish the extent to which the anglicisms that occur in the press, (or in any other kind of written record) are really spread among all the social groups of the population. It must be taken into account that not every word that is used (either in manuscripts or even orally during the social events of a high-class group) becomes integrated into the speech of ordinary people (Pratt, 1980:14). And, secondly, the other way around: it is also worth bearing in mind that an anglicism or any colloquial term can be used for a long time before it eventually becomes acceptable in writing, providing it ever does (Pratt, 1980:14). Yet, as Arlotto (1972:232) put it, "linguistic data drawn from written texts is reliable" since "we assume that whatever was written was set down in order to be read by others who knew the same language, and therefore the language which was recorded was something in use." Obviously, in the case of our study of the influence of English on 19th-century Canarian Spanish, this is a problem that will remain forever unsolved, as there is no way oral usages at the time could be checked in practice now.

However, nowadays we have the opportunity of measuring Canarian people's knowledge as well as the real use of English words that they make in their daily life. By asking directly for the meaning of certain anglicisms, we can find out whether people actually know them or not. This is precisely what Luján García (2000) attempted in a recent study⁵ whose interesting results will be commented on below. Admittedly, data about the real usage of anglicisms in everyday interaction is undoubtedly much more difficult to obtain. In fact, as Rodríguez González (1999:137) or Turell (1986:39) have pointed out, despite the large number of publications dealing with English loanwords, it is remarkable to note that most studies have consisted in the recording of lexical items, generally from various written sources, whereas hardly any work has adopted a sociolinguistic perspective to cast some light on the question of usage. In her study Luján García (2000) offered the informants the chance of self-evaluating their own frequency of use of a number of anglicisms. Of course we have no doubts about our informants' credibility, but it's true that a more accurate estimation of the real use of English words in conversation would certainly be desirable. We agree that it is necessary to check in practice the lexical availability of all these English words for Canarian users, following the line of other works like the ones carried out by Alba (1999), Gimeno Menéndez

El Heraldo de Gran Canaria (1903), El Teléfono (1903), El Telegrama (1903), España (1903), La Mañana (1912-1914), La Provincia (1912-1914 and between 1995-1998), Canarias 7 (1995-1998), El Día (1995-1998) and La Gaceta de Canarias (1995-1998).

⁵This study, which was presented as a PhD Thesis at the Departmento de Filología Moderna of the Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, was supervised by Dr. González Cruz.

and Gimeno Menéndez (1999), Gómez Capuz (2000) or Marrero Pulido⁶ (1999). This could be the aim of a further study to be carried out soon, and for which more sophisticated techniques⁷ would probably be required. In the meantime, let us start off with some references to the history of how the close relationship between the Canary Islands and the British Isles started.

3. THE FIRST STAGE: THE IMPACT OF ENGLISH BETWEEN 1880 AND 19148

In contrast to continental Spain, where the influence of English did not filter through till the 60's, the people in the Canary Islands have been in close contact with the English language and culture since the last decades of the 19th century. Earlier contacts can be traced back to the times of Shakespeare, who already acknowledged the quality of Canarian wines in some of his works, namely Henry IV, Twelfth Night and The Merry Wives of Windsor. But it was after 1880 that a numerous British colony began to settle down on the main islands and, in particular, in the city of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria.

Several studies⁹ have proved that in those years, the British played a considerable part in the prevailing feeling of modernity which changed the life patterns of the islanders. The foreign investors provided Canarians with new jobs under British management. The progress in both communication systems (wire, telephone) and means of transports, along with the improvements of the underlying structure for lighting, water supply and sanitary drainage, were soon observable in the city. Besides, the large number of British visitors and residents demanded a variety of English-style services, such as hotels, restaurants, bars, hairdressers, bazaars, shoe-

⁶ Marrero Pulido (1999) studied the anglicisms that had been collected during the investigation directed by Samper (1998). In this contribution he divided these terms into three groups according to their frequency of use among the interviewees. Despite the interest of this research, we find that some of those words have been so deeply adapted and adopted by Canarian (and Continental) Spanish speakers that they have lost their "flavour" as anglicisms. This is the case of words like *aparcamiento, este, oeste, norte, sur, cafetería, bar, baloncesto, supermercado, ron, telefonazo, turista,* etc. In addition, as the study was restricted to the educated group, it is obviously not representative of the bulk of the population.

⁷ In addition to the well-known *matched-guise technique*, authors like Gómez Capuz (2000) or Marrero Pulido (1999) have used other methods of data elicitation. The secret recording of spontaneous oral discourse or using pictures and /or definitions to make the informants think of the corresponding word are examples of these more sophisticated techniques in contrast to the more simple method of giving a list of words and ask for their meaning.

⁸ Many of the data contained in this section of the paper are taken from González Cruz (1993) and (1995). This partial reduplication is justified by the fact that the readership of those works is restricted to Spanish speakers.

Of. Morales Lezcano, 1970; Riedel, 1972; Herrera Piqué, 1977; Guimerá Ravina, 1985; Quintana Navarro, 1985; González Cruz, 1993, 1995.

shops, etc., which little by little invaded the place. Running parallel with this, a sense of modernity pervaded the local social life, and the British were considered to be the prestigious makers of all that progress. Their initiative certainly had important effects on the economy of the islands, such as the increase in commerce and the beginning of two essential industries, the export of agricultural produces (bananas, tomatoes and potatoes) and tourism, which are still our only economic resources. However, apart from the economy, the existence side by side of the two communities provoked a situation of languages and cultures in contact, which caused many cultural and linguistic interferences¹⁰ to native Canarians (González Cruz, 1993).

The anglicisms or interferences from English that we have collected in Table 3 of the Appendix are useful to illustrate and summarise the historic events. They confirm how the massive influx of British tourists, steamers, shipping companies and the increasing number of premises for the new firms that began to settle in the Port affected not only the life but also the language of the citizens. Some English terms that began to be used in the local Spanish newspapers were borrowed only temporarily —sometimes for as long as ten or even more years— to be, in time, superseded by new Spanish words. For instance, we can mention some items from the numerous terminology referring to sports which can be found in the local newspapers published between 1906 and 1914. Words like goal and football turned later into the Spanishized forms gol and fútbol. Likewise, goalkeeper, referee, team, player, score, etc., were replaced with the Spanish words portero, árbitro, equipo, jugador, and resultado, respectively.

Other English words were adopted definitely as borrowings and have remained only in the variety of Spanish we speak at present, though they are used mostly in colloquial speech. This is the case of words like bol (from bowl), queque¹¹ (from cake), piche (from pitch), guagua (from wagon), or even chone¹² (from Johnny), which are only used in the Canaries, and whose equivalents in Standard Castilian Spanish are tazón, pastel, alquitrán, autobús and extranjero, respectively. For some of these terms, which clearly reveal an English origin, it is rather difficult to find written

¹⁰ MacKey (1977) made a distinction between borrowings and interferences. The former are elements of the langue, and are systematic and collective, i.e., they imply an integration in the language, whereas the latter belong to the parole; as regards usage they are individual and occasional. Here we are using both terms indistinctively, as it is only instinctively that we can know the extent to which any of those words were integrated or not. We assume that some of them became real loanwords while others remained merely as interferences in the written discourse of the local press.

¹¹ The word "queque" (from English "cake") is widely used in the island of Grand Canaria only, to refer to a cake which in the rest of the archipelago is known as "bizcochón." It was registered by both Guerra (1977) and Samper et al. (1998). Marrero Pulido (1999) included it among the most usual anglicisms, the ones that were produced by more than 50% of his informants.

^{12 &}quot;Chone" (from "Johnny") is a popular term which is still used to refer to any foreigner, particularly to British tourists, as Guerra (1977) explained. It seems that in the early days of tourism Canarians thought that most Englishmen were called Johnny.

evidence; this happens to words such as breca13 (or brecha, from break), piche (from pitch), chone (from Johnny), naife14 (from knife), etc. Most of them were introduced orally, through the peculiar sort of pidgin spoken by the dockers and traders to communicate with the sailors and the crew members on board the foreign steamers (Castillo, 1991:358). They were adapted to our Canarian Spanish phonological system, as reflected in their Spanishized forms. These words are the following: refre, cona or gona, orsay, pena, esport, pailebot, esplín, yanqui, mildiú, vate or váter, 15 bisté, rosbif, sangüis, spik, mitin, brete, 16 chone, quachimán, monis, 17 naife, paipa, 18 queque, bol, piche, quinequa, suasto, jailas, yova, guanijai, 19 tique, etc., which respectively reveal the process of adaptation into Spanish of the original English pronunciation of referee, corner, off-side, penal, sport, pilot's boat, spleen, yankee, mildew, water(-closet), beefsteak, roastbeef, sandwich, speech, meeting, bread, Johnny, watchman, money, knife, pipe, cake, bowl, pitch, King Edward,²⁰ Swanston,²¹ Highlands,²² Yeoward,²³ one John Haig²⁴ and ticket. Other terms like changue, guagua, higueste, and artodate25 are the result of the islander's attempt to read the English words *change, wagon, highest, uptodate,* respectively, using the Spanish phonological system. It is noticeable how these words have been adapted to our orthography and pronunciation, and how they are so ingrained in our culture that today many Canarians are not really conscious of their English origin.

¹³ The term "breca" or "brecha" is registered as an anglicism from "break" by Guerra (1977) with the meaning "a split, a long wound in someone's head."

¹⁴ The term "naife" is clearly an oral anglicism derived from the English word "knife." It refers to a typical Canarian craft knife or jack-knife.

¹⁵The word "váter" was registered by both Guerra (1977) and Samper et al. (1998). Marrero Pulido (1999) included it among the most usual anglicisms.

¹⁶ The anglicism "brete," from English "bread" is registered by Guerra (1977) with two meanings: firstly, "bread"; and secondly, to refer to "whatever is a basic necessity."

 17 According to Guerra (1977), the word "monis" (from English "money"), meaning "money, coins," is also used in Murcia.

 $^{\rm 18}$ This term is also registered by Guerra (1977) with the meaning "pipe, i.e., an object used for smoking tobacco."

¹⁹ Samper et al. (1998:42) registered this word with the meaning "a snack or a refreshing drink that you have after dinner."

²⁶ "King Edward" is the name of a type of potatoes. The "King Edward potato" or the "papa quinegüa," as is known in the Islands, is still grown and sold and highly appreciated.

²¹ The Swanstons were one of the most famous British families that settled in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. They had a powerful company, the *John A. Swanston and Co.*, which was in charge of the works of La Luz Port, started in 1883 and completed by 1903. Among many other items, they traded a special soap, one of the first to be sold here, the Swanston (or "Suasto") soap.

²² The Highlands was the name of one of the many steamships that plied between England and the Canaries at the time. The Spanishized term "Jailas" was used to refer to these steamers.

²³ The *Yeoward Line* was a steamship company. The word *Yeoward* ("yova" for the islanders) was used to refer to any of their ships.

²⁴ It refers to this well-known trade name of whisky.

 $^{25}\,\mathrm{The}$ form "artodate" is an adaptation of the English word "uptodate," which is the name of another type of potato.

A few examples may illustrate the extent to which some of these interferences from English entered the domains of our Canarian Spanish lexicon. This is the case of some English words to which Spanish suffixes have been added, such as interviuvar, interviewado, reporterismo, sportivo, butterina, sheriffiano - as well as words which, once adopted, follow the Spanish rules to form the plural: pudines (from puddings), wagones (from wagons), lores (from lords), bisteques or bisteses (from beefsteaks), etc. There is also written evidence of specific cases of mixed compounding, like Cemento-house, Insular Police, brick-barca, as well as some instances of code-mixing, such as the ones below, which were found in the local press published between 1880 and 1914:

- ...el God save the Queen circuló de mesa en mesa...
- ...y el whisky cantó un Save the Queen sin oído...
- ...Llegar pronto o no llegar, that is the question...
- ...ese triunfo es muy precario...y quimérico, to be or not to be, that is the question...

Sin toasts y sin hurrahs...

...como ellos dicen, let hell loose...

The anglicisms collected in González Cruz (1995) clearly illustrate all the details of the process of changes started by the British in the last decades of the 19th century. They make us come to the same conclusion as Anttila (1989:163), that is, "loanwords reflect what went on quite accurately." By grouping them into broad semantic fields, as we did in Table 4 of the Appendix, we can have a clear image of the social, cultural and economic context of that time. Interferences from English tend to be more numerous in those semantic fields which refer to areas where the British strongly exerted their influence, namely, politics and economics, sports, society and culture, food and drinks, ships and the harbour, and leisure.

4. THE IMPACT OF ENGLISH ON THE CANARIES TODAY

Nowadays the situation has changed dramatically, in the sense that there is neither a particularly important British community settled in the islands, nor our economy is moved exclusively by British money. Likewise, no English words seem to have been particularly or exclusively adopted by native Canarians.²⁶ In fact, today there are many ways of penetration for anglicisms: The media (press, television,

²⁶ It would be interesting to confirm this idea by carrying out some comparative studies to contrast the usage of anglicisms in Canarian and in other local newspapers published in other Midlands provinces in Spain. This way it would be possible to ascertain whether some factors (like the media or the big industry of tourism) might be now playing a role that could result in the adoption of certain (or more) English terms by Canarians versus Castilian or continental Spanish users.

radio, cinema), education (compulsory and optional), tourism, computers, the world of business and technology, etc. Therefore, in order to determine the extent to which so many English words are now part of our daily lives, it would be necessary to analyse each of these areas and collect all the English terms that we use everyday. Of course, this would be a laborious task; thus, to approach the situation of anglicisms in our present Canarian society, we decided to study the headlines of two current newspapers, each published in one of the two main capital cities: La Provincia, in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria and *El Día*, in Santa Cruz de Tenerife. Luján García (1998)²⁷ started by analysing the issues published in 1997, with the aim of proving how many anglicisms had penetrated in the Canarian dialect, at least at the written level. We assume that most readers, at first, pay attention to the different headlines to decide whether the subsequent piece of news is interesting for them or not. Obviously, different degrees of attention can be paid to the rest of the article, but all readers at least have a look to the headline. Besides, the fact that a word occurs in a headline reveals that it is well known by readers, who are supposed to be quite familiar with it.

Once again, a problem that had to be faced, while doing this second research, was the fact that the frequency of occurrence of an English word is not always related to the frequency of use on the part of the speakers (Pratt, 1980:15-16). It turned out that many English words that we use and hear everyday such as fan, light, look, chip, show, best-seller, miss, camping, footing, rent-a-car, sexy, etc. do not occur in the written language as often as would be expected. However, other English terms that seem to be less common for us such as off-shore, match-race, open, time-sharing, tie-break, sparring, etc., do appear more frequently in the written language. This may be due to the frequent use of many of the former words in an informal or colloquial way, and to their being in the process to be adopted by the written language.

All in all, the results obtained after a frequency count revealed a high occurrence of English words (cf. the 129 alphabetically-ordered anglicisms that are listed in Table 5 of the Appendix) in the headlines of the newspapers that a majority of Canarians read. It would be impossible to mention here the 655 headlines with English words found after thoroughly studying the total number of 626 issues of both newspapers, (in 1997, 313 issues came out for each). But we will refer briefly to some of the findings.

As shown in Table 6 of the Appendix, five different sections were distinguished within the newspapers: Sports, The Canary Islands, Economy, Social Events, and finally, Culture and Leisure. This same table summarises the number of anglicisms per section in both newspapers. Interestingly, the section of Sports was the richest as regards the number of English words: In La Provincia, 212 headlines with

²⁷ This study, which was presented as an MA Thesis at the Departmento de Filología Moderna of the Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, was also supervised by Dr. González Cruz.

anglicisms occurred, and in *El Día* there were 211. Within this section, the most frequent English words were *open, rally, junior, sprint, play-off, cross,* and *mountain-bike.* One of the explanations for this high occurrence could be that most Canarian newspapers devote more pages to the sports news than to any other section.

In the second place, the section devoted to *Society and Events* also offered a relevant number. There were 45 headlines with anglicisms in *La Provincia*, and 22 in *El Día*. In this case, the anglicisms that were used more often were *rol*, (from *role*) and *skinheads*, as well as terms that name different kinds of drugs, like *crack* or *speed. Culture and Entertainment* was the next section, with 41 headlines with anglicisms in *La Provincia* and 19 in *El Día*. In this area, the most frequent words were those related to the world of music; a few examples are *rock*, *jazz*, *pop* or *blues*.

In the section devoted to the *Canary Islands* 28 headlines with anglicisms occurred in *La Provincia* and 27 in *El Día*. Here, the most common terms were *time-sharing, overbooking, boom, parking,* and *off-shore*. It must be taken into account that most of these terms are generally used in fields related to tourism, which plays an essential role in our islands.

Finally, in the section of *Economy* 29 headlines with English words appeared in *La Provincia* and 21 in *El Día*. We must point out that this is one of the fields, apart from *Sports*, in which the occurrence of anglicisms is more remarkable; actually, we know that in Spanish the number of economic terms taken from English is enormous. Some examples are *factoring, holding, leasing, management, catering, stock, mass production,* etc. However, those anglicisms have not occurred so often in the Canarian newspapers studied, probably because this press is not specialised in these specific topics. In the press we have analysed, the most frequent English word related to economy is again *time-sharing*, though there are also other words quite commonly used such as *marketing* or *handling*.

So far, then, we can observe that there is a relative coincidence between these results and those of the first research, that is, at the end of the 19th century, *Sports, Society* and *Culture* were also some of the richest semantic fields as regards the number of anglicisms registered, together with the area of *Economy*. In quantitative terms, it is noticeable that the use of anglicisms in the headlines of the two newspapers studied is quite similar, though slightly superior in Las Palmas's paper, *La Provincia*, with 355 headlines with English words, whereas in *El Día* we found 300. From those figures we can deduce that around one headline with anglicism occurs everyday. Probably, at first sight this is not very revealing, however, it means that there is a certain regularity in the occurrence of English words in the press we usually read. In qualitative terms, 95 different English words were found in the headlines of *La Provincia*, whereas in *El Día*, we saw 72 headlines with different

²⁸ It is remarkable to note that in Marrero Pulido's (1999) study the area with the greatest impact of anglicisms was also *Society and Entertainment* (which included *Sports*). Besides, the domains of *Clothes, Transport and Travel* and the so-called *The Press-the cinema-television-radio-theatre-circus* included a considerable number of anglicisms.

anglicisms. These findings reveal that throughout 1997 the newspaper published in Gran Canaria used a higher quantity and variety of English words than the paper from Tenerife. This tendency was maintained, and therefore confirmed, in the editions of subsequent years, as will be shown below. All these results suggest that Canarian people, or at least Canarian newspaper readers, must have a large familiarity with many English words, the ten most frequent ones in both newspapers throughout 1997 being: open, rally, junior, sprint, play-off, crack, rock, master, cross and *marketing*, as shown in Table 7.

With everything that has been said so far, we have illustrated the important role that English played in the past, and the influence it keeps exerting nowadays on Canarian Spanish. The need Canarians have to master this language is, therefore, evident. Otherwise we would not understand many elements of our daily life, and, of course, many headlines of our newspapers. Obviously, two further questions arise, and they are "do Canarian readers really know all those English words they see in the press?" and "do they really use them in their daily speech?" This is something that Luján García (2000) tried to find out in another study, partly aimed at discovering which English words were more widely known and more frequently used by Canarian Spanish speakers, as well as obtaining a sociolinguistic profile of the Canarian users of English loanwords. For this, after studying the headlines in the issues of other two different Canarian newspapers (Canarias 7, published in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria and La Gaceta de Canarias, published in Santa Cruz de Tenerife) throughout the years 1995 to 1998, we compiled a list with a selection of the 104 most frequent anglicisms collected (see Table 8). A questionnaire was passed to representative²⁹ samples of the population in the two capital cities, i.e. 169 informants from Las Palmas de Gran Canaria and 110 informants from Santa Cruz de Tenerife. These informants had to define the meanings of the anglicisms in the list, and then assign to each word the rate of frequency in which they used them (if ever). Among the many conclusions reached, the following are worth mentioning:

a) The newspapers published in Las Palmas tend to use a higher number of anglicisms³⁰ in their headlines than those published in Santa Cruz, as illustrated in Table 1 below.

²⁹ According to the sociolinguist William Labov (1966:170-171) for the analysis of the linguistic behaviour of a communitity we only need a sample that constitutes the 0,025 % of the total population. However, following Samper (1990), we decided to increase this percentage up to 0,008 so that the majority of the social groups in the 1996 census of the Canarian population were represented.

³⁰ In addition to being more numerous, the anglicisms in the headlines of the two newspapers published in Las Palmas are more varied as regards their semantic scope. This means that there is a number of anglicisms which did not occur in the headlines of the newspapers published in Tenerife. In this respect, notice our statement above about the 95 different English words that were found in the headlines of La Provincia, while only 72 headlines with different anglicisms occurred in El Día throughout 1997.

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF HEADLINES WITH ANGLICISMS BETWEEN 1995 AND 1998. (SOURCE: LUJÁN GARCÍA, 2000)				
	La Provincia	Canarias 7	El Día	La Gaceta de Canarias
1995	346	373	223	188
1996	304	327	323	186
1997	360	429	295	240
1998	435	609	326	382

- b) Canarian people are familiar with a large majority of the anglicisms collected in the local press. In contrast to what happened in the previous stage, none of the anglicisms now registered seem to have been especially adopted in Canarian versus Castilian Spanish. No evidence can be given here, though, for this, and the idea comes merely as a first general impression. This could certainly be the aim of another study that might explore the functions played by both the media and the big industry of tourism in the possible adoption of specific English terms by Canarian users, as suggested in footnote 27.
- c) Comparatively, there is a certain similarity as regards the anglicisms that are more widely known and used in the two cities, but we observed a higher frequency of use and a greater knowledge of English loanwords on the part of the informants from Las Palmas de Gran Canaria.
- d) The informants' gender, age and level of instruction correlate with their know-ledge and frequency of use of certain anglicisms. Thus, men tend to use more anglicisms than women,³¹ with males using more words related to sports (like *doping, hooligan, play-off, pole-position, set*), and females using more anglicisms related to fashion, beauty and physical appearance (such as *lifting, light, look, glamour, piercing, top-model*), as expected.
- e) Young people also use more anglicisms than older people, with informants of the second generational group³² (those whose age ranged between 31 and 40) using certain anglicisms much more often (e.g., cash & carry, fan, gay, leasing, pub, scratch, transfer).



³¹ This finding seems to corroborate the theory held by sociolinguists claiming that women tend to use the standard forms of the language, whereas men's linguistic usages are more prone to innovations. Cf. Trudgill, 1983; Holmes, 1992; Wardaugh, 1993; Fasold, 1994; Romaine, 1994 among others.

³² Four generational groups were distinguished: the first group included those informants whose age was between 21 and 30; informants aged between 31 and 40 belonged to the second group; the third group included those between 41 and 50, whereas those between 51 and 60 belonged to the fourth group.

- f) The higher their level of instruction, the more English words are known and used by informants. In fact, some English words are only known and used by those with the highest rank (e.g., best-seller, boom, comic, catering, cross, chip, doping, duty-free, gay, handicap, hooligan, marketing, skin-head, stock, thriller, time-sharing, top-less, western, zapping).
- g) There are, however, some cases of anglicisms which are used by every kind of informant, no matter their age, gender or level of instruction (e.g., camping, casting, hobby, jeep, light, miss, mister, mountain-bike, pub, punky, rally, rock, sexy, strip-tease, walkman, windsurfing, among others.)
- h) Tables 2.1 and 2.2. below respectively show the 25 most frequent and the 25 least frequent anglicisms in Canarian Spanish today. The former seem to be known and used by almost 70% (or more) of the informants in the two cities, whereas the latter are only known and used by less than 25% of the people surveyed.

WITH THEIR FREQUENCIES OF US	E. (SOURCE: LUJÁN GARCÍA, 2000)
ferry (88.9%)	jeep (77.8%)
hobby (88.6%)	hippie (76.3%)
pub (88.5%)	camping (75.2%)
sexy (86.1%)	jazz (74.9%)
walkman (85.3%)	rent-a-car (74.1%)
rally (84.9%)	mountain-bike (73.8%)
strip-tease (84.9%)	comic (73.1%)
(wind)surfing (83.5%)	parking (72.4%)
footing (83.2%)	top-model (72.0%)
rock (79.2%)	look (69.5%)
disc-jockey (78.5%)	fan (69.3%)
light (78.1%)	pop (68.4%)
miss (78.1%)	

TABLE 2.2: THE 25 LEAST FREQUENT ANGLICISMS IN CANARIAN SPANISH TODAY, WITH THEIR FREQUENCIES OF USE. (SOURCE: LUJÁN GARCÍA, 2000)			
scratch (2.2%) affair (13.0%)			
soling (2.9%)	speed (16.5%)		
challenge (2.9%)	transfer (16.9%)		
off-shore (3.9%)	leasing (17.2%)		

lobby (4%)	duty-free (17.5%)
raid (5.4%)	holding (18.0%)
antidumping (5.4%)	dance (18.4%)
stage (5.7%)	tie-break (18.6%)
handling (6.1%)	pole-position (21.2%)
trekking (7.9%)	sketch (21.5%)
race (11.8%)	swing (21.9%)
underground (12.2%)	planning (24.0%)
time-sharing (12.9%)	

5. CONCLUSION

This paper has offered a corpus of the English words or anglicisms that have been and seem to be now in use in the Canarian variety of Spanish, as evidenced by their occurrence in the local press published at different times within the last century. Our study has revealed that Canarian people have been exposed to the strong influence of anglicisms over the last 120 years or so. A look at the English loanwords compiled from the local press studied illustrates clearly "what is going on" at different times in each of the fields of major impact, namely, *sports*, *society and culture*, *economy*.

In contrast to the rest of the country, the impact of English on the Canarian variety of Spanish was already quite noticeable at the end of the nineteenth century. However, it seems that today we Canarians are all subject to even larger influences as regards our knowledge and use of so many anglicisms in our vocabulary, even though most of these terms have not gained dictionary-status yet. The results of a questionnaire passed to a representative sample of the population in the two Canarian capital cities reveal that the informants from Las Palmas de Gran Canaria know and use a relatively higher number of anglicisms than those from Santa Cruz de Tenerife. Among the users of anglicisms, we found more women and youngsters rather than men and older people. Likewise, people with the higher level of instruction tend to know and use more anglicisms; yet, there are cases of anglicisms which seem to be more widely known and therefore used by any kind of informant, no matter their age, gender or level of instruction.

Despite this evidence, what seems to be still at issue is the extent to which Canarian speakers actually use that long list of loanwords in their daily interactions. Therefore, further studies need to be carried out in order to prove and to accurately measure the real availability of these lexical items in our repertoire, following the line of works like those carried out by Alba (1999), Gimeno Menéndez and Gimeno Menéndez (1999), Gómez Capuz (2000) or Marrero Pulido (1999).

In addition, information regarding the recording of anglicisms in use will need updating from time to time, and thus contribute to the compilation of a desirable corpus of English loanwords in (Canarian) Spanish.³³ Finally, it would also be of interest to contrast the usage of anglicisms in Canarian and in other local newspapers published in other Midlands provinces in Spain. This way it would be possible to ascertain whether factors like the media and the big industry of tourism might be now playing a role that could result in the exclusive adoption of certain English terms by Canarians versus continental or Castilian Spanish users.

³³ It is a real pity that no Canarian anglicisms can be found in the Dictionary of European Anglicisms (2001) edited by Manfred Görlach. Neither were they included in the Nuevo diccionario de anglicismos (1997) compiled by Félix Rodríguez González and Antonio Lillo Buades.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 3: ANGLICISMS (AND THEIR VARIANTS) IN OLD CANARIAN NEWSPAPERS. ³⁴ (SOURCE: GONZÁLEZ CRUZ, 1995)			
El Liberal (1883-1893)	El Teléfono (1903)		
Diario de Las Palmas (1893-1912)	El Telegrama (1903)		
El Atlántico (1903)	España (1903)		
El Imparcial (1903)	La Mañana (1912-1914)		
El Heraldo de Gran Canaria (1903)	La Provincia (1912-1914)		

All right, ball, bar (bars), beefteack (biftek, bisteses), bill, Boarding House, bouquet, boy, breach of promise, brick-barca, butterina, cake, cakewalk, cargo-boat, Castle, chic, *chone [from Johnny], Christmas, city, *clarks, clipper, clown (clowns), club (clubs), *coberthcoat, *cockteail, coffins, corner (cona, gonas), couplets, crack, crup, crupal, cutter, deeps, destroyers, dining-room, dock, dockers, dog-cart, dognurse, dollars, drawing-room (drawing-rooms), dreadnought (dreadnoughts), *esteamer, fashionable, ferryboat, five o'clock tea, fixture, flirt, flirtage, *footballistas, fox-trot, free trade, garden-party, gentleman, gentlemen, girl (girls), goal, (goals), goalkeeper, golf, golfers, groom, hall, health resort, high life, highlanders, home, home ruler, hurrahs, income tax, interpreter, interview (interviews, interviu), *interviuvar, *interviuwado, jockeys, lawn-tennis, leader, liberty, lock out, lord, lunch,35 manager, match de baseball, match de football, *matchs, meetin (mitin, meetings), mildew (*mildiú, mildiús), miss (misses), misstress, mister, Music Hall, nurse (nurses), nursery, off-side (orsays), old fellow, one step, overcoat, pailebot (*pailebots), *paquebote, King Edward, Up-to-date, Kidney, *pena [from penalty], picnics, player (players), Police, policeman (*policemans), policemen, poorman, puding (pudin, pudines), punch, record, referee (refre), report, reporter, *reporterismo, reporters, ripert, roastbeef (rosbiff), roughriders, sandwich (sangüis), sausage, score, self- government, sheriff, sheriffiano, shilling, shocking, shoot (shoots), sir, sleeping car, smoking, speaker, speech (spik), spleen (esplín), *sportivas, *sportivo, sportman (sportmans), sports, *stok, struggle for life, superchics, team (teams), tearooms, tennis, tickets, trolley, trust (*truts), two-step, *use,*juse [from house], wagon (wagones, wagonetas), *watchmans, water-closet (vatecolose), whisky and soda, yankee (yankees, yanki, yankis), yatch (yatches), yatching, *yatchs, yatchsman, yatchsmen, Yovar [from Yeoward]



³⁴ Plurals and variant forms of the anglicisms appear in brackets; incorrect or Spanishized forms are marked with an asterisk *.

^{35 &}quot;Lunch" was registered by Samper et al. (1998:41) as a word used to refer to a midmorning snack.

TABLE 4: ANGLICISMS IN OLD CANARIAN NEWSPAPERS GROUPED BY SEMANTIC FIELDS. (SOURCE: GONZÁLEZ CRUZ, 1995)

- 1. FOOD AND DRINKS: bisteses, beefteack, biftek | butterina | cake | cockteail | lunch | pudin, puding, pudines | punch | roastbeef, rosbiff | sandwich, sangüis | sausage | whisky and soda.
- 2. The home: Boarding House | dining-room | hall | home | use, juse | water-closet, vatecolose.
- 3. SPORTS: ball / match de baseball | cona, corner, gonas | orsays | goal, goals | fixture /match de football | footballistas, futbolista | goalkeeper | golfers | golf | jockeys | lawn-tennis | tenis | sportman | match de football | matchs | off-side | pena | player, players | record | referee, refre | score | shoot, shoots | sports | sportivas | sportivo | sportman, sportmans | team, teams.
- 4. CLOTHES AND FASHION: overcoat / coberthcoat / fashionable / liberty / smoking.
- 5. SHIPS AND THE HARBOUR: brick-barca / cargo-boat / Castle / clipper / cutter / destroyers dock / dockers / dreadnought, dreadnoughts / esteamer / ferryboat / pailebot, pailebots / paquebote / yatch, yatches, yatchs / yatchsmen, yatchsman / yatching / Yovar.
- 6. Illness: crup / crupal / health resort / nursery / dog-nurse / nurse, nurses.
- 7. SOCIETY AND CULTURE: All right / bouquet / boy / breach of promise / chic / superchics / chone / Christmas / five o'clock tea / flirt / flirtage / gentleman.gentlemen / girl, girls / groom / lord / miss, misses / mister / misstress / old fellow /shocking / sir / spleen, esplin.
- 8. Leisure: bar, bars / cakewalk / clown, clowns / club, clubs / couplets / drawing-room, drawing-rooms / fox-trot / garden-party / high life / hurrahs / Music Hall / one step / two-step / picnics / tearooms.
- 9. POLITICS AND ECONOMICS:_bill / city / clarks / crack / dollars / free trade / highlanders / home ruler / income tax / leader / lock out / Manager / meetings, mitin, meetin / policeman, policemans, policemen / Police / poorman / roughriders / self government / sheriff / sheriffiano / shilling / spik / speech / shilling / stok / struggle for life / tickets / truts, trust / yankee, yankis, yankees, yanki / watchmans.
- 10. AGRICULTURE: coffins / deeps / mildiú, mildew, mildiús / Kidney / inglesa Up-to-date / King Edward.
- 11. JOURNALISM: interview, interviews, interviú / interviuvar / interviuwado / interpreter / report / reporter, reporters / reporterismo / speaker.
- 12. Transports: dog-cart / sleeping car / trolley / wagon, wagones / wagonetas / ripert.

TABLE 5: A LIST OF THE 129 ANGLICISMS THAT OCCURRED IN THE HEADLINES OF <i>LA PROVINCIA</i> AND <i>EL DÍA</i> IN 1997. (SOURCE: LUJÁN GARCÍA, 1998)			
affaire	final four	merchandising	show
again	fitness	miss	show-woman
airbag	footing ³⁶	mister	skin
amateur	full contact	mountain-bike	slot
antidoping	funky	knock	soling
average	fusion	off-shore	soul
beat	gay	open	souvenir
best-seller	glamour	overbooking	sparring
blues	gospel	parking	speed
boogie	hacker	piercing	sponsor

³⁶ The term "footing" is not used in English but is widely used in Spain to refer to "jogging." Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1998) included it in their dictionary of anglicisms.

boom	handicap	planning	spray
camping	handling	play-off	sprint
casting	happy-hour	pole position	stage
catering	heavy metal	pop	stand
CD-Rom	hip-hop	prime time	stock
challenge	hockey	puenting ³⁷	surf
charter	holding	racing	swing
chip	in / out	rafting	test
closed	jazz	raid	thriller
confort	junior	rally / rallye	tie-break
cool	karting	ranking	time-sharing
country	kickboxing	reality show	top model
crack	lifting	record	transfer
cross	light	rent-a-car	travelling
dance	lobby	ring	traveller
death-doom	lord	rock	vending
disc jockey	made in	rol	versus
downshifting	marketing	scooter	western
fan	master	senior	wet and dry
fast-ferry	match-balls	set	zapping
fast-food	match-race	sexy	
fifty-fifty	meeting	sexy boys	

TABLE 6: TOTAL NUMBER OF HEADLINES WITH ANGLICISMS IN <i>LA PROVINCIA</i> AND <i>EL DÍA</i> IN 1997. (SOURCE: LUJÁN GARCÍA, 1998)			
Sections	La Provincia	El Día	
Sports	212	211	
Canary Islands	28	27	
Economy	29	21	
Social Events	45	22	
Culture and Leisure	41	19	
TOTAL	355	300	

³⁷ "Puenting" is a hybrid resulting from the combination of the Spanish word "puente" ("bridge") and the English suffix "-ing." It is widely used in Spain to refer to that peculiar sport which is called "bungy jumping" in English. It is also registered as an anglicism by Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1998).

	TABLE 7: THE TEN MOST FREQUENT ANGLICISMS IN THE HEADLINES OF <i>LA PROVINCIA</i> AND <i>EL DÍA</i> (1997). (SOURCE: LUJÁN GARCÍA, 1998)			
Anglicisms	La Provincia	El Día		
open	78	33		
rally	39	60		
junior	16	29		
sprint	8	15		
play-off	6	16		
crack	11	9		
rock	11	8		
master	10	9		
cross	9	6		
marketing	1	12		

TABLE 8: ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE 104 ANGLICISMS INCLUDED IN THE SURVEY. (SOURCE: LUJÁN GARCÍA, 2000)

Affair, airbag, amateur, antidumping, basket, best-seller, blues, boom, camping, cash-and-carry, casting, catering, challenge, chip, comic, crack, cross, dance, disc jockey, doping, drag-queen, duty-free, fan, ferry, fifty-fifty, fitness, footing, gay, glamour, handicap, handling, happy-hour, heavy (metal), hippie, hobby, holding, hooligan, jazz, jeep, junior, karting, leasing, lifting, light, lobby, look, marketing, master, meeting, miss, mister, mountain-bike, off-shore, open, overbooking, parking, piercing, planning, play-off, pole-position, pop, pub, puenting, punky, race, raid, rally, ranking, rap, reggae, rent-a-car, ring, rock, round, scratch, set, sex-shop, sexy, sketch, skin-head, soling, soul, sparring, speed (ball), sponsor, sprint, stage, stand, stock, strip-tease, swing, thriller, tie-break, time-sharing, top-less, top-model, transfer, trekking, underground, walkman, western, (wind)surfing, wonderbra, zapping.