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## Anglicising leisure: The multimodal presence of English in Spanish TV adverts

### Anglicização do lazer: a presença multimodal do inglês em anúncios televisivos espanhóis

**ABSTRACT** - This paper examines the presence of English in a corpus of commercials recorded from four Spanish TV channels with high audience shares between 2013 and 2015. We aim to contribute to the study of the dynamics of the usage of anglicisms in Spain. Drawing data from a wider sociolinguistic research project, our analysis will focus on the corpus of adverts related to three specific fields which have to do with recreational activities, namely, technology, entertainment, and food and drinks. In addition to the linguistic level, the audiovisual modes of communication will also be explored. This multimodal analysis will not only provide a record of the different types of lexical anglicisms employed, but will also reveal the significant role of the audiovisual mode in the transfer of linguistic material and socio-cultural values of the English-speaking world.

**Keywords:** anglicisms, TV advertising, sociolinguistics, European Spanish.

**RESUMO** - Este artigo analisa a presença do inglês em um corpus de anúncios comerciais gravados entre 2013 e 2015, a partir de quatro canais de televisão espanhóis com índices de audiência elevados. O nosso objetivo é contribuir para o estudo das dinâmicas de uso de anglicismos em Espanhol. A partir de dados de um projeto de pesquisa sociolinguística mais amplo, a amostra sobre a qual incidirá a nossa análise relaciona-se com três domínios específicos, que estão associadas com atividades de divertimento, a saber: tecnologia, entretenimento, alimentação e bebidas. Além do nível linguístico, serão explorados os modos de comunicação audiovisuais. Esta análise multimodal irá não só pôr em evidência diferentes tipos de anglicismos lexicais utilizados, como também mostrar o papel significativo do modo audiovisual na transferência de material linguístico e de valores socioculturais veiculados pela língua inglesa.

**Palavras-chave:** anglicismos, anúncios comerciais, sociolinguística, Espanhol Europeu.

#### Introduction

The spread and impact of the English language and Anglo-American culture all over the world is widely documented. An array of publications continually provides abundant evidence of the increasing influence of English on a considerable number of languages worldwide (Bolton and Botha, 2015; Bolton and Kachru, 2006; Blommaert, 2010; Crystal, 2012; Dewey, 2007; Görlach 2001, 2002a, 2002b; Kachru, 1990; Price, 2014; Shohamy and Gorter, 2009, Stefan, 2014, among many others). The dominant role played by the English-speaking countries (firstly the United Kingdom, and then the United States) in most of the influential domains in our contemporary society explains the generalised tendency to associate this language with prestige, modernity and fashion, which leads speakers of many other languages all over the world to increasingly use anglicisms in all subject areas. In the case of European Spanish, the impact of English is also a fact (Luján-García, 2012; Reichelt, 2006; Rodríguez-González, 1999, 2002, 2012, 2013; Rodríguez-Medina, 2000) and many researchers have given evidence in the

last decades of the usage of anglicisms in a variety of fields, such as computer science (Pano, 2007; Bolaños and Luján, 2010), economy (Russo, 2002), fashion and beauty (Balteiro and Campos, 2012), music (Olivares-Baños, 2009), sports (Rodríguez-González, 2012), the legal system (Sánchez-Reyes and Durán, 2002), advertising (Rodríguez-Medina, 2001; Durán, 2002; Rodríguez-Díaz, 2011; Varey, 2008) and even drugs (Rodríguez-González, 1994). Far from decreasing, this leadership of English as an international language seems to be unbeatable as it remains in control of the worlds of science, technology, the media and the cultural spheres – including music and cinema – as well as many other fields, not to mention global politics, economy and advertising (Van Hooft Comajuncosas, 2006). This latter field is precisely our concern here; in particular, our aim is to analyse the impact of English in Spanish TV advertising, since it has not been empirically studied to date in Spain. To the best of our knowledge, except for Blanco's 1997 pilot study and Rodríguez-Segura's 1999 work on anglicisms in Spanish media, no previous research has specifically analysed the presence of English in the commercials shown in Spanish

TV channels. Most studies on anglicisms in advertising in Spain have focused mainly on the written press. This justifies our interest in doing research in this area in an attempt to fill this gap. Our findings reveal the significant role of English by providing specific and recent data that confirm something that has long been assumed to be the case: the intense and increasing presence of English in Spanish TV commercials nowadays.

In contrast, the way English is used in television and/or TV advertising has been the focal point of many pieces of research in other countries, such as South Korea (Lee, 2006, 2014), Thailand (Sanprasert, 2014), Russia (Ustinova and Bhatia, 2005; Ustinova, 2006), Macedonian Republic (Dimova, 2012), Italy (Vettorel, 2013); Greece (Oikonimidis, 2003), France (Martin, 2006), Puerto Rico (Montalvo, 1999) while in some others the issue is indirectly approached, such as in Mexico (Baumgardner, 2006) or Ecuador (Ovesdotter, 2003), among others.

Within this framework, the aim of this paper is to contribute to the issue of the influence of English in Spain and worldwide by offering data taken recently from Spanish TV advertising. The data was obtained for a wider study carried out to examine the presence of English in a corpus of commercials recorded from four Spanish TV channels between July 2013 and January 2015. In this article we will focus our attention on the commercials related to three specific areas (namely, technology, entertainment and food and drinks) out of the six topic areas that were examined in the sociolinguistic Research Project ULPGC 11-003.<sup>1</sup> What these three subjects or fields have in common is that to some extent they all have to do with things people tend to use or do for leisure.

The paper is structured as follows. Firstly, we will comment briefly on the role English seems to play in the domain of advertising, underlining the fact that publicists in Spanish television commercials also tend to follow the trend and resort to the usage of English words and expressions, as well as music in English and images that evoke aspects of Anglo-American culture. This justifies the need to perform a multimodal analysis of the adverts in our corpus since in them meaning is made through the use of multiple modes of communication as opposed to just language. Then, we will describe the aims and methodology employed to carry out the research project, before commenting on the results obtained in the aforementioned fields. A multimodal analysis of our corpus of advertisements will reveal the noticeable presence of English not only in the language

employed – both in speech and writing – but also in the sounds (mainly music and sometimes accents) and images displayed. As will be shown, at the linguistic level, the large number of anglicisms that filter through advertising into European Spanish include acronyms, words or lexical anglicisms (the majority of the pure type with only some of them being adapted to Spanish), phrases and sentences in English, as well as the so called *pseudo-anglicisms*<sup>2</sup>. By offering these results, we also meet the need to carry out periodic information registers of anglicisms in use, as suggested by several Spanish scholars (Turell, 1986, p. 39; Medina-López, 1996, p. 28; Rodríguez-González and Lillo-Buades, 1997, p. 9; Rodríguez-González, 1999, p. 137).

## English and advertising in a global world *On advertising*

Described as “the activity of telling people about products and making them seem attractive so that people want to buy them” (*Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary*), advertising is one of the most powerful business professions nowadays. Although its origin dates back to the days of the Egyptian pharaohs and ancient Greece and Rome, advertising increased and developed dramatically throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It has acquired great importance in this multimedia age of large scale production, so much so that today’s tough competition in the market and fast changes in technology make advertising indispensable for both sellers and buyers. In fact, producers cannot think of pushing sales of their products without advertising them (Bhatia, 2000, p. 65-68). As Wiedemann (2007) suggests, creativity is crucial for effective advertising. Thus, a successful TV commercial is one which immediately catches the viewers’ attention and manages to transmit a message to them in an original, funny, surprising, moving or even shocking way. For this, creatives resort to a number of formats, styles, tones and techniques, ranging from rhetorical devices to persuasive language. Creatives calculate everything and “use combinations of music, colour, typography, costume, voice, camera speed and lighting to evoke the right atmosphere” in order to provoke “the right kinds of reactions in the right target consumers” (Brierley, 2002, p. 188-189). The language employed in a commercial is also carefully planned; in fact, as Goddard (1998, p. 2-3) put it, “Advertising copywriters regularly produce texts which are as highly wrought as any piece of literature, us-

<sup>1</sup> The Research Project ULPGC 11-003, entitled “Globalización e impacto de la lengua inglesa y la cultura angloamericana en la publicidad televisiva española”, was funded by Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Spain) and developed between July 2013 and August 2015. A volume with the description of the Project, its theoretical framework and all the data obtained in each of the six subject areas established is bound to appear in 2016, under the auspices of a Spanish Publisher. In the meantime, the working team has decided to introduce the results of this research to the international academic forums of English readership.

<sup>2</sup> These are words or expressions whose form includes some feature of English origin but are not used in any of the varieties of English (Rodríguez-González, 2013).

ing fully the resources of language.” In short, advertising is a complex type of communicative discourse where “a multiplicity of messages are [...] transmitted simultaneously and on a number of levels, in the space of perhaps twenty or thirty seconds”. The use of a foreign language or loanwords adds to the list of rhetorical devices which are included not simply “as decorations or embellishment, but are deployed as an integral part of the persuasive process” (Crompton and McAlea, 2003, p. 34-35).

### **English and advertising**

García-Morales *et al.* (2015) mention several factors that seem to encourage the usage of English in the Spanish advertising industry; they are the following: (a) the international prestige of the English language; (b) the Anglo-American origin of many of the companies which own the products for sale; (c) the increasing globalization process which favours homogeneity in the habits of consumers in different countries, and (d) the structural characteristics of the English language, such as its flexibility for word formation, the brevity and phonic effect of many of its words, which tend to be very precise, thus facilitating the expression of complex content in a few compound words. All these factors have helped the expansion of English (Pulcini, 1997, p. 79) and seem to contribute to maintaining its current global status, while using English or anglicisms tends to be considered worldwide as an effective marketing strategy. Spain is no exception to this trend; because of the internationally recognized prestige English possesses, the usage of anglicisms both in advertising slogans and in brand naming provides any product with positive connotations (Rodríguez-González, 2012, p. 295). This explains why most of the anglicisms used in European Spanish maintain their original, pure form, especially in advertising (Rodríguez-González, 1996, p. 114), while only a few are modified and adapted to make them fit the shape of Spanish spelling and pronunciation. In fact, English seems to be a source of inspiration for many Spanish publicists who often resort to this language in their campaigns, thus following the global tendency to consider it as a marker of modernity, progress and sophistication (Spolsky, 1998, p. 77). Robles (2005) gives some examples of well-known brands of Spanish origin but English name, they are *Beep*, *Green Coast*, *Pull & Bear* and *Springfield*. This seems to suggest that Spanish consumers like or even prefer those products which have an English name and possibly find them more reliable (Bassat, 2004, p. 185).

In addition to these linguistic tools, advertising resorts to other important modes of communication, such as pictures or images, music and sounds, which in many cases also seem to shape the socio-cultural values and ideologies of the Anglo-American world. It is this interplay between the linguistic, the visual and the aural semiotic systems

what explains the dominant role played by the visual media in our globalised world. As Sturken and Cartwright (2009, p. 266) state, nowadays images are fundamental to our mainstream commodity culture, which depends so much on constant production, promotion and consumption of goods. Besides, reality and representation are so closely connected in visual communication (Urry, 2002, p. 77) that very often visions of modernity, glamour and style tend to be systematically articulated and transmitted through TV advertising. As Goddard (1998, p. 3) suggests, although adverts are short-lived, their effects are longstanding and cumulative, and their messages reflect and construct the cultural values of the powerful groups in society.

Our analysis in the *Results and discussion* section will confirm all these ideas about the role of the audiovisual elements in Spanish TV commercials. They tend to be used to enhance the power of the spoken and written English words, whose function is to persuade the viewers about the quality and modernity of the advertised products.

### **Brief review of some literature on the use of English in TV advertising**

The findings of some investigations on the use of English in TV advertising in other countries are worth mentioning here. Thus, Lee (2006) proved that in South Korea TV commercials there is a language-code dichotomy representing ‘traditional’ versus ‘modern’, ‘old’ versus ‘young’, ‘conventional’ versus ‘innovative’ and ‘conservative’ versus ‘liberal’. Thus, a product featured in the same domain of technology can be advertised either exclusively in Korean or in English mixing depending on which generation a given commercial aims to target. Therefore, he claims that English mixing serves as a sociolinguistically optimal option for young Korean-English bilinguals to express their creative needs to identify with modernity and globalization.

Dimova (2012) investigated the creativity of English use in Macedonian TV advertising as a site for active linguistic contact. This author explored how the narrative, musical, and visual aspects of TV commercials enhance the imaginative function of English in the Macedonian advertising context. Thus, English is not simply inserted into commercials to attract attention or address international consumers; rather, it becomes a resource for lexical and semantic creativity and a tool for molding products’ and consumers’ identities.

Ustinova and Bathia’s (2005) study reveals that the presence of English and the use of an English-Russian mix for linguistic creativity are two salient features of Russian TV commercials. In particular, they found that three fourths of the commercials shown on Russian TV for the five years previous to their research employed a bilingual mix. This is explained by functional, social and psychological reasons, since English serves as an external code to attract the atten-

tion of the customers but also as a source of cross-cultural creativity and as marker of Westernization, internationalism, modernization, innovation and prestige.

Sanprasert Snodin (2014) describes the present day phenomena of English naming and code-mixing in the broadcast and print media of Thailand. This study demonstrates how English is available to the general public in every area of the Thai media, where the rapid increase in the use of English names and code-mixing names of English and Thai reflect the linguistic creativity and the impact of English among people who share a common language, other than English, for their intranational communication.

Regarding research in Spanish-speaking countries, not many scholars have approached the specific issue of anglicisms in TV advertising, and those who have usually differ in their scope and/or in the sources employed. Thus, although strict comparison of results is not possible, their interest and relation to our own research are undeniable. For this reason, we will comment on some of them briefly below.

In a pilot non-academic study, oriented to the teaching of English in Secondary schools in Spain, Blanco (1997) analysed a corpus of 33 TV commercials recorded during 10 days in April 1996. He found that some kind of words or expressions in English appeared in 43% of the commercials; 48% employed some type of music in English (*jazz, blues, rap, rock, soul, heavy*), and 37% included images taken from the USA, the UK or any other English-speaking country.

Rodríguez Segura (1999), in a scholarly work on the use of anglicisms in Spanish media between 1992 and 1998, offers a corpus of 1,403 words and expressions collected both from audiovisual and written sources. She analyses this phenomenon from a sociocultural and linguistic perspective, commenting on the extra-linguistic and linguistic factors that favour the usage of anglicisms in the Spanish language.

Montalvo (1999) examined the anglicisms used in TV news in Puerto Rico and found that most of them had been adapted to Spanish phonetics, morphology or orthography. She remarked how the prestige and acceptance of anglicisms in Puerto Rico is due to the frequent use journalists tend to make of them in their reports.

Ovesdotter (2003) argues critically that English in Ecuador has taken on a specific function as commercial capital, and that its use, as well as the perceived associations with English, is sociolinguistically stratified and related to self-esteem. In his view, in Ecuador English is regarded as commercial capital, serving as a stratifier or segmentizer in advertising and commercial names, and fulfilling a gate-keeping function on the labor market.

Baumgardner (2006) shows the profound influence of the English language in business and commerce in Mexico, where the use of English and Spanish-English creativity manifest in advertising in both Mexican news-

papers and magazines, in shop names as well as in product names. This study reveals the positive and practical attitude of the Mexican business community, who openly admit that 'English sells'. Its appeal is explained by the role of English as an international language as well as its reflection of modernity and technological superiority.

In sum, despite their specificities and relative differences in scope, approach and findings, all these pieces of research seem to share common ground with our own work, which we describe below.

## Research project description

As explained above, this paper draws from a wider sociolinguistic study carried out within the framework of the funded Research Project ULPGC 11-003, whose general aim was to obtain and examine a wide corpus of TV adverts in order to prove the impact of the English language and Anglo-American culture in Spain. The author was one of the four members of the working team who obtained a total corpus of 505 adverts with anglicisms. In the following sections I will describe briefly the specific aims and the methodology employed in the research, and then I will justify the selection of the samples I will comment on in the *Results and discussion* section.

## Specific aims and research questions

When we started working on this Project we posed ourselves several research questions which basically hypothesized about what we expected to find in the corpus we wanted to compile. Our main assumptions were the following: All the selected TV channels would show a considerable number of commercials which included anglicisms as a resource for hooking the viewers. These anglicisms would appear in brand names, slogans and in the body of the commercial, both in oral and/or written forms. Most anglicisms would be of the pure type, whereas adapted anglicisms and the so-called pseudo-anglicisms would be less frequent. Sounds and images would often be used to evoke aspects of the Anglo-American culture. Commercials totally produced in English, with or without translation into Spanish, would also be found. Other foreign languages would be used to a much lesser extent for the advertising of certain products, such as perfumes or cars. We anticipate here that all these assumptions were confirmed in our study.

## Methodology

Our research was carried out in several stages. Firstly, in a preparatory phase, we selected four national TV private channels with high audience share (*Antena 3, La Sexta, Tele 5 and Disney Channel*) and decided the specific time slots and weeks during the summer and winter seasons when recordings were to be made. The recordings

covered 5 weeks within the period July 2013 and January 2015. Each researcher in the team was assigned one of the four selected TV channels for data collection, which was the second stage. The next one involved data analysis, for which we used a record card adapted from Blanco (1997) (see Appendix) in order to include all the details of each commercial with anglicisms. These cards were uploaded and shared by the team and then each researcher chose a subject area to carry out the analysis of the commercials related to her field. The following six subject areas were distinguished in order to classify the corpus of adverts to be analysed: (a) technology; (b) cultural and leisure activities; (c) beauty, hygiene and personal care products; (d) food and drinks – including refreshing products and restaurants; (e) household goods and products for the family; (f) products for young children. Repetitions of the same commercial were not considered for the frequency counts, and new cards were completed for commercials of the same product only when they employed different anglicisms. The last stage was devoted to writing chapters to be published and papers to be presented at conferences for the diffusion of research results.

### **The selected samples: Leisure advertising**

As mentioned above, in this paper I will deal with the data obtained in the three fields I personally studied for the Project, namely, 79 commercials dealing with technology; 30 adverts related to cultural and leisure activities; and 50 advertisements of food, drinks and restaurants. A deeper analysis suggests that all these fields seem to be associated with leisure activities, that is, the kind of things we all tend to use or do for pleasure in our free time, such as surfing the web, playing video-games, contacting friends via mobile phone, going to concerts and other socio-cultural events, eating and drinking out, etc.

### **Results and discussion**

In this section we will discuss and summarize the results obtained in each of the three selected areas of TV advertising.

### **Anglicisms in commercials related to technology**

In the last decades the emergence of a considerable number of innovations and technologies has changed the world. Most of this new or improved technology has been developed in the United States, and then brought into widespread use. Obviously, all these new devices are first known by their English names, which they tend to maintain wherever they are imported. This means that all of us in Spain, adults, youngsters and children have had to become familiar with a large list of new vocabulary to refer to items related to the Internet, computers, applications, videogames, all sorts of electronic devices and, in short, with the so-called new ICT (Information and Communications Technology). This process has to do with the *need-filling motive*, which together with prestige, are the two factors that explain the appearance of borrowings in any language (Anttila, 1989, p. 155). Technology is, therefore, an endless source of anglicisms in contemporary Spanish, whose speakers have to adopt in order to make reference to the innovations that emerge each year. We have classified these products into the following four categories: Internet, Apps and websites; mobile telephones; electronic devices and videogames. They are all widely advertised, as shown in Table 1.

The figures in Table 1 reveal that the highest number of commercials (32) and anglicisms (43) that appeared on the selected TV channels during the periods studied in this piece of research correspond to mobile phone companies. It is worth noticing, however, that the proportion of the number of adverts to the number of different anglicisms employed is much higher in the case of videogames, whose commercials employ a considerable number of anglicisms (34) in fewer TV ads (13).

A qualitative analysis of the commercials we have catalogued in this domain indicates that the majority of the anglicisms recorded have to do with the naming of the new products that are introduced to market and their brands: *Smartphone, Smart TV, e-book, iPad Air, App, App Store, Spin & Go XL, Web Cam, Media Set Sport, Line, Samsung Galaxy Young, Apple, Blackberry*. They also make reference to their technical features: ‘television

**Table 1.** Number of TV commercials with different types of anglicisms related to technology.

Product type	Number of TV commercials	Number of anglicisms
Mobile phones	32	43
Internet, apps, and websites	19	32
Electronic devices	15	37
Videogames	13	34
Total:	79	*

Note: The symbol (\*) in this column (also in Tables 2 and 3) indicates that it is not possible to add up the figures given to find the total number of different types of anglicisms used. The reason is that, in some cases, the same anglicism occurs in the adverts of different types of products, as will be shown in Table 4.

led', full HD, Ultra HD, USB, GB, Dual Core, Bluetooth, Wifi, Video HD, Windows. Even the names of some Spanish telephone companies have an anglicised form, such as Movistar or Jazztel. Anglicisms can also be found in the commercial slogans which repeatedly appear in writing at the end of the advertisements, as shown below, at the end of this section.

In many cases, lexical anglicisms are heard, as the following utterances illustrate: 'Kayak compara cientos de webs de viajes.' 'Si tienes LINE ya puedes bajarte los stickers de Trancas y Barrancas.' 'Web turística logitravel.com, conseguirás el mejor precio con solo dos clicks.' 'Todo el deporte en tu tablet o smartphone con la app de Media Set Sport. Partidos en directo, videos, goles y las últimas noticias. Ponemos todo el deporte de Media Set en tus manos.' In addition to this specific vocabulary, mainly of a technical nature, viewers can hear or read other anglicisms of a more general character, as in the example transcribed below:

Listos para ahorrar. El gran *show* de Media Markt. Ha llegado el momento de presentar a nuestras estrellas que arrasan esta temporada. Que entren las *media stars*, las ofertas estrella que arrasan esta temporada (written on the screen: "TOP VENTAS de Media Markt").

Finally, the list of anglicisms registered in the commercials dealing with technology can be classified into types as follows:

**Pure anglicisms:** animal crossing; app; app store; applause; Apple; Assassins creed; beauty; black flag; Blackberry; clicks; cyber; daft punk; death or glory; eat; energy drink; entertainment; fun; get lucky; iphone; jazztel; jump ahead; just dance; kill zone; kiss you; line; Media Markt; media stars; mobile-shot; movistar; music; new leaf; one direction; online; original; Phone House; pirate storm; play mi; Playstation; pokerstars.es; record; Red 4G Orange; red L; rockstar; Royal Caribbean International; Samsung Galaxy, Samsung Gear; Samsung note; Samsung young; Samsung Galaxy Ace 3; scrabble; shadow fall; she wolf; shorts; show; showroomprive.es; smart; smart TV; smartphone; Spin & Go; Spotify; starships; stickers; style; tablet; Toys R us; ubisoft; videos; walkman; webs; X-Box; ZE Blade C.

**Acronyms:** ADSL, DVD, GB, HD, RAM, ROM, SD, TV, USB, WD.

**Adapted anglicisms:** *líder*; *liderazgo*; *goles*.

**Pseudo-anglicisms:** *Logitravel*, *Rastreator*.

**Phrases and clauses:** All the luck in the world; All rights reserved; Available on iTunes; Balearia+ fun & music; Powered by Rockstar Energy Drink; Be moved; Best Buy Consumer Products; Falling to pieces; Let's sing 6; Money for today's people; One touch idol ultra; Power to you; Sony make believe; Spin & go XL; The real driving simulation; We love, we share, we chat.

## Anglicisms in commercials related to entertainment

The commercials included in this category advertise cultural events, mainly concerts, as well as a number of activities or places closely related to leisure pursuits. Table 2 shows the kind of products included in this field and the quantitative results obtained.

As observed in Table 2, the highest number of commercials and anglicisms appear in the advertising of TV programmes and they have to do with the titles of films or TV series, such as *Resurrection*, *Blackhat*, *Heat*, *Collateral*, *The Strain*, *Hell Boy*, *Ice Age 4*, *Missing*, *Pacific Rim*. Sometimes a sort of comment tag in Spanish is added to the title in English, which gives viewers some hint about the meaning of the English word or expression. Some examples are 'Brave, indomable'; 'Frozen, el reino de los hielos'; 'Non Stop, sin escalas'. Even the names of some TV channels which are advertised are English, such as *Energy*, *Divinity*, *Boing*. We also found a pun in the name of the programme *Robin Food*, as well as English words in the titles of special editions of programmes like *Bebés Reborn* (from the TV series *Conexión Samanta*), or *Sálvame Fashion Week*. In the latter, a denigrated but very popular programme (SLVM in its abbreviated name), viewers can often hear or read a variety of anglicisms (*fashion week*, *gay*, *making of*, *beach*) as we illustrate in the following excerpts:

- "Éxito sin precedentes de la *SLVM Fashion Week*".
- "... y también los nervios y enfados monumentales que se vivieron en el *backstage*".
- "La *SLVM Fashion Week* hizo estragos en Chelo: lágrimas y esguince de dedo".
- "Kiko Matamoros se está convirtiendo en icono *gay* a marchas forzadas".
- "No se pierdan el *making of* del evento televisivo del año" "En el desfile de *Sálvame beach*".

When watching our recordings from this daily programme (SLVM) shown in Tele 5, we heard some of the presenters advertising products (mostly mattresses and mobile phones) and using both technical (iPhone; *wasapo*, from 'whatsapp'; *ferbu*, from 'facebook') and more general anglicisms (*fashion*, *fashion week*), as the following transcriptions show:

- Paz Padilla: "Bueno, ¿dónde está mi *i-Phone*? ¿Véis este teléfono? Es un *iPhone 6*, el que tiene tó quisqui [sic], to [sic] los famosos, to [sic] los glamurosos, sí, ¿todavía tu no lo tienes? Mira que eres más antiguo que el hilo negro, ¿eh?". "Mi madre me dice: 'manda un *wasapo* a tu hermana... pon la foto esta en el *ferbu*...'. Bueno Carlota, seguimos con la *fashion*, ¿no?"

- Jorge Javier Vázquez: "Hoy es el gran día de nuestra *Fashion Week* y para celebrarlo vamos a dar de nuevo un *iPhone 6*, el premio más *fashion*, el más deseado, el móvil que todos queréis tener. Participa en este día tan especial para conseguir tu *iPhone 6*. Llama al... o envía... y hoy mismo sabrás si has conseguido uno de los *iPhone 6* que sorteamos".

**Table 2.** Number of TV commercials with different types of anglicisms related to entertainment.

Product type	Number of TV commercials	Number of anglicisms
Shopping centres	4	4
Concerts	4	10
Sex and contacts	4	8
Cultural activities	1	2
Games	3	6
Theme parks	1	5
TV programmes	13	34
Total	<b>30</b>	*

Note: The symbol (\*) in this column indicates that it is not possible to add up the figures given to find the total number of different types of anglicisms used. The reason is that, in some cases, the same anglicism occurs in the adverts of different types of products, as will be shown in Table 4.

Anglicisms also abound in the advertisements of cultural events, mostly concerts, not only in the names of the performers but also in the names given to the events, as can be seen in the following examples: “Programación del Auditorio de Teror. *100% Tricycle compañía Clownic/ Clinic Pep Bou, Abba Live, Big Band Teror Saxophone Academy 2014*”. “*Vuelve Coca Cola Music Experience*”. “Festival de música electrónica *GOLF Costa Adeje. Sunblast, The Terrace, Dubstep*”. In the latter, viewers can also hear songs in English as well as read slogans like the one publicizing a well-known beer with *Open your world*.

The TV commercials analysed present love and sexual relationships as another area for consumers to enjoy with the help of products whose aim is to facilitate or improve these relationships. For this reason, advertisements of dating websites, condoms and lubricants have been included in this category. Anglicisms appear in brand naming, in slogans and in the body of the adverts, as shown below:

- Dating websites: MEETIC web de contactos: “Tú no eres una estrella del *rock*. Regístrate gratis en MEETIC y encuentra a quien te busca”; MEETIC más rápido con nuestra nueva aplicación (*app* is written on the screen). “MEETIC más oportunidades para conectar”.
- Condoms: Preservativos Durex *real feel*, con nuevo material *ultra-sensitive*. *Love, sex, Durex*.
- Lubricants: Gel lubricante *Durex play; love sex durex*.

The adverts of shopping centers are quite remarkable. The origin and close connection of this type of commercial establishments with Anglo-American culture may explain why in the ad of a local mall, *Centro Comercial Parque Santiago 6*, we can hear a female voice

with a strong English accent uttering the name of the shopping centre and mixing English and Spanish in the slogan “very *mucho más*”, while in the screen we read, “very *mucho +*”.

As stated above, many of these commercials prove the powerful influence of English and the creativity of some publicists, who resort to witty puns and very interesting lexical innovations. This is the case of the pseudo-anglicism *rebajjng*, which is used in a commercial advertising one of the most important shopping centres in the city of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. In this advert a voice-over says: “¿Preparados para una *supersección de rebajjng de Las Arenas*”, where the English suffix *-ing* is added to the Spanish term ‘*rebajas*’ (sales), and the consonant *-j* is doubled, following the English rules. In the same advert we find another pun based on the similarity between the English word ‘fitness’ and Spanish ‘*finés*’ (from ‘*finés de semana*’, weekends). It is used in both speech and writing to advertise a new fitness club opening in the shopping centre, called *Factoría Fitness*. And the slogan says: “*Centro Comercial Las Arenas, disfruta de nuestros fitness de semana*”. (‘Shopping Centre Las Arenas, enjoy our weekends’, also meaning ‘Enjoy our fitness club’).

As Bhatia (2006, p. 604) asserts, in advertising language and medium mixing is essential, especially in TV commercials. Our corpus of advertisements gives ample evidence of this by frequently resorting to images and sounds (music, accent) usually related to the Anglo-Saxon world, as we pointed out above. This produces what we call iconographic and cultural Anglicisms, which offer a symbolic representation of the Anglo-American culture and transmit the conventional meanings attached to an image or images. Thus, for their Christmas advertising campaign the local Mall *Centro Comercial Atlántico Vecindario* included images of the popular and mythical figure of Santa Claus, well-known in Spain as *Papá Noel*, together with the more traditional *Reyes Magos* (the Three Wise Men or Kings). Similarly, in the commercials of two other shopping centres, El Mirador and Las Terrazas, the background music is a song in English which says “*I’m happy, right this minute I’m happy*”.

In this category of entertainment we also included a group of ads which is sponsored by a popular Spanish charity, ONCE. It launched a sort of lottery called “Nuevo Rasca de la ONCE”, offering a life-long income to the winners. We considered it a sort of game that gives the participants the chance to earn extra money for good. In some of these commercials, which evoke the joy and celebrate good luck, anglicisms are used, as the examples below illustrate:

- *Nuevo rasca de la ONCE*: “*Doscientas cuarenta maneras de celebrar el sueldo de tu vida de la ONCE. Manera 84. El calabacín star... heeeyy yeeeee yeaaaahhh*”.

- *Nuevo rasca de la ONCE: "Doscientas cuarenta maneras de celebrar el sueldo de tu vida de la ONCE. Manera 14, el jungla king".*

Finally, we list and classify by types all the anglicisms collected in this field:

**Pure anglicisms:** app; backstage; beach; big band; big bang; blackhat; boing; brave; clear blue; click; clinic; clownic; collateral; divinity; dubstep; East End; energy; English House; Fashion Week; fitness; food; frozen; gay; Gipsy kings; golf; hacker; heat; hell boy; hotels & resorts; ice age; kidz; king; legendary; live; Looney tunes; love; making off; mediaset; Missing; Music Experience; non-stop; online, pacific rim; play; police academy; real feel; reborn; resorts; resurrection; rock; saxophone academy; sex; skate; star; sunblast; superman; supersummer; test; the strain; the terrace; Turkish airlines; ultra-sensitive.

**Adapted anglicisms:** líderes; liderazgo.

**Pseudoanglicism:** *Mestic*.

**Phrases and clauses:** 'A relaxing cup of *café con leche*?'; 'All related characters and elements are trademarks of Warner Bros and DC Comics'; 'Do you speak English?'; 'Flying to more countries than any other airline'; 'Heineken, Open your world'; 'You're always playing football'.

### ***Anglicisms in commercials related to food, drinks and restaurants***

The connection between leisure and most of the products advertised in this section of the corpus is obvious, the only exception being the general food items. In the frequency count of commercials and anglicisms shown in Table 3 we made a distinction between general food and the kind of food which somehow is more related to leisure activities as it tends to be eaten on special occasions or simply be more associated with pleasure and entertainment. Some examples are ice-creams, crisps, chocolates, etc. Interestingly, the number of commercials and anglicisms found for the latter is lower (13/24) than that for general food (28/37). However, comparatively speaking, the proportion between them is more significant in the case of the advertising of food items related to leisure, where a large number of anglicisms are used in fewer commercials.

As usual, anglicisms appear in different ways: in the brand name (*Starlux*, *Natuchips*, *Nesquick*, *Lay's*, *Hellman's*, *Fitness*, *Keko's*, *Mini Babybel*, *Ensure*, etc.); in specific words to make reference to a particular type of product (corn flakes; *donut* – the Anglo-American adaptation from 'doughnut', obviously not specifically created for Spanish audiences) or in general words employed, either related to food products (pack, tetrabrick, light, bar) or totally unrelated (facebook, Youtube, online, test, marketing, *fútbol*, adapted from 'football'). An example of the latter is the commercial of a very popular Spanish brand of ham, *Campofrío*, where a well-known Spanish

actress says: "Hoy el fútbol es puro marketing" ('Today football is merely a question of marketing'). Likewise, English is present in the images selected for advertising another rival Spanish brand of ham, *El Pozo*. The commercial starts pretending it is an old documentary and showing a black screen where we read 'York, England, 1860' in white letters. Then we can see a typical English shop with the caption '57 & 59 Blossom Street,' and the signs ATKINSON & SON, MAV & STRAW DEALER. A voice-over tells us in Spanish that in this house, artisan Robert Atkinson fabricated the first ham of York.

One of the most interesting features of the adverts in this section is the creation of anglicised lexical innovations. Two examples are the adverb 'all-branmente' and the verb 'sandwichea', two hybrids which combine English words with Spanish suffixes. The former derives from the well-known brand name *Kellog's All-Bran*, while the latter is formed from the noun 'sandwich', which is widely used in Spain. Below we transcribe part of the commercial where the adverb is used orally, as the second example only appears in writing at the end of the adverb of a brand of cheese, with the invitation to visit their site: "sandwichea en [www.sandwichea.es](http://www.sandwichea.es)".

*Prueba All-Bran (Kellog's) crujiente en tu yogur; All-Bran bizcochito con tu café o bien All-Bran Choco con lo que más te guste. Siéntete All-Branmente nueva.*

Another observation has to do with the fact that when advertising any improved product, or when a special promotion is launched, creatives tend to resort to an English name or expression. This happens, for instance, in the commercial for a new improved version of Nesquik with 'opti-start'. Similarly, in the new margarine 'Flora pro. activ butter flavoured' the inclusion of the dot in the expression 'pro.activ' provides a certain touch of modernity that adds to the anglicised form 'activ'. We found other examples of the presence of English in food products in the 2013 summer campaign of the popular firm *Cola Cao*. Then they promoted the '*Angry Birds Baticao*', while in November that same year they offered for free in any of their big-pack varieties a special *Angry Birds* clock, whose buzz was turned off only when thrown away.

Finally, within the so called iconographic anglicisms, it is worth-mentioning the commercial of yoghurt *Danone's Activia*. The scene shows a beach with people queuing at the door of a wooden cabin, where we can read the universal sign WC.

Within the category of 'drinks' we included adverts of all types of beverages – juice, beer, wine, champagne, (herbal) tea, coffee, energy drinks – but also of other refreshing products like chewing gums and gumdrops. As usual, anglicisms appear both in the slogans and in the body of the adverts and, quite frequently, in their brand names, such as Don Simón *Premium*; Naranja *Orange*

**Table 3.** Number of commercials and different anglicisms found in the adverts of products related to food and drinks, including refreshing products and restaurants.

Product type	Number of TV commercials	Number of anglicisms
Food (related to leisure)	13	24
Food (general)	28	37
<b>Total food</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>61</b>
Drinks and refreshing products	30	44
Restaurants	19	40
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	*

Note: The symbol (\*) in this column indicates that it is not possible to add up the figures given to find the total number of different types of anglicisms used. The reason is that, in some cases, the same anglicism occurs in the adverts of different types of products, as will be shown in Table 4.

Don Simón; *Libby's fresh*; *Seven Up*; *Urban* by Firgas; *Nestea*; *Sunny Delight*, *Hornimans Fresh*; *Hornimans tea slim*; *Laimon Fresh*; *Shandy Cruz Campo*; *Orbit Ice*, etc. Some of these brands are worthy of comment. Two cases in point are *Nestea* and *Sweppes Limón Dry*, where the English pronunciation of 'tea' and 'dry' is surprisingly respected by Spanish consumers, who tend to read English names with Spanish style. Another interesting case is that of *Laimon fresh*, a soft drink whose name transcribes the English pronunciation of the word 'lemon' into the form 'Laimon'. The frequency of use of the word 'fresh' is also worth noticing as it appears both in the brand names (*Libby's Fresh*; *Laimon Fresh*; *Hornimans Fresh*) and slogans ('Hornimans, lo más *fresh* del verano') of several drinks. Interestingly, the advert of the soft drink *Hornimans Fresh* resorts to a presenter that is identified in the captions as a Sir James Humber-Doyle, an expert in herbal teas. He has a strong English accent and a typically English appearance: blond, white, and wearing light clothes and a straw hat. The setting is a hot summer day and some social gathering is taking place in the open air somewhere in Spain, presumably the Mediterranean coast. While two girls fan themselves to relieve the heat, the expert explains with his English-accented voice: "Uff, aquí no como en Inglaterra, mucho calor, y ¿cómo aguanta un inglés como yo aquí? ¿Mi secreto? *Hornimans Fresh*, rico, rico; agua, mucha [sic] fría, *Hornimans Fresh*, hielos grandes y cinco minutos. ¿No es fantástico?". Then, a voice-over in perfect Castilian Spanish says: "*Hornimans Fresh*, refréscate naturalmente", while in the upper part of the screen *Hornimans* logo appears with the written message: *Be natural. Be Hornimans*. Finally, the voice-over adds the slogan: "Hornimans, lo más *fresh* del verano con sabor 100% natural". This commercial firm, *Hornimans*, also advertises some slimming herbal teas with popular catwalk model Judit Mascó as a presenter. One of them has an English word in its name, which appears both orally and in writing when she recommends: "Combina té SLIM, InfuDren e InfuLínea tres veces al día durante

tres semanas...". Often, English brand naming combines with images, like in the advert of *Sunny Delight*, a soft drink with a small percentage of natural juice. The natural setting chosen shows a lake apparently in a national park and a ranger wearing the typical American uniform.

Frequently, anglicisms and slogans in English are favoured only at the end of the adverts, where they may appear only in writing or both in the written and oral modes. Some examples are given at the end of this section. Sometimes anglicisms are employed both in the body of the advert and in the brand name as well. This happens in the 2013 summer commercial for *Shandy Cruz Campo*, in which a voice-over instructs the actors and says: "Subamos una marcha y hagamos la mitad de un *breakdance*, la mitad de un *sprint*". In addition, background music is heard playing a well-known hit by the American pop music band *Mercy*, which says 'Where do you go, my lovely, where do you go, I wanna know'.

As a matter of fact, pop music in English tends to be widely used in many commercials. One case in point is that of popular beer *Mahou*, which is typically advertised with background music in English. Interestingly, for the campaign of one of its varieties, *Mahou Mixta*, a Spanish song was exceptionally chosen, whose chorus said "Me llaman Dedo". However, the lyrics included an English expression (*around the world*), and the protagonist was the picture of a finger called 'Dedo' (which means 'finger' in Spanish), who said: "Soy Dedo; ahora soy Finger". Music is, indeed, central in the advert of another beer Brand, *Buckler 0,0*, whose setting, a pub, and characters transmit a certain English flavour and atmosphere. A voice-over explains: "cuando le pides a un amigo una 0,0 y te trae la nueva *Buckler* negra de malta tostada y la nueva *Buckler* blanca de trigo, tu amigo no vuelve normal, vuelve un poquito más... *It's the final countdown ninonino*". This last utterance makes reference to a popular hit by the group *Europe*, and the form 'ninonino' humorously imitates the instrumental melody of the song. The whole utterance appears also in writing in the screen: *It's the final countdown*,

*ninonino*. Thus, background music in English contributes to the anglicising effect that many TV commercials seem to transmit, often in combination with images, as in Coca-Cola Christmas campaign, where a song that went *It's so important to make (just) someone happy*, complemented the visual image of Santa Claus. Conversely, in some commercials music and image seem to counteract the power and influence of the two languages employed to make meaning, English and Spanish. This is the case of the advert of a new soft drink called *Urban 620 by Firgas*, where a song in Spanish is performed by nationally known Canarian band *Efecto Pasillo*. This contrasts with the numerous English signs which can clearly be seen at the background: *Flower shop, Larry's Barber Shop, Smile please, Live happy, Wifi*, (Figure 1). The hybrid slogan uttered at the end by the group singer is also noteworthy. He says: 'Be natural, be *libre*' (*libre* > 'free').

A recently observed tendency in Spanish TV commercials of certain drinks is the inclusion of dialogues totally in English, with or without translation. The great impact they have on viewers is reinforced by the presence of some celebrity. Obviously, an explanation for this is the fact that the owner of the advertised product is often an international company, usually of British or American origin. Besides, these adverts do not undergo any adaptation before they are shown to the Spanish audience, beyond the addition of subtitles in Spanish. One example is the commercials of the firm *Nespresso*, which resorted to famous actor George Clooney. Similarly, the commercials of energy drink *Aquarius* successfully grabbed the Spanish viewers' attention by using English dialogues with Spanish subtitles and by including prestigious musician Trevor Jones. However, this series of adverts involved some degree of adaptation since they incorporate Spanish-speaking co-protagonists who use Spanish expressions. They are ordinary people that try to explain to

the famous composer how they experienced the "incredible sensación de venirse arriba" (*Getting on top, what a great feeling!*), that is, the kind of feelings they went through at a particular moment in their lives, so that Jones can transfer that feeling into music, by creating a melody *in crescendo* with the performance of the London Symphony Orchestra. One of these commercials introduces Trevor Jones and a woman called Inés in their rehearsal session number 16: the composer is playing the piano while Inés, the informant, describes her feelings and sensations. The scene also includes another girl who is sitting next to the composer and, apparently, is interpreting Inés' utterances. Suddenly, Inés cries: "¡No, no, no, eso no es así. Eso no es ni chicha ni limoná!" a popular saying meaning that something or someone cannot be defined as being one thing or its opposite, where 'chicha' refers to a drink obtained from fermented fruits or plants. Immediately, Jones stops playing and the interpreter translates orally into English: "*It's not chicha nor lemonade*".

As for adverts of restaurants, we have to say that the fast-food ones far outnumber those of any other type, the only case collected in our corpus being one of an Asian food restaurant. Admittedly, few children and teenagers in Spain must be unfamiliar with places like McDonalds, Burger King, Chick & Share KFC or Pans and Company. Most of them have tried a *cheese burger*, a *chicken burger*, and know what a *wrap* or a *crispy chicken* is. They have learnt all these names together with the slogans they are bombarded with, which either are totally in English (McDonalds "I'm lovin' it", or KFC "So good!") or keep some English words when translated (Burger King, *el sabor es el King*; McDonalds *todos fun/todos happy*). Particularly engaging from a linguistic perspective was the Christmas campaign launched by Burger King, as they resorted to a clever pun at the end of the commercial, saying "Merry *Cheesmas* en Burger King".



**Figure 1.** A scene from the advert of the soft drink *Urban 620 by Firgas*.

Another interesting general observation has to do with the fact that although most of the anglicisms employed in the adverts analysed here tend to be semantically related to the specific field they have been classified into, occasionally more general or totally unrelated English words are used, often only orally. One such example occurs in the advert of Chick & Share, where we hear: “*Es un auténtico crack*”. In fact, as already commented, the same anglicism is usually employed in the commercials of different types of products, as Table 4 illustrates. Then we offer the list of the different types of anglicisms recorded in this field.

**Pure anglicisms:** app store; bakery; bar; barber shop; big mac; brick; brownie; cheeseburger; Chick

& Share; corn flakes; cracker; crispy chicken; donut; double cheese; dry; Ensure; finger; flower shop; fresh; fun; gold; google play; happy; happy meal; ice; king; kiwifruit; Lay’s; light; Maltesers; Mcflurry; Mcroll; marketing; Natuchips; Nesquik; Nestea; onions; on-line; optistart; orange; pans & company; premium; promoweeks; rib burger; rodeo burger; Seven up; Shandy; slim; smoothies; Sunny Delight; test; tetrapack; wrap; York.

**Adapted anglicisms:** *fútbol*.

**Phrases and clauses:** Be natural; Enjoy responsible; I’m lovin’ it; Open your world; So good. It all starts with a Nescafe.

**Table 4.** Examples of anglicisms employed in more than one type of products in the adverts of the three fields analysed.

Subject areas English words	Drinks	Food	Fast food restaurants	Cultural and leisure activities	Mobile phones	Electronic devices	Internet apps, ICT	Video-games
App				X		X		
App Store			X			X	X	
Click				X			X	
Company	X		X					
Drink	X						X	
Energy				X			X	
Facebook	X	X						
Fun			X					
Happy	X		X				X	
House				X	X			
Ice	X			X				
King	X		X	X				
Mini		X			X			
Music				X			X	
Online		X		X			X	
Orange	X				X			
Real				X				X
Rock	X			X				
Sport			X				X	X
Star				X		X		
Test		X				X		
Web				X		X	X	

### **Some comparative remarks regarding the use of anglicisms in the three fields**

There is no denying that the presence of English deeply permeates the commercials of the three types of products we have studied here. Both the audiovisual and the linguistic modes (in speech and writing) contribute to a considerable extent to a strong anglicising of the three fields (technology, entertainment, food and drinks) which are felt to be globally connected to the world of leisure. Yet, upon closer inspection some minor differences can be found between them. Thus, acronyms are widely used in the commercials related to technology, whereas they tend not to appear in the other two fields, the only exception being the sign W.C., which was seen in the commercial publicizing a popular yoghurt that activates intestinal transit. Besides, the number of oral and written slogans in English is much higher in technology commercials which, in contrast, do not seem to resort to lexical innovations and creativity, when compared to entertainment and food and drink adverts. The latter groups also seem to use more images and music related to the Anglo-Saxon world. One common aspect is that all the fields include more general English terms, semantically speaking, in addition to their specific terminology. While the three fields usually employ anglicisms for naming their products, it is in technology commercials that this English vocabulary abounds, also to refer to the features of the product.

Finally, the question of the adaptation of this vocabulary also deserves some comments. No doubt, the importation of new lexical items from English is a controversial issue which is seen by many as a threat for the Spanish language. However, we agree with Alba (2007, p. 89) when he states that “the Spanish linguistic system has the ability to assimilate and integrate such items by adapting them to its own structures. In this sense, the arrival of loanwords may be viewed as a natural phenomenon that enables the language to expand and enrich its lexis without disrupting its phonological and morphological structures in the process”. Such examples can be observed in our corpus, which includes several adapted anglicisms (*líder*, *liderazgo*, *fútbol*, *gol/goles*) that are now deeply regularized, and others which are still in a process of regularization. This is the case of the above-mentioned *ferbu* (for ‘Facebook’) and *wasapo* (for ‘Whatsapp’). These forms, despite their popularity, show considerable variation in the way they are written and pronounced by Spanish speakers of different geographical areas and social status. It turns out that the speaker who produced those forms on a TV commercial is a well-known Andalusian comedian who adapted them to her peculiar accent. In general, we can say that the tendency today with anglicisms in Spain is to maintain their original forms, probably due to the prestige universally associated to English, while each speaker, depending on their familiarity and command of English

phonetics, will adapt them to a greater or lesser degree to the Spanish pronunciation. This tendency to keep to a large extent the original forms of anglicisms is proved not only by the fact that the majority of the anglicisms in our corpus belong to the pure type; it is also evidenced in some of the items collected, which maintain the English pronunciation (‘Nestea’, and ‘dry’), as we commented above. This increasing interest in reproducing the sounds of English can also be seen in the popular word ‘fashion’, which includes the consonant /ʃ/ non-existent in Spanish. In addition, the tendency to show English-only TV commercials can be said to respond to this same aim.

### **Concluding remarks**

This paper has explored the sociolinguistic dynamics of the usage of anglicisms in Spanish TV advertising. In so doing, the study fills a gap concerning the investigation of the use of English in this particular field in Spain. The data, which was obtained within the framework of a wider research project, confirm the noticeable presence of English in this influential mass media, and go quite in line with the results of research carried out in other world areas. What they all tend to underline is the prestige and sense of modernity associated to English and the important role this language seems to play for linguistic creativity and lexical innovation.

On the other hand, the multimodal analysis of the adverts categorized in the three sections of the corpus to which we have devoted this paper (those related to technology, entertainment and food and drinks) reveals the great impact of the English language and Anglo-American culture on aspects closely related to leisure pursuits. We have registered and classified the anglicisms which filter into European Spanish through advertising and thus proved the significant role of the linguistic mode. In addition, we have shown how the power of the English words and sentences is enhanced with evoking images and sounds, which effectively transmit the socio-cultural values associated to this language. This demonstrates the relevance of the audiovisual mode which, in combination with the linguistic material of adverts, seem to contribute to the anglicisation of leisure in contemporary Spain.

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